

# English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, c. 1660-1720

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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**Abstract**

Andrew Lawrence Woolley

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The popularity of music-making among the wealthy in the seventeenth century is reflected in the large amount of domestic music that survives from the period. In the late seventeenth century this popularity increased further as professional music-making was brought to public venues such as the London theatres and domestic music was printed in greater quantity. Many significant figures of late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century English music wrote a considerable amount of keyboard music, among them Matthew Locke, John Blow, Giovanni Battista Draghi, Henry Purcell and William Croft, reflecting their activity as teachers, and suppliers of music for the new market.

This dissertation attempts to examine this context through an investigation of documentary sources such as contemporary diaries, letter-books and account books, but primarily through a study of the musical sources. Manuscripts in particular reveal a considerable amount about the context in which keyboard music was written. After two introductory chapters, particular aspects of the sources are dealt with. Two chapters deal with composer manuscripts, and attempt to determine their function, for whom they were written, and how they were compiled. An emphasis is placed on manuscripts evidently compiled for teaching amateurs in these chapters, and in the following two chapters, other contexts in which the manuscripts are likely to have been produced are discussed. Three case studies follow on individual musicians— Richard Ayleward of Norwich, Henry Purcell, and Charles Babel. These are presented to expand on the conclusions drawn from the preceding chapters.

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## Abbreviations

### Journals

<i>AcM</i>	<i>Acta Musicologica</i>
<i>BJ</i>	<i>Bach-Jahrbuch</i>
<i>BLJ</i>	<i>British Library Journal</i>
<i>BLR</i>	<i>Bodleian Library Record</i>
<i>Chelys</i>	<i>Chelys. The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society</i> (1969-2004)
<i>EKJ</i>	<i>Early Keyboard Journal</i>
<i>EM</i>	<i>Early Music</i>
<i>EMP</i>	<i>Early Music Performer</i>
<i>FAM</i>	<i>Fontes Artis Musicae</i>
<i>GSJ</i>	<i>Galpin Society Journal</i>
<i>JAMS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
<i>JM</i>	<i>Journal of Musicology</i>
<i>JMR</i>	<i>Journal of Musicological Research</i>
<i>JRMA</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</i>
<i>JSCM</i>	<i>Journal of Seventeenth Century Music</i> ( <a href="http://www.sscm-jscm.org">http://www.sscm-jscm.org</a> )
<i>ML</i>	<i>Music and Letters</i>
<i>MQ</i>	<i>The Musical Quarterly</i>
<i>MR</i>	<i>The Music Review</i>
<i>MT</i>	<i>The Musical Times</i>
<i>PMA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Musical Association</i>
<i>PRMA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</i>
<i>RBM</i>	<i>Revue Belge de Musicologie</i>
<i>RdM</i>	<i>Revue de Musicologie</i>
<i>RMARC</i>	<i>Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle</i>
<i>SIMG</i>	<i>Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft</i>
<i>VGSJ</i>	<i>The Viola da Gamba Society Journal</i> (available at <a href="http://www.vdgs.demon.co.uk">http://www.vdgs.demon.co.uk</a> )

### Reference Works and Series

<i>AOK</i>	<i>The Art of the Keyboard</i> (New York)
<i>BDECM</i>	A. Ashbee and D. Lasocki, with P. Holman and F. Kisby, <i>Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians</i> , 2 vols. (Aldershot, 1998)
<i>CEKM</i>	<i>Corpus of Early Keyboard Music</i> (New York)
<i>CSPD</i>	<i>Calander of State Papers, Domestic Series</i>
<i>GMO</i>	<i>Grove Music Online</i> , ed. L. Macy ( <a href="http://www.grovemusic.com">http://www.grovemusic.com</a> )
<i>HMC</i>	Historical Manuscripts Commission
<i>JSCMI</i>	<i>Journal of Seventeenth Century Music Instrumenta</i> ( <a href="http://www.sscm-jscm.org/instrumenta.html">http://www.sscm-jscm.org/instrumenta.html</a> )
<i>MB</i>	<i>Musica Britannica</i> (London)
<i>MMI</i>	<i>Monumenti Musicali Italiani</i> (Milan)
<i>MMN</i>	<i>Monumenta Musica Neerlandica</i> (Amsterdam)
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> ( <a href="http://www.oxforddnb.com">http://www.oxforddnb.com</a> )
<i>RECM</i>	<i>Records of English Court Music</i>
<i>RRMBE</i>	<i>Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era</i> (Madison, WI)

SBEKM	Stainer and Bell Early Keyboard Music (London)
SCKM	17th Century Keyboard Music. Sources Central to the Keyboard Art of the Baroque (New York)
General	
b. or bb.	bar or bars
f. or ff.	folio or folios. The recto side of a folio is indicated by the absence of a suffix, whilst the verso side is indicated by the suffix 'v' ( <i>e. g.</i> f. 12v).
rev.	The portion of a manuscript written from the end with the volume inverted.

### Library Sigla

(Following the RISM system as used in *GMO*)

<i>Austria (A)</i>	
Wm	Vienna, Minoritenkonvent
<i>Belgium (B)</i>	
Bc	Brussels Conservatoire
<i>France (F)</i>	
Pc	Conservatoire National de Musique, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
<i>Germany (D)</i>	
Bsb	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz
DS	Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Musikabteilung
Hs	Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Musiksammlung
Lr	Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, Musikabteilung
<i>Great Britain (GB)</i>	
AY	Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, Aylesbury
ABu	Aberystwyth, University College of Wales
CAMhogwood	Cambridge, private collection of Christopher Hogwood
Cfm	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
Ckc	Cambridge, King's College, Rowe Music Library
Cmc	Cambridge, Magdalene College Library
Cu	Cambridge, University Library
CDp	Cardiff, Public Library
Drc	Durham Cathedral Library
En	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland
Ge	Glasgow, Euing Music Library
HAdolmetsch	Haslemere, private collection of the Dolmetsch family
H	Hereford Cathedral Library
Lbc	Leeds, Brotherton Library, Brotherton Collection

LEc	Leeds Central Library
Lbl	London, British Library
Ldc	London, Dulwich College Library
Lfom	London, Foundling Hospital Museum Library
Llp	London, Lambeth Palace Library
Lcm	London, Royal College of Music Library
Mp	Manchester, Henry Watson Music Library
Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library
Och	Oxford, Christ Church Library
WOhc	Woking, Surrey History Centre
Y	York Minster Library
<i>Japan (J)</i>	
Tn	Tokyo, Nanki Music Library
<i>The Netherlands (Nl)</i>	
Uu	Universiteit Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek
<i>United States of America (US)</i>	
Cn	Chicago, Newberry Library
LAuc	Los Angeles, University of California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library
LCgustafson	private collection of Bruce Gustafson, Lancaster, PA
NH	New Haven, Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library
NYp	New York Public Library
R	Sibley Music Library, University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music
SM	San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery
U	Urbana, University of Illinois
Wc	Washington D. C., Library of Congress

### Selected Printed Collections with Abbreviated Titles

<i>Musick's Hand-maid</i> (1663)	<i>Musicks Hand-maide / Presenting New and Pleasant LESSONS / FOR THE / Virginals or Harpsycon</i>
Locke, <i>Melothesia</i> (1673)	<i>MELOTHESLA: / Or, Certain General RULES for PLAYING / UPON A CONTINUED-BASS. / WITH / A choice Collection of LESSONS for the Harpsichord and Organ of all Sorts: / Never before Published.</i>

<i>Musick's Hand-maid</i> (1678)	<i>Musicks Hand-maid: / New LESSONS and INSTRUCTIONS / FOR THE / Virginals or Harpsychord.</i>
<i>Musick's Hand-maid 2</i> (1689)	<i>The SECOND PART of / Musick's Hand-maid:</i>
Purcell, <i>A Choice Collection</i> (1696/9)	<i>A CHOICE COLLECTION. / of / Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet</i>
<i>A Choice Collection of Ayres</i> (1700)	<i>A Choice Collection of Ayres / For the / HARPSICHORD or SPINET</i>
<i>Harpsicord Master 2</i> (1700)	<i>The Second Book of the / Harpsicord Master</i>
<i>Harpsicord Master 3</i> (1702)	<i>The Third Book of the / HARPSICORD MASTER</i>
Hart, <i>Fugues with Lessons</i> (1704)	<i>FUGUES / for / The ORGAN or HARPSICHORD: / with / Lessons for the Harpsichord</i>
<i>Ladys Banquet 2</i> (1706)	<i>The Second BOOK of the LADYS BANQUET</i>
<i>Ladys Entertainment 3</i> ([1709])	<i>The 3d Book / of the / LADYS ENTERTAINMENT / OR / Banquet OF Musick</i>
<i>Ladys Entertainment 4</i> ([1711])	<i>The 4<sup>th</sup>. Book / of the / Ladys Entertainment/ or / Banquet of Musick</i>

### Note to the Reader

Spellings of dance titles in sources have been standardised (*e. g.* 'Almain' has been standardised to *almand*), except where they appear in inverted commas.

In seventeenth and early eighteenth century England the year was reckoned to begin on 25th March, *e. g.* 1st January 1701 would have been rendered '1st January 1700'. Dates that lie between 1st January and 24th March in a year are rendered '1700/01' (*e. g.* '1st January 1700/01').

#### Pitches

c' = middle-c on a keyboard (g above middle-c is referred to as 'g')

c = c one octave below middle-c

C = c two octaves below middle-c

c'' = c one octave above middle-c

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## Preface

For most of the seventeenth century, the English court was the principal centre of patronage for musicians. Many of the greatest English musicians of the century were employed there, and its musical life has been expertly studied by a number of scholars.<sup>1</sup> Other important centres of employment were cathedral cities, and Oxford, which had ties with London musical life; in the Restoration period, keyboard players such as Edward Lowe, Heather Professor at Oxford, also held posts at the Chapel Royal (where Lowe was organist from the Restoration until his death in 1682). Parallel to activity as court musicians or professional organists, musicians were employed as composers, copyists, teachers and performers in private households. Household accounts, diaries, and collections of letters are an important sources of information for research into domestic music-making. However, the information they provide is piecemeal and limited. For example, household accounts often mention the names of music teachers and how much they were paid, but are uninformative about other aspects such as the nature of the lessons, how long they were, and even when and where they took place.

Some of the best evidence comes from the musical sources. A principal aim of this thesis is to examine the sources in detail and to consider basic contextual questions about them, such as who used them and how they might have been used. I do not claim that this is a novel approach.<sup>2</sup> However, it is not one that has been applied to English keyboard music of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in any significant way to date. The identity of early owners and the function of many sources is unclear, although for a significant number of them we do have some information. They appear to have been used in two principal environments: domestic or household environments, and at provincial cathedrals, the majority of them belonging to the former category.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, no source is known to

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<sup>1</sup> See esp. D. Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players in England, 1540-1740', Ph.D. diss. (University of Iowa, 1983), P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers. The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993, rpt. 1995/2002), and A. Ashbee and D. Lasocki with P. Holman and F. Kisby, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1714* (Aldershot, 1998), 2 vols. (hereafter *BDECM*), based on A. Ashbee (ed.), *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols. (Snodland, 1986-1991; Aldershot, 1991-6) (hereafter *RECM*).

<sup>2</sup> For a similar approach applied to English keyboard sources of an earlier period, see J. Flynn, 'A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book (British Library, Add. MS 30513): Music Education in Sixteenth-Century England', Ph. D. diss. (Duke University, 1993).

<sup>3</sup> Bruce Gustafson adopts a similar division for German and Scandinavian keyboard manuscripts of the seventeenth century. See *French Harpsichord Music of the Seventeenth Century*, 3 vols. (Ann Arbor, 1979), i, 5-6.

originate from the Chapel Royal, although it is almost certain that sources of solo keyboard music once existed there, probably compiled for the training of its choristers. Keyboard music of Restoration Chapel Royal composers, the most important being John Blow, survives largely in provincial sources presumably derived from manuscripts compiled at the Chapel Royal that are now lost.<sup>4</sup>

The period covered by this dissertation, *c.* 1660-1720, refers to the date of the music, as sources of later date containing earlier music (such as Lfom, Coke MS 1275 and NYp, Drexel MS 5609) are also examined. It has been chosen largely for pragmatic reasons rather than historical ones; several Scholars have questioned the traditional historiography of seventeenth-century English music, which emphasises the impact of the Restoration on musical taste and culture.<sup>5</sup> The approach taken here could also probably be applied with little difficulty to keyboard sources dating from throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century and even later. Nevertheless, *c.* 1660 is a useful starting point as there are new developments in English keyboard music around this time, such as the introduction of the almand-corant-saraband suite. The period also covers the early development of commercially printed keyboard music from around 1660 to the beginning of the eighteenth century, which had an impact on the dissemination of the music. By the first decade of the eighteenth century, printed keyboard music was regularly copied into manuscripts, examples of which are discussed in Ch. 6. In 1720, Cluer's edition of Handel's *Suites de Pieces pour le Clavecin* appeared, which was one of the most important harpsichord collections of the eighteenth century, and is a landmark source; its contents were widely copied into sources such as Lbl, Add. MS 31467 (*c.* 1735) and HAdolmetsch, MS II b. 4 (*c.* 1741), 'and it was one of the best-known collections of harpsichord music of the eighteenth century.'<sup>6</sup>

One of the first attempts to study English keyboard sources from the point of view of their function and original use seems to have been made by Thurston Dart, who in 1964, presented a paper entitled 'The Classification and Dating of the Sources of English

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<sup>4</sup> See John Blow, *Complete Organ Music*, ed. B. Cooper (MB 69, 1996).

<sup>5</sup> See Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 282-304, and J. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton, 1605-1670* (Aldershot, 1997).

<sup>6</sup> T. Best, 'Handel and the Keyboard', *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. D. Burrows (Cambridge, 1997), 208-23. On the whole, I have not attempted to deal with Handel sources. They are expertly dealt with in T. Best (ed.), *Georg Friedrich Händel Klavierwerke I-IV. Kritischer Bericht* (Kassel, 2000).

Keyboard Music, 1560-1630'.<sup>7</sup> He devised eight categories for both printed and manuscript sources: 'composers workbooks', 'presentation copies', 'anthologies compiled by adult amateurs of music', 'books prepared for (or, less usually, by) young amateur keyboardists', 'study-books prepared by (or, less usually, for) young would-be professionals under the guidance of their masters', 'choirmen's anthologies for leisure playing', 'books for day-to-day use by professional keyboardists', and 'posthumous memorials'. Dart wrote that these categories were 'in practice [...] very useful', and was probably well aware that their primary value was a heuristic one. The situation is inevitably more complex than even the broadest-ranging categorisation will allow. Sources may have had multiple uses, or changed function, and in many instances it is virtually impossible to judge what uses a source might have had for lack of information about its original owners. For this reason, I have endeavored to avoid using categories of sources as descriptive absolutes, and to make them critical to my argument.<sup>8</sup>

English keyboard music of the late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century has attracted a relatively small amount of modern interest compared with earlier music. Christopher Hogwood observed in 2003 that 'apart from dutiful surveys of Purcell's keyboard works, there has been less interest in Croft or Blow, little written on Matthew Locke (nothing recent), and almost complete neglect of his 17th-century contemporaries.'<sup>9</sup> A few excellent recordings made recently have shown that much of the music of Purcell and Blow's contemporaries deserves to be better-known.<sup>10</sup> The music of many composers is yet to appear in reliable modern editions, notably that of William Babel, John Barrett, Francis Forcer, Robert King, and John Weldon, not to mention the large quantity of anonymous music, some of which would be worth reviving.

Interest in late seventeenth-century music was undoubtedly helped by the reliable editions of Blow, Locke and Purcell by Watkins Shaw, Thurston Dart, Howard Ferguson

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<sup>7</sup> See 'An Early Seventeenth-Century Book of English Organ Music for the Roman Rite', *ML*, 52 (1971), 27-8.

<sup>8</sup> For the uses and limitations of historical typologies, see P. Veyne, *Writing History*, trans. M. Moore-Rinvolucri (Middletown, 1984), 117-29.

<sup>9</sup> "fitt for the Manicorde". *A Seventeenth-Century English Collection of Keyboard Music*, ed. C. Hogwood (Bicester, 2003), iv.

<sup>10</sup> For example, C. Booth, *William Croft. Keyboard Music*, Soundboard Records (1999), and T. Charlston, *Albertus Bryne. Keyboard Music*, Deux-Elles DXL 1124 (2007).

and Hugh McClean that appeared in the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>11</sup> Detailed examinations of the music later appeared in John Caldwell's *English Keyboard Music Before the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1973), and Barry Cooper's doctoral thesis (Oxford, 1974).<sup>12</sup> They brought attention to other important composers such as Jeremiah Clarke and William Croft, and to sources. Bruce Gustafson's *French Harpsichord Music: A Thematic Catalogue of the Sources with Commentary* (Ann Arbor, 1979), remains the most important work to date on the English sources he covered and has also been an essential starting point for later studies.<sup>13</sup> Geoffrey Cox's 1984 doctoral thesis, 'Organ Music in Restoration England: A Study of Sources, Styles and Influences' (Oxford),<sup>14</sup> Robert Klakowich's 1985 doctoral thesis, 'Keyboard Sources in Mid-17th Century England and the French Aspect of English Keyboard Music' (State University of New York, Buffalo), Brian Hodge's 1989 doctoral thesis, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire: 1660-1714' (Manchester), and Candace Bailey's 1992 doctoral thesis, 'English Keyboard Music, 1625-80' (Duke University) stand out among them. Particularly invaluable for the present purposes is Brian Hodge's thesis, which contains inventories and lists concordances for the majority of the sources, and composers' work-lists. In compiling private inventories of the sources, I have drawn upon his work extensively, and in the process have checked its data.

The past fifteen years have seen a number of published works appear on English keyboard music and its sources. John Harley's two-volume *British Harpsichord Music* (Aldershot, 1992 and 1994) offers a useful introduction to the music, and lists sources with short descriptions. Virginia Brookes' catalogue, *British Keyboard Music to c. 1660: Sources and Thematic Index* (Oxford, 1996) contains inventories for several post-Restoration sources, and lists many previously untraced concordances. Bailey's *Seventeenth-Century-British Keyboard Sources* (Warren, 2003) offers a valuable introduction to the music and its sources, and a catalogue of sources that summarises literature on each to date. Perhaps the finest achievement in the field in recent years has been the complete edition of John Blow's

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<sup>11</sup> John Blow. *Complete Organ Works*, ed. W. Shaw (London, 1958, rev. 1972), *John Blow. Six Suites*, ed. H. Ferguson (SBEKM 5, 1965), *Matthew Locke. Complete Keyboard Music*, 2. vols, ed. T. Dart (SBEKM 6 & 7, 1957/1959), *Henry Purcell. Eight Suites*, ed. H. Ferguson (SBEKM 21, 1964), *Henry Purcell. Miscellaneous Keyboard Pieces*, ed. Ferguson (SBEKM 22, 1964), and *Henry Purcell. The Organ Works*, ed. H. McClean (Sevenoaks, 1957, rev. 1967).

<sup>12</sup> Published, with Supplement, as *English Solo Keyboard Music of the Middle and Late Baroque* (New York, 1989).

<sup>13</sup> See also Appendix C ('Corrections and Additions to Gustafson (1979)') in D. Fuller and B. Gustafson, *A Catalogue of French Harpsichord Music, 1699-1780* (Oxford, 1990).

<sup>14</sup> Published as *Organ Music in Restoration England* (New York, 1989).

keyboard music, which draws on an impressively large number of sources, and reveals his full importance as the leading late seventeenth-century English keyboard composer.<sup>15</sup>

The present study focusses largely on manuscript sources. Printed sources offer some information about the context of the music. For example, their titles, such as *The Ladys Banquet*, are an indication that the music was often intended for female amateurs. However, many printed collections are rarely signed by owners, often show surprisingly little sign of use, and it is rarely known who compiled them. By contrast, manuscripts were often compiled over a number of years, are often personal documents, and reveal much more about the tastes of the compiler and his possible identity. Ch. 1, 'The Keyboard in England', deals with documentary evidence relating to the keyboard in the period, discusses the instruments in use, the social status of the keyboard, and the use of instruments in music education. Whilst much research has examined the context of professional music-making in the seventeenth century, particularly court music-making, relatively little has looked at domestic music-making, especially for the late seventeenth century.<sup>16</sup> For this reason, I concentrate largely on the domestic context, drawing mostly on published account books, diaries, conduct books, and similar material.

The following five chapters deal with the musical sources. Ch. 2, 'Introduction to Sources', briefly discusses their physical aspects such as watermarks and bindings that help to determine their date and how they were put together. An overview of printed sources follows, and some suggestions are made about how they were assembled and who might have been responsible for compiling them. Two types of multi-composer printed collection are suggested; those that resemble manuscripts copied by a single scribe, and may have been taken from a single composer's manuscript, and those that may have been assembled from several composers' manuscripts. There is much evidence to suggest that solo keyboard music was often composed for teaching. I outline the evidence for this from both printed and manuscript sources, pointing to several features that suggest manuscripts were used for teaching, such as the presence of fingerings, accounts and addresses of teachers. A particularly common type of manuscript are those that appear to have been compiled by teachers for their amateur pupils. CAMhogwood, M1090 (formerly Lady Jeans, MS 2), which was not included in Brian Hodge's thesis, is discussed as a little-known example.

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<sup>15</sup> *John Blow: Complete Organ Music*, ed. Cooper, and *John Blow: Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. R. Klakowich (MB 73, 1998).

<sup>16</sup> For the early seventeenth century, see L. Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of the English Aristocracy, c. 1590-c. 1640', Ph. D. diss. (King College, London, 1992).

Chs. 3-6 deal with manuscripts according to their likely mode of compilation. The compilers of many manuscripts probably copied pieces directly into manuscripts without the aid of exemplars, a type I call 'composer manuscripts'. These are mostly discussed in Chs. 3 and 4. It is highly likely that experienced musicians had little difficulty writing down the generally simple harpsichord music that is found in many collections without the aid of exemplars, although physical evidence that they were composing directly into manuscripts, such as corrections and alterations, is rare. However, in several instances it is possible to identify the compiler and whether he was a composer. The majority of these sources are discussed in Ch. 3, including several hitherto unidentified. My main purpose is to summarise their contents and to suggest what their function might have been. The majority of them were probably compiled for teaching amateur musicians; others, such as William Babel's manuscript Lfom, Coke MS 1257, are left for Ch. 5 as they appear instead to have been presentation manuscripts compiled for patrons. Ch. 4 is an attempt to identify how composers compiled manuscripts, and the implications it has for the status of the composer's text. I argue that musical texts were not fixed but changed in minor details each time the composer wrote his pieces down, and that this should be taken into account by modern editors of the music.

Chs. 5 and 6 deal with manuscripts that were probably compiled largely from exemplars as well as some further composer manuscripts. It seems likely that some of these manuscripts were compiled by musicians in order to be presented to patrons. In Ch. 5, I adopt similar terms to those used by Harold Love in his classification of seventeenth century commercial 'manuscript publication', 'author publication' and 'entrepreneurial publication', to examine evidence of this.<sup>17</sup> Ch. 6 deals with manuscripts that are not, on the whole, composer manuscripts, and were probably not compiled in order to be presented to a patron. They include several manuscripts that appear to have been personal collections, and manuscripts compiled by professional musicians probably for self-instruction or for the training of would-be professionals.

Chs. 7-9 are case studies of individual musicians, intended to support the ideas explored in chapters 3-6. Ch. 7 discusses the music and sources of the little-known Norwich keyboard player Richard Ayleward (1626-1669). A large amount of his music survives (although some of it has incomplete textures), yet he has mostly been ignored by scholars. I argue that his music deserves to be better-known and that although there is no clear evidence he was active in London, he is a significant figure of the Commonwealth and

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<sup>17</sup> Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993).

early Restoration period. Ch. 8 reappraises Henry Purcell's music, drawing on evidence from secondary sources as well as an autograph manuscript (Lbl, MS Mus. 1) to suggest a chronology. I argue that many of the transcriptions of his theatre music were made by several composers, and that the composer's own transcriptions are probably found in only a relatively small number of sources. Ch. 9 examines the manuscripts of the important and well-connected music copyist Charles Babel, the French bassoonist who copied two fine keyboard collections in England in the early eighteenth century. The importance of the keyboard books is still to be fully appreciated, despite Gustafson's exemplary work on them. The chapter examines the contents of the manuscripts, which contain a remarkable wealth of music, mostly of French and English origin, and discusses them alongside a set of related partbooks Babel copied in the same period (c. 1702), CAMhogwood, M1092. Much of the music, some of it excellent, remains anonymous, and composers or geographical origins are suggested for some of these pieces.

As an aid to the reader, and a reference point for future research, a summary catalogue of English and Scottish sources is provided as an appendix (see Appendix B).

## The Keyboard and Music Education

During the seventeenth century, the importance of the keyboard as a domestic instrument grew. This is suggested both by the number of surviving instruments from the period, particularly virginals and spinets, and the considerable number of manuscripts that were probably intended for domestic use. More expensive to build than comparable polyphonic instruments such as the lute, harpsichords and chamber organs were probably seen as symbols of the owner's wealth. According to the early eighteenth-century musical writer, Roger North, there was a flourishing of public music-making in London in the late seventeenth century,<sup>1</sup> which in turn probably stimulated domestic music-making. Keyboards were popular both as solo instruments and for accompaniment in the domestic setting, suggested by the title-pages of many printed collections of songs and chamber music. For example, those of John and Robert Carr's song collections, *Vinculum Societatis* (1687-91) and *Thesaurus Musicus* (1693-5), both name the harpsichord as the principal accompaniment instrument: 'Being a Choice COLLECTION / Of the Newest SONGS now in USE, / WITH / THOROW BASS to each SONG for the *Harpsichord, Theorbo, or Bass-Viol*.'<sup>2</sup>

### *Instruments*

A relatively large number of keyboard instruments survive from mid- to late-seventeenth century England, particularly virginals. Frank Hubbard noted, 'the sudden appearance of the oblong English virginals in the seventeenth century is a little puzzling. Like a marching platoon of soldiers they burst into view in 1641.'<sup>3</sup> Nineteen constructed between 1638 and 1684 are known.<sup>4</sup> Samuel Pepys famously attested to its popularity during the early Restoration, observing whilst household goods were being rescued during the Great Fire, that 'hardly one lighter or boat in three' had 'a pair of virginal in it',<sup>5</sup> although it is likely

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<sup>1</sup> Roger North, *Notes of Me*, ed. P. Millard (Toronto, 2000), esp. 143-4.

<sup>2</sup> See C. L. Day and E. B. Murrie, *English Song Books, 1651-1702* (London, 1940).

<sup>3</sup> *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making* (Cambridge, MA, 1965), 151.

<sup>4</sup> D. H. Boalch, rev. C. Mould (eds.), *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840* (Oxford, 1995), 714; E. M. Ripin and L. Whitehead, 'Virginal. England and other north European countries', *GMO*; R. Lockett, 'The English Virginals', *English Harpsichord Magazine*, 1/3 (1974).

<sup>5</sup> *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. R. Latham and W. Matthews, 11 vols. (London, 1970-83), 2/9/1666.

that less than a tenth of wealthy households owned one.<sup>6</sup> The instrument seems to have remained popular well into the Restoration period, but was eventually supplanted as a domestic instrument by the bentside spinet. Invented in Italy and closer in design to the harpsichord, the spinet remained popular in England for much of the eighteenth century. Several of the later makers of virginals, such as Stephen Keene (c. 1640- after 1719) and John Player (c. 1634-c. 1706), appear to have begun constructing this instrument in the early 1680s. The bentside spinet was undoubtedly a cheaper alternative to the harpsichord intended for domestic use. For instance, Roger North wrote in a letter of 1698, 'for my cozen's espinette, I have bought one costs (case and all) six pounds, and I think it is a very good one.'; by contrast, a Player harpsichord of the following year cost a considerable £40. 10s. 6d.<sup>7</sup> Spinets usually had a note range equivalent to smaller contemporary single manual harpsichords and virginals, employing a short octave tuning whereby the three low notes, BB, C sharp and E flat, were tuned to GG, AA and BB respectively.<sup>8</sup>

In England, the term 'spinet' and variants was interchangeable with harpsichord, although the harpsichord and spinet are occasionally distinguished on title-pages, for example, John Blow's *A Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsicord, Spinnet. &c.* ([1698]). The term 'virginal' also referred to any type of plucked string instrument. In many instances the term 'virginal' was probably also generic. However, the virginal is likely to have been an instrument equal to the harpsichord and not a domestic equivalent like the spinet.<sup>9</sup> In addition, the range of the instrument was often large. For instance, the large range of the Charles Haward harpsichord of 1683, FF to d''' (without FF sharp), is also found on two virginals.<sup>10</sup> Richard Lockett argues the only motivation players would have had to use a harpsichord and not a virginal was if changes of registration were required; harpsichords were the only instruments with more than one rank of strings.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, double- and triple-strung harpsichords would have had greater volume, and would have been more suited to large rooms and for use in ensembles.

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<sup>6</sup> P. Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class* (London, 1989), 296. I thank Stephen Rose for pointing out this reference to me.

<sup>7</sup> *The Lives of the Norths*, 3 vols., ed. A. Jessop (London, 1890), iii, 244; *The Diary of John Hervey, First Earl of Bristol. With Extracts from his Book of Expenses 1688 to 1742*, ed. 'S. H. A. H' (Wells, 1894), 157.

<sup>8</sup> See E. M. Ripin and L. Whitehead, 'Spinet', *GMO*.

<sup>9</sup> See *Ibid.*, I, 48 (20/8/1663).

<sup>10</sup> Instruments by Robert Hatley (1664) and Stephen Keene (1668); see Boalch, rev. Mould, *Makers*, 376 and 413.

<sup>11</sup> 'The English Virginals', n. p.

The importance of the virginal may partly account for the few harpsichords that survive from late seventeenth century England. Indeed, the Haward instrument is the only one that can be dated confidently to the second half of the century. The remaining instruments probably dating from before 1720 number only four: a Joseph Tisseran (1700), a Benjamin Slade (after 1690), a Thomas Barton (1709), and a Thomas Hitchcock (before 1720).<sup>12</sup> Bentside spinets from the same period are far more numerous and their construction method seems to have influenced harpsichord making to some extent.<sup>13</sup> Undoubtedly the spinet's primary function as a domestic instrument can account for its greater popularity. Nevertheless, more elaborate instruments were not unknown in the domestic setting. For example, the will of the London merchant Christopher Batt (1738), lists a 'house organ and harpsichord made by Henricus Von Burgen'.<sup>14</sup> The maker 'Henricus Von Burgen' is unknown, but it seems plausible that the instrument referred to was a claviorgan, which combined the mechanisms of an organ and harpsichord, and may have been known in Restoration England as it appears to have been described by Pepys.<sup>15</sup> The keyboard manuscript Lbl, Add. MS 52363, which may have belonged to the owner of this instrument, is discussed in Ch. 6.

The clavichord seems to have had limited popularity in England in the late seventeenth century, judging by a small number of references to it. For example, in the 1670s and 1680s, one William Hutchinson taught 'ye Harpsicalls & Manicords [*i. e.* clavichord]' to the daughters of the Cumbrian antiquarian Daniel Fleming.<sup>16</sup> Two fine pieces entitled 'An Allemande fitt for the Manicorde' appear in an English manuscript formerly in the possession of Thurston Dart, now in the collection of Christopher Hogwood (CAMhogwood, M1471).<sup>17</sup> The manuscript appears to date from the mid-1680s, although the style of some of the contents resembles music composed about twenty years earlier. Some features such as the many *doubles* suggest a continental influence, a point supported

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<sup>12</sup> See Boalch, rev. Mould, *Makers*.

<sup>13</sup> Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, 155-6.

<sup>14</sup> Cornwall Record Office, CY/1594.

<sup>15</sup> See quotation in M. I. Wilson. *The Chamber Organ in Britain, 1660-1830*, 2nd edn. (Aldershot, 2001), 22-3; a Burgen of Burgen of appropriate date is not listed in Boalch, rev. Mould, *Makers*.

<sup>16</sup> *The Flemings in Oxford*, ed. J. R. Magrath, 3 vols. (Oxford Historical Society, 1903-1924), i, 455. See C. Hogwood and B. Brauchli, 'The Clavichord in Britain and France and England: a Selection of Documentary References before 1700', *De Clavicordio*, 6 (2004), 177-84.

<sup>17</sup> 'fitt for the Manicorde'. *A Seventeenth-Century English Collection of Keyboard Music*, ed. C. Hogwood (Bicester, 2003), nos. 42 and 43.

by the fact that nine of the pieces were apparently copied from a manuscript recently discovered by Peter Leech associated with the English Jesuit College of St Omer.<sup>18</sup>

The early Restoration period saw a growth in church organ building as organs that fell into disuse or had been destroyed during the Commonwealth were repaired or replaced. In addition, churches were rebuilt after the Great Fire of 1666 and were equipped with organs.<sup>19</sup> The organ was also used as a domestic instrument, as several surviving chamber organs attest.<sup>20</sup> An organ was not necessarily expensive to buy. In August 1701, for instance, *The Post Boy* advertised 'An Organ, in good Condition, fit for a Musick-house, is now to be Sold a penny-worth'.<sup>21</sup> The important makers were Bernard Smith (d. 1708) (known as 'Father Smith') and Renatus Harris snr. (c. 1652-1724), although few surviving instruments can be attributed to either of them with confidence.<sup>22</sup> Towards the end of the seventeenth century, these instruments became larger and were clearly valued as symbols of status as well as for their musical excellence, such as the fine Adlington Hall organ dating c. 1693.<sup>23</sup> This instrument is a two-manual with fourteen stops, consisting of 'Great' organ and smaller 'Chair' organ, suitable for performing the 'double voluntaries' of Matthew Locke and John Blow.<sup>24</sup>

The maintenance of more elaborate keyboard instruments such as this would have been no insignificant task. Indeed, the extent to which owners were expected to tune their instruments and keep them in order seems to have been limited. Tuning instructions are occasionally included in amateur musician's manuscripts, most of which derive from the methods outlined in *A Collection of Lessons and Aires for the Harpsicord or Spinnet* (1702), and in Gottfried Keller's *A Compleat Method, for Attaining to Play a Through Bass upon either Organ*,

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<sup>18</sup> P. Leech, 'A New Source of Seventeenth Century Keyboard Music — the Antoine Selosse Manuscript', 12th Biennial Conference on Baroque Music (Warsaw, July, 2006); *The Selosse Manuscript. Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Keyboard Music*, ed. Leech (Bicester, 2008).

<sup>19</sup> C. Clutton and A. Niland, *The British Organ*, 2nd edn. (London, 1982), 46-63

<sup>20</sup> See Wilson, *The Chamber Organ in Britain*, 105-125.

<sup>21</sup> M. Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', *RMARC*, 1 (1961), whole edition.

<sup>22</sup> See D. Gwynn, 'From Stops Organical to Stops of Variety: the English Organ from 1630 to 1730', *From Renaissance to Baroque: Changes in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. J. Wainwright and P. Holman (Aldershot, 2004), 211-26.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 24-5; 105-7 (see illustration).

<sup>24</sup> See M. Locke, *Melothesia* (1673), pp. 82-4; John Blow, *Complete Organ Music*, ed. B. Cooper (MB 69, 1996).

*Harpsichord or Theorbo-Lute* ([1707-c. 1730]).<sup>25</sup> A revealing advertisement also appears in Richard Meares's edition of William Babel's *SUITS of HARPSICORD and SPINET, Lessons* (London, [after 1718]): 'Sold also the Newest Desks and tuneing Hamar's with Quills and Wiar and Instruments / Proper for tuneing and Penning the Harpsicord or Spinnet.'<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, a music master is most often likely to have undertaken such duties; this was the case with the late eighteenth-century Hertford master, Thomas Green.<sup>27</sup> Instrument makers were occasionally employed, perhaps when the music master was not available. For example, a payment to 'Mr Keene' for 'tuneing ye Spinnet' occurs in the account book of Montagu Garrard Drake (see below).<sup>28</sup> Likewise, John Player was once employed to tune a spinet belonging to the Howard family, whose music master was Henry Purcell.<sup>29</sup> Player and Keene may well have tuned and maintained the instruments they sold. Renatus Harris, for instance, received yearly payments of 40 shillings 'for Cleansing and keeping the organ in the great Hall in reparaire' at Christ's Hospital in 1697 and 1698.<sup>30</sup>

The method for tuning outlined in Keller's *A Compleat Method* was straightforward, although undoubtedly required some training to use. A diagram showing the order of notes to be tuned is followed by the briefest elucidation: 'Observe all the Sharp thirds must be as Sharp as the Eare will permit, And all fifths as Flat as the Eare will permit, Now and then by way of Tryall touch Unison third and fifth, and afterwards unison fourth and Sixth.'<sup>31</sup> Roger North described 'the chattering, wallowing, or rowling of two tones sounding together, which will be very notable, till the accord is exact', observing that the beating of the fifths 'should goe on in time as slow quavers' (suggesting, possibly, a temperament close to 1/4 comma meantone), but admitted 'The work of tuning [...] is not so much scientifick, as mechanick and habituall'.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> For example, Lfom, Coke MS 1576 (1720s) contains 'A Compleat Method for Tuning a Harpsicord by Mr Keller' (f. 47v (rev.)) and Ge, R. d. 39, copied by Edward Finch, containing 'Harris The Organ Makers way of Tuning His Organs by Imperfec 5ths. & True Octaves'.

<sup>26</sup> Lbl, Pr. Bk. f. 39.

<sup>27</sup> See *The Accounts of Thomas Green, Music Teacher and Tuner of Musical Instruments, 1742-1790*, ed. G. Sheldrick (Hertfordshire Record Society Publications 8, 1992).

<sup>28</sup> AY, D/ DR 9/ 8, dated 7/11/1705.

<sup>29</sup> See F. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell*, 2nd. edn. (Philadelphia, 1983), 227-9.

<sup>30</sup> Guildhall Library, L. 49. 3 MS 12825, vol. 17 (Treasurers' 'Aquittance' or Receipt Book). Harris signed the receipts.

<sup>31</sup> *A Compleat Method* (Walsh, Hare, and Randall, [1707]) (Lbl, Pr. Bk. k. 8. k. 17), 15.

<sup>32</sup> *Roger North on Music*, ed. J. Wilson (London, 1959), 207.

A clearer indication of the kind of temperaments that were used comes from the music. On the whole English solo keyboard music of the seventeenth century is playable in 1/4 comma meantone temperament, which only offers certain notes (usually C, C sharp, D, E flat, E, F, F sharp, G, G sharp, A, B flat and B).<sup>33</sup> John Meffen observes that William Croft (1678-1727) was one of the first English composers to require more modern temperaments such as 1/6 comma meantone (where all thirds as well as fifths are tempered) as he wrote suites in E major, E flat major and B minor.<sup>34</sup> Of the same generation, John Barrett (c. 1676-?1719) and Jeremiah Clarke (c. 1674-1707), wrote harpsichord suites in B minor.<sup>35</sup> By the second decade of the eighteenth century, keys with three accidentals in the key signature (by modern reckoning) were probably normal for solo keyboard music. For instance, John Baptist Loeillet (1680-1730), a fashionable harpsichord teacher in England during the early eighteenth century, included suites in A major and E flat major in his *Six Suits of Lessons [...] in most of the Key's* (London, [1723]).<sup>36</sup>

### *The Social Status of the Keyboard and Amateur Music Education*

During the seventeenth and eighteenth century, particular instruments were deemed more suitable for men and others more suitable for women. Roger North is again informative: 'For men the viol, violin, and the thro-base instruments[,] organ, harpsicord, and double base, are proper, for weomen the espinett, or harpsicord, lute and gittarr, for voices both'.<sup>37</sup> Likewise, the anonymous author of the Burwell lute tutor (c. 1670) wrote that 'the viol entangleth one in spreading the arms, and openeth the legs (which doth not become man, much less a woman', problems largely avoided with keyboard instruments.<sup>38</sup> Keyboard instruments were used as both accompaniment instruments and for solo performance by

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<sup>33</sup> However, this does not apply to consort music requiring keyboard accompaniment. For example, much of Jenkins, such as Fantasia 12 in E minor, which contains a passage in G sharp minor (*John Jenkins. Consort Music of Three Parts*, ed. A. Ashbee (MB 70, 1997)).

<sup>34</sup> 'A Question of Temperament: Purcell and Croft', *MT*, 119 (June, 1978), 504-6; 'The Temperament of Keyboard Instruments in England from the Virginalists to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century', Ph. D. diss. (University of Leeds, 1977). There is some evidence of earlier experimentation in manuscripts dating from the 1650s and 1660s, which contain pieces in E major and even B major; see discussion of Lcm, MS 1154 in Ch. 8.

<sup>35</sup> *Jeremiah Clarke. Seven Suites*, ed. J. Harley (SBEKM 39, 1984), 3a-c. Barrett's suite appears in *The Second Book of the Harpsicord Master* (1702), nos. 14-17. They are settings of pieces written for Higgons's play, *The Generous Conqueror* (1702); see C. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre* (Ann Arbor, 1979), 172-3.

<sup>36</sup> *Six Suits of Lessons for the Harpsicord or Spinnet*, facs. edn. (Peer: Musica-Alamire, 1989).

<sup>37</sup> *Notes of Me*, ed. Millard, 148.

<sup>38</sup> T. Dart, 'Miss Mary Burwell's Instruction Book for the Lute', *G&J*, 11 (1958), 3-62 (48).

women. They were probably approved of as a women's instrument because they require little physical exertion. North noted a preference for the harpsichord over the lute when women came to accompany their own singing, 'one reason is, it keeps their body in a better posture'. For amateur males, however, he clearly regarded the keyboard as mainly an accompaniment instrument.

An obvious indication that written-down solo keyboard music was primarily performed by amateur females, comes from musical sources. It is clear from the titles of printed collections that they were often intended for women such as Playford's *Musick's Hand-maid* (1663, 1678 and 1689) with its well-known title-page showing a wealthy woman at the virginal, accompanied by a gentleman on violin and a singer (or possibly a human music stand!). In the preface to the 1663 edition, John Playford described the virginals as 'an Instrument of much delight [...] as being the same with the *Harpsycon* and *Organ*; which Excellency hath made it the Delight of many young Ladies and Gentlewomen.'<sup>39</sup>

Undoubtedly one of the motivations for women to learn keyboard instruments was to gain 'accomplishments'. Female owners of manuscripts tended to be unmarried as they often sign them with maiden names. For example, two manuscripts owned by members of the Filmer family, US-NH, Filmer MSS 15 and 24, signed 'Amy Filmer/ her Booke/ 1677/8' and 'Elizabeth Filmer' respectively. The limitations on female education, restricted to certain subjects, and to boarding schools and private tutors, is also likely to have meant that music had a greater importance in their upbringing. Hannah Woolley (1673), when complaining of this state of affairs, did not mince words: 'I cannot but complain of[,] and must condemn the great negligence of Parents, in letting the fertile ground of their Daughters lie fallow, yet send the barren Noddles of their Sons to the University, where they stay for no other purpose than to fill their empty Sconces with idle notions to make a noise in the Country.'<sup>40</sup>

Music probably served women whose time would have been little occupied beyond the acquisition of accomplishments. The late eighteenth-century writer on female conduct, Hester Chapone, wrote that accomplishments 'fill up agreeably those intervals of time which too often hang heavily on the hands of a woman, if her lot be cast in a retired situation', sentiments that probably ring true for earlier periods.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, learning music was probably often motivated as much by social pressures. Woolley thought that without this ability, 'a Lady or Gentlewoman can hardly be said to be absolutely

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<sup>39</sup> See facsimile in *Musick's Hand-maid*, ed. T. Dart (SBEKM 10, 1969).

<sup>40</sup> *The Gentlewomans Companion Or, A Guide to the Female Sex* (London, 1673), 2.

<sup>41</sup> *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind Addressed to a Young Lady*, 2nd edn. (London, 1797), 178.

accomplished', and her 'Rules to be observed by a Gentlewoman in Vocal and Instrumental Musick' suggests the important role that musical ability had: 'Do not discover upon every slight occasion you can sing or play upon any Instrument of Musick; but if it be known to any particular friend in company [...] and he or she perswade you to sing [...] satisfie their desires, and therein you will express no part of ill breeding.'<sup>42</sup>

We know that keyboard instruments were thought suitable for young boys from paintings such as 'Garton Orme at the Spinet' (c. 1707) by Jonathan Richardson Senior (c. 1665-1745), and keyboard sources such as AY, D/DR 10/6a, probably copied by Robert King for Montagu Garrard Drake in c. 1703-6.<sup>43</sup> However, it seems likely that the instrument was often abandoned by males in adulthood (enthusiasts such as North excepted). Montagu Garrard Drake is a case in point. He probably ended keyboard lessons upon departing for St John's College, Oxford, in May 1706, and likely gave-up music for good thereafter—a catalogue of Drake's library, in the Brotherton Collection at the University of Leeds, shows he was a man of considerable learning and had wide literary tastes, yet it only lists one music book.<sup>44</sup>

Amateur men interested in performing music, particularly on keyboard instruments, were usually enthusiasts such as Roger North. Nevertheless, even North held some reservations. 'I never made musick a minion to hinder buissness; it was a diversion, which I ever left for profit, and layd it downe, and resum'd it, as time inlarg'd or straitned with me.'<sup>45</sup> His point was an old one. For example, in *The Booke Named the Governour* (1531), Thomas Elyot wrote, 'I would nat be thought to allure noble men to haue so moche delectation therin, that in playinge and singynge only, they shulde put their holle studie and felicitie.'<sup>46</sup> A similar stance was taken by many writers of conduct books throughout the seventeenth-century. Henry Peacham, writer and illustrator, thought that 'I might runne into an infinite Sea of praise and use of so excellent an Art, but I onely shew it you with the finger, because I desire not that any Noble or Gentleman should (save at his private

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<sup>42</sup> *The Gentlewomans Companion*, 84 and 74.

<sup>43</sup> The painting is kept at The Holburne Museum of Art, Bath. For AY, D/DR 10/6a, see Ch 3. Richard Leppert has argued that the sword by Orme's side counteracts the feminine allusions of the spinet (see *Music and Image* (Cambridge, 1988)).

<sup>44</sup> A copy of *Songs Set by Signior Peitro Reggio* (1680); 'A Catalogue of Mr. M: Gr Drake's/ Books [... worn, illegible]'/ '4<sup>th</sup>. Augt. 1730' (different hand), Lbc, MS Lt q 42.

<sup>45</sup> *Roger North*, ed. Wilson, 28.

<sup>46</sup> *The Booke Named the Governour*, facs. edn. (English Linguistics 1500-1800, no. 246, 1970), f. 23 (p. 27).

recreation and leasureable houres) proove a Master in the same, or neglect his more weighty employments.<sup>47</sup>

Often writers who tolerated the inclusion of music in the education of elites were influenced by Renaissance ideals emphasising the importance of a broad curriculum. They were often motivated by a desire to reform despotic rulers. Castiglione wrote ‘the Courtier will be able to lead his prince by the austere path of virtue [...] now with music, now with arms and horses, now with verses [...] to keep his mind continually occupied in worthy pleasures, yet always impressing upon him some virtuous habit along with these enticements.’<sup>48</sup> In England, a late flourishing of similar sentiments occurs in John Milton’s printed letter to the educationist Samuel Hartlib, *Of Education* (1644). It recommended a truly vast curriculum that included ‘the solemn and divine harmonies of music heard or learned’.<sup>49</sup>

Towards the end of the seventeenth century and later, music-making and other pursuits of lesser importance were seen in more negative terms. Many writers were probably influenced by the philosopher John Locke, who declared in *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), ‘I have, amongst Men of Parts and Business, so seldom heard any one commended, or esteemed, for having an Excellency in *Music*.’<sup>50</sup> Locke’s opinion prevailed overwhelmingly in the eighteenth century. Typical writers refer to the problem of time required to study music properly, its detracting from more worthy pursuits and study, the problem of becoming associated with practising music as a profession, the associations of music with disreputable places and persons (*e. g.* taverns, theatres, and itinerant musicians), and an association with foreigners.<sup>51</sup>

These sentiments probably remained relatively unchanged from those of the previous two centuries. A new factor, however, was the social conservatism of the late seventeenth-century that ‘drained Puritanism [...] of its revolutionary fervour, leaving either a secular utilitarianism or an insipid pietism.’<sup>52</sup> The opposition to music was largely fostered by influential Whig writers such as Locke and Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, whereas Tory writers such as Pepys and North tended to value music because

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<sup>47</sup> *Peacham’s Compleat Gentleman 1634* (Clarendon Facsimile Edition: Oxford, 1906), 98.

<sup>48</sup> *The Book of the Courtier*, ed. D. Javitch (New York, 2002), 213.

<sup>49</sup> *Areopagitica and Of Education*, ed. M. Davis (London, 1963), 107.

<sup>50</sup> *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* [1693], eds. J. W. and J. S. Yolton (Oxford, 1989), 83.

<sup>51</sup> See, for example, [Samuel Richardson], *Letters Written To and For Particular Friends, On the most Important Occasions*, 4th edn. (London, 1750), 91-2.

<sup>52</sup> C. Hill, *The Century of Revolution, 1603-1714* (London, 1961, rpt., 2002), 300.

of its importance to the Church of England.<sup>53</sup> Shaftesbury's 'commitment to [...] civic virtue shaped all of his concerns', and he thought the role of artists and their patrons should be strictly separated. In *Characteristicks of Men, Manner, Opinions, Times* (1711), which according to Ayres, 'was immensely influential on eighteenth-century British taste and manners, literature and thought', he wrote that the musician was nothing if not approved of by refined audiences, and that audiences should 'content themselves with the *Contemplation* merely of these enchanting Arts'. 'For to all Musick there must be an Ear proportionable [...] The just Performers therefore in each Art, wou'd naturally be the most desirous of improving and refining the publick Ear; which they cou'd no way so well effect as by the help of those latter *Genius's*, who were in a manner their *Interpreters* to the People.'<sup>54</sup>

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The keyboard was sometimes learnt in conjunction with composition and theory. Roger North's experiences as music student suggest this. His principal instruments were the treble and bass viol, and later the harpsichord and organ. '[My] continuall use of this [bass viol], together with a solitary practice, which my brother allow'd me even in company [...] made an entertainment to us all, and me a compleat, ready, and dextrous thro-base man [...] in so much that it encouraged me to finger the harpsicord and organ whereby notwithstanding I am (from age) incapable of hand, I can yet touch a ready thro-base of plain notes, true full and classick harmony to voices or consort.'<sup>55</sup> North commended the study of composition, as though 'it may not seem so essential to the playing well, on a single [i. e. monophonic] instrument [...] I found otherwise, and that in any part I undertook, I was very much assisted by knowledge of and acquaintance with the air [i. e. harmony]'. He also perceived his knowledge of harmony and music theory as a gentlemanly accomplishment. 'For wee had the philosophy as the practise of it among us, and used to dispute, as of other ingenious subjects, very earnestly on the Reason of Harmony.'<sup>56</sup>

Self-instruction was probably an important way to maintain musical skills at university and the Inns of Court, which avoided any social stigma that might be attached to learning

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<sup>53</sup> See W. Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: a Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford, 1992), esp. 24-5.

<sup>54</sup> *Characteristicks of Men, Manner, Opinions, Times* [1711], ed. P. Ayres, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1999), vii, 26, 126-7.

<sup>55</sup> *Roger North*, ed. Wilson, 27.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 24, 30.

regularly with a Master.<sup>57</sup> The law student Dudley Ryder, whilst at the Middle Temple (1715-16), received viol lessons and paid his teacher ‘a guinea for a months lessons, which has been I believe a year in completing.’<sup>58</sup> Otherwise he relied upon regularly playing with associates, improvising and playing through lessons privately, and Christopher Simpson’s *The Division Viol*, originally published in 1659. ‘Read some of the book in which the grounds of the bass viol is taught and the method of playing divisions and composing. I am mightily pleased with it and hope by its assistance to be able to understand music and the art of composing.’<sup>59</sup>

The instruction material in printed music books of the seventeenth-century often seem to be quite rudimentary, and is usually concerned primarily with examples rather than technical matters. *The Division Viol* is a case in point, which contains a series of increasingly difficult extended grounds.<sup>60</sup> Matthew Locke’s *Melothesia* (1673), may be seen in a similar light. Locke clearly thought the brief instructions entirely sufficient and encouraged the diligent study of examples as an important means of gaining skill. ‘By these Directions, the Ingenious Practical Student, who has a through knowledge of the *Scale of Musick*, and Hands fitly prepar’d for the Instrument he aims at, may in short time attain to his desired end of accompanying either Voyces or Instruments [...] I have here annexed [...] an Example or two by way of Transition, or passing from one *Key* to another; which being truly understood and applyed, will (in my Opinion) acquaint him with *all that’s Teachable*, as to matter of *Ayr*, the rest intirely depending on his own Ingenuity, Observation, and Study.’<sup>61</sup>

Both male and female children learnt music and the keyboard at public schools and important musicians often taught or became associated with the schools. A well-known example is Henry Purcell, whose *Dido and Aeneas* was performed, according to a printed libretto, ‘at Mr. Josias Priest’s Boarding-School at Chelsey. By Young Gentlewomen’ in 1689, although it is not known whether he taught there.<sup>62</sup> An impression of the musical

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<sup>57</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, 68.

<sup>58</sup> *The Diary of Dudley Ryder 1715-1716*, ed. W. Matthews (London, 1939), 223.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 226.

<sup>60</sup> *The Division-Viol: Or, The Art of Playing Ex Tempore Upon a Ground*, facs. edn., ed. N. Dolmetsch (New York, 1955).

<sup>61</sup> p. 9.

<sup>62</sup> *Dido and Aeneas* was probably composed for an earlier court performance; see B. Wood and A. Pinnock, “Unscarr’d by turning times”?: The Dating of Purcell’s *Dido and Aeneas*, *EM*, 20 (1992), 372-90. For Priest, see J. Thorpe, ‘Dance in Late 17th-Century London: Priestly Muddles’, *EM*, 26 (1998), 198-219, and R. Shay and R. Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 2000), 6.

education provided at the Hackney boarding school is given in John Batchiler's *The Virgin's Pattern, In The Exemplary Life, and lamented Death Of Mrs. Susanna Perwich* (London, 1661), a memorial to one of its former pupils who had died prematurely. Susanna Perwich seems to have been an exceptional musician, 'at *fourteen* years and a half old, She was able to *play in Consort*, at *first* sight upon the *treble Viol*. 'Her chief delight was in *divisions* upon grounds', and 'As her *accomplishments* at the *Viol* were *superlatively* great, so at the *Lute* also'. In addition, Albertus Bryne, Perwich's keyboard teacher, succeeded 'in making her as *rare* at the *Harpsecord*, as She was at any of her *other* sorts of Musick.' The memorial shows that the school employed several music masters at any one time, and in addition to Bryne it names several important musicians of the period— 'Thomas Flood' (viol), William Gregory (viol), Stephen Bing (viol), 'Mr. *Ashberry*' (lute), John Rogers (lute) and Edward Coleman (voice).

Interestingly, Batchiler was at pains 'to *refute* the opinion of such as greatly *blame* the education of *publick Schools* [...] Behold here a great *instance* to the *contrary*, besides many others that might be named of the very *same School*, there having been alwayes some as *virtuous* and *religious* young Gentlewomen brought up *there*, as in any *private Family* whatsoever.'<sup>63</sup> One of his opponents was probably Richard Flecknoe who satirised a 'School for young Gentlewomen', 'where to save charges [...] they have the worst Masters can be got, for *love* or *money*; learning to quaver instead of *singing*, *hop* instead of *dancing*, and rake the *Ghitar*, rumble the *Virginals*, and scratch and thrumb the *Lute*, instead of playing neatly and handsomely'.<sup>64</sup> Concern for the quality and 'character' of masters probably meant that private tuition was favoured. North, for instance, preferred parents to select an older master; 'the ancients men who have families of their owne are safe and will be prudent.'<sup>65</sup> A private master would also have been a symbol of wealth. Fashionable masters were probably able to charge considerable sums, and some of the wealthiest professional keyboard players of the early eighteenth century were renowned teachers. For example, John Locillet, whose legacy amounted to at least £1700, according to David Lasocki.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> *The Virgin's Pattern*, epistle. See P. Scholes, *The Puritans and Music* (Oxford, 1934, rpt., 1969), 160-2.

<sup>64</sup> *Enigmaticall Characters* (n. p., 1658), 44.

<sup>65</sup> *Roger North*, ed. Wilson, 17.

<sup>66</sup> 'Professional Recorder Players in England, 1540-1740', Ph. D. diss. (University of Iowa, 1983), 882.

Domestic musical establishments belonging to the wealthy were rare in the seventeenth century, although musicians were sometimes closely associated with particular patrons.<sup>67</sup> William Hutchinson, for instance, had an unusually close relationship with his patron, Daniel Fleming. He received gifts such as ‘2 pair of Branton gloves’ (13th February 1679), ‘a new suit’ on 29th July 1684, and on several occasions, drinks apparently with a local fisherman (20th March, 1682, *passim*).<sup>68</sup> Occasionally musical servants were also employed to undertake non-musical tasks. For example, ‘Captain’ François de Prendcourt (1640s-1725), who was briefly Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal under James II, acted as an agent for his patron Thomas Coke of Melborne Hall, Derbyshire.<sup>69</sup> Roger North vividly described Prendcourt, a keyboard player of German origin who visited the North residence at Rougham Hall probably in 1708/9, as ‘a pretender to all things, especially in the way of mechanick trades, as instrument maker, cook, gardiner and what not?’<sup>70</sup>

Most musicians, however, are unlikely to have extended their duties. Account books, for instance, reveal they were usually paid for teaching, performing, and music copying. An interesting set of payments to musicians occur in the little-known account books of John Hervey, first Earl of Bristol.<sup>71</sup>

18/5/1689: ‘Gave Mr. Finger for his sonnatas, £ 1..1..6.’

9/9/1689: ‘To ye Basson Hautboy for a sett of tunes, £ 0..10..0.’

28/5/1702: ‘Paid Mr. Ralph Courtivill in full for teaching my daughter Bell, £ 7..10..6.’

2/7/1709: ‘Paid Dieupart for teaching Bell & Betty on ye harps[i]cord last winter, £ 25..1..6.’

6/12/1711: ‘Paid Mr. Dieupart for teaching Bell & Betty to sing and play, £ 10..15..0.’

25/5/1713: ‘Paid Francis Dieupart in full for teaching Betty on ye harps[i]cord, £21.’

25/1/1716: ‘Paid Mr. Dieupart in full for teaching my daughter Betty on ye harpsycord, £ 15..11..9.’

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<sup>67</sup> W. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton, 1953), 61-2; L. Hulse, ‘The Musical Patronage of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury (1563-1612)’, *JRMA*, 116 (1991), 24-40.

<sup>68</sup> *The Flemings in Oxford*, ed. J. R. Magrath, i, 455-482, and ii, Appendix M.

<sup>69</sup> See M. Tilmouth, ‘York Minster Ms. M.16(s) and Captain Prendcourt’, *ML*, 54 (July, 1973), 302-307, esp. 305-6, and E. Corp, ‘Further Light on the Career of François de Prendcourt’, *ML*, 78 (1997), 15-23. Another example is the composer and organist George Jeffreys (c. 1610-1685), steward to Sir Christopher Hatton (see J. Wainwright, ‘Jeffreys, George’, *ODNB*).

<sup>70</sup> Roger North, ed. Wilson, 56; Roger North’s ‘Of Sounds’ and Prendcourt Tracts c. 1710-c. 1716, ed. M. Chan, J. C. Kassler and J. D. Hine (North Papers 6, Kensington, 2000), 66.

<sup>71</sup> *The Diary of John Hervey*, 98-158. I am grateful to Bryan White drawing my attention to this source. For Hervey, see P. Carter, ‘Hervey, John’, *ODNB*.

5/6/1721: 'Gave ye two Castruchis & Wieber ye lutenist, to each 2 guineas, for playing to Bononcini & Senezini & Mrs. Robinson, when Crispo was performed at my house, £ 6..6..0.<sup>72</sup>  
 31/3/1733: 'Paid John Barrett in full for mending & stringing my Cremona violin, £ 0..12..0.'  
 11/4/1734: 'Paid B. Schudi for tuneing the harpsichord, £ 0..17..6.' (likewise 10/5/1735)  
 10/5/1734: 'Paid Jos: Kelway in full for teaching my daughter Ann 8 months on the Harpsicord, & for entrance mony 1 guinea, in all 9 guineas.'

John Hervey (1665-1751) was a recorder and violin player and the first two payments were probably for copies of music for himself. Conceivably Finger's 'sonnatas' were copies of Gottfried Finger's *Sonate XII pro Diversis Instrumentis* (1688), or pre-publication copies of *VI Sonatas or Solo's* (1690).<sup>73</sup> He maintained his playing skills well into adulthood, as shown from a letter he wrote to his wife (15th July 1719), 'being this moment come from Haustead, where I carryed my flute & fiddle to compare notes with honest innocent Sir Dudly Cullum'.<sup>74</sup> The 'John Barrett' who mended and restrung his 'Cremona violin' in 1733 was probably the London violin maker of that name.<sup>75</sup>

Raphael Courteville (d. c. 1735) and Charles or François Dieupart (?after 1667-c. 1740) were probably fashionable harpsichord teachers of the early eighteenth century.<sup>76</sup> Courteville's keyboard music appears in several manuscripts apparently signed by their female owners, and according to Hawkins, Dieupart was a harpsichord teacher to members of 'some of the best families in the kingdom'.<sup>77</sup> It is not surprising to find that Dieupart was paid to teach Hervey's daughters 'to sing and play' despite the fact that he is not known to have been a singer. Keyboard players probably regularly taught their pupils singing, and especially how to accompany. North wrote that 'the ambition of skill in musick being wide spread among the Beau's and Beauesses in an about towne, they have all affected to learne upon the harpsichord; and not formerly altogether lessons (which for a lady upon

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<sup>72</sup> Bononcini's *Crispo* was later performed at the King's Theatre on 10th January 1722. Crispo was portrayed by Senesino, whilst Anastasia Robinson played Fausta. 'Ye two Castruchis' refers to the violinists Pietro and Prospero Castrucci, who performed the work at the Royal Academy of Music in 1721-2. See L. Lindgren, 'Crispo', *GMO*, and O. Edwards and S. McVeigh, 'Castrucci, Pietro', *GMO*.

<sup>73</sup> See P. Holman, 'Finger, Gottfried', *GMO*.

<sup>74</sup> *Letter-Books of John Hervey, First Earl of Bristol*, 2 vols., ed. 'S. H. A. H.' (Wells, 1894), ii, 83.

<sup>75</sup> See B. W. Harvey, *The Violin Family and its Makers in the British Isles* (Oxford, 1995), esp. 106.

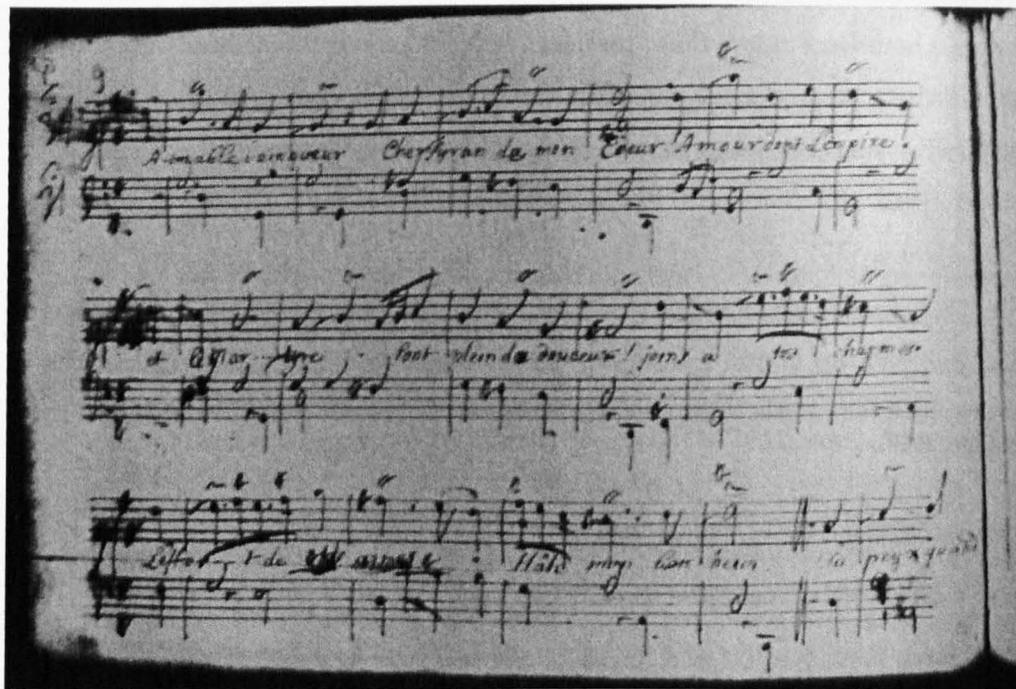
<sup>76</sup> I Spink, 'Courteville, Raphael', *GMO*; D. Fuller and P. Holman, 'Dieupart, Charles', *GMO*.

<sup>77</sup> Lbl, Add. MS 52363 (signed 'Elizabeth Batt 1704') and Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 397 (signed by a later owner 'Miss Millane begun/ August ye 10<sup>th</sup> 1747'; unattributed suite in C minor by Courteville on pp. 11-17, the almand of which is attributed in CDp, M. C. 39j, ff. 39-38v (rev.)); Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* [1776], 2 vols. (London, 1875, rpt., Graz, 1969), 822.

that instrument is wonderfully *bien-seant* [*i. e.* 'becoming']), but more pretending to accompany voices and instruments, which they call thro-base'.<sup>78</sup>

Many keyboard manuscripts intended for female amateurs contain vocal music, either with fully realised keyboard parts or with figured bass. The fully realised parts usually consist of the vocal line (often with keyboard ornamentation signs) and a simple accompaniment in two parts for the left hand. This music was probably performed by women accompanying themselves; North had a preference for women to accompany themselves on the harpsichord instead of the lute (see above quotation). A typical texted keyboard arrangement of a song occurs in Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 397, which contains keyboard music at one end and solo vocal music at the other. The manuscript is signed on the flyleaf 'Miss Millane begun/ August ye 10<sup>th</sup> 1747', but all other evidence, notably the contents and the style of the musical writing, point to the first decade of the eighteenth century as a likely copying date. Most of the vocal music has figured bass, but a few pieces were copied with a written-out accompaniment part, as was an incomplete copy of the song *Aimable Vainquer*.<sup>79</sup> Other English keyboard manuscripts dating from the first decade of the eighteenth century containing texted song settings are CAMhogwood, M1090 and LAuc, M 678 M4 H295 1710.

### 1. 1. Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 397, p. 83 (rev.): ('Aimable vainqueur') (incomplete)



<sup>78</sup> Roger North, ed. Wilson, 248.

<sup>79</sup> Originally a dance song from Campra's opera *Hésione* (1700). Other keyboard settings are in *The Second Book of the Ladys Banquet* (1706), p. 4, and Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 426, ff. 17e-18a.

John Hervey paid Courteville and Dieupart lump sums for teaching over an extended period, which makes it difficult to tell what their fee was, and to determine the frequency and regularity of the lessons. More revealing are the childhood accounts of Montagu Garrard Drake (1692-1728) of Shardeloes, Buckinghamshire.<sup>80</sup> Montagu Garrard, like his equally short-lived father, Montagu Drake (1673-1698), maintained the family's political prominence in Buckinghamshire in the early eighteenth century as MP for Amersham, and for a brief period in the 1720s, as MP for the county.<sup>81</sup> His education initially took place at the family home at Shardeloes, near Amersham, and from the age of fourteen, at St John's College, Oxford.<sup>82</sup> The Drake family's tutor since the 1670s had been the poet Philip Ayres (1638-1712), who appears to have begun the boy's education around the age of eight in May 1700, when he was paid 'in full of his bill for books bought for my son'.<sup>83</sup>

Robert King (c. 1660-?1726), the London keyboard player and violinist, Montagu Garrard's spinet master ('Harpsichord' is referred to once), was paid for teaching between December 1703 and May 1706.<sup>84</sup> He began with an 'entrance' fee of £1. 1s. 6d., which presumably acted as a small compensation if lessons were to be discontinued early on. The 'entrance' fee was a common practice in the eighteenth century, and was also charged by public schools for individual subjects.<sup>85</sup> The size of the fee varied, but probably tended not to exceed much more than £1. The anonymous teacher who compiled Lfom, Coke MS 1576, for instance, charged 10 shillings followed by £11 for 44 weeks' worth of lessons in 1722.<sup>86</sup>

Drake's other teachers were two writing masters, 'Peter Ivers' and 'Gidson Royer' (who succeeded one another), two dancing masters 'Henry Hazard' and Anthony L'Abbé (1666/7- ?1753) (who succeeded one another), and a painting master 'John Hansard', whose level of payment all varied.<sup>87</sup> King was consistently paid £1. 10s for a month's

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<sup>80</sup> D/ DR 9/ 8. Partially quoted in *Shardeloes Papers of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, ed. G. Eland (London, 1947), 71-5.

<sup>81</sup> See E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley and D. W. Hayton, *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1690-1715* (Cambridge, 2002), 2 vols., I/ 917-8 (Montagu Drake); I/ 918 (Montagu Garrard); II/ 5 (Sir John Garrard).

<sup>82</sup> J. Foster (ed.), *Alumni Oxoniensis*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1891) i, 423 (MA obtained in 1709).

<sup>83</sup> For Ayres, see P. Davidson and I. W. McLellan, 'Ayres, Philip', *ODNB*.

<sup>84</sup> For King, see P. Holman, 'King, Robert', *GMO*; O. Baldwin and T. Wilson, 'King, Robert', *ODNB*.

<sup>85</sup> See N. Hans, *Education in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1951), 89-90, 199-200.

<sup>86</sup> Flyleaf accounts: 'Octor 14: 1722 Entrance----- 00 10: - / Sept ye: 9: 44 Weekes----- 11: 00: -'.

<sup>87</sup> L'Abbé is referred to once as 'Mr A: Labbe', although it is possible that he was L'Abbé's lesser-known brother whose first name is unknown; see J. Thorpe, 'L'Abbé, Anthony', *ODNB*.

tuition, a relatively small fee, although it may reflect the relative infrequency of his lessons; some of the other master's fees changed from month to month, presumably because they gave a different number of lessons over each period. Gidson (or Gideon) Royer, for instance, author of a mathematics textbook, was paid £1. 11s. 6d. on one occasion (14/1/1703/4), and £3.1s. 0d. (10/03/1702/3) on another, for two months tuition.<sup>88</sup> Compared with other keyboard teachers of the period King's fee was small. Henry Purcell received £2 per month for teaching the spinet to Lady Rhoda Cavendish (1691-3), and £2. 3s. 6d. per month, almost twice King's fee, for teaching a daughter of the Howard family in 1693.<sup>89</sup> Michael Burden suggests that Purcell taught Rhoda Cavendish on a weekly basis judging by the value of £2 in 1690 (£135.34 in today's money). Nevertheless, King's £1. 10s may reflect a different frequency of lessons, or that they were shorter given Drake was only eleven at the time the lessons began.

It is likely that King travelled to Amersham as no expenses for travel to London are listed in the account book (whereas the expenses for his move to Oxford in 1706 are given in some detail). The book also suggests that Ayres was resident in Amersham. For example, Ayres was paid 'charges [for] going down to Shardeloes & looking after ye woods' on 11th February 1701/2. King received seventeen payments altogether, and although there are some gaps, they cluster together; there are no payments for May 1704, August-December 1704, May-June 1705, August-November 1705, and March 1705/6. Conceivably these were periods when he was involved in the London theatres or promoting concerts and was unable to make the trip.<sup>90</sup> Other keyboard players involved in public concerts or the theatres in London appear to have travelled considerable distances to teach, for example, Francis Forcer (1649-1705), who was one of London's more prominent musicians by the 1680s.<sup>91</sup> Forcer copied keyboard music into two manuscripts formerly belonging to the Filmer family of East Sutton, Kent, NH, Filmer MSS 15 and 17, examined in Ch. 3. He also copied the keyboard manuscript Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 399, which may have belonged to daughters of the Nodes family of Shephall, Hertfordshire, which like Filmer MS 15 appears to date from the early 1680s. Filmer MS 17, although

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<sup>88</sup> *ARITHMETIC / COMPLEATED in all its / RULES / BOTH / Vulgar and Decimal* (London, 1721). On the title-page, Royer is described as 'Writer, Flourisher, and Embellisher to the late Kings CHARLES, JAMES, WILLIAM, and Queen ANNE, (for more than 30 Years) Teacher of ARITHMETICK for above 50 years'. A payment to him is recorded in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series. January 1st to December 31st, 1682*, ed. F. H. Blackburne (London, 1932), 270.

<sup>89</sup> M. Burden, "'He Had the Honour to be Your Master": Lady Rhoda Cavendish's Music Lessons with Henry Purcell', *ML*, 76 (1995), 532-39; Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell*, 227-9.

<sup>90</sup> See P. Holman, 'King, Robert'.

<sup>91</sup> P. Holman, 'Forcer, Francis', *GMO*.

possibly dating from about twenty years later, contains a keyboard piece copied by the Canterbury cathedral organist Daniel Henstridge, suggesting that the manuscripts were copied locally and not in London.

The images of traveling dancing- and music-masters were amusingly caricatured in Thomas Shadwell's *The Scourers* (1691):

*Priscilla.* Ay ay, and 'twere better for all the Gentlemen in *England* if their Wives had no other breeding, but you had Musick and Dancing.

*Eugenia.* Yes an ignorant, illiterate hopping Puppy, that rides his dancing Circuit thirty miles about, Lights off his tyred Steed, draws his Kit at a poor country creature, and gives her a Hich in her pace, that she shall never recover.

*Clara.* And for Musick an old hoarse singing man riding ten miles from his Cathedral to Quaver out the Glories of our Birth and State, or it may be a Scotch Song more hideous and barbarous than an Irish Cronan.

*Eng.* And another Musick-master from the next Town to teach one to twinkle out *Lilly burlero* upon an old pair of Virginals, that found worse than a Tinkers kettle that he crys his work upon [...]

### *The Keyboard and Professional Music Education*

The principal centre for educating musicians in England throughout the seventeenth century and during the early eighteenth century was the Chapel Royal. This education was undertaken by the Master of the Children, who, in addition, was also responsible for each boy's upkeep and provided him with a more general education. At the Restoration for instance, the Master, Henry Cooke was paid 'for the diet, washing and bathing of George Maxene, a supernumerary of his Majesty's special appointment' and for teaching the children 'the Lattin Tongue and for learning them to write'.<sup>92</sup> A receipt in Cooke's hand for the costs of clothing the boys also survives.<sup>93</sup> The Master also taught the children instruments, such as the violin and those suitable for continuo playing such as the lute, theorbo, harpsichord or organ and had them copy out music.<sup>94</sup> In addition to his duties as a tutor, the Master of the Children was required to travel to the cathedrals and large parish churches to obtain the best choristers; John Blow, who was recruited by Cooke in 1661, succeeded Pelham Humphrey as Master in 1674, and was paid the following year 'for his charges in going to Windsor, Oxford, Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester to fetch boys from those Quires.'<sup>95</sup>

<sup>92</sup> A. Ashbee (ed.), *RECM*, v, 42 (June, 1663), v, 118 (1662-5).

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.* v, 29 (15th June, 1661); Bodleian MS Autogr. c. 19, f. 150.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.* v, 135 (1667-72).

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 154.

In addition to the work of the Master of the Children, apprenticeships at court and the Chapel Royal were important for the training of musicians throughout the seventeenth century. For instance, in 1618, the harpist Philip Squire was ‘commissioned to teach Lewis Evans, a child of great dexterity in music, to play on the Irish harp and other instruments.’ Similarly, the wind player John Gamble secured his son John’s apprenticeship to a member of the twenty-four violins, ‘bound to Robt Strong for Eight yeares from ye 21st of August last [1676]’. The Master of the Children was also responsible for training musicians outside the Chapel Royal. For instance, Cooke was paid ‘for keeping and teaching two boys to be in his Majesty’s Private Musick for voices, at £24 for each of them’, and similar payments for this purpose were made to his successors, Pelham Humphrey and Blow.<sup>96</sup> The Master also seems to have received special payments for keeping particular choristers, usually for about three years. In 1684, for example, Blow was paid for the maintenance of the future Chapel Royal organist Francis Pigott, receiving the typical sum of £30 *per annum*. On occasions, other gentlemen of the Chapel Royal also took charge of children; in 1681, the bass singer James Hart was paid for keeping Edward Butler, for example.<sup>97</sup>

Upon leaving the Chapel Royal, most choristers received a payment of twenty or thirty pounds and liveries.<sup>98</sup> Keyboard players often became organists of provincial cathedrals, or obtained a post at a London parish church; rarely did they obtain a Chapel Royal or court posting immediately. Pigott, for instance, was probably a considerable player and succeeded Purcell as organist of the Chapel Royal in 1695, and was previously organist of Magdalen College, Oxford, and the Temple Church.<sup>99</sup>

Outside the court, provincial song schools attached to cathedrals and churches also trained musicians to maintain the standards of their music. Some, such as Locke at Exeter cathedral, went to pursue a career in London, though talented musicians such as Richard Ayleward of Norwich stayed to take the organist’s post (see Ch. 7). The song school at Norwich in the seventeenth century, for instance, educated and provided board for eight boys, who by that time were taught by the organist of the cathedral.<sup>100</sup> Schools were also not restricted to cathedrals; at Newark parish church, the grammar and song school founded in 1529 by Sir Thomas Magnus provided a similar education and was probably

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<sup>96</sup> Ashbee (ed.), *RECM*, iii, 56; viii, 78; v, 27 (January, 1660); i, 132 (Humphrey, 1674); i, 148 (Blow, 1675).

<sup>97</sup> Ashbee (ed.), *RECM*, v, 159.

<sup>98</sup> See warrants for payments to retired choristers dating 1685-1714 listed in Ashbee (ed.), *RECM*, ii, 1-119.

<sup>99</sup> P. Holman, ‘Piggot, Francis’, *GMO*; Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 312.

<sup>100</sup> See E. H. Carter. *The Norwich Subscription Books. A Study of the Subscription Books of the Diocese of Norwich 1637-1800* (London, 1937), 85.

where Blow received his early musical instruction. The deed of gift states the school employed two masters, one 'to teche Gramar, and the other [...] to teche playne Song, pryk Song, descant and to play at the Organs'. An entry in the corporation minutes also reveals that by 1595, 'five violone bookes with blacke covers' and 'five violins' belonged to the school.<sup>101</sup>

As the court became less important as a musical centre towards the end of the seventeenth century, an apprenticeship to a cathedral organist became a common way of training professional musicians. William Croft (1678-1727) and Jeremiah Clarke (c. 1674-1707) were the last group of important keyboard players to be trained in the Chapel Royal and later generations were taught elsewhere. For instance, choristers of St Paul's, London such as William Boyce (1711-79) and John Alcock (1715-1806) were apprenticed to Maurice Greene, organist of St Paul's, and John Stanley of St Andrews, Holborn respectively. An idea of the kind of musical education offered from eighteenth-century apprenticeships is given in the contract of R. J. S. Stevens (1757-1837) who was apprenticed by his father to the Master of the Choristers at St Paul's, William Savage (c. 1720-89) in 1768. As well as being provided board and lodging, over the usual seven year period, he was to be taught 'the Science of Musick in general and particularly in the several Arts and Methods of singing and playing or performing on the Harpsichord'.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Quoted in 'Dotted Crotchet' [F. G. Edwards], 'Newark-on-Trent and Dr. John Blow', *MT*, 50 (1909), 301-11 (306 and 308). The Identity of 'Dotted Crotchet' as Fredrick George Edwards (1853-1909), who was editor of *The Musical Times* from 1897, is revealed in an article by 'A. S. C.', 'Calcutta Cathedral and Its New Organ', *MT*, 56 (October, 1915), 600-3: 'Our beautiful English Cathedrals and their musical associations have been described in a series of articles in the pages of the *Musical Times* from the pen of the late Mr F. G. Edwards, better known perhaps under the pseudonym "Dotted Crotchet".' (600)

<sup>102</sup> See C. Cudworth. 'An 18th-century Musical Apprenticeship', *MT*, 108 (1967), 602, and *Recollections of R. J. S. Stevens. An Organist in Georgian London*, ed. M. Argent (London, 1992), esp. 4-7.

## Introduction to Sources

### *Paper and Watermarks*

Music paper in England in the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century was imported from the Netherlands or from France.<sup>1</sup> The density of ink required for copying music (such as that required for note-heads) meant that higher quality papers were preferred, otherwise bleeding of the ink from one side of a page to the other would occur. During the period *c.* 1660- *c.* 1688 suitable high-quality paper was manufactured in the Angoumois region of south-western France and imported from the Netherlands and northern France, but from the late 1680s onwards, paper mills in the Netherlands also began to manufacture paper considered suitable for music copying.<sup>2</sup>

The manufacture of hand-made paper involved beating rags into a pulp and placing the beaten pulp known as 'stuff' into a mould.<sup>3</sup> The mould consisted of laid wires fenced by a 'deckle' that kept the stuff within bounds and defined the size of the sheet. In the finished paper, the laid wires are observed as a series of fine lines known as 'laid lines'. These were supported by a wider-spaced series of ribs running perpendicular to the laid lines which are known as 'chain lines'. They are often about 2.5 cm apart and are more pronounced than the laid-lines. A wire device was usually mounted onto the centre of each half of the mould giving the paper its watermark and smaller countermark. The main mark was intended to tell the supplier the quality and size of the paper, whilst the countermark, usually some initials, told the supplier the merchant or 'factor' who sold the paper. Occasionally initials appear just below the main mark itself, which are described as appearing in the 'factor's position'. Paper from at least the early seventeenth century was made using two moulds simultaneously, and though essentially identical watermark devices

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<sup>1</sup> For discussions of English music paper, see R. Thompson, 'English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade, 1648-1688', Ph. D. diss. (King's College, University of London, 1988), i, 36-53; R. Shay and R. Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 2000), 8-20; R. Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', *EM*, 23 (1995), 605-618; D. Burrows and M. J. Ronish, *A Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs* (Oxford, 1994), xxiv-xxix.

<sup>2</sup> Thompson, 'English Music Manuscripts', i, 50-53.

<sup>3</sup> For paper-making see Thompson, 'English Music Manuscripts', i, 18-26; D. Hunter, *Papermaking. The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (New York, 1947, rpt. 1970), 157-163, 114-123.

were used in each of them, they inevitably differed slightly. As a result there are two variant forms of a watermark in any given hand-made paper.<sup>4</sup>

Robert Thompson has shown that the seventeenth century music printers and stationers John Playford and his son Henry Playford (who took over the business in 1686 or 1687) were the dominant suppliers of ruled paper to musicians in London during the late seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup> They sold paper that was imported from the Netherlands or France, as did John Walsh, principal English music printer of the early eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Thompson identifies five common types of watermark belonging to paper sold by merchants from the Netherlands, which are found in English music manuscripts of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.<sup>7</sup> These are the Dutch Lion, Arms of Amsterdam (a coat-of-arms with three crosses flanked by two lions), foolscap, Angoumois fleur-de-lys (a fleur-de-lys mounted on a crowned shield) and Arms of Strasbourg (a striped shield (bend) with fleur-de-lys). Only a few keyboard manuscripts of the period *c.* 1660- *c.* 1720 have other types of watermark, notably early on. For example, the ‘posthorn’ mark found in the manuscript Och, MS Mus. 1179, the earliest part of which probably dates from the 1660s. According to Thompson, the ‘posthorn’ is found in music paper made *c.* 1660 and some of later seventeenth century date.<sup>8</sup> An unusual mark for its date is the ‘grapes’ found in a manuscript that probably dates from the first decade of the eighteenth century containing pieces by Jeremiah Clarke and John Barrett, Lcm, MS 734. This mark is usually found in earlier manuscripts such as the keyboard manuscript Och, MS Mus. 1003, the earliest part of which may date from the 1640s.<sup>9</sup>

Useful when attempting to use watermark evidence for dating a manuscript are the countermarks as these reflect the paper-maker. The countermarks of some Angoumois makers have been identified such as Claude de George, whose mark ‘CDG’ is common in English sources.<sup>10</sup> De George died in 1683, and other important merchants such as ‘HC’ ceased activity in the 1680s. It is noticeable that the initials of several of these merchants

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<sup>4</sup> A. H. Stevenson, ‘Watermarks are twins’, *Studies in Bibliography*, 4 (1951-1952), 57-92.

<sup>5</sup> Thompson, ‘Manuscript Music’.

<sup>6</sup> Burrows and Ronish, *Catalogue*, xxiv-xxv.

<sup>7</sup> *Purcell Manuscripts*, 10-15.

<sup>8</sup> ‘English Music Manuscripts’, i, 88; A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright. *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music* (Aldershot, 2001), 296.

<sup>9</sup> Ashbee, Thompson and Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index*, 284; C. Bailey, *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources* (Warren, MI, 2003), 94.

<sup>10</sup> See Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 12-13.

appear in sources from the 1690s and early eighteenth century. For example, 'HC' appears in the factors position on one of the watermarks in Lbl, Eg. MS 2959, an important source of Blow and Croft, which is likely to date from after 1696 (see Ch. 6). Other examples are Lbl, Add. MS 31465 (after 1704), which has a 'CDG' countermark, and manuscripts partially copied by Henry Purcell in the 1690s, Lbl, MS Mus. 1, and the Gresham autograph song-book.<sup>11</sup> The reason for this is at present unclear; it might have been due to a backlog of music paper and books stationers were selling at this time.

For a list of watermark types and countermarks in most English keyboard manuscripts c. 1660- c. 1720, and scale drawings of a selection of them, see Appendix C.

### *Format and Binding*

Music paper prepared for sale by the stationer was cut to remove rough deckle edges, stave-ruled using a rastrum, and folded.<sup>12</sup> A sheet folded once is a 'folio' forming two leaves (bifolium), when folded two times it is a 'quarto' forming four leaves, when folded three times it is an 'octavo' forming eight leaves, and so on. The format can be determined by the position of the watermark in the paper and by the frequency of the watermarks.<sup>13</sup> The watermark and countermark, when the sheet is folded once (folio), will appear in the centre of each leaf. In a quarto, each mark appears bisected either at the top or bottom edge of the leaf or at the spine when the book is bound. It is referred to as an 'oblong quarto' when bisected at the top or bottom edge of the leaf, and is referred to as 'upright quarto' when it appears bisected at the spine. The longest edge of an 'oblong quarto' is then perpendicular to the spine, whereas the longest edge of an 'upright quarto' is parallel to the spine. Most English keyboard manuscripts of the period 1660-1720 are either oblong quarto or folio, although their sizes vary considerably depending on what the original size of the sheet was and how much the sheet was cropped before binding. For example, the size of folios range widely from 18.2 cm x 28.5 cm (Och, MS Mus. 1179) to 26.7cm x 40.6cm (Lbl, Add. MS 31403). There is also a sense that format related to the function of the manuscript. Oblong quarto books were often teaching manuscripts (see those discussed in Ch. 3).

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-17; M. Laurie and R. Thompson, *Henry Purcell. The Gresham Autograph* (London, 1995), v.

<sup>12</sup> Thompson, 'English Music Manuscripts', I, 77-78, 83.

<sup>13</sup> This method of determining format from the position of the watermark is also used by Bruce Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music of the Seventeenth Century* (Ann Arbor, 1979) and Julia Craig-McFeely. 'English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530-1630' (<http://www.ramesescats.co.uk/thesis/>) (Oxford, 2000).

The sale of bound books as well as loose leaves for copying music was an important part of the printer/ stationer's business.<sup>14</sup> The Playfords often advertised this part of their business in their printed collections. For instance, in *Musick's Hand-Maid 2* (1689), Henry Playford offered both 'All sorts of *Rul'd Paper*, and *Rul'd Books* of *MUSICK* of several sizes'. Most keyboard manuscripts were bound before copying, discernible because they usually have a regular gathering structure of four, six or eight leaves, and often have empty pages.<sup>15</sup> In addition to paper, stationers were responsible for bindings.<sup>16</sup> The most common materials used were sheep, goat and calf skin, and they varied in the amount of decoration depending on what the buyer was willing to pay; other materials such as vellum and parchment are rarer for keyboard manuscripts from the Restoration onwards.

Printer/ stationers are also likely to have bound their printed as well as manuscript books, as suggested when multiple copies of a work survive with the same binding design.<sup>17</sup> Leather bindings for printed keyboard books that appear to be contemporary in date survive in a number of instances, although a good number may have been sold unbound. For example, the British Library copy of Lord William Byron's *An Overture and Aires* ([1705]) is an unbound volume of nine bi-folios.<sup>18</sup> Particularly common bindings for printed books were marbled boards and paper, which were also provided by publishers. On the cover of the keyboard collection the *Ladys Banquet* (1704), John Walsh advertised the book's 'Price sticht 2 shillings', probably an indication that he offered simple paper or marbled board bindings. W. C. Smith pointed out that many of Walsh's prints were 'issued with paper wrappers, usually blue, sewn through with the leaves of the work'.<sup>19</sup> The apparently unique British Library copy of John Walsh's *Ladys Banquet 2* (1706), for instance, has a blue cover inside the modern binding signed 'Mary Wallis – Her Booke / 1706'.<sup>20</sup> Typical of the marbled board bindings, on the other hand, are those belonging to the printed volumes of keyboard music collected by Philip Falle (1656-1742), and bequeathed

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<sup>14</sup> Thompson, 'Manuscript Music', 607.

<sup>15</sup> R. Shay and R. Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 18.

<sup>16</sup> See S. Bennett, *Trade Bookbinding in the British Isles, 1660-1800* (London, 2004), 55-96; M. M. Foot, *A Collection of Bookbindings*, 2 vols. (vol. 2, 'Catalogue of North European Bindings') (London, 1983).

<sup>17</sup> See D. Hunter, 'The Printing of Opera and Song Books in England, 1703-1726', *Notes*, 46 (1989), 328-51, esp. 344-5.

<sup>18</sup> Pr. Bk. e. 5. kk. For Byron, see P. Holman, 'Byron, William Lord', *GMO*.

<sup>19</sup> *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the years 1695-1720* (Oxford, 1948), xxvii.

<sup>20</sup> Pr. Bk. c. 60. a.

to Durham Cathedral Library.<sup>21</sup> The same is true of the printed books collected by the Ferrar family in the eighteenth century.<sup>22</sup>

### *Printed Sources*

Two methods were used for printing music in the seventeenth century—engraving and type setting. Engraving was generally preferred for keyboard music given the relative complexity of the music on each staff, although there were admirable attempts to produce simpler keyboard music with moveable type such as the psalm settings at the end *Musick's Hand-Maid* (1663/1678) and the keyboard part to Tomkins' *Musica Deo Sacra* (1668).<sup>23</sup> In England, music engravers such as the Holes' in the early part of the century and Thomas Cross jnr. during the last quarter of the century were highly skilful and produced some beautiful books. However, the process was expensive and time consuming.<sup>24</sup>

The earliest two collections of keyboard music to be printed in England, *Parthenia* (c. 1612-13, 1615, 1646, 1651, 1655, 1659) and *Parthenia In-Violata* ([c. 1625]), the latter for keyboard and accompanying bass viol, were originally special productions that are likely to have been backed by wealthy patrons.<sup>25</sup> They were probably wedding presents for the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to Prince Fredrick of the Palatinate in 1613, and the marriage of Prince Charles and Henrietta Maria of France in 1624 respectively. The first collection that appears to have begun solely as a commercial enterprise was the Playfords' *Musick's Hand-Maid* series, editions of which appeared in 1663, 1678 and 1689.<sup>26</sup> Over the previous twelve years Playford had already published several vocal collections, *Musick's Recreation* (1652) (solo viol), *A Booke of New Lessons for the Cithern & Gittern* (1652), *A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1654), and *Court Ayres* (1655) (consort music). He had also

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<sup>21</sup> For the Falle bequest, see B. Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1986), xviii-xix, and R. A. Harman, *A Catalogue of the Printed Music and Books on Music in Durham Cathedral Library* (London, 1968), ix-x.

<sup>22</sup> See P. Holman, 'Continuity and Change in English Bass Viol Music: the Case of Fitzwilliam MU. MS 647', *VGSJ*, 1 (2007), 20-50.

<sup>23</sup> The 1678 edition *Musick's Hand-Maid* exists in at least two states; the type-set psalm settings only appear in the copy at the Newberry Library (Case VMT 252 P72/1) and not in the one at the British Library (Pr. Bk. k. 4. b. 10).

<sup>24</sup> See D. W. Krummel and S. Sadie, *Music Printing and Publishing* (London, 1990), 11-54.

<sup>25</sup> See O. E. Deutsch. 'Cecilia and Parthenia', *MT*, 100, 591-2; *Parthenia*, facs. edn., intro O. E. Deutsch (The Harrow Replicas no. 3, 1942); *Parthenia In-Violata*, facs. edn., intro T. Dart (New York, 1961).

<sup>26</sup> See *Musick's Hand-maide* and *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-Maid*, 2nd. edn, ed. T. Dart (SBEKM 28/10, 1969).

issued an engraved collection, William Child's *Choyse Musick to the Psalmes of David* (1656). Playford advertised the 1663 keyboard collection as early as 1659 among 'Musick Books shortly to come forth' in the song collection *Select Ayres and Dialogues*.<sup>27</sup> The modest preface, addressed 'To all Lovers of Musick', suggests Playford was probably aware of the new keyboard collection's novelty. 'And if these my first Endeavours of this kind prove useful and acceptable to any, it will encourage me hereafter to publish a second of this kind.'

The 1663 edition contains mostly simple settings of dance music and popular tunes, and the contents resembles manuscripts that probably date from the previous decade such as the William Ellis manuscript, Och, MS Mus. 1236.<sup>28</sup> The slightly old-fashioned appearance is also emphasised by the inclusion of pieces attributable to La Barre (fl. 1650s), Tresure (fl. 1650s-60s), Benjamin Sandley (fl. 1640s-60s) and William Lawes, rather than pieces by composers such as John Roberts (fl. 1650s-60s) and Albertus Bryne (c. 1621-1668), who probably wrote most of their music after the Restoration.<sup>29</sup>

The 1663 edition is as well organised as any Restoration keyboard source and may have been the work of a single compiler; it begins with a prelude in G major or 'Gamut' (based on a piece by Bull), followed by a further fifteen pieces in that key, and, ascending by a fifth, twelve pieces in D major followed by three in A minor/C major. The music is also stylistically consistent throughout, although admittedly the simplicity of the pieces do not distinguish them greatly. Playford does not say who the compiler of the collection was, but it is tempting to suggest that it was a professional keyboard player; the sequel to the 1663/1678 edition, *Musick's Hand-Maid 2* (1689), was overseen by Henry Purcell, according to Henry Playford's preface (see below). There are attributions to only five composers, four of whom could have been involved in assembling the collection— Sandley, Benjamin Rogers, Matthew Locke and John Moss (the fifth is Lawes, who died in 1645). All four known to have been keyboard players. However, the pieces by the first three could well be settings of their consort pieces by another keyboard player as the strong idiomatic features of their music in other sources is lacking in these pieces. Compare, for example, the difference in style between the jig attributed to Moss (no. 57) and his fine F major suite in *Melothesia* (1673) (pp. 62-7).<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> See facsimile in Thompson. 'Manuscript Music', 612.

