



NEWSLETTER

Editor: Francis Knights

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Welcome to the *NEMA Newsletter*, the online pdf publication for members of the National Early Music Association UK, which appears twice yearly. It is designed to share and circulate information and resources with and between Britain's regional early music Fora, amateur musicians, professional performers, scholars, instrument makers, early music societies, publishers and retailers. As well as the listings section (including news, obituaries and organizations) there are a number of articles, including work from leading writers, scholars and performers, and reports of events such as festivals and conferences.



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Interview with John Holloway

Francis Knights

My mother's family were refugees from the Nazis in Vienna. Concerts at the Musikvereinsaal and opera performances at the Staatsoper were a normal part of their lives. My uncle played the violin, not to a professional level but with enormous enthusiasm. It was he who introduced me to the violin, though I had to wait until I was five and my hands were big enough for a quarter-size instrument (illus.1). As we moved with my father's work, I had different teachers, mostly sadly forgotten, except for the formidable Mrs Hopkins, who wore hats with feathers, and white gloves, and accompanied me at the piano with great energy. I was nine when my uncle introduced me to Yfrah Neaman, who became my teacher for the following 12 years, including my time as a student at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama. Positively, I learned a rounded bow hand with flexible fingers and wrist, and a certain respect for 'Urtext' editions. Negatively, I was required to use his bowings and fingerings without explanation, either musical or technical. I took with me into my own teaching career an absolute certainty that 12 years were far too many to be with one teacher.



Illus.1 'Setting off'

Guildhall in the 1960s was a very different place to today (illus.2). Some aspects of the training were outstanding: I particularly remember concertmaster coaching from Paul Beard (leader of Thomas Beecham's original London Philharmonic Orchestra, and longstanding leader of the BBC Symphony Orchestra), and string quartet coaching from the great William Pleeth. The only 'early music' activity I experienced was one term leading a small string group coached by Thurston Dart, who startled us by encouraging us to play contemporary music in order to experience the 'new' in old music. This was of course on modern instruments. I never encountered a baroque violin there, nor was such a thing mentioned. I studied Mozart concertos with no reference to Leopold Mozart's teaching manual, Beethoven's concerto with no knowledge of Spohr's book, Brahms' concerto with no suggestion that Joachim's edition, his teaching book and his correspondence with Brahms might have important contributions to make to my performance. I did, while still a student, play a Mozart concerto with the Guildhall Orchestra in St Paul's Cathedral, the Beethoven concerto in Basingstoke, Bach's concerto for Two violins in St George's,

Hanover Square, and the Mendelssohn concerto in a cinema in Athens and in the remains of an ancient amphitheatre on the island of Lefkas.



Illus.2 John Holloway, with fellow student Martin Paterson: Striding out into a bright new future?

This was all leading up to a period devoted to international violin competitions. At that time these were a small but significant part of the cultural background to the Cold War. The importance of a competition could be assessed according to the number and quality of brilliantly prepared teams from Moscow and Leningrad (then) on one side, and the Juilliard School in New York on the other. Reaching a final round was a rare achievement for anyone else. To help finance this experience it was arranged for me to play in the

Menuhin Festival Orchestra, with whom I made first touring visits to USA, Australia and New Zealand, and much of Western Europe (illus.3).



Illus.3 Menuhin Festival Orchestra, Gstaad, Switzerland (1970). I'm the long haired one with a beard, immediately behind Menuhin's head

At this point it became clear that I needed to earn some kind of stable income, and I joined the Bournemouth Sinfonietta as leader of the Second violins. This brought me back into contact with John Toll. We had been at the same school in our teens. He was the Sinfonietta's harpsichordist, and we put together an ensemble to play baroque chamber music - still on our everyday modern instruments. It was our completely unsuccessful attempt to play Rameau's *Pièces de Clavecin en concert* on modern violin and cello (with harpsichord being the only instrument that convinced) which prepared me for what followed. John suggested that we go as listeners to a workshop organized by the instrument maker David Rubio, taught by Sigiswald Kuijken. I was captivated by his playing and deeply impressed by his teaching.

At around the same time I was invited by Roger Norrington to become the leader of the orchestra of Kent Opera (illus.4). With a repertoire ranging from Monteverdi to Britten it was clear that most of it would be played on modern instruments, but Roger was pushing hard for us to get our historical instruments and playing up to modern standards. So I left Bournemouth to return to London in time for the dramatic expansion of the 'Early Music scene', which took off with the founding of the Academy of Ancient Music and the English Concert in 1973. This combined well with Kent Opera, and London was at the time also awash with chamber orchestras offering well-paid freelance work on modern instruments.



Illus.4 Kent Opera relaxing on the beach at Southsea. Roger Norrington is back left, with the cap

Looking back, the speed of the development of the London early music scene was extraordinary. The backing of the BBC, and of various record companies, was essential to this, and I was one of many musicians founding ensembles to explore different aspects of the enormous repertoire that was opening up to us. The first version of L'Ecole d'Orphée came together in 1975, and we presented three seasons of concerts at the Wigmore Hall and the Purcell Room (illus.5).



Illus.5 The original personnel of L'Ecole d'Orphee: John Holloway, John Toll, Charles Medlam, Stephen Preston and Ingrid Seifert

1977 was notable for the performance of Monteverdi's 1610 Vespers given at the BBC Promenade Concerts by Andrew Parrott and his Taverner Choir and Players. It was the first serious attempt to use the music left by Monteverdi in a sequence appropriate for a vespers service, an idea which has long since established itself. It was also memorable for me as it involved my first encounter with the great cornett player Bruce Dickey. He and Jean-Pierre Canihac, with their technical and musical mastery of what in London had seemed up till then to be dangerously difficult music, offered new standards and inspiration for all of us interested in 17th century music. 1978 saw my first recording of Vivaldi's *Four Seasons*. Lina Lalandi, the founder of the London Bach Festival, had introduced me to Jean Claude Malgoire. He had invited me to lead his ensemble La Grande écurie et la Chambre du Roi, which enabled me to gain insights into the development of the early music scene in France. This led indirectly to a later period as leader of William Christie's Les Arts Florissants.

Two aspects of the development of the 'early music' scene which have much interested me over the years have been instrumentation and ensemble sizes. The ongoing debate about appropriate choir numbers for Bach cantatas is only one of many about ensemble size. One of the first projects which made me aware of this as an issue was the performances and recording of Vivaldi's *L'Estro Armonico* concertos with Christopher Hogwood (illus.6). It was he who pointed out that these were clearly composed and published for one player per part.



Illus.6 The Academy of Ancient Music, Vivaldi L'Estro armonico US tour: some famous faces to spot here!

By the end of the 1970s it was clear to me that combining baroque and modern violin careers wasn't going to work for me. Roger Norrington had founded the London Baroque Players (which rapidly turned into London Classical Players). With Andrew Parrott's Taverner Players also offering increasing amounts of leading opportunities, and growing interest from concert promoters in chamber music, it seemed the right moment to concentrate on gut-strung violin. This did inevitably lead to a considerable shrinkage of the

chronological span of my repertoire, but it did enable me to have a more in-depth look at some rarely played music which was crying out to be heard. One project among many which comes to mind we called 'Three Parts upon a Ground', after the Purcell piece. That work, and the inevitable Pachelbel Canon and Gigue, were of course well known, but the Schmelzer sonata for 3 violins and continuo, with sonatas by Gabrieli, Marini, Fontana and Buonamente, interspersed with solos from each member of the ensemble, made for some hugely enjoyable concerts (illus.7).



Illus.7 'Three Parts upon a Ground': Nigel North, John Toll, John Holloway, Andrew Manze and Stanley Ritchie

Sometimes chance plays a role of unforeseeable significance in a career. In 1985 I taught at a summer course in California. The recorder teacher on the course was Vicki Boeckman, who was then living in Denmark. She asked if I would be interested in performing in Denmark with her and a Danish continuo team. She followed up with an invitation for the following year, and thus I met Lars Ulrik Mortensen. Of the three great harpsichordists I have had the privilege to work with (the others were John Toll and Davitt Moroney) I put him first simply because of the number of projects and recordings we made together, over a period of nearly 30 years.

I mentioned earlier my interest in instrumentation. One of the projects of which I'm still proud was the concert performances and recording of Corelli's Op.5 sonatas. With cellist David Watkin (illus.8) and Lars Ulrik, we took Corelli's title-page instrumentation seriously - *Sonate a violino e violone O cimbalo* - put the implications (figured bass realized on cello alone; 'o' means *or*, so cello and harpsichord do not play together) together with examples from all the extant 18th century ornamentations of the sonatas. This was at the time radical, and especially David's work on cello continuo realization has had a growing influence.



Illus.8 David Watkin and John Holloway: Corelli's Sonate a violino e violone

Another favourite project, related to Corelli, started with Lars Ulrik and David: the Veracini sonatas (illus.9). These are wonderful: great fun for players and audience. Veracini was greatly influenced by Corelli, and uses the possibilities of cello alone with the violin, but in a very different way.



Illus.9 David Watkin, John Holloway and Lars Ulrik Mortensen: Veracini's Sonate accademiche

In the midst of all this two other important projects were developing: the Sonatas (or more appropriately Trios) for harpsichord and violin by Bach (illus.10), and the ‘Rosary’ Sonatas by Biber. For both of these the keyboard player was Davitt Moroney. For the Bach we worked intensely together, taking the music apart and rebuilding it so the relationships between the three voices - harpsichord right hand, harpsichord left hand, violin - were as clear and well balanced as we could make them. Davitt’s deep knowledge and understanding of Bach’s music, and his patience, were a godsend.



Illus.10 With Davitt Moroney, in Bach's Trios für Cembalo und Violine

Davitt’s patience came even more to the fore in the Biber sonatas. The well-known challenges of the scordatura tunings in these extraordinary pieces include, especially in concert, the tendency of the violin strings to return to their normal pitches. This makes intonation a high-risk territory, made more stressful if the continuo is based around an organ. For the recording I had the luxury of Davitt with organ and harpsichord available, plus Tragicomedia (Stephen Stubbs, lute/chitarrone, Erin Headley, viola da gamba/lirone,

Andrew Lawrence King, harp). The special club of baroque violinists who have bravely recorded this fascinating music has grown considerably since our recording, but I think we can still be proud of the Gramophone Award we won for it back in 1991.

Another colleague whose company, musical and social, I have treasured is the great Dutch cellist and gambist Jaap ter Linden. With Lars Ulrik he made a continuo dream team which shows its rare qualities on recordings of repertoire ranging from Buxtehude (including the first complete recording of the sonatas Op.1 and 2, which won a Danish Grammy in 1995, illus.11) via a London concert issued by NAIM in 2001, to recordings for ECM of sonatas by Veracini and Leclair.



Illus.11 Jaap ter Linden, John Holloway and Lars Ulrik Mortensen: Buxtehude's sonatas

There are two other colleagues I particularly want to mention: Aloysia Assenbaum and Jane Gower. Aloysia was brave enough to take on the challenge of creating a combined continuo sound of organ and harpsichord, together with Lars Ulrik. This was regarded as radical at the time: the results can be heard on our recordings for ECM of Schmelzer *Unarum fidium* and of the Biber 1681 sonatas and the Muffat sonata (illus.12).

Jane Gower I particularly want to thank for taking on the enormous challenges of the Castello and Fontana sonatas for violin, dulcian and continuo, and performing and recording them with a bravura I had been waiting for years to hear.

I have often been asked to name my favorite of the recordings I have made. Coincidentally the last, of the Fantazias in 3 and 4 parts by Purcell, is coming out as I write. It was recorded back in 2015, the year before I retired from performing and recording. As a violinist I feel a special connection to the recording of the Bach solo sonatas and partitas, though the perfectionist in me would love to have got some passages better. On a personal

level I keep a special place for the Muffat Sonata: Aloysia died not long after it was recorded. Actually, I listen to my own recordings rarely.



Illus.12 With Lars Ulrik Mortensen and Aloysia Assenbaum: Schmölzer, Biber and Muffat - a 'new' continuo sound

I haven't been a collector of violins. I needed at least three compatible instruments for concert performances of the Biber 'Rosary' sonatas, and for the periods when I needed instruments for pitches ranging from A392 to 460, in repertoire from Monteverdi to Brahms, with appropriate set-ups and stringing, it was impossible to function with less than four. I am in principle a believer in encouraging instrument makers by playing on new-built violins. I do regret not putting more effort into persuading makers, and the schools where they train, to focus much more on Jacob Stainer violins as models. These were unquestionably the instruments of choice from the late 17th to the early 19th centuries.

You ask how the historical instrument movement has changed. Clearly it has expanded massively, geographically, in terms of the repertoire being explored, and of the standard of playing. The extent to which the old ways of separating academic research from performing have disappeared is very refreshing. Not so good: for string players and harpsichordists particularly the costs involved in trying to play a varied repertoire on suitably varied instruments are becoming prohibitive, which is limiting the opportunities for fruitful experiment. However, there continue to be serious and potentially revelatory projects. For some years now there has been a serious attempt around the conductor Kent Nagano and the orchestra Concerto Köln to bring together as much as can be known about the instruments, voices, tempi etc for Wagner. This is provoking much discussion in the German speaking world about 'tradition'. Another exciting appearance in the last few years has been that of Les Siècles, with their approach to late-19th and early 20th century French and France-related repertoire and instruments. The early music performer starting out now has clearly a much wider range of possibilities than 50 years ago. However, it is

hardly realistic to expect to truly immerse oneself in 400-plus years of repertoire (and see the point above about instrument costs). I hope and believe that there will always be room for true specialists in particular repertoires. However, as has long been the case, there will always be work for technically adept, adaptable generalists. Chamber music skills are essential.

Teaching has become increasingly important to me over the years (illus.12). I was very surprised to be offered a Professorship for Violin and Chamber Music at the Musikhochschule in Dresden, a school which officially offered no baroque instrument studies, at a time when my performing career was entirely on 'historical' instruments. It became an interesting challenge to see how many the things I should have learnt as a student at the Guildhall could be infiltrated into a very traditional environment.



Illus.13 Teaching in Dresden; on the right is Leila Schayegh, now Professor at the Schola Cantorum in Basel

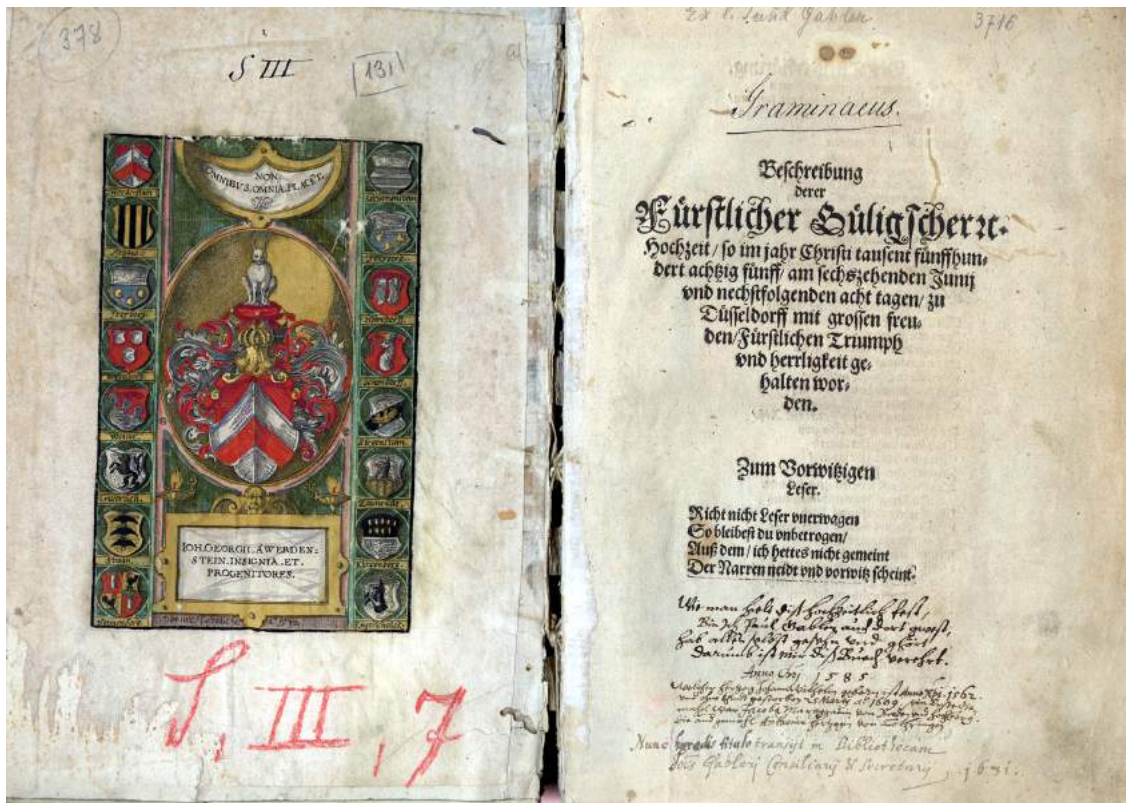
And finally, The-Bach-Project.com. When I retired from performing I thought I was going to write a book about the Bach solo sonatas and partitas. However, as luck would have it, I ran into an old friend of my sister who had left her job as an editor of music books at Cambridge University Press to set up a digital publishing company. Among the obvious advantages of a website such as this is that material can be updated or removed, contributions can be solicited, and the site can include video as well as text. Partly because of the corona pandemic and partly because of my technical limitations it has taken much longer than we hoped to get the site up and running. I still owe it an important chapter, but that comes under updating, and subscribers will automatically receive new material.

The Düsseldorf wedding of 1585

Glen Wilson

Introduction

A literary monument to one of the last grand manifestations of medieval chivalry in Germany is entitled *Beschreibung derer fürstlicher Güligscher etc. Hochzeit, so im jahr Christi [1585] ... zu Düsseldorf mit grossen freuden, Fürstlichen Triumph und herrligkeit gehalten worden*. This 500-page tome by *Landesschreiber* (court historian and general panjandrum) Dietrich Graminäus describes the festivities held at Düsseldorf to celebrate the politically-motivated wedding of Johann Wilhelm, son of Duke Wilhelm 'der Reiche' and heir apparent to the triple duchy of Jülich-Kleve-Berg, and Jacobe, daughter of the Margrave of Baden-Baden (illus.1).



Illus.1 Dietrich Graminäus, *Beschreibung derer fürstlicher Güligscher*, title page

The marital alliance was a small cog in the endless Wars of Religion that convulsed much of Europe in the 16th century and culminated in the Thirty Years' War in the 17th. The mentally unstable Catholic bridegroom had given up the bishopric of Münster in order to marry, after the death of his vigorous and promising elder brother. The consequences call to mind the disaster that followed the death of Prince Henry, son of James I of England. The lands Johann Wilhelm eventually inherited constituted one of the larger of the fragmented German states. They were sandwiched between the Spanish Netherlands, where the Calvinist-dominated northern provinces were struggling for independence, and

the Archbishoprics of Liège and Cologne. The latter ecclesiastical territory was then engaged in a civil war between forces loyal to a prince-bishop who had recently gone Protestant (thus taking a different tack in order to marry) and those of the Catholic powers supporting a newly-installed replacement. Troops of all sides had for years been crisscrossing the duchy, marauding and plundering as they went. While all this was raging around Düsseldorf, the ducal capital on the banks of the Rhine, Johann Wilhelm's father wrecked his country's already catastrophic finances by organizing a week-long extravaganza of banquets, fireworks, mock battles, allegories, plays and tournaments on horseback, as if it were peacetime in the Golden Age.

Graminäus' book mostly makes for grim reading. The lists of the nobles who attended and of their entourages, the descriptions of their clothes and those of their servants, their horses, their coats of arms etc. etc. are endless. The author also expounds legends and texts from Antiquity which formed the basis of various events, 'for the benefit of those unfamiliar with heathen learning'. Graminäus' last publication was a treatise on seeking out, interrogating and punishing witches. It would be difficult to imagine a writer more steeped in the Teutonic aristo-obscurantism which Napoleon unsuccessfully tried to stamp out, while in the process sowing the dragon's teeth of German nationalism.

But Graminäus' *opus magnum*, which, witness the large number of surviving copies, was likely printed in hopes of furnishing souvenirs for the many guests commemorated therein, contains flashes of information on the musical aspects of the great occasion. On the whole, music takes a respectable place in the narrative – more so than in many such descriptions, where it is often not mentioned at all. Trumpeters, essential for noble display, many of them part of the entourages of noble guests, are (with two exceptions) only numbered, not named, in contrast to cooks, or masters of the wardrobe and the horse. Graminäus does take the unusual step of listing at least some of the participating musicians. Several of the detailed engravings by Franz Hogenberg show them in action.

This interesting source has not received much attention in the musicological literature. The only serious study I have found is that by the late Gerhard Pietzsch, an expert on the music history of the Rheinland, in a *Festschrift* for his teacher Karl Gustav Fellerer.¹ To my knowledge, the only brief mention in English appears in *Musical Ensembles in Festival Books, 1500-1800* by Edmund A. Bowles.² *Beschreibung* has been digitalized and is online at the *Deutsche Digitale Bibliothek*, but given the difficulty of access and legibility, this article may be an easier approach. I will touch on all significant references to music, and where appropriate, offer details of the engravings as reproduced in a 1983 facsimile with an introduction by Else Rümmler.³

The wedding

16 June, the wedding day

'Now that the hour of Vespers had arrived, about four in the afternoon, a wonderful *Musica* with all kinds of instruments was ordered to assemble in the castle chapel, and at the appointed time took their places in good order in front of the bridal chamber. And thus was the noble bride ... accompanied from her room to the great hall ... In the meantime the trumpets and kettledrums [*Herpauken* or *-pocken*, *sic* Graminäus] began to play with the greatest splendor, blown and struck as a sign of joy. After the ceremony these musicians immediately began to sing an artful and delicate *Te Deum laudamus* with

great magnificence, reverence and devotion. And afterwards the trumpets and kettledrums outside in the courtyard were blown and struck with great noise'. The illustration of the *Musica* shows five cornetts of varying size and a (flat?) trumpet (illus.2).



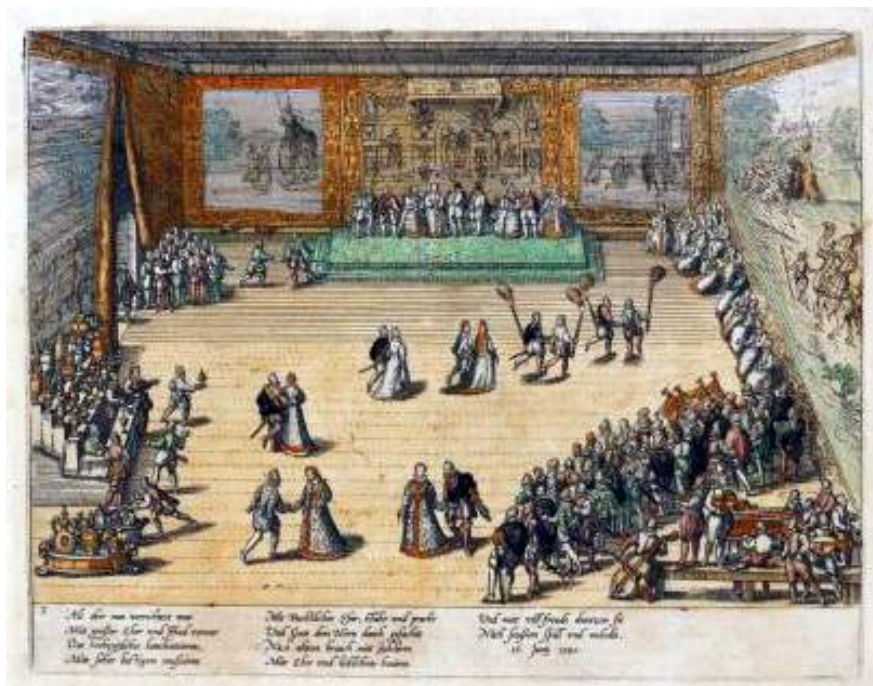
Illus.2 Cornetts of varying size and a trumpet, engraving by Franz Hogenberg

'During the princely banquet as well, all the instruments and the nobles' musicians, many of whom were summoned from distant parts to the wedding festivities, performed their office with such sweetness and artistry that many were amazed at how pleasant and delightful it was to hear'. To the left, gathered around a virginal, are shown singers, a lute, three violas *da braccio* and a *violone* (illus.3). To the right, trumpets and kettledrums.



Illus.3 Music at the banquet

‘Now the princely dance follows, which was not accompanied by instruments and *Music*, but rather blown and struck by trumpets and kettledrums’. A description follows, with the paired dancers named, of the *Fackeltanz*, a branle using torches which was traditional at princely weddings all over Europe. Many settings of the usual tune, a *passamezzo moderno*, survive.⁴ In spite of what Graminäus says, the print shows, besides four trumpets, what are presumably the same vocal and instrumental ensemble as before (illus.4a/b).





Illus.4a/ b Banquet performers

17 June

Only trumpets and drums are mentioned in connection with various daytime events including a dance, but between courses of the evening meal the guests were “served with a sweet *Musick*”. It should be noted that Graminäus mostly uses this term, as well as *Musiker*, for vocal music and singers; instruments and their players are usually named separately. After supper a naval battle was staged on the Rhine:

‘As the previously mentioned ship was captured, there was such a trumpeting and playing of winds, as well as banging and playing on kettledrums, ordinary drums [*gemeinen Trummen*] and trumpets, as though a considerable armada and fleet was being fought on the spot’.

18 June

As a prelude to a ring joust, a float in the shape of Mount Parnassus appeared, bearing Orpheus, Amphion, Pan and the Muses. Graminäus tells us that:

‘with all such *Musica* both outside and inside [the mountain], one could have supposed that the Muses, Orpheus and Amphion themselves were present and in attendance, according to poetic lore and accounts, with their lovely song and playing, or that perhaps a vision of the earthly paradise had been opened, or a rejoicing of angels heard. It was such that anyone not present to hear this *Musicum concentum & Symphoniam* would be unable to believe it possible, and the entire *Musica* performed the following six verses...’.

Later, as the participants entered the field, ‘the *Musick* continued its lovely, beautiful and splendid song’.

Further detail is unfortunately lacking. But at this point, probably the culmination of Graminäus’ own contribution to the party, he gives the previously mentioned list of participating musicians, to which I will return shortly. Our author also offers long and

learnèd accounts of the mythological personages present on his Parnassus, which I will pass over in reverent silence.

From the 19th to the 22nd, tournaments, fireworks and mock battles continue. The only item of musical interest is the appearance a small group of military musicians (trumpets, fife and drum) in a print showing a demonstration of fencing (illus.5).



Illus.5 Military musicians

23 June

On this final day there was a tournament on foot. The participants processed to the parade grounds dressed as 'a whole regiment of German infantry', preceded by fifes and drums of the type Graminäus calls 'ordinary' (illus.6).

Later there was a distribution of gifts, and an evening banquet with dance. This was preceded by a *Mummerei*: '...a representation and delineation of a complete, stable government and rule. And four musicians preceded this *Mummerei* ... one on the right with a viola da braccio [*mit einer Violen*], the other to the left with a cittern [*Zyter*], playing very pleasantly. The two following struck the lute and harp, and all were in the same costume...'

(illus.7). After all the mummers had entered the hall ‘they came forward to cheerful music and performed an artful dance’.



Illus.6 Fifes and drums



Illus.7 Viola da braccio, cittern, lute and harp

The mnsicians

Here is the list of musicians with an introduction, in Graminäus' orthography:

Es sind aber folgende Kunstmeister und Musici zu oberzelter Musick mit singen und spielen so wol bey auffgetragendem Berg / als sonst bey der gantzer Hochzeit und derselben freud gebraucht worden / als nemlich M. Martin Peudargent Sanckmeister. Gregorius Heuwet Lautenist, Philips N. des Landgraffen Instrumentist / M. Heinrich Thumbsangmeister zu Liüttich / M. Adam zu S. Johann zu Liüttich und seine zwey Jungen / M. Wilhelm Sanckmeister zu S. Mergen in Cölln / Alexander Lunck Organist / Wessel von Wesel / Adamus Harengius / Claudius de Fosse / Anthonius Jansen / Foelix Neuclun / Salomon von Cölln Organist / M. Meinhard Janson. Peter von Düren / Jobst Rosier.

Pietzsch was able to provide biographical information on most of these men. Some of what follows is taken from his article.

Martin Peudargent (c.1525-after 1585)

The old duke's *Kapellmeister* for more than 30 years, probably responsible for all the music and composer of many of the wedding pieces. From Huy in the province of Liège, a fine composer of motets. In a case of *nomen est omen*, Peudargent went blind and in later years had to petition the duke for arrears of his salary in order to prevent himself, his wife and children from being forced into beggary.

Gregorius Huet (before 1560-c.1617)

Many variants of this famous lutenist's name exist. Pietzsch follows Chrysander and Eitner in calling him an Englishman, presumably because a fantasy of his appeared in Robert Dowland's *Varietie of Lute Lessons* (1610). Godelieve Spiessens showed that Huet was from Huy or Antwerp.⁵ In 1595 he joined the court chapel at Wolfenbüttel, where he worked alongside Michael Praetorius. One of his fantasies is a remarkable work on a single theme which was later used by Sweelinck.

Heinrich

Henri Jamaer, *maître de chant* at St Lambert Cathedral, Liège, until 1618.

Adam

Adamus da Ponta, singer and instructor at St Lambert. Four motets published in Venice by Joanelli in 1568.

Wilhelm

Wilhelm Steinwerk, choirmaster at St Maria im Capitol, colleague of Salomon von Cölln.

Alexander Lunck

A *Musicus* of this name, formerly in service of the old Duke Wilhelm 'der Reiche', was still receiving a grace and favour pension in 1638.

Wessel von Wesel

A member of the Wolfenbüttel *Kapelle*, colleague of Huet.

Claudius de Fosse

Another visitor from Wolfenbüttel, a tenor mentioned, as was von Wesel, in Praetorius' *Memorial der Music halben* (1614).

Anthonius Jansen

A Cologne city musician.

Foelix Neuolun

A tenor and composer from Mantua with a long career in Graz, Ansbach and Dresden already behind him. The *Beschreibung* is his last known reference.

Meinhard Jansen

Another Cologne city musician. From Haarlem, possibly related to Anthonius Jansen.

Jobst Rosier

Cornettist for the city of Cologne. From Maastricht, previously employed in Kassel and Berlin.

Salomon von Cölln Organist

In his copious footnotes Pietzsch gives only secondary sources in support of his assertion that Salomon is recorded as the organist of St Maria im Capitol (Graminäus gives its *Kölsch* name, 'S. Mergen') and owner of a house in the Lichhof, just east of St Mary's, in 1581.⁶ Salomon's church is – or was before its destruction in World War II – the finest Romanesque basilica in Cologne. It is so named for having been built on the site of the Roman temple of Jupiter in *Colonia Agrippina ad Rbenum*, as the city then was. A treasure house of art, St Mary's is now little known, sadly separated by an uncrossable thoroughfare from the centre around the cathedral and the major museums.

Still, it is nice to know where Salomon von Cölln lived and worked. One hopes that he came to a better end than the couple who were so magnificently wedded in 1585. The duchess was murdered in her prison cell after overspending and having ill-concealed love affairs, and her widower perished, insane as he had lived, in 1609. Shortly before he died, according to an official report he *musizierte* in his monkish cell. The unfortunate man had had a private lute teacher while he was attending seminary as a boy in Münster. A war of succession followed Johann Wilhlem's decease which merged into the 'Thirty Years' War, and his devastated triple duchy was ultimately divided between two contenders (illus.8).⁷



Illus.8 Jacobe von Baden.

Glen Wilson, born in the USA in 1952 and a Dutch citizen since 1988, looks back on a long and distinguished career as an early keyboard specialist, writer and editor, and was recently limited to the last two occupations by a mild stroke. He taught at the Würzburg Musikhochschule for many years, and has recently completed a biography of Eta Harich-Schneider (1894-1986).

Notes

¹ Herbert Drux, Wolfgang Niemöller and Walter Thoene (eds), *Studien zur Musikgeschichte des Rheinlandes II / Karl Gustav Fellerer zum 60. Geburtstag überreicht...* (Cologne, 1962).

² Edmund A. Bowles, *Musical Ensembles in Festival Books, 1500-1800: An Iconographical and Documentary Survey* (Ann Arbor, 1989). The author names the bridegroom incorrectly as Duke Wilhelm IV.

³ Else Rümmler (ed), *Die Fürstlich Jüliche Hochzeit zu Düsseldorf 1585. Das Fest und seine Vorgeschichte*, facsimile edition (Düsseldorf, 1983).

⁴ Starting in 1844, Giacomo Meyerbeer provided four new versions of the Torch Dance for the Prussian court, scored for 130 trumpets and trombones.

⁵ Godelieve Spiessens, 'De Antwerpse luitcomponist Gregorius Huet alias Gregory Howet', *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, lviii (2003), pp.87-111.

⁶ A few small pieces by 'M.[onsieur or Meister] Salomon' appear in the MS Krakau, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, ex Berlin Mus Ms 40103, dated 1594. This minor source was compiled by a francophone, probably a member of one of the numerous Walloon families who fled to Cologne after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV.

⁷ One of them was the Electorate of Brandenburg, which got Kleve (or Cleves), a town where I used to go shopping when I lived just over the Dutch border 1990-94. Thus began the fateful westward expansion of the state later known as Prussia. The castle of Kleve was the home of Henry VIII's fourth wife (and, post-annulment, his 'beloved Sister') Anne of Cleves (1515-57), and according to legend also that of the *Schwanenritter* Lohengrin.

A Register of British keyboard makers, composers, players and copyists, c.660-1630

Francis Knights

Introduction

The history of keyboard instruments and music in Britain and Ireland dates back well over a thousand years, but references to the making and use of keyboards in the earlier periods are widely scattered and very incomplete. In an attempt to gather such information, this Register of names assembles data from numerous secondary sources, including those collected by Andrew Ashbee, Candace Bailey, Hugh Baillie, Donald Boalch, Virginia Brookes, Andrew Freeman, Bernard Edmonds, John Harley, Darryl Martin, Harold Watkins Shaw, James Saunders, Magnus Williamson and many others. Historical aspects of British keyboard music from the early Middle Ages onwards have been explored by, among others, scholars and historians Alan Brown, John Caldwell, Pieter Dirksen, John Harper, Frank Harrison, John Koster, Darryl Martin and Magnus Williamson.¹

The Register includes not only keyboard makers and composers, but performers (professional and amateur), instrument owners and copyists of keyboard manuscripts. As well as numerous well-known names, aristocrats and students also appear;² the cut-off point of 1630 is the end of the 'long 16th-century', stylistically speaking.³ The scope of the Register also covers a small number of 16th and 17th century British⁴ instrument makers, composers and players (principally Catholics) who worked on the Continent, and a number of overseas visitors to, or employees of, the royal court in London. This being a catalogue of names, instruments of unknown manufacture (such as the important Knole chamber organ), those which were the property of institutions such as colleges or churches (for example, the unidentified virginals at Trinity College, Cambridge)⁵ or are only represented in iconography are not included.⁶ Similarly, people identified by office or role but not by name are excluded, as in 'the priest of Middlesmore' (1555).⁷ It is also highly likely that some of the numerous generic archival references to makers and players of 'instruments' (omitted here) would have referred to keyboards.

In the English Chapel Royal, according to Edward IV's *Liber Niger Dojriiis Regis Angiins* (1468), keyboard ability was expected of all the 'chapleyne and clerkes of the chapell', who were required to be 'sufficiaunt in organes pleyng',⁸ but as the enforcement of this is not demonstrable, only those musicians specifically noted as having keyboard ability or roles are included.

Several related circles of both professional and amateur musicians can be detected here; as David Price, John Harley and others have shown,⁹ the deep social and musical interconnections of the aristocracy are remarkable; while both the circles of professional musicians and instrument-makers relied heavily upon family relationships and the apprenticeship system; family names appear repeatedly below.

History

The first reference to keyboard instruments in Britain appears to come from the scholar Aldhelm (c.639-709), Bishop of Sherborne, who refers in his treatise *De Virginitate* (c.690) to ‘organs that breathe with winds produced by bellows’;¹⁰ organs are also mentioned by Bede. The most vivid early description comes from Wulstan (d.963), who said of the 10th-century organ at Winchester, ‘Like thunder the iron voice batters the ear, so that it may receive no other sound’.¹¹ In order of appearance in the historical record in Britain, the principal keyboards are organ (from the 7th century), clavichord (which may include the elusive ‘chekker’, mid-14th century),¹² regals (16th century), virginals (early 16th century onwards) and harpsichord (principally early 17th century). The latter makes a relatively late appearance by that specific name, for example in the estate of the London copyist William Forster (1645), and it is very likely that ‘virginals’ functioned as a generic term for plucked string keyboard instruments for most of the 16th and early 17th centuries.¹³ The chamber (as opposed to church) organ is found much more commonly from the beginning of the 17th century, although (for example) some small Lady Chapel-type organs are likely to have made their way from institutions to private homes both at the Reformation and the Civil War.¹⁴

References from after the Restoration suggest that stringed keyboard instruments were widespread, for example Samuel Pepys’ diary entry from the Great Fire of London: ‘River full of lighters and boats taking in goods, and good goods swimming in the water, and only I observed that hardly one lighter or boat in three that had the goods of a house in, but there was a pair of Virginalles in it’ (Sunday 2 September 1666).¹⁵ However, the list assembled below suggests that this observation should not be carelessly extrapolated back into the 16th century, where the numbers of known makers and players (especially amateurs) appears to be much lower.

Sources

The information here has been drawn from a wide variety of sources: surviving music manuscripts, paintings and illustrations, accounts, inventories, wills, probate records, church records, legal documents and court records, letters and a very small number of extant instruments. Although a large number of names are given, their distribution is uneven by date and location, and is dependent on what archival material is extant, and what has been transcribed.¹⁶ As examples, the survival of pre-Reformation organ sources is particularly poor, while much Elizabethan virginalist repertoire is found only in Stuart-era sources. With respect to actual instrument survival rates, the figures are fractional: for example, of extant instruments by the substantial list of virginal makers in Martin (2003), Appendix 5, only two named keyboards exist today, and one of those has only initials (‘AH’). Michael Fleming’s survey of pre-Restoration wills includes a considerable number of virginals, none of which are identifiable,¹⁷ and the circumstances of religious controversy and historical damage have left only a small amount of physical material from British organs from before 1630, principally casework parts.¹⁸

Sometimes it is hard to make distinctions between owners and players of instruments, or their professional/amateur status. For example, keyboards appear in major estate inventories, sometimes with a room location, a brief physical description (for identification) or valuation, but makers’ names are almost never given. It is not certain which were in playing condition

(some do include comments such as ‘verye olde and broken’),¹⁹ or were in regular use, or indeed who within a household had permission to access them. In the case of a single instrument listed as part of a small domestic household, the chances of the owner being a player are much greater, without being absolutely certain. In recent centuries it has been the case that professional performers own their own instruments, yet the records from the earlier Tudor period (for example, the 1547 inventory of Henry’s VIII’s collection) suggest that many instruments were available for use, possibly loan, by members of the household music; for valuable keyboards, these would have remained in situ, available to be played on as and where the owner requested. The 1547 inventory includes more than fifty keyboards (harpsichords, virginals, clavichord, regals and organs) in numerous different rooms of more than half-a-dozen palaces or houses,²⁰ and it is likely that these were inherited by succeeding Tudor monarchs until they were discarded as too old or unusable (none have survived).

The early iconographical record of keyboard instruments in Britain is poor, but the reality of instrument types and distribution has some possible parallels in The Netherlands, where numerous paintings, drawings and tapestries attest to the owners and users of such instruments from the late Middle Ages onwards.²¹ There, the clavichord appears from around 1440 (as does the *clavisimbalum*, drawn and described by Arnaut), with the earliest virginals from the mid-16th century. Harpsichords are not at all common for a further hundred years. Most strikingly, the vast majority of players depicted are female, a significant difference from the British records.

The Register

The list is alphabetical by surname, but with full names given in traditional order and in bold (note that subsidiary name-roles such as ‘**Andrew** the organ-maker’, here not given in bold, are discounted in the ordering); alternative or modernized spellings are separated with a slash (‘**Thomas Bennett**/Benett’), and formal titles and roles such as peerages or membership of the House of Commons are given in parentheses afterwards, as in ‘**Henry Belassis**/Belasyse (Sir Henry Belasyse MP)’. Spelling variants mean that it is worth checking alternatives that might appear elsewhere in the alphabetical listing, such as **Smith/Smyth/Smythe** or **Tyndall/Tindale**. Some possible duplicate names with similar dates (‘**Will** the organ-maker’, ‘**William** organmaker’) may or may not refer to the same person. Life dates are given where known, otherwise dates of known activity are given in italics; as students and apprentices are included, the latest birth-date included is c.1615, but allowance is made for instruments owned at decease (see John Large), which are likely to have been in their possession some time previously. This is followed by place of residence or activity, where known (with place in italics, for organbuilders’ work); this not intended to be comprehensive. Afterwards is a letter code (see the Key below) representing particular keyboard-related activities, and whether an instrument or personal portrait survives. The following line of each entry includes selected citations (see the Bibliography at the end), by author name, with dates in parenthesis for identification where necessary, and first page numbers for substantial works such as books or dissertations (the indexes of each should be checked for complete citations). Some recent editions are also referenced, where they are a source of useful information.

