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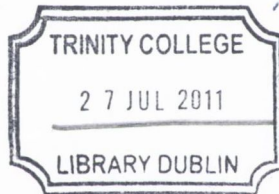
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COMPOSITIONAL TECHNIQUE IN HENRY PURCELL'S CONSORT MUSIC

Volume 1

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE PH.D. DEGREE, 2011,

ALON SCHAB



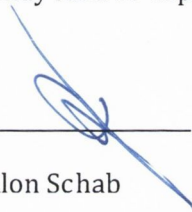
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for any future attempt on my side to apply the conclusions of this study to Elizabethan music.

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were my working methods and habits. Any attempt to summarise our personal and professional relationship in a paragraph is futile. I will only state that I am honoured to have been introduced to Purcellian scholarship, and to the musicological discipline in general, by Martin. I feel lucky to have conducted this research with a tutor who gave me freedom, his time and honesty, as well as shared with me his knowledge, experience and enthusiasm.

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I would like to dedicate this study to my beloved family to whom I longed for all that long period, and to my beloved Sivan, without whom this whole adventure would have been tasteless, if not impossible. If eventually Purcell likes what I have written here, he owes it to you more than to me...

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Manuscripts' library sigla refer to libraries in the United Kingdom (prefix 'GB-') unless mentioned otherwise.

30930	-	Lbl Add. MS 30930
20.h.9	-	Lbl R.M. 20.h.9
MB	-	<i>Musica Britannica</i> (London: Stainer and Bell)
NPS	-	<i>The Works of Henry Purcell</i> (Novello / Stainer and Bell), all volumes after 1961
PS	-	<i>The Works of Henry Purcell</i> (Novello)
Emad	-	The English Madrigalists (London: Stainer and Bell)
BHMB	-	The Blackwell History of Music in Britain, Ian Spink (general ed.), (Oxford: Blackwell)

INTRODUCTION

S.Y. Agnon (1888–1970), a Hebrew writer and Nobel laureate (literature, 1966), wrote his short story 'Forevermore' in 1954.¹ One may read this multi-faceted story as an allegorical case study of historical inquiry into issues that *cannot* be approached using the traditional apparatus of historiography. Agnon masterfully tells the story of a hermitic scholar, Adiel Amzeh, who dedicates twenty years of his life to studying the history of the ancient city of Gumlidata. Despite the intimate acquaintance he develops with the image of that forgotten city, destroyed by the Goths centuries before but vividly existent in his mind, one detail remains beyond him—which side of the city fell first to the hands of the city's conquerors. No scholar, including himself, was ever able to answer the question. Although always an outsider to the mainstream of historical research, Amzeh is a 'scientific' historian after all, a scholar who works within the framework of academic protocol; but in order to find the answer to this last question he has to step aside from his traditional apparatus of historical analysis. Agnon highlights this act of retirement by leading Amzeh to the lepers' hospital, where the answers to all his questions are found in an old disintegrating manuscript whose provenance dates back to the fall of Gumlidata, and originates within the city itself. However, Amzeh stays with the manuscript and, as far as the readers are concerned, never goes back home. In the lepers' hospital, Amzeh practically quits his official occupation as a 'historian', he withdraws the idea to publish his *magnum opus*, and changes his historical practices to constant reading in the old book and then storytelling parts of it to the lepers. For Agnon, the full story of Gumlidata is esoteric, impenetrable to traditional historiography, and untranslatable into any medium outside storytelling.

Like the fall of Gumlidata, the study of Henry Purcell's compositional process is esoteric, only partly penetrable to traditional musicology, and will always lack the aspect of 'storytelling'—the knowledge which was probably communicated to Purcell from his teachers by a combination of verbal conversation, study of treatises, and the study of musical works; and it was probably in the same way that knowledge was passed from Purcell to his students. Chapters 4 and 5 of this study belong perhaps to the lepers'

¹ S.Y. Agnon, 'Forevermore', Joel Blocker (trans.), *Modern Hebrew Literature*, Robert Alter (ed.) (New York: Sherman House, 1975), 225–49.

hospital. Although systematic in their methods of discussion and in accord with the accepted rules of historical musicology, these chapters may seem slightly risky to modern eyes, being attempts to reconstruct ‘tricks of the trade’ that would not have been documented in seventeenth-century treatises, partly because of the complexity of their description, and the dependence on diagrams and graphs in explaining them in a lucid manner.

THE RESEARCH QUESTION

Most of the empirical evidence regarding Purcell’s compositional process has not survived. The present study will seek to extract, using internal evidence in the music itself, information regarding Purcell’s aesthetic priorities, compositional devices and order of work when, in his early twenties, he was engaged with the composition of the Fantazias for viols and the Sonatas à tre. The study will show that some compositional techniques that have not been explored in Purcell studies, especially palindromes and lists of pitches, were playing a significant part in Purcell’s creative process. It will attempt to reconstruct several stages in Purcell’s compositional process, and hence broaden our understanding of seventeenth-century musical creativity in general.

MOTIVATION AND ACADEMIC CONTEXT

This study is the result of what was my personal frustration about five years ago, over my impression that at that time no serious study of Purcell’s music could be conducted in Israel, the country in whose musical culture I grew up and that would have been the natural place for me to pursue my doctoral studies. A chain of seemingly independent events and accidents resulted in my decision to sacrifice the ease of what I perceive as the great historical privilege of young Israelis of my age—the privilege to write academic research in our mother tongue Hebrew. The chain included a few arrogant remarks from several Israeli theorists and conductors showing ignorance as to Purcell’s significance and his music’s quality, a few unanswered emails regarding the option of doing a Ph.D in composition, and an aimless attempt to write an article regarding motivic connections in the Night Scene from *The Fairy Queen*, a work which had been one of my favourites as early as high-school.

Israel's musical culture (or, at least, its institutionalised western-influenced mainstream) was shaped, from the 1920s to the 1950s, by German-speaking and German-oriented intelligentsia. In later decades, because Israel is geographically remote from the centres of early music performance, some processes that took place in western Europe towards the end of the twentieth century, and especially the commercial thriving of the early music 'industry', skipped Israeli musical culture; the early music movement eventually remained on the fringe of Israeli concert life.² As a result, Purcell is virtually absent from Israeli academies' syllabuses and even the largest libraries in Israel hold but few volumes of the Purcell Society Edition, usually very old volumes.

The initial research proposal envisaged a counterpoint book that would clarify compositional procedures according to English seventeenth-century style, for the benefit of undergraduate students. Led by the confidence (then still uninformed confidence) in the merits of Purcell's instrumental music as educational material, I started my systematic acquaintance with Purcell's consort music. Eventually, the very quality that captivated my musical instincts at the first place, proved to be a thread worth pulling. After realizing that the planned counterpoint book would probably miss its goal (academies' syllabuses, in Israel as in Ireland or practically anywhere else, will not easily shift their Bach-to-Beethoven focus a century backwards) and after reading much of the available literature on the subject, this study started to integrate into an increasing stream in Purcellian writing—the focus on Purcell's *music* and more specifically his compositional process, rather than his biography.

As observed by Bruce Wood in his latest monograph on Purcell, the composer's biographers are fortunate to have a cornucopia of thorough monographs, catalogues and reference books, to complement the necessary involvement with primary sources.³ However, as will be described in detail in Chapter 1, the study of the composer's compositional style, and even the composer's music in general, were not discussed so extensively as his life and times. Although exceptions have always been in occasional articles, one may observe a turning point in authors' interests which took place around

² For a short period towards the middle of the 1990s, there was actually a regular concert series—called *Authentica*—which brought European early music ensembles to Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem, for concerts and master classes, on a monthly basis. I had the pleasure to make my first deep acquaintance with the agenda of the early music movement through this concert series. The most memorable of those was a concert production of *The Fairy Queen* with The Sixteen and conducted by Harry Christophers.

³ Bruce Wood, *Purcell: An Extraordinary Life* (London: ABRSM, 2009), iv.

the tercentenary of the composer's death, when more and more questions regarding the music and its style began to receive equal treatment to biographical issues. It is important that alongside four biographies published around 1995 (by Maureen Duffy, Margaret Campbell, Robert King and Jonathan Keats), four major publications concerning the music were published: two major article collections (Curtis Price's *Purcell Studies* and Michael Burden's *The Purcell Companion*) and two monographs dealing particularly with the music (by Peter Holman and Martin Adams). The most immediately relevant to the present study is recent work done by Alan Howard on the *Fantazias and Sonatas*—a work which is much indebted to that turning point of the mid-1990s, as well as to recent trends in the analysis of formal counterpoint reflected in analyses of music from Josquin to Bach. In the past two years I had the opportunity to attend most of the important conferences dealing with music of the Restoration and Purcell in particular, and I am under the impression that both directions of inquiry receive more or less an equal share scholarly attention nowadays; in the recent Biennial Conference on Baroque Music (Belfast, July 2010), all the papers read by Purcell scholars dealt primarily with the music and even those papers which focused on music in its cultural context were preoccupied with musical style. To a large extent, the present study reflects this tendency and suggests another perspective on the main issue discussed by Howard—the technical means through which Purcell pursued musical sophistication and intellectual conceit.

SUMMARY

Chapter 1 will overview the reception of Purcell's Fantazias and Sonatas during the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first centuries focusing on two main issues: i) the migration of Purcellian writing into academia and the professionalization of the apparatus employed in Purcellian literature; ii) the influence of the early music revival on Purcell's status and on the ability to examine his compositional process. Analysis of the opening movement of Sonata Z.796 will illustrate the idea of 'compositional choices' on the level of the compositional surface—that of the controlled modification of contrapuntal complexes.

Chapter 2 will overview some seventeenth-century definitions of the two genres and outline the aspects in which they are discussed separately and jointly by modern scholars. Sonata Z.804 will be analysed in order to highlight some problems that seventeenth-century music entails in relation to intertextuality and generic definitions. Purcell's use in the Fantazias and Sonatas of two main contrapuntal manipulations—augmentation and inversion—will be characterised, and differences in the ways each genre presents those manipulations will be formulated. The importance of these contrapuntal manipulations, mainly in the genre of the sonata, will be examined by an analysis of manuscript GB-Lbl R.M. 20.h.9.

Chapter 3 will give a historical and cultural introduction to the use of mathematical underpinning in the English consort tradition (including a short digression to parallel processes in art and architecture) and highlight different ways in which pre-compositional planning dictated elements of scoring and the temporal control of Purcell's musical forms (mainly the use of *ars combinatoria*, symmetry and palindromic design). These will be argued to be descendants and secularisation of earlier modes of pre-compositional planning, characteristic of early sixteenth-century sacred polyphony.

Chapter 4 will extend the applicability of the ideas formulated in Chapter 3 into aspects of pitch organisation. Different analytical approaches to Purcell's harmonic language and the tonal plans of his works will be discussed. Following a short historical overview of the fifth-based modulations in English consort music, a neologism—hexachordal intersection—will be suggested in order to describe a phenomenon which characterises Purcell's presentation of imitative subjects on a series of eight notes which are all a fifth

apart from one another. Purcell's use of hexachordal intersection in the Fantazias will be demonstrated in five different sections from the set, and a comparable phenomenon will be described in consort music of Thomas Tomkins. While Purcell avoided the use of the hexachordal intersection in his Sonatas, the two genres will be shown to have a common feature: the use of a greater number of notes on which the subjects are presented at the beginning of a piece, and a smaller number of notes in later movements or sections, as the piece unfolds.

Chapter 5 will revisit the challenges in reconstructing the composer's compositional process (described in Chapter 1) and will attempt to hypothesise Purcell's working method when working on double-fugues and fugues *per arsin & thesin* in the Sonatas and Fantazias. Following a possible model in Locke's *Consort of Four Parts*, the strict palindromic design of several of Purcell's sections and movements will be described and suggested to have served as scaffolding, hence not meant to be observed by performers. Using the backdrop of hypothesised strict palindromes, several details in the finished works will be suggested as modifications made to a preliminary plan. Some conclusions will be made in relation to the chronology of the *Ten Sonatas of Four Parts* (1697) and of the copying of Purcell's autograph GB-Lbl Add. MS 30930.

*'...here was a man who had mastered the whole art of composition.'*¹

J.A. Westrup

CHAPTER 1 – RECEPTION HISTORY AND CONCEPTUAL CHALLENGES

PURCELL'S MUSIC – A SELECTION OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY RETROSPECTIVES

One of the oldest sound recordings of Henry Purcell's instrumental music to have survived the migration from LPs to CDs, and hence one of the oldest Purcell recordings commercially available today in digital medium either in music shops or on the Internet, is the 1963 recording of the complete Fantazias for viols,² performed by the Viennese ensemble *Concentus Musicus* and directed by Nikolaus Harnoncourt.³ Harnoncourt, who had participated in recording one of the fantazias with the *Deller Consort* nine years earlier, apparently was struck by these works' power: in his influential book *Musik als Klangrede* (1982), following a clarification of the special social background and the unique patterns in which English consort music had circulated and thrived until the

¹ J.A. Westrup, *Purcell* (London: J.M. Dent, 1937), 253.

² Reference to the genre of polyphonic fantasia with its different spelling variants (fantasy, fantasie, fancy, fantazia) will use Purcell's spelling—fantazia—unless a piece was specifically entitled otherwise.

³ Strangely, August Wenzinger's 1954 recording with the *Schola Cantorum Baseliensis* was remastered and sold alongside the Harnoncourt recording as a part of Archiv's Purcell Collection package. I would like to thank David Lewis for referring me to a variety of older recordings of the Fantazias from the King's Sound Archive. These, however, are pre-copyright and therefore not available commercially. Henry Purcell, *Fantasias for 3 to 7 violas da gamba*, Concentus Musicus, Nikolaus Harnoncourt (conductor), compact disc Archiv Pro 447153-2, 1995; Henry Purcell, *15 fantasies for 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 viole da gamba*, Schola Cantorum Baseliensis, August Wenzinger (conductor), compact disc Archiv Pro 447 156 2, 1995.

Restoration, he explicitly ties Purcell's Fantazias to earlier generations of English fantasia and then gives a rather extreme view regarding their place in the composer's output:

All of Purcell's later compositions must be understood in relation to these early works: on the one hand, the way in which he again and again uses modern dance forms, tone painting, or even the French overture form, all unmistakably anglicized or 'refined', and how, on the other hand, he resorts to the old English fantasy, with its grandiose, long, wide-ranging harmonic developments.⁴

This account, perhaps unsurprising (coming from an advocate of the viola da gamba), is preceded by a remark on the self-referential character of the fantasia repertoire. Harnoncourt names John Dowland (1563–1626) as one of the composers quoted by Purcell in his essays in the genre.⁵ Indeed, this unlikely choice of Purcell's model, rarely mentioned in today's scholarship, hints that Harnoncourt's observation tells us primarily about *his* perception of the physiognomy of the English consort lineage with Henry Purcell as its last descendent;⁶ but the influential manifesto from which this account is extracted is representative of the curiosity and mystery that has surrounded Purcell's consort music in the last century, and his Fantazias in particular. After being virtually forgotten for the greater parts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,⁷ these works were quickly embraced, by musicologists, composers and performers alike, as 'one of England's most significant contributions to the world's great music',⁸ either

⁴ Nikolaus Harnoncourt, *Baroque Music Today: Music As Speech: Ways to a New Understanding of Music*, Mary O'Neill (trans.), (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1988), 166–167.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 166.

⁶ The various reasons for fleeting remarks about Dowland (in the context of Purcellian research) should be examined critically: for example, A.K. Holland's remark about the opening movement of the Sonata Z.796 analysed below, that it is 'as grave as a lament by Dowland', evokes the comparison in general terms of style rather than a connection to a specific piece by the earlier composer by whom no work with the title 'lament' survived. Dowland's output in the field of consort music is Anglo-German and consists only of dance music, thus he cannot be seen as a characteristic English fantasia composer. No viol fantasia by him has survived. A.K. Holland, *Purcell*, 2nd edn (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1948), 106.

⁷ Alan Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice: Compositional Strategies in the Fantasias and Sonatas', (Ph.D. diss., King's College, London, 2006), 57.

⁸ Warlock's article on the Fantazias first appeared in *Sackbut* (vol. vii, 1927). Peter Warlock, 'Purcell's Fantasias for Strings', in *The Occasional Writings of Philip Heseltine (Peter Warlock)*, vol. 2: Early Music, Barry Smith (ed.), (London: Thames, 1998), 143–148.

explicitly in enthusiastic comments such as Harnoncourt's,⁹ or implicitly in their relative place in general music history books.¹⁰

The century-old debate on how representative Purcell's Fantazias are of their genre and to what extent they should be used as a reference for examining other works by the same composer will inevitably echo in this study which seeks to clarify aspects of Purcell's compositional technique at the earlier stage of his creative life, *ca.* 1675–85. The astonishment with which the Fantazias were received in the twentieth century, but also the ease with which they fell into place in the performing canon of a century so obsessed with experimentalism, mark an imaginary meeting point for several issues central to this study: the origins of the technical apparatus used by the young Purcell in his first attempts in instrumental music, the intellectual climate within which the

⁹ As will be discussed in Chapter 2, there is a possibility that at least some of Purcell's Fantazias, and the four-part Fantazias in particular (which form the main body of Fantazias) were not performed during Purcell's time or even until the twentieth century. In that sense, it is interesting that these works are discussed in textbooks today, books which generally show growing awareness to the social and cultural facets of music, and rely on repertoire which influenced these facets of its history. By extension, it may seem surprising that a set of works which possibly never left the composer's drawer (during his lifetime) became the subject of several doctoral theses in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

¹⁰ This can be seen for example in Christopher Headington's general history, where two of the three musical examples from Purcell are perhaps his most untypical: the end of Dido's lament and the first section of Fantazia 3. The same happens in Davison and Apel's famous *Historical Anthology*, where the lament (in its entirety) and Fantazia 4 are the two works by Purcell. The disproportionate place of *Dido and Aeneas* in late twentieth century music histories is strange all the more. Martin Adams discusses its special status in the Purcell canon and, although he stresses the rise of contextualism in that period, it was exactly in those last decades of the twentieth century when *Dido* seems to have 'pushed out' an opera much more characteristic to the composer—*The Fairy Queen*—from the most widely used anthology, the *Norton Anthology of Western Music*. Its first edition contains three numbers from *The Fairy Queen*; in the second edition one of the numbers ('The Plaint') was cut out and Dido's Lament was incorporated in its stead; another number was cut out for the third edition ('Thus the ever grateful Spring') and the in the fifth edition, only *Dido*, the least representative musical drama of its day, was left to represent the composer for modern readership. Christopher Headington, *The Bodley Head History of Western Music*, 2nd edn (London, The Bodley Head, 1980), 104–13; Archibald T. Davison and Willi Apel, *Historical Anthology of Music: Baroque, Rococo, and Pre-Classical Music* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1950), 144–6; Martin Adams, 'Purcell's "curiously poor and perfunctory piece of work": critical reflections on Purcell via his music for the centenary of Trinity College Dublin', in *Irish Musical Studies: 10: Music, Ireland and the Seventeenth Century* Barra Boydell and Kerry Houston (eds.), (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), 181–202 (182–5); Claude V. Palisca (ed.), *Norton Anthology of Western Music*, 1st edn (New York, London: W.W. Norton, 1980); 2nd edn (1988); 3rd edn (1996); J. Peter Burkholder and Claude V. Palisca, *Norton Anthology of Western Music*, 5th edn (New York, London: W.W. Norton, 2006).

instrumental genres inherited by Purcell—the fantazia and sonata—have emerged, and the differences between the distinct compositional approaches to musical form in each of the genres.

Purcell's music has been little analysed, especially in comparison to the surprisingly rich bibliography concerning the historical and social backgrounds of a composer whose 'life is largely a matter of conjecture [...] with only some incidental clues that he was a human being at all'.¹¹ Not unlike other fields in historical musicology, or historiography in general, the writing on Henry Purcell underwent a process of academic professionalization in the long century between the foundation of the Purcell Society in 1876 and the tercentenary of the composer's death in 1995. Although it would be fascinating to outline the history of Purcell's biography in relation to general movements in twentieth-century historiography or to the changing perspectives on British culture after WWII, the following bibliographical overview will focus on the musical and analytical facets of Purcellian literature and therefore, guided by thematic criteria, will take some freedom with regards to chronology.

Changes in historiography and its methods brought about a change in the role of the music itself in the narrative. When writing about Purcell's music, his early biographers, such as Cummings, Runciman, Holland and Westrup,¹² attempted to treat the composer's compositional style very briefly, by giving general stylistic insights without confining themselves to a particular genre or focusing on specific periods in his short creative life. This loose approach to the subject of style and the willingness to make generalisations on the composer's idiom as a whole, hardly attempted or even possible in contemporary academic protocol, can be seen clearly in the last chapter of Westrup's *Purcell—'Style and Development'*.¹³ Westrup's monograph, with an unprecedented wealth of music illustrations woven into its chronological narrative, can serve as a backdrop for the emerging analytical tendencies of the 1930s and 1940s. The eighty-two

¹¹ Holland, *Purcell*, 50.

¹² William H. Cummings, *Purcell* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1881); John F. Runciman, *Purcell* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1909); Holland, *Purcell*; J.A. Westrup, *Purcell* (London: J.M. Dent, 1937).

¹³ Aware to the difficulty of the deed, he states that 'here we have only a chapter in which to compress a whole host of generalisations; and since that is a practical impossibility, there is nothing to be done but throw out a few hints and underline some of the more important characteristics', J.A. Westrup, *Purcell*, 239–257, esp. 244.

examples of W. Gillies Whittaker's article of 1934 are grouped according to harmonic phenomena they represent: chromaticism, false relations and modal relics, unorthodox use of dissonance or consecutives intervals.¹⁴ Bukofzer's *Music in the Baroque Era*, although it is a general study, refers to Purcell's music extensively and with an evident analytical agenda;¹⁵ the juxtaposition of nine ground basses, one underneath the other, serves a comparative goal and encourages technical conclusions rather than merely illustrating the opening bass statements of famous pieces (Illustration 1.1).¹⁶

Writers in the 1950s started to incorporate diagrams with form-abstractions or tables, whilst focusing on more specific subjects for study. Two studies characteristic of that decade are Michael Tilmouth's and Hellen Wessely-Kropik's articles concerning the Sonatas and the Fantazias.¹⁷ Outlining Purcell's main formal and contrapuntal strategies in the Sonatas, Tilmouth uses tables and letter-symbols, signifying melodic ideas, to demonstrate Purcell's rotation of combined subjects and countersubjects, and thereby demonstrates the composer's technique of triple invertible counterpoint.¹⁸ Wessely-Kropik's article attempts to answer a question which is more focused than Tilmouth's. While trying to suggest Lelio Colista (1629–80) as a key figure among Purcell's Italian models and focusing the attention on sonata composers from Rome (which is crucial considering the stylistic variety in Italy of that time), Wessely-Kropik makes even more extensive use of analytical tables: three tables give bird's-eye view of the overall movement and section design in Purcell's Fantazias and Sonatas and in Lelio Colista's Sonatas (including titles, time signatures and for the Fantazias even reference to textures);¹⁹ diagrams give graphical symbols for themes in a way which is slightly more

¹⁴ W. Gillies Whittaker, 'Some Observations on Purcell's Harmony', *The Musical Times* 75/1100 (1934): 887–94.

¹⁵ Sixteen of the thirty-eight pages dedicated to 'Music during Commonwealth and Restoration' deal with Purcell. Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era from Monteverdi to Bach* (London: J.M. Dent, 1947), 180–218.

¹⁶ Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era*, 217.

¹⁷ Helene Wessely-Kropik, 'Henry Purcell als Instrumentalkomponist', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 22 (1955): 85–141; Michael Tilmouth, 'The Technique and forms of Purcell's Sonatas', *Music and Letters* 40/2 (1959): 109–21.

¹⁸ Tilmouth, 'The Technique and forms of Purcell's Sonatas', 118–120.

¹⁹ Misattribution of several Roman sonata repertoire resulted in a confusion between works by Colista and Lonati, the latter being slightly closer to Purcell in his strict contrapuntal style. Peter

detailed than Tilmouth's use of letters; a linear graph shows the change in textural acceleration in the Chaconne from the 1697 set, Sonata Z.807 (Illustration 1.3). While the path paved by Tilmouth and Wessely-Kropik became well trodden in Purcellian literature, another interesting research from 1962, Schjeldrup-Ebbe's study of the cadences, used statistic method to an unprecedented extent, a method that was not used on a comparable scale in Purcell studies since.²⁰

The year 1959, the tercentenary of the composer's birth, also saw the first publication of volume 31 of the *The Complete Works of Henry Purcell* (commonly known as the Purcell Society Edition), which completed the process of bringing Purcell's consort music for viols to the public domain.²¹ The relatively late completion of this process, initiated in the 1920s,²² contributed perhaps to the works' status as a secret shared by only few British scholars and musicians.²³ During the 1950s however, Purcell's place in the

Allsop, *The Italian Trio Sonata from its origins until Corelli* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 192–207.

²⁰ Dag Schjeldrup-Ebbe, *Purcell's Cadences* (Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1962), 13–14.

²¹ It is important to note that in the mid-twentieth century there was much debate as to what instruments the Fantazias were written for. As its title implies, Volume 31 of the Purcell Society Edition included *Fantazias and other Instrumental Music* (the title of the 1990 revised edition was slightly altered—*Fantazias and miscellaneous Instrumental Music*—maybe to accommodate the widening list of pieces, among them several fragments), without specifying the instruments. Some of the theories regarding the instrumentation of the Fantazias will be discussed at the beginning of chapter 2. Also worth noting is an article written by the editor of the 1959 edition, Thurston Dart, who also recorded the four-part Sonatas with his *Jacobean Ensemble* the previous year. Thurston Dart, 'Purcell's Chamber Music', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 85 (1958–9): 81–4.

²² A key figure in the modern reception of the fantazias is Peter Warlock (Philip Heseltine) who published the Fantazia Z.736 in *The Sackbut* in June 1920, and later all the three-, four- and five-part Fantazias, republished after his death by Boosey & Hawkes under the title *Purcell-Warlock: Fantazias for Strings*. It is noteworthy that the 1920s also saw the first publications of other consort works by Purcell, such as Bryant's edition of the Chacony Z.730. The sonatas in three and four parts were printed according to their original grouping for the Purcell Society Edition already in 1893 and 1896 respectively, and therefore were available to the general public. Henry Purcell, *Three-part Fantazias for Strings*, Peter Warlock (transcribed) and André Mangeot (ed.) (London, J. Curwen & Sons, 1927); Purcell, *Chacony*, Hannah Bryant (ed.) (London: J. & W. Chester, 1925).

²³ It is important to remember that years of publication uncover only a part of the picture. Frederick Bridge commented on his attempts to play the pieces more than a decade prior to their first publication. J. Frederick Bridge, 'Purcell's Fantazias and Sonatas', *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 42 (1915–16): 1–13 (1).

accepted narrative of music history started to change. For example, at that time Benjamin Britten (1913–76) was already in a status which allowed him eagerly to promote Purcell's fame in Britain and abroad. Although he was performing Purcell's music in concerts already in the late 1930s, from the mid-1940s onwards his activity in the field of publication increased, culminating in the large-scale publications of *Dido and Aeneas* (1960) and *The Fairy Queen* (1970).²⁴ It was mainly Purcell's vocal music which enjoyed Britten's attention and fame as an arranger and performer, but he should also receive most of the credit for bringing several instrumental works to the modern concert hall, either with minimal mediation (for example the Chacony Z.730 or the 'Golden' Sonata Z.810), or through adaptation and quotation (the most obvious example being *The Young Person's Guide to the Orchestra*, op. 34, which made the Rondeau from *Abdelazer* Z.570/2 one of the most recognisable seventeenth-century tunes of the twentieth century).

Overview of the achievements made between the tercentenaries of the composer's birth and death will be given later on this chapter, only after an outline of the present state in the study of Purcell's music. Two monographs on the subject were published during the later tercentenary. Peter Holman's monograph contextualizes each genre Purcell had dealt with, gives a thorough account of precedents and models, and clarifies the composer's contribution or innovation in each genre. Relevant to the narrower field of the Fantazias and Sonatas are Holman's association of each of the different scorings of most Fantazias (three and four viols) with a distinct model—Orlando Gibbons (1583–1625) and Matthew Locke (1622–77) respectively—and his overview of Italian sonatas that were circulating in Purcell's London in manuscript and in print.²⁵ By means of understanding Purcell's models and the web of manuscript evidence, very little has been added to the picture of Purcell's instrumental music since this monograph. Martin Adams' book attempted, for the first time since Westrup, a cross-inquiry of two aspects:²⁶ the first section of the book examines the chronological development of Purcell's style and presents a brief consideration of the social circumstances and models

²⁴ Paul Banks, *Benjamin Britten: A Catalogue of the Published Works* (Aldeburgh: The Britten-Pears Library, 1999), 169–84.

²⁵ Peter Holman, *Henry Purcell*, (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 76–7, 86–9.

²⁶ Martin Adams, *Henry Purcell: The Origins and development of his musical style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

surrounding him in different stages of his career; the second section confronts the first with a series of generic studies, highlighting particular traits in the handling of form, motif and harmonic structure in different genres, some of them (such as instrumental music incorporated in larger vocal works) rarely discussed until then.²⁷ Although recognised as ‘the first to comprehensively assess Purcell’s complete works and to try to draw conclusions about Purcell’s style and its development from his analysis’,²⁸ Adams’ approach made his monograph a peculiar addition to the Purcellian literature of the 1990s—he scarcely consulted manuscript evidence and he employed analytical terminology which, in the context of the increasing awareness to ‘authentic analysis’ of that time, can easily be seen as anachronistic, and was criticised as such by other Purcell scholars.²⁹ However, Adams’ approach allowed him to describe cross-generic processes and sweeping changes in the composer’s aesthetic priorities, objectives which became less and less accessible as attempts to encompass Purcell’s style in a single chapter fell out of favour, or were held, by definition, to be superficial.

²⁷ It is a curious feature of Purcellian research that there has been a tendency to construct whole monographs on passing comments in Westrup’s book. John Harley hints that his book ‘Music in Purcell’s London’ is an answer to Westrup’s call for a book on the social background of Purcell’s music.

Another paragraph in Westrup’s monograph reads like a blueprint of Adams’ book:

A comprehensive survey of Purcell’s style would include not only a comparison, illustrated by a profusion of musical examples, between his work and that of his foreign contemporaries and predecessors, but also a thorough examination of the trend of music before his time and during the Restoration period in general; and that would be followed by a more precise investigation into the individual characteristics of his art, a more curious study of what happened when he deserted the well-trodden path and followed his own diversions.

John Harley, *Music in Purcell’s London: The Social Background* (London: Dobson, 1968), 5; Westrup, *Purcell*, 243–244.

²⁸ Rebecca Herissone, Review of *Henry Purcell: The Origins and Development of His Musical Style*, Martin Adams, *Early Music History* 15 (1996): 270–276 (270).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 270–271. The issue of ‘authentic analysis’ is important for understanding those aspects of late-twentieth century analytical mindset which have been influenced by the rise of the early music movement. Other aspects will be dealt with below extensively. Peter Schubert, ‘Authentic Analysis’, *The Journal of Musicology* 12/1 (1994): 3–18. The present author’s views largely follow the ideas presented in Laurence Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention* (Cambridge Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1996), mainly in Chapter 1 and Chapter 6.

Studies of Purcell's compositional process (drafts, revisions, order of work) are a more recent phenomenon and, to a large extent, indebted to the works of Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, whose detailed study of the main manuscript sources of the composer's music supplies the infrastructure for any discussion of the chronology of his works.³⁰ Even though Purcell's autographs have been studied consistently since the early twentieth century, Shay and Thompson's book was the first to give a full codicological description of the main autographs and to incorporate aspects of paper-provenance and rastrology in Purcellian research.³¹ The collation of a list comprising all the copyists associated with Purcell (including anonymous ones who were coded as London B, FQ3 and the like) was a far-reaching contribution to the consolidation in Purcell research, and to the way in which decades of research could be combined into a rich picture of the Restoration manuscript culture.

Rebecca Herissonne's contribution to source studies is twofold: alongside case-studies of specific works and analysis of different stages in their composition,³² her reassessment of traditional classification of manuscript types may have long-term implications. Her two main works in the field are a book which examines Restoration organ-books and the particulars of their notation, and a large article that re-examines our classification of Purcell's autographs, and offers substitutes to the traditional categories of 'rough drafts' and 'fair copies'.³³

³⁰ Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

³¹ Of the earlier attempts, Stevens' article on the Fantazias and Fortune and Zimmerman's appendix to Holst's tercentenary collection demonstrate the different directions taken by source study before Shay and Thompson. Nigel Fortune and Franklin B. Zimmerman, 'Appendix A: Purcell's Autographs', in *Henry Purcell 1659–1695 Essays on his Music*, Imogen Holst (ed.), (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 106–121; Denis Stevens, 'Purcell's Art of Fantasia', *Music and Letters* 33 (1952): 341–345.

³² Rebecca Herissonne, 'Purcell's revisions of his own works' in *Purcell Studies*, Curtis Price (ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 51–86; Rebecca Herissonne, 'Robert Pindar, Thomas Busby, and the Mysterious Scoring of Henry Purcell's "Come ye sons of art"', *Music and Letters* 88/1 (2007): 1–48.

³³ Another book by Herissonne, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England*, is even more influential, but not directly on source studies. It is consulted mainly in Chapter 4. Rebecca Herissonne, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Rebecca Herissonne, "To Fill, Forbear, or Adorne": *The organ accompaniment of restoration sacred music*, Royal Musical Association 14, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Rebecca Herissonne, "Fowle

Within this narrow framework it would be impossible properly to treat the Purcell Society Edition, whose history deserves a monograph of its own. However, it should be mentioned that the high standards of critical edition practiced by the society since the 1960s is an inseparable part of Purcellian literature.³⁴

The most recent contributor to the study of Purcell's compositional process is Alan Howard. At the outset of his doctoral dissertation he accuses the Purcell literature (and mainly authors who commented on the Fantazias and Sonatas) of a preoccupation with a very limited range of issues, mainly with the ways in which Italian sonata and English fantasia influenced Purcell's works.³⁵ According to Howard, this central concern stands as the main motivation for current studies of the manuscript sources of the works, their chronology, the motivation behind their composition and issues of performance practice. Indeed, Howard's work is nothing less than pioneering in the angle from which it approaches the research into Purcell's music. Howard examines 'the poetics of artifice'—the ways in which Purcell and his contemporaries valued contrapuntal skills as central to the quality of a composition, and how he pursued his mastery in that area

Originals" and "Fayre Writeing": Reconsidering Purcell's compositional process', *Journal of Musicology* 23/4 (2006): 569–619.

³⁴ Some notable examples in relation to modern understanding of Purcell's compositional process are Tilmouth's edition of the Sonatas in four parts, Spink and Laurie's critical approach to the *Ayres for the Theatre*, or Wood's comments on the finest details of the copying and revision processes of the symphony songs. Michael Tilmouth (ed.), *Ten Sonatas of Four Parts*, NPS7 (Sevenoaks: Novello, 1981); Margaret Laurie (ed.), *Dramatic Music: Vocal and Instrumental Music for the Stage Part I*, NPS16 (London: Novello, 2007); Ian Spink (ed.), *Dramatic Music Part II: Vocal and Instrumental Music for the Stage*, NPS20 (London: Novello, 1998); Bruce Wood (ed.), *Symphony Songs*, NPS27 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2007).

³⁵ The full citation reads:

The problem with the literature surrounding Purcell's instrumental chamber music is compounded by an overwhelming preoccupation with a limited range of central issues, the most prominent among which are the surviving manuscript sources, the differing motivations behind the composition of Purcell's works in the two genres of fantasia and sonata, issues of performance practice, and the dates of composition of the sonatas. Behind almost all of these discussions is the more fundamental and allembicing concern to determine on the one hand the nature and extent of the influence of the Italian sonata on Purcell, and on the other, the importance of his engagement with the native consort music of the earlier seventeenth century. Again, a number of orthodoxies prevail in this discourse, concerning Purcell's supposed conservative attitude and his ultimate failure to adopt the idiom of the Italian sonata.

Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice,' 11.

during his first years of instrumental composition. In more detail, Howard analyses the smallest contrapuntal complexes planned by Purcell as the basic building blocks of his works and their forms (or strategies, to use Howard's own words) and how these were dictated by an attempt to fully exploit a motif's potential. In turn, this approach can lead back to conclusions pertaining to the more traditional preoccupations of chronology and source studies. In order to extract information not only Precedents to Howard's analytical aims and means can be found in research into music of other composers, but in order to understand fully the necessary conditions that had to ripen in the musicological world for this branch of analysis to develop, the chronological gap opened earlier in the bibliographical outline will be bridged later in this chapter.

A final remark regarding the musical influences on young Henry Purcell should be made: throughout this and the next chapter, several references will be made to the connections between Purcell's sonatas and Italian trio sonatas as were observed by several scholars; this study does not directly engage the issue of Purcell's Italian models since, as will be clarified in Chapters 3 to 5, the present author believes that most of Purcell's compositional technique had very little to do with Italian models and was a descendent of English compositional methods. Moreover, fresh interpretation of the collation of **30930** will suggest that even explicit references to Italian masters (in publications' prefatory material for example) were either made tongue-in-cheek or reflect an aesthetic debate between Purcell, who as a young man clung to English compositional traditions, and his publishers who aimed for the potential market of modern music in the Italian style.

PURCELL'S FANTAZIAS AND SONATAS TODAY – AN OVERVIEW

The corpus of works which stands at the heart of this study, sixteen Fantazias and twenty-two Sonatas, is well known to twenty-first century audiences and accepted as a part of the performing canon. It is easily divided into three groups: twelve and ten Sonatas, according to their original date of publication (1683 and 1697 respectively) and the sixteen Fantazias, of which one is fragmentary and two are In Nomines. Each of these groups can be recorded to fit in nicely within the 80 minutes of a CD, or published in one- or two-volume score; in the great majority of recordings and publications of these works in the last decades, their traditional seventeenth-century division into sets has dictated the format in which they have been marketed.

The Fantazias and part of the 1697 Sonatas survive in the composer's hand, in the reverse end of manuscript **30930**.³⁶ Even the format in which they appear in the autograph seems to appeal to the commercial world of recording: most recordings imitate the gradual addition of viols (from three viols to seven)³⁷; many of them also bring, alongside the track titles, the dates added by the composer;³⁸ some performances even borrow the inscriptions which indicate the number of parts at the beginning of each group of Fantazias ('Here begineth ye [...] part Fantazias').³⁹ All these help the modern concertgoer or CD-buyer to sense an almost intimate contact with Purcell's work, by preserving something of the original context of the manuscript, which is probably the most personal of Purcell's to have survived.⁴⁰ Thus, listeners are indirectly

³⁶ A thorough codicological description and table of the contents of this manuscript is in Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 90–97.

³⁷ Henry Purcell, *Fantazias*, London Baroque, compact disc BIS 1165, 2001.

³⁸ Henry Purcell, *Fantazias for Strings*, Musica Amphion, compact disc Brilliant Classics 93647/4, 2007; Henry Purcell, *Fantazias for the Viols 1680*, Hespèrion XX, compact disc ASTRÉE E8536, 1995.

³⁹ Henry Purcell, *Fantazias: Musique pour Violes*, Ricercar Consort, compact disc Mirare mir012, 2007.

⁴⁰ Robert Thompson argues that the manuscript 'for the most part reflects the more private side of Purcell's Musicianship. [...] [It] was perhaps kept at Purcell's home and contains some of the music Purcell might have played or sung with his family or friends'. Robert Thompson, 'Purcell's

encouraged to interpret Purcell's most abstract works in an autobiographical context, which is not wholly different from, and perhaps enhanced by, researchers' tendency to attribute biographical significance to the smallest details and inscriptions in studied manuscripts. For many years, researchers speculated connections between the 'mystifying' and 'cryptic' inscription in Cfm MS 88 ('God bless Mr Henry Purcell 1682 September ye 10th') and various biographical circumstances, ranging from the commemoration of the tragic death of either the composer's father, uncle or firstborn, to the joyful events of the composer's marriage or birthday.⁴¹ Although some of the mystical aura was taken from the inscription in recent years (see below), the tendency to romanticise Purcell's biography by tightening the bonds between the little we know of his life and the extraordinary expressive power of his music is significant, and is typical of modern consumption of classical and early music.

Additional characteristics of canonicity can be seen in the use of 'nicknames' for some of the pieces. While the title 'Golden' was attached to the F major Sonata (Z.810) in 1704 at the latest,⁴² other nicknames seem to have been influenced by later, German-centred, canonic thought. The nickname 'Dorian', attached to the seven-part In Nomine (Z.747) in several recordings,⁴³ is not to be found in any major edition, and probably stems from its use of cantus mollis—key signature with one flat—for a piece in a mode whose final is G. Without apparent justification for attaching that title to this specific piece,⁴⁴ one may infer that it is borrowed from another canonised misnomer, J.S. Bach's Toccata and Fugue BWV588 which acquired the name 'Dorian' in the nineteenth century (and again, not a sole case of omitted flats in Bach—violin sonata BWV1001 and the organ prelude

Great Autographs' in *Purcell Studies*, Curtis Price (ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 6–34 (20).

⁴¹ Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell, 1659–1695: His Life and Times*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), xviii, 74–5, 92.

⁴² Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell 1659–1695: An Analytical Catalogue of His Music* (London: Macmillan & co., 1963), 397. Discussion on the possible origins of the name 'Golden' is presented in Christopher Hogwood, *The Trio Sonata*, BBC Music Guides (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1979), 90–91.

⁴³ For example, Henry Purcell, *Fantazias*, Rose Consort of Viols, compact disc NAXOS 8.553957, 1997.

⁴⁴ Purcell's use of 'Dorian' omission of accidentals is very common and used at least in two other Fantazias and two other Sonatas from his output for consort alone; it is even more frequent in his vocal music.

of BWV549 use the same pattern).⁴⁵ In light of this permeation of common-practice parlance, one may see how the fragmentary Fantazia (Z.744) also attracts modern audiences who grew up into the cult of composers.

Despite the semblance of a neat three-fold division, attempts to classify this repertoire, establish its text or analyse it may show that the boundaries of Purcell's output for consort is rather evasive, and that the choice of models against which one may compare it is far from being self-explanatory. It is not easy to undertake a study of Purcell's instrumental music after reading Howard's charges mentioned above; any study of Purcell's music must establish the background—precedents and contemporary context—prior to the choice of proper analytical apparatus. In such case, must an analyst who argues that Purcell's trio sonatas are modelled after Roman examples adapt the analytical tools which are used for the analysis of earlier Italian sonatas? And then, should the tonal structure of the other genre—the fantazias—be analysed in the same manner, or should one turn back to older schemes of modal organisation, those in common use for analyzing Byrd or Tomkins? How should one settle the differences between the two genres with Purcell's generic distinction which is often blurred by his self-borrowing or his use of similar technical devices? The inevitable need in contextualizing the repertoire will result in asking some of the questions criticised by Howard, such as 'the importance of his engagement with the native consort music of the earlier seventeenth century',⁴⁶ but in a way that is inseparable from the music itself and from the same levels of artifice addressed by Howard himself; in turn, suggesting new answers for the same old questions may shed light on analytical methods and directions that have not been taken before and may yield new results.

The decision to concentrate on the Fantazias and Sonatas as two genres which play equal roles in a larger body of works—also behind the present study—indeed is far from being precedential, and yet a preliminary remark concerning the modern, generic, label given to this music, and hence tying them together, is important. Throughout the twentieth century, the two genres were grouped under several umbrellas: Meyer and

⁴⁵ Peter Williams, *The Organ Music of J.S. Bach*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), 64 ; Harold S. Powers, 'Dorian' in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08032> (accessed August 3, 2009).

⁴⁶ Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice,' 11.

Bukofzer, concentrating on the social facets of music making as well as influenced by common-practice terminology, referred to them as 'chamber music'; Adams and Holman, in light of their interest also in instrumental sections in larger contexts (mainly overtures and interludes of odes and theatre music) and in the compositional aspect, used the term 'instrumental music', but sometimes also 'consort music', a term which has both social and generic implications.⁴⁷ Except for reflecting different motivations and mindsets, the diversity of labels, all valid from a present-day vantage point, mirrors fluidity in contemporary approach to the most basic contextual attributes of the repertoire, as well as in locating the aspect in which binding the two genres may be seen as justified or helpful. The adoption of the term consort music for the present study is motivated by an idea that will be frequently highlighted and reiterated: Purcell's adaptation of earlier compositional techniques originating in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century music of the English consort tradition to both Fantazias and Sonatas.

Even before answering the question of context, many questions hover above the text itself. The three components of the corpus in question survived in different sources that assume different levels of authority. The *Sonnata's of III Parts* (1683) have been meticulously engraved, probably with the young composer's own involvement and under his supervision. Even though no significant independent concordance has survived, it is safe to assume that the published text is reliable.

The authority of the published *Ten Sonatas in Four Parts* (1697) is much more questionable. The initiative for their publication most likely was the pragmatic attempt of the composer's widow, Frances, to benefit from her late husband's estate. Even if some of the printing projects she undertook in the years following Purcell's death resulted in impressive publications, the fact that in the first three years she had published a series that embraced genres as diverse as keyboard suites, theatre music, sonatas and a service, implies at least some indiscriminateness in her approach to the text. The more acute problem in this case is that the identity of the editor of the 1697 Sonatas is unknown, and so is the nature of the sources that edition had used, which differ from the autograph versions in **30930** and significantly so.⁴⁸ Semantic issues

⁴⁷ Holman also wrote the chapter 'Consort Music' in the *Purcell Companion*.

⁴⁸ Autograph concordance exists only for sonatas 1–4 and 7–10, of which no. 4 is fragmentary and sonatas 7–8 give considerably different text. The most comprehensive account of the sources

raised by the title 'in four parts' as opposed to earlier set's 'of three parts' and stylistic differences between the two sets, as well as a more analytical approach to the common and different between the two genres in general, will be discussed below in Chapter 2.

Comparison of the carefully planned and printed Sonatas published in 1683 to those of 1697 may suggest that the Sonatas of the latter publication were selected more haphazardly: their tonal plan is almost arbitrary and even the number of works is rather strange—ten, rather than the more conventional six or twelve. However, it is safe to assume that the 1697 Sonatas were regarded worthy of printing and of wide circulation (at least by the widow), and it is possible to speculate the social contexts in which these two publications were played. This is not the case in the Fantazias, for these survive only in manuscript and give the impression of being a more fragmentary collection.