<sup>28</sup> For contents, see B. Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, ii, 123-32; V. Brookes, *British Keyboard Music to c. 1660* (Oxford, 1996), 98-100.

<sup>29</sup> See Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, ii, 251-8; Brookes, *British Keyboard Sources*, 122-4.

<sup>30</sup> *Matthew Locke. Melothesia*, ed. C. Hogwood (London, 1987), 54-7.

Little is known about Sandley. Thurston Dart suggested that among the attributed composers, he is the most likely to have had a role in assembling the collection.<sup>31</sup> Sandley seems to have been active during the Commonwealth or early Restoration, to judge from the style of his keyboard pieces, and was probably the composer of a three-part motet attributed to 'Mr Sanby' that appears in a set of part books that probably dates from the 1640s.<sup>32</sup> Wood colourfully described him as 'a little maggot-headed fellow, a teacher of the virginals in London', and that he 'died after the restoration of King Charles II'.<sup>33</sup> The keyboard suite attributed to him in *Musick's Hand-maid* (nos. 3-6) also appears in the Gresse manuscript, Nl-Uu, MS q-1 (f. 18), associated with the Amsterdam musician Jan Berant Gresse,<sup>34</sup> probably an indication that the suite consists of English or Continental tunes set independently by Sandley and the Gresse scribe. The only other genuine source of Sandley's keyboard music besides *Musick's Hand-maid* (1663/1678) is the manuscript addition to a copy of the 1678 edition of *Musick's Hand-maid*, US-Cn, Case VMT 252 P72/1, which includes an 'Almaine' attributed to 'Mr Ben Sandley'; the addition was possibly copied by a scribe working for the printer, further highlighting Sandley's association with John Playford (see Ch. 5).<sup>35</sup>

In the 1678 edition, Playford emphasised the pedagogical aims of the *Musick's Hand-Maid* series by including basic instructions in reading music and keyboard notation, some of which was taken from *A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick*. He wrote in the preface:

Many of those that bought of the former Impression of *Musicks Hand-maid*, were not well satisfied, (especially such who dwelt in the Country remote from an able Master) because she brought not with her some Rules and Directions for playing those Lessons contained therein [...] For the satisfaction of the aforesaid persons, and likewise for the ease of such Teachers, who account it too much pains to write down all that is necessary for their Scholars, I have in this new Edition adventured to publish the following *Instructions* ['on the *Virginal* or *Harpsichord* to Play by Book'].

The instructions are rudimentary, but this probably reflects the importance given at the time to learning from examples rather than detailed theoretical or technical instruction. The new edition contains only an extra 22 'lessons' in addition to those that appeared in

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<sup>31</sup> *Musick's Hand-Maid*, ed. Dart, Notes.

<sup>32</sup> Lcm, MS 2039; see J. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England* (Aldershot, 1997), 183-4.

<sup>33</sup> J. D. Shute, 'Anthony a Wood and his Manuscript Wood D 19(4) at the Bodleian Library, Oxford: an Annotated Transcription', Ph. D. diss. (Institute for Advanced Studies, Clayton, 1979), 262.

<sup>34</sup> See R. Rasch, 'Gresse, Jan Berant', *GMO*, and A. Curtis (ed.), *Nederlandse Klaviermuziek uit de 16e en 17e eeuw* (MMN 3, 1961), xix-xxiii.

<sup>35</sup> Another version of the piece is attributed to John Blow; see *John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. R. Klakowich (MB 73, 1998), no. 1.

1663. However, they are stylistically similar to the pieces of the earlier edition and are not out of place. They are mostly attributed to Locke and Bryne and were old-fashioned by the late 1670s. These composers' pieces are again not as idiomatic as their their pieces in other sources and a few have been identified as settings of consort dances.<sup>36</sup> The other prevalent type of piece are again settings of popular tunes that were more up-to-date such as *Digby's Farewell* and *Holles's Farewell*, memorials for the Royalist politician George Digby (1612-1677) and the Royalist antiquary Gervase Holles (1607-75), reflecting Playford's Royalist politics.<sup>37</sup>

Matthew Locke's *Melothesia* (1673), ostensibly a treatise on continuo playing, contains 68 keyboard pieces. The title-page states the volume was the 'FIRST PART', although a second part never seems to have appeared. Locke intended the second volume to complete his pedagogical plan: 'If this Publication prove acceptable, (it being the first of its kind yet produc'd) 'twill be an encouragement for presenting a SECOND PART, wherein I intend to Collect something of every kind of *Musick*, both Vocal and Instrumental, now in use of the best Authors, and withall, a *brief Discourse* with Examples on the subject of *Musick in Parts, by Fuge and Canon.*' Conceivably, the 'second part' took the form of Locke's later publications, *The English Opera: or, the Vocal Musick in Psyche* (1675), which contains both instrumental and vocal music, as well as 'A Canon 4 in 2' (p. 75), and *Tripla Concordia* (1677), which was a multi-author collection, although neither contain 'a *brief Discourse* with Examples'.

The organisation and contents of *Melothesia* markedly differs from the *Musick's Hand-maid* series and Locke may have assembled it from several composers' manuscripts. Indeed, the collection is distinguished by some fine idiomatic pieces, many organised into suites. The suites are by several important keyboard players of the previous decade, notably by Locke himself, John Roberts, John Moss and Gehard Diesineer. There are many more composer attributions in the collection than there are in the *Musick's Hand-Maid* series, many simply giving the composer's initials, which may be an indication that the pieces were taken from individual composers' manuscripts. As such, it is a valuable collection, and probably represents up-to-date keyboard styles of the early Restoration better than any other source.

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<sup>36</sup> See Locke's pieces in *Melothesia*, ed. Hogwood, and Bryne's pieces in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. d. 219: *Late Seventeenth Century English Keyboard Music: Bodleian Library Ms.Mus. Sch. D.219, Oxford Christ Church, Mus.Ms. 1177*, ed. C. Bailey (RRMBE 81, 1997) and *Albertus Bryne. Keyboard Music for Harpsichord and Organ*, ed. T. Charlston with H. Windram (Oslo, 2008).

<sup>37</sup> See R. Hutton, 'Digby, George', *ODNB*; P. R. Seddon, 'Holles, Gervase', *ODNB*. For a recent discussion of Playford's Royalist politics in relation to his collections for lute and viola da gamba, see J. Cunningham, 'Music for the Privy Chamber: Studies in the Consort Music of William Lawes (1602-45)', Ph. D. diss., 2 vols., (University of Leeds, 2007), i, 123-25.

*The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid* (*Musick's Hand-Maid 2*), first published by Henry Playford in 1689, is a similar type of collection to the previous two editions in the series. Many of the pieces are settings of popular tunes and theatre airs, which Playford also published in the sixth edition of the violin tune book, *Apollo's Banquet*, the following year.<sup>38</sup> In 1705, John Walsh reprinted the collection as *A Choice Collection of Lessons, being excellently sett to the Harpsichord or Spinnet, by the two great masters Dr. John Blow, and the late Mr. Henry Purcell* and Playford's preface to his edition also indicates these composers' involvement.<sup>39</sup>

Having already published the First Part of *Musick's Handmaid* [...] Which book for its great Usefulness, having recommended it self to the World, I was encouraged and solicited by the Lovers of *Musick* to proceed in making this Collection [...] I have accordingly with much Care completed this *Second Part*; consisting of the Newest Tunes and Grounds, Composed by our ablest Masters, Dr. *John Blow*, Mr. *Henry Purcell*, &c. the Impression being carefully Revised and Corrected by the said Mr. *Henry Purcell*.

By 'composing', Playford probably meant that Blow and Purcell wrote the popular tune and theatre air settings and that they assembled the collection. Most attributions in the collection are to Blow and Purcell, with the exception of a small number of pieces attributed to the London keyboard players Moses Snow and William Turner. Several of the anonymous pieces that can be attributed to other composers from other sources are also connected to Blow and Purcell, such as a chaconne probably by a member of the Verdier family, also found in a principal manuscript source of Blow's harpsichord music (Bc, MS XY 15139), and two pieces by Francis Forcer, who may have written an A minor jig that survives in Purcell's hand (Lbl, MS Mus. 1, f. 10/ f. 34v).<sup>40</sup>

Settings of popular tunes and other composers' tunes are common in composer manuscripts (see Ch. 3) and Playford does not make the distinction between an 'arranged' tune and an 'original' harpsichord piece. For example, the C major 'Riggadoon' attributed to 'H: Purcell', which is likely to be a setting of a continental tune. Like many pieces attributed to Purcell in the collection, it is anonymous in other English sources such as the eighth edition of the *Dancing Master* (1690), where it is called 'A new Rigaudon'.<sup>41</sup> It circulated in several seventeenth and eighteenth century French sources, and in one is attributed to 'Sr. Fauier', possibly the French dancing master Jean Favier (1648-?1719).<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> For many of these, see *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-Maid*, ed. Dart.

<sup>39</sup> See Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh*, 145.

<sup>40</sup> See *John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. Klakowich, no. 81; Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 277-9.

<sup>41</sup> See J. Barlow, (ed.), *The Complete Country Dance Tunes from Playford's Dancing Master* (London, 1985), no. 312.

<sup>42</sup> See B. Gustafson and D. Fuller, *A Catalogue of French Harpsichord Music, 1699-1780* (Oxford, 1990), 389.

Indeed it is probable that with the exception of the ‘Suit of Lessons’ at the end of the collection, all the pieces that can be attributed to Purcell in *Musick’s Hand-Maid 2* were existing tunes (see Ch. 8).

Commercially viable engraved music printing in the seventeenth century seems to have brought about a new type of keyboard collection—single-composer collections. This was a considerable novelty as manuscripts containing the work of a single composer are almost unknown; an exceptional example is ‘My Ladye Nevells Booke’ (1591), recently acquired by the British Library, containing 42 keyboard pieces by William Byrd.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, single-composer collections were common abroad. For example, in France, collections of suites by Chambonnières (2 vols., 1670), Lebègue (1677 and 1687), Jacquet de La Guerre (1687), and D’Anglebert (1689) appeared before Henry Purcell’s 1696 collection (see below). The idea of printing a collection devoted to a single composer was probably motivated by the commercial considerations of publishers and by musicians wishing to advertise their services. Most single-composer collections of instrumental music from seventeenth and early eighteenth century England contain a dedication to patron, and the patron probably was expected to pay the costs of the printing in many instances.<sup>44</sup>

The earliest English single-composer keyboard collection, Gerhard Diesineer’s *Kitharapaedia* (1684), was advertised as a ‘Book of Lessons for the Harpsicords, Engraven on Copper Plates, containing great variety of several Humors, as Preludes, Allemands, Curanto’s, Sarabands, Jiggs and Airs’, but no copy is known.<sup>45</sup> In 1684, there were few specialist music engravers in England and that may have been a difficulty; Thomas Cross jnr. (b. ?1660-5, d. ?1732-5) appears to have been one of the first and his earliest known musical work was Henry Purcell’s *Sonnata’s of III Parts* (1683).<sup>46</sup> Some eighteenth century keyboard collections were apparently engraved by Cross, or possibly by a son of the same name, given that the style of engraving is clearly different from the earlier works. Three finely engraved early eighteenth century collections are attributable to the Cross workshop: William Richardson’s *Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet* (1708), signed ‘T. Cross Junr. sculpt’,

<sup>43</sup> For new light on the identity of Lady Nevell, see J. Harley, ‘“My Ladye Nevell” Revealed’, *ML*, 86 (2005), 1-15.

<sup>44</sup> A known example is Dowland’s *Lacrimae* (1604); see P. Holman, ‘Dowland, John’, *GMO*.

<sup>45</sup> M. Tilmouth. ‘A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)’, *RLARC*, 1 (1961) (whole issue): *London Gazette*, 27th November 1684. For Diesineer see P. Holman. ‘Diesineer, Gerhard’, *GMO*.

<sup>46</sup> An interesting calligraphy book entitled *Scriptoria Danielis OR A Writing Booke contayning sundry Examples of the most excellent and curious way of Writing* (London, 1681), appears to contain some earlier examples. The title-page is signed ‘Tho: Cross Jnr / sculpsit / 1681’ and the book contains three pages attributed to Cross, two of lower- and upper-case letters presented alphabetically, and a page containing a religious poem in an italic hand. They are signed ‘Tho: Cross Junior, Scupsit..1680’ and ‘Tho: Cross: Jun: sculp’.

Philip Hart's *Fugues for the Organ or Harpsichord with Lessons for the Harpsichord* (1704), signed 'Cross sculpt', and Abiell Whichello's *Lessons for the Harpsichord, or Spinnet* ([1707]), all but the first piece of which was engraved by the engraver of Richardson's collection.

The earliest surviving English single-composer collection, Henry Purcell's posthumous *A Choice Collection* (1696/1699), is unusual in that it appeared posthumously; it was the first of a number of memorial publications of the composer's music that Henry Playford published between 1696 and 1706.<sup>47</sup> The main part of the collection contains 29 pieces organised into eight suites (although the term 'suite' is not used) and it thus imitates similar French and north German keyboard publications of the late seventeenth century where pieces are ordered by key, rather than Italian ones, which are often organised by genre. It was one of the most successful keyboard publications of the period as it was re-issued at least twice in the space of three years after publication, and an unusually high number of manuscripts contain pieces derived from it (see Ch. 8). It probably served as a model for the many single-composer collections that subsequently appeared before 1720 by John Blow ([1698]), Philip Hart (1702 and [1704]), Charles Dieupart (1705), William Lord Byron ([1705]), John Baptist Draghi ([1707]), Abiell Whichello ([1707]), William Richardson (1708), Jeremiah Clarke (1711), Johann Mattheson (1714), Alexander Maasmann (c. 1715), William Babel ([1718]) and Anthony Young (1719).<sup>48</sup> These collections are a fair barometer of the stylistic changes that occur in English keyboard music of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Those of Richardson, Maasmann and Young, for instance, illustrate the transition to the Italianate idiom later exemplified by J. B. Loeillet's *Six Suites of Lessons* ([1723]). Whereas Richardson's pieces (1708) are an interesting mix of seventeenth century English styles and Italian influences, Maasmann's (c. 1715) and Young's (apart from the first suite in the 1719 collection) are stylistically indistinguishable from Loeillet's.

Keyboard anthologies continued to appear in the early eighteenth century, notably John Walsh's *Harpsichord Master* series that ran to fifteen books between 1697 and 1734.<sup>49</sup> They can be described as belonging to two types: those resembling a typical manuscript assembled by one or two professional keyboard players, thus taking their cue from Playford's *Musick's Hand-Maid*, and those that may have derived from several sources. The first two books of John Walsh's *The Ladys Banquet* (1704 and 1706) illustrate the two types.

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<sup>47</sup> The others are *A Collection of Ayres, Compos'd for the Theatre* (1697), *Ten Sonata's in Four Parts* (1697) and *Orpheus Britannicus* (1698-1706).

<sup>48</sup> For full titles and summaries, see B. Cooper, *English Solo Keyboard Music of the Middle and Late Baroque* (New York, 1989), 430-6.

<sup>49</sup> For summaries of those that survive, see Cooper, *English Solo Keyboard Music*, 430-442.

*The Ladys Banquet* (1704), a collection of 25 pieces, is described on the title-page as ‘A Choice Collection of the newest & most Airy Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnett [...] set by our best Masters’, and was probably a collection assembled from several composers manuscripts.<sup>50</sup> The ‘Masters’ are Clarke, King, Croft, Barrett, Weldon and Courteville; each composers’ pieces (mostly settings of theatre airs) follow on from one another, and have clear attributions— only three pieces are without direct attribution.<sup>51</sup> *The Ladys Banquet 2* (1706), however, more closely resembles the *Musick’s Hand-Maid* type.<sup>52</sup> It is described on the title-page as ‘A Choice Collection of the Newest and most AIRY Lessons / for the / HARPSICORD or SPINNETT / together / with the most Noted / MINUETS JIGGS and French DANCES / perform’d / at COURT the Theatre’s and Publick BALLS / the whole fitted to ye HARPSICORD and SPINNETT’. In contrast to the first book, most of the music is anonymous and it is largely a collection of popular tunes and dances such as ‘The Marlborough’ and ‘Du Ruels Dutch Skipper’.<sup>53</sup> The only attributed pieces are two ‘Sets’ by Barrett and Henry Purcell at the end of the book (including a setting of of the ‘First Music’ from *The Indian Queen*, Z630/1) and settings of tunes from Barrett’s suite for *Tunbridge Walks* (1703)).

Many early eighteenth century anthologies were also partly or wholly derived from previously printed material, often from collections published by rivals. The earliest example is Walsh’s *The Harpsicord Master 2* (1700), advertised on the 1st January 1700 (*London Gazette*), containing eleven pieces also found in John Young’s *A Choice Collection of Ayres* (1700), a collection of suites by Blow, Francis Piggot, Clarke, Barrett and Croft, advertised on 21st November 1699 (*Post Boy*).<sup>54</sup> Walsh, nevertheless, re-engraved the pieces, some with slightly revised texts. By the second decade of the eighteenth century, however, printers seem to have become more flagrant pirates. Daniel Wright the elder is notorious for his pirated editions.<sup>55</sup> Wright’s *The Harpsicord Master Improved* ([1718]), for

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<sup>50</sup> Copies: GB-Drc, C. 16 (defective) and Lbl, Pr. Bk. a. 126. c.

<sup>51</sup> For identifications of the theatre suite versions, see B. Hodge, ‘English Harpsichord Repertoire: 1660-1714’, Ph. D. diss. (University of Manchester, 1989) and C. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1979).

<sup>52</sup> Copy: Lbl, Pr. Bk. c. 60. a.

<sup>53</sup> See Smith, *A Bibliography*, nos. 170 and 164 (copies of neither known): *The Marlborough, Mr. Isaack’s new Dance, set by Mr. Paisible* (1705) and *A Collection of the most Celebrated Jigs [...] Together with several excellent new Stage Dances by Mr. Duruel [...]* (1705).

<sup>54</sup> Tilmouth, ‘A Calendar’.

<sup>55</sup> See Krummel and Sadie, *Music Printing and Publishing*, 482-483, and H. D. Johnstone, ‘Greene and the Lady’s Banquet’, *MT*, 108 (1967), 36-9.

example, is a particularly odd mix of mostly previously printed material.<sup>56</sup> It includes the 'Instructions for Learners' from Henry Purcell's *A Choice Collection of Lessons* (1696) (commonly found in many early eighteenth century anthologies), three pieces taken from Richardson's *Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet* (1708), and all the psalm settings, apart from one (a setting of the 113th psalm tune), exactly as they appear in Daniel Purcell's *The Psalms Set Full for the Organ or Harpsichord* (Walsh, [1718]).<sup>57</sup>

Particularly popular in collections during the first and second decade of the eighteenth century were arrangements of Italian opera airs, coinciding with the introduction of Italian opera to England. Notable are those of William Babel (for Babel, see Chs. 3-5). Many such collections have the appearance of being cheaply made using the technique of engraving from punches that was probably introduced into England in the 1690s.<sup>58</sup> Music by foreign keyboard players, not active in England, was also published in the early eighteenth century. For example, Walsh's *Mercurius Musicus or A Monthly Entertainment of Musick [...] to Consist of Preludes, Tocates, Aires Lessons and the most Favourite Song Tunes in ye Opera's*, which appeared each month between November 1707 and November 1708, contained several 'Toccatas' of Italian origin in most instalments.<sup>59</sup> The toccatas are all by keyboard players active in Rome in the late seventeenth century.<sup>60</sup> Continental music of similar kind was often published by Walsh in the early eighteenth century, apparently resulting from arrangements with the Amsterdam publisher Estienne Roger. Geoffrey Cox points out, for instance, that Walsh's *Voluntarys and Fugues made on purpose for the Organ or Harpsichord by Ziani, Pollaroli, Bassani, and other Famous Authors* (1710) was probably derived from Roger's *XVII Sonates da Organo o Cimbalo del Sig. Ziani, Pollaroli, Bassani e Altri Famosi Autori* ([1701 and c. 1708-12]) (which in turn had been derived from a Bolognese print of c. 1687).<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Copy: Lbl, Pr. Bk. b. 26.

<sup>57</sup> The pieces by Richardson are on p. 7 and p. 8.

<sup>58</sup> Krummel and Sadie, *Music Printing and Publishing*, 43-4.

<sup>59</sup> Copies of installments from December 1707, and January, February, April, June, 1708 are at Christ Church Library (Mus. 609/ 3-10).

<sup>60</sup> See A. Silbiger, 'Keyboard Music by Corelli's Colleagues: Roman Composers in English Sources', *Nuovissimi Studi Corelliani* (Firenze, 1982), 253-268; *Toccatas & Suites de messieurs Pasquini, Poglietti, & Gaspard Kerle. The Ladys Entertainment or Banquet of Musick, Books 1 & 2. A Second Collection of Toccatas, Voluntarys and Fugues*, facs. edn., intro. Sibiger (SCKM 17, 1987).

<sup>61</sup> See *Organ Music in Restoration England* (New York, 1989), 166-7.

*Manuscript Sources and Evidence of their Pedagogical Function*

An interesting manuscript copy of *Voluntarys and Fugues*, survives at Hereford Cathedral (H, 30. b. ix).<sup>62</sup> Partially illegible crossed-out inscriptions at the front of the book appear to read '[...] I were if not y<sup>e</sup> 11th 1723<sup>4</sup>/ Chris' and 'Me[...] / March y<sup>e</sup> 13th 1723 Chi: B:', and to judge from the contents, c. 1723 would seem an appropriate date— Croft, whose doctorate was conferred in July 1713 is referred to as 'Dr', yet there appears to be no music by important slightly later church composers such as Greene. 'Chi: B:' is possibly an abbreviation for 'Christ's Birth' and probably not the copyist's initials. The rear paste-down of the manuscript appears to have been signed by the copyist 'Thom Swarbrick', almost certainly the organ builder Thomas Swarbrick (c. 1679-1752), nephew of Henry Swarbrick, organist at Hereford from 1720 to 1754.<sup>63</sup> The manuscript contains all the music in Walsh's print, and even includes a transcription of its title-page. This is followed by a 'Violino Secondo' part to incomplete portions of two concertos in D major and G minor by Vivaldi,<sup>64</sup> organ parts to anthems, an apparently unique keyboard 'Fuge' with composer ascription deleted,<sup>65</sup> a score of 'D' Blows Service in Elami', and a further 80 pages of organ accompaniment parts to anthems. There are also some curious quotations from 'Montaigne's Essays', entitled 'Love' and 'Learning', on unruled pages at the front of the book.

The most interesting and unusual feature of the manuscript is that it contains accompaniment parts alongside a substantial amount of solo music. It is unusual to find solo music and accompaniment parts together, and when this does occur there are only a few solo pieces or *vice versa*. For example, another Hereford manuscript, 30. a. xxx, a collection otherwise devoted to accompaniment parts for anthems and services, which contains a prelude by Purcell (Z662/1), and a toccata by Froberger, or Wimborne Minster, P. 10, also essentially an organ accompaniment book, containing four pieces by Frescobaldi, one by Christopher Gibbons and one by Richard Portman.<sup>66</sup> One explanation is that it was

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<sup>62</sup> B. Cooper, 'Keyboard Sources in Hereford', *RMARC*, 16 (1980), 135-9.

<sup>63</sup> See B. Matthews, 'Thomas Swarbrick— The End of a Line', *Aspects of Keyboard Music: Essays in Honour of Susi Jeans*, ed. R. Judd (Oxford, 1992), 95-112, and W. Shaw, *The Succession of Organists* (Oxford, 1990), 138.

<sup>64</sup> *L'estro armonico*, Op. 3 (Amsterdam, 1711), nos. 1 (opening only) and 2 (latter part of second movement only). I am grateful to Michael Talbot for identifying these pieces. Walsh and Hare printed concertos 1-7 as *Vivaldi's Most Celebrated Concertos* in 1715; see Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh*, no. 469.

<sup>65</sup> Possibly 'Mr Liversedge'; see Cooper, 'Keyboard Sources in Hereford', 136.

<sup>66</sup> See Cooper, *Ibid.*, Cox, *Organ Music*, 146-7, 514, and Bailey, *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources*, 123-5.

common for organists to arrange their accompaniments and voluntaries into separate books. However, it is odd that they rarely chose to organise them in another obvious way, *i. e.* to use both ends of one book. Only one accompaniment book seems to have begun in this manner, H, 30 b. ii.<sup>67</sup> By contrast, it was common for organists to separate types of accompaniment parts in a single manuscript, typically by copying parts to services into one end, reversing it, and copying parts to anthems into the other end.

A more plausible explanation is that written-down solo music often served a different function to accompaniment parts. It is likely that most fully-trained organists were able to extemporise solo pieces. John Caldwell points out the probability that surviving Restoration organ repertory ‘reflects more the needs of amateurs and pupils than the urge to set down in written form what could be just as conveniently improvised.’<sup>68</sup> It is clear that the ability to extemporise was important to Restoration musicians. In 1676, the lutenist Thomas Mace thought the aim of students was to eventually perform ‘(not only like a *Good Scholar* in Playing of *Lessons*, (set you) well, but) as a *Master*. That is, To be able [...] to *follow such a Touch, or such a Humour, as on the sudden, you either accidentally Hit upon; or else shall Design unto your self* [...] in the Nature of *Ex tempore, or Voluntary Play*.’<sup>69</sup>

Likewise, Roger North, in ‘some notes concerning the excellent art of Voluntary’, wrote of ‘Voluntary upon an Organ’ as ‘the consummate office of a musitian’, and how ‘great performers upon organs will doe voluntary, to a progidy of wonder, and beyond their owne skill to recover and set downe.’<sup>70</sup> The lack of surviving voluntaries by a number of important Restoration organists is probably an indication that they had little need to write their pieces down.<sup>71</sup> For many players we have none at all. For example, there are no voluntaries known by Jeremiah Clarke (although in the nineteenth century the keyboard version of Clarke’s ‘Prince of Denmark’s March’ was published as an organ voluntary attributed to Henry Purcell).<sup>72</sup> In May 1704, Clarke became an organist of the Chapel Royal, sharing the post with William Croft, and it is likely that his skills at the keyboard were considerable—in the late eighteenth century, Philip Hayes noted that ‘besides a most

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<sup>67</sup> See Cooper, ‘Keyboard Sources in Hereford’, 138.

<sup>68</sup> *English Keyboard Music Before the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1973), 175.

<sup>69</sup> *Musick’s Monument* (London, 1676), 115.

<sup>70</sup> Roger North on *Music*, ed. J. Wilson (London, 1959), 136 and 139. See also similar comments by the sixteenth century Italian composer Vincenzo Galilei in his *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna* (1581), quoted in J. A. Owens, *Composers at Work* (Oxford, 1997), 70-2.

<sup>71</sup> A point made by Peter Holman in connection with the organists Benjamin Rogers (‘Rogers, Benjamin’, *GMO*) and Henry Purcell (*Henry Purcell* (Oxford, 1994), 101). See also Caldwell, *English Keyboard Music*, 173-5.

<sup>72</sup> See C. Cudworth and F. Zimmerman, ‘The Trumpet Voluntary’, *ML*, 41 (October, 1960), 342-48.

happy native genius for composition', Clarke 'was esteemed the most Elegant player of church music in the Kingdom'.<sup>73</sup> An exceptional number of voluntaries survive by John Blow, whose output numbers at least half of all surviving Restoration works.<sup>74</sup> Likewise a fair number of pieces survive by William Croft.<sup>75</sup> However, these composers were Masters of the Children of the Chapel Royal, and many of their works could have been written for the instruction of their pupils.

The teaching function of many manuscripts is often apparent from the presence of pedagogical charts and basic fingerings. The pedagogical charts are standardised, similar in design to those that appeared in Henry Purcell's *A Choice Collection* (1696/1699). For example, those that Richard Goodson senior copied into Och, MS Mus. 580 and MS Mus. 1003.<sup>76</sup> They usually instruct the beginner in the basics of notation, sometimes include a table of ornaments, and are most often found in manuscripts with the simplest pieces that were probably intended for beginners. Another indicator that a manuscript was used for teaching is the presence of accounts, although this evidence probably needs to be used with some caution. In Robert King's manuscript for Montagu Garrard Drake (AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a), for example, King wrote a set of accounts on the flyleaf. They are partially crossed-out and difficult to read, but given they are in King's hand, and the manuscript was almost certainly used for teaching, it seems likely the account was kept to calculate the cost of the lessons (see Ch. 3 for discussion of this manuscript).

Most accounts, however, are often little more than tallies and are difficult to interpret. In the keyboard and song manuscript Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 397, probably dating from c. 1705, is an interesting inscription below a set of tallies: 'this acc<sup>t</sup> set Downe in ye little book / and p<sup>d</sup>. C Collett', which was written by the music copyist. Collett may have been a relative of one of several eighteenth century London musicians of that name, the best known being the violinist John Collett (c. 1735-1775).<sup>77</sup> 'C Collett' wrote what appear to be figured bass exercises at the rear end of the manuscript, suggesting it had a pedagogical function (p. 112, rev.), and that he was a music teacher. The manuscript probably continued to be used for pedagogical purposes during the eighteenth century to judge from

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<sup>73</sup> Lbl, Add. MS 33235, f. 2. See W. Shaw, C. Powell and H. D. Johnstone, 'Clarke, Jeremiah', *GMO*.

<sup>74</sup> See *John Blow. Complete Organ Music*, ed. B. Cooper (MB 69, 1996).

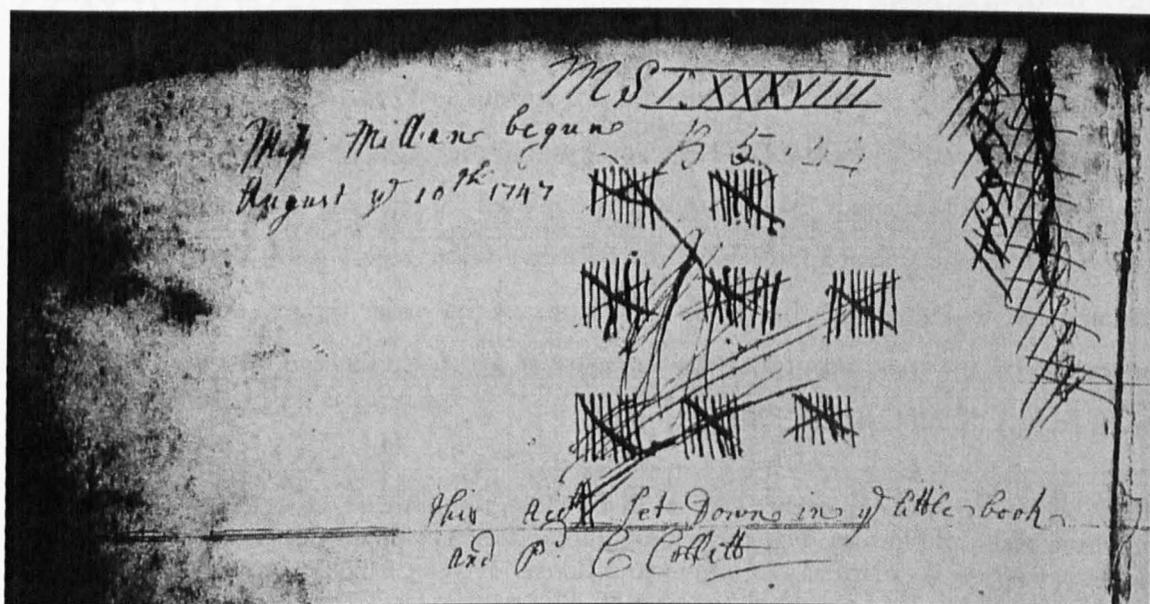
<sup>75</sup> See *William Croft. Complete Organ Works*, ed. Richard Platt (Oxford, 1976).

<sup>76</sup> For a facsimile of one of two charts Goodson copied in Och, MS Mus. 1003, see Bailey, *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources*, 96.

<sup>77</sup> See R. Platt, 'Collett, John', *GMO*, Anon., 'An Eighteenth-Century Directory of London Musicians', *GJSJ*, 2 (1949), 27-31, and P. Drummond, 'The Royal Society of Musicians in the Eighteenth Century', *ML*, 59 (1978), 268-89.

continuo instructions in a later hand pasted onto p. 115 (rev.), and the flyleaf inscription 'Miss Millane begun / August y<sup>e</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 1747'. Tallies occur in similar early eighteenth century keyboard manuscripts such as LAuc, M678 M4 H295 (c. 1700) and Lbl, Add. MS 71209, which were also probably teaching manuscripts. It is easy to see how tallies would have been useful to teachers trying to keep a record of what they were owed. They presumably would have added the cost of each lesson to the tally, which was eventually paid in a lump sum. The Hervey account book, discussed in Ch. 1, indicates that teachers were sometimes paid lump sums.

## 2. 1. Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 397: flyleaf (top 3/4)



Teachers also appear to have occasionally provided their pupils with addresses, presumably to direct them to their lodgings for lessons. Draghi, for instance, signed his name in Lbl, MS Mus. 1 with an address: 'In Bedford street over against ye Cross Keys / Tavern at y<sup>e</sup>. signe of y<sup>e</sup>. Catt - Baptist' (see Ch. 3). Likewise, one of the music masters who compiled the keyboard and vocal manuscripts, Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 425 and MS Mus. Sch. e. 426, signed e. 426: 'André Roner a deux portes au dessus de blu post Tavern chez Mr. Sharpless' (flyleaf).<sup>78</sup> Andreas Roner was a friend of Handel, who received a letter from him, in French, in July 1711, and later published a collection of psalm settings, *Melopeia Sacra* (1721).<sup>79</sup> The Roner hand and the contents of the manuscripts, which are

<sup>78</sup> See Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, i, 73-4, and ii, 222-6.

<sup>79</sup> See O. E. Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (London, 1955), 44-45.

Francophile-German in character would seem appropriate for musician of German birth. A third address in an English keyboard manuscript appears in the hand of William Babel in Lbl, Add. MS 71209, which was probably also a teaching manuscript (see Ch. 3).

Teachers are likely to have travelled to their pupils residences in most instances, and evidence suggests they sometimes did so over large distances (see Ch. 1). Older students may have gone to their teachers, however, if they were local. In *The Kingdom's Intelligenser* for 30th December 1661 there was advertised 'a new Method for teaching the knowledge of Musick to persons of age in 6. or 7. hours (so as they shall be able, by a little practise, to sing any aire or song, and keep their part in a Consort [...]) The Author is to be spoken with (for satisfaction or instruction) upon Tuesdaies and Thursdaies, betwixt 10 a clock and 12 in the forenoon, at Joseph Cranford's house a Stationer, at the Signe of the Sun near the West end of St Paul's Church'.<sup>80</sup> According to his diaries, the amateur viol player Dudley Ryder also went to his teacher, 'Mr Cynelum', for lessons in 1715-16.<sup>81</sup> However, it is less clear whether women did so, who are more likely to have learnt the harpsichord than men.

Another potential indicator that a manuscript was used for teaching is the ordering of the pieces. In 1652, the Oxford musician Edward Lowe wrote to his pupil Barbara Fletcher instructing her to learn from her book of lessons in the order they were written. The whereabouts of the manuscript and the letter are at present unknown, but the letter was transcribed by J. A. McGrath in 1903:<sup>82</sup>

I humbly beseech you to play thes Lessons in the Order sett downe Constantly once a day, if you haue health and leasure. Play not, without turninge the Lesson in your Booke before you & keepe your eye (as much as you can) in your Booke. If you Chance to miss goe not from the Lesson, till you have perfected it. Aboue all, Play not too fast. Thes few rules obserued you will gaine your selfe much Honnour & some Credit to your master

It would be surprising to find, however, if it were possible to inspect the manuscript, that the ordering of the pieces were striking from a pedagogical point of view. Few manuscripts seem to be clearly graded, although several begin with a few simple pieces, often a prelude or a minuet/ saraband. Henry Purcell's contribution to Lbl, MS Mus. 1, which begins with a simple scalic prelude in C and a minuet in C, followed mostly by

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<sup>80</sup> Tilmouth, 'A Calendar', 1.

<sup>81</sup> *The Diary of Dudley Ryder 1715-1716*, ed. W. Matthews (London, 1939), 120, 223.

<sup>82</sup> *The Flemings in Oxford*, ed. J. R. Magrath, 3 vols. (Oxford Historical Society, 1903-1924), i, 541. The letter is transcribed fully from McGrath in P. Scholes, *The Puritans and Music* (London, 1934), 163. Gerald Hendrie apparently came into contact with the owner of the manuscript around 1960 when he was preparing his edition of Orlando Gibbons' keyboard music (MB 20). He described it as a collection in the hand of Edward Lowe, and it seems likely the attribution to Lowe was made because of the letter. See Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, i, 60-1.



The manuscript contains keyboard music written by two scribes, who were probably teachers, in addition to an anonymous trio sonata in score written by a later eighteenth century scribe. The first keyboard scribe (scribe A) entered settings of melodies by Daniel Purcell, Henry Purcell, Robert King, Jeremiah Clarke and Charles Dieupart. He arranged his pieces into three principal groups of pieces in C major (ff. 1-2), A minor (ff. 2v-3) and D major (ff. 4v-5), and began with two triple time pieces in C, similar to those at the beginning of the Purcell in Lbl, MS Mus. 1 and in AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a. Both the keyboard hands have a professional appearance. The hand of the second (scribe B) has a practised and fluent appearance that is typical of the first decade of the eighteenth century (see Ex. 3). He wrote a small set of accounts on a trimmed end paper. They are styled 'August 12<sup>th</sup> Begun', 'Nov. 22d Begun', 'March 5th Begun' and 'June 27 Begun', with the sums crossed-out, which may have been intended to calculate the cost of lessons. He copied pieces of slightly later date, many of which, early on, appear to derive from *The Ladys Banquet 2* (1706). One of the last pieces he copied was a setting of the song, 'Let other Beauties, proud of small graces', which was from a pasticcio based on Conti's *Clothilda* (1706) produced in London in 1709.<sup>86</sup> This may be an indication that scribe B copied his portion of the manuscript over the course of a few years. Typically, teaching manuscripts intended for amateurs were copied over a period of two or three years, presumably because they were compiled as the pupil progressed (see examples discussed in Ch. 3).

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<sup>86</sup> H. W. Williams, 'Conti, Francesco Bartolomeo', *GMO*.

### 2. 3. CAMhogwood, M1090, handwriting of Scribe B, f. 13v: beginning of unique almand in F major attributed to John Weldon



### 2. 4. CAMhogwood, M1090: inventory

Location ([ff.]) <sup>i</sup> / title/ key	Comp.	Comment/ concordances (keyboard unless otherwise stated)	Scribe
1. 'a minuet' [C]			A
1. 'a trumpet tune' [C]	Daniel Purcell	<i>Indian Queen</i> (1695), no. 43.	A
1v. 'Cebell' [C]	Henry Purcell	<i>A Choice Collection</i> (1696/9); <i>Harpsicord Master</i> (1697); 9 further manuscripts with kbd. settings (mostly derived from prints) <sup>ii</sup>	A
2. 'Trumpet Tune' [C]	Henry Purcell	<i>Indian Queen</i> , no. 6 (Z630/4a); <i>A Choice Collection</i> (1696/9); 10 further manuscripts with kbd. settings <sup>iii</sup>	A
2. 'Britanis' [C]	[Henry Purcell]	<i>Britons Strike Home</i> , <i>Bonduca</i> (Z574/2). 8 further sources with keyboard settings. <sup>iv</sup>	A
2v. 'The Spirrits of Aire' [a]	[Henry Purcell]	We the spirits of the air', <i>Indian Queen</i> (Z630/17bc). Och, MS Mus. 1003, f. 30v, entitled 'The Nightingale', with text beginning 'Happy Songster of the Spring'.	A

Location ([ff.]) <sup>i</sup> / title/ key	Comp.	Comment/ concordances (keyboard unless otherwise stated)	Scribe
2v. 'Tinker' [a]			A
3. [Air] [a]			A
3v. [Minuet] [F]			A
4.		Empty Staves	
4v. [Minuet] [D]	[Henry Purcell]	<i>The Virtuous Wife</i> (Z 611/8). Lbl, MS Mus. MS 1, f. 6v (no title).	A
4v-5. 'Cebell' [D]	Robert King	Lbl, Pr. Bk. D. 24 ([ <i>Harmonia Anglicana</i> ]), MS addition (treble + bass), p. [53], 'Cebell Mr King' (a4); CAMhogwood, M1092, f. 102v (att.) (a2)	A
5. 'A Cuntry Dance' [Prince of Denmark March] [D]	[Jeremiah Clarke]	<i>Choice Collection of Ayres</i> (1700); <i>Harpsicord Master 2</i> (1700). 5 other manuscripts with kbd. settings <sup>v</sup> ; Melody: <i>Dancing Master</i> (1698); Lbl, Add. MS 30839/ Add. MS 39565-7 (a4)	A
5v. [Fairest Isle] [B flat]	[Henry Purcell]	<i>King Arthur</i> (Z628/38). Lbl, Add. MS 40139 (ff. 41v-42, in G, texted)	A
5v. 'Hornpipe' [B flat]	[Henry Purcell]	<i>Abdelazer</i> (Z570/8); GB-Cfm, MU MS 653, p. 19 (C); US-NYp, Drexel MS 5609, p. 169; Lbl, Add. MS 22099, f. 9v, Lbl, Add. MS 40139 f. 13v (C); LAuc, M678 M4 H295, f. 4v (C).	A
6. [Air] [d]			A
6v. ('for love evry creature is form:d') [g]	[Henry Purcell]	Texted. 'For Love Ev'ry Creature is Formed', <i>King Arthur</i> (Z628/30ef).	A
7. 'Minuet' [g]	[Charles Dieupart]	<i>Harpsichord Master 3</i> (1702) (g) ('Minuet Madam Subligny'); <i>Six Suites</i> (1701) (f); Lbl, Add. MS 47846, f. 8; Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 397, pp. 50-1.	A
7. ['Vigo Minuet'] [F]		Lbl, Add. MS 22099, ff. 8v (G) and 53 (bass only); Och, MS Mus. 1003, f. 30.	A
7v-8. 'Overture in The Old Batchilor' [a]	Henry Purcell	<i>The Old Bachelor</i> (Z607/1).	A
8v. [100th Psalm tune] [G]		Appears to be a figured bass exercise.	X
9.		Empty Staves	
9v-16v. [Trio sonata] [B flat]		Score. 'adagio'- [Allegro]- 'Adagio'- [Allegro]- 'Piano Moderato' [Minuet]	X
17. ('Non nobis Domine') [G]		3-part texted score	X

Location ([ff.]) <sup>i</sup> / title/ key	Comp.	Comment/ concordances (keyboard unless otherwise stated)	Scribe
17v. [Non nobis Domine] [G]		Keyboard score (un-texted)	X
VOLUME REVERSED			
End paper		Accounts (sums crossed-out)	B
42v. [Fragment] [C]		Unidentified 2-bar fragment (end of piece) and ? figured bass exercise	A
42. 'Sonata' ( 'adagio' ) [D]		5 bars only	A
41v. 'Andante e Larghetto' [D]		3-part score. 'Adagio' is crossed-out after 'Andante'	X
41-40v (3v-4). 'Mr Geo: Kellers Trumpet Tune of all sorts of Humors' [C]	Godfrey Keller	Ob, MS T 1508, ff. 19-21; GB-CDp, M. C. 39(j), ff. 42-41 (rev.). Lauc, B217 M4 S948, suite beginning p. 68 ( <i>a4</i> )	B
40 (4v).		Empty Staves	
39v (5). 'The Marlborough Dance' [C]	[James Paisible]	<i>The Marlborough, Mr. Isaack's new Dance, set by Mr. Paisible</i> (Walsh and Hare, 1705). <i>Ladys Banquet 2</i> (1706), p. 1; Cfm, MU MS 653, p. 21; AY, D/DR 10/ 6a, ff. [23v-24]	B
39 (f. 5v). 'Horn Pipe' [C]	[William Croft]	<i>The Twin Rivals</i> (1703); <i>Ladys Banquet 2</i> (1706), p. 11.	B
38v-37v (6-7). 'Chacone In Cfautt' [C]	George Spencer	Same bass as chaconne att. Spencer in Lbl, Add. MS 40139, ff. 30v-31, but the settings are completely different	B
37 (7v). 'Trumpett March' [C]			B
36v (8). 'Skipper Dance' [D]		<i>Ladys Banquet 2</i> (1706), p. 5; <i>Harpsicord Master Improv'd</i> (1711 or 1715); Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 397, pp. 80-2; Lbl, Add. MS 40139, ff. 47v-48.	B
36-35v (8v-9) 'Allmande' [D]	[John Barrett]	<i>Ladys Banquet 2</i> (1706), p. 12; <i>Tunbridge Walks</i> (1703), no. 2 ( <i>a 4</i> ); Lcm, MS 734, f. 4.	B
35v (9). 'Gavott' [D]	[John Barrett]	<i>Ladys Banquet 2</i> (1706), p. 14; <i>Tunbridge Walks</i> (1703), no. 8 ( <i>a 4</i> )	B
35 (9v). 'A Minuett' [D]	[John Barrett]	<i>Ladys Banquet 2</i> (1706), p. 14; <i>Tunbridge Walks</i> (1703), no. 9 ( <i>a 4</i> )	B
34v (10). 'A lesson calld The Dame of Honour' [D]	[?G. B. Draghi]	<i>Wonders in the Sun, or, The Kingdom of the Birds</i> (1706). See Simpson, pp. 155-156. <sup>vi</sup>	B

Location ([ff.]) <sup>i</sup> / title/ key	Comp.	Comment/ concordances (keyboard unless otherwise stated)	Scribe
34 (10v). 'Air of The Queen of Prussias' [C]		<i>Harpsicord Master Improv'd</i> (1711 or 1715); Lfom, Coke MS 1577, ff. 55-54v (rev.); Cfm, MU MS 653, p. 19.	B
34-33v (10v-11). 'slow kind Air' [C]			B
33-32v (11v-12). 'Almande' [F]	John Weldon		B
32v (12). 'Air' [F]	[?John Weldon]		B
32-31v (12v-13). [Almand or March] [F]	[John Weldon]	<i>Ladys Banquet</i> (1704); Ge, Rd. 54, ff. 15-15v; Lbl, Add. MS 31467, f. 57; Lbl, Add. MS 52363, pp. 21-2.	B
31v (13). 'Jigg' [F]	[?John Weldon]		B
31 (13v). 'Allmande' [c]			B
30v (14). 'Slow Air' [c]			B
30-29v (14v-15) 'Jigg' [g]		Lbl, Add. MS 71209, ff. 76v-77v	B
29 (15v). 'A Minuett' [c]			B
28v (16). 'A Jigg' [c]			
28-27v (16v-17). 'Allmande' [C]	John Weldon	CDp, M. C. 39(k), ff. 61-60v (rev.).	B
27-26v (17v-18) 'Allmande' [g]			B
26v (18). 'Aire' [g]		Inscription: 'turn 3 leaves Back to the Jigg & so end Thy Suits'	B
23-26 (18v-21v). 'Trumpett Solo By Senr. Nicola' [D]	?Nicola Matteis snr.	Lbl, Add. MS 34695, ff. 17v-18v; Lbl, Add. MS 22099, ff. 14-15.	B
23-20v (21v-24). 'Overture in Camilla' [D]	G. M. Bononcini	<i>Camilla</i> (1706). Other complete kbd. settings: <i>Ladys Entertainment 2</i> (1708) (F); Lbl, Add. MS 41205, ff. 34v-36v (F)	B
20-19 (24v-25v). 'Symphony In the Opera Thomyris' [G]		'Should ere the fair disdain' from <i>Thomyris</i> (1707). Lfom, Coke MS 1576, ff. 7v-9; <i>Harpsicord Master Improv'd</i> (1711 or 1715); J-Tn, N-3/35, ff. 30v-31	B
18v (26). 'In the opera Clotilda' [g]		'Let other Beauties, proud of small graces', <i>Songs in the Opera Call'd Clotilda</i> ([1709]) (Lbl, Pr. Bk. Hirsch II. 328), p. 18. The song is notated in 2/4, whilst the keyboard version is in 6/8. Hunter <sup>vii</sup> no. 53/18	B

Location ([ff.]) <sup>i</sup> / title/ key	Comp.	Comment/ concordances (keyboard unless otherwise stated)	Scribe
18 (26v). 'A Lesson for the Spinnett' [d]			B

i. Modern pencil foliation appears at the 'reverse' end of the manuscript (i. e. the end copied by the later keyboard scribe (B), to judge from the contents). As this foliation is incomplete, I present a new hypothetical foliation beginning from the 'front' end of the book with the pencil foliation appearing in brackets.

ii. Lbl, Pr. Bk. Hirsch III. 472, p. [73]; Och, MS Mus. 1003, f. 31v. (fragment); Lbl, Add. MS 22099, f. 4v; GB-En, Inglis 94 MS 3343, ff. 29v-30; US-LAuc, M678 M4 H295, ff. 2-2v; Lbl, Add. MS 39569, p. 153; Ob, MS T 1508, f. 18v; Ldc, MS 92b, pp. 40-41 (pagination from rear, rev.); Lbl, Add. MS 52363, pp. 48-9.

iii. LAuc, M678 M4 H295, f. 34v (rev.); Lbl, Add. MS 17853 f. 37v; Lbl, Add. MS 22099, f. 41; Lbl, Add. MS 31465, f. 15v; Ob, MS T 1508, f. 18; Ldc, MS 92b, p. 46; GB-Drc, E32, p. 7; B-Bc, MS XY15139, p. 109; Lbl, Add. MS 52363, p. 135; Cfm, MU MS 653, p. 20.

iv. Lbl, Add. MS 17853, f. 40; AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a, ff. [37-37v]; Och, MS Mus. 46, f. 62v; En, Inglis 94 MS 3343, f. 19v; Ob, MS Mus. Sch. f. 577, p. 1; Lbl, Add. MS 29481, f. 7v (kbd. amongst secular vocal music); Cfm, MU MS 159, p. 1 (rev.); Lfom, Coke MS 2488, f. [3].

v. Lbl, Add. MS 31465, ff. 16v-17; AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a, ff. [13v-14]; Lbl, Add. MS 39569, p. 72; Ob, MS T 1508, ff. 14v-15; Lbl, Add. MS 52363, pp. 44-5.

vi. C. M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad* (New Brunswick, 1966).

vii. D. Hunter, *Opera and Song Books Published in England, 1703-1726* (London, 1997).

### Composer Manuscripts

This chapter discusses the contents and probable function of a group of manuscripts copied by composers. The manuscripts largely fall into two groups: those clearly copied for teaching and those that were probably similar to what Harold Love's terms 'author publications' (for seventeenth-century literary manuscripts) or manuscripts prepared for patrons or for dissemination.<sup>1</sup> The present chapter deals largely with manuscripts that appear to have been used for teaching, which are in the majority, highlighting the connection between keyboard composition and teaching during the period. By their nature, the manuscripts of the other type tend to be neater in presentation and better organised; they are mostly dealt with in Ch. 5.

Several anonymous manuscripts were also apparently compiled for teaching: CAMhogwood, M1090 is a likely example. Similar manuscripts include: LAuc, M678 M4 H295 1710 (probably *c.* 1700 or slightly earlier), Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 397 (copied by 'C Collet', *?c.* 1705), the English portion of Cn, Case MS VM 2.3 E58r (probably early eighteenth century), and Lfom, Coke MS 1576 (1710s or 1720s). These manuscripts also have several characteristics of composer manuscripts. For instance, they contain settings of pieces possibly devised by the compiler as the settings are unique to the source—that is the melody is essentially the same as that in other sources, but ornamental details of the melody and the accompaniment are not. Indeed, there is evidence that the LAuc, M678 M4 H295 1710 scribe was a composer in some instances from a few musical alterations he made to pieces (see Ch. 4).<sup>2</sup> The present discussion of composers' manuscripts is restricted, however, to those that can be confidently identified; *i. e.* those where the handwriting of the composer can be identified.

*US-NH, Filmer MS 15, Filmer MS 17, and Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 399: Francis Forcer*

Robert Ford has pointed out the likelihood that keyboard music in Filmer MS 15 and Filmer MS 17 was copied for female members of the Filmer family of East Sutton, Kent, in the late seventeenth century, and that many of the pieces appear to have been copied by

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<sup>1</sup> *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993), esp. 47, 23-31 and 65-72.

<sup>2</sup> Notably to the untitled piece on ff. 3v-4 (see Ex. . For this manuscript, see R. Klakowich. 'Harpsichord Music by Purcell and Clarke in Los Angeles', *JM*, 4 (Spring, 1985- Spring, 1986), 171-190.

Francis Forcer (1649-1705), whose apparent signature occurs twice.<sup>3</sup> Filmer MS 15 is signed by its owner 'Amy Filmer/ her Booke/ 167 $\frac{7}{8}$ ', who was Amy Filmer (b. 1657), alongside signatures of female members of the Clinkard family; Amy's brother Edward Filmer, the dramatist, married the heiress Archibella Clinkard in 1687.<sup>4</sup> The volume was clearly a teaching book as it contains a pedagogical chart on the first folio and there are some rudimentary fingerings (*e. g.* for a setting of *The Nightingale*, ff. 4v-5).

Autograph signatures of Forcer's survive at Dulwich College, which confirm that the manuscripts are in his hand. Forcer was appointed fourth fellow and organist of God's Gift College, Dulwich, on 25th October 1669 upon the recommendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and remained there for just over two years, resigning in November 1671. As a fellow he attended a bi-annual 'Court of Assistants' and signed the Warden's account book. He may not have attended the first two meetings of his tenure (4th March 1669/70 and 5th September 1670) as his name was signed for him in these instances, but there are holograph signatures from two further meetings. The letter formations, except for a Greek 'e' in the first signature from March 1670/1, seem to match reasonably closely with the signatures in Filmer MSS 15 and 17.

**3. 1. Francis Forcer signatures: Dulwich College Archives (Manuscripts and Muniments, Second Series, vol. 28), NH, Filmer MS 17, f. 9v, and Filmer MS 15, f. 7v**

4th March 1670/1 (1)

4th March 1670/1 (2)

5th September 1671

Filmer MS 15, f. 7v (c. 1680)

Filmer MS 17, f. 9v (?c. 1700)

<sup>4</sup> For the genealogy of the Filmer family, see R. Shay, 'Bass Parts to an Unknown Purcell Suite at Yale', *Notes*, 57 (June, 2001), 819-33, esp. 831; W. E. Burns, 'Filmer, Edward', *ODNB*.

Of the two Filmer manuscripts containing Forcer's hand, MS 17 is the most interesting from the point of view of physical makeup as several leaves at the front of the book are of different sizes and have different stave rulings, some of which are sheets removed from the main body of the book.<sup>5</sup> The manuscript also contains music of widely varying date, in several hands, all probably early eighteenth century, and includes seven keyboard pieces, treble parts and solo tunes, music for treble and bass, anthems and songs. Five of the keyboard pieces are copied by Forcer: an incomplete copy of Gibbons's G major prelude in *Parthenia* (ff. 6v-5v), a popular lesson during the Restoration, two pieces that look like they could be settings of consort pieces (ff. 7v-8),<sup>6</sup> and two A minor almands (f. 8v, f. 9v), one probably by Blow that Forcer also copied into Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 399 (see below) and the other by Forcer in a similar style (with signature).

Daniel Henstridge, organist at Rochester (1673-99) and Canterbury (1699-1736) cathedrals, copied another keyboard piece (ff. 11-11v), an independent copy of the A minor ground attributed to 'Mr [Moses] Snow' in *Musick's Hand-maid 2* (1689), and the seventh keyboard piece in the manuscript, a widely distributed corant or saraband by Blow (f. 6), is in an unidentified professional hand.<sup>7</sup> All the keyboard music, possibly the earliest music to be copied into the manuscript, is on five-line staves, which probably narrows the copying date to c. 1700-5. Five-line staves over six-line staves become the norm for English keyboard music by 1705 (the year of Forcer's death), and in 1702 *The Harpsicord Master 3* declared on its title-page that five-line staves were 'now the Generall way of Practice'.

In addition, MS 17 appears to contain autograph instrumental and vocal music by the composer and singer William Turner (1651-1740), probably copied about ten years later than the keyboard music. Turner also copied the three anonymous treble and bass pieces that constitute Filmer MS 19, and possibly also a song (partially texted) in MS 15 (f. 44v,

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<sup>5</sup> Ford, 'The Filmer Manuscripts', 820-1.

<sup>6</sup> The first of these appears as a two-part air for 'Treble, Bass-Viol and Harp', attributed to Forcer, in Christopher Simpson's *Compendium of Practical Musick* (1678), p. 184. Additional post-Restoration sources of the Gibbons prelude are: Och, MS Mus. 47, p. 43; Lbl, Add. MS 22099, ff. 16v-17; F-Pc, rès 1186 bis, pp. 5-9; J-Tn, N-3/35, ff. 21v-22; Lbl, MS Mus. 1, ff. 4-5/ 40v-39v (rev.); GB-Lcm, MS 2093, ff. 9v-11v, GB-Cfm MU 653, pp. 82-3, and GB-HAdolmetsch, II e. 17, pp. 50-48 (rev.).

<sup>7</sup> For the Blow pieces, see *John Blow. Complete Harpsicord Music*, ed. R. Klakowich (MB 73, 1998), nos. 76 and 77; an additional source of the saraband (77) (called 'corant' in Ob, MS Mus Sch. e. 399) is HAdolmetsch, II e. 17, p. 63.

rev.).<sup>8</sup> In MS 17, Turner's pieces are variously signed 'W T', 'W Turner' and 'Wm Turner'. Turner copied two of his solo anthems (marked 'Harpsichord or violin' and 'Harpsichord'), 'O Give Thanks' and 'The Lord is Righteous', and Henry Purcell's solo anthem 'My Song Shall be Alway' (Z31) (ff. 13-20) in its version with keyboard accompaniment only, in addition to six songs (ff. 20v-22, 23v-24v, 30-31), two treble and bass pieces entitled 'Almain' and 'Saraband' (ff. 22v-23) and a catch ('Here's a Health to our Fleet', ff. 31v-32).<sup>9</sup> One of the songs entitled 'Favourite Song, in the Opera of Thesus [*i. e. Teseo*]', 'See, see your faithful lover' ('Si tamo caro'), HWV 9/37 (1713), suggests his pieces may have been copied during the second decade of the eighteenth century. The treble and bass pieces, as with those that appear in MS 19, were probably not intended for the keyboard. Those in MS 17 have figured bass symbols, and might have been intended as keyboard accompaniment parts to pieces for treble and bass.

Shay and Thompson have pointed out that Forcer was also responsible for most of Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 399.<sup>10</sup> This keyboard manuscript is an oblong quarto, measuring 25.7cm x 20cm, and has its original full calf gilt-tooled binding, now in pretty poor condition; there are 47 leaves altogether (49 numbered), but as with many similar manuscripts, such as Filmer MS 15, most of them are empty. Like Filmer MS 15, the manuscript was clearly a teaching book as there is a pedagogical chart on the flyleaf and fingerings for one of the pieces (ff. 5-5v), and the end-paper (f. 49) is signed by the apparent original owners 'Elizabeth Nodes/ Her Book august 8<sup>th</sup> 1681' and 'mrs beety nodes/ her book/ march the 10/ 1682'. They may have been members of the Nodes family of Shephall in Hertfordshire; an Elizabeth Nodes (d. 1737) was daughter of the lawyer George Nodes (c. 1638-1697).<sup>11</sup> At the rear end of the manuscript is a 'Prelude' in an amateurish hand signed 'Jane Carr' (f. 47v (rev.)), which is followed by setting of Henry Purcell's 'Ah cruel bloody fate' (mostly in two parts) in another un-practiced hand (f. 47), and melodies in a later hand that is more experienced (including music by Handel) (ff. 46v-43v (rev.)).

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<sup>8</sup> For Turner, see D. Franklin, 'Turner, William', *GMO*, and B. White, 'Turner, William', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Personenteil*, ed. L. Finscher, vol. 16 (Kassel, 2006), cols. 1142-4. An autograph of Turner's anthem 'God Standeth in the Congregation' is in Bu, MS 5001, and appears to be in the same hand as the MS 17 pieces.

<sup>9</sup> For 'My Song Shall be Alway', see Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, esp. 76 and 153-7, and Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 140. Turner's symphony anthem, 'The Lord is Righteous', in GB-Mp, MS 130 HD4. 235, is a completely different piece. I am grateful to Bryan White for assistance in trying to identify these works.

<sup>10</sup> *Purcell Manuscripts*, 277.

<sup>11</sup> For George Nodes, see J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis [...] Part I*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1922), iii, 260. The genealogy of the family is traced in C. M. Spicer, *Tyme out of Mind* (1984), 26-33.

Filmer MS 15 and MS Mus. Sch e. 399 have similar contents, and are probably typical of manuscripts intended for wealthy pupils. MS 15 was probably copied by Forcer for his pupil over a number of years after '167 $\frac{7}{8}$ ' date, and that it was only completed shortly before MS Mus. Sch e. 399: there are keyboard settings of songs by William Turner, 'I find my Eugenia:' (f. 6), printed in 1680, 'Ah cruel bloody fate' (f. 8) from *Theodosius* (1680), and an anonymous popular song from D'Urfey's *The Virtuous Wife* (1680), 'Sawney was tall and of noble race' (f. 44 (rev.)). MS Mus. Sch. e. 399 begins with a simple triple-time piece in C major, entitled 'Jigge:', not unlike the C major minuet copied by Purcell near the beginning of Lbl, MS Mus. 1. Brian Hodge notes several of the pieces exist in consort versions attributed to Forcer and Thomas Farmer, which suggest many of them may be settings of theatre tunes. To these I am able to add a few more.<sup>12</sup>

### 3. 2. Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 399 and NH, Filmer MS 15: inventories

#### MS Mus. Sch. e. 399

Location (pp.)/ title/ key	Composer	Comment/ concordances (keyboard unless otherwise stated)
f. 1.		Flyleaf; pedagogical charts
f. 2. 'Jigge:' [C]		Och, MS Mus. 1177, f. 14v
f. 2v. [Air] [G]	[Francis Forcer]	C. Simpson, <i>A Compendium of Practical Musick</i> (1678), 186 ('Lessons [...] For the Treble, Bass-Viol, and Harp')
f. 3. [Tricotes] [d]		A. Pointel, <i>Deusiesme Recueil des Dances et Contre-Dances</i> (1688) (a2), no. 32; <sup>i</sup> Melody: 'Trickatees', <i>Apollo's Banquet</i> (1687), no. 25
f. 3v. 'Gavatt' [G]		NH, Filmer MS 15, f. 7
f. 4. [Scotch Tune] [d]		
f. 4v. 'Jigge:' [a]	[Francis Forcer]	Lbl, Add. MS 31403, f. 55 (att.)
ff. 5-5v. 'Ground' [D]		Lbl, Add. MS 31403, f. 60 (fragment); Ob, MS Mus. Sch. d. 219, pp. 22-3; Filmer MS 15, ff. 3v-4. Solo bass viol setting: C. Simpson, <i>The Division Violist</i> (1659/1667), 60-1. <sup>ii</sup> Ground only: J. Playford, <i>A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick</i> (1667), p. 87.
f. 6. [Air] [d]	[John Lenton]	<i>The Royalist</i> (D'Urfey, 1682): Lbl, Add. MS 24889, f. 22 (a4); Filmer MS 6, f. 12 (a4) (att.). Song: 'Sawney and Jockey'; see Simpson, <sup>iii</sup> pp. 630-2

<sup>12</sup> Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire', inventory of Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 399, and Francis Forcer work-list. Additions have been made partially with the aid of private inventories of consort manuscripts compiled by Peter Holman.

Location (pp.)/ title/ key	Composer	Comment/ concordances (keyboard unless otherwise stated)
f. 6v. 'Corant' [/Saraband] [a]	[John Blow]	Klakowich <sup>iv</sup> 77; additional source: HAdolmetsch, II e. 17, p. 63.
f. 7. 'Saraband' [a]	[?]John Blow]	Klakowich 78
ff. 7v-8. 'Almand' [a]	[?]John Blow]	Klakowich 76
ff. 8v-9. [jig] [a]	[?]John Blow]	Klakowich 79; additional source: Lbl, MS Mus. 1, f. 10/34v (rev.)
f. 9v. [Air] [c]	[Robert Smith]	US-NYp, Drexel MS 3849, p. 80 (a4); Lbl, Add. MS 24889, no. 5 (a4)
f. 10. [Air] [a]		
f. 10v. [Air] [C]	[Francis Forcer]	Wells, Vicars Choral MS 9, p. 42 (a4) (att.).
f. 11. [Gavott]	[Thomas Farmer]	Lbl, Add. MS 29283-5, p. 81 (a3) (dated: 'December 1682')
f. 11v. [Air] [d]	[Thomas Farmer]	Lbl, Add. MS 29283-5, p. 81 (a3) (dated: 'December 1682')
f. 12. 'Bask' [G]		
ff. 12v-43		Empty Staves
VOLUME REVERSED		
f. 49.		End-paper signed 'Elizabeth Nodes/ Her Book august 8 <sup>th</sup> 1681' (likewise several times) and 'mrs beety nodes/ her book/ march the 10/ 1682'
f. 48.		Empty (no stave rulings)
f. 47v. 'Prelude' [C]	'Jane Carr'	Hand B
f. 47. [Ah Cruel Bloody Fate] [G]	[Henry Purcell]	<i>Theodosius</i> (1680), Z606/9. Cn, Case VMT 252 P72/1, f. 2v; Filmer MS 15, f. 8. Mostly 2-part. Hand C
ff. 46v-44v.		Melodies, 18th century. Hand X
f. 43v. 'Horn Minuet' [G]		Treble and bass. Hand X

*Filmer MS 15*

Location (pp.)/ title/ key	Composer	Comment/ concordances (keyboard unless otherwise stated)
f. 1.		Pedagogical chart; recipe ('oil of organum [...]', etc.)
f. 1v. [Jigg or Corant] [d]	[Francis Forcer]	Och, MS Mus. 1177, f. 14v; C. Simpson, <i>A Compendium of Practical Musick</i> (1678), p. 186 (att.) (a2).

Location (pp.)/ title/ key	Composer	Comment/ concordances (keyboard unless otherwise stated)
f. 2. 'Gavatte:' [G]	[John Blow]	Klakowich 49
f. 2v. [Corant/ Saraband] [a]	[John Blow]	See e. 399, f. 6v (above)
f. 3. [Saraband] [a]	[?John Blow]	See e. 399, f. 7 (above)
ff. 3v-4. 'A ground:' [D]		See e. 399, f. 5 (above)
ff. 4v-5. [The Nightingale] [C]		For other English kbd. settings, see Brookes no. 861 <sup>v</sup>
f. 5v. [Saraband] [a]		
f. 6. 'I find my Eugenia:' [a]	[William Turner]	D & M <sup>vi</sup> 1517
f. 6v.		Notes on stave with note names ('G A B [...]', etc.).
f. 7. 'Gavatte:' [G]	[?Francis Forcer]	See e. 399, f. 4v (above)
f. 7v. 'Saraband:' [G]	Francis Forcer	
f. 8. [Ah Cruel Bloody Fate] [G]	[Henry Purcell]	See e. 399, f. 47 (rev.) (above)
ff. 8v-43.		Empty staves
VOLUME REVERSED		
f. 43v. [?Song tune] [G]		
f. 44. [Sawney was Tall] [C]		D & M 2850: <i>Choice Ayres and Songs</i> (1681), p. 9 (earliest printing); NYP, Drexel MS 3849, p. 69 (a3); Pointel, <i>Deusiesme Recueil des Dances</i> , no. 28 (a2)
f. 44. [Song] [a]		Treble melody with fragment of text at end: 'that thinks on you no more'. Bass part written separately at bottom of page. ?Hand of William Turner.

i. See *Dances and Country Dances for a Melody Instrument and Continuo*, ed. B. János (Budapest, 1997).

ii. For a comparison between the keyboard and bass viol versions, see *Albertus Bryne. Keyboard Music for Harpsichord and Organ*, ed. T. Charlston and H. Windram (Oslo, 2008), preface.

iii. C. M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad* (New Brunswick, 1966).

iv *John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. Klakowich

v. V. Brookes, *British Keyboard Music to c. 1660* (Oxford, 1996)

vi. C. L. Day and E. B. Murrie, *English Song Books, 1651-1702* (London, 1940).

Lbl, MS Mus. 1 is also an oblong quarto with its original blind-tooled calf binding, and measures approximately 20.7/8cm x 27.3cm.<sup>13</sup> It contains twenty-one pieces written at one end by Henry Purcell and eighteen pieces written at the other by Giovanni Battista Draghi. The manuscript was discovered by the book dealer Lisa Cox in 1993 and has been studied by several scholars; the following discussion necessarily recapitulates some of their work.<sup>14</sup> In addition, most of the manuscript's contents have been published. The Purcell pieces have been edited by Davitt Moroney (1999), whilst Curtis Price edited the four Draghi pieces, then unknown from other sources, as an appendix to his 1995 article.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, several questions remain, such as whether the Draghi part of the manuscript was copied by the composer, what its original function was, in what order each composers' pieces were copied, and how it was compiled.

Several inventories of the manuscript have been published (see Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, for the most recent), to which I am able to add four new minor keyboard concordances. One is from the Draghi part of the manuscript, an air in G minor (ff. 37v-36 (rev.)/ 7-8v), which also appears in the Elizabeth Batt manuscript, Lbl, Add. MS 52363 (pp. 71-2) (for this manuscript see Ch. 6). The texts differ slightly and in Add. MS 52363 the piece is not part of a suite as it is in MS Mus. 1. However, in Add. MS 52363, some pieces in G minor by Courteville are nearby, whose music was also copied alongside Draghi's into an important source of their music, Cfm, MU MS 652. The other three concordances are from the Purcell part of the manuscript. Curiously, the 'previously unknown' minuet on f. 2/42v appears in Lfom, Coke MS 1577 (f. 55v (rev.)). This manuscript is one of three small oblong volumes (Coke MSS 1575-1577) originating from Stoneleigh Abbey in Warwickshire. MS 1577 is probably the earliest of them, and is likely to date from the first or second decade of the eighteenth century judging from its contents.

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<sup>13</sup> The manuscript's physical make-up has been examined in detail by Robert Thompson; see R. Shay and R. Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 2000), 280-1, and C. Price, 'Newly Discovered Autograph Keyboard Music of Purcell and Draghi', *JRMA*, 120 (1995), 77-111 (81-2).

<sup>14</sup> See C. Banks, 'British Library Ms.Mus.1: A Recently Discovered Manuscript of Keyboard Music by Henry Purcell and Giovanni Battista Draghi', *Brio*, 32 (1995), 87-93; C. Hogwood, 'A New English Keyboard Manuscript of the Seventeenth Century: Autograph music by Draghi and Purcell', *BLJ*, 21 (1995), 161-175; C. Price, 'Newly Discovered Autograph Keyboard Music'; Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 277-282.

<sup>15</sup> *Twenty Keyboard Pieces. Henry Purcell and one piece by Orlando Gibbons* (Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, 1999); 'Newly Discovered Autograph Keyboard Music', 103-111.

In the two sources the piece is almost identical, including the striking parallel octaves and fifths.<sup>16</sup>

The other two Purcell concordances, however, are clearly unconnected with the composer. Another setting of the 'Trumpet Minuet' from *The Virtuous Wife* (Z611/8) (f. 6v/ 38), also thought previously to have been unique, occurs in CAMhogwood, M1090 (f. [4v]), although it is clearly independent of Purcell's setting. The other is a version of the C major prelude on f. 10v/ 34; it also occurs in the keyboard and vocal manuscript Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 426 (ff. v verso- 1 recto). Purcell's version is the only one where rhythmic values are fully written-out, as all the others are in so-called 'unmeasured' notation, used principally in France in the seventeenth century.<sup>17</sup> MS Mus. Sch. e. 426, and its partner volume, MS Mus. Sch. e. 425, are English manuscripts that appear to have been copied principally by two music masters, Andreas Roner and one 'Master Colin', probably around 1710.<sup>18</sup> Much of the contents has a Francophile-German character, further highlighting the probability that the piece was not originally composed by Purcell.

Several scholars have suggested the Draghi pieces are written by the composer, and the case for this seems particularly compelling.<sup>19</sup> All but two of the eighteen pieces (including one entitled 'ye double to ye prelude'), are signed 'B', clearly standing for 'Baptist', and all but one of them are attributable to Draghi with the aid of concordances. One, a copy of the composer's almand in A major (ff. 33-31v/ 11v-13), is even whimsically signed 'B oh oh'.<sup>20</sup> The composer appears to have referred to himself as 'Baptist', judging from an address that appears before Purcell's pieces at the other end of the book. The address is jokingly set to recitative-like music and reads 'In Bedford street over against ye Cross Keys / Tavern at y<sup>e</sup>. signe of y<sup>e</sup>. Catt - Baptist'; there was apparently a tavern called the

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<sup>16</sup> See Ex. 2. 2, for a transcription of the first strain of the piece.

<sup>17</sup> Lbl, Add. MS 39569 (p. 38), F-Pn, Rés Vmd MS 18 (ff. 9v-10 and f. 3), known as 'La Pierre', and F-Pn, Vm7 6307 (1) (p. 6). Lost source: Ob, MS T 1508, f. 1 (by implication judging from the index - see Ch. 9). See R. Hill, 'A Keyboard Prelude in C major by Henry Purcell: Three Newly Located Concordances' (formerly available at: <http://dioptra.com/earmus/purcell/purcell.html>, now available at: <http://members.inode.at/m.wastl/cem-manu-b-l1-hill.htm>). For 'unmeasured' preludes, see D. Moroney, preface to *Louis Couperin. Pièces de Clavecin*, ed. P. Brunold, rev. Moroney (Monaco, 1985).

<sup>18</sup> See Ch. 2 and B. Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music* (Ann Arbor, 1979), i, 73-4, and ii, 222-6.

<sup>19</sup> See Banks, 'British Library Ms.Mus.1', 88.

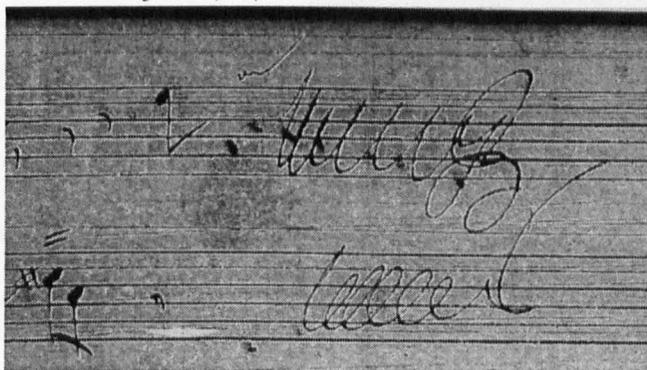
<sup>20</sup> A facsimile of this page is in Hogwood, 'A New English Keyboard Manuscript'.

'Cross Keys' on the north corner of Bedford Street from 1633.<sup>21</sup> It might have been provided to direct a pupil to Draghi's residence (see Ch. 2).<sup>22</sup>

Robert Klakowich has questioned the likelihood that the Draghi part of the manuscript was copied by the composer.<sup>23</sup> He points out that 'attempts to uncover Draghi's name in Bedford Street Poor Rates for the period in question have failed'. However, poor-rates were taxes usually levied only against the better-off, and Draghi's absence from these records cannot be considered an indication that he did not live there. Draghi may also not have been a householder, and could have been resident as a tenant. Klakowich also claims that the first scribe in the keyboard and sonata manuscript Cfm, MU MS 652 is another candidate for the composer's autograph.<sup>24</sup> Like MS Mus. 1 this manuscript contains several pieces by Draghi with the ascription 'B'. A copy of Draghi's ode for St Cecilia's Day of 1687, 'From Harmony, from Heavenly Harmony', in Lcm, MS 1106, is also in the same hand. However, Bryan White has pointed out that this copy of the ode contains many errors that are unlikely to have been made by a composer.<sup>25</sup> Instead, the hand in these manuscripts is probably that of Renatus Harris jnr. (b. 1678), who is likely to have been Draghi's student (see Ch. 6). The 'B' attributions in MU MS 652 are probably an indication that Harris copied the Draghi pieces from an autograph. Indeed, whilst in MU MS 652 they are simple in appearance, in MS Mus. 1 they are florid, sometimes incorporated into terminal flourishes, and are in a style a composer might adopt when signing his work.

### 3. 3. Draghi attributions in Lbl, MS Mus. 1 and Cfm, MU MS 652

*MS Mus. 1, f. 33v (rev.) / 11*    *MS Mus. 1, f. 26 (rev.) / 18v*



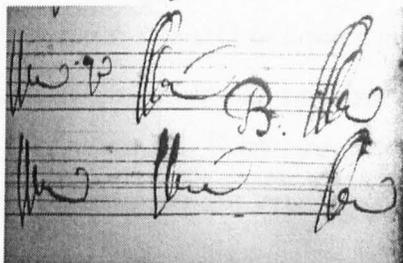
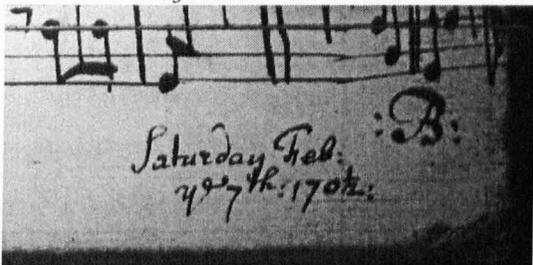
<sup>21</sup> 'Bedford Street and Chandos Place Area: Bedford Street', *Survey of London. Covent Garden* (1970), ed. F. H. W. Sheppard, vol. 36, 253-263 (<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=46128>).

<sup>22</sup> Price, 'Newly Discovered Autograph Keyboard Music', 102.

<sup>23</sup> 'Seventeenth-Century English Keyboard Autographs', *JRMA*, 121 (1996), 132-5.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 134; *Giovanni Battista Draghi. Harpsichord Music* (RRMBE 56, 1986), x.

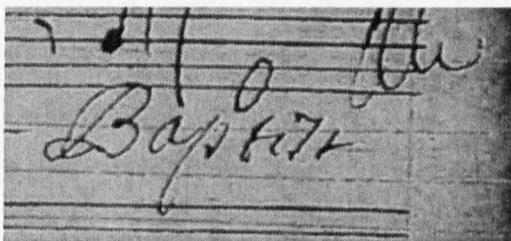
<sup>25</sup> *Giovanni Battista Draghi. Song for St Cecilia's Day, 1687* (Purcell Society, forthcoming).



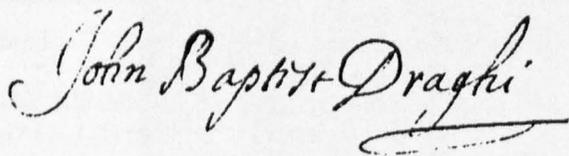
Comparing the MS Mus. 1 hand with Draghi's signatures at the National Archives (formerly the Public Record Office) from payment receipts he signed as organist to Queen Catherine of Braganza, and later for unknown duties, strongly support the conclusion that the Draghi pieces were written by the composer. Klakowich claims the signatures are 'stylistically inconsistent', and that they are insufficient to confirm the manuscript is an autograph. However, the styles of the signatures clearly fall into two groups relative to their date; three date from 1686, whilst the others are from *c.* 1700, and the differences are presumably due to the fourteen year gap.<sup>26</sup>

**3. 4. Draghi's 'musical address' signature in Lbl, MS Mus. 1 and signatures on payment receipts<sup>27</sup>**

*Musical Address', MS Mus. 1, f. 1/ 43v*



*Lpro, LR5/78, no. 272 (31st March 1686)*



<sup>26</sup> I am grateful to Andrew Ashbee for providing me with copies of the signatures, which were obtained by Robert Spencer when he worked on the manuscript. An additional, hitherto unrecorded, example of Draghi's signature appears on a document recording an agreement between the dancing master Joseph Sorin and the manager of the Lincoln's Inn theatre, Thomas Betterton, that Draghi witnessed (National Archives, LC7/ 3, no. 73); I am grateful to Sandra Tuppen for drawing it to my attention.

<sup>27</sup> See A. Ashbee (ed.), *RECM*, v (Aldershot, 1991), 277-8, and *RECM*, viii (Aldershot, 1995), 265-6.

Lpro, LR5/78, no. 273 (5th July 1686)

John Baptist Draghi

Lpro, LR5/78, no. 274 (30th October 1686)

John Baptist Draghi

Lpro, LC7/3, no. 73 (25th July 1696)

John Baptist Draghi  
Balth. Redding

Lpro, T38/736, p. 162 (22nd December 1698) (Secret Service Payment)

John Baptist Draghi

Lpro, T38/736, p. 243 (4th July, 1700) (Secret Service Payment)

John Baptist Draghi

Lpro, T38/737, p. 27 (2nd January 1701/2) (Secret Service Payment)

John Baptist Draghi

While there are differences between the receipt signatures of the 1680s and the later ones, the continuity of style between the two groups suggests they were written by the same person. For instance, in both the earlier and later signatures there is a consistency in the formation of the lower-case 'h' with slightly bent upper stem. The resemblance of

these signatures to the musical address signature also seems convincing, particularly with the later signatures.

The many musical corrections and alterations that were made by the compiler of the Draghi pieces as he worked (clearly visible when the manuscript is viewed in person), confirm beyond reasonable doubt that the compiler was the composer. In bar 7 of the C minor prelude, for example, he initially thought to continue a rising quaver figure in the left-hand part (in imitation of the preceding bar), but changed his mind when he saw that the bare octave on the final quaver (and implied consecutive octaves with the two upper-parts) could be avoided by anticipating the figure in the following bar.

### 3. 5. Lbl, MS Mus. 1, f. 26 (rev.), G. B. Draghi, Prelude in C minor, bb. 7-9



*Bars 6-8: first version*



*Bars 6-8: second version*



It is unclear whether Draghi's contribution to the manuscript came before or after Purcell's. Purcell probably wrote his pieces around 1693, to judge from the many settings of pieces that appear in orchestral theatre suites dating from that year: *The Old Bachelor*, *The*

*Double Dealer* and *The Virtuous Wife*. The watermarks, two Strasbourg bends, one of which has the countermark 'IHS/PB', suggest the paper was manufactured before 1682.<sup>28</sup> However, MS Mus. 1 is one of several domestic music manuscripts with paper dating from before c. 1685 copied in the 1690s (see Ch. 2, and Lbl, Eg. MS 2959, discussed in Ch. 5). Little of Purcell's keyboard music survives in manuscripts that are likely to date before the 1690s, and it seems probable that he would have had a greater need to compose keyboard music for amateur pupils after c. 1690 when he became a more commercial composer active in the theatres (see Ch. 8).

The Purcell part of the book was probably used for teaching, judging from the simplicity of the first few pieces he copied, and the presence of rudimentary fingerings. Price suggests that Purcell's contribution to the manuscript came first, pointing to the fact that Draghi's pieces are more difficult to play, and that if the book was used by a student then this would reflect the pupil's musical development. This possibility is also supported by the likely date of Draghi's music. Draghi probably wrote keyboard music over a number of years, to judge from the varied style of his music as it appears in manuscripts and in his *Six Select Suites* ([1707]).<sup>29</sup> His earliest music is probably a suite in D minor, which appears complete in Och, MS Mus. 1177 (ff. 41-39v (rev.)), copied by Richard Goodson snr. and attributed to 'Snr Batis'.<sup>30</sup> Its almand, alongside a fragment of the corant, was copied without attribution by Charles Morgan, probably in the 1680s, into Och, MS Mus. 1003 (f. 52v (rev.)) (see Ch. 6). Nevertheless, most of Draghi's music was probably written in the 1690s and 1700s to judge from the date of principal copies: US-Wc, M21.M185 case (?c. 1700-1704); US-U, Ms x786.4108/M319 (1701); Lbl, Add. MS 39569 (1702); Cfm, MU MS 652 (1702); Lbl, Add. MS 52363 (1704-7); Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 397 (?c. 1705). Overall, Draghi's pieces in MS Mus. 1 seem to resemble the music in these sources rather than the Blow-like D minor suite in Och, MS Mus. 1177 and MS Mus. 1003. A particularly distinctive piece in Lbl, MS Mus. 1 is the extended prelude (untitled) to the G major suite, and could place the manuscript among the later sources. A composition in C minor, entitled 'Toccata', appears in Wc, M21.M185 case (pp. 25-30). The two pieces differ in structure and thematic treatment, although they are of equal high quality.<sup>31</sup> The C minor piece is thematically close-knit and ends with a fugue, whilst the G major piece is more

<sup>28</sup> Price, 'Newly Discovered Autograph Keyboard Music', 79-80, information from Robert Thompson.

<sup>29</sup> Alexander Silbiger has pointed to the varied style of Draghi's music. See review of *Giovanni Battista Draghi. Harpsichord Music*, ed. Klakowich, *JAMS*, 42 (1989), 181-2, esp. 182. Pieces in sources such as En, Inglis 94 MS 3343, are probably arrangements of Draghi's music by other keyboard composers (see below).

<sup>30</sup> *Giovanni Battista Draghi. Harpsichord Music*, ed. Klakowich, nos. 62-64.

<sup>31</sup> See *Ibid.*, no. 38 and Price, 'Newly Discovered Autograph Keyboard Music', 108-11.

harmonically unstable (much of it is in the dominant or the dominant of the dominant), is much freer in its thematic treatment, and only hints at formal contrapuntal devices.

On balance, it seems probable that Purcell's contribution to the volume came first, although the possibility remains that it was the other way round. It is unclear, for instance, why Purcell's pieces begin after Draghi's 'musical address' on the first folio if they came first. There would have been no reason to leave this opening page blank, unless Purcell intended to return to it. One alternative hypothesis is that there were two pupils in the same family of different capabilities, and that a more advanced player used the book first.<sup>32</sup>

*En, Inglis 94 MS 3343, Lbl, Add. MS 32161 and Lbl, Add. MS 38188: Philip Hart*

Three manuscripts can be identified as containing keyboard music copied by the London organist Philip Hart (?1674-1749).<sup>33</sup> En, Inglis 94 MS 3343 is dated '1695', but Lbl, Add. MSS 32161 and 38188 are likely to date from after 1720, and are examined here for the sake of completeness and to support the conclusion that Inglis 94 MS 3343 is in Hart's hand.<sup>34</sup>

Hart's small body of compositions, which include several songs and an ode, as well as keyboard music, received considerable attention from Frank Dawes in the 1960s, who was able to identify the composer's distinctive hand from his will, and from a receipt book dating from when he was organist at St. Dionis Backchurch (see below for illustrations).<sup>35</sup> He pointed out that the 'Lesson [and fugue] for the Organ by Phil: Hart' in the composite manuscript Add. MS 32161 is an autograph. These pieces appear on a four-leaf oblong quire (ff. 84v-87), amongst largely eighteenth century Italian music.<sup>36</sup> Much of the contents is not of English origin, but it seems likely that the collection came to be in its present state at least by the early nineteenth century when it was signed 'S. W. Barker, Oct., 1830' (f. 8v). Hart's pieces cannot be dated easily, but are probably eighteenth century in view of the rest of the contents. The form of Hart's hand differs considerably from that

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<sup>32</sup> Price, 'Newly Discovered Autograph Keyboard Music', 102, idea of Robert Thompson.

<sup>33</sup> For Hart, see F. Dawes, rev. H. D. Johnstone, 'Hart, Philip', *GMO*.

<sup>34</sup> Potentially another Hart autograph was formerly in the collection of Lady Susi Jeans, although its present owner is unknown (see Appendix B, 'Present Location Unknown').

<sup>35</sup> See 'Philip Hart', *MT*, 106 (1965), 510-515, 'The Music of Philip Hart (c. 1676-1749)', *PRMA*, 94 (1967-68), 63-75, and *Philip Hart. Four Fugues and a Lesson*, ed. Dawes (London, 1973).

<sup>36</sup> For contents besides the pieces by Hart, see A. Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum* (London, 1906-9), iii, 131, and Cox, *Organ Music*, 167.

in Inglis 94 MS 3343, probably because it is a much later manuscript. According to Dawes, the Add. MS 32161 pieces may be late in date on stylistic grounds, and the handwriting is similar to the other samples of Hart's hand that all date from the 1720s onwards.<sup>37</sup>

The handwriting is also similar to Hart's autograph pieces (to my knowledge hitherto unrecognised) in Lbl, Add. MS 38188, which can be dated confidently to the 1720s or more likely to the 1730s. This manuscript contains songs and keyboard music in several hands of widely varying date. It is an oblong quarto (27.9cm x 22.3cm) and appears to have its original binding (back replaced), which is inscribed on the front 'Songs, Harpsichord Solos etc.'. The watermark, a Strasbourg bend with 'LVG' initial, common in the early eighteenth century, has dimensions that are close to Burrows and Ronish marks C20a variant 4 and C20b variant 5, which date 1723-31 (see Appendix C).<sup>38</sup> Hart copied seven keyboard pieces into the reversed rear end of the manuscript. His notation is remarkably conservative for the manuscript's likely date. For instance, he uses the shake and beat ornament signs from 'Rules for Graces' in Purcell's *A Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet* (1696), and at one point a reversed cut C time signature, rarely found in English keyboard manuscripts after 1700. This would seem to support Hawkins's assessment of Hart as a musical conservative.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, Hart clearly took on board the new Italian style to some extent judging from the settings of Corelli and Handel that he copied.

### 3. 6. Lbl, Add. MS 38188: inventory of reversed rear end

Location (pp.)/ title/ key	Composer	Comment/ concordances (keyboard unless otherwise stated)/ Hand
47v. ('Guardian Angels now protect me') [F]	'Jno Randal.'	Song. Scribe X (also copied songs on ff. 2-2v and 4v-5)
47. [Trumpet tune] [C]		Copyist: Hart
46v. [Minuet] [C]		Copyist: Hart
46. [Minuet] [G]		Copyist: Hart
45v. 'Affetuoso' ('The Nymph that undoes me is Fair') [F]	Maurice Green ('Dr')	Song. Scribe X
45-44v. 'Jigg' [F]	G. F. Handel	<i>Rinaldo</i> (from overture), HWV 7a (1711); 5 other kbd. sources where jig is separate <sup>i</sup> . Copyist: Hart

<sup>37</sup> 'The Music of Philip Hart', 74.

<sup>38</sup> *A Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs* (Oxford, 1994).

<sup>39</sup> *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* [1776], 2. vols. (London, 1875, rpt. Graz, 1969), 825.

Location (pp.)/ title/ key	Composer	Comment/ concordances (keyboard unless otherwise stated)/ Hand
44. 'Gavot' [F]	[A. Corelli]	Op. 5/10d. Drc, E32, p. 44. Copyist: Hart
43v. [Minuet]	Philip Hart	Copyist: Hart
43 (rev.). ('Her Breath perfumes ye Vale') [F]		Song. Scribe X
42v. [Minuet] [D]		Scribe Y (also probably copied the piece on f. 3v)
42v. [Minuet] [A]		Scribe Y (pencil)
42. 'Jigg' [d]	A. Corelli	Op. 4/8 ('Sarabanda' ('Allegro')). Lbl, Add. MS 17853, f. 43v. Copyist: Hart
41-38v. [Songs]		Late 18th century. Scribe Z (also copied the keyboard pieces on ff. 6v-30v and 31v-37)

i. En, Adv. MS 5. 2. 23, ff. 15-18; W. Babel, *Suits of the Most Celebrated Lessons* [1717], p. 7; *The Harpsichord Master Improved* (Daniel Wright, [1718]), p. 5 (taken from Babel's, *Suits*); Lbl, Add. MS 31467, f. 41; J-Tn, N-3/35, f. 30v.

Hart seems to have been most active as a keyboard composer during the 1690s and 1700s. In 1704, his finely engraved *Fugues with Lessons* appeared, published by Thomas Cross. It seems to have been popular as an unusually large number of copies survive, and copies were also made from it by the north-eastern musician Nicholas Harrison in the anthologies Lbl, Add. MSS 31465 and 34695.<sup>40</sup> En, Inglis 94 MS 3343, the most important manuscript source of Hart's keyboard music, was copied about nine years earlier. It is an oblong quarto (28cm x 21.1cm), is inscribed on the flyleaf 'Essex Deane 1695' (crossed-out), and on the first folio 'Diana Gostlins Musick Book 1719 [or possibly '1715'] / Given me by Sr Anthony Dean'. These inscriptions have been neatly explained by Shay and Thompson and by Gwilym Beechey in his 1969 article on the manuscript.<sup>41</sup> The first owner of the manuscript is identifiable as Essex (or 'Essix') Deane (b. 1682), a daughter of the shipbuilder Sir Anthony Deane from his second marriage.<sup>42</sup> Sir Anthony Deane then gave the manuscript to Diana Gostling in either 1715 or 1719, perhaps because Essex Deane had died, identifiable as a sister of Francis Gostling, an East India Company banker. This

<sup>40</sup> One of two copies at Lbl (Pr. bk. e. 158) is different from the others as it omits the suites in C minor and D major. A copy at Leeds Public Library (ex. Thomas Taphouse) is identical to this copy; for other copies, see B. Cooper, *English Solo Keyboard Music* (New York, 1989), 160. For documents relating to Harrison's copying activities at Durham cathedral in the early eighteenth century, see B. Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1986), 241 and 244.

<sup>41</sup> Beechey, 'A New Source of Seventeenth-Century Keyboard Music', *ML*, 50 (1969), 278-289; *Purcell Manuscripts*, 287 (f. n. 44, 45).

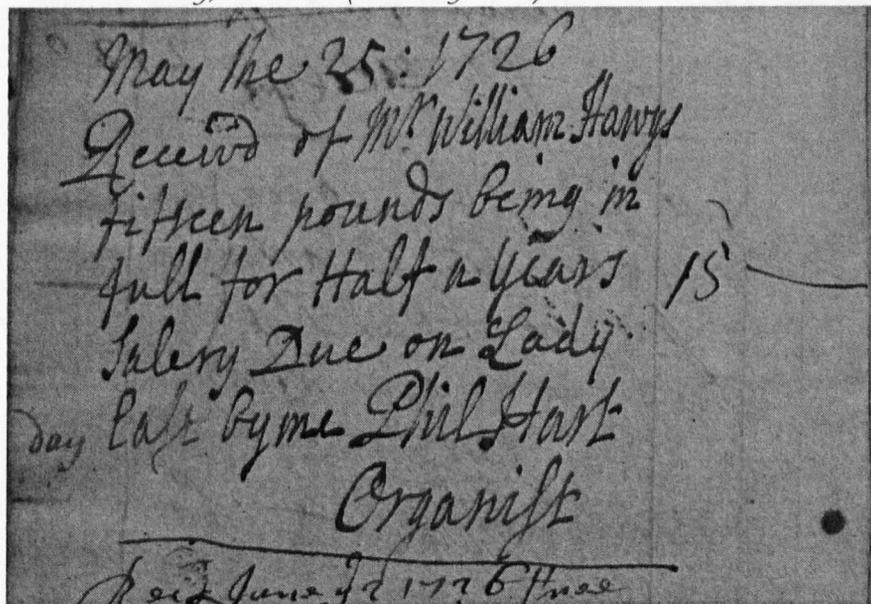
<sup>42</sup> See W. B. Bannerman (ed.), *The Registers of St. Olave, Hart Street, London 1563-1700* (London, 1916), 86. For Sir Anthony Deane, see B. Lanery, 'Deane, Sir Anthony', *ODNB*.

is confirmed by the bookplate on the inside front cover inscribed 'RWW / Garthewin Library'; Robert William Wynne of Garthewin, Denbighshire, in north Wales, son of Robert William Wynne (d. 1743), was the husband of Diana Gostling. It is likely, however, that the bookplate was that of a later family member of the same name in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, of whom there were many.<sup>43</sup> How the manuscript got to Scotland is unknown; it was formerly in the collection of Alexander Wood Inglis (1845-1929) of Glencorse.

