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 Collins

Francis Knights

Francis Knights: *How did you first get interested in music, and what was your early training?*

John Collins: Like most players I started with piano lessons when I was about 7, moved to the organ (*illus.1*) when I was about 12, studying primarily with the organist of Heene parish church, and moving to Christ Church when he took up the position there. After several years I moved away from regular lessons, but kept up playing. In my late 20s I became interested in the harpsichord, and managed to find a second-hand instrument by John Paul, alas nothing like a historically based model! I was greatly helped in repertoire at the time by the chapter by Howard Ferguson in a Pelican book on the development of keyboard music, and the extensive bibliography was a revelation. Previously I had been playing some old editions of early organ music, which owed very little to an informed approach to registration or textual accuracy. By chance I noticed an advert in a Brighton paper that led me to Paul Simmonds, from whom I had quite intensive harpsichord lessons for five years from around 1978 until he moved to Switzerland. During this time I went on a week's course at Bath with Colin Tilney, studying Toccatas by Frescobaldi and Rossi and Canzone Francese by Merulo. He introduced us to the dissonant world of Storace and Strozzi, which left a lasting impression, as did his comment about why be one of thousands trying to play Bach, better to be one of the few who play Frescobaldi. At a later meeting with him he asked about other subjects to study in his course at Bath and I suggested the Iberians, to which he replied: Go away, learn Spanish and read the treatises up to Correa to become fully immersed in the ways of playing the indispensable ornaments, and remind him in 10 years!

Paul and Colin both emphasized how essential it is to read prefaces, particularly those written by the composer, and to look at comparing different sources where possible. I had a couple of long lessons with Timothy Roberts on the Spanish repertoire, which were extremely helpful. Around 1997 Andrew MacCrae of the RCO Library came to Chichester Cathedral and brought some copies of pieces in the library, whereupon I contacted him to order copies of some of the English 18th century original editions, and visited the library regularly, establishing a firm friendship with Robin Langley the Librarian, well known for his anthologies of the early English repertoire. He was a driving force in encouraging me to pursue my interest in the Georgian Voluntary, and a great help in answering questions on performance. This led to my assisting David Patrick who was publishing voluntaries by the Georgian composers, and writing brief introductory notes for his editions.

Which composers and repertoire do you most enjoy?

There are a few composers whose pieces I particularly enjoy playing, mainly Frescobaldi, Gibbons, Froberger, Blow, Coelho, Pedro de Araujo, Bruna and Cabanilles. A number of 18th and early 19th century Italian, Spanish and South German composers are also very enjoyable as lighter fare. I have been playing at local churches in Worthing for around 50 years, including 33 at St George's, and on the retirement of the very long-serving organist of Christ Church I moved there in 2017. The congregation, as well as the various vicars who take the services, are enthusiastically appreciative of the varied voluntaries, many of the pieces possibly not heard regularly – if at all – in services in the UK.



Illus.1 After an organ recital in Brighton

What types of keyboards have you used during your career?

As far as harpsichords are concerned after instruments by John Paul and Dolmetsch my first historically-based instrument as a single manual Flemish by Peter Cloudesley, and in 2004 I took delivery of a specially commissioned copy of the Antunes of 1756 in the Museu de Instrumentos, Lisbon, by Andrew Wooderson, which I still have (*illus.2*). It's ideal for my special interests, although not for the French repertoire. I have played various 18th century English organs in presentations for BIOS, but the majority of organs on which I play for services and recitals are from the late 19th -20th century.



Illus.2 Harpsichord by Andrew Wooderson after Joachim José Antunes (1756)

What is your linguistic background?

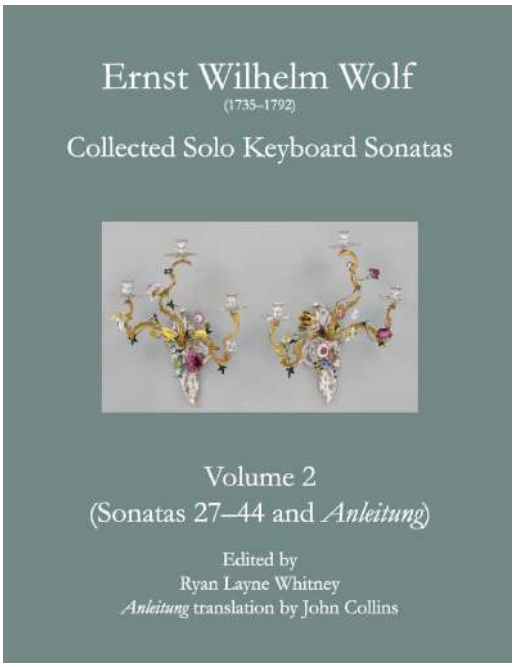
I took French and German to A level, which I passed, and have kept them up ever since. I started learning Portuguese when I was meeting a number of Brazilian students who were here to learn and improve English, and was most taken with the sounds of the language. I decided to teach myself, there being no local courses available in 1984, and used the grammar book by R. Clive Willis, which I still have, to such an extent that I reached university entrance standard within a year. Spanish I learned at night school, and continued teaching myself; having received an excellent grounding in grammar at secondary school was a tremendous help, particularly in unravelling the very complex aspects of European Portuguese, Brazilian being somewhat more flexible and less difficult.

Also, being able to read Italian to a reasonable level, although I am not sufficiently fluent to write easily in it, has meant that I can keep up with current scholarship by reading articles in these languages which have been stimulating and thought provoking in offering

new ways of looking at certain pieces and genres. It is much easier to communicate with the authors and discuss points in their own language where possible.

What are some of your published translations?

Manuel Rodrigues Coelho's advice to players in *Flores de Musica* for the new edition by Joao Vaz for Ut Orpheus, and translating or revising the English introductions in the three volumes. Introductory texts and critical commentaries from Spanish for *Selected Works for Keyboard* by Antonio de Cabezón and *Selected Works for Organ* by Juan Baptista Cabanilles, each in three volumes, by Gerhard Doderer and Miguel Bernal Ripoll for Bärenreiter, and the preface to *Portuguese Organ Music 1540-1834* from German, also for them. *Vorbericht (als eine Anleitung zum guten Vortrag beym Clavierspielen)* by Ernst Wilhelm Wolf from the German, printed in volume two of Wolf's Keyboard Sonatas edited by Ryan Layne Whitney (*illus.3*). CD booklet notes from English into German for recordings of Suites and Variations by Buxtehude and *Harmony's Monument* by Mattheson for Colin Booth, also the preface to his edition of *Die wohlklingende Fingersprache* by Mattheson. *The Iberian Organ* from the German by Gerhard Grenzing, an article in *Organists' Review* (August 2009).



Illus.3 Ernst Wilhelm Wolf, Keyboard Sonatas vol.2, edited by Ryan Layne Whitney

How has your work as a translator impacted upon your musical interests and apart from this what has driven your research and writing interests over the years?

My wish to make the less well known early repertoire better known, which I was able to do through articles and reviews for *The Organ* and the British Institute of Organ Studies, although from my experience there still isn't the interest in the early period in general, especially the detailed points of a historically informed performance practice, among provincial organists' associations. Something I have been doing for many years now is

writing an article with details of composers whose anniversaries of birth or death can be commemorated during the year in question, and more recently I have expanded this to include notable publications as well; this has also been one facet of my voluntary and recital planning. My formative years with Paul Simmonds and the week with Colin Tilney were instrumental in developing my research, linguistic fluency was a great help in reading articles in Spanish, Portuguese, German, French and Italian.

Is the decline of language skills among musicians a concern?

I am increasingly concerned that fewer students are taking A-levels in modern languages and that literary texts are not always studied in some sixth forms, which in itself is a great loss. Since not all publishers include an English translation of prefaces, critical reports and comments in the score, many players without language skills are missing important information.

What key historical music texts still await translation into English, and which of the existing ones need to be redone?

Not having access to a number of documents open to university and conservatoire students and professors, I am not completely up-to-date with all available recent translations, especially of 18th century German texts, but from Spanish I am not aware of complete translations of the introductions to Venegas de Henestrosa's *Libro de Cifra* or Antonio de Cabezon's *Obras de Musica*. The important treatises by Pablo Nassarre (*Fragmentos Musicales* and *Escuela de Musica*) are also not available, as far as I am aware. From Italian of Diruta's *Il Transilvano*, and Adriano Banchieri's *L'Organo Suonarino*, by Lorenzo Penna. There may well be some of the several later 18th-century German texts on clavichord playing which are not available in a good modern translation. The revised *Anthology of early keyboard methods* by Barry Ife and Barbara Sachs, in which sections from various 16th century treatises have been translated, is an excellent starting point for players without the required language skills.

Thoughts on the Hanseatic chorale fantasia for organ

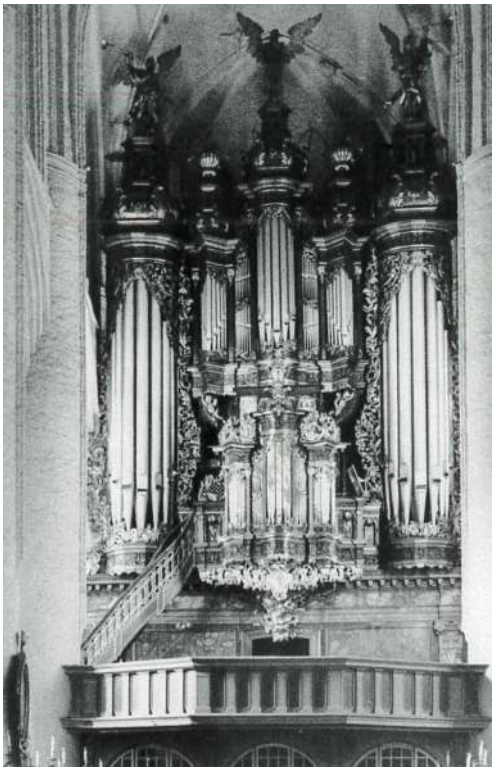
Glen Wilson

A recent perusal of Bach's organ chorales had me so fascinated by the tunes themselves that I decided to reach back to earlier masters. First, to Jan Adam Reincken (1643-1722) from Deventer, a member city of the Hanseatic League in my adopted homeland, the Kingdom of The Netherlands. The famous story of his meeting in Hamburg with J. S. Bach was the link. Bach visited the old man (not aged 99, as previously believed) at St Catherine's and had the temerity to improvise on *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, considered the Dutchman's property. This brought the chorale fantasia into view. I got out my ancient LP performance by Gustav Leonhardt at Noordbroek, and was thoroughly hooked.[1]

Wanting contemporary works for comparison, I first thought of Matthias Weckmann (c.1616-1674), a protégé of Schütz who escaped from Dresden to seek the organs and organists of Hamburg. In one of his chorale fantasias I stumbled on the form's greatest monument. Fascination ensued, hence the following overview.

The chorale fantasia – a useful 19th-century German classification – became the main vehicle for organists' showmanship in Northern Germany for the better part of the 17th century. The form circulated among cities of the old Hanseatic League, which regulated water-borne trade on the North and Baltic Seas. Its basic shape remained constant: each line of the chorale is treated separately, first in motet style, in a quiet registration with pedal. Then a solo line in the *Rückpositiv* appears, which ornaments the chorale in fast note values, with the melody notes struck on main beats. There can be any number of such solos per chorale line, and they use the whole range of the keyboard; usually in figuration reminiscent of the old 'colorists' or Sweelinck himself, but sometimes using elaborate arpeggios and repeated notes. Thematic entrances appear on the quiet manual (usually the *Oberwerk*) and pedal, during and between solos. After a short closing cadenza, subsequent chorale lines are treated in similar fashion. Towards the end a section appears using rapid manual changes to create echo effects. The piece concludes with a virtuoso coda.

Where did this remarkable form originate? Reincken studied with the greatest of Sweelinck's Hamburg students, the agèd Heinrich Scheidemann (1596-1663), and succeeded him at St Catherine's (*illus.1*). Scheidemann is almost always cited as the 'inventor' of the chorale fantasia. His main contributions are found as the third of four verses in his settings of seven of the eight tones of the Magnificat, which were played at Saturday Vespers. A few separate examples round out the picture, though not as many as Pieter Dirksen thinks.[2] Scheidemann may indeed have been the person who stabilized something which had been quite loose into a semi-fixed structure.



Illus.1 St Catherine's, Hamburg, organ by Anon (1520), Niehoff & Johannsen (1550s), Stellwagen (1640s) and others, destroyed in 1943. Photo c.1900

But two north Germans of Sweelinck's generation have it in embryonic form: Hieronymus Praetorius (or Schultz, 1560-1629) of Hamburg, and Johann Steffens (c.1560-1616) of Lüneburg. Praetorius, besides numerous vocal works, completed the cycle of organ verses on the eight Magnificat tones. Found in the so-called Visby manuscript, they are powerful works in a more archaic style than Scheidemann's. A few verses explicitly demand two manuals, and many other passages lend themselves to solo/tutti performance.

Steffens worked in the inland Hanseatic city of Lüneburg, later made famous for music history by Georg Böhm and his protégé, the young choirboy J. S. Bach. Steffens has three surviving chorale settings. That on *Nun komm der Heiden Heiland*, an Advent chorale that shows up often as a vehicle for virtuosity at the organ, is clearly the latest. Its division into three verses is a newer development, and the third has what look like *Rückpositiv* passages combined with quieter manual and pedal parts, without their being so marked. His single surviving Fantasia looks like an attempt to imitate what was coming from Amsterdam via nearby Hamburg.

Returning to the organists who were sent for study to Amsterdam: second in importance after Scheidemann is Samuel Scheidt (1587-1654) of Halle an der Saale. His city had not been a member of the Hanse since 1479, so it may be no coincidence that he has left us no chorale fantasia in Hanseatic style.

Hieronymus Praetorius' two sons Jacob and Johann were both Sweelinck students, and later held top posts in Hamburg. Johann's works (assuming any were notated) are all lost, but Jacob, who was organist at St Peter's, has a significant surviving corpus of organ works which includes a number of splendid chorale fantasias, notably *Von allen Menschen abgewandt*. His reputation for gravitas caused Schütz to prefer him over Scheidemann as a teacher for Weckmann. Some of Jacob's organ works can be counted among the most expressive and powerful of the period. The famous *Organistenchronik* by Johann Kortkamp – about which more later – heaps praise on his memory second only to that accorded Kortkamp's own teacher, Weckmann.

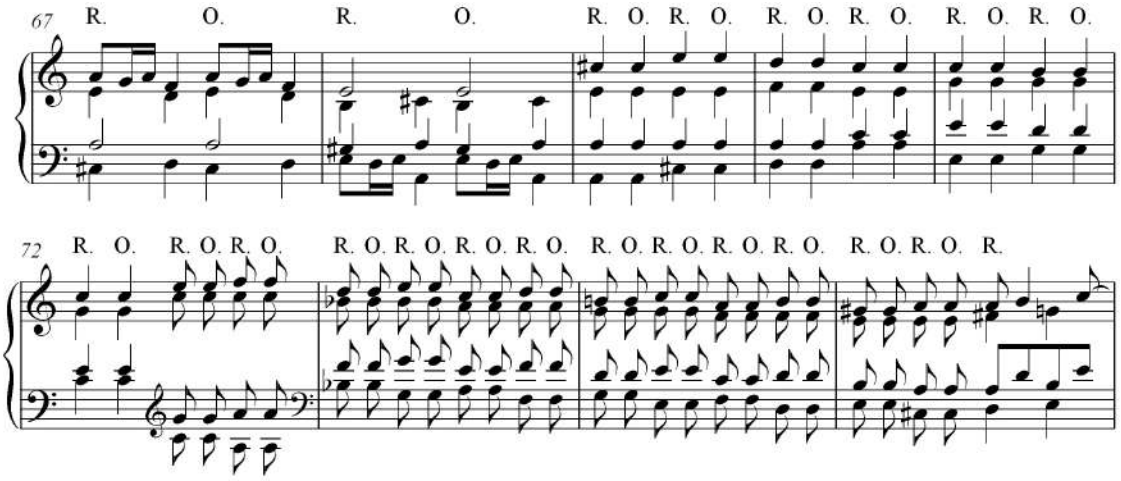
Paul Siefert, organist of Warsaw and Danzig, eldest of the German Sweelinck students in terms of age on arrival in Amsterdam, was involved in a dispute with his Cantor over three decades that makes Bach's troubles with his Rektor Ernesti look like a tea party. His slim corpus of surviving keyboard pieces is plagued with problems of attribution. The ones which are most secure look like youthful works. These include a single brief fantasia on an original theme, found in a Vienna manuscript. It was attached to another anonymous, vastly inferior set of 12 similar pieces, a partial modal cycle, in manuscript now in Leipzig. Klaus Beckmann unfortunately included all 13 in his complete Siefert edition.[3]

I believe Siefert was the scribe of the main Sweelinck source, Lynar A1, as well as Lynar A2. If true, it means that some of the anonymous works found in A1 are probably his; many were attributed by Seiffert to Sweelinck. A2, as well as manuscripts from the southern Netherlands testify to Siefert's connections to Antwerp and the Brussels court, possibly via Amsterdam. The Hintze MS, named after a previous owner and now at Yale, is a Weckmann autograph of French-style pieces. At No.6 there is a short passacaglia by Siefert's student Balthasar Erben, marked by Weckmann 'from Siefert's book'. Weckmann touched up a couple of Erben's pieces in the Hintze MS, most likely when Erben passed through Dresden on the way to meet Froberger in Regensburg.

The list of important Sweelinck students must also include Melchior Schildt (1593-1667) of Hannover. His city was part of the Hanse because of its navigable river, the Leine. His four outstanding chorale settings often contain elements of the chorale fantasia, but it is the second verse of the five in his Magnificat Primi Toni where he goes all the way, with an extended echo section (*ex.1*). Verse 3 is a miniature version of Sweelinck's Chromatic Fantasia. Schildt's simple manualiter setting of *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr* is very similar indeed to that by his great teacher.

Schildt's harmonies are the most adventurous of the Sweelinck school; they are reminiscent of his master's little shocks, but go farther, in the manner of a clever student. (I appended a massive, anonymous fantasia of a similarly overzealous nature to my Naxos Sweelinck CD, with a tentative attribution to Schildt.)[4] The height of madness is reached in the use of D♯s and a chromatic run down the distance of a 12th at the end of his setting of *Herzlich lieb hab ich dich, O Herr* (*ex.2*). This whole piece looks to me like the best reflection

we have of a Sweelinck improvisation on a weekday at the Oude Kerk. How these might have influenced the Hanseatic chorale fantasia will be discussed shortly.



Ex.1 Melchior Schildt, Magnificat Primi Toni*, bars 67-75*



Ex.1 Schildt, Herzlich lieb hab ich dich*,* O Herr*, bars 78-82*

* * *

We come now to the second generation of Sweelinck students. Weckmann and Reincken, students of Jacob Praetorius and Scheidemann respectively, were previously mentioned. Reincken's *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* has iconic status because it was the only example of the form to be printed, and even more so because of its connection to Bach. As a piece of music, however, it is not up to the mark set by Scheidemann; there are moments of great beauty, but it wanders, and often seems uninspired. Possibly its most remarkable aspect is the degree of 'tone-painting' involved; words in the chorale text are treated according to

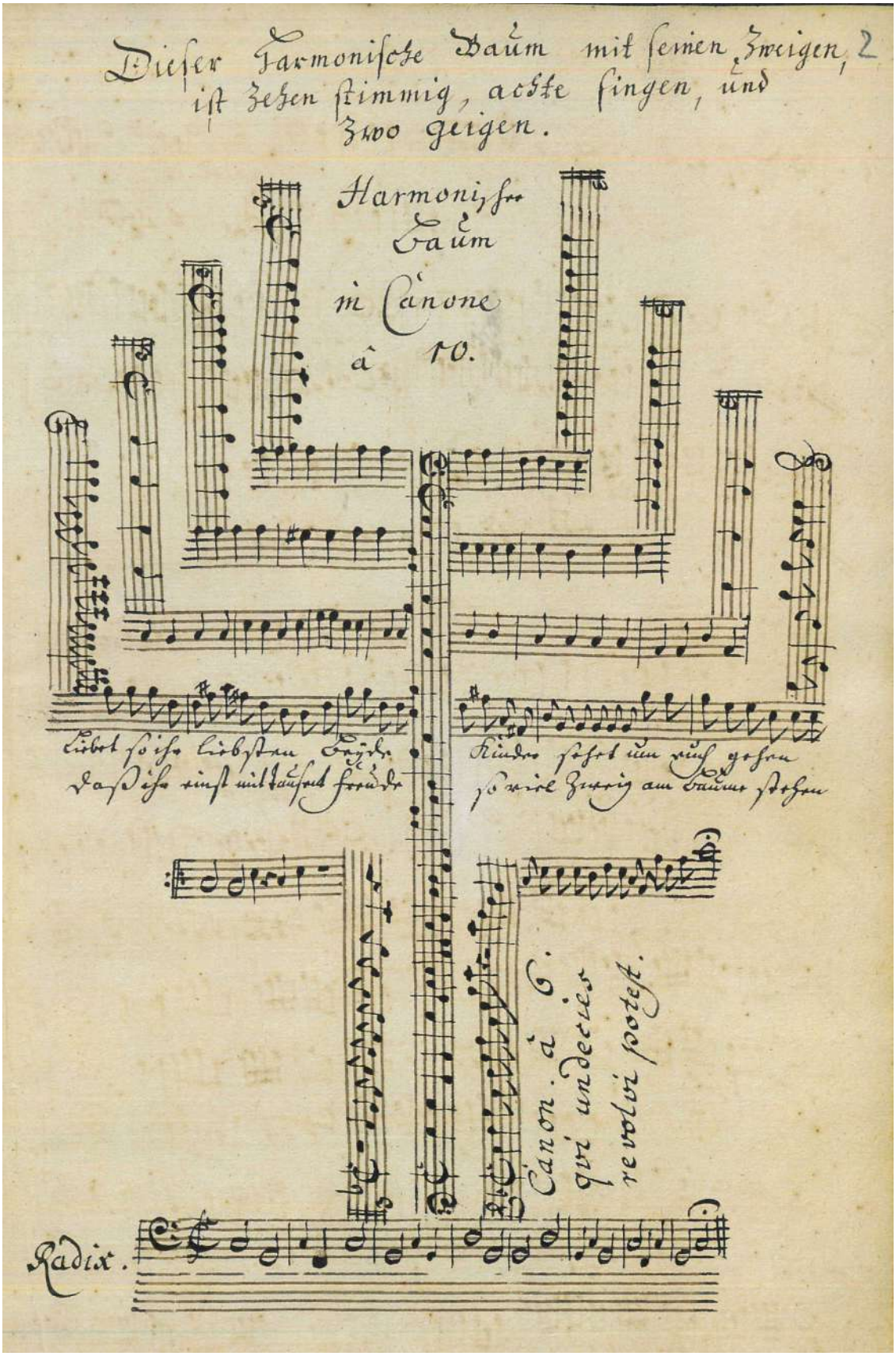
the principles of musical rhetoric, or *Figurenlehre*. Musical 'figures', given pseudo-Greek and -Latin names by ponderous theoreticians, attempt to render verbal meaning into sound, sometimes with childish literalness, sometimes more meaningfully. The vast apparatus, which died out in the 18th century, was an *ex post facto* reaction to the Josquin revolution, when music evolved from mostly mathematics to a vehicle for emotion.

