ENGLISH SOLO KEYBOARD MUSIC

OF THE

MIDDLE AND LATE BAROQUE

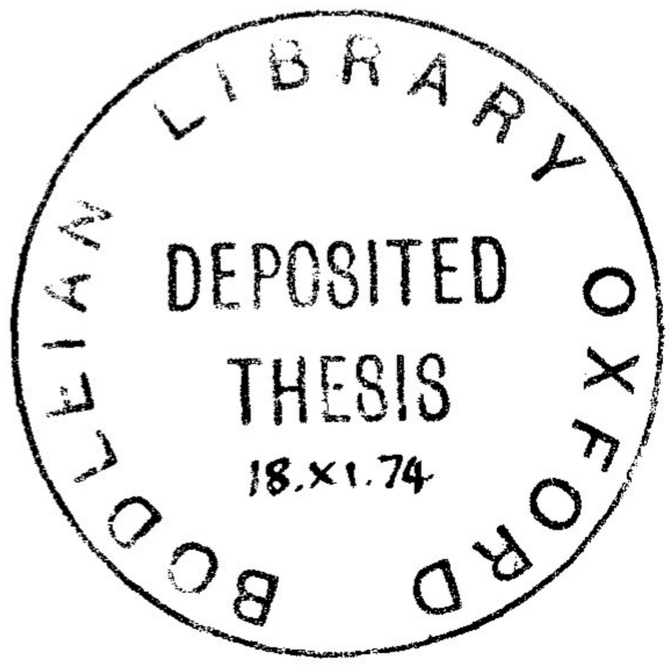
D. Phil. Thesis

Barry A. R. Cooper

University College,

Oxford.

January 1974 MT



ENGLISH SOLO KEYBOARD MUSIC OF THE MIDDLE AND LATE BAROQUE

Abstract

The music covered in this study contains much more variety, interest and artistic skill than one might be led to believe by most histories of music, even though certain standard forms prevail throughout the period.

In the field of harpsichord music, the period coincides more or less exactly with the rise and fall of the suite. Almands, corants and sarabands started to be grouped into suites---very loosely at first---in about the 1640s, and William Lawes (d.1645) was one of the earliest composers of keyboard suites. By the Restoration the suite was firmly established, and developed in the hands of Locke, Blow, Purcell and others. Blow was perhaps the finest harpsichord composer of this period, for in addition to several fine suites he wrote a number of excellent grounds and chacones which are hardly known today. In the early 18th century the French style of Blow and Purcell was replaced by the Italian style; Handel was the leading exponent of this, though other composers, like Loeillet, also helped to introduce it. From this time the suite began to absorb sonata elements, so that by the middle of the 18th century, partly through the influence of Scarlatti and Alberti, suite and sonata were almost

indistinguishable.

Organ music throughout the period retained a more or less independent repertoire, and the only form, apart from a few psalm preludes, was the voluntary, which developed from the contrapuntal fantasia of the early 17th century. At first generally multi-sectional, this type gradually gave way to works in only one or two sections, such as those of Blow. In the early 18th century the bipartite voluntary gradually split into two distinct movements---an evolutionary process seen clearest in Croft's voluntaries. By about 1730 the two-movement structure had become the norm---a slow movement, usually in the style of Corelli, followed by either a loosely-constructed fugue or a movement emphasising a particular solo stop. Stanley (1713-86) emerged as the leading composer of voluntaries, having fully mastered the form by the age of 21; and he continued writing new voluntaries and revising his early ones until his third collection was published in 1754. His younger contemporaries composed organ music in a similar style, and it was not until about 1770 that signs of the Classical style began to permeate the voluntary.

The music of the period as a whole does not maintain the consistently high standards of the leading Jacobean virginal-ists. Yet there are many fine individual works: some have long

been known in editions of little scholarly value; others have recently been published in several useful editions: while quite a number still await modern edition and performance, as well as detailed studies of how they relate to other works and composers of the period.

Acknowledgments

I should like to thank all those who have helped in various ways towards the writing of this thesis. In particular I must thank Dr. John Caldwell, my supervisor, who has given me much encouragement and helpful advice throughout, as well as lending me several microfilms; I also wish to thank Dr. F. W. Sternfeld, who has acted as a more general supervisor, and Dr. Edward Olleson; Dr. H. Diack Johnstone, who kindly gave me permission to consult volume 2 of his thesis; Mr. Richard Parish, who sent me details about the manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale; also Prof. Gerald Hendrie, Prof. Michael Tilmouth, Dr. H. Watkins Shaw, Dr. Richard Rastall, Mr. Howard Schott, Miss Pamela Willetts and Mr. Robert Minter, who have all contributed useful pieces of information; and all the librarians who have assisted me, particularly those of the Henry Watson Music Library, Cardiff Public Libraries, Christ Church, Wimborne Minster and Dulwich College.

CONTENTS

I INTRODUCTION 1

Aims 1
Scope of Subject 2
Spelling 9
Previous Research 10
Forms of the Music 15
Funetion and Social Background 21

II HARPSICHORD MUSIC OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND RESTORATION 26

Pre-Commonwealth Background 26
Commonwealth Sources 27
The Rise of the Suite 32
The Growth of Printed Sources 36
Restoration Manuscripts 50
Principal Composers 53
Conclusion 64

III PURCELL`S HARPSICHORD MUSIC 66

Background and Previous Literature 66
Influences 68
Musick`s Hand-maid 70
Choice Collection of Lessons 72
Doubtful and Spurious Works 78
Purcell`s Relationship to Contemporaries 87

IV BLOW`S HARPSICHORD MUSIC 90

Introduction 90
Sources 91
Early Works 99
Grounds 101
Chacones 110
Preludes 115
Suites 117
Other Works 131
Harmonic Practice 133

V THE TURN OF THE 18TH CENTURY 135

Clarke, Croft, Hart: The Generation of the 1670s 135
Immigrant Composers 162
Lesser English Figures 169

VI ORGAN MUSIC OF THE MIDDLE BAROQUE 186

Organ versus Harpsichord 186
Sources 187
Pre-Commonwealth Background 190
Post-Restoration Style 194
Early Composers 196
Blow 203
Other Composers 218

VII HARPSICHORD MUSIC OF THE LATE BAROQUE 234

Previous Research 234
Sources 236
The Change to the Italian Style 237
Handel 245
English Publications after Handel 251
Scarlatti's Influence 268
Alberti's Influence 274
The End of the Baroque 278

VIII LATE BAROQUE ORGAN MUSIC: (i) UP TO 1735 282

Early Sources 282
Croft 283
The Reading Manuscripts 289
Composers 296
Style of the Voluntary 308
Printed Sources 317

IX LATE BAROQUE ORGAN MUSIC: (ii) AFTER 1735 328

Sources 328
James and Prelleur 339
Stanley 343
Other Organ Music after 1750 361

X ORNAMENTATION 377

Ornament Contexts 377
"Rules for Graces" and Purcell's Suites 378
Forefalls and Backfalls 382
Other Ornament Signs 384
Ornaments in Ch.Ch.1236 398
Some other Sources 409

GENERAL CONCLUSION 423

App.I: EXTANT PRINTED SOURCES 429

App.II: PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPT SOURCES 454

App.III: CONTENTS OF CERTAIN MANUSCRIPTS OF SPECIAL INTEREST 479

(i) Add.52363 479
(ii) Drex.5611 481
(iii) Rés.1186 bis I 483
(iv) Ten.1508 485

App.IV: INDEX TO SOURCES 488

Bibliography 497

Addendum: The Nanki Manuscripts 515

Musical Examples

Each musical example is transcribed from a single source, named at the end of the example (a full reference to the source can be found in Appendices I and II). Editorial additions have been kept to a minimum, and are clearly indicated by means of square brackets, dotted lines and similar editorial conventions. Five-line staves have been adopted throughout.

Page	Example	Source
42	Bryne: Almand in A minor	1663a
42	Bryne: Almand in A minor	Bod.d.219
57	Bryne: Saraband in A minor	Bod.d.219
80	Purcell: Almand in B flat	Add.41205
104	Blow: Ground in E minor	Add.41205
105	Blow: Ground in G major	Add.41205
112	Blow: Chacone in C major	Inglis 94
119	Blow: Saraband in A minor	Bod.e.399
141	Clarke: Ground in G major	1711a
161	Hart: Almand in A major	1704a
201	Hingston: Voluntary in A minor	Ch.Ch.47
207	Blow or Purcell: Voluntary in D major	1780a
214	Blow (?): Voluntary in A major	Add.31446

Page	Example	Source
252	A. Young: Almands in E minor and E major	1719a
256	Roseingrave: Jigg in G minor	1728a
262	J. C. Smith: Air in G major	1737a
262	Handel: Air in E major	1720a
272	Nares: Allegro in A major	1747a
273	Nares: Larghetto in A major/minor	1747a
277	Greene: Molto Allegro in F major	1750b
279	Greene: Allegro in C major	1750b
286	Croft: Voluntary in D minor	Add.17852
307	Greene: Voluntary in D minor	Rf.31
307	Greene: Voluntary in C minor/major	Rf.31
332	Anonymous: Fugue in E minor	Fitz.52.C.1b*
340	James: Voluntary in D minor/major	Rf.31
342	Prelleur: Voluntary in C major	RCO
350	Stanley: Voluntary in D, earlier and later versions	Rf.31
375	Keeble: Voluntary in C major	Select Pieces for the Organ
400	Ellis: Almand in C major	Ch.Ch.1236
414	Nares: Almand in E major	1747a

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Aims

THE music of the great virginalists of the Elizabethan and Jacobean era has been the subject of numerous studies in recent years, and complete editions now exist of the keyboard music of all the leading composers of that time, including Bull, Byrd, Farnaby and Orlando Gibbons. This era does indeed represent a high-watermark in the history of English keyboard music, but the period following it has been much less thoroughly explored and documented, and deserves greater attention. The present study is therefore intended as a general survey tracing chronologically the developments in English keyboard music from around the time of the Common-wealth to the middle of the 18th century. Since the subject as a whole has not been surveyed in detail before, all the main aspects of the music will be examined, including styles, forms, techniques and influences etc., as well as problems of authorship where they exist, and the general question of ornamentation and interpretation.[1]

[1] The instruments themselves, however, will in general be regarded as outside the scope of the subject. See works by Russell and by Clutton and Niland, cited in the bibliography, for information about them.

Scope of Subject

Although the title gives a good general indication of the field covered, the precise scope of this study needs further definition. "English" will naturally include music written in England by native Englishmen; it will also generally include music written in this country by immigrants such as Dieupart, G.B. Draghi and Handel, dependent on how long they lived in England, how far they assimilated the English style and how widely their music was known in England rather than their country of origin. The problem of English emigrants does not really exist, as it had done in the early 17th century in the case of Bull and Philips: William Young was almost certainly still in England when he composed the suite found in Rés.1185,[2] and William Selby, who is represented by one piece in Ten Voluntaries...by Dr.Green, Skinner ...Selby... (1767), emigrated to the American colonies only in 1771, at the end of the period under consideration. There was also no important keyboard composer from parts of the British Isles other than England and indeed the vast majority of English composers were based in or around London, with

[2] All references to keyboard manuscripts will use a shortened form of their index number: for the full reference see Appendix II.

mainly minor composers elsewhere, for example Chilcot at Bath, Ellis and Walond at Oxford and Henry Hall at Hereford. The term "English", though used as a geographical distinction, is also intended to imply that there was a distinct English style throughout the period; this was always related to contemporary or earlier styles on the Continent and is sometimes scarcely distinguishable from them, but certain individual features, whether of precise detail such as cadential formula or of a more general nature like structure or scale, are almost invariably present, preserving some degree of independence in the English style, especially in the realm of organ music.

The phrase "solo keyboard music" is designed specifically to exclude keyboard continuo parts, whether in vocal or instrumental music, and also obbligato keyboard parts in works such as organ concertos. Keyboard arrangements, of which there are a large number, will mostly be disregarded too, though their existence and possible influence must be acknowledged; the exception is when the arrangements are likely to have been made by, or with the knowledge and approval of, the composer. To discount these would mean excluding many early keyboard dances and grounds including several by Purcell in <u>The Second Part of Musick`s Hand-maid</u>;

it would also create the danger of excluding music originally written for the harpsichord and later arranged for other media (as is probably the case, for example, with some of Jeremiah Clarke`s trumpet tunes) and harpsichord music that can be performed optionally by an ensemble. Nevertheless, music written primarily for a solo instrument and continuo which also admits performance by a solo harpsichord, such as Stanley`s Eight Solos for a German flute, violin or harpsicord...Opera prima, cannot be regarded as true keyboard music and was given such alternatives in order to appeal to a wider range of musicians.

There is also the problem of manuscripts which, though containing music written on two staves, do not specify any instruments: where the texture is entirely in two parts, one can normally presume a treble instrument and continuo, especially if the bass is figured, whereas chords in either stave imply a keyboard instrument; but there are a few borderline cases where the position is not entirely clear. Similarly, what appear to be fugal movements for organ are occasionally organ parts of anthems or other choral music. The other group of pieces which will not be discussed is the rather trivial minuets, marches and rondos that appeared in various 18th-century collections, for they are not

idiomatic harpsichord music and are mostly of a very ephemeral nature.

The period to be covered cannot be pinned down to specific dates for although c.1650-c.1750 gives a very rough indication of the range, any rigid dates would necessitate either including music that belongs to another style or excluding some in the same style as what is being covered. This is the reason for the use of the term "Baroque", which has in the past few decades become almost universally accepted to indicate the style of music, or rather the various styles, in principal use during the approximate period 1600-1750. The term is far from ideal and in its normal English sense of "eccentric or irregular" is most inappropriate (Matthew Locke and Thomas Roseingrave are probably the only baroque composers in this sense, within the field). But in the absence of any better term it will suffice as a convenient label and it will be used thus, as suggested in Willi Apel's Harvard Dictionary of Music.[3]

Manfred Bukofzer[4] and others have found it useful to

3 Apel/Harvard, pp.82-3. (For a full reference to this and all other works cited, see the bibliography.)

4 Bukofzer/Baroque.

subdivide the Baroque era into three periods---early, middle and late---and preliminary inspection shows that English keyboard music falls naturally into these three periods. The first of these is closely related to the previous era, and fantasias, variations, hexachord pieces etc., were the normal forms, but this came to a rather abrupt end in the 1630s, with only Tomkins continuing the tradition. They were superseded by short dance movements, some of which belonged to types that had been in existence for several decades while others were comparatively new. Soon after this the dance movements began to be grouped into suites and it is with the evolution of the suite that the middle Baroque period begins, with a style quite different from that in use 30 years earlier. Thus early suites by William Lawes and others, though written about 1640, belong to the middle Baroque, while the late works of Tomkins---some written in the 1650s ---do not. In the field of organ music the Commonwealth, during which hardly any organ music was written, forms a natural division between the fantasias of the early 17th century and the voluntaries of the Restoration.

The end of the period covered is less easy to pinpoint but a sufficient number of changes took place in a short space of time in the mid-18th century---the adoption of the

sonata to replace the suite, the introduction of the new Italian sonata style of Galuppi and Alberti (including the use of the "Alberti bass") and the influence of C.P.E.Bach`s empfindsamer Stil with its numerous expressive appoggiaturas ---to justify regarding this as the start of a new era. The new style took longer to penetrate to organ music, which throughout the period lagged behind harpsichord music, with the result that the changes were not felt here until about 1770: this is reflected in the scope of the present study, which considers organ music to a later date than harpsichord music, even when the composers are the same.

The division into "middle" and "late" Baroque is also a clear stylistic one, especially in the harpsichord music. Here the style of dance movements, which had up to about 1710 been closely akin to that used in France, suddenly switched to the Italian vein, following the rapid spread of the Italian style in England---at first in opera and chamber music, later in other media---around the turn of the 18th century. Harpsichord music was relatively slow to adopt the Italian style, and organ music even slower, but the change may legitimately be regarded as marking the beginning of the late Baroque phase. The Italian style was quite different from the French, and as each will be referred to from time to

time it is necessary here to mention the main differences relating to keyboard music.

One of the principal features of French dance movements is the style brisé or "broken style" in which chords of three or four notes are played with only one or two notes at a time, frequently creating a rhythmic movement in semiquavers when the harmonic movement is in crotchets; style brisé is particularly common in almands and corants. The French style also generally lacks thematic repetition or development, sequence or flowing melodies in quavers or semiquavers, and uses a large number, and considerable variety, of ornaments.

The Italian style has much simpler textures, often just in two parts like a solo instrument plus harmonic bass; even where three or four parts are temporarily employed there is an almost complete lack of style brisé, and ornaments are generally found only at cadences. The opening theme often reappears during the movement (usually after the double bar), sequence is widely used and almands generally have continuous semiquavers throughout. In organ music, cornet movements are similar in texture to these almands, while the slow introductions found in most 18th-century voluntaries are closely modelled on the slow movements of Corelli, being quite different from anything found in France. Some kind of change

to a more modern style around 1710 was in fact inevitable, for English keyboard music had remained almost stagnant for nearly 50 years from the Restoration to the end of the century; but since this need for change coincided with a rapid rise in the popularity of Italian music, the division between the two periods was all the more marked and thus a separate label for each period is particularly appropriate.

Spelling

Although the spelling of many English words had been standardised by the mid-17th century, some were still spelt in more than one way. Where there is a standard modern spelling this will normally be used, as, for example, in "suite", "harpsichord" and "voluntaries"; but certain dance titles, mostly only newly imported in the 17th century, were spelt in several ways of which none has become standard. The one adopted here will normally be the one that was most common at the end of the 17th century, viz. "almand" rather than almain (which was most common earlier in the century), allmand, almaygne, alman etc.: "corant", not coranto or courant; "saraband", not sellebrand, celuybrand etc.; "chacone", not chaconne or chacony; and "gavott". Also used will be "ayre" and "jigg", for although both have different spellings in modern English these were the standard ones in

the late 17th century and if preserved can be used fairly precisely to indicate a type of movement written at that time, instead of having the much more general sense that "air" and "jig" now possess. Where contemporary sources are quoted directly, of course, the original spelling will always be retained.

Previous Research

Most of the general histories of music, though giving considerable attention to the music of the virginalists, have neglected or even overlooked the English keyboard music of the next hundred years, so that on first approaching the subject one might be forgiven for thinking that very little now survives. Bukofzer writes less than a page,[5] while out of over 400 pages in Gillespie's Five Centuries of Keyboard Music only about two are on this topic, and in this section almost every sentence is inaccurate or misleading.[6] Some of the more detailed histories, however, have given more attention to the subject---a notable one is Apel's history of keyboard music before 1700[7]---and monographs or thematic

[5] Bukofzer/Baroque.

[6] Gillespie/Keyboard, pp.58-60.

[7] Apel/Geschichte.

catalogues of certain composers such as William Lawes, Henry Purcell, Locke and Handel,[8] have included brief discussions of their keyboard music or its sources.[9]

Numerous articles have also been written on various topics within the field or connected with it. Some of these are of very high quality, involving a good deal of scholarly research and enterprise, and have greatly facilitated the present study. Among the most useful pre-war articles are those by Pereyra on English keyboard manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and two studies of Thomas Roseingrave, by Constant Lambert and Vernon Butcher. Since about 1950 far more have appeared, including several by the late Thurston Dart of which the most outstanding is probably his discovery of the origin of the term "Cibell". Also notable are Frank Dawes's pioneering work on Philip Hart, Vere Pilkington's summary of his collection of 18th-century English harpsichord music, Terence Best's lucid analysis of

8 See the bibliography for these and subsequent works cited in this section.

9 Two books on English keyboard music have also been published recently (Caldwell/Keyboard and Routh/Organ); both have appeared too late for specific references to be made to them in the following chapters, but actually neither says anything very significant that is not discussed more fully here.

the principal sources of Handel's keyboard music, and, most useful of all, descriptions of previously unknown sources: these include an 18th-century organ manuscript in the Royal College of Organists and an unauthorised collection of harpsichord music by Greene (both described by Diack Johnstone), a late 17th-century manuscript now in the National Library of Scotland (described by Gwilym Beechey), and another of similar date in the Nanki Music Library (described by Hugh McLean).

In addition there are a handful of theses from Britain and the United States that deal more extensively with certain topics related to the field. Of those covering a substantial area the most directly relevant is Beulah Brown's The Harpsichord Music of Handel's Younger English Contemporaries, 1710-60: A Reassessment, which despite the implications of its title covers much previously unexplored ground: though it does not make any particularly startling discoveries it is fairly thorough and in general accurate. Most of the other theses are on topics that lie largely outside the field here considered (many are on single composers such as Greene, Clarke and Croft) while the remainder are on very limited subjects, usually a single source or group of sources, such as Peter Northway's investigations of the sources of Handel's

second set of harpsichord suites.

In general, however, more work has been done up to now in editing the music than in commentary and historical analysis, with the result that much of the music to be discussed is readily available in fairly reliable, scholarly editions and some of the remainder has appeared in editions that give some idea of the original.[10] Nearly every keyboard piece published in England before 1700 has been reissued in the last 20 years in good editions and much of what survives only in manuscript from the same period has also been published---particularly notable here are Fuller Maitland`s seven volumes of harpsichord music by Purcell`s contemporaries and Watkins Shaw`s edition of Blow`s organ music. For the early 18th century there is much less: most of the harpsichord music published in England after 1715 (apart from Handel`s) still awaits a modern edition---even Maurice Greene`s substantial output remains largely unedited; but the organ music of the middle of the century, by Stanley and his

10 Since so much has been printed, the number of musical illustrations to the text is not as great as it might otherwise have been, and it has not been thought necessary to produce in an appendix a selection of pieces illustrating the various styles discussed. Most of the musical examples are deliberately of works not available in readily accessible editions.

successors, is well represented by modern editions, as it was by contemporary ones. Thus the editions, though numerous, are somewhat selective: there is a marked bias towards the 17th century (Locke, C.Gibbons, Rogers and Purcell have complete editions, while Croft, Greene, Stanley and Nares do not); there is an even stronger bias towards music by known composers, even though the anonymous music must usually be by the same people and is often of similar quality; there is a tendency towards printed rather than manuscript sources, and there has been a natural preference for music by well-known composers although some lesser-known ones wrote music of high quality.

Thus the period as a whole, though not completely neglected, has been far from thoroughly investigated: there are pockets within it that have been examined in great depth but there are many large areas that have been only partially explored and even a few aspects that have until now escaped attention altogether. These will all be discussed in the appropriate place and the relative weight given to each topic will reflect not only its importance and its complexity, but also how far it has been considered less than adequately in the past.

Forms of the Music

About a dozen different forms and types of piece were in use during the period and some of these can be subdivided. For the harpsichord the basic forms are grounds, preludes, stylised dances of various types, "named pieces", trumpet tunes and marches, theatre tunes and other instrumental types (including the overture), and vocal arrangements (choral or more commonly solo songs). For the organ the main type was initially the contrapuntal vers or voluntary, which developed into the non-imitative type and the fugue, as well as the more common double form combining both of these. There also arose pieces for solo stops in the 18th century, and there are a few surviving examples of psalm preludes, which were normally improvised.

Music built on a ground bass had been current in the Renaissance and the grounds of Blow, Handel and others are a continuation of this tradition. Variations on a ground were often improvised, too, not only on the harpsichord but on other instruments such as the violin and division viol. Examples of this are occasionally found in keyboard manuscripts of the 17th century, when pieces called "Ground" are just four or eight bars long and are clearly meant to serve as a basis for variations. The English prelude was very

different from the free, rhapsodic, unbarred preludes of Louis Couperin: generally it was through-composed with continuously unfolding semiquaver patterns alternating between right and left hand, but other types also existed, such as the arpeggiando preludes of Handel.

The stylised dances, which were usually grouped into sets or suites, were mostly imported from France, although some, such as the saraband, had originated elsewhere. Nearly all dances used in France appeared in England too, and the jigg and hornpipe were of native origin. Binary form was most common for every dance but in a few, notably the minuet, ternary and rondo were also used. Many of these dances continued in stylised harpsichord settings long after the dances themselves had become obsolete and several changed their character during the course of the period. The almand began with four fairly quick crotchets to the bar, usually divided into quavers split up between the voices; towards the end of the 17th century, with Bryne, Blow, Roberts and others, a slower type became popular, with the crotchet beat divided into semiquavers between the parts, sometimes in a dotted rhythm. With the advent of the Italian style the almand reverted to being a quick dance usually with running semiquavers in the right hand and a generally thinner

texture. The corant, in triple time, remained a fairly quick dance throughout, though here again it tended to become slower at the end of the 17th century but changed from the complex style brisé with occasional hemiola figures to a more flowing style, with broken-chord quaver melodies, in the 18th. The saraband, which had originated in Spain as a wild, lascivious dance, was still quite fast in England in the late 17th century, but it was replaced by the slow type in the 18th and later became thought of as a rather mournful dance.[11] The gavott was less common and only came into use near the end of the 17th century: it had four moderately quick beats to the bar but did not necessarily begin on the third beat until well into the 18th century. The jigg was normally in 6/4, 6/8 or later 12/8, but there are some examples in 4/4 by Froberger and other Continental composers, and also in Locke's consort music. It is not clear whether these were meant to be played as written or to be altered in performance to sound like ordinary jiggs, but the problem hardly arises in English harpsichord music: here most 4/4 jiggs are in the rather special category of jigg-almain---a rare genre with

[11] See Devoto/Sarabande for more on the early history of this dance.

most of the properties of an almand but with some jigg-like features. The hornpipe, a lively 3/2 dance with syncopated rhythm, was uncommon in English keyboard music, as was the bourée, another quick dance in 4/4. A chacone generally, though not invariably, implied a ground bass, and even those not built on a strict ground had a quasi-ostinato bass and were much longer than other types of dance. The minuet, though first appearing in English harpsichord music in 1678, belongs essentially to the 18th century, when it was extraordinarily popular and eventually found its way into the Classical symphony. There are dozens by Handel, and nearly all of his contemporaries wrote some, though many were of a rather trivial nature. A few other dances are also found, including the passepied or "paspy", rigadoon and canary, but these are quite rare and found mainly with composers of French origin such as Dieupart. Towards the middle of the 18th century the stylised dance movements gradually lost their dance-like character (apart from the minuet) and grew into plain, binary-form sonata movements.

"Named pieces" were more common in the early 17th century than in the period under consideration but there are quite a number dating from the Commonwealth (for example "The Royallist" and "The Capp of Maintainant", both in Ch.Ch.1236).

Many are merely arrangements of popular tunes: 18th-century examples found in books of the Harpsichord Master and Ladys Banquet seem most unlikely to be original harpsichord compositions, especially when they bear titles that imply emanation from remoter parts of the kingdom, for example "Sulters of Sellkerke" and "Meillionen o Feriony`dd".

Some of the marches and trumpet tunes were written specially for royal occasions or personages, while others are derived from plays that include trumpet pieces; both of these types are not strictly keyboard music but many of the keyboard versions are probably authentic and in some cases the only ones that survive. There are also many pieces of a similar type that were probably written as harpsichord pieces in the style of trumpet music or marches, since such transfers of idiom were common in the Baroque era, but it is impossible always to be certain which are genuine harpsichord pieces and which are arrangements.

The same is true of the various theatre tunes and pieces in similar style that are found in keyboard manuscripts at the turn of the 18th century, as well as the dances by Locke, William Lawes, Rogers and others, that are found in non-keyboard versions. In the case of the overture most examples found in keyboard manuscripts up to about 1710

are known to be arrangements and the remainder probably are, too; but after this period there are several printed collections of harpsichord suites including overtures that appear to have been written as keyboard pieces---a further example of idiom transfer.

Finally there are the vocal arrangements, which were common throughout the period, but these are of little importance except in a few special cases. Normally they are simple transcriptions, often with the instrumental interludes included, and typical keyboard ornaments such as the shake and backfall are added to the melody. The most important vocal transcription was from a chorus in Lully's Atys, which came to be thought of in England as an independent harpsichord piece and soon gave rise to a whole new genre of pieces in a similar style, known as cibells.

The contrapuntal voluntary for organ derived from vocal origins and was at first closely associated with the fantasia for viols. Towards the end of the 17th century, however, it developed more independent characteristics and gradually evolved into a two-part form (slow-fast) which in the 18th century became two distinct movements. These were generally for full organ with the second a fugue, or for diapasons followed by a movement for solo stop---usually cornet or

trumpet---in which the particular characteristics of the stop were emphasised. Alongside these the single-movement form, either fast and fugal or slow and only partly contrapuntal, survived for a while with composers like Roseingrave. The other type of organ music was the psalm prelude, which in its complete form consisted of a highly decorated version of the metrical psalm tune (to be played as a prelude to the singing of the psalm) followed by a block-chord harmonisation of it, with each line interspersed with a bar of semiquavers as an interlude. These, then, are outlines of the main forms in use during the period and a more detailed study of them and their development will be found in later chapters.

Function and Social Background

For most of the period music written for harpsichord served primarily for domestic use and not for public performance, the church or official royal occasions. It is important to bear this in mind when considering the music itself, for it helps to explain the small, intimate nature of so much of it. Most of the performers, too, were amateurs, so that one cannot expect, and one does not find, music of exceptional difficulty, except in rare cases where the composer is an outstanding virtuoso, like John Blow. It is also significant that most of the performers were young

ladies: it had become a custom in polite society that among the accomplishments which young ladies were expected to acquire was an ability to sing, dance and play certain musical instruments including the harpsichord. The instrument was therefore commonly taught at girls' boarding schools as well as privately and the tradition is reflected in the titles of certain harpsichord publications (notably The Ladys Banquet and The Lady's Entertainment) as well as in the fact that many harpsichord manuscripts were owned by women, e.g. Add.10337 (Elizabeth Rogers), Add.52363 (Elizabeth Batt) and Bod.d.225 (Susanna Child). Thus while in the early 17th century there were many men, including Bull and Tomkins, renowned as virtuoso virginalists, and the leading keyboard manuscripts were all compiled by men (for example, Francis Tregian, Benjamin Cosyn and William Forster), in the second half of the century most harpsichord music was written for, and played by, women. This change in the social context of harpsichord music may be largely responsible for the sudden disappearance of long, virtuosic grounds, variations and preludes, and the rapid rise in popularity of short dance movements---a change of style which has never been satisfactorily accounted for. During the 18th century, however, it gradually became fashionable to include a harpsichord solo

at public concerts: this was partly stimulated by virtuosi like William Babell and it led to a rise in the number of good harpsichordists as well as the number of difficult pieces.[12] This situation provided a suitable background for the arrival on the scene of Clementi's dazzling keyboard technique in the 1770s.

All the organ music written during the period seems to have been designed for use in church (unlike organ concertos, which were written for the concert hall). Although some of it was no doubt also played on organs outside an ecclesiastical setting there is no evidence of a separate style of "secular" organ music (though harpsichord music could be played on chamber organs, as is clear from the title page of The Lady's Entertainment). The chamber organ was used as a continuo instrument and, in the 18th century, as a concerto instrument, but it is significant that all the leading composers of solo organ music (apart from Handel, who is in a rather special category) were organists at some cathedral or church. John Keeble, in the preface to his four books of voluntaries (1778-80) calls specifically for a contrapuntal style to be

[12] See Brown/Reassessment, pp.30-37, for a more detailed analysis of this process.

used in organ music since this is "so proper for the Church", with the implication that all organ music ought to be suitable for playing in church. Thus one can conclude that all organ music composed during the period was used for services in church or cathedral, where voluntaries were required before and after the service as well as in the middle, before the first lesson. (The latter voluntary, which was probably often improvised, was meant to be a slow, quiet and dignified piece.)

As for the teaching of keyboard instruments, although there were several publications that claimed to contain music easy enough for beginners, there were no graded tutors until the very end of the period. Before this beginners were just expected to play moderately easy pieces already in circulation, and their main source of printed instructions was the prefaces to such volumes as the Harpsichord Master Improved, which would be quite inadequate without a teacher. As a result, many people without teachers learnt by ear, as is confirmed by Thomas Salmon, writing in 1672: "I have known an hundred learn, and not three by book".[13]

In addition to those who learnt entirely by ear many

[13] Salmon/Essay, p.55.

must have learnt partly so and many manuscripts were probably compiled partly from memory. One frequently encounters, in different copies of a piece, variants which could not have arisen through inaccurate copying and which are also not likely to have been devised as improvements either by the composer or by a copyist, but which are precisely the type one would expect to find if the piece were written down from memory by someone who had never learnt it rigorously and had perhaps never seen the music.[14] Some manuscripts were compiled by harpsichord teachers for their pupils,[15] while others were compiled by keyboard players such as William Babell (Add.39569 and Ten.1508): in either case music was liable to be adapted or altered for reasons now unknown. But since there are so few keyboard autographs from the period, such manuscripts are often all that one has as source material, especially in the early part of the period. Thus although they must be treated with considerable caution, in both texts and ascriptions, they form the basis of much of what is to be said in the following chapters.

[14] Several Purcell pieces (and the Purcell/Croft ground) have variants of this type; for examples see Ferguson ed./ Purcell.

[15] See Scholes/Puritans, pp.162-3, for mention of an example.

Chapter II

HARPSICHORD MUSIC OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND RESTORATION

Pre-Commonwealth Background

AFTER the flowering of the great virginalist school of composers in the early part of the 17th century, in which long, complicated fantasias, grounds, sets of variations etc. were widely cultivated, a reaction set in from about 1630 in favour of short, simple dance tunes and pieces with fanciful titles (often from masques, or else of a semi-popular nature). Stylised dances had been in vogue from the time of Byrd, who wrote many pavans, galliards, almands and corants, but from about 1630 these forms (or rather the latter two) became much more popular while the others rapidly became obsolete.

The change in taste is seen clearly in, for example, the first eleven leaves of Ch.Ch.1003, which were copied from Ch.Ch.1113.[1] The latter, which from the evidence of hand-writing and contents appears to have been compiled about 1625 by "W.E." (probably William Ellis), contains mostly toccatas, fantasias and cantus-firmus pieces, with relatively few dances; nevertheless, of the thirteen pieces copied into

[1] See Cooper/Suite, pp.309-310, for proof of this.

Ch.Ch.1003 six are almands and two are corants, thus showing a quite definite emphasis on this type of piece, even though the copy was made not more than about ten years later (judging by the handwriting, which is neat and square, rather than of the "rougher" type which became normal towards the middle of the 17th century and which is found in the rest of Ch.Ch.1003). By the time of the Commonwealth Thomas Tomkins was the only composer persisting in the anachronistic virginalist style---all other manuscripts of this period contain short, light, simple pieces either with fanciful titles or with dance names, and only occasionally a long, old-fashioned piece.

Commonwealth Sources

The principal Commonwealth sources are Priscilla Bunbury's virginal book (possibly written just before the Commonwealth), Elizabeth Rogers' virginal book (Add.10337), Ch.Ch.1236, Drex.5611 and the end of Rés 1185. The Bunbury manuscript has been amply described by John Boston, who has edited 16 pieces from it,[2] and it needs no further comment here. Elizabeth Rogers' manuscript is also the subject of

[2] See Boston/Bunbury and Boston ed./Bunbury.

some detailed study and an edition by George Sargent,[3] and is well-known to many writers, though none have drawn attention to the fact that the book originally consisted of two separate manuscripts, one having six-line staves and one five lines with a sixth added by hand. The two must have been brought together fairly early, however, for the index lists most of the contents of both manuscripts and is in the same hand as most of the contents of the main part. The manuscript was apparently completed by "February y^{e} 27 1656" (i.e.1657) and it is quite possible that all the pieces had been composed by about 1650. Although there are a few old pieces such as a version of Byrd's "The Bataille", most of the pieces are very short, in binary form with a texture of melody plus a simple chordal accompaniment. About two thirds of these are almands, corants or sarabands, the remainder being "named pieces" such as "The Nightingale" and "The Souldiers Delight". Most are anonymous but six are specifically ascribed to Thomas Strengthfeild (or T.S.) and at least three more appear to be by him. It is therefore likely that he was Elizabeth Rogers' teacher, although nothing else is known about him.

3 Sargent/Rogers and Sargent ed./Rogers.

The date of Ch.Ch.1236 is not known but it is thought to have been compiled during the 1650s---probably over a number of years since several different hands and different methods of ornamentation are used.[4] It contains three pieces found in Add.10337 ("The Nightingale" and the two pieces by Mercure) but is otherwise more modern in content: the proportion of dance movements is higher and there are no pieces in the old Jacobean style; moreover the composers are in general much younger men and three of them---Roberts, Rogers and Bryne---became quite prominent after the Restoration. The composer most frequently represented, however, is William Ellis, who may have been one of the copyists and who composed or arranged at least 13 of the 90 pieces.

Only the part of Rés 1185 that is in Benjamin Cosyn`s hand contains music from the period under consideration.[5] It was probably copied in 1652, the date of Cosyn`s index, by which time Cosyn himself was a very old man. Nearly all of this music is unfortunately anonymous, but it consists chiefly of almands, corants and sarabands that had probably

4 See Cooper/Suite, pp.315-6, for evidence of the date, and below, Chapter X, for a discussion of the ornamentation.

5 See Pereyra/Virginal (6),(7), and Dart ed./Bull, for fuller descriptions of this manuscript.

been composed within the previous 20 years; only a small minority of the pieces can be traced back to Bull and Orlando Gibbons.

Probably the best source of Commonwealth harpsichord music is Drex.5611, apparently compiled by Thomas Heardson apart from 13 pieces at the end of the manuscript (three by Locke and ten by Bryne) which are in a later hand.[6] It is not known when the manuscript was compiled but there is some evidence that suggests that the main part may have been copied in 1657: there is in Add.31723 (a late 18th-century manuscript) a version of Gibbons's "The Queen's Command" attributed to Bull (as in Drex.5611), which also bears several variants from the normal version that correspond to those in the Drexel version, thus suggesting it was copied from that; a note in another hand in Add.31723 records that the piece was "transcribed from an ancient MS of 1657".[7] Thus either Drex.5611 originally bore the date 1657, since then

6 Not that of Bryne, however, as stated in some descriptions. The handwriting is different from Bryne's own preserved in a petition at the State Paper Office (S.P.29.11.91) and anyway the composer would be most unlikely to write "finis Mr.Bryan" (p.144/5) at the end of an autograph.

7 See Hendrie ed./Gibbons.

removed, just as the date 1698 seems to have been removed from Add.31446, apparently when the volume was being re-bound; or there were in existence in the late 18th century two manuscripts both dating from around the Commonwealth period (one dated 1657 and now lost, the other now Drex.5611), both containing "The Queen`s Command", in each case wrongly attributed to Bull, and both containing some unusual variants. The latter set of coincidences would be remarkable, though not impossible.

The main body of the manuscript consists of 77 pieces composed by Cobb, Facy, Roberts, Rogers, Christopher Gibbons, Gibbs, the French composers La Barre, Mercure and Tresure, plus Heardson himself, as well as a little music from the earlier period by Tomkins, Philips, Cosyn and Orlando Gibbons. One of the most outstanding features is that not a single piece is anonymous, though several ascriptions of the earlier music are incorrect: two pieces ascribed to Bull are really by Orlando Gibbons while several attributed to the latter are clearly in a later style, including a saraband in C that is attributed to Gibbons`s pupil Richard Portman in Ch.Ch.1177 (f.1v). With such known inaccuracies in the earlier music it seems quite probable that some of the other ascriptions are also incorrect.

The Rise of the Suite

With the rapid rise in the popularity of dance movements after about 1630 it was not long before they started being organised into groups or "suites", though precisely when and where this idea originated is not clear.[8] The groups were unified by key, following the example of the earlier pavan and galliard, but there was rarely any thematic connection between the movements. The most common group quickly became almand (sometimes called "ayre"), corant and saraband (almost invariably in that order), though the saraband appears to have been a slightly later addition to the dance-pair of almand and corant and may at first have been regarded almost as an "optional extra". It is rare to find more than one dance of a single type in a suite, but sometimes dances are provided with a variation or "double" and there are a few cases of two corants in one suite---an idea borrowed from France, where to have two or even three corants in a single suite was quite common.

For a long while the movements of suites had only a very loose association. They could be added or subtracted,

8 Dance groups are found in masques and consort music several years before the earliest keyboard suites, but the ultimate influence presumably came from the French court.

transferred to other suites or regrouped to form new ones; the five different versions of William Lawes`s "Golden Grove", which encompass a total of six movements though never more than four in a single source,[9] illustrate the complexity that sometimes results. Moreover at this early stage groups of movements were never given any overall title in keyboard sources (though they are occasionally in other sources) and it is therefore often impossible to be certain which movements belong together and where a suite begins or ends.

Despite this element of doubt, however, it is reasonable to assume that when two or more of the three regular dances appear in succession in the same key in any source (perhaps with one or two other dances such as the jigg) it is legitimate to regard them as a suite unless there are strong opposing reasons. Examples of suites of two, three and even four movements can thereby be deduced in manuscripts such as Ch.Ch.1236 and Add.10337 even though they are interspersed with other dances and popular tunes arranged more or less haphazardly.[10] The Bunbury manuscript, however, has no such

9 See Cooper/Suite, pp.312-4.

10 See Cooper/Suite, pp.314-8, for a detailed discussion of the various types of suite found in these two manuscripts.

groupings but just individual movements---evidence of its early date---and Drex.5611, though containing a large number of almands and corants, has the music grouped according to key in a rather irregular way (except in the last 13 pieces): for example the 18 pieces on pp.6-35 are all in D, major or minor, but they are written by four different composers and are in no obvious order; the last six are all in D minor and written by John Roberts, but they still do not fall into a regular suite pattern as they include an almand (with division), another almand, a saraband and then three corants. There are several cases where an almand and corant by the same composer and in the same key are found successively, but only twice is the saraband present too (a suite by Rogers, pp.58-60, and one by Mercure, pp.75-77) and in fact of the 77 pieces in the main part of the manuscript only four are sarabands.

Benjamin Cosyn, in Rés.1185, shows a much greater awareness of suite construction. On pp.307-348, where he is not just filling up single pages previously blank and therefore has plenty of room to show how he wishes pieces to be grouped, there are five clear cases of almand, corant and saraband appearing successively in the same key, and also a possible sixth (pp.308-9)---"The Lady Hattons Allmaine", "The

Wellcome" (in 3/4) and "Sellabrand", all in D minor. Moreover whenever an almand is followed by a corant Cosyn indexes the latter as "Coranto to itt", clearly showing that he regards the corant as belonging to the almand, although he uses no such phrase for sarabands. (The phrase "Coranto to itt" had already appeared, remarkably early, in Cosyn's index to his first virginal book---British Museum R.M.23.1.4 (c.1620)--- but here the corant is not actually copied in.)

Although most of the music is anonymous one of the five suites appears to be by William Young for the first movement is called "Will: Yonges Allmaine". In another suite (pp.328-330) the first movement is called "Will: Lawes Allmaine", but in earlier sources this movement (without its "double") is attributed to Orlando Gibbons,[11] so that it appears that Lawes just adapted Gibbons's tune, wrote a variation for it and then either he or Cosyn added a corant and saraband.[12]

Thus suite construction was certainly rather haphazard

[11] See Hendrie ed./Gibbons, p.100.

[12] The three movements have been published as Lawes's in Lefkowitz ed./Masques, pp.316-8. The theory that Lawes wrote the almand and Gibbons made a keyboard arrangement of it (see Caldwell/Keyboard, p.112) seems impossible on account of the dates of Lawes and Gibbons, and of the earliest sources containing the piece.

at this early stage and three methods seem to have been used: some suites were conceived as a unit, often when they were to be used as actual dances in a masque such as Cupid and Death; in other cases dances were added to a movement or movements originally conceived independently, either by the same composer or by a different one (as with Lawes and Gibbons); in the third method movements composed quite independently, possibly by more than one composer, were juxtaposed by a copyist to make an artificial suite. The three types may be summarised respectively as having a two-way relationship, a one-way relationship and a non-relationship (combinations of these could occur if a suite had enough movements).

The Growth of Printed Sources

For a long time the only solo keyboard music that had ever been published in England was a small collection of 21 pieces by Byrd, Bull and Orlando Gibbons, called Parthenia.[13] This had first been printed in 1612/13 but its enduring popularity is demonstrated by several more recent issues, in 1646, 1651 and 1655. The main reason why there had been no keyboard publications since Parthenia was financial: the cost of printing any music, which in the case of Parthenia had

[13] Reprinted in Dart ed./Parthenia.

been met initially by private patronage,[14] was so great as to be almost prohibitive until John Playford started publishing music in 1651. Another reason, however, was that the keyboard was not regarded as nearly such an important medium during the Commonwealth as it was 50 years earlier or later, and other instruments such as the lyra viol, lute and cithren ranked more or less alongside the virginals. Thus Playford's earliest publications consisted mainly of songs and music for these instruments rather than the harpsichord, for which he issued nothing till Musicks Hand-maide in 1663.[15]

This appears not to have been the first keyboard publication since Parthenia, however, for Burney records the existence of an earlier one:

> For keyed instruments, nothing appeared from the time that Parthenia was engraved, till 1657, when a book of lessons for the virginal was published in the names of Dr.Bull, Orlando Gibbons, Rogers, and others. At a time when all other instrumental Music was so easy and simple, as to appear now perfectly artless and insipid, the extreme complication and difficulty of all the

14 Parthenia was a wedding-present for Frederick V, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, and James I's daughter Princess Elizabeth, and was only later put on sale to the public.

15 Complete list of Playford's musical publications, 1651-86, in MGG, x.cols.1346-8.

> Music that was composed for the organ and virginal, is truely marvellous. [16]

No other record of the existence of this publication seems to survive; but rather than criticise Burney for not providing more information one ought perhaps to be grateful for what he does say, which is sufficient for it to be clear that he is not referring to any known publication.

Thus Musicks Hand-maide[17] is the first extant printed source after Parthenia. No copy survives of the original edition of 1663 but a reprint of c.1668, which includes four extra pieces, is in the British Museum, and a new edition of 1678 is also found there and elsewhere. This 1678 edition omits the four psalm tunes found in the original publication but adds 22 extra pieces to the 53 of the 1668 edition. Playford admitted that it would be too expensive to publish pieces of any great length, and so all the pieces are short and fairly simple, with an average length of only about 15 bars. The texture of all the pieces is also little varied and one normally finds a fairly continuous, unbroken melody in the right hand with a two-part accompaniment in the left,

16 Mercer ed./Burney, ii.321; see also ibid., 332, where Burney seems to imply that one of the "others" was Locke.

17 Modern edition in Dart ed./Hand-maid I.

though the part-writing is by no means strict. The reason for the texture is explained in Playford's preface, which states that the pieces "are so composed that the Treble Violin may play the Tunes along with the Virginals, which will be a pleasant Consort".

Many of the pieces can be found in other publications of Playford---there are over a dozen in Courtly Masquing Ayres (1662) and several in Musick's Delight on the Cithren (1666), for example---and it seems probable that only a small minority of them were originally written specifically for the keyboard; a few are known to have originated in Cupid and Death or The History of Sir Francis Drake, and others may have come from earlier masques. Playford seems to confirm that most are not original keyboard pieces in his preface, where he describes them as "most of them late Tunes and Dances set to the Virginals after the newest mode". The first piece, a preludium, is apparently an original keyboard composition, but even this is a shortened, simplified version of a more extended work by Bull.[18] Thus one of the effects of the publication of Musicks Hand-maide was to encourage further the move away from longer pieces with divisions and

[18] Printed in Dart ed./Bull, no.121.

variations towards very short, simple dance movements, a development which was already apparent in contemporary manuscripts.

The contents of Musicks Hand-maide can to some extent be analysed into suites, pairs of dances and isolated movements, but problems arise when one tries to pin down the complete suites. The first 16 pieces are all in G major and the next 12 are in D major, but these are clearly not just two long suites; it would be equally wrong, however, to assume that all the pieces were independent compositions, especially as some of those that appear together are also found together in other publications (for example nos.7 and 8 are found in Courtly Masquing Ayres at nos.25 and 26). Since by far the most common dance grouping at this stage was the 3-movement set of almand, corant and saraband, with a jigg occasionally added at the end, it is only where some similar group appears in Musicks Hand-maide that it is safe to regard it as a suite. Thus nos.3-6, an ayre, corant, saraband and jigg, the latter ascribed to "Mr.Ben: Sandley", are presumably a complete 4-movement suite by Sandley; similarly nos.7-9, an ayre, corant and saraband, the last by W. Lawes, may be regarded as a complete suite.

Even where the existence of suites can be deduced in

this manner, however, it is far from certain that all the movements were in every case written by one composer and it is equally uncertain how far the contemporaries of Playford would have deduced suites in this way, extracting them _en bloc_ for performance or copying. The situation is really no clearer in the 22 additional pieces of the 1678 edition: one finds an ayre and saraband in F by Locke (nos.66 and 67) which both come from the 3rd Entry in _Cupid and Death_ and clearly belong together, but the following piece, an ayre from the 5th Entry in the same work, is paired with a saraband which appears to be newly-written.

Apart from almands, corants, sarabands and jiggs most of the remaining works are marches or "named pieces", though many of the latter (such as Lawes's "Golden Grove") could be called almands and probably derive from masques that would account for their titles. The only other dance types included (not counting titles like "Apes' Dance") are two rants and, amongst the 22 new pieces, a bourrée and a minuet---two forms which became popular only towards the end of the century.

Most of the pieces in _Musicks Hand-maide_ written by Locke, Lawes and Rogers, three of the leading composers in the collection, are known in non-keyboard versions, and

several others are, too.[19] Moreover the dances are much shorter and simpler in texture than the more advanced ones in contemporary manuscripts: one need only compare the opening bars of Bryne`s ayre in A minor (no.59 of Musicks Hand-maide) with the almand by the same composer in the same key, found in Bod.d.219 (and elsewhere) for this to be immediately evident (Ex.1). Thus from the point of view of

Ex.1(a)



(Musicks Hand-maide, no.59)

Ex.1(b)



(Bod.d.219, p.16)

the growth of genuine harpsichord style and the keyboard suite in England, Musicks Hand-maide is unrepresentative and misleading; but its historical importance as an early keyboard edition is undeniable.

19 Dart ed./Hand-maid I indicates which pieces appear in Courtly Masquing Ayres.

The most prominent composer in Musicks Hand-maide, and the only one to appear in both the original publication and the additional pieces of the 1678 edition, is Matthew Locke, who was without doubt the leading keyboard composer of his day in England. This is even more evident in the second Restoration keyboard publication---Melothesia (1673).[20] This contains, in addition to "certain general rules for playing upon a Continued Bass", 68 pieces including 7 voluntaries marked "for the Organ"---the first organ music to be printed in Britain. The voluntaries are all by Locke and many of the harpsichord pieces are by him too, as one might expect since it was Locke who prepared and compiled the publication.

All the pieces in Melothesia, unlike those in Musicks Hand-maide, appear to be original keyboard compositions, and although there is no way of proving that they are, the style of keyboard writing is much more idiomatic than that of Musicks Hand-maide, which was after all designed for optional violin doubling. The type of piece in Melothesia is also much more similar in style to those in contemporary keyboard manu-

20 See Kooiker/Melothesia. Locke's own pieces have been published in Dart ed./Locke; most of the others have appeared in Kooiker ed./Melothesia but ten are omitted from both---three by Gregory, five anonymous and two by Preston (pp.43-9, 61, 71-2).

scripts, with wide use of the French lute effect known as style brisé. Moreover none of the pieces is found in an earlier non-keyboard version and the only ones of which there can be much doubt about their authenticity as keyboard compositions are the anonymous pieces; these are not really anonymous for the preface states: "The Ayrs here inserted without Name, were Ingeniously applied to the Harpsicord, by Mr.William Thatcher"; but this could imply that they were theatre tunes etc., arranged ("applied") for the harpsichord by Thatcher.[21]

Melothesia is described on the title page as being only "the first Part", with the implication that a second part would follow shortly. This is confirmed in a rather strange statement in the preface, that "The Masters who are not mentioned in this First Part, are on purpose omitted, that they may have the Honour to bring up the Rear in the Second". How far this statement is to be believed is doubtful, for it may simply mean that there was not room for all the main composers; but it is rather surprising that what appear to be the two most important contemporaries of Locke (judging by

21 "Ayre", besides being synonymous with "almand", was also used to indicate any short piece, and here almost certainly refers to all the anonymous pieces, not just those called "Ayr" as Kooiker presumes.

their recurrence in contemporary manuscripts), namely Benjamin Rogers and Albertus Bryne, are both omitted. Christopher Gibbons, too, is not represented although he was an eminent composer and had collaborated with Locke in the composition of Cupid and Death. Whatever the reason for the omission of Rogers, Bryne and Gibbons, the second part of Melothesia was never published, so that if they were omitted for the reason Locke gives, the purpose was not fulfilled.

The lack of a second part of Melothesia raises the question of how successful it was as a publication. Whereas Musicks Hand-maide was twice brought out in new editions and was followed by The second part of Musick's Hand-maid in 1689, it was probably for financial reasons that Melothesia never reappeared, though an additional cause may have been Locke's death four years later in 1677. The cost of printing Melothesia must have been even greater than for Musicks Hand-maide for it was considerably longer, and the publisher, J.Carr, was not nearly so experienced at publishing music as John Playford. Thus it is doubtful whether the work could have been more than a marginal success financially.

But if it was not a great financial success it was undoubtedly a great musical success. The number of surviving copies is not always a very reliable guide but in the case of

<u>Melothesia</u> there are at least eight extant copies in Great Britain alone, plus a few more overseas, whereas the average number of extant copies of keyboard music printed in England before 1700 is little more than one per edition; there can therefore be little doubt of its widespread use and popularity. It also probably acted as a strong stimulus on the growth of English keyboard music generally: although very few of the pieces can be found in manuscript copies it is probably no coincidence that from about this date manuscripts of other keyboard music start becoming much more common, until in the early 18th century there are many such manuscripts, some of which are quite large and comprehensive.

Nearly all the harpsichord pieces in Melothesia are dance movements, called simply by the name of the dance, and for the most part they are clearly grouped into suites although a few pieces, especially towards the end, lie outside this scheme. A few of the suites appear to have composite authorship but there are no clear-cut cases of this: the 3-movement suite in D minor by William Gregory (pp. 39-41) is followed by a "Horne Pipe" in the same key by Locke, but this may not be intended as part of the suite but just an isolated movement. The first suite by Locke includes one anonymous movement which, according to the preface, is

therefore by Thatcher, but it seems more likely that Locke's initials were accidentally omitted in this case; the same is probably true of the anonymous saraband in the middle of a suite in F by John Moss (p.65).

Most of the suites include the normal three dances but by this time other movements were often being added, and this is apparent in many of the suites in Melothesia. The most important of these additional movements is the prelude, which first appeared in suites about the time of Melothesia, and which is much more common in English suites than in French or German examples; this remained true for several decades, so that when Bach came to write his "English Suites" the main feature which distinguished them from his "French Suites" was the long, elaborate prelude found at the beginning of each, whereas his French suites began with the allemande straight away. (Some French composers, such as Chambonnières and François Couperin, did not write preludes to their suites; those who did, for example Louis Couperin and the lutenist Denis Gaultier, wrote unbarred, rhapsodic movements with no definite note values, sometimes with a fugal section in the middle, but quite unlike the brisk, patterned semiquaver figuration of the typical English prelude.)

The prelude of Locke and his contemporaries seems to

have been derived in style from the preludium of Bull and others, but it was generally slightly shorter and simpler until the time of Purcell, and more akin to the preludium from Bull at the beginning of Musicks Hand-maide. Unlike other suite movements, which are all dances in binary form (or later occasionally rondo or da capo form), the prelude is a through-composed movement placed at the beginning of the suite, and in its frequent use of patterned figuration and scale passages it recalls the Elizabethan and Jacobean virginalists. Despite its absence in Commonwealth suites the prelude rapidly became quite widespread and is found in about half the suites in Melothesia.

Another relatively new movement was the hornpipe, the most English of all the suite movements, but it was a while before this became attached to suites and none of the three hornpipes in Melothesia, with the possible exception of the one by Locke mentioned above, can be regarded as forming part of a suite. The gavott had also by this time found its way into English keyboard suites and can be found three times in Melothesia, but at this stage it did not usually begin on the third beat of the bar. One of the gavotts is the anonymous piece (presumably by Locke) in the first suite. This first suite, in C major, has seven movements, but these seem to be

grouped in a rather jumbled way---prelude, saraband, prelude, almand, corant gavott and country dance---and Thurston Dart has suggested that the two preludes are alternatives with the saraband coming in the usual place after the corant.[22] While there is no external evidence that this is so, and there do not appear to be any cases elsewhere in English keyboard music of alternative preludes, this seems to be a fairly sensible solution.

The 4-movement suite in F by John Moss (Melothesia, pp. 62-7) concludes with a "Jig-Almain". This is a very curious type found only in England and even there only rarely: it is in a slow 4/4 time like an almand but always appears at the end of a 4-movement suite that begins with the usual three movements. Thus it occupies the normal position for a jigg but is essentially in the style of an almand. The one by Moss, however, begins contrapuntally---a feature reserved for jiggs at this period---thus having additional emphasis placed on its jigg qualities. (Of the other four extant jigg-almains ---three by Bryne and one by Rogers---only Bryne's A minor one has this contrapuntal feature, the others being indistinguishable stylistically from ordinary almands.) Other

[22] See Dart ed./Locke.

dances in Melothesia include country dance, gavott, rant, hornpipe and a group of pieces in 6/4 (pp.56-61) one of which is called "Charity".

Restoration Manuscripts

Manuscripts dating from the early years of the Restoration are no more plentiful than Commonwealth ones, and as before there are problems in dating some of them. One manuscript, or rather manuscript section, which seems to come from this period is the middle part of Ch.Ch.1003. The manuscript as a whole was written in several sections, at different periods: the beginning (ff.1-11v), which was copied from Ch.Ch.1113, was probably written about 1630 (the watermark is almost identical with Heawood no.2178, dated 1627[23]) but from f.12v onwards a much later hand is evident; ff.23v-27 are in the same hand but there are indications, such as more modern ornamentation, that this section was written a little later. This third section includes music by "Mr.Blow" and must therefore have been written in the 1670s (or possibly the very late 1660s) for Blow, born in 1649, would have been too young if it were any earlier, while sources dating from after 1677, the year he was awarded the degree of D.Mus.,

[23] Heawood/Watermarks.

always describe him as "Dr.Blow" (or occasionally just "John Blow" but not "Mr.Blow"). The second section of Ch.Ch.1003 (ff.12v-23r), therefore presumably dates from the 1660s (with the exception of Aldrich`s "O the bonny X$^{t}$ Church bells", which appears to have been inserted later), and it includes music by W.Lawes (the "Golden Grove"), Smith, Roberts and John Banister. (The fourth section of the manuscript, ff.28-32, is somewhat later and includes a fragment of Purcell`s celebrated Cibell, but it consists mainly of vocal arrangements and exercises. At the end of the manuscript, reversed, is an almand in D minor, followed by a fragment of a corant, but these are in a later style still---probably early 18th century---and are anonymous unless they were written by "Miss Goodson", whose name is found at the head of the almand.) Most of the music of ff.12v-27 is actually anonymous. It consists of a miscellaneous collection mainly of dances, but with few clear cases of related movements; those there are have no particular importance apart from the "Golden Grove" suite by William Lawes.

Other manuscripts or manuscript sections dating from about this period include Bod.d.219, the last 13 pieces of Drex.5611 and the first parts of Ch.Ch.1177 and 1179, all of which contain music by Locke or his contemporaries but

apparently nothing from after about 1675. Bod.d.219 contains 25 pieces and an incomplete saraband; the first 12 are all by Bryne (though the manuscript is not in Bryne's hand) and of the remainder three are by Locke (two derived from Cupid and Death and found in different versions in the 1678 Musicks Hand-maid) and one by Banister. Of the anonymous pieces six can be grouped into two 3-movement suites, in C major and D minor (pp.30-2 and 34-6) and the other three are "grounds", though two of these consist merely of a theme plus a single variation and the other has just the theme. Presumably "divisions" were meant to be improvised for each of the three grounds.

Several hands of apparently different dates can be identified in Ch.Ch.1177. The first (ff.1v-4r) seems to date from about 1660 and the music in this section is all of Commonwealth style: the saraband attributed to Portman (f.1v) is known in several mid-17th century sources[24] while the anonymous piece in G (f.2v) reappears as "Freemans Delight" in Musicks Hand-maide. The next section of the manuscript (ff.4v-15r), compiled in two hands, contains music of a slightly later date, while almost all the remainder (ff.15v-

[24] See Hendrie ed./Gibbons, p.103.

16v and 41-18 reversed) comes from the Blow-Purcell period.

The early part of Ch.Ch.1179 (pp.1-18) is compiled in an earlier hand than the rest of the manuscript and judging by such features as ornamentation and the watermark[25] was probably copied about 1670; unfortunately all the music from this section is anonymous and none has yet been identified from other sources. Thus there is relatively little harpsichord music surviving from these years and almost certainly plenty has been lost, especially in cases where only one or two movements exist from what one might presume to have been a three- or four-movement suite (although one can never be certain that such suite movements were not written independently). But a sufficient amount survives to make it worth considering the leading composers individually and to enable comparisons between them to be made.

Principal Composers

The most important harpsichord composer of the period is undoubtedly Matthew Locke. 35 harpsichord pieces have been published in Dart`s edition of Locke`s complete keyboard

[25] This is very similar to no.2682 (dated 1670) in Heawood/ Watermarks.

music,[26] and to these may be added a corant in Bod.d.219, p.37, and a short "Entry" in The Present Practice of Musick Vindicated (1673), p.10.[27] Two of the 37 pieces are actually anonymous in their only source,[28] but since both occur between pieces by Locke that are in the same key there is little reason to doubt their authenticity---there are many known cases where in some source only one or two movements of a suite are actually ascribed to its author. Most of the apparently incomplete suites by Locke in Musicks Hand-maide, however, are known to be arrangements from masques such as Cupid and Death, while no.64, an almand in G,[29] is an arrangement of a piece in Locke's Little Consort. His saraband in D,[30] which in Drex.5611 is used as the third movement of a harpsichord suite, also comes from his Little Consort, where it is grouped with different movements. The only movements that are fairly certainly original harpsichord compositions are therefore those in Melothesia, plus two

26 Dart ed./Locke, vol.1.

27 See Harding/Locke.

28 Dart ed./Locke, 1.nos.6 and 34.

29 ibid., no.25.

30 ibid., no.35.

pieces that seem to have idiomatic keyboard figuration---an almand in G (no.31) and a prelude in A minor (no.32)---and the "Entry" in F, which seems to have been composed to demonstrate a specific point. The prelude may have been written as the first movement of a suite in A minor, in which case the corant in Bod.d.219 is probably another movement, with the remainder lost. Likewise there may have been a corant and saraband to the almand in G.

Some of the Melothesia pieces, such as the "Country Dance" (no.7), have a very simple texture similar to those in Musicks Hand-maide, thereby showing that simplicity of texture is not evidence that music has been arranged. Others, notably the almands, have a much more complex texture, where it would be almost impossible for a violin to double the tune as in Musicks Hand-maide, owing to the style brisé and to the fact that the main thematic material is sometimes briefly transferred to the left hand. The second C major almand (no. 13) is particularly interesting not only for its figuration but also for its numerous modulations in both halves of the movement. The pieces most idiomatic in keyboard figuration, however, are the preludes. These are either of the "running" type with scale passages and usually some imitation, as in the first two C major preludes and the A minor one in Add.

22099,[31] or the "broken-chord" type,[32] in which there is little thematic material or rhythmic drive and the interest lies primarily in the chord-progressions and methods of decorating them.

Apart from Locke the leading harpsichord composer of the period seems to have been Albertus Bryne (c.1621-1671), whom recent investigation has shown to be a figure of considerable importance in the development of English keyboard music.[33] The five Bryne pieces in the 1678 edition of Musicks Hand-maid resemble the arrangements of Locke found there, but there is no evidence that any of them are not original keyboard music. Similar in style, though very short, is Bryne`s "Toletole", found in Ch.Ch.1236 (p.14). Much more important are the three 4-movement suites, in D minor, D major and A minor, that appear at the beginning of Bod.d.219 (each suite consists of almand, corant, saraband and jigg-almain). Even if these three suites were written only near the end of Bryne`s life they are still among the earliest English harpsichord suites with a 4-movement structure

[31] ibid., nos.1, 2 and 32.

[32] ibid., nos.12 and 17.

[33] See Cooper/Bryne.

(though many of the suites in Melothesia have at least four movements and some could have actually been composed before those of Bryne). All the movements have a fairly complex texture with wide use of style brisé and most are at least as elaborate as the most elaborate of Locke's almands. Even the sarabands, generally the most tuneful and rhythmically straightforward of the main dance types, are sometimes fragmented by the style brisé, as is evident in the second half of the one in A minor, where notes are sounded on every quaver beat in most of the bars. (Ex.2)

Ex.2



(Bod.d.219, p.19)

The almands often use figuration similar to that found in Blow and Croft, and seem to require a slow tempo. Thus the slow, complex almand, though more common at the end of the century, was in use in England as early as the 1660s, even

though a quicker, simpler style was more common at this date. All three suites are of high quality---the one in A minor is particularly fine---and are certainly worthy of publication.

Four movements from these suites appear amongst the ten by Bryne at the end of Drex.5611---the almand in D and the almand, corant and saraband in A minor. The other six movements in Drex.5611 are unique: they are grouped into two suites, in D major and D minor, which are similar in style to the ones already considered but lack the final jigg-almains. The only other extant piece attributed to Bryne is a saraband in F (Ch.Ch.1177, f.6). This probably originally belonged to a three- or four-movement suite too, and it is even possible that the two pieces preceding it in the manuscript form the rest of the suite as they are both in F and are in style an almand and corant.

There are 25 different pieces attributed to Bryne in various sources and none are known to be arrangements; this compares with 28 by Locke, 20 by John Roberts and 12 by Rogers (excluding organ music and known arrangements). Thus Bryne was clearly one of the most prolific harpsichord composers of the generation before Blow and Purcell, as well as one of the best, and he was one of the key figures in the establishment of a harpsichord style that was to persist till

the time of Croft. His influence on Blow was particularly strong;[34] Purcell, on the other hand, seems to have followed more directly from Matthew Locke in the style and structure of his suites.

Including harpsichord arrangements and organ music almost 20 keyboard pieces by Benjamin Rogers still survive. Some have been discussed very briefly by Richard Rastall,[35] but it is necessary to amplify his statements. Apart from two organ voluntaries, all Rogers' keyboard works are dance movements that are, at least potentially, derived from suites. Nos.17, 18 and 19 of Musicks Hand-maide appear to form a 3-movement suite, and as the last of these is ascribed to Rogers the other two are presumably his too; all three are found in Courtly Masquing Ayres, but no.17, "The Plesant Spring", was only a late insertion to this, and so there is some doubt about its authenticity. Rogers' name also appears at no.42, an ayre, which is followed by a corant and "The Mitter Rant" in the same key: this forms a perfectly satisfactory 3-movement suite but again the two anonymous pieces

34 See Cooper/Bryne, p.143.

35 See Rastall/Rogers, p.237; the complete keyboard works of Rogers have recently been published in Rastall ed./Rogers.

could be by some other composer.

In manuscript sources there is what appears to be a 3-movement suite with the almand missing, and also a 4-movement suite,[36] both in Ch.Ch.1236, and in the same manuscript an isolated corant in G (f.36v); in addition there is an ayre in C (f.50v) which is found as part of a suite in an arrangement for strings in Bodleian MS Mus.Sch.f.572, which seems to lend weight to the theory that it was originally part of a keyboard suite. There is also a complete 3-movement suite in A minor in Drex.5611. Thus the suites which Rogers is known to have written or at least contributed to, are as follows:

1. 3 mvts. in D ma. (1663a nos.17-19) - first mvt. possibly doubtful;
2. 3 mvts. in C ma. (1663a nos.42-44) - nos.43 and 44 may be by another composer;
3. 3 mvts. in A mi. (Drex.5611, pp.58-60);
4. 4 mvts. in C ma. (Ch.Ch.1236, ff.39v-42) - apparently a single suite;
5. 3 mvts. in A mi. (Ch.Ch.1236, ff.[37v]-39) - almand missing, ff.37v and 38 blank;
6. Ayre in C ma. (Ch.Ch.1236, f.50v) - probably part of a suite;
7. Corant in G ma. (Ch.Ch.1236, f.36v) - perhaps part of a suite.

If all the movements belonged originally to suites of at

36 See Cooper/Suite, p.318, for a discussion of the structure of this.

least three movements, therefore, it is certain that at least five movements from suites represented by the surviving pieces are now lost.

The most interesting of these suites is the 4-movement one, partly because examples of 4-movement suites are very rare in English keyboard music before 1660, but also because it is generally more rhythmically complex than the others and may therefore have been written later. The first movement (an untitled almand) and the last, a "Gigue" that should really be called "Jigg-almain", have a particularly elaborate texture similar to Bryne`s Bodleian suites, though the Rogers suite is melodically and harmonically less interesting in general and probably survives in a less reliable text. (Certain chords and rhythms feel a little "uncomfortable" and in one place in the first movement (bar 8) the left hand is written a third too high.)

Among other harpsichord composers of the Restoration John Roberts is the most important, though apart from his harpsichord music nothing survives by him and nothing is known about his life. The style of his earlier harpsichord music, in Ch.Ch.1236 and Drex.5611, is relatively simple, but the suite in Melothesia is more advanced and was probably written not long before publication. It has two corants---

clearly a sign of French influence, for the suites of Chambonnières published three years before Melothesia in 1670[37] almost all have two or even three courantes, whereas English suites hardly ever have more than one. There is, it is true, a typical English prelude at the beginning of Roberts`s suite, but another French feature is seen in his cadences: in England it was very common to find the super-imposition then upward resolution of the leading-note on the final chord of a movement or half-movement, usually on the second beat or a half-beat, but this idiom is not found in any of Roberts`s movements in Melothesia, nor, it seems, in any of his movements surviving in manuscript. The idiom appears to have been peculiar to England---it can be found, for example, at the end of all Locke`s almands in Melothesia yet it never occurs in the works of continental composers like Chambonnières and Froberger.

The two suites by William Gregory in Melothesia are noticeably simpler in style than others in the collection and are also the only two that have just the basic three movements. They were therefore probably composed before the others and this seems to be confirmed by the fact that

[37] See Chambonnières/Pieces.

Gregory had died in 1663, ten years before Melothesia was brought out. All other composers of the Commonwealth and early Restoration are of very minor importance, being known in most cases by not more than about half a dozen pieces.

Musicks Hand-maide and Melothesia both contain a collection of music by a number of composers and it was not until 1684 that the first English publication of keyboard music by only one composer appeared. This was "Kithara-paideia, or a Book of Lessons for the Harpsichords, Engraven on Copper Plates, containing great variety of several Humors, as Preludes, Allemands, Curanto's, Sarabands, Jiggs and Airs ...composed by Gerhard Diesineer, and to be sold at his House ...in Russel Street, Bloomsbury...in two Parts", advertised in The London Gazette for 24-27 November 1684.[38] Little is known about Diesener and it is not even certain in which country he was born, although his name strongly suggests he was German and he is known to have been at Cassel at one time.[39] Moreover no copy of Kitharapaideia is known to exist, though it is possible that some of its contents survive in manuscript: but apart from two short pieces in Melothesia

[38] See Tilmouth/Newspapers.

[39] See the article on "Diessener" in MGG for further details.

Diesener`s surviving keyboard music includes just one ground in Ch.Ch.1177,[40] and one "Balletto" in Add.22099, which could derive from Kitharapaideia. Another possibility is that Kitharapaideia consists merely of arrangements of some (or even all) of the contents of an earlier publication of Diesener, namely "Instrumental Ayrs of Two, Three and Four Parts...Containing great Variety of Music, in several Humours, Viz: Overtures, Allemands, Ayrs, Brawls, Courants, Sarabands, Jiggs and Gavots...". This collection, advertised in The Loyal Post on 24 June 1682, and sold by Playford, Carr and the composer himself,[41] consists of ten long suites of up to 18 movements per suite; but the only ground and balletto in it are different from the keyboard pieces by Diesener, and so Kitharapaideia cannot be connected with both.

Conclusion

Thus a fairly complete picture of Commonwealth and Restoration harpsichord music can be built up by considering all the main sources and composers individually. Original harpsichord or virginal music was by this time almost exclusively restricted to dance movements (of which there

[40] Printed in Maitland ed./Contemporaries, vi.2.

[41] See Tilmouth/Newspapers.

were about six main types), apart from a few rather trivial, untitled pieces which also generally employed dance patterns. Grounds did not really re-emerge until the time of Blow and it was only the prelude that did not employ dance forms or styles. Dance movements themselves were tending to become gradually longer and more complex but this was a very slow process and the change, which is seen clearly in the almands, is only appreciable over a period approaching half a century. Meanwhile the dances, rather than remaining as single movements, were becoming more and more frequently grouped into suites, which almost invariably had the three basic dances of almand, corant and saraband; additions to these became increasingly common, however, normally in the form of a prelude at the beginning or a jigg at the end.

But harpsichord music was regarded very much as music for the amateur at this period---an attitude reflected by the fact that many of the leading composers of the day, among them Child, Pelham Humfrey, Christopher Gibbons and Michael Wise, wrote little or nothing for the instrument. Nevertheless, many of the lesser-known composers who did write for the harpsichord were capable of producing quite attractive little pieces within the restrictions imposed by the prevailing taste and social attitudes.

Chapter III

PURCELL`S HARPSICHORD MUSIC

Background and Previous Literature

IN the Commonwealth and Restoration period harpsichord music was dominated largely by secondary figures, and it was not until about 1680 that any more major composers appeared on the scene. Then two keyboard composers emerged who were eminently more important even than Matthew Locke, the greatest of their immediate predecessors---namely John Blow (1649-1708) and Henry Purcell (1659-1695). Although Blow was ten years older Purcell will be considered first because his harpsichord music is better known and because his suites were published before any of Blow`s.

