



LIFE AFTER  
DEATH:

*The Viola  
da Gamba  
in Britain  
from Purcell  
to Dolmetsch*



PETER  
HOLMAN



LIFE AFTER DEATH



*The Viola da Gamba in Britain*  
*from Purcell to Dolmetsch*



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Thomas Gainsborough, *Karl Friedrich Abel* (c. 1765)



LIFE AFTER DEATH



*The Viola da Gamba in Britain  
from Purcell to Dolmetsch*

Peter Holman

THE BOYDELL PRESS



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# Abbreviations

## GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

(in addition to those in *GMO*)

CC	copy (copies) consulted
comp.	compiled (by)
illus.	illustration; illustrated (in)
intro.	introduction (by)
ME	modern edition(s)
R	(pagination or foliation) of a volume reversed
repr.	reprinted (by); reproduced (by)
WM	(date on) watermark

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

BDA	<i>A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800</i> , ed. P. H. Highfill jr. <i>et al.</i> , 16 vols. (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL, 1973–93)
BDECM	<i>A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714</i> , comp. A. Ashbee, D. Lasocki <i>et al.</i> , 2 vols. (Aldershot, 1998)
BLIC	<i>The British Library Integrated Catalogue</i> ( <a href="http://catalogue.bl.uk">http://catalogue.bl.uk</a> )
BMB	J. D. Brown and S. S. Stratton, <i>British Musical Biography: a Dictionary of Musical Artists, Authors and Composers Born in Britain and its Colonies</i> (Birmingham, 1897)
BurneyH	C. Burney, <i>A General History of Music</i> (London, 1776–89), ed. F. Mercer (London, 1935)
DA	<i>The Daily Advertiser</i>
DC	<i>The Daily Courant</i>
DP	<i>The Daily Post</i>
DUR	<i>The Daily Universal Register</i>
ECCO	<i>Eighteenth-Century Collections Online</i> ( <a href="http://www.gale.cengage.com">www.gale.cengage.com</a> )
ECM	<i>Eighteenth-Century Music</i>
EEBO	<i>Early English Books Online</i> ( <a href="http://eebo.chadwyck.com">eebo.chadwyck.com</a> )
EM	<i>Early Music</i>
EMP	<i>Early Music Performer</i>



GA	<i>The General Advertiser</i>
GMO	Grove Music Online, ed. D. L. Root ( <a href="http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com">www.oxfordmusiconline.com</a> ), all accessed 12/2009
Grove 1	<i>A Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , ed. G. Grove, 4 vols. (London, 1878–90)
GSJ	<i>The Galpin Society Journal</i>
GZ	<i>The Gazeteer and London Daily Advertiser; The Gazeteer and New Daily Advertiser</i>
HawkinsH	J. Hawkins, <i>A General History of the Science and Practice of Music</i> (London, 1776; 2/1853; repr. 1963)
HWV	Händel-Werke-Verzeichnis, in <i>Händel-Handbuch</i> , ed. W. and M. Eisen, 4 vols. (Kassel, 1978–86)
IGI	<i>The International Genealogical Index</i> ( <a href="http://www.familysearch.org">www.familysearch.org</a> )
JAMS	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
JRMA	<i>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</i>
JVdGSA	<i>Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America</i>
LSJ	<i>The Lute Society Journal</i>
MB	Musica Britannica
MC	<i>The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser; The Morning Chronicle</i>
MGG2	<i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik, begründet von Friedrich Blume. Zweite, neuerarbeitete Ausgabe</i> , ed. L. Finscher, 28 vols. (Kassel, 1994–2008)
MH	<i>The Morning Herald</i>
ML	<i>Music &amp; Letters</i>
MLE	Music for London Entertainment, 1660–1800
MO	<i>The Musical Opinion</i>
MP	<i>The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser; The Morning Post</i>
MQ	<i>The Musical Quarterly</i>
MS	<i>The Musical Standard</i>
MT	<i>The Musical Times</i>
MW	<i>The Musical World</i>
OED	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i> ( <a href="http://www.oed.com">www.oed.com</a> )
PA	<i>The Public Advertiser</i>
P(R)MA	<i>Proceedings of the (Royal) Musical Association</i>
RECM	<i>Records of English Court Music</i> , comp. A. Ashbee, 9 vols. (Snodland and Aldershot, 1986–96)
RISM	Répertoire International des Sources Musicales
Rm	<i>Revue musicale</i>
RMARC	<i>Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle</i>



- RRMBE Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era  
 RRMCE Recent Researches in the Music of the Classical Era  
 TilmouthC M. Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719)', *RMARC*, 1 (1960), whole vol. 2 (1961), 1–15  
 VdGS *The Viola da Gamba Society Thematic Index of Music for Viols*, comp. G. Dodd and A. Ashbee ([York], 6/1992, 7/2002) ([www.vdgs.org.uk/publications-ThematicIndex.html](http://www.vdgs.org.uk/publications-ThematicIndex.html))  
 VdGSIM *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, 2 vols., comp. A. Ashbee, R. Thompson, and J. Wainwright (Aldershot, 2001, 2007)  
 VdGSJ *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal* ([www.vdgs.org.uk/publications-Journal.html](http://www.vdgs.org.uk/publications-Journal.html))  
 WKO W. Knappe, *Bibliographisch-thematisches Verzeichnis der Kompositionen von Karl Friedrich Abel (1723–1787)* (Cuxhaven, 1971)  
 Z F. B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell, 1659–1695: an Analytical Catalogue of his Music* (London, 1963)

#### LIBRARY SIGLA

(following the RISM system used in *GMO*)

#### *Austria*

- A-LA Lambach, Benediktiner-Stift Lambach, Bibliothek  
 A-Wn Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung

#### *Australia*

- AUS-NLwm Nedlands, Wigmore Music Library, University of Western Australia

#### *Belgium*

- B-Bc Brussels, Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Bibliothèque / Koninklijk Conservatorium, Bibliotheek  
 B-Br Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1<sup>er</sup>

#### *Czech Republic*

- CZ-Pnm Prague, Národní Muzeum



*Germany*

D-B	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung
D-DI	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden
D-DS	Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt
D-Hs	Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Musikabteilung
D-KI	Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel
D-ROu	Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek, Fachgebiet Musik
D-SÜN	Sünching, Schloß
D-ZL	Leutkirch, Fürstlich Waldburg-Zeil'sches Archiv

*Denmark*

DK-Kk	Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Slotsholmen
DK-Km	Copenhagen, Musikhistorisk Museum og Carl Claudius samlings

*France*

F-Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique
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*Great Britain*

