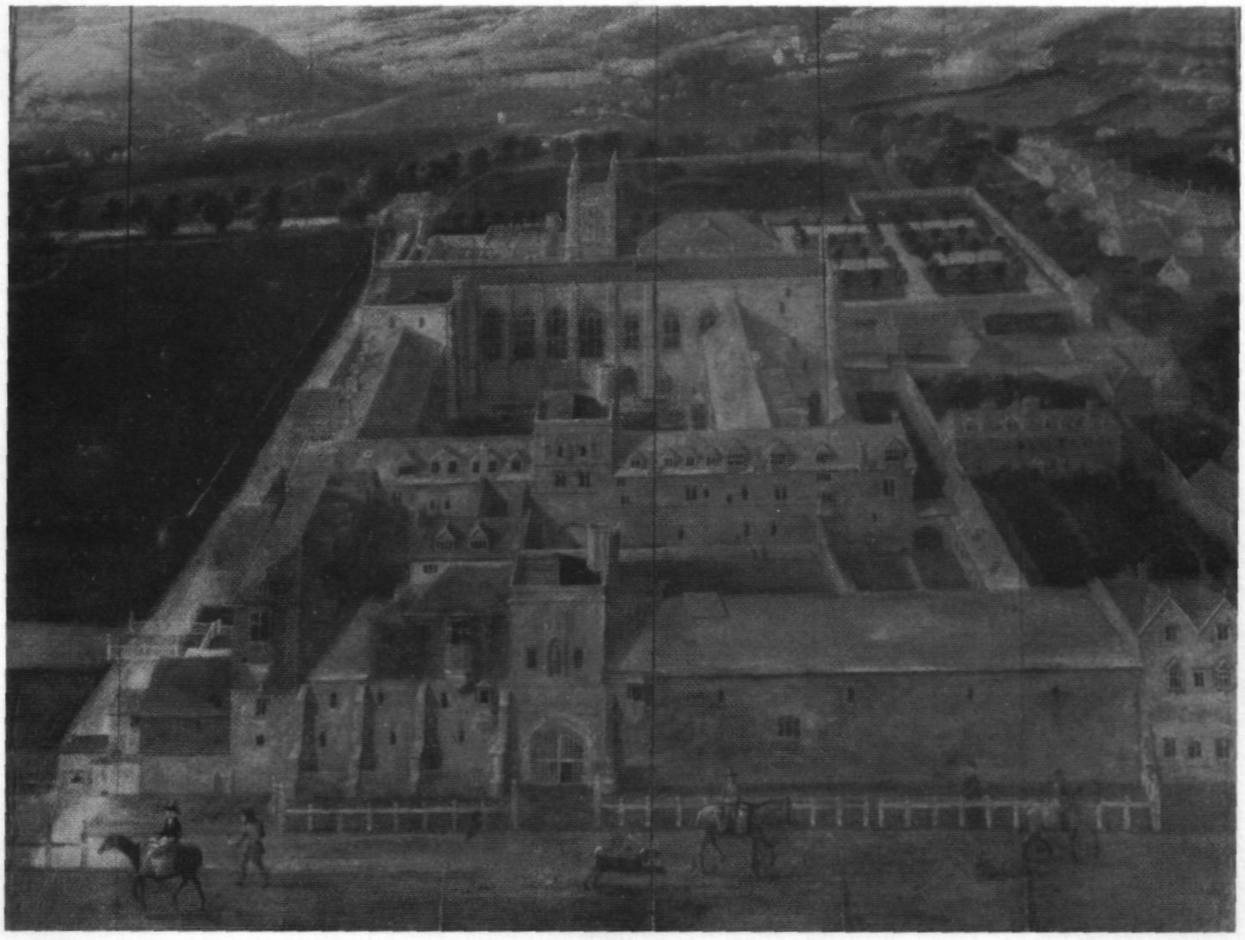
EARLY MUSIC PERFORMER



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Electronic resources for researching seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music: addendum

I would like to bring two further electronic resources to your attention:

1) 'Godfrey's Book-shelf' (http://www.shipbrook.com/jeff/bookshelf/index.html)

A small collection of early printed books, apparently from a private collection, available to download for free; musical items include a copy of Angelo Notari's *Prime Musiche Nuovo* (1613).

2) 'Monash University Restoration Theatre Song Archive' (http://arts.monash.edu.au/english/resources/restoration-theatre-song-archive/)

An index of printed theatre songs dating 1600-1702/3 with musical incipits.

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Instructions for performance in Sir William Leighton's *The Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule* (1614)

Richard Rastall

The Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule (1614) is a table-format book of texts by Sir William Leighton (c.1565–1622) set by 21 composers, among them some of the best-known of the period. The book includes two performance-instructions that have not been adequately explained, put into practice or related to the wider performance context in which they appear.[1] The musical results of following these instructions are important, for the short and mainly single-texted pieces to which they refer are not really what they seem. Following these instructions sheds considerable light on this repertory, which is little known, and on the performance of a rather better-known source as well.

Leighton's *Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule*

William Leighton was born probably in Shropshire: his family was landed gentry, his father being chief justice of the Welsh marches.[2] Leighton became MP for Much Wenlock in 1601, and a gentleman pensioner at court in 1602. On the accession of James I the following year he wrote and published *Vertue Triumphant*, a book of poems dedicated to the king and flattering his cardinal virtues. He was knighted on 23 July 1603, two days before the coronation.

Sir William did not prosper, however. He seems to have been inept both politically and financially, and he ran into trouble in both spheres. Sued for debt, he was outlawed in 1608 and imprisoned in 1610. While in prison, he wrote a collection of 'Himnes and spirituall Sonnetts' lamenting his sins and misfortunes. It is not clear whether or not he was still in prison when this book was published in 1613 under the title *Teares or Lamentations of a Sorrowfull Soule* (hereafter '*Teares* 1613'). On the face of it, the book was a public expression of remorse for actions that must have seemed not only incompetent but decidedly shady, and this may have been its primary purpose. It was also a show of solidarity among his friends, however, some of whom contributed commendatory verses, and one can also see the publication primarily as a stratagem for bolstering his reputation and thereby reviving his fortunes.

From the start, Leighton had intended the poems to be sung, expressing in his address to the reader an 'vnfeigned affection & earnest desire' that others might 'reape profit and consolation by singing or reading of them'. He went on to say both that the poems could be sung to the normal tunes used for metrical psalms and that, for those with musical ability, he had himself written settings of them and had asked others, skilled composers, to provide settings as well:[3]

> If thou art not skillfull in Musicke, then mayest thou read them or sing them in the common and ordinarie tunes beseeming such a subiect. But for them who either delight in Melodious Harmonies, or else are themselues skillfull in Pricksong, I intend (God willing) likewise to divuldge very speadely in print, some sweete Musicall Ayres and Tunable Accents, whereof

> some of the plainest sort are mine owne Ayres and the rest are done by expert and famous learned men in that science and facultie, as hereafter in the same booke appertayning to this shalbe expressed, to which tunes all or the most part of all thiese songs, Hymnes or Sonnets are at the pleasure of all those that delight in Musique, to be sung or plaid, as shalbe most pleasing vnto them.

This tells us a number of things:

1 Reading the poems is an acceptable performance-style. Leighton does not specify whether this is an individual reading silently to her- or himself (hardly a performance, strictly speaking) or reading aloud to others, but he probably intended both as both are acts of entertainment or piety with a long history.
2 The poems must all or mostly be written in the same metres as metrical psalms, as they can be sung to the relevant tunes.
3 Some new and more interesting settings have already been composed by Leighton and by others.
4 A book of settings is in preparation and will be published.
5 The settings (or some of them, anyway) can be played as well as sung. (This would be true of vocal part-music in any case, so he seems to be implying more than just the possibility of playing individual lines on instruments. He may have in mind the parts in tablature.)

In his dedication to Prince Charles, Leighton put all this rather more simply, adding the usual excuse for presenting something in print – that his friends had asked him to publish his work:[4]

> When I had written these Lamentations … for which I had likewise made sundry notes & ayres, I was desiered by some of my best friends to publish my whole indeauours therein, and being very willing to giue such men as delight in Musicke perfect contentment: some of the most excellent Musitions this Age can afford, haue in their loue to me composed (for the better grace of my poore labours) most full and Melodious Musicke; …

The publication of the music book the following year showed that his announcement was no idle boast. Its fifty-five compositions are the work of no fewer than twenty-one composers: eight pieces are by Leighton himself, four each by Byrd and Milton, three each by Bull, Alfonso Ferrabosco II, Jones and Peerson, two each by Coprario, Dowland, Ford, Orlando Gibbons, Giles, Hooper, Robert Johnson, Kindersley, Thomas Lupo, Pilkington, Ward, Weelkes and Wilbye, and one by the otherwise unknown Timolphus Thopul. If we add to this the inclusion of laudatory poems by twelve different men, this publication does seem to constitute a strong show of support and sympathy for the unlucky Leighton.

This second, musical version of *The Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule* (hereafter '*Teares* 1614') is in small table-format, one piece per opening. The layout is a little cramped for some of the longer five-part pieces, but much of the book is laid out quite spaciously. The first section (nos. 1-18) is for four-part voices accompanied by the instruments of the standard mixed consort used by Morley and Rossiter in their consort lessons.[5] The Cantus, Altus and Bassus voices are doubled by treble viol, flute and bass viol, respectively: the players of those instruments read from the vocal lines, so that their participation involves no extra music print. The players of the lute, cittern and bandora, on the other hand, read from tablatures printed in score with the Cantus, Altus and Tenor voices, respectively. Thus for these pieces, a total of seven voice-parts is printed (four on staves and three in tablature), rather than the four or five for the second and third sections.[6] Although this potentially makes for a rather cramped printing, these pieces are all short, and even here the layout is quite spacious. The second section (nos. 19-30) is for four-part voices without notated instrumental parts, and the third (nos. 31-55) for five-part voices.

In fifteen pieces throughout the book extra text is provided, in the form of two or more stanzas printed in a separate block. In most cases this text is printed with the Bassus part, so that only two of the singers could read it; in only five songs (nos. 25, 32-3 and 36-7) is additional text printed with several voices so that it could be sung by everybody. Thus the great majority of pieces appear to be single-texed items in which the only text to be performed is that underlaid to the voices.

The instruction for second and subsequent stanzas

It is however clear that Leighton did not intend *Teares* 1614 to be performed in this way, with each piece being sung once, to a single text. At various places in the print, at the bottom right-hand corner of the right-hand page, appear references in the form "vide fol. nn": if one looks up such a page-number (not folio-number) in *Teares* 1613, one finds the complete poem of which the song sets a single stanza. Many of these references appear even when the music bears

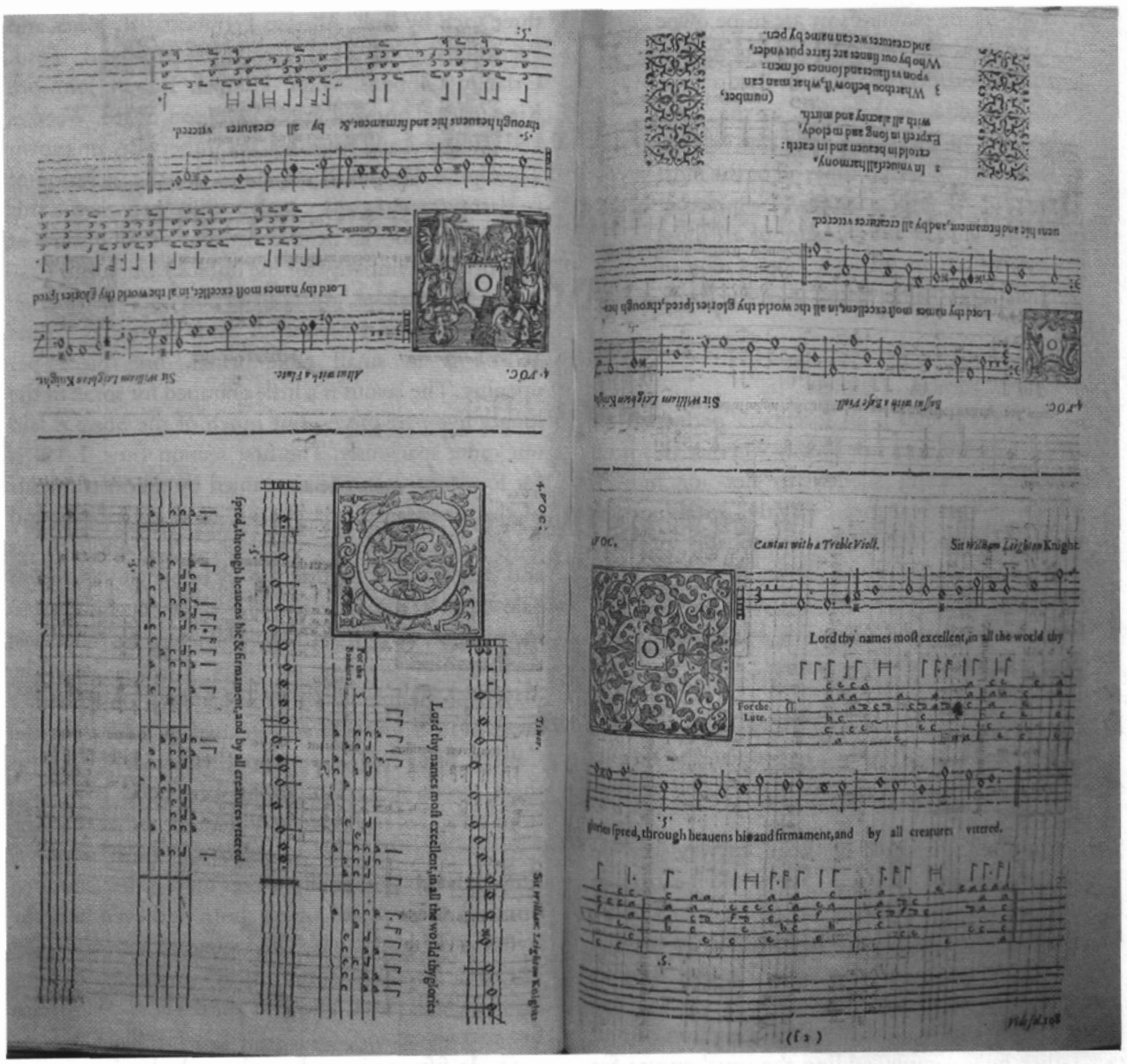


Figure 1

No. 8, Leighton's *O Lord thy name's most excellent*, showing extra text with the Bassus part and, bottom right, a reference to fol. (*recte* p.) 108 of *Teares* 1613. Royal College of Music, London

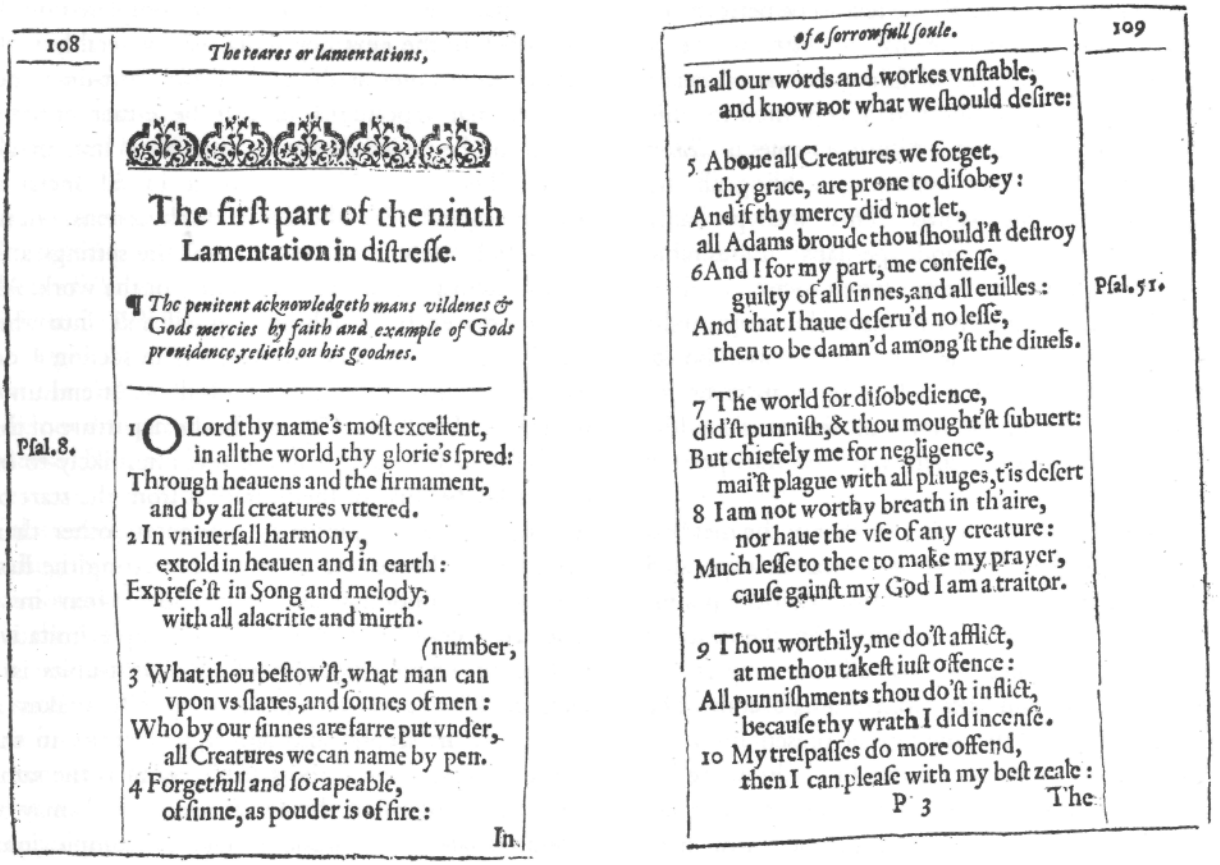
additional text (see **Figure 1** for an example). Looking up the poem in *Teares* 1613 in these cases shows that the additional text is only a part of the total text available for the piece concerned (**Figure 2**).

The intended use of these references is explained, after a fashion, by a performance direction on sig. [a2]v of *Teares* 1614, following the laudatory poems at the front of that book:

> Note that this Musicall Booke inserteth onely the first staffe of the Hymne or Psalme: but it is the Authors intention that in the practise of this heauenly harmonious exercise, some one in the company should out of his other Printed booke read the other staues to them that play and sing.

Here the noun 'staff' and the verb 'insert' do not carry their modern meanings. Since one can read 'staves' in the author's 'other printed book' – that is, *Teares* 1613, which contains no music – 'staff' evidently carries its now-obsolete meaning of a poetic verse or stanza;[7] and so 'inserteth', which suggests fitting the words into the printed music, means only 'contains' or 'includes'.[8]

This direction, then, requires someone to read the second and subsequent verses of the poem to the instrumentalists and singers, presumably after they have performed the setting of the first stanza. The fact that the verses should be read to the performers – that is, out loud rather than *in pectore* – makes this an act of performance, not one of personal devotion. On the face of it, the intention is that the reader should wait until the musical performance of the first stanza is



108 *The teares or lamentations,*

The firſt part of the ninth Lamentation in diſtreſſe.

¶ *The penitent acknowledgeth mans vildenes & Gods mercies by faith and example of Gods providence, relieth on his goodnes.*

Pſal.8.

1 O Lord thy name's moſt excellent,
in all the world, thy glorie's ſpred:
Through heauens and the firmament,
and by all creatures vttered.
2 In vniuerſall harmony,
extold in heauen and in earth:
Expreſe'ſt in Song and melody,
with all alacritie and mirth.
(number,
3 What thou beſtow'ſt, what man can
vpon vs ſlaues, and ſonnes of men:
Who by our ſinnes are farre put vnder,
all Creatures we can name by pen.
4 Forgetfull and ſo capeable,
of ſinne, as pouder is of fire:

In

of a ſorrowfull ſoule. 109

In all our words and workes vnſtable,
and know not what we ſhould deſire:

5 Aboue all Creatures we forget,
thy grace, are prone to diſobey:
And if thy mercy did not let,
all Adams broude thou ſhould'ſt deſtroy
6 And I for my part, me confeſſe,
guilty of all ſinnes, and all euilles: Pſal.51.
And that I haue deſeru'd no leſſe,
then to be damn'd among'ſt the diuels.

7 The world for diſobedience,
did'ſt punniſh, & thou moughť ſt ſubuert:
But chiefely me for negligence,
mai'ſt plague with all plauges, t'is deſert
8 I am not worthy breath in th'aire,
nor haue the vſe of any creature:
Much leſſe to thee to make my prayer,
cauſe gainſt my God I am a traitor.

9 Thou worthily, me do'ſt afflict,
at me thou takeſt iuſt offence:
All punniſhments thou do'ſt inflict,
becauſe thy wrath I did incenſe.
10 My treſpaſſes do more offend,
then I can pleaſe with my beſt zeale:

P 3 The

Figure 2
Teares 1613, 108-09. British Library

ended (or perhaps, in the case of a piece with additional text, the first three or four stanzas) and then read out the rest of the poem. This would be a curiously heterogeneous performance-practice, known from nowhere else. What is the purpose of the musical performance if most of the text will actually be spoken? Can this really be what Leighton intended, considering that he must have gone to great trouble to persuade famous and well-known composers – a very impressive line-up, one must admit – to set his poems? It seems unlikely: and, after all, the extra text included with some pieces, unsatisfactory as it is, suggests otherwise.

It is notable that the instruction takes no account of listeners, which one might expect if the music is to be used in a devotional domestic setting. The text is to be read only to 'them that play and sing'. This suggests that they do not stop singing and playing, although it is certainly ambiguous. And if they do stop performing to listen to the reader, why are the verses not read to everyone? Although the performance might be one in which only the performers are present, specifying them implies the presence of others: why, then, does the reader not read the verses to 'all those present', the 'company' of which the reader is a part? If the purpose of reading is to present the second and subsequent verses as a spoken performance, that purpose is defeated if they are not read to the listeners. Evidently there is another purpose in reading the texts to the performers: and this must be so that they can perform the whole text.