Herissone argues that **30930** has certain features of a 'fowle originall' as well as of a 'file copy'—two terms which seem to correspond more closely to seventeenth-century categories and to describe the use of Purcell's manuscripts more accurately than the traditional terms of draft or fair copy.⁴⁹ However, some particulars, especially concerning the Fantazias copied into it, complicate the manuscript's classification and show that the works it contains were copied into it on various occasions and in non-sequential order: Shay and Thompson, in their thorough analysis of the manuscript, show that Purcell started the copying of his four-part Fantazias in the middle of a not-yet bound gathering, which raises the suspicion that he planned to copy several more three-part fantazias which have not survived;⁵⁰ moreover, the existence of the fragmentary Fantazia on folio 58r may reinforce the need in some of the traditional features of 'draft'; the fact that the manuscript's pages were reordered in 1895 complicates matters further and the original order of the pages, so crucial for understanding the context of the music they transmit, must be reconstructed.⁵¹ With one major manuscript for each genre (Cfm MS 88 for anthems and Lbl R.M 20.h.8 for odes) it

is in Michael Tilmouth (ed.), *Ten Sonatas of Four Parts*, NPS7 (Sevenoaks: Novello, 1981), ix–xv. Extensive comparison of the two versions of sonatas 7 and 8 in Rebecca Herissonne, 'Purcell's revisions of his own works', 58–63.

⁴⁹ In Herissone's terminology, **30930** is classified as 'class a/c'. Herissone, "'Fowle Originalls" and "Fayre Writeing"', 574–576.

⁵⁰ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 89.

⁵¹ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 84–100.

is sometimes easy to forget that Purcell left enough instrumental music outside this main manuscript to facilitate another hypothetical manuscript of the same size. Some of these pieces derive from **20.h.9**, a manuscript copied by John Reading. It will be argued in Chapter 3 that, albeit of lesser significance to that of **30930**, Reading's manuscript is a document of prime importance for contextualizing Purcell's instrumental music. In any case, it will be safe to assume that only a part of the composer's instrumental output has survived.⁵²

It is unclear whether the dates inscribed on top of some of the Fantazias indicate the date of copying (Adams hints that this may be the case),⁵³ revision,⁵⁴ or composition.⁵⁵ While generally the choice between the three theses remained a matter of conjecture for years, the option of seeing the dates on the manuscript as dates of composition made Purcell's working speed look 'close to superhuman'.⁵⁶ However, Howard recently suggested a scenario which reinforces that possibility, based on Purcell's gradual study of a motif's potential, and changes in its treatment after the gap in the dates between Fantazias 10 and 11.⁵⁷ Again, there is a wide agreement among researchers that the Fantazias and most of the Sonatas do not date later than the early 1680s and that their generic classification is the more challenging issue.

Associating the two genres is largely dependent on our understanding of their social function and of the matrix of cultural influences which operated on them. From the

⁵² Zimmerman's catalogue lists, outside the Sonatas, Fantazias and keyboard music, the following: Chacony, Pavan à 4, Overture and Suite in G major (all in **30930**); three Overtures ('The Staircase', Overtures in D minor and in G minor), the *Three Upon a Ground*, four Pavans à 3, a Prelude for solo violin, and several doubtful dances, song tunes and sonata fragments. Some additional dance fragments are mentioned in Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 295.

⁵³ Adams, *Henry Purcell*, 91.

⁵⁴ Bruce Wood, *Purcell: An Extraordinary Life* (London: ABRSM, 2009), 56.

⁵⁵ This thesis has wider acceptance among researchers. See for example Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 76.

⁵⁶ Wood, *Purcell: An Extraordinary Life*, 56.

⁵⁷ The numbering of the Fantazias will follow that of the Purcell Society Edition: the three-part Fantazias will be referred to as 1–3 and the four-part Fantazias as 4–12. The incomplete four-part Fantazia, the five-part Fantazia (*Fantazia upon one note*) and the two six- and seven-part In Nomine settings will be referred to without numbering. Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice,' 142–3.

distance of three centuries it seems that no comprehensive description of these influences can be supplied and that, having only scattered evidence concerning the motivations, taste, and identity of the amateur and professional strata that played consort music, we are still left with questions as crucial as whether the music was ever intended for performance.⁵⁸ The Fantazias seem to supply all the conditions for cunningly bypassing the necessity of supplying a straightforward context: the long history of their genre, dating back to Elizabethan culture, is unquestionable and so is their harmonic language, which is typical of their late-seventeenth century composer; these two sides result in their reception as Janus-faced, a seemingly easy way out of giving a definite context. But even the Sonatas, which were *à la mode* enough to have justified Purcell's first single-composer publication in 1683 and to explain some of the commercial motivation behind his oft-quoted introduction, evoke a remarkably similar duality when we think of their genre, sonata *à tre*, as 'a conservative contrapuntal form, descended from the early seventeenth century canzone'.⁵⁹ In the early twenty-first century it seems to be a matter of personal opinion, based on specific interpretations of a limited range of evidence and on some largely unstated presuppositions, whether the two genres are similar phenomena or complete opposites, conservative relics or ground-breaking experiments.

⁵⁸ However romantic the idea of compositional 'abstract' essays is, some features of seventeenth-century music served as a hotbed for projecting it back to keyboard works written in open score. A good example is Bach's *The Art of Fugue*, whose (mainly Italian) precedents cover more than 150 years, and which yet was regarded as abstract for generations (for example, in Milan Kundera's 'Improvisation in Homage to Stravinsky'). The abstract interpretation of the Fantazias was already challenged by Denis Stevens. However, even modern scholars like Holman still suggest that the pieces were not intended for performance. The present author thinks that the performance of at least some of the Fantazias was attractive enough as intellectual pastime not to be left unperformed; the *Fantazia upon one note* is no less convincing as a hilarious conceit, a practical joke, than as a contrapuntal *stravaganza* (the fact that it is beautifully copied on one opening of a single sheet, may imply that the score of the piece was shown among Purcell's colleagues prior to its binding into **30930**). Modern scholarship learnt to settle the extreme opposites in Purcell's output (for example his bawdy catches and his solemn anthems), and it is hoped that in time we may be able to understand the anatomy of more moderate and intellectual modes of entertainment which are essentially seventeenth-century and therefore not quite accessible to us. Milan Kundera, *Testaments Betrayed*, Linda Asher (trans.), (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1995), 62–4; Denis Stevens, 'Purcell's Art of Fantasia', 341; Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 75.

⁵⁹ Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 88.

On the one hand, addressing the above questions, even if most of them cannot be answered in any way other than hypothetically, is crucial for the study of Purcell's compositional technique. Choice of a specific arsenal of contrapuntal devices may be affected either directly or indirectly by the composer's social circle. The influence of the composer's audience (a circle of connoisseurs, an ever-growing amateur market for Italian-fashioned music, the court of an encouraging, even if not a picky, monarch), of the delicate balance of prestige among the musicians in the Chapel Royal (or Oxford) and the composer's own will to develop himself and refine his technique—all these can be seen as the primary factors in shaping the composer's compositional treatment of a musical genre. On the other hand, stretching straight lines between a composer's biography and his work became more dangerous in recent decades. From the middle of the twentieth century onwards, the question of intentional fallacy has been hovering above every critical study of art. In literature, the New Criticism (following Barthes and his oft-quoted *Death of the Author*) tried to argue for a work's independence of its author and against the innate fallacy of addressing the author's own intentions.⁶⁰

This last obstacle requires acknowledgement of the aspects characteristic of musical discourse in general, and of early music in particular. The creative processes traced in this study are distinctively musical; turning to the sister-art, literature, in order to refute the possibility of tracing technical-musical intentions, which has been summarised as 'rehears[ing...] the familiar epistemological impediments to learning what the composer's intentions were',⁶¹ draws the discussions to realms that are not necessarily at the heart of Baroque aesthetics. Indeed, intention in its strict sense ('That which is intended or purposed; a purpose, design') cannot be reconstructed without an explicit description made by the composer,⁶² but there may be a need to draw a distinction, however amusing such distinction would seem, between different levels of inability to engage with describing compositional intention. Intention, in composition, is one thing when criteria are the syntactical validity or invalidity of a musical complex of several

⁶⁰ Roland Barthes, 'La mort de l'auteur', *Manteia*, 5 (1968); published as 'The Death of the Author' in Barthes's *Image, Music, Text*, Stephen Heath (trans.), (New York: Fontana, 1977).

⁶¹ Richard Taruskin, 'On Letting the Music Speak for Itself', in Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 51–66 (53).

⁶² 'intention, n.⁵⁻⁶ *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. 1989. OED Online. Oxford University Press. 25 May 2010 <<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00181778>>.

imitative motifs, and another thing when the composer's intention is an extra-musical narrative (to choose but one aspect of the compositions of a composer such as Berlioz, who gave us abundant evidence of his intentions).⁶³

This duality of intention 'types' becomes more extreme as we go further back from common-practice composers to the renaissance but also further on to the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In the study of modern music, where obviously more documentation regarding composers' thinking is available, it seems that at least some discussion of intentionality is unavoidable. In cases where textual evidence is absent, analysts tend to evoke the dispute around the intentional fallacy (an idea which eventually was not completely accepted even in literary criticism) and, in relation to composers who were preoccupied with the technical side of composition (such as the second Viennese school) and with all measures of caution taken, encourage what Haimo calls 'type-one' statements (statements 'that [attempt] to describe how a composer put a work [...] together').⁶⁴ Back to the general problem of intentionality and its root in literary criticism, it seems to me that Barthes' own suggested solution—changing the term 'author' into 'scriptor'—highlights the particularity of the term that signifies the creator of the written musical artefact in western tradition—the composer. As long as the discussion remains within the boundaries of contrapuntal technique and in a musical style of which the compositional grammar is known to us, the study of the composer's intentions can, and should be, pursued.⁶⁵

A phrase which seems to serve as an alternative to 'compositional intention' and to enjoy better reputation among musicologists today is 'compositional choices'. In Purcellian literature, Holman used it for his critical examination of generic

⁶³ Paradoxically, the ability to reconstruct a composer's abstract musical considerations is stronger and yet defies translation into words; reconstructing a work's programme without the composer's own description is virtually impossible, although both the composer (who had a textual source of inspiration, either written or unwritten) and the commentator who reconstructs that programme, use words for that purpose.

⁶⁴ Haimo's article, very careful in reiterating its relevance to a specific repertoire, is in fact largely applicable also to early music, even if not to common-practice repertoire. Ethan Haimo, 'Atonality, Analysis and the Intentional Fallacy', *Music Theory Spectrum* 18 (1996): 167–99.

⁶⁵ The basic concept of composition grammar, as opposed to listening grammar, is presented in Fred Lerdahl, 'Cognitive Constraints on Compositional Systems', in *Generative Processes in Music*, John A. Sloboda (ed.), (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), 231–259.

considerations in the *Three Parts upon a Ground* Z.731.⁶⁶ The use of that term is indeed apt in relation to many renaissance and baroque genres, as it implies a concept of composition in which the creative process follows a chain of junctions, each of which contains a well-defined and often finite number of options, dictated by either convention or syntax, available for the composer to choose from, and for the analyst to reconstruct.

The first of Jonathan Harvey's three types of order that composers wish to express through their music is in fact also chronologically the first to have dominated western musical culture:

For some composers, order is primarily a technical issue: they are concerned with the ways in which applying particular restrictions can produce positive results, allowing them to choose from an otherwise chaotic multitude of compositional possibilities, thus producing music that is more disciplined.⁶⁷

Considering that the composer with whom he chose to demonstrate this type of thinking is Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971), Harvey's wording is naturally more modern and may clarify the issue from a twentieth-century point of view (Stravinsky's idea of chaos, or even Stravinsky's experience of music that he found chaotic, were undoubtedly different from Purcell's) but, in essence, this mode of composition is continuous throughout history. Taking for example Purcell's *In Nomine à 6* Z.746, one can explain many features of the work's structure as choices made from a list of options which can be partly reconstructed: the use of the specific plainsong; allocation of the plainsong to viol IV; the decision to use varying note durations for the plainsong instead of constant semibreves or breves (as Purcell chose in the *In Nomine à 7* Z.747); the division of the piece into three sections and the way these sections are articulated through the use of cadences; the choice of cadences and their particular variants; the choice of a suitable imitative subject for each section; going into greater detail, many small decisions regarding, for example, the treatment of dissonance, can be explained as deliberate choices made through considerations of seventeenth-century contrapuntal conventions. The plainsong of the *In Nomine* is the reason and the foremost restraint to be considered by the composer when making most of the decisions listed above and, on the surface, works with no plainsong seem not to limit the composer 'enough' to allow a choice-oriented

⁶⁶ Peter Holman, 'Compositional choices in Henry Purcell's *Three Parts upon a Ground*', *Early Music* 29/2 (2001): 251–61.

⁶⁷ Jonathan Harvey, *Music and Inspiration* (London: Faber and Faber, 1999), 129–30.

compositional process. However, analysis shows several interesting ways in which composers exchanged their unlimited freedom of intention with a limited list of choices also in works that are not based on a plainsong (these will be the main focus of chapters 3, 4 and 5). Thus, within a culture in which composers used formulae, the specific nature of how an individual chose to use formulae underlines the role of the individual choice. While the composer's intention is out of our reach, we can easily describe intentional aspects of the compositional process.

It is important to stress that this study will emphasise choices made by the composer in relation to the horizontal dimension in music. Unlike the study of harmony, over which great disagreements still exist, there seems to be a consensus regarding the rudiments of contrapuntal writing (which intervals are dissonant, how these should be approached and resolved etc.) and, detached from the Schenkerian overemphasis of the linear aspect in analysis of nineteenth-century music, those rudiments can be used as a means of explaining the compositional process in earlier repertoires much more efficiently than in the music of the nineteenth century. Some of the reasons for that will be outlined below.

THE EARLY MUSIC MOVEMENT AND ITS ANALYTICAL IMPLICATIONS

The gap in the bibliographical outline given above, between Tilmouth's 1959 article and Holman's 1994 monograph, serves to highlight the particulars of what happened in between—a period of the same length as the composer's life which was not at all a hiatus in the scholarly writing on Purcell. Rather the contrary: the three decades between the two tercentenaries saw abundance of articles in periodicals and several books which are considered, to this day, the foundations of any Purcell study. The most important of these are three studies written by Franklin B. Zimmerman: Purcell's biography, a thematic catalogue and a guide to research.⁶⁸ Of prime significance was the completion of the Purcell Society Edition in 1965 (when the society also had started its first phase of revisions which continues to this day). However, the reason behind the gap in the present author's account is twofold: first, no large-scale monograph about Purcell's *music* saw light during that period; second, during that period modern audiences' experience of Restoration music suffered a radical sea-change which had also a great effect on Purcell scholars. While Purcell has been ever-present in British culture ever since the 1690s, only a very limited portion of his output (*Dido and Aeneas* and few excerpts from dramatic works, several anthems, and independent songs) was being heard in public. In 1959, it was still the efforts of individuals that brought Purcell to the modern concert hall, the clearest example being Benjamin Britten who, in editing and in performance, was leading the promotion of Purcell's music from the mid-1940s. The change during the 1960s was through a surprising acceleration in the rise of the 'early music revival', and specifically the growing popularity of the movement widely known as 'authentic performance' or the 'historically informed performance'. Purcell's role in the early music movement and the role of the early music movement in Purcell's reception have not yet been retrospectively examined, and even if the present study's

⁶⁸ Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell: His Life and Times*; Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell 1659–1695: An Analytical Catalogue of His Music*; Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell: A Guide to Research* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1989); also Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell, 1659–1695: melodic and intervallic indexes to his complete works* (Philadelphia: Smith-Edwards-Dunlap, 1975), which complements the analytical catalogue.

scope does not allow more than a short digression, it seems necessary to highlight this mutual influence.

The authentic performance movement constitutes one of the most significant changes in the musical history of the twentieth century. The clashes between the two worldviews, on the one hand the traditional 'common practice' with its emphasis on German classicism and romanticism and on the other the revisionist view of 'authentic' performance, attempting to contextualize and understand the culture of distant times and places, happened on many occasions. But the process, in which 'the single development tradition of classical music [had] broken down',⁶⁹ brought two major changes relevant to Purcell's reception process and to the analysis of his music.

The first change is particular to the study of Henry Purcell, and concerns the composer's unique place in the agenda of the early music movement. Andrew Pinnock describes how for two hundred years British admiration of Purcell, largely rooted in the observations of Charles Burney (1726–1814) and the Purcell cult he propagated, was 'uncritical' (Pinnock's italics).⁷⁰ Other modern writers, central to Purcell's later reception process, and even those who were acquainted enough with the composer's music not to need Burney's mediation were often biased all the more: first and foremost of those is Peter Warlock (1894–1930), who '[felt] most strongly that the people of this country [i.e. Britain] should only get their instruction in Bach, Haydn and Mozart after they are thoroughly acquainted with their own giants'.⁷¹ Until the rise of the early music movement, continental discussion of Purcell was often second-hand and even the English writing on Purcell tried to impose the composer on the German-centred narrative and 'invent' his place in it;⁷² and this may explain some of the curiosities mentioned earlier, such as the nickname 'Dorian' for an ordinary cantus-mollis piece. Another borrowing of an accepted 'German' narrative-type should also be mentioned

⁶⁹ Nicholas Kenyon (ed.), *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 2.

⁷⁰ Andrew Pinnock, 'The Purcell Phenomenon' in *The Purcell Companion*, Michael Burden (ed.), (London: Faber and Faber, 1995), 3–17 (10); A more extensive discussion of the national character of Purcell's reception is in Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice,' 14–39.

⁷¹ Philip Heseltine (Reginald Coverdale), 'A Nursery for Purcell?' in *The Occasional Writings of Philip Heseltine (Peter Warlock)*, vol. 2: Early Music, ed. Barry Smith (London: Thames, 1998), 43.

⁷² Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice,' 25, 36, 39.

here: explaining Daniel Purcell's relationship with Frances Purcell in terms of Maximilian Stadler and Constanze Mozart's relationship,⁷³ and the back-projection of the Haydn-Mozart relationship—an old teacher who encourages his prodigious pupil, is then influenced by him and outlives him—on Blow and Purcell. Blow's giving his place as organist in Westminster Abbey to the younger prodigy, as other acts of generosity on Blow's side or the deep respect Purcell showed to his senior's music, were easily adapted to the familiar lines of Haydn and Mozart's mutual respect. Bruce Wood (not only a Purcellian but also an active Blow scholar) deals with this relationship of the two composers on several occasions in his recent monograph on Purcell. With a simple examination of chronology and manuscript evidence he convincingly outlines the borders of this friendship with and describes a relationship which is maybe less heroic than that of the two Viennese composers, but probably also more fitting to the unique scenery of Restoration England. Even the enigmatic inscription on the Cfm 88 (see above) receives a probable down-to-earth explanation, and so the process of demystifying Purcell is an important feature in today's scholarship.⁷⁴ However, during the 1960s and 70s Purcell's status of a British national hero became meaningful outside Britain for the first time via British predominance in the early music movement—a predominance reflected in the number of active ensembles in the country,⁷⁵ in the first (and for many years, the only) peer-reviewed periodical dedicated to the study of early music as a performed repertoire,⁷⁶ festivals and recording activity. This resulted in the formation of three main directions in Purcellian research: (i) the traditional interest in the composer's biography, heavily influenced by German romanticism along the lines mentioned above, and two additional streams which thrived from the 1960s onwards—(ii) the study of performance practice and (iii) the study of the historical, social and musical backgrounds of Purcell's time and of the generation before him and, although in many cases without losing eyesight with Purcell as the focal point and through attempt to understand *his* world, certainly with occasional drifts into an in-depth study of 'lesser' figures.

⁷³ Michael Tilmouth (ed.), *Ten Sonatas of Four Parts*, NPS7 (Sevenoaks: Novello, 1981), xi.

⁷⁴ Wood, *Purcell: An Extraordinary Life*, 66–67.

⁷⁵ In relation to baroque music, British enthusiasm over authentic performance resulted in the foundation of several full-size orchestras: The Academy of Ancient Music (est. 1972), The English Concert (est. 1973) and The English Baroque Soloists (est. 1978).

⁷⁶ *Early Music*, first published 1973.

The first attempts to incorporate performance practice as a significant component of the Purcellian scholarly agenda can be seen in Imogen Holst's *Henry Purcell 1659–1695: Essays on His Music*, where not only Donington's essay deals first-hand with the practicalities of performance, but also those by other contributors—Britten, Pears, Tippett and Downes were all performers and composers—gave the collection its performance-oriented character, even though some of the subjects, such as 'On Realizing the Continuo in Purcell's songs', were to undergo radical change in mindset.⁷⁷ However, the substantial difference between such initial attempts and those of twenty years later, when early music became also a commercial success, was that later studies were immediately adopted by performers and received a new audience in the form of concertgoers, but even more—CD buyers and radio listeners—a tight and unprecedented bond between scholars and between the commercial record-industry was created. Thus Robert King's recording of Purcell's complete anthems reflects Peter Holman's hypothesis regarding the pitch standard in the Chapel Royal (a'=466), and Harry Christophers' and Martin Neary's recordings of the Music for Queen Mary's funeral followed Bruce Wood's research into the piece.⁷⁸ A fleeting remark in Van Tassel's study of the recordings of Purcell's sacred music, referring to the freer approach practiced by the conductor Graham O'Reilly, suggests that the latter's distance from London allowed him to rethink British scholarly preconceptions of the instrumentation of Purcell's continuo group.⁷⁹ In agreement with what Van Tassel implied, it can still be seen today that the influence of Purcell scholarship affects mainly British performers. It is therefore fascinating, even if not surprising, to see how two major-label recordings of *Dido and Aeneas* from the last decade which make use of wind instruments, probably unlike the forces of the original performance in Josias Priest's boarding school,⁸⁰ have been recorded by continental, and more specifically—French, conductors.⁸¹ British

⁷⁷ Imogen Holst (ed.), *Henry Purcell 1659–1695: Essays on his Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).

⁷⁸ Eric Van Tassel, 'Purcell's Sacred Music on Record—II', *Early Music* 24/1 (Feb., 1996): 79–92 (80, 89).

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁸⁰ Ellen T. Harris, *Henry Purcell's Dido and Aeneas* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 7.

⁸¹ Purcell, *Dido and Aeneas*, Le Concert d'Astrée, Emanuelle Haïm (conductor), compact disc Virgin 5 45605 2, 2004; Purcell, *Dido and Aeneas*, Le Concert Spirituel, Hervé Niquet (conductor) compact disc Glossa GCD 921601, 2001.

musicology took its bond with performers seriously and conferences were held with awareness of the 'the disastrous results of uninformed and historically insensitive performance'.⁸²

Regarding the third stream, that of establishing the background to the study of Purcell, it is interesting to note how some effort is constantly concentrated under the heading 'Purcell's London', a fact which is significant for two seemingly opposite factors—both the focus on the city rather than its central musical figure and the identification of the city with Purcell rather than with a historical period-defining event such as the Restoration.⁸³ Similar to Adams' preoccupation with the net of influences operating on Purcell, other tercentenary publications were focused on Purcell's contemporaries: Michael Burden's *Purcell Companion* contains an entire section titled 'Backgrounds' dealing with the musicians, locals and foreigners, who surrounded him as well as an additional chapter on the theatrical background; Price's *Purcell Studies* contains more specific studies of Purcell's connections with Blow and with a few lesser figures (Roseingrave, John Reading) as well as a comprehensive study of Purcell's acquaintance with older generations' music as reflected in his manuscript book Cfm MS 88.⁸⁴ This tendency had begun earlier in the development of the early music movement, as

⁸² Andrew Pinnock, whose original methodologies do not fall easily into any of the three research categories in question, outlined this relationship and interdependence between scholars and performers in a tercentenary article. Contrary to his argument that performers prefer not to work with expensive scholarly editions, the present author has observed the opposite in the case of Purcell's Chacony Z.730, where a wrong reading originating in the Purcell Society Edition found its way into the great majority of historically-informed recordings available today. This is despite the fact that other commercial publication houses suggest editions which are better designed for performers and in which the smaller number of collated sources does not necessarily compromise the quality of the text. A good example is the *Eulenburg* edition which sometimes employs editors who are also members of the Purcell Society and easily avoid some of traditional policies of the Purcell Society Edition such as the addition of a continuo realisation. Emma Dillon, 'Purcell Conference', *Early Music* 22/3 (Aug., 1994), 533–5; Andrew Pinnock, 'Fairest Isle™: Land of the Scholar-Kings', *Early Music* 23/4 (Nov., 1995): 651–65. Alon Schab, 'On the Ground and off: a comparative study of two Purcell Chaconnes', *The Musical Times* (Autumn 2010): 47–57 (56–57).

⁸³ The two tercentenary issues of *Early Music* (November 1995 and February 1996) were titled *Music in Purcell's London I* and *II* respectively; this was also the title of a recent study-day of the Purcell Society (4/10/2008); Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*; "'Music in Purcell's London": A Study Day at the British Library', *Early Music Performer* 23 (March 2009): 21–2.

⁸⁴ Curtis Alexander Price (ed.), *Purcell Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). *The Purcell Companion*, Michael Burden (ed.), (London: Faber and Faber, 1995).

reflected in several monographs, most of them dealing with Purcell's theatre music: Price's *Purcell and the London Stage* with its wealth of background regarding Purcell's actors, singers and playwrights, and Harris' study of *Dido and Aeneas*.⁸⁵ A further step was made in 2008, when the Purcell Society embarked on the publication of the *Purcell Companion Series*, an edition of works which are known to have had significant influence on Purcell's artistic development. The subtext of the companion series is evident from the choice of works published in its first two volumes and the underlying statement therein: in order to contextualize *Dioclesian* one must be acquainted with Grabu's *Albion and Albanus*; in order to contextualize *Dido and Aeneas* one must be acquainted with Blow's *Venus and Adonis*. This is but another manifestation of the view stated by Pinnock in his aforementioned article that 'Scholar-editors ought to be cracking on with our English "lesser" lights'.⁸⁶ The same tendency is reflected also in the *Musica Britannica* series. Founded in 1951, and with the exception of its 1953 first volume dedicated to Blow's anthems, *Musica Britannica* started publishing the music of the Restoration period, namely the music of Matthew Locke, Pelham Humphrey and John Blow, only in 1971; some of those eleven volumes were edited by the same scholars who lead Purcell research (and even the Purcell Society), such as Michael Tilmouth and Bruce Wood, a fact which simultaneously hints at Purcellians' interest in the composer's predecessors and contemporaries, and at the growth and enrichment of the background to the study of Henry Purcell's life and works.

With all these advancements of the early music movement in mind, Burney's account reads as if it almost predicted the necessary conditions for Purcell's revival—the conditions which were to ripen nearly two hundred years later: the wealth of recordings which conserve the 'perishable materials' of music and, more than that, the rise of 'those who make themselves acquainted with the state of Music previous to the time in which he flourished'—those who are to be the only ones who can fairly estimate Purcell's genius.⁸⁷ Burney claimed that

⁸⁵ Curtis Alexander Price, *Purcell and the London Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Ellen T. Harris, *Henry Purcell's Dido and Aeneas*.

⁸⁶ Andrew Pinnock, 'Fairest Isle™: Land of the Scholar-Kings', 664.

⁸⁷ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, Vol. 3 (London, 1789), 485, [493] (incorrectly numbered in the edition as 483).

so much is our great musician's celebrity already consigned to tradition, that it will soon be as difficult to find his songs, or, at least to *hear* them, as those of his predecessors, Orpheus and Amphion, with which Cerebrus was lulled to sleep, or the city of Thebes constructed.⁸⁸

This insight may now be seen as a self-aware, if not a cynical, reference to the way in which the composer's cult in its classical, most refined, manifestation is purely allegorical and empty of musical substance.

The second change brought along by the rise of early music from the 1960s onwards is in itself a subject rich enough for full-scale research and it refers more generally to the analytical apparatus applied to music and to the ways in which it changed in order to fit earlier repertoires and different analytical aims. The growth of the early music movement and the way in which music, that was being studied for years yet remained unperformed, became a part of concert life and recording catalogues gave a counter-balance to a performing tradition preoccupied with music written within the time span of about one hundred and fifty years. Analysis-wise, this meant that the traditional analytical tools, developed to answer very specific questions regarding music of a limited period, had to be revised and that the status of ideas, such as organicism, that stood at the heart of 'common practice' aesthetics had to be re-evaluated and sometimes replaced. As we shall see, the comments of Rameau, made just thirty or so years after Purcell's death, indicate an important shift in perceptions of the relationship between the vertical and horizontal aspects of music, and this must be taken into account when pushing the boundaries of the analytical scopes back from Viennese classicism to baroque, renaissance and medieval repertoires.

It is interesting that the first generations of the early music revival, even those before the strive for authenticity swept the concert and recording market in the 1980s, was dominated by composers: Mendelssohn (1809–1847), Brahms (1833–1897), d'Indy (1851–1931), Respighi (1879 – 1936) and Stravinsky, to name but few. Composers, with their typical curiosity towards the technique of their predecessors, served as an important catalyst of the study of earlier compositional technique, although this has been done outside the analytical mainstream of the universities, either in institutions such as the Schola Cantorum in Paris and the Schola Cantorum Baseliensis, or in private study. It is also not surprising that composers such as Safford Cape (1906–73) not only

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 485. Italics are Burney's.

led performance groups but also testified that the lack of performance groups was an obstacle in their research into earlier compositional technique.⁸⁹ Changes in the questions that analysis aims to answer form the most substantial difference in the writing on Purcell's music from the 1980s; the emphasis on source studies and its implications for the study of the compositional process are directly indebted to analytical trends that stem from the early music movement, a short outline of which may prove useful for the present study.

The *Genius* is one the main concepts of romantic aesthetics, and analysis, a discipline born and raised in the light of German romanticism, was preoccupied with the work of the genius—the masterpiece—ever since. The transition from the earlier usage of the term genius to its Romantic usage, according to Edward Lewinsky, is in the middle of the eighteenth century, especially in the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) and Denis Diderot (1713–1781), the latter being the first to have used the term for a type of person rather than for a person's creative power.⁹⁰ The earlier use of the term genius (or the Latin *ingenium* or French *génie*), used for denoting one's creative power was extensive during the seventeenth century, although precedents are to be found much earlier, accompanying what Lewinsky calls the 'complete reorientation of music' in the Renaissance.⁹¹ The *ingenium* and *génie* became vital components of the world views of those writers who shaped seventeenth- and eighteenth-century thinking about music such as Athanasius Kircher (1601–80) and Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764), of Burney and the first music historians, and of lesser figures such as Roger North (1653–1734), who nonetheless was personally acquainted with Purcell and provides invaluable first-hand information about the composer.⁹² Abstract discussions of the nature of genius and its implications on creative powers were probably alien to Purcell. For him, as for his contemporaries, genius probably meant other things: for John Dryden (1631–1700), uses of the term ranged from a reference to appetite to what the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines as

⁸⁹ Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 60.

⁹⁰ Edward E. Lewinsky, 'Musical Genius: Evolution and Origins of a Concept', in Edward E. Lewinsky, *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, Bonnie J. Blackburn (ed.), Volume 1 (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 40–66 (42–9).

⁹¹ Lewinsky, 'Musical Genius: Evolution and Origins of a Concept', 50.

⁹² Lewinsky, 'Musical Genius: Evolution and Origins of a Concept', 45–6.

[A] quasi-mythologic personification of something immaterial (e.g. of a virtue, a custom, an institution), esp. as portrayed in painting or sculpture. Hence *transf.* a person or thing fit to be taken as an embodied type of (some abstract idea).⁹³

This last use is of great relevance to the way in which Purcell may have perceived the term as it recurs in his great collaboration with Dryden in *King Arthur*. In relation to Purcell's posthumous glory, the word genius was applied to his gift in setting English texts, no later than 1698.⁹⁴

It is no coincidence that the transition from the early genius to the romantic resonated sympathetically with the end of what is loosely referred to as Baroque, the period most identified with early music performance in its first steps. The transition also overlapped with a change in the ideals of craftsmanship in Western composition. In the current edition of *Grove*, the entry on analysis offers the following reference to the way in which the romantic view of the genius dictated the course of analytical study:

In reality the analyst works with the preconceptions of his culture, age and personality. Thus the preoccupation which the 19th century had with the nature of 'genius' led to the phrasing of the initial question not as 'How does it work?' but as 'What makes this great?', and this remained the initial question for some analytical traditions in the 20th century. Since the 'scientific', comparative method was predominant over evaluation in such traditions, and since only works of genius possessed the quality of structural coherence, it followed that comparison of a work with an idealized model of structure or process produced a measure of its greatness.⁹⁵

This brief account touches on the same point made by Joseph Kerman, who criticised the American protocol of analysis, saying that while it claims to exclude subjective judgment, the choice of examined subjects is steeped with value judgment.⁹⁶ Kerman also emphasizes that analysis, despite being a critical discipline in its outset, became a

⁹³ 'genius', *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. 1989. OED Online. Oxford University Press. 25 May 2010 <<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00181778>>.

⁹⁴ Henry Playford (ed.), *Orpheus Britannicus: A Collection of all the choicest Songs for one, two, and three voices compos'd by Mr. Henry Purcell* (London: Henry Playford, 1698), iii.

⁹⁵ Ian D. Bent and Anthony Pople, 'Analysis' in *Grove Music Online* (<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.elib.tcd.ie/subscriber/article/grove/music/41862#S41862>> accessed 02/11/2009).

⁹⁶ Joseph Kerman, 'How We Got into Analysis, and How to Get Out', *Critical Inquiry* 7 (Winter 1980): 311–31 (313).

tool with which analysts paradoxically try 'to articulate the concept of organicism, which in turn exists as the value system of the ideology.'⁹⁷

Although with some generalisation and simplification involved, it is possible to claim that the early music movement did not manage to inflate Purcell's minor place in the narrative of the common practice which still governs modern academies and universities' syllabuses in harmony and counterpoint, at least in the Anglo-American world.⁹⁸ A good example can be observed in what is arguably the most widely-disseminated harmony textbook, Aldwell and Schacter's *Harmony and Voice Leading*.⁹⁹ Though seemingly loyal to their self-imposed boundaries from the preface—the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries¹⁰⁰—the authors do summon earlier masters in some cases, and examine earlier works. In most of those cases, the examples are brought to demonstrate extensive, if not excessive, use of a certain harmonic device. One example, from Johann Kuhnau's *Biblische Historien* (1700), is presented for its use of a mere two chords, all tonic and dominant;¹⁰¹ the other is from Guillaume Dufay's *Ave Maris Stella*, whose fauxbourdon dictates large-scale movement in parallel sixth-three chords.¹⁰² Even with all lip-service being paid (Kuhnau's is 'a curious and unusual procedure', Dufay's excerpt 'bears witness to the fact that the use of parallel 6/3 chords is a very old technique, dating back to the early Renaissance'),¹⁰³ the representation of baroque and renaissance works as exemplars of the embryonic stage of ideas which were to be developed and refined by later masters perpetuates the common-practice's view of the romantic genius and its place in music education. The sole example from Purcell in the book (reproduced in Illustration 1.3)¹⁰⁴ is questionable for other reasons,

⁹⁷ Kerman, 'How we got to music analysis', 318.

⁹⁸ To a large extent, no late seventeenth-century composer has been promoted to hold a significant role in that narrative, even those whose music started to be recorded more and more often such as Lully, Buxtehude, Carissimi or Alessandro Scarlatti.

⁹⁹ Edward Aldwell and Carl Schachter, *Harmony and Voice Leading*, 3rd edn (Belmont: Thomson Learning—Schirmer, 2003).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, xi.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 83–4.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 290–1.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 84, 291.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 543.

namely the issue of whether the excerpt from *Dido and Aeneas* truly represents a mixture of minor dominant (v) as the authors claim, or it is in fact a minor tonic (f).

As always, the coin has two sides: the first analytical studies of Purcell were steeped with common-practice aesthetics and aims. Tilmouth's article, discussed earlier as a watershed marking the rise of writing influenced by early music performance, is an interesting example of that. While it is still one of the most thorough and profound essays on Purcell's Sonatas, and despite the many views it shares with the later monograph by Adams, comparison of the two author's motivations tells us that Tilmouth still belonged to an earlier generation with a more conservative agenda. Tilmouth's point of departure is rather clear:

That Purcell was aware of the problem of establishing organic unity in extended forms is shown by the frequency with which he resorts to the use of the ground bass, but this is not his only solution to the problem, as is sometimes suggested. Greatness in music has manifested itself more often in a superior handling of conventional forms and material than in conceptions of wild originality. [...] In adopting the forms of his age, he accorded them an individual and suggestive treatment which marks his superiority over his contemporaries.¹⁰⁵

The attempt to find, through the study of the Sonatas, how Purcell handled large-scale musical form is wholly different from Adams' motivation. Adopting Bent and Pople's view from their joint *Grove* article cited above, one can say that the early music movement changed Tilmouth's question—what (despite the composer's inability to create a convincing large-scale form) makes it great?—to Adams's question, or questions: a wide palette of inquiries into the stylistic context of the music, the composer's stylistic priorities, and the ways in which the interplay between the two is reflected in Purcell's work. In the preface of his book, Adams explicitly refers to the two decades prior to the publication of the book (roughly 1975–95), claiming that during that time, several misconceptions regarding stylistic influence on and chronology of Purcell's works had evolved. For Adams, the measure required for rectifying these misconceptions was to draw distinctions 'between levels and kinds of compositional development and influence.'¹⁰⁶ The difference between the two scholars' motivations is a significant one. Proper treatment of compositional style and of compositional

¹⁰⁵ Tilmouth, 'The Technique and forms of Purcell's Sonatas', 109.

¹⁰⁶ Adams, *Henry Purcell*, ix.

influences could not have been conducted on the masterpiece of the genius; it required the extensive study of the composer's background, the unearthing of lesser composers, and a better understanding of the mundane aspects of his life.

As mentioned before, the monographs by Holman and Adams were followed by an increase in the study of Purcell's compositional process and methods, an increase which required an apparatus different from that of traditional analysis, and different from Tilmouth's or Adams'. This apparatus was developed mainly in the study of earlier composers. Pushing the chronological borders of performed music backwards, and the formation of ensembles specializing in medieval and renaissance music, had a dominant role in the encouragement of research into the composer's creative process, which was initially perceived as a field in which the conclusions are general and historical, and in which the study of a single piece was an exception.¹⁰⁷ It is possible that the growing acquaintance with medieval and renaissance music, created under well-defined stylistic criteria and sometimes with an exposed compositional aid such as a *cantus firmus*, encouraged the understanding of the limitations within which composers exercised their creative freedom and the reconstruction of their creative process. Even if crucial questions regarding medieval and renaissance compositional technique still remain open (the nature of pre-compositional calculations, the roles of musical memory and memory-aids such the erasable *cartella* in performing such calculations), the relevance of these questions (compared to their irrelevance in relation to nineteenth- and twentieth-century composers) posed new challenges to musicologists in the second half of the twentieth century.

Thus, alongside radically changing the layout of performing material (a move towards original rhythmic values, the tendency to keep original instrumentation for revived instruments, and the omission of basso continuo realisations), and offering substitutes to the foundations on which common-practice style is based (tuning, temperament, tonality), the early music movement made a substantial change in the image of the genius-composer. Biographies of newly-discovered composers had to be written without the aid of Romantic legends and, with only the composers' works as their character witnesses, study of the compositional process became the sole medium

¹⁰⁷ Mark Everist (ed.), *Models of Musical Analysis: Music before 1600* (London: Blackwell, 1992), viii.

through which some aspect of a composer's personality was accessible.¹⁰⁸ While the development of the organicist masterpiece in the hands of a genius could be commented upon but not understood nor explained and hence the traditional reluctance to study it, the removal of the composer from the pedestal allowed the asking of questions about the composer's chain of thought.¹⁰⁹ Naturally, this was not an easy change to apply to music that was already accepted and appreciated in the traditional way, for example late baroque. Robert Marshall commented, in the introduction to the study of Bach's working drafts, that

an empirically oriented era of humanistic scholarship like the present one is reluctant to be drawn into the seemingly metaphysical realms of genius, inspiration, fantasy, and so on, which seem to belong more properly in the domain of the psychologist if not that of the poet and philosopher.¹¹⁰

Marshall might well have found his views to be somewhat of wishful thinking with the reactions to the risky attempts of Ulrich Siegele to reconstruct (without working drafts to serve as evidence) the order of composition in Bach's C minor fugue (WTC I, 2). One review of this work claimed that the attempt is 'the height of pretentious folly',¹¹¹ and yet it seems that a Bach analysis is more prone to suffer criticism than speculations

¹⁰⁸ Only recently authors on Purcell started to give up retelling Hawkins' story about his wife's proactive role in his death, locking him out in a cold November night. This is an evident feature of a biography with little factual basis to work with.

¹⁰⁹ Beethoven, the ultimate misunderstood genius, was the main subject of such studies and Mozart's scant use of working drafts highlighted their 'irrelevance' all the more. Characteristic comment on the impossibility of reconstructing the chronological process of composition is by Schenker's most influential disciple, Felix Salzer:

It should be unnecessary to point out that all these explanations in no way indicate the chronological order of composing. This never can be made the subject of a theory of composition.

Felix Salzer, *Structural Hearing: Tonal Coherence in Music*, Vol. 1, 2nd edn (New York: Dover, 1962), 23.

¹¹⁰ Robert Lewis Marshall, *The Compositional Process of J. S. Bach: A Study of the Autograph Scores of the Vocal Works*, Vol. 1, The Princeton Studies in Music, No. 4, (Princeton University Press, 1972), vii.

¹¹¹ Ulrich Siegele, 'The Four Conceptual Stages of the Fugue in C Minor, WTC I' in, *Bach Studies*, Don O. Franklin (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 197–224; Richard Jones, Review of *Bach Studies*, Don O. Franklin (ed.), *Music & Letters* 71/3 (Aug., 1990): 387–391 (388).

regarding other composers.¹¹² Therefore, going back to medieval and renaissance music seems to have been an essential step. Leech-Wilkinson, who dealt extensively with composition process, concentrated on Guillaume de Machaut (c1300–1377), a composer from an era with very few surviving sources on compositional technique. While attacking basic modern assumptions such as medieval composers' dependence on 'successive composition', Leech-Wilkinson could ask:

Is it conceivable that a composer of the calibre of Machaut was unable to imagine a piece of music; that, rather, he had to assemble it a line at a time according to a set of rules [...] in the hope that the result would sound acceptable?¹¹³

For late-twentieth century musicologists the choice of this new kind of research subject, a composer so distant from our age as to allow a debate over questions so fundamental (was the composer able to 'hear vertically' or did he have an 'inner ear' at all), was an inevitable stage. However, even without having a satisfying answer as to the role played by 'successive composition' in the creative role of earlier composers, the primacy of horizontal considerations needs little proof, and these considerations, by way of rigid limitations of voice-leading and dissonance treatment, are relatively easy to trace.

The question to what extent we can rely on earlier composers' preference for horizontal thinking, compared to later composers' dependence on the vertical aspect, is as dangerous as stretching a chronological borderline between periods in history, which is generally condemned as a simplistic deed; however, some of the writings of the abovementioned intellectuals of the enlightenment form a significant pivot between two compositional mindsets, the earlier of which gives in more easily to analysis of compositional process. The implied question—is there a fundamental change in

¹¹² For example, a similar speculative reconstruction of a composer's working method can be seen in Davies' analysis of Webern's Bagatelles. Davies opens his article with a short seven-stage process which, rhetorically, is far more provocative than Siegele. However, deeply aware of the problems of intentionalism (as reflected in his literature list), he puts a witty motto from Dostoyevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*: 'But here it is not possible to prove anything; it is, however, possible to be convinced'. It is worth noticing that Davies' rhetoric tries to distance itself from the common analytical protocol; the article opens with the sentence '*Imagine* that you decide to write a string quartet' [my italics]. This license is perhaps the essential difference between the accepted in Bach studies and the study of the music of Anton Webern. Benjamin K. Davies, 'The Structuring of Tonal Space in Webern's Six Bagatelles for String Quartet, Op. 9', *Music Analysis* 26/i-ii (2007): 25–58.

¹¹³ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, 'Machaut's Rose, Lis and the Problem of Early Music Analysis', *Music Analysis* 3 (1984): 9–28 (10).

compositional technique around Bach's time to correspond to early music's inclination towards the study of compositional process?—requires further discussion. Let us refer to one of Rameau's opening statements in his *Treatise on Harmony* (1722), that

Music is generally divided into harmony and melody, but we shall show in the following that the latter is merely a part of the former and that a knowledge of harmony is sufficient for a complete understanding of all the properties of music.¹¹⁴

This almost provocative remark prioritizes harmony on the expense of melody and, by extension, also on the primary skill of composition to that day—counterpoint—which was driven by melodic considerations. This is nothing less than a break from the traditional western concept of composition. By comparison, the entry 'Composition' in *Grove*, out of an attempt to embrace western and non-western views of the term, dedicates the first five of its eight chapters to general, non-western composition, and the first chapter to deal with specifically western composition is entitled 'Counterpoint', meaning that the simultaneous combination of horizontal layers is still perceived as the basis of the definition of western composition. Rameau's apparent rejection of this fundament is a moment of crisis; it undermined the basic manifestation of counterpoint of the three hundred years that preceded him—the imitative presentation of a defined melodic material; the general decline of canon, fugue and *al rovescio* techniques from the second half of the eighteenth century can be attributed to the change in compositional craft rather than in taste.¹¹⁵ Rudolph Réti, whose organicist views are at the heart of his ground-breaking *The Thematic Process in Composition*, explicitly describes a change in compositional technique of motif treatment, from contrapuntal to thematic (Réti's terminology), and suggests Haydn as the 'inventor' of this new technique.¹¹⁶ Thus, even

¹¹⁴ Jean Phillip Rameau, *Treatise on Harmony*, Phillip Gossett (trans.), (New-York: Dover, 1971), 3.

¹¹⁵ In that sense, the Romantic definition of the Classical style as revolving around Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven did little to reveal the general dislike of formal counterpoint among the audiences of that era. Writing music history around Haydn's Op. 20, Mozart's 'Jupiter' and Beethoven's Op. 110 offered a continuous lineage stretching from Bach to Brahms which may have appealed to the Germanic nature of early twentieth-century musicology, but is hardly indicative of late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century mainstream in the concert hall, on the opera stage and, through piano transcriptions, also in the living room.

¹¹⁶ It is important to remark that Réti himself states that the names contrapuntal and thematic are entirely inaccurate. Rudolph Réti, *The Thematic Process in Music* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951), 56–62.

if Réti's terminology focuses on a different aspect of the change in compositional skill (thematic organicism), it still refers to a watershed which occurred around the same time.

This view proved influential also outside musicological research. Milan Kundera vividly describes the two distinct epochs as the two halves of a soccer game, and even identifies a halftime break between Bach's *The Art of Fugue* and the earliest Classical composers. This 'caesura', according to Kundera, is rooted in an aesthetic necessity in the historic rhythm of both western music and the western novel—both arts 'contained two different potentialities [...] that could not be worked out at the same time, in parallel, but could be worked out only successively, one after the other'.¹¹⁷ The radical changes in these potentialities (in all aspects of eighteenth-century music: philosophical, theoretical, practical and in means of compositional technique) are manifested in the music and written texts of three major figures of the enlightenment—Haydn, Diderot and Rameau respectively—and can, at least partly, explain how the study of compositional process found more support among early music scholars, and diverted some of the focus from source studies to analysis of possible ways in which the composer's invention unfolded hierarchically.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Milan Kundera, *Testaments Betrayed*, 59.

¹¹⁸ For that matter, Stevens' imaginative biographical sketch of **30930** is not essentially different from Shay and Thompson's accurate reports on its pagination and ruling, but quite different to Alan Howard's analyses of Purcell's music by Howard, following earlier examples of John Milsom or Lawrence Dreyfus in the study of other composers' music).

COMPOSITIONAL CHOICES: PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

It is almost impossible to isolate, on a generic basis, a single group of Purcell's works that will require, or better say allow, a specific analytical apparatus. Whereas the historical-generic study of Purcell's Sonatas requires acquaintance with several generations of sonata composers in the same way that the study of his anthems requires looking back to Jacobean and even to Elizabethan traditions, the analytical study of Purcell's procedures of strict imitation must touch on a wide spectrum of genres—not only the 'speculative' fantasias but also motets, theatre choruses, organ voluntaries and even catches. However, whenever the texture in Purcell's music is imitation-driven, Purcell's idiom is thematically more economical than his contemporaries' and, as in the music of earlier seventeenth-century composers, the transparency with which it layers polyphonic complexity allows one to isolate its compositional building blocks: to divide a movement into the different imitative sections of which it is comprised; to understand each section by means of a skeleton, largely based on one to three motifs, surrounded by secondary material; to identify the recurring, and most-likely pre-planned, *stretto* complexes in each skeleton. Thus, we can understand Purcell's imitative style via a study of procedures, applied to well-defined material—the logical hierarchy of ideas is more important than the nominal order of events.¹¹⁹

This may be illustrated with an analysis of an excerpt from Purcell's E minor Sonata Z.796 (Illustration 1.4). This analysis demonstrates the value of tracing compositional processes that are rarely applied to post-baroque repertoire, by virtue of the clarity with which it exposes how basic voice-leading considerations dictate surface manifestations of counterpoint in earlier repertoire, and in Purcell's music in particular. This movement, being one of the most complicated contrapuntal movements in the 1683 set, will serve as a backdrop for some of the complexities that will be discussed in the next chapters, and therefore be revisited later.

¹¹⁹ This definition is based on Dreyfus, who phrases it on the negative to attack Adolf Bernhard Marx's approach to analysis. Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention*, 27–8.

This piece epitomises one of the most common contrapuntal techniques from ca. 1550–1800: the use of a prescribed combination of subjects, or of several entries of the same subject—a complex—which may have been devised by the composer for this specific instance, or may be a well-recognised pattern. As is the case with many other practical aspects of composition, very little has been written on this device in renaissance and baroque treatises, but the careful planning of contrapuntal complexes which facilitate triple invertible counterpoint and *stretto* entries pervades Purcell’s instrumental music in its entirety. Complexes underlie the infrastructure of many sections in Purcell’s Fantazias, and in the Sonatas mainly in the canzona movements and the opening movements (referred to as *Stirnsätze* by Wessely-Kropik)¹²⁰ as is the case with the examined excerpt. Unlike the opening movement of the first Sonata from the 1683 set (Z.790) which, as Howard showed, uses one basic complex,¹²¹ here Purcell uses several complexes with no commitment to a single invertible one.

When commenting on this movement of Sonata Z.796, Tilmouth argued that ‘it is in movements of this type, rather than in the canzonas, that the influence of the fantasia is most strongly felt’. Tilmouth does not explain this remark explicitly (he rather inserts a musical illustration, the first eight bars, as a proof), but it can be inferred that the fact that the movement is ‘is constructed with astonishing ingenuity from a single motive’ is the feature which, for Tilmouth, is the most-clearly identified with Purcell’s fantasia style.¹²² Ironically, this movement also belongs to Wessely-Kropik’s group of *Stirnsätze*, the only group in the latter author’s classification which is not positively defined by harmonic or polyphonic attributes but rather by position in the overall scheme of the sonata.¹²³ In the next chapters, the connections between the Fantazias and Sonatas will be examined and other aspects of construction, when compared, will yield other candidates for representing links between the compositional strategies taken by the

¹²⁰ Wessely-Kropik, ‘Henry Purcell als Instrumentalkomponist’, 110.

¹²¹ That movement is thoroughly analysed by Howard, ‘Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice,’ 105–118.

¹²² Tilmouth, ‘The Technique and forms of Purcell’s Sonatas’, 111.

¹²³ The present author is in disagreement with Wessely-Kropik’s classification since many movements in the two sets seem to correspond to the contrapuntal and structural features of a *Stirnsatz*—an opening movement—although in the middle of the Sonata, for example the third movement of Sonata Z.804 and the fourth movement of Sonata Z.806.

composer when engaging with two genres, distinct at least in name. Questions about other levels of distinctiveness or similarity will be discussed in detail below.

As Tilmouth observed, the movement appears to have been composed using a well-defined musical idea of a stepwise motion of a sixth with a characteristic rhythm. Illustration 1.5 shows a skeleton of all the sixteen entries of the subject.¹²⁴ Even though they are extracted from the finished text of the 1683 publication, not all the entries in the skeleton appear exactly the same way they do in the movement itself but in a modified way, or rather, in a reconstructed initial state of the complexes, prior to any modification made to them for contrapuntal reasons. Whether this state represents an actual earlier state in the compositional process (before any surface modifications were made to the complexes in order to avoid contrapuntal errors, dissonances or the like) or an analytical simplification of structures that were created instinctively by the composer, the ways in which the skeleton relates to the finished work can shed light on the thematic hierarchy of the movement or, to use Tilmouth's terminology, on the way in which the musical idea is defined and on the way it is used for composing the movement. The double barlines mark the ends of complexes, borders between distinct chains of overlapping entries. Some of these chains are hardly chains at all and comprise only one entry (Section C) while some demonstrate high density of simultaneous entries (B). Sections A, B and E contain the simultaneous use of the subject in prime form and in augmentation, a relatively sophisticated procedure which requires the composer's choice of a subject with this capacity. The special layout of the entries is therefore predetermined and precedes the 'filling in' of additional material in the other voices. In the case of section A, it would be logical to assume that the part of the second violin (see Illustration 1.4, bars 1–4) was written after the composer had already envisaged the subject-entries. A careful study of the remaining parts may shed light on the composer's choices: Purcell wanted to enhance the polyphonic texture by creating additional imitations that are not part of the predetermined complex—in bars 1–2 the second violin may be audibly interpreted as an inversion of the bass, and in bars 3–4 the second violin foreshadows the end of the first violin's augmentation—all easier to perceive audibly than the complex itself. The prescriptive figuring under the third crotchet of bar

¹²⁴ For the sake of clarity, and unless an entire movement is reproduced from a published edition, a three-stave format will be used in the appendix for excerpts from Purcell's Sonatas, reducing the two staves of the melodic bass instrument and the continuo part to a single stave. Wherever necessary, bass figures or melodic figurations will be indicated.

2 (figure '6', see Illustration 1.4) implies an additional note, E, that is missing from the contrapuntally-derived upper voices;¹²⁵ the attention that was clearly paid to the polyphonic texture highlights the element of choice—Purcell saw the E as an essential part of the chord—which is all the more significant in light of equivalent contrapuntal circumstances where he chose to omit the note A (bar 6, third crotchet).

Also telling are modifications made to the subjects, such as that in bar 5. Purcell's shortening of the first violin's b' at the beginning of the measure can be predicted from the skeleton—had Purcell wanted to leave the subjects in their original form, he would have been forced to approach the bass's B from above, in similar motion, to avoid parallel octaves. The changes in the first violin's bars 4–5 result from the upward leap from E to B and from avoiding the 'hidden octave' (an octave approached in similar motion). Similar postponing of an entry in avoidance of a hidden octave can be seen in the second violin in bar 11. Other modifications stem from ornamental considerations: first violin in bar 13 is added an extra crotchet, suspending the entry of the subject (normally, and in the skeleton, on the third crotchet of the bar; here on the fourth) thus ensuring movement on that crotchet against the two other parts. A more complicated modification occurs in bars 14–15—bar 15 is the only point in the movement where the skeleton itself reveals an 'invalid' complex which introduces an awkward dissonance, hence requiring modification.

Not only the entrances of the subject reveal the composer's choices but also other consistencies such as the suspension-chain 9–8–4–3 which appears in the second violin in bars 4–5 and in the first violin in bars 16–17. Purcell repetition of this progression hints that it was well-planned contrapuntal material, a fact that may explain Purcell's depriving the second violin of the subject until bar 6—it was already assigned with planned material.

After assessing the reputation of Purcell's consort music (which is, at times, disproportionate to its historical significance) and the ways in which it was influenced by romanticised ideas, this chapter overviewed two main processes which influenced the reception of Purcell's music during the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-

¹²⁵ Whether the '6' is a part of a '6 – 5' progression (as appears in the print but disagrees with the first violin) or it is a part of a six-five chord (whose indication '6₅' was printed inaccurately), the note E indicated by the figuring is given to the harmonic instrument alone.

first centuries: first was the professionalization of writing and development of the 'scientific' apparatus required for the study of its sources. Of equal significance was the transformation of the early music movement into a substantial factor in our generation's immediate acquaintance with Purcell's music and in facilitating the research into his compositional process, in a way which is rarely possible when studying the music of composers belonging to (or usurped by) the common practice. The opening movement of Sonata Z.796 was briefly analysed in order to demonstrate the level of compositional choices that Alan Howard's thesis exposed: the division of the movement into distinct complexes that combine the subject with itself or with other subjects, and understanding the contrapuntal limitations which required some modification of these complexes. Howard's thesis, albeit the first to have used these tools systematically,¹²⁶ did so only as a means to an end and contextualised Purcell's contrapuntal challenges within a larger concept of artifice in Restoration England. The present study shall attempt to expose other facets of Purcell's artifice, namely the use of proportion, symmetry, palindrome and a systematic approach to the pitch organisation to the ways in which it may dictate musical form. Some of these devices, direct descendents of sixteenth and early-seventeenth century music, may suggest a continuum in the English consort music tradition that is largely overlooked, and in turn, hopefully help us to understand these works, and their composer, better.

¹²⁶ Naturally, some consideration of the contrapuntal limitations Purcell dealt with was used in practically every editing project taken by the Purcell Society. In some cases consecutives are merely commented on (for example, *Celestial music did the gods inspire*, bar 77) and sometimes editorial responsibility requires amending the faulty counterpoint (*ibid.*, bar 102). Bruce Wood (ed.), *Three Occasional Odes*, NPS1 (2008), 144.

CHAPTER 2 – CONTEXTUALISATION AND GENERIC DISTINCTION

GENERIC DEFINITIONS

Throughout the last century, the prevailing view among scholars was that Purcell's Fantazias constitute a conservative body of works, using the most archaic genre to have been chosen by the composer, and made in purpose to study earlier modes of contrapuntal writing, albeit with a more modern harmonic shading.¹ Even if no extra-musical evidence survives to shed light on Purcell's personal motivation when engaging with that study, the fact that by the early 1680s the Fantazia was an outmoded genre is unlikely to be challenged—the number of specimens of this well-documented genre was clearly in decline towards the second half of the seventeenth century, as was the instrument for which it was intended. However, it should be asked what, outside the scoring and the overall mutlisectonal design of Purcell's essays in that genre, makes them conservative and what aspects of them reflect compositional study. As Westrup observes,

In structure the fantasias are traditional. The expert handling of all the problems of contrapuntal imitation proves that Purcell at twenty-one had already fully mastered the art of writing in the old style.²

Westrup equates the traditional old style with counterpoint and in his view counterpoint meant a problem one should masterfully handle. Indeed, counterpoint was the emblem of the generations which cultivated the genre in its heyday of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries and, more specifically, it was the flagship of the composers to whom Purcell was evidently exposed by way of copying manuscript Cfm MS 88: Thomas Tallis,

¹ Alan Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice: Compositional Strategies in the Fantasias and Sonatas', (Ph.D. diss., King's College, London, 2006), 55–66.

² J.A. Westrup, *Purcell* (London: J.M. Dent, 1937), 226.

William Byrd, Orlando Gibbons and Thomas Tomkins.³ Moreover, the fantazia may have often stayed in the shadow of other genres, but it steadily remained in the shadows whereas other genres, which sometimes received more attention, fluctuated and fell victim to rapid changes in fashion and, in other cases, of regime. For historical reasons that will be dealt with extensively in Chapter 3, the instrumental fantazia (and the strict, *ricercar*-like, contrapuntal fantazia in particular) was the only genre that showed genuine historical continuity throughout the late sixteenth and most of the seventeenth centuries, and indeed it was the genre which received and preserved the levels of contrapuntal sophistication that lost their natural ecclesiastical home as a result of the Reformation. Thus, it is easy to see why tradition is so closely identified with it.

It should be asked, however, whether Purcell's Fantazias are really more 'contrapuntal' than the Sonatas or any other genre which appealed to the composer. Purcell's most strict canonic writing is to be found either in his B-flat Service Z.230 or, surprisingly, in his theatre music ('Dance for the followers of Night' from *The Fairy Queen* and the Chaconne '2 in 1 upon a ground' from *Dioclesian*); his anthems contain complicated imitative passages; his odes, as will be exemplified in Chapter 3, contain several adventurous experiments which can be seen as nothing but late seventeenth-century rethinking of *cantus firmus* setting. Except maybe for some of his solo songs, Purcell did not miss any opportunity to engage with contrapuntal writing, and the variety and complexity of his experiments in the field do not allow us to see the Fantazias as the *summa* of his studies in strict polyphony. Indeed, Alan Howard's lens, identifying artifice as Purcell's primary interest in his early instrumental works, is of prime importance for understanding the role of the Fantazias in the composer's contrapuntal heritage. However, the fact that Purcell's preoccupation with artifice is not limited to his Fantazias and Sonatas requires further inquiry into how Purcell deploys artifice, and into how, rhetorically, he spreads contrapuntal complexity across the musical form.⁴ This chapter will offer an examination of obstacles in distinguishing between

³ Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 33–46.

⁴ Howard himself published a detailed account on the major role of artifice in another genre, that of the sacred partsong. Alan Howard, 'Composition as an Act of Performance: Artifice and Expression in Purcell's Sacred Partsong "Since God so Tender a Regard"', *The Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 132 (2007): 32–59.

seventeenth-century musical genres, a comparative study of the ways in which artifice articulates musical form in Purcell's consort music, as well as historical context of a secondary manuscript source of the 1683 Sonatas.

That which is common and that which is different between Purcell's Sonatas and Fantazias has preoccupied many of the commentators on Purcell's music and a joint discussion on the two genres was naturally encouraged by their chronological proximity and the place they share in *30930*. To quote but two commentators, Zimmerman argues that 'comparing [the Sonatas] to the fantasias in their stylistic and formal development, one sees that they are part of an unbroken stylistic continuum';⁵ Wood calls the Sonatas 'direct descendants' of the Fantazias.⁶ Even writers who argue for greater distinction between the genres seem to agree that at least the canzona movements from the Sonatas are indebted to the same mode of polyphonic thinking represented in the Fantazias.⁷ Also, as Howard noticed, the supposed chronology (the Fantazias were written around 1680, the Sonatas around 1683) more or less fixed the order of discussion regarding these works, and only rarely do commentators refer to the Sonatas before the survey of Purcell's achievements in the field of fantasia.⁸

On the other hand, some critical thought is needed when studying the joint reception histories of the Fantazias and Sonatas—for at least some of the unified discussion was affected by matters of chance and anachronism. First and foremost among the relevant factors was that, in connection with the rise of the early music movement discussed in the previous chapter and during the first half of the twentieth century, both Sonatas and Fantazias were played by the same members of the violin family—violins and cello.⁹ Some

⁵ Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell, 1659–1695: His Life and Times*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 82.

⁶ Bruce Wood, *Purcell: An Extraordinary Life* (London: ABRSM, 2009), 73.

⁷ One example is Bukofzer who argues that that Fantazias are archaic, and the Sonatas are modern. Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era from Monteverdi to Bach* (London: J.M. Dent, 1947), 213–214.

⁸ Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice,' 40.

⁹ Warlock and Mangeot's edition was explicitly intended for modern string instruments. More than in any other genre, it seems that the use of modernised clefs in the Fantazias should be applied

other reasons from those early years are more prosaic, almost coincidental: Whittaker, focusing on the four-part Sonatas and the three- and four-part Fantazias in his 1934 article on Purcell's harmony, declared that his choice was rather arbitrary—he took the two sets with him for a holiday and therefore did not have the three-part Sonatas, the Fantazias for five, six and seven voices, or any other set of Purcell's music as reference.¹⁰ Modern distinction between the genres is also intrinsically steeped in modern conceptions of their nature, their origins and their function in the seventeenth-century musical world—conceptions that are not necessarily more accurate than our understanding of seventeenth-century music theory and are open for debate at least as much as are the nature and function of genre in more recent music.¹¹ However, some conclusions can be drawn from the music itself and, however incomplete and subjective such conclusions might be, they can be useful alongside the historical research into early music.

A reliable comparison of the two genres requires a preliminary discussion on whether each of the compared components is a homogenous unit. As far as the Fantazias are concerned, only the incomplete Fantazia Z.744, dated 'Feb the 24th 1682/3', clearly postdates the

cautiously. As will be discussed later in this chapter, insufficient attention has been paid to peculiarities of consort music notation in modern Purcell scholarship.

¹⁰ W. Gillies Whittaker, 'Some Observations on Purcell's Harmony', *The Musical Times* 75/1100 (1934): 887–94 (887).

¹¹ Sometimes the joint discussion regarding the two genres escalated to mix-up and disinformation. The strangest case is perhaps David Ewen's account on these works, and especially of the Fantazias in his (quite ironically entitled, considering their marginal place in their days) *Mainstreams of Music*. Here one can see how the story of the unpublished Fantazias is being adorned by two publications (a relic of the Sonatas) and the implied influence of Corelli (who published his first opus three years after the Fantazias were written):

The influence of Corelli was not confined to Italy. It permeated the rest of Europe. In England, Henry Purcell (1659-95) made his first excursion into chamber music by writing fantasias for viols, without continuo, a form he had inherited from his English predecessors and to which he brought considerable advancement both in technical skill and imaginative materials. He published two such volumes in 1680, one comprising three fantasias in three parts, and the other nine fantasias in four parts. His most celebrated fantasia, written about this time, is in five parts. It is the F major, published independently.

David Ewen, *Solo Instrumental and Chamber Music: Its Story Told Through the Lives and Works of its Foremost Composers*, *Mainstreams of Music*, Vol. 3 (New York: Franklin Watts, 1974), 23.

majority of the corpus, which were created along a relatively short time span.¹² This is not the case in the Sonatas, for it is unclear whether or not they represent different stages in the development of Purcell's style, and there is much uncertainty surrounding the chronology of the posthumously published Sonatas of 1697 for which, unlike the 1683 Sonatas, the publication date does not serve as a *terminus ante quem*. Many commentators have referred to the question of whether the two sets belong to one entity, a question which is traditionally approached in three ways: the genre implied by the title; aspects of tonal plan; and issues of style.

As far as the title is concerned, 'Sonatas of four parts' is seen today as a simple misnomer. The number of part books involved in the set produced by Frances Purcell might have confused her: as stated already in the preface of the 1683 publication the decision to publish two separate parts for the Continuo and the Bassus was not planned initially, and indeed, Sonatas *à tre* (trio Sonatas with a split bass part for a melodic bass instrument and a harmonic one) could have been produced in three rather than four partbooks. Whether the misnomer stemmed from misunderstanding or from the widow's pragmatic will to distinguish that set from the earlier publication is hard to tell. One can assume that the widow had such motivation to distinguish between the two sets since the earlier publication was still on sale at her house as late as 1702.¹³ However, no correspondence regarding the editorial sets has survived and with the dedications as the only relevant documents in hand, even the identity of the 1697 set's editor is unknown.¹⁴

¹² That incomplete Fantazia is also interesting for the predominant imitative motif which differs to the motifs of the other Fantazias in its characteristic rhythm (crotchet; quaver; quaver; crotchet; crotchet) —a slightly more old-fashioned in the style of the Italian canzone, as can be seen for example in the openings of seven canzonas from Frescobaldi's *il primo libro delle canzoni* (Rome, 1628): canzonas *prima* and *quarta* (solo), *prima* (a due canti), *terza* and *sesia* (a due canti e basso) *seconda* and *quinta* (a quattro).

¹³ See *The London Gazette* 6/11/1699, *The Post Man* 12/5/1702 and *The Daily Courant* 10/11/1702. In Michael Tilmouth, 'Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719)', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle*, No. 1 (1961): II-VII, 1–107.

¹⁴ Alon Schab, 'Distress'd Sources? A critical consideration of the authority of Purcell's Ayres for the Theatre', *Early Music*, 37/4 (November 2009): 633–45.

Purcell's meticulously-planned tonal scheme for the early publication, based on rising thirds of the keys of the first eight Sonatas (G minor, Bb major, D minor, F major, A minor, C major, E minor, G major) and on falling thirds in the last four Sonatas (C minor, A major, F minor, D major), can be seen as incomplete, lacking the first two Sonatas in the 1697 set in order to create a more balanced and symmetrical set: seven Sonatas based on rising thirds from the minor Gamut (G minor, Bb major, D minor ... E minor) and another seven based on falling thirds from the major Gamut (G major, the 1697 Eb major, C minor ... the 1697 B minor).¹⁵ On the ground of this overall tonal scheme, Hogwood explicitly relates the style of the first two Sonatas of 1697 to the earlier collection.¹⁶

Westrup identified 'riper mastery' in some of the 1697 Sonatas although he cautiously remarked that 'it is quite possible that the sonatas of this set were composed at different times and finally reassembled for publication',¹⁷ an argument of considerable weight considering the supposed function of the first two Sonatas of 1697 in the hypothetical fourteen-sonatas set mentioned above. Tilmouth similarly hinted that the fifth and sixth Sonatas of the later set (Z.806 and Z.807) 'may perhaps be later',¹⁸ while Thurston Dart argued the contrary—that '[the later set's] style is less Italianate and more immature'.¹⁹ For Holman, who in his monograph generally gave more factual information on the copying process of each sonata rather than expressing his opinion on the works' styles, it is the last Sonata (Z.811) which is the most consistently modern.²⁰ An interesting, even if subtle, change in opinion is reflected in Tilmouth's later contribution to *The Blackwell History of*

¹⁵ Additional hypotheses regarding the tonal scheme were overviewed by Tilmouth. Christopher Hogwood, *The Trio Sonata*, BBC Music Guides (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1979), 85–86; Michael Tilmouth, 'Purcell's Sonatas', *Early Music* 13/1 (Feb., 1985): 154–155.

¹⁶ Hogwood, *The Trio Sonata*, 85–86.

¹⁷ Westrup, *Purcell*, 234–235.

¹⁸ Michael Tilmouth, 'The Technique and forms of Purcell's Sonatas', *Music and Letters*, 40/2 (1959): 109–21 (110).

¹⁹ Thurston Dart, *The Interpretation of Music*, 4th edn (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1967), 123; also Thurston Dart, 'Purcell's Chamber Music', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 85 (1958–9): 81–93 (83).

²⁰ Peter Holman, *Henry Purcell*, (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 85.

Music in Britain, published five years after his death. Although his view of the Sonatas is generally similar to the one he expressed in 1959, the statement that 'Purcell chose the most *Italianate* Sonatas' for the 1683 publication is of great interest when compared to Tilmouth's earlier view that 'Purcell may simply have selected for publication in the "Sonatas of III Parts" what he considered to be the twelve *best works which would fit in with his key-scheme*' (present author's italics in both quotations).²¹ Since conclusions that arise from the following study have some implications for the issue, the point of departure shall be the generally accepted view that the 1697 publication does *not* necessarily reflect a single stage in the composer's development, with a preference of the autograph text over the 1697 printing, rooted in the present author's general suspicion as to the reliability of the publication ventures undertaken by Purcell's widow in 1696–7.²²

Distinction between genres is sometimes complicated furthermore by the coexistence of several levels of stylistic features, relating to different criteria of the work. For example, Dart argued that 'Purcell distinguished in style between the music he wrote for Westminster Abbey and the music he wrote for the Chapel Royal; both styles differ from that of his theatre music, which was written for performance in completely "dead" surroundings', by which he meant halls in which the acoustic is far less resonant.²³ Some aspects of Purcell's style of orchestration (to use a slightly anachronistic term) support Dart's observation: there are evident differences in continuo style stemming from different continuo instruments and silence effects are used in choruses, mainly those which are to be found in the theatre music. However, in other respects, mainly deeper structural features such as musical form, Purcell's surviving works and evidence relevant to the circumstances of their performance seem to imply the opposite: instrumental sections were sometimes borrowed verbatim from odes to stage works, two styles to which Dart specifically refers—

²¹ Michael Tilmouth and Christopher D.S. Field, 'Consort Music II: From 1660', in *Music in Britain: The Seventeenth Century*, Ian Spink (ed.), BHMB3 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 245–281 (267); Tilmouth, 'The Technique and Forms of Purcell's Sonatas', 110.

²² The present author's doubts concerning the integrity of the editor in the publication of the *Ayres for the Theatre*, which was announced and published around the same time, are expressed in detail in Alon Schab, 'Distress'd Sources?.'

²³ Dart, *The Interpretation of Music*, 57.

two noted examples are the overture to *Love's Goddess Sure was Blind* which serves also as the overture to *The Virtuous Wife*, and the F major Chaconne from the ode *Sound the Trumpet* which also opens *King Arthur*. A recent article by Pinnock and Wood demonstrates how Purcell's reuse of music from odes in his large-scale works in 1690–95 can be explained as a well-calculated move reacting to the changing winds of musical taste (and their very down-to-earth implications on work places and salaries in court) and trying to benefit from them.²⁴

A preliminary account of the theoretical definitions of the genres fantazia and sonata, as attributed to Purcell himself, is needed. Morley's oft-quoted definition of fantazia—'the most principall and chiefest kind of music'—published more than eighty years prior to the composition of Purcell's Fantazias, is somewhat irrelevant in the case of Purcell, if only for his adventurous harmonic excursions which, according to the former's further description of the form, 'may never be suffered' in that genre.²⁵ A definition which is likely to have been approved by Purcell himself is the one which appears in the fifth edition of Edward Phillips' dictionary *The New World of Words* (1696). This edition, whose music entries were revised by Locke and by Purcell,²⁶ first defines *Fantasie* in its general sense as 'Imagination, a Determination of the Mind to believe or desire things, according to the Impressions of the Sense. Also Humour, Capriccio'; it is then followed by the musical definition

in Musick, a Fantasie is a Piece of Composition full of Harmony, but which cannot be reduc'd under any of the regular kinds.²⁷

A comparison of the two definitions, almost a century apart, will result in one major difference, namely that the later identifies a general sense of freedom (or at least does not explicitly dictate features of tonal or modal plan, tempo, metre etc.) which the earlier

²⁴ Andrew Pinnock and Bruce Wood, 'Come, ye sons of art — again: court cross-subsidy for Purcell's opera orchestra, 1690–1695', *Early Music* 37/3 (August 2009): 445–66 (447–448).

²⁵ Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597), 180–1.

²⁶ A description of Purcell's involvement in Phillips's dictionary is in Michael Tilmouth, 'Henry Purcell, Assistant Lexicographer', *The Musical Times* 100/1396 (1959): 325–326.

²⁷ Edward Phillips, *The New World Of Words*, 5th edn (London: R. Bently, J. Phillips, H. Rhodes, and J. Taylor, 1696), 156.

applied only to the composer's use of imitation. But the fact that Phillips' dictionary, designed to clarify words which penetrated the English language from other tongues,²⁸ gives a two-fold definition of which only the second half is relevant to music should not be overlooked: in the fourth edition of 1678, entries for none of the terms *Fantasia*, *Fantazia* or *Fancy* appear, although the entries which were edited by Locke had been incorporated already in that edition (published two years after the senior composer's death) and therefore it is only probable that the 1696 entry *Fantasia* was written by Purcell himself. However, one should question the motivation for incorporating the musical term *Fantasia* as late as the fifth edition, years after the heyday of the English *fantazia*. Giving the musical meaning of *Fantasia* could have been a sort of debt paid to complete the entry, which was inserted to the fifth edition for its primary, extra-musical, meaning. Yet, the English use of the word (in its general meaning) dates back to the early fifteenth century,²⁹ which again raises the question of such a late addition of the word to a dictionary of 'imported' words. Taking into account the absence of the *Fantasia* entry in the 1678 edition (despite the wide circulation of Morley's musical definition from as early as 1597) and the 1696 entry being only a secondary one,³⁰ it is improbable that the appearance of the word signifies an essential shift from the English view of the viol *Fancy* to a more international view of a *Fantasia*, especially at a time when the use of the genre was seen as outmoded.³¹ In short, even with Purcell's authority attached to a definition, one should be cautious with giving too much weight to a dictionary entry aimed at non-professional readership, and which appeared at a moment and for reasons which are difficult to explain.

²⁸ As the title page reads: 'The New World of Words, or, A Universal English Dictionary containing The proper Significations and Derivations of all words from other languages, viz. Hebrew, Arabick, Syriack, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, British, Dutch, Saxon, &c. as now made use of in our English tongue.'

²⁹ 'fantasy, phantasy, n.¹⁻⁶' *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. 1989. OED Online. Oxford University Press. 4 Apr. 2010 <<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00181778>>.

³⁰ It should be added that both the third, fourth and fifth editions of *The New World of Words* (1671, 1676 and 1696) contained the entry *Phantasia*, as a word of Greek origin and with no musical meaning; that is, even in the fifth edition of 1696, which gives a musical meaning to *Fantasia*, the Greek form of the name is not identified with a musical genre.

³¹ Rebecca Herrisone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 211.

As often is the case with theory, the English formal definition of Sonata lagged behind practice, and for Purcell, among the first to have published English works of that Italian genre, no contemporary definition exists as a reference, and one has to make do with the composer's oblique remark that it was

the chiefest Instrumental Musick now in request, where you will find Double and Treble Fuges also reverted and augmented in their Canzona's, with a great deal of Art mixed with good Air, which is the Perfection of a Master.³²

It is indeed rather ironic of the composer to claim that Sonatas were in such request, while at the time he still had many copies of the 1683 Sonatas in his possession, copies which his widow would still be trying to sell almost a decade later.

³² See discussion of the term 'Treble Fugue' in Chapter 3. Henry Purcell, *The Art of Descant*, in John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 12th edn (London: Henry Playford, 1694), 125.

SOURCES I - ASPECTS OF NOTATION

One neglected aspect of the comparison between the two genres relates to the study of the works' primary source—the autograph **30930**. The tendency nowadays to publish Purcell's Fantazias and Sonatas separately (despite the joint discussion in scholarly literature) creates a situation in which the editorial work, meticulous and informed as it may be, focuses on one set of works and rarely exceeds its boundaries. Thus, no single editor was required, within a single editorial project, to engage with the bigger picture that one sees if one looks at all of the reverse side of that autograph (which contains not only some of the Sonatas and all the Fantazias but also a suite, a Chacony, and a Pavan).³³ Things are complicated further by the obscure codicology of the manuscript, whose 1895 binding does not reflect the original collation of the sheets.³⁴ Nonetheless, additional information on the works can be gathered when a manuscript is examined as an artefact carrying information extraneous to the text itself, and which is not always preserved in modern editions—order of pieces, grouping of pieces, and contemporary notational peculiarities. Such general analysis of manuscript **20.h.9** (see below) will attempt to apply this principle in order to clarify the nature of professional musicians' study of strict counterpoint in Purcell's time, but in relation to **30930**, one specific point with regards to notation of the accidentals shall be dealt with below.

The reverse end of **30930** is frequently compared to Lbl Add. MS 17801, Locke's autograph dedicated to his works for consort.³⁵ Indeed, the two manuscripts have a lot in common: outside the common focus on consort music, both contain rubrics of similar nature (for

³³ For the Purcell Society Edition, Tilmouth edited the four-part Sonatas but only revised the older editions of the three-part Sonatas (edited by Fuller Maitland) and the Fantazias (edited by Dart); for Eulenburg, three different editors were put in charge of the Fantazias (Ford), three-part Sonatas (Fiske) and the four-part Sonatas (Hogwood). The smaller project of the Chacony was given to another editor (Bergmann); no other publisher attempted a critical edition of all three sets.

³⁴ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 84–100.

³⁵ Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 74–5.

example 'Here End the Duos for two Basse-Violls, composed in 1652' in Locke,³⁶ 'Here begineth the 3 part fantazia's' in Purcell), both are arranged in an ascending consort size (from two- to six-part music in Locke, from three- to seven-part music in Purcell) and, by chance, both are in an incomplete state.³⁷ Apparent differences are that Locke's title page declares that the music is intended for both broken and whole consorts while the consort repertoire in Purcell's manuscript is probably for string instruments (although Purcell does not specify the instrumentation explicitly) and that Locke's manuscript is much more organised in its tonal scheme.³⁸ However, despite the affinity of Purcell's four-part Fantazias to Locke's opening movements from the suites of his *Consort of Four Parts*,³⁹ it is Purcell's early Pavans which appear alongside a concordance of Locke's *Consort For Several Friends* and an impressive collection of Italian trio Sonatas in Lbl Add. MS 33236.⁴⁰ The only Pavan in **30930** feels rather atypical in its context.⁴¹ One of the Sonatas in Lbl Add. MS 33236, the G minor Sonata attributed to 'Giovanni Battista [Draghi?]' has unusual stylistic affinity with Purcell's Sonatas. But with these close relations of the genres represented—dance movements, fantazias and sonatas—and despite the affinity in the use of artifice, the doubts whether Purcell's Fantazias were intended for performance and whether 'abstract' pieces can coexist in one manuscript with fashionable Sonatas, that were undoubtedly performed at the time, are rather troubling and this is where an inquiry into notation and into Purcell's place in the general tradition of English consort music may help in answering the question.

Purcell's status in the English consort tradition is ambivalent: on the one hand, he is perceived as the last link in the chain of composers for that medium and, ironically, the most

³⁶ Michael Tilmouth (ed.), *Locke: Chamber Music: I*, MB31 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1971), 145.

³⁷ The second half of *The Broken Consort* is incomplete. Michael Tilmouth (ed.), *Matthew Locke: Chamber Music: II*, MB32 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1972), 107.

³⁸ Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 275–6.

³⁹ The spelling of the titles of Locke's sets is in modernised and abbreviated form— *For Several Friends* instead of *For Severall Friends* (Lbl Add. MS 17801), *The Flat Consort* instead of *The Flatt Consort for My Cousin Kemble* (Lbl Add. MS 17801), *The Consort of Four Parts* instead of *Consort of Fower Parts* (Lcm MS 939). *The Little Consort* and *The Broken Consort* required no such modification.

⁴⁰ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 109.

⁴¹ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 97.

famous of them for modern audiences (that is, outside the circles of consort music experts). On the other hand, his use of older models (for example, the music of Orlando Gibbons) or archaic musical forms such as the *In Nomine*, already obsolete by the time of his immediate predecessors, gives his 'Fantasia Project' as a whole a flavour which is somewhat anachronistic.⁴² Purcell's being a part, yet not a representative part, of the English consort tradition results in Purcellian scholarship being detached from issues studied in the wider scope of English consort music and also the other way round—consort scholarship tends to limit its treatment of Purcell, in order to avoid an indirect eclipse of Coperario, Lawes and Jenkins, who undoubtedly made the greater contribution to the English consort tradition. Even in a purely chronological sense, Purcell's contribution to the consort literature, half a century after it began its decline (quantitatively), was not influential, if only because he had no follower to influence in the field.⁴³ Issues which are neglected in consort studies in the first place are all the more neglected in Purcell scholarship, and the most interesting of these is the question of enharmonic misspelling.

Throughout the history of music, different styles had different relationships with notational representation; and the translation of a piece from one semantic system to another naturally resulted in a substantial change: a modern transcription of Baude Cordier's *Belle, Bonne, Sage* will lose the extramusical meaning and beauty of the chanson's heart-shaped score found in the Chantilly codex, which is an innate part of the artistic achievement of the piece;⁴⁴ a modern written-out realisation of a seventeenth-century continuo part often limits the harmonic flexibility that can be exercised by a continuo player who extemporizes

⁴² The term 'Fantasia Project' is borrowed from Howard, and is used to describe Purcell's output in the field of consort music, as well as the act of study in which it was involved, and a defined period of time in which the composer was preoccupied with the composition of the Fantazias. ⁴² Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice,' 120 (footnote 2).

⁴³ At the outset of her book on the viol, Annette Otterstedt presents this unlikely and yet unapologetic request:

'Before complaining that Bach and Purcell are missing, readers should consider that these composers—however great they may have been—were not involved in the development of the viol and are therefore alien to our subject'. Annette Otterstedt, *The Viol: History of an Instrument*, Hans Reiners (trans.) (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002), 18.

⁴⁴ F-CH 564, f. 11v.

a realisation during performance of the piece. Not always can the meaning of the semantic layers lost in translation be easily evaluated. In highly chromatic consort repertoire, the use of accidentals in seventeenth-century sources sometimes does not follow today's accepted theoretical logic and makes extensive use of enharmonic spelling which, according to tonal or modal conventions, can even be seen as enharmonic *misspelling*. However, modernizing the accidentals, a procedure normally applied on an entire editing project in order to economise the critical commentary, blurs the passages which transmit this anomaly. As argued by Field:

Even the most scholarly and meticulous modern editions often conceal such anomalies by tacitly 'modernizing' the notation and synchronizing the enharmonic changes [...]. Nevertheless such evidence ought not to be suppressed, for it may have relevance both to issues of performance practice (such as tuning and temperament) and to our understanding of a crucial period in the history of harmonic thought.⁴⁵

Crucial period in the history of harmonic thought it was indeed, and composers' fascination with the freedom offered by chromaticism was manifested all over Europe, in vocal as well as in instrumental music. In English consort music, passages of enharmonic misspelling are limited in scope, and occur only occasionally for several bars. Autograph **30930** has two such cases, where the ironing mentioned by Field is relevant; but both were left unmentioned by the Purcell Society Edition.⁴⁶ In bar 23 of Fantazia 4 (Illustration 2.1a) the third viol plays the leading note of the cadence, e#, but the note is written as an f flat. In bar 32 of Fantazia 10 (Illustration 2.1b) the same pattern is assigned to the second viol. A relatively simple explanation can be supplied to Fantazia 4: with no standard 'natural' symbol for cancelling an accidental, f flat would have yielded the desired pitch f natural (=e#) while a written e# with two flats in the key signature (that is, B flat and E flat) would

⁴⁵ Christopher D.S. Field, 'Jenkins and the Cosmography of Harmony' in *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman (eds.), (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 1-74 (18-20).

⁴⁶ The two passages are mentioned in Anthony Ford's introduction to his edition of the Fantazias. Anthony Ford (ed.), *Henry Purcell: Fantazias and In Nomines*, (London: Eulenburg, 1973), vi.

have resulted in an e natural.⁴⁷ But it is the irrelevance of this explanation in Fantazia 10, written with one sharp in the key signature, which hints that the reason for the enharmonic misspelling is different. Evidently, it does not stem from a theoretical obstacle posed by any modal system which Purcell had used; no theoretical reason prevented cadencing on a 'sharp' key such as F# minor: after all, a similar cadence appears in bar 64 of Fantazia 12 (Illustration 2.1c) and later in the manuscript, on folio 43v, where at the very outset of the first Sonata copied into the manuscript (Z.802), which is set in B minor, Purcell cadences on F# minor with the correct spelling of e''# (Illustration 2.1d).⁴⁸ Therefore the practice of deliberate enharmonic misspelling seems to have been idiomatic to viol music notation. It should be asked then why Purcell was not consistent and spelled the E# correctly in Fantazia 12. An answer for this question cannot be given confidently, but additional parameters should be consulted: can it be that the use of C1 clef for the higher viol in Fantazia 12, the only fantazia which does not use a G2 clef for its top part, implies a different notational *ductus*, perhaps more renaissance and vocal in character (the first thirty bars of this Fantazia are rather restrained harmonically and might as well be inspired by earlier seventeenth-century motets)? As implied by Field (see above), a thorough explanation of the phenomenon cannot be founded on a study limited to Purcell's time, and requires in-depth inquiry into the intellectual background of earlier generations of consort music.

The phenomenon of enharmonic misspelling was not unique to English consort music. Field explores its manifestations in Italian vocal music,⁴⁹ and in instrumental music one can refer

⁴⁷ A similar case in Ferrabosco II (Fantasia a 4 VdGS 21) is discussed in Field, 'Jenkins and the Cosmography of Harmony', 16–18. See also Herrisone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England*, 98–104.

⁴⁸ As a background to the analysis of Monteverdi's music, Eric T. Chafe overviews the basic concepts of the modal-hexachordal system in the seventeenth century. As a part of his overview, Chafe discusses the four-hexachord pitch system which was necessary in order to yield enharmonic relations. Fantazia 12, which is written in *cantus mollis*, explores Db as the flat end of the system (bar 35) and A# as the sharp end of the system (bar 63). Therefore, even without the use of E# (the first sharp pitch which is enharmonic with a diatonic pitch), Purcell's Fantazia uses a system of at least seven (!) hexachords (Db as a part of a hexachord on Ab; A# as the third of a triad on F# which is a part of the hexachord on D). It therefore seems that Purcell's work was far beyond the boundaries of earlier seventeenth-century tonal space. Eric T. Chafe, *Monteverdi's Tonal Language* (New York: Schirmer, 1992), 28.

⁴⁹ Christopher D.S. Field, 'Jenkins and the Cosmography of Harmony', 9–13.

to Giovanni Paolo Cima's *Partito de Ricercari* (1606) in order to see how enharmonic misspelling took different forms in other genres and places.⁵⁰ This publication of keyboard music, set in open score, is one of the earlier publications of its kind (published in Milan by the same publishing house who two years later published Frescobaldi's first publication in that format—*Il primo libro delle fantasie*), and it ends with twelve *essampi*, eleven transpositions of 10-bar phrase into all keys. Throughout the cycle of *essampi*, Cima presents three cadences on F-sharp minor (Illustration 2.2a–b). However, while the use of F-natural as an enharmonic substitute of E-sharp is common to Cima and to Purcell, it seems that Cima undertakes a different challenge—representing all chromatic keys using only the diatonic scale and five accidentals (Bb, Eb, F#, C# and G#) which stand as fixed names for the five 'black' keys of the keyboard. Hence the strange *tierce de Picardie* at the end of *essampio 5*, which is not a third at all but rather a diminished fourth (Illustration 2.2a, bar 10). The absence of common notes such as the A-sharp in the latter cadence or, more strangely, the absence of D-sharp or A-flat hint that what stands behind Cima's curious misspelling is not the boundaries of the pitch system he had used but rather a mind game, especially when considering the *Engima Musicale*—a sophisticated riddle canon—which follows the *essampi*.⁵¹

The notational anomaly in Purcell's Fantazias may have several implications. First, it may serve to contradict the view of these works as 'abstract', either compositional studies or abstract essays in counterpoint, and confirms the composer's intending them to be played on viols, rather than by a broken consort.⁵² Second, it may hint at specific manuscripts or repertoires that Purcell was exposed to, and confirm the search for models earlier than Locke for the Fantazias in four parts—the generation which is most identified with enharmonic misspelling is that of the early Jacobean composers: Ferrabosco II, Ward and

⁵⁰ Giovanni Paolo Cima, *Partito de Ricercari & Canzoni Alla Francese* (Milan: Tini & Lomazzo, 1606); Modern edition in Clare G Rayner (ed.), *Giovanni Paolo Cima: Partito de Ricercari & Canzoni Alla Francese (1606)*, Corpus of Early Keyboard Music, Vol. 20, (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, American Institute of Musicology, 1966).

⁵¹ Cima, *Partito de Ricercari*, 96–7.

⁵² Thurston Dart's theory, that the upper parts of the Fantazias were intended for violins, and the lower parts for viols, is mentioned in the editorial article of the Purcell tercentenary issue of *The Musical Times*, Vol 100/1396 (1959): 317–18.

Tomkins. Third, it serves as another example of Purcell's sensitivity to style and to its implications on notation, shown most clearly by Adams in connection with the peculiar rhythmic notation of *Laudate Ceciliam* Z.329, also from the first half of the 1680s.⁵³

More difficult to establish is a connection between Purcell's Fantazias and the open-score tradition of keyboard music, as may be suggested by the comparison with Cima (the rise and demise of the open-score tradition, and those of the English consort music tradition were exactly contemporaneous). The weight of evidence (the scoring of other works for strings in the same end of **30930**, the paucity of open scores in manuscript and print of English provenance) suggests that, although it would be fascinating to explore the connection of the two traditions to the history of ideas, such linkage should be made very cautiously.

However, Purcell's curiosity towards the technique of earlier generations of English composers and apparent attempts to emulate them, whether superficially in features of notation or by borrowing in-depth techniques for structuring large-scale forms (as will be shown in Chapters 3 and 4), links him time and again to modes of thought which are identified with the sixteenth century more than with his own time.⁵⁴

⁵³ Martin Adams, 'Purcell's *Laudate Ceciliam*: an Essay in Stylistic Experimentation' in *Irish Musicological Studies*, vol. 1: Musicology in Ireland, Gerard Gillen and Harry White (eds.), (Blackrock: Irish Academic Press, 1990), 227–47 (esp. 238–39).

⁵⁴ Roger Bray, 'Music and Musicians in Tudor England: Sources, Composition Theory and Performance' in *Music in Britain: The Sixteenth Century*, Roger Bray (ed.), BHMB2 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 1–45 (20–26).

INTERTEXTUALITY – I. PRINCIPLES

The first analytical examination of the repertoire will seek to implement the differentiation between the logical hierarchy of ideas and the nominal order of events, in a way similar to those demonstrated by Howard or in the analysis of the E minor Sonata in Chapter 1 of the present study. This will be done by extracting a simplified picture of how Purcell deployed various contrapuntal manipulations throughout the musical form. After a brief overview of common musical subjects—stock motifs—in the seventeenth century and their treatment, a more detailed study of Purcell's use of augmentation and inversion will sketch several principles to describe Purcell's use and deployment of such advanced contrapuntal devices in the rhetorical structure of the piece.

John Milsom outlined the complexities imposed by modern terminology on the study of early music. One of the obstacles described by Milsom concerns the existence of several types of intertextuality one can identify in the music of the renaissance. In some cases, two works of music can be related in a way of emulation or imitation, thus demonstrating an aware influence of one piece on the other resulting in some kind of superficial affinity between them. In other cases, similar affinity can result from other processes which do not necessarily involve an aware influence, let alone emulation (for example Purcell's and Cima's similar enharmonic treatment of the leading tone of F# minor discussed above). The difficulty of distinguishing one type of intertextuality from the other may result in stretching lines of influence between pieces which are not connected to one another in any way.⁵⁵ However, common compositional methods (for example the *stretto fuga* described by Milsom and found also in Purcell)⁵⁶ and stock motifs are inseparable features of renaissance and baroque music, and therefore comparison between pieces which share musical ideas, even if created independently, may reveal differences between compositional techniques and vice versa, while pieces which superficially do not share any audible feature may share

⁵⁵ John Milsom, "Imitatio", "Intertextuality", and Early Music' in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned*, Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach (eds.) (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 141–151.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*; Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice,' 126 (relates to Fantazia 8).

some sort of organizing element. In respect to generic distinction, it is important to conclude that seventeenth-century music poses cross-generic connections in abundance and therefore one should carefully distinguish between a superficial cross-generic connection which stems from a shared musical style (of whatever epoch or place) and a deliberate cross-generic reference or quotation from a work in one genre into a work in another genre.

One of the many motifs which exemplify the close relationship between independent pieces can be traced in several works by Purcell as well as works of many seventeenth-century composers—not necessarily English ones (Illustration 2.3). This motif, in various versions; all characterised by an ornamented rising arpeggiation of the triad, frequently appears in consort music of the earlier seventeenth century, for example in a scratched-out section from a five-part consort in A minor by Lawes (Illustration 2.4) and in an Almain in A minor by Jenkins (Illustration 2.5a).⁵⁷

A comparison may be drawn between the Jenkin's Almain and Purcell's Sonata Z.796 analysed in the previous chapter. Jenkins' treatment of the opening motif is compromised, as its presentation is not followed in exact imitation in the bass viol, but is rather modified into a stepwise version. Several explanations can be given for aborting the imitation after only one bar. The first is that this particular motif had a standard way of treatment in that period, and that whenever it was played in the lower voice, it was changed in a stepwise manner. This can be seen in other works of the period and not necessarily consort music, for example Dowland's G minor Fancy for the lute (Illustration 2.6)⁵⁸. The second explanation is that Jenkins, as Dowland before him, prioritised the second violin part and gave it its descending quavers motion (similar the fourth and fifth notes of the subject) which required the modification of the bass (in order to avoid parallel octaves). A third explanation is that Jenkins prioritised the movement of the two violins in parallel thirds (bar 2, third and fourth crotchets), thus giving the second violin the quavers b'-a' (as in the

⁵⁷ Murray Lefkowitz (ed.), *William Lawes: Select Consort Music*, MB21, 2nd edn (London: Stainer and Bell, 1971), 12–6; Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *John Jenkins: Fantasia-Suites : I*, MB78 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2001), 22–23.

⁵⁸ Diana Poulton and Basil Lam (eds.), *The collected Lute Music of John Dowland*, (London: Faber Music, 1974), 27–30.

second explanation). Had Jenkins wanted to keep the imitation intact, it would have required but little adjustment, and would have even enriched the texture with a modified entrance on e (Illustration 2.5b). However, if one assumes that the motif is defined as the first six notes of the second violin (hence assuming that Jenkins began with planning a complex with an imitation at the minim), but rather as the first eleven notes then a third explanation may be valid: the planned imitation was an imitation at the semibreve and the complex is formed not by the two violins but by the second violin and the bass. If so, the construction of the opening complex here is remarkably similar to the one highlighted in Sonata Z.796: in both cases one of the violin parts presents secondary material which enhances the complexity of the simpler relationship between the other violin and the bass and draws the listener's attention to imitations that are not necessarily those which construct the planned complex. Another aspect that should be taken into account is the keyboard part which may hint that the stepwise version of the motif is in fact the motif itself and the violins convey but an ornamented version of the seminal motif behind the complex.

The examined motif appears in several pieces of different genres by Purcell: the seven-part In Nomine, some of the examples added by Purcell to his *The Art of Descant* for the twelfth edition of Playford's *A brief introduction to the skill of musick*, the overture in *Distressed Innocence* and in a slightly different version in the overture in the ode *Ye Tuneful Muses* (Illustration 2.7a–d).⁵⁹ In the latter the motif is unambiguously a five-note theme and despite the alteration in the motif, we can see a pattern, similar to the pattern seen in Jenkins' *Almain*, of threefold imitative entrance in the minim (Illustration 2.7e).⁶⁰ The frequent use of the motif far exceeds the borders of England and several of the most illuminating examples to demonstrate Milsom's description of independent yet similar surface phenomena are by Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562–1621).⁶¹ Sweelinck's use of the

⁵⁹ A vocal version of a similar imitative motif can be found in 'Let the Priests with processions' from the second act of *Dioclesian*.

⁶⁰ Another interesting example is no. 5 from the *Aires for 2 Flutes* by Robert King, for its affinity in mode as well as chronological proximity to Purcell's *Distress'd Innocence*. John Hudgebutt, *Thesaurus Musicus*, Vol. 1 (London: John Hudgebutt, 1693), 32–3.

⁶¹ Sweelinck's technical similarities with Purcell have not been examined sufficiently to date, probably due to the lack of empirical evidence to support the idea that Purcell might have known the older master's works. Apart from several biographical details shared by the two composers

aforementioned motif in his G minor Toccata (Illustration 2.8a), containing a *stretto* in the fifth, is similar to Purcell's treatment of the same motif in the seven-part In Nomine (Illustration 2.8b).

Sweelinck's English connections had crowned him 'an "honorary Englishman" as far as music for the virginals is concerned',⁶² and although most of the attention is given to the way in which he was influenced by English composers, namely John Bull and Peter Philips, surviving manuscripts as well as inner evidence in the music by seventeenth-century English composers may imply that additional attention should be given also to the influence he, and his compatriots, exerted on English composers in return.⁶³ A good example can be seen in the publications of Robert Dowland which breathe international air and boast the inclusion of works by the 'best approved authers, as well beyond the seas as of our owne country'.⁶⁴ Fantasie 5 from Dowland's *Verietie of Lute Lessons*, written by Gregorio Huwet of Antwerp, 'Lutenist to the most high and mightie Henericus Iulius, Duke of Brunswicke',⁶⁵ starts with the same chromatic point of imitation as Sweelinck's famous A-Phrygian

(upbringing in a musical family and succeeding their fathers' connection with a specific musical establishment, as well as their tight connections with Catholic colleagues and friends) or common holes in the biography (lack of information concerning the identity of their teachers), the technical similarities to be detailed below are only a part of a wider picture of common technical interests, for example the common inclination towards encyclopedic publications (see above, Purcell's 1683 Sonatas), apparent in the title of Sweelinck's now-lost *Fantasiën mit 3 Stimmen der alle 8 Tonos*, von J.P. Sweelinck Organisten zu Amsterdam published around 1630.

⁶² Lionel Pike, *Hexachords in Late-Renaissance Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 207.

⁶³ Sweelinck is represented in several important English manuscript, first and foremost the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, where four of the five foreign pieces are ascribed to him, and the Cherbury lute book (Cfm Mus 689) which transmits four of his seven surviving pieces for that instrument. Sweelinck's influence on English musicians was mainly propagated by Sigthenhorst Meyer, but later the English influence on Sweelinck seems to have been emphasised more. Frits Noske, *Sweelinck* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 83–85; Alan Curtis, *Sweelinck's Keyboard Music: A Study of English Elements in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Composition*, 2nd edn (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1972).

⁶⁴ Robert Dowland, *Verietie of Lute Lessons* (London: Thomas Adams, 1610), cover.

⁶⁵ Only Lute music by Huwet, Sweelinck's contemporary and probably a friend of John Dowland, has survived. Godelieve Spiessens, 'De Antwerpse luitcomponist Gregorius Huet alias Gregory Howet (Huy of Antwerpen, vóór 1560 - Wolfenbüttel?, ca 1617)', *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, Vol. 57 (2003): 87–111.

Fantasia (Illustration 2.9). Again, one can observe the possible link between distinct genres, in this case idiomatic works for different instruments.

It is important to stress that when studying a period in music history in which so many English composers were active in northern Europe, one should not overlook the directions taken by influential composers of the reformed churches: Sweelinck and his focus on fantasias and contrapuntal variations or his pupil Samuel Scheidt who published the first keyboard open-score publication in Germany—*Tabulatura nova* (1624). The influence of the reformed liturgy in England (and Anglican influence on secular polyphony) shall be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Sweelinck alone offers plenty of examples to illustrate the ways in which this motif, in its different versions, stands behind a variety of independent works, among these echo passages facilitated by the arpeggiation principle on which the motif is based (and its implied canon in the unison, Illustration 2.10a) and bicinium (which uses imitation at the fifth, Illustration 2.10b). Sweelinck shows the same curiosity to explore the potential of the motif; one of the more complicated kinds of imitation, combining a motif with an augmentation of the motif itself, wholly depends on the motif's capacity to be used in this way. The fact that the motif resembles the opening of the melody of Psalm 36 (Illustration 2.10c) enabled Sweelinck to use freer modes of that device; if the motif cannot be played simultaneously with its *strict* augmentation, *compromised* augmentation may be used in the context of a *cantus firmus* genres. Therefore, in Sweelinck's set of variations on that Psalm tune we can see how the composer modifies the given melody in order to emulate the effect of the contrapuntal device and evoke a feeling of a *cantus firmus* setting (Illustration 2.10d), as well as using the innate imitative potential of the motif (Illustration 2.10e). Sweelinck, just like Purcell and using the same material as the latter, demonstrates how a motif's potential and the composer's familiarity with it transcends the immediate context in which the motif appears—either as a *cantus firmus*, an ornamental echo figuration or a point of imitation.

FORM AND DISPOSITION – I. AUGMENTATION

At a relatively early point in his 1959 article, Tilmouth argues that

Locke was clearly the model in [Purcell's Fantazias], but Purcell surpasses him not only in his greater harmonic subtlety, but also in the *cogency* of his *musical argument* [my italics].⁶⁶

Tilmouth's choice of words is important, implying that the judgement of Purcell's polyphonic material is to be made with some relation to the field of rhetoric. Indeed, Tilmouth does not make use of rhetoric terminology outside the sentence cited above; rather the contrary—his choice of terms like *Bogenform* does seem an attempt to translate Purcell to the mainstream of continental analysis and its traditional *Formenlehre* pigeon-holes.⁶⁷ However, the metaphor 'musical argument', measured by its 'cogency', seems to refer in this context to the opening statements of the different sections of the Fantazias which, as opening statements often do in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century polyphony, present the initial point of imitation. Purcell's forms do not follow strict models and, even if they demonstrate some characteristic planning or recurring gambits (to use Tilmouth's own word), each of them shows unique deployment of arguments, or of different manifestations of a specific argument (different imitative combinations of a point of imitation). When looking back at the analysis of the Sonata Z.796 in Chapter 1 (see Illustration 1.5), each of the labelled complexes can be seen as such an argument, thus implying that the 'form' in Purcell's contrapuntal works is the sum of the complexes and their deployment in time or, to complete Tilmouth's metaphor and use a term from classical rhetoric—their *dispositio*. In Sweelinck's case, one can see the implications of generic considerations on the composer's choice of contrapuntal devices and on his use of complicated ones, such as augmentation, in

⁶⁶ Tilmouth, 'The Technique and Forms of Purcell's Sonatas', 111.

⁶⁷ Tilmouth's German-oriented analytical goals are discussed in Chapter 1. This can also be seen as a direct continuity of the processes described by Howard, in connection to late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century British writers to fit Purcell in the unwelcoming German-centred narrative of music history. Tilmouth, 'The Technique and Forms of Purcell's Sonatas', 114; Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice,' 19–39.

one work only—the Psalm variations—wherein the compromised augmentation appears early in the variation. Thus, genre (as implied by a work's title, scoring and purpose) may affect the rhetorical order of the contrapuntal devices—an idea that can be supported by a close examination of Purcell's instrumental music.

Purcell's different treatment of the two genres—fantazia and sonata—is reflected in their *dispositio* rather clearly, more than in harmonic adventurousness or irregularity of voice leading. The simultaneous combination of a motif with its augmentation, as observed above in Sweelinck, can serve as a point of departure for studying Purcell's *dispositio*. The use of augmentation (in its different levels) and inversion requires planning; thus tracing the technicalities of a composer's use of such device may hold valuable information concerning the composer's pre-compositional planning. While inversion features extensively in Purcell's four-part Fantazias, he did not make extensive use of augmentation in these works, and it features only in three of them—numbers 4, 8 and 12. None of the three-part Fantazias uses that device. No technical limitation of any kind prevented Purcell from devising a complex with subject and its augmentation in his three-part Fantazias: the analysis of the Sonata Z.796 shows that such a device was used by Purcell in three-part texture (see Illustration 1.5). In fact, some of the motifs he had used in the three-part Fantazias also facilitate that (Illustration 2.11). Of the three Fantazias which contain augmentation, Fantazias 4 and 8 present the device already in the first section; Fantazia 12 uses it throughout the last section (see table 2.1). It is important to observe the type of augmentation and the exact stage when Purcell chooses to incorporate it: Fantazia 4 has two augmentations (bars 9 and 11) and one double-augmentation (bar 14); Fantazia 8 has one augmentation (bar 12); these four augmentations happen at the middle of a section, already after the material has already been established in simpler complexes—in his Fantazias, Purcell places the augmentation as a goal in a process of growing complication. Moreover, Purcell does not try to conceal the use of augmentation, but rather the contrary: in Fantazia 8, perhaps in order to expose the augmentation, Purcell halts the crotchet-dominated texture as he inserts the augmentation (Illustration 2.12a), a restrained movement which is otherwise reserved for cadences (as in bars 5 and 21 of the same piece). This is also the only passage in the work in which no quaver movement appears for six consecutive minims. Similar strategy can be observed also in Fantazia 4 where the composer slows the texture by avoiding the use of quavers (bar 10, Illustration 2.12b).

Fantazia / section	Bar within the section (bar no.)
4 / I	9 (9)
8 / I	12 (12)
8 / III (compromised)	7 (39)
12 / II	2 (59)

Table 2.1 – first occurrences of augmentation in the different sections in Purcell's Fantazias.

Sonata / mvmt.	Bar within the movement (bar no.)
Z.791 / I	17 (17)
Z.793 / V (the Close)	23 (158)
Z.794 / I	1 (1)
/ IV	1 (1)
Z.796 / I	1 (1)
Z.799 / 4	24 (124)
Z.804 / I	1 (1)
/ III	10 (61)
(+ 'aborted' entry)	3 (54)
Z.805 / II	26 (57)
Z.808 / I	25 (25)

Table 2.2 – first occurrences of augmentation in the different sections in Purcell's Sonatas.

Cogency, however appropriate as a metaphor, is hard to quantify. But the different stages in the unfolding of the musical form where the composer used augmentation, and the ways that these stages were determined by the genre in which he chose to compose, these are of prime importance for our understanding of seventeenth-century conception of musical form. In three of the opening movements of the Sonatas, the augmentation is an inseparable part of the initial proposition, the first complex in the movement: the A minor Sonata of 1697 (Z.804, Illustration 2.13) which will be dealt with extensively below; the first movement of the C major Sonata of 1683 (Z.795), 'a little practical treatise on canon' in which Purcell simultaneously combines the subject with its augmentation and its double-

augmentation (Illustration 2.14);⁶⁸ the E minor Sonata (Z.796) analysed in Chapter 1.

Regarding the latter, an observation made by Tilmouth is revealing:

The E minor Sonata (XII, 7) opens with what sounds like a piece of innocent albeit rich homophony, but analysis shows that the whole movement is constructed with astonishing ingenuity from a single motive.⁶⁹

Tilmouth is here describing an asynchronous analysis of the piece which reveals a level of artifice that very few listeners can identify in first hearing. Especially when examined against the background of the highlighted augmentations of Fantazia 4, and even more so that of Fantazia 8, it seems that in these sonata movements Purcell does *not* try to reveal the complexity of his contrapuntal deed, and maybe even tries to hide it. This level of complexity can be evaluated by any connoisseur who *sees* the score (even though the 1683 set was published as four partbooks)—it is no coincidence that Purcell used the same technique in his pedagogical examples of ‘fugeing per augmentation’ which were published in score layout in Playford’s *Introduction to the skill of musick*, or in the symphony which opens the song *How pleasant is this flow’ry plain* which was published in score in *The Banquet of Musick*⁷⁰—but for the listener, the Sonatas do not show the same effort to *communicate* the composer’s contrapuntal technique as the one seen in the Fantazias. In one opening movement (of the Bb major Sonata Z.791, analysed below) Purcell brings the augmentation for the first time only in the middle of a movement, as a signifier of growing complexity, a procedure which is otherwise reserved to canzonas: the final movement of the A major Sonata Z.799 and the second movement of the D minor Sonata Z.805. Another opening movement which presents augmentation not at the beginning but at the very end is the opening movement of Z.806. There, the bass part in the last three bars of the movement can be interpreted as an augmentation of one of the two main subjects of the movement, and yet it does not sound too different from many other of Purcell’s bass approaches towards a cadence (for example, compare with Z.805 bars 58–61, Pavan Z.751 bars 34–6).

⁶⁸ Tilmouth, ‘The Technique and Forms of Purcell’s Sonatas’, 118.

⁶⁹ Tilmouth, ‘The Technique and Forms of Purcell’s Sonatas’, 111.

⁷⁰ Henry Purcell, *The Art of Descant*, in John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 12th edn (London: Henry Playford, 1694), 121; Bruce Wood (ed.), *Symphony Songs*, NPS27 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2007), xvii, 28.

Presenting the augmentation at the end of the musical form is also apparent in vocal music. At the endings of the *Te Deum* Z.232 and of *Hail, Bright Cecilia* Z.328 Purcell combines a quadruple augmentation (at the end of the *Jubilate* Z.232 it is an octuple augmentation). However, here it is the lack of distinctive rhythmic patterns combined with the fact that the augmentation is in the bass (which tends to slow down anyway towards cadences) which makes these augmentations be seen in the score much more clearly than be heard.

INTERTEXTUALITY – II. SONATA Z.804

Before moving on to another contrapuntal device, the inversion, and its uses in Purcell's form, some attention should be given to one of the three Sonatas which open with an augmentation. The A minor Sonata of 1697 (Z.804) raises several issues of intertextuality, either between its different movements or between that work and works of other composers, and some of those issues clearly relate to the augmentation which Purcell chooses to use in it.

The opening of the Sonata, beginning with the four bars cited above (see Illustration 2.13) can be analysed as

A slow-movement pattern which he borrowed from the Italians [and which] consists of a short phrase generally moving to a pause on the dominant or in a related key, followed by a repetition of the phrase extended by modulations through a number of keys before returning to the tonic.⁷¹

This opening formula, 'one of Corelli's favourite opening gambits' (which appears also in the works of Lonati and Colista that Purcell certainly knew),⁷² was indeed used frequently by Purcell in both Sonata sets, and will be referred to henceforth as the 'Italian gambit' (a term which is not more arbitrary than the *German chord* or the *Tierce de Picardie*). However, true as this description may be, it fails to address two important aspects which are not traditionally seen as pertaining to musical form: the opening motif which has special significance in Purcell's output and the treatment of that motif through augmentation.

The opening motif is far from being one of Purcell's most original melodies. Even within the trio-sonata literature it appears in the same rhythm in at least other two opening

⁷¹ Tilmouth, 'The Technique and Forms of Purcell's Sonatas', 115

⁷² R.P. Block (ed.) *Lelio Colista, Sonata à 3 in C (W-K13)*, (London: Ars Antiqua, 1982); Michael Tilmouth (ed.), *Lelio Colista Sonata No. IV in D Major*, (London: Stainer and Bell, 1960). The work was misattributed to Colista (cataloged as W-K20), partly due to Purcell's comment on it in Playford's *Introduction*. It is now attributed to Lonati (catalogue number A4).

movements of Salomone Rossi's works (Sonata 1 'detta la Moderna' from his 1613 set and Sonata 2 from his 1622 set, Illustration 2.15). But one does not have to go as far as Mantua or read publications from as far as Venice: the same motif is also found elsewhere in Purcell's own oeuvre, for example in two organ voluntaries (Z.718 and Z.719).⁷³ Very little is known on the two works' chronology, both derived from manuscripts copied after the composer's death and outside the circles of the Chapel Royal. Both use the same motif, ornamented and with its first note broken down to three crotchets, in an identical opening imitative section (Illustration 2.16).⁷⁴ However, one of the two seems to be a reworking of the other (Z.719 is longer and explores the abilities of the double organ while Z.718 is 'stylistically [...] superior, [...] simpler and more direct').⁷⁵ An intriguing question may be why Purcell, who clearly knew the polyphonic potential of the motif to appear simultaneously with its augmentation, did not use the device in either of the two voluntaries, especially in Z.718 which is the more imitative in nature. But in order to answer, a deeper examination of the motifs in Sonata Z.804 may suggest additional connections with the genre of the voluntary.

Motivic connection between different sections in Fantazias or between different movements in Sonatas is treated extensively in Adams' monograph.⁷⁶ Adams' implied view contradicts Tilmouth's that 'Purcell makes no conscious attempt to link thematically the various sections of his fantasias, but each section is a perfect unity in itself and extraneous material is rigorously excluded'.⁷⁷ Adams' approach found an even more extreme successor in Howard's analysis of the Fantazias, where the latter observed motivic connection between different four-part Fantazias, that is, outside the limits of a single piece (the phenomenon is probably irrelevant to the three-part works as there is no evidence that they were written

⁷³ William Barclay Squire and Edward John Hopkins (eds.), *Harpsichord Music, Organ Music*, PS6 (London and New York: Novello, Ewer and co., 1895), 61–7.

⁷⁴ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 290–2.

⁷⁵ Ralph Downs, 'An Organist's view of the Organ Works' in *Henry Purcell 1659–1695 Essays on his Music*, Imogen Holst (ed.) (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 67–73 (69).

⁷⁶ Adams, *Henry Purcell*, 104–5 (in relation to Fantazia 7); 108–110 (in relation to the F major Sonata Z.793).

⁷⁷ Tilmouth, 'The Technique and Forms of Purcell's Sonatas', 111.

over a short period or formed a 'fantasia project' similar to that of the four-part works). Howard's thesis, based on the chronological proximity and the known order of their copying, links the climax of the opening section of Fantazia 8 with ideas developed by the composer in the earlier Fantazia 7.⁷⁸ Another connection which is not mentioned in Howard's work is relevant to the current discussion of augmentation, as it relates to the one of the augmentations in Fantazia 4. Bar 11 of that work brings, for the first time, a variant of the subject in augmentation, which can be seen as a merge of the subject in its prime and inverted forms (Illustration 2.17a). Howard's assumption—that the connection between the different Fantazias is conscious—can be reinforced by the particularities of this passage: the subject-variant appears but once in Fantazia 4, which resembles the head-motif of the seven-part In Nomine (Illustration 2.17b). The augmentation, highlighted by the slowing down of the texture (see above), is interesting not because of its combination with other occurrences of the subject but rather the contrary—because Purcell does *not* combine it with any other subject, and therefore, its modification is not a contrapuntal necessity (as is the case in other occurrences of that variant: viol II, bars 15–16 and viol I, bars 16–17), but rather a conscious modification into what in another work is the subject itself. Another interesting relationship, between Fantazia 6 and the *Fantazia upon one note* will be discussed in Chapter 3 in connection with Purcell's treatment of *cantus firmus* technique.

While these last connections between Fantazias do not seem to play a constructive role in defining the imitative points of sections or movements as those observed by Adams do, the A minor Sonata does not betray either kind of connection easily. Comparison of the openings of the first and the fourth movements of the Sonata shows that they are not connected by any direct manipulation (augmentation, inversion etc.) or even structural notes which would allow one to state that they are 'different on the surface but alike in kernel' after Réti.⁷⁹

Here, the thematic connections with Purcell's keyboard voluntaries can be useful, since research into other works of that genre shows that the two motifs from Z.804 are part of an intricate net of family-resemblances within the organ literature of three of Purcell's

⁷⁸ Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice,' 132–133.

⁷⁹ Rudolph Réti, *The Thematic Process in Music*, 5.

suspected teachers—Christopher Gibbons, Matthew Locke and John Blow.⁸⁰ Illustration 2.18 juxtaposes the two Sonata motifs with a mediating selection of motifs from Purcell's own voluntaries (transposed to A minor), Blow's *Cornet Voluntary* and two voluntaries by Gibbons and Locke.⁸¹ Although variants of the two motifs appear in other genres and in the works of other composers too,⁸² the use of the motif in a work set in the same key as the voluntaries of Purcell's immediate predecessors raises the possibility that the motifs chosen by Purcell had specific association with that key, and maybe even with a specific genre.⁸³ It is important to note that even in earlier generations, the motif is found primarily in keyboard music with liturgical and para-liturgical connotations.⁸⁴

The comparative inquiry into the polyphonic design of different genres can lead us to several hypotheses. The first is that in his voluntaries Purcell did not incorporate augmentation of the motif, which he used elsewhere, because each genre had a set of contrapuntal techniques identified with it and specific ways to use such techniques, and because the augmentation device, at least on this characteristic motif, was simply not a part

⁸⁰ A discussion on the identity of Purcell's teachers is found in Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell, 1659–1695: His Life and Times*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 37–44.

⁸¹ Geoffrey Cox (ed.), *England 1660–1710*, European Organ Music of the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries, Vol. 3 (London: Faber Music, 1986), 2–3 (Gibbons), 4–5 (Locke), 12–5 (Blow).

⁸² In Purcell, the Aire from *The Double Dealer* (Z.592/4) is closely related, example from an earlier consort composer is Coprario's Fantasia-Suite no. 7 (MB46, p. 152) and even the passage 'Thus sung her first and last' from Gibbons' madrigal *The Silver Swan*, No. 1 in Orlando Gibbons, *The First Set of Madrigals and Mottets of 5 Parts* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1612).

⁸³ If the Sonata Z.804 really does try to provoke association of the voluntary genre, it may also suggest an intriguing interpretation of the term *Sonata da chiesa*. It should be mentioned that alongside the suggested 'motivic' connection to bind different movements in the A minor Sonata together, one cadential formula seem to also characterize the Sonata, as will be explained in Chapter 4.

⁸⁴ It is not, however, absent from consort music repertoire, e.g. Coperario, Suite (no. 103a in MB9), Tallis, Iste Confessor (no. 106 in MB1), O. Gibbons, Fantasias (nos. 10 and 12 in MB20); Tomkins, Gloria Tibi Trinitas (nos. 10 and 11 in MB5). Thurston Dart and William Coats (ed.), *Jacobean Consort Music*, MB9, 2nd edn (London: Stainer and Bell, 1966), 187–9; Denis Stevens (ed.), *The Mulliner Book*, MB1, 2nd edn (London: Stainer and Bell, 1954), 106; Gerald Hendrie (ed.), *Orlando Gibbons: Keyboard Music*, MB20, 2nd edn (London: Stainer and Bell, 1967), 18–20, 22–24; Stephen D. Tuttle, *Thomas Tomkins: Keyboard Music*, MB5, 2nd edn (London: Stainer and Bell, 1973), 21–28; Virginia Brookes, *British Keyboard Music to c.1660* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

of the arsenal appropriate for an organ voluntary (in the same way that opening a movement with an augmentation was not appropriate for a fantasia). In this light, a passage from Blow's *Cornet Voluntary* should be examined (Illustration 2.19), whether Blow tries to emulate an augmentation and, if so, why does he compromise the effect and not use the simple, strict, complex seen at the beginning of Purcell's Sonata? Moreover, the placing of the quasi-augmentation later in the process of the work reinforces the view of the propositional augmentation at the beginning of the Sonatas as a feature unique to that genre. Also not to be overlooked is the possibility that Purcell's avoiding augmentation in the voluntary stems from matters of personal taste or even arbitrary choice.

Another conclusion is more general, and may be achieved by challenging the accepted modern meaning of 'motif' and by suggesting a different concept which may be more appropriate in relation to some repertoires of the seventeenth century. The main output of the comparative approach—the 'net result' mentioned by Howard as a group of works stylistically connected which is brought forth in order to contextualize a piece⁸⁵—may be considered an entity in itself, a group of works which are based on motifs which have some sort of family resemblance. This family resemblance can stretch as far as including the two motifs from Purcell's A minor Sonata in the same group, and thus, even if the connection between the two cannot be explained directly but with the mediation of other pieces, they can be shown as a part of the same motif-net or as descendents of an abstract archetypal motif.

Another solution to the problem of Purcell's differing approaches to this particular motif may be questioning the authority of the two organ voluntaries Z.718 and Z.719. The paucity of surviving organ works by Purcell does not seem to have stood in Purcell's way to be crowned by some as one of the 'three famous Masters' of Restoration keyboard music,⁸⁶ but without getting into the many problems raised by Purcell's surviving works for the

⁸⁵ Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice,' 71.

⁸⁶ On a personal note, the present author wishes to remark that, excluding this particular formation of a group of 'three famous masters' in Restoration Keyboard Music, Brown's value judgment, applied all along his contribution to *Keyboard Music Before 1700* is in general accord with his own. Alan Brown, 'England' in *Keyboard Music Before 1700*, Alexander Silbiger (ed.) (New York, London: Routledge, 2003), 23–89 (68).

harpsichord,⁸⁷ it should be noted that the few surviving organ works, with their late sources, raise many stylistic questions and do not fall easily into the Purcellian idiom extracted from his vocal, consort, and theatre music. Even if the works by Blow and Purcell are the most important contributions to the Restoration organ literature,⁸⁸ in the narrower context of each of the composers' works these are hardly significant achievements and, in Purcell's case, to the extent of questioning the authority of the texts: Holman calls Z.716 and Z.717 'trifles', and in relation to Z.719 and Z.718, he notes that it is impossible to know 'which came first, or that Purcell was wholly responsible for both of them [...]'.⁸⁹

Other elements of form show more flexibility in migration from one genre to the other. One such element (which is, again, closely linked with rhetoric) is the close—a slow conclusion which rounds off the last Quick section in a fantasia—which was adopted in the fantasia-suites of the earlier seventeenth century.⁹⁰ Five of Purcell's Fantazias make use of such closes: three-part Fantazias 1 and 2, four-part Fantazias 6, 7 and 8 and five-part *Fantazia upon one note*. Of these, the close of Fantazia 2 is of particular interest since on the one hand, its extreme chromaticism which seems to stem directly from voice leading and was probably inspired by Locke, was added to the first two sections in a later date, as can be inferred from the shorter version copied in Lbl Add. MS 31435;⁹¹ On the other hand, the cadence of that close, which was completed by Warlock and became the accepted cadence of the piece,⁹² might not have been intended by Purcell to round off the piece and, therefore,

⁸⁷ Christopher Hogwood, 'Creating the Corpus: the "complete keyboard music" of Henry Purcell', in *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe*, Christopher Hogwood (ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 67–89.

⁸⁸ Geoffrey Cox, 'English organ music to c1700', Nicholas Thistlewaite and Geoffrey Webber (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 190–203 (198–201).

⁸⁹ Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 99–101.

⁹⁰ Christopher D.S. Field, 'Formality and Rhetoric in English Fantasia-Suite' in Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *William Lawes (1602–1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 197–249.

⁹¹ Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 76–77.

⁹² 'In the MS. this Fantasia comes to a sudden conclusion at this point. The notes in small type have been added by the editor'. Purcell-Warlock, *Fantasias for Strings*, ed. André Mangeot, reprint (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1943), 4.

treating the rhetorical function of that section as a close must be done cautiously (as will be discussed further in Chapter 4).

In other genres, such as the overture, one can find similar constructions: the 'Staircase' overture, the D minor and the G minor overtures, all have a concluding section in duple time which serves more or less the same rhetorical function, an adaptation of the French overture format.⁹³ When surveying the Sonatas, one can find such closes rounding off eight of those works (nos. 2, 5, 7 and 12 of the 1683 set and 1, 3, 5 and 7 of the 1697 set). In some cases, such as in Sonata no. 5 of the 1683 set, where the close presents the same subject that opened the Sonata, a particular *da capo* technique may be identified with a specific model such as Legrenzi;⁹⁴ in other cases, it is hard to distinguish the rhetorical function of the close from similar procedures employed in other genres. For example, the similar means by which Jenkins and Purcell create the intensification of the close, the former in a Fantasia-Suite and the latter in a Sonata (Illustration 2.20); both cases show the juxtaposition of an organ point and of a wide-range imitative stepwise motion rising in the upper voices.⁹⁵

The tonal plan of the 1683 Sonatas, mentioned earlier in relation to theories of an overall tonal plan which exceeded the twelve Sonatas eventually selected for publication, can be re-examined in light of the discussion on form and augmentation. It is interesting to note that the two Sonatas which begin with an augmentation are Sonatas 6 and 7, which stand at both sides of the middle of the set, a symmetrical reading of the publication which can be reinforced by the two other Sonatas which, albeit more loosely, correspond to the pattern—Sonata 2 (augmentation in the first movement, bar 17) and Sonata 10 (augmentation in the last movement, bar 123). With this symmetry in mind, one can revisit the above findings regarding the augmentation in the Fantazias, which appear in the first four-part work (Fantazia 4), the last one (Fantazia 12) and the middle one (Fantazia 8).

⁹³ Silas Wollston, 'New Light on Purcell's Early Overtures', *Early Music*, 73/4 (November 2009): 647–56 (esp. 650).

⁹⁴ Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 88.

⁹⁵ Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *John Jenkins: Consort Music of Three Parts*, MB70 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1997), 121–3.

FORM AND DISPOSITION – II. INVERSION

A similar genre-aware treatment of a contrapuntal device can be observed in the use of another common procedure—the inversion. As in the case of augmentation, here too the presence of the device is common both to the Fantazias and the Sonatas although the two genres present different approaches as to the function that device fills in the form and the place that it takes in the general order of events. Again, the three-part Fantazias do not contain any explicit inversion. One exception has been debated—the beginning of the second section of the Fantazia 3 (Illustration 2.21). In this case, Tilmouth and Field's view—that each viol presents a distinct motif—seems to be supported by constant reshuffling of the motifs (eight times along the thirty-six bars of that section).⁹⁶ Then again, perhaps Howard's research should challenge the idea itself, of a motif or a subject as the building block of contrapuntal composition, and replace it with a wider view of a contrapuntal complex whose constant modification supplies interest and tension to the musical form.

However, inversion of subjects is abundant in the four-part Fantazias, the bulk of Purcell's output in the Fantazia genre. In light of the extensive use of that procedure in the four-part pieces, Purcell's avoiding augmentation and inversion in the construction of the three-part Fantazias should be seen as a major difference in compositional approach. Again, works such as the three-part Pavan in A minor prove that no textural limitation stemming from three-part scoring is the cause of Purcell's policy and that a three-part texture could serve and had served him for complexes with inversion (Illustration 2.22). Again, several explanations can be found: one is that Purcell's different contrapuntal agenda, alongside the lack of dates in the autograph source of these first three works and the fact that Purcell

⁹⁶ Tilmouth and Field refer to the opposite view—that the parts of Viol I and Viol III are inversions of one another—suggested by Warlock and Mangeot. The two writers also stretch these view further and claim that Purcell would have referred to this as 'three fugues interchanging' after Purcell's description in Playford. The present author differs in his interpretation of Purcell's own description which can be seen as a reference to a contrapuntal procedure more strict than the one apparent in Fantazia 3, and discussed more extensively in Chapter 3. Henry Purcell, *The Art of Descant*, in John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 12th edn (London: Henry Playford, 1694), 125; Michael Tilmouth and Christopher D.S. Field, 'Consort Music II: from 1660', 249.

started copying his four-part Fantazias in the middle of a manuscript-paper gathering (see Chapter 1), may suggest an earlier genesis of the three-part Fantazias, sometime before the creative boost reflected in the daily work on the dated four-part Fantazias; another explanation is that the different approach may reflect the conventions of the proper contrapuntal apparatus for each fantasia-scoring, as perceived by the young composer, and consciously exercised by him. Inversion appears in all of the four-part Fantazias excluding nos. 5 and 7. Rhetorically, by appearing very early in the unfolding of the works in which it is involved, inversion plays an almost opposite function to that of the augmentation.

Fantazia / section	Bar within the section (bar no.)
3 / II	1 (38)
4 / I	3 (3)
6 / III	5 (66)
8 / I	1 (1)
8 / II	1 (22)
8 / III	9 (41)
9 / II	7 (17)
10 / IV	Upbeat to 6 (upbeat to 44)
11 / I	1 (1)
11 / III	12 (43)
12 / I	2 (2)
12 / II	4 (61)
Upon one note / I	2 (2)
Upon one note / IV	9 (39)
In Nomine à 7 / I	2 (2)
In Nomine à 7 / II	1 (13)

Table 2.3 – first occurrences of inversion in the different sections in Purcell’s Fantazias.

Of the sixteen inversions mentioned in table 2.3, ten appear right at the start of the section, two (in Fantazias 6 and 9) appear well within the first half of the section even if not at its very beginning, and three (in third section of Fantazia 8, in Fantazia 10 and in the third section of Fantazia 11) appear towards the end of the section. Two of the inversions require special remark: in the second section of Fantazia 8 Purcell incorporates the inversion as his most strict canonic passage in the whole set (‘2 in 1 arsin per thesin’ in viols I and IV in bars

22–5 and a simpler ‘2 in 1’ in viols I and IV in bars 26–30)⁹⁷; a rather curious opposite case appears in the fourth section of the five-part *Fantazia upon one note*. While in the second section of Fantazia 8 the canon is a structural features which makes the inner parts (viols II and III) subjected a harmonic role, in the *Fantazia upon one note* the inversion seems to be a mere ornament. That inversion, applied to the semiquavers of the countersubject, does not necessarily function as a contrapuntal cornerstone in the rhetorical structure of the Fantazia and might as well be considered a fine-detail addition, which reflects Purcell’s sense of finesse—his choice of an inverted countersubject, albeit inconsistent, creates local interest and results in a slightly more balanced sonority of the triad which would have been missed had the composer used the prime form (Illustration 2.23).

The inversion in the *Fantazia upon one note*, singled out for its momentary character and structural insignificance, has several equivalents in the Sonatas (table 2.4). One can see how often Purcell resorts to inversions that appear ‘too little, too late’ and thus do not reflect great contrapuntal complexity: in the third movement of Z.803 the inversions are sporadic and unadventurous; a similar situation can be observed in the third movement of Z.801 where the inversion is subordinated to the rigid and mechanical four-bar phrasing (which will be discussed in Chapter 3), and therefore does not seem to be integrated in any meaningful tension-accumulating process; the last movement of Z.793, excluded from the list of closes just for its extraordinary length (33 bars) presents an inversion only when approaching to the last cadence in the last five bars. Comparing this last movement to the opening section of the *Fantazia upon one note*, by virtue of the similar stepwise motif (and key), one can see that Purcell was very much willing to explore the potential of that motif in other circumstances, but chose to avoid that while writing the Sonata.

⁹⁷ It is hard to define what length of passages qualifies for ‘a canon’ rather than a mere ‘real answer’ in imitation. For example, Fantazia 5 (bars 5–7) presents a canonic repetition of seven minims (Viol I bars 5–6 repeat in Viol IV bars 6–7), but it is mainly the otherwise homophonic nature and slower tempo of that section in the work which makes this passage ‘a canon’, compared to the imitation of the second section in the work whose subject is of almost the same length (six minims).

Publication / Sonata / mvmt.	Bar within the movement (bar no.)
Z.791 / I	12 (12)
/ II	18 (48)
Z.793 / V (the Close)	23 (158)
Z.794 / I	4 (4)
Z.794 / IV	6 (117)
Z.796 / I	5 (5)
Z.797 / III	36 (98)
/ V	6 (139)
Z.801 / 3	13 (56)
/ V	Upbeat to 16 (upbeat to 107)
Z.802 / II	12 (22)
Z.803 / II	Upbeat to 25 (upbeat to 43)
/ V	29 (165)
Z.804 / II	11 (29)
/ III	3 (54)
Z.804 / IV	Upbeat to 14 (upbeat to 81)
Z.805 / I	11 (11)
/ II	17 (48)
Z.806 / II	21 (42)
/ IV	1 (83)
/ V	6 (117)
Z.808 / I	5 (5)
/ IV (1697 Print)	21 (97)
/ IV (30930)	21 (64)
Z.809 / II	27 (52)
/ IV (30930)	Upbeat to 40 (upbeat to 40)
Z.810 / I	12 (12)
/ V	27 (150)
Z.811 / II	25 (45)
/ V	25 (136)

Table 2.4 – first occurrences of inversion in the different sections in Purcell’s Sonatas.

The most impressive sonata movement in the way in which Purcell demonstrates gradual increase in the use of both inversion and augmentation as means to control the unfolding of the form is the opening movement of Z.791 (Illustration 2.24): bars 1–3 present an imitation at three minims; bars 4–5 add a countersubject; bars 6–10 intensify the imitation into a *stretto* at the minim as well as demonstrate the double-counterpoint nature of the countersubject; bars 11–16 retain the same level of intensity (*stretto* imitation at the minim) but also present an inversion of the subject; these bars also pursue *stretto* entrances of the countersubject (which has been only hinted in bar 8); bars 17–23 retreat to imitation at two minims but compensate this apparent anticlimax by presenting the subject in augmentation; bars 24–30 round off the movement with its boldest contrapuntal adventure *stretto* at the crotchet. Thus, even if uncharacteristically for a sonata movement Purcell presents augmentation relatively late in the form, this movement is one of clearest cases of Purcell's forms whose sophistication can be more easily perceived by listeners by virtue of the gradual and well-paced increase in the variety and complexity of contrapuntal devices or, indeed, eloquent rhetoric.

Unlike in the case of augmentation, which was used only sparingly in the Fantazias, one can see that Purcell was preoccupied with exploring the potential of inversions both in his Fantazias and in the Sonatas. However, the study of Purcell's use of inversion in the Sonatas alone, that is without comparing them to the well-crafted inversions of the Fantazias, raises a question regarding what was presented as the historical point of departure for the present chapter—that the two sets of Sonatas reflect more or less the same stage in the composer's stylistic development. While all of the 1697 Sonatas (excluding the chaconne) contain inversions, only half of the Sonatas of the 1683 publication contain inversions—a difference which may have implications on their supposed chronology.

Two additional issues are raised in relation to Sonata Z.808 and Z.809. The first was most clearly addressed by Herissone—Purcell's curious decision to edit out a series of inversions which appear in the early autograph version second movement of the Sonata Z.809 but are absent from the published version.⁹⁸ The fact that the inverted subject is not combined

⁹⁸ The chronology of Sonatas Z.808 and Z.809 has been a subject for a debate already in the late 1970s by Tilmouth and Hogwood. Michael Tilmouth (ed.), *Ten Sonatas of Four Parts*, NPS7

simultaneously with the subject in its prime form makes it possible to believe that Purcell could set out to compose the movement without preplanning a contrapuntal climax which would combine the subject straight and inverted, but Herissone's doubts as to the accepted chronology of the works (she infers that the autograph version transmits the later stage in the work's chronology) should be seriously considered.⁹⁹ The second issue is the similarities between of the two versions of the fourth movement in Sonata Z.808 regarding the place in the movement where inversion is introduced. This will be considered in Chapter 3.

In terms of Purcell's consistency in the use of contrapuntal devices, it should be noted that five of the nine Fantazias and twelve of the fifteen Sonatas which contain inversion, contain it in more than one movement and therefore the inversion may be seen as a unifying element on a multi-movement structural level rather than in the surface-level of motif reworking. In this, one can observe a difference between Purcell's treatment of inversion and of augmentation: the latter does not serve as a unifying element; it is used in more than one movement only in two of the seven Sonatas which use augmentation. None of the three Fantazias which contain augmentation presents this device in more than one section (assuming that the compromised augmentation in section three of Fantazia 8 is not to be considered).

The second issue concerns Sonata Z.806. This Sonata, together with Z.807 and Z.809, give the 1697 set its great emphasis on G minor.¹⁰⁰ This alone hints that the anonymous editor's selection compiles together works which were not necessarily intended for publication as a set (this will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4); on the other hand, on the surface this Sonata does not seem to be less Italianate or modern than the other Sonatas of the 1697 set, especially the previous and the next Sonatas in that set which both represent French

(Sevenoaks: Novello, 1981), xvii; Rebecca Herissone, 'Purcell's Revisions of his own Works' in Curtis Price (ed.), *Purcell Studies*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 51–86 (60).

⁹⁹ Most recordings of the four-part Sonatas transmit the 1697 printed text, while only few record the autograph versions of Sonatas 7 and 8 (and usually only as an appendix), for example Purcell, *Ten Sonatas in Four Parts*, compact disc HMC 901 438.

¹⁰⁰ Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 91–2.

features of some sort—the former, Z.805 in D minor, dominated by dotted rhythms and the latter, Z.807 in G minor, by its chaconne form. The short fourth movement of Z.806, however, *opens* with a complex containing inversions, a device which is otherwise limited to the Fantazias; also some implicit elements in the structure of the canzona do hint that it is affected by the compositional methods practiced by the composer earlier during his work on the Fantazias (as will be discussed in Chapter 5). This Sonata, along with the atypical chaconne Z.807, is the only Sonata of the 1697 publication which does not appear, even in fragmentary form, in **30930**, and for which different chronology was suggested by several authors (see above). Opening formulae of contrapuntal movements are unlikely to be sketched whimsically and, at least in Purcell's case, betray careful planning; this fantasia-like formula, as well as the Jenkins-like close discussed above, may also hint that this Sonata was composed in closer chronological proximity to the composition of the Fantazias, and maybe before the Sonatas of 1683 and the Sonatas represented in **30930**.

Another remark should be made concerning the G minor 'Overture in Mr P's Opera' Z.630/1 which uses the inverted subject as the first countersubject in the third bar of its fugal section (Illustration 2.25a).¹⁰¹ As in the case of Sonata Z.806, this unusual device raises a question, this time maybe of attribution, and as already observed, the overture's use of the same motif discussed above (see Illustration 2.2) in bars 1–4 is not enough in order to attribute the piece to Purcell (Illustration 2.25b) by virtue of the great popularity of that motif among seventeenth-century composers. Other instances where Purcell presents a subject and its inversion right at the start of a section are also indicative of the *stile antico* nature of the Fantazias: for example the motet *Jehova quam multi sunt* Z.135 (bar 4), *Hear my prayer, O Lord* Z.15 (bar 6) and *O Lord God of Hosts* Z.37 (bar 4).¹⁰²

Other cases where the first inversion is brought relatively early in the movement are Sonatas Z.794, Z.796, Z.797 of the 1683 Sonatas and the third movement of Z.804 discussed earlier. In all of those cases the inversion appears between the third and the sixth bars while

¹⁰¹ Lcm MS 1172 f. 38r, previously associated with *The Tempest* and thus Z.630/1.

¹⁰² In the funeral sentence *Man that is Born of a Woman* Z.27, the obvious juxtaposition of ascending and descending contours on the words 'He cometh up' and 'and is cut down' (bars 11–23) is embedded in a single point of imitation designed to suit the text, but creating an overall similar effect nonetheless.

in Z.806 it appears at the very first bar; but more than this quantitative difference, the important qualitative difference is that in Z.806 the inversion is a part of the first, propositional, complex while the others appear only after some sort of a cadential periodization. Other borderline cases are the second movement of Z.804 where the inversion is a part of a proposition, although a proposition which opens the second part of a binary movement, and cases where Purcell creates an *illusion* of inversion by using fragmentation of the imitative motif as secondary material, as seen in the opening bars of Z.796 discussed in the previous chapter.

A conclusion of some generalisation may be apt: Purcell's use of inversion is common both to his Sonatas and Fantazias, but the great majority of inversions in the Fantazias are brought in early at the beginning of a section while in the Sonatas the inversions appear in the middle of a movement, either as a symptom of growing complexity or as an ornamental afterthought (Table 2.5). As far as this pattern of polyphonic planning is concerned, turning back to Purcell's immediate predecessors, Locke and Blow, does not necessarily suggest a convenient candidate for Purcell's model. The surviving consort works by Blow—one Sonata, one ground and one chaconne—are too few to allow meaningful conclusions regarding Blow's consort-music 'style'. Locke, whose autograph scorebook allowed fruitful comparison with Purcell's in some ways, proves very different in means of contrapuntal planning. In fact, trying to spot opening complexes which follow the Purcellian fantasia-idiom observed above—combining the subject with its inversion right at the start—shows that Locke's consistently avoided opening his fantazias in that way: *The Little Consort* and the *Consort of Four Parts* contain none and the *Flat Consort* contains but two instances (Illustration 2.26a and 2.26b). The masterly Oxford Suite (which for some reason was not included by Locke in Lbl Add. MS 17801) contains a middle section that opens with an impressive example (Illustration 2.26c) and it is not surprising, in light of the universities' place in the cultivation of sophisticated counterpoint (see Chapter 3) that the suite was 'made by Mr Matthew Locke to carry on the Meetinge at ye [Oxford] musick schoole'.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ Locke sometime uses free inversion, an illusion of inversion as it was called above, based on contour. Such example can be found in the second section of the F major Fantazia (no. 3) from the *Consort of Four Parts* (bars 35–9). Tilmouth (ed.), *Matthew Locke: Chamber Music: II*, MB32, 71–4; 100–103; 108–9.

Locke's six-part canon on the hexachord contains an added *ad placitum* voice which foreshadows the effect of the motif combined with its inversion three bars before this is achieved with the lower canonic voice (Illustration 2.26d).¹⁰⁴

	Movements in sonatas	Sections in fantazias
Inversion	Late in the form Unifying element	Early in the form Unifying element
Augmentation	Early in the form Not a unifying element	Late in the form Not a unifying element

Table 2.5 – The roles of inversion and augmentation in Purcell's Sonatas and Fantazias.

The possibility that this relatively rare contrapuntal procedure, if picked up from Locke, was taken from a canon based on the hexachord is not surprising, considering the other formal features Purcell seems to have adapted from that arcane field of hexachord-based composition for consort (see Chapter 3). However, the fact that this procedure is far from being a characteristic of the immediate suspects for Purcell's model should again hint that at least some account of earlier precedents is needed. Richard Mico (c1590–1661) presents inversions in the first and second sections of his five-part Fantazia no. 4 (Illustration 2.27a and 2.27b; it is important to note that in Illustration 2.27a the inversion appears right at the start), which highlights the fact that it is not used elsewhere in Mico's impressive output, and shows again how the choice of contrapuntal device serves as a unifying element within the framework of a multi-sectional piece.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Locke's canons were not included in his autograph but are considered consort works today, as implied from their inclusion in the volumes dedicated to Locke's consort music in MB. Michael Tilmouth (ed.), *Matthew Locke: Chamber Music : II*.

¹⁰⁵ Andrew Hanley (ed.), *Richard Mico: Consort Music*, MB65 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1994), 83–5.

Mico's single example may be joined by haphazard examples, mainly in the repertoire for six-part consort: Tomkins' six-part scoring offers a rich variety of ideas with which his Fantasia XVI is opened, and among them also some that may be interpreted as subject and inversion (Illustration 2.28a);¹⁰⁶ Thomas Lupo exploits the symmetry of the augmented triad in order to create what is arguably his weirdest imitative subject (and yet the weirdest is not necessarily the boldest—the six-part scoring pushes most of the imitation to the realm of the inner voices. Illustration 2.28.b);¹⁰⁷ Ferrabosco II exploits the invertible nature of the minor triad at the outset of his hexachord fantazia (Illustration 2.28c);¹⁰⁸ John Wilbye certainly tried to create the impression of inversion at the beginning of his six-part fantazia, but it is not strict and unlikely to have followed a meticulous plan of *stretto* complexes (Illustration 2.28d).¹⁰⁹ By this I do not wish to discredit free imitation, but rather to make a distinction between that and the technique of strict imitation with which Purcell was preoccupied during the summer of 1680.

On the whole, opening a contrapuntal section with a subject and its inversion was not idiomatic for consort music, but to vocal genres—to some extent the madrigal and primarily the motet. William Mundy's *Songs and Psalms* (1594) contains no fewer than three examples: *The Prime of Youth*, *The Longer I Live*, and the Psalm setting *Lord to Thee I Make My Moan* all open with a subject and its inversion.¹¹⁰ George Kyrbe's *First Set of Madrigals* (1597) also contains three examples, this time even more strict in imitation: *Why Should I Love*, *What Shall I Part Thus?*, and *Must I Part, O My Jewel?*; in the latter two the device is clearly in response to the extra musical idea of parting, as it beautifully illustrates two lines starting from unison, and opening up (by stepwise ascent and descent) to larger intervals

¹⁰⁶ John Irving (ed.), *Thomas Tomkins: Consort Music*, MB59, (London: Stainer and Bell, 1991), 74–9.

¹⁰⁷ Dart and Coats (ed.), *Jacobean Consort Music*, 127–9.

¹⁰⁸ Dart and Coats (ed.), *Jacobean Consort Music*, 32–4; 62–4.

¹⁰⁹ Dart and Coats (ed.), *Jacobean Consort Music*, 141–3).

¹¹⁰ Edmund H. Fellowes (ed.), Thurston Dart (rev.), *William Mundy: Songs and Psalms Composed into 3, 4 and 5 Parts (1594)*, Emad35b (London: Stainer and Bell, 1961), 15–19 ; 25–29 ; 118–122.

(Illustration 2.29a, 2.29b).¹¹¹ In the second part of Richard Carlton's *Sound Saddest Notes*, the beautiful imitation is somewhat overshadowed by the word-painting of 'Let every sharp, in sharp tune figure' (Illustration 2.29c).¹¹²

But the genre in which subject and inversion (at the beginning of a section) is most widely used is the motet, and Alfonso Ferrabosco I (1543–88) was probably the most consistent in exploiting its effect: three motets—*Conserva Me, Da Pacem* (first setting) and *Domine in Virtu*—use the device in their beginnings. The most impressive use, however, is in the multi-sectional *Benedic, Anima Mea*, where it is used at the beginnings of the sixth, eighth, and tenth sections and somewhat camouflaged in others (for example, the first section).¹¹³

¹¹¹ Edmund H. Fellowes (ed.), Thurston Dart (rev.), *George Kirbye, First Set of Madrigals (1597)*, Emad24 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1961), 78-83 ; 64-68 ; 126-132.

¹¹² Edmund H. Fellowes (ed.), Thurston Dart (rev.), *Richard Carlton: Madrigals to Five Voices (1601)*, Emad27 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1960), 79-92.

¹¹³ Richard Charteris (ed.), *Alfonso Ferrabosco The Elder (1543–1588): Opera Omnia, I Motets*, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, Vol. 96 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology Hänslers-Verlag 1984). 119–30; 136–41; 154–66; 36–90.

SOURCES II – A ‘COUNTERPOINT NOTEBOOK’

Unless another autograph or other substantial documentary evidence regarding Purcell’s life surfaces, most of the conclusions from Shay and Thompson’s study of Purcell’s autographs are unlikely to be challenged in the near future. As little as the present study’s contribution to Shay and Thompson’s view of **30930** may be (with no such discoveries in sight), one’s understanding of that autograph’s contents may still benefit from a comparison with another Purcell manuscript which is discussed more briefly by the two writers—**20.h.9**—a scorebook copied in the early 1680s by John Reading. Born around 1645, Reading was about 15 years Purcell’s senior. In 1667 he became junior vicar in Lincoln Cathedral and seven years later he left for Chichester Cathedral only to leave it after several months and become Master of Choristers in Winchester Cathedral. In 1681 he was dismissed from his post and became an organist in the nearby Winchester College until he died in 1692.

Although a composer in his own right, Reading is mostly remembered for his part in copying the music of Henry Purcell. His hand was identified on two manuscripts, **20.h.9** and Lbl Add. MS. 47845,¹¹⁴ and it was probably not too long after he took the post in Winchester College, in his late thirties, that he copied **20.h.9**. Although the manuscript is a collection of works by several composers, it is no surprise that **20.h.9** is studied primarily from a Purcellian point of view: more than half of the thirty-five works therein are by Purcell (and for four of them, it is a unique source in a complete state).¹¹⁵ Moreover, its early copying date gives a *terminus ante quem* for several other pieces. On the other hand, it is not an autograph source, and therefore even when studied by Purcellians (and mostly by them), the fact that most of composer’s material in it was copied (or even published) elsewhere, makes researchers study it very discriminately, which distorts the complete picture of the musical, social, and personal forces which shaped this artefact and are essential for

¹¹⁴ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 312–13.

¹¹⁵ The canon *God is gone up* Z.107; *Three parts upon a ground* Z. 731; Overture in D minor Z. 771; Overture in G minor Z. 772.

understanding and interpreting it—these are mainly concerned not with the main composer represented in the manuscript but with its copyist.

Alongside the twenty works by Purcell, the manuscript contains also works by Blow, Young, Roseingrave, Vitali, Reading himself, and several works whose attribution is slightly more complicated to establish. Just like **30930**, this manuscript also uses both ends of the manuscript (straight and inverted) for two distinct genres, and here also, one end contains sacred music and the other, instrumental music. However, the eclecticism of the manuscript results in each end demonstrating much more variety than in Purcell's autograph: the sacred-music end contains four anthems, a service, and a few short canons whose liturgical context and use are rather vague, if they existed at all; the instrumental end contains overtures and sonatas by Purcell (12), Young (4), Blow (1), Vitali (1) and several unattributed works. It is important to note that alongside Purcell's modern *Sonnatas of Three Parts* (1683), copied in their entirety into the book soon after they were printed, Reading also copied older sonatas: Vitali's was published in his opus 5 (Bologna, 1669) and Young's are even earlier (Innsbruck, 1653). The scoring of the sonatas in the reverse end of **20.h.9**, and of the works in the manuscript in general, varies from one work to the other, and it is hard to find a practical reason for which any musical establishment in Winchester would have needed that manuscript. It is probable, then, that the copyist's own musical taste had at least some influence on the choice of works in that compilation.

Purcell, during the court's visits in 1682–4 and along with other court musicians, spent some time in Winchester. This stay could easily have exposed the local musicians to the leading composers of London and to the works which circulated in their manuscripts.¹¹⁶ It is not too risky to assume that at that time Purcell's name was known enough to make his works attractive for copying. By early 1684 he already had two major publications behind him: the three-part Sonatas and the Cecilian ode *Welcome to All the Pleasures*. The inscriptions on some works copied into the **20.h.9** show an almost childlike fascination with

¹¹⁶ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 145.

celebrity gossip.¹¹⁷ A deleted rubric in the manuscript above the cadence of the second movement of Purcell's Sonata Z.796, which reads (in mixed English and Italian) 'Mr Henry Purcell Sonata Settima Canzona' which, alongside the presence of Vitali's and a work by a certain 'Seignor Givano Battista' which is hard to attribute,¹¹⁸ testifies for Reading's fascination with Italian music.¹¹⁹

Despite the seemingly eclectic choice of instrumental music in the book, a closer look at the selection shows that, if we attempt to adopt Reading's vantage point, in some subterranean layers it is coherent and consistent. For example, the G minor Overture Z.772 (folios 117v–115r) intrigued many scholars as to its original context: many have argued that it is not an independent piece. For some time, its five-part scoring raised the suspicion that it is a part of a lost ode written for the court; others, impressed by its ominous and expressive tone, claimed that it may have been a part of the otherwise-lost incidental music for the tragedy *Theodosius*; however, the presence of the overture's bass-part in another manuscript (US-NH Filmer8) alongside other dance tunes in the same key, may hint that it formed a part of an abstract instrumental suite.¹²⁰ However, if one assumes that Purcell brought with him this overture in context, copied with other movements, it is important that Reading chose to copy only the overture.

Discriminative copying was not Reading's own brainchild. As in other manuscripts of that time, we see that it is the first movement of a more extensive piece which also entails most of its compositional interest in terms of counterpoint, that attracts the copyist and makes him avoid the copying of shorter and less challenging movements. In Lbl Add. MS 31435, for example, the copyist signed F.T. had copied only the fantazias from Locke's *Consort of Four*

¹¹⁷ 'This piece of Musick was Christ'ned Draggon at New Markett 1679' on folio 110v, Dragon being the name of one of Charles' racing horses ; 'Seignor Givano Battista [illegible word] Symphony w[hich] M[r] Nich.[olas] Staggins produced as his owne May 29th 1679' on folio 108v.

¹¹⁸ Holman argues that it is Draghi; Shay and Thompson assume that it is Vitali.

¹¹⁹ The rubric is nowhere to be found in Purcell's printed publication and does not accord with the roman numerals Reading otherwise used when copying the set.

¹²⁰ Peter Holman, 'Compositional choices in Henry Purcell's Three Parts upon a Ground', *Early Music* 29/2 (2001): 251–61 (252–3).

Parts.¹²¹ Reading seems to have shown little to no interest in the larger contexts from which he hand-picked sophisticated counterpoint, a policy which can explain most of the other works in **20.h.9**: outside the contrapuntal complexity of Purcell's Sonatas which is at the centre of this study, John Blow's anthem *Sing We Merrily* is an elegant essay in responsorial technique and imitation; the structure of the *Three Parts Upon a Ground* is articulated by short sections of strict canonic writing; even the Symphony 'which Staggins produced as his own' (that at least some of the attention it receives stems naturally from strange gossip in its title) is a short piece of strict counterpoint, highly chromatic and of considerable compositional interest.

The piece on the folios 1r–1v is a 16-bar-long canon by Purcell entitled by Reading '4 in 2 Arsin and Thesin' (Illustration 2.30). However, the particulars of the canon here were misidentified by Reading (it is '4 in 1' rather than '4 in 2'), although the wrong description gives us valuable information, not so much on Purcell's work but on Reading's understanding of it, especially considering Reading's inscription a few pages later, above his own piece. After copying two more canons by Purcell, Reading started copying an eight-part anthem by Blow but, probably still under the impression of the canons, he started using the four empty staves left underneath the pages of Blow's anthem for copying a canon by himself, on pages 6v–7r (Illustration 2.31).

Most of the interest in these two works lies not in comparing the craftsmanship of Purcell's miniature with the weaker achievement of Reading's 17-bar canon, but rather in two other issues: first, not only that the inaccurate title he gave to Purcell's canon was an understatement, indicating four melodies encoded in *two* rather than in *one*, but it is similar to the title Reading gave to his own canon which is, again, inaccurate, but this time it is too generous, perhaps a wishful thinking, as the 'Arsin and Thesin' invertibility applies only to the first four notes. The second point of interest is that Reading did not give any text for this canon. If this canon ever had text, Reading did not bother copying it, since his main interest seems to have been compositional. The same policy characterizes the copying of Purcell's service in the same manuscript. The different sections of the B-flat service, copied into the sacred-music end of the manuscript, all contain canons: the verse 'Vouchsafe O Lord' from

¹²¹ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 112.

the *Te Deum Ladamus* is a '4 in 2', 'And Thou, Child' and 'Glory be to the father' from the *Benedictus* are '4 in 1', and '2 in 1' by inversion respectively. Although it was a later hand that added the Nunc Dimittis and the Magnificat from Purcell's service, both Reading and his successor probably valued Purcell's masterly counterpoint more than they needed a source usable for extracting performing parts from. The textless copying of vocal music is a phenomenon which can be traced back to Elizabethan times, and can be found also in Purcell's own copying activity.¹²² It is important to realize that **20.h.9** served for purposes which are beyond immediate performance.

The study purposes of **20.h.9** can also be supported by a minor detail concerning the *Three Parts Upon a Ground*, where the bass figuring stops after only four bars (Illustration 2.32).¹²³ With such a fragmentary state of the figured bass part, one may ask whether the bass figures have been copied faithfully from Purcell and why so few of them.¹²⁴ It is probable that the figures are not at all Purcell's prescriptive instructions, but Reading's own descriptive short-hand when he was trying to decipher what the harmonies are. The *Three Parts Upon a Ground* is a compositional *tour de force*, and the relative simplicity and momentum of the bass allows Purcell to operate sophisticated contrapuntal procedures on the upper voices, and sometimes create jarring harmonies which he would not have presented as a part of his usual harmonic language. There is a possibility that when Reading tried to analyse the work by attaching figures, and gave up at the moment he discovered

¹²² An earlier example may be manuscript Lbl Add. MS 30480, in relation to which John Milsom identifies 'a new category of user: the performer who valued the musical substance of a motet but had no interest in the words'. Other occasions for textless copying may be when the user of the score is also the composer (as in the case of the correction slips for Ob Mus.c.26 identified by Herissone). But in relation to Purcell, the obvious example of the first type is his untexted copy of Monteverdi's *Cruda Amarilli*. Franklin Zimmerman, 'Purcell and Monteverdi', *The Musical Times* 99/1385 (July 1958): 368–9. John Milsom, 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber', in John Morehen (ed.), *English Choral Practice 1400–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 161–179 (170); Rebecca Herissone, "'Fowle Originalls" and "Fayre Writeing": Reconsidering Purcell's compositional process', *Journal of Musicology* 23/4 (2006): 569–619 (585).

¹²³ However partial the figuring is, it is still accepted as 'the text' and the fragmentary figuring is copied uncompleted into modern editions (the Purcell Society Edition Vol. 31, King's Music and others).

¹²⁴ This case is different from that of the sonatas where the figured bass part can be seen as a simplification of the bassus and Purcell often left blank in **30930**.

that the piece can hardly be *simplified* in that way. Had Reading gone on writing the figures for bars 4 and 5, he would have needed two 'layers' of figures (Illustration 2.33a), or maybe he even foresaw what awaits him in the next systems, for example in bars 10–11 (Illustration 2.33b).

Reading's scorebook **20.h.9** also contains a scoring up of Purcell's 1683 publication *Twelve Sonatas of Three Parts* (1683), and was probably copied from it, as the similarity of texts and even graphic embellishments suggests. Purcell's Sonatas were a ground-breaking innovation, being a single-author publication of modern consort music, for 'modern' violins rather than for viols, in the modern Italian style aimed at the new markets of home music-making. Thus, it is risky to make generalisations regarding any *normal* way in which such music circulated. However, one incentive for copying music published in separate partbooks was that they could be copied into a score, thereby facilitating study of the music. While Purcell's 1697 *Ayres for the Theatre* were frequently scored up in manuscript, this can be explained by the nature of Restoration theatre music and its use: people scored it up from parts, thus creating a 'file copy' from which parts could then be extracted again, but rarely using the same grouping into suites. For example, Lcm MS 1172 contains only tunes in G minor; two manuscripts in the Clark Memorial Library in Los Angeles contain many tunes from Purcell's Ayres, rearranged according to their keys.¹²⁵ Sonatas, however, were probably performed as complete units, and therefore the act of scoring up sonatas, at least in this case, may be the result of the copyist's attempt to study the works, which is almost impossible when they are in partbook layout. It is still left to be asked why Purcell, who probably lost a considerable amount of money on this adventurous publication, would have allowed Reading to copy his Sonatas while they were still new on the shelf.¹²⁶ Is it possible that Purcell identified Reading's passion for counterpoint and merely showed professional empathy? Is it possible that Purcell didn't know that Reading copied them? Is it possible that they were scored up from a printed copy that Purcell himself sold to someone else in

¹²⁵ Manuscript US-LAuc B217M4 S948 and US-LAuc fP985M4 C697. Richard Charteris, 'A Checklist of the Manuscript Sources of Henry Purcell's Music in the University of California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles', *Notes* 52/2 (1995–1996): 407–421.

¹²⁶ As mentioned above, copies of that publication survived the composer and were still on sale seven years after he died.

Winchester, but the scoring-up took place only at a later date? Why is the spelling of Purcell's family name correct in the sonatas but wrong in the canons? Does it have any bearing on the chronology of different stages in copying **20.h.9**?

Almost every possible answer will bring us back to the conclusion that reasoning behind the compilation of **20.h.9** is a person, and that is John Reading. As a carrier of Purcell's music, this manuscript is unorganised, but once we step out of the narrower lanes of Purcellian studies, we see that it may also be seen as a coherent testimony of the copying and studying processes of a musician who was evidently not of Purcell's calibre, but nonetheless, these processes are worth understanding for what they are. Apart from the textual layer which makes **20.h.9** a significant source, and the information it contains about how a seventeenth-century organist and composer collected good counterpoint and studied it, that manuscript reveals one of the few documents that we have concerning the rise of Purcell's reputation during in his earlier career.

Research into manuscript **20.h.9** through a focus on John Reading may lead to several conclusions which are central to the present study: as the manuscript probably served primarily for personal use and study, the inclusion of Purcell's *Sonnatas of Three Parts* in score implies that these works were perceived as essays in learned counterpoint; moreover, sonatas in general were perceived as a learned genre which should be learnt by scoring-up; overtures were considered the most interesting part of a multi-movement piece in terms of compositional technique and, when copied for purposes of study, would have been copied without the dance movements that followed them; the technique of combining *per arsin* and *per thesin* at the beginning of a piece (which is essentially the same device used by Purcell in several of his *Fantazias* and in the third movement of Sonata Z.806) seen by Reading as a model for imitation even if he failed to imitate it properly. Another conclusion, more conjectural in nature, is that it is unlikely that a manuscript with Purcell's *Fantazias* was accessible to Reading while he was compiling **20.h.9**, since the interest in those works would have made them an obvious target for copying in a similar context to that of the works Reading eventually copied.

The blurred borders of generic distinction can be seen as a part of a more general process in English music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in which certain esoteric mindsets migrated from small circles of *cognoscenti*, whether in court or in universities, to the

expanding market of amateur music making and, through strict canonic writing, also to the stage and to the Church. It was shown that parallel to the permeation of 'elitist' contrapuntal devices such as inversion and augmentation to the popular domestic genres of Italian-influenced sonatas, some generic individuality was preserved in the disposition of artifice throughout the musical form.

Hitherto, most of the cited models and comparisons came from the field of English consort tradition. The relatively few mentions of foreign models do not necessarily imply going against the important progresses made by Wessely-Kropik, Tilmouth, Holman and Adams—all identified true stylistic influence of Italian, and especially Roman, sonata composers—but rather emphasize the local influences on the infrastructure of Purcell's musical forms. This chapter overviewed two dimensions in which the Sonatas and Fantazias carry stylistic signatures which are important for the distinction between the two genres: that of notational idiom and that of rhetorical disposition of contrapuntal devices. While the Fantazias use the enharmonic misspelling, a descendent of earlier consort repertory, and demonstrate a distinctive device of presenting inversion at the beginnings of sections, the Sonatas show a more careful use of inversion, while making bold experiments with augmentation. The difficulty audibly to communicate some of the contrapuntal devices in the Sonatas falls into place with its circulation in score and its implied status as a learned genre.

CHAPTER 3 – TRADITIONS OF CONSORT MUSIC AND *CANTUS FIRMUS* THOUGHT

PURCELL AND HIS PAST

The first chapter opened with the significance attributed by Nikolaus Harnoncourt to Purcell's Fantazias as a key for understanding Purcell's output in other genres, and for understanding his role as the last great composer of the English consort tradition, as that tradition is seen by Harnoncourt. The doubts expressed by consort-music researchers as to Purcell's constituting a part of that essentially earlier tradition notwithstanding, Harnoncourt's view of that tradition and its wider social attributes, with Purcell as an integral part of that tradition, highlights the private and elitist nature of consort music, which forms an important part of what makes it a unique local phenomenon in the history of music:

During the Baroque age, when what mattered most in music was its effect, the British were much more concerned with content, with the depth of the musical statement. English Baroque music is not concert music which provides virtuosos with a vehicle to display their talents, but rather very subtle and most profound music for a small circle of devotees. England surely boasts no fewer music enthusiasts than Italy or France, perhaps more, but they did not require the stimulating backdrop of a public setting in order to enjoy music. Musical life was thus contained primarily in countless small circles of people who possessed genuine knowledge and ability. [...] They wanted to listen actively, intensively. For this reason, the larger portion of English music of the 17th century is chamber music.¹

As in the previous excerpt from Harnoncourt's *Musik als Klangrede* (and even with a few organological statements specifically in praise of the viola da gamba omitted from it), one can easily observe the worldview of a cello and viol player, convinced in the great achievement made by the English consort tradition, and well aware of the values cherished by the later—classical and romantic—concert cults and of the difficulty of articulating that chamber music achievement to audiences accustomed to later repertoires. Further discussion of Lawes' and Purcell's harmonic modernity testifies to

¹ Nikolaus Harnoncourt, *Baroque Music Today: Music As Speech: Ways to a New Understanding of Music*, Mary O'Neill (trans.) (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1988), 165.

Harnoncourt's categories, which sketch the line of his historical narrative through, indeed harmonically-bold and individual, figures such as Coprario, Lawes and Purcell. Harnoncourt's selection, ignoring Byrd, Orlando Gibbons and even Jenkins, depicts only one of the many possible images of the English fantasia tradition—that of the baroque composers whose music stands out in its eccentric motifs and for vertical sonorities which are often as expressive and individual as those of later composers of the German romantic chamber music tradition.² Harnoncourt's selection of composers (and some selection is inevitable as in any historical writing) has several weaknesses: English affection towards theatrical spectacle can be argued against Harnoncourt's content-over-effect view, as it was reiterated extensively in the long debate over the insular hesitation and delay in adopting all-sung opera;³ title pages on publications such as Nicola Matteis' *Ayres for the Violin* (1687) betray English affection for virtuosity, or at least recognition of virtuosity's commercial power of attraction;⁴ moreover, in the days preceding the formation of the public concert in the early eighteenth century, the 'public setting' implied by Harnoncourt as being applicable elsewhere in Europe, was in fact far from being standardised, if defined at all. In England, the yearly Cecilian feasts in the 1680s were certainly a step in the direction of public participation, but as a rule, the

² Coprario's eccentric motifs can be seen for example in the chromatic subject in his six-part Fantasia (no. 77 in MB9) bars 18–28. Examples of bold harmonic excursions are many and varied in all three composers. However, to allow comparison, three examples which are alike in many respects, including their place within the process of a movement, can be given: in Coprario, short and stark deviation from A minor to Bb minor towards the end (bars 40–6 of 51) of his Fantasia in five parts (no. 35 in MB9); in Lawes, a Fantasia for three Lyra Viols (in MB21) sharply deviates from tonal stability towards its end (bars 97–116 of 120), radically harmonizing the subject of chromatic descent although the tablature notation blurs this when looking at the score; Purcell's 'roving harmonies' (to use an anachronistic term) in bars 41–3 of his 47-bar long Fantasia 8 Z.739. Thurston Dart and William Coats (eds.), *Jacobean Consort Music*, MB9, 2nd edn (London: Stainer and Bell, 1966), 53–55, 117–8; Murray Lefkowitz (ed.), *William Lawes: Select Consort Music*, MB21, 2nd edn (London: Stainer and Bell, 1971), 61–3; Thurston Dart (ed.) and Michael Tilmouth (rev.), *Fantazias and Miscellaneous Instrumental Music*, NPS31 (London and Sevenoaks: Novello, 1990), 19–21.

³ The association of music with supernatural activity on the stage is held to be an important force in shaping the English dramatic opera. Margaret Laurie, 'Music for the Stage II: From 1650', *Music in Britain: The Seventeenth Century*, Ian Spink (ed.), BHMB3 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 306–340 (314–5).

⁴ The title of the book reads 'Ayres For the Violin Att Two or Three and Four Parts Preludes Allemands Sarabands Fuges *single & Double Stopps with several passages to emprove the hand: a concert of three trumpets, with an addition of some new tunes for violins & flutes at the end of this book, never before published with a second treble*' [present author's italics]. Nicola Matteis, *Ayres for the Violin* (London: 1687).

patterns of public music consumption in Europe as a whole were still being forged and to a large extent dependent on music-making in the church or in the local court—chamber music and published sonatas not excluded.

With all these limitations in depicting but one aspect of English music history, sketching 'Purcell's past' as seen from the composer's own vantage point is impossible: English musical retrospect was not recorded properly until the times of Hawkins and Burney (both writers' general music histories were first published 1776). Moreover, the concept of a musical 'canon' and its place in seventeenth-century composers' education should be studied very carefully in order to avoid an anachronistic approach to the very term, since not all of the different types of canon were at the same stage in their evolution at the time. Seeing Purcell as a dedicated pupil embarking on a large-scale, maybe even hermitical, project of studying the consort music of late masters and compatriots, is an act which may be affected by later manifestations of what William Weber classifies as 'pedagogical canon'—stories of Mozart's study of Bach, Brahms' study of Beethoven, or Bartok's study of Hungarian folk-songs. Historical awareness among seventeenth-century musicians was a different story: on the one hand, the *In Nomine* is a curious example of a genre based on a work by Taverner from before 1530 which had been revisited repeatedly by following generations for 150 years—until Purcell's time; on the other hand, it was only in the latter's generation that the framework was created in which 'ancient' music could have been communicated with audiences, the 'performing canon'.⁵ Examination of musical canon during the seventeenth century is bound to focus less on the developing 'performing canon' and more on 'scholarly' canon, as seen in theorists' evocation of past masters, for example Zarlino's *Le Istitutioni Harmoniche* (1558) with its admiration of the old Adrian Willaert (who was 68 years of age at the time of publication) or Burmeister's emphasis on the motets of the recently-departed Lasso (*Hypomnematum musicae poeticae* was published in 1599, five years after the latter's death). That kind of canon-centered culture of musical education was to be taken a step further only more than a century later, in Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725). There the technique of late sixteenth-century composers (substantially more distant a perspective than those taken by Zarlino or Burmeister) became a model for a treatise on strict counterpoint and composition.

⁵ William Weber, 'The History of Music Canon', in *Rethinking music*, Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (eds.), (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 336–55 (345–6).

Purcell's personal interest in earlier music was not necessarily confined to consort music, or may even have been focused elsewhere. Shay and Thompson argue that Purcell's 'exploration of the outmoded fantasia form is more likely to have arisen from his own interest, inspired perhaps by some of the ancient vocal music he edited in Cfm 88'.⁶ In fact, the latter manuscript, along with an untexted fragment from Monteverdi's *Cruda Amarilli* in Purcell's hand, are the only manuscript evidence from which a direct link to Purcell's studying activity can be suggested.⁷ However, with the plausible contextualisation of Cfm MS 88 as a 'file copy' rather than a young musician's study-score of earlier masters,⁸ not too much weight should be put on the fragmentary copy of Monteverdi's madrigal, as the backside of a correction slip is hardly enough to sketch the training process of one of the most technically-accomplished composers of the seventeenth century. Again, one can resort to seeking evidence of Purcell's studies and compositional models through the study of his finished works. Alongside an overview of Purcell's idiomatic deployment of artifice and its rhetorical implications (where exactly in the musical form Purcell uses the procedures of augmentation and inversion), the previous chapter demonstrated how notational conventions in certain genres may hint at possible models on which Purcell leaned, even if to date there is no specific manuscript through which we may assume that Purcell was exposed to the trait of enharmonic misspelling. This chapter and the next two will deal with other features outside notation, namely compositional techniques characteristic of consort composition, and particularly those which have a generative function in the musical form; in other words, these chapters will seek to understand the considerations which underlay the rhetoric deployment discussed in Chapter 2, the rationale which dictates segmentation and the use of principles borrowed from the field of *ars combinatoria*. These techniques will be outlined in historical perspective alongside other structural features of fantasia design which reflect continuity in the history of that genre.

⁶ Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 4.

⁷ Further discussion of this fragment in manuscript Ob MS Mus. A.1 in Franklin Zimmerman, 'Purcell and Monteverdi', *The Musical Times* 99/1385 (July 1958): 368–9.

⁸ Despite the traditional view of Cfm MS 88 as connected to Purcell's activity in Westminster Abbey, Shay and Thompson explicitly tie it to the Chapel Royal. "Fowle Originalls" and "Fayre Writeing": Reconsidering Purcell's compositional process', *Journal of Musicology* 23/4 (2006), 569–619 (574); Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 39.

Harnoncourt's choice of key figures for his narrative of English-baroque consort music (Coprario; Lawes; Purcell) is questionable since, in the seventeenth century, the composers who stuck to the technically-demanding fantasia and, at their most progressive, modernised some of its features, were but a minority which coexisted alongside a majority of the composers who updated the consort genre to fashions more simple and communicative. In a way, Harnoncourt's baroque narrative can be seen as a chain of 'misplaced' renaissance composers—a group of composers whose strong sense of individuality and inclination towards experimentation somewhat blurred the conservative facets of their contrapuntal technique. It is the backgrounds of these two tendencies in Purcell's music—on the one hand a conservative approach to counterpoint and on the other an inclination to experimentation, especially in relation to numbers and combinations—that this chapter will seek to clarify.

FORM AND *ARS COMBINATORIA*

A major share of Purcell's musical forms, that of his vocal music, is dictated by textual considerations (lyric form, rhyming and the composer's treatment of poetical metre), or is at least influenced by it (for example, textural decisions made by the composer in order to illustrate the words and their meaning). Most of the different sections or movements of Purcell's instrumental works, not unlike those of his contemporaries or practically of any other composer up to the eighteenth century, cannot be convincingly reduced to a formal scheme in the same way many classical sonatas relate to an abstract super-object such as the sonata form,⁹ or the way in which a baroque solo-concerto relates to the Venetian model developed by Vivaldi. The distinction between, on the one hand, labelling the structural formulae of a piece, and on the other, identifying forces which generate unique structures has preoccupied many scholars. Formulating such distinction usually involves an attempt to unearth a rationale of considerable complexity to contrast the simplicity of the *Formenlehre*, its failure to highlight the individuality of a masterpiece and the inapplicability of many *Formenlehre* models to baroque, renaissance, and indeed, late romantic music.¹⁰ Regarding English music of the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the rationale of structure still can be explained by ideas which originated in early-sixteenth century *cantus prius factus* technique, whether directly—by the use of a series of pitches (*cantus firmus*)—or indirectly—by using other predetermined (*prius factus*) elements which dictate the structure of the movement by setting its harmonic centres, its segmentation and the layout of the contrapuntal permutations presented in it. The intellectual tendency to self-impose those technical challenges involved in *prius factus* elements is not limited to music, and its appearance in other fields in English culture, as well as in countries which were culturally and commercially connected to England, will be outlined here, followed by a demonstration how they were inherited by Purcell from previous generations of consort composers.

⁹ The term 'an abstract super-object' is taken from Frits Noske, 'Forma Formans', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 7/1 (June 1976): 43–62 (44).

¹⁰ Many theorists coined distinct terminologies for that matter, to name but few—form/**FORM** in Ernst Toch; *forma formata/forma formans* in Frits Noske, 'Forma Formans'; Ernst Toch, *The Shaping Forces in Music: An Inquiry Into the Nature of Harmony, Melody, Counterpoint, Form* (New York: Criterion Music Corp., 1958), 153–60.

One of Purcell's works which has drawn most attention for its technical and intellectual properties is the third movement (Largo) of the B minor Sonata Z.802 (Illustration 3.1).¹¹ This movement, 'frankly a bore' according to Tilmouth,¹² is built of nine sentences, clearly articulated and detached from one another, which demonstrate but little motivic development. In Adams' monograph this movement received a thorough analytical treatment that, even if it reinforced Tilmouth's reservations regarding its aesthetic accomplishment, exposed new findings of the way in which it is structured. Adams' analysis, similarly critical to Tilmouth's in his value judgment, observed two principles at the heart of the movement's structure: the first is the systematic presentation of possible permutations in allocating the movement's subjects to the different instruments; the second deals with the systematic play with the movement's segmentation.¹³

Further clarification of Adams' observation and its application to other works by Purcell require some acquaintance with the terminology of *ars combinatoria*—the systematic re-arranging of materials in as many ways as possible under given conditions,¹⁴ as the musical implications of such terminology are at the heart of his analysis. Twentieth-century avant-garde fascination with dice music was preceded by eighteenth-century games of creating short musical pieces, usually by an arbitrary 'horizontal' combination of melodic cells.¹⁵ Earlier in the seventeenth century it was mainly manifested in the 'vertical' combination of subjects. Tilmouth briefly touches upon Purcell's combinatorial

¹¹ Michael Tilmouth (ed.), *Ten Sonatas of Four Parts*, NPS7 (Sevenoaks: Novello, 1981), 5–8.

¹² Michael Tilmouth, 'The Technique and forms of Purcell's Sonatas', *Music and Letters* 40/2 (1959): 109–21 (116).

¹³ Martin Adams, *Henry Purcell: The Origins and development of his musical style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 111–2.

¹⁴ Stephen A. Hedges, 'Dice Music in the Eighteenth Century', *Music & Letters* 59/2 (April 1978): 180–187 (185).

¹⁵ Lately, technological advance caused these two manifestations of the idea to be mixed: in the music museum in Vienna (*Haus der Musik*) the two methods are combined into a computer-based installation called 'Waltz Dice Game'. When a dice is thrown by the visitor, the computer joins random melodic cells into a waltz. It is interesting to observe that while the eighteenth-century minuet was replaced by the unrivalled Viennese waltz as the target of these combinatorial games, there is an interesting historic pendulum which oscillates between profoundly-serious attitude to the use of *ars combinatoria* in music (the seventeenth century with a range of polyphonists which made extensive, even if undocumented, use of *combinatoria*; the mid-twentieth century avant-garde) and light-hearted amusement from it (late-eighteenth century written games, and early twenty-first century installations in interactive museums).

technique in relation to several pieces and most explicitly in relation to the canzona of the Sonata Z.796. However, since *ars combinatoria* stands behind the first aspect to be discussed in relation to Z.802 and since it appears in several other ways in other works analysed throughout this chapter, general terminology should be established.

For her overview of the mystical background and early uses of combinatorial systems, Janet Zweig borrows three main types of *ars combinatoria* from mathematics: permutation, combination, and variation:

Each [type] begins with a limited number of items [...]. In permutations, the positions of these [items] are shuffled within the whole set, as in an anagram. For combinations, one can take out any number of elements from the set and put them together in a smaller group. Variations are permutations with repetitions allowed.¹⁶

Although it is the word permutation which has been used by both Tilmouth and Adams, it seems that combinatorial variation is the *combinatoria* type which is in most frequent use in Purcell, the Sonata Z.802 included.¹⁷ Adams identifies two main motifs as the basic material of the movement (the melodic suspensions motif which he entitles *a*, and the slower moving bass-like leaps which he entitles *b*) (Illustration 3.2). He also shows that each musical sentence presents a combinatorial variation different from the one presented in the sentence that preceded it, and he points at the systematic use of five of the six possible vertical combinatorial variations in which these two main motifs can be distributed in the three-parts texture.¹⁸ The significance of the functional change of *b*, from the static feeling caused by the arpeggiations of tonicized sonorities it outlines (bars 46–8 and 53–55) to the more dynamic sequences in the rest of the movement, can be stretched to the extent of isolating the two sections for the sake of the present analysis of combinatorial variation. Thus sentences 1–2 form a distinct section while sentences 3–9 (as *b* ‘emerges as a distinct theme’ according to Adams)¹⁹ prove, at least in terms of *ars combinatoria*, a coherent and self-sufficient section. Adams’ basic findings

¹⁶ Janet Zweig, ‘Ars Combinatoria: Mystical Systems, Procedural Art, and the Computer’, *Art Journal* 56/3 (Autumn 1997): 20–29 (20).

¹⁷ The phrase ‘combinatorial variation’ is henceforth brought in full in order to distinguish it from the common musical use of the work variation, either a genre or a melodic or harmonic or rhythmic modification which preserve essential characteristics of an original.

¹⁸ Adams, *Henry Purcell*, 112.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 112.

regarding the combinatorial variations in this movement stay valid in a graphic representation of that aspect of the piece more concise than the one in his monograph (Illustration 3.3). Here, however, another layer of sophistication is exposed—that of symmetry. Indeed, the combinatorial variation BAA (in the first violin, second violin, and bass respectively) does not appear in the movement, which somewhat damages the completeness of the combinatorial design; but once sentences 3–9 are analysed separately, the structure seems meticulously organised nonetheless, as well as symmetrical. Incorporating an additional combinatorial variation would have extended the movement by at least two sentences, in order to fit into the symmetrical design (for example, inserting two BAA phrases after phrase after sentences 2 and 9, 3 and 8, 4 and 7, or 5 and 6). When considering the tonal centres already in use in the movement (i, III, v and VII), it is possible that Purcell did not want to stretch the repetitive nature any further by imposing a new tonal centre (possibly iv or VI).²⁰ While the last two sentences are required in order to present two combinatorial variations, Purcell needs to regulate the harmonic flux and bring it into a halt. This is achieved by emulating an echo reprise of sentence 8 in sentence 9. While in other sonatas the composer uses an exact repetition to mark the ending of a movement and to create an appendix-like close (or *petite reprise*) which does *not* constitute an independent structural component in the movement's melodic or harmonic unfolding (Illustration 3.4), here the echo-sounding effect actually keeps the movement's *combinatorial* plan unfolding.

The other aspect observed by Adams is the control of the varying lengths of segments in that movement. Probably under the impression of the frequent cadencing, Tilmouth erroneously identified 'unbroken eight-bar phrases' (ironically, there is not a single phrase of that kind in the movement),²¹ and yet regular cadencing *does* rule the movement. Adams examined this characteristic and identified a progressive reduction in lengths of segments which could have potentially created a large-scale momentum

²⁰ The iv and VI degrees were accepted tonal centres in B minor in Purcell's music and he introduced cadences on them elsewhere in the piece. A cadence on the iv may be found in the Canzona (bars 28–9); a cadence on VI may be found in the Vivace (bars 139–40). These may also be found in B minor trio sonatas by others, for example, Corelli's Op.3 no. 4, which cadences on iv in the third movement (Adagio, bars 28–30) and more momentarily on VI in the second movement (Vivace, bars 28–9). Tilmouth (ed.), *Ten Sonatas of Four Parts*, NPS7 (Sevenoaks: Novello, 1981), 2–5, 8–12. Joseph Joachim and Friedrich Chrysander (eds.), *Archangelo Corelli: Complete Violin Sonatas and Trio Sonatas* (New York: Dover, 1992), 138–43.

²¹ Nonetheless, it is one of the most important and inspiring articles in the field. Tilmouth, 'The Technique and forms of Purcell's Sonatas', 116.

(segment lengths are 7; 7; 6; 6; 5; 4; 4; 6; 6 bars). This pattern is interestingly supported by the symmetry observed above: the two 7-bar segments coincide with sentences 1–2 and are separated from the main body of the movement and form an Italian gambit; the four 6-bar segments project a middle point which coincides with the middle combinatorial variation AAB (whose importance in the movement's plan may seem enhanced by the fact that its combination repeats nowhere else in the symmetrical section of the movement but twice in the Italian gambit). Although the frequent cadencing in the movement, which clearly articulates its segmentation and maybe excessively so, and Purcell's concentration on the level of separate phrases made Adams criticise the movement, his analysis of that level of planning is of great importance: Adams identified two formal features which are almost completely detached from that of pitch organisation—the aspect most often under scrutiny in analysis of music of that period (at least as a key-element of musical form).²² Moreover, through his findings, Adams crowns the movement as an 'extreme case of technique triumphing over process'; but what *is* this technique that asserts such influence?

Although one cannot be certain about the composer's working method, it may seem that the combinatorial plan is not created by chance, and that the non-imitative texture of the third movement of Z.802 just makes its blueprint easier to follow. Eventually, the criticism aimed at this movement demonstrates the aesthetic (and more important, the intellectual) differences between the expectations of sonata audiences in Purcell's age and those of sonata audiences today, at least as far as the musicological stratum of that audience has been concerned thus far. Now let us try and trace *ars combinatoria* and other techniques in a wider spectrum of Purcell's sonata and fantasia movements, including imitative movements. These, preceded by a clarification of the relation between music and the history of ideas and an overview of the history of consort music, its origins and parallels (musical and non-musical), will give an essential backdrop for examination of the compositional process in Purcell's early instrumental works. These inquiries will not result in a single organizing element constructing all of Purcell's works, but they will definitely suggest new aspects to be explored.

²² Adams, *Henry Purcell*, 111–2.

THE HISTORY OF IDEAS AND THE RISE OF CONSORT MUSIC (1520–1660)

Edward Lewinsky summarised the complexities of assessing the cultural background of music, and divided that challenge into three stages:

The first step might [...] consist in investigating to what degree and in what manner musical forms were influenced or even determined by their functional uses. The next step might lead to the study of those powers that determine the functions, whether they be church, state, court or city. Finally, the intellectual climate of the period will have to be studied through its manifestations in religion, philosophy, literature, science, and the arts in their various interrelations.

Yet the main task remains: that of coordinating the musical data with those gained by research in the history of ideas.²³

In light of Lewinsky's summary, one can rephrase the conclusion of the previous section (regarding the expectations of Purcell's audience and the ways in which they are different from those held by musicologists today) and argue that a lack of coordination between understanding Purcell's 'musical data' and the intellectual climate of his time may be, at least partly, the cause of Tilmouth and Adams' general discontent with the third movement of Sonata Z.802. Both researchers demonstrate great insight and understanding of the music, but it is possible that consideration of other facets of the intellectual climate which yielded the piece would have resulted in more favourable reaction to that movement, perhaps along the lines hinted by Roger North, who found Purcell's Sonatas to be 'very artificial'.²⁴ But how accessible is Lewinsky's third stage—the intellectual climate of times past? An all-embracing term such as climate hints at the impossibility of encapsulating it into a monograph, let alone describing a dynamic change in it, and perhaps the easiest way to discuss it would be to clarify the first two stages and thus, by way of elimination, isolate its third stage.

The fundamental argument behind the present analysis is that Lewinsky's first and second stages ('to what degree and in what manner musical forms were influenced or

²³ Edward E. Lewinsky, 'Music History and its Relation to the History of Ideas', in *Idem, Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, Vol. 1, Bonnie J. Blackburn (ed.), (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 3–5 (4).

²⁴ *Roger North on Music*, John Wilson (ed.) (London: Novello, 1959), 310.

even determined by their functional uses'; 'the study of those powers that determine the functions'), in relation to consort music, essentially belong to the mid-sixteenth century and are largely a result of the English Reformation. In general histories of music, the effect of the reformed churches is frequently outlined as being a consequence of their leading reformers' policies towards music. However, while some protestant churches overcame their fear of music and its power fairly quickly (or rather their composers learnt how to overcome the restrictive doctrines of their leaders), the music under the influence of the English reformation (but not necessarily the music of English reformed liturgy) took a different path; while reformed liturgy, as a whole, enjoyed masterly musical publications within its first decades (despite an occasional Calvinist dislike of anything musical excluding congregational psalm-singing), no such achievements have been made in England, at least not in print. English composers responded pragmatically to tensions between the more extreme Puritan views, which would reduce all church music to, at the most, psalm singing, and the Catholicising tendencies that would retain polyphony of some sort. These were not really sorted out until late in Elizabeth's reign and, ironically, the greatest achievements in the field of music for the Anglican service and anthems have been made by Tallis and Byrd, the latter being undoubtedly a Catholic while the former's religious convictions are still subject to scholarly dispute. But perhaps English musicians' confused response to the challenges within the new church hints at the directions to which they *did* channel their creative resources. English consort music tradition, as a secular phenomenon, can be seen as the *indirect* consequence of the reformation.

In that sense, Lewinsky's second stage is much easier to implement: if we identify consort music-making with a sixteenth-century elite of knowledgeable amateurs (succeeded by a seventeenth-century elite of the same kind) and professionals (who enjoyed the patronage of the amateurs), there is little doubt that early Anglican influence on secular circles is much easier to assess than attempting to encapsulate the later matrix of turbulent seventeenth-century influences, opening with the Stuart dynasty replacing the Tudor, witnessing regicide, civil war, a decade of republican regime, restoration of the monarchy, and finally the Glorious Revolution. To some extent, the tradition of consort music, partly by virtue of its esotericism, was almost immune to outer influences. Thus, even the driest times in London's cultural life, during

the commonwealth, did not cut the thread of the consort music tradition.²⁵ In that sense, consort music reflects an intellectual climate (Lewinsky's third stage) which was scarcely documented, and can be reconstructed primarily by better understanding of the consort music in itself.²⁶ This stage, however elusive it may be, is the most crucial for understanding the cultural phenomenon of consort music. According to Tim Carter, the most obvious element of baroque style is a 'formalist tendency to extol the craft of musical composition as an object of contemplation of and for itself',²⁷ and in that sense, one of the greatest achievements of English music does not gain its due recognition today: unlike in the fields of poetry, where England lagged behind Italy in cultivating high poetry in the vernacular,²⁸ English consort music created that instrumental 'object of contemplation' and cultivated it before parallel phenomena occurred in the continent, where 'there was no respect for music or vocal music without words'.²⁹

Weaving a narrative of the rise of a musical genre—a coherent overview of interrelated and yet separate works which transcends a list of aesthetic evaluations—requires the understanding of several parallel historical processes that, when isolated, may be rather straightforward historiographically. One such process was the creation of circumstantial context that yielded the new repertoire—the social gatherings of amateur musicians. This will be only touched upon in relation to specific sources, compositional traits, and indeed another process, organological in nature. The essential questions for understanding those conditions necessary for the creation of viol-consort music are when and how viol instruments immigrated to England. Holman suggests three theses, presented here in their chronological order: the first thesis is that Catherine of Aragon

²⁵ Christopher D.S. Field, 'Consort Music I: Up to 1660', *Music in Britain: The Seventeenth Century*, Ian Spink (ed.), BHMB3 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 197–244 (219); Michael Tilmouth and Christopher D.S. Field, 'Consort Music II: From 1660', *Music in Britain: The Seventeenth Century*, Ian Spink (ed.), BHMB3 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 245–281 (245).

²⁶ A similar claim is brought forward by Paul Doe, 'The Emergence of the In Nomine: Some Notes and Queries on the Work of Tudor Church Musicians', in *Modern Musical Scholarship*, Edward Olleson (ed.), (Stocksfield: Oriel Press, 1978), 79–92 (91).

²⁷ Tim Carter, 'Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque', in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, Tim Carter and John Butt (eds.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 23.

²⁸ Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study* (New York: American Musicological Society, 1962), 5–12.

²⁹ Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal*, 4.

brought the viol with her from the Iberian peninsula, following either her marriage to prince Arthur in 1501 or to Henry VIII in 1509;³⁰ a second thesis claims that the introduction of the viols to the English court was made by the Van Wilder family, during the second decade of that century;³¹ a third thesis, promoted by John Stevens, is that the viol became a popular instrument in court only during the third decade of the sixteenth century.³² Another point raised by Stevens, which is highly relevant to the rise of the sophisticated polyphony of the consort repertoire, is that it is hard to imagine written polyphony adorning the Henrician court which was largely illiterate; the lack of evidence for courtiers training in polyphonic music makes it plausible that most of the music in court was improvised.³³ Until the later part of Henry's reign, the contact between musical activity and intellectual circles was limited mainly to the universities and manifested itself primarily in church music. The unusual insignificance of London is apparent in the most important manuscript of that time—the Eton Choirbook. The composers represented in the manuscript came from a great number of choral foundations (including the Chapel royal, St. George's Windsor and Magdalen College Oxford) and to some extent demonstrate the primacy of Cambridge and Oxford's cultural and intellectual influence.³⁴

In light of the three theses mentioned here, and especially when considering Stevens' reservations concerning polyphonic music in the early years of Henry VIII's reign, one may understand the significance of the manuscript widely known as 'Henry VIII's Book' (Lbl Add. MS 31922). This manuscript, being one of the first collections of consort music in England (copied no later than 1523),³⁵ and despite the difficulty in classifying it as

³⁰ Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 70.

³¹ One of them will be mentioned later for his compositional technique. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 71–4.

³² Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 69–70.

³³ John Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court*, reprint (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 288–9.

³⁴ Frank Ll. Harrison (ed.), *The Eton Choirbook : I*, MB10, 2nd edn (London: Stainer and Bell, 1967), xvi; Magnus Williamson, 'The early Tudor court, the provinces and the Eton Choirbook', *Early Music* 25/2 (1997): 229–43 (240–1).

³⁵ Dietrich Helms, 'Henry VIII's Book: Teaching Music to Royal Children', *The Musical Quarterly* 92 (2009): 118–35 (119).

containing music for viols specifically, is undoubtedly an important milestone in the development of Tudor secular polyphony and the moulding of its intellectual character.

Some clarification of the sacred background to the intellectual nature that yielded the English music in the sixteenth century is needed for completing the picture. According to Roger Bowers, the fifteenth century in England, unlike on the continent, was a period with no real ecclesiastical patronage of music. This created a state in which the composers had no secured place in society and their works were 'transient phenomena'; however, this enabled them to develop their own preferred genres (the cyclic Mass and the vernacular polyphonic carol) and to shape them with little dependence on external factors.³⁶ Towards the end of that century, this relative freedom made the genre of the cyclic Mass receptive of influences from other directions. The academic study of music, being a part of the Boethian quadrivium, was highly regarded by medieval universities and it was the special structure of Oxford and Cambridge universities, plus the distinctive position of music patronage within England, which made them the first in the world to have granted degrees in that subject.³⁷ Close bonds tied together the academic study of music (*musica speculativa*), the ecclesiastical framework of the universities where music was studied, and the nature of musical practice in church and university (*musica practica*)—composition and performance of sacred music.³⁸ These bonds created a distinctive thrust in which, towards the beginning of the sixteenth-century, the best practical musicians in England were expected also to excel intellectually. According to Roger Bray, this unique local phenomenon yielded a new genre of Mass setting, which manifestly attempted to reflect the composer's understanding of speculative musical theory. The so-called 'doctoral Masses' started as an exam-like requirement for receiving D.Mus in Oxford, and works like Fayrfax's *Missa O quam glorifica* demonstrate their speculative profundity by using cryptic notation and rhythmic complexity, intelligible only to those who received a training in *musica speculativa* similar to that

³⁶ Roger Bowers, 'Obligation, Agency, and *Laissez-faire*: The Promotion of Polyphonic Composition for the Church in Fifteenth-Century England' in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*, Iain Fenlon (ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 1–19.

³⁷ The first documented music degree was given in Cambridge, 1463/4. Charles Cudworth and Richard M. Andrews, 'Cambridge', in *Grove Music Online*, (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.elib.tcd.ie>, 7 April 2010).

³⁸ Roger Bray, 'Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England', *Music and Letters* 76/1 (1995): 1–18 (1–4).

received by the composer.³⁹ An analysis of the few surviving specimens might in itself require a complete dissertation, but it is important briefly to summarise that '[At] the beginning of the sixteenth century, indeed, one of the objectives of the composer was to conceal [the profundity of his music] from all but the most informed eyes'.⁴⁰ This conclusion by Bray refers to the secularisation of this intellectual culture, and seems to show a decision not to credit the Reformation with a role in the process. However, in line with Lewinsky's observation, one may assume that the fact that the force which inspired the sophisticated achievements of the doctoral Masses and of polyphony in general — the church, soon to undergo extreme change, would have influenced English musical culture no less extremely; it was this very change—the reformation—which was to push music-making into other social contexts, and eventually to require that 'the carefully proportioned structural method of composition had been adapted to suit the more syllabic style of Anglican and secular music, thus proving its resilience and continuing to present challenging constraints to later composers'.⁴¹ The break with Rome and the formation of the Anglican church exerted an important, even if indirect, influence on the culture of consort music. The way in which musicians treated the neglected repertoire of the Roman rite may hint that, ironically, it was the *absence* of that repertoire that encouraged the creation of the English consort tradition. As explained by Oliver Neighbour,

[In the sixteenth century] there was a growing feeling that textless polyphony offered a new range of possibilities to the composer, but the problems of building sizeable pieces without the aid of words were intensified by the difficulty of finding a pretext for tackling them.⁴²

A similar view is expressed by Paul Doe and Lionel Pike and, as with Neighbour's remark, is expressed primarily in relation to the rise of the In Nomine.⁴³ However, unlike Neighbour who hints that the development of textless polyphony was a result of the advantages it offered, Doe and Pike highlight the *necessity* that the first generation of In

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 4–12.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴² Oliver Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1978), 26–27.

⁴³ Paul Doe, 'The Emergence of the In Nomine', 79–92; Lionel Pike, *Hexachords in Late-Renaissance Music*, 181–211.

Nomine composers felt to channel their creative energies to genres outside the Anglican church—implying that the In Nomine was *caused* rather than happened: ‘many composers seem to have felt that *they could not manage without* attempting to write in this way, and thus did so for instruments rather than for voices’ (present author’s italics).⁴⁴ Not only In Nomine settings but also hymn arrangements, which are more directly influenced by the liturgical practice of *Alternatim*, became detached from their liturgical context during that century.⁴⁵ The new instrumental genres of the second half of the sixteenth century, either independent of or based on a *cantus firmus*, by virtue of their secularity would not have collided with the explicit liturgical restrictions of the new church and, by virtue of their contrapuntal complexity, would have filled the gap in the intellectual and creative activity, previously channelled into elaborate sacred polyphony. The twentieth-century tendency to dismantle the contents of manuscripts and reprint them in new publications dedicated to single composers or to specific liturgical context serves to blur inter-generic relationships further.⁴⁶ In Tudor and Stuart manuscripts, one can often find Masses and Catholic polyphony alongside consort music, in the same manuscript, for example John Baldwin’s ‘Commonplace Book’.⁴⁷ To some extent, Purcell’s autograph **30930** continues that trait—certain types of sacred music (including the motet *Jehova, Quam Multi Sunt*, whose liturgical context is often debated) and secular consort music are juxtaposed in a ‘domestic’ category. Thus, even when considering *Musica Britannica*’s anthologies of Elizabethan and Jacobean consort music, which indeed break the modern composer-oriented scope,⁴⁸ the bond between Catholic polyphony and viol fantazias is rendered largely invisible.

The special motivation behind copying such combined manuscripts (or what seems to be a combination to modern eyes but may have been deemed perfectly coherent by contemporaries if our view is accepted) may stem from ‘the spirit of assembling and studying [which] might even take precedence over convenience to the performer’ and

⁴⁴ Paul Doe, ‘The Emergence of the In Nomine’, 91; Lionel Pike, *Hexachords in Late-Renaissance Music*, 193.

⁴⁵ Oliver Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, 52.

⁴⁶ Paul Doe, ‘The Emergence of the In Nomine’, 79–80.

⁴⁷ Lbl R.M. 24.d.2.

⁴⁸ Dart and Coats (eds.), *Jacobean Consort Music*; Paul Doe (ed.), *Elizabethan Consort Music : I*, MB44 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1979); Paul Doe (ed.), *Elizabethan Consort Music : II*, MB45 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1988).

from the personality of their collectors, in whom 'penmanship stands out as an issue of primary concern'.⁴⁹ More than implying some sort of *da chiesa* use of consort music it seems time and again that, vice versa, the use of Catholic polyphony after the reformation underwent a profound change, from liturgical function to musical artefact which is evaluated, first and foremost, for its musical achievement. This shift is clearly reflected in manuscripts such as Ob Tenbury 1464 and Lbl Add. MS 30480–4, both of which transmit polyphonic music without its text.⁵⁰

The detachment of secular polyphony from its original, sacred, function can also be seen through analysis of the rise of music printing during the 1580s and 90s. Under Tudor regulation of music printing, the duality of patents—that given to Tallis and Byrd for printing and importing polyphonic music and manuscript paper, and the more profitable patent given to John Day for printing metrical psalms—demonstrates that polyphony (even sacred Latin polyphony *par excellence* such as in the 1575 *Cantiones Sacrae*) was classified as being non-liturgical and under the same umbrella as all other non-liturgical music (and alongside instrumental and secular music).⁵¹ The dichotomy was so clear that Thomas East managed to exploit it and published psalm settings (Byrd's 1588 *Psalms, Sonets & Songs*) with the excuse of these being polyphonic music rather than sacred psalms.⁵² Also important is the fact that, albeit of courtly origin, music for the viol consort never became the preferred courtly musical entertainment, even during Elizabeth's reign. Moreover, the heyday of the English fantazia and the increase in the output for that medium coincided with the instrument's fall out of favour and with the rise of the violin in its stead. These two particulars of the history of viol-consort music in England may suggest why the rise of the fantazia took place in the intellectual circles outside the court and not in the Queen's Musick.

Perhaps that middle-ground between sacred vocal and secular instrumental polyphonic repertoires which seems to have been occupied by consort music should not be seen as middle-ground at all, since it was not really caught betwixt two distinct fields. The

⁴⁹ John Milsom, 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber', in *English Choral Practice 1400–1650*, John Morehen (ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 161–179 (167).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 165–8.

⁵¹ Jeremy L. Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford, University Press, 2003), 23.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 71–5.

training of musicians took place primarily in church, and primarily through singing. The holistic view of the musical profession caused all the main skills entailed in it (singing, playing, composing) to be practised in proximity. Therefore, educational material such as 'solfainge songes' is included in the same manuscripts as more advanced pieces which may have served for recreation and, by the same token, works which originally had didactic intention may have served also for recreational purposes and vice versa.⁵³ *Cantus firmus*-based works may have served a didactic purpose (being composed of parts with varying technical demands) and, although they are accepted today as secular works,⁵⁴ kept some kind of connection (perhaps through inspiration) with their liturgical ancestors, at least for some time. Later on, in the seventeenth century, the plainsong-based *In Nomine* served as a basis for Gibbons' *Cries of London*, as secular a piece as one can possibly imagine. Rhythmic complexity also became a challenge for performers and a platform for demonstration of compositional and intellectual ability. Even before the maturation of this idea of attributing 'classical' status to music which reflects compositional skill,⁵⁵ one can see that there is a tendency to identify contrapuntal ability with a person: an inscription in Lbl Add. MS 33933 indicates that 'a man upon a plainsong' was a valid way to indicate how a man *composed* upon a plainsong: 'Tuay sindry men upone ane plaine sang, and they bayth have done uerray weill in this.'⁵⁶

The rise of that para-functional layer in music—the craft of compositional technique—resulted not only in textural and structural similarities between what is seen today as 'purely instrumental' or 'purely vocal' music but also in phenomena that, from today's genre-distinctive vantage point, may seem strange—examples for works borrowed from one field to the other are abundant. The most famous examples of instrumental works that had been reworked into vocal works are Tallis' *O Sacrum Convivium* (also known as an Anglican anthem as *I call and Cry*) and Byrd's *Laudate Pueri*, nos. 9 and 17

⁵³ Lbl Add. MS 31390.

⁵⁴ Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, 51–2.

⁵⁵ Weber, 'The History of Music Canon', 341.

⁵⁶ Ironically, Thomas Wood (who as responsible for that inscription) relates to two settings by the same man—William Byrd—but the terminology is nonetheless significant. Quoted in Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, 30.

respectively from the 1575 *Cantiones Sacrae*.⁵⁷ In the realm of secular music one can note several examples in the works of John Ward and Richard Mico.⁵⁸ Idioms borrowed from the Italian madrigal style (see below) give further evidence to the ways in which the madrigal mainstream of those days influenced the English fantasia.⁵⁹ Explicit indications for voices or viols on cover pages of madrigal books appear as early as in Thomas Weelkes' *Madrigals of 5 and 6 parts* (1600) and later in publications of Robert Jones, John Wilbye, Orlando Gibbons, John Ward and Thomas Bateson. Borrowings may have been also applied the other way round—by vocalising instrumental music—as suggested in the title of one of the most important sources of In Nomine settings, Lbl Add. MS 31390.⁶⁰ Parallel to the rise of violins in the Elizabethan court, the musicians of the Chapel Royal also experimented with new genres which blurred the distinction between vocal and consort music by way of combining the two into the consort song and the consort anthem.⁶¹

The beginning of the seventeenth century brought along an interesting split in the development of consort music, in the shape of two styles or textures: one preserved the conservative texture inherited from vocal polyphony, and the other modified the strict polyphonic procedures into a lighter, more Italianate, texture, dominated by the treble part or parts.⁶² It is difficult to distinguish between the two streams by means of genre: on the surface both used the platform of fantasia, but the extreme ends of the palette (the In Nomine on the one, and the fantasia-suite on the other) betray their ancestor-

⁵⁷ John Milsom had studied the process of reworking Tallis's fantasia in two articles: John Milsom, 'A Tallis Fantasia', *The Musical Times*, 126/1713 (November 1985): 658–62; John Milsom, 'Tallis's First and Second Thoughts', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 113/2 (1988): 203–22.

⁵⁸ John Ward's madrigals *Cor mio* (no. 11 in MB67), *Leggiadra Sei* (no. 12 in MB67), *Non fu sense* (no. 13 in MB67); Richard Mico, *Latral*, the first part of which is an adaptation of Monteverdi's *Là tra'l sangu'e le morti* (no. 41 in MB65) (92–7). Ian Payne (ed.), *John Ward: Consort Music of Five and Six Parts*, MB67 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1995), 51–5, 56–61, 62–6; Andrew Hanley (ed.), *Richard Mico: Consort Music*, MB65 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1994), 92–7.

⁵⁹ Joan Wess, 'Musica Transalpina, parody and the emerging Jacobean fantasy', *chelys* 15 (1986): 3–25.

⁶⁰ 'A Booke of In nomines & other solfainge songes of v: vj: vij: & viij parts for voices or Instrumentes'. An examination of the possible vocal performance of instrumental is in Paul Doe, 'The Emergence of the In Nomine', 83–8.

⁶¹ Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 89–90.

⁶² David Pinto, 'Purcell's In Nomines: A Tale of Two Manuscripts (Perhaps Three)', *Chelys* 25 (1996): 101–6 (102).

genres and the styles which they translated (or transplanted) into the context of consort music. The conservative polyphony by definition stuck to styles of its older fount and origin in the church, and as Christopher D.S. Field stated, 'To compose In Nomines was to reaffirm the values of pre-Reformation musical craft; to compose fantasias was to uphold the ideals of Renaissance textless counterpoint[.]'⁶³ By comparison, the lighter style adopted elements from the madrigal, from the emerging canzonas and from Italian sonatas.

John Dowland long awaited the courtly post which was finally offered to him in 1612, as a result of increasing the number of employed singers-lutenists from four to five,⁶⁴ a symptom of the early Jacobean court's continuing focus on musical entertainments other than consort music.⁶⁵ When courtly circles did indulge in consort music, it was through the most innovative of the Jacobean consort forms—the fantasia-suite—developed by Coprario for the courts of princes Henry and Charles. But even that genre is regarded as the first to be explicitly intended for violins rather than for viols.⁶⁶ Clearly it was the lighter forms which received royal patronage; outside the princely courts, however, it was other composers of the same generation—Ferrabosco II, Ward and Tomkins—who were responsible for the more strict polyphonic experiments. It was also these composers who made use of enharmonic misspelling, as described in Chapter 2, and when they passed away, the majority of the following generation went on developing the lighter forms and dance music.⁶⁷ Richard Mico, although he died much later (in 1661), apparently wrote most of his works before 1630, and thus can be classified with the former generation: seven years Gibbons' junior and a colleague of Byrd's, he seems to have been retired from professional activity for some time before he died.⁶⁸ William Lawes was the composer whose Fantazias clearly picked up from the previous generation of strict polyphonists. Lawes' Fantazias were written during the 1630s, albeit

⁶³ Christopher D.S. Field, 'Consort Music I: up to 1660', 199.

⁶⁴ Peter Holman and Paul O'Dette, 'John Dowland' in *Grove Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.elib.tcd.ie>, 7 April 2010).

⁶⁵ Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 200.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 215.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 251.

⁶⁸ Andrew Hanley, 'Mico and Jenkins: "Musitians of fame under King Charles I"' in Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman (eds.), *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 161–169 (162). Hanley (ed.), *Richard Mico: Consort Music*, xix–xxii.

alongside lighter genres such as the music for three lyra-viols.⁶⁹ But clearly at this point, the mainstream—however well crafted in works by Jenkins for example—demonstrated less and less inclination towards self-imposed structural and contrapuntal challenges.

Due to the discontinuity in seventeenth-century musical patronage, it is harder to analyse how these processes came to be manifested in the history of publication, but it is nonetheless interesting to note that Orlando Gibbons' *Fantazias* (ca. 1620) had no real follower in the field of publication dedicated to consort music until Locke's 'lighter' *Little Consort* (1656). Later on it was the modern form of the sonata which not only took over the function of both streams of consort music as a form of intellectual recreation but also reflected the immense growth of new markets for that kind of musical pastime. Locke's handling of inversions and free augmentation (throughout his consort output) is not as frequent, nor as exhaustive, as Purcell's. This may imply that Locke was not the only model Purcell tried to imitate in the *Fantazias* and that one should attempt to identify other models. With few exceptions, such as the 'Conclusion' from *The Tempest* which obviously echoes in Purcell's *Dance for the Followers of Night* from *The Fairy Queen*, Locke's approach to counterpoint in his consort music is of its time in the sense that counterpoint serves it as a means rather than an end: as Jenkins before him, and without taking anything from the aesthetic value of his music, Locke—mentioned by North as the last proponent of the viol fantasia—represents the low tide of sophisticated counterpoint in consort music, after its heyday was over about 1630.⁷⁰ Great compositional achievements as they may be, one must admit that Purcell's *Fantazias* were a marginal phenomenon in the London's musical landscape during the 1680s, and undoubtedly if North, who played with Purcell, was not exposed to their existence (and hence his mention of Locke as the fantasia's last champion), it would be safe to assume that Purcell did not make a great effort to make them widely known. It is left only to suggest how Purcell came to know specific examples from this earlier repertoire.

⁶⁹ David Pinto, 'William Lawes' in *Grove Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.elib.tcd.ie>, 7 April 2010).

⁷⁰ Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 75.

THE *CANTUS PRIUS FACTUS* AND ITS IMPLEMENTATIONS I

The main structural device used by early consort music composers in order to shape musical form was the use of a predetermined plainsong—a *cantus prius factus* (henceforth *cantus*). Consort music of the mid-sixteenth century did not entail challenges regarding control of large-scale form, such as the cyclic Mass settings so masterfully handled by Dufay or Josquin a century before, but rather was limited to the structure of single movements. Single-movement forms certainly dominated the field of consort music in its early days: of the surviving consort music from before 1600, two fifths are based on *cantus* and one fifth is free forms and fantazias (the rest being mostly shorter dance forms).⁷¹ Later, however, priorities of both patrons and composers changed and by 1600 the relative proportion of *cantus* settings was already in decline (the development of multi-movement suites makes this quantitative approach inapplicable to later repertoires) and it would be safe to assume that, earlier in the mid-sixteenth century, *cantus*-based works constituted a larger part of the whole. Therefore, full understanding of this technique is crucial for understanding the composition of consort music as a genre. The technical principles and the structural function of the *cantus* as a predetermined factor dictating musical form were retained, even if in a modified form, well into the seventeenth century also in free forms and sometimes even in dance movements. This could be achieved either by the use of a shorter *cantus* such as a ground (which, although traditionally played in the bass, often migrated between voices in English works),⁷² by use of canon or by using predetermined phrase lengths which, although without defining pitch, do become an important structural factor which dictates the character of ‘independent’ parts and sets cadences—all these techniques create the canvas for the different parts which form the polyphonic texture.

Purcell’s few experiments with *cantus* in its most obvious form—a predetermined inner-voice played in long and equal rhythmic values—will be overviewed below. But first, some aspects of the general structural features which can be predetermined by the composer must be clarified, as these aspects serve as a thread throughout the

⁷¹ John Harper, ‘Ensemble and Lute Music’ in *Music in Britain: The Sixteenth Century*, Roger Bray (ed.), BHMB2 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 263–322 (266).

⁷² For example, Baldwin’s *Cockow as I me walked* discussed below, or the *Browning* settings analysed in Chapter 4.

development of the conservative stream of polyphonic fantasia, including works that seemingly have nothing to do with an existing plainsong.

First would be the predetermined control of duration and segmentation. Already in the first stages of consort-music development, composers found original ways of prescribing the structure of instrumental works, and some of these are found as early as in Henry VIII's book mentioned above. Indeed, the manuscript reflects an early stage of the consort tradition and, untypically of English consort music, is still partly dependent on continental repertory.⁷³ This dependence on foreign models was to disappear later in that century and to emerge again only in the more modern consort genres for violins in the mid-seventeenth century. However, John Stevens also had other reasons for seeing the manuscript as untypical:

These musical enigmas are the typical product of an age, *then passing*, whose natural habit of mind was cryptogrammatic [...]. The surprising thing is to find them persisting in a songbook remarkable for lucidity of musical thought and notation.⁷⁴

What surprised Stevens actually falls perfectly into place with the shift from sacred music to consort music described earlier in this chapter—the age of enigmas and cryptograms was not passing but in transfer. The first of the six puzzle canons in Henry VIII's Book is attributed to John Lloyd, who was probably also the composer of the doctoral *Missa O quam suavis* and of the antiphon *Ave Regina*.⁷⁵ Stevens' interpretation assumes a fourth voice which joins the three notated ones, based on a descending tetrachord and the cryptic inscription *Tris* which appear beside the piece. In Stevens' interpretation, the encoded tenor divides the seemingly continuous texture of three 'independent' voices into nine segments, each of which is shorter than the one it follows by a semibreve (8 semibreves, 7 semibreves, 6 semibreves... 2 semibreves, 1 semibreve) and rounded off with a minim-long segment and a last note, a dotted-semibreve long

⁷³ At least 11 of the 109 pieces in the manuscript are of continental provenance.

⁷⁴ My italics. John E. Stevens, 'Rounds and Canons from an Early Tudor Songbook', *Music and Letters* 32/1 (Jan., 1951): 29–37(29).

⁷⁵ Both in Cu Nn.vi.46. The attribution of the Mass to Lloyd is in Caldwell and Bray's entry in *Grove*, while John Milsom refers to it as anonymous. John Caldwell and Roger Bray, 'Lloyd, John' in *Grove Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.elib.tcd.ie>, 7 April 2010) ; John Milsom, 'The arcane colours of Fayrfax', *Early Music* 33/3 (August 2005): 523–4.

(Illustration 3.5).⁷⁶ Here we can see a clear *prius factus* technique which controls the temporal element of the music with only little challenge concerning pitch organisation, and in that it is similar in essence to Purcell's phrase-structure in the Sonata Z.802 discussed earlier this chapter (see Illustrations 3.1). Despite the common shortening of temporal units in Lloyd and Purcell, as we shall see later on, the latter's fingerprints are in his striving towards symmetry: Purcell starts the process (excluding the two 7-bar propositions) with a 6-bar phrase and ends with a 6-bar segment.

Although some connection may be suggested between the early sixteenth-century curiosity towards notational enigmas with the seventeenth-century notational idiosyncrasies discussed in Chapter 2, it is worth highlighting that the earlier composers of consort music showed marked preference for encrypting rhythmic notation rather than elements of pitch. The changes in rhythmic notation during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were made in an effort to eliminate the ambiguities embedded in renaissance notational conventions—ambiguities cherished by composers including the generation of doctoral Mass composers. This may have instigated a search after new ways of creating ambiguous musical text which, like the older rhythmic notation, could imply ambiguous readings, reflect their composer's speculative knowledge of music, and could then be used in highly intellectual works. Philip van Wilder, one of the most important composers in Henry's court, wrote an instrumental Fantazia which can be performed in two ways (and thus may be defined as a *catholicon* according to Glarean)—either with or without considering the rest signs.⁷⁷ The general idea of *catholicon* was imported from the continent and its most famous implementation was much earlier, in Ockeghem's *Missa Cuiusvis Toni*, and this particular use of selective reading of rest signs appears in few works, for example Pierre Moulu's 1539 *Missa Duarum Facierum* (Lat. Two-Face Mass).⁷⁸ Selective reading of notated information fell out of favour later in the sixteenth century, although it was still to be found in isolated

⁷⁶ John E. Stevens, 'Rounds and Canons from an Early Tudor Songbook', 29–30.

⁷⁷ Jane A. Bernstein (ed.), *Philip van Wilder Collected Works: Part 2, Secular Works Instrumental Works Appendices*, Masters and Monuments of the Renaissance, Volume 4 (New York: The Broude Trust, 1991), 173–9. Reference to complete addition. The work is discussed in Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 76.

⁷⁸ Gustav Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, revised edn. (London: J.M. Dent, 1959), 277. In a rather different context, Wilfrid Mellers observes a 'Janus-like quality' in Purcell's Fantazia 7. Wilfrid Mellers, *Harmonious Meeting: A Study of the Relationship between English Music, Poetry and Theatre, c. 1600–1900* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1965), 194–8.

examples in the seventeenth century. One such example, Elway Bevin's *A Briefe and Short Instruction of the Art of Musicke* (published in 1631),⁷⁹ is indeed uncharacteristic of its time and yet highly relevant to our discussion as the book is mentioned by Purcell himself in Playford's *Introduction* (see below).

The new challenges of creating rhythmic complexities had to be diverted from the realms of ambiguity into those of unambiguous irregularity, for example in the use of quintuple metre. However rare the use of quintuple metre in the fifteenth to the seventeenth century was, it was not an English innovation. In Spanish music of the late-fifteenth century, for example, it was perceived not as a mathematical challenge but rather as a natural speech-like irregular rhythm. In the songs of Juan del Encina, one of the composers who made extensive use of that metre,

[the] varied and flexible rhythms are patterned on the accents of the verse, making the song texts clearly audible, while harmonic progressions are simple and strong.⁸⁰

But later on in sixteenth-century England, quintuple metre became a technical conceit, or maybe an advanced self-imposed challenge to be combined with the use of strict *cantus*-based writing. Osbert Parsley (1511–85), Nicholas Strogers (*fl* 1560–75), and Christopher Tye (*c.*1505–*c.*1573) all tried to make use of that metre either as the metre ruling all the parts (Tye) or as an additional metre superimposed on quadruple metre (Parsley, Strogers, and one section in Tye; Illustration 3.6).⁸¹ As a device used for conceits alone, its theoretical treatment underwent a change from its depiction as a curiosity characteristic of English music and 'not used by any stranger in their songs',⁸² to a rare metre described briefly alongside other irregular metres: 'Divers other proportions [as] the Quintupla, Septupla, and such like, [are] out of use'.⁸³ John Baldwin left several pieces 'of indifferent quality, though his nine proportion exercises are of

⁷⁹ Elway Bevin, *A Briefe and Short Instruction of the Art of Musicke*, Denis Collins (ed.) (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

⁸⁰ Isabel Pope and Tess Knighton, 'Juan del Encina', in *Grove Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.elib.tcd.ie>, 7 April 2010).

⁸¹ Osbert Parsley, *Spes Nostra* (no. 45 in MB44); Nicholas Strogers, *In Nomine* (no. 61 in MB44); Christopher Tye, *In Nomine 'Trust'*, (no. 178 in MB45). Paul Doe (ed.), *Elizabethan Consort Music : I*, MB44, 79–81, 115–7; Paul Doe (ed.), *Elizabethan Consort Music : II*, MB45, 105–7.

⁸² Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597), 32.

⁸³ Bevin, *A Briefe and Short Instruction of the Art of Musicke*, 71.

intellectual interest',⁸⁴ mainly for the ways in which they seem to continue the compositional priorities expressed by the doctoral Mass settings (Baldwin's *Cockow as I me walked* will be mentioned later for other unusual features such as its unlikely cadence). Picforth's only surviving piece, an *In Nomine*, gives a rare combination of five implied metres (each part plays a monorhythmic chain of notes, but their relative length varies from one viol to the other) and raises the suspicion that he was one of the 'speculators', composers who were theoretically trained and yet could not perform their own music (Illustration 3.7).⁸⁵ Annette Otterstedt draws colourful analogies in her description of Picforth's only surviving piece, referring to its 'Gamelan effect' and comparing it to the story about the abdicated Charles V who tried to synchronise all the clocks he held in Estremadura.⁸⁶ As hard as it is to prove the story, the Holy Roman Emperor's fascination with clocks is well documented and a feature of his characteristic interests as a renaissance monarch, not unlike Henry VIII.⁸⁷ Clocks and dials were an emblem of scientific patronage in the sixteenth century, and at least two Elizabethan consort composers explicitly tried to imitate the clock's mechanic pacing in their works—Edward Gibbons (*What Strikes the Clock*) and Osbert Parsley (*The Song upon the Dial*).⁸⁸ As in the case of Lloyd's puzzle canon *Tris*, the self-imposed temporal constraints in Gibbons' and Parsley's works serve as predetermined scaffolding in one part which can help the composer in shaping the other parts. The idea of multiple metres shown in Picforth's *In Nomine* was adopted very rarely throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although it is worth mentioning that the clearest examples are actually by Purcell, in the Prelude to Act II and the Fourth Act Tune in *The Fairy Queen*.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Roger Bray, 'John Baldwin', in *Grove Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.elib.tcd.ie>, 7 April 2010).

⁸⁵ Roger Bray, 'Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England', 10.

⁸⁶ Annette Otterstedt (Hans Reiners trans.), *The Viol: History of an Instrument* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002), 118.

⁸⁷ Glenn Richardson, *Renaissance Monarchy: The Reigns of Henry VIII, Francis I and Charles V*, (London: Arnold, 2002), 188–190.

⁸⁸ Edward Gibbons, *What Strikes the Clock?* (no. 126 in MB45) ; Osbert Parsley, *The Song upon the Dial* (no. 44 in MB44). Paul Doe (ed.), *Elizabethan Consort Music : II*, MB45, 14.; Paul Doe (ed.), *Elizabethan Consort Music : I*, MB44, 78.

⁸⁹ Adams refers to the phenomenon as stratified layers of metrical counterpoint. Perhaps the most celebrated example is Mozart's ball scene from *Don Giovanni* but, as in Purcell's case, one

The branch of *cantus*-based fantazias which instigated the most radical harmonic experiments is the hexachord fantazia. These works, instead of using a plainsong borrowed from the liturgy, used ascending and descending six-note scales (hexachord)—the fundamental building block of sixteenth-century musical theory. As described by Lionel Pike,

[the] absolute basicity and lack of inherent musical interest in the scale itself was a challenge to composers to put their best skill into producing gold from base metal.⁹⁰

The hexachord fantazia, just as other sub-genres in the *cantus*-based repertoire—the In Nomine and Miserere—was not exclusively intended for viols and many works of that kind were also written for keyboard. However, the different directions in which each of the scoring versions evolved should receive more attention. One of the most important differences between the hexachord fantazias for viols and those for keyboard stem from the different levels of the instruments' flexibility in terms of temperament. The viols, commonly perceived as instruments capable of equal temperament after 1550,⁹¹ were often faced not only with the challenge of playing all three hexachords (hard, natural and soft, rising from notes other than G, C and F respectively), but also with the challenge of using all the chromatic notes and sometimes even enharmonic passages with which composers explored musical 'circumnavigation' (as described in Chapter 2).⁹² By contrast, Pike observes that Byrd's keyboard duet on the hexachord 'is in no way [...] controlled by the hexachord shape' but makes the listener feel 'that the *cantus firmus* is a distracting irrelevance'.⁹³ While Byrd's work uses only one hexachord—the hard hexachord (which had been the standard for the simplest works of that kind), other composers compromised on the *cantus* character of the hexachord, and through its use as an imitative subject allowed ongoing transition from one hexachord to the other. In their works for three viols, both William Daman (c.1540–1591) and Alfonso Ferrabosco

can see that such layering became a curiosity reserved for the stage, rather than an abstract intellectual conceit. Adams, *Henry Purcell*, 78–9, 147.

⁹⁰ Pike, *Hexachords in Late-Renaissance Music*, 193.

⁹¹ Mark Lindley, *Lutes, Viols and Temperaments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 19.

⁹² Pike, *Hexachords in Late-Renaissance Music*, 199–200.

⁹³ Pike, *Hexachords in Late-Renaissance Music*, 196. Paul Doe (ed.), *Elizabethan Consort Music : I*, MB44, 37–40.

I used the hexachord in that manner and thus expanded the variety of hexachords to include also the natural hexachord (on C).⁹⁴ Robert White, as far as can be reconstructed from his fragmentary fantasia in Lbl Add. MS 29246,⁹⁵ uses the same tactic (albeit with the natural and soft hexachords) but also takes the imitative treatment one step further and offers a tonal inversion of the hexachords (hexachords descending *from* C and F rather than descending *to* C and F) which makes use of the note E-flat, hence expanding the chromatic palette of the piece (Illustration 3.8). Other composers tried to combine the *cantus* treatment of the hexachord with a broader tonal plan, and with the growing freedom taken by composers one may observe how their individual approach to structure starts to surface. One such example is the one by Richard Mico (mentioned in Chapter 2 as a precedent for Purcell's characteristic use of inversion at the outset of a fantasia. See Illustration 2.27). Mico's four-part hexachord Fantazia deviates from the pattern of using hexachords which are a fifth apart from one another. He presents the hexachords on the notes C, G and A (which is not one of the three accepted hexachords but rather a transposed one. The more obvious choice here would have been an F.)⁹⁶ The boldest hexachord fantasia, in terms of harmonic adventure, is a 'two-movement' Fantazia by Alfonso Ferrabosco II (mentioned in Chapter 2 for his use of enharmonic misspelling), which uses eight (!) different hexachords, all a semitone apart from one another.⁹⁷ Other composers who contributed to the genre, such as Alfonso Ferrabosco I, will be discussed below in relation to their approach to combinatorial aspects of musical form and its relation to Purcell's. It is important to note that the same names, rarely mentioned in Purcellian literature, keep surfacing throughout the present study in relation to structural features their pieces share with Purcell's early works, and it is intriguing to wonder if the incomplete nature of autograph **30930** also deprives us of Purcell's essays in the genre of hexachord fantasias.

⁹⁴ Daman, *Ut re mi fa sol la* (no. 1 in MB44) Ferrabosco I, *Ut re mi fa sol la* (no. 2 in MB44). Paul Doe (ed.), *Elizabethan Consort Music : I*, MB44, 1–2.

⁹⁵ Paul Doe (ed.), *Elizabethan Consort Music : I*, MB44, 5–7.

⁹⁶ The fifths between the different hexachords define a common structure in the pitch organisation in the renaissance, and eventually led to the development of the sub-dominant/tonic/dominant element of tonal music. A good basis for comparison is the *Browning* repertoire, consisted entirely of works whose modes (and even all the adjacent modal centres) are a fifth apart from one another. In that respect, Mico's Fantazia is rather unusual. Hanley (ed.), *Richard Mico: Consort Music*, MB65, 52–3.

⁹⁷ Christopher Field and David Pinto (ed.), *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger: Consort Music of Five and Six Parts*, MB81 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2003), 1–22.

Comparable to the secularised use of *cantus*-based structures in consort music is the persistent use of plainsong in collections of canons. Canon collections challenge the definition of musical genre, being artefacts which are not necessarily intended for performance. However, as in consort music or in the doctoral Mass settings, compositional skill is central to the purpose of these works. As in the doctoral Masses, here too the notation remains within the boundaries of unresolved enigma. The canon collections can be seen as an offspring, perhaps a systematic exploration, of the earlier puzzle canons and, according to Fellowes, it was due to the ease of devising a 'simple' canon that the sixteenth-century musicians 'set themselves to invent all manner of complicated devices [which could] make appeal to the cleverest brains'.⁹⁸ Canon collections, like consort music, circulated primarily in manuscript and their collectors composed or copied scores and sometimes even hundreds of canons over a single plainsong. In one case, George Waterhouse copied no less than 1163 short canons into manuscript Cu Dd.iv.60. Despite their brevity (or perhaps thanks to it), the plainsong canons demonstrate a palette of sophisticated contrapuntal procedures, including several parts in one, augmentation, inversion, and selective reading (applying the canon only on some notes).⁹⁹

The untypical cases of published canon collections are two: John Farmer's *Diuers & sundry waies of two parts in one, to the number of fortie, vppon one plainsong* (1591) and Elway Bevin's aforementioned *A Briefe and Short Instruction to the Art of Musicke* (1631) which Purcell himself acknowledged in his contribution to Playford's *Introduction*. However, the prefatory material in these publications supplies information concerning the intellectual and cultural background that may have stood behind such publications and that is not readily available in manuscript collections. The four decades dividing the two publications may have restored some normality to the relationship between contrapuntal craft and religious piety, and perhaps even with the ecclesiastical institution itself, as hinted from comparison of the two publications. Farmer, although known to have been a church musician (and in Christ Church Dublin in the years 1595–99),¹⁰⁰ owes most of his fame to his *The first set of English Madrigals to foure voices*

⁹⁸ Edmund H. Fellowes, *William Byrd*, 2nd edn. (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), 173.

⁹⁹ Denis Collins (ed.), Elway Bevin, *A Briefe and Short Instruction to the Art of Musicke by Elway Bevin*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 23–40.

¹⁰⁰ David Brown, 'John Farmer (i)', in *Grove Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.elib.tcd.ie>, 7 April 2010).

(1599) and to his contribution to the collection *The Triumphes of Oriana* (1601). As befits a madrigalist, the rhetorically ornate preface, addressing the generic 'Philomusicus', is charged with humanistic imagery.¹⁰¹ By stark contrast, Bevin, who had secured the patronage of Lord Goodman (1583–1656), the Lord Bishop of Gloucester, chose to highlight the theological reading of his work by including an Epigram by Thomas Palmer, wherein the poet draws connections between procedures of '3 in 1' to the holy trinity.¹⁰² Indeed, later on it seems that the compositional facet of the plainsong canon was absorbed into the reserve of Anglican service music. Although (naturally) without the use of plainsong, sophisticated canons were incorporated as final sections in the different items of the service, thus serving as declarations of faith (especially when '3 in 1' techniques were involved) and also maintaining a tradition which dates back to the early sixteenth century, of finishing Mass settings with a canonic setting of the *Agnus Dei*.¹⁰³ Perhaps it is due to that reason that Catholic Matthew Locke wrote his essays in plainsong canons, the last examples by a major composer, as independent pieces, that is

¹⁰¹ 'Were it not so, it had not beene to write, which *Tullie* writes truelie of the countrie of *Graecia*, where being the fountaine of all learning, and the verie seate of wisdom, sic *Musici floruerunt*, as he saith, *vt omnes id discerent, nec, qui nesciebat, satis excultus doctrina putaretur*. In the same countrie *Themistocles* a Prince of *Athens*, for that at a feast he refused to play on the Harpe, an instrument at that time of highest credit, although in other respects in a maner peerelesse, onely for this defect, was thought somewhat rude.' John Farmer, *Diuers & sundry waies of two parts in one*, (London: Thomas Este, 1591), A.iiij(1r–1v).

¹⁰² 'Three parts in one, are no Trichotomy
Of one in three, but a sweet Trinity
Combined in one. [...]
Church Musicke finds applause, then why not Hee
That sets forth Canons of a Trinity?'
Bevin, *A Briefe and Short Instruction of the Art of Musicke*, 66–7.

¹⁰³ Examples in Josquin are *Missa Malheur me bat* (*Agnus Dei* II, *Agnus Dei* III) *Missa Gaudeamus* (*Agnus Dei* II) and perhaps the most impressive is *Missa Hercules Dux Ferrarie* (*Agnus Dei* II). Examples in Victoria are *Missa Trahe me post te* (*Agnus Dei*), *Missa Simile est regnum coelorum* (*Agnus Dei* III) and *Missa Quam pulchri sunt* (*Agnus Dei* I, II and III). Barton Hudson (ed.), *Masses based on Secular Polyphonic Songs 3*, *The Collected Works of Josquin Des Prez*, Vol. 9 (Utrecht, Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1994), 32–42; Willem Elders (ed.), *Masses based on Gregorian Chants 2*, *The Collected Works of Josquin Des Prez*, Vol. 4 (Utrecht, Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2000), 37–43; James Haar and Lewis Lockwood (eds.), *Masses Based on Solmisation Themes*, *The Collected Works of Josquin Des Prez*, Vol. 11 (Utrecht, Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2002), 25–31; Philippo Pedrell (ed.), *Missarum Liber Primus*, *Thomae Ludovici Victoria Abulensis: Opera Omnia*, Vol. 2, republication (New Jersey: Gregg, 1965), 160–61, 35–7, 53–5.

in a context different to the by-then-accepted Anglican one.¹⁰⁴ Collections were still being compiled later on but they reflect the return of canons to church music and thus an eighteenth-century manuscript (Lbl Add. MS. 30933) is entitled 'Morning and Evening services, canons, etc.' implying that service and canon are two terms on a par if not synonymous. A study of the canonic element of seventeenth-century service music has not yet been made, and it is an obvious lacuna that such an important intellectual component of Anglican liturgical music has been largely overlooked. Reading the relevant entry in *Grove* dictionary one might get the impression that in terms of texture, all service settings, inspired by Anglican teachings, are simple and homophonic, as canon is mentioned there only in relation to a single piece by Tallis.¹⁰⁵

To summarise, the late sixteenth century experienced a short period in which the use of plainsong was banished from the church and found a certain outlet in esoteric musical activities, either in the chamber (through the pastime of consort music) or even in the desk drawer or the *cabinet de curiosités* (canon collections). However, in the seventeenth century the composition of canons was appropriated again (albeit without the use of plainsong), and thus the plainsong remained a secularised cornerstone of strict contrapuntal consort fantasia. The unique apparatus of sophisticated musical structures was crystallised to become a major force in shaping the secular music of the seventeenth century.

¹⁰⁴ Michael Tilmouth (ed.), *Matthew Locke: Chamber Music : II*, MB32 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1972), 98–9.

¹⁰⁵ Peter Le Huray and John Harper, 'Service', in *Grove Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.elib.tcd.ie>, 7 April 2010).

INTERLUDE

To this point, this chapter has presented changes in the patterns of patronage and in the political power of the church and how these changes channeled creative faculties, traditionally belonging to sacred musical genres, to other realms of music making and how these faculties were transformed into the fundamental values of new secular genres, intended for the new medium of consort music. Lewinsky's conclusion as to the need for coordination between a narrative pertinent to the history of ideas and the musical data preoccupied most of the previous section and will remain in focus later in this chapter. But for a short while, let us note that Lewinsky reiterates one of the most fundamental questions in musical historiography—the challenge of coordination between two seemingly incompatible types of description and criticism: historical narrative and music analysis. The tension between the two methods of describing music history is clarified in great detail by Carl Dahlhaus,¹⁰⁶ but however compelling Dahlhaus' scepticism about combining the two is, Lewinsky's view implies that, for him, music history is not monolithic but rather a compromise—an alternating discussion of musical contents and of historical narratives, ever oscillating between its two complementary components (and therefore, for Lewinsky questions such as what is a fact in music history are not entirely relevant). The present section deals with a narrative of the history of ideas, trying to illustrate phenomena parallel to those observed above in the history of music, this time in science, architecture and art, while temporarily avoiding music analysis.

The most comprehensive study pertinent to music and the history of ideas is Gouk's study of the relations between seventeenth-century music theory and the scientific revolution in England. Ideas, either musical or even more so scientific, tended to migrate rather swiftly in early modern Europe and thus limiting oneself to England is effectively a choice of presentation. Quite justly, neither Marin Mersenne (1588–1648) nor Athanasius Kircher (mentioned in Chapter 1) is absent from Gouk's study, and their role in shaping the ideas which prevailed in English theory is not overlooked. Gouk shows the correlation between music and the study of its theory (and especially the study of acoustics) and the emerging sciences and natural magic, and shows the resemblances in the roles these fields of knowledge (and activity) played in seventeenth-century England

¹⁰⁶ Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, J.B. Robinson (trans.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 33–43.

(regarding the milieux that served as patrons, key thinkers who were involved in the study, and circles who participated in the practice of all these fields together). One of the interesting insights implied by Gouk is unsurprisingly omitted in studies dedicated to music, and it is a very important aspect of the 'esoteric' nature of seventeenth-century music making: in seventeenth-century England, being a witness to music making, let alone a harmonious and organised consort music, was an unusual experience, even for people from the circles most identified with that pastime activity. For aristocrats, being actively involved in music making was essentially a private event, and for scholars who dabbled in music making, the conditions for making music (a venue, a group of skilled people, musical instruments) had to be met, which sometimes required a considerable effort.¹⁰⁷ This in itself lends music an air of belonging more to the realm of 'magic' than the profane function it fills, either in modern times (muzak, music for commercials, personal electronic music players) or in the world as reflected from a musicologist's vantage point and through musicologists' interests.

The study of the 'Quadrivial' side of music, that which is identified today with the study of acoustics, has naturally gravitated towards institutions cultivating the study of physical sciences, and distanced itself from practitioners of composition and performance. This of course, happened already in Purcell's time if not before, although comparable processes still slowly go on today, in the migration of music technology and music cognition out of poorly funded musicology departments to academic departments in which the future of research seems sound and more promising. But unlike seventeenth-century study of acoustics, which can be easily bound with general scientific curiosity of that period, present-day analogies between the 'art' of composition and parallel arts—for example architecture or painting of church interiors—are harder to establish, because of the expertise and exclusiveness expected from their practitioners. However, an overview of certain aspects in those parallel fields can prove illuminating to the present discussion and for understanding the function the artistic 'products'—buildings, paintings—in the cultural life of the milieu which cultivated them, and more specifically, the circles which created them (rather than those which consumed them, as in Gouk's study).

As a part of his discussion of the features of sixteenth-century English architecture, David Watkin argued that '[the] materialist glamour [of] the prodigious architecture of

¹⁰⁷ Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 34, 48–54.

the Elizabethans [...] should not blind us to their love of symbolism and conceit'.¹⁰⁸ For Watkin, no better example can be found than the Triangular Lodge of Sir Thomas Tresham (1543–1605), in Rushton Hall, Northampton. Tresham, after his conversion to Catholicism in 1580, became a celebrated recusant and even spent several years in jail for his belief. In fact, most of the modern interest in Tresham is for this side of his political career under Elizabeth I. But the Triangular Lodge is his most famous and glorious legacy. Built between 1594 and 1597, it is considered one of the earliest examples of the folly—'essentially a west European phenomenon, a gesture of Romantic revolt, the mark of eccentric individuality and sometimes of spiritual malaise.'¹⁰⁹ Even after the lodge was built, several decades of the 'bizarre and turreted' Jacobean architecture resulted in a background that hardly facilitated the creation of architectural revolt, and therefore the folly is identified with later, mainly eighteenth- and nineteenth-century, architectural styles.¹¹⁰

Indeed, the Triangular Lodge has an extraordinary appearance, its design being dominated by triangles on every level. The inscriptions above the upper windows, 33 letters, are excerpts from the scriptures which can be directly related to Tresham's declaration of belief; but the most interesting idea in the Lodge is that the Trinitarian symbolism is an extra-architectural message encoded in the most fundamental architectural features. As formulated by Maurice Howard,

When a great house carries a motto or moral message, whether on its walls or along its skyline, it can be supposed that the buildings themselves carry significant messages and that there is a continuum between the structure and the messages thereon.¹¹¹

Indeed, the Tresham folly communicates the ideas of the Trinity and the Eucharist (the letters IHS, the lamb, the cross) in several layers of explicitness: some can be seen with the spectator's bare eyes (three floors, each with three windows in each of the three

¹⁰⁸ David Watkin, *English Architecture: A Concise History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), 90.

¹⁰⁹ Tim Mowl. 'Folly' In *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com.elib.tcd.ie/subscriber/article/grove/art/T028753> (accessed July 25, 2010).

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Maurice Howard, *The Buildings of Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 95.

sides); some of them are hidden from the spectator, either permanently (the triangular corners of the hexagon-shaped main inner room) or at times (for example, the smoke holes are arranged in threes); some require exact measuring (the length of each side of the lodge is exactly one third of a hundred ft.). Some symbolism is perhaps visible but can be understood only by connoisseurs, as in the case of the chimney which is 'mysteriously resting on no visible interior support, [and may therefore] represent the mystery of the Mass.'¹¹²

The political statement that the Tresham Triangular Lodge was probably designed to be seen as a utilitarian need, perhaps not as utilitarian as a simpler building which does not carry Trinitarian symbolism, but certainly more so than a fantasia for a chest of viols, let alone a compositional trick-of-the-trade or a cross-reference to another abstract musical piece. And yet both the Triangular Lodge and a fantasia for viols may contain this duality of explicit and implicit messages. Some attempts to find similar levels of encrypted political statements were made even in relation to Purcell's Sonatas, and regardless of the question whether such levels exist in his music, it is fascinating to trace the changes in scholars' attitude towards the possibility of their existence: Fuller Maitland describes in considerable detail an observation made by Richard Clarke regarding the encryption of the melody of 'God Save the King' in the Sonata Z.795 (Illustration 3.9). Even if it is described with apparent irony, the anecdote is brought in nonetheless. However, 83 years later it is excluded from Tilmouth's revised edition of the set, an exclusion which may today seem just, although one has to note that it was done purely due to the changing perspectives and research climate, as no new evidence had surfaced since the former edition positively to refute Clarke's theory.¹¹³

The duality of levels (explicit and implicit) is all the more significant in Dutch interior painting. The Flemish and Dutch genre of architecture painting frequently depicted palace courts or Church interiors (Illustration 3.10). For their commissioning patrons, these works served as a trigger for reflection on the beauties of 'every aspect of the

¹¹² Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Northamptonshire*, 2nd edn. (rev. Bridget Cherry) (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), 400–1.

¹¹³ Hence it is interesting to speculate as to what will be the approach of future editors. At the present time, Wikipedian intellectualism seems to be more and more receptive to theories of that kind. J. A. Fuller Maitland (ed.), *Twelve Sonatas of Three Parts*, PS5, (London & New York: Novello, Ewer and co., 1893), iii; Michael Tilmouth (ed.), *Twelve Sonatas of Three Parts*, NPS5 (Sevenoaks: Novello, 1976), iii.

creation of God and man';¹¹⁴ but for their painters, these works were called *Perspectiven* after the technical skills whose boundaries they wished to explore. Study of how the genre was perceived by its artists shows that it served as a platform for demonstrating 'their rational handling of perspective in the creation of spatial illusion'.¹¹⁵ It seems that for the artists, the court or church served as a pretext for creation within a genre whose interest lies more in the technical side than in the content. One of the clearest arguments in support of that technical motivation is that the first *Perspectiven* artists, Flemish and Dutch, started off from depiction of imaginary architectural description, what in later terminology of art history would be called an architectural fantasy.

Parallels with consort music start with aspects of chronology, as both phenomena occurred at almost exactly the same time. The first generation of *perspectiven* painters started to flourish in the 1570s (with the most influential painter being Hendrick van Steenwyck the elder). Later painters who worked with imaginary architectural models were Bartholomew van Bassen (active, 1613–1652) and Dirk van Delen (1605–1671). The importance of the technical representation of a three-dimensional interior over other aspects of content in the genre which can easily communicate a moral message, so central to any other Dutch genre painting of that period, can be seen in the fact that most of the artists left the task of painting in the staffage (characters which enliven the scene and give a sense of proportion to the building) to other painters, experts of that specific skill. In addition, we see that several artists were also preoccupied with theorisation of perspective, mainly Pieter Saenredam (1597–1665).¹¹⁶ Just as a canon composer would have intended to baffle his rivals with canonic techniques beyond their understanding, or by deeper understanding of the rules of counterpoint, so did interior painters who created optical illusions ranging from the sheer illusion of three dimensions, to the depiction of painted-in screens or double frames. Similarly, 'the means by which the illusion is created, perspective, was thought of as a recondite science beyond the grasp of normal human beings'.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Timothy Trent Blade, 'Two Interior Views of the Old Church in Delft', *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies*, Vol. 6 (1971), 34–50 (34).

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹¹⁶ Martin Kemp, 'Simon Stevin and Pieter Saenredam: A Study of Mathematics and Vision in Dutch Science and Art', *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 68, No. 2 (Jun., 1986): 237–252.

¹¹⁷ Gary Schwartz and Marten Jan Bok, *Pieter Saenredam: The Painter and His Time* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990).

The life of Pieter Saenredam, perhaps the most important of the Dutch interior painters, is somewhat misleading as a representative of Dutch artists' biographies of that time. Living in an era when cultural life in Haarlem (as in any other city in Holland) was shadowed by great suspicion between Catholics and Protestants, Saenredam (who was undoubtedly a Protestant) managed to attain patronage from both convictions and left us with output which is hard to classify as representing exclusively either of them. However, his adaptability was not at the expense of the clarity of the message in each specific case: on the one hand, his etching skills served to refute the rumours concerning the 'miraculous' branch of the Bloemendaal apple tree (which was claimed to bear the figure of a Catholic monk) 'out of the love of truth' and to the joy of the reformed church; on the other hand, the interior of St. Bavoskerk in Haarlem in Saenredam's paintings, which sometimes appear as a civil hall or as a house of Protestant worship, on other occasions appears adorned with a fictive bishop's tomb.¹¹⁸ But however professional he was in trying to please his patrons, it seems that Saenredam put most of his effort into developing his impeccable command over the technique of perspective (and in that he easily overdid his master, de Grebber) and demonstrated how artists' preoccupation with perspective extended beyond the immediate demands of earning their daily bread. Optics, like acoustics, belongs to the exact sciences; but whereas figures like Newton were interested in both fields for the physical principles they share, painters and composers mastered an apparatus which at the same time showed a pragmatic restrictedness of scope and a marked professional pride in exhausting all the possibilities that this apparatus had to offer.

Saenredam focused, as did artists of the generation after him, moved further from imaginary interiors, on existing churches and even painted in the staffage themselves; but in parallel to these, they went on developing the 'abstract' technical apparatus, for example by introducing two-point perspective.¹¹⁹ Of his contemporaries and the generation following him, the most notable figures are Gerrit Houckgeest (c1660–1661), Hendrick Cornelisz. van Vliet (1611–1675) and Emanuel de Witte (1617–1692). The love these artists show of optical illusions such as painted-in frames and screens turn

¹¹⁸ Following Schwartz and Bok's catalogue, the picture of the Blomendael apple tree is number 198; the three interiors of St. Bavoskerk have catalogue numbers 29, 31 and 49. Schwartz and Bok, *Pieter Saenredam*, 251–99.

¹¹⁹ An analogy can be made with the development of fantazias with a double subject, for example Ward's four-part Fantazias all begin either with a two-part stretto or with a complex of two independent parts.

the *trompe l'oeil* into an essential factor in the works' interpretation,¹²⁰ and it is intriguing to interpret some of the rhythmic and canonic structures discussed above (Lloyd, Picforth, Tye) and some of the tonal structures described later on (Tomkins, Ward, Ferrabosco II) as being some kind of *trompe l'oreille*. The increasing sophistication and the inclination to illusions show that, despite the different roles played by an interior painting in a home in Delft and by an In Nomine setting at an Oxford scholar's lodge, the consumers of both kinds of artistic works were going through an ongoing process of improving their architectural taste, and their visual and musical literacy, throughout the seventeenth century.¹²¹ The rise and decline of the two movements—church interior painting and consort music for the viols—are almost exactly contemporaneous, and both share a certain duality: an artistic genre which serves a well-defined function for the patron (an intellectual pastime or a popular theme among wealthy Dutchmen for a living room painting) and a platform for a technical *tour de force* for the artist.

The applicability of Martin Kemp's thoughts on the mathematical aspects of Saenredam's work to the consort music tradition and the composer's place in it is telling:

The original work was produced in a specific context in which it could become articulate. The original context will to some extent be internal to the artist himself, both in relation to the internal dialogue conducted during the evolution of the painting, and with respect to his own image of the audience for his work(s). Our interpretative framework will be external to the artist at varying degrees of remoteness from this internal context. In the case of Saenredam's paintings, the external context in which his works become fully articulate is that provided by [patrons, mathematicians, fellow artists and architects from the artist's circle,] all of whom possessed a sophisticated awareness of the theoretical constructs behind this kind of art. I consider it one of the historian's jobs to reconstruct a context for the paintings that is, in some measure, analogous to the internal and (more demonstrably) to the closest external contexts.¹²²

¹²⁰ Lyckle de Vries, 'Saenredam and Seventeenth-Century Architectural Painting. Rotterdam', *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 134, No. 1066 (Jan., 1992): 51–54 (53).

¹²¹ Howard, *The Buildings of Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, 96–7.

¹²² Martin Kemp, 'Simon Stevin and Pieter Saenredam', 251

It is an unfortunate state of affairs that no full-scale monograph focusing on analysis of the music of the Elizabethan consort tradition is available yet,¹²³ but it is perhaps encouraging to note that during the last three decades, several distinguished authors demonstrated, either explicitly or implicitly, what are the obstacles standing in the way of such a study: the complex of influences and references between consort works, and especially the *In Nomine*, cannot be properly understood when the envisaged product of the study is a history of a single composer or his work. The few studies published to this day whose scope facilitated observations of that kind were dealing with other genres such as song, consort anthem and madrigal.¹²⁴ The phenomena described above in this section are, to a large extent, self-referential, and require understanding of an artistic movement, and indeed in the scholarly literature dealing with fine arts, writers are more inclined to take a certain school as the subject of their study.¹²⁵ This similarity between the reception and modern attitude towards consort music, interior painting and folly architecture highlight a feature in those phenomena which foreshadowed what was later perceived as the 'bond' between the arts: whereas the Romantic view of the arts binds them together by supposing a common and all-embracing root in the artists' genius, seventeenth-century arts were not philosophically bound with one another but shared the ways in which they were perceived by their consumers and in which their craftsmanship was perceived by their artists. The self-referential nature of these phenomena manifests itself in different ways in each field: in consort, Oliver Neighbour's main method, when commenting on Byrd's consort music, is comparative (with the works of other composers),¹²⁶ and the same method is used by Pike in his study of the hexachord fantazias.¹²⁷

¹²³ There are, however, several monographs which deal with the social and cultural context of this repertoire. Ernst H. Meyer, *Early English Chamber Music: From the Middle Ages to Purcell*, 2nd edn (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1982); Morrison Comegys Boyd, *Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962).

¹²⁴ Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study* (New York: American Musicological Society, 1962); Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650: The Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1982); Ian Spink, *English Song: Dowland to Purcell* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1974).

¹²⁵ Nonetheless, interior paintings receive much less attention in modern scholarship than other kinds of genre painting.

¹²⁶ Oliver Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1978), 26-50.

¹²⁷ Lionel Pike, *Hexachords in Late-Renaissance Music*, 181-211.

To round off this section, an overview of yet another 'extra-musical' phenomenon may be essential: a phenomenon which, albeit not an art form at all, may share even more with consort music than any of the other art forms discussed above. Lionel Pike observes a sort of a dead end in the hexachord fantazias of Ferrabosco II as the composer exhausted the potential embodied in the diatonic hexachord, thus preparing the ground for fantazias on ascending and descending chromatic scales.¹²⁸ Pike's association of the two genres assumes that the use of the main procedures which could have been operated on the hexachord (inversion and transposition) had been used more and more extensively until Ferrabosco's days, and that changing the basic material (from the hexachord to the chromatic scale) was an inevitable solution to the challenges composers faced in developing the fantazia. However, it is interesting to see that the practice of campanology, the group ringing of church bells or hand bells according to 'changes' or constantly reshuffled order, shows a striking resemblance to some aspects of the developments noted by Pike and others.

The concept of change ringing was developed in England and it differs from other, continental, modes of bell ringing cultivated in being a social event, in the mathematical procedures that generate it and in the patterns of its reception in culture. Like consort music, change ringing was a result of secularisation, in this case of church-bell ringing (a purely ecclesial activity up to the Reformation) after which it had been banned from the Church for centuries (and was illegal on Sundays), while the first ringing society was found in 1637.¹²⁹ Challenging our own day's concept of music making in its broader sense, change ringing is a social activity which is of a clearly cerebral nature for all those partaking in it (the 'company'), and especially so for the one person who dictates the change (the 'conductor'). In that, it stands in parallel also to the performance of consort music, challenging the group of amateurs who participate in the gathering; and it

¹²⁸ Lionel Pike, *Hexachords in Late-Renaissance Music*, 206. Ferrabosco II and Dowland's respective two-part essays on descending and ascending scales (Ferrabosco II on the diatonic in his Hexachord fantazias, Dowland in his *Forlorn Hope* and *Farewell*) are a good example for this interesting reading of the history of ricercar-related forms in England.

¹²⁹ Wilfrid G. Wilson, *Change Ringing: The Art and Science of Change Ringing on Church and Hand Bells* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), 2; John Camp, *Bell Ringing: Chimes – Carillons – Handbells: The World of the Bell and the Ringer* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1974), 32.

subordinates their role as performers to the pre-planning of a composer, who is more deeply aware of the aspects of structure and form of the activity.¹³⁰

An overview of possible changes (or the longer 'peals'), and a clarification of the intellectual challenges of campanology, are outside the scope of the present study. However, from a non-historical viewpoint, change ringing may be seen as a possible means of creating variety within the limits of hexachord-based music, an interesting alternative to the historical process in which the 'diatonic' hexachord was replaced by the chromatic scale (which, according to Pike, was the late-Elizabethan solution to the exhausted potential of the hexachord fantasia). The notation of change ringing usually employs numbers, and in a way which is somewhat contrary to the use of numbers in musical training: smaller numbers denote higher notes and thus in a church which owns six bells they would be labelled, from high pitch to low, 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; and 6. Usually the highest number (denoting the lowest pitch) would sound the *ut* of a hexachord (that is, the six bells would sound *la; sol; fa; mi; re* and *ut* respectively).¹³¹ Indeed, according to the examples given in *Tintinnalugia*, the number of bells involved in change ringing at the time ranged from three (*mi; re; ut*) to six (*la; sol; fa; mi; re; ut*).¹³² However, when using staff notation for a simple change ('plain hunt' in six bells), the great similarity to the *cantus* of a hexachord fantasia is evident, as well as the advantages of variety and of the ease in creating a sizeable canvas for the *cantus* to show (Illustration 3.11a).¹³³ Even

¹³⁰ The basic terminology of change ringing can be gathered from the first English book on the subject which is from Purcell's own time. In the prefatory material, the poem 'On the Ingenious Art of Ringing' is particularly interesting for its evocation of yet another connection between ringing and consort music: the poem compares the changes to dance steps and specifically mentions the Galliard, Jig, Corant, and Saraband. Thomas White, *Tintinnalugia or the Art of Ringing* (London: F.S, 1671). Esp. 1–4.

¹³¹ 'Take this as a general Rule, begin at the Tenor or biggest Bell, and count three whole Notes, then an half Note or Sharp; three whole Notes, then an half Note, or sharp, and so on till you come to the least Bell or Treble. For Example, on four Bells, 1:234, here the 432, are whole Notes, and the half note, or sharp is between the 1 and 2. On five Bells, 12:345, the 543, are whole notes, and the half note and sharp is between 2 and 3. On six Bells, 123:456, the half note or sharp is between 3 and 4'. Although this explanation is somewhat misleading (above the Tenor bell there should be only two 'whole Notes' rather than three), it can be understood that four Bells (1; 2; 3; 4) would normally sound *fa; mi; re; ut* respectively. Five bells (1; 2; 3; 4; 5) would normally sound *sol; fa; mi; re; ut* respectively. Eight bells would sound a descending major scale. White, *Tintinnalugia or the Art of Ringing*, 3–4.

¹³² White, *Tintinnalugia*, 6–8, 36.

¹³³ Based on Wilson, *Change Ringing*, 14.

if not as a sub-genre in its own right, campanology did find its way into the repertoire of consort music. Alongside composers who referred to bells in single independent pieces (Byrd's *The Bells*, Thomas Robinson's *Twenty Ways upon the Bells*), Jenkins dedicated several pieces for imitating the tolling of bells, the most impressive one being *The Five Bells*, which imitates a five-bell change, and thus relates directly to the *combinatoria* aspect of campanology. This direct connection with change ringing is different from what one can observe in Byrd's work or in other pieces written outside England, for example France, where change ringing was not practised and bells were played in carillons. An example of a simpler bell-inspired piece is Marin Marais' *La Sonnerie de Ste. Genevieve du Mont de Paris* which, like Byrd's *The Bells*, is based on a simple bell-like ostinato. In Purcell's repertoire, the *combinatoria* aspects were normally adapted in a more sophisticated way which will be demonstrated in the next section, but he also used the imitation of an eight-bell ring in his famous 'Bell Anthem', *Rejoice in the Lord Always* Z.49. The most basic procedure of change ringing—the 'hunt' (a bell which is constantly changing its place in the order of the series but only to from one place to its adjacent)—does not have a clear equivalent in Purcell's *combinatoria*-based movements, but the essence of a table describing a change of bells is similar to that of the tables below describing the combinatorial principles of movements from Sonata Z.797 (compare with Illustration 3.11b).

THE *CANTUS PRIUS FACTUS* AND ITS IMPLEMENTATIONS II

As was stated earlier in the chapter, assessing the influence on music of England's break with Rome during the sixteenth century is easier than assessing the ways in which music was affected by the longer and more varied political and cultural upheavals of the seventeenth century. But having established a few archetypal structures influenced or inspired by *cantus*-based composition, it may be possible to 'bypass' some issues in the political and cultural histories relevant to this study and simply to examine how those structural strategies also permeated later repertoires. However, here the problem of reiterating the question of Purcell's models, justly addressed by Howard,¹³⁴ becomes relevant again as, to a certain extent, discussion will inevitably boil down to finding resemblances between specific works by Purcell and specific models by earlier composers. The question of Purcell and *his* past is unlikely to be answered using terms which were added only later to musical parlance, such as 'classic' or 'canonic' since, outside sheer anachronism, the applicability of such terms to seventeenth-century *consort* music (unlike sacred music, or music for court entertainments) is all the more questionable given the esoteric nature of the consort tradition.¹³⁵ But the principle of locating precedents, all the more when tracing conscious compositional considerations such as harmonic scheme or form, is essential nonetheless. Such connections, between Purcell's music and the music of the generations discussed earlier in the chapter, do exist and are intricate and multi-layered. On the surface they consist of Purcell's adaptation of old genres, sometimes even passages that seem to quote specific works of earlier composers. In their deeper layers, connections are made through the fact that some of the compositional techniques that Purcell used, especially in his *Fantazias* and *Sonatas*, are direct descendents of those practised in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and particularly techniques influenced by *cantus*-based composition.

¹³⁴ See Chapter 1, footnote 35.

¹³⁵ For example, Holman's reference to Gibbons' *Fantazias* as 'the classics of the three-part repertory'. Harnoncourt's reference to Dowland may stem from a similar view of seventeenth-century music which, however insightful it is, passes through the prism of printed tradition and the relatively high quantity of evidence it supplies. Peter Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 76; Nikolaus Harnoncourt, *Baroque Music Today*, 166.

In order to demonstrate the surface level of the connection, suffice it to point out two examples from the Sonatas and Fantazias. Many moments in Purcell's music, as well as passages from his few written or reported comments, raise the suspicion that Purcell covered some of his works with a veil of thin irony, sometimes tongue-in-cheek. The oft quoted phrase regarding the 'fam'd Italian masters' from the preface of the 1683 Sonatas is striking in light of the first few bars in the set, which do not resemble any specific Italian sonata known to have circulated in London, but the work of a famed Englishman—William Byrd (Illustration 3.12).¹³⁶ The opening of the second Kyrie from Byrd's four-part Mass shares one of its subjects with Purcell's Sonata Z.790, adding only the anacrusis which is absent from the former. Byrd's different approach, shaping the subject as a double counterpoint, does not blur the great similarity, but on the contrary: the tail (the third, fourth and fifth notes) of Byrd's second subject resemble Purcell's version of the main subject, thus creating the same 7–6–8 progression on the second bar. Even more striking is the use both composers make of the same three-part complex (Illustration 3.13). Howard has highlighted Purcell's extensive use of the two two-voice interlocks which make up this complex, and how they dominate the contrapuntal working of the movement (appearing no less than ten times), and one can only wonder if Purcell's use of the modified subject or of that complex followed a study of Byrd's Mass.

Another piece which shares several surface features with Purcell was written by a composer mentioned earlier in this chapter, a man who was probably also personally acquainted with Byrd—John Baldwin. Whether it is one of those works of 'indifferent quality' (according to Bray) or not,¹³⁷ *Coochow as I me Walked* has two features which are quite unusual: an odd-length ground of eleven bars, and an awkward final cadence which deviates wildly from the work's mode. On the surface, a ground is not a strong candidate for a comparison with a through-composed fantasia, but in this case a few details are shared with Purcell's Fantazia 2 Z.733. Outside the obvious similarities of the three-part scoring and the mode, a clear resemblance can be seen between the subjects of the two works; and that similarity extends to a larger portion of Baldwin's ground and

¹³⁶ The Preface is quoted in full in Michael Burden, *Purcell Remembered* (London: Faber and Faber, 1995), 40–1.

¹³⁷ Roger Bray, 'John Baldwin', in *Grove Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.elib.tcd.ie>, 7 April 2010).

Purcell's first viol part (Illustration 3.14).¹³⁸ But the most striking resemblance relates to the aforementioned final cadence of Baldwin's work. Quite extraordinarily, this piece in F ends on an abrupt E major chord, the same chord which causes Purcell to break into the third and final section of his Fantazia (Illustration 3.15). More anecdotal is the fact that both pieces survive in two versions, one in two sections, and one with an added close. These resemblances are all audible to a certain extent and may hence be suspected as borrowings of musical material.

However, other resemblances between Purcell and earlier generations of consort composers involve borrowing of structural elements, or the adoption of a certain compositional mindset. The composer of imitative counterpoint can choose one of two archetypal approaches in structuring the musical form by manipulating a subject (*soggetto*). One approach is generative: the composer presents a subject and operates on it a procedure which can be repeated, theoretically, *ad infinitum*. In keyboard music, mainly Italian by Trabaci and Frescobaldi but also in John Bull's *Ut re mi fa sol la*, this can be seen in the idea of *inganno* (It. deception), the recasting of the subject in a way which retains its solmisation syllables but changes the hexachords on which they are applied.¹³⁹ In English consort music, a comparable approach can be observed in some composers' use of rhythmic variation, among them Mico, Locke and Ferrabosco II.¹⁴⁰ The other approach can be defined as 'exhaustive': the composer presents a subject and operates a certain procedure on it, which has a *finite* number of ways in which it can be operated. For example, if we apply this also to rhythmic variety, a subject in consort music will rarely exceed quadruple augmentation, therefore the subject, its augmentation (values doubled), and its quadruple augmentation (values multiplied by four) will be the only three modes of the subject which can be combined (as, for example, in the first section of Fantazia 4, the second section of Fantazia 12, or the first movement of Sonata Z.796). Another example may be applied to the idea of

¹³⁸ Doe (ed.), *Elizabethan Consort Music : II*, MB45, 12–14.

¹³⁹ Roland Jackson, 'The "Inganni" and the Keyboard Music of Trabaci', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21/2 (Summer, 1968): 204–8.

¹⁴⁰ Mico, Fantasia in two parts (no. 4 in MB65), compare Viol II (bars 1–12) and Viol I (bars 35–40). Ferrabosco, In Nomine Fantasia (no. 28 in MB81). A similar approach in Locke's music for the stage (*Psyche*) was identified by Laurie. Hanley (ed.), *Richard Mico: Consort Music*, MB65, 4–5. Christopher Field and David Pinto (eds.), *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger: Consort Music of Five and Six Parts*, MB81 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2003), 108–20; Laurie, 'Music for the Stage II: From 1650', 317.

combinatoria—the possible permutations of an n -part contrapuntal complex will never exceed the factorial $n!$ and some of them may be invalid for voice-leading or dissonant combinations (a fully-invertible three-part complex would have no more than six possible permutations, as mentioned earlier in relation to the Largo of Sonata Z.802). A subject would have a finite number of canonic *strettos* which can be devised on it, depending on its length.¹⁴¹

For reasons that must remain in the realm of speculation, but that may be important, Purcell avoids the use of *inganni* and of free rhythmic variation. Instead, his use of exhaustive technique is not only highly original but also fundamental to his treatment of musical form. One can roughly divide Purcell's use of exhaustive technique to four methods: first is the attempt to allocate material to each of the voices; second is the attempt to exhaust all possible combinatorial variations or permutations of a *stretto* or of several subjects while retaining their relative rhythmic alignment (for example the use of *ars combinatoria* as was demonstrated on Z.802 above and will be examined further below); third is the attempt to exhaust different rhythmic offsets of *stretto* entrances or contrapuntal complexes in general; fourth is to exhaust lists of pitches. The latter's far-reaching implications for the organisation of form and pitch will require special treatment, and the next chapter will be devoted to it alone.

Alan Howard highlights two compositional challenges which Purcell imposed on himself in the second verse of *Since God so tender a regard* Z.143. Both challenges may be described as exhaustive methods: demonstrating the possible placement of the subject relative to the ground (the subject and the ground can be seen as a contrapuntal complex, thus demonstrating the third method mentioned above) and systematically incorporating all of the viable two-part complexes created by overlapping the subject with itself a minim later (thus demonstrating the first method mentioned above).¹⁴² According to Howard, it is these two manifestations of the exhaustive method which

¹⁴¹ This technique rarely receives scholarly treatment, and John Milsom described it in relation to Lassus' *Dominus Scit cogitationes hominum*. However, one should bear in mind that the distinction between these two modes of thought would have been more blurred to composers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; Janet Zweig demonstrates how the Hebrew mystical book *Sefer Yetzirah* (second century A.D.) attempts description of infinity by a combinatorial calculation which can be easily calculated as a finite number in today's digital era. John Milsom, 'Absorbing Lassus', *Early Music* 33/1 (2005): 99–114 (102–5); Zweig, 'Ars Combinatoria', 21.

¹⁴² Alan Howard, 'Composition as an Act of Performance: Artifice and Expression in Purcell's Sacred Partsong "Since God so Tender a Regard"', *The Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 132 (2007): 32–59 (46–9).

make that section, a mere nine bars of the piece, 'the most artificial in the work, and the most obvious demonstration of Purcell's contrapuntal virtuosity'.¹⁴³

A more simple way of forming an exhaustive list as a self-imposed challenge is the attempt to present the imitative subject in each of the parts involved in the piece. In the hexachord and the In Nomine fantazias discussed above, the allocation of the *cantus* part sometimes seems to have been done according to the performers' relative virtuosity (for example Byrd's keyboard duet).¹⁴⁴ Sometimes however, composers seem to have attempted an equal distribution of the *cantus* among the parts as a self-imposed challenge in its own right (Ferrabosco II's Fantasia In Nomine gives the *cantus* to each of the six voices; Lawes' In Nomine, in which the plainsong is played twice, divides each appearance of the plainsong into two segments, so that four of the six parts get to 'lead' the ensemble with a segment of the plainsong.)¹⁴⁵ A similar approach can be seen in the *Browning* settings by Baldwin, Byrd, Bevin and Woodcock discussed in Chapter 4.

While this technique, when applied on the one part which is easiest to trace in the polyphonic texture (the *cantus*), may give the impression of an obvious and artificial device, even mechanical, some composers used it with much more refinement in their treatment of subjects in free counterpoint. For example, John Ward in his 'Paris' Fantazia no. 12, gives each viol two entrances of the subject, one on A and one on D (Illustration 3.16).¹⁴⁶ Ward's application of the exhaustive method to a series of pitches has implications for the work's harmonic structure: presenting that specific subject (which contains a stepwise descending fifth and thus defines a mode rather clearly) not only allows the composer to stay within the boundaries of a specific mode, but also limits the array of modes to which the composer could modulate at the first place. This kind of implication is even more significant when the pitches of the subject are sounded in long notes and form the scaffolding of the piece (as in the case of the hexachord fantazias).

¹⁴³ Alan Howard, 'Composition as an Act of Performance', 47.

¹⁴⁴ An anecdotal proof of that aspect of Purcell's *Fantazia Upon One Note* can be found in the Zorian Quartet's recording of the piece (1946), where it was joined by a rather surprising fifth player on the viola—Benjamin Britten.

¹⁴⁵ Field and Pinto (eds.), *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger: Consort Music of Five and Six Parts*, MB81, 108–20; Lefkowitz (ed.), *William Lawes: Select Consort Music*, MB21, 35–41.

¹⁴⁶ Ian Payne (ed.), *John Ward: Consort Music of Four Parts*, MB83 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2005), 44–45.

In Ward's free Fantazia, the choice of pitches does not seem to result in a memorable deviation from early seventeenth-century style but rather makes that section conform to Morley's description of the fantazia 'form' as staying within the boundaries of a single mode.¹⁴⁷ Ward's decision to use real answers (in all the entrances on D) creates steady alternation of i, iv and V harmonies. Had Ward chosen to present, outside the three subjects on A, the three additional subjects on E (rather than on D), the obvious implication would have been that the iv chord would not have been introduced regularly as a by-product of the subject's entrances, thus either it had to be introduced deliberately through free contrapuntal material, or it would not have been introduced so often (if at all), hence the harmonic progression of the section would have changed beyond recognition.

In Purcell's Fantazias, where the same approach is applied to longer lists with more notes in them, the composer is practically forced to leave the mode (these lists will be the main focus of Chapter 4). His more moderate use of shorter lists is apparent also outside his consort music. To illustrate this, one may analyse one of Purcell's shortest essays in imitative counterpoint, the ritornello for the song 'For Iris I Sigh' from the play *Amphitryon* (Illustration 3.17).¹⁴⁸ The song itself is one of Purcell's most straightforward text settings and its phrasing is based on simple narration of the poetry with very little addition or modification: each line of the six-line verse is set to four bars of music, resulting in a bipartite structure of 8 and 16 bars respectively. It is mainly against this unimaginative background that the ritornello's phrasing (4 and 6 bars) deserves attention. As in the case of another song in *Amphitryon* ('Celia, that I once was blest'), Purcell adds a relatively complicated short ritornello to a simpler song, and this may imply that Purcell saw the printed musical appendix to the playbook as a platform to present, as in the 1683 Sonatas, his technical ability as a composer for instruments.¹⁴⁹ However, it would have required many adjustments to suggest a simpler 8-bar ritornello that would have 'fitted' the song which follows it (Illustration 3.18) but whatever the commercial motivation might have been, compositionally it may have been this exhaustive method that stood behind Purcell's asymmetrical design.

¹⁴⁷ Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597), 180–1.

¹⁴⁸ Henry Purcell, *The Songs in Amphitryon with the Musick* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1690), 3–4.

¹⁴⁹ Henry Purcell, *The Songs in Amphitryon with the Musick*, 1–2.

A few words should be added about Purcell's tendency to incorporate sophisticated counterpoint in music that was intended for an audience that may, in part, not have understood its sophistication. Being a 'technically obsessive composer',¹⁵⁰ it seems that the will to demonstrate his contrapuntal control was so fundamental to his compositional personality that it appears in places that are quite unpropitious for it, and that in some cases even stretch the aptness of his musical choices for the function that his music is meant to serve. In *Amphitryon* the very decision to incorporate the ritornelli in the publication of the songs is not self-explanatory—most collections of songs from plays at the time, including Purcell's own, included only for vocal parts and continuo. Even works like the 'Sonata While the Sun Rises' from *The Fairy Queen*, which have the semblance of a loud symphony serving as a mere accompaniment to the spectacle on stage, contain 'plenty to appeal to the cognoscenti'.¹⁵¹

Extracting a skeleton from the ritornellos of 'For Iris I Sigh', one can see that it contains six entries, two for each instrument, adding up to three entrances on A, and three starting on E, which is remarkably similar to the design highlighted in Ward's Fantazia above (Illustration 3.19). The same idea can be observed in what Wood observes as the 'neat scheme' in the triple section of the overture to the ode *Sound the Trumpet Z.335/1*, where Purcell distributes four organ points among the four parts.¹⁵² The temporal spacing between these organ points in itself may also be significant, as will be clarified later on. In relation to the overture for the play *Distress'd Innocence*, I have elsewhere doubted the authority of the version printed in *Ayres for the Theatre* and attributed more authority to the version appearing in the Cambury manuscript.¹⁵³ That view concerning the problems of authority in the piece can be reinforced by the consequences of the different viola parts in the two versions: in the Cambury manuscript version all the instruments present the opening imitative subject, while in the *Ayres for the Theatre* version the viola does not. Quite naturally, this kind of artificial structure is not absent from the Sonatas. In other words, Purcell's idiosyncratic tendency to distribute imitative

¹⁵⁰ Adams, *Henry Purcell*, 78.

¹⁵¹ Adams, *Henry Purcell*, 76.

¹⁵² Bruce Wood, 'Purcell's Odes: A Reappraisal', in *The Purcell Companion*, Michael Burden (ed.) (London: Faber and Faber, 1995), 200–253 (228). Bruce Wood (ed.) *Royal Welcome Songs: Part II*, NPS18 (London: Novello, 2005), 143–7.

¹⁵³ Alon Schab, 'Distress'd Sources? A critical consideration of the authority of Purcell's Ayres for the Theatre', *Early Music*, 37/4 (November 2009): 633–45.

subjects among *all* parts can serve to support or raise questions about the attribution of works to him. In the opening movement of the E minor Sonata Z.796 (analysed in detail in Chapter 1), Purcell presents three augmentations—one for each instrument.

Similar principles with those apparent in 'For Iris I sigh'—one of the simplest of Purcell's songs—can also explain one of his most elaborate ones, 'See, See Even Night' from *The Fairy Queen*. The ritornello presents, again, six statements of the subject, two for each part. What is clearly more elaborate about the latter song is its texture: as befits the somnambulant atmosphere of a French-style slumber scene (*Sommeil*), Purcell asks for a high 'bass' part to be played by the viola. The use of a high-register melodic instrument for that purpose entrusts the two violin parts with a double task: carrying an ongoing imitative texture and, in the absence of a harmonic continuo instrument, harmonising the bass.¹⁵⁴ That imitative texture in 'See, See Even Night' gives an impression of two detached 'layers': a 'three-part fantasia' in the strings exploring a subject and its inversions, and an independent vocal part which, at least at the beginning, paraphrases the main imitative subject (note that the soprano presents the subject only seven bars after it enters and after presenting a freely augmented and ornamented version of the subject). Other aspects are revealed when focusing on the vocal and bass parts alone. If one divides the song according to its textual phrases, seven sections result:

1. [Ritornello]
2. See, even Night herself is here, To favour your Design;
3. And all her Peaceful Train is near, That Men to Sleep incline.
4. Let Noise and Care, Doubt and Despair, Envy and Spite (The Fiend's delight),
Be ever Banish'd hence,
5. Let soft Repose, Her Eye-lids close; And murmuring Streams, Bring pleasing
Dreams;
6. Let nothing stay to give offence.
7. [Ritornello]

¹⁵⁴ The constant movement in minims not only serves the dramatic purpose of creating a hypnotizing monotony but also helps the composer not to attract too much of the listeners' attention away from the singer. To some extent, this demonstrates the composer's limited efforts to *communicate* the sophistication of his contrapuntal reworking to his audiences.

Examining the corresponding bass part and the way it is constructed of *per arsin* and *per thesin* entries of the subject in each of these sections (Illustration 3.20) may suggest that Purcell attempted to shape the bass part in a symmetrical way which, in turn, shaped the vocal part:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) (Ritornello) <i>per arsin</i> ; <i>per arsin</i> | ↓ |
| (2) <i>per arsin</i> ; <i>per arsin</i> | ↓ |
| (3) <i>per thesin</i> ; <i>per arsin</i> | ↓ |
| (4) <i>per thesin</i> ; <i>per arsin</i> | ↕ |
| (5) <i>per thesin</i> ; <i>per arsin</i> | ↑ |
| (6) <i>per arsin</i> ; <i>per arsin</i> | ↑ |
| (7) (Ritornello) <i>per arsin</i> ; <i>per arsin</i> | ↑ |

This unique bass-part structure implies that Purcell may have had a predetermined structure, in this case a bass part, that dictated the harmony and imitative complexes for the remaining parts, just as a *cantus*-based composition would have done several decades before that.¹⁵⁵

The self-imposed challenge of exploring the differing combinatorial variations created by combining motifs in the third movement of the B minor Sonata Z.802, which Adams described as ‘an extreme case of technique triumphing over process’, does indeed turn out to be an extreme case but it is far from being isolated and rare within the composer’s output. Another movement which is also discussed in Tilmouth’s article is the *Poco Largo* from the Sonata Z.797. Unlike the former, where the composer explored the possible combinatorial variations, here he explores the permutations that may be

¹⁵⁵ Purcell’s chronological order of work, writing the bass and the vocal part before adding additional instrumental parts, is surprising in this case but can be supported by circumstantial evidence in the score. In Autumn’s ‘See, See my many coloured fields’ from the masque of the Seasons in Act IV the violin, both in the ritornello and throughout the song, were added in Purcell’s hand after an anonymous copyist copied the vocal part and the bass. The fact that Purcell may have *composed* into the score rather than merely copied previously-composed material is hinted by the apparently later addition of bar 36. The barring to the left of the bar seem to be carelessly drawn in the middle of a pre-existing bar, in order to ‘squeeze’ a two-bar interpolation of the violins where only one bar was originally intended.

possible from the reshuffling of a group of items without either omitting or repeating an item. At no stage does a subject appear against itself, hence the reshuffling can be labelled a triple-invertible counterpoint. Tilmouth's table has one mistake (in the third combination from the left) and so the corrected table would look like this:¹⁵⁶

						Coda
A	B	C	C	C	B	4 bars derived from
B	C	A	B	B	A	B and repeated
C	A	B	A	A	C	<i>p.</i>

This structure can be seen as another application of *ars combinatoria* principles, wherein Purcell explores five of the six possible permutations combining the three subjects with one another (omitting A, C and B for Violin I, Violin II and the Bassus respectively). The use of 'five of six' also features in Adams' analysis of the third movement of Z.802 and seems to appear also in music of other composers dealt with in previous chapters, for example Sweelinck.¹⁵⁷ But although one may observe here strict triple-invertible counterpoint, a distinction must be made with the *Permutationsfuge*, a modern term describing a German fugue style cultivated by composers of Purcell's generation and their immediate predecessors: Matthias Weckmann (c1616–1674), Christoph Bernhard (1628–1692), Dietrich Buxtehude (1637–1707), Johann Adam Reincken (1643–1722) and Johann Theile (1646–1724). Purcell's fugue does not follow the *Permutationsfuge* criterion that the voices should enter successively. In fact, several of Purcell's canzonas do answer that and all other criteria of the *Permutationsfuge* definition as formulised by Walker: entries alternate between tonic and dominant; the order of appearance of the different subjects and countersubjects is retained in each voice; little or no non-thematic material is used; and the voices appear in invertible counterpoint.¹⁵⁸ However, the first twenty-eight bars of the canzona which immediately

¹⁵⁶ Tilmouth, 'The Technique and Forms of Purcell's Sonatas', 119.

¹⁵⁷ Fantasia L1, discussed in Noske, *Sweelinck*, 87–8.

¹⁵⁸ Paul Mark Walker, *Theories of Fugue from the Age of Josquin to the Age of Bach* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2000), 232.

follows that *Poco Largo* of Z.797 do follow all these conditions and strictly so, as can be seen from the thematic distribution among the parts:

Bar no.:	62	66	70	74	78	82	86
Vi I		A	B	C	A	B	C
Vi II	A	B	C	A	B	C	A
Bassus			A	B	C	A	B

Tilmouth remarks that other movements—namely the third movement of Z.801 and the fourth movement of Z.805—show a structure comparable to that of the *Poco Largo* and argues that they suffer from ‘excessive squareness’.¹⁵⁹ But as Adams noted, this squareness does not stem from the composer’s lack of taste but from an aware attempt to structure the movement according to an exhaustive method applied on the permutations of thematic material.

Although no contemporary term has survived for this technique of structuring an imitative movement on *ars combinatoria* processes, there is one passage in Purcell’s *The Art of Descant* which may suggest not only that this technique was a defined part of Purcell’s contrapuntal apparatus and had a name, but also that Purcell found that name important enough to want to incorporate it in the treatise. Purcell argues that ‘[in sonatas] you will find Double and *Treble* Fuges also reverted and augmented in their Canzona’s’ [present author’s italics].¹⁶⁰ While the term ‘double fugue’ had been discussed by Purcell a few pages earlier, ‘*Treble* fugue’ is an obscure term. However, considering the possible proof-techniques used by seventeenth-century printing houses, it is probable that the passage was dictated to a compositor and the word ‘triple’, which makes perfect sense in that context, was switched for its homophone ‘treble’. This scenario requires serious consideration, regarding the *triple*-invertible counterpoint which characterizes the preceding example (Illustration 3.21). With all the reservations one might have as to Purcell’s being a ‘theorist’ in the modern sense of the word, it is

¹⁵⁹ Tilmouth, ‘The Technique and Forms of Purcell’s Sonatas’, 117–8.

¹⁶⁰ Henry Purcell, ‘The Art of Descant’, in John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 12th edn (London: Henry Playford, 1694), 125. Reproduced in Dart (ed.) and Tilmouth (rev.), *Fantazias and Miscellaneous Instrumental Music*, NPS31, 113

nonetheless possible that he himself coined some of the terms used in his 'Art of Descant', as can be seen with the history of the term 'triple fugue'. If it is not only careless and uncritical printing then it must be general unfamiliarity with this terminology, among Playford and his partners after Purcell's death, which can explain the consistent use of this apparent misprint in all of the subsequent issues of the *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* up to the nineteenth and last edition in 1730. However, the title 'another sort of fugeing', used in the Purcell Society Edition of the examples from *The Art of Descant*,¹⁶¹ should be questioned since it is worded in a way which makes sense in the context of Purcell's prose, describing a sequence of examples, but it does not transmit any information on the triple-invertible nature which Purcell so clearly sought to illustrate.¹⁶² If indeed Purcell called this technique 'triple fuge', then that name would be more apt in the context of the modern edition.

As mentioned by Howard, the strict application of the *ars combinatoria* technique (although not labelled by him as such), creates a sense of hypermetre, which does not occur in the Fantazias.¹⁶³ In his Fantazias, Purcell sometimes chose *combinatoria* challenges which are much harder to overcome. For example, the second section of the Fantazia 3 discussed in the previous chapter (see Illustration 2.21) reworks three motifs, embodying twenty-four possible permutations, of which Purcell uses only eight. Insistence on exhausting a list, either of permutations, combinatorial variations, instruments or notes, is a kind of scaffolding which is no less restricting and challenging than the use of a plainsong, and closely resembles the kinds of challenges used by composers of the mediating period between plainsong-based consort music, and the late seventeenth-century plainsong-free composition of consort music. During this mediating period composers extended the arsenal of *prius factus* elements that had potential to serve as an infrastructure for their works.

The fact that essays in the more traditional, and by then outdated, *cantus* composition—plainsong setting—are not absent from Purcell's work underlines the extent to which this late seventeenth-century composer was drawn to the highly intellectual concepts of

¹⁶¹ The sentence is extracted from the Purcell's sentence 'There is another sort of *Fugeing* in three Parts before we come to *Canon*; which is, when each of them take a different *Fuge*, and so interchanges one with another like *Double Fugeing*'. *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Dart (ed.) and Tilmouth (rev.), *Fantazias and Miscellaneous Instrumental Music*, NPS31, 113.

¹⁶³ Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice', 161.

a previous age. The two In Nomines (à 6 Z.746 and à 7 Z.747) are the clearest examples of Purcell's use of the technique, and are joined by the *Fantazia upon One Note* which, according to Stevens, stretches the plainsong principle *ad absurdum*.¹⁶⁴

At least sixty composers attempted to compose In Nomines before Purcell, covering a wide palette of craftsmanship, from weaker pieces such as the one attributed to Ward (perhaps by mistake),¹⁶⁵ to the masterly essays by Byrd and Gibbons. With Purcell's two surviving essays in the genre, added to the *Fantazia upon One Note* which may be suspected as a private joke, it would be futile to try and extract 'Purcell's plainsong style'. It may, however, be interesting to examine certain aspects in Purcell's plainsong treatment in light of the connections between Purcell and those composers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries which have already been examined earlier in this chapter. Both Holman and Adams see Purcell's In Nomines as homage to works written before the generation of his immediate predecessors.¹⁶⁶ Pinto refers to several Elizabethan features in Purcell's In Nomines, one of them being the rhythmic subdivision of the normative breves.¹⁶⁷ This feature should be examined not only at face value but also for the purpose it serves: as in examples by Eglestone and Tye,¹⁶⁸ Purcell in his In Nomines, and especially the In Nomine à 6, tries to blur the distinction between the plainsong and the independent voices. When a plainsong is heard in varying rhythmic values its distinctiveness, if not supremacy over the other parts, is reduced; and that reduction is even stronger when it seems to be *imitating* other voices (Illustration 3.22). This technique is described by Morley in his *Plaine and Easie Introduction* as 'breaking', whereby he demonstrates how he '[breaks] the plainsong of purpose [, thus causing] it to answer the Fuge as a third part to the [other parts]'.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁴ Denis Stevens, 'Purcell's Art of Fantasia', *Music and Letters* 33 (1952): 341–345 (343).

¹⁶⁵ John Ward (attr.), In Nomine a 5 (no. 14 in MB67). Payne (ed.), *John Ward: Consort Music of Five and Six Parts*, MB67, 67–70, 141–2.

¹⁶⁶ Holman, 'Compositional Choices in Henry Purcell's Three Parts upon a Ground', 257; Adams, *Henry Purcell*, 10–11.

¹⁶⁷ David Pinto, 'Purcell's In Nomines: A Tale of Two Manuscripts (Perhaps Three)', 106.

¹⁶⁸ Eglestone, In Nomine II (no. 157 in MB45); Tye 'Farewell my good 1 for ever' (no. 176 in MB45). Paul Doe (ed.), *Elizabethan Consort Music : II*, MB45, 69–70, 102–3.

¹⁶⁹ Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction*, 99.

Purcell's treatment of strict plainsong setting is interesting also for the way in which the composer perceived the process of overcoming a self-imposed technical challenge as a *tour de force* which sometime embodies some sort of 'professional humour'. Although these works are being recognised today as being virtually unknown in their own time, in modern perspective Purcell's Fantazias are attributed great significance thanks to their elegant combination of the two distinct fantazia styles of the seventeenth century—the learned and the light.¹⁷⁰ As seen in Chapter 2, the rhetorical device *dispositio* plays a significant role in the form of the Fantazias, and this concept is applicable not only to contrapuntal devices (inversion, augmentation etc.) but also to rhetorical figures which were directly derived from poetry. Here, revisiting the madrigal, it may be enlightening to examine one of the genres that heavily affected the seventeenth-century 'Jacobean' fantazia and mainly the lighter fantazia. Christopher Simpson describes the fantazia as a point of imitation after which the composer may either present another point of imitation or switch to any of several optional textures; among these Simpson explicitly mentions the option of '[falling] into some lighter Humour like a Madrigal.'¹⁷¹ Purcell's Fantazias have several such madrigal-like passages, but Purcell's most consistent revisiting of a madrigal-like gesture evokes a rhetorical exclamation identified with grief, which can be traced back to the end of the sixteenth century.¹⁷² In Morley's madrigal *Fire, Fire* (1597), the exclamation 'Ay me' is repeated and set to music as a sequence of rising fifths (in F Major: vi – V of vi ; IV – I) in homophonic texture (Illustration 3.23).¹⁷³ This highly effective moment, with its rhetorical power enhanced by a minim rest between the two exclamations, recurs in one way or another in many madrigals by different composers until the waning of the genre in the 1620s: in Weelkes' *Cease Sorrows Now* (1597), the words 'No hope is left' are set to an extended version of the same gesture (Illustration 3.24). This time the fifths are rising to the degrees i and V

¹⁷⁰ David Pinto, 'Purcell's In Nomines: A Tale of Two Manuscripts (Perhaps Three)', 102.

¹⁷¹ Christopher Simpson, *A Compendium of Practical Music in Five Parts*, Phillip J. Lord (ed.) (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), 77–8.

¹⁷² Joan Wess refers *in passim* to 'slow harmonically-expressive passages (standing for expressions of grief and anguish)', but the discussion is otherwise focused on examples of quotation from and commentary on Madrigals in the 'Jacobean' Fantazia. Joan Wess, 'Musica Transalpina, parody and the emerging Jacobean fantasy', *chelys* 15 (1986): 3–25.

¹⁷³ Edmund H. Fellowes (ed.) and Thurston Dart (rev.), *Thomas Morley: First Book of Balletts*, Emad4 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1965), 53–9.

(in D minor: V of iv – iv – i ; V – i – V);¹⁷⁴ even a quarter of a century later, Tomkins in *Yet Again, As Soon Revived* employs the same gesture (Illustration 3.25), by now clearly emblematic of grief as it puts an abrupt stop to the triple-time setting of the line ‘Change there is of joy’ into, again repeated, a setting of the word ‘sadness’ in the same vein (in G minor: VI – IV of VI – VI ; i – V).¹⁷⁵ One variant which seems to have been particularly popular involves rising fifths from a minor tonic followed by another fifth rising from its relative major: although it can be found occasionally at the beginning of a piece (Weelkes’ *Ay me, Alas, Hey Ho*) (Illustration 3.26),¹⁷⁶ it usually appears at the middle, either as an abrupt event after either a joyous dance-like section or after an extensive contrapuntal section, as in John Ward’s *Fly not so Fast* (Illustration 3.27).¹⁷⁷

The adaptation of that coin to the instrumental fantasia occurred already in Byrd’s time, and he himself used a variant of it in his four-part *Fanatasia 1* (Illustration 3.28).¹⁷⁸ From Byrd’s time we see traces of the idiom throughout the seventeenth century, in the works of Thomas Ford, Thomas Tomkins and Matthew Locke,¹⁷⁹ but it seems that adaptation of the coin has not been attempted in the genre of *In Nomine* until Purcell, and that no composer used it more consistently and in a more imaginative way than Purcell, long after the vocal model of the coin, and the madrigal in general, disappeared from London’s musical landscape.¹⁸⁰ In Purcell’s four-part *Fantazias*, one can find the coin in its basic form in *Fantazia 6* (bars 45–50: i – V – III – V of III) (Illustration 3.29); in

¹⁷⁴ Edmund H. Fellowes (ed.) and Thurston Dart (rev.), *Thomas Weelkes: Madrigals to 3.4.5. & 6. Voices (1597)*, Emad9 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1967), 29–34.

¹⁷⁵ Edmund H. Fellowes (ed.) and Thurston Dart (rev.), *Thomas Tomkins: Songs of 3.4.5. and 6. Parts (1622)*, Emad18 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1960), 53–61.

¹⁷⁶ Edmund H. Fellowes (ed.) and Thurston Dart (rev.), *Thomas Weelkes: Ayeres or Fantastic spirits (1608)*, Emad 13 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1965), 29–31.

¹⁷⁷ Edmund H. Fellowes (ed.) and Thurston Dart (rev.), *John Ward: First set of Madrigals (1613)*, Emad 19 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1968), 26–28.

¹⁷⁸ Kenneth Elliott (ed.), *The Collected Works of William Byrd, Volume 17, Consort Music* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1971), 7–10.

¹⁷⁹ Thomas Ford, *Fantasia* (no. 40 in MB9) bars 42–4. Tomkins, *Fantasia XVII* (no. 33 in MB59), bars 74–5. Locke, *Consort of Four Parts, Suite no. 2, Fantazia* (bars 38–40). Dart and Coats (eds.), *Jacobean Consort Music*, MB9, 64–6; John Irving (ed.), *Thomas Tomkins: Consort Music*, MB59, (London: Stainer and Bell, 1991), 80–6; Tilmouth (ed.), *Matthew Locke: Chamber Music : II*, MB32, 64–67.

¹⁸⁰ John Bull’s *In Nomine* (no. 50 in MB9) has one passage (bars 26–9) which is remotely connected to the coin. Dart and Coats (eds.), *Jacobean Consort Music*, MB9, 86–7.

Fantazia 7 it appears slightly modified (bars 38–40: I – IV – II – V6), and yet both the rhetorical effect, enhanced by the homophonic texture and its place in the form, is clearly identifiable (Illustration 3.30); a similar modification appears in Fantazia 9 (bars 28–30, in A minor: III – VII – V6 of ii – ii) (Illustration 3.31). The third section of Fantazia 10 seems to be dominated by the idea of such sequences (Illustration 3.32). With the little information we have on the original circumstances of the Fantazias' performance, it is hard to draw any decisive conclusions, but Purcell's consistent use of the coin may indicate not only that he was familiar with the madrigal literature, but also that his audience (i.e. the performing audience) was familiar with that literature. If the Fantazias were performed by connoisseurs, it is possible that admiring, if not performing, the works of the old madrigalists played a part in the cultural world of that circle.

But focusing on Purcell's treatment of plainsong rather than of free forms, it is fascinating to see that the composer introduces this madrigal-like coin also in his *cantus*-based works. As Purcell advanced along in his 'fantasia project' and enlarged the scoring, one can also see the pains he took in order to integrate the coin even in more restrictive textures. In the *In Nomine à 7*, Purcell takes advantage of the plainsong's notes b'b-a' in order to support the coin's first rising fifth (Illustration 3.33. Bars 27–8. The progression is i – V), but as this progression would perhaps suggest a III-VII progression to succeed it, the plainsong's next note, another a', does not allow Purcell to introduce the coin in its usual form and he is forced to modify it. The essence of the coin, a sequence of two rising fifths, is retained in Purcell's modified version (i – V – v – V of v), which is easily supported by the plainsong and also enjoys a convincing chromatic descent in the first viol.

When observing Purcell's consistent inclusion of that coin in his Fantazias, the *Fantazia Upon one Note* may be seen as plainsong technique taken *ad absurdum* but in more than just the use of a single note as a *cantus*—Purcell insists on incorporating the coin under *cantus* limitations that are not supposed to facilitate that. Purcell's adaptation of the coin to the uncompromising c' *cantus* (Illustration 3.34, bars 26–30) may be interpreted, as mentioned in Chapter 2, as another case of a connection between different Fantazias, this time between Fantazia 6 and the *Fantazia Upon one Note*. The manifestations of the coin in these two works in particular are linked by the works' common key (F major, the coin in both starts on F minor), similar voice leading and, indeed, corresponding 'rhetoric' function as a dramatic event at the exactly after the middle of the work (bar 45 of 87 in Fantazia 6; bar 26 of 49 in the *Fantazia Upon one Note*). A comparison of the

voice leading in both passages shows that Purcell had to misalign the melodic lines in order to accommodate the coin with the c' drone. If aligned, the four lines would have created the coin in its simplest form (F minor – C major – Ab Major – Eb major), but the last chord—Eb major—would not have fitted with the organ point, and so Purcell introduces a six-four chord in its stead; that chord, with the bass already on eb, implies a forthcoming resolution to Eb major, and when the upper voices realize the expectation and resolve from c'' and a'b down to b'b and g', the bass already moves on and ascends chromatically: all the separate lines of the coin are there, but misaligned and thus with different harmonic implications. Following Howard's argument regarding cross-fantazia references, both the use of the coin as a whole and its specific corresponding manifestations hint that Purcell did try to tie the different Fantazias with means of using corresponding passages, even at the same pitch, regardless of the main tonalities of the works: Fantazia 6 in F major and the Fantazia upon one note in F major both introduce the coin in F minor; Fantazia 7 in C minor and Fantazia 9 in A minor both use the coin in C major).

Thus, Purcell's use of plainsong setting is restricted to his consort music, and hence to the four walls of the chamber. The connoisseurs who may have been involved in playing Purcell's consort music, as those traditionally involved in the genre, were probably attentive enough to participate in Purcell's in-jokes, and to observe Purcell's treatment of *cantus* technique and the way it relates to the *cantus* technique of older generations. In some cases, such as the last section of Fantazia 12, some of the augmented entries are more easily explained as segments of *cantus* rather than parts of the imitative fabric.¹⁸¹ Purcell's reference to the style of earlier *cantus*-based genres or his consort in-jokes, whether they are the use of a one-note *cantus* or the imposition of stock passages on *cantus*-segments which are not supposed to accommodate them harmonically, require the active involvement of the players and certainly give one a glimpse of musical humour in its wider sense. However, no less innovative was Purcell's adaptation of *cantus* technique to his works for the court and the stage. For the sake of clarity, these will be referred to as 'adapted-*cantus*' movements.

Purcell's view of his audiences (and vice versa) is to a large extent out of our reach, due to sparse documentation. Purcell's only explicit remark on the subject showed some disappointment at his audience's reaction to what he perceived as his best music (Roger

¹⁸¹ Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice,' 151.

North mentioned Purcell's 'constant observation that what took least, was really best').¹⁸² However, some internal evidence in the music may shed light on this intricate and multi-layered relationship. Purcell's public music, either for the court or for the stage, is on the one hand rich in catchy tunes and simple dances, and on the other contains some memorable moments of great complexity. Purcell's intention when incorporating popular tunes in his works for court and stage, tunes that became his main vehicle for adapted-*cantus* movements, is hard to judge: did the popular origin of a tune make it easy to follow and thus more comprehensible to the audience, or did the ways in which Purcell adorned or camouflaged such a tune make it in fact more challenging for the listener than any other dance tune or air in his odes? Purcell wrote three works of adapted-*cantus* technique, (the same number as his more traditional *cantus* movements), a technique which largely originates in consort music (for example the *Browning* settings mentioned above or Cobbold's fragmentary *New Fashions*).¹⁸³ In all three, the melody is of popular origin, its original rhythm is retained, and in all of them the predetermined part is in the bass rather than in an inner voice: the air 'May her blest example chase' from the ode *Love's Goddess Sure was Blind* Z.331/6 quotes the ballad 'Cold and Raw', which was claimed to be one of Queen Mary's favourite tunes;¹⁸⁴ *Ye Tuneful Muses* Z.344 quotes the song 'Hey Boys, Up Go We';¹⁸⁵ the Fourth Act Tune for the lost comedy *The Gordian Knot Unty'd* Z.597/5 quotes the tune 'Lilliburlero'.¹⁸⁶ Of

¹⁸² Michael Burden, *Purcell Remembered* (London: Faber and Faber, 1995), 42.

¹⁸³ Phillip Brett (ed.), *Consort Songs*, MB22 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1974), 158–71.

¹⁸⁴ The tune, known also as 'Stingo' or 'Oil of Barley', was probably popular already in the early seventeenth century. However, the musical text first appears in *The Dancing Master* of 1651, and Purcell's quotation shares several variants with the texted version in *Comes Amoris* of 1688. Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1966), 687–92; Bruce Wood (ed.), *Birthday Odes for Queen Mary Part II*, NPS24 (London: Novello, 1998), 31–32.

¹⁸⁵ The movement based on 'Hey Boys, Up Go We' survives in an earlier fragmentary version (only treble and bass) as the Jig of the G major suite Z.770/4, in the autograph **30930** on folio 52v.

¹⁸⁶ The music for that play enjoys other borrowings from odes, a fact which either reinforces Pinnock's and Wood's thesis of cross-generic permeation in contrast to Thurston Dart's views quoted in chapter 2. Z.597/2 also appears in *What shall be done in behalf of the man* Z.341/4; 597/3 also appears in *Why are all the muses mute* Z.343/9; 597/8 appears in *From hardy climes* Z.325/7. Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell 1659–1695: An Analytical Catalogue of His Music* (London: Macmillan & co., 1963), 271–3; Andrew Pinnock and Bruce Wood, 'Come, ye sons of art — again: court cross-subsidy for Purcell's opera orchestra, 1690–1695', *Early Music*, August

course, in the same way that the issue of adapted-*cantus* is pertinent to the question of Purcell's audience, these quotations are yet another link in the chain of manifestations of Purcell's obsession with demonstrating contrapuntal technique, regardless of context: canonic dance tunes, hornpipes on a ground, unnecessarily complicated *ritornelli* and quotation of popular ballads as a *cantus prius factus* in a birthday ode—all are parts in a coherent character testimony which may be hard to express in biographies, but gives us a profound insight into Purcell's personality nonetheless.

One of Purcell's challenges in adapted-*cantus* is to maintain the clarity of the parody while not drifting to the banality of simply harmonizing a well-known tune. For example, above both 'Hey Boys, Up Go We' and 'Cold and Raw' Purcell adds melodies of distinctive profile, as compelling as the quoted popular tunes, for a treble part on top of the original ballad. In the latter case, the air 'May her blest example chase', Purcell chose to clarify the joke to its recipient, Queen Mary herself, by asking the bass to play the melody *tasto solo*, 'perhaps [because he was] anxious that she might otherwise miss it!'¹⁸⁷ Considering Purcell's efforts to let his sophistication be heard, it is not improbable that the actors' cue in the play *The Gordian Knot*, which has not survived, had some connection with the song 'Lilliburlero'—maybe a few lines from the play were sung to that melody, whose attribution to Purcell is doubtful and which was already at the peak of its popularity some three years before.¹⁸⁸

The ability to recognize the conceit is not only a matter of the context in which the popular tune is incorporated, but also a matter of compositional technique, namely harmony and counterpoint. When a treble melody, and especially of popular and 'simple' origin, is played as a bass line, its harmonic implications are bound to create uncharacteristic progressions. The clearest example is in the ritornellos of 'May her blest example chase', where the cadences of the two respective parts create progressions which are peculiar in their metric context. Thus the oscillation i-III-i in the *prima volta* (Illustration 3.35a), and the strange half cadence which closes the second

2009, 445–66; Dart, *The Interpretation of Music*, 57. Thurston Dart, *The Interpretation of Music*, 4th edn (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1967), 121–5.

¹⁸⁷ Bruce Wood, 'Purcell's Odes: A Reappraisal', in Michael Burden (ed.), *The Purcell Companion* (London: Faber and Faber, 1995), 200–253 (241).

¹⁸⁸ It was printed unattributed by Robert Carr in *The Delightful Companion* (1686), two years before its printed attribution to Purcell as 'A new Irish Tune' (*The Second Part of Musick's Handmaid*, 1689). Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, 449–55.

strain and abruptly changes, with no modulation, into D minor in the next number—‘Many such days may she behold’ (Illustration 3.35b) are all untypical of Purcell’s harmonic ‘regularity no less free’ of his mature style.¹⁸⁹ While the harmony imposes an obstacle, Purcell uses the same technique observed in the *In Nomines*—that of creating correspondence between the rhythm of the *cantus* and the rhythm of the independent part—in order to subtract from the primacy of the bass. While in the *In Nomines* the *cantus* was adapted to the independent parts, in the setting of ‘Lilliburlero’ one can see how Purcell presents several distinctive motifs from the famous bass melody in the upper parts *before* they are played by the bass (Illustration 3.36). The aural consequence is straightforward: Purcell makes the *predetermined* melody sound like a *post facto* addition to the free parts when actually it is the other way round. Again, a comparison with the first movement of the Sonata Z.796 is highly relevant (see Illustration 1.4). Purcell’s make-believe, as if the added voices dictate the *cantus*, is similar to the effect created by the second violin part in the Sonata, bars 2–3: the first violin part in bars 3–4 is dictated by the bass’s bar 2, of which it is an augmentation (and both constitute complex A).¹⁹⁰ However, the 1:2 augmentation proportions do create some semblance of rhythmic independence—both parts have unique rhythmic values (violin I has dotted semibreve and quavers; the bass has crotchets and semiquavers). The fact that the second violin plays a transposition of the same melodic pattern of the first violin motif before the first violin plays it makes, again, the *predetermined* melody (violin I bars 3–4) sound like a *post facto* addition to the free part (violin II bars 2–3) when actually it is the complete opposite.

The setting of ‘Lilliburlero’ as the Fourth Act Tune from *The Gordian Knot* may help to evaluate to what extent Purcell failed to explain his adapted-*cantus* jokes to the London audience. The comedy (now lost) was staged probably in November 1690, and the tune first appears in print the second book of *Apollo’s Banquet*, a violin anthology published in 1691 (Illustration 3.37).¹⁹¹ Although the inscription ‘Lilli Burlero’ does appear near the score of the tune in the authoritative ‘Cambury’ manuscript (from about the same

¹⁸⁹ J.A. Westrup, *Purcell* (London: J.M. Dent, 1937), 245.

¹⁹⁰ An interesting equivalent to this technique of foreshadowing predetermined material can be seen in the instrumental setting of Lully’s ‘Scocca pur’ from *The Division-Violin*, where in bars 23–26 and 32–35 the second violin, which was added to the original music of the vocal setting, foreshadows the musical ideas which appear in the previously-written first violin later.

¹⁹¹ Henry Playford, *Apollo’s Banquet*, Volume 2 (London: Henry Playford, 1691), [21] (Unnumbered pages, tune no. 54).

time),¹⁹² when it was included in the solo treble-violin format of the publication *Apollo's Banquet*, its predetermined bass was naturally excluded, and thus, 'A New Tune of Mr. Purcell's' bears no evidence of the melody which gave birth to it. The later *Ayres for the Theatre*, which does transmit the bass part, also does not mention the part's origin. *Ayres for the Theatre* is rightly considered a source of greater importance than *Apollo's Banquet*, but it is the earlier source which gives us an idea of how the Fourth Act Tune was circulating in the one venue which always enjoyed larger audiences than the theatre, and that is the public house. Like a true *cantus prius factus* 'Lilliburlero' served as scaffolding for the creation of an independent Jig melody which in turn assumed its independence from the original tune.

Even Purcell's treatment of ground bass in the chamber and on stage can be seen sometimes as an extended application of the adapted-*cantus* technique. In some of the composer's chaconnes, the ground migrates into an inner voice, thus facilitating greater harmonic freedom. In works such as the G minor Chacony Z.730, which is closely connected to Purcell's consort music (it appears alongside the Fantazias and the Sonatas in autograph **30930**), Purcell actively camouflages the ground and makes the task of aurally following it very challenging to say the least.¹⁹³ The ground, as the melody of 'Lilliburlero' in the Fourth Act Tune in *The Gordian Knot*, serves primarily as the infrastructure (*cantus*) of the work rather than a façade accessible to all listeners. In a sense Purcell's treatment of popular tunes is quite unusual: both in England and in the continent, composers who integrated folk tunes in their instrumental music always did so while making the original tune stand out in the texture, either by presenting it in the top voice, at the very beginning of the piece, faithfully to its original rhythmic values or, when inserted later in the piece, in distinctively longer values and exploring a register not heard thus far.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Ian Spink (ed.), *Dramatic Music Part II: Vocal and Instrumental Music for the Stage*, NPS20 (London: Novello, 1998), 38, 140.

¹⁹³ Alon Schab, 'On the Ground and off: a comparative study of two Purcell Chaconnes', *The Musical Times* (Autumn 2010): 47–57 (56–57).

¹⁹⁴ In England, Byrd presented a Passamezzo Antico formula in the middle of his six-part viol consort in a way which is clearly articulated by a metrical change. Scheidt, whose *Tabulatura Nova* (1624) contains several folk-song and chorale arrangements, always presents the folk tunes as a part of a succession of variations, clearly audible and easy to follow. One of the composers whose approach to chorale melodies is more akin to Purcell's in terms of blurring the chorale's significance is his German contemporary Johann Kuhnau (1660–1722). Ironically, Kuhnau was mentioned in Chapter 1 for the passage from his *Biblische Historien* (1700) quoted in Aldwell and

PALINDROME AND PREDETERMINED SEGMENTATION

Thus far, this chapter has clarified several aspects of Purcell's *cantus* technique and, in relation to other *prius factus* elements, also several *combinatoria* principles which may have directed his compositional process when writing his triple fugues and his imitative movements in general. According to these implied priorities, it is hardly a surprise that Tilmouth and Howard observed 'excessive squareness' and a strong sense of hypermetre in the Sonatas, as the finesse of phrase structure may have been subordinated to other concerns.¹⁹⁵ This last section will suggest that the strong periodization may have been not necessarily a by-product of *combinatoria* considerations, and suggest other possible predetermined elements that governed Purcell's musical forms, especially a well planned, and often palindromically planned, temporal segmentation, which is at times hidden under surface details but sometimes audible and easier to spot.¹⁹⁶

In the analysis that opened this chapter, Adams' observations regarding the gradual shortening of phrases and the momentum it creates were mentioned. The compositional merit of creating a directional process by manipulating the period length is sufficient to justify an examination of the possibility that Purcell deliberately controlled this element and pre-planned it as an integral part of his musical forms, control which is essentially similar to that of *cantus*-based works such as Lloyd's *Tris* or the clock-inspired pieces written by Gibbons and Parsley. In Lloyd, Gibbons and Parsley the predetermined segmentation is clearly communicated to the listener by one of the parts which manifests the phrase structure through the use of long notes in the manner of plainsong.

Schachter's *Harmony and Voice Leading*; the opening movement of the fourth Sonata from that same publication is in fact a Chorale-Fantasia in which the phrases of the chorale are intertwined with free material played in the same tessitura, using the same texture, resulting in a remarkably original exploration of the boundaries of that genre.

¹⁹⁵ Tilmouth, 'The Technique and forms of Purcell's Sonatas', 117-8; Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice', 161.

¹⁹⁶ Since palindromes feature the end of this chapter and most of Chapter 5, it should be highlighted that, in this context, the term palindrome refers to music that abstraction of certain features of it (reduction of thematic material, bar numbers referring to meaningful segments in the musical form, structural pitches) results in a palindromic string. For example, although most classical minuet movements that follow the pattern of Minuet-Trio-Minuet do not yield pleasing results when played backwards, the abstraction of their structure (A-B-A) is palindromic nonetheless.

However, this segmentation is not supported by any other means of articulation in the other voices (for example, cadences), and therefore does not necessarily overlap with 'phrase length'; in Purcell's movement we have seen that the phrasing is articulated much more clearly by the use of distinctive thematic material (and its distribution among the different parts) and by clear cadences. But Tilmouth's and Howard's comments on the hypermetre in the Sonatas describe a larger group of movements, not all of which are so clearly broken into independent phrase. This may prove to be a shadow of the structural role that Purcell's pre-compositional segmentation played in the Fantazias.

Evidence of pre-planned segmentation can be observed in the free forms of English consort music long before Purcell, both in levels of the non-*stretto* entries within an imitative 'exposition' (when a *stretto* is involved, the ability to combine it with itself is primarily a question of the subject's properties and hence not subjected to a composer's deliberate phrasing) and in defining the phrasing of an entire section or movement.

The first section of Mico's Fantazia 3 is a lucid example of a gradual stretching of the spacing between entrances (Illustration 3.38a)¹⁹⁷. As it is possible that the composer had a sketch into which he planned the entries and then may have shortened their first note in order to enter smoothly on a weaker beat, the subjects may be reconstructed in their 'complete' form, that is, with their first notes as a dotted semibreve (Illustration 3.38b). In this way it can be seen that the basic spacing between the entrances (measured in semibreves) is: 2; 3; 4; and 5. Exactly the same pattern can be observed in Jenkins' Fantazia 11 (Illustration 3.39).¹⁹⁸ The control of phrase length in Coprario's Fantazia in A minor (Illustration 3.40) is on a larger scale,¹⁹⁹ as all of the seven sections that comprise the Fantazia are of about the same length: between 22 and 27 minims.

Purcell's segmentation is of particular interest as it is combined with his evident preference for palindromic patterns, a clarification of which requires, again, a general introduction regarding terminology. The accepted definitions of palindrome and

¹⁹⁷ Hanley (ed.), *Richard Mico: Consort Music*, MB65, 38.

¹⁹⁸ Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *John Jenkins: Consort Music of Three Parts*, MB70, (London: Stainer and Bell, 1997), 34–6.

¹⁹⁹ Richard Charteris (ed.), *John Coprario: The Two-, Three- and Four-Part Consort Music*, 2nd edn (London: Fretwork Editions, 1993).

symmetry in Purcell's time were essentially the same as today.²⁰⁰ However, the boundaries of the two musical applications of the terms are blurred to this day. Symmetry in today's musical parlance is applied to symmetrical pitch organisation as, for example, in dodecaphonic, octatonic and hexatonic systems; this kind of symmetry does not apply to the temporal dimension of music and can be observed in vertical pitch structures as well as in the construction of a pitch system. A common inaccuracy occurs when the term symmetry is applied to the temporal aspect of music nowadays in order to describe phenomena which are essentially palindromic. A short binary form with two 8-bar strains, or a pavan with three 9-bar strains, could justly be described as symmetrical, but not necessarily palindromic in every level.²⁰¹ For example, works like Coprario's Fantazia (see Illustration 3.40) are symmetrical (as it presents equal proportions of each of its seven sections in respect of the whole) but not palindromic in aspects of pitch. It is therefore important to avoid this unclearness, which is evident also in the overlapping between the three relevant entries in *Grove*: 'Mirror Forms', 'Palindrome' and 'Retrograde'.²⁰² Palindrome will be used here only for analytical description, or abstraction, of a sequence of events whose second half can be described as a mirror image of the first half. Thus, only the abstraction of the bar numbers of the three strains of the hypothetical pavan mentioned above into numbers (9, 9, 9) will be referred to here as featuring palindromic segmentation, as the numbers of bars can be described by a palindromic string, regardless of the pitch content of each segment. In the same coin, a pavan which consists of three strains with the respective strains stretching over nine, ten and nine bars, may be seen as palindromic, but not symmetrical. Palindromic order of appearance in relation to the various points of imitation in double and triple fugues will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

²⁰⁰ *Symmetry*, (Greek) a due proportion of each part in respect of the whole; *Palindrome* (Greek) a certain verse, or sentence; which being read forward, or backward, the words and sense are the same; as, *Sator arepo tenet opera rotas*'. Edward Phillips, *The New World Of Words*, 5th edn (London: R. Bently, J. Phillips, H. Rhodes, and J. Taylor, 1696).

²⁰¹ With a few notable exceptions from the eighteenth century (by C.P.E. Bach and Haydn) which are beyond the scope of this study.

²⁰² There is no apparent reason for Byrd's *Diliges Dominum* to illustrate a mirror form rather than a retrograde form or a palindrome, while Machaut's *Ma fin est mon commencement* illustrates retrograde rather than a palindrome or a mirror form. Brian Newbould, 'Mirror Forms'; 'Palindrome'; William Drabkin, 'Retrograde', in *Grove Music Online*, (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.elib.tcd.ie>, 11 April 2010).

References to Purcell's palindromic designs are scant and scattered: Holman refers to the palindromic structure of the G minor Chacony Z.730 which is 'so clearly articulated by pairs of events, like symmetrical columns'.²⁰³ That kind of palindromic design, as I have argued elsewhere, may be easily seen but not so easily heard.²⁰⁴ Howard discusses the role of a modified palindrome in the form of the close of Fantazia 12.²⁰⁵ More transparent is the palindromic design of the anthem *Remember not, Lord, Our Offences*, which was overviewed by Eric Van Tassel.²⁰⁶

As Van Tassel observes, *aab* phrases open and close the anthem. However, his observation regarding the palindromic form can be extended further to aspects of tonal plan: the tonal plan of the two *aa* phrases is also palindromic (the first, in bars 1–8, cadences on the V of A minor and then on G; the second, in bars 34–42, cadences on G and then on A, see Illustration 3.41), which results in an unstable harmonic unfolding at the very beginning and very end of the piece, where one might expect the composer rather to stabilise the tonality.

Before assessing the palindromes of the Sonatas and Fantazias, a few words should be dedicated to the overtures—a genre which is hard to classify in Purcell's repertory (the overtures raise questions as to their original context were they independent works, a part of a larger instrumental suite, or belonged to a larger work either for the stage or for the court).²⁰⁷ The forms of the overtures seem to be affected by segmentation considerations that are often not palindromic but, as in *Coprario*, reflect a careful planning of the work's proportions. The two overtures in manuscript **20.h.9**, Z.771 in D minor and Z.772 in G minor, are of different scale (47 bars and 71 bars respectively) and yet they betray not only the same formal scheme (A:BC:) but also inner proportions which are almost identical: Z.771 is 16 : 23 : 8 and Z.772 is 25: 34 : 12). Following the discussion in the previous chapter, they may have been chosen for that manuscript by

²⁰³ Holman, 'Consort Music', 262.

²⁰⁴ Alon Schab, 'On the Ground and Off'.

²⁰⁵ Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice', 158–9.

²⁰⁶ Bruce Wood (ed.), *A Purcell Anthology: 12 Anthems* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 18–21; Eric Van Tassel, 'Music for the Church', in *The Purcell Companion*, Michael Burden (ed.), (London: Faber and Faber, 1995), 101–99 (175).

²⁰⁷ Silas Wollston, 'New Light on Purcell's Early Overtures', *Early Music*, 73/4 (November 2009): 647–56.

virtue of the compositional skill they reflect. The triple section of the overture in *Sound the Trumpet* was mentioned earlier for its unusual use of three organ points in the two violins and viola. These organ points, all stretching within the span of ten bars, create palindromic inner section at exactly the middle of the movement (thus divided 25 : 10 : 26).²⁰⁸

A similar kind of division of the movement into equal parts can be observed in the third movement of the Sonata Z.804 (Illustration 3.42), whose first movement and canzona were discussed in detail in Chapter 2. The third movement is one of the most intricate movements in Purcell's Sonatas, presenting a five-note subject 20 times within the span of 16 bars. However, the density of the subject's reworking is relieved for one bar (bar 8), leaving two seven-bar sections before and after the relief. Each of the two seven-bar sections contains ten entries, which is exactly a half of the total number of entries.²⁰⁹

The first section of Fantazia 3 contains one of the most striking plans in terms of palindromic process since, despite several additional entrances, when one examines the alternating entrances of subject and answer in the section, one may find that the temporal spacing of the entries are (in semibreves): 3, 4, 5, 6, 5, 4 and then breaking the order towards the cadence with additional 4 semibreves space and a final *stretto* in violas II and I—that is, almost a perfect palindrome (Illustration 3.43).²¹⁰

The first section of Fantazia 1 shows the same kind of planning. This time, not having a difference between subject and answer, one must discard only the false entry of viol II in bar 14, in which case the spacing between the entrances (in minims) is: 2; 3; 4; 3; 4; 4; 3 and 2, which can also be seen as palindromic (see Illustration 3.44).

Purcell's awareness of proportion and to spacing between entrances requires one more question to be asked, in relation to the C major Sonata Z.808. In the previous chapter, it was mentioned that both versions of the Sonata's fourth movement present an inversion at the same stage of the movement. Although the two versions are similar for the first 16 bars alone and from thence evolve independently (the autograph version for another 24

²⁰⁸ Bars 49–59. Wood (ed.) *Royal Welcome Songs: Part II*, NPS18, 143–7.

²⁰⁹ I would like to thank Sivan Shenhav for drawing my attention to the symmetry in that movement.

²¹⁰ The role of the part of Viol II will be discussed in detail later on in this study. For reasons that will be clarified in Chapter 5, it is hard to say whether the last 'structural' entrance is in Viol II (bar 32) or in Viol I (bar 33).

bars, the printed version for 22 bars), both present a set of inverted entrances on bar 21, and in different keys (the autograph in C major, the printed version in G major). If one accepts the authority of both versions of the fourth movement, the fact both versions are of approximately the same length and present the device of inversion exactly at the same place, may hint that Purcell worked according to a 'blueprint' which predetermined when each contrapuntal device will be used.

The two versions of the Sonata Z.808 also embody a serious textual problem regarding the different endings of the second movement: the autograph version ends in A minor (Illustration 3.45a) which is also the key of that particular movement, while the printed version ends in C major (Illustration 3.45b) which is the general key of the Sonata. While the tonal plan of the autograph version fits with the harmonic-plan conventions of Italian trio sonata (I; vi; V of vi → I; I), the second one seems to me to be rhetorically nonsensical (I; vi → I; V of vi → I; I) and may be a result of either incautious completion or incautious pasting of a fragment from another piece—perhaps a lost sonata.²¹¹ Purcell's ever-fresh motivic inventiveness prevents strong arguments based on motivic unity; often he begins a movement with one set of ideas and ends with another, therefore, this is only to add some additional information for the comparison of the two versions.²¹²

²¹¹ Note how the published version leaves its home key (C major) just for the beginning of the second movement (this is the only case in Purcell's sonatas of a modulatory dance-like movement), then begins the third movement (again) in A minor (*in medias res*, with a dominant chord) and its leading tone cancelled in the second half of the very same bar and starts (yet) another modulatory process into the fourth movement.

²¹² As I have argued in relation to Purcell's *Ayres for the Theatre*, the disparities between the versions may stem from the composer's working methods that, according to Herissonne, may have included fragmentary and scattered papers. Alon Schab, 'Distress'd Sources?', 633–45; Rebecca Herissonne, 'Purcell's revisions of his own works', in *Purcell Studies*, Curtis Price (ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 51–86 (58–62).

CHAPTER 4 – EXTENDED CONCEPTS OF TONAL STRUCTURE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

AMAZING MODERNITY?

As in the case of the phrase ‘fam’d Italian masters’ discussed above (and practically everywhere in the Purcell literature), one of the many cases in which a pragmatic remark about Purcell has received the status of an unrivalled historical fact (despite the clear commercial motivation behind it), is one sentence of praise written by Henry Playford in the epistle that opens the anthology *Orpheus Britannicus* (1698):

The Author’s extraordinary Talent in all sorts of Musick is sufficiently known, but he was especially admir’d for the Vocal, having a peculiar Genius to express the Energy of English Words.¹

Perceptive as Playford’s remark may be, one must admit that almost every measure taken by the executrix or by the publishers who had access to Purcell’s manuscripts around the years 1696–1700 had far-reaching implications on the late composer’s reception for centuries, this remark being no exception to the rule. Perhaps by way of a self-fulfilling prophecy on Playford’s side, most of Purcell’s fame during the following two centuries was gained through his vocal music (mainly his dramattick operas,² songs, the 1692 Cecilian ode *Hail! Bright Cecilia* Z.328 and the 1694 *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*). This, along with the unrivalled status of Palestrina and Bach as the emblems of what nineteenth-century music educators and critics perceived as learned contrapuntal style, left little place for Purcell in the educational canon, as he was clearly not a part of the

¹ Henry Playford (ed.), *Orpheus Britannicus: A Collection of all the choicest Songs for one, two, and three voices compos’d by Mr. Henry Purcell* (London: Henry Playford, 1698), iii.

² The term ‘dramattick opera’, originally coined by Dryden, is used here for Purcell’s large-scale works for the stage composed during the 1690s. In recent decades the term has become at least as common as the terms ‘opera’ and ‘semi-opera’ and is now in frequent use by Purcell scholars. For example, Andrew Pincock, ‘Play into opera: Purcell’s *The Indian Queen*’, *Early Music* 18/1 (1990), 3–21; Michael Burden, ‘Where did Purcell keep his theatre band?’, *Early Music* 37/3 (2009), 429–43.

'clear line of development from the Italy of Monteverdi to the Germany of J. S. Bach';³ Purcell's polyphonic skills and his merits as a model of contrapuntal mastery, as reflected in his then unperformed instrumental music more clearly than in his then rarely-performed vocal music, was still to be discovered.

The dominance of the vocal works in Purcell's repertory known by the public was finally cracked in the early years of the twentieth century. Once the Fantazias had been rediscovered, the first feature that seems to have captured writers' attention was not necessarily the polyphonic mastery they reflect but rather their bold harmonic language. That amazement has remained unchanged to this day, and claims that 'the way in which Purcell colours the music with every subtlety and surprise of harmony never fails to amaze', are representative of the Purcell literature throughout the twentieth century and, so far, also of the twenty-first.⁴ Maureen Duffy binds the Fantazias and Sonatas together, claiming that

what strikes the listener is their amazing modernity. It seems as if it would be possible to jump from Purcell to the twentieth century without the intervening period of classicism, which, by contrast with the inventiveness and freedom of Purcell's instrumental work, can seem almost formal and repetitive.⁵

However, the attempt to demand a place for Purcell in the canon of chamber music made it necessary to place him among a lineage of composers that was claimed to have exhausted the possibilities embodied in tonality.⁶ It is therefore little surprise that the Fantazias and Sonatas, with all their contrapuntