Early Music Performer

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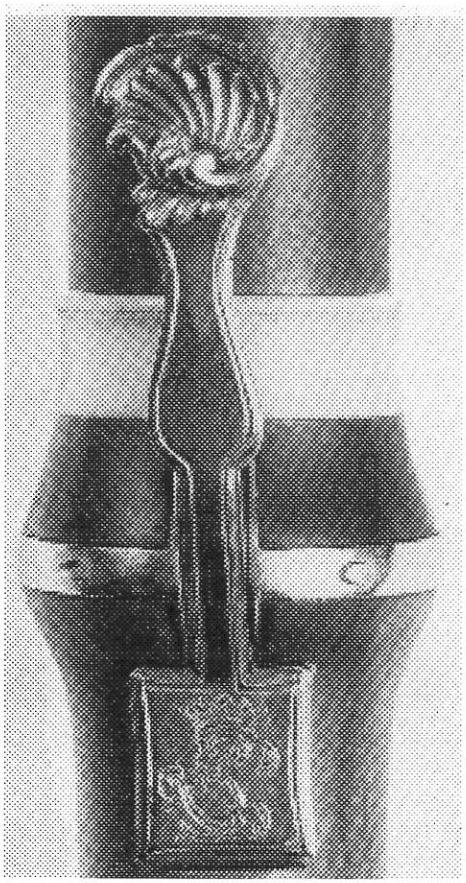

Nema

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Early Music Performer is edited by Chris Thorn, 135 Arnison Avenue, High Wycombe HP13 6BH UK Tel (++44)(0)1494 523581

email christh@nildram.co.uk website http://homepages@nildram.co.uk/~christh/

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The Equal Temperament Issue

Robert Webb

This article responds to John Catch's suggestion that equal temperament was much more commonly used in general music-making before the nineteenth century (*EMP*, 6 [August 2000], pp.13-16).

John Catch raised various points, some of which have been in aural circulation among early musicians for some years. We need to consider these 'taken for granted' issues more carefully before feeling that A + B + C suggests proof of his hypothesis.

Terminology:
Equal Temperament: division of the octave into twelve equally-spaced semitones.
A "Good" Temperament: unequal tempering so that some keys sound better than others (the term was used by Ellis in 1885 for his translation of Werckmeister, and subsequently adopted by C. Padgham [see below]).
Mean-tone Temperament: a tempering method where the object is to achieve pure thirds in the home keys (this necessarily creates just one "wolf-tone", or unusably-flat 5th interval somewhere else in the tuning, and is usually set on the A flat to D sharp apparent 5th).

A) The Fretted Instrument Issue

The frets fitted to guitar family instruments are proof that equal temperament was commonly known about and utilised (so the argument goes).

Superficially this appears to be valid evidence since we consider frets to be 'fixed straight lines' on the guitar fingerboard and spaced at regularly decreasing intervals. It is reasonable to assume that guitar makers arrived at a pattern for spacing frets empirically (although it is certainly in the nature of tradesmenship to proclaim a secret, traditional formula for their craft). It is also assumed that, since the strings or courses of strings on guitar-type instruments are usually in fourths or fifths, that the notes of the scale and their temperament are necessarily compromised and that equal temperament was arrived at through praxis.

In contradiction to this:
1) Tied-Gut Frets
Both lute, and some guitar-type instruments, use tied-gut frets which (as early music lutenists know) are movable. They can also be twisted at an angle slightly. Any desired temperament can be achieved. The limitations of which are fundamentally governed by the tuning of the strings, i.e. their intervalic relationship, and the players skill. If, for example, a mean-tone system is set, then a G sharp can be utilised in 'first position' chord patterns and an A flat set on a different string higher up the fretboard for use in second or third position chord patterns. Also, it is, of course, possible to re-tune a string and even move a fret to accommodate a piece in a particular key (should that be necessary). The other factor is that lute and guitar family music is characteristically limited to certain 'home keys' (pop guitarists today hate playing in E flat). Quite simply, if, in the past, a lutenist needed to perform an assortment of differing music styles at an event, (for example a transcription of foreign music to accompany vocalists), then (s)he would more-than-likely change to another instrument (as they do today). Tied gut frets cannot prove equal temperament practice.

2) Evidence from fixed-fret instruments:

The only way to find out if equal temperaments were desired or indeed used (two entirely different issues) is to examine the surviving fixed-fret instruments. There exist a range of such instruments, but it is the cittern family which is particularly apropos, since the historical evidence points to its common usage throughout north and central Europe during the period of interest (C15th-C18th).

Peter Forrester (the celebrated lute and cittern maker) has conducted a thorough research of late renaissance and early baroque citterns (see bibliography) and, in my discussions with him concerning my 'historically correct' Elizabethan cittern, he stated that he has never come across two period instruments featuring the same fret scheme. None are equal temperament, and all feature a 7th fret which is well below pure (the 7th fret always marks the strings 5th interval). This alone proves that the makers knew about and used unequal temperaments, but this hypothesis is supported further.

We can confirm that a mean-tone objective was desirous since all historic citterns show a noticeably irregular pattern in the spacing of the first three frets. The second fret is often extremely close to the first. And the first is often placed at a great distance from the nut. The first fret marks the 4th note of the scale (a C) on an instrument whose lowest note is G. (4ths have to be tempered sharp if fifths are tempered flat). Thus the uneven patterning is proof against equal temperament, where the frets would form a pleasing exponential pattern.

Thus, a close examination of the fixed-fret issue yields a clear indication that virtually all cittern makers knew about the laws of temperament. (I say virtually because: a) nothing is 100 per cent, and b) because Antony Holborne warned new cittern students about poorly-fretted instruments). It also suggests that the fashion in the late C16th/ early C17th, the height of the cittern-playing period, favoured some kind of mean-tone. Forrester actually believes that most were designed on either a fifth- or sixth-comma mean-tone system. The surviving north and central European citterns reveal that their makers (and therefore their buyers, the musicians) desired, and obtained, pure thirds, wherever possible. To achieve this and to adhere to a diatonic system (the Turkish saz features two closely-spaced alternatives for the note 'Re'), it is necessary to flatten some or perhaps all 5ths by some degree or other. (Padgham compares temperament to a balloon where, if you push it in, it has to swell out somewhere else). Incidentally, there was a cittern revival in England in the later C17th, and it would be interesting to know if any surviving instruments differ in their temperament from the earlier models. Again, equal temperament has never been mentioned during my enquiries about cittern fretting.