The only logical possibility, it seems to me, is that the reader 'feeds' each line of the text to the singers as they need it. In this way the singers can perform texts that they do not have in front of them. To the objection that this would not involve the instrumentalists there are two answers. First, for both devotional and musical reasons the instrumentalists must know what texts they are accompanying: otherwise they can neither take part in the devotional exercise nor provide an appropriate expressive backing for the text (sad, joyful, active, contemplative, etc.). Second, since some of the poems are long – up to 40 or so stanzas, although most are much shorter – a process of selection might well be needed: even if the instrumentalists knew the poem by heart, they must still be told which verses were to be performed and where the piece was to end.

One might also ask why the singers cannot have the later verses in front of them. Because *Teares* 1614 is in small table-format, with the singers facing in different directions around the table, even providing some extra text for some singers does not solve the performance problem, for which all the

singers would need to see all the text to be performed. The extra text printed seems, in fact, to be a convenient and usual way of filling in unused space on the page (unused staves were also printed for this purpose, as **Figure 1** shows). Multiple copies of *Teares* 1613 would be the only solution enabling all the singers to read the words. This was probably impossible practically, and perhaps undesirable financially; and, in a non-print-based society, reading the music and hearing the words to be sung might be preferable to trying to read two books simultaneously (a harder task than that given to modern singers keeping track of the music while reading second and subsequent verses on the opposite page of a hymn-book).

There is a related repertory, that of the metrical psalms, in which an *aide-mémoire* was incorporated into the actual performance. Most metrical psalm-books present the music, followed by the text, in normal upright format, so that all four singers can read both music and text from a single copy. The relative simplicity of the line-by-line presentation of a metrical psalm, together with the lack of verbal repetition and unchanging metrical structure, makes this quite easy. Besides, most people must have known much of the Sternhold and Hopkins version of the psalms by heart, while in church the psalms were sung with the parish clerk 'lining-out' the tenor (tune), giving each line (text and tune) to the congregation to repeat.

However, there is one psalm-book in which the simultaneous reading of text and music would not be possible, and in which the same problem as in *Teares* 1614 must have arisen, albeit in a rather less acute form. Like *Teares* 1614, Richard Allison's *Psalmes of David in Meter* (1599) is in table-format; and, like the first section of Leighton's book, the music is for four voices accompanied by instruments – in this case, cittern and lute.[9] Although the format is rather larger than that of *Teares* 1614, in Allison's book, too, only the first verse of each psalm is underlaid to the music: and here no subsequent verses at all are printed. Although the singers had a better chance of knowing the Sternhold and Hopkins psalms by heart, the arguments for giving the singers and instrumentalists some help are the same as for Leighton's poems. Here, perhaps, although there is no direct evidence for it, is another possible case for a reader feeding subsequent verses to the performers.

Without further evidence, this explanation must remain speculative and unproven, although it seems the best solution to the problem and perhaps the most likely possibility. The question of what would or would not be specifically possible is however a difficult one. Two circumstances seem necessary to ensure that this performance-practice would work easily: first, that each line of text be completed by all voices before the next line is started, preferably with rests or long notes at the end of each text-line; and second, that repetitions of text be either entirely absent or be repetitions of a complete line in all voices. These conditions are met in all metrical psalters using the Sternhold and Hopkins texts, but in *Teares* 1614 only in the simplest of the settings and almost exclusively in the first section of the work. All of the pieces by Leighton himself fall into this category (nos. 1-8), and most others in section 1 do so too. Perhaps only in those by Bull – 'Attend unto my tears O Lord' (no. 17) and 'In the departure of the Lord' (no. 18) – is feeding the text-lines likely to be impossible because of the imitation from the start of the piece.[10] Several pieces by composers other than Leighton in this section start out by setting the first two lines homophonically but then, often in a repeated second half, move into a simple imitative texture in which repetition of small text-units is a feature. This kind of repetition usually makes it difficult to fit second and subsequent verses to the music because, even if the syllable-count is the same for the particular line, the division into words may be inappropriate for the music. To take an example, John Milton's 'Thou God of might hast chastened me' (no. 10), in setting the regular 8-syllable line 'and humbled me to know my God', repeats the words 'to know' in the Cantus part:

and humbled me to know, to know my God.

In the second verse, the last line 'my flesh me paineth woefully' would read, if the corresponding syllables were repeated,

my flesh me paineth woe, -neth woefully.

Clearly, this kind of problem is not insuperable. In the present instance the music allows the solution 'my flesh me paineth, paineth woefully', and a singer used to fitting second and subsequent verses to the music might well light on this solution even when sight-reading. On the whole, however, even assuming considerable experience and ability in underlaying words, one would expect some homework to be needed for this kind of problem and, in the most difficult pieces, perhaps some written reminders of the solution chosen.[11]

It is doubly difficult to know where the boundary between the possible and the impossible might come for a domestic singer of the early seventeenth century: but almost certainly s/he would be more adept at this than a modern singer. All the same, a highly-competent group of singers, given some concentrated practice, might well achieve

enough to show roughly where the boundary might lie. To this end I invited a group of colleagues to spend most of a day with me, singing some music by John Milton and Martin Peerson, to test various possibilities in different types of music.[12]

All of the music was new to all of the singers. After warm-up exercises we started with two settings of metrical-psalm tunes from Ravenscroft's *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* of 1621. As in the originals, I had underlaid the first verse to the music: but, unlike in the original, I hid the second and subsequent verses so that the singers could not read them. These settings were not difficult to sight-read, and I made the singers practise them to the extent that they began to know the music reasonably well. At that stage we chose one of the settings and tried singing other verses, with me feeding the singers each line of text as it was needed. It was not easy to hit on the right place to begin reading and the best speed at which to present the next line: but, broadly speaking, only 4 or 5 beats were needed to speak a complete line, so that I started feeding the next line as the singers approached the cadence to the current one. To modern singers this was clearly a little nerve-wracking, and it would demand considerable concentration if one were to do it for the duration of a long psalm. On the other hand, it became noticeably easier with practice: and a seventeenth-century singer would have the advantage of knowing both the music and the Sternhold and Hopkins text much better than we do.

My conclusion thus far was that the 'feeding' method could be used successfully in Allison's *Psalmes of David in Meter* (1599);[13] and it was easy enough to try the same method on one or two of the simpler pieces in the first section of *Teares* 1614 and find that there, too, the method could be successful. In this exercise it was useful to confirm my suspicion that it was not simple imitation *per se* that caused problems, but the overlapping of the text of one line with that of the next, which left no space between lines for the singers to take their bearings on the next line of text: and when the singers moved from one text-line to the next at different places, my feeding of the line was too early for some and too late for others. I do not say that an experienced group could not have used this method as an *aide-mémoire* to a more complex piece that they knew well; but I do not think it could be used to *enable* a performance of texts that they did not already know. It was noticeable that when we tried the method on an obviously more complex imitative piece with more varied text-repetitions the singers found the mental processes needed to be too demanding. Again, however, one must say that seventeenth-century singers understood a lot more than we do about poetic texts, and could memorise and manipulate them (and, apparently, understand them) more easily than we do.

The method could be used, then, in all the pieces of the first section of *Teares* 1614 except, probably, nos. 17 and 18, and in a few pieces in sections 2 and 3 that do not use substantial imitation. It is quite possible that Leighton's specifying of 'them that play and sing' referred only to those pieces in which instrumentalists take part (i.e. section 1). This would unnecessarily exclude pieces from elsewhere in the book, however, and on balance I do not think that this was his intention.[14] On the contrary, if he were to be inclusive in his wish for the music to be performable, he would surely have encouraged performers to achieve as much as possible by using the method not just in the easiest pieces but in more difficult ones, too. In general, I think that this method may well be what Leighton intended, and that practising it may be a useful way of starting to learn the more memory-based techniques of the seventeenth-century singer.

The adaptation of psalm-texts to settings

A second performance instruction is found in the title-page of *Teares* 1614, which notes:

> And all Psalmes that consist of so many feete as the fiftieth Psalme, will goe to the foure partes for Consort.

In Sternhold and Hopkins's collection, Psalm 50 appears in two versions. One, by 'William Whittingham', is in 10-syllable lines, beginning

> The mighty God, th'eternal hath thus spoke,
> And all the world he will call and provoke.

The other version is by John Hopkins, in what has become known as Short Metre, 6.6.8.6. syllables:

> The God of Gods, the Lord,
> hath call'd the earth by name:
> From whence the sun doth rise unto
> the setting of the same.

Hill thought 'the fiftieth Psalme' to be an error for the 51st, which is in lines of eight syllables.[15] Certainly any psalm in this metre could theoretically be sung to settings in the first section (nos. 1-18) of *Teares* 1614, the section with consort accompaniment, because most of those poems are in 8-syllable lines. Eleven (nos. 1, 4, 7-12, 14-15) set stanzas of four 8-syllable lines (the Long Metre of later hymn-books) and one (no. 6) sets an eight-line stanza; two songs – Leighton's 'My soul doth long' (no. 3) and Hooper's 'Alas that I offended ever' (no. 13) – use an extra syllable at the end of some lines and therefore demand

that the final note of the line be split. The extra syllable does not change the number of feet in the line, of course. None of these pieces presents a problem: any could be adapted as a setting of any of Leighton's Long Metre poems. Two pieces (nos. 5 and 18) set six-line stanzas and one (no. 2) a three-line stanza. These last three, obviously, could not easily be used as settings of poems with four- or eight-line stanzas, although in two cases there are musical repetitions that would make it possible (if one sang the repeated section to different words the second time, instead of repeating the text).

The only real exception is Bull's 'Attend unto my tears O Lord' (no. 17), which sets a stanza of 8.6.8.6 (Common Metre) and therefore cannot be used as a setting for stanzas of 8-syllable lines. Elsewhere in the book 8-syllable lines in groups of four are the norm, although there are settings of poems in 10-syllable lines and in Common Metre, 8.6.8.6. The majority of songs in the unaccompanied sections of the work could also be used to set Long Metre poems from *Teares* 1613, therefore.

Was Hill right to think that Leighton had made a mistake, writing the 50th psalm for the 51st? If Leighton's note really means only that any of his metrical psalms in Long Metre (8.8.8.8) could be sung to the settings presented in section 1 of the book, this is virtually self-evident. Title-page information about the performance methods available for the music contained in a book is usually a sales technique, intended to suggest options that are *not* obvious to the prospective buyer. Perhaps, then, it is worth considering the possibility that Leighton meant what the statement says – that in *Teares* 1614, poems in either ten-syllable lines or Short Metre can be adapted to the settings of Long Metre poems in the first section.

Of these, the second seems more likely than the first, for in singing any texted line it is easier to disguise the lack of two syllables than to 'lose' two syllables that are surplus to requirements: the latter, in fact, demands some careful division of notes in any largely syllabic setting, such as these are. The possibility of such adaptation is raised by an obviously related instruction at the other end of *Teares* 1614, on the very last page of the book (**Figure 3**):

> This Booke hath relation to the former Booke, printed with some small additions by the Author. All the Psalms, consisting of so many feet as the Lj. are to be sung eyther for voyces, consort, or both, as the Lamentations and other like in this book, and the most of all Psalmes beside, leauing out a Semi-briefe in euery second line.

It seems extraordinary that a writer whose poetry is so clear should express himself so opaquely in prose. The first sentence reminds us of the connection between the two publications, and that there is new material in *Teares* 1614: but what can the second mean?

This sentence is certainly punctuated unhelpfully, but it is surely in two parts. The first states that, of Leighton's poems (in *Teares* 1613, presumably), any psalm in Long Metre (8.8.8.8) can be sung and played to the settings in the first section of *Teares* 1614; and that the same goes for the poems known as Lamentations and others.[16] *Teares* 1613 includes nine long poems entitled 'Lamentation' (see **Figure 2**), every one of which is in Long Metre and would therefore fit the music of *Teares* 1614 section 1 without any change. This metre is in the great majority in *Teares* 1613, actually: only a handful of poems are in other metres such as ten-syllable lines or Common Metre.

The second part seems to say that most of the *other* psalms can also be sung to these settings as long as a semibreve is omitted every other line. In *Teares* 1613, though, there are only two poems that fit this description: a setting of Psalm 51 (pp. 41-60 and a composite poem that uses Psalms 39, 51 etc., both of which are in Common Metre, 8.6.8.6. This is not much material for such a note to point to, however, and perhaps 'all Psalmes beside' really refers to psalms from the Sternhold and Hopkins collection in Common Metre.

If this is the correct interpretation, then the rest of Leighton's instruction falls into place. If we set a stanza in Common Metre, 8.6.8.6., to a piece of music designed for Long Metre, 8.8.8.8., then the second and fourth text-lines are too short by two syllables. In contemporary syllabic settings this means that in every second line the voice will reach the end of the text-line two minims (or one semibreve) early and must therefore omit a semibreve's-worth of the music for that line. Leighton does not specify that the singers must omit the last semibreve's-worth and, as an example will demonstrate, this is not the best solution, because the voices then do not sing the cadence. **Figure 4a** shows John Milton's setting of the first two lines (*Teares* 1614, no. 10) of 'Thou God of might hast chastened me': **Figure 4b** shows the effect of setting the poem from Sternhold and Hopkins known as 'The Lamentation of a Sinner' to this music:

> O Lord, turn not away thy face
> from him that lies prostrate:
> Lamenting sore his sinfull life
> before thy mercy gate.

Figure 3

Teares 1614, the last page (sig. Nn2v), showing the instruction concerning the psalms. British Library

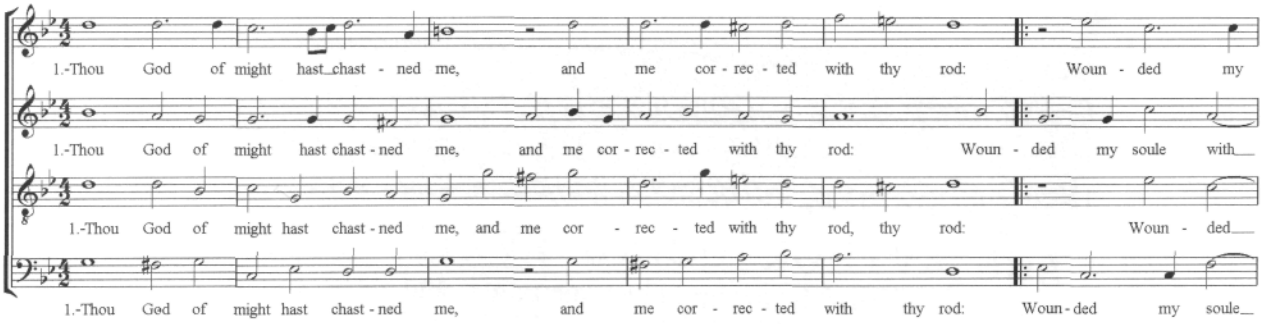


Figure 4a
John Milton's setting of *Thou God of might,* bars 1-6.

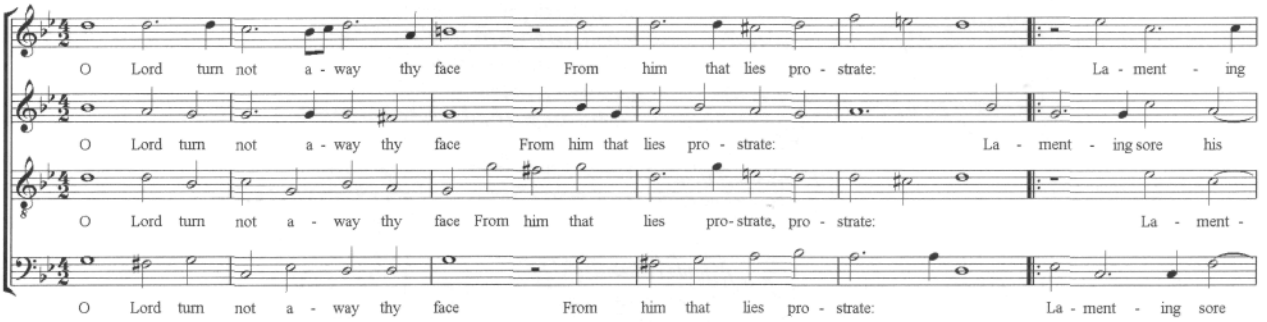


Figure 4b
Milton's *Thou God of might,* bars 1-6, with text from *The Lamentation.*

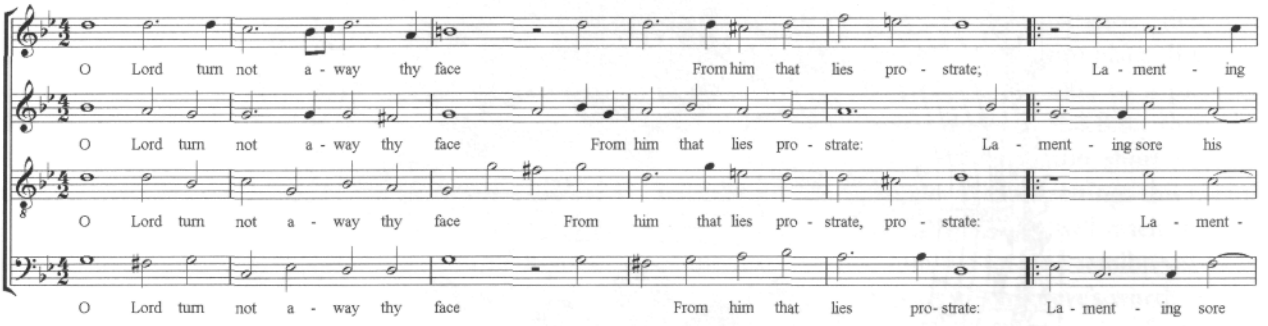


Figure 4c
Milton's *Thou God of might,* bars 1-6, with text from *The Lamentation,* underlay amended.

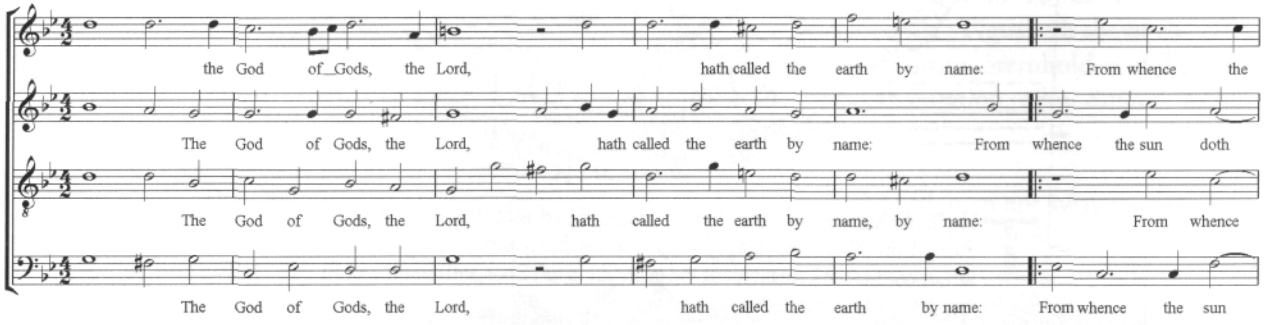


Figure 5
Milton's *Thou God of might,* bars 1-6, with text from Psalm 50.

This adaptation starts the second line in the original place and thus ends the sung line two beats early, which is unsatisfactory. Of course, there are obvious ways of dealing with the problem in this particular case: one could repeat the words 'that lies' or even 'prostrate', and in the Tenor part, which already repeats words, one could repeat the whole phrase 'that lies prostrate'. But an *ad hoc* solution would be different for each stanza, and Leighton is evidently suggesting a rule-of-thumb solution that will work in all circumstances. A better solution is seen in **Figure 4c**, where the singers wait two beats before starting the second line, and thus end the line at the cadence. This strategy, broadly speaking, will work for any such adaptation of a Common Metre text to a Long Metre tune, even when the setting is quite complex.

This example shows why Leighton specifically mentioned instrumental participation in the note at the end of the book. If this method of adaptation is used in an accompanied setting, such as those in the first section of *Teares* 1614, then the musical texture is not destroyed by the absence of the singers for two beats. Not only are melody instruments still playing three of the four vocal lines, but three chordal instruments (omitted in **Figure 4a-c**) are also playing the complete harmonic content of those beats. In this way the music retains its integrity, even though the singers stop singing for two beats (or however long the setting makes it) every other line.

Finally, could Leighton's comment on the title-page (quoted above) be correct? Certainly, we could sing the first line of a Short Metre poem to a Long Metre setting (or a Common Metre setting, for that matter) by using exactly the same method. **Figure 5** shows the opening of Hopkins's version of Psalm 50 as it might be sung to Milton's "Thou God of might". The technique is exactly the same, but now applied to the first, second and fourth lines of the stanza, not just to every other line. I suggest, therefore, that Leighton's title-page for *Teares* 1614 does mean exactly what it says.

Summary

This discussion, largely speculative as it is and relying on interpretation of Leighton's rather opaque instructions, may nevertheless be helpful in enabling a better understanding of *The Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule*. To begin with, it is now clear that the poems, *Teares* 1613, and the musical print, *Teares* 1614, cannot be treated as separate entities and indeed were not intended as such by the author. This much has always been clear, even if not acted upon. The two prints should be used together, and to help in this Leighton has provided references and suggestions in *Teares* 1614.

His first instruction shows that, although *Teares* 1614 presents only a small part of the relevant text for each setting – often only a single stanza – Leighton intended the whole of each poem to be available for musical performance.[17] On balance, it seems likely that he intended someone who was neither a singer nor an instrumentalist to 'feed' the text of second and subsequent verses to the performers as a reminder of the words to be sung. In this way the complete texts of poems in *Teares* 1613 would be available, through a single copy, to all the performers. This performance-method, if indeed it is the correct one, could also explain how a book such as Allison's *Psalmes of David in Meter* (1599) could be used in the performance of second and subsequent verses not printed in the book itself.