For the best-known composers or aristocratic owners, further information can be found in standard biographical sources such as the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Burke’s Peerage, Parliamentary records, the National Archives and the Calendar of State Papers.²²

KEY

A	a portrait or painting exists ²³
C	composer (of keyboard music)
c	copyist or scribe (of keyboard music)
O	organist
Ob	organ builder or repairer ²⁴
o	owner (or donor) of instrument(s) ²⁵
om	owner of keyboard music manuscript ²⁶
H	harpsichord builder or repairer
K	keyboard maker or repairer ²⁷
P	keyboard performer or teacher
Pn	keyboard performer, non-professional
R	regals builder
S	surviving (or partial) instrument by this maker
V	virginals builder or repairer

Register

A

Henry Abyngdon/Abingdon (c.1418-1497), Wells, Eton, London, P
Abdy Williams 119, Carpenter, Williamson (1997) 125

Adam the organist (1333) Norwich, O
Knight 19

Aldhelm (St Aldhelm/Bishop of Sherborne/Bishop of Winchester) (c.639-709), Malmesbury, Winchester, Ob
Apel 205, Rogers 49

Aethelwold (St Aethelwold) (904/9-984), Winchester, *Abingdon*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 186, Sumner (1973) 102

Robert Alchurch (1503), Worcester, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 188

John Allen (1593-1613), Chester, O
Abdy Williams 77, Freeman and Edmonds ii 190, Shaw 63

John Allen (1597-99), Lincoln, O
Shaw 157

Henry Alyngton (1612), *Dublin*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 191

John Ambrose (c.1530), C
Williamson (2018)

Andrew (1502), London, O
Baillie (1962)

Andrew the organ-maker (1588), *Yarmouth*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 194, Sumner (1973) 112

William Argall (1515-22), *London*, O/Ob
Baillie (1962), Freeman and Edmonds ii 198, Hopkins 52, Rimbault 35, Sumner (1973) 106

John Amner (1579-1641), Ely, C/O
Greening, *Grove Music Online*, Shaw 99

Thomas Appleby (d.1563/4), Oxford, Lincoln, C/O
Grove Music Online, Shaw 155, 379

Philip ap Rhys (1509-60), London, C/O
Baillie (1955), Baillie (1962), Brookes 247, *Grove Music Online*, Saunders (1997), 256, Stevens (1952)

Thomas Armstrong (d.1619), India, P
Foster

Thomas Arundell (Baron Arundell) (c.1560-1639), Wardour, o
Woodfill 278

John Ashwell (1446-71), Norwich, *London*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 201

Thomas Ashwell/Ashewell (1498-after 1513), Tattershall, Lincoln, Durham, O
Chisholm 15, Harrison 187

Astell (1574), P
Woodfill 275

Hugh Aston/Ashton (c.1485-1558), Leicester, C/K
Grove Music Online

William Atkins (1612), Bristol, o
Pilkinton 195

Robert Awman (1557), Wells, O
Shaw 284

B

Anthony Bacon (1558-1601), London, o
Harley (2019), Price 94

Gregory Bacon (1552-58), *London*, O
Baillie (1962)

John Badcokk/Badcock (1530), *Wye*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 206, Sumner (1973) 108

Henry Baker (1591-94), Norwich, O
Shaw 200

Adam Bakhouse/Backhouse (1520-40), Ripon, O
Beer and Crawshaw 116

Willelmoe/William **Baldnyge** (c.1500), *Tilney*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 210

John Baldwin (before 1560-1615), Windsor, London, c²⁸
Baxendale and Knights (2021), Bray (1975), Brookes 56, Gaskin, *Grove Music Online*

Richard Ball (d.1589), Oxford, O
Shaw 380

Robert Banke (1548), Well, O
Williamson (2005) 42

William Barbour (1436), Brussels, London, Ob
Sumner (1973) 103

George Barcroft (1580-1610), Ely, O
Shaw 99

Isaac Bargrave (Dean of Canterbury) (1586-1643), London, Canterbury, A/o/S
Collier, Force (2019) 265, Wilson 98

Robert Barkby/Barbye (1510-22), *Reading, Oxford*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 215, Harrison 167, Rimbault 40, Sumner (1973) 105

Thomas Barnes (1551-56), Chester, O
Shaw 61

Matthew or **Michael Barton** (1621-24), Cambridge, O
Bowers (2014) 279, Shaw 356

Robert Barton (1482), Stowmarket, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 220

Andrea Bassano (1554-1626), London, V
Grove Music Online, Lasocki, Martin (2003) 290, Woodfill 300

Anne Basset²⁹ (1520-before 1558), France, Pn
Harris, Hart

John Bateman (c.1525-1559), Cambridge, o
Knights (2008)

Thomas Bateson (c.1570-1630), Chester, Dublin, C/O
Grove Music Online, Shaw 62, 409

George Bath (1596-1631), Winchester, O
Shaw 295

William Bath (1595-99), Winchester, O
Shaw 294

Adrian Batten (1591-1637), London, C/O
Grove Music Online, Shaw 173

John Baude (1501), Woolpett, o
Hopkins 52, Rimbault 32

Richard Baynton (1524), *Henley on Thames*, Ob
Sumner (1973) 108

John Beauchamp (Baron Beauchamp) (c.1400-1475), Worcester, o
Rimbault 31

Beckwyth/Beckwith (1558-59), Salisbury, O
Shaw 258

Thomas Bedellesdale/Bedylsdale (1509-13), London, O
Baillie (1962)

John Beeston (1594/95), Southwell, O
Shaw 274

Henry Belassis/Belasyse (Sir Henry Belasyse MP) (1555-1624), York, o
Woodfill 278

William Bell (1475-77), *Salisbury*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 229, Sumner (1973) 103

Hugh Bellot (Bishop of Chichester) (d.1596), o
Boston (1954)

Thomas Bennett/Benett (1498/99), Tattershall, O
Bowers 5100

Thomas Bentlee/Bentley/Deneley (1458), Oxford, O
Anstey 673

George Bentley (1597), o
Dutka 20

John Bentley (d.1596/97), Ingatestone, o
Emmison (1980) 105, Dutka 20

Richard Benton/Beynton (1532-35), *Oxford*, Ob
Harrison 167

Berkeley/Berkeley (1510), *Reading*, Ob
Harrison 214

John Bernard/Barnard (c.1523-1553/54), Cambridge, o
Knights (2008)

William Bernard (1491-92), Eton, O
Williamson (1997) 377

Besum (Mr Besum) (1538), o
Hopkins 41

William Beton/Beeton/Bylton/Bytton senior (1515-53), King's Lynn, *Cambridge, Ely, Louth*,
Ob
Bicknell 51, Freeman and Edmonds ii 237, Fitch 30, Martin (2003) 300, Sumner (1973) 106,
Woodfill 298

William Beton junior (1536-40), *King's Lynn*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 237

[?Thomas]³⁰ **Betts** (1541-64), Wetherden, *Boxford, Cambridge*, Ob
Bicknell 51, Freeman and Edmonds ii 237, Sumner (1973) 112

Edward Bevin (1595-after 1625), Bristol, Canterbury, C/O/o
Bailey (2003) 58, Brookes 41, 248, Ford

Elway Bevin (c.1554-1638), Wells, London, Bristol, C/O
Ford, *Grove Music Online*, Shaw 36

Beynton (*mid-c16th*), Ob
Rimbault 43

Bickerill (*c16th*), C
Brookes 249

Eliazar Billing (1613-15), Cambridge, O
Payne (1987)

Moras Biran (1486-1510), *York*, Ob
Boalch 76, Freeman and Edmonds ii 243

John Bircheley (1518), London, O
Parrott (2022) 130

Bishop (1628-42), *Oxford*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 244

Raynold Blake (1509-29), London, O
Baillie (1962)

William Blitheman (c.1525-1591), Oxford, London, C/O
Brookes 249, *Grove Music Online*, Irving (1994a), Shaw 3, 209

Jaspar Blanckart/Blankard/Blanckard (1566-84), London, *Canterbury*, Ob
Bicknell 63, Fleming (2001) ii 324, Freeman and Edmonds ii 248, Martin (2003) 301, Sumner (1973) 112

Johanne Blosse (1611), Ipswich, o
Dutka 29, Reed 80

Ropier Blundell (1588-99), Rochester, O
Shaw 233

Thomas Blunte/Blunt (1594), London, V
Martin (2003) 301

Richard Bodye/Body (1524), *Reading*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 250, Sumner (1973) 108

Richard Bold³¹ (Richard Bold MP) (d.1602), Harleyford, o
Harley (2010) 175, Hodgetts, Parrott (2022) 60

John Bolt (d.1640), P
Cichy (2013), Harley (2010) 200, Price 87

Thomas Bolton (d.1644), Bangor, O
Shaw 21

Thomas Boner (d.1541), *Saffron Walden*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 253

William Bonyngton (1381-1412), Canterbury, O
Knight 19

Richard Borrow (1500-1), *Oxford*, Ob
Harrison 160

Robert Borton (1480-82), Stowmarket, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 256, Hopkins 51, Sumner (1973) 104

John Bosten/Boston (1546), *Cambridge, Waltham Abbey*, Ob/O
Freeman and Edmonds ii 256, Sumner (1973) 112

John Boston (1467-68), *Cambridge*, Ob
Harrison 164

John Bothe (1522-23), London, O
Baillie (1962)

William Bothe (1546), Birmingham, O
Williamson (2005) 25

Thomas Bound (d.1586), Cambridge, o
Leedham-Green 363

John Bourne (1608-20), *Quimper, Roscoff*, Ob
Bicknell 99, Freeman and Edmonds ii 257

Katherine Bowcher (1614), Bristol, o
Pilkinton 200

Robert Bowman (1550-57), London, P
Ashbee vii 123

Daniel Boys (1521-43), Worcester, O
Fisher 228, Harrison 186, Williamson (2005) 11

William Boys (1597), Lincoln, O
Shaw 157

Edward Boyse (1477-78), *York*, Ob
Boalch 76, Freeman and Edmonds ii 259

Thomas Brabant (1538-39), Wing, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 259, Sumner (1973) 112

Richard Bramston (1507), Wells, O
Flynn (2008) 175, Harrison 180

John Brimley/Bramley (c.1502-1576), Durham, C/O
Grove Music Online, Shaw 88

Richard Brereton (d.1558), Ley, o
Boston (1954)

Stephen Bretton/Brittain (c.1598-1621), Norwich, *Cambridge*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 260, 263, Sumner (1973) 113

Thomas Brodehorne or **Goring** (1550-57), Chichester, O
Shaw 72

John Broke (1548-59), Ludlow, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 265

Nicholas Brooke (1546), *Worcester*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 266

Robert Broughe/Brough (c.1530-1603), London, *London*, O/V
Fleming (2001) 127, Freeman and Edmonds ii 268, Harley (2010) 95, Harley (2019), Rimbault 44, Sumner (1973) 112

Anne Browne (b.c.1516), London, Pn
Austern (2008) 136, Stevens (1979) 276

John Browne (1493), Oxford, O
Fenlon 115

Richard Browne (1614-1619), Wells, O
Shaw 286

Thomas Browne (1508), Cambridge, *Cambridge*, Ob/V
Boalch 27, Rimbault 43

Thomas Browne/Brown/Broune (1504-59), London, *Canterbury, Cambridge, Henley, Oxford*, Ob
Baillie (1962), Bicknell 27, Bowers (2014) 263, Freeman and Edmonds ii 268, Gwynn (2010),³² Harrison 165, Sumner (1973) 104, Thistlethwaite (1983) 51

Thomas Browne the younger (1554-59), London, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 274

William Browne (1555-59), Dublin, O
Flood, Shaw 417

William Browne (1576-1607), Durham, O
Shaw 89

William Browne (1610s), Belgium, C
Dart (1971)

[?William] **Browne** (c.1607-16), York, O
Shaw 316

George Brownlesse³³ (1624), Yorkshire, *Skipton*, Ob
Hulse (1992) 120

Mary Brownlow (b.1591), London, Pn
Pollack (2005) 419

Richard Brownlow (1553–1638), London, Belton, o
Hulse (1992) 114

Isaac Bryne/Byrne (1608-43), Bristol, V
Fleming (2001) 131, Boalch 27, Martin (2003) 301, Pilkinton 169, 218

William Bryse/Bryce/Brise (1509-10), London, *London*, O/Ob
Baillie (1955), Baillie (1962), Freeman and Edmonds ii 277, Sumner (1973) 105

William Buck (d.1567), London, O/Ob
Ashbee viii 133, Freeman and Edmonds ii 278, Martin (2003) 301

John Bull (1562/3-1628), Hereford, London, Brussels, Antwerp, A/C/O/Ob/om
Baxendale and Knights (2022), Brookes 254, Cunningham, Dirksen (2002), Dirksen (2019),
Grove Music Online, Pollack (2002), Rasch, Shaw 3, 132

Randolph Bull (1598), *London*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 279

William Bull (1536-37), King's Lynn, O
Bicknell 51, Freeman and Edmonds ii 280

Richard Buller (d.1540), Cambridge, o
Leedham-Green 15

Priscilla Bunbury (1615-82), Stanney, om/Pn
Bailey (2003) 125, Boston (1955)

Duncan Burnett (1614–52), Glasgow, C/o
Brookes 18, 274, Elliott, Smith (2007) 105

Burrall (1620), *Belvoir*, O
Woodfill 271

Burrwood (1619), *Belvoir*, O
Woodfill 271

Avery Burton (Master Avery/David Burton) (c.1470-c.1543), London, C/O
Brookes 274, *Grove Music Online*

Simon Burton (1525-1545), London, P
Ashbee vii 60, Austern (2008) 136, Stevens (1979) 275

John Burward/Barward/Burrard/Burrett senior (1618-42), London, *London*, *Dulwich*,
Winchester, *Chirk Castle*, Ob
Ashbee iii 94, Bicknell 87, Freeman and Edmonds ii 285, Hulse (1991) 26, Sumner (1973) 113

Robert Bury (1473/74), *Eton*, Ob
Williamson (1997) 130

Joris de Buss (1507/8), Bruges, *Scotland*, Ob
Inglis

Thomas Butler (1572-97), Lincoln, O
Shaw 157

William Butler (1540-61), Eton, O
Shaw 373, Williamson (1997) 420

Butson (1543), Oxford, Ob
Harrison 167, Freeman and Edmonds ii 286, Sumner (1973) 112

Cuthbert Byas/Byers (1597-1604), York, O
Shaw 315

Robert Bygbroke (1437), Winchester, O
Harrison 173

Walter Bygrave (c.1498-1554), Cambridge, o
Knights (2008)

John Byrchley (1541-50), Chester, O
Shaw 61

Symond Byrd (c.1530-1579), London, Brightwell, o/Pn
Harley (2010) 81, 222, 227

William Byrd (c.1540-1623), Lincoln, London, Stondon, C/O
Baxendale and Knights (2021), Baxendale and Knights (2022), Brookes 276, Brown (1968),
Grove Music Online, Harley (1999), McCarthy (2013), Neighbour (1978), Pollack (2002),
Popović (2013), Schulenberg, Shaw 3, 155

John Bytton (1538), Bridenwell Palace, Ob
Bicknell 52

C

William Calderwood (1537-42), Scotland, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 289, Inglis

John/Hans Callerckeyff (c.1529), London, Ob
Baillie (1962)

William Campion/Campyon (1543-44), Chichester, O
Harrison 182, Shaw 72

Lancelot Canning (d.1613), India, P
Melo, Woodfield

Nicholas Carleton/Carlton (I) (c.1540), C
Brookes 296

Nicholas Carleton/Carlton (II) (c.1570/75-1630), C
Brookes 296, *Grove Music Online*

Carne (Mr Carne) (1574-75), o
Price 79

George Carr (1629), Llandaff, O
Shaw 166

Carter (1569), *Normich*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 294

James Carvour (1512), *Scotland*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 295

Robert Cator (1449/50), Tattershall, O
Bowers 5100

Robert Catour (1445-62), Wells, O
Harrison 179

Elizabeth Cavendish (Countess of Shrewsbury/‘Bess of Hardwick’) (c.1521-1608),
Chatsworth, o
Woodfill 277

Grace Cavendish (Lady Grace Talbot) (1562-after 1622), Hardwick Hall, A/Pn
Price 101

Henry Cavendish (Sir Henry Cavendish MP) (1550-1616), Hardwick Hall, o³⁴
Fleming (2001) 112

William Cavendish (Duke of Newcastle) (1593-1676), Welbeck, o
Hulse (2001)

John Cawod/Cawode junior (1478), Louth, O
Williamson (2005) 11, 35

Christofer/Christopher **Cartell** (1596), *Workesop*, Ob
Sumner (1973) 113

Frances Cecil (Countess of Cumberland) (1593-1644), Pn
Hulse (1991) 31, Hulse (1992) 146

Robert Cecil (Earl of Salisbury) (1563-1612), Hatfield House, o
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Thomas Cecil (Earl of Exeter) (1542-1623), London, York, Pn
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John Chamberleyne/Chamberlain (1508-10), London, *Oxford*, Ob
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Robert Chamberlayne/Chamberlain (1561-62), Salisbury, O
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Hugh Chappington (1554-74), South Molton, *Exeter, Woodbury, Salisbury*, Ob
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John Chappington (1573-1606), South Molton, *Salisbury, London, Oxford, Winchester*, Ob
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Ralph Chappington (d.c.1619), Nethersbury, *Salisbury, Bristol*, Ob
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Richard Chappington/Chapenden (1536-39), South Molton, *Exeter, Woodbury*, Ob
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Richard Chappington (1625), Wells, O
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William Charitie (c.1493), Leicester, c/O
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William Child (1606/7-97), Windsor, C/O
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Patrick Clinch (1540-47), Dublin, O
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Bartholomew Cloys (1623-24), London, K
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John Clynmowe/Clymmowe/Clymhowe (d.1538), London, *Coventry, Eton*, Ob
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Thomas Cobbe (1512-15), London, Ob/o
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William Cobbold (1560-1639), Norwich, O
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Arthur Cock (d.1605), Canterbury, Exeter, London, O
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John Cocke (d.1593), Cambridge, o
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John Cockes (1496-97), *Bristol*, Ob
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William Colberke (1586), Southwell, O
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Henry Cole (d.1559), Cambridge, o
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Thomas Cole (1559), Cambridge, o
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Robert Colyns/Collins (1490), London, Ob
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Richard Connock (1554-1620), Liskeard, o
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Christopher Cooke (1580), o
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Henry Cool (1536-45), Cambridge, O
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William Cootes/Coote (1524-38), London, Ob
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Henry Cornish (1539), London, V³⁵
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William Corvehill (1544), Much Wenlock, Ob
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John Cosyn (c.1540-1609), Peckham, c/P
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Benjamin Cosyn (c.1580-1653), Ludlow, Dulwich, London, O/C/c
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John Cotton (1546-49), London, O
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Anthony Countie/de Countie/Conti (1558-70), London, P
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Henry Courtenay (Marquess of Exeter) (c.1498-1538), Horsley House, o
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Thomas Craddock (1621-37), London, Ob
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John Crambroke (d.1447), Canterbury, O
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Thomas Cramor (d.1598), London, V
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Thomas Crase (1512-13), London, O
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Emanuel Craswell (1619), Ludlow, Ob
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James Crowe (1539-?41), Lincoln, O
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Gregory Cromwell (Baron Cromwell) (c.1520-1551), Leeds Castle, Launde Abbey, Pn
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Robert Dallam (1602-65), London, *Eton, York, Oxford, Cambridge*, Ob
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Thomas Dallam (c.1575-after 1629), London, *Cambridge, Eton, Edinburgh, Constantinople*,
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William Daman (c.1540-1591), Lucca, London, C
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Hugh Darlington (Prior of Durham Abbey) (1264), Durham, o
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Hugh Davis (d.1644), Hereford, O
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Richard Davy (c.1465–1538), Oxford, O
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Symon/Simon Davy (1509-19), London, O
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William Dawkyns (1558-64), *Barnstaple*, Ob
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Benjamin Dawson (1627), V
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William Deane (1620-38), Wrexham, Chirk Castle, O
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William Deacons/Deakens (b.c.1600), Leyden, H/Ob
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Henry de Blois (Bishop of Winchester) (c.1096-1174), Winchester, o
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Paul Defield/Fandevell (1568-82/83), Louvain, London, K
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James Dempsey/Demssey (d.1567), Ireland, *Ripon, Doncaster*, Ob
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Robert Derby (1444), Winchester, O
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Richard Dering (c.1580-1630), London, Brussels, O
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Francis Dodgson (1617-22), Southwell, O
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Michael Done (1597-1613), Chester, O
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William Dore/Dove (1542), Winchester, *Winchester*, O/Ob
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Robert Dove/Dowffe (1535), Lincoln, O
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Robert Dow (1553-88), Oxford, o
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Anne Drury (Lady Anne Drury) (1572-1624), Redgrave, o
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Anthony Duddyngton/Duddington (1519-23), London, *Canterbury, London*, Ob
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Robert Dudley (Earl of Leicester) (1532-88), Kenilworth, o
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Dunstan (St Dunstan/Archbishop of Canterbury) (c.903-988), Glastonbury, Canterbury, Ob
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Leonard Dutton (1623/24), K³⁶
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John Dyer (1469), Oxford, *Thame*, Ob
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John Dyes (1402), Winchester, O
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William Eames (d.1637), Winchester, Wimborne, Chichester, O
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Michael East (c.1580-1648), Ely, Lichfield, C/O
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John Ede (1466), London, K
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Thomas Edmonds (b.c.1507), Gloucester, Cirencester, London, O
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Orlando Edwardes (1622), K
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Richard Edwards (1525-66), Oxford, London, C
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Richard Edyll/Idle (c.1526-1559), Cambridge, o
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Thomas Elliott (1563), St David's, O
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William Ellis (before 1600-1680), Oxford, c/O
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Cuthbert Ellyson/Ellison (1581), Newcastle, o
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Elwin (Count Elwin) (c10th), Ramsey, o
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Roger Emerson (1540), *Greenwich*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 386

Gregory Estamproy/Estampion (1526), London, K/O
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Dorothy Evans (1612), London, om
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Eye (1538), *Dartmouth*, Ob
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Hugh Facy (1598-c.1649), Exeter, St Omer, Douai, C/O
Brookes 309, Cichy (2013), Cichy (2014), *Grove Music Online*, Hunter (1989)

Thomas Fairfax (Viscount Fairfax) (1575-1636), Walton, Gilling, o
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John Farmer (c.1570-after 1601), Dublin, London, C/O
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Giles Farnaby (c.1563-1640), Aisthorpe, London, C
Brookes 310, *Grove Music Online*, Knights (2021), Marlow (1966)

Nicholas Farnaby senior (1587-1630), London, V
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Richard Farnaby (b.c.1594), London, Pomerania, C
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Henry Farrande (1604-7), York, O
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John Farrant (I) (1566-93), Bristol, Ely, Hereford, Salisbury, O
Freeman and Edmonds ii 394, *Grove Music Online*, Shaw 34, 98, 135, 259

John Farrant (II) (1575-1618), Salisbury, O
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Richard Farrant (c.1525/30-1580), Windsor, London, C
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Robert Fayrfax (1464-1521), St Alban's, London, O
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Fenton (Mr Fenton) (1569), Doncaster, Ob
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Alfonso Ferrabosco senior (1543-88), Bologna, London, C
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Richard Fisher (d.1569), Worcester, O
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Henry Fitzalan (Earl of Arundel) (1512-80), Lumley Castle, Nonesuch, London, Pn
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Richard FitzJames (Bishop of London) (d.1522), London, o
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Henry Fitzroy (1519-36), London, Pn
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Thomas Foderley (1497), Durham, O
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Thomas Forcer (1628/29), K
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Thomas Foster (1584-86?), Southwell, O
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William Forster (1579-1645), London, o/om/Pn
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Fortescewe/Fortescue (1544-46), London, ?Ob
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Richard Foulsham (1623-25), *London*, Ob
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Thomas Fountayne/Fountain (1539), Portsmouth, Ob
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Robert Fowens (1608), Bristol, o
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Sarah Fowens (1608), Bristol, o
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Robert Fox (1543-46), London, O
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William Fox (d.1579), Ely, O
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John Frencheam (1540), Rolvynden, Rye, Ob
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Thomas Frier/Fryer (1598), London, o
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John Frith (d.1644), Oxford, O
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William Frost (1607-11), London, P
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Matthew Fuller (1538), London, O
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Richard Fuller (1592-1600?), Salisbury, O
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Games (1548-50), Oxford, O
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Games (Mr Ham) (1549-52), Salisbury, O [see Hamme]
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Johannes Gaultier (1599), *France*, Ob
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George Gaunte/Gaunt (1470), *York*, Ob
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Thomas Gedney (1422-23) London, Ob
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George the organ-maker (1470), *Glastonbury*, Ob
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Richard Geslyng (d.1589), East Tilbury, o
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John Gibbes (1475-77), *Salisbury*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 423