Purcell`s harpsichord music probably dates almost entirely from the 1680s, as he would have been unlikely to devote much time to keyboard composition once he became fully involved in writing masques and "semi-operas" from the year 1690. Apart from numerous manuscripts, his harpsichord music appeared in three early printed sources. The first of these was The Second Part of Musick`s Hand-maid (1689),[1] which

[1] Reprinted in Dart ed./Hand-maid II.

contains 18 of his pieces, several of them printed anonymously (this publication reappeared under a different title in 1705). This was followed by the main printed source of his harpsichord music, A Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet (1696), which was devoted entirely to music by Purcell and contains eight suites plus a few short keyboard arrangements. Finally there appeared in 1706 The Second Book of the Ladys Banquet, which contains three more pieces of his (Z.T696/1 & 2, and Z.D223).[2]

In more recent times his suites and some other harpsichord pieces were published in 1879 in an edition by Ernst Pauer[3] and the complete keyboard works appeared in 1895 in the Purcell Society edition,[4] since when the harpsichord pieces have been subjected to several "reassessments". They are discussed briefly, for example, by Denis Arundell[5] and by Sir Jack Westrup[6] in monographs on Purcell; there is also an article on them by Thurston Dart in the Purcell centenary

2 The numbers refer to Zimmerman/Purcell.

3 Pauer ed./Composers.

4 Squire and Hopkins edd./Purcell.

5 Arundell/Purcell, pp.121-5.

6 Westrup/Purcell, pp.237-8.

volume of The Musical Times[7] and a paper by Howard Ferguson,[8] the latter being given in connection with a new edition of the complete harpsichord works edited by Dr. Ferguson,[9] which gives full details of all the original sources (mostly derived from the details in Zimmerman`s catalogue), ample textual and editorial notes, and useful appendices of doubtful and spurious works. Thus much attention has been given to Purcell`s harpsichord music by several distinguished scholars and it might be thought that little could be said here that is not a mere summary of the works mentioned above. This is not the case, however, for all have tended to be of a rather general type, with the result that a number of questions connected with Purcell`s harpsichord music have gone not only unanswered but in some cases even unasked. Hence the present writer, rather than give yet another descriptive summary of the music, refers the reader to the discussions mentioned above, and will concentrate mainly on more specific problems.

Influences

The music of most great composers suffers from being

7 Dart/Purcell.

8 Ferguson/Purcell.

9 Ferguson ed./Purcell.

considered too much in isolation, and not being related enough to that of their predecessors. Purcell's harpsichord music is no exception and very little attention has been given to the influences on Purcell's harpsichord style, which is one reason why many find it disappointing. Sir Jack Westrup describes the music as "relatively unimportant",[10] but whereas it is unimportant in comparison with his dramatic or sacred works, it is clearly quite significant when considered in relation to that of his predecessors and contemporaries. His Choice Collection of Lessons was, after all, the first English publication of keyboard music by only one composer, with the exception of Diesener's lost Kitharapaideia; and more than half the pieces in the only keyboard source (other than Kitharapaideia) printed during Purcell's adult life, namely The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid, are also by Purcell, even though some of these are only arrangements. He wrote short, rather lightweight dance movements and preludes simply because this was more or less the only type of harpsichord music being written in England at that time, and certainly the only type of harpsichord piece found in Locke's Melothesia.

[10] loc.cit.

Printed when Purcell was about 14, Melothesia must have been familiar to him, and he may well have used it for teaching pupils continuo playing, not to mention harpsichord playing. It appears that Melothesia was the strongest single influence on his harpsichord music, other probable influences being Musicks Hand-maide, probably in its 1678 version, the influence of single composers like Locke and, to a lesser extent, Rogers and Bryne, of his contemporaries (especially Blow, though it would be hard to pinpoint any clear cases of this), of the French school of clavecinists (and of Lully, notably in the case of Purcell's Cibell), of lute music and of instrumental dances for the theatre.

Musick's Hand-maid

Of the 18 pieces in The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid that are known or presumed to be by Purcell[11] only 11 are actually ascribed to him in the original publication, which is strange in view of the fact that Henry Playford claimed it was "carefully Revised and Corrected" by Purcell himself. There can have been no doubt as to who wrote the other seven and it is hardly likely that the author would

[11] Thurston Dart, in his latest revision of Musick's Hand-maid, tentatively ascribed the first piece, an ayre in C major, to Purcell, too.

have been accidentally omitted so many times, so one must ask whether all seven pieces are definitely by Purcell, and why they were not ascribed to him in the original editions.

With regard to the first question, there can be no doubt about the authenticity of "A New Ground" (no.17), for it is an arrangement of "Here the deities approve" from Purcell's ode "Welcome to all the pleasures" (Z.239); there can be scarcely any less certainty about no.5, "A Song Tune", which appeared set to the words "Sylvia now your scorn give over" in two 1688 publications (The Banquet of Musick and Vinculum Societatis). The other five anonymous pieces attributed to Purcell form a "Suit of Lessons" at the end of the volume. (This, incidentally, appears to be the first use of the term "Suit" applied to English keyboard music, for all previous groups of dances in the same key omit any overall title.) The middle three movements are ascribed to Purcell in other sources, but the prelude---a rhapsodic piece lacking the normal semiquaver figuration, and reminiscent of a prelude in the same key by Locke in Melothesia (p.13)---and the concluding jigg are not found elsewhere, and could be by someone else. If this were a suite of composite authorship this would be a good reason for leaving it anonymous; alternatively Purcell may not have been fully satisfied with it,

preferring to print it anonymously for that reason (for the suite appeared in a very different form in the Choice Collection). But it is really more likely that Purcell and Playford had no good reason for leaving this suite and the other two pieces anonymous, and simply lacked the mind of the 20th-century musicologist who wants to know who wrote everything, hence they were quite happy to insert pieces without feeling obliged to print the name of the author wherever possible. Thus it was not just in the cases where the author was not known, as in "Old Simon the King" (no.28) that the composer's name was not printed.

Choice Collection of Lessons

As Purcell's Choice Collection of Lessons was not printed until after his death, one cannot be certain how reliable a text it provides, and whether Purcell would have been happy to publish it himself in that form, but it must nevertheless be considered more reliable than manuscript versions of the same pieces. Only two copies of the 1696 edition of the Choice Collection survive, both in the British Museum; however, they are different in several ways, with one copy including four extra folios containing instructions for beginners (including a list of ornaments) and an extra page at the end (p.61) containing the first half of the "Trumpet

Tune called the Cibell" (Z.T678). (There are also some manuscript pages bound in at the end of each copy, and these contain different music, but they do not concern us here.) Since a new edition that appeared in 1699 is designated as "The Third Edition" it seems likely that this rather irregular British Museum copy (K.1.c.5) was an attempt at a second edition, even though the title page is the same as the first edition; if this is so, there is no question of there being a "lost" second edition from the years between 1696 and 1699.

Each of the eight suites in the Choice Collection has either three or four movements, but they are nonetheless not entirely regular in construction: not one of the suites contains a jigg (which is strange considering that they are quite common with Blow and not unknown even in Locke), and some seem curiously incomplete, such as no.III, which has just a prelude, almand and corant. The absence of a saraband in this and some other suites is surprising, but equally surprising is the appearance of a prelude in all but one of the suites; preludes were still far from obligatory---only about half of the suites in Melothesia start with one and none of Blow's six printed suites contains one. With Purcell, however, there are more preludes than suites, for Howard

Ferguson has discovered that the 2nd and 4th suites appear anonymously in manuscripts (Add.31403 and Ch.Ch.1177 respectively) with quite different preludes from the printed ones, and these alternative preludes are probably authentic.[12] The 5th suite, too, is a reworking of a suite that had previously appeared anonymously---the "Suit of Lessons" from the end of The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid; the corant and saraband are retained with only minor alterations but there is a completely new prelude and almand, and the jigg is omitted. Thus it seems that Purcell's method of writing suites was far from rigid, and he did not write them as close-knit, indivisible units; he was quite prepared to alter movements and even write new ones, but the fact that all the alternative movements to those in the Choice Collection are anonymous may mean that he regarded these other versions as only tentative or "unofficial", and for this reason deliberately issued them anonymously.

Purcell's rather free methods of writing suites are also evident in his use of incidental theatre music as suite movements. This occurs twice---the hornpipe in the 7th suite is found in The Married Beau and the minuet in the 8th suite

[12] Both are printed in Ferguson ed./Purcell.

appears in The Double Dealer. The appearance of these movements as theatre music does not, of course, preclude the possibility that they were originally suite movements, arranged for orchestra perhaps when Purcell was short of time; but their style does differ from that of almost all the others in having a continuous top line, hardly any style brisé and no right hand chords, so that it does seem likely that these are only keyboard arrangements, possibly even made after his death to fill out two unfinished suites.

Dart suggests that some of Purcell's suites appear incomplete because pages of his manuscript became mislaid before Mrs.Purcell assembled the book;[13] but the suites with only three movements, notably nos.III and VI, may simply have been unfinished if, as seems likely, Purcell did not write suites as units all at the same time, but composed them over a period of several years. Alternatively he may have written them in a relatively short space of time and used different numbers of movements and types of construction in order to achieve greater contrast between the suites. Whichever explanation is correct, the eight suites certainly do exhibit a great variety of styles within the confines of the accepted

[13] Dart/Purcell.

English suite style, and nowhere is this variety more evident than in the first two suites. No.I contains four very short, simple movements scarcely more advanced than those of the first part of Musicks Hand-maide, and is certainly the earliest in style, if not in actual date. By contrast the second suite is the longest and most weighty, and it is nowadays generally considered to be the finest. This view was not shared by Purcell`s contemporaries, however: the frequency of appearance of movements in contemporary manuscripts is generally an approximate guide to their popularity, and by this standard the most popular suites tend to be the lighter ones---notably nos.I and V, which appear much more often than nos.II or VII, the former being the only suite that does not appear in Add.52363, dated 1704. The saraband of this second suite contains a petite reprise (an extra repeat of the last four bars), a device that was extremely unusual in English keyboard suites by this date, though it was common enough in contemporary French suites and there had been some examples in Musicks Hand-maide.

Of the six pieces that appeared with the eight suites in later editions of the Choice Collection, all are arrangements from masques, etc. with the exception of the "Trumpet Tune called the Cibell", which appears in its keyboard

version in at least nine manuscripts[14] and must have been one of Purcell's most popular pieces. It was written in imitation of a chorus accompanying the descent of the goddess Cybèle in Lully's opera Atys (1676), and keyboard arrangements of the chorus itself may be found in some English sources (for example Ch.Ch.46); Purcell's Cibell was in turn imitated many times in the 20 years or so after its composition.[15] Although it is called a trumpet tune it is found in a version for trumpet and strings in only one source (Cambridge, Fitz. 23.E.13). This may be the original arrangement but it is equally likely that the keyboard version is the original: trumpet tunes were sometimes composed for harpsichord and this cibell may have been written in imitation not of the chorus from Atys but of a keyboard arrangement of the chorus. Moreover the keyboard version was far more popular and must have been at least an authentic arrangement; hence both

[14] Seven are listed in Ferguson ed./Purcell, vol.ii; the other two are Add.52363 and Inglis 94, which had not then come to light.

[15] For a full discussion of this once-puzzling title, see Dart/Cibell. Briefly, the distinctive features of a cibell are: (i) it is in 4/4 time starting on the 3rd beat of the bar; (ii) there are interludes for the left hand alone or left hand accompanied by chords that are essentially realisations of an imaginary figured bass. The first of these two features was not always preserved in later examples.

versions are equally valid, and the piece may even have been designed specifically as an optional trumpet or keyboard piece.

Doubtful and Spurious Works

A number of works once attributed to Purcell come in the doubtful or spurious category. The best-known example of the latter is Jeremiah Clarke`s "Prince of Denmark`s March", which was published in A Choice Collection of Ayres (1700) but which in the earlier part of this century masqueraded under the name "Purcell`s Trumpet Voluntary". Another well-known example is another trumpet tune by Clarke (Z.S124), which is actually ascribed to Purcell in Bod.e.397, but it was finally shown conclusively to be by Clarke (from his music to The Island Princess) in a letter by Eric Halfpenny to The Musical Times.[16] This has not, however, prevented several more recent ascriptions of this work to Purcell by various editors and scholars.[17] A 4/4 jigg in G minor has also been shown fairly conclusively to be the work of Morgan.[18]

The doubtful works pose rather more problems and there

[16] Halfpenny/Clarke.

[17] E.g. in Gillespie/Centuries, p.59.

[18] See Dawes/Morgan.

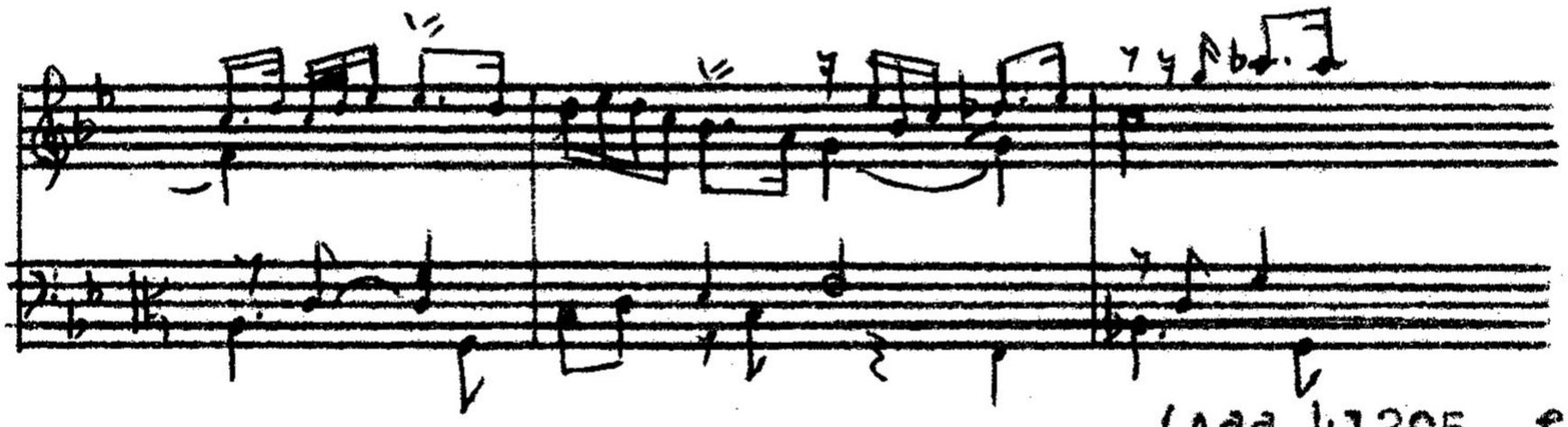
is often disagreement among scholars about the authenticity of such pieces, even to the extent of some being classed as definitely genuine by some scholars and definitely spurious by others. This is the case with a prelude (Z.652) and almand and corant (Z.642) in A minor, and also with a suite in B flat (Z.664), all of these pieces being catalogued amongst the genuine works by Zimmerman and amongst the "spurious and misattributed works" by Ferguson. The basic reason for these disagreements is that Zimmerman is working on the evidence of manuscripts while Freguson is judging mainly on stylistic grounds; but external and internal evidence should always be considered jointly.

The B flat suite is described by Ferguson as "so inept structurally and harmonically, and so uncharacteristic in every way, that it could not possibly be ganuine".[19] Its three movements are followed in the manuscript in which they appear (Add.41205) by a jigg in the same key attributed to Lord Byron, and Ferguson suggests that the whole suite may well be by him. The charge of structural ineptitude seems a little misplaced, for the movements are in the perfectly

[19] Ferguson/Purcell, p.4; the suite is published only in Pauer ed./Composers.

normal binary form with a half-way cadence in the dominant, and like other contemporary suite movements, show few other structural features. The harmony, it is true, is a little peculiar in places, but where this is so it tends to be in a conservative vein, with unexpected turns of modulation reminiscent of those in some of Purcell's viol fantasias; this suggests, as does the fact that it only has the three basic movements, that it could be an early work (there are several known early works of Blow in the same manuscript). Inferior composers generally write unimaginative, rather trite movements, and rarely use such bold harmonic experiments as the composer of this suite did (Ex.1); occasionally

Ex.1



(Add.41205, f.21)

the movements seem a little uneven rhythmically, but the same could be said about the prelude to the suite in The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid. Lord Byron flourished a little later than Purcell, did not normally write in this style, and was perfectly capable of writing conventional harmony, all of

which militates against a tentative ascription to him; if this suite is not in Purcell's style, it is not in the style of any of his contemporaries either. Furthermore it is clearly ascribed to Purcell in the only source in which it appears, none of the other ascriptions in the manuscript are known to be incorrect (though some are doubtful) and something must have made the copyist believe the suite to be by Purcell. Thus this suite could easily be a youthful, or even not-so-youthful, experiment by Purcell; the copy is probably rather inaccurate, for it does appear to include some definite grammatical errors, but the suite must be regarded at least as a doubtful work and it is probably genuine.

The prelude, almand and corant in A minor mentioned above may belong to the same suite as a saraband by Purcell (Z.654) in the same key. This theory was put forward by Thurston Dart in his article in The Musical Times and although, as Ferguson points out, the four movements do not appear together in any manuscript (they do not appear separately in any one manuscript either) it is perfectly possible that these four movements did originally form a complete suite. Most single dance movements in manuscripts of this period can be traced to complete suites, and even if these movements did not originally belong together it would

be quite reasonable to synthesize a suite from them, as was often done in Purcell's day. Dr.Ferguson, however, questions the authenticity of the prelude, almand and corant in the first volume of his edition of Purcell's harpsichord works (p.28) on the grounds that "their phrases are less clearly articulated than is usual in Purcell", whatever this may mean. By the second volume all four movements have been demoted---the first three to the "spurious" category and the saraband to the "doubtful", without any further reasons being given. The prelude is in fact anonymous in all three sources extant, and therefore should not have been attributed to Purcell at all unless the Purcell Society editors were working from a now missing manuscript. This is unlikely for they state that it comes from the same Cummings manuscript as the ground in C minor (Z.T681); the version of this that is printed in the Purcell Society edition coincides with that found in the former Cummings manuscript Fitz.52.B.7, and this is one of the three sources of the A minor prelude. Hence it seems that this piece was taken from this manuscript and just assumed to be by Purcell, like the anonymous gavott in G major in the same manuscript, which is now known to be by Babell. The almand and corant in A minor are ascribed to Purcell only in the rather late manuscript that contains the

B flat suite, but an attempt to dismiss them as spurious on slender stylistic evidence ought not to go unchallenged. Their style is not very different from Purcell's other suites, which show considerable diversity themselves, and if suite no.I were not well authenticated, that might be dismissed by some as spurious on stylistic grounds, too. Unless further evidence comes to light, therefore, this almand and corant, like the B flat suite, ought to be regarded as Purcell's, while the prelude in A minor should be considered spurious or very doubtful.

Another piece of which the authorship is disputed is the very fine ground in C minor (Z.D221), which is placed amongst Purcell's doubtful pieces by both Zimmerman and Ferguson; it was almost certainly composed by Croft, however, and was printed as his by Fuller-Maitland.[20] From internal evidence it is unlikely to have been composed by Purcell, not because it is uncharacteristic of his style but paradoxically because it is too similar to another one which he did write, i.e. the ground in C minor, Z.T681, which was popular enough to appear in harpsichord versions in at least six manuscripts, though it is an arrangement of the alto solo "With

[20] Maitland ed./Contemporaries, iii.10.

him he brings the partner", from Ye Tuneful Muses (Z.344/11). The Purcell/Croft ground is almost exactly the same length as this, in the same key and time, has similar broken-chord figuration at the opening and intermittently during the piece, in both cases an aria-like theme enters on a top G at the beginning of the second statement of the ground bass, and both themes even start with the same repeated-note rhythm: ♩ ♩. ♪ ♩ . While it seems most unlikely that Purcell should want to write two pieces so nearly the same as each other, it is perfectly plausible that the young Croft would want to write a ground in imitation of Purcell's fine example, just as there were numerous imitations of his celebrated Cibell. The two pieces are so similar that it is very easy to confuse them; as this was just as true in the 18th century as it is today, this would explain why, if the doubtful piece was written by Croft it was sometimes confused with the other and ascribed to Purcell, whereas if it had been written by Purcell there would be no reason why it should ever be ascribed to Croft.

The Purcell/Croft ground appears in more sources than any one commentator seems to have realised. Ferguson lists three in his edition,[21] of which he states that two are

[21] Ferguson ed./Purcell, ii.43.

anonymous and the other ascribes the piece to Croft (which makes one wonder why he included it as a possible Purcell piece at all); but in his lecture-recital to the Royal Musical Association[22] he states that the three sources ascribe the piece severally to Purcell, Croft and Anon. (This discrepancy is presumably caused by Fitz.52.B.7 having "? Purcell ~~or~~ ~~Croft~~" in pencil in a modern hand.) Zimmerman and Fuller-maitland also do not mention all the sources, and a complete list is as follows:

		mentioned by:[23]		attribution
1	Fitz.52.B.7 (formerly owned by W. H. Cummings), p.70:	HF Z		anon.
1a	"A MS belonging to Mr. Cummings" (same as above):	Z PS		anon.
2	Rés.1186 bis I, f.41:	HF	P	anon.
3	Add.31467, f.69v:		P FM	Dr.Crofts
4	Eg.2959 (formerly owned by Cummings), f.1:	HF	P FM	Mr.Will Croft
5	"Another MS belonging to Mr. Cummings"[24]	Z PS		Purcell Mr.Crofts

[22] Ferguson/Purcell, p.4.

[23] HF: Ferguson ed./Purcell. Z: Zimmerman/Purcell. PS: Purcell Society edition (Squire and Hopkins edd./Purcell). P: Pereyra/Virginal (1). FM: Maitland ed./Contemporaries.

[24] Not to be confused with Eg.2959, this manuscript is now Nanki N-3/35; see McLean ed./Blow, note 4.

Thus the only place where this piece is ever ascribed to Purcell is in the Cummings manuscript now in Tokyo, in which Croft`s name has been crossed out and Purcell`s inserted, perhaps by another hand: even in this source the original compiler thought the piece was by Croft, hence of the four ascriptions three apparently independent ones are to Croft and only one to Purcell. Furthermore the piece appears amongst four other anonymous pieces known to be by Croft in Fitz.52.B.7---in fact here the piece is one of 15 in succession, 13 of which, apart from this one, are elsewhere ascribed to Croft; and in Rés.1186 bis I, too, there are 12 other anonymous pieces known to be by Croft. The ascriptions in Eg.2959 are generally reliable, even though Add.31467 is less reliable and incidentally includes Purcell`s genuine C minor ground a little later in the manuscript (f.74), confusingly attributing this to Croft too.

But practically all the evidence presented above points to Croft`s authorship and there seems to be no other evidence for Purcell, so the situation appears perfectly clear: the piece was written by Croft in about 1700, in close imitation of Purcell`s popular C minor ground, like the many cibells written in imitation of Purcell`s; it was correctly ascribed to him by three copyists, and selected along with other works

from his oeuvre by two others; a relatively late scribe who was probably vaguely familiar with Purcell's original confused it with this and changed Croft's name to Purcell in one manuscript; all subsequent attributions to Purcell are derived from this single error and there is no other evidence that it was composed by him. Croft's ground must not be regarded as highly imaginative or inspired as it is so clearly derivative, but it is a mark of his musicianship that he nevertheless succeeded in producing a work of considerable merit---such merit that some have felt that it must have been written by a great master like Purcell---and many would consider it even finer than the Purcell model.

Most of Purcell's other doubtful keyboard works appear in only one source, often an unreliable one, and although they cannot be accepted as definitely genuine, they have not aroused much controversy. The only one which has is the Toccata in A (Z.D229), which will be discussed along with his organ works (see Chapter VI).

Purcell's Relationship to Contemporaries

Purcell's harpsichord music does not differ greatly from that of his contemporaries, but it does seem to have a few distinctive features. Chief of these is perhaps its melodic qualities, for Purcell had outstanding gifts as a

melodist, which can be seen to some extent in the suites and even more in pieces like the Cibell. There is also greater variety in Purcell's suites than in all the suites in Melothesia, and this is probably not just due to his being a later composer. Purcell is renowned for his use of ground basses, whether in his dramatic, court or sacred music; but of his five keyboard grounds (Z.645, T680, T681, T682 and D222) only one was composed as such, unless the keyboard version of the others is really earlier than the vocal version, which is possible but unlikely. The one original keyboard ground is "A ground in gamut, set by Mr Purcel" as it is called in Ch.Ch.46. It also appears in Add.22099 and is based on the same bass-line as the first eight bars of Bach's Goldberg Variations, which recurs a total of eight times, but this Purcell ground is not nearly as impressive as many of Blow's.

Purcell's influence must have been quite considerable, and it is most obvious in his Cibell, which gave rise to a whole new genre of pieces. His suites, being less distinctive in style, had only a more general influence, but their publication, the first of its kind by a native English composer, paved the way for numerous successors. Blow's suites were the first to follow, in 1698, and were succeeded by two more

collections by immigrant composers (Dieupart in 1705 and G.B.Draghi in 1707) as well as several by natives such as Philip Hart (1702 and 1704) and Jeremiah Clarke (like Purcell, posthumously, 1711); indeed it was not long before, as music publishing became more widespread, sets of lessons were being published by the most minor figures. In addition the turn of the century saw a rapid increase in the amount of harpsichord music written by Purcell's contemporaries and successors, judging by the large number of manuscripts surviving from that period, and it seems likely that the success of Purcell's suites was a strong stimulus behind the sudden surge of interest in harpsichord music at about this time.

Chapter IV

BLOW`S HARPSICHORD MUSIC

Introduction

Second-rate works by first-rate composers are often given far more attention than first-rate works by second-rate composers, which are frequently neglected. Such is the case with many of Blow`s harpsichord pieces, which have generally fared less well with critics than any of Purcell`s, including some of the latter`s spurious ones. Whereas Purcell`s harpsichord music has frequently been reprinted and reappraised, that of Blow has received comparative neglect since Ernst Pauer published some of it in 1879 and Fuller-Maitland issued two volumes of it in 1921.[1] It is true that the six suites printed in Blow`s lifetime have been republished recently,[2]

1 Pauer ed./Composers, pp.71-108 (also published separately as Blow:Popular Pieces); Maitland ed./Contemporaries, vols. i and ii. Pauer edited harpsichord music of six "Old English Composers": Byrd, Bull, O.Gibbons, Blow, Purcell and Arne. The first three have been superseded by various volumes of Musica Britannica while Arne`s sonatas have appeared in a facsimile edition (Beechey and Dart ed./Arne); the Purcell volume is useful only for music withheld from the Purcell Society editors and considered by Ferguson to be spurious; but the volume devoted to Blow is still useful today and contains several fine pieces not published since.

2 See Ferguson ed./Blow.

as has his contribution to The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid,[3] but there has been very little attempt to "reassess" it or present an overall picture of his harpsichord output except in small sections of more general works either on the whole of Blow's output[4] or on early keyboard music.[5] Blow was undoubtedly a lesser composer than Purcell and yet if each were known only by their harpsichord music he would surely be regarded as at least Purcell's equal; and if their organ music were included too, Blow would certainly be considered the greater. Blow was as much a keyboard specialist as Bach, whereas Purcell was more of a dramatist, like Handel.

Sources

The full extent of Blow's harpsichord music has never been fully appreciated as, unlike the organ works, there is no complete edition of them (though such a collection would be well worth making, perhaps in some future volume of Musica Britannica). Ferguson does, however, indicate in his edition of the six suites the approximate total number, for in addition to the 21 pieces in these suites and four other

3 Dart ed./Hand-maid II.

4 For example, Clarke/Blow.

5 For example, Apel/Geschichte.

pieces in The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid, which represent the total of Blow's harpsichord music printed during his lifetime, Ferguson states that "at least twice as many more pieces survive in manuscript";[6] this is no exaggeration, even excluding doubtful and spurious pieces. Ferguson goes on to say that "it seems not unlikely that the published collections of 1698 and 1700 represent what the fifty-year-old composer wished to be preserved"; but the idea of his music being preserved for posterity seems a little anachronistic and Blow probably had much more practical reasons for publishing what he did---perhaps he thought these pieces would sell best or were more in line with current taste than some of his more learned grounds, which would anyway have been rather too long to be printed. There is no reason to suppose that he would have wished to disown or destroy what was not published, so that even if one cannot be certain that the manuscripts' texts are always reliable, the pieces contained in them must be considered as of as much importance as any of his printed music.

In order to obtain a complete picture of what survives of Blow's harpsichord music nothing less than a full list of

6 Ferguson ed./Blow, p.17.

all the works attributed to him or thought to be possibly by him is satisfactory. Clarke claimed to have "definitely established" 94 keyboard pieces as Blow's; but when one is working with music nearly 300 years old of which no autograph copies survive, one can scarcely ever be certain of the authenticity of the pieces concerned---certainly not with any that survive only in manuscript. The best that can be said of such music is that it can "reasonably be presumed" to be authentic, unless and until evidence is found suggesting it may not be: there appear to be 76 harpsichord pieces (plus 31 organ pieces) that can reasonably be presumed to be by Blow, as well as several others that may be by him.

The following list includes all the harpsichord music attributed to him in 18 manuscripts and four contemporary printed sources.[7] It groups the pieces according to keys, and sources where the music is anonymous are in parentheses; where only one movement of a suite is ascribed to Blow discretion has been used in determining whether the ascription is intended to apply to the whole suite or not, by consider-

7 The printed collections and manuscripts are referred to by the index number used in Appendices I and II. The initials on the right are of the most recent editor, in editions referred to already.

ing whether any other suites in the manuscript are known to be of composite authorship.

A mi. Almand (Bod.e.399,p12); (Fitz.52.B.7,p11)

Corant (Bod.e.399,p10); (Fitz.52.B.7,p15); Ch.Ch. 1179,p19; Add.52363,p31 FM
Saraband (Bod.e.399,p11); Add.52363,p32; MC.1.39 (j),f57
Jigg (Bod.e.399,p14); (Fitz.52.B.7,p58); Add.52363, p33

Almand 1698a,no.8; Add.31403,f53v HF

Corant 1698a,no.9; Add.31403,f53v HF

Saraband 1698a,no.10; Add.31403,f54 HF

Jigg 1698a,no.11; Add.31403,f54 HF

(Ayre) Ch.Ch.1179,p36 FM

C ma. Almand 1698a,no.12; Add.52363,p98; Ch.Ch.1179,p22; MC.1.39(j),f54v HF
Corant 1698a,no.13; Add.52363,p99; HF

Saraband 1698a,no.14; Add.52363,p100; Ch.Ch.1179, p20; 1689a,no.8 HF
Gavott 1698a,no.15; Add.52363,p100; Ch.Ch.1179,p18; 1689a,no.7 HF

Almand Ch.Ch.1179,p23 FM

Corant Ch.Ch.1179,p24 FM

Saraband Ch.Ch.1179,p22; 1689a,no.11 TD

English Air Add.22099,f5 FM

Minuet Add.22099,f5v

C ma. Prelude Add.34695,f3v EP

Prelude Add.22099,f10; (Ch.Ch.1177,f16v); (Fitz. 52.B.7,p18); RCM 2093,p43 FM

Hunting Almand Inglis 94,f55v; (fragment,Add.31403, f63v)

Chacone Inglis 94,f41v

Ground Ch.Ch.47,p58; Ch.Ch.1179,p28 FM

Ground, The Hays Add.22099,f10v; (Add.31403,f49v) FM

Ground MC.1.39(j),f56v

Trumpet Minuet (Inglis 94,f41); (MC.1.39(j),f41) doubtful

Preludio (Add.41205,f22v); (MC.1.39(j),f35v) spurious EP

(Corant) (Add.41205,f23) spurious EP

Fuga (Add.41205,f23v); (MC.1.39(j),f35) spurious EP

C mi. Saraband Add.31468,f19v

Almand Add.31468,f20v; Add.31467,f73,attr.Croft; doubtful FM

D ma. Almand Ch.Ch.1177,f36 FM

Almand Add.41205,f9; (Ch.Ch.1177,f26); (Add.31403, f58v) EP

(Ayre) (Add.41205,f8v) probably spurious EP

D ma. Almand Add.31465,f36v; Bod.d.219,p8"Bryne"; Drex. 5611,p144/5 "Bryan"
Corant Add.31465,f37v; Bod.d.219,p10 "Bryne"

Saraband Add.31465,f38v; Bod.d.219,p12 "Bryne"
All 3 movements spurious

D mi. Almand 1698a,no.1 HF

Untitled 1698a,no.2; Eg.2959,f12v HF

Tune 1698a,no.3; Eg.2959,f11v HF

Jigg 1698a,no.4; (1689a,no.2); Add.52363,p66 HF

Ground 1698a,no.5 HF

Untitled 1698a,no.6; Eg.2959,f12 HF

Minuet 1698a,no.7; Eg.2959,f12v; Add.52363,p65 HF

Almand 1700a,no.1; Add.52363,p174 HF

Corant 1700a,no.2; Eg.2959,f10v; Add.52363,p175 HF

Minuet 1700a,no.3; Add.52363,p177 HF

Almand (Add.31465,f44v); (Add.52363,p148): Ch.Ch. 1177,f34 FM
Corant (Add.31465,f45v)

Saraband (Add.31465,f46v); (Add.52363,p150)

Jigg (Add.31465,f47v); (Add.52363,p151)

Almand Eg.2959,f10 FM

(Saraband) Eg.2959,f11 FM

Untitled Ch.Ch.1003,f23v FM

D mi. Untitled Ch.Ch.1003,f25v

In D^b Ch.Ch.1179,p25 FM

Untitled (Ch.Ch.1003,f24v) doubtful

Untitled (Ch.Ch.1003,f25) doubtful

Theatre Tune 1689a,no.18 TD

Corant (1689a,no.22); Add.52363,p37, "Forcer" spurious TD

E mi. Almand Add.31468,f1; (Fitz.52.B.7,p67); Add.31467, f75v,attr.Croft; doubtful FM

Ground Add.31403,f46; Add.41205,f1; Inglis 94,f7v; Fitz.52.B.7,p50; (Bruss.15418,p141, incomplete) EP

F ma. Almand Inglis 94,f1v; (Rés.1186 bis I,f40)

Corant Inglis 94,f2v; (Fitz.52.B.7,p48)

Saraband Inglis 94,f3v; (Fitz.52.B.7,p48); R.d.54, f34v; Add.22099,f16,attr.Croft

Chacone Fitz.52.B.7,p42; Add.41205,f15v EP

G ma. Prelude (Add.52363,pp100 and 101) doubtful

Hunting Almand (Add.52363,p101); Add.31403,f56v; (Add.31465,f42v); (Rés.1186 bis I,f37); (Ch.Ch. 1179, p41, incomplete)

Corant Add.31403,f57; (Add.31465,f43v); Ch.Ch.1177, f38 FM

Gavott Add.31403,f57; (Rés.1186 bis I,f38)

Minuet (Add.52363,p103) doubtful

G ma. Almand Add.31465,f53v; (fragment,Ch.Ch.1177,f37)

Corant Add.31465,f54v; (Rés.1186 bis I,f37v)

Saraband Add.31465,f55; (Rés.1186 bis I,f37v)

Saraband Inglis 94,f40v

(Saraband) Add.22099,f17

Prelude Ch.Ch.1179,p37 FM

Prelude Ch.Ch.47,p56; (Add.31403,f50v); Ch.Ch.1003, f26v, incomplete WS

Prelude Add.34695,f22v EP

Morlake's Ground 1689a,no.23; Add.31403,f61v; Add. 31465,f31v; Ch.Ch.1177,f22; Rés.1186 bis I,f38v TD

Ground Add.41205,f19 EP

Ground Add.41205,f24; Add.34695,f23v; Ch.Ch.1179, p33 EP

G mi. Almand 1700b,no.1; Ch.Ch.1179,p26; (Add.31468, f3v); (Fitz.52.B.7,p24); (Rés.1186 bis I,f43v) HF

Saraband 1700b,no.2; (Add.31468,f4v) HF

Aire 1700b,no.3; (Fitz.52.B.7,p24) HF

Almand Add.52363,p45

Minuet Add.52363,p47

Ground Ch.Ch.1177,f20; Inglis 94,f50v; (Fitz. 52.B.7,p26) FM

G mi.	Chacone Add.41205,f13v; Fitz.52.B.7,p22; Ch.Ch. 1179,p27; (Add.31468,f5v)		EP
	Gavott 1689a,no.10; (Add.39569,f30)		TD
	Overture Fitz.52.B.7,p25		
	So tune (Inglis 94, f53v)	very doubtful	
	In G^b (Ch.Ch.1179,p25)	doubtful	FM.vi

Early Works

It is quite clear from the style of the music and the types of piece Blow wrote that nearly all the harpsichord pieces are original and idiomatic keyboard works, and not merely arrangements of airs and incidental music for the theatre, as is the case with so much of Purcell's harpsichord music (and of the harpsichord music of many of Blow's lesser contemporaries). It would be quite impossible to attempt to place Blow's harpsichord pieces in chronological order; but most of them were probably written by about 1690 and several are known to be considerably earlier, notably those that appear in manuscripts early enough for them to be attributed to "Mr.Blow", i.e. before he was awarded his doctorate on 10th December 1677.

These very early pieces include two in D minor found in

Ch.Ch.1003 (ff.23v and 25v) that use the style and patterns of dance movements but do not actually have dance titles. Of these two, the first was published by Fuller-Maitland with the title "Saraband",[8] but the other, in 6/4 time, is still unpublished. The two pieces are separated by two anonymous pieces, also in D minor, which might also be by Blow, but the resulting "suite" would be so unlike any others that one must presume the middle two pieces are not related to the other two. They appear to be related to each other, however, for the second one follows straight on from the first in the manuscript, and is at a slightly faster tempo, indicated by the time signature 𝅗𝅥 instead of 𝅵.

The two D minor pieces ascribed to Blow are relatively unimportant, but the incomplete prelude in G in the same manuscript (f.26v) is of rather more significance as it has been included amongst 30 verses and voluntaries for organ edited by Watkins Shaw.[9] The piece is found in two other manuscripts, in both cases untitled, and in overlooking Ch. Ch.1003 Shaw came to the conclusion that this piece was a

8 Maitland ed./Contemporaries, i.1.

9 Shaw ed./Blow, no.23. Reference is made to Ch.Ch.1003 only in the revised edition.

voluntary; it is clearly not a voluntary, however, but a typical Blow prelude, for nearly all other voluntaries of this period begin with a single note, and the remainder start with a closely-spaced semibreve chord, whereas this piece, like most Blow preludes, starts with a chord in one hand and running quavers in the other, before breaking into semi-quavers later in the piece. Thus it is no more of an organ piece than any other prelude by Blow or Purcell.

Grounds

The only other harpsichord piece known to date from before Blow's doctorate is a ground in C major.[10] This is ascribed to Dr.Blow in the source that Fuller-Maitland used (Ch.Ch.1179) but it appears in a different version in Ch.Ch. 47, attributed to "Mr.John Blow". After the opening statement of the ground harmonised in a fairly simple way, the piece consists of twelve variations, many of which contain patterned semiquaver runs whose style clearly derives from the virginalists of the early 17th century; in fact it bears many similarities to sets of variations by the virginalists, in its extended scope and restless motion and drive, far removed from the slow, steady grounds of Purcell and even further

[10] Maitland ed./Contemporaries, ii.17.

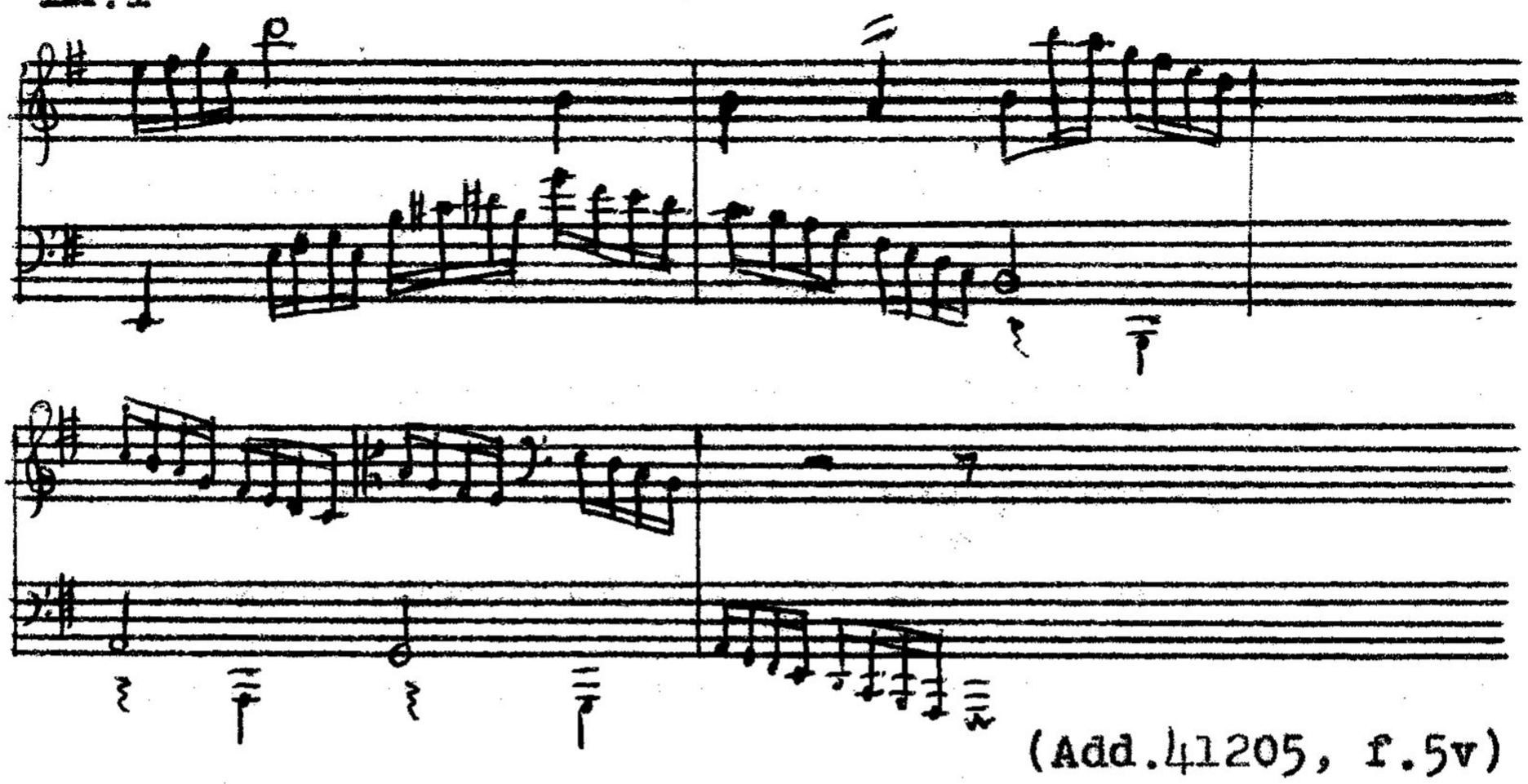
from the main type of harpsichord music of the period, namely the suite. The piece also has a section in triple time (12/4) shortly before the end, another feature derived from the virginalists. The theme of the ground itself has some unusual features: although the theme is basically two 4-bar phrases, the last bar of each statement becomes the first bar of the next, thereby increasing the rhythmic tension and producing 7-bar phrase-lengths. The theme is also unusual in that its half-way point is on D, not G, which produces imperfect cadences in the dominant and unexpected D major chords that contrast strongly with the overall C major tonality; this gives a sense of tonal uncertainty that is most unusual in grounds in general, and helps to give the piece a very distinctive flavour. The two versions of this ground, besides showing the normal minor differences of figuration in places, display important divergences of the type that are likely to spring from the composer; not only are the 7th and 8th variations of one manuscript placed in the reverse order in the other, but the 11th variations are very different, the one in Ch.Ch.1179, presumably the later version, being slightly longer and treating the ground in imitation that approaches genuine canon.

This ground is clearly a very early work from external

evidence, but in the case of Blow's other grounds no such evidence is available. On internal evidence, however, several others seem to be early too, for they are retrospective in technique and make use of similar patterned figuration and scale passages. An example of this is the magnificent ground in E minor,[11] which is the longest and most powerful of all Blow's keyboard grounds, with 28 variations on the initial 8-bar theme. This ground bass also does not stay in one key but modulates to the relative major in the third bar and only returns to the tonic at the corresponding place in the seventh bar. The size of the piece means that the build-up of intensity is slow, and semiquaver figuration is not introduced till the 14th variation; then after three variations in triple time (vars.19-21) the semiquaver figuration becomes more persistent and continuous, appearing in either right or left hand, and in the penultimate variation there is a very striking semiquaver scale from almost the top of the keyboard to the very bottom of it (Ex.1). Only in the final variation does the semiquaver movement cease for a while, though there is a flourish of demi-semiquavers near the end of it.

[11] Pauer ed./Composers, pp.90-99; see also Shaw/E minor and Dart/Edgeworth.

Ex.1



(Add.41205, f.5v)

Throughout the piece Blow makes no attempt to conceal the seams by overlapping the melody of the upper parts with the structure of the bass in the way that Purcell sometimes did, and the 4-bar phrase structure remains apparent throughout, but this nevertheless produces a strong rhythmic regularity and drive, the persistence of which has a cumulative effect on the tension which is only relaxed at the more subdued final variation.

Two other grounds, both in G major, appear in Pauer's edition. The first[12] appears in three manuscripts and is not entirely regular; it is based on a 5-bar theme but in some of the variations the last bar is shortened or overlaps with the

[12] op.cit., p.100.

first bar of the next statement, although the triple-time variation, which looks confusing because some duple time is used too, is really perfectly regular rhythmically. Though this piece employs some fast semiquaver passages it is not nearly as difficult to play as the other G major ground, unique to Add.41205, which makes use of so-called double thirds in semiquavers in the right hand, and later moves into virtuoso demi-semiquaver figuration; when it returns to semiquavers at var.9, the semiquaver movement consists of broken-chord figuration that contains several very wide leaps. The ground bass theme is one of Blow's simpler ones, being a straightforward 4-bar theme somewhat similar to the one used by Purcell (Z.645) but in duple time. Blow nevertheless writes some extraordinary chromaticism in the final variation (Ex.2), reminiscent of Continental "cromatica"

Ex.2



(Add.41205, f.20v)

variations such as the one by Froberger on the Mayerin melody.[13]

Blow's other grounds are more modern in style, if not in actual date. The G minor ground[14] may have been written about 1690, as all three sources are after that date. Beechey has shown that Inglis 94 dates from 1695,[15] the Fitzwilliam source dates from after 1713, and in the middle of the Christ Church copy, on f.19v, the words "How blest are sheperds how happy their" have been written and crossed out, with the G minor ground superimposed; the words are from an air in Purcell's King Arthur, of May 1691, so this part of Ch.Ch. 1177, and especially this ground, must have been copied out after that date. The ground is in a slow triple time and remains firmly in the tonic throughout; it is built on a regular 4-bar (or 8-bar) ground bass, and the running semi-quaver passages of some of Blow's other grounds are entirely absent. Again there are two significantly different versions: the Edinburgh version begins with the ground bass alone, followed by 13 variations, while the version in Ch.Ch.1177

13 DTÖ VI.11, p.17.

14 Maitland ed./Contemporaries, 11.14.

15 Beechey/Source.

omits the opening statement of the bass, like the Fitzwilliam version, but includes an extra variation instead. There are also the usual minor discrepancies of figuration and ornamentation between the versions which suggest that unless Blow wrote more than one version, none of the existing ones is very close to what he did write.

The ground known as "The Hays"[16] is the one with the simplest bass---just the four notes C F G C. Again it is in triple time and after a most innocuous opening it gradually becomes more complicated until the penultimate variation (as usual the most interesting), which makes use of fiendishly difficult semiquaver parallel sixths for the right hand while the left continues playing the simple 4-note bass line. Fuller-Maitland states that "it is impossible to find one uniform rate of speed for this piece" and suggests the speed should be slowed down during the course of it; but a speed of about ♩ = 84 would seem to be satisfactory throughout, and the resultant childish simplicity of the opening bars will thus heighten the dazzling virtuoso sections near the end.

The two versions of "The Hays" are even more divergent

[16] Maitland ed./Contemporaries, ii.23; the significance of the title is obscure.

than the versions of Blow`s other grounds; not only is the one in Add.31403 twelve bars longer than the one in Add.22099 (Fuller-Maitland`s version) but many of the variations are different or at least in a different order. The first two variations are approximately the same, as is var.4, but vars. 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8 of Add.22099 either do not appear at all or are found rather later in the piece in Add.31403, which has independent vars.3 and 5-8. Var.7 of Add.22099 corresponds to var.9 of 31403, and vars.9-13 correspond to 10-12 and 14-15 (var.13 being 22099`s var.3); var.16 of 31403 is unique and consists of parallel tenths, while the last three variations of both versions are approximately the same. The main difference in variations that appear in both manuscripts is that the single dotted minims of the left hand in 22099 are replaced in 31403 by an octave figuration that produces a note on each crotchet beat; this is especially important in the penultimate variation, for it shows that the performer was not meant to "cheat" by playing the parallel sixths with both hands and sustain the bass note only with the mind (or with the pedal(!) as Fuller-Maitland suggests). The version in Add.22099 is the shorter and simpler one, but the fact that it does contain some variations not found in Add.31403 suggests that it may well be an authentic revision of the

work by Blow himself, rather than a simplification or abridgment made by some copyist. (It may even be the original version of the ground, which Blow later expanded and reorganised, though the source of the shorter one is certainly later.) The other main effect of the differences is that 31403 introduces semiquaver scales earlier but has more interruptions of them by simpler material of the type found at the beginning of the piece, whereas 22099 has a more continuous development. 31403 also has a first- and second-time bar in the penultimate variation, which may indicate that all the variations are meant to be repeated.

Two of Blow's grounds were actually published during his lifetime, though one of them appeared only in an abridged version. This was the popular "Morlake's Ground", which is 80 bars long in The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid and Add.31465, but which has an extra 22 bars in Ch.Ch.1177, Rés. 1186 bis I and Add.31403, including a slow 4/4 section that reappears after a brief return to the previous triple time. Both versions have been printed in modern times, the longer one by Fuller-Maitland and the shorter one by Thurston Dart.[17]

[17] Maitland ed./Contemporaries, 1.18-21; Dart ed./Hand-maid II, no.23.

The other ground printed during Blow`s lifetime appeared as part of a suite in D minor in his A Choice Collection of Lessons (1698), and is not really a ground at all but an ayre or almand with variations. It is in the form A A_1B $B_1A_2A_3B_2B_3$, where A and B are 4-bar phrases which, if put together, would make a normal, though rather short, almand in binary form. The variations retain the same harmonic structure but also keep far closer to the original treble theme than is normal in grounds.

Chacones

In addition to his grounds, Blow wrote a few extended chacones. These must not be confused with the grounds themselves, for there appears to have been a clear, though small, difference between them in the case of Blow: grounds always retained the same bass line throughout, which might however be slightly varied or shortened as in the G major ground in Ch.Ch.1179, whereas chacones retained merely an ostinato bass, the actual notes of which could be completely altered, as well as the length and shape of each statement of it. Furthermore chacones were always in 3/4 time while grounds were more often in 4/4---only three of Blow`s nine are in triple time. The G minor chacone in Ch.Ch.1179 does in fact maintain a 4-bar phrase structure throughout, with a perfect

cadence at the end of every fourth bar, but the bass line changes several times during the course of the piece, which consists of eight 4-bar phrases with an instruction at the end to "repeat y^{e} first pt". There is, however, a longer version of this chacone found in three other manuscripts and printed by Pauer,[18] with a total of 22 statements plus a final chord, i.e. 89 bars altogether. The first nine statements are approximately the same as those in Ch.Ch.1179, but from the end of these onwards old-fashioned running semiquavers are introduced, and after another two variations the music changes to G major. Vars.15-20 have incessant semiquaver motion that contrasts with the calmer nature of the first half of the piece, and only in the final two statements, which are more or less identical, do the semiquavers give way to a dotted rhythm with strong suggestions of the minor. The conclusion is very similar to that of "Morlake`s Ground", where there are also hints of G minor and a similar chord structure.

Blow`s chacone in F is another extended, weighty movement, but while it maintains a basso ostinato effect throughout, it does not keep to a regular harmonic or

[18] Pauer ed./Composers, pp.74-77.

rhythmic structure. The first few phrases are of seven bars, but succeeding ones may be longer or shorter, may remain in F or modulate as far as E flat, and as usual they employ numerous different types of figuration. Although this figuration includes characteristic semiquaver scale passages, the overall style seems to be more modern than some of Blow's grounds, with distinct traces of the new Italian style, such as sequences of overlapping 7ths (bars 37-39) and occasional appearances of the diminished 7th chord.

Blow's C major chacone is unique to the Edinburgh manuscript; it is closer to a ground than either of Blow's other chacones and in effect contains 23 statements over a 4-bar bass line (a few of these statements have a written-out repeat). Some are not of the standard length, however---no.11 has only two bars while nos.16 and 19 have five bars and no. 23 has seven to give the effect of a harmonic rallentando at the end (Ex.3). In some statements, too, the theme modulates into a different key (e.g. no.3, where it goes to A minor)

Ex.3





(Inglis 94, f.45)

and in some near the end it is even abandoned altogether, leaving just a 4-bar (or 5-bar) rhythmic ostinato. It is these two latter features that distinguish it from Blow`s actual grounds.

Blow seems to have developed the form and style of the keyboard ground chiefly from the virginalists of the beginning of the 17th century, for keyboard grounds were very rare during the interim period. Even the few that do appear in early Restoration manuscripts, such as the two in Bod.d.219, are quite different from most of Blow`s: the first of these two consists simply of two 4-bar phrases and the second contains two 4-bar phrases followed by one variation of them ---thus they are of the same type as Blow`s D minor ground in his Choice Collection of 1698. It is probable, however, that these two grounds served merely as the basis for many variations which were improvised by the performer; moreover, improvised "divisions" on a ground bass were common practice for other instruments, notably the division viol and later the violin, in England during the 17th century. Written-out

divisions on a ground were sometimes published, too, during this period, for example in Christopher Simpson's Division Violist (1659) and editions of The Division Violin (from 1685) and The Division Flute (from 1708), and the style re-emerged on the keyboard with Blow in the form of written-out quasi-improvisations, which would naturally be more carefully worked out than those made up by the performer on the spot. The possibility of influence from abroad must also be considered, and the most likely source of this is Frescobaldi.[19] Although he died before Blow was born, it is certain that Blow knew and admired Frescobaldi's keyboard music for he incorporated extended extracts of two of Frescobaldi's toccatas in two of his own organ voluntaries; moreover a number of Frescobaldi's works appear in English manuscripts (Ch.Ch.1113 includes twenty) including partitas on standard ground basses such as the ruggiero. Thus Blow's grounds may be the result of a fusion of the techniques used by Frescobaldi, the English violists and the virginalists, and they stand in a rather isolated and unique position; grounds were relatively rare even in the virginalists' days, and Blow's

[19] Other Continental pieces that Blow was apparently familiar with are some by Froberger, Reutter and Fischer (see Dart/Edgeworth); but these include only one chaconne and they appeared to have been copied by Blow only near the end of his life.

were not followed by more than a handful of similar pieces (excluding chaconnes of the post-Handel period). Blow's grounds also tend to be more retrospective than those of his successors, for they share many features with those of Byrd and Bull, and "The Hays" is even strikingly similar to a piece on the same bass by Bull in RCM 2093,[20] the main difference being that Bull's is in 4/4 time.[21]

Preludes

One of the most remarkable features about Blow's suites is that although they contain the normal number of movements, usually three or four, not one appears to include a prelude. This is in marked contrast to those of Purcell, who wrote a prelude for seven of his eight published suites, and of some of his other contemporaries, such as G.B. Draghi, whose six suites published in 1707 all begin with a prelude. Instead of writing preludes to begin suites, Blow wrote a number of preludes as independent compositions, most of which are probably from the earlier part of his career. They resemble some preludes by Locke and Purcell in being non-contrapuntal,

20 Dart ed./Bull, 11.101.

21 For a further discussion of Blow's grounds see Shaw/Ground, which makes some pertinent comments but is based on inadequate information.

through-composed works, but they are generally longer and more substantial than those of either of these two composers; their most characteristic texture is one of running quavers or semiquavers in one hand accompanied by crotchet chords in the other, a texture that also obtains in some by Locke and Purcell.

The only one known to date from the 1670s is the G major one mentioned earlier, which must have become widely known quite quickly as it is ascribed to "Mr.Blow" in two manuscripts, though only the first 21 bars appear in Ch.Ch. 1003, with a space left for the remainder. The two preludes printed in Pauer's edition[22] also appear from their style to be early works, but the two edited by Fuller-Maitland[23] may be later; they are shorter and slightly less difficult than the other three, though external evidence suggests that both were written before 1690. It might be thought that Blow's preludes were intended as specimen preludes that could be used before any suite, but this is not actually the case, for several of them are in the same key while no preludes survive in many of the common keys, and furthermore these preludes

[22] Pauer ed./Composers, pp.71 and 85.

[23] Maitland ed./Contemporaries, ii.3 and 7.

never appear with suites in the manuscripts, but are always clearly independent pieces.

Suites

Blow's suites seem to span most of his career, but none can be dated more than very approximately. One of the earliest may well be a suite in A minor, the corant of which appears in Ch.Ch.1179 ascribed to Blow;[24] the corant, saraband and jigg appear together in Add.52363, where the heading "By Dr.Blow" is clearly intended to apply to all three movements. (Whenever a suite appears in this manuscript the name of the composer is only given once for the whole suite, usually at the beginning, and most of its ascriptions can be shown to be correct by means of concordances.) The only place where the whole of this suite is found is Bod.e.399, where the movements appear anonymously in the order corant, saraband, almand and jigg, the last piece being without title. Since all four movements are grouped together there can be little doubt that all are by Blow and that we have here a mostly unpublished, and rather fine, 4-movement suite. Bod.e. 399 has 18 pieces, all anonymous, on pp.1-21, and at the reverse end, in different hands, a prelude with the name

[24] Maitland ed./Contemporaries, ii.4.

"Jane Carr" (who may be its composer) underneath, followed by an anonymous piece, then violin arrangements of airs from Camilla, Thomyris (1708) and Rinaldo (1711) etc., and finally a "French Horn minuet". Inside the back cover of the manuscript (i.e. on f.49) appear the words "Elizabeth Nodes her Book August the 8th 1681", and also, reversed, "mrs beetsy nodes her book march the 10 1682". If these dates refer to the compilation or completion of the main body of the manuscript, as they would imply, then this suite by Blow is one of his earliest and cannot have been written many years after those pieces ascribed to "Mr Blow". (The other pieces in Bod. e.399 are of less interest, being mostly single dance movements of no great character, usually without title and not traceable to complete suites).

The almand of this A minor suite is of the slow, style brisé type moving mostly in semiquavers, and there is even some demi-semiquaver figuration in the penultimate bar, the tension having been built up harmonically in the preceding bar with the aid of a cross-relation between bass and treble. The corant has a quick crotchet beat and, unlike most corants, begins on the first beat of the bar, so it is not surprising that one manuscript, Fitz.52.B.7, gives it the title "Minuit". The saraband stands out above almost all

contemporary examples in England by using melodic repetition as a structural device: movements rarely had any melodic repetition at this time, even at the beginning of the two halves, but this saraband not only has the opening four bars transposed to the relative major at the start of the second part (adapted slightly to prevent it exceeding the compass of the keyboard), but also, after a fragment of imitation---this itself is extremely unusual in a saraband---has a recapitulation in the tonic of the opening material (Ex.4). Such

Ex.4



(Bod.e.399, p.11)

techniques put this saraband about half a century ahead of its time, for they were not used with any regularity until the days of Handel and Chilcot. Both sections of the jigg begin with brisk, imitative two-part counterpoint, but this soon gives way on each occasion to a free polyphony varying

between two and three voices. The almand, with only 15 bars, is considerably shorter than most of Blow's printed almands, which further suggests that this is an early work.

Two of Blow's strangest dance movements are his Hunting Almands, one in C and the other in G; both begin in exactly the same way but they continue as independent pieces. There must be some doubt whether the one in G is by Blow at all as it is anonymous in almost all its sources, but the one in C attributed to Blow in Inglis 94 is an arrangement of the "Dance by a Huntsman" in his Venus and Adonis. The G major hunting almand sometimes appears as part of a suite, but the movements that it accompanies are not the same in each manuscript, so it seems that when it is part of a suite this may be only a synthetic suite. In Add.52363 the almand appears on pp.101-2 as just an "Almand" between a prelude and a "Minuets", all three movements being anonymous; but in Add.31465 there is an anonymous suite (almand-corant-saraband) in G major (ff.39v-42) with the words "the hunting almand follows this suite" written in the margin at the end of the saraband. The hunting almand does indeed follow (f.42v), then a corant in the same key, which in Ch.Ch.1177 is ascribed to Blow, thus making a 5-movement "set" of two suites of which the second is by Blow. This 5-movement construction, however, was

probably designed by the copyist (Nicholas Harrison) and it seems unlikely that the anonymous first suite was also by Blow as it is never ascribed to him anywhere. In Add.31403 a 3-movement suite of hunting almand, corant and gavott may be found, with the name "Dr.Blowe" at the end of the gavott. Blow`s name is clearly intended to apply to the whole suite and so it can be deduced that Blow is the probable composer of the hunting almand (the corant is the same as the one in Add.31465 which is ascribed to Blow in Ch.Ch.1177). But this is insufficient evidence for deducing that all the pieces associated with the hunting almand---the prelude and minuet in Add.52363 and the first G major suite in Add.31465---are also by Blow, and they were probably composed by someone else. Just over half of the hunting almand appears at the end of Ch.Ch.1179, and the piece is also found in Rés.1186 bis I, where it is followed by a corant, saraband, gavott (all elsewhere ascribed to Blow) and Blow`s "Morlake`s Ground". Thus from its number of appearances one can deduce that this hunting almand was one of the most popular pieces of the day. Both hunting almands are characterised by a series of eight repeated crotchets (or quavers in some versions, where all the note-values are halved) on the tonic near the start, each of the eight being ornamented by a forefall which in some

copies is written out as , and there are also a few other distinctive features which justify the fanciful title.

Two other Blow suites that have not been printed are a G major one in Add.31465 and one in F major that appears at the beginning of Inglis 94. Both consist of just the three basic movements but it is possible (though unlikely) that there were more originally. A fragment of the G major almand appears anonymously on f.37 of Ch.Ch.1177, while the corant and saraband are grouped with the hunting almand in Rés.1186 bis I. The F major saraband appears in R.d.54 and is wrongly attributed to Croft in Add.22099; both the corant and saraband of this suite appear in Fitz.52.B.7, preceded by a different almand, but as most of the suites in this manuscript are of composite authorship there is no reason to suppose that this almand is also by Blow. Another 3-movement suite attributed to Blow in Add.31465 (f.36v) has been shown to be part of a 4-movement suite by Bryne.[25]

The second part of Ch.Ch.1179 (from p.18) is a rich source of Blow's harpsichord music composed before 1690. Although it does not include any clear suites, there are on pp.18-24 no fewer than six dance movements in C major by him,

[25] See Cooper/Bryne, p.143.

interspersed with movements in different keys or by different composers. Three of these six were later printed as part of a 4-movement suite in Blow`s Choice Collection (1698), but if the other three are juxtaposed they form a standard suite of almand, corant and saraband; although they are not found as such a suite in any source, they may have been written as one, with the order being jumbled up in Ch.Ch.1179. Fuller-Maitland came to the same conclusion that here were the components of two suites in the same key,[26] and although he was apparently unaware that the movements of his "Suite II" appeared together in the Choice Collection (which is why he prints them in the wrong order) he did nevertheless group together these three movements and printed the factitious almand, corant and saraband as his "Suite III".

A third suite in C was published by Pauer from Add. 41205 as a Prelude, Courante and Fugue,[27] but the pieces were clearly written as an almand, corant and jigg, for all are in binary form, the first and last movements are in 4/4 and 6/8 respectively, and the jigg, like so many other jiggs, is contrapuntal; neither preludes nor fugues were ever in binary

[26] Maitland ed./Contemporaries, i.7.

[27] Pauer ed./Composers, pp.106-8.

form in England, and no other suite from this period includes a fugue. This suite is, moreover, most unlikely to be authentic, as it is anonymous in the manuscript[28] and all three movements exhibit a much more modern style than any others of Blow; they are in the Italian vein, similar to English suites of the 1720s, and could hardly have been written in England before about 1710.

Another suite that cannot be fully authenticated is one in D minor, the almand of which is ascribed to Blow in Ch.Ch. 1177 and is printed by Fuller-Maitland,[29] who erroneously states it to be in Ch.Ch.1179. It is found anonymously in Add.52363 with the note-values doubled, and here it is followed by a saraband and jigg in the same key, though the corant is missing; however, the three movements, plus the missing corant, are found, again anonymously, in Add.31465, so this would appear to be another complete 4-movement suite by Blow which, appearing in more than one source, was clearly not just assembled by a single copyist.

There is also a rather remarkable suite in D minor in

[28] Blow's name has been added in pencil but this was probably done in the 19th century.

[29] Maitland ed./Contemporaries, 1.23.

Eg.2959 (ff.10-13), that consists of seven movements--- almand, corant, [saraband], [theatre tune], [rondo], [corant] and minuet. All are ascribed to Blow but although most of them can be proved to be his by concordances it is scarcely possible that he wrote them as a 7-movement suite. The 6th and 4th movements were printed as the 2nd and 3rd of the first suite in Blow`s Choice Collection, while the 5th and 7th appeared in the same publication as the 2nd and 3rd movements of the second suite; the 2nd movement of the Egerton suite was not published till two years later, when it appeared as the 2nd movement of Blow`s suite in A Choice Collection of Ayres (1700), while the almand and saraband are not known to have been published at all during Blow`s life-time. Thus what the compiler of Eg.2959 regarded as one suite Blow regarded as parts of no less than four, if one assumes that what was published represents the suites more or less as the composer wrote them.

But this latter point is far from certain; in fact very few of Blow`s suites can be regarded as completely unified, since so many of his movements can be found either isolated or in different groups in different sources. It is true that most can be grouped into self-contained suites by means of concordances, but whether they were originally composed as

such or even put together later by the composer is doubtful sometimes, and this Egerton suite in particular is probably not an authentic group. Presumably some suites were composed as units while this 7-movement one was assembled by the copyist, who, it must be noted, was careful to group together pieces only by one composer, and did not build up composite suites (as did William Babell, for example, in Add.39569). The Egerton copyist also grouped together five movements in C minor by Croft in a similar way to the seven by Blow, and his practice must be regarded as perfectly legitimate for there is evidence that Blow himself sometimes did something similar: three pieces by him that appeared singly in The Second Part of Musick`s Hand-maid later appeared as parts of suites in his Choice Collection. It is possible that Playford selected only certain movements from complete suites already written by Blow, but it is equally likely that the three pieces were not originally parts of suites and were only later incorporated into ones when Blow came to publish the collection of four suites. This latter possibility provides a more satisfactory explanation of why the construction of some of these, particularly the second, is slightly odd, and why the gavott and saraband at nos.7 and 8 in Musick`s Hand-maid appear in the reverse order in the Choice Collection.

Although only one of Blow's six suites published during his lifetime has a regular construction (the suite in A minor in his Choice Collection of Lessons) the others are more regular than would appear at first sight. The first two in the Choice Collection are in D minor and it might be thought these were really a single 7-movement suite consisting of Almand, [Corant], Tune, Jigg, Ground, [Rondo] and Minuet, especially as no title appears twice; but the title page states explicitly, "Containing four Sett's" (i.e. suites), even though the first two could be regarded as related. The second suite appears to be entirely irregular, but it has been shown already that the ground approximates to a short almand with variations, and the rondo is in a corant rhythm ---in fact one might expect to find the title "Corant Round O" attached to it; the third movement is a minuet, but could almost equally easily have been called a saraband instead, though its simple texture and lack of stress on the second beat indicate why it was not.

The almand of the first suite is a very well-constructed piece which gradually rises from its sombre opening to the top of the keyboard at the double bar, and it remains in the upper register for the remainder of the piece; such a construction is particularly appropriate for the first piece

in a collection. The third movement[30] is called just "Tune", but this probably indicates a theatre tune or a piece in that style, as do its runs of parallel thirds in the right hand; it is indeed reminiscent of some of Purcell`s song tunes, notably the one for "Shepherds, shepherds, leave decoying" in King Arthur. The jigg in the first suite appeared anonymously in The Second Part of Musick`s Hand-maid, and although there are no major differences between the two versions there are variants in every bar, the most important being the use of the written-out slide (♫) several times in the Choice Collection; this always appears in Musick's Hand-maid as either a slower slide (♫) or just the upper note.

The third suite has few outstanding features, but the corant begins with two bars of the right hand alone and later has a descending motif in the bass that recurs a total of four times. The jigg is unusual in being in 3/4 time, with quavers and semiquavers, instead of the more usual 6/8 or quick 6/4. The fourth suite is the earliest in style and the almand is short and simple in texture, with a dotted rhythm prevailing. The dotted rhythm is also prominent in the corant, which also has a fairly simple texture and no style brisé.

30 Ferguson ed./Blow, p.2.

The remaining two movements show the usual minor variants from their Musick's Hand-maid versions, though the gavott has rather fewer than the saraband. Two Blow suites were printed in 1700,[31] one in Young's A Choice Collection of Ayres and the other in The Second Book of the Harpsicord Master, issued by Walsh. The former, in D minor, has a fairly extended almand and corant, concluding with a quick minuet in which the opening motif appears several times, while the other suite, in G minor, omits the corant but includes a triple-time ayre after the saraband.

An overall assessment of Blow's suites shows them to be of sound craftsmanship and considerable imagination, though always well within the currently accepted conventions of suite composition, which they no doubt helped to formalise. Perhaps they show less overall variety than those of Purcell, and also lack quite the same melodic spontaneity that so many of the latter's movements possess; but this is counter-balanced by a more idiomatic style---hardly any of Blow's suite movements were, or even could have been, written for anything other than the keyboard, unless in a very different version from those that survive. On the whole Blow's suites

[31] ibid., pp.12-16.

seem to have been less popular than Purcell's, certainly by the 1700s, for although they are often plentiful in earlier manuscripts such as Ch.Ch.1179, some early 18th-century sources are conspicuously lacking in Blow's music, notably the Babell manuscripts, Ten.1508 and Add.39569; the latter, in over 200 pieces, contains only one by Blow---the "Gavot in Gamut" from Musick's Hand-maid---and even that is anonymous in the manuscript. (Babell, however, was of French descent, with decidedly French tastes, and this may be the main reason for the lack of Blow's music, which was mostly written in the "coarser" English style.)

Blow's suites are more numerous than Purcell's: a dozen more or less complete ones are listed above and probably there were several others of which only one or two movements survive. Many movements that appear singly in one source can be traced to complete suites in others and there seems no reason why this should not be true of similar movements where the rest of the suite now appears to be lost; for example a saraband and almand in C minor that appear in Add.31468 may be two movements from a single suite of which the rest is missing or unidentified,[32] and if the same procedure can be

[32] There is, however, some doubt about the authorship of the C minor almand, as also of the E minor almand in the same manuscript (see Chapter V).

applied to other single movements the number of suites Blow wrote may easily be as high as twenty.

Other Works

In addition to his grounds, preludes and suites there survives a handful of disparate single movements by Blow of relatively little importance, some of which are probably only arrangements of theatre or court music. The "Gavot in Gamut" is one, and the overture in Fitz.52.B.7 is almost certainly another, for although keyboard overtures were being written at a slightly later date, in Blow's time they all seem to have been arrangements and those by Purcell in this manuscript have been identified as such. The various minuets and ayres, etc., which may also be unauthentic as keyboard works, are short, conventional pieces with no distinctive features calling for special comment, and are quite trivial compared with the rest of his keyboard output. They normally have a regular phrase structure, simple texture and straightforward harmonic progressions.

A number of works have been wrongly ascribed to Blow at different times. As well as the suite in D in Add.31465 (written by Bryne) and the "Prelude, Corant and Fugue", both mentioned above, there is a group of three pieces published by Pauer under the general title "Almand" that come into this

category:[33] the three pieces were taken from Add.41205, where all are anonymous, but as they are followed in this manuscript by a piece ascribed to Blow, Pauer assumed that this ascription applied to these three pieces too. The first can be identified as an almand by Robert King which appears in several sources and has been printed as such by Fuller-Maitland;[34] the second is a minuet in A by Barrett[35] from his incidental music to The Pilgrim, and also appeare in numerous manuscripts; the third is as yet unidentified but there is no reason to suppose it was written by Blow.

The other piece now known to be spurious is a corant in D minor that appeared anonymously in The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid (no.22). It was attributed to Blow by Stafford Smith and subsequently by Fuller-Maitland,[36] but it

[33] Pauer ed./Composers, pp.87-88.

[34] Maitland ed./Contemporaries, vi.4. Fuller-Maitland mentions Pauer's ascription of this piece to Blow and adds, "but as he gives no authority here or elsewhere, it is impossible to say whether another MS. exists in which it is ascribed to Blow". This is not so, for Pauer states in his introduction (omitted from the separately published Blow: Popular pieces) that his sources are MSS in the possession of a Mr.Barrett and Dr.Westbrook, and these can be identified as Adds.41205 and 34695 respectively.

[35] Maitland ed./Contemporaries, vii.23.

[36] ibid., ii.13.

is part of a suite in D minor ascribed to Francis Forcer in Add.52363, a generally reliable manuscript; although the suite appears in Add.31403 with a different corant, there is no reason to doubt the ascription.

Harmonic Practice

As a concluding note on Blow's harpsichord music something must be said about his harmonic techniques, which have undergone careful consideration since Burney referred to some of them as "crudities" in his History of Music.[37] Blow's harpsichord music is relatively free from very bold harmonic progressions (which must, however, be regarded as not untypical of much English music at this time and gave it a unique flavour before the Italian style took over); but simultaneous cross-relations, for example, do occur, although even these are not normally of the "percussive" type (i.e. one note is generally sounded before the other and sustained through it, rather than both being struck, or rather plucked, simultaneously). Other so-called crudities do appear, too, including consecutive fifths or octaves (e.g. 1698a, suite I, corant, bar 3 and "Morlake's Ground", bar 29), simultaneous suspensions and resolutions ("Morlake's Ground", bar 37),

[37] Mercer ed./Burney, ii.353.

unresolved dissonances (1698a, suite III, almand, bar 3), and the rather remarkable repeated unresolved seconds near the end of the G minor ground.

But all the harpsichord music has a clear underlying sense of tonality; this is not as strong as in the 18th century, but there is never much doubt about what key any piece or even section of a piece is in, and there is never the sense of tonal instability and freedom that is so remarkable in many of his organ voluntaries. Blow`s harpsichord music is, indeed, some of the finest of its period, and a really thorough study of it, together with a complete edition, would be amply justified.