The second instruction – or rather, pair of instructions – offers considerable flexibility in the relationship between texts and musical settings. The composers represented in *Teares* 1614 chose particular texts to set, resulting in an unique connection between each poem and its setting. Leighton, however, seems to suggest loosening this relationship in two ways:

(a) First, he suggests that any Short Metre text (6.6.8.6. syllables) can be sung to any Long Metre musical setting. This not only allows considerable fluidity in the use of the settings Leighton obtained for *Teares* 1614 but would also allow the singing of texts not by Leighton, such as the Sternhold and Hopkins metrical psalms.

(b) Second, he suggests that Common Metre poems (8.6.8.6.) could also be sung to Long Metre settings. The method to be used applies also to (a) above: singers should omit the notes for the two missing syllables in each relevant line. As demonstrated in **Figure 4**, the best way of achieving this is to omit the first two notes of the musical lines concerned, not the last

> two; and although this is not the best solution musically in every case, it is certainly the kind of fool-proof rule-of-thumb that Leighton seems to be aiming at, and it works.

In both cases, Leighton refers specifically to the consort-song section of *Teares* 1614, and for very good reasons: the songs in this section are generally the simplest in the book and, more importantly, the instruments used in those songs provide a complete musical texture even when notes are missing from the sung lines. Leighton no doubt hoped that this kind of adaptation would make his book more marketable.

I am not aware that such performance-methods have been discussed before. Clearly, there is a good deal still to be discovered and understood about performance-practice in this repertory: so I hope that this article will encourage scholars to look for further evidence in early 17th-century domestic vocal music about the relationship between the texts and their settings.

1 See Cecil Hill, ed., *Sir William Leighton: The Tears or Lamentations of a Sorrowful Soul.* Early English Church Music 11 (London, Stainer & Bell for the British Academy, 1970), xi-xii.

2 For details of Leighton's life and works, see David Hahn's article on him in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online (accessed 1 September 2007).

3 *Teares* 1613, f. [1]v. Note that Leighton uses "psalms" to mean metrical versions, either his own (in *Teares* 1613 and 1614) or those best known to his readers (presumably those by Sternhold, Hopkins and others).

4 *Teares* 1613, f. 5r-v.

5 I follow the numbering of Hill's edition here, which numbers the entire contents in sequence. The original numbers the three sections separately, and there are some errors both of numbering and of order.

6 The four-part vocal texture is complete in these pieces, so that – although the loss of the instruments is serious in its effect – it is perfectly possible to perform the music unaccompanied. Perhaps for reasons of space, those items from *Teares* 1614 that Thomas Myriell copied into his collection *Tristitiae Remedium* (London, British Library Add. MSS 29372-7, 1615 onwards) are presented without instrumental parts.

7 See the *Oxford English Dictionary* under "staff", 19b.

8 See the *Oxford English Dictionary* under "insert", 1b.

9 Possibly Allison intended that the Cantus, Altus and Bassus parts should be doubled by melody instruments such as treble viol, flute and bass viol, but the book does not say so. The title page gives only the sort of catch-all suggestion normal in such cases, that the music might be "plaide vpon the Lute, Orpharyon, Citterne or Base Violl, …".

10 Outside of the first section (nos. 1-18) a few pieces such as Peerson's "O God that no time dost despise" (no. 23) offer the possibility of performance in this way.

11 As far as I can see, however, such written reminders do not occur. Perhaps singers were better at underlaying text than we realise; perhaps the surviving copies of *Teares* 1614 were not used for performance; or perhaps, after all, singers rarely tried to sing anything more than the underlaid verses, despite Leighton's instructions. The first of these must certainly have been true, but I am not sure of the others.

12 I am very grateful to Nicki Sapiro, Libby Clark, Clive McClelland, William Flynn and Bryan White for taking part in this experiment.

13 The method would be useful in other metrical psalters, too: for instance, William Damon's psalter of 1591 (which is in partbooks) does not give extra text.

14 He may have made a general assumption, however, that in sections 2 and 3 any vocal line might be doubled by a melody instrument.

15 Hill, *Leighton, Teares*, ix.

16 In the settings (in *Teares* 1614) of single verses from these "Lamentations" the word Lamentations is not used – a good reason for directing the reader's attention to *Teares* 1613 for the purpose of this instruction.

17 Except, of course, where a setting has been made of a stanza that is not at the start of the poem.

A Tale of Two Harps: Issues arising from Recordings of William Lawes's Harp Consorts

John Cunningham

William Lawes (1602-45) was one of the finest instrumental composers in early Stuart England. His modern reputation has been secured in large part through the publication of several fine studies,[1] and editions of his music,[2] as well as some outstanding recordings.[3] However, one aspect of his repertoire remains largely unknown to modern audiences: the Harp Consorts, a 30-piece collection of dances and one fantasia, which Lawes titled 'For the Harpe, Base Violl, Violin, and theorbo'.[4] The Harp Consorts contain some of Lawes's best instrumental writing, yet no complete critical edition of the collection has been published, and there is no recording of the entire collection.[5]

The neglect of the Harp Consorts stems from two main problems. First, part of the collection survives incomplete. The violin, bass viol and theorbo parts survive complete in autograph partbooks (GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.238-40). However, autograph harp parts survive only for HC1-8 (GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.229) and HC26-30 (GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.3); non-autograph harp parts also survive for HC1-20 and HC26 (GB-Och, Mus. MS 5).[6] Nevertheless, these are problems surmountable by the publication of a complete critical edition; one is apparently forthcoming by Jane Achtman for PRB Productions.[7] The second issue is more contentious. It concerns the debate over the type of harp for which Lawes composed: the gut-strung triple harp or the wire-strung Irish harp. When Murray Lefkowitz published the first in-depth survey of the collection in 1960 he concluded that Lawes composed for the triple harp.[8] Many scholars and performers accepted this view. Indeed, Joan Rimmer asserted that the Harp Consorts 'are playable *only* on a triple or double harp'.[9] However, several scholars – notably Peter Holman[10] – have since presented compelling evidence that Lawes intended the Irish harp. Recordings of the Harp Consorts are relatively few and often feature only one or two pieces from the collection. They mostly, however, have used gut-strung triple harps, reinforcing the assumption that Lawes intended that instrument, arguably to the detriment of modern reception. Thus, this article surveys the Harp Consort recordings in an attempt to address the implications of 'authentic' instrumentation on modern reception.

Lawes's Harp

In a review of Lefkowitz's monograph on Lawes, Thurston Dart took issue with the claim that the Harp Consorts were composed for the triple harp, and suggested that Lawes composed 'for the lovely brass-strung Irish harp, not the relatively dull-sounding gut-strung instrument'.[11] Others were less convinced. Another reviewer (of a separate publication) concluded that 'as Lawes's music is not always diatonic, I would agree with Lefkowitz that Lawes's harpists played the triple harp, which with its warmth, range and resonance blends well with the violin, bass viol and theorbo'.[12] This comment embodies some of the main reasons for supposing that Lawes composed for the triple harp: its range, timbre, and (most importantly) its ability to modulate.

The Irish harp came from an essentially diatonic music tradition. By the seventeenth century the instrument usually had around 30 strings tuned diatonically or modally (with few, if any, unisons), with a range of approximately four octaves. The triple harp had almost a hundred strings in three ranks. 'The two outer ranks are identically tuned to a diatonic scale; the centre rank is tuned to the intervening chromatic notes, plus two in each octave which are identical with two in the outer ranks. From the beginning its compass has not been less than four octaves and a fifth'.[13] A four-octave range, partly chromatic throughout is necessary to perform all 30 pieces from the Harp Consorts (see below). Thus, the triple harp would seem the obvious choice.

In Italy, gut-strung multi-rank harps were used in early operas (e.g., Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* (1607)) and instrumental music (e.g., Pietro Paolo Melii's balletto *Intauolatura di Liuto Attiorbato Libro Terzo* (Venice, 1616)). However, the Irish harp as it had developed by the late sixteenth century was of limited use in performing music requiring modulation or chromatic colouring. Indeed, its characteristic diatonicism would have been a significant barrier to performing non-traditional, modulating, music. This appears to have been a consideration for some Irish harpists, who from at least the late sixteenth century began to experiment with chromatic harps.[14] In 1581 Vincenzo Galilei described an Irish harp that had '54, 56 and even 60' strings. Several decades later Michael Praetorius briefly noted an 'Irlendisch Harff', which he claimed had 43 strings.[15] The tunings given by Galilei and Praetorius suggest that these harps were partly chromatic.[16] Also, the Irish harp in Reinholdt Thim's painting *Christian IV of Denmark's musicians, 1622* (which evidently depicts a harp consort of flute, lute, bass viol and Irish harp) is a large instrument with perhaps 50 or 60 strings, suggesting that it too was chromatic.[17] Furthermore, in the late seventeenth century James Talbot, the Cambridge professor and writer on music, noted the existence of large, possibly chromatic Irish harps ('[The Irish Harp] Carries 43 single Brass strings. some 40. suppose for CC (some 36 at least)').[18] The Dalway (or Cloyne, or Fitzgerald) Harp constructed in 1621 for the household of Sir John FitzEdmund FitzGerald of Cloyne, Co. Cork, is the only example of an apparently chromatic Irish harp to have survived. Only the neck and most of the forepillar remain; the soundbox has been lost for *c.*200 years. There are pins for 45 strings in the main row, with a further seven pins in the middle of the range. Some scholars have argued that the harp was diatonic, and the seven extra strings sympathetic.[19] However, in an important article Michael Billinge and Bonnie Shaljean convincingly argued that the instrument was chromatic in its upper range, diatonic in the lower: the seven extra strings forming an overlapping section with some duplication of pitches.[20] They suggested a range of either C to c''' or D to d'''. The Dalway harp is unlikely to have been the first example of its kind given the careful positioning needed for the seven extra strings. (The original fragments and a recent reconstruction are on display in the National Museum of Ireland.[21])

Harp Consort Recordings

The Dolmetsch family were first to record Lawes's music. In the mid-1930s they set up Dolmetsch Gramophone Records [D.R.] to produce recordings of music performed at the annual Haslemere festivals. The last record (D.R. 16) included two dances from the Royall Consort.[22] However, the earliest commercial recording of Lawes's music (of which I am aware) was not released until 1968. This was done by Thurston Dart's pioneering ensemble The Elizabethan Consort of Viols. The LP covered a selection of Lawes's instrumental music chosen from Musica Britannica 21,[23] including his fantasia-suites (one and two violins, bass viol and organ), the five- and six-part viol consorts, and Pavan HC27 from the Harp Consorts.[24]

Despite Dart's initial certainty that Lawes composed for the Irish harp, a triple harp was used on the recording. Interestingly, the harp was used not only for Pavan HC27, but also for the ensemble's interpretation of the brilliant fantasia-suite no. 8 for violin, bass viol and organ (VdGS nos. 135-137). Here, Dart took the bold step of having the original organ part performed by the harp while adding his own organ continuo. As Margaret Bent's liner notes explain:

> Many features of the 'organ' part to this sonata are far more characteristic of the new-fangled triple harp than of the organ; during rehearsals the players found that all the perplexing problems of texture and balance arising from the use of organ tone for this part were immediately dissolved when the harp was used instead, so it was decided to use the organ only to provide an unobtrusive extemporized continuo.[25]

Although it is difficult to see what features of the organ part 'are far more characteristic of the new-fangled triple harp', the use of the harp in this context is not without foundation. The harp consort appears to have developed from the substitution of the harp for the organ in the accompaniment of divisions in the early seventeenth century.[26] This practice is likely to have been extended to more serious consort music, culminating in Lawes's exploration of the genre in the 1630s. Nevertheless, Dart's novel approach failed to impress one reviewer, Derek McCulloch:

> A harp is used in the opening sonata to perform the 'organ' part. Justified as this may be in terms of balance and colour, the effect is largely counteracted by Professor Dart's *additional* 'unobtrusive extemporized (organ) continuo' which is decidedly obtrusive and dulls the texture.[27]

However, in the same review, McCulloch (unimpressed with the 'monochrome' musical palette of the recording as a whole) noted that the most attractive piece is the broken consort for violin, bass viol (a difficult part well taken), lute, and harp [Pavan

HC27]. Another such set, instead of the second set for six viols, musically the least attractive part of the record, might well have widened [the record's] potential appeal'.[28]

Dart also added his organ continuo to Pavan HC27. In the Harp Consorts the theorbo player would presumably have realized the continuo so Dart's realization was not entirely out of place. However, pursuit of an idiomatic performance was not the main reason behind the inclusion of the organ continuo. Rather, it appears to have been influenced by a desire to bolster the harp part; as the liner notes explain: 'once again the players decided that the organ should be used to provide a soft background, binding the other instruments together'. It seems that Dart felt the triple harp to be insufficient when performing the organ part in the opening fantasia-suite. He evidently also recognised the need for an organ-like texture in the harp part of Pavan HC27.

At this point the role of the harp in the Harp Consorts should be explained. The collection comprises six four-movement 'suites', each consisting of one or two almans (or aires), one or two corants and a saraband (HC1-25). There is also an aire, three pavans and a fantasia (HC26-30). HC26-30 are in the same keys as the six 'suites' and appear to have been composed some time after HC1-25; they are presumably optional movements designed to head the suites. HC1-25 are basically two-part pieces with harp accompaniment (Tr-B-Harp). The harp parts that survive for HC1-20 are essentially in Tr-B format (**see Ex. 2**); presumably they are intended to be elaborated to some extent in performance. HC26-30 are composed in four real parts (Tr-B-B-Harp). In HC26-30 the surviving harp parts are thickly-textured, similar to Lawes's organ parts for the viol consorts or fantasia-suites (**see Exx. 1, 3 and 5a**). The harp doubles the bass line (in the theorbo and sometimes in the bass viol) and participates in the contrapuntal texture with the violin and the bass viol; it also carries the main melody in the pavans. Thus, one needs to hear the harp as much as the bowed strings. Because the tone of the gut-strung harp is similar to the theorbo, it blends easily into the ensemble; however, it also tends to be drowned out by the bowed instruments. Indeed, if one wished to get a sense of Lawes's harp consort it would perhaps be more realistic to use a small chamber organ than any gut-strung harp; The Elizabethan Consort were only a short step away from such a drastic solution. Dart's earlier conviction that Lawes intended the Irish harp may have informed his decision to reinforce the triple harp. Presumably lacking a chromatic Irish harp, Dart's solution created a somewhat curious (and uneasy) compromise, one that defines the essence of the problem at the heart of almost every recording of the Harp Consorts: in this context the triple harp is not fit for purpose. It lacks the sustaining power and distinctive timbre needed to accompany effectively the violin and bass viol.

A powerful, sustaining sound has long been recognised as characteristic of the Irish harp. Traditionally played with long fingernails, it produces 'a large resonant sound quite unlike that of any gut-strung harp, with a suggestion of both bells and guitar'.[29] This was a quality observed by Lawes's contemporaries. For example, Francis Bacon, noted that 'no *Instrument* hath the *Sound* so melting and prolonged, as the *Irish Harp*'.[30] Almost 70 years after the death of Bacon, James Talbot (quoting the harper David Lewis) noted that the triple harp was 'seldom used in Consort generally alone'.[31] Joan Rimmer conceded that 'the triple harp has a pungent tone and is difficult to play; it is therefore not surprising to find the statement by Lewis that it was seldom used in consort'.[32] However, pungency of tone is not the problem. Recordings of the Harp Consorts testify to the ease with which the triple harp blends with Lawes's ensemble. The problem is that it blends too well. Indeed, Talbot's comments should be noted with some caution as they were made several decades after the death of Lawes and cannot be taken as evidence that the triple harp was not used in consort music. By the Restoration the popularity of the Irish harp in England was in decline, having been gradually overtaken by the Italian harp. Although it is possible that the Harp Consorts were performed on occasion with a triple harp, it does not necessarily follow that Lawes composed for that instrument.

An excellent example of the 'melting and prolonged' sound of the Irish harp can be heard on Ann Heymann's *Queen of Harps*.[33] This includes a medley of three consort pieces by the harper Cormack MacDermott (see below) arranged for Irish harp, and several arrangements of traditional Gaelic tunes.[34] Although Heymann is using a smaller harp than needed for the Harp Consorts, it is important to note the bright, resonant sound of the harp, and Heymann's virtuosic technique of stopping the strings to accentuate the melodic lines and to avoid dissonant clashes resulting from the sustaining strings. Such a harp (and technique) would be much more suited to Lawes's ensemble than the triple harp: blending easily with the violin and bass viol, and powerful and distinct enough to be heard clearly. Indeed, the unsuitability of the triple harp is audible in the Elizabethan Consort's recording, and implicit in Dart's continuo.

The harpist with the Elizabethan Consort was Ann Griffiths. She published a brief note shortly after

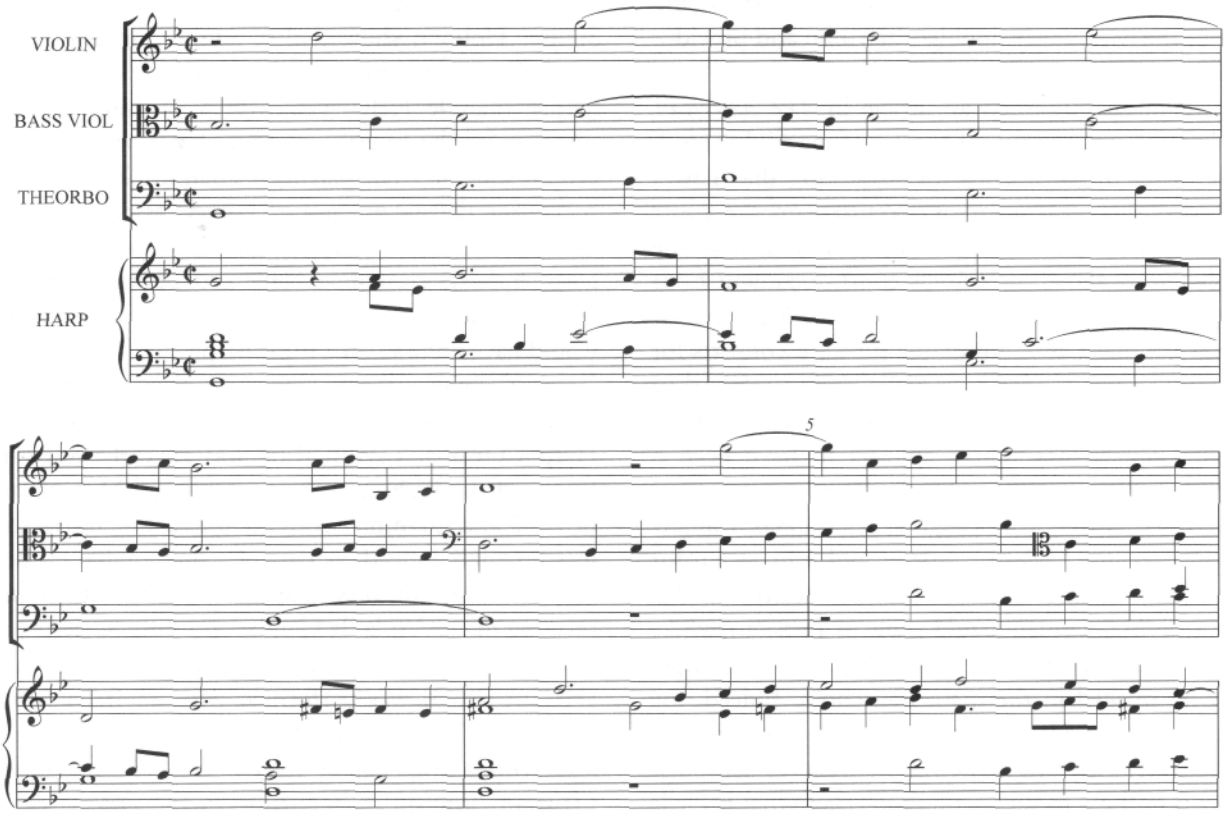
McCulloch's review essentially highlighting the shortcomings of using the triple harp in the Harp Consorts. It is worth quoting at length:

> I think it only fair to point out that the harp used in the recording of William Lawes's consort music (Argo ZRG/RG 555), reviewed by Derek McCulloch in March (p.245), was a triple harp. As I was the player concerned in this recording, may I point out that anyone who expects the usual harp sound on this recording is in for a disappointment? Pedal harps of the type used today were invented by Sebastian Erard in 1810, and the sound of the instruments, let alone their construction and playing technique, is so different that describing this instrument as a harp is tantamount to saying 'piano' when 'harpsichord' is meant.
>
> The harp used in Lawes's day, and the kind of harp for which these consorts were intended, was the triple harp. [...] Instead of the rather lush, rounded sound of the modern pedal instrument, the triple harp is characterized by its incisive sound and great carrying power.[35]