Shay and Thompson point out the similarity of the text hand of Inglis 94 MS 3343 to that in Add. MS 32161, and that it too may be an autograph.<sup>44</sup> The manuscript contains fourteen pieces attributed to Hart, without the title 'Mr.', and another attributable from the 1704 print, a variant copy of the A minor almand (ff. 26v-27). The hand's distinctiveness leaves little doubt that the earlier manuscript is in Hart's hand despite some differences in the style of the music notation (such as the clefs), as the examples below show. The differences in the style of the music notation are probably due to the widely different copying dates of Inglis 94 MS 3343 and Add. MSS 32161/ 38188.

### 3. 7. Philip Hart handwriting sample and signatures: St Dionis Backchurch Receipt Book (Guildhall Library, MS 4220), En, Inglis 94 MS 3343 (f. 14v) and Lbl, Add. MS 38188 (f. 43v (rev.))

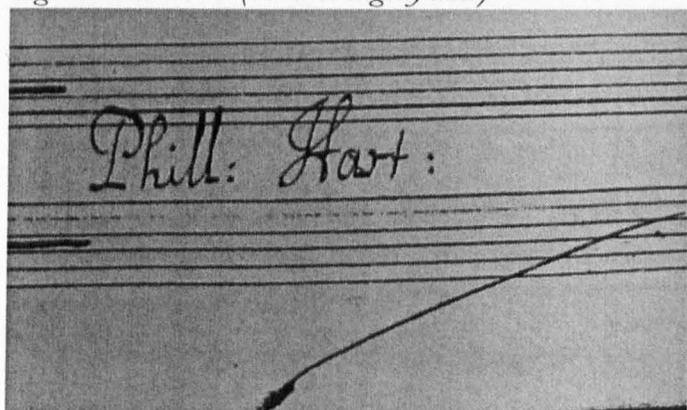
*Guildhall Library, MS 4220 (25th May 1726)*



<sup>43</sup> For the Wynne family of Garthewin, see the description of the Garthewin papers at Bangor University available at <http://www.archivesnetworkwales.info/>

<sup>44</sup> *Purcell Manuscripts*, 287.

Inglis 94 MS 3343 (1695 or slightly later)



Add. MS 38188 (?1730s)



Hart filled Inglis 94 MS 3343 completely, except for a few isolated empty pages, and even copied a piece onto blank pages at the end of the book, stave-ruling them himself. It is likely the manuscript was copied over several years, as suggested by arrangements of every piece except the overture from Purcell's *Bonduca* suite, in the order they appear in *A Collection of Ayres, Compos'd for the Theatre* (1697) (ff. 19v-26).<sup>45</sup> Hart copied the Song Tune no. 2 (*Britons Strike Home*) with the text underlaid, which is not available in the print, but numbered each piece thereafter according to the numbering in the print, suggesting strongly that it was the source of the arrangements (e. g. 'A Tune', '4th:/' 'Mr: Henry Purcell' (ff. 21v-22)).

The other composers represented are Blow, Lully and Draghi, Thomas Morgan (fl. 1691-9, d. before 1722) and 'Mr Tollet'.<sup>46</sup> It is probable that most of their pieces, too, are arrangements. Hart made the distinction of calling Lully 'French Baptise' (in one instance 'Baptist Lully of France'), and referred to Draghi as 'Senior Baptist'. Two of the Lully pieces are settings of consort pieces from his operas (see inventory below), although the one ascribed to 'Baptist Lully of France' is apparently unknown.<sup>47</sup> The three Draghi pieces are uncharacteristically dull and are also likely to be arrangements not made by the composer. 'Senior Baptists Ground' (ff. 33v-35), for instance, is mostly in two parts throughout, and was published anonymously as 'An Italian Ground' for violin and bass in *The Division-Violin* (1685) and in *The Delightful Companion [...] for the Recorder or Flute* (1686),

<sup>45</sup> Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 290.

<sup>46</sup> See P. Holman, 'Tollet, Thomas', *GMO*. Morgan was a keyboard player, composed theatre music, and was probably the author of *A Collection of new Songs [...] and a Sonata for two Flutes, Compos'd by Mr Morgan* (1691). See I. Spink, 'Morgan, Thomas', *GMO*; 'a Shacoon of the late Mr. Morgan' appeared in *The Compleat Musick-Master* (1722).

<sup>47</sup> I have been unable to identify it from B. Gustafson and M. Leshinskie, *A Thematic Locator for the Works of Jean-Baptist Lully* (New York, 1989), or M. Ellis, 'Inventory of the Dances of Jean-Baptist Lully', *Recherches*, 9 (1969), 21-55.

and is also known in a version for two bass viols entitled 'Women are by nature false' (see inventory below).<sup>48</sup>

Blow is the next best-represented composer after Hart and Purcell with eight pieces, each of which is attributed to him. The suite in F major by him that opens the collection could derive from an authoritative source.<sup>49</sup> However, the remaining five pieces may all be arrangements from consort versions, possibly arranged by Hart. Two are known from consort sources: a piece entitled 'The Hunting Almand' (ff. 55v-56), based on the 'Hunters Musick' in *Venus and Adonis* (c. 1682), and a G minor ground (ff. 50v-53). A three-part score and a continuo part for the ground are in Lbl, Add. MS 33236 and Francis Withy's manuscript Ob, MS Mus. Sch. c. 61, respectively.<sup>50</sup> The score has an extra four strains, but the strains in the continuo part are the same as those in the solo keyboard versions, suggesting that this version of the piece also existed in a consort setting. Robert Klakowich observes that Hart's version of the G minor ground differs considerably from other keyboard sources.<sup>51</sup> Hart's opens with a unique solo statement of the bass and omits the strain at bars 65-72, but is much simpler, often with a less interesting left-hand part that was probably adapted from the consort bass part. A similar situation is true with the two other Blow grounds that Hart copied, notably the C major ground (ff. 41v-45) where the unique left-hand part is quite mechanical, although to a lesser extent with the E minor ground (ff. 7v-11).

### 3. 8. En, Inglis 94 MS 3343: inventory

Location (pp.)/ title/ key	Composer	Comment/ concordances (keyboard unless otherwise stated)
1v-2. 'Almond' [F]	John Blow	Klakowich/ Blow <sup>i</sup> no. 43
2v-3. 'Corant' [F]	John Blow	Klakowich/ Blow no. 44
3v-4. 'Saraband' [F]	John Blow	Klakowich/ Blow no. 45
4v. [Prelude] [D]	[?Philip Hart]	Copied after the suite that follows (squeezed onto page)

<sup>48</sup> See P. Holman, 'Continuity and Change in English Bass Viol Music: the Case of Fitzwilliam MU. MS 647', *VGSJ*, 1 (2007), 20-50.

<sup>49</sup> See *John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. Klakowich, nos. 43-5.

<sup>50</sup> See W. Shaw, 'The Harpsichord Music of John Blow: a First Catalogue', *Music and Bibliography: Essays in Honour of Alec Hyatt King*, ed. O. Neighbour (London, 1980), 51-68. For Mus. Sch. c. 61, see Holman, 'Continuity and Change', 25-6.

<sup>51</sup> *John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, notes to no. 70.

Location (pp.)/ title/ key	Composer	Comment/ concordances (keyboard unless otherwise stated)
4v-5. [Almand] [D]	Philip Hart	<i>Fugues with Lessons</i> (1704), pp. 40-1
5v-6. 'Corant' [D]	Philip Hart	<i>Fugues with Lessons</i> (1704), pp. 42-3
6v. 'Saraband' [D]	Philip Hart	<i>Fugues with Lessons</i> (1704), pp. 44
7		Empty staves
7v-11. 'A Ground' [e]	John Blow	Klakowich/ Blow no. 42
11v. 'Tune' [C]	G. B. Draghi	Klakowich/ Draghi <sup>iii</sup> no. 82
12. 'Tune' [C]	G. B. Draghi	Klakowich/ Draghi no. 83
12v. 'Minuet' [C]	Philip Hart	
13. 'A March' [C]	Philip Hart	
13v. 'Trumpett Tune' [C]	Philip Hart	
14. [Minuet] [C]	J. B. Lully	<i>Thesèe</i> (1675), Second Air (LWV 51/55) (F); for other kbd. settings, see Gustafson <sup>iii</sup> , i, 306
14v. 'Trumpett Minuet' [C]	Philip Hart	
15. 'A: March:' [C]	Philip Hart	
15v. 'A Tune' [C]	Philip Hart	
16		Empty staves
16v-17. 'A Gigue' [G]	Philip Hart	
17v-18v. 'Chaconne' [C]	J. B. Lully	'Chaconne pour les Mesmes', <i>Le Triomphe de L'Amour</i> (1681), Act III, no. 2 (LWV 59/53)
19		Empty staves
19v-20. 'Brittans Strike Home' [C]	Henry Purcell	<i>Bonduca</i> , no. 2 (Z574/16). For other kbd. settings, see inventory of CAMhogwood, M1090, f. 2 (Ex. 2. 4). Texted
20v-21. [Song Tune] [C]	Henry Purcell	'Call'd to Arms'; <i>Bonduca</i> , no. 3 (Z574/15). En, Glen 134 (i) MS 3296, ff. 42v-43
21v-22. 'A Tune' [c]	Henry Purcell	<i>Bonduca</i> , no. 4 (Z574/4)
22v-23. 'A Tune' [c]	Henry Purcell	<i>Bonduca</i> , no. 5 (Z574/5). Ldc, MS 92b, p. 42 (pagination from rear, rev.); GB-CDp, M. C. 1. 39 (j), ff. 49-48v (rev.)
23v. 'A Tune' [c]	Henry Purcell	<i>Bonduca</i> , no. 6 (Z574/6). Variant setting: ff. 60v-61. Wc M21.M185 case, pp. 96-7 (setting att. Draghi)
24. 'A Tune' [c]	Henry Purcell	<i>Bonduca</i> , no. 7 (Z574/7)

Location (pp.)/ title/ key	Composer	Comment/ concordances (keyboard unless otherwise stated)
24v-25. 'Tune' [g]	Henry Purcell	<i>Bonduca</i> , no. 8 (Z574/8)
25v-26. 'A Tune' [g]	Henry Purcell	<i>Bonduca</i> , no. 9 (Z574/9)
26v-27. 'Almond' [a]	[Philip Hart]	<i>Fugues with Lessons</i> (1704), pp. 26-8/ 21-3
27v-28. 'A Tune' [a]		Tune known as 'La Furstemberg' on the continent, popular well into the 18th century <sup>iv</sup>
28v-29. 'Corant' [a]	Philip Hart	<i>Fugues with Lessons</i> (1704), pp. 29-30/ 24-5
29v-30. 'Sebell' [C]	[Henry Purcell]	For other keyboard settings, see inventory of CAMhogwood, M1090, f. 1v (Ex. 2. 4).
30-31. 'Sebell' [C]	[?Philip Hart]	
31-33. 'A Ground'	J. B. Lully	Unidentified
33v-35. 'A Ground'/ 'Senior Baptists Ground' [d]	G. B. Draghi	Klakowich/ Draghi, no. 84. Treble and bass (anon.): <i>The Division-Violin</i> (1685), no. 35; <i>The Delightful Companion</i> (1686), no. [11]; 2 bass viols: Cfm, MU MS 647, p. 39, entitled 'Women are by nature false'
35v-40. 'Mr Tollet's Ground' [F]	[?George Tollet]	Lbl, Add. MS 39569, pp. 242-34. Treble and bass: <i>The Division-Violin</i> (1685), no. 7
40v. 'A Saraband' [G]	John Blow	Klakowich/ Blow no. 53; unique
41. 'Trumpet Minuet' [C]		CDp, M. C. 39 (j), f. 41
41v-45. 'A Chacone' [C]	John Blow	Klakowich/ Blow no. 17
45v-46. 'A Tune' [c]	Philip Hart	Partially incomplete LH part with inscription: 'This is wrong'
46v-50. 'Overture' [C]	Philip Hart	
50v-53. 'A Ground' [g]	John Blow	Klakowich/ Blow no. 70
53v-54. 'A S[c]o[tch] Tune' [g]	[Thomas Morgan]	LAuc, B217 M4 S948, suite beginning p. 18, no. 5 (a4); <i>Apollo's Banquet Newly Reviv'd</i> (1701), no. 89 ('Scotch Tune by Mr. Morgan.')
54v-55. [Hornpipe] [g]	Henry Purcell	<i>The Fairy Queen</i> , no. 7 (Z629/1b); Lbl, MS Mus. 1, f. 5v/ 39
55v-56. 'The Hunting Almand' [C]	John Blow	<i>Venus and Adonis</i> (c. 1682); Klakowich/ Blow no. 11; only complete source
56v-57. 'Saraband' [a]	Philip Hart	<i>Fugues with Lessons</i> (1704), pp. 31-2/ 26-7
57v-58. 'Sybell:' [d]		
58v-59. 'Entree' [F]	Philip Hart	

Location (pp.)/ title/ key	Composer	Comment/ concordances (keyboard unless otherwise stated)
59v-60. 'A Tune' [F]	Philip Hart	
60v-61. [Air] [c]	Henry Purcell	See f. 23v. Hand-ruled staves
62-62v.		Pen-trials; no stave-ruling

i. *John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. Klakowich

ii. *Giovanni Battista Draghi. Harpsichord Music*, ed. Klakowich

iii. *French Harpsichord Music*

iv. This tune may have originated as an English country dance; see R. Semmens, "La Furstemberg" and "St Martin's Lane": Purcell's French Odyssey', *ML*, 78 (1997), 337-48. Purcell set the tune for keyboard in Lbl, MS Mus. 1 (f. 5v/ 39 (rev.)), and a four-part setting is associated with *The Virtuuous Wife* suite.

*AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a and Ocb, MS Mus. 46: Robert King*

Amongst the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century papers of the Drake family of Amersham at the Centre for Buckinghamshire studies (AY) are three eighteenth century music manuscripts. Though little known, they are not without some interest for scholars working on eighteenth century Italian and English music.<sup>52</sup> Two are unbound, one of which consists of two apparently unrelated bi-folia that appear to be of eighteenth century Italian origin judging from the paper and handwriting, whilst the other is an early eighteenth century English copy of the bass continuo part to Giuseppe Torelli's Op. 1 sonatas.<sup>53</sup> Mention has been made several times already of AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a, a keyboard manuscript copied by the London violinist and keyboard player Robert King. It is a small oblong volume of 37 leaves (20.4cm x 9.5cm), signed on the flyleaf 'Mountague Garrard Drake', and contains 34 harpsichord pieces in unique versions.

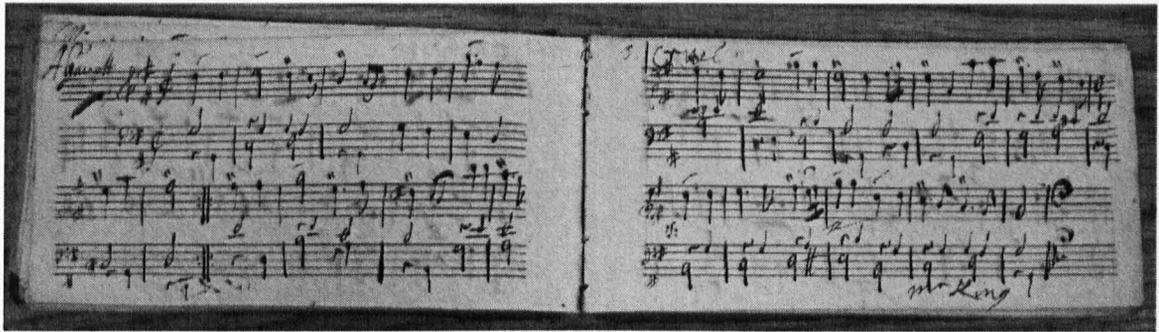
There is little doubt that the manuscript is in King's hand. The childhood account book of Montagu Garrard Drake (1692-1728), discussed in Ch. 1, reveals that he received spinet lessons from King between December 1703 and around May 1706; these dates closely match the date of the manuscript's contents (see contents inventory below). The musical handwriting, which is the same throughout, is also practiced and fluent like a professional musician's hand, traits strongly suggesting the manuscript was copied by King and that it could hardly be the work of the twelve-year-old Drake. There is a composer attribution in the manuscript styled 'Mr King' (f. 16v). This could suggest the manuscript was not copied by King, as a composer is unlikely to have used the title 'Mr' when referring to himself.

<sup>52</sup> AY, D/DR 10/ 6a has previously been cited in an edition by John Harley (*Jeremiah Clarke. Miscellaneous Keyboard Pieces* (SBEKM 40, 1988)), and an inventory of its contents is in B. Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire: 1660-1714', Ph. D. diss. (University of Manchester, 1989).

<sup>53</sup> D/ DR 10/ 6c and D/DR 10/ 6b; *Sonate a Tre Istromenti con il Basso Continuo* [1695] (Lbl, Pr. Bk. g. 50)

Closer inspection reveals, however, that it was not written by the writer of the music. It was instead probably written by Drake (along with several miscellaneous inscriptions), and confirms the manuscript's connection to the spinet lessons he received from King as recorded in the account book.

**3. 9. Handwriting of Robert King, with 'Mr King' inscription in another hand: AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a, 'A Gavott', ff. [16v-17]**



In addition, the handwriting is the same as a copy of Robert King's widely disseminated A major Almand that appears in Och, MS Mus. 46, signed 'R. K.' (Ex. 3. 9).<sup>54</sup> MS Mus. 46 contains mostly keyboard accompaniment parts to sacred music, probably intended for domestic use.<sup>55</sup> According to John Milsom two scribes copied the accompaniment parts, in-part collaboratively, at the front end (ff. 1-23). The first copyist also copied a short keyboard prelude on ff. 11v-12, and into the reversed rear end of the manuscript, texted keyboard settings of songs (ff. 74v, 73-68) and eight harpsichord pieces (ff. 67v-61). A further five keyboard pieces were added by other scribes, including King (ff. 73v-74; 60v-58v). The sacred music at the front end is by composers active during the Commonwealth and earlier, such as Benjamin Rogers and Henry Lawes. However, the settings of songs at the rear suggest the manuscript was probably copied much later; one, Philip Hart's 'Sound the trumpet beat the drum', was published in 1700, and was copied as a song by Richard Goodson senior, probably around the same time, into Och, MS Mus. 580.<sup>56</sup> King's contribution may date from a similar period.

<sup>54</sup> For the other sources of this piece, see *John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. Klakowich, 139 (Spurious 12).

<sup>55</sup> For contents, see J. Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue* (<http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/>).

<sup>56</sup> *Sound the Trumpet. A Song upon the safe Return of his Majesty King William* (1700)

## 3. 10. Och, MS Mus. 46, ff. 73v-74 (rev.): 'Allmand', copied by Robert King



In addition to the almand, King copied two bass lines with continuo figures above them into MS Mus. 46, alongside the keyboard accompaniments that had been copied at the front end. It is unclear what the bass lines were intended for. One possibility is that they were solo keyboard pieces, which the player was supposed to realise himself. So-called 'bass continuo' sonatas for solo keyboard were written by late seventeenth century Italian keyboard composers such as Bernardo Pasquini.<sup>57</sup> Similar types of piece also occur in Keller's *A Compleat Method for Attaining to Play a Through Bass* (c. 1707), intended to help the learner practice 'Lessons where the F. and the C. Cliffs interfere one with the other' (pp. 12-15).<sup>58</sup>

King is likely to have had a number of amateur harpsichord students, probably mostly from the 1690s onwards. His music is found in largely eighteenth century manuscripts and the earliest dateable source is Walsh's *The Harpsicord Master* (1697), which contains two

<sup>57</sup> See Bernardo Pasquini. *Collected Works for Keyboard*, ed. M. B. Haynes, 7 vols. (CEKM 5, 1968), vii, nos. 123-34.

<sup>58</sup> Lbl, Pr. Bk. k. 8. k. 17.

pieces attributed to him.<sup>59</sup> In advanced age, he appears to have taught Charlotte Charke, daughter of the playwright Colley Cibber, whose experience of receiving music lessons from him in the early 1720s, when he was probably in his 60s, was not altogether satisfactory. Charke wrote: 'Mr. [Anthony] Young, late Organist of *St. Clement's Danes*, instructed me in Musick; tho' I was originally taught by the famous Dr. King, who was so old, when I learnt of him, he was scarce able to give the most trifling Instructions.'<sup>60</sup> King's large output of domestic music probably reflects his activity as a 'famous' music-master as Charke describes.<sup>61</sup>

The pedagogical function of the manuscript is apparent from the chart on f. 1 entitled 'The names of the rullles & spaces', giving each note with its letter name and *gamut* name, a list of 'The rests or stops in Musick', and the signs for a flat, sharp and 'A repetition'. Like similar manuscripts it begins with a simple triple-time piece in C major, in this case one closely resembling the minuet that Purcell copied near the beginning of Lbl, MS Mus. 1 (see Ex. 2. 3). Organisation by key is apparent at the beginning of the manuscript: four pieces in C major/ A minor (ff. [2-4]), are followed by nine in D major/ minor (interspersed by one in G major) (ff. [4v-14v]), and three in G major/ minor. However, except for a group of four pieces in C major on ff. [23v-27], this ordering breaks down. There is also no readily discernible progression in the difficulty of the pieces either, apart from a few relatively simple ones at the beginning. It may have been that Drake made no significant improvement as King did not think fit to copy any of his *almand-corant-saraband-jig* suites.<sup>62</sup>

Like the Purcell part of Lbl, MS Mus. 1, the Forcer manuscripts and Philip Hart's manuscript, several pieces are settings of songs and consort pieces. Unusual among those in AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a are settings of eight songs from Thomas Clayton's *Arsinoe*, first staged at the Drury Lane theatre in January 1705.<sup>63</sup> *Arsinoe* was the first Italian-style opera produced in England, but its songs were uniformly condemned in the eighteenth century, beginning with the anonymous author of the 1709 English translation of François

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<sup>59</sup> *The Harpsichord Master*, facs. edn., ed. R. Petre (Wellington and London, 1980). For other sources, see Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

<sup>60</sup> *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Charlotte Charke (Youngest Daughter of Colley Cibber, Esq.)* (London, 1759), 27. For Charke, see L. M. Thompson, 'Charke, Charlotte', *ODNB*. King did not receive a doctorate, although he had received a Cambridge B. Mus. in 1696, and Charke's recollection may have been confused.

<sup>61</sup> P. Holman, 'King, Robert', *GMO*.

<sup>62</sup> Suites in A major, D major, E minor and G minor appear in LAuc, M678 M4 H295 1710 and Charles Babel's manuscripts, Lbl, Add. MS 39569 and Ob, MS T 1508. See Ch. 9, and R. Klakowich, 'Harpsichord Music by Purcell and Clarke in Los Angeles', 171-190.

<sup>63</sup> For Clayton, see O. Baldwin and T. Wilson, 'Clayton, Thomas', *GMO*.

Raguenet's, *Parallèle des italiens et de françois, en ce qui regarde la musique et les opéra* (1702) who wrote: 'There is nothing in it but a few Sketches of antiquated *Italian* Airs, so mangled and sophisticated, that instead of *Arsinoe*, it ought to be called the Hospital of the old Decrepid *Italian* Opera's.'<sup>64</sup> It seems likely that Burney and Hawkins took their cue from *A Comparison* in their negative assessments of Clayton, parts of which were directly lifted from it.<sup>65</sup> John Walsh printed the songs in April and October 1706, with the orchestral ritornelli reduced to two parts, and they are indeed pretty limited in their technique, often being over-reliant on movement in parallel thirds and sixths between the outer-parts.<sup>66</sup>

### 3. 11. AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a: inventory

Location (ff.)/ title/ key	Composer	Comment/ concordances (keyboard unless otherwise stated)
[1]. [Pedagogical chart]		Title: 'The names of the ruelles & Spaces'
[1v].		Pen-trials and title 'Saraband' (piece not begun)
[2]. 'Saraband' [C]		
[2v]. 'Rowndeau' [a]		
[3]. 'Gavott' [a]		
[3v-4]. 'Trumpett Tune' [C]		HAdolmetsch, II e. 17, p. 63 (rev.); CAMhogwood, M1471, no. [54] (pp. 174-3 (rev.))
[4v-5]. 'Advance' [D]		
[5v-6]. 'Trumpett / March' [D]	[Jeremiah Clarke]	<i>Prince Eugene's March</i> (T436); 8 other kbd. sources <sup>i</sup>
[6v-7]. 'Italien Aire' [d]		
[7v].		Empty Staves
[8]. 'Trumpett Tune' [D]		First strain only
[8v-9]. 'Rowndeau' [D]	[Jeremiah Clarke]	<i>Shore's Trumpet Tune</i> (T434); 9 other kbd. sources; <sup>ii</sup> melody: <i>Dancing Master</i> (1698) (Barlow <sup>iii</sup> 389)

<sup>64</sup> *A Comparison Between the French and the Italian Musick and Opera's from the French; with some remarks. To which is added a Critical Discourse Upon Opera's in England and a Means Proposed for their Improvement* [?by J. E. Galliard] (London, 1709), 65 (copy: Lbl 641.f.15 (2.)).

<sup>65</sup> Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* [1776], 2. vols. (London, 1875, rpt. Graz, 1969), ii, 810-11; C. Burney, *A General History of Music From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* [1776-89], ed. F. Mercer, 2 vols. (New York, 1957), ii, 655-58.

<sup>66</sup> D. Hunter, *Opera and Song Books Published in England 1703-1726* (London, 1997), nos. 12 and 26.

Location (ff.)/ title/ key	Composer	Comment/ concordances (keyboard unless otherwise stated)
[9v-10]. 'The Pilgrim' [G]	[John Barrett]	<i>The Pilgrim</i> (1701), no. 8 (a4) ('Happy Groves'); 5 other kbd. sources <sup>iv</sup> ; melody: <i>Apollo's Banquet, Newly Reviv'd</i> (1701), no. 17 (A). Song: 'Oh happy groves' (D & M <sup>v</sup> 2470)
[10v-11]. 'Be deaff be blind & c.' [d]		
[11v-12]. 'I'le rave & I'le rainge' [d]		<i>She Wou'd and She Wou'd not</i> (Colley Cibber, 1702); see p. 34 of 1703 printed play-text.
[12v-13]. 'Saraband' [d]	[Robert King]	<i>Tripla Concordia</i> (1677), p. 52 (a3) (att.)
[13v-14v]. 'The Temple' [D]	[Jeremiah Clarke]	<i>Prince of Denmark's March</i> (T435); 7 other keyboard sources <sup>vi</sup> ; melody: <i>The Dancing Master</i> (1698) (also called 'The Temple') (Barlow 473); Lbl, Add. MS 30839/ Add. MSS 39565-7 (a4)
[15v-16]. 'Minuett / after / Happy Groves' [G]	[John Barrett]	<i>The Pilgrim</i> (1701), no. 9 (a4); 6 other kbd. sources <sup>vii</sup> ; melody: <i>Apollo's Banquet, Newly Reviv'd</i> (1701), no. 18 (A); on f. [16], in another hand are pen trials and the words 'Let Ambition'
[16v-17]. 'A Gavott' [G]	Robert King	Melody: <i>Apollo's Banquet</i> [...] <i>The Second Book</i> (1691), no. 42 (att.)
[17v-18]. 'Minuet' [g]		
[18v-19]. 'Jigg' [D]		Illegible word in another hand below title
[19v-20]. [Queen of Prussia's Lesson] [C]		4 other kbd. sources <sup>viii</sup>
[20v-21]. [Minuet] [C]	[Gottfried Finger]	<i>The Husband his Own Cuckold</i> (John Dryden jnr., 1696), no. 3 (a 4) (B flat): LAuc, B217 M4 S948, suite beginning p. 54.
[21v-22]. 'New Minuett' [G]		
[22v-23]. 'I' anthe the Lovely' [a]	[John Barrett]	NYp, Drexel MS 5609, pp. 195 and 199 (g); Song: <i>Pills to Purge Melancholy</i> vol. 5, p. 300; Melody: <i>Dancing Master</i> (1706) (Barlow 524)
[23v-24]. 'The Marlborough'	[James Paisible]	<i>The Marlborough, Mr. Isaack's new Dance, set by Mr. Paisible</i> (Walsh and Hare, 1705); 3 other kbd. sources <sup>ix</sup> ; melody: <i>Dancing Master</i> (1706) (Barlow 526)
[24v-25v]. 'Delbo' [C]	[Thomas Clayton]	'Delbo if thou wilt not woe, me' from <i>Arsinoe</i> (1705) (A), Hunter <sup>x</sup> 12a/16
[26]. 'Minuet' [C]		First strain only
[26v-27]. 'March' [C]		Melody: <i>Dancing Master</i> (1703), 'The Queen's Birthday' (Barlow 514)

Location (ff.)/ title/ key	Composer	Comment/ concordances (keyboard unless otherwise stated)
[27v-28]. 'But how can' [a]	[Thomas Clayton]	'But how can I live' from <i>Arsinoe</i> (1705) (b), Hunter 12a/8
[28v-29]. 'Tis the fashion' [C]	[Thomas Clayton]	'Tis the fashion, without passion' from <i>Arsinoe</i> (1705), Hunter 12a/15
[29v-30]. 'Thy Sinking Mareners' [c]	[Thomas Clayton]	'Thus sinking mariners' from <i>Arsinoe</i> (1705) (g), Hunter 12a/3
[30v]. 'Wanton Zepthers' [F]	[Thomas Clayton]	'Wanton zephy'rs softly blowing' from <i>Arsinoe</i> (1705) (B flat). 1st strain only (many corrections; see Ch. 4), Hunter 12a/9
[31-33]. 'Wanton Zephirs' [G]	[Thomas Clayton]	Complete setting of preceding incomplete piece
[33v-34v]. 'Charming Creatures' [A]	[Thomas Clayton]	'Charming creature, every feature' from <i>Arsinoe</i> (1705) (C), Hunter 12a/2
[35v-37]. 'Sleep Ormondo' [a]	[Thomas Clayton]	'Sleep Ormondo void of fear' from <i>Arsinoe</i> (1705). Final 12 bars omitted (but ends in tonic); inscription, 'Yee gods I only wish to die' (title of another song from <i>Arsinoe</i> ), appears on f. [36v].
[37-37v]. 'Brittans Strike / home' [C]	[Henry Purcell]	<i>Bonduca</i> (1695), no. 2 (Z574/16); for other kbd. settings, see inventory of CAMhogwood, M1090, f. 2 (Ex. 2. 4); Melody: <i>Apollo's Banquet, Newly Reviv'd</i> (1701), no. 55.

- i. *Ladys Banquet* (1704), p. 7; GB-Mp, BRm 715.5 Rf. 31, pp. 150-1; CDp, M. C. 39k, f. 34v (rev.); Lbl, Add. MS 52363, p. 87; Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 397, p. 45; Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 425, p. 50; Lbl, Add. MS 47846, f. 7v; GB-LEc, MS 786.4 M319, p. 48.
- ii. *Harpsicord Master* (1697), p. [12] (C) (att.); Lbl, Add. MS 52363, pp. 29-30; Ob, MS T 1508, f. 15v; LAuc, M678 M4 H295 1710, f. 35 (rev.); Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 397, p. 18 (C); Lbl, Add. MS 22099, f. 4v (C); NYp, Drexel MS 5609, p. 208; Cn, Case VM 2.3 E58r, f. 59v (rev.) (C); London, MS in private collection of Guy Oldham (not consulted).
- iii. J. Barlow, *The Complete Country Dance Tunes from Playford's Dancing Master* (London, 1985).
- iv. *Harpsicord Master 3* (1702), p. 8 (A); Lbl, Add. MS 22099 (A), f. 5v; Lbl, Add. MS 52363, p. 55; Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e.397, p. 40 (A); Lbl, Add. MS 47846, ff. 3v-4.
- v. Day and Murrie, *English Song Books*.
- vi. *Harpsicord Master 2* (1700), no. 9; *Choice Collection of Ayres* (1700), p. 13; Lbl, Add. MS 31465 ff. 16v-17; CAMhogwood, M1090, f. [5]; Lbl, Add. MS 39569, p. 72; Ob, MS T 1508, ff. 14v-15; Lbl, Add. MS 52363 pp. 44-5.
- vii. *Harpsicord Master 3* (1702), p. 8; Lbl, Add. MS 22099, f. 6; Lbl, Add. MS 41205, f. 8v; Ob, MS Mus. Sch. 397, p. 41; Lbl, Add. MS 31465, f. 34.
- viii. *Harpsicord Master Improv'd* (1711 or 1715); Lfom, Coke MS 1577, ff. 55-54v (rev.) ('Queen of Prussia's Lesson'); CAMhogwood, M1090, f. [34 (rev.)] / 10v ('Queen of Prussia's Lesson'); Cfm, MU MS 653, p. 19.
- ix. *Ladys Banquet 2* (1706); Cfm, MU MS 653, p. 21; CAMhogwood, M1090, f. [39v (rev.)] / 5.
- x. Hunter, *Opera and Song Books*

*Och, MS Mus. 1141a, ff. 6-7v: William Croft*

An unusually large number of harpsichord pieces survive by William Croft (1678-1727), who was organist of St Anne's, Soho, from 1700 (relinquished in 1712), and organist of the Chapel Royal from 1707 at the death of Clarke (jointly with Clarke from 1704).<sup>67</sup> Most of the pieces survive in only a few sources, notably Cfm, MU MS 653 and Lbl, Add. MS 31467. MU MS 653, a thick oblong quarto of 155 leaves, is a well organised collection with contemporary pagination, most of the pieces being organised into suites. It was probably copied during the second decade of the eighteenth century judging from the inclusion of pieces by William Babel (c. 1690-1723), although the majority of the pieces date from c. 1700 and slightly earlier. Lbl, Add. MS 31467 is also a largely retrospective collection signed by its copyist John Barker (c. 1710-1780), a pupil of Croft at the Chapel Royal, and seems to have been copied around 1735.<sup>68</sup> Although much of Croft's music survives in these late collections, it seems likely that it was composed around 1700, to judge from its style and the date of other important sources, notably Lbl, Eg. MS 2959 (?late 1690s), Pc, rés 1186 bis (c. 1700) and *A Choice Collection of Ayres* (1700). Two suites in E major and G minor are in an Italianate style somewhat different to the remainder of Croft's works, possibly an indication that they are slightly later in date, although some of the E major movements appear in rés 1186 bis.<sup>69</sup> A new late eighteenth-century source for the E major almand, corant and saraband has recently been discovered by Richard Charteris.<sup>70</sup>

To these sources we can now add a bi-folio bound into the composite manuscript Och, MS Mus. 1141a containing seven pieces copied by the composer (for a transcription, see Appendix D: 3. i-vii). MSS Mus. 1141a-1141d are modern composites and contain mostly parts and scores of consort music of late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century date. Croft's music is unsigned and is written on upright leaves measuring 32.9cm x 20.1cm that have twelve five-line staves on each page. The watermark is of the Arms of Amsterdam type, also encountered in keyboard manuscripts of similar date (c. 1703), notably AY, D/DR 10/ 6a, and the paper does not occur elsewhere in Mus. 1141a. Besides the pieces by

<sup>67</sup> See *William Croft. Complete Harpsichord Works*, 2 vols., ed. H. Ferguson and C. Hogwood (SBEKM 30-1, 1974, rev. 1982). For Croft, see W. Shaw and G. Beeks, 'Croft [Crofts], William', *GMO*; Shaw, *The Succession of Organists* (Oxford, 1991), 10-11.

<sup>68</sup> For Barker, see P. Marr, 'Barker, John', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie (London, 1980), 20 vols., ii, 162-3. For Add. MS 31467, see B. Cooper, *English Solo Keyboard Music* (New York, 1989), *passim*, and T. Best, *Georg Friedrich Händel Klavierwerke I-IV. Kritischer Bericht* (Kassel, 2000), 24-5.

<sup>69</sup> *William Croft. Complete Harpsichord Works*, 8a-e and 14a-c,

<sup>70</sup> See *An Annotated Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C.* (New York, 2005): MS W. b. 529, ff. 8-9.

Croft, the only keyboard music present is an anonymous copy of a virtuosic early seventeenth century quadran galliard (ff. 64-65v), written in an early seventeenth century hand. Two treble and bass chaconnes on five-line staves, one attributed to 'Mr. Baptist', the other to 'Mr Hall', are probably not solo keyboard pieces. The first of them is from Lully's *Amadis* (1684) and has no bass line, but space was left for the bass to be copied-in.

Most of MSS Mus. 1141a-1141d were probably once loose leaves owned by Richard Goodson senior (c. 1655-1718), Heather Professor and organist at Christ Church, whose papers were bequeathed to the College in the early eighteenth century.<sup>71</sup> How the manuscript got to Christ Church, however, is unclear. One possibility is that Goodson acquired it in July 1713 when Croft was preparing performances of the exercises he wrote for his doctorate from Christ Church, the odes, 'With Noise of Cannon' and 'Laurus Cruentas'.<sup>72</sup> However, three out of the seven pieces are settings of airs from Croft's suite for Farquar's comedy *The Twin Rivals* (1702), suggesting the manuscript was probably copied about ten years earlier.

There is little doubt that the manuscript is in Croft's handwriting.<sup>73</sup> Several distinctive features of his economical hand are present, notably the plain style of the G clef, the left slanting of the sharp accidentals, and the elongated stroke of the cut-C time signature. It was written fluently and, except for a few omitted accidentals and a pair of incorrect notes, the texts are immaculate. Except for the first pieces in G major, he organised the pieces into groups of C minor and E major/minor. Only two out the seven pieces are known from other keyboard sources, whilst four are known in four-part versions. The differences between the consort and keyboard versions, and between versions in the keyboard sources are discussed in the following chapter.

The function of the Croft leaves in MS Mus. 1141a is unclear. A pedagogical function is apparent with many composers' manuscripts. However, there is no sign that the Croft leaves were used for teaching. Most of the teaching manuscripts are bound books, and the leaves were probably not excised from a larger collection. The cramped layout on the page

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<sup>71</sup> For the Goodson bequest and other contents of MSS Mus. 1141a-1141d, see J. Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue* (<http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/>), and C. Bailey, *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources* (Warren, MI, 2003), 99-100.

<sup>72</sup> See H. D. Johnstone, 'Music and Drama at the Oxford Act of 1713', *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. S. McVeigh and S. Wollenberg (Aldershot, 2004), 199-218.

<sup>73</sup> For many manuscripts copied by Croft, see the work-list in Shaw and Beeks, 'Croft, William', and also Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts, passim*. A new autograph manuscript of Croft's ode 'Laurus Cruentas' was acquired by the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in May 2006; for a summary, see A. Woolley, 'A New William Croft autograph manuscript', *EMP*, 19 (November, 2006), 26-7. I am grateful to Donald Burrows of The Open University, and Harry Johnstone of St Anne's College, Oxford, for responding to my queries concerning Croft's hand and MS Mus. 1141a.

and folio format is also uncharacteristic of teaching manuscripts. Another possibility is that Croft copied the manuscript for a patron, a practice evident with two other bifolio autograph manuscripts discussed in Ch. 5— Lbl, R. M. 21. d. 8, ff. 65-66, copied by Benjamin Rogers, and Och, MS Mus. 1142a, ff. 40-1, copied by the German immigrant lutenist Henry Thornowitz. However, unlike these manuscripts it was copied anonymously, and the manuscript's association with Goodson suggests it could also have circulated among professional musicians, or that it was actually copied for Goodson. Goodson collected the keyboard music of his contemporaries at the end of the seventeenth century to judge from what appears to have been a personal anthology, Och, MS Mus. 1177 (see description in Appendix B). Most of the music he copied in this manuscript probably dates from the 1680s and earlier, including pieces by Blow and Henry Purcell, which may derive from early autographs. Perhaps he knew other prominent London musicians in the late seventeenth century such as Croft and was able to receive copies of their keyboard music.

### 3. 12. Och, MS Mus. 1141a, ff. 6-7v: inventory

Location (ff.)/ title/ key	Works <sup>i</sup> no.	Comment/ concordances (keyboard unless otherwise stated)
6. 'Almand' [G]	20	Pc, rés 1186 bis, ff. 47-47v; Cfm, MU MS 653, p. 89
6v. 'Slow Ayre' [c]		<i>The Twin Rivals</i> (1702), no. 8 (a 4) ('Scotch Aire')
6v. [Saraband] [c]	5c	<i>The Twin Rivals</i> (1702), no. 7 (a 4); Lbl, Add. MS 31467, ff. 79-80 and Cfm, MU MS 653, pp. 31-3.
7. [Farewell] [c]		<i>The Twin Rivals</i> (1702), no. 9 (a 4) ('Farwell')
7. 'Slow Ayre' [E]		
7v. [Gavott] [e]		Cmc, F. 4. 35, Set XVI, no. 13 (a 4) <sup>ii</sup>
7v. 'Minuet' [e]		

i. *William Croft. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. Ferguson and Hogwood

ii. See R. Herissone, 'The Origins and Contents of the Magdalene College Partbooks', *RMARC*, 29 (1996), 47-95, esp. 64-5, and 89.

#### *William Babel and Lbl, Add. MS 71209*

William Babel (c. 1690-1723), keyboard player, violinist, and composer, had an interesting and multifaceted, if short-lived, career. He is first mentioned as a member of the Haymarket theatre orchestra in 1707, and on 24th December 1709 was appointed a

member of the Queen's Private Musick. In the same year (9th January 1709/10), and in the previous one, he is listed as 'Mr Babel junr' alongside his father, 'Mr Babel Senr', among musicians licensed to perform at the Haymarket.<sup>74</sup> The *Ladys Entertainment 3*, containing his arrangements of airs from the operas *Pyrrhus and Demetrius* and *Clotilda*, produced at the Haymarket during the 1708/9 and 1709/10 season, is likely to have appeared that year.<sup>75</sup> Hawkins seems to have had reliable information about Babel, some of which is annotated in his personal copy of *A General History* now in the British Library.<sup>76</sup> His source may have been J. C. Pepusch, a fellow member of the Academy of Ancient Music.<sup>77</sup> According to Hawkins, Babel was taught by his father and by Pepusch in the 'practice of composition'. Two keyboard books copied by Charles Babel were probably compiled for the young Babel's instruction in 1701 and 1702, Ob, MS T 1508 and Lbl, Add. MS 39569, as they were signed 'Ce livre Arpartient a gm. Babel 1701' and 'Recueil/ de Pieces Choisies/ Pour le Clavessin/ 1702/ William Babel' respectively. Add. MS 39569 contains an apparently unique 'Ground de Mr. Pepusch' (pp. 236-9), and William Babel's keyboard music is often encountered in the same sources as Pepusch's, notably Ge, R. d. 54 and Lfom, Coke MS 1275 (formerly GB-BENcoke Miscellanies C. 10, Harvester Microfilm MS 123), as well as Lbl, Add. MS 71209.

Babel's reputation in the eighteenth century seems to have rested on his renown as a keyboard virtuoso, and Johann Matheson claimed his playing excelled even Handel's.<sup>78</sup> This view seems at odds with the mediocrity of Babel's keyboard compositions (from a modern perspective at least), notably the arrangements of opera songs by Handel, Bononcini, and others. Babel appears to have been a virtuoso performer whose skills at composing were limited. Burney condemned his 'showy and brilliant lessons', probably with the flamboyant setting of Handel's 'Vo' far Guerra' from *Rinaldo* in mind. However, he would not have known of Babel's playing at first hand.<sup>79</sup> Hawkins appears to have given a more balanced appraisal, which was perhaps influenced by Pepusch, noting that he was an 'admirable proficient' on the harpsichord. A number of eighteenth-century manuscript

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<sup>74</sup> J. Milhous and R. D. Hume, *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers, 1706-1715* (Carbondale, 1982), 118-9 and 132-3; A. Ashbee (ed.), *RECM*, vol. 2. (Snodland, 1987), 101-2.

<sup>75</sup> See L. Lindgren, 'Haym, Nicola Francesco', *GMO*, and M. Boyd and G. Lzarevich, 'Scarlatti, Alessandro', *GMO*.

<sup>76</sup> *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 826; the annotations are in italic in the London 1875 edition (rpt. Graz, 1965).

<sup>77</sup> For Hawkins and Pepusch, see P. A. Scholes. 'Hawkins, John (ii)', *GMO*.

<sup>78</sup> *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister, 1739*, facs edn., ed. M. Reimann (Kassel and Basel, 1954), 479.

<sup>79</sup> *A General History of Music*, 996.

copies of Babel's keyboard music suggest it was thought of as suitable for study. For example, Ckc, MS 121, thought to have been copied by the Ipswich organist Joseph Gibbs (1698-1788) in about 1730, contains several pieces by Babel, including a copy of the 'Vo' far Guerra' setting.<sup>80</sup> At the very end of the century, the 'Vo' far Guerra' setting was singled out for republication as *The Celebrated Grand Lesson [...] by Sigr. Babel*.<sup>81</sup> The title-page noted: 'This Lesson was in the first estimation, in the time of Handel Scarlatti / &c. and is now republished at the particular request of several of the / most Eminent Masters, as being a very excellent & Useful Lesson for / the improvement of the Fingers'.

John Walsh and John Hare published three volumes of Babel's keyboard music entitled *The 3d Book of the Ladys Entertainment* ([1709]), *The 4d. Book of the Ladys Entertainment* ([1711]) and *Suits of the most Celebrated Lessons* ([1717]). The 1717 volume first appeared in February and seems to have been a summation of Babel's work for the keyboard.<sup>82</sup> The following year he was appointed organist of All Hallows, Bread Street, and perhaps no longer needed to produce such volumes.<sup>83</sup> The book contains mostly arrangements of airs from operas dating between 1711 and 1714: *Etearco* (Bononcini, 1711), *Rinaldo* (Handel, 1711), *Antiochus* (or *Antioco*, 1712 (pasticcio after Gasparini, 1705)), 'ye Pastoral' (*i. e.* Handel, *Il Pastor Fido*, 1712), *Thesus* (*i. e.* Handel, *Teseo*, 1713), *Croesus* (or *Creso*, 1714 (pasticcio after Polani or Vivaldi, 1705)). They are organised into four suites headed by a prelude, and the collection concludes with the 'Vo' far Guerra' setting.

The earlier *Ladys Entertainment* publications, on the other hand, lack preludes (although the fourth book opens with an arrangement of the overture from *Hydaspes*), and the arrangements are on the whole simpler. Each was devoted to arrangements (mostly songs) from two operas – *Pyrrhus and Demetrius* (1708) and *Clotilda* (1709) in the third book, *Hydaspes* (1710) and *Almahide* (1711) in the fourth book. The publications are undated, but it seems likely they were published shortly after the operas, from which the settings were taken, were first produced. The fourth book has been dated '1716' and 'c. 1716-17', apparently because it includes an advertisement for a lost Walsh edition of Henry Purcell's 'Lessons with Instructions for the Harpsicord', which W. C. Smith dated 'c. 1716 or

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<sup>80</sup> For Ckc, MS 121, see P. Holman, 'Henry Purcell and Joseph Gibbs: a New Source of the three-part Fantasias Z732 and Z734', *Chehys*, 25 (1996/7), 97-100.

<sup>81</sup> *The / Celebrated Grand / LESSON / as adapted for the/ Harpsicbord or Piano Forte / BY / SIGR. BABEL, / from a favourite / Air out of the OPERA of RINALDO / Composed by / Mr Handel* (J. Dale: London, [c. 1800]) (copy: En, Add. 30)

<sup>82</sup> W. C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the years 1695-1720* (Oxford, 1968), no. 505; advertised on 29th-31st January 1717 and published the following week.

<sup>83</sup> D. Dawe, *Organists of the City of London 1666-1850* (Padstow, 1983), 75-6.

earlier'.<sup>84</sup> However, the work was advertised in *The Daily Courant* on 27th January 1711.<sup>85</sup> Smith also conjectured a date of 'c. 1715' for the third book, but Sandra Mangsen has pointed out that it was advertised in *The Tatler* for 22-25 October 1709.<sup>86</sup>

Babel's handwriting has been identified by Graham Pont in the keyboard manuscripts Lbl, Add. MS 71209 and Lfom, Coke MS 1257 (formerly BENcoker, Miscellanies C. 1, Harvester Microfilm MS 153); he noted its similarity to Charles Babel's distinctive hand (for Coke MS 1257, see Ch. 5).<sup>87</sup> The similarity suggests strongly that he was trained in music copying by his father. Like Charles Babel, he uses 'French' ornament signs (*e. g.* *tremblement* and *pincé* for shake and beat), not normally used by English musicians. Pont has also tried to show that one of the manuscript versions of Babel's setting of 'Vo' far Guerra', which appears in the manuscript, was actually composed by Handel. However, his argument seems to be based on a misconception that the minor variants between the sources imply two composers were involved.<sup>88</sup>

Babel copied a similar type of repertory found in his printed collections, concentrating on arrangements of opera songs. Lbl, Add. MS 71209, formerly owned by Lady Susi Jeans, is an oblong quarto measuring 27.3cm x 19.7cm and contains 80 leaves, although at least 12 leaves were removed before copying, leaving stubs. It has a contemporary full reverse calf binding, a type of binding sometimes used for English keyboard manuscripts of the second decade of the eighteenth century and later such as Cfm, MU MS 653.<sup>89</sup>

Four hands of professional appearance are found in the volume, although most of it was copied by two scribes, Babel (ff. 21v-73v) and scribe A (ff. 1v-2; 3v-12v; 17-21; 80v-79 (rev.)). In all likelihood scribe A copied his pieces first and was followed by Babel. The music copied by scribe A suggests a date no earlier than 1711 as one is an arrangement of 'Bel Piacare' from *Rinaldo* (ff. 20v-21), whilst Babel's were copied no earlier than 1713 as they include arrangements of two songs from *Teseo* (ff. 57v-61). Scribe B may then have

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<sup>84</sup> G. Gifford and T. Best, 'Babell, William', *GMO*; Smith, *A Bibliography*, no. 501.

<sup>85</sup> 'Aires and Duets in the Operas of Hydaspes and Almahide [...] fitted to the harpsicord [...] with their Symphonies [...] by Mr Wm Babell'; see M. Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', *RMARC*, 1 (1961), 77.

<sup>86</sup> Smith, *A Bibliography*, no. 484; Mangsen, 'The Ladys Entertainment and Babell's Delight: Arias for the Keyboard 1708-1717', 13th Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music, Leeds, July 2008.

<sup>87</sup> 'An Early Eighteenth-Century Manuscript of Harpsichord Music: William Babell and Handel's *Vo' far guerra*', *BLJ*, 21 (1995), 176-83.

<sup>88</sup> The arguments have been convincingly refuted by Anthony Hicks in an unpublished letter (1996) to the editor of the *BLJ*.

<sup>89</sup> For contents, see inventory by Anthony Hicks available from the British Library Online Catalogue (<http://www.bl.uk>), and Appendix B.

added his five pieces onto space left by A (ff. 2v-3), and on pages left blank by Babel (ff. 74-78v). The fourth scribe (C) copied a suite in C major attributed to Pepusch on an interpolated four-leaf gathering (ff. 13-16). In Lfom, Coke MS 1275, its second and third movements ('Allemande' and 'Fyge'), belong to two adjacent suites in C major, the first of which is attributed to Pepusch. This interesting manuscript was mostly copied by the Chichester organist William Walond jnr. (1750-1836), who dated it 'Feb y: 1778'. It is likely, however, that the interpolated gathering is contemporary with the rest of Add. MS 71209.<sup>90</sup> Most of the music Walond copied dates from the period c. 1715-35. The prelude and almand also appear together in CDp, M. C. 39 (j) (ff. 48-46v) (together with other movements Walond copied), which probably dates from the second decade of the eighteenth century.<sup>91</sup>

Several features suggest the manuscript was a young lady's keyboard book. The end-paper is signed in contemporary ink 'Elizabeth P[.]ey' (illegible, smudged) and 'Elizabeth Griffeth' (smudged), who were probably early owners. Below a set of accounts (tallies) on the rear paste-down, Babel wrote in pencil 'For Babel att Mr. Scotts In Deens Cour / Deen Street near St. Ann's Church / near soho square'. It might be an indication that the manuscript was owned by Babel, that he lent it to a pupil or colleague, and provided the address to ensure its return.<sup>92</sup> Another possibility, in view of the adjacent accounts, is that he provided the address so that his fee could be sent to him or simply so that his patron could contact him.<sup>93</sup> This is also supported by some of the contents. All the keyboard pieces copied by scribe A are arrangements, the most unusual being the piece entitled at the end 'Albinoni Concerto', identified by Hicks as Tomaso Albinoni's Op. 2 no. 6. However, the texted settings of vocal music he copied at the front and rear of the manuscript (ff. 1v-2; 80v-79 (rev.)), are typically found in manuscripts intended for female amateurs such as Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 397.

Babel began by copying two pairs in D major and G major consisting of a prelude followed by an opera air, settings of 'Caro Bene' from the pasticcio *Clothilda* (1709) (22v-27) and 'Vo' far Guerra' (30v-49), followed by four further Handel arrangements. There are also arrangements of pieces from two Corelli Op. 5 solo sonatas (no. 7 (prelude and corant only) and 9), not a type of piece encountered in the printed collections or the

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<sup>90</sup> See Best, *Georg Friedrich Händel Klavierwerke I-IV. Kritischer Bericht*, 37-8.

<sup>91</sup> For an inventory of CDp, M. C. 39 (j) (with incipits), see M. Boyd, 'Music Manuscripts in the Mackworth Collection at Cardiff', *ML*, 54 (1973), 133-41. See also Appendix B.

<sup>92</sup> P. Holman, 'Did Handel Invent the English Keyboard Concerto?', *MT*, 144 (2003), 13-22.

<sup>93</sup> Pont, 'An Early-Eighteenth-Century Manuscript', 178-9.

other autograph, Coke MS 1257. Keyboard arrangements of Corelli Op. 5, nevertheless, appear to have been popular in England during the 1710s and 1720s. Another arrangement of no. 9 appears in Drc, MS E32 ('1717'), whilst another of no. 7 appears in LAuc, P613 M4 1725 (?1720s) and was also set by John Reading (c. 1685-1764) in Ldc 92b (entitled 'The 7th. Solo of Corelli, Compos'd into a Lesson, By / (John · Reading)').<sup>94</sup> An interesting feature is that they all have written-out ornaments, which might reflect the ornamentation used by contemporary violinists (such as Babel).

### *Conclusion*

In this chapter, we have examined the physical characteristics, probable date and function, and summarised the contents of a representative selection of composers' manuscripts. We have dealt with those whose composer can be identified— other manuscripts such as LAuc, M 678 M4 H295 1710, Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 397 and CAMhogwood, M1090, are also likely to be composers manuscripts, but the identity of the composer cannot at present be determined. Most were probably teaching manuscripts compiled for pupils from wealthy families, highlighting the connection between keyboard composition and teaching in the period, typically pre-bound books in oblong quarto format with about 50 leaves. Several appear to have been copied over a number of years, notably Francis Forcer's manuscript, NH, Filmer MS 15, and Robert King's manuscript, AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a, which suggests teachers often copied their pieces as the pupil progressed. They reveal that settings of consort and secular vocal music were written even by the best musicians such as Purcell and Croft, and that they probably made settings of other composers' music as well as their own; a similar situation is true of France during the same period.<sup>95</sup> In addition, it seems likely that the date of theatre tune settings and songs can often be a reliable guide to the date of the manuscripts and others like them. The musicians who compiled the manuscripts were likely performing this music in the theatres and other public venues, and its familiarity would probably have made it suitable as material for books of keyboard lessons.

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<sup>94</sup> For Reading, see A. Ashbee, 'Reading, John', *ODNB*.

<sup>95</sup> A point emphasised recently by the discovery of an anonymous print of keyboard arrangements from Marin Marais's 'tragédie en musique', *Alcide* (1693), possibly composed by a Parisian harpsichord teacher in the mid-1690s. See *Marin Marais. Pièces de clavecin, tirées d'Alcide*, ed. L. Boulay with Introductory Note by B. Gustafson (Monaco, 2005).

## Composing Keyboard Music

### *Setting Music for the Keyboard*

The importance of models for keyboard composition in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, notably consort pieces and songs, is readily apparent. Composers in the sixteenth century may have tried out their compositions by performing intabulations of them on a polyphonic instrument such as the lute or keyboard.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, Rebecca Herrisone has pointed out that a similar process of intabulation can be observed in organ accompaniment parts to Restoration sacred music.<sup>2</sup> It is not surprising, then, that setting music originally composed or performed in another medium, was natural to many keyboard players.

Comparing keyboard settings with other versions gives an idea of how music was adapted to suit the keyboard. Arrangements of consort music, for instance, have several characteristic features. Usually the melody and bass remain largely the same as the model, but the texture is reduced, usually to three parts, with the inner part having a harmonic rather than contrapuntal role. The arrangements of pieces from Purcell's *Bonduca* suite in Philip Hart's manuscript, En, Inglis 94 MS 3343, are interesting in several respects. They were presumably made by Hart, although the possibility remains that he obtained them from another composer. The arranger stuck to his model relatively closely, and not only are the outer parts of the consort version intact, but often striking features of the inner parts are retained. It can clearly be seen as a kind of intabulation. Occasionally an inner part is transposed up or down an octave to make it easier to play, a practice also employed by arrangers of organ accompaniment parts for Restoration sacred music.<sup>3</sup> This occurs in the arrangement of *Bonduca* no. 2 in bb. 2-4, where the inner-part, a mixture of second violin and viola, is placed partially up an octave, and in bb. 5-7, where the viola part is up an octave. The inner-parts that are retained are also significant harmonically, as in b. 3.

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<sup>1</sup> On setting music for polyphonic instruments in the sixteenth century, see J. A. Owens, *Composers at Work. The Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600* (Oxford, 1997), esp. 70-3.

<sup>2</sup> See R. Herrisone, "To Fill, Forbear, or Adorne". *The Organ Accompaniment of Restoration Sacred Music* (Aldershot, 2006), esp. 19-47.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 48-53.

4. 1. Henry Purcell, Air (Z574/2): En Inglis 94 MS 3343, ff. 21v-22 (upper system)  
and *A Collection of Ayres, Compos'd for the Theatre* (1697) (Bonduca, no. 2) (lower system)

The image displays a musical score for Henry Purcell's Air (Z574/2), presented in two systems. The upper system is from the manuscript En Inglis 94 MS 3343, and the lower system is from the 1697 collection *A Collection of Ayres, Compos'd for the Theatre* (Bonduca, no. 2). The score is written for a single melodic line and a basso continuo line, both in a 3/4 time signature and the key of B-flat major. The upper system consists of two systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The lower system also consists of two systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The first system of the lower system includes first and second endings. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and phrasing slurs.

The keyboard arrangement of Z574/2 also includes minor additions and alterations to the material of the consort version, probably to make it better suited to solo keyboard performance. For example, the broken octave figuration in the left-hand part at bb. 7-8 is clearly an adaptation of the bass line suited to the keyboard. The arranger also thought of how to alter the music to suit the harpsichord in other ways. For example, in the arrangement of the second hornpipe (Z574/7), the melody in bb. 3-4 and the first crotchet of b. 5 has been placed up an octave because the tessitura would otherwise be unsuitably low for a harpsichord to carry it. The result spoils the rising melodic line that follows from the middle of b. 5, but it is not totally unsatisfactory.

**4. 2. Henry Purcell, Hornpipe (Z574/7), first strain: En Inglis 94 MS 3343, f. 24 and *A Collection of Ayres, Compos'd for the Theatre* (1697) (Bonduca, no. 7)**

*Inglis 94 MS 3343*

*A Collection of Ayres (a4)*

In the Croft and Purcell manuscripts, the approach is similar, although in many instances more reductionist. Croft's settings in Och, MS Mus. 1141a reduce the rich harmonies and counterpoint of the consort versions considerably. Again, the changes were clearly made to suit the harpsichord. This is amply illustrated in the keyboard setting of no. 9 from *The Twin Rivals*. The consort version is richly harmonised, but the keyboard version is also appropriately written. For example, in bb. 13-14 and 17-19, the harmonies are substituted with punctuating octaves in the left-hand part, a stylistic trait of Croft's harpsichord music.<sup>4</sup> Again, few changes are made to the consort bass-part, except for some octave transposition, and the majority of textual modifications result from the fashioning of an inner part for harmonic support.

**4. 3. William Croft, [Farewell]: Och, MS Mus. 1141a, f. 7 (upper system) and *Harmonia Anglicana* (1703) (a 4) (*The Twin Rivals*, no. 9) (lower system)**

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, *William Croft. Complete Harpsichord Works*, 2 vols., ed. H. Ferguson and C. Hogwood (SBEKM 30-1, 1974, rev., 1982), no. 2c / 3e.

The Purcell part of *Lbl*, MS Mus. 1 contains nine identified settings of popular tunes and airs from the composer's theatre suites. Curtis Price has suggested that some of the keyboard versions, which are in some cases radically simpler than the consort versions, may have been composed before the consort versions, possibly acting as compositional drafts.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> 'Newly Discovered Autograph Keyboard Music of Purcell and Draghi', *JRMA*, 120 (1995), 90-91.

A notable example is the keyboard version of an air known from *The Double Dealer* suite, Z592/9 (f. 3v/ 41), which differs considerably from the consort version. Both the melody and bass lines of the two versions differ considerably and whilst the consort setting is in B flat major the keyboard setting is in C major. Suggesting that the keyboard version was composed first, Price comments on the first bar of the second strain, noting ‘the keyboard version starts with a new idea, while the string version imitates the rhythm of the beginning- an altogether tighter construction.’<sup>6</sup>

**4. 4. Henry Purcell, Air (Z592/9), bb. 5-6: Lbl, Mus. 1, and *A Collection of Ayres, Compos'd for the Theatre* (1697) (a4) (*The Double Dealer*, no. 9)**



A more probable explanation for the differences is that ‘revisions’, as with the settings of consort music in the Hart and Croft manuscripts, were made to suit the harpsichord. The change to the repeated-note figure, in particular, would seem to be one intended to make the piece easier to play on the keyboard. Likewise, the remaining differences result from the new broken chord texture in the left-hand part, appropriate to the keyboard. Moreover, it is probably a misconception to consider one version of the piece a ‘revision’ or ‘reworking’ of the other, or *vice versa* (see below). The fact that the keyboard version is in a different key may be an indication that it was based on a different consort version of the piece now lost.

Another type of arrangement are settings of popular tunes and songs, several of which occur in the Robert King manuscript, AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a. A much greater level of textual variation occurs between the sources of these pieces, probably because different keyboard players composed their own settings. AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a contains a number of unique settings of popular pieces such as Purcell’s *Britons Strike Home*, John Barrett’s *Iantbe the Lovely*, Jeremiah Clarke’s *Prince of Denmark’s March* and *Shore’s Trumpet Tune*.<sup>7</sup> This type of piece often appeared in popular tune collections such as Playford’s ‘*The Dancing Master* and *Apollo’s Banquet series*’, as the inventory of the manuscript shows (Ex. 3. 10). They were

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>7</sup> Sir John Hawkins wrote of the popularity of *Iantbe the Lovely* in the eighteenth century; see *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* [1776], 2. vols. (London, 1875, rpt. Graz, 1969), ii, 825.

probably common currency among late seventeenth and eighteenth century musicians and exist in almost as many versions for the keyboard as there are sources.

A comparison of King's version of *Shore's Trumpet Tune* with five others illustrates the great number of variants encountered between the sources of this piece, which is also known as a song, 'Jockey was as brisk and blith a lad', and appears in the 1698 edition of *The Dancing Master*. It seems unthinkable that each version was adapted from the same notated version, although it is possible that they derived from two different notated versions, one in D major and one in C major. A more plausible explanation is that each was composed from a memorised outline or 'gist' rather than an existing notated version. Peter Holman defines the 'gist', with reference to popular late sixteenth and early seventeenth century pavans, as 'the tune, the bass, the implied harmonies in between, and any particularly striking contrapuntal or decorative features in the inner parts'.<sup>8</sup> The differences between the versions of *Shore's Trumpet Tune* mostly concern ornamental details of the melody, the accompaniment, and rhythmic details, and they can probably be explained in a similar way.

#### 4. 5. Six settings of Jeremiah Clarke, *Shore's Trumpet Tune* (T434)

AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a, ff. [8v-9] (?Robert King)

The musical score is presented in three systems. Each system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The first system contains measures 1 through 6. The second system contains measures 7 through 11. The third system contains measures 12 through 16. The piece concludes with a double bar line and the instruction "End wth ye first Straine".

<sup>8</sup> Dowland: *Lacrimae* (1604) (Cambridge, 1999), 29.

*Ob, MS T 1508, f. 15v (Anon.)*

Lentem.

Musical score for Ob, MS T 1508, f. 15v (Anon.). The score is in G major (one sharp) and common time. It consists of two systems of two staves each (treble and bass clef). The first system ends with a double bar line and the word "Fin." in the right margin. The second system begins with a measure number "5" above the treble staff and ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign (two dots) in the right margin.

*L'Anc, M678 M4 H295 1710, f. 35 (rev.) (Anon.)*

Musical score for L'Anc, M678 M4 H295 1710, f. 35 (rev.) (Anon.). The score is in G major (one sharp) and common time. It consists of two systems of two staves each (treble and bass clef). The first system ends with a double bar line. The second system begins with a measure number "5" above the treble staff and ends with a double bar line and the instruction "End with the first part" in the right margin.

*Lbl, Add. MS 52363, pp. 29-30 (?Francis Forcer)<sup>9</sup>*

Musical score for Lbl, Add. MS 52363, pp. 29-30 (?Francis Forcer). The score is in G major (one sharp) and common time. It consists of two systems of two staves each (treble and bass clef). The first system ends with a double bar line. The second system begins with a measure number "5" above the treble staff and ends with a double bar line.

<sup>9</sup> For Add. MS 52363, see Ch. 6

Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 397, pp. 18-19 (?C Collet)<sup>10</sup>

The Harpsicord Master (1697) (att. Jeremiah Clarke)

End with ye 1:st strair

King is also likely to have used a 'gist' when composing his settings of songs from Thomas Clayton's *Arsinoe*. Compared with the versions of the songs printed by Walsh, King's are radically different. The setting of 'Charming Creature, every Feature', for example, has several variant features typical of the settings. It is in a different key to the song (A major instead of C major), the note values are doubled, and in one instance a repeated-note figure in the song is replaced by a rising-third figure, probably a change intended to make the piece suited to the keyboard (bb. 8-9/ 4-6).<sup>11</sup> Other variants concern ornamental details of the melody (e. g. bb. 2-3/ 3-4), and the bass has been simplified to suit a keyboard texture. However, certain characteristic details of the music are present (albeit occasionally slightly varied) in both versions, such as the semi-quaver scalic pattern at the end of b. 8 and the beginning of b. 9 (bb. 7-8 in the keyboard version). It is not known that King was involved in the first performances of *Arsinoe*, or was employed at the

<sup>10</sup> For MS Mus. Sch. e. 397, see Chs. 1 and 2.

<sup>11</sup> I am grateful to Martin Ham for pointing this out to me (Royal Musical Association Research Students' Conference, Guildford, 2008).

Drury Lane theatre, where it was first produced.<sup>12</sup> However, the presence of settings of eight songs from the opera in AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a, which were probably composed from a memorised 'gist', suggest that he could well have been. Peter Holman has similarly suggested that a keyboard version of the final movement of Handel's overture to *Il Pastor Fido*, copied by William Babel into Lbl, Add. MS 71209, was composed from memory after Babel or Handel had performed it as a concerto movement at the keyboard.<sup>13</sup>

**4. 6. Thomas Clayton, 'Charming Creature':** *Songs in the New Opera, Call'd Arsinoe Queen of Cyprus* (John Walsh: London, 1706) (opening ritornello and written-out repeat omitted), and keyboard setting in AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a, ff. [33v-34v]

Songs

D/ DR 10/ 6a

<sup>12</sup> There is no relevant mention of King in J. Milhous and R. D. Hume (eds.), *A Register of English Theatrical Documents, 1660-1737*, 2 vols. (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1991), or Milhous and Hume (eds.), *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers, 1706-1715* (Carbondale, 1982).

<sup>13</sup> 'Did Handel Invent the English Keyboard Concerto?', *MT*, 144 (2003), 18-21.



### *Composing Methods*

Several manuscripts contain pieces where the compiler has made changes on the page in the form of alterations and corrections. These emendations most often occur in manuscripts that were probably compiled for teaching amateur keyboard players such as Lbl, MS Mus. 1, AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a, and En, Inglis 94 MS 3343. It is striking to find that composers chose to revise their pieces in such manuscripts, which might otherwise have been classified as compositional ‘drafts’ and therefore personal to the composer. However, it seems likely that the occasionally rough appearance of these manuscripts was a by-product of the way composers worked, which did not involve ‘drafting’ in a modern sense. Rebecca Herissone has pointed out that many of Purcell’s autographs of his sacred music, odes and Welcome Songs, which contain minor corrections and alterations, were probably not ‘drafts’, but were intended to have a practical function, and were to be used by musicians other than the composer.<sup>14</sup> The music is rarely difficult to read, and this is, on the whole, true of the keyboard autographs that contain revisions.<sup>15</sup> In AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a, for instance, Robert King recopied his setting of Clayton’s ‘Wanton Zephyrs’ twice because he probably thought his first attempt at composing the setting, with its many corrections, was too difficult to read, and he took the opportunity to set the piece in a different key (see below).

The use of treble and bass outlines for composing is apparent in several instances, also commonly encountered with seventeenth century consort repertoires.<sup>16</sup> It can be detected when the ink of an inner part or parts is in a different colour to the outer parts, or the nib of the pen used varies in thickness. There are relatively few instances of this in solo keyboard manuscripts, probably because composers had little difficulty with the generally simple pieces that survive in autographs, which could easily be written down without the need to employ compositional strategies. For example, in AY D/ DR 10/ 6a the colour of

<sup>14</sup> “Fowle Originals” and “Fayre Writing”: Reconsidering Purcell’s Compositional Process’, *JM*, 23 (2006), 569-619.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 581-4.

<sup>16</sup> For example, the autograph organ parts for William Lawes’ Harp Consorts (see J. P. Cunningham, ‘Music for the Privy Chamber: Studies in the Consort Music of William Lawes (1602-45)’, Ph. D. diss., 2 vols. (University of Leeds, 2007), i, 279-81), and the autograph score of Henry Purcell’s ‘Chacony’, Z730 (see P. Holman, *Henry Purcell* (Oxford, 1994), 68-9).

the ink (dark and light brown) and the thickness of the strokes changes only between pieces, or occasionally half-way through a piece (probably reflecting different copying stages). Nevertheless, other indications are present that composers wrote the treble and bass as a starting point in some of their pieces.

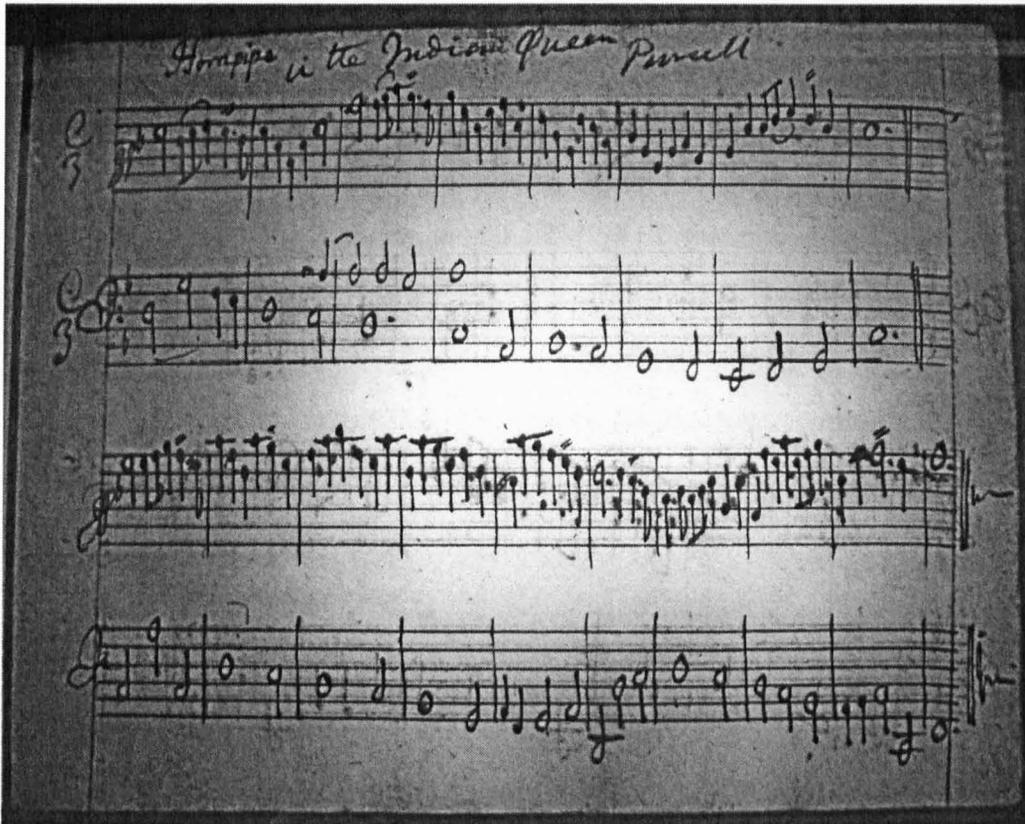
Several manuscripts contain pieces that have incomplete textures where the inner-parts have only been partially written out. Two examples occur in Och, MS Mus. 580, a manuscript of keyboard music and songs copied by Richard Goodson senior apparently for one Catherine Brooks, who signed the rear pastedown.<sup>17</sup> This manuscript was used for teaching as Goodson copied pedagogical charts and singing exercises. The keyboard portion, at the reversed rear end of the manuscript, consists mostly of settings of theatre tunes, popular tunes and songs, some of which were copied into the vocal portion at the front end (melodies only). Most of the songs date from 1695 or 1696, or were published in that year, although the first song, Philip Hart's 'Sound the trumpett beat the drum', was published in 1700 as *A Song upon the safe Return of his Majesty King William*.<sup>18</sup> The setting of Purcell's song 'I attempt from love's sickness to fly in vain' from *The Indian Queen*, consists only of the first 12 bars and is in A major (f. 38 (rev.)); at the front end the melody of the song was copied in G major and is complete (ff. 21v-22). In the keyboard arrangement, Goodson provided an inner part only sporadically, and the inner part was composed after the outer parts. This order of composing is even more apparent with the next piece in the manuscript (f. 36v), a setting of the Second Music (hornpipe) from *The Indian Queen*, where an inner part is present in bb. 2 and 3, the rest consisting only of treble and bass.

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<sup>17</sup> See Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 8, and H. Purcell, *The Indian Queen. The Works of Henry Purcell XIX*, ed. M. Laurie and A. Pinnock (London, 1994).

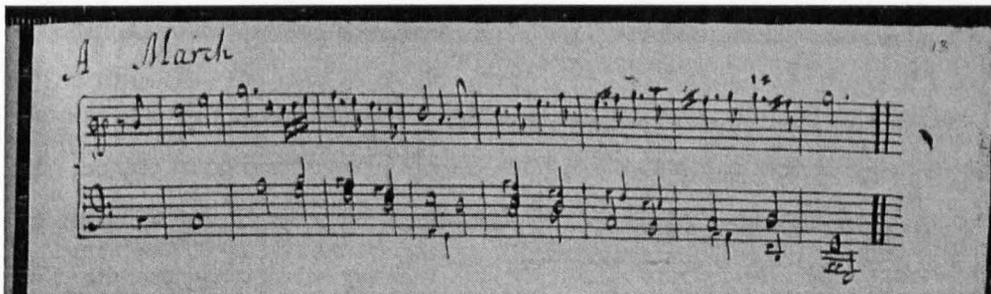
<sup>18</sup> A copy is in the British Library: Pr. Bk. k. 7. i. 2 (92.). Another manuscript source is Och, MS Mus. 46.

4. 7. Och, MS Mus. 580, f. 36v: [Henry Purcell], 'Hornpipe' (*The Indian Queen*, Second Music)



In a number of instances, Philip Hart left rather bare treble and bass textures in En, Inglis 94 MS 3343. This is the case, for instance, with his 'A March' (f. 13), a piece that has a rather sketchy appearance in the second strain (it is almost completely in two parts). In the first strain, he also changed his mind about the inner part: in b. 3, the crotchet-rest, crotchet figuration of the left hand part replaces what were originally simple minims.

4. 8. En, Inglis 94 MS 3343, f. 13 (top third): Philip Hart, 'A March'

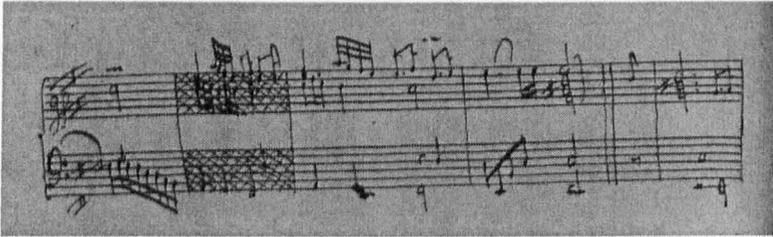


Revisions of this type, *i. e.* those that concern the accompaniment, are by far the most common in the sources; the other common type are ornamental modifications to the melody. There are a small but significant number of examples of the latter occur in Philip

Hart's manuscript. At least two layers of minor alteration occur in the copy of his A minor almand as some are in ink whilst others are in pencil (ff. 26v-27). Unfortunately the pencil does not come up well on microfilm and cannot be illustrated, but notably it occurs in b. 15 where octaves have been added to the left-hand part, and in bb. 25-8, where an extra part in the left-hand part adds interest to the accompaniment. The revisions in ink, evidently made whilst Hart was copying the piece into the manuscript, concern an error of notation where a bar was copied with unintentionally halved note values (b. 19), whilst another concerns a detail in the right-hand part (b. 12). With the latter, Hart initially attempted to superimpose his new idea on top of the old one, but realised that this was not clear and wrote the bar out again.

**4. 9. En, Inglis 94 MS 3343, f. 26v (bottom third): Revision to b. 12 of, Philip Hart, almand in A minor**

*Probable original reading:*



Another example of a piece revised in several places is Purcell's C major almand in Lbl, MS Mus. 1. Purcell's revisions are similar in character to Hart's for his A minor almand, and concern mostly textual refinements.<sup>19</sup> A number of details were added or changed, notably: in bb. 1-2 where the rhythmic figure familiar from *A Choice Collection* was originally a simpler figure of dotted-minim, dotted-crotchet, semi-quaver; in b. 8 where there was a change of mind in the accompaniment; at the first time bar, where he wrote a scalar run to lead back to the beginning. The impression given from these changes, and those in Hart's almand, is that composers would sometimes write out a simple version of their pieces initially and then refine the details to give them a better shape.

Revisions also occur in several places in King's manuscript. Again they are usually minor and piecemeal, and were probably conducted not long after the pieces had been copied. A simple example occurs on the final page of the setting of Clayton's song 'Charming Creatures' (f. [34v]) where the crotchet a-d in the left-hand part was originally written as a minim A. More interesting is the abandoned setting of Clayton's 'Wanton Zephyrs', mentioned above. King began to write the piece in F major, but only got as far as the first

<sup>19</sup> The page has been reproduced several times. See Price, 'Newly Discovered Autograph Keyboard Music', 95, and Henry Purcell. *Twenty Keyboard Pieces and one by Orlando Gibbons* (London, 1999) ed. D. Moroney, 23.

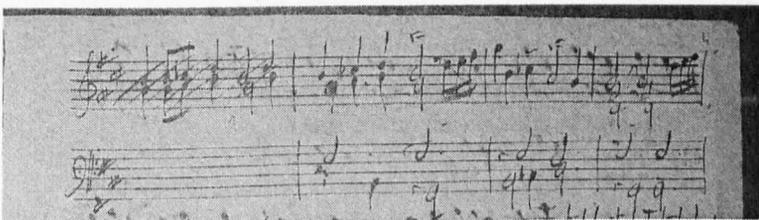
strain before deciding to compose a new setting in G major. He clearly had several changes of mind before changing his mind about the appropriate key. The colour of the ink is lighter in some places, but the thickness of the nib used is mostly the same throughout, suggesting the revisions were conducted not long after the initial version of the piece had been copied. King employed two methods of correction. One involved scratching the ink from the page, which occurs in the right-hand part in b. 5, second half: what was originally quaver b' flat, quaver e', crotchet e', was changed to crotchet b' flat, crotchet e'. In other instances, he smudged the ink. This occurs, for example, in the right- and left-hand part of b. 1. In many instances, it is difficult to tell exact nature of the revisions, although it is clear that the primary difficulty in composing the piece was with the accompaniment part.

**4. 10. AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a, ff. [30v-31]: Thomas Clayton, 'Wanton Zephirs Softly Blowing', abandoned setting in F major and beginning of complete setting in G major**



One further manuscript containing alterations, which indicate that the compiler was probably a composer (at least of some of the pieces), is LAuc, M678 M4 H295 1710. As with the Hart, Purcell and King manuscripts, it was probably compiled for teaching judging from the presence of fingerings, and tallies probably for counting the cost of lessons. The alterations are minor changes to the left hand part, and to melodic details, probably made at the time of copying. With the untitled piece on ff. 3v-4, for example, the compiler appears to have changed his mind about the rhythmic character of the first bar of f. 4.

**4. 11. LAuc, M678 M4 H295 1710, f. 4 (top third): untitled/ unidentified piece, ff. 3v-4, alteration to first bar of f. 4**



These examples suggest that in revising pieces, composers were mostly concerned with refining the details, such as the texture of the accompaniment. Rebecca Herissone makes a similar observation with the kind of minor revision on the page that occurs in autograph sources of Purcell's sacred music.<sup>20</sup> It implies that composers usually had a relatively complete conception of the music in their minds before they set pen to paper, and that only details such as these were left to be worked out. It is possible that composers kept exemplars of their pieces from which they made copies. However, there are several reasons to believe that this was not so. For a start, no such exemplars are known to exist, and it is likely that none of the surviving autographs were the composer's property. Other physical aspects of the autographs suggest that composers were not accustomed to making planned or systematic collections of their music. For example, they occasionally run out of space and have to use cramped notation, or in order to avoid a page turn when copying on a recto page, resort to copying the end of the piece on the preceding verso.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, the better organised and neater collections tend to be in the hands of copyists, for example, the John Barker manuscript, Lbl, Add. MS 31467, a principal source of Croft's music. Perhaps the best indicator, however, is the textual variation that occurs between authoritative sources, and the apparent fluidity of keyboard composers' texts, which were probably not derived from a common exemplar.

### *The Status of Composers' Texts*

The occasional minor modifications composers made to their pieces suggests that they were accustomed to making revisions. In addition, however, the textual differences between authoritative copies suggest that much 'revision' was conducted before composers set pen to paper.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, King's setting of 'Wanton Zephirs' shows that he revised the left-hand part almost entirely when rewriting the piece in G major: in b. 2, and from b. 4 onwards (see Ex. 4. 10). The types of variants encountered between authoritative sources of Restoration keyboard composers' music mirror the kinds of things they occasionally chose to revise on the page, such as the accompaniment and ornamental details of the

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<sup>20</sup> "Fowle Originals", esp. 593-9.

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, Purcell's copy of his C major almand in Lbl, MS Mus. 1, which begins on f. 11/33v (rev.) and ends below the preceding prelude on f. 10v/34 (rev.) because he ran out of space.

<sup>22</sup> See also Herissone's concept of 'pre-compositional revisions', to explain variants between authoritative copies of Purcell's sacred music, in "Fowle Originals".

melody. Two examples illustrating typical differences between authoritative copies are Purcell's C major corant, as it appears in Lbl, MS Mus. 1 and in *Musick's Hand-maid 2* (1689), and Croft's C minor saraband as it appears in Och, MS Mus. 1141a and the John Barker manuscript, Add. MS 31467. In the Purcell piece, the principal differences occur in bb. 6 and 7 of the right hand part where the melody differs slightly, and in bar 7 of the left hand part. In addition, there are small differences in ornamentation and in the cadential figuration. Differences of a similar type can be observed between two versions of Croft's saraband. They again mostly concern details in the accompaniment (*e. g.* bb. 8, 16, 18-21), and ornamentation or ornamental details of the melody (*e. g.* 15-17).

**4. 12. Henry Purcell, Corant in C major (Z665/2) (first strain): Lbl, MS Mus. 1 (f. 11v) (upper system) and *Musick's Hand-maid 2* (1689) (lower system)**

The image displays a musical score for Henry Purcell's Corant in C major, comparing two manuscript versions. The score is presented in four systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The first two systems (bb. 1-6) show differences in the right-hand melody and left-hand accompaniment. The last two systems (bb. 7-10) show differences in the right-hand melody and left-hand accompaniment, including a change in the left-hand part in bar 7.

## 4. 13. William Croft, Saraband in C minor: Och, MS Mus. 1141a, f. 6v (upper system) and Lbl, Add. MS 31467, f. 80/ p. 155 (lower system)

First system of musical notation, measures 1-6. The upper system (treble clef) features a melody with a mix of quarter and eighth notes, and rests. The lower system (bass clef) provides a steady accompaniment with eighth notes.

Second system of musical notation, measures 7-12. The upper system continues the melodic line with some chromaticism. The lower system maintains the eighth-note accompaniment.

Third system of musical notation, measures 13-18. Measure 13 is marked with an '8'. The system includes a first ending (1.) and a second ending (2.) in measure 17. The upper system has a more active melodic line, while the lower system has some rests.

Fourth system of musical notation, measures 19-24. Measure 19 is marked with an '8'. This system also features first and second endings in measure 23. The upper system continues with the melodic development, and the lower system provides harmonic support.

Fifth system of musical notation, measures 25-30. Measure 25 is marked with a '15'. The upper system shows a more complex melodic texture with some triplets. The lower system continues with eighth-note accompaniment.

Sixth system of musical notation, measures 31-36. Measure 31 is marked with a '15'. The upper system concludes with a melodic phrase, and the lower system ends with a final cadence.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a keyboard instrument, likely an organ. Each system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The first system covers measures 22 to 25, and the second system covers measures 26 to 29. The music is written in a minor key, indicated by two flats in the key signature. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and performance markings such as slurs and accents. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of measure 29.

Barry Cooper has dealt with the subject of variants in Restoration keyboard sources at length. He has identified nine causes that serve to explain the differences between sources of Blow's organ music: 1: corruption of the text through miscopying; 2: degeneration through the accidental omission of detail; 3: distortion of the text through deliberate alteration; 4: correction, or attempted correction, of obvious errors; 5: revision by the composer himself; 6: amplification by supplementary performance indications not previously written down; 7: variation of standard melodic figures where a variety of possibilities was acceptable in performance; 8: faulty memorisation, written without an exemplar at hand; 9: notational changes not intended to affect the sound in any way.<sup>23</sup> The first six of these, and no. 8, are probably not applicable in the case of the two versions of Purcell's C major corant and Croft's C minor saraband. It seems probable that the non-autograph sources in both cases were close to autographs now lost. According to Playford's preface to *Musick's Hand-maid 2*, Purcell 'carefully Revised and Corrected' the impression, and the version of the piece he printed was presumably authorised by the composer. Likewise, it seems plausible that the version of the piece in Add. MS 31467 is

<sup>23</sup> 'Problems in the Transmission of Blow's Organ Music', *ML*, 75 (1994), 522-547.

an authoritative one as John Barker was Croft's pupil. One possible exception occurs in the Croft piece. The a'' natural in the right hand part at b. 19 of Barker's copy is a slightly odd feature not found in the autograph, although it was consciously written-in as he was required to cancel the A flat in the key signature. One explanation (equivalent to Cooper's cause 2) is that Barker was copying from a source with two flats in the key signature (as is the case in MS Mus. 1141a) where the copyist had omitted to indicate a flat, which Barker then interpreted to mean that a'' natural was intended.<sup>24</sup>

Many of the variants may also be accounted for because certain notational features were considered more or less equivalent in musical practice and that they were used interchangeably by copyists or composers (equivalent to Cooper's cause 7).<sup>25</sup> One example occurs in b. 8 of the left-hand part of the Purcell corant. Here the final left-hand b natural is delayed in the autograph. However, one imagines that there was some degree of rhythmic inequality between the hands in performance, and that both notated forms were intended to indicate approximately the same musical result. (The same can probably be said for jigs written in compound and common time, such as those of Froberger, and that both notations approximated performance). Idiosyncratic features of notation in autographs may also have been altered by copyists (Cooper's cause 9). This may be the case in a number of instances in Barker's copy of the C minor saraband. For example, in bb. 2, 4, 6, and 8, Croft's right-hand crotchets followed by shaken minims are replaced by *plain note and shake* ornaments, the more usual way of notating this ornament.

Other variants, however, can probably be accounted for because composers themselves were responsible for them. The manuscript culture of the seventeenth century encouraged authors to continually to revise, and in a sense 'recreate', their works each time they made copies of them, which are unlikely to have been made from a common exemplar.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, it has been argued that textual variation is a defining characteristic of works transmitted in manuscripts, and that the notion of the 'definitive' text is at least inappropriate for pre-nineteenth century literary texts.<sup>27</sup> Christine Jeanneret has also proposed a similar explanation for the differences between autograph and authoritative

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<sup>24</sup> I am grateful to Alan Howard for this suggestion (13th Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music, Leeds, July 2008). It is noteworthy, however, that the a'' natural also occurs in the four-part version of the piece in *Harmonia Anglicana*.

<sup>25</sup> I am grateful to Rebecca Herissone for advice on this point (13th Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music, Leeds, July 2008).

<sup>26</sup> See H. Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993), esp. 52-4.

<sup>27</sup> B. Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant. A Critical History of Philology* [1989], trans. B. Wing (Baltimore and London, 1999). I am grateful to Christine Jeanneret for drawing my attention to this book. See also S. G. Nichols, 'Philology in a Manuscript Culture', *Speculum*, 65 (1990), 1-10.

copies of Frescobaldi's keyboard music, and that the variant copies probably derive from autographs with variant readings now lost.<sup>28</sup>

In only a small number of cases do we have a piece that survives in more than one autograph source before 1720. However, it is significant that the variants between these sources are similar to those encountered between autographs and important copies or prints. Many examples occur, for instance, in the manuscripts compiled by Francis Forcer, NH, Filmer MS 15, and Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 399. No two copies of a piece are identical in these sources; either there are insignificant differences in the notation, which do not affect the sound, such as tied notes being replaced by dots or *vice versa*, or small differences in the notes or ornamentation, which affect the sound. For example, there are minor variants between copies in Filmer MS 15 and MS Mus. Sch. e. 399 of an anonymous gavot in G major. Some of the differences between the two copies of this piece probably did not affect the sound (*e. g.* rhythmic differences). Nevertheless, they illustrate that the composer's own notation was not fixed. The work is probably by Forcer as in MS Mus. Sch. e. 399 it is followed by a saraband in G major that the composer signed.

**4. 14. ?Francis Forcer, gavot in G major: Filmer MS 15, f. 7, with readings from Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 399, f. 4v, added in square brackets and on ossia staves**

The musical score is presented in three systems. Each system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The first system contains six measures. The fifth measure of the first system has a bracketed variant above the staff. The second system contains six measures, with a bracketed variant above the staff in the fifth measure. The third system contains five measures, with a bracketed variant above the staff in the fourth measure. Square brackets and ossia staves indicate alternative readings from different sources.

<sup>28</sup> 'L'Oeuvre en Filigrane: une Étude Philologique des Manuscrits de Musique pour Clavier à Rome au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', Ph. D. diss. (University of Geneva, 2005), 471-7. See also discussion of variants between manuscript and printed sources of Chopin's piano music in J. Kallberg, 'Hearing Poland: Chopin and Nationalism', *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music*, ed. L. R. Todd (New York, 1990), 221-57, esp. 231-3.

At the other end of our period, but illustrating something similar, are the Babel manuscripts, Lfom, Coke MS 1257 and Lbl, Add. MS 71209, which share one piece, a setting of the song 'Caro Bene' from the pasticcio *Clotilda*. Again, there are minor differences between the two copies, as well as with a version that appeared in the *Lady's Entertainment 4* ([1711]). The two manuscripts have closer readings, presumably because they are closer in date (c. 1714). A peculiar difference between them, however, is that in Add. MS 71209 the barring is displaced by two crotchets from b. 36. It is clearly an error as Babel wrote half of b. 36 at the end of a stave, forgetting that the bar was only half complete, and wrote a complete bar at the beginning of the new stave causing the displacement. It is, of course, a fair indication that Babel was not copying the piece from an exemplar as the error would presumably have been visually clear to him if he were. More musically interesting are variants between versions of pieces in Babel's prints and manuscripts. There are three concordances, for example, between Coke MS 1257 and *Suits of the Most Celebrated Lessons* ([1717]). The two copies of Babel's setting of 'Si t'intendo' from the pasticcio *Croesus* (1714) are particularly interesting, and give an impression of what Babel's abilities in extemporised variation might have been like.

**4. 15. William Babel, setting of 'Si t'intendo' from *Croesus* (1714) / 'Since in vain' from *Thomyris* (1707): *Suits of the Most Celebrated Lessons* ([1717]) (upper system) and Lfom, Coke MS 1257 (lower system)**

bb. 16-22

Musical score for measures 20-23. The score is written for two staves (treble and bass clef) in a key signature of one sharp (F#). Measure 20 starts with a treble clef and a sharp sign. The music features eighth and sixteenth notes with various ornaments like trills and mordents. Measure 21 has a '5' above the treble staff. Measure 22 has a trill and a sharp sign. Measure 23 has a trill.

*bb. 68-73*

Musical score for measures 68-70. The score is written for two staves in common time (C). Measure 68 has a sharp sign. The music is characterized by dense sixteenth-note passages in both hands. Measure 69 has a sharp sign. Measure 70 has a trill.

Musical score for measures 71-73. The score is written for two staves in common time (C). Measure 71 has a trill and a sharp sign. Measure 72 has a trill and a sharp sign. Measure 73 has a trill and a sharp sign. The music includes triplet markings (3) in the treble staff.

Musical score for measures 71-73 (continued). The score is written for two staves in common time (C). Measure 71 has a trill and a sharp sign. Measure 72 has a trill and a sharp sign. Measure 73 has a trill and a sharp sign.

*bb. 92-4*

Musical score for measures 92-94. The score is written for two staves in common time (C). Measure 92 has a sharp sign. Measure 93 has a sharp sign. Measure 94 has a sharp sign. The music features complex sixteenth-note patterns and trills.

This sample shows that the features of Babel's pieces most subject to variation are ornamental details of the melody (*e. g.* bb. 17-19 and 92-4) and the bass (*e. g.* bb. 17-21 and 68-72). Some of the variants have an arbitrary quality, particularly those in the bass, which only have minor harmonic implications at most, as in b. 69. Taken as a whole, the variants between Babel's surviving autographs and his prints suggest a progression to greater complexity in the melody. However, this is not always the case, as shown in the example of bb. 92-4 from 'Si t'intendo'. The difficulties of assigning 'later' and 'early' versions to keyboard pieces of this period is readily apparent when autograph manuscripts are compared with apparently authoritative prints. Curtis Price, for instance, comes to a somewhat awkward conclusion over how the different versions of Purcell's C major almand in *A Choice Collection* (1696/9) and in Lbl, MS Mus. 1 may have come about, conceding that 'the stemma is complex'.<sup>29</sup> However, the types of variants encountered between the sources, often of an arbitrary nature, suggests a much less direct relationship between them. They seem to support the idea of composers 'recreating' their works from a basic outline each time they made a copy of them. Such a picture goes hand-in-hand with what evidence we have (albeit limited) of composing methods from the period such as the use of treble and bass outlines and the likely employment of memorised 'gists'.

#### *Conclusions and Implications for Editors of Early Keyboard Music*

The preceding two chapters have tried to place composer's manuscripts in context. To date, interest in this topic has been largely restricted to Lbl, MS Mus. 1, although it is unexceptional from the point of view of function.<sup>30</sup> The teaching function of many of the manuscripts is readily apparent from the inclusion of pedagogical charts and rudimentary fingerings, and also from the fact that quite a few appear to have been owned by wealthy women who were probably pupils. It is likely that the practice of keyboard composing was often stimulated by a demand for teaching pieces. Indeed, John Young wrote in the preface to *A Choice Collection of Ayres for the Harpsichord or Spinett* (1700): '[The Harpsichord's] neatness & easiness in Playing on hath so particularly Recommended it to the Fair Sex, that few Ladys of Quality Omitt to Learn on it, And for their Sake it is that ye Masters from time to time Communicate [*i. e.* write-down] Their Compositions.'

There is evidence of compositional activity in the teaching manuscripts in the form of minor revisions. These are somewhat limited, and as evidence for the composing methods

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<sup>29</sup> 'Newly Discovered Autograph Keyboard Music', 94.

<sup>30</sup> See also Christopher Hogwood's observations in 'A New English Keyboard Manuscript of the Seventeenth Century: Autograph music by Draghi and Purcell', *BLJ*, 21 (1995), 161.

of keyboard players, probably should be used with caution. Such features are conspicuously absent, however, in several of the manuscripts, and their rather isolated occurrence in the others is notable. This suggests that many composers were able to write down keyboard pieces in more or less complete form at the first attempt, or at least were able to write simpler versions of them, such as a treble and bass, filling in the details later. Many musicians in the seventeenth and eighteenth century were probably able to memorise their pieces without writing down file copies, at least in outline. This is particularly supported by the large number of variants that are characteristic of the sources.

Modern editors of seventeenth century keyboard music often dismiss variant readings as 'corrupt', particularly those that survive in eighteenth century sources.<sup>31</sup> However, whilst some copies became corrupt, the fluid status of composers' texts needs to be taken into account. An approach similar to that employed by Robin Langley in editing John Field's solo piano music would seem to be an appropriate compromise.<sup>32</sup> He makes multiple versions accessible, but at the same time avoids too many page turns (inherent in layering staves on top of one another) and saves trees: pieces that survive in versions roughly similar are presented as a single text with ossia staves giving notable variants, whilst pieces that exist in versions that are too variant are presented as separate pieces. The electronic medium also has obvious potential for allowing editors to present multiple versions of pieces, and allowing the user to compare them easily.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> See, for example, the treatment of readings from 'eighteenth century' sources such as Cfm, MU MS 653 and HAdolmetsch, II. e. 17 (possibly seventeenth century) in *John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. R. Klakowich (MB 73, 1998).

<sup>32</sup> *John Field. Nocturnes and Related Pieces*, ed. R. Langley (MB 71, 1997).

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, *Albertus Bryne. Keyboard Music for Harpsichord and Organ*, ed. T. Charlston and H. Windram (Oslo, 2008), available as an electronic 'Interactive Edition' and in book form. See also my review of the edition, 'Interacting with Albertus Bryne', *EMP*, 22 (July, 2008), 32-3.

## ‘For Mr Dugdales Lady these’: Presentation Manuscripts and Evidence of ‘Manuscript Publication’

In his *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth Century England*, Harold Love devised two main categories of literary manuscripts, ‘author publications’ and ‘entrepreneurial publications’.<sup>1</sup> With some modification, these categories can be usefully applied to English keyboard manuscripts of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. While there is no evidence that composers produced multiple manuscript copies of their keyboard music for sale or presentation to patrons (there are virtually no surviving examples of pieces in more than one autograph source), a few autograph manuscripts may be appropriately described as presentation manuscripts, judging from inscriptions, and the neatness of their presentation (contrasting with teaching manuscripts, which are often rough in appearance). Records of payments for keyboard manuscripts are unknown to me, although there are records of patrons obtaining other types of music from composers. For example, the first Earl of Bristol, John Hervey, paid the composer Gottfried Finger ‘for his sonatas’ in 1689 (see Ch. 1). Likewise, the keyboard player François de Prendcourt was required to transpose ‘Mr Festins tunes’ and copy sonatas for his patron Thomas Coke of Melbourne Hall in 1705, evidently as part of general duties for his patron.<sup>2</sup>

Other manuscripts, which can probably be classed as presentation manuscripts, largely contain music that is not the scribe’s own. Love terms similar literary manuscripts ‘entrepreneurial publications’. “Entrepreneurial publication” is to be suspected whenever a text survives in two or more copies in the same non-authorial hand’, when the script is ‘finished and professional’ and when there are occasional errors ‘unlikely to be an outcome of author publication’.<sup>3</sup> Among music manuscripts, some of those copied by Charles Babel (discussed separately in Ch. 8) seem to fit this description. A few of Babel’s manuscripts appear to have been owned by patrons, notably Charles Cholmondeley of Vale Royal in Cheshire, and it seems reasonable to assume that many of the others were copied for similar clients (although this does not appear to be true of the keyboard manuscripts in Babel’s hand). As with the autograph manuscripts, evidence of manuscript ‘publication’ elsewhere is scarce, as multiple copies of pieces in the same non-authorial hand do not

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<sup>1</sup> *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993), esp. 47.

<sup>2</sup> See M. Tilmouth, ‘York Minster Ms. M.16(s) and Captain Prendcourt’, 302-307, and E. T. Corp, ‘Further Light on the Career of François de Prendcourt’ *ML*, 78 (February, 1997), 15-23.

<sup>3</sup> Love, *Scribal Publication*, 77.

survive. Nevertheless, there is evidence from inscriptions that several manuscripts in the hands of copyists may have been compiled in order to be presented to patrons.

### *Authorial Presentation Manuscripts*

An interesting example of composer's presentation manuscript from the beginning of our period is a copy of an organ voluntary by Benjamin Rogers, a bifolium, which he signed and dated '1664' (Lbl R. M. 21. d. 8, ff. 65-66).<sup>4</sup> It survives in a bound collection otherwise devoted to late eighteenth-century orchestral parts. On the empty verso of the second leaf, Rogers wrote 'For Mr Dugdales Lady / these', indicating that it was probably copied for her. 'Mr Dugdale' could have been the antiquary and herald Sir William Dugdale (1605-1686), who only became a knight in 1677, or his son, the herald, Sir John Dugdale (1628-1700).<sup>5</sup> In July 1664, Rogers was appointed to the lucrative position of organist and *informator choristarum* of Magdalen College, Oxford. Sir William is known to have had Oxford connections from the 1640s, and was a friend of the important musical patron Sir Christopher Hatton (1605-1670).<sup>6</sup>

Comparable, although somewhat later in date, is an autograph bifolio of the German immigrant lutenist and composer Henry Thornowitz dating from the early eighteenth century (Och, MS Mus. 1142a, ff. 40-1). It seems probable that Thornowitz was the 'German Gentleman lately come over', who performed on 'Arch and French Lutes' at a concert advertised on 4th October 1711.<sup>7</sup> He signed his name and wrote at the top of the first page: 'Allemande for the Harpshicord [*sic.*] [...] to your Honours desire to which I am Extraordinary plased [*sic.*]' A suite in D minor (somewhat unidiomatic for the the keyboard) follows consisting of 'Allemande', 'Courante', 'Menuet', and two pieces in roundo form, 'Air Amor', and 'Aria Cross'.<sup>8</sup>

A collection of pieces that may have been produced for a wealthy patron is William Babel's manuscript Lfom, Coke MS 1257. The manuscript is a fine folio with an unusual

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<sup>4</sup> See *Benjamin Rogers. Complete Keyboard Works*, ed. R. Rastall (SBKEM 29, 1969) for a facsimile page. For Rogers, see P. Holman, 'Rogers, Benjamin', *GMO*, and P. Lynan, 'Rogers, Benjamin', *ODNB*. Rogers' hand is known from a set of parts for four-part suites signed 'Ben: Rogers: windsor 1651' at the Universitetsbiblioteket, Uppsala, which were brought to Sweden by Rogers' patron Nethaniel Ingelo in 1653. See *The Düben Collection Database Catalogue*, ed. E. Kjellberg and J. Snyder (<http://www.musik.uu.se/duben/Duben.php>). Other Rogers autographs are in the British Library and the Bodleian Library.

<sup>5</sup> See G. Parry, 'Dugdale, Sir William', *ODNB*.

<sup>6</sup> See D. Pinto, 'The Music of the Hattons', *RMARC*, 23 (1990), 79-108.

<sup>7</sup> See M. Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', *RMARC*, 1 (1961), 1-107. Thornowitz also published recorder sonatas in 1721.

<sup>8</sup> See *Henry Thornowitz. Suite in D minor*, ed. C. Hand (Dalton-in-Furness, 2002).

gilt-tooled red morocco binding.<sup>9</sup> It has the distinction of including a drawing on a preliminary page by the French draughtsman François Boitard (1652-1722), showing a young lady at the harpsichord surrounded by cherubs.<sup>10</sup> The cherubs hold a plate within which Babel carefully entered a tiny prelude. In all likelihood, this lavish manuscript was compiled by Babel and Boitard for an aristocratic female patron. Indeed, it appears to have originated from the family of the Duke of Leeds, from whom the collector A. F. Hill acquired it at auction in 1930. A note by Hill in the manuscript reads: 'From the Hornby castle library. the property of the Duke of Leeds. Sotheby's june 3rd. 1930 / A. F. H'. Babel's hand is neater overall than it is in his other autograph Lbl, Add. MS 71209, which was instead probably a teaching manuscript (see Ch. 3). In appearance Coke MS 1257 also has a greater resemblance to the manuscript's of William Babel's father, Charles Babel (see Ch. 9 and Ex. 5. 1 below). For example, it is paginated and titles are provided in the manner of Charles Babel's manuscripts, a feature absent from Add. 71209, where most of his pieces are untitled.

In a manner similar to Babel's *Suits of the Most Celebrated Lessons* ([1717]), the music is organised into suites of usually three movements. The manuscript contains five suites in G major, E minor, A minor, D minor/ major, and G major, each consisting of a prelude followed by two settings of opera songs, except for the last one, which consists of a prelude, two minuets and a jig.<sup>11</sup> The manuscript probably dates from around 1714, slightly later than Add. MS 71209: the song arrangements are from operas that date 1711-14, except for one that comes from Bononcini's *Camilla* (1706) (pp. 14-16) and 'Caro bene' from the pasticcio *Clotilda* (1709) (pp. 36-40). They are *Antiochus* (1711), *Il Pastor Fido* (1712), *Ernelinda* (1713), and *Arminius* (1714). The dates of three of these are worth clarifying. *Ernelinda* was a pasticcio based on Gasparini's *La fede tradita e vendicata* (1704), first performed at the Haymarket on 26th February, 1713, and likewise *Antiochus* was a pasticcio based on Gasparini's *Il più fedel fra i vassalli* (1703), first performed at the Haymarket on 12th December 1711.<sup>12</sup> *Arminius* (or *Arminio*), perhaps an adaptation of the 1703 Scarlatti opera, was first performed at the Haymarket on 4th March 1714, and

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<sup>9</sup> For contents inventories, see Foundling Museum Gerald Coke Handel Collection Catalogue (<http://foundling.soutron.com/web/>) and T. Best *Georg Friedrich Händel Klavierwerke I-IV. Kritischer Bericht* (Kassel, 2000), 26.

<sup>10</sup> For Boitard, see E. Bénézit, *Dictionnaire Critique et Documentaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Ressinateurs, et Graveurs* (Paris, 1999), 480; and Foundling Museum Gerald Coke Handel Collection Catalogue.

<sup>11</sup> The second minuet and jig appear in Handel's *Suites de Pieces* (1733). Terence Best questions the authority of *Suites de Pieces* and suggests the pieces might be by Babel rather than Handel given their appearance in Coke MS 1257. See *Georg Friedrich Händel Klavierwerke I-IV. Kritischer Bericht* (Kassel, 2000), 26.

<sup>12</sup> H. S. Saunders, 'Gasparini, Francesco', *GMO*.

according to Lowell Lindgren, it may have been a reworking by Nicola Haym.<sup>13</sup> The piece entitled 'Si t'intendo in Thomyris' (pp. 19-23), appeared as 'since in vain', '*Sung by Mr. Lawrence in ye Opera of Thomyris*' (*Songs in the New OPERA Call'd THOMYRIS*, p. 37) and as 'Si t'intendo/ *Sung by Sigra Galerati in Croesus* (1714).<sup>14</sup> In *Suits* ([1717]) it is called 'Si t'intendo/ *Sung by Sigra Galerati/ in the Opera of / Croesus*', which is probably an indication that the manuscript was compiled before *Croesus* was first performed in London (27th February, 1714).

**5. 1. Lfom, Coke MS 1257, p. 36, and Lbl, Add. MS 39569, p. 33: Beginning of 'Caro bene / in / Clothilda' and 'Allemande' in E minor by Robert King (att. CAMhogwood, M1092 (a2))**



*Entrepreneurial Presentation Manuscripts*

In the case of literary manuscripts, Love points out that many 'entrepreneurial publications' were copied by specialist scribes.<sup>15</sup> Most presentation music manuscripts,

<sup>13</sup> W. C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the years 1695-1720* (Oxford, 1968), no. 447; L. Lindgren, 'Haym, Nicola Francesco', *GMO*.

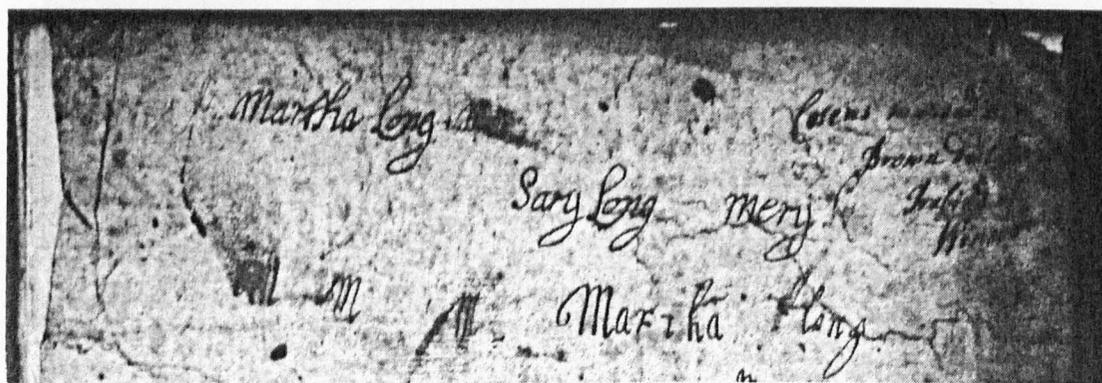
<sup>14</sup> *SONGS / in the / OPERA / of / CROESUS / as they are Perform'd at y<sup>e</sup> / Queens Theatre* (Walsh and Hare, London, [1714]), 36-7. See D. Hunter, *Opera and Song Books Published in England 1703-1726* (London, 1997), no. 88/16.

<sup>15</sup> *Scribal Publication*, esp. 73-79.

however, were probably compiled by professional musicians who were also active as performers, composers, or both. Two manuscripts, Och, MS Mus. 1179 and Lbl, Eg. MS 2959, which look like the work of professional musicians rather than professional copyists, may be appropriately described as ‘entrepreneurial presentation manuscripts’. We do not know who compiled them, but we have a fair indication of who owned them originally. Their owners were of different social status, and the differences in their physical makeup and in the presentation of their contents is probably a consequence of this.

Och, MS Mus. 1179 is a small folio of only 22 leaves, filled completely with keyboard music, measuring approximately 28.5cm x 18.2 cm. It has a contemporary full leather binding, which has been rebacked in modern times; the rear pastedown is worn at the bottom right hand corner and was clearly detached from the board until quite recently. Shay and Thompson have pointed out that the second copyist was one who worked on the Lam score of Purcell’s music for *The Fairy Queen*, and have given him the codename FQ4.<sup>16</sup> This suggests that the manuscript may have a London and not Oxford provenance, despite its current location, a possibility supported by inscriptions on the rear pastedown: ‘Martha Long’ (repeated several times), ‘Sary Long’, and in a different later hand, ‘Cosens married [*sic.*] her / Brown declard it / Prebind of / Windsor’. ‘Brown’ could have been Francis Browne, who was ordained a priest and deacon in London in 1693 and became a prebendary of Windsor in 1713 or ‘Thomas Broun Dr in Divinity & one of ye Canons’ at Windsor, who died in 1673.<sup>17</sup> There is no record, however, of the marriage taking place at St George’s Chapel, Windsor.

## 5. 2. Och, MS Mus. 1179, rear pastedown signatures and inscription (top quarter of page)



<sup>16</sup> See *Purcell Manuscripts*, 316.

<sup>17</sup> See *Clergy of the Church of England Database* (<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk/>), ID no. 5027, J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses [...] Part I* (Cambridge, 1922), 4 vols., i, 233, and E. H. Fellowes and E. R. Poyser, *The Baptism, Marriage and Burial Registers of St George’s Chapel, Windsor* (London, 1957).

The manuscript also appears to have belonged at a different point to George Luellen, who signed it on p. 42, after the contribution of the second scribe, 'George Luellyn/ Anno Dom: 1690'. In that year, George Luellen or Lluellyn (1668-1739) matriculated from Christ Church College, Oxford, and was a member of the Oxford music club at the Mermaid in Carfax.<sup>18</sup> According to Hawkins, he was 'a page of the back stairs in the reign of Charles II' and was acquainted with Purcell. Burney also knew him later in life, and amusingly wrote that he 'was so much attached to the Stuart family, so fond of Music, and so active in all his pursuits, that he was often called by the Whigs, "a Jacobitical, musical, mad, Welsh parson."' <sup>19</sup> Luellen would seem to be the manuscript's link with Oxford. He may well have brought it there in 1690, as a 1680s date for FQ4's contribution seems appropriate (see below).

The first copyist probably contributed to the manuscript in the 1660s (pp. 1-18). This is suggested by the posthorn watermark, which is common in music manuscripts of the 1660s and is rare in music manuscripts of later date.<sup>20</sup> Several features suggest the copyist was not a professional musician. The saraband with division (pp. 8-9), for instance, is inscribed 'this Sarabrand / makes no end', which is unlikely to have been made by a professional musician. The inscription is puzzling as the piece appears to be complete. The relatively neat handwriting style also resembles other seventeenth-century music manuscripts copied by amateurs, who probably would have had the time to prepare neatly copied collections.<sup>21</sup> As such, the first part of the manuscript is not strictly relevant, but is discussed here for completeness and to put right some confusions that have arisen in the literature.

A 1670s date for the first part of the manuscript has been suggested.<sup>22</sup> However, a late 1650s or 1660s date is also supported by the contents. There are several arrangements of popular tunes and three harpsichord suites each consisting of almand, corant and saraband.

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<sup>18</sup> See Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 292; J. Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1891), 921; M. Crum, 'An Oxford Music Club', *BLR*, 9 (1974), 88.

<sup>19</sup> J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* [1776], 2 vols. (London, 1875, rpt. Graz, 1969), ii, 749; C. Burney, *A General History of Music From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* [1776-89], ed. F. Mercer, 2 vols. (New York, 1957), ii, 394 (f. n.). See also P. Scholes, *The Great Dr. Burney*, 2 vols. (London, 1948) i, 6-7 (f. n.).

<sup>20</sup> R. Thompson, 'English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade, 1648-1688', Ph. D. diss. (King's College, University of London, 1988) i, 88; A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright. *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music* (Aldershot, 2001), 296.

<sup>21</sup> See J. Craig-McFeely, 'English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530-1630' (Oxford, 2000) (<http://www.ramesescats.co.uk/thesis/>).

<sup>22</sup> *Orlando Gibbons. Keyboard Music*, ed. G. Hendrie (MB 20, 1962), 92. This has been repeated in most subsequent literature; see Bailey, *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources* (Warren, 2003), 106.

The suite in its classical form of almand, corant, and saraband is mostly encountered in English keyboard sources of the 1650s and 1660s; see, for example, the suites of Albertus Bryne, those by William Ellis in Och, MS Mus. 1236, and the anonymous suites in Lcm, MS 1154.<sup>23</sup> The settings of popular tunes include ‘The Highlanders March. [and division]’ (pp. 4-5), ‘The Sword Song tune.’ (p. 10), and ‘Allthea.’ (p. 14), all of which are tunes found in the 1657 edition of *The Dancing Master*.<sup>24</sup> Keyboard settings of the ‘Highlanders March’ are found in two other sources dating from the 1650s and 1660s, although none of the other settings, in *Musick’s Hand-maid* (1663) and in the Robert Wintersell manuscript, Och, MS Mus. 1175, have divisions.<sup>25</sup>

The three anonymous harpsichord suites, two in F major and one in E minor, are fine little pieces (Appendix D: 5. i-vi). The almand and corant of the first F major suite are unusual in that they share their opening themes. This is uncommon for English keyboard suites of the seventeenth century, although it can be found quite regularly in contemporary German suites. For example, it is found in Buxtehude, and the anonymous suites in D-Lr, Mus. ant. pract. 1198 (late seventeenth century).<sup>26</sup> Coincidentally, the opening idea of the two pieces was also used by Chambonnières for a different almand, and also by Louis Couperin for a different corant.<sup>27</sup> The theme’s resemblance led Brian Hodge to attribute the entire corant wrongly to Couperin.<sup>28</sup> In addition, the resemblance of the theme to that of the keyboard ‘Entry’ found in Locke’s *The Present Practice of Musick Vindicated* (1673) appears to have led Candace Bailey to attribute the entire almand to Locke.<sup>29</sup> Matters are complicated even further by a different almand in G major with effectively the same theme that is attributed to Locke in *Musick’s Hand-maid* (1678). The theme is, however, generic and was probably used by a different English keyboard composer again for the two pieces in MS Mus. 1179. (If ever there was an object lesson in the potential pitfalls of using coded incipits to trace concordances, this is it!)

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<sup>23</sup> Lcm, MS 1154 and Albertus Bryne are discussed in chapter 7.

<sup>24</sup> Barlow (ed.), *The Complete Country Dance Tunes*, nos. 145, 137 and 115. For ‘The Sword Song tune’, see also C. L. Day and E. B. Murrie, *English Song Books, 1651-1702* (London, 1940), no. 273, and C. M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad* (New Jersey, 1966), 429-431.

<sup>25</sup> Brookes, *British Keyboard Music*, no. 629. For the Wintersell manuscript, see Bailey, *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources*, 101-3.

<sup>26</sup> See Lüneburg, *Ratsbucherei, Mus. ant. pract. 1198*, intro. B. Gustafson (SCKM 22, 1987), and Dietrich Buxtehude, *Piano Works*, ed. E. Bangert (Copenhagen, 1941).

<sup>27</sup> B. Gustafson, *The Complete Works of Jacques Champion de Chambonnières* (JSCMI 1, 2007), no. 54; Louis Couperin, *Pièces de Clavecin*, ed. P. Brunold, rev. D. Moroney (Monaco, 1985), no. 69.

<sup>28</sup> ‘English Harpsichord Repertoire’, inventory of MS Mus. 1179.

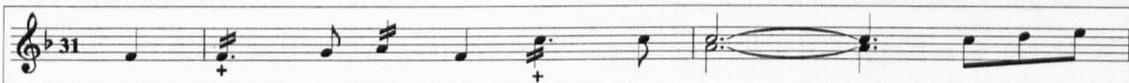
<sup>29</sup> *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources*, 107.

5. 3. Och, MS Mus. 1179: Themes of almand and corant in F major (pp. 11-13) shared with pieces by Chambonnières, Louis Couperin and Matthew Locke

MS Mus. 1179: *Almand*



MS Mus. 1179: *Corant*



Chambonnières no. 54



Louis Couperin no. 69



Locke: 'Entry' from *The Present Practice of Musick Vindicated* (1673)



Locke: *Almand* from *Musick's Hand-maid* (1678) (no. 64)



The later part of MS Mus. 1179 (pp. 18-41) includes music of more advanced difficulty such as the Blow grounds and the voluntary-like pieces by Christopher Gibbons and others. The manuscript is an important source of Blow, transmitting rather plain texts that are probably early in date, for example, the copy of Blow's G minor chaconne (p. 27), which is 56 bars shorter and has a simpler text than the other sources, which all probably date from *c.* 1700 and later.<sup>30</sup> This and George Luellen's '1690' date on the final page, suggests the music could have been copied in the 1680s, or not much later than 1690. The final piece entitled 'Hunting Almond', a pastiche of the 'Hunter's Musick' from Blow's *Venus and Adonis*, indicates the music was probably copied after 1682.<sup>31</sup> According to Shay and Thompson, FQ4's other manuscripts date from between *c.* 1685 and the first decade of the eighteenth century, and include a score of odes and theatre music entirely by Henry

<sup>30</sup> See John Blow. *Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. R. Klakowich, no. 71.

<sup>31</sup> The earliest copy of *Venus and Adonis*, in Lbl, Add. MS 22100, is dated '1682'. For a discussion of the dating of *Venus and Adonis*, see J. M. M. Mackerras, 'Venus and Adonis', Masters diss. (King's College, London, 1986).

Purcell (Lbl, Add. MS 31447), and a source of John Blow's St Cecilia's Day Ode for 1700, 'Triumphant Fame' (in Lcm, MS 1097).<sup>32</sup> Some unusual characteristics of his hand are found in MS Mus. 1179, notably the titling of pieces according to their key, e. g. 'In A / Dr Gibbons', a titling which occurs extensively in Add. MS 31447.

Two pieces not by Blow also strengthen the manuscript's association with the composer, including a piece attributed to Blow's teacher Christopher Gibbons (p. 39), but also a piece by Frescobaldi, a setting of 'La Monica' that was published in the first book of *Toccate D'Intavolatura* (1615-37).<sup>33</sup> Brian Hodge points out that Blow worked Frescobaldi's keyboard music from this particular collection into his own pieces, and that it may have influenced his keyboard style.<sup>34</sup> The anonymous music copied by the second scribe may also be by Blow, notably an air in F (p. 19), and a prelude in A minor (pp. 40-41). The prelude is a fine piece and borrows rhythms from the 'French overture' style giving it a majestic quality similar some of Blow's known preludes (Appendix D: 5. vii). Unfortunately, like several pieces in the manuscript, it was carelessly copied, and it is difficult to decipher what was originally intended in some places even when looking at the original. Nevertheless, scribe FQ4 appears to have had access to an important early source of Blow's harpsichord music.

#### 5. 4. Och, MS Mus. 1179: inventory

Location (pp.)/ title/ key	Composer	Concordances/comment (kbd. unless otherwise stated)
Hand A		
1, 'An Allman' [F]		
2-3. 'Corant.' [F]		
3. 'Celuybrand' [F]		
4-5. 'The Hylander's March' [F]		Inc. interpolated division strains. Brookes <sup>i</sup> no. 629; Barlow <sup>ii</sup> no. 145: <i>Dancing Master</i> (1657) (melody)
6-7. [Corant and Division] [F]		Interpolated division strains
8-9. [Saraband and Division] [F]		Interpolated division strains. At end: 'this Sarabrand makes no end', yet complete

<sup>32</sup> *Purcell Manuscripts*, esp. 151-3, 173-5, and 316.

<sup>33</sup> See G. Cox, *Organ Music in Restoration England* (New York, 1989) i, 399; R. Hudson, G. Gerbino and A. Silbiger. 'Monica', *GMO*; A. Silbiger. *Italian Manuscript Sources of 17<sup>th</sup> Century Keyboard Music* (Ann Arbor, 1976), 42; *Girolamo Frescobaldi. Il Primo Libro di Toccate d'Intavolatura*, ed. E. Darbellay (MMI 4, 1977), 62.

<sup>34</sup> B. Hodge, 'A New Frescobaldi Attribution', *MT*, 122 (1981), 263-5.

Location (pp.)/ title/ key	Composer	Concordances/comment (kbd. unless otherwise stated)
10. 'The Sword Song tune' [d]		Barlow no. 137: <i>Dancing Master</i> (1657) (melody); Song: 'Dour's (Dove's) catastrophe <i>or</i> Lawyers leave your pleading <i>or</i> Love lies a bleeding' (See Simpson <sup>iii</sup> , 137)
11. 'Allman' [F]		Similar theme to that of an allemande by Chambonnières (Gustafson <sup>iv</sup> , no. 54)
12. 'Corant' [F]		Similar theme to that of a courante by Louis Couperin (Brunold/ Moroney <sup>v</sup> no. 69)
13. [Corant fragment] [d]		5 bars only (upper stave only)
13. 'The Celuybrand' [F]		
14. 'Allthea.' [C]		Barlow no. 115: <i>Dancing Master</i> (1657) (melody)
15. 'Allman.' [e]		
16. 'Corant' [e]		
17. 'Celuybrand.' [e]		
18. 'Trick atees.' [C]		
Scribe FQ4		
18. [Gavot] [C]	John Blow	Klakowich <sup>vi</sup> 4
19. [Saraband] [a]	John Blow	Klakowich 77
19. [Air] [F]		
20. [Air] [C]		
20. [Saraband] [C]	John Blow	Klakowich 3
21. [Almand] [C]	Henry Purcell	Ferguson, <i>Misc.</i> , <sup>vii</sup> 15
22. 'Saraband' [C]	John Blow	Klakowich 10; only other source: <i>Musick's Hand-maid 2</i> (1689)
22-3. 'Almand' [C]	John Blow	Klakowich 1
23. 'Almand' [C]	John Blow	Klakowich 5; only other source: Bc, MS XY15139
24. 'Corant' [C]	John Blow	Klakowich 6; only other source: Bc, MS XY15139
25. [Air] 'in D ♭' [d]	John Blow	Klakowich 41; unique
25. [ <i>L'Aria Di Monicha</i> ] 'in G ♭' [g]	[G. Frescobaldi]	Darbellay <sup>viii</sup> , p. 62
26-7. [Almand] 'in G ♭' [g]	John Blow	Klakowich 62
27. 'Chiacone' [g]	John Blow	Klakowich 71. Unique shorter version (40 bars)
28-32. 'Ground in C faut' [C]	John Blow	Klakowich 16

Location (pp.)/ title/ key	Composer	Concordances/comment (kbd. unless otherwise stated)
33-5. 'Ground in G #' [G]	John Blow	Klakowich 59
35. 'Prelude', 'G natural' [G]	John Bull	
36. [Voluntary] 'In a'	[N-A Lebègue]	Att. H. Purcell, but appears in Lebègue's <i>Second Livre de Orgue</i> (1678) <sup>ix</sup>
36. [Air] [a]	John Blow	Klakowich 80
37. 'Prelude', 'in G #' [G]	John Blow	Klakowich 57; unique
38. [Voluntary or Prelude] 'In C' [C]	Henry Purcell	Unique
39. [Voluntary] 'In A' [a]	Christopher Gibbons	Raynor, rev. Caldwell 5 <sup>x</sup>
40-1. 'Prelude' [a]	[?]John Blow]	
41. 'Hunting Almond'	[John Blow]	Klakowich 47

i. Brookes, *British Keyboard Music*

ii. Barlow, *The Complete Country Dance Tunes*

iii. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad*

iv. Gustafson, *The Complete Works of Jacques Champion de Chambonnières*

v. *Louis Couperin*, ed. Brunold, rev. Moroney

vi. *John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. Klakowich

vii. *Henry Purcell. Miscellaneous Keyboard Pieces*, ed. H. Ferguson (London, 1964)

viii. *Girolamo Frescobaldi*, ed. Darbellay

ix. See P. Williams, 'Spurious Purcell', *MT*, 102 (1961), 371.

x. *Christopher Gibbons. Keyboard Compositions*, ed. C. G. Raynor, rev. J. Caldwell (CEKM 18, 1989)

Lbl, Eg. MS 2959 is a folio manuscript of organ and harpsichord music measuring approximately 22.4cm x 34.3cm, and is an important source of pieces by Blow and Croft. There are 76 leaves, but only 34 were used, indicating that it was copied after binding. The first flyleaf has the bookplates of William Gostling and William H. Cummings, and is inscribed at the top: 'Liber Jo: Gostling Ecclesia S<sup>ch</sup> Pauli apud Londnienses Subdecani\_ / Ex dono famine excellentissimae D<sup>no</sup> Townsend de Highgate:'. Robert Ford points out that this inscription was written by the son of the singer John Gostling, William Gostling, and that the volume was probably donated to John Gostling by the wife of Charles Viscount Townshend of Raynham (1674-1738) known to contemporaries as 'Turnip Townshend'.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> 'Minor Canons at Canterbury Cathedral: The Gostlings and their Colleagues' (Ph. D. diss., University of California, 1984), 491-92; L. Frey and M. Frey, 'Townshend, Charles', *ODNB*. The manuscript cannot be identified in the 1777 sale catalogue of William Gostling's library, although several lots contained books of 'Harpsichord Lessons', and 'Voluntaries &c &c' (see Ford, 'Minor Canons', 924-63, for a transcription of the catalogue). Ford suggests the manuscript may have been part of Lot II, no. 15, of the sale, described as a book of 'Lessons for the Harpsichord, by Blow, Clarke, and Dr. Croft, MS.', but this seems unlikely as the manuscript does not contain any pieces by Clarke.

This could either have been his first wife Elizabeth (before 1681-1711), second daughter of Thomas Pelham, first Baron Pelham, whom he married in 1698, or Dorothey (1686-1726), sister of Sir Robert Walpole. I have been unable to identify a Highgate residence that belonged to the Townshends.<sup>36</sup> However, an interesting connection between the Townshends of Raynham and the Gostlings is revealed in the letters of Spencer Cowper, Bishop of Durham.<sup>37</sup> Cowper married Dorothy Townshend, daughter of Charles and his second wife in 1743, and was associated with William Gostling through the Canterbury Concerts.<sup>38</sup> In a letter dating shortly after his marriage, he wrote that William Gostling ‘presented himself to my wife, and was as well acquainted with her and her Sister, as if they had lived all their days together.’<sup>39</sup>

The date of Eg. MS 2959 is uncertain, but it seems likely to have been copied around 1700 or a little before. The youngest composer represented is William Croft (b. 1678), and the manuscript is therefore unlikely to have been copied before the 1690s. In addition, there is an arrangement of Henry Purcell’s G minor chaconne from *Timon of Athens* (ZT 680) (ff. 17-18v), which appears to have been copied from Purcell’s *A Choice Collection of Lessons* (1696/9). However, the watermarks suggest that the paper was manufactured in the 1680s or earlier. There are two watermarks: an Angoumois fleur-de-lys with the initials ‘H C’ in the factor’s position and the countermark ‘I B’, and another Angoumois fleur-de-lys with the common ‘I J’ initial and the countermark ‘C D G’. Robert Thompson notes that the initials ‘H C’ are ‘found regularly in English sources between 1676 and 1686, in the factor’s position.’ In addition, ‘C D G’ is thought to belong to the Angoumois craftsman Claude de George, who died in 1683.<sup>40</sup> The manuscript has a modern binding but the cover of the original blind-tooled calf binding has been pasted onto the inside of the front and back boards. The discrepancy between the likely copying date and the date of the book’s manufacture is perhaps surprising, although it is true of several manuscripts that appear to have been copied in the 1690s (see Ch. 2).

The manuscript was owned in the early twentieth century by the Purcell scholar W. H. Cummings, who wrote a brief biography of John Gostling into it and, in a different ink,

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<sup>36</sup> See J. M. Rosenheim, *The Townshends of Raynham* (Middletown, CT, 1989), esp. 164; *The Manuscripts of the Marquess of Townshend* (HMC 11th Report, Appendix, Pt. 4, 1887); T. F. T. Baker & C. R. Erlington (eds.), *A History of the County of Middlesex*, vol. 6, Friem Barnet, Finchley, Hornsey with Highgate (1980) (URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=22523&stquery=Highgate>).

<sup>37</sup> For Cowper, see F. Deconinck-Brossard, ‘Cowper, Spencer’, *ODNB*.

<sup>38</sup> R. Ford, ‘Gostling, William’, *GMO*

<sup>39</sup> *Letters of Spencer Cowper, Dean of Durham, 1746-1774*, ed. E. Hughes (Surtees Society, vol. 163, 1956), 24.

<sup>40</sup> *Purcell Manuscripts*, 34 and 12-13.

stated: 'This volume is in the autograph of Mr William Croft (afterward Dr Croft)'. The volume is not an autograph of William Croft, but was instead copied by an unidentified copyist associated with Croft: Robert Shay and Robert Thompson have given him the code-name London F.<sup>41</sup> London F's manuscripts were mistaken for Croft's by a number of early twentieth-century scholars, probably because of his association with Croft's music. For instance, A. H. Mann and J. A. Fuller-Maitland ascribed a London F score-book of Henry Purcell's odes and theatre music, Cfm, MU. MS 119, to Croft.<sup>42</sup>

**5. 5. Lbl, Eg. MS 2959, f. 4: William Croft, end of roundo in C minor followed by Saraband in C minor,<sup>43</sup> copied by London F**



<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, esp. 249-53 and 317.

<sup>42</sup> *Catalogue of Music in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (London, 1893), 77. The manuscript is inscribed: 'This volume of Purcell is in the handwriting of Dr. Croft.'

<sup>43</sup> *William Croft. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. H. Ferguson and C. Hogwood (SBEKM 30-1, 1974, rev. 1982), nos. 3d and 2c/3e.

Although many of the pages were left blank, the manuscript is well organised and contains six harpsichord suites by Croft, Blow and Froberger (ff. 1-15v), followed by three further harpsichord pieces (ff. 16-19), and eleven organ voluntaries by Blow (ff. 19v-34).<sup>44</sup> The suite by Froberger, attributed to 'Frobouge', was also copied by John Blow anonymously into Bc, MS 15418.<sup>45</sup> The suite is a D minor version of suite VII in G minor in the posthumous *10 Suites de Clavessin* (Amsterdam, 1697).<sup>46</sup> To judge from the similarity of the readings, the two English sources seem to derive from a common manuscript source; stem direction and the beaming of quavers are the mostly the same in both sources, although there are a few differences in ornamentation.<sup>47</sup> Thurston Dart suggested that Blow obtained the piece from his teacher Christopher Gibbons, who, according to an account by Johann Mattheson, encountered Froberger in 1662.<sup>48</sup> Mattheson's authority has been questioned, but it now seems likely that his source was an important Froberger manuscript now lost, a part of which has recently come to light, and may be in the hand of the Hamburg organist Johann Kortkamp (1643-1721).<sup>49</sup> It is one of several important Froberger sources originating from late-seventeenth century Hamburg.<sup>50</sup> A piece by Kortkamp was copied into Bc, MS XY15139, which probably derives from a Blow manuscript now lost, and Davitt Moroney has identified that one of the pieces in Bc, MS 15418 is by the Hamburg organist Johann Nikolaus Strungk (1640-1700).<sup>51</sup> Conceivably, the Froberger suite in Bc, MS 15418 and Eg. MS 2959 stems from the same Hamburg sources.

The importance of Eg. MS 2959 as a source of Blow's voluntaries suggests that the copyist may have been a pupil of Blow. It would seem less likely that he was a student of Croft given the date of the manuscript, and may instead have been a keyboard-playing contemporary of Croft. The literary hand is similar to the one that Shay and Thompson

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<sup>44</sup> See *William Croft. Complete Harpsichord Works*, ed. Ferguson and Hogwood, *John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. Klakowich, and *John Blow. Complete Organ Music*, ed. B. Cooper (MB 69, 1996).

<sup>45</sup> *John Blow's Anthology*, ed. T. Dart, rev. D. Moroney (SBEKM 37, 1978).

<sup>46</sup> *Johann Jakob Froberger (1616-1667). 10 Suites de Clavessin* ([1698/1710] (*Musica Repartita* facs. edn. 44, Utrecht, 1994).

<sup>47</sup> Cox. *Organ Music*, i, 153.

<sup>48</sup> C. Field, 'Gibbons, Christopher', *GMO*; J. Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740), 88-9.

<sup>49</sup> *Johann Jacob Froberger. Toccaten, Suiten, Lamenti. Die Handschrift SA 4450 der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin. Facsimile und Übertragung*, ed. P. Wollny (Kassel, 2004); *Johann Jacob Froberger (1616-1667). Neue Ausgabe*, ed. S. Rampe, 4 vols., (Kassel, 1993-), i, xxiv.

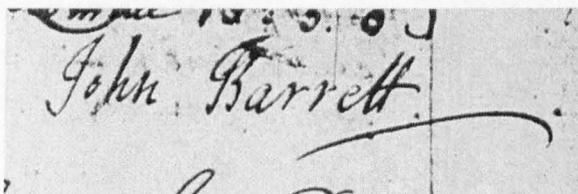
<sup>50</sup> See *Johann Jacob Froberger*, ed. Rampe, ii, xxvii.

<sup>51</sup> P. Holman, 'A New Source of Restoration Keyboard Music', *RLARC*, 20 (1986-7), 53-7; *John Blow's Anthology*, ed. Dart, rev. Moroney.

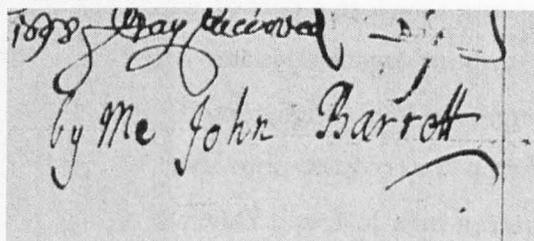
propose is Jeremiah Clarke's, although closer inspection reveals they are not the same.<sup>52</sup> Another important keyboard player of the same generation was John Barrett (c. 1676-? 1719). Barrett, Clarke and Croft were the three London keyboard players who wrote a poetic homage to their teacher in *Amphion Anglicus* (1700). They were also involved in the London theatres during the early eighteenth century, and London F's collaborations with Croft in manuscripts of Henry Purcell's theatre music at that date suggests London F worked as a theatre musician. Barrett became organist of Christ's Hospital in 1697, and comparison between his signatures in a Christ's Hospital Acquittance book and the Eg. 2959 hand is promising but not conclusive.

### 5. 6. John Barrett signatures (Guildhall Library, L. 49. 3 MS 12825) and handwriting of London F (Lbl, Eg. MS 2959)

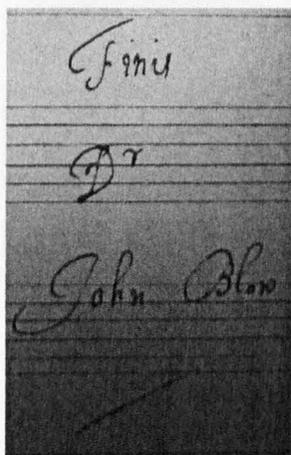
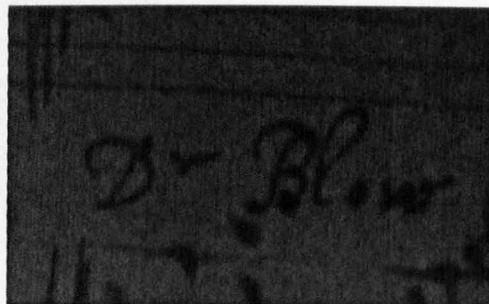
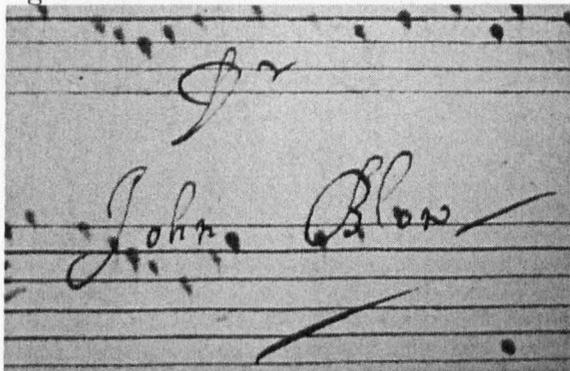
11th April 1698



22nd October 1698



Eg. MS 2959



<sup>52</sup> Purcell Manuscripts, 135.

*A Manuscript from John Playford's Scriptorium?*

Many manuscripts that may be considered roughly equivalent to Love's 'entrepreneurial publications' were not copied by specialist music scribes. Nevertheless, there seems to be evidence that some manuscripts of domestic music were copied in scriptoriums associated with music stationers. Robert Thompson notes that supplying manuscripts and ready-copied collections was probably an important part of the music stationer and publisher's business.<sup>53</sup> In the 1670s, Robert Carr advertised 'ALL sorts of Books, and ruled paper for *Musick*; Songs and Aires Vocal and Instrumental ready Prick't' in *Melothesia* (1673), and in *Tripla Concordia* (1677), a collection of three-part consort music. Thompson has pointed out that Lbl, Add. MS 31430, a set of three part-books, containing consort music by Jenkins and others in the hand of John Playford, was probably sold by Playford in his shop or was commissioned from him.<sup>54</sup>

The manuscript additions to a copy of Playford's *Musick's Hand-maid* (1678), Cn, Case VMT 252 P72/1, containing 33 additional keyboard pieces, may also have been copied by a scribe working for Playford. Before discussing the manuscript, however, it is worth putting it in the context of other manuscript additions of keyboard music to printed music books of the period.

### 5. 7. Manuscript additions of keyboard music to printed music books 1660-1720<sup>55</sup>

	Description
SM, HN 14176	Unique copy of the 1612/13 edition of <i>Parthenia</i> with eight (incomplete) additional pieces, badly cropped, on the versos of the title page and dedication page. Judging from the handwriting and concordances, the pieces were probably copied in the 1660s or 1670s. <sup>i</sup>
Cn, Case VMT 252 P72/1	Copy of Playford's <i>Musick's Hand-maid</i> (1678), with 23 manuscript leaves of keyboard pieces, c. 1680.
HAdolmetsch, II. e. 17	Copy of Playford's <i>Select Musically Ayres, and Dialogues</i> (1652) containing 34 additional ruled leaves of manuscript keyboard and vocal music in two hands, one contemporary with the print, the other late 1680s/1690s or later

<sup>53</sup> 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', *EM* 23 (1995), 605-618.

<sup>54</sup> 'Manuscript Music', 607. Other manuscripts in Playford's hand include a set of vocal partbooks, GB-Ge, MSS R. d. 58-61; see I. Spink, 'The Old Jewry "Music Society": a 17th-Century Catch Club', *Musicology*, 2 (1967), 35-41, Och, MS Mus. 747-9, a set of partbooks (basso continuo missing) containing mostly sacred music, and the recently discovered vocal partbooks GB-Cjc, Chapel MS. Box of Fragments; see J. P. Wainwright, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice "Concertato" Motets', *ML*, 89 (2008), 165-94.

<sup>55</sup> A non-musical printed book, which I have not consulted— a copy of Sternhold and Hopkins, *The Whole Book of Psalms* (1697), currently in the possession of Hugh McClean— contains manuscript additions of organ music that date from after 1713. See G. Cox, *Organ Music in Restoration England* (New York, 1989), 520.

	Description
Lbl, Pr. Bk. k. 1. c. 5	Copy of Purcell's <i>A Choice Collection</i> (1696), with 7 additional leaves of different ruled paper containing five keyboard pieces, entitled 'Henry: Purcells: / overture: Ayres and Jegg: / in Gamut b: / Henry Purcells / Almond: and Borry: / in Desolre#'. One is probably by Thomas Morgan <sup>ii</sup> (c. 1700)
Lbl, Pr. Bk. Hirsch III 472	Copy of Purcell's <i>A Choice Collection</i> , dated '1696' in contemporary ink, with 30 additional leaves of different ruled paper containing six keyboard pieces by Purcell (ff. 1-9v), one wrongly entitled 'Overture in Camilla' (actually an arrangement of Purcell's overture for <i>Timon of Athens</i> ) (c. 1710)
Barrett Lennard	Lost copy of <i>The Ladys Banquet</i> (1704) with addition described by Friedrich Chrysander in 1894 as 'consisting of 21 unpagged leaves', 'written by some German about 1710, or at all events before 1720' <sup>iii</sup>
LAuc, fM 11 P98	Copy of Daniel Purcell's <i>The Psalms Set Full for the Organ or Harpsichord</i> ([1718]), with a manuscript organ voluntary in C major. The piece uses the 'tr' sign for the shake which is rare in English keyboard sources until later in the eighteenth century.

i. See D. Greer, 'Manuscript Additions in "Parthenia" and other Early English Printed Music in America', *ML*, 77 (1996), 169-82 (includes complete facsimile).

ii. See F. Dawes, 'A Jig of Morgan's', *MT*, 91 (1950), 92-4, and *Instrumental Music for London Theatres, 1690-1699*. Royal College of Music, London, MS 1172, facs. edn., intro. C. Price (Withyham, 1987).

iii. See *A Miscellaneous Collection of Instrumental Music for the Organ, Orchestra, Chamber and Harpsichord*, ed. F. Chrysander (German Handel Society 48, rpt. 1965), v. Terence Best suggests the Handel pieces it contained survive in a manuscript copied by Michael Ropino Lacy in about 1858 (*Georg Friedrich Händel Klavierwerke I-IV. Kritischer Bericht*, 39-40).

Most of the manuscript additions appear to have been copied on paper that is contemporary with the prints. However, the music is often not contemporary with the print. In these instances the stationer, when he bound the book for a customer, may have provided the extra leaves of music paper so that additions could be copied at a later date if desired. In the case of HAdolmetsch, II. e. 17, a copy of Playford's *Select Musically Ayres, and Dialogues* (1652), with additions by two scribes, most of the manuscript music is not contemporary with the print and the binding is modern. The watermark, a pot with the initials 'G R O' usually found in sources dating c. 1620- c. 1655, suggests that the manuscript leaves were bound with it at an early date.<sup>56</sup>

*Select Musically Ayres, and Dialogues* is a collection of two- and three-part vocal music. The manuscript addition in the HAdolmetsch II. e. 17 copy were copied from both ends of the manuscript part. The first scribe was clearly a professional copyist working at the time the print was sold, continuing the type of music in the print, and arranging it on the page in the same way as the print, *i. e.* for a two-part piece, for example, the treble part appears at the top of the page, whilst the bass is inverted at the bottom (see Ex. 5. 8 below). At the 'front' end he wrote two complete two-part songs, the popular 'O Clarissa' by William

<sup>56</sup> Pot I in Ashbee, Thompson and Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index*, 297.

Lawes and 'Come Chloris' by Henry Lawes, and the text of another, 'Let the sounds of warrs rebound'.<sup>57</sup> At the 'rear' he copied sacred music, the tune of 'Non nobis domine' and Henry Lawes's three-part setting of 'Lord judge my cause', which appeared in the composer's collection *Choice Psalmes put into Musick* (1648) (no. 5).<sup>58</sup> The second scribe was probably a keyboard and singing teacher, who copied his pieces at least thirty years later. There are important copies of twelve keyboard pieces by Blow (one duplicated).<sup>59</sup> The keyboard pieces are written on five-line staves, which was not usual for keyboard music written in England before c. 1700. However, all of the music seems to date from the seventeenth century, and a slightly earlier date may be appropriate. Most of the songs, for instance, appear in printed collections dating from the 1680s.<sup>60</sup>

### 5. 8. HAdolmetsch, II. e. 17, beginning of manuscript addition showing hand of first scribe



<sup>57</sup> Day and Murrie, *English Song Books*, nos. 2056 and 618. I have been unable to identify 'Let the sounds'.

<sup>58</sup> For 'Lord judge my cause', see I. Spink, *Henry Lawes. Cavalier Song Writer* (Oxford, 2000), 120. 'Non nobis domine' was printed at the end of John Playford's *Psalms and Hymns* (1671).

<sup>59</sup> Eleven are listed in *John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. R. Klakowich (MB 73, 1998); a copy of Klakowich's no. 77 also appears on p. 63.

<sup>60</sup> A fuller discussion of HAdolmetsch, II. e. 17 will appear in an article I am preparing on the manuscript for *The Consort*. See also description in Appendix B.

Case VMT 252 P72/1 is one of several volumes in the Newberry Library formerly owned by the musical antiquarian John Stafford Smith (1750-1836). Richard Charteris first brought it to the attention of scholars in an article of 1980.<sup>61</sup> Despite this, however, it has received little attention since.<sup>62</sup> Stafford Smith extensively annotated the volume and its companion (Case VMT 252 P72/2), a copy of *Musick's Hand-maid 2* (1689)), with notes on the contents. Nothing else is known of their provenance before they were acquired by the Newberry Library in 1949.<sup>63</sup>

The handwriting of the additions in VMT 252 P72/1 appears not to be Playford's own, but there are some striking similarities between them, suggesting the copyist may well have worked for Playford.<sup>64</sup> For example, their treble clefs, consisting of a double-loop, are similar (see examples below). After the type-set psalm tune settings, the scribe copied a further three settings with the running title, 'Tunes of Psalms to the Virginal or Organ', in imitation of the print. Like the Playford part-books, the notation is unusually consistent. For example, the bar lines are often written equally spaced, and features such as the carefully drawn beaming, noteheads, and note spacing, imitate an engraved book. The music copied is similar to that in the print and may be viewed as a 'supplement' to it; mostly the pieces are either settings of popular tunes or vocal music. Conceivably, the intention was to make the contents more modern so that it could be sold more easily. In *The Loyal Post*, Playford advertised the 1678 edition as 'A new Book of Lessons for the Harpsicon, or Virginals [...]' on 22nd November 1681.<sup>65</sup> The first piece copied after the psalm tunes is a texted setting of Henry Purcell's widely-copied scotch tune, the song 'Ah cruel bloody fate', written for Nethaniel Lee's *Theodosius*. The play was first produced in the spring or summer of 1680, and the additions may well date from the time of the 1681 advertisement or a little before.<sup>66</sup>

Many of the pieces are simple airs, perhaps settings of pieces from contemporary theatre suites. In style, they resemble, for instance, the many theatre air settings that

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<sup>61</sup> 'Some Manuscript Discoveries of Henry Purcell and his Contemporaries in the Newberry Library, Chicago', *Notes*, 37 (1980), 7-13.

<sup>62</sup> A partial inventory is in B. Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire: 1660-1714', Ph. D. diss. (Manchester, 1989). However, it is not mentioned in either Bailey, *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources*, or J. Harley, *British Harpsichord Music*, i (Aldershot, 1992).

<sup>63</sup> Charteris, 'Some Manuscript Discoveries', 11.

<sup>64</sup> For a facsimile of Playford's hand, see Thompson, 'Manuscript Music', 607.

<sup>65</sup> See M. Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', *RMARC*, 1 (1961), whole issue.

<sup>66</sup> P. Holman, *Henry Purcell* (Oxford, 1994), 192-3; F. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell 1659-1695: An Analytical Catalogue of his Music* (London, 1963), Z606.

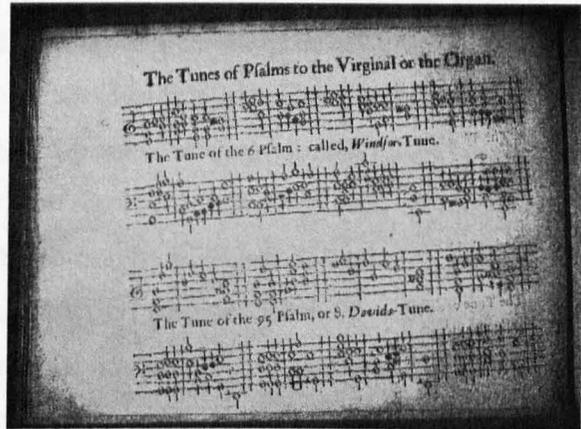
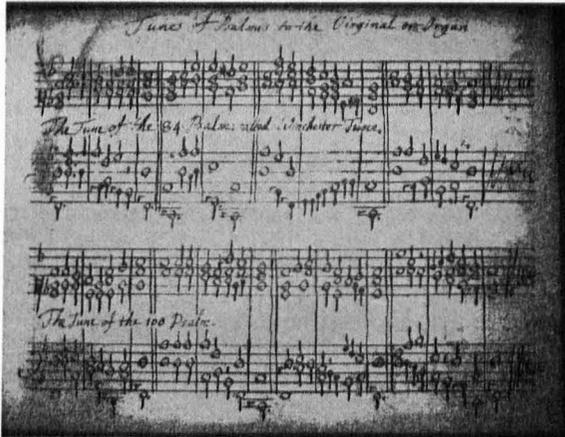
Francis Forcer copied into Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 399 and NH, MS Filmer 15, c. 1680-1 (see Ch. 3). Several appear in the 'Second part' of the 1669/70 and 1690 editions of the violin tune book *Apollo's Banquet*, which are described, in the 1690 edition, as 'Tunes of *French Dances* [...] performed at Court, and in Dancing-Schools'. The first and last movements of the D minor gavot-minuet-galliard suite on ff. 5v-6v, for instance, appear together in the 1669/70 edition (nos. 192 and 193). Several pieces, however, are more old-fashioned reflecting the contents of the 1678 edition of *Musick's Hand-maid* (see Ch. 2). For example, the setting of the Henry Lawes song 'How happy art thou', two settings of pieces by William Lawes, and a C major almand attributed to Benjamin Sandley. The style of Sandley's keyboard music suggests he was a composer active during the Commonwealth or earlier. It was pointed out in Ch. 2 that the only other source of his music is the 1663/1678 edition of *Musick's Hand-maid*, and that he may well have been involved in the compilation of the original 1663 edition.

Intriguing are the several texted keyboard settings of French sacred songs, and settings of two secular French songs, one attributed to a 'Mr Ardoyne', entitled 'Minuet', and the other entitled 'French Air' with French text and English translation underneath (f. 20). Given the unusual nature of these pieces, they may well have been arranged especially, perhaps for a member of the French Huguenot community in London.<sup>67</sup> The sacred song arrangements are essentially treble and bass pieces with a harmony part in the middle, assigned to the left hand, and are presumably arrangements of solo songs. Playford himself composed six sacred solo songs that were printed at the end of the collection *Psalms & Hymns in Solemn Musick* (1671), which he entitled 'six Divine Songs for One Voice to / the *Organ, Lute, or Viol.*'

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<sup>67</sup> For the Huguenots, see R. D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: the History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (Brighton, OR, 2001).

## 5. 9. Cn, Case VMT 252 P72/1, manuscript and type-set printed psalm tune settings



## 5. 10. Cn, Case VMT 252 P72/1, f. 2v: Henry Purcell, 'Ah Cruel Bloody Fate'

## 5. 11. Cn, Case VMT 252 P72/1: inventory of manuscript addition

Location (ff.)/title/(text)/key	Composer	Concordances/comment (kbd. unless otherwise stated)
1. 'The Tune of the 84 Psalm: Called Winchester Tune.' [F]		
1. 'The Tune of the 100 Psalm.' [F]		
1v. 'The Tune of the 148 Psalm' [C]		
2		Empty staves
2v. 'Ayre by Mr Purcell' ('Ah cruel bloody Fate') [G]	Henry Purcell	<i>Theodosius</i> (1680), Z606/9; NH, Filmer MS 15, f. 8. Texted

Location (ff.)/title/(text)/key	Composer	Concordances/comment (kbd. unless otherwise stated)
3. 'Ayre called Lyberty' ('How happy art thou') [G]	[Henry Lawes]	Texted. D & M no. 1414: <sup>i</sup> <i>Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues</i> (1652)
3v. 'Ps. 7' ('Supreme Monarque du Monde') [G]		
4. 'Minuet' [G]		
4v. [The Bourrée or Sweet William] [G]		Barlow no. 219: <sup>ii</sup> supp. to <i>The Dancing Master</i> , 6th edn. (1679). Treble only
5		Empty staves
5v. 'Gavot' [d]		<i>Apollo's Banquet</i> (1669/70), no. 192 ('The New Gavott')
6. 'Minuet' [d]		
6v. 'Galliard' [d]		<i>Apollo's Banquet</i> , 1669/70 edn: no. 193, and 1690 edn: pt. 2, no. 5 (G minor)
7. 'Minuet' ('Voi ma charmente Celimene jusque') [d]	'Mr. Ardoyne'	
7v. 'Ps. 31.' ('Bien heureux a qui Dieu') [d]		
f. 8. 'Jigg' [D]		
8v. [Jig] [D]		
9. 'Ps. 2' ('Pourquoy tant de peuples rebelles') [d]		
9v-10v.		Empty staves.
11. 'Fair Fidelia' [a]	[William Lawes]	<i>Courty Masquing Ayres</i> (1662), no. 3 (a4), Staffordshire Record Office, Sulyard D641/4/ no. 48 (song), Lbl, Add. MS 63852, f. 113 (rev.) (lyra viol) <sup>iii</sup>
11v. 'Corant' [a]		
12. 'Minuet Dauphin' [a]		Nl-Uu, MS q-1, f. 17 ('Menuets de Dauphin') (d). <sup>iv</sup> Solo violin: En, MS 5578, f. 7, <i>Apollo's Banquet</i> (1690), pt. 2, no. 8 ('Minuet Dolphin')
12v. 'Ps. 10' ('Traistres qui me tendez un piege si funestre') [a]		
13. 'Air' ('After the pangs of a desperate Lover')	Alphonso Marsh	D & M no. 17: <i>Choice Songs and Ayres</i> (1673)
13v-14.		Empty staves.
14v. 'Finsbury Fields' [C]		

Location (ff.)/title/(text)/key	Composer	Concordances/comment (kbd. unless otherwise stated)
15. 'Almaine' [C]	Benjamin Sandley/ [John Blow]	Klakowich <sup>v</sup> 1
15v-16. 'Saraband' [C]		Includes 7 variations.
16v. 'Almain' [twice] [C]	William Lawes	<i>Courty Masquing Ayres</i> (1662), no. 41 ( <i>VDGS Index</i> : Lawes-391)
17-18. 'The Nightingale' [C]		Brookes <sup>vi</sup> 816
18v. 'Gavot' [C]		
19-20. 'Prelude' [Chaconne] [C]		
20. 'French Air' ('Ton troupeau Silvie'/ 'Silvia why doest thou')[C]		English text given below French.
21. 'Minuet' [C]		
21v. 'Gavot' [C]		
22. 'Ps. 3' ('Seigneur qui jusqu' ici') [C]		
22. 'The Indian Dance' [C]		
23. [Saraband or Minuet] [C]	Albertus Bryne	Charlston with Windram <sup>vii</sup> 29

i. Day and Murrie, *English Song Books*

ii. Barlow, *The Complete Country Dance Tunes*

iii. See G. Dodd, *Viola da Gamba Society Index. Sixth Instalment (1992)* (*VDGS Index*): Lawes-346. For the song, see D. Mateer, 'Hugh Davis's Commonplace Book', *RMARC*, 32 (1999), 63-87.

iv. See *Nederlandse Klaviermuziek uit de 16e en 17e eeuw*, ed. A. Curtis (*MMN* 3, 1961), no. 80.

v. *John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. R. Klakowich

vi. V. Brookes, *British Keyboard Music to c. 1660* (Oxford, 1996).

vii. *Albertus Bryne. Keyboard Music for Harpsichord and Organ*, ed. T. Charlston with H. Windram (Oslo, 2008).

### Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined manuscripts that appear to have been prepared for presentation to a patron, or for 'manuscript publication'. A small number of manuscripts can probably be classified in this way with reasonable confidence, particularly when there is information about the original ownership of a manuscript. With a manuscript such as Lfom, Coke MS 1257, the highly professional appearance probably reflects the upper-class status of its original owner. Likewise another handsome folio book, Lbl, Eg. MS 2959, appears to have been copied for an aristocratic patron. A parallel situation is apparent with Och, MS Mus. 1179, associated with a lower class of user. In this case we have a manuscript that appears to have been recycled at the end of the seventeenth century after initial use in the 1650s or 1660s.

The economics behind the copying of the manuscripts remains unclear. Some may have been copied on a commission basis by specialist scribes—Cn, Case VMT 252 P72/1 may be an example of this. Patrons probably bought substantial pre-bound books such as Eg. MS 2959 so that a musician could copy pieces into it. However, there is much to suggest that the circumstances were often less formal. The autograph single sheets, for example, including the William Croft manuscript, discussed in Ch. 3, suggest an *ad hoc* rather than a systematic approach to producing copies on the part of composers.

## Collecting Keyboard Music

Personal collections are likely to have been compiled for a variety of reasons; this chapter attempts to identify some of them, and to suggest what purposes they might have been compiled for. It is possible to identify several of them because the owners who wrote them often signed their name to indicate their ownership, and were at the same time the scribe of some or all of the music. Some are likely to have been connected with domestic music-making, and contain other domestic music such as songs. Others were probably compiled for pedagogical purposes, and are generally limited in their contents to solo keyboard music.

### *Och, MS Mus. 1003: Henry Bowman and Charles Morgan*

Och, MS Mus. 1003 is a particularly interesting case of a recycled manuscript. It is an oblong quarto measuring approximately 28.9cm x 20.7cm with a contemporary stiff card binding. The front outside cover is inscribed 'Morgan' (several times), 'C: Morgan: his Book', 'John/ Morgan' and 'S Nordin' and similar inscriptions appear on the back cover. 'C: Morgan' is identifiable as Charles Morgan (c. 1660-1738), a chorister at Christ Church, Oxford (to 1677). He later obtained a BA (1681) and an MA (1684) from Magdalen College, serving there as a lay clerk for most of his life.<sup>1</sup> The first eleven leaves contain keyboard music by late sixteenth and early seventeenth century composers, which may have been copied from the keyboard manuscript Och, MS Mus. 1113 during the 1640s.<sup>2</sup> After this are 33 pieces probably copied between about 1660 and 1685 (ff. 12-29v, 52v-52 (rev.)) by two scribes. This second section begins with the final three bars of an unidentified 3-part piece, the result of the four preceding leaves having been cut out leaving stubs. At a later date, probably around 1700, Richard Goodson senior copied three complete pieces at the front end of the manuscript. They include a contrafactum keyboard setting of Henry Purcell's chorus 'We the spirits of the air' from *The Indian Queen* (Z. 630/26) with a text beginning 'Happy Songster of the Spring'. Goodson also copied an incomplete copy of Purcell's *cibell*, derived from the composer's *A Choice Collection* (1696) (ff. 31v-32), and on

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<sup>1</sup> See Shay and Thompson. *Purcell Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 2000), 271 (f. n. 12); J. Foster. *Alumni Oxonienses*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1891), 1028.

<sup>2</sup> C. Bailey, *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources* (Warren, MI, 2003), 93-6; B. Cooper. *English Solo Keyboard Music of the Middle and Late Baroque* (New York, 1989), 25.

pastedowns at the front and rear end of the manuscript, pedagogical charts showing note durations and symbols for accidental signs. Candace Bailey suggests these pieces were copied for one of Goodson's pupils; the piece entitled 'Vigo Minuet' appears to be in a different hand and is probably in the hand of one such pupil.<sup>3</sup>

It has been suggested that ff. 12-29v and 52v-52 (rev.) of the manuscript were copied by the Oxford musician Henry Bowman.<sup>4</sup> Bowman composed songs, music for the Oxford Act, and was a prolific copyist.<sup>5</sup> A collection of his *Songs for 1, 2 & 3 Voyces* was printed in Oxford by Thomas Bowman, probably a relative. On the title page, the composer is styled 'philo-musicus', suggesting that he did not hold a professional musician's post. Bowman's hand is identifiable from a manuscript collection of songs, Lbl, Add. MS 30382, once owned by Catherine Sedley (1657-1717), Countess of Dorchester, whose bookplate it contains.<sup>6</sup> One of the works it contains is signed 'by me H B'.<sup>7</sup> It is clear, however, that in addition to Bowman, Charles Morgan also contributed to ff. 12-29v and 52v-52 (rev.) of MS Mus. 1003.

Morgan's hand is identifiable from another scorebook of vocal music of similar date to Add. MS 30382, Lbl, Add. MS 33234, which he signed 'Liber Caroli Morgan / e Coll Magd: / Dec:<sup>mo</sup> 6:<sup>to</sup> Die 7:<sup>tris</sup> / Anno Domini / 1682'.<sup>8</sup> His hand is similar to Bowman's, which has understandably led to the Bowman/ Morgan section of MS Mus. 1003 being attributed to a single copyist. Small levels of variation in Bowman's hand in MS Mus. 1003 suggest he may have contributed to the manuscript over a number of years. However, Morgan's hand has several distinctive features not encountered with Bowman's. For example, their strain divides differ. Bowman's are distinctive and consist of a double rule flanking a '3', whilst Morgan's consist of a double rule with the number '2d' above it. In

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<sup>3</sup> Bailey, *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources*. For sources of 'Vigo Minuet', see CAMHogwood, M1090, f. [7] (Inventory: Ex. 2. 4). It is not the same piece as 'Vigo', which appeared in the 1703 edition of *The Dancing Master* (see J. Barlow, *The Complete Country Dance Tunes from Playford's Dancing Master* (London, 1985), no. 518). The title may refer to the victory of the Duke of Ormonde at Vigo Bay on 12 October 1702.

<sup>4</sup> See P. Holman, 'Bowman, Henry', *GMO*.

<sup>5</sup> For Bowman and sources of Oxford Act music, see P. Holman. 'Original Sets of Parts of Restoration Concerted Music at Oxford: A Preliminary Catalogue', *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell*, ed. M. Burden (Oxford, 1996), 9-19, 265-71. For other sources copied by Bowman, which include sources of consort music as well as vocal music, see Holman, 'Bowman, Henry', and J. Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue* (<http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/>).

<sup>6</sup> A. Barclay, 'Sedley, Catherine', *ODNB*.

<sup>7</sup> For contents, see J. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth Century England* (Aldershot, 1997), 239-42. On f. 5 is a prelude-like piece in C major for keyboard, although it is barely legible as much of the ink has transferred to the following verso page and has been scratched away.

<sup>8</sup> See Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 260-264, and Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 271.

general, Morgan's treble clef is less carefully drawn, and his note stems are often bent, whilst Bowman's are straight.

### 6. 1. Handwriting of Henry Bowman and Charles Morgan

*Henry Bowman: Ocb, MS Mus. 1003, f. 12v*

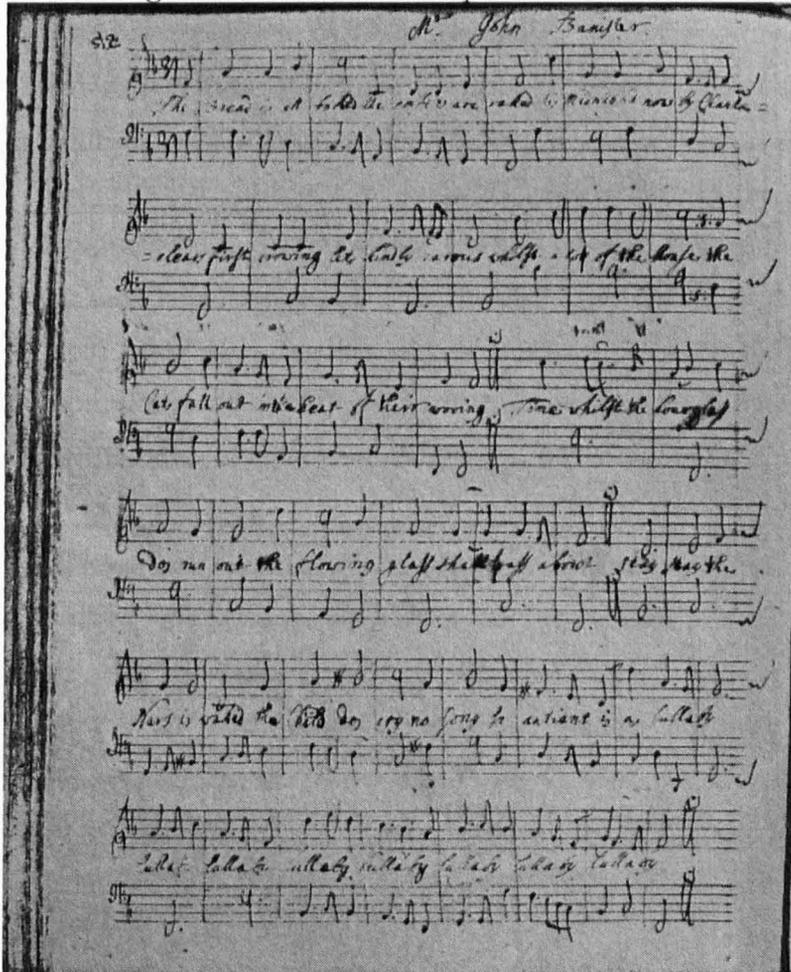


*Henry Bowman: Ocb, MS Mus. 1003, f. 23*

Charles Morgan: Ocb, MS Mus. 1003, f. 28



Charles Morgan: Lbl, Add. MS 33234, p. 52



The contributions of Morgan and Bowman overlap. However, it seems probable that they were not copying at the same time, as Morgan added pieces onto pages left empty by Bowman, or onto used pages with space available for another piece. For example, Morgan filled-up the bottom of f. 14 with a copy of Henry Aldrich's popular catch *The Bonny Christ Church Bells*. In some instances, Bowman left space so that a piece could be completed at a later date, as with 'The plain Ground', where he wrote 'Var: 2', but did not write the variation out (20v-21); Morgan later inserted two pieces before Bowman's next piece, a saraband by John Roberts (att. 'Roberts'). This was probably the case also with 'The Ground' that precedes it, and that Bowman originally left space for adding more variations, later used up by Morgan. Indeed, Morgan and Bowman's contributions may date as much as ten or twenty years apart, judging from the date of the music they copied. Bowman pieces are typical of manuscripts of the 1660s or slightly earlier such as the settings of William Lawes' *Golden Grove* suite. Morgan's pieces, however, are clearly later in date, notably two pieces (one incomplete) by Draghi and two pieces attributed to Blow. The Draghi was also copied (complete) by Richard Goodson senior into Och, MS Mus. 1177, probably in the 1680s (for MS Mus. 1177, see description in Appendix B).<sup>9</sup>

Each copyist may also have contributed to the manuscript in different stages, particularly given the variation in Bowman's hand. Morgan also copied two pieces attributed to 'Mr Blow' (f. 25), which suggests he copied some parts of the manuscript before December 1677 when Blow received his Lambeth doctorate. However, it is notable Bowman and Morgan copied different types of piece. The majority of Morgan's pieces are settings of three-part songs or catches (such as the Aldrich). Many of these 'arrangements' may not have been intended as solo keyboard pieces as several literally transcribe the vocal score, and look instead like quickly sketched accompaniment parts. This might be an indication that the manuscript passed from Bowman to Morgan, who then used it principally to accompany songs.

Although the two copyists probably did not work collaboratively, and may have used the manuscript for different purposes, the handwriting resemblance is noteworthy. Little is known about Bowman, although he was clearly musician of some importance given the large number of sources he copied that survive (see f. n. 5). Conceivably there was a teacher-pupil relationship between the two men, or they had a similar musical background, perhaps at Christ Church, where Morgan was a chorister in the 1670s.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, the Bowman/Morgan portion of Och, MS Mus. 1003 also seems to have served a practical

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<sup>9</sup> *Giovanni Battista Draghi. Harpsichord Music*, ed. R. Klakowich (RRMBE 61, 1986), nos. 62 and 63.

<sup>10</sup> I am grateful to Robert Thompson for advice on this point.

function, particularly the Morgan part, which includes performance materials (*i. e.* the keyboard reductions of songs).

## 6. 2. Och, MS Mus. 1003: Inventory of pieces copied by Henry Bowman (B) and Charles Morgan (M) (ff. 12-29v and 52v-52 (rev.))

Location (ff.)/ title/ key	Composer	Select concordances/ comment	Hand
12. [Fragment]		Final three bars (preceded by 4 removed //)	M
12. 'The Vicechancellor' [D]			M
12v. 'Allemande' [a]			B
12v-13. 'Sarab: [and division]' [a]			B
13v. 'Air' [a]		<i>Melothesia</i> (1673), no. [38] (setting by W. Thatcher)	B
14. 'O the bonny xt church Bells' [G]	Henry Aldrich	D & M <sup>i</sup> 2534: <i>Musical Companion</i> (1673) (a3). Melody: <i>Dancing Master</i> (1675); Barlow <sup>ii</sup> 222	M
14v-15. [Jig] [a]		An incomplete shortened version of this piece begins at the top of the preceding page ( <i>i. e.</i> copied before M added the Aldrich song)	B
15. [Saraband] [a]			B
15v. 'Allemande' [a]	[William Lawes]	<i>VDGS Index</i> <sup>iii</sup> , Lawes 361 and Brookes <sup>iv</sup> 1877 ( <i>Golden Grove</i> )	B
16. 'Corante' [a]	[William Lawes]	<i>VDGS Index</i> , Lawes 363 and Brookes 1883 ( <i>Golden Grove</i> )	B
16v. 'Sarab:' [a]	[?William Lawes]	Brookes 965	B
17. [Air] [A]		<i>Apollo's Banquet. Newly Reviv'd</i> (1701), no. 58	B
17v. [Jig] [A]	[Robert Smith]	<i>Tripla Concordia</i> (1677), p. 21 (a3)	B
18. [Jig] [d]			B
18v-19. 'The Ground' [a]			B
19v. 'Nere trouble thy selfe at the times &c.' [G]	[Matthew Locke]	D & M 2304: <i>Catch that Catch can</i> (1667) (a3)	M
20. 'In a Season all oppressed wth. &c.' [a]	[John Wilson]	D & M 1735: <i>Catch that Catch can</i> (1667) (a3); 2-part version in MSS <sup>v</sup>	M
20v-21. 'The plain Ground' [g]			B
21v. [Arr. 3-part song?] [a]			M

Location (ff.)/ title/ key	Composer	Select concordances/ comment	Hand
22. [Arr. 3-part song?] [A]	Robert Smith	NYp, Drexel MS 3849, p. 31 ( <i>a4</i> )	M
22v. ('Sarab:'), 'in g sol re #' [G]	John Roberts	Bailey 3 <sup>vi</sup>	B
23. 'Sarab:' [d]	John Banister I	Drexel MS 3849, p. 88 ( <i>a4</i> )	B
23v-24. [Saraband] [d]	John Blow	Klakowich/ Blow 36 <sup>vii</sup> . Additional Source: Och, MS Mus. 598, ff. 8v-9 (incomplete)	M
24v-25. [Gavott] [d]	[?]John Blow	Klakowich/ Blow 37	M
25. [Gavott] [d]	[?]John Blow	Klakowich/ Blow 38	M
25v. [Jig] [D]	John Blow	Klakowich/ Blow 39	M
25v. [Arr. 3-part song?] [c]	Robert Smith		
26. [Saraband] [F]	Christopher Gibbons	Raynor/ Caldwell <sup>viii</sup> 7	M
26v-27. 'Prelude' [G]	John Blow	Klakowich/ Blow 56; lacks final 11 bars.	M
28. 'Con bel se gelle de se cretezza' [C]	[Henry Lawes]	D & M 724: <i>Catch that Catch can</i> (1667) (anon.) ( <i>a3</i> ). 2-part version: H. Lawes, <i>The Treasury of Musick</i> (1669)	M
28v. [Arr. 3-part song?] [C]			M
29. [Here's a Heath] [G]	[Jeremy Saville]	D & M 1365: <i>Catch that Catch can</i> (1667) ( <i>a3</i> )	M
29. [O my Clarissa] [c]	[William Lawes]	D & M 2506: <i>Select Musickall Ayres and Dialogues</i> (1653) ( <i>a3</i> ). Och, MS Mus. 1175, f. 22 (d) (kbd.)	M
29v. [Arr. 3-part song?] [a]			M
30-51v.		Empty staves	
VOLUME REVERSED			
52v. [Almand] [d]	[G. B. Draghi]	Klakowich/ Draghi <sup>ix</sup> 62	M
52. [Corant] [d]	[?]G. B. Draghi]	Klakowich/ Draghi 63	M

i. C. L. Day and E. B. Murrie, *English Song Books, 1651-1702* (London, 1940).

ii. Barlow, *The Complete Country Dance Tunes*

iii. G. Dodd, *Thematic Index of Music for Viols up to Sixth Instalment* (Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain, 1992).

iv. V. Brookes, *British Keyboard Music to c. 1660* (Oxford, 1996).

v. *English Songs 1625-1660*, ed. I. Spink (MB 33, 1971), no. 32

vi. *John Roberts. The Collected Works*, ed. C. Bailey (AOK 8, 2003)

vii. *John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. R. Klakowich (MB 73, 1998)

viii. *Christopher Gibbons. Keyboard Compositions*, ed. C. G. Raynor, rev. J. Caldwell (CEKM 18, 1989).

ix. *Giovanni Battista Draghi. Harpsichord Music*, ed. Klakowich

*Lbl, Add. MS 52363: Elizabeth Batt*

In most cases amateur musicians appear to have employed professionals to copy out music for them (see examples discussed in Ch. 5). An interesting exception, however, appears to be Lbl, Add. MS 52363. This thick oblong quarto manuscript of 80 leaves, measuring 29.5cm x 21.6cm, is signed on the flyleaf in a large gothic-style hand 'Elizabeth Batt 1704'. It was probably copied over the course of at least three years as the third last piece is an arrangement of the popular song *Love Wou'd Invade me* from the pasticcio *Thomyris* (1707) (pp. 183-85). It is a large collection, with 175 complete pieces (including one that is a duplicate).<sup>11</sup>

The manuscript has an original marbled paper cover bound within a modern binding. The gatherings have been mounted onto stubs and regular four-leaf quires are visible. Contemporary pagination is consistent throughout, indicating that no leaves have been lost. The final piece, an arrangement of Henry Purcell's overture to *The Indian Queen* (Z630), consists only of the first 40 bars and is incomplete, which suggests leaves are missing from the end of the book. However, the piece appears on a completed gathering ending with a blank leaf without stave rulings; the copyist may simply have copied as much as possible before reaching the end of the book.

It seems likely that Elizabeth Batt herself was the copyist. The hand has a laboured and unpracticed appearance, particularly at the beginning, suggesting it was not that of a professional musician. Simple errors also occur, probably the result of inexperience, such as the accidental placing the right-hand part on the left-hand stave (p. 37; p. 42), and occasionally there are misread notes and rhythms despite the copyist's overall care. The copyist may well have been Elizabeth Batt (*née* Coryton) (1673- before 1738) of Pillaton, Cornwall, who married Christopher Batt of Blisland, Cornwall. In his will of 1st December 1738, Christopher Batt bequeathed to his daughter 'Eliz. Mayne, widow, [a] house in Kensington for residue of term. Also to dtr. £1000 and house organ and harpsichord made by Henricus Von Burgen.'<sup>12</sup> The marriage settlement of Christopher Batt describes him as a London 'merchant'.<sup>13</sup> In addition, the will of Elizabeth Batt's father describes Christopher Batt as 'good kinsman Chris. Batt, Kensington, esq'. This

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<sup>11</sup> For an inventory, see B. Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire: 1660-1714', Ph.D. diss. (University of Manchester).

<sup>12</sup> Cornwall Record Office, CY/1594. Transcriptions of the Coryton papers are available from *Access to Archives* (<http://www.a2a.org>)

<sup>13</sup> Cornwall Record Office, CY/1593 (dated 3rd February 1692).

suggests he could well have been the 'Christopher Bate' who married Elizabeth Coryton on 17th March 1691 at All Hallows London Wall, despite the couple's Cornish origins.<sup>14</sup> Elizabeth Batt appears to have been a great-granddaughter of the Cornish Royalist politician William Coryton (1580-1651), although the manuscript could instead be connected with her daughter of the same name.<sup>15</sup>

Elizabeth Batt seems to have collected her pieces principally from printed sources or from manuscripts derived from them, amounting to over half of the contents. In some instances she imitated the notational characteristics of the print, indicating it was probably her direct source. This is the case with the pieces from Henry Purcell's *A Choice Collection* (1696/9), where the style of the clefs and layout on the page is imitated. The manuscript contains all the pieces in this source except for the suite in G minor (Z661) and the cibell (ZT678); the latter appears in the manuscript but was not taken from the print (pp. 48-49) and may be a setting composed by Francis Forcer (see below). Another important source was *The Ladys Banquet* (1704), although its contents (like that from the Purcell) were not copied in the printed order and were dispersed throughout the manuscript. In addition, the copyist seems to have added ornaments to some of the pieces, or copied them from a manuscript that had ornaments. For example, the 'Cebell by Mr. King' (pp. 19-20) has ornamentation, which in the print (p. 9) are absent. Other pieces derived from John Blow's *A Choice Collection* (1698/1704) and Dieupart's *Six Suites* ([1701]) may also have been indirectly transmitted. Dieupart's harpsichord pieces were printed in England by John Walsh in 1705 as *Select Lessons for the Harpsicord or Spinnett*, which contains a selection of pieces taken from *Six Suites*, issued by Roger of Amsterdam. However, Add. MS 52363 includes pieces found only in the latter, which had been sold by Francis Vaillant, a French bookseller in the Strand, in 1701 and 1702.<sup>16</sup> In Add. MS 52363, the ornament signs for the Dieupart have been changed from those used on the continent in *Six Suites* (1701) to their approximate English equivalents (*e. g.* a *pincé* becomes a *beat*).

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<sup>14</sup> Cornwall Record Office, CY/1593; Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. *FamilySearch: Internet Genealogy Service* (<http://www.familysearch.org>), source: Guildhall Library.

<sup>15</sup> L. J. Reeve, 'Coryton, William', *ODNB*. For the genealogy of the Coryton family, see, 'Cornwall Record Office: Coryton of Pentille, Pillaton', <http://www.a2a.org>.

<sup>16</sup> See W. C. Smith. *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the years 1695-1720* (Oxford, 1948), 56 and xvi, and M. Tilmouth. 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', *RMLARC*, 1 (1961) (whole issue): *The Post Man*, 4/11/1702, and *The Post Boy*, 5/3/1702.

## 6. 3. Pieces copied or derived from printed sources in Lbl, Add. MS 52363

Source	Location (pp.) (and number of pieces)
<i>The Harpsicord Master 2</i> (1700)	8-12 (3)
<i>The Ladys Banquet</i> (1704)	14-28 (14), 43 (1), 73-4 (1), 87 (1), 89-90 (2), 94-5 (3), 103 (1)
<i>The Harpsicord Master 2 or A Choice Collection of Ayres</i> (1700)	44-5 (2), 50 (1), 169-70 (1)
C. Dieupart, <i>Six Suites de Clavessin</i> ([1701])	61-4 (3), 110-15 (6), 124-5 (1), 129-30 (2), 140-1 (2), 165 (1) 45
J. Blow, <i>A Choice Collection of Lessons</i> ([1698]/[1704])	65-66 (2), 98-100 (4)
H. Purcell, <i>A Choice Collection of Lessons</i> (1696/9)	116-24 (6), 127-8 (4), 131-9 (9), 142-6 (3), 156-8 (3), 161-4 (4)
<i>A Choice Collection of Ayres</i>	168-9 (2), 170-82 (12)
Total number of pieces: 94 (54%)	

Several types of G clef are employed in the manuscript, which probably resulted from the copyist imitating those in the sources she had in front of her. They suggest she had access to more than one manuscript source. Particularly interesting in this respect are the copies of three A minor pieces also found in Francis Forcer's autograph, Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 399.<sup>17</sup> The resemblances to Forcer's hand, characterised by a bold upper looping G clef, are striking. This is readily apparent with the copy of the A minor jig. It was probably not taken from MS Mus. Sch. e. 399, given small textual differences between the two sources. However, the resemblance in the handwriting suggests the piece might have been copied from another Forcer manuscript now lost. A small number of other pieces in the manuscript use the 'Forcer' treble clef, which appears on pp. 28-41, 48-9, 58-60, 78, 90-4. This includes all the pieces by Forcer, notably a copy of his D minor suite on pp. 46-40, with the movements ordered as they also appear in an important source of his keyboard music, Wc, M21.M185 (ff. 59-60v).<sup>18</sup> However, the other pieces on these pages are an intriguing group if they were taken from a Forcer manuscript. They include a setting of William Lord Byron's 'Maggot' (pp. 30-1) and the setting of Purcell's cibell mentioned. In addition, there are two settings of pieces by John Eccles, one identified by Brian Hodge as a piece from the opera *Rinaldo and Armida* (1699) (p. 60), and another entitled 'the

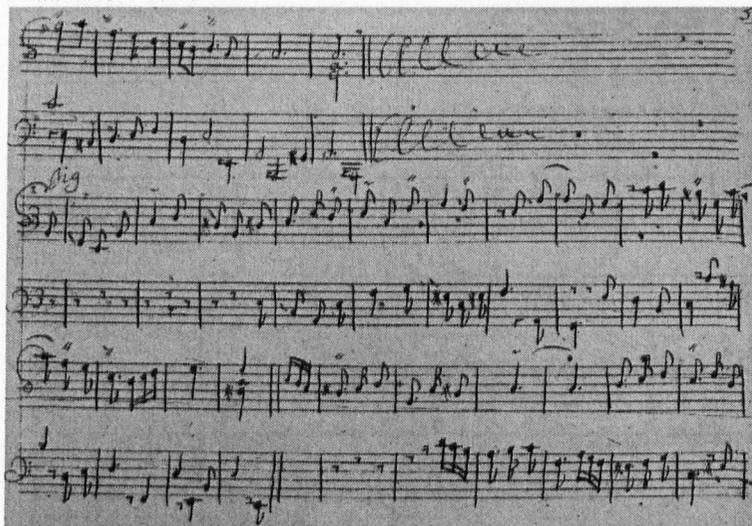
<sup>17</sup> See John Blow, *Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. Klakowich, nos. 77-79.

<sup>18</sup> See Washington, D. C., *Library of Congress, MS M21.M185 case*, facs. edn., intro. A. Silbiger (SCKM 21, 1989).

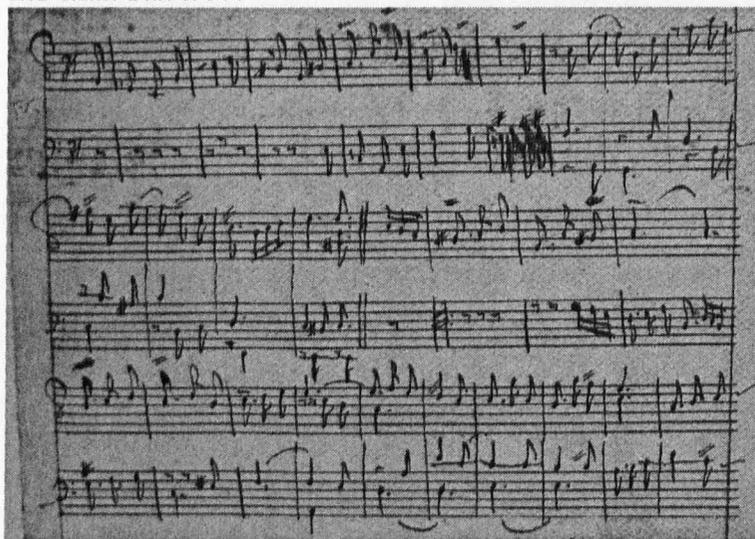
Czar' (pp. 58-60), which may have been composed for Peter the Great when he visited England in 1698.<sup>19</sup>

**6. 4. Anon. jig in A minor: Lbl, Add. MS 52363, p. 33, and Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 399, f. 8v**

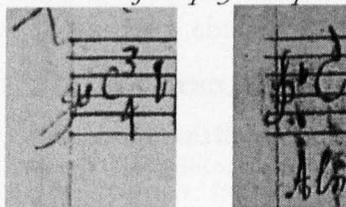
*Add. MS 52363*



*MS Mus. Sch. e. 399*



*Other G clefs employed in pieces not derived from prints:*



<sup>19</sup> See Hodge. 'English Harpsichord Repertoire', inventory of Add. MS 52363, and P. Holman. 'A New Source of Restoration Keyboard Music', *RMARC*, 20 (1986-7), 51-7.

*Lbl, Add. MS 31403 and J-Tn, N-3/35: Daniel Henstridge and William Raylton*

Daniel Henstridge, who was cathedral organist of Gloucester (1666-73), Rochester (1673-99) and Canterbury (1699-1736, nominally from 1718), appears to have been a well-connected and important Kentish musician.<sup>20</sup> He copied several significant sources of Henry Purcell's music, and seems to have owned autograph copies of the composer's anthems.<sup>21</sup> Much seventeenth century music that came into the hands of the collectors William Gostling and William Flackton in the eighteenth century also belonged to him.<sup>22</sup> He was probably a music teacher to the Filmer family of East Sutton, judging from his contribution to NH, Filmer MS 17, alongside those of Francis Forcer and William Turner (see Ch. 3). In addition, Harry Johnstone has recently uncovered a teaching manuscript of keyboard pieces originating from Sharsted Court, Kent, in Henstridge's hand, dating from a similar period (c. 1705).<sup>23</sup> As organist at Canterbury and Rochester, he would also have trained choristers, some of them to play the organ. A condition of his appointment at Canterbury was to teach the organ to one William Porter, who had temporarily been Canterbury organist before Henstridge's arrival.<sup>24</sup>

Robert Ford has pointed out that the two principal copyists of Lbl, Add. MS 31403, an important source of seventeenth century English organ and harpsichord music, are Henstridge and Edward Bevin (b. 1595).<sup>25</sup> Bevin was a minor canon at Canterbury in the early seventeenth century, and son of Elway Bevin who is best known for his *A Briefe and Short Instruction of the Art of Musicke* (1631).<sup>26</sup> The manuscript is unusually large, a folio measuring approximately 26.7cm x 40.6cm. It was probably begun by Bevin in the 1630s, who entered a prelude attributed to Emanuel Soncino dated '1633'.<sup>27</sup> Originally the

<sup>20</sup> See R. Ford, 'Henstridge, Daniel', *GMO*, and Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 47-8, 121 and 235-6.

<sup>21</sup> See Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, esp. 221-6.

<sup>22</sup> See Ford, 'Henstridge, Daniel' and R. Ford, 'Minor Canons at Canterbury Cathedral: The Gostlings and their Colleagues' (Ph. D. diss., University of California, 1984).

<sup>23</sup> 'A New Source of Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century English Harpsichord Music by Barrett, Blow, Clarke, Croft, and Others', to appear in a forthcoming *Festschrift* for a colleague. I am grateful to Dr. Johnstone for sharing his discovery and for sending me a draft of his article before its publication.

<sup>24</sup> Shaw, *Succession*, 47-48. Porter might have been related to Samuel Porter (1733-1810), organist at Canterbury after William Raylton.

<sup>25</sup> 'Bevins, Father and Son', *MR*, 43 (May, 1982), 104-8.

<sup>26</sup> H. Barlow, 'Bevin, Elway', *ODNB*; G. Hooper, 'Bevin, Elway', *GMO*.

