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The *Journal* editors welcome for consideration articles pertaining to the viols and related instruments, their history, manufacture, performers, music, and related topics. Articles, correspondence, and materials for review should be sent to the Editor: Stuart Cheney, 4222 31st St., Mt. Rainier, MD 20712. Authors should consult the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th Edition, for matters of style. Articles and reviews should be submitted on disk specifying the computer and program used, with two printed, double-spaced copies. Camera-ready music examples must be printed on separate sheets and identified with captions, with source files included on the disk if applicable. Photos must be submitted as black-and-white glossy prints.

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The Viola da Gamba Society of America is a not-for-profit national organization dedicated to the support of activities relating to the viola da gamba in the United States and abroad. Founded in 1962, the VdGSA is a society of players, builders, publishers, distributors, restorers, and others sharing a serious interest in music for viol and other early bowed string instruments. VdGSA members receive a quarterly newsletter and this annual journal, and have access to the many activities and valuable resources of the Society. The website provides additional information on the annual Conclave, instrument rentals, the microfilm lending library for researchers, and other offerings.

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EDITORIAL NOTE

Because the vast repertory of seventeenth-century English music for viol consorts is the staple diet of so many of us, we are pleased to present two articles on topics in this area. The first, Ted Conner’s article on Henry Purcell’s fantasias, examines the rhetorical devices and sophisticated contrapuntal techniques employed as part of the composer’s growth. The second is Mark Davenport’s study of William Lawes’s compositional procedures as applied to his dances and airs.

Some of the articles and reviews in recent volumes of the Journal have covered the history and evolution of the largest bass members of the viol family and their role in ensembles. A detailed report on a session devoted to the double bass at the International Musicological Society’s seventh Congress is provided by Marc Vanscheeuwijk.

Ian Woodfield once again presents his thorough bibliographic update on research concerning the viol and related instruments.

The five reviews that George Houle has brought together offer insightful evaluations of some of the most important recent books and music editions, ranging from a new catalog of music for solo viol to English consorts from the seventeenth and twentieth centuries.

As in the past, I sincerely thank both Jean Seiler, Associate Editor, and David Dreyfuss, Production Editor, for their hard work, expertise, and invaluable advice. The anonymous referees of the articles also deserve my tremendous appreciation.

Suggestions and comments on what you hope to see in future volumes of this Journal are always welcome.

Stuart Cheney

MUSICAL-RHETORICAL GESTURES IN THE FANTASIAS OF HENRY PURCELL

Ted Conner

It is not clear why Purcell wrote [the three- and four-part fantasias]. Today they are a valued part of the viol repertory, but viols were dropping out of use before Purcell was born... The most likely explanation is that Purcell wrote his fantasias more as composition exercises than as material for performance... All the complete four-part fantasias were written in a few weeks in the summer of 1680, perhaps as part of an intensive program of study devoted to mastering contrapuntal techniques.¹

Despite his appointment as composer-in-ordinary following Matthew Locke’s death in 1677, Henry Purcell was clearly still refining his craft in the summer of 1680. Franklin B. Zimmerman—making reference to “Welcome, Viceregent,” the ode Purcell composed to welcome Charles II back to Whitehall on 9 September 1680—observes “that [how] Purcell profited from his intense concentration on the fantasias in the summer of 1680 is immediately apparent... The stylistic disparity between his assured treatment of the instrumental sections and less confident mastery in the vocal portions ... points up the value of his summer’s occupation... The vocal writing is by no means unskilful but it does not reveal the sureness of touch shown in the instrumental passages.”² Purcell’s technical abilities certainly improved over the summer; however, it would be a mistake to focus on only the mechanical aspects of the fantasias. In seventeenth-century England, the art of composition involved more than the ordering of pitches based on rules governing consonance and dissonance treatment. Music was heard as a persuasive form of discourse, possessing capabilities similar to those of language. Elements in music, including melodic gestures, key areas, harmonic

¹Peter Holman, Henry Purcell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 75.
progressions, and bass-line patterns, had gradually acquired specific meanings that literate musicians were expected to recognize and understand. Composers used these gestures to construct musical arguments that paralleled a rhetorician’s oration in both form and function. As composer and pedagogue Thomas Mace explains:

Musick is as a Language, and has Its Significations, as Words have, (if not more strongly) only most people do not understand that Language (perfectly.)

And as an Orator, (when he goes about to make a Speech, Sermon, or Oration) takes to Himself some Subject Matter, to Exercise Himself upon, as a Theam, Text, or the Like; and in That Exercise, can order His Discourse, or Form, various and sundry ways, at his Pleasure, and yet not stray from, or lose His intended Matter.

And as in Language, various Humours, Conceits, and Passions, (of all sorts) may be Exprest; so likewise in Musick, may any Humour, Conceit, or Passion (never so various) be Exprest; and so significantly, as any Rhetorical Words, or Expressions are able to do.3

The fantasia represented the perfect vehicle for composers like Purcell to hone both their rhetorical and technical skills. The genre’s fusing of craft and expression is cited in numerous sixteenth- and seventeenth-century treatises. Thomas Morley, for example, mentions technical issues such as dissonance treatment and motivic development in his explanation of the fantasia. The application of specific techniques, however, is always considered within the framework of the composer’s articulation of his own humor or conceit:

The most principal and chiefest kind of music which is made without a ditty is the Fantasy, that is when a musician taketh a point at his pleasure and wresteth and turneth it as he list, making either much or little of it according as shall seem best in his own conceit. In this may more art be shown than in any other music because the composer is tied to nothing, but that he may add, diminish, and alter at his pleasure. And this kind will bear any allowances whatsoever tolerable in other music except changing the air and leaving

the key, which in Fantasie may never be suffered. Other things You may use at your pleasure, as bindings with discords, quick motions, slow motions, Proportions, and what you list.4

Many of the same elements are found some seventy years later in Christopher Simpson’s discussion of the genre. Like Morley, Simpson addresses technical aspects and the rhetorical potentials of the fantasia; however, several important differences can be discerned. Simpson describes a form that, reminiscent of the madrigal, is parsed into a greater number of sections. More than one point, corresponding to competing humors or conceits, has become the norm, expanding the range of expression within a single fantasia. Tonal contrast for expressive purposes has also entered contemporary practice. While Simpson does not explicitly advocate modulation to keys beyond the original tonic, his omission of Morley’s earlier restriction, as well as his reference to the works of composers who do change the air and leave the key, is telling.

Of this kind [music made for instruments] the chief and most excellent for art and Contrivance are fancies … intended commonly for viols. In this sort of music the composer, being not limited to words, doth employ all his art and invention solely about the bringing in and carrying on of these fugues.…

When he has tried all the several ways which he thinks fit to be used therein, he takes some other point and does the like with it, or else for variety, introduces some chromatic notes with bindings and intermixtures of discords, or falls into some lighter humour like a madrigal or what else his own fancy shall lead him to, but still concluding with something which hath art and excellency in it.

Of this sort you may see many compositions made heretofore in England by Aliusno Ferabosco, Coperario, Lupo, White, Ward, Mico, Dr. Colman, and many more now deceased. Also by Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Locke, and divers other excellent men, doctors and bachelors in music yet living. Seeing this Compendium cannot contain examples of all these which I give you account of, I would advise you to procure some of such kinds as you most affect and set them down in score, one part under another as the examples are set in this book, that they may serve you as a pattern to imitate.5


It is within this evolving historical context that Henry Purcell began work on the three- and four-part fantasias. As a first step, he probably studied the works of earlier composers following Simpson’s advice and anticipating his own, that “the best way to be acquainted with [specific genres and styles] is to score much, and chuse the best Authors.” Holman notes that a “manuscript formerly in the possession of Thurston Dart contains a copy in Purcell’s hand of ... organ parts for fantasies and fantasia suites by Orlando Gibbons and Coprario....” His summer studies also included the analysis of other genres such as songs, madrigals, and anthems. Zimmerman, for example, refers to Purcell’s scoring of a series of anthems by William Byrd, Orlando Gibbons, and Matthew Locke, suggesting that these were presumably for his own use and study, since these scores would have been of little use in practical performance. The copying of these scores helped Purcell improve his contrapuntal techniques and master the associations that existed between ideas expressed through language, and melodic and harmonic gestures. Finally, Purcell applied these conventions to his own compositions, refining his rhetorical skills and integrating them with the mechanical.


7 Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 76. The manuscript also includes several madrigals by Claudio Monteverdi.

8 Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell*, 50–51. Zimmerman lists six of Locke’s anthems that Purcell had scored in fair copy: “I will hear what the Lord” Verse anthem fo. 40v “Lord, let me know mine end” Verse anthem fo. 133v (rev.) “Sing unto the Lord” Verse anthem fo. 31 “The Lord hear thee” Verse anthem fo. 38v “Turn thy face from my sins” Full, with verse fo. 131 (rev.) “When the son of man” Verse anthem fo. 36v

The Fantasias of Henry Purcell

**Contrapuntal Techniques in Purcell’s Four-Part Fantasias**

While it is impossible to truly separate the mechanical from the expressive, an attempt to do so allows us to trace the paths of each aspect in the young composer’s development. We can, for example, use Purcell’s own words to evaluate his evolving skill as a contrapuntalist. In the fantasias Purcell practices all but one of the eight fugal techniques he would authoritatively present a year before his death in the twelfth edition of John Playford’s *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*. Using the more mature Purcell’s “Of Fuge, or Pointing” as a guide, we can follow the student’s exploration of this art. The first technique, fugue, is defined by Purcell as:

when one part leads one, two, three, four, or more Notes, and the other repeats the same in the Unison, or such like in the Octave, a Fourth or Fifth above or below the Leading Part.

This most basic of the eight approaches is used only once as an opening gesture in the four-part fantasias. Not surprisingly, it is found in the first fantasy that Purcell composed that summer (Example 1). The exposition is marked by the tenor’s answer a fifth below the alto and the bass’s entrance a fifth below the treble. The subject is the same in all four voices.

The second technique is related to the first. It differs, however, in that the answering voice accompanies the initial entrance of the point with contrapuntal material intended to provide harmonic support.

9 Purcell agreed to edit the twelfth edition of Playford’s *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* in 1694. As Zimmerman argues in his Introduction to Playford’s work, Purcell’s “exposition of the techniques ‘Of Fuge, or Pointing’ is, from the historical as well as the pedagogical, ... [very] important.... Purcell not only established a clear distinction between imitation (or “reports”) and a harmonically based fugal technique a third of a century before Rameau’s *Traté de l’harmonie*, he also clearly recognized that the fugue was a tonal procedure, not a technical form” (Playford, *Skill of Musick*, 30). The only approach that Purcell does not use in the fantasias is the canon, a technique not well suited to the fantasias.

10 Playford, *Skill of Musick*, 156.
nant-seventh chord that is itself resolved deceptively. Purcell’s patterned dissonance continues in the bass with the minor-ninth ascent that announces the fugue (measure 20) and a minor-seventh leap (measure 21) that coincides with the “resolution” of the suspended 9/7 in the treble. This final leap, from c up to b in the bass, produces a third-inversion C dominant-seventh sonority that resolves briefly to F minor (measure 22), the original goal of the dominant six measures earlier.

An especially stunning example of this approach appears in the fourth fantasia, where Purcell’s imitation emerges amid a web of dissonant gestures (Example 2). The fugue subject, B, is voiced in the treble following a diminished-seventh leap from $e^\flat$ to $d^\flat$ (measures 16–17) that is “prepared” by a 4–3 suspension (measure 16). Expressive tension is further intensified by a cross-relation between the alto’s $e^\flat$ and the treble’s $e^\flat$ (measure 16) and the deceptive cadence that leads to a $D^\flat$ augmented triad, articulated in first inversion (measures 16–17). This unstable sonority intensifies a deceptive cadence (measures 16–17). $D^\flat$ is supported in the bass by a pedal $F$ that eventually becomes the root of a domin-

Example 2. Purcell, Fantasia No. 4, mm. 16–23.

The third sort of Fugeing is called a *Double Fuge*; which is, when one Part leads a *Point*, and the following Part comes in with another, and so the Parts change.\(^{12}\)

A sophisticated example of Purcell’s third technique is offered in Fantasia No. 3, where a less than transparent relationship exists between the “two” fugues (Example 3). The leading point, A, is ac-

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\(^{11}\) Ibid., 158.

\(^{12}\) Ibid., 158–59.
tually an embellished version of the second subject, B. Both possess the same basic melodic shape. Purcell, however, alters rhythmic and melodic aspects of B to obscure the relationship. A rest is placed on the downbeat of the measure that changes B's first note from a dotted-half to a half note. This slight rhythmic variation, coupled with the added ornamentation, subtly disguises the shared ancestry of the subjects.

Example 3. Purcell, Fantasia No. 3, mm. 1–8.

Following his discussion of the double fugue, Purcell considers the technique called inversion in modern terminology.

The fourth manner of Fugeing is called Per Arsin & Thesin, which admits of great Variety; and this is, when a Leading Part ascends, the other descends exactly the same Notes.\(^\text{13}\)

The younger Purcell practices this technique in the openings of the fifth, eighth, and ninth fantasias. In Fantasia No. 8, he varies the distance between the entrances of the point and its inversion (Example 4). Perhaps more significant is his recognition of the contrapuntal potential of the point. The tail of the original entry is always used to create suspensions, while Purcell’s treatment of the inversion’s tail is varied to satisfy harmonic and contrapuntal needs.

Example 4. Purcell, Fantasia No. 8, mm. 1–8.

A fifth sort of Fugeing is called Per Augmentation; that is, if the Leading Part be Crochets, Quavers, or any other Notes in length, the following Part is augmented, and made as long again as the Leading Part. You may augment your Point to double or treble the length of your Leading Part, as you find occasion; or diminish your Fuge for variety.... This sort of Fugeing is difficult, therefore seldom used unless it be in Canon.\(^\text{14}\)

\(^\text{13}\) Ibid., 159.

\(^\text{14}\) Ibid., 160.
The challenges that this technique presents are reflected in its appearance in only two of the fantasias: the first and the ninth. This said, Purcell clearly understood the dramatic potential of this approach. In Fantasia No. 1, following four entrances of the subject, two in inversion, the point is doubled in length and presented in the treble (Example 5).

![Example 5. Purcell, Fantasia No. 1, mm. 14–21.]

Ten measures later, in a tour de force of contrapuntal ingenuity, Purcell augments the subject to four times its original length (Example 6). Once again, the motive and its inversion are set against the augmentation.

There is a sixth sort of Fugeing called Recte & Retro, which is repeating the Notes backward; therefore you must avoid Prick’d [dotted] Notes, because in the Reverse it would be of the wrong side of the Note. This sort of Music is very rarely used, unless it be in Canon.\(^{15}\)

While recte and retro entries can be found in Fantasia No. 8, the use of such retrograded points, as the older Purcell qualifies, is quite limited in the fantasias (Example 7).

Invertible counterpoint is the next approach considered in Playford’s Introduction.

There is a seventh sort of Fugeing called Double Descant, which is contrived so, that the Upper part may be made the Under in the Reply; therefore you must avoid Fifths, because in the Reply they will become Fourths.\(^{16}\)

The beginning of the second section of Fantasia No. 4 witnesses Purcell’s skillful application of this technique as he executes a double fugue while practicing invertible counterpoint at the octave among four voices (Example 8).

Purcell makes reference to one other fugal technique related conceptually to double counterpoint.

\(^{15}\) Ibid., 162.

\(^{16}\) Ibid., 163.
There is one sort of Fugeing to be mention’d, which is, Four Fuges carried on, interchanging one with another. Canon in Four Parts is generally Four in Two, or Four in One.\textsuperscript{17}

While there are no four-subject fugues in the fantasias, Fantasia No. 6 includes a fugue with three subjects (Example 9). The points move between the four voices, and each subject appears per arsin et thesin.

The techniques elaborated upon by “Britain’s Orpheus” in Playford’s Introduction are practiced by the younger Purcell with results that, in many instances, are startling. Subjects marked by dissonant intervallic leaps, chromatic voice leading, and adventurous harmonic excursions are found throughout the fantasias. So surprising are some of these moments that twentieth-century composer Elisabeth Lutyens suggests that “it was hearing these works, with their equality of part-writing, coupled with my suetenity—to

\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., 189–90.

screaming point—with diatonic cadential harmony, that led me to discover gradually, for my own compositional needs, what some years later I heard described as ‘twelve-tone,’ ‘serial’ composition.”\textsuperscript{18} It is these expressive aspects to which we now turn our attention.

\textbf{Rhetorical Expression as Historical Practice}

Like other seventeenth-century composers, Purcell studied the relationship among three elements found in most compositions: fugue, form, and humor. These terms appear repeatedly in the second section of Thomas Mace’s Musick’s Monument, a primer that “Treats of the Noble Lute.” In the lessons that constitute this section, Mace identifies the fugue, form, and humor of each piece that is to be practiced.