GB-BEcr	Bedford, Bedfordshire and Luton Archives and Records Service
GB-Bp	Birmingham, Public Libraries
GB-Cfm	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
GB-Ckc	Cambridge, Rowe Music Library, King's College
GB-Cmc	Cambridge, Magdalene College
GB-Cu	Cambridge, University Library
GB-DRc	Durham, Cathedral Library
GB-DU	Dundee, Public Libraries
GB-En	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland
GB-Er	Edinburgh, Reid Music Library of the University of Edinburgh
GB-Eu	Edinburgh, University Library
GB-HAdolmetsch	Haslemere, Dolmetsch Library
GB-HU	Hull, University of Hull Library
GB-Lam	London, Royal Academy of Music, Library
GB-Lbbc	London, British Broadcasting Corporation, Music Library
GB-Lbl	London, The British Library



GB-Lcm	London, Royal College of Music
GB-Lfom	London, The Foundling Museum
GB-Lhh	London, The Handel House Museum
GB-Lml	London, Museum of London
GB-Lna	London, The National Archives
GB-Lu	London, University of London, Senate House Library
GB-Lv	London, Victoria & Albert Museum Library
GB-LEbc	Leeds, University of Leeds, Brotherton Library
GB-NH	Northampton, Record Office
GB-NTu	Newcastle upon Tyne, University Library
GB-Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library

*The Netherlands*

NL-DHa	The Hague, Koninklijk Huisarchief
NL-DHgm	The Hague, Gemeentemuseum

*Russia*

RUS-Mrg	Moskva, Rossijskaja Gosudarstvennaja biblioteka
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US-NHub	New Haven, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library
US-NYp	New York, NY, New York Public Library at Lincoln Center, Music Division
US-SM	San Marino, CA, Henry E. Huntingdon Library & Art Gallery
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US-WC	Washington, DC, Library of Congress, Music Division



## Note to the Reader

PRIMARY sources have been transcribed without changing spelling, capitalisation or punctuation, though readers should be alert to the possibility that quotations taken from secondary sources might have been modernised more radically. Music examples have been edited with a minimum of editorial intervention, though obvious errors and inconsistencies have been corrected without comment. Pitches are indicated using the system in which the open strings of the bass viol and the violin are rendered as *D-G-c-e-a-d'* and *g-d'-a'-e''* respectively. I have modernised the English system of reckoning the year from Lady Day (25 March). Until 1752 England used the 'Old Style' or Julian calendar, which was ten days (eleven after 1700) behind the 'New Style' or Gregorian calendar used in Scotland and most continental European countries; Englishmen may or may not have used the Gregorian calendar while abroad. I have retained the old system of English currency: there were twelve pence (*d.*) to the shilling (*s.*), and twenty shillings to the pound (£). All printed books mentioned in the main text were published in London unless otherwise stated. To save space I have not included routine footnote references to biographies in *BDA*, *GMO*, *MGG2*, and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* ([www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com)). Those providing, or drawing attention to, particular sources are acknowledged in brackets in the footnotes.



*For Mark*





## Preface

As its title indicates, this book is a study of an instrument in decline. For much of the seventeenth century the viol and its contrapuntal consort repertory was particularly associated with England – it was one of those ‘Inventions ... wherein we excelled other nations’, as John Evelyn put it (ch. 1). Thus the book is concerned with the viol ‘after the golden age’, beginning with its decline during the Restoration period – a significant moment being 31 August 1680, the date of Henry Purcell’s last complete fantasia – and ending with its revival at the end of nineteenth century – a landmark being 21 November 1890, the first appearance of Arnold Dolmetsch’s viol consort.

I have four main objectives in writing this book. First, to document a remarkable thread of musical history that has been largely ignored by scholars and performers. My research has revealed a sizeable repertory of attractive viola da gamba music written or arranged in eighteenth-century Britain. Late viola da gamba music has aroused a good deal of interest in recent years, with scholars such as Michael O’Loghlin, Fred Flassig and Bettina Hoffmann and players such as Jordi Savall, Christophe Coin and Vittorio Ghielmi providing the European context for developments in Britain. After focusing initially on the eighteenth century, I decided to extend the study to include the nineteenth century, partly to disprove the oft-repeated assertion that Abel was the last gamba player in Britain. I will show that there was always at least one person playing the instrument in London throughout the nineteenth century.

Second, I use the viola da gamba and related instruments to make the point that instruments (the ‘hardware’) often remain essentially the same, while their function and the music written and arranged for them (the ‘software’) changes radically. Thus, after about 1720 the gamba ceased to be a consort instrument or the bass instrument of mixed ensembles with its music written in the bass clef, becoming a solo instrument in the alto or tenor register with its music written mostly in the alto and treble clefs (ch. 2). At the same time the name of the six- or seven-string fretted instrument changed from ‘bass viol’ to ‘viola da gamba’ or some Anglicised equivalent such as ‘viol di gambo’. ‘Bass viol’ remained in use, particularly in parish church music, as the name of four-string unfretted cello-like instruments. For the rest of the eighteenth century the gamba was associated with up-to-date music; it was only in the middle of the nineteenth century that it became associated with the developing early music revival.



Third, the book is a group portrait of more than 150 individuals, male, female, amateur and professional, who owned, played, wrote for, or wrote about the gamba in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was not a mainstream instrument, and the amateurs who played it tended to be distinctive and interesting people; they included aristocrats and politicians such as Sir Edward Walpole, Elizabeth, Countess of Pembroke, and Benjamin Franklin, writers and intellectuals such as Daniel Defoe, Conyers Middleton, and Laurence Sterne, and painters such as Thomas Jones, Thomas Gainsborough, and John Cawse. My research has revealed a good deal about their musical activities which I hope will be of general interest to musicologists and cultural historians. Nearly all the professional musicians who played the gamba at the time were cellists first and foremost, and most of them were immigrants. One thread of my work is to try to understand why, despite the fact that they were in most respects representatives of modernity in eighteenth-century Britain, they chose to play an obsolete and rare instrument (ch. 3, 8). Of course, the distinction between amateur and professional musicians is not without its problems at a period when socially ambitious musicians often aspired to leave the music profession behind them, and when amateurs were sometimes as accomplished as professionals. I have chosen to restrict the word 'professional' to those who essentially earned their living from playing instruments, including the gamba. Thus John Gostling, a court singer and clergyman, could be thought of as a professional musician, but seems to have played the gamba for pleasure.