The Dutchman Reincken had a slightly older Danish friend, by far the most famous representative of the North German school: Dietrich Buxtehude (1637-1707). They appear together on the famous triple portrait by Johannes Voorhout, together with Johann Theile (*illus.2*). I saw the painting at the home of Hugh Gough (1916-1997) in New York, after he acquired it on the art market and before it found its proper place at the Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte.



Illus.2 Johannes Voorhout, Portrait of Buxtehude, Reincken, Theile and others

Almost nothing is known of Buxtehude's formation as an organist and composer, but there is no evidence that he can be counted as part of the Sweelinck school. Buxtehude's chorale fantasias are less impressive than one might have hoped. His interest in strict counterpoint is well-documented, and I think his engagement with the older, wide-ranging, improvisatory form was half-hearted. Any interest in notating such work was extinguished altogether in his mentee, J. S. Bach. It is beyond doubt that Bach knew Johann Theile's *Kunstbuch*, a treatise on contrapuntal acrobatics (*illus.3*).[5] Stricter forms than the chorale fantasia occupied the mind of the Thomaskantor; even his early toccatas, like those of Buxtehude, are more organized.



Illus.3 Johann Theile, Kunstbuch*, manuscript, p.7*

It is a different story regarding Buxtehude's father-in-law and predecessor at St Mary's in Lübeck, the brilliant Franz Tunder (1614-1667). Six of his extant organ chorales are fine fantasias in a style which the younger man obviously copied from the Scheidemann/Praetorius school. Weckmann may have been the link; Tunder was best man at his wedding. In the article on Franciscus de Minde, Mattheson's somewhat unreliable *Ehren-Pforte* (1740) says Tunder studied with Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583-1643). Be that as it may, there is little if any influence from that master to be found in Tunder. But he may been a major conduit for the more recent motoric and abstract Italianisms that crop up in Germany after mid-century.

Further examples of the Hanseatic chorale fantasia are scattered across the surviving body of works by many forgotten masters – some deservedly so, others unjustly. Interesting examples can be found from Danzig, an extremely important Hanseatic center at this time. A student of Siefert deserves mention. Andreas Neunaber (1603-63) has one surviving piece, the only work comprising Lynar B 8 (erroneously attributed to an otherwise unknown 'Anton'). It is to my knowledge the earliest work to explicitly demand three manuals and pedal. *Ich ruf zu dir Herr Jesu Christ* first presents a simple, anonymous setting with the ornamented melody on a solo register, which could be by his teacher Paul Siefert. Neunaber is then named as composer of a chorale fantasia which works through the melody line by line in Hanseatic style, and very nearly at Scheidemann's level of excellence. His gorgeous organ case from St John's in Danzig/Gdańsk now takes the place of the lost organ in the main church of St. Mary's. (Neunaber has an article in *New Grove* I, but is absent from *New Grove* II and *MGG* II. *Sic transit gloria librorum consultandorum impressorum*).

Two younger contemporaries of Neunaber have chorale fantasias which are not at the same level as his. Another Danziger, Ewald Hintz, or Hinsch (1613-1668), was a Froberger student according to Mattheson's *Ehren-Pforte* article on Caspar Forster Junior. The two worked together in Denmark for Frederick III. Hintz' three-manual layout also shows pedal registration changes, giving the chorale lines to the Posaune. Kortkamp's *Organistenchronik* says that the author often pulled stops for Weckmann while he was playing.

Nicolaus Hasse (c.1617-1672) worked in Rostock, another member of the Hanse. Of his four chorale preludes, that on *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr* uses exactly the same 3-manual layout as Hintz, but this may have to do with the fact that their works are found in the same Lublin tablature. *Komm Heiliger Geist Herre Gott* is a full-blown chorale fantasia, overly long by a factor of three. Klaus Beckmann surprisingly relegates the pedal registration changes to the critical commentary in his edition.[6]

The splendidly-named and long-lived Delphin Strungk (1601-1694) was Schildt's successor in Wolfenbüttel, and later took over all the organs in ducal Braunschweig. He has three weak chorale fantasias (two of them embedded in a Magnificat) which are remarkable for being manuals-only. His interminable toccata outdoes Schildt in chromatic runs. And with this decadent figure the trail of the Hanseatic chorale fantasia runs cold.

* * *

Let us return to the question of its origin. Was it really 'invented' by Scheidemann? Hamburg organs' expanded, independent pedal divisions are considered pivotal, but the earlier organs in the northern Netherlands could handle the parts. The pedals had one or two solo stops and pull-downs from the main divisions which had the necessary range. And anyway, this was not an era when forms were invented; they evolved, slowly. Originality wasn't the idiotic obsession it became in modern times, and I imagine it was rather frowned upon in early 17th-century Hamburg. So where did all these Hamburg organists who had been to Amsterdam get the idea for the chorale fantasia?

I mentioned previously that there were Hamburg locals who were moving in its direction. What about Sweelinck himself? His teaching most likely primarily concerned vocal counterpoint. His rules for composition, based on Zarlino, added to by his German school and redacted by Reincken, point in that direction. His main job as city (not church) organist was to entertain citizens strolling in the Oude Kerk on one of its two organs for an hour daily. I feel certain that what Sweelinck's students heard, rather than studied on paper, was a major nudge towards the full-fledged chorale fantasia. It is striking in this respect that Sweelinck's major contribution, the large-scale Fantasia on original subjects, found virtually no resonance in Germany. Only Samuel Scheidt, who rejected the chorale fantasia, pursued the stricter form. Its much-touted influence on the German fugue is chimerical.

Schildt's *Herzlich lieb*, as previously mentioned, provides a possible clue to Sweelinck's influence on the chorale fantasia. It contains all the elements on a small scale, including an echo section. Multi-manual organs fairly cry out for these effects, tiring as they can become. Sweelinck's own carefully composed Echo Fantasias are not connected to any cantus firmus except for internal themes; most of them use the lower octave for the echo rather than a different manual. The idea itself seems to have filtered up from France and Italy, through the southern Netherlands. It is possibly significant that the fantasia fragment by Jacob Praetorius on *Durch Adams Fall*, which has all the signs of being a very early work, is entitled 'Echo' in its unique source (Lynar B5 – one of a few in the Lynar set which contain a single work).

* * *

There are precious few works by other Netherlanders of the period to have come down to us. There is no telling what Henderik Speuy, city organist of Dordrecht, might have been up to. His 1610 print of decorated Psalms is for small organ or harpsichord. The Psalm melody is in one hand in long notes, with a highly decorated part in the other. This *De Psalmen Davids / gestelt op het Tabulatuer van het Orghel ende Clavecymmel / met 2. Parteijen* offers a clear picture of one of Sweelinck's likely ways of actually improvising on tunes. These simple settings for home use match many similar examples of chorale verses from the Hanseatic school.

Anthoni van Noordt, who died in 1673, was a member of Amsterdam's second-most prominent musical family. He was probably a pupil of Sweelinck's son Dirk, and was father or uncle of Sijbrandt (ii), who printed the first keyboard sonata north of the Alps. Antoni's *Tabulatuur-boeck van psalmen en Fantasyen* (1659) has conservative Geneva Psalm settings in various formats for the verses, three which indicate solo voices:

- bicinia
- melody in the discant, two parts in the manual, and well-developed pedal part
- the book's final entry, Psalm 24, verse 2, is a full-fledged chorale fantasia, including passages with double solo (*illus.4*). This may represent late feedback from Hamburg.

Van Noordt's Fantasies are simple counterpoint only, rather like more modern fugues, with nothing reminiscent of past glories. His organ at the Nieuwezijds Kapel had a typical pull-down pedal and a trumpet 8'. There are surprising appearances of F♯ and G♯s in his pedal parts, but none in the manuals. A poem appeared in a 1659 Amsterdam anthology praising a Rotterdam organist, Johannes Crabbe; it mentions van Noordt as a worthy model, and also says, 'How closely you rival Scheidemann!' – thus confirming the Hamburg master's continued reputation in The Netherlands. The same poet contributed another piece lauding Anthoni's brother Jacob, who succeeded Dirk Sweelinck as organist of the Oude Kerk. As for Dirk (1591-1652) himself: only some unadventurous variations on *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern* in Lynar B2 can be tentatively ascribed to him.

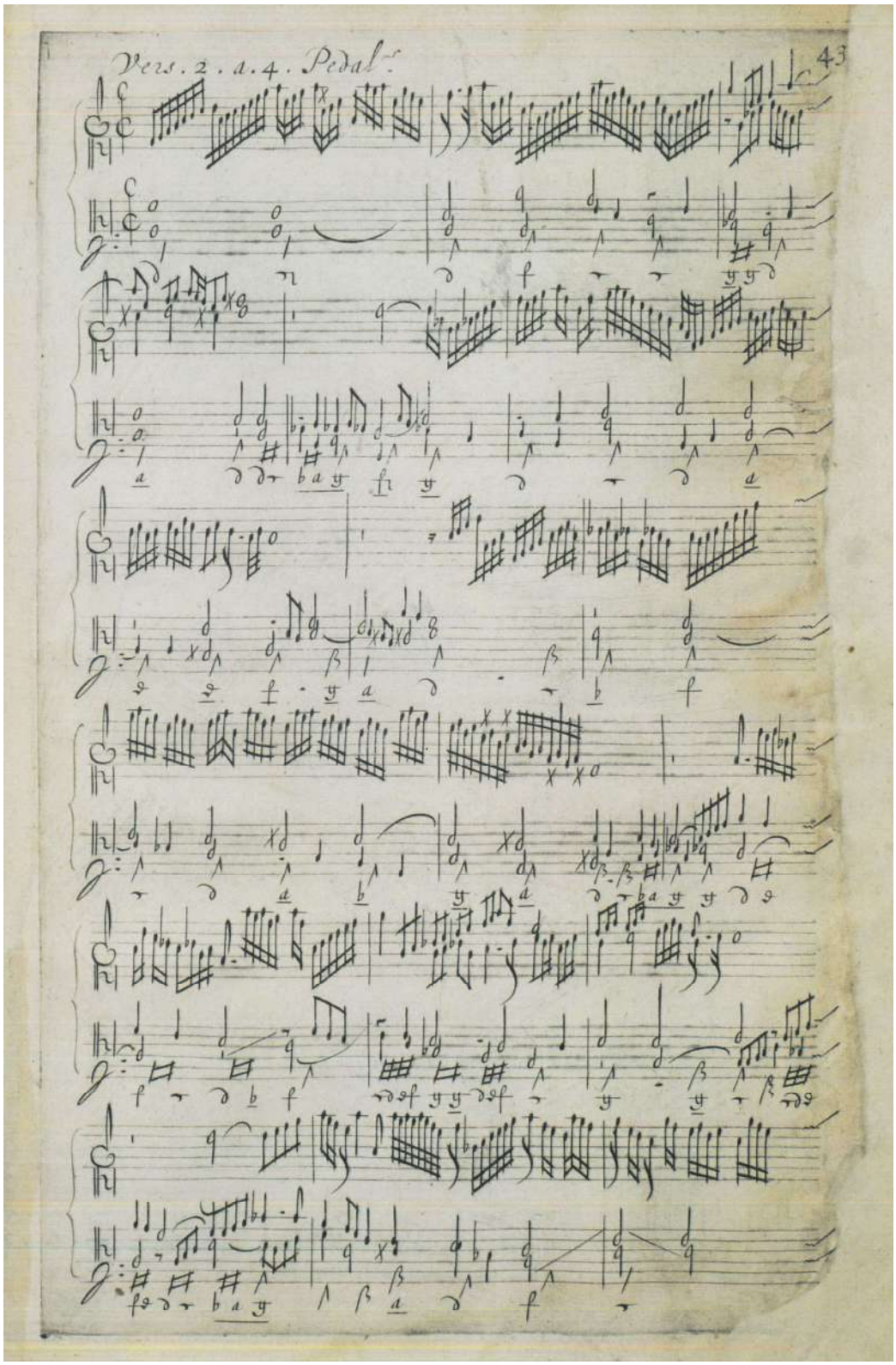
The tragic separation of the Netherlands into North and South didn't mean there was no contact. Sweelinck crossed the lines to Antwerp in 1604 to pick up a Ruckers harpsichord for the city of Amsterdam, the surviving lid of which can still be seen at the Rijksmuseum. His most important connection to the south was with John Bull (1562-1628), in exile from England at Antwerp since 1615. In Bull's organ works there are a couple of obvious solos, notably in a *Salve Regina*.

The style was taken up by Pieter Cornet (c.1575?-1633) of the Brussels chapel, who has a few possible solo passages in his setting of that hymn and elsewhere. Peter Philips, another English exile at Brussels who was in contact with Sweelinck, has nothing of the sort in his two manualiter Latin hymn settings. But John Koster reminded me that his splendid 1592 Passamezzo Pavane is full of echoes. So the question of intra-Netherlandish exchange with regard to proto-chorale fantasias remains moot.

* * *

After this excursion, let us return to Weckmann and Hamburg. Matthias, who succeeded Ulrich Cernitz at storied St Jacob's in 1655, has left us a number of settings which correspond more or less to the standard chorale fantasia. But one in particular is extraordinary. It shares so many characteristics with the seven verses on *Vater Unser im*

Himmelreich by his teacher Jacob Praetorius that I think Weckmann took that for his inspiration, and then surpassed it by orders of magnitude.



Illus.4 Anthoni van Noordt, Tabulatuur-boeck van psalmen en Fantasyen *(1659), p.43, Psalm 24, verse 2 (opening); pedals notes are indicated by German organ tablature*

Es ist das Heil uns kommen her (text by Paul Speratus) was first published with a melody corresponding to an old Catholic processional tune in 1523. It inspired composers as late as Max Reger and Brahms. The first verse of Weckmann's setting is in motet style, with the chorale in the pedal and a single countersubject derived from the tail of the first (repeated) line. He will come back to this in a big way later. Verses 2-5 are a series of increasingly difficult canons.

Verse 6 is an astonishing tour de force of counterpoint. At 258 semibreves, it is not only one of the longest, but certainly the most ingenious of all chorale fantasias. To analyze it here in any degree of detail worthy of the subject would be exhausting for the reader, and ultimately not terribly useful. Anyone interested in unravelling such puzzles is kindly advised to go to the work itself. They will be amply rewarded – assuming they are sufficiently diligent and skilled.

Verse 7 *Im vollen Werk* is relatively short; it has the chorale once through in semibreves in the Tenor. I think that is significant; the word derives from the Latin for 'to hold', and that location is the ancient one for a cantus firmus. The first countersubject returns to the descending tail of line one, also found prominently in Verse 6: salvation, in the form of Christ, descends from heaven. But from line 5 of the chorale it is attached to its reverse, creating a *circulatio*, of increasing lengths up to a tenth. If I were to hazard a guess as to the locus or *topicus* being expounded here, I would say the figure welcomes or encircles mankind with divine salvation to an ever-increasing degree, like Bernini's colonnade at St Peter's.

Weckmann's masterpiece is ultimately stuck in contrapuntal gymnastics, which make listening to the piece, weak in rhetoric and flow as it is, a mere mass of sound. It does not really cohere, but moves from one ingenious moment to the next. Some of those moments are very beautiful indeed, but the meaning of most cannot be readily comprehended even by an informed listener. An orchestration by Stokowski might have made it more accessible.

Weckmann did not lack industry, and he did not lack technical knowledge; what he lacked was what Haydn simply referred to as 'taste' when describing Mozart to his father Leopold. This is a notoriously hard quality to pin down, but when one listens to Weckmann's vocal works, the lack is rather painfully apparent. Max Seiffert went so far as to cut many repetitious passages in his editions. He must have feared boring his audience, instead of introducing them to the pleasures of 17th-century music. At a Weckmann symposium in the 1990s, a distinguished scholar wondered why Weckmann was not as popular as Henry Purcell. It is because Purcell was a creative genius, and Weckmann was only a brilliant mechanic.

Weckmann's monumental set of verses is more of a work meant for study than performance for an audience. In that way it resembles *Die Kunst der Fuge*, which was described as being 'practical', or like the Goldberg Variations, which were never meant to be performed as a cycle. It must also be faulted in that, except in Verse 7, there is little

evident connection between the text and Weckmann's elaboration. The essence of an organ chorale was always supposed to be a reflection of the text.

Contrast this with a late masterpiece in the old form, one where important elements are more in balance. It comes from the pen of Nicolaus Bruhns (1665-1697), who spent his tragically brief career (he lived four years fewer than Mozart) in Husum, a small town in Schleswig-Holstein. Bruhns was one of the earliest influences on Bach, despite his obscurity. His chorale fantasia on *Nun komm der Heiden Heiland* begins with serious development of the first line together a single countersubject (*illus.5*). Both are progressively ornamented in the solo register.



Illus.5 Nicolaus Bruhns, Nun komm der Heiden Heiland*, opening*

There are clear rhetorical connections to the last three of the four lines of Luther's chorale text, a paraphrase of St Ambrose. To indulge again in the parlour game of identifying each *locus topicus*:

- The text of the second line is *Als der Jungfrau Kind erkannt* – 'recognized as the virgin's child'. Bruhns illustrates it by sporting with three countersubjects in invertible counterpoint (a preoccupation of Sweelinck and the North German organ school), against a snippet of the chorale. Then childish echoes appear, too

early in the piece – an example of how meaning is created by changing the rules. Taken together, I think this illustrates the true nature of the Child in question.

- Line three is *Dass sich wundre alle Welt* – 'so that the whole world wonders…'. The setting is a wonder, in triple time, of fragments of chorale tossed around with a countersubject, in an atmosphere of increasing intensity which is crowned by a descending chromatic run down two octaves.
- The melody of the final line duplicates the first. Bach may have been intrigued by the resemblance of the first four notes to his musical symbol, B♭-A-C-B♮ (H in German). The text reads *Solch Geburt ihm Gott bestellt* – '…that God gave him such a birth'. The chorale is emphatically presented, against spectacular countersubjects showing elements of the majestic French overture. The coda is a triple (Trinitarian) descent – 'catabasis' is the name of the *Figur* – in two-bar units from heaven to Earth. The 'saviour of the heathen' of the title has arrived, amidst 'false' A♭s.

* * *

Problems of attribution plague this period, and have led some scholars into temptation.[7] It is dangerously exciting to find anonymous or 'misattributed' works that resemble those of a favored composer. But the way (often anonymous) chorale fantasias are scattered across the major sources, as well as those of forgotten *Kleinmeister*, shows how difficult it is to say anything definitive about its development over wider areas and longer spans of time. By the time of Bruhns' late masterpiece in the form, the center of gravity had already shifted south, to an obscure region called Thuringia where a family by the name of Bach held musical offices in small towns like Erfurt, Eisenach and Arnstadt. The greatest of its scions would emerge into Saxony in 1708 – to Weimar, then to Cöthen and Leipzig.

One of the minor masters who have been passed over here was Jacob Kortkamp (c.1615-1665) from Kiel, who probably studied with Jacob Praetorius. His chorale fantasia (Verse 3 of his setting of the German *Te Deum*), not of the first rank, is remarkable only for some prominent D♯s. Kortkamp's son Johann (1643-1721) was a student of Weckmann. He could have been present in 1720 when Bach improvised for nearly an hour on *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, thus closing the circle on the great Hamburg school of organists. Kortkamp has left us one of most vivid and moving documents in the history of early keyboard music. His 'Organists Chronicle' covers the period between the mid-16th century and the departure from Hamburg of city Cantor Christoph Bernhard in 1674, after the death of Weckmann, who suffered either a stroke or a nervous breakdown in 1670 which prevented him from further work. Bernhard, another disciple of Schütz, gave a farewell speech to Weckmann's Collegium Musicum which was prophetic for Hamburg, as well as regarding a future far beyond anything he could have imagined:

'I shall remain with you no longer, my Lords and dear friends; I thank you for the love and respect which you have granted me during the time I was your director. It has been a happy one until now; but there will soon be a great change – music will collapse again, just

as she has risen in the past 14 years. In future, no one will trouble to value or seek out upright and worthy men; the favor of the public will be esteemed more than a man's skill.'

Kortkamp tells us, 'I will never forget how shocked those of us in the ensemble were by these words, especially myself, who had played the organ 10 years for Bernhard. He taught me many things and treated me like his own child'.

He continues: 'To me in private he said, "Mr. Kortkamp, remember me when you see how the harmony of music declines here due to the loss of men capable of maintaining it. It will be the same with the government of the good city of Hamburg. I see it in the behavior of the younger generation who are trying to gain positions. The collapse will occur within 20 years". What have we not experienced since then, up to the year 1700, and the harmony between the classes is still not well and purely tuned'.

It was a time of political tumult in Hamburg, and then the era of the Hamburg opera and Johann Mattheson arrived. What a fall was there, as predicted by Christoph Bernhard, from the pinnacles of Praetorius and Scheidemann!

Glen Wilson was born in the USA and studied harpsichord at the Juilliard School with Albert Fuller and in the Netherlands with Gustav Leonhardt. He has performed in over 30 countries, conducted at the Netherlands Opera and made numerous solo CDs. He was a professor at the Musikhochschule Würzburg until his retirement, and his recent editions include music by 'Monsieur' Couperin, Muffat and Scarlatti; he has also written numerous articles on early keyboard music.
Website http://www.glenwilson.eu/musician.html

Notes

[1] *Holland*, Gustav Leonhardt (organ), Telefunken Das Alte Werk, *Die Alte Orgel*, SAWT 9521-B, LP (1968).