\textsuperscript{18}Elisabeth Lutyens, \textit{A Goldfish Bowl} (London: Cassell, 1972), 68–69.
From his instructions, we can see that Mace is interested in more than technical dexterity. He believes an understanding of the expressive aspects of each exercise is necessary if students are to master the lessons. Rhetorical elements are explained and key terms are defined to insure the pieces can be properly performed. For example, Mace describes a fugue as

a Term used among Composers; by which They understand a certain intended Order, Shape, or Form of Notes; signifying such a Matter, or such an Extension; and is used in Musicck, as a Theam, or as a Subject Matter in Oratory, on which the Orator intends to Dis- course. And this is the Nature, and Use of a Fuge in Musick.... Ex- amine it therefore and observe ... [that it] speaks the Intent, or Conceit of the whole Lesson.\(^{20}\)

Within this context, we see that the fugue or subject is more than a collection of pitches. It is meant to signify a specific idea or affect similar to the topic an orator would develop in a speech. The fugue of the Coranto is not merely a third leap that returns to the original pitch. It is a musical figure that is meant to express the essential quality of grief.

Now, as to the Humour ... you may observe, That It All Tastes of, or Similizeth with the 1st. Barr, in some small kind; yet not too much of the same Humour; for that is Nauntious, and Tiresome....
Judgment, gain'd by Experience, must be the best Director in This Matter.
The last part, Is a little a Kin to the Fuge; yet peculiarly a Hu- mour by It Self.
For you may carry on, and maintain Several Humours, and Con- ceits, in the Same Lesson; provided they have some Affinity, or Agreement one to the other....\(^{21}\)

A composition’s humor is realized through the accumulation of evidence presented as the piece unfolds. In most cases, Mace suggests that several related humors may be developed simultaneously. Represented through various facets of the fugue, these conceits gradually coalesce, revealing the composer’s intent. We can hear this process in the sober Coranto (Example 10), where

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\(^{10}\) Mace, *Musick’s Monument*, 130. Mace’s tuning, given for a twelve-course lute, is provided below. He suggests that this tuning, erroneously called by some the Flat-Tuning, is the most beautiful (*Musick’s Monument*, 83).

\(^{20}\) Ibid., 116.

\(^{21}\) Ibid., 117.
Mace explores the closely related ideas of sorrow, pity, and bemoaning.

Like Purcell, Mace sets virtually no limits on the fugue and humor of a composition, saying “you may let Them be what they will.” This is not the case with a composition’s form. Mace directs his students to compose symmetrical strains consisting of measures grouped in even numbers. So strong is this admonition that he suggests:

if at any time you chance to meet with a Strain, consisting of Odd Barrs, peruse That Strain well; Ponder It in Its Fugue, Matter and Form, and you will (in the End) perceive, that either some one of

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22 Ibid., 127.

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Those Barrs, might well have been spared, or else some other put in, or added….23

While Mace’s stringency would seem to be influenced by the dance forms that constitute his lessons, his position is, nonetheless, remarkable. He argues that a composer who leaves form unbalanced has probably failed to recognize the fugue’s true meaning and its relation to the work’s humor. From this perspective, form and fugue may be viewed as equal partners that together bring a composition’s humor to fruition.

Mace’s directives relating form to meter and tempo also have rhetorical implications. While the form and meter of the Coranto are consistent with what an educated musician would expect, the humor is not. Mace recognizes that the “Sorrowing, Pitying, and Bemoaning” conceit cannot be realized unless the lesson’s tempo deviates from the dance form’s norm. The performer must play the Coranto at a slower tempo than custom typically demands. Purcell’s fantasias echo this concern with performance directives such as “slow,” “brisk,” “quick,” and “drag” to insure that the intended conceit is maintained.

Finally, Mace offers fascinating insights into invention—the creative spark that inspires a composition—and its relation to the piece’s humor. After excusing himself for offering the reader such a long-winded explanation (as do I for the extended quotation), Mace details the origin and conceit of a lesson he calls the “Author’s Mistress.”

This Lesson I call my Mistress; And I shall not think It Impertinent, to detain you here a little Longer than Ordinary, in speaking something of It; The occasion of It; And why I give It that Name: And I doubt not, but the Relation, I shall give may conduc to your Advantage, in several Respect; but chiefly, in respect of Invention.

It is (This very Winter) just 40 Years since I made It; (and yet It is New, because All like It) and Then, when I was past being a Suitor to my Best Beloved, Dearest, and Sweetest Living-Mistress; But not Married; yet Contriving the Best, and Readiest way towards It: And Thus It was.

That very Night, in which I was Thus Agitated in my Mind, concerning Her, (My Living Mistress;) She being in Yorkshire, and

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23 Ibid., 127.
My Self at Cambridge, Close shut up in My Chamber, Still, and Quiet, about 10, or 11 a Clock at Night, Musing, and Writing Letters to Her; Her Mother, and some other Friends, in Summing up, and Determining the whole Matter, concerning Our Marriage: (You may conceive, I might have very Intent Thoughts, all that Time, and might meet with some Difficulties. (For as yet, I had not gain’d Her Mothers Consent.) So that in My Writings, I was sometimes put to My Studyings. At which Times, (My Lute lying upon My Table) I sometimes took it up, and Walk’d about My Chamber; Letting my Fancy Drive, which way it would (for I studied nothing, at that Time, as to Musick) yet my Secret Genius, or Fancy, prompted my Fingers, (do what I could) into This very Humour; So that every Time I Walk’d, and took up My Lute, (in the Interim, betwixt Writing, and Studyings) This Ayre would needs offer It self unto Me, Continually: In so much that at the last, (liking it Well, and lest it should be Lost,) I took Paper, and set It down, taking no further Notice of It, at That Time; But afterwards, It pass’d abroad, for a very Pleasant, and Delightful Ayre, amongst All; yet I gave It no Name, till a long Time after, nor taking more Notice of It, (in any particular kind) than of any other My Composures, of That Nature.

But after I was Married, and had brought My Wife Home, to Cambridge; It so fell out, that one Rainy Morning I stay’d within; and in My Chamber, My Wife, and I, were all alone; She Intent upon Her Needle-Works, and I Playing upon My Lute, at the Table by Her; She sat very Still, and Quiet, Listening to All I Play’d, without a Word, a Long Time, till at last, I hapned to Play This Lesson; which, so soon as I had once Play’d, She Earnestly desired Me to Play it again, For, said She, That shall be Called My Lesson.

From which Words, so spoken, with Emphasis, and Accent. It presently came into my Remembrance, the Time when, and the Occasion of its being produced, and returned Her This Answer, viz. That it may very properly be call’d Your Lesson; For when I Compos’d It, You were wholly in My Fancy, and the Chief Object, and Ruler of My Thoughts; telling her how, and when it was made: And Therefore, ever after, I Thus Call’d It, My Mistress; (And most of My Scholars since, call it, Mrs. Mace, to this Day.)

Yet more particularly, as to the Occasion of This Lesson; I would have you take notice, that as it was at such a Time, when I was Wholly, and Intimately possessed, with the True, and Perfect Idea of my Living Mistress, who was at That time Lovely. Fair, Comely, Sweet, Debonair, Uniformly-neat, and every way Compleat. How could (possibly) my Fancy Run upon any Thing, at That Time, but upon the very Simile, Form, or Likeness, of the same Substantial Thing.

And that This Lesson doth Represent, and Shadow forth such a True Relation, as here I have made, I desire you to take notice of It, in every Particular; which I assure my self, may be of Benefit to any, who shall observe It well.

First, therefore, observe the Two Barrs of It; which will give you the Fugue; which Fugue is maintained quite through the whole Lesson.

Secondly, observe the Form, and Shape of the Whole Lesson, which consists of Two Uniform, and Equal Strains; both Strains having the same Number of Barrs.

Thirdly, observe the Humour of It: which you may perceive (by the Marks, and Directions) is not Common.

These Three Terms, or Things, ought to be considered, in All Compositions, and Performances of This Nature; viz. Ayres, or the Like.

The Fugue, is Lively, Ayrey, neat, Curious, and Sweet, like my Mistress

The Form, is Uniform. Comely, Substantial, Grave, and Lovely, like my Mistress.

The Humour, is singularly Spruce, Amiable, Pleasant, Obliging, and Innocent, like my Mistress.

This Relation, to some may seem Odd, Strange. Humorous, and Impertinent; But to Others, (I presume) It may be Intelligible, and Useful; in that I know, (by Good Experience) that in Musick All These Significations, (and vastly many more) may (by an Experience’d; and Understanding Artist) be Clearly, and most Significantly Express’d; yea, even as by Language It self, (If not much more Effectually)...

I will therefore take a little more pains than ordinary, to give such Directions, as you shall no ways wrong, or inure my Mistress, but do Her all the Right you can, according to Her True Deserts.

First, therefore, observe to Play, Soft, and Loud. As you see It Mark’d quite through the Lesson.

Secondly, use That Grace, which I call the Sting, where you see It set, and the Springer after It.

And then in the last 4 Strains, observe the Slides, and Slurs, and you cannot fail to know my Mistress’s Humour, provided you keep True Time.24

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24 Ibid., 122–24.
The Fantasias of Henry Purcell

is important here is that Mace is not suggesting that music has the power to convey abstract, affective states. Instead, he is stating as truth that music can evoke and reproduce specific ideas and representations. So convinced of this is Mace that he takes every precaution to ensure that his students will “in no ways wrong, or injure my Mistress.”25 Once again, this is a remarkable position to take. Not only does he want other lutenists to see his wife through the musical representation he has created of her. A degree of reciprocity exists. He believes a shoddy performance will somehow damage his mistress. This wrong, however, may be easily avoided if the performer understands the composition’s origin, its fugue, form, and humor, and applies the appropriate graces and dynamics.

Rhetorical Expression in Purcell’s Fantasia No. 9

Like Mace, Purcell is not writing “absolute music.” He expects his audience to understand the meaning of structural, harmonic, and melodic gestures in the fantasies. Perhaps the most important aspect of these orations is the rhetorical relationship he establishes between the fugues and humors of his “exercises.” A comparison of the fugue subjects Purcell uses in Fantasia No. 9 and vocal works from his predecessors suggests the young composer selected these topics quite carefully. Each subject resonates with associations that seventeenth-century musicians would have recognized. The shared affinity of these musical topics gradually shapes the overall humor of the ninth fantasia: a lament. This topic is especially interesting given the two aspects of death that it voices. The lament attempts to balance the sorrow caused by life’s loss with hope for redemption and salvation.

Purcell establishes these two aspects of the lament in the opening gestures of the fantasia. The exposition begins with a double-neighbor figure that is presented per arsin et thesin (Example 12).

The Double Neighbor: Tracing Historical Precedents

Purcell’s opening subject emphasizes the Phrygian semitone, a gesture that Bruce Bellingham has described as “one of deep be-

25 Ibid., 124.
The Fantasias of Henry Purcell

Subject

Inversion

Example 12. Purcell, Fantasia No. 9, opening fugue subjects.

seething lamentation." Its history as a convention can be traced through songs mourning the death of nobles or respected artists. "Fair Britain isle," an elegy composed by William Byrd, serves as but one example. The text grieves the unexpected death of Henry, Prince of Wales, in 1612. At the same time it recognizes the prince's ascent into heaven.

Fair Britain isle, the Mistress of the West
Famous for wealth, but more for fertile soil
Sits all alone with sorrows sore oppress'd,
In sable clad by Death's, most spiteful spoil
Who took away in moment, one hour unfold:
Henry our Prince of Princes all the flow'r
O noble Prince! Who can tell ev'ry gift
Of virtues rare which in thy life did shine?
Much like that famous King Henry the fifth,
Who left behind renown to be divine.
This time shall tell, while skies do stars
That with thee died the hope of age of gold.

Byrd selects a fugue subject that mirrors the essence of the text (Example 13). The double-neighbor figure, emphasizing the Phrygian semitone, is articulated by each of the viols and the voice. The sense of loss is intensified by Byrd's repetition of the figure in the vocal line transposed a fourth higher.

The double-neighbor figure with the Phrygian semitone was commonly used as a signifier of sorrow in other genres. Matthew Locke, for example, applies the convention in the opening gesture of "How doth the city." The text of this anthem, taken from the first chapter of "The Lamentation of Jeremiah," mourns the fall of Jerusalem in metaphorical terms.


How doth the city sit so solitary, that was full of people!
She that was great among the nations and princess among the
provinces,
how is she become as a widow?

The emotional gravity of the text is echoed by plaintive vocal entrances that emphasize the Phrygian second (Example 14).

The double-neighbor figure also occurs in inversion with the semitone below and the major second above. This form of the gesture frequently supports texts that express hope for salvation and redemption, an association that is reinforced by the tonicizing potential of the lower neighbor. Locke uses the semitone-below variant in "Turn thy face from my sins," one of the anthems that we

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Locke reinforces the supplicant's prayer using the double-neighbor figure with the semitone below as the fugue subject for all five voices (Example 15).


know Purcell scored. The text articulates the longing for salvation from one who has suffered sin and seeks redemption.

*Turn thy face from my sins, O Lord, and put out all my misdeeds. Create a clean heart in me, O God, and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy holy spirit from me. O give me the comfort of thy help again, and establish me with thy free spirit. Then shall I teach thy ways unto the wicked, and sinners shall be converted unto thee.*

**Example 15. Matthew Locke, “Turn thy face from my sins,”** nm. 1–10.

**The Double Neighbor: Purcell’s Anthem, “Hear me O Lord”**

It is possible that Purcell learned the rhetorical significance of the double-neighbor figures from his study of Locke’s anthems. One of Purcell’s earliest anthems, “Hear me O Lord,” uses both the Phrygian and the semitone-below forms of the gesture to support a text reminiscent of Locke’s “Turn thy face from my sins.”

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27 “Hear me O Lord” was composed between 1680 and 1682.
Hear me O Lord, and that soon, Hear me O Lord, for my spirit waxeth faint,
Hide not thy face from me, lest I be like unto them that go down into the pit,
O let me hear thy loving kindness betimes in the morning, for in thee is my trust,
Show thou me the way that I should walk in, for I lift up my soul to thee.
Deliver me O Lord from mine enemies, for I flee unto thee to hide me,
Teach me to do the thing that pleaseth thee, for thou art my God.
Let thy loving spirit lead me forth into the land of righteousness.
Quicken me O Lord, for thy name’s sake and for thy righteousness’ sake
bring my soul out of trouble.

As the anthem progresses, Purcell gradually evolves the double-neighbor motive from a melodic gesture that emphasizes the Phrygian semitone (Example 16). Purcell increases the emotional weight of this figure—introduced first without the lower neighbor—by suspending the Phrygian $b^5$ over the lower-neighbor $c^\#$ in the bass. This binding produces a dissonant diminished-seventh verticality that is properly resolved by step to $a$.

Ten measures later Purcell expands the motive voicing the double-neighbor figure with the Phrygian second following the lower neighbor (Example 17). Finally, Purcell superimposes the Phrygian upper-neighbor form on top of the semitone-below variant of the motive (Example 18). Like his predecessors, Purcell treats the order of the neighbors freely. It is the intervocalic relationship of the neighbors, not their ordering, that is responsible for their rhetorical significance.

Purcell’s simultaneous expression of both forms of the double-neighbor figure also suggests that he recognized their affinity to one another.

The Double Neighbor: Fantasia No. 9

Purcell exploits this affinity in the first section of the ninth fantasia. The fugue subject and its inversion serve as the opening gestures that, in Mace’s words, “speak the Intent, or Conceit of the whole” fantasia. As we have seen in the work of Purcell’s predecessors and the composer’s own “Hear me O Lord,” the double-neighbor figure expresses the essence of the lament. Purcell introduces the subject of the motive in the treble (Example 19). The alto answers with the inverted form tonicizing D minor twice.

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28 Mace, Musick’s Monument, 116.
in the first six measures. These entrances are followed by the tenor’s articulation of the Phrygian-semitone motive and a brief tonization of G minor. Finally, the bass voices the fugue subject’s inversion, tonicizing D minor once again. The exposition identifies the lament as the topic of Purcell’s discourse and begins the process through which the fantasia’s humor will be developed.

Example 19. Purcell, Fantasia No. 9, mm. 1–18.

Key Areas, Descents, Suspension, and Chromaticism:
Fantasia No. 9

Purcell’s choice of subjects is but the first of a series of rhetorical decisions that contributes to the lamenting humor of the fantasia. The keys emphasized in the exposition are equally significant. Both D minor and G minor have historical associations with the lament’s parallel themes of death and redemption. Precedents abound. “Fair Britain isle” is set in D minor and Byrd’s elegy for Mary, Queen of Scots, “In angel’s weed,” is set in G minor. Purcell was also aware of these keys’ import. Curtis Price, for example, suggests that Purcell “nearly always sets lyrics treating of death in the key of G minor.”29 Price’s argument would seem to be supported by the composer’s choice of G minor for “When I am laid in earth,” the final aria of Dido and Aeneas. Purcell also recognized the expressive qualities of D minor, selecting it as the key for “What hope for us remains,” his elegy for Matthew Locke.