Christopher Gibbons (1615-76), London, C/O
Abdy Williams 82, *Grove Music Online*, Rayner and Rayner

Edward Gibbons (1568-c.1660), Cambridge, Exeter, C/O
Abdy Williams 74, Smith (2018)

Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625), London, A/C/O
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John Gibbes/Gibbs (1475-77), *Salisbury*, Ob
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Gibbs (1618), London, *Dulwich*, o
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John Gibbs (1613), London, O
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Richard Gibbs (1622-49), Norwich, O
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Walter Gibbs (1625-26), Dulwich, O
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John Gilbert (1518-24), Lincoln, O
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Richard Gilbert (1495), Christchurch, *Wimborne*, Ob
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Giles the tailor (1307-18), Hereford, O
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Nathaniel Giles (c.1558-1634), Worcester, Windsor, O
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Thomas Giles (1584), London, O
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Gilleam/Gilzeame (1511-13), *Scotland*, Ob
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Giustinian (1542-43), Oxford, O
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William Glaseor/Glazier (d.1588), Chester, o
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Walter Gleson (1547-1607), Bristol, O
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John of Gloucester (1414-17), *Wells*, Ob
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Michael/Myghell/Mighaell **Gloucester**/Glowceter/Glaucets/Glocetir (1449-78), London,
Wells, London, Tattershall, Ob
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William Gockman/Gogman/Gokeman (c.1519-1558), Cambridge, o
Knights (2008)

Matthew Godwin (1584-87), Canterbury, Exeter, C/O
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Thomas Gold (1489-1511), London, O
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Robert Golder (1541-63), Windsor, O
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Kinborough Good (b.c.1565), Malden, Pn
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Thomas Goodman (1511), Winchester, O
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William Goodman/Goodale (*late c16th*), Chester, V
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Thomas Goring (1550-57), Chichester, O
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William Gray (Archdeacon of Berkshire) (d.1522), Oxford, o
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Richard Green/Greene (1476-84), Worcester, O
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Robert Green (1614-18), *Gloucester*, Ob
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William Green (1541-43), London, O
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Gregory (1552-53), London, O
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Thome Grene/Green (1495), *Wimborne*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 447

Anne Gresham (Lady Bacon) (1575), Norfolk, Pn
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Fulke Greville (Sir Fulke Greville MP/Baron Brooke) (1554-1628), London, o
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Thomas Grew (1542-50), Norwich, O
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Gryffyn (1497-98), *Eton*, Ob
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Elizabeth Bernye Grymeston/Grimston (c.1653-1603), Grimston, o
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Robert Gundet (1551), London, V
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John Gye (1512), Wells, O
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Gyllains (1542), London, Ob

Johannes/John Gyse (1431-32), York, Ob
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John Haan (c.1600), Hatfield House, Ob
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John Haddock/Haddok (1480-1518), London, O
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William Hall (1477-78), York, Ob
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Halyar (1527-28), Bristol, Yatton, Ob
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Nicholas Ham (1575), Southampton, Ob
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Hamden (1622), Dulwich, Ob
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Hamlett (Mr Hamlett) (1610-12), London, o
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Hamme/Ham (1548-53), Salisbury, Ob/O [see Games]
Freeman and Edmonds ii 462, Sumner (1973) 112

John Hampton (1484-1521), Hereford, O
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John Hanson (1529-30), Oxford, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 466, Harrison 167, Sumner (1973) 108

Thomas Hamlyn (1613), London, Ob
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James Harding (c.1550-1626), London, C
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Robert Hardy (1535), Banbury, O
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John Harris (1495), Christchurch, *Wimborne*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 470, Sumner (1973) 104

Thomas Harrold (1598-?1619), London, O
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Thomas Hartwell (1589-92), London, V
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John Hasard (d.c.1640), London, S/V
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John Haslupp (1626/27), K
Martin (2003) 304

William Hassorde³⁸ (1610-17), London, K
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Henry Hastings (Earl of Huntingdon) (c.1535-1595), York, o
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Edmund Hawford (d.1581/2), Cambridge, o
Leedham-Green 347

John Hawkins (1547-48), Winchester, O
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William Hayes (1576), P
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John Hayne (1496), Norwich, Ob
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John Hayward (before 1600-1657/58), Bath, Ob
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John Hayward (d.1667), London, V
Boalch 86, Martin (2003) 304

Robert Haywood (1546), Dublin, O
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John Heath (1614-63), Rochester, O
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Thomas Heath (1541-82), London, Exeter, O
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Jane Hedworth (Lady Hedworth) (c.1538-1602),³⁹ Herrington, o
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John Hemden (1440), London, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 489, Sumner (1973) 103

Robert Henlake (1603-10), London, Ob/V
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Henry Henlocke (1585), *Chester*, Ob
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Henrietta Maria (Queen Henrietta Maria) (1609-69), London, o
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William Herbit (1506-9), Dublin, O
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John Heweson (1540), *York*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 491

John Heywood (c.1497-after 1577), London, P
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James Hewet (1554-56), Coventry, O/R
Freeman and Edmonds ii 491, Hopkins 40, Sumner (1973) 112

John Hichons/Hychons (1525-33), *Hereford*, Ob
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Elizabeth Hickes (b.1598), Ruckholt, Pn
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Michael Hickes (Sir Michael Hickes MP) (1543-1612), London, Ruckholt, o
Hulse (1991)

Jacob Hillarye (1590-c.1631), Chichester, O
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Thomas Hillye (1560-79), Rochester, O
Shaw 233

John Hilton (d.1657), Lincoln, Cambridge, C/O/o
Abdy Williams 127, *Grove Music Online*, Payne (1987) 131, Shaw 365

Thomas Hilton (1559), Hilton Castle, o
Woodfill 276

John Hingeston (c.1606-1683), Skipton, London, Ob/O
Freeman and Edmonds ii 500, *Grove Music Online*, Hulse (1983)

Edward Hoby (Sir Edward Hoby MP) (1560-1617), Bisham Abbey, A/o
Woodfill 276

John Hodges (1538-83), Hereford, O
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John Hodgson (1617-18), Eton, Ob
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John Holmes (d.1629), Winchester, C/O
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Edmund Hooper (c.1553-1621), London, C/O/Ob
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George Hooper (1600), Crewkerne, P
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Thomas Hopkins (1618-22), Dulwich, O
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Robert Horne (1524-5), Oxford, Ob
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Horsley (1553), P
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William Horwood (d.1484), Lincoln, O
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Philip Hosier (d.1638), Gloucester, O
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John Howe senior (d.c.1525), London, *London, Eton*, Ob
Baillie (1955), Baillie (1962), Freeman and Edmonds ii 516, *Grove Music Online*, Harrison 163,
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John Howe junior (d.1571), London, York, *London, Coventry, Eton*, Ob
Baillie (1962), Bicknell 28, 52, Freeman and Edmonds ii 516, *Grove Music Online*, Gwynn
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Thomas Howe (1548-61), London, Ob
Bicknell 52, Freeman and Edmonds ii 517, *Grove Music Online*, Sumner (1973) 109

William Howe (1556), London, Ob
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John Hudene/Hunden (d.1455), London, *Saffron Walden*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds ii 518, 521, Gwynn (2010), Sumner (1973) 103

Hugh le organer (1303), Dunfermline, Ob
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Johannes/John **Hughes**/Hugh (1488), *York*, Ob
Boalch 76, Freeman and Edmonds ii 519

Thomas Huntswade (1577), London, P
Cockburn 165, Dutka 13

John Hutchinson (d.c.1657), Southwell, York, O
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Richard Hutchinson/Hutcheson (1590-1646), Durham, O
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Richard Hygons (1459-1507), Wells, O
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John Ingleton (1439), Lincoln, O
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Robert Johnson (ii) (c.1583-1633), London, C
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Thomas Knyght/Knight (1525-50), *Salisbury*, O
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Thomas Kytson/Kitson (Sir Thomas Kytson) (1540-1603), *Hengrave Hall*, A/o
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Edmund Lacy/Lacey (Bishop of Exeter) (d.1455), *Oxford, London, Hereford, Exeter, Whitbourne*, o
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Richard Lambell (1441), *Dartmouth*, Ob
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Leonard/Lenard (1501), *London*, O
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Samuel Loosemore (1577-1642), *Devon*, Ob
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William Loosemore (*c.1600*), *Devon*, Ob
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Thomas Lorkin (c.1528-1591), Cambridge, o
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Edward Lowe (c.1610–1682), Oxford, London, c/O
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John Lugge (c.1587-after 1647), Exeter, C/c/O
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John Lumley (Baron Lumley) (c.1503-1609), A/o
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Richard Luxton (*1611*), London, V
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Edward Manestie (*1596-1617*), Southwell, O
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Bridget Manners (Countess of Rutland) (d.1604), Belvoir, o
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Eleanor Manners (Countess of Rutland) (c.1495-1551), Haddon Hall, o
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Elizabeth Manners (Countess of Rutland) (1585-1612), Belvoir, Pn
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Francis Manners (Earl of Rutland) (1578-1632), o
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Thomas Manners (Earl of Rutland) (b.1543), Belvoir, o
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John Marchant (d.1611), London, C
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John Marker (1556-57), Wells, O
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George Marshall (1626), Cambridge, O
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George Marson (c.1573-1633), Canterbury, O
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George Mason (1612-16), Cambridge, O
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John Mason (d.1548), Hereford, Eton, Salisbury, Oxford, O
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John Massyngham (1478), *Winchester*, Ob
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Clement Matchett (b.1593), Norwich, Cambridge, om/Pn
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John Mathew (d.1602), Oxford, o
Fleming (2000)

Thomas Manffeld/Mawudfelde (1518-28), London, O
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Maude/Maud (c.1560-1572), Norwich, K
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William Maye (1605-25), *Hartland*, Ob
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Richard Mayew/Mayhew (Bishop of Hereford) (1439/40-1516), Hereford, o
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David Melville (1557), Leith, *Scotland*, Ob
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Dionysius Memo (1516-17), Venice, London, O
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John Merbecke/Marbeck (c.1505-c.1585), London, Windsor, C/O
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Miguel/Michael **Mercator**/Marcator (1491-1544), Venlo, London, K/Ob
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John/Jean **Mercure** (c.1600-before 1661), London, Paris, C
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William Meredith (d.1637), Oxford, O
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Matthew Metyngham/Mettingham (1478-1504), London, O
Baillie (1962)

Michael (1450), Gloucester, Ob
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Richard Mico (c.1590-1661), Ingatestone, London, O
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Nicholas Middleton/Middylton (1453/54), Cambridge, O
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Thomas Middleton (Sir Thomas Middleton MP) (1586-1666), Chirk Castle, o
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Thomas Monday (1599-1621), Bishops Waltham, o
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Henry Monoxe/Mannox (c.1537), Horsham, P
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George Montaigne/Mountain (Archbishop of York) (1569-1628), London, Lincoln,
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Robert Moose/Mose (1542-44), Winchester, O
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Alice More (1474-1546 or 1551), London, A/Pn
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Jane More (d.1511), London, A/Pn
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Thomas More (Sir Thomas More/St Thomas More) (1478-1535), London, A/o
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Thomas Morley (1557/58-1602), Norwich, London, C/O
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John Mudd (d.1631), Southwell, Peterborough, O
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Thomas Mudd (d.c.1677), Exeter, Lincoln, York,, Peterborough, C/O
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Thomas Mulliner (1563),⁴³ Oxford, O/om
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John Mundy/Munday (c.1555-1630), Eton, Windsor, C/O
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Henry Mussard (c.1621), London, V
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Richard Myles (1599), Dublin, O
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Arnald Mynhamber /organer (1442-46), Norwich, *Lincoln*, Ob
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Elizabeth Nevell (Lady Nevell/Lady Periam) (c.1541-1621), Berkshire, London, om
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George Neville (1575), Yorkshire, o
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Anthony Newman (1530) London, Ob
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George Newton (c.1498-1505), O
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Nicholas (1387-88), London, Ob
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Nicholas horganmaker (1540-77), *Worcester*, O
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Nicholas joiner (1542), *Winchester*, Ob
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Richard Nicholson (1563-1639), Oxford, O
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Edward Norgate (1581-1650), London, K/O
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John Norman (1509-22), St David's, O
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John Northfolke/Norfolk (1523-29), London, *London*, O/Ob
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William Nyvell (1445-47), *York*, Ob
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John Okeover/Oker (d.1663), Ingatestone, Wells, Gloucester, c/O
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Robert Okland/Oclande (1532-47), Eton, London, O
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Benedictus/Benet **de Opicijs** (c.1476-1524), Antwerp, London, O/P
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Richard Palmer (1527-34), Gloucester, O
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Marmaduke Pardo (1617-25), St David's, *Ludlow*, O/Ob
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Richard Parker (1500), Oxford, O
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William Parr (Marquess of Northampton) (1513-71), London, o
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Edward Paston (Sir Edward Paston) (1550-1630), Norfolk, o
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Robert Perrot (c.1478-1550), Oxford, O
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Peter Philips (1560/61-1628), London, Brussels, C/O
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Arthur Phillips (c.1605-1695), Bristol, Oxford, Paris, C/O
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John Pickford (1594-1605), Seville, Lisbon, O/Ob
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Andrew Pierson (1532), Scotland, London, Ob
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Robert Pike (1606-7), *Ely*, Ob
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Francis Pilkington (c.1570-1638), Chester, O
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Edward Plantagenet (King Edward III) (1312-77), London, Windsor, o
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Edward Popinjay/Popingay (1538-42), *Winchester*, Ob
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George Preston (c.1575-1640), *Holker Hall*, *Cartmel*, o
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John Preston (1544-45), *London*, O
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Thomas Preston (d. after 1559), *Oxford*, *Windsor*, C/O
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Anthony Prinn/Prynne (1571-77), *Bristol*, O
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John Prudde (1466), *London*, Ob
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Nicholas Prynne (1547-54), *Wells*, O
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John Puckering (Sir John Puckering MP) (1544-96), *London*, *Kew*, A/o
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Richard Pyke⁴⁵ (1541), *Haddon Hall*
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William Randall (d.1604), Exeter, London, C/O
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John Raper (1622), *Hull*, Ob
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John Redford (d.1547), Winchester, London, C/O
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James Rungyer/Renyngar/Ronyngar (1534-48), *Glastonbury, Eton, London*, O

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Thomas Sackville (Earl of Dorset) (1536-1608), Knole House, o
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Nicholas Sayer (1513-34), London, O
Baillie (1962)

Richard Saywell/Sewell (1558-64), Chester, O
Shaw 61

Robert Scarlette/Scarlet (1469-99), London, O
Baillie (1962)

Edmund/Edmonde Schetts/Schetz (1567-1605), London, *Canterbury*, O/V
Boalch 167, Bicknell 63, Freeman and Edmonds iii 759, Martin (2003), 290, 309, Sumner
(1973) 112, Woodfill 300

James Schort (1527-28), London, Ob
Baillie (1962)

John Seamer/Seymour (d.1641), Cambridge, o
Payne (1987) 140

Thomas Season (1548-49), *Ludlow*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 764

William Selbye/Shelby (d.1584), Canterbury, C/O
Brookes 370, Shaw 44

John Senny (1542-45), Bristol, O
Shaw 33

William Settyll (1533-38), London, Ob
Baillie (1962)

Edward Seymour (Earl of Hertford) (1506-52), London, o
Price 118

John Seyntjohn/St John (1430), London, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 767, Sumner (1973) 102

Thomas Sexton (1509), *Kingston-on-Thames*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 767, Sumner (1973) 105

Adam de Shakelsthorpe (1376), Cawston, o
Hopkins 83

John Sharof (1614-15), *Ross on Wye*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 771

Edmund Sheffield (Earl of Mulgrave) (c.1564-1646), Normanby Hall, o
Hulse (1992) 114

Philip Sheldon (1531-44), Warwick, O
Williamson (2005) 42

John Sheppard (c.1515-1558), Oxford, London, C/O
Brookes 371, *Grove Music Online*, Shaw 379, Wulstan (1994)

Richard Sherborn (1627), Stonyhurst, o
Force (2023)

John Showt/Scute (1529-30), *Oxford*, Ob
Bicknell 63, Freeman and Edmonds iii 773, Harrison 167, Sumner (1973) 108

Mary Sidney (1595), Penshurst, Pn
Woodfill 273

John Silver (1626-27), Winchester, O
Bowers (2014) 280, Shaw 357

Simon the organmaker (1519), Oxford, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 775, Harrison 167, Sumner (1973) 106

Segemond/Segesmond/Sygemond **Skeyf** (1517-23), London, *Reading*, Ob/R
Freeman and Edmonds iii 766, 780, Gwynn (2009), Gwynn (2010), Sumner (1973) 107

Mary Skidmore (Sister Mary) (1606-9), Louvain, P
Cichy (2013)

John Slade (1536), Hereford, O
Fisher 207

Mark Smeaton/Smeton (c.1512-1536), London, Pn
Ashbee vii 73, Stevens (1979) 308

Christopher Smith (c.1580), Durham, o
Saunders (1997) 65

Edward Smith (1587-1612), Durham, O/o
Grove Music Online, Knights (2006), Shaw 90

Edward Smith (1624-36), Hereford, Leominster, Ludlow, O/Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 786, 794

Elias Smith (d.1620), Gloucester, O
Saunders (1997), 259, Shaw 119

Richard Smith (1589-90), Southwell, O
Southwell Minster

Thomas Smith (1566-87), Salisbury, O
Shaw 258

William Smith (1541-42), Ely, O
Shaw 97

William Smith (c.1550-1604), Durham, C/O/Ob/o
Freeman and Edmonds iii 794, *Grove Music Online*, Knights (2006), Shaw 89, Sumner (1973) 112

William Smith (1603-45), Durham, C/O/o
Grove Music Online, Knights (2006), Shaw 89, Sumner (1973) 112

Henry Smyth (1520), *Windsor*, ?Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 794

Henry Smyth (1521), York, O
Williamson (2005) 43

Robert Smyth alias **Harpmaker** (1452-53), Oxford, *Hedon*, Ob
Anstey 620, Freeman and Edmonds ii 469, Sumner (1973) 103

Thomas Smyth/Smith (1514-34), London, *London*, *Leominster*, Ob
Baillie (1962), Freeman and Edmonds iii 794, Rimbault 35

W. Smyth (1500-3), *Tilney*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 794, 795

John Smythe/Smith (1506-8), London, O
Baillie (1962), Hopkins 52

John Smythe/Smith (1524), *London*, Ob
Baillie (1962), Freeman and Edmonds iii 795, Sumner (1973) 107

William Solber (1540-48), Ripon, O
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Thomas Southwick (d.1587), Carlisle, O
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Richard Sowerby (1473), *York*, Ob
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Henry Spring/Sprynge (d.1549), Icklingham, o
Knights (2008)

Wyllyam/William Squyer/Squire (1564), *Salisbury*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 804, Sumner (1973) 112

Edward Stanley (Sir Edward Stanley/Baron Monteagle) (c.1460-1523), Pn
Stevens (1979) 269

John Stele (1447), Durham, O
Harrison 187

Thomas Stevenson (1628/29), K
Martin (2003) 310

Robert Stevenson (1571-97), Chester, C/O
Grove Music Online, Shaw 62

James Stewart (King James IV of Scotland) (1473-1513), Scotland, Pn
Hogwood and Brauchli 178, Mirrey, Stevens (1979) 269

Marie Stewart (Countess of Mar) (1576-1644), o
Martin (2000)

William Stonard (c.1575-1631 or later), Oxford, O
Shaw 210

Richard Storey (1541-49), Peterborough, O
Shaw 219

E. Strogers/Strowger (*mid-c16th*), C
Brookes 372

Nicholas Strogers (1560-75), London, C/O
Brookes 372, *Grove Music Online*, Pistor

Nicholas Stroke (1503), Wyrkesworth, Ob
Sumner (1973) 104

William Stroke (1503-10), Wyrkesworth, Etwell, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 817, Sumner (1973) 104

Charles Stuart (King Charles I) (1600-49), London, o
Ashbee viii 132, Reeve

Elizabeth Stuart (Queen of Bohemia) (1596-1662), Coombe Abbey, London, The Hague,
A/o/Pn
Akkerman, Boalch 660, Baxendale and Knights (2022), Pollack (2005)

James Stuart (King James I) (1566-1625), Scotland, London, o
Lockyer

Mary Stuart (Mary, Queen of Scots) (1542-87), Linlithgow Palace, France, Edinburgh,
Tutbury Castle, A/Pn
Hogwood and Brauchli 179

William Swawe (1513-20), Ripon, O
Beer and Crawshaw 115

Lawrence Swayne (1509-13), London, O
Baillie (1955), Baillie (1962)

Cuthbert Swynbanke (1558), *Chichester*, Ob
Bicknell 51, Freeman and Edmonds iii 823, Sumner (1973) 112

John Sylfester/Sylvester (1590-91), *Salisbury*, Ob
Sumner (1973) 112

Symons (1586), P
Price 137

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Thomas Tallis (c.1505-1585), London, C/O
Brookes 373, *Grove Music Online*, Harley (2015), McCarthy (2020), Shaw 2

Thomas Tanckard (1597), Aldborough, o
Woodfill 277

Thomas Tanner (1562) Wells, O
Shaw 285

John Taverner (c.1490-1545), Tattershall, Oxford, Boston, C/O
Benham, *Grove Music Online*, Parrott (2022) 57, Shaw 208

William Tawyer (d.1640), Cambridge, o
Payne (1987) 140

John Taylor (d.1569), London, C/O
Baillie (1962), Shaw 327

Thomas Teken (1558), *Bristol*, ?Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 832

John Tenne (1520-21), London, O
Baillie (1962)

Robert Testwood (1523-43), Warwick, Ipswich, Windsor, O
Williamson (2005) 25

Thackewrai/Thackeray (1558), *Bristol*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 834