3) Italian and Spanish Instruments

The evidence for equal temperament tunings in Italian and Spanish fixed-fret instruments is outside of my field of knowledge. I do not doubt that the Italians had the knowledge of the theory of equal temperament in this period, nor do I doubt that they had the ability to translate it into physical measurement for a fretting template. But I do doubt that it was widespread. Why? Well because the majority of citterns examined by Peter Forrester were Italian in origin. They happen to be the main survivors (there are no English citterns extant). This is mainly because, in northern Europe, it was one-up-manship to own an imported Italian instrument. We understand this from the Port of London records where accounts show large numbers of lutes and citterns regularly coming into London at two or three times the price of indigenous models. (Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, of course, had established the trend for an Italian 'imported music culture' --- as proved by their extant musical instrument collection and descriptive inventories). Did the Mediterraneans especially build mean-tone citterns for export to the north? And surrepticiously provide equally tempered equivalents for home use? I doubt it. It is more likely that they generally used the same fretting system, i.e. mean-tone, but that some makers were experimenting, not only with temperaments, but with newly-designed guitar-type instruments of varying size, style and stringing pattern.

B) The Organ and Keyboard Tuning Issue

So far as organs are concerned, with greater quantities surviving and with a much greater quantity of documentation available (owing mainly to their being furniture and/or attached to a church) we a likely to get a clearer picture. Added to this is the fact that many ranks of pipes have survived unaltered since the C18th and older...and still in their original cone tunings.

Research has shown that equal temperament tuning was never used in organs before the C19th. For details, I would refer the reader (and presumably John Catch) to Charles Padgham's 1986 book, *The*

Well-Tempered Organ, where Padgham explains and illustrates 22 different tunings. These, and the whole issue of temperament, are wonderfully explained to the lay reader and Padgham has also included the practical evidence from extant organs. This book was unknown to me during my seven years of active harpsichord study, and although I have always tuned my own (and other people's) harpsichords ...I wish I had known about this book instead of having to read some heavily scientific modern tomes on tuning.

The C19th is not my area of knowledge, but even S.S. Wesley is known to have deeply regretted the total phasing out of unequal temperaments: "As to equal tuning ... I will own I do not like it. It is a very long story to enter on, so I will only say that I never enjoy playing on an organ where nothing is in tune, where simple triads produce the effect on the ear which dissolving views do to the eye before a picture has reached full focus. All the organ builders are against it, but had to yield to fashion ..." (A letter of 1870 from S.S. Wesley cited in Padgham 1986, p.37).

I don't know how Catch can dare to suggest that Samuel Wesley (S.S. Wesley's father) was "possibly" playing on equally-tempered keyboards. All evidence is so clearly against it. Catch seems to be trapped by the old walnut that Bach's "Well-Tempered Clavier" means "Equally-Tempered Keyboard" which of course it does not. Research by Padgham suggests that the Germans already had a special term for equal temperament (Gleich-schwebende Temperatur) and that Bach's title more accurately translates as "Keyboard in Good Temperament". Good temperaments mean that you can play in all keys and that each will have its own special character; something I suggest JSB would have liked.

Interpretation of the Evidence

The simple question (which no-one seems to have asked) is that, if equal temperament was commonly used, then how was it implemented? What method did a tuner (amateur of professional) use to achieve equal temperament?

Firstly, it should be understood that it is impossible to simply guess exact semitones, or even tones; these small intervals have to be arrived at by some method is using multiples of division, e.g. taking 2 consecutive 5th intervals and dividing the higher note an octave down. No one had 'golden ears', or so-called 'perfect pitch' (just as they don't today). Quite simply, you have to have a method. In all practical methods for tuning harmony instruments, it is customary and indeed necessary to cross-refer certain notes in the diatonic scale (usually favouring the simpler keys) to check that they are either pure, deliberately sharp or deliberately flat. All tuners amateur or professional had to do this before the invention of the electronic tuning device.

Secondly, if tuners used a method, then no information, either descriptive or documentary has survived from before the C19th. This seems especially odd when one considers that we know (I believe) of more than one hundred methods of tuning from the Baroque period. One could argue that the knowledge of how to do it was passed on aurally, or perhaps deliberately kept secret by the professionals, but with the sheer quantity of known alternative tunings surviving, one is inclined to be certain that equal temperament tuning was not known as a practical method.

Conclusion

To conclude, I believe John Catch is wrong in his assumptions about the early and common practice of equal temperament tuning in Europe; there is too much evidence against it. If we want to revitalise old music, and to do it good service, it is just as important to study and to put into practice unequal temperament, as it is to understand the notational conventions and the character of original instruments. If someone has incontrovertible evidence supporting the equal temperament issue then please, bring it forward, by writing to Early Music Performer. Otherwise let's nail this one up and give it a sea burial. The last thing the early music movement needs is a return to the safe environment of a one-cap-fits-all classical music mentality. This was, after all, what it was trying to get away from in the first instance! The approval of equal temperament in early music performance before 1850 is inappropriate and leads to a dull and lifeless hybrid.

The truth is, I believe, that it is extremely hard to adopt an unequal temperament psyche. This is surely because we are, as today's musicians, continually bombarded with equally-tempered music. The ubiquitous electronic keyboard and its accoutrements (tuners, sequencers, etc.) have defined temperament and left an indelible imprint in our ears. In the past there was no equal tempering. Its a synthetic scale, and only devisable scientifically. It would have sounded dreadful. Those who knew about, and could identify the details of consonance and dissonance (the harmonist) were, as they are today, a separate species from the monophonists (singers and melodic instrumentalists). Monophonists habitually cut out their musical surroundings and use their own, often ill-conceived internal pitch

reference. It takes a harmonist (today, usually the conductor, in the past the keyboard player or director) to point out the fault and correct it. Today, the reference for the harmonist is the equally-tempered scale, before about 1850 it was likely to be a locally favoured species of unequal temperament dependent on: the style of music performed, its harmonic instrument ingredient (organ, harpsichord or lute), and local absolute pitch reference and tempering knowledge.

Bibliography

Peter Forrester: 'Italian Citterns in the Museum of the Paris Conservatoire' in *Lute Society Journal* (?), 1990?, pp. 8-19. (I'm afraid a photocopy of this article, without details, came to me through the cittern maker, George Stevens).
Charles Padgham: *The Well-Tempered Organ* (Positif Press, 1986).

WILLIAM BYRD AND HIS SOCIAL CIRCLE

John Harley

In an article published in 1988, the late John Bennett raised the question of whether Anthony Roper was a patron of Thomas Tallis (1). He based the possibility on the bequest of a gilt bowl with a cover made to Roper by Tallis's widow, Joan, who died in 1589 (2). Beyond that bequest, however, no direct evidence has so far been found of Roper's association with the Tallises, nor of his ownership of the house they occupied in East Greenwich, about which Bennett also speculated. Roper owned properties in East Greenwich, but they do not seem to have included the area where the Tallises' house is believed to have stood; indeed, their house appears to have been one in which Joan lived with her first husband, Thomas Bury, whose will Thomas Tallis witnessed (3).

There is, however, evidence that Anthony Roper's family was acquaintance with another musician of the generation of Thomas Tallis (who died in 1585), for the will of his father, William, was witnessed by a 'Sebastian Westcott' (4). It seems certain that he is to be identified with Sebastian Westcott or Westcote (d.1582), who by 1553/4 was the almoner and Master of the Choristers at St Paul's Cathedral, under whose direction the boys of the choir not only sang but gave plays that contributed importantly to the development of Tudor drama (5). Westcott was a staunch Catholic (though he managed, with only occasional difficulties, to hold on to his post in Protestant times), and the discovery of his association with William Roper, Sir Thomas More's son-in-law, comes as no surprise. But there may have been reasons other than religious sympathies for the association, since music and dramatic performances had been among the recreations of the More household.