Purcell’s treatment of the treble and alto lines during the lower voices’ fugal entrances in the ninth fantasia is also intended to further the fantasia’s humor. These lines emphasize the interval of a fourth, which, as we will see, has rhetorical significance and anticipates the fugue subject of the second section of the fantasia. Following the opening double-neighbor gesture, the treble line descends a fourth from $a'$ to $e'$ (measures 3–5), outlining a minor tetrachord. The voice then leaps back up to $a'$ before ascending another fourth to $d''$ (measures 5–8). A similar ascent occurs in the alto where, following the tonicization of D minor, the line rises from $d'$ to $g'$ (measures 6–8). Purcell also develops the dotted-half-note-quarter-note rhythm that defines the first measure of the fugue subject. The treble retracts its melodic path falling towards the anticipated repose of $d'$ and a cadence in D minor (measures 8–14). This resting place eludes the listener, however, as another fourth leap, supported by a passing seventh in the bass, redirects the line towards the cadence on the dominant. The alto follows the treble’s lead, voicing two minor-tetrachord descents from $g'$ to $d'$ (measures 8–15). Its second descent imitates the rhythmic

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profile of the treble, emphasizing the dotted-half-note-quarter-note pattern.

Christopher Simpson’s directives for setting texts can help us decipher the rhetorical gestures that Purcell so eloquently introduces in the exposition.

When you compose music to words, your chief endeavour must be that your notes do aptly express the sense and humour of them. If they be grave and serious, let your music be such also... Any passion of love, sorrow, anguish and the like is aptly expressed by chromatic notes and bindings... High, above, Heaven, ascend, as likewise their contraries, low, deep, down, Hell, descend, may be expressed by the example of the hand which points upward when we speak of the one and downward when we mention the other, the contrary to which would be absurd.  

The brief ascents, brightened by chromatic alteration in both the treble and alto, seem to offer hope (Example 19). This apparition is subdued almost immediately, however, by the sorrow evoked through the seemingly eternal descents of the treble and alto. Purcell leaves no doubt as to the meaning of these descents. Suspensions, Simpson’s bindings, paint a deathly image that is intensified by the lines’ relentless rhythmic repetition.

The emotive descents and suspensions that permeate the first section of the fantasia are further enhanced by increasing chromaticism, effected most often through modal coloration (Example 20). Following a cadence, Purcell transforms a G minor triad into a first-inversion G augmented triad (measure 31) through chromatic voice leading in the treble and alto. Perhaps even more affective is the transformation three measures later of a first-inversion A diminished triad to a first-inversion A augmented triad (measure 34). The confluence of contrapuntally motivated harmonic passages, suspensions, and the double-neighbor figure gradually builds the lamenting humor of the fantasia.

The Descending Minor Tetrachord: Fantasia No. 9

Purcell furthers this process by increasing the rhetorical weight accorded the descending minor tetrachord, a convention that by

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ated, or otherwise embellished melodically or rhythmically.

Purcell’s development of this convention in the ninth fantasia seems to mirror its historical development (Example 21). The significance of the descent of a fourth, hinted in the exposition (Example 19), is formalized when the descending tetrachord assumes its more traditional position in the bass (measures 22-24). Purcell increases the emblematic presence of the convention by setting the descent in G minor and voicing a 4-3 suspension at the cadence (measures 24-25). The tetrachord is then reprised, embellished through modal coloration and the addition of the double-neighbor figure (measures 25-28).

A Confluence of Conventions: Precedent and “Dido’s Lament”

Purcell’s use of multiple conventions simultaneously is not unique. We can see this pattern of rhetorical expression in the music of many of his predecessors. Thomas Weelkes, for example,

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32 Ibid., 354.

applies many of the same gestures in his madrigal “O Care, thou wilt despatch me” (Example 22). The text laments the slow death associated with the complaint of love lost. Only music offers the hope of redemption.

O Care, thou wilt despatch me
If Music do not match thee
So deadly dost thou sting me
Mirth only help can bring me

Hence Care, thou art too cruel
Come Music, sick man’s Jewel
His force had well nigh slain me
But thou must now sustain me

Like Purcell, Weelkes supports the conceit of the text within a semiotic nexus of musical signifiers. The bass enters with the descending minor tetrachord set in G minor. Four measures later the cantus paints a painful descent marked by the Phrygian semitone (measures 6–8) and a 7–6 suspension (measure 11). In fact, suspensions and descents permeate each voice of the madrigal, as does chromatic inflection achieved through modal coloration.

These same conventions are applied by the mature Purcell at the conclusion of “When I am laid in earth” from Dido and Aeneas, arguably the lament’s most perfect expression (Example 23). Chromatic descents, painfully delayed by suspensions, fall above an equally chromatic realization of the descending minor tetrachord. The cumulative weight of these gestures leaves no question as to the Queen’s fate.

The Descending Minor Tetrachord: Rhetorical Development and Application

While the descending minor tetrachord was initially associated with the bass line, the pattern gradually began to migrate to other voices. Purcell was certainly aware of this trend. In the elegy he composed for John Playford, a chromatic-fourth descent serves as the melody for a vocal line that begins on the repeated word “la-ment” (Example 24).

Similarly, in Purcell’s ninth fantasia the descending tetrachord is often voiced in the treble (Example 25). While these descents share an affinity with one another, each reveals a different facet, being varied by intervocalic structure, tonal location, or melodic embellishment. This variance suggests that Purcell understood Mace’s admonition that “too much of the same Humour ... is Nautilus, and Tiresome,” and recognized the affective power that subtle differences contributed to the fantasia’s humor.
The Rising-Fourth Motive: Fantasia No. 9

While the first section of Fantasia No. 9 provides strong evidence of Purcell’s growing rhetorical and technical skills, it represents only half of the composer’s oration. The second section further develops the fantasia’s humor by emphasizing its redemptive aspects. This portion of the fantasia begins with the introduction of a fugel subject that both grows out of the opening double-neighbor motive and is, in its own right, associated with images of the lament (Example 26). The gesture, introduced in the treble and then repeated by the alto, is a sequence of two rising fourths. The tenor follows with an augmented voicing of the motive in which the first leap has been expanded to a fifth. Finally, the bass takes the tenor’s variant, inverts it, and augments it a second time.

33 Mace, Musick’s Monument, 117.

The Fantasias of Henry Purcell

Example 26. Purcell, Fantasia No. 9, mm. 58–64.
death (Example 27). The treble viol’s entrance is marked by a Phrygian semitone (measure 3) that leads to a chromatically embellished minor tetrachord falling from $g'$ to $d'$ (measures 4–6), gestures we have seen Purcell use with similar intent. When the voice finally enters, the text is supported first with a rising minor third followed by a rising perfect fourth. The same evocation, “In angel’s weed,” is then repeated over two rising perfect fourths.

As the lament progresses, Byrd transforms the perfect fourths into two rising seconds that, together, form the double-neighbor figure with the Phrygian semitone (Example 28). This gesture, which supports the second half of the first line of text, is immediately repeated a perfect fourth higher. After hearing the ninth fan-}

tasia, it is difficult to believe that Purcell was not familiar with the elegy. Byrd uses virtually the same melodic gestures to express death’s grief and the glow of salvation. Even more significant is the process of development. Although the fugue subjects are presented in reverse order in Byrd’s elegy, the affinity that exists between them is perfectly clear.

Byrd and Purcell were also not the only composers using the rising-fourth motive. Matthew Locke articulates the same gesture in one of the anthems that we know Purcell copied, “The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble” (Example 29). Once again, the theme of salvation is associated with the point.
The Diminished Fourth Motive: Rhetorical Development and Application

Purcell develops this rising-fourth motive in the ninth fantasia through intervalic transformation, and, later, augmentation (Example 30). His use of each technique is grounded in rhetorical intent. Only fifteen measures after the subject is first introduced, he alters the final fourth of the point in the alto to a falling diminished fourth (measures 65–66). The tenor imitates the alto’s gesture, descending a diminished fourth from $f'$ to $c'$. To insure his meaning is not mistaken, Purcell extends the tenor’s despair with a chromatic descent that finally reaches $a$ (measures 67–68).

The diminished fourth, like many of the other gestures we have already traced, was associated with death and the hope for salvation. Purcell may have recalled the gesture from “I will hear what the Lord God will say,” another one of Locke’s anthems that he copied. Locke alters the character, and by extension the meaning, of the melodic line by changing the second descent to a diminished fourth (Example 31).

We know that Purcell was familiar with this convention by its expressive presentation in the composer’s elegy for John Playford (Example 32). Playford’s death is mourned metaphorically in Nathaniel Tate’s verse. The roses’ fall from lustrous blooms to decomposing petals is mirrored by Purcell’s poetic transformation of the rising perfect fourth to a descending diminished fourth.

A Confluence of Conventions: Death and Redemption

Purcell’s sophisticated treatment of the diminished fourth in the ninth fantasia attests to his growth as a musical rhetorician. Juxtaposing expression and technique, he supports the diminished-fourth variant of the rising-fourth subject with the perfect-fourth form, augmented to eight times its original duration (Example 33). The religious overtones suggested by this trio texture would have been understood by any seventeenth-century musician. The augmented motive takes on the character of a canus firmas, a structural device initially placed in the tenor in Renaissance sacred polyphony and later assimilated by English consort music. The voicing of this gesture against the diminished-fourth subject articulates both aspects of the lament. Purcell tempers death’s sorrow with a stylized prayer for salvation.

The religious coloring of the trio is reinforced by the plagal cadence that brings the fantasia to a close (Example 34). This cadential formula, associated with the music of the church, sug-
gests an amen that raises the hope of redemption and marks the end of Purcell’s summer studies.

**Conclusion**

There can be no question that Purcell’s contrapuntal skills benefited from his work on the fantasias. As Peter Warlock argues,

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Example 31. Matthew Locke, “I will hear what the Lord God will say,” mm. 50–54.
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Example 32. Purcell, “Gentle shepherds,” mm. 64–65.
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Example 33. Purcell, Fantasia No. 9, mm. 79–86.
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Example 34. Purcell, Fantasia No. 9, mm. 95–99.
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“we must go forward to Bach before we can find any music which displays such consummate mastery of all the devices of counterpoint.”\(^3\) Purcell, however, did more than study the rules of counterpoint in the summer of 1680. The fantasias’ sophisticated

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\(^3\) Peter Warlock, “Purcell’s Fantasias for Strings,” *Sackbut* 7 (1927), 285.
display of rhetorical conventions testifies to his evolving expressive powers. Purcell’s fugue subjects, derived from the elegies, madrigals, and anthems of his predecessors, are intended to communicate specific ideas that further the humor of each fantasia. He integrated these melodic gestures with other musical signifiers—key areas, dissonances, and bass-line patterns—creating images that spoke to his contemporaries.

We have seen that seventeenth-century composers conceived of music as a form of discourse possessing the same capabilities as language. This conception permeated English culture. As Henry Peacham professes in his guide for young men of substance:

Yea, in my opinion, no rhetoric more persuadeth or hath greater power over the mind [than music]; nay, hath not music her figures, the same which rhetoric? What is a revert but her antistrophe? Her reports, but sweet anaphoras? Her counterchange of points, antimetaboles? Her passionate airs, but prosopopoeias? With infinite other of the same nature.35

"Britan’s Orpheus" set out to master the persuasive powers of music with the intent of an orator seeking to control language and influence his audience. The fantasias suggest that the young Purcell’s time was well spent.

BETWEEN FANTASY AND AIRE: THE “ACTIVE BRAINE” OF WILLIAM LAWES1

Mark Davenport

Throughout 2002, we celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of William Lawes (1602), widely recognized as the most innovative composer during the reign of Charles I. Held in the highest esteem as court composer during the volatile political events leading up to the English Civil War, Lawes had an illustrious musical career that was prematurely cut short when he was tragically killed at the Siege of Chester, in 1645.

A comprehensive examination of the composer was not conducted until some three hundred years later, in the late 1950s, by Murray Lefkowitz.2 Lefkowitz’s main goals were to uncover and gather as much biographical information as possible, locate and identify Lawes’s manuscripts, then transcribe and catalog his works. While much of the mid-twentieth-century scholarly work

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1 An earlier version of this article was presented at the Forty-eighth Annual Conclave of the Viola da Gamba Society of America, Franklin Pierce College, Rindge, New Hampshire. 22 July 2002. The section “The Four-Part Consort Sets” was first read at the annual meeting of the Rocky Mountain Chapter of the American Musicological Society, held at Arizona State University in Tempe, 11 March 2000 (originally titled “Motive Transformation and Other Abstract Tendencies: The Four-Part Consort Sets”), with a revised version presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music, Franklin & Marshall College, Lancaster, PA, 20 April 2001. The material is also drawn from the author’s doctoral dissertation “The Dances and Aires of William Lawes (1602–1645): Context and Style,” 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Colorado at Boulder, 2001). The spelling “Fantasy” in the title of this article is that most often found in Lawes’s manuscripts; however, the spelling “fantasia” will be used in the body of the text, as one of the two more usual modern spellings of the term (the other being “fantasy”). Lawes used the spellings “aire” and “ayre” for his airs. When referring to a specific work that uses one or the other of these spellings, the original spelling will be maintained; otherwise, the more modern spelling “air” will be used. The phrase “active braine” is taken from John Cobb’s elegy for the composer (GB-Lbl, Add. MS 34071).

on ancient music necessarily dealt with the physical details of the manuscripts, describing their condition and location in library holdings, Lefkowitz was also able to concentrate much of his energy on an evaluation of the actual music. In fact, he devoted an entire chapter to each of Lawes’s major collections. Still, because of the wide scope of his study, Lefkowitz was unable to provide as much analytical detail as he would have wished. For example, in his chapter “For Ye Violls: The Fantasias and Aires,” Lefkowitz explains:

It has been necessary, in the present chapter, to restrict the discussion mainly to the fantasias, which are the major productions of William Lawes’ consorts for viols. Even so it has not been possible to do more than single out a few works and to examine some characteristic features of the composer’s technique. Several excellent fantasias have not been quoted at all, to say nothing of the stately pavans [and] the many charming aires. … It is to be hoped that publications of all of these pieces will appear in the near future and so enable the student to examine and above all to perform this exceedingly fine collection.

These publications have now appeared; yet, until recently, an examination of the dances and airs has not taken a central part of that investigation. Elsewhere, I have argued that a more thorough stylistic analysis of dance music, to match that of the fantasia, must be undertaken. Indeed, that was the principal tenet of my dissertation. While scholarly discussions of Lawes’s works have generally leaned toward the highly imitative fantasia, far less attention has been concentrated on his dance repertoire. The fantasia, as

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3 Ibid., 66.


5 Lawes’s dance music was also the main focus of David Pinto’s recent publication For Ye Violls: The Consort and Dance Music of William Lawes (Richmond, Surrey: Fretwork Editions, 1995), largely meant as a companion to Pinto’s published editions of Lawes’s Royall Consorts and the Five- and Six-Part Consort Sets.

Thomas Morley proclaimed, was “the most principall and chiepest kind of musick which is made without a dittie,” and “in this may more art be shoune than in any other musick.” Lefkowitz echoes Morley’s view when he adds that “the fantasie was the only existing musical form which allowed ample space for the free reign of the composer’s imagination.”

Here, however, issue must be taken. It is true that the fantasia was traditionally considered the primary form for demonstrating compositional prowess, with dance music providing a contrast of contrapuntal lightness and simplicity; yet, in Lawes’s hands, we also find an expanded compositional palette that often nudged him further and further away from the confines of actual dance music to a point where the line between dance and fantasia was frequently (and, one may argue, intentionally) blurred. Consequently, Lawes, perhaps more than any other English composer during this period, helped push dance music from the largely functional into the realm of the purely absolute.

In this article we will investigate specific musical techniques that Lawes employed, beginning with some of the simplest ideas and concluding with some of the most advanced. During our examination, we will come to better understand Lawes’s compositional process. We will also discover how Lawes’s dance pieces, particularly his “aires,” offer some of the most innovative examples of consort music in the entire seventeenth century.

Voicing across Parts

There is no question that many of Lawes’s dances and airs serve to act as “airy” counterparts to the densely imitative fantasia. With the simpler and more traditional dances, such as the saraband and corant, rhythms and counterpoint are kept to minimal levels of complexity; typically these dances feature one melody of prime interest with other parts serving supportive roles. None of Lawes’s works fulfills the more functional dance role better than the saraband. Most sarabands are set down in fairly strict point-


7 Lefkowitz, William Lawes, 39.
against-point style—in modern terminology, “homophony.” Saraband No. 48, from Royall Consort Sett No. 7, offers an example of this type of simple homophonic texture (see Example 1).

Example 1. Point-against-point or “homophonic” texture. Saraband No. 48, from Royall Consort Sett No. 7, mm. 1–4.

Even here, however, we find signs of Lawes’s progressive tendencies. One of his most consistent and pervasive textural schemes involves voicing across parts (the alternation or sharing of a melodic line between two parts, particularly between two equal instruments). Looking again at Example 1, in the two top parts (Violins 1 and 2) we see that the higher-pitched melody is initially sounded by the first violin but only for the first two measures; for the conclusion of the “A” section (measures 3–4) the higher-pitched melody is crossed over (down) to the second violin. Because the two instruments are equal in sound and pitch, we simply hear the higher-pitched melody as if it were written for the same part with a second harmony written below it. Voicing across parts is also applied to the two bass viol parts (see Example 1, Bass Viol 1 and 2). Why does Lawes go to the trouble of distributing the melodies in this way? The answer would appear to lie in the preference of Lawes (and English composers in general) to provide equality in voice parts (a more equal status of line for a more equal status of men, perhaps?). Much of the music was, after all, meant for performance by the aristocratic amateur. Judging by the level of skill demanded by many of Lawes’s works, these gentlemen of the court must have had a fairly high level of technical proficiency.

Taking the idea of voice crossing a bit further, we find musical sections where just one line is shared between two equal voices, fueling suspicions that the two parts may have originated as a single line. Corant No. 17, from Royall Consort Sett No. 3, begins the first four measures of the “B” section in just such a way before diverging into two simultaneously sounding parts (Example 2). Here, the texture is achieved by strict imitation between the two upper parts. The result provides what may best be termed “imitative homophony,” since the imitation is still based on one main melody of interest, even if it does take two parts to realize it.

Example 2. Imitative homophony. Corant No. 17 from Royall Consort Sett No. 3, mm. 11–14.

Corant No. 17 is interesting in other ways. The piece is the only corant that exists in the “New” but not the “Old” version of the Royall Consort. Corant No. 17 is also one of seven dances from the Royall Consort in three-part score versions (from a British Library manuscript, MS 31429). Because the three-part version of Corant No. 17 is transposed down a whole step from the Royall Consort setting, and the two upper parts are reversed in MS 31429, the

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8 David Pinto comments on this very idea in his observations of Aire Nos. 73 and 75, and Aire No. 41 ("Morriss") from Royall Consort Sett No. 6. See Pinto, For To Violls, 84.

dance has, until recently,\(^\text{10}\) been cataloged as a separate work ([Corant] VdGS No. 228). The three-part version is scored for two trebles and a bass instrument. Example 2 shows the five-part version of Corant No. 17/228, contained in Royall Consort Sett No. 3 (scored for two violins, two bass viols, and two theorbos). Here, the violins are assigned the two corresponding treble viol parts from the three-part version, and the two theorbos are assigned the corresponding single bass part from the three-part version (creating a basso continuo). The two added bass viol parts (lines three and four in Example 2) are “breaking” bass parts in that they individually alternate doubling the basso continuo (with the theorbos) and playing a newly created countermelody (see Example 2).\(^\text{11}\)

Revisiting Saraband No. 48 (Example 1), we find the same procedure in motion. Regardless of the dating of the manuscript sources, a comparison among the various versions provides insight into Lawes’s compositional process if one considers (as one must) that this step-by-step method involved adding parts to an already established treble and bass fabric. For example, after first composing a treble and a bass line (Example 3a), Lawes could then develop the two parts into a three-part texture either by breaking the single treble line into an antiphonal duet (as in Example 2) or by adding an upper or lower harmony (see Treble 2, Example 3b). Lawes might further expand the texture to four parts by adding a lower countermelody (for example, a tenor line). No two- or three-part version exists for Saraband No. 48, but the four-part scoring (two trebles, tenor, bass; Example 3c) corresponds to that found in the “Old” version of the Royall Consort (although shown without the voice crossing). For the “New” version of the Royall Consort, Lawes creatively distributes four actual parts of music among five staves (with the two bass viols sharing the tenor and bass lines) and six instruments (with staff five doubled by two theorbos, see Example 1).

Example 3. Suggested compositional process; Saraband No. 48, num. 1-4.

\(\text{a)}\) Process begins with two-part treble and bass fabric.

\(\text{b)}\) A harmony (Treble 2) is added to the existing melody, creating a three-part texture.

\(\text{c)}\) A lower countermelody (Tenor) is added, creating a four-part texture.

Lawes might also alternate several voice parts simultaneously, as he does between the two violins and two bass viols in the opening four measures of Corant No. 26 from Royall Consort Sett No. 4 (Example 4). This technique creates the many instances of “part-pairing” found throughout Lawes’s works as another means of textural variation.

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\(^{10}\) See the author’s evidence cited in “Dances and Aires,” 127.

\(^{11}\) Lefkowitz noted such a technique of divided bass parts, citing comments by both Christopher Simpson (1667) and Edward Lowe. Lowe’s seemingly clear statements explaining the reworking of the “Old” and “New” versions of the Royall Consort have sparked a modern scholarly controversy. See Lefkowitz, William Lawes, 74–75; Christopher Simpson, A Compendium: or Introduction to Practical Music (London: 1667 ed.), 73; and Pinto, For Ye Violls, 34–69.
Variations on a Ground

Saraband No. 21 from Royall Consort Sett No. 3 demonstrates a similar process, but here two main melodies are written over a six-measure ground bass. The two primary melodies are likewise six measures in length. Each of the two melodies with ground bass is presented four times. The second and fourth times offer the clearest visual example of the two upper melodies, where they are played without interruption or voice crossing by the violins (labeled "a" and "b" in Example 5, measures 7–12 and 19–24). The first and third presentations offer a more disguised delivery of the two upper melodies. In the opening phrase (measures 1–6), melody "a" alternates between the two violins while melody "b" is first heard in the second bass viol part (line four, measures 1–3), drops out for a measure, then is heard again in the first bass viol part (measure 5) before concluding in the second violin part (measure 6). Lawes reverses this idea in measures 13–18 where the violins are now assigned alternating phrases of the "b" melody while the "a" melody is exchanged between the two bass viol parts until measure 17, where it drops out for one measure then leaps up to the second violin part for its conclusion at measure 18 (see Example 5).

Interestingly, while the second and fourth variations offer the most visually straightforward presentations of both the "a" and "b" melodies, these variations, in fact, produce a third "new" melody (although still a combination of motives "a" and "b") heard as upper notes by the ear: a result of the voice crossing between the two.
violin parts (see the highlighted notes in Example 5, measures 7–12 and 19–24). Saraband No. 21 offers a wonderful example of variations on a ground. Rather than variations in melody, ornaments, or meter, however, Lawes has devised variations in the arrangement of the saraband by alternating melodies between voice parts. What a clever way of sustaining interest, particularly for the performer, in what is generally the simplest and most repetitive dance form.

“Maintayning a Fuge”

While Lawes’s sarabands and corants often conform to more typical dance features in both melodic and rhythmic organization, the rhythmic nature of his “aires” was frequently obscured through a high degree of stylization. The process of stylization is realized by expanding the work’s formal design and increasing the complexity of its harmonic and textural attributes. Many of Lawes’s airs move closer to the character of the standard fantasia, especially in the increased presence of imitative counterpoint. Coprario devoted the last part of his treatise to the subject of imitating a “point,” which he titled “How to maintayne a Fuge.” While Coprario likely intended such lessons to be used as the basis for writing fantasias, Lawes found many opportunities to include the technique in his airs, particularly in his four-, five-, and six-part Consort Sets.

Closely spaced points of imitation were held in high regard by Coprario, who stressed that “for to sooner you bring in your parts with the fuge, so more better will it shewe.” Aire No. 95 from Six-Part Consort Sett No. 9 demonstrates the practice of closely spaced “fugal” entries, each entering one beat apart (Example 6).

Other examples of fugal entries provide similar resemblances to the fantasia. If the title “aire” had been missing, one might be justified in calling it a fantasia. Indeed, this is what seems to have happened to at least one scribe who erroneously labeled the altus

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13 Ibid.
part of Aire No. 89, from Six-Part Consort Sett No. 7, "Fantazia" (Example 7).

Double and even triple entries were also tackled by Lawes, as observed in Aire No. 86 from Six-Part Consort Sett No. 6, measures 1–2 (Example 8).

The Four-Part Consort Setts

We turn now to a set of six four-part works held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, contained in one of Lawes's most important autograph scorebooks, MS Mus. Sch. B.2. The six pieces that comprise the collection offer a glimpse into Lawes’s more abstract tendencies, including thematic juxtaposition, melodic inversion, and some of the earliest and most extraordinary examples of motivic transformation.  

Murray Lefkowitz grouped the six pieces into two three-movement suites. Looking at Figure 1, in the second half of the page, we find that the six compositions were subsequently cataloged in the Thematic Index of Music for Viols using Lefkowitz’s configuration under the main heading “4-Part Fantasies and Airs” and subheaded “Suite No. 1” (in C minor) and “Suite No. 2” (in C major). Each of the two suites consists of three movements, listed consecutively.

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14 GB-Lbl Add. MS 29412.

Example 8. Triple fugal entries. Aire No. 86 from Consort Sett No. 6, mm. 1–2 (organ part omitted).

as “Fantasia, Air, Air,” with each movement assigned successive VdGS numbers (108–113).

Two fairly recent modern editions of the six works include Richard Taruskin’s 1983 edition, which uses the subheadings “Suite No. 1 in C Minor” and “Suite No. 2 in C Major,” and Richard Nicholson’s 1985 edition, provided with the main heading “Fantasies and Aires.” A problem quickly becomes evident when studying the autograph scores, however, especially when we consider the fact that none of the six pieces was actually titled


18 William Lawes: Fantasies and Aires, 2 Trebles and 2 Basses to the Organ, ed. Richard Nicholson (Cambridge: Brian Jordan, 1985). I would argue, however, that the title “Consort Sets” is a more appropriate and consistent heading, matching that given by David Pinto in his edition of the five- and six-part Consort Sets, for which the four-part pieces coexist in the large Oxford autograph scorebook. Using the term “Consort Set,” rather than “Suite” or “Fantasies and Aires,” would also help distinguish them from other miscellaneous collections of airs. Nonetheless, neither modern edition examines in detail the overall titling, let alone the names of the individual pieces within the collection.
“Fantasia” by Lawes. Instead, what we find in the first of the six pieces (No. 108) is the title “For the Violls a4” (see Figure 2).¹⁹

![Figure 2. Copy of autograph score in the Bodleian Library (MS Mus. Sch. B2, p. 26), showing title “For the Violls a4” for the first of the six movements in the Four-Part Consort Sets (VdGS No. 108).](image)

For each of the five pieces that follow, Lawes has provided the title “Aire a4,” including No. 111 (Figure 3). Grounds for inserting the title “Fantasia” for No. 108, in place of “For the Violls a4,” and retitling No. 111 from “Aire” to “Fantasia,” are presumably based on the formal characteristics of the two movements: both are through-composed works rather than dance-based binary form, and both exhibit the type of fugal entries typically found in fantasies of the period. However, the practice of retitling centuries-old works, based on modern definitions of musical terms, may obscure important musical aspects of a piece or a group of pieces, and should certainly be questioned as we come to more fully understand the composer’s intended meaning.

![Figure 3. Copy of autograph score in the Bodleian Library (MS Mus. Sch. B2, p. 31), showing title “Aire a4” for the fourth of the six movements in the Four-Part Consort Sets (VdGS No. 111).](image)

¹⁹ Figures 2 and 3 reproduced by kind permission of the Keeper of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

**Thematic Juxtaposition**

Further indications that Lawes was seeking to establish a deeper level of compositional thought in his airs are evident in his manipulation of motivic and thematic material. Previous analysis of the four six-part pieces has not detected thematic unity, aside from noting the obvious contrary motion of the opening incipits in Aire No. 111 and 112: an ascending scalar line in Aire No. 111 and a descending scalar line in Aire No. 112 (as can be clearly seen in Figure 1). On the surface, this process, known as melodic inversion, is simple enough; understanding what we now know about the abstract intentions of Lawes, however, we should not be surprised that there is more here than simple melodic inversion.

Let us examine in more detail, for example, Aire No. 111. Although the air is through-composed, there are four distinct sections. The first section begins with typical fugal entries (see Example 9). The first statement, in Bass 1 (labeled “a1”), is answered (at the fifth above) by Treble 1 (labeled “a2”), then by Bass 2 at the octave below (labeled “a3”), then Treble 2, again at the fifth above (labeled “a4”).

![Example 9. Aire No. 111: opening fugal entries.](image)

The time distance of one beat between the first and second entries is fairly typical, especially when working with scalar subjects (since thirds are created). More compositionally challenging is the rhythmic displacement of the third and fourth entries. Following the clear and strong duple-time set up by Bass 1 and Treble 1, Bass 2 (“a3”) enters on what has been an upbeat, two-and-a-half beats
after Treble 1. Treble 2 ("b4") answers one beat later, effectively shifting the metric accent (for a brief period, accented beats can just as easily fall on the upbeat as the downbeat).

The second section of Aire No. 111, beginning at measure 13, maintains the augmented rhythm, but new fugal entries are presented in a repeated-note figure, first stated in the Treble 1 part (labeled "b1"; Example 10). Note that Lawes presents each of the four entries on a different pitch (from the top to bottom parts: D, G, C, and A). Lawes has also staggered the third entry (Bass 1, measure 15, labeled "b3") at an unusual distance (eight beats) after the second entry, with the fourth entry (Bass 2, measure 17, labeled "b4") likewise entering eight beats after the third entry.

More notable, however, is the melodic material presented in Bass 2 (beginning on the fourth beat of measure 13, labeled "a1") that precedes its fugal answer in measure 17 (Example 10). The material should look familiar. The motive is, in fact, imported from motive “a” and juxtaposed with the fugal entries of motive “b.”

In the fourth and final section of Aire No. 111 is a new four-note figure (motive “c”), also presented in fugal entries at four pitch levels: D, G, C, and F. The figure begins on the fourth beat of measure 44 (highlighted and labeled “c1”), in the Treble 2 part (see Example 11). Once again, Lawes has juxtaposed previous thematic material, presented here in the Treble 2 part (on the fourth beat of measure 46, labeled “b1”), entering with Bass 1. The reused material is, of course, motive “b.”

Example 11. Aire No. 111: new fugal entries in fourth section (mm. 44–49).

**Motivic Transformation**

Even more striking than thematic juxtaposition is Lawes’s implementation of motivic transformation, an idea that involves altering or modifying the character of a motive while maintaining its fundamental identity. In instrumental ensemble music, the idea developed in the sixteenth century via the variation principle. The
technique of motivic or thematic variation can be found in early German dance pairs and later in seventeenth-century dance suites. Since William Lawes has been credited with presenting the earliest example of the English suite form (at least the Alman–Corant–Sarabande sequence), finding early examples of motivic transformation in his music is not surprising.

For the Four-Part Consort Sets, the subject of Lawes’s melodic invention (in its simplest form) is an unusually shaped four-note motive most often found beginning on pitch G, then descending a perfect fourth to D, rising a half step to E, then falling a diminished fourth to B₄ (Example 12). The important distinction here is the intervallic relationship—descending a perfect fourth, rising a minor second, and dropping a diminished fourth.²¹

Example 12. Four-note motive in its primary state.

What makes identification of the motive elusive is its failure to appear in any of the opening incipits, at least in its primary melodic design (as is clearly illustrated in Figure 1). In fact, the motive is not presented in its basic four-note statement until near the end of the first of the six pieces (VdGS No. 108, see Example 13a). Here we find the motive in the Treble 1 part, beginning on the third beat of measure 47, transposed down a fifth (C, G, A, E), in the middle of an elided cadence.²² Another such primary statement is seen several measures later, starting on the third beat of measure 51, in the Bass 2 part (Example 13b).

Closer analysis, however, reveals the motive disguised in the very first incipit of the same opening piece (Example 14a, Treble 1 incipit). In its transformed state the four-note motive (G, D, E, B) is found in measure 1, starting with the dotted quarter note G. No-

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²⁰ See Davenport, “Dances and Aires,” 47.

²¹ This is, of course, another example of Lawes’s predilection for the augmented triad, here presented melodically—the G, E, and B₄ providing the outline of a first-inversion augmented triad on the medianant.

²² Following the 4–3 suspension in measure 47 (moving from G major to C minor), the four-note motive both ends and begins the upper melodic movement.
Example 14. Transformation of four-note motive; Aire No. 108.

(a) In Treble 1 incipit, measures 1–2.
(b) Presented sequentially, in Treble 2, mm. 7–8.
(c) In Treble 2, mm. 18–19.
(d) In Treble 1, mm. 34–35.

Example 15. Transformation of four-note motive, presented in almain rhythm, in Treble 1; Aire No. 108, mm. 37–39.


Another way of consciously altering the melodic contour was to write or play the line backwards, what we now call retrograde. Again, this is an ancient compositional device, dating back to the fourteenth century where it is found, for example, in canons. In the piece presently under consideration, Lawes combines both techniques, retrograde and melodic inversion, creating a motive that descends a diminished fourth, rises a minor second, and drops a perfect fourth (see Example 17). Because of the unique nature of the invertibility of the augmented triad, where the intervalllic distances between pitches remain constant, neither melodic inversion nor inverted retrograde affects the melodic outline or pitch content of the augmented triad and its diminished fourth!

Example 17. Four-note motive in melodically inverted retrograde.

Returning to the opening movement, Aire No. 108, we find the transformed motive, implemented through melodically inverted retrograde, appearing in several places. The first is in measure 13, in the Bass 2 part (transposed down a perfect fifth), starting on beat three (Ab, Eb, F, C), with the last two notes of the motive forcing an uncharacteristic plagal cadence (F minor to C), reposing on the first beat of measure 14 (Example 18a). The same intervalllic pattern, although rhythmically augmented, appears in the Bass 1 part, beginning on the second beat of measure 40 and landing on the first beat of measure 41 (Example 18b).

Example 18. Transformation of four-note motive through melodically inverted retrograde; Aire No. 108.

(a) Bass 2, mm. 13–14.
(b) Bass 1, mm. 40–41.

The melodic inverted retrograde shape is also presented in a transformed configuration in the Bass I part at measure 38 (E♭, B♭, C, G) and in the following measure, in the Treble 2 part, at measure 39 (Example 19). Here, it appears simultaneously with the original intervallic design already examined in the Treble 1 part of the same measure.

Example 19. Simultaneous presentation of four-note motive in primary state (Treble 1), with melodic inverted retrograde (Treble 2), in Aire No. 108, m. 39.

Lawes was not content with confining the procedure of motivic transformation to sections within a single piece but further used the technique to unify a group of pieces. In the next work, the second of the six movements (Aire No. 109), we continue to find the four-note motive. The first appearance is in measure 8 in two parts: first in the Bass 1 line (G, D, E♭, B♭), and second in the Treble 2 part, starting on beat two (Example 20a). A third presentation is found in measure 11, in the Treble 1 part, beginning on beat two (G, D, E♭, B♭; Example 20b).


The third movement in “Consort Sett No. 1” (Aire No. 110) also contains the transformed version but not until the last three measures. The motive first appears at measure 22 in the Treble 1 part and is restated in measure 23 in the Treble 2 part. Lawes has thus begun and ended “Consort Sett No. 1” in C minor with the same thematic material (see Example 21).

Example 21. Continuation of transformed four-note motive in third movement (Aire No. 110), Treble 1 and Treble 2, mm. 22–end.

Considering now “Consort Sett No. 2” in C major, we have already discussed various techniques employed (including melodic inversion) between the beginning of Aire No. 111 and Aire No. 112. We have also examined how Lawes juxtaposes one theme over another (as in Aire No. 111). We do not expect to find in “Consort Sett No. 2” a continued use of the four-note motive used in “Consort Sett No. 1.” Astonishingly, that is precisely what Lawes has provided. Turning to the last of the six pieces, Aire No. 113, we once again find a very clear presentation of the four-note motive, here appearing at measure 15 in both the Treble 2 and Bass 2 parts (E, B, C, G; Example 22). Interestingly, the excerpt from Example 22 is the only section in all of the six movements where the meter changes to triple time, as if to further draw one’s attention to this final presentation of the four-note motive.²⁴

The presentation of motivic transformation, as a unifying plan for these pieces, suggests reinterpretation of certain performance and cataloging issues. At least two thoughts must be considered: (1) the two suites that make up the Four-Part Consort Setts should be performed consecutively, especially considering that the ap-

²⁴ As to any doubt about the intentionality of this particular four-note motive as a unifying device, it should be considered that after an exhaustive study of over 1,300 of Lawes’s melodies, this specific intervallic relationship is found in less than twenty isolated cases, where it appears just once or in simple imitative counterpoint.
In conclusion, Lawes drew on a wide spectrum of compositional techniques to add textural interest and variety not only to fantasias but also to his dances and airs, including dense points of imitation, fugal entries (utilizing double and triple entries), alternation of voice parts, part-pairing, ground bass, thematic juxtaposition, melodic inversion, and motivic transformation. By comparing different versions of a piece and examining the way in which Lawes distributed melodic lines equally among instruments (voicing across parts), we gain valuable insight into Lawes’s compositional process. By developing simple motives into transformed melodic passages, both within and between movements, Lawes ingeniously found a means of unifying his works. Identification of such unifying devices offers insights into performance practice and suggests a re-examination of cataloging procedures and classification schemes. While analysis of dance music is often included in much of the work discussed above, most studies have centered on the highly imitative English fantasia. In the air, however, Lawes also found fertile ground for his innovative and abstract directions. For many of these highly progressive works, the line drawn between them and the fantasia was not only blurred but, more precisely, removed.

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RESEARCH REPORT: DOUBLE BASS SESSION AT THE IMS CONFERENCE IN LEUVEN, BELGIUM

Marc Vanscheuwijck

During the first week of August 2002, the Catholic University of Leuven organized and hosted the seventeenth Congress of the International Musicological Society. The conference was an organizational tour de force: not only was it spread over six full days, but more than seven hundred papers were read in an extremely wide variety of sessions dealing with virtually all current topics in musicology. One of the many afternoon sessions on Monday 5 August was entitled “Rex tremendae maestatis: The Double Bass and Its Adoption as a Standard Ensemble Member at European Courts,” organized by Xosé Cristante Gándara and chaired by Julie Ann Sadie. Originally, six papers were to be presented in this session, but unfortunately three people were forced to cancel their participation in the conference. Instead of presenting some of the latest developments in scholarship concerning large string bass instruments in Spain, the British Isles, Germanic regions, France, and Italy, the session was sadly limited to France and Italy. This did not, however, prevent the participants and the audience alike from engaging in lively discussions.

Joëlle Morton’s paper “Bass Matters: So Really, What is a Violone? Some Answers, and More Questions” would have been an ideal session opener: she first reminded the audience of some of the most important issues in the recent scholarly discussions about violoni and double basses in general, and offered insights on their use, playing technique, and organology. Although she spoke second, I will summarize her comments first because of their introductory qualities. After pointing out that the generalized use of the term “violone” today designates large string bass instruments of the viola da gamba and violin families, Morton first observed that the physical differences and distinctions in playing technique between the two instrument families offered greater differences in sound, projection, and response than is usually acknowledged. Moreover, there was a large variety in shape of these low instruments, even just within the gamba family. Consequently, in assigning names to these various instruments, the term “violone” is too vague. Morton then proposed to classify such seventeenth- and eighteenth-century instruments first according to the family they belong to, and second according to their tuning. The term “violone” should thus be used for the larger representatives of the viola da gamba family only, and it should be further specified as G, A, or D violone according to the tuning of its outer strings. On the other hand, the term “contrabass” should be used to indicate large violin-shaped instruments with three or four strings tuned in fourths or in fifths.

She then showed that the G (or A) violone was the first preferred basso continuo instrument: its use was extremely common up to the 1730s, and is attested especially in Germanic sources. However, during most of the seventeenth century it was mainly played at written pitch and did not double the bass at the lower octave. Until the 1660s, when wound strings were introduced, and when the violoncello became more common, the G violone seems to have been the most “normal” bass instrument. I found quite interesting Morton’s hypothesis that with the diffusion of such silver-wound gut strings in the early eighteenth century, the G violone began to be used as an instrument doubling the bass line an octave lower than the cello. The use of large D violoni as transposing basses was very limited, and particularly so compared to what modern practice would imply. In contrast, the “Viennese” type of violone with its mixed Terz-Quart Stimmung and underhand bow grip became so popular that composers such as Haydn even wrote a concerto for it. Finally, Morton states that the demise of large members of the gamba family coincided with the decline in use of the baryton and the viola d’amore in the early nineteenth century.

On the other end of the spectrum were the violin-shaped basses, the earliest descriptions and tunings of which appeared in the beginning of the seventeenth century (Praetorius, Mersenn). Only later in the century did Bartolomeo Bismantova provide a really convincing description of a bass with four strings tuned in fourths.
Again, opinions were divided on the function of such an instrument: Janowka and de Brossard claim that it played an octave below written pitch, but the French author only advocates its use in large choruses because of its “charming effect.” Even as late as 1781 Corrette still tells his readers to make limited use of the double bass, and to simplify the bass line.

In sum, Morton first reiterated that although both small and larger bass instruments of the Baroque and Classical eras had limited extension into the subbass register, this fact was not considered an issue until the nineteenth century. Second, the G violone was the most common of all violoni, and finally, all these instruments used a fairly low tension for the strings, which provided a limited sound projection. She concluded by encouraging further investigation in particular into the introduction of sixteen-foot double basses as regular members in the various types of ensembles.

The discussion following Morton’s well-illustrated PowerPoint presentation touched upon, among other topics, the problem of hybrid bass instruments so common in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century iconography, and upon the difficulty in deciding what particular “family” some instruments belong to and whether this is even a relevant question.

The first paper in the session, “The Introduction of the Double Bass to the French Court,” was delivered by Michael Greenberg and was an in-depth assessment of various types of archival, musical, and literary documents. He opened by posing the problem of how to define the double bass: is it an instrument capable of extending into the sixteen-foot register? an instrument played standing? an instrument that doubles the bass line an octave below, as we often assume today? Greenberg quickly dismissed the use of such “double basses” before the eighteenth century in France. Although Mersenne (1636) mentions a sixth member of the violin family a fifth lower à la façon de Lorraine (tuned E'B'-B'F'-F'-c), it is impossible to find any evidence of its use in the Grande Bande des Violons, or in Muffat’s testimony. The absence of such an instrument even in large ensembles is further corroborated by several sources of the 1660s and 1670s suggesting that only one type of bass de violon was in use in France. Although the almanachs containing the names of the musicians in the Chapelle Royale in Versailles (beginning in 1692) refer to an instrument as a grosse basse—a term used in Marais’s Alcyone of 1706 in reference to a sixteen-foot double bass—Greenberg does not believe the 1692 term denotes a sixteen-foot doubling instrument. Clues from Ragueneau (1697) and the absence of a double bass in Sauveur’s 1701 Principes d’acoustique et de musique seem to support this idea. Greenberg further hypothesizes that this grosse basse was probably just a different size of basse de violon. In this case Greenberg uses iconography and surviving instruments to support his theory: in various paintings by Puget, Coysevox, and Horemans, a large-bodied, five-string instrument with a short neck appears, comparable to the Krouchdaler instrument of the Brussels Instrumentenmuseum. This instrument and the regular four-string basse de violon evidently coexisted at the court of Louis XIV: in 1714 Jean-Baptiste Matho specified “four 4-string basses de violon” and “four 5-string basses de violon” in the score of his opera Arion. However, in rehearsing the piece in the Paris Opéra, he reassigned the five-string basse de violon parts to the four-string basses, and the bassoon parts to even lower bass instruments. He apparently did not know the term for these large basses, so he referred to them as “basses de violons à l’octave,” which are obviously double basses, since Michel Pignolet de Montéclair—credited with introducing the double bass into the Paris Opéra—was specifically mentioned as having played the part. Using engravings by Martin Engelbrecht, Greenberg further suggested that the difference between the grosse basse and basse de violon in the 1692 almanachs might not even have been one of size, but only of number of strings. In any case, the earliest conclusive evidence concerning the use of a sixteen-foot double bass at the French court was in 1747, during the reign of Louis XV.

In the second section of his paper, Greenberg reviewed in detail some accounts relative to the use of basses de violons and double basses in the Opéra, first in documents relative to Montéclair, and also in the scoring of various operas by Jean Theobaldo di Gatti (Scylla, 1701), André Campra (Tancrède, 1702), and Marin Marais (Alcyone, 1706). Finally, he presented evidence pro (Rameau) and con (Corrette) regarding the constant use of the dou-
ble bass in the orchestra. Montéclair’s successors, who are known to have played the double bass exclusively, seem to have used it constantly in overtures, choruses, and some dances beginning in 1738. Three years later, the Italian violoncello began to supplant the French *basse de violon*, which led Greenberg to believe that the double bass may have started to be used constantly precisely to compensate for the loss of sonority occasioned by the substitution of the smaller cellos for the *basses de violon*.

In his closing remarks, Greenberg reiterated the question of when exactly the sixteen-foot tuning first appeared at the French court: while it is first documented in 1636, there is no evidence for its use. Was it introduced in 1692, depending on one’s interpretation of the term *grosse basse*? 1747 is certainly the year in which the first conclusive documentary evidence is found. At the Opéra, on the other hand, the double bass may have been introduced as early as 1701, and definitely by 1706. Although it was first used as a curiosity for special effects, it gradually became a more integral member of the continuo group by 1737. Rameau was probably exceptional in assigning a separate part to the double bass in *Les Boréades* (rehearsed in 1763, but never performed), but approximately sixty years after its introduction in the Opéra, the double bass had become a regular member of French orchestras.

After a short question-and-answer session, Julie Ann Sadie, chair of the session, introduced Marc Vanscheeuwijk for the third and final paper of the afternoon, entitled “The Uses of the Violone in Seventeenth-Century Italy.” After a brief overview of recent scholarship on the various possible definitions of violone in Italy (by Bonta, Schmid, Morton, and Myers), I presented a few excerpts from Ganassi’s *Regola Rubentina* and *Lettione Seconda* to show that in the sixteenth century in *contrabasso* referred to pitches below the *Gamma-ut* (*G*), and that the terms *basso* and *contrabasso* referring to an instrument (or to its lowest string) were entirely interchangeable. Consequently, we need to be careful when we encounter *contrabasso* in the sources, because its meaning was not necessarily the same as today’s. In concluding these introductory comments, I mentioned the fact that some of the earliest appearances of the term *contrabasso* as referring to bass instrument types occurred in Venetian areas, and I noted the importance of the connections between Venice and the Bavarian Court at the time.

In the bulk of the paper I explored how the terms violone and *contrabasso* were used in Italy, and when and how the “double bass” as a transposing instrument was used in the Italian repertoire. I believe that in at least the first three-quarters of the seventeenth century, “violone” without further specification was a non-transposing eight-foot *viola da braccio* instrument of the larger type with possible extensions into the twelve-foot register (*F*-*C*). However, when composers (or printers) meant to include an instrument capable of playing most of the bass line an octave below the written pitch, they referred to a large *viola da gamba* type (larger than the bass) by adding modifiers such as *grande*, *grosso*, *doppio*, *contrabasso*, *in contrabasso*, or any combination of these, as Stephen Bonta and Thorald Borgir already hypothesized in the late 1970s. Based on the often poor quality of the lowest pure or loaded gut strings before the 1670s, I also argued that violoncelli bass violins would, as a rule, always need an extension (in the bass) of at least one whole step lower than the lowest pitch to be played in the composition, but that in the case of the gamba-type violoncelli at least one string below the lowest used pitch was needed for acceptable resonant sound production. In making this point I made a lengthy excursus discussing tunings in Banchieri’s *Conclusione nel suono dell’organo* (1609) and *L’Organo suonarino* (1611), Praetorius’s *Syntagma Musicum* (1619), Gasparo Zannetti’s 1645 *Il scolaro per imparare a suonare di violino, et altri strumenti*, and Bismantova’s 1694 *Aggiunta* to his *Compendio musicale* (1677).

After demonstrating a number of examples of various possible uses of the different types of violoncelli in church music in Venice and in Bologna (San Petronio), I briefly considered some cases at court (Modena, Rome) and in opera (Venice, Florence). In conclusion then, if we consider that only the “violone grande in *contrabasso*” (and similar terms) can refer to a transposing bowed double bass instrument, its use in seventeenth-century Italy seems to have been limited to a few exceptional large-scale polyphonic sacred compositions in the *Repubblica Serenissima* (maybe because of German influences), and to large-scale sacred
music in very large and resonant churches (as in Bologna) beginning in the late 1650s. Its use seems to become slightly more common in the late 1680s, but mainly in church and court ensembles, whereas in theatrical and other secular vocal repertoire we must wait until the eighteenth century to find double basses. All other references to violoni without further modifications seem to require six-string gambas in G' (probably mainly in Venetian areas) or bass violins in B' (and from the 1670s also violoncellos in C, though not in Rome until the 1720s) that played the bass line at pitch. Both were able to occasionally transpose down an octave in cadences, as theorbo and archlute players did, and similarly to the way organists used their short pedal board. Until the 1670s (when silver-wound bass strings were introduced) the two instruments may well have had an identical range (C–d) because of the avoidance of playing on the lowest string on the G' gamba or on the lowest open string on the B' bass violin. With the improvement in strings the G' gamba may have been used increasingly as a fully transposing instrument, whereas the cello in C could use its full but exclusively eight-foot range, developing instead its higher register.

A lively discussion between panelists and members of the audience continued even after Sadie had concluded this fascinating session. Although the conference organization needed the room for the next event and asked us to leave, a fruitful exchange of ideas kept on going over dinner on the beautiful late-Gothic Grote Markt in Leuven. Some of the most important general conclusions to be made after this short session are first, that at least in Italy and France the use of a sixteen-foot double bass was extremely rare until late in the seventeenth century; and second, that a major reassessment is needed in the choice of bowed string bass instruments, particularly in orchestras and church/chamber music ensembles that present themselves as historically informed performing groups.