George Thaxton (1550), Windsor, O
Shaw 342

Lodewyk Theewes (I) (1557), London, K
Grove Music Online

Lodewyk Theewes (II) (1557-85), Antwerp, London, K/O/S
Boalch 191, 654, Charlston, Freeman and Edmonds iii 835, *Grove Music Online*, Martin (2003)
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George Thetford (1568-77), Southwell, O
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Henry Thorne (d.1597), York, O
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Thomas the virginal maker (1569-70), *Cambridge*, V
Freeman and Edmonds iii 835, Thistlethwaite (1983) 63

John Thorne (c.1519-1573), London, York, C/O
Baillie (1962), Brookes 376, *Grove Music Online*, Shaw 314

Thurlby (1496-97), *Oxford*, Ob
Harrison 160

Joan Thynne (1601-12), Caus Castle, o⁴⁸
Dutka 51, Wall 19

John Tildesley (1502), Durham, O
Harrison 187

Richard Tiller (1583), Peterborough, O
Shaw 219

William Tisdale/'Tisdall (*late c16th*), C
Brookes 377, *Grove Music Online*

John Tisdall (1569-82), Peterborough, O
Saunders (1997) 262

Adam Tocklesse (1628), Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 841

Giles Tomkins (after 1587-1668), Cambridge, Salisbury, London, C/O/P
Ashbee iii 51, Bailey (2003) 79, Brookes 377, *Grove Music Online*, Shaw 261, 356, Woodfill 185

John Tomkins (1586-1638), Cambridge, London, C/O
Ashbee iii 32, Bowers (2014) 277, Brookes 377, *Grove Music Online*, Hulse (2001), Shaw 7, 172, 356

Thomas Tomkins senior (c.1545-1627), St David's, O
Shaw 249

Thomas Tomkins junior (1572-1656), Worcester, London, C/c/O/o/om
Ashbee iii 1, Bailey (2003) 56, 81, 116, Boden, Brookes 100, 377, *Grove Music Online*, Shaw 7, 306

Thomas Totyll (1568), *Worksop*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 845, Sumner (1973) 112

Gabriel Townsend (c.1604-c.1662), London, S/V
Boalch 194, 660, *Grove Music Online*, Martin (2003) 311

Williarn Treasurer/Treasurer (d.1584), York, London, *Canterbury*, Ob/V
Bicknell 63, Freeman and Edmonds iii 848, Martin (2003), 290, 311, Woodfill 299

Francis Tregian (c.1574-1617), London, c/om
Baxendale and Knights (2020), Brookes 385, Cuneo and Burrows, *Grove Music Online*,
Schofield and Dart, Smith (2002), Smith (2019), Thompson (2001), Willetts (1963), Willetts
(2007)

Michael Tregury (Archbishop of Dublin) (d.1471), Dublin, o
Flood

John Tucke (c.1482-after 1539), Oxford, Gloucester, O
Fisher 206, *Grove Music Online*, Harris, Woodley

Edmund Tucker (1613-31), Wells, Salisbury, O
Shaw 259, 285, *Grove Music Online*, Saunders (1997) 263

Thomas Tucker (1557-58), *Salisbury*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 852, Sumner (1973) 112

Edward Tudor (King Edward VI) (1537-53), London, A/o/Pn
MacCulloch

Elizabeth Tudor (Queen Elizabeth of York) (1456-1503), London, A/o
Hogwood and Brauchli 178

Elizabeth Tudor (Queen Elizabeth I) (1533-1603),⁴⁹ London, A/o/Pn
Austern (2008) 141, Butler, ECDBD (1595), *Grove Music Online*, Lorigan, Russell 67, Stevens
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Henry Tudor (King Henry VII) (1457-1509), London, A/o
Hogwood and Brauchli 177, Stevens (1979) 275

Henry Tudor (King Henry VIII) (1491-1547), London, A/o/Pn
Brry (1982), *Grove Music Online*, Hubbard 134, Russell 66, Stevens (1979) 275

Margaret Tudor (Queen of Scotland) (1489-1541), London, Scotland, A/Pn
Austern (2008) 135, Hogwood and Brauchli 178, Stevens (1979) 269

Mary Tudor (Queen of France/Duchess of Suffolk) (1494-1533), London, Paris, A/Pn
Helms 130

Mary Tudor (Queen Mary I) (1516-58), London, A/o/Pn
Stevens (1979) 276

Thomas Tunstall (St Thomas Tunstall) (d.1616), Douai, A/c
Dart (1971)

Thomas Tunstall (1630-40), Canterbury, O
Ford

Richard Turner (1512), *Reading*, Ob
Harrison 214

William Turnour/Turner (1522), Crail, O
Harrison 176

Thomas Tusser senior (c.1524-1580), Norwich, Cambridge, O/V/o
Payne and Heritage xxx, Saunders (1997) 263

Thomas Tusser junior (1580), o
Payne and Heritage xxx

Christopher Tye (c.1510-1582), Ely, London, C/O
Abdy Williams 122, Brookes 386, *Grove Music Online*, Shaw 97

Humphrey Tyndall (1549-1614), Cambridge, o
Leedham-Green 569

Ralph Tyrer (d.1627), Kendal, o
Boston (1954)

John Tysdale (1567-72), *Sheffield, Ecclesfield*, Ob
Bicknell 51, Freeman and Edmonds iii 857, Sumner (1973) 112

John Tysdale (1569), Peterborough, O
Shaw 219

U

James Usher/Ussher (Archbishop of Armagh) (1581-1656), Dublin, om
Hunter (2002)

V

Susanne van Soldt (b.1586), London, om/Pn
Brookes 27, Curtis

John Vaucks/Vaux (1531-35), *Wimborne*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 861, Hopkins 59, Rimbault 41, Sumner (1973) 112

Veale (1548-51), Oxford, O
Shaw 379

Thomas Vernam (1630), London, K
Martin (2003) 311

John Vesey (Bishop of Exeter) (c.1462-1554), Sutton Coldfield, Exeter, o
Hopkins 53

Vicareye/Vicary (1509-10), Oxford, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 862, Harrison 167

George Vincent (1519), Southwell, O
Harrison 175

Vulcano/Vulchano (1521-23), Eton, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 866

Richard Vyvyan (Sir Richard Vyvyan MP) (c.1613-1665), Treloar Warren, A/o
Lorigan

W

Will Wagge (1524-27), Eton, O
ECCOC

William Waite (1461-62), Wells, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 869

William Wake (d.1517), London, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 869, Gwynn (2010)

William Walby (1449/50), Tattershall, Ob
Bowers 5100

Henry Walker (1628), London, K
Boalch 204, Martin (2003) 311

Humphrey Walley (1545-50), Bristol, O
Shaw 33

John Walker (1615), Chester, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 873

Walter (1498), Winchester, Ob
Dotted Crotchet, Freeman and Edmonds iii 878, Harrison 161, Sumner (1973) 104

Walter the organer (1344), London, Ob
Dotted Crotchet, Freeman and Edmonds iii 878, Sumner (1973) 102

John Wanless/Wanlass (1613-63), Ripon, Lincoln, O
Beer and Crawshaw 116, Shaw 158

John Ward (1571 or c.1589-before 1638), C
Brookes 387, *Grove Music Online*, Payne (1984), Payne (1994)

William Ward (1615-31), London, Rochester, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 880, Sumner (1973) 113

Thomas Warwick/Warrook (c.1575-after 1610), Hereford, C/O
Brookes 388, *Grove Music Online*, Shaw 133

Thomas Warwick (1608-50), London, O/P
Grove Music Online, Hulse (1991) 26, Shaw 7, Woodfill 186, 304

George Waterhouse (d.1601), Lincoln, O
Abdy Williams 74

Wats/Watts (1626), Chester, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 884

Humphrey Watson (1611), Edinburgh, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 885

John Watson (1511-13), Ripon, O
Beer and Crawshaw 115

William Watton (c.1591-1651), London, om
Harley (2019)

William Way (c16th), c/o
Harley (1992) 56, Williamson (2018)

James Weare/Wear (1608-1613), Wells, O
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James Weaver (1605-18), Cambridge, o
Bowers (2014) 279

John Webbe (1493-1532), Winchester, o
Dotted Crotchet, Harrison 161, Williamson (1997) 134

Thomas Weelkes (1576-1623), Winchester, Chichester, London, C/O/o
Bailey (2003) 56, Brookes 388, Brown (1969), *Grove Music Online*, Saunders (1997) 265, Shaw 73, 397

John Wenscott (1530), *Exeter*, Ob
Sumner (1973) 108

Henry Werying (1520-44), *Warwick*, O
Williamson (2005) 42

Sebastian Westcott/Westcote (c.1520-1582), *London*, O
Grove Music Online, Shaw 182

John Wetherby (1439-42), *Windsor*, O
Bowers 5057

Thomas Wever/Weaver (1532), *Wimborne*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 894

William Whitbrooke (1530-34), *Oxford, London*, C/O
Baillie (1962), Brookes 389, Chisholm 122

James White (1540-47), *Dublin*, O
Flood, Shaw 417

John White (c.1540), *Winchester*, O
Shaw 417, Williamson (2018)

Matthew White (1611-29), *Oxford, Wells, London*, O
Abdy Williams 80

Robert White (I) (1553-72), *London*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 908, *Grove Music Online*, Knight 24

Robert White (II) (c.1538-1574), *Ely, Chester, Cambridge, London*, C/O
Abdy Williams 123, Brookes 389, *Grove Music Online*, Payne (1993), Shaw 62, 97, 327

Thomas White senior (late c16th), K
Boalch 207, *Grove Music Online*

Thomas White junior (c.1600-1660), *London*, K/S
Boalch 207, 680, *Grove Music Online*, Martin (2003) 312

Whiteley (1520), *Coventry*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 904

John Whitson (1628), *Bristol*, o
Pilkinton 232

Whyte/White (1531-53), *Oxford, London, Bishop's Stortford*, Ob
Harrison 167, Rimbault 40, Sumner (1973) 112

Thomas Whythorne (1528-96), A/P
Grove Music Online, Nelson (2010), Nelson (2012), Osborn

John Whytrydye (1560-61), London, O
Baillie (1962), Sumner (1973) 111

William Wigthorpe (1598-1606), Oxford, O
Shaw 387

John Wilbye/Willoughby (1574-1638), Hengrave Hall, Colchester, C
Brookes 389, *Grove Music Online*

Will the organ-maker (1453-61), London, *Ripon, London*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 913, Sumner (1973) 103

Andrew Willett (1621), Barley, Pn
Force (2023)

William (1608), *Norwich*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 914

William organmaker (1444-78), London, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 984, Knight 16

William, organmaker (1521-22), *Canterbury*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 914, Sumner (1973) 107

John Williams (1599-1609), Rochester, O
Shaw 234

Richard Williams (1547-48), London, O
Baillie (1962)

Anthony Willis/Wilkes (1606), Dublin, O
Shaw 417

Francis Willoughby (c.1546-1597), London, Pn
Price 147, Woodfill 224

Henry Willoughby (d.1549), Middleton, o
Price 146

Margaret Willoughby (1552-55), London, Pn
Orme 157, Price 146, Woodfill 224

Thomas Wilson (Dr Thomas Wilson MP) (1523/24-81), London, o
Smith (2015)

Thomas Wilson (1622), Chester-le-Street, O
Surtees

Thomas Wilson (1618-after 1647), Durham, Cambridge, c/O
Knights (2022), *Grove Music Online*

Winsborough (1521), Canterbury, *Sandwich*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 922, Hopkins 50, Sumner (1973) 107

Richard Winslade/Wynslate (d.1572), London, Winchester, C/O
Baillie (1962), Brookes 393, *Grove Music Online*, Shaw 293

William Wode/Woode (d.1521), Hereford, O
Fisher 143, 206

Clement Woodcock (c.1540-1590), Cambridge, Canterbury, Chichester, C/O
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Walter Woodehale/Wodehale/Wodehall (1430-31), London, O
Trowell 299

Michael Woodes (1565-69), Chichester, O
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Woodlock (1603), *London*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 929

Richard Woods (1496), Windsor, O
Harrison 174

Leonard Woodson (c.1565-1641 or 1647), Winchester, Windsor, Eton, C/O
Brookes 392, *Grove Music Online*, Shaw 374

Thomas Woodson (d.after 1605), London, C
Brookes 392, *Grove Music Online*

Miles Woolfe (1618), Bristol, o
Pilkinton 212

John Worthington (1607-15), Douai, O
Cichy (2013)

Thomas Wotton⁵¹(1487), *Oxford*, Ob
Bicknell 22, Jeans

William Wotton (1481-89), Oxford, *Oxford*, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 932, Harrison 160, Harrison 167, Hopkins 55, Jeans, Sumner (1973)
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Simon Wright (1449), Scotland, o
Freeman and Edmonds iii 935, Inglis

William Wright (1508-27), London, Reading, O/o
Baillie (1962), Freeman and Edmonds iii 935

Hugh Wrottesley (Sir Hugh Wrottesley) (1570-1633), Wrottesley Hall, o
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Edward Wygan/Wigan (c.1488-1545), Cambridge, o
Knights (2008)

Thomas Wyncott (1547-51), Exeter, O/V
Flynn (2008) 175, Nelson (2010) 164

Thomas Wyrcester (Abbot of Hyde) (c.1467), Hyde, o
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John Yeo (1547-51), Exeter, P
Flynn (2008) 175

Giles Yorke (1616-40), Oxford, o
Freeman and Edmonds iii 937

John Yorke (1610-41), Cambridge, Oxford, Ob
Freeman and Edmonds iii 938, Sumner (1973) 113, Thistlethwaite (1983) 105

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Francis Knights is a musicologist, editor and writer specializing in Renaissance and Baroque repertoire. As a performer, his most recent recital series have included the complete Tudor keyboard repertoire, and all of Bach's keyboard and organ works.

Notes

¹ Brown (2004), Dirksen (2019), Harper (2018), Harrison (1963), Koster (2019), Martin (2003) and Williamson (2018).

² The earliest post-Civil War woman organist recorded in Dawe (1983), p.3, is Mary Worgan (1753), but women were known as private or domestic teachers from much earlier on.

³ Extending the project to the end of the 17th century, or even the end of the ‘harpsichord’ era (the last British harpsichord was made in 1809) would have been desirable but impractical. For example, Dawe (1983) includes some thousand named organists for the City of London alone. As Holman (2020) has shown, harpsichords were still in use in the 19th century,

⁴ More properly, the British Isles as a geographic entity, Scotland but not Ireland then being independent entities. For the early history of keyboards in Ireland see Flood (1910) and Nixon (2000); and for Scotland, Elliott (1960), Mirrey (2003) and Smith (2007).

⁵ Payne (1987), p.131. See also the list of consort instruments in Force (2023).

⁶ For example, Bowles (1977) and Marshall (1986).

⁷ Freeman and Edmonds (2002), iii, p.619.

⁸ *A collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal household, made in divers reigns* (London, 1790), p.49.

⁹ Price (1981) and Harley (2010).

¹⁰ Cited in Page (1979a). Flood (1910) gives a slightly earlier history than this, but without giving a source, and references to the 7th century St Maeldubh as an organ builder are also questionable.

¹¹ Harrison (1963), p.205, see also Apel (1948), p.205. It was described as ‘audible at five miles, offensive at two, and lethal at one’; Webb (1988) p.369.

¹² See Page (1979a), Page (1979b) and Kinsela.

¹³ See Koster (2019); the term was known in England from the start of the 16th century, as in the inventory of Henry VIII’s instruments (Ashbee vii 46).

¹⁴ See Wilson (2001) and Force (2019). The latter (pp.269-70) includes useful maps of surviving chamber organ distribution by both location and wealth; the consort sources are listed on pp.273-77.

¹⁵ Mynors Bright (ed), rev Henry B. Wheatley, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys M.A. F.R.S.* (London, 1895), v, p.395.

¹⁶ For example, there are no surviving pre-18th century records for the Company of Musicians; Dawe (1983), p.10.

¹⁷ Fleming (2005).

¹⁸ For example, the Tudor case at Old Radnor; Morton (2000).

¹⁹ Russell (1973), p.159. The royal court at least did have a Keeper of the instruments, responsible for tuning and maintenance. Some inventories record payments for repairs, from names not otherwise known as instrument makers.

²⁰ Russell (1973), pp.155-160.

²¹ Lucas van Dijck and Ton Koopman, *Het klavicimbel in de Nederlandse kunst tot 1800/The Harpsichord in Dutch Art before 1800* (Amsterdam, 1987) include more than 250 illustrations. Organs are not the focus of the collection, but a few small instruments are portrayed in connection with images of St Cecilia.

²² See the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, www.oxforddnb.com; the History of Parliament, www.historyofparliamentonline.org; the National Archives, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk>; and the *Calendar of State Papers*, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk>. For a general bibliography of the Medieval organ, see <http://medievalorgan.com/bibliography>.

²³ Many of these can be found on the Art UK database, <https://artuk.org>.

²⁴ Note that those who appear to have done just woodwork or bellows work, not having specialist organ craft skills, are not included. Organ tuners are assumed to be in some measure organ makers or restorers also.

²⁵ It is likely that many of the instrument owners were players, although this is less necessarily the case for wealthy aristocrats with multiple houses.

²⁶ Here this includes the dedicatees and commissioner of the printed source *Parthenia* (1612/13).

²⁷ Although exact instrument types are often specified, 'K' and 'P' for keyboard makers and performers are used here where that information is not known.

²⁸ Given his professional copying activity, Baldwin is highly likely to have been a keyboard player also.

²⁹ See also Anne Lisle.

³⁰ See <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C9236785>.

³¹ Wrongly given as 'Robert Bold' in Hodgetts (1972) and Parrott (2022).

³² Died 1530 according to Gwynn, so possibly there were two makers of this name.

³³ Possibly the same as George Brownlow; Freeman and Edmonds (2002), ii, p.234.

³⁴ A virginal (likely of English origin) is included in the 1591 domestic portrait of his wife Lady Grace Talbot at Hardwick Hall, reproduced in Price (1981), p.101.

³⁵ Supplier of strings.

³⁶ Possibly an error for 'W. Dutton' in Martin (2003).

³⁷ Initials on the lid of an undated 16th-century virginals, which may refer to the maker or to the owner. The letter 'M' also appears on the keywell liner.

³⁸ This name seems close to 'Hasard', above, and might be a relation.

³⁹ See <https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Bellasis-13>.

⁴⁰ Given as 'George' Leslie in Rimbault (1864), citing a Rouen history.

⁴¹ The surviving 1631 Dallam table organ ordered in 1630 was for an unspecified member of the le Strange family.

⁴² By private letters [from Orio] it is heard that Zuan da Leze (the natural son of Ser Donado da Leze, Lord Lieutenant of Cyprus), who played most excellently on the organ (organo), went to England anticipating that the King would give him a stipend, and having played, it seems that the performance did not please his Majesty; so

Zuan da Leze hung himself—a very horrible case, and of evil nature’; see <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol3/pp506-517>.

⁴³ See also <https://themullinerproject.com>.

⁴⁴ The name of a female servant of the Petre family.

⁴⁵ Pyke was a Rutland household musician who bought virginal strings in London, and is also known to have worked at court; it is not certain that he was a keyboard player, however. Fleming (1999), pp.236 and 246.

⁴⁶ Possibly Robert Clarke.

⁴⁷ Secretary to the Venetian ambassador.

⁴⁸ There were three virginals and a regals at Caus Castle.

⁴⁹ Queen Elizabeth’s Virginals appears to have come from the estate of Queen Elizabeth to Richard Connock via Henry, Prince of Wales (1594-1612), but the latter has not been given a separate ‘owner’ identification as the link cannot be proved (Lorigan 2021).

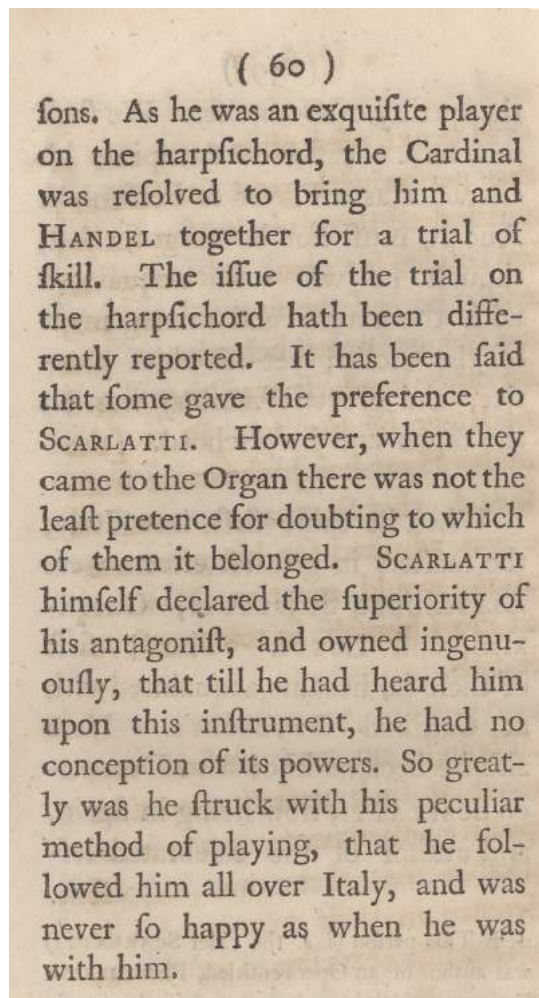
⁵⁰ This is an almost unique reference to the keyboard being used for accompaniment in England at this date.

⁵¹ Thomas and William Wotton might be the same person, or at least related, given the coincidence of place and date.

Handel vs Domenico Scarlatti: echoes from the historic ‘trial of skill’

Graham Pont

For many years I have entertained the hypothesis that, in his first London opera *Rinaldo* (1711), Handel recycled not only numerous compositions produced during his Italian sojourn (1706-10), but also some of the music from his famous ‘trial of skill’ with Domenico Scarlatti¹ (Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome, c.1708).² The sole account of this event – obviously, an anecdote from Handel himself – is preserved in a single page from John Mainwaring’s *Handel Memoir* of 1760 (illus.1).



*Illus.1 John Mainwaring, Memoirs of the life of the late George Frederic Handel (London, 1760), p.60.
(Author's collection)*

During 1985 I identified the music which partially confirms my hypothesis: that is, Handel's exercise in the Allegro component of the competition. This unique source, now held at Berlin, appears to be an earlier version of his 'Sonata for a Harpsicord with Double Keys' (HWV579) (Illus.2).