One member of the extended More household, who married More's niece Joan Rastall and who eventually sought refuge abroad because of his Catholicism, was the virginalist and playwright John Heywood. He was employed at court by 1519, and on at least one occasion (in 1551 or 1552) he was involved with Westcott in the presentation of a play by the boys of St Paul's (6). Westcott was familar with the court, for before he moved to St Paul's he was employed as a yeoman of the king's chamber (by 1545). It is probable that both Westcott and Heywood became acquainted with Thomas Tallis not long after the latter entered the Chapel Royal (no later than 1544).

Whether a chain of acquaintanceships linking Thomas Tallis with the Ropers via Westcott and Heywood is needed to explain the connection between Joan Tallis and Anthony Roper, or whether Tallis and his wife were independently plugged into the network of those who clung defiantly to the old faith after Queen Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558, is impossible to say. The Tallises, unlike Heywood, Westcott and the Roper family, are not known to have had any trouble with the authorities over matters of religion. It is very likely that had they not gone to church they would have appeared somewhere in the records of recusants, so the most we are entitled to say is that they were tolerant of Catholics - as, indeed, was the Queen, provided they were talented or wealthy and generally behaved themselves.

While there is a modest degree of speculation in the assumption that Westcott knew Tallis, he certainly knew the family of Tallis's young friend and probable pupil, the Catholic William Byrd, for Westcott's name appears in documents mentioning Byrd's elder brothers Symond and John, who were choristers of St Paul's (7). Another, younger, chorister in Westcott's time at St Paul's was Peter Philips, who lodged with him before leaving England on account of his Catholicism, and is said to have been Byrd's pupil (8).

Like Anthony Roper, William Byrd received a bequest under Joan Tallis's will, of which he was an overseer. In his case it was of a great gilt cup with a cover. It was from Anthony Roper that Byrd acquired Harlington manor, a property which had been bought in 1552 by William Roper. Byrd may at first have rented it, since the manorial courts were held in Anthony Roper's name for some years after Byrd took up occupancy (9). The first intimation of Byrd's residence at Harlington is a 'certificat from the

Bishop of London of the recusantes ... within his Diocese', and under Harlington it lists 'The wife of William Bird one of the gent of her Maties chappell' (10). Because the first page of the document is headed '1577 November', it is to be assumed that the Byrds had by then moved to Harlington. Without that date on the document one might have thought their removal took place later, after William Roper's death on 4 January 1577/8, when Anthony Roper inherited the house at Farningham in Kent which became his principal home. At least one list of Catholics in which Byrd appears (Public Record Office, SP12/200/59) was compiled over an extended period, so it is not completely beyond the bounds of possibility that the final date of the document recording Mrs Byrd's presence at Harlington is later than November 1577, but there is really no sufficient reason for supposing that to be so. The Ropers had many properties and a number of homes, so Anthony may not have been resident at Harlington, and may already have been living at Farningham while his father was still alive (11).

Anthony Roper was named on several occasions as a recusant, and it seems more than likely that he was acquainted with Thomas Paget (the third Baron Paget), another prominent Catholic, who had an estate at West Drayton, close to Harlington (12). Paget became involved in a conspiracy, and shortly after the arrest in 1583 of Francis Throckmorton he fled to the Continent, where Westcott's ex-lodger Peter Philips entered his service. Paget's papers of the previous decade include a letter written to him by Byrd in 1573, and contain evidence that Byrd's brother-in-law Robert Broughe, a maker of keyboard instruments, was working for him by 1577 (13). Byrd's letter was written from the Close at Clerkenwell, originally part of the area enclosed by the cloisters of a nunnery, and by the mid-seventeenth century part of the glebe of St James's church. Clerkenwell is mentioned in contemporary records as a centre of Catholicism (14), and in 1578 it was reported that Lady Paulet, who lived in the Close, commonly had mass said in her house (15). The Close appears by then to have been a fashionable place of residence, though it seems to be impossible to discover the names of most of those who lived there, and so to guess with whom Byrd might have been staying (16).

There is some possibility that Byrd's association with Paget was based not only on a concurrence of religious views and a patron-client relationship, but upon a tenuous family connection. The links between Byrd's family and his namesake, William Byrd the Mercer, were the subject of an article published in 1998 (17). It can now be added that Byrd the Mercer was related by marriage to Paget's family, for his wife Mirabell was the sister of another Mercer, Thomas Rivett, who was married to Paget's sister Grisold (18). The ways in which the connections of the two William Byrds were entwined makes one wonder whether they shared a common family origin, known to them but not disclosed by surviving pedigrees. Six generations before the composer's birth the first recorded member of his family, Richarde Birde, is said to have lived at Yenge at Stone (modern Ingatestone) in Essex. The name 'Richard Bird' also occurs as that of ancestors of the Mercer, six and seven generations back in his pedigree, when his family lived at 'Yowley by Mallpass' (perhaps modern Chowley) in Cheshire (19), though no copy of the pedigree actually indicates a connection with the Byrds of Ingatestone.

A version of the pedigree drawn up during an heraldic visitation in 1580 illustrates how the Byrd family of Cheshire spread to places remote from its place of origin (20). (Indeed it eventually produced two William Byrds, father and son, who went to the American colonies and owned the site upon which Richmond, Virginia, was built.) The manner in which families spread throughout England is also illustrated by another family of Byrds, living in Cornwall; they were related to Christopher Byrd of Stoke in Sussex, who originally came from Saffron Walden, where yet more William Byrds had their home (21). 'William' was a name given to members of the Saffron Walden family from generation to generation; several who bore the name were lawyers, and the initials of Sir William Byrd (c.1561-1624) occur on a number of documents likely to be unearthed by anyone searching for information about the composer. Indeed, 'William Byrd' occurs as the name of different persons with quite remarkable frequency in documents of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (see the postscript below).

The family name Bridges (or Brigges, Bruges or Brugges) was another that appears to have been widespread. It may have been one of the Chelmsford Bridges whose lute was carried to Byrd's future friend and patron, the Catholic John Petre, in 1567 (22); at any rate, Petre came from the same part of Essex. There were, however, a number of families named Bridges in London (23). Anne Bridges, who married the composer's brother Symond at All Hallows Lombard Street in 1567, was described as being 'of London', but it is not known if she was related either to the family named Bridges which lived in Lombard Street in the early seventeenth century (24), or to the Bridges family of Chelmsford. Others named Bridges were resident in Berkshire, but at present it is equally unclear whether John Bridges of Brightwell, who in 1580 helped to draw up an inventory of the goods of Symond Byrd (who lived in the

same village), was a member of the prominent county family (25). It is evident that he must have been related to Anne, and was perhaps her brother or nephew.