Jameson, Louise. *Isabella d’Este as a Patron of Music*. Viola da Gamba Society: 2002. (Available from <admin@vdgs.demon.co.uk>.)


**REVIEWS**


Ganassi’s viol tutor is unique among musical treatises of the Renaissance for its thoroughness of approach. Most authors of the era seem to have been content to present a few fingering charts and—when we are lucky—a brief commentary on technique. Ganassi, by contrast, provides a wealth of detail, not only about basic tunings and fingerings, but also about posture, bowing, musical expressivity, adjusting and stringing the instrument, employing more advanced fingering practices, intabulating polyphony for accompanying a solo voice, and using alternative, “make-do” tunings when strings break or are unavailable. In addition, some of his information has relevance to instruments other than the viol, particularly the lute but also the violin family and even the lira da braccio. Given the opportunity presented by such a large window into the musical world of the sixteenth century, it behooves those of us involved in performing music of that era to spare no pains in trying to comprehend all it can show us.

Unfortunately, that window is not always as clear as we should wish; Ganassi’s text has remained notoriously difficult to interpret and translate. Not only are there the problems presented by the unfamiliar orthography of early Italian (“tall” s’s that resemble f’s; v’s used as vowels and u’s as consonants; abbreviations; missing accents and apostrophes; a few antiquated spellings), but in addition Ganassi employs a few words and expressions typical of the Venetian dialect (for instance, “in zos” as an alternative to “in giù”—“downwards”; “in suso” instead of “in su”—“upwards”; “abbrazzare” instead of “abbracciare”—“to embrace”), as well as a few words apparently not to be found in any Italian dictionary. However, by far the greatest impediment to our understanding of his text is imposed by his writing style, with its long and complex sentences whose structures—none too clear in the first place—are
further obscured by his capricious approach to punctuation. Just how we divide up his run-on sentences and how we connect phrases and clauses can drastically change his apparent meaning. When his words appear not to make sense there is often the temptation to change either the words or the syntax in order to produce a more acceptable result—a temptation from which none of his modern translators seems to be entirely immune.

The late Richard Bodig’s 1977 translation of Ganassi’s treatise is undoubtedly familiar to many readers of this Journal, since it first appeared in these pages in 1981 and 1982. Patrice Connelly has chosen to republish Bodig’s work, bringing out both volumes of Ganassi’s treatise under a single cover and making it more widely available. In the process she has reformatted Bodig’s text but has otherwise left it essentially unaltered. While she claims to have corrected a few typographical errors, a couple of small ones still remain (“Bergabask” for “Bergamask,” p. 1; “sting” for “string,” p. 7); the only one that is likely to cause any real confusion is the labeling of the lower chart on p. 23, which should specify “Tenor” rather than “Treble.” Unfortunately, however, there are some more serious and complex issues regarding Bodig’s translation that need to be addressed.

Bodig’s translation is basically congenial and free-flowing, and it makes effective use of modern English idioms. He is very much in his element in discussing many technical aspects of the viol; for instance, his training as a mathematician leads to a fairly clear handling of Ganassi’s detailed instructions for tuning and for adjusting frets. On the other hand, he seems less comfortable in his grasp of a few of the more arcane terms and principles of Renaissance musical practice, and it is here that most of the difficulties with his translation lie. In most cases, however, his missteps are but brief lapses that—as we shall see—can be rather simply corrected, since the bulk of his work is right on course.

Other translators of Ganassi provide footnotes (or endnotes) and other explanatory information; Bodig provides a paragraph of “Comments on the Translation” and a few occurrences of the word “(sic)” when he perceives—or thinks he perceives—an error on the part of Ganassi, but leaves us with little direct evidence of the basis of his decisions as interpreter and translator. Unfortunately, he has often felt it necessary to be inconsistent in his rendition of certain words, including some of the technical terms of music. This habit is particularly detrimental to our understanding of Ganassi’s directives for both the bowing and plucking of strings. Ganassi’s frame of reference for his concepts of “downwards” and “upwards” is the transverse playing position of the lute; although he recommends strongly against such a position in the case of the viol (Regola rubentina, Chapter I), it remains the orientation of his system of tablature (with the treble strings on the bottom), and it is clear that when he says to bow downwards (in gin or in zoso) he means to make a bowstroke starting at the tip and proceeding towards the frog, causing the arm to approach the body. Apparently in order to avoid confusion with modern concepts of “downbow” and “upbow,” Bodig employs “push bow” and “pull bow” (at least

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3 These typos occurred on pp. 15, 23, and 55 of the original publication. Since most of my remarks will apply equally to both the original and republished versions, my subsequent references will be to chapter numbers rather than page numbers.

4 See, however, Mark Lindley, *Lutes, Viols and Temperaments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984): 60–65 for a translation of and commentary on Ganassi’s discussion of fretting. Lindley helps sort through the ambiguities and internal contradictions in Ganassi’s explanations, showing that his fretting scheme, while following no regular mathematical model, tends most nearly towards meantone temperament.

5 These are Emilia Dahnh-Baroffio and Hildemarie Peter (see Silvestro Ganassi: *Regola Rubentina, Teil 1 und Teil 2, Lehrbuch des Spiels auf der Viola da Gamba und der Laute, Venedig 1542 und 1543*, ed. Hildemarie Peter [Berlin-Łichterfelde: Robert Lienau, 1972]), as well as Wolfgang Eggers (see *Die "Regola Rubentina" des Silvestro Ganassi, Venedig 1542/43: Eine Gambenschule des 16. Jahrhunderts* [Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1974]). Bodig was aware of these two German translations when he was producing his English translation; see his “Silvestro Ganassi’s Regola Rubentina: Revelations and Questions,” *JViDA* 14 (1977): 61–70. He seems to have been unaware of the 1977 translation into English (by Daphne and Stephen Silvester of Dahnh- Baroffio and Peter’s work; this is available as Silvestro Ganassi: *Regola Rubentina, First and Second Part: A Manual of Playing the Viola Da Gamba and of Playing the Lute, Venice 1542 and 1543*, ed. Hildemarie Peter [Berlin-Łichterfelde: Robert Lienau, 1977].
in the early chapters of the translation) as his renditions of Ganassi's terms "tirata in giu" and "tirata in su" (or "suso"), respectively. The problem, however, comes in later chapters (especially Chapters VIII through XV of the Lettione seconda), in which much of the discussion concerns plucking rather than bowing. (Whether Ganassi's comments about plucking relate to the lute or the viol—or to both—is not always perfectly clear, but is irrelevant to the present issue.) Here Bodig has felt it proper to render Ganassi's "in suso" as "from above" (rather than "upwards") and "in zoso" as "from below" (instead of "downwards"), thus inverting the author's meaning. (In lute playing one plucks generally upwards with the fingers—that is, from the treble towards the bass—and generally downwards, but sometimes upwards, with the thumb, and Ganassi has very specific tablature signs for these motions.) Bodig never divulges his reasons for making this inversion.

Bodig's choice to be inconsistent has led to a few other difficulties as well. Ganassi makes a distinction (evident in his fingering charts) among scales "with b-naturals" ("in proprietà de bequadro"), "with b-flats" ("in proprietà de bemole"), and "with musica finta" (meaning, in fact, "with e-flats"—"in proprietà de musica finta"). Bodig usually renders these accurately, but once (Regola rubertina, Chapter XVIII) translates "la deduzion de bemole" as "the b-flat scale," which carries with it modern implications of tonality—i.e., a b-flat major scale; "scale with b-flats" (or "using b-flats") would avoid confusion. Once (Regola rubertina, Chapter XIII) he translates "il tenore in proprietà de bemole" as "the tenor viol in b-flat" (rather than "the tenor viol using [the scale with] b-flats"), again causing confusion with modern terminology. The tenor Ganassi is referring to is, in fact, "in" G in common modern parlance; it is not very clear from Bodig's translation of this passage that Ganassi's point here is that the fingering order—"ordine"—is exactly the same in the third chart for bass (in which it is considered as an instrument "in" C, using b-flats and e-flats) as in the second chart for tenor (considered as being "in" G and using b-flats). Ganassi's word "chiave" should always, in my opinion, be translated as "clef"; Bodig sometimes gives "key" or even "key signature," again with the wrong (not to mention anachronistic!) implications. (In Chapter XVII of the Regola rubertina this mistranslation has misled Bodig himself into thinking Ganassi has erred in his logic; in fact, Ganassi is correct in saying that the clef will be a tone lower on an instrument pitched nominally a tone higher. In Chapter XXII of the Lettione seconda, on tunings for viols with only four strings, Bodig's use of "key" instead of "clef" has led to an erroneous and unfathomable translation; I would recommend referring to the Peter edition for a more accurate rendition of this passage.) In translating Ganassi's solmization syllables, Bodig sometimes gives "do" or even "c" for "ut"; in fact, only "ut" will do, since "do" has anachronistic connotations and "c" is only a partial equivalent. (In giving Ganassi's "la nota ut" and "la voce la," in Chapter XVII of the Lettione seconda as simply "c" and "a," Bodig has actually helped obscure Ganassi's metaphor; Ganassi is attempting to draw a parallel between mutation of hexachords—that is, changing from one hexachord to another—when solmizing in singing, and shifting the hand in fingering on the viol.)

In his prefatory remarks Bodig comments on Ganassi's occasional vagueness; such vagueness may, however, be more apparent than real, and may disappear altogether upon our correctly understanding him. For instance, in his opening chapters Ganassi has quite a bit to say about the aesthetics of viol playing; in Bodig's translation he seems to be nattering on at some length, speaking in platitudinous generalities. (From the Prologue to the Regola rubertina, Bodig's translation: "This appearance contributes to the quality of performance, which not only provides nourishment to the ear but also visual beauty.") In fact, Ganassi makes a very clear and cogent distinction—traditional among scholars since medieval times—between "bellezza" ("beauty") and "bontà" ("goodness"); as it turns out, "bellezza" refers specifically to visual beauty—to those aspects of performance that can be seen and appreciated visually—while "bontà" refers to those underlying skills and understandings that are perceived more through the ear but also support bellezza. (In the sentence just quoted above, Ganassi actually says something closer to "from this [graceful comportment of hand and body] will come the enjoyment of 'goodness,' which is food for the ear just as 'beauty' is food for the eye.") This distinction between "bellezza" and "bontà" is at the heart of Ganassi's discussions in the first few chapters; Chapter III concerns "Le parti che ricerca la bonta"—"The aspects [of perfor-
mance] that seek out ‘goodness.’ ” (Bodig translates this as “Factors which enrich the quality of performance,” apparently having confused “ricercare” [“to seek out, to investigate”] with “arricchire” [“to enrich.”].) Foremost among the components of bontà is knowing how to form consonances: “Nota come la bonta si contiene in saper formar le consonanze...” (Bodig—inesplicably—renders this as “Quality consists of knowing how to shape phrases…” The other component of bontà mentioned by Ganassi is the knowledge of how to make divisions, about which he has had enough to say—he points out—in his other treatise, the Fontegara (Venice, 1535). Although understanding Ganassi’s distinction between “bellezza” and “bontà” may not be crucial to our knowledge of how to play the viol, it might restore somewhat our faith in him as a lucid thinker (if not as a lucid writer!).

It is not possible in a review to address in detail every issue of translation; however, suggesting a few remaining emendations may help the interested reader in following Ganassi’s arguments. Near the end of Chapter I of the Regola rubentina he relaxes his stance against the transverse playing position for the viol, suggesting that too upright a position will itself appear forced and affected; Bodig seems to have missed this caveat. (His curious word “foetal” comes from what I believe is a misunderstanding of Ganassi’s phrase “de la fettation,” which, allowing for his bad punctuation and spacing, should probably be interpreted as “de l’affettation”!) Near the end of Chapter III Bodig seems to have left out a crucial line of text; the passage should read as follows (italics indicating the words to be added): “Thus for melancholy music, you would play close to the fingerboard, and for a harsh sound, you would play close to the bridge.” In Chapter VI Ganassi makes a distinction between the performance of the longa, breve, semibreve, and minim (to be made with full bow involving the arm) and the performance of the shorter values (semi-minim, crome, and semi-crome), which are to be done with the wrist; this distinction is somewhat garbled in Bodig’s translation. In Chapter X, in discussing the primacy of the bass part, Ganassi says it resolves the dissonance of a fourth “by adding a third or a fifth below” (“con copularsi una terza over quinta disotto”); Bodig’s version, “joined to a third from above or to a fifth from below,” does not make sense. (As an example illustrating Ganassi’s point, the dissonance of the fourth g–c’ is made consonant by the addition of either e or c below.)

In Chapter XI (concerning adjustments to string length and diameter in order to make up for disproportionate sizes among a set of viols) Bodig’s words read, in part, as follows: “if the tenor is too large, you can tune it a fourth higher. The string length is shortened by moving the bridge somewhat away from the tailpiece and by putting on thinner strings.” I believe this should be amended to read, “if the tenor is too large to be tuned a fourth higher [than the bass], you can shorten the string length by moving the bridge somewhat away from the tailpiece and put on thinner strings.” In Chapter XV it should be made clearer that Ganassi’s reference to tuning the alto and tenor a fourth higher than the bass (and a fifth below the treble) is not new information, but pertains to what he has already explained; the new information in this chapter is the “other tuning” (in which the alto and tenor are a fifth above the bass). In Chapter XV of the Lettione seconda, fifth sentence (beginning “Whenever”), Bodig has left untranslated the words “due volte”—“twice”; it should be understood that Ganassi is describing here the separate emphasis one gives to the second note when one encounters two successive bow strokes in the same direction.

Finally, there are problems of legibility in the reproduction of Ganassi’s charts and other musical examples. In general, Bodig’s versions of these (whether in facsimile or redrawn by himself) are fairly clear; the main difficulties are to be found in the three charts following Chapter XVIII of the Regola rubentina (giving the “Method for playing a fourth higher”) and the two final charts of the Lettione seconda (giving the tunings for viols with four and three strings, respectively). In the case of the three charts “for playing a fourth higher,” Ganassi has distinguished between filled-in noteheads (note negre or note piena) and “open” or “white” noteheads (normal semibreves); it is almost impossible from the images given by Bodig to make out this distinction. (To say the least, the quality of reproduction has not been improved in Connelly’s edition; all charts and examples have been scanned into a computer at a fairly low level of resolution, causing noticeable degradation in clarity.) The troublesome charts are consider-
ably more clearly reproduced in the facsimile edition, which is worth consulting if one needs to understand in detail the information they present.

It is hoped that the criticisms given here will be of help to the reader attempting to understand Ganassi’s invaluable, fascinating, but often frustratingly convoluted document. The “definitive” translation of this work has not yet been written; there may always remain questions of translation as well as interpretation, and we can only hope for the continued contributions of scholars as they work away at solving the remaining puzzles. As one of the pioneers in this effort, Richard Bodig is very much to be thanked and appreciated for providing a basic framework for further study.

Herbert W. Myers

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7 An interesting example of this sort of confluence of scholarly work concerns a passage near the end of Chapter XVI of the *Lettione seconda*, in which Ganassi mentions in passing the “practice of saying [i.e., singing] bass parts accompanied by the sound of the lira (da braccio)” — “prattica del dire i bassi accompagnado con il suon della Lyra.” This passage would seem to be fairly straightforward, but it has not fared well in any of the published translations; Bodig, for instance, gives, “its usage in bass accompaniment and the sound of the lira...,” and none of the other translators comes any closer. Howard Mayer Brown’s *Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation: The Music of the Florentine Intermedia* [Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1973]: 45) first noted the important implications of this passage for our understanding of the nature of the lira da braccio and its performance; it suggests the lira was used as an accompanying vehicle sounding above (rather than below) the melody of the singer (who was also the player). Surviving musical fragments from the era have borne out this understanding; see Herbert W. Myers, review of Sterling Scott Jones, *The Lira da Braccio*, *JVdGSA* 34 (1997): 84–89 (specifically pp. 86–87.) Clearly Ganassi’s words did not make sense as they stood to any of his translators, causing all to recast them to bring them into line with expectations. However, a more thorough investigation of the issue shows that they are not only correct as they appear, but are crucial to our understanding of a very poorly documented area of Renaissance performance practice.

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Following Commander Gordon Dodd’s magnificent *Thematic Index of Music for Viols*, which so very thoroughly treats the consort music and also a part of the solo repertory, we are pleased to see the complementary catalog of Bettina Hoffmann, which has a different focus, namely on the solo music and on the “chamber music” for or including viols. Indeed the scope of the catalog as announced is impressive: “This catalog lists the solo and chamber works written specifically for the instruments of the viola da gamba family through the entire course of its historic development.” It is disappointing to learn in the next paragraph, however, that the “entire course of its historic development” is indeed limited. Beginning as expected, in the middle of the sixteenth century, it is artificially terminated by “a few scattered compositions during the first years of the nineteenth century,” thereby omitting the rich development of twentieth-century solo and chamber music for viols, such as the Japanese works played by the Kambe Consort, works for viola d’amore and viola da gamba by Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari and Gordon Maxwell Tonson-Ward, and the very large body of music by the Casadesus family for viola d’amore and viols.