[2] Pieter Dirksen, *Scheidemann's Keyboard Music: Its Transmission, Style and Chronology* (Aldershot, 2007).

[3] Paul Siefert, ed Klaus Beckmann, *Complete Organ Works* (Mainz, 2009).

[4] 'Fantasia primi toni à 4', on *Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck: Music for Harpsichord*, Glen Wilson (harpsichord), Naxos 8.570894 (2009).

[5] The original sources of the manuscript facsimiles here can all be found on IMSLP under their respective composers.

[6] Nicolaus Hasse, ed Klaus Beckmann, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke* (Wiesbaden, 1973).

[7] See Francis Knights and Pablo Padilla, 'Attributions in early music: a checklist for editors', *NEMA Newsletter*, v/2 (Autumn 2021), pp.56-67.

The music collection of Benjamin Cooke

Archie Glover

Introduction

The musical legacy of Benjamin Cooke (1734-1793) (*illus.1*) is primarily associated with two institutions: Westminster Abbey, where he was Master of the Choristers and later Organist, and the Academy of Ancient Music, of which he was a student, director, librarian and conductor.[1] The various responsibilities and privileges of this work resulted in a large collection of instruments, manuscripts and musical miscellanea, alongside a large output of compositions dedicated to the Academy, or for use in the Abbey. While the 'Cooke Collection' was sold wholesale to the Sacred Harmonic Society in 1845, a study of the rest of Cooke's library and repository of musical objects has yet to be undertaken.[2] As well as being an avid collector of both 'antiquarian' music and instruments (perhaps significantly, Cooke was the son of a London music dealer and publisher, Benjamin Cooke senior (1695/1705-1743)), he was also prolific as a composer, to the extent that his most popular compositions remained in Academy repertory long after his departure from the institution.[3] His activities as a composer also resulted in the awarding of his DMus from Cambridge University in 1775.[4]



Illus.1 Benjamin Cooke, engraving by William Skelton

Cooke was removed from his position at the Academy in 1789, voted out in favour of Dr Samuel Arnold (1740–1802).[5] This change in leadership provoked a spirited response from Cooke, who, in his 'Protest' addressed to the Academy,[6] levied a variety of charges against the organization, not least questioning their continued ownership of his manuscripts and instruments.[7] Such a bifurcation between parties resulted in a collection of ambiguous ownership between Academy and former director. Following Cooke's death in 1793, it is assumed that the majority of his collection of instruments, manuscripts, prints and composition facsimiles was passed to his children, including the musician Robert Cooke (1768-1814), who eventually succeeded his father (following Arnold in 1802) at the Abbey.[8] 1845 saw the wholesale auction of Cooke's musical estate over the course of two days; the collection now containing some 450 items, a number of which contain addenda (to be read by the auctioneer) detailing their provenance and scarcity. It is this ambiguity which has stymied a number of attempts at tracing items in the auction catalogue.

The Auction catalogue

The catalogue is separated into multiple sections, as shown in Table 1 (example pages are printed in the Appendix, below). Printed items, post-1700, unsurprisingly proved difficult to trace due to the large number of prints of each item extant. Consequently, musical items after this date, such as the 'Complete works of Handel', have not been traced or investigated. Far more fruitful was tracing items dated before 1650, such as Dr Cooke's holdings of madrigal prints, many of which date before 1600. The items Cooke chose to collect and preserve are of wide-ranging variety. The earliest dated item in the collection is Glarean's *Dodecachordon* (1547), just one of a number of 'ancient' historical treatises at Cooke's disposal. We know that part of Cooke's appointment not only to Westminster Abbey, but to the Academy was to 'educate the children in music';[9] this task may have encompassed theoretical, instrumental and historical tuition; many witnesses to such are present in the catalogue. Such instructional volumes include John Frederick Lampe's *Method of Teaching Thorough Bass* (lot 151) and John Keeble's *Theory of Harmonics* (lot 157). Another notable treatise in the catalogue is lot 139, Johann Gottfried Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon* (1732), described as 'very scarce'; although a written record of this item is not forthcoming, a recent auction at Sotheby's set a price between £4,000 and £6,000.[10] A further purpose for the 'ancient' treatises may also be Cooke's own education under John Christopher Pepusch.[11] GB-Lcm MS 823, a collection of Cooke's student exercises, contains consistent use of hexachordal practice in Cooke's execution of fugues and canons.[12] It is no surprise that Cooke's collection of treatises contained items such as the Glarean treatise; Pepusch's teaching methods may have even been passed down from Cooke to his students at the Academy.

Cooke also held a great deal of 'Academy' repertoire, evidenced by the madrigal prints, cross-referenced with samples of Academy programmes, including prints from Marenzio, Palestrina (sometimes given as 'Praenestini', as per the original prints) and Lassus.[13] Items 250 onwards likely formed part of the repertoire of Westminster Abbey. No fewer than four copies of 'Boyce's 15 Anthems'[14] were sold, likely from a repository of greater number, as well as 23 copies of Cooke's *Blessed are the Dead* (lot 251). This section also

contains music by Croft, Greene and Ebdon; more likely candidates for repertoire in use in Cooke's 'daily fare'.

Description	No.'s
Pianoforte and Harpsichord music	1–39
Instrumental Music, Concerted Pieces	40–90
Catches, Canons and Glees	91–110
Madrigals and Partsongs	111–138
Historical and Theoretical	138–183
Dr Cooke's Works in Manuscript	184–209
Misc. Vocal Music, Songs, operas	210–249
Sacred Music, Anthems, Motets, Organ Pieces, Psalmody	250–339
Full Scores of the Works of Handel	340–417
Musical Instruments	418–450

Table 1 The Cooke Catalogue, by section

The vast majority of print and manuscript which can been traced have been found in the British Library. These include nearly all of the extant 16th- and 17th-century madrigal prints, as well as various English items, including lot 131, a manuscript of William Byrd's 1589 *Songs of Sundry Natures*. Minor locations include the Royal College of Music and, unsurprisingly, Westminster Abbey.

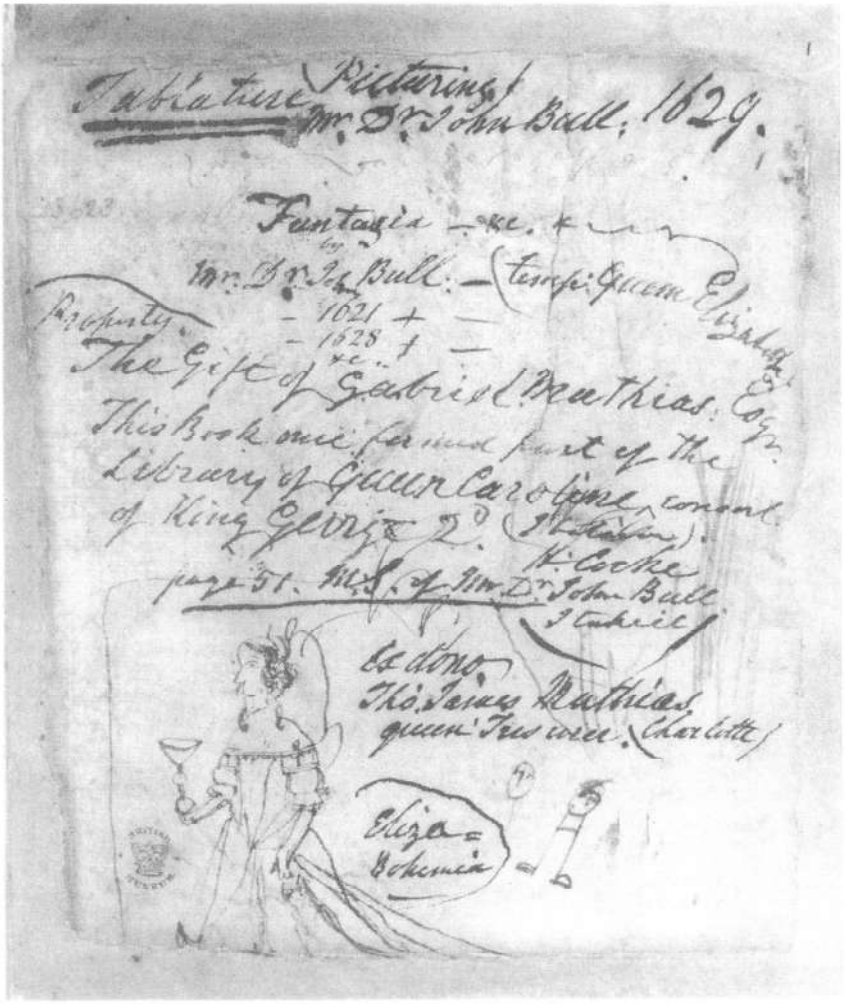
Lot 316: the John Bull MS

One of the most striking and interesting items to be sold was lot 316: '*Bull, Dr John - Tablature, or fantasies and pavans, &c. For the Organ (MS)...formerly in the possession of Queen Caroline, consort of George II'*. This description of the item would identify this manuscript as one of the only sources of John Bull's music to be notated in tablature.[15] The listing goes on to say:

> *Manuscripts of this thorough musician, and accomplished organist, are of the utmost rarity…In the year 1613, Dr Bull quitted this country, and went to reside in the Netherlands; and at that period, it is presumed, that the compositions which form the subject of this article, were produced.*

This manuscript was clearly of great importance not only to the Cooke estate, but also to Fletcher, the auctioneer. The title page of the auction catalogue details a 'very curious and rare ORGAN BOOK of Dr John Bull', positioning this book as one of the catalogue's highlights, if not the star attraction of the sale. This manuscript can be readily identified as the 'Messaus-Bull Codex'.[16] The royal connection to Queen Caroline, while perhaps not wholly credible, can be matched to both the illustration on the cover of the set (*Illus.2*), and the inscriptions alongside it.[17] The 'tablature' claim, too, is incorrect; writing on the cover of the book does indeed mention tablature, but its meaning does not correspond to the notational practice. More likely, it simply refers to the set being compiled by Bull.[18]

Rasch notes that these writings were the product of manuscript collectors, as opposed to the original scribes.[19] Any royal connection the book may have held could therefore have been fabricated in order to generate fascination or monetary advantage. Rasch identifies Pepusch as an owner of the manuscript in the eighteenth century, presumably for use by the Academy.[20] Later, Gabriel Mathias (d.1804) bequeathed the set to Henry Cooke, Benjamin's grandson.[21] Rasch has hypothesized, in the absence of other evidence, that the codex formed part of the collection of William Chappell (1809–1888).[22] It is now probable that the Messaus-Bull Codex formed part of the Cooke estate's collection until the auction in 1845. Whether it was sold to Chappell or the British Museum directly is unknown. While the auction nominally sold the 'musical library of the late Benjamin Cooke', the catalogue constituted the collection of the whole Cooke estate. This fact is also corroborated by the sale of lot 419: '*A 6 octave Cabinet Pianoforte* by Messrs. Broadwood', an item which would almost certainly have been bought after Cooke's death in 1793: the earliest extant example of a Broadwood cabinet pianoforte is from 1812, at which time sixteen cabinet pianofortes were made by Broadwood.[23]



Illus.2 Messaus-Bull Codex, cover with auctioneer comments.[24] *The original drawing at the bottom purports to be Elizabeth of Bohemia (1596-1662), eldest daughter of James I, a former harpsichord pupil of John Bull, living in exile in The Hague since 1621*

Hecht, lost music

Lot 137 (*20 lessons of 3 parts MS*, Andrew Height) remains untraced. Andrew Hecht (sometimes Height) was organist at Lincoln Cathedral 1663–1693, having migrated from Holland.[25] Although nine anthems of his survive, there is no record of any organ music by this composer. Why Cooke may have held the manuscript of these works is unknown. There are a variety of similar items in the collection, including *Stanley's Voluntaries* (lot 314), and *Jones of Nayland's 10 Church Pieces for the Organ* (lot 309). These might have constituted a library of voluntaries for Cooke's work at the Abbey as organist, or alternatively, teaching material for the boys.

The instruments

Cooke's tenure with the Academy saw his continued ownership of a number of instruments he 'saved from neglect'.[26] Before examining individual lots, we can ascertain from the catalogue a number of details about Cooke's relationship with the instruments themselves. Firstly, item numbers following lot 436 are not part of the collection, and are in fact the property of the auction house sold as commercial stock. Secondly, the considerable number of violin cases (lots 427, 430, 433) indicate the possibility of instruments lent out, and not recalled, at the time of Cooke's death. Lending of ensemble instruments such as these was likely part of Cooke's Academy work. The weekly Academy meetings at Cooke's house for 'the improvement of young students' would certainly have warranted both a large collection of string instruments, as well as the conspicuous pair of keyboard instruments (lots 418 and 420).[27] The descriptions in the catalogue are sufficient to search Boalch–Mould Online;[28] however, no ownership information relating to Cooke can be found there, so any attempt to identify existing instruments is therefore speculative. The previously-mentioned Kirkman harpsichords ('5 Octave Harpsichord, Two Rows of Keys, Pedals, Swell in a Mahogany Case') match descriptions and (a gap of) provenance data for BMO instruments 944, 927, 1021, 1037, 1059, 1063, 1064 and 1074. The presence of a 'pedal swell', patented by Shudi in 1769 places these instruments towards the end of Cooke's life.[29] Kirkman's first use of the pedal swell occurred (in alternation with the lid swell) from 1772 (*illus.3*).[30]

Lot 424, a 'Violoncello, formerly in Possession of Mr Bartleman' provides the only ownership information relating to any instrument in the catalogue. James Bartleman (1769–1821) was a bass singer who studied under Benjamin Cooke as a chorister, and later participated in Academy concerts from 1788.[31] He was regarded as the 'finest singer the English School has produced', and, alongside details of his musical study on the violoncello, his relationship with Cooke is well documented.[32] It is likely that following his death he bequeathed this particular instrument to the Cooke estate. The account of his life in *Fraser's Magazine* also details his collection of manuscripts from 'Italian English and Flemish Madrigal Writers…unfortunately dispersed on his death'.[33] It is not unlikely that some of these also ended up in the Cooke estate; Bartleman himself was also noted as a fine copyist of music for the Academy's use.[34]



Illus.3 Example of a Kirckman double in mahogany with pedals and a lid swell (1768), BMO-990, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg

Further problems with the sale of instruments pertain to lot 440.[35] Although this was not part of the collection of instruments owned by the Cooke family, its attribution to Barak Norman (1651-1724) is certainly notable; Norman is considered the 'best known builder' of such instruments.[36] The identification of Norman's violoncellos is frequently thwarted by the practice of conversion from bass viol, as well as frequent examples of fraudulent instruments.[37]

Possible histories and provenances for the three Amati violins (lots 425, 431, 437) may be found in a previous auction sale; namely the 1751 auctioning of William Corbett's remaining musical items following his attempted bequest to Gresham College.[38] The catalogue lists seven Amati family violins dating from 1564–1709.[39] Whether we may take these attributions as fact is doubtful, however: Bridget Bohannon (an executor) remarked that the will was 'throughout very inaccurately penn'd'.[40] This, alongside the fourth item in the catalogue (a violin claimed to be the former property of Arcangelo Corelli) casts some doubt on a number of factual assertions therein.[41] If it were the case that the named violins were the genuine article (and Corbett did bring many items back from his long sojourn in Italy, 1715-1726, including strings and keyboards), it is possible that a number of them

could have ended up in Cooke's collection. The number of surviving Amati violins in the United Kingdom are small in number, the majority of which (five) now reside in the museum of the Royal Academy of Music.

Conclusions

The instruments sold in the catalogue offer both a glimpse into the daily musical life of Benjamin Cooke and his estate, and a frustrating lack of detail for many items. It is very difficult indeed to identify a 'foreign' violin (lot 432), although one may logically conclude from other violins sold that it was neither English nor Italian. Similarly, the lack of maker information for the chamber organ (lot 421) raises more questions than it answers: was this an Academy or Abbey instrument? Was it used for education, or rather was it in Cooke's possession for repair when he died?

The auction catalogue as a whole paints a picture of a man of many talents: not only an accomplished organist and conductor, but a collector of antiquarian musical objects, a dedicated educator whose own education was formative in the instruction of his charges and a devotee of the Academy's founding purpose, to perform 'Ancient' music.

Archie Glover is a recent graduate of the University of Cambridge, working in the fields of historical performance and manuscript studies. His primary focuses are on the late Italian madrigal and the sacred music of early 16th century England. ag2371@cantab.ac.uk

This work is part of the Lost Music Project (https://lost-music-project4.webnode.co.uk), which explores the creation, damage, loss and restoration of musical instruments, scores and books from the Middle Ages to the present day. The three main strands being investigated at present are early keyboard instruments, lost music manuscripts and lost paintings of musicians.

Notes

[1] Bryan White, 'Dr Cooke's Protest: Benjamin Cooke, Samuel Arnold, and the Directorship of the Academy of Ancient Music', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, cxlviii/2 (2023), pp.341–372 at 341.

[2] Tim Eggington, *The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England: Benjamin Cooke and the Academy of Ancient Music* (Woodbridge, 2014), p.264.

[3] See, for instance, 'Galliards Ode' (1773).

[4] H. Diack Johnstone, 'The Academy of Ancient Music (1726–1802): Its History, Repertoire and Surviving Programmes', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, li (2020), pp.1-136 at 15.

[5] White (2023), p.341.

[6] 'Dr. Benjamin Cooke's Protest', manuscript, Leeds University MS 1700/2/9.

[7] White (2023), p.358.

[8] 'Cooke, Robert (1768–1814)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online.

[9] Eggington (2014), p.80.

[10] Sotheby's, *Books, Manuscripts and Music from Medieval to Modern*, lot 6 (December 2023), https://www.sothebys.com/en/buy/auction/2023/books-manuscripts-and-music-from-medieval-to-modern/j-s-bach-j-g-walther-musikalisches-lexicon-1732.

[11] Eggington (2014), p.47.

[12] Eggington (2014), p.48.

[13] Eggington (2014), p.38.

[14] Eggington (2014), p.84. Eggington views Boyce's *Cathedral Music* (1760-62) as being one of the 'defining outcomes of the ethos of the academy'.

[15] Another candidate being a tablature manuscript held in the Austrian National Library (Bull, John. Verschiedene Werke Teilweise in Orgeltabulatur, Teilweise Partitur in Mensuralnotation, http://katzoom.onb.ac.at/cgi-bin/katadmin/mus/mhsview.pl?katalog=5&kz=1&start=0019697), although this manuscript lacks provenance, and does not match the description in the auction catalogue.

[16] GB-Lbl Add MS 23623.

[17] Rudolf Rasch, 'The Messaus-Bull Codex London, British Library, Additional Manuscript 23.623', *Revue Belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift Voor Muziekwetenschap*, l (1996), pp.93-127 at 117.

[18] As reproduced in Rasch (1996), p.115.

[19] Rasch (1996), p.115.

[20] Rasch (1996), p.115.

[21] Rasch (1996), p.116.

[22] Rasch (1996), p.118.

[23] For an example of c.1812 in the Schureck Collection, see 25-english-cabinet-fortepiano-by-john-broadwood-london-c-1812.

[24] Reproduced from Rasch (1996), p.117.

[25] 'Hecht, Andrew', in Robert Evans and Maggie Humphreys, *Dictionary of Composers for the Church in Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1997).

[26] White (2023), p.359.

[27] White (2023), p.359.

[28] https://boalch.org.

[29] Eric Halfpenny, 'Shudi and the "Venetian Swell"', *Music & Letters*, xxvii/3 (1946), pp.180-184 at 180.

[30] Charles Mould, *The Development of the English Harpsichord with Particular Reference to the Work of Kirkman*, DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 1976), p.85.

[31] 'Bartleman, James', *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1885–1900).

[32] James Anthony Froude and John Tulloch, 'Memoir of James Bartleman', *Fraser's Magazine*, xlviii (1853), pp.165-170.

[33] Froude and Tulloch (1853).

[34] Froude and Tulloch (1853).

[35] As per the section heading, items after lot 436 are not the property of Cooke, and were rather items from the auction house collection, consisting of 'spare stock' (hence the sale of nondescript guitars as well as guitar strings).

[36] Benjamin Hebbert, 'A Catalogue of Surviving Instruments by, or Ascribed to, Barak Norman', *The Galpin Society Journal*, liv (2001), pp.285-329.

[37] Hebbert (2001), p.314.

[38] John Cunningham, 'New Light on William Corbett's Gresham College Bequest', in John Cunningham and Bryan White (eds), *Musical Exchange between Britain and Europe, 1500–1800: Essays in Honour of Peter Holman* (Woodbridge, 2020), pp.380-398 at 386.

[39] Cunningham (2020), p.392. The Amati dynasty included Andrea (c.1505-1577), Antonio (c.1537-1607), Girolamo (c.1551-1630), Nicolò (1596-1684) and Hieronymus II (1649-1740).

[40] Cunningham (2020), p.388.

[41] Cunningham (2020), p.392.