A marriage which was to establish family ties between Byrd the musician and Anthony Roper was the alliance, about 1591 or 1592, of Byrd's son Christopher with Katherine Moore (or More). Like Roper she was descended from Sir Thomas More, and her father was Roper's cousin (26). The fact that Anthony Roper's principal residence was at Farningham in Kent may throw light on Byrd's gift to 'Ra: Bosville' of a copy of the second book of his Gradualia, published in 1607 (27). Many generations of the Bosville family flourished in the area around Sevenoaks in Kent, and a number of its members bore the name 'Ralph'. The recipient of Byrd's gift may have come from Bradborne (28). Roper certainly knew some of the Bosvilles, for his granddaughter Isabel married Sir Henry Bosville of Eynsford, a village adjacent to Farningham (29). This marriage creates another association (though it may be no more than coincidental), for Isabel's father was Sir Thomas Wiseman of Rivenhall in Essex, which was the birthplace of Thomas Tusser, who had been employed as a musician by Sir William Paget, the first Baron Paget and father of Byrd's patron Thomas Paget. Tusser dedicated his Five Hundreth Points of Good Husbandry (1573) to Thomas Paget and his wife, and to the memory of William Paget.

A further marriage, joining two Catholic families known to Byrd, was that between Mary Petre and John Roper, who was descended from Christopher Roper, Anthony Roper's uncle. Mary was the daughter of Byrd's friend William Petre (the second Lord Petre), and his wife Katherine, the daughter of another Catholic friend, Edward Somerset the fourth Earl of Worcester. Somerset was in fact a friend of both the Petres and the Pagets. He wrote to Paget about Byrd in 1573 (signing himself 'E. Herbert', his style at that time), and during the Christmas season of 1589/90 Byrd and Worcester (as he had now become) were guests of John Petre (the first Lord Petre) at Thorndon Hall in Essex (30). John Petre's father, Sir William Petre, for a time shared the office of Secretary of State with Sir William Paget, and he corresponded with Thomas Paget and was associated with him on official business. Guests at the weddings of John Petre's sisters Dorothy and Thomasine were entertained by performances by the boys of St Paul's, no doubt under Westcott's direction (31).

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It is plain from the preceding paragraphs that a dense network of family relationships is formed by the genealogy of the Elizabethan gentry and nobility. The interests of the two classes were often the same; and this, together with the small size of the population and a desire to conclude the most advantageous unions, served to restrict the number of families into which their members married. Religion as well might be a consideration in the forging of alliances, and besides this it served as a connection with a second, overlapping, network of those who clung obdurately to the Catholic faith. However, neither network was static or exclusive. Some Catholic nobles, like the Petres and the Pagets, had not long emerged from the gentry, and included within their circles family members, friends and acquaintances from different social levels and with varying shades of religious opinion. Elizabethan society was complex and mobile. Contemporaries did not always find it easy to distinguish clearly between the classes, even when terms such as 'gentry' and 'yeomanry' might have had some meaning for them.

We do not know whether William Byrd the composer and his brothers Symond and John were the first members of their family to regard themselves as 'gentlemen'. While they evidently came from a reasonably affluent background, we have next to no information about the social position of their ancestors, except that it seems likely that the family arms were in use, without heraldic sanction, before they were recorded in 1571 (when the brothers were already in their thirties and well-established in life) and that a distant uncle had been an abbot (32). The family may have belonged to the London business community, since William, his brother Symond, his father and his grandfather all appear to have been members of the Fletchers' Company (33). Whatever the case, it is probable that Byrd's access to the social network which linked the noble and the influential added to his standing. It is certain that, from time to time, his connections did him no harm in the legal cases in which he became involved. Byrd's initial admission to the network seems to have been based in part on his outstanding musical abilities, and in part on the strong Catholic beliefs which he shared with certain noble friends and patrons. But by no means all Byrd's friends were Catholics, and there is evidence that not all the members of his own family shared his views. In 1591 he dined three times at the Protestant home of Magdalen Herbert, the mother of the poet George Herbert (34), and while his own children adhered to the old faith some of his nephews and nieces are known to have accepted the new dispensation (35). Members of other families held similarly divergent views. The poet John Donne, who wrote verses for Lady Herbert and preached a

commemorative sermon when she died in 1627, became Dean of St Paul's; yet his mother was John Heywood's daughter, and two of her brothers were Jesuit priests.

The full compass of Byrd's connections is not easy to determine. Very often genealogies were drawn up to show only the history of a particular branch of a family, and as indicated above it is sometimes difficult to link one branch with another. Equally often the information contained in genealogies is tantalizingly slender, or even inaccurate. Such is the situation with an extensive pedigree of the Wingfield family of Norfolk. At one point this records the marriage of Sir Anthony Wingfield to Mary, the daughter of John Bird of London, who is described as 'Customer' (36). Was this John the second of the three musical Byrd brothers, Symond, John and William? No indication has been found elsewhere of the sources of income enjoyed by the composer's brother John, whose brother Symond and brother-in-law Philip Smyth both worked in the Custom House (37), beyond his ownership of property and the lending of money, sometimes at rates of doubtful legality; nor has there been unambiguous evidence that he married, or any suggestion that he had children (38). The truth turns out to be that the Wingfield pedigree is not wholly reliable, and that Sir Anthony Wingfield was in fact married to Anne, a daughter of William Byrd the Mercer, who was the Queen's Customer Outward (39). The connection is nevertheless interesting, since Sir Anthony Wingfield's grandfather, another Sir Anthony, had married Ursula, a sister of John de Vere, the fourteenth Earl of Oxford, and it was from the seventeenth Earl of Oxford, Edward de Vere, that William Byrd the composer leased Battyshall manor (1573 or 1574), effective upon the death of the Earl's uncle, Aubrey Vere. William Byrd transferred the lease to his brother John, to whom the Earl sold the manor in 1580. John Byrd in turn sold it to Philip Smyth (40). Another possible link between William Byrd and the Vere family lies in the fact that John de Vere, the fifteenth Earl of Oxford, had a granddaughter, Jane, who married Charles Neville, Earl of Westmorland. She is one of the contenders for the ownership of My Ladye Nevells Booke, a manuscript collection of Byrd's keyboard compositions, apparently prepared under the composer's direction (41).

Sooner or later, sad to say, such journeys through the maze of family relationships run into a brick wall. A puzzle that remains to be solved concerns the Byrd family which was established at Eltham by the early sixteenth century (42). William Roper must have known them, since he lived nearby at Well Hall, where Anthony's elder brother Thomas later lived. Were these Byrds connected to the composer's Kentish relatives who lived some twenty miles away, at Boxley?(43). No clue has so far been uncovered.