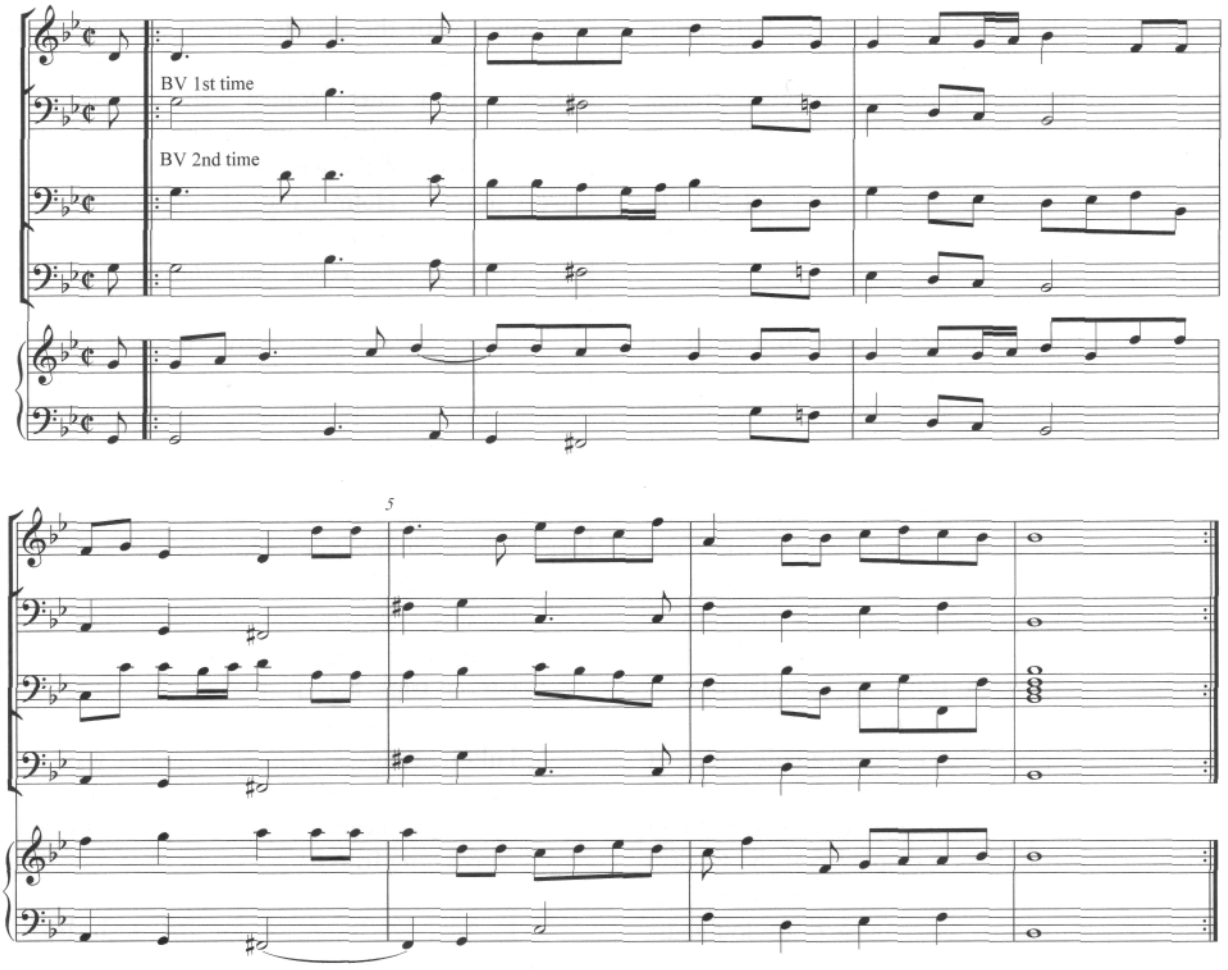
The triple harp may well have an 'incisive sound', but if 'great carrying power' was intended to be synonymous with sustaining ability there was little in evidence on the recording. Indeed, reading between the lines, one detects a hint of pre-emption in Griffith's note — a defence of the performance as 'authentic' or 'historical' ('stylish' was Dart's phrase.) Griffiths implies disappointment; one different to that expressed by McCulloch, but closer perhaps to that implied by Dart's organ continuo. She seems to be asserting that if one is 'disappointed' the instruments are at fault rather than the music, suggesting that there was an inherent weakness in Lawes's instrumentation – also implied by Dart's organ. Thus, the question arises: if 'modern' audiences should expect or express 'disappointment' – one even anticipated by the performers – would this also have been true of audiences and performers in the 1630s? Surely, it is wide of the mark to suggest that Lawes would have exerted so much effort into a fundamentally weak ensemble. Debates over 'historical' performances notwithstanding: would Lawes have settled for a less than satisfactory sound? Especially when a 'rather lush, rounded sound' (to borrow from Griffiths) perhaps would have been available to him from an Irish harp (perhaps similar to the one heard on Heymann's *Queen of Harps*).

Over a decade after Dart's recording another early music pioneer, Gustav Leonhardt, was attracted to the Harp Consorts.[36] Amidst a selection of pieces from the Royall Consort and some lute songs, Leonhardt included HC29, Lawes's brilliant pavan based on a theme by his teacher John Coprario (**Ex. 1**), one of two pavans in the Harp Consorts based on now lost pieces by other composers. In the autograph theorbo part (D.238, f. 42v) Lawes attributed HC28 to 'Cormacke' [MacDermott]. On the following page, he attributed HC29 to 'Coprario'. In both instances Lawes signed his own name to the companion violin and bass viol parts (D.239-40) and made no reference to MacDermott or Coprario in the autograph score (B.3). Lefkowitz suggested that the 'Coprario' pavan was an elaboration of Coprario's Fantasia no. 7 for two bass viols and organ, a point more recently restated by David Pinto.[37] The opening phrases of both pieces share similar bass-lines, harmonies and melodic motifs. However, as Peter Holman has suggested, it is much more likely that Coprario composed a now lost pavan beginning with the same theme, and it was from this Lawes quoted.[38] Annette Otterstedt also identified the opening three bars of the bass viol of HC29 as containing 'a stowaway Ferrabosco theme';[39] however, it seems likely that this reference was unconscious. The theme is from Ferrabosco's beautiful five-part pavan (VdGS No. 2) in C major,[40] the same pavan Lawes used as the organ part for one of his pieces for two bass viols and organ, suggesting that the two pieces were composed around the same time.[41] The harper on the Leonhardt recording was Edward Witsenburg, who played a gut-strung Italian harp. The ensemble's interpretation of Pavan HC29 allows one to hear the kind of acoustical problem encountered by Dart, which led him to include his organ continuo; the gut-strung harp is almost indistinguishable from the theorbo, and does little to provide the support needed against the *concertante* bowed strings. This is especially true of the division strains where the harp carries the main pavan melody (sometimes doubled by the violin).

The same difficulties are present in an ambitious project produced by the Early Music Institute of Indiana University, directed by yet another early music pioneer Thomas Binkley (1932-95). In 1983 Binkley directed the most extensive recording of the Harp Consorts to date; it consists of the three pavans (HC27-29) and the first four 'suites' (HC1-16).[42] Unfortunately, this LP has been deleted and is difficult to obtain. The harpist was Cheryl Ann Fulton, now widely regarded as one of the leading exponents of historical harps; she has long been a champion of the triple harp used on this recording. As before, the harp is often difficult to hear, frequently overpowered by the bowed strings. This is true of the



Example 1. Lawes, 'Pauen' HC29 (VdGS No. 190), bb.1-5



Example 2. Lawes, 'Almane' HC1 (VdGS No. 162), bb.1-7[43]

pavans, but also of the dance 'suites' where the treble line of the harp partly doubles the violin and provides countermelodies (**Ex. 2**).

Fulton published an article in *The American Harp Journal* in support of her use of the triple harp.[44] One of her main reasons for suggesting that Lawes intended that instrument was centred on the court harper Jean le Flelle, whom Mersenne linked to the triple harp.[45] Based on a single court document from 1635, referring to 'the consort Mons. le Flelle', Fulton suggested that Lawes composed his harp consorts for a consort group headed by le Flelle, and therefore they were composed for the triple harp.[46] This ignores several key factors. There appears to have been a strong demarcation between the various sections of the Royal Music. Although le Flelle was initially engaged as 'his Majesty's servant and a musician for the harp in ordinary' from October 1629, this swearing-in document could apply to a post anywhere in the court structure;[47] it does not necessarily imply that he worked in the main household. Indeed, the documentary evidence suggests that he was primarily associated with the Queen's household, although there is nothing to support Fulton's claim that le Flelle came to England with Henrietta Maria in 1625.[48] When Lawes obtained a court post in 1635 it was in the Royal Music group known as the Lutes, Viols and Voices, the private musicians of Charles I. It seems unlikely that Lawes would have composed for le Flelle's consort (presuming this was a regular group) in the Queen's household when there were two Irish harpers (Lewis Evans and Philip Squire) in the Lutes, Viols and Voices. Indeed, between 1603 and 1642 le Flelle is the only court harper associated with the triple harp.[49]

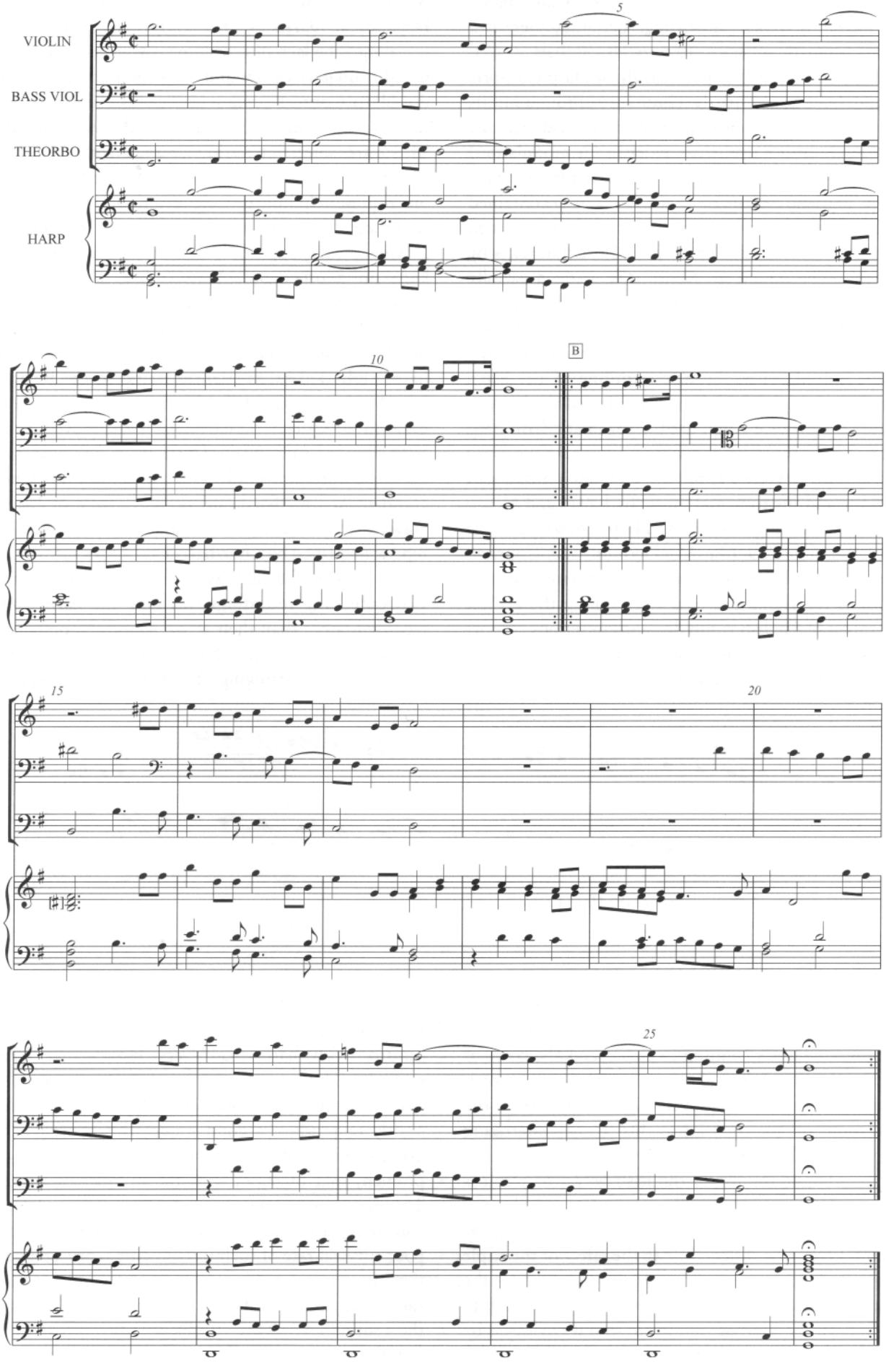
In 1987 Peter Holman published an important article on the Harp Consorts.[50] Through a range of archival and musical evidence, he was able to show convincingly that the evidence linking Lawes to le Flelle (and the triple harp) was at best ambiguous, and that it was more likely that Lawes composed for the Irish harp. Holman was the first to emphasise the importance of Cormack MacDermott in the development of the harp consort. MacDermott was an Irish harper, probably originally from Co. Roscommon.[51] He received an official court appointment in October 1605, 'in consideration of his service in the art of music'.[52] Prior to his appointment there had been not been an official court harper since the death of William More in 1565. MacDermott was the first in a series of (sighted and mostly literate) Irish harpers employed at the English court that performed and composed 'art' music. The 'Cormacke' referred to by Lawes is undoubtedly MacDermott, who is likely to have been a key figure in the early development of the harp consort.[53] MacDermott died in 1618 and was replaced by Philip Squire. Holman showed that Squire and his pupil Lewis Evans were more likely candidates for Lawes's harper than le Flelle was. Moreover, Inigo Jones's sketches for the Queen's masque *The Temple of Love* (1635) show le Flelle playing a small single row harp, suggesting that he was not exclusively associated with the triple harp; he may even have played the Irish harp. Indeed, even if le Flelle did perform Lawes's harp consorts, there is no reason to assume that he would have done so on a triple harp.[54]

Holman was not alone in suggesting that the Irish harp was the appropriate instrument for the Harp Consorts. Layton Ring was an early voice in favour of the Irish harp: his unpublished M.A. thesis of 1972 also examined evidence for Lawes's use of the instrument.[55] Indeed, as part of a memorable lecture on the Harp Consorts delivered by Ring, at a joint meeting of the Viola da Gamba and Lute Societies of Great Britain (23 November 1985), Lawes's Aire (HC26; Ex. 3) was performed with an Italian gut-strung double harp (Andrew Lawrence-King), and also with a wire-strung Irish harp with fingernails (Tristram Robson).[56] Reporting in the newsletter of the *Viola da Gamba Society Newsletter*, John Catch described the performance: 'With the "Italian" the effect was the more homogenous and rather "plummy": with the "Gaelic" more brilliant, rather exotic, and (to some hearers at least) having a clearer texture".[57] Ring later recalled that 'a considerable majority of the audience, when asked, showed their hands in favour of the wire-strung harp's sonority in Lawes's music'.[58] Holman's article provided a much-needed and coherent historical foundation for this kind of *argumentum causa pulchritudinis* (to borrow Ring's phrase).

Fulton was apparently unconvinced by Holman's arguments. Although she did not publish a rebuttal, her claims for the triple harp resurfaced in the most recent edition of *The New Grove Dictionary* (which makes for an interesting contrast to David Pinto's entry on Lawes, which opts for the Irish harp).[59] Furthermore, the following was noted in a recent issue of *The Historical Harp Society Bulletin*:

> Because the music [of the Harp Consorts] is highly chromatic and the famous triple harp player LeFlelle was at the court at the time, with a consort, Dr. Fulton believes that the music was composed for the gut-strung triple harp. There has been an argument that the wire-strung Irish harp was intended, but the evidence is weak.[60]

In fact, the evidence for the Irish harp is compelling, especially when one takes into account the musical evidence available from the sources.[61]



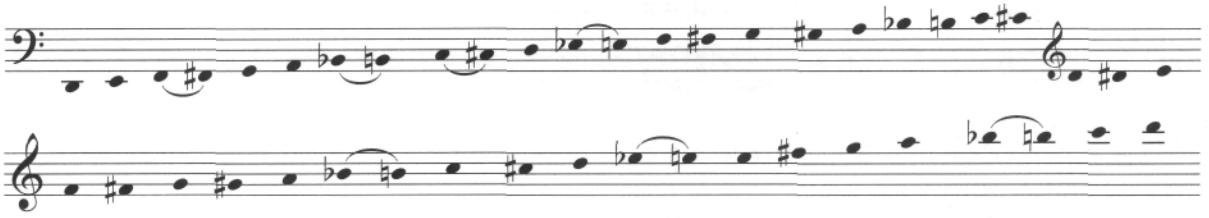
Example 3. Lawes, 'Aire' HC26 (VdGS No. 187)

Moreover, to say that the Harp Consorts are 'highly chromatic' is at best misleading. Certainly, there is a short chromatic subject in Fantazy HC30 (bars 70-87), and the harp needed to perform all 30 Harp Consorts would have to be partly chromatic throughout its range (**Ex. 4**). However, given the evidence for chromatic Irish harps, chromaticism (or modulation) need not imply that Lawes composed for the triple harp. The sources suggest that Lawes's harp contained at least 38 strings, seven of which could be retuned between pieces in different keys (indicated in **Ex. 4** by slurs).[62] The range is *D* to *d'''*, with a wholly chromatic mid-range (*f* to *a'*).[63] The amount of unisons was probably quite few, if there were any. Such a harp would resemble the size of the Dalway harp. Indeed, when the first recording of the Harp Consorts using an Irish harp was released the harpist, Andrew Lawrence-King, used 'a chromatic Irish harp after the "Dalway" harp'.[64]

The Lawrence-King CD includes a mixture of masque and instrumental music by Lawes and Henry Purcell, including two of the Harp Consort pavans: HC28 and HC29 (the MacDermott and Coprario pavans). Both pieces contain elaborate division sections for violin and bass viol (among the earliest examples of English violin divisions in serious consort music). However, the divisions on the 'Cormacke' pavan – the most brilliant of the collection – were not included on the recording. This may have been due to the decision to recreate the type of ensemble in Reinholdt Thim's painting (which graces the cover of the 1995 issue of the CD) by replacing the violin with the flute. Although one feels slightly cheated by the omission of the divisions, this is an interesting variation on Lawes's harp consort ensemble.

Despite the use of the Irish harp, the result is extremely disappointing. The instrument lacks any real power and is frustratingly difficult to hear at times. Overall, it differs little to the effect of the triple harp on the above recordings. Again, the ability of the harpist is not in question; however, this is unlikely to have been the kind of lack-lustre sound envisaged by Lawes. For example, if one compares the sound of the harp on Lawrence-King's solo arrangement of 'The Battle of Harlaw' (track 7) with any of the tracks from Heymann's *Queen of the Harps* the contrast is revealing. The lack of power in Lawrence-King's harp is unfortunately compounded in the performance of the Harp Consort pavans (especially HC29), where the bowed strings etc. frequently drown him out. There are some interesting arrangements and fine performances on the Lawrence-King CD; however, one cannot help but rue a significant opportunity lost regarding the Harp Consort pavans. Indeed, Lawrence-King appears to have used the same Irish harp on another notable recording, *His Majesty's Harper*,[65] which includes music by Dowland and Byrd arranged for solo harp. It also includes four consort pieces by MacDermott played on a wire-strung Irish harp,[66] followed by the dances found in the Reymes Lute Manuscript entitled 'Monsieur la flale playd thes tunes in the Queens maske on his harpe' played on an Italian triple harp.[67] Again, Lawrence-King's playing is excellent but the sound of the Irish harp does not compare well to that heard on *The Queen of Harps.* Nevertheless, the CD contains an interesting repertoire played by a fine harper.