This brings me to my fourth objective: to make some observations about eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British musical culture from an unexpected vantage-point, the study of a supposedly 'marginal' instrument. One is concerned with musical education for amateurs, and the role of universities and music clubs in the process (ch. 2). I argue that musical life in the early eighteenth century owed more than has been recognised to members of the professions – doctors, lawyers and clergymen – who received musical instruction at Oxford and Cambridge and later became mainstays of music clubs around the country. Another theme is the fashion for exotic musical instruments in mid-eighteenth-century England, and, in particular, the ways that they illustrate the change from an Italianate musical culture to one increasingly dominated by German music and musicians, and the parallel change from a culture dominated by vocal music to a more modern one focussed on instruments and instrumental music (ch. 4). I argue that German musical instrument makers such as John Frederick Hintz were more important in this process than has been recognised. Ch. 5 and 6 are concerned with Charles Frederick Abel, the greatest eighteenth-century gamba player and the most prolific contemporary composer for the instrument. New light is thrown on his life, his activities as a performer, and his gamba music. In



ch. 7 I examine the connection between the gamba and the sensibility cult, at its height around 1760. The leading exponent of the cult, Laurence Sterne, seems to have played the gamba, as did Ann Ford, who moved audiences to tears with her public performances. I argue that the association of the gamba with sensibility helps to explain its appeal to intellectuals and aristocrats. The last two chapters concern the gamba in the nineteenth century. Ch. 8 deals with Abel's legacy and the continued use of the instrument as an exotic but essentially contemporary instrument, used to play modern or relatively recent music. Ch. 9 deals with its role in the nineteenth-century early music revival. The early music movement in eighteenth-century England was largely concerned with old vocal music. This has also been true of research into the subject in modern times: little work has been done on the revival of old instruments and old instrumental music. I show that the process sometimes involved misrepresentation and forgery, including the composition of fake old music; that the reception of J. S. Bach's music in England acted as an important stimulus from the 1860s; and that Arnold Dolmetsch's activities in the 1890s were not so ground-breaking as has been supposed.

An additional objective is to demonstrate the range of primary documentary sources available to the music historian interested in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain, including newspapers, periodicals, letters, diaries, financial documents, and the biographical sources used by family historians. I began by using traditional paper-based sources, but soon realised that my project was ideally suited to exploit the on-line resources that have become available during the last few years, including *British Periodicals*, *Early English Books Online*, *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online*, *Nineteenth-Century British Library Newspapers*, *Nineteenth-Century UK Periodicals*, and *Seventeenth-Eighteenth-Century Burney Collections Newspapers*. They led me to many sources that I otherwise would have missed, and made it easier to place my work in the social and cultural contexts of the time – an essential project for anyone interested in the history of instruments and instrumental music.

## Acknowledgements

A PROJECT of this sort inevitably owes much to the work of others and to the help of friends and colleagues. Mark Caudle's enthusiasm for the repository, demonstrated in performance and in conversation, fired my own interest in it; I dedicate the book to him as a long-standing friend and colleague. I began serious research in the late 1990s when Ian Davies drew my attention to a set of gamba sonatas apparently compiled in England around 1730 in a manuscript now



at GB-Lu (ch. 3, 7). At an early stage Ian Woodfield generously made the files he had assembled on the subject available to me. Searching for those making, playing, buying, selling, and composing for the gamba was greatly aided by the databases of newspaper references assembled by Rosamond McGuinness (*Computer Register of Musical Data in London Newspapers, 1660–1800*) and Simon McVeigh (*Calendar of London Concerts, 1750–1800*), and kindly made available to me. I was enabled to complete the book by a period of research leave funded partly by the Arts and Humanities Research Council and partly by the University of Leeds; I am grateful to Laurence Dreyfus for acting as my Nominated Reviewer for the application. Ch. 3, 5, 7, and 9 contain material that first appeared in articles written for the journals *Early Music*, *Eighteenth-Century Music*, and *Ad Parnassum*. I am grateful to Andrew Woolley for setting the music examples for me, to my daughter Louise for helping me with the index, and to the Music & Letters Trust for a grant towards the costs of production.

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Peter Holman,  
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## INTRODUCTION

### Origins and Contexts

It is now generally accepted that the viol family came into being in the 1490s, when the Valencian viol, a single-size bowed instrument played in chords in the medieval manner, was imported into northern Italy from Catalonia, fitted with an arched bridge, and developed in several sizes for polyphonic music.<sup>1</sup> From the first, viols were thought to be particularly suitable for accompanying the voice or for playing contrapuntal music; the earliest repertories seem to have been the polyphonic frottola and French and Flemish ‘songs without words’ transmitted in Italian sources.<sup>2</sup> The first known viol consort was commissioned by Isabella d’Este for the Mantuan court; she played the viol herself, as did her brother Alfonso d’Este, Duke of Ferrara, and other members of their circle.<sup>3</sup> It was the only socially acceptable ensemble instrument for much of the sixteenth century, played by ‘gentlemen, merchants, and other persons of culture’ (‘les gentilz hommes, marchantz, & autre gens de vertuz’), as the Lyons composer Philibert Jambe de Fer put it in 1556.<sup>4</sup> However, it was also played by professional instrumentalists as an alternative to violins or wind instruments, and its rapid spread across Europe in the early sixteenth century probably owed much to groups from Italy that settled, for instance, in Paris in the 1520s, in London in 1540, in Munich in the 1550s, or in Vienna in the 1560s.<sup>5</sup>

Around 1600 the viol consort declined in mainland Europe in the face of the increasing popularity of the violin and the fashion for mixed ensembles. Vincenzo Giustiniani wrote in 1628 that ‘the uniformity of the sound’ of single-

<sup>1</sup> I. Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge, 1984); P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: the Violin at the English Court, 1540–1690* (Oxford, 2/1995), 14–17.

<sup>2</sup> See esp. W. F. Prizer, ‘The Frottola and the Unwritten Tradition’, *Studi musicali*, 15 (1986), 3–37; L. Litterick, ‘On Italian Instrumental Ensemble Music of the late Fifteenth Century’, in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*, ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), 117–30.

<sup>3</sup> See esp. W. F. Prizer, ‘Isabella d’Este and Lorenzo da Pavia, “Master Instrument Maker”’, *Early Music History*, 2 (1982), 87–127.

<sup>4</sup> Facs. in F. Lesure, ‘L’Épître musical de Philibert Jambe de Fer (1556)’, *Annales musicologiques*, 6 (1958–63), 341–86, at [377].