Item No.	*Description*	*Date*	*Location*	*RISM No.*

MADRIGALS AND PART SONGS

111	Pecci (Tomaso) Madrigali a 5 Voci	Venice 1612	GBL	990048699
112	Vecchi (Horatio) Canzonette. A 4 voci	Venice 1591	GBL	990066033
113	Philippe de Monte Madrigali a 6. Voci, first and second books	Venice 1582	GBL	990041944 990041939
114	Legrenzi Madrigals		GBL	990037393
115	Lacorcia (Scipione) Madrigali a 5 voci	Naples 1620	GBL	993121518
116	Bolognini (Bernado) Madrigali a 5 voci	Naples 1604	GBL	990006149
117	Luzzaschi (Zaccho) Madrigali a 5 voci	Naples 1613	GBL	990038753
118	Montella (Gio. Domenico) Madrigali a 5 voci	Naples 1605	GBL	990042021
119	Salzilli (Crescentio) La Sirena, Canzonette a 3 Voci	Naples 1613	GBL	990057160
120	Verso (Ant il) Madrigali a 5 voci	Palermo 1619	GBL	990031983
121	Ricercari (Meallo) Duetti 3 books.	Rome 1665		
122	Palazzotto (Gio) e Tagliavia, Madrigali a 5 voci	Palermo 1620	GBL	990048250
123	Zoilo (Cesare) Madrigali a 5 voci	Naples 1627	GBL	990070016
124	Caputi (Manililo) Madrigali a 4 voci	Naples 1592	GBL	990008713
125	Valentini (Gio) Musiche Concertante con voci et instrumenti	Venice 1619	GBL	990065129
126	Archadelt Madrigali a 4 voci con la giunta di G Dom di Nola 4 books, 2 alto parts of another edition	Naples 1625, Rome 1642	RCM	990001360 990001367
127	Marenzio (Luca) Madrigali a 5 voci	Venice 1686	GBL (Assuming 1586 typo)	990039275
128	Lasso Orlando di, Madrigali a 5 voci	Venice 1593	GBL	990036790
129	Willaert (Adriano) Musica Nova, 7 Books (vellum)	Ferrara 1558		990068551
130	Vecchi (Horatio) Madrigali a 6 voci	Venice 1591	GBL	990066061
131	Byrd (William) Songs of Sundrie Natures, some of Gravitie and other of myrthe of 3 4 5 6 voices T.East	T. East 1589	GBL/Bod	990007785 990007786
132	Mico (Richard) Pavans and Fancies of 4 parts MS		Christ Church	800228447
133	Matt Locke Little consort in 3 parts MS			800001770
134	Morley's Madrigals 7 books MS			
135	Goldinge (Sir Edward) and Matt Locke 3 part songs, 3 books MS			
136	Locke (Matt) and Dr Gibbon's Three part fantasies MS			

Andrew Height (Hecht) (Organist of Lincoln 1675) 20

137 lessons of 3 parts MS (likely lost)

Locke four part fantasies MS

138

HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL

139	Walther's Musical Lexicon	1732	
140	Rameau, Principes de l'Harmonie, 1750	1750	
141	Nivers, Traité de La Composition de Musique, 1697	1697	
142	De la Fond's new system of music, 1725		
143	Alstedius, Templum Musicum	1664	Bodleian
144	Avison on Musical Expression		
145	Salmon's Essay to the Advancement of Music		
146	Playford's Introduction to the Skill of Music, 1700	1700	

QUARTO

147	Musical Pamphlets		
148	Penna, Li Primi Albori Musicali, 1690	1690	
149	Ptolemaei Harmonica, 1682	1682	
150	Meibomii Musicae Auctores Antiquae, 1652	1652	
151	Lampe's Method of teaching Thorough Bass	1737	
152	Quantz, Essai sur la Flûte Traversière	1752	
153	Mattheson, General-Bass-Schule	1731	
154	Mattheson, Organisten-Probe im Artikel vom General-Bass	1719	
155	Rousseau, Dictionnaire de Musique	1768	
156	Steele's Prosodia Rationalis	1779	
157	Keeble's Theory of Harmonics	1784	
158	Shield's Introduction to Harmony	1800	
159	Burney's Account of the Commemoration of Handel	1785	
160	Burney's General History of Music	1776	
161	Cooke, Musicae Studium	1749	
162	Hawkins' History of Music	1776	

163	Merrick's Version of the Psalms by Tattersall	1797	RCM	990028991
164	Marpurg, Principes du Clavecin	1756		
165	Sabbatini, La Vera Idea delle Musicali Numeriche Segnature	1799-1802		
166	Harmonicon, First series			
167	Crotch's elements of Musical Composition	1812		

FOLIO

168	Treatise on the Art of Music	1784		
169	Geminiani Guida Armonica			850794834
170	Morley's Plaine and Easie Introduction	1608		
171	Ornithoparcus, Micrologus (Ed. Dowland)	1609		
172	Simpson's Division Viol	1676		
173	Mace's Music's Monument	1676		
174	Vin Galilei Dialogo		GBL	990019411
175	Diruta, Il Transilvano Dialogo	1625		
176	Vicentino, L'Antica Musica	1555		
177	Glarean Dodecachordon	1547	GBL	993104505
178	Musical Common Place Book			
179	the Division Viol and 4 Lesson Books			
180	Geminiani on Musical Taste			
181	Schneider's Theoretical and Practical Instructions for the Organ			
182	King's General Treatise on Music; Kollmann's Preluding and Extemporising			
183	Antoniotto's Arte Armonica			

(DR COOKE'S WORKS IN MANUSCRIPT OMITTED)

250	The Morning Hymn, by Galliard and Dr Cooke			

(SACRED MUSIC)

251	Blessed are the Dead, Cooke, 23 copies			

252	Hear us, O God!, Cooke			
253	Wherewithal Shall a young man, Cooke			
254	Marcello's Psalms			
255	Weldon's Divine Harmony, Purcell's Harmonia Sacra, Hasse Salve Regina			
256	Bassani's Harmonia Festiva			
257	____			
258	Boyce's Collection of Anthems			
259	Perez, Mattutino de' Morti			
260	Boyce's Anthems			
261	Smith's Anthems			
262	Playford's Harmonia Sacra			
263	Playford's Harmonia Sacra (2)			
264	Croft's Anthems in Score			
265	Greene's Anthems in Score			
266	Boyce's 15 Anthems			
267	Kent's 12 Anthems and Galliard's Morning Hymn, by Cooke			
268	Boyce's Cathedral Music			
269	Croft's Anthems			
270	Boyce's 15 Anthems			
271	Ebden's Sacred Music			
272	Brady and Tate's Psalms			
273	Pitt's Church Music, Wise's three anthems			
274	Processionarium Secundum Ordinem Fratrum Predicatorum, cum rubricis	1590		
275	Kent's 12 Anthems and Galliard's Morning Hymn, by Cooke			
276	Greene 6 solo anthems, Walsh		RCM	990022778
277	Galliard's Morning Hymn by Cooke			
278	Boyce's Cathedral Music			
279	Pane, Messe	1687		
280	Lasso, Motetti MS			
281	Palestrina Motetti, Neatly written			
282	Motetti, MSS			
283	Croft's Service in B and do in E flat, Purcell's 2 Services in B♭			
284	Giansetti Motetti 6 books	1670	GBL	990021039
285	Gibelli Motetti a 5 voci	Venice 1548	GBL	990020959
286	Willaert Sacri e Santi Salmi	1555	GBL	990068548
287	Le Jeune Psalms		GBL	990037449

288	Grossi Motet for voice and violin		GBL	800252544
289	Legrenzi 1667			990037393
290	Cossoni Motets for 2 and 3 voices	1670		990011575
291	Aretino Lamentations 3 voices	1563	GBL	990048459
292	Stella Hymni	1610	GBL	990062034
293	Silvestris, Cantiones Sacrae	1663	Westminster Abbey	993121942
294	Mayello, Motetti	1610	GBL	990038936
295	Motetts, Various MS			
296	Motetts Various			
297	Fago Dixit Dominus		Westminster Abbey	806907358
298	Ramsay, How are the mighty Fall'n, MS			
299	Carissimi, Jubilate Deo MS			
300	Two Motetts			
301	Services by Tallis, Bird, Rogers, Aldrich, Patrick, Child MSS			
302	Carissimi, Motetti, 24 pieces		GBL	806934185
303	Palestrina, Missa in Score			
304	Byrd Cantiones	M Overend	Glasgow	800226354
305	An organ book of verse services			
306	A Service by Kempton, Anthem by Croft, Wise, Purcell, Greene, Pepusch, Playford			
307	Fugues and Organ Pieces by Dr Cooke			
308	Felton's Organ concertos, Keeble's Organ Pieces			
309	Jones of Nayland, 10 Church Pieces for the Organ			
310	Handel's 6 Organ Concertos (Walsh)			
311	Corelli's Organ Sonatas (Cooke)			
312	Organ Toccati, MSS			
313	Various for the Organ			
314	Stanley's Voluntaries			
315	Clementi's Practical Harmony			
316	Bull Tablature Fantasies			
317	Voluntaries from Masses by Nightingale			
318	Adams Fugues, Bach's Preludes and Fugues			
319	Clementi's Practical Harmony			
320	Voluntaries by Heron, Broderip, Boyce, Alcock			
321	Keeble's Voluntaries			
322	Novello's Select Organ Pieces			
323	Arnold's Psalms and Hymns; Gray's Chants; Wesley's Psalm Tunes			
324	Pergolesi's Stabat Mater (Walsh)			

325 Russell's Voluntaries

326 Handel, Suites de Pieces pour le Clavecin

327 Psalm Books

328 Ravenscroft's Psalms, by Turner 1728

329 The Choristers Companion 1835

330 Albinoni's 12 Concertos for the organ

331 MSS - music anthems

332 Tattersall's Psalmody ; Foundling Hospital Hymns

333 Arnold and Callcott's Psalms of David

334 Butt's Harmonia Sacra

335 Harris' Psalmody and other Psalm Books

336 Jackson, Anthems and Church Services

337 Goss' Collection of Chants ; Marshall and Bennett's, Ditto

338 Ancient Motetts, Published by the Motett Society

339 Services and Anthems, Edited by Goss and Turle

(COMPLETE WORKS OF HANDEL OMITTED)

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

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418 A 5 Octave Harpsichord by Kirkman, 2 rows of keys, pedals, swell in a mahogany case

419 A 6 Octave Cabinet Pianoforte by Messrs. Broadwood, Mahogany Case

420 A 5 Octave Harpsichord by Kirkman, 2 rows of keys, Pedal, Swell in a Mahogany Case

421 A Chamber Organ, Flue tone, six stops, Bb to D in alt. Foot bellows

422 A Violoncello with 2 bows in Case

423 A Guitar, Machine Head

424 A fine Violoncello, formerly property of Mr Bartleman

425 A Violin by Antonio Amati

426 A Violin by Andrea Guarnerius

427 A double violin case, and 2 bows

428 A tenor violin, bow and case

429 A Viol d'Amore, in case

430 A foreign Violin, bow and case

431 A Violin by Antonio Amati

432 A foreign Violin

433 A double violin case, and 2 bows

434 An antique Lute, carved head, in case

435 An ancient Theorbo-Lute

436 A cittern

COOKE COLLECTION ENDS

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437 Amati, A violin, fine tone

438 A fine Italian Violin

439 A Violoncello, in case

440 Violoncello, by Barak Norman, in case

441 A 5 1/2 octave Cabinet pianoforte by Tomkinson, Mahogany Case

442 A 6 1/2 octave semi Cabinet Pianoforte, by Jackson, carved mahogany case

443 A 6 1/2 octave Cottage Pianoforte by Jackson, Rosewood case

444 a 6 Octave Square pianoforte, Mahogany Case

445 A 6 1/2 octave semi-grand pianoforte by Allen, Mahogany Case

446 A rosewood Guitar, Machine head

447 A satinwood guitar, Machine head

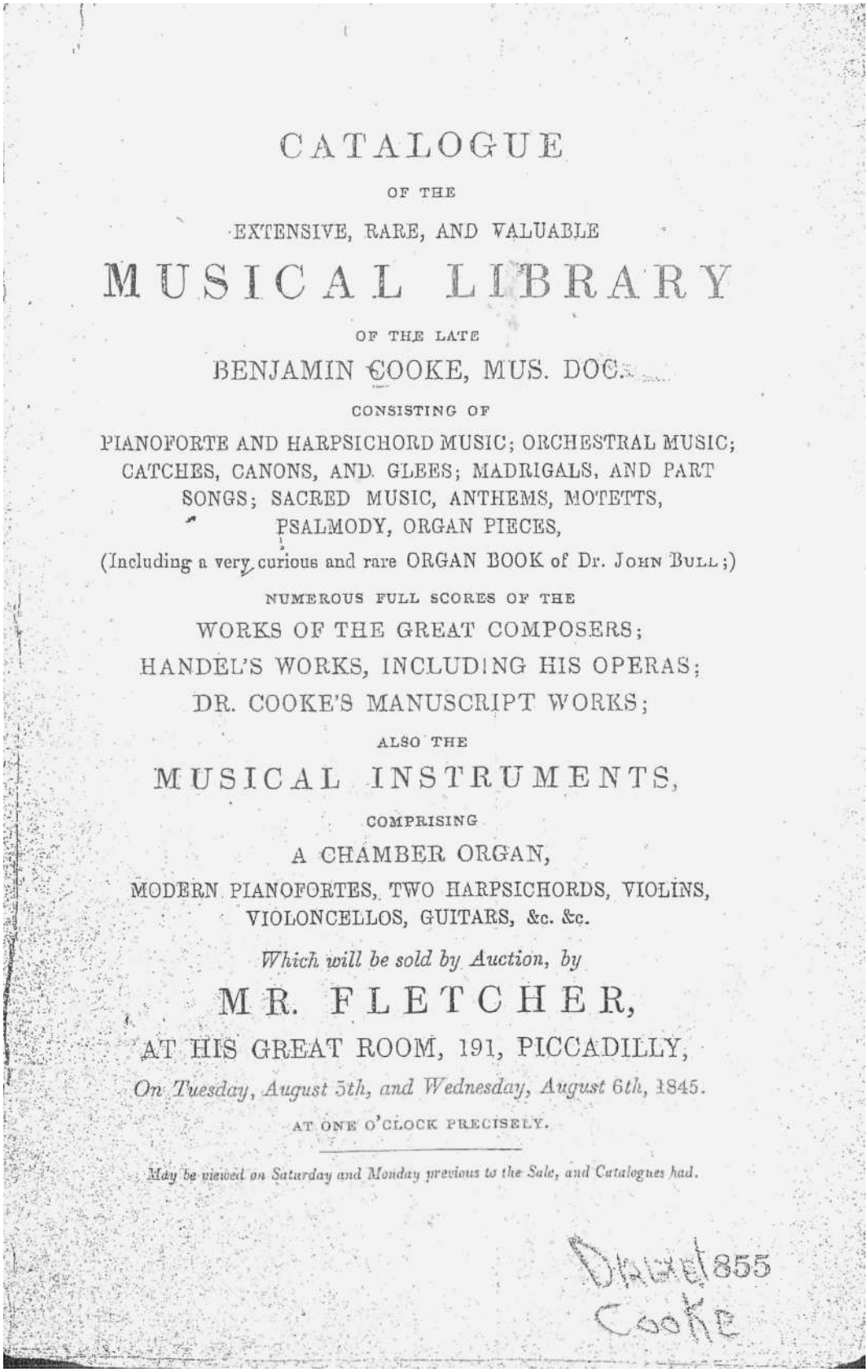
448 A satinwood guitar, Machine head, in case

449 A parcel of the best Harp Strings

450 a painted violoncello case

Appendix

Selected pages from the Cooke auction catalogue



CATALOGUE

OF THE

EXTENSIVE, RARE, AND VALUABLE

MUSICAL LIBRARY

OF THE LATE

BENJAMIN COOKE, MUS. DOC.

CONSISTING OF

PIANOFORTE AND HARPSICHORD MUSIC; ORCHESTRAL MUSIC; CATCHES, CANONS, AND GLEES; MADRIGALS, AND PART SONGS; SACRED MUSIC, ANTHEMS, MOTETTS, PSALMODY, ORGAN PIECES,

(Including a very curious and rare ORGAN BOOK of Dr. JOHN BULL;)

NUMEROUS FULL SCORES OF THE

WORKS OF THE GREAT COMPOSERS;

HANDEL'S WORKS, INCLUDING HIS OPERAS;

DR. COOKE'S MANUSCRIPT WORKS;

ALSO THE

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS,

COMPRISING

A CHAMBER ORGAN,

MODERN PIANOFORTES, TWO HARPSICHORDS, VIOLINS, VIOLONCELLOS, GUITARS, &c. &c.

Which will be sold by Auction, by

MR. FLETCHER,

AT HIS GREAT ROOM, 191, PICCADILLY,

On Tuesday, August 5th, and Wednesday, August 6th, 1845.

AT ONE O'CLOCK PRECISELY.

May be viewed on Saturday and Monday previous to the Sale, and Catalogues had.

D[illegible]1855
Cooke

MADRIGALS AND PART SONGS—*continued.*

119 Salzilli (Crescentio) La Sirena, Canzonette, a 3 voci *Napoli*, 1616
120 Verso (Ant. il) Madrigali, a 5 voci *Palermo*, 1619
121 Ricercari (Metallo) Duetti, 3 books *Roma*, 1665
122 Palazotto (Gio.) e Tagliavia, Madrigali, a 5 voci *Palermo*, 1620
123 Zoilo (Cesare) Madrigali, a 5 voci *Napoli*, 1627
124 Caputi (Manilio) Madrigali, a 4 voci *ib.* 1592
125 Valentini (Gio.) Musiche Concertante con voci ed Istromenti, 9 books . . *Venet.* 1619
126 Archadelt, Madrigali, a 4 voci, con la giunta di G. Dom. di Nola, 4 books; and 2 alto parts of another edition *Napoli*, 1625, *e Roma*, 1642
127 Marenzio (Luca) Madrigali, a 5 voci *Venet.* 1686
128 Lasso (Orlando) Madrigali, a 5 voci *ib.* 1593
129 Villaert (Ant.) Musica Nova, 7 books, *vellum* *Ferrara*, 1558
130 Vecci (Horatio) Madrigali, a 6 voci *Venet.* 1591
131 Bird's (Wm.) Songs of Sundrie Natures, some of gravitie and others of myrthe, of 3, 4, 5 and 6 voices *T. East*, 1589
132 Mico (Richard) Pavans and Fancyes, of 4 parts, MS.
133 Locke's (Matt.) Little Consort, in 3 parts, MS.
134 Morley's Madrigals, 7 books, MS.
135 Goldinge (Sir Ed.) and Matt. Locke, Three-part Songs, 3 books, MS.
136 Locke (Matt.) and Dr. Gibbon's Three-part Fantasies, MS.
137 Height (Andrew, *Organist of Lincolne*, 1675) Twenty Lessons of three parts, MS.
138 Locke's (Matt.) Four-part Fantasies, MS.

HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL.

OCTAVO.

139 Walther's (J. E.) Musical Lexicon, *very scarce* *Leips.* 1732
140 Rameau, Principes de l'Harmonie, *Paris*, 1750—Smith's Harmonics . 1759
141 Nivers, Traite de la Composition de Musique, 1697—Tosi on the Florid Song, 1742, and 2 others.
142 De la Fond's New System of Music, 1725—Holder's Grounds and Principles of Harmony, 1701—Salmon's Essay to the Advancement of Music . 1672

HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL—*continued.*

143 Alstedius's Musical Synopsis 1664

144 Avison on Musical Expression; and a volume of Musical Tracts

145 Salmon's Essay to the Advancement of Music, 1672—Treatise on Harmony, 1731—and 1 other.

146 Playford's Introduction to the Skill of Music, 1700—Rules for attaining to play a Thorough Bass—and 1 other

146* Clark's Poetry of Songs, Glees, &c. 1824

QUARTO.

147 Musical Pamphlets, 4to. and 8vo.

148 Penna, Li Primi Albori Musicali, *Anversa*, 1690—Silva, Regras de Acompanhar, *Lisboa*, 1758—Turner's Sound Anatomized, 1724—Butler's Principles of Music

149 Ptolemæi Harmonica, Gr. et Lat. a Jo. Wallis *Oxon.* 1682

150 Meibomii Musicæ Auctores Antiquæ, 2 vols. in 1 *Amst.* 1652

151 Lampe's Method of teaching Thorough Bass 1737

152 Quantz, Essai sur la Flute Traversière *Berlin*, 1752

153 Mattheson, General-Bass-Schule *Hamb.* 1731

154 Mattheson, Organisten-Probe im Artikel vom General-Bass *ib.* 1719

155 Rousseau, Dictionnaire de Musique *Paris*, 1768

156 Steele's Prosodia Rationalis 1779

157 Keeble's Theory of Harmonics 1784

158 Shield's Introduction to Harmony 1800

159 Burney's Account of the Commemoration of Handel, *plates* 1785

160 BURNEY'S General History of Music, 4 vols. *plates, hf. bd. and bds.* 1776

161 Cooke (Dr. B.) Musicæ Studium; Genera Musicæ, Genus Diatonum, et Genus Enharmonicum, MS. (1749)

162 HAWKINS' (Sir John) History of Music, 5 vols. *plates* 1776

163 Merrick's Version of the Psalms by Tattersall, *russia, gilt edges, presentation copy from the Editor to Dr. Cooke* 1797

164 Marpurg, Principes de Clavecin, *Berlin*, 1756; Gay's Beggar's Opera, with the Music 1729

165 Sabbatini, La Vera Idea delle Musicali Numerici; e Trattato sopra le Fughe Musicali, 3 vols. *Venez.* 1799-1802

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

*** The Musical Instruments, from Lot 418 to 436, are the property of the late Dr. B. Cooke.

418 A 5 octave HARPSICHORD, by Kirkman, 2 rows of keys, pedals, swell, &c. in a mahogany case
419 A 6 octave CABINET PIANOFORTE, by Messrs. BROADWOOD, mahogany case
420 A 5 octave HARPSICHORD, by Kirckman, 2 rows of keys, pedals, swell, &c. in mahogany case
421 A CHAMBER ORGAN, fine tone, six stops, B b to D in alt. foot bellows
422 A Violoncello, with 2 bows in case
423 A Guitar, machine head
424 A fine Violoncello, with 2 bows in case
*** Formerly the property of Mr. Bartleman
425 A Violin, by *Antonio Amati*
426 A Violin, by *Andrea Guarnerius*
427 A double violin case, and 2 bows
428 A tenor Violin, bow, and case
429 A Viol d'Amore, in case
430 A foreign Violin, bow, and case
431 A Violin, by *Antonio Amati*
432 A foreign Violin
433 A double violin case, and 2 bows
434 An antique Lute, carved head, in case
435 An ancient Theorbo-lute
436 A Cittern (or Cithren)
437 *Amati*, a Violin, fine tone
438 A fine Italian Violin
439 A Violoncello, in case
440 Violoncello, by *Barak Norman*, in case
441 A 5½ octave Cabinet Pianoforte, by Tomkison, mahogany case
442 A 6½ octave semi Cabinet Pianoforte, by Messrs. Jackson, carved mahogany case
443 A 6½ octave Cottage Pianoforte, by Messrs. Jackson, rosewood case
444 A 6 octave square pianoforte mahogany case
445 A 6½ octave semi-grand Pianoforte, by Allen, mahogany case
446 A rosewood Guitar, machine head
447 A satinwood Guitar, machine head
448 A satinwood Guitar, machine head, in case
449 A parcel of the best Harp strings
450 A painted Violoncello case

THE END.

G. NORMAN, PRINTER, 29, MAIDEN LANE, COVENT GARDEN.

The losses of historical harpsichords

Richard Taylor

Introduction

The aim of this article is to discuss the typology of loss with respect to keyboard instruments made before the 19th century, using examples of instruments which can be considered lost (either partially or fully) and how they came to be so. Following this, I begin a discussion on the meaning of representation in the context of surviving historical artefacts, and to what extent extant keyboard instruments accurately represent what once existed. I conclude with some thoughts on how this field of study may impact builders and performers of early keyboards, and in which ways the corpus of surviving instruments has limited the variety of modern early keyboards we see today.

Losses

In the introductory article to this project, 'The Loss and Survival of Musical Artifacts', Francis Knights and Pablo Padilla outlined several means by which an historical object of any variety may become 'lost'.[1] From their typology, I have summarised the means by which an artefact may become lost which are most applicable to keyboard instruments in a list below:

- Natural decay: such as fire or water damage, woodworm and other insects, or rust
- Use damage: such as surface damage or wear-and-tear through regular use
- Re-use: where part or all of an instrument is reused elsewhere
- Human destruction: (intentional or not), including war, or social uprising
- Instruments which have simply vanished or are untraceable, often due to a lack of historical documentation

The article also discusses two broader categories of loss: 'partial' and 'complete'. The boundaries between these two broad types of loss are blurred, and cases need to be examined on an individual basis to determine whether a loss is partial or complete. Generally, a partial loss is where some part of an instrument survives, and a complete loss is where nothing survives.

Certain means of loss are more likely to produce one or the other. The bombing of museums in war, for example, is far more likely to result in the complete loss of an instrument than will water damage, which may destroy the action of an instrument, but leave its case recoverable. Partial loss is easier to document, since some of the instrument

survives, and this will therefore make up most examples discussed in this article. Complete loss, conversely, in cases where nothing physical remains of an instrument, relies on historical documentation to prove their existence. Boalch-Mould Online[2] is an invaluable tool for cataloguing both partial and complete losses, and for each example given, I will provide the relevant 'BMO' number for its entry in their database.

To the above list, I would add the intentional alteration or modification of instruments as a means by which an instrument can become lost. For example, the 18th-century *Ravalement* of many earlier instruments, or the aligning of early two-manual Ruckers instruments, such that they lose their transposing (two-pitch) function.[3] Additionally, poorly-informed modern restorations could also constitute this type of loss.[4] The following will be a discussion of these forms of loss with specific reference to harpsichords (and some to other keyboard types), looking at where different forms of loss are most common, and what this means for survivals today.

Natural decay

The most common form of damage to (and ultimately loss of) keyboard instruments is natural decay. Instruments of almost all regional styles and periods are made of natural, perishable materials: primarily wood, with small components made of cloth, leather and bird quill.[5] Similarly, historic glues were organic and susceptible to damage, particularly by water.[6] It is the unfortunate reality that instruments which are not regularly maintained will simply deteriorate until they are beyond repair, after which they may simply be forgotten about or discarded entirely. The following is a list of instruments which have suffered natural decay and can be considered 'lost'.

1639 Ioannes Ruckers

The 1639 Ruckers single-manual harpsichord (BMO-1660) is an example of an instrument which is partially lost (*illus.1, 2*). It is without its original jacks and pins, and its *ravelment* keyboard and strings were destroyed in a fire at the Kirkman factory where it was being held in 1855.[7] While the body of the instrument remains, it is completely unplayable in its current state and can be considered a partial loss.

Early English Claviorgana

The *Claviorgan* is a type of instrument which combines a plucked keyboard instrument with an organ, of which there are several variations (a common example seems to have been a small, plucked instrument combined with a regal). These instruments were popular court instruments across Europe throughout the 15th century through to the 18th, enough also to be included as a separate entry in Randle Cotgrave's 1611 French-English dictionary.[8] One key record of these instruments is the musical inventory of Henry VIII, compiled after the King's death by Philip van Wilder in 1547, which records for instruments which can be described as 'claviorgana'. One of these, described as "an Instrumente w[ith] a double Virginall and a double Regall w[ith] iij Stoppes of pipes of woode […] a foote of

wainskott and the Bellowes lyinge in the same", seems to rather accurately describe also the 1579 Theewes claviorgan (see below), indicating that this specific style of instrument may have, at one point, been more well-known.[9] None of Henry VIII's claviorgans listed here survive,[10] and neither do any other English examples from before the 18th century.



Illus.1 1639 Ioannes Ruckers (Photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)



Illus.2 1639 Ioannes Ruckers – front view (Photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

1579 Lodewyk Theewes

The 1579 Theewes instrument (BMO-1942) is the only signed and dated English keyboard instrument (and claviorgan) to survive from the 16th century (*illus.3*).[11] It is also the only extant English harpsichord from this period. Like the 1639 Ruckers, much of the body of the instrument survives, although its keyboard, jacks, strings, and most of the organ pipes have been lost due to severe water damage.[12] Furthermore, photographs of the instrument taken by Malcom Rose appear to show woodworm damage around the keyboard.[13] It can therefore be considered a partial loss.



Illus.3 1579 Theewes Claviorgan (Photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

1745 John Crang

The 1745 two-manual harpsichord-organ by John Crang (BMO-315) was discovered in the 20th century, and like the Theewes claviorgan it originally sat upon a chamber organ to which it could be coupled.[14] The harpsichord survives and is in good condition (*illus.4*), but the original Crang organ was discarded and burned in 1953, and replaced with a 1748 Sneltzer instrument by Michael Thomas in 1964.[15] The original organ, presumably in poor condition by the 1950s, is therefore completely lost.



Illus.4 1754 Crang harpsichord-organ, without organ, on a modern replacement stand (Photo: © The University of Edinburgh)

16th– and 17th-century English harpsichords

It is well known that few English harpsichords survive from before the mid-18th century, when large factory firms such as Broadwood, Kirkman and Shudi began manufacturing large numbers of instruments. Raymond Russell notes that, despite the names of nearly twenty keyboard instrument makers active in England in the 16th century being preserved, no harpsichords built in this period have survived.[16] The three harpsichords that survive from 17th-century England, as listed by Kottick, are a small fragment of what likely once existed, and Russell argues that the complexity of the Theewes and Knole instruments suggests a quite advanced school of English harpsichord building in this period.[17] Frank Hubbard agrees that English keyboardists had access to large instruments, but thought that many of harpsichords may have been imported rather than built in England, as evidenced by the large number of surviving imported instruments in the Henry VIII inventories.[18] It is also likely the case that a number of Flemish instruments were imported to England, since in the 18th century we see a number of Ruckers harpsichords for sale in English newspapers. Peter Holman lists a number of these Ruckers harpsichords in his recent study on Handel's harpsichords and determines that none match known survivals, and can therefore also be considered complete losses.[19]

Use-damage

Normal-use damage in most instruments is unavoidable. Most modern harpsichordists are experienced (to some extent) in the basics of instrument maintenance.[20] Since the damage caused by normal use is often localised and easily repaired, it is hard to track losses of this type. Oftentimes, use damage can be seen in instruments which survive fully, such as the keyboard grooves in the original 17th-century organ keyboard from Framlingham church.[21]

For harpsichords, this type of damage usually looks like broken quills or snapped strings, very rarely leading to any significant loss. In cases where old, damaged harpsichords were discarded and replaced (as must have been the case with earlier instruments) it seems this was not often recorded.[22]

1612 Ioannes Ruckers

One of the few recorded examples of a harpsichord with a history of significant use damage is the 1612 two-manual Ruckers of the Royal Collection Trust (BMO-1628). This instrument is well documented by Grant O'Brien and Holman, with particular focus on its supposed ownership by Handel, who is alleged to have played it so often that the keytops became worn down by his fingers.[23] At some point, the instrument was given a new keyboard which became damaged again by 1883, following years of neglect – presumably after the death of King George III – especially since by this point the instrument was over two hundred years old.[24]

'Queen Charlotte's harpsichord'

Related to the previous instrument is the 1766 two-manual Jacob Kirkman (BMO-985). Either this instrument or a 1761 Kirkman (BMO-955) is believed to have been given to Queen Charlotte by King George III.[25] The legend is that this Kirkman harpsichord replaced the 1639 Ioannes Ruckers (which was potentially owned by Queen Charlotte in the 1760s) in 1766, as the Queen desired a more up-to-date instrument for contemporary repertoire.[26] Regardless of whether this previous instrument was the 1639 Ruckers or not, the Kirkman acquired in 1766 likely served as a replacement for a much older, more worn instrument. It is interesting, though, that neither of the potential Queen Charlotte Kirkmans have remained in royal collections, while the 1612 Ruckers has.[27]

1618 Ruckers soundboard

The Philharmonie de Paris Musée de la Musique holds several soundboards which survive without instruments. One of these is originally from a Ruckers harpsichord of 1618 (BMO-1669) (*illus.5*). According to its online catalogue entry, it seems to have undergone a *ravelment* by Goermans in 1701.[28] As the soundboard is in generally good condition, it is unlikely that the harpsichord underwent any prolonged natural decay. Moreover, it seems unlikely that the soundboard would survive in one piece if someone intended to destroy the entire instrument. Therefore, it can be assumed that the harpsichord was damaged beyond repair, perhaps through lack of maintenance, or otherwise exceeded its usefulness and was discarded. The soundboard may have been preserved for its painting.

1700 Anonymous Neapolitan

One of the more curious early keyboard objects in the Victoria and Albert museum is a painted harpsichord lid of c.1700 (accession number 444-1887, *illus.6*). The Harpsichord itself is not extant, and the only available information is a speculation that it was probably a

very beautiful instrument.[29] Of course, we cannot be certain what happened to it, but given the relatively good state of the lid (the back side appears to have been previously coated in a varnish or leather which has begun to crack, but is otherwise without warping or obvious natural damage) one might assume that the instrument was in a similar state when the lid was removed (*illus.7*). This leaves the possibility that the body or action may have been damaged in some way to the extent that it was discarded, with the lid retained for its artistic value. In this way, this example could be described as either loss by damage or re-use, since part of the instrument was lost, and another preserved for a reason other than its original purpose. Furthermore, *Loss and Survival* considers similar cases of lids (or drawings of lids) surviving without instruments to be partial loss,[30] however, in this case, I believe it is more subjective, since seemingly not much about the instrument can be discovered from the lid alone.[31] This is in contrast to the Thornhill lid drawing – currently in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge – which Peter Holmann used to learn much about its intended harpsichord.[32]



Illus.5 1618 Ruckers soundboard (Photo: Claude Germain, © Musée de la musique)



Illus.6 c.1700 Neapolitan harpsichord lid (Photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)



Illus.7 c.1700 Neapolitan harpsichord lid (back side). (Photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

Re-use

If an instrument was damaged beyond repair or disposed of for other reasons, it is possible that valuable components or materials (*Loss and Survival* lists wood and parchment) could be kept and re-used elsewhere.[33] The result is surviving instruments which occasionally contain parts or materials from older instruments and can give varying levels of insight into what existed before and has now become lost. This is a practice which is exceedingly common in pipe organs (older pipework and occasionally casework being re-used in newer instruments) and is often important for preservation of historical material.[34] There are examples of the same happening with other keyboard instruments, especially harpsichords. Some of these will be listed below:

1629 Andreas Ruckers (attrib.) soundboard

Grant O'Brien doubts that this harpsichord (BMO-1578) is a genuine Ruckers, although it was certainly rebuilt (and presumably its compass extended) by Blanchet in 1725 (*illus.8*).[35] BMO states that its soundboard is taken from an earlier instrument, and it can be assumed that the instrument from which it was taken has long since been destroyed, since there is unfortunately no further information on it.[36] Whether or not this can be considered a complete loss is subjective, since the soundboard is so crucial to the tone of a harpsichord.

1645 Albani nameboard

The 1619 Boni harpsichord (BMO-203) underwent restoration in 1908, when the nameboard from a different harpsichord was fitted to it poorly.[37] This nameboard is from a 1645 harpsichord by Albani (BMO-15) and, predictably, the rest of this instrument does not survive.[38]

Human destruction

Destruction of historical artefacts and, more specifically, historical musical instruments by humans can take many forms. The most common is the intentional destruction or disposal

of items which are damaged, not of use, or perceived to have no value.[39] Perhaps the most catastrophic, however, is the destruction faced in wars and social uprising:[40] for example, of the 844 items acquired by the Berlin Musical Instrument Museum between 1923 and 1940, 760 are considered war losses, and only 81 survive today.[41] We may never truly know the extent of losses faced in conflict, but where prior documentation exists, we are able to track and record a fragment of the artefacts lost.



Illus.8 1629 Andreas Ruckers, with earlier soundboard

Losses of World War II

The losses faced in the Second World War were immense. In addition to instruments destroyed directly through bombing raids, plundering and looting of historical artefacts in Western Europe was exceedingly common, including by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg, established by the Nazi party.[42] Many of the instruments which disappeared during or after the war have yet to be found, and many of those whose last record is of holding in German or Austrian museums might be assumed to be destroyed. BMO catalogues a large number of instruments which have been confirmed to be destroyed in WWII, or have been missing since. Below is a table summarising the type, number and nationality of instruments which are listed as war losses by BMO (*Table 1*). Additionally, there are several instruments which suffered partial losses in the war, usually the loss of

stands or music desks, which have not been included here. A full table cataloguing details of each individual instrument is included in the Appendix below.

Type of instrument	***Number***	***Nationality***
Harpsichord	12	3 Italian, 3 Belgian, 3 Dutch, 1 English, 1 French, 1 unknown
Clavichord	16	15 German, 1 unknown
Spinet	2	1 Italian, 1 unknown
Virginal	12	6 Italian, 3 Belgian, 1 Dutch, 1 French, 1 Polish
Total	42	15 German, 10 Italian, 6 Belgian, 4 Dutch, 2 French, 1 English, 1 Polish, 2 unknown

Table 1 Instruments listed as war losses in BMO

Losses during the French Revolution

The French Revolution is often blamed for the lack of extant 18th-century French harpsichords, notably by Hubbard, who argues that the combination of the violence of the Revolution coinciding with the transition to the piano is the reason for the loss of harpsichords in this period.[43] While the story that many of the harpsichords confiscated during the revolution were burned at the newly established Paris Conservatoire during a particularly cold winter is likely a myth,[44] it is true that many of these instruments never made it to the Conservatoire in the first place.[45] It is interesting to note that even prior to the revolution, French musical instruments were treated harshly, being viewed for their usefulness rather than valuable pieces of art in themselves. [46] This may also have contributed to the lack of survivals from this era. A similar fate of loss by destruction was faced by many French organs in this period, as the secularisation of the church saw the destruction of countless instruments.[47] Some notable examples survived, however, such as the famous organ of the chapel of Versailles, which suffered substantial water damage and was restored in 1790, shortly after the palace was abandoned in 1789.[48]

Out of roughly 140 organs in Paris at the time of the revolution, only 36 remained by 1795. Nowadays, there are 24 organs with pre-Revolution cases, and 20 with pre-revolution pipework.[49] The reason this number is so low is that metal pipes were often melted down to produce bullets.[50] As the 'de-Christianisation' of French society came into full force in 1793, churches, monasteries and chapels were looted and dismantled, including the organs.[51] Table 2 lists a selection of French churches and monasteries which suffered this fate and had organs which are now completely lost.[52]

Losses of the English Reformation and Civil War

Much like the French Revolution, the instruments which suffered the most destruction in the English Reformation and Civil War were church organs. Chamber organs, conversely, were far more likely to have been relocated from churches to private houses, becoming secular instruments.[53] The *Loss and Survival* article gives the examples of Jesus and

Peterhouse colleges, Cambridge, hiding their chapel organs in the mid-17th-century to avoid destruction,[54] while many organs and other parts of church furnishings which were not fortunate enough to be hidden are now lost. John Rous records the pulling down of altar rails at 'Ippswich, Sudbury etc. Marlowe, Bucks: the organs too'.[55] In 1644, ordinances were issued by Parliament calling for organs (among other items) to be taken out of churches and 'utterly defaced', after which very few were to be found in churches until the Restoration.[56] No London churches had organs by 1660, and yet just under a century later (1750), 55.5% of London churches had new organs installed.[57] This human destruction was the result of Puritan iconoclasm, which saw all manner of church items to be Popish innovations which threatened the Anglican church,[58] and contributed greatly to the loss of most early English organs.

Name	***Fate of church and organ***
Abbaye Saint-Victor	The abbey was demolished and the church looted in 1790.
Chapelle de l'ancien couven des Petits-Augustins	The convent was dissolved and the organ dismantled in 1790. Some of its pipework was used to rebuild the organ at Saint-Roch
Collégiale Saint-Honoré	The church and organ were destroyed in 1792. Parts of this organ, and that of the former Chapelle de l'École militaire, were used to augment the organ of the Sainte-Chapelle, newly installed in Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois.[59]
Rodez Dominican Convent	The organ was claimed as national property and sold in pieces after being dismantled in 1791.[60]
Église Sainte-Maguerite	The church was preserved but most furnishings, including the grand organ, were destroyed or pillaged.[61]

Table 2 Lost French organs

Small surviving parts of organs, such as the organ pipe in the Victoria and Albert Museum (*illus.9*) attest to the complex, ornate nature of instruments before the Puritan iconoclasm. This example is thought to have come from either Norwich or Hereford cathedrals;[62] both of these cathedrals had their instruments destroyed in the English Civil War. In the case of Norwich, this involved mocking and blowing into the pipes after removing them from the organ, to be thrown into a fire alongside other cathedral artefacts.[63]



Illus.9 Dallam organ pipe, accession number W.33-2008 (Photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

Other examples of churches and chapels which had their organs attacked or destroyed are Lambeth Palace; Westminster Abbey; St Margaret's Westminster; St Paul's Cathedral; Whitehall Palace chapel; Greenwich Palace chapel; and Hampton Court chapel.[64]

Missing or untraceable instruments

Instruments which appear in written documents throughout history are often described with frustratingly little detail. For example, countless harpsichords appear in English newspaper adverts in the 19th century, yet most contain little more description than 'fine-ton'd' or 'double-key'd'.[65] The exception to this is, of course, instruments by reputable and well-known makers. Instruments by Ruckers in these sources usually featured the builder's name, and the same is true of instruments in French invoices and inventories of the 18th century.[66] It is true that the fate of most 'lost' instruments is simply unknown, especially those which only appear in vague historical documents.

English losses

By the mid-19th century, English harpsichord manufacturing had long since ceased, yet there was a number of instruments still in circulation (mostly by the late 18th-century 'factory' firms, such as Kirkman). As mentioned above, English newspapers in the 18th and 19th centuries contain an abundance of auction advertisements containing harpsichords and other keyboard instruments. Holman lists a handful of instruments auctioned in the 19th century which give the names of builders yet cannot be matched to any surviving examples by the same makers.[67] Since harpsichords more often appear in newspapers with even less information than Holman shows (typically not even including the builder's name) it is no doubt that virtually all of these instruments must be considered lost, since their fate is unknown. While advertisements for harpsichords can be found in most periodicals and newspapers of the 18th and 19th centuries, the following examples are all taken from London-based *The Times,*[68] first published in 1785 and consistently featuring a section dedicated to auction advertisements:

- 5 September 1825: an auction including a 'fine toned harpsichord'.[69] Nothing more is said about this instrument, and its entry represents the typical style of advertising harpsichords in this period.
- 13 April 1857: the auction of items belonging to an unnamed 'nobleman', which includes 'a beautifully painted harpsichord of the period of Louis XIV'. This is a more descriptive entry but still does not give enough information to trace the instrument and whether it survives or not. The rest of the items being sold are described as 'Objects of Art of the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries' belonging to a nobleman 'well known for his great taste'.[70] It is possible that this instrument was either a genuine French or Flemish instrument of the late 17th century, or perhaps a fake decorated in a pastiche style.
- 8 November 1887: an advertisement for 'a harpsichord, nearly 200 years old, in perfect condition', alongside several pianos.[71] By the mid-19th century, the beginnings of an early music revival had started to take place.[72] It makes sense, therefore, that a seemingly well-maintained harpsichord should be found for sale in 1887, especially since Kirkman and Broadwood were both still hiring out and

performing maintenance on harpsichords at this point. This instrument may have been an early 18th-century English harpsichord that was subsequently restored or continuously maintained in the 19th century by one of the London piano firms.

German losses

Whilst there are a number of surviving 18th-century German harpsichords, only a small handful from the 17th century are extant.[73] Studies into German harpsichords have almost always revolved around the hunt for the harpsichords owned and used by J. S. Bach, albeit unsuccessfully.[74] Leonard Schick's studies have been invaluable in the study of German harpsichords – while sometimes orbiting J. S. Bach, they usually involve seeking accurate understanding of the 18th-century German harpsichord (specifically regarding the 16' register).[75] His publications have included catalogues of lost German harpsichords, most of which are only known of through newspaper advertisements.[76] In total, his list of large German harpsichords found in newspaper advertisements contains 132 instruments, none of which are extant. Unlike the later English entries, many of the German advertisements for harpsichords include detailed information about number of stops and registers (clearly an important selling point), as well as occasionally makers' names. Where these are absent, it is usually possible to determine the presence of at least the number of registers and presence of a 16' stop through whether the instrument is described as 'large' or not.[77] The fates of most of these instruments are not known, and these newspaper entries may be the only record of their existence. Thus, like the English harpsichords, these instruments can be considered lost due to lack of recorded information – including those with more detailed entries.

Restoration, alteration, modification

Throughout history, instruments have been modified or adapted to suit the changing needs of musicians and musical style: the prime example being organ building, particularly in England. The other benefit of alteration and modification is that it, usually, extends the instruments lifespan or usefulness, such as any of the numerous Ruckers harpsichords given keyboard extensions in 18th-century France and England.[78] The ethics of restoration is also a topic of regular debate, since uninformed restoration, especially in the context of what John Butt calls a 'culture of heritage and preservation', risks doing more harm than good.[79]

Historical modification and alteration

As mentioned above, the practice of rebuilding 17th-century Flemish harpsichords to more closely resemble the style of contemporary French instruments was incredibly common in the 18th century – Hubbard describes it as the main practice of French harpsichord builders by the end of the 17th century.[80] This, of course, has meant the number of original, unaltered Ruckers, Couchet and other early Flemish harpsichords is now incredibly limited, and knowledge of their original state must instead be gained from closely examining the body and, usually, the inside of the instrument, as Sibyl Marcuse described with reference

to the 1642 Ruckers double.[81] Thus, while the knowledge of the original form of these harpsichords is therefore not lost, most surviving original examples are.