Perhaps the fault with the Irish harp on the Lawrence-King recordings was how the harps were recorded rather than their actual sound. Nonetheless, the lack of power may have arisen from problems associated with stringing the Irish harp. Lawrence-King appears to have used a reasonably light gauge; however, according to Praetorius, seventeenth-century Irish harps had 'very heavy-gauge brass strings'.[68] The problem for modern harp-makers is that these heavy strings would have to be strung tightly to produce a good sound; this consequently exerts considerable tension on the frame of the harp, a problem that increases with the number of strings. The great tension produced by the strings of large chromatic Irish harps must have contributed to the poor survival rate of such instruments – one imagines that the tension produced by the 52 wire strings of the Dalway harp must have contributed to the loss of the soundbox. This problem also provides a significant difficulty for modern reconstructions, although, much valuable research has been recently

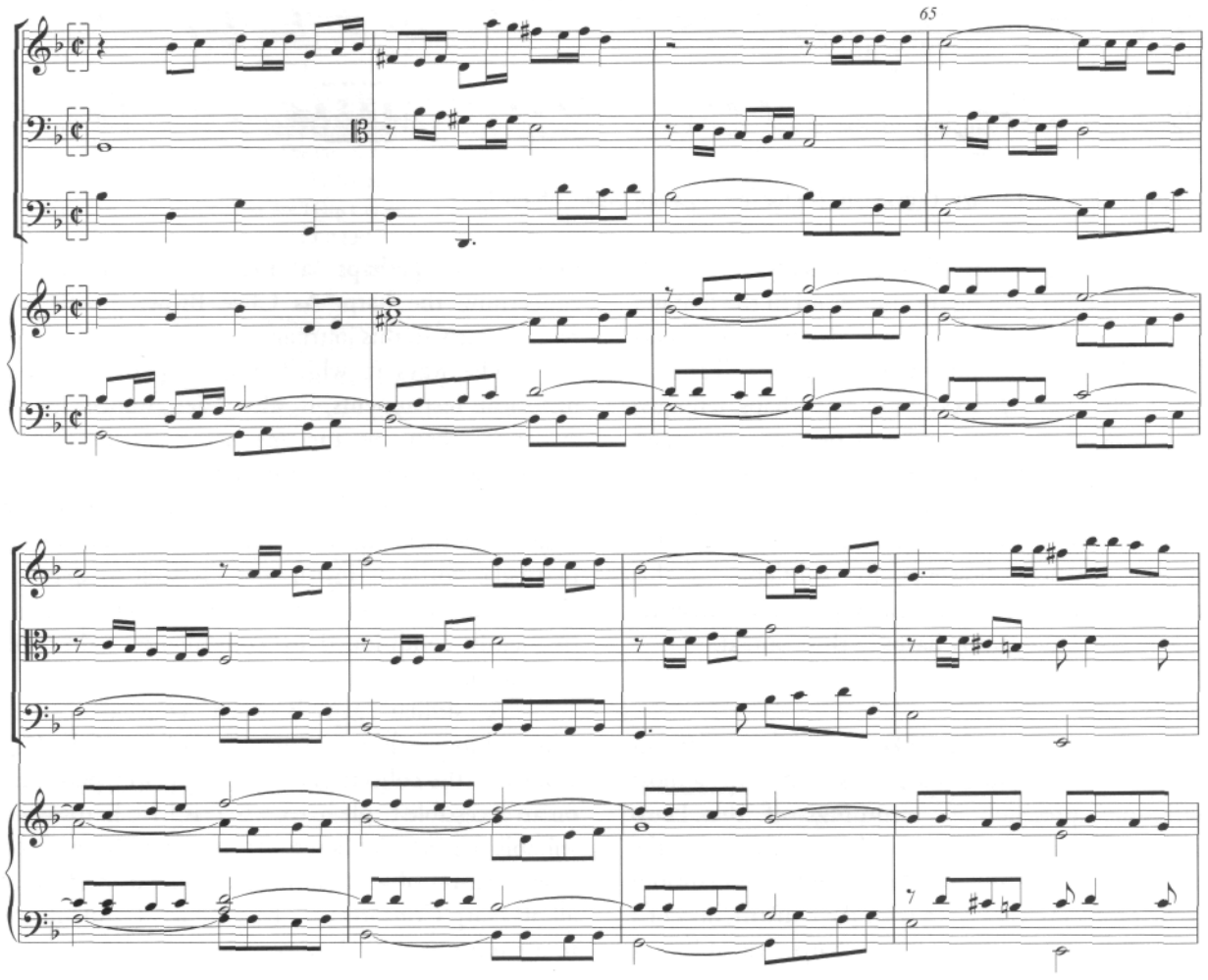


Example 4. Range of notes needed for the Harp Consorts

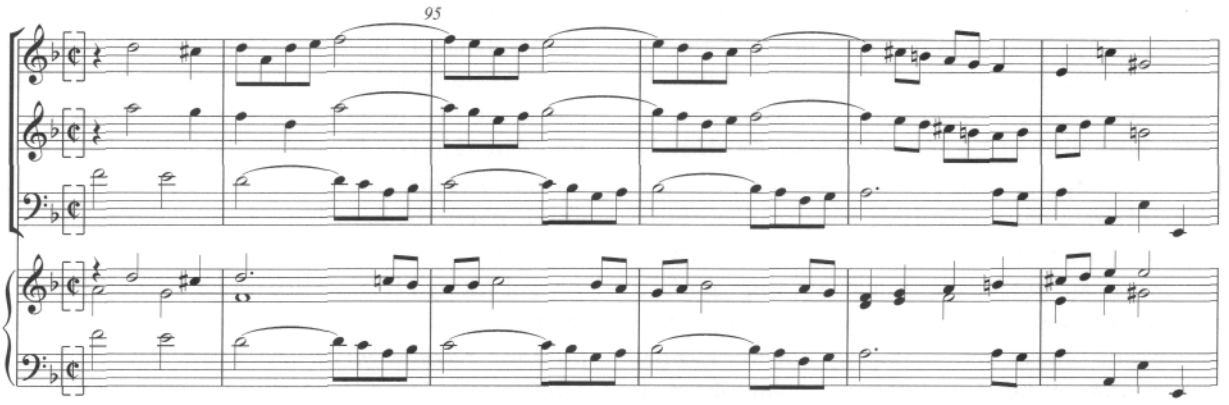
carried out in the area of stringing practices for historical harps.[69] Reconstructions in relation to Lawes's consorts the problem is compounded by the pitch requirements of the harp, which have only recently been discussed in detail.[70] Moreover, there is little unequivocal evidence for the construction and tunings of large chromatic Irish harps and no firm models from which to work (although the Dalway harp seems to be a reasonable starting point). Reconstructions of later diatonically-tuned harps may also provide clues: for example, Robert Evans's reconstruction of the Downhill harp – a high-headed Irish harp made in 1702 and used by Dennis Hempson (1695-1807) – used brass strings with gauges from 1.15mm (C) to .52mm (d").[71]

The most recent recording of the Harp Consorts appeared earlier this year courtesy of the Ricercar Consort (director Philippe Pierlot).[72] The CD contains a mixture of solo lyra viol music (mostly by Lawes) as well as ten of the Harp Consorts. There is a selection of the lighter dance pieces (Alman HC1; Corant HC2; Saraband HC8; Aire HC13; Corant HC15; Saraband HC16) juxtaposed with some of the more complex pieces (Aire HC26; Pavan HC27; Pavan HC29; Fantazy HC30). Once again, a gut-strung Italian harp was used (played by Giovanna Pessi, a former student of Witsenburg). Remarkably, this is the first recording of the fine Fantazy HC30 and Aire HC26. However, the issues relating to suitability of gut-strung harps persist, especially in the pieces where the harp has a more contrapuntal part (tracks 1, 11, 18 and 22).

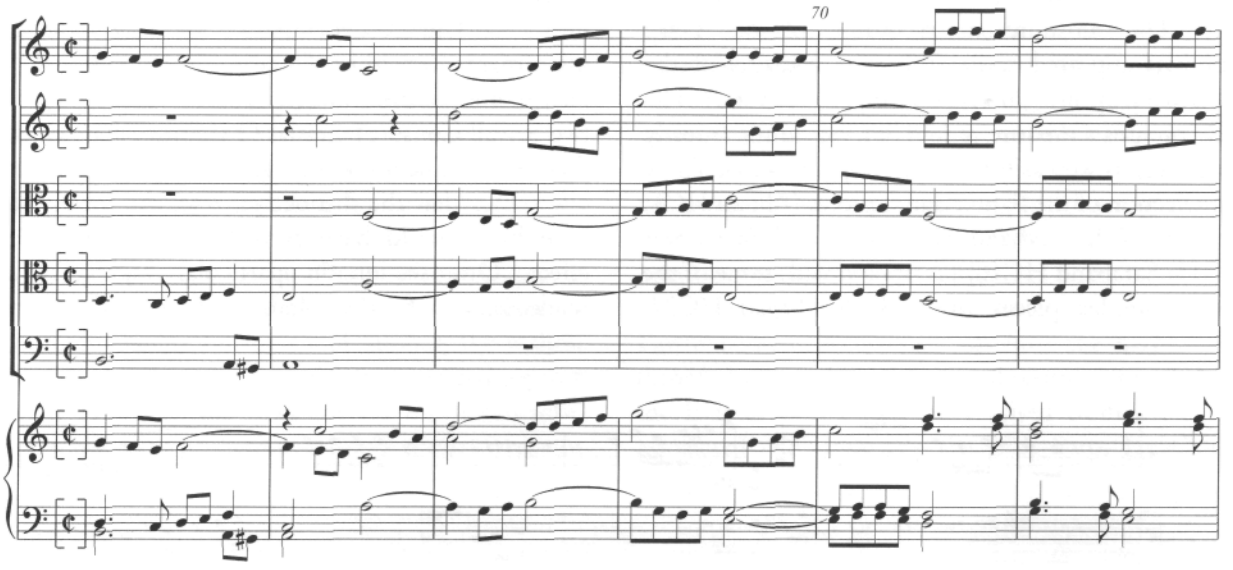
Fantazy HC30 (track 11) is adequate to show the frustrating duality of accomplishment in this and previous recordings of the Harp Consorts. It is exhilarating to hear this brilliant piece brought to life by a talented ensemble. However, Lawes's harp consort was in many ways similar to the Elizabethan mixed consort in its unsuitability for contrapuntal music.[73] The independence of the plucked instruments in this fantasia is exceptional in polyphonic consort music, rivalled only in Lawes's two Royall Consort fantasias (2 violins, 2 bass viols, 2 theorbos).[74] The audibility of the harp is a problem; one senses that the distinctive, resonant tone of the Irish harp would have carried the part to greater effect. One section in particular highlights the inadequacy of the Italian harp. The harp



Example 5a. Lawes, Harp Consort 'Fantazy' HC30 (VdGS No. 191), bb.62-67



Example 5b. Lawes, 'Fantazy' (VdGS No. 156) for 2 violins, bass viol and organ, bb.93-98



Example 5c. Lawes, 'Fantazy' (VdGS No. 72) for five viols and organ, bb.66-71

accompaniment at bars 62-68 (roughly 2:15-2:30, track 11) is built on a figure also found in the fantasia from Lawes's fantasia-suite no. 7 for two violins (VdGS No. 156), and in his five-part 'Fantazy' (VdGS No. 72) (*cf.* **Exx. 5*a-c***).[75] Perhaps tellingly, this is a figure usually employed by Lawes in organ accompaniments imitating bowed strings; the effect is somewhat lost on the Italian harp. Throughout this CD the Ricercar Consort are to be commended for fine performances; however, the subtleties of this fantasia again serve to highlight the acoustic inadequacy of gut-strung harps in this context.

Conclusions

In the 40 or so years since Dart's recording of Pavan HC28 the gut-strung harp has been an almost continuous presence in recordings of the Harp Consorts. The reasons are essentially two-fold: (1) the lack of a complete and authoritive published edition; (2) the problems associated with the construction of a chromatic wire-strung Irish harp capable of performing the collection. As noted, a published edition is apparently forthcoming, however, the problem is perhaps a more fundamental one concerning the harp. As Clive Brown noted in a recent review in this journal:

> The ways in which modern performers play historical instruments is often determined less by evidence, than by the instinctive application of techniques acquired in learning modern instruments, modified slightly by the different characteristics of the older instrument. In many cases, too, the choice of a particular form of instrument, as well as decisions about the size and constitution of ensembles is frequently conditioned by convenience rather than scholarship.[76]

A similar gap between convenience and scholarship is reflected in most recordings of the Harp Consorts: the collection can be reasonably performed on an accessible triple harp, whereas Irish harps with a suitable chromatic range are not readily available. Construction of an Irish harp capable of performing all 30 Harp Consorts may be somewhat difficult (not to mention costly). However, modern reconstructions of the Dalway harp suggest that these difficulties are surmountable.[77] More serious problems arise,

however, when performative convenience masquerades as scholarship, and in some instances even appears to generate it.

Few would question the standard of musicianship on the Harp Consorts recordings. Naturally, there are stylistic differences in approach reflective of contemporary attitudes and personal ideals relating to the interpretation of early music. However, this is of much less significance than the sound of the harp, and the predominance of the gut-strung harp. It has not been my intention to slight the significant contribution that these recordings have made in bringing Lawes and the Harp Consorts to modern audiences; for that alone they are to be commended (although few would perhaps miss the thin tone and vibrato of the 'baroque violins' on the earlier recordings). Nobility of intention rarely however shields one from criticism. These recordings confirm (if in the negative) the following observation by Francis Bacon: 'some *Consorts* of *Instruments* are sweeter than others (a thing not sufficiently yet observed;) as the *Irish-Harp* and *Base-Vial* agree well'.[78] However, this is not simply an *argumentum causa pulchritudinis*; there is much compelling evidence for Lawes's use of the Irish harp. One hopes that future recordings of the Harp Consorts – which will undoubtedly be inspired by the eventual appearance of a complete edition – will attempt to find a more satisfactory answer to the acoustical problems encountered by Dart *et al.* Of course, this requires experimentation on the part of harpers and harp-makers willing to recreate a suitable instrument and technique. The challenge is great, the possible rewards tantalising. There is opportunity yet for the concord of the Irish harp and bass viol to be 'sufficiently observed', and for the remarkable textural blend of Lawes's original ensemble to be fully appreciated by modern audiences.

1 Murray Lefkowitz, *William Lawes* (London, 1960); David Pinto, *For ye Violls: The Consort and Dance Music of William Lawes* (Richmond, 1995); Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work* (Aldershot, 1998).

2 For example *William Lawes: Fantasia-Suites*, ed. David Pinto (Musica Britannica [MB] 60; London, 1991); *William Lawes: The Royall Consort (Old and New Versions)*, ed. David Pinto (London, 1995).

3 Notable recordings include *Fantasia-Suites for Violin, Bass Viol and Organ*. Music's Re-creation. Centaur, 1998 (CD) CRC 2385; *For ye Violls: Consort Setts for 5 and 6 Viols and Organ*. Fretwork. Virgin Classics, 2002 (CD) VC 7 91187-2; *The Royal Consort Suites: Premier Recording of the Complete Suites*. The Purcell Quartet, with Nigel North and Paul O'Dette. Chaconne, 1999 (CD) Chan 0584/5.

4 The earliest source referring to the 'Harp Consorts' is Henry Playford's 1690 Sale Catalogue: 'A Curious COLLECTION of Musick-Books, Both *VOCAL* and *INSTRUMENTAL*' (London, 1690) (GB-Lbl, Harl. 5936/nos. 419-20), no. 117.

5 Selections were published in *William Lawes: Select Consort Music*, ed. Murray Lefkowitz (MB 21; London, 2/1971). The complete collection is edited in John Cunningham, 'Music for the Privy Chamber: Studies in the Consort Music of William Lawes (1602-45)', Ph.D. thesis., 2 Vols. (University of Leeds, 2007).

6 The Harp Consorts are here referred to as HC1-30, and not by their VdGS Nos. (162-191). This numbering relates to the position of the piece in the autograph sequence in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.238-40. Here the term 'Harp Consort' refers to each individual movement: other commentators cite the 'suites' as individual consorts (1-6) as well as the last five pieces (7-11).

7 www.prbpro.com

8 Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 88-105.

9 Joan Rimmer, 'James Talbot's Manuscript VI: Harps', *Galpin Society Journal* [*GSJ*], 16 (May 1963), 63-72, at 69; also Fulton, '*For the Harpe, Base Violl, Violin and Theorbo*: The Consorts of William Lawes (1602-1645)', *American Harp Journal*, 10 (Winter 1985), 15-20.

10 Peter Holman, 'The Harp in Stuart England: New Light on William Lawes's Harp Consorts', *Early Music*, 15/2 (May 1987), 188-203. Also, Layton Ring, 'A Preliminary Inquiry into the Continuo Parts of William Lawes for Organ, Harp and Theorbo', M.A. thesis (University of Nottingham, 1972); and Cunningham, 'Music for the Privy Chamber'.

11 Thurston Dart, '*William Lawes* by Murray Lefkowitz: Review', *Music and Letters*, 41/3 (July 1960), 256-259, at 258.

12 O. E., '*The Harp* by Marcel Tournier: Review', *Music and Letters*, 41/4 (October 1960), 386-387, at 387.

13 Joan Rimmer, 'The Morphology of the Triple Harp', *GSJ*, 18 (March 1965), 90-103, at 90.

14 'Chromatic' is intended to mean the ability to modulate.

15 Michael Praetorius, *Syntagmatis musici tomus secundus* (Wolfenbuttel, 1618-19); trans. David Crookes, *Michael Praetorius: Syntagma Musicum II. De Organographia Parts I and II* (Oxford, 1986), 62.

16 See Michael Billinge and Bonnie Shaljean, 'The Dalway or Fitzgerald Harp (1621)', *Early Music*, 15/2 (May 1987), 175-187, at 180. For evidence relating to chromatic Irish harps see ibid.; and Cunningham, 'Music for the Privy Chamber', Chapter 7.

17 The painting is reproduced in Billinge and Shaljean, 175.

18 Talbot MS (GB-Och, Mus. MS 1187), quoted in Rimmer, 'Talbot Harps', 66.

19 Joan Rimmer, *The Irish Harp* (Cork, 3/1984), 49.

20 See Billinge and Shaljean.

21 The reconstruction is described in Bill Taylor, 'The Cloyne Harp', *Sounding Strings*, 14 (Spring 1998); available at http://www.clarsach.net/Bill_Taylor/cloyne.htm

22 The Royall Consort tracks are included on *Pioneer Early Music Recordings: The Dolmetsch Family with Diana Poulton, Volume 1*. The Dolmetsch Family. The Dolmetsch Foundation and The Lute Society [*c.*2005], LSDOL001; D.R. 16 is dated 29 September 1948.

23 *Lawes: Select Consort Music* (MB 21).

24 *William Lawes: Consort Music*. The Elizabethan Consort of Viols/Thurston Dart (dir.). Argo, 1968 (LP, deleted) ZRG555. The recording can be purchased as a download at http://music.eonkyo.com/goods/detail.asp?artist=Lawes%2C+William; the site is however in Japanese and requires registration in Hiragana. Samples from each of the tracks can be heard free of charge.

25 Margaret Bent, '*Lawes: Consort Music*: liner notes'.

26 This idea was first developed in Holman, 'Lawes's Harp Consorts'.

27 Derek McCulloch, '*William Lawes: Consort Music*. Elizabethan Consort/Dart: Review', *The Musical Times*, 109/1501 (March 1968), 245.

28 McCulloch, 'Review', 245.

29 Joan Rimmer, 'Harps in the Baroque Era', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 90 (1963-4), 59-75, at 61.

30 Francis Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum* (London, 1627), Century iii, 53, no. 223.

31 Talbot MS, Och, 1187, quoted in Rimmer, 'Talbot: Harp', 63.

32 Rimmer, 'Talbot: Harp', 69.

33 *Queen of Harps*. Ann Heymann. Temple Records, 1994 (CD) COMD2057.

34 MacDermott's surviving output is edited in Cunningham, 'Music for Privy Chamber', Vol. 2.

35 Ann Griffiths, 'The Triple Harp', *The Musical Times*, 109/1502 (April 1968), 335-336, at 335.

36 *William Lawes: The Royal Consort and Lute Songs*. René Jacobs, Sigiswald Kuijken, Edward Witsenburg. Gustav Leonhardt (dir.). Seon/Sony Classical, 1997 (CD; originally released as LP in 1979) SBK 63179. It is usually available at www.amazon.co.uk

37 Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 103-104; Pinto, *For ye Violls*, 154. The Coprario fantasia for two bass viols and organ is published in *John Coprario: Twelve Fantasias for Two Bass Viols and Organ and Eleven Pieces for Three Lyra Viols*, ed. Richard Charteris (Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 41; Wisconsin, 1982), 26-29.

38 Holman, 'Lawes's Harp Consorts', 203(n27).

39 Annette Otterstedt, 'Lawes's Division Viol. Pedigree of an Instrument', trans. Hans Reiners, in *William Lawes*, ed. Ashbee, 307-339, at 328.

40 *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger: Consort Music of Five and Six Parts*, ed. Christopher Field and David Pinto (MB 81; London, 2003), no. 13.

41 Edited in Cunningham, 'Music for the Privy Chamber', Vol. 2.

42 *William Lawes: Consort Music for the Harpe, Bass Viol, Violin and Theorbo*. Cheryl Ann Fulton, Stanley Richie, Roy Weldon and Robert Grossman. Focus Records, 1983 (LP, deleted) Focus Records 843.

43 This harp part is taken only from D.229.

44 Fulton, 'Consorts of William Lawes'.

45 Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, iii: *Traite des instruments a chordes* (Paris, 1636-7), 170.

46 Most recently: Cheryl Ann Fulton, 'Harp, §V, 5: Europe and the Americas: Multi-rank harps in Europe outside Spain (iii) Wales and England', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy [*GMO*].

47 Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *Records of English Court Music* [*RECM*], iii: *1625-1649* (Aldershot, 1988), 47. See also Holman, 'Lawes's Harp Consorts'.

48 Fulton, 'Consorts of William Lawes', 15-16; ead., 'Harp', *GMO*.

49 The other court harpists during the period were: Cormack MacDermott (Irish harp); Daniel Cahill (Irish harp); Philip Squire (Irish harp); Lewis Evans (Irish harp); Malcombe Groate (Scottish harp?).

50 Holman, 'Lawes's Harp Consorts'.

51 Sean Donnelly, 'An Irish Harper and Composer – Cormac MacDermott (?-1618)', *Ceol*, 8 (July 1986), 40-50; Holman, 'Lawes's Harp Consorts'.

52 *RECM*, iv: *1603-1625* (Aldershot, 1991), 12.

53 See Holman, 'Lawes's Harp Consorts', 192-193; Cunningham, 'Music for the Privy Chamber', Chapter 7.

54 See Holman, 'Lawes's Harp Consorts', 197-198.

55 Ring, 'Preliminary Enquiry'.

56 Completing the ensemble – The Lawes Ensemble – were Peter Salem (violin), Ian Gammie (bass viol) and Douglas Wooton (theorbo/director); the lecture also included performances of the Harp Consort pieces in *Lawes: Select Consort Music* (MB 21) and Fantazy HC30 (with the Italian double harp).

57 John Catch, 'The Harp Consorts of William Lawes', *Viola da Gamba Society Newsletter*, No. 52 (January 1986), 5-8, at 8. I am grateful Dr Michael Fleming for supplying me with a copy of the newsletter.

58 Layton Ring, 'The Harp for Lawes', *Early Music*, 15/4 (November 1987), 589-590, at 590.

59 *Cf.* Fulton, 'Harp', *GMO* and David Pinto, 'Lawes, William', *GMO*.

60 Anne Humphrey (compiler), '2005 Conference Report', *The Historical Harp Society Bulletin* [*HHSB*], 15/2 (August 2005), 4.

61 See Cunningham, '"Some *Consorts* of *Instruments* are sweeter than others": 'Further Light on the Harp of William Lawes's Harp Consorts', *GSJ* (forthcoming).

62 This assumes no retuning within keys; if this were allowed the pitches *f*"-*f#*" would also be retuneable.

63 It would not require 'at least four and one-half octaves', as claimed in Fulton, 'Consorts of William Lawes', 16.

64 *Exquisite Consorts: Courtly Ensembles and Dramatic Music by William Lawes (1602-1645) and Henry Purcell (1659-1695)*. The Harp Consort. Andrew Lawrence-King (dir.). Berlin Classics, 1995 (CD; reissued in 2005) 0011552BC. (Copies regularly appear at reasonable prices on www.ebay.co.uk and on www.amazon.co.uk). Incidentally, Jane Achtman was one of the bass viol players on this CD.