Postscript

I remarked above, and in William Byrd: Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, on the extraordinary number of times the name 'William Byrd' is found in sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in circumstances which make clear that it does not refer to the composer. I recently found it in a request for a grant of land (Public Record Office E318/42/2290), curiously adjacent to another (E318/42/2289) bearing the name 'John Bull'. The date of these documents, the sixth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, makes it unlikely that the first refers to William Byrd the composer, and impossible that the second refers to his younger colleague in the Chapel Royal. In an article entitled 'The Name's the Same', in R. M. A. Research Chronicle no. 2 (1962), Thurston Dart mentioned that he had 'found eighteen distinguishable John Bulls living in London during the 16th and early 17th centuries, none of whom is identifiable with the composer' (though Dart may have underestimated the number of John Bulls in London at that time). A particular difficulty arises when there is nothing to show whether or not the person named is one for whom a search is being made. This is the case with a further Public Record Office document which I have recently come across (E310/11/27, roll 1, f. 2), concerning the manor of Tamerton in Devon. It is undated, and is in a box of particulars for leases covering the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth I. The name 'Wills Byrd', in a contemporary hand, appears on the back, and in this case it is apparently not that of the lawyer from Saffron Walden, mentioned above, but of the person seeking the lease. Could it be the composer, who had interests in other properties in the south west of the country? Or simply one of his namesakes? Who can say?

(1) John Bennet, 'A Tallis patron?', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 21, 1988, pp. 41-4.

(2) The will was made in 1587, and is printed in: John Harley, William Byrd: Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, Aldershot, 1997 (amended 1999), pp. 384-6.

(3) Hasted's history of Kent ... The hundred of Blackheath, ed. Henry H. Drake, London, 1886, pp. 77-8 and 89; Harley, 1997 (1999), pp. 52-3; Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, A biographical dictionary of English court musicians 1485-1714, Aldershot, 1998, ii, p. 1070. On Bury's death in 1554 the house, which is said to have been located at the south-east corner of what is now Greenwich market, reverted to the antiquarian William Lambarde, who sold it to Joan, together with another house, in 1586

(4) William Roper's will was made on 10 January 1576/7. The probate copy is contained in Public Record Office document Prob. 11/60 (ff. 211v-213v). Another of the witnesses was William Weston. It is improbable that he was the Jesuit of that name who (in 1586?) met William Byrd; he was comparatively young and appears to have been abroad throughout the 1570s. The witness is more likely to have been a lawyer, the future Sir William Weston.

(5) Westcott's patent was issued on 1 February 1553/4, but he appears to have taken up his duties some years earlier.

(6) Ashbee and Lasocki, 1998, i, pp. 568-571, where further information is given about Heywood's association with Westcott.

(7) Harley, 1997 (1999), pp. 15-17

(8) Ibid., p. 62, for sources

(9) Ibid., pp. 63-64

(10) Public Record Office, SP12/118/73/ Byrd entry on f. 147v.

(11) The sequence of events is slightly obscured by the terms of William Roper's will, which seem to mean that Anthony was unable either fully to enjoy the manor of Farningham or dispose of the manor of Harlington for a period of two years after his father's death.

(12) For the history of the Paget family's estate, see S. A. J. McVeigh, *Drayton of the Pagets*, West Drayton, 1970.

(13) Harley, 1997 (1999), pp. 46-8.

(14) Ibid., p.48.

(15) Public Record Office, SP15/25/118; *Calendar of state papers, domestic series, of the reign of Elizabeth, addenda, 1566-1579*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green, London, 1871, p. 551. Lady Paulet was the widow of Sir Hugh Paulet, and the stepmother of the puritan Sir Amias Paulet, who was lieutenant-governor of Jersey, then ambassador to France (1576-9), and from 1585 custodian of Mary Queen of Scots. She is not known to have had any connection with Byrd.

(16) Known inhabitants of the Close include Sir Thomas Challoner and (in 1619) Richard de Burgh, the fourth Earl of Clanricarde: see William J. Pinks, *The history of Clerkenwell ... Second edition*, London, 1881, pp. 91-96.

(17) John Harley, 'New light on William Byrd', *Music & Letters*, lxxix, 1998, pp. 475-88.

(18) *The visitation of London in the year 1568*, ed. Joseph Jackson Howard and George John Armytage (Harleian Society Publications, i), London, 1869, p. 19; *Visitation of London 1568*, ed. H. Stanford London and Sophia W. Rawlins (Harleian Society Publications, cix-cx), London, 1963, p. 21.

(19) Chowley is some six miles north of Malpas. Forms of the name occurring in other sources are 'Thouley', 'Touley' and 'Towley': see J. McN. Dodgson, *The place-names of Cheshire*, Cambridge, 1971, iv, p. 84.

(20) A pedigree which is more comprehensive than the one given in *The visitation of London 1568* (quoted in Harley, 1998, at note 68) is given in *The visitation of Cheshire in the year 1580 ... 1566 ... 1533 ... and a fragment of the visitation of the City of Chester in the year 1591*, ed. Paul Rylands (Harleian Society Publications, xviii), London, 1882, pp. 24-5. Although the pedigrees are consistent about Byrd the Mercer's descent from Thomas Byrd via Hugh Byrd, the information about earlier ancestors is somewhat at variance.

(21) *The visitation of Cornwall in the year 1620*, ed. J. L. Vivian and Henry H. Drake (Harleian Society Publications, ix), London, 1874, p. 28; *The visitations of Essex by Hawley, 1552; Hervey, 1558; Cooke, 1570; Raven, 1612; and Owen and Lilly, 1634...*, ed. Walter C. Metcalfe (Harleian Society Publications, xiii-xiv), London, 1878-89, pp. 365-6. It is unclear whether or how the Saffron Walden Byrds were related to the Cheshire Byrds.

(22) Harley, 1997 (1999), p. 25

(23) *The visitations of Essex*, p. 189 (but note that the reference to Bridges is dated as late as 1612); Harley, 1997 (1999), p. 25; *Two Tudor subsidy assessment rolls for the City of London: 1541 and 1582*, ed. R. G. Lang (London Record Society Publications, 29), London, 1993.

(24) On Symond Byrd's marriage see Harley, 1997 (1999), p. 25; the composer's sister Martha was also married at All Hallows Lombard Street, in 1567/8 (ibid., p. 28). For the Bridges family of Lombard Street see The visitations of Essex, p. 325. In the early seventeenth century there was a Bridges family in the parish of St Thomas Apostle, close to where Symond Byrd had obtained a house in 1563 (see Harley, 1998, at p. 485).

(25) *The four visitations of Berkshire ... 1532 ... 1566 ... 1623 ... 1665-66*, ed. W. Harry Rylands (Harleian Society Publications, lvi), London, 1907, p. 3. The inventory is Berkshire Record Office document D/A1/175/85 (printed in Annual Byrd Newsletter no. 4, June 1998), although Brightwell-cum-Sotwell is now in Oxfordshire; see also Harley, 1998, at pp. 484-5.

(26) Harley 1997 (1999), p. 101.

(27) A copy in the British Library bears Bosville's signature and the inscription: 'Mr. Wylliam Byrd his last Sett of Songs geven me by him Feb. 1607' (presumably 1607/8).

(28) Michael Chibbett, 'Dedications in Morley's printed music', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 13, 1976, pp. 84-94 (at pp. 90-91); Harley, 1998, pp. 479-80.