The catalog’s introductory articles (“General Criteria” and “Organization of the Catalog”) are provided in both Italian and English. Throughout the book, titles of musical works are given in the original languages, while the annotations and notes that accompany individual entries are in Italian. Other components of the catalog include “Abbreviazioni,” “Indice per organici,” “Appendice” (a list of Playford collections), and a “Bibliografia.”

The limits of chamber music in Hoffmann’s catalog are difficult to define. Included are: “Compositions for one or two viole da gamba and basso continuo or a keyboard instrument”; “Concerti for viola da gamba and orchestra (also with other solo instruments)”; “Duets for viole da gamba (including those that stand closer, because of the writing and style, to polyphonic music)”; “Chamber music with more instruments where the viola da gamba
takes a solo role...not relegated...to the function of the basso continuo”; and “Pieces for lyra consort, since the lyra viol assumes...a solo role.” Some overlap with the Dodd Thematic Index occurs in the English viola da gamba duets and in the lyra viol music. It seems that music with relatively easy and equally important parts is generally excluded from the catalog, though the duets of Nicolas Métru are included.

The main body of Hoffmann’s work, namely “Catalogo per autori,” is extremely easy to use since it is arranged alphabetically by composer, not by category as in the Bibliographie for viola d’amore by Berck and by Jappe and the Literatur für [modern] Viola by Zeyringer. Heavy typeface for composers’ names and dates, very adequate spacing, and attractive layout greatly facilitate reading. Though libraries are listed, shelfmarks are often omitted. Instrumentation and modern editions are included. Knowledge of the viol repertory is greatly enriched by the large number of little-known composers listed. For example, pages 138–39 include listings not only for Ortiz but also for Notari, Nub, Oldis, Paganelli, Paget, and Paye! As for Paganelli, however, all his works cited list pardessus de viole as the last in a series of possible instruments: “pour les flutes, violons, hautbois, pardessus de viole, etc.” The catalog includes many such works that are really not “written specifically for the instruments of the viola da gamba family.”

Listing by category (composers’ names only) in “Indice per organici” is more complicated. Hoffmann states correctly that “Italy...[was] a country which had not succeeded in establishing, even within its own borders, a standard terminology for the viola da gamba.” Thus we find categories such as viola bassa sola (mostly French and English composers listed), and viola soprano (mostly French composers of works for the dessus de viole or for the five- or six-stringed pardessus de viole). 2 viole soprano e viola bassa lists only English composers writing for two trebles and bass! We do not know if 3 viole soprano (works by Guignon) means dessus or pardessus de viole without looking at the main entries for Guignon in the composer catalog. Violino e viola soprano (music by Prudent) is actually a reversal, since the solo instruments are “Viele, Musette et dessus de Viole,” accompanied by “Basse et [basse de?] Violon.”

Marais’s Sujet Diversitez is omitted from the list of divisions, though the similarity of the work to the English division style is mentioned in the main entry for Marais. Though Métére is listed under viola soprano e viola bassa, the other instrumental possibilities indicated by the clefs used by Métére are unmentioned. The Bibliographie for viola d’amore by both Berck and Jappe are mentioned in the excellent “Bibliografia” that concludes the catalog: however, most of the works for viola d’amore and viola da gamba from the eighteenth century (including those by Campagnoli, Milandre, and Rust) are not mentioned by Hoffman.

No catalog can be complete. The viol family comprises various sizes of instruments with an enormous repertoire extending over five centuries. Old manuscripts are being discovered and new music is being written. We may learn about many of the discoveries of old manuscripts from Hoffmann’s praiseworthy Catalogo, and we may hope that the author will eventually issue a supplement of the solo and chamber music of the twentieth century.

Hazelle Miloradovitch


The nine pieces that comprise this collection offer a rich variety of bass viol duets with continuo accompaniment, ranging from a Pavan and Fantasia to six virtuoso Airs with Divisions and Divisions on a Ground. Andrew Ashbee sets 1645 as the approximate year that the collection’s primary source, Royal College of Music MS 921, was compiled. The manuscript, which the editor believes to be autograph, consists of one Viol I part and treble parts of pieces for treble, bass, and organ. Ashbee consulted eight sources to produce this edition. They include manuscripts from King’s College Cambridge, The Chapter Library of Durham, the Royal College of Music of London, and the Bodleian Library at Oxford. He derived the missing Viol I part from these sources and reconstructed the organ parts for most of the pieces by modeling them after Jenkins’s continuo style in Christ Church Mus. 432.
The edition offers examples of highly developed music for division viol that were composed in mid-career of Jenkins’s long and distinguished lifetime (1592–1678). All nine pieces are written in accessible keys, including A minor (Pavan and Fantasia, Air with Divisions No. 6), C major (Airs with Divisions Nos. 3, 4, 5), B♭ major (Air with Divisions No. 7), F major (Air with Divisions No. 8), and E minor (Air with Divisions No. 9). (These numberings refer to the order of pieces in Ashbee’s edition; he also supplies standard VdGS numberings for each piece.) The structures range from an eight-bar ground in No. 5 to A:B:A1:A2:B1:B2 in most of the other divisions. Imitation is close, and the technical demands are relatively equal in the two parts.

The unique contribution of this edition, however, lies in its restoration of these duos and the continuo part (also missing) to include the ornamentation and fingering contained in MS 921. Ashbee uses this source for Nos. 3 to 9 of this edition. Nos. 1 and 2 are derived from two other sources and lack fingering or ornamentation indications. The editor is certain that the Viol I part, could it be recovered, would also contain ornamentation and fingerings. Hence, Ashbee provides a rare opportunity for students of division viol music to gain insights into (1) contemporary ornamentation, some of it unique, and (2) fingerings, often idiosyncratic.

Since Jenkins was a lyra viol player, Ashbee reasons that he would have used ornaments common to that literature. Ashbee looks to lyra viol manuscripts in the Clark Memorial Library in Los Angeles, the British Library, and the Manchester Public Library to find models for Jenkins’s ornaments. He also consults contemporary treatises such as Playford’s *Introduction to the Skill of Music*, Simpson’s *The Division Viol*, and Mace’s *Musick’s Monument* for guidance in performing the ornaments. Ashbee provides a short glossary of possible interpretations of these figures. For example, the symbol ‘|’ seems to denote what one source identifies as a “beat” (rising appoggiatura) and another identifies as a “backfall” (descending appoggiatura). ‘×’ may denote a “fall,” but Ashbee is not certain. Some sources identify a dot preceding a note as a “shake.” Ashbee is unsure, suggesting that it could be a single or double mordent. Context may help to determine which of these sometimes contradictory possibilities is most appropriate. More direction from the editor in the glossary (illustrating in notation, for example, what a fall or beat or shake might look like) would have been useful to those players who do not have ready access to these sources and their tables of ornaments.

A few of the symbols appear to be unique to MS 921, including an ornate checkmark sign “⌒”, a stroke resembling “Ⅴ” (upright or inverted) joining paired notes, and “∇” beneath the stave at the beginnings of phrases. Ashbee suggests that “⌒” may signify a turn, the “Ⅴ” may call for two notes to be articulated in a particular way within one bow stroke, and “∇” may signal a pull bow. As we might expect, the ornaments do not occur on any note values smaller than eighth notes; more often, they appear on quarter and half notes. They also tend not to occur in the Viol II part when Viol I is executing rapid sixteenth- and thirty-second-note passages. One exception occurs in Divisions on a Ground No. 5, measures 41–43, where both parts move together in equal sixteenth-note passages, with six sixteenth notes ornamented with a beat or a backfall (“|”) in the Viol II part.

The richest examples of ornamentation occur in Nos. 3 to 5, the C major pieces, and the same is true of Jenkins’s fingering indications. Ashbee describes some of them as “surprising,” and indeed, they are. For example, in Air with Divisions No. 3, measure 61 of the Viol II line contains three groups of four sixteenth notes progressing downward (b—a—g—f / e—f—e—d) and again upward (c—g—a—b), with the g in the first and third groups to be played with the third finger both descending and ascending. To choose half position in the absence of a B♭ seems defensible but unnecessary. Questionable fingerings appear in the other divisions, as well. In measure 21 of the Viol II line in Divisions on a Ground No. 7 in B♭ major, Jenkins seems to make an awkward and even less necessary choice: for the alternating notes c’—d’—c’—d’, Jenkins fingers the first d’ with the fourth finger and the second d’ with the second finger, necessitating a slide on the second finger from the second c’ to the second d’. Overall, however, most of his fingerings do make sense. Air with Divisions No. 4 provides documentation of a shift and extension. In measures 37–38, the Viol II line has A—e’—f’—g’—a’, and Jenkins fingers it as follows: blank (open string)–1–1–2–4.
The first two pieces, the Pavan and Fantasia, are the most accessible to intermediate playing levels. The Pavan features some simple double stops, but the piece is comprised primarily of eighth notes, and the range goes no higher than a c'" above the frets on the first string. The Fantasia offers sixteenth-note passages and more challenging position work. The Air with Divisions No. 3 imitates the thirty-second-note phrases, many of them written-out trills, that will characterize the remainder of the divisions in the edition. Extreme, two-octave leaps also appear in No. 3. In m. 83, for example, Viol I must execute a sixteenth-note leap from d (below middle C) to d" above the frets on the first string. Players working their way up to the challenging second half of these pieces that typically feature florid runs of notes could play the first half with repeats in the meantime and enjoy the more manageable sections.

There are some minor shortcomings in the edition. The editor's discussion of sources in the Introduction is unclear. He refers to two sets of VdGS manuscript numberings but does not clearly relate these to each other or to the pieces in this edition. Also, Ashbee refers to "symbols" in his introductory notes listing the sources for each piece (pp. viii–ix). These symbols are numbered from 1 to 36, but since Ashbee does not provide a key to identify them, their significance is lost. There are errors or unexplained discrepancies in some of the pieces. For example, in the Pavan (No. 1), Viol II begins with a single dotted half note; in the next measure, Viol I enters in strict imitation on the same note, but as a double stop. This seems worthy of comment, but it does not appear in the notes. Air with Divisions No. 6, m. 34, contains a rising figure (e–f–g–a) in Viol II with a parallel rising figure (e–f–g–a) in the bass. The augmented second in the Viol II part is surely in error.

These are more inconveniences than major concerns. The edition is easy to read, and the alignment of notes keeps the complex relationship between the two parts perfectly clear. Also, the editor has thoughtfully included inserts to facilitate page turns. Ashbee has produced an invaluable contribution to viol literature both as music for intermediate to advanced players and as a rare document of division viol performance practice.

Mary Elliott


Virginia Brookes tells us that William Cranford was born in the late sixteenth century and died between 1650 and 1675. He composed sacred and secular music during the reign of Charles I, and he is recorded as a lay vicar at St. Paul's Cathedral in London. I like Cranford's music very much, in part because his use of harmonies is so odd to our ears. There is often playfulness in his melodic leaps and surrying around, and unexpected surprises in his harmonic journeys. The three-part pieces include two fantasias for two treble viols and one bass viol and an almaine for treble, tenor, and bass viols. The four-part pieces consist of four fantasias and "Walsingham" for two trebles, a tenor, and a bass. The consort pieces in these collections are not of equal difficulty and advanced players are needed for some of them. Intermediate players will find pleasure from pieces in each set that are easier and extremely satisfying to play.

The fantasias for three viols are in Dorian mode yet often sharp the third scale degree. Both fantasias are rather short, but Cranford packs a lot into them, including rapidly changing quick passages of sixteenth notes with one part out of sync with the other two, yielding to a middle section in triple meter. Each concludes with jaunty themes rapidly passed among the three voices. Fantasia No. 2 has an absolutely delightful opening with voices succeeding one another after only one note. This is repeated in bar three on an arpeggio that is magical to hear when the arpeggios are perfectly synchronized.
The four-part fantasies also require the performers to play swift notes in all parts, especially the bass. Fantasia 1 begins with a canon, but Cranford’s love of quick harmonic changes takes over. There is a feeling of being on a roller coaster for a bit, until the composer dismounts and walks away. Fantasias 2 and 3 require tuning the bass viol’s lowest string to C, and there is a fine passage in No. 2 where the bass takes us down the scale to low C then goes on to a conventional ending on a satisfying C chord. Many dotted rhythms are used, and the bass is given a challenge with dotted eighth and sixteenth-note passages all over the map. Fantasia 4 is well within the reach of most players, considerably less difficult than the others.

The last piece in this collection, titled “Walsingham,” is for advanced players only and would require individual practice for most players. After an opening statement of the Walsingham theme in the first treble there follow seven variations. These share increasingly difficult rhythmic passages and fast sixteenth notes. The second treble part plays an augmented version of the theme in the last variation, which is much calmer overall.

Virginia Brookes informs us that John Okeover (c. 1590–1663) was one of the English organists dispossessed of his position by the suppression of music in 1644. He was appointed organist in 1620 at Wells Cathedral and choirmaster in 1625, then moved to Gloucester Cathedral around 1639. After joining the Parliamentary forces during the siege of Gloucester he survived, only to lose his post until after the Restoration when he returned to Wells as organist. It is thought that during the Commonwealth he turned to private music-making and composed secular music such as these pieces. These seven fantasies are typical of English instrumental viol music of this period, contrapuntal in nature and created with contrasting sections. They call for two trebles, a tenor, and two basses or another tenor and bass. The levels range from fairly easy sight-reading to Fantasia 7’s more challenging eighth-note passages. This collection of fantasies and two pavans should be in every viol consort collection.

Fantasia 3 opens with a gorgeous theme, using a telling octave leap. Three-part homophony in the middle flows to a grand five-part F-major chord in bar 32. This is my favorite fantasy in the collection because of its rhythmic complexity and lovely harmonies and themes. Fantasia 4 is in a lower tessitura overall and is quite rhythmic and challenging. However, I like the shape of Fantasia 5 more, with its interesting inner section of very dense and syncopated entries. Fantasia 6 opens with a flowing motive ascending a tenth in both treble and tenor voices, one bar apart. There is a great middle section full of syncopated repeated eighths and quarters. Fantasia 7 is downright hard but a good piece. Players will find themselves scrambling with eighth-note passages throughout. The two pavans in the collections are both extremely satisfying to play.

The following errors were discovered in this edition:

Fantasia No. 1, tenor 2, m. 51: beat three should be a G instead of an A, avoiding a tritone leap and creating consonance with G and D in the other parts.

Fantasia No. 4, tenor 1, m. 64: the first rest should be a half instead of a whole.

Fantasia No. 5, treble 2, m. 32: the second note should be a half note.

John Coprario (c. 1575–1626) was well known in England as a composer of instrumental music, much of it enjoyed at Court and in wealthy households. These pieces were probably composed between 1590 and 1610, according to Richard Charteris, who cites the Huntington Library’s set of partbooks. This edition relies on early manuscript sources, including one made by Coprario’s pupil William Lawes.

These eight pieces are fantasia madrigals in the Italian style, a genre loved by the English long after the Italians became fascinated with a more modern style. Two pieces retain their words: No. 6, “Che mi consigli amore” and No. 8, “Udite, lagrimosi Spiriti,” both settings of poetry that either mourns the death of a lady or speaks of death due to a lady’s cruelty in love. Other pieces have just the Italian titles: “Al forgorante sguardo” (No. 3), “Risurgente Madonna” (No. 4), “Sospirando” (No. 5), and “Su quella labra” (No. 7). One can only imagine the passion implied by these titles. The texted pieces are full of wonderful chromatic dissonances on phrases like “E ha seco il mio core” (She has clef my heart) in No. 6 and “Udite, lagrimosi Spiriti” (Hear, mournful spirits…) at the beginning of No. 8. There are so many examples of word painting in these two pieces, often in short phrases typical of
madrigals, that there can be no doubt that Coprario was interested in pursuing this style in contrast to many other works for viol players.

All are scored for two trebles, two tenors and two basses. Some emphasize homophony, such as the beginnings of the first and second and the 3/2 section to the end of No. 4. Others are more contrapuntal, but give way to sections of contrasting textures. They all require advanced players, to tune chromatic sequences and manage octave leaps and fast eighth-note passages in rapid succession. For players wanting luscious six-part pieces these are wonderful additions to the repertoire, and we are indebted to Mr. Charteris for bringing them out again in a fine updated version.

William Cranford’s music is the most unusual due to his unexpected changes of harmony and strange overall composition technique, compared to other English composers of his time. John Okeover’s fantasias are probably the most accessible to many viol players as they are sweet sounding, not technically difficult, and well crafted. John Coprario’s pieces are in my opinion the finest works of this group, for they have great excitement, beautiful lines, and considerable passion owing to their madrigal background. His masterful use of six parts adds to the intensity, depth, and dynamics delighting the players.