Illus.2 The beginning of Handel's Sonata in G major, from D B Mus. ms. 30078, p.60. Courtesy of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv

Scarlatti's Sonata/Capriccio in G K63 (illus.3) is a parody of Handel's Sonata, the subject of which was reworked from that of the Sonata (a very Vivaldian concerto *con molti strumenti*) in *Il trionfo del Tempo* (HWV46a: 10). So Handel's Allegro was not entirely unpremeditated - whereas Scarlatti's response was evidently a genuine improvisation, a *fantasia* so fresh and ingenious that it split the jury. As Ralph Kirkpatrick rightly observed, 'It might even be a piece by Handel but for an asperity...' ³



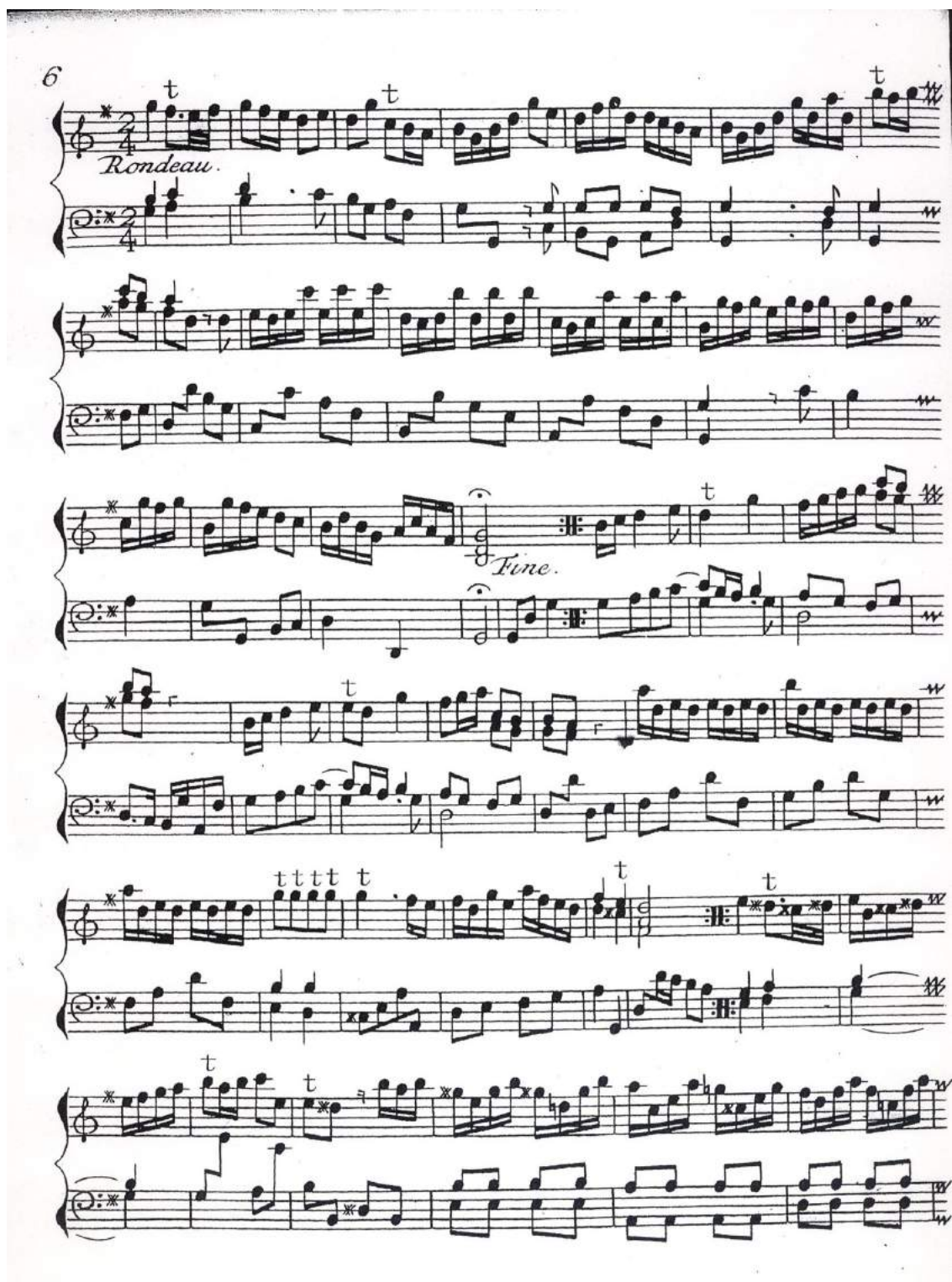
*Illus.3 The beginning of Scarlatti's Capriccio in G major, K63. Vnm Cod. It. cl. IV, 199 (=9770): XIV, 23, f.41v.
Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana*

When I announced this discovery,⁴ I was unaware of the Berlin manuscript and had mistakenly concluded that Handel's 'improvisation' at the trial was recorded in the *Sonata for a Harpsicord with Double Keys* (HWV 579). Since Scarlatti's Capriccio was evidently performed on a single-manual instrument, Handel's 'improvisation' must have been first performed on the same (or a similar) instrument; the more elaborate version for two manuals was probably produced later for his patron Cardinal Ottoboni: he owned several harpsichords with two manuals, which were then rare in Italy.⁵

Handel too was impressed by Scarlatti's Capriccio - so much so that he produced his own riposte on the same subject (illus.4). This Rondeau survives in G. F. Witvogel's edition of *Pieces Choieses Pour le Clavecin de different Auteurs* (Amsterdam, c.1733).⁶ The only known copy of this publication is held by the British Library: it includes two recognized works by Handel, the 'Gavot in Otho' (the final movement of the Overture to *Ottone*) and the Gavotte in G HWV491, as well as several others that might well be attributed to him – especially four movements entitled 'Fantasie'.⁷

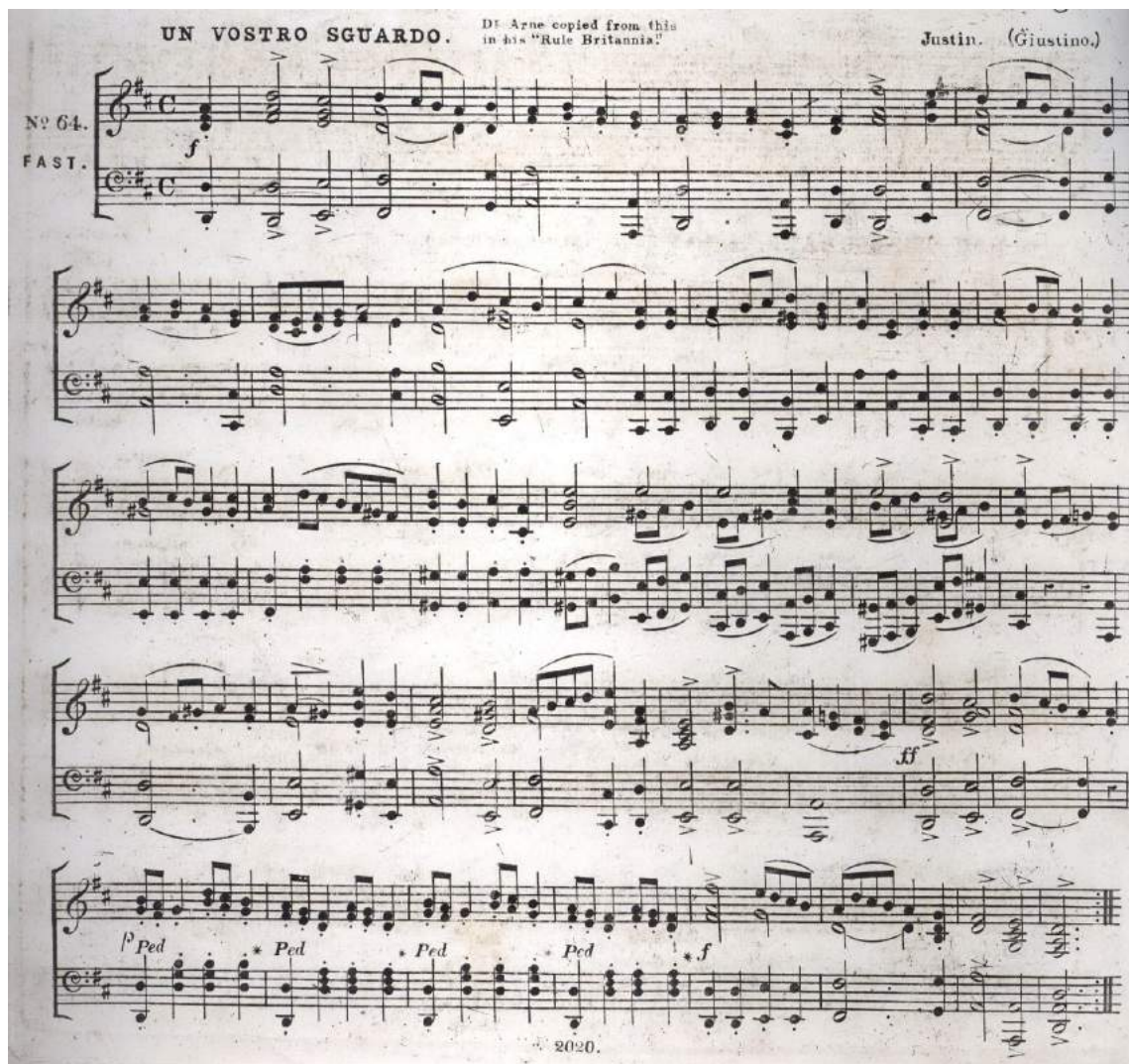
The Rondeau is manifestly Handel's response to Scarlatti's Capriccio K63. It follows Scarlatti's Capriccio in the right hand for the first four bars (and for two more bars in the left hand) and then ventures off in another improvisation, which cannot have been part of the formal contest and was probably produced during the subsequent relationship of these two great performers. The conclusion of Mainwaring's anecdote - that Scarlatti 'followed him [Handel] all over Italy, and was never so happy as when he was with him' - has been studiously ignored by music historians,⁸ leaving open an intriguing question: were these masters actually lovers?

The attribution of the Rondeau to Handel is confirmed by his adaptation of this subject in 'Un vostro sguardo', the first aria of *Giustino* (1736):



Illus.4 The first page of the Rondeau in G major from *Pieces Choieses Pour le Clavecin de differents Auteurs* (Amsterdam, [c.1733]), p.6. Reproduced by permission of the British Library Board. All rights reserved

The air eventually returned to its keyboard origins in W. H. Callcott's arrangement for pianoforte (1859) (illus.5):



*Illus.5 'Un vostro sguardo', arranged by William Hutchins Callcott, The Handel Album for the Piano Forte, Containing above one hundred favorite Oratorio and Opera Airs, Book 2 (London, 1859), p.38.
(Author's collection)*

Handel's Allegro performance in the trial with Scarlatti was reworked to become the battle aria 'Vo' far guerra', a last-minute addition to *Rinaldo* (HWV 7a: 28). The contest with Scarlatti was now transformed into an operatic concerto for soprano, solo harpsichord and orchestra - still in the original key of G major. While the witch Armida vented her jealous fury Handel improvised brilliant accompaniments and cadenzas in an appropriately aggressive style, which he retained for such dramatic situations until his late oratorios. A contemporary professional opinion of Handel's performances in *Rinaldo* has been preserved by Mainwaring:

His playing was thought as extraordinary as his music. One of the principal performers used to speak of it with astonishment, as far transcending that of any other person he had ever known, and as quite peculiar to himself.⁹

Handel's preeminence at the keyboard was soon challenged by one of the leading London masters, William Babell (c.1690-1723) who stole Handel's thunder with the publication, in three editions, of the *Suits of the most Celebrated Lessons Collected and Fitted to the harpsicord or spinnet* (London, [c.1715-18]). This volume, which presents Babell's virtuoso transcriptions of movements from *Rinaldo* and some of the earlier Italian operas produced in London, ends with an astonishing arrangement of 'Vò far guerra': the final unbarred *ad libitum* of over four pages features extended hand-over-hand arpeggios – a novelty introduced by Handel and here committed for the first time to print.



Illus.6 Part of the final ad libitum of 'Vò far guerra', from the second edition of Suits of the most Celebrated Lessons Collected and Fitted to the harpsicord or spinnet by Mr. Wm. Babell with Variety of Passages by the Author (London, [1717]), p.73. (Author's collection)

Babell's publication earned him an international reputation. His arrangement of 'Vò far guerra' became known as 'The Celebrated Grand Lesson' and was reprinted several times during the

18th century. Though long accepted as Babel's own work, the published version of the Grand Lesson has recently been exposed as a clever plagiarism concocted from at least three sources which preserve Handel's own arrangements and reworkings of 'Vò far guerra'. Handel must now be recognized as the true creator of the first great operatic transcription for the chamber.¹⁰

The outcome of the trial at the Cancelleria, as reported by Mainwaring, clearly indicates that there were at least two exercises for the distinguished competitors: the judges could not agree who should take the palm for the harpsichord; but 'when they came to the Organ there was not the least pretence for doubting to which of them it belonged'. What did Handel play on the organ that so moved Scarlatti, 'who declared the superiority of his antagonist and owned ingenuously, that till he had heard him upon this instrument, he had no conception of its powers'? The answer, I have suggested, is also to be found in *Rinaldo*: Almirena's exquisite aria, 'Lascia ch'io pianga' (HWV7a: 22), was Handel's last and most perfect reworking of a sarabande air which survives in several versions for the keyboard. All of these are youthful essays in the 'Pathetic' or expressive mode of song and dance.

When Scarlatti praised Handel's unexpected powers at the organ, he was referring not to his manual agility but to his powers of musical expression. Of the extant sources of this pathetic sarabande, the version that forms the fourth movement of the early Partita in G major (HWV450: 4) is, in my opinion, the nearest we have to Handel's triumphant display in the Pathetic (see illus.6). This piece goes beautifully on the organ, which can do full justice to the expressive subtleties of note-length – such as the sustaining of the bass notes during the silences in the upper parts (bars 1, 2, 5, 7 and so on). If this was the movement that Scarlatti lauded,¹¹ his judgement has been amply confirmed by the perennial success of 'Lascia ch'io pianga', the first of Handel's London works to find a permanent place in the classical repertoire. Scarlatti seems to have left no identifiable response to this great movement: Mainwaring's anecdote suggests that he graciously conceded that part of the contest to Handel.

Thus the famous trial of skill might have ended; but how did it begin? It seems most unlikely that the first exercise would be an Allegro in the modern style: the contestants would need to warm up – traditionally, with an improvised prelude. Tradition also indicates that a free prelude would be followed immediately by a demonstration of the ancient, erudite style – the strictest and most demanding form of keyboard music, an improvised fugue.



Illus.7 The Sarabanda of the Partie ex G. Composée Sur le Clavessin par Mons. Hendel (HWV 450:4) from D B Mus. ms. 9164/1, f.3v. Courtesy of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv

Having long failed to identify any movements in the works of Handel and Scarlatti that might have fitted the bill, I was recently delighted to find two very likely candidates on YouTube (www.youtube.com) simply by browsing the keywords 'Handel Scarlatti'. This brought up the video 'Haendel VS Scarlatti Fuga HWV 611 K41 Guglielmi Clavicembalo'. It was posted by the Italian keyboard player Luca Guglielmi on 30 August 2009. Guglielmi had previously included Handel's Fugue in F HWV611 and Scarlatti's Fugue in D minor K41 in a purely conjectural 'reconstruction' of their recital at Rome.¹² In the YouTube presentation, Guglielmi performs the Scarlatti Fugue first, followed by Handel's Fugue. If the order of performance is reversed, it becomes more immediately apparent that Scarlatti's Fugue has some marked melodic resemblances to Handel's Fugue: compare the figure that begins on the second beat of the second bar of Ex. 9 with the third bar of Handel's Fugue (illus.8). These passages have the same pitch profile and rhythm for no less than seven notes – that is, for a complete musical phrase. From such a commonplace subject, Scarlatti created a powerful fugue in four parts, exhibiting a profound mastery of the old contrapuntal art.



Illus.8 Handel, Fugue in F major, HWV611, bars 1-8



Illus.9 The beginning of Scarlatti, Fugue in D minor K41 from Clementi's Selection of Practical Harmony for the Organ or Piano forte, Vol.2 (London, [c.1810-18]), p.132. (Author's collection)

It seems to me that Luca Guglielmi has fortuitously brought together two fugues by Handel and Scarlatti that are so closely related textually, harmonically and stylistically as to suggest that these works are the result of some significant musical interaction between these two

composers: it is at least possible that these works are the composers' own recollections of their fugal improvisations at the Cancelleria in Rome in c.1708. If so, it would appear that Scarlatti based his improvisation directly on a passage of seven notes from Handel's fugue - adopting the key of D minor, the relative minor of F major. This supposition is supported by the fact that Scarlatti left few fugues for the keyboard - and this one, in the opinion of Giorgio Pestelli, is the earliest of them all.¹³ This fugue, furthermore, is distinctly Handelian in style. As Alain de Chambure has observed, K41 'could quite well have been written by Handel'.¹⁴ Another ingenious parody by Scarlatti?

If these fugues were actually performed at the Cancelleria, they both would have been preceded by an improvised prelude. Handel has left only one fugue in F major for the keyboard and, as it happens, only one prelude in that key – HWV567. The only extant copy of the Prelude in F, from the Aylesford Collection, is now in the British Library (R.M.18.b.8., f.36v). In the same miscellaneous volume there is a copy, in the same hand, of Handel's Fugue in F (ff.49v-50v): it is distinctly possible that the Prelude and the Fugue in F were originally together in Handel's missing autograph, thus forming a single composition in two movements, and were arbitrarily separated by the scribe 'Beta' (i.e. William Babell) who transcribed the preludes and fugues into two separate groups.

We can now sum up our conjectural identification of the music performed by Handel and Scarlatti in their trial of skill at the Palazzo della Cancelleria, in c.1708.

Handel, Prelude in F major HWV567 and Fugue in F major HWV611 (harpsichord)

Scarlatti, [?a prelude in F major or D minor¹⁵] and Fugue in D minor K41 (harpsichord)

Handel, Sonata in G major (an earlier version of HWV579 for a single-manual harpsichord)

Scarlatti, Capriccio in G major K63 (harpsichord)

Handel, Sarabande in G minor HWV450:4 (organ)

The echoes of this great contest still reverberate today.

Dr Graham Pont (1937-2021) was a philosopher and musicologist who studied at Sydney University and the Australian National University, and spent most of his career teaching in the Department of General Studies at the University of New South Wales. He wrote and taught widely on many subjects, including history, architecture, food and birdsong, and his particular passion was the music of Handel. This article was submitted to the NEMA Newsletter just before he died, and is published posthumously in his memory. For an obituary, see John Carmody, 'Graham Pont, 1937–2021', Newsletter of the Musicological Society of Australia, lxxxii (December 2020-June 2021), pp.27-28.

Notes

¹ This conjecture was first advanced in a dramatized documentary, 'Reminiscences of *Rinaldo*', produced by Owen chambers for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation and first broadcast on 13 June 1982.

² '1708 must now seem the most likely year for the keyboard contest between Domenico and Handel which took place, according to Mainwaring, at Cardinal Ottoboni's palace in Roma'; Malcolm Boyd, 'Nova Scarlattiana', *The Musical Times*, cxxvi/1712 (October 1985), pp.590-593.

³ Ralph Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti* (Princeton, 1953), p.151; compare p.33. A premiere performance of these two movements was given by Laurence Cummings in a lecture-recital 'Reminiscences of *Rinaldo*', Handel House Museum, 28 October 2007.

⁴ Graham Pont, 'Handel versus Domenico Scarlatti: Music of an Historic Encounter', *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge*, iv (1991), pp. 232-247.

⁵ Graham Pont, 'Handel versus Domenico Scarlatti: new light on the historic encounter', *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge*, xiii (2010), pp.114-124.

⁶ Scarlatti's K63, Handel's Sonata in G and the Rondeau in G were first recorded by Julian Perkins in *Conversazione II: Duelling Cantatas* (July 2013), Avie AV2296.

⁷ Graham Pont, 'Viva il caro Sassone: Handel's Conquest of Italy at the Keyboard', *Ad Parnassum*, vii/14 (October 2009), pp.155-204; see especially 196ff.

⁸ Notably by Juliane Riepe who, in *Händel vor dem Fernrohr; Die Italienreise* (Beeskow, 2013), a volume of over 500 pages, makes an exhaustive study of Mainwaring's biography, while carefully avoiding his account of the competition and the subsequent literature on the subject.

⁹ John Mainwaring, *Memoirs of the life of the late George Frederic Handel...* (London, 1760), p.83.

¹⁰ Graham Pont, 'Reminiscences of *Rinaldo*: The Keyboard Transcriptions of "Vo' far Guerra"', *Ad Parnassum*, ix/17 (April 2011), pp.7-35.

¹¹ It is tempting to speculate that Handel might have performed something closer to 'Lascia ch'io pianga' but the air was already familiar to some of the audience as 'Lascia la spina' in *Il trionfo del Tempo* (HWV46a: 23), first performed at Rome in June 1707.

¹² Stradivarius CD 33623 (2002).

¹³ Giorgio Pestelli, *Le sonate di Domenico Scarlatti* (Torino, 1967), p.130. Pestelli dates the Fugue in D minor to 'ante-1719'. More specifically, I would date it to c.1708.

¹⁴ *Catalogue analytique de l'oeuvre pour clavier de Domenico Scarlatti / Analytical Catalogue of Domenico Scarlatti's keyboard works; Guide de l'intégrale enregistrée par Scott Ross / Guide to the complete recordings by Scott Ross* (Paris, 1987), p.35.

¹⁵ Given Scarlatti's powers of creative parody, I would guess that his improvised prelude would have followed Handel's in the same key of F major. This would have made Scarlatti's modulation to D minor for the fugue even more dramatic.