(29) *The visitations of Essex, p. 527; A visitation of the county of Kent begun Anno Dni. MDCLXIII. finished Anno Dni. MDCLXVIII ...*, ed. Sir George J. Armytage (Harleian Society Publications, liv), London, 1906, p. 17.

(30) See Harley, 1997 (1999), pp. 49-50, 94-5. Any documents relating to Byrd which may have been among the Earl of Worcester's papers were presumably destroyed during the siege of Raglan Castle in the Civil War; the inventory described in Michael G. Brennan's article 'Sir Charles Somerset's Music Books (1622)' (*Music & Letters*, lxxiv, 1993, pp. 501-18), which deals with the library of Worcester's son, probably survived because it is in a volume which is an estate rental, of which greater care was taken. (Information from Mrs Margaret Richards, Archivist at Badminton House, Gloucestershire.)

(31) See Harley, 1997 (1999), p. 17, for sources.

(32) Ibid., pp. 374, 376-7.

(33) Ibid., p. 11.

(34) Amy M. Charles, 'Mrs. Herbert's kitchin booke', *English Literary Renaissance*, 4, 1974, at p. 170.

(35) Harley, 1997 (1999), p. 359; Harley, 1998, at pp. 487-8.
(36) *The visitacion of Norrfolk ... 1563 ... and also the visitation ... 1613 ...*, ed. Walter Rye (Harleian Society Publications, xxxii), London, 1891, p. 317.
(37) In addition to the genealogical information about the Smyth family mentioned in Harley. 1997 (1999), pp. 374-5, and Harley, 1998. p. 482, it is worth noting the genealogies given by William Berry, *Pedigrees of the families in the county of Kent*, 1830, pp. 10-13, 250-51.
(38) Harley, 1997 (1999), pp. 26, 87-89
(39) *The Visitation of Cheshire*, pp 24-5.
(40) Harley, 1997 (1999), pp. 54-5, 81-4.
(41) Ibid., p. 402. It might be argued that, if the manuscript belonged to Jane, it would carry the title 'My Lady Westmorland's Book'; but her husband was attainted in 1571 and fled to the Continent, where he died in 1584, so it seems likely that by 1591, when the book was compiled, she was known by her family name.
(42) *Hasted's history of Kent*, p. 230 et passim.
(43) See Harley, 1997 (1999), p. 374.

The German Flute in 18th century England
Part I, 1700-1740

Nancy Hadden

Until the 1670s the English term 'flute' referred to the transverse consort instrument in use from the early 16th century. The end-blown instrument was known at that time as the 'recorder'. Henry VIII, Elizabeth I and James I maintained separate flute and recorder consorts in their musical establishments . After the 1630s flute players are no longer documented in court records, but various references to 'flutes and recorders' in the 1660s and 1670s suggest that both instruments were in use. After about 1673 newly modified 'baroque' recorders were brought into England by James Paisible and other French musicians, and the recorder became known as the flute, 'flute doux' or common flute. The transverse flute was distinguished by the name 'flute allemande' (in various corruptions) or German flute.

The bright-toned renaissance transverse flute was keyless, with a cylindrical interior bore and made in one piece usually of box or fruit wood. Sometime during the later 17th century the flute was drastically re-designed, probably in France. The tenor flute in d', the most useful size, was divided into three joints, given a conical bore and a single key for Eb, a note previously obtainable only by half-shading the bottom hole. The result was a soft-toned, fully chromatic flute, well adapted to the expressive execution of messa di voce and ornaments so essential to the emerging baroque style. By the end of the century there was a large concentration of makers and players in France. Lully was the first to use the instrument in his opera ballet *Le Triomphe de l'Amour* in 1681. The esteemed viol player Marin Marais was the composer of *Pieces en Trio pour les Flutes, Violon, et Dessus de Viole* published in 1692, followed closely by court flautist Michel de la Barre's *Premier Livre de Trios* in 1694. The first solos for transverse flute published in 1702 were also by de la Barre.

The earliest reference to the new 'baroque' flute in England comes from a manuscript compiled by James Talbot between 1685-1701. Among the wind and brass instruments Talbot describes is a 3-piece 'flute d'allemagne' made by the esteemed French recorder maker Peter Bressan (d. 1731) who made flutes and recorders in London from about 1683:

FLUTE D'ALLEMAGNE

Bressan's Flute D'Allemagne has 6 notes in the middle joint and one in the lowest which is covered by a brass key. The upper joint has one hole for the mouth, about an inch and a half above this a cross piece of wood (or plug) determines the length of the long bore. From the plug to the m[outh]p[iece] about 4 inches. The brass key is entire and has a small brass spring under its upper end.

A stave for a fingering chart, unfortunately blank, was to have been supplied by 'Mr. Paisible and Mr. LaRiche'.

The transverse flute made its English debut in John Eccles's masque *The Judgement* of Paris in 1701. Venus's charming and seductive aria, *Hither turn, ye gentle swain* scored for soprano, 'flute d'almagne', strings and basso continuo highlights the neo-classical associations of the flute with seductive feminine charm. Two arias for a pair of common flutes are also called for, and it seems likely that one player would have performed on both 'flute d'almagne' and common flute.

Shortly after its introduction in *The Judgement of Paris* the German flute began to appear in the theatre orchestras and public concerts. The flautist and oboist John Loeillet was in place at the Drury Lane Theatre by 10 April, 1705. But it was a 'Mr. Latour' who played a 'solo on the German flute' for the first time in a public concert at York Buildings in 1706, and again in 1707 when he played a sonata for 'flute Alleman accompanied by Mr. Dean jr. on the Arch-lute'. Between 1708-1720 forty concert performances featuring German flute took place in London's thriving theatres, concert rooms and

chocolate houses. Players named were Signor Pietro [Chaboud], 'Luly' [John Loeillet], Denby, Grano, Neale, Dahuron, and Paisible, who on September 9, 1708 played a solo on the common flute and after the concert was finished 'desired to play a solo on the German flute', suggesting that he did not consider himself to be a professional player on that instrument.

Although sonatas and concertos by various composers were mentioned in connection with these concerts, little music for flute found its way into print before the 1720s. The solos being played were likely players' own arrangements of violin or recorder pieces or popular opera airs. An exception may have been William Corbett's *Six sonatas with an Overture and Aires for violins and hoboys, with a trumpet, flute de Almain, and Thoroughbass for Bass violin, bassoon, or harpsichord, Opus 3*, (Walsh, 1708). This is the earliest published English chamber music to specify German flute; the instrumentation bears a strong resemblance to the advertisement for 'a consort with several pieces for trumpets, hoboys, German flutes and violins' conducted by Corbett at York Buildings on 12 January 1707.