65 *His Majesty's Harper*. Andrew Lawrence-King. Deutsche Harmonia Mundi (CD), BMG Classics 05472 77504 2; available at www.amazon.co.uk

66 These are the same three as played by Heymann as well as 'Schoc.a.torum Cormacke' published in William Brade, *Newe Auserlessene* (Hamburg, 1617), no. 40.

67 The manuscript is held by the *Bibliothèque du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*, Paris; the four dances – in lute tablature – are at ff. 59v-60.

68 *Syntagma Musicum*, trans. Crookes, 62.

69 Particularly informative are Bob Evans, 'How are Wires Made?', *Wire Branch Newsletter*, 3 (January, 2001); id., 'Brass Wire', *Wire Branch Newsletter*, 4 (June 2001): both are reproduced at www.clarsach.net; also Ann and Charlie Heymann, 'Strings of Gold', *Historical Harp Society Journal*, 13/3 (Summer 2003): available at www.annheymann.com/gold/htm. A good general overview of stringing issues by Simon Chadwick can be found at www.earlygaelicharp.info/stringing/practice.htm

70 Cunningham, 'Music for the Privy Chamber', Chapter 7; and Cunningham, 'Further Light on Lawes's Harp Consorts'.

71 See Robert Evans, 'A Copy of the Downhill Harp', *GSJ*, 50 (March 1997), 119-126. The original is housed in the Guinness Storehouse Museum in Dublin.

72 *William Lawes: The Passion of Musicke*. Sophie Gent, Giovanna Pessi, Eduardo Egüez, Philippe Pierlot. Ricercar Consort. Philippe Pierlot (dir.). Flora Records, 2007 (CD) Flora 1206. Available for purchase at www.kelys.org/flora

73 See *The First Book of Consort Lessons: Collected by Thomas Morley 1599 and 1611*, ed. Sydney Beck (New York, 1959); and *Music for Mixed Consort*, ed. Warwick Edwards (MB 40; London, 1977).

74 The theorbo in HC30 is often doubled in the harp part; the theorbos in the Royall Consort fantasias are fully independent.

75 Published respectively in *Lawes: Fantasia-Suites*, 96-99; and *William Lawes: Consort Sets in Five and Six Parts*, ed. David Pinto (London, 1979), 17-22.

76 Clive Brown, 'Review of Richard Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos* [...]', *Early Music Performer*, 20 (May 2007), 25-27, at 26.

77 The range of Lawes's harp is discussed in Cunningham, 'Further Light on Lawes's Harp Consorts'.

78 *Sylva Sylvarum*, Century iii, 61, no. 278.

Jeremiah Clarke (c. 1674-1707) A tercentenary tribute

Bryan White and Andrew Woolley

The anniversaries of prominent composers are big business these days. They provide an excuse for radio stations to play a great deal of popular music (think of Radio 3's celebration of the 250th anniversary of Mozart's birth in 2006), encourage new, or re-releases of recordings, and sometimes, as was the case of the tri-centenary of Henry Purcell's death in 1995, inspire noteworthy scholarly endeavour. In many ways, however, the big composers are those who require least the anniversary spotlight, and it is minor composers that need to be picked out from the shadows from time to time, both to see what they themselves have to offer, as well as to throw a bit more light on the context of the more important figures of the same milieu. Jeremiah Clarke, one of the most significant figures in the generation following Purcell, is just such a composer. As far as we have been able to discover, the 300th anniversary of his death, which came by his own hand on 1 December 1707, has gone largely unmarked, apart from a spot on the Early Music Show on Radio 3 in August.[1] Clarke contributed works of considerable quality to most of the important genres of his day including anthems, theatre music (songs, theatre tunes and a masque), odes and keyboard pieces. He is, of course, most famous for the Prince of Denmark's March, which has accompanied countless brides to the altar. But there is much more to his music, and we hope this brief exploration of his keyboard music by Andrew Woolley and his odes by Bryan White, will lead a few more people to look in between his appearance at innumerable weddings, and his own funeral (despite the nature of his death, he was buried in the crypt at St Paul's), to the many interesting works he left behind.

Jeremiah Clarke the Keyboard Player

Jeremiah Clarke's career as a professional musician appears to have begun in 1692 when, shortly after leaving the Chapel Royal as a chorister, he was appointed organist of Winchester College.[2] His skills at the keyboard were probably considerable in view of later appointments. He probably assisted his former teacher, John Blow, at St Paul's Cathedral in the late 1690s, and was eventually appointed vicar-choral there in 1699; on the title-page of Clarke's posthumous collection of harpsichord music, *Choice Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet* (1711), he is described as 'Composer & Organist' of St Paul's. In May 1704, Clarke also became an organist of the Chapel Royal, sharing the post with William Croft. There are no contemporary accounts of Clarke's keyboard playing known, although in the late eighteenth century Philip Hayes noted that Clarke, 'besides a most happy native genius for composition', 'was esteemed the most Elegant player of church music in the Kingdom'.[3] Like many important Restoration organists, however, there are no surviving organ voluntaries by him to give us an idea of his playing. Organ voluntaries by only a handful of Restoration keyboard players survive, probably because they largely improvised and used written-down voluntaries for teaching.[4] Over half of the voluntaries that survive were composed by Blow whose style of playing presumably influenced Clarke's.[5]

A significant body of harpsichord music by Clarke survives, however, most of which appears in the *Choice Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinett* (1711).[6] This is a small collection of 25 pieces

organised by key, in ascending order, beginning with 'gamut': G major, A major, B minor, C minor, C major and D major. The term 'suite' is not used, but the seven C major pieces seem to form two suites, the first consisting of 'Almand', 'Corant', and 'A Iigg', and the second consisting of 'An Entry', 'Corant', 'Minuet' and 'Donawert March'. The remaining groupings also appear to make satisfactory suites. It was common for professional keyboard players in the late seventeenth century to teach the harpsichord or popular bentside spinet to amateur pupils, and Clarke may have composed these generally simple pieces for their use. From what we know of English keyboard players of the period, it is likely that he had a number of aristocratic pupils; Henry Purcell had at least two such pupils in the 1690s.[7] Only a small number of pieces by Clarke out of those that appear in *Choice Lessons* circulated in manuscripts, notably the pieces in C major and C minor. In some instances they circulated with texts independent of the print, and are also found together with different pieces in the same key, which are anonymous but could be by Clarke. A particularly intriguing instance of this occurs in GB-Cfm, MU. MS 653, a manuscript probably dating from the second decade of the eighteenth century, where Clarke's C major almand and first corant in *Choice Lessons* appear anonymously and are followed by a ground in the same key. They are preceded by a chaconne attributed to Clarke in other manuscripts and a prelude elsewhere attributed to Croft, also in C major. The manuscript copy of Clarke's C major almand is notable in that almost the entire second strain is different to that printed in *Choice Lessons*; only the first bar and the penultimate bars are the same. There are also minor variants between the printed and manuscript sources of both the corant and almand. The variants are numerous but are typical of English keyboard sources of the period. They are also of a common type: on the whole they concern the surface details of the pieces such as the accompaniment figures, cadential figures, and melodic or rhythmic details of the right-hand part. Some of these variants might have resulted from scribal errors or reflect composer revisions. However, this is unlikely to be true for all of them. The manuscript versions appear not to have any wrong notes or have particularly inferior readings and it is difficult to see how they have been corrupted. The second strain of the C major almand in the manuscript suggests that Clarke may have revised the pieces. This is a possibility in view of the different versions of the second strain of the almand. However, the variants between the versions of the first strain of the almand and the entire corant are of an essentially trivial nature, and it is difficult to see how these might have resulted from the composer purposefully changing his mind about his pieces. Another explanation is that keyboard composers memorised their pieces, and that when they came to copy them out for patrons and pupils, they produced slightly different versions of them each time. The two variant versions of Clarke's C major almand and corant could therefore stem from lost independent copies of these pieces copied by Clarke. I am tempted to suggest this as an explanation for the two versions of the second strain of the almand as well, and that both resulted from independent 'workings-out' of the piece that Clarke performed and wrote down from memory. In view of this, the copies of the almand and corant in MU. MS 653 should not necessarily be seen as 'rejected' versions but as alternatives.

Stephen Rose has pointed out the importance of memory for seventeenth-century musicians in Germany, noting the particular importance of it for keyboard players who would probably have been able to perform complete polyphonic pieces without the need of notation.[8] A similar situation is likely to have been true in England where the ability to improvise was important for professional organists. For instance, the early eighteenth century writer Roger North called 'Voluntary upon an Organ', 'the consumate office of a musitian.'[9] Keyboard players probably memorised melodic and harmonic formulas to help them perform their pieces and for when they came to write them down. These formulae (such as cadential figuration) may have been to some extent interchangeable, so that when composers wrote-out their pieces, they used them indiscriminately, resulting in the circulation of variant versions of a piece. Clarke is by no means unusual for having keyboard pieces that survive in different versions in important sources. For example, similar comparisons can be made between copies of Henry Purcell's keyboard pieces as they appear in an autograph manuscript (GB-Lbl, Mus. MS 1), in Henry Playford's *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid* (1689), and in the composer's posthumous *A Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinet* (1696).[10]

It is also worth returning to the anonymous ground that appears after Clarke's C major almand and corant in Cfm, MU. MS 653. Barry Cooper has pointed out that a version of this piece was printed in the late eighteenth century attributed to 'I Clarke', and the grouping in MU. MS 653 also suggests that it, in at least one of its guises, is probably Clarke's work.[11] Its bass pattern is a variant of the one famously used by Monteverdi in the chaconne 'Zefiro torna', and was popular throughout the seventeenth century. There are no seventeenth century sources for this particular keyboard setting, although it appears to

have been a popular lesson in England during eighteenth century, more so than the pieces in *Choice Lessons* to judge from the number of its manuscript sources. The piece exists in three versions known to me. The copies in the print, in US-Lauc P613 M4 1725, which may date from the second decade of the eighteenth century or slightly earlier, and in Cfm MU. MS 668 (late eighteenth century), are essentially the same.[12] However, both the settings in Cfm, MU. MS 653, and Foundling Museum MS 2/E/Miscellany (vol. III) have unique strains. The MU. MS 653 version is the shortest at 13 strains and has two strains not found in the other versions of the piece. It is the furthest removed from the printed version, and only 6 of its strains, including two that are variants, are shared with it. The copy in the Foundling Museum, which may date from the 1720s, appears to be an intermediate version. It has 17 strains in total, only three of which are unique; ten of them are shared with the print, whilst another ten are shared with the MU. MS 653 version (including variants). This complicated situation may be summarised in the following table.

Cfm, MU. MS 653, pp. 7-8.	Foundling Museum MS 2/E/Miscellany (vol. III), ff. 54-50v (rev.).	US-Lauc, P613 M4 1725, ff. 6v-11 / *The Compleat Tutor*, pp. 8-10/ Cfm, MU. MS 668, ff. 75v, 73-73v.
1	1	1 (variant)
2	2	2
3	3	3
4*	A*	B*
5*	8	8
6	C†	C†
7	6 (variant)	6
8	D†	E*
9	7 (different cadence)	F*
10	G*	D†
11	9	H*
12	I†	7 (variant)
13	J*	9
N/A	10	I†
N/A	11	K*
N/A	12	L*
N/A	13	N/A

Explanation of the table: Each strain of the Cfm MU. MS 653 version is numbered 1-13, and additional strains not found in this source are given letters of the alphabet. * = strain unique to the source; † = strain shared only between the printed version and the Foundling Museum MS version.

The additional strains found in the later copies of the piece may have been composed by copyists or keyboard players other than Clarke. Something similar may also have occurred to another long-lived English ground, John Blow's setting of 'The Hay's', which exists in as many versions as there are sources.[13] Given that the version of the ground in the print and in Cfm MU. MS 668 is the only one with an attribution, it may be reasonable to think this is the version closest to Clarke. However, it also includes some of the more insipid strains, and is a little directionless as it lacks strains 10-13, which provide the other two versions with a fitting conclusion in 6/4 time. On balance, I would suggest that the revision of the piece in Cfm MU. MS 653 is closest to a copy made by Clarke. As an appendix to this article we include a transcription of the ground as it appears in MU. MS 653 alongside the variant versions of Clarke's C major almand and corant that the manuscript contains.

Several of Clarke's most popular pieces also exist in multiple versions for keyboard, probably because different keyboard players composed their own settings. One of these was the Prince of Denmark's March, Clarke's best-known piece since it was published in the late nineteenth century as an organ voluntary by Henry Purcell. A contemporary five-part setting of the piece survives, possibly for an orchestra of oboes, bassoons, trumpet and strings, and it is thought that this was the version originally composed by Clarke.[14] The melody was also printed in *The Dancing Master* (10th edn., 1698) and as a song in John Gay's *Polly*.[15] A keyboard setting, probably by Clarke himself, was included in John Young's *A Choice Collection of Ayres for the Harpsichord or Spinett* (1700), and in John Walsh's *The Second Book of the Harpsicord Master* (1700). However, several manuscript versions of the piece are completely different. One of these appears in a little-known keyboard manuscript dating *c.* 1703-6, probably in the hand of the London harpsichordist and composer Robert King, where it is without attribution and is entitled 'The Temple'.[16] The unique setting in this manuscript is probably by King, and its title, which also appears in *The Dancing Master* and in John Gay's song setting, may be an indication that a dance was composed for the piece; dance titles were often prefixed with 'the', such as 'The Spanheim' and 'The Marlborough'.

Most of Clarke's surviving keyboard music, like that of his contemporaries such as Blow, Purcell, and Croft, is small-scale and was probably written largely with patrons and pupils in mind. What is particularly regrettable is that no voluntaries by Clarke are known. These might give us a clearer indication of his capabilities as a performer. Of Clarke's generation, only Croft (1678-1727) wrote a sizeable number of organ works. Nevertheless, Clarke wrote a good number of attractive pieces, which deserve to be better-known and performed. Undoubtedly they would suit today's harpsichord students, but in the hands of a modern performer, many of them could well fit the demands of a concert setting or a recording.

Jeremiah Clarke's Odes

According to the *New Grove* article, Clarke wrote at least ten odes, of which part or all of eight are extant. These works cover more or less the whole of his professional life, though aspects of their chronology remain uncertain. His earliest dateable ode, 'Come, come along for a dance and a song' is also the best known (a modern edition by Walter Bergman was published in 1961) and is the only one to have been recorded.[18] According to a note added by William Croft to a manuscript copy of the ode, it was 'compos'd by Mr Jeremiah Clarke, (when organist of Winchester Colledge) upon ye death of ye famous Mr Henry Purcell, and perform'd upon the stage in Druery Lane play house'.[19] Clarke's name appears in the 'long rolls' of Winchester College for the years 1692-95,[20] and he must have started work there around the time of his dismissal from the Chapel Royal in the spring of 1692 when his voice changed.[21] Clarke was a chorister in the Chapel Royal from at least 1685, when he is noted as having sung at James II's coronation. While at the Chapel he was a pupil of John Blow, Master of the Choristers, and would no doubt have come into personal contact with Purcell. Certainly his music shows both the direct and indirect influence of the latter, and the quality and expressive intensity of 'Come, come along for a dance and a song' suggests a great affection for the older composer. The work, scored for pairs of trumpets, recorders and oboes, kettle drums, four-part strings, soloists and chorus is on a grand scale, similar to the Cecilian odes written for London at this time. It has a semi-dramatic form, well suited to a performance in the playhouse which Croft's note suggests. A theatrical performance is also indicated by a nineteenth-century copy of the ode in the hand of the organist and composer (best known for his glees) R.J.S. Stevens (1757-1837).[22] Several significant variants make it clear that Stevens did not copy from Add. MS 30934, and his source is not known. Stevens provided the text of the ode before the music. It includes two stage directions (both repeated in the score); one at the beginning of the text: 'Enter several Shepherds and Shepherdesses in gay habits', and the other partway through the work: 'Enter two in mourning'. 'Come, come along' contains the most impressive and colourful choral writing to be found in any of Clarke's

odes and throughout the work there is an even and high-level of invention. Particularly striking is an instrumental passage entitled 'Mr Purcell's Farewell' for trumpets, recorders and strings. Here the trumpets play in the minor, a rare occurrence in this period, since the natural trumpet was restricted to the notes of the harmonic series, and therefore better suited to the major key. Clarke is likely to have been only 21 or so years old at the time he composed 'Come, come along', and his trumpet writing betrays both the boldness and inexperience of youth. In respect of the latter, he writes several notes for the trumpets which were probably unplayable.

This same inexperience is found in the trumpet writing of another remarkable work by Clarke, his 'Song on the Assumption'.[23] This is an ode-like setting of an abridged version of Richard Crashaw's poem 'On the Glorious Assumption of the Blessed Virgin'.[24] Both its date and the purpose have puzzled musicologists, though Watkins Shaw has suggested that it was 'probably written a year or two earlier' than 'Come, come along', presumably because it shared with that work writing for the trumpet that is apparently unplayable (the trumpet writing in the 'Song' is even more unsuitable for the instrument than that in 'Come, come along'). This conclusion seems justified when one examines Clarke's subsequent odes, four of which employ trumpets (including 'Now Albion, raise thy drooping head' of 1696), the parts of which are consistent with the limitations of the natural trumpet. The text of the 'Song' has been described as 'overtly Catholic'[25] though Crashaw may still have been an Anglican at the time he wrote it. He converted to Roman Catholicism sometime between 1643 and 1645, but his interest in female saints and his devotion to the Virgin was not exceptional in the Laudian circles at Peterhouse College, Cambridge where he was a fellow.[26] Nevertheless, the 'Song' has strong Catholic overtones, and at first glance, it is hard to imagine why Clarke would have chosen to set it given the prevailing anti-Catholic fervour of the period. A closer reading, however, does suggest a possible reason: a funeral elegy for Queen Mary. Among several passages of the poem, the opening lines are suggestive: 'Hark she is call'd, the parting hour is come, / Take thy farwel poor world, heaven must go home.' Towards the end of the poem Mary is named for the first time: '*Maria*, Men and Angels sing, / *Maria* Mother of our King'. This is, of course, the version of the name often used in the odes for Queen Mary's birthday set by Purcell. If this is the inspiration for the setting of the Crashaw's poem, it would indeed have preceded 'Come, come along' by about a year, since the queen died on 28 December 1694. As with the passages of over-ambitious trumpet writing, we may imagine that Clarke, in youthful enthusiasm, responded to the elegiac elements in Crashaw's poem, and overlooked those phrases that might sit more uneasily in a memorial for a protestant queen.

One other aspect of the 'Song' would seem to mark it out as an early work: its string scoring. One other aspect of the 'Song' would seem to mark it out as an early work: its string scoring. Clarke writes for two violins, two violas and two basses. This is probably a development of the five-part scoring (two violins, two violas and bass) introduced into England by G. B. Draghi in his setting of Dryden's 'Song for St Cecilia's Day, 1687'. Draghi's scoring was subsequently taken up by Purcell in two of his birthday odes for Queen Mary, 'Now does the glorious day appear' (1689) and 'Arise, my muse' (1690). After 1690 Purcell returned to four-part string textures, and Draghi's Italinate scoring was little imitated by other English composers. Clarke, however, was clearly experimenting with texture in the 'Song', for the opening symphony, in addition to two trumpets, boasts divisi on each of the two violin and viola parts, and two antiphonal bass lines, one of which itself divides. Elsewhere in the work he includes a passage for two treble instruments, clearly designated 'Flutes' (i.e. recorders), accompanied by an undesignated, figured continuo line in the C3 clef with a range from f sharp to d", which may be for basset recorder.[27]

What sort of institution would have been able to provide the musicians to perform such a work? In London the court music, and the no doubt related musicians who undertook the yearly Cecilian odes, could have performed the 'Song', but the text would probably have been unacceptable there. In 1694, Clarke was at Winchester College, but we have virtually no information on its musical establishment. From 1700-1704, Vaughan Richardson mounted yearly Cecilian odes there, including works scored for recorders and trumpets, but he seems to have drafted in both a professional vocalist and trumpeter from London to complete the forces.[28] Whether Clarke's 'Song' represents an earlier practice of performing odes at Winchester cannot be determined with the present evidence. As likely as not the work was never performed, since crucial material in the opening symphony (a fanfare figure oscillating between d' and e', and f' sharp and g') simply could not be played on the natural trumpet (See **fig. 1**)

Before leaving the 'Song on the Assumption' behind as an example of both Clarke's ambition and inexperience, it is worth considering the range of his bass lines, which in all of his D major odes – apart from 'Come, come along' – exploit the low AA, one octave below the bottom space of the bass staff. He

uses this note in 'Tell the world' (1697) and the 'Barbadoes Song' (1703), in both cases in the opening symphony (and more widely in the 'Song'). He was apparently writing for the great bass viol, tuned to AA,[29] and which, to judge from the 'Barbadoes Song', continued in use into the eighteenth century. Clarke's fondness for this note is exceptional, since it is infrequently used by either Purcell or Blow, for instance, though the latter does indicate a 'double bass' (presumably a great bass viol) in his anthem 'Lord, who shall dwell in they tabernacle?'.[30]

Clarke probably returned to London sometime around the end of 1695 and in the spring of the next year set the text 'Now Albion, raise thy drooping head', which celebrated William III's 'happy deliverance' from a Jacobite plot.[31] The ode once again employs substantial forces – two trumpets, two oboes, four-part strings, soloists and choir – though it is notably less ambitious than 'Come, come along' or the 'Song on the Assumption'. It does, however, show Clarke's improved confidence in writing for the trumpet, probably as a result of the performance of 'Come, come along', since he does not include any notes that are unplayable on the instrument. In the following year Clarke was selected as the composer for the London Cecilian celebrations held at Stationers' Hall, for which he set Dryden's *Alexander's Feast*. It is most unfortunate that the music is lost; given the profile of the event, which drew works of the greatest quality out of composers such as Purcell, Blow, Draghi and Eccles, we may imagine that Clarke attempted an ambitious setting, and one that may well have seen a return to the inspired choral writing of 'Come, come along'. He would certainly have been challenged by the text, one of the longest of those prepared for the Cecilian celebrations, and, along with Dryden's ode of 1687, the finest. It received two further performances subsequent to St Cecilia's Day, at the second of which (held at York Buildings) another work by Clarke was also performed, described as 'a new pastoral on the peace'.[32]

The Peace of Ryswick (signed on 20 September 1697), which brought to an end the war between Britain and her allies, and France, was commemorated by an outpouring of compositions – odes, anthems and semi-theatrical pieces – from several prominent composers of whom Clarke was one. Two works found in Bodleian Library Tenbury MS 1232 are candidates for Clarke's pastoral upon the peace: 'Pay your thanks', a modest setting for four-part strings and voices, and the ode 'Tell the world'. Although Clarke's name is not found on the former, some of its music is reused in his 1706 birthday ode to Queen Anne, 'O Harmony, where's now they power', so that it can be attributed to him with some confidence.[33] Christopher Gammon has recently demonstrated that the text of 'Pay your thanks' comes from Thomas D'Urfey's dramatic opera *Cinthia and Endimion*, which opened at Drury Lane theatre in December 1696.[34] In MS 1232 the work is given the title 'Upon the peace', but this appears to have been added by William Croft, perhaps at the time he collected it with eight other items (five in total by Clarke) into a single binding, which may have been after 1714 (i.e. at the same time he compiled GB-Lbl Add. MS 30934, discussed below). D'Urfey's opera has hitherto been attributed primarily to Daniel Purcell, but Gammon's discovery suggests Clarke played a significant role as well.[35] The text has nothing to do with peace, and I would suggest that 'Pay your thanks' is not part of the 'pastoral on the peace', but comes directly from D'Urfey's dramatic opera. In contrast, 'Tell the world', which includes lines such as 'Great Ceasar[']s come crowned with olive branches' and 'Europe is at ease', clearly commemorates the Peace, a fact confirmed by Croft's annotation: 'This piece was composed by Mr Jer Clarke upon ye peace of Reswick and was performed at Drury Lane Playhouse'. In fact, only half of Croft's annotation appears to be correct, since *The London Gazette* reports that the 'pastoral on the peace', was performed at York buildings. Croft's error once again is probably a result of the distance between the annotation and the performance. He seems to have confused it with 'Come, come along', the annotation of which in GB-Lbl Add. MS 30934 (another composite manuscript collected together by Croft after 1714[36]) shares the same form of words. 'Tell the world' is elaborately scored, sharing the same instrumentation as 'Now Albion, raise thy drooping head', but with the further addition of kettle drums.