<sup>5</sup> Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol*, 191–227; Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 19–21, 70–87.



sonority ensembles such as viols and flutes became 'tiresome rather quickly' and was 'an incentive to sleep' on a hot afternoon.<sup>6</sup> Viol consorts are occasionally encountered later in sophisticated musical circles, such as the Barberini household in Rome in the 1630s, written for by Cherubino Waesich,<sup>7</sup> or as an occasional change from violins, as in 'Ad cor: Vulnerasti cor meum', BuxWV 75, from Buxtehude's cycle 'Membra Jesu nostri',<sup>8</sup> or the aria in Vivaldi's oratorio *Juditha triumphans* (1716) with a 'concerto di viole all'inglese' – apparently a consort of viols.<sup>9</sup> Only a few later examples of amateur viol consorts in continental Europe are known: the Huygens family cultivated them at The Hague in the late 1630s and 40s,<sup>10</sup> and members of the family of Duke August the younger of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel appear in Albert Freyse's mid-seventeenth-century painting playing six viols with a spinet.<sup>11</sup>

Things were different in England. Viol playing was well established from the 1530s among court musicians and those in noble households,<sup>12</sup> though large numbers of amateurs only began to take it up around 1600 just as their counterparts elsewhere were abandoning it. The English sixteenth-century consort repertory was apparently intended essentially for professionals, be they court string players, waits, or members of the Chapel Royal and other collegiate choirs. It may not all have been intended for viols: wind instruments and wordless voices have been

<sup>6</sup> Adapted from V. Giustiniani, *Discorso sopra la Musica* (1628), trans. C. MacClintock, *Musicological Studies and Documents*, 9 (Rome, 1962), 79–80.

<sup>7</sup> F. Grampp, 'A Little-Known Collection of Canzonas Rediscovered: the *Canzoni a cinque da sonarsi con le viole da gamba* by Cherubino Waesich (Rome, 1632)', *Chelys*, 32 (2004), 21–44.

<sup>8</sup> K. J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude, Organist in Lübeck* (New York, 1987), esp. 368–9. See also pieces listed in D. P. and P. Walker, *German Sacred Polyphonic Vocal Music between Schütz and Bach: Sources and Critical Editions* (Warren, MI, 1992).

<sup>9</sup> For Vivaldi and the *viola all'inglese*, see V. Ghielmi, 'An Eighteenth-Century Italian Treatise and other Clues to the History of the Viola da Gamba in Italy', in *The Italian Viola da Gamba: Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Italian Viola da Gamba, Magnano, Italy, 29 April–1 May 2000*, ed. S. Orlando (Solignac, 2002), 73–85, at 83–4; M. Talbot, 'Vivaldi and the English Viol', *EM*, 30 (2002), 381–94; B. Hoffmann, 'Il violoncello all'inglese', *Studi Vivaldiani*, 4 (2004), 43–51.

<sup>10</sup> T. Crawford, 'Constantijn Huygens and the 'Engelsche Viool'', *Chelys*, 18 (1989), 41–60, at 43–5.

<sup>11</sup> Braunschweig, Landesmuseum, VM3278. A detail is illus. in A. Otterstedt, *The Viol: History of an Instrument*, trans. H. Reinert (Kassel, 2002), 107.

<sup>12</sup> See esp. Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol*, 210–12; Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 123–4.



proposed as alternatives.<sup>13</sup> It consists mostly of contrapuntal fantasias and pieces with a plainsong *cantus firmus* in four, five, six, and occasionally seven parts, modelled on (and sometimes based on) sacred music, and composed mostly by court and church composers such as Christopher Tye, Robert White, Robert Parsons, Alfonso Ferrabosco senior, and William Byrd.<sup>14</sup>

In the reign of James I the repertory was transformed by a new generation of court composers, including Alfonso Ferrabosco junior, John Coprario, Orlando Gibbons, Thomas Lupo, Thomas Tomkins, and John Ward, most of them working in the household of Prince Charles, Prince of Wales 1617–25. Their models tended to be Italian madrigals rather than sacred music, and they were stimulated by a fashion for the viol among amateurs, led by Prince Charles, who could ‘play his part exactly well on the *Bass-Viol*, especially of those Incomparable Fancies of Mr. *Coperario* to the *Organ*’, according to John Playford.<sup>15</sup> From about 1620 consort music was routinely accompanied by a chamber organ, the player essentially doubling the string parts by reading from score or a written-out part.<sup>16</sup>

Later in the century the traditional repertory of viol consort music, ‘our *Grave Musick*, *Fancies* of 3, 4, 5, and 6 *Parts* to the *Organ*’ as Thomas Mace put it,<sup>17</sup> was added to by John Jenkins, William Lawes, Richard Mico, John Hingeston, Simon Ives, and others, and was expanded to include dance music – Mace’s ‘*Pavins*, *Allmaines*, *Solemn*, and *Sweet Delightful Ayres*’. New scorings and genres were increasingly popular. Lupo, Gibbons and Coprario introduced the violin into contrapuntal consort, while Coprario created the three-movement fantasia-suite (usually fantasia–almand–galliard or corant), a genre to which Lawes, Jenkins, Hingeston, Christopher Simpson, Christopher Gibbons, Matthew Locke, and

<sup>13</sup> W. Edwards, ‘The Performance of Ensemble Music in Elizabethan England’, *PRMA*, 97 (1970–1), 113–23; P. Doe, ‘The Emergence of the In Nomine: some Notes and Queries on the Work of Tudor Church Musicians’, in *Modern Musical Scholarship*, ed. E. Olleson (Stocksfield, 1980), 79–92.

<sup>14</sup> ME: *Elizabethan Consort Music: I, II*, ed. P. Doe, MB, 44, 45 (London, 1979, 1988).

<sup>15</sup> J. Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London, 10/1683), Preface; CC: EEBO, Wing P2482. See esp. C. D. S. Field, ‘Consort Music I: up to 1660’, in *The Seventeenth Century*, ed. I. Spink, The Blackwell History of Music in Britain, 3 (Oxford, 1992), 197–244. Little has been written about the development of amateur viol playing in England and the ‘new’ consort repertory, but see C. Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600–1650: the Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1982); A. Ashbee, ‘Manuscripts of Consort Music in London, c. 1600–1625: some Observations’, *VdGSJ*, 1 (2007), 1–19.

<sup>16</sup> See P. Holman, ‘“Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly According to All”: the Organ Accompaniment of English Consort Music’, in *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. A. Ashbee and Holman (Oxford, 1996), 353–82.