Alteration also did not always just mean the extension of range or disposition of an instrument: as the piano began to eclipse the harpsichord in the 18th century we see, particularly in France, a range of harpsichords converted into pianos, such as the 1754 Jean Goermans in the Met museum (see below), or the c.1780 Taskin converted to a piano. This Goermans (BMO-564) was originally a two-manual harpsichord with a disposition of 2x8', 1x4' which, in the 18th or 19th century, had its upper keyboard, action, 4' hitch pins and strings removed, and replaced with a German-style piano mechanism (*illus.10*).[82] Additionally, Holman lists the example of a Ruckers harpsichord which was converted into a piano in the 19th century. The 'beautiful painted panels' of this instrument were, later in the century, reused again in the construction of an Erard grand piano.[83]

While it is entirely possible that some of these instruments could be 'restored' (that is, an undoing of their conversion into pianos) to a close-to-original state, much of the original instrument is already lost, and doing so would in turn destroy the current state of the instrument, which itself holds historical importance.

Restoration

The principal risk of ill-informed restoration is the loss of primary sources for the historical states of instruments. Failure to note details such as key-dip, string gauges, arrangement of guides and therefore the distance between jacks and strings results in the loss of this information, which provides vital insights into the historical construction and operation of instruments. As O'Brien puts it, 'we are destroying primary evidence at an alarming rate'.[84] It is fair, therefore, to describe inadequate restoration as a significant form of loss – while often not resulting in the complete loss of the instrument, restorations will usually replace or alter significant portions. More significantly, they contribute to the loss of knowledge about early keyboards. Furthermore, several practical problems in the preservation of instruments can arise from poor restoration: these can lead mechanical or even structural problems which, in some cases, threaten the survival of the instrument, and can require the replacement of significant parts. For example, O'Brien discusses countless issues faced in his restoration of a 1617 Franco-Flemish harpsichord – several of which he attributes directly to the fault of an early 20th-century restoration by Dolmetsch.[85]

Survivals

In the study of the loss of musical artefacts, the extant instruments are of equal importance to those which have not survived. This is because survivals give us at least some indication of what instruments once existed and can give far more information about how they were built and used than written accounts or descriptions. Indeed, many of the partial losses above can equally tell us much more about historical instruments than written documentation alone. However, the number of survivals cannot be assumed to directly

correlate to the number of instruments which once existed, since instruments degrade and decay at different rates, and different instruments may have been more likely to be repaired compared to others, without even considering the extent of intentional destruction. A good example is noted by Knights: only two British virginals from before 1638 survive, however, there is evidence of a substantial number of builders active in this period, all of whom would have been producing these instruments for many years.[86]



Illus.10 1754 Jean Goermans harpsichord

The vast development of a 'museum culture' of preservation and conservation in the last century[87] has meant that extant historic instruments are now carefully looked after, restored, and often more accessible to the public than ever before. Thankfully, this means that newly discovered survivals are unlikely to be destroyed or significantly altered, and that extant instruments are at far less risk of becoming lost.

Representation

The question of whether surviving instruments accurately represent what once existed is complex and multifaceted. The simplest type of representation is numerical, and is

calculated by comparing the number of surviving instruments with the estimated number of how many previously existed. Conversely, representation can also be challenged with regards to the typology of instruments that survive. In this case, a significant number of instruments may survive from a particular period or national style, but may not accurately represent the diversity of instruments available at a given time. The survival rate of highly-decorated instruments, for example, is likely to be larger.

Numerical representation relies on data regarding how many of a specific type of instrument type were built or once existed, so that this may be compared to the number of survivals. In some cases (such as where instrument builders numbered their instruments), this is more approachable. Unfortunately, however, this is often not the case, especially for earlier builders who often had much smaller outputs, or in situations where only one example of a specific variety of instrument survives. The question necessitates dealing with small typologies – such as individual builders or firms – since these are the easiest to track and number through historical documents. Typological representation, conversely, often relies on broader categories (such as national styles) and, within them, examines the diversity of instrument types or features that were once present, for example, the swell register on late English harpsichords. Whether or not these features are present in surviving instruments can impact the extent to which such a corpus can be considered representative.

Numerically, we can confidently say that the number of surviving English virginals and claviorgans significantly under-represents what once existed, since we have historic inventories which attest to this. Yet the case of the early English harpsichord is far less clear cut, since they were typically listed under the umbrella term of 'virginalls'.[88] Moreover, with regards to typological representation, we cannot assume that the Knole and Theewes harpsichords indicate a relatively mature harpsichord style in 17th- or 18th-century England that was universally available. Since these are the only two extant native instruments from that period, we cannot say for certain that their survival (albeit partial) may not somewhat owed to their being uniquely complex, expensive instruments.

As for the Ruckers dynasty, the presence of a serial number system allows for better estimation of overall output.[89] O'Brien estimates that the Ruckers workshop was producing around twenty-six harpsichords per year, excluding other types of keyboard instruments, and given that the Ruckers workshops were building instruments for around one hundred years, a conservative assumption for their total number of harpsichords may be within the region of 2,000.[90] Additionally, he believes there to be only 97 authentic Ruckers survivals at the time of writing, with 59 being harpsichords.[91] The result is therefore a survival rate of around 2.95% (strikingly similar to the 3% guesstimate suggested in *Loss and Survival*).[92] Again, however, the typology proposes an issue, since the majority of extant Ruckers harpsichords have been significantly altered, and therefore may represent the state of these instruments in the 18th century, but certainly not their original construction.

As mentioned above, Schick has contributed much to the field of German harpsichord studies and his work clearly shows that, while a reasonable number of original German

harpsichords are extant (particularly from the 18th century) the typology of these instruments does not accurately represent what was once available and/or popular, especially regarding the 16' harpsichord.

As a final example, I will consider the main 18th-century English builders: Shudi and Kirkman. Like Ruckers, Shudi instruments were usually stamped with serial numbers and dates, although seemingly with considerably greater accuracy and regularity. Due to this, we can say with some confidence that the Shudi workshop produced around 1,155 instruments, of which around 50 are extant, giving us a survival rate of about 4.3%, slightly higher than that of Ruckers instruments more than a century earlier.[93] Since Kirkman did not number his instruments, his total output is not known, although both Hubbard and O'Brien assume a similar survival rate for both builders. In isolation, the 4.3% survival rate may seem slim, however, most of these instruments were incredibly similar, and therefore there is no question of typological representation. Moreover, Kirkman and Shudi dominated the harpsichord building landscape in 18th-century Britain, with Kirkman being the considerably more prolific firm. Around double the number of Kirkmans survive than Shudis; it can therefore be said that the survivals of both are comparatively representative.

An important note is that each style and type of keyboard instrument from before the 19th century has suffered a considerable level of loss, the various forms of which have been discussed above. To an extent, therefore, we must look comparatively at survival rates to determine what is notable: for example, the 4.3% for Shudis looks far more impressive next to the 2.95% for Ruckers. This comparison must take into account the age of instruments though, since older instruments are naturally more likely to have suffered loss or damage. For example, accounting for the one partially surviving Tudor claviorgan, it is probably accurate to describe their survival rate as less than 1%.

Some considerations for builders and players

The instruments constructed by modern harpsichord builders are ultimately determined by the players or institutions who commission them. Therefore, the direction of modern harpsichord building can be said to be controlled by the tastes of players and, to an extent, their audiences. Andrew Wooderson points out that players often seek a 'safe' instrument, which can approach a wide range of repertoire, while historical considerations are far less important.[94] He further points out that a better-researched and more individual choice of instrument has an enormous influence on the way players perform, and how they approach repertoire.

What study into lost instruments and the representation of survivals has revealed is that our understanding of historical instruments is wholly determined by the surviving examples, which have historically been assumed to accurately represent the historic keyboard landscape. Most copies of German harpsichords, for example, are in the Bach Meitke-style – one rarely sees a modern copy of a 16' harpsichord, or a modern copy of a transposing two-manual Ruckers. Part of this is, of course, the desire for a 'unicorn' instrument that can do everything, but part is also the developed culture of copying

instruments rather than building in a manner influenced by historic styles. Some builders have chosen to craft instruments in a chosen historic style, without producing exact copies: Michael Johnson is perhaps the most famous example in England, who eventually worked in the Ruckers tradition. However, many builders will primarily produce copies of instruments from a relatively small pool of survivals. Greater consideration of lost instruments could have an enormous impact on both the building and performing of historical keyboards in all areas of repertoire: the claviorgan and harpsichord in the performance of early English music, the unaltered Ruckers or native French harpsichord for early French music, or the 16' German harpsichord in the music of Bach. There is possibility for a far greater variety in the performance of early keyboard music which has so far been relegated to novelty.

Conclusions

Ultimately, the true scale of the loss of historic keyboard instruments is unmeasurable. There are countless ways an instrument can become lost, and perhaps the most frustrating of all is those where we simply do not know what happened. Known examples of loss can provide insights into the most common means of loss and help reveal the likely fate of instruments about which we know very little. Moreover, written sources can be used to estimate survival rates, based on the output of workshops, or the quantity of instruments which once existed. The question of representation, however, is far harder to approach. It can be tackled from a range of different perspectives, such as representation of a particular point in time, or a particular geography, or comparatively to other instruments. The continued study of lost instruments has far-reaching implications, and will hopefully produce a multitude of new insights and avenues for performers, builders, and musicologists.

Richard Taylor is a harpsichordist, organist and conductor currently based in Cambridge. His interests involve keyboard organology and the keyboard music of 17th- and 18th-century France.
richardjt2004@gmail.com

This work is part of the Lost Music Project (https://lost-music-project4.webnode.co.uk), which explores the creation, damage, loss and restoration of musical instruments, scores and books from the Middle Ages to the present day. The three main strands being investigated at present are early keyboard instruments, lost music manuscripts and lost paintings of musicians.

Notes

[1] See Francis Knights and Pablo Padilla, 'The Loss and Survival of Musical Artifacts', *NEMA Newsletter*, x/1 (2026), pp.24–46.

[2] https://boalch.org.

[3] Peter Holman, 'Handel's Harpsichords Revisited Part I: Handel and Ruckers Harpsichords', *Early Music*, xlix/2 (2021), pp.227–243 at 229; Sibyl Marcuse, 'Transposing Keyboards on Extant Flemish Harpsichords', *The Musical Quarterly*, xxviii/3 (1952), pp.414–425 at 418.

[4] See Michael Thomas, 'Thoughts on the Restoration of Harpsichords', *English Harpsichord Magazine*, ii/3 (October 1978), pp.62-67.

[5] John Koster, 'History and Construction of the Harpsichord', in Mark Kroll (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to the Harpsichord* (Cambridge, 2019), pp.2–30 at 1.

[6] Knights and Padilla (2026), p.29.

[7] Raymond Russell, *Catalogue of Musical Instruments in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Vol. 1, Keyboard Instruments* (London, 1968), p.43; Peter Holman, "'Long Valued for the Fullness and Sweetness of Their Tone": 250 Years of Ruckers Harpsichords in Britain', *The Galpin Society Journal*, lxxvi (2023), pp.147–162.

[8] Eleanor Smith, 'The English Claviorgan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *The Galpin Society Journal*, lxviii (2015), pp.21–33 at 21, 27.

[9] Frances Palmer, *Musical Instruments at the Court of Henry VIII*, PhD thesis (University of Surrey, 1986), p.30.

[10] Smith (2015), p.24.

[11] Malcolm Rose, 'The History and Significance of the Lodewijk Theewes Claviorgan', *Early Music*, xxxii/4 (2004), pp.577–594 at 577.

[12] Malcolm Rose, 'Further on the Lodewijk Theewes Harpsichord', *The Galpin Society Journal*, lv (2002), pp.279-309.

[13] Rose (2002).

[14] Michael Thomas, 'Harpsichords Which Have Been Found Recently in France', *English Harpsichord Magazine*, ii/7 (October 1980), pp.158-163.

[15] J. D. C. Hemsley, 'Crang & Hancock, the Eighteenth-Century London Organ-Builders', *The Galpin Society Journal*, lx (2007), pp.229–232 at 229.

[16] Aside from the Theewes claviorgan; Raymond Russell, rev Howard Schott, *The Harpsichord and clavichord: an introductory study* (Faber and Faber, 2/1973), p.65. For an update on this information, especially the number of known makers, see Francis Knights, 'A Register of British Keyboard Makers, Composers, Players and Copyists, c.660-1630', *NEMA Newsletter*, vii/2 (2024), pp.25–108.

[17] Edward L. Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord* (Indiana University Press, 2016), pp.203–204; Russell (1973), p.66.

[18] Frank Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making* (Harvard, 1965), pp.133-139. This assertion has not be borne out by subsequent research; see Knights (2024).

[19] Holman (2021), p.230.

[20] See Edward L. Kottick, *The Harpsichord Owner's Guide: A Manual for Buyers and Owners* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1987).

[21] Knights and Padilla (2026), p.29.

[22] Most advertisements for second-hand harpsichords in 18th and 19th century England contain little detail about their condition. Countless examples can be found using The Times Digital Archive.

[23] Holman (2023), pp.19–20, 27, 28; Grant O'Brien, *Ruckers: A Harpsichord and Virginal Building Tradition* (Cambridge, 2008), p.243.

[24] Holman (2021), pp.233-235.

[25] See 'Kirkman' in Donald H. Boalch, ed Charles Mould, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord, 1440 - 1840* (Oxford, 3/1995) now superseded by BMO, https://boalch.org.

[26] Holman (2023), pp.30, 37.

[27] 'Hans Rucker[s] Harpsichord', Royal Collection Trust, n.d., https://www.rct.uk/collection/69028 (accessed 20 August 2026).

[28] 'Table d'harmonie de clavecin', Collections du Musée de la Musique, n.d., https://collectionsdumusee.philharmoniedeparis.fr/coll ectionsdumusee/doc/MUSEE/0130314/table-d-harmonie-de-clavecin (accessed 20 August 2026). The date 1701 must be in error, as the eldest Goermans was born in 1703.

[29] Victoria and Albert Museum, '444-1887', n.d., https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O136284/the-judgement-of-midas-inside-harpsichord-lid-vaccaro-domenico-antonio/ (accessed 20 August 2026).

[30] Knights and Padilla (2026), p.29.

[31] Knights and Padilla (2026); note the lack of information on the instrument at the Victoria and Albert Museum '444-1887'.

[32] Peter Holman, 'Handel's Harpsichords Revisited Part II: Handel's Domestic Harpsichords', *Early Music*, 49.3 (2021), pp.413–27 at 412-413.

[33] Knights and Padilla (2026), p.31.

[34] See the websites for these various institutions, under 'organ'.

[35] O'Brien (2008), pp.186, 282.

[36] See BMO-1578.

[37] John R. Watson, 'A Catalog of Antique Keyboard Instruments in the Southeast', pt 2, *Early Keyboard Journal*, iii (1985), pp.60-77 at 63.

[38] See BMO-15.

[39] A brief Google search will reveal the abundance of 'piano removal' or 'disposal' companies operating in the UK, and *Loss and Survival* lists the following website for photographs of pianos reworked as various pieces of furniture: https://thepianogalshop.com.

[40] For examples of natural history museums damaged in wars and invasions, see: Michael J. Tyler, Lydia A. Fucsko and J. Dale Roberts, 'Calamities Causing Loss of Museum Collections: A Historical and Global Perspective on Museum Disasters', *Zootaxa*, 5230.2 (2023), pp.153–78 at 157, 159–164, 166–70.

[41] For further information on the losses suffered by the Berlin museum during WWII, see Heike Fricke, *Verlustkatalog, Band 3 – Musikinstrumenten-Museum Berlin 1923–1945. Rekonstruktion und Verluste der Sammlung* (Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, 2023).

[42] Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, 'reconstructing the record of Nazi cultural plunder', *ERR Project* (2016) http://www.errproject.org/guide.php.

[43] Hubbard (1965), pp.115–16.

[44] Knights and Padilla (2026), p.31.

[45] Albert G. Hess, 'The Transition from Harpsichord to Piano', *The Galpin Society Journal*, vi (1953), p.75-94 at 83.

[46] Michael D. Greenberg, 'Musical Instruments in the Archives of the French Court: The Argenterie, Menus Plaisirs et Affaires de La Chambre, 1733–1792', *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, xxxii (2006), pp.5-81 at 7.

[47] Gerard Brooks, 'French and Belgian Organ Music after 1800', in Thistlethwaite and Webber (1999), pp.263-278 at 263.

[48] Greenberg (2006), p.44.

[49] See Vincent Hildebrandt, 'The Parisian Organ Landscape', Organs of Paris, 2026, https://organsofparis.eu/br.htm (accessed 4 September 2026).

[50] 'J. B.', 'A Musical Inventory under the Terror', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, xxxi/568 (1890), pp.329–31 at 329.

[51] Gemma Betros, 'The French Revolution and the Catholic Church', *History Review*, lxviii (2010), pp.16–21 at 19.

[52] For a detailed list of missing Parisian organs, see: Vincent Hildebrandt, 'Missing Organs', Organs of Paris (2026), https://organsofparis.eu/missing.htm (accessed 4 September 2026).

[53] Knights (2024), p.26.

[54] Knights and Padilla (2026), pp.34–35.

[55] John Rous, ed Mary Anne Everett Green, *Diary of John Rous: Incumbent of Santon Downham, Suffolk, from 1625 to 1642* (Cambridge, 2014), p.99.

[56] Geoffrey Cox, 'English Organ Music to *c* 1700', in Thistlethwaite and Webber (1999), p.197); Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War*, Studies in Modern British Religious History, vol.6 (Woodbridge, 2003), p.78.

[57] Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church, vol.2* (Cambridge, 1979), p.117.

[58] Spraggon (2003), p.30.

[59] *Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois Church in Paris » The Grand Organ*, n.d., https://saintgermainlauxerrois.fr/plan-2/ (accessed 4 September 2026).

[60] Françoise Talvard, 'Musique et Musiciens d'Église Dans Le Département de l'AVEYRON Autour de 1790', Centre de Musique Baroque Versailles (2019), https://philidor.cmbv.fr/musefrem/aveyron (accessed 4 September 2026).

[61] 'L'histoire de La Paroisse et de l'église', Paroisse Sainte-Marguerite, n.d., https://saintemargueriteparis.fr/visiter/ (accessed 4 September 2026).

[62] See https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O181352/organ-pipe-dallam-thomas/.

[63] A. D. Bayne, *A Comprehensive History of Norwich* (London, 1869), p.228.

[64] Spraggon (2003), pp.1, 88, 93-94, 96-97.

[65] Peter Holman, 'The Harpsichord in 19th-Century Britain', *Harpsichord and Fortepiano*, xxiv/2 (2020), p.5.

[66] Greenberg (2006), p.8.

[67] Holman (2020), p.5.

[68] *The Times* digital archive (1785-2024) can be accessed at: www.gale.com.

[69] 'Sales By Auction', *The Times* (5 September 1825), p.4, The Times Digital Archive.

[70] 'Sales By Auction', *The Times* (13 April 1857), p.12, The Times Digital Archive.

[71] 'Sales By Auction', *The Times* (8 November 1887), p.16, The Times Digital Archive.

[72] Holman (2020), p.6.

[73] 'Instrument Maker Profile for Mayer, Johann', n.d., https://boalch.org/instruments/makerprofile/453 (accessed 10 September 2026).

[74] Howard Schott, 'Early Keyboard Instruments', *Revue de Musicologie*, lxxix/2 (1993), p.368-275 at 371; see also: David E. Dodge, 'The Identity of Bach's Clavier', *English Harpsichord Magazine*, ii/5 (October 1979), pp.116-119.

[75] Leonard Schick, 'The 16' Harpsichord and Other Oddities', *Sounding Board*, xvii (2021), pp.32-37 at 32-33.

[76] For a list of mentions of harpsichords in the *Leipziger Intelligenzblatt* (1763-1824), see Leonard Schick, 'Leipziger Intelligenzblatt Auf Das Jahr', transcript (2020), https://www.leonardschick.com/_files/ugd/f05eab_f7c5ff19514246e8a8d9e334309215f1.pdf. For a list of missing large, German harpsichords which appear in newspaper articles, see Leonard Schick, 'Große Clavicymbel in Deutschland Und Unter Deutschem Einfluss', catalogue (2024) https://www.leonardschick.com/_files/ugd/f05eab_a4b15859323b4d85a5cc3049951c5f2a.pdf.

[77] Leonard Schick, 'Harpsichords in Bach's Germany - an Overview', *Harpsichord and Fortepiano*, xxvi/2 (2022), pp.10–20 at 14.

[78] Kottick (2016), p.247.

[79] John Butt, *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance* (Cambridge, 2002), pp.118–119.

[80] Hubbard (1965), p.85.

[81] Sibyl Marcuse, 'Transposing Keyboards on Extant Flemish Harpsichords', *The Musical Quarterly*, XXXVIII.3 (1952), pp.414-425 at 418–19.

[82] 'Harpsichord Converted to a Piano', The Met, n.d., https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/503901 (accessed 15 September 2026).

[83] Holman (2023), pp.34–35.

[84] Grant O'Brien, 'The Conservation of Historical Keyboard Instruments: To Play or Preserve?', Grant O'Brien Early Keyboard Instruments, n.d., http://www.claviantica.com/Play_or_preserve.html (accessed 15 September 2026).

[85] Grant O'Brien, 'Harpsichord Restoration Ethics', Grant O'Brien Early Keyboard Instruments (2025) http://www.claviantica.com/Franco-Flemish_harpsichord_files/FF_restoration_ethics.htm (accessed 23 August 2026).

[86] Knights (2024), p.26; Daryll Martin, *The English Virginal*, PhD thesis (The University of Edinburgh, 2003), p.300.

[87] Butt (2002), p.203.

[88] Kottick (2016), p.46.

[89] O'Brien (2008).

[90] O'Brien (2008), pp.2, 135.

[91] O'Brien (2008), pp.pp.1–2.

[92] Knights and Padilla (2026), p.39.

[93] Hubbard (1965), p.159.

[94] Andrew Wooderson, 'On Copying Historical Instruments', *Sounding Board*, v (2012), pp.38-46 at 39-40.