<sup>27</sup> For contents of the Bevin section, see Brookes, *British Keyboard Music*, 41-2. See also Bailey, *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources*, 58-61.

manuscript was copied from two ends, which accounts for the odd reappearance of Bevin's hand in the middle.<sup>28</sup> The reordering of the pages seems to have taken place around 1960 when the manuscript was rebound: what is now the centre of the manuscript was originally the inverted rear end (f. 44).<sup>29</sup> (According to a cut-out from an auctioneer's catalogue pasted on the inside cover, the manuscript had a 'vellum' binding originally.) This is clear from early pagination (now replaced with continuous foliation), which begins afresh from the original ends of the manuscript, *i. e.* original pp. 1-[57] appears on ff. 3-43v and original pp. 1-53 (rev.) appears on ff. 44-70.

### 6. 5. Lbl, Add. MS 31403: handwriting

Location (modern ff.)	Copyist
3-31.	Bevin (?1630s)
31v-33.	Henstridge (?1680s)
33v-36.	Unidentified professional (c. 1700)
36v-39v	Henstridge (?c. 1715)
40-43v	Later eighteenth century material, inc. psalm tune settings
44-45v.	Bevin (?1630s)
46-69v.	Henstridge (?1680s)
69v-76.	Didactic material probably in a late eighteenth century hand

The changes in Henstridge's handwriting are also explained by this arrangement. He employed two treble clefs in his manuscripts, a later type and an earlier type.<sup>30</sup> In Add. MS 31403, the earlier one appears on ff. 31v-33 and ff. 46-51v (with the exception of pieces on f. 51), whilst on ff. 36v-39v and ff. 52v-69v he uses his later clef.<sup>31</sup> The most probable explanation is that he copied ff. 31v-33 and 46-69v first, which would have been copied from both ends of the book, then returned to the front end (ff. 36v-39v), probably at a considerably later date. This hypothesis is strengthened by the contents. The pieces on ff. 31v-33 and 46-69v all probably date from the seventeenth century, whilst those on ff. 36v-39v include one identified by Ford as an arrangement of the overture from Croft's ode *Laurus Cruentus* (1713), and copies of the C major and G minor preludes by Purcell derived

<sup>28</sup> Ford, 'Bevins', 104.

<sup>29</sup> An end-paper note reads: 'Examined after rebinding- C. M. H. 26-8-60'

<sup>30</sup> Ford, 'Bevins', 104; Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>31</sup> For a facsimile of Henstridge's early clef, see Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 225.

from *A Choice Collection* (1696/9). The pieces on ff. 36v-39v were also copied after the unidentified copyist responsible for ff. 33v-6 had made his contribution, probably around 1700 or a little earlier.<sup>32</sup> In addition, the handwriting on ff. 36v-39v also differs slightly to Henstridge's elsewhere in the manuscript. For example, in the stems of some of the minims which are drawn from the centre of the note heads.

On the basis of evidence from a Henstridge score book of anthems (US-LAuc, fC6966/M4/A627/1700) and a book of songs he partly copied (Cfm, MU MS 118), Shay and Thompson, suggest the style of his treble clef changed around 1682.<sup>33</sup> Henstridge was only appointed organist of Canterbury in 1698, where he presumably copied the manuscript, but the contents of the earlier portion (ff. 31v-33 and ff. 46-69v) do not rule out an earlier date, and it is conceivable that he copied these parts whilst still at Rochester. He copied mostly harpsichord pieces by Blow and Forcer (ff. 46-63v), followed by organ voluntaries (ff. 64v-69v), some by Blow and others anonymous, which Geoffrey Cox has tentatively attributed to Blow.<sup>34</sup> Concordances for much of this music suggest it may well date from the 1680s (see Ex. 6. 6 overleaf). It seems plausible that Henstridge came into contact with Forcer through the Filmers, and obtained some of these pieces from him, including some of the Blow pieces. Both musicians contributed to Filmer MS 17, and Forcer copied several harpsichord pieces that are probably by Blow into the autograph manuscripts Filmer MS 15 and Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 399 in the early 1680s (see Ch. 3). Significantly, Henstridge uses the dotted-shake ornament sign, which only otherwise occurs in the Forcer manuscripts and in Lbl, Add. MS 52363, parts of which, may have been copied from a lost Forcer autograph (see above).<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> This copyist was responsible for a few short voluntaries, a unique version of Purcell's G minor suite (Z661), and a 'Son: by Archangelo Corelli'. The latter turns out to be Anhang 35, printed by Roger in 1697; see *Archangelo Corelli. Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke*, Bd. 5, 'Werke ohne opuszahl', ed. H. J. Marx (Cologne, 1976). In Add. MS 31403 the central Adagio is missing.

<sup>33</sup> *Purcell Manuscripts*, 224 and 276.

<sup>34</sup> *Organ Music*, ii, 40-50 (transcriptions).

<sup>35</sup> The sign consists of a double-stroke with four dots, two above and two below it. It was probably an equivalent to the 'shake turn'd' in 'Rules for Graces', first published in H. Purcell, *A Choice Collection* (1696) (copy: Lbl, Pr. Bk. K. 1. c. 5).

## 6. 6. Lbl, Add. MS 31403, ff. 31v-33 and 46-51v: concordances with pre-1690 keyboard sources

Location (ff.) / Title/ Key	Composer	Early keyboard concordances
50v. [Prelude] [G]	[John Blow]	Och, MS Mus. 47 , pp. 56-7 (?1670s); Och, MS Mus. 1003 , ff. 26v-27 (probably <i>c.</i> 1675)
55. 'Jigg' [a]	Francis Forcer	Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 399, f. 4v ('1681' and '1682')
55v. [Almand] [d]	[Francis Forcer]	<i>Musick's Hand-maid 2</i> (1689) (att.)
56v-57. 'Corant' [G]	[John Blow]	Och, MS Mus. 1177, ff. 38-37v (rev.) (probably 1680s)
57. 'Gavott' [G]	John Blow	NH, Filmer MS 15 (1678- <i>c.</i> 1680), f. 2
57v. [Almand] [G]	Matthew Locke	Och, MS Mus. 1177, f. 39 (rev.)
58v. 'Almand' [D]	[John Blow]	Och, MS Mus. 1177, f. 29 (rev.)
60. [Ground] [D]		4 bars only. Ob, MS Mus. Sch. d. 219, pp. 22-3 (1660s); NH, Filmer MS 15, ff. 3v-4
61v-62v. 'Morlake. Ground.' [G]	[John Blow]	<i>Musick's Hand-maid 2</i> (1689) (att.); Och, MS Mus. 1177, ff. 22-20v (rev.)
63. [Prelude] [d]		CAMhogwood, M1471 (1680s), pp. 24-5 (no. 13)
63. [Prelude] [C]		CAMhogwood, M1471, pp. 32-33 (no. 17)

Henstridge copied several anonymous pieces, which mostly belong stylistically to the period *c.* 1670-1685. One is a unique Locke-like almand in A major (ff. 57v-58), preceded by an almand attributed to Locke (Appendix D: 6. i). However, some minor grammatical solecisms such as the perfect fifth on the last semi-quaver of b. 4 raise some doubt as to whether it could be by Locke. A particularly fine anonymous piece is the 'Preludiam' on ff. 59v-60. The bold harmonic progressions are noteworthy (*e. g.* bb. 9-10, 15-18). It is probably of English origin despite the orthography of the title, which is more common in late seventeenth century German collections (Appendix D: 6. ii).

Other pieces may not be of English origin, notably 'A Ground' (ff. 31v-33) (Appendix D: 6. iii). It is essentially a binary form saraband followed by six and a half variations. The piece appears to be incomplete as it ends on a half-close, at the bottom of the page, with no formal double bar-line. A late eighteenth century index at the front of the volume also describes the piece as 'A Ground, with 12 divisions'.<sup>36</sup> Despite the title, it is unlike a typical English ground and is similar in several respects to some of the saraband and variation sets

<sup>36</sup> Biographical notices of composers in the manuscript (f. 1), which appears to be in the same hand as the index, refer to 'the late Dr. Pepusch' (d. 1752).

found in late seventeenth century Dutch collections. For example, those in the Van Eijl manuscript, dated '1671', compiled by the Netherlands organist Gisbert van Steenwick.<sup>37</sup> The saraband themes used in Dutch manuscripts were often of a 'popular' type, for example, Van Eijl nos. 13 and 16, 'one of the most popular tunes not only in the Netherlands, but over all Northern Europe', during the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>38</sup> Popular saraband tunes occasionally appear in English keyboard sources of Commonwealth and early Restoration date, and some possibly came from the Continent.<sup>39</sup> However, the style of the variations in Add. MS 31403 suggests they were not written by an English composer. For instance, the melody is retained in outline in the upper part of the variations. This technique is uncommon among English grounds, but it is often found in variation sets by north German and Dutch composers such as those in Van Eijl.<sup>40</sup>

The somewhat eclectic mix of harpsichord dances, grounds, and organ voluntaries, suggest that the manuscript was collected by successive musicians at Canterbury for personal use.<sup>41</sup> However, a number of features imply that it may also have had a pedagogical function. This is particularly true of the Bevin section, which includes an ornament table, 'The Graces in Play', which indicates it was probably used by an inexperienced musician.<sup>42</sup> Another interesting feature of the Bevin section from this point of view are the canons written in red and black ink, probably for illustrative purposes. These may well have been composed by his father as they are similar to those that Elway Bevin had printed (in score) in *A Briefe and Short Instruction*. One entitled 'Dubble Canon/ or 4 ptes/ in two.' (f. 21), for example, has red ink for the soprano and tenor parts and black for the bass and alto, showing which two pairs of parts are in canon with one another.

It is less clear whether Henstridge used the manuscript for teaching, although it seems unlikely that he would have used it for performing in services. Its huge size would have made it unwieldy and there are no accompaniment parts to anthems, useful in a liturgical

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<sup>37</sup> See *Klavierboek Anna Maria Van Eijl*, ed. F. Noske (MMN 2, 1959), and B. Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, 3 vols. (Ann Arbor, 1979), i, 82.

<sup>38</sup> *Nederlandse Klaviermuziek uit de 16e en 17e Eeuw*, ed. A. Curtis (MMN 3, 1961), xxxiii.

<sup>39</sup> See several in Och, MS Mus. 1236, such as those on pp. 8-9 ('Sarabrand') and f. 39 ('Saraband'/ 'Mr Ben: Rogers, London'): Brookes, *British Keyboard Music*, nos. 977/ 981 and 2157. For continental concordances, see Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, ii, 125 and 129.

<sup>40</sup> An interesting exception is a D minor ground by Blow, see *John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. Klakowich, no. 26.

<sup>41</sup> See Bailey, *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources*, 61.

<sup>42</sup> R. Ford, 'Bevins', 108.

context. It is clear that the manuscript had a pedagogical function later in the eighteenth century as extracts from Thomas Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to the Skill of Musicke* were copied into it, probably after 1771, when Morley's book was reprinted (ff. 69v-76).<sup>43</sup> One contributor also pencil annotated the *Laurus Cruentus* overture arrangement with figured bass symbols, probably for instruction purposes.

Tn, N-3/35, formerly owned by William Raylton (1688-1757), Henstridge's pupil and successor at Canterbury, has the appearance of a more personal collection, and contains a miscellany of different types of music, not just solo keyboard music.<sup>44</sup> Unlike Add. MS 31403, it appears not to have been used by successive generations of cathedral musicians at Canterbury, and Raylton indicated his ownership of the book by signing it, 'William Raylton his Book g[iven] b[y] y[e] M.C. March ye 3i 170 [sic.]'. This has been interpreted to mean that the book was given to Raylton by William Croft, with whom Raylton studied in 1713-14.<sup>45</sup> However, Ford has pointed out that 'y[e] M. C.' is more likely to refer to Henstridge, Master of the Choristers at Canterbury, rather than 'Mr Croft'. In addition, the manuscript contains material clearly intended to have a practical function such as accompaniment parts. On ff. 1-13 is harpsichord music copied by an earlier scribe, dating from the middle of the seventeenth century or slightly earlier, judging from the contents.<sup>46</sup> These simple pieces (mostly settings of popular tunes) have rudimentary fingerings in several instances, and are headed by a popular prelude in G major by Bull, which was published in a shortened version at the beginning of *Musick's Hand-maid* (1663).<sup>47</sup> This suggests that the manuscript began as an amateur keyboard book, and was given to Henstridge at the end of the century when the music was out of date, who then gave it to Raylton for study purposes.

Raylton seems to have used the manuscript over a long period, eventually filling it completely. He probably began copying around 1707 when Henry Hall's catch 'Thus while the eight goes merrily round' was copied (f. 14). The catch was published in the *Monthly Masque of Vocal Music* (1707), and was composed when eight bells were erected at St Helen's

<sup>43</sup> *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, ed. R. A. Harman, foreword by T. Dart (London, 1963), xxv.

<sup>44</sup> For Raylton, see R. Ford, 'Raylton, William', *GMO*, Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 48, and N. Bergenfield, "The William Raylton Virginal Book," Tokyo, Nanki Music Library MS N. 3. 35: Transcription and Commentary' (Ph. D. diss., New York University, 1983).

<sup>45</sup> Bergenfield, "The William Raylton Virginal Book", 30.

<sup>46</sup> Bailey, *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources*, 122. For contents, see Brookes. *British Keyboard Sources*, 117-118.

<sup>47</sup> Brookes, *British Keyboard Sources*, no. 1298. Some of them have been recorded; see T. Charlston, *Albertus Bryne. Keyboard Music*, Deux-Elles DXL 1124 (2007).

church, Worcester, in 1706, marking the victories of the Duke of Marlborough.<sup>48</sup> At the top of the page Raylton wrote: 'Eight Bells being Lately cast at St hellens in worster had these names given em. ye 1st Blenheim 2d Ramillie 3d: Barcellona 4th merin. 5th: turin 6: Eugene. 7th marlbrough: 8th Queen Ann on which was made this catch by mr. henry hall of hereford, A 3 voice.' This inscription appears in the print, indicating that it was probably his source. Raylton mostly copied voluntaries, preludes, and extended ground bass pieces to begin with, the majority of them by Blow, which he may have thought suitable for study purposes (ff. 13v-25 and 55v-50 (rev.)).

On ff. 24v-25, Raylton copied 'A Ground, by Mr: Crofts', the title of which, he later changed, attributing the piece, to Purcell instead. The piece is, however, probably by Croft, a pastiche of the keyboard setting of Purcell's ground 'With him he brings the partner of his throne' (ZT681).<sup>49</sup> Croft's piece exists in essentially two versions, in London F's manuscript Lbl, Eg. MS 2959 (see Ch. 5), and in Cfm, MU MS 653, both important Croft sources, but probably dating at least fifteen years apart. Raylton's version is almost exactly the same as that in MU MS 653, which was probably copied around 1715. The following piece he copied (f. 25v), an almand in C minor by Croft, is ascribed to 'Dr Croft', and may well have been copied around 1713, when Croft received his Christ Church doctorate, and when Raylton was his student.

From f. 25v, the type of music changes from mostly contrapuntal works and extended grounds to shorter and simpler harpsichord pieces, probably reflecting a change in the book's function. Much of the later later solo keyboard music is typical of amateur keyboard collections, probably compiled and arranged by Raylton for pupils and patrons rather than for himself. Some of the pieces look like they were hastily written and could have been composed into the manuscript. They include pieces such as the popular jig from the overture to *Rinaldo* and an arrangement of the popular 'Should ere the fair disdain' from the pasticcio *Thomyris* (1707). Raylton seems to have composed at least one of the pieces for a patron or pupil, a ground in E minor on ff. 49-48v (rev.). The piece is entitled 'W: Raylton A Ground.', to which he later added two strains, 'made for M<sup>rs</sup> A: M:'.<sup>50</sup>

On another page, which he left blank because ink had bled through, he wrote 'To Mr Rich Jenkin' (f. 36v).<sup>50</sup> This inscription appears between pages of the 'Mr. Henry Purcells

<sup>48</sup> H. B. Walters, 'The Church Bells of Worcestershire', *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, 6 (1929), 50-2, and 'The Bells of St. Helen's Church, Worcester', *Transactions*, 28 (1951), 61. See *The Monthly Masque of Vocal Music, 1702-11*, facs. edn., ed. T. Baldwin and O. Wilson (Aldershot, 2007).

<sup>49</sup> See *William Croft. Complete Harpsichord Works*, 2 vols., ed. H. Ferguson and C. Hogwood (SECKM 30-1, 1976, rev. 1982), no. 3a.

<sup>50</sup> A Robert Jenkin was a precentor at Canterbury cathedral in the 1730s and 1740s, who may have been a relative of Richard. See Ford, 'Minor Canons at Canterbury Cathedral', 627.

Golden Sonata in F fa ut' (ff. 35v-38), a literal transcription in keyboard score of sonata IX from *Ten Sonatas in Four Parts* (1697). As it stands, the piece is impractical for solo keyboard performance as the right hand is required to stretch a tenth. In addition, where the second treble part goes above the first, Raylton marked the upper part with a '2'. It may have been intended as a non-prescriptive continuo part, or as an essentially prescriptive part that he simplified in performance.<sup>51</sup> After the Purcell sonata most of the remainder of the manuscript is devoted to similar-looking reduced scores, mostly on two staves, supporting the view that it is a continuo part.

The 'Concerto Grosso Del sig: Hendell. 1716' (ff. 39-41), written in a later form of Raylton's hand with different treble clef, is also a literal transcription of the parts, mostly in keyboard score. Raylton gives the date '1716', which is when the concerto was first performed in Handel's *Amadagi*, but this is probably not the copying date.<sup>52</sup> The piece was later printed as Op. 3/4 (HWV 315) in 1734. As with the Purcell sonata, the number '2' has been written where the second violin part overlaps the first. There are several other indications of instrumentation as if Raylton was trying to record as much information about the score as possible, presumably for leading an ensemble. For example, at the top of f. 40v he wrote 'ye upper notes are for ye Hautbois & viol. [pr]imo' (see example below), and also briefly resorted to a three-stave system on the following page. There are also similar markings in the keyboard score of a concerto by Alberti (op. 1/1) on ff. 45-49v, which was published in England in 1727.<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, the overtures from Handel's *Otho* (1722) and *Muzio Scevola* (1721) (ff. 41v-44) are real keyboard arrangements.

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<sup>51</sup> For seventeenth-century English keyboard accompaniment practice, see P. Holman, "Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly Acchording to All": The Organ Accompaniment of English Consort Music' in A. Ashbee and P. Holman. *John Jenkins and his Time* (Oxford, 1996), 353-382, and R. Herissone, *'To Fill, Forbear, or Adorne': The Organ Accompaniment of Restoration Sacred Music* (Aldershot, 2006). It is noteworthy that if the continuo player follows Purcell's figures in *Sonnata's of III parts* (1683), the result is a part that usually doubles the violins.

<sup>52</sup> B. Baselt, *Händel-Handbuch*, bd. 3 (Kassel, 1986), 66-68.

<sup>53</sup> See M. Talbot. 'A Thematic Catalogue of the orchestral works of Giuseppe Matteo Alberti', *RMARC*, 13 (1976), 1-26.

## 6. 7. Tn, N-3/35, f. 40v (top 6 staves): 'Concerto Grosso Del sig:† Hendell. 1716'



## 6. 8. Tn, N-3/35: inventory of portion copied by William Raylton before 1720

Location (ff.) / Title/ Key	Composer	Comment and concordances (kbd. unless otherwise stated)
13v. [Voluntary] [a]	[?]John Blow]	Lbl, Add. MS 31403, f. 67 (anon.)
14. ('Thus while ye 8 goes') [C]	Henry Hall	Catch. <i>Monthly Masque of Vocal Music</i> (1707)
14v. [Prelude] [G]	[?]Raphael Courteville]	
14v. [Almand] [G]	[Raphael Courteville]	<i>Ladys Banquet</i> (1704), p. 26 (att.) (MS copy: Lbl, Add. MS 52363, p. 26)
15. 'Hunting Almond' [G]	John Blow	Klakowich <sup>i</sup> 47
15v. 'Prelude' [C]	John Blow	Klakowich 14
15v. 'Gavatt.' [G]	John Blow	Klakowich 49
16. 'Almand' [e]	[?]William Croft]	Pc, rés 1186 bis, f. 42v (anon.); Cfm, MU MS 653, p. 63 (anon.)
16v-17. 'A Ground in Gamut. b' [g]	John Blow	Klakowich 70

Location (ff.) / Title/ Key	Composer	Comment and concordances (kbd. unless otherwise stated)
17v-18. 'Chacone' [C]	John Blow	Klakowich 17
18v-19. 'Chacone.' [g]	[John Blow]	Klakowich 71
19v-20. 'Prelude' [G]	[John Blow]	Klakowich 58
20-20v. [Almand] [d]		
20v-21. 'Almaine' [F]	[John Weldon]	Ge, R. d. 54, ff. 17v-18 (att.); Lbl, Add. MS 22099, f. 15v (att.); CDP, M. C. 39 (k), ff. 31-30v (rev.)
21v-22. [Prelude] [G]	[Orlando Gibbons]	Att. Christopher Gibbons, possibly in place of 'Dr Croft' (see Bergenfield, "The William Raylton Virginal Book", 103). Hendrie <sup>ii</sup> 2
22v-23. [Voluntary] [A]	John Blow	Cooper <sup>iii</sup> 20
23v. 'Prelude' [G]	Henry Purcell	Z662/1. <i>A Choice Collection</i> (1696/9), pp. 13-15.
24. 'A Prelude' [a]	Henry Purcell	Cfm, MU MS 653, p. 81 (anon.); Lbl, Add. MS 34695, f. 57v (anon.); Lbl, Add. MS 31468, ff. 7v-8 (anon.)
24v-25. 'A Ground' [c]	[William Croft]	Att. 'Mr Croft', changed to 'Purcell'; Ferguson and Hogwood <sup>iv</sup> 3a
25v. 'Almand' [c]	William Croft	Ferguson and Hogwood 5a
26. 'Almand' [A]	[Robert King]	For 10 kbd. concordances, see Klakowich, p. 139 (S12). CAMhogwood, M1092, f. 1 (a2)
26v. 'Almand' [a]	Henry Purcell	Z663/2. <i>A Choice Collection</i> (1696/9), pp. 22-3
26v-27. 'Almand' [c]	Jeremiah Clarke	<i>Choice Lessons</i> (1711), pp. 20-21. Harley <sup>v</sup> 4a
27. 'Jigg' [b]	John Barrett	<i>The Generous Conqueror</i> (a4); <i>Harpsicord Master 2</i> (1700)
27v-28. 'Chacone' [C]	Jeremiah Clarke	Harley <i>Misc.</i> <sup>vi</sup> 6. Additional sources: Lbl Add. 22099, f. 11; Bc, MS XY15139, p. 132; Drc, MS E 32, pp. 33-7
28v. 'Jigg' [A]	[Robert King]	LAuc, M678 M4 H295 1710, ff. 8v-9v; Lbl, Add. MS 39569, p. 68; Ob, MS T 1508, f. 67v; CAMhogwood, M1092, f. 1v (att. index) (a2)
28v. 'Jigg' [c]	William Croft	Ferguson and Hogwood 5c
29-30. 'A Ground' [G]	William Croft	Ferguson and Hogwood 13
30v. 'Jigg in ye overture to Rinaldo' [F]	[G. F. Handel]	HWV 7a (1711)

Location (ff.) / Title/ Key	Composer	Comment and concordances (kbd. unless otherwise stated)
30v-31. ['Should ere the fair distain'] [G]		<i>Thomyris</i> (1708) (song). <i>Ladys Entertainment</i> , p. 7; <i>Harpsicord Master Improv'd</i> (1711 or 1715), p. 19; CAMhogwood, M1090, ff. 24v-25; Lfom, Coke MS 1576, ff. 7v-9
31v. ['Presto' from overture] [F]	[G. M. Bononcini]	<i>Camilla</i> (London, 1706). Mp, MS. BRm 715.5 Rf. 31, p. 144
31v-32. 'O Nymph of race divine', 'Camila B' [C]	[G. M. Bononcini]	<i>Camilla</i> (1706) (song). Drc, MS E32, p. 42
32-32v. 'Lucing' [C]		Lusinga del mio core', <i>Hydaspes</i> (1710) (song). <i>Harpsicord Master Improv'd</i> (1711 or 1715), p. 23; Ldc, MS 92b, pp. 117-120 (G); Lbl, Add. MS 71209, ff. 19-20
32v-33. 'A Ground' [G]	[Jeremiah Clarke]	<i>Choice Lessons</i> (1711), pp. 2-3. Harley 1a
33v-34. 'Bianca man' tu sei Sung by Nicolini in Hydaspes' [D]		<i>Hydaspes</i> (1710) (song). Drc, MS E32, pp. 38-41
34. 'A Song in ye Opera of Rinaldo' [F]	[G. F. Handel]	HWV 7/22, 'Lascia ch'io pianga'
34v. 'Round O Minuet' [F]	[?William Raylton]	
35v-38. 'Mr. Henry Purcells Golden Sonata in F fa ut' [F]	Henry Purcell	Kbd. score. Sonata IX from <i>Ten Sonatas in Four Parts</i> (1697).
39-48v		Later music copied by Raylton.
VOLUME REVERSED		
55v-55. 'A Voluntary' [d/D]	John Barrett	Ldc, MS 92a, pp. 50-53; Ldc, MS 92b, pp. 53-58; Ldc, MS 92d, pp. 34-8; Mp, MS BRm 715.5 Rf. 31, pp. 228-31
54v. 'A Voluntary' [D]	John Blow	Cooper 5a
54. 'A Voluntary' [a]	Henry Purcell	Unique, but only 2 bars long
53v. [3 catches] <sup>vii</sup> [C]		Score
53-52v. 'A Voluntery' [C]		
52-50v. 'A Voluntary' [G]	John Blow	Cooper 29
50. 'Voluntary' [g]	[?John Blow]	Lbl, Add. MS 31403, f. 66v. Cox <sup>viii</sup> 9
49-48v. 'A Ground.' [e]	William Raylton	

i. *John Blow. Complete Harpsicord Music*, ed. Klakowich

ii. *Orlando Gibbons*, ed. Hendrie

iii. *John Blow. Complete Organ Music*, ed. Cooper

iv. *William Croft*, ed. Ferguson and Hogwood

v. *Jeremiah Clarke. Seven Suites*, ed. J. Harley (London, 1985)

vi. *Jeremiah Clarke. Miscellaneous Keyboard Pieces*, ed. J. Harley (London, 1988)

vii. Composers identified by Bergenfield, “‘The William Raylton Virginal Book’”: ‘Sing we now merrily’ (Thomas Ravenscroft), ‘All into service let us sing merrily’ (Ravenscroft) and ‘Count Ossory’ (Henry Aldrich)

viii. *European Organ Music. England 1660-1710*, ed. G. Cox (London, 1986)

*Cfm, MU MS 652: ?Renatus Harris jnr. and John Harris*

One further manuscript worth discussing briefly as a clear example of a personal collection, probably compiled initially for study purposes, is Cfm MU 652. It is a thick oblong quarto manuscript (20.5 cm x 27.5 cm) of keyboard music compiled by two copyists. The second of these was one John Harris who wrote on the second flyleaf ‘John Harris his Book-’ and ‘This Book was given me by my Brother Renatus - / for some other things which I gave for it -’. In addition, Harris inscribed a label on the cover of the original binding, now pasted on the inside rear board of the modern binding, ‘707. / Corelli, Purcell, / Ravenscroft, / Frescobaldi, / And Froberg.’ It seems likely he was the son of the London organ builder Renatus Harris (c. 1652-1724), John Harris (1677-1743).<sup>54</sup> Renatus Harris junior could well have been ‘Rene s[on] of Rene & Joanna Harris’ baptised at St Sepulchre Holborne, London, on 12th November 1678; according to Sumner, Renatus Harris the elder married Joan Hiatt in the autumn of 1677.<sup>55</sup> The connection to the organ-building family is also strengthened by the importance of the source for pieces by Draghi who played the Harris organ built for the famous competition with Bernard Schmidt (‘Father Smith’) at the Temple Church in 1684.<sup>56</sup> The Harris family were Catholics and Catholic composers are strongly represented throughout the manuscript.

The first copyist copied harpsichord pieces all of which, except one, are attributed Draghi and Raphael Courteville; an anonymous F major almand (ff. 10v-11) is attributed to Courteville in other sources. A curious feature are exact times and dates of copying, which span 7th-23rd February 1701/2. The G minor suite by Courteville appears to have been copied on the night of Monday 23rd February 1701/2—the prelude ‘a little past eleven a clock att night’, the almand ‘a little past 12 a Clock att night’, and the corant, ‘almost one a clock’. For the Draghi pieces he used the cryptic attribution ‘B’, which might suggest he

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<sup>54</sup> First suggested in E. J. Hopkins and E. Rimbault, *The Organ*, 3rd edn. (London, 1877), 133. Rimbault probably owned the manuscript in the mid-nineteenth century.

<sup>55</sup> *FamilySearch: Internet Genealogy Service* (<http://www.familysearch.org/>) (Source: Guildhall Library, MS 7219/1); L. W. Sumner, *The Organ: its Evolution, Principles of Construction and Use* (London, 1973), 148.

<sup>56</sup> See account in J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* [1776], 2. vols. (London, 1875, rpt. Graz, 1969), ii, 691-2.

was the composer, or was closely associated with him.<sup>57</sup> It has been pointed out in Ch. 3, however, that it is unlikely the manuscript is in Draghi's hand. The other explanation for the cryptic attributions, that the copyist was closely associated with the composer, seems far more likely. In all probability he was Renatus Harris junior, and that he was a pupil of Draghi and copied the pieces from a manuscript in Draghi's hand (in Lbl, MS Mus. 1, Draghi signs his pieces 'B'). This would make sense given the relationship between his father and Draghi. Renatus Harris junior may also have been the author of the song 'Sett by Mr. Rene Harris', 'Why Cloe?, will you not perceive the wounds you give my Heart', in *Mercurius Musicus* for September and October 1700, and could have been a professional musician.<sup>58</sup> At present, no evidence has come to light that he held an organist's position.

#### 6. 9. Cfm, MU MS 652: inventory (copyists: ?Renatus Harris jnr. (?RH jnr.) and John Harris (JH))

Location (ff.)/ title/ key	Composer	Select concordances/ comment	Scribe
1-1v. [Saraband] [c]	G. B. Draghi	Klakowich <sup>i</sup> 52	?RH jnr.
1v-2. [Air] [C]	Draghi	Klakowich 59; unique.	?RH jnr.
2v-3. 'Almond.' [c]	Draghi	Klakowich 60	?RH jnr.
3v-4. [Almand] [c]	Draghi	Klakowich 55	?RH jnr.
4v-5. [Arietta] [g]	Draghi	Klakowich 57	?RH jnr.
5v-7. 'Almand' [D]	Draghi	Klakowich 61; unique.	?RH jnr.
7v-8. [Prelude] [g]	Raphael Courteville	Lbl, Add. MS 34695, f. 70	?RH jnr.
8v-9. [Almand] [g]	Courteville	CDp, M.C.1.39 (j), ff. 60-59v (rev.).	?RH jnr.
9v-10. [Corant] [g]	Courteville	Unique	?RH jnr.
10v-11. [Almand] [F]	[Courteville]	Lbl, Add. MS 22099, f. 13 (att.); CDp, M.C.1.39 (k), ff. 37-35v (rev.) (att.).	?RH jnr.
11v-13. [Fugue] [a]	John Ravenscroft <sup>ii</sup>		JH
13v. [Voluntary] [d]	[John Blow?]	Cooper <sup>iii</sup> 57 (doubtful)	JH
14-15. 'Canzona' [C]	Frescobaldi	<i>Il Secondo Libro</i> <sup>iv</sup> , Canzona Quinta	JH

<sup>57</sup> *Giovanni Battista Draghi. Harpsichord Music*, ed. Klakowich, x.

<sup>58</sup> See Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, ii, 692; Sumner, *Loc. cit.*

Location (ff.)/ title/ key	Composer	Select concordances/ comment	Scribe
15-15v. [Canzona fragment] [C]	[Frescobaldi]	<i>Il Secondo Libro</i> , Canzona Seconda; bb. 19 (bt. 3)-32 only, crossed-out.	JH
15v-17. '2d. Br. Pasquini' [d]	Froberger	Tocatta XIX. <sup>v</sup> Complete except 1st bar and final 2 bars.	JH
17v.		Empty staves.	
18-19. 'Fuga' [a]	Froberger	Unidentified	JH
19-21v. [Voluntary] [G]	[John Blow]	Cooper 12	JH
21v-22. [Intonation] [g]	[S. A. Scherer]	<i>Operum Musicum Secundum</i> (1664) <sup>vi</sup>	JH
22-22v. [Untitled] [g]	'J. B.'		JH
23-36v.		Empty staves; 5-line staves begin on f. 24.	
VOLUME REVERSED			
84. [Almand] [C]	[Courteville]	3 bars of RH only; <i>Harpsicord Master 2</i> (att.), no. [4].	?RH jnr.
83-37.		Trio sonatas by Corelli (all of Op. 4 except nos. 7 & 12) and Purcell's 'Golden' sonata	JH

i. *Giovanni Battista Draghi. Harpsichord Music*, ed. Klakowich.

ii. Probably John Ravenscroft (d. 1708), who published a set of trio Sonatas in Rome (1695), and not the London violinist of that name (fl. 1730) as suggested by W. H. Cummings at the top of f. 11v. See P. Allsop, 'Ravenscroft, John (i)', *GMO*; M. Laurie, 'Ravenscroft, John (ii)', *GMO*; J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, ii, 893.

iii. *John Blow. Complete Organ Music*, ed. B. Cooper (MB 69, 1996).

iv. *Girolamo Frescobaldi. Il secondo libro di Toccate d'intavolatura di cembalo e organo*, ed. E. Darbellay (MMI 5, 1979).

v. *Johann Jakob Froberger. Orgel-und Klavierwerke*, ed. G. Adler (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, Jahrg. X/2, Bd. 21, 1903, rpt. 1959).

vi. Composer identified in a note accompanying the manuscript by Watkins Shaw.

### Conclusion

In his 'The Classification and Dating of the Sources of English Keyboard Music, 1560-1630', Thurston Dart identified several types of manuscript applicable to those discussed in this chapter.<sup>59</sup> One, 'Anthologies compiled by adult amateurs of music', is probably applicable to Lbl, Add. MS 52363. Such manuscripts seem to be rare, but are often identifiable from the style of the handwriting, as it tends to be unpracticed and lacking in fluency. In the case of Add. MS 52363, the compiler evidently adopted the notational idiosyncrasies of her sources, where most professional musicians would probably have adopted their own style. Another of Dart's manuscript types, 'Choirmen's

<sup>59</sup> For Dart's 'Classification', see Preface.

anthologies for leisure playing', can probably be applied to the Bowman-Morgan portion of Och, Mus. MS 1003, particularly the Morgan part. Morgan signed the cover, indicating his ownership, and copied a variety of types of piece, notably harpsichord dances, but also what are probably accompaniment parts to songs, dating mostly from the 1660s and 1670s. The remainder of the sources we have discussed are likely to have been what Dart called 'study-books prepared by (or, less usually, for) young would-be professionals under the guidance of their masters'. It seems possible that Daniel Henstridge copied the pieces in Lbl, Add. MS 31403 for students, updating its earlier contents, which had probably been assembled for teaching purposes. Tn, N-3/35 and Cfm, MU MS 652, are also likely to have been study books. MU MS 652 may have begun as a collection copied by Renatus Harris junior under the guidance of Giovanni Battista Draghi, whilst N-3/35 was a recycled manuscript apparently given by Daniel Henstridge to his pupil William Raylton for personal use around 1700 or a little later, which Raylton used for a variety of purposes over the course of the following 30 years or more.

It is not surprising to find that important sources of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century English keyboard music such as Lbl, Add. MS 31403 and Tn, N-3/35, are associated with music pedagogy. It was suggested in Ch. 1 that learning by example was an important part of instruction in the late seventeenth century, and copying out music was also seen as a useful pursuit for would-be professional musicians. According to Roger North, François de Prendcourt, who was Master of the Choristers of the Chapel Royal between 1686 to 1688, 'held his secretaries, as he used also his scollars, to punctual wrighting; and he taught that [*i. e.* 'wrighting'], as well as playing, thinking it one of the best means to make musick familiar.'<sup>60</sup> He was probably referring as much to the scoring-up of music from partbooks. Nevertheless, sources such as Cfm, MU MS 652, and Tn, N-3/35 may be examples of student-compiled study books.

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<sup>60</sup> Roger North's "Of Sounds" and Prendcourt Tracts c. 1710-c. 1716, ed. M. Chan, J. C. Kessler and J. D. Hine (North Papers 6, Kensington, 2000), 64; Roger North on Music, ed. J. Wilson (London, 1959), 54.

## Richard Ayleward of Norwich

Only a small number of English keyboard sources of the seventeenth century appear to originate from outside the musical centres of London and Oxford. A number of them date from the very end of the century such as the William Davis manuscript, Lbl, Add. MS 31468, a collection of organ and harpsichord music. Davis (d. 1745) was briefly organist at York Minster (November 1721- March 1721/2), but spent most of his career at Worcester cathedral as organist of the Little Organ and later Master of the Choristers.<sup>1</sup> He was mentioned by Hawkins in a list of ‘famous organists, celebrated performers on particular instruments, and composers of music of various kinds’,<sup>2</sup> and signed a harpsichord suite in C minor, reminiscent of Croft, at the inverted rear end of the manuscript. Most of the contents, however, is by Christopher Gibbons, Blow, Croft and Purcell, and apart from the Davis, the manuscript gives little indication that local keyboard composers were active.

Other late seventeenth century musicians active outside Oxford and London who wrote keyboard music are few. One of the best was the Lincoln organist George Holmes (c. 1680-1720), whose harpsichord pieces appear in two early eighteenth century manuscripts, perhaps reflecting activity as a local music teacher.<sup>3</sup> Holmes also appears to have copied a collection of organ music, Lbl, Add. MS 31446, formerly inscribed, according to a cut-out from an auction catalogue pasted on the inside cover, “George Holmes his Book, 1698”, at my Lord Bishop of Durham’s’. A number of the pieces are anonymous, but like the Davis manuscript much of the contents is by Christopher Gibbons, Blow and Purcell.

The lack of evidence for the existence of provincial ‘schools’ of keyboard composing is perhaps not surprising. The importance of the Chapel Royal as a centre for music education probably meant that the need for organ voluntaries was greater there than anywhere else. Copies of leading London composers’ music may also have been seen sufficient for the training of musicians at provincial cathedrals. Blow’s organ music, for instance, appears in manuscripts that appear to have originated from Hereford Cathedral (H, 30. a. xxx and H, 30. b. ii), Canterbury (Lbl, Add. MS 31403 and Tn, N-3/35), as well

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<sup>1</sup> See I. Spink, ‘Davis, William’, *GMO*, W. Shaw, *The Succession of Organists* (Oxford, 1991), 319, and I. Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music* (Oxford, 1995), 395-398.

<sup>2</sup> *General History of the Science and Practice of Music* [1776], 2. vols. (London, 1875, rpt. Graz, 1969), ii, 771b

<sup>3</sup> In Lbl, Add. MS 31465 and Lbl, Add. MS 17853. For Holmes, see I. Spink and G. Beeks, ‘Holmes, George’, Shaw, *Succession*, 161, B. Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1986), 175, and W. H. Cummings, ‘George Holmes’, *MT*, 54 (1913), 447-8.

as the Davis and Holmes manuscripts.<sup>4</sup> The possibility remains, however, that some of the anonymous music in these manuscripts was written by local composers.

Two provincial keyboard composers active earlier in the seventeenth century, Thomas Heardson and Richard Ayleward, are equally interesting figures, although their music again appears alongside a large quantity of pieces by London or Oxford composers in sources. Candace Bailey points out that NYp, Drexel MS 5611 was copied in the 1650s or early 1660s partly by Thomas Heardson, who was an organist of Ludlow Parish Church 1637-42, and contains thirteen of his pieces.<sup>5</sup> Less well-known is Ayleward (1626-69), although his music is of comparable interest and an unusually large quantity of it may survive anonymously in a late nineteenth-century copy of a contemporary source now missing, Lcm, MS 1154.

Ayleward was the son of a minor canon at Winchester cathedral, and received his training as a chorister there.<sup>6</sup> It is not known whether he took up an organists position before the Commonwealth, but in March 1660/1 he was appointed organist and Master of the Choristers at Norwich cathedral. He remained there until early 1664, at which point he was succeeded by Thomas Gibbs, possibly the son of Ayleward's predecessor, Richard Gibbs (d. 1650s). When Thomas Gibbs died of the plague in July 1666, Ayleward resumed his post until his death three years later.

In 1664, a canon at Norwich was paid 'for what he laid out for sending for Mr Aylward at the Assizes', which might have been connected to Ayleward's temporary replacement as organist that year.<sup>7</sup> The previous year he also quarrelled with the St George's Company, an ancient Norwich guild, about a yearly allowance of foodstuffs to the Master of the Choristers and his choir.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, a complimentary description of Ayleward's playing was recorded by Michael Woodward (1602-1675), warden of New College, Oxford, who heard him perform in the morning service at the cathedral whilst on tour of the city on 27th April 1667:<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> See John Blow, *Complete Organ Music*, ed. B. Cooper (MB 69, 1996).

<sup>5</sup> 'New York Public Library Drexel MS 5611', *EAM*, 47 (2000), 51-67.

<sup>6</sup> See P. Granger, P. Aston and T. Roast, 'Ayleward, Richard', *GMO*.

<sup>7</sup> Shaw, *Succession*, 202.

<sup>8</sup> A correspondence between Ayleward and a representative of the Company concerning the dispute was printed in the *Norwich Gazette* on 13th June 1727. See A. H. Mann, *Old Norwich Cathedral Musicians*, intro. T. Roast (Norwich, 2001), 30-33.

<sup>9</sup> R. L. Richard. (ed.), 'The progress notes of Warden Woodward 1659-1675 and other 17th century documents relating to the Norfolk property of New College, Oxford', *A Miscellany* (Norfolk Record Society, vol. 22, 1951), 97.

Their Organist is Mr. Alworth sonne unto Alworth the pettie Canon of Winton [Winchester]; an Excellent Organist who played a very good voluntary & afterward an Excellent Te Deum, the Organ not guilt, nor very bigg, but very sweet. I desired that I might have it [10] for our Organ; hee replied that it was hardly finished as yet & that he intended to make a whole service & then I should have it.

Although Woodward's account suggests Ayleward's sacred music potentially reached Oxford, all contemporary sources of his sacred music appear to be of Norwich provenance; those at King's College, Cambridge, were collected from Norwich by A. H. Mann in the late nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup> However, an 'Ayre' attributed to 'Mr *Ayleward*' appeared in Playford's solo lyra viol collection, *Musicks Recreation* (1652 or 1656), and the sources of his keyboard music may reflect activity outside of Norwich, possibly in Oxford or London. The keyboard sources also indicate Ayleward was familiar with modern styles as they contain several four movement suites by him, and suites with more than three movements are not usually found in English keyboard sources before the Restoration. In addition, his pieces show that he was adept at *style brisé*, not a term used in the seventeenth century, but a useful one that describes the broken chord textures often encountered in mid to late seventeenth-century harpsichord music.

#### *Lost Sources*

Three contemporary manuscript sources of Ayleward's keyboard music survived into the twentieth century. However, only one of them can be located today. Most regrettable of the losses, from the point of seventeenth-century English keyboard music generally, is a large manuscript formerly owned by the scholar W. H. Cummings. It was described by John West in 1910 and contained an unusually diverse repertory of:

organ music by Tresure, William Lawes (killed at Chester, 1645), Richard Ayleward (organist of Norwich Cathedral: died 1669), Morley, Gibbs (probably *Richard Gibbs*, organist of Norwich Cathedral before the Commonwealth), Byrd, Locke, Cobb (organist to Charles I), Christopher Gibbons, Orlando Gibbons and others. It was written probably about 1660-1670. The music is in a bold hand on six-line staves [...] An interesting feature is the fingering of some of the pieces [...]<sup>12</sup>

Geoffrey Cox points out that the volume was one of two sold together at the 1917 Sotheby's sale of Cummings's collection as: 'Compositions of early English musicians,

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<sup>10</sup> An organ part for Ayleward's Te Deum is in Ckc, Rowe MS 9.

<sup>11</sup> Granger *et al*, 'Ayleward, Richard'

<sup>12</sup> 'Old English Organ Music', *PMA*, 37 (1910), 4.

including Richard Cobb, Tho. Morley, R. Price etc.; English and Italian Fantasias for the organ, etc. MANUSCRIPT; 2 vol. *calif. Autograph of H. J. Gauntlett*.<sup>13</sup> The organist, composer and critic Henry John Gauntlett (1805-76) sold his collection in 1847, which included both volumes, sold separately, as lots 337 and 349 respectively.<sup>14</sup> They were presumably sold together at the Cummings sale because they both came from Gauntlett's collection. They were probably not otherwise connected, and 'autograph of H. J. Gauntlett' probably meant that he signed the manuscripts rather than copied them. In addition to the composers mentioned by West, the 1847 catalogue mentions that the English volume also included pieces by 'M Lawes' and 'F. à Kempis'. It also gives further details about the 'Italian' volume that are intriguing: 'Amongst the writers whose compositions are in this curious volume are Claude de Correggio, Palestrina, Ad. Wilaert, O. de Lasso, Petit Jachet, Clemens non Papa, Ruggerius, Cipriani del Rori, etc.'. In the English volume, 'M Lawes' is probably a misreading of 'W Lawes' or 'Mr' Lawes, whom West mentions, whilst 'F à Kempis' may have been the Flemish organist and composer Johannes Florentius à Kempis (1635-1711), or another member of the same musical family.<sup>15</sup>

Both Gauntlett volumes are described in the earliest catalogue of the Nanki Music Library, Tokyo, exactly as they are in the 1917 Cummings catalogue.<sup>16</sup> Many items of the Cummings collection were sold to the Marquis Yorisada Tokugawa, who founded the Library.<sup>17</sup> However, neither manuscript is listed in a later catalogue printed in 1970.<sup>18</sup> In 1939, an attempt was made to sell the Nanki collection to the Library of Congress, Washington D. C., at which point some items may have gone missing in transit.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, as the 1925 catalogue mechanically reproduces the descriptions, word-for-

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<sup>13</sup> *Organ Music in Restoration England* (New York, 1989), 521-2. See *Catalogue of the Famous Musical Library of Books, Manuscripts, Autograph Letters, Musical Scores, etc. the property of the late W. H. Cummings* (Sotheby's, 17-24th May, 1917)

<sup>14</sup> *Catalogue of the very extensive, rare, and valuable musical library of a distinguished professor* (Puttick and Simpson, 17<sup>th</sup> December 1847). It indicates the English volume was sold to Joseph Warren. For Gauntlett, see N. Temperley, 'Gauntlett, Henry John', *GMO*.

<sup>15</sup> See J. Ferrard and L. R. Baratz, 'A Kempis', *GMO*.

<sup>16</sup> *Catalogue of the W. H. Cummings Collection in the Nanki Music Library* (Tokyo, 1925), 11.

<sup>17</sup> See H. McLean, 'Blow and Purcell in Japan', *MT*, 104 (1963), 702-5.

<sup>18</sup> *Catalogue of Rare Books and Notes. The Ohki Collection, Nanki Music Library* (Tokyo, 1970).

<sup>19</sup> See N. Bergenfield, "'The William Raylton Virginal Book,'" Tokyo, Nanki Music Library MS N. 3. 35: *Transcription and Commentary* (Ph. D. diss., New York University, 1983), 28-9.

word, of items as they appeared in the 1917 sale catalogue, it may not have been an entirely accurate account of the library's holdings.<sup>20</sup>

The other manuscript which cannot now be traced was formerly in the collection of Thomas Taphouse (1838-1905), music collector, alderman of the city of Oxford, and owner of a music shop.<sup>21</sup> It is described in two catalogues of Taphouse's library, the 1905 Sotheby's sale catalogue,<sup>22</sup> and in a manuscript catalogue compiled by Taphouse dated '1890'.<sup>23</sup> The 1890 catalogue describes the manuscript as 'a curious + valuable collection of allmaines, corantes, sarabands, jiggs, variones + Passionate ayres for the harpsichord: (?or lute) some signed- Richard Aylward. M. S. small obl 4to. C. 1640.' A more detailed description was given by George Fredrick Edwards in an article of 1904 on 'Norwich Cathedral' for *The Musical Times*:

Mr Taphouse possesses a volume of music entirely in the handwriting of Richard Ayleward—a Collection of Allmaines, Corantes, Sarabands, Jiggs, Variones and Passionate Ayres for the Harpsichord, most of them signed by Ayleward. The book also contains some directions for tuning the harpsichord according to equal temperament, which shows that at so early a period as the 17th century a Norwich organist gave attention to so complicated a subject.<sup>24</sup>

This description was partly influenced by A. H. Mann (1850-1929), organist of King's College, Cambridge, who had begun a series of lectures on 'Old Norwich Cathedral Musicians' the previous year, a portion of which was devoted to Ayleward.<sup>25</sup> Mann's assistance is acknowledged at the end of Edwards' article, and he spoke about the manuscript at the lecture in almost identical terms. He stated that it was an autograph and that it contained 'some directions for tuning the harpsichord, on what is known as equal temperament, proving that Ayleward had—even at this early period[—]given attention to this complicated subject.' During the lecture, Mann also performed three pieces from the book on the piano entitled 'Allemande', 'Courante' and 'a Lamond'. It seems unlikely that the manuscript would have contained instructions for tuning equal temperament, although it may have contained tuning instructions of some kind. It is noteworthy that Ayleward appears to have experimented with unusual temperaments as the manuscript contained

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<sup>20</sup> John Cunningham, private communication.

<sup>21</sup> A. Rosenthal, 'Taphouse, Thomas William', *GMO*.

<sup>22</sup> *Catalogue of the Valuable and Interesting Music Library [...] of the late T. W. Taphouse* (Sotheby's, 3-4 July 1905).

<sup>23</sup> 'Catalogue of Instruments, Literature and Compositions illustrating the history of the Pianoforte in the possession of T. W. Taphouse Oxford 1890' (Leeds Public Library R MS 781.9732).

<sup>24</sup> 'Dotted Crotchet', 'Norwich Cathedral', *MT*, 45 (November, 1904), 700-12, esp, 710. For Edwards, see Ch. 1, n. 101.

<sup>25</sup> *Old Norwich Cathedral Musicians*, 27-37.

pieces in E major and even B major, so the tuning instructions may at least have been designed to accommodate distant keys (see below).

From the early 1890s Mann corresponded with Taphouse, and in 1902, he requested the manuscript be sent to him. Taphouse replied, 'Any book or books in my possession are always at your service. Let me know when and where the Ayleward M. S. is to be sent & it shall be done.'<sup>26</sup> At the 1905 sale of Taphouse's collection, however, Mann purchased the manuscript for his own collection. It presumably remained with him until his death. In 1930, a large part of his collection was bequeathed to King's College, Cambridge, although the manuscript was probably not part of this bequest, which included mostly eighteenth century items, largely Handel material.<sup>27</sup>

John Harley has suggested that the manuscript was sold at the Sotheby's sale of remaining items in Mann's collection in 1945 as part of Lot 499.<sup>28</sup> The lot describes a manuscript of voluntaries by Greene or Boyce, a 'MS. 12 ll. of a Verse Anthem [by or in the hand of Philip Hayes], *dated on the first page 1788*', 'and another', which might have been the Taphouse manuscript.<sup>29</sup> Harley notes the Green / Boyce manuscript entered the collection of Wilfred Thompson, and that a microfilm of it once belonged to Thurston Dart. Dart later lent his microfilm to his research student Peter Williams who made an edition of the manuscript.<sup>30</sup>

Thompson was a pupil of Theodore Finney at the University of Pittsburgh and he allowed Finney to have another microfilm copy of his manuscript.<sup>31</sup> At the 1945 sale, however, the purchaser of the lot and several others were the antiquarian bookdealers Maggs and Co. It seems likely therefore that Thompson bought the manuscript from a North American bookseller, and may not have come into contact with the Taphouse manuscript. It also seems probable that the microfilm(s) of the Green / Boyce manuscript

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<sup>26</sup> 14th December: 'MS letters to A. H. Mann', vol. 5, Norwich Public Library MS 4240.

<sup>27</sup> See A. H. King, *Some British Collectors of Music* (Cambridge, 1963), 83-4, and J. Vlasto, 'The Rowe Music Library, King's College, Cambridge', *MR*, 12 (1951), 72-7. Searches by the library staff at King's College have brought nothing to light (December, 2006).

<sup>28</sup> 'An Early Source of the English Keyboard Suite (Lambeth Palace Library MS 1040)', *RMArc*, 28 (1995), 53.

<sup>29</sup> *Catalogue of Printed Books with a Few Autograph Letters & Manuscripts* (Sotheby's, 25 June, 1945).

<sup>30</sup> See P. Williams (ed.), *Twelve Voluntaries for the Organ or Harpsichord by William Boyce or Maurice Greene* (New York, 1969).

<sup>31</sup> I am grateful to Harry Johnstone for this information, who briefly saw the microfilm when Finney visited Oxford in about 1964. He recalls that it did not include any music by Ayleward. Searches by library staff at King's College, London, where Dart bequeathed his research papers, staff at the Finney Library, University of Pittsburgh, and at the William Andrew's Clarke Memorial Library, Los Angeles, where Finney bequeathed much of his library, have unfortunately brought nothing to light.

did not include the Ayleward manuscript as Dart and others would probably have brought it to public attention.

*Llp, MS 1040: Ayleward and Albertus Bryne*

The only source of Ayleward's keyboard music that survives in its original form is Llp, MS 1040. It is one of a pair of music manuscripts at Lambeth Palace, the other being a mid-seventeenth-century song book (MS 1041), both of which were deposited there over the period 1725-50.<sup>32</sup> The manuscript is an upright quarto of 51 leaves (52 numbered: f. 27 is skipped) measuring approximately 20cm x 27.1cm. It has a contemporary full brown leather binding (back replaced) that has, on front and back, a gilt diamond-shaped ornament in the centre with the initial 'A L'. It was written by two principal scribes, the second of whom copied seven pieces by Ayleward. The first scribe copied twenty-one complete pieces (ff. 1v-17) and two incomplete pieces (f. 24 and 52 (rev.)). Harley casts doubt on whether the incomplete pieces were copied by the first scribe. However, it seems likely they were, given similarities in the letter, treble clef, and cut-C time signature formations, although the slight differences in the hand might suggest they were copied at a later date. A third copyist appears to have entered the bass of two grounds, the second of which is 'Polewheel's Ground' on f. 1.<sup>33</sup>

Comparison reveals that the first principal scribe of MS 1040 also copied Ob, MS Mus. Sch. d. 219 and pp. 155-9 of NYp, Drexel MS 5611 (see Ex. 7. 1 below). The latter two manuscripts are the the most important sources of Albertus Bryne's music, and it has been plausibly suggested that the hand is Bryne's.<sup>34</sup> Robert Klakowich points out that corrections to the Bryne pieces copied by Heardson in Drexel 5611, notably in bar 2 of the D major saraband and b. 10 of the A minor corant, were made by the Bryne scribe, which strongly suggests he was their composer.<sup>35</sup> It has been suggested that the hand is not Bryne's because a 1661 petition from Bryne to Charles II is probably an autograph and is not in the same hand.<sup>36</sup> However, comparison with other petitions in the same document

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<sup>32</sup> See *English Court Songs from Manuscripts in the Bodleian (Broxbourne 84.9) and Lambeth Palace Library (1041)*, ed. G. J. Callon (RRMBE 105, 2000).

<sup>33</sup> See A. Ashbee, 'Powlwheel', *GMO*.

<sup>34</sup> See *Orlando Gibbons. Keyboard Music*, ed. G Hendrie (MB 20, 1962), and R. Klakowich, 'Keyboard Sources in Mid-17th Century England and the French Aspect of English Keyboard Music', Ph. D. diss. (State University of New York, Buffalo, 1985), 30-2.

<sup>35</sup> 'Keyboard Sources in Mid-17th Century England', 32.

<sup>36</sup> National Archives, State Papers 29/ II/ 91; see B. Cooper, 'Albertus Bryne's Keyboard Music', *MT*, 113 (1972), 142-143.

reveal the petition was written by a court clerk. The Bryne scribe also signed one of the composer's pieces copied by Heardson, the copy of the D major almand (p. 145-6).<sup>37</sup> It is styled 'Albert Bryne' and is clearly in the same hand as the 'Albert Bryne' signatures in MS Mus. Sch. d. 219, whereas Heardson used the more formal 'Mr Bryan:'.<sup>38</sup> From a textual point of view, the Bryne scribe's copies may be autographs as whilst Heardson's copies sometimes have errors, the Bryne's scribe's copies are excellent.<sup>39</sup>

Unlike in MS Mus. Sch. d. 219 and Drexel MS 5611, the majority of the Bryne scribe's pieces are settings, notably of pieces by Jonas Tressure, ?Ettiene Moulinié, William Lawes and John Mercure.<sup>40</sup> MS Mus. Sch. d. 219 contains a few pieces that are probably settings, notably the pieces by Locke and William Lawes, but is mostly devoted to suites by Bryne, whilst Drexel MS 5611 contains only suite movements by the composer. However, the left hand parts of the settings in MS 1040 are compatible with Bryne's style, and although the contents are anonymous, some of the movements that look like original harpsichord works could be by him as well.

The most obvious candidates among the 'original' harpsichord works are five pieces on ff. 11v-14, a jig-almand in A minor, and a four-movement suite in B minor.<sup>41</sup> The jig-almand is a type of jig notated in common time, favoured by some early Restoration composers, notably John Moss and Bryne.<sup>42</sup> In performance it seems likely that the rhythm of these pieces was the same as jigs written in compound time. In keyboard sources, the title 'jig-almand' occurs in several sources, notably *Melothesia* (1673) and MS Mus. Sch. d. 219, although some jig-almands, notably the two in MS 1040, and one by Benjamin Rogers in Och, MS Mus. 1236 (ff. 41v-41) are simply called 'jig'. A similar situation is true with Continental jigs written in common time, such as those of Froberger, who simply calls them 'gigue'. Indeed, one of Froberger's 'gigues' is found notated in common time in one source and compound time in another.<sup>43</sup>

The A minor jig-almand on f. 11v of MS 1040 (entitled 'Jigge') is the last movement of a five-movement suite consisting of settings of the almand and one of the corants to

<sup>37</sup> B. Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music* (Ann Arbor, 1979), ii, 140.

<sup>38</sup> Bruce Gustafson (*Loc. cit.*) suggests the Bryne scribe may also have signed the Heardson copy of Bryne's A minor almand on pp. 149-50 (styled 'Mr Bryne'), although it could also be in Heardson's hand.

<sup>39</sup> This has been shown by the recent collected edition of Bryne's keyboard music: *Albertus Bryne. Keyboard Music for Harpsichord and Organ*, ed. T. Charlston with H. Windram (Oslo, 2008).

<sup>40</sup> For contents, see Harley, 'An Early Source', Brookes, *British Keyboard Sources*, 55, and Appendix B.

<sup>41</sup> For transcriptions, see Appendix 3 to *Albertus Bryne*, ed. Charlston with Windram.

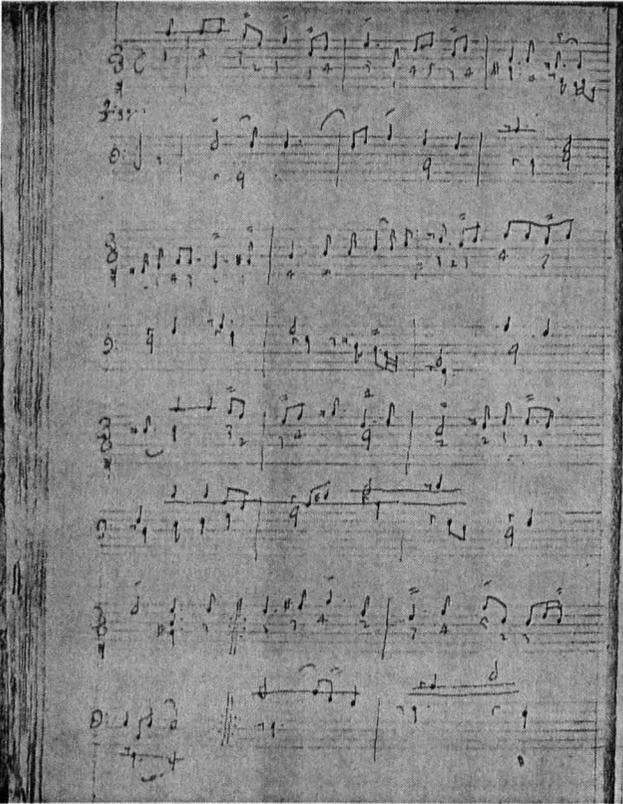
<sup>42</sup> For Moss's jig-almands, see *Melothesia* (1673) and Moss's *Lessons for the Bass Viol* (London, 1671).

<sup>43</sup> See illustration in *Matthew Locke. Melothesia*, ed. C. Hogwood (Oxford, 1987).

William Lawes' *Golden Grove* suite, an anonymous corant, and a setting of a saraband elsewhere attributed to Mercure. Overall it is similar to Bryne's known jig-almands in its combination of *style brisé* figuration and paired quavers, probably played, on the whole, 'long-short'. The B minor suite, consists of an almand, corant, saraband, and jig-almand, as Bryne's three suites in MS Mus. Sch. d. 219 do. The almand and corant resemble the almand and corant from Bryne's D minor suite in MS Mus. Sch. d. 219 (ff. 5-7).<sup>44</sup> In particular, the first strain of the two corants are strikingly similar in their themes and structure (see Ex. 7. 2).

7. 1. Lp, MS 1040, f. 11v (first keyboard scribe), and Ob, MS Mus. Sch. d. 219, f. 11v

MS 1040



MS Mus. Sch. d. 219

<sup>44</sup> Albertus Bryne, ed. Charlston with Windram nos. 10 and 11.

7. 2. ?Albertus Bryne, Corant in B minor, and Albertus Bryne, Corant in D minor  
(first strains): Llp, MS 1040, f. 13 and Ob, MS Mus. Sch. d. 219, ff. 6v-7

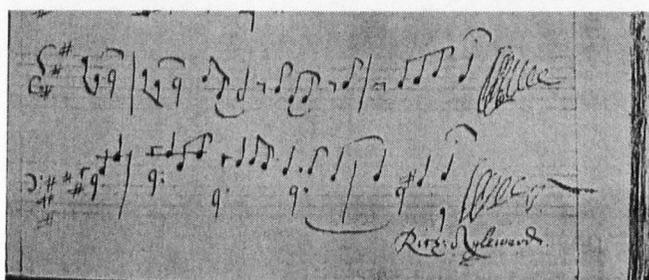
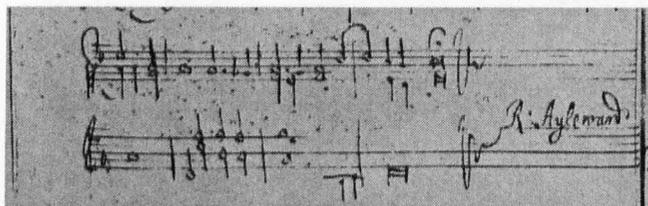
*MS 1040*

*Mus. Sch. d. 219*

The second keyboard scribe in MS 1040 copied two suites by Ayleward in A major and D major (ff. 18v-23). They were copied after the Bryne scribe had entered most of his pieces. However, the Bryne scribe returned to the manuscript later to copy an incomplete saraband in E minor on f. 24v. A plausible explanation is that he was a teacher to 'A L', and that 'A L' somehow acquired a manuscript of Ayleward's pieces and copied them into her manuscript before the course of lessons with the Bryne scribe had been completed. Each of the Ayleward pieces are signed 'Rich: Aylward', without the formal title 'Mr', and John Harley has instead suggested that the pieces were copied by the composer. However, this seems unlikely on account of the laboured and amateurish appearance of the hand. In addition, a partly autograph manuscript of organ accompaniments for Ayleward's sacred music, Ckc, Rowe MS 9, is not in the same hand, despite Harley's assertion that they

probably are.<sup>45</sup> This is apparent, for example, from the upward note stems, which in Rowe MS 9 are more or less upright or slightly left-slanting, whereas in MS 1040, the stems are often considerably right-slanting, and *vice versa* for downward stems (see Ex. 7. 3 below). Instead, the ‘Rich: Aylward’ signatures in MS 1040 are likely to be imitations of Ayleward’s signature and the pieces were probably copied from an autograph manuscript now lost.

### 7. 3. Handwriting of Richard Ayleward in Ckc, Rowe MS 9 (above) and second principal copyist in Llp, MS 1040 (below)



Although the MS 1040 pieces are probably not in Ayleward’s hand, the manuscript’s association with Bryne is telling and suggests that Ayleward was active outside of Norwich, possibly in London or Oxford. Bryne was re-appointed a Vicar Choral at St Paul’s cathedral in 1661, and according to John Batchiler, was a keyboard teacher at the Hackney boarding school, probably during the Commonwealth (see Ch. 1).<sup>46</sup> An Oxford provenance for the manuscript is also possible given that MS Mus. Sch. d. 219 is likely to have been a part of the Music School collection at least since the eighteenth century, and may have Oxford origins. The Music School collection was completed in the late eighteenth century, having been added to throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Unfortunately, MS Mus. Sch. d. 219 cannot be identified from surviving early

<sup>45</sup> Rebecca Herissone, in consultation with Geoffrey Webber, has recently asserted that Rowe MS 9 is a partial Ayleward autograph; see R. Herissone, *‘To Fill, Forbear, or Adorne’*: *The Organ Accompaniment of Restoration Sacred Music* (Aldershot, 2006), xii, 108. Two early Restoration hands are present in the manuscript. The copyist at the front of the volume used a distinctive hooked F-clef ascribing many pieces to ‘R: Ayleward’ or ‘R: A:’, whilst the copyist at the rear used the more formal ‘Mr Rich: Ayleward’, and cannot be Ayleward.

<sup>46</sup> For a recent account of Bryne’s life, see *Albertus Bryne*, ed. Charlston with Windram, Preface.

catalogues of the collection, although the catalogues may be incomplete.<sup>47</sup> Other circumstantial evidence points to Ayleward having been active in Oxford, notably the lost W. H. Cummings manuscript, which contained pieces by composers whose music is otherwise found mostly in Oxford sources, notably pieces by Jonas Trespure (discussed below), John Cobb, and Christopher Gibbons, and may have originated from there. Post-Restoration sources of Orlando Gibbons' music, apart from sources of the popular G major prelude from *Parthenia*, are also largely manuscripts of Oxford origin.

Another feature of the manuscript that suggests MS 1040 is not of Norwich provenance is a loose folded sheet inside it containing what is either the treble part to consort dances or treble melodies. The pieces are copied in a different hand to the keyboard music on hand-ruled staves, and they form a suite in B flat major of five movements (with two in G minor), entitled 'Mr Loks', 'J B', 'ye flagilet dance', 'Tune Comitie J B', and 'A Gavot J B'. 'J B' is presumably John Banister, who is known to have been a flageolet player. Together with Locke, he was an important composer for the Twenty-four Violins in the 1660s.<sup>48</sup>

#### *Lcm, MS 1154*

Harley has also pointed out that a copy of the Taphouse manuscript survives written by the pianist and writer, Edward Dannreuther (1844-1905), Lcm, MS 1154. The volume is dated 'Oct 23/[18]90' and belongs to the papers that Dannreuther bequeathed to the College, where he was professor of piano from 1895.<sup>49</sup> It contains a complete copy of Charles Dieupart's *Six Suites de Clavessin* (1701) (ff. 3-51), which was probably taken from a copy owned by Taphouse. In notes for a lecture on 'Bach's Chamber Music', Dannreuther remarked, 'To my delight a complete set of Dieupart's "suites" was found in the rich collection Mr. T. W. Taphouse at Oxford.'<sup>50</sup> The Dieupart is followed by sketches of musical subjects from pieces by Froberger, François Couperin and J. S. Bach (f. 52), and some transcriptions from Frescobaldi's *Toccate D'Intavolatura* (1637) (f. 53-56), a copy of which also formed a part of Taphouse's library.<sup>51</sup> The final part of the manuscript is

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<sup>47</sup> See M. Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', *ML*, 48 (1967), 23-34., and W. K. Ford, 'The Oxford Music School in the Late 17th Century', *JAMS*, 17 (1964), 198-203.

<sup>48</sup> Harley, 'An Early Source', 52. It is stated here that the loose sheet contains only four pieces, but this is incorrect as 'ye flagilet dance' (B flat major) is clearly a different piece to 'Tune Comitie J B' (G minor) at the bottom of the first page.

<sup>49</sup> See J. Dibble, 'Dannreuther, Edward', *GMO*, and Anon., 'Edward Dannreuther', *MT*, 39 (1898), 645-54.

<sup>50</sup> Lcm, Dannreuther box 134.

<sup>51</sup> Taphouse, 'Catalogue of Instruments, Literature and Compositions'.

headed 'For Lute or Harpsichord (trans. E. D.)', and at the bottom, 'M. S. in Taphouse's collection, Oxford' (ff. 57-131).

In his transcription, Dannreuther copied sixty-six pieces, numbered inaccurately into two sets, 1-33 and 1-31. It seems reasonable to assume that the two numberings were intended to represent opposite ends of the same manuscript and not two separate manuscripts, both of which would now be lost. Both sets of numberings include pieces by Ayleward and the titles in the first set are mentioned in the descriptions of the original manuscript, notably the 'Passionate Ayre'. However, the tuning instructions were not copied. Dannreuther was later to use his transcriptions from Taphouse's music collection when working on his well-known primer, *Musical Ornamentation* (1893), in which he acknowledges his use of the Taphouse manuscript.<sup>52</sup> The transcriptions were also clearly used for two lectures Dannreuther gave in May 1892 on 'Bach's Chamber Music', which included performances of pieces from the Dieupart collection.<sup>53</sup>

The lecture notes for 'Bach's Chamber Music' show why Dannreuther thought the manuscript was intended 'for lute or harpsichord', a theory that probably influenced Taphouse in his 1890 catalogue. Considering the question why J. S. Bach and his contemporaries had written suites of movements for keyboard all in the same key, he wrote: 'can there have been any extra musical; any mechanical reason for it? I found [...] the practice derives from the Lute, like so many other peculiarities in early instrumental music', and that 'at and before Lully's time (Louis XIV) French lute music was sometimes transcribed from tablature to staff notation and published as *apt* for *both* [lute and harpsichord...] From thence I turned to m. s. Lute books of still earlier date.' He goes on to suggest that suites of pieces were written in the same key because lutenists did not wish to re-tune the open bass courses for successive pieces and that the practice had filtered into lute-derived keyboard music. It is clear from this that Dannreuther was unaware that lute music was normally notated in tablature in the seventeenth century. The music of the Taphouse manuscript transcription also suggests strongly that Dannreuther did not transcribe the pieces from lute tablature, notably its texture and high tessitura. Dannreuther also occasionally makes errors because of difficulties transcribing from six-line staff notation.

Dannreuther named only two composers in his transcription, Ayleward and one 'J. B. V'. We can be fairly certain, however, that the original manuscript was of English origin, despite the possibility that some of the contents may not have been (see below). A. H.

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<sup>52</sup> f. n., p. 18: 'Lute and Virginal book, signed Rich. Ayleward (*circa* 1640), kindly lent to the writer for transcription into modern notation by Mr. T. W. Taphouse, Oxford.'

<sup>53</sup> Dannreuther box 134.

Mann's claim that the original was an Ayleward autograph also seems plausible. He would have known Ayleward's hand from Rowe MS 9, which he owned, and each of the four attributions to Ayleward are styled 'Rich: Ayleward' or similar. The organisation of the contents also suggest that the manuscript was the work of only one or two copyists at most. Most of the pieces are organised into suites consisting of almand, corant and saraband, or almand, corant, saraband and jig. The first four pieces are a mixture of A minor and E major. However, the E major piece on f. 60 in fact belongs to the E major prelude-like piece on f. 62, next to which is written 'for No V see back of p. [60]'. The only pieces which are not grouped by key occur on ff. 76 and 90. The music also seems to fall into two groups. The first group of pieces on ff. 57-79 and 97-131 are either anonymous or attributed to Ayleward, and appear to be unique to the manuscript. All these may have been by Ayleward, and would have been copied from the front and rear ends of the manuscript. The second group, on ff. 80-96, consists of one piece elsewhere attributed to Trespure and the two pieces by 'J. B. V.' It would have been copied after the Ayleward group at the 'front' end.

At the top of f. 60, Dannreuther wrote 'Rich Ayleward in c. 1640'. In addition, Taphouse dated the manuscript 'C. 1640' in his 1890 catalogue. However, it seems likely that this date was Dannreuther's estimate and was not taken from the manuscript. Ayleward would only have been fourteen in that year, and the classical suites the transcription contains strongly suggest the original had a Commonwealth or early Restoration date. Dannreuther's historicist account of 'lute' books, 'at and before Lully's time', in his 'Bach's Chamber Music' lecture notes clearly played a part in dating the manuscript too early.

The second group of pieces includes several that could be of Continental origin. Notable among them is a setting of *Courante La Vignon* with *double* (ff. 90-2). Keyboard settings of this piece were extremely popular in north Germany and the Netherlands in the late seventeenth century.<sup>54</sup> However, they are apparently otherwise unknown in English keyboard sources. The *double* strains of the MS 1154 setting retain the outline of the melody, a technique that was often used by Dutch and north German composers, but rarely by English composers, suggesting that the setting is of continental origin. 'J. B. V.' may also have been a composer who was not English, and one of his pieces has the foreign title 'Allemande Nouvelle'. Conceivably he was a member of the Verdier family, the main members being Robert, a French court violinist, and Pierre, who was active in Sweden.<sup>55</sup> A chaconne attributed to 'Verdier' in two late seventeenth century French keyboard sources

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<sup>54</sup> See Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, i, 6-7.

<sup>55</sup> See E. Kjellberg, 'Verdier [Werdier], Pierre', *GMO*.

found its way into *Musick's Hand-maid 2* (1689) and other English manuscripts of the same period and later.<sup>56</sup> Another possibility is that Dannreuther somehow transcribed the initials wrongly and that he was Jean de La Volée, a French keyboard player who probably emigrated to England c. 1660-1, and became a member of Charles II's private household in 1663 as 'Joueur de Clavessin de la musique'.<sup>57</sup> Some of the pieces in the second group are likely to be of English origin judging from their style, notably the C major almand on f. 93 (Appendix D: 7. i). Nevertheless, the use of the title 'Allemande Nouvelle' for both this almand and 'J. B. V.'s' marks this second section out quite distinctively from the first.

Other music that may be of Continental origin in the second section is that attributed in other sources (in some cases indirectly) to Jonas Trespere (see Ex. 7. 4). Nothing is known about Trespere's career, but he was probably a musician from the Low Countries who moved to England during the Commonwealth or slightly earlier.<sup>58</sup> Pieces attributed to Trespere are found in a large number of sources, some of them of German and Swedish origin, as well as Dutch and English.<sup>59</sup> This international group of sources suggests that Trespere may have been a lutenist. Settings of pieces by French lute composers, notably of pieces by La Barre, Dufaut, Gaultier, Mercure, Moulinié and Pinel in mid-century Dutch, north German, Scandinavian and English sources are extremely common.<sup>60</sup> The international character of the sources can probably be accounted for because the melodies of these pieces circulated widely and were set for keyboard by many different composers.

The settings of pieces by these lute composers are often diverse in style or at least there is a great deal of textual variation between them, suggesting that they are unlikely to have been the work of a single composer. For example, Bruce Gustafson and Peter Wolf point out that the pieces attributed to La Barre in non-French sources, probably settings of

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<sup>56</sup> T. Dart, 'Purcell's Harpsichord Music', *MT*, 100 (1959), 324-5. For sources, see *John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. R. Klakowich (MB 73, 1998).

<sup>57</sup> See P. Leech, 'La Volée, Jean de', *GMO*, P. Holman, 'La Volée, Jean de', *BDECM*, ii, 1118, and Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers* (Oxford, 1993), 290 and 319-20.

<sup>58</sup> See Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, esp. i, 64-5, and B. Cooper, 'Trespere, Jonas', *GMO*.

<sup>59</sup> For an overview of Trespere sources, see work-lists in Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, i, 311, and Brookes, *British Keyboard Music*, 385-6. For Swedish sources, see also J. O. Rudén, 'Eit nyfunnet komplement till Dübensamlingen', *Svensk Tidskrift för Musikforskning*, 47 (1965), 51-8, and J. O. Rudén, *Music in Tablature: A Thematic Index with Source Descriptions of Music in Tablature Notation in Sweden* (Stockholm, 1981), nos. 3505, 4269 and 4199. For Dutch and German sources, see also *Matthias Weckmann. Sämtliche freie Orgel- und Clavierwerke*, ed. S. Rampe (Kassel, 1991) (transcriptions from the Hintze manuscript) and *Nederlandse Klaviermuziek uit de 16e en 17e eeuw* ed. A. Curtis (MMN 3, 1961).

<sup>60</sup> An English example is Och, MS Mus. 1236. 'Moulin's Sarabrand set by Will Ellis' (ff. 15v-16), is possibly a setting of a melody by Etienne Moulinié, and in the same manuscript, a corant attributed to Benjamin Rogers, subtitled 'La Sedois' (ff. 38v-39), is known as a lute piece by Dufaut. See Klakowich, 'Keyboard Sources in Mid-17th Century England', 148, and *Oeuvre de Dufaut*, ed. A. Souris and M. Rollin (Paris, 1988), 2 vols., i, no. 45.

melodies by a member of the La Barre family who was a lutenist, are stylistically ‘an extremely heterogeneous group’.<sup>61</sup> It is noteworthy, however, that with the majority of pieces by Tresure, including those in MS 1154, the settings are concordant, which suggests they were composed by a single keyboard player (presumably Tresure himself).<sup>62</sup> Striking among them is a rare example of one that appears in a Continental source and an English source, supporting the hypothesis that Tresure was a Dutch musician who came to England: ‘Allemand Tresoor’ in the Van Eijl manuscript (NL-At 208 A 4), which is of Dutch origin, is found in MS 1154 and Ob, MS Mus. Sch. f. 576, a manuscript possibly compiled in-part by a Dutch musician in England around 1690.<sup>63</sup>

Returning to the ‘Ayleward’ portion of MS 1154, another feature distinguishing the two groups of pieces is that many in the first group have incomplete widely-spaced treble and bass textures. In some cases these textures are only present for a small part of a piece, whilst in other cases the gaps are more considerable (see Ex. 7. 5). Although possible, it would seem unlikely that Dannreuther did not complete his transcription. He seems to have given attention to details such as original time signatures (writing ‘but wrong’ against one of them) and often marked the transcription with a ‘(sic)’ sign over puzzling features, notably against some of the incomplete textures (for example, next to those in the first strain of Ayleward’s G minor saraband, f. 99, illustrated in Ex. 7.6). Conceivably the compiler intended to go back to fill in the textures. In composers’ manuscripts, incomplete textures such as these are found occasionally, presumably because the intention was to return to complete the pieces later (see Ch. 4).

#### 7. 4. Pieces probably by Jonas Tresure in ‘Continental’ portion of Lcm, MS 1154 (including indirectly attributed pieces)

Location (ff.) / piece/ key)	Concordant source(s)
80. ‘Almand’ [a]	NL-At 208 A 4, no. 4 (att.); <sup>i</sup> Ob, MS Mus. Sch. f. 576, ff. 79-78v (rev.).
81. ‘Corant’ [a]	
82. ‘Saraband’ [a]	MS Mus. Sch. f. 576, ff. 77-76v (rev.)
87-8. ‘Almaine’ [a]	

<sup>61</sup> *Harpsichord Music Associated with the Name La Barre*, ed. B. Gustafson and R. P. Wolf (AOK 4, 1999), xiii.

<sup>62</sup> This, of course, does not rule out the possibility that he was a lutenist as well as a keyboard player. An exception occurs in Llp, MS 1040, the second piece in the manuscript (f. 2), which is also found in Pc, rés 1185 (p. 307). However, an attribution to Tresure only occurs in rés 1185, and the two versions may be independent settings composed by Tresure and another keyboard player of a popular tune.

<sup>63</sup> For a brief description of MS Mus. Sch. f. 579, see Appendix B.

Location (ff.) / piece/ key	Concordant source(s)
89. 'Corant' [a]	MS Mus. Sch. f. 576, ff. 78-77v (rev.)

i. See *Klavierboek Anna Maria Van Eijl*, ed. F. Noske (MMN 2, 1959).

### 7. 5. ?Richard Ayleward, almand in G minor (Lcm, MS 1154, ff. 100-100v)

One feature of the pieces in the 'Ayleward' portion of the manuscript that is striking is the use of unusual keys, notably E major and even B major. Most English keyboard music until the very end of the seventeenth century can be performed using 1/4 comma meantone temperament, so this peculiarity may have been an idiosyncrasy of Ayleward (see Ch. 1). Another seventeenth-century manuscript that contains pieces in unusual keys is Llp, MS 1040, where the Bryne scribe copied pieces in E major and B minor. It is possible that the tuning instructions that A. H. Mann mentioned might have been designed to accommodate such keys. Many of the more extreme accidentals, however, are left unsharpened in Dannreuther's transcription. For example, the B major suite, which has four sharps in the key signature, has several unsharpened A's. This is also the case with some of the B minor and E major pieces in MS 1040, and with music written in remote keys for other instruments at the time, such as some of the lute preludes of John Wilson.<sup>64</sup> Presumably the omission of the accidentals reflected difficulties dealing with remote keys.

<sup>64</sup> See *John Wilson. Thirty Preludes in all (24) Keys for Lute*, ed. M. Spring (Houten, 1997).

The incompleteness of many pieces in the Ayleward part of the manuscript make an appraisal of his music difficult. Nevertheless, several salient features of his music are apparent. Notable is the prominent use of *style brisé*, a technique normally reserved by English composers for almands and corants, but used extensively by Ayleward in sarabands as well. This is a characteristic of the G minor saraband directly attributed to Ayleward, but also of the anonymous A major saraband, also part of an almand-corant-saraband suite (see Ex. 7. 6). Another interesting feature is occurrence of *style brisé doubles* for the corant and saraband of the anonymous F major suite on ff. 68-73. John Roberts also wrote a *style brisé double* to an E minor corant in *Melothesia* (1673).<sup>65</sup> However, the technique was not often used by English keyboard composers in their *doubles* who tended to employ scalic passages in the manner of English divisions for other instruments.<sup>66</sup> A corant and *double* indirectly attributed to Roberts, using the scalic technique, appears in Och, MS Mus. 1177.<sup>67</sup> *Style brisé* also occurs to a significant extent in *doubles* to two attractive pieces by Ayleward in Llp, MS 1040, 'Promise' and 'Performance'. They form the equivalent of a corant and saraband to the suite in D major, and compare favourably with the anonymous F major corant and saraband with *doubles* in MS 1154 (Appendix D: 7. ii-v).

Such music has a place alongside the music of other interesting English keyboard composers of the 1650s and 1660s such as Bryne and Roberts, and would merit further investigation. Indeed, Ayleward's music broadens our understanding of the music of the Commonwealth and early Restoration period. For instance, his experimentation with remote keys is found in a few other sources of the same period—*e. g.* Llp, MS 1040, which contains pieces in E major and B minor, or Och, MS Mus. 1236, which contains a piece in A major (ff. 10v-11). These keys were only used again by composers active at the very end of the century, such as Croft and King. Ayleward's use of the classical suite (almand corant and saraband) also suggests it was popular in the middle of the century, but less so later. Classical suites are more common in sources of the 1660s, such as those of Bryne and the anonymous composer of the suites in the early portion of Och, MS Mus. 1179 (for MS Mus. 1179, see Ch. 5). Composers of the following generation such as Purcell and Blow adhered to the classical movement plan far less strictly.

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<sup>65</sup> John Roberts. *The Complete Works*, ed. C. Bailey (AOK 8, 2003), no. 21.

<sup>66</sup> For English division technique, see C. Simpson, *The Division-Violist* (1659/65).

<sup>67</sup> John Roberts. *The Complete Works.*, ed. Bailey, no. 17.

7. 6. Richard Ayleward, saraband in G minor (Lcm, MS 1154, f. 99), and Ayleward, saraband in A major (Lcm MS 1154, f. 126)<sup>68</sup>

*f. 99*

5

*f. 126*

5b

9

<sup>68</sup> Dannreuther evidently had difficulties transcribing this piece and certain portions look wrong (*e. g.* b. 6).

## 7. 7. Lcm, MS 1154: inventory of 'Ayleward' portion of Taphouse manuscript

Location (ff.)/ title / key	Dannreuther's numbering
57-8. [Almand] <sup>i</sup> [a]	I
59-60. [Corant] [a]	II (att. Ayleward)
60-60v. [Saraband] [E]	[V] (p. 62: 'for No 5 see back of p. 60)
61. [Saraband] [a]	III
62. [Almand or Air] [E]	IV
63-4. 'Passionat Ayre' [F]	VI
65. 'Coranto' [F]	VII
66. 'Saraband' [F]	VIII
67. 'a Jigg' [F]	IX
68-9. [Almand] [F]	X
70-70v [Corant & Double] [F]	XI
71. 'Sarabande' [& Double] [F]	XII
72-3. [Jig] [F]	XIII
74. [Corant] [C]	XIVa
74. [Saraband] [C]	XIVb
75. 'Saraband' [C]	XV
76. 'Saraband' [F]	XVI
77. [Almand] [G]	XVII
78. [Corant] [G]	XVIII
79. [Saraband] [G]	XIXa
79. [Jig] [G]	XIXb (att. Ayleward)
14 pieces in a different style follow (numbered XX-XXXIII by Dannreuther), some by 'J. B. V' and Trespure	
97. [Almand] [g]	I

Location (ff.)/ title / key	Dannreuther's numbering
101. [Corant] [g]	V
102. [Saraband] [g]	VI
103-4. [Almand] [E]	VII
105-105v. [Corant] [E]	VIII
106. [Saraband] [E]	IX
107. [Jig] [E]	X
108-108v. [Almand] [d]	XI
109. [Corant] [d]	XII
110. [Saraband] [d]	XIII
111. [Corant] [D]	XIV
112. [Saraband] [D]	XV
113. [Saraband] [C]	XVI
114. [Jig] [C]	XVII
115. [Air] [C]	XVIII
116. [Corant] [B flat]	XIX
117. [Saraband] [B flat]	XX
118. [Corant] [C]	XXI
119. [Saraband] [C]	XXII
120. 'Almain' [D]	XXIII
121. 'Corant' [D]	XXIV
122. 'Saraband' [D]	XXV
123. 'Jigge' [D]	XXVI
124. [Almand] [A]	XXVII
125. [Corant] [A]	XXVIII
126. [Saraband] [A]	XXVIII

Location (ff.)/ title / key	Dannreuther's numbering
98. [Corant] [g]	II (att. Ayleward)
99. [Saraband] [g]	III (att. Ayleward)
100-100v. [Almand] [g]	IV

Location (ff.)/ title / key	Dannreuther's numbering
127-127v. [Almand] [B]	[XXX] ('XXIX')
128-30. [Corant] [B]	[XXXI] ('XXX')
131. [Saraband] [B]	[XXXII] ('XXXI')

i. Or possibly a jig-almand.

## Henry Purcell

Henry Purcell's keyboard pieces are familiar to many scholars and performers today, principally those that appeared in the posthumous *A Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet*, first published in 1696.<sup>1</sup> *A Choice Collection* seems to have been successful as at least two further 'editions' of it were printed between 1696 and 1699, and a large number of copies of them survive. The 'Instruction for Learners' it contains, attributed to Purcell in John Walsh's *The Harpsichord Master* (1697), was reprinted in many keyboard anthologies, notably in other editions of *The Harpsichord Master* (1700-30).<sup>2</sup> Walsh also reprinted 'Mr Hen<sup>r</sup> Purcells Lessons with the Instructions for the Harpsichord', indicating the music continued to be of practical interest to musicians in the early eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> As late as the end of the eighteenth or early nineteenth century, the singer James Bartleman annotated his copy of *A Choice Collection* with instructions for performing the music, presumably for a pupil: 'In the Treble Cliff the lowest tune must / be considered as a Lesser Line = / [rule] / In the Bass Cliff the upper tune must / be considered as a Lesser line.'<sup>4</sup>

The contents of *A Choice Collection* circulated extensively in manuscripts. The manuscript copies usually derive from the 1696/9 print, but a small number contain the same pieces in variant versions. Added to the pieces in *A Choice Collection* are several in *Musick's Hand-maid* 2 (1689), and a small number found in important manuscripts such as Och, MS Mus. 1177. A stimulus for making copies of these pieces would have been for teaching, and Purcell had pupils in the 1680s and 1690s, among them Robert Hodge (d. 1709), who was sent to

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<sup>1</sup> Known largely from Howard Ferguson's landmark edition, *Henry Purcell. Eight Suites and Henry Purcell. Miscellaneous Keyboard Pieces* (SBEKM 21 & 22, 1964). A new edition is currently being prepared by Christopher Hogwood for the Purcell Society. For the publication history of Purcell's keyboard music in the nineteenth and twentieth century, see C. Hogwood, 'The "Complete Keyboard Music" of Henry Purcell', *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe*, ed. C. Hogwood (Cambridge, 2003), 67-89.

<sup>2</sup> H. D. Johnstone, 'Ornamentation in the Keyboard Music of Henry Purcell and his Contemporaries', *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell*, ed. M. Burden (Oxford, 1996), 82-104.

<sup>3</sup> See W. C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh 1695-1720* (Oxford, 1948, rpt. 1968), no. 499. A date of 'c. 1716 or earlier' is suggested. No copy is known to exist.

<sup>4</sup> Lcm, F 29, on the verso of the folio containing 'Rules for Graces' from the 'Instructions'. For Bartleman, see R. Toft, 'Bartleman, James', *GMO*. Bartleman also owned Lbl, Add. MS 17853, which he signed 'James Bartleman 1818', and contains keyboard pieces probably copied around 1715.

Purcell as a chorister from Exeter cathedral around 1685, and John Weldon.<sup>5</sup> Purcell also had upper-class amateur pupils in the 1690s, notably Lady Rhoda Cavendish and Katherine Howard, who were the respective dedicatees of the posthumous *Ten Sonatas in Four Parts* (1697) and *Orpheus Britannicus* (1698).<sup>6</sup> *A Choice Collection* was dedicated to ‘Her Royal Highness the Princess of Denmark’, although the dedication does not indicate that she was Purcell’s pupil. It seems likely, however, that the Purcell-Draghi manuscript, Lbl, MS Mus. 1, was copied by Purcell for one of his upper-class pupils around 1693 or 1694 (see Ch. 3).

Purcell’s employment as a private keyboard tutor in the 1690s probably reflects the changing circumstances of his career. It was around 1690 that he became a more commercial musician active in the theatres, whereas ‘before, he was essentially a court composer, the author of verse anthems for the Chapel Royal, court odes, and other secular music for the Private Music.’<sup>7</sup> Other composers seem to have written keyboard music around the time they were active as theatre musicians; for example, William Croft and John Barrett, who are likely to have written most of their keyboard music around the turn of the century, when they were writing theatre suites.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, the majority of Barrett’s pieces are settings of pieces from his theatre suites.<sup>9</sup> Purcell may likewise have composed most of his keyboard music after around 1690, a view supported by the likely date of sources, few of which can be shown to date much before 1700. Nevertheless, it remains possible that some of his music was composed before the appearance of *Musick’s Hand-maid 2* (1689). *Musick’s Hand-maid 2* (1689) contains a setting of the well-known ground bass song ‘Here the Deities Approve’ from *Welcome to all the Pleasures* (1683) (ZT682) (although the keyboard version is entitled ‘A new Ground’). Bryan White has also recently discovered a letter from Rowland Sherman, a factor [trading agent] in Aleppo, dated 15th February 1688/9, which includes a request for keyboard arrangements of the overture to *Dido and Aeneas*.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> For Hodge, see R. Shay and R. Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 2000), 308. A reproduction of a letter to the Dean of Exeter concerning payments for Hodge’s tuition, in Purcell’s hand, is in R. Thompson and P. Holman, ‘Purcell, Henry’, *GMO*, and J. Westrup, rev. N. Fortune. *Purcell* (London, 1980). For Weldon and Purcell, see A. Ashbee, ‘Weldon, John’, *BDECM*, ii, 1139-41.

<sup>6</sup> See M. Burden. “‘He Had the Honour to be Your Master’”: Lady Rhoda Cavendish’s Music Lessons with Henry Purcell’, *ML*, 76 (1995), 532-39. A series of accounts relating to Lady Howard’s lessons with Purcell are transcribed in F. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell*, 2nd. edn. (Philadelphia, 1983), 227-9.

<sup>7</sup> P. Holman, *Henry Purcell* (Oxford, 1993), 20.

<sup>8</sup> See C. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre* (Ann Arbor, 1979), 134-236.

<sup>9</sup> See Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, 145, 172-3, 211-2 and 227-8, and B. Hodge, ‘English Harpsichord Repertoire: 1660-1714’, Ph D. diss. (University of Manchester, 1989), John Barrett work-list.

<sup>10</sup> ‘A Letter from Aleppo: Dating the Chelsea School Performance of *Dido and Aeneas*’, *EM*, forthcoming.

*Earlier Sources*

The preface to *Musick's Hand-maid* and the title-page of John Walsh's 1705 reprint indicate the involvement that Purcell and Blow had in compiling the collection (see Ch. 2). Many of the pieces attributed to Blow and Purcell are settings of popular tunes, songs, and theatre airs (see Ex. 8. 1). The attributions to Purcell are probably an indication that he was responsible for the settings, rather than the composer of the melodies, as is often assumed. Many of the melodies were printed anonymously, notably in the 3rd part of *Apollo's Banquet* (6th edn., 1690). They include the setting of *Sefauchis's Farewell*. Another little-known source of this piece is WOhc, LM/1083/91/35, for lyra viol, entitled 'C fachis far wel flat harpe', where it is also anonymous.<sup>11</sup> Its title refers to the Italian castrato Giovanni Francesco Grossi, commonly known as 'Siface', who visited England in 1687. The keyboard version attributed to Purcell has been cited as evidence that he was personally acquainted with the singer.<sup>12</sup> However, it seems more likely that the piece was in general circulation and it was not published as a keyboard piece by Purcell for Grossi two years after the singer's departure.

### 8. 1. *Musick's Hand-maid 2* (1689): non-keyboard concordances<sup>13</sup>

Piece (no. in <i>The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid</i> , ed. Dart)	Concordances
3. 'Song Tune' / 'Mr H Purcell' (ZT694) [C]	Song: 'Ah! How Pleasant 'tis to Love!'; <i>The Banquet of Musick</i> [...] <i>The Second Book</i> (1688) (att. Purcell).
5. 'A Song Tune' [Henry Purcell] (ZT695) [C]	Song: 'Sylvia, now your scorn give over': <i>The Banquet of Musick</i> [...] <i>The Second Book</i> (1688) (att. Purcell); <i>Apollo's Banquet</i> (6th edn., 1690), 3d part, no. 59.
12. 'New Minuet' / 'Mr H Purcell' (ZT689) [d]	'Who can resist such mighty charms', <i>Timon of Athens</i> (1695), Z632/15; <i>Apollo's Banquet</i> (6th edn., 1690), 3d part, no. 31 (anon.)
14. [Minuet] / 'Mr H Purcell' (Z649) [a]	<i>Apollo's Banquet</i> (6th edn., 1690), 3d part, no. 3 (anon.)