Chapter V

THE TURN OF THE 18TH CENTURY

Clarke, Croft, Hart: The Generation of the 1670s

Purcell and Blow were undoubtedly the leading harpsichord composers of the 1680s and 1690s, but round about the time of Purcell's death a whole new school of composers sprang up whose music rapidly found its way into a remarkably large number of manuscripts and printed editions in the early years of the 18th century. Most of them were born in the 1670s or else are so obscure that their dates of birth cannot be accurately estimated, and although this is only a decade before Handel they have much more in common with Purcell, being the last group of English composers to write suites in the French style. They are mostly of relatively little importance, but three composers of this school stand out from the rest---Jeremiah Clarke (c.1673-1707), William Croft (1678-1727) and Philip Hart (c.1673-1749). Even though their harpsichord music was not to exert any influence over their successors it is still worthy of attention.

Clarke's most outstanding gifts lay in the composition of trumpet tunes, most of which were probably written for ceremonial occasions at the English court of William III and Queen Anne or for members of the court, and they include a

"King William`s March" (Add.22099, f.7v) and "The Prince of Denmark`s March", written for Queen Anne`s consort. But other trumpet tunes were written for the theatre, while some may be original harpsichord compositions. Whether the harpsichord or trumpet versions normally came first is a very debatable point, and one which would probably not have bothered Clarke:[1] it seems he would have been quite happy for his trumpet tunes to be arranged for harpsichord or those that were written for that instrument to be played on the trumpet, and he may have designed the tunes specially so that they could be played either way. Another acceptable way would be for trumpet and harpsichord to play in consort, just as Playford`s Musicks Hand-maide was designed for an optional violin. "The Prince of Denmark`s March" first appeared as a harpsichord piece, while Clarke`s trumpet tune in D formerly ascribed to Purcell (Bod.e.397, p.32) originated in his music to The Island Princess.[2] Many of the trumpet tunes may have been written for John Shore, the virtuoso trumpeter for whom some of Handel`s trumpet parts were written, and one of Clarke`s pieces is actually called "Shore`s Trumpet", though this

[1] See Taylor/Clarke for a discussion of this problem.

[2] See Halfpenny/Clarke and above, Chapter III.

could refer to John's brother William or his father Mathias, who were also trumpeters.[3]

Of the six Clarke pieces in A Choice Collection of Ayres published by Young in 1700 (the six pieces also appeared in the same year in The Second Book of the Harpsicord Master) three are in C major and three in D major, but they do not form suites in the normal sense for they are all ceremonial pieces except perhaps the Ayre in C; of the other five, three are marches and all five have trumpet-type melodies that use mainly just the notes that were possible on that instrument.

Clarke's contribution to The Third Book of the Harpsicord Master (1702) which, unlike the second book, is described on the title-page as a collection of "Song tunes and Town Ayres", does not appear to be original harpsichord music; his four pieces in F minor are taken from his music to All for the Better, and the other four seem to be theatre tunes too. A slightly later publication of Clarke's harpsichord music, and the last to appear during his lifetime, was The Lady's Banquet (1704), which also contains music by several other composers. Clarke's contribution to this is even more diverse

[3] John Shore is best remembered today as the inventor of the tuning-fork, and in addition to being Sergeant Trumpeter to the Court he was a skilled lutenist.

than to the Harpsicord Master, being a series of seven different types of piece (e.g. jigg, cibell and Scotch tune) in various keys, all major. Most of the seven can be found in several contemporary manuscripts (not always just keyboard ones) and again they may be only arrangements; one is another trumpet tune, "Prince Eugene's March", which was once ascribed to Purcell (Z.S120), while the last of the seven, "King James's Farewell", is marked "Very Slow" and makes use of a lower pitch range than usual, with the right hand written in the C clef throughout, though the piece appears a fourth higher in Add.47846.

Clarke's deliberate cultivation of trumpet tunes and marches is curious and seems to show a fondness on his part for pomp and ceremony, as do his numerous references in his titles to members of the English and foreign royal families. It might be thought that such pieces were written simply as part of his duties as a court composer, but this is not an adequate explanation for their existence; no other English composer published harpsichord music of this type (apart from one or two examples by Croft) and it is doubtful if such pieces were written by most other court composers, who concentrated far more on birthday odes etc. Trumpet tunes for the harpsichord, it is true, were commonplace, and bearing in mind

the widespread transfer of instrumental idiom in the Baroque, they are unlikely all to have been just arrangements; but Clarke`s trumpet tunes, whether written or arranged for harpsichord, show a degree of melodic imagination that only rarely is matched in those of his contemporaries. Although the melodies themselves are often noteworthy, however, these pieces remain simple in design; most are in binary form, but some, including "The Prince of Denmark`s March", are in rondo form while the "Trumpet Minnuett" in C has cibell-like interludes for the left hand alone.

Thus when Clarke died in 1707 his published harpsichord music consisted mainly of marches and trumpet tunes; but several ordinary suites of his were by then known in manuscript versions and in 1711 the publishers King, Walsh and Hare issued a volume of Choice Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinett, being the works of the late famous Mr.Jeremiah Clarke. Lest anyone should doubt the accuracy or authenticity of these pieces, the publishers added on the title page, "Carefully corrected by himself. Being what he design`d to publish", and although it is possible that this was mere salesmanship, one must for lack of any contrary evidence accept their claim. The pieces are grouped into six more or less regular suites, though they are not called such; each

suite begins with an almand except the first, where the almand is preceded by a ground, and they vary in length from three to seven movements. Five of the six suites have been edited by Fuller-Maitland,[4] though the last one lacks the final movement in this edition; the missing suite, no.V in C, is the longest, consisting of an almand, corant, jigg, entry, corant, minuet and "Donawert March". Even when writing suites Clarke could not resist the temptation to include marches, and the suites in C and D major (the only two keys in which he wrote such pieces, being the two "trumpet" keys) both conclude with a march, the latter having "The Duke of Marlborough`s March".

Clarke was not nearly as notable for his grounds as Blow, and the one in G that begins this collection is not as interesting (or as long) as most of Blow`s; it remains firmly rooted in the tonic throughout, with only one chromatic note in the whole piece, and when semiquavers are introduced in the 5th and 6th variations they are more repetitious than the old-fashioned scale patterns of Blow. Unlike Blow, Clarke makes the 9th variation (out of 12) the most interesting,[5] consisting of broken-chord figuration in semiquavers (Ex.1).

4 Maitland ed./Contemporaries, vol.v.

5 For no obvious reason vars.11 and 12 are omitted in Maitland ed./Contemporaries.

Ex.1



(1711a, p.3)

The suites in Clarke`s Choice Lessons have a clearer and stronger sense of tonality than most of Blow`s, and are generally more modern harmonically, but they are still unmistakeably in the French style, with frequent use of style brisé and also a particular form of this that had long been in use in England---the device of playing chords with the right hand half a beat behind the left. Clarke`s suite melodies are not as outstanding as those of his trumpet tunes, but some are quite memorable, such as the minuet in G. As with Blow, none of Clarke`s suites contains a prelude, but the general diversification of suite construction that was taking place both in England and on the Continent can be seen by the fact that only one of Clarke`s published suites (no.III in B minor) has just the three standard movements: all the others have some other movement---often a minuet---and all but one are

longer, although there is an A minor suite in Add.31465 (ff. 48v-50v) which also has just the three basic movements.

Nearly all the other Clarke pieces that appear in contemporary manuscripts are ones that were also printed, the most notable exception being a chacone in C major found in MC.1.39(j), f.54, Fitz.52.B.7, p.4 and Add.31465, f.55v. This is based on a descending bass line of four bars in triple time and it makes use of some semiquaver runs but is otherwise more modern than Blow. After the opening 60 bars there is a slower, 3/2 section of 16 bars in the minor before the music returns to the major for a 2-bar coda; thus its construction reverses that of Blow`s G minor chacone, the second half of which is in the major, with a return to the minor at the end.

A manuscript in Tenbury (Ten.784) contains an Adagio, Allegro and Minuet in B flat, attributed to "Clark" at the end of the piece and in the index; this is expanded to "Jeremiah Clarke" in the catalogue, but the piece, like the others in this manuscript, is in a much later style approaching the galant, and is clearly not the work of the composer renowned for his trumpet tunes. Another Jeremiah Clarke was organist at Birmingham about the middle of the 18th century, and must not be confused with his more famous namesake; the piece in question may be by him, though it is not impossible that the

catalogue is incorrect and that it was written by yet another Clark, for there were one or two others at that time. Another piece about which there is some doubt appeared in The Compleat Tutor for the Harpsichord or Spinnet (C.& S. Thompson, c.1770). This publication is partly derived from an earlier tutor, Prelleur's Modern Musick Master, but most of the pieces are different; one of those in The Compleat Tutor is "A Ground by I. Clarke" (I. was often used meaning J.), but there is nothing in the style that suggests it must have been written after 1707; furthermore a different version of the piece, with only 12 variations, the last four of which are in triple time, exists in Fitz.52.B.7, pp.7-8, immediately following three other pieces in the same key by Jeremiah Clarke. Thus there is every reason to believe that this piece is genuine, in which case it was his first new harpsichord piece to be published after the Choice Lessons of 1711, and it shows how long after his death he was admired and respected as a composer.

William Croft (or Crofts) was not given the honour of a collection devoted entirely to his suites during his lifetime or shortly after his death, unlike Purcell, Blow and Clarke, and the only harpsichord music that he saw published appeared in four anthologies---the second and third books of The Harpsicord Master, Young's Choice Collection of Ayres and The

Lady`s Banquet.[6] All had appeared by the time he reached the age of 26, and judging by their style the pieces not printed could not have been written long after that, for although Croft lived well into the Handel era, all his suites with one possible exception are in the French style, which by 1715 was out of date and out of fashion.

Only relatively few manuscripts contain any of his harpsichord music, which suggests that much of it only became known about 1710 and thus avoided the many manuscripts written c.1700-1705. But of those manuscripts that do contain his suites some are very rich sources, notably Eg.2959, Fitz. 52.B.7 and especially Add.31467, the latter containing over 40 of his 70 or so surviving harpsichord pieces. Although this manuscript is a rather late source, dating from 1735, most of the Croft pieces in it can be found in earlier ones, and its texts seem generally reliable. The best modern source for Croft`s harpsichord music is still Fuller-Maitland`s two volumes of it,[7] for although it is much less reliable than the most modern editions, the mere extent of it guarantees a more

6 A total of 18 pieces, three of which appeared twice; the four pieces in The Third Book of the Harpsicord Master and five in The Lady`s Banquet are probably only arrangements.

7 Maitland ed./Contemporaries, vols. iii and iv.

accurate overall picture of Croft`s harpsichord style than the few recent editions containing single suites or pieces.

Much of Croft`s harpsichord music is similar to that of Clarke, for it tends to be more modern than Blow`s especially from the point of view of harmonic progression and sureness of tonality. Croft is clearly more modern than Blow also in his choice of keys; whereas nearly all Blow`s suites are in C or G major, or A or D minor, Croft ventures as far as E flat, A and E major, and B minor, with several suites in C minor. While this is not the first appearance of any of these keys in English harpsichord music (there is even a piece in E major by a composer as early as Hugh Facy in Drex.5611), the regular use of keys with so many accidentals would not have been attempted before about 1700, and two of these keys (E and E flat) are actually marked as rarely used in Gottfried Keller`s A compleat method for attaining to play upon a thorough bass of 1707. Croft`s almands also show an up-to-date style, for they are almost all of the slow type with the semiquaver as the shortest note normally encountered, and there are no old-fashioned, quick almands in crotchets and quavers; one in D minor in Fitz.52.B.7 is actually marked "slow" in the manuscript, as is the saraband in the same suite.[8] Sarabands were

[8] Published in Ferguson ed./Early, ii.54.

originally in quick time, and all those of the Restoration period up to Blow and Purcell should be played as such, but the slow saraband, of Italian derivation, reached England around 1700, and there is some evidence that sarabands became gradually slower during the period 1680-1720. Most of Croft`s almands have the by now rather stereotyped opening rhythm , in which the semiquavers are often dotted, but an exception is the almand in E major (the first movement of Fuller-Maitland`s "Suite VI"); this is in a quite different style from Croft`s other almands, bordering on the Italian, and its more modern style suggests it may be one of his latest harpsichord pieces; this stylistic evidence is supported by the fact that both the manuscripts in which it occurs (Fitz. 52.B.7 and Add.31467) date from after Croft`s doctorate, even though three other movements of the same suite are found in an earlier manuscript (Rés.1186 bis I).

The construction of Croft`s suites is rather conservative, for contrary to the modern tendency for suites of five or six movements, none of his can definitely be said to have more than four and many have just the three basic movements that had been normal since the Commonwealth; indeed two suites in Add.31467 have only two movements---a ground and a minuet ---but this construction may have been devised by the copyist,

for it is not found in any other source. The form of one of these grounds, in G major (f.64v), is like Clarke`s chacone in C, for after several variations in 3/4 there is a section marked "Largo" in G minor and 3/2 time,[9] and the piece ends with an instruction to play the first strain of the "flat" part. (Both parts of the ground appear in Fitz.52.B.7, but only the major section is in Add.17853.) Unlike Blow`s G minor chacone mentioned earlier (p.142), where both sections are of approximately the same length, Croft`s major section is much longer than the minor one.

As with Blow and Purcell, some of Croft`s suites are not entirely indivisible units for several movements---chiefly those in C minor---recur in more than one suite. The various ways in which movements in this key are grouped in different sources needs some clarification, and in this case it is most satisfactory to relate them to Fuller-Maitland`s edition,[10] for ease of reference, for greater clarity and because this is the only place where all the relevant movements can be found. Fuller-Maitland publishes four "suites" in C minor,

9 This is listed in the catalogue as a separate piece: see Hughes-Hughes/Catalogue, iii.117.

10 Maitland ed./Contemporaries, vols. iii and iv.

which he numbers I, III, IX and XII. No.III has three movements and the others have four; these fifteen movements are grouped in the following ways in the various sources:

1700a:	I.i-iv. IX.iv (in D minor).
1700b:	I.i, iii, iv, XII.iv.
Eg.2959:	III.i, I.i, III.iii, III.ii, I.ii.
Add.22099:	I.iv (attributed to Hall).
Add.31465:	I.ii.
Add.31467:	I.i, I.iv, XII.iv. III.i (followed by Clarke's C minor suite). IX.i-iv (followed by Purcell's ground, Z.T681, attrib. Croft). XII.i-iii, with instruction to turn to XII.iv.
Add.31468:	IX.ii (attrib. Blow).
Add.52363:	I.i-iv.
Fitz.52.B.7:	XII.i, iii, ii. IX.i. III.i, IX.ii plus an anonymous corant.
Rés.1186 bis I:	III.i.

The variant groupings between different sources are clearly not due entirely to the whims of various copyists, for there are even two published versions of Suite I. But it can be seen that although there is some authority for Fuller-Maitland's suites I, IX and XII, his "suite III" is factitious

and consists of the ground formerly attributed to Purcell, followed by a so-called almand which is untitled in its only source, and a corant. The so-called almand was probably originally called "Cibell Round O"---at least this is what it is: the piece is in a straightforward rondo form, with the refrain consisting of two bars for both hands and two bars of cibell-like interlude for the left hand alone.

Another suite that varies in construction in different manuscripts is the E major suite, for in Add.31467 (Fuller-Maitland`s source) there are just the three basic movements, but in Rés.1186 bis I the almand is missing and the corant and saraband appear anonymously together with a jigg. In Fitz. 52.B.7 there is on p.112 an anonymous piece in E major in a chordal, rather Italian, style, marked "Slow", with a note at the end of it saying "Turn to y^{e} 2 Part Page y^{e} 60"; on p.60 is found the almand, called simply "Allegro", followed by the corant, saraband and the jigg found in Rés.1186 bis I, all four movements being ascribed to "Dr.Croft". Thus if this manuscript is to be relied on, this is really a 5-movement suite beginning with an Italianate Adagio, followed by a movement marked "Allegro", a corant, slow saraband in 3/2 time and a jigg which also shows Italian traits---the whole work, therefore, is paradoxically a French suite, mainly Italian in

style and, because of the prelude, English in structure.

Not many other Croft suites begin with a prelude, and those that do tend to have the Locke/Purcell type rather than the old-fashioned Blow type with running semiquavers predominating. The texture may be quite varied, as in the E minor prelude (Add.31467, f.75),[11] which is, unusually, in 3/4 time, and there may be snatches of imitation between the two hands, though the pieces never reach the contrapuntal complexity of the preludes to Purcell's 3rd or 5th suites and there is certainly less variety between Croft's four preludes (including a C major one that does not appear to be part of a suite) than there is between Purcell's.

A feature that appears in a few of Croft's suites which was otherwise almost unknown in England is that of thematically relating the beginning of the almand and the corant (or occasionally the almand and the saraband). This occurs too often to be attributable to mere chance, and is most striking in the B minor and E flat major suites (Add.31467, ff.60 and 71v).[12] It was not a new idea, for whole variation suites were common in Germany in the first half of the 17th century and

[11] Maitland ed./Contemporaries, vol.iv, suite X.i.

[12] ibid., vols.iii and iv, suites V and VIII.

Froberger`s almands and corants[13] were often thematically related, but whether Croft knew of this precedent and deliberately followed it is doubtful; he may have invented the idea independently or even have written such movements almost instinctively. One must also remember that the themes of these dance movements had become somewhat stereotyped by this time, so that the corant in E minor in Add.31467, f.76,[14] for example, could be regarded as thematically related to several totally unconnected almands (such as Croft`s own in A major and E flat major, Bryne`s A minor one in Bod.d.219 and Blow`s D minor one in the Choice Collection of Ayres), and it is almost just by chance that the almand in the same suite does not have the same type of theme. Croft`s sarabands are generally more modern than those of the previous generation in that they rarely begin with the characteristic three repeated crotchet chords in the right hand, and never with the equally old-fashioned rhythmic figure ♩♩.♪|♩ .

Two almands ascribed to Croft in Add.31467---the C minor one on f.73 and the E minor one on f.75v---appear in Add.31468 on f.20v and f.1 respectively, both ascribed to Blow. This

13 DTÖ VI.11.

14 Maitland ed./Contemporaries,vol.iv, suite X.iii.

has been overlooked by most previous commentators, and the two pieces have generally been accepted unquestioningly as Croft's ever since they were published as his in the Fuller-Matiland edition.[15] Normally when a piece is ascribed to two different composers the evidence for one is much stronger, but with these two almands the evidence for Blow and Croft is remarkably evenly balanced. The evidence for Croft's authorship is based on the fact that both movements are ascribed to him in Add.31467, where they appear along with many other authentic movements by him; in addition they both appear in Fitz.52.B.7, and although they are both anonymous in this source (with Croft's name added in a modern hand) they appear amongst a group of other anonymous pieces known to be by him. In fact in both these sources the two almands are not merely grouped with other Croft pieces but actually form parts of complete suites attributed to him, and there is no evidence that any of the other movements in these suites are by Blow. Furthermore Add.31468 cannot date from before about 1700 for it includes one authentic Croft almand (in A major) actually ascribed to him. As for the music itself, the almands are in keys that Blow hardly ever used in his keyboard music, whereas

[15] ibid., iv.10 and 14.

Croft seems to have been particularly fond of them, for no fewer than six of the twelve suites in the Fuller-Maitland edition are in C minor or E minor.

On the other hand Add.31467 is a relatively late manuscript (1735) and does contain some inaccuracies: Purcell's ground, Z.T681, is ascribed to Croft and Clarke's C minor suite was originally, too, though this has been corrected in the same hand. Add.31468 is certainly an early source, for it uses a six-line stave, which was generally replaced by the five-line stave about 1700.[16] The only definite Croft piece in it is the last one at the reverse end, which may well be the last one to have been copied into the manuscript: while the end of the manuscript may not be too early for Croft, one of the doubtful pieces is the very first in the manuscript, which is not only that much earlier (though the handwriting is not significantly different) but also a less likely place to find a piece by a young composer. There are, moreover, many other pieces by Blow in this manuscript, including a saraband in C minor which is not in Croft's style and which may belong with

16 The Second Book of the Harpsicord Master (1700) still uses a six-line stave but the Third Book (1702) emphasises that the music is "now plac'd on five lines, it being now the Generall way of Practice".

the almand in the same key. Although the style of the doubtful pieces is similar both to late Blow and early Croft, the length (each is 21 bars) is more typical of Blow: three D minor almands by Blow that all seem relatively late---no.1 in his Choice Collection of Lessons (1698), the one in the Choice Collection of Ayres (1700) and one in Ch.Ch.1177, f.34[17]--- contain 21, 19 and 22 bars respectively, while none of the Croft almands that are known to be early[18] has more than 17 bars.

As the evidence is so evenly matched there is little point in trying to guess which composer is more likely to be the true author and it is much more useful to consider the implications of both possibilities. If the two pieces are by Croft then they are without doubt two of his earliest, and the other movements associated with the two almands probably have similarly early dates. The pieces would have emanated from the Blow/Croft circle connected with the Chapel Royal, and wrongly been assumed by William Davis, the Add.31468 copyist, to have been composed by the more famous man rather

17 Ferguson ed./Blow, pp.1 and 12, and Maitland ed./Contemporaries, 1.23, respectively.

18 Maitland ed./Contemporaries, iii.2, 6, 15 and 18.

than his pupil. If, however, the two pieces are really Blow`s, then Croft completed suites by adding his own movements to borrowed almands (unless the groupings in Fitz.52.B.7 and Add. 31467 are spurious), but borrowed two of Blow`s lesser-known ones rather than any of his published examples. Neither conclusion seems very likely, but each is plausible.

One further piece of evidence indirectly implies that the two pieces are by Blow. In Add.31467, f.68, is a ground in A minor attributed to Croft, which is basically the same as the ground by Snow published in The Second Part of Musick`s Hand-maid, though several variations have been added and the last eight bars of the printed version are missing; one must infer that either Croft adapted Snow`s ground, or more likely both versions of the ground are really by Snow (like the two versions of Blow`s "The Hay`s") and one became misattributed in Add.31467. If the latter is true it seems likely that the Add.31467 copyist used a source which included many pieces ascribed to Croft, several anonymous pieces by Croft and some more anonymous ones by other composers, including Snow`s ground, Blow`s two disputed almands, Purcell`s ground, Z.T681, and Clarke`s C minor suite, all of which he wrongly assumed to be by Croft too (though he discovered his mistake in the case of Clarke`s suite). Fitz.52.B.7 fits this description

almost exactly, containing all these pieces; thus even if Add. 31467 was not partly copied directly from this there may well have been a lost intermediate source relating these two manuscripts, which would account for all the inaccurate ascriptions in Add.31467.

Croft`s numerous suites undoubtedly form the most important section of his harpsichord output but a general assessment of it must take into account the various grounds, marches, airs and minuets that he composed as well. His grounds are not as long or as numerous as Blow`s, but although they are much more modern and lighter in style (see, for example, the A major ground in Add.31467, f.66v---Maitland ed./Contemporaries, iv.1---which is far removed from any of Blow`s), they represent the most important attempt to follow the tradition of keyboard grounds that Blow had set up. Croft`s airs and marches etc., lack the outstanding melodic qualities of Clarke`s, but again they are well written and do justice to the composer`s diversity of talent; most of them, however, are probably only arrangements, particularly those in The Third Book of the Harpsicord Master and The Lady`s Banquet, some of which bear titles like "Song tune" and "Scotch tune in the funeral".[19] Croft was the most outstanding

[19] The Funeral was a play (1701) for which Croft wrote some incidental music.

of Blow`s immediate successors in the field of harpsichord music, even if he could not quite match up to Blow himself in the power and intensity of the latter`s grounds, or his rich harmonic vocabulary. Croft was perhaps a better imitator than innovator, as can be seen in his excellent C minor ground, but he was one of very few English composers to bridge the gap between the French and Italian types of suite, as he did with his suite in E major, which was one of the first English Examples of the more Italian type.

It might be thought a little strange that Philip Hart has been singled out here for special mention from among the numerous minor contemporaries of Clarke and Croft; none of his harpsichord music has been published in modern times and indeed until the recent studies of him by Frank Dawes[20] he had been almost entirely overlooked. He was much less prolific than Clarke or Croft, and practically all his music (not just his keyboard music) was written before 1710, although he continued to be organist at St.Andrew Undershaft until his death nearly 40 years later. Yet his harpsichord music does seem to show greater variety and imagination than that of his lesser contemporaries, and furthermore he was the first

[20] Dawes/Hart and Dawes/Music of Hart.

English composer after Purcell and Blow to have a complete volume of his harpsichord music published. This was A Choice Set of Lessons for Harpsichord or Spinet (Young, 1702), and although no known copy of this survives it is more than likely that some, if not all, of the contents reappeared two years later in Hart's next keyboard publication, Fugues for the Organ or Harpsichord: with lessons for the Harpsichord (1704).

The earliest source of Hart's harpsichord music, and the largest manuscript one, is Inglis 94, of which the date of 1695 means that Hart could hardly have been born after about 1674.[21] A remarkably high proportion of pieces in this manuscript---15 out of 49---are known to be by Hart, and some of the anonymous ones may be as well, so it seems likely that the manuscript was compiled by someone closely associated with him or his father James Hart (1647-1718), who composed a little but wrote no keyboard music. The most interesting Hart pieces are those that form a suite in D major, for this suite was published with a rather different construction in 1704, in addition to having many minor variants. The version in this

[21] See Beechey/Source for a description of the contents, and the evidence for the date, of this manuscript. Dawes's tentative date of 1676 for Hart's birth is based on the age of Hart's father and on evidence, excluding this manuscript, of Hart's entry into musical life.

manuscript consists of a brief prelude that leads into an almand, corant and saraband, but the printed version omits the prelude, and the three main movements are followed by a trumpet air. The other of Hart's printed suites that appears in this manuscript is one in A minor, but the three movements of this are widely spaced in the manuscript, the first two being separated by a Purcell tune and the saraband by 15 intervening pieces. The implications of this are important: they show that movements belonging together are not always found so in manuscripts, even when all the movements are present; there are one or two other known examples of this, and they indicate that conversely movements in one key by one composer scattered in a manuscript may sometimes have belonged together, especially when they are all different dance movements: thus it may be correct, for example, to group together the almand, corant and saraband by Blow found on pp.23, 24 and 22 of Ch.Ch.1179, as was tentatively suggested in Chapter IV.

Most of the other Hart pieces in this manuscript are trumpet tunes, minuets, marches etc., with a jigg in G major at no.17, and near the end there is an anonymous "Sybell" in D minor, not found in any other source, which may be another Hart work. Some of the trumpet tunes etc. may be arrangements, but it is more likely that at this early date Hart would have

written harpsichord pieces in the style of trumpet marches and theatre tunes, rather than written them for orchestral instruments and then arranged them for harpsichord.

Hart's 1704 publication is the only extant printed source of his keyboard music, but what does not seem to have been noticed before (or at least stated in print) is that there are two distinct editions of it. The British Museum copy consists of three fugues, three suites (in C major, A minor and A major) and a ground; other copies, however, including those at Durham, Cambridge and Tenbury, contain the fugues and ground plus five suites of which the second and fifth (in C minor and D major) are not found in the British Museum copy. In both editions the pages are numbered consecutively, thus concealing the differences; the ground, for example, appears therefore on p.35 in one edition and p.47 in the other.

Each of the five suites begins with the three standard movements but some of them have additional ones too: the C major suite concludes with a gavott and minuet, the A major ends with a "Round Minuet" (i.e. a minuet in da capo form) and the D major suite, as mentioned before, ends with a trumpet air. The style Hart uses is still that of the old French type of suite with slow almands and relatively quick sarabands, but there are clear signs that these pieces belong to the 18th

century rather than the 17th. The A major almand, for example, makes relatively little use of style brisé, but there are several cases of sequential movement, a technique that was to become so characteristic in the Italianate suites of later generations (see Ex.2). Apart from spending rather too long

Ex.2



(1704a, p.28 or 33)

at the cadences this is quite a well-constructed almand, as is the corant, which makes much use of parallel 10ths in which the left hand is half a beat ahead of the right hand---a variant of style brisé also obviously derived from lute technique. The saraband is unusual in having the right hand half a beat ahead of the left much of the time; it has a regular 4-bar phrase structure which is prevented from becoming too square by a skilful avoidance of a perfect cadence at the end of the third quarter. The minuet has a simple, two-part texture except at the cadences, like most minuets of the time, and consists of two 8-bar sections---the first in the tonic and the second in the dominant. A curious feature about Hart`s

ornamentation in these suites is his extensive use of fore-falls and backfalls; they are more common here than in any other harpsichord publication and appear almost as frequently as beats and shakes.

Despite the numerous extant manuscripts dating from around the publication of Hart`s suites, only one is known to contain any copy; this is Add.31465, which has a copy of the first suite. Of any later harpsichord music that Hart may have written, only a single untitled minuet in F survives, in Add. 38188, which probably dates from c.1740, though the minuet itself may be earlier. Thus Hart occupies a rather isolated position in English keyboard music, not appearing in the main manuscripts or printed sources, and he is certainly of less importance than Clarke or Croft. But his five printed suites and ground, which are certainly more modern than those of Blow and in some ways of Clarke and Croft too, raise him above the level of the numerous contemporaries who are known by only one or two rather ordinary suites or airs.

Immigrant Composers

Of the various harpsichord composers who came to England during the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the earliest apart from Diesener was Giovanni Battista Draghi, who was probably related to his namesake Antonio Draghi at the

Viennese court. Giovanni Battista Draghi was in England as early as 1667, as Pepys records, and is thought to have left again in the 1690s, but a collection of his harpsichord music was not published until 1707, when Walsh and Hare issued Six select sutes of lessons for the harpsicord in six severall keys composed by him. Draghi was often known as "Baptist", which unfortunately confuses him with other composers, notably Jean Baptiste Lully, much of whose instrumental music appeared in England in various guises: Lully is sometimes distinguished by being called "French Baptist" but frequently music is just ascribed to "Baptist" or "Batis" etc., in manuscripts. Hawkins says that printed songs are often ascribed to Signor Baptist and that this "means uniformly Baptist Draghi, and not Baptist Lully";[22] but this was not always true of manuscripts and it seems that contemporaries were often just as confused about the situation as we are today. For example, in Bodleian MS Mus.Sch.c.95 there is a series of 23 treble tunes, probably for violin, ascribed collectively to "Mr.Baptist", but the 8th of these (p.14), a chaconne in C, is found in Inglis 94 (no.18) in a keyboard version ascribed to "French Baptist"; whether the latter is wrong or whether all 23 pieces in the former

[22] Hawkins/History (1776), iv.428.

manuscript are therefore by Lully, not Draghi, is not at all clear. And a ground that appears anonymously in The Second Part of Musick`s Hand-maid appears as the song "Scocca pur" in Add.22100, f.72v, attributed to Baptist; this is expanded to Baptist Lully in the index, which is probably incorrect for Lully had become very anti-Italian by the time the ground must have been written. Draghi, on the other hand, wrote some music in the Italian style although he rapidly adopted the English style (as can be seen in his harpsichord suites) and was not responsible for popularising Italian music in England.

The earliest of Draghi`s suites may be the one in D minor at the beginning of the reverse end of Ch.Ch.1177 (ff. 41-39v); the saraband is ascribed to "Sgr Batis" and the two preceding movements, almand and corant, appear to belong with it. They certainly belong with each other for at the end of the almand is the word "corant", which is obviously intended as "segue corant". The part of the manuscript containing this suite is thought to have been copied c.1690, and the suite is in every way typical of English suites of this period. A few more pieces and short suites appear in manuscripts of the first few years of the 18th century ascribed to Baptist---never Draghi---but these are of little importance.

As Draghi had apparently been out of England for about

a decade by the time Walsh published his six suites it is not clear how far Draghi was responsible, if at all, for the publication, or how reliable its texts are. Indeed it is even possible that some of the movements are not genuine, for the first piece is found in Ten.1508, f.21v, ascribed to King, though this is probably a mistake. Each of the six suites has six movements with the exception of no.V, which has seven; thus the length of the suites is more in line with others dating from around 1707 than the 3- or 4-movement ones being written when Draghi was still in the country. The suites are quite conservative in style, showing few signs of the early 18th century such as appear in Hart`s, and they were probably written before 1700. Each begins with a short prelude with semiquaver figuration and this is normally followed by the normal three movements plus two others such as a jigg or a minuet. A few of the pieces even borrow the French idea of fancy titles for the movements (in turn borrowed from the English), for the saraband of the first suite is called "The Complaint" and one movement in the last suite is entitled "The Dream". In general, however, Draghi`s suites show no significant differences from those of the many other English composers of the time and are no better for having been written by an Italian.

Charles Dieupart was a much later composer than Draghi, for after settling in England around the year 1700 he lived there until 1740, but all his keyboard music dates from the beginning of the century; his decline in importance after this may be due partly to the declining popularity of French music in general. Like several foreigners, his name is sometimes found in corrupt or disguised forms such as Deopard and Du Pair, but there is no doubt who is intended by such ascriptions. Dieupart's importance in English keyboard music is slight and his main instrumental publication, Six Suittes de Clavessin...mises en concert pour un violon et flûte, avec une basse de viole et un archilut, was issued in Amsterdam by Roger around 1701. These suites are notable for having been an influence on Bach, who supposedly based the prelude of his first "English Suite" in A major on Dieupart's gigue in the same key. However, they also quickly became known in England and several of them appeared in solo harpsichord versions in Add.52363 of 1704; the following year Walsh issued a selection of them, also for harpsichord solo, including the complete A major suite (almand, corant, saraband, gavott, minuet and jigg) and three short suites which contain none of the normal three movements. It is not clear whether the suites were originally written for a solo harpsichord or a group of

instruments, and they may have been designed for either option; if they were originally written for harpsichord it is possible that there is a lost publication of all of them in this form, but they may have just circulated in manuscript in their solo version.

It is not only the pieces in the Walsh publication that are found in English manuscripts, and the largest single source of Dieupart's keyboard music in England is not the edition but Add.52363, which contains all but one of the 13 printed pieces plus several others. These include a C minor suite originally ascribed in the manuscript to Courteville, whose name has been replaced by Dieupart's in the same hand. All three movements reappear anonymously in Bod.e.397, but in MC.1.39(j) the almand is attributed to Courteville. Judging by the construction of the suite---almand, gavott and minuet ---it is more likely to be by the French composer, for gavotts and minuets were more common in France at the time while English suites adhered more closely to the old 3-movement pattern of almand, corant and saraband.

Gottfried or Godfrey Finger was only in England for a relatively short period, from c.1685 till 1701, and only three very unimportant harpsichord pieces of his, which may anyway be arrangements, are found in English manuscripts. Gottfried

Keller is scarcely any more important and only a handful of his harpsichord pieces exist---all in Ten.1508. Keller came to England in the late 17th century and it was not until after his death that his didactic work, A Compleat Method for attaining to play a thorough bass upon either organ, harpsi-cord or theorbo-lute...With variety of proper lessons and fuges, was published, though this seems to have been very successful for it appeared in several editions from different publishers. Its first known appearance is the Walsh edition of December 1705,[23] but the earliest surviving editions are dated 1707. Some of Keller's examples of figured bass realisation can almost be described as actual pieces, but they are really little more than a mere succession of chords. The "proper lessons" consist of lessons in the modern sense as opposed to the Baroque meaning of dance movements, and are figured bass examples to be worked out by the student; the "fuges", too, are only figured bass parts of theoretical fugues, and so this publication can scarcely be regarded as part of the development of English keyboard music (though it ought to be studied, along with Locke's Melothesia, by modern performers of Purcell's and Blow's continuo parts).

[23] Smith and Humphries/Walsh, 1.no.190.

Thus the part played by foreigners at this period was not very great, and none of the composers mentioned above matched up to the two leading native composers or even to Clarke and Croft. Dieupart and Draghi, especially the latter, are not without their place in the history of English keyboard music of this period, but their overall importance is small compared with that of later immigrants such as Handel, J. C. Smith and Loeillet.

Lesser English Figures

The list of minor English composers writing harpsichord music (or whose music is found in harpsichord arrangements) at the turn of the 18th century is a long one, and includes John Barrett, Lord (William) Byron, Raphael (or Ralph) Courteville, John Eccles, Solomon Eccles, Francis Forcer, Henry Hall, George Holmes, "Jukes", Robert King, "Mr. Morgan", Richard Motley, James Paisible, Francis Piggott, Daniel Purcell, Vaughan Richardson, William Richardson, Moses Snow, Henry Thornowitz, William Turner, John Weldon, Abiell Whichello, John White and Wood. Some are so obscure that their extant harpsichord output consists of only a single piece or arrangement, and none shows striking individuality or outstanding compositional skill; but all possessed a competent technique, and the picture of harpsichord music at this time

would be incomplete without a brief discussion of them.

Motley, Snow and Turner are the only composers named in The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid apart from Purcell and Blow, and of these three the two pieces by Snow are by far the best and most interesting. His jigg in G, though entirely in two-part homophony, shows a firm, clear harmonic bass throughout, with an attractive melody in the right hand; his A minor ground, though not quite in Blow's class, shows an equally sure harmonic sense and a gradual build-up towards the semi-quaver runs in bars 33-39.[24] If these two pieces are typical of Snow it must be regretted that not more of his keyboard music survives. Turner's untitled tune in the same publication is a simple, trivial piece typical of many such tunes of the period, while the emphasis in "Motley's Maggot" on rhythm at the expense of melodic or harmonic invention betrays Motley's position as a dancing-master. A "maggot" is a typically baroque invention, and the term was used to denote a far-fetched, eccentric composition such as this example by Motley.[25]

Like Motley, James Paisible the elder (c.1650-1721) was primarily a writer of real, as opposed to stylised, dance

[24] See Dart ed./Hand-maid II, p.10.

[25] See Dart/Motley for more about this composer.

music, and a number of his dance tunes were published yearly, complete with choreography, to mark Queen Anne`s birthdays. Some of these appeared in harpsichord versions too, the most widely-known being "The Spanheim", which was published to mark Queen Anne`s birthday in 1711 although it had been issued anonymously five years earlier as a harpsichord piece in The Second Book of the Ladys Banquet; versions of this can also be found in several keyboard manuscripts but these are always anonymous and it is only by reference to a non-keyboard source that the composer can be established. This is also true of Paisible`s "Saltarella" which appears anonymously in The Lady`s Entertainment (Book 1), and his "Albermarle" in Bod.e. 397; in fact a detailed study of all the sources, both keyboard and non-keyboard, of this type of piece would reveal many more undiscovered concordances and the composers of many pieces at present regarded as anonymous. Many of these tunes can even be found with words added, for example Paisible`s "Albermarle", which is set to the words "Room for a rover" in Durfey`s Wit and Mirth.

Of the composers whose harpsichord music appeared alongside that of Clarke, Croft and Blow in publications such as The Harpsicord Master, the most important is probably Blow`s pupil John Barrett (c.1674-1735), though like the other

main ones---Courteville, King, Piggott and Weldon---his keyboard output was not large. Barrett never had the honour of a publication devoted entirely to his harpsichord music, but it appeared beside that of other composers in no fewer than five collections in the early 1700s; these five---the second and third books of The Harpsicord Master, the Choice Collection of Ayres and the first and second books of The Lady`s Banquet---contain practically all his extant harpsichord music apart from a ground in A minor, though many of the pieces can also be found in various contemporary manuscripts.

The largest printed source of Barrett`s harpsichord music is The Second Book of the Harpsicord Master, which contains two suites (seven pieces) in B minor by him, separated by two anonymous movements in A major that were also written by him. The minuet at the end of the first suite is anonymous in this source too, but it is ascribed to Barrett in Ten.1508 and Fitz.52.B.7, while the tunes of the other six pieces in B minor are found in Harmonia Anglicana (c.1701-02) where they are described as "Ayres in the Tragedy call`d the Generous Conquerour or the timely Discovery". The B minor minuet is probably an arrangement too, and it is only the two A major movements that appear to be genuine harpsichord pieces, for they form part of a suite by Barrett published in

the Choice Collection of Ayres in the same year (1700).[26] The last movement of this A major suite, entitled "The St.Catherine", was very popular, for after its initial appearance in the two harpsichord publications just mentioned, it appeared in numerous keyboard and non-keyboard manuscripts and is also found in Durfey's Wit and Mirth (v.100) set to the words "In the pleasant month of May".

Two other popular pieces of Barrett's appeared in The Third Book of the Harpsicord Master (along with a minuet in C minor)---"The Pilgrim" and a minuet,[27] both in A, but these were originally part of some incidental music to Vanbrugh's play The Pilgrim (1700). Like "The St.Catherine", Barrett's "The Pilgrim" was set to words ("Oh happy, happy groves") by Durfey, and eventually found its way into The Beggar's Opera. The suite by Barrett in the first book of The Lady's Banquet (pp.17-21) appears in a rather jumbled order---saraband, almand, air, corant and jigg; this may be a deliberate deviation from normal practice, but it is more probable that the movements became mixed up at some stage during the printing. His "Sett" of five movements in Book 2 of The Lady's

[26] Maitland ed./Contemporaries, vii.20-23.

[27] Minuet in ibid., vii.23.

Banquet is similar in style to his other suites, while his A minor ground in Add.52363 (pp.146-8) is in a slow triple time that shows the influence of the chaconne.

Barrett's harpsichord pieces, like those of Hart, Croft and Clarke, show signs of a newer style, with occasional use of sequential movement, fairly remote keys such as A major and B minor, and a strong sense of tonal gravitation, but they tend to sound a little short and thin; none of his published movements is very long, and the A major almand, for example, contains only 16 bars despite the fact that it has a fairly quick crotchet beat and relatively simple texture; hence one is left with the impression that the double bars are being reached too soon. The corant, also 16 bars, has a similar deficiency and it is only the "St.Catherine" and possibly the saraband that are well-balanced in this suite, the former fully deserving the popularity it acquired.

Ralph Courteville II (c.1665-1735)[28] was rather less prolific than Barrett and only six harpsichord pieces of his are known to have been published---three in The Second Book of the Harpsicord Master and three in The Lady's Banquet.

[28] His father and a son, both with the same first name, were musicians too, but neither composed any keyboard music.

About a dozen more survive in manuscript including a ground in Add.17853 ascribed to "R.C.", which probably indicates Courteville. None of these pieces is of great importance; the most interesting is a "Prelude" in G minor that appears at the reverse end of Add.34695 (f.70), where it is followed by an almand and an untitled piece in duple time. This so-called prelude is in binary form and is contrapuntal at the start, with mostly quaver movement in 4/4 time; thus it is not really a prelude stylistically but bears all the characteristics of a jigg-almain. Another copy of this piece is in Fitz.52.B.6 (sic), which bears an unusually precise date: "Monday Feb ye 23rd 1701/2 a little past eleven a clock at night". The two pieces that follow in this manuscript (bearing the same date one and two hours later) are both ascribed to Courteville too, though they are different from the two that follow in Add. 34695; they appear to be an untitled almand and corant.

Robert King is even less important than Courteville for apart from a cibell and paspie in The Lady`s Banquet and another cibell in MC.1.39(j) his only known harpsichord music is what appears in the Babell manuscripts---Ten.1508 and Add. 39569. Although one of these pieces (the A major almand)[29] was

[29] Maitland ed./Contemporaries, vi.4.

quite popular, appearing in several other manuscripts, most of his pieces are not found elsewhere. The Babell manuscripts are unreliable in their groupings of pieces---they contain long, artificial "suites", perhaps ten movements, usually by more than one composer---but both do contain what appear to be three complete suites by King, in A major, E minor and D major. It is not certain that these suites are entirely genuine: the A major corant, saraband and jigg appear to be authentic (though they are not found with the well-known almand anywhere else), but the E minor prelude was published as Draghi`s (see above, p.165) . The rest of this E minor suite is a little confused too; in Ten.1508 the prelude is followed by a saraband and almand ascribed to King, then a gavott by Dieupart, a chacone by Forcer and finally a jigg by King, but in Add.39569 the prelude is preceded by an anonymous prelude (f.16v) and followed by the almand, a thematically related corant (probably also by King), the saraband, a ground by Purcell (Z.T682), King`s jigg, and three more anonymous dances probably not by King. Thus it is impossible to be certain how many of these ten pieces were written by King.

Francis Piggott (d.1704) is known as a keyboard composer only by a 7-movement suite in C major in the Choice Collection of Ayres, and a jigg in B flat, which has cibell-like inter-

ludes for left hand alone, in Ch.Ch.46. The printed suite consists of a prelude, almand, corant, saraband, jigg, march (which also appears anonymously in The Second Book of the Harpsicord Master, f.14) and minuet.[30] It is notable for being one of the earliest English suites---certainly the earliest printed---to have as many as seven movements, though suites of this length were quite common a few years later; judging by its construction, the last two movements may have been added later to an original 5-movement suite (only the first five movements appear in Add.52363).

Apart from a ground in C in Add.22099 and a minuet in R.d.54, the only known harpsichord music of John Weldon (1676-1736) is a suite in F in The Lady's Banquet; unfortunately the only surviving copy of this publication, in Durham Cathedral Library, is defective, for f.25 is missing and an extra f.27 is in its place. On ff.22-24 there are an almand, corant and minuet by Weldon, while on ff.26-28 are an almand, corant and saraband by Courteville, so that one would expect the missing piece to be by one of these two composers. As Weldon's three pieces can be found with a concluding jigg in Add.31467 (f.57)

30 The first six movements (not the whole suite, as Fuller-Maitland claims) are in Maitland ed./Contemporaries, vii.1-7, together with the B flat jigg.

this is very probably the missing piece; the copyist of Add. 31467 may have derived his version from a copy of The Lady's Banquet that was not defective, but it is significant that the jigg is also missing from a copy of the suite in Add.52363 (pp.21-24), which suggests that there may have been several faulty copies.

Francis Forcer (c.1650-1705) was considerably older than the five composers just mentioned, and also wrote more keyboard music than most of them, but the only pieces of his to be published were the almand and corant that appeared anonymously in The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid (nos.21 and 22). These are the first two movements of a 4-movement suite (the others are an air and minuet) ascribed to Forcer in Add. 52363, but the almand and minuet are found with a different corant and a gavott in Add.31403, providing yet another example of a suite that contains different movements in different sources. Not surprisingly, Forcer's style is more akin to Blow's than that of his younger contemporaries, and his published corant was once thought to be by Blow (see Chapter IV). The most extensive source of Forcer's harpsichord music appears to be a manuscript in the Library of Congress, Washington (MS M 21 M 185), which includes three suites of four or five movements each, by him, in C minor, F major and

D minor.[31]

John Eccles and Daniel Purcell were primarily composers of theatre music, but Walsh nevertheless published in 1702 A Collection of Lessons and Aires for the Harpsicord or Spinnett composed by Mr. J: Eccles, Mr. D. Purcell and others. The whole of this has been reprinted by Fuller-Maitland[32] with the exception of an anonymous minuet in B flat, which seems to have been accidentally omitted despite the claim in the preface that it contains the whole of the Walsh publication. Eccles's contribution to the Collection consists of at least the first two pieces and probably the first six (the publication is not entirely clear, just stating "Lessons...by John Eccles" on f.1 and giving no more indication of composer until "Lessons...by D. Purcell" on f.5). None of the six shows a very idiomatic keyboard style, however, and it seems likely that all are theatre tunes by Eccles arranged for harpsichord. This is certainly true of most of his other music found in keyboard sources: one example is his well-known song "A Soldier and a Sailor", from Love for love (1695), which

[31] There is a brief discussion of these, and a quotation of the start of the F major saraband, in Apel/Geschichte, p. 733.

[32] Maitland ed./Contemporaries, vi.9-23.

appears in at least three keyboard manuscripts, and another is a jigg in F or G minor ascribed to Eccles in Add.41205 and Ten.1508 (elsewhere it is anonymous); this is called "The CZar Jig" in Add.52363 (p.58), "Baloons Jigg" in The second book of the Ladys Banquet (f.7) and "Sr John Guise" in Bod.e.397 (p.6), and these titles suggest that it was originally a theatre tune. John Eccles was one of a family of musicians: his brother Henry is much less important and emigrated to France in about 1715, while his father Solomon was an eccentric Quaker who probably did not write any music; but Solomon Eccles the younger, perhaps another brother of John, wrote at least one harpsichord piece---the "Air Sol Eccles" found on f.47v of Ten.1508.

The pieces in the Eccles/Purcell collection attributed to Daniel Purcell consist of an almand, gavott and hornpipe in D minor and a march, air and minuet in D major; they may be intended as two suites, though such a structure would be most unusual. Here again the lack of idiomatic keyboard figuration suggests these are only arrangements, and even the almand has a rather thin texture with no real use of style brisé and a lack of quaver movement until the second half. Daniel Purcell`s "Rondeau" in B flat on f.61v of Ten.1508 may also be an arrangement of one of his many theatre tunes, but he does

seem to have written at least one genuine harpsichord piece; this is the toccata in A minor in The 2d Book of The Lady`s Entertainment---a well-written piece that makes use of chords and semiquaver runs which give the effect of a dialogue between right and left hands.

Among the "others" in the Eccles/Purcell collection---possibly the only other composer---is Lord Byron (4th Baron Byron). Though the last four pieces in the collection are anonymous, all were written by him, as can be established by reference to contemporary publications such as Harmonia Anglicana, which reveal that these four pieces are part of his incidental music to The False Friend. His "Scotch Air" in Add. 22099 was likewise composed for the play She wou`d if she cou`d. Lord Byron was the only nobleman in England who wrote music during this period, and so the frequent references in contemporary sources to music "by a person of quality" invariably refer to him. Although music by him appears in several harpsichord manuscripts, none is in an idiomatic keyboard style and all may be theatre music arrangements. He did publish in 1705 a set of harpsichord pieces,[33] which may contain genuine keyboard music, but no copies of this survive.

[33] Smith and Humphries/Walsh, 1.no.183.

Two other composers each of whom published a collection of his harpsichord music in the first decade of the 18th century were William Richardson and Abiell Whichello. Richardson was organist at Deptford from 1697, and his Lessons for the harpsichord or spinet (1708) contain his only known keyboard music; they reveal him as a composer of little merit or imagination, though he is by no means incompetent. There are various forward-looking features in the collection, such as the lightly-textured minuets and clear Italian traits like sequential movement, in several pieces, for example the A minor almand (f.8); but these pieces are not well-written and frequently have uneven rhythms. A few of the pieces are slightly unusual: on f.11 there is a rare example of a "Jigg Sebell"---a cibell with a jigg rhythm instead of the normal 4/4---and this is followed by an "Almand after the Viol manner", which has dotted rhythms throughout; in addition the ground in A minor has an unusual alternation of "adagio" and "allegro" sections, adagio being reserved for the first statement, the sixth (a repeat of the first) and the last three (nos.10-12).

In The 2d Book of The Lady`s Entertainment, f.16, there is an "Allmand by Mr. Richardson of Winton" in E minor, followed by a saraband in the same key; but Winton is an abbrev-

iation for Winchester, and this indicates that these two pieces were written not by William but by Vaughan Richardson, who was organist at Winchester Cathedral from 1692. Vaughan Richardson, however, wrote mainly church music, and these are his only keyboard works that have come to light so far.

Another composer whose only known harpsichord music appeared in the same publication is Henry Hall the elder (c. 1655-1707),[34] who is represented by a "Set of Lessons" in D minor beginning on f.9. The publication does not make it clear, however, where the suite ends, for the next seven pieces---almand, corant, gavott, minuet, jigg, toccata and "What should allarm me"---are all in D minor. The last is an arrangement of an air from Thomyris (1707) and clearly does not belong; it might seem that the toccata does, but for some strong contrary evidence from outside The Lady's Entertainment. During the years 1707-1709 there was a monthly publication of keyboard music called Mercurius Musicus,[35] some instalments of which survive at Christ Church Oxford, and Edinburgh; each month consists of four consecutive pages from

[34] The so-called hornpipe ascribed to him in Add.22099, f.12v, is by Croft.

[35] There were other publications with this title during this period, but this was the only keyboard one.

The Lady's Entertainment, and the music first appeared in this monthly form: ff.5-8 of The 2d Book appeared in Mercurius Musicus for June 1708 and ff.21-24 for October, and so it can be deduced that ff.9-12, consisting of Hall's set of lessons without the toccata, appeared separately in July (though this month does not survive). The toccata (f.13) then appeared anonymously in August, quite separately from Hall's suite, implying that it was not written by him; furthermore no other suite of this period includes a movement called toccata, which was still a relatively rare title in England.

No other English composers of this period had any harpsichord music published except perhaps anonymously (apart from Wood's "Magget" in The Third Book of the Harpsicord Master). The composers discussed briefly above, whose music appears in numerous sources, wrote only a handful of pieces each, and even many of these are keyboard arrangements of theatre tunes. None of these composers rivals the position of Clarke, Croft and Hart, let alone that of Purcell and Blow, and they stand very much at the end of a chapter in the history of English keyboard music; but it has been necessary to devote considerable space to them as the first few years of the 18th century are in many ways the most confused of the period, with such a large number of manuscripts and composers, and the harpsichord

music of these minor figures has undergone very little consideration in the past. Like Croft and Hart, those composers who lived into the 1720s did not adopt the Italian style, but completely abandoned harpsichord composition, and were replaced by Handel, Roseingrave, Greene and other younger composers writing in a very different style.

Chapter VI

ORGAN MUSIC OF THE MIDDLE BAROQUE

Organ versus Harpsichord

In addition to the grounds, dance movements and preludes already considered, English keyboard music of the later 17th and early 18th centuries included one completely different type of piece, through-composed and generally contrapuntal, known as the voluntary or vers. These pieces are often designated in their sources as being "for the organ", and never for the harpsichord, whereas the other types of keyboard piece are almost never designated as being for the organ. Later on, voluntaries were sometimes said to be "for the organ or harpsichord", and this became a standard phrase in the mid-18th century, but here the harpsichord seems to have been regarded as a very inferior alternative and organ stops are often named in the pieces, while genuine harpsichord music was said to be for harpsichord or spinet. Thus it seems clear that voluntaries were normally played on the organ and were almost the only type of organ music being written at this time; and whereas in the early 17th century there was considerable overlap between the fields of harpsichord and organ music, by the later part of the century the overlap was virtually negligible. The only slight problems in this respect are

certain preludes: a contrapuntal piece by Blow in Add.34695, f.20v, is entitled "Prelude" although it is stylistically a voluntary, while a C major prelude by Blow is called "Voluntary" (implying for the organ) in RCM 2093 and "Prelude" in other sources, but there are hardly any other examples of pieces which might have been written for either instrument.

Sources

The sources of these voluntaries in the later 17th century are much less numerous than those of contemporary harpsichord music, and the total number of surviving organ pieces is only a fraction of the number of harpsichord works. The only English organ music published before the 1720s was seven voluntaries by Locke in Melothesia (1673) and three fugues by Philip Hart published in 1704; only two other organ pieces are known to be by Hart and no others by Locke survive, yet no composer other than Blow is known to have written more voluntaries than Locke (and the number of anonymous ones is not large either). Organ music of the earlier part of the period is particularly scarce, and it is therefore all the more regrettable that what seems to be easily the best surviving manuscript of this is now missing: this missing manuscript was used by John West as the source for two "voluntaries" by Orlando Gibbons in his Old English Organ Music

series,[1] where it is described thus by W. H. Cummings (who owned the manuscript at the time):-

> The volume of 200 pages from which these voluntaries are taken contains organ music by Tresure, William Lawes (killed at Chester 1645), Richard Ayleward (organist of Norwich Cathedral: died 1669), Morley, Gibbes (probably Richard Gibbs, organist of Norwich Cathedral before the Commonwealth), Byrd, Lock, Cobb (organist to Charles I), Christopher Gibbons, Orlando Gibbons and others. It was written probably about 1660-1670. The music is in a bold hand on six-line staves; the clefs used are the G, C and F. An interesting feature is the fingering of some of the pieces, showing the old English system of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, the thumb being represented by 1 in the right hand and by 5 in the left hand.

After Dr. Cummings's death the manuscript was sold at Sotheby's in May 1917, and it can be identified as lot 488 in the Cummings Sale Catalogue,[2] where it is described as "Compositions of early English Musicians, including Richard Cobb [probably really John Cobb], Tho.Morley, R. Price, etc; English and Italian Fantasies for the Organ, etc. MANUSCRIPT, 2 vol....". It went to Japan, and efforts to trace it in recent years by Hugh McLean have been unsuccessful;[3] unlike most of the Cummings items that went to Japan, it is not at

1 West ed./Organ, no.31; see also West/Organ.

2 Sotheby/Cummings.

3 See Hendrie ed./Gibbons, p.91.

present in the Nanki Music Library in Tokyo.[4] From the descriptions, however, this is clearly a most invaluable manuscript, for its size indicates a wealth of unknown music, and the composers included mostly wrote very little surviving keyboard music---Ayleward wrote none at all. But how much of it is genuine organ music is doubtful, for one of the two Gibbons voluntaries published by West is really a pavan, which suggests that much of the remaining "organ music" may also be dance movements for harpsichord.

Apart from what may lie in this manuscript, very little organ music from the period 1640-1670 is known to exist, and what there is comes mostly from later manuscripts. The reasons for this scarcity are not hard to find. During this period organs (other than very small chamber organs) were found almost exclusively in cathedrals or chapels, and were therefore an obvious target for Puritan attack; thus during the Civil War and Commonwealth almost all the organs in the country were either destroyed or suppressed. Evelyn records (12 July, 1654):[5]

> Next we walked to Magdalen College [Oxford]...; and

[4] See Nanki Catalogue.

[5] Quoted in Rayner/Gibbons, p.151.

> there was still the Double Organ, which abominations (as now esteemed) were almost universally demolish'd; Mr. Gibbon, that famous musitian, giving us a taste of his skill and talents on that instrument.

Consequently organist-composers had no incentive to write voluntaries, and no surviving examples (apart from one or two by Tomkins) are known to date from the Commonwealth. Keyboard manuscripts from this period, such as Ch.Ch.1236 and Drex.5611, contain hardly any volunteries, and those that there are were mostly written by earlier composers like Tomkins and Orlando Gibbons. There were, of course, far fewer organs than harpsichords, too; and when the cathedral organs were rebuilt or brought into use again at the Restoration much of what organists played continued to consist of improvisation, which has traditionally been an essential part of organ music. There is thus no way of knowing what a large part of the solo organ music of this period was like, and how far it differed from the written-down voluntaries.

Pre-Commonwealth Background

The term "voluntary"[6] was originally used in the 16th century (e.g. in the Mulliner Book) to denote a piece which, unlike so many organ pieces of that time, was not based on a

[6] See Williams/Voluntary.

cantus firmus, and in which the composer was therefore free to direct the music as he chose; "fancy" or "fantasia" was often used in a similar way. But by the later 17th century cantus firmus-based organ music had disappeared and the term "fantasia" was restricted to viol music, so that all organ pieces could be called voluntaries, including, paradoxically, the exceptional voluntary on the 100th Psalm by Blow or Purcell. The term "vers" was in practice interchangeable with "voluntary", but though common in the time of Blow, it later dropped out of use; it seems to have been imported from the Continent, where the alternatim practice, which involved alternate verses of psalms, canticles, etc., being substituted by a short organ "verset", was in use, for the versets bear some resemblance in style to the English vers. The title "fugue" was sometimes used for strictly contrapuntal voluntaries, but this was rare in England until the 18th century, though an early use of it is a "Fuge" on p.331 of Rés.1185 (copied by 1652).

The voluntary was derived stylistically from vocal origins and the motet form of much 16th-century choral music, which consisted basically of a series of contrapuntal expositions of imitation points, with a new point for each new section of the words. This scheme of overlapping contrapuntal expositions became transferred to instrumental music, where it

is found, for example, in the consort fancies of William Lawes as well as the organ music of numerous composers from the mid-16th century onwards. The close connection between viol and organ music is seen in occasional keyboard arrangements of three-part fantasias, such as two in Bodleian MS Mus.Sch.f.575 by Orlando Gibbons, and other pieces which are apparently voluntaries, including several on two staves in Ch.Ch.378 and RCM 2093, are probably also arrangements of vocal or viol music.

The last two major composers writing organ music before the Commonwealth were Orlando Gibbons and Thomas Tomkins, for the latter continued writing keyboard music into the 1650s, while Gibbons was one of the most advanced composers of the Jacobean school; his organ music, unlike his contemporaries', is often found in late 17th-century manuscripts, which demonstrate his lasting influence and renown. About a dozen Gibbons fantasias survive, and these show how he used the contrapuntal style on the keyboard; all are in three or four parts (though this number is occasionally reduced for a period while one voice has an extended rest) and one even finds titles like "Voluntary of 3 Parts". They are of widely differing lengths, the shortest having only 11 bars while the longest has almost 100, and the number of imitation points also varies from only

one in the very short fantasias to six (plus a final non-thematic section) in the longest,[7] with the average number of overlapping sections being three or four. One of Gibbons`s fantasias is marked "for a double Orgaine",[8] with most of it written for the "tenor" or chear organ, but with loud solo passages for the left hand on the "base" or great organ, accompanied by the right hand on the chear. The left hand has a new theme at each appearance on the great except the last, when both hands move on to the great, but the theme is occasionally anticipated on the chear. Most of the themes are vocal in style with subtle cross-rhythms and syncopations that mask the underlying metre, but they tend to be more angular, and the voices have a wider range than in choral music; the music is essentially modal, and the overall "flavour" of the mode usually prevails throughout. Tomkins also wrote about a dozen surviving fantasias or voluntaries,[9] which show generally similar characteristics to those of Gibbons, though more are monothematic; those that are not, mostly have three themes,

7 Hendrie ed./Gibbons, no.9.

8 ibid., no.7. Some scholars think this to be just an adaptation of a single-organ voluntary.

9 Tuttle ed./Tomkins, nos.22-31, 74-76.

and as with Gibbons the number of voices remains largely constant throughout each voluntary.

Post-Restoration Style

At first sight the voluntaries of the immediate post-Restoration period appear to show the same characteristics as those of the earlier part of the century, but although their general layout remained the same in most cases, they are seen on closer inspection to display a number of subtle changes in style. The most obvious change is a rise in the number of voluntaries for double organ, reflecting the fact that far more such organs were built after the Restoration, and more composers were therefore able to exploit their possibilities; one also finds occasional mention of individual stops---cornet, sesquialtera or trumpet---but normally only the manual is indicated. The ways of using the two manuals are usually no more advanced than with Orlando Gibbons---a series of left-hand solos on the great accompanied by the right hand, alternating with both hands on the chear organ, and sometimes with a concluding section for both hands on the great, as in Hingston`s voluntary in Ch.Ch.47 and 1176; but sometimes echo effects are now found, or passages where the solo is in the right hand.

Apart from the differing uses of stops and manuals,

another distinctive feature about post-Restoration voluntaries is the number of voices used: with Orlando Gibbons this was always constant throughout a voluntary, but with Tomkins an extra voice outside the contrapuntal scheme occasionally appears for a bar or two, and this feature becomes more pronounced in post-Restoration pieces, so that although the aural impression is of a fixed number of voices the actual number often varied considerably (probably through the influence of the free-voiced texture of harpsichord music), and voices could no longer be traced consistently through the course of a piece. From the time of the Restoration there was also a tendency, which became more and more pronounced till the time of Stanley, for the number of sections in a voluntary to be standardised at two, which gradually separated into two distinct movements. This important structural change will be discussed in greater detail later, but it is interesting to observe that, as with early Baroque dance pairs, the French overture, etc., even in the earliest examples the second section was almost invariably livelier than the first. Meanwhile the themes themselves became melodically less smooth and vocal in character, but rhythmically much more square and regular, with rhythms rarely going across the bar-line; the amount of ornamentation was not significantly increased, but

as with harpsichord music, a greater variety of ornament signs was used, in addition to written-out ornaments in the form of demi-semiquavers that linked two notes a 4th or 5th apart.

Early Composers

One of the earliest composers writing organ music after the Restoration was Benjamin Rogers. Of his two surviving voluntaries the one in RCM 2093 (reversed, p.17)[10] is a short, mostly chordal piece of a quasi-improvisational character; the other,[11] however, preserved in R.M.21.d.8, is much more important, being a rare example from this period of a keyboard autograph, dated 1664. It has several imitation points in turn, eventually leading to right-hand chords above left-hand semiquavers and finally imitation above left-hand chords. The piece does, however, show signs of the trend towards the bi-partite voluntary by having a clear perfect cadence in the tonic at one point in the middle, followed by a new, livelier theme, whereas all the other sections overlap more smoothly.

Another composer whose voluntaries date from just after, or possibly even during, the Commonwealth is Christopher Gibbons, of whom six voluntaries survive. Five have been

[10] Rastall ed./Rogers, p.15.

[11] ibid., pp.13-14, and Jeans ed./Rogers.

edited by Clare Rayner;[12] the sixth, as yet unpublished, is ascribed to "Dr.Gibbons" in Wimb.Pl0, reverse end, ff.4v-5, and is clearly not in the style of Orlando. A possible seventh (no.8 in Rayner`s edition), attributed to "Dr.G." in Add. 34695, is almost certainly spurious on stylistic grounds, and is ascribed to Orlando Gibbons in four other manuscripts: the copyist of Add.34695 probably misread "Dr.G." for "Or.G.". Three of Christopher Gibbons`s voluntaries are for double organ, but two of these (nos.1 and 2 in Rayner`s edition) appear in two very different versions---a shorter one of about 100 bars and a longer one of over 200 in which the additional music includes sections for cornet (right hand), sesquialtera (left hand) and trumpet (both hands); in both cases the longer version is anonymous, and in one case (no.1, Add.34695, ff.62-67) it is incomplete. (No.1 appears in an even shorter version of 54 bars in Ch.Ch.47 and 1176.) The most probable implication of the two main versions of these voluntaries is that the shorter ones were written in the Commonwealth or early Restoration for a fairly small double organ, and the extensions were made after the Restoration to exploit three stops new to England; it is possible, however, that another composer added

[12] Rayner ed./Gibbons.

the extensions to no.2 for it is rather disjointed; part of it (bars 91 et.seq.) derives from the opening of no.1 and another part is borrowed from a voluntary by Blow (see below).

A source of Gibbons voluntaries overlooked by Rayner is Add.31446, which contains, anonymously, the shorter version of no.1 without any manual indications (ff.36v-38), and the longer version of no.2 (ff.24-30). The latter is important as the longer version in Add.34695 (ff.29v-35) may have been copied from it: more than half the pieces in Add.31446 are found in Add.34695, the ascriptions (or lack of them) are the same in each case, and the texts are generally similar, all of which is strong evidence that the manuscripts are closely related. There are, it is true, numerous minor differences between the two versions of the Gibbons voluntary, for Add. 34695 uses less ornamentation and it corrects a few obvious errors as well as making several of its own (for example, it omits the sharp to the G at the start of the first cornet section); but these discrepancies are less than those between the genuine Add.34695 text and the modern printed version taken directly from it: the latter contains numerous mistakes, for it fails to correct many obvious errors (some of which, such as the G sharp mentioned above, can be verified as errors by reference to Add.31446), it omits or wrongly transcribes

much of the ornamentation (a shake sign on a B is even transcribed as a sharp to the next note on p.22, l.3, b.4), and some accidentals are omitted (e.g. a flat to the E in the same bar). A manual indication ("Single") is omitted three times (p.18, l.3, b.1 (right hand), 19:2:2 and 20:3:2), and the editor has failed to decipher a perfectly clear manual indication---"Double" on both staves (25:6:3)---apart from there being several wrong notes or misprints.

The music of Gibbons's voluntaries is in general similar to that of most other voluntaries of this period in its free-voiced contrapuntal technique and undeveloped sense of tonality that is still largely based in the modal system. Modulations are often effected in a rather primitive way with a sudden introduction of accidentals, rather than by a gradual shift of tonal centre, and little use is made of an overall tonal organisation apart from each voluntary ending in the same key (or mode) as it began. Structurally no two voluntaries are alike, though the two long ones have approximately corresponding sections; these two, however, are remarkable mainly for reasons mentioned before---their length (much greater than that of any other voluntaries of the period) and their use of certain stops (the earliest known use of them in England). Only one of Gibbons's voluntaries (no.3) displays a

bipartite form; this has a slow, contrapuntal section in semibreves and minims (with a few semiquaver runs) up to a tonic perfect cadence at bar 21, after which a new, crotchet theme appears that predominates to the end of the piece.

Only one organ piece by John Hingston survives---the "Voluntarie" in A minor in Ch.Ch.47 and 1176; much of the latter manuscript, including the Hingston voluntary, was probably copied from Ch.Ch.47, for the first eight pieces in the manuscript are all found there, the details of figuration are mostly the same, and Ch.Ch.47 is clearly earlier as it contains music by "Mr.Blow" which is altered to "Dr.Blow" in Ch.Ch.1176. The Hingston voluntary is for double organ and contains passages for "Bass" organ (i.e. the great) in the right and left hands, concluding with a section for "both [hands on the great]". It has a number of overlapping contrapuntal sections, which tend to become shorter apart from the last one, which is non-thematic but is characterised by numerous semiquaver runs of about an octave; the texture is mostly three-part polyphony, and at one point the hands cross on different manuals (Ex.1), a device generally avoided by English composers.

The seven voluntaries by Locke in Melothesia (pp.73-84) are necessarily short, averaging less than 25 bars per piece,

Ex. 1



(Ch.Ch.47, p.38)

for it was still uneconomic to print long pieces.[13] They are not actually called voluntaries but each is headed simply "For the Organ", apart from the last, which is headed "For a double Organ". Like most other voluntaries of this period, they lack the clearly defined tonality of contemporary harpsichord music, and some are firmly modal, such as no.1, which is in the Phrygian mode. No.2, however, is in the Lydian mode with a B flat in the key-signature, i.e. F major, and no.5, in the Mixolydian mode, though not having an F sharp in the key-signature, uses that note so consistently that it is much closer to G major than to the mode.

Unlike in much Continental music, Locke makes no attempt at a sequence of modes in successive pieces, nor does he use all the six main modes, but two (the Dorian and Aeolian) appear twice. The remarkable and highly original ending to

[13] All seven are published in Phillips ed./Locke and Dart ed./Locke.

the third voluntary, where the final A minor chord suddenly becomes major, has been thought by some editors to be a misprint, but there seems no reason why Locke, who was fond of baroque eccentricities, should not have written this, especially after the chromaticism of the opening theme. This third voluntary is the longest and, of the single voluntaries, the most interesting formally; the opening slow theme is followed by a new, livelier one after a clear imperfect cadence at bar 22, and this livelier theme becomes fragmented (bar 27) before giving way to virtuoso demi-semiquaver runs (bar 34) which characterise the rest of the piece.

The double voluntary is also formally interesting: the opening section is based on two simultaneous themes (though only one is used on the great) but a semiquaver motif is introduced at bar 24, and this eventually gives way to echo effects and both hands on the great. The use of echo effects is most unusual, especially for both hands together, and this voluntary seems to be the only one of the period to exploit all the basic possible combinations provided by two manuals (apart from hand-crossing, which occurs only on one semi-quaver). The most structurally forward-looking voluntary is undoubtedly no.2, which divides at bar 9 into two clear sections, the first slow and chordal, the second quick and

contrapuntal, with a perfect cadence in the dominant at the end of the first section; thus its form is already more similar to the standard two-movement form of Stanley than to Orlando Gibbons, and there is only needed a double-bar and an "allegro" marking at bar 9 for it to be basically the same as Stanley's. Locke's voluntaries were undoubtedly widely known and played during the 30 years or so after they were published, but only one of them, no.6, is found in any manuscript copies---perhaps because Melothesia was so widely used during this period that copies of its contents were not needed.

Blow

By far the greatest English organ composer of the middle Baroque was John Blow, whose surviving organ works are not only more numerous than those of all his English contemporaries put together (only about 25 extant voluntaries are ascribed to any of them), but also in many cases they are of the highest quality, though a few are rather dull and lifeless. Many are still remarkably lacking in tonal gravitation, even compared with Purcell's, but it would be naive to suggest that those with a strong sense of tonality are superior to the remainder. Most of Blow's organ music is available in an edition by Watkins Shaw,[14] which gives details (with occasional

[14] Shaw ed./Blow.

omissions) of the sources of 29 organ voluntaries and one harpsichord prelude (no.23; see above, p.100).

There is some doubt about the authenticity of the voluntary on the 100th Psalm Tune, for no manuscript survives with it ascribed to Blow and it is ascribed to Purcell in Add. 34695; but it appears in Stafford Smith's Musica Antiqua (1812) described as "MS. Lesson. Mr.Blow's Hundredth Psalm Tune; composed before he took his degrees" in the preface on p.10, and as "The 100th Psalm Tune. Set as a Lesson, from a MS." on p.188. This version differs in several ways from that in Add.34695---for example it omits all ornaments---but one cannot conclude, as Shaw does, that they are therefore two distinct compositions, or that the differences represent modifications made by Purcell to Blow's original: voluntaries of this period are rarely the same in two sources, and mis-attributions are common. The piece was written by either Blow or Purcell, and the case for Blow seems stronger; the copyist of Add.34695 (Nicholas Harrison) was not infallible in his ascriptions, whereas Stafford Smith states that his source was a manuscript that ascribed the piece to "Mr.Blow", which he assumed, almost certainly correctly, to indicate that the manuscript was copied before the date of Blow's doctorate; this was December 1677, at which time Purcell was only about

18 years old. The other 29 pieces in Shaw's edition are all ascribed to Blow in at least one early source, and none are ascribed to any other composer anywhere; hence unless contrary evidence emerges they may be presumed to be his.

Three other Blow voluntaries have been discovered since Shaw's edition was published. One is in Dul.92b and 92d, and has been published along with other organ music from these manuscripts;[15] the other two were discovered in a manuscript in Tokyo (Nanki N-3/35) by Hugh McLean, and have recently been published, edited by him.[16]

There is also a collection of four books of voluntaries published 1771-c.1780 by Longman & Broderip, the third of which is entitled TEN SELECT VOLUNTARIES FOR THE ORGAN COMPOSED BY Orlando Gibbons, Blow, Purcell, Doctr Green, Doctr Boyce, Mr. James Martin Smith...and J. Stafford Smith. Eight of the ten are much too late in style to have been written by Blow or Purcell, and no.I is a simplified version of the first voluntary (in Rayner's edition) of Christopher Gibbons, not Orlando. The name of Christopher Gibbons had more or less passed into oblivion by 1780, whereas Orlando was

15 Phillips ed./Blow.

16 McLean ed./Blow; see also McLean/Japan.

still known by some of his anthems, so it is easy to see how this voluntary became misattributed. The other voluntary in an early style is no.IX, which consists of two movements, in D minor and major. These were almost certainly written independently, since such a combination would be unlikely before about 1730 and each movement is complete in itself; one can therefore deduce from the title page of the collection (if this is to be believed) that one movement was written by Blow and the other by Purcell, or these at least were the ascriptions in Longman & Broderip's source. It is not clear which composer wrote which movement, and the second is different from any by either composer in making use of the trumpet stop, but any complete edition of either composer should print both movements in the "doubtful" category.[17] The trumpet movement is extremely fine, being a fugue that starts low in the bass clef and gradually builds up almost to the top of the keyboard; then in bar 38 the trumpet takes up the fugue subject, which fits the notes of the harmonic series of the natural trumpet, before the contrapuntal texture gives way to more typical trumpet figuration (Ex.2).