In 1713 Walsh printed Corbett's Six sonatas a3 for two flutes or German flutes and a Bass, opus 4. The issue of this music for both 'flute' and 'German flute' in a single publication set a pattern for subsequent composers' works, such as John Loeillet's Sonatas for a variety of instruments, viz. 3 for a common flute, hoboy or violin and a bass, and 3 for two German flutes and a bass, opus 1 (1722), XII Sonatas in three parts, 6 for 2 violins and a bass, 3 for 2 German flutes and a bass, and 3 for hautboy, common flute and bass,opus 2 (1725) and XII Solos, six for a common flute and six for a German flute, opus 3 (1729), Corbett's *Bizzarie Universali* (1728), and Francesco Bononcini's Sonatas or chamber airs, opus 7 (1733). It would seem that recorder players were being encouraged to take up the increasingly popular German flute. Title pages frequently suggested that pieces were interchangeably playable on violin, hoboy or German flute, and only rarely was music designated solely for the German flute.

From 1720 flute music by English (and immigrant) composers started to trickle from the publishers at the rate of one or two books a year. Meares's issue of Song Tunes from the Operas for German flute (1720) was the first . Pietro Chaboud's arrangements of *Solos being all choice pieces by ye greatest authors and fitted to the German flute* (1723 and 1725) includes violin sonatas by Geminiani and Castrucci (without attribution), transposed and with newly composed embellishments. These same pieces were 'contriv'd and fitted for a flute and a bass' in a 1730 publication by Walsh. A comparison reveals that while the embellishments for 'flute' follow the original violin ones closely, the German flute ones were simplified somewhat, with fewer trills and smoother flourishes. William Babell's charming and eccentric *Solos* (1725) are valuable for their highly embellished slow movements. Most of the sonatas are of the chiesa type, but no. III is a suite of English dance movements, with an untitled first movement, 'air', 'hornpipe' and 'giga', and no. IV consists of only two movements, a 'round O' and 'gavott'. Loeillet, Barsanti, Grano and Roseingrave all contributed attractive and inventive collections of German flute music before 1730, and Handel, probably through no fault of his own, lent his name to various editions of opera air arrangements, minuets, solos and trio sonatas. This is not the place to enter the musicological fray regarding the authenticity of Handel's contributions. It is rather more interesting to consider the editions which were presented to the public in the 18th century. Various publications marketed Handel as the first and thus most prominent composer, as in A choice collection of airs collected from the works of the most eminent authors, viz. Mr. Handel, Corelli, Brivio, Grano, Kempton(1730) and Select Lessons extracted from the works of Handel, Weideman, Turner, DeFesch (1735). Two editions of Handel's flute sonatas were published by Walsh. Three sonatas were issued (a,e,b) along with one by Brivio and violin sonatas by Geminiani and Somis in 1730. In 1732 Walsh advertised *XII solos for a violin or German flute*. In fact, in the edition only three of the twelve specified 'traversa solo' , number 1 in e, number 5 in G and number 9 in b. The music was indeed Handel's, compiled and transposed from various violin and hoboy sonatas, although it is unlikely that Handel authorized these publications. Three collections of Handel's opera arias were published in the 1730s, each with somewhat different forces. The first collection was *Six celebrated songs (1731) for 2 French horns/trumpets, 2 violins, a German flute, tenor and bass*. Opera airs made concertos in six parts (1735) advertises the 'song part for the German flute'. In 1738 Select airs in four parts from 'all the late operas' were published, with the German flute on the vocal part, two violins sharing the orchestral parts, and basso continuo. Numerous collections of Handel's operas, oratorios, Fireworks and Messiah similarly arranged and published after 1740 are an indication of the public's combined enthusiasm for his music and for the German flute.

After 1740 there was a tremendous flood of music and tutors published for the German flute. In the 1760s, keys began to be added to the flute, not necessarily taken up by composers or players, but a land-mark event nevertheless, and of course remarked upon in various of the tutors. Part II of this article will discuss publications and events from 1740 to about 1770. A survey of all the tutors, beginning with the predecessors to the 1729 English translation of Hotteterre, Rudiments of the German Flute, willalso be featured in Part II.

Very few of the pieces listed below have been published in modern edition, with the exception of some facsimiles issued by SPES in Florence and JPH in Cumbria. The majority of works cited are in British libraries or the Library of Congress in Washington D.C., and the reader is encouraged to locate whereabouts of original editions by consulting RISM or BUCEM.

German Flute Music by English and foreign composers working in England 1700-1740.

Nancy Hadden

This is a chronological listing of published music. Lost works are listed in italics. Titles and publication information is given in sufficient detail to allow the reader to find materials, most of which are held in British libraries. For some reason very little English music for German flute has been edited in modern editions or facsimiles. But a few facsimiles have been published by Studio per Edizione Scelte (SPES) in Florence, and Jacks, Pipes and Hammers (JPH) in Cumbria have recently launched an 'English music in Facsimile' series. For whereabouts of original editions the reader is referred to the major bibliographical inventories, such as RISM (Repertoire International des Sources Musicales), BUCEM (British Union Catalogue of Early Music) and Frans Vester's Flute Music of the 18th Century (Monteux, 1985).

1700-1710

JOHN ECCLES. The Judgement of Paris. London, John Walsh, 1702. (Venus's aria, 'Hither turn, ye gentle swain', for soprano, flute d'almagne, strings, b.c.)

[FRANCESCO BONONCINI etc.]. The symphonies or instrumental parts in the opera call'd Thomyris as they are performed at the Theatre Royal. London, Walsh, 1707 ('Cares on a Crown' for German flute solo). WILLIAM CORBETT. Six Sonatas with an overture and aires, in four parts, for violins And hoboys, with a trumpet, flute de Allmain and thorough bass, Opus 3. London, Walsh, 1708.

1711-1720

CORBETT. Six Sonatas a3 for two flutes or two German flutes and a bass, Opus 4. London, L. Pippard, 1713.

ANONYMOUS. A Collection of the most celebrated Song Tunes out of the late opera's, neatly fitted to the German flute. London, Meares, 1720.

BONONCINI. Griselda. London, Walsh, 1720. ('Quanto mi spiace' for traversa, violins, soprano, b.c.)

1721-30

ANONYMOUS. A Book of Instructions for the German Flute. (Walsh's catalogue 1721).

JOHN LOEILLET. Sonatas for a Variety of Instruments, viz. 3 for a common flute, hoboy or violin and a bass, and 3 for two German flutes and a bass, Opus 1. Walsh, 1722.

PIETRO CHABOUD. Solos for A German flute, Part I. London, Walsh, 1723.

ANONYMOUS. Instructions for Learners on the German Flute. Advertised on the title page of Chaboud's Solos Part I, 1723 and Part II, 1725.

ANONYMOUS. Apollo's feast or the harmony of the opera stagesongs out of the lates operas with their symphonys. London, Walsh, 1725? ('Quanto mi spiace' in Griselda, for traversa, violin, soprano, b.c.; 'Un raggio placido' in Vespasian, for traversiere, soprano, b.c.)

WILLIAM BABELL. XII Solos for violin, hoboy or German flute with a bass with proper graces adapted to each adagio by the author. London, Walsh, 1725.