<sup>11</sup> See J. Cunningham and A. Woolley, 'A Little-Known Source of Restoration Lyra-Viol and Keyboard Music: Surrey History Centre, Woking, LM/1083/91/35', *RMARC*, forthcoming.

<sup>12</sup> See Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell*, 137-8, and G. Dixon, 'Purcell's Italianate Circle', *The Purcell Companion*, ed. M. Burden (London, 1995), 38-51.

<sup>13</sup> Partly listed in *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-Maid*, ed. T. Dart, 2nd edn. (SBKEM 10, 1969).

Piece (no. in <i>The Second Part of Musick's Handmaid</i> , ed. Dart)	Concordances
16. 'A New Scotch Tune' / M <sup>r</sup> H Purcell' (Z655) [G]	<i>Apollo's Banquet</i> (6th edn., 1690), 3d part, no. 6 (anon.). Tune popular throughout 18th century <sup>i</sup>
18. 'Theatre Tune' / 'D <sup>r</sup> John Blow', 'set by D <sup>r</sup> Blow' [d]	<i>Apollo's Banquet</i> (6th edn., 1690), 3d part, no. 44: 'Mr. Mountfort's Delight.'
24. 'A new Irish Tune' / 'H: Purcell' (Z646) [G]	<i>Apollo's Banquet</i> (6th edn., 1690), 3d part, no. 45: 'Lilli Burlero' (anon.)
25. 'Riggadoon' / 'H: Purcell' <sup>iii</sup> (Z653) [C]	<i>Dancing Master</i> (8th edn., 1690) (anon.) <sup>ii</sup>
26. 'Sefauchi's Farwell' / 'M <sup>r</sup> Purcell' (Z656) [d]	<i>Apollo's Banquet</i> (6th edn., 1690), 3d part, no. 47 (anon.); WOhc LM 1083/91/35, p. 24 (lyra viol) (anon.)
28. 'Old Simon the King' [C]	<i>The Division-Violin</i> (1685), no. 4 (anon.); <i>Apollo's Banquet</i> (6th edn., 1690), 3d part, no. 42 (anon.)
29. 'Minuet' / 'H. Purcell' (ZT688) [d]	Ritornello from ode <i>Raise, raise the voice</i> (uncertain date)
30. 'Motleys Maggot' [a]	<i>Apollo's Banquet</i> (6th edn., 1690), 3d part, no. 32: 'The Emperour of the Moon' <sup>iii</sup>

i. See commentary in F. B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell. An Analytical Catalogue of his Music* (London, 1963).

ii. A tune possibly by the French dancing-master Jean Favier (1648-?1719). See B. Gustafson and D. Fuller, *A Catalogue of French Harpsichord music, 1699-1780* (Oxford, 1990), 389.

iii. See T. Dart, 'Richard Motley, Dancing-Master', *MR*, 25 (1964), 96-9.

Other simple airs with similar textures attributed to Purcell could be his settings of songs or popular tunes such as 'A minuet' (no. 15). It is also widely accepted that Purcell was responsible for the anonymous 'Suit of Lessons' that concludes the collection as its almand is attributed to the composer in Och, MS Mus. 1177 and MS Mus. 1179 (see below), and its corant and saraband appeared in *A Choice Collection*.<sup>14</sup> In addition, there are the settings of solo ground bass songs, notably that of Lully's 'Scocca Pur' (LWV 76/3), which are probably by Purcell. Robert Klakowich has pointed out that the similarity of the 'Scocca Pur' setting to those of 'Here the Deities Approve' and another setting of a Purcell ground bass song in Och, MS Mus. 1177, 'With him he brings the partner' (*Ye Tuneful Muses* (1686), ZT681).<sup>15</sup> Indeed, with their subtle *style brisé* textures, they are among Purcell's most memorable keyboard works; certainly they had an impact on the following generation of composers, for whom Purcell was a clear influence. Among them was William Croft,

<sup>14</sup> T. Dart, 'Purcell's Harpsichord Music', *MT*, 100 (1959), 324-5.

<sup>15</sup> See "'Scocca Pur': Genesis of an English Ground', *JRMA*, 116 (1991), 63-77.

whose C minor keyboard ground is clearly a *homage* to the setting of 'With him he brings the partner' (ZT681).<sup>16</sup>

'Scocca Pur' consists of an expressive Italianate melody over a ground derived from the *passacaglia*, a descending tetrachord in the minor followed by a cadence, popular throughout Europe in the seventeenth century.<sup>17</sup> Other versions of the piece are primarily vocal, but include another keyboard setting in HAdolmetsch, II e. 17 (in G minor), a version for instrumental trio, as well as two- and three-part vocal versions, and a four-part version for voices and instruments.<sup>18</sup> Its Italian text, inclusion in English sources, and the potential confusion over attributions to 'Baptist', which could refer either to G. B. Lully or G. B. Draghi, has suggested an attribution to Draghi.<sup>19</sup> However, Klakowich points out that in several sources it is clearly attributed to Lully, and many French as well as English sources are known.

The most common version of 'Scocca Pur' in English sources is the two-part one, either in G minor or C minor, which served as the model for both keyboard arrangements. In English sources there are at least three different versions of the piece in more than two parts. Two three-part versions appear as 'Mr Baptist of France his Ground' in *The Division-Violin* (1685) and as a vocal piece, 'Scocca Pur [by] S<sup>r</sup> Baptist Lully' (title from the index) in John Walter's manuscript Lbl, Add. MS 22100. Each of these versions has the melody of the two-part version, but they have different second treble parts. A three-/ four-part version for voices and instruments, also appears in English sources, copied by Shay and Thompson's scribe London A into Ob, MS T 1232.<sup>20</sup> This begins with an introductory symphony in three parts, followed by a four-part setting for three voices and continuo, with the bass voice part partly doubling the ground bass in the continuo. Again, in the vocal section, the melody of the two-part version is retained. These three- and four-part versions could, then, be English adaptations of the more common two-part version. There is a hint, nevertheless, that the version in MS T 1232 has a connection with Lully from the inclusion of its symphony in the late-seventeenth century part-books Lbl, Add. MS 31425 (1st treble: f. 11). These part-books, containing instrumental excerpts from Lully operas,

<sup>16</sup> See William Croft, *Complete Harpsichord Works*, ed. H. Ferguson and C. Hogwood (London, 1974, rev. 1982), no. 3a.

<sup>17</sup> For a the keyboard *passacaglia* and *chaconne*, see A. Silbiger, 'Passacaglia and Ciaccona: Genre Pairing and Ambiguity from Frescobaldi to Couperin', *JSCM*, 2 (1996).

<sup>18</sup> Sources are listed in H. Schneider, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Werke von Jean-Baptiste Lully* (Tutzing, 1981), 505. See also C. B. Schmidt, 'Newly Identified Manuscript Sources for the Music of Jean-Baptiste Lully', *Notes*, 44 (1987), 18, 21, 22, 27, 28, and 30, and Klakowich, "Scocca Pur", 66-7.

<sup>19</sup> *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-Maid*, ed. Dart.

<sup>20</sup> *Purcell Manuscripts*, 134 (table of London A manuscripts).

are clearly French-influenced or are of French origin given the presence of French-language titles and the use of French violin clef.<sup>21</sup>

The only other source of the *Musick's Hand-maid* arrangement of 'Scocca Pur' (a2) is a copy in the hand of Richard Goodson senior, Och, MS Mus. 1177, ff. 32-31v (rev.).<sup>22</sup> Here it appears among a number of pieces by Purcell and Blow that probably derive from authoritative sources as there are a number of interesting minor variants between its text and the printed ones.<sup>23</sup> MS Mus. 1177, and its companion volume Och, MS Mus. 1176, were begun by Edward Lowe, to which Goodson made considerable additions. The manuscripts were copied by Goodson over a long period, probably mostly in the 1680s, reflected in the changes in repertory and in changes in his handwriting—early on, for instance, he uses Edward Lowe-imitation treble clefs (see description in Appendix B).

The only pieces that Goodson copied with his usual treble clef in MS Mus. 1176 are the almand from the 'Suit of Lessons' in *Musick's Hand-maid* 2, an anonymous prelude that precedes it, and an anonymous voluntary on f. 16. The prelude appears to be a loose imitation of Orlando Gibbons's G major prelude from *Parthenia*, a piece which Purcell copied into Lbl, MS Mus. 1 (Appendix D: 8. i). It could well be another instance of Purcell imitating old-fashioned styles, a practice he is best-known for in his consort fantasias; the three-part pieces were probably modelled on Gibbons's *Fantasies of Three Parts* ([1620]).<sup>24</sup> The most obvious comparison with the Gibbons prelude is the alternation of right-hand and left-hand scalic patterns resulting in false relations. Another is that they both essentially consist of two ideas following on from one another. In the anonymous piece, the second idea (conjunct quaver motion), from b. 18, neatly takes its cue from an innocuous left-hand figure in the previous bar.

The little voluntary in D major on f. 16 (untitled in the source) is also a deceptively noteworthy piece. Its first 25 bars consist entirely of entries of the simple seven-note subject on D and A (twelve altogether), with two on E (bb. 12-18) enabling a transitory modulation to the dominant of the dominant at bb. 17-18 (Appendix D: 8. ii). The D and A entries are also largely restricted to one permutation—an A entry followed by a D entry in the part immediately below, a semibreve apart—and variety is achieved from variation of the free material (based on the subject, partly in augmentation) and tessitura changes. It obviously does not match Purcell's contrapuntal achievements in his fantasias and *In*

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<sup>21</sup> Add. MS 31425 is briefly mentioned in P. Willetts, 'Autograph Music by John Jenkins', *ML*, 48 (1967), 24-6.

<sup>22</sup> For Goodson, see R. Thompson, 'Goodson, Richard (i)', *ODNB*.

<sup>23</sup> See Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 282-3.

<sup>24</sup> See Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 73-85.

*Nomines*, and there is a grammatical error occurs in bb. 9-10, implied consecutive octaves between alto and bass, which would perhaps be unexpected in a piece by Purcell.

The piece might instead be by Goodson, but inspired by Purcell's interest in formal counterpoint. Goodson seems to have had close relationship with Purcell, whom he described as his 'friend',<sup>25</sup> and apparently had an interest in the composer's formal contrapuntal music. His copies of Purcell include one of the *Fantazia upon One Note*, thought to have been taken from the autograph Lbl, Add. MS 30930.<sup>26</sup> Copies of these pieces are rare, and they may have been thought of as compositional exercises.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, it is tempting to speculate that Goodson copied much of Och, MSS Mus. 1176 and Mus. 1177 for study purposes, both of which were begun by his probable teacher Edward Lowe, and that he studied Purcell's music in the mid-1680s.

A third source of Purcell's keyboard music probably dating from the 1680s is Och, MS Mus. 1179 (see Ch. 5). It contains a mixture of organ and harpsichord pieces also copied by a scribe associated with Purcell.<sup>28</sup> MS Mus. 1179 is more important as a source of Blow, although three pieces are attributed to Purcell, an independent copy of the C major almand from the *Musick's Hand-maid* 'Suit of Lessons', and two preludes or voluntaries. The first prelude/voluntary on p. 36 (ZS126) has long been recognised as a piece by Nicholas-Antoine Lebègue.<sup>29</sup> Like several misattributed pieces it might have been copied from a manuscript in Purcell's hand resulting in the wrong attribution, or the copyist simply attributed it to Purcell for want of a composer. Geoffrey Cox has suggested, 'in the absence of evidence to the contrary', the second piece (Z717) can be accepted as Purcell's own composition.<sup>30</sup> It seems to be in an English style overall, consisting of two ideas developed consecutively. It has some attractive features, such as the Italianate parallel thirds, which develop the second idea (b. 16), although like several pieces in the manuscript it has been carelessly copied and there are a few errors that are difficult to put right (*e. g.* in b. 21).

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<sup>25</sup> In a poetic elegy to the composer published in the second book of *Orpheus Britannicus* (1702) (see quotation in Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 283).

<sup>26</sup> See Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, esp. 282.

<sup>27</sup> Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 75-6.

<sup>28</sup> See Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 316 (scribe FQ4).

<sup>29</sup> See P. Williams, 'Spurious Purcell', *MT*, 102 (1961), 371 (letter).

<sup>30</sup> *Organ Music in Restoration England* (New York, 1989), i, 115. See *Henry Purcell. Organ Works*, ed. H. McLean (Sevenoaks, 1957, rev. 1967), no. [2].

*Later Sources*

The majority of sources that survive are 'late' sources dating after *c.* 1690, and it seems likely that much of Purcell's keyboard music dates from this period. 'Late' sources can be put into three main categories: those probably copied from or deriving from autograph manuscripts, those containing settings of Purcell's melodies by other composers and those deriving from prints. In a fourth category are the twenty-one pieces that Purcell copied into Lbl, MS Mus. 1, *c.* 1693-4, which includes settings of theatre tunes, songs and popular tunes, and a copy of Orlando Gibbons' popular G major prelude from *Parthenia* (see Ch. 3).<sup>31</sup> Copies of Purcell's own settings, which were not printed, may survive in non-autograph sources. However, it is likely that many sources contain settings that are not Purcell's. They probably include manuscripts such as En, Inglis 94 MS 3343, Och, MS Mus. 580, CAMhogwod, M1090, LAuc, M 678 M4 H295 1710, Ob, e. Mus. Sch. e. 397, Cn, Case MS VM 2.3 E58r, CDp, MC. 1. 39. (j), Lbl, Add. MS 22099, and a few printed sources such as *Ladys Banquet 2* (1706). It has been pointed out that at least three of these manuscripts, En Inglis 94 MS 3343, Och, MS Mus. 580 and LAuc M 678 M4 H295 1710, show signs that the compiler was composing directly into them, and the others contain settings that are similarly unique (see Chs. 3 and 4).

The settings in these sources are largely competent, and in some ways the question of whether they came from Purcell's hand or another is unimportant. It seems likely that contemporaries would not have made any significant distinction between a setting composed by Purcell and one by another composer.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, the question has some importance for assessing the extent to which Purcell's keyboard music was disseminated, which was probably more limited than appears at first glance from the large number of sources of his music dating from before the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>33</sup>

The most important later source is the posthumous *A Choice Collection of Lessons*, first printed by Henry Playford for Purcell's wife Frances Purcell, 'Executrix of the Author'.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> For post-Restoration sources of the Gibbons piece, see Ch. 3, n. 6.

<sup>32</sup> Hogwood, 'The "Complete Keyboard Music" of Henry Purcell', 76.

<sup>33</sup> See Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire', Henry Purcell work-list. Additional sources not listed here are: CAMhogwood, M1090, Lbl, Add. MS 34609 ('Henry-Male Dixon 1759'), Lfom, Coke MS 1275 ('Wm. Walond Chichester Feb y: 1778'), Lfom, Coke MS 1576 (1710s or 1720s), En, Glen 134 (j) MS 3296 ('Margaret Sinkler Aught [...] i7i0'), Lfom, Coke MS 1296 (mid-18th century), Mp, BRm 710.5 Cr 71 ('Anne Dawson 1716'), and MS formerly owned by Lady Susi Jeans, bearing the title 'Toccate Manuscite', currently unlocated (see Appendix B: 'Present Location Unknown').

<sup>34</sup> Advertised in *The London Gazette* on 20th July 1696; see M. Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', *RMARC 1* (1961), whole issue.

It is a small oblong volume, measuring on average 22cm x 15cm, and contains eight suites, which in most copies are followed by six additional pieces in G minor and C major. It survives in three main states, copies of which are dated '1696' and '1699'. The earliest is likely to be Lbl Pr. Bk. Hirsch III 472, formerly owned by Thomas Taphouse. This copy lacks the 'Instructions for Learners', and contains only 60 pages of printed music consisting of the eight suites, and the first four of the six additional pieces. Its printed '1696' date was cut off by the binder, and a '1696' date on the title page and the name 'Francis Purcell' at the bottom of the dedication, were added later, handwritten in ink. Two other copies have a printed '1696' date—Lbl Pr. Bk. k. 1. c. 5 and a copy at the New York Public Library—which are said to be identical in contents.<sup>35</sup> They probably represent a slightly later state of the printing, and may have been a bungled attempt at revising the earlier one represented by Hirsch III 472.<sup>36</sup> They contain the 'Instructions for Learners' in addition to the first page only of the fifth additional piece, the Cibell, ZT 678 (untitled).

On 22nd November 1697, *A Choice Collection* was advertised as 'the Second Edition of the Harpsichord Book, with Additions of Lessons, and Directions for Young Beginners'.<sup>37</sup> No copy described as the 'second edition' is known. However, many copies survive that are described as 'the third edition'.<sup>38</sup> This was advertised on 6th November 1699, and was sold from Frances Purcell's house at 'Great Dean's yard in Westminster', rather than from Playford's shop, the title page being duly altered.<sup>39</sup> Only a copy of the 'third edition' at Durham Cathedral Library has a printed '1699' date; the others lack a date. However, the copies are otherwise essentially the same, containing the 'Instructions for learners', the eight suites, and six additional pieces.

The eight suites in *A Choice Collection* appear in ascending order according to their key, beginning with G major ('Gamut'), as many seventeenth-century collections of instrumental music do such as NYp, Drexel MS 5612 (keyboard) and 'The Rare

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<sup>35</sup> See Henry Purcell. *A Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet. A Facsimile of the London, 1696 edition* (New York, 1978). Another copy said to be dated '1696', which I have not consulted, is at the Library of Congress, Washington D. C. (M3. 3. P9. V).

<sup>36</sup> Henry Purcell. *Harpsichord and Organ Music*, ed. W. B. Squire (Purcell Society, 1895), iii, and B. Cooper, *English Solo Keyboard Music* (New York, 1989), 73.

<sup>37</sup> *The London Gazette* (see Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References').

<sup>38</sup> The following copies of the 'third edition' have been consulted: Lcm, F29, Cn, Case VMT 252 P98C (reproduction only, available from *Early English Books Online*: <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>), Drc, MS C15, Lbl, Pr. Bk. a. 35, and Cfm, MU MS 419. Other copies not consulted: Wc, M22. P98 C4, and Tn, N-1/7.

<sup>39</sup> *The London Gazette* (see Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References').

Theatrical' (NYp, Drexel MS 3976).<sup>40</sup> The first suite is also the simplest (Z660), and is followed by four suites in G minor (Z661, No. 2), G major (Z662, No. 3), A minor (Z663, No. 4) and C major (Z666, No. 5), movements of which are found with variant readings in manuscripts such as Och, MS Mus. 1177. The final three suites, in D major (Z667, No. 6), D minor (Z668, No. 7) and F major (Z669, No. 8), are probably later in date. We have no independent manuscript sources for them, and those in D minor and F major conclude with settings of theatre tunes from *The Married Beau* (1694) and *The Double Dealer* (1693) respectively. The hornpipe that concludes the D major suite is probably also a setting of a theatre tune judging from its texture.

Each of the first five suites are found with alternative movements in manuscripts, particularly preludes, which are likely in most instances to be by Purcell (see Ex. 8. 2 below). The F major suite is also preceded by a different prelude in Lbl, Add. MS 39569, although this particular prelude is probably not by Purcell. The copyist of Add. MS 39569, Charles Babel, usually assembled suites by different composers in his manuscripts, and it is likely that his indirect source was *A Choice Collection* rather than an independent manuscript (see Ch. 9). Purcell's preludes can be put into two rough categories, those based on arpeggio figures, and those that have the character of a contrapuntal invention. In *A Choice Collection*, suites 2, 3, and 5 have invention-type preludes, whilst the others, apart from suite 7 (which has no prelude), have arpeggio-type preludes. However, independent manuscript sources of suites 2 and 5 have alternative preludes of the 'arpeggio' type, indicating that Purcell probably composed this type of prelude for these suites as well.

The invention-type preludes are more brilliant, although they occasionally fall a little awkwardly under the fingers, particularly the one in C major (suite 5), and are by far the most difficult movements to play in the main body of the collection. They are often found as independent pieces in manuscript sources, particularly collections of organ voluntaries, and were clearly treated as separate pieces by some musicians. For example, the G major prelude (Z662/1, suite 3) is found on its own in Nicholas Harrison's manuscript, Lbl, Add. MS 34695, William Raylton's manuscript, Tn, N-3/35, and in the Hereford organ book H, 30. a. xxx. Conceivably, as more impressive movements, they were originally composed as stand-alone pieces, selected to replace the arpeggio-type preludes by the person responsible for assembling *A Choice Collection*. Whatever the case, they seem a little out of place among the 'eight suites'.

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<sup>40</sup> For Drexel MS 5612, see H. Gervers, 'A Seventeenth-Century Manuscript of English Keyboard Music: the New York Public Library Manuscript, Drexel 5612', Ph. D. diss., 2 vols. (New York University, 1974) and *English Court and Country Dances of the Early Baroque from MS Drexel 5612*, ed. H. Gervers (CEKM 44, 1982). For Drexel MS 3976, see *Matthew Locke. The Rare Theatrical: New York Public Library Drexel MS 3976*, facs. edn., intro P. Holman (Music for London Entertainment A4, London, 1989).

Six additional pieces at the end of the 'third edition' are all likely to be settings of theatre tunes, three of which date from 1695: a 'Trumpet tune' from *The Indian Queen* (ZT698), a chaconne ('Curtain Tune', ZT680) from *Timon of Athens*, and a jig from *Abdelazar* (ZT686). It is notable that the settings of theatre tunes in the main body of the collection (and in Lbl, MS Mus. 1) date from 1694 and earlier, which may be an indication that these later settings are not by Purcell. Indeed, it has been pointed out that the arrangement of the chaconne is clumsily written for the keyboard and is likely to have been made by someone else.<sup>41</sup> One possibility is that they were arranged by Daniel Purcell. Conceivably he was involved with the posthumous publication of his brother's music, and he dedicated a manuscript copy of his ode 'Welcome Glorious Day' to the dedicatee of *A Choice Collection*, the Princess of Denmark.<sup>42</sup>

The additional pieces also include the well-known cibell, ZT678. John Walsh published a variant keyboard version as 'Mr: H. Purcells new Sibell' in *The Harpsicord Master* (1697), and Charles Babel, although copying from Walsh's print, called it 'Imitation de la descent de Cybelle' in Lbl, Add. MS 39569 (p. 153), a title reflecting its origins as a parody of the chorus that concludes Act I of Lully's *Alys* (1676).<sup>43</sup> Manuscript sources containing unique keyboard settings of Purcell's cibell are En, Inglis 94 MS 3343, LAuc, M 678 M4 H295 1710, and Lbl, Add. MS 52363, whilst other keyboard sources of the piece are derived either from *A Choice Collection* or *The Harpsicord Master*.<sup>44</sup> There are cibells by many later English composers, often for keyboard, of which there are two types: those that are imitations of Lully's original chorus, which are in a minor key and are characterised by a dotted rhythm half-bar upbeat, and those that are imitations of Purcell's parody, which is in C major and is in the style of an English trumpet tune. Interestingly, En Inglis 94 MS 3343 contains three cibells: an unique setting of the Purcell parody (ff. 29v-30), an imitation of the Purcell parody (ff. 30-1), and an imitation of Lully's original (ff. 57v-58). All cibells,

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<sup>41</sup> Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 95.

<sup>42</sup> Lcm, MS 989. Rebecca Herissone has pointed out that part of the ode may not be by Daniel Purcell as another source in an unidentified hand, Lbl, Add. MS 31457, has the appearance of being a composer's score: R. Herissone, "'To Entitle Himself to ye Composition": Investigating Concepts of Authorship and Originality in Seventeenth-Century English Ceremonial Music', 13th Biennial Conference on Baroque Music (Leeds, July 2008).

<sup>43</sup> LWV 53/38; see T. Dart. 'The Cibell', *RBM*, 6 (1952), 24-30.

<sup>44</sup> For sources, see inventory of CAMhogwood, M1090 (Ex. 2. 4).

however, usually have a gavotte-like rhythm, and three episodic passages for solo bass in imitation of the chorus. Consort versions of the piece are in two and four parts.<sup>45</sup>

## 8. 2. *A Choice Collection* suites (CC (1696/9)): alternative movements, movement configurations, and texts in manuscripts (alternative texts marked 'A')

Pieces	Source
Z660 (Suite 1: G major)	
Prelude, almand I, corant I, [saraband]	CC (1696/9), pp. 1-4; Bc, MS XY15139, pp. 98-100; Lbl, Add. MS 52363, pp. 127-8; LAuc, D173 M4 H295 1690, ff. 11v-13/ pp. 22-25; Lbl, Add. MS 31465, ff. 7-8; Lbl, Add. MS 39569, pp. 62-3 (no almand, final mvt. called 'Sarabande'); Ob, MS T 1508, ff. 29v-31 (final mvt. called 'Sarabande'); Cfm, MU MS 653, p. 110 (corant and [saraband])
Prelude, almand 1a (Z643), corant II (Z644), air (Z641), minuet (Z651)	Cfm, MU MS 653, pp. 89-95. Almand has division strains. Minuet is preceded by a ground attributed to Croft (Ferguson and Hogwood <sup>i</sup> 13a), and a shorter version of a gavott and variations by William Babel ( <i>Suits of the Most Celebrated Lessons</i> ([1717]), pp. 49-55)
Z661 (Suite 2: G minor)	
Prelude I, almand, corant, saraband	CC (1696/9), pp. 5-12. Prelude only: Lbl, Add. MS 34695, ff. 14v-15, and Lbl, Add. MS 31403, f. 38.
Prelude II, almand, corant, saraband	Lbl, Add. MS 31403, ff. 35-36 (A).
Z662 (Suite 3: G major)	
Prelude, almand, corant / (Prelude), almand, corant	CC (1696/9), pp. 13-20; Bc, MS XY15139, pp. 68-72; Och, MS Mus. 1177, ff. 29v-28 (rev.) (A) (prelude added later, derived from CC (1696/9), followed by [saraband with division] in A minor, Z654); Lbl, Add. MS 31465, ff. 8v-9v (almand and corant only). Prelude only: Lbl, Add. MS 34695, ff. 15v-16; Tn, N-3/35, f. 23v; H, 30. a. xxx, pp. 22-3.
Z663 (Suite 4: A minor)	
Prelude I, almand, corant, saraband I	CC (1696/9), pp. 21-6; Bc, MS XY15139, pp. 113-17; Lbl, Add. MS 31465, ff. 10v-12 (almand and saraband only); Lbl, Add. MS 52363, pp. 131-4; Tn N-3/35, f. 26v (almand only)
Prelude I, almand, corant, jig	Lbl, MS Mus. 1, ff. 8-10/ 36v-34v (rev.) (A). Jig only: Cfm, MU MS 653, p. 88 (followed by variant copy of minuet (att. Purcell) in <i>Musick's Handmaid</i> 2 (no. 14)); Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 399, ff. 8v-9/ Lbl, Add. MS 52363, p. 33-4 (associated with movements by Blow, but former source copied by Francis Forcer)

<sup>45</sup> Lcm, MS 1144 ('Mr Purcells Trumpet Tune Call'd ye Sybell', a2 (f. 45v), Cmc, F. 4. 35 ('Mr Henry Purcell's Cybele' (title in a secondary hand), a4 (with trumpet doubling 1st violin), set no. 53), and Lbl, Pr. Bk. d. 24 (miscellaneous manuscript addition to copy of John Walsh's *Harmonia Anglicana*: 'Cebel Mr Purcell', a4, 1st treble and bass only, [p. 53]). In Lcm, MS 1144, the piece follows on from pieces associated with *Abdelazar*, but thought to be in a different hand, and probably not connected to them (see R. Herissone, 'The Magdalene College Partbooks', *RMARC*, 29 (1996), 81).

Pieces	Source
Almand, corant, saraband II [or ground]	Cfm, MU MS 653, pp. 16-17 (A); Pc, rès 1186 bis, ff. 44-45v (A). In rès 1186 bis, the ground (called 'Sarabrand' in Cfm, MU MS 653) is considerably longer. The first variation appears at the bottom of f. 44v, but a page appears to be missing as it is incomplete and f. 45 begins halfway through a different variation (not in MU MS 653).
Prelude II, almand, corant, (saraband I)	Och, MS Mus. 1177, ff. 24v-23v (rev.) (A) with saraband added later, derived from CC (1696/9): ff. 23-22v (rev.). Prelude only: Lfom, Coke 1275, p. [157] (A), followed by movements by Bryne <sup>ii</sup>
Z666 and Z665 (Suite 5: C major)	
Prelude I, almand I, corant, saraband (Z666)	CC (1696/9), pp. 27-33; Lbl, Add. MS 52363, pp. 120-4; Cfm, MU MS 653, pp. 107-9 (preceded by arr. of <i>Bonduca</i> overture); Bc, MS XY15139, pp. 74-80; Ge, R. d. 54, ff. 30v-33 (prelude and almand). Prelude only: Lbl, Add. MS 34695, ff. 16v-17; Lbl, Add. MS 31403, f. 37v; Susi Jeans MS 1 ('Toccate Manuscrite', currently unlocated). Saraband only: Och, MS Mus. 46, f. 65 (rev.) and NYp, Drexel MS 5609, p. 201
Prelude II, almand I, corant, saraband	Lbl, MS Mus. 1, ff. 10v-12 (A). Prelude only: Lbl, Add. MS 39569, p. 38; F-Pn, Rés Vmd MS 18 ('La Pierre'), ff. 9v-10 and f. 3, and F-Pn Vm7 6307 (1), p. 6; Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 426, ff. v verso- 1 recto; lost source: Ob, MS T 1508, f. 1 <sup>iii</sup>
Prelude III, almand II, corant, saraband, jig (Z665)	<i>Musick's Hand-maid 2</i> (1689), nos. 31-35 ('Suit of Lessons'). Almand only: Och, MS Mus. 1179, p. 21. Prelude only (in D major, between movements by King): LAuc, M 678 M4 H295 1710, ff. 12-11v/ pp. 22-1
Prelude IV, almand II	Och, MS Mus. 1176, ff. 13v-14
Z669 (Suite 8: F major)	
Prelude I, almand, corant, minuet	CC (1696/9), pp. 46-52; Lbl, Add. MS 52363, pp. 161-4; Bc, MS XY15139, pp. 103-106 (without minuet); LAuc, D173 M4 H295 1690, ff. 13v-15v/ pp. 26-31 (without prelude); Ob, MS T 1508, ff. 48v-50 (almand and corant only, followed by settings of airs from <i>The Indian Queen</i> ); Lbl, Add. MS 31465, ff. 17v-18 (prelude only).
Prelude II, almand, corant, minuet	Lbl, Add. MS 39569, pp. 1-3. Prelude probably added by Charles Babel, the copyist, and unconnected with Purcell.

i. *William Croft. Complete Harpsichord Works*, ed. Ferguson and Hogwood.

ii. Identified by Harry Johnstone in a note accompanying the manuscript.

iii. For a discussion of the prelude, see Ch. 3. The index to MS T 1508 implies it contained a copy of this piece (see Ch. 9).

Important later manuscripts are Lbl, Add. MS 31403, Pc, rès 1186 bis and Cfm, MU MS 653, each of which contains copies of suite movements in variant versions.<sup>46</sup> Isolated movements from suites in variant versions also occur in Lfom, Coke MS 1275, a retrospective collection copied by William Walond jnr. in the late eighteenth century, and Och, MS Mus. 46. Coke MS 1275 contains a copy of the alternative prelude to the A

<sup>46</sup> Those in Add. MS 31403 and rès 1186 bis were printed by Ferguson in *Eight Suites*.

minor suite that Richard Goodson senior copied into Och, MS Mus. 1177 (Appendix D: 8. iii). Much of the manuscript contains music from the period *c.* 1715-35. but the prelude appears among a small group of seventeenth century pieces on pp. [149-60] after 32 empty pages and a late eighteenth century piece marked with scoring indications (*e. g.* 'This part is also repeated with the Bassoon'). Och, MS Mus. 46 contains an unascrbed copy of the C major saraband Z666/4, in the hand of the copyist who wrote most of the accompaniment parts to sacred music at the front end, and probably dates from around 1700 (for MS Mus. 46, see discussion of AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a in Ch. 3). In this source the piece has minor differences in notes and ornaments to the copies in *A Choice Collection*, *Musick's Hand-maid 2* and Lbl, MS Mus. 1.

The saraband is followed by a variant copy of a march belonging to Pigott's C major suite in *A Choice Collection of Ayres* (1700), and a 'Ground In Gamut Set by Mr Purcel' (Z645). The 'Ground in Gamut' is similar to another triple time ground in G major by Croft, which uses the same descending bass pattern (a major version of the *passacaglia*), and has the hallmarks of a set of exercises such as figures based on scales and arpeggios alternating between the right- and left-hand parts.<sup>47</sup> It is a pretty dull piece, but this may be because Purcell conceived of it as a set of exercises.

Another copy of this pieces is attributed to 'H: Purcel' in Lbl, Add. MS 22099. Add. MS 22099 is a large upright manuscript (26cm x 36.7cm) of keyboard music, consort music, sacred and secular vocal music. Many of the keyboard pieces it contains are transcriptions of theatre tunes and songs and the 'Ground In Gamut' is probably the only piece by Purcell that is not one. Some of the transcriptions are only in two parts, and may have been intended as pieces for treble and bass rather than for keyboard. The four pieces by Purcell in two parts throughout are: 'Twas within a Furlong' from *The Mock Marriage* (Z605/2) (f. 9), 'Your Hay it is Mow'd' from *King Arthur* (Z628/37ab) (f. 9), the overture to *Bonduca* (Z574) (f. 61), and 'The Queens Dolor' (Z670) (f. 5v). 'The Queens Dolor', apparently unique, belongs to the 'Farewell' genre, and is described as such in the index to the manuscript. As it stands, like copy of the *Bonduca* overture, the piece may simply consist of the outer parts of a consort piece as the 'Farewell' was normally a consort genre.<sup>48</sup>

Another source of dances that did not appear in printed collections is Lbl, Add. MS 41205. This manuscript was once owned by William A. Barrett (1834-91), when Ernst

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<sup>47</sup> *William Croft*, ed. Ferguson and Hogwood, no. 13a.

<sup>48</sup> M. Tilmouth, 'Farewell', *GMO*.

Pauer published most of the Purcell pieces it contains in 1879.<sup>49</sup> The pieces attributed to Purcell have been largely rejected as 'spurious' works by later editors (following Zimmerman and Ferguson); one of them, ZD218, has apparently never been published as it did not appear in Pauer's edition.<sup>50</sup> The manuscript is a large oblong quarto (36.2cm x 25.3cm), in a modern binding, and dates from the second decade of the eighteenth century or slightly later judging from the inclusion of pieces by Loeillet.<sup>51</sup> It contains many pieces that appear to be transcriptions of solo sonatas, a type of piece popular in English keyboard collections of the same period and slightly later.<sup>52</sup> A modern pencil note on a flyleaf reads, 'said to be all in the handwriting of / *John Barrett*', which may be an indication that the manuscript was once signed by its copyist of that name. It is not likely that he was the organist and composer John Barrett (c. 1676-?1719) given the many textual errors the manuscript contains, and the hand bears little resemblance to Barrett's Christ's Hospital signatures (reproduced in Ch. 5).

Much of the contents is of seventeenth century date, notably several Blow grounds as well as Purcell pieces, which are more numerous. The Purcell pieces include transcriptions of the overtures from *Timon of Athens* (ff. 10v-11v, final section omitted), *The Indian Queen* (ff. 12-13), *The Virtuous Wife* (ff. 37v-38v, second section only), and *The Fairy Queen* (ff. 9v-10). *The Fairy Queen* overture setting is apparently unique, and was arranged by someone who had access to a manuscript or knew the piece well as it incorporates the trumpet parts, which were omitted in *Ayres for the Theatre* (1697).<sup>53</sup> Another interesting unique setting, identified by Brian Hodge, is of the 'Trumpet air' from *The Married Beau* (1694) (ff. 32-32v). Minor textual changes to the consort version were made to suit the keyboard and the largely two-part texture. For example, the right-hand b<sup>♭</sup> on the last quaver of b. 16 of the consort version is changed to c<sup>♯</sup> sharp, avoiding an awkward perfect fifth.

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<sup>49</sup> *Old English Composers for the Virginals and Harpsichord...Selected from the Works of William Byrd, Orlando Gibbons, John Bull, Henry Purcell and Thomas Aug. Arne* (London, 1879).

<sup>50</sup> They are not included in either *Henry Purcell. Complete Harpsichord Music*, 2 vols., ed. C. Kite (London, 1983), or *Henry Purcell. Complete Edition*, 2 vols., ed. I. Máriássy (Budapest, 1999).

<sup>51</sup> Loeillet's popular A minor minuet is on ff. 42v-43, whilst a corant in D minor attributed to Loeillet in Lbl, Add. MS 31467 (f. 83v) appears on ff. 40v-41. See Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'. inventory of Lbl, Add. MS 41205.

<sup>52</sup> See transcriptions from Corelli Op. 5 in LAuc, P613 M4 1725 (?1720s), Drc, MS E32 ('1717'), Ldc, MS 92b and Lbl, Add. MS 71209. Those in Add. MS 41205 probably include two jigs attributed to Finger (ff. 26-27) and an 'Allegro' by Pepusch (ff. 30-30v), judging from their texture.

<sup>53</sup> Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 225. The existence of this transcription is all the more surprising given that the Lam score of *The Fairy Queen* was thought to be lost in 1701. A reward of 20 guineas was offered for its recovery 'or a true Copy therof' (see advertisements quoted in Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 234, n. 17).

More problematic, textually, are the copies of six unique harpsichord dances near the beginning of the manuscript variously attributed to 'H P' and 'H Purcell', in A minor (Z642/1-2 and ZD218) and B flat major (Z664) (Appendix D: 8. iv-ix). Their harmonic eccentricities led Howard Ferguson to regard them as spurious, although Barry Cooper has suggested that many of their peculiarities may have resulted from copying errors or reflect experimentation on Purcell's part.<sup>54</sup> The B flat major pieces on ff. 20v-22—almand, corant and saraband, followed by a jig attributed to Byron (*The False Friend*, no. 3)—are particularly odd in some places, notably parts of the almand (*e. g.* bb. 5-6, 13-14), and the second strain of the saraband. The almand has a cadence on A flat major in bb. 12-13, hints at F minor in b. 13, and G minor the following bar. Purcell's suites in *A Choice Collection* tend to be more harmonically elegant, and largely avoid emphasising chords inappropriate to quarter comma meantone temperament, such as A flat major. The A minor pieces, almand (Z641/1), corant (Z642/2), almand (ZD218) (ff. 6-8), on the other hand, have fewer idiosyncrasies and are finer. The first almand and corant are unusually long, being 40 and 42 bars in length respectively, and the rhythmic character and slow harmonic rhythm of the first almand resembles the G minor almand in *A Choice Collection* (Z661/2) (see Ex. 8. 3). By contrast, ZD218 (ff. 7v-8) has a dynamic prelude-like quality. It was probably rejected as a 'doubtful' work by Zimmerman because the combination of almand-corant-almand is not found elsewhere in Purcell's keyboard *oeuvre*; there seems little reason to reject it on grounds of quality.

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<sup>54</sup> Henry Purcell. *Miscellaneous Keyboard Pieces*, ed. Ferguson, Spurious nos. 1, 4, 5; Cooper, *English Solo Keyboard Music*, 79-80.

8. 3. Henry Purcell, beginning of G minor almand in *A Choice Collection* (1696/9) (Z661/2) and beginning of almand in A minor, att. Henry Purcell, in Lbl, Add. MS 41205, ff. 6-6v (Z642/1)

Z661/2

Z642/1

Organ voluntaries by Purcell are few, although this number increases if one includes the three invention-type preludes in *A Choice Collection*.<sup>55</sup> The majority of them are found in three related sources copied by the northeastern musician Nicholas Harrison, Lbl, Add. MS 31465 and Add. MS 34695, and Lbl, Add. MS 31446, apparently copied by George Holmes when he was in the service of the Bishop of Durham in 1698.<sup>56</sup> Add. 34695, devoted to organ music at the front end and other types of music at the rear, contains the three invention-type preludes preceded by the unique Z720 on ff. 13v-17, the only work in which a slow-moving homophonic section is followed by a faster one in fugal style. Locke's F major voluntary in *Melothesia* is similar in this respect, but on a smaller scale. Add. MS 34695 is also the only contemporary source of the unusual voluntary on the 100th psalm

<sup>55</sup> See Henry Purcell, *Organ Works*, ed. McLean, and work-lists in Cox, *Organ Music*, i, 360-5, and Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 291.

<sup>56</sup> A cut-out from an auction catalogue pasted on the inside of Add. MS 31446 indicates it was formerly inscribed "George Holmes his Book, 1698", at my Lord Bishop of Durham's'.

tune (Z721), described by John Caldwell as ‘one of the most striking and imaginative organ works of its time’, although it may equally be a piece by Blow.<sup>57</sup> Add. MS 31446 also contains a copy of the striking voluntary in D minor (Z718), which survives in a different version as a Double Voluntary in, Lbl, Add. MS 31468 (Z719), copied by the Worcester musician William Davis (d. c. 1745). The only other piece attributed to Purcell in Add. MS 31446 is the so-called A major toccata (see below), whilst Add. MS 31468 also contains the prelude in A minor (Z652). The prelude is anonymous in all sources apart from Tn, N-3/35, which was probably the source used for the 1895 Purcell Society edition.<sup>58</sup> Howard Ferguson rejected it as a piece by Purcell, but Tn, N-3/35 was not available to him. With its extended semi-quaver passages in parallel thirds and sixths it is clearly similar in style to the invention-type preludes (Appendix D: 8. x).

A discussion of Purcell’s keyboard music is not complete without mentioning a piece that is probably not by him at all, the so-called A major toccata (ZD229). It is found in more sources than the other works suited to the organ, and despite being attributed to Purcell in Add. MS 34695 and Add. MS 31446, its style suggests it was written by a late-seventeenth century north German composer.<sup>59</sup> It was clearly popular in England, and survives in five English sources, although in one of these, Lbl, Add. MS 39569, it is shortened.<sup>60</sup> The copy in Add. MS 34695 probably derives from Add. MS 31446, and whilst it is anonymous in the other English sources, the attribution to Purcell might be an indication that he performed the piece or made copies of it.

### *Conclusion*

Purcell’s keyboard music continued to be popular until well into the eighteenth century, to judge from manuscript copies. Nevertheless, if the number manuscript copies of printed editions and settings probably by other composers are taken into account, its dissemination may have been quite limited. There are, for instance, many more independent sources of John Blow’s keyboard music, as well as more pieces. In terms of dissemination, Purcell’s

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<sup>57</sup> *English Keyboard Music Before the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1973), 171-5.

<sup>58</sup> *Henry Purcell*, ed. Squire, pp. 40-1. The source used is described as ‘a MS. belonging to Mr. Cummings’ (ix). This could equally be Cfm, MU MS 653, but the edition follows an error in b. 11 of the Tn, N-3/35 copy, not present in the MU MS 653 copy, in which some of the left-hand notes are written a third too high.

<sup>59</sup> See R. Buchmayer, ‘Drei Irrtümlich J. S. Bach zugeschriebene klavier-kompositione’, *SIMG*, 2 (February, 1901), 253-78, G. Rose, ‘Purcell, Michelangelo Rossi and J. S. Bach: Problems of Authorship’, *A&M*, 40 (1968), 203-19, B. Cooper, ‘Keyboard Music’, *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain. The Seventeenth Century*, ed. I. Spink (Oxford, 1993), 364-5, P. Dirksen, ‘Zur Frage des Autors der A-Dur-Toccaten BWV Anh. 178’, *BJ*, 84 (1998), 121-135, and J. Baxendale, ‘An Anonymous Toccata. Figure This’, *MT*, 141 (2000), 40-51.

<sup>60</sup> For a recent comparison of the sources, see Baxendale, ‘An Anonymous Toccata’, 40-1.

music compares better with that of other important composers such as Draghi and Croft, although the surviving output of the latter is also larger than his. It seems likely Purcell would have provided copies of pieces for his musical circle and pupils, which may account for its appearance in the 'early' Christ Church sources. Otherwise manuscript copies disseminated to provincial cathedrals, notably to Canterbury (Lbl, Add. MS 31403, Tn, N-3/35), Durham and the north east (Lbl, Add. MS 31446, Add. MS 34695, and Add. MS 31465), and Worcester (Lbl, Add. MS 31468), perhaps via musicians connected with Purcell and the Chapel Royal. Shay and Thompson have suggested, for instance, that Purcell's music reached the north east through his pupil Robert Hodge, who became a lay clerk at Durham in 1693.<sup>61</sup> The manuscripts originating from provincial centres contain mostly voluntaries, preludes and some of the suites, but not the repertory of theatre air settings and settings of popular tunes. The theatre air and popular tune settings are instead encountered in sources such as Purcell's teaching manuscript Lbl, MS Mus. 1, were probably intended for amateur pupils, and may not have disseminated widely. Indeed, the main part of *A Choice Collection*, Lbl, MS Mus. 1, and *Musick's Hand-maid 2* (1689) may be the only sources to contain 'authentic' settings.

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<sup>61</sup> *Purcell Manuscripts*, 290 and 308-9. Likewise a connection between the Chapel Royal and Worcester is Richard Cherrington, who succeeded Davis' father as organist at Worcester, and was probably the same man who was a chorister at the Chapel Royal (1676-9) and sang at the coronation of James II. See Shaw, *The Succession of Organists* (Oxford, 1991), 307-8 and A. Ashbee, 'Cherrington, Richard', *BDECM*, i, 242.

## Charles Babel (?c. 1634-?1716)

The keyboard manuscripts Lbl, Add. MS 39569 and Ob, MS T 1508, copied by the French wind player and copyist Charles Babel at the beginning of the eighteenth century, amount to one of the richest collections of harpsichord music copied in Restoration England. They contain an unusually diverse repertory of pieces, mostly of French and English origin, dating from the second half of the seventeenth century, and are important sources of pieces by keyboardists ranging from Jacques Champion de Chambonnières, Louis Couperin, Nicholas-Antoine Lebègue, Charles Dieupart, Giovanni Battista Draghi, Robert King and Gottfried Keller, many copied anonymously. No less interesting are the large quantity of pieces that remain anonymous, many of a high quality. Nevertheless, the large number of pieces and their anonymity remains a hinderance to the modern appreciation of the manuscripts as a whole.<sup>1</sup>

Charles Babel's importance lies with his activity as a copyist. Thirteen manuscripts in his hand are at present known, containing a remarkable wealth of seventeenth-century French, Italian, German, Dutch, and English music, in addition to a printed collection that he assembled (see Ex. 9. 1). A few documents indicate he was of French birth, and like several French musicians of the period, he moved to Protestant parts of Germany and the Netherlands, finally settling in England.<sup>2</sup> One reveals he was born in Evereux, Normandy (date unspecified), 'son of Maurice Babell and Lewis, his wife', and that he became naturalised as a British subject in April 1699.<sup>3</sup> Before coming to England he was active at the Hanover court in 1688-9, and was a member of 'la troupe de Sa Majesté Brittanique [William III]' at The Hague in 1697-8.<sup>4</sup> His copying activities reveal further details about his life and activities. At Hanover, he compiled four part-books dated '1689', partly of music by the Hanover court violinist Stephan Valoix. He was in The Hague by 1696, when

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<sup>1</sup> To date the only detailed study of the manuscripts is in B. Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music* (Ann Arbor, 1979), i, 68-73, ii, 187-221, 174-86, and *London, British Library MS Add. 39569 ('Babell MS')*, facs. edn., intro B. Gustafson (SCKM 19, 1987). See also D. Fuller and B. Gustafson, *A Catalogue of French Harpsichord Music, 1699-1780* (Oxford, 1990), 371-3 (additions and corrections to *French Harpsichord Music*).

<sup>2</sup> See B. Gustafson, 'Charles Babel', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Personenteil*, 17 vols. (Kassel, 1999), ed. Ludwig Finscher, i, cols. 1250-1.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalisation for Aliens in England and Ireland 1603-1700*, ed. W. A. Shaw (Publications of the Huguenot Society of London 18, 1911), 277. Cited in P. Holman, 'Did Handel Invent the English Keyboard Concerto?', *MT*, 144 (2003), 13-22.

<sup>4</sup> See E. Albertyn, 'The Hanover Orchestral Repertory, 1672-1714: Significant Source Discoveries', *EM*, 33/3 (2005), 449-472, and D. Lasocki, 'Babell, Charles', *BDECM*, i, 43-4.

he copied a set of six part-books of 'les Ancient Ballets de [...] Monsieur de Jean Baptist Lully'. By 1698, he was in England, when he copied two part-books containing recorder music by English-resident composers (US-R, Vault M1490 B113). The large amount of English repertory it contains suggests Babel had been in England for some time; perhaps he had arrived in 1697.

Babel seems to have remained in England for the rest of his life. With his son, William Babel, he joined the orchestra at the Queen's theatre in the Haymarket as a bassonist in January 1708/09. He was paid up to the 1711/12 season.<sup>5</sup> As a member of the 'Prince of Denmark's Musick', he received a pension in 1709,<sup>6</sup> and is named in an 'Account of arrears due to Her late Majesties Petitioners Lady Day & Midsummer Quarters 1714'.<sup>7</sup> John Hawkins noted that William Babel was the son 'of a musician, who played the bassoon at Drury-lane theatre till he was eighty years of age', which would suggest Charles was born around 1634.<sup>8</sup> After 1714, Charles Babel lived for only a few more years at most as his name appears crossed-out amongst a list of personal contacts in the common-place book of J. S. Cousser, compiled around 1716. Interestingly, at one point, Cousser writes that he intended to obtain copies of 'Ouvverturen beÿm alten Babel' (crossed-out).<sup>9</sup>

### 9. 1. Identified manuscripts and printed collections of Charles Babel

Source	Format	Comment
D-DS, Mus Ms. 1227	<i>a4</i> (score)	Signed 'mise[s] en partition a Hannover 1689, par Mr. Babel'. Contains 12 suites, all without composer ascription. A courante on p. 43 is attributed to Valoix in Babel's keyboard book, Ob, MS T 1508, f. 46v (also Lbl, Add. MS 39569, p. 105, and Cmc, F. 4. 35, set XXII, no. 3) <sup>i</sup>
D-Hs, ND VI 2762	<i>a5</i> (partbooks)	Inscribed at the end: 'Fin de Tous les Ancient Ballets de feu Monsieur de Jean Baptist Lully / Remis en Ordre par Charles Babel; A la Haye, en 1696'. Contains 24 suites. Only 4 part-books survive: <i>Haute-contre</i> and <i>basse continue</i> parts are missing. <sup>ii</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See J. Milhous and R. D. Hume, *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers, 1706-1715* (Carbondale, 1982), 179 (*passim*), Milhous and Hume, *A Register of English Theatrical Documents*, 2 vols. (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1991), i, 417, and A. Ashbee (ed.), *RECM*, vol. 2. (Snodland, 1987), 102.

<sup>6</sup> Ashbee (ed.), *RECM*, vol. 8 (Aldershot, 1995), 309.

<sup>7</sup> Ashbee (ed.), *RECM*, vol. 5 (Aldershot, 1991), 103-4.

<sup>8</sup> *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* [1776], 2. vols. (London, 1875, rpt. Graz, 1969), ii., 826.

<sup>9</sup> NHub Osborn Music MS 16, pp. 202, 211. I am grateful to Samantha Owens for drawing my attention to Cousser's connection with Babel, and for kindly supplying a copy of the relevant pages of his commonplace book with a transcription.

Source	Format	Comment
US-R, Vault M1490 B113	<i>a2/3</i> (partbooks)	'Pieces Choiesies a une et a deux Flutes C. Babel' and 'C. Babel 1698' <sup>iii</sup>
Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 393	<i>a2/3</i> (score)	'Airs Italian a chanter / C.B [...] achevé a Londres 1700 / Charles Babel'. Contains 138 vocal pieces, mostly by Italian composers <sup>iv</sup>
F-Pc, rés Vma MS 967	<i>a2</i> (score)	'Airs Italiano a Chanter'. Obligato instrumental parts are missing. Contains 236 vocal pieces by Italian, French, and German composers <sup>v</sup>
US-LCgustafson	<i>a3</i> (partbooks)	'Preludes, recits, acompagnmts [...] a Londres par Ch. Babel'. All of the contents (80 pieces) is found in Cn MS VM 350 B113t. Identified composers are Lully and Purcell (?c. 1700) <sup>vi</sup>
US-Cn, MS VM 350 B113t	<i>a3</i> (partbooks)	'Trio, preludes de basse, recits et acompagnements [...] a Londres par Ch. Babel'. Bass part missing. Contains 350 pieces largely by French composers (?c. 1701) <sup>vi</sup>
Ob, MS T 1508	keyboard	'Ce liure Arpartient/ a gm. Babel 1701 / London'. Contains 91 complete pieces
Lbl, Add. MS 39569	keyboard	'Recueil de Pieces Choiesies Pour le Clauessin 1702 William Babel'. Contains 294 pieces in Babel's hand
CAMhogwood, M1091	<i>a1/a2</i>	Music by mostly English and French composers for solo instrument (range descends to f), written in French violin clef and signed 'C B'. A set of seven solo sonatas (without bass), the first of which is attributed to 'Mr. Paisible', and pieces by H. Purcell and anonymous (with bass), appears in a second contemporary hand, Franco-German in appearance.
CAMhogwood, M1092	<i>a2</i> (partbooks)	'Concert a Deux'. At end of index: 'Par Ch. Babel'. Contains approximately 730 pieces by English, Netherlands, French and German composers organised into 65 suites (?c. 1702)
Cmc, F. 4. 35	<i>a4/5</i> (partbooks)	Contains 656 pieces largely by English-resident composers organised into 60 suites (?c. 1705) <sup>vii</sup>
ABu, GP/1/4	Score	'La Camilla Triomphante. Opera del Signor Gio Bononcini' <sup>viii</sup>
<i>Trios de Differents Authers</i> , 2 vols. (Roger: Amsterdam, [1697]/[1700])	<i>a3</i> (partbooks)	'Choisis & Mis en ordre par / Mr. BABEL [...]'. Altogether, the volumes contain 129 pieces, the majority of them by Lully. Only known copy: Drc C53 <sup>ix</sup>

i. See H. Schneider, 'Unbekannte Handschriften der Hofkapelle in Hanover', *Aufklärungen, Studien zur deutsch-französischen Musikgeschichte im 18. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg, 1986), 180-93, B. Gustafson, 'The Legacy in Instrumental Music of Charles Babel, Prolific Transcriber of Lully's Music', *Jean-Baptiste Lully: Saint-Germain-en-Laye and Heidelberg 1987*, ed. J. de la Gorce and H. Schneider (Laaber, 1990), 495-516, and Albertyn, 'The Hanover Orchestral Repertory'.

ii. See H. Schneider, 'Un Manuscrit de Charles Babel Restitué à sa Bibliothèque d'Origine', *RdM*, 87 (2001), 371-394.

iii. See P. Holman, notes to *Concerning Babel and Son*, Trio Basiliensis (Ars Musici 1167-2, 1996).

iv. See B. Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, i, 70-1

v. See Gustafson, 'The Legacy in Instrumental Music', 504, information from Lowell Lindgren.

vi. See Gustafson, 'The Legacy in Instrumental Music', 503, 510-516.

- vii. See R. Herissone. 'The Magdalene College Partbooks: Origins and Contents', *RMARC*, 29 (1996), 45-95.  
 viii Facsimile: *Il Trionfo di Camilla*, intro. H. M Brown (Italian Opera 1640-1717 (New York), vol. 17, 1978).  
 ix. See Gustafson, 'The Legacy in Instrumental Music', 506-9.

Babel's collections are remarkable for the breadth of their contents, reflecting his international career. The Magdalene College partbooks (Cmc, F. 4. 35), for example, are an impressive collection of mostly English theatre music. Copies of French music, notably of Lully, are present in many of the collections, which suggest he was active in France, or had contacts there, despite a lack of documentary evidence.<sup>10</sup> The partbooks D-Hs, ND VI 2762 are a particularly remarkable source of Lully's music, containing several unique pieces, and many pieces in unique versions.<sup>11</sup> Gustafson points out that the French harpsichord music in Add. MS 39569 and T MS 1508 is also likely to have come from Parisian sources. Moreover, Babel's hand strongly resembles the scripts of important Lully copyists such as André Danican Philidor (?c. 1652-1730), suggesting that he may have had a similar musical background.<sup>12</sup>

It seems likely that Babel had some sort of personal library. Many of the sources Babel copied in England contain foreign music, which he presumably brought over himself. Cn, VM 350 B113t, for example, contains pieces by Michel de La Barre, Marais and Lully, but Babel notes that he copied the manuscript in London. A good number of the manuscripts contain duplicated pieces, which were probably copied from a set of master sources rather than from one another, as the music often appears in a different order in each source. For example all the music in LCGustafson appears in Cn, MS VM 350 B113t, but in a different order.<sup>13</sup> It seems likely that in many instances Babel copied his manuscripts to order. Harold Love points out that 'entrepreneurial' manuscript publication 'is to be suspected whenever a text survives in two or more copies in the same non-authorial hand'.<sup>14</sup> Early or original owners of several of the manuscripts are known in some instances. Two, CAMhogwood, M1092 and Cn, MS VM 350 B113t, contain the bookplate of Charles Cholmondeley (1684/5-1759) of Vale Royal in Cheshire (see below).

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<sup>10</sup> Gustafson, 'The Legacy in Instrumental Music', 495-7.

<sup>11</sup> Schneider, 'Un Manuscrit de Charles Babel', 374-382.

<sup>12</sup> For Philidor and facsimiles of his hand, see D. J. Buch (ed.), *Dance Music from the Ballets de Cour 1575-1651. Historical Commentary, Source Study, and Transcriptions from the Philidor Manuscripts* (Stuyvesant, 1993), and R. Harris-Warwick, 'Philidor, André Danican [*l'aîné, le père* after 1709]', *GMO*.

<sup>13</sup> Gustafson, 'The Legacy in Instrumental Music', *Loc. cit.*

<sup>14</sup> *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993), 77.

The Magdalene College partbooks were the property of the Ferrar family, although it seems unlikely that they commissioned the manuscript as they were not wealthy.<sup>15</sup>

The impressive size of many of Babel's collections, copied and organised meticulously, often with indexes, are another hallmark of 'manuscript publication' and the work of a specialist scribe.<sup>16</sup> Babel usually grouped pieces into suites, often mixing the work of different composers, of different nationalities and generations. In many collections the groupings were probably intended as performing units, although this is not the case in several of the *a3* sources such as Cn, MS VM 350 B113t, which contains groupings by key consisting of over 30 pieces.<sup>17</sup> In the manuscripts where the groupings appear to form performing units, as in the keyboard books, CAMhogwood, M1092, and Cmc, F. 4. 35, for example, Babel seems to have thought carefully about the choice of movements. His mixing together of different composers' pieces is striking, but the musical results are often highly satisfactory, and those in the keyboard books are no exception. Suites consisting of different composers' music are encountered in a few other large English keyboard collections of the early eighteenth century, notably Cfm, MU MS 653. The diverse contents of Babel's manuscripts make his suites particularly remarkable and unusual, but are probably another hallmark of the specialist scribe; the variety of his collections would probably have been a selling-point.

### *The Keyboard Books*

The largest of the two keyboard collections, Lbl, Add. MS 39569, is a handsomely bound folio (33.5cm x 26cm), into which Babel copied 294 pieces (included *double* movements) organised into 29 suites.<sup>18</sup> Ob, MS T 1508 is a more modest small oblong volume (23.9cm x 21.1cm) containing 91 complete pieces (including *double* movements) organised into 12 suites.<sup>19</sup> Ob, MS T 1508 appears to have originally consisted of 72 leaves, of which the first two and the last are missing today as the first and last pieces are incomplete.

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<sup>15</sup> R. Herissonne. 'The Magdalene College Partbooks', 47. For the Ferrars and their musical interests, see B. White, "'A Pretty Knot of Musical Friends': the Ferrar Brothers and a Stamford Music Club in the 1690s", *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914*, ed. R. Cowgill and P. Holman (Aldershot, 2007), 9-44, and P. Holman, 'Continuity and Change in English Bass Viol Music: the Case of Fitzwilliam MU. MS 647', *VGSJ*, 1 (2007), 20-50.

<sup>16</sup> Love, *Loc cit.*

<sup>17</sup> Gustafson, 'The Legacy in Instrumental Music', 500.

<sup>18</sup> See description in Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, ii, 87-8, and London, *British Library MS Add. 39569 ('Babel MS')*.

<sup>19</sup> Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, i, 174-5.

According to Babel's index to the volume, the first two leaves contained a prelude, 'allemande de hamel [Bruinicks]', and 'courante chambonn[ières]'. The final 3 bars of the Chambonnières courante appear on the first surviving leaf, revealing it to have been a copy of *Courante Iris*.<sup>20</sup> *Courante Iris* appears alongside 'Allemande de Mr. hamel Bruinincks' in Add. MS 39569 as part of Suite VII, and the same suite contains an 'unmeasured' prelude, which may have been the prelude.<sup>21</sup> Much of the contents of both manuscripts, particularly that in Add. MS 39569, is without composer attribution. Bruce Gustafson has identified composers for the majority of the anonymous pieces, although approximately 100 that are anonymous and apparently unique in Add. MS 39569 and a much smaller number that are anonymous in MS T 1508 remain, a good number of them of high quality. In addition, Brian Hodge has identified that several pieces are transcriptions from English theatre suites.<sup>22</sup>

Below the index (front pastedown) in MS T 1508, Babel wrote 'Ce livre Arpartient a gm. [e. g. William] Babel 1701', and something similar on the cover of Add. MS 39569, 'Recueil/ de Pieces Choisies/ Pour le Clavessin/ 1702/ William Babel'. According to Hawkins, William Babel (d. 1723) lived to about 33, which would mean the manuscripts were copied when he was about 12. They might therefore have been compiled for William Babel's instruction,<sup>23</sup> although the recopying of some of the pieces in MS T 1508 into Add. MS 39569 seems odd if this is the case; over half of the contents of MS T 1508 (including *doubles* and incomplete pieces) is found in the larger manuscript.<sup>24</sup> The larger Add. MS 39569 might have been intended as a replacement volume. Some of the less difficult pieces in MS T 1508, such as the little suites by Keller, were not recopied, and Add. MS 39569 contains many more lengthier and sophisticated works, such as transcriptions of Lully chaconnes and passacaglias (only one such work is in MS T 1508 (ff. 59v-60)). The young Babel must have been quite a precocious player if he was capable of performing the twelve toccatas from Georg Muffat's *Apparatus musico-organisticus* (1690), which appear at the end of Add. MS 39569 (pp. [250-86]).

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<sup>20</sup> B. Gustafson, *The Complete Works of Jacques Champion de Chambonnières* (JSCMI 1, 2007), no. 8.

<sup>21</sup> For a discussion of the prelude, which is found in Lbl, MS Mus. 1, see Ch. 3.

<sup>22</sup> See 'English Harpsichord Repertoire', ii, work-lists for John Barrett, John Eccles, Gottfried Finger, and William Lord Byron.

<sup>23</sup> Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, i, 71.

<sup>24</sup> See inventories in Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, ii, *loc. cit.*, and Fuller and Gustafson, *A Catalogue*, 371-3 (additions and corrections). Further additions are listed in Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire', ii, inventory for 'Lbl 39569'.

Babel adopted slightly different editorial practices in the two manuscripts, although he was largely consistent within each of them. He standardised the spelling of titles, using those common to French and German practice, *e. g.* ‘Allemande’, ‘Courante’, ‘Sarabande’. In each manuscript the suites are numbered, as in many of Babel’s other manuscripts, *e. g.* ‘P.<sup>res</sup> Suitte en F’ (Add. MS 39569), although the suites in MS T 1508, which tend to be more modest in size, are clearly marked out with the word ‘Fin.’ at the end. On the whole, Babel’s music notational practice appears to be French, although influences of English and German practice are apparent.<sup>25</sup> In MS T 1508 he uses the double-stroke sign for the ‘shake’, conforming to English style, but the *pincement* or *mordant* (Chambonnières/ J. S. Bach) for ‘beat’. It is clear that he changed the style of notation for ornaments from those in his sources when compiling MS T 1508. In ‘Overture de Thetis’ / ‘Mr Colasse’ (ff. 13-14) he uses *pincé* and *cheute* signs (D’Anglebert) for the first bar, but thereafter uses *mordent* signs as an equivalent. In Add. MS 39569 he uses the *treblement* or *trillo* sign for a ‘shake’ and *mordant* or *pincement* signs for a ‘beat’, but was influenced by German practice in using small notes or ‘grace’ notes, uncharacteristic of French and English sources at the period.<sup>26</sup> Another feature often found in German manuscripts is the use of a single ledger-line between the staves; notes that go above a single ledger-line are instead placed on the opposite stave.

The provenance of both volumes cannot be traced entirely, although they were presumably owned by William Babel until his death in 1723. MS T 1508 was formerly owned by the Gloucestershire choral conductor S. W. Underwood of Stroud who died in 1958.<sup>27</sup> In 1960, Charles Cudworth and Franklin Zimmerman referred to the volume, but described it as ‘recently bequeathed to H. Watkins Shaw’.<sup>28</sup> It may have been that Shaw, who revised E. H. Fellowes’ *Catalogue* in 1981 (to take into account acquisitions after 1934), was briefly a custodian of the manuscript before it became a part of the Tenbury collection.<sup>29</sup>

Add. MS 39569 was formerly owned by W. H. Cummings, and was brought by Ralph Griffin at the sale of his library in 1917 for the British Museum. A flyleaf note in pencil

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<sup>25</sup> See also comments in Gustafson, ‘The Legacy in Instrumental Music’, 497.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* See, for example, the small notes in used in *Keyboard Music from the Andreas Bach Book and the Möller Manuscript*, ed. R. Hill (Harvard, 1991). Early English keyboard sources to use small notes, Lbl, Add. MS 17853 and Add. MS 40139, date from the second decade of the eighteenth century.

<sup>27</sup> E. H. Fellowes, *The Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of St. Michael’s College, Tenbury* [1934] supplement and revision by W. Shaw: Harvester Microfilm, Brighton, 1981.

<sup>28</sup> ‘The Trumpet Voluntary’, *ML*, 41 (1960), 344.

<sup>29</sup> I am grateful to Graydon Beeks for advice on this point.

reads 'L. F. Selwyn/ the Gift of her dear Papa/ July 25th 1821'. Griffin commented on this in the manuscript, pointing out that the 'dear papa' was probably the legal writer William Selwyn (1775–1855).<sup>30</sup> His daughter, Laetitia Frances Selwyn (1807-1886), might well have been the owner of the manuscript for much of the nineteenth century. A clue to its provenance between William Babel's death and 1821 is given by a copy of some of its contents in Lcm, MS 820, compiled in the late eighteenth century by the organist Benjamin Cooke the younger (1734-1793).<sup>31</sup> MS 820, dated '1777' and '1780', is a large upright quarto in several hands containing copies of Cooke's catches and glees as well as keyboard music. From Add. MS 39569, Cooke copied all the music in Muffat's *Apparatus musico-organisticus* as well as an arrangement of Lully's *Isis* overture. The Muffat pieces were probably not copied from the print as Cooke's index at the rear describes the toccatas as: 'A Sett of German Lessons for the Organ with Pedals consisting of 12. Toccatas. (believ'd to be in print. the Author's name forgot)'. The Lully overture (ff. 35-34v, rev.) is also quaintly titled 'Overture/ Dr. Isice', an error in transcribing the title in Babel's manuscript, 'Ouverture/ D'Isice' (pp. 94-5).

Cooke may have been an owner of the manuscript, although it is odd that he did not have it to hand when compiling the index of MS 820, which would have told him the author of the twelve toccatas. Moreover, Cooke's manuscripts were not sold privately, but were bequeathed to the Sacred Harmonic Society and subsequently to the Royal College of Music in 1883.<sup>32</sup> A more likely explanation is that he had access to the manuscript through colleagues in the Academy of Ancient Music. Among them was Sir John Hawkins, who could have obtained the manuscript from William Babel's teacher J. C. Pepusch, whose library Hawkins acquired. Cooke was, according to Hawkins's daughter Laetitia Hawkins, an 'intimate friend and associate' of her father, and copied many manuscripts from his library.<sup>33</sup>

### *CAMhogwood, M1092 and its Relationship to the Keyboard Books*

The treble and bass partbooks CAMhogwood, M1092 are among the largest of Babel's collections. They have been cited as originally belonging to a set of three part-books in

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<sup>30</sup> J. H. Lupton, rev. E. Clewlow. 'Selwyn, William', *ODNB*. A detailed family tree has been compiled by the present-day Selwyns: [www.selwyn-family.me.uk/~chris/genealogy/](http://www.selwyn-family.me.uk/~chris/genealogy/)

<sup>31</sup> For Cooke, see W. Shaw/ G. Gifford, 'Cooke, Benjamin (ii)', *GMo*.

<sup>32</sup> W. B. Squire, rev. R. Erlebach 'Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of the Royal College of Music', unpublished typescript (1926/1931) at the Royal College of Music (available on Harvester Microfilm).

<sup>33</sup> [L. Hawkins], 'Memoir of Benjamin Cooke, Mus Doc', *The Harmonicon* (September, 1831), 207-8; Shaw/ Gifford, 'Cooke, Benjamin (ii)'.

which the second treble is missing.<sup>34</sup> However, the set is clearly complete as the first suite is marked 'Concerts a deux'. Possibly a continuo partbook once existed, although a small number of pieces in the bass partbook already include continuo figures. The books are small thick oblong volumes, measure approximately 22.2cm x 15.4cm, and have full calf bindings with ornate gilt tooled borders and spines. Within another gilt tooled border, in the centre, is tooled the partbook name (*e. g.* 'DESSUS') and 'C. BABEL'. Babel foliated the 160 leaves of each book and provided an index; the index groups the 65 suites by key from A minor to G major. A bookplate bearing the arms of 'Charles Cholmondeley of Vale Royall in Cheshire Esq<sup>r</sup>' appears on the inside cover of each volume. He is probably Charles Cholmondeley (1684/5-1759), who acceded to his estate in 1702, and was MP for Cheshire.<sup>35</sup> The bookplate is plausibly eighteenth century in date (*n. b.* spelling of 'Royall') and no other head of the Vale Royal branch of the Cholmondeley family was called Charles during the eighteenth century. The partbooks probably date from around 1702, judging from the latest music, movements from John Barrett's suite for *The Generous Conqueror* (1702).

## 9. 2. CAMhogwood, M1092, bass part book: end of index and beginning of music



There are approximately 730 pieces organised into 65 suites.<sup>36</sup> Babel numbered each piece within a suite but discontinued doing this when he got to the 22nd suite (also pieces

<sup>34</sup> Herissone. 'The Magdalene College Partbooks', 48.

<sup>35</sup> See E. Cruickshanks, *et al* (eds.), *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1690-1715*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 2002), 531-533, and [anon.], *Vale Royal Abbey and House* (Winsford, 1977).

<sup>36</sup> For the present purposes, I have compiled a preliminary inventory. An article that will deal with the contents in full is in preparation.

in the 20th suite are only partially numbered). The named composers are a no less varied group than in Babel's other large collections: Robert King, John Barrett, James Paisible, John Eccles, Henry Purcell, John Lenton, Thomas Morgan, Gottfried Finger, Thomas Tollet, Charles Dieupart, 'Dumont', Jean-Baptiste Lully, Pascal Collase, Carl Rosier, Robert de Visée, Stephan Valoix (variously spelt 'Valois' and 'Valoy'), Agostino Steffani, Johann Christoph Pez, and one 'Schober'. Four of these composers, Pez, 'Dumont', De Visée and 'Schober', are not known of in Babel's other manuscripts. Babel's German and Dutch connections are apparent from this list. Carl Rosier (1640-1725), who also appears prominently in Babel's recorder manuscript R, Vault M1490 B113, was a contemporary of Babel and seems to have followed a similar career path, which took him to Cologne from about 1675 and The Netherlands between about 1683 and 1699.<sup>37</sup> The suites attributed to Steffani and Valoix were presumably acquired by Babel in Hanover, while Pez (1664-1716) was a chamber musician in Munich from 1688 who moved north to Bonn between 1694 and 1701.<sup>38</sup> Pez's patron in Munich, the Elector of Bavaria, is also known to have worked and lived in Brussels. Among the French composers, 'Dumont' (suite 23) is unlikely to be Henri Dumont (1610-84) as the music is too modern in style. De Visée, however, is probably the French court guitarist, lute and viol player, Robert de Visée (c. 1655- 1732 or 1733).<sup>39</sup>

Many of the suites have composer attributions, but as with many of Babel's collections, most of the suites do not consist of movements by a single composer, even when the suite is attributed to a single composer. One exception is suite 28 in A minor, headed 'Suite *Mr. de Lully*', which consists of seven movements all by Lully: LWV 17/1, 27/45 (also 35/40a, 75/19a), 63/49, 63/50, 49/51, 69/2 and 57/24. In some cases Babel notes several composers names at the beginning of a suite, e. g. '40<sup>me</sup> Suite / Mess.<sup>rs</sup> valois / et Paisible'. Where only one composer is named, that composer is usually the composer of the first piece, and often the composer of most of the movements. The eight-movement Suite 29, for example, is attributed to Lully and begins with 'Ouverture du Ballet de Flore' (LWV 40/1), but the second piece is a courante attributed to Valoix in Ob, MS T 1508 (ff. 6v-7). Three of the other movements are by Lully: 'Prelude' (LWV 56/23), 'Air grave' (LWV 45/26, 46/69 and 56/49) 'Polichinel's' (LWV 45/33, 46/76 and 56/56). Another example is the 25th suite in C minor attributed to Henry Purcell. It begins with the overture to *The Indian Queen*, followed by 'I am com to lock' from *The Fairy Queen* (Z629/12), an air from

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<sup>37</sup> U. Niemöller 'Rosier, Carl', *GMO*.

<sup>38</sup> E. Roche. 'Pez, Johan Christoph', *GMO*.

<sup>39</sup> R. Strizich and D. Ledbetter, 'Visée, Robert de', *GMO*.

*Bonduca* (Z574/4), an anonymous 'Entrée', another air from *Bonduca* (no. 6), an anonymous 'Air lent', and finally a hornpipe from *Bonduca* (no. 5). Given the mixed authorship of most of the suites in the collection, it is impossible to say whether the anonymous pieces might be by Purcell.

There are many concordant pieces between the keyboard books and M1092. 71 have been located, an unusually large amount between Babel's collections that differ in instrumentation. In several instances the concordant pieces are also known in consort versions of more than two parts, and Babel probably took the outer parts of these versions. For example, Babel copied movements from Barrett's suite for *The Generous Conqueror* from *The Harpsicord Master 2* (1700) in Add. MS 39569 (suite 22, pp. 140-3), but he knew the consort versions as he copied them into Cmc, F. 4. 35 (set XIX). Several of the pieces are only known in keyboard versions notably the pieces by Robert King. Babel copied suites in A major, D major, E minor by King into both Add. MS 39569 and MS T 1508, which are principal sources of these pieces (discussed below). The outer parts of the A major, D major, E minor suites were copied, without their preludes, into the part-books (ff. 1-2, 15v-17 and 13v-15 respectively).

In the keyboard books, King's A major almand has doubled note values, whereas in M1092 it appears as it is normally notated. This suggests, perhaps, that Babel was not copying the outer parts of the keyboard versions he had available to him but copying from another source, perhaps of treble and bass music. Nevertheless, each of King's pieces appear at the pitch of the keyboard versions, and as a result, the top part in the A major suite descends to f sharp (f sharp below middle-c). The inclusion of this note makes it difficult to judge the intended instrumentation as it rules out violin and bass and is too low for wind instruments, unless some octave transposition was employed. One possibility is that the top part was intended for bass viol transposing down an octave as the octave-transposing treble clef began to be used for bass viol music in the early eighteenth century.<sup>40</sup>

Most of the Dieupart pieces are also known in keyboard versions, which unlike King's, were printed as *Six Suites de Clavessin* (Roger: Amsterdam, [1701]). There are nine suites attributed to Dieupart in M1092 and Add. MS 39569, and it is probable that Babel copied them from a manuscript source of treble and bass music. The titlepage of *Six Suites* describes the pieces as 'Composeés & Mises en Concert / Par / [...] Pour un Violon & flûte avec une Basse / de Viole & un Archilut', and the following year (1702), Roger published treble and bass versions of the *Six Suites* in partbooks for violin or recorder, bass viol and

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<sup>40</sup> The use of the octave-transposing treble clef in English bass viol music is discussed in Holman, 'Continuity and Change', esp. 26-7.

archlute.<sup>41</sup> David Fuller suggests three performance scenarios for the pieces: treble and bass continuo performance using the solo keyboard version as an accompaniment part; treble and bass performance with an ordinary extemporised chordal continuo part (players using the solo keyboard version only could extract the outer parts); solo keyboard performance.<sup>42</sup>

The use of the term ‘concert’ implies the pieces were thought of as consort pieces only, placing them in the eighteenth-century French tradition of mixed consort music involving a keyboard such as Rameau’s *Pièces de Clavecin en Concerts* (1741) for violin, bass viol and harpsichord. Thus, the 1701 keyboard version might have been intended as an accompaniment part only.<sup>43</sup> However, Dieupart’s pieces were copied into several solo keyboard manuscripts in the early eighteenth century, such as Add. MS 39569, which suggests that solo keyboard performance was considered a viable option. Fuller also points out that many textual discrepancies occur between the partbooks and the keyboard version, changes which ‘look carefully calculated to improve that bass for a continuo accompaniment intended to substitute for the keyboard original.’ Moreover, in one instance (the ‘Gigue’ to the F major suite), the part books contain a completely different piece, which suggests that the keyboard version was not intended to accompany them. Likewise, it is unlikely that Add. MS 39569 served as an accompaniment part for M1092 as the E minor suite has a different gigue in the two sources (although it remains possible that a keyboard book once existed).

Four of the suites by Dieupart that Babel copied into the keyboard manuscripts (those in A major, D major, E minor and F minor) were copied at pitch. The B minor suite, however, is transposed, and may be a clue to the intended instrumentation for some of the music. The pieces that make up the B minor suite in *Six Suites* (which Babel did not copy into the keyboard books) are found amongst two suites in M1092. Suite 55 includes the overture, allemande, courante, saraband and gigue transposed D minor (ff. 135v-137), and suite 50 includes the sarabande, gavotte and menuet transposed to C minor (ff. 125v-126). In the published part books (but not in *Six Suites*), Roger stated that the music could be transposed to suit different sizes of recorder. In the case of the B minor suite, he recommended that it could be transposed to D minor for alto recorder in F (‘flûte a voix’), and to C minor for descant recorder in C (‘flûte du quatre’).

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<sup>41</sup> Reprinted in facsimile in *Charles Dieupart. Six Suites pour Clavecin*, ed. P. Brunold, rev. K. Gilbert (Monaco, 1979).

<sup>42</sup> ‘Accompanied Keyboard Music’, *MQ*, 60 (1974), 222-45, esp. 233-4.

<sup>43</sup> D. Fuller and P. Holman, ‘Dieupart, Charles [François]’, *GMO*.

In some instances, Babel replicates the suite groupings in Add. MS 39569 in the partbooks, an unusual feature, as Babel normally grouped concordant pieces differently in his collections. It is not clear why he reproduced the groupings in this instance, although it may be an indication that he did not arbitrarily construct his suites and that he thought of them as suitable performing units.

### 9. 3. Concordant groupings within suites in CAMhogwood, M1092 and Lbl, Add. MS 39569

M1092	Add. MS 39569	Key	Pieces
Suite I	Suite II	A	King almand, corant, saraband, gavot, followed by movements from Barrett's suite for <i>The Pilgrim</i> (1700)
Suite VI	Suite VI	e	King almand, corant, saraband followed by Purcell 'Here the Deities Approve' (Z339/3) and King gavot
Suite VII	Suite XI	D	King almand, corant, saraband, gavot, followed by Lully chaconne from from <i>Acis et Galatée</i> (1686), King gavot, Clarke 'Serenade' (called 'Grave, T. 437) and 'Prince of Denmark March' (called 'Marche', T. 435)
Suite VIII	Suite XIII	f	Dieupart overture, almand, corant, saraband, gavot, followed by minuet (att. Steffani (index) in MS T 1508, f. 55), Dieupart gavot, and Eccles air and ground ( <i>The Mad Lover</i> (1701), nos. 4 and 5)

#### *The Keyboard Books: Contents*

Although Babel is not known to have been a keyboard player, the diverse contents of the keyboard books is remarkable, and the source materials for them may have been collected over a large period. The oldest music in the manuscript appears to be French, which includes pieces and transcriptions of pieces by: Jacques-Champion de Chambonnières (1601/2-72), Louis Couperin (c. 1626-61), Jacques Hardel (d. 1678), Jean-Henri D'Anglebert (1629-91), Nicolas-Antoine Lebègue (c. 1631-1702), Pascal Collasse (1649-1709), Jean-Baptiste Lully, Marin Marais, Marc-Antoine Charpentier, Pierre Gillier (b. 1665), and Charles Dieupart (c. 1670-c. 1740). Of the French keyboard composers, Dieupart is by far the youngest, and was active as a composer when Babel compiled the manuscripts. Dieupart could have supplied Babel with much of the French harpsichord music, or alternatively, Babel collected it before he left France.<sup>44</sup> Most of the French music

<sup>44</sup> Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, i, 71-2.

probably dates from the 1680s and earlier, judging by the majority of the French keyboard composers who are represented.

Many of the transcriptions of French music are of a high quality. Some of the Lully arrangements are derived from D'Anglebert's *Pieces de Clavecin* (1689), whilst others probably came from the same excellent manuscript sources as the pieces by French harpsichord composers, and are probably their arrangements.<sup>45</sup> This is also likely to be the case with the transcriptions the pieces by Marais, Gillier and Collasse to judge from their quality.<sup>46</sup> A print containing arrangements from Marais's opera *Alcide* has recently come to light.<sup>47</sup> Add. MS 39569, however, is the most important source of arrangements of pieces from Marais's collections of instrumental music.<sup>48</sup> Two minuets in G minor and C major from suites 14 and 23 in Add. MS 39569 (pp. 89 and 51) are pieces 19 and 9 respectively in *Pièces en Trio pour les flutes, Violon & Dessus de Viole* (Paris, 1692) (trios for either two flutes, two violins or two treble viols).<sup>49</sup> The minuet in C precedes a chaconne by D'Anglebert that was not printed, and is part of a suite that contains two pieces by Chambonnières (also not printed).<sup>50</sup> Four other pieces by Marais are from *Pièces à une et à deux violes* (1686/9), which work well as harpsichord pieces.<sup>51</sup> Less sophisticated is the 'Air de Mr. Marais' (pp. 178-9), which is not known from the composers' collections of instrumental music or his operas, and is mostly in two parts. Likewise, Peter Holman points out that the 'Ouverture de Monsieur Charpentier', an arrangement of Marc-Antoine Charpentier's overture to *David et Jonathas* (1688), seems to have been arranged by someone who only had access to a short score as it does not include any significant material from the inner parts.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> See Gustafson, *Ibid.*, D. Chung, 'D'Anglebert and the transmission of 17th-century French harpsichord music', *EM*, 31 (2003), 583-604, and *Jean-Baptist Lully. 27 Brani d'opera: trascetti per tastiera nei secc. XVII e XVIII*, ed. D. Chung (Bologne, 2004).

<sup>46</sup> The Gillier pieces, only one of which is attributed, appear in his *Livre d'airs de symphonies meslez de quelques fragmens d'opéra* (1697); see Gustafson, commentary to *London. British Library MS Add. 39539*. Collasse is represented by one piece, the overture to *Thetis et Pelée* (1689) (MS T 1508, ff. 13-14).

<sup>47</sup> See *Pièces de Clavecin, tirées d'Alcide*, ed. L. Boulay, intro. B. Gustafson (Monaco, 2005).

<sup>48</sup> A. Woolley, 'Harpsichord Arrangements of Marin Marais's Viol Music', *The Viol*, 2 (2006), 22-3.

<sup>49</sup> See *Pièces de Clavecin, tirées d'Alcide*, Appendice, and *Marin Marais. The Instrumental Works*, ed. J. Hsu, 7 vols. (New York, 1980-2002), vol. 6.

<sup>50</sup> See Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, ii, 210-11.

<sup>51</sup> Two of these, 'Allemande' (p. 160; no. 31 in *Pièces*) and 'Gavotte en Rondeau' (p. 170; no. 26 in *Pièces*) are not in *Pièces de Clavecin, tirées d'Alcide*, Appendice. For a transcription of the 'Allemande', see Woolley, 'Harpsichord Arrangements'.

<sup>52</sup> 'An English Manuscript of Music by Marc-Antoine Charpentier', *Charpentier: Société Marc Antoine Charpentier Bulletin*, 16 (1999), 13-17.

Some of the best pieces in Add. MS 39569 remain anonymous and are likely to be of French origin.<sup>53</sup> The 'Allemande', 'Courante' and 'Sarabande' which form the centrepiece of suite 27 in G minor (pp. 181-2), are possible examples; the same suite includes the only known manuscript copy of a 'Gigue' by Chambonnières.<sup>54</sup> The 'Allemande' is a particularly intricate piece, and features a highly elaborate 'variation pour la reprise'. Another gem that appears to be French in style is the beautiful 'Loure en Rondeau' (p. 178), part of suite 26 in F major.<sup>55</sup>

The best-represented French harpsichord composer in Add. MS 39569 is Charles Dieupart. Four of his *Six Suites* (1701) were copied into the manuscript, those in A major, D major, E minor and F minor. Comparison between the printed and manuscript version of these pieces reveal that Babel copied them, like the pieces by other French harpsichord composers, from an independent manuscript source. This is illustrated by comparing the two versions of the E minor overture, which in Babel's copy is simpler overall (Ex. 9. 4). Babel also copied some of Dieupart's suites with alternative movements. Both Add. MS 39569 and M1092 contain a different minuet/ passepied for the E minor and D major suites, although they have unique minuets for the F minor suite.<sup>56</sup> The copy of the E minor suite in both Add. MS 39569 and M1092 has a different gavott (with *double*).<sup>57</sup> It seems likely that the majority of these alternative movements are by Dieupart. Despite Babel's tendency to mix the works of different composers together, he often compiled 'suites within suites', whereby suites encountered in sources were augmented by movements from other sources to create larger groupings.<sup>58</sup> For example, for the first suite (pp. 1-7), Babel copied movements from Henry Purcell's F major suite (Z669), preceded by a different prelude, followed by anonymous pieces, and pieces by Lebègue. It also noteworthy that the D major minuet, replaced by a passepied in *Six Suites*, has thematic links with the passepied: the last eight bars of the minuet appear to have supplied the theme of the passepied (see Ex. 9. 5).

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<sup>53</sup> Gustafson, intro to *London, British Library MS Add. 39569*, vi.

<sup>54</sup> Gustafson, *The Complete Works of Jacques Champion de Chambonnières*, no. 51.

<sup>55</sup> The neat presentation and general accuracy of Babel's manuscripts makes these pieces easily playable from the facsimile edition: *London, British Library MS Add. 39569*.

<sup>56</sup> The F minor minuet in Add. MS 39569 (p. 82) is attributed (in the index) to Steffani in MS T 1508, f. 55. Another version of this piece (a4) is anonymous in Cmc, 4. F. 35 (Set XXVI, no. 8).

<sup>57</sup> Other copies of this piece are in MS, T 1508, f. 23v, and Cfm, MU MS 653, p. 86.

<sup>58</sup> See also comments by Hodge on pieces by King and Keller in the keyboard books: 'English Harpsichord Repertoire', i, 41-2.

9. 4. Charles Dieupart, overture in E minor, bb. 48-59: *Six Suites* (1701), no. 22, and Lbl, Add. MS 39569, p. 73

*Six Suites*

48

54

*Add. 39569*

48

53

9. 5. Charles Dieupart, 'Passepied', *Six Suites* (1701), no. 13, and ?Dieupart, 'Menuet', Lbl, Add. MS 39569, p. 21

*'Passepied'*

7

13

19

*Menuet'*

9

17

Another piece by Dieupart in Add. MS 39569 is transposed, the F major 'Courante' in *Six Suites*. It forms part of a suite in E major (suite 19) in the manuscript. The E major suite consists of 'Overture', 'Allemande', 'Courante', 'Sarabande' and 'Gavotte', but like several of the suites in Add. 39569, it is incomplete as it is followed by two pages of empty staves headed '19<sup>me</sup>. Suite en E####' (Appendix D: 9. i-v). It seems probable that the entire suite is by Dieupart for several reasons. Dieupart's printed suites are remarkable for their uniform structure, consisting of 'Overture', 'Allemande', 'Courante', 'Sarabande', 'Gavotte', 'Menuet' or 'Passepied' and resemble the beginning of this E major suite. The style of the music is also close to Dieupart's. Like his A major suite, the opening theme of the overture is shared by the following movements, in this case the 'Allemande' and 'Sarabande'. In addition, the harmonic outlines of the first strains are shared between the movements. The E major 'Allemande' appears to have thematic and harmonic links to Dieupart's F major 'Allemande', which could even represent a re-working of this piece. The opening themes are similar and the first two bars of the F major piece extend the

opening idea of the E major piece. Both have dominant minor inflections towards the end of their first strains, and their second strains begin with similar ideas.

9. 6. Charles Dieupart, 'Allemande' in F major (*Six Suites*, no. 30) (bb. 1-12), and ? Charles Dieupart, 'Allemande' in E major (Lbl, Add. MS 39569, p. 123) (bb. 1-12)

*Dieupart, 'Allemande' in F major*

?*Dieupart, 'Allemande' in E major*

Dieupart came to England probably at about the age of thirty in the early years of the eighteenth century, around the time Babel compiled the keyboard books. It is likely that

that Babel came into contact with Dieupart in England and obtained copies of his pieces there.<sup>59</sup> The earliest notice of Dieupart's activity as a theatre musician in England is dated February 1703, although he had English connections before then as he taught the Countess of Sandwich about 1701 or a little earlier, the dedicatee of the *Six Suites*.<sup>60</sup> It seems likely, however, from the style of his music and source evidence that Dieupart was active in Germany before he came to England, which might also account for his strong presence in Babel's manuscripts. The uniform makeup of the suites, use of a wide number of keys, in Dieupart's case B minor and F minor, and his gigues with contrapuntal imitative openings, are features similar to contemporary German music, such as the suites of Johann Kuhnau.<sup>61</sup> Dieupart's music was copied by several musicians in Germany in the early eighteenth century, notably J. S. Bach, although this interest stemmed from the printed collection.<sup>62</sup> However, an independent manuscript source of Dieupart's keyboard music that is of Austrian provenance, A-Wm, MS 743, indicates his music circulated there. The manuscript, best-known as an important source of Froberger, includes movements from the F major and E minor suites in simpler versions.<sup>63</sup>

It is likely that Babel had Dutch and German manuscript sources that he collected while active there. In Add. MS 39569, Babel ascribed a small number of pieces to composers active in the Netherlands such as Pietro Antonio Fiocco ('Sarabande de Mr. Fiocco', p. 41) and Quirinus van Gerbrandszoon Blankenburgh ('Prelude de Monsieur Blankenburg', p. 46). Fiocco is recorded as a musician at Hanover in 1681, who shortly after moved to Brussels, whilst Blankenburgh was a keyboard player active in The Hague.<sup>64</sup> Blankenburgh's prelude is a notably flamboyant piece, with alternating markings of 'adagio', 'presto' and 'prestissimo'. Fiocco's saraband appears as part of suite 7, which also includes pieces attributed to 'Mr. hamel Bruinincks' and 'Mr Ziani'. 'Bruinicnks' is unidentified, although he may have been 'Bruyningsh', whose music appears in a print of

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<sup>59</sup> Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, i, 72.

<sup>60</sup> Fuller and Holman, 'Dieupart, Charles [François]'.

<sup>61</sup> See *Johann Kuhnau. The Collected Works for Keyboard*, 2 vols, ed. C. D. Harris (New York, 2003).

<sup>62</sup> D-Bsb, Mus. MS Bach P 801 (copied by Gottfried Walther), and D-F, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Mus. MS Hs. 1538 (copied by J. S. Bach). See D. Fuller and B. Gustafson, *A Catalogue of French Harpsichord Music, 1699-1780* (Oxford, 1990), 121, 253 and 255.

<sup>63</sup> See Fuller and Gustafson, *A Catalogue of French Harpsichord Music*, 253. Microfilm copies are obtainable from the Hill Museum and Monastic Library, Collegeville, Minnesota (see J. G. Plante, 'The Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library', *Notes* 25 (1968), 12-14).

<sup>64</sup> L. R. Baratz. 'Pietro Antonio Fiocco', *GMO*; R. Rasch, 'Blankenburg, Quirinus Gerbrandszoon van', *GMO*.

treble and bass music from the early eighteenth century.<sup>65</sup> The 'Prelude Mr. Ziani' (pp. 42-3), appears to be in the style of a bipartite sinfonia. Gustafson suggests it might be by Pietro Andrea Ziani (c. 1620-1684), although the Venetian composer Marc' Antonio Ziani (c. 1653-1715), who later became vice-Hofkapellmeister to the Emperor Leopold I in Vienna in 1700 is also a possibility.<sup>66</sup>

Some of the anonymous music in Add. MS 39569 may have come from German sources judging by its style, notably several of the movements of suite 8 in C minor (pp. 48-52). At least two of the pieces in this suite are English, 'Prelude en Maniere de Chaconne Mr. Purcel' (ZT681), and the corant on p. 50, probably by Croft.<sup>67</sup> The other movements, however, are probably not English. Two, 'Sarabande' (p. 50) and 'Gigue' (p. 51), are close in style to the music of north German composers such as Buxtehude and Reincken (see Ex. 9.7 opposite and Appendix D: 9. vii).<sup>68</sup> The first 'Allemande' (p. 49) also has a full-voiced contrapuntal texture, employing some imitation in inversion, features more common in contemporary German music (Appendix D: 9. vi).

### 9.7. Anon. Saraband in C minor, Lbl, Add. MS 39569, p. 50, and Buxtehude, 'Saraband d'Amour'<sup>69</sup>

Anon.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>65</sup> *Suites Faciles Pour Flute ou Violon & Basse Continüe* [...] (Roger: Amsterdam, n. d.) (Drc, C99).

<sup>66</sup> T. Antonicek and J. W. Brown. 'Ziani, Marc' Antonio', *GMO*.

<sup>67</sup> The corant is anonymous but is paired with an almand by Croft in Cfm, MU MS 653, an important source of Croft's music. See *William Croft. Complete Harpsichord Works*, ed. H. Ferguson and C. Hogwood (London, 1974, rev. 1982), nos. 4b and 21.

<sup>68</sup> See *Johann Adam Reincken. Collected Keyboard Works*, ed. W. Apel (CEKM 16, 1967), *Keyboard Music from the Andreas Bach Books and the Möller Manuscript*, ed. Hill (possible further suites by Reincken), and *Dietrich Buxtehude. Klaver Vaerker*, ed. E. Bagert, 2nd edn. (Copenhagen, 1953).