[17] They have not yet been published in modern times, however, for a copy of the Ten Select Voluntaries was only recently discovered.

Ex. 2



(1780a, no.IX.11)

In addition there are several anonymous movements in British Museum manuscripts that are almost certainly by Blow. Some of Christopher Gibbons`s voluntaries appear in more than one version and one of Purcell`s voluntaries is found in two versions that begin in a similar way but continue quite differently; moreover with 2-movement voluntaries, such as Blow`s no.10, manuscripts are sometimes found containing just one movement, but this is never at this period found paired with one by another composer (composite voluntaries were common in the mid-18th century but there are hardly any from the time of Blow): thus where part of a voluntary is by one composer one must presume, unless there is concrete evidence to the contrary, that all of it is. It follows that the "additional movements" mentioned by Shaw to Blow`s voluntaries nos.2 and 14 must be presumed to be by Blow, and similarly the extra movement to voluntary no.9 in Add.31446 and 34695. No. 17 exists in a "modified version" (as noted by Shaw in his textual notes to no.30) in Add.31446 and 34695, diverging from

the one in Add.31468 at bar 14, with the remaining 38 bars completely different. There are thus four movements (each found only in Add.31446 and 34695) not included in the Shaw edition, that can reasonably be presumed to be by Blow at present---possibly composed at a later date than the versions printed by Shaw.

The importance of these extra movements, quite apart from their intrinsic value, becomes apparent when the structure of Blow's voluntaries is considered. Only three---nos.5, 11 and 12---have two interlocking sections of which the first could theoretically be detached, for all the others with more than one section have overlapping joins like those of Rogers or Hingston, with the exception of nos.10, 16 and 30, which have two distinct movements with a double bar between. But when these extra movements are taken into account six of Blow's voluntaries are seen to have two distinct movements; hence the two-movement form was more common by the time of Blow's death than has been realised before. There are, therefore, among his voluntaries, examples of practically every stage in the development from the multi-sectional fantasia of Orlando Gibbons to the two-movement voluntary of Stanley, and they can be categorised thus:

(a) multi-sectional:	nos.17 (both versions), 28, 29, Nanki voluntary in G.

(b)	one section, but second part with different texture or without opening theme:	nos.6, 7, 8, 19, 21, 27, Dulwich, Nanki in A.
(c)	two overlapping sections, with disappearance of first theme after start of second:	nos.22, 24, 25, 26.
(d)	two adjoining sections (tonic perfect cadence before start of second theme):	nos.5, 11, 12.
(e)	two distinct movements, similar in style:	nos.10, 14, 16, 30.
(f)	two distinct movements, first much slower, as if a prelude:	nos.2, 9.

There are also a number of monothematic voluntaries, some of which could legitimately be called fugues, where a single theme recurs through the whole piece: nos.1, 3, 4, 15, 18 and 20. No.23, incidentally, would not fit properly into any of the above categories as it lacks a clearly-defined opening theme---further sign that it is not an organ piece---while no.29 would be in category (d) if the insertion from Frescobaldi were removed; this insertion is actually a little incongruous and does not fit in nearly as well as the opening bars of no.2 (also from Frescobaldi), which run smoothly into the part composed by Blow.

Another apparent borrowing, hitherto unnoticed, occurs in no.27, where bars 33-41 coincide with nine bars from the

start of the cornet section of Christopher Gibbons's voluntary no.2a, in Add.31446 and 34695. If Blow could borrow parts of two Frescobaldi toccatas for his voluntaries he could easily have done the same with a Christopher Gibbons voluntary; yet in actual fact the bars must have been taken from Blow's piece for an artificial extension to the Gibbons one: they clearly fit perfectly in the Blow piece for they incorporate the opening theme, whereas the first part of the Gibbons piece is known in a different version as a complete voluntary (no.2), and the bars following the doubtful ones are derived from Gibbons's no.1. Thus the whole of his no.2a as found in Add. 31446 and 34695 is a pasticcio of extracts from Gibbons, Blow, Gibbons again, and perhaps other unidentified voluntaries, ingeniously joined together by someone unknown.

The most retrospective in structure of Blow's voluntaries is no.17, which in both versions has more than two themes but no clearly differentiated sections, so that new themes emerge from a general contrapuntal texture. Harmonically, however, it is relatively modern, being in a clear D major tonality with few accidentals. No.28 has a similar, if not greater, number of themes, but this is in a rather special category as it is a cornet voluntary---probably the earliest surviving example in which this stop recurs consistently

throughout the piece, assuming it antedates the Nanki voluntary in G, which has a similar overall structure and also uses the cornet, but in addition uses an "Ecco" cornet.

Most of the voluntaries in type (b) have, like Locke's 4th voluntary, an opening theme (not necessarily fugato) which disappears about halfway through, perhaps with the introduction of quaver or semiquaver movement, as in nos.8 and 13. No.6 is an exception, however, for although semiquavers are introduced in the second half the opening theme unexpectedly reappears several times after this, almost as a cantus firmus. Such a device may seem obvious, but viewed in the context of other voluntaries of this period it appears as a mark of considerable ingenuity, and this voluntary is one of Blow's finest and most advanced.

Four voluntaries (nos.22, 24, 25 and 26), two of them for double organ, have two distinct fugato themes, the first of which disappears once the second has been introduced, and in each case the second theme is more lively than the first, with quaver and semiquaver figuration instead of minims or crotchets. Three more voluntaries (nos.5, 11 and 12) are similar apart from having a clear tonic perfect cadence before the start of the second theme (whereas in the others the sections overlap and are quite inseparable); but no.11 is

exceptional in that after the cadence and new theme (bar 22) the right-hand part of the opening theme reappears (bar 29) as the music breaks into semiquaver runs, and it is the second theme which disappears after this. Nos.10, 14 and 16 each consist of a pair of fugues similar in style though with the second tending to be slightly more lively, and the second movement of no.16 is the only Blow organ piece in triple time. No.30, though based on a pre-existing melody, has much in common with other double voluntaries in its method of using the two manuals and in its two-movement structure of which the second movement begins with a livelier theme than the first; it is quite unlike any other psalm-tune settings, either of the type where the tune is "given out" or set "with interludes" (see below).

The two voluntaries most forward-looking in form are the longer versions of nos.2 and 9, neither of which has yet been printed. No.2 consists of a slow, chordal first movement, mostly in minims, followed by a quick fugue which itself is in two overlapping sections with the first theme not used after the appearance of the more lively second one at bar 31. No.9 is even more akin structurally to the typical 18th-century voluntary, for the slow opening movement is followed in Add.31446 and 34695 by a cornet movement (though the stop

is named only in the later manuscript); in this movement the composer cunningly exploits the fact that the cornet was a half-stop (i.e. its lowest note was middle C sharp) by writing a few sections for the right hand below middle C to contrast with the sound of the cornet.

Many of Blow's voluntaries, especially the slower ones, are retrospective harmonically and show little evidence of the growth towards fully-developed tonality that had been taking place in music generally during the 17th century; even if they are early works (which most of them probably are) many lack the clear sense of key that always prevails in contemporary dance tunes, and are no more advanced than Frescobaldi. Another link with Frescobaldi (and ultimately the old French chanson) is the stereotyped dactylic rhythm found at the start of many of the latter's canzonas, which reappears in most of Blow's voluntaries that are in a similar style---nos.3, 10 (ii), 14, 19, 29, Dulwich and both Nanki voluntaries. These canzona-type pieces are generally more tonally-directed than the others, though no.29 has several examples of non-tonal chromaticism and is clearly in the Mixolydian mode rather than G major. A good example of this style is no.14, firmly based in A major apart from two unexpected chords on B flat at bars 22 and 32; although it tends towards the flat rather than

sharp side, with the G sharp disappearing from the key-signature at bar 41 in Add.31446, it ends clearly enough in A. The second movement makes an excellent complement to the first, and it is significant that the highest note in the piece---top B---is held in reserve (apart from one incidental appearance at bar 42) until the climax at the final entry of the second-movement theme at bar 59 (Ex.3). The appearance of

Ex.3



(Add.31446, f.34v)

"2d" at bar 28, which Shaw thought implied "some kind of repeat", is probably a fingering indication, for if the 2nd (what is nowadays called the 4th) finger of the left hand is used on the note above which it is marked the downward scale is much easier to play, using conventional Baroque fingering, than if the 3rd or the thumb were used.

Like no.14, no.10 has a strong tonal basis and is largely free from chromaticism except in the final five bars, marked "slow", which finish curiously with a half-close. The Dulwich voluntary is so free of accidentals that one might be

tempted to think it was written by a later composer, but its similarity to no.19 belies this. In contrast to the mostly diatonic "canzona" voluntaries, some of the slower ones lack an overall tonal centre, particularly no.7, which starts on G but is mostly in D minor or C major, so that the final G major cadence sounds most unexpected. No.8 is also slow, but is firmly set in G minor throughout; the first part, with its mournful style and telling suspensions, recalls Frescobaldi`s "Capriccio di durezze", while the second part is dominated by an almost continuous pedal-point on the dominant.

Most of the techniques found in Blow`s voluntaries had already appeared in Locke, and the main difference is that Blow`s are generally longer and more complex, with a wider variety of styles and forms. His use of the two manuals in double voluntaries is very similar to Locke and Hingston, with the great organ used for solo lines in either right or left hand against a chordal, continuo-like accompaniment, alternating with sections where both hands are on the chair organ, and most of the double voluntaries conclude with both hands on the great. The double voluntaries are also the most difficult technically, and it is normally only in these that demi-semiquaver runs similar to those of Locke`s 3rd voluntary are found.

The only organ music of Blow published during his lifetime was The Psalms set full for the Organ or Harpsicord... as they are play'd in Churches or Chapels...being the first Published of this kind in so compleat a manner..., issued by Walsh and Hare, and advertised as above in the Post Man, Aug. 17-19, 1703.[18] Another advertisement in the Post Man (May 5-8. 1705) refers to The 2d Edition. To which is added several Psalms which were omitted in the 1st,[19] and they were published together with some by D. Purcell in 1718;[20] but the only surviving copies of the Psalms are of a reprint of c. 1731. This contains 15 metrical psalm tunes each allotted to several psalms, to cover about half the psalter. Each tune has a one-bar semiquaver interlude between each line, which is presented with block chords slightly decorated and ornamented, and this version was used for the actual accompaniment of metrical psalm singing. The version of the melody used for giving out the tune before the psalm was a much more elaborate one, and examples of this type can be found in The Psalms Set full for the Organ...by Mr.Dan[l]: Purcell (1718 and c.1731);

[18] See Smith and Humphries/Walsh, 1. no.130.

[19] ibid., no.176.

[20] ibid., no.537.

there are also some examples by Reading in his manuscripts at Dulwich and Manchester, but Blow's settings do not have this type. "Psalm the 100" from Blow's publication has been reprinted,[21] and is a typical example of the form: Blow's contribution to the music is relatively small, for he has provided only a very simple accompaniment to a pre-existent melody and added a few bars of conventional semiquaver figuration. These psalm settings can nevertheless not be entirely dismissed.

Thus the total amount of organ music attributable to Blow includes 29 voluntaries published by Shaw (discounting no.23), four additional movements in British Museum manuscripts, three recently discovered works, one of the two in the Longman & Broderip publication and 15 psalm tunes. Moreover, some of the anonymous voluntaries in manuscripts of c. 1700 are almost certain to have been written by Blow, though it is impossible to say which. The total output is not very large by German standards, but it makes him easily the most prolific organ composer in England before Stanley; and if judged by his best voluntaries he outshines all his contemporaries and immediate successors, including Purcell.

[21] In McLean ed./Purcell, p.20.

Despite this, Blow had few imitators and most of his techniques died out rapidly in the 18th century. Although nearly all the leading organ composers of the next generation ---including Croft, Barrett and Reading---were pupils of Blow, their style was much more modern and diatonic and they developed the voluntary away from the single-movement form of Blow to a form that normally had two, and sometimes three or four, movements. Nevertheless Blow's innovations must not be overlooked: he was the first to use the two-movement form, even though only rarely, and he was also the first to write a cornet voluntary, as well as a cornet and echo voluntary (in the Nanki manuscript). The echo principle was not new, for it is found in Locke and was common in French organ music, being derived ultimately from Sweelinck's echo fantasias; but its use with the cornet only became possible near the end of the 17th century with the introduction of an echo manual on some organs. Blow also used more unusual keys than his predecessors, and it may be legitimate to regard the voluntary on the 100th Psalm as a remarkable experiment of his youth to which neither he nor his successors ever returned.

Other Composers

Only Purcell, the eldest of Blow's pupils writing organ music, retained the single-movement form consistently. Seven

voluntaries attributed to him were published in McLean's edition,[22] but of these the voluntary on the 100th Psalm was probably composed by Blow (see above) and the one in the Phrygian mode has since been shown by Peter Williams[23] to be by Lebègue. The other five appear to be authentic and are in a form one would expect from one of Blow's younger contemporaries---two sections with independent themes, but not separated into two distinct movements---whereas the Lebègue piece is monothematic. The C major voluntary, found in Ch.Ch. 1179, is unusual in starting with a chord instead of a single note, but otherwise has no irregular features; the second theme, in semiquavers, is introduced at bar 13. The "Vers" in F major, which, like the C major one, has only 22 bars, is contrapuntal but does not maintain a strict number of parts, varying between two and four; the second theme is introduced later than usual (bar 15) and is more lively than the first.

Purcell's D minor voluntary, like two of Christopher Gibbons's and Blow's no.17, appears in two quite different versions, but here both are actually ascribed to him, so there

22 McLean ed./Purcell.

23 Williams/Purcell. This letter also mentions the Barrett voluntary in C that was published as Purcell's by Benjamin Goodison, c.1799, and in Squire and Hopkins edd./Purcell.

can be little doubt that he revised the work himself at some stage. It is pointless, however, to attempt to say which version is better or even which is later, since both come from manuscripts written after Purcell`s death. The version for single organ is more compact and tidy, while the one for double organ is more powerful and expansive, with a much more distinctive second theme, strongly instrumental in character, that appears on the great for left hand and right hand alternately, then for both hands in stretto.

Like Purcell`s other voluntaries, the one in G major in Add.34695 has a clear sense of tonality but with some reminiscence of the more chromatic style of Blow; formally, however, it is much more advanced than his other voluntaries for it has a slow, chordal first section ending with a perfect cadence, followed by a fugato section that is much livelier if not actually faster. Thus it has a similar structure to Locke`s 2nd voluntary, but is much longer and in this way more like some voluntaries by Croft, on whom it probably had some influence. Though no two Purcell voluntaries are identical in form, they lack the great variety found in Blow and were clearly not so widely played either, for each is found in only one source, as is the voluntary in the aforementioned Nanki manuscript (Nanki N-3/35), of which only the first two

bars survive.[24]

Another piece that has sometimes been considered as a Purcell organ work is a toccata in A major (Z.D229) found in Add.31446, 34695, 39569 (incomplete) and 24313. The authorship of this has vexed musical historians for almost a century. It was first published as a possible composition of J. S. Bach,[25] then as a Purcell work,[26] but has more recently been generally ascribed to Michelangelo Rossi (c.1600-c.1660). Thurston Dart has said that it is "as Italian as can be; this has not prevented the work's being ascribed both to Purcell and to J. S. Bach, despite the evidence of a good British Museum manuscript that it is by Michelangelo Rossi".[27] Howard Ferguson has stated, "The Toccata is still attributed to Purcell by some people who should know better; but a more probable composer is Michelangelo Rossi";[28] and the piece is not included in

[24] Z.D242; see McLean/Japan.

[25] Johann Sebastian Bachs Werke, vol.42, Leipzig, 1894, pp. 250-4.

[26] Squire and Hopkins edd./Purcell, pp.42-6.

[27] Dart/Purcell, p.325.

[28] Ferguson/Purcell, p.5. Dr. Ferguson, in his latest revision of Purcell's harpsichord music, tentatively ascribes the work to Marc Antonio Rossi; this must be a very obscure composer as he is not one of the 28(!) Rossis listed in Eitner/Lexicon.

McLean`s edition of Purcell`s organ works[29] because, as is stated in the preface, it is "now considered to be by M. A. Rossi". Since then, however, Gloria Rose has pointed out in an article[30] what was really perfectly obvious---that if the toccata is not in Purcell`s style, still less is it in Rossi`s; she concludes, mainly on stylistic grounds, that the most likely composer is J. S. Bach, having produced a formidable array of evidence, much of it conflicting. A complete discussion of the evidence will not, as a result of this article, be necessary here, but as one or two important facts were overlooked by Gloria Rose it must be re-examined before her conclusions are too widely accepted.

The evidence for Purcell rests chiefly on Add.31446, where the piece is ascribed to "Mr Hen Purcell" at the beginning and "Mr Henry Purcell" at the end: clearly the copyist, George Holmes, was in no doubt about the authorship. Add. 34695, which also ascribes the work to Purcell, is closely related to Add.31446, as shown earlier (p.198), and its attribution is therefore of little value, but at least it shows that the copyist did not know that the attribution to Purcell was false, if indeed it was. The style of the piece,

29 McLean ed./Purcell.

30 Rose/Purcell.

however, is very different from any of Purcell's other keyboard music; and as Rose points out (p.210), it would be remarkable if a Purcell toccata had found its way into the now lost manuscript of Fr.Knuth used by the Bach Gesellschaft editors. But since Purcell did not write any other toccatas the piece cannot be shown to be different from the style he might have used had he decided to write an Italianate toccata (which he could have done while studying the Italian style); thus it is possible that Purcell's authorship cannot be ruled out.

The evidence for Rossi lies in Add.24313, which contains five toccatas (one incomplete) from Rossi's Toccate e Corrente (1657).[31] followed by the A major toccata and some blank leaves. At the beginning of the manuscript (f.1v) is the inscription "Toccatas of Michela Angelo Rossi 3", but this does not necessarily refer to all the pieces in the manuscript: Rose states (p.205) that "the scribe undoubtedly meant his designation on fol.1v to cover all the toccatas in the volume", but she does not consider the possibility that the inscription was written before the A major toccata was

[31] Nos.1, 6, 7, 4 and 5; reprinted in Torchi ed./Arte, pp. 273-340.

copied. If the scribe added this only later, there is no reason why he should have altered his title page, or indicated for the benefit of future users of the manuscript that he did not think this toccata was by Rossi but that it was anonymous in the source he was using. Thus nowhere is the toccata ascribed unequivocally to Rossi, and stylistic evidence rules him out: Gloria Rose has shown in detail (pp.206-9) that the toccata is quite different in many ways from any others by Rossi, and in fact its general style---strong, tonal, harmonic progressions, controlled modulations and use of the diminished 7th chord---indicate that it could not have been written before about 1680, roughly 20 years after Rossi's death. Hence the widely held view that this toccata is by Rossi seems completely untenable.

There remains the ascription to Bach. His claim rests on the missing Knuth manuscript, which contains some genuine Bach works and also this toccata which, like some of the Bach pieces, is apparently anonymous. Bach's claim is much strengthened by stylistic evidence for some authentic Bach toccatas, particularly the beginning of one in D major (S.912), are very similar, and moreover the outstanding quality of the piece suggests a composer of Bach's calibre (though this type of evidence is always very unreliable). But the manuscript

evidence is overwhelmingly against Bach: all four English manuscripts are earlier than the Knuth one, which includes pieces that, according to Schmieder, date from c.1720,[32] and the latest, Add.34695, was almost certainly written before 1710. Add.24313, as Rose admits (p.210), seems to be in an English hand of the 1680s or 1690s (the titles, ornamentation etc. are English) and the paper also seems to be of that date, so her suggestion "that an elderly scribe of old-fashioned habits copied Add.24313 on left-over paper at a date early in the 18th century" (p.211) is somewhat forced. Astonishingly she does not consider the date of the other two manuscripts containing the toccata, despite mentioning (p.205) that Add. 39569 has the date 1702 stamped on both covers, "for what this tells us". It tells us when the manuscript was copied, and there is an inscription confirming this: "recueil de pièces choisies pour le clavessin 1702"; none of the music in the manuscript contradicts this and much is known to have been written shortly before 1702. (The "French scribe" (p.205) who copied the manuscript was the composer William Babell, an Englishman of French descent.)

A date this early makes Bach's authorship almost

[32] Such as S.948 and 961; see Schmieder/Bach, pp.531 and 536.

impossible, even without the evidence of Add.31446; and the latter, as can be seen from a printed notice stuck to the inside of the front cover, once bore the inscription , "George Holmes, his Book, 1698...Durham..." (which was apparently removed by a binder).[33] For this piece to be written by a 13-year-old boy in a fairly remote part of central Germany, and to be found in a manuscript compiled in Durham in the same year, seems beyond the bounds of possibility. (Again there is no evidence that the manuscript was copied later than the date it used to bear.) The toccata is in Bach's style simply because its composer, like Bach, was using an international language and style traceable back to Pasquini, whose toccatas and tastatas[34] show many similarities of melodic shape to those of Bach and to the A major toccata.

Indeed Pasquini might be put forward as a possible candidate for its authorship, but several features of the piece---linked sections, no sequential movement, more than 70 bars (the toccata actually has 106 bars) and a real fugal exposition---are rare in Pasquini, and even one of his which

[33] A more complete description of the printed notice is in Shaw ed./Blow.

[34] Published in Bernardo Pasquini: Collected Works for Keyboard, ed. M. Brooks Haynes (Corpus of Early Keyboard Music, v.5 and 6), American Institute of Musicology, 1967-8.

does contain most of them[35] is still not really similar; furthermore there is no external evidence for his authorship. Alessandro Scarlatti's toccatas are much too late in style, but an Italian contemporary of Pasquini, or more likely an Austrian or South German one, could have written the toccata. Georg Muffat, for example, might be considered, but his toccatas published in 1690 are in a different style from the doubtful one. Froberger's share some melodic features with the piece, but being of an early date they lack its strong tonal gravitation, and he can therefore be ruled out.

But one fact that militates strongly against an attribution to any Continental composer other than an emigrant to England (such as Finger, Keller, Draghi or Diesener) is that the piece appears in four English manuscripts against only one late Continental one. It has been established by Gloria Rose (p.212) that the toccata is not in any known German source, and it has also not been discovered in any Austrian or Italian one. Continental keyboard music did occasionally appear in English manuscripts, but it was nearly all of French origin, especially any piece that appeared in several sources (such as the chaconne by Verdier in The Second Part of Musick's

[35] Ibid., no.100.

Hand-maid); and what was not French almost invariably appeared long after it was written---the Rossi toccatas are a case in point. By contrast the A major toccata appeared in four early English manuscripts (so early that they seem at first sight to antedate the music!---see Rose's article, p.211) and one German one whose late date implies that, like the Rossi toccatas in England, the piece could well come from outside that country.

Thus the evidence against any composer, or even group of composers, seems very strong, and one is tempted to give the piece some safe ascription like "Anonymous, possibly Italian, c.1690"; but it would be greatly preferable if at least the most likely composer could be established, and an English origin certainly seems the most likely from the above evidence.

This brings us back to Purcell, who must be regarded as easily the most likely English author, even if the piece were not attributed to him. His case must now therefore be reconsidered, especially as no source ascribes the toccata unequivocally to any other composer. He was perfectly capable of imitating the Italian style, as is seen by his two sets of trio sonatas, published in 1683 and 1697, which are "as Italian as can be", at least by comparison with his fantazias

and In nomines. (Indeed if of his chamber music only the latter were known, apart from one trio sonata preserved in a manuscript, some scholars would have no hesitation in dismissing the sonata as spurious on stylistic grounds.) The Italian nature of the sonatas was, moreover, due not to a gradual change of Purcell's style, but, as stated in the preface to the 1683 sonatas, to a deliberate attempt at "a just imitation of the most fam'd Italian Masters; principally, to bring the Seriousness and gravity of that Sort of Musick into vogue...". Is it not likely that he might continue on the keyboard his attempt to popularise the Italian style in England, by writing a toccata in the style of "the most fam'd Italian Masters"? And the chance resemblance of the toccata to Bach is not without parallel in his trio sonatas.[36] Purcell's sonatas, moreover, do show slight deviations from the Italian norm, two of the most obvious ways being more complex counterpoint (including canon in the 6th sonata) and occasional use of the augmented triad; both these features are evident in the toccata, there being a real fugal section, and use of the augmented triad at bars 18, 65, 79 and 86.

Thus it is perfectly plausible that Purcell should want

[36] See Westrup/Purcell, p.275.

to compose an Italianate toccata and equally plausible that the result should be something like the A major toccata. Stylistic arguments cannot, of course, prove that Purcell wrote the piece, and objections may be raised to some of them, but if they can show Purcell to be a not impossible author of the piece, the main objection to his claim is removed, and our present knowledge of external evidence makes him a highly probable author. It would be remarkable, but not impossible, for a Purcell toccata to find its way to Germany during the 30 years or so after it was written, and appear in the Knuth manuscript which, it must be emphasised, was a collection of miscellanea ("Sammelband"), not simply a keyboard manuscript, so that one would expect it to draw on a wide variety of sources; it might even contain some more English music. It is strange, moreover, if the toccata originated in Austria or Italy, that it has not yet been found in any manuscript in these countries; a thorough search through all Austrian and Italian manuscripts might eventually discover the toccata, but unless it does, Purcell must be regarded as the most probable composer, however unlike his normal keyboard style the piece is.

The only problem remaining is whether the piece was written primarily for harpsichord or organ. It sounds equally

well on either, but toccatas of this type were generally written for organ: Rossi's are described as "per Organo, ò Cembalo", but this probably indicated, as did "organ or harpsichord" in England, that the harpsichord was an inferior alternative; some of Froberger's and Frescobaldi's are clearly intended for organ; and although the abbreviated version of the A major toccata appears as a "Prelude" in a "clavessin" manuscript, the three complete versions all appear in manuscripts largely or exclusively devoted to organ music. Thus it is reasonable to regard Z.D229 as a probable Purcell organ piece, even though it is the only one of its kind.

Almost all the organ pieces in English manuscripts of c.1700 are attributed to Blow or Purcell, apart from those that are anonymous in each source in which they appear. There are about 20 of these in British Museum manuscripts, plus a few elsewhere in manuscripts mostly of slightly earlier dates (such as RCM 2093, Ch.Ch.1176 and Ch.Ch.47), and most of them show similar features to Blow's. For example, the well-known one in D minor in Add.31446 (f.16), attributed to Blow by West,[37] is for double organ, and is exceptional chiefly in

[37] West ed./Organ, no.14; the piece is also published in Phillips ed./Alte and Shaw ed./Voluntary.

allowing the hands to cross at one point, like Hingston's voluntary; it is in two distinct, but linked, sections with independent themes, which give way to an unusually chromatic ending. There is no evidence in the manuscript that this piece is by Blow, and yet considering its style and quality West's attribution may well be correct---certainly Blow is by far the most likely author. Another voluntary with two linked sections, in C major, appears in the same manuscript on f.12v;[38] like all other voluntaries in this form it can be presumed to be English, for the form was not normally employed on the Continent. Of the anonymous pieces in other forms, however, some may be of French origin like the Purcell/Lebègue piece, though cross-fertilisation in organ music seems to have been much less than in harpsichord music. A possible example is a piece "for the Trumpet stop" in Add.31403 (f.36v); this has alternate sections for trumpet ("both hands on ye trumpet") and chair organ, but although its form is unlike the typical English trumpet voluntary, it is even further from the normal French type, which has trumpet solos for right and left hand accompanied by quiet stops. It is the only extant work of its type and is quite unlike Clarke's trumpet tunes or the trumpet

[38] No.16 of the anonymous voluntaries listed in Routh/Organ.

tune by Nichola Matteis in Adds.34695 and 22099.

The three fugues for organ by Philip Hart published in 1704 lie a little outside the main development of the organ voluntary, and apart from being the earliest English keyboard publication to use the word "fugue" are relatively unimportant. The first one, in A major, has a short prelude of arpeggiando block chords, followed by a double fugue, but the other two, in C minor and F major, are monothematic; copies of the first (with the prelude) and third are found in Add.34695, which also contains the only copy of a C major fugue by Hart. The most chromatic of the four fugues is the C minor one, but its chromaticism no longer wanders freely as in some of Blow's voluntaries, but is tonally directed, with strong harmonic implications in the subject. Hart's other organ work is "A Lesson for the Organ", probably an autograph, written c.1720 and bound with some later Italian music in Add.32161 (f.84v); the ornamentation is English but the style is very definitely Italian, with many parallel 3rds and 6ths in the fugal section. The two-movement structure of the English voluntary is preserved, but the first, an elaborate toccata, is so much longer and more powerful than normal first movements that it bears little relation to the growth of the form and style of the English voluntary.

Chapter VII

HARPSICHORD MUSIC OF THE LATE BAROQUE

Previous Research

The attitudes of modern scholars to late Baroque harpsichord music in England, and consequently the nature of the work so far done on it, are very different from studies of the earlier period. All of Purcell's and Rogers's harpsichord music and nearly all of that by Locke, Blow, Croft and Clarke has been published in modern editions, as well as both parts of Musick's Hand-maid and most of Melothesia. By comparison English composers after the Croft generation are very poorly represented---only about half of Roseingrave's output has been published, plus two suites by Chilcot and a handful of pieces or suites by their contemporaries. Practically nothing has been published in recent scholarly editions of the harpsichord works of Greene, Nares and J. C. Smith, all of whom made substantial contributions to the repertoire in the early to middle 18th century, and only Handel, Arne and perhaps Loeillet are at all adequately represented.

Despite the paucity of editions, however, this section of English keyboard music has been covered more thoroughly than any other discussed in the present work; in addition to all the Handel studies, Vere Pilkington's Royal Musical

Association paper on his own collection[1] and Beulah Brown's dissertation on English harpsichord music of this period[2] have provided detailed descriptions of many of the harpsichord publications, as well as some general stylistic comment. Pilkington discusses publications by Arne, Babell, Burgess, Felton, Greene, John Jones, Roseingrave and some later figures. Brown concentrates on the published music of nine composers---Alcock, Arne, Felton, Greene, John Jones, Richard Jones, Nares, Roseingrave and Smith---but also provides two chapters on the social background of the music and 18th-century attitudes towards music in general, as well as an extended discussion of the influence of Handel and Scarlatti.[3] But there is little attempt by either Pilkington or Brown to trace a continuous line of development from the advent of the Italian style with Handel to the growth of the sonata in the mid-18th century. Brown's Reassessment does little more than divide the period into two (1710-45 and 1745-60) and some of its comments on chronology, such as the statement (pp.97-8)

1 Pilkington/Collection.

2 Brown/Reassessment.

3 Pilkington finds very little influence of either Handel or Scarlatti but Brown presents clear evidence of a quite widespread influence of both.

that Roseingrave's suites were the first to show a clear break with the French style, are inaccurate. The following discussion, which is intended to complement rather than duplicate previous studies, will therefore attempt to regard the music in historical perspective rather than make detailed analyses.

Sources

The sources of the late Baroque harpsichord music are of a very different type from those of the earlier period. A remarkably large number of manuscripts survive from the first decade of the 18th century, but after this there are relatively few and what there are are not usually representative in a general way like the earlier ones. The main categories are the Handel manuscripts (both autographs and copies, including the "Aylesford" manuscripts), a few containing unpublished pieces by Greene (notably Add.31467 and RCM 1057), one or two containing earlier music (such as Fitz.52.B.7, written after 1713 when Croft took his doctorate, but consisting almost entirely of pieces composed by about 1705), and a substantial number (e.g. Adds.34609, 35040 and 38188) consisting mainly or entirely of popular tunes, song arrangements and arrangements of instrumental music, mostly from concertos or Handel operas; there are also several manuscripts containing a mixture of the above categories. But there are hardly any that contain copies

of printed suites of the first half of the 18th century (excluding Handel's) and not many that include unpublished suites or dance movements either: thus there are only about a dozen contemporaries of Greene and Handel who wrote unpublished harpsichord music that still survives in manuscript, and they average only about five movements per composer. Hence the manuscript sources, which Brown admits to having disregarded in general, are in fact of only very minor importance compared with printed editions.

The printed sources fall into two distinct types---those that consist of a group of suites or "lessons", invariably by a single composer, and those that are collections of popular tunes, fingering exercises, arias or arrangements of instrumental pieces, for example the later books of The Harpsicord Master and most volumes of The Lady's Banquet. The latter type, though of some significance in its probable influence on the formation and development of harpsichord technique, is of little intrinsic interest and will in general be ignored. It is the sets of suites that show the true development of harpsichord style during the first half of the 18th century, and these will form the backbone of the present study.

The Change to the Italian Style

In the years after Purcell's death there had been

several publications of suites by a single composer:[4] Purcell himself was the first (1696) and his collection was followed by ones by Blow (1698), Hart (1702 and 1704) and others, including a posthumous set by Clarke (1711), all written by 1708. All of this music was essentially French in style, so that although the Italian style had invaded both dramatic and ensemble music in England by 1708, there was still virtually no sign of it in the keyboard suite. After 1708 there was a gap of 11 years before the next publication of harpsichord suites by a living British composer (Anthony Young)---a remarkably long time considering the wealth of publications immediately before---and Young's suites of 1719 are late enough to be able to be influenced by Handel, whose harpsichord music began to circulate in manuscript soon after his arrival in England in 1711. Thus the sudden decline in harpsichord manuscripts after about 1708, coupled with this gap in published suites, seems to imply a dearth of actual composition of suites about this time. The cause for this was probably mainly stylistic: the early suites of Croft were not only very antiquated, being scarcely more advanced than those of Bryne, but also in a style that was quickly going out of

4 See Chapters III-V.

fashion. Composers like Clarke and Croft himself were able to update the style to some extent, but this was insufficient and they seem to have been unable or unwilling to change to an Italian keyboard style, so that without exception they abandoned harpsichord composition completely.

This left the way open for some rather artificial attempts to bring the Italian style to the harpsichord---the various books of The Harpsicord Master Improved, The Lady`s Entertainment etc., which consisted mainly of arrangements from Italian operas or pasticcios. First came the songs in Bononcini`s Camilla (produced in London in 1706), arranged by Louis Ramondon, and they were followed by four books of The Lady`s Entertainment, the last two consisting entirely of opera arias arranged by Babell.[5] Pippard`s Harpsicord Master Improved (1711) consists mainly of popular dance tunes like "The Dutch Skipper", but also includes several arias from Thomyris (1707) and Mancini`s Hydaspes (L`Idaspe Fedele, produced in London in 1710). The furthest development along this line was Babell`s Suits...fitted to the Harpsicord,.. (February 1717): here the arias, all from Handel operas, are grouped into four "suites" each unified by its key-note

5 See Chapter V for a description of the first two books.

(though the opposite mode was admissible) and each suite begins with a prelude composed by Babell himself. Most of the arias are decorated not only with the usual ornaments but with occasional virtuosic "passages" of scale figuration, the most spectacular being those in "Vo far guerra", which are clearly intended to rival Handel's original ones which he had played in Rinaldo. Thus the English were clearly anxious to bring the Italian style to their harpsichord music and had they built on Babell's example they might have developed a new type of suite with movements based either on actual opera arias or on stylised imitations of them. Instead, however, the younger composers like Greene and Roseingrave eventually followed the example of Handel by writing dance suites as before but now in a fully developed Italian style with almands in running semi-quavers, corants with broken-chord quavers, and slow sarabands.[6]

Handel was not the only one to point the way in this new direction, for there were three or four others, all foreigners, who gave clear examples during the second decade of the 18th century, and who must have been of some influence on native

6 See Chapter I for a more detailed discussion of the differences between the French and Italian styles.

Englishmen. The eldest of these was Pepusch (1667-1752), almost all of whose harpsichord music survives only in manuscript and must have been of limited influence. In addition to an early "Ground" in B flat preserved in Babell's hand (Add. 39569, ff.107v-109) Pepusch wrote a number of single movements, mostly entitled "Aire" or "Minuet", and at least one complete suite in D minor (Add.31467, ff.80v-82v) which consists of prelude, almand, saraband and jigg. The suite is entirely Italian in style but its date of composition is unknown: thus it is not clear whether Pepusch helped to introduce the Italian style or wrote his Italianate pieces only after 1720.

Another composer who must have had some influence is Johann Mattheson, for although he never lived in England two volumes of his suites were published by I. D. Fletcher in 1714. These actually show many French features including the use of French names, a preponderance of courantes, several "doubles", occasional use of <u>style brisé</u> and the appearance of certain titles like "Loure", "Boutade" and "Ouverture"; there is even a "Courante à la Francoise". Nevertheless the style of many movements, especially allemandes, leans towards the Italian (or rather German-Italian), sometimes markedly, and a scarcity of ornaments is another Italian feature.

About a year or two after Mattheson's suites appeared in England Walsh issued A Compleat Suite of Lessons for the Harpsichord by Alexander Maasmann, who is designated as "Prusse" on the title page, apparently indicating German origin, though nothing is known about him. On the title page the dance movements are referred to by English names, but inside, Italian titles are used---Allmanda, Sarabanda, Corrente Allegro, Gavotta Presto, Ciacconna Andante and Giga Vivace, these being followed by a "Minuet". These titles give the clue to the style of the movements, which are almost all Italian; only the overture (a French overture, in the style of Handel rather than Lully) and the minuet owe more to French influence than Italian.

More significant than Pepusch, Mattheson or Maasmann is John Loeillet (1680-1730).[7] Two volumes of his harpsichord music[8] were printed in England (the first by Wright and the

[7] John or Jean-Baptiste Loeillet is not to be confused with another, probably more famous, Jean-Baptiste Loeillet (1688-?) nor with Jacques Jean-Baptiste Loeillet (1685-1748). John Loeillet, who arrived in England about 1705, is moreover often referred to in English sources as Lully, causing further confusion. Attributions to yet another J-B. Loeillet (1653-1728) appear to be false. A thematic catalogue of the printed collections of all three Loeillets is found in Priestman/Loeillet.

[8] Both published in Watelet ed./Loeillet.

second by Walsh and Hare) and a few pieces survive in manuscript, including two suites in Add.31467. The set published by Walsh appeared in January 1723 but the date of the Wright edition, though considerably earlier, has not been established: c.1709, when Wright began publishing,[9] is the earliest possible date, but no advertisements for it have been found in contemporary newspapers[10] and the date of c.1715 given in BUC can only be regarded as very approximate; other clues like the watermark (a crowned fleur de lys, which was common over a long period) are unable to indicate a precise date. However, the type of paper and the engraving style suggest it is one of Wright's early publications and it almost certainly appeared before 1720. Many of the pieces in the collection show a definite Italian style: the almand in D, for example, has an almost entirely continuous top line, plenty of sequential motion, little style brisé and a texture mostly of two or three voices, which are often real parts for the whole of a phrase; there are only 27 ornaments, running semiquaver figuration with no dotted semiquavers, and the movement can be played fairly fast. Not all the pieces are as strongly

9 See Humphries and Smith/Publishing, p.342.

10 See Tilmouth/Newspapers.

Italian, however---the minuets are more French-orientated and the almand in E minor is something of a cross-breed: it has a mostly continuous top line and some sequence but also some style brisé and over 100 ornaments; the tempo should probably be fairly slow and the texture is almost all in three, four or even five parts, though unlike the D major almand these are hardly real parts. Nonetheless, the collection as a whole shows a great advance on English suites of a decade earlier and adheres in the main to the new Italian style.

Loeillet's 1723 collection uses the Italian style much more consistently, however, and the result is closer to the style used by Englishmen like Greene, Chilcot and Richard Jones in the 1730s. Thus Loeillet seems to have been a key figure in the introduction and establishing of the Italian style in the harpsichord suite in England. His first collection had a particularly good chance of influencing native composers as they seem to have been still trying to find their way in the new style when the set was published. The second set, coming three years after Handel's Suites de pièces, was less of a new departure, but it shows that from 1720 the Italian style was firmly established and the old French style was obsolete. And being more straightforward than Handel's pieces, Loeillet's style could be more easily reproduced by

later English composers, who tended to avoid writing anything as complex as Handel's.

Handel

The sheer extent of Handel's harpsichord music and the complexity of its source material would prevent a complete survey of it within the context of a general work on English keyboard music; moreover such a survey is not necessary or appropriate here since so much has been written on the subject already and so much detailed work by Handel scholars is still in progress. There are good general discussions of it by Gerald Abraham[11] and Kathleen Dale,[12] for example, and Terence Best's recent article[13] has for the first time given a clear picture of the precise extent of the subject, as well as indicating the main sources. More details on the sources of Handel's 2nd set of harpsichord suites are provided in a dissertation by Peter Northway,[14] while information on the "Aylesford" pieces can be found in Barclay Squire's edition

11 Abraham/Clavier.

12 In Abraham ed./Handel, pp.233-247.

13 Best/Handel.

14 Northway/Handel.

of them and in his catalogue of the relevant manuscripts.[15] The results of other recent scholarship are gradually being made available in the editions and critical commentaries published in the Hallische Händel-Ausgabe. The main problem here will therefore be to consider in what way and to what extent Handel fits into the history of English harpsichord music, rather than to provide a discussion of the source material or general stylistic comments.

It has been established by Terence Best and others[16] that almost all of Handel's harpsichord pieces were written during the period 1711-20, i.e. during the first few years he was in England, and that the pieces published as his 2nd collection in 1733 are mostly earlier than those of the 1720 set. Thus the chief influences on his style were undoubtedly Continental---both German and Italian---and none of his suites or dance movements resembles those of Blow, Croft and Clarke which were circulating in England when he arrived. Only his six chaconnes (two of which appeared in the 1733 collection) seem to look back to Blow, in their restless energy and long, virtuosic character. Since Blow died only four years before

15 Squire and Maitland edd./Handel; Squire/Kings.

16 See Best/Handel.

Handel settled in England, and since on arrival Handel would have been likely to seek out the best keyboard music available in England at the time, it is very probable that he encountered some of Blow`s grounds or chaconnes; but whether these actually influenced Handel`s own compositions is doubtful, for the inspiration for his chaconnes is more likely to have come from his native Germany or Austria, where there are numerous examples of keyboard chaconnes by Ferdinand Fischer, Georg Muffat and others. It is significant that whereas many of Blow`s grounds are in 4/4 time all of Handel`s, being chaconnes, are in 3/4, like those on the Continent. Hence Handel`s harpsichord pieces not only show little or no influence from any of his predecessors in England, but, owing to their relatively early date of composition, cannot have been influenced by English composers who took up the Italian style in the 1720s either.

It is therefore debatable whether Handel`s harpsichord music can be regarded as English at all, even though it does not fit properly into the German or Italian tradition either. As with so much of his output, Handel`s harpsichord music shows him to be an international, or even supra-national, composer, synthesising German, Austrian, Italian and French elements. On arrival in England he had already developed his

own style beyond the point where it was likely to be much influenced by the English tradition (unlike composers such as Draghi) and he arrived, moreover, at a time when English harpsichord composers were searching for a more modern style in line with current taste for Italian music. Handel, along with Pepusch, Maasmann, Mattheson and Loeillet, was able to provide the necessary lead in this direction, and his influence was undoubtedly greater than that of these other four put together. Some of his harpsichord pieces were soon being copied into contemporary manuscripts---the earliest dated one still in existence is the one compiled by Elizabeth Legh in 1717-18, but there may be even earlier undated ones; thus most of the leading English composers probably knew some of his harpsichord music before the first editions of it were published---the unauthorised Pièces à un & deux clavecins (late 1719 or early 1720) and the eight Suites de pièces pour le clavecin.[17] Any English harpsichord music written after about 1715, including Anthony Young's collection of 1719, was therefore able to be influenced by Handel's harpsichord music,

17 The best edition of the latter is Steglich ed./Handel I. Handel's other keyboard music appears in Northway ed./Handel II, Best ed./Handel III, and volume IV of the same series (in Hallische Händel-Ausgabe), which is not yet published.

plus, of course, his other instrumental and vocal music of that date; and any English harpsichord music composed after 1720 certainly did come under Handel's influence, as his Suites de pièces were most enthusiastically received and sold an exceptionally large number of copies.

The 1720 suites brought several new features to the keyboard suite in England that were to have an effect on later composers. First, there is the consistent use of the Italian style, which is even more prominent than it had been in Loeillet and Maasmann; it marked the final death-knell of the old French style with its "broken" lines and multitude of ornaments, for after 1720 no more examples of this are found from English composers. Secondly the suites are notable for their inclusion of many non-dance movements. Previously English suites had consisted almost exclusively of dances, apart from preludes and the occasional "ayre" or march; but Handel's contain many non-dance movements either intermingled with dances as in no.VII (Overture, Andante, Allegro, Sara-band, Jigg, Presto) or even, in no.II, without any dance movements (Adagio, Allegro, Adagio, Allegro---the old sonata da chiesa structure of Corelli). This situation was partly forced on Handel, since in composition he had availed himself of the wider variety of forms in use in Germany (including

fugues, which in England were restricted to organ music) without, apparently, any clear idea as to how they would fit together in a published work---the autographs do not always have the pieces grouped in the same way as the edition; then when he came to arrange them for publication he grouped them according to key as was customary in England, and chose any pieces that would fit together to make satisfactory structures, adding new ones where necessary. Thus his method of composing "suites" is similar to what has already been suspected in the case of Purcell and Blow.

A third new feature introduced by Handel was a relatively high degree of virtuosity and complexity: virtuosity and brilliance were not new, of course, for the virginalists and Blow frequently introduced display passages, but Blow's are confined to his preludes and grounds, while his dance movements are all relatively simple and straightforward. Handel, on the other hand, though reserving some of his most dazzling effects for his chaconnes, requires a high degree of technical skill throughout, and his dance movements are often more difficult than they sound. Allied to the virtuosity is the general contrapuntal complexity that pervades so much of the music. This is found not just in the fugues but in many of the other movements too, particularly in the 1720 set, which

implies that Handel introduced greater complexity into his later harpsichord works. The complexity is very different from that of the style brisé, which only ever aimed at a pseudo-counterpoint and could be resolved into something quite simple if the chords were played unbroken. Handel's counter-point is normally real, and can be analysed over short phrases into three or four distinct voices. Thus Handel brought several new features to the harpsichord suite in England, and most of these were taken up by native composers.

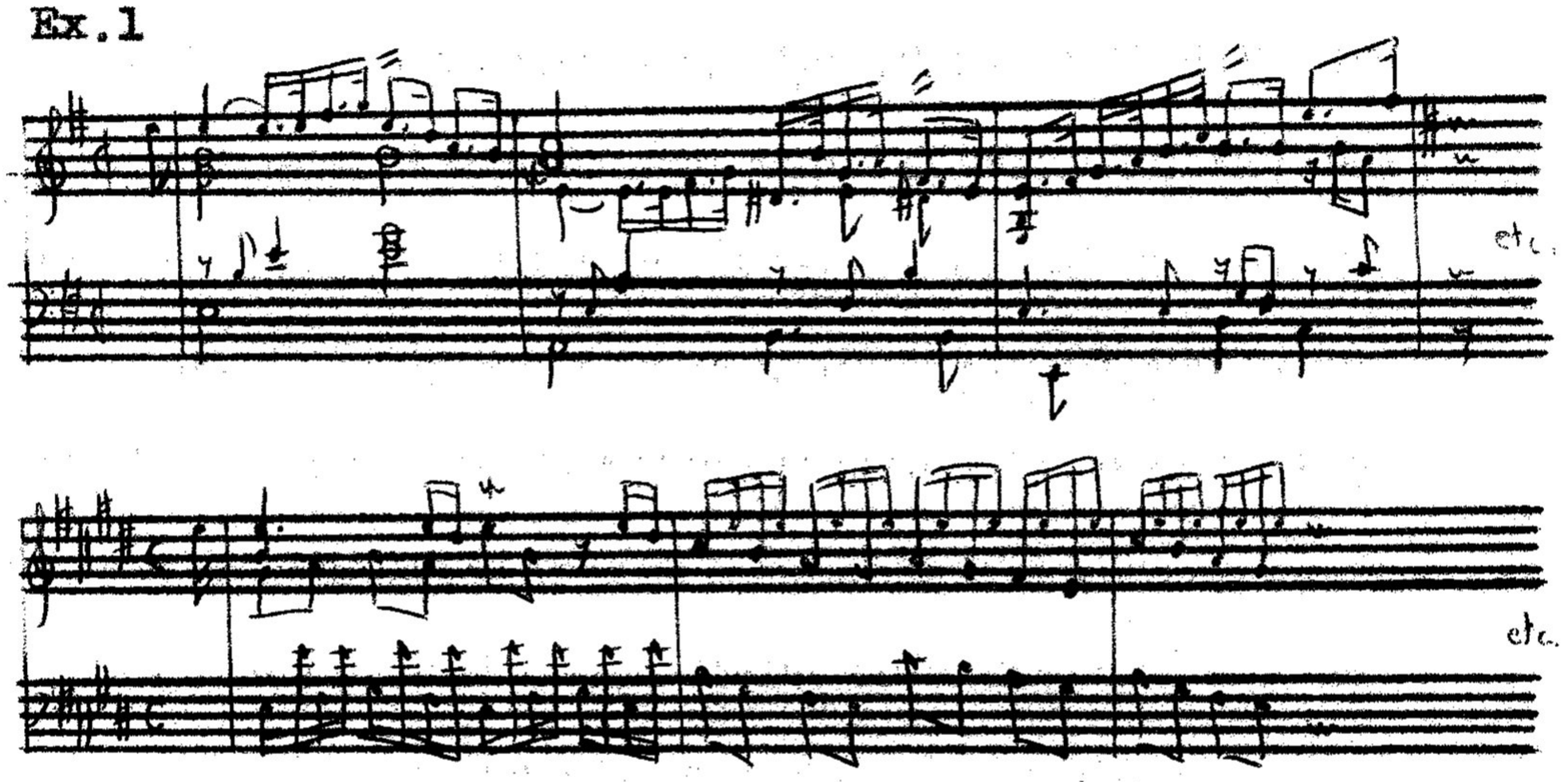
English Publications after Handel

Although Handel's suites were greatly admired by all, they were regarded somewhat with awe and few Englishmen attempted to imitate them directly. They followed Handel in adopting the Italian style but they concentrated on simpler forms and textures more like those of Loeillet, and only slowly began introducing fugues and other non-dance movements into their work.

Anthony Young was the first to take up the challenge of writing in the new style, but his Suits of Lessons for the Harpsicord or Spinnet (1719) include pieces in both old and new styles, as well as a few that are not strongly one or the other. The two grounds (pp.1-3 and 20-22) clearly belong to the old English tradition, as does "The Prince's March", which

is reminiscent of Clarke's trumpet marches. Some of the almands are French (e.g. the D minor one, p.11), some are more Italian (e.g. the D major one, p.13). The difference between the two styles is sometimes very striking, as in the following two almands (pp.16 and 18) of Ex.1; it suggests that

Ex.1



(1719a, pp.16 and 18)

the French-style ones may have been written about 1710 and the Italian ones shortly before publication, by which time Young would have known some of Loeillet's music and probably some of Handel's. Neither style is very skilfully handled, however, and the edition also has numerous mistakes.

George Vanbrughe's G minor suite in his Modern Harmony[18]

[18] Probably published in 1720; see Smith and Humphries/Walsh, 1.165.

is of little importance: the almand is Italian but the other dance movements still show French influence, while the prelude is a typical English construction built on running semi-quavers. More interesting is a little-known collection of seven suites by John Sheeles, not mentioned in Brown's dissertation. The date of this has not been fully established, but it can be narrowed down to small limits by means of the names and addresses of the publishers---Smith, Rawlins and Barrett. Smith's address is given as at the Orange Tree, where he was during the period c.1720-25; Rawlins was active from 1699 to 1728, but the Globe Tavern, included as part of his address on the title page, is only mentioned on his later publications, from about 1725; and Barrett was only active (at the Harp and Crown) from 1724.[19] Thus Sheeles's suites must have been published in 1724 or more probably 1725.

They are the first clear attempt to follow Handel's example, for not only do they adopt the Italian style throughout (apart from the use of a French overture at the beginning of the last suite---an idea derived from Handel's 6th suite) but they include several non-dance movements that reveal the influence of the Italian sonata and concerto. The most regular

[19] See Humphries and Smith/Publishing, pp.65, 270 and 297.

in construction is the first suite, consisting of a prelude, almand, corant and jigg, but some are quite irregular, such as the fifth, which comprises an Allegro in binary form, a through-composed Andante and a jigg. All these are in the tonic minor (G minor), but Sheeles moves still further from the normal suite structure in nos.II and VII by including a movement in the relative minor. Also notable is the complete absence of the saraband, which began to wane in popularity from about this time, partly due, perhaps, to the rise of the minuet. Sheeles`s suites do not display the technical virtuosity or the pervading complexity of Handel`s, but counterpoint is prominent in some movements: as well as the contrapuntal section of the French overture, the Vivace in F (IV. iii) is contrapuntal at the start, and a short movement in the 2nd suite, which is contrapuntal throughout, is essentially a real fugue, although the exposition is somewhat irregular. The Vivace in E minor (III.i) is the other fugue in the collection: this is a very fine piece with a descending chromatic subject treated in close stretto in the exposition, and later appearing in inversion. Most of the pieces in the collection are in fact well-written and only a few, such as the final jigg, seem rather trivial.

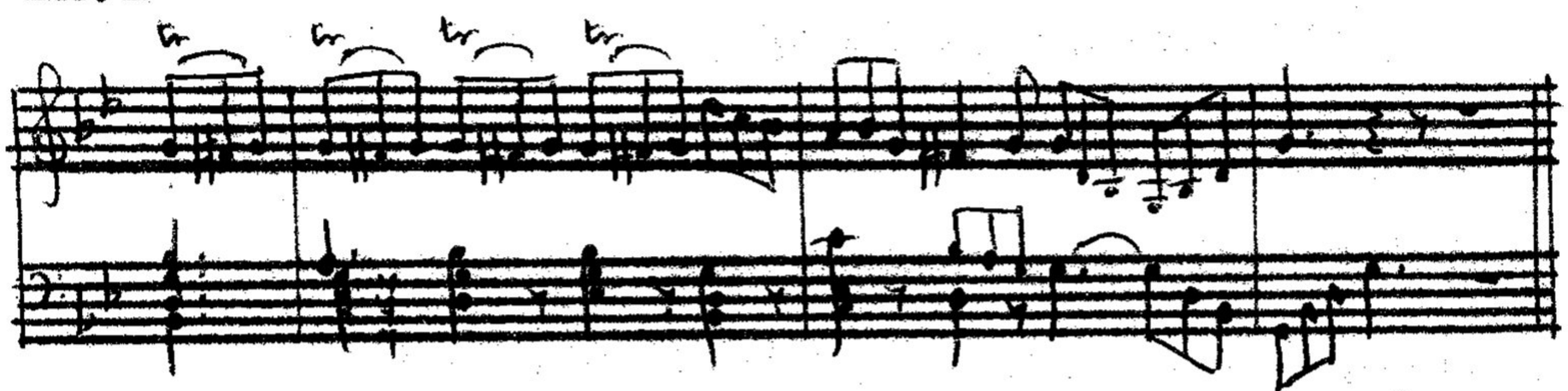
The next collection of suites published after Sheeles`s

was that of Thomas Roseingrave, whose eight suites were published simultaneously with his Voluntarys and Fugues in December 1728. As with Sheeles there is scarcely a hint of style brisé and the general style is similar in many places to Handel, but there is no reason to suppose that Roseingrave was particularly acquainted with Handel's harpsichord music, for he had had the opportunity of learning the Italian style at first hand during his stay in Italy (1710-c.1715). Indeed he may well have written most of these suites while in Italy or immediately on return to England. While in Italy Roseingrave had met Domenico Scarlatti, and after the initial shock of meeting someone who far excelled him on the harpsichord[20] formed a great friendship and admiration for him. That there is little sign of Scarlattian influence in Roseingrave's suites is not surprising, however, for Scarlatti did not develop the most distinctive and personal characteristics of his style until towards the end of his life and none of his harpsichord music was actually published until ten years after Roseingrave's suites. Features that may be partly due to Scarlatti's influence include the extravagant modulations that

[20] For Roseingrave's fascinating account of this, as related by Burney, see Mercer ed./Burney, ii.704.

occur from time to time, arpeggio themes such as that in the Presto of the first suite, wide melodic leaps often of more than an octave, occasional ostinato passages over thick chords (mostly in the gigues, e.g. VIII.iii, Ex.2), and an overall

Ex.2



(1728b, no.VIII.iii)

contrapuntal complexity and technical difficulty that rivals Handel's. But even these may be just anticipations of, rather than influence by, Scarlatti.

The structure of Roseingrave's suites is remarkably conservative---the only movements not based on dances (apart from an air in the 5th suite) are the Overture and Presto in the 1st suite. The 4th suite looks back to the days of Blow and his predecessors by containing just the three basic movements of allemande, courante and sarabande,[21] while no.II adds just a prelude and no.VII a gigue; no.III has the same con-

[21] Roseingrave uses French titles, rather than English or Italian, almost throughout.

struction as the latter, but this is disguised by the fact that the courante is misleadingly called "Gavota" though it is in 3/4 with running quavers. Allied to Roseingrave`s use of old structures is his penchant for sarabands---seven of the eight suites include one whereas Sheeles had used none and even in Handel`s two collections together there are only five. As a whole, Roseingrave`s suites were too eccentric and too chromatic ever to achieve great popularity but they were widely admired by his contemporaries, and amongst the puzzling harmonies are interspersed many quite straightforward passages; some of these anticipate galant features (for example the expressive appoggiaturas and suspensions in the "Chacone"), whereas the more dissonant aspects of his style were not adopted by later composers.

Thus by 1730 the Italian style had been firmly established in English harpsichord music, and during the next decade there was relatively little change: there was perhaps a slight trend away from dance movements and the suite towards allegros and the sonata,[22] and a decline in the saraband matched by a rise in the popularity of the minuet, but these

[22] This process may have been encouraged by the publication of some harpsichord sonatas by Pietro Sandoni in London, c.1730.

features varied from one composer to another. The two leading composers to emerge during this time were Maurice Greene (c.1696-1755) and John Christopher Smith (1712-95):[23] harpsichord music by both was published in the 1730s and some of Greene's is also found in Add.31467 (compiled 1735), though both published more extensive collections later.[24] The earliest Greene pieces published appeared in a set of 28 Choice Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet (1733) issued by Daniel Wright without Greene's consent and against his wishes; he replied with a letter to several London newspapers stating that many of the 28 pieces "were not compos'd by me, and that those few which are mine, were composed many Years ago, and are very uncorrect".[25] A month later Walsh published them anonymously as part of The Lady's Banquet 2d Book,

[23] Born in Ansbach, Johann Christoph Schmidt the younger came to England with his father in early childhood and is almost invariably known by the English version of his name.

[24] Although much of the music by both composers is of quite high quality neither has yet been reprinted in satisfactory modern editions. Some of Greene's music has been edited for the piano by Frederick Moore and Patrick Williams (Moore ed./Greene, Williams ed./Greene pieces and Williams ed./ Greene suites) but these editions should only be used with utmost caution as they not only add the predictable "expression marks" but actually alter many of the notes and introduce newly devised counterpoints.

[25] See Johnstone/Banquet, p.36.

possibly encouraged by Greene who clearly wanted to suppress the Wright edition and dissociate himself from the music, and they reappeared again after Greene`s death.[26]

It is not entirely clear whether Greene`s phrase "very uncorrect" refers to Wright`s printing, which has numerous errors, or to the music itself, much of which is only of mediocre quality and could easily have been improved by Greene if he had wanted to publish it. Precisely when these pieces were written is uncertain but Greene`s statement that his own were composed many years earlier is probably substantially correct: the four suites in the set consist entirely of dance movements, airs and preludes in the Walsh edition (though Wright wrongly calls one piece "Overture"), with no progressive, sonata-type allegros apart from one or two of the airs; and the style of the music, though Italian or Anglo-Italian throughout, is fairly elementary and resembles Loeillet and Sheeles more than Roseingrave or Smith. Thus internal evidence suggests the music was written between about 1717 and 1725; and the one piece known to be by Bononcini (an untitled piece in G minor) had first appeared in the latter`s Divertimenti

26 A full account of these editions and the history of their contents is given in Johnstone/Banquet.

da camera in 1722.

The main manuscript source of Greene's harpsichord music, Add.31467, contains eleven suites of a total of 41 movements, 13 of which had been printed by Wright. Almands, corants and minuets are the most common movements; the absence of sarabands is notable---there were none in Wright's collection and only one appears in Add.31467 (f.100), and even this one is closer to a minuet in style. The structure of the suites adheres closely to the pattern of almand, corant, minuet and usually one other movement---gavott, jigg, prelude or just "Aire: Allegro".[27] A few suites have more progressive structures, however, particularly the last one (ff.105v-108) which is not really a suite at all but a 3-movement sonata (Allegro, Largo (Siciliana), Allegro), with the 3rd movement in rudimentary sonata form; assuming this was written by 1735, as the date of the manuscript suggests, it is rather remarkable as this makes it the first English example of its kind, but it is always possible that it was added to the manuscript only at a later date. The style of most of the dance movements is similar to the early Italian style shown in Wright's set,

[27] The two suites, in E flat and F minor, found uniquely in RCM 1057, have a similar structure.

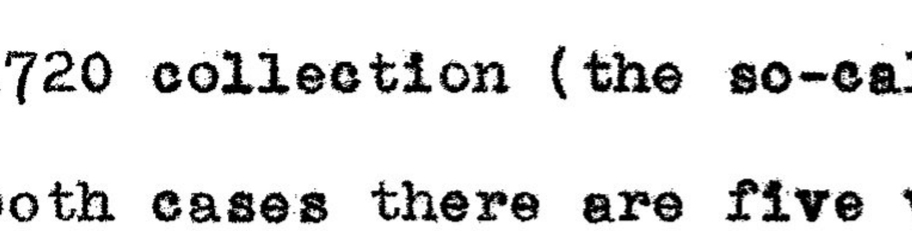
but there are more light, modern allegros of the type met in Handel and Sheeles; some of these, for example those in the sonata mentioned above, have almost continually a two-part texture of melody plus harmonic bass, and clearly look forward to Greene's later, more galant style which he brought to fruition in his Collection of Lessons published in 1750.

J. C. Smith's first harpsichord publication appeared about a year before Greene's in May 1732[28] when the composer was only about 20. His training under Pepusch, Roseingrave and Handel had been thorough, however, and there is no sign of incompetence or immaturity in the music. Indeed with such an illustrious trio of mentors, and with intimate acquaintance of Handel since early childhood, it is not surprising that his music is not only of high quality but shows an unusual amount of learned counterpoint and complexity of part-writing in both of his first two sets of harpsichord pieces (1732 and 1737). In these sets he followed Handel more closely than do any of his contemporaries, and like Handel his predilection for counterpoint manifests itself in an unusually large number of fugues---four fairly regular ones plus a fugal fantasia (1732 set, VI.1) and a fugal section to a French overture (1732 set,

[28] See Smith and Humphries/Walsh, 11.309.

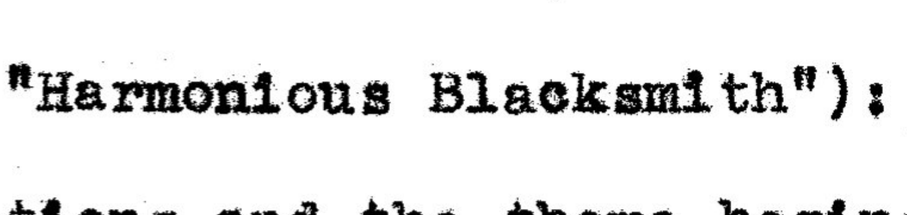
IV.1). Another feature recalling Handel is the wide variety of movements that Smith employs: he still uses preludes and most of the normal dance types (though no sarabands) and his basic structure, especially in the first set, is prelude, allemande, courante, gigue; but other movements include, apart from the fugues and French overture, several progressive binary-form allegros, a siciliano, an occasional Italianate largo or grave, two concerto-style movements (1737 set, II.1 and V.1) which contrast thick, tutti sonorities with soloistic figuration in the manner of a Handel organ concerto, and also airs with variations. One of the latter (1737 set, V.v) sounds particularly similar to Handel as it closely resembles an air with variations by him---the one from his E major suite in the 1720 collection (the so-called "Harmonious Blacksmith"): in both cases there are five variations and the theme begins on the 2nd beat of the bar, while the opening of Smith's theme (Ex.3a) recalls the second part of Handel's (Ex.3b), which Smith must have known. Such derivativeness should not be

Ex.3a



(1737a, V.v)

Ex.3b



(1720a, V.1v, bars 3-4)

regarded as plagiarism, however, but as a tribute to Handel`s example from one of his greatest pupils.

There is little influence of composers other than Handel in Smith`s first two collections of suites, for Scarlatti was still not widely known in England and later Italians like Alberti were still quite unknown. But Smith presumably encountered some of Scarlatti`s music while a pupil of Roseingrave and there seems to be occasional evidence of Scarlatti`s style, chiefly---as with Roseingrave---in his gigues. (In his later publications he sometimes followed Scarlatti very closely.) Smith also shows signs of the approaching <u>style galant</u> which are absent in Handel, in the form of his sonata-type allegros (lighter and more modern than Handel`s on the whole), in his elegant, graceful minuet-like movements (though there is only one movement entitled minuet), and in his greater use of expressive appoggiaturas.

Roughly contemporary with the early publications of harpsichord music by Greene and Smith were several by lesser English figures, including Richard Jones (1732), Thomas Chilcot (1734), Henry Symonds (1734) and John Alcock the elder (1741). Of these, Chilcot`s seem most worthy of some attention, partly because the subscribers to his collection included the 21-year-old Stanley and, more surprisingly,

Handel. Five of his six suites have a very regular construction of almand, corant, saraband, jigg and minuet:[29] although occasionally a dance title is replaced by a phrase like "Aria Slow" the original dance style and rhythm are still retained in each case. The 1st suite, however, is considerably longer, beginning with a fine French overture, then a 2-bar adagio with a written-out cadenza, which leads to a short, fairly fast aria; this is followed by a siciliano, but the remaining four movements are the same as the last four in the other suites---Chilcot has just replaced the normal almand by a more extended group of movements to make the 1st suite look more impressive. This suite is indeed probably the best in the collection and the contrapuntal part of the overture is fairly chromatic, due to a chromatically rising tetrachord in the subject; this figure reappears in the first aria, and in some of the other suites Chilcot uses the figure inverted, but his chromaticism hardly extends any further than this and never approaches that of Handel or Roseingrave.

Another device often used by Chilcot is sequence---it is not uncommon to find a figure treated sequentially five or

[29] Chilcot uses Italian titles for the first three of these, but the old English forms for the last two.

six times in succession, and some movements (e.g. the almand of the 4th suite) definitely over-use the technique. The presto of the 2nd suite, however, though also containing much sequence, is a much longer piece (almost 150 bars) and therefore less concentrated in musical content, so that the sequences do not obtrude here. One of the most progressive features about Chilcot's suites is the approach towards sonata form found in many of the movements: in these there is a tonic recapitulation of the opening bars about halfway through the second part of the movement, often followed by a tonic statement of material that had appeared in the dominant in the first part. Brown[30] has used the term "binary-with-ritornello" to describe this form, but a more appropriate name would be "binary-with-recapitulation", since the return of the opening material fulfils the same function as the recapitulation in the Classical sonata form. Chilcot was one of the first English harpsichord composers to use this form,[31] and he uses it much more extensively than Greene and Smith, half of his 30 binary movements having some form of tonic recapitulation in

30 See Brown/Reassessment.

31 It had, however, been used as early as c.1680 in a saraband by Blow (see Chapter IV), and had been in use in Italy, coupled with a 3-movement structure, for over a decade.

the second part. Chilcot`s suites show both progressive and conservative tendencies as well as some more individual features, making the collection as a whole a fascinating one with many fine movements.

Thus during the 1730s English harpsichord composers continued to cultivate the Italian style, using Handel and Loeillet as a starting-point but being alive to some of the more recent developments in Italian keyboard music and also Italian violin sonatas and instrumental music in general. Although there was no radical change of style, none of the composers could be described as a mere imitator of Handel. The Walsh publication of harpsichord music by Zipoli (1725) and the anonymous one of Sandoni`s sonatas (c.1730) furnished the English with some recent examples of actual Italian harpsichord music, but alongside this the English harpsichord style was moving steadily towards the style and form of the Italian solo sonata, which had superseded the old sonata da chiesa and sonata da camera.

How close the harpsichord style had come to the violin sonata is demonstrated by the fact that Giovanni Bononcini was able in 1722 to publish a set of Divertimenti da camera pel violino o flauto which reappeared about the same time arranged for harpsichord, entitled Divertimenti da camera tradotti pel

cembalo (the pieces are in a different order in the harpsichord version, have different ornamentation etc., and are transposed down by various amounts). In this form they were doubtless of some influence, for they are similar in style to many English harpsichord pieces of the 1720s and 1730s, and were successful enough to be reprinted by Walsh as Suites de pièces pour le clavecin, in about 1737.

Another Italian immigrant who helped to introduce the contemporary violin style to English harpsichord music was Francesco Geminiani, who in 1743 published a set of Pièces de Clavecin, Tirées des différents Ouvrages...adaptées par luy même a cet Instrument.[32] Although the original movements (mostly taken from his violin sonatas, with a few coming from concertos) underwent considerable adaptation to make the figuration more suitable for the keyboard their essential character was preserved and Geminiani even added typical violinistic ornamentation to the keyboard versions of some of the slow movements, thereby demonstrating how the violin versions should really be played. These "divisions" make this collection unlike any other harpsichord publication of the period and it stands in a rather isolated position, but its

[32] A second set was issued in 1762.

mere publication, like Bononcini's, is sufficient to show that harpsichord music was now looking to the violin sonata as much as anywhere else to point the way forward.[33]

Scarlatti's Influence

But another influence made itself felt very strongly during the 1740s and helped to preserve a distinctive harpsichord idiom---the influence of Domenico Scarlatti. Some of Scarlatti's music had been known in this country ever since Roseingrave's return from Italy in about 1715, and an opera of his (Narciso) was produced in London in 1720, but his harpsichord music did not become widely known until after the publication of his 30 Essercizi per gravicembalo in London in 1738.[34] This was closely followed (1739) by Roseingrave's own 2-volume edition of XLII Suites de pièces pour le clavecin, which included the 30 Essercizi (in a different order), 12 new Scarlatti pieces, a fugue by Alessandro Scarlatti and an "Introduction" in G minor by Roseingrave himself: according to the preface of the 1739 edition (omitted from the reprint of

[33] For a brief description of the exact nature of Geminiani's arrangements (with examples) see Giegling/Geminiani.

[34] Facsimile in Scarlatti/Essercizi. For evidence of the date and place of publication, see Kirkpatrick/Scarlatti, p.402.

c.1755) this was composed as an introduction (to the first Scarlatti piece only) at the request of certain subscribers. This publication of these Scarlatti pieces stimulated very great enthusiasm for the composer in England, led first by Roseingrave, then Joseph Kelway and John Worgan, and numerous subsequent English editions of various Scarlatti works---some from among these early publications, some not---demonstrate that England maintained the lead in Scarlatti appreciation right to the end of the century.[35]

Despite the immediate impact that Scarlatti's pieces had on English musical taste, however, it was nearly ten years before their influence showed itself in harpsichord music by an English composer---James Nares's Eight setts of lessons for the harpsichord (1747). In the interim the only English harpsichord music published was the collection by John Alcock the elder (1741), which was probably composed before 1738: the music is rather conservative, showing little sign of the galant style in general, and in no piece is Scarlatti's influence apparent. Nares's collection, on the other hand, shows several elements of Scarlatti's style along with other

35 For a detailed examination of the Scarlatti cult in England, see Newton/Scarlatti. See also Mercer ed./Burney, 11.1008-9 on this subject.

features---old-fashioned dance movements, the more complex contrapuntal style derived from Handel, and progressive sonata-type movements, a few of which are practically in sonata form. These diverse influences are brought together either in successive movements or occasionally blended in a single movement, to form a fine series of sonatas or suites, most often of the pattern fast-slow-fast, a pattern that was still fairly new to English harpsichord music, though we have encountered it in some manuscript pieces by Greene in Add. 31467 and in Sheeles's 5th suite.

Considering how progressive Nares is as regards structure it is surprising to find so many old dances included; 11 of the 26 movements have dance titles (almand, corant, gavott, jigg or minuet) and a few others in binary form could legitimately be regarded as stylised dances too (e.g. VII.i, which is a type of corant). Lesson VI, which is perhaps the weakest in the set, consists entirely of dances, all three of which are rather short; it also lacks any sign of the expressive galant style or of Scarlattian influence, and one may conclude from this that it was written fairly early. Handel's influence is seen clearest in the two fugues (III.i and VII.ii), but neither approaches the complexity of Handel for they both have non-contrapuntal sections and the first, though including a

quasi-stretto near the end, does not allow the stretto to be fully worked out as it could easily have been. The minuet and variations at the end of Lesson I also seem to derive chiefly from Handel, though the triplet arpeggios in vars.1 and 2 would not be very characteristic of him.

Scarlatti's influence is visible in many of the fast movements: the most obvious sign lies in the technical device of hand-crossing, which appears in its Scarlattian form (rapid alternation of high and low notes for one hand) for the first time in English keyboard music in the work of Nares. Other Scarlatti features occasionally apparent are rapid scales covering a wide range, rapid arpeggios, sudden pauses and dissonant acciaccaturas, but Nares never uses the very thick, repeated chords with internal pedals that also characterise the dissonant aspect of Scarlatti's style. The two movements which show Scarlatti influence most strongly are the opening prelude in G and the Allegro at the start of Lesson VIII; the former is through-composed but the latter is in binary form, so favoured by Scarlatti, and is quite close to his style, as is evident from the opening 14 of its 69 bars (Ex.4).