Tidings of my harp

Mike Parker

It was one of those moments that P. J. Wodehouse describes as ‘standing where the last stair should have been’. I opened a bound volume of music and there was a name. A name I had known for a long time: that name was Eliza Capot. Now, Eliza was not an uncommon name in the 18th century, and neither was Capot, but the conjunction of the very English Eliza with the very un-English Capot sparked something. ‘Like the Comtesse de Feuillide!’. I noted to the owner of the book, who shuffled a bit, looked at his wife, and then said. ‘Erm, yes’.

So it was that I found myself reading the personal music collection of Eliza Hancock, who became Madame Capot, and the future Mrs Henry Austen. Eliza is a figure known to most people with an interest in Jane Austen’s novels, being both cousin and sister-in-law to Jane. On returning to England from having lived in Paris, and following the execution of her first husband, she re-joined the family and eventually married Jane’s brother, Henry. She brought with her an aura of exoticism, having lived in Paris as the Revolution fomented, and seems to have had a level of urbanity that makes the suggestion that she was one of the inspirations for the character of Mary Crawford in *Mansfield Park* (1814) more than credible. What she did not bring with her, however, was her harp, and therein lies a tale.

Having spent the last three decades researching late Georgian domestic music-making, I have been given access to several personal collections. There are the Chawton books, of course that were a major starting point, but several others which, whilst they may not be as extensive as the Chawton books, are privately owned and consequently less easy to access, but in a few cases contain harp music, making them more relevant to my studies as a player of the single-action harp. A friend of a friend gave me a contact for someone living in the south-east of England who had a number of manuscripts. I approached them, and was, after assurances of discretion, and condition, was allowed to go and view the book, and found myself leafing through Eliza’s music book. It contains songs, sets of variations, dances and some small sonatas, with a clear division between the earlier section, in which the material is distinctly French, and the latter part in which the songs are in English and many of the works are ascribed to British composers. I was allowed to copy some pieces from it, and given permission to make editions of some of them, as long as I did not reveal the location of the source, but then the owner dropped a casual comment.

The owner comes from one of the lines of the extended Austen family, but has links with modern decedents of the Capot line who live in Belgium. It seems to be to this line of the Capot family that Eliza, her husband, and mother escaped to before crossing the Channel to England, and it was there that some items, too bulky to carry at short notice, were left until they could be reclaimed. One of these items was Eliza’s harp. The relevance of this comment was that the family was, much to the horror of the manuscript owner, selling said harp, as they were ‘downsizing’ and did not have room for everything.

Having understood my interest was in the instrument and understanding Eliza’s music at a deeper level, he gave me the contact, and after a bout of negotiations in which assurances

about the playability of the harp, and a few fairly ridiculous suggestions of price were made, I ended up securing the instrument, and made arrangements to transport it to the UK. Then the truth became apparent. The harp was not in a playable condition. It was very far from being in a playable condition. It was, however, beautiful, and a very important survivor.

The first job was to clean it. It was absolutely filthy, milky with caked dust, and with a layer of sticky brown goo - which turned out to be nicotine - over the whole thing. I started using the technique of using sucked cotton swabs, learned in painting restoration, to gently lift as much of it away as I could, but I soon realized I would be dehydrated before I'd finished the scroll, so I used baby soap and warm water with a camel-hair brush to get the thick layer off, and then very gently applied beeswax slackened with coconut oil to restore the finish. It moved from 'murky' to glowing in a satisfactorily short time.

The harp was made by Holtzman, and carries the number '29' in ink and 'a1' in red pencil on the inside of the mechanism cover (illus.1). I propose that 'a1' marks a set of components, as 'batch building' was quite common in musical instrument workshops, rather than each instrument being built individually. Also pencilled is the name 'Mariscovetere' and the date '16 Marz 1896', indicating, I would suggest, a later repair. Mariscovetere is a town in Southern Italy, but is not an uncommon surname.



Illus.1 Inside of the inside of the mechanism cover (all photos: Richard Desmond)

Godefroy Holtzman (1736-1799) (also spelled Holzman and Holtzmann) seems to have been working in Le Grand Rue Fauxbourg, Paris, based on instruments that bear printed paper labels, but this particular instrument is marked in ink at the shoulder 'Holtzman A Paris', and though the instrument is undated, there are clues to its age. Firstly, as already noted, the number 29 marked on the mechanism cover. This does not, however, mean that it was the 29th harp Holtzman made. The Wurlitzer Co., who made harps from 1906 to 1935 started their numbering at 500, so it did not give the impression of being 'new on

the market'. One woodwind-making company is known to have used odd numbers for wooden flutes and even numbers for metal instruments, and when the harp-maker Erat introduced his patent double-action in 1813, all the extant specimens have numbers ending in doubled digits, so we cannot take a serial number at face value.

The instrument originally had 36 strings, but has at some point been increased to 37, by adding an extra string at the top. My reasoning for saying this was added is that the hole for the tuning pin runs through the 'o' of Holtzman, and I really cannot imagine a maker placing their name on an instrument and then intentionally obscuring it (illus.2).



Illus.2 Additional string hole in the neck

The instrument presented in the Diderot and D'Alambert *Encyclopédie* from 1772 shows an instrument almost identical, but having a range of 34 strings, whilst being of approximately the same height of 155 cm (illus.3).

I have had a number of people state that it must be a child's instrument, being so small, but, based on not only the *Encyclopédie* but also portraits with harp, like the 'Portrait of Maximilien Gardel' by Nicolas Francois Regnault (1746-1810) at the Musée du Louvre, shows the player's head completely above the neck of the instrument, indicating a smaller size. The standard range of the pedal harp starts to expand from the late 1770s, standardizing at 38 strings, from F an octave below the bass stave, by 1785. Eliza's harp has G an octave below the stave, and the lowest note equipped with a mechanism is the Ab above it, and is mechanized for the rest of the range.



Illus.3 Pedal harp, from Diderot and D'Alembert's Encyclopédie (1772)

The instrument has a 'crochet' mechanism, as illustrated in the *Encyclopédie*, in which a small hook, mounted on a threaded shank is drawn into the neck, and fretted against a small fixed bridge, setting the semitone. The threaded shank allows for a little regulation, by screwing the crochet so that it grips the string tighter, or looser, to set the degree of pinch on the string.

The body is made of seven staves with a lightly crowned soundboard (the middle of the board is domed by giving the bottom block of the body a slight curve to encourage the board to lift). The top of the body has sustained damage at some point, and a plaque of oak (not a wood favoured in harp building) has been applied to the top end, presumably to make up missing material. The body sits on a square-sided pedal box with a 'cupid's bow' front. This is also helpful in dating the instrument, as the design of the harp changed somewhat once Marie Antoinette and her contemporaries at court raised the status of the instrument, so you start getting gilded scrolls, highly decorated boards and 'pie-crust' pedal boxes from the latter part of the 1770's. This little harp is beautifully carved, but was originally varnished wood in what the auction houses would call a dark brown all-over colour. There is evidence of someone later applying gold paint (it is a harp, after all!) but this is almost certainly not original.

The pedal box originally sat on four cast-metal 'spike' feet. These had been lost, and replaced by four wooden feet 'carved' (and I am being generous using that word) into approximations of paw feet see on later instrument. I replaced the feet with cast bronze replicas obtained from Michael Parfett, wiping the shiny bronze with an ammonia-rich body product to turn it to a dark greenish brown in a matter of minutes (illus.4).



Illus.4 Replacement bronze harp feet

The pillar has escaped in remarkably intact condition, though the *cuvette* (the 'lid' of the front bit of the pedal box) has been lost, and replaced with two separate pieces which have also been 'carved', possibly by the same hand as the feet (illus.5).

The neck, however, has suffered badly. It is a sad truth that with harps, one component tends to give out, rather than the whole instrument distorting. In this case, the neck has twisted out, and cracked rather badly in the lower treble part of the curve. The shoulder had split, and twenty of the small brass fixed bridges were missing. I then, sickeningly, and stupidly, managed to drop another one, and, of course, have been unable to locate it.



Illus.5 Lower pillar carving

It is also a sad fact regarding antique harps, that they did not become ‘antique harps’ until about twenty years ago. Before that, they were just ‘old harps’ and what you had until you could afford something better. My first pedal harp was an 1822 Delveau double-action, not sold as a period instrument, but as a ‘starter’ harp. As a consequence, harps get modernized. Cross-grain soundboards are replaced with laminates, nylon eyelets are put into antique harps in place of fiddly little string pegs, and, more importantly, heavy strings are put on instruments never designed to take the tension, to make them sound like ‘real’ harps. Fortunately, now that some people are beginning to see old harps as period instruments, and are beginning to string them more sensitively in some quarters, but often the damage has been done. With this harp it really has!

At some point, and I would suggest due to the sort of strings being used in the late 19th century being put on an instrument built to take just over a quarter of the tension of a modern harp, the wood of the neck has sheared. This has, in the past, been repaired by screwing an iron plate to the mechanism face of the neck, and a strap to the underside (illus.6a/b). This originally obscured the recess into which the wedge that holds the mechanism cover tightly into the recess, so it was necessary to spend many hours gently filing into the face of the strap so as to remove a small rectangle, freeing the wedge, without cutting into the original wood of the instrument. This also involved quite a lot of cursing. There is also a strange void in the upper face of the neck (illus.7), which might, I think be due to insect activity, though the rest of the frame is, thankfully free from evidence of worm.

Having freed the mechanism cover, I was able to reveal the workings of the mechanism. Whereas in a modern harp the mechanism is housed between two brass plates that screw onto the wood of the neck, meaning that you can remove the whole unit, the mechanism

in an 18th-century harp is inset within the wood of the neck completely, meaning that for any repair, you have to disassemble the entire thing to access any part of it.



Illus.6a/b Repairs to the neck



Illus.7 The upper face of the neck



Illus.8 Pedals and internal mechanism, viewed from below

With a huge sigh of relief, I found that the mechanism inside the neck was in remarkably good condition, and that all of the springs were intact (illus.8). I ladled lubrication over them before daring to press a pedal, and that was when I discovered that, at some point in its life, someone had connected the pedals up in the wrong order! Having worked on a number of 18th-century harps, I did not see this as a problem. The pedals are of a type called ‘reciprocating’, whereas modern harps have a single arm, pivoted at one end. Normally, I would simply undo the seven screws that hold small components that transfer the movement of the pedal tread to the rod, re-order them, and replace the screws. Then I discovered that on this harp they are riveted, not screwed (illus.9).



Illus.9 Internal connecting rods

Changing the rod order entailed removing all seven rods, working out the order the rods needed to be in, by gauging the length, and then putting them back in in the right order. Well, that was the theory. The ‘rods’ are in fact little more than wires, being about 3.5 mm in diameter. You feed them into a hole of about 2 cm diameter, and then trying to catch hold of the far end, and locate two small pins in a groove in a cam about 150 cm away, blind, and without getting them wrapped around each other (illus.10).



Illus.10 Rod connection mechanism

Well, I got them in, I pressed a pedal, and the whole thing locked up. I had, somehow managed to get the rods twisted in such a way that they bound tight. The only thing for it was to pull them all out again (cue more cursing) and have another go ... and this time it went horribly wrong again, so I took it to my friend John Page, who also works on antique instruments, waved my hands feebly at it and said ‘just do something with that!’ He did, and (probably with more cursing involved) managed to get the mechanism working. As it was there, I took the opportunity to have him do a further job that I had been dreading. Another aspect of modernization that sometimes happens to older harps is that since the late 1780s, most pedal harps have had soundholes in the back, often with a set of doors called the ‘swell’ that can be opened and closed with an eighth pedal. This one had had five oval holes gouged into the back stave. I was troubled by this. I generally regard the condition an instrument is in as the sum of its history, and whilst repairing a split or a crack is one thing (and I would usually leave it visible so the repair was not concealed) intentional alterations are something I would usually leave as part of the instruments journey. In this case, though, they completely distorted the Helmholtz resonance of the body. So I asked John to fill them in in such a manner that the filling is visible, if you look for it, and can be removed without doing any damage. The holes were also very ugly, but that isn’t why I had them filled ... honest.



Illus.11 The upper pedal is D

I took this time to consolidate the damage in the neck. The crack runs diagonally across the mechanism face of the neck, and ran through a bridge-pin hole and a crochet stem hole, making them both far too big, and allowing a deal of play. The original bridge pin had been lost, and my solution rather than to fill the hole and re-drill, was to make a thicker pin with a heavily shouldered head that allowed the bridge to be re-centred to the crochet without removing more wood from the neck. The crochet hole was more complex, so I took a piece of maple, and drilled it to the diameter of the crochet stem, then carefully planes it away until I had a crescent-shaped profile that would fit into the distorted hole. This was then glued in using a reversable glue, and not tinted in to match the neck so that the repair remains observable. The crochet stems are, though, greased so that they do not squeak or bind on the wood of the neck (or the threaded shank saw its way through the wood as it runs in and out) and when I applied the grease, the maple end-grain darkened in making the fillet vanish in a manner I probably could not have managed intentionally.

All of the wooden string pins were missing. Fortunately, the string holes are relatively small compared with later instruments, and it was relatively simple to make a set of string pegs from sustainably sourced blackwood. The string holes are reinforced with small wire staples across the top of the hole for the string to bear against, giving a clean bridge and preventing the string from biting into the wood of the bridge strip. Some of these were missing, so I folded replacements. Then came the issue of stringing.

Unfortunately, we have very little information about how antique harps were strung. The late Jaap Keppel of The Netherlands did some very important projection of period stringing from the scant information we have, but it is credible conjecture. In his essay on 'The Present and Improved State of The Harp' by Pierre Erard, he states that Erard more than doubled the tension of the old French harps. We have string gauges for the 1829 gauges, which run between a fourth and a fifth light to modern concert Standard gauge, but other than that, everything is rather vague. In his 1814 *Méthode*, R. N. C. Bochsa states that the strings in use on harps are too light, and that you should put on the heaviest strings you harp can bear (please don't!), but he was writing at a time when what are antique harps now were just harps, and could be repaired or replaced relatively easily. Madame de Genlis gives a table at the start of her *Méthode* (c.1811), but does not say for which type of harp. She does, though, say that Erard harps last forever, but the Cousineaus have a lovely sound but always break, which to my mind suggests that she was stringing heavily.

Then a new piece of information cropped up. Michel Corrette published a number of *méthodes*, including for cello, vielle a rue, serpent and harp. One copy of his 1774 harp *Méthode* seems to have survived, and was offered for sale in 2017, and is now in the Library of the University of Melbourne. In this, he gives a chart for stringing the harp, using guitar (top strings), violin (first, second and third strings), and cello strings. This tells us that in c.1774 silver wire wound on gut was in use on the bottom few strings, whilst the plain gut range of the harp was 'batch strung' with the same gauge used on a few adjacent strings, rather than a single gauge for each string as would become common practice later. It is not as simple, though, as there are five gauges on the instrument, and violin and cello strings were available in light, medium and heavy, offering a better gradient of tension.

My initial experiments, though were made using commercially-offered medium gauge for each string suggested. I have to say that whilst technically, it worked, it was unpleasantly 'spongy' in places, and decidedly 'twangy' between good spots. I ended up using nine

gauges in total, managing to stay within the suggested parameters, but using light and heavy to smooth out the bigger steps. Being unlacquered gut, I oiled them as instructed by Bochsa (he says it is an easy job, and one of your servants can do it, but none of mine seemed to be available) and the resulting stringing was a delight to play on. The sound is bright and clear, and the tone flexible.

Having fixed bridges, and fixed secondary bridges, the intonation is relatively fixed. Several notes have had their secondary bridges moved to widen the fretting gap, giving a wider semitone, but based on the original positions and my slightly dodgy mathematical skills, the instrument seems to have been designed for an eighth-comma temperament. As I tend to tune in Eb, or Bb, I opted for Werkmeister II, which I find gives better intonation in flat keys, and seems to suit the instrument well.

There is still more work to do. The D pedal has, I suspect, been broken at some point, and the end ground to match, making it a little shorter than would be ideal (illus.11), while the G pedal has been bent up at a more abrupt angle, creating an interruption in the line of pedals from E to A on the right side of the instrument, but these are jobs that need thinking about before doing anything that will change the state of the instrument, and whilst not ideal do not stop the instrument from being played.

So what we are left with is an instrument made some time between 1770 and c.1775, in largely original, if repaired, condition, that gives us an idea of how an instrument of the period functioned and sounded. I know of only a few instruments of the type with an earlier date, and even fewer in playing condition.

I cannot swear that it was the harp of The Comtesse de Feuilleide, but it is certainly the sort of instrument that she would have had, probably bought in used condition, making it a cheaper option, which - given that Philadelphia and Eliza moved to Paris on grounds of economy - is a consideration. What I would also say is that if someone were going to offer a harp for sale, and ascribe a name of a former owner to make it more desirable, wouldn't they claim someone a bit more 'high-profile' as a harpist? Possibly Mlle di Guinnes, for whom Mozart wrote K299, or one of the Krumpholtz family, or The Princess de Lamballe, or the like? To attach the name of a slightly obscure cousin of an English novelist would not seem the obvious choice, and as nice as it is to think that maybe a known person played it, especially as we have her repertoire book, so can play pieces that an original owner probably played on it; having a working harp from the 1770's is far more important ... but it is a nice story to believe.

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Report: Bachfest Leipzig 2023

Yo Tomita

The Bachfest Leipzig 2023 was held from Thursday 8 June to Sunday 18 June with the motto 'BACH for Future'. In addition to the motto, there was an overarching theme: the tercentenary celebration of Bach's appointment as Thomascantor, which began in effect on the first Sunday after Trinity, 30 May 1723, which fell on 11 June this year. Altogether 160 events were put on show in 34 venues within the town of Leipzig itself, plus seven outside Leipzig (excursions to Altenburg, Dresden, Köthen, Naumburg, Störmthal, Zeitz and Zschortau). The motto was explored from various angles to find something new and exciting, for example, by setting Bach's works in new context, formats and adaptations. While many of these were experimental in nature, the newly commissioned work for the final piece of the opening concert in Thomaskirche, the *Cantata for Soloists, Choir and Orchestra* by Jörg Widmann stood out as the most original and deeply moving (illus.1). Together with the opening prelude and fugue BWV552 performed stylishly on the Gerald Woehl Bach organ by Johannes Lang, Thomas Leininger's imaginative arrangement in the style of Mozart of Bach's double-choir motet *Singet dem Herrn* BWV225 (premiere) and Bach's dramatic cantata *Die Elenden sollen essen* BWV75 (Bach's first cantata as Thomascantor) performed by the Thomanerchor Leipzig and Gewandhausorchester directed by Andreas Reize, it was an immensely satisfying concert, which firmly set a tone and direction of this year's eleven-day festival.



Illus.1 Thomanerchor Leipzig and Gewandhausorchester, directed by Andreas Reize (all photos: Bachfest Leipzig/ Gert Mothes)

Special features

Among a number of highlights in this year's Bachfest, the most important was a series of four concerts on the theme of **'the best of the first annual cycle of cantatas'**, each taken by a different group, that were spread over the first four evenings. As part of seeking 'new formats', it began with Q-&-A-style 'conversations' between Michael Maul, the Festival director, and each ensemble director, attempting to elucidate their approaches, which, on occasions, ran for a little too long to be really appreciated. The first talker was Rudolf Lutz, with the Chorus and Orchestra of J. S. Bach-Stiftung, who presented at the Nikolaikirche four cantatas that were composed from the 8th to the 11th Sundays after Trinity (*Erforsche mich, Gott, und erfahre mein Herz* BWV136, *Herr, gebe nicht ins Gericht* BWV105, *Schauet doch und sehet, ob irgendein Schmerz sei* BWV46 and *Siehe zu, dass deine Gottesfurcht nicht Heuchelei sei* BWV179) (illus.2). The second night, also at Nikolaikirche, was Hans-Christoph Rademann with Gaechinger Cantorey's turn, selecting four cantatas plus one movement from a lost cantata (torso) from the 2nd period of Trinity (*Nun ist das Heil und die Kraft* BWV50, *Christus, der ist mein Leben* BWV95, *Ich elender Mensch, wer wird mich erlösen* BWV48, *O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort* BWV60, and *Es reiet euch ein schrecklich Ende*, BWV90). The third night was at the Thomaskirche, where Philippe Herreweghe with Collegium Vocale Gent covered from the New Year to the end of Epiphany in January 1724 (*Sie werden aus Saba alle kommen* BWV65, *Herr, wie du willst, so schicks mit mir* BWV73, *Jesus schlft, was soll ich hoffen* BWV81 and *Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied* BWV190.1). Finally, on the fourth night, again at Thomaskirche, Ton Koopman with the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra and Choir covered from Easter and Pentecost (*Christ lag in Todes Banden* BWV4.2, *Erfreut euch, ihr Herzen* BWV66.3 (the revised version performed in 1735), *Wer da glubet und getauft wird* BWV37 and *Du Hirte Israel, hre* BWV104).



Illus.2 Rudolf Lutz with the Chorus and Orchestra of J. S. Bach-Stiftung

It was a treat to hear such a good representation of cantatas Bach wrote in his first year in Leipzig, in the venues that were originally performed 300 years ago. The variety of approaches taken by each group of performers definitely boosted the level of our appreciation, which was further enhanced by listening with the audience all expecting magic. From Lutz's presentation of Bach's four sequential cantatas I gained a deeper understanding of Bach's ambitions as well as his exceptional abilities to explore such a rich variety of compositional techniques and stylistic ideas, from the very start of his Thomascantorate.

Firmly related to the tercentenary celebrations was a mini-series entitled '**A Contest of Candidates in 1723**', which consisted of two imaginative programmes to reappraise the compositional skills and imaginative power of the three candidates competing for the post of Thomascantor: Telemann, Graupner and Bach. The first was a late-night concert on 11 June at the Bundesverwaltungsgericht, where harpsichordist Pieter Dirksen performed keyboard works of Telemann (Suite in G TWV32:13 and Concert in B minor TWV Anh. 33:1), Graupner (Prelude and Chaconne from the Suite in D GWV115 and the Prelude & Fugue in A minor GWV855) and Bach (French Suite in G BWV816 and Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue in D minor BWV903). To me Bach was absolutely matchless! The second trial was of vocal works: set in a hypothetical setting of the three men performing their own works in their own towns on the 2nd Sunday after Trinity in 1723—Bach performing *Die Himmel erzählen die Ehre Gottes* BWV76 in Leipzig, Graupner performing *Meine Kindlein, lasset uns nicht lieben mit Worten* GWV1143/23 in Darmstadt and Telemann performing *Viel sind berufen, aber wenig sind auserwählt* TWV1478 in Hamburg—that were all transported in time and space to Michaeliskirche on 14 June 2023, where their pieces were performed by Vox Luminis, a group renowned for their autonomous and engaging ensemble. To me, again, Bach was clearly the supreme composer.