<sup>17</sup> T. Mace, *Musick’s Monument* (London, 1676; repr. 1968), 234.



others contributed until the 1660s. Most fantasia-suites are for one or two violins, bass viol and organ (now often obbligato as well as doubling), though Jenkins seems to have preferred the treble viol to the violin, and used some new scorings: treble and two basses, two trebles and two basses, and three trebles (probably violins), bass and organ.<sup>18</sup>

Another Jacobean innovation, possibly invented by Ferrabosco or Coprario, was music for two or three lyra viols – small bass viols played from tablature using variant tunings to facilitate the playing of chords in different keys. Lawes, Jenkins, Ives, and others contributed to the repertory, and Jenkins and Simpson were among those who wrote lyra consorts for violin or treble viol, lyra viol, bass viol, and harpsichord, with or without theorbo.<sup>19</sup> Other novel mixed ensembles were Lawes's harp consorts, for violin, harp (probably the Irish wire-strung type), bass viol, and theorbo, and his Royal Consorts, for two violins, two bass viols, and two theorboes.<sup>20</sup> A third Jacobean innovation was the development of music for one or two solo bass viols with organ. Its repertory included airs by Ward and fantasias by Coprario, though most of it consisted of divisions (or variations) on ground basses or the bass parts of dances or polyphonic vocal music. Early composers were Ferrabosco, Maurice Webster, Daniel Norcombe, and Henry Butler; the genre was codified in Simpson's *The Division-Violist* (1659).<sup>21</sup> Lawes and Jenkins contributed to it in the 1630s, and at the same time began to incorporate divisions into contrapuntal consort music, in the process creating a lively, sectionalised type of fantasia akin to (but not necessarily derived from) the Italian sonata. The only English viol players to write sonatas before the late seventeenth century, Henry Butler (d. 1652) and William Young (d. 1662), worked abroad, in Madrid and Innsbruck.

It used to be thought that the Puritans were against music, and that the art suffered badly during the Interregnum.<sup>22</sup> It is true that the court broke up in

<sup>18</sup> See esp. C. D. S. Field, 'The English Consort Suite of the Seventeenth Century', (PhD diss., U. of Oxford, 1970); A. Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins*, ii: *Suites, Airs and Vocal Music* (forthcoming), ch. 1–6.

<sup>19</sup> See esp. I. H. Stoltzfus, 'The Lyra Viol in Consort with other Instruments' (PhD diss., Louisiana State U., 1983); J. Cunningham, *The Consort Music of William Lawes, 1602–1645* (Woodbridge, 2010), ch. 3; Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins*, ii, ch. 13.

<sup>20</sup> See esp. D. Pinto, *For ye Violls: the Consort and Dance Music of William Lawes* (London, 1995), 34–69; Cunningham, *The Consort Music of William Lawes*, ch. 4, 7.

<sup>21</sup> See esp. J. M. Richards, 'A Study of Music for Bass Viol Written in England in the Seventeenth Century' (PhD diss., U. of Oxford, 1961).

<sup>22</sup> First challenged in P. Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England* (Oxford, 1934; repr. 1969).



1642, leaving the royal musicians to fend for themselves, and that the Parliamentary authorities closed the theatres and disbanded cathedral choirs. But they had nothing against instrumental music, and the upheavals of the 1640s provided a suitable environment for its intensive cultivation in private; as the writer Roger North put it in a memorable phrase, ‘many chose rather to fiddle at home, than to goe out, and be knockt on the head abroad’.<sup>23</sup> At that period viol playing was particularly associated with country house society, such as the L’Estrange family at Hunstanton in Norfolk,<sup>24</sup> the Norths at Kirtling in Cambridgeshire,<sup>25</sup> and the Hattons at Kirby Hall in Northamptonshire.<sup>26</sup>

### *Decline and Fall*

IN fact, consort music suffered more from the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, partly because the return of musicians to the court caused the decline of music-making elsewhere (such as the important music meetings in Commonwealth Oxford),<sup>27</sup> and partly because composers were once more preoccupied with vocal music, needed in the theatres and in the Chapel Royal and other collegiate foundations. There was also the question of Charles II’s musical taste. North wrote that, although Charles was ‘a professed lover of musick’, he had ‘an utter detestation of Fancys’, the more so after Sir Joseph Williamson, an under-secretary of state at Whitehall, had invited him to hear ‘a successless entertainment of that kind’; as a result ‘the King (as his way was) could not forbear whetting his witt upon the subject of the Fancy-musick, and its patron the Secretary’.<sup>28</sup> North added that Charles ‘could not bear any musick to which he could not keep the time’ – that is, he only liked music he could beat time to. Locke and Jenkins seem to have written fantasia-suites for the court Broken Consort (the successor to the group that played contrapuntal consort before the Civil War) soon after the Restoration,<sup>29</sup> though it was disbanded in 1663 after the death of the German virtuoso violinist Thomas Baltzar, and it was soon replaced in the Privy Chamber

<sup>23</sup> Roger North on Music, ed. J. Wilson (London, 1959), 294.

<sup>24</sup> VdGSIM, i. 6–7, and the works cited there.

<sup>25</sup> VdGSIM, i. 11–12, and the works cited there.

<sup>26</sup> J. P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605–1670)* (Aldershot, 1997); VdGSIM, i. 3–4.

<sup>27</sup> B. Bellingham, ‘The Musical Circle of Anthony Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration’, *JVdGSA*, 19 (1982), 6–70; Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 267–75; P. Gouk, ‘Music’, in *The History of the University of Oxford*, iv: *Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. N. Tyacke (Oxford, 1997), 621–40.

<sup>28</sup> Roger North on Music, ed. Wilson, 350.

<sup>29</sup> Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 275–81.



(the private apartments at Whitehall) by a section of the Twenty-Four Violins, presumably playing dance music that Charles could beat time to.<sup>30</sup>

Not surprisingly, this change caught the attention of contemporary writers. For Roger North it was 'the grand metamorfosis of musick' that resulted in 'the old way of consorts' being replaced at court by 'an establishment, after a French model, of 24 violins'; or, as he put it in another essay: 'after the manner of France he [Charles II] set up a band of 24 violins to play at his dinners, which disbanded all the old English musick at once'.<sup>31</sup> In similar vein, Anthony Wood wrote that 'before the restoration of K. Charles 2, and especially after, viols began to be out of fashion and only violins used, as treble violin, tenor and bass-violin'.<sup>32</sup> Thomas Mace blamed the decline of '*Those Choice Consorts, to Equally-Seiz'd Instruments, (Rare Chests of Viols)*' on 'new Modes and Fashions' that set up 'a Great Idol in their Room': a '*High-Priz'd Noise*' of '10 or 20 Violins, &c.' playing '*Some-Single-Soul'd Ayre*; it may be of 2 or 3 Parts'.<sup>33</sup> In fact, things were not that simple. Charles II's 'High-Priz'd Noise' was not new in 1660: it was a revived and enlarged version of the pre-war court violin band, an institution that went back to 1540, not long after viols had first arrived in England.<sup>34</sup> If the 'old English musick' was the Broken Consort, as is likely, then the Twenty-Four Violins replaced a mixed ensemble of two or three violins, one or two bass viols and continuo, not a viol consort. There was no court viol consort after 1660, though viol players continued to be employed at court throughout Charles II's reign and beyond (Ch. 1).