Ellen Seibert

Andrew Keeling. afterwords. London: Fretwork Contemporary, 2002. Score and parts $12.00; score only $4.50.

Sally Beamish. in dreaming. London: Fretwork Contemporary, 2002. Score and parts $12.00; score only $4.50.

Two of several contemporary works premiered by Fretwork have been published as the first offerings in a new series called “Fretwork Contemporary.” Each of this pair is in its own way challenging to a player or listener accustomed to the viol consort music of the past. Each is scored for five viols (treble, two tenors, and two basses); the Beamish includes a vocal part as well. Andrew Keeling and Sally Beamish follow in the footsteps of their distinguished British predecessors who enriched the repertoire for viol consort.

afterwords was written in 1999 and dedicated to Fretwork. About ten minutes long, it is in one movement, marked “desolato.” This mood works well, as Bach so poignantly illustrated in the St. John Passion and Cantata 106.

Andrew Keeling was born in 1955. He began his musical life, like so many composers for viol consort, as a cathedral chorister; his involvement in composition didn’t start until he was thirty-one. He is now composer-in-residence at the Royal Northern College of Music Junior School in Manchester and visiting lecturer at Liverpool University. He cites as influences rock music, the English Lake District, and the psychology of Carl Jung. Just as eclectic as his personal background have been his commissions, which include a percussion concerto for Evelyn Glennie, a guitar trio, saxophone quartet, vocal quartet for the Hilliard Ensemble, and a piece for the early music ensemble Virelai.

Among the composers whom Keeling admires are Holst and Messiaen. In an interview in the January 2000 ISM Music Journal, he described himself as interested in music “which reached the heart and not just the head.” Certainly one would not call the mildly dissonant afterwords cerebral, although it is thoughtful as well as expressive.

In a note printed at the beginning of the score Keeling characterizes afterwords as a “song without words, a re-composition for five viols of [an] SATB setting of Sylvia Plath’s poem, ‘Moon And The Yew Tree.’” In an e-mail to me he explained further that the title “came to me after I visited Plath’s grave in Heptonstall, Yorkshire, on a wet and windy February day in 1998. I felt that as words could no longer be uttered, either by Sylvia or by me, the title was the only direction in which to take the music on my mind at that moment in time.” The piece is in four sections paralleling the four verses of the poem. This interesting formal device is similar to the one David Goldstein used in Daybreak for Viol Quartet, reviewed in this Journal in 2001.

The opening of afterwords revolves around D, the viols softly pulsating in various note values. The pulsation quickens and changes pitch, growing suddenly loud and punctuated with greatly accented tremolos, pizzicato, and forceful bow strokes. Lyrical
In the opening sixteen bars the viols do indeed evoke strange noises—lightly skipping pairs of pizzicato eighth notes, softly scurrying tremolos, sudden changes of range. The singer enters with an upward skip of a ninth, taken from the Triple Concerto by Michael Tippett. The text is quoted in an essay by Tippett and also figures in Purcell’s own The Tempest, a “semi-opera.” In the spirit of the BBC commission, Beamish quotes part of Purcell’s Fantasia “upon one note” and middle C is quoted occasionally as a pedal note. The opening vocal skip is imitated in the viols, both ascending and descending. There are several instances of word painting, as for example the pianissimo treble tremolo under the words “will make me sleep again” or the rising crescendo line in “when I waked.” The viols serve basically as accompaniment, though the instrumental interludes and postlude comment upon the vocal part in a style reminiscent of some Byrd consort songs.

Viol players will find this piece very demanding technically. The viols are sometimes required to play well outside their normal ranges. As in the Keeling, the dynamic range is very wide. There are some harmonics and ponticello passages. Though the playing level of in dreaming requires an advanced technique beyond the ability of most recreational gambists, anyone who rises to the challenge will be amply rewarded.

The printing of these compositions is very legible. The dimensions of the paper are slightly different from the 9½ by 11 inches that we are used to—these pages are approximately 8½ by 11¾, thus lending a more spacious feeling to the music. The page turns have been well worked out, and useful cues are provided.

By launching this new series of contemporary works Fretwork is providing, along with the Viola da Gamba Society of America and PRB Productions, interesting additions to our already rich repertoire. In an interview in the May 2001 issue of The Strad, members of Fretwork voice their feelings about new works. They refer to George Benjamin’s Upon Silence, for viola and soprano, which they premiered in 1990, as the best piece ever written for them. Since then not all of the pieces composed for them have merited becoming part of their repertoire. The Beamish and the Keeling, chosen for publication, are clearly favorites. Fretwork now hopes to attract more commissions. We wish them well.

Judith Davidoff
CORRESPONDENCE

A Few Observations, and Even More Questions

I am pleased that my work ["The Early History and Use of the G Violone," *JVdGSA* 36 (1999): 40–66] has stimulated scholarly, considered discussion, and grateful to the Editor for offering me the opportunity to respond to Herbert Myers, whose article appeared in the previous volume of this *Journal* ["The Sizes and Tunings of Early Viols. Some Questions (and a Few Answers)," *JVdGSA* 38 (2001): 5–26]. Many of the issues that Myers addresses will be of great interest to those continuing the exploration of historical sources for the gamba. I welcome this opportunity not so much to point out contradictory points of view that I may have with Myers, but rather to introduce some more issues that I believe merit attention.

Several points regarding transposition invite greater exploration and experimentation than Myers specifies. The questions I would like to raise concern not so much how the process was carried out, but rather why was this done, for what repertoire and under which circumstances. After all, it is self-evident that there is no need to transpose a piece of music if it already lies comfortably within the range of the instruments on hand. When the range of the notated music does not fit the instruments, raising or lowering the pitch by a single tone is unlikely to solve the problem. It would therefore be much more practical on the part of players to cultivate the ability to transpose at the larger intervals (fourths and fifths)—conveniently, this may be done by imagining one is playing an instrument the next size larger or smaller in one’s consort. A discussion of transposition makes great sense when the music that those instruments were realizing was not originally conceived specifically for them. However, a player’s ability to transpose surely lessened as idiomatic instrumental music came into its own.

While it makes sense that one would be in the habit of transposing repertoire so that it would lie well for a consort of instruments, why would one need to transpose a piece of solo music, particularly one that is virtuosic and idiomatic in nature, as is the viola bastarda repertoire? Composers surely understood the nature and compass of the instruments for which they were writing; in fact, many of them performed on those instruments themselves. Composer/player Vicenzo Bonizzi presents compelling evidence for the use of the G violone, since the nine pieces contained in his *Alcune Opere* all require the use of the subbass register, and many descend to G, something that precludes an instrument tuned in A, no matter how much we believe Praetorius’s preference. (The Rognioni piece Myers cites descends to B₃, not B₄, and was in fact not actually prescribed for a string instrument, but rather for "violone o trombone.")

When choosing theoretical descriptions of instruments, it is indeed tempting to turn to Praetorius as the expert for many details concerning string instrument features; his treatise is encyclopedic in its inclusion of detail, and vast in comparison to most other contemporary tracts. However, I believe that Praetorius is somewhat overrated. He gives the appearance of having included every single piece of information that he had ever come across. Modern historians may be confident that almost no matter what their hypothesis, they may find some confirmation in Praetorius to back it up! The difficulty for us today is in determining which of what he describes was common practice, versus what was singular or personal, that he may have heard about or dreamed up himself, considering it a good idea. When reading historical documents, it is prudent to compare the information provided with that of other contemporary theorists. If one finds little or no evidence for a practice described elsewhere, one should be skeptical of its widespread application. Fortunately for us, there are numerous other contemporary treatises to which one may compare Praetorius’s descriptions.

Caution regarding Praetorius’s descriptions seems especially in order when reading his notes on the viola bastarda and contrabass instruments. He defines both of these in rather great detail compared to most other listings in the book. Had he only heard these instruments played a few times? Perhaps he was even basing his descriptions on someone else’s report. Under the violin heading, Praetorius offers an interesting disclaimer, saying that he has no need to describe the instrument in detail, since it is so well known. For the members of the string families about which he provides great detail, then, might one assume they were not so well known to him, or that their features were not so well standardized? The list
of possible tunings for each size of gamba certainly backs up this latter premise. But I find it ironic that modern players and historians sometimes appear to pluck their preferred tunings out of the middle of his lists. This is the case for the “D violone,” since the D tuning is actually the second he cites for an instrument of this size!

The beginning of Praetorius’s description of the viola bastarda jibes with what is currently accepted these days, that the instrument takes its name from a style of composition, and not for a specific size of gamba. One would likely not question the description, were it not for the fact that he assigns it a variety of tunings that are more commonly attributed to the “lyra viol,” as well as describing its use of sympathetic strings that are surprisingly not illustrated in the woodcut. An illustration that does not conform to the (lengthy) verbal description, and a description that is at odds with other theorists of the time, should arouse our suspicions. On the other hand, perhaps we should consider more carefully the many possibilities Praetorius cites. If such a large variety of tunings were indeed used on bass viols, perhaps the instruments themselves were constructed in more sizes than he took the time to illustrate. If nothing else, these issues surely argue in favor of keeping more of an open mind for tuning possibilities, instead of attempting to prescribe or isolate “ideal” ones that are then adopted by modern practitioners with no exploration or acknowledgement of other options.

As Myers rightly asserts (though it was well beyond the scope of my previous article), a discussion of sixteen-foot instruments is of tremendous import. Also as should be the case, Praetorius’s name should be among the first cited in such a discussion, since he provides much of the earliest known concrete information about sixteen-foot instrument tunings and use. Human-sized instruments were most certainly known from earliest times— theoretical documents and musical iconography are rich in depicting them. But a huge difficulty arises when assessing most of these sources because in most cases we cannot prove with certainty how the instruments illustrated in paintings were tuned, nor do most images or theoretical documents inform us at which octave they sounded their parts.

The term “contrabass” appears infrequently in seventeenth-century sources. The word itself is something that modern historians usually equate with “double bass,” which in modern parlance has come to bear the connotation of any number of specific instruments whose range extends into the subbass register and that realize their parts an octave below notated pitch. Ironically, most bowed bass instruments possess the subbass register capability—in addition to the G, A and D violoni, the standard bass viol (in D), the bass viol (tuned B♭–F–C–G), the modern-tuned cello, and the seven-string bass viol all have that low a range! Yet we certainly never consider the smaller ones to be “double bass” instruments, simply because it is not common for them to sound their parts an octave lower than written. It is further essential to question whether the particularly large-bodied basses played in their lowest registers all the time. The seven-string bass viol touches on its lowest string infrequently, even though it was a deliberate modification to the instrument. Most important, however, is the fact that many of the larger bowed basses possess an upper range that takes them comfortably into the eight-foot bass register. By this logic, it would be irrational to assume that the G and D violoni always played in their very lowest registers.

Also worthy of consideration are a number of historical sources that use the term contrabass, since several may be shown to require that the part be realized at pitch, instead of sounding an octave below the written part. Monteverdi’s concerted madrigal Con che soavita (from Book 7) is a wonderful case in point, where the lowest member of the terzo coro is prescribed “per il contrabasso” in the score. The line functions as the bass of a three-member ensemble, below a “viola da braccio overo da gamba” and a “basso da braccio overo da gamba.” The contrabasso part range extends from C to b, and there is no indication or reason to believe that the part should sound one octave lower than notated. In fact, not only would this place the part more than an octave lower than its neighbor, but such a thing was not physically achievable on any known instruments of the day! There is no mention in any theoretical document up to that time of an instrument capable of playing C, and it is not until the publication of Stössel’s Musicales Lexicon in 1737, with its discussion of a four-string instrument tuned in fifths, that such a possibility becomes credible.

What instrument did Monteverdi have in mind, then? That a D violone or an instrument utilizing one of Praetorius’s gar gros bass tunings would be an option cannot be ruled out. But these instru-
ments would still have needed to realize the part at pitch, and might have had difficulty playing the higher pitches elsewhere in the piece. A more rational conclusion, perhaps, based on the regularity of its mention in other theoretical documents (especially from theorists living at the same time and in geographical proximity to Monteverdi), and the ease with which they could realize this line, is that he intended the part for a G or A violone. If we establish these as the most credible options for Monteverdi’s “contrabasso” instrument, and having already determined that they are to sound their part at pitch, one might also find grounds for selecting them as appropriate “double bass” instruments for the rest of his large-scale music.

In my previous article, a major point that I had hoped to make was that based on an assessment of extant instruments, the G or A violone tuning (which is mentioned so frequently by theorists, even well into the eighteenth century) was actually quite easily achievable on “large”-bodied instruments—many of which may appear to us today as “double-bass-like” in size. Because the G and A violone were clearly not always used in a modern double bass capacity (i.e. sounding their parts an octave below written pitch), we surely must exercise caution when making assumptions about the large instruments depicted in musical iconography. Images, manuscripts, and even old extant instruments themselves (some have been restrung and rebuilt numerous times) are infuriatingly silent, leaving us in the frustrating and awkward position of trying to make educated guesses as to their original tuning and function.

This is not the right place for a detailed discussion of what instruments/tunings prevailed as sixteen-foot-pitch instruments later in the seventeenth and during the eighteenth century. But for those interested, it is worth considering that a great majority of the historical double bass instruments actually do not extend lower than A’ or G’, and in certain instances there appears to have been a problem for players in obtaining acceptable-sounding lowest strings, which is perhaps is why so many of them altered their tunings or omitted a bottom string entirely. (Three-string instruments were used commonly well into the nineteenth century!) Also thought-provoking is the fact that in the numerous theoretical documents published up through the early seventeenth century, Praetorius and Banchieri are the only authors to describe unequivo-

ocally any instruments whose tunings are so low that they never leave the bass register, and so therefore must be considered sixteen-foot instruments.

I wish to make several final points about musical iconography, since there are a number of other obvious pitfalls to be avoided. Myers raises issues about the exact sizes of viols depicted in Ganassi’s frontpiece. Yet Ganassi’s “bass” viol has only five strings, the “tenor” has four, and the third instrument’s stringing is not visible. (All of this is further exaggerated when we consider that we have no way of knowing if the “bass” is strung using a nominal D, E, G, or A tuning, or something else entirely!) We must remember that the difference between sizes of viols comes down to a single string: a tenor viol can easily become a bass viol by removing its top string, moving everything over one course, and adding a new bottom string. With decent strings, one may actually be able to achieve a tenor viol tuning on a bass viol! Proportions in and of themselves also need to be assessed carefully, since even modern players utilize a wide variety of body sizes for the same tunings.

Even more contentious is the fact that human beings themselves are substantially larger in modern times than they were in previous centuries. Then there are the questions of artistic license and perspective. Can we trust the artist to have rendered the instrument in precise relation to the figure playing it? And are the seemingly long necks accurate? What about the bridge locations, since a great many illustrations depict viols with bridges at the bottom of, or even below, the sound holes? These things would rather drastically alter our perceived standards of string length, even on the sizes of viol we have accepted as standard. If iconography and theoretical documents are to be believed, there are many, many more issues that historians and players alike will need to start to take into account.

Modern historians often strive to define, delineate, and clear up all mystery—our goal sometimes appears to be the single “correct” way of doing things, whereas the historical record surely indicates that there was great flexibility on the part of players as to how they realized the music. Whether in the choice of instruments, choice of where the music was to lie on those particular instruments, what kind of interpretation to give the music, and so on—this is a far cry
from modern practice where we haggle and bicker over every last detail. I am optimistic that the kinds of issues we are addressing these days will spark a renewed interest on the part of players and historians alike to delve into the fascinating wealth and variety of options that may be found. Ultimately, I believe our searches will not “define” a single way that things were played during previous generations, but instead illustrate a plethora of choices that are available to us. The beauty about making music is that it is a “living” art. Each of us must strive, through our own personal explorations of repertoire, history, and personal experience, to make the music our own. In this way, it will always be individual and defy the stifling and deathly process of cataloging.

Joëlle Morton

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Judith Davidoff is the artistic director of the New York Consort of Viols and the cellist of the Arioso Trio. She teaches at Sarah Lawrence College, where she also directs the Collegium. She is on the early music faculty of Columbia Teachers College. Her catalog of twentieth-century music for/including viol is being prepared for publication.

Mary Elliott serves on the board of the Viola da Gamba Society’s Pacifica Chapter and plays with a number of viol ensembles in the San Francisco Bay Area. She received an M.A. from Stanford
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Ellen Seibert has been playing the viol since 1973, when she was
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Thomas Linley (Senior) and William Herschel: An Episode in the
Musical Life of 18th-Century Bath, was published by the Univer-
sity of Bath in 1977. He has also contributed articles and reviews to
His book The Early History of the Viol (published by Cambridge
University Press in 1984) is now a classic on the subject. He deliv-
ered two lectures at the 1994 VdGSA Conclave. He has recently
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2000) and Opera and Drama in Eighteenth-Century London
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