The other main influence on Nares---that of the violin sonata---is apparent in the texture of melody plus harmonic bass that is found in several movements, and in the fact that

Ex. 4



(1747a, no.VIII.1)

six of the eight "Lessons" have only three movements, a very forward-looking feature. Nares is less progressive in his forms, which are mostly simply binary, but there is usually some element of thematic repetition such as so-called "rhyming cadences", and two movements have real tonic recapitulations. The most interesting lesson is the 5th, in A major, which contains all of Nares`s most forward-looking features: constructed on the fast-slow-fast pattern, this lesson is the only one which has no dance titles (although the third movement is based on a jigg rhythm). The first movement not only

has a tonic recapitulation but is effectively in sonata form, for it has distinctive melodic material in the dominant that could be called a "2nd subject" and after the double bar both opening theme and this 2nd subject are developed in E major, F sharp minor and C sharp minor before a recapitulation of both themes in the tonic. The second movement has two short sections in the tonic flanking an extraordinary chromatic section with enharmonic modulations (Ex.5)---the first in

Ex.5



(1747a, no.V.11)

English keyboard music since Bull's "Ut re mi fa sol la" in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book.[36] What prompted Nares to compose this passage is not clear, for although he may have borrowed the <u>idea</u> of extravagant modulation from Scarlatti,

[36] See Dart ed./<u>Bull</u>, 1.53.

the method he uses is quite different---no Scarlatti music known in England at the time has anything similar---and the only Scarlatti effect at this point is the "strumming" sound in the left hand.[37] In the third movement the right-hand melody predominates throughout, with the left purely a continuo-like support; although such textures can be found much earlier, this example seems to relate directly to sonata style and would not look out of place in a violin sonata.

Alberti`s Influence

Another possible influence on Nares who must be considered here is Domenico Alberti, who certainly helped shape English harpsichord style during the two decades after Nares`s Eight setts of lessons. Alberti`s VIII Sonate per cembalo. Opera prima were not published by Walsh until 1748,[38] the year after Nares`s collection, but Burney informs us that they were known in England some time earlier, wrongly attributed to the singer Giuseppe Jozzi:

37 Subscribers to the volume included Arne, Boyce, Greene, Handel, Pepusch and Stanley---perhaps the six most notable musicians in the country---together with numerous other composers, but no-one seems to have followed Nares`s example with similar harmonic experiments.

38 See Smith and Humphries/Walsh, 11.5.

> At this time [c.1744, the year Burney arrived in London] Jozzi...brought over Alberti's Lessons which he played, printed, and sold, for his own, at a guinea each book; till detected by a gentleman coming from Venice, who had been personally acquainted with Alberti, and was in possession of a manuscript copy of his own hand writing; which, in order to expose the impudence and plagiarism of Jozzi, he gave to Walsh, who printed and sold the eight elegant and graceful lessons of the original composer, for six shillings.[39]

Elsewhere Burney states that he first heard Jozzi play music by Alberti at a concert in London in 1745.[40] Jozzi cannot have sold many copies of his own edition of Alberti's sonatas, considering the price he charged, and no copy appears to have survived to the present day, so that one may deduce that most composers did not own a copy of any Alberti sonatas until 1748. One can also assert that Alberti's music was quite unknown in England before Jozzi's arrival (probably in about 1743, though the date is not known), for otherwise Jozzi's deception would not have been so successful. Nares was organist at York at this time and would therefore have had little opportunity either of buying Jozzi's edition or of hearing him perform; it therefore seems clear that, contrary to what

[39] Mercer ed./Burney, ii.1008.

[40] ibid., 451.

Beulah Brown implies,[41] Nares did not know Alberti's sonatas when writing his Eight setts of lessons. So-called "Alberti-bass" figuration does appear occasionally in these pieces, but Alberti did not invent the pattern and it is only when it is used extensively, preferably accompanying a galant melody at the beginning of an allegro movement, that Alberti's influence can be deduced. Such usage does not occur in this collection.

Alberti's influence is apparent, however, in the next important publication of English harpsichord music, A Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord by Maurice Greene, published by Johnson in November 1750. Many of the movements still use old dance patterns, walking or running bass-lines and typical Baroque figuration, but some are distinctly more modern, with more appoggiaturas, static bass-lines that allow more melodic figuration in the right hand within each chord, widespread "Alberti-bass" and generally simpler textures; triplet figuration in a basically duplet scheme is another progressive feature. Even in the former type, dance titles are hardly ever used, but many of these are nevertheless straight dance movements: the four movements of the first group of pieces could easily have been called almand, corant,

41 Brown/Reassessment, p.189.

minuet and jigg, and five of the groups[42] end with a jigg-like piece in 12/8. Handel's influence is still seen in many of the dance-style movements and especially in the airs with variations, though these also occasionally show more modern elements such as expressive appoggiaturas. Signs of Scarlatti influence are surprisingly few considering that Greene had subscribed to Roseingrave's edition eleven years earlier: there are hardly any wide leaps and no hand-crossing, which Greene may have regarded as a gimmick. The opening of the Molto Allegro on p. 32, however, seems to derive from a common Scarlatti habit of rapidly alternating right and left hands (see Ex.6).

Ex.6



(1750b, p.32)

Greene's forms are conservative on the whole, for most movements are in plain binary form (though often a large portion from the end of the first part returns in the tonic

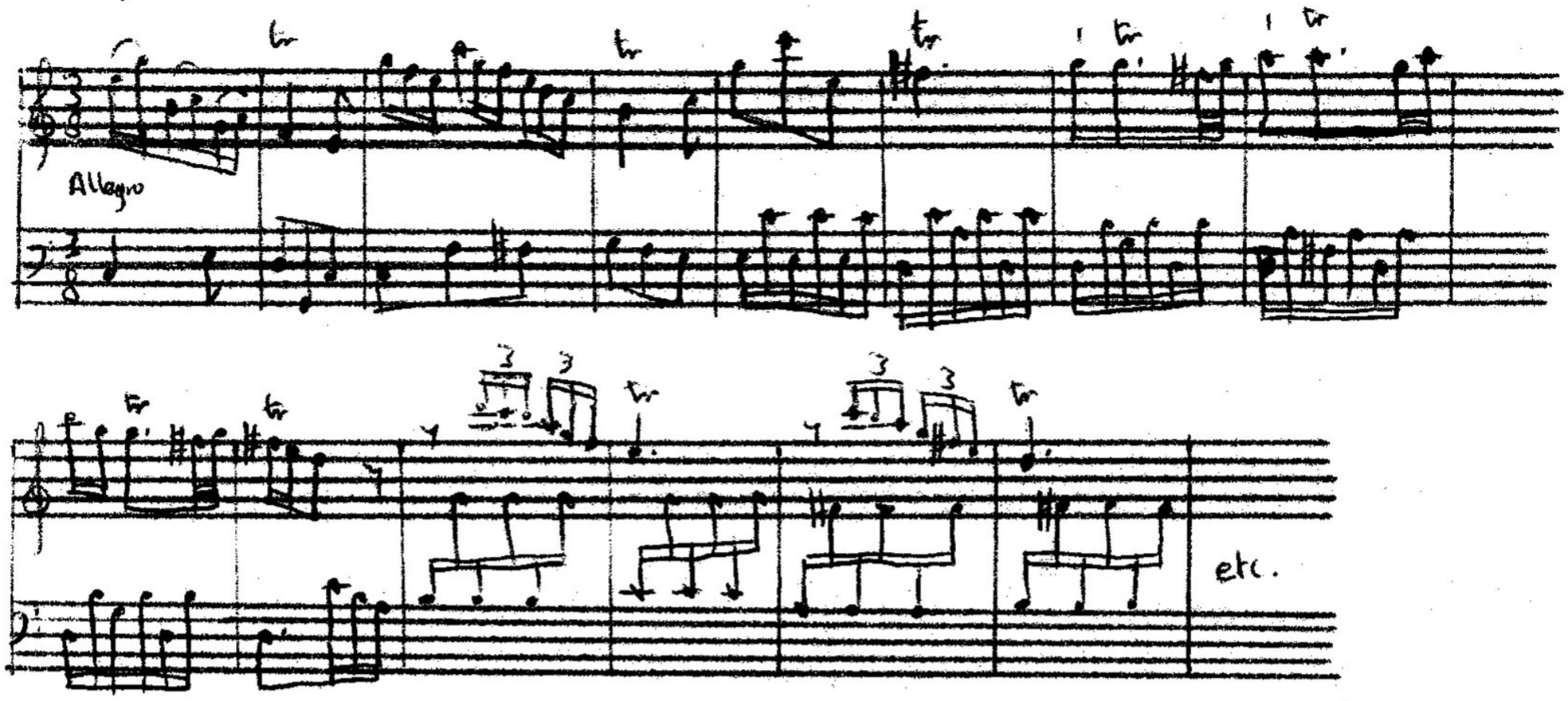
[42] There is no overall title for each group of pieces but they are held together by unity of key, and an extra calligraphic sign is placed on the staves at the end of each group.

at the end of the second), and those that approach sonata form are not always the ones in the most modern style. His use of the rondo form (found in three movements) is progressive, however; although this form had been in use in Purcell's time it had gone out of fashion during the first half of the 18th century and only returned to prominence in the second half, when large numbers of quite trivial pieces were written in this form. The older-style movements are generally kept in separate groups from the more modern, "post-Alberti" ones, and most of the former are found in 4-movement groups while the latter are in groups of three (not necessarily fast-slow-fast); but there is some flexibility and movements in a borderline style are often found with both types.

The End of the Baroque

The appearance of these post-Alberti movements can really be regarded as marking the start of the early Classical period for although Alberti himself died as early as 1740 the distinctive features of Greene's late pieces---numerous appogiaturas, thin, homophonic textures, bass-lines with numerous repeated notes or "Alberti" figuration, triplet melodies---were to be taken up as standard techniques in the Classical period. The following example (Ex.7), part of the final movement of the penultimate group, illustrates most of

Ex. 7



(1750b, p.66)

these features and could not possibly have been written before about 1745.

Thus this set of pieces by Greene stands on the borderline between the late Baroque and early Classical---some are clearly Baroque and were probably written before 1745 while others lean heavily towards the galant and Classical. After their publication any new harpsichord music written in the old style would have to be regarded as retrospective if not actually anachronistic, though the old style continued in use for the organ for a number of years and it was still acceptable to publish harpsichord music that had been written earlier, as is the case in Nares's Lessons for the Harpsicord ...Opera II (c.1759), which, Nares states in the preface, "were most of 'em juvenile thoughts" which he has recently

revised.[43] Arne's sonatas of 1756[44] are also old-fashioned in style (as are the pieces in the collection by Henry Burgess the elder, which were probably written in about 1740, the date given for their publication in BUC, but were not actually published until c.1753) and may have been written before 1745. Although they show occasional Scarlattian ideas Alberti's influence is totally absent and they are basically still derived stylistically from Handel, with a few added galant elements.

Nevertheless Alberti became almost as popular as Scarlatti had been ten years earlier, and being in a much simpler, more easily imitated style, his pieces gave rise to a host of similar English works of variable quality, by composers like Thomas Gladwin. Burney describes Alberti's music as "elegant", "graceful" and "charming",[45] and these adjectives capture the artistic taste of an age that was temporarily turning away from complexity and mere brilliance to more lyrical, expressive means of communication. Alberti's sonatas were soon

[43] A 3-movement Lesson in B flat from this collection is published complete in Maitland/Age, pp.329-338.

[44] Facsimile in Beechey and Dart ed./Arne.

[45] Mercer ed./Burney, ii.1008.

supported by publications of harpsichord music by two of his Italian contemporaries---Paradies (1754) and Galuppi (1756)---and these three, along with Scarlatti, were the main source of inspiration for English harpsichord composers in the 1750s.

The new style was not welcomed wholeheartedly by all: Charles Avison was critical of many of the innovations and William Hayes published a fierce though very witty attack on Barnabas Gunn`s lessons (1750)[46] which are indeed not well written and contain several cases of parallel fifths or octaves. Even Nares, in the preface mentioned earlier, attacked what he calls "wanton and improper Successions of half Notes" (i.e. excessive and unnecessary use of chromatic scale figures), which were one aspect of the new style. But the post-Alberti style did gain general acceptance in England until the arrival of J. C. Bach in 1762 and the development of a more symphonic style of harpsichord composition.

[46] See Deutsch/Ink-pot.

Chapter VIII

LATE BAROQUE ORGAN MUSIC: (1) UP TO 1735

Early Sources

There had been a gap of 31 years between the first publication of English organ music (voluntaries by Locke in Melothesia) and the second (Philip Hart's three fugues), and it was almost as long before the next organ music by an English composer (fifteen voluntaries and fugues by Thomas Roseingrave) appeared in print in 1728. This lack of printed sources during these 24 years is not nearly as surprising, however, as the almost total lack of organ manuscripts dating from this period (apart from a few at the very beginning, such as Add.34695). For examples of voluntaries from this period one must therefore rely heavily on the few later manuscripts known to contain organ music from it, and even with the aid of these our knowledge of the interesting and important development of the voluntary from the single-movement form of Purcell and Blow to the standard slow-fast construction of Stanley and his contemporaries must remain scanty and thinly documented. This development, it is true, had begun before the turn of the 18th century but it was at its most rapid during the first 30 years of the century, so that by the time of the Reading manuscripts of the 1730s (see below) the two-movement form---

either "diapasons" followed by a solo-stop movement or "full organ" followed by a fugue---was the most common.

Croft

The source which shows most clearly the various stages of this development during this period is a manuscript of 12 voluntaries copied in the second half of the 18th century and bound rather incongruously at the end of a British Museum manuscript (Add.5336) containing late 18th-century canons and part-songs etc., in a different hand and on different paper. The manuscript gives no clue to the composer of these voluntaries but according to the catalogue[1] they are "said to be by Dr. William Croft"; as no evidence is given for this statement, however, it must be subjected to closer examination to establish whether there is any supporting evidence. Certainly on stylistic grounds Croft is a definite possibility for the style is clearly later than Purcell's but slightly earlier than Stanley's, and the slow movements are similar to one in Add.31814 (f.102) that is ascribed to Croft. Furthermore one voluntary (no.7) definitely dates from the beginning of the 18th century as it appears anonymously in Add.17852 (f.6) and Add.34695 (f.19v). Add.5336 was presented to the British

1 Hughes-Hughes/Catalogue, iii.98.

Museum by Sir John Hawkins on 19 July 1789, and one might therefore expect to find some reference to it in his history of music,[2] but in his account of Croft`s life and works there is no mention of Croft as a composer of voluntaries, and one must conclude that Hawkins had probably not acquired the manuscript when his history was published in 1776. No further clue is provided by a 19th-century copy of the first ten voluntaries (the other two have been removed) in RCM 667, where they are also anonymous, with Croft`s name pencilled in above no.1 and in the index by a later hand.

Positive evidence supporting Croft is found, however, in an earlier British Museum catalogue,[3] which states quite explicitly that Croft is represented by 12 voluntaries in Add. 5336, and this evidence is duplicated in Ayscough`s manuscript catalogue (Add.5015) dated 1832, which lists the catches etc. at the beginning of the manuscript and then "Voluntaries, by Dr. Croft; ff.37-46", so these are clearly the sources for the rather vague ascription in the current catalogue. It seems unlikely that the voluntaries would have been ascribed to Croft in these two early catalogues if there was no evidence

2 Hawkins/History.

3 BM(1849), p.127.

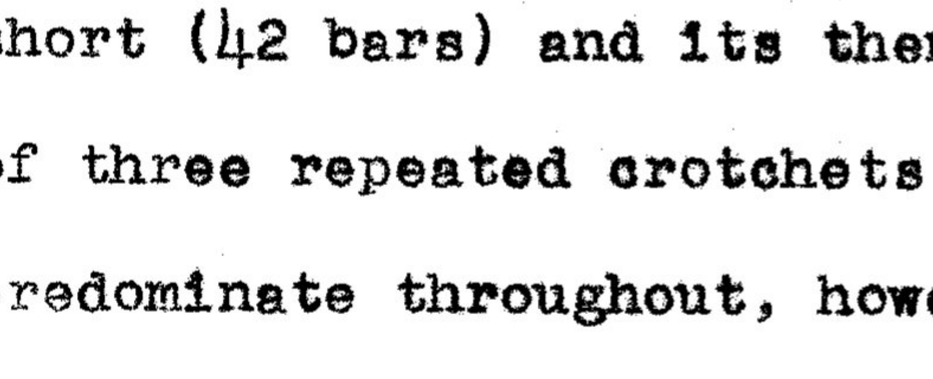
in the manuscript and one must therefore deduce that Croft's name has been removed from the manuscript at some stage; the manuscript was rebound in 1901, but the instructions to the binders do not survive, and it seems most likely that it was at this stage that Croft's name was removed. Confirmation that some voluntaries, at least, are by Croft comes from the three organ manuscripts at Dulwich College compiled by John Reading, all of which contain nos.7 and 9 of the voluntaries in Add. 5336, and one of which (Dul.92d) contains the first movement of no.10 too, in every case ascribed to Croft. Moreover none of the twelve voluntaries is ascribed to any other composer in any known manuscript, and so it seems reasonable to presume that most or all of the twelve are indeed by Croft.

The twelve voluntaries[4] display a wide variety of forms and demonstrate practically every type of voluntary in existence at the time. Nos.4 and 8 are marked "Slow" and, like the one in Add.31814, are of the type of movement that soon became the standard introduction to a fast movement: they make little use of real imitation but are in a pseudo-contrapuntal style that suggests, by means of suspensions, passing-

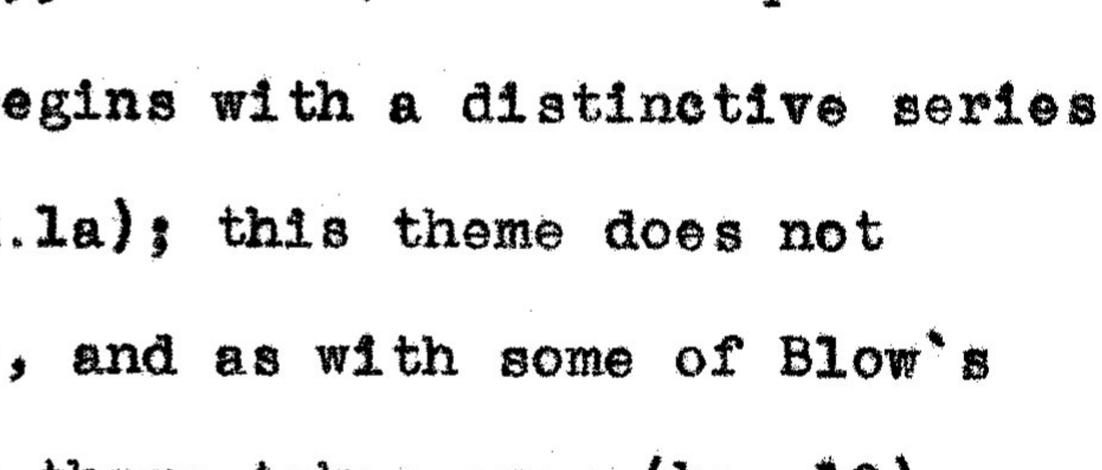
4 Nos.8, 4, 1, 2, 5 and 7 are published in heavily edited versions in Simpson ed./Croft; nos.1 and 12 are in Trevor ed./Organ.

notes etc., a three- or four-part texture. Nos.5, 6, 7 and 9, also single movements, are in a much stricter imitative style and can legitimately be called fugues, although, following the English tradition, they do not maintain a constant or regular sense of part-writing; they bear no speed indication in the manuscript but they are presumably intended, like Blow's "canzona" voluntaries, to be played fairly fast. Probably the best example---certainly the best-known and one of the earliest---is no.7 in D minor, which according to Add.17852 is to be played on "2 Diap: Great Organ" but according to the Reading manuscripts is for "Full Organ" (no stops are indicated in Add.34695 or Add.5336 itself). This is quite short (42 bars) and its theme begins with a distinctive series of three repeated crotchets (Ex.1a); this theme does not predominate throughout, however, and as with some of Blow's and Purcell's voluntaries a new theme takes over (bar 19): this is more lively and disjunct (Ex.1b), with an anacrusis

Ex.1a



Ex.1b



(Add.17852, f.6, bars 1-2 and 19-21)

of three repeated quavers that give a quite different effect from the repeated crotchets of the main theme, which makes two unexpected appearances during the second half of the piece---once in the relative major (bar 25) and the second time just before the end, thus welding the piece into a unified whole.

Voluntaries 1 and 2 are both single movements that divide very clearly into two sections---the first marked "Slow" and the second "faster"; this is one stage more advanced than those of Purcell and Blow where the second section is clearly livelier than the first and based on a different theme, but not explicitly stated to be faster than the first. The sections of these two Croft voluntaries are of approximately the same length and seem to be thematically related but there is no clear perfect cadence or double bar between the two sections. The first section is more chordal in character and the second more contrapuntal but the distinction is not as great as in the voluntaries of Croft's successors. Nos.3, 10 and 11 are each in two movements separated by a double bar, with the second movement designed for a solo stop: in no.3 this is the trumpet (later the cremona), in no.10 the cornet and in no.11 "left hand loud organ", the latter recalling the left-hand solo passages in double voluntaries of the 17th century. The use of the cornet is not remarkable but this is

one of the earliest occasions in which a cornet movement is preceded by a slow introduction; the same is true of the movement for trumpet, and the more unusual cremona[5] appears for the first time in a voluntary here, though the stop had been introduced to England in the late 17th century. No.12, in D major, is also in two movements and, like Hart`s A major fugue, it consists of a short series of thick, minim chords (perhaps intended to be played arpeggiando) followed by an impressive double fugue that bears some resemblance to those of Handel.

Thus Croft is seen as the true bridge between the middle and late Baroque organ voluntary---the stylistic link between Purcell and Blow on the one hand, and Greene and Stanley on the other. Although all his voluntaries have a characteristic 18th-century sense of tonality and modulation, some have forms similar to those of Blow, others to those of Stanley, and nos. 1 and 2 are clear transitional works. Without the rather strange survival of these two in a late 18th-century source, the manner of change from a one-movement to a two-movement form of voluntary during the early part of the century would be much less clear.

5 For a discussion of this stop see Williams/Cremona.

The Reading Manuscripts

Apart from Philip Hart, whose organ music is discussed in an earlier chapter, the leading contemporary of Croft in the field of organ music was John Reading (1677-1764), who seems to have written practically no harpsichord music (though he made numerous harpsichord arrangements of minuets and arias from operas by Handel and others[6]), but who was a very prolific compiler of manuscripts, five of which contain organ music by himself and others. These were presented by him to Dulwich College, London, where he was an organist (though not the only one) for much of his life, and three are still there, as Reading MSS 1, 2 and 4, now catalogued as 92a, 92b and 92d respectively; another has been sold to the Henry Watson Music Library, Manchester (now MS BR.m.7105.Rf.31), and the fifth was in the possession of Dr. W. H. Cummings before being sold by auction at his death;[7] it is now in the Nanki Music Library, Tokyo, and is described in the current catalogue as "Reading, John.....Voluntarys for the organ.

6 Dul.92a, for example, includes on pp.94-212 arrangements from Radamisto, Floridante, Muzio Scaevola, Ottone, Giulio Cesare, Admeto and Poro by Handel, and Astarto by Giovanni Bononcini, all of which were produced in London between 1720 and 1731.

7 See Sotheby/Cummings, lot 1418.

105p. 25x34 cm. Autograph" (MS N-4/31).[8] The manuscripts cannot be dated precisely, but their dates can be narrowed to a small period, and since Reading compiled so many manuscripts it is likely that in general he spent no more than a few weeks on a single section of a manuscript.

Dul.92a bears the title "DIVINE HARMONIE OR A CHOICE COLLECTION OF ANTHEMS COMPOSED BY SEVERAL MASTERS COLLECTED IN THE YEAR 1717 BY JOHN READING ORGANIST" stamped on the cover, in imitation of the elaborate titles of contemporary printed music. The date applies only to the sacred solos found at one end of the manuscript. At the other end there are title pages, indexes and then 13 metrical psalm tunes (pp.1-33) each arranged in two ways: the first is a version "given out" to congregations before the psalm was sung---this is a highly elaborated version of the melody, but the elaborations contain a limited number of ornamental melodic formulae which keep recurring in the different psalm tunes. The left-hand part is kept quite simple, but the right-hand part is so full of fast semiquaver patterns and ornamentation that it is quite difficult to play accurately. The difficulty of writing down and notating accurately such improvisational patterns, and the

8 Nanki Catalogue, p.11.

difficulty of playing them correctly when they are written, clearly are the reasons why so few examples survive of this art, which must have been practised in most or all churches that had an organ in the early 18th century.[9] Those in the Reading manuscripts, together with those by Daniel Purcell published posthumously by Walsh in 1718 (and pirated by Wright in his Harpsicord Master Improved), are the only examples yet to come to light before Starling Goodwin's Complete Organist's Pocket Companion, c.1776 (see Chapter IX). They form an interesting parallel with the chorale prelude of Germany, but stylistically they are quite different: Reading's setting of "The (113) Psalm Tune" in Dul.92a is quite unlike the setting of "O Mensch bewein" in Bach's Orgelbüchlein, even though they are both based on the same melody, highly ornamented, and were written during the same period. The second version of each of the 13 psalm tunes in Dul.92a is for accompanying the congregation and consists of the tune harmonised by block chords, with an interlude, usually two bars of semiquaver figuration, after each line of the tune; the interlude after the last line ends with an imperfect cadence to lead on to the next verse of

9 Although there are few written-down examples, there are some actual performances from the later 18th century of psalm tunes played in this way, preserved on early barrel organs.

the psalm. Thus these settings "With Interlud`s" are similar to those of Blow discussed in Chapter VI.

The 13 psalm tunes at this end of Dul.92a are followed by 15 voluntaries (pp.34-93), arrangements for harpsichord of music from operas by Handel and Bononcini (pp.94-212), ten more voluntaries and five single movements for the organ which are also classed as voluntaries in the index. This part of the manuscript was clearly not compiled in 1717 as the voluntaries include several by John Stanley (1713-86) and the operas are all of a later date. Maurice Greene is consistently referred to as "Dr Green", which puts the date of compilation after July 1730, and the latest opera included is Handel`s Poro, first produced in February 1731. However, John James is referred to as organist in St.Tolly`s (i.e. St.Olave`s), Southwark, which he left in 1738, and Stanley is described as "The Blind Youth...organist, of St.Andrus Holborn"; Stanley was at St.Andrew`s from 1726, but was also organist at the Temple Church from 1734, and so the omission of any reference to this implies that the manuscript was compiled before this date. Furthermore the absence of any arrangements from Handel`s Ezio (15 January 1732) and Sosarme (15 February 1732), his first two operas after Poro, strongly suggests that the arrangements, and therefore the voluntaries before and

after them, were copied before the production of these two operas; thus this end of the manuscript dates in all probability from 1731.

Dul.92b contains less organ music than 92a. After the first three leaves, containing title pages, indexes and the inscription (f.1v), "This Book, I give to the Colledg of Dulledg, John Reading", are 11 psalms (pp.1-38), in a different order from those in 92a and lacking "Martyrs" and "The (81) Psalm Tune"; the settings, both in the "given out" version and the one "with interludes", are different from those of the same tunes in 92a, but the number of melodic formulae employed is so limited that the differences are never very great. The psalm settings are followed by three pages of "chanting tunes" and then 18 voluntaries (pp.42-118), but six of these (four by Greene and two by Stanley) have been excised completely, along with parts of a few adjoining voluntaries. Of the twelve remaining only one short one by Blow[10] is not found in 92a, however, and the six that have been removed are almost certainly duplicated in 92a too, for each one has a corresponding voluntary by the same composer, in the same key, of the same type and roughly the same length in that manuscript.

[10] Published in Phillips ed./Blow.

The reverse end of Dul.92b contains airs and minuets arranged for harpsichord (pp.1-219), but this end may have been copied at a different time and does not therefore provide any reliable clue to the date of the voluntaries; these were, like those of 92a, copied after July 1730 and probably before 1734.

Dul.92d is a much less integrated manuscript and must have undergone considerable change since the time it was compiled. On f.1v is an index to the voluntaries in the manuscript and f.2 is a title page for some more psalm settings, but there are no psalm settings in the manuscript and f.3 is marked as page 34. From here the pages are numbered consecutively to 143, and this section contains (in more than one hand) 29 voluntaries, canzonas or fugues, of which 14 complete pieces and two movements are not in Dul.92a or 92b; p.143 is followed by another p.39, which contains Robert King's well-known almand in A. The pagination then continues up to 76 (65-72 are missing), with arrangements of airs etc., including the Babell gavott in G once attributed to Purcell[11] but here correctly ascribed. The manuscript was probably compiled between 1731 and 1734, shortly after the other two, and arranged into its present order at some slightly later date.

[11] In Squire and Hopkins edd./Purcell, p.50.

The Reading manuscript (Rf.31) bought by the Henry Watson Music Library in July 1917 bears the date "1.7.2.8.", and is similar in many ways to the three still at Dulwich. After the usual title pages, indexes and inscriptions (ff.1-9v), are opera arrangements for harpsichord (pp.1-155) similar to those in Dul.92a; the latest Handel opera used is Siroe (first produced 17 February 1728), confirming the date on f.2. The psalm tunes and voluntaries that follow the opera arrangements, however (pp.156-187 and 188-242 respectively), must have been copied at a later date, for again Greene is always "Dr Green", and the fact that Reading did not originally intend to include any voluntaries is apparent from the index: ff.3v-9 of this consist of tables of "lessons" (i.e. minuet and aria titles) contained in the manuscript, and vertical lines have been ruled on each page to accommodate these tables; but there are not enough "lessons" to fill these tables, with the result that some pages have been left unfilled (f.7v) or only partially filled (f.8); into the blank spaces on ff.8v and 9 has been compiled the table of voluntaries, with additional vertical lines ruled to accommodate it, and on the latter page this is underneath the heading "A Set of Aires, and Minuets, in D sol re" with a sub-heading "A Table of Volluntarys" added. (The table of psalm tunes is

on f.9v: there is no evidence that this page was intended initially to be filled with another table of arias.)

After the psalm tunes and voluntaries come two arias from Poro (pp.243-6), confirming that this section of the manuscript was compiled after February 1731, and 49 minuets (pp.247-276) by various composers---Reading, Pepusch, Weedeman, Handel, Carey, Monro, Woodcock, Dieupart, Grano, and Galliard; these are followed by more voluntaries and trumpet airs (pp.277-369). More arias and minuets (pp.370-399) are succeeded by an anonymous fugue (pp.400-1) and a rather remarkable 8-movement voluntary (pp.402-412) by William Hine, the latter probably copied from Harmonia Sacra Glocestriensis, a posthumous publication of music by Hine that includes this voluntary.[12] The remaining 111 pages of the manuscript consist of yet more arrangements, one of which (p.500) is a chorus ("The Princes applaud") from Handel's Alexander's Feast, first performed on 19 February 1736; thus the end part of the manuscript was clearly copied several years after the first part.

Composers

The four manuscripts contain over 60 voluntaries between them, formed out of a total of 105 movements, including 14

[12] Reprinted in Beechey ed./Voluntaries, pp.81-97.

trumpet airs "set" (i.e. arranged or composed) for organ by Reading. Almost all the organ composers of the day are represented, including several minor figures like Coles and Froud, and with the exception of Blow, Croft and Kerll all were living when the manuscripts were compiled. The oldest of those still living was John Barrett (c.1674-1735), a pupil of Blow but much less important than Croft; the two voluntaries ascribed to him display a strikingly individual structure, unrelated to Blow or Stanley, though some individual movements clearly reveal the influence of similar ones by Blow. A voluntary in D appears in all four manuscripts (Duls.92a, pp. 50-53; 92b, pp.53-58; 92d, pp.34-38; Rf.31, pp.228-231), and consists of a movement in D minor for the cornet and chear organ, marked "Andante", followed by a movement in the major for the trumpet and finally a fugal section for full organ: what would later have been regarded as three 2nd movements are juxtaposed, with no slow introductory movement for diapasons.

The other Barrett voluntary[13] is in Dul.92d, where it consists of a cornet movement followed by a short fugal one distantly related in theme; the cornet movement makes use of the "Ecco" and also has sections with the theme in the left

[13] Published in Phillips ed./Blow, pp.2-5.

hand on the great, accompanied by the right on the chear, thus taking advantage of the fact that the cornet was a half-stop by using the lower part of the manual employed for right-hand cornet solos and obtaining a different timbre. The fugal movement is rather dull and towards the end the contrapuntal texture gives way to an unnecessarily long sequence of 13 successive sevenths. The cornet movement was first printed c.1799, by Benjamin Goodison, coupled with a trumpet movement, with the whole voluntary described as "Said to be Purcell`s", and these two were included in the Purcell Society edition of his keyboard works;[14] they were nevertheless regarded as very dubious on stylistic grounds even before the discovery of the Reading manuscripts. The cornet movement and the fugue also appear in Add.17852 (ff.9-10v),[15] followed by what is described in the catalogue as ""Trumpet or Cornett" tune. Imperfect at the end",[16] but which consists of just three bars of music that can be identified as bars 23-25 of the trumpet tune published by Goodison. Hence all three movements were undoubtedly associated together at an early date (the voluntaries in

[14] Squire and Hopkins edd./Purcell, pp.68-71.

[15] This version is published in Phillips ed./Purcell.

[16] Hughes-Hughes/Catalogue, iii.98.

Add.17852 appear to have been copied in 1712), and they are probably all from the same voluntary. If this is so the trumpet movement is most likely to have come between the cornet movement and the fugue, in which case the structure of this voluntary---cornet, trumpet then fugue---is identical to that of Barrett's voluntary in D.

The trumpet movement is of no higher quality than the fugue for it has too many short phrases, most of them followed by a repeat of the end of them on the echo, hence there are too many perfect cadences and the movement seems rather fragmented. The best of the three is the cornet one, which uses the echo less and can therefore have more extended phrases. Barrett's use of the cornet and echo recalls that of Blow, in the G major voluntary in the Nanki manuscript (see above, pp. 211 and 218), and it seems highly probable that Barrett was familiar with this before he wrote his own C major voluntary.

John Reading, another pupil of Blow, wrote a relatively small number of actual voluntaries, but his psalm-tune settings, trumpet airs and similar pieces swell the number of his organ compositions considerably; moreover he was fond of rearranging, and even rewriting, his voluntaries, so that most of them can be played in several different ways. Reading's best-known voluntary and the only one published in modern

times,[17] is a fugue in G major, and the various versions of this illustrate the sort of revisions Reading undertook. It appears in Rf.31 (p.235) and in Dul.92a (p.83) as the third and last movement of a voluntary that begins with a slow movement for diapason and principal, followed by a cornet movement. These two sources of it are more or less identical and the piece is 45 bars long; towards the end the theme disappears and there is a long passage of patterned semiquaver figuration just before the end. Elsewhere in both of the manuscripts, however, is a short "Stacato vivace" movement (pp.307 and 231 respectively), and at the end of it in Dul.92a is the instruction: "Turn back to Page (83) and end this Voluntary with that fuge (adagio)"; Rf.31 bears a similar instruction, which shows that at one stage Reading regarded the fugue as both the third movement of one voluntary and the second of another. Dul.92b contains the fugue as a single-movement voluntary (p.42) but in a longer version of 54 bars; the piece also appears in Dul.92d as a single movement (p.57), but in a third version of 65 bars with the semiquaver passages replaced by music similar to that in the rest of the fugue, so that the opening material recurs regularly throughout. This

[17] In Phillips ed./Blow, pp.6-8.

version of the fugue was later published in Ten Voluntarys for the Organ or Harpsichord (1767), but there it is preceded by a slow movement different from any in the Reading manuscripts. (The version in the modern edition approximates to that in Dul.92d, but the edition fails to mention any of the other sources except Dul.92b, and far from noting the divergences and differing length, it states that "the only difference between the two versions is the writing out of the sign / as a slide of two consecutive notes".)

The version in Dul.92a and Rf.31 is rather clumsy in places: certain features in it---perfect cadences before almost every entry of the subject, a preponderance of root-position chords, several long held notes, excessive sequences, an uneven final cadence, the short episodes and the disappearance of the theme towards the end of the movement---are all signs that it is an earlier, and clearly inferior, version. The longest version is therefore almost certainly the latest, especially as this was the one to be printed in 1767, and it seems probable that the 54-bar version in Dul.92b represents a transitional stage in the composition of the fugue,[18] but

[18] This is valuable evidence for the dating of the manuscripts for it implies that the relevant sections of Duls.92a, 92b and 92d were compiled in this order.

as all three exist in autograph copies there can be no doubt that all are equally authentic. The fugue shows many English features, in particular a very free sense of part-writing which allows notes not belonging to any voice to intrude frequently to fill out the harmony. Although there is no regular counter-subject, certain appearances of the subject consist of direct quotations, in all voices, from an earlier part of the fugue: in the final version bars 5-7 (the entry of the third voice) are quoted exactly at bars 23-25, and again, in A minor, at bars 39-41---a rather curious ritornello-like procedure rarely found in this form.

The flexibility of structure found in the movements connected with this G major fugue is one of the earliest examples of its kind, but in the next half-century such freedom became quite common and one often finds movements grouped differently in different sources, even to the extent of movements by different composers appearing within a single voluntary. This poses a problem for the modern scholar, who must decide in each case which versions are "authentic" and, where more than one is, in what order the various versions were compiled; but this problem did not exist for Reading's contemporaries, who appear to have been content to allow any diapason movement to precede a solo-stop movement, and any

"Full organ" one to precede any fugue, so long as an appropriate key-relationship was preserved and the total result sounded effective, since the movements were never thematically related or very closely bound together. That this was indeed Reading's attitude is shown in a D minor voluntary in two movements ("Slow: Full Organ" and "Fugue") by Reading: in both sources (Dul.92a, pp.238-242 and Rf.31, pp.313-317) the slow movement bears the footnote, "This Part, was Compos'd, to intraduse any Fuge, in the same Key". This movement seems no more suited than any other to going with any fugue, and therefore if it was felt that it could precede any fugue a very free attitude must have prevailed with most other introductory movements too; and there is plenty of evidence that other composers sometimes rearranged the movements of their voluntaries like this. In fact if this was the attitude in the mid-18th century it is almost surprising that there are not more examples of synthesised voluntaries, since the structure of the voluntary seems to have become at least as flexible as that of the harpsichord suite had been in the 17th century.

Two other cornet voluntaries by Reading are found in his manuscripts but otherwise his organ compositions consist of short airs for trumpet, French horns or flutes; these all appear in Rf.31 and some are also found in Dul.92a. The

trumpet airs are all sectional---usually four sections, with each pair of sections in binary form---and have the instruction, "Play Each double Bare twise over"; the right hand generally keeps to the notes of the natural trumpet and the movements recall the trumpet airs of Purcell and Clarke. The "Aire, for French horns and Trumpets" (Dul.92a, p.258; Rf.31, p.321) is in only two sections, each repeated, with the instruction, "1st the trumpet, then the french horn", and also, for organs without a French horn stop, "Play the french horn upon the diapasons an octave lower". These pieces, though many are quite attractive, are of little historical interest, and some may be arrangements of trumpet tunes by other composers.

The other composers not yet discussed whose voluntaries are found in the Reading manuscripts are Coles, Froud, Greene, Handel, James, Robinson, Sedo and Stanley. Robinson's only voluntary has recently been edited by Lady Jeans,[19] and nothing needs to be added here to her comments, while Handel's and Stanley's pieces were almost all published in the next two decades in more reliable versions and will be discussed later. Suffice it to say here that the number and quality of Stan-

[19] Jeans ed./Robinson.

ley's voluntaries in the Reading manuscripts show clearly that by the time he was 21 Stanley had established himself as the leading organ composer in the country, a position he was to maintain throughout his life. One of the two voluntaries ascribed to Sedo in Dul.92a is elsewhere ascribed to James and Stanley (see Chapter IX), but the other (Dul.92a, p.246; Rf.31, pp.283 and 305) is undoubtedly his and shows how Sedo, a German by birth,[20] had thoroughly assimilated the English style after about 30 years in this country; it begins with a short slow movement in D minor, which is followed by one in the major for "Voxhumain", and it ends with a typical trumpet movement. Froud's only piece is "A Siseleano Aire for the Flut Stop", and is important mainly in being one of the earliest English siciliano movements for organ; Cole or Coles (organist at St.Martin's in the Fields) is represented by two single movements in G major, in Dul.92d.

Four voluntaries by John James are found in Rf.31, of which two (one in G and one in A minor) reappear in Dul.92a; their structure is still fairly flexible for only one is of the slow-fast variety, two having three movements and one being a single-movement fugue in C major. Moreover all the movements

[20] For biographical details see MGG (under Seedo).

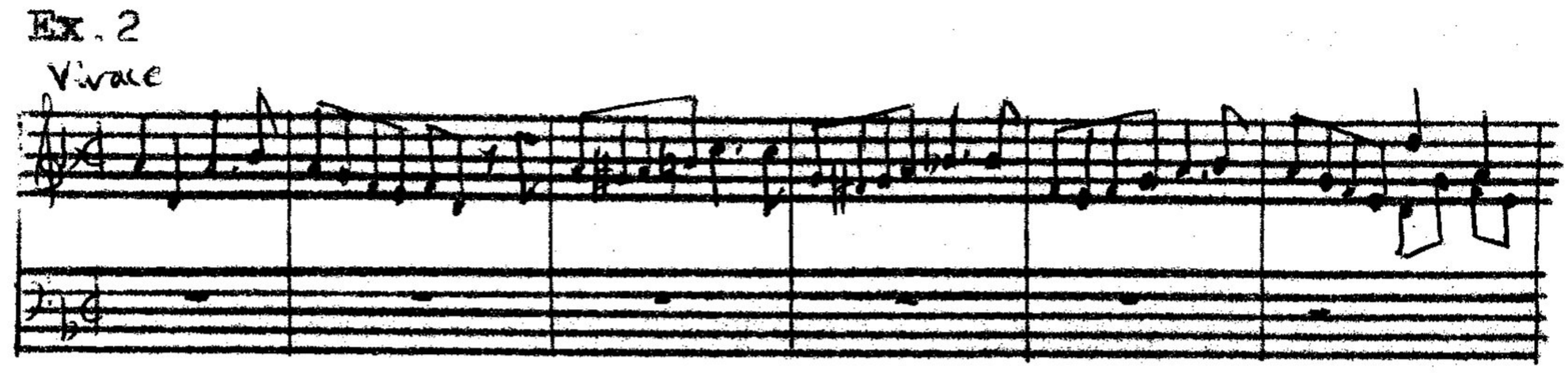
are quite short---more similar in this respect to Croft than to Stanley---and the C major fugue is so short (27 bars) that Reading felt it necessary to write "Play this fuge Twise over" in his copy. Nevertheless the melodic, harmonic and rhythmic patterns used are very similar to Stanley's and it is clearly voluntaries such as James's that Stanley was attempting to imitate and surpass in his early works.[21]

Among the most interesting voluntaries in the Reading manuscripts are those of Greene,[22] many of which are not found elsewhere. The 12 movements ascribed to him are consistently grouped in slow-fast pairs but two different fugues in F are both given the same introductory movement in all sources, while a C major fugue preceded by a C minor introduction in Dul.92a and Rf.31 has this replaced by one in A minor in Dul. 92d. The two cornet voluntaries and their introductions are found only in Dul.92d, but the four fugues appear in all four Reading manuscripts (though they have been excised from Dul. 92b) and some are found elsewhere too. Perhaps the best is the D minor voluntary (Duls.92a, p.42; 92b, p.64 (missing); 92d,

[21] See Chapter IX for more on James and his relation to Stanley.

[22] Some are due to be published soon in vol.25 of the Tallis to Wesley series.

Ex. 2





(Rf.31, p.196)

p.73 (fugue only); Rf.31, p.196): the fugue (Ex.2), although in the traditional English manner lacking a proper counter-subject or a regular number of parts, maintains contrapuntal interest throughout and develops the second half of the subject in close imitation at various points. The F major fugue with the rising subject (Dul.92a, p.63 etc.) is the most chromatic and uses least melodic material but this has the effect of making it rather repetitious; the voluntary in C has a profound, almost Bachian, slow movement in C minor

Ex. 3



(Rf.31, p.218)

(Ex.3), but this is completely contrasted by a very light "fugue" in 2/4 which is not really a fugue at all since after the exposition the music consists almost entirely of patterned, violin-like figuration for one hand or other. Greene's fugues share many features with those of Handel and Stanley in their use of the Italian style and exploitation of, for example, sequential motion; they are very different from Reading's G major fugue discussed above, which still bears several traces of Blow and which seems to indicate the path English organ music might have taken had it not been subject to the influence of Italian music and especially the concerto.

Style of the Voluntary

The Reading manuscripts clearly prove that this new style, which has long been associated with publications in the 1750s of organ music by composers like Stanley and Walond, had evolved in all essential details by about 1730, and so it will be useful at this point to consider what are the chief characteristics constituting the style and how it differs from organ music of the beginning of the century. The most prominent structural feature of voluntaries during the period 1730-70 is the two-movement plan (slow-fast) normally present; the gradual change of the form of the voluntary from the multi-sectional one of Orlando Gibbons, through the two-part form

of Blow and Purcell (the first part always slower than the second), to Croft, where the two parts have in many cases separated into two more or less distinct movements, has already been traced, and it was this type that established itself around 1730 as the standard voluntary form.[23] Occasionally other movements are added to the two-movement form (slow-fast-slow-fast and slow-cornet-fugue are perhaps the most common alternatives) but the total number rarely exceeds four---the eight-movement voluntary by Hine mentioned above (p.296) is quite exceptional in this respect---and it became almost unknown for a voluntary not to begin with a short slow movement, apart from the rather special cases of single-movement voluntaries to be discussed later.

The emergence of the two-movement structure as a standard form was considerably precipitated by the fashion for Italian music in general and more particularly by the extraordinary popularity which Corelli's music enjoyed in England. Most of Corelli's church sonatas of opp.1 and 3 use the slow-fast-slow-fast pattern while his concertos also usually begin with a slow movement followed by a fast one, and

[23] Judging by their dates it was Greene who really established the two-movement form, and Stanley, his pupil, who popularised it.

it is the first two movements of these that are paralleled in the voluntary. That Corelli's influence was direct is shown by occasional transcriptions of his music in English organ manuscripts, e.g. Add.14335 (ff.31, 39v and 57v), Add.35040 (f.15) and a Royal College of Organists manuscript (p.65). It was also indirect, however, for the various sets of violin and flute sonatas by English composers published in the middle of the century (such as Stanley's opp.1 and 4) show features that are clearly influenced by the popularity of Corelli's music, and these, too, appear occasionally in organ versions: the second movement of Stanley's op.1 no.IV appears as the second movement of a voluntary in RCO (p.137), and a voluntary by Benjamin Skinner, no.II of Ten Voluntaries for the Organ or Harpsichord (1767) also appears as Solo III in Skinner's Six Solos for Flute, Violin or Harpsichord (c.1770); its consistent two-part texture in both movements, and the binary form of the second movement (both halves played on the cornet and repeated on the echo) clearly indicate that the version for violin or flute and figured bass is the original one, even if it was actually published only later.

Another secular influence was the French overture, which had ever since Lully consisted of a short slow section followed by a longer quick one, usually fugal. By the time the

English voluntary had developed into a two-movement form, those voluntaries in which the second movement was a fugue were already closely related to the overture; thus it is scarcely surprising that not only do some first movements have the characteristic dotted patterns of the overture but also there are, once again, examples of actual overtures transcribed for organ. The overture to Stanley's cantata Pan and Syrinx, for example, reappears in his op.7 as Voluntary X, and many other voluntaries in a similar style may also be overtures as yet unidentified.

The new style of voluntary can be subdivided into various types, and Reading consistently distinguished in his manuscripts between what he called, both in the indexes and in the actual titles, "1st" voluntaries and "2nd" voluntaries. The stylistic distinction is perfectly clear, for the 2nd voluntaries normally consist of a movement for "Full Organ" followed by a fugue (also for full organ), while the 1st voluntaries usually begin with a movement for diapasons and principal on the "chear" or choir organ, followed by another for a solo stop---usually the trumpet or cornet. Voluntaries with more than two movements are normally classed as "1st" even if one movement is a fugue (for example a voluntary in A minor by James), and single movements are only in the "2nd"

category if they are fugal. The terms "1st" and "2nd" voluntary have not been found outside the Reading manuscripts but the distinction remained in concept: in almost all the printed collections of voluntaries from 1748 to about 1780 the solo-stop voluntaries appear at the beginning while the last three or four are of the fugal variety. The continuing distinction between the two types suggests they may have had a different function in the church service: voluntaries were normally played at the beginning of the service, between the psalm and the first lesson, and at the end of the service; the one in the middle was meant to be slow and dignified, and probably either diapason movements were used or else the voluntary was improvised, but those before and after the service may have been "1st" and "2nd" voluntaries respectively, though there seems to be no evidence to prove this.

The slow diapason movements are mainly chordal in character with a relatively low pitch range, but there is usually some attempt at imitative counterpoint, and the interwining suspensions and three-part texture that are so common are perhaps the features most obviously derived from Corelli. The movements are through-composed and usually end in the tonic, but sometimes, particularly in later examples, the final cadence is in the dominant, often after a tonic cadence

and a modulating codetta (e.g. in Stanley's op.7 no.V). The second movement of these voluntaries is nearly always in the same key, though occasionally it is in the tonic major, especially with trumpet movements (e.g. Sedo's voluntary in D minor-major, Dul.92a, p.246), or even the relative major (e.g. Greene's voluntary in A minor-C major, Dul.92d, p.80). The majority are cornet movements, but also encountered are ones for trumpet, echos and flute, French horns, vox humana or occasionally bassoon or sesquialtera; the swell is also used in a few voluntaries, either for the whole of the first movement or for parts of the second as contrast to certain solo stops, and the echo, too, is frequently used to contrast the great cornet, trumpet or flute with a quieter stop of a similar timbre.[24]

The form of these solo-stop movements usually bears some elements of ritornello or rondo form, but never developed to any degree of complexity, so that the opening section will not often reappear more than twice---once in a related key and once back in the tonic at the end. This elementary ritornello

[24] A detailed discussion of registration and of English 18th-century organs in general will not be undertaken here, since the present study is concerned primarily with the styles and techniques of the music itself. For information on the instruments see, for example, Clutton and Niland/Organ, and Williams/Organs.

pattern is often reinforced by the use of manual changes, especially in cornet/echo or echo/flute movements, producing a result approximating to a concerto movement. Moreover the style of these movements is often very reminiscent of Vivaldi, some of whose concertos had already been published in England by Walsh,[25] in such features as strong rhythmic drive, themes based on scale figures, patterned figuration derived from violin techniques, certain cadential formulae and sequences of 7ths built round the circle of 5ths. The concerto style of Vivaldi is therefore clearly another secular influence on the English voluntary of Stanley and his contemporaries.

The trumpet movements have a somewhat different nature from the cornet ones; invariably in C or D major, they are of majestic character and often employ march-like rhythms and typical trumpet calls. In many cases only the notes available on a natural trumpet are used, and the music hardly ever moves beyond the tonic and dominant. Trumpet movements often make use of the echo trumpet too; sometimes this is used to repeat exactly every phrase of the trumpet melody[26]---a device that

[25] Op.3 appeared in 1715-17 and six concertos of op.4 were published in 1728, but both sets were already known in England through Roger's editions (1712 and c.1713) published in Amsterdam.

[26] E.g. Stanley, op.7 no.V.

quickly becomes tiring and predictable in most cases---but in other movements it is employed more subtly, either echoing just the ends of phrases[27] or only some of the phrases,[28] having inverted echo effects[29] or even different melodic material.[30] Movements for "Corno" or French horn use typical horn-calls in imitation of the natural horn and are usually in F major; they are generally marked "corno or diapason", for not all organs had a horn stop (cf. above, p.304) and a diapason was considered a satisfactory substitute. Vox humana movements are generally fairly slow and plaintive in character and are nearly always in a minor key, but those for sesquialtera have fast semiquaver movement as in cornet pieces, only with the theme in the left hand as it had been in the sesquialtera sections of Christopher Gibbons's voluntaries.

Slow movements for full organ are generally more chordal and orchestral in style than their counterparts for diapasons, and cover a larger pitch range; sometimes they have dramatic

[27] E.g. Walond, op.2 no.IV.

[28] E.g. James, voluntary in D, Add.31814, f.101v (see Simpson ed./James).

[29] E.g. Stanley, op.5 no.V.

[30] E.g. Stanley, op.6 no.V.

block chords marked "staccato", for example Stanley's op.7 no.VIII, and sometimes they use the dotted style of the French overture. Hardly any of the fugues of the 2nd voluntaries have a consistent number of parts[31] and some have non-fugal passages, usually marked "piano", in the middle; at the start a second voice sometimes enters before the subject is ended and the answer begun, while the two-part counterpoint of answer and counter-subject is often filled out by extra harmony notes. Thus the fugue, though strongly influenced by the Italian style through the influx of foreign musicians and the publication of much Italian music, including organ music (see below), still succeeded in maintaining some traditional English features.

During the period 1710-35 there was, then, a rapid secularization of idiom in the voluntary. In the early part of the 17th century the voluntary had been stylistically close to fantasias for viols, but by the end of the century it had developed its own independent and rather retrospective style, quite unrelated to contemporary harpsichord, ensemble or vocal music. Now the Italian style of the early 18th century, which had already supplanted the old English one in opera and

[31] Stanley's op.7 nos.VIII and IX are exceptions.

ensemble, penetrated to the organ loft, and the new procedures which had crystallised by about 1730 were as up-to-date as any in the whole century, as well as being closely related to much secular music---particularly the solo sonata and the orchestral overture. The transitional period yielded relatively few voluntaries, and most of those that survive (e.g. ones by Barrett, Coles and Reading) are found in the Reading manuscripts, but in the next few years there was a steady increase in the number of voluntaries written, and after 1750 a rapid rise in the number published.

Printed Sources

Alongside the emergence of the two-movement voluntary during the period 1710-35 there ran a rather separate tradition of single-movement voluntaries, found in all the Walsh organ publications of this period. The first of these appeared in 1710 with the title Volentarys & Fugues Made on purpose for the organ or harpsichord by Ziani, Pollaroli, Bassani and other Famous Authors. The "other Famous Authors", all Italian, include Chiava, Colonna and Monari, and nearly all of the 12 pieces are single movements, either slow and chordal, toccata-like or fugal with a regular number of parts; only nos.IV and V, by "P.D." and Chiava respectively, have more than one movement, the former consisting of a slow opening, a quick,

imitative section and a closing section in 3/2, and the latter consisting of a four-part fugue leading into a jig-like section in 6/8. Hence none of these voluntaries has a form closely related to the two-movement pattern being developed by most native composers.

Walsh's second collection (1719) is slightly different in containing several voluntaries with more than one movement, notably no.II (toccata, allemanda, double, courante and sarabande), which is really a harpsichord suite. Some of the others consist of pairs of canzonas while no.V, which has a toccata-like introduction followed by a fugue with a varying number of parts and passages of violinistic figuration, shows some of the features of the English voluntary. No.VII, by Aresti, is based on a cantus firmus (Pange lingua) and most of the others are single movements like those in the first collection. But of these, nos.X-XV, though all entitled "Tocato or Vollentary", are merely reprints of pages from The Lady's Entertainment, books 1-3 (1708-9), viz. -

p.29,	no.X:	Signr Amadori	(L.E.1, p.5)
p.30,	no.XI:	(anon).....	(L.E.1, p.1: "A Prelude")
p.31,	no.XII:	Sigr Fontana	(L.E.2, p.5)
p.32,	no.XIII:	(anon).....	(L.E.2, p.17: Daniel Purcell)
p.33,	no.XIV:	(anon).....	(L.E.3, p.1: by Babell?)
p.34:		Sigr Frobergue	
p.35,	no.XV:	(anon).....	(L.E.2, p.13: by Hall?)

The third Walsh collection (c.1722) consists entirely of music by Zipoli and all the pieces are single movements though they are grouped by key. In this collection Walsh retained the original Italian titles (Toccata, Verso, Canzona, All`Offertorio or Pastorale) of the movements, most of which are very short---about the length of the slow introduction of most English voluntaries. One of them (the second on p.9), though a real fugue, is found as just such an introduction in the RCO MS (see Chapter IX), in nos.11 and 59. These three Italian collections, all reprinted c.1730, were presumably well known to composers like Stanley, for several copies of each set still survive,[32] but their influence on his own organ music was slight and their true successors are similar publications of organ music by Handel (1735) and Thomas Roseingrave (1728).

Handel`s Six Fugues or Voluntarys,[33] also published by Walsh, must therefore be considered in the context of these earlier Walsh publications, as well as being compared with fugues of contemporary and earlier Englishmen like Blow, Croft and Greene, rather than just being compared with, say, Bach`s,

[32] See BUC, 11.1102, 764 and 1103; also RISM/18, pp.400 and 102.

[33] Most recent edition is in Best ed./Handel III.

which are quite irrelevant.[34]

Although Handel's Six Fugues were not published till 1735, Terence Best has established from the handwriting in the autographs that all were written by about 1720 and no.II is as early as c.1711---the year Handel first came to England.[35] Unlike most 18th-century organ publications these fugues are truly for "organ or harpsichord" for their style is no different from the five fugues published in Handel's harpsichord suites of 1720.[36] (The other two keyboard fugues by Handel which are presumably authentic---an F major fugue in the Aylesford Collection[37] and an E major fugue in RCO[38]---also probably date from 1711-20.) Thus Handel's fugues are a rare example of an area in which the fields of harpsichord and organ music overlap, and this is borne out by the appearance of one of the fugues from the 1720 suites (suite IV.1) in

34 An attempt at relating Handel's music to English organ music is found in Williams/Händel, but this is more concerned with Handel's general influence at the end of the 18th century than with the specific problems associated with the Six Fugues.

35 See Best/Handel; the autographs are in R.M.20.g.14.

36 Suites de pièces pour le clavecin...Premier volume.

37 Published in Squire and Maitland edd./Handel, no.48.

38 See Johnstone/Voluntaries; this fugue, however, is not mentioned in Best/Handel.

Dul.92d, p.114, alongside two of the Six Fugues and other organ music.

Handel's fugues are longer, more powerful and more complex than most contemporary English or Italian examples, with the subject in general maintained more consistently and reappearing more frequently in inner parts; their technical difficulty is matched only by the fugues of Roseingrave, but despite the overall impression of contrapuntal complexity the part-writing is never entirely strict, though it is stricter than many English fugues and hardly ever exceeds four real parts. Thus in their free sense of part-writing they follow in the English tradition of Blow and Croft, and the two double fugues (nos.I and III) can be regarded as the successors of Hart's double fugue in A (published in 1704) and Croft's in D (Add.5336, no.12); the general style, however, is more modern and Italian, and in the livelier fugues it has closer links with the contrapuntal movements of Italian sonatas and concertos than with the Italian keyboard fugues of the period---the repeated notes in no.II are particularly characteristic of string writing. The secular orientation of the fugues emphasises the fact that Handel was not a church or cathedral organist as were so many of his English contemporaries, and after his time at Cannons with the Duke of Chandos (1718-20)

was concerned mainly with opera and public concerts rather than church music; thus his fugues were probably intended at least as much for the chamber organ as for use in church. This is borne out by the fact that several of them reappear in different versions in his so-called "Oboe Concertos", op.3: nos.II and III of the Fugues reappear as the 4th movements of nos.III and II respectively of this set of concertos, and two of the five fugues in the 1720 suites (suites IV.i and VI.iii) appear in string versions too (in op.5 no.V and op.3 no.V respectively). Moreover the E major fugue in RCO has a subject related to that of the fugue in Water Music: probably the keyboard version is again the earlier of the two. Some of the string versions merely quote or adapt the opening bars but in others whole sections correspond and the fugue of op.3 no.III corresponds exactly bar by bar (apart from bar 81, which seems to have been accidentally omitted in the original edition and hence by Chrysander, but is supplied in the new Hallische Händel-Ausgabe) with the G major organ fugue. These bar-by-bar arrangements are important in that they show his fugues to be potentially real fugues with a regular number of voices, as do those sections of nos.I and V that became parts of choruses in Israel in Egypt ("He smote all the first-born in Egypt" and "They loathed to drink" respectively), and that he deliberate-

ly adopted the contrapuntal freedom found in all English (and a few Italian) fugues.

Handel's fugues had relatively little influence on later developments in English organ music for, as has been seen, the Italian style had already been taken up by native composers, and they were evolving a two-movement form that belongs to a separate tradition from Handel's fugues and had become very widespread by the time his Six Fugues were printed in 1735. His music as a whole exerted a considerable influence on English organ music, however, especially in the latter half of the 18th century, when much of it appeared in organ arrangements,[39] but this influence was only indirect and amounted primarily to general features of melodic and harmonic style.

The other Walsh publication of organ music consisting mainly of single movements was the Voluntarys and Fugues made on Purpose for the Organ or Harpsicord by Thomas Roseingrave, published on 7 December 1728. They have been made available in several modern editions of varying scope and quality[40] (though they have yet to reappear complete in an authentic edition)

39 A list of these arrangements is included in Williams/Händel. See also Smith/Handel.

40 Butcher ed./Roseingrave, Stevens ed./Roseingrave, Williams ed./Roseingrave.

and their style has been discussed in detail along with Roseingrave's other music, by Constant Lambert and Vernon Butcher.[41] These analyses are still perfectly valid, even if occasionally naive (Butcher describes Voluntary IX as "A sort of double fugue, probably written on an off-day"), and so a discussion of such features as their extraordinary chromaticism will be unnecessary here.

It is not known when the fifteen pieces were written and some were probably composed immediately after Roseingrave's period in Italy (1710-c.1715)---such an early date would help to explain why none are in the two-movement form that was becoming standard by the time they were published. Others were probably not written until after Handel's fugues, though certain similarities of style need not be attributed to Handel's influence, since both composers had been in Italy at the same time, both had met Domenico Scarlatti and both were virtuoso performers. Each of the fifteen pieces bears the title "Voluntary" or "Fugue", which might seem to indicate that the term "voluntary" implied a non-fugal movement, but two of those marked "Voluntary" (nos.VIII and XV) are in fact fugues, and Handel's pieces were called fugues or voluntaries:

[41] Lambert/Roseingrave and Butcher/Roseingrave.

hence "voluntary" was sometimes synonymous with "fugue" but elsewhere was used to indicate a non-fugal movement.

Although all fifteen pieces appear to be single movements the key sequence suggests that some may have been intended to be grouped together. Nos.VII and VIII are both in G minor, with the former (marked "Andante") being in a pseudo-contrapuntal style but with very little real imitation, and the latter being fugal; thus these two pieces together bear many resemblances to a two-movement voluntary of Greene or Stanley, the main difference being in proportions, for the two Roseingrave pieces are 56 and 31 bars respectively, whereas such proportions would be reversed for most other English composers. Nos.IX and X form a similar pair for both are in G major with the first one chordal and relatively slow and the second a fugue, this time about as long as the preceding piece. The most obvious case of related movements is the first three pieces: nos.I and III are both fugues in F minor---still a rather unusual key---while no.II, marked "Largo Assai", begins in A flat, though this key is not properly established before the music modulates to F minor, where it remains for much of the movement, which ends with a half-close on the dominant. This movement clearly cannot stand on its own and must lead straight into the second fugue, while the opening

bars, being in A flat major, distinguish the movement from ordinary introductions, which always establish the tonic at the start; thus these opening bars are designed as a contrast to the loud, quick fugue that precedes this slow movement. The resultant three-movement structure is one that Roseingrave undoubtedly encountered during his stay in Italy, for it is not unusual for Italian concertos and sonatas of this period to have this construction, with the second movement beginning in the relative major and ending with a half-close on the dominant, and it is also met in Bach's music, for example his second trio sonata for organ. Nevertheless the three-movement construction of Roseingrave has not been preserved by all subsequent editors: Williams's edition[42] includes only the last two movements as an introduction and fugue, while Daniel Wright's pirate edition of c.1734 reverses the order of the second and third movements; this facilitates page-turning for the performer but it makes nonsense of Roseingrave's three-movement structure.

Roseingrave's <u>Voluntarys and Fugues</u> are not so much the predecessor of Stanley's voluntaries as the successor of the three books of Italian organ music, and were regarded as such

[42] Williams ed./<u>Roseingrave</u>.

by Walsh, who states on the title page: "Note.there are three other books of Voluntarys and Fugues by the greatest Authors, which may be had where this is sold". Their only real successors apart from Handel`s were Roseingrave`s own Six Double Fugues for the Organ or Harpsicord, also published by Walsh (17 March 1750);[43] here again the date of composition is unknown, but it was almost certainly some years earlier for by 1744 Roseingrave had been forced by ill health, both mental and physical, to retire from his organist post at St.George`s, Hanover Square,[44] and would hardly have been in a fit state for much composition. The only unpublished organ piece attributed to Roseingrave yet discovered is a C major fugue of 81 bars found in RCO (pp.71-75); it follows two movements in the same key, one of which is elsewhere (p.193) ascribed to John James, and the whole is ascribed to Pepusch and Roseingrave, implying that it is this last movement which is by Roseingrave and the middle one by Pepusch.

[43] See Smith and Humphries/Walsh, 11.287.

[44] See Butcher/Roseingrave.

Chapter IX

LATE BAROQUE ORGAN MUSIC: (ii) AFTER 1735

Sources

After the publications of Roseingrave, Hine and Handel more than a decade elapsed before the next English organ music appeared in print (Stanley's op.5), and for the interim period one must turn to manuscript sources and later publications. The principal manuscript is the recently discovered one in the Royal College of Organists referred to several times in the last chapter; it has been described in detail by Diack Johnstone[1] and its importance, especially as a source of otherwise unknown music, almost exceeds that of all the Reading manuscripts put together. Its main drawback is that although very few pieces are anonymous several of the attributions are demonstrably false, others are dubious and some of the remainder can be suspected on circumstantial evidence: if all the pieces ascribed to James and Prelleur are genuine they reveal them as composers of considerable stature, but the proportion of these not ascribed to either composer anywhere else is so large that this alone would raise doubts about their authenticity; and at least one is undoubtedly spurious,

[1] Johnstone/Voluntaries.

for the diapason movement in C major which is part of a voluntary ascribed to James and Prelleur (p.33) and which reappears on p.215 ascribed explicitly to "Mr.John James" appeared earlier in Walsh's publication of organ music by Zipoli (see Chapter VIII). (This movement is one of six marked "p" or "Printed" that Johnstone was unable to find in any printed source---the other five remain undiscovered.) One minor point about authorship which is not made clear in Johnstone's otherwise excellent article is that the Worgan whose music appears in this manuscript is not Dr. John Worgan (who is mentioned elsewhere in the article) but his brother James Worgan the elder (1715-53).

The manuscript bears no date but Johnstone considers it was probably compiled between 1748 and 1752---the dates of publication of Stanley's op.5 and op.6---on the grounds that most of the Stanley pieces in it are from op.6 and none from op.5; the evidence is inconclusive, however, especially as the Reading manuscripts of the early 1730s also contain many movements from op.6 and only two short diapason movements from op.5 (nos.VI and X), thus indicating that the op.5 pieces were not well-known before publication whereas many of the op.6 ones were. Hence this manuscript could have been compiled at almost any time during the 1740s. One other interesting

feature of the manuscript not mentioned by Johnstone is that almost every movement has a figure at the end indicating the number of bars; this is found in no other English keyboard manuscript of the period and it suggests that the copyist may have been a professional who was being paid by the bar.

Most other manuscripts containing organ music of this period were copied slightly later, and many, being derived chiefly from printed sources, have little independent value. Examples of these are Adds.14335, 35040, 31814 (which contains three previously unpublished voluntaries, by Blow,[2] James and Croft) and RCM 1057 (which includes an otherwise unknown voluntary by Greene). The only other substantial manuscript containing voluntaries from the period is Fitz.52.C.11*:[3] the first part of this (ff.1-37) contains 39 complete movements from voluntaries, a few incomplete movements (where leaves are missing) and a few arrangements such as the "Dead March" from Handel's Saul. This part can itself be subdivided into two,

2 No.26 in Shaw ed./Blow.

3 Formerly a single manuscript, 52.C.11 was re-bound as two separate volumes by the Museum: the part containing the voluntaries is now distinguished by means of an asterisk. F.1 consists of two leaves that have been stuck together; between them is a diapason movement in G major, but like most of the other movements at the beginning of the manuscript its quality is not very high.

for although the watermark is the same throughout, the "rastration" of ff.1-18 is different from that of ff.19-37: in the former the staves are ruled in five pairs of two whereas in the latter all ten are equally spaced; moreover f.19 has a soiled appearance that gives the impression it was once the front leaf of a manuscript.

Not a single composer is named on the first 37 leaves, but many of the movements can be identified from other sources. Of the 21 movements on ff.1-14r (ff.14v-18v are blank) 12 were published c.1780 in Ten Voluntary`s for the Organ or Harpsichord Perform`d at the Cathedral Norwich: Composed by Thomas Thorley Junr, several of them in revised versions. The other nine are probably all or nearly all by Thorley too, since none are attributed elsewhere to other composers and since in some cases they form parts of the same pieces as definite Thorley movements. Thorley, whose connection with Norwich is not clear,[4] did not start publishing music till c.1775 and continued to as late as 1818;[5] thus it is hard to believe that this section of the manuscript could have been compiled before

4 The cathedral organist throughout the second half of the 18th century was Thomas Garland (see West/Organists).

5 See Eitner/Lexicon, ix.402.

1760, even though the style of the music suggests that none of it was written much after that date either.

The second group of pieces (ff.19-37v) contains no music found in Thorley's collection and most movements are unidentified; two, however, are from Stanley's op.6, nos.VI.iv and IX.i, and contain minor variants from the printed edition, similar to those in the Reading manuscripts, indicating they derive from a pre-1752 manuscript source. No.IX.1 is paired with an excellent fugue which could be by Stanley too (Ex.1):

Ex.1



(Fitz.52.C.11*, f.19)

its style is very similar to many of Stanley's fugues (its theme even begins in the same way as the fugue of his op.7 no.VIII) and like Stanley's fugues it is considerably longer, at about 180 bars, than those of contemporaries like Greene and James. The only other composers identified in this part of the manuscript are Greene and Prelleur, apart from arrangements of music by Handel and Corelli.

Much of the organ music composed during this period, though not published immediately, eventually did get printed in the latter half of the 18th century, and Stanley's opp.5,

6 and 7 (first published in 1748, 1752 and 1754 respectively[6]) mark the beginning of a rapid expansion in organ publications: whereas his op.5 was only the third ever publication devoted exclusively to English organ music (including Handel's) there were eight such publications during the period 1750-60 and even more after 1770 with the rise of the publishers Longman, Lukey & Co. (later Longman & Broderip). Of these later publications the main ones containing organ music from before 1750 are Ten Voluntarys for the Organ or Harpsichord by Greene, Skinner and others (1767), a set of four books of voluntaries (Longman etc., 1771-c.1780) and a collection of Six Voluntaries...by Different Masters...selected by E. Kendall (1775). The set of four books was to have been the subject of an article by Diack Johnstone[7] and indeed much work has needed to be done on them as they contain both interesting music and also several problems of various types, particularly in regard to authorship.

Book 1 (1771) bears the title A Collection of Voluntaries for the Organ or Harpsicord composed by Dr. Green, Mr. Travers & several other Eminent Masters, but there is no

6 See Wilson/Stanley and Finzi/Stanley.

7 See Johnstone/Voluntaries, note 15.

indication who these "eminent masters" were, nor which of the ten pieces were written by Greene and Travers. None of the movements appears in other publications of voluntaries by these two composers, but some can be identified from other sources: no.VIII is Greene`s D minor fugue found in the R.C.O. and Reading manuscripts, while nos.IV, V and VI all contain movements ascribed to Prelleur in RCO, and therefore most of the other movements in these three voluntaries are probably by him too (though IV.1 is by Thorley). No.I ends with a movement by James (RCO no.18.11) and the second movement of no.X is the A minor fugue elsewhere ascribed to Stanley, Sedo and James (see below), here with a different first movement. The other pieces are as yet unidentified and some, for example no.IX, may be arrangements of orchestral overtures.

Book 2 was first published in 1771 at a price of 4 shillings;[8] most of the extant copies, however, including the British Museum one, are a later edition (c.1780) which is priced at 5 shillings and advertises books 3 and 4. Its title, Ten Select Voluntaries for the Organ or Harpsicord (never before publish`d) composed by Mr. Handel, Dr. Green &ca., is again the only indication of authorship and it is unlikely

8 See Smith/Handel, pp.253-4.

that any of the movements are in fact by Handel as none are in his normal style, none are amongst his autographs and none are found in other early sources of his music; Handel's name seems to have been just a selling device. All ten voluntaries are therefore anonymous and none are found in any earlier source except Fitz.52.C.11*, which contains both parts of nos.III and VI and the first movement of no.V. Two of these five movements were later published among Thorley's voluntaries and as all five come from the first section (ff.1-18) of Fitz.52.C.11* they are probably all by Thorley.

Books 1 and 2 both maintain the traditional pattern of solo-stop movements appearing at the beginning and full/fugue voluntaries only at the end, but in book 3 (c.1780) this pattern is broken and nos.II, IV, V, VI, VII and VIII all end with a fugue. Book 3 has already been mentioned in connection with Blow and Purcell (see Chapter VI) and it has an unusually long list of composers on its title page: "Orlando [really Christopher] Gibbons, Blow, Purcell, Doctr.Green, Doctr.Boyce, Mr. James Martin Smith, Organist of Gloucester & J. Stafford Smith". (The organist of Gloucester from 1740 to 1782 was Martin Smith, to whom no.V is attributed, and a comma must therefore be missing on the title page after "James", indicating the composer John James.) Gibbons wrote no.I and on

stylistic grounds Purcell and Blow could have written only the two movements of no.IX; nos.II, VIII and X are attributed to Stafford Smith and so nos.III, IV, VI and VII must be by Greene, Boyce and James if the title page is correct. Greene may well be the author of no.III for the carefully worked counterpoint in both movements recalls his style rather than that of Boyce or James, while no.IV is closest to James's style and its fugue subject strongly resembles one in the same key by James (RCO no.31.ii). Nos.VI and VII are most likely to be by Boyce and no.VI in particular is in a relatively late style---probably post-Greene---but there are no concordances to establish with certainty the author of any of these four voluntaries and some movements may not be by any of the composers on the title page.

Book 4 is called Twelve Voluntaries and Fugues...with Rules for Tuning by...Handel---an ambiguous title which could mean that just the rules for tuning are by Handel or that the music is too. Many people have presumed the latter, especially as the music includes the six so-called "Fugues Faciles" attributed to Handel (the last movement of nos.III and VIII-XII); Handel's authorship of these, however, has been disputed by numerous scholars including Chrysander,[9] and it seems very

[9] Chrysander ed./Instrumental, p.VI.

unlikely, on both internal and external evidence, that any of the other movements in this publication were written by Handel, although the rules for tuning may have had some connection with him. None of the movements is ascribed to Handel in any earlier source and some are definitely by other composers: III.i is attributed to Robinson in Rf.31 and III.iii is part of Greene`s first voluntary in the collection by Greene, Skinner etc., mentioned above; X.i is part of an overture by Greene and VIII.i is part of a voluntary (no.33) ascribed to "Pepusch etc." in RCO, while both movements of no.I are found anonymously elsewhere (Fitz.52.C.11*, f.3v and RCO, p.203 respectively). No.VII is in a distinctly Classical style and was probably written by a composer of the younger generation such as Dupuis (1733-96) or Robert Broderip (?-1808).