<sup>69</sup> *Dietrich Buxtehude. Klaver Vaerker*, ed. Bagert, no. 6c.

*Buxtebude*

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled 'Buxtebude'. It is written in 3/4 time and consists of three systems of music. Each system has a treble clef on the top staff and a bass clef on the bottom staff. The first system starts with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests. The second system begins with a measure number '7' above the treble staff. The third system begins with a measure number '12' above the treble staff and ends with a bracketed '[etc.]' indicating the piece continues. The notation includes various note heads, stems, and rests, with some stems being modernized for clarity.

i. For clarity, some stem directions have been modernised and some superfluous rests have been removed

After music by French composers Babel copied mostly pieces by English-resident composers, both derived from printed collections and from manuscripts. The main printed sources (copied directly, or indirectly from manuscript copies) were Henry Purcell's *A Choice Collection of Lessons* (1696/9), *The Harpsicord Master* (1697), and *The Harpsicord Master 2* (1700)/ *A Choice Collection of Ayres* (1700).<sup>70</sup> In addition, a saraband by Locke (Add. MS 39569, p. 58) was derived from *Melothesia* (1673),<sup>71</sup> and the 'Ground Mr. Toller' (Add. MS 39569, pp. 242-3) was derived from *The Division-Violin* (1685) as it is in two parts throughout (no. 7: 'Tollets ground').<sup>72</sup> Robert Klakowich points out that all but two anonymous movements in LAuc, D173 M4 H295 1690 were copied by Babel into MS T 1508 and Add. MS 39569, which include the Purcell pieces derived from *A Choice Collection* and movements by Draghi only found in manuscripts.<sup>73</sup> The compiler of LAuc, D173 M4 H295 1690 and Babel may have had access to the same manuscript copies of the Purcell print. The sources were probably not copied from one another since they present the Draghi pieces in a different order. MS T 1508 also contains Purcell's A minor prelude in *A Choice Collection* (f. 5v), which was not copied into LAuc, D173 M4 H295 1690.

<sup>70</sup> See Gustafson, commentary to *London, British Library MS Add. 39569*. The movements derived from *The Harpsicord Master* are: nos. 141 (p. 103), 197 (p. 146), 208 (p. 153), 227 (p. 170), 236 (p. 175), and 270-2 (pp. 199-200).

<sup>71</sup> Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire', Matthew Locke work-list.

<sup>72</sup> The ground is probably by George Tollet; see P. Holman, 'Tollet, Thomas', *GMO*.

<sup>73</sup> 'Harpsichord Music by Purcell and Clarke in Los Angeles', *JM*, 4 (1986), 171-190.

Babel copied pieces by four English-resident keyboard players, G. B. Draghi, Gottfried Keller, Robert King and Francis Forcer, that were not printed. Draghi is represented by a single suite in B minor in Add. MS 39569, which Babel entitled 'Pieces de/ Mr./ Baptiste'. It is assumed that these movements, all of a high quality, are by Draghi, most of which are found anonymously in other English sources.<sup>74</sup> Keller (?d. 1704) was of German birth, but was active in England at least from the 1680s.<sup>75</sup> Babel copied four unique suites by him in D major, C major, G major and D minor into MS T 1508, which are in an English style and were presumably acquired by Babel in London. Babel augmented the suites by adding movements by other composers, but was on the whole careful in attributing Keller's pieces to the composer. For example, the D minor suite (ff. 43v-48) consists of prelude, almand and jig, which Babel augmented by placing movements by Lully, Valoix and Solomon Eccles in between the almand and jig.<sup>76</sup>

Robert King is represented substantially in both Add. MS 39569 and MS T 1508, although by and large they contain the same pieces by him. As with Keller's pieces, Babel augmented his suites with works by other composers (see Ex. 9. 3 above). For the most part, however, King's pieces can be identified. Most of the individual movements of the A major and D major suites (both consisting of almand, corant, saraband) were attributed to King in MS T 1508, textually independent copies of which also appear together in LAuc, M678 M4 H295 1710.<sup>77</sup> Piecing together the E minor suite is more complicated. Suite 5 in E minor in T 1508 is headed 'Mr. King', but it begins with a prelude by Draghi (*Six Select Sutes* ([1707]), no. 1), and two other movements Babel attributed to Dieupart and Francis Forcer. The remaining three movements, however, saraband, almand and jig (ff. 22-23; 26v-27) are plausibly by King, and the jig is directly attributed. In Add. MS 39569 the movements are anonymous, and appear with a corant (pp. 33-4; 36); given that the A major and D major suites have corants, it is probably by King too. The Add. MS 39569 order of movements is also replicated as suite 6 in M1092, which is attributed to King.

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<sup>74</sup> Other sources are Cfm, MU MS 653 and LAuc, D173 M4 H295 1690; see *Giovanni Battista Draghi. Harpsichord Music*, ed. R. Klakowich (RRMBE 56, 1986), nos. 66-73.

<sup>75</sup> See P. Holman. 'Keller, (?Johann) Gottfried', *GMO*.

<sup>76</sup> 'Overture du Ballet de Flore' (Lully; also copied into Add. MS 39569, pp. 104-5), 'Courante Mr. Valois' (also copied into Add. MS 39569, p. 105), 'Menuet', composer unidentified (att./ called 'la croise' in index; also copied into Add. MS 39569, p. 171. Many English settings for keyboard, in C minor or D minor: Lbl, Add. MS 31467, f. 84 (att. Lully) (c), Lbl, Add. MS 22099, f. 42v (att. Croft) (c), Lbl, Add. MS 52363, pp. 154-5, Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 397, pp. 60-1 (d), En, Adv. MS 5. 2. 23, ff. 20-20v (d), Lbl, Add. MS 38188, f. 9 (d). Appears (a2) in Och, MS Mus. 620 (d), p. 21.) 'Air Sol. Eccles' (*Friendship Improv'd* (1700), no. 5, but 'by Mr Eccles in Henry ye fourth' in *Compleat Instructor to the Flute. The Second Book* (1700); see C. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre* (Ann Arbor, 1979), 170).

<sup>77</sup> See Klakowich. 'Harpsichord Music by Purcell and Clarke in Los Angeles', 180-3 (inventory).

It is also possible that the keyboard books contain pieces in G minor by King, although only two movements, an almand (MS T 1508, ff. 38v-9, att. in index) and an 'Entrée', which begins suite 9 in Add. MS 39569 (p. 56), are directly attributed. Babel also copied the almand after the 'Entrée' in Add. MS 39569, and followed it with a corant, saraband and jig, which are English in style. The saraband, however, is by Locke (see above) and the corant and jig are dissimilar to known examples by King of these types of movements. It is also possible that the 'Mr. King' attribution next to the 'Entrée' was not intended to apply to that piece, but as an indication that most of the movements in suite 9 are by King (as with suite 5 in MS T 1508, which begins with a Draghi prelude). The 'Entrée', in French Overture form, probably a transcription of a consort piece, has a largely two-part texture in the second half. It differs considerably in style from the Italianate and harmonically simple suites in A major and D major (Appendix D: 9. viii).

There are many other unique settings of English theatre airs and popular tunes, notably of pieces by John Eccles, who is represented by four in MS T 1508 (all attributed). 'Menuet Mr. Jn. Eccles' (f. 43), for instance, is from *Rinaldo and Armida* (1699).<sup>78</sup> Like 'Ecossoise Mr. Finger' (f. 34v), a keyboard setting appeared in *The Harpsicord Master 3* (1702), but the setting in Babel's manuscript is a different one and is probably by a different composer.<sup>79</sup> Add. MS 39569 (and M1092), contains settings of three pieces from John Eccles' suite for *The Mad Lover* (1701), which Babel used to expand Dieupart's F minor suite (pp. 82-4). The ground (p. 84; *Mad Lover* no. 5), in particular, works well as a keyboard piece (Appendix D: 9. ix).

Most of these unique settings were probably taken from the same sources as the manuscripts containing pieces by King, Draghi, Keller and Purcell. A possible exception, however, is the setting of Purcell's song 'If Love's a Sweet Passion' in Add. MS 39569 (*The Fairy Queen*, Z629/17) (p. 60), which incorporates interesting 'walking bass' divisions (Appendix D: 9. x). Babel copied the piece without these curious divisions into M1092 (f. 111), but the piece was copied with divisions by the anonymous scribe in Babel's solo manuscript CAMhogwood, M1091, and into the recorder manuscript R, Vault M1490 B113, as part of a suite attributed to Carl Rosier. The divisions might be by Rosier (but not necessarily given Babel's tendency to compile mixed suites), or alternatively Babel himself. It is significant that Babel was a bassoon player (he was a member of the 'basses' in the Queen's Theatre orchestra), so they may be his own. In the division passages, the

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<sup>78</sup> No 2; see Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, 217. Other keyboard settings are in Cn, Case MS VM 2.3 E58r, f. 61v and Lbl, Add. MS 52363, p. 60 (Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire, John Eccles work-list'). Babel also copied the piece into M1092, f. 41.

<sup>79</sup> The original version of Finger's piece has not been identified (Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire', Gottfried Finger work-list).

keyboard version is mostly in two parts and they could easily have been interpolated into an existing keyboard arrangement.

In sum, Babel's manuscripts for keyboard contain a wealth of music, much of which is still to be fully appreciated. The manuscripts contain pieces by a varied cross-section of composers, mostly active in late seventeenth century France and England. Babel's copies are likely to be accurate transcriptions on the whole, although he made changes not intended to affect the sound, such as altering the symbols used for ornaments to make their style uniform. Many of the pieces known from other sources have interesting unique texts, probably reflecting a close acquaintance with musicians active in London and Paris. Among them are likely to have been Charles Dieupart and Robert King, the best represented composers who were active at the time the manuscripts were copied. The contents also suggest that Babel kept a large music library, which he used for assembling his collections. It probably included manuscripts of French harpsichord music, and a small amount of German and Dutch harpsichord music, which he brought over from the Continent to England. Such a library would have well-served Babel as a professional copyist, producing manuscripts to order.

## Conclusions

A principal aim of this study has been to try and better understand the context in which sources of solo keyboard music, particularly manuscripts, were produced and used. Much useful background information can be gleaned from documentary sources, which we explored in Ch. 1. It is clear that, among amateurs, the keyboard was primarily an instrument played by women, although there is evidence that boys learnt the instrument at a young age, and that some male amateurs (such as Roger North) practised keyboard continuo playing. Probably an important source of income for many important professional keyboard players was teaching wealthy amateurs, and we have evidence from documentary and musical sources that Edward Lowe, Richard Ayleward, Albertus Bryne, Daniel Henstridge, François de Prendcourt, Giovanni Battista Draghi, Francis Forcer, Richard Goodson senior, Henry Purcell, Robert King, Raphael Courteville, Charles Dieupart, Philip Hart, John Loeillet, Anthony Young and William Babel were teachers of amateurs over our period, and there were undoubtedly many more.

Probably one of the main motivations for composing keyboard music was for teaching. As we saw in Ch. 2, printed collections of the late seventeenth century seem to have been sold on the basis that they could be an aid to self-instruction, such as Playford's *Musick's Hand-maid* series, or they have a strong pedagogical element to them. For example, it was customary to include tables of musical rudiments and explanations of notation such as ornament tables. Similar material occurs in many manuscripts, alongside other features such as tallies or accounts, probably for calculating the cost of lessons, teachers' addresses, and the presence of pupils' and teachers' signatures. There seems to be little evidence that teachers copied their pieces for pupils in a graded order, although the manuscripts often begin with a few extremely simple pieces, usually sarabands or minuets. Evidence also suggests that teachers tended to compile the manuscripts as the pupil progressed rather than all at once, commonly over a period of about two or three years. As we saw in Ch. 3, the majority of composer manuscripts were probably compiled for teaching wealthy amateur women. This is borne out by physical characteristics of the sources, which are often handsomely bound quartos, probably obtained from the Playfords. Teachers left them incomplete in many instances, a sign that the manuscripts were the property of the pupil rather than the teacher, who is unlikely to have left such an expensive item of property empty.

The repertory of composer manuscripts is dominated by settings of music known in other versions, notably as songs or as consort pieces. I have been particularly keen to identify non-keyboard concordances in the manuscripts to make this point clear. It is an

important one as it draws attention to the fact that the notated forms of a piece could easily change, and that much of the music was probably not thought of as existing in any particular written-down version. In Ch. 4, we discussed the practice of setting music to the keyboard, and pointed out two types of setting; those which also exist as consort pieces, where the two versions are often similar, particularly in the outer parts, and those that were probably based on a 'gist' or memorised outline of a piece, resulting in much greater variation between versions. It is also highly likely that composers regularly wrote settings of other composers' music. Musicians who had a profound influence on their contemporaries such as Henry Purcell appear to have been particularly popular, and settings of his music are commonplace. The strong presence of settings of theatre music and songs in composer collections, over idiomatic repertoires, also probably reflects the importance of theatres and concert venues as places of employment for professional musicians of the period.

A twofold division of manuscripts has been suggested: those where the compiler probably copied his pieces without the aid of an exemplar, which I have called 'composer manuscripts', and those that were probably copied from exemplars. In many instances keyboard music was probably written down without the aid of any preparatory notation or exemplars, and the compositional strategies used reflect this, such as the copying outer parts first and filling the texture in later. The process was often additive in other ways reflected in minor revisions occasionally made on the page, examples of which occur in En, Inglis 94 MS 3343, Robert King's manuscript AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a, and Henry Purcell's contribution to Lbl, MS Mus. 1. It was suggested in Ch. 4 that the rewriting that would have occurred each time a musician was required to produce copies of pieces is probably a root cause of much of the minor textual variation that is characteristic of the sources.

Whereas the majority of composer manuscripts seem to have been copied for teaching, manuscripts that appear to have been largely copied from exemplars were produced for a variety of purposes. A number of them may be the work of 'professional copyists', copying to order. The evidence for the practice of commercial 'manuscript publication' remains tenuous. However, it seems likely that at least some manuscripts were copied in order to be presented to wealthy patrons. The physical characteristics of the manuscripts, such as excellent levels of presentation, suggest they may have been produced for wealthy patrons. William Babel's manuscript Lfom, Coke MS 1257 would seem to be the kind of a manuscript a musician might present to a wealthy patron, given the beauty of its presentation. The anonymous manuscript additions to the Cn, Case VMT 252 P72/1 copy of Playford's *Musick's Hand-maid* (1678), may be the work of a copyist employed by the printer and may reflect the practice of 'manuscript publication'.

The designation ‘professional copyist’ should probably be used with caution. As we saw in Ch. 9, the two keyboard manuscripts compiled by the prolific music copyist Charles Babel were probably compiled for the instruction of his son William Babel, judging from inscriptions on them, although there is evidence that Babel’s other manuscripts were ‘manuscript publications’. In addition, it is not clear what sort of transaction took place between copyist and recipient; several scenarios can be imagined, including monetary ones, as well as less formal circumstances. Whatever the case, speculation often remains in trying to identify such manuscripts. Manuscripts such as Lbl, Eg, MS 2959 and Och, MS Mus. 1179 may be further examples of presentation manuscripts, judging from what be established about their early owners and who compiled them, although even here we cannot be certain about the original circumstances of their compilation.

Another small group of sources are probably best described as ‘personal collections’, compiled for a variety of purposes, which we looked at in Ch. 6. One of the more remarkable and unusual of these is Lbl, Add. MS 52363, a large collection which seems to have been compiled by the apparent owner of the manuscript, one Elizabeth Batt. Several manuscripts that appear to have been compiled for personal use contain keyboard accompaniment parts as well as solo music. The majority of the pieces copied by Charles Morgan into Och, MS Mus. 1003, for instance, are likely to be accompaniment parts for three-part songs. Another feature is that they were compiled over a number of years. William Raylton apparently began Tn, N-3/35 as a study book, but later composed pieces into it, and later still, used it for sketching scores in keyboard format, probably for ensemble leading. Relatively little is known about professional music education, as printed music instruction books were usually intended for amateur musicians and beginners. Nevertheless, collections like *Melothesia* (1673) suggest there was an emphasis on learning by example, and a number of manuscript collections of organ and harpsichord music may have been compiled for the instruction of professional musicians. Besides N-3/35, the likeliest candidate is Lbl, Add. MS 31403, which seems to have been used by musicians at Canterbury cathedral throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Contemporary descriptions of keyboard playing in the seventeenth and eighteenth century clearly illustrate the importance of extemporisation, notably Roger North’s ‘some notes concerning the excellent art of Voluntary.’<sup>1</sup> I have tried to show that this is borne out by the sources of the music, which are often connected with music pedagogy; North himself noted that ‘To write musick very often and much, especially that which is in score [...] will instruct more than many masters’. The question of the role of notation in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music practice is an important one, and essential to a

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<sup>1</sup> See *Roger North on Music*, ed. J. Wilson (London, 1959), 135-45.

better contextual understanding of the music. Rebecca Herissone observes that the continuing use of anachronistic terminology to describe composer manuscripts such as 'working draft' and 'fair copy' are a stumbling block to this end:<sup>2</sup>

Such a model conflicts overwhelmingly with most of the surviving evidence of compositional activity in the 17th and early 18th centuries, which indicates that the relationship between the creation of a composition and its encoding was usually much less direct.

Much solo keyboard music may have existed in players' minds without the need of notation and its encoding in notation was probably stimulated by specific performance requirements, or served certain purposes such as teaching. The same is likely to be true of the chamber music repertoires of the seventeenth century created by close-knit groups.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, much fine keyboard music was left by several of the best musicians of the period, music that offers a considerable glimpse of what their performing capabilities were like, and deserves to be more widely known and played today.

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<sup>2</sup> "Fowle Originalls" and "Fayre Writeing": Reconsidering Purcell's Compositional Process', *JM*, 23 (2006), 571-2.

<sup>3</sup> John Cunningham has observed, for instance, that the 'Lutes, viols and voices' at the court of Charles I is likely to have relied heavily upon extemporisation in its day-to-day duties. See 'Music for the Privy Chamber: Studies in the Consort Music of William Lawes (1602-45)', Ph. D. diss., 2 vols. (University of Leeds, 2007).

## Appendix A

### References to Robert King in the Account Book of Montagu Garrard Drake

According to an account book in the Drake papers at the Centre for Buckinghamshire studies (D/DR 9/8), between December 1703 and around May 1706, the London keyboard player Robert King taught spinet or harpsichord to Montagu Garrard Drake (1692-1728). The book of lessons that King copied for his pupil survives as D/ DR 10/ 6a (see Ch. 3).

The account book is summarised in *Shardeloes Papers of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, ed. G. Eland (London, 1947), pp. 71-5, but is not widely known. It gives an interesting insight into the kind of education an aristocratic boy would have received before embarking for university around 1700. In addition to learning to play the spinet, Drake received lessons in 'writing', dancing and painting. The book is bound in vellum and has a cover inscription: 'A Book / for keeping the accots. of / MOUNTAGU GARRAD DRAKE / Beginning, 1698.'

'Given Mr King for entrance for teaching him / to play upon ye Harpsichord' (20/12/1703) (payment: 01. 01s. 06d)

'Pd Mr Robt King for Teaching one month to play / on ye spinett in full' (14/1/1703/4) (1. 10. 00)

'Pd Mr Robert King for teaching one / month to play upon ye spinett in full' (21/2/1703/4) (01. 10. 00)

'Pd Mr Robt King for one months / teaching my son to play upon ye / spinet in full' (21/3/1703/4) (01. 10. 00)

'Pd Mr Robt King for one months teaching to play / upon ye spinet in full' (5/5/1704) (01. 10. 00)

'Pd Mr Robt King for one months teaching / to play on ye spinet due ye 5<sup>th</sup> of this Instant / in full' (crossed-out) (19/6/1704) (01. 10. 00)

'Pd Mr Robt King for one months / teaching my son to play on ye spinnett' (29/7/1704)  
(01. 10. 00)

'Pd Mr Robt King for one months teaching to play upon / ye spinett in full' (29/1/1704/5) (01. 10. 00)

'Pd Mr Robt King for one months teaching / my son to play on ye spinett in full' (3/3/1704/5) (01. 10. 00)

'Pd Mr Robt King for one months teaching / to play on ye spinet in full' (31/3/1705) (01. 10. 00)

'Pd Robt King for one months teaching to play / on spinet in full' (12/5/1705) (01. 10. 00)

'Pd Mr Robt King for one months teaching my / son to play on ye spinnitt [*sic.*] in full of all demds' (25/7/1705) (01. 15 [written over '10']. 00)

'Pd Mr Robt King for one months / teaching my son to play on ye spinnet' (8/12/1705)  
(1. 10. 00)

'Pd Mr Robt King for one months teaching / my son to play on ye spinnet in full' (12/1/1705/6) (1. 10. 00)

'Pd Mr Robt King for one months teaching to / play on ye spinnet in full' (18/2/1705/6)  
(1. 10. 00)

'Pd Mr Robert King April ye 27<sup>th</sup> / for two months teaching my son / to play on ye spinnet in full' (27/4/1706) (3. 00. 00)

'Pd Mr Robt King for one months teaching / to play on ye spinnet in full of all demands' (13/5/1706) (1. 10. 00)

## Appendix B

### Brief Descriptions of English and Scottish Manuscript Sources of Solo Keyboard Music, c. 1660-1720

The purpose of this catalogue is to aid the reader, and to provide a reference point for future research. Many of the manuscripts are referred to in more detail in the main text with bibliographical references, and where this is so, page numbers are given. In addition to manuscripts dating c. 1660-1720, a few of later date containing earlier repertory are listed. Some that have been described in the literature as solo keyboard manuscripts, but are almost certainly not, are included. Select bibliographical references and concordances are given where manuscripts are not discussed in the main text.

#### Belgium (B)

##### *Brussels Conservatoire (Bc)*

###### *MS XY 15139*

Large collection of harpsichord music copied by an unidentified English copyist around 1700. Contains pieces by John Blow, William Croft, Henry Purcell, Johann Kortkamp, Johann Philipp Krieger and Johann Kasper Kerll.

P. Holman, 'A New Source of Restoration Keyboard Music', *RMARC*, 20 (1986-7), 53-7.

###### *MS 15418*

Oblong quarto manuscript containing pieces by Froberger, J. C. Fischer and J. N. Strungk (previously att. to Reutter) copied by John Blow, and an incomplete copy of Blow's E minor ground (*John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. R. Klakowich (MB 78, 1998), no. 42), apparently copied by Blow's daughter Elizabeth Edgeworth.

pp. 121-2.

#### France (F)

##### *Conservatoire National de Musique, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Pc)*

*rés 1186 bis*

English folio manuscript of keyboard music in two hands, bound with another of earlier date. The second scribe appears to have completed a piece left incomplete by the first scribe (pp. 10-17: 'Groud' / Mr. Price). The handwriting of the first scribe and the music he copied suggests a date of *c.* 1680, whilst the second scribe's contribution may date from around 1700 or a little earlier. Contains pieces by Orlando Gibbons, ?Robert Price (setting of *Polewheell's Ground*), Moses Snow/ William Croft, Nicholas-Antoine Lebègue, John Blow, William Croft, Henry Purcell, and Robert King.

B. Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music* (Ann Arbor, 1979), i, 66-7, and ii, 144-48.

B. Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire: 1660-1714', Ph. D. diss. (University of Manchester).

### Great Britain (GB)

*Aylesbury, Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies (AY)*

*D/ DR 10/ 6a*

Small oblong volume of 37 leaves (20.4 cm x 9.5 cm) compiled by Robert King for Montagu Garrard Drake, *c.* 1703-6. Contains settings of pieces by Jeremiah Clarke, John Barrett, Robert King, Gottfried Finger, James Paisible, Thomas Clayton and Henry Purcell.

pp. 68-74.

*Cambridge, private collection of Christopher Hogwood (CAMhogwood)*

*M1471*

Small thick oblong volume in a modern binding (1963) measuring 19.7cm x 14.6cm. Three principal hands are present. The main copyist copied several pieces that resemble music composed around 1660, but also a piece that has been identified as an arrangement of an overture by Thomas Farmer which was probably composed in the 1680s (no. 28). The second copyist wrote a setting of a Lully gavot (no. 23) and his hand is not English in appearance. Didactic examples and crude notations in a fourth hand suggest the manuscript was used for teaching. The contents is entirely without composer attribution and many pieces are unique. Formerly owned by Thurston Dart. Contains pieces by ?John Roberts, La Barre (settings), Thomas Farmer (setting) and Soloman Eccles (setting)

no. 13 = Lbl, Add. MS 31403, f. 63 (top); no. 17 = Lbl, Add. MS 31403, f. 63 (bottom); no. 51 = *Dancing Master* (1687), 'Wallons Green' (J. Barlow, *The Complete Country Dance Tunes from Playford's Dancing Master* (London, 1985), no. 290), *Apollo's Banquet* (1690), third part, no. 50, and Lbl, Add. MS 29283-5, p. 130 (a3) ('Egles [*i. e.* Soloman Eccles] Tunes in S<sup>r</sup> Timothy Treatall'); no. 54 = AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a, f. [3v-4] and HAdolmetsch, II. e. 17, p. 63 (rev.)

*'Fitt for the Manicorde'.* *A Seventeenth-Century English Collection of Keyboard Music*, ed. C. Hogwood (Bicester, 2003).

### M1090

Oblong quarto manuscript of harpsichord music, some vocal music, and later 3-part music. Formerly owned by Lady Susi Jeans (MS 2). Contains pieces by Daniel Purcell (setting), Henry Purcell (settings), Robert King (setting), Jeremiah Clarke (setting), Charles Dieupart (setting), Gottfried Keller, James Paisible (setting), William Croft (setting), George Spencer, John Barrett (settings), ?G. B. Draghi (setting), John Weldon, ?Nicola Matteis snr. (setting), and Bononcini (setting). The keyboard music was probably copied during the first decade of the eighteenth century.

pp. 39-45.

*Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (Cfm)*

### MU MS 652

Thick oblong quarto manuscript (20.5 cm x 27.5 cm) of keyboard music and trio sonatas in two hands, the first probably that of Renatus Harris junior (b. 1678) (dated '1702'), and the second that of John Harris (1677-1743) who signed one of the flyleaves, sons of the organ maker Renatus Harris (*c.* 1652-1724). Formerly owned by W. H. Cummings and probably Edward Rimbault. Contains solo keyboard pieces by G. B. Draghi, Raphael Courteville, 'John Ravenscroft' (probably John Ravenscroft, d. 1709), John Blow, Frescobaldi (one of which is attributed to Pasquini), Froberger (unidentified), Scherer and 'J. B.'.

pp. 154-56.

### MU MS 653

Thick oblong quarto manuscript of 155 leaves (32 empty), measuring 22.5cm x 27.9cm. The manuscript is in one neat and consistent hand throughout, and inscribed is in

contemporary ink on the second flyleaf: 'Harpichord Lesson's / MS' and 'To Pretty Miss Carr / without blemish or marr' (smudged). It has a modern binding (1986), and formerly had a 'full brown reversed sheepskin binding with blind tooled panels on boards' (note with manuscript). Formerly owned by W. H. Cummings. Contains pieces by Robert King, William Croft (inc. settings), Jeremiah Clarke, John Blow/ Verdier, John Blow, William Croft/ Moses Snow, Henry Purcell (inc. settings), ?N. Haym (p. 20: setting of 'Hast O Sun, O Quickly Fly', *Pyrrhus and Demetrius* (1709)), Abiell Whichello, G. B. Draghi, John Barrett (settings), Frescobaldi (pp. 78-80), Orlando Gibbons, Charles Dieupart (p. 86), Jacques Hardel (setting, p. 87), William Babel and Handel (setting of finale to *Il Pastor Fido* overture, HWV 8a (22nd November 1712)). Copied after 1712 and probably no later than c. 1715, judging from the contents. Some of the pieces by Babel are found in his *Suits of the Most Celebrated Lessons* ([1717]), but were derived from an independent manuscript.

p. 75.

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

*Cambridge, King's College, Rowe Music Library (Ckc)*

#### *MS 121*

Keyboard book, which according to a note on the cover, is in the hand of the eighteenth century Ipswich organist Joseph Gibbs. Contains pieces by J. C. Pepusch (settings), Handel (settings), William Babel, Corelli (settings), Thomas Roseingrave (copied from *Eight Suits of Lessons for the Harpsicord or Spinnet* (1728 or c. 1734 reprint)), and copies of Purcell fantasias and Corelli trio sonatas in keyboard score. c. 1730.

P. Holman, 'Henry Purcell and Joseph Gibbs: a New Source of the Three-part Fantasias Z732 and Z 734', *Chelys* 25 (1996/7), 97-100.

*Cambridge, University Library (Cu)*

#### *MS 7059*

Composite manuscript containing 12 'Sonate Da Camera [...] Da Gio: Battista Somis / Opera Terza / In Torino il Primo Febraro. 1725.', solo sonatas by Tartini, Vivaldi and A. M. Scaccia, 'Due Arie / A Violino solo con Basso/ del sigr. / Giacomo Duncan', and keyboard pieces in an English hand on different paper. Contains keyboard pieces by Pepusch (a 5-movement suite in A major), Corelli (setting of Op. 5/7a), and Handel (setting of HWV 348/6). ?1720s.

*M. C. 1. 39(j)*

Small oblong manuscript signed 'Herbert Mackworth' containing bass parts, keyboard music, and what appear to be incomplete duets for two bass instruments. Two main hands are present. In the first are bass parts at the front end (corresponding treble parts are in CDu MSS M. C. 1. 39 (g) and M. C. 1. 39 (h)) and keyboard music at the reversed rear end, whilst in the second are more keyboard pieces of a similar date and the duets. A fragment of a keyboard piece by Pepusch (f. 32v (rev.)) is in a third amateurish hand. Contains solo keyboard pieces by Raphael Courteville, Robert King, John Blow, Jeremiah Clarke, John Barrett (setting), Henry Purcell (settings), J. C. Pepusch, Gottfried Keller (ff. 42-41 (rev.)), and ?G. B. Draghi (att. 'Baptist'). Probably compiled during the first decade of the eighteenth century.

ff. 48-42v (rev.): this anonymous suite in C major is probably by Pepusch. The prelude and almand are attributed to Pepusch in Lbl, Add. MS 71209 (ff. 13-14v), whilst the almand, corant and saraband are found together (anonymously) in Lfom, Coke MS 1275, pp. 54-6. f. 32v (rev.) (fragment) = Lbl, Add. MS 31577, f. 17v and Cu, MS 7059, f. 87 ('Prelude. Dr Pepusch')

M. Boyd, 'Music Manuscripts in the Mackworth Collection at Cardiff', *ML* 54 (1973), 133-41.

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

*M. C. 1. 39(k)*

Small oblong manuscript of treble melodies, treble and bass music, and solo keyboard music in several hands. The flyleaf is dated 'the 5<sup>th</sup> of March 1704/5' and is covered in the practice signatures of Herbert Mackworth. Music probably intended for solo keyboard appears on: ff. 16 (rev.), 27-26v (rev.), 28 (rev.), and 30v-41 (rev.). Other pieces have been considered solo keyboard pieces (Hodge), but were probably intended for violin and bass continuo. With the exception of two pieces (ff. 16 (rev.) and 30v-30 (rev.)), the solo keyboard music is in a single, thoroughly professional hand, and was probably copied around 1706. Contains solo keyboard pieces by John Weldon, Jeremiah Clarke, Gottfried Keller, Raphael Courteville, Henry Purcell (settings), John Barrett (settings) and Bononcini (f. 16 (rev.): setting of first section of *Camilla* overture).

ff. 41-40v (rev.) = CAMhogwood, M1090, ff. [28-27v] (att. Weldon)

ff. 37v: this piece, attributed to Keller, is incomplete due to a missing page. The piece is complete in *The Ladys Banquet 2* (1706), p. 2 and Lbl, Add. MS 22099, f. 12v, where it is called 'The Royall'. CDp, M. C. 1. 39(k) is the only source with an attribution.

Boyd, 'Music Manuscripts'.

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

*Durham, Cathedral Library (Drc)*

*MS E32*

Oblong quarto manuscript containing keyboard music, vocal music and treble melodies dated 'Monday April 19 1717' on the inside back cover. Contains pieces by Jeremiah Clarke (inc. settings), Henry Purcell (settings), music from *Hydaspes* (pp. 8-10: 'All Ombra'; pp. 17-22: overture; pp. 38-41: 'Bianca Man tù', pp. 57-9: 'Lusinga del mio core è spozanza'), Handel (settings), Henry Carey (p. 24: texted setting of 'I'll Range around'), G. Bononcini (p. 42: setting of 'O nymph of race divine' from *Camilla*), Corelli (settings), ? Nicola Haym ('Appear all ye graces', *Pyrrhus and Demetrius* (1709)), William Lord Byron (setting, p. 56) and George Hayden (p. 83).

*Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland (En)*

*Adv. MS 5. 2. 23*

Small oblong keyboard book signed 'Eliz Young her Book', and dated 'Feb:<sup>ry</sup> / 2ist / 1739', but contains some earlier music.

ff. 8v-9, 'Bas Minuet' = Och, MS Mus. 46, ff. 62-61v (rev.), Lbl, Add. MS 52363, pp. 139-40, and LEc, MS 786.4 M319, p. 28

ff. 15-18 = Handel, jig from *Rinaldo* overture

ff. 20-20v = minuet variously attributed to Lully, Croft and 'La croise' (see p. 210, n. 75); ff. 24v-28 and ff. 36v-38v, setting of 'Love would invade me' (*Thomyris*, 1707).

*Glen 143 (i) MS 3296*

Oblong quarto manuscript of 71 leaves measuring 23.6cm x 17.9cm containing keyboard music and melodies for treble instrument. Inscribed 'Margaret Sinkler/ Aught this Musick

Book written / By Andrew Adam at Glasgow / October the 3i day i7i0' (f. 69v (rev.)), 'Mrs Anne Crookshank's', and 'George Kincaid / Glasgow the 21s May 1717' (f. 71v (rev.)). Owned in the nineteenth century by 'G. R. Pitcairn' and 'Presented by Lady Dorothea Ruggles / -Brise to the National Library of Scotland, / in memory of her brother, Major Lord / George Stewart Murray, Black Watch, / killed in action in France 1914. / 28th January 1927'. Contains settings of pieces by Henry Purcell Jeremiah Clarke, and 'Thomas Tollites Ground' (*The Division-Violin* (1685), no. 7).

*Inglis 94 MS 3343*

63-leaf oblong quarto manuscript of keyboard music measuring 28cm x 21.1cm, copied by Philip Hart, probably *c.* 1695-97. Inscribed 'Essex Deane 1695', and later 'Diana Gostlins Musick Book 1719 / Given me by Sr Anthony Dean'. Hart revised some of the pieces in ink and pencil. Contains pieces by John Blow (inc. settings), Hart, Draghi (probably settings), Lully (settings), Henry Purcell (settings), ?George Tollet (setting), and Thomas Morgan (setting).

pp. 60-68.

*Glasgow, Ewing Music Library (Ge)*

*R. d. 54.*

Oblong manuscript of keyboard and vocal music in a single hand, probably dating from the second decade of the eighteenth century, judging from the contents. Contains keyboard pieces by William Babel, John Weldon, J. C. Pepusch, Henry Purcell, John Blow, Handel, settings of songs from *Almahide* (1710) and *Hydaspes* (1710), and a song with violin obbligato by James Heseltine ('Hast[e] Celia Hast[e]' / 'Mr J Haseltine'). Heseltine (d. 1763) was a chorister at the Chapel Royal under John Blow, and became organist at Durham in 1711 (see B. Crosby and W. Shaw, 'Heseltine, James', *GMO*).

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

*Haslemere, private collection of the Dolmetsch family (HAdolmetsch)*

*II. e. 17.*

A copy of John Playford's collection *Select Musicall Ayres, and Dialogues* (1653) with manuscript additions of vocal and keyboard music in two hands. The paper of the manuscript appears contemporary with the print and was probably bound up with it at an

early date. The first scribe copied vocal music of Commonwealth date, whilst the second copied a much larger quantity of keyboard and vocal music dating from the 1680s and 1690s. The keyboard music is written on five-line staves, which only became common for keyboard music in England after *c.* 1705, but the contents suggest that an earlier date may be appropriate. The manuscript is an important source of Blow's music; altogether there are eleven pieces that can be attributed to him (not including one duplicated). Contains songs by James Hart, Robert King, Henry Purcell (one attributed to Courteville) and Thomas Tudway, and keyboard pieces by John Blow, Matthew Locke (incomplete), Benjamin Sandley/ John Blow, and Orlando Gibbons.

pp. [15-17], 'Scocca purr' = G minor setting of ground by J. B. Lully (see pp. 175-6, for a discussion of this piece)

p. [65] (rev.) = shortened version of a prelude in G major by Blow (see *John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. Klakowich, no. 56)

p. 64 (rev.) = incomplete copy of Matthew Locke, prelude in C major (*Melothesia* (1673), no. 1)

p. 63 (rev.) ('la Trumpet') = AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a, ff. [3v-4] and CAMhogwood, M1471, no. 54 (pp. 174-3 (rev.))

p. 63 (rev.) = *John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. Klakowich, no. 77

pp. 38-7 (rev.) = Lbl, Add. MS 39569, p. 65 and Ob, MS T 1508, f. 37v

For other concordances, see *John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. Klakowich.

pp. 124-5.

*Heddington Calne, private collection of Peter Leech*

Recently discovered manuscript (2004) of keyboard pieces apparently compiled by 'Antonio Mason, alias Seloss', probably the Jesuit musician Antonio Mason *alias* Seloisse (1621-87), who was active at the English Jesuit College of Saint Omer, and came to England in the 1680s. Eleven pieces it contains are also found in CAMhogwood, M1471, and the two sources are clearly related. ?1680s.

P. Leech, 'A New Source of Seventeenth Century Keyboard Music — the Antoine Seloisse Manuscript', 12th Biennial Conference on Baroque Music (Warsaw, July, 2006).

*The Seloisse Manuscript. Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Keyboard Music*, ed. P. Leech (Bicester, 2008).

*30. a. xxx*

Folio manuscript of organ accompaniments to anthems, accompaniments to services, and a small number of organ voluntaries, which appear at the reversed rear end. Contemporary binding with modern back and contemporary stamp on front cover: 'Num:r 6'. Mostly in two hands, the earliest of which (c. 1700) is that of Henry Hall.<sup>1</sup> Contains solo pieces by Froberger and Henry Purcell.

B. Cooper, 'Keyboard Sources in Hereford', *RMARC* 16 (1980), 135-9.

G. Cox, *Organ Music in Restoration England* (New York, 1989), 486.

*30. b. i.*

Folio manuscript of organ accompaniments, mostly for services, with a small number of organ voluntaries at the front end of the book. The manuscript is in a single hand and was probably compiled in the 1720s. Contains solo pieces by William Croft, Maurice Greene, and John Blow.

Cooper, 'Keyboard Sources'.

Cox, *Organ Music*, 486-7.

*30. b. ii*

Folio manuscript of organ accompaniments to anthems with with further organ accompaniments and a small number of voluntaries at the reversed rear end. The manuscript is incomplete as contemporary pagination begins on p. 41. There is a modern binding (1992), which has replaced an earlier modern binding (1950s); there is no trace of a contemporary binding. The manuscript is mostly in Henry Hall's hand, with some text and composer attributions that appear to have been added in another hand in pencil and ink. Contains solo pieces by Blow, J. K. Kerll, and S. A. Scherer.

Cooper, 'Keyboard Sources'.

Cox, *Organ Music*, 487.

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Alan Howard, University of Manchester, for advice and assistance in identifying Hall's hand in the Hereford manuscripts.

30. *b. ix.*

Folio manuscript containing mostly solo keyboard music and organ accompaniment parts to anthems, signed on the rear pastedown 'Thom Swarbrick', who appears to have been the copyist. Thomas Swarbrick (c. 1679-1752) was an organ builder and nephew of Henry Swarbrick, organist at Hereford from 1720 to 1754. The manuscript is dated '1723', a date consistent with the contents. It contains a complete copy of Walsh's *Voluntarys and Fugues [...] by Ziani, Pollaroli, Bassani, and other Famous Authors* (1710), in addition to portions of second violin parts to concertos by Vivaldi (*L'estro armonico*, Op. 3, nos. 1 and 2).

Cooper, 'Keyboard Sources'.

Cox, *Organ Music*, 488.

pp. 34-5.

*Leeds, Central Library (LEc)*

*MS 786.4 M319*

Late eighteenth century collection of keyboard music, mostly containing arrangements of songs and dances. Formerly owned by Thomas Taphouse, and contains notes on the contents by Frank Kidson.

p. 28, 'The Old Bass Minuet' = Och, MS Mus. 46, ff. 62-61v (rev.), Lbl, Add. MS 52363, pp. 139-40, En, Adv. MS 5. 2. 23, ff. 8v-9.

p. 48, 'Prince Eugines March' = setting of Jeremiah Clarke, T436.

*London, British Library (Lbl)*

*Add. MS 5336*

A late eighteenth century manuscript containing twelve anonymous organ voluntaries, which are probably all by Croft.

B. Cooper, *English Solo Keyboard Music* (New York, 1989), 283-5.

Cox, *Organ Music*, 120, 488.

*Add. MS 17850*

Folio manuscript partly compiled by William Gorton, containing anthems, songs, and a keyboard prelude and almand.

*Add. MS 17852*

Manuscript containing a small number of organ voluntaries, anthems in score, and organ accompaniment parts to sacred music. According to an inscription (f. 96), owned by Thomas Brignell in 1712. One 'Thomas Brignal' is listed as a Child of the Chapel Royal under William Croft in 1710 (see A. Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, vol. 5, (Aldershot, 1991), 296). Formerly owned by Granville Sharp, the singer James Bartleman, and Vincent Novello. Contains voluntaries by John Barrett, Blow and Croft.

Cox, *Organ Music*, 490.

*Add. MS 17853*

Folio manuscript containing violin melodies, keyboard music, and anthems in score. The melodies are dated 'Sept. 27th: -[16]94' (no. 94), and are preceded by instructions on violin tuning, ornamentation, and musical rudiments. F. 35 is inscribed 'A man of words and not of deeds is like a garden full of weeds' and is signed 'W B'; the signatures of 'William Blakeston' and 'Martin Blakiston' are on f. 1v. Keyboard music appears on ff. 35v-53, in a different hand, probably dating from the second decade of the eighteenth century. In a different later eighteenth century hand are anonymous anthems and anthems by 'Dr' Greene, suggesting a copying date after 1730. The keyboard section includes pieces by Thomas Benson and George Holmes, suggesting a north-eastern provenance, at least from the time the keyboard music was copied. Holmes became organist of Lincoln Cathedral in 1705, and had previously worked in the service of the Bishop of Durham (see Ch. 7). A Thomas Benson was Master of the Choristers at York Minster from 1698 (W. Shaw, *The Succession of Organists* (Oxford, 1991), 318-9). On f. 2v is the bookplate of Granville Sharp, which also appears in Add. MS 17852; Thomas Sharp I (1693-1758), Granville's father, was a prebendary at Durham Cathedral.<sup>2</sup> Later signatures and inscriptions indicate the book was subsequently owned by the singer James Bartleman and Vincent Novello, who bequeathed it to the British Museum (now the British Library) in 1849 (as with Add. MS 17852). Contains keyboard pieces by ?Raphael Courteville ('R: C'), George Holmes, Henry

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<sup>2</sup> See B. Crosby, 'Private Concerts on Land and Water: the Musical Activities of the Sharp Family, c. 1750- c. 1790', *RMARC* 34 (2001), whole issue, and A. H. King, *Some British Collectors of Music, c. 1600-1960* (Cambridge, 1963).

Purcell (inc. settings), John Barrett (?setting), Jeremiah Clarke, Thomas Benson, Corelli (settings), and William Croft.

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

*Add. MS 22099*

Large upright volume (36.7cm x 26cm) containing mostly keyboard music, treble and bass pieces, and vocal music, largely in a single hand throughout. Inscribed: 'Purchased at Puttick's / 25 Augt 1887. / Lot 269 / 2 vols.'. Most of the 2-part pieces were probably taken from the outer parts of consort pieces, or songs, and may not have been intended for keyboard (see Ch. 8). Probably compiled c. 1705. Contains keyboard or treble and bass pieces by Henry Purcell (inc. settings), Matthew Locke, Corelli (setting), 'Mr Jukes' or 'Fukes', William Croft (inc. settings), Jeremiah Clarke (inc. settings), John Eccles (settings), William Lord Byron (settings), John Blow, John Barrett (inc. settings), Richard Goodson I ('I come to the Waters' from *Musica Oxoniensis* (1698)), ?G. B Draghi (f. 7v: 'Ital: air' / 'Sr: Bap:'), Alexander Damascene (setting), George Hayden, Richard Motley, G. B. Lully (f. 11: 'Cyball' / 'Sr. Bap:'), James Paisible (bottom of f. 11v: *King Edward the Third* (?1702), no. 2; see C. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre* (Ann Arbor, 1979), 187-8), Raphael Courteville, John Weldon (inc. setting), ?Nicola Matteis snr. (setting, ff. 14-15), Charles Dieupart (f. 16), Orlando Gibbons and Gerhard Diesineer.

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

*Add. MS 24313*

Folio manuscript inscribed on the flyleaf '[5] Toccatas of Michela / Angelo Rossi'. The scribe, who was English, later added another toccata probably by a late seventeenth-century north German composer (ff. 16v-20v).

G. Cox, *Organ Music*, 150, 491-2.

p. 196.

*Add. MS 30382*

Folio manuscript mostly of vocal music copied by Henry Bowman, and once owned by Catherine Sedley (1657-1717), Countess of Dorchester. Contains a prelude-like keyboard piece in C major (f. 5), which is barely legible as the ink has been scratched away.

J. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England* (Aldershot, 1997), 239-42.

*Add. MS 31403*

Large folio manuscript (26.7cm x 40.6cm) of keyboard music and pedagogical materials. Two principal hands are present, Edward Bevin (b. 1595), and Daniel Henstridge, both musicians who were active at Canterbury cathedral. The portion copied by Henstridge appears to date from an extended period judging from the contents and variations in his handwriting, possibly as early as *c.* 1680, and probably no later than *c.* 1715. Formerly owned by John Lodge Ellerton and Julian Marshall. Henstridge and another professional musician (*c.* 1700) copied pieces by Henry Purcell, William Croft (a setting of the overture to *Laurus Cruentus* (1713)), John Blow, John Blow/ Frescobaldi, Francis Forcer, and Matthew Locke.

pp. 143-48.

*Add. MS 31446*

Oblong quarto manuscript of organ voluntaries, apparently copied by George Holmes when he served in the household of the Bishop of Durham in 1698. Contains pieces by Blow, Christopher Gibbons, Henry Purcell and Michelangelo Rossi.

Cox, *Organ Music*, 77-9, 495.

*Add. MS 31465*

A small oblong volume, measuring 24.2cm x 12.2cm, copied and signed by the northeastern musician Nicholas Harrison (*fl.* 1709), *c.* 1704 or slightly later. At the end of the manuscript is Hart's C major suite derived from *Lessons [...] with Fugues* (1704). Formerly owned by 'W Spence 1 Novr 1832', Joseph Warren, and Julian Marshall. Contains pedagogical materials derived from Matthew Locke's *Melothesia* (1673), and keyboard pieces by Henry Purcell, Jeremiah Clarke, George Holmes, William Croft, Locke, John Blow, John Barrett (setting), Blow/ Verdier, Albertus Bryne (att. Blow), and Philip Hart.

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

*Add. MS 31467*

A large anthology of harpsichord music copied by John Barker around 1735, judging from the contents. Contains pieces by Handel, 'Dr. Dean', J. B. Loeillet, Bononcini (settings),

John Weldon, J. C. Pepusch, William Croft, William Croft/ Moses Snow, Jeremiah Clarke and Maurice Greene.

T. Best, *Georg Fredrich Händel Klavierwerke I-IV. Kritischer Bericht* (Kassel, 2000), 24-5.

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

*Add. MS 31468*

Oblong quarto manuscript of organ and harpsichord music, measuring 26cm x 18.8cm. Apparently copied by the Worcester musician William Davis (d. 1745) whose signature it contains, probably around 1700. Variations in the quality of the handwriting (nib thickness and ink coloration) suggest it may have been compiled over a lengthy period, although most of the contents dates from the late seventeenth century. Contains pieces by William Croft (some attributed to Blow), Blow, Blow/ Frescobaldi, Henry Purcell, Christopher Gibbons, and Davis.

Cox, *Organ Music*,

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

*Add. MS 31577*

Oblong quarto manuscript of keyboard music measuring 28.9cm x 21.1cm. According to Terence Best, 'The Watermark and Rastrum, if considered in relation to those in manuscripts written by Handel and his copyists, give a date of 1717-1718. The contents are consistent with such a date, except for the overture in *Ottone* near the end (ff. 48-49), which cannot have been copied before 1723.' Formerly owned by 'Gulielmus Bogdani', William Gostling, Thomas Bever and Julian Marshall. Contains pieces by J. C. Pepusch, Handel, William Babel, J. B. Loeillet, and F. Mancini.

f. 17v (top) = Cu, MS 7059, f. 87 ('Prelude. Dr Pepusch'), and CDp, M. C. I. 39(j), f. 32v (rev.) (fragment)

ff. 31v-34, 'Tocatta del Sig. Fran. Mancini' = Lfom, Coke MS 1275, pp. 98-9 (final section only)

ff. 49v-50, 'Aria' / 'Babell' = Lfom, Coke MS 1576, pp. 42-3.

Best, *Georg Fredrich Händel*, 23-4.

*Add. MS 34695*

Large oblong quarto manuscript measuring 33.2cm x 22.5cm of mostly organ music in the same hand as Add. MS 31465, copied by Nicholas Harrison (*fl.* 1709). At the rear reversed end are 'A Solo by Mr Finger:', and harpsichord pieces, including an incomplete suite in G minor by Courteville. A version in A minor of the third movement of the suite, in Och, MS Mus. 1003 (f. 31v), has been misattributed to Henry Purcell (Hodge). Contains solo keyboard pieces by John Blow, Albertus Bryne, Henry Purcell, ?Nicola Matteis snr. (setting), Christopher Gibbons, Philip Hart, William Croft, and Raphael Courteville.

Cox, *Organ Music*, 77-9, 498.

Cooper, *English Solo Keyboard Music*, 175.

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

*Add. MS 39569*

Large collection of mostly English and French keyboard music copied by Charles Babel, apparently for his son William Babel, *c.* 1702.

Ch. 9.

*Add. MS 40139*

Oblong quarto manuscript measuring 25.7cm x 20.2cm with a contemporary binding and modern back, probably dating *c.* 1714 or slightly later. Evidently compiled for teaching given the pedagogical material at the front of the book and the simplicity of the pieces at the beginning (discounting f. 1 (flyleaf), which contains a piece copied at a later date, the manuscript begins with seven simple pieces in C major). The clumsy and inexperienced appearance of the handwriting suggests, unusually, that the book was compiled by the pupil rather than the teacher. The manuscript contains a large number of pieces attributed to George Spencer ('Mr Geo: Spencer', *etc.*) who was appointed organist of Holy Trinity Church, Coventry, in February 1695, and resigned in 1731.<sup>3</sup> A legal document indicates Spencer, 'of Coventry, music master', acquired land in 1709.<sup>4</sup> A 'Suite of Lessons By Geo: Spencer', in a similar style to the Add. MS 40139 pieces, appears in Lfom, Coke MS 1576, a manuscript originating from Stoneleigh Abbey in Warwickshire. Coke MS 1576 also contains an anonymous chaconne (ff. 3-4), which is found in Add. MS 40139 (ff. 30v-31).

<sup>3</sup> Warwickshire Record Office, DR0581/46 and DR0581/65.

<sup>4</sup> Warwickshire Record Office, records of Heath and Blenkinsop of Warwickshire, solicitors, CR 611/576/38-39. See <http://www.a2a.org>.

Add. MS 40139 contains pieces by Spencer, Henry Purcell (settings), Bononcini (setting), music from *Thomyris* (ff. 14-16), Croft (setting), Handel (settings), Eccles (setting), music from *Hydaspes* (ff. 25-26v), J. E. Galliard (song, f. 42) and J. C. Pepsuch.

f. 9v, 'Katherine Oggey' = 'Lady Catherine Ogle, a new dance', *Dancing Master* (1687) (Barlow, *The Complete Country Dance Tunes*, no. 276)

f. 10 = 'As I was was Walking', *The Harpsicord Master Improv'd* (1711/1715), p. 9.

ff. 13v-14, 'Opera Song, Fair Dorinda', (Bononcini, *Camilla* (1706)); other settings in Ob, MS Mus. f. 577, f. 4, Lbl, Add. MS 52363, pp. 182-3, and Ldc, MS 92b, p. 1[a].

ff. 14-16, 'Love wou'd Invade me' (*Thomyris* (1707)); other settings in Lbl, Add. MS 52363, pp. 183-5 (D), En, Adv. MS 5. 2. 23, ff. 24v-28 and ff. 36v-38v.

f. 23, 'Opera Lesson' = Handel, 'Bel piacere' (*Rinaldo*, 1711); other settings in: W. Babel, *Suits of the Most Celebrated Lessons* ([1717]), pp. 26-7, Lbl, Add. MS 71209, ff. 20v-21, Drc, MS E32, pp. 73-4 and Mp, MS BRm 715.5 Rf. 31, p. 140.

ff. 23v-24, 'A Soldier & a Sailer' (Eccles, *Love for Love* (1695)); other keyboard settings in Lbl, Add. MS 22099, f. 5, Och, MS Mus. 46, f. 67 (C) and Ob, MS Tenbury 1508, f. 62.

ff. 25-26v, 'Ouverture in Hydaspes, Opera Lesson for the Spinnet.' (*Hydaspes* (1710)); another setting in Drc, MS E32, pp. 17-22.

f. 46, 'Minuet' = 'Room for Cuckolds'. Another keyboard setting is in Lbl, Add. MS 52363 (pp. 35-6). A treble part, belonging to a suite entitled 'Mr Morgan's Musick at St Cecilia's feast, 1696' is in Lbl, Add. MS 35043 (f. 73).

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

#### *Add. MS 41205*

Large oblong manuscript measuring 36.2cm x 25.3cm. Contains keyboard pieces as well as several pieces that look like sonata movements for a treble instrument and bass, some attributed to Gottfried Finger and J. C. Pepsuch. Formerly owned by William A. Barrett (1834-91). In a less elegant form of the hand at the end of the volume are pieces by Loeillet and stylistically similar pieces, suggesting the manuscript dates from the second decade of the eighteenth century or later. Contains keyboard pieces by John Blow, Henry Purcell (inc. settings), Robert King, John Barrett (setting), William Lord Byron (setting), John Eccles (setting), Moses Snow/ William Croft, G. B. Draghi, Daniel Purcell (f. 31: *The Inconstant* no. 2), 'Mr Wood', Bononcini (setting), John Lenton (ff. 36v-37: *The Gamester* no. ?), J. B. Loeillet (ff. 40v-41 = Lbl, Add. MS 31467, f. 83v (att.)), and Corelli (setting).

pp. 192-5.

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

*Add. MS 47846*

Upright quarto volume of keyboard and vocal music measuring 19.6cm x 31.8cm. Copied from both ends, but most of the leaves (115) are empty. Formerly owned by the writer and poet E. H. W. Meyerstone (1889-1952). The manuscript was probably copied around 1700-05 judging from the contents and the use of 6-line staves. Contains unique versions of pieces by Jeremiah Clarke (settings), John Barrett (settings), Charles Dieupart (setting; f. 8 = *Harpsichord Master 3* (1702), no. 22, Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 397, pp. 50-1, *Six Suites* (1701), no. 41 (f)), Henry Purcell, and William Lord Byron (setting).

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

D. Hunter, *Opera and Song Books Published in England, 1703-1726* (London, 1997).

*Add. MS 52363*

Oblong quarto manuscript signed 'Elizabeth Batt 1704', who was probably the copyist, containing 175 complete keyboard pieces. A setting of 'Love wou'd invade me' from *Thomyris* (1707) near the end of the manuscript (pp. 183-5) suggests it was copied over the period c.1704-7. Over half of the contents were copied or derived from contemporary printed collections. Contains pieces by Clarke (inc. settings), Raphael Courteville, John Barrett (inc. settings), Robert King, John Weldon, Francis Forcer, William Lord Byron (settings), John Blow, J. B. Lully (settings), Henry Purcell (inc. settings), G. B. Draghi, John Eccles (setting; pp. 58-60, 'the Czar' = *The Italian Husband* (1698), no. 4), Charles Dieupart, William Croft, Jacques Champion de Chambonnières (setting), Chambonnières/ Monnard, Matthew Locke, 'John White', Francis Pigott, and Bononcini (setting, pp. 182-3 = 'Fair Dorinda', *Camilla* (1706)).

pp. 6-8, 'St Albans' and 'Jig' = CAMhogwood, M1092, f. 47v-48 (a2), 'La St. Albans'.

pp. 12-13, 'Princess' = CAMhogwood, M1092, f. 32v (a2)

pp. 40-1, 'Old Cybell' = J. B. Lully, 'La Descente de Cybelle', *Alys* (1676). Other keyboard settings in English sources: Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 426, ff. 17d-17e and 22v, LAuc, M678 M4 H295 1710, f. 16v/ p. 31 (incomplete), Och, MS Mus. 46, ff. 66-65v (rev.), and Lbl, Add. MS 22099, f. 11v.

p. 60, 'Minuet' = Eccles, *Rinaldo and Armida* (1699), no. 2. Other keyboard settings: Cn Case MS VM 2.3 E58r, f. 61v, and Ob, MS Tenbury 1508, f. 43.

pp. 71-2 = Lbl, MS Mus. 1, ff. 37v-36 (rev.)/ ff. 7-8v.

p. 78, 'The Trip' = *The Constant Couple or a Trip to the Jubilee* (1700), no. 3.

p. 80-1. 'Rigdoon' = Lully, *Acis et Galathée* (1686); *Apollo's Banquet* (1690), 3rd part, no. 32.

p. 83, 'Paspee' = 'Room, Room for a Rover' (see C. M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad* (New Brunswick, 1966)), *Apollo's Banquet, Newly Reviv'd* (1701), no. 139, and *The Dancing Master* (1701) ('The English Passepied'; Barlow, *The Complete Country Dance Tunes*, no. 436).

Other keyboard settings: *Harpsichord Master 3* (1702), no. 20 ('The English Paspy'), and Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 397, p. 36 ('The Albermarle')

pp. 88-9 = Lully, 'Air Sourdines', *Armide* (1686). For other keyboard settings, see B.

Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music* (Ann Arbor, 1979), i, 299.

pp. 105-6, 'Corant' = Chambonnières, *Courante Iris*. See B. Gustafson, *The Complete Works of Jacques Champion de Chambonnières* (JSCMI 1, 2007), no. 8.

pp. 125-6, 'Jig' = Cmc F. 4. 35, set III, no. 8 (*a4*).

pp. 152-3, 'Almand' = variant of Locke almand, no. 13, in *Melothesia* (1673); preceded by unique prelude.

p. 154, 'Saraband' = Monnard/ Chambonnières saraband. See Gustafson, *The Complete Works of Jacques Champion de Chambonnières*, no. 150.

pp. 166-8, 'Overture' / 'Baptist' = Lully, overture to *Isis* (1677). For keyboard concordances, see

Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, i, 303.

pp. 139-42.

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

#### *Add. MS 63852*

Manuscript of keyboard, lyra viol, and vocal music signed 'Griffith Boynton'. The keyboard and viol music is probably of Commonwealth date, and some of the pieces are found in both keyboard and lyra viol versions. Some of the vocal music is of later date (c. 1700) and appears to be partially be in Boynton's hand. The keyboard portion contains a prelude by John Bull and settings of pieces by Robert Johnson, Simon Ives, Charles Coleman, William Lawes, John Mercure, Benjamin Rogers, John Jenkins, 'Mr Hudson', ? Jonas Tressure, ?La Barre, and John Lilly.

C. Bailey, 'English Keyboard Music, 1625-80', Ph. D. diss. (Duke University, 1992), 378-83.

V. Brookes, *British Keyboard Music to c. 1660* (Oxford, 1996), 45-6.

*Add. MS 64965*

Folio manuscript of sonatas and concertos in score and two keyboard pieces formerly belonging to Thurston Dart. Table of contents headed: 'Musick (in Score) / of two, three, four, / five and six parts, / by severall authors. / & likewise some Generall / Rules of Composition, & / for playing a through / bass on the harpsicord.' On ff. 20-21 are a keyboard prelude and almand headed 'for the harpsicord / by Doctor / Pepusch'.

British Library Manuscript Catalogue ([www.bl.uk](http://www.bl.uk)).

*Add. MS 71209*

Oblong quarto manuscript of keyboard and vocal music in four hands probably dating c. 1713-14. An inscription on an end paper reads, 'For Babel att M.r Scotts In Deens Cour Deen Street near S.t Ann's Church near soho square', and the fourth hand in the manuscript has been identified as William Babel's (Pont). Formerly owned by Susi Jeans. Contains keyboard pieces by Corelli (settings), Albioni (settings), Pepusch (inc. settings), music from *Pyrrhus and Demetrius* (1709) (ff. 10v-11), music from *Hydaspes* (1710) (ff. 17-20), Handel (settings), ?William Babel, music from *Clothilda* (ff. 22v-27), and J. B. Loeillet (setting).

ff. 2-3, 'Giga', 'Allegro' = Corelli Op. 5/5 (jig only). Another keyboard setting: CDp, M. C. 39 (j), ff. 59-58v (rev.).

ff. 13-13v, 'Prelude', 'Del Sig: Pepusch' = CDp, M. C. 39 (j), ff. 48-47v (rev.).

ff. 14-14v, 'Allemanda' = CDp, M. C. 39 (j), ff. 47-46v (rev.), Lfom, Coke MS 1275, p. 54.

ff. 15-16. 'Fyge' = Lfom, Coke MS 1275, pp. 56-57.

ff. 22v-27 = 'Caro Bene' from *Clothilda* (1709). Other versions of William Babel's keyboard setting are in *Ladys Entertainment 4* ([1711]) and Lfom, Coke MS 1257, pp. 36-40.

ff. 57v-59v = Handel, 'Si, t'amo, oh caro', *Teseo* (1713). Keyboard settings by John Reading are in Ldc, MS 92b, pp. 47-50 and Mp, MS BRm 715.5 Rf. 31, pp. 47-50 and 90-92.

ff. 61v-67 = Corelli Op. 5/9 (complete). Another keyboard setting (complete) is in Drc, MS E32, pp. 66-72.

ff. 70v-73v, 'Sonata del Sig: Corelli' = Corelli, Op. 5/7 (Prelude and corant). Complete settings in Ldc, MS 92b, pp. 30-38 and LAuc, P613 M4 1725, ff. 15v-23.

ff. 76v-77v, 'Jigg' = CAMhogwood, M1090, ff. [30-29v (rev.)] / 14v-15.

f. 78v = Loeillet, minuet: Lbl, Add. MS 41205, ff. 42v-43, Lfom, Coke MS 1301, f. [1]

('Menuet by mr. handel, Lbl, Add. MS 31577, ff. 18v-19, Ckc, MS 251, f. 5 ('Minuet by Mr. Lully [*i. e.* Loeillet]') and Lfom, Coke MS 1290, f. [4v] (part of an anonymous suite,

probably by Loeillet). This piece is probably the minuet by Loeillet described by John Hawkins as 'a great favourite with the ladies of the last age' (see *A General History of the Science and Practicce of Music* (London, 1875, rpr. 1969), ii, 823).

A. Hicks, inventory of manuscript available from British Library Manuscript Catalogue ([www.bl.uk](http://www.bl.uk))

G. Pont, 'An Early Eighteenth-Century Manuscript of Harpsichord Music: William Babell and Handel's *Vo' far guerra*', *BLJ* 21 (1995), 176-83.

pp. 77-82.

*Eg. MS 2959*

Folio manuscript of keyboard music once thought to have been copied by William Croft, but instead copied by Shay and Thompson's copyist London F, whose manuscripts were mistaken for Croft's in the late nineteenth century (see Ch. 5). Inscribed: 'Liber Jo: Gostling Ecclesia S<sup>ch</sup> Pauli apud Londnienses Subdecani\_ / Ex dono famine excellentissimae D<sup>no</sup>. Townsend de Highgate:'. The volume was probably donated to the bass singer John Gostling by the wife of Charles Viscount Townshend of Raynham (1674-1738), for whom it may have been copied. Contains harpsichord pieces by William Croft, John Blow, Froberger (ff. 13v-15v), Henry Purcell (settings), and Robert King, followed by eleven voluntaries by Blow.

pp. 118-22.

*Harley 7340*

Collection of services and anthems compiled by Thomas Tudway. On pp. 379-380 is a 'A Prelude upon the Organ as was then usuall before the Anthem. By Mr Edward Gibbons, Custos of the College of Lay Prist vicars In Exeter 1611.'

J. Harley, *British Harpsichord Music*, 2 vols. (Aldershot, 1992-4), i, 56.

*MS Mus. 1*

Oblong quarto manuscript of keyboard pieces copied by Henry Purcell at one end and Giovanni Battista Draghi at the other. Purcell's contribution may date c. 1693-4, whilst the date of Draghi's is uncertain, but it may be of slightly later date.

pp. 53-60.

*MS Mus. 1625*

Small manuscript of keyboard pieces bequeathed to the British Library in 2008, copied by Daniel Henstridge, *c.* 1705. Contains pieces by Blow, John Barrett, Henry Purcell, Jeremiah Clarke, Robert King, William Croft/ Moses Snow, Raphael Courteville, William Croft, and Daniel Purcell, mostly settings, some apparently copied from *A Collection of Lessons and Aires* (1702) and *The Ladys Banquet* (1704).

H. D. Johnstone, 'A New Source of Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century English Harpsichord Music by Barrett, Blow, Clarke, Croft, and Others', forthcoming.

*Pr. Bk. e. 29*

According to British Library Manuscript Catalogue ([www.bl.uk](http://www.bl.uk)), contains 'Ten Sonatas for Harpsichord; after 1706', bound with a copy of Giuseppe Trevisani's *Sonate a Violino, e Violoncello, e cembalo* (Bruxelles, 1706), but the additions are further sonatas for violin and continuo.

*Pr. Bk. Hirsch III 472*

A copy of Henry Purcell's *A Choice Collection* (1696) bound with 30 manuscript leaves containing six keyboard settings of pieces by Purcell. Two of the pieces (ff. 8-9: Cibell, ZT 678; f. 9v: *Let the Soldiers Rejoice*, ZT697) appeared in the later '3rd edition' of *A Choice Collection* (1699), and the additions may represent an attempt by an early owner to complete his copy.

*Pr. Bk. k. 1. c. 5*

A copy of Henry Purcell's *A Choice Collection* (1696) with 7 manuscript leaves bound with it containing 5 pieces entitled 'Henry: Purcells: / overture: Ayres and Jegg: / in Gamut  $\flat$  : / Henry: Purcells / Almond: and Borry: / In Desolre#'. The first two are from suites for *The Virtuuous Wife* and *Abdalazer*, the second is a jig (in common-time), elsewhere attributed to 'Mr Morgan', whilst the final two are unidentified.

F. Dawes, 'A Jig of Morgan's', *MT*, 91 (1950), 92-4.

*Tyson MS 2*

A composite manuscript containing parts to trio sonatas and suites dating *c.* 1697-1704 (British Library Manuscript Catalogue ([www.bl.uk](http://www.bl.uk))). The treble and bass pieces on f. 36,

taken from the outer parts of theatre pieces by Purcell, may have been intended for keyboard, but they are on five-line staves and lack ornamentation.

*R. M. 21. d. 8*

A composite manuscript mostly containing late eighteenth century orchestral parts, bound into which is an autograph copy of a voluntary by Benjamin Rogers, which he signed and dated '1664' (ff. 65-66).

p. 109.

*London, Dulwich College (Ldc)*

*MS 92a*

Large manuscript (269 pages) copied by John Reading (c. 1685-1764).<sup>5</sup> Contains psalm tune settings with interludes, voluntaries, trumpet tunes, settings of opera airs, minuets and marches, and anthems for solo voice and continuo. The keyboard music is reproduced entirely (in variant versions) amongst the first 340 pages of another manuscript copied by Reading, Mp, MS BRm 715.5 Rf. 31.

*MS 92b*

Large composite manuscript of keyboard music copied by John Reading before 1727. Contains psalm tune settings with interludes (all of those in Mp, MS BRm 715.5 Rf. 31 and Ldc, MS 92a, except 'Martyrs' and 'The (81<sup>st</sup>.)'), eight chants and voluntaries. Some pages are missing, leaving pieces incomplete at the front end (pp. 63-74, 83-88, 105-110). The inverted rear end is entitled: 'Mr. John · Reading's great Book of Lessons for the Harpsicord/ [rule] / (The Ladys Entertainment) / Being A Choice Collection of the Most Celebrated Aires / and favourit songs, out of all the opera's, set, and/ Compos'd into Lessons for the Harpsicord / (By)/ John · Reading organist of St. Johns Hackney.'. A new set of pagination begins at this end (pp. 1[a]-184), followed by another set beginning with p. 149 (pp. 149-219).

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<sup>5</sup> For Reading, see A. Ashbee, Reading, John', *ODNB*, and S. Jeans and H. D. Johnstone, 'Reading, John (ii)', *GMO*.

*MS 92d*

Large composite manuscript copied by John Reading, probably in the 1730s or later, containing mostly organ voluntaries, and a small number of harpsichord pieces by Robert King and William Babel.

*London, Foundling Hospital Museum (Lfom)**Coke MS 1257*

Lavish folio manuscript compiled by William Babel. The pieces are organised into five suites, most of them being in three movements consisting of a prelude followed by two opera air arrangements. The manuscript was formerly owned by A. F. Hill. A note by Hill in the manuscript reads: 'From the Hornby castle library. the property of the Duke of Leeds. Sotheby's June 3rd. 1930 / A. F. H'.

pp. 110-11.

*Coke MS 1275*

Large oblong manuscript inscribed on the cover 'Harp.d Sonatas M. S./ By Handel & C/ No: 8', mostly in the hand of William Walond junior (1750-1836), who signed the inside cover 'Wm. Walond Chichester Feb y: 1778'. Bound into the rear are two chaconnes by Handel copied by J. C. Smith senior. The music copied by Walond mostly dates from the period *c.* 1715-*c.* 1735 (pp. [2]-115). 32 empty pages (pp. [116-148]) are followed by a two-part piece with scoring indications (*e. g.* 'This part is also repeated with the Bassoon'; 'Clarinetts') and nine pieces, probably all of seventeenth century date, one anonymous, the others by Blow, Henry Purcell (*inc.* settings), and Albertus Bryne (see notes by H. D. Johnstone accompanying the manuscript). The other composers represented are Henry Symonds, J. B. Loeillet, Handel, J. C. Pepusch, G. Sandoni/ F. Geminiani, Maurice Greene, F. Mancini, William Babel and Geminiani. A large portion of the pieces attributed to Handel are considered spurious by Best. The harpsichord dances attributed to Handel are in a similar style to Pepusch's pieces, and could be by him instead. Some of the preludes attributed to Handel resemble those of William Babel in *Suits of the Most Celebrated Lessons* ([1723]) and Lfom, Coke MS 1257 (*e. g.* p. 112).

pp. 6-7, 'Giga' = Loeillet, *Six Suits* ([1723]), jig from suite 2. Added onto the end of a suite by Symonds.

p. 54, 'Allemande' = Lbl, Add. MS 71209, ff. 14-14v (att. indirectly to Pepusch), and CDp, M. C. 39 (j), ff. 47-46v (rev.)

p. 55, 'Courant' = CDp, M. C. 39 (j), ff. 46-45v (rev.)

p. 56, 'Sarabande' = CDp, M. C. 39 (j), ff. 45-44v (rev.)

pp. 56-7, 'Aria' = Lbl, Add. MS 71209, ff. 15-16 ('Fyge'; att. indirectly to Pepusch)

pp. 64-7, 'Sonata', 'Pier Giuseppe Sandoni' = Lfom, Coke MS 1296, pp. 154-7 (att. Geminiani)

pp. 96-7, 'Minuet Sigr: Geminiani' = Lfom, Coke MS 815, pp. 4-5 ('Aria del Sig Geminiani')

pp. 98-99, 'Presto' 'Del Sigr Mancini' = Lbl, Add. MS 31577, ff. 33-34 (movement following a toccata and fugue).

Best, *Georg Fredrich Händel Klavierwerke I-IV*, 37-8.

#### *Coke MS 1290*

Manuscript containing the treble and bass of 'March in the Ode for St. Cecilia's Day' (HWV 76/5 (1739)), followed by a fine anonymous keyboard suite in A minor, probably by Loeillet, and 'Aire in Diana & Endymon' 'by Sigr. Pescetti'. Contains letters of correspondence from Richard Newton to W. C. Smith, and Vere Pilkington to Smith (1946-7), who discuss the keyboard suite, and whether it might be by Handel or Loeillet. ? 1720s and mid-eighteenth century.

ff. [2v-3] = Lfom, Coke MS 1296, p. 20.

ff. [4v-5] = Loeillet, Minuet (see discussion of Lbl, Add. MS 71209 (f. 78v) above, for concordances and comment)

#### *Coke MS 1296*

Large oblong volume of English keyboard music as well as some keyboard music by composers active in the Netherlands, probably compiled c. 1725-6 (Best).

pp. 10-12, 'Overture by Mr Henry Purcell' = overture to *Timon of Athens* (1695); other keyboard settings: NYp, Drexel MS 5609, pp. 206-7, Cfm, MU MS 653, pp. 96-7, Lbl, Add. MS 41205, ff. 10v-11v, Lbl, Add. MS 52363, pp. 186-88, Drc, MS E32, pp. 60-2, Wc, MS M21 M185 case, ff. 27-28/ pp. 53-55, and Lbl, Pr. Bk. Hirsch III 472, ff. [4v-7].

p. 20, 'Courante' = Lfom, Coke MS 1290, ff. [2v-3], probably by Loeillet.

pp. 168-70, 'Chacone' / 'Mr Jeremiah Clark'<sup>6</sup> = Bc, MS XY 15139, pp. 132-6, CDp, M. C. 1. 39(j), ff. 54-51v (rev.), Drc, MS E32, pp. 33-7, Tn, MS N-3/35, ff. 27v-28, Lbl, Add. MS 22099, f. 11, and Lbl, Add. MS 31465, ff. 55v-57.

Best, *Georg Fredrich Händel Klavierwerke I-IV*, 27-8.

### *Coke MS 1575-77*

Three small oblong volumes of keyboard and vocal music formerly in the library of Stoneleigh Abbey, Warwickshire. In the first volume (MS 1575) six hands appear to be present: ff. 1-2v (unpracticed in appearance); ff. 3-12 and 43v (professional in appearance); ff. 13v-14 (hand of MS 1576); ff. 14v-15v (John Barker, who signed two pieces, 'J: Barker Janry: ye: 10: 1734/5'); ff. 41v-42, melody (competent in appearance); ff. 40v-39v (rev.) (unpracticed). The first volume contains keyboard pieces or settings of pieces by Handel, J. B. Loeillet, Maurice Greene, ?James Heseltine (ff. 13v-14: 'Lesson Set By the Organist of Durham'), and John Barker. The second volume (MS 1576) was copied by the person who copied the 'Lesson Set By the Organist of Durham' in the first, includes accounts for calculating the cost of lessons dated '1722', and is signed 'Maria Rebeckah Craven'. It contains explanations of note lengths *etc.*, followed by a simple eight-bar prelude, settings of songs and opera airs, and a suite in A minor by George Spencer. The keyboard music in the third volume (MS 1577) is in a different hand again. At the inverted rear end of the third volume are instruction materials, virtually identical to those in the second volume (including the 8-bar prelude), but they are in a different hand (ff. 56v-56 (rev.)). Five keyboard pieces follow in the same hand (ff. 55v-49v (rev.)). 1720s and 1730s.

### Vol. 1 (MS 1575)

ff. 3-5 = setting of second allegro and gavott of Handel, *Ottone* overture (HWV 15; 1723)

ff. 6-7, 11v-12 = movements by Handel (HWV 434/2 and 440/1), later published in *Suite de Pieces* (1733)

ff. 7v-8, 'Minuet by Mr. Lully' = Loeillet, *Six Suits of Lessons* ([1723]), p. 35-6, and *Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet* ([1732])<sup>7</sup>, p. 12.

ff. 8v-9, 'A Lesson by Mr Handel' = HWV 432/3; *Pieces de Clavecin* (1720).

### Vol. 2 (MS 1576)

<sup>6</sup> *Jeremiah Clarke. Miscellaneous Keyboard Pieces*, ed. J. Harley (London, 1988), no. 6.

<sup>7</sup> An edition published by Daniel Wright, usually dated c. 1715, but Barry Cooper has pointed out that it was advertised in *The Country Journal or Craftsman* for 6/5/1732. See *English Solo Keyboard Music*, Errata.

ff. 3-4, 'Chacone' = Lbl, Add. MS 40139, ff. 30v-31.

ff. 7v-9, 'Symphony', 'to a Song in the Opera of Thomyris' = 'Should 'ere the fair disdain'; other keyboard settings: *The Lady's Entertainment* (1708), p. 7, *The Harpsichord Master Improv'd* (1711), p. 19, Tn, N-3/35, ff. 30v-31, and CAMhogwood, M1090, ff. 24v-25.

ff. 20v-23, 'Opera Lesson' = setting of Handel, 'Oh lovely Charmer', in *Floridante* (HWV 14/28c, 1721). Other keyboard settings: Mp, MS BRm 715.5 Rf. 31, pp. 58-60, first numbering, and p. 42, second numbering.

ff. 38v-41v, 'Trumpet Opera Lesson' = setting of Handel, 'Or la tromba in suon festante', in *Rinaldo* (HWV 7, 1711). Another keyboard setting is in W. Babel, *Suits of the Most Celebrated Lessons* ([1723]), pp. 38-43.

Vol. 3 (MS 1577)

ff. 55-54v (rev.), 'Minuet' = Lbl, MS Mus. 1, f. 2/ f. 42v (rev.).

ff. 54-50v (rev.), 'Italian Ground' = Cfm MU MS 653, pp. 7-8, LAuc, P613 M4 1725, ff. 6v-11, Cfm MU MS 668, ff. 75v and 73-73v, and Lbl, MS Mus. 1625, ff. 4-6.<sup>8</sup>

ff. 50-49v (rev.), 'Jigg' = Lbl, Add. MS 40139, f. 24v.

Best, *Georg Fredrich Händel Klavierwerke I-IV*.

*London, Lambeth Palace (Llp)*

*MS 1040*

Upright quarto manuscript of keyboard music measuring 20cm x 27.1cm, probably dating from the 1660s. Two principal hands are present. The first, probably that of Albertus Bryne, is also found in Ob, MS Mus. Sch. d. 219 and on pp. 155-9 of NYp Drexel 5611. The second is probably that of an amateur student, who copied seven unique pieces attributed to Richard Ayleward. On f. 1 are basses of two grounds, one of which is *Polewheell's Ground*, which appear to be in a third hand. Inside the manuscript is an inserted leaf, which looks like a treble part to consort dances by John Banister and Matthew Locke.

f. 1v, 'Allmand' = different setting of 'Ayre' / 'Jo: Trespure' (Och, MS Mus. 1236, p. 7; Brookes, *British Keyboard Music*, no. 2311)

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<sup>8</sup> For a comparison of different versions of this piece (apart from that in MS Mus. 1625), see B. White and A. Woolley, 'Jeremiah Clarke (c. 1674-1707): a Tercentenary Tribute', *EMP*, 21 (November, 2007), 25-36.

f. 2, 'Corant' = different setting of 'Coranto: ~' / 'M<sup>r</sup> Tresure' (Pc, rés 1185, p. 307; Brookes, *British Keyboard Music*, no. 2323)

Ch. 7.

*London, private collection of Guy Oldham*

*Oldham*

According to John Harley, there is a manuscript, presumably of keyboard music, in the collection of Guy Oldham, containing a copy of Jeremiah Clarke's *Shore's Trumpet Tune* (T434).

*Jeremiah Clarke. Miscellaneous Keyboard Pieces*, ed. J. Harley (SBEKM 40, 1988).

*London, Royal College of Music (Lcm)*

*MS 734*

Oblong quarto manuscript of 71 leaves measuring 27.7cm x 21.2cm. Contains every movement from Jeremiah Clarke's suite for *All for the Better* (1702), in the order they appear in Walsh's *Harmonia Anglicana* (1702) (ff. [0]-3v), followed by nos. 2, 4 and 5 from John Barrett's suite for *Tunbridge Walks* (1703) (ff. 4-5). The Clarke pieces consist only of treble and bass throughout, but Barrett's have full textures; the compiler may have intended to fill out the textures of the Clarke pieces at a later date. In a different hand are a 3-part setting of a psalm tune and fragments of keyboard pieces (ff. 67-68v). According to W. B. Squire, rev. R. Erlebach, 'Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of the Royal College of Music' (unpublished typescript, 1926/1931), there are organ parts to sacred music by Aldrich and Blow, but these are not in fact present.

f. 4, 'Allmand' = Barrett, *Tunbridge Walks* no. 2. Another keyboard setting is in CAMhogwood, M1090, ff. [36-35v (rev.)] / 8v-9.

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

*MS 820*

Large upright quarto manuscript, mostly compiled by Benjamin Cooke the younger in the late eighteenth century. Several of the keyboard pieces it contains appear to have been copied from Lbl, Add. MS 39569.

p. 205

*MS 1154*

A manuscript copied by the pianist and writer Edward Dannreuther in about 1890 containing a complete copy of Charles Dieupart's *Six Suites de Clavessin* (1701), sketches of musical subjects by Froberger, François Couperin and J. S. Bach, some transcriptions from Frescobaldi's *Toccate D'Intavolatura* (1637), and a transcription of a lost manuscript of keyboard pieces formerly owned by Thomas Taphouse and A. H. Mann. The lost manuscript may have been in the hand of Richard Ayleward, and contained pieces by Ayleward, one 'J. B. V.', and Tressure (see 'Present Location Unknown', below).

Ch. 7.

*MS 2093*

Small oblong volume measuring approximately 18.9cm x 14.5cm. The manuscript appears to have been copied by the same scribe over a number of years: pieces copied on ff. 23v-24v and 46-45 (rev.) were clearly added later. Brian Hodge has identified that one of these pieces (ff. 46-45 (rev.)) is the 'Trumpet Air' from Whichello's *Lessons for the Harpsichord, or Spinett* ([1707]) (p. 18). Most of the manuscript may have been copied in the 1660s or 1670s. Benjamin Rogers is referred to without the title 'Dr', which suggests some parts were copied before he obtained his doctorate in 1669, and the watermark appears to be of a post-Restoration type.<sup>9</sup> For the most part the manuscript is, unusually, organised by genre and consists, almost exclusively, of only two types of piece— at the front end they are called 'preludiam' and at the inverted rear end they are mostly called 'voluntary'. The 'voluntaries' do not resemble typical early Restoration voluntaries, and many could be transcriptions of earlier fantasia-like pieces; one, 'Voluntary p[er] Maynard' (ff. 38v-37v (rev.)), is a transcription of 'The Maid' from John Maynard's songbook *The XII Wonders of the World* (1611) (see I. Harwood and R. Spencer, 'Maynard, John', *GMO*). Several features

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<sup>9</sup> The mark is of the Arms of Amsterdam type and is more elaborate than the mid-century 'Arms of Amsterdam I' in A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music* (Aldershot, 2001), 256-7, suggesting it is of a later date.

such as the fingerings and figured bass exercises (ff. 22v-23) suggest the manuscript had a pedagogical function. Contains pieces by John Bull, William Byrd, Orlando Gibbons, Matthew Locke (att. William Child in index), John Blow, Abiell Whichello, John Maynard (setting), Benjamin Rogers, and Thomas Weelkes.

Bailey, 'English Keyboard Music, 1625-80', 190.

Brookes, *British Keyboard Music*, 53-4.

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

*Manchester, Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library (Mp)*

*MS BRm 715.5 Rf. 31*

Huge composite manuscript of keyboard music (over 500 pages) in the hand of John Reading. The manuscript is entitled: 'By Subscription, / A Choice Book of Lessons, for the Harpsicord. / Being A Curious Collection, of the Best, most Esteem'd, / And Favourite Songs, with their Symphonys. / Taken out of the Late'st, and most Celebrated Operas. / Introduc'd / Set, and Compos'd into Lessons, for the Harpsicord, / By John · Reading Organist, / Of St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street, / London ' / 1 · 7 · 2 · 8 ·'. Contains settings of opera airs and minuets (pp. 1-155), psalm tune settings with interludes (pp. 156-87, all found in Ldc, MS 92a), voluntaries (pp. 188-242, all found in Ldc, MS 92a but in a different order), further settings of opera airs and minuets (pp. 243-76), further voluntaries and trumpet tunes (pp. 277-369, all found in Ldc, MS 92a up to p. 340), further opera airs and minuets, many of them unique to the manuscript, but some of them repeated from elsewhere in BRm 715.5 Rf. 31 (pp. 370-510 and 36[a]-46[a]). A new set of pagination, beginning with p. 36, commences after p. 510 (pp. 36-46).

*MS BRm 710.5 Cr. 71*

Manuscript of keyboard music formerly inscribed 'Anne Dawson 1716'. Includes an arrangement of the overture to *Camilla* (1706) and arrangements of several concertos by Vivaldi in a hand that is not English in appearance, although some English-language captions are used (*e. g.* 'turn over').

*MS Mus. d. 247*

Oblong quarto manuscript of vocal music with three harpsichord pieces at the inverted rear end by Jeremiah Clarke and Ralph Courtveille, apparently copied from *The Harpsichord Master 2* (1700). Signed 'Teresa Blount 1700', and acquired by the Bodleian Library from Mapledurham House in 1980.

Harley, *British Harpsichord Music*, i.

C. Price and W. M. S. Rasmussen, 'Musical Images in a Portrait of Theresa Blount', *EM*, 24 (1996), 64-76.

*MS Mus. Sch. c. 93*

A composite of several manuscripts, one of which contains six voluntaries by Blow. Geoffrey Cox suggests the Blow pieces may be in the composer's hand, but Barry Cooper disagrees.

Cox, *Organ Music*, 99.

*John Blow. Complete Organ Music*, ed. B. Cooper (MB 69, 1996).

*MS Mus. Sch. d. 219*

Folio manuscript of 98 leaves, measuring 19.3cm x 29.3cm, probably in the hand of Albertus Bryne. Only 19 leaves were used. Contains pieces by Albertus Bryne, and settings of pieces by Matthew Locke, John Bannister, and William Lawes.

pp. 164-7.

*MS Mus. Sch. d. 225*

Large oblong manuscript of 40 leaves signed 'Susanna Child/ Her Book' and dated 'December ye/ 22: in ye year 1718.' Contains a small number of simple keyboard pieces, instruction material for continuo playing, and vocal pieces at the inverted rear end.

*MS Mus. Sch. e. 397*

Oblong quarto manuscript of keyboard and vocal music measuring 25.9cm x 19.8cm. The manuscript is inscribed 'Miss Millane begun/ August ye 10th 1747', but the contents and

features of the music notation suggest it was copied mostly during the first decade of the eighteenth century. The writer of the music wrote a set of tallies, probably to calculate the cost of lessons, which he signed 'this actt. Set Down in ye little book/ and pd. C Collett.'. 'C Collett' may have been a relative of the violinist John Collett (c. 1735-1775). Contains keyboard pieces by John Eccles (setting), William Lord Byron (setting), Raphael Courteville, John Barrett (settings), Jeremiah Clarke (settings), Thomas Morgan (?setting), G. B. Draghi, Dieupart (setting), Henry Purcell (settings), and G. B. Lully (setting). c. 1705.

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

pp. 15, 36-7.

*MS Mus. Sch. e. 399*

Oblong quarto manuscript mostly of keyboard pieces in the hand of Francis Forcer, inscribed on the end paper, 'Elizabeth Nodes/ Her Book august 8th 1681' and 'mrs beety nodes/ her book/ march the 10/ 1682'. Contains keyboard music by Francis Forcer, John Lenton (setting), John Blow, Robert Smith (setting), and Thomas Farmer (settings).

pp. 49-51.

*MS Mus. Sch. e. 425 and e. 426*

A pair of small oblong volumes with the same paper, containing vocal and keyboard music. A printed label on the inside of e. 425 may refer to an early sale of the books: 'Sold by Mickepher Rawlins / next door to the half Moon and Grey hound Tavern / in the Strand, near Charing Cross / London.' Both are in the same three principal hands. One may be that of the German musician Andreas Roner, who appears to have written down his address in e. 426: 'André Roner a deux portes au dessus de blu post Tavern chez Mr. Sharpless'. The Roner hand has Germanic characteristics (e. g. clefs). Ff. 2v-4, 4v[b]-5[b], 6-10, [35v-36] in e. 425, and ff. iv verso-21v are in the Roner hand. The manuscripts appear to have been added to by 'Mr. Colin Musick Master living in plum tree street stockings shop' (e. 426, f. 40), who copied both keyboard and vocal music into the volumes. They contain keyboard pieces by Colin and settings of Lully, Hardel, and ?Nicola Haym (e. 426, ff. 19v-20: 'Hast O Sun' from *Pyrrhus and Demetrius* (1709)). c. 1710 and later.

*e. 426*

f. v verso-1, 'Prelude' = Lbl, MS Mus. 1, ff. 10v-12, Lbl, Add. MS 39569 p. 38, F-Pn Rés Vmd MS 18 ff. 9v-10 and f. 3 (Gustafson '44-La Pierre'), F-Pn Vm7 6307 (1) p. 6.

ff. 17d verso-17e, 'Cibelle qui ne doit pas etre recuite' = setting of chorus, 'La Descent de Cybelle' from Lully's *Alys* (1676). Another keyboard setting is in the 'Colin' hand on ff. 22v-23v. See discussion of Lbl, Add. MS 52363 above for other keyboard settings in English sources.

Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, i, 73-4, and ii, 222-6.

*MS Mus. Sch. f. 575*

Manuscript signed 'William Iles 1673', who donated it to the Music School, containing mostly lute songs and music for solo lyra viol. At the inverted rear end are three pieces in keyboard score, one incomplete, which were probably intended as accompaniment parts. The first two are literal transcriptions of Fantasias VIII and V from Orlando Gibbons' *Fantasies of Three Parts* ([1620]). They are transposed from D minor to A minor, possibly an indication that the music was performed on a transposing organ, accompanying string instruments playing at normal pitch.<sup>10</sup>

Bailey, *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources*, 84.

Brookes, *British Keyboard Music*, 74.

*MS Mus. Sch. f. 576*

Thick oblong manuscript containing lute music and, in another hand, keyboard music at the inverted rear end. The keyboard pieces may have been copied by a Dutch musician active in England, judging from the music. The keyboard section contains psalm settings, a suite in A minor probably by Trespere, and settings of Lully and Henry Purcell. ?c. 1690.

ff. 95-94, ?'Pater berero' = setting of Lilliburlero. Other keyboard settings: *Musick's Handmaid* 2 (1689), no. 24 (att. H. Purcell), Cn, Case Ms VM 2.3 E58r, f. 36, and Lbl, Add. MS 22099, f. 10.

ff. 82-79v, 'Preludium' = Nl-Uu MS q-1, f. 1 (manuscript attributed to the Dutch keyboard player J. B. Gresse. See *Nederlandse Klaviermuziek uit de 16e en 17e eeuw* (MMN 3, 1961), ed. A Curtis, no. 57)

ff. 79-76v (rev.), 'Allemand', 'Courant', and 'Saraband' = Lcm, MS 1154, nos. 20, 28 and 22.

ff. 62-61v (rev.). 'Le Marsos' = Henry Purcell, 'Let the Soldiers Rejoice' from *Dioclesian* (1690).

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<sup>10</sup> For the transposing organ, see J. Bunker Clark, *Transposition in Seventeenth-Century English Organ Accompaniments and the Transposing Organ* (Detroit, 1974).

Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, i, 66.

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

*MS Mus. Sch. f. 577*

Small oblong volume of 47 ll. containing three keyboard pieces, two of which are settings of Purcell, 'Britons Strike Home', and Bononcini, 'Fair Dorinda' from *Camilla* (1706).

*MS Tenbury 1508*

Small oblong volume of keyboard music compiled by Charles Babel, which he inscribed 'Ce liure Arpartient / a gm. [i. e. William] Babel 1701 / London.'

Ch. 9.

*Oxford, Christ Church Library (Och)*

*MS Mus. 15*

Volume consisting of two manuscripts brought together at an early date, possibly by Henry Aldrich for the use of Sampson Estwick, his colleague at Christ Church in the 1670s (Milsom).<sup>11</sup> The first manuscript uses five-line staves, contains sacred music in score, and organ accompaniments to consort music by Coprario (ff. 36v-[40]), whilst the second uses six-line staves, contains organ accompaniments to anthems by Byrd and Tallis (ff. 44-46), and solo keyboard music by Christopher Gibbons and Orlando Gibbons. Some of the contents could have had a pedagogical function, such as the two short four-part pieces in score on f. 1, which use the 100th psalm tune as a *cantus firmus*.

J. Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue* (<http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/>).

*MS Mus. 46*

Large upright volume, measuring 30.3cm x 19.8cm, containing keyboard accompaniment parts to sacred music, a keyboard prelude (ff. 11v-12), and at the inverted rear end, songs, and solo keyboard music, partly in the hand of Robert King. Contains solo keyboard music by Robert King, John Eccles (setting), J. B. Lully (setting), Henry Purcell (inc. setting), Francis Pigott, Jeremiah Clarke, and John Barrett. c. 1700.

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<sup>11</sup> For Aldrich, see S. Handley, 'Aldrich, Henry', *ODNB*, and R. Shay, 'Aldrich, Henry', *GMO*. For Estwick, see R. Thompson, 'Estwick, Sampson', *GMO*.

Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*.

pp. 69-70.

*MS Mus. 47*

Upright composite manuscript containing keyboard accompaniment parts to anthems by late sixteenth and early seventeenth century composers (pp. 1-22), solo keyboard music in the same hand including a voluntary by John Blow (pp. 25-53), two solo keyboard pieces by Blow in the hand of Henry Aldrich (pp. 56-62), and a miscellany of sketches and fragments largely in the hand of Aldrich (pp. 63-[118]). The solo keyboard music may have been copied in the 1670s, and also includes voluntaries by Orlando Gibbons and Christopher Gibbons. Many of the voluntaries are found in Och, MS Mus. 1176, and the two sources are clearly related (Cox).

Cox, *Organ Music*, 79.

Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*.

*MS Mus. 363*

Small thick oblong volume dated '1703' compiled mainly by Musgrave Heighington containing violin music, songs, pedagogical materials, and a small number of solo keyboard pieces.<sup>12</sup> Two of the keyboard pieces are by Jeremiah Clarke (ff. 5v-6; *Choice Lessons* (1711)) and John Barrett (f. 35v; *A Choice Collection of Ayres* (1700), p. 14).

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*.