The most grand of Clarke's extant odes is the 'Barbadoes Song', composed, as another note by Croft tells us, 'for the Gentlemen of the Island of Barbadoes and p[e]rform[e]d to them att Stationers Hall'.[37] The gentleman were probably overseas merchants trading in Barbados, and the ode is an address to 'the great rulers of the sky' to 'no more with pestilential flash or dire disease infest the prostrate natives of our sunny shore'. It has been suggested that the poem might commemorate the devastating storm that struck England in November 1703.[38] However, the text refers directly to the island of Barbados, and the accounts of the Stationers' Company record a payment on 20 January 1703 for 'setting the Hall to the Barbado's Gent' and the receipt on 9 February 'for the use of the Hall for the Barbadoes Gentlemen' of £5.07.06.[39] The event was doubtless much like both Cecilian and county feasts (think of Purcell's *Yorkshire Feast Song*) held in London at this time. One copy of the text survives.[40] It was probably printed to be

circulated at the performance at Stationers' Hall, which itself was probably followed by an elaborate dinner for the merchants. The work is scored for pairs of trumpets, oboes and recorders, kettledrums, strings, soloists and chorus. It was probably on the same scale as the performance of an ode by Philip Hart held only a few months later at Stationers' Hall for which 'The Number of Voices and Instruments in [the] Entertainment is about 60'.[41] The 'Barbadoes Song' is certainly worthy of a modern revival. The colourful score includes a vivid depiction of blustering winds, a bass solo with string tremolo clearly based on Purcell's music for the Cold Genius in the 'Frost Scene' of *King Arthur*, and much other attractive music.

Of the two remaining extant odes to be considered (apart from *Alexander's Feast*, several other Clarke odes are lost), the New Year's ode for 1706, 'O Harmony, where's now thy power?', which as we have seen, reuses material from 'Pay your thanks', is the most modest and lightly scored (for recorders, strings and voices only) of Clarke's odes. It exists in two copies: one, an early eighteenth-century score in the Bodleian Library, and a second, in the hand of the R.J.S. Stevens, in the British Library. On the title page of the latter, Add. MS 31813, Stevens reports that it was copied 'from single parts'. The score includes the name 'Mr Banister' under the violin part of the opening symphony (John Banister II, 1662-1736), shows a passage in which the strings are reduced to single players on each part, and designates all of the vocal soloists.[42] At the end of the copy Stevens notes 'The Flutes, alto chorus voice[,] second violin parts lost supplied by R.J.S. Stevens'. Performance parts from late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England are very rare, and information found in them can sometimes be of great value in examining issues of performance practice. To my knowledge, no edition of 'O Harmony, where's now thy power?' has been attempted, and it may be that a careful examination and comparison of the two sources will reveal valuable information, particularly with respect to the set of parts from which Stevens worked.

Stevens seems to have admired Clarke's music (for example, he annotates the text of 'O Harmony' with the note 'Beautiful Ritornel in Bflat major here'), and he copied out a significant number of his large-scale works from early sources that are now lost. In addition to 'Come, come along', he copied Clarke's ode for the birthday of Anne, 'Let nature smile', working from a source he described as: 'Jeremiah Clarkes copy so mutilated and torn, that I was obliged to end my copy, in the middle of this grand chorus'.[43] The date of the work, which is scored for a trumpet, pairs of recorders and oboes, kettledrums, soloists and chorus, is unknown. At first glance, the text of the ode seems helpful, if not specific, in establishing the date. Rosamund McGuinness has argued, on the strength of the passage

> In her brave offspring still she'll live.
> Nor must she bless our age alone,
> But to succeeding Ages give
> Heirs to her virtues and throne.

that the text probably pre-dates the death of Anne's last child, the Duke of Gloucester in July of 1700.[44] The lack of an explicit mention of Anne as Queen might make February of 1700 the most likely date for the ode. However, in Stevens' copy of the text, which precedes the score, the name 'Elford' is assigned to the solo setting of these lines. Richard Elford was a singing-man at Durham Cathedral until 1699, and was admitted as a probationer vicar choral at St Paul's Cathedral on 26 March 1700.[45] He did not join the Chapel Royal until 1702, and a notice in *The Post Boy* in December of that year indicates that Elford had 'never but once Sung in Publick' before. It seems likely, therefore, that the ode commemorates one of Anne's birthdays between 1703 and 1707.

Clarke's odes remain the least examined area of his output. They are uneven in quality, but when he is at his strongest, as in 'Come, come along', his music can sit comfortably alongside the court odes of Purcell and Blow. The sources of Clarke's odes raise many interesting questions of performance practice and provenance, and are likely to reward further study. We hope that the tercentenary of his death may inspire further examination of his work.

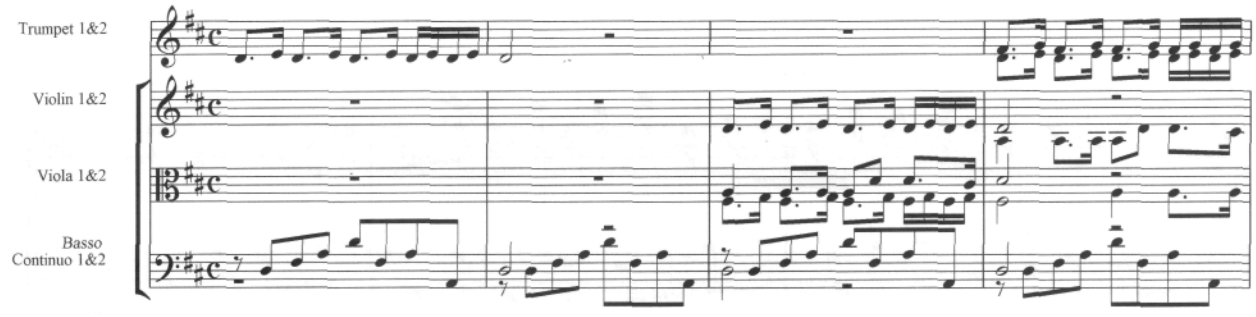
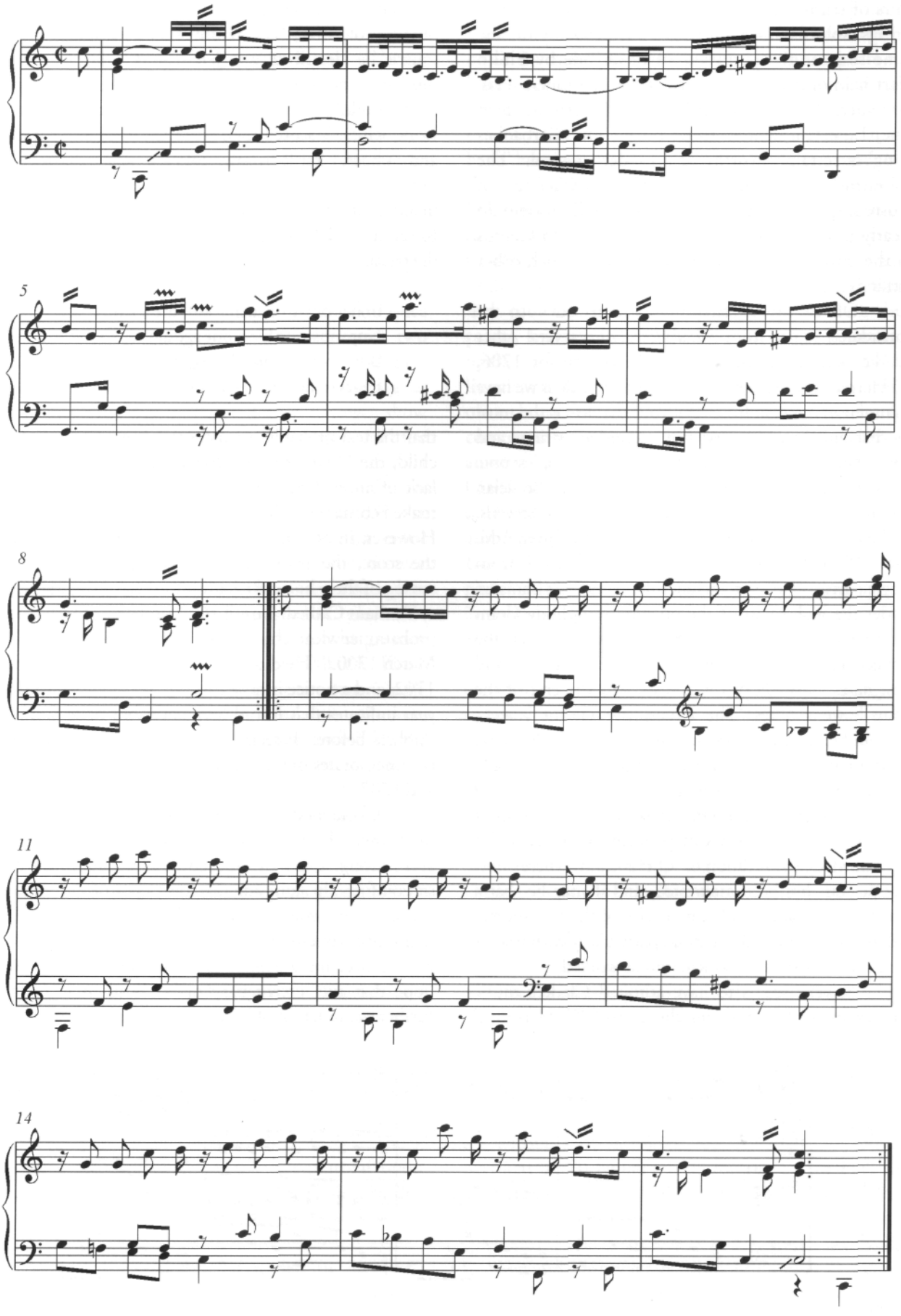
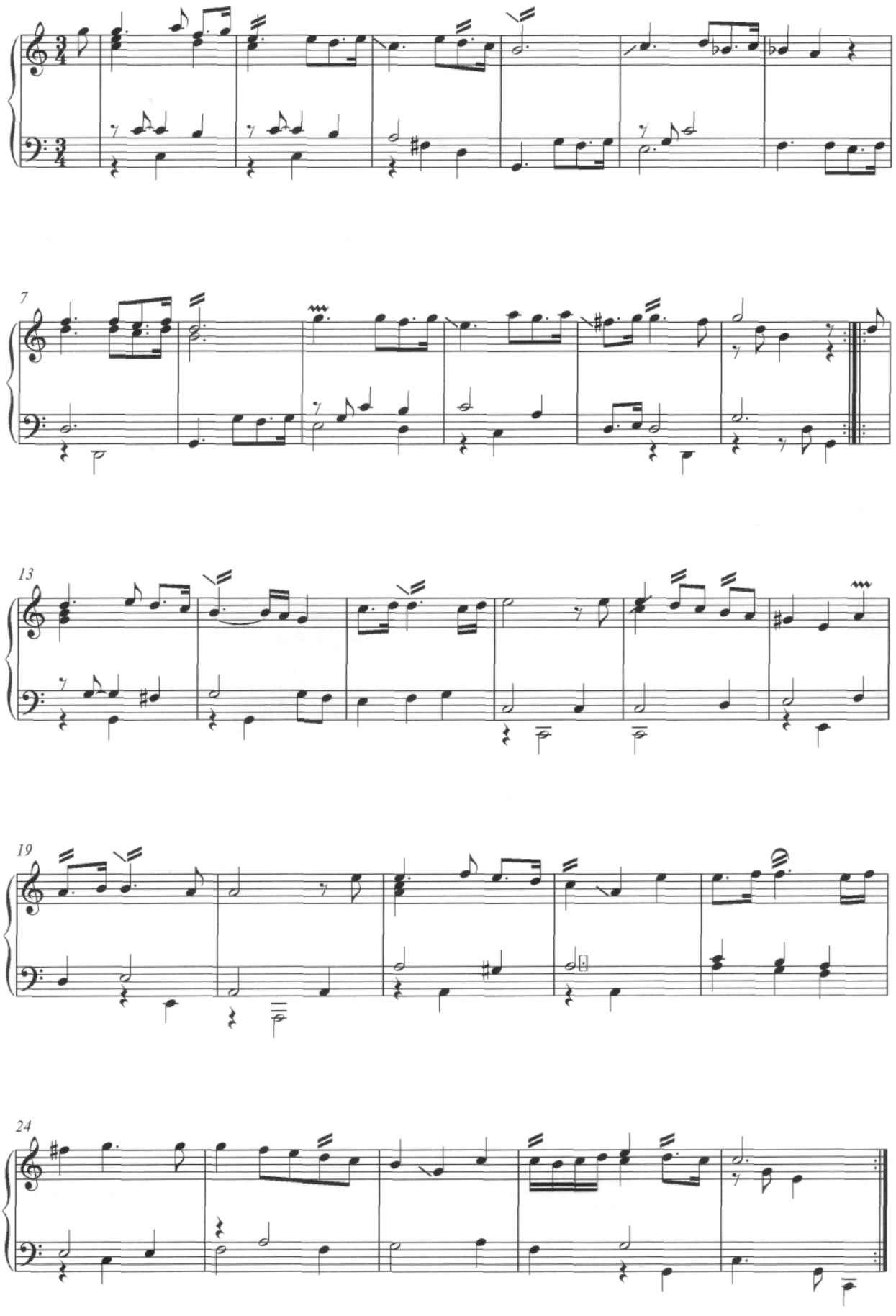


Figure 1
The opening Symphony of 'A Song on the Assumption', J. Clarke, GB-Ob MS Tenbury 1226

Almand (GB-Cfm MU. MS 653)



Corant (GB-Cfm MU. MS 653),



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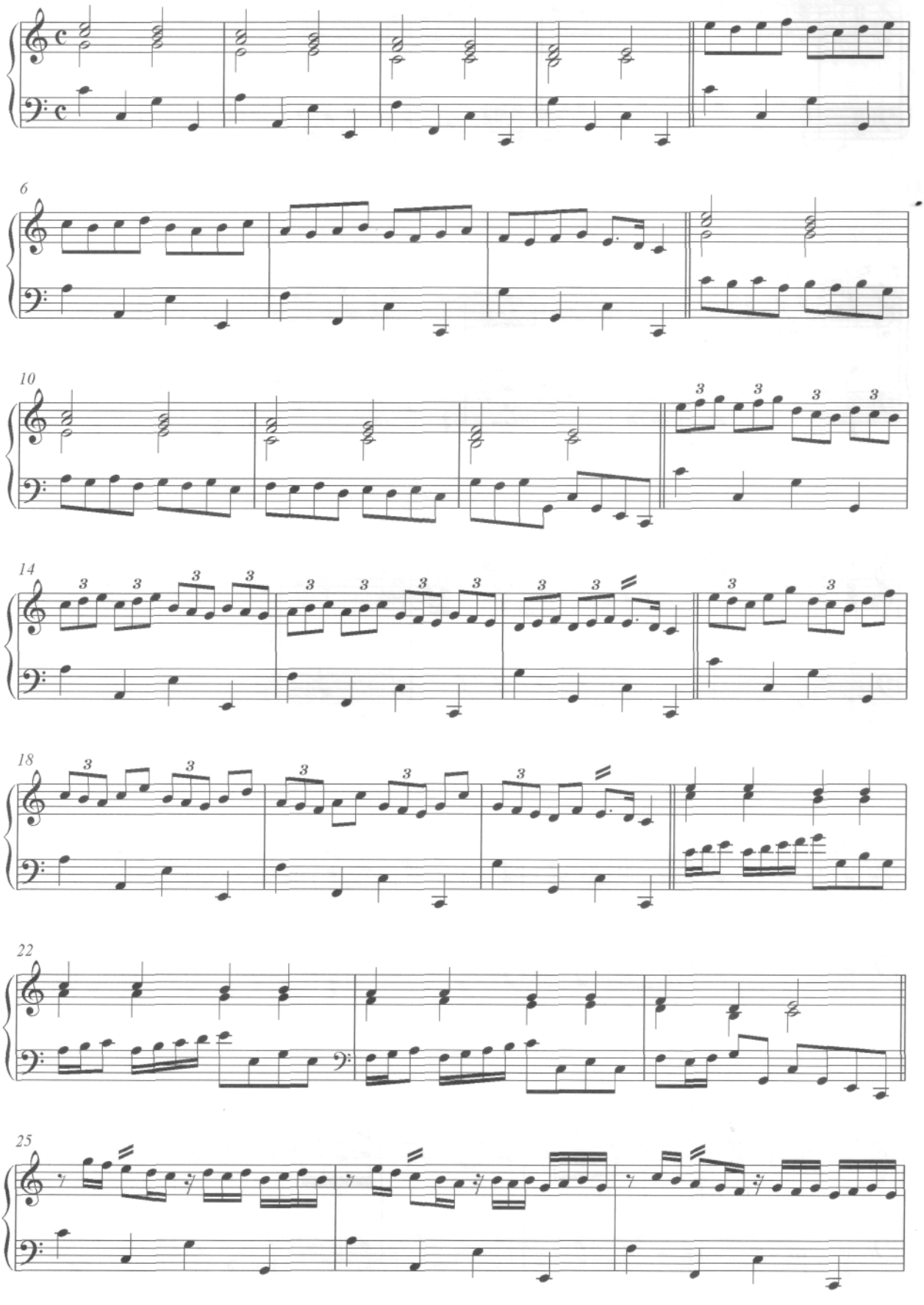

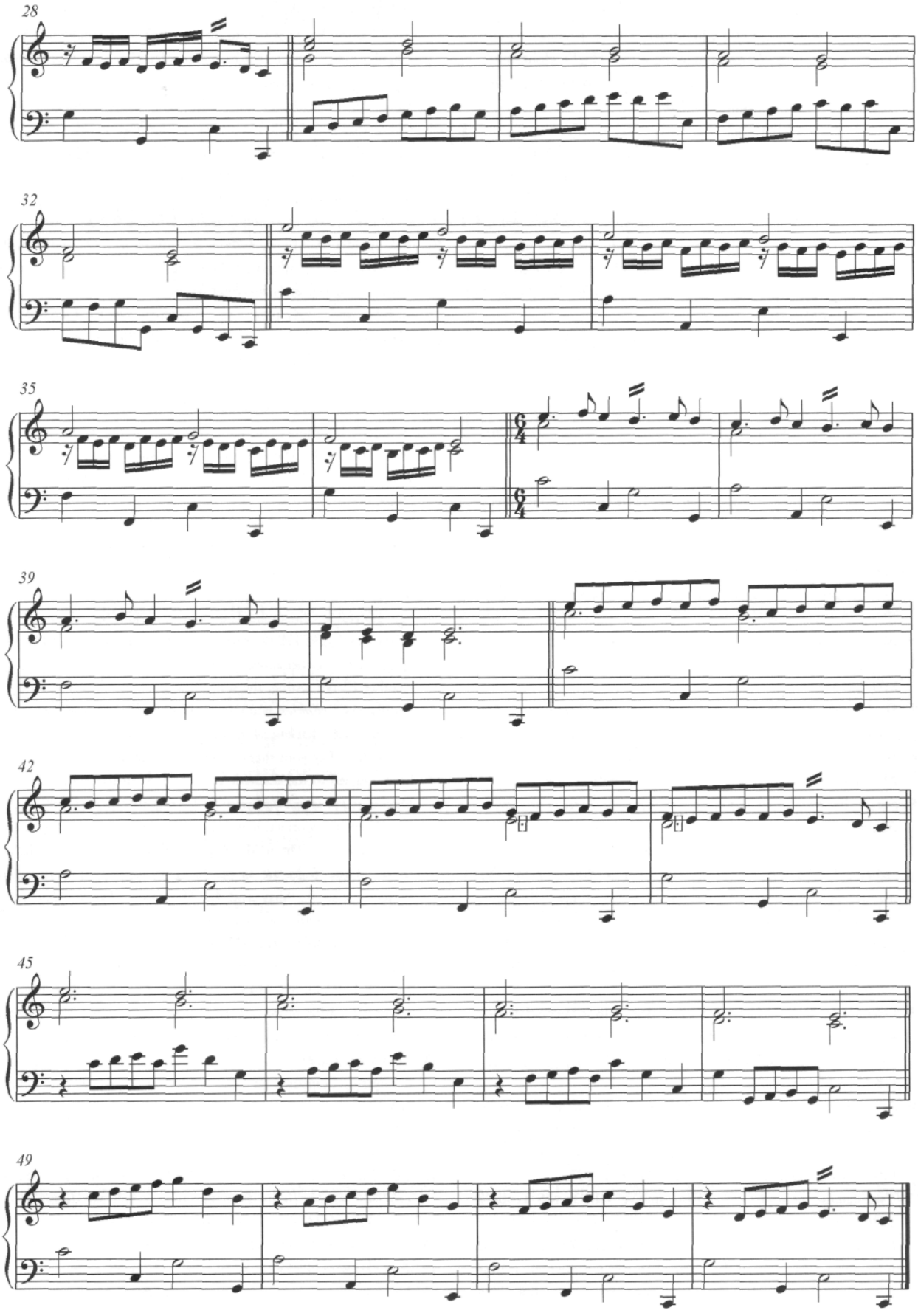
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1 Leeds Baroque orchestra and chorus gave a performance of Clarke's 'Pay your thanks' and 'Tell the world' on 11 November. It is always dangerous to suggest that something has not been done. The authors would be grateful for any information on work or events marking the centenary of Clarke's death.