The perception among contemporary writers was that amateur consort playing declined rapidly after the Restoration. North wrote that 'gentlemen, following also the humour of the Court, fell in *pesle mesle*, and soon thrust out the treble viol', and he implied that the repertory had ended with Jenkins and Locke: 'after M<sup>r</sup> Jenkins I know but one poderose [i.e. *poderosa*, strong or mighty] consort of that kind composed, which was M<sup>r</sup> M. Locke's 4 parts, worthy to bring up the 'rere, after which we may expect no more of that style'.<sup>35</sup> And again: Locke composed 'a magnifick consort of 4 parts, after the old style, which was the last of the kind that hath bin made'.<sup>36</sup> Locke's Consort of Four Parts was probably

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 281, 284–6.

<sup>31</sup> Roger North on Music, ed. Wilson, 300, 349.

<sup>32</sup> J. D. Shute, 'Anthony à Wood and his Manuscript Wood D19 (4) at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, an Annotated Transcription', 2 vols. (PhD diss., International Institute for Advanced Studies, Clayton, MO, 1979), ii. 99.

<sup>33</sup> Mace, *Musick's Monument*, 236.

<sup>34</sup> Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, esp. ch. 3, 4, 12.

<sup>35</sup> Roger North on Music, ed. Wilson, 301.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 349.



written during the 1650s.<sup>37</sup> North wrote around 1695 that ‘the late improvements of Musick have bin the ruin, and almost the banishment of it [the viol consort] from the nation’, while by 1697 the treble viol was ‘much out of Doors, since the Violin came so much in request’, according to the Revd William Turner.<sup>38</sup>

Despite his spirited defence of the viol consort, Mace admitted that ‘Very Little of *This so Eminent Musick* do we hear of in *These Times*, (the *Less* the *Greater Pity*).’<sup>39</sup> Perhaps he (or his publisher John Carr) anticipated a revival following the publication of his *Musick’s Monument* in 1676, for the next year Carr advertised two complete chests of viols:

There is also Two Chests of *VIALS* to be sold; one made by Mr. *John Ross*, who formerly lived in *Bridewel*, containing Two Trebles, Three Tenors, One Basse; The Chest was made in the Year 1598. / The other Chest being made by Mr. *Henry Smith*, who formerly lived over against *Hatton-House* in *Holbourn*, containing Two Trebles, Two Tenors, Two Basses; The Chest was made in the Year 1633. / *Both these Chests are very Curious Work.*<sup>40</sup>

Mace had recommended chests of viols by Rose, Smith and others in *Musick’s Monument*, adding that ‘we chiefly *Value Old Instruments*, before *New*; for by *Experience*, they are found to be far the *Best*’.<sup>41</sup> However, Carr rather undermined the case for them by inserting his advertisement into *Tripla concordia*, a collection of fashionable three-part violin dance music in the French style – just the sort of thing Mace was complaining about.

Significantly, all the viols purchased for court use in the Restoration period were basses or lyra viols rather than trebles and tenors (Ch. 1), and a similar pattern can be seen in the surviving instruments: a few English late seventeenth-century treble viols survive, though they are heavily outnumbered by basses. Of more than fifty extant viol-family instruments by, or attributed to, Barak Norman, the most prominent London maker around 1700, all but two are basses.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>37</sup> M. Locke, *Chamber Music II*, ed. M. Tilmouth, MB, 32 (London, 1972), xv.

<sup>38</sup> Roger North on Music, ed. Wilson, 11; W. Turner, *A Compleat History of the Most Remarkable Providences, both of Judgment and Mercy, which have Hapned in this Present Age*, 3 vols. (London, 1697), iii. 8; CC: EEBO, Wing T3345. See also M. Tilmouth, ‘Some Improvements in Music Noted by William Turner in 1697’, *GSJ*, 10 (1957), 57–9.

<sup>39</sup> Mace, *Musick’s Monument*, 236.

<sup>40</sup> J. Carr, *Tripla concordia, or A Choice Collection of New Aires, in Three Parts, for Treble and Basse-Violins* (London, 1677), prelims; CC: EEBO, Wing T2286A.

<sup>41</sup> Mace, *Musick’s Monument*, 245.

<sup>42</sup> B. Hebbert, ‘A Catalogue of Surviving Instruments by, or Ascribed to, Barak Norman’, *GSJ*, 54 (2001), 285–329. See also P. Tourin, *Viollist: a Comprehensive*



This could be an accident of survival: bass viols continued to be used throughout the eighteenth century, while trebles and tenors would have had to have been converted into violins or violas to remain useful.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, a census of surviving viols by Henry Jaye, Norman's early seventeenth century counterpart, lists twelve trebles against ten basses, suggesting that there was a real change of makers' priorities during the century.<sup>44</sup>

The sources of viol consort music present a slightly different picture. Recent research has shown that manuscripts containing portions of the repertory were copied or were in use rather later than was once thought. For example, Francis Withy, a singing man at Christ Church in Oxford from 1670, owned and used two early seventeenth-century sets of part-books, GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. E.415-18 and E.437-42.<sup>45</sup> He annotated the former, a collection of five-part pavans and other dances by Tomkins, Ferrabosco junior, Mico, Young, John Withy (Francis's father), and others, and edited and added to the latter, a large collection of fantasias and related works in three to six parts by Lupo, Jenkins, Ferrabosco junior, Coprario, Ward, Gibbons, and others. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31423, fols. 1-75, containing four-part fantasias and dances by Mico, Brewer, Ferrabosco junior, Child, and John Withy, was copied probably in the late 1680s by someone (once thought to be John Jenkins) who may have been associated with the North family.<sup>46</sup>

Sale catalogues also list manuscripts of the older repertory. John Playford promised in 1681 that 'all such as desire to be accommodated with such choice Consorts of Music for Violins and Viols as were Composed by Dr Colman, Mr William Laws, Mr John Jenkins, Dr Benjamin Rogers, Mr Matthew Locke and divers others, may have them fairly and true Prick'd'.<sup>47</sup> A 1690 catalogue issued by his son Henry includes collections of this sort, including some that seem to be

*Catalogue of Historical Viols da Gamba in Public and Private Collections* (Duxbury, VT, 1979).

<sup>43</sup> B. Hebbert, 'William Borraceffe, Nathaniel Cross, and a Clutch of Tudor Viols', *GSJ*, 51 (2003), 69-76, esp. 71.

<sup>44</sup> M. Fleming, T. MacCracken, and K. Martius, *Jaye Project* ([www.vdgs.org.uk/information-JayeProject.html](http://www.vdgs.org.uk/information-JayeProject.html)).

<sup>45</sup> J. Irving, 'Consort Playing in mid-Seventeenth-Century Worcester', *EM*, 12 (1984), 337-44; Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins*, i: *The Fantasias for Viols* (Surbiton, 1992), 148, 156-7; R. Thompson, 'Some Late Sources of Music by John Jenkins', in *John Jenkins and his Time*, ed. Ashbee and Holman, 271-307, at 285; *VdGSIM*, ii. 10-12, 178-81, 198-206.

<sup>46</sup> P. Willetts, 'Autograph Music by John Jenkins', *ML*, 48 (1967), 124-6; Thompson, 'Some Late Sources', 290; *VdGSIM*, ii. 13-14, 77-8, 82-5.

<sup>47</sup> R. Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', *EM*, 23 (1995), 605-18, at 613.



lost: 'Mr. Lawes 2 and 3 parts, Fancies, Almanis, and Galliards for 2 Trebles, and Basses to the Organ, in Folio, fairly prick'd'; 'Coperarios 2 parts, Treble and Bass, fairly prick'd'; 'Mr. Lawes Consort for 2 Lyra's, a Violin and Theorbo, prick'd in quarto'; 'Mr. Lawes Harp-Consort, and his Little Consort, in 4 parts, quarto, fairly pr[icked]', and 'Mr. Lawes and Dr. Rogers Airs of 4 parts, in quarto, fairly prick'd'.<sup>48</sup> The instrumental items in Henry Playford's 1697 catalogue are mostly more modern, though it includes 'Mr. Jenkins's Royal Consort, fairly Prick'd' and 'Fantazies Ayres, &c. in 5 Parts, by Mr. Lock'.<sup>49</sup> The former was perhaps one of Jenkins's late sets of fantasia suites, written at court in the early 1660s, while the latter could have been a copy of the Consort of Four Parts with an added continuo part.<sup>50</sup>

However, the fact that people continued to copy and collect viol consort collections does not necessarily mean that they played them, or if they did, that they played them entirely on viols. The antiquarian impulse was already taking hold among English musicians,<sup>51</sup> and evidence that parts conceived for treble viols were later played on violins is provided by the collection acquired by the Oxford Music School in 1667 from the North household at Kirtling; Jenkins worked at Kirtling in the 1660s as tutor to the children, including Roger, grandson of Dudley, 3rd Lord North.<sup>52</sup> According to Roger North, Jenkins was 'an accomplished master of the viol' and only tried to 'compass the Violin in his old age', inspired like others by Thomas Baltzar's playing, while Dudley North 'played on that antiquated instrument called the treble viol'; at Kirtling the consorts were 'usually all viols to the organ or harpsicord' and the violin 'came in late, and

<sup>48</sup> H. Playford, *A Curious Collection of Musick-Books, both Vocal and Instrumental* (London, 1690); CC: GB-Lbl, Harley MS 5936, fol. 421. Anthony Wood's copy, GB-OB, Wood E 22, no. 9, is repr. in J. Bergsagel, 'Music in Oxford in Holberg's Time', in *Hvad Fatter gjør ... boghistoriske, litterære og musikalske essays tilegnet Erik Dal*, ed. H. Glahn et al. (Herning, 1982), 34–61, at 46–57. See also W. C. Smith, 'Playford: some Hitherto Unnoticed Catalogues of Early Music', *MT*, 67 (1926), 636–9, 701–4; A. H. King, 'Fragments of Early Printed Music in the Bagford Collection', *ML*, 40 (1959), 269–73; L. Coral, 'Music in English Auction Sales, 1676–1750' (PhD diss., U. of London, 1974), esp. 32–8, 53–5.

<sup>49</sup> H. Playford, *A General Catalogue of all the Choicest Musick-Books in English, Latin, Italian and French, both Vocal and Instrumental* (London, c. 1697); CC: GB-Lbl, Harley MS 5936/422.

<sup>50</sup> Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', 615.

<sup>51</sup> W. Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: a Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford, 1992), esp. 23–56.

<sup>52</sup> Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins*, i. 71–5, 94–9. See also M. Crum, 'The Consort Music from Kirtling, Bought for the Oxford Music School from Anthony Wood, 1667', *Chelys*, 4 (1972), 3–10.



imperfectly'.<sup>53</sup> Most of the upper parts of the Kirtling copies are labelled just 'treble', including copies of several sets of Jenkins fantasia suites, though in the 1682 catalogue of the Music School collection they are listed as 'for one Base Viol & Violin to y<sup>e</sup> Organ' and 'Two Violins & one Base [to y<sup>e</sup> Organ]' – suggesting that they were played with violins in Restoration Oxford.<sup>54</sup>

This, of course, is relevant to Purcell's fantasias. These matchless works, mostly written in 1680, became part of the core viol consort repertory in the twentieth century,<sup>55</sup> though, as we have seen, Roger North thought that Locke had composed the last set of viol consorts. He evidently did not know of Purcell's fantasias, despite being acquainted with the composer, probably because they did not circulate widely (the few secondary sources were mostly copied directly from the autograph, GB-Lbl, Add MS 30930), and only one copy, an early version of the three-part fantasy z733, is in parts rather than score.<sup>56</sup> I have argued that Purcell wrote them as part of an intensive self-imposed programme of study devoted to mastering contrapuntal techniques.<sup>57</sup> Most of them may never have been performed until the modern revival of viol music, and if they were the upper parts are likely to have been played on violins.<sup>58</sup> Be that as it may, Purcell's last-known fantasia, z743 in four parts dated Tuesday 31 August 1680, effectively brought the great tradition of English viol consort music to a close.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Roger North *on Music*, ed. Wilson, 10–11, 298, 345.

<sup>54</sup> M. Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', *ML*, 48 (1967), 23–34, at 28.

<sup>55</sup> L. Robinson, 'Purcell's Fantasias: the Jewel in the Crown of English Consort Music', *EM*, 26 (1998), 357–9.

<sup>56</sup> R. Shay and R. Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: the Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge, 2000), esp. 84–113. ME: H. Purcell, *Works*, 31: *Fantazias and Miscellaneous Instrumental Music*, ed. T. Dart, rev. M. Tilmouth, A. Browning, and P. Holman (London, 2/1990), 3–4.

<sup>57</sup> P. Holman, *Henry Purcell* (Oxford, 1994), esp. 74–6.