Appendix

Harpsichords lost in WWII, according to BMO

BMO	Instrument	Maker	Fate (according to BMO)
9	Octave Virginal	Abel (Italy, 1698)	Lost in WWII
40	Spinet	C. B. (Italy, 17th C.)	Lost in WWII
45	Harpsichord (?M)	Baffo (Italy, 1523)	Assumed lost in WWII
113	Harpsichord (2M)	Ruckers (Belgium, 1614)	Lost in WWII
245	Octave Virginal	Brunelli (Italy, 1798)	Lost in WWII
249	Pentagonal Virginal	Buggiano (Italy, 1618)	Lost in WWII
333	Octave Virginal	Crudeli (Italy, 1781)	Lost in WWII
434	Harpsichord (1M)	Dulcken (Belgium, 1764)	Lost in WWII
438	Harpsichord (1M)	Dulcken (Belgium, n.d.)	Lost in WWII
505	Clavichord	Friederici (Germany, 1772)	Lost in WWII
518	Harpsichord (2M)	C. G. (Netherlands, n.d.)	Lost in WWII
520	Harpsichord (1M)	G. G. (Unknown, 1675-1699)	Lost in WWII
587	Clavichord	Grüneberg (Germany, c.1780)	Badly damaged in WWII and subsequently destroyed
598	Octave Virginal	A. W. H. (Netherlands, 1619)	Lost in WWII
698	Clavichord	Hass (Germany, 1760)	Lost in WWII
827	Clavichord	Hubert (Germany, 1765)	Lost in WWII
831	Clavichord	Hubert (Germany, 1776)	Destroyed in WWII
832	Clavichord	Hubert (Germany, 1782)	Destroyed in WWII
847	Harpsichord (1M)	Huffel (Netherlands, 1620)	Lost in WWII
1126	Clavichord	Krämer (Germany, 1787)	Lost in WWII
1130	Pedal clavichord	Krämer (Germany, 1800)	Lost in WWII
1132	Clavichord	Krämer (Germany, 1803)	Lost in WWII
1154	Harpsichord (2M)	Leroy (France, 1685)	Destroyed in bombing of Rotterdam, WWII
1277	Harpsichord (1M)	Lugt (Netherlands, 1770)	Lost in WWII
1350	Harpsichord (2M)	Migliai (Italy, 1696)	Lost in WWII
1409	Octave Virginal	Peres (Italy, 1631)	Lost in WWII
1450	Harpsichord (1M)	Querci (Italy, 1614)	Lost in WWII
1487	Octave Virginal	Richard (France, 1672)	Lost in WWII
1619	Octave Virginal	Attr. Ruckers (Belgium, 17th C.)	Lost in WWII
1679	Virginal (Muselar)	Attr. Ruckers (Belgium, 1647)	Destroyed in WWII
1684	Virginal (Muselar)	Attr. Ruckers (Belgium, 17th C.)	Destroyed in WWII
1696	Octave Virginal	N. V. S. (Italy, 1757)	Lost in WWII
1709	Clavichord	Schiedmayer (Germany, c.1770)	Allegedly destroyed in WWII
1713	Clavichord	Schiedmayer (Germany, 1787)	Destroyed in WWII
1716	Clavichord	Schiedmayer (Germany, 1792)	Allegedly destroyed in WWII
1726	Clavichord	Schmahl (Germany, 1812)	Missing since WWII
1784	Harpsichord (2M)	Shudi (England, 1765)	Missing since WWII
1912	Clavichord	Stein (Germany, c.1770)	Probably lost in WWII
1913	Octave Virginal	Steinicht (Poland, 1657)	Lost in WWII
1920	Clavichord	Straube (Germany, 1786)	Lost in 1945
2022	Spinet	P. W. (Unknown, 18th C)	Lost in WWII
2557	Clavichord	Unknown (1690-1730)	Held in storage which was bombed in WWII – fate unknown

A performer's introduction to the music of the Virginalists

Francis Knights

The period from the beginning of the 16th century to the start of the Civil War in the early 1640s was a Golden Age for British music; an extraordinary number of talented composers were active, writing choral, vocal, consort, lute and keyboard music, a large quantity of which survives. The keyboard composers are often grouped under the title of the 'Virginalists', after the instrument of that name, and their works include several thousand pieces in many styles and genres.[1] Much of this has been edited, performed and recorded, and there are numerous scholarly studies of the composers and the sources.[2] However, not all of this information is well known or easily accessible, so this article surveys the historical background and assembles the references, reading and recordings that will be useful to anyone coming new to this repertoire.[3]

The music may be categorized as 'British' rather than English, as there were composers and players active throughout the British Isles, although activity in Ireland, Wales and Scotland is less well documented, and was probably more modest; the latter country (then an independent state, but from 1603 sharing a monarch with its southern neighbour) offers one composer of particular talent, William Kinloch (fl.1600).[4] Information about the period can be found in a wide variety of sources, including manuscript and printed music, payment accounts, inventories, wills,[5] court records and letters – but what is lacking for the most part are the actual surviving instruments (see below), and the visual representations of them. Across the channel, mid-17th-century domestic paintings of young women playing or having lessons on the harpsichord or virginals (by Vermeer, Metsu, Dou and others) are so familiar[6] that it comes as a surprise to find that there is not a single British example equivalent to this Low Countries artistic tradition – although a virginals (likely of English origin) appears in the background of the 1591 full-length portrait of Lady Grace Talbot (1562-after 1625) at Hardwick Hall (*illus.1*); note the lid painting and the soundboard painting on the instrument. Even the famous engraving of a woman at the keyboard that forms the frontispiece of *Parthenia* (London, 1612/13), 'the first musicke that ever was printed for the virginalls' (*illus.2*) was actually adapted from a Dutch engraving of a young woman – playing the organ.[7] Whether this indicates any lack of popularity of keyboard instruments is unlikely – after all, there are almost no British paintings of solo lute players or viol consorts either.[8]

Metaphorical references in Shakespeare ('Do I envy those jacks that nimble leap / To kiss the tender inward of thy hand', *Sonnet 128*) and other writers to physical elements of the keyboard suggest that plucked keyboards were widely known; and of course the organ would have been familiar to almost any churchgoer, by name at least (by no means all parish churches had organs, even before the Reformation).



Illus.1 Anon, Lady Grace Talbot *(1591), Hardwick Hall (Photo: © National Trust)*

The composers

The principal composers – in terms of both quality and quantity – were Thomas Tallis (c.1505-1585), John Bull (c.1562–1628), William Byrd (c.1540-1623), Giles Farnaby (c.1563–1640), Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625), Peter Philips (c.1560–1628), and Thomas Tomkins (1572-1656), who composed virginal music right into the 1650s. Bull and Philips spent the latter part of their careers in the Low Countries, transmitting the virginalist style to Sweelinck and his contemporaries. In addition, there were numerous other composers whose surviving keyboard output is much smaller (John Blitheman, Thomas Morley, John Redford, Ferdinando Richardson, Thomas Weelkes and so on) – this may just represent the vagaries of survival, rather than modest numbers of their compositions or its limited circulation. For example, the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* contains about half of Byrd's and Bull's extant keyboard music – had this single volume not survived,[9] our understanding of their output would have been significantly curtailed.



Illus.2 Parthenia *(London, 1612/13), frontispiece*

Genres

There are two basic categories of work: public and private, the former comprising essentially liturgical organ music, and the second (there being no such thing as public concerts at this date) keyboard music played for study and recreation, or for small numbers of domestic listeners. The great majority of virginal music falls into the second category, and includes music written for students to learn and play; for virtuosi to show off their skills; for entertainment at home; for exploration of musical or keyboard technique – and even music to accompany private dancing.

The scale of works varies considerably, from half-page dances or short character pieces (of the kind Farnaby was fond of, such as 'His rest'), to elaborate fantasias or sets of variations, as in the sophisticated and large-scale Walsingham sets by both Byrd and Bull. Popular tunes often featured, and composers demonstrated their skill through elaboration of melodic material with which listeners were familiar; earlier organ works could also be based on plainchant melodies, and in fact the origins of European keyboard traditions in the 15th century were from improvised, arranged or composed elaborations of pre-existing vocal works. The meantone tuning system normally restricted the main keys to within three flats or two sharps, but there are a small number of works which explore remote key areas, such as Bull's modulating hexachord fantasia in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, which must have used some other tuning system.

Composers learnt their trade through emulation of previous examples, the Pavan & Galliard pair having the same function as the keyboard suite or the sonata did for later Baroque and Classical composers respectively. Other dance types include the Alman, Coranto and Gigge, and depictions of hunts and military music such as the march are also found – there is even a complete 'Battle' piece by Byrd in *My Ladye Nevells Booke* – as well as arrangements (or intabulations) of madrigals, songs and consort music.

In all these cases, variation through repetition was a key principle, and it is usual to find 'diminution' (increasingly short note values) as a work proceeds: this enables decorative patterns to be used in both hands, and for rhythmic interest to develop towards the end of a piece. In variation sets, performers must make a choice as to whether the same tempo is maintained throughout, or slow the basic pulse as the work breaks into strings of semiquavers or demisemiquavers – it is often a good idea not to start too fast.

Sources

There are a large number of manuscripts containing British keyboard music from the 16th and early 17th centuries; some of these also include intabulations and vocal works; note that many of the main manuscript sources date from the reign of James I (1603-1625) or later. The best-known are, in date order: the *Mulliner Book* (now in the British Library, 1570s), *My Ladye Nevells Booke* (British Library, 1591), *Clement Matchett's Virginal Book* (National Library of Scotland, 1612), the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (Cambridge University Library, c.1605-1615), *Benjamin Cosyn's Virginal Book* (British Library, 1620), *Will Forster's Virginal Book* (British Library, 1624), *Anne Cromwell's Virginal Book* (Museum of London, c.1638), *Priscilla Bunbury's Virginal Book* (private collection, c.1640) and *Elizabeth Rogers' Virginal Book* (British Library, c.1656) – these last three are representatives of a rising tradition of women amateur keyboard players compiling their own domestic collections. Nearly all of these manuscripts have been published, although some are out of print.[10] *My Ladye Nevells Booke* and the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* are easily available via the Dover reprints of the 1926 and 1899 editions,[11] but these editions are unreliable and have been superseded.[12] Accurate scholarly editions from Musica Britannica, Lyrebird Music and others are expensive, but are a very worthwhile long-term investment for those interested

in this repertoire. There are also some smaller paperback selections from the Musica Britannica series available from publishers Stainer & Bell.

The date sequence above, taken in conjunction with the small amount of mid-century anonymous music and the often-modestly scaled repertoire from the *Mulliner Book* (1550s/60s), leads to an interesting observation: that the virginalist tradition seems to have flourished artistically from the 1580s, not earlier; and that Byrd's music (gathered into *My Ladye Nevells Booke* by copyist John Baldwin in 1591) may be a critical point of origin for the fully-developed tradition. The other principal virginalist composers are actually a generation or two younger – Bull, Farnaby, Philips, Gibbons and Tomkins – so in many ways this was (as with the English lute repertoire) as much of a Stuart as an Elizabethan tradition.

Instrument designs

It is easy – and dangerous – to extrapolate backwards from historical information, and post-Restoration comments about the ubiquity of keyboards need to be considered carefully: for example, Samuel Pepys' diary entry from the Great Fire of London notes: '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 Virginalls in it' (Sunday 2 September 1666).[13] However, the actual surviving physical evidence from before the Civil War is rather thin: there is only one dated English harpsichord from between 1579 and 1683; and (apart from two anonymous instruments which may well belong to the 16th century),[14] all twenty extant signed English virginals are dated between 1638-1684 – very late as regards actual virginalist repertoire, after which time they were supplanted by the more fashionable spinet.[15] We might wonder how common keyboard instruments actually were in 16th century Britain, at least outside the homes of the aristocracy, gentry and professional musicians (as a later example, the top-of-the-range – but second-hand – Ruckers double Charles I tried to buy in the late 1630s cost £30, the equivalent of more than four years' wages for a workman).[16] Thereafter, the 17th century saw a rise in musical literacy, partly as an element of a wider process of social emulation – significantly, the opening page of Thomas Morley's treatise *A Plaine And Easie Introdvction To Practicall Mvsicke* describes the social disgrace of a dinner guest who could not read music: 'some whispered to others, demaunding how I was brought vp; so that upon shame of mine ignorance I go nowe to seeke out mine olde frinde master *Gnorimus*, to make my selfe his scholler'.[17]

An important early list was Henry VIII's 1547 instrument inventory, which includes more than fifty keyboards (harpsichords, virginals, clavichord, regals and organs) located in numerous different rooms of more than half-a-dozen palaces or houses.[18] It can be assumed that that these were inherited in turn by succeeding monarchs until they were discarded as too old or unusable – not a single one has survived. Michael Fleming's survey of pre-Restoration wills includes a number of virginals references, no instruments from which are identifiable by a maker's name;[19] while 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.

Despite the relatively small number of surviving instruments, there are archival and other references to some 60 keyboard makers from the Tudor and Stuart periods (and there may well have been many more).[20] Most probably ran smallish workshops, and some also built other instruments, such as organs, but their output was likely sufficient to supply the home market. Some keyboard instruments were imported, but probably never in large quantities, due to the expense of transport – and customs fees. A single virginals attracted a charge equivalent to some two month's salary for a workman.[21] The very detailed Port of London customs accounts, which survive from the 13th to the mid-16th century, note the arrival of only five organs and a regal, as well as four virginals and 48 clavichords, during the first third of the 16th century; a small number of clavichords and regals are listed in the subsequent accounts for 1537-1559. Music wire (called 'clavicorde weire') is present in some quantity, but this finely-drawn imported wire was likely used for many purposes besides stringing instruments.[22]

It is therefore well to be quite cautious about the documented foreign instruments: these include the famous 'Queen Elizabeth's Virginals' (possibly by Giovanni Antonio Baffo (fl.1570-1579), now in the Victoria & Albert Museum) (*illus.3*),[23] as well as the Henry VIII inventory instruments (where no makers' names are mentioned). Transporting a delicate Italian harpsichord all the way to England by cart and boat would have been a risky and very expensive undertaking, and (apart from the Queen's instrument above) there are few references to this happening[24] – so the commonly-expressed belief that Italian harpsichords are particularly appropriate for the virginalists may be somewhat misplaced, although Darryl Martin points out there are such instruments in the Henry VIII inventory.[25] Flemish instruments are another matter, as the surviving London-built harpsichord by immigrant Lodewyk Theewes (II) (fl.1557-85) – 'virginall maker, a Ducheman' (as described in an archival record from 1568) – shows (it is also in the Victoria & Albert Museum).[26] Part of a *claviorganum*, and with most of its innards now missing, it is clearly related to late-16th-century Flemish-type harpsichords[27] and has been successfully been reconstructed, as in the 2004 example in a plain oak case made by Malcolm Rose in 2004: 8'8'4', with a C-c^3 chromatic compass (*illus.4*).[28] The instrument was originally owned by the Roper family, friends of both Tallis and Byrd, which gives it particular significance.[29] The other surviving pre-Civil War English harpsichord (now an empty case) at Knole was built by John Hasard (d.1640) in 1622, and is something of a mystery, with one low register and two high ones; likely this was a 16'8'8' instrument at 'high' pitch, equivalent to the organ of the period, which was a transposing instrument.[30]

Instrument choices

A four-octave virginals (C-c^3) will encompass the vast majority of the repertoire; note that half of Byrd only requires the early 16th-century range F-a^2,[31] while from the end of the century additional bass notes (GG and AA) begin to appear in the music of Bull and Gibbons. For harpsichords, two manuals and registration changes are never required, so a

one-keyboard instrument is sufficient. Although none survive from Britain, the ottavino (a small triangular spinet at 4' pitch, sometimes called an 'octave spinet' or 'octave virginal') was likely known,[32] as it was on the continent (*illus.5*), and represents a further tonal alternative (a 4' solo stop can be used on the harpsichord as an equivalent). As is seen with the 1579 Theewes instrument, the *claviorganum* is a further possibility for performance, with the combined sound of harpsichord and organ. Recent research indicates there were rather more of these instruments than previously realized.[33]



Illus.3 Queen Elizabeth's Virginals (Photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)



Illus.4 Harpsichord after Lodewyk Theewes (1579) by Malcolm Rose (2004) (Photo: © Estate of Malcolm Rose)



Illus.5 Ottavino, c/e-c⁴. Italian c.1600 (Photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

The clavichord (again, none survive from Britain at this period) was well known, and probate records from (for example) Cambridge University indicate it may have actually been more common there than the virginals, at least up until around 1560, while an instrument was bought as late as 1606 at the city's Stourbridge Fair.[34] Records from Durham refer to the instrument from the period at least 1569-1612,[35] and it is one of three keyboard instrument types listed (the others are virginals and organ) among the customs rates publications of 1545 and 1574.[36] While there are no exact historical models to copy, the anonymous continental C/E-c^3 fretted instrument of c.1620 now in the Edinburgh collection (*illus.6*) is a plausible clavichord type, and works well for much of the repertoire (musical adaptation in respect of both compass and fretting is sometimes necessary, as is the case with such instruments).



Illus.6 Anon clavichord, c.1620 (Photo: © Russell Collection, University of Edinburgh)

While the term 'virginals' encompasses stringed keyboard instruments only, some portion of the this repertoire appears intended for the organ, either where it has a pre-Reformation liturgical purpose, or could function (as with some of the preludes and fantasias) as voluntaries for the new Anglican rite. Relatively little organ building occurred between the 1550s and the Civil War (*illus.7*), so most church instruments played by the Elizabethans

and Stuarts would have been both small (perhaps three to six stops, no reeds or pedals) and old.[37] They were based around 5' rather than 8' pitch, which means that the music would have sounded a 4th lower or a 5th higher (depending on the registration), compared to being played on a harpsichord – Davitt Moroney takes the trouble to transpose it thus on his complete Byrd recording for Hyperion. There were domestic or chamber organs too, like the 'box' instrument still at Knole, with wooden pipes and at a similar pitch to the virginals.[38] Also known was the regal, a small bellows-blown reed instrument with a somewhat snarling tone (*illus.8*) – there are references to some Tudor organ builders constructing these.

The keyboard performing options available to 16th- and 17th-century British musicians were therefore considerable, and these have not been sufficiently explored in modern times. While some pieces may work better on one type of instrument than another, or else need adjusting in terms of compass or quantity of ornamentation, there are relatively few restrictions, musically speaking. To the player of today who has one instrument, and that of a later type or style, the advice is play the music on that anyway – the temperament used (1/4-comma meantone is thought to be normal)[39] – is often more critical to the effect than is the tone colour of a particular instrument, which is one reason why all early keyboard players need to be able to do their own tuning.



Illus.7 An example of a Stuart organ: St Nicholas, Stanford on Avon, Leicestershire, with the chair case originally built by Thomas and Robert Dallam for Magdalen College, Oxford in about 1631 (the main organ case from that instrument is now at Tewkesbury Abbey)



Illus.8 Regal from Frauenfield Abbey, Switzerland, c.1600, now in the Musical Instrument Museum, Brussels

Ornamentation

Two main ornament symbols are found in virginal music, the single- and (much more common) double-stroke (*ex.1*). Some manuscripts or pieces include few of them, while in others they appear in great profusion – and in parallel manuscripts, not always in the same places.[40] Unfortunately, how they are to be played, or even what the Elizabethans called them, are unknown.[41] Two basic principles seem to apply, on the basis of examination of the more-than-fifty examples of written-out ornamentation found in the music of Byrd, Bull and others: the double-stroke is a more complex ornament than the single; and ornaments begin on the upper note.[42] Treating the double-stroke symbol as a short or long trill (or 'shake', as it was later called) is usually effective. Turns were also used occasionally, and (as in contemporary lute music,[43] and later Restoration keyboard music) 'falls' (rising or falling short appoggiaturas) are historically plausible. Some works are plain, while others are heavily ornamented. Depending on the instrument, the acoustics, the tempo and so on, players will have to experiment with the various options and see what and how many 'graces' seem to work best (note that even the most recent professional recordings do not explore these options, often opting for rather Baroque-sounding mordents).



Ex.1 The two standard ornament symbols

Performance

Early fingering in Britain at this time relied upon the crossing of the long finger rather than the thumb: for a C major scale in the right hand typically, 1-2-3-4-3-4-3-4 ascending and 5-4-3-2-3-2-3-2 descending; and for the left hand, 5-4-3-2-1-2-1-2 ascending and 1-2-3-4-3-4-3-4 descending.[44] When this was the only fingering system used, great fluency and speed could be achieved, and some modern professionals are now almost as adept at this

as with modern fingering systems. Fluency depends on use and practice, but even if players choose to only use the system occasionally, it is well worth learning a few pieces this way, such as the scalic Gibbons Prelude that ends *Parthenia*.[45] There are passages where it makes especial sense (for example, the six-note scale patterns found in virginal music), and it is even useful in parts of Bach.

Many of the early manuscript sources are now available online in facsimile,[46] and players should experiment with reading from these: there are sometimes issues with alignment (right- and left-hand notes vertically out-of-kilter), and the six-line staves take a little getting used to (the secret is that the lowest line of the treble stave and the top line of the bass are the 'extra' lines, and can be read as 'extended' ledger lines).

As a short example to try, the very first work from *Parthenia*, a short Praeludium by Byrd, is ideal (*illus.9*). Note the work is effectively in G minor, but there is only one flat in the key signature. Accidentals are in front of, or below, notes, depending on the space available to the engraver; as naturals are not used, the G major chord at the end is indicated with a ♯ symbol for the B before the barline. Long notes are placed in the middle, rather than at the start of, the bar. In case of any further notational issues, compare a modern edition to confirm what the facsimile intended.

Recordings

There are numerous recordings available of works by the major virginalist composers by excellent performers such as Carole Cerasi, Christopher Hogwood, Ton Koopman, Gustav Leonhardt, Catalina Vicens, Glen Wilson, Sophie Yates and many others, but it is only in recent years that complete collections of works, or of whole manuscripts, have become available. These include all of Byrd, recorded by both Davitt Moroney and Pieter-Jan Belder,[47] and the complete Tallis and Tomkins, recorded by Rachelle Taylor and Bernhard Klapprott respectively.[48] Belder also undertook the mammoth task of the complete *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, on 15 discs.[49] As ever, recordings are a good way to get to know repertoire, but should not become a prescriptive model for performance studies, however good the playing.