*MS Mus. 378*

Small oblong manuscript containing pedagogical materials and solo keyboard music, probably compiled by Henry Aldrich. Three keyboard pieces, two of them with fingerings, by Orlando Gibbons, La Barre, and La Barre/ Tresure, are followed by a series of short fantasia-like pieces, all untitled, in four and five parts. Several of the fantasia-like pieces appear to be oddly incomplete, either beginning mid-way or not ending in the tonic. Two of them, however, only require a tonic chord for completion (ff. 11-11v and 15-16) and several others lack double bar-lines at the end, but appear to be complete (ff. 16v-17, 17v-18, 18v-19 and 20v-21). This leaves four pieces that appear to be genuine fragments as they do not end in the key they start in and seem to begin half way through (ff. 12, 12v,

<sup>12</sup> For Heighington, see C. Cudworth, 'Heighington, Musgrave', *GMO*.

13v-14v, 19v-20) (no pages appear to have been removed). An interesting feature of the four pieces 'incomplete' pieces is that they all begin in the dominant and each clearly ends properly. Candace Bailey has also pointed out that seven of the short contrapuntal pieces were copied by Edward Lowe into Och, MS Mus. 1141b (folio leaves, ff. 111-113), including one of the dominant-tonic pieces. One explanation is that the 'incomplete' pieces were intended as illustrations of how to compose or improvise from the middle of a piece to the end. Student-like attempts at setting three independent treble parts to a bass line on f. 25v (rev.), in the same hand, suggest the book might have begun as a volume compiled by Aldrich for personal study. At the inverted rear end is a keyboard accompaniment part, probably of later date, written in a form of the hand that closely resembles Aldrich's (ff. 25-22v).

Bailey, *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources*, 89-91.

Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, i, 65-6, and ii, 141-3.

Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*.

#### *MS Mus. 580*

Small oblong volume of songs and keyboard music, measuring 20.2cm x 15.4cm, compiled by Richard Goodson senior, apparently for one Catherine Brooks, who signed the rear pastedown. Several of the songs are recopied as keyboard pieces at the keyboard end. Contains instruction materials, songs by Philip Hart, John Bowman, Henry Purcell, John Eccles, Raphael Courteville, Daniel Purcell and Robert King, and keyboard pieces or settings of pieces by John Blow, Daniel Purcell, and Henry Purcell. ?c. 1696.

ff. 42-41v (rev.), 'What ungratefull [Devil]' = Daniel Purcell, song from Cibber's *Love's Last Shift* (1696) (see Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, 196). Song on f. 19.

ff. 41-40v (rev.), 'Alas when Charming Sylvia's gon[e]' = Daniel Purcell, song from Pix's *The Spanish Wives* (1696). Song on f. 22.

f. 39 (rev.), 'I come to sing' = Henry Purcell, 'I come to sing great Zempoalla's story', *The Indian Queen* (1695).

f. 38 (rev.), 'I attempt' = Henry Purcell, 'I attempt from love's sickness to fly in vain', *The Indian Queen*. Song on ff. 21v-22 (G major).

f. 36v (rev.), 'Hornpipe' = Henry Purcell, *The Indian Queen*, Second Music.

f. 36, 'Minuet' = '(Mr.) Lane's Maggot', *The Dancing Master*, 9th edn. (1695) (Barlow, *The Complete Country Dance Tunes*, no. 329).

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'

pp. 94-5.

*MS Mus. 598*

Small oblong manuscript of 39 ll., measuring 21cm x 14.9cm, copied mostly by Richard Goodson senior. The pastedown is signed 'John Darling / His Book'; a John Darling matriculated at Merton College, Oxford, in 1694, and graduated at the age of 18 in 1698/9, later becoming vicar of Paghham.<sup>13</sup> However, the contents suggest the manuscript dates from c. 1685 or slightly earlier; a copy, on ff. 18-17v (rev.), of Henry Purcell's ground 'Here the Deities Approve' from *Welcome to All the Pleasures* (1683), Z339/3, for treble and bass, is the latest dateable piece. Contains treble melodies, treble and bass pieces, catches, treble parts to anthems. The sequence of three C major treble and bass pieces on ff. 28v-26 (rev.) begin with an overture-like piece and could have originated from a theatre suite. Four other treble and bass pieces are from Lully operas: *Ballet de Flore* (1669) (f. 25 (rev.) = LWV 40/11; ff. 22-21v (rev.) = LWV 40/28) *Cadmus et Herminone* (1673) (ff. 16-15v (rev.) = LWV 49/10) and *Alys* (1676) (f. 25v (rev.) = LWV 53/48). On ff. 7v-9 are three keyboard pieces, for which Goodson added a sixth line to the staves. In another hand are treble parts to anthems by the Lichfield and Chester musician William Ottey, and Michael Wise (ff. 34v-32 (rev.)).<sup>14</sup>

f. 7v = keyboard setting of 43rd psalm tune ('York Tune'). See J. Playford, *Psalms and Hymns* (1671), p. 34.

f. 8 = keyboard setting of 100th psalm tune.

ff. 8v-9 = John Blow, [saraband] (*John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. Klakowich, no. 36). Largely in two parts and incomplete (first 19 bars only); complete, but with treble and bass texture, in Och, Mus. MS 1003, ff. 23-24.

ff. 15-13, [Ground for treble and bass] = keyboard setting in Pc, rés 1186 bis, ff. 31v-32 (G); first 5 strains are the same, but differs thereafter.

*MS Mus. 1003*

Oblong quarto volume of keyboard music, measuring 28.9cm x 20.7cm. The earliest contributor may have copied his pieces in the 1640s partly from Och, MS Mus. 1113

<sup>13</sup> J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1891), i, 375. See also *Clergy of the Church of England Database* (<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk/>), ID no. 63217.

<sup>14</sup> For Ottey, see I. Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music* (Oxford, 1995), 218, and Spink, 'A Chester Organ Book in Tokyo', *RMARC* 32 (1999), 137-147.

(Cooper; Bailey). A later layer was copied by Henry Bowman and Charles Morgan; the latter owned the manuscript, and signed the cover 'C: Morgan: his Book'. Some of the pieces Morgan copied may have been intended as keyboard accompaniment parts to songs. Around 1700, Richard Goodson senior apparently used the volume for teaching, copying some simple pieces and pedagogical charts into it.

pp. 132-8.

*MS Mus. 1141a*

Modern composite manuscript containing a bifolio of keyboard pieces copied by William Croft (ff. 6-7v). Most of the manuscript contains parts and scores to consort music of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century date. The only other keyboard music occurs on ff. 64-65v, a contemporary copy of an anonymous early seventeenth century quadrangle galliard.

pp. 75-7.

Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*.

*MS Mus. 1141b*

Modern composite manuscript containing mostly parts and scores to consort music. On ff. 111-113v are fantasia-like pieces in keyboard score copied by Edward Lowe, some of which are also found in MS Mus. 378 (Bailey).

Bailey, *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources*, 99.

Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*.

*MS Mus. 1141d*

Modern composite manuscript. A single leaf (f. 128) contains a setting of the 100th psalm tune in the hand of Edward Lowe, and on the other side, a keyboard almand copied by Richard Goodson senior.

Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*.

*MS Mus. 1142d*

Modern composite manuscript. Contains a keyboard book partially copied by Christopher Gibbons (ff. 1-20). Another fascicle (ff. 40-1) contains a keyboard suite in D minor by the

lutenist Henry Thornowitz headed 'Allemande for the Harpshicord [*sic.*] [...] to your Honours desire to which I am Extraordinary plased [*sic.*]'.

Bailey, *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources*, 99-100.

Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*.

p. 109.

*MS Mus. 1176 and MS Mus. 1177*

Two keyboard manuscripts begun by Edward Lowe and added to extensively by Richard Goodson senior. MS Mus. 1177 was later bequeathed to Goodson's son, also Richard Goodson, who wrote on the vellum cover (now within a modern binding): 'Mr Palmer / had borrowed ye / folio Book of / Lessons & Overturs / of my Fathers / writing & others / [words deleted/ illegible] / R Goodson'.<sup>15</sup> MS Mus. 1176 has the same paper type, and is also in a modern binding, although there is no trace of an earlier binding and it probably did not have one originally. At least by the early eighteenth century the two volumes were discrete collections judging from the date of the vellum cover of MS Mus. 1177, although it is possible that they were begun as a single collection of loose leaves.<sup>16</sup>

The wide date range of the music in MS Mus. 1177 and the variations in Goodson's handwriting style— notably his use of Edward Lowe-imitation treble clefs early on— suggest it was copied over a large period, features mirrored in MS Mus. 1176.

Concordances also suggest that Goodson's earliest contribution to these manuscripts dates from the 1670s or early 1680s, whilst the Blow and Purcell is likely to have been copied slightly later, perhaps dating from the mid-1680s or later. The portion featuring mostly Lowe-imitation clefs in MS Mus. 1177 (ff. 6v-10), and that which immediately follows it (ff. 10-15), includes a piece attributed to Bryne, two suites in D minor and G major with movements probably all by John Roberts (*fl.* 1650-60), and simple airs mostly with incomplete textures in two parts or partially in three parts.<sup>17</sup> The airs are unattributed, although one, possibly two, are by Francis Forcer and probably date from around 1680. The D minor jig on f. 14v was published among the 'Lessons [...] For the Treble, Bass-Viol, and Harp', treble and bass pieces attributed to Francis Forcer, in Christopher Simpson's *A Compendium of Practical Musick* (1678) (p. 186). Brian Hodge points out that the C major jig

<sup>15</sup> Shay and Thompson identify 'Mr Palmer' as Ralph Palmer who composed an anthem that appears in the composite manuscript Bu 5002 (see *Purcell Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 2000), 266).

<sup>16</sup> See also comments by Shay and Thompson on the makeup of Mus. 1177 (*Purcell Manuscripts*, 283).

<sup>17</sup> For the attribution of Roberts' pieces, see C. Bailey, 'The Keyboard Music of John Roberts: Establishing a Canon and Provenance', *EKJ*, 16-17 (1998-9), 77-108.

that follows it on the same page also appears in Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 399 (f. 2), which was copied by Forcer around 1681-2 (see Ch. 3).

C. Bailey, 'Keyboard Music in the Hands of Edward Lowe and Richard Goodson I: Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 1176 and Mus. 1177', *RMARC*, 32 (1999), 119-35.

Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, ii, 149-54.

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*

Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 282-5.

pp. 184-5.

#### *MS Mus. 1179*

Small folio manuscript of 22 leaves, measuring 28.5cm x 18.2cm, containing keyboard music. Two hands are present, the first may date from the 1660s, whilst the second has been given the code-name FQ4 by Shay and Thompson, as he was a contributor to the Lam score of *The Fairy Queen*. FQ4's contribution to the manuscript probably dates from the late 1680s judging from the music he copied, and the '1690' date at the head of the final leaf.

pp. 111-18.

#### *MS Mus. 1236*

Thick oblong manuscript of keyboard music compiled by William Ellis (d. 1674) probably during the Commonwealth and early Restoration.<sup>18</sup> Contains pieces or settings of pieces by Jonas Tressure, Jacques Champion de Chambonnières, Jonas Tressure/ La Barre, La Barre, Albertus Bryne, ?Henry Loosemore, John Cobb, John Mercure, John Roberts, ? Stephen Nau, 'Mark Coleman', John Ferrabosco, Benjamin Rogers, William Ellis, ?François Dufaut, Thomas Warwick (f. 7v (rev.); see Brookes), Robert Price, ?Etienne Moulinié, and William Lawes.

ff. 1v-2 (rev.), 'Magdana crie' = 'Mage on a Tree' or 'Margery Cree', in editions of *The Dancing Master* (1651-) (Barlow, *The Complete Country Dance Tunes*, no. 57).

f. 15 (rev.), 'Faine I would.' / '[set by] Rob Price.' = quadruple-time version of 'Faine I would' or 'Parthenia' in editions of *The Dancing Master* (1651-) (Barlow, *The Complete Country*

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<sup>18</sup> For biographical information on Ellis, see J. Bunker Clark, 'A Re-Emerged Seventeenth-Century Organ Accompaniment Book', *ML* 47 (1966), 149-52, and J. D. Shute, 'Anthony a Wood and his manuscript Wood D 19(4) at the Bodleian Library, Oxford: an annotated transcription', Ph. D. diss. (International Institute for Advanced Studies, Clayton, Missouri, 1979), 126-7.

*Dance Tunes*, no. 24). Another keyboard setting in triple-time is in Lbl, Add. MS 10337, and is entitled 'The King's Complaint' (f. 30).<sup>19</sup>

f. 16 (rev.), 'Vulcan and Venus'. Klakowich incorrectly states that this piece appears as a vocal dialogue in *The Treasury of Music* (1669).

C. Bailey. 'William Ellis and the Transmission of Continental Keyboard Music in Restoration England', *JMR*, 20 (2001), 211-242.

Bailey, *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources* (2003), 108-116.

Brookes. *British Keyboard Music*, 98-100;

Cooper. *English Solo Keyboard Music*, 29-34 and 144.

Gustafson. *French Harpsichord Music*, i, 62-3, and ii, 123-132.

R. Klakowich. 'Keyboard Sources in Mid-17th Century England and the French Aspect of English Keyboard Music' (State University of New York, Buffalo, 1985).

*Surrey History Centre, Woking (WObc)*

*LM/1083/91/35*

Small oblong manuscript of lyra viol and keyboard music, measuring 14.7cm x 19.9cm, probably dating from the late 1680s. The manuscript originates from papers of the Gresham family, and was deposited in the Muniment Room of the Guildford Library, Surrey, by Major James More-Molyneux of Loseley Park in 1950. The Loseley papers were recently transferred to the Surrey History Centre after the closure of the Muniment Room, and the manuscript is now kept there. On f. 1 are the signatures of 'Richard Mitchell' 'Edmoun[d]' and William Widdringto[n]', whilst on f. 2 are further practice signatures of 'Richard Mitchell' and 'William'. Richard and William Mitchell are at present unidentified, but Widdrington might have been a member of the prominent north-eastern Catholic family. At the inverted rear end are eight complete keyboard pieces, including a four-movement suite in G major attributed to Gerhard Diesineer.

J. Cunningham and A. L. Woolley, 'A Little-Known Source of Restoration Lyra-Viol and Keyboard Music: Surrey History Centre, Woking, LM/1083/91/35', *RMARC*, forthcoming.

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<sup>19</sup> *Elizabeth Rogers' Virginal Book*, ed. G. Sargent (CEKM 21, 1971), no. 49.

*MS P. 10*

A collection of organ accompaniments to services and anthems by mostly sixteenth and seventeenth century composers, with six organ pieces at the inverted rear end. The volume was probably once owned by a relative of John Silver, organist at Wimborne from 1664 to 1698, as the cover is inscribed 'Organ Booke: 1670 and 'D. S.'. Contains works by Christopher Gibbons, Richard Portman, and Frescobaldi.

Bailey, 'English Keyboard Music', 454-8.

Bailey, *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources*, 123-5.

Cox, *Organ Music*, 146-7, 514.

*York Minster Library (Y)**M. 16(s)*

Oblong quarto manuscript containing four keyboard suites copied by François de Prendcourt (1640s-1725).<sup>20</sup> Prendcourt's hand can be identified from a manuscript copy of his 'A short and easie way for to learn in a few days time all the principles of the musick, necessary for the practice of it, and chiefly for the use of the harpsichord, by F. de P' (US-Cn, Case MS 7Q 72). The date of compilation is uncertain, but an eighteenth century date seems likely to judge from the use of 5-line staves.

M. Tilmouth, 'York Minster Ms. M.16(s) and Captain Prendcourt', *ML* 54 (1973), 306-7.

A. L. Woolley, 'François de Prendcourt. Four Harpsichord Suites from York Minster Manuscript M. 16. S', M.Mus. diss. (University of Leeds, 2004).

**Japan (J)***Nanki Music Library, Tokyo (Tn)**MS N-3/35*

Upright manuscript, which appears to have begun as an amateur keyboard book in the middle of the seventeenth century, and was acquired by William Raylton at the beginning

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<sup>20</sup> For biographical information on Prendcourt, see *Roger North on Music*, ed. J. Wilson (London, 1959), 49-63, E. T. Corp, 'Further Light on the Career of "Captain" François de Prendcourt', *ML* 78 (1997), 15-23, and R. Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England During the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot, 2006), esp. 112 and 220.

of the eighteenth. Raylton signed the book: 'William Raylton his Book g[iven] b[y] y[e] M.C. March ye 3i 170 [*sic.*]'. Judging from the contents, and the variation in his handwriting, Raylton added to the manuscript over at least a period of twenty years (c. 1707-?after 1727). The portion he copied includes keyboard pieces by John Blow, Raphael Courteville, William Croft, John Weldon, Orlando Gibbons, Robert King, Jeremiah Clarke, John Barrett (setting), Handel (settings), Bononcini (settings), Raylton, and Henry Purcell (incomplete).

pp. 148-54.

### Republic of Ireland (Eire)

#### *Dublin, Archbishop Marsh's Library (Dm)*

##### Z3. 4. 13

Modern composite manuscript containing parts and scores to consort music, solo lyra viol music, and keyboard music. The keyboard music appears on two different types of paper, but appears to be in the same hand. All the movements are in E minor and are numbered: end of corant (f. 2), corant (ff. 2: no. '4') (conflated with preceding incomplete piece in Brookes), untitled (f. 5: no. '5' with no. '3' removed), air (f. 5v: no. '2'), corant (f. 5v: no. '3'; incomplete), saraband (f. 6: no. '11'), 'the Gingle' (f. 6: no. '12'), air (f. 6: no. '13'), 'the Snapp' (f. 6v: no. '14' and, in a different ink, '19'), air (f. 6v: no. '10' and, in a different ink, '15'). ?1660s.

Brookes, *British Keyboard Music*, 394.

R. Thompson, 'A Further Look at the Consort Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *Chelys* 24 (1995), esp. 10-11.

##### Z4. 2. 16

Folio manuscript containing two-part consort music by Christopher Gibbons. The Gibbons pieces were almost certainly not intended for solo keyboard given the titles of some of them, e. g. 'Dr Gibbons 2 parts', the use of 5-line staves, and two-part textures throughout. The first Gibbons piece also has continuo figures, and at the inverted rear end are bass parts with figures, entitled 'Through Base', to works by Lupo, White and Cranford.

Brookes, *British Keyboard Music*, 395.

## United States of America (US)

*Chicago, Newberry Library (Cn)*

*Case MS VM 2.3 E58r*

Manuscript of keyboard pieces, pedagogical materials, and vocal music signed 'Mary Rooper her Booke' and 'Elizabeth Roper ÷ her Booke 1691/ is ueri proper'. According to Gustafson, there are eleven hands in the volume, and most of the contributors were probably professional French musicians or English amateurs. Instruction materials and a small number of keyboard pieces in a later professional English hand appear on ff. 49-64v, probably dating from the early eighteenth century. The music in this hand includes settings of pieces by Henry Purcell, William Lord Byron and John Eccles.

Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, i, 67-8, and ii, 155-73.

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

*Case VMT 252 P72/1*

A copy of *Musick's Hand-maid* (1678) with 23 leaves of additional manuscript pieces. The manuscript addition includes psalm tune settings and pieces or settings of pieces by Henry Purcell, Henry Lawes, 'Mr. Ardoyne', William Lawes, Alphonso Marsh, Benjamin Sandley/ John Blow, and Albertus Bryne. *c.* 1680.

pp. 123-30.

*Los Angeles, University of California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library (LAuc)*

*D173 M4 H295 1690*

Small oblong volume containing keyboard pieces by G. B. Draghi and Henry Purcell. The volume is inscribed with an address: 'Att. Mr Shaws At ye Second House in Wild Court in Wild Street'. Formerly owned by Theodore Finney. The Purcell pieces appear to derive from *A Choice Collection of Lessons* (1696/9), although they may have been taken from a manuscript source also used by Charles Babel when compiled Lbl, Add. MS 39569. *c.* 1700.

R. Klakowich, 'Harpsichord Music by Purcell and Clarke in Los Angeles', *JM*, 4 (Spring, 1985- Spring, 1986), 171-190.

*M678 M4 H295 1710*

Oblong volume of keyboard pieces and a few fully written-out continuo parts to songs. The manuscript is inscribed 'Mary Fredrick', who may have been an early owner, and contains tallies probably for counting the cost of lessons. Formerly owned by W. T. R. Powell of Nanteos, Aberystwyth, and Theodore Finney. Contains keyboard pieces by Robert King, and settings of pieces by Henry Purcell, James Paisible (f. 5: [Minuet] = *The Compleat Flute Master* (1695), p. 10 (Hodge)), J. B. Lully, Jeremiah Clarke, and William Lord Byron. *c.* 1700.

f. 8, ('So faire so faire young celiass charms') = continuo part for song from Daniel Purcell's ode *The Triumph of Virtue* (1697). See *So Fair young Caelia's Charms* (London, 1697), and Lbl, Add. MS 22099, f. 32/ p. 61 ('so fair so fair yong celia' / 'D. P.') (C major).

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

Klakowich, 'Harpsichord Music by Purcell and Clarke'.

p. 97.

*P613 M4 1725*

Manuscript of keyboard music formerly owned by Theodore Finney. Nearly all of the contents are without titles or composer attributions. Contains a version of *The Italian Ground* by ?Jeremiah Clarke (see Lfom, Coke MS 1577 for sources of this piece), settings of Corelli and some psalm tune settings. ?1710s or 1720s.

*New Haven, Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library (NH)*

*Filmer MS 15*

Oblong manuscript of keyboard pieces copied by Francis Forcer for Amy Filmer, *c.* 1678-80. Contains pieces by Forcer and John Blow, and settings of pieces by Henry Purcell and William Turner.

pp. 46-52.

*Filmer MS 17*

Oblong manuscript of vocal music, keyboard music, anthems, treble parts and treble melodies in several hands. The manuscript contains five keyboard pieces copied by Francis Forcer, vocal and treble and bass music in the hand of William Turner. In addition, Daniel

Henstridge copied a version of the Snow/ Croft A minor ground (*Musick's Hand-maid 2* (1689), no. 19), two songs (incomplete), and the melody of 'Lilliburlero' (f. 12). Below the 'Lilliburlero' melody are second treble and bass parts in a different hand.

pp. 48-9.

*Filmer MS 19*

Single sheet with hand-ruled staves containing three treble and bass pieces in the hand of William Turner. As with the treble and bass pieces in Turner's hand in Filmer MS 17, these were probably not intended for solo keyboard.

p. 49.

*Filmer MS 24*

Oblong manuscript in a paper binding signed 'Elizabeth Filmer' containing simple keyboard pieces, texted settings of songs, bass parts, and pedagogical materials. The first piece is entitled '1st leson [*sic.*] for the harpsicord'. Contains pieces by John Blow, and settings of pieces by Henry Purcell and John Barrett. 'Elizabeth Filmer' was probably neither Elizabeth Beversham Filmer (c. 1661-1717, who married Robert Filmer, second baronet, or Elizabeth Filmer (1658-1710), daughter of Robert Filmer, first baronet, but probably a daughter of the following generation, as the the manuscript was probably compiled around 1700.<sup>21</sup>

*New York Public Library (NYp)*

*Drexel MS 5609*

Large manuscript partly compiled by Sir John Hawkins containing mostly sixteenth and seventeenth century keyboard, vocal, and treble and bass music. Virginia Brookes has pointed out that much of the contents derives from Lbl, Add. MS 10337, Pc, rés 1186, and *Musick's Hand-maid* (1663/78). Several pieces were also copied from 'a MS Book of Elizabeth Plume virginal Book dated July 20th 1695', 'a quarto MS without cover', and an 'oblong book of six lines', none of which are known to exist today. Despite its '1695' date, the pieces apparently taken from the 'Elizabeth Plume' manuscript appear to be of Commonwealth date. The contents of the other two manuscripts were of later date; the

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<sup>21</sup> For the genealogy of the Filmers, see R. Shay, 'Bass Parts to an Unknown Purcell Suite at Yale', *Notes* 57 (June, 2001), 819-33 (831).

'quarto MS without cover' contained settings of pieces by John Barrett, Henry Purcell, and Gottfried Finger, whilst the 'oblong book of six lines' contained pieces and settings of pieces by Henry Purcell, Jeremiah Clarke, and William Lord Byron.

Brookes, *British Keyboard Music*, 58-65.

Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire'.

*Drexel MS 5611*

Folio manuscript of keyboard music, probably copied during the Commonwealth or early Restoration. Most of the manuscript is in a single hand, with later additions in two other hands, one probably Albertus Bryne. Candace Bailey has pointed out that the main scribe appears to have been Thomas Heardson, who before the Commonwealth was organist of Ludlow parish church. Contains an index in the Heardson hand, which groups the contents by key, and pieces by Heardson, Hugh Facy, Jonas Trespure, La Barre/ Trespure, La Barre, John Cobb, John Mercure, Orlando Gibbons, Benjamin Rogers, Christopher Gibbons, Thomas Tomkins, John Bull, ?Richard Gibbs, Benjamin Cosyn, William Lawes and ?Arthur Phillips.

C. Bailey, 'New York Public Library Drexel MS 5611', *FAM* 47 (2000), 51-67.

Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, i, 63-5, and ii, 133-40.

R. Klakowich. 'Keyboard Sources in Mid-17th Century England and the French Aspect of English Keyboard Music' (State University of New York, Buffalo, 1985).

*San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery (SM)*

*HN 14176*

Unique copy of the 1612/13 edition of *Parthenia* with eight (incomplete) additional pieces, badly cropped, on the versos of the title page and dedication page. Judging from the handwriting and concordances, the pieces were probably copied in the 1660s or 1670s.

Brookes, *British Keyboard Music*, 116.

D. Greer, 'Manuscript Additions in "Parthenia" and other Early English Printed Music in America', *ML* 77 (1996), 169-82 (includes complete facsimile).

*MS x786.4108/M319*

Oblong manuscript of keyboard pieces by English and Italian composers. The style of the musical handwriting, particularly the clefs, and the Italian language captions, suggest a strong Italian influence. A connection to the woodwind player and marine painter Robert Woodcock (1690-1728) seems plausible.<sup>22</sup> His father ran a boarding school in Chelsea, and his mother was Deborah Woodcock (d. 1730). They had a daughter Deborah (d. 1722), who might have been the owner of the manuscript.<sup>23</sup> Chevil has also pointed out that the Chelsea Woodcocks were probably related to the musical family of the same name active in early eighteenth century Hereford, noting that they may have been of Italian decent, judging from genealogical records.<sup>24</sup> Contains toccatas by late seventeenth century Roman composers, a suite by Draghi, and a piece by 'L. R. (12<sup>yrs</sup> old)'.

A. Silbiger, 'Keyboard Music by Corelli's Colleagues: Roman Composers in English Sources', *Nuovissimi Studi Corelliani* (Firenze, 1982), 253-268.

*Urbana, University of Illinois MS x786.4108 / M319 "Woodcock MS", facs. edn., intro. A. Silbiger (SCKM 20, 1988).*

*Washington D. C., Folger Shakespeare Library*

*W. b. 529*

Late eighteenth century manuscript of keyboard, vocal and consort music, containing a copy of William Croft's almand, corant and saraband in E major (ff. 8-9).

R. Charteris, *An Annotated Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C.* (New York, 2005).

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<sup>22</sup> For Robert Woodcock, see D. Lasocki, 'Woodcock, Robert', *GMO*.

<sup>23</sup> R. Davies, *Chelsea Old Church* (London, 1904), 266-7 and 273-4.

<sup>24</sup> 'Clergy, Music Societies and the Development of a Musical Tradition: A Study of Music Societies in Hereford, 1690-1760', *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. S. Wollenberg and S. McVeigh (Aldershot, 2004), 41-2.

*MS M21.M185 case*

Thick oblong manuscript of keyboard music possibly copied by Francis Pigott (Shay and Thompson). It contains two harpsichord or organ pieces by Draghi interspersed with organ and harpsichord works by late seventeenth century composers mostly active in Rome, eight harpsichord suites probably all by Draghi and Francis Forcer, and four pieces by Johann Kuhnau, copied anonymously but identifiable from printed collections. A small amount of anonymous music in the manuscript might be Pigott's own, if he was the scribe, notably an enormous English ground in A major (pp. 129-52), a remarkable piece of 395 bars.

Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 290.

Silbiger, 'Keyboard Music by Corelli's Colleagues'.

*Washington, D. C., Library of Congress, MS M21.M185 case*, facs. edn., intro. A. Silbiger (SCKM 21, 1989).

**Present Location Unknown (existence recorded after 1900)**

*Cummings*

Large and important English manuscript of keyboard music that once belonged to W. H. Cummings and the organist H. J. Gauntlett (1805-76). According to John West and the sale catalogue of Gauntlett's library (1847) it contained pieces by Jonas Tressure, William Lawes, Richard Ayleward, Thomas Morley, ?Richard Gibbs, William Byrd, Matthew Locke, John Cobb, Christopher Gibbons, Orlando Gibbons, and 'F à Kempis' (Johannes Florentius à Kempis?).

J. West, 'Old English Organ Music', *PMLA* 37 (1910), 1-14 (4).  
pp. 154-55.

*Jeans*

Manuscript formerly owned by Lady Susi Jeans. Geoffrey Cox described it as 'an 18th-century manuscript bearing the title "Toccate Manuscite" on the cover, containing organ music written on five-line staves by an English scribe, in the same hand throughout'. At the Sotheby's sale of Jeans' library (28th May 1993) it was part of lot 96, a large miscellany of mostly eighteenth and nineteenth century vocal and keyboard music, which included a manuscript copy of Kuhnau's *Neuer Clavier Übung* (1696), 'together with early manuscripts

of keyboard music by Adlung (“Trio ex C moll 2 Clav. et Pedal”), Blow, Purcell, Telemann, Neumayer, “P. H.” (= ?Philip Hayes) and Kerll’ among much else.<sup>25</sup> Cox noted that seven out of the eighteen pieces are attributed to ‘P. H’, one of which is the keyboard fugue that Hart copied into Lbl, Add. MS 32161 (they clearly cannot be by Philip Hayes (1738-97)!). Other composers represented are an intriguing group— Henry Purcell, Blow, Draghi, Kerll and Weckmann.

Cox, *Organ Music*, 126-7, 519-20.

### *Mann*

Manuscript formerly belonging to Thomas Taphouse and A. H. Mann, which may have been an autograph of Richard Ayleward. The contents appear to survive in a copy, made c. 1890, by the pianist and writer Edward Dannreuther (see Lcm, MS 1154).

Ch. 7.

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<sup>25</sup> *Fine Printed and Manuscript Music* (Sotheby’s, 1993). An attempt to contact the present owner through Sotheby’s has failed.

## Appendix C

### Watermarks

The following table lists watermarks in most English manuscript sources of keyboard music dating *c.* 1660-1720, which are held in the UK. In addition, scale eye drawings of some of the marks are reproduced below. For explanations of terminology and mark names, see Ch. 2. In the 'Countermark/ Factor mark' column, countermarks are indicated unless factor mark (fm) is specified.

Source	Countermark/ Factor mark
ANGOUMOIS FLEUR-DE-LYS	
CAMhogwood, M1090	
En, Glen 134 (i) MS 3296	IJ (fm)
Lbl, Add. MS 22099	
Lbl, Add. MS 31446	?PVL
Lbl, Add. MS 31468	?LVG
Lbl, Add. MS 34695	IV
Lbl, Add. MS 39569	
Lbl, Add. MS 40139	
Lbl, Add. MS 71209	
Lbl, Eg. MS 2959	HC/ IB and IJ/ CDG
Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 397	?H? (cropped)
Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 399	?CP (cropped)
Ob, MS T 1508	?HDR
ARMS OF AMSTERDAM	
AY, D/ DR 10/ 6a	?JD
H, 30. a. xxx (unusual design)	IAN VAN TIII
H, 30. b. ix	IH or HI
Lbl, Add. MS 17853 <sup>i</sup>	PR

Source	Countermark/ Factor mark
Cfm, MU MS 653	
En, Inglis 94 MS 3343	
Lbl, Add. MS 52363	
Lbl, MS Mus. 1	IHS and PB
Llp, MS 1040	
Ob, MS Mus. Sch. d. 225	
Y, M. 16. S.	
Lbl, Add. MS 38188	LVG (fm)
CAMhogwood, M1471	
Drc, MS E32	
H, 30. b. ii	IV
Ob, MS Mus. Sch. f. 576 <sup>iii</sup>	CVG (fm)
Och, MS Mus. 46	
FLEUR-DE-LYS	
Lbl, Add. MS 31465	CDG
Lbl, Add. MS 41205	?LLAR (cropped)
FOOLSCAP (7 POINT)	
Lbl, Add. MS 17853	

Source	Countermark/ Factor mark
Lbl, Add. MS 47846	RH
Lbl, Add. MS 64965	?KIS
Lbl, R. M. 21. d. 8 (f. 66)	
Lcm, MS 2093	
Ob, MS Mus. Sch. e. 425 and 426	
Ob, MS Mus. Sch. f. 577	
Och, MS Mus. 598	HC (fm)
Och, MS Mus. 1141a (f. 6)	
Och, MS Mus. 1176 and 1177	II or IL <sup>ii</sup>
ARMS OF STRASBOURG (BEND)	
Cfm, MU MS 652	

Source	Countermark/ Factor mark
Ob, MS Mus. Sch. d. 219	PB
WOhc, LM 1083/ 91/ 35	HG
GRAPES	
Lcm, MS 734	
Och, MS Mus. 1003	
POSTHORN	
Och, MS Mus. 1179	
POT I <sup>iv</sup>	
HAdolmetsch, II. e. 17	
UNIDENTIFIED	
Ob, MS Mus. Sch. d. 219	IM or LM (fm)

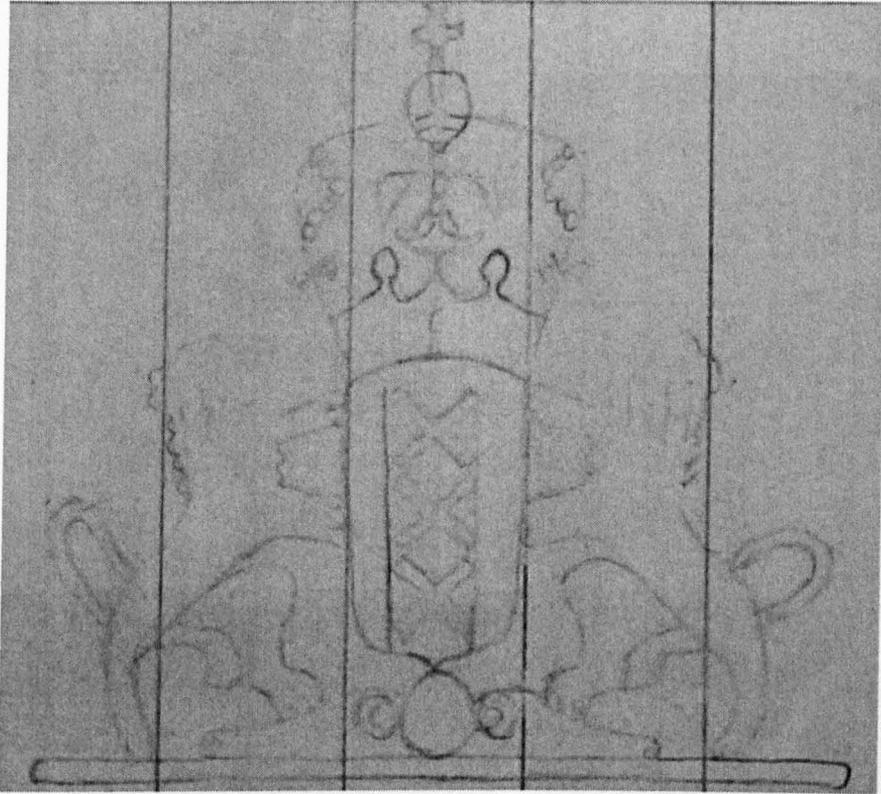
i. See R. Thompson, 'English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade, 1648-1688', Ph. D. diss. (King's College, University of London, 1988), i, 152 and ii, 315-6.

ii. Initial is surrounded by a wreath or crest.

iii. Similar to E. Heawood, *Watermarks, Mainly of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Hilversum, 1950), no. 3145.

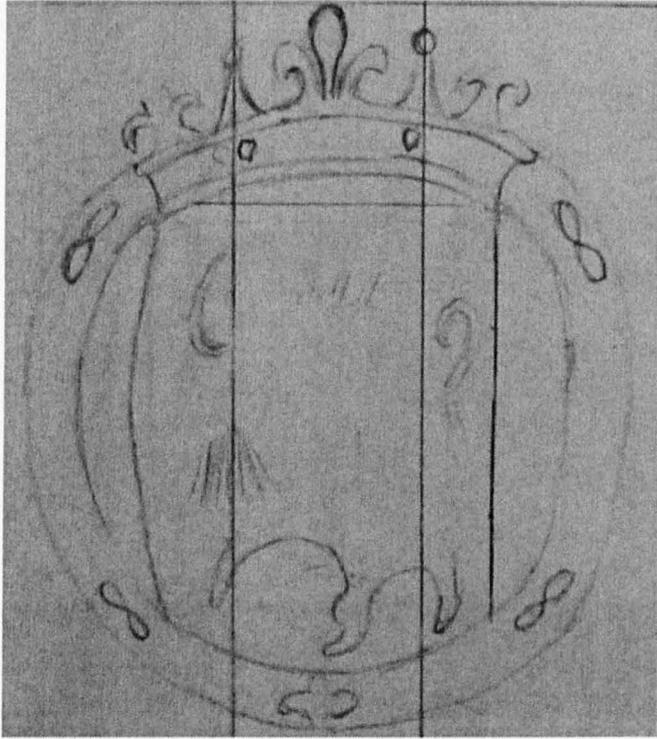
iv. See A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index* (Aldershot, 2001), 297.

H, 30. a. xxx (pp. 75/103)  
Chain-lines: 2.3, 2.4, 2.3



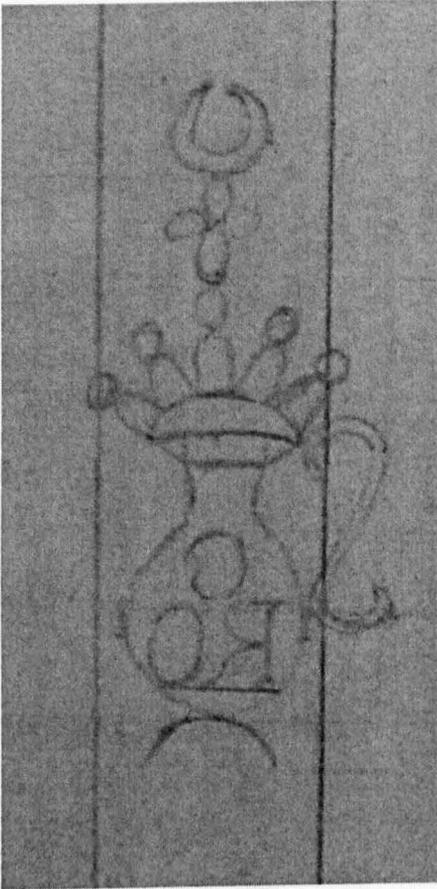
LAN VAIN TII

H, 30. b. ii (ff. 15/ 16v (rev.))  
Chain-line: 2.5



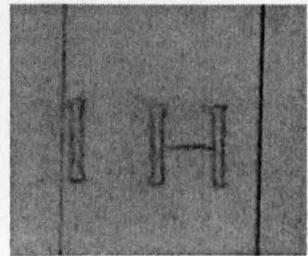
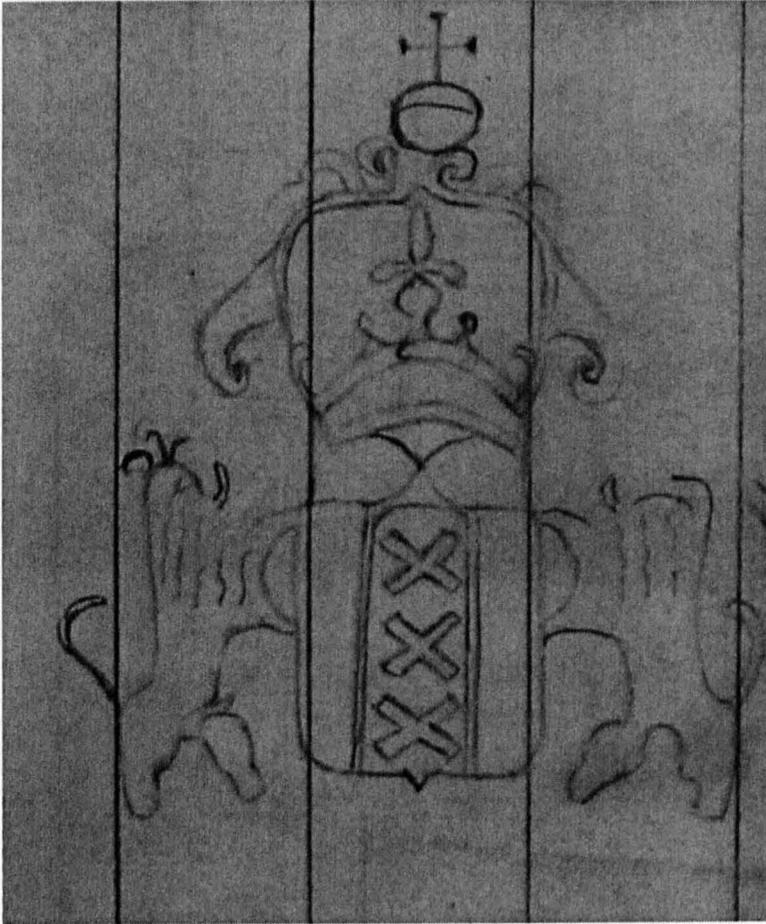
*HAdolmetsch, II. e. 17 (manuscript addition) (f. 30)*

Chain-line: 2.15



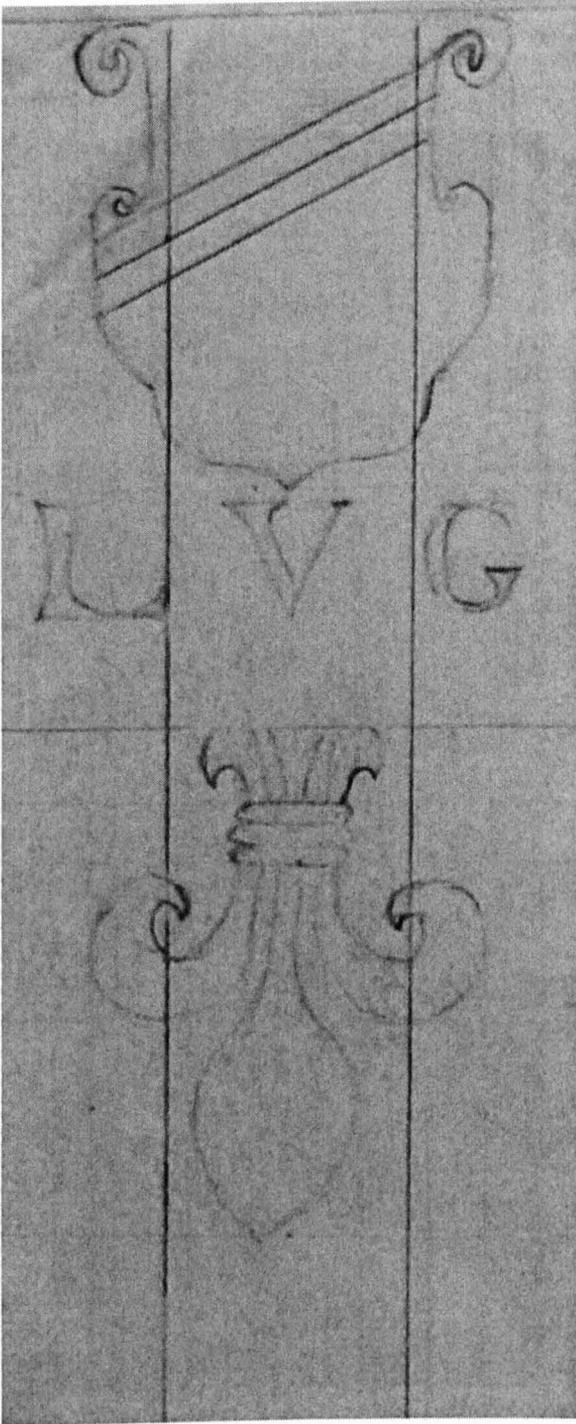
H, 30. b. ix (pp. 2/?)

Chain-lines: 2.2, 2.55, 2.4



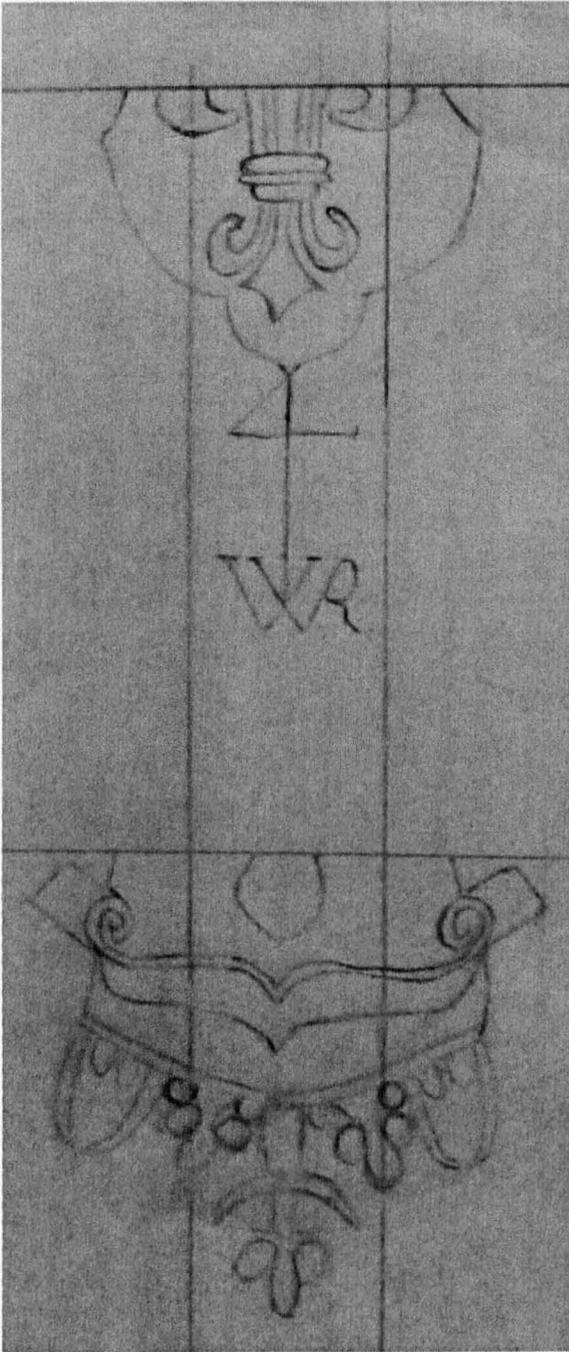
*Lbl, Add. MS 38188 (ff. 7/8)*

Chain-line: 2.6



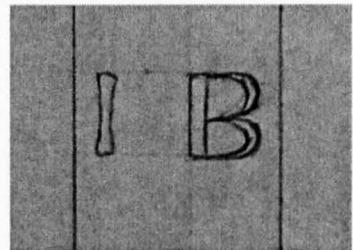
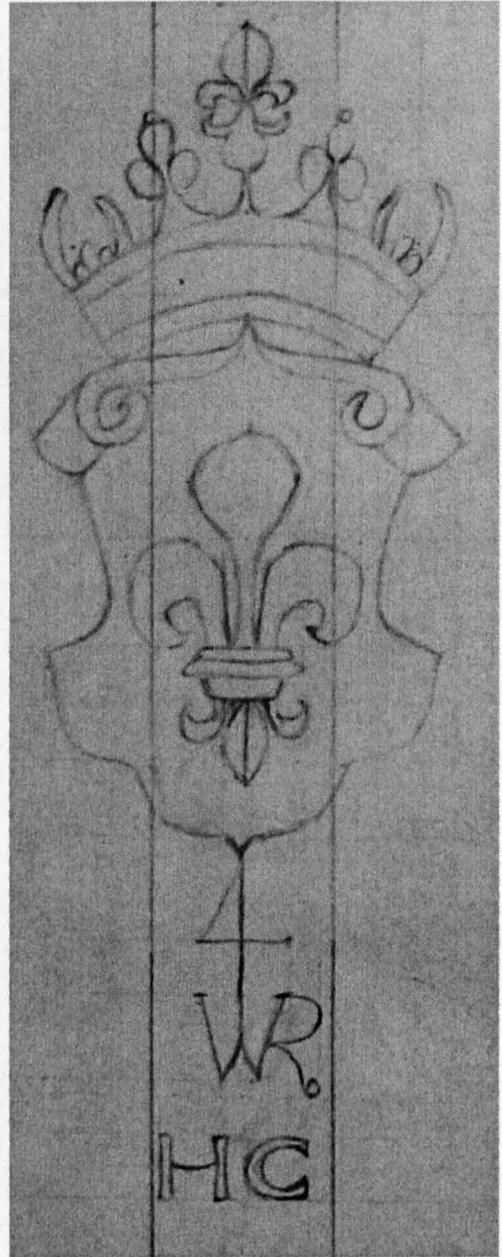
*Lbl, Add. MS 71209 (ff. 16/17)*

Chain-line: 2.6



*Lbl, Eg. MS 2959 (ff. 1/ 1v)*

Chain-line: 2.55



## Appendix D

### Transcriptions

For editorial procedure, see Commentary below.

#### *Chapter 3*

Och, MS Mus. 1141a, ff. 6-7v: William Croft autograph pieces

#### 3. i. Almand

The musical score for 'Almand' is presented in six systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The piece begins with a treble clef and a bass clef. The notation includes various note values, rests, and ornaments (trills and mordents). The score is divided into measures, with measure numbers 4, 7, 10, 13, and 16 indicated at the start of their respective systems. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

## 3. ii. Slow Ayre

The musical score is written in 3/4 time and consists of three systems of music. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The first system (measures 1-6) features a treble clef with a melody of eighth and sixteenth notes, and a bass clef with a simple accompaniment of quarter notes. The second system (measures 7-11) includes a repeat sign in the bass line and a fermata over the final note of the first staff. The third system (measures 12-15) concludes the piece with a final cadence. The text "end w.th ist strain" is written above the final measure.

7

12

end w.th  
ist strain

## 3. iii. Saraband

Measures 1-6 of the Saraband. The music is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The right hand features a melody of quarter notes and half notes, often with a fermata over the final note of a phrase. The left hand provides a steady accompaniment of eighth notes.

Measures 7-12 of the Saraband. Measure 7 begins with a first ending bracket. The right hand continues with a melodic line, and the left hand maintains the eighth-note accompaniment. Measure 12 ends with a repeat sign.

Measures 13-18 of the Saraband. Measure 13 starts with a second ending bracket. The right hand has a melodic line with some grace notes. The left hand continues with the eighth-note accompaniment. Measure 18 ends with a repeat sign.

Measures 19-23 of the Saraband. The right hand features a more active melodic line with sixteenth-note passages and grace notes. The left hand continues with the eighth-note accompaniment. Measure 23 ends with a repeat sign.

Measures 24-28 of the Saraband. The right hand has a melodic line with grace notes and a fermata over the final note. The left hand continues with the eighth-note accompaniment. Measure 28 ends with a repeat sign.

## 3. iv. Farewell or Hornpipe

The musical score is written in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). It consists of five systems of piano accompaniment, each with a treble and bass staff. The piece begins with a treble staff melody featuring trills and slurs, and a bass staff accompaniment with a steady eighth-note pattern. Measure numbers 6, 11, 16, and 21 are indicated at the start of their respective systems. A repeat sign with first and second endings is used at measure 11. A section marked with a double bar line and a repeat sign is labeled "[petit reprise]" at measure 21. The score concludes with a final cadence in the bass staff.

## 3. v. Slow Ayre

Musical score for '3. v. Slow Ayre' in G major, 3/4 time. The score consists of three systems of piano accompaniment. The first system contains measures 1-6. The second system contains measures 7-11, with a repeat sign at measure 10. The third system contains measures 12-15, ending with a double bar line. The key signature has one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 3/4. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings.

end w.th ye.  
first  
Strain

## 3. vi. Gavot

Musical score for '3. vi. Gavot' in G major, 2/4 time. The score consists of three systems of piano accompaniment. The first system contains measures 1-5. The second system contains measures 6-10, with a repeat sign at measure 9. The third system contains measures 11-15, ending with a double bar line. The key signature has one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 2/4. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings.

## 3. vii. Minuet

Measures 1-6 of the Minuet. The piece is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The right hand features a melody of eighth and quarter notes, while the left hand provides a bass line with chords and single notes.

Measures 7-12 of the Minuet. The right hand continues the melodic line with some grace notes. The left hand maintains a steady accompaniment.

Measures 13-20 of the Minuet. Measures 13-14 are marked with a repeat sign. The right hand has a more active melodic line, and the left hand has a rhythmic accompaniment.

Measures 21-27 of the Minuet. The right hand features a melodic line with a trill in measure 24. The left hand has a rhythmic accompaniment.

Measures 28-34 of the Minuet. The right hand has a melodic line with a trill in measure 29. The left hand has a rhythmic accompaniment. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

## Chapter 5

## Anonymous pieces from Och, MS Mus. 1179

## 5. i. Almand

The first system of the musical score for 'Almand' consists of two staves, treble and bass clef. The music is in a 3/4 time signature and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody in the treble clef begins with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The bass clef accompaniment starts with a quarter note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. The piece features a mix of eighth and quarter notes with some beamed eighth notes.

The second system of the musical score for 'Almand' consists of two staves, treble and bass clef. The music continues from the first system. The treble clef melody includes a quarter note C5, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note A4. The bass clef accompaniment features a quarter note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. The piece concludes this system with a double bar line and repeat dots.

The third system of the musical score for 'Almand' consists of two staves, treble and bass clef. The music continues from the second system. The treble clef melody includes a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The bass clef accompaniment features a quarter note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. The piece concludes this system with a double bar line and repeat dots.

The fourth system of the musical score for 'Almand' consists of two staves, treble and bass clef. The music continues from the third system. The treble clef melody includes a quarter note C5, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note A4. The bass clef accompaniment features a quarter note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. The piece concludes this system with a double bar line and repeat dots.

## 5. ii. Corant

Measures 1-3 of the Corant. The piece is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). Measure 1 starts with a treble clef and a bass clef, both with a '31' indicating the first fingerings. The melody in the treble clef begins with a quarter note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, and a quarter note Bb4. The bass line starts with a half note G3, followed by a half note F3. Measure 2 continues the melody with a quarter note C5, a quarter note Bb4, and a quarter note A4. The bass line has a half note G3 and a half note F3. Measure 3 features a treble clef with a half note G4 and a half note A4. The bass line has a half note G3 and a half note F3.

Measures 4-6 of the Corant. Measure 4 starts with a treble clef and a bass clef. The melody in the treble clef begins with a quarter note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, and a quarter note Bb4. The bass line starts with a half note G3, followed by a half note F3. Measure 5 continues the melody with a quarter note C5, a quarter note Bb4, and a quarter note A4. The bass line has a half note G3 and a half note F3. Measure 6 features a treble clef with a half note G4 and a half note A4. The bass line has a half note G3 and a half note F3.

Measures 7-9 of the Corant. Measure 7 starts with a treble clef and a bass clef. The melody in the treble clef begins with a quarter note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, and a quarter note Bb4. The bass line starts with a half note G3, followed by a half note F3. Measure 8 continues the melody with a quarter note C5, a quarter note Bb4, and a quarter note A4. The bass line has a half note G3 and a half note F3. Measure 9 features a treble clef with a half note G4 and a half note A4. The bass line has a half note G3 and a half note F3.

Measures 10-12 of the Corant. Measure 10 starts with a treble clef and a bass clef. The melody in the treble clef begins with a quarter note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, and a quarter note Bb4. The bass line starts with a half note G3, followed by a half note F3. Measure 11 continues the melody with a quarter note C5, a quarter note Bb4, and a quarter note A4. The bass line has a half note G3 and a half note F3. Measure 12 features a treble clef with a half note G4 and a half note A4. The bass line has a half note G3 and a half note F3.

Measures 13-15 of the Corant. Measure 13 starts with a treble clef and a bass clef. The melody in the treble clef begins with a quarter note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, and a quarter note Bb4. The bass line starts with a half note G3, followed by a half note F3. Measure 14 continues the melody with a quarter note C5, a quarter note Bb4, and a quarter note A4. The bass line has a half note G3 and a half note F3. Measure 15 features a treble clef with a half note G4 and a half note A4. The bass line has a half note G3 and a half note F3. The piece concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The text "[petit reprise]" is written above the final measure.

## 5. iii. Saraband

Measures 1-3 of the Saraband. The music is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. The right hand features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand provides a steady bass line with quarter and eighth notes.

Measures 4-6 of the Saraband. Measure 4 begins with a four-measure rest in the right hand. The left hand continues with a rhythmic pattern. A repeat sign appears at the end of measure 5, leading to measure 6.

Measures 7-9 of the Saraband. The right hand has a melodic line with eighth notes and rests. The left hand has a bass line with quarter notes and rests.

Measures 10-12 of the Saraband. The right hand has a melodic line with eighth notes and rests. The left hand has a bass line with quarter notes and rests. The piece concludes with a final cadence in measure 12.

## 5. iv. Almand

Measures 1-4 of the piece. The music is in G major and 3/4 time. The right hand features a melodic line with chords, while the left hand provides a bass line with some rests.

Measures 5-8 of the piece. Measure 5 is marked with a '5'. The right hand continues with a melodic line, and the left hand has a more active bass line. A repeat sign is present at the end of measure 8.

Measures 9-11 of the piece. Measure 9 is marked with a '9'. The right hand has a melodic line with some chords, and the left hand has a bass line with some rests.

Measures 12-15 of the piece. Measure 12 is marked with a '12'. The right hand has a melodic line with some chords, and the left hand has a bass line with some rests. The piece ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

## 5. v. Corant.

Musical notation for measures 1-6. The piece is in G major (one sharp) and common time (C). The melody in the treble clef begins with a quarter note G, followed by eighth notes A and B, and a quarter note C. The bass line starts with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note G, and then a series of quarter notes: A, B, C, D, E, F#.

Musical notation for measures 7-11. Measure 7 starts with a quarter note G in the treble and a quarter note G in the bass. Measure 8 has a quarter note A in the treble and a quarter note A in the bass. Measure 9 has a quarter note B in the treble and a quarter note B in the bass. Measure 10 has a quarter note C in the treble and a quarter note C in the bass. Measure 11 has a quarter note D in the treble and a quarter note D in the bass. A double bar line with repeat dots follows.

Musical notation for measures 12-18. Measure 12 has a quarter note E in the treble and a quarter note E in the bass. Measure 13 has a quarter note F# in the treble and a quarter note F# in the bass. Measure 14 has a quarter note G in the treble and a quarter note G in the bass. Measure 15 has a quarter note A in the treble and a quarter note A in the bass. Measure 16 has a quarter note B in the treble and a quarter note B in the bass. Measure 17 has a quarter note C in the treble and a quarter note C in the bass. Measure 18 has a quarter note D in the treble and a quarter note D in the bass.

Musical notation for measures 19-24. Measure 19 has a quarter note E in the treble and a quarter note E in the bass. Measure 20 has a quarter note F# in the treble and a quarter note F# in the bass. Measure 21 has a quarter note G in the treble and a quarter note G in the bass. Measure 22 has a quarter note A in the treble and a quarter note A in the bass. Measure 23 has a quarter note B in the treble and a quarter note B in the bass. Measure 24 has a quarter note C in the treble and a quarter note C in the bass. The piece ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

## 5. vi. Saraband.

Measures 1-8 of the Saraband. The music is in G major and 3/4 time. The right hand features a melodic line with grace notes and slurs, while the left hand provides a steady bass accompaniment with chords and single notes.

Measures 9-12 of the Saraband. The right hand continues the melodic theme with slurs and grace notes. The left hand maintains the bass accompaniment with chords and single notes.

Measures 13-16 of the Saraband. The right hand features a melodic line with slurs and grace notes. The left hand provides a bass accompaniment with chords and single notes.

## 5. vii. Prelude (?Blow)

Measures 1-4 of the Prelude. The music is in C major and 3/4 time. The right hand features a melodic line with slurs and grace notes. The left hand provides a bass accompaniment with chords and single notes.

Measures 5-6 of the Prelude. The right hand continues the melodic theme with slurs and grace notes. The left hand maintains the bass accompaniment with chords and single notes.

Measures 7-10 of the Prelude. The right hand features a melodic line with slurs and grace notes. The left hand provides a bass accompaniment with chords and single notes.

10

Musical notation for measures 10 and 11. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. Measure 10 features a treble staff with eighth and sixteenth notes and a bass staff with quarter notes. Measure 11 continues the melodic line in the treble and provides harmonic support in the bass.

12

Musical notation for measures 12 and 13. Measure 12 shows a treble staff with a complex rhythmic pattern of sixteenth and thirty-second notes, while the bass staff has a simpler eighth-note accompaniment. Measure 13 continues this texture with similar rhythmic patterns.

14

Musical notation for measures 14 and 15. Measure 14 features a treble staff with eighth-note chords and a bass staff with quarter notes. Measure 15 continues the harmonic progression with similar chordal textures.

16

Musical notation for measures 16, 17, and 18. Measure 16 has a treble staff with chords and a bass staff with eighth notes. Measure 17 continues the melodic and harmonic development. Measure 18 concludes the system with a final chord in the treble and a sustained bass note.

## Chapter 6

## Anonymous pieces from Lbl, Add. MS 31403

## 6. i. Almand (?Locke or an imitator)

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "Almand" in D major, 3/4 time. The score is presented in six systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 3/4. The piece begins with a treble clef and a bass clef. The first system (measures 1-3) features a treble staff with a melodic line starting on a half note D4, followed by eighth notes, and a bass staff with a half note D3 and a series of eighth notes. The second system (measures 4-6) continues the melodic development in the treble and accompaniment in the bass. The third system (measures 7-9) shows a more active treble line with sixteenth notes and a steady bass accompaniment. The fourth system (measures 10-12) features a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a steady accompaniment. The fifth system (measures 13-14) shows a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a steady accompaniment. The sixth system (measures 15-16) concludes the piece with a final cadence in the treble and a steady bass accompaniment. The score is written in a clear, legible style with standard musical notation.

## 6. ii. Preludium

6. ii. Preludium

6

9

11

14

16

Musical notation for measures 16 and 17. The system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. Measure 16 features a treble staff with a series of eighth notes and a bass staff with a simple accompaniment. Measure 17 continues the treble staff's melodic line and the bass staff's accompaniment.

18

Musical notation for measures 18, 19, and 20. The system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. Measure 18 shows a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. Measures 19 and 20 continue the piece with similar notation.

21

Musical notation for measures 21 and 22. The system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. Measure 21 features a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. Measure 22 continues the piece with similar notation.

23

Musical notation for measures 23 and 24. The system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. Measure 23 features a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. Measure 24 continues the piece with similar notation.

25

Musical notation for measures 25 and 26. The system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. Measure 25 features a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. Measure 26 continues the piece with similar notation.

27

Musical notation for measures 27 and 28. The system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. Measure 27 features a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. Measure 28 continues the piece with similar notation.

29

Musical notation for measures 29 and 30. The system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. Measure 29 features a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. Measure 30 continues the piece with similar notation.

30

Musical notation for measures 30 and 31. The system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. Measure 30 features a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. Measure 31 continues the piece with similar notation.

## 6. iii. A Ground

The musical score is presented in a grand staff format, consisting of a treble clef system on top and a bass clef system on the bottom. The time signature is 3/4. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The score is divided into seven systems, each starting with a measure number: 1, 5, 9, 13, 17, 20, and 23. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, as well as rests. There are several dynamic markings, including 'p' (piano) and 'p.' (piano). The piece features a variety of chordal textures and melodic lines, with some measures containing complex rhythmic patterns. The overall style is characteristic of a Baroque ground, with a steady, repeating rhythmic pattern.

27

Musical score for measures 27-31. The piece is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The right hand features a melody with eighth and quarter notes, while the left hand provides a steady accompaniment of eighth notes. Measure 31 ends with a repeat sign.

32

Musical score for measures 32-36. The right hand continues the melodic line with some rests, and the left hand has a more active eighth-note accompaniment. A piano (*p.*) dynamic marking is present in measure 34.

37

Musical score for measures 37-40. The right hand has a more active melodic line with eighth notes, and the left hand features a dense eighth-note accompaniment.

41

Musical score for measures 41-44. The right hand has a melodic line with eighth notes, and the left hand has a steady eighth-note accompaniment. Measure 44 ends with a repeat sign.

45

Musical score for measures 45-48. The right hand has a melodic line with eighth notes, and the left hand has a steady eighth-note accompaniment. Measure 48 ends with a repeat sign.

49

Musical score for measures 49-52. The right hand has a melodic line with eighth notes, and the left hand has a steady eighth-note accompaniment. Measure 52 ends with a repeat sign.

53

Musical score for measures 53-56. The right hand has a melodic line with eighth notes, and the left hand has a steady eighth-note accompaniment. Measure 56 ends with a repeat sign.

57



62



66



70



74



78



82



This page contains a piano score for measures 57 through 85. The music is written in a single system with two staves per system (treble and bass clef). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The time signature is 3/4. The score is divided into systems of four measures each, with measure numbers 57, 62, 66, 70, 74, 78, and 82 marking the beginning of each system. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings such as *p* (piano) and *mf* (mezzo-forte).

86

Musical score for measures 86-89. The system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). Measure 86 features a complex rhythmic pattern in the treble with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the bass has a simple accompaniment. Measures 87-89 continue this pattern with various rests and note values.

90

Musical score for measures 90-93. The system consists of two staves. Measure 90 shows a change in the treble staff with more active eighth-note patterns. The bass staff continues with a steady accompaniment. Measures 91-93 show further development of the melodic and harmonic ideas.

94

Musical score for measures 94-98. The system consists of two staves. Measure 94 features a dense texture in the treble with many sixteenth notes. The bass staff has a more sparse accompaniment. Measures 95-98 show a gradual resolution of the complex textures.

99

Musical score for measures 99-101. The system consists of two staves. Measure 99 has a prominent melodic line in the treble. The bass staff provides a harmonic foundation. Measures 100-101 continue the melodic and harmonic progression.

102

Musical score for measures 102-104. The system consists of two staves. Measure 102 features a rhythmic pattern in the treble. The bass staff has a simple accompaniment. Measures 103-104 show further development of the musical ideas.

105

Musical score for measures 105-109. The system consists of two staves. Measure 105 features a complex rhythmic pattern in the treble. The bass staff has a simple accompaniment. Measures 106-109 show further development of the musical ideas.

110

Musical score for measures 110-112. The system consists of two staves. Measure 110 features a complex rhythmic pattern in the treble. The bass staff has a simple accompaniment. Measures 111-112 show further development of the musical ideas.

113

Musical score for measures 113-115. The system consists of two staves. Measure 113 features a complex rhythmic pattern in the treble. The bass staff has a simple accompaniment. Measures 114-115 show further development of the musical ideas.

## Chapter 7

## Transcriptions from Lcm, MS 1154 and Llp, MS 1040

## 7. i. Allmande nouvelle

6

10

14

16

## 7. ii. Corant and double (?Ayleward)

Musical notation for measures 1-4. The piece is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The right hand features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and single notes.

Musical notation for measures 5-8. The right hand continues the melodic development with some grace notes and slurs. The left hand maintains a steady accompaniment.

Musical notation for measures 9-12. The right hand shows more rhythmic complexity with sixteenth-note patterns. The left hand accompaniment includes some triplet-like figures.

Musical notation for measures 13-15. The right hand has a more active melodic line. The left hand accompaniment features some syncopated rhythms.

Musical notation for measures 16-19. The right hand concludes the piece with a final melodic phrase. The left hand accompaniment ends with a sustained chord in the final measure.

## 7. iii. Saraband and double (?Ayleward)

The first system of the musical score consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 3/4. The music begins with a series of chords and single notes, primarily in the right hand, with some accompaniment in the left hand.

The second system of the musical score consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music continues from the first system, featuring a mix of chords and melodic lines in both hands.

The third system of the musical score consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. This system shows a more active melodic line in the right hand with frequent eighth notes, while the left hand provides a steady accompaniment.

The fourth system of the musical score consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music features a melodic phrase in the right hand that concludes with a double bar line, followed by a continuation of the accompaniment in the left hand.

The fifth system of the musical score consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. This system concludes the piece with a final melodic flourish in the right hand and a sustained accompaniment in the left hand.

## 7. iv. Promise (Ayleward)

Measures 1-3 of the piece. The music is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody in the treble clef begins with a quarter note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and C5. The bass clef accompaniment starts with a whole note chord of G2, B2, and D3.

Measures 4-7. The melody continues with quarter notes D5, E5, and F#5. The bass clef accompaniment features a series of chords and moving lines, including a half note chord of G2, B2, and D3 in measure 4.

Measures 8-10. The melody consists of quarter notes G4, A4, B4, and C5. The bass clef accompaniment includes a half note chord of G2, B2, and D3 in measure 8.

Measures 11-13. The melody features quarter notes D5, E5, and F#5. The bass clef accompaniment includes a half note chord of G2, B2, and D3 in measure 11.

Measures 14-16. The melody includes quarter notes G4, A4, B4, and C5. The bass clef accompaniment features a half note chord of G2, B2, and D3 in measure 14. Measure 16 ends with a double bar line and repeat sign.

Measures 17-20. The melody consists of quarter notes D5, E5, and F#5. The bass clef accompaniment includes a half note chord of G2, B2, and D3 in measure 17.

Measures 21-24. The melody features quarter notes G4, A4, B4, and C5. The bass clef accompaniment includes a half note chord of G2, B2, and D3 in measure 21.

26

## 7. v. Performance (Ayleward)

4

11

17

## Chapter 8

## 8. i. Prelude (?Henry Purcell)

Measures 1-4 of the Prelude. The piece is in common time (C). The right hand features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand provides a steady accompaniment of eighth notes.

Measures 5-8 of the Prelude. Measure 5 begins with a finger number '5' above the treble clef. The melodic line continues with eighth notes, and the left hand accompaniment remains consistent.

Measures 9-12 of the Prelude. Measure 9 begins with a finger number '9' above the treble clef. The right hand melody continues, and the left hand accompaniment features some rests.

Measures 13-16 of the Prelude. Measure 13 begins with a finger number '13' above the treble clef. The piece continues with its characteristic eighth-note accompaniment.

Measures 17-20 of the Prelude. Measure 17 begins with a finger number '17' above the treble clef. The melodic line shows some chromatic movement.

Measures 21-23 of the Prelude. Measure 21 begins with a finger number '21' above the treble clef. The piece continues with its characteristic eighth-note accompaniment.

Measures 24-26 of the Prelude. Measure 24 begins with a finger number '24' above the treble clef. The piece concludes with a final cadence. A page number '8' is printed at the bottom center of the page.

## 8. ii. Voluntary

Musical score for "8. ii. Voluntary", consisting of six systems of music. Each system contains two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The music is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, accidentals, and dynamic markings. The systems are numbered 1, 7, 13, 19, 25, and 29, indicating the starting measure of each system. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of the sixth system.

## 8. iii. Prelude (Henry Purcell)

The image displays a musical score for a prelude by Henry Purcell, consisting of five systems of music. Each system is written for a grand piano, with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). The score begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The first system (measures 1-3) features a treble staff with a series of eighth notes and a bass staff with a simple accompaniment. The second system (measures 4-6) continues the melodic line in the treble and adds more complex accompaniment in the bass. The third system (measures 7-9) shows a more active treble line with sixteenth notes and a bass line with sustained chords. The fourth system (measures 10-11) features a treble line with a melodic phrase and a bass line with a steady accompaniment. The fifth system (measures 12-13) concludes the piece with a final melodic phrase in the treble and a sustained bass line. The score is marked with various musical notations, including slurs, accents, and dynamic markings.

## 8. iv. Almand (att. Henry Purcell, Z642/1)

The image displays a musical score for the piece 'Almand' by Henry Purcell, measures 1 through 22. The score is written in G major and 3/4 time. It consists of six systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The music features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. Measure numbers 1, 5, 9, 13, 17, and 22 are clearly marked at the beginning of their respective systems. The notation includes slurs, accents, and dynamic markings such as 'f' and 'p'. The piece concludes with a final cadence in measure 22.

Musical score for a piece, measures 26-37. The score is written for piano in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It consists of four systems of two staves each (treble and bass clef). Measure 26 starts with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The melody in the treble clef is characterized by eighth-note patterns and slurs. The bass clef provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and moving lines. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat signs at the end of measure 37.

## 8. v. Corant (att. Henry Purcell, Z642/2)

Musical score for '8. v. Corant' (attributed to Henry Purcell, Z642/2). The score is written for piano in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It consists of three systems of two staves each (treble and bass clef). Measure 1 starts with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The melody in the treble clef is characterized by eighth-note patterns and slurs. The bass clef provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and moving lines. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat signs at the end of measure 11.

16

Musical notation for measures 16-20. The system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The treble staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a trill in measure 17 and a fermata in measure 18. The bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and moving lines.

21

Musical notation for measures 21-25. The treble staff continues the melodic development with a trill in measure 22 and a fermata in measure 24. The bass staff maintains the accompaniment.

26

Musical notation for measures 26-30. The treble staff features a trill in measure 27 and a fermata in measure 29. The bass staff continues the accompaniment.

31

Musical notation for measures 31-35. The treble staff has a trill in measure 32 and a fermata in measure 34. The bass staff continues the accompaniment.

36

Musical notation for measures 36-39. The treble staff has a trill in measure 37 and a fermata in measure 38. The bass staff continues the accompaniment.

40

Musical notation for measures 40-44. The treble staff has a trill in measure 41 and a fermata in measure 43. The bass staff continues the accompaniment. The system concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

## 8. vi. Almand (att. Henry Purcell, ZD218)

Measures 1-3 of the Almand. The piece is in 3/4 time. The right hand features a melodic line with eighth-note patterns and a final half-note with a fermata. The left hand provides a bass line with eighth-note accompaniment.

Measures 4-6 of the Almand. The right hand continues the melodic line with eighth-note patterns. The left hand features a bass line with eighth-note accompaniment and a half-note with a fermata at the end of measure 6.

Measures 7-9 of the Almand. The right hand features a melodic line with eighth-note patterns and a half-note with a fermata. The left hand provides a bass line with eighth-note accompaniment.

Measures 10-12 of the Almand. The right hand features a melodic line with eighth-note patterns and a half-note with a fermata. The left hand provides a bass line with eighth-note accompaniment.

Measures 13-15 of the Almand. The right hand features a melodic line with eighth-note patterns and a half-note with a fermata. The left hand provides a bass line with eighth-note accompaniment.

Measures 16-18 of the Almand. The right hand features a melodic line with eighth-note patterns and a half-note with a fermata. The left hand provides a bass line with eighth-note accompaniment.

19

22

24

This page contains three systems of musical notation for piano. The first system (measures 19-21) features a treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a 3/4 time signature. The right hand plays a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand provides a bass line with quarter and eighth notes. The second system (measures 22-23) continues the melodic development in the right hand, with a prominent slur over a phrase in measure 22. The third system (measures 24-25) concludes the piece with a final cadence in the right hand and a bass line that ends with a double bar line.

## 8. vii. Almand (att. Henry Purcell, Z664/1)

Measures 1-3 of the Almand. The piece is in G minor (one flat) and common time. The right hand features a complex rhythmic pattern with sixteenth and thirty-second notes, while the left hand provides a steady bass line with occasional rests.

Measures 4-6 of the Almand. The right hand continues with intricate sixteenth-note passages, and the left hand maintains a consistent accompaniment.

Measures 7-10 of the Almand. Measure 7 begins with a repeat sign. The right hand has a more active role with sixteenth-note runs, and the left hand has some rests in measure 8.

Measures 11-13 of the Almand. The right hand features a prominent sixteenth-note figure. A fermata is placed over the final note of measure 13.

Measures 14-16 of the Almand. The right hand continues with sixteenth-note patterns. A fermata is placed over the final note of measure 16.

Measures 17-19 of the Almand. Measure 17 features a dense sixteenth-note texture in the right hand. The piece concludes with a final cadence in measure 19.

## 8. viii. Corant (att. Henry Purcell, Z664/2)

The musical score is presented in seven systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The key signature is G minor (two flats) and the time signature is 3/4. Measure numbers 31, 6, 12, 18, 24, 30, and 36 are indicated at the beginning of their respective systems. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and accidentals. There are also articulation marks like slurs and accents throughout the piece.

## 8. ix. Saraband (att. Henry Purcell, Z664/3)

Musical score for Saraband (att. Henry Purcell, Z664/3). The score is in 3/4 time and features a melodic line in the right hand and a rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The score is divided into four systems, with measures 31, 5, 9, and 13 marked at the beginning of each system. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

## 8. Prelude (att. Henry Purcell, Z652)

Musical score for Prelude (att. Henry Purcell, Z652). The score is in 3/4 time and features a melodic line in the right hand and a rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The score is divided into three systems, with measures 4 and 7 marked at the beginning of each system. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

10

Musical notation for measures 10-12. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. Measure 10 features a complex texture with sixteenth-note runs in the treble and a bass line with a whole note chord. Measure 11 continues the sixteenth-note patterns. Measure 12 shows a change in texture with block chords in the treble and a bass line with eighth notes.

13

Musical notation for measures 13-15. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. Measure 13 has a treble staff with sixteenth-note runs and a bass line with quarter notes. Measure 14 continues the sixteenth-note patterns. Measure 15 features a treble staff with sixteenth-note runs and a bass line with eighth notes.

16

Musical notation for measures 16-17. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. Measure 16 has a treble staff with sixteenth-note runs and a bass line with eighth notes. Measure 17 continues the sixteenth-note patterns.

18

Musical notation for measures 18-19. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. Measure 18 has a treble staff with sixteenth-note runs and a bass line with eighth notes. Measure 19 continues the sixteenth-note patterns.

20

Musical notation for measures 20-21. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. Measure 20 has a treble staff with sixteenth-note runs and a bass line with eighth notes. Measure 21 continues the sixteenth-note patterns.

22

Musical notation for measures 22-23. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. Measure 22 has a treble staff with sixteenth-note runs and a bass line with eighth notes. Measure 23 features a treble staff with sixteenth-note runs and a bass line with a whole note chord.

24

Musical notation for measures 24-25. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. Measure 24 has a treble staff with sixteenth-note runs and a bass line with eighth notes. Measure 25 features a treble staff with sixteenth-note runs and a bass line with a whole note chord.

Pieces from Lbl, Add. MS 39569

9. i. Ouverture (?Dieupart)

Musical notation for measures 1-5. The piece is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The right hand features a melodic line with grace notes and slurs, while the left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and moving lines.

Musical notation for measures 6-10. The right hand continues the melodic development with grace notes and slurs. The left hand maintains the accompaniment with various chordal textures.

Musical notation for measures 11-16. The right hand shows more melodic activity with grace notes. The left hand accompaniment includes some rests and sustained notes.

Musical notation for measures 17-21. The right hand concludes the first section with a final chord. The left hand accompaniment features a double bar line and first/second endings.

Musical notation for measures 22-25, labeled "Reprise". The right hand begins with a 7-measure rest followed by a melodic line. The left hand accompaniment is more active, featuring a 7-measure rest followed by a rhythmic pattern.

Musical notation for measures 26-29. The right hand continues the melodic line with grace notes. The left hand accompaniment features a steady rhythmic pattern.

Musical notation for measures 30-33. The right hand continues the melodic line. The left hand accompaniment features a steady rhythmic pattern.

34

38

42

46

## 9. i. Allemande (?Dieupart)

The image displays a musical score for the Allemande in G major, BWV 994 by Johann Sebastian Bach. The score is written for piano and is in 3/4 time. It consists of six systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 3/4. The piece begins with a treble clef and a bass clef. The first system (measures 1-3) features a treble staff with a series of eighth notes and a bass staff with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The second system (measures 4-6) continues the melodic line in the treble and the accompaniment in the bass. The third system (measures 7-9) includes a first ending (marked '1.') and a second ending (marked '2.'). The word 'Reprise' is written above the second ending. The fourth system (measures 10-12) shows the continuation of the piece. The fifth system (measures 13-15) features a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a steady accompaniment. The sixth system (measures 16-18) concludes the piece with a final cadence in the treble and a steady accompaniment in the bass.

## 9. iii. Courante (Dieupart)

Musical score for Courante (Dieupart) in G major, 3/4 time. The score is presented in six systems, each with a treble and bass clef staff. The key signature is G major (one sharp) and the time signature is 3/4. The piece consists of 14 measures. Measure numbers 4, 7, 9, 12, and 14 are indicated at the beginning of their respective systems. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and articulation marks such as slurs and trills. A first and second ending are shown at measures 11 and 12. The piece concludes with a double bar line at measure 14.

## 9. iv. Sarabande (?Dieupart)

Measures 1-7 of the Sarabande. The piece is in 3/4 time with a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The right hand features a melodic line with frequent trills and slurs, while the left hand provides a steady accompaniment of eighth and sixteenth notes.

Measures 8-13 of the Sarabande. The right hand continues with trills and slurs, and the left hand maintains its accompaniment pattern. Measure 13 ends with a fermata over the final chord.

Measures 14-19 of the Sarabande. Measures 14 and 15 include first and second endings. The first ending leads back to the beginning of the piece, while the second ending leads to the final section. The right hand continues with trills and slurs, and the left hand provides accompaniment.

Measures 20-25 of the Sarabande. The right hand features trills and slurs, and the left hand provides accompaniment. Measure 25 ends with a fermata over the final chord.

Measures 26-31 of the Sarabande. The right hand continues with trills and slurs, and the left hand provides accompaniment. Measure 31 ends with a fermata over the final chord.

## 9. v. Gavotte (?Dieupart)

The first system of the Gavotte consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. Both are in the key of D major (two sharps) and 2/4 time. The music begins with a treble clef and a key signature of two sharps. The first measure contains a quarter note D4, a quarter note E4, and a quarter note F4, all with a mordent. The second measure contains a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4, all with a mordent. The third measure contains a quarter note C5, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note A4, all with a mordent. The fourth measure contains a quarter note G4, a quarter note F4, and a quarter note E4, all with a mordent. The fifth measure contains a quarter note D4, a quarter note C4, and a quarter note B3, all with a mordent. The sixth measure contains a quarter note A3, a quarter note G3, and a quarter note F3, all with a mordent. The system ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

The second system of the Gavotte consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. Both are in the key of D major (two sharps) and 2/4 time. The music begins with a treble clef and a key signature of two sharps. The first measure contains a quarter note D4, a quarter note E4, and a quarter note F4, all with a mordent. The second measure contains a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4, all with a mordent. The third measure contains a quarter note C5, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note A4, all with a mordent. The fourth measure contains a quarter note G4, a quarter note F4, and a quarter note E4, all with a mordent. The fifth measure contains a quarter note D4, a quarter note C4, and a quarter note B3, all with a mordent. The sixth measure contains a quarter note A3, a quarter note G3, and a quarter note F3, all with a mordent. The system ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

The third system of the Gavotte consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. Both are in the key of D major (two sharps) and 2/4 time. The music begins with a treble clef and a key signature of two sharps. The first measure contains a quarter note D4, a quarter note E4, and a quarter note F4, all with a mordent. The second measure contains a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4, all with a mordent. The third measure contains a quarter note C5, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note A4, all with a mordent. The fourth measure contains a quarter note G4, a quarter note F4, and a quarter note E4, all with a mordent. The fifth measure contains a quarter note D4, a quarter note C4, and a quarter note B3, all with a mordent. The sixth measure contains a quarter note A3, a quarter note G3, and a quarter note F3, all with a mordent. The system ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

## 9. vi. Allemande

Measures 1-2 of the Allemande. The piece is in G minor (one flat) and 3/4 time. Measure 1 features a treble clef with a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4, followed by a half note C5. The bass clef has a quarter note G3, a quarter note A3, and a quarter note B3, followed by a half note C4. Measure 2 continues with a treble clef containing a quarter note B4, a quarter note C5, and a quarter note D5, followed by a half note E5. The bass clef has a quarter note C4, a quarter note D4, and a quarter note E4, followed by a half note F4. Various ornaments are indicated by asterisks and wavy lines above notes.

Measures 3-5 of the Allemande. Measure 3 starts with a treble clef containing a quarter note E5, a quarter note F5, and a quarter note G5, followed by a half note A5. The bass clef has a quarter note G3, a quarter note A3, and a quarter note B3, followed by a half note C4. Measure 4 has a treble clef with a quarter note A5, a quarter note B5, and a quarter note C6, followed by a half note D6. The bass clef has a quarter note D4, a quarter note E4, and a quarter note F4, followed by a half note G4. Measure 5 continues with a treble clef containing a quarter note B5, a quarter note C6, and a quarter note D6, followed by a half note E6. The bass clef has a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5, followed by a half note D5. Ornaments and wavy lines are present throughout.

Measures 6-8 of the Allemande. Measure 6 has a treble clef with a quarter note E5, a quarter note F5, and a quarter note G5, followed by a half note A5. The bass clef has a quarter note G3, a quarter note A3, and a quarter note B3, followed by a half note C4. Measure 7 has a treble clef with a quarter note A5, a quarter note B5, and a quarter note C6, followed by a half note D6. The bass clef has a quarter note D4, a quarter note E4, and a quarter note F4, followed by a half note G4. Measure 8 has a treble clef with a quarter note B5, a quarter note C6, and a quarter note D6, followed by a half note E6. The bass clef has a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5, followed by a half note D5. A repeat sign is present at the end of measure 8.

Measures 9-11 of the Allemande. Measure 9 has a treble clef with a quarter note E5, a quarter note F5, and a quarter note G5, followed by a half note A5. The bass clef has a quarter note G3, a quarter note A3, and a quarter note B3, followed by a half note C4. Measure 10 has a treble clef with a quarter note A5, a quarter note B5, and a quarter note C6, followed by a half note D6. The bass clef has a quarter note D4, a quarter note E4, and a quarter note F4, followed by a half note G4. Measure 11 has a treble clef with a quarter note B5, a quarter note C6, and a quarter note D6, followed by a half note E6. The bass clef has a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5, followed by a half note D5. Ornaments and wavy lines are present throughout.

Measures 12-13 of the Allemande. Measure 12 has a treble clef with a quarter note E5, a quarter note F5, and a quarter note G5, followed by a half note A5. The bass clef has a quarter note G3, a quarter note A3, and a quarter note B3, followed by a half note C4. Measure 13 has a treble clef with a quarter note A5, a quarter note B5, and a quarter note C6, followed by a half note D6. The bass clef has a quarter note D4, a quarter note E4, and a quarter note F4, followed by a half note G4. Ornaments and wavy lines are present throughout.

Measures 14-16 of the Allemande. Measure 14 has a treble clef with a quarter note E5, a quarter note F5, and a quarter note G5, followed by a half note A5. The bass clef has a quarter note G3, a quarter note A3, and a quarter note B3, followed by a half note C4. Measure 15 has a treble clef with a quarter note A5, a quarter note B5, and a quarter note C6, followed by a half note D6. The bass clef has a quarter note D4, a quarter note E4, and a quarter note F4, followed by a half note G4. Measure 16 has a treble clef with a quarter note B5, a quarter note C6, and a quarter note D6, followed by a half note E6. The bass clef has a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5, followed by a half note D5. Ornaments and wavy lines are present throughout.

## 9. vii. Gigue

The first system of the piece consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 6/8. The music begins with a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, followed by a series of chords and melodic lines. The system concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

The second system begins at measure 8, marked with a 'Reprise' and a trill symbol. It continues with two staves in the same key and time signature. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some measures containing trills. The system ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

The third system begins at measure 13. It continues with two staves in the same key and time signature. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some measures containing trills. The system ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

## 9. viii. Entrée (probably not by Robert King)

Measures 1-2 of the piece. The music is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The right hand features a melodic line with trills and slurs, while the left hand provides a steady accompaniment of eighth notes.

Measures 3-4. The right hand continues with a melodic line, including a triplet of eighth notes in measure 4. The left hand maintains a rhythmic accompaniment.

Measures 5-7. The right hand has a melodic line with trills and slurs. The left hand features a more active accompaniment with eighth-note patterns.

Measures 8-10. The right hand has a melodic line with trills and slurs. The left hand features a more active accompaniment with eighth-note patterns. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat signs.

Measures 11-15. The time signature changes to 3/4. The right hand has a melodic line with slurs. The left hand features a steady accompaniment of eighth notes.

Measures 16-21. The right hand has a melodic line with slurs. The left hand features a steady accompaniment of eighth notes.

Measures 22-26. The right hand has a melodic line with slurs. The left hand features a steady accompaniment of eighth notes.

28

Musical score for measures 28-33. Treble clef, bass clef, 3/4 time signature. Key signature: two flats (B-flat, E-flat). The melody in the treble clef consists of eighth-note patterns, while the bass clef provides a steady accompaniment of quarter notes.

34

Musical score for measures 34-37. Treble clef, bass clef, 3/4 time signature. Key signature: two flats (B-flat, E-flat). The melody in the treble clef features some rests and eighth-note patterns, while the bass clef continues with quarter notes.

38

Musical score for measures 38-43. Treble clef, bass clef, 3/4 time signature. Key signature: two flats (B-flat, E-flat). The melody in the treble clef includes a trill in measure 41. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots in both staves.

9. ix. Ground (John Eccles)

Musical score for measures 1-6 of 'Ground'. Treble clef, bass clef, 3/4 time signature. Key signature: three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The piece begins with a repeat sign. The treble clef has a steady eighth-note melody, and the bass clef has a simple accompaniment of quarter notes.

7

Musical score for measures 7-12 of 'Ground'. Treble clef, bass clef, 3/4 time signature. Key signature: three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The melody continues in the treble clef, and the bass clef accompaniment remains consistent.

13

Musical score for measures 13-18 of 'Ground'. Treble clef, bass clef, 3/4 time signature. Key signature: three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The melody continues in the treble clef, and the bass clef accompaniment remains consistent.

19

Musical score for measures 19-24 of 'Ground'. Treble clef, bass clef, 3/4 time signature. Key signature: three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The melody continues in the treble clef, and the bass clef accompaniment remains consistent.

25

31

37

## 9. x. If Love's a Sweet Passion

8

14

20

26

### Commentary

The aim has been to adhere to the text and notational style of the sources as closely as possible, but to make exceptions where these result in ambiguity or lack of clarity.

-Beamings and stem directions, have been retained in most instances. It has been necessary to change stem directions in some instances, particularly with pieces from Lbl, Add. MS 39569.

-With pieces from Add. MS 39569, it has been necessary to place some notes on the alternate staff for better clarity.

-Irrational bar lengths are retained.

-Original time signatures have been retained.

-Where a source uses flats and sharps to cancel previous sharps and flats in a bar, the natural sign is used.

-For ease of reading, C clefs have been silently altered to G and F clefs as appropriate.

-Editorial accidentals are indicated in small type, whilst redundant accidentals have been removed and appear in small type above the note.

-Editorial insertions are placed in square brackets or are recorded in the commentary (*e. g.* missing dots).

-Editorial ties have a vertical dash through them.

-All repeat markings at strain divides are supplied editorially without comment.

-Editorial second time bars have been kept to a minimum and are recorded in the commentary.

In the commentary, the position in the bar is indicated by the symbol number (note or rest); a pair of tied notes count as two symbols. Occasionally, the beat in the bar is referred to instead to avoid ambiguity in some instances. Abbreviations used in the commentary are as follows (see also Abbreviations, p. iv):

c.	crotchet
dsq / dsqs., <i>etc.</i>	demi-semi-quaver / demi-semi-quavers
LH	left hand part
m.	minim
.m/ .q, <i>etc.</i>	dotted minim / dotted quaver
om.	omitted
q.	quaver
RH	right hand part
sb	semi-breve
t-s	time signature

3. i.

Och, MS Mus, 1141a, f. 6

3. ii.

MS Mus. 1141a, f. 6v

3. iii.

MS Mus. 1141a, f. 6v

No title in source.

3. iv.

MS Mus. 1141a, f. 7

No title in source.

3. v.

MS Mus. 1141a, f. 7

3. vi.

MS Mus. 1141a, f. 7v

No title in source.

3. vii.

MS Mus. 1141a, f. 7v

No title in source; b. 23, RH, 1-2: 2nd higher.



7. ii.

Lcm, MS 1154, ff. 70-70v

No title in source; b. 1, LH, 2: no dots; b. 7, LH, upper-part, 2: sb; b. 15, LH, lower-part, 3: no dot; b. 17, RH, 4: c.

7. iii.

Lcm, MS 1154, f. 71

Title in source: 'Sarabande'

7. iv.

Llp, MS 1040, ff. 21v-22

7. v.

Llp, MS 1040, 22v

8. i.

Och, MS Mus. 1176, ff. 13v-14

No t-s; b. 22, LH, 7: g.

8. ii.

Och, MS Mus. 1176, f. 16

No title in source.

8. iii.

Lfom, Coke MS 1275, p. [157]

Title in source: 'Prelude Mr: Henry Purcell'; b. 9, RH, 2: q.

8. iv.

Lbl, Add. MS 41205, ff. 6-6v

b. 21, RH, 4: q. rest removed.

8. v.

Add. MS 41205, ff. 6v-7

b. 3, LH, lower-part, 1: m; b. 5, RH, upper-part, 3: a''; b. 20, LH, 2: 3rd lower; b. 32, RH, 3: no dot.

8. vi.

Add. MS 41205, ff. 7v-8.

No t-s, b. 2, LH, upper-part, 7: q; b. 11, RH, 9: q; b. 25, RH, lower-part, 3: 3rd lower; b. 25, RH, lower-part, 4: 2nd lower; b. 25, LH, upper-part, 2 &amp; 4: 3rd lower.

8. vii.

Add. MS 41205, ff. 20v-21

b. 10, LH, lower-part, 2: .q.

8. viii.

Add. MS 41205, ff. 21v-22

No title in source; b. 1, RH, 2: sq; b. 1, RH, 4: q.

8. ix.

Add. MS 41205, f. 22v

No title in source.

8. x.

Tn, N-3/35, f. 24

Title in source: 'A Prelude by Mr: Purcell'; b. 11, LH, upper-part, 3-13: 3rd higher; at end: 'Finis'.

9. i.

Lbl, Add. MS 39569, pp. 122-3

9. ii.

Add. MS 39569, p. 123

9. iii.

Add. MS 39569, p. 124

b. 6, LH, lower-part, 6: no dot; b. 8, 2nd time bar is editorial; b. 8, LH, lower-part, 1: no dot; b. 10, LH, upper-part, 1: no dot; b. 10, LH, lower-part, 3rd c. bt: no dot; b. 10, LH, upper-part, 6th c. bt: m; b. 16, LH, lower part, 1: no dot.

9. iv.

Add. MS 39569, p. 124

b. 16, 2nd time bar is editorial.

9. v.

Add. MS, 39569, p. 125

9. vi.

Add. MS, 39569, p. 49

b. 8, LH, upper-part, 5-7: 3rd lower.

9. vii.

Add. MS 39569, p. 50

b. 1, LH, upper-part, 1: no dot; b. 1, RH, upper-part, 4: no dot; b. 2, LH, lower-part, 5: 3rd lower;

9. viii.

Add. MS 39569, p. 56

b. 10, RH, 5: m; b. 41, RH: no dots.

9. ix.

Add. MS 39569, p. 84

9. x.

Add. MS 39569, p. 60

Title in source: 'If Love's a Swet / passion &c'

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