CHABOUD. Solos for a German flute, Part II. London, Walsh, 1725.

LOEILLET. XII Sonatas in three parts, 6 for 2 violins and bass, 3 for 2 German flutes and bass, 3 for hautboy, common flute and bass, Opus 2. London, Walsh, 1725.

JOHN FREDERICK LAMPE. Solos for a German Flute. Listed in Walsh's catalogue for 1727.

FRANCESCO BARSANTI. Six Sonate per la traversiera, o German flute con basso, Opus 2. London, Benjamin Cooke, 1728.

CORBETT. Le Bizzarie Universali a quattro, for 2 violins, viola, and bass NB May be played a3 with 2 hautboys, flutes or German flutes and a bass, Opus 8. London, author, 1728.

JOHN BAPTIST GRANO. Solos for a German flute, hoboy or violin with a thorough bass. London, Walsh, 1728. (advertises 'Instructions for learners on the German flute')

G. F. HANDEL. Sonatas or chamber airs for a German flute, violin or harpsichord, out of the late operas, London, Walsh, 7 vols. 1728-33.

THOMAS ROSEINGRAVE. XII Solos for a German flute with a through base. London, Benjamin Cooke, 1728.

LOEILLET. XII Solos, Six for a Common flute and six for a German flute with a thorough bass, Opus 3. London, Walsh, 1729.

ANONYMOUS. The Rudiments or principles of the German flute. Explaining after an easy method everything necessary for a learner thereon, to a greater nicety than has been ever taught before. Wrote in French by the Sieur Hotteterre le Romain; Musician in Ordinary to the late French king; and faithfully translated into English. To which is added a collection of familiar airs for examples. London, Walsh, 1729. ANONYMOUS. Lessons for the German flute with an explanation of ye largest scales extant, easy and instructive for learners, the lessons compos'd in several keys. London, Walsh, 1730.

HANDEL, BRIVIO. Six Solos, four for a German flute and a bass. London,
Walsh, 1730. (flute solos: Handel, a,e,b; Brivio, D)

HANDEL. A general collection of minuets made for the balls at court, the operas and masquerades compos'd by Mr Handel. All curiously fitted to the German flute or violin. London, Walsh, 1730.

HANDEL etc. A choice collection of aires and duets for two German flutes collected from the works of the most eminent authors, viz. Mr. Handel, Corelli, Brivio, Grano, Kempton. London, Walsh, 1730.

PETER PRELLEUR. "The newest method for learners on the German flute", 1730. (This is identical to the third part of Prelleur's Modern Musick Master, or the Universal Musician, London Printing Office, Bow Church, 1731). Also printed as "The newest instructions for the German flute" (n.d.-bound with GB:Lbl copy of Aria di Camera)

GIUSEPPE SAMMARTINI. XII Sonatas for two German flutes or violins with a thoroughbass. London, 1727 (lost), rpt. Walsh, 1730.

ALEXANDER URQUAHART, DERMOTT O'CONNAR, HUGH EDWARDS. Aria di Camera: being a choice collection of Scotch, Irish and Welsh airs for the violin and German flute. London, Wright, 1730. (frontspiece engraving of a gentleman playing a 3-piece flute)

1731-40

HANDEL. Six celebrated songs made on purpose for French horns in seven parts, viz. 2 French horns or trumpets, 2 violins, a German flute, tenor and bass. London, Walsh, 1731.

FRANCESCO GEMINIANI. Concerti GrossiIV, V, VI si potranno suonar con due flauti traversieri con cello, Opus 2. London, Walsh, 1732.

HANDEL. Solos for a German Flute and a Bass. London, Walsh, 1732.

ANONYMOUS. Caledonian country dances for violin, hoboy or German flute with their basses for the bass violin or harpsichord. London, 1733.

GIOVANNI BONONCINI. Sonatas or chamber aires for a German flute, violin or common flute with a thorough bass, Opus 7. London, Walsh, 1733.

WILLEM DE FESCH. X Sonatas for two German flutes and a bass, Opus 7. London, 1733.

GEMINIANI and CASTRUCCI. Twelve solos for a German flute and a bass. London, Walsh, 1733.

WILLIAM McGIBBON. Six sonatas for two German flutes with a bass. Edinburgh, Cooper, 1734.

GRANO etc. Musica curios and celebrated airs compos'd by Grano, Weideman for two German flutes and a bass. London, Walsh, 1735.

HANDEL etc. Select Lessons for two German flutes extracted from the works of Handel, Weideman, Turner, DeFesch... London, Wright, 1735.

LAMPE. A collection of all the aires, pastorells, chacons, entre, jiggs, minuets, musettes in Columbine Courtezanfitted for a violin, German flute and harpsichord. London, Walsh, 1735?

JOHN RANISH. VIII Sonatas or solos for a German flute with a thoroughbass, Opus 1. London, Cook, for the author, 1735.

SAMMARTINI. Sonate a solo, et a due flauti traversi col loro basso, opera prima parte seconda. London, printed for the author, 1735. (see Holman-may be Walsh)

HANDEL. Opera airsmade concertos in 6 parts. The song part for the German flute.

SAMMARTINI. Six celebrated sonatas in three parts for two German flutes and a bass, dedicated to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. London, Walsh, 1736.

CHARLES McCLEAN. Twelve solos or sonatas for a violin *NB* the four last solos are adapted for the German flute, Opus 1. Edinburgh, Cooper, 1737.

----------. .Select airs or duets for two German flutes or violins byHandel, Geminiani, St. Martini, Weidemann, Quantz, 2nd book. London, Walsh, 1737. (Book III, 1638, Book IV, 1741, includes 'Cuckoo minuet' arr. from Lampe's Cuckoo Concerto)

CHARLES WEIDEMAN. Twelve sonatas or solos for a German flute with a thoroughbass. London, Walsh, 1737.

HANDEL. Select airs or sonatas in four parts for German flute, two violins and a bass, from all the late operas. London, Walsh, 1738.

ANONYMOUS. A select collection of Scotch airs for a German flute and a bass, books I and II. London, Walsh, 1738.

ANONYMOUS. A select collection of Italian airs for a German flute and a bass, book III. London, Walsh, 1738.

DE FESCH. VI Sonatas for two German flutes, London, 1739.

HANDEL. Seven sonatas or trios for two violins or German flutes with a thoroughbass, Opus 5. London, Walsh, 1739.

LAMPE. Cuckoo Concerto. London, Walsh, 1740 [flute part not extant]

McGIBBON. Six sonatas for two German flutes. Edinburgh, Simpson, 1740.

JAMES OSWALD. A curious collection of Scots tunes for violin, bass viol or German flute with a thoroughbass. Edinburgh, Author, 1740.

JOHN STANLEY. Eight solos for a German flute, violin or harpsichord, opera prima. London, author, 1740.

IN BRIEF . . . *This information is complied from information received from Christopher Goodwin with additions supplied by the editor. Anyone with further sources of relevant material is invited to send it to the editor.*

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Christopher Page: *Around the performance of a 13c motet*
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