<sup>58</sup> The first known revivals, by Arnold Dolmetsch and his associates, were of an unidentified three-part fantasia at 6 Keppel Street, Bloomsbury on 29/11/1895, and the Fantasia upon One Note, z745, at the Portman Rooms on 20/12/1895 (Jeanne Dolmetsch, Brian Blood and Tim Crawford); see also *The Times*, 21/12/1895, p. 6. A successful recording using violins and viols is in *Henry Purcell: Complete Chamber Music*, Musica Amphion / Pieter-Jan Belder, Brilliant Classics, 93647 (rec. 2006–7).

<sup>59</sup> z744, an incomplete piece in the same manuscript dated 'Feb. ye 24 1682/3', edited in Purcell, *Fantazias and Miscellaneous Instrumental Music*, ed. Dart, rev. Tilmouth *et al.*, 99, is usually thought of as an unfinished fantasia, though its writing with two equal and crossing treble parts and its relatively straightforward counterpoint with an Italianate canzona-style subject suggests that it is for violins rather than viols. Perhaps it is the fugal section of an overture.





1 Title-page of Carolus Hacquart, *Chelys*, op. 3 (The Hague, 1686)



2 Frederick Kerseboom or Causabon, *Sir John Langham* (1683)





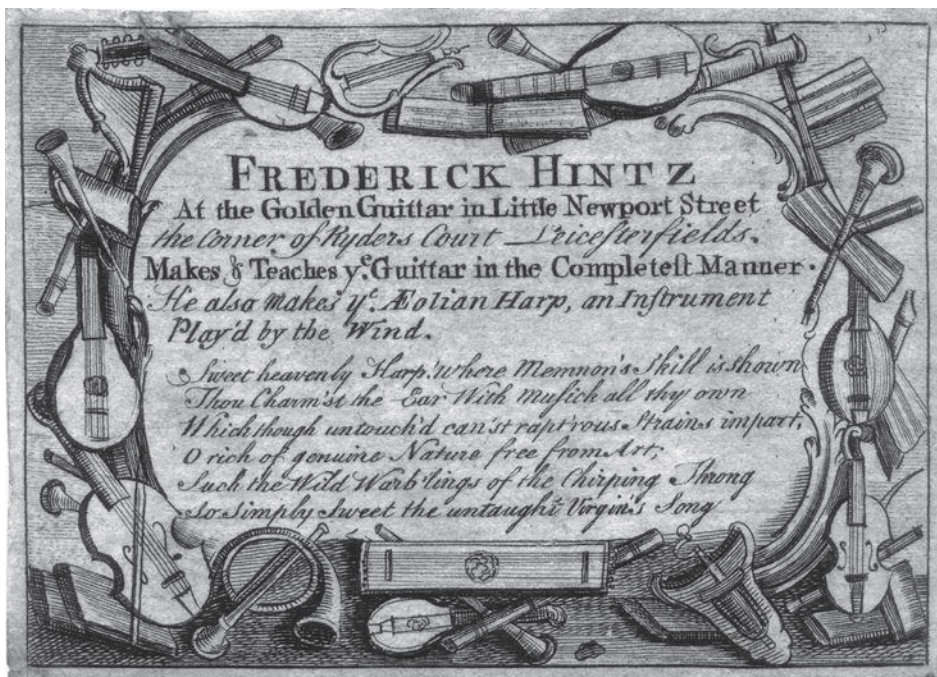
3 Title-page of G. F. Handel, *Giulio Cesare* (London, 1724), published by John Cluer





4 (*left*) John Frederick Hintz, tenor-size viola da gamba (1762)  
5 (*right*) John Frederick Hintz, alto-size viola da gamba (undated)









8 (above) A Concert in Cambridge, etching by Sir Abraham Hume after Thomas Orde



9 (left) John Nixon, 'A Solo on the Viola da Gamba, Mr Abel' (1787)





10 Thomas Gainsborough, preparatory drawing for *Karl Friedrich Abel* (c. 1765)



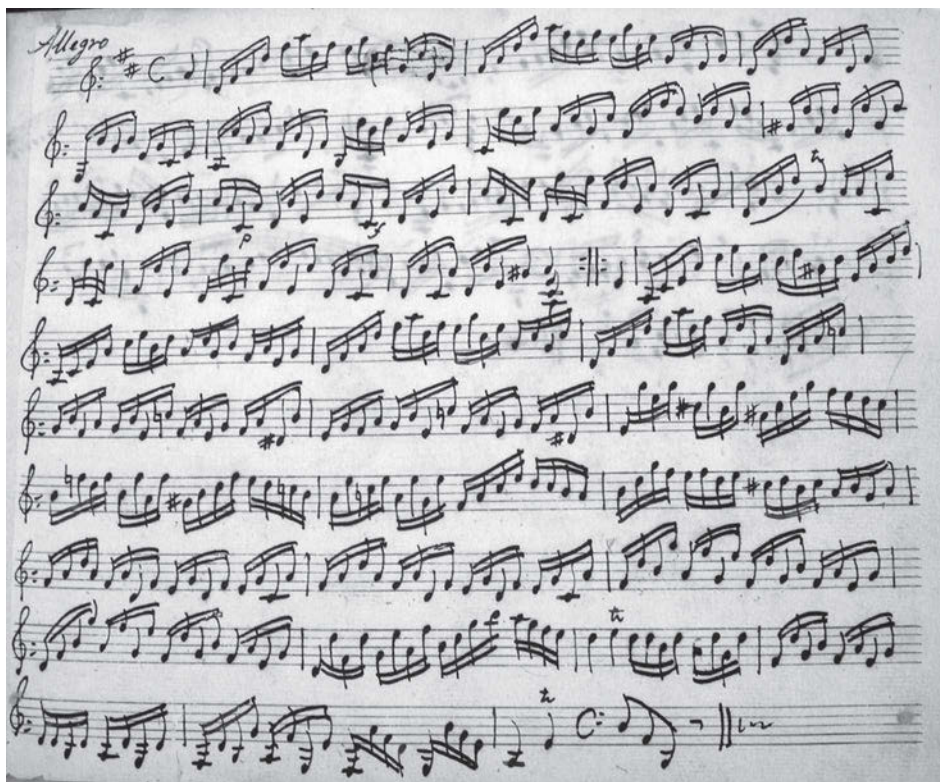


11 Thomas Gainsborough, *Karl Friedrich Abel* (1777)





12 C. F. Abel, autograph cartouche, US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, flyleaf



13 C. F. Abel's autograph, US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 1









15 Thomas Gainsborough, *Portrait of Miss Ann Ford, later Mrs. Philip Thicknesse* (1760)





16 Susanna Duncombe, *Miss Ford / Mrs Thicknesse*



17 The title-page of Elisabetta de Gambarini, *Lessons for the Harpsichord*, op. 2 (London, 1748)