The theme of 'contest' was extended to instrumental works with the series '**Concerts Avec plusieurs Instruments**', the wording which Bach used for the title of *Six Brandenburg Concertos*. Under this title five programmes were offered to explore the world of virtuoso musical competitions in various combinations of instruments, including the human voice, not only in works by Bach but also those by his contemporaries. The first of these was on 10 June at the Paulinum, with Les Passions de l'Âme, directed by Meret Lüthi, in a programme comprising Telemann's Concerto in D TWV53: D5, Bach's Concerto in C minor BWV1060R (for oboe, violin, strings and continuo), Bach's secular cantata *Weichet nur, betrübte Schatten* BWV202, the Concerto in E BWV1042, and finishing with Bach's sacred cantata *Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen* BWV51. Telemann's concerto was distinctly Vivaldian, which was presented with a risk-taking and energetic solo violin—a really exciting opening number. Bach's C minor concerto, more distinctly contrapuntal in character, contrasted well in the programme. With great forward drive and contrast of instrumental colours, this reconstruction sounded so much more enjoyable and wonderfully exciting than the extant versions for two harpsichords. For the two vocal numbers, we were blessed by the wonderful soprano, Hana Blažíková, whose voice with delicate and affectionate diction was stunningly blissful (illus.3). I also attended two more concerts in this series: Europa Galante, directed by Fabio Biondi, presenting the programme mixing concertos by Vivaldi and Bach in Haus Leipzig on 15 June, and Neues Bachisches Collegium Musicum directed by Reinhard Goebel in Telemann and Bach at the

Michaeliskirche on 16 June. They delivered wonderfully colourful performances with full of exciting exchanges between instruments, respectively.



Illus.3 Hana Blažíková with Les Passions de l'Ame

There were five concerts labelled '**original/originality**', each supposedly seeking something that has not been explored in the past. One of these was a work entitled *Et Lux*, a requiem for soprano, alto, tenor, bass and chamber orchestra, produced by Julia Sophie Wagner and Jakob Lehmann, who were also among the performers as soprano and conductor respectively, presented on 11 June at the Großer Hörsaal of the Institut für Anatomie, a spectacular lecture hall where Bach's remains were examined in 1894 (illus.4). I had never been to this place before, and to my surprise it had great acoustics. The composition appeared as a random compilation of Bach's cantata movements with their texts being replaced by a new one written by Thomas Kunst (b.1965), imagining what if Bach set a requiem today. The work may be regarded as a parody, but strictly speaking the approach is fundamentally different from Bach's own practice, since no changes were made to the musical text, which, as a result, often came across as uncomfortable mismatch of words with Bach's musical idioms. The chorale 'Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten' was used as an underlying tune to unify the work. The performance itself was carefully and beautifully crafted by both singers and Eroica Berlin, a group of young instrumentalists from Berlin, which was received rapturously by the audience. It was a concert to be remembered for many years to come.



Illus.4 The Großer Hörsaal of the Institut für Anatomie

A concert presented by Capricornus Consort Basel directed by Péter Barczy on 11 June at the Michaeliskirche was another on this thread that is worth commenting on. The core items on the programme were Bach's organ works—the Prelude & Fugue in G minor BWV542, *O Mensch, beweine dein Sünde groß* BWV622, the Vivace from the Organ Trio in G BWV572, and the Fantasie in G BWV572—all arranged for string ensemble. These were sandwiched around the cantata for 11th Sunday after Trinity, *Mein Herz schwimmt im Blut*, set by Graupner (GWV1152/12b) and Bach (BWV199.1), both sung by Miriam Feuersinger, who was absolutely commanding on stage. Graupner's sensitive style contrasted well with Bach's adventurous manner, pushing the boundaries of musical drama and technical challenges, while Bach's organ works were rendered both attentively and affectionately with the warm sound of strings nuanced with subtle articulations, dynamics and colours. The chorale from *Orgelbüchlein* was a showcase of strength of stringed instruments, as its penetrating sound melted the listeners' heart. It was another concert to be remembered.

Placed as counterpart to 'the first annual cycle of cantatas' was a series entitled '**Boys' Choirs Summit**', which were gathered towards the end of Bachfest, from 15-18 June. It comprised of four concerts, each taken by some of the leading boys' choirs in Germany—the Thomanerchor Leipzig, the Dresden Kreuzchor, the Knabenchor Hannover and the Windsbacher Knabenchor—in programmes consisting of motets by Schein, Schütz, Bach and Mendelssohn, which were interspersed with Bach's organ chorales. The Thomanerchor, the recipient of this year's Bach Medal, kicked off in the Thomaskirche on 15 June, singing from the north gallery where the Bach organ is located (illus.5). Their programme was entitled 'Jauchzet dem Herrn', which comprised the following pieces: J. S. Bach's *Der Geist hilft unser Schwachheit auf* BWV226, *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr* BWV662;

Schütz's *Das ist je gewisslich wahr* SWV388, *Die Himmel erzählen die Ehre Gottes* SWV386, *Herzlich lieb hab ich dich, o Herr, ich bitt* SWV387, *Ich bin ein rechter Weinstock* SWV389, *Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt* SWV380; Bach's Trio super *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr* BWV664.2; Mendelssohn's *Jauchzet dem Herrn alle Welt*, Op.69/2, MWV B 58; Bach's *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* BWV653; Schein's 'Herr, lass meine Klage', 'Was betrübst du dich, meine Seele' and 'Ich freue mich im Herren' – all from *Israelsbrünnlein*; Bach's *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr* BWV663 and *Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied* BWV225. Of these numbers, I liked best Mendelssohn's motet on Psalm 100, which was sung beautifully *a capella*. With very effective dynamics, their voice sounded as if angels were singing. The series continued with the Dresden Kreuzchor on 16 June in the Nikolaikirche, with the programme 'Selig sind die Toten', the Klabenchor Hannover on 17 June in the Peterskirche with 'Ich lasse dich nicht', and the Windsbacher Knabenchor on 18 June in the Nikolaikirche with 'Jesu, meine Freude'. They were all well trained choirs, and each concert was deeply satisfying. I will never forget how the last group left me with the profound impression of their well-crafted rendition of *Jesu, meine Freude* BWV277, especially at the final strain of the chorale where they inserted a tiny gap before 'meine', signalling, after hearing all their musical argument, to realise the importance of Jesus' love.



Illus.5 The Thomaskirche in Leipzig, north gallery

Bachfest regulars

Solomon's Knot returned to Bachfest to perform the **St Matthew Passion** on 12 June in the Nikolaikirche (illus.6). Having heard their St John Passion in 2019 in the same venue, there was a heightened expectation as to how they would match that with the longer and more theatrically explicit Passion. And, yes, they did not disappoint us. As predicted, their theatrically enhanced rendition came with a plenty of imaginative and refreshing surprises from the beginning to the end. But it was not just the theatrical staging that made their rendition appealing. While there were untidy moments here and there, among the numbers were some highly impressive gems, most notably the two soprano arias 'Blute nur' and 'Ich will dir mein Herze schenken', sung by Zoë Brookshaw, and the chorale 'Wenn ich einmal soll scheiden', which was beautifully sung *a capella*.



Illus.6 Solomon's Knot in the St Matthew Passion

This year's slot for the **Goldberg Variations** was taken by Sergei Babayan (piano) on 13 June in the Mendelssohn-Saal of the Gewandhaus. Starting his programme with the Bach-Busoni Chaconne, which was colourful, imaginative and commanding, his Goldbergs were even more impressive. He attentively explored fresh characters in each variation by 'discovering' the lines hidden in the dense texture, which was done so tastefully, even in the Quodlibet, that it did not sound eccentric or obsessive but all convincing. With delightfully crisp articulation and tastefully controlled gradation of colours, his musical discourse remained very eloquent and refreshing throughout.

The second Passion this year was St John, presented by Vox Luminis on 17 June in the Thomaskirche. It was staged as the reconstruction of **Good Friday Vespers**, which meant that we were expected to participate actively as a congregation, i.e. singing hymns during the service, and to remain seated in a pew to hear a long sermon (which was actually not a

reconstructed hour-long sermon, but a ‘reflection on St John Passion’ by Prof Dr Norbert Lammert, which only lasted for 20 minutes) between the two parts of the Passion. There was even a practice session of singing hymns just before the Vesper proper started to ensure that the audience was prepared for this experiment. Performers were placed at two locations: Vox Luminis performed from the main balcony, while the evangelist was placed at the north gallery with the Bach organ as continuo instrument; in addition, we also had Vokalensemble Klanggewandt who assisted the congregational singing, also from the north gallery. From start to finish, the whole experience was edifying. Every bit of the performance was thoughtfully conceived and executed. Before each congregational hymn we heard the matching organ preludes by Bach, so rare to hear nowadays in their original liturgical context. Each part of the St John Passion was introduced by the Prelude & Fugue in G minor BWV542 and the chorale prelude ‘Christus, der uns selig macht’ BWV620 respectively, which not only connected everything seamlessly together but set a tone for the Passion proper. Jacobus Gallus’ *Ecce quomodo moritur justus*, which was sung blissfully after hearing the St John Passion, sealed for me this magical musical journey to Bach’s Good Friday Vespers.

Placed as the last of the series ‘Original/Originality’ was a programme called **‘Judas – A Pasticcio’**, created by Elina Albach and performed by Benedikt Kristjánsson (tenor), Clara Blessing (oboe) and Sergey Malov (violin) with CONTINUUM on 17 June in the Paulinum (illus.7). The work comprised a selection of movements from eleven cantatas by Bach, which were interspersed with the readings of text taken from Amos Oz’s *Judas* (2014), to trace the psychological ambivalence of Judas Iscariot. To depict and to link the two distant worldviews of Oz and Bach, a mix of instruments, modern ones such as oboe, marimba and xylophone, as well as an ordinary set of Baroque continuo instruments, were used tactfully. With violent acting involved—slapping, smacking and kissing—this powerful and profound show at late night might have been too challenging for some; but it was certainly one of most original and unforgettable events.



Illus.7 Benedikt Kristjánsson (tenor), Sergey Malov (violin) and CONTINUUM

‘**Ausgezeichnet**’ is a well-established series that offers a platform to an emerging young artist who recently won international competitions to showcase their talent in front of international guests. Among the five platforms, one was truly outstanding: on 18 June in the Alte Börse, Charlotte Spruit, a violinist from England, with her friends, Jonny Byers (cello), Sergio Bucheli (lute) and Tom Foster (harpsichord), presented a programme of violin music seen from Bach’s perspective, first into the past and then looking around. Starting with the Sonata in E minor BWV1023, they explored works by Westhoff, Johann Jakob Walther, Georg Muffat and finally Nicola Matteis, a nice touch to feature another talent from her home country. She was fully at home with the style of Baroque violin playing, bringing out with panache a wide range of styles, characters and colours.

The final concert, which has always been the **B minor Mass** BWV232 performed in the Thomaskirche, was taken this year by Bach Collegium Japan directed by Masaaki Suzuki, who produced a well-polished performance in a modest but dignified manner. A feeling of deep appreciation was evident while listening to the Mass, the feeling which lingered for a long time afterwards. Arguably it was the most memorable performance of the Mass in recent years, as it became a popular topic of conversation among the Bachfest visitors on their way home.

Besides the concerts, there were lectures and seminars given by researchers from the Bach-Archiv Leipzig on various strands of topics relating to both the motto and the tercentenary celebrations of Bach’s appointment as Thomascantor. Our **Bach Network** also contributed to this motto by offering three panel discussions on the future of Bach performance, the future of Bach sources, and the future of Bach research on 14 June at Blauer Salon, which was well attended. Alongside there was also an academic conference on the new appointment of the Thomascantor in 1723 and the history of the Protestant church cantata around 1720, which ran from 15 to 17 June at the university library. Altogether 21 papers were presented, including two papers in English by our ABS colleagues Steven Zohn and Daniel Melamed.

An overall impression of this year was one of ‘full recovery’. Compared with last year, the attendance of each event has increased noticeably. In retrospect, the exploration of new approaches to Bach as captured in this year’s motto was symbolic and highly appropriate. I thoroughly enjoyed this year’s Bachfest. I have learned a lot, too.

Next year’s Bachfest will run from 7 to 16 June 2024, with the motto ‘*CHORal TOTAL*’.

News

Elisabeth Merschdorf has won first prize in the Northern Ireland International Organ Competition 2023.

The **European Union Baroque Orchestra** has been relaunched, with the collaboration of ICONS and the Associazione Musicale Angelo Mariani, and is now based in Italy.

The Continuo Foundation charity has created a free digital platform for the UK early music sector called **Continuo Connect**, www.continuoconnect.com.

The **Lancaster Community Music Trust** is looking to form a new early music group in their area, contact info@lcmt.org.uk.

The German record magazine **Fono Forum** is to close after more than seven decades.

The next **European Early Music Summit** will take place in Brussels and Bruges from 30 November-3 December 2023.

Obituaries

Countertenor **James Bowman** (6 November 1941-27 March 2023) has died at the age of 81.

Harpsichord maker **Andrea Goble** (27 June 1931-25 April 2023) has died at the age of 91.

Organist **Rachel Laurin** (11 August 1961-13 August 2023) has died at the age of 62.

Professor **Linda Burman-Hall** (10 April 1945-21 August 2023) has died at the age of 78.

Listings

EARLY MUSIC ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIETIES

Early Music Fora and events

Border Marches Early Music Forum, <http://www.bmemf.org.uk>

16 September 2023 – English laments of the early 17th century, Titley Village Hall, tutor David Allinson

4 November 2023 – A Tudor Celebration, St Ismael's Church Hall, Uzmaston, tutor Luke Spencer

25 November 2023 – Celano, *Messa La Luna Piena*, The Great Barn, Hellens, tutor George Parris

24 February 2024 - 'The Music and Myths of Thomas Weelkes, Bishop's Palace, Hereford, tutors Will Dawes and Katie Bank

Early Music Forum Scotland, <http://www.emfscotland.org.uk>

Eastern Early Music Forum, <http://www.eemf.org.uk>

14-15 October 2023 – Francisco Valls weekend, Thaxted, tutor Patrick Craig

North East Early Music Forum, <http://www.neemf.org.uk>

21 October 2023 – Benevoli, *Missa Tu Es Petrus*, Clements Hall, York, tutor Robert Hollingworth

11 November 2023 - Peter Philips and his contemporaries, St Mary's, Fawdon, tutor Alex Kyle

9 December 2023 - Seasonal fun for voices & all instruments, Clements Hall, York, tutor Tricia Moores

20 January 2024 – Playing for Dance, a workshop for instrumentalists, Burley in Wharfedale Methodist Church, tutors Peter Barnard and Kate Billmore

North West Early Music Forum, <https://nwemf.org>

23 September 2023 – Gabrieli and his contemporaries, Hoole, Chester, tutor Grace Barton

4 November 2023 - Morales, Guerrero & Victoria, Plas Newton, tutor Peter Syrus

11 November 2023 - Voices and instruments, Manchester, tutor David Hatcher

23 March 2024 - Voices and instruments, Liverpool Parish Church, tutor Lisa Colton

20 April 2024 - Voices and instruments, Preston, tutor Gawain Glenton

18 May 2024 – Handl, *Opus Musicum*, Manchester, tutor Stephanie Dyer

Midlands Early Music Forum, <http://memf.org.uk>

23 September - Baroque String Workshop, St Nicholas Church, Warwick, tutor Oliver Webber

7 October 2023 - Mysterious Motets from 1539, Harborne, Birmingham, tutor Patrick Allies

4 November 2023 - Thomas Weelkes, tutors Will Dawes and Katie Banks

2 December 2023 - Christmas Workshop, tutor Philip Thorby

Southern Early Music Forum, <https://semf.org.uk>

17 September 2023 - Bach's B minor Mass, Headcorn, Kent, tutor John Hancorn

28 October 2023 - What about Weelkes?, Bosham, tutors Will Dawes and Katie Banks

18 November 2023 – Workshop, Scaynes Hill, tutor David Allinson

South West Early Music Forum, <http://www.swemf.org.uk>

30 September 2023 - *Missa Dominus Regnavit* by Lambert de Sayve, Thorverton, tutor Philip Thorby

21 October 2023 – Sacred music by Schein, Leckhampton Village Hall, Cheltenham, tutor Peter Syrus

4 November 2023 - Renaissance Polyphony, Stoke-sub-Hamdon Village Hall, tutor Graham Coatman

Thames Valley Early Music Forum, <http://www.tvemf.org>

30 September 2023 – What about Weelkes?, Somerville College, Oxford, tutors Will Dawes and Katie Bank

10 December 2023 - Christmas with the shepherds: Mouton's *Quaeramus cum pastoribus*, Amersham, tutor Rory McCleery

17 February 2024 - Victimae Paschali settings, Oxford, tutor Edward Higginbottom

Early Music Organizations

American Bach Society, <https://www.americanbachsociety.org>

American Musical Instrument Society, <http://www.amis.org>

Asociación Amigos del Clavecín, http://clalsan.wix.com/amigos_clavecin

Bach Network, <https://www.bachnetwork.org>

Benslow Trust, <http://www.benslowmusic.org>

Boston Clavichord Society, www.bostonclavichord.org

British Harpsichord Society, <http://www.harpsichord.org.uk>

British Institute of Organ Studies, <http://www.bios.org.uk>

Cobbe Collection, <http://www.cobbecollection.co.uk>

Dolmetsch Foundation, <https://www.dolmetsch.com/dolmetschfoundation.htm>

East Anglian Academy of Early Music, <http://www.eastanglianacademy.org.uk>

Early Music America, <https://www.earlymusicamerica.org>

Fellowship of Makers and Researchers of Historic Instruments, <http://fomrhi.org>

FIMTE, International Festival of Spanish Keyboard Music, <http://www.fimte.org>

Finnish Clavichord Society, suomenklavikordiseura.blogspot.com

The Friends of Square Pianos, <http://www.friendsofsquarepianos.co.uk>

Galpin Society, <http://www.galpinsociety.org>
 Handel Institute, <https://handelinstitute.org>
 Handel Friends, www.handelfriendsuk.com
 Historical Keyboard Society of America, <https://www.hksna.org>
 Keyboard Charitable Trust, <http://www.keyboardtrust.org>
 L'association Clavecin en France, <http://www.clavecin-en-france.org>
 Les Amis du Clavecin, <http://www.amisduclavecin.be/~index.htm>
 London Bach Society, <http://www.bachlive.co.uk>
 London Handel Festival, <http://www.london-handel-festival.com>
 National Centre for Early Music, <http://www.ncem.co.uk>
 National Early Music Association UK, <http://www.earlymusic.info/nema.php>
 Het Nederlands Clavichord Genootschap, www.clavichordgenootschap.nl
 Netherlands Bach Society, <https://www.bachvereniging.nl/en>
 REMA, European Early Music Network, <https://www.rema-ecmn.net>
 Royal College of Organists, <https://www.rco.org.uk/>
 Schweizerische Clavichordgesellschaft, www.clavichordgesellschaft.ch
 Southern California Early Music Society, <http://www.earlymusiccla.org>
 Spanish Association of Early Music Groups, <http://www.asociaciongema.com>
 Stichting Clavecimbel Genootschap, <http://www.scgn.org/~index.php>
 Swedish Clavichord Society, <http://goart.gu.se/gcs>
 Thomas Tomkins Society, <http://www.thomastomkins.org.uk>
 Japan Clavier Society, www.claviersociety.jp
 Vlaamse Klavecimbel Vereniging, <http://www.vlaamseklavecimbelvereniging.be>
 Westfield Center for Historical Keyboard Studies, <http://westfield.org>

MUSICAL INSTRUMENT AUCTIONS

Brompton's (UK), <https://www.bromptons.co>
 Christie's (USA), <https://www.christies.com/departments/Musical-Instruments>
 Gardiner Houlgate (UK), <https://www.gardinerhoulgate.co.uk>
 Gorrings (UK), <https://www.gorrings.co.uk>
 Ingles Hayday (UK), <https://ingleshayday.com>

Peter Wilson (UK), <https://www.peterwilson.co.uk>

Piano Auctions (UK), <http://www.pianoauctions.co.uk>

CONFERENCES

The 59th Annual Conference of the **Royal Musical Association** will take place at the University of Nottingham on 14–16 September 2023. Contact: RMA2023@nottingham.ac.uk

The virtual conference '**Sicut in caelo, et in terra**': **Commissioning and Production of Sacred Music in Italy from the Middle Ages to Today** will take place on 6-8 October 2023. Contact: conferences@luigiboccherini.org

The conference on **Historical embodiment in music** will take place at the Hochschule der Künste Bern on 2–4 November 2023, website: <https://www.hkb-interpretation.ch/embodiment>

The thirteenth **Handel Institute Conference** will take place at Bridewell Hall, London, on 17-19 November 2023. Contact: natassa.varka.handel@gmail.com

The conference **Vie musicale et identité urbaine dans la France de la Renaissance (c.1500-c.1630) / Musical life and urban identity in Renaissance France (c.1500-c.1630)** will take place at CESR in Tours on 8-10 February 2024. Contact: alexander.robinson@univ-tours.fr

The conference **Women, Opera and the Public Stage in Eighteenth-Century Venice** will take place at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology on 11-13 April 2024. Contact: to.woven@musikk.ntnu.no

FESTIVALS

13-18 October 2023, **Brighton Early Music Festival**, <http://www.bremf.org.uk>

9-20 May 2024, **Handel Festspiele Göttingen**, www.haendel-festspiele.de

24 May to 9 June 2024, **Handel Festival Halle**,
<https://www.haendelhaus.de/en/hfs/homepage#>

17-20 May 2024, **Tage Alter Musik Regensburg**, www.tagealtermusik-regensburg.de

12-15 June 2024, **English Haydn Festival**, <https://englishhaydn.com/index.html>