The six voluntaries selected by Kendall are also of unknown authorship apart from the second movement of no.I, which is the cornet movement of James`s A minor voluntary (Dul.92a, p.67); the only other movement so far discovered elsewhere is no.IV.ii, which appears in Fitz.52.C.11*, f.31v. In the collection by Greene, Skinner and others (1767), however, each piece has the composer`s name attached: Greene, Reading and Stubley have two each while Skinner, James, Selby

and "Kuknan" have one apiece. The identity of Kuknan has been something of a mystery: a few scholars have been prepared to accept that this could be the real name of a very obscure composer, but nearly all, following the British Museum catalogue, have identified Kuknan as J. C. Kühnau (1735-1805), despite the fact that this composer had written very little, and published nothing, by 1767, and did not have any connection with England. A much more probable figure is one of the Kirkman family (the name Kirkman is at least as similar to Kuknan as Kühnau is)---most likely Jacob Kirkman (organist at St. George's, Hanover Square, 1786-1802); he published several keyboard works from 1779 onwards[10] and is thought to be the Jacob Kirkman (d.1812) who was a nephew of the great harpsichord maker Jacob Kirckmann, later Kirkman (1710-92). Apparent confirmation that the voluntary is indeed by one of the Kirkmans comes on the title page of a reprint (c.1809) of Stanley's voluntaries by Button & Whitaker, successors to C. & S. Thompson: this states that music obtainable from the firm includes "Ten Voluntaries by Dr. Greene, Skinner...and Kirkman". The voluntary by Kirkman, a movement for full organ followed by a fugue, is of the type that could well be an

[10] See BUC, 1.571-2.

arrangement of an orchestral overture.

James and Prelleur

From the above-mentioned sources of voluntaries written during the period 1735-50 the composer to emerge as the biggest "find" is without doubt John James. Organist at St. Olave's, Southwark, until 1738, and at St. George in the East from then until his death in 1745, James's best-known voluntary was the one in A minor first published in the Greene/Skinner collection;[11] altogether about 40 movements of his survive in various sources, though the bulk of these appear only in the R.C.O. manuscript. James lived slightly before the period when almost every voluntary had two movements and about half of his are either single movements or groups of three, four or even five movements. In general James avoids the more unusual stops and apart from a short movement for chromhorn (RCO, no.27.111) all his solo-stop movements are for cornet or trumpet. There are also several movements, mostly fugues, for full organ.

James's trumpet movements are different from those of

11 It is found in Dul.92a, p.66; Rf.31, p.213; RCO, nos.3.1 and 11, and 37.11; Add.35040, f.24v (first movement); the Greene/Skinner collection, no.IV; and Kendall's selection, no.I.11. First and last movements are published in Trevor ed./Organ, vol.111.

most other 18th-century composers in that although they are all in D major and use trumpet-like motifs and melodic phrases none of them adheres to the harmonic series of the natural trumpet: not only are B and C sharp used extensively but several other notes are sometimes found, including D sharp, E sharp and low G sharp. Freed from the restrictions of the natural trumpet, James is able to modulate to several related keys that are not easily obtainable normally, such as E minor and F sharp minor, thus giving added interest to what might otherwise have become rather stereotyped movements. Many of James's diapason movements employ a strict Corellian trio-sonata texture of two intertwining parts in the right hand and a purely harmonic bass-line in the left---a procedure adopted by Stanley in most of his diapason movements. Examples are found in the introductions of James's A minor voluntary mentioned above, and of his voluntary in D,[12] which begins in a very similar way (Ex.2).

Ex.2



(Rf.31, p.318)

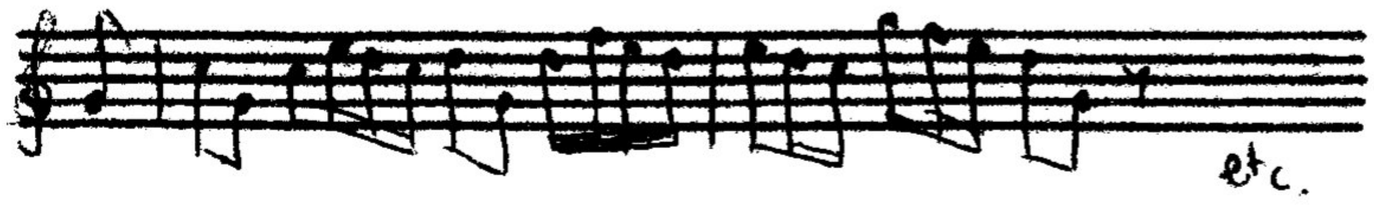
[12] Published in Simpson ed./James.

James`s cornet movements contain most of the melodic features found in Stanley`s, particularly the semiquaver scales and the stereotyped descending three-note pattern () which concludes the first phrase of most of James`s cornet movements; like almost all James`s movements, however, they are noticeably short and hardly any exceed 40 bars. Such brevity means they lack the well-organised ritornello scheme which became common later and their forms are generally undeveloped. James may have had difficulty in planning longer movements for there is a tendency to a lack of cohesion that is the principal weakness in his movements---there are too many pockets of ideas not smoothly joined together---and this feature would have become more pronounced in longer movements. Counterbalancing this are numerous good points about James`s voluntaries---fertility of ideas, a melodic interest that is maintained throughout, controlled harmonic movement and a clear sense of direction; the music does not normally become repetitious or tedious even in the echo sections, which often do not echo complete phrases. A curious feature of James`s voluntaries is that many movements begin in a similar way: two diapason movements have been mentioned already, and two others with almost the same opening as these but in the major are RCO nos.21 and 43. Two trumpet movements whose themes are very

very similar are RCO nos.43.11 and 47.11, while two double fugues whose opening bars are alike are RCO nos.11.1v (ascribed to James in Rf.31) and 22.11.

Prelleur is known as an organ composer only through the R.C.O. manuscript, but over 30 movements are attributed to him in this and some are found anonymously elsewhere. Few of his voluntaries are of the full/fugue type (and some of these seem likely to be orchestral overture arrangements) but in his other voluntaries he explores every solo stop on the organ---cremona, cornet, chromhorn, French horn, trumpet, vox humana and even sesquialtera---perhaps a sign of his French origin. Most of the stops are treated in an idiomatic way emphasising their different qualities, but the two trumpet-stop movements (13.11 and 17.11) are not given the majestic trumpet calls found with most other composers: instead the melodic and rhythmic patterns are more similar to cornet movements, with plenty of semiquaver motion, but Prelleur nevertheless keeps to the notes playable on a natural trumpet; the result is an unusual and attractive blend of trumpet and cornet style of which no.17.11 (also found in Longman's Book 1, no.IV.11) is a particularly fine example (Ex.3).

Ex.3



(RCO, p.61)

Stanley

The leading organ composer throughout the middle of the 18th century was without doubt John Stanley (1713-86), for although all his three published books appeared within the space of six years (1748-54) he had already established a leading position by the early 1730s as is shown by the Reading manuscripts; and all three books were reprinted by Thompson (c.1765), by Harrison (c.1784) in The New Musical Magazine and by Button & Whitaker (c.1809). Some of Stanley's voluntaries have long been popular in heavily edited versions arranged to suit 19th- and early 20th-century organs (and organists!), but more recently two fairly authentic editions of the complete opp.5-7 have appeared[13] enabling this excellent music to become widely known in its original form. Each voluntary is analysed briefly in the introductions to the Tallis to Wesley edition and the music has been considered in general terms by Gerald Finzi,[14] but many aspects of the voluntaries have not yet been discussed in print. Finzi has singled out from each collection the voluntaries that he considers to be the best, but this is merely a personal

13 Vaughan ed./Stanley and Phillips ed./Stanley.

14 Finzi/Stanley.

choice, for Stanley`s voluntaries are of such a consistent quality that it would be as hard to say which are the best, or to single out any inferior ones, as it would be with Corelli`s trio sonatas. Indeed their consistency, their remarkable variety within a strictly limited style, their leading, epoch-making position and their considerable influence (shown by the large number of imitators) are all features that Stanley`s voluntaries share with Corelli`s trio sonatas.

The various early manuscript sources of Stanley`s voluntaries that have been discovered in the last 20 years (see above) enable them to be viewed in a new light, and a reconsideration of their chronology, their growth and Stanley`s high standard of craftsmanship can now be made by comparing the early manuscript versions with the final, printed versions. The movements found in these early manuscripts (bracketed together where they appear as parts of the same voluntary) are as follows:

op.5.VI.i		92a		Rf.31	
6.I.ii		92a		Rf.31	RCO (paired with mvt. by Larkin)
5.X.i		92a		Rf.31	
7.VIII.iv		92a		Rf.31	RCO (paired with unpublished mvt. - see below)
6.II.i		92a	92b	Rf.31	RCO
6.II.ii		92a	92b	Rf.31	RCO
6.V.i	92d	92a	92b	Rf.31	RCO
6.V.ii	92d	92a	92b	Rf.31	RCO
6.V.iii	92d	92a	92b	Rf.31	

op.6.VI.i	92a	92b	Rf.31	RCO	RCO again (paired with unpublished trumpet mvt.)
6.VI.ii	92a	92b	Rf.31		RCO (paired with mvt. by Greene)
6.VI.iii	92a	92b	Rf.31		
6.VI.iv	92a	92b	Rf.31	RCO	Fitz.52.C.11*
6.VIII.i				RCO	
6.VIII.ii				RCO	
6.IX.i	92d 92a	92b	Rf.31	RCO	Fitz.52.C.11* (paired with anonymous fugue)
6.IX.ii	92d 92a	92b	Rf.31	RCO	
6.X.i	92a		Rf.31		
6.X.ii	92a		Rf.31		
Fugue, D minor				92d	
Fugue, E minor				92d	
Fugue, G major				92d	
Full (Slow), A minor				RCO (paired with op.7.VIII.iv)	
Trumpet, D major			Rf.31	RCO (paired with op.6.VI.i)	
Largo, G minor				RCO	
Fugue, G minor				RCO	
Full, C major				RCO 20.1 (attr. Pepusch and Roseingrave), 54.1 (attr. James)	
Cornet, D major (=op.1.IV.ii)				RCO (paired with anonymous mvt.)	
Full, A minor	92a (attr.	92b (anon.)	Rf.31 (attr.	RCO	
Fugue, A minor	92a Sedo)	92b	Rf.31 James)	RCO	

This list shows that the majority of Stanley's early organ works were published in op.6, while op.5 consisted almost entirely of little-known, probably newly-composed, music. Five voluntaries from op.6 were complete by the early 1730s and another (no.VIII) was also circulating in manuscript well before publication. Reading seems almost always to have kept together the movements of a single voluntary, rather than regrouping them (as the RCO copyist did several times) and so the other two pairs of movements in Dul.92a by Stanley (op.

5.VI.i with op.6.I.ii, and op.5.X.i with op.7.VIII.iv) were probably written as single voluntaries originally.

The latter pair therefore have a particularly interesting history: initially a single voluntary, they became separated when the first movement was arranged for orchestra and appeared (in B minor) as an adagio movement in Stanley's concerto op.2 no.II (the Reading manuscripts show that this orchestral version is the later one although it was published first); Stanley then wrote a new A minor fugue and paired this with the slow movement as the last voluntary in op.5. His eagerness to publish this slow movement in op.5 rather than keep it back along with his other early works for a possible op.6 suggests that he was particularly fond of it, with its pathetic style and telling suspensions, especially as he had already published it as a concerto movement. Its "mate" (op. 7.VIII.iv) was thus left without an introductory movement and the RCO copyist found an otherwise unknown one to go with it; although he ascribed the whole voluntary to Stanley he was not very careful with his ascriptions and it may well be that he meant "Stanley etc." (cf. no.36 in the manuscript) and that this movement was by someone else: if Stanley really wrote it it is strange that he did not publish these two movements in this form. When he came to publish op.6 Stanley again held

over the fugue, as though rather reluctant to publish it (it is more primitive than most of his other fugues but by no means inferior), and he even published yet another A minor fugue instead (op.6 no.VIII). Even when he did publish the fugue in op.7, it seems to have been included only as an afterthought: the first two movements of Voluntary VIII would be satisfactory on their own, though unusual in that there is no break between them and the second is set for full organ but is in the style of a cornet movement; the four-bar adagio looks as if it was composed later as a necessary interlude between two fast movements when Stanley decided to add on the fugue (or alternatively he was experimenting with a new structure and found the published result the most satisfactory). The other pair of movements in Dul.92a had a simpler history. Again the slow movement was used in op.5 (no.VI) and the fast one left over; this time the RCO copyist paired it with a movement by Larkin, whose organ music is otherwise unknown. When the fast movement was published in op.6 (no.I) it was preceded by a newly-composed movement for the swell in the Siciliano style, a style only just becoming popular in English organ music.[15]

[15] The fast movement was also altered in other ways, to be discussed later.

In addition to the short A minor movement mentioned above, the unpublished music attributed to Stanley in these early manuscripts includes a largo and fugue in G minor (RCO no.57), three fugues, a voluntary in A minor and a trumpet movement. The three fugues are all unknown outside Dul.92d and may be very early works; they are by no means weak, but they lack the polish or contrapuntal tautness that Stanley was able to display by the time he was 21, tending to dwindle into long sequential patterns without being overtly non-fugal as in the "piano" sections of some of the op.5 fugues. The first, in D minor, lacks a true fugal exposition for all three voices enter on the tonic, and it is unduly short---only 51 bars of quick crotchets in 2/2; it also ends very abruptly, as does the E minor one, which is probably the best of the three. The G major fugue has a strong, Handelian subject but a rising sequence towards the end of the fugue seems unnecessarily long, though it does help to create a sense of climax.

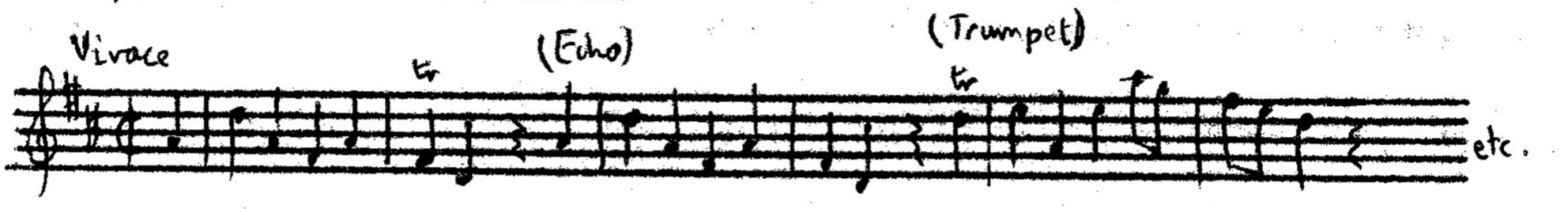
While there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the fugues, there is every reason to doubt that of the A minor voluntary attributed to Stanley in RCO; if it were by him Reading would almost certainly have known this and not attributed it to two other composers, and furthermore Stanley would probably have published it, for the fugue in particular, with

a chromatic descending subject, is a most impressive movement. Equally, if it were by James (as stated in the index to Rf.31) this would probably have been well enough known for the RCO copyist, who attributed so many other pieces to James, to attribute this one to him too. It is therefore most likely to be by Sedo (as stated in the index to Dul.92a) or by some similarly obscure composer.

The unpublished trumpet piece in D (RCO, p.181, Rf.31, p.286) is undoubtedly genuine, and a remarkable example of an early work which was revised thoroughly and later published (in op.6 no.V). It is inferior to any of Stanley's other trumpet movements and has certain obvious defects: the exact repetition of every trumpet phrase by the echo soon becomes tedious, the piece lacks much rhythmic life, the opening theme is too conventional and the two-part texture lacks variety, though the piece is sound enough harmonically and has a clear sense of direction. When Stanley revised the piece he corrected all these faults and made a few other minor improvements: he removed all the tiresome echoes and enlivened the rhythm by introducing much dotted quaver movement and dotting existing quavers (this more complex rhythm necessitated changing the tempo mark from "Vivace" to "Andante Largo"); the conventional theme was replaced by a much more attractive one

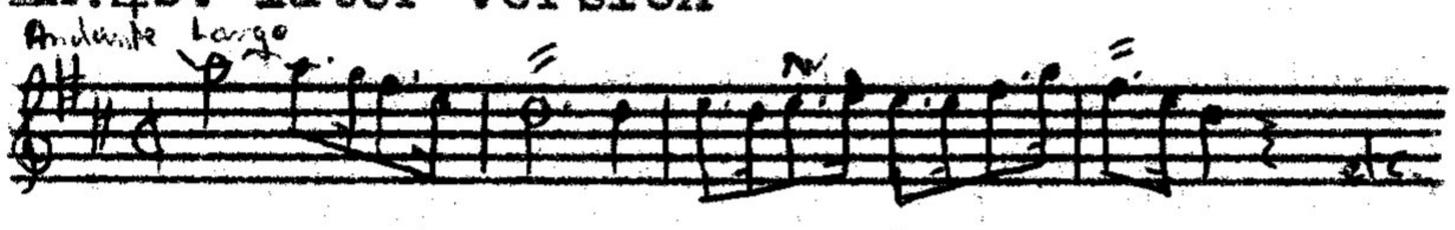
with a distinctive rhythmic pattern, and the answering phrase was also altered to balance the opening one (Ex.4). Other

Ex.4a: earlier version



(Rf.31, p.286)

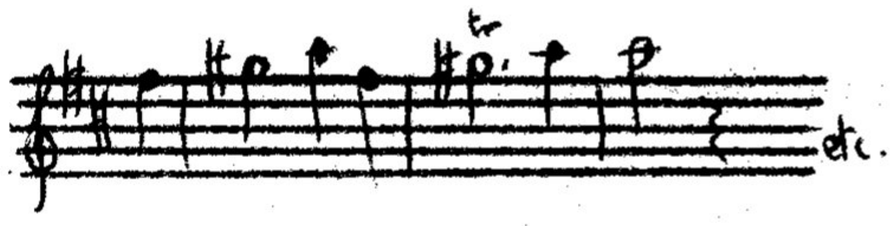
Ex.4b: later version



(Rf.31, p.200)

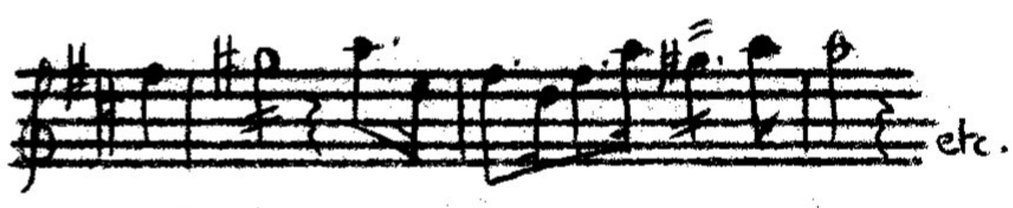
minor alterations to the melodic and rhythmic shape of the music were made where Stanley thought this necessary, for example at the cadence at bars 34-36 (Ex.5). The texture was

Ex.5a: earlier version



(Rf.31, p.287)

Ex.5b: later version



(Rf.31, p.200)

also thickened towards the end of the piece by the introduction of a second trumpet part, mostly moving in parallel thirds with the first, and with imitation at one point. With all the echoes removed, however, the piece was now much too short, and so Stanley replaced the final cadence with a 24-bar extension, which included further changes of texture through

the use of block chords, modulations to B minor, E minor and A major to provide variety of key, and the use of the echo manual (though not for echo effects) to provide changes of timbre. Thus was a rather mediocre movement transformed into a very fine one, which is justifiably one of Stanley's most popular today. Since the later version is found in three of the Reading manuscripts the revision must have taken place before Stanley was 21 and the earlier version was probably written when he was not more than about 15; hence it may be the earliest composition of his that survives.

This trumpet movement is the most spectacular example of Stanley revising his work, but there are other cases where the version in the Reading manuscripts differs from the printed text. The first movement of op.6 no.II is one such case for in the Reading manuscripts this consists of 26 bars but in the printed version it is only 23: the first five bars, which took too long to modulate to C major, have been reduced to four, an unnecessary cadence at bar 14 has been removed and the final cadence has been reduced from three bars to one and a half; the result is a tighter, more concise movement which still preserves the main original ideas, and the revision was made early enough for it to appear in the R.C.O. manuscript. The second movement, however, is essentially the same in the

printed edition as in the Reading manuscripts and therefore the 62-bar version in the R.C.O. manuscript is probably not an earlier form (as suggested by Johnstone) but just abridged and corrupt. The main differences between the Reading versions and the printed text are in details of melodic shape, for example in the opening phrase, where Stanley considerably improved his original idea by adding the E appoggiatura and the B passing-note for the printed version.

Several movements from Stanley's voluntaries are known also in orchestral versions, which raises the question of which form is the original one and whether both are authentic in each case. The A minor adagio already mentioned is clearly authentic in both versions as Stanley actually published both (op.5 no.X and op.2 no.II), and the Reading manuscripts demonstrate that the organ version, though published later, was almost certainly written earlier. The overture to Jephtha (1757) also appeared first as a voluntary[16] but was arranged for orchestra by Stanley himself. The other known arrangements are associated with three unpublished cantatas by Stanley found in Cambridge, Rowe Music Library, MS 7; these are The Choice of Hercules, The Power of Music and Pan and Syrinx. The

16 See Finzi/Stanley, p.71.

overture to the latter is an orchestral version of op.7 no.X, while Johnstone has observed that the Largo and Fugue found as RCO no.57 (p.208) is the overture to The Power of Music, and was re-used for Stanley's oratorio The Fall of Egypt (1774).[17] The overture to The Choice of Hercules is missing, but can be found in a copy of the cantata in Add.5328; it is in three movements---a standard French overture followed by a march---and the first of these appears transposed down a tone to C major in RCO 20.1 and 54.1. In neither case is it attributed to Stanley (one attributes it specifically to James) and there are several possible explanations for its origin. Stanley could have plagiarised the organ works of James in order to obtain the opening movement for his overture, but this seems unlikely; alternatively he could have written the cantatas in the early 1740s and then arranged all three overtures for organ, transposing the Hercules one down so that the range of the fugue would not exceed the compass of the organ (its highest note, which appears in the first statement of the subject, is a high E). In this case the RCO copyist would have

17 These two overtures (The Power of Music and Pan and Syrinx) are published, attributed to Boyce, in Lambert ed./Stanley. Tony Frost discusses all three cantatas in Frost/Stanley, but he can find no evidence for their date, beyond Finzi's speculative guess of c.1761-1774.

had access to at least two of these arrangements, copying the first movement of the Hercules one twice without knowing its composer and obtaining the Power of Music one from a different source where the composer was named. (And the use of repeat marks in op.7.X.1 is evidence that the orchestral version is earlier, for no other published voluntaries by Stanley have similar repeats.) The other main possibility is that the three pieces were composed as voluntaries, with one being published and two circulating in manuscript before they were arranged as cantata overtures. Other less likely possibilities are that the two unpublished organ arrangements are spurious, that not all the overtures came into being in the same way or that only one of the three Hercules movements originated as an organ piece. But in either of the most plausible theories both versions of all three overtures are authentic, and the former existence of one or both of the last two movements of the Hercules overture in organ versions (in C major) is deducible.

The style of writing that Stanley adopted in his organ music was basically the same as that of his immediate predecessors such as James and Greene. His diapason movements usually have a strict trio-sonata texture until the final cadence and are strongly reminiscent of Corelli, although the right-hand parts are invariably pitched much lower than

Corelli's violin parts. The slow movements for full organ often approximate to a trio-sonata texture but they are generally more orchestral in style and are more likely to have extra parts added. In the fast movements the influence of Stanley's predecessors is also clear: the cornet movements recall James (and indirectly Vivaldi) in their running semi-quavers, while the trumpet movements keep strictly to the notes of the natural trumpet, as with most of his contemporaries apart from James. The rigidness with which the trumpet parts keep to the harmonic series is in places quite remarkable (e.g. in op.7.II.ii, bar 61, where parallel thirds are avoided by the use of G instead of B, although in the echo, bar 65, parallel thirds are maintained): it suggests that these pieces may have been deliberately composed so that they could be played on real trumpets if desired, and they sound very effective this way.

Apart from trumpet and cornet Stanley uses most of the other stops available, though his choice is not quite as wide as Prelleur's. He does, however, achieve some unusual contrasts of timbre by alternating unlikely combinations of stops within a single movement: in op.5.I.iv he contrasts "Ecchos" (a full diapason chorus on the echo manual) with solo flute (a 4-foot stop); in op.5.V the trumpet is contras-

ted with a plain stopped diapason, and in op.7.II trumpet alternates with vox humanae; more unusual still is op.7.IV.ii where swell contrasts with "vox humanae or bassoon" in the tenor register, and in two places (bars 36 and 73) swell, vox humanae and diapasons are used simultaneously.

Sometimes Stanley changed his mind about what stops he wanted: in the early sources op.6.II.ii is set for cornet and flute but in the published version this becomes cornet and echo; thus he was not vitally concerned that there should be a contrast in register between the 8-foot cornet and the 4-foot flute, nor even that the contrast between two particular timbres should be preserved in this movement, but simply that there should be some kind of contrast of timbre. A similar situation occurs in op.6.I.ii: in the Reading manuscripts this is marked "Vivace" and is set for cornet alternating with flute, but in the R.C.O. manuscript flute is replaced by stopped diapason; in the printed edition flute or stopped diapason are in turn replaced by vox humana, written an octave lower in the alto range, and "Ecchos" are substituted for cornet, while the tempo is altered from vivace to andante. This alters its character from a lively, almost fiery movement to a calm, pensive one, heightened by the use of the vox humana with its plaintive, languishing tone: the firm drive

towards the cadence is replaced by a more meditative atmosphere where each note can be dwelt on. The first movement of this voluntary (a siciliana for the swell) seems to have been written as a companion for the vox humana version for it is not found in the earlier sources and its expressive nature, reinforced by the swell's capacity for crescendo and diminuendo, makes it particulary suitable.

Although Stanley's movements are similar in style to his predecessors', they are markedly longer, and it was Stanley who established the ritornello form in the English voluntary. This form, though always used in a much more rudimentary way than in Vivaldi's concertos or Handel's arias, made the construction of much longer movements possible, and Stanley also had a much greater ability than people like Reading and James to make each section of his movements follow on smoothly and logically from the previous one, as well as being able to unite all the parts into a homogeneous whole. Here he was perhaps aided by his blindness, which forced him to develop an exceptional musical memory,[18] so that he was able to appreciate better than these predecessors the musical effect

18 "His memory was so retentive that he would accompany a new oratorio after hearing it once played through." (Scholes/ Companion, 10th edn., p.980).

of any part of the movement he was composing, in relation to any other part or to the whole.

Not all of Stanley's solo-stop movements use the ritornello form---some, e.g. op.5 no.II and op.7 no.VII, are through-composed, while some of the trumpet movements, e.g. op.5 no.I and op.7 no.V, consist of a series of phrases each followed by its echo; but those that do, usually have a complete ritornello statement at the beginning and end, with an incomplete one in the dominant or relative major in the middle, e.g. op.5 no.I.iv and op.5 no.VII. In some movements, mostly those for horn or trumpet, all the ritornellos are in the tonic. Sometimes, however, the structure is more complex and the middle ritornello may modulate or appear in an altered form, or the ritornello stop may be used in a non-structural way (i.e. without the ritornello theme, as in op.7 no.IV). The use of the ritornello form was quite conscious and deliberate: in the early version of op.6 no.V.iii the parts marked "Swell" in the printed edition are consistently marked "Rittor", with no manual indication.

One further important difference between the early sources and the printed text is in the ornamentation.[19] An

[19] For a further discussion of some aspects of Stanley's ornamentation see Chapter X.

obvious change is that the old English shake sign of the Reading manuscripts has been replaced by the Italian "tr", and the positioning is not always the same. Sometimes the number of ornaments is similar in both versions but with the signs themselves often on different notes, as in op.6 no.V; in op.6 no.I.ii, however, the Reading version has hardly any ornaments and no cadenza, thus resembling the printed texts of op.5 voluntaries, which also lack cadenzas and much ornamentation. Nevertheless Stanley almost certainly intended the performer to add ornaments and where necessary a cadenza, both in this early version of op.6 no.I.ii and throughout op.5. (In op.5, nos.IV, V, VII and VIII clearly need a cadenza before the final ritornello, and nos.II and III could have one too.) No doubt Stanley heard unmusical organists play inappropriate ornaments and poor cadenzas in his op.5 when it was published, and he decided to put in all the ornamentation and two examples of suitable cadenzas (in nos.I and III) when he published op.6; no.II, however, still needs a cadenza, as may also nos.IV and V.iii. In op.7 all the movements needing a cadenza are provided with one (nos.I, III, IV and VI) while all the other movements do not have one; it may therefore be deduced that cadenzas were not used for all types of movement, even where they could easily be inserted (e.g. in op.7 no.II),

and they were never used in fugues. The position of the cadenza is always the same---not at the final cadence but at the cadence before the final ritornello: this is precisely the place where it is found in concertos and opera arias, and thus serves as a further example of the stylistic links between the solo-stop voluntary and these two secular forms.

Thus in the field of organ music Stanley outstripped all his predecessors except Blow, and the styles and forms which he cultivated in his three published volumes remained in use, with relatively little alteration, almost to the end of the 18th century. The music itself remained widely known till at least the time of Stanley's death: a relatively large number of copies of the various editions has survived, and some pieces were copied into late 18th-century manuscripts such as Adds.31814, 35040 and 14335, the latter containing about half of Stanley's entire organ music, almost all anonymously. The Thompson reprint of the 30 voluntaries, c.1765, was from the same plates as the original Johnson editions, as was the Button & Whitaker edition (c.1809); but the Harrison edition (c.1784) was printed from new plates and contains several minor alterations. It is clearly copied from the Johnson edition, however, for all the ornamentation, cadenzas etc., are essentially the same and bear none of the variants found

in the early manuscripts. It corrects a few printing errors from the first edition, but makes rather more and leaves many uncorrected, so that in general it is an inferior edition.

Other Organ Music after 1750

After the first Stanley organ publications very little organ music is found just in manuscript, and the development of English organ music must be traced almost entirely from printed sources, of which almost every one consists of a set of 6, 8, 10 or 12 voluntaries by a single composer, apart from anthologies discussed earlier, which contain music mostly composed before 1750. The style of writing changed little before 1770, and even after this the voluntary remained one of the most retrospective forms of composition, so that music by composers like Keeble, Worgan and Dupuis published near the end of the century was often as out-of-date stylistically as Blow's had been a century earlier. Precisely when this music was written, however, is uncertain, for although the dates of publication are nearly always known at least approximately, many of the pieces are in a style that suggests they were composed much earlier, and several of the publications are posthumous, including the following:

Four Lessons and Two Voluntarys, c.1766, Samuel Long (died c.1765)

Twelve Voluntaries..., 1769, John Travers (d.1758)

Twelve Voluntarys..., Bk.I; Bk.II, c.1776, Starling Goodwin (d. c.1770?)

The Complete Organist's Pocket Companion, c.1776, Starling Goodwin

Twelve Voluntarys..., c.1780, Maurice Greene (d.1755)

Ten Voluntaries..., c.1785, William Boyce (d.1779)

Organ Pieces, c.1795; Select Organ Pieces, c.1795, John Worgan (d.1790)

Nine Voluntaries..., c.1800, Thomas Dupuis (d.1796)

Who edited these is not usually clear (though the Worgan sets seem to have been edited by James Worgan the younger) and many are probably inaccurate in text and even authorship. No. VI.1 of the Travers collection was written by Stanley (op.6 no.II.1) and there is considerable doubt about the Greene collection as a whole: a manuscript containing the 12 voluntaries, formerly in the possession of Dr. A. H. Mann and now in private hands in America, where it is unavailable for study, bears the inscription, "Supposed by Dr. Green falsely. Composed by Dr. Boyce & his own MS. J. S. Smith, 1788".[20] Stafford Smith's claim that the manuscript is in Boyce's hand has, however, been shown to be false and it has been suggested

[20] See Williams ed./Greene.

that this manuscript was the actual printer`s copy since the two sources are so similar.[21] For this and other reasons Peter Williams tends to support Greene`s claim[22] as does Diack Johnstone rather more strongly;[23] but as none of the voluntaries appears in any other source the case for Greene cannot be proved and certain circumstantial evidence not previously considered seems to support Boyce:

(i) Certain features in some of the voluntaries, such as the appoggiaturas in the first movement of the A major voluntary, have a distinctly pre-Classical flavour which makes it unlikely that the voluntaries were written before about 1740 and could easily date from after 1755. Even if they do not, it would be unusual for a composer to write a set of voluntaries in the last 15 years of his life, for as has been seen with Handel, Stanley and Roseingrave, composers tended to write the bulk of their organ music fairly early in life.

(ii) If the voluntaries are by Greene it is very surprising that not one movement attributed to him in the Reading manuscripts (or the R.C.O. manuscript) is included: these were

[21] ibid., p.i.

[22] ibid., pp.i and ii.

[23] See Johnstone/Greene (unpublished dissertation).

unpublished and Greene was therefore quite free to draw on any he wanted in preparing a set of twelve voluntaries.

(iii) Although Stafford Smith was wrong about the hand-writing he was less likely to be wrong about authorship as he was a pupil of Boyce; he probably knew the voluntaries before Boyce`s death, in which case he should have had no difficulty in ascertaining their authorship. When he encountered this particular manuscript either he was under considerable mis-apprehension or else he had access to information that is now lost, which seems more probable. (It could also be significant that the voluntaries were published as Greene`s only after Boyce`s death.)

(iv) It is inaccurate to place these voluntaries in the same category as those of Roseingrave and Handel, and argue, as Peter Williams does, that as eleven of the twelve contain a fugue they are more likely to have been written by the older composer, since the fugue was an older form than the solo-stop voluntary. These voluntaries differ from those of Roseingrave and Handel in that they all have a slow introduction, and the fact that they are mostly fugues is not an indication that they are relatively early; solo-stop voluntaries, as has been seen, were common by 1730, and fugues were still popular at the time of Boyce`s death. James Nares, who was four years

younger than Boyce, even published a set of six fugues (some with slow introductions) in 1772.

Unlike the voluntaries by Boyce or Greene, eleven of which have fugues and none of which name any stops, the ten published as Boyce's about 1785[24] have a more conventional arrangement. A high proportion---four of the first six---are for trumpet, one each is for vox humana and cornet, and the last four are all fugues, no.X being a double fugue. None of the voluntaries are in Longman & Broderip's Book 3, which is said to contain some music by Boyce, and they shed little light on the set by Greene or Boyce. They are well below the standard of Boyce's best orchestral music and are generally considered inferior to Arne's only keyboard music---his eight sonatas published in 1756.[25] But although one or two trumpet movements and slow introductions are a little dull the remainder of the set is more than competently written, with the double fugue being perhaps the most outstanding movement; and even in the trumpet movements Boyce manages variety of key, for three of the four have a section in the relative minor although this procedure was uncommon with most of his

24 Facsimile edition in Caldwell ed./Boyce.

25 See, for example, Cudworth/Boyce.

contemporaries, including Stanley.

Starling Goodwin, another composer whose organ music was published only posthumously, composed two sets, each containing twelve voluntaries; the same title page was used for book II as book I, but the list of other publications was removed and "I" altered to "II" by hand. Most of the music in both sets appears to have been written well before Goodwin's death and probably dates from around the middle of the century. Stylistically it is very similar to Stanley's for it shows hardly any of the features (such as increased length, extensive use of the appoggiatura, more advanced stop combinations and forms) that were infiltrating into the more forward-looking voluntaries from the 1760s onwards; moreover one movement (no.XII.ii of book I) is found in RCO, p.233, and so must have been written by 1752. As in many other posthumous publications the texts are unreliable, a fact which is demonstrated by the double appearance of one movement in book II, at nos.II.i and IV.i: the latter has two extra bars, adding a perfect cadence to what was an imperfect ending, but each version has certain defects and a collation of the two is necessary to establish the best text. It is doubtful whether Goodwin would have wished the same movement to appear twice in the same book, even though it is only fairly short and is

followed by different fugues. Book I has a more normal layout than book II, for its first eight voluntaries are all for solo stops while the remainder are for full organ, and Goodwin may have already been preparing it for publication when he died. Book II seems less thoroughly prepared and most of the music is probably more recent: fugues and solo-stop voluntaries are intermingled haphazardly, while no.VIII is just a single movement in which great and chear alternate.

Goodwin`s voluntaries are among the works advertised on the title page of his Complete Organist`s Pocket Companion (also published c.1776), a collection of 34 psalm tunes each treated in roughly the same way. Each begins with a two-part setting of the tune, sometimes highly ornamented, then there is a block-chord harmonisation, normally with just a trill between each line of the tune; this is usually followed by some "interludes"---cornet-style fragments of about five bars ---to be played between the verses of the psalm. Thus they are similar in many ways to Reading`s psalm-tune settings, but the preludes are simpler, the interludes between each line of the tune are much reduced, and the interludes between each verse are a new feature (though some are found in Daniel Purcell).

Samuel Long was a little-known organist of St.Peter-le-Poor, Broad Street (London), and his only known keyboard music

is his Four Lessons and Two Voluntarys published by his widow and Thompson. These are advertised on the Greene/Skinner set of voluntaries, which indicates they must have been published by 1767, and both Long's voluntaries are found in Add.14335; the first, in G minor, appears there anonymously (f.55) but the second, in D minor (f.53), is ascribed to Long and bears the date "Aout 22 -- [17]68". They appear to have been copied from the printed source for although the notation is slightly different in places (rests omitted, clefs altered, etc.) the music itself is more or less identical.

In addition to these posthumous publications several minor composers had sets of voluntaries published during their lifetime. One is Henry Heron, who is the best-known name on the list of subscribers to Long's collection and to whose voluntaries Long had in turn subscribed, along with more famous names like Reading and Stanley. The Heron collection (Ten Voluntaries for the Organ or Harpsichord),[26] first published by Heron himself c.1760, was later reprinted as "opera prima" by Thompson from the same plates but with some alterations: the list of subscribers was omitted, the voluntaries were now numbered and the title page was amended. In

[26] See Godding/Heron; some movements are in Trevor ed./Organ.

this new form it bears Thompson's name and advertises both Long's collection and the Greene/Skinner voluntaries (1767), but is itself advertised on Travers's set (1769); it must have been published, therefore, in about 1768. The last five of Heron's ten voluntaries are for full organ, but only one (no.X) is a fugue and Heron concentrates instead on contrasting the full organ with a single manual; in nos.VII and VIII, full organ is used for unison passages, which alternate with echo in a similar way to Stanley's op.5 no.VIII.i.

Although the rest of his output is almost negligible, William Walond's organ music is of some importance.[27] Op.1 (c.1752) contains only six voluntaries, each conforming to the two-movement pattern, but many of these have a sense of breadth that makes them seem later in style than those of Stanley written at the same period. Apart from this feature, however, the cornet movements are fairly typical of the period, although no.IV is in binary form, "Each Strain the first time on the Cornet, the Second on the Flute", and, like Skinner's voluntary mentioned earlier (see Chapter VIII), it may have been composed for a solo instrument originally.

27 For details about its printed sources, biography of Walond and three voluntaries from op.1, see Beechey ed./Voluntaries.

Walond's breadth of form is most obvious in the final voluntary: not only is the fugue of above average length but the slow introduction is an extended movement of over 100 bars with numerous manual changes and incidentally the earliest use, in any set of voluntaries, of crescendo and diminuendo marks, which are not found in any other collection of the period.

The ten voluntaries of Walond's op.2 (1758) are much less regular in design: only four have a standard solo-stop movement preceded by a slow introduction, and of these no.IV, for trumpet, is in da capo form with a middle section in B minor for flute. No.IX is a fugue preceded by a movement for diapasons or full organ whereas fugues were normally preceded by a movement specifically for full organ, and the other two fugues (nos.VII and VIII) have no introduction. A particularly curious voluntary is no.III, a single movement in which swell (with "soft bass") marked "Andante affetuoso" alternates with sesquialtera solos for the left hand (with a soft accompaniment) marked "Resoluto", thereby intertwining characteristics of both the slow and fast movements of a normal voluntary into a single movement. Many of Walond's voluntaries in both sets reach a remarkably high standard, especially considering how little he wrote and how little-known he was; unfortunately

those of op.2 are almost all unavailable in a modern edition, while some of op.1 have had unnecessary duplications in editions by Beechey, Trevor and Phillips.[28]

Amongst other organ publications of the period, the collection of VI Cornet Pieces by Charles Burney, issued in 1751 when the composer was only 25, is unusual in having only one slow introductory movement; this precedes the first cornet piece and is in the same key, E minor. Most of the cornet movements themselves are rather dull and show signs of immaturity, but the concluding double fugue in F minor[29] is well worked out.

Bennett's Ten Voluntaries (1757 or 1758)[30] continue the expansion of form found in Walond, and in four of the ten (nos.II, III, IV and VI) Bennett concludes the solo-stop movement with a coda for diapasons, thus reintroducing the mood of the opening slow movement. This technique is very rare in Bennett's contemporaries but Bennett may have borrowed the idea from a voluntary in G by James (Dul.92a, p.255), where

28 Beechey ed./Voluntaries, Trevor ed./Organ and Phillips ed./Walond.

29 Published in Trevor ed./Organ, vol.1.

30 For details of sources, biography of Bennett and six of the ten voluntaries, see Beechey ed./Voluntaries.

after a cornet movement the last eight bars are for diapasons. Bennett's diapason movements themselves are remarkable both for their length and for having a strict contrapuntal texture of four parts instead of the usual three, giving a much richer, more impressive sound.

The sets of voluntaries by the two John Alcocks (Ten Voluntaries... by the elder, 1774, and Eight Easy Voluntaries ... by the younger, c.1775) contain further examples of solo-stop voluntaries as well as one or two fugues, and the set by the elder Alcock uses quite a wide range of solo stops, sometimes in unusual combinations such as diapasons and principal alternating with vox humana (in no.VIII). A particularly interesting use of stops is found in no.II: the second movement of this is written for cremona alternating with echo and is marked "Affetuoso", but it bears the following note: "NB this Movement may be for the Cornet and Echo, if play'd fast". This recalls the second movement of Stanley's op.6 no.I (see above, p.356); Stanley had replaced the vivace version for cornet and flute (found in the Reading manuscripts) with an andante for vox humana in the printed edition, but Alcock was prepared to admit both methods of performance for his voluntary. This also raises the possibility that it may be legitimate to play some other cornet voluntaries relatively

slowly on vox humana or cremona, or conversely to speed up movements for these stops and play them on cornet and echo.

Of other organ composers at the end of the Baroque---most of them very minor figures like George Green, William Goodwin, James Jackson, George Berg and John Garth---the most notable is James Nares, who was organist at York Minster (1734-56) and later at the Chapel Royal. Nares's only published organ music was his Six Fugues... which appeared in 1772, but almost exactly contemporary with this set is a manuscript, now part of Fitz.32.G.18, that contains seven single movements by Nares. Although six of these seven are fugues only four duplicate those in the printed edition, the remainder being still unpublished; the one non-fugal piece in the manuscript set is a movement in E flat for trumpet stop---one of the earliest movements to break away from the traditional trumpet keys of C and D, and one which does not adhere to typical trumpet motifs. The only other non-fugal movements by Nares are the slow introductions to nos.I, III and V of the Six Fugues, all three being marked "Larghetto" and set for full or "Loud" organ. Most of the fugues themselves are rather conservative and abnormally learned in style and technique: several in both the manuscript and the printed source are marked "Alla Capella", which has implications both of an alla

breve tempo and of a strict fugal style derived from the stile antico, without the non-fugal insertions found in some contemporary English fugues. The manuscript set also contains a "Fuge of Arsin & Thesin" (no.4) as well as a "Fuge revers`d" (no.5, called "Fuge with the Subject revers`d" in no.V of the printed set), which treats the subject in inversion in the second part of the movement.

Another composer with a particularly learned style is John Keeble, who though two years older than Stanley did not publish any organ music until 1777; then four books of his, each containing six voluntaries, appeared in rapid succession, followed posthumously (1787) by a joint publication with Jacob Kirkman (his successor at St. George`s, Hanover Square) of 40 Interludes, to which Keeble contributed 25.[31] In many of his voluntaries Keeble develops a remarkable amount of thematic transformation by use of inversion, retrogression, augmentation, canon etc., all carefully marked in the text. His reason for using this style, as explained in the preface to book 1, is that this is more "proper for the Church", and he anticipates the possible charge of dryness by saying that he hopes to have removed this objection by his "freedom of

[31] See BUC, 1.565-6.

Modulation". By and large he succeeded, for the pieces are far from retrospective or academic in sound, and the style of many, in particular in their extensive use of written-out appoggiaturas and incidental chromaticism, places them beyond the Baroque altogether, as is seen for example in bars 20-23 of no.VIII.1 (Ex.6). Thus Keeble is one of the earliest

Ex.6



(Keeble, Select Pieces for the Organ, no.VIII.1)

composers to adopt a distinctly Classical style for his voluntaries and he therefore really lies outside the scope of the present study although his organ music is of considerable interest and merit. John Garth`s voluntaries too, published in 1771, are in a post-Baroque style; no stops are named, most of the movements are in binary form and the pieces as a whole are more like sonatas than voluntaries: they are more suited to the piano, one of the instruments named as an alternative on the title page, than the organ.

The period of the late Baroque style had, however,

continued to a later date in English organ music than in almost any other field. Right up to the 1770s composers were using a style that was sometimes scarcely more advanced than Corelli and that rarely gave much hint of musical developments since 1740. Even after this, voluntaries from the first half of the century were still being published and performed extensively, and more modern composers like Keeble, Worgan and Dupuis had not broken away completely from the earlier tradition. This conservatism, however, was paralleled a century earlier by Blow's modal organ music, which, as has been seen, was much more archaic than any of Blow's other music, to the extent of being able to merge almost imperceptibly with music by Frescobaldi. Nor does the fact that voluntaries of the later 18th century were written in a style which had essentially been in existence for almost 50 years detract from the considerable intrinsic merits of most of them. This high standard is reflected in the number of modern editions, which is enabling a much wider appreciation of the music. It is to be hoped that this process will continue, for it is only by publication and performance that the true value of this music, and its relation to other forms and styles, can be properly established.

Chapter X

ORNAMENTATION

Ornament Contexts

The most difficult problem in performing the music that has been discussed is undoubtedly the ornamentation, which clearly requires a separate chapter.[1] Numerous different signs appear in the various sources, with individual ones often having a completely idiomatic method of notating ornaments, and while the interpretation of the signs is generally similar to that of those used on the Continent, many of the signs themselves are peculiar to England. In order to interpret them one must consult, where possible, contemporary sources which give both the signs and their interpretation; where this is not possible, for example where an unusual sign is used, the context in which the ornament is found must be examined closely, and the importance of considering the melodic, harmonic and rhythmic contexts of all ornaments cannot be overemphasized, although this aspect of ornamentation has been

---

1 On ornamentation in general, see especially Donington/Interpretation, Dart/Interpretation and Dolmetsch/Interpretation. None of these, however, makes a very thorough study of the specific problems associated with English keyboard music. The best survey of English keyboard ornaments is probably that in Ferguson ed./Early.

ignored by many writers. R. Beer is an exception,[2] but even he does not go into the problem thoroughly, being concerned mainly with one aspect of melodic context, and much of what he says is questionable or even inaccurate.

"Rules for Graces" and Purcell's Suites

A study of ornament contexts is not only important from a historical and analytical viewpoint, but it can also give vital clues to interpretation. The best source with which to begin such a study is Purcell's eight suites published posthumously in his Choice Collection of Lessons (1696), as they were reissued in 1699 along with some "Rules for Graces", a more or less complete list of ornaments then in use (with their interpretations). A printed source is also more useful as it does not depend on the idiosyncrasies of a copyist writing for personal use, and furthermore, since it is a fairly homogeneous collection occurring roughly in the middle of the period under consideration, one can work both forward to later sources and backward to earlier ones. Another factor is that both the suites and the "Rules for Graces" are available in a fairly reliable modern edition[3] on which the figures

2 Beer/Ornaments.

3 Ferguson ed./Purcell.

in the tables below are based. The tables give the ornaments listed in "Rules for Graces", together with how they are used in Purcell`s eight suites (the battery, simply an arpeggiando, is not included).

Previous note:	ABOVE 2nd	3rd	4th more	Unison	Chromatic	Rest	BELOW 2nd	3rd	4th more	Total
Ornament:										
Forefall	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	27	-	4	2	35
Backfall	18	12	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	33
Shake	105	19	-	1	55	-	-	6	1	-	1	188
Beat	-	-	-	-	5	-	10	65	1	8	7	96
[Forefall and beat]	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	11	-	-	1	13
Backfall and shake	25	14	1	3	32	1	-	-	-	-	-	76
Turn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2
Shake turned	1	1	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	6
Slur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	1	6

Table 1 - MELODIC CONTEXT OF ORNAMENTS IN PURCELL`S SUITES:
(a) Ornamented note in relation to preceding note.

These tables are designed to show the way in which ornaments are generally used in Purcell`s suites and, by implication, in other music of the same period, and for this purpose slight inaccuracies in the figures would not matter,

Note following:	ABOVE 2nd	3rd	4th	more	Unison	Chromatic	Rest	BELOW 2nd	3rd	4th	more
Ornament:											
Forefall	4	1	1	-	10	1	2	2	8	4	2
Backfall	5	3	7	5	2	-	5	4	-	1	1
Shake	15	1	1	-	4	-	5	159	3	-	-
Beat	31	8	3	-	10	1	27	3	5	3	5
Forefall and beat	3	1	-	-	6	-	2	1	-	-	-
Backfall and shake	10	-	4	-	1	-	4	56	1	-	-
Turn	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shake turned	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Slur	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	4	-	-	1

Table 2 - MELODIC CONTEXT OF ORNAMENTS IN PURCELL'S SUITES:
(b) Ornamented note in relation to succeeding note.

being within the limit of what scientists would call "experimental error"; the original printer may have made a few mistakes, and as the figures are based on Ferguson's edition there may be a few more, although the edition has a high standard of accuracy. Moreover when ornaments occur in lower parts it is often difficult to decide which is the previous note of the part in which it occurs, as the part-writing is not at all strict. For the purposes of the tables, a note is considered to follow a "rest" when it is the first note of a

movement, section or even phrase when the latter is absolutely clear-cut, and also when there is a suspected rest in an inner part, as well as when it follows real rests; similar procedures have been used for notes preceding rests.

The rhythmic context of ornaments is more difficult to pin down, but it is almost as important as the melodic context in some cases. Because different dances have different rhythmic patterns it is more or less impossible to give an overall table for the whole of Purcell's suites, but if just one type of movement is considered, definite statistical patterns emerge. The almand is the only type of movement that appears in all eight suites, and it also has the highest proportion of ornaments, so the almands have therefore been chosen to show the different rhythmic contexts of the ornaments. One almand

Table 3 - RHYTHMIC CONTEXTS OF ORNAMENTS IN ALMANDS OF PURCELL'S SUITES

Beat of bar:	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	1/2-beat
Ornament:					
Forefall	11	2	8	2	-
Backfall	7	6	4	1	2
Shake	6	11	6	32	37
Beat	6	5	8	2	11
Forefall and beat	2	1	4	-	-
Backfall and shake	6	-	13	-	-
Shake turned	-	3	-	2	1
Slur	1	3	1	-	1

with slight irregularities is that of the seventh suite; this one is marked "Very Slow" and therefore has a higher proportion of ornaments on weak beats than the others, especially in the case of the ornament known as the "beat": ten of the eleven of these occurring on half-beats are in this almand. Nos.II and V are also different in having a crotchet beat instead of a quaver one, while no.I is in an earlier style, using a fairly fast quaver beat, but these differences do not significantly affect the relation between the rhythmic contexts of the different ornaments.

Forefalls and Backfalls

With the aid of the above tables a more detailed study of the various ornament signs may be made. Forefalls and backfalls (written  and ; played  and ) are about as common as each other in Purcell's suites, but they have very different contexts; the note following forefalls and backfalls seems to be somewhat arbitrary for the figures show no clear pattern, though the music tends to move in the opposite direction to the ornament---most forefalls are followed by a downward movement and most backfalls by an upward movement. It is not surprising, however, that the note following either of these ornaments shows little relation to them, as they are much shorter than any of the other ornaments in "Rules for

Graces", occupying only the first quarter of the note. But the note before backfalls and forefalls bears a very definite relationship with them: neither ornament occurs on a repeated note at all, and practically all forefalls are approached from below the written note, usually a 2nd below it (i.e. the note before the ornament is repeated in it). Backfalls are almost always approached from above, either by step or from a 3rd above, in the latter case usually straight after a forefall in the idiom  (e.g. suite II.11, bar 8). The rhythmic contexts of forefalls are also different from backfalls; the latter are far more likely to occur on weak beats than forefalls, usually in the idiom mentioned above, while forefalls are reserved for the strongest beats of the bar, and it is significant that three of the four that occur on even beats are in the very slow almand of the 7th suite.

The forefall appeared somewhat earlier than the backfall, and the possibility cannot be entirely dismissed that the forefall sign originally meant either ornament: either the forefall sign meant forefall or backfall, the latter later distinguished by , or else the backfall sign was introduced when this ornament was invented. The weight of evidence appears to favour the latter theory: whereas forefalls are about as common as backfalls in Purcell, they outnumber them

by about two to one in Blow and by more still in Locke, so that by extrapolation one might presume that earlier yet there were no backfalls. Also the fingering in earlier music sometimes excludes the backfall when ʃ is used, but never the forefall. Contexts suggest the same thing too: ʃ is generally used in typical or at least possible forefall context, rather than typical backfall context, as can be seen by the following table, based on the first four suites in Melothesia.[4]

Previous note:	ABOVE 2nd	3rd	4th	more	Unison	Chromatic	Rest	BELOW 2nd	3rd	4th	more	Total
Ornament:												
Forefall	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	10	1	1	5	18
Backfall	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4

Table 4 - MELODIC CONTEXT OF FOREFALLS AND BACKFALLS IN LOCKE'S FOUR SUITES IN MELOTHESIA

Thus it seems unlikely that the forefall sign ever meant a backfall. This parallels ♮ or ♯, which apparently never indicated a downward slide but always an upward one.

Other Ornament Signs

The slide or "slurr" ( or ) was little used according to Mace (Musick's Monument, 1676), and he is borne

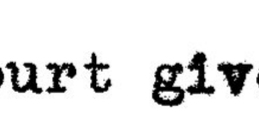
4 The figures are based on Dart ed./Locke.

out by sources in general, including Purcell's suites. Written-out slides were fairly common, however, both in keyboard music (e.g. the hornpipe of Purcell's 7th suite) and much vocal music; these written-out slides could be rising or falling, unlike the ordinary slide sign. By the time of Purcell, ≠ was the normal sign for a slide, though earlier ≠ was often used. On the Continent slides were sometimes performed before the beat, but in England they were apparently always on the beat.

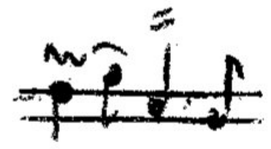
Of the six slides in Purcell's suites (all occurring in almands), all are approached from below the main note; thus the slide has the melodic effect of linking one note to the next, and like other ornaments is usually found in the top part. Although it is primarily a melodic ornament, the slide often has a striking harmonic effect when the first note is dissonant (e.g. suite VI.11, bar 12), an effect that also appears with the written-out slide. The result is normally a slide from a $\frac{4}{3}$ to a $\frac{6}{3}$ chord, producing a very characteristic English sound, but there is an even more striking slide in the hornpipe of the 7th suite (bar 2) on an $\frac{8}{3}$ - $\frac{10}{3}$ chord.

It is possible that where the first note is not dissonant it may sometimes be held on---this was the common practice in France with the "coulé", as may be seen in the

table of ornaments published in Chambonnières's Les Pieces de Clavessin[5]---but there seems little evidence for this practice being widespread in England. In Purcell's suites, the two cases in Ferguson's edition where it might appear probable, are significantly the two slides that were forefalls to the upper note in the original (suite III.ii, bar 15, and suite VI.ii, bar 5), with the lower note therefore automatically held on. This suggests that the editorial amendments to slides are incorrect, and in both cases forefalls should probably be played, as in the original version.

The forefall-and-beat is omitted in "Rules for Graces", but Ferguson suggests that the interpretation assigned to the beat () really applies to the forefall-and-beat, while the beat itself should be played . His evidence is not conclusive, and later sources all agree with "Rules for Graces" (many being directly derived from it): The Harpsicord Master Improved (Wright, 1718) alters the sign to , and it also states specifically, "Observe that you always shake from the note above, and beat from the note or half-note below"; Prencourt gives , and The Modern Musick-Master (1731) gives . But there is some evidence which suggests that

5 Chambonnières/Pieces.

the upper-note start for the beat was more common, for Mace describes the beat in words that mean approximately , with as many repercussions as time will allow. Although it is not used by Purcell, a beat with two strokes through it indicates a sharpened lower note---Prencourt gives . In book X of The Harpsichord Master (1725) the beat is combined with Couperin's "accent" in cases such as , but this is unusual.

If the beat does in fact begin on the lower note, the forefall-and-beat will be approximately the same but with a longer first note, probably  or something more flexible; it may even be simply the inversion of a backfall and shake () with or without the tie, but this is not certain. (It is even possible that the forefall-and-beat and the beat itself were the same---Bod.e.397, for example, never uses the beat on its own but always in the compound form---but if this were so it is hard to see why both ornament signs existed, especially as they have slightly different contexts, the forefall-and-beat occurring far more frequently before a repeated note than the beat, in proportion to its total number of appearances in Purcell's suites, as is shown by the tables.) The forefall-and-beat almost always occurs on a strong rhythmic beat, the one almand where it does not do so being,

predictably, in the very slow seventh one. In an article on ornamentation[6] Harley states that the beat was almost certainly used in this period whenever the ornamented note was preceded or followed by an octave below, though this is true only of six out of eight such ornaments in Purcell's suites. The beat is, however, restricted to certain melodic contexts; it often appears after a rest, i.e. at the start of a movement, section, phrase, inner part etc.,---far more often than any other ornament---and where it appears in the middle of a phrase it is never approached from above. (This does not mean it cannot be approached from above in other contemporary sources, but that it is most unlikely to be so approached more than very occasionally.)

In general beats are approached in the same way as forefalls, but as well as being about three times as common, they are also quitted very differently: whereas both are normally approached from the note below, beats are very often followed by a rest, forefalls rarely so; beats are also more often followed by a higher note, but forefalls by a lower one. The forefall-and-beat, much less common than the beat itself,

6 Harley/Ornaments. Some of the information in the present chapter is derived from this article.

has a generally similar context except that it is less often found at the beginning or end of a phrase. It is usually found on fairly long notes, as a double ornament takes longer to play than a single one, but it can be found on relatively short notes too.

The beat has little harmonic effect, but it can be useful for introducing the leading-note, thus emphasising the tonality, especially at the beginning or end of a movement, where, as has been seen, it is often found. Harley says that in view of this, the beat occurs only on the root, 3rd or 5th of a chord in Purcell, except with dominant or diminished 7ths, i.e. it is never found on passing or suspended dissonances.[7] This is not true: in suite II.iv, for instance, bars 9 and 10 have a beat on a $\frac{4}{2}$ chord, and bar 14 has one on a $\frac{6}{5}$ chord (treble A against tenor G); and in suite IV.iv, bar 11, a beat is used precisely on a passing dissonant note.

Beats are used in a wider variety of rhythmic contexts than any other ornament in Purcell's suites, judging by the almands, but one fact which does not emerge from the tables is that there is only one case in all Purcell's suites of a beat at the start of a phrase or section, which is not on the

7 Harley/Ornaments, p.194.

first rhythmic beat of the bar (in contrast to the shake turned, which occurs on a half-beat when starting a phrase); thus in other sources, an ornament appearing frequently at the start of a section, on the first beat of the bar, is almost certainly some type of beat.

The plain shake is easily the most common ornament in Purcell's suites, and the shake family accounts for well over half the total number of ornaments. In Melothesia the shake is even more common, accounting for about three quarters of all ornaments, and this is important when considering earlier sources in which ~ or ⁓ or even some other sign is often so frequent that one might be tempted to presume it had several possible interpretations. The list of ornaments in Melothesia states that the sign ≠ means a shake, and although no explanation of this is given, one may presume it was roughly the same as in "Rules for Graces". There are other variations of the shake however: Prencourt and North both give  as the interpretation of the shake,[8] while The Harpsicord Master Improved gives a theoretically impossible interpretation () which implies that the first note is held slightly, possibly with some speeding up towards the end; no

8 See Harley/Ornaments and Wilson ed./North.

doubt there was also some variation in the speed and number of repercussions of the shake, depending partly on the speed of the piece and the length of the note to be "shaked". Another type of shake, not found in "Rules for Graces", is the forefall-and-shake ( ), which does appear in Melothesia and probably means , while another type is the backfall-and-shake turned ( ), presumably to be played as some combination of backfall-and-shake and shake turned. (Like the backfall-and-shake and other compound ornaments, the forefall-and-shake is normally found on odd beats of the bar only, and of the eight in the organ voluntaries in Melothesia, six are on the first beat and two on the third beat of the bar.)

The turned shake, like the slide, is too rare to make general rules about, but the backfall-and-shake and plain shake have a fairly similar relation to the previous note, although the latter is much more frequently employed after a step down. Both ornaments have a very different use from others; the only one remotely similar is the backfall, but this, like the forefall, is never used on a repeated note in Purcell's suites, whereas all types of shakes are common on repeated notes. The shake and the backfall-and-shake are followed by the same sorts of note too, and one might wrongly conclude that they are more or less interchangeable, while the

shake turned is always followed by the note above in the suites (and normally elsewhere, too). It is the rhythmic context, however, that really shows the difference between shakes and backfall-and-shakes: the former are usually on passing or relatively unaccented notes leading to strong, accented ones, while the latter appear only on odd beats of the bar, being both more strongly accented (like the backfall) and also taking longer to play, thus requiring two beats, or more often one and a half, for the whole ornament. The backfall-and-shake is most often found on the third beat of the bar in the almands because of the cadential formula ; Ferguson, however, alters several 4th-beat shakes to suggested backfall-and-shakes (e.g. suite VI.ii, bar 7), which must be incorrect in view of the rhythmic table above, especially as only two of the original 76 backfall-and-shakes in the suites are on notes shorter than a dotted crotchet.

The backfall-and-shake is the only ornament that gives a long appoggiatura, with the upper note held half or two thirds of the total length ( or), and it is one of the earliest cases, at least in England, of an ornament that was eventually to permeate the whole of the musical language. (By about 1720 the long appoggiatura was in common use, and was usually indicated by a small note: .) The main effect

of the backfall-and-shake is consequently harmonic; the upper note is often dissonant, which means that unprepared, accented dissonances may be introduced almost anywhere, even if the resolution is already present in the chord (as in suite II.ii, bar 9)---an effect generally avoided with suspended dissonances except where the resolution is present in the bass. The various types of shake are approached in a way similar only to the backfall, and they are quitted very differently from this; backfalls may have practically any note after them, but shakes are nearly always followed by the note below and never by a large leap. Even if large leaps are not impossible in other sources, the fact that they are not found after shakes in Purcell's suites adds to the effect of shakes being linking notes usually on weak beats.

A few individual shakes are worth considering in detail. In suite I.iv, bars 2 and 4 have a backfall-and-shake, but bar 6 has just a shake (with an editorial backfall) in a similar context. Although it is possible that there was a misprint in the original, a plain shake seems more likely for the sake of variety, for harmonic reasons (a $\frac{7}{3}$-$\frac{6}{3}$ chord in bars 2 and 4 sounds all right, but a $\frac{9}{3}$-$\frac{8}{3}$ is probably less satisfactory, even though it does occur later in the movement) and possibly for rhythmic reasons too: the shake is something of a linking

ornament carrying the music forward, and so it is useful at this point to make bars 5-8 sound continuous. Suite II.iii, bar 8, has a shake on the 5th beat, but a backfall-and-shake would be equally possible or even more likely, considering that it is a dotted crotchet; it is probably avoided for the sake of variety, as there is a backfall-and-shake earlier in the bar, and it is interesting to note that these two ornaments are the other way round in the corresponding, though different, context in bar 20.

Suite IV.ii, bar 12, has a rare case of a shake in an ascending passage; a beat would be much more likely from the melodic context, but would have the harmonic effect of over-emphasising the tritones present, which are much mollified by the use of a shake instead. Bar 19 of the corant that follows has a shake in a typical backfall-and-shake context, and in the two independent sources of this movement (Ch.Ch.1177 and Rés.1186 bis I) there is indeed a backfall-and-shake in the corresponding place. In the saraband of the same suite, bars 12 and 16 have the same melodic context but a shake is used in one and a backfall-and-shake in the other, probably for harmonic reasons or for variety. In the 7th suite the second half of the almand starts with a shake turned, classed in Table 1 above as following a "rest" as it follows a double-bar

and bears no relation to the previous note---in the repeat the previous note is different but the ornament is still the same.

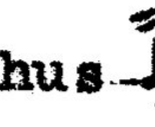
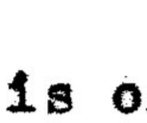
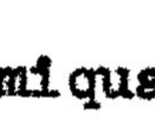
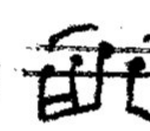
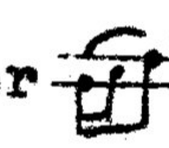
The only ornament that definitely begins on the written note is the turn, but this appears only twice in Purcell's suites; both are in the same movement and both times it is used in an odd way. The corant of suite VII has a turn in bar 8 but with two strokes through it; though this is the only appearance of two strokes in these suites, they clearly indicate a sharpened lower note, as in later cases of a beat with two strokes (see above, p.387), especially as there is a C natural in the previous bar which needs contradicting, whereas normally it is obvious where a sharp is required in beats (and turns). Thus the correct interpretation of this ornamented note would be  or some approximation. One suspects in fact that the explanation in "Rules for Graces" for a turn () was an attempt to notate the much more normal-sounding  without using the triplet sign, which was not in common use at the time. Some degree of improvisation is necessary anyway with all ornaments to preserve the spontaneity of the performance, and rigidity of interpretation is out of place, especially as there is so much variation between different sources on ornaments.

The turn in bar 11, which has a beat under the note, is

more difficult to interpret, unless the beat refers to a note in the bass clef. If both ornaments refer to the same note it is difficult to decide whether the beat should come first, as the editor suggests, or the turn, which, being placed above the note, one might expect to play first. At the corresponding place in bar 30 the ornament is just a beat, but this does not necessarily mean that in bar 11 the beat refers to the treble note and that in bar 30 the turn has been accidentally omitted: it could suggest that the ornament is meant to be different the second time (compare bars 10 and 29---there is a shake only in the latter, although the contexts are identical), in which case the beat probably does refer to the left hand in bar 11. To have two different ornaments simultaneously would be unusual but not impossible.

Ordinary slurs, almost the only addition to the music apart from the ornaments, often mean Scotch snaps or other form of inequality, but the meaning varies and anyway slurs were rare till the middle or late 18th century, by when they normally simply implied ben legato. Scotch snaps were possible without slurs too, as may be seen in two variants of the almand of Purcell's 3rd suite[9] (the printed source and Ch.Ch.

9 Both are printed in Ferguson ed./Purcell.

1177), where the former has  in bar 7, while the latter simply has . When a slur is used in conjuction with a shake it indicates that the slurred note is part of the ornament: thus  or  indicate that the shake does not stop but runs right into the semiquavers, i.e. , this being found several times in Purcell`s suites. In later music a trill is often slurred to the previous note: ; this simply means the first note is to be treated as a backfall, with no <u>silence d`articulation</u> before the trill. Slurs are also found in Purcell`s suites in the following ways: (four times, in the almand of suite II), presumably indicating that the semiquaver is very short;  (once, in the same movement);  (once, in the almand of suite V) or  (twice, in the same movement); and once in the passage  in the almand of suite VI, when it may mean the reverse of a Scotch snap ().

Thus it is seen that each of the ornaments in "Rules for Graces" is used in a distinctive and characteristic way, and while any ornament may be used in an unusual way occasionally, this does not significantly alter its context tables, which distinguish it from other ornaments. Having established how each ornament is used in the Purcell suites, it will be useful to turn to a few earlier sources, not forgetting, of

course, that there may be different ornaments or ornament signs in use, or that their contexts may be more varied. It must also be remembered that most of the earlier sources of keyboard music are manuscripts, which are less reliable on the whole: a copyist may have an individual way of writing ornament signs, or there may be several different copyists in one manuscript, each having slight differences of notation (for example, one might use ↓ and another ↓, both meaning the same thing).

Ornaments in Ch.Ch.1236

An interesting and useful manuscript for applying the information obtained so far is Ch.Ch.1236. This was probably written c.1650-1660, at a time when ornament signs were undergoing considerable change and new ones were emerging rapidly; hence on different pages of the manuscript one can find different methods of notating ornaments. The manuscript has music at both ends but blank pages in the middle. At one end it is numbered in folios up to 19, while the other end has contemporary page numbers up to side 33, whereafter it has since been numbered in folios for 36 more sides (thus numbering up to p/f.51). This is a stupid system, and for present purposes page numbers will refer to the number that would have been on the page had the original system continued,

while folio numbers will refer exclusively to the other end of the manuscript.

In the early folios, (or , , etc.) is used almost exclusively, although makes an appearance in the fourth piece ("Madgana crie"), where it almost certainly means a slide, especially as it comes on an upward 7th leap; on f.3v is used, probably also indicating a slide (or possibly a forefall). The forefall sign later becomes slightly more common: f.10v has , and on f.11v is used once, as well as , but the latter may be some kind of crossing-out. F.12v starts with , again presumably a forefall, while one bar on f.13 has , using apparently both a forefall and a backfall, the latter being very rare at this time. On f.5v there is an isolated use of a comma, but from f.15v onwards the comma is often so frequent that it must mean a shake at least much of the time, as it appears to do from the cadential context on which it is found on f.5. Similarly on certain pages at the other end of the manuscript the comma is used almost exclusively, and must mean approximately the same as and , which are used almost exclusively on some other pages.

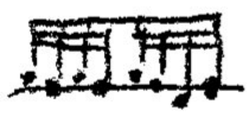
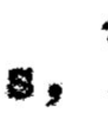
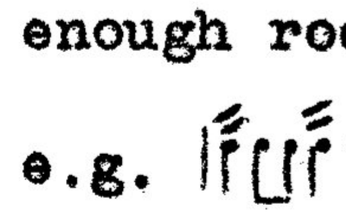
Thus there are five main ornament signs in the manuscript: , , , and , but apparently no sign for the beat, unless means a beat. In fact the meaning of this

sign probably varies in different parts of the manuscript: in the first piece (f.1), an almand by Ellis, ♮ appears eight times, no other ornaments appear, and judging by Purcell's suites it would most often mean a beat but must sometimes surely be a shake, in contexts like that of Ex.1. In the third

Ex.1

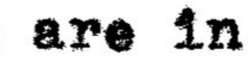


(Ch.Ch.1236, f.1)

piece, however, "The Royallist", also by Ellis, the sign appears seven times, each in a typical shake context (or backfall-and-shake, but this ornament was unknown when Ch.Ch. 1236 was written). Hence it appears that in this part of the manuscript the two-stroke sign was used much as it had been in music of the previous period, in several types of context, and meant probably one of several types of shake, e.g. ,  or . In the first eight folios of the manuscript ♮ appears 77 times, ♯ 64 times,  never and 7 times (all on ff.1v and 2). The use of the latter at this point is slightly puzzling, but it may have been used because there was not enough room for ♯ where the notes were very closely spaced, e.g. .

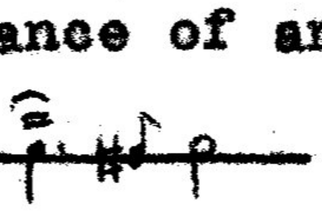
F.9 is almost entirely blank, then on ff.9v-11v ♮

appears three times, ♩ twice and 𝅗𝅥 45 times, though there is no difference in the style of the music from before, or in the contexts of 𝅗𝅥 and 𝅗𝅥 ; thus 𝅗𝅥 almost certainly means here what 𝅗𝅥 meant before, and the rare appearances of 𝅗𝅥 and ♩ in this section are probably because there was no room for 𝅗𝅥 in cases such as 𝅗𝅥 (f.9v); similarly when the score is crowded with so many notes that there is no room for 𝅗𝅥 or 𝅗𝅥 , the strokes are drawn through the stem (as may be seen on the same page). F.12 is blank, and on ff.12v-14 there are the following ornaments: 𝅗𝅥 (4 times), 𝅗𝅥 (8 times), ♩ (7 times), 𝅗𝅥 (41 times); again the strokes are drawn through the stem or above the stem of the note only where there is no room for them at the head---for example on f.13v, where there is no room for 𝅗𝅥 , since ♩ is not found above ligatures, 𝅗𝅥 must be used twice thus:  .

Folio 14v is blank, and on ff.15-19 one ornament sign is always easily predominant, though not always the same one, as is shown by Table 5 below. It would seem reasonable to presume that the ornament that is easily predominant on each page is some kind of shake, and of the eleven commas on ff. 15v-16, four of them are in the phrase  , where a shake with a turn at the end is obviously intended. Of the remaining seven, four are more likely to be forefalls than backfalls by

Number of appearances of:					
f.15	-	-	-	-	12
ff.15v-16	11	1	-	-	-
f.16v	-	-	11	-	7
f.17	12	1	-	-	-
f.17v	-	-	2	-	-
f.18	-	1	-	-	9
f.18v	-	-	9	-	1
f.19	-	-	2	-	1

Table 5 - ORNAMENTS ON FF.15-19 OF CH.CH.1236

Purcell's contexts, but they are in fact probably shakes too. There is also one appearance of an actual turned shake, in the rather strange context  .