2 W. Shaw, C. Powell and H. D. Johnstone, 'Clarke, Jeremiah', *Grove Music Online* (http://www.grovemusic.com); H. D. Johnstone, 'Clarke, Jeremiah', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (http://www.oxforddnb.com). *[ODNB]*

3 GB-Lbl Add. MS 33235, f. 2.

4 On this point, see P. Holman, *Henry Purcell* (Oxford, 1994), 101.

5 See *John Blow. Complete Organ Music*, ed. B. Cooper, Musica Britannica 69 (London, 1996).

6 GB-Lbl, Pr. Bk. k. 10. a. 16; see *Jeremiah Clarke. Seven Suites*, ed. J. Harley (London, 1985) and *Jeremiah Clarke. Miscellaneous Pieces*, ed. J. Harley (London, 1988). For the sources of Clarke's harpsichord music, see B. Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire' (Ph. D. diss., University of Manchester, 1989).

7 See M. Burden, '"He Had the Honour to be Your Master": Lady Rhoda Cavendish's Music Lessons with Henry Purcell', *Music and Letters*, 76 (1995), 532-39 and F. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell* (Philadelphia, 2/1983), 227-9.

8 'Memory and the Early Musician', *Early Music Performer*, 13 (2004), 3-8.

9 J. Wilson, *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), 136.

10 See *Henry Purcell. Eight Suites*, ed. H. Ferguson (London, 1964), *Henry Purcell. Miscellaneous Keyboard Pieces*, ed. H. Ferguson (London, 1964), and *Twenty Keyboard Pieces. Henry Purcell and one piece by Orlando Gibbons*, ed. D. Moroney (London, 1999).

11 *The Compleat Tutor for the Harpsichord or Spinnet* (London, [*c.* 1770]), 8-10; see *English Solo Keyboard Music of the Middle and Late Baroque* (New York, 1989), 143.

12 I am grateful to Harry Johnstone for drawing my attention to Cfm, MU. MS 668.

13 See *John Blow. Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. R. Klakowich Musica Britannica 73 (London, 1998), no. 18.

14 See C. Cudworth and F. Zimmerman, 'The Trumpet Voluntary', *Music and Letters*, 41 (1960), 342-48.

15 See J. Barlow (ed.). *The Complete Country Dance Tunes from Playford's Dancing Master (1651- ca. 1728)* (London, 1985), no. 473; Cudworth and Zimmerman, 'The Trumpet Voluntary', 345.

16 GB-AY, D/DR 10/ 6a, ff. [5v-6]. For a discussion of this manuscript, see my forthcoming Ph. D. thesis, 'English Keyboard Manuscripts and their Context, *c.* 1660-1720' (University of Leeds, 2008).

17 See *William Croft. Complete Organ Works*, ed. Richard Platt (Oxford, 1976).

18 *Odes on the death of Henry Purcell*, Parley of Instruments Baroque Orchestra and Choir, Roy Goodman and Peter Holman, dirs, *English Orpheus* 12 (Hyperion: CDA66578, 1993)

19 GB-Lbl Add. MS 30934.

20 A. Ashbee and D. Lasocki, et.al., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714* [*BDECM*] (Aldershot, 1998), 254-5.

21 A Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music, ii* (Snodland, 1987), 45.

22 GB-Lbl Add. MS 31812. Stevens dated his copy 1828.

23 Two manuscript copies of the work survive: GB-Ob MS Tenbury 1226, which may be an autograph, and a later copy by Thomas Barrow: GB-Ob MS Tenbury 1175. I am grateful for James Hume for making his edition of the 'Song', completed earlier this year as part of his Masters work at the University of Manchester, available to me.

24 The poem was first published in 1646 in *Steps to the temple: Sacred Poems, with other delights of the Muses*. A third edition was published in 1690.

25 Johnstone, 'Clarke, Jeremiah', *ODNB*

26 T. Healy, 'Crashaw, Richard', *ODNB*

27 David Lasocki has suggested to me that the f sharp would have been difficult or impossible on the basset recorder. Given the experimental and inexperienced nature of Clarke's use of instrumentation in the 'Song', this is something for which he may not have accounted.

28 *The Diverting Post*, 25 November 1704, cited in M. Tilmouth, 'A calendar of references to music in newspapers published in London and the provinces (1660-1719), *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 1 (1961), 57.

29 P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers* (Oxford, 2/1995), 410.

30 Ibid, pp. 408-410; Blow, *Anthems II: Anthems with Orchestra*, ed. B. Wood, Musica Britannica 50 (London, 1984), pp. xx, xxv. Purcell uses a BBflat (once) in his 1694 ode for the Duke of Gloucester's Birthday, and a GG (twice) in his birthday ode for Queen Mary 'Welcome, welcome glorious morn' (1690). Blow writes a GG just before 'Choose for the formal fool' in Act II of *Venus and Adonis*. I am grateful to Bruce Wood, who suggests that these notes were probably played by a theorbo, for this information.

31 H. Diack Johnstone, 'Review: *Thematic Catalog of the works of Jeremiah Clarke* by Thomas Taylor', *Music and Letters* 59 (1978), 58.

32 *The Post Boy*, 11 and 14 December; *The London Gazette*, 13 December 1697.

33 Thomas Taylor, *Thematic Catalog of the Works of Jeremiah Clarke* (Detroit, 1977), nos. 207.1 and 206.2. See also Johnstone, 'Review', p. 58. 'O Harmony, where's now thy power' is found in GB-Ob MS Mus.c.6.

34 I am grateful to Christopher Gammon for making his editions of 'Pay your thanks' and 'Tell the world', completed earlier this year as part of his Masters studies at the University of Leeds, available to me.

35 Another Clarke setting, the song 'Kneel, O kneel', was written for *Cinthia and Endimion*, and Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson argue that the music that must have preceded it in the second act was also by Clarke. 'Pay your thanks' can now be added to the music they have assigned to the dramatic opera in their article 'The Music for Durfey's *Cinthia and Endimion*', *Theatre Notebook*, xci (1986-7), 70-74. They are incorrect, however, in suggesting that the overture to Daniel Purcell's 'The loud-toung'd warlike thunder' is in Clarke's hand. These pages are in the hand of the copyist identified as London A in R. Shay and R. Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 2000), 134, table 4.4.

36 Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 161.

37 Tenbury MS 1232. The work is also preserved in GB-Rcm MS 1106 and GB-Lbl Add. MS 31452. I am grateful to Cassie Barber for the use of her edition of the ode, completed as part of her Masters work at Bretton Hall College of the University of Leeds in 2002.

38 Johnstone, 'Review', 58.

39 Stationers' Company, Warden's Account Book, 9 July 1663-6 July 1727.

40 GB-Lbl C.38.1.6(26)

41 *Daily Courant*, 3 March 1703.

42 Mr [John] Church (*c.* 1675-1741), Mr [Richard] Elford (1677-1714), Mr [John] Freeman (1666-1736), Mr [John] Mason (*d.* 1752), and Mr [Daniel] Williams (*c.* 1668-1720).

43 Both works are found in GB-Lbl Add. MS 31812.

44 *English Court Odes 1660-1820* (Oxford, 1971), 58, n. 44.

45 For a detailed documentary biography, see *BDECM*, 384-86.

Review of: William Turner: Sacred Choral Music, The Choir of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, Yorkshire Baroque Soloists / Geoffrey Webber, Delphian DCD34028(2007)

PETER HOLMAN

William Turner (1651-1740) is the forgotten figure of Restoration music. All of Henry Purcell's music is available in modern editions, and we have a good cross-section of the works of Matthew Locke, Pelham Humfrey and John Blow in Musica Britannica and other series. Similarly, virtually of Purcell's music has been recorded, and there are a number of good CDs devoted to his contemporaries and successors. By contrast, virtually none of Turner's music has appeared in modern editions, and this CD seems to be first ever recording devoted to him. It is not immediately clear why he has been so neglected in modern times. It is not because there is not much to edit or record (we have more than 40 anthems, four services and a good deal of secular vocal music of various kinds), or because his music is no good. He was clearly valued in his lifetime: as a boy he collaborated in the Club Anthem with Humfrey and Blow, he was the third person chosen after Purcell and Blow to set an ode for St Cecilia's day, in 1685, and, similarly, he was chosen after Purcell and Blow to set the Te Deum and Jubilate for the 1696 St Cecilia service.

Most important, as this valuable recording demonstrates, Turner's music is certainly worth editing, performing and recording. The major work (or pair of works) is the 1696 Te Deum and Jubilate just mentioned, which begin and end the CD. Like the Purcell and Blow settings, it is in D major, with four-part strings and two trumpets, and is clearly indebted to Purcell in places, as in the setting of 'To thee Cherubin and Serafin continually do cry', though it is a fine piece in its own right. In particular, it is much longer than the model, with more developed sections, thus avoiding the shortwindedness of Purcell's setting. Most of the other pieces on the CD are either early or late. There are two fine verse anthems with expressive Humfrey-like solo writing, 'Lord, thou hast been our refuge' and 'O Lord God of hosts, hear my prayer', written when he was in his twenties (they appear in a list of Chapel Royal anthems dated 1676), as well as an early full anthem, 'Hear my prayer'.

The other works seem to have been written around 1700, when the opening of St Paul's Cathedral (where he was a vicar-choral) apparently inspired him to renewed efforts as a composer. The CD includes the grand Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis from the six-part A major service, with a related full anthem 'My soul truly waiteth upon me', all probably written for St Paul's. From the same

period are the lively full anthem 'The queen shall rejoice', written or adapted for Queen Anne's coronation in 1702, and 'The Lord is righteous', a good example of the later type of verse anthem with an obbligato organ part replacing the string parts used in the symphony anthems written for the Chapel Royal in the reigns of Charles II and James II. It is a pity that space was not found for one or more of Turner's eleven symphony anthems, since they would illuminate the middle part of his career (most of them were written in the 1680s), and they would enable us to compare him more fully to Purcell and Blow. I have long wanted to hear 'Behold now praise the Lord', so far as I know the only verse anthem written entirely on a ground bass.

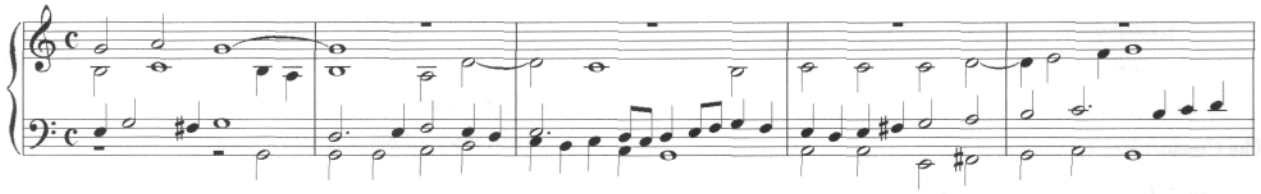
Nevertheless, we must be grateful for what we have. Turner has been criticised for having a 'somewhat limited' capacity for vocal expression, but it is the expressive vocal writing that comes across most strongly on this CD, particularly in the solo sections of the Te Deum and Jubilate. Turner was a leading countertenor (Purcell and Blow wrote some important solos for him), and it is likely that he sang some of the alto solos in his own works, such as the striking setting of 'O Lord, save thy people' and 'O Lord, let thy mercy lighten upon us' in the Te Deum. I was also particularly struck by the imaginative vocal writing in the quartet 'For the Lord is gracious' in the Jubilate, unusually scored for treble, two countertenors and bass. Luckily, the two countertenors on this CD, William Purefoy and William Towers, do Turner proud, and the other solo singing is mostly good, apart from one or two overenthusiastic moments. The choir, with female sopranos rather than boys, is also good, with excellent tuning and blend, though there is a tendency to swallow consonants in places.

I have two reservations about the performances. Geoffrey Webber tends to choose speeds for duple-time sections that seem to me to be rather too slow, as in the Te Deum, which uses a C-stroke time-signature throughout, implying two in a bar. Also, it is a pity that the bass lines of the Te Deum and Jubilate are given throughout to a violoncello, with a double bass added in the tuttis. The practice in England in the 1690s seems to have been to use a bass violin (or bass violins: it is likely that there would have been an orchestra in the St Cecilia service) for the ritornelli and tuttis of concerted works, but to use continuo alone in the solo vocal sections. The more modern practice of using a violoncello throughout, with a bass doubling at the octave in the tuttis, only seems to have been established in England with the establishment of the Italian opera orchestra in London in the first decade of the eighteenth century. On the plus side, it is good to hear Restoration church music accompanied by a suitable organ: the recording was made in the chapel of Pembroke College, Cambridge, using its organ, an instrument installed in 1708 and reconstructed by Manders using the five surviving original stops. Too many recordings of this repertory use unsuitable nineteenth- or twentieth-century church organs or feeble neo-Baroque box organs. All in all, this is a most welcome CD. It shows that Turner was a consistently accomplished composer, and in places – particularly in the Te Deum and Jubilate – he proves himself rather more than that.

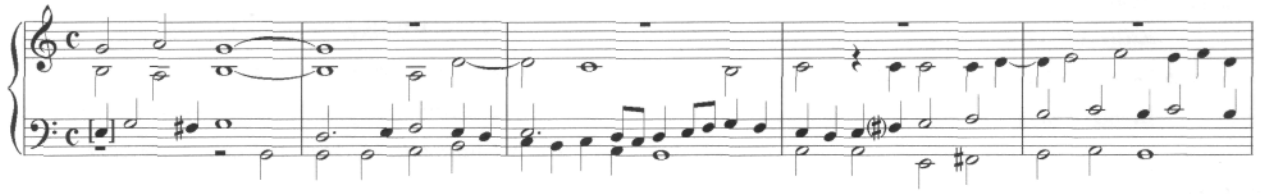
Correction:
Poglietti's Ricecare: Open-score Keyboard Music and the Implications for Ensemble Performance

Robert Rawson

In the previous issue of *Early Music Performer* (20), Illustration 2a (p. 12) was incorrectly printed. Illustrations 2a and 2b are presented below as they should have appeared, with their appropriate captions. The editor offers his apologies for this mistake.



Example 2a
Alessandro Poglietti, *Fuga 2^di^ toni: Der Tag der ist so freudenreich*, bars 10-14 (original in open score)



Example 2b
Pavel Vejvanovský, MS fragment, *CZ-KRa* A 835, bars 10-14 (original in open score)

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Compiled by Cath Currier

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- Anthony Newcomb: Massimo Ossi, *Divining the Oracle: Monteverdi's Seconda Prattica*; and Susan McClary, *Modal Subjectivities: Self-Fashioning in the Italian Madrigal.*
- Reinhard Strohm: Ellen T. Harris, *Handel as Orpheus: Voice and Desire in the Chamber Cantatas.*

Cambridge Opera Journal Vol. 19/1 (March 2007)

- Gregory W. Bloch, *The pathological voice of Gilbert-Louis Duprez.*

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- Peter Holman, *Buxtehude on CD: a tercentenary survey.*
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- David Hunter: Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal,* Oxford Studies in British Church Music. (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Robin A. Leaver: Daniel A. Melamed, *Hearing Bach's Passions.* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Reviews: Editions

- Rebecca Harris-Warrick: Jean Philippe Rameau, Platée, *Opera Omnia: Series 4, Volume 10,* ed. M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2005).

Galpin Society Journal Vol. LX (2007)

- Herbert Myers, *The Musical Miniatures of the 'Triumphzug' of Maximilian I.*
- H. Diack Johnstone, *Instruments, Strings, Wire and Other Musical Miscellanea in the Account Books of Claver Morris (1659-1727).*
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- Rebecca Cypess, *Evidence about the 'Lira da Braccio' from Two Seventeenth-Century Violin Sources .*
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- Haris Sarris, *The Influence of the 'Tsaboúna' Bagpipe on the 'Lira' and Violin.*
- Arle Lommel and Balázs Nagy, *The Form, History, and Classification of the 'Tekerölant' (Hungarian Hurdy-Gurdy).*
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- David Schulenberg: *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music.* Ed. by Tim Carter and John Butt.
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- Paul Walker: Joseph Kerman, *The Art of Fugue: Bach Fugues for Keyboard, 1715-1750.*
- Elizabeth Eva Leach: Mary O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire.*
- Sandra Mangsen: Michael Talbot, *The Chamber Cantatas of Antonio Vivaldi.*
- David Grayson: *The Cambridge Companion to the Concerto.* Ed. by Simon P. Keefe.

Music and Letters Vol. 88/2 (May 2007)

- Mark Evan Bonds, *Replacing Haydn: Mozart's 'Pleyel' Quartets.*

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- Thomas J. Mathiesen: *Ancient Greek Music in Performance: Symposion Wien 29.Sept – 1.Okt.2003.* Ed. by Stefan Hagel and Christine Harrauer.
- Don Fader: Lionel Sawkins, *A Thematic Catalogue of the works of Michel-Richard de Lalande (1657-1726).*
- Don Fader: Catherine Massip, *Michel-Richard Delalande ou Le Lully latin.*
- Steven Zohn: *Cöthener Bach-Hefte, 12.* Ed. by Andreas Waczkat.
- Lawrence Archbold: *Organ Restoration Reconsidered; Proceedings of a Colloquium.* Ed. by John R. Watson.
- David Grayson: Julian Rushton, *Mozart.*
- James Garratt: Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St Matthew Passion.*
- Antonio Cascelli: Claudio Monteverdi, *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria.* Ed. by Alan Curtis.

The Musical Quarterly Vol. 89/1 (Spring 2007)

- Leon Botstein, *Music in History: The Perils of Method in Reception History.*

The Musical Times Vol. 148 (Summer 2007)

- Jean-Paul C. Montagnier, *Royal peculiar: the music and patronage of Philippe of Orléans, Regent of France.*

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- Roberto Pagano, *Alessandro and Domenico Scarlatti: two lives in one.*

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- Andrew H. Weaver, *Divine Wisdom and Dolorous Mysteries: Habsburg Marian Devotion in Two Motets from Monteverdi's 'Selve morale et spirituale'.*
- Carla Vivarelli, *'Di una pretesa scuola napoletana': Sowing the Seeds of the Ars nova at the Court of Robert of Anjou.*

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- Heather Josselyn-Cranson, *Moderate psallendo: Musical participation in worship among Gilbertine nuns.*

Liturgical Chant Bibliography:

- Günther Michael Paucker, *Liturgical Chant Bibliography 16.*

Reviews:

- Michel Huglo: *Tropaire Séquentiaire Prosaire Prosulaire de Moissac (troisième quart du xie siècle): manuscrit Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.l. 1871.* Ed. with introduction and index by Marie-Noël Colette, and an analysis of the decoration by Marie-Thérèse Gousset: Publications de la Société française de musicologie, 1st series, 27. (Paris: Société française de musicologie, 2006).
- John Caldwell: Theodore Karp, *An introduction to the Post-Tridentine Mass Proper, Musicological Studies and Documents 54, 1-2.* (Middleton, Wisconsin: American Institute of Musicology, 2005).
- Susana Zapke: Max Haas, *Musikalisches Denken im Mittelalter. Eine Einführung.* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005).

The Recorder Magazine Vol. 27/2 (Summer 2007)

- Nick Tarasov, *Bach and the Recorder, Part 2.*

The Recorder Magazine Vol. 27/1 (Spring 2007)

- Nick Tarasov, *Bach and the Recorder, Part 1.*

The Journal of the Royal Musical Association Vol. 132/1 (2007)

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- Federico Lowenberger, *The Story of a Viol: Part II – The Restoration.*

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- Judy Tarling, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Trauermusik 'Mit Fried und Freud', for soprano, bass and strings,and 'Klaglied' for soprano and strings, 1674, BuxWV 76.* Facsimile, score and parts. Edition Güntersberg G110.
- Stewart McCoy, *John Wilbye: Six-Part Madrigals 'Apt both for voyals and voyces' from the Second Set 1609,* Viol Consort Series No.66 Albany: PRB Productions, 2006.

The Viol No. 6 (Spring 2007)

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