Starting out

While the virginalist repertoire includes some truly virtuosic music – including works by Byrd, Bull and Tomkins – a great deal of it is technically straightforward, written as it must have been for pupils and amateur players. There are many simple and attractive dances to start with (for example, Byrd's *La Volta* from the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*), moving through numerous pavan & galliard pairs, to slightly harder song variations, such as Byrd's *The Carman's whistle* or Farnaby's *Loth to depart*. Byrd is a particularly rewarding composer here, with his satisfying blend of melodic invention, fine counterpoint and technical ingenuity.



Illus.9 William Byrd, Praeludium from Parthenia

Notes

[1] There is a complete catalogue in Virginia Brookes, *British Keyboard Music to c.1660* (Oxford, 1996).

[2] For more information about some of the composers, see John Harley, *Thomas Tallis* (Farnham, 2015), Walker Cunningham, *The Keyboard Music of John Bull* (Ann Arbor, 1984), John Harley, *William Byrd: Gentleman of the Chapel Royal* (Aldershot, 1999), John Harley, *Orlando Gibbons and the Gibbons Family of Musicians* (London, 1999) and Anthony Boden, *Thomas Tomkins: The Last Elizabethan* (London, 2005).

[3] For two chapter-length introductions to the virginalists, see Alan Brown, 'England', in Alexander Silbiger (ed), *Keyboard Music before 1700* (London, 2/2004), pp.23-89 and Pieter Dirksen, 'The Virginalists', in Mark Kroll (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to the Harpsichord* (Cambridge, 2019), pp.31-46.

[4] Some Welsh-born composers, like Thomas Tomkins, made their careers in London; conversely, a number of English musicians worked in Dublin.

[5] Michael Fleming, 'Some Points Arising from a Survey of Wills and Inventories', *Galpin Society Journal*, liii (April 2000), pp.301-311.

[6] See the images in Lucas van Dijk and Ton Koopman, *Het klavecimbel in de Nederlandse kunst tot 1800* (The Hague, 1987).

[7] See Jon Baxendale and Francis Knights (eds), *Parthenia* and *Parthenia In-violata* (Tynset, 2022), pp.iv-v.

[8] For musicians in early modern British art, see Francis Knights, 'Formal portraits of British musicians before the Civil War', *NEMA Newsletter*, ix/2 (Autumn 2025), pp.18-43.

[9] See Francis Knights and Pablo Padilla, 'The Loss and Survival of Musical Artifacts', *NEMA Newsletter*, x/1 (Spring 2026), pp.24-46 and David J. Smith, 'Seven Solutions for Seven Problems: the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book', in David J. Smith, (ed), *Aspects of Early English Keyboard Music before c.1630* (Abingdon, 2019), pp.163-183.

[10] Thurston Dart (ed), *Clement Matchett's Virginal Book (1612)* (London, 1969), Howard Ferguson (ed), *Anne Cromwell's Virginal Book 1638* (Oxford, 1974), Charles J. F. Confone (ed), *Elizabeth Rogers hir Virginall Booke* (New York, 1975) and Virginia Brookes (ed), *Priscilla Bunbury's Virginal Book* (Albany, CA, 1993). See also Candace Bailey, *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources* (Warren, MI, 2003).

[11] Hilda Andrews (ed), *My Lady Nevells Booke* (London, 1926), J. A. Fuller Maitland and William Barclay Squire (eds), *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (Leipzig, 1899).

[12] See Brookes (1996) for a list of modern editions. The collected keyboard works by Byrd, Bull, Cosyn, Farnaby, Gibbons, Philips, Tomkins and others can be found in individual volumes of the Musica Britannica series, together with the complete Mulliner Book, while some of the most important manuscript and print sources are available from Lyrebird Music: Jon Baxendale and Francis Knights (eds), *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, 3 vols (Tynset, 2020); *Byrd: My Ladye Nevell's Book* (Tynset, 2021); *Parthenia* and *Parthenia In-violata* (Tynset, 2022); *Will Forster's Virginal Book* (Tynset, 2023).

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

[14] Darryl Martin, 'Two Elizabethan Virginals?', *Galpin Society Journal*, lxxx (April 2000), pp.156-167.

[15] Darryl Martin, 'From the Virginal to the Spinet: Domestic Keyboard Instrument Manufacture and Use in Stuart England', in Thomas Donahue (ed), *Essays in honour of Christopher Hogwood: The Mastro's Direction* (Lanham, MD, 2011), pp.1-12. For an overview, see John Koster, 'The harpsichords of the virginalists' in David J. Smith (ed), *Aspects of Early English Keyboard Music before c.1630* (Abingdon, 2019), pp.29-48. By 1737 the instrument was being described as 'now quite out of Use'; Graham Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary: Music terms from British Sources 1500-1740* (Cambridge, 1998), p.411.

[16] Raymond Russell, rev Howard Schott, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord* (London, 2/1973), p.161-162, Paula Woods, 'The Gerbier-Windebank Letters: Two Ruckers Harpsichords in England', *Galpin Society Journal*, liv (2001), pp.76-89.

[17] Thomas Morley, *A Plaine And Easie Introdvction To Practicall Mvsicke, Set downe in forme of a dialogue* (London, 1597), p.1.

[18] The inventory (there are actually two) is printed in Russell (1973), pp.155-160 and Darryl Martin, *The English Virginal*, PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh, 2003), i, pp.284-289. See also Frank Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making* (Harvard, 1965), pp.134-135.

[19] Fleming (2000).

[20] See Donald H. Boalch, rev Charles Mould, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord, 1440-1840* (Oxford, 1995), now superseded by https://boalch.org, Francis Knights, 'A Register of British keyboard makers, composers, copyists and players, c.660-1630', *NEMA Newsletter*, vii/2 (Autumn 2023), pp.25-108 and Martin (2003), pp.300-312.

[21] See [Anon], *The Rates of the Custome house reduced in to a much better order for the redier finding of any thing therin contained / then at any time heertofore hath been & now again corrected enlarged and amended, Whereunto is also added the true difference and contents of weights and measures, with other things never before imprinted* (London, 1574).

[22] For details, see Francis Knights, 'Musical Instruments in the London Customs Accounts, 1380-1537', *Bulletin of the Fellowship of Makers and Researchers of Historical Instruments*, clxiii (November 2023), pp.27-46.

[23] Catherine Lorigan, '"Queen Elizabeth's Virginals": from Venice to the Victoria & Albert Museum', *Harpsichord & fortepiano*, xxv/2 (Spring 2021), pp.4-13.

[24] For example, William Corbett (1680-1748) owned a 1571 Trasuntino and a 1670 Zenti harpsichord, as well as spinets by Celestini and Ondei (all now lost), but these were collected by him during his Italian sojourn; see John Cunningham, 'New Light on William Corbett's Gresham College Bequest', in John Cunningham and Bryan White (eds), *Musical Exchange between Britain and Europe, 1500-1800: Essays in Honour of Peter Holman* (Woodbridge, 2020), pp.380-398.

[25] See Darryl Martin, 'Italian Instruments in England, and Their Adaption for Use', in Augusta Campagne and Markus Grassl (eds), *'Per aures ad animum' - The Harpsichord in the Sixteenth Century II: Italy* (Vienna, 2026), pp.161-172.

[26] Malcolm Rose, 'The history and significance of the Lodewijk Theewes claviorgan', *Early Music*, xxxii (November 2004), pp.577-592.

[27] For Ruckers designs, see Grant O'Brien, *Ruckers: A harpsichord and virginal building tradition* (Cambridge, 1990). Darryl Martin also notes some connections with contemporary virginal design; see 'The Native Tradition in Transition: English Harpsichords circa 1680-1725', in John Koster (ed), *Aspects of Harpsichord Making in the British Isles*, The Historical Harpsichord 5 (Hillsdale, NY, 2009), pp.1-115 at 4-5.

[28] For an illustration of the original instrument, see the article by Richard Taylor in the issue. Recent reconstructions of the Theewes harpsichord and of the anonymous 'AH' virginals of c.1570 reinforce Darryl Martin's assertion that the tonal qualities of these earliest English keyboards are distinctive; for a recording, see Rachelle Taylor (organ/harpsichord/virginals), *Thomas Tallis: Complete Keyboard Works*, ATMA Baroque ACD2 2349 (2005). See also Darryl Martin, 'From Elizabethan to Restoration: Changes in design and sound of English virginals', *Scottish Music Review*, vi (2020-21), pp.89-108.

[29] Harley (1999), p.21; Rose (2004).

[30] Ann MacTaggart and Peter MacTaggart, 'The Knole Harpsichord: A Reattribution', *Galpin Society Journal*, xli (May 1978), pp.2-8. See also Andrew Johnstone, '"As it was in the Beginning": Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music', *Early Music*, xxxi/4 (November 2003), pp.506-525.

[31] Davitt Moroney, 'Bounds and Compasses: The Range of Byrd's Keyboards', in Chris Banks, Arthur Searle and Malcolm Turner (eds), *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on the British Library Collection* (London, 1993), pp.67-88.

[32] It was certainly known in England from at least 1553, as a component of the double ('mother-and-child') virginals type imported from Flanders; see Hubbard (1565), p.135. There seems to be a distinction made in the 1553 royal inventory between 'virginals' (in the modern sense) and harpsichord ('new longe virginalles made harpe fashion').

[33] Eleanor Smith, 'The English Claviorgan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Galpin Society Journal*, lxviii (Spring 2015), pp.21-34.

[34] Francis Knights, 'The clavichord in Tudor Cambridge', *British Clavichord Society Newsletter*, xli (June 2008), pp.3-7 and J. P. C. Roach (ed), *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 3, the City and University of Cambridge* (London, 1959), p.93.

[35] Francis Knights, 'New historic references to the clavichord in Durham', *British Clavichord Society Newsletter*, xxxvi (October 2006), pp.6-9.

[36] [Anon], *The rates of the custome house bothe inward and outwarde the dyfference measures and weyghts and other comodities very necessary for all marchantes to know newly corrected and imprynted* (London, 1545) and Anon (1574).

[37] For the early British organ, see Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, 2012), David J. Smith, 'Continuity, change and the emergence of idiomatic organ repertoire in seventeenth century England', in Iain Quinn (ed), *Studies in English Organ Music* (Abingdon, 2018), pp.122-141, Dominic Gwynn, 'The lost musical world of the Tudor organ', in David J. Smith (ed), *Aspects of Early English Keyboard Music before c.1630* (Abingdon, 2019), pp.49-65 and 'Survivors & Exiles: Historic British organs as cultural heritage' (2008/2019), https://www.buildingconservation.com/articles/survivors/early-british-organs.htm.

[38] Michael I. Wilson, *The Chamber Organ in Britain, 1600-1830* (Abingdon, 2/2016) and David Force, *'A Holding, Uniting-Constant Friend': The Organ in Seventeenth-Century English Domestic Music*, PhD thesis (The Open University, 2019).

[39] For tuning instructions, see Carey Beebe, 'Tuning', https://www.hpschd.nu, Peter Bavington, *Clavichord Tuning and Maintenance* (London, 3/2020) and elsewhere. Note that a case has also been made for other temperaments, such as modified Pythagorean.

[40] Thurston Dart concluded 'most ornaments in the English virginalists seem stuck onto the music more or less at random'; *The Interpretation of Music* (London, 1954), p.118.

[41] There is a detailed discussion and typology in Francis Knights, 'Virginalist ornamentation and interpretation', *Early Keyboard Journal*, xxxiii (2024), pp.7-48.

[42] One alternative suggestion worth exploring is that the double-stroke ornament indicates an upper auxiliary and the single the lower; see Orhan Memed (ed), *Benjamin Cosyn: Complete Keyboard Music*, Musica Britannica cvii (London, 2022). Cosyn was an important Gibbons copyist, as well as a composer.

[43] Martin Shepherd, 'The Interpretation of signs for graces in English lute music', *The Lute*, xxxvi (1996), pp.37-84.

[44] See Maria Boxall and Mark Lindley, *Early keyboard fingerings: a comprehensive guide* (London, 1992) and Peter le Huray (ed), *The Fingering of Virginal Music* (London, 1981).

[45] The Gibbons Prelude in G major from *Parthenia* with early fingering added from a 17th-century manuscript can be found in Francis Knights, *A Sightreading Method for Early Keyboard Players* (Cambridge, 2026), pp.30-31.

[46] On IMSLP https://imslp.org or the British Library website, for example.

[47] *William Byrd: The Complete Keyboard Music*, Davitt Moroney (harpsichord, virginals, organ, clavichord), Hyperion CDS44461/7 (1999), 7 CDs; *William Byrd: Complete Harpsichord and Organ Music*, Pieter-Jan Belder (harpsichord, virginals, organ), Brilliant Classics 95915 (2023), 9 CDs.

[48] *Thomas Tallis: Complete Keyboard Works*, Rachelle Taylor (harpsichord, virginals, organ), Atma Classique ACD2 249 (2005); *Thomas Tomkins, Keyboard Music*, Bernhard Klapprott (harpsichord, virginals), MDG 607 0948 (1997), 4 CDs.

[49] *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, Pieter-Jan Belder (harpsichord, organ, muselar, virginals), Brilliant Classics 95915 (2020), 15 CDs; see also Pieter-Jan Belder, 'Recording the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book', *Harpsichord & fortepiano*, xxiv/2 (Spring 2020), pp.20-23.

News and Events

News

Conductor **Paul McCreesh** has been awarded a CBE for services to music and music education in the King's Birthday Honours 2026.

The *Recording of the Year* was awarded to **Jean Rondeau** (harpsichord/organ) at the Gramophone Classical Music Awards 2026 for his complete set of Louis Couperin on Warner Classics.

Jeremy Llewellyn has been appointed Head of Early Music at the Royal Conservatoire The Hague.

The **Orpheus Instituut** in Ghent has launched a new website at https://orpheusinstituut.be.

Obituary notices

Violinist and writer **Judy Tarling** (1947 – 20 May 2026) has died at the age of 78.

Conductor, musicologist and publisher **Bruno Turner** (7 February 1931 – 9 June 2026) has died at the age of 95.

Conductor and musicologist **Joel Cohen** (29 May 1942 – 26 July 2026) has died at the age of 84.

Record producer **Ben Turner** (24 January 1955 – 9 August 2026) has died at the age of 66.

Musicologist **John Whenham** (July 1946 – 16 August 2026) has died at the age of 80.

Singer and director **Harry van der Kamp** (7 February 1947 – 17 August 2026) has died at the age of 79.

Violinist and writer **Stanley Ritchie** (21 April 1935 – 23 August 2026) has died at the age of 91.

Trumpet player and maker **David Staff** (18 January 1958 – 23 September 2026) has died at the age of 68.

Musicologist **Arthur Ness** (27 January 1936 – 11 October 2026) has died at the age of 90

Listings

Early Music Fora and events

Border Marches Early Music Forum, www.bmemf.org.uk

> 26 September 2026, *Saints and Angels* (Victoria, Sweelinck, Weelkes and Philips), tutor Simon Harper, Bishop's Palace, Hereford

13 March 2027, *A Party in Augsburg*, instrumental workshop, tutor Lizzie Gutteridge, St John's Church, Ludlow

24 April 2027, workshop for voices (Gibbons and Philips), tutor Katy Silverman, Belmont Abbey

5 February 2028, *Vivaldi - his other Dixit*, tutor Paul Spicer, The Bridges, Monmouth

Early Music Forum Scotland, www.emfscotland.org.uk

14 November 2026, EMFS Choir, tutor Kristine Donnan, St Mark's Unitarian Church, Edinburgh

21 November 2026, *Go 4 B'rque: Totally Telemann III*, tutor Philip Redfern, St Catherine's Argyle Church, Edinburgh

12 December 2026, *Go 4 B'rque: Brandenburg Bach II*, tutor Philip Redfern, St Catherine's Argyle Church, Edinburgh

Eastern Early Music Forum, www.eemf.org.uk

17 October 2026, Hans Leo Hassler, tutor Gawain Glenton, Waltham Abbey

28 November 2026, Advent Music, tutor David Allinson, Church of the Good Shepherd, Cambridge

23 January 2027, Epiphany Party, music of Melchior Franck, tutor Philip Thorby, Blyburgate Hall, Beccles

10 April 2027, Brumel's Earthquake Mass, tutor Katie Hawks, Cambridge

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

19 September 2026. Feast of Fools, tutor Leah Stuttard, Burley in Wharfedale Methodist Church

28 November 2026, NEEMF workshop, tutor David Hatcher, Calcutt & Forest Moor Village Hall, , Knaresborough

16 January 2027, Voices & Viols: English Jacobean, tutor Elizabeth Dodd, Northallerton Methodist Church

13 February 2027, *Paratum cor meum*: Banchieri and Viadana, tutor Philip Redfern, Summerhill Bowling Club, Newcastle upon Tyne

13 March 2027, *For Every Syllable a Note*: Tallis and the Reformation, tutor Benjamin Maloney, Calcutt & Forest Moor Village Hall, Knaresborough

10 April 2027, NEEMF performing day, Temple Newsam House, Leeds

3 May 2027, NEEMF performing day. Richmond Mayfest

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

17 October 2026, Music from the *Odhecaton*, tutor Lizzie Gutteridge, Bolton

21 November 2026, *1535 – a year in the life of Pierre Attaingnant*, tutor Peter Syrus, Liverpool

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

12 September 2026, Workshop for voices and instruments, tutor Mark Wilson, Stafford

14 November 2026, Francesco Stivori, tutor Philip Thorby, St Nicholas Church, Warwick

5 December 2026, *Sing (and Play) Choirs of Angels*, tutor Alison Kinder, Dorridge Village Hall

16 January 2027, *An Unusual and Excellent Nobility of Invention*, tutor Emily White, Claines Parish Hall, Worcester

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

4 October 2026, Handel, choruses from *Samson* and *Saul*, tutor John Hancorn, Headcorn Village Hall

21 November 2026, Workshop for voices and instruments, tutor Alison Kinder, Fishbourne Church Hall

6 March 2027, Renaissance workshop, tutor Bill Lyons, Headcorn Village Hall

24 April 2027, Music of the English post-Restoration period, tutor Ben England, Horsham

26 June 2027, Workshop for singers, tutor David Allinson, Scaynes Hill Village Centre

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

24 October 2026, Workshop for Voices and Instruments, tutor Andrea Brown, Hambridge Village Hall

21 November 2026, Victoria, tutor Huw Morgan, St Mary's Church, Yatton

20 February 2027, Secular music by Tudor composers, tutor Clare Griffel, St Monica's Chapel, Cote Bristol

20 March 2027, Workshop for voices and instruments, tutor William Lyons, Taunton

17 April 2027, *Songs of Farewell*, tutor John Bryan, Bristol

22 May 2027, Renaissance wind music, tutor Tim Bayley, Cheltenham

18 September 2027, Workshop for voices and instruments, tutor Mark Bennett, Wembury, Plymouth

Thames Valley Early Music Forum, https://www.tvemf.org.uk

17 October 2026, Music by Hassler, tutor Gawain Glenton, Waltham Abbey

13 December 2026, Christmas Workshop, tutor Philip Thorby, Amersham

20 March 2027, *Music to Die for - exploring English Renaissance elegies*, tutors Will Dawes and Katie Bank, venue tbc

15 May 2027, Polyphony for Ascension and Pentecost, tutor Patrick Craig, Northwood

12 December 2027, Christmas Workshop, tutor David Hatcher, Amersham

Conferences

The conference **Practice of Editing Music: History, Challenges and New Directions (1500-1900)** will take place at the Royal Birmingham Conservatoire on 30-31 October 2026. Contact: PracticeofEditing@bcu.ac.uk

The Accademia Chigiana conference **Music Renaissance in Global History and Contemporary Practice** will take place in Siena on 3-5 December 2026. Contact: chigiana.journal@chigiana.org

The BIOS **Bernard Edmonds Research Conference** will take place on 20 February 2027 at The Royal Birmingham Conservatoire. Contact: meetings@bios.org.uk

The biennial conference of the **American Handel Society** will take place on 18–21 March 2027 at Princeton University. Website: https://americanhandelsociety.org

The UMass Amherst Bach Symposium 2027 on **Bach and Dance** will take place in Amherst, Massachusetts, on 23-24 April 2027. Contact: musicoffice@music.umass.edu

The conference **The Alamire Manuscripts: Past, Present, and Future** will take place on 28-30 April 2027 at the Alamire Foundation in Leuven. Contact: brett.kostrzewski@kuleuven.be

The conference **At the Threshold: Sound and Music in Sickness, Death, and Commemoration in Early Modern Europe** will take place on 13–14 May 2027 in Regensburg. Contact: antonio.chemotti@kuleuven.be

The conference **The Art of the Choir in the Medieval and Early Modern Mediterranean World** will take place on 4–6 June 2027 at the University of Cyprus, Nicosia. Contact: olympios.michalis@ucy.ac.cy

The conference **Early Music Now: Performance, production, promotion, partnership** will take place on 15 June 2027 at the University of Surrey, Guildford. Website: https://earlymusicnow.wordpress.com

The colloquium **Music before 1600** will take place on 17–18 June 2027 at Heidelberg University. Contact: wiesenfeldt@zegk.uni-heidelberg.de

The 22nd Biennial **International Conference on Baroque Music** will take place on 21-25 July 2027 in Mafra, Portugal. Contact: mafrabienalbarroca2027@fcsh.unl.pt

EARLY MUSIC ORGANIZATIONS

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

American Guild of Organists, https://www.agohq.org

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

Cambridge Academy of Organ Studies, http://www.cambridgeorganacademy.org

L'association Clavecin en France, http://www.clavecin-en-france.org

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

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-eemn.net

Royal College of Organists, https://www.rco.org.uk/

Schweizerische Clavichordgesellschaft, www.clavichordgesellschaft.ch

Stichting Clavecimbel Genootschap, http://www.scgn.org/¬index.php

Swedish Clavichord Society, http://goart.gu.se/gcs

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, https://www.bromptons.co

Christie's, https://www.christies.com/departments/Musical-Instruments

Gardiner Houlgate, https://www.gardinerhoulgate.co.uk

Gorringe's, https://www.gorringes.co.uk

Ingles Hayday, https://ingleshayday.com

Peter Wilson, https://www.peterwilson.co.uk

Piano Auctions, http://www.pianoauctions.co.uk