At the other end of the manuscript, pp.1-2 are missing, and pp.3-15 have very few ornaments, all being  . From p.16 on, this ornament is quite frequent, and on p.20, though this is normally used, is used on isolated quavers (presumably because  looks confusing). On pp.26-27 and  are found in different contexts from : the two former are found only in descending passages (where a shake is likely), while the latter one appears three times, none being in a descending passage; hence a beat is the most likely interpretation of 

in these pages. The comma starts appearing on p.32, corresponding with f.15v at the other end, which suggests that both ends were being written at the same time, although it is impossible to tell who decided what music went at which end. Page 32 contains two cases of ʃ, both at the end of a rising passage, where a slide is presumably intended, and also from here on ʃ starts appearing with increasing regularity, as if the forefall was gradually becoming a more common ornament. On p.35 there is one case of ʃ́ , and p.44 (=f.38v) has several cases of this sign including one on a top C where no upper ornament is possible; presumably they are all forefalls. On p.32 there are ten commas, presumably shakes, and four appearances of ʃ̄ , all in the left hand on the first beat of a bar, often at the start of a phrase or section; one can deduce that this is some kind of beat, as it was on pp.26-27, since it closely resembles Purcell's use of beats at the beginning of phrases on the first beat of the bar. Thus it can be asserted with some confidence that ʃ̄ could sometimes mean a beat in middle to late 17th-century manuscripts (though it certainly does not always), and the way of deciding how to interpret it is to consider its context and also compare it with other ornaments in the same part of the manuscript.

After appearing on p.32, the comma predominates on pp.

33-39, which are apparently in a different hand or hands from the preceding or following pages. These seven pages can therefore be regarded as something of a unified group, with one piece appearing on each page, viz. an almand, corant and saraband, all signed by John Ferabosco, and four anonymous pieces---three corants and a saraband. After easily predominating on pp.33-39, the comma is not used at all on p.40 with the change of hand, but $\overset{=}{f}$ is used instead.

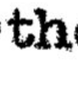
Yet another way of showing that $\overset{,}{f}$ of some pages means the same as $\overset{=}{f}$ of others is by considering not just the number of appearances of each, but their actual contexts by means of context tables, taking a sample of music from different parts of the manuscript. The five corants on p.8, p.26, p.38, p.44 and p.48 are all similar in style and form, and are composed by Tresure, Roberts, anon, Rogers and Rogers again, respectively; the first of these has no ornaments at all, but some should certainly be improvised; in the second and fourth of these corants, $\overset{=}{f}$ predominates, while in the third and fifth the comma predominates, and the context table below shows how each of these is used. (The table does not mention other ornaments that are used, nor does it take into account any that may be in the left hand, although in fact there are hardly any of these.) Despite the small size of the sample

Previous note:	ABOVE 2nd	3rd	4th	more	Unison	Chromatic	Rest	BELOW 2nd	3rd	4th	more
~~f~~ or ~~f~~ p.26	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
; or ; p.38	7	3	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-
~~f~~ or ~~f~~ p.44	4	-	1	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	1
; or ; p.48	11	-	-	1	2	-	-	2	-	-	-
Note following:											
~~f~~ or ~~f~~ p.26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-
; or ; p.38	4	-	-	-	3	-	-	7	-	-	-
~~f~~ or ~~f~~ p.44	3	-	-	-	3	-	-	6	-	-	-
; or ; p.48	8	-	-	-	2	-	-	5	-	1	-

Table 6 - PRINCIPAL ORNAMENTS ON CERTAIN PAGES OF CH.CH. 1236: MELODIC CONTEXTS

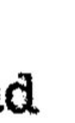
taken, the differences of melodic context are remarkably small, and well within the limit of "experimental error". On p.39, however, a problem presents itself: ; appears nine times, and ~~f~~ appears once; in this case it seems likely, for reasons that will be explained later, that the latter means a shake starting on the lower (i.e. the written) note, probably played .

Having found considerable internal evidence that , means a shake, one naturally looks for some external evidence. Use of the comma was not confined to England and it may have been

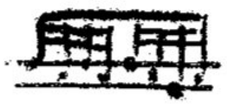
of French origin, as it is found in D'Anglebert. Its position in relation to the written note, however, together with its interpretation, differ from the English usage, for according to D'Anglebert (1689) the pincé, written  or  , was played or , i.e. it was roughly equivalent to the English beat; furthermore, the comma was not used by all French composers, and Couperin, for example, uses  for the same ornament. It appears, therefore, that this use of the comma had no connection with the English usage.

The comma is mentioned, however, in two English theoretical sources contemporary with Ch.Ch.1236, and although it is there placed before the note rather than above it as in Ch.Ch.1236, it would appear to be of the same origin and interpretation. Playford's Introduction to the Skill of Musick (1654) and Simpson's Division Violist (1659) both state that the comma means a backfall (),[10] thus apparently contradicting the internal evidence of the manuscript, but they go on to mention the backfall shaked: . This is identical in interpretation to the shake in "Rules for Graces", but in Playford's time there must have been some confusion, for not only was the same name ("backfall") used

[10] See Dolmetsch/Interpretation, p.96.

for two quite different ornaments, but even the same sign. Mace, in his Musick's Monument (1676), agrees with Playford and Simpson; he states (p.104), "Now you must know that the Backfall may be either Plain or Shaked...", and describes both in terms of what should be done with the fingers. These descriptions are always very detailed and leave no doubt as to what should be done. The same is true of the ornament that he calls the Shake, which begins on the lower note: "If you shake any String Open, you must first strike it with some Right Hand Finger, and then be ready with the Fore-finger of the Left Hand..." (p.103). It should be observed that Playford and Simpson refer to the viol or violin, and Mace to the lute, and that the lower-note shake described by Mace may be used only with open-string shakes, but keyboard ornaments are likely to be similar, and so it is probably this lower-note shake that is intended in the isolated case mentioned above of  on p.39 of Ch.Ch.1236. How many of the commas on this and other pages of the manuscript should be plain backfalls and how many shaked backfalls seems to be entirely for the performer to decide, but one would presume he would always play a backfall shaked in cadential formulae such as .

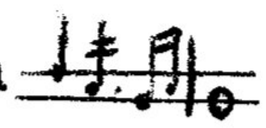
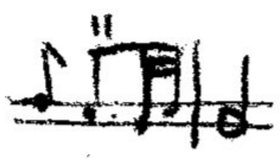
It is uncertain how widely the lower-note start to a shake was used in England in the 17th century. Although it

was in use with lutenists and others, c.1650-80, it appears to have become quite obsolete by the end of the century, and to what extent it was used in the earlier part of the century is a matter which has not yet been fully resolved. Harley has a curious theory;[11] he is unable to find any written-out shakes starting on the lower note in English sources, finding only such written-out shakes as  . He suggests that as shakes from the lower note can be found, written out, in Italian sources such as Frescobaldi, they probably occurred in English practice too, and he even goes so far as to suggest that perhaps all written-out shakes are found because, unusually, an upper-note start is required, hence that the normal practice was for a lower-note start. However, the basic premiss from which this conclusion is derived is false: shakes from the lower note can be found in some English sources, such as Ch.Ch.1113, in which the piece by its compiler "W.E." (no. 16) has several, with such cases as  and (in the last bar)  . The latter is important, for some critics assume that even in shakes starting on the lower note, it was always the upper note that was relatively accented once the shake got under way; this example shows that this was not always the case

[11] Harley/Ornaments.

in England at that particular time (c.1620).

Some Other Sources

Another source which contains some unusual ornament signs is Ch.Ch.1003, which in one section includes, as well as ♮, both ⌒ and ⌒ . Folios 1-11 of the manuscript are relatively early amd are all copied from Ch.Ch.1113, but from f. 12v, an almand, a later style is evident, and it is in this section that ♮, ⌒ and ⌒ are found. Harley suggests that perhaps ♮ is a shake from the lower note, ⌒ is one from the upper note and ⌒ is a beat,[12] but these guesses have been made without considering how each is used. ♮ is indeed used in typical shake contexts, but only on crotchets and minims, while ⌒ is used for quavers in ligatures, again in typical shake contexts, and therefore almost certainly means the same thing. The cadential formula  may be found in at least one piece, while  appears in another, and there is no reason why these should mean different things: presumably the scribe used  because he thought that  would look confusing, which it does. ⌒ seems to mean the same as ⌒ , i.e. a forefall; it is often found at the start of a piece and could possibly mean a beat, but this is less likely, as

[12] ibid., p.192.

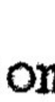
the forefall appears to have originated somewhat earlier than the beat. In later pages ⸎ is used as well as ⸎ but seems to mean roughly the same thing. "The Golden Grove" (by William Lawes) is found in both Ch.Ch.1003 and 1236, and although many of the ornaments are differently placed, some are found on the same notes in both manuscripts, with ⸎ and ⸎ both being used in Ch.Ch.1003 in place of ⸎ in Ch.Ch.1236.

Folio 23v of Ch.Ch.1003 represents the start of a later section, beginning with a piece by "Mr. Blow", and from this point ⸎ is used instead of ⸎ . Inside the back cover of the manuscript there is, amongst examples of note-values, time-signatures, accidentals etc., a list of ornaments: "a beat ∿ a forefall ⸍ a bakfall [sic] ⸌ [a] shake ⸍ [a repeat ⸎ "; but these are only applicable to the third section of the manuscript.

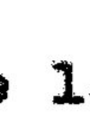
Thus Ch.Ch.1003, like Ch.Ch.1236, is a useful source for considering ornaments, as it contains both older and newer ways of writing them (using a "t" for a trill, like Ch.Ch. 1113, in the first section, ff.1-11). ⸎ is clearly used in the early part of Ch.Ch.1236 in both beat and shake contexts more or less indiscriminately, hence either it meant at least two different things, including both beat and shake, or it meant one ornament, presumably a shake (which could neverthe-

less be played in more than one way, with upper or lower note at the start, varying numbers of repercussions etc.), and was used in many different contexts at first, which later became more restricted as new ornaments emerged. Judging by its position and frequency of occurrence in various sources,  or  was just a later way of writing , and meant the same thing; similarly the comma usually means the same thing where it is predominant, though it can also mean a plain backfall or even a long backfall occasionally. had dropped out of use by about 1700, and it may have meant several things originally, including the shake and beat; some were later distinguished by , and before other signs were invented.

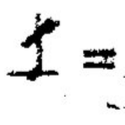
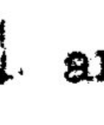
Signs clearly often meant different things in different manuscripts, and if shakes from the upper note sometimes had a different sign from those starting on the lower note, some of the following combinations may have been used for distinguishing them:

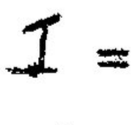
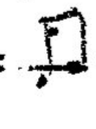
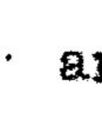
sometimes	 = lower-note shake,	= upper-note shake
(Add.22099)	= " "	= " "
(Ch.Ch.1236)	 = " "	= " "
(Add.22099 and Bod.e.397)	= " "	= " "

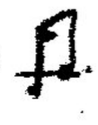
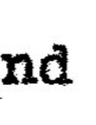
(or vice versa, like forefall and backfall?)

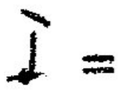
In the latter case either  or  might mean  or some other variation of forefall-and-shake, and in many cases  probably includes shakes from both upper and lower notes. Also there may sometimes be some difference intended between signs placed above and below the notes, but this is not certain.

As for the ornaments which mean forefalls or backfalls, Harley suggests the following conclusions:

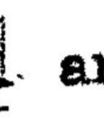
 and probably  , also possibly  (when  is not used)

 and possibly  and possibly  (when  is not used too)

 and possibly  (when  is not used)



But the following table, which contains a few adjustments, is probably more accurate.

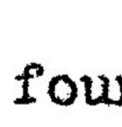
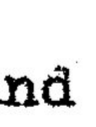
 and probably  where  is not used; never 

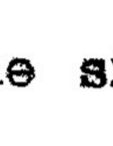
 and possibly 

 and possibly sometimes 



 and, far more often,  (in part of Ch.Ch.1236)

Two other ornaments worth considering that are sometimes found in late 17th-century manuscripts are  and  . The

former, which is found for example in Bod.e.399, appears in contexts very similar to those of the shake turned in Purcell's eight suites. It is more common in non-keyboard sources and is generally called a "relish", to be played ; thus its interpretation is also similar to the shake turned (though it is not identical---none of the numerous ornament tables of the early 18th century give this interpretation for the shake turned) and it seems to have been its immediate predecessor. The sign  or  appears alongside the usual  and in manuscripts such as Bod.d.219 and the first part of Ch.Ch. 1179, almost always in a typical beat context. Assuming it does mean a beat, it seems likely that the sign  originally indicated both shake and beat, so that to avoid confusion copyists later started placing a cross under those notes where a beat was intended; this then rapidly went out of use when the new beat sign emerged.

18th-century sources pose far fewer problems. From this time there were far more printed sources, which were less liable to use rare ornament signs than manuscripts, and some degree of standardisation had been introduced with "Rules for Graces", which were reproduced in many early 18th-century printed sources. Furthermore, from c.1720 to c.1735 the Italian system of ornamentation gradually replaced the old

English one, and the only ornaments in common use became ♩ (= beat) and ♩ (= shake) apart from small notes, which were used for forefalls, backfalls and slides (♪♩, ♪♩ and ♪♩); this notational change followed the change of style in the actual music from the French to the Italian.

Occasionally, however, ornaments other than these appear in mid-18th century sources. Nares's Eight Setts of Lessons (1747) uses the sign ♩ as well as the ordinary ♩, which is easily the most common ornament; these two ornament signs, together with ♩ (= beat) and small-note ornaments (plus some compounds) are the only signs used, apart from a few isolated cases of the battery. ♩ is almost certainly the ordinary shake, but ♩ must also be a shake type of ornament as it is always followed by a step down. In Lesson II this sign appears only once, in a passage of descending semiquavers, and it reappears in Lesson V, this time in conjunction with an appoggiatura (♪♩); but in two corresponding places in the movement ♪♩ is used, thus lending further weight to the theory that it is a shake-like ornament. In Lesson VI ♩ appears four times, all identical except in key, in the context of Ex.2,

Ex.2



(1747a, p.30)

while in Lesson VII it appears ten times, all in the context of descending semiquavers. Thus the ornament always occurs on very short notes (semiquavers except when used in conjunction with a small note) and therefore cannot have many notes to it, although it is not a forefall or backfall since small notes are used for these; as it is like a trill it will presumably use the note above rather than below, and so it must be an upper mordent (), using only three notes. If it were a four-note ornament () there would be no difference between this and an ordinary trill, so that there would be no reason for its introduction in the first place.

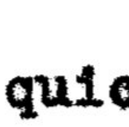
The sign is also found in Stanley's voluntaries, but its contexts here are so completely different that it must have a different interpretation. It is not found in Stanley's op.5, where there are very few ornaments, and in op.6 (1752) it appears only in no.III, where it is used several times in what appear to be a typical "beat" context; but in op.7 it appears a total of 38 times (including three where it is back to front but seems to indicate the same ornament; it was quite easy to place signs back to front by mistake in printed music, and  is used in the same sort of context as ). From its melodic context  would seem here to be an ornament of the forefall/beat type, i.e. one involving only notes below the

	ABOVE			Uni-	Chro-		BELOW			
	2nd	3rd	more	son	matic	Rest	2nd	3rd	4th	more
Previous note:	1	-	-	1	-	1	8	1	12	14
Note following:	5	6	-	4	-	2	17	1	3	-

Table 7 - MELODIC CONTEXT OF ⁀ IN STANLEY'S OP.7

written one; it is almost always approached from below (like the beat and forefall in Purcell) and it is usually followed by a repeated note or downward movement (like the forefall in Purcell). It can occur at the beginning or end of a phrase, unlike the shake, backfall and backfall-and-shake in Purcell, and also unlike the sign in Nares's Eight Setts of Lessons, which always occurs in the middle of a phrase. Moreover in Voluntary VI the sign occurs twice on a top C; this is not the highest note that Stanley uses, but he seems to regard it in this piece as the top of the keyboard, for it appears several times whereas no higher note does at all, and it therefore seems an unlikely place for an ornament involving a higher note.

Another distinctive feature about notes ornamented by ⁀ in Stanley's op.7 is their length: two are quavers but all the rest are longer than a crotchet, most being a dotted crotchet. Thus since ⁀ is normally used on fairly long notes, it is

likely to be a fairly long type of ornament, as was the backfall-and-shake in Purcell's suites, and it evidently uses lower notes than the written one. Its shape suggests a double backfall, either  or ; the latter is less likely as  is sometimes used too, but these could be distinguished by  being played very quickly and  simply . This often sounds well, especially when it is approached from a 4th or 6th below (as it often is), and in such cases  might provide an awkward melodic leap. However, a slide of this nature sounds a little odd in the case when the ornament is found at the start of a voluntary (no.VI) on a long note (), and so although there seems no particular reason why the sign should mean it, a continued beat () seems the most likely interpretation; this is quite different from any other ornament, including the ordinary beat or mordent ().

 would therefore appear to mean at least four different things during the century 1650-1750: (i) a shake from the lower note as distinct from an ordinary shake (as in Ch.Ch. 1236, p.39); (ii) an ordinary shake, as in "Rules for Graces"; (iii) an upper mordent, used in Nares's <u>Eight Setts of Lessons</u> (and, incidentally, in the same way in his op.2 lessons); (iv) an ornament with lower notes, probably an extended beat, in Stanley.

By contrast, the battery seems to have been the only ornament that remained unchanged in sign, interpretation and usage during the period under consideration. It is found in Ch.Ch.1236 (pp.36-38), although the notes here are actually written at an angle (), and twice in Purcell's suites, both times in the almand of the second suite. It was still in use in the time of Nares and appears in his 8th Lesson several times, though it was always rather rare. Also in Nares's Eight Setts of Lessons (no.VI) is the use of a double-stroke sign  to indicate a beat with a sharp. All other ornament signs in normal use appear to be variants of those already mentioned, apart from small-note ornaments, which are common only after about 1725, while the written-out shake had more or less died out by the time of the Commonwealth.

The method of considering ornament contexts necessitates the detailed study of a few sources, where possible in conjunction with contemporary theorists, rather than a general survey of a large number of sources. Despite the small number considered, there has been seen a great diversity in ornament signs and their interpretations. The method here applied to Ch.Ch.1236, Ch.Ch.1003, Nares's Lessons and Stanley's op.7 may easily be applied to any other source where ornamentation is unusual, and in particular, Adds.22099, 31403 (where there

is a rather curious list of graces) and 31465, and Bod.e.397 might repay closer study from this angle. Purcell's suites and the "Rules for Graces" are a useful starting-point, for musical contexts of ornament signs and their theoretical interpretation are both present; and "Rules for Graces" can be used alone for interpreting many contemporary and slightly later sources such as Ch.Ch.1177, where the use of ornaments appears to be the same as in Purcell's Choice Collection, even though some of the details may be different.

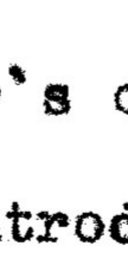
A few more general questions on ornamentation must be considered briefly: how far are the ornament signs in editions and manuscripts the work of the copyist or editor rather than the composer, to what extent were ornaments just improvised in performance, and how closely were the explanations of ornament tables such as "Rules for Graces" followed? None of these questions can be answered with any certainty, but some relevant points should be mentioned. The large number of differences in ornamentation between the various sources, especially in the early 18th century, shows that copyists were not at all careful about the accurate reproduction of ornaments in general. Although the ornaments are probably fairly authentic in sources printed when the composer was still alive, especially if (as in Locke's Melothesia) the

composer is known to have been directly associated with the edition, even here inaccuracies can sometimes be suspected, for example in Stanley's op.6, where several ornaments seem carelessly placed and in some cases the Reading manuscripts give a superior text. And in manuscripts and posthumous publications (except where the music is published by the composer's widow) it must be only very rarely that we have the composer's original intentions with regard to ornaments, even when the notes themselves are correct.

But this is not to say that performers were free to improvise any ornaments they wished in the course of performance: if they had been in the habit of doing this, copyists would not have bothered to write the ornaments in (as they did not, for example, in Italian opera arias), whereas in fact the ornamentation is almost invariably highly detailed, suggesting that the ornaments and their positioning were chosen with some care even though they were not faithfully reproduced from the composer's original. Performers must have improvised ornaments occasionally, but there is no reason to believe they would depart far from the written text, and no cases have been found where ornaments have been amended or added in a later hand.

As for the explanations in the ornament tables, these are clearly only a rough guide to the interpretation of

ornament signs, and they could be adapted according to the speed of the piece and the length of the ornamented note. Forefalls and backfalls did not necessarily have to have a quarter of the value of the written note, and it is likely that they did not even have to be from the note above or below but could sometimes be from whatever the previous note was. Shakes and beats could have a varying number of repercussions, and the backfall-and-shake or shake turned might sometimes have to be abbreviated. But in many cases it is perfectly possible to play the ornament exactly as in "Rules for Graces" and in these cases performers probably followed the explanations quite closely, almost automatically.

All this can be transformed into practical recommendations for the modern performer. Although it is evident that many of the ornaments in the sources are not the composer's, performers should not feel free to improvise their own instead: this was probably rarely done in the 17th century, the performer's alterations are almost certain to result in a version less close to the composer's original, and the modern performer also runs the risk of introducing ornaments that do not belong to the period (such as ). Instead he should study and memorise "Rules for Graces" and any other relevant ornament tables, and reproduce them in context as closely as

is musically possible. In particular the shake should wherever possible be an extended trill and not just an upper mordent,[13] and the backfall-and-shake should always have a long appoggiatura, either half or two thirds of the value of the note: it is ironic that performers seldom play this ornament correctly when using Ferguson's editions despite the editor's clear instructions, whereas when they use the rather inferior Fuller-Maitland edition they often play the ornament correctly without realising it, since the editor here has written out the ornament in full so that the backfall looks like a separate note. Clearly there is a long way to go, for editors, scholars and performers, before one can hope to hear much of this music with correct ornamentation throughout.

13 Thurston Dart's recommendations for the shake, given in Dart ed./Locke and Dart ed./Hand-maid II, are quite wrong.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

It is difficult to reach any single conclusion about the wealth of music which has been examined, for this survey has covered a very wide range of styles from about 150 composers, spanning more than a century. But it has shown that in many details, as well as from a general point of view, the popular impression of English keyboard music of this period is far from accurate. The conventional picture, at least at its most naive, would have us believe that the century after Tomkins was a very barren period in which scarcely a note was written which is worthy of revival; that Purcell was the only good composer and that even his keyboard music is very disappointing; that English composers were completely under the dominance of French or Italian music; that Musick's Hand-maid, Melothesia, Purcell's and Blow's printed suites give an adequate and balanced picture of Restoration harpsichord music; that in the 18th century Handel "did bestride the narrow world of English keyboard music like a Colossus",[1] and that at this period standards reached an even lower ebb than they had done in the late 17th century. Happily such extreme views are not

[1] Compare Mercer ed./Burney, ii.1008.

widely held now, thanks to the numerous editions that have appeared in the last 20 years, and to the recent books by John Caldwell and Francis Routh,[2] which have filled in several gaps in our knowledge; but it will be a long time before all these ideas have fully died out, so let us try now to paint a more accurate picture of some of these broader issues raised.

Much music of excellent quality was written during the period; much more still lies neglected but is worth reviving, and only a small fraction is not worth at least occasional performance. Although it is true that at no time did the music reach such a consistently high level as it had done under the virginalist school, some individual pieces stand alongside the finest products of the Elizabethan-Jacobean era, and can fully match the virtuosity of Bull, the originality of Byrd and the poetry of Gibbons. The period was certainly not a barren one, and the only relatively unproductive phases were c.1630-60 and c.1710-20; even these were not as barren as they appear, for in both cases the seeds of a new style were being sown, that were to flower in the one instance in Purcell and Blow, in the other in the fully-developed Italian style of the late Baroque as exemplified by Greene and Stanley. As for Purcell, his

[2] Caldwell/Keyboard and Routh/Organ.

keyboard music is disappointing only if approached via his dramatic or sacred music, for within the limits imposed by fashion his suites show great variety and imagination. Nevertheless, he must in keyboard music give pride of place to Blow, whose contribution to late 17th-century harpsichord music has been underestimated by almost all previous writers; Purcell wrote nothing to compare with Blow`s E minor ground or his F major chaconne---two of the finest harpsichord pieces of the entire period---and his output for organ seems very meagre when placed beside Blow`s, even if his A major toccata is included, as it now seems it probably should be.

English composers throughout the period were strongly influenced by French or Italian music, but they nearly always retained some individuality in certain matters of detail, and in the field of organ music they preserved a remarkable degree of independence: what foreign influence there was came mostly not from Continental organ music but from other instrumental music. This remained true even after Handel`s arrival for he never wrote any ordinary two-movement voluntaries and his influence on this form was therefore at best indirect. Even in harpsichord music his influence remained dominant only for a limited period, for by the middle of the 18th century newer influences---those of Scarlatti and Alberti---were superseding

Handel, who had long since turned his attention away from keyboard music. And from these years comes much good harpsichord music, not only by Arne but by Nares, Greene, J. C. Smith, Roseingrave and even such unfamiliar names as Thomas Chilcot, nearly all of which is unpublished in modern times.

Much work still remains to be done, and the present study must be seen as no more than a foundation on which more intensive and detailed research can be built, and yet without which, such intensive research would be narrowly based and largely without reference. Complete editions of any new composer would be welcome, but in particular one would like to see the complete keyboard works of Bryne, Croft, Hart, Greene, Roseingrave and Nares, the complete harpsichord works of Blow, Clarke, Draghi and Smith, and the organ music of Reading, James, Stanley and lesser figures like Walond and Goodwin. And these editions must not clutter up the text with "expression marks" or spurious inner parts;[3] they must include

3 There seems no justification for filling in the harmony in 18th-century voluntaries, for example. The two-part texture sounds satisfactory musically, and 18th-century performers apparently did not add to it: only two manuscripts (Add. 31814, ff.100-105, and Rowe 251, f.9v) contain voluntaries with a figured bass added, and in both cases figures are added to slow movements or fugues where chords already exist while the two-part solo-stop movements are left unfigured.

clear directions on ornamentation, and must be much more accurate than some so far produced. A large amount of this music is so attractive that any such editions would surely be of more than just academic interest.

As regards sources, the existence of many of these is still not widely known. For example, the list of manuscripts in Caldwell/Keyboard, which is easily the most comprehensive list yet published, omits at least seven manuscripts from Cambridge alone; and Routh/Organ has overlooked what are probably the two best sources of English organ music of the first half of the 18th century---Rf.31 and RCO---resulting in a curiously unbalanced view of this period. Many of the manuscripts would repay really thorough investigation, especially the Reading manuscripts and their interrelationship, Add.31467 and its relationship to Fitz.52.B.7 and Rés. 1186 bis I, the relationship between Adds.31446 and 34695; the two Babell manuscripts, Add.52363, Drex.5611 and Fitz.52.C.11*. When and why were these manuscripts written, exactly what do they contain, and what other sources contain the same music? A more thorough study of all aspects of ornamentation is needed, and an investigation of the relationship between keyboard and non-keyboard music (and also keyboard concertos), with a concordance of all instrumental music found in both

keyboard and non-keyboard sources. And as well as the influence of non-keyboard music, further study could be made of the influence of Continental music (both keyboard and otherwise) and again a list of Continental music found in English keyboard sources would be helpful. Stylistic studies of the more important individual composers such as Blow, Croft, Loeillet and Stanley are also needed; and, of course, English keyboard music of the post-Baroque period still remains to be explored.

Little of this work could be done without a thorough basic knowledge of the keyboard music of the period. Some may query whether it is really worth doing, but although England cannot boast of a keyboard composer as great as Bach in Germany, Couperin in France or Scarlatti in Italy and Spain, and could never rival the German school as a whole, the English keyboard composers produced many works of considerable intrinsic value, which should not lie forgotten. Thus if we are to increase our appreciation of them to the full extent, work of the type mentioned will most certainly be necessary.

Appendix I

EXTANT PRINTED SOURCES

A. Keyboard Music up to 1755
B. Organ Music 1756-1775
C. Chief Posthumous Publications after 1775

Index number - Title - Publishers and dates - Named composers - Unnamed composers identified (in brackets) - Comments and editions. For location of sources in Britain see BUC. Where additional sources are known, library symbols are as in BUC.

A. Keyboard Music up to 1755

1612a Parthenia or the Maydenhead of the first musicke that ever was printed for the virginalls. Composed by three famous masters: William Byrd, Dr John Bull, & Orlando Gibbons... (Lowe, 1612/13; Clarke, 1646, 1651, 1655)

Bull, Byrd, O.Gibbons

Reprinted in Dart ed./Parthenia.

1663a (i) Musicks Hand-maide presenting new and pleasant lessons for the virginals or harpsycon (J.Playford, 1663, c.1668); (ii) Musicks Hand-maid: new lessons and instructions for the virginals or harpsychord (J. Playford, 1678)

Bryne, Jackson, W.Lawes, Locke, Moss, Pratt, Rogers, Sandley, (Bull, T.Gibbs, Jacopino, Mell)

1678 edition has 22 extra pieces not in 1663 edition, but lacks four psalm-tunes. Combination of both editions in Dart ed./Hand-maid I.

1673a Melothesia, or, certain general rules for playing upon a continued-bass. With a choice collection of lessons for the harpsicord and organ of all sorts: never before published. All carefully reviewed by

M. Locke, composer in ordinary to His Majesty and organist of Her Majesties Chappel. The first part. (Carr, 1673)

Banister, Diesener, Gregory, W.Hall, Locke, Moss, Preston, Roberts, R.Smith, (Thatcher)

No "second part" was ever published. Locke pieces in Dart ed./Locke; most of remainder in Kooiker ed./Melothesia. List of contents in Caldwell/Keyboard.

1689a The second part of Musick`s Hand-maid: containing the newest lessons, grounds, sarabands, minuets, and jiggs, set for the virginals, harpsichord, and spinet. (H.Playford, 1689; different title, 1705: A choice collection of lessons being excellently sett to the harpsichord, by...Dr.John Blow, and the late Mr.Henry Purcell...)

Blow, Motley, H.Purcell, Snow, Turner, (G.B.Draghi, Forcer, Verdier)

Modern edition in Dart ed./Hand-maid II.

1696a A choice collection of lessons for the harpsichord or spinnet composed by ye late Mr. Henry Purcell Organist of his majesties Chappel Royal, & of St.Peters Westminster (Author`s widow, 1696, 1699, c.1700)

H.Purcell

Modern edition in Ferguson ed./Purcell.

1698a A choice collection of lessons for the harpsicord, spinnet &c. containing four sett`s, as grounds, almands, corants, sarabands, minuets, & jiggs by Dr.Iohn Blow. (H.Playford, 1698; Walsh and Hare, 1704)

Blow

Modern edition in Ferguson ed./Blow.

1700a A choice collection of ayres for the harpsichord or spinett. (Young, 1700)

Barrett, Blow, Clarke, Croft, Piggott

Blow pieces in Ferguson ed./Blow; most of remainder in Maitland ed./Contemporaries. List of contents in Caldwell/Keyboard.

1700b The second book of the Harpsicord Master. (Walsh, 1700)

Barrett, Blow, Clarke, Courteville, Croft, (Piggott)

No extant copies of the first book of the Harpsicord Master, published October 1697. Blow pieces in Ferguson ed./Blow; a few others in Maitland ed./Contemporaries. Clarke pieces are the same as those in 1700a. List of contents in Caldwell/Keyboard.

1702a The third book of the Harpsicord Master. (Walsh & Hare, 1702)

Barrett, Clarke, Croft, Wood, (Paisible)

Most or all of the pieces are arrangements of theatre tunes etc. List of contents in Caldwell/Keyboard.

1702b A collection of lessons and aires for the harpsicord or spinnett composed by Mr.J: Eccles, Mr.D: Purcell and others. (Walsh & Hare, 1702)

J.Eccles, D.Purcell, (Lord Byron)

All except one minuet published in Maitland ed./Contemporaries, vi.9-22, though order is altered.

1704a Fugues for the organ or harpsichord: with lessons for the harpsichord. (Cross, 1704)

Hart

Some copies have two more suites than others.

1704b The Lady`s Banquet being a choice collection of the newest and most airy lessons for the harpsicord or spinett. (Walsh & Hare, 1704)

Barrett, Clarke, Courteville, Croft, King, Weldon

Many pieces are arrangements. In the only extant copy f.25 is missing, replaced by an extra f.27: it probably contained a jigg by Weldon, found in Add.31467, f.57v. List of contents in Caldwell/Keyboard.

1705a Select lessons for the harpsicord or spinnett as allemands sarabands corants gavots minuets and jiggs. (Walsh & Hare, 1705, 1731)

Dieupart

Adapted from his Six suites de clavessin...mises en concert pour un violon et flûte... (Roger, Amsterdam, 1701).

1706a The second book of the Ladys Banquet being a choice collection of the newest and most airy lessons for the harpsichord or spinnett together with the most noted minuets jiggs and French dances performed at Court the theatre`s and publick balls. (Walsh & Hare, 1706)

Barrett, H.Purcell, (J.Eccles, Paisible)

List of contents in Caldwell/Keyboard.

1707a Six select sutes of leszons for the harpsicord in six severall keys, consisting of preludes, allemands, corrants, sarabands, arietts, minuets & jiggs. (Walsh & Hare, 1707)

G.B. Draghi

1707b A compleat method for attaining to play a thorough bass upon either organ, harpsicord or theorbo-lute... With variety of proper lessons and fuges. (Cullen, 1707;

Walsh, Hare & Randall, 1707; Meares, c.1714; Walsh & Hare, 1717; Pearson, Wilcox & Osborne, 1731, 1731)

Keller

An instruction book with no complete pieces.

1707c Lessons, for the harpsichord, or spinett. (Hare, 1707; Author, c.1707)

Whichello

1708a The Lady`s Entertainment, or Banquet of Musick being a choice collection of newest...lessons for harpsicord or spinnet, preludes, toccatas, song tunes in the opera etc....Note these lessons are likewise proper for the lute, harp and organ by Mr.Ramondon. (Walsh, Hare & Randall, 1708)

Amadori, Simonelli, (Paisible; also songs from Thomyris and Love`s Triumph)

1708b The 2d book of the Lady`s Entertainment, or Banquet of Musick... (Walsh, Hare & Randall, 1708)

Fontana, H.Hall, D.Purcell, V.Richardson, (M.A. Bononcini arr.; also songs from Thomyris and Love`s Triumph)

The Lady`s Entertainment consists of a collection of monthly publications called Mercurius Musicus, some numbers of which can be found at Edinburgh and Christ Church (each book of L.E. contains six months of M.M.). The 3rd-5th books of L.E. consist entirely of arrangements of opera airs, those of books 3 and 4 being made by Babell. List of contents of books 1 and 2 in Caldwell/Keyboard.

1708c Lessons for the harpsichord or spinet; containing an overture, a ground and a chacoon, with several almands and airs. (Author, 1708)

William Richardson

1711a Choice lessons for the harpsichord or spinett, being the works of the late famous Mr.Jeremiah Clarke... Carefully corrected by himself. Being what he design'd to publish. (King, Young & Hare, 1711)

Clarke

Five of the six suites are in Maitland ed./Contemporaries, vol.v.

1711b The Harpsicord Master Improved containing the most perfect rules & easiest directions on 5 lines for learners. With a choice collection of the newest & most airy lessons, playhouse tunes, almands, tocats & several pleasant arrietts out of the new opera's. (Pippard, 1711)

(Mancini, Paisible; also songs arranged from Thomyris, Modern Prophets etc.)

Only known copy is in O; different from 1718a, and not mentioned in BUC or RISM/18. Date has been altered to 1715. Most of the contents are arrangements of airs, theatre tunes etc.

1715a Lessons for the harpsichord or spinet, viz^{t} almands, corants, sarabands, airs, minuets & jiggs. Composed by Mr Baptist Lully. (Wright, c.1715)

John Loeillet (1680-1730)

Incipits in Priestman/Loeillet. Complete edition in Watelet ed./Loeillet.

1715b A compleat suite of lessons for the harpsicord, as overture, allemand, saraband, corant, gavott, chacoon, jigg & minuett Composed by Mr.Alexander Maas=mann Prusse. (Walsh & Hare, c.1715)

Maasmann

1715c (i) Suits of harpsicord and spinnet, lessons, collected from the most celebrated master works. To which is added a great variety of passages...(Meares, c.1715). (ii) Suits of the most celebrated lessons collected and fitted to the harpsicord or spinnet by Mr.Wm:Babell with variety of passages by the author. (Walsh & Hare, 1717, c.1730, c.1730; Young, c.1718)

Babell, largely adapted from Handel`s operas.

(i) and (ii) have the same music. The title page in Walsh`s edition refers to "two precedent books for y^e harpsicord by y^e same hand": these are the 3rd and 4th books of the Lady`s Entertainment.

1718a The Harpsicord Master Improved, containing the most perfect rules & easiest directions on 5 lines for learners. With a choice collection of the newest & most airy lessons, with variety of passages by Mr. Babel, to which is added, a choice collection of psalm tunes as they were play`d with their interludes by Mr. Daniel Purcel, they being fit for the use of all young organists. (Wright & Young, 1718)

Babell, Carey arr., D.Purcell, (Handel arr.)

Different from 1711b. Most or all pieces are arrangements of airs, theatre tunes, etc., except the psalm tunes, which were probably pirated from Walsh`s edition (see 1731b). Additional copy in O.

1719a Suits of lessons for the harpsicord or spinnet in most of the keyes with variety of passages and variations throughout the work compos`d by Mr: Anthony Young. (Walsh & Hare, 1719)

Young

Durham copy lacks pp.1-6.

1719b Pieces à un & deux clavecins composées par Mr Hendel. (Roger, c.1719)

Handel

Unauthorised publication, different from 1720a.

1720a **Suites de pièces pour le clavecin...Premier volume.** (Author, 1720)

Handel

There are several issues of this, each with slight differences on the title page, but containing the same music (see Smith/Handel for details). Best modern edition is Steglich ed./Handel I.

1720b **Modern Harmony or a desire to please: consisting of vocal and instrumental musick as songs and ariettes for one and two voices and a cantata together with a solo for a flute and a solo for a violin & a bass as also a set of lessons for the harpsicord.** (Walsh & Hare, c.1720)

George Vanbrughe

1722a **The Harpsichord Master. VIIIth book.** (Walsh & Hare, 1722)

Fairbank, Vanbrughe, (G.Bononcini arr., Handel arr.)

The 4th-7th and 9th books of the Harpsichord Master are lost. Book VIII and all subsequent books appear to contain no original keyboard music. P.9 is missing in L copy.

1722b **Divertimenti da camera tradotti pel cembalo da quelli composti pel violino, o flauto.** (Mrs.Corticelli, London, 1722; republished as Suites de pièces pour le clavecin, Walsh, c.1737)

Giovanni Bononcini

1723a Six suits of lessons for the harpsicord or spinnet, in most of the keys with variety of passages and variations throughout the work composed by Mr.Iohn Loeillet. (Walsh & Hare, 1723)

John Loeillet (1680-1730)

Different from 1715a; incipits in Priestman/Loeillet. Complete edition in Watelet ed./Loeillet. Additional copy in O.

1725a The Harpsichord Master. Xth book. (Walsh & Hare, 1725)

Fairbank, (Handel arr., G.Bononcini arr., Geminiani arr.)

Much is reprinted from VIIIth book; some of remainder probably from lost IXth book.

1725b [Seven] Suites of lessons for the harpsicord or spinnett. (Smith, Rawlins & Barret, c.1725)

Sheeles

1726a The Harpsichord Master. XIth book. (Walsh & Hare, 1726)

Fairbank, (Handel arr., G.Bononcini arr., Geminiani arr.)

Identical with 1725a: hence one or other may have an incorrect figure on the title page.

1727a The Harpsichord Master. XIIth book. (Walsh & Hare, 1727)

Bitti, (Handel arr.)

Mostly (pp.7-16) reprinted from earlier books.

1728a The Harpsichord Master. XIIIth book. (Walsh & Hare, 1728)

Bitti, (Handel arr.)

Pp.8-16 reprinted from earlier books.

1728b Eight suits of lessons for the harpsicord or spinnet in most of the keys; with variety of passages & variations throughout the work...(Walsh & Hare, 1728; Walsh, c.1731)

T. Roseingrave

Suites I, III, VI and VIII in Stevens ed./Roseingrave.

1728c [Fifteen] Voluntarys and fugues made on purpose for the organ or harpsicord. (Walsh & Hare, 1728; Walsh, c.1731; Wright, c.1734)

T. Roseingrave

Nos.2 and 3 are reversed in Wright's edition. All 15 reprinted, arranged for organ with pedals, in Butcher ed./Roseingrave; nos.2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15 are in Williams ed./Roseingrave; nos.4, 10 in Stevens ed./Roseingrave. 1728 edition refers to "three other books of voluntarys and fugues", sold by Walsh; these are all by foreign composers: (i) Ziani, Pollaroli etc.; (ii) Pasquini, Poglietti etc.; (iii) Zipoli.

1730a The Ladys Banquet first book; being a choice collection of the newest & most airy lessons for the harpsicord or spinnet: together with several opera aires, minuets and marches compos'd by Mr.Handel. (Walsh, 1730)

Handel, R.Jones, Baron Kilmansegk

No connection with 1704b and 1706a. Pp.6-7 a reprint of pp.4-5 of 1728a.

1730b The Harpsichord Master. XIVth book. (Walsh, 1730)

Pepusch, (Handel arr.)

Pp.6, 8-17 reprinted from earlier books. Only copy is in L; not listed in BUC.

1730c The Harpsichord illustrated and improv`d; wherein is shewn the Italian manner of fingering, with suits of lessons... (anon., London, 1730, 1731, c.1742)

Babell, "Lully" (=John Loeillet), Mattheson, (Handel arr.)

1731 and 1742 editions are part of The Modern Musick-Master, compiled by Prelleur.

1730d The Harpsichord Master Book containing plain and easy instructions for learners on the harpsichord or spinnet with a compleat explanation of graces, & the true manner of fingering the keys, also an exact method of tuneing the harpsichord & spinnet..., together with a collection of aires & lessons proper for learners and the most favourite song tunes now in use: all fairly engraven. (Wright, c.1730)

Bitti, Carey, Corbet, Handel, Loeillet, Monro, T. Roseingrave

Only copy is in Bibliothèque Alfred Cortot, Lausanne, Switzerland (see RISM/18).

1731a The psalms...set full for the organ or harpsicord as they are play`d in churches or chapels. (Walsh, c.1731)

Blow

First published in 1703. Contains 15 psalm tunes with interludes.

1731b The psalms set full for the organ or harpsicord as they are plaid in churches and chappels in the maňer given out, as also with their interludes of great variety. (Walsh, c.1731)

D. Purcell

First published in 1718.

1731c Harmonia Sacra Glocestriensis, or select anthems for 1, 2 & 3 voices, and a Te-Deum and Jubilate, together with a voluntary for the organ. (anon., London, 1731)

Hine

Voluntary reprinted in Beechey ed./Voluntaries.

1732a Sonata...opera seconda; Capriccio...opera terza; Preludio et allegro...opera quarta; Fantasie...opera quinta. (Witvogel, 1732)

Handel

Published separately. All in Best ed./Handel III.

1732b Suites de pièces pour le clavecin (I^{er} vol.). (Author, c.1732; Walsh, 1733)

J.C. Smith

Reprinted, c.1760, as A Collection of Lessons for the harpsichord (no opus number). List of J.C. Smith's harpsichord music given in BUC is confused; see Brown/Reassessment.

1732c Suits or setts of lessons for the harpsicord or spinnet consisting of great variety of movements as preludes aires toccats all'mands jigs corrents borre's sarabands gavots minuets &c. (Walsh, 1732)

Richard Jones

Suite in D minor to be published in Early Keyboard Music (vol.xxx).

1733a Choice lessons for the harpsichord or spinnet, compos`d by Dr.Green...Carefully corrected by himself, and never before publish`d. (Wright, April 1733)

Greene, (G. Bononcini)

Only known copy is in L; not mentioned in BUC. Four pieces had already been published as songs by Greene; 13 others are attributed to him in Add.31467; some, however, are probably not by him: see Johnstone/Banquet.

1733b The Lady`s Banquet second book; being a choice collection of the newest & most airy lessons for the harpsicord or spinnet, compos`d by the most eminent masters. Together with several minuets & marches perform`d at Court, the theatres, and publick entertainments... (Walsh, May 1733)

Geminiani, (G. Bononcini, Greene)

Includes all of 1733a (on pp.1-19) and pp.12 and 10 of 1725a (on pp.22 and 23 respectively). See Johnstone/Banquet.

1733c The Lady`s Banquet. 3^{d} book. Being a choice collection of the newest & most airy lessons for the harpsichord or spinnet, together with the most noted minuets, jiggs, and French dances,...all set by the best masters. (Walsh, c.1733)

Conti, Galliard, Handel, Lateur, Vanbrughe, (Paisible, J.Eccles, M.A.Bononcini arr., A.Scarlatti arr.)

Pp.25-35 are a reprint of pp.1-11 of 1706a.

1733d Suites de pièces pour le claveçin...(Second volume). (Walsh, 1733)

Handel

Best modern edition is Northway ed./Handel II.

1734a Six suites of lessons for the harpsicord or spinet. (Smith, 1734)

Chilcot

Additional copy in O. Two suites in Beechey ed./Chilcot.

1734b The Harpsichord Master. XIVth [i.e.XVth] book. (Walsh, 1734)

anons. only

Different from 1730b; all pieces are popular tunes, folk tunes, marches etc. Only copy is in L, not listed in BUC.

1734c Six sets of lessons for the harpsicord. (Smith, c. 1734)

Henry Symonds

1734d The Lady`s Banquet fourth book; being a choice collection of the newest & most airy lessons for the harpsicord or spinnet, compos`d by the most eminent masters. Together with several minuets and marches... (Walsh, c.1734)

Fairbank, Baron Kilmanseck, (Handel arr.)

P.1 reprinted from 1730b; p.2 from 1727a; pp.4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 17, 19, 22 and 23 from 1734b; pp.3, 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, 16, 18, 20, 21 and 24 from a similar (unidentified) collection of popular tunes; p.25 perhaps from one of the lost books of the Harpsichord Master.

1735a The Lady`s Banquet fifth book; being a choice collection of the newest & most airy lessons for the harpsicord or spinnet: together with several opera

aires, minuets, & marches compos`d by Mr. Handel. Perform`d at Court, the theatres...and proper for the improvement of the hand on the harpsicord or spinnet. (Walsh, 1735)

Bitti, Handel, Pepusch, Vanbrughe, (Ariosti, G. Bononcini, Leveridge arr.)

Pp.2-15 contain the pieces in 1732a; pp.16-26, 29 and 30 are reprints of pages from the Harpsichord Master, books VIII-XIV.

1735b The Lady`s Banquet, sixth book. Being a collection of all the sarabands, jiggs, gavots, minuets and marches perform`d in all the late operas, compos`d by Mr.Handel. Set for the violin or harpsicord. (Walsh, 1735; different title, 1758: A collection of lessons for the harpsichord...by Mr.Handel, 4th book.)

Handel

Contains only aria arrangements from four Handel operas.

1735c Six fugues or voluntarys for the organ or harpsicord ...troisième ouvrage. (Walsh, 1735; Le Clerc, c.1735)

Handel

Several posthumous editions (see Smith/Handel); most recent edition is in Best ed./Handel III.

1737a Suites de pièces pour le clavecin: 2^{d} volume. (Walsh, 1737)

J.C. Smith

Six suites, reprinted in two volumes (nos.I-III and IV-VI) as op.3 and op.4 (or 2), by Walsh c.1760.

1739a XLII Suites de pièces pour le clavecin. En deux volumes. Composées par Domenico Scarlatti. (Cooke, 1739; different title, Johnson, c.1755)

T.Roseingrave, A.Scarlatti, D.Scarlatti

Roseingrave`s piece is in Stevens ed./Roseingrave.

1740a Menuetti con variazioni...per il cembalo. (anon., London, c.1740)

Geminiani

1741a Six suites of easy lessons for the harpsicord or spinnet, with a trumpet piece. (Author: London, 1741; author, Reading. 1742)

John Alcock (the elder)

1743a Pièces de clavecin, tirées des differens ouvrages de Mr. F.Geminiani adaptées par luy meme à cet instrument. (anon., London, 1743; Johnson, c.1755; Welcker, c.1778)

Geminiani

No original keyboard music, but authentic arrangements.

1745a Six overtures for the harpsicord or spinet...Being proper pieces for the improvement of the hand. (Walsh, 1745)

Greene

All are arrangements of orchestral overtures.

1747a Eight setts of lessons for the harpsichord. (Johnson, 1747, 1757)

Nares

1748a Ten voluntarys for the organ or harpsicord...Opera quinta. (Johnson, 1748, c.1750; Thompson, c.1765; Harrison, c.1784)

Stanley

Edited facsimile in Vaughan ed./Stanley; another edition in Phillips ed./Stanley. Also several modern editions of selections.

1750a Six double fugues for the organ or harpsicord...to which is added, Sig. Domenico Scarlatti's celebrated lessons for the harpsicord, with several additions by Mr. Roseingrave. (Walsh, 1750)

T.Roseingrave, D.Scarlatti

Fugues 1, 3 and 4 in Williams ed./Roseingrave; fugue 5 in Stevens ed./Roseingrave.

1750b A collection of lessons for the harpsichord. (Johnson, 1750)

Greene

A few pieces have appeared in non-"scholarly" editions.

1750c Six setts of lessons for the harpsichord. (Johnson, 1750)

Barnabas Gunn

1750d Eight lessons for the harpsichord or organ, three of which has an accompaniment for a violin. (Author, c. 1750; Welcker, c.1770)

Gladwin

1750e Six setts of lessons for the harpsicord or organ... opera prima. (Smith, c.1750)

John Mantel

1751a VI cornet pieces with an introduction for the diapasons, and a fugue. Proper for young organists and practitioners on the harpsichord. (Walsh, 1751)

Burney

Fugue is in Trevor ed./Organ, vol.1.

1752a Eight suits of easy lessons for the harpsichord. Opera terza. (Johnson, 1752)

Felton

1752b Ten voluntarys for the organ or harpsicord...Opera sesta. (Johnson, 1752; Thompson, c.1765; Harrison, c. 1784)

Stanley

Edited facsimile in Vaughan ed./Stanley; another edition in Phillips ed./Stanley. Also several modern editions of selections.

1752c A minuet... (Gentleman's Magazine, vol.xxii, p.425). (anon., London, 1752)

Stanley

1752d [Six] Voluntaries for the organ or harpsichord... Opera I. (Johnson, c.1752, c.1755)

Walond

Reprinted in Phillips ed./Walond; nos.2, 5 and 6 also in Beechey ed./Voluntaries, and some movements in other modern editions.

1753a A collection of lessons for the harpsichord composed in an easy & familiar style. (Johnson, c.1753)

Henry Burgess (the elder)

Advertises Stanley`s op.5 and 6: BUC date of c.1740 is incorrect.

1754a Eight setts of lessons for the harpsichord. (Johnson, 1754)

John Jones

1754b Ten voluntaries for the organ or harpsichord...Opera settima. (Johnson, 1754; Thompson, c.1765; Harrison, c. 1784)

Stanley

Edited facsimile in Vaughan ed./Stanley; another edition in Phillips ed./Stanley. Also several modern editions of selections.

1755a Six suits of lessons for the harpsicord...Opera terza. (Walsh, 1755)

J.C. Smith

Reprinted c.1757 as A Collection of Lessons for the harpsicord...Opera I.

1755b A sett of familiar lessons for the harpsicord...Opera 2da. (Author, 1755)

Thomas Vincent (the younger)

1755c The compleat tutor for the harpsichord or spinnet, wherein is shewn the Italian manner of fingering with suits of lessons...with rules for tuneing the harpsicord or spinnet. (P. Thompson, c.1755)

anons. only

Partly a reprint of 1730c, but most of the music is different. Reprinted with most of the music again different, c.1770.

B. Organ Music 1756-1775

1757a Ten voluntaries for the organ or harpsichord...Opera seconda. (Johnson, 1757)

George Berg

No.VI.iv in Trevor ed./Organ.

1758a Ten voluntaries for the organ or harpsichord. (Author, c.1758)

Bennett

Not in OUF, as stated in BUC; two extra copies in private hands (see Beechey ed./Voluntaries). Nos.II, V, VII-X printed in Beechey ed./Voluntaries; nos.I and VI.1 in Trevor ed./Organ.

1758b Ten voluntaries for the organ or harpsichord...Opera II. (Johnson, 1758)

Walond

No.I in Phillips ed./Voluntaries.

1760a Ten voluntaries for the organ or harpsichord. (Author, c.1760; Thompson, c.1768)

Henry Heron

The second edition, with the added title "Opera prima", is printed from the same plates as the first but has several alterations; it advertises 1766a and 1767a. L copy of earlier edition lacks pp.27-31, i.e. nos.IX.ii and X. Nos.I.i, III, IV, VII.ii and X are in Trevor ed./Organ.

1766a Four lessons and two voluntarys for the harpsicord or organ. (Author's widow and Thompson, c.1766)

Samuel Long

Advertised on 1767a. L now has two copies, one of which lacks the voluntaries. Both voluntaries are in Trevor ed./Organ.

1767a Ten voluntarys for the organ or harpsichord...by Dr. Green, Skinner, Stubley, James, Reading, Selby and Kuknan. (Thompson, 1767)

Greene, James, Reading, Selby, Skinner, Stubley, (Kirkman)

Nos.I and X in Routh ed./Greene; III, IV.1 and iii, VIII in Trevor ed./Organ; VII.ii in Phillips ed./Blow.

1769a XII voluntaries for the organ or harpsichord. (Thompson, 1769)

John Travers (and Stanley)

No.XII in Williams ed./Voluntaries. Advertises 1760a, 1766a, 1767a (and lessons by Yates, Arnold and others).

1771a Eighteen preludes or short fuges for the organ or harpsichord proper for interludes to psalm tunes and beneficial for young beginners to learn the art of composing fugues. (Thompson, 1771)

anons. only

1771b Six voluntarys for the organ, pianoforte or harpsichord...Opera terza. (Welcker, 1771)

Garth

Advertised on 1772a.

1771c A collection of voluntaries for the organ or harpsicord composed by Dr.Green, Mr.Travers & several other eminent masters. Book I. (Longman & Lukey, 1771)

Greene, Travers, (James, Prelleur, Sedo?, Thorley)

Nos.I.i and iv, IV.i and ii, VIII.i (all attributed to Travers) and X in Trevor ed./Organ.

1771d Ten select voluntaries for the organ or harpsicord (never before publish'd) composed by Mr.Handel, Dr.Green &c.a Book II (Longman & Lukey, 1771, c.1780)

Greene (?), Handel (?), (Thorley)

Published at 4 shillings but later reissued at 5 shillings advertising later publications such as 1780b. Voluntaries VIII and IX are in Emery ed./Voluntaries. See Smith/Handel, pp.253-4, for details of editions etc.

1772a Six fugues with introductory voluntary's for the organ or harpsichord. (Welcker, 1772)

Nares

Np.II in Lang ed./Nares; nos.III and V in West ed./Organ (nos.17 and 18); all arranged for organ with pedals. Advertises 1771b.

1774a Ten voluntaries for the organ or harpsichord...Book I. (Thompson, 1774)

John Alcock (the elder)

Book II never published. Nos.IV.i, VIII.i in Trevor ed./Organ; nos.I, II, VI and X in Marr ed./Alcock.

1775a Six voluntaries for the organ or harpsichord. (T. Bennett, c.1775)

James Jackson

1775b Six voluntaries for the harpsicord or organ by different masters, never before printed, selected by E. Kendall. (Longman & Lukey, c.1775)

(James)

Advertises 1771c. Nos. I and IV.11 in Trevor ed./Organ.

1775c Six voluntaries for the organ, piano forte or harpsicord. (Longman & Lukey, c.1775)

George Green

Advertises 1771c, 1771d, 1775b. No.III.1 in Trevor ed./ Organ.

1775d Eight easy voluntaries for the organ. (Longman & Lukey, c.1775)

John Alcock (the younger)

Advertises 1771c, d, 1775b, c. No.II.1 in Trevor ed./ Organ.

C. Chief Posthumous Publications after 1775

1776a Twelve voluntarys for the organ or harpsichord... Book I. (Thompson, c.1776)

S.Goodwin

Advertises William Goodwin's voluntaries (1776), and 1760a, 1767a, 1769a, 1771a, 1774a. No.II.111 is in Trevor ed./Organ.

1776b Twelve voluntarys for the organ or harpsichord... Book II. (Thompson, c.1776)

S.Goodwin

Additional copy in L.

1776c The compleat organist's pocket companion, containing a choice collection of psalm-tunes with their givings-out, and interludes. (Thompson, c.1776)

S.Goodwin

Advertises 1776a (and b?), 1766a, 1767a, 1769a, 1774a and W. Goodwin's voluntaries. Additional copy in O. Some interludes in Trevor ed./Organ.

1780a **Ten select voluntaries** for the organ composed by Orlando Gibbons, Blow, Purcell, Doct^r Green, Doct^r Boyce, Mr.James Martin Smith, organist of Gloucester & J. Stafford Smith. Book III^d. (Longman & Broderip, c. 1780)

C.Gibbons, Blow, Purcell, Greene, Boyce, James, M.Smith, J.S.Smith

Only copy is in L: not listed in BUC. Longer versions of no.I in Rayner ed./Gibbons; no.VII.1 in Trevor ed./Organ (attributed to Boyce).

1780b **Twelve voluntaries and fugues** for the organ or harpsichord with rules for tuning by the celebrated Mr. Handel. Book IV. (Longman & Broderip, c.1780)

(Greene, Robinson, Croft?, Pepusch?, spurious Handel)

Nos.I, II, IV and VIII in Routh ed./Handel; nos.III.iv, VIII.ii, IX.ii, X.ii, XI.ii and XII.ii (the six so-called "fugues faciles") in Chrysander ed./Instrumental. See Smith/Handel, p.254, for details of editions etc.

1780c **Twelve voluntarys** for the organ or harpsichord composed by the late Dr. Greene. (Bland, c.1780)

Boyce or Greene

Reprinted in a different order (from a manuscript copy) in Williams ed./Greene. Some pieces also in other modern editions.

1785a **Ten voluntaries** for the organ or harpsichord. (S.A. & P. Thompson, c.1785)

Boyce

Facsimile in Caldwell ed./Boyce; some pieces also in other modern editions.

1790a A Lesson or voluntary for the harpsichord or organ. (Goodison, c.1790)

Quarles (c.1665-1727)

Edited facsimile in Quarles/Lesson.

1799a Voluntary. Said to be Purcell's. (Goodison, c.1799)

(Barrett)

Reprinted in Squire and Hopkins edd./Purcell.

1812a Musica antiqua. A selection of music of this and other countries, from the commencement of the twelfth to the beginning of the eighteenth century; comprising ...motetts, madrigals, hymns, anthems, songs, lessons & dance tunes some of them now first published...selected and arranged by J.S. Smith. 2 vol. (Preston, 1812)

Blow

As well as choral music etc., it contains a reprint of part of Musick's Hand-maid and a voluntary by "Mr.Blow".

Appendix II

PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

A. Publicly Owned
B. Privately Owned
C. Missing

Index number - Full reference - Date - Original owner or copyist - Named composers - Unnamed composers identified (in brackets) - Comments and editions. (Non-keyboard music in these MSS is generally ignored; arrangements are noted as such except where they are likely to stem from the composer. A date qualified by "c." (circa) indicates that the MS bears no date. Editions are mentioned only in cases where a large portion of the MS has been transcribed, for example in the Croft pieces in Add.31467.)

A. Publicly Owned

Add.5336

British Museum, Additional MS 5336, ff.38-47; c.1780. Owned by Sir John Hawkins.

Croft (composer`s name no longer in the MS)

For contents of this and all listed Add.MSS up to 35040 see Hughes-Hughes/Catalogue, vol.III. Nos.1 and 12 in Trevor ed./Organ; nos.8, 4, 1, 2, 5 and 7 in Simpson ed./Croft (heavily edited).

Add.10337

British Museum, Additional MS 10337; c.1650 - 27 Feb.1656 (i.e. 1657). Owned by Elizabeth Rogers (and previously by Elizabeth Fayre).

Balls arr., Beare (?=La Barre), Johnson, Lupus, Mercure, Porter, Strengthfeild, (Byrd, O.Gibbons)

Published in Sargent ed./Rogers. Originally two separate MSS, but brought together before the index was made.

Add.14335

British Museum, Additional MS 14335; mostly 1768-72. In the hand of S.Webbe the elder and others.

Abel, Arnold, Berg, Camidge, Corelli arr., Garth, Greene, Handel, Honau (?=Honauer), Long, Schmid, Stanley, Walond, Webbe, (Heron, James, Reading)

Most of the anonymous pieces on ff.20v-51v, also those on 65-66 and 77-78, are by Stanley; others are by Walond, Heron and Corelli.

Add.17850

British Museum, Additional MS 17850, ff.31v-32; c.1720. Autograph of William Gorton; later owned by Greene, Boyce and others.

Gorton (three harpsichord pieces)

Add.17852

British Museum, Additional MS 17852, ff.4-10v. Owned (compiled?) by Thomas Brignell in 1712.

(No.2 is by Croft; 3 and 4 by Blow; 5 and 6 are parts of a single voluntary by Barrett. No.7 (f.94) is not a voluntary but the outer parts of the anthem "Deliver us, O Lord" by Batten.)

Add.17853

British Museum, Additional MS 17853, ff.35-52v; c.1694-c.1710.

Barrett, Benson, Clarke, Corelli arr., Croft, R.C. (?=Courteville), Holmes, (Henry, not Daniel) Purcell

Add.22099

British Museum, Additional MS 22099; c.1704-c.1707.

Barrett, Bassano, Blow, Lord Byron, Blarke, Corelli arr., Courteville, Croft, Diesener, Dieupart, "Bap" (=Draghi), J.Eccles, "O.Gibbons" (really Bull), Goodson arr., "Hall" (really Courteville and Croft), Heyden, Jukes, Locke, Nicola (Matteis), H.Purcell, Weldon, (Lully arr., Paisible arr.)

Add.24313

British Museum, Additional MS 24313; c.1695.

M.A.Rossi, (H.Purcell?)

See Rose/Purcell, and above, Chapter VI, for a discussion of the Rossi/Purcell piece.

Add.31403

British Museum, Additional MS 31403, ff.31v-69; c.1695.

Blow, Corelli arr., Forcer, Locke, (H.Purcell)

The early part of this MS (ff.1-31) is in a much earlier hand and includes much earlier pieces: one is dated 1633.

Add.31446

British Museum, Additional MS 31446; 1698. Compiled by George Holmes at Durham (see printed note on inside cover).

Blow, H.Purcell, (C.Gibbons, M.A.Rossi)

Not listed as a Gibbons source in Rayner ed./Gibbons, nor for some of the Blow pieces in the 1st edition of Shaw ed. /Blow.

Add.31465

British Museum, Additional MS 31465; c.1704. Compiled by Nicholas Harrison.

Blow, Clarke, Croft, Hart, Holmes, Locke, H.Purcell, (Barrett, Bryne, Verdier)

Add.31467

British Museum, Additional MS 31467; 1735. Compiled by John Barker.

(G.?) Bononcini, Clarke, Croft, Dean, Greene, Handel, Loeillet, Pepusch, Weldon, (Blow?, H.Purcell, Snow)

Many of the earlier pieces may be copied from Fitz.52.B.7. Almost all the Croft pieces are in Maitland ed./Contemporaries; many of the Greene pieces are unpublished. All the Handel pieces are in contemporary editions.

Add.31468

British Museum, Additional MS 31468; c.1700. Compiled by William Davis.

Blow, Croft, Davis, C.Gibbons, H.Purcell

Add.31577

British Museum, Additional MS 31577; c.1735? Owned by "Guglielmus Bogdani" and William Gostling.

Babell, Handel, Loeillet, Mancini, Pepusch

All the Handel pieces are in contemporary editions.

Add.31814

British Museum, Additional MS 31814, ff.85-106; c.1790. Mostly in the hand of R.J.S. Stevens.

Blow, Corelli arr., Croft, Geminiani, Hine, James, Paradisi, Rameau, D.Scarlatti, Stanley

Important chiefly for the last five pieces, for organ; all five are also in Rf.31.

Add.32161

British Museum, Additional MS 32161, ff.84v-86; c.1725?

Philip Hart (autograph?)

Bound with some unrelated Italian music written in a later hand.

Add.34609

British Museum, Additional MS 34609, ff.6-17; c.1759.

Felton, Paisible of Southampton, H.Purcell (?), Handel

Remainder all anonymous or unauthentic arrangements.

Add.34695

British Museum, Additional MS 34695; c.1705. Compiled by Nicholas Harrison (cf. Add.31465).

Blow, A.B. (?=Bryne), Courteville, C.Gibbons, Hart, Nichola (Matteis), H.Purcell, (Croft, O.Gibbons)

Many of the pieces are in Add.31446, with similar texts and ascriptions, and may have been copied from this MS.

Add.35040

British Museum, Additional MS 35040; c.1773.

Arnold, Corelli arr., Fisher arr., Handel, Heron, James, Lampi, Pepusch, D.Scarlatti, Stanley, Walond

Pieces by Heron, Stanley and Walond are all from their published organ music.

Add.38188

British Museum, Additional MS 38188; c.1740.

Babell, Corelli arr., Handel, Hart, Hasse arr.

For a brief description of this and all subsequent Add. MSS listed, see Willetts/Handlist.

Add.39569

British Museum, Additional MS 39569; 1702. Compiled by William Babell.

Barrett, Blankenburg, Chambonnières, Charpentier, Dieupart, Fiocco, Forcer, Gillier, Hamel, King, Lebègue, Baptist (Lully) arr., Marais, Georg Muffat, Paisible, Pepusch, H.Purcell, Tollett, Ziani, (Blow, Clarke, G.B.Draghi, J.Eccles, La Croix, Morgan, D. Purcell, Snow)

An exceptionally large MS, probably designed by Babell as a replacement for Ten.1508. The titles and much of the music are French, but a large number of pieces are anonymous.

Add.39957

British Museum, Additional MS 39957; 1744. Compiled by Charles Burney.

J.C. Smith (copied from part of 1737a)

Add.40139

British Museum, Additional MS 40139; c.1720.

Croft arr., Handel arr., Pepusch, Spencer, (J.Eccles, Mancini arr., H.Purcell arr.)

Add.41205

British Museum, Additional MS 41205; c.1715. Formerly owned by W.A.Barrett; said (f.1i) to be in the hand of John Barrett, but this is doubtful.

Blow, Lord Byron, Corelli arr., M.A.Bononcini arr., J.Eccles, Finger, Pepusch, H.Purcell, Wood, (Barrett, King, Loeillet, Snow)

Almost all the music in the first half of the MS (ff.1-25) is published in Pauer ed./Composers.

Add.47846

British Museum, Additional MS 47846, ff.1-12; c.1705.

Clarke, (Barrett, Lord Byron, Dieupart, H.Purcell)

Add.52363

British Museum, Additional MS 52363; 1704. Owned by Elizabeth Batt.

Barrett, Blow, Lord Byron, Clarke, Croft, Dieupart, Baptist (Draghi), Forcer, Courteville, King, Piggott, H.Purcell, Weldon, White, (La Croix, J.Eccles, Lully arr., Paisible)

A very fine, large MS, acquired 1964. See Appendix III for list of contents.

Bod.c.93

Bodleian Library, MS Mus.Sch.c.93, ff.61-66v; c.1690.

(Blow)

All published in Shaw ed./Blow.

Bod.d.219

Bodleian Library, MS Mus.Sch.d.219; c.1670.

Banister, Bryne, Locke

Bod.d.225

Bodleian Library, MS Mus.Sch.d.225; 1718-1720. Owned by Susanna Child.

anons. only (but one piece is in 1730c and one in Add.40139).

Bod.d.262

Bodleian Library, MS Mus.Sch.d.262; c.1740. Owned by Elizabeth Child and apparently in the hand of Greene.

anons. only (some by Greene?)

Bod.e.397

Bodleian Library, MS Mus.Sch.e.397; "begun by Miss Millan 10 Aug 1747" (but date of compilation may be earlier). Also owned by Elizabeth Southwell.

Mr.A., Lord Byron, Clarke, Du Pair (=Dieupart), Morgan (really Clarke), H.Purcell, (Barrett, Courteville, J.Eccles, La Croix, Lully arr., Paisible)

Bod.e.399

Bodleian Library, MS Mus.Sch.e.399. Owned by Elizabeth Nodes, 8 Aug. 1681; Beetsy Nodes, 10 March 1682.

(Blow)

Bod.f.576

Bodleian Library, MS Mus.Sch.f.576; c.1700.

(Lully arr.; also contains a setting of "Lilli-burlero", and two pieces (reverse, pp.16 and 46) in Add.52363 (pp.80 and 90).)

Bruss.15418

Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, MS 15418; c.1700-c.1710. Owned by Elizabeth Edgeworth.

Fischer, Froberger, Reutter, (Blow)

See Dart/Edgeworth for a description of this MS.

Ch.Ch.15

Oxford, Christ Church, Music MS 15, ff.89-85; c.1670.

C.Gibbons, (O.Gibbons, Price)

Ch.Ch.46

Oxford, Christ Church, Music MS 46, ff.74-59; c.1700.

Barrett, Clarke, R.K. (=King), Piggott, H.Purcell, (J.Eccles, Lully arr.)

Ch.Ch.47

Oxford, Christ Church, Music MS 47, pp.25-66; c.1675.

Blow, C.Gibbons, O.Gibbons, Hingston

Ch.Ch.92

Oxford, Christ Church, Music MS 92; c.1650.

C.Gibbons arr., T.Holmes

Ch.Ch.378

Oxford, Christ Church, Music MS 378; c.1645.

La Barre, (O.Gibbons)

Not listed in Arkwright/Christ Church as a source of two dance movements by La Barre.

Ch.Ch.1003

Oxford, Christ Church, Music MS 1003; c.1630-c.1685. Owned by Morgan, later probably by Richard Goodson.

Aldrich, Banister, Blow, Bull, C.Gibbons, O.Gibbons, Goodson?, W.Lawes, Philips, Roberts, Smith, Sweelinck, (Frescobaldi, Purcell)

Ff.1-11 copied from Ch.Ch.1113, c.1630 (see Cooper/Suite for evidence). Most of the remainder compiled between c.1660 and c.1675.

Ch.Ch.1142

Oxford, Christ Church, Music MS 1142(A), ff.1-20, 40-41v; c.1650 and c.1710. Second section is autograph of Henry Thornowitz.

C.Gibbons, O.Gibbons, Thornowitz

Ch.Ch.1176

Oxford, Christ Church, Music MS 1176; c.1685.

Blow, C.Gibbons, O.Gibbons, Hingston, H.P.(=Purcell), (Price)

Most of the music appears to have been copied from Ch.Ch. 47.

Ch.Ch.1177

Oxford, Christ Church, Music MS 1177; c.1660-c.1690. Owned by Richard Goodson.

Blow, Bryne, Diesener, Batis (=Draghi), Gibbs, La Barre, Locke, Lowe, Portman, Purcell, Roberts

In several hands, some clearly much later than others.

Ch.Ch.1179

Oxford, Christ Church, Music MS 1179; c.1670-1690. Owned by George Lluellyn in 1690.

Blow, Bull, C.Gibbons, H.Purcell, (Lebègue)

Ch.Ch.1236

Oxford, Christ Church, Music MS 1236; c.1655.

Bare (?=La Barre), Bryne, Chambonnières, M.Coleman, Dufault, Ellis, J.Ferabosco, La Barre, Loosemore, Mercure, None (?=Stephen Nau or Noe), R.Price, Roberts, Rogers, Tresure, (W.Lawes)

Possibly owned by William Ellis, it contains 90 short harpsichord movements, written in several hands.

Drex.5611

New York Public Library, Drexel MS 5611; c.1655-c.1670. Mostly compiled by Thomas Heardson (?).

Bryne, Bull (spurious), Cobb, Cosyn, Facy, C.Gibbons, O.Gibbons, Gibbs, Heardson, La Barre, W.Lawes?, Locke, Mercure, Philips, Roberts, Rogers, Tomkins, Tresure

Pp.1-139 possibly compiled in 1657. See Appendix III for list of contents.

Dul.92a

London, Dulwich College, Reading MSS 92a (formerly MS I), pp.1-93, 213-268; c.1732. John Reading autograph.

Barrett, Blow, Croft, Froud, Greene, James, Reading, Sedo, Stanley.

Dul.92b

London, Dulwich College, Reading MSS 92b (formerly MS II), pp.1-38, 42-118; c.1733. John Reading autograph.

Barrett, Blow, Croft, Reading, Stanley, (Sedo?)

Formerly also contained voluntaries by Greene.

Dul.92d

London, Dulwich College, Reading MSS 92d (formerly MS IV), pp.34-143, 39(bis)-61(bis); c.1734. John Reading autograph.

Babell, Barrett, Blow, Coles, Croft, Greene, Handel, James, Kerll, King, Reading, Stanley

Eg.2959

British Museum, Egerton MS 2959; c.1700. Supposedly (but not actually) in the hand of Croft.

Blow, Croft, Froberger, King, H.Purcell

All the Croft pieces, the King piece and all the Blow harpsichord pieces are in Maitland ed./Contemporaries; the other Blow pieces are in Shaw ed./Blow and the Purcell pieces are in Ferguson ed./Purcell. Only the four Froberger pieces (apparently unique) are unpublished.

Eg.2970

British Museum, Egerton MS 2970; c.1750.

Felton, Handel arr., Hasse arr., Martini, Stanley,

Sullivan arr.

Almost all pieces are arrangements.

Fitz.24.F.18

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 24.F.18 (M & M 57), reverse end; c.1735.

Handel (and anons.)

See Maitland and Mann/Fitzwilliam for a description of this and other Fitzwilliam MSS acquired before 1893.

Fitz.30.F.21

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 30.F.21 (M & M 106); c. 1740-1793. Owned by Lord Fitzwilliam.

Favolo, Lord Fitzwilliam, Frescobaldi, Geminiani, Kelway, Padre Martini, Paradies, T.Roseingrave, D. Scarlatti

A collection of miscellanea in several hands on several types of paper, now bound into a single volume.

Fitz.30.H.10

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 30.H.10 (M & M 260), ff.1-21; c.1710.

Handel (autograph)

Includes some harpsichord music not published in Handel's lifetime.

Fitz.30.H.11

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 30.H.11 (M & M 261), pp. 31-64; c.1710-c.1740.

Handel (autograph)

Includes some harpsichord music not published in Handel's lifetime.

Fitz.30.H.13

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 30.H.13 (M & M 263), pp.1-45; c.1715-c.1735.

Handel (autograph)

Includes some harpsichord music not published in Handel's lifetime.

Fitz.32.G.18

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 32.G.18 (M & M 161), ff. 58-65; c.1770.

Nares (seven organ pieces)

Fitz.52.B.6

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 52.B.6; 23 Feb.1702 and later.

"B", Courteville, Froberger, Pasquini, Ravenscroft, (Blow, Scherer)

This and the following MS, formerly owned by W.H. Cummings, were bought by the Museum in 1917.

Fitz.52.B.7

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 52.B.7; c.1720.

Barrett, Blow, Clarke, Croft, O.Gibbons, H.Purcell, (Babell, Handel, King, Paisible, Snow, Verdier)

Many pieces also found, with similar texts, in Rés.1186 bis I, from which they may have been copied.

Fitz.52.C.11*

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 52.C.11* ; c.1750-c.1770.

Clarke, Greene, Hasse, R.Lowe, (Arne arr., Corelli arr., Handel arr., Prelleur, Stanley, Thorley) and later composers.

In two halves, dividing between ff.37 and 38: the first is for organ and is entirely anonymous; the second contains harpsichord music and arrangements. Ff.1-18v were originally separate and are probably a Thorley autograph.

Gresh.V.2.36

Guildhall Library, Gresham Music Library MS V.2.36; 1753, 1765 etc. Owned by Jonathan Battishill and J. Walkden.

Greene

See Johnstone/Greene, vol.ii, for list of contents.

Hirsch III.472

British Museum, printed book Hirsch III.472, pp.61-78; c.1707.

H. Purcell

Probably not compiled before 1706 as one of the titles is (wrongly), "Overture in Camilla".

Inglis 94

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Inglis 94 (=Cat. no.3343); c.1695. Owned by Essex Deane.

Blow, Baptist (Draghi), Hart, Lully arr., H.Purcell

Full description and list of contents (with incipits) in Beechey/Source.

K.1.c.5

British Museum, printed book K.1.c.5, pp.63-74; c.1700.

H.Purcell, (Morgan?)

MC.1.5

Cardiff Public Library, Mackworth Collection, M.C.1.5, reverse, ff.87-50; c.1770.

Burgess arr., Handel arr., Humphreys, Stanley arr.

MC.1.39(j)

Cardiff Public Library, Mackworth Collection, M.C.1.39(j), reverse, ff.60-32; c.1715.

Blow, Clarke, Corelli arr., Courteville, Baptist (?=Draghi), King, H.Purcell, (Keller)

List of contents (with incipits) in Boyd/Mackworth.

M21 M185

Washington, Library of Congress, M 21 M 185; c.1705.

Draghi, Fontana, Forcer

For description of contents (with musical example) see Apel/Geschichte, pp.672, 733.

*MN

New York Public Library, MS Music Reserve *MN; c.1740.

Greene (five pieces: two unique)

Nanki N-3/35

Tokyo, Nanki Music Library, MS N-3/35 (formerly MS r.1); c.1690-c.1720. Owned and partly compiled by John Gostling, then owned by William Croft; given to William Raylton (31 March 1700), who made additions to it. Later acquired by W.H. Cummings.

Blow, Clarke, Croft, H.Purcell (fragment)

Mainly harpsichord music, much of which is anonymous; also organ music, songs and miscellaneous pieces, including music by O.Gibbons and Handel. See Nanki Catalogue, p.4, McLean/Japan, McLean ed./Blow and Sotheby/Cummings (lot 1399) for other pieces of information on this MS.

Nanki N-4/31

Tokyo, Nanki Music Library, MS N-4/31 (formerly G.11.2); 1737.

John Reading (autograph)

Similar to the Dulwich MSS, it was auctioned at Cummings's death as part of lot 1418 (see Sotheby/Cummings); see also MGG, xi, col.77.

RCM 667

Royal College of Music, MS 667; c.1870.

(Croft)

Contains 10 (originally 12) voluntaries copied from Add. 5336, with Croft's name added in pencil.

RCM 734

Royal College of Music, MS 734; c.1705.

(Clarke)

Contains 14 anonymous harpsichord pieces, 9 of which (all in F minor) are from Clarke`s music to All for the Better; some of these were published in 1702a.

RCM 1018

Royal College of Music, MS 1018; c.1770.

J.C. Smith

RCM 1057

Royal College of Music, MS 1057, ff.78-85; 1763.

Greene, T.Roseingrave

The Roseingrave pieces are from 1728c (nos.III and XIII).

RCM 1120

Royal College of Music, MS 1120; c.1760.

Greene, D.Scarlatti

Greene pieces are copied from 1750b.

RCM 2093

Royal College of Music, MS 2093; c.1660-c.1680.

Blow, Bull, Byrd, Child, Farinelli, Maynard, Rogers.

Mostly anonymous voluntaries composed in the first half of the 17th century. Three pieces ("Faranellas Ground", "Dr.Blow`s Voluntary" and a "Trumpet Aire") were copied later than the rest, but by the same scribe.

RCO

Royal College of Organists, manuscript (no shelf-mark); c.1750.

Corelli arr., Gladwin, Goodwin, Greene, Hall, Handel, James, Larkin, Monro, Pepusch, Prelleur, T.Roseingrave, Stanley, James Worgan, (Reading, Sedo?, Zipoli)

Full description in Johnstone/Voluntaries.

R.d.39

Glasgow University, Euing Music Library, MS R.d.39, ff. 30v-31; c.1725. Owned by Hon. Edward Finch.

Luly (?=Loeillet)

R.d.54

Glasgow University, Euing Music Library, MS R.d.54; c.1725.

Blow, Handel, Mancini arr., Pepusch, H.Purcell, Weldon

Purcell pieces are from 1696a; one Weldon piece is from 1704b.

Rés.1185

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds du Conservatoire, MS Réserve 1185, pp.1, 29-32, 124, 171-4, 181-2, 301, 307-348 (end); 1652. Compiled by Benjamin Cosyn.

Bare (?=La Barre), Bull, Cosyn, O.Gibbons, W.Lawes, W.Young

The sections not compiled by Cosyn are in an earlier hand, allegedly that of Bull (though this is disputed), and contain almost exclusively music known to be by Bull; the only exception to this is pp.302-7, in a third hand and containing a piece by Gibbons. For a fuller, though incomplete, description of this MS, see Pereyra/Virginal(6), (7). Lawes pieces are in Lefkowitz ed./Masques.

Rés.1186 bis I

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds du Conservatoire, MS Réserve 1186 bis, Pt.I; c.1690-c.1705

Blow, Farinelli, O.Gibbons, (R.?) Price, (Bull, Croft, King, H.Purcell, Snow, Verdier)

First five pieces are of a much earlier date than the rest and appear to have been copied somewhat earlier. See Appendix III for list of contents.

Rf.31

Manchester, Henry Watson Music Library, BR.m.7105.Rf.31; 1728 (and later). John Reading autograph.

Organ music: Barrett, Blow, Croft, Froud, Greene, Hine, Handel arr., James, Reading, Robinson, Sedo, Stanley; harpsichord music: G.Bononcini arr., Carey arr., Clarke, Dieupart arr., Galliard arr., Grano arr., Handel arr., Mancini arr., Monro arr., Pepusch arr., Reading, Weedeman arr., Woodcock arr.

A very large MS of over 520 pages: the organ music is on pp.156-242, 277-369 and 400-412.

R.M.18.b.4

British Museum, Royal Music Library, R.M.18.b.4; c.1735. Owned by Charles Jennens.

Handel

One of the "Aylesford" MSS, it contains a few pieces unknown elsewhere; these, together with similar pieces from the three following MSS, are published in Squire and Maitland edd./Handel. For details of these and other MSS in the Royal Music Library, see Squire/Kings.

R.M.18.b.8

British Museum, Royal Music Library, R.M.18.b.8; c.1740.
Owned by Charles Jennens.

Handel

Similar to the above, but contains a much larger number of unica, copied in several hands.

R.M.19.a.3

British Museum, Royal Music Library, R.M.19.a.3; c.1745.
Owned by Charles Jennens.

Handel

Similar to the above; all in one hand.

R.M.19.a.4

British Museum, Royal Music Library, R.M.19.a.4; c.1745.
Owned by Charles Jennens.

Handel

Similar to the above.

R.M.20.e.5

British Museum, Royal Music Library, R.M.20.e.5, f.12v; c.1735.

Handel (autograph)

Contains an Air in A (published in Best ed./Handel III).

R.M.20.g.13

British Museum, Royal Music Library, R.M.20.g.13; c.1716-c.1750.

Handel (autograph)

Contains music from Handel`s published harpsichord sets.

R.M.20.g.14

British Museum, Royal Music Library, R.M.20.g.14; c.1710-c.1751.

Handel (autograph)

Includes autographs of several keyboard pieces, including the Six Fugues (1735c).

R.M.21.d.8

British Museum, Royal Music Library, R.M.21.d.8, ff.65-66; 1664.

Benjamin Rogers (autograph)

Contains a voluntary published in Jeans ed./Rogers and Rastall ed./Rogers.

Rowe 121

Cambridge, King`s College, Rowe Music Library, MS 121; c.1730.

Babell, Corelli arr., Handel, Pepusch, T.Roseingrave

Roseingrave pieces are a copy of 1728b.

Rowe 251

Cambridge, King`s College, Rowe Music Library, MS 251; c.1755. Owned by E. Miller.

Corelli arr., Felton, Geminiani, Greene, Handel arr., "Lully" (=Loeillet), Lulman, Stanley, (Walond)

Ten.752

Tenbury, St.Michael`s College, MS 752; c.1760.

Arne arr., Carbonelli, Corelli arr., Cuzzoni arr., Geminiani arr., Greene, Barnabas (not Bartholomew) Gunn, Handel arr., Hasse arr., Howard arr., Humphries, Lampe arr., Martini arr.

List of contents in Fellowes/Tenbury.

Ten.784

Tenbury, St.Michael`s College, MS 784, pp.1-50, 74-102; c.1770.

Clark (?=Jeremiah Clarke the younger), Festing, Geminiani arr., Hasse arr., Le Chase arr., Leclair arr., Martini arr., Pescetti, (J.C.) Smith

List of contents in Fellowes/Tenbury; Smith piece from 1732b (no.VI.iv).

Ten.1508

Tenbury, St.Michael`s College, MS 1508; 1701. Compiled by William Babell.

Barrett, Lord Byron, Chambonnières, Clarke, Colasse, Dieupart, J.Eccles, S.Eccles, Finger, Forcer, Hamel, Keller, King, La Croix, Lebègue, Louisi, Lully arr., Morgan, Ossu, D.Purcell, H.Purcell, Sourdin, Stephani (=Steffani), Valois

Compare Add.39569. Acquired too late for inclusion in Fellowes/Tenbury; for list of contents see Appendix III.

Wimb.P10

Wimborne Minster Library, MS, no shelf-mark (sometimes listed as P10), reverse end, ff.1v-5; 1670. Owned by D.S.

Frescobaldi, (Christopher) Gibbons, Portman

Organ book containing two voluntaries---for single organ by Gibbons and double organ by Portman.

B. Privately Owned

Bunbury

Library of Mr.Roger Lancelyn Green, Cheshire, MS; c.1645. Originally owned by Priscilla Bunbury.

Byrd, O.Gibbons, Robert Hall, Jewett

See Boston/Bunbury for description, list of contents and concordances. Some of the music is in Boston ed./Bunbury.

Jeans 6

Lady Jeans Collection, MS 6; c.1760?

Pepusch, Robinson etc.

Contains organ music.

Legh

Lord Malmesbury Collection: MS dated 1717-18. Originally owned by Elizabeth Legh.

Handel

The earliest dated source of certain of Handel's keyboard pieces.

Lowe

One, or possibly two, MSS in private hands, compiled by Edward Lowe. One is listed as "IB" in Hendrie ed./Gibbons, which states that the owner lives in Oxford; Dr.Hendrie is, however, unable to divulge any information about the identity of the owner (whose initials may not even be I. B.) and has only seen a facsimile of one page of the MS, bearing a corant by La Barre or Tresure. This MS is presumably the same as one also compiled by Edward Lowe and also in private hands, formerly in the library at Rydal Hall, Westmorland (the chances of there being two

MSS in private hands both known to have been compiled by the same person seem remote). This one, dating from 1652, is mentioned in Scholes/Puritans and is described briefly in The Flemings at Oxford, ed. J.R. Magrath (Oxford Historical Society, xliv), Oxford, 1904, p.541. Magrath gives the titles of six pieces in the MS ("Sacke & Sugar", "Duke of Richmonds gigg", "The Water Man", "Psalm tunes", "Sarabande" and "A Voluntarye") but no composers.

McLean

MS "ex libris E.F. Rimbault", now owned by Professor Hugh McLean; c.1725.

Greene

Smith

MS in private hands in the U.S.A., formerly owned by A.H. Mann. At one time (1788) in the hands of J.Stafford Smith.

Boyce or Greene

For details of this MS, and an edition, see Williams ed./Greene.

C. Missing Manuscripts

Cumm.22: Sotheby/Cummings, lot 22; c.1790. Mostly copied by Stafford Smith. Formerly owned by Dr.Cummings. Consists of anthems, songs, harpsichord music etc. Composers listed are Blaithwaite, G.Holmes, Courteville, Scarlatti, Frescobaldi, Corelli, Stafford Smith; but not all are from the harpsichord section.

Cumm.488 Sotheby/Cummings, lot 488; c.1665. Formerly owned by Dr.Cummings.

Aylewards, Byrd, Cobb, C.Gibbons, O.Gibbons, Gibbs, W.Lawes, Locke, Morley, Price, Tresure etc.

Described in West/Organ, this MS was brought to Japan at Cummings's death; if it re-emerges it will probably be incorporated in the Nanki Music Library.

Appendix III

CONTENTS OF CERTAIN MANUSCRIPTS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

Abbreviations:

A	- Almand	M	- Minuet
C	- Corant	P	- Prelude
G	- Gavott	S	- Saraband
J	- Jigg		

(i) Add.52363

Page	Title	Key[1]	Composer[2]
1	Corant	e	anon
2-5	A-C-S-J	C	anon
6 7	St. Albans	F	anon
7-8	Jigg	F	anon
8-12	A-C-Air	C	Courteville
12-13	Princess	g	anon
13-14	Jigg	g	anon
14-18	S-A-Air-C-J	d	Barrett
19-21	Cibell-Pastie	G	King
21-24	A-C-M	F	Weldon
24-25	Cibell	D	Clarke
26-28	A-C-S	G	Courteville
28-29	Trumpet tune	D	Forcer
29-30	Shore's trumpet	D	(Clarke - Add.22099)
30-31	The Maggot	D	(Lord Byron - Bod.e.397)
31-34	C-S-J	a	Blow
35	Scotch tune	F	Lord Byron
35-36	Minuet: Room for Cuckolds	F	anon
36-40	A-C-Air-M	d	Forcer
40-41	Old Cybell	a	(Lully - in Atys)
42-43	Almand	F	anon
43	Minuet	F	Clarke
44	Serenade	D	Clarke
44-45	March Round O	D	(Clarke - 1700a)

1 Lower-case letters denote minor keys.

2 Brackets indicate that the composer is not named in the MS; in such cases another source, which does name the composer, is usually given in this list.

Page	Title	Key	Composer
45-48	A-M	g	Blow
48-49	Trumpet new Cybell	C	H. Purcell
50	Trumpet Minuet	C	Clarke
51-54	P-A-S	Bb	Baptist (Draghi)
55	[The Pilgrim]	G	(Barrett)
56-58	untitled-untitled	a	Baptist (Draghi)
58-60	The Czar Jigg	g	(J. Eccles - Add.41205)
60	Minuet	g	anon
61-64	[S-A-G]	b	Dieupart
65-66	M-J	d	Blow
67-70	[A-M]	g	Courteville
70-71	St. Catherine	A	Barrett
71-73	[Almand]	g	anon
73-74	Minuet	A	Clarke
74-75	Almand	d	anon
75-76	Hedge Lane	G	anon
76-77	Complaint	e	Baptist (Draghi)
78	The Trip	D	anon
79-80	Almand	g	anon
80-81	Rigadoon	C	anon (also in Bod.f.576)
81-83	Almand	c	Clarke
83	Paspie	G	(Paisible)
83-86	A-G-M	c	Dieupart
87	March	D	Clarke
88	untitled	g	anon
89	March	D	Croft
90	Trumpet tune	D	Croft
90-94	Ground	d	anon
94-95	Scotch tune-[Air-J]	F	Croft
96-97	A-J	d	anon
98-100	A-C-S-Boree	C	Blow
100	Prelude	G	anon
101	Prelude (same as above)	G	anon
101-102	Almand	G	(Blow - Add.31403)
103	Minuet	G	anon
103	Scotch tune	Eb	Clarke
104	untitled-A-Boree	F	anon
105	Corant	C	anon
106	Maggot	C	anon
107-109	Ground [Old Simon the King]	C	anon (also in 1689a)
110-115	A-C-S-G-M-J	A	Dieupart

Page	Title	Key	Composer
116-119	Chacone-J	g	H. Purcell
120-124	P-A-C-S	C	H. Purcell
124	Minuet [belongs to p.64]	b	Dieupart
125-126	Jigg	g	anon
126	untitled	c	anon
127-128	P-A-C-S	G	H. Purcell
129-131	Paspie-J	D	Dieupart
131-134	P-A-C-S	a	H. Purcell
134-135	March-Trumpet tune	C	H. Purcell
136-139	A-C-Hornpipe	d	H. Purcell
139-140	Minuet	C	anon
140-141	G-M	e	Dieupart
142-146	P-A-C	G	H. Purcell
146-148	Ground	a	Barrett
148-151	A-S-J	d	(Blow - Ch.Ch.1177)
152-154	P-A-S	C	anon
155	untitled	d	La Croix
155	untitled	d	White
156-158	P-A-Hornpipe	D	H. Purcell
159-160	A-untitled	d	anon
161-164	P-A-C-M	F	H. Purcell
165	Corant	e	Dieupart
166-168	Overture	g	Baptist (Lully)
168-170	A-C-S	A	Barrett
	"The catherine is to be play'd next" (see p.70)		
170-173	A-S-C-untitled	c	Croft
174-177	A-C-M	d	Blow
177-182	P-A-C-S-J	C	Piggott
182-183	Fair Dorinda	C	anon
183-185	Song (with words)	D	anon
186-188	Overture in Timon	d	H. Purcell
188-190	Overture Indian Queen	c	(H. Purcell) incomplete

(11) Drex.5611

1	Almand	G	Heardson
2	Almand	G	Heardson
3	Almand	G	Roberts
4-5	Almand	G	Roberts

Page	Title	Key	Composer
6-7	Voluntary	D	Facy
8-9	Ave maris stella	d	Facy
11	Almand	D	Roberts
12	Almand	D	Heardson
13	Corant	D	Tresure
14	Corant	D	Tresure
15-16	Galliard	D	Facy
17	1 Toy	d	Facy
18	2 Toy	d	Facy
20-21	Lesson & hand	d	Facy
23-24	A-C	d	Heardson
25	Almand and division	d	Roberts
26-28	A-S	d	Roberts
30-31	Corant	d	Roberts
32-33	Corant	d	Roberts
34-35	Corant	d	Roberts
39-41	Almand and division	a	Roberts
42	Almand	A	Roberts
43-44	A-C	a	Heardson
45	Toy	a	Heardson
46-47	First [Almand]	a	Facy
48-49	2nd [Almand]	a	Facy
50-51	Gerrards tune	a	Heardson
52-57	3rd [Corant]	a	Facy
58-60	A-C-S	a	Rogers
62-63	Lesson	c	Facy
64-65	A-C	C	Heardson
66-67	untitled	a	C. Gibbons
69	Corant	F	Heardson
70	Corant	F	O. Gibbons (really La Barre)
72-73	Corant	d	Mercure
74	Almand	a	Mercure
75-77	A-C-S	a	Mercure
78	Corant	d	O. Gibbons (really Tresure or La Barre)
79	Corant	d	O. Gibbons (spurious)
80	Corant	d	O. Gibbons (")
81	Almand	d	Cobb
82-83	A-C	d	Cobb
84	Almand	a	Cobb
85-87	A-C	a	Cobb
90-91	Voluntary	d	Tomkins
92-93	Voluntary	a	Tomkins

Page	Title	Key	Composer
94	Almand (really a Corant)	a	Tresure
95	Corant	a	Tresure
96-97	Corant and division	a	Tresure
98	Corant	a	Tresure
99	Corant	a	Tresure
100-101	Corant	a	Gibbs
102	Almand	d	Tresure
103	Corant	d	La Barre
104-105	Corant	G	Tresure
106-107	untitled	a	Bull (really O. Gibbons)
108-109	Queen's Command	C	Bull (" ")
110-112	Saraband	C	O. Gibbons (really Portman)
113	Corant	G	Tresure
114-115	For the Hand	E	Facy
116-117	For the Hand	e	Heardson
118-123	blank (in index, two corants by Tresure)		
124-125	Corant	G	Cosyn
127-129	Corant	g	Lawes or Cosyn
130-138	Ground	a	Philips
139-141	[A]-C-S	D	Locke
142-144	A-C-S	D	Bryne
144-145	Almand	D	Bryne
148-152	A-C-S	a	Bryne
155-159	A-C-S	d	Bryne

(iii) Rés.1186 bis I

(Many pieces in this MS appear also in Add.31467 or Fitz. 52.B.7, as indicated below.)

1	Preludium	G	(Bull)
3	untitled	F	anon
4	[Fantasia]	d	(O. Gibbons)
5	Prelude	G	O. Gibbons (in 52.B.7)
10	Ground	d	(R?) Price
22	[Ground]	a	(Snow - 1689a; also anon in 52.B.7 and 31467)
23	Old Symon the King	C	anon
25	March	C	anon
26	The old man's wish	C	anon

Page	Title	Key	Composer
27	Chaconne French lesson	C	anon
27	Ground	F	anon
28	Chaconne	C	(Verdier; in 52.B.7)
28	Gavott	C	anon
30	The Spanish Follye	d	anon
f.31v	Ground	G	anon
33v	Ground	d	Farinelli
36r	Upon the Bells	C	anon
37r	Hunting Almand	G	(Blow - Add.31403)
37v	Corant	G	(Blow - Add.31465)
37v	Saraband	G	(Blow - Add.31465)
38r	Gavott	G	(Blow - Add.31403)
38v	[Morlake`s Ground]	G	Blow
40r	Almand	F	(Blow - Inglis 94)
40v	[Saraband]	F	anon
41r	Ground	c	(Croft; in 52.B.7 and 31467)
42r	untitled	d	anon
42v	Almand	e	anon (in 52.B.7)
43r	Saraband	d	(Croft; in 52.B.7)
43v	Almand	g	(Blow - 1700b; also in 52.B.7)
44r	Almand	a	(Purcell - 1696a; also in 52.B.7)
44v	Corant	a	(Purcell - 1696a; also in 52.B.7)
44v	[Ground]	a	anon (in 52.B.7)
45v	Almand	A	(King - Eg.2959; also in 52.B.7)
46r	(Air)	A	(Croft - 52.B.7)
46v	Saraband	A	(Croft - 31467)
47r	Almand	G	(Croft - 52.B.7)
47v	Ground	G	(Croft - 52.B.7 and 31467)
49v	Almand	d	(Croft - 52.B.7)
50r	Corant	d	(Croft - 52.B.7)
51r	Corant	e	anon (in 52.B.7)
51v	Gavott	e	(Croft; in 52.B.7 and 31467)
52r	Corant	E	(Croft - 52.B.7 and 31467)
52v	Saraband	E	(Croft - 52.B.7 and 31467)
52v	Jigg	E	(Croft - 52.B.7)
53v	Almand	F	anon (in 52.B.7)
54r	Corant	F	anon (in 52.B.7)
54v	Saraband	F	anon (in 52.B.7)
54v	Chacone (incomplete)	a	(Croft - 52.B.7)

(iv) Ten.1508

(Many pieces in this MS reappear in Babell`s other MS---Add. 39569 (dated 1702)---as indicated below. Nearly all the titles are in French, and some of the composers are named only in the index.)

Folio	Title	Key	Composer
1-2	(missing)		
3r	Courante (incomplete)	C	Chambonnières
3r	Sarabande	C	anon (in 39569)
3v-4r	Canaries	C	anon (")
4v-5r	Gavotte and Double	C	Le Bègue
5v	Prelude	a	H. Purcell
6r	Courante	a	Ossu
6v	Sarabande	a	Ossu
6v-7r	Courante	a	Valois
7v-8r	Passacaille	a	Louis1
8v-9r	Gavotte and Double	a	Hamel
9v-10r	Gigue	a	anon
10v-11r	Prelude	D	Keller
11v-12r	Allemande	D	Keller
12v	Air Lent [Serenade]	D	Clarke (in 39569)
13r-14r	Ouverture de Thetis	D	Colasse
14v-15r	Rondeau Marche [Prince of Denmark]	D	Clarke (in 39569)
15v	Scotch tune Mr. Shore`s	D	(Clarke - Add.22099)
15v-16r	Gigue	D	Lord Byron
16v	Gigue	D	Keller
17r	Prelude	C	Keller
17v	Allemande	C	Keller
18r	Trumpet tune	C	H. Purcell
18v-19r	Imitation de la descente de Cybelle	C	H. Purcell (in 39569)
19v-21r	Trumpet tune	C	Keller
21v	Prelude	e	King (or Draghi - 1707a; also in 39569)
22r	Sarabande	e	King (in 39569)
22v-23r	Allemande	e	King (")
23v-24r	Gavotte	e	Dieupart (in 39569)
24v-26r	Chaconne	e	Forcer
26v-27r	Gigue	e	King (in 39569)

Folio	Title	Key	Composer
27v-28r	Gigue	b	anon
28v	Ecossoise	b	Barrett (in 39569)
29r	Menuet	b	Barrett (")
29v-31r	P-A-C-M	G	H. Purcell (in 39569)
31v-32r	Courante	G	Chambonnières
32v-33r	Bourrée and Double	G	Le Bègue
33v-34r	Menuet	G	Le Bègue
34v	Ecossoise	G	Finger
35r	Prelude	G	Keller
35v-36r	Ecossoise	G	Keller
36v-37r	La Discorde	G	Lully
37v-38r	Gigue	G	anon
38v-39r	Allemande	g	King (in 39569)
39v-40r	Air d`Armide	g	Sourdin
40v-41r	Rondeau	g	anon
41v-42r	Air	g	H. Purcell (in 39569)
42v	Gigue	g	H. Purcell (")
43r	Menuet	g	J. Eccles
43v-44r	Prelude	d	Keller
44v-45r	Allemande	d	Keller
45v-46r	Ouverture du Ballet de Flore	d	anon
46v	Courante	d	Valois
47r	Menuet	d	(La Croix - Add.52363; also in 39569)
47v	Air	d	S. Eccles
48r	Gigue	d	Keller
48v-51r	A-C-Air-Hornpipe	F	H. Purcell
51v	Ecossoise	F	anon
52r	Come sweet lass	F	anon (in 39569)
52v-53r	Les lutins	F	anon (in 39569)
53v-54r	Gigue	F	anon
54v	Sarabande	f	Dieupart
55r	Menuet	f	Steffani
55v-56r	Gigue	f	J. Eccles (in 39569)
56v-59r	A-C-S	D	King (in 39569)
59v-60r	Chaconne de Galatée	D	anon (")
60v-61r	Gigue	D	King (")
61v-62r	Rondeau	B♭	D. Purcell (in 39569)
62v-63r	Air [A Soldier and a Sailor]	B♭	J. Eccles
63v	Les Maries	B♭	Lully (in 39569)
64r	Les Espagnols	B♭	Lully (")

Folio	Title	Key	Composer
64v	Gigue	B^b	Morgan (in 39569)
65r	Bourrée	B^b	anon (")
65v-68r	A-C-S-J	A	King (")
68v	Hornpipe	A	J. Eccles
69r[1]	Gavott	C	anon
69v-70r	Bourrée [St. Catherine]	A	Barrett (in 39569)
70v	Gigue Angloise	A	anon
71r	Hornpipe	A	Barrett (in 39569)
71v	Air Champaistre (incomplete)	A	anon
72	(missing)		

1 Folio 69r is in a different hand; the index gives a courante in A by Barrett here.

Appendix IV

INDEX TO SOURCES

This list gives all relevant composers listed in Appendices I and II, together with the sources of their music. Foreigners (except those resident in England) and composers from outside the period, are omitted from the index, even if they appear in listed sources. Additional sources, not among those listed, may exist for composers whose music falls partly outside the period. No references are made to keyboard arrangements. A bracketed source indicates that the composer is not named in it.

ALCOCK, JOHN (1715-1806) 1741a, 1774a.

ALCOCK, JOHN (1740-91) 1775d.

ALDRICH, HENRY (1647-1710) Ch.Ch.1003.

ARNE, THOMAS (1710-78) See Beechey and Dart ed./Arne.

BABELL, WILLIAM (c.1685-1723) 1715c, 1718a, 1730c; Adds. 31577, 38188, Dul.92d, (Fitz.52.B.7), Rowe 121.

BANISTER, JOHN (1630-79) 1673a; Bod.d.219, Ch.Ch.1003.

BARRETT, JOHN (c.1674-1735) 1700a, 1700b, 1702a, 1704b, 1706a, (1799a); Adds.(17852), 17853, 22099, 39569, (41205, 47846), 52363, (Bod.e.397), Ch.Ch.46, Duls.92a, 92b, 92d; Fitz.52.B.7, Rf.31, Ten.1508.

BENNETT, JOHN (c.1735-84) 1758a.

BENSON, THOMAS (fl.1700) Add.17853.

BERG, GEORGE (fl.1750-70) 1757a; Add.14335.

BLOW, JOHN (1649-1708) 1689a, 1698a, 1700a, 1700b, 1731a, 1780a, 1812a; Adds.(17852), 22099, 31403, 31446, 31465, (31467?), 31468, 31814, 34695, (39569), 41205, 52363, (Bods.c.93, e.399, Bruss.15418), Ch.Chs.47, 1003, 1176, 1177, 1179, Duls.92a, 92b, 92d, Eg.2959, (Fitz.52.B.6),

Fitz.52.B.7, Inglis 94, MC.1.39(j), Nanki N-3/35, RCM 2093, R.d.54, Rés.1186 bis I, Rf.31.

BONONCINI, GIOVANNI (1670-1747) 1722b, 1733a, 1733b; Add. 31467.

BOYCE, WILLIAM (1711-79) 1780a, 1780c?, 1785a; Smith MS?

BRYNE, ALBERTUS (c.1621-71) 1663a; Adds.(31465), 34695?, Bod.d.219, Ch.Chs.1177, 1236, Drex.5611.

BURGESS, HENRY (fl.1710-50) 1753a.

BURNEY, CHARLES (1726-1814) 1751a.

BYRON, LORD (1669-1736) (1702b); Adds.22099, 41205, (47846), 52363, Bod.e.397, Ten.1508.

CAREY, HENRY (c.1687-1743) 1730d.

CHILCOT, THOMAS (c.1700-1766) 1734a.

CHILD, WILLIAM (c.1606-97) RCM 2093.

CLARKE, JEREMIAH (c.1673-1707) 1700a, 1700b, 1702a, 1704b, 1711a; Adds.17853, 22099, 31465, 31467, (39569), 47846, 52363, Bod.e.397, Ch.Ch.46, Fitz.52.B.7, MC.1.39(j), Nanki N-3/35, (RCM 734), Rf.31, Ten.1508.

COBB, JOHN (fl.1638-72) Drex.5611.

COLES, (fl.1730) Dul.92d.

COLEMAN, MARK (fl.1650) Ch.Ch.1236.

CORBETT, WILLIAM (c.1680-1748) 1730d.

COURTEVILLE, RALPH (c.1665-c.1735) 1700b, 1704b; Adds. 17853?, 22099, 34695, 52363, (Bod.e.397), Fitz.52.B.6, MC.1.39(j).

CREYGHTON, ROBERT (c.1639-1734) Add.37074.

CROFT, WILLIAM (1678-1727) 1700a, 1700b, 1702a, 1704b, 1780b?; Adds.(5336, 17852), 17853, 22099, 31465, 31467,

31468, 31814, (34695), 52363, Duls.92a, 92b, 92d, Eg.2959, Fitz.52.B.7, Nanki N-3/35, (Rés.1186 bis I), Rf.31.

DAVIS, WILLIAM (fl.1685-1700) Add.31468.

DEAN, THOMAS (fl.1700-35) Add.31467.

DIESENER, GERHARD (fl.1660-85) 1673a; Add.22099, Ch.Ch.1177.

DIEUPART, CHARLES (c.1670-1740) 1705a; Add.22099, 39569, 52363, Bod.e.397, Ten.1508.

DRAGHI, GIOVANNI-BATTISTA (c.1640-c.1700) (1689a), 1707a; Adds.22099, (39569), 52363, Ch.Ch.1177, Inglis 94, MC.1.39(j)?, M21 M185.

ECCLES, JOHN (c.1660-1735) 1702b, (1706a, 1733c); Adds. 22099, (39569, 40139), 41205, (52363), (Bod.e.397, Ch.Ch.46), Ten.1508.

ECCLES, SOLOMON (fl.1685-1705) Ten.1508.

ELLIS, WILLIAM (c.1600-74) Ch.Ch.1236.

FAIRBANKS, (fl.1725) 1722a, 1725a, 1726a.

FELTON, WILLIAM (1715-69) 1752a; Adds.34267, 34609, Eg.2970, Rowe 251.

FERABOSCO, JOHN (1626-82) Ch.Ch.1236.

FESTING, MICHAEL (? -1752) Ten.784.

FINGER, GODFREY (c.1660-c.1725) Add.41205, Ten.1508.

FORCER, FRANCIS (c.1650-1705) (1689a); Adds.31403, 39569, 52363, M21 M185, Ten.1508.

FROUD, CHARLES? (fl.1730) Dul.92a.

GALLIARD, JOHN (c.1680-1749) 1733c.

GARTH, JOHN (1722-1810) 1771b; Add.14335.

GEMINIANI, FRANCESCO (1687-1762) 1740a, 1743a; Add.31814, Fitz.30.F.21, Rowe 251, Tens.752, 784.

GIBBONS, CHRISTOPHER (1615-76) 1780a; Adds.(31446), 31468, 34695, Ch.Chs.15, 47, 1003, 1142, 1176, 1179, Drex.5611, Wimb.P10.

GIBBS, RICHARD (fl.1630-50) Ch.Ch.1177, Drex.5611.

GIBBS, THOMAS (fl.1660) (1663a).

GLADWIN, THOMAS (fl.1730-60) 1750d; RCO.

GOODWIN, STARLING (fl.1750-70) 1776a, 1776b, 1776c; RCO.

GORTON, WILLIAM (fl.1720) Add.17850.

GREEN, GEORGE (fl.1775) 1775c.

GREENE, MAURICE (c.1696-1755) 1733a, (1733b), 1745a, 1750b, 1767a, 1771c, 1771d?, 1780a, (1780b), 1780c?; Adds. 14335, 31467, (Bod.d.262?), Duls.92a, 92d, Fitz.52.C.11*, Gresh.V.2.36, *MN, RCM 1057, RCM 1120, RCO, Rf.31, Rowe 251, Ten.752, McLean MS, Smith MS?

GREGORY, WILLIAM (c.1600-1663) 1673a.

GUNN, BARNABAS (c.1680-1753) 1750c; Ten.752.

HALL, (fl.1750) RCO.

HALL, HENRY (c.1655-1707) 1708b.

HALL, ROBERT (fl.1645) Bunbury MS.

HALL, WILLIAM (c.1640-1700) 1673a.

HANDEL, G. F. (1685-1759) 1719b, 1720a, 1732a, 1733d, 1735a, 1735c, 1771d?, 1780b?; Adds.14335, 31467, 31577, 34609, 35040, 38188, Dul.92d, Fitzs.24.F.18, 30.H.10, 30.H.11, 30.H.13, (52.B.7), RCO, R.d.54, R.Ms.18.b.4, 18.b.8, 19.a.3, 19.a.4, 20.e.5, 20.g.13, 20.g.14, Rowe 121, Legh MS. (Also found in some MSS not listed: see Hallische Händel-Ausgabe.)

HART, PHILIP (c.1673-1749) 1704a; Adds.31465, 32161, 34695, 38188, Inglis 94.

HEARDSON, THOMAS (fl.1640-80) Drex.5611.

HERON, HENRY (fl.1760-90) 1760a; Adds.(14335), 35040.

HINE, WILLIAM (1687-1730) 1731c; Add.31814, Rf.31.

HINGSTON, JOHN (c.1610-83) Ch.Chs.47, 1176.

HOLMES, GEORGE (c.1670-1721) Adds.17853, (31446?), 31465.

HOLMES, THOMAS (fl.1630-50) Ch.Ch.92.

HUMPHRIES, (fl.1750) MC.1.5, Ten.752.

JACKSON, JAMES (fl.1775) 1775a.

JACKSON, JOHN (c.1640-1688) 1663a.

JAMES, JOHN (c.1700-1745) 1767a, (1771c, 1775b), 1780a; Adds.31814, 35040, Duls.92a, 92d, RCO, Rf.31.

JEWETT, RANDALL (c.1603-1675) Bunbury MS.

JONES, JOHN (1728-96) 1754a.

JONES, RICHARD (fl.1705-35) 1730a, 1732c.

JUKES, (fl.1705) Add.22099.

KELLER, GOTTFRIED (d.1704) 1707b; Ten.1508, (MC.1.39(j)).

KELWAY, JOSEPH (c.1705-1782) Fitz.30.F.21.

KING, ROBERT (c.1660-1734) 1704b; Adds.39569, (41205), 52363, Ch.Ch.46, Dul.92d, Eg.2959, (Fitz.52.B.7), MC.1.39(j), (Rés.1186 bis I), Ten.1508.

KIRKMAN, JACOB (1710-92, or c.1740-1812) 1767a.

LAMPE, JOHN (c.1700-1751) Add.35040.

LARKIN, (fl.1750) RCO.

LAWES, WILLIAM (c.1600-1645) 1663a; Ch.Chs.1003, (1236), Drex.5611?, Rés.1185.

LOCKE, MATTHEW (c.1622-1677) 1663a, 1673a; Adds.22099, 31403, 31465, Bod.d.219, Ch.Ch.1177, Drex.5611.

LOEILLET, JOHN (1680-1730) 1715a, 1723a, 1730c, 1730d; Adds.31467, 31577, (41205), R.d.39?, (Rowe 251).

LONG, SAMUEL (fl.1750-65) 1766a; Add.14335.

LOOSEMORE, HENRY? (c.1600-1670) Ch.Ch.1236.

LOWE, EDWARD (c.1610-1682) Ch.Ch.1177.

LOWE, RICHARD (fl.1750?) Fitz.52.C.11*.

LULMAN, CHARLES (fl.1755) Rowe 251.

MAASMANN, ALEXANDER (fl.1715) 1715b.

MANTEL, JOHN (fl.1750) 1750e.

MAYNARD, (fl.1650) RCM 2093.

MELL, DAVIS (1604-c.1680) (1663a).

MERCURE, JOHN (fl.1640-55) Add.10337, Ch.Ch.1236, Drex.5611.

MONRO, GEORGE (fl.1710-31) 1730d; RCO.

MORGAN, (fl.1700) (K.1.c.5?), Ten.1508.

MOSS, JOHN (fl.1663-84) 1663a, 1673a.

MOTLEY, RICHARD (fl.1689-1706) 1689a.

NARES, JAMES (1715-83) 1747a, 1772a; Fitz.32.G.18.

PAISIBLE, JAMES (c.1650-1721) (1702a, 1706a, 1708a, 1711b); Adds.39569, (52363, Bod.e.397, Fitz.52.B.7).

PAISIBLE, JAMES (fl.1740) Add.34609.

PEPUSCH, JOHN (1667-1752) 1730b, 1735a, (1780b?); Adds.

31467, 31577, 35040, 39569, 40139, 41205, RCO, R.d.54, Rowe 121, Jeans 6.

PIGGOTT, FRANCIS (c.1650-1704) 1700a, (1700b); Add.52363, Ch.Ch.46.

PORTMAN, RICHARD (c.1600-c.1655) Ch.Ch.1177, Wimb.P10.

PRATT, THOMAS (fl.1660) 1663a.

PRELLEUR, PETER (c.1700-c.1755) 1730c?, (1771c); (Fitz. 52.C.11*), RCO.

PRESTON, CHRISTOPHER (c.1640-c.1689) 1673a.

PRICE, ROBERT (fl.1650) Ch.Chs.(15, 1176), 1236, Rés.1186 bis I.

PURCELL, DANIEL (c.1660-1717) 1702b, 1708b, 1718a, 1731b; (Add.39569), Ten.1508.

PURCELL, HENRY (c.1659-1695) 1689a, 1696a, 1706a, 1780a; Adds.17853, 22099, (24313, 31403), 31446, 31465, (31467), 31468, 34609?, 34695, 39569, 41205, (47846), 52363, Bod.e.397, Ch.Chs.46, (1003), 1176, 1177, 1179, Eg.2959, Fitz.52.B.7, Hirsch III.472, Inglis 94, K.1.c.5, MC.1.39(j), Nanki N-3/35, R.d.54, Rés.1186 bis I, Ten.1508.

QUARLES, CHARLES (c.1670-1727) 1790a.

RAVENSCROFT, JOHN (d.1744) Fitz.52.B.6.

READING, JOHN (1677-1764) 1767a; (Add.14335), Duls.92a, 92b, 92d, Nanki N-4/31, (RCO), Rf.31.

RICHARDSON, VAUGHAN (d.1729) 1708b.

RICHARDSON, WILLIAM (c.1670-c.1732) 1708c.

ROBERTS, JOHN (fl.1650-73) 1673a; Ch.Chs.1003, 1177, 1236, Drex 5611.

ROBINSON, JOHN (1682-1762) Rf.31, Jeans 6.

ROGERS, BENJAMIN (1614-98) 1663a: Ch.Ch.1236, Drex.5611, RCM 2093, R.M.21.d.8.

ROSEINGRAVE, THOMAS (1690-1766) 1728b, 1728c, 1730d, 1739a, 1750a; Fitz.30.F.21, RCM 1057, RCO, Rowe 121.

SANDLEY, BENJAMIN (fl.1650-63) 1663a.

SEDO, (c.1690-1754) (1771c?); Duls.92a, (92b?), (RCO?), Rf.31.

SELBY, WILLIAM (c.1738-1798) 1767a.

SHEELES, JOHN (c.1690-1761) 1725b.

SKINNER, BENJAMIN (fl.1765) 1767a.

SMITH, J. C. (1712-95) 1732b, 1737a, 1755a; Add.39957, RCM 1018, Ten.784.

SMITH, ROBERT (c.1648-1675) 1673a; Ch.Ch.1003.

SNOW, MOSES (d.1702) 1689a; (Adds.31467, 39569, 41205, Fitz.52.B.7, Rés.1186 bis I).

SPENCER, GEORGE (fl.1720) Add.40139.

STANLEY, JOHN (1713-86) 1748a, 1752b, 1754b, (1769a); Adds.14335, 31814, 35040, Duls.92a, 92b, 92d, Eg.2970, (Fitz.52.C.11*), RCO, Rf.31, Rowe 251.

STRENGTHFEILD, THOMAS (fl.1657) Add.10337.

STUBLEY, SIMON (fl.1760) 1767a.

SYMONDS, HENRY (fl.1730) 1734c.

THATCHER, WILLIAM (d.1678) (1673a); Salmon/Essay.

THORLEY, THOMAS (c.1750-c.1820) (1771c, 1771d; Fitz.52.C.11*); also Ten Voluntaries, c.1780.

THORNOWITZ, HENRY (fl.1710) Ch.Ch.1142.

TOLLET, THOMAS (c.1640-c.1700) Add.39569, Inglis 94.

TRAVERS, JOHN (c.1703-1758) 1769a, 1771c.

TRESURE, JONAS (fl.1650) Ch.Ch.1236, Drex.5611.

TURNER, WILLIAM (1651-1740) 1689a.

VANBRUGHR, GEORGE (fl.1720) 1720b, 1722a, 1733c.

VINCENT, THOMAS (c.1720-1783) 1755b.

WALOND, WILLIAM (c.1725-c.1770) 1752d, 1758b; Adds.14335, 35040, (Rowe 251).

WELDON, JOHN (1676-1736) 1704b; Adds.22099, 31467, 52363, R.d.54.

WHICHELLO, ABIELL (c.1675-c.1745) 1707c.

WHITE, JOHN (fl.1700) Add.52363.

WOOD, (fl.1700) 1702a; Add.41205.

WORGAN, JAMES (1715-53) RCO.

WORGAN, JOHN (1724-90) Some posthumous publications.

YOUNG, ANTHONY (c.1685-c.1740) 1719a.

YOUNG, WILLIAM (fl.1650) Rés.1185.

Bibliography

This bibliography, which is necessarily selective, includes all the principal books, catalogues, articles, dissertations and modern editions cited in footnotes or otherwise relevant to the subject.

Abbreviations

CEKM	Corpus of Early Keyboard Music
EKM	Early Keyboard Music (Stainer & Bell)
EOM	Early Organ Music (Novello)
HHA	Hallische Händel-Ausgabe
MB	Musica Britannica
ML	Music & Letters
MQ	The Musical Quarterly
MR	The Music Review
MT	The Musical Times
P(R)MA	Proceedings of the (Royal) Musical Association
PSMS	Penn State Music Series
RBM	Revue belge de musicologie
RM	Revue de musicologie
TW	Tallis to Wesley

Abraham/Clavier
: Abraham, Gerald, "Handel's Clavier Music", ML, xvi (1935), 278-285.

Abraham ed./Handel
: Abraham, Gerald, ed., Handel: A Symposium, London, 1954.

Apel/Geschichte
: Apel, Willi, Geschichte der Orgel- und Klaviermusik bis 1700, Kassel, 1967. (Now available in English translation: The History of Keyboard Music to 1700, tr. and rev. Hans Tischler, Indiana University Press, 1972.)

Apel/Harvard
: Apel, Willi, Harvard Dictionary of Music, 2nd edn., Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970.

Arkwright/Christ Church
Arkwright, G. E. P., Catalogue of Music in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, 2 vols., London, 1915-23.

Arundell/Purcell
Arundell, Denis, Henry Purcell, London, 1927.

Beechey/Chilcot
Beechey, Gwilym, "Thomas Chilcot and his Music", ML, liv (1973), 179-196.

Beechey ed./Chilcot
Thomas Chilcot: Two Suites for Harpsichord, ed. Gwilym Beechey (PSMS, xxii), Pennsylvania University Park and London, 1969.

Beechey/Source
Beechey, Gwilym, "A New Source of Seventeenth-Century Keyboard Music", ML, l (1969), 278-289.

Beechey ed./Voluntaries
Ten Eighteenth-Century Voluntaries, ed. Gwilym Beechey (Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, vi), Madison, 1969.

Beechey and Dart ed./Arne
VIII Sonatas or Lessons for the Harpsichord compos`d by T. A. Arne, Ed. Gwilym Beechey and Thurston Dart (facsimile edn., EKM, xxvii), London, 1969.

Beer/Ornaments
Beer, R., "Ornaments in Old Keyboard Music", MR, xiii (1952), 3-13.

Best/Handel
Best, Terence, "Handel`s Keyboard Music", MT, cxii (1971), 845-8.

Best ed./Handel III
Georg Friedrich Händel: Klavierwerke III---Einzelne Suiten und Stücke, ed. Terence Best (HHA, Serie IV:6), Kassel, 1970.

BM (1849)
Index to the Additional Manuscripts, with those of the Egerton Collection, preserved in the British Museum, and acquired in the years 1783-1835, London, 1849.

Boston/Bunbury
Boston, John L., "Priscilla Bunbury's Virginal Book", ML, xxxvi (1955), 365-373.

Boston ed./Bunbury
Sixteen Pieces from Priscilla Bunbury's Virginal Book, ed. John L. Boston, London: Stainer & Bell, 1962.

Boyd/Mackworth
Boyd, Malcolm, "Music Manuscripts in the Mackworth Collection at Cardiff", ML, liv (1973), 133-141.

Brown/Reassessment
Brown, Beulah L., The Harpsichord Music of Handel's Younger English Contemporaries, 1710-60: A Reassessment (unpublished dissertation), Manchester University, 1965-6.

Brunold and Tessier ed./Chambonnières
Oeuvres complètes de Chambonnières, ed. Paul Brunold and André Tessier (Les maîtres français du clavecin), Paris, 1925.

BUC
The British Union-Catalogue of Early Music, ed. Edith Schnapper, 2 vols., London, 1957.

Bukofzer/Baroque
Bukofzer, Manfred, Music in the Baroque Era, London, 1948.

Burney/History
Burney, Charles, A General History of Music, 4 vols., London, 1776-89.

Butcher/Roseingrave
Butcher, Vernon, "Thomas Roseingrave", ML, xix (1938), 280-294.

Butcher ed./Roseingrave
Thomas Roseingrave: Fifteen Voluntaries and Fugues, ed. A. V. Butcher, London: Hinrichsen, [c.1940].

Caldwell ed./Boyce
William Boyce: Ten Voluntaries for the Organ or Harpsichord, ed. John Caldwell (facsimile edn.), London, 1972.

Caldwell/Keyboard
Caldwell, John, English Keyboard Music before the Nineteenth Century, Oxford, 1973.

Chambonnières/Pieces
Jacques Champion de Chambonnières: Les Pieces de Clavessin (facsimile edn.), 2 vols., New York, 1967.

Chrysander ed./Clavecin
Pièces pour le clavecin par George Frédéric Handel, [ed. Friedrich Chrysander], The Works of George Frederic Handel, ii, Leipzig, 1859.

Chrysander ed./Instrumental
A Miscellaneous Collection of Instrumental Music for the Organ, Orchestra, Chamber and Harpsichord by G. F. Handel, ed. Friedrich Chrysander, The Works of George Frederic Handel, xlviii, Leipzig, 1894.

Clarke/Blow
Clarke, H. L., "John Blow: A Tercentenary Survey", MQ, xxxv (1949), 412-420.

Clutton and Niland/Organ
Clutton, Cecil, and Niland, Austin, The British Organ, London, 1963.

Cooper/Bryne
Cooper, Barry, "Albertus Bryne`s Keyboard Music", MT, cxiii (1972), 142-3.

Cooper/Suite
Cooper, Barry, "The Keyboard Suite in England before the Restoration", ML, liii (1972), 309-319.

Cudworth/Boyce
Cudworth, Charles, "Boyce and Arne: The Generation of 1710", ML, xli (1960), 136-145.

Cudworth/Trumpet
Cudworth, Charles, "Some New Facts about the Trumpet Voluntary", MT, xciv (1953), 401-3.

Cudworth and Zimmerman/Trumpet
Cudworth, Charles, and Zimmerman, Franklin B., "The Trumpet Voluntary", ML, xli (1960), 342-8.

Dart ed./Bull
John Bull Keyboard Music: I and II, ed. John Steele, Francis Cameron and Thurston Dart, 2 vols. (MB. xiv and xix), London, 1960 (2nd edn., 1967) and 1963.

Dart/Cibell
Dart, Thurston, "The Cibell", RBM, vi (1952), 24-30.

Dart/Edgeworth
Dart, Thurston, "Elizabeth Edgeworth's Keyboard Book", ML, 1 (1969), 470-4.

Dart ed./Hand-maid I
Musick's Hand-maid, ed. Thurston Dart (EKM, xxviii), London, 1969.

Dart ed./Hand-maid II
The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid, ed. Thurston Dart (EKM, x), 3rd edn., London, 1969.

Dart/Interpretation
Dart, Thurston, The Interpretation of Music, 4th edn., London, 1967.

Dart ed./Locke
Matthew Locke: Complete Keyboard Works, ed. Thurston Dart, 2 vols. (EKM, vi and vii), London, 1957-9.

Dart/Motley
Dart, Thurston, "Richard Motley, Dancing Master", MR, xxv (1964), 96-9.

Dart ed./Parthenia
Parthenia, ed. Thurston Dart (EKM, xix), 2nd edn., London, 1962.

Dart/Purcell
Dart, Thurston, "Purcell's Harpsichord Music", MT, c (1959), 324-5.

Dawes/Hart
Dawes, Frank, "Philip Hart", MT, cvi (1965), 510-5.

Dawes/Morgan
Dawes, Frank, "A Jig of Morgan's", MT, xci (1950), 92-4.

Dawes/Music of Hart
Dawes, Frank, "The Music of Philip Hart (c.1676-1749)", PRMA, xciv (1967-8), 63-75.

Deutsch/Ink-pot
Deutsch, O. E., "Ink-pot and Squirt-Gun", MT, xciii (1952), 401-3.

Devoto/Sarabande
Devoto, Daniel, "La folle sarabande", RM, xlv (1960), 3-43, 145-180.

Dolmetsch/Interpretation
Dolmetsch, Arnold, The Interpretation of the Music of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries, 2nd edn., London, 1946.

Donington/Interpretation
Donington, Robert, The Interpretation of Early Music, 2nd edn., London, 1965.

DTÖ VI.ii
Johann Jakob Froberger. Suiten für Clavier, ed. Guido Adler (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, VI.ii), Vienna, 1899.

Eitner/Lexicon
Eitner, Robert, Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon, 10 vols., Leipzig, 1900-4.

Emery ed./Voluntaries
Anonymous Voluntaries in A minor and G minor (=1771d, nos. VIII and IX), ed. Walter Emery (EOM, xvii), London, 1961.

Fellowes/Tenbury
Fellowes, E. H., The Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of St. Michael's College, Tenbury, Paris, 1934.

Ferguson ed./Blow
Six Suites: John Blow, ed. Howard Ferguson (EKM, v), London, 1965.

Ferguson ed./Early
Early English Keyboard Music, ed. Howard Ferguson, 2 vols., London, 1971.

Ferguson/Purcell
Ferguson, Howard, "Purcell`s Harpsichord Music", PRMA, xci (1964-5), 1-9.

Ferguson ed./Purcell
Henry Purcell: Complete Harpsichord Works, ed. Howard Ferguson, 2 vols. (EKM, xxi and xxii), 2nd edn., London, 1968.

Finzi/Stanley
Finzi, Gerald, "John Stanley (1713-86)", PRMA, lxxvii (1950-1), 63-74.

Frost/Stanley
Frost, Tony, "The Cantatas of John Stanley (1713-86)", ML, liii (1972), 284-292.

Frotscher/Geschichte
Frotscher, Gotthold, Geschichte des Orgelspiels und der Orgelkomposition, 2 vols., Berlin, 1959.

Giegling/Geminiani
Giegling, Franz, "Geminiani`s Harpsichord Transcriptions", ML, xl (1959), 350-2.

Gillespie/Keyboard
Gillespie, John, Five Centuries of Keyboard Music, Belmont, 1965.

Godding/Heron
Godding, Marc Antone, The Eighteenth-Century English Organ Voluntary: A Critical and Analytical Study with a New Edition of Four Voluntaries by Henry Heron (unpublished dissertation), University of Rochester, 1971.

Grove 5
Grove`s Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th edn., ed. Eric Blom, 9 vols., London, 1954; Supplement, 1961.

Halfpenny/Clarke
Halfpenny, Eric, "Jeremiah Clarke`s Trumpet Tunes" (letter), MT, xciv (1953), 467.

Harding/Locke
Harding, Rosamond, A Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Matthew Locke with a Calendar of the Main Events of his Life, Oxford, 1971.

Harman/Durham
Harman, Alec, A Catalogue of the Printed Music and Books on Music in Durham Cathedral Library, London, 1968.

Harley/Ornaments
Harley, John, "Ornaments in English Keyboard Music of the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries", MR, xxxi (1970), 177-200.

Hawkins/History
Hawkins, Sir John, A General History of the Science and Practice of Music, 5 vols., London, 1776, reprinted in 2 vols., London, 1853 and 1875.

Heawood/Watermarks
Heawood, Edward, Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries, Hilversum, 1950.

Hendrie ed./Gibbons
Orlando Gibbons: Keyboard Music, ed. Gerald Hendrie (MB, xx), 2nd edn., London, 1967.

Hughes-Hughes/Catalogue
Hughes-Hughes, Augustus, Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum, 3 vols., London, 1906-9.

Humphries and Smith/Publishing
Humphries, Charles, and Smith, William C., Music Publishing in the British Isles, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1970.

Jeans ed./Robinson
John Robinson: Voluntary in A minor, ed. Susi Jeans (EOM, xxiv), London, 1966.

Jeans ed./Rogers
Benjamin Rogers: Voluntary for the Organ, ed. Susi Jeans (EOM, xi), London, 1962.

Johnstone/Banquet
Johnstone, H. Diack, "Greene and the Lady's Banquet", MT, cviii (1967), 36-9.

Johnstone/Greene
Johnstone, H. Diack, The Life and Work of Maurice Greene (1696-1755) (unpublished dissertation), Oxford University, 1968.

Johnstone/Voluntaries
Johnstone, H. Diack, "An Unknown Book of Organ Voluntaries", MT, cviii (1967), 1003-7.

Kirkpatrick/Scarlatti
Kirkpatrick, Ralph, Domenico Scarlatti, Princeton, 1953.

Kooiker/Melothesia
Kooiker, Anthony, Locke's Melothesia: Its Place in the History of Keyboard Music in Restoration England (unpublished dissertation), University of Rochester, 1962.

Kooiker ed./Melothesia
Melothesia, Keyboard Suites, ed. Anthony Kooiker (PSMS, xvi), Pennsylvania University Park and London, 1968.

Lambert/Roseingrave
Lambert, Constant, "Thomas Roseingrave", PMA, lviii (1931-2), 67-83.

Lambert ed./Stanley
The Power of Music: An Overture and Pan and Syrinx: An Overture...by William Boyce (really Stanley), ed. Constant Lambert, London, 1937.

Lang ed./Nares
James Nares: Fugue in G minor, ed. and arr. C. S. Lang (Cramer's Library of Organ Music, xi.3), London, 1953.

Lefkowitz/Lawes
Lefkowitz, Murray, William Lawes, London, 1960.

Lefkowitz ed./Masques
Trois masques à la cour de Charles I^er d'Angleterre, ed. Murray Lefkowitz, Paris, 1970.

Maas/Virginal
Maas, Martha, Seventeenth-Century English Keyboard Music, A Study of Manuscripts Rés.1185, 1186 and 1186 bis of the Paris Conservatory Library (unpublished dissertation), Yale University, 1968.

Maitland/Age
Maitland, J. A. Fuller-, The Age of Bach and Handel (The Oxford History of Music, iv), Oxford, 1902.

Maitland ed./Contemporaries
The Contemporaries of Purcell: Harpsichord Pieces, ed. J. A. Fuller-Maitland, 7 vols., London, 1921.

Maitland and Mann/Fitzwilliam
Maitland, J. A. Fuller-, and Mann, A. H., Catalogue of the Music in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, London, 1893.

Marr ed./Alcock
John Alcock [the elder]: Four Voluntaries, ed. Peter Marr (TW, xxiii), London etc., 1961.

Matthews ed./Keyboard
Matthews, Denis, ed., Keyboard Music, Harmondsworth, 1972.

McKay/Selby
McKay, David, "William Selby, Musical Emigré in Colonial Boston", MQ, lvii (1971), 609-627.

McLean ed./Blow
John Blow: Two Voluntaries from the Nanki Manuscript, ed. Hugh McLean (EOM, xxiii), Borough Green, 1971.

McLean/Japan
McLean, Hugh, "Blow and Purcell in Japan", MT, civ (1963), 702-5.

McLean ed./Purcell
Henry Purcell: The Organ Works, ed. Hugh McLean, London, 1957 (2nd edn., 1967).

Mercer ed./Burney
Burney, Charles, A General History of Music, ed. F. Mercer, 2 vols., London and New York, 1935.

MGG
Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. Friedrich Blume, 14 vols., Kassel and Basel, 1949-68; Supplement, 1970- .

Moore ed./Greene
A Selection of Harpsichord Music by Maurice Greene, ed. Frederick Moore, 2 vols., London, 1935.

Nanki Catalogue
Catalogue of Rare Books and Notes [i.e. Music], The Ohki Collection, Nanki Music Library, Tokyo, 1970.

Newton/Scarlatti
Newton, Richard, "The English Cult of Domenico Scarlatti", ML, xx (1939), 138-156.

Northway/Handel
Northway, Peter, A Critical Text and Commentary on the Sources of Handel's Second Set of Harpsichord Suites (unpublished dissertation), King's College, London, 1966.

Northway ed./Handel II
Georg Friedrich Händel: Klavierwerke II---Zweite Sammlung von 1733, ed. Peter Northway (HHA, Serie IV:5), Kassel, 1970.

Pauer ed./Composers
Old English Composers for the Virginals and Harpsichord, ed. Ernst Pauer, London, 1879. (Also in six separate volumes: Byrde, Bull, Orlando Gibbons, Blow, Henry Purcell and Arne.)

Pereyra/Virginal (1), (6), (7), (8)
Pereyra, M. L., "Les livres de virginal de la bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Paris", idem (VI^e article), idem (VII), idem (VIII); RM, x (1926), 204-9; xv (1931), 22-32; xvi (1932), 86-90; xvii (1933), 24-7.

Phillips ed./Alte
Alte Englische Orgelmeister, ed. Gordon Phillips (Liber Organi, x), Leipzig, 1958.

Phillips ed./Blow
John Blow and his Pupils John Barrett and John Reading, ed. Gordon Phillips (TW, xxi), London, 1962.

Phillips ed./Locke
Matthew Locke: Seven Pieces (Voluntaries) from "Melothesia (1673) for Organ or Harpsichord, ed. Gordon Phillips (TW, vi), London, 1957.

Phillips ed./Purcell
Henry Purcell: Three Voluntaries, ed. Gordon Phillips (TW, x), London, 1961.

Phillips ed./Stanley
John Stanley: The thirty Organ Voluntaries op. 5-7, ed. Gordon Phillips, 3 vols. (TW, xxvii-xxix), London, 1967.

Phillips ed./Voluntaries
Voluntaries by Stanley, Walond and Boyce, ed. Gordon Phillips (TW, i), London etc., 1956.

Phillips ed./Walond
William Walond: Three Voluntaries; William Walond: Three Cornet Voluntaries (=complete op.1), ed. Gordon Phillips, 2 vols. (TW xx and xxxii), London etc., 1961-2.

Pilkington/Collection
Pilkington, C. Vere, "A Collection of English 18th Century Harpsichord Music", PRMA, lxxxiii (1956-7), 89-107.

Priestman/Loeillet
Priestman, Brian, "Catalogue thématique des oeuvres de Jean-Baptiste, John et Jacques Loeillet", RBM, vi (1952), 219-274.

Pulver/Dictionary
Pulver, Jeffrey, A Biographical Dictionary of Old English Music, London, 1927.

Quarles/Lesson
A Lesson or Voluntary for the Harpsichord or Organ Compos'd By Mr. Charles Quarles, ed. C. J. H. (amended facsimile edn.), Cambridge: Gamut Publications, 1964.

Rastall/Rogers
Rastall, Richard, "Benjamin Rogers (1614-98): Some Notes on his Instrumental Music", ML, xlvi (1965), 237-242.

Rastall ed./Rogers
Complete Keyboard Works: Benjamin Rogers, ed. Richard Rastall (EKM, xxix), London, 1972.

Rayner/Gibbons
Rayner, Clare G. and Sheila Finch, "Christopher Gibbons: That Famous Musitian", Musica Disciplina, xxiv (1970), 151-171.

Rayner ed./Gibbons
Christopher Gibbons: Keyboard Compositions, ed. Clare G. Rayner (CEKM, xviii), American Institute of Musicology, 1967.

RISM/17
Recueils Imprimés: XVI^e-XVII^e Siècles (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, B 1), ed. François Lesure, Munich and Duisburg, 1960.

RISM/18
Recueils Imprimés: XVIII^e Siècle (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, B 2), ed. François Lesure, Munich and Duisburg, 1964.

Rose/Purcell
Rose, Gloria, "Purcell, Michelangelo Rossi and J. S. Bach: Problems of Authorship", Acta Musicologica, xl (1968), 203-219.

Routh ed./Greene
Maurice Greene (1695-1755): Four Voluntaries for Organ or Harpsichord---A Second Set, ed. Francis Routh (TW, xv), London, 1960.

Routh ed./Handel
Handel: Four Voluntaries for the Organ or Harpsichord (spurious works), ed. Francis Routh (TW, xix), London, 1961.

Routh/Organ
Routh, Francis, Early English Organ Music from the Middle Ages to 1837, London, 1973.

Russell/Harpsichord
Russell, Raymond, The Harpsichord and Clavichord, London, 1959.

Salmon/Essay
Salmon, Thomas, An Essay to the Advancement of Musick, London, 1672.

Sargent/Rogers
Sargent, George, An Edition of "Elizabeth Rogers' Virginal Book" (dissertation, see following), Indiana University, 1965.

Sargent ed./Rogers
Elizabeth Rogers' Virginal Book (1656), ed. George Sargent (CEKM, xix), American Institute of Musicology, 1971.

Scarlatti/Essercizi
Domenico Scarlatti. Essercizi per gravicembalo (facsimile edn.), Farnborough, 1967.

Schmieder/Bach
Schmieder, Wolfgang, Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach (Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis), Leipzig, 1950.

Scholes/Companion
Scholes, Percy, The Oxford Companion to Music, 10th edn., London, 1970.

Scholes/Puritans
Scholes, Percy, The Puritans and Music in England and New England, New York, 1934 (reissued 1962).

Shaw/Autographs
Shaw, Watkins, "The Autographs of John Blow (1649-1708)", MR, xxv (1964), 85-95.

Shaw ed./Blow
John Blow: Thirty Voluntaries and Verses, ed. H. Watkins Shaw, 2nd edn., London, 1973.

Shaw/E minor
Shaw, Watkins, "Blow's E minor Ground" (letter), ML, 1 (1969), 555.

Shaw/Ground
Shaw, Watkins, "Blow's Use of the Ground Bass", MQ, xxiv (1938), 31-8.

Shaw ed./Voluntary
Anonymous Voluntary in D minor (=Add.31446, f.16), ed. Watkins Shaw (EOM, iv), London, 1960.

Simpson ed./Croft
William Croft: Six Voluntaries (published separately), ed. Kenneth Simpson, London: Hinrichsen, [1939].

Simpson ed./James
John James...: "Echo" Voluntary in D major (=Add.31814, f.101), ed. Kenneth Simpson, London, [1941].

Smith/Handel
Smith, William C., Handel: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Early Editions, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1970.

Smith and Humphries/Walsh
A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh, 2 vols.: i, During the Years 1695-1720, William Smith, London, 1948; ii, During the Years 1721-1766, William Smith and Charles Humphries, London, 1968.

Sotheby/Cummings
Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, Catalogue of the Famous Musical Library of Books, Manuscripts, Autograph Letters, Musical Scores etc., the Property of the Late W. H. Cummings, London, 1917.

Squire/BM
Squire, W. Barclay, Catalogue of Printed Music Published between 1487 and 1800 and now in the British Museum, 2 vols., London and Leipzig, 1912.

Squire/Kings
Squire, W. Barclay, Catalogue of the King's Music Library, 3 vols., London, 1927-9.

Squire/RCM
Squire, W. Barclay, Catalogue of Printed Music in the Library of the Royal College of Music, London, London and Leipzig, 1909.

Squire and Hopkins ed./Purcell
Harpsichord and Organ Music Composed by Henry Purcell, ed. W. Barclay Squire and Edward J. Hopkins (The Works of Henry Purcell, vi), London, 1895.

Squire and Maitland ed./Handel
Pieces for Harpsichord by G. F. Händel (from the "Aylesford" MSS), ed. W. Barclay Squire and J. A. Fuller-Maitland, Mainz etc., 1928.

Steglich ed./Handel I
Georg Friedrich Händel: Klavierwerke I---Die acht grossen Suiten, ed. Rudolf Steglich (HHA, Serie IV:1), Kassel, 1955.

Stevens ed./Roseingrave
Thomas Roseingrave: Compositions for Organ or Harpsichord, ed. Denis Stevens (PSMS, 11), Pennsylvania University Park and London, 1964.

Taylor/Clarke
Taylor, Thomas, "Jeremiah Clarke`s Trumpet Tunes: Another View of Origins", MQ, lvi (1970), 455-462.

Tilmouth/Newspapers
Tilmouth, Michael, "A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)", R. M. A. Research Chronicle, 1 (1961).

Torchi ed./Arte
L`Arte Musicale in Italia, ed. Luigi Torchi, vol.iii, Milan, 1902 (reprinted 1959).

Trevor ed./Organ
Old English Organ Music for Manuals, ed. C. H. Trevor, 6 vols., London, 1966-72.

Tuttle ed./Tomkins
Thomas Tomkins: Keyboard Music, ed. Stephen Tuttle (MB, v), 2nd edn., London, 1964.

Vaughan ed./Stanley
John Stanley: Voluntaries for the Organ, ed. Denis Vaughan (facsimile edn.), 3 vols., London, 1957.

Watelet ed./Loeillet
J. B. Loeillet: Werken voor Clavecimbel (with introduction by Paul Bergmans), ed. J. Watelet (Monumenta Musicae Belgae, 1), Antwerp, 1932.

West/Organ
West, John E., "Old English Organ Music", PMA, xxxvii (1910-11), 1-16.

West ed./Organ
Old English Organ Music, ed. John E. West, 36 vols., London, 1904-11.

West/Organists
West, John E., Cathedral Organists, 2nd edn., London, 1921.

Westrup/Purcell
Westrup, Sir J. A., Purcell (Master Musicians), 5th edn., London, 1969.

Willetts/Handlist
Willetts, Pamela, Handlist of Music Manuscripts Acquired by the British Museum 1908-67, London, 1970.

Williams/Cremona
Williams, Peter, "Some Interesting Organ Terms---5: Cremona", MT, cvi (1965), 975.

Williams ed./Greene
Twelve Voluntaries for Organ or Harpsichord by William Boyce or Maurice Greene, ed. Peter Williams, London and New York, 1969.

Williams ed./Greene Pieces
Five Pieces from the Harpsichord Works of Maurice Greene (1696-1755), ed. Patrick Williams, London, 1970.

Williams ed./Greene Suites
3 Suites: Dr. Maurice Greene...from MSS. in the British Museum (=Add.31467, ff.96, 99 and 102v: published separately), ed. Patrick Williams, 2nd edn., London, 1961.

Williams/Händel
Williams, Peter, "Händel und die englische Orgelmusik", Händel-Jahrbuch, xii (1966), 51-76.

Williams/Organs
Williams, Peter, English Organ Music and the English Organ under the first four Georges (unpublished dissertation), Cambridge University, 1962-3.

Williams/Purcell
Williams, Peter, "Spurious Purcell", (letter), MT, cii (1961), 371.

Williams ed./Roseingrave
Thomas Roseingrave: Ten Organ Pieces, ed. Peter Williams (EKM, xviii), 2nd edn., London, 1970.

Williams ed./Voluntaries
Three Voluntaries of the Later 18th Century. Travers, Keeble, Dupuis, ed. Peter Williams (TW, xxii), London etc., 1961.

Williams/Voluntary
Williams, Peter, "Some Interesting Organ Terms---6: Voluntary", MT, cvii (1966), 149.

Wilson ed./North
Wilson, John, ed., Roger North on Music, London, 1959.

Wilson/Stanley
Wilson, John, "John Stanley: Some Opus Numbers and Editions", ML, xxxix (1958), 359-362.

Zimmerman/Purcell
Zimmerman, Franklin B., Henry Purcell 1659-1695: An Analytical Catalogue of his Music, London and New York, 1963.

Addendum

THE NANKI MANUSCRIPTS

I have recently had opportunity to consult microfilms of the two English keyboard manuscripts in the Nanki Music Library, Tokyo (MSS N-3/35 and N-4/31). They do not significantly alter the picture of English Baroque keyboard music as a whole, for most of what they contain can be found in other sources; but a description of their contents is given below. (For further descriptions, see above, p.470, and works cited there.)

Nanki N-3/35

Ff.1-13r consist of 22 short pieces copied c.1650. All are anonymous, but some appear elsewhere, such as "The Nighting Gall", which is in Add.10337 and Ch.Ch.1236; "Towle Towle" (f.7v) is another version of a piece attributed to Bryne in Ch.Ch.1236. Ff.13v-48 were probably copied c.1700-c.1715, and include harpsichord pieces, two voluntaries and various keyboard arrangements. The reverse end consists mainly of organ music, plus a ground by William Raylton.

Composers: G. M. Alberti arr., Barrett, Blow, Clarke, Croft, C. (really O.) Gibbons, Handel arr., H. Purcell, Raylton (and anonymously Bononcini arr., Bryne, Bull, King, Mancini arr.).

The harpsichord music by Blow consists of a Prelude in C (also in Add.22099 etc.), Chacone in C (also in Inglis 94), Hunting Almand in G (in Add.31403 etc.), Gavott in G (in Add. 31403 etc.), Prelude in G (in Add.34695), Ground in G minor (in Ch.Ch.1177 etc.) and Chacone in G minor (in Add.41205 etc.). The Prelude in G and Chacone in G minor are anonymous in this MS. Three organ voluntaries are also attributed to Blow: one is the shorter version of no.17 (see Shaw ed./Blow); the others are unique to this MS (both are published in McLean ed./Blow).

Apart from a voluntary of which only the first two bars exist (Z.D242), four pieces are attributed to Purcell. Two are from the Eight Suites (Z.662/1 and 663/2); one is the Prelude in A minor (Z.652) considered by Howard Ferguson to be spurious; the other is the C minor Ground by Croft (whose name has been crossed out and replaced by Purcell's in a different hand---see above, p.85).

Nanki N-4/31

Somewhat smaller than the other Reading organ MSS, it appears from the original pagination to be a composite MS, though it was bound at an early stage. The music can be divided into five groups as follows (pp.1-8 and 37-40 are missing):

(i) pp.9-20: Two voluntaries by Reading (both found at Dulwich).

(ii) pp.21-36: Psalm tune interludes; these are rather different from those in the other Reading MSS, for instead of being very short, and designed to be played between the lines of the psalm tune, they are somewhat longer (about 6-10 bars usually) and apparently to be played between verses, like those in Starling Goodwin's Pocket Companion.

(iii) pp.41-47: Chordal settings of the psalm tunes.

(iv) pp.50-83: Trumpet airs, composed or arranged by Reading; a similar group of trumpet airs is found in Rf.31, pp.321-369.

(v) pp.84-105: Anonymous voluntaries, most of which appear in other Reading MSS. They include an amalgam of the earlier and later versions of Stanley's op.6 no.V.ii, described as "A Trumpet Aire, set for the orgain, by Mr. Reading"; there are also other movements by Stanley, voluntaries by Froud and James, and the 3rd movement of the 7th suite from Handel's 1720 collection, here described as "For the Cornet and Flute Stop".

Thus the main interest of this MS lies in the psalm interludes, which are the earliest of this type, and some are substantial enough to be playable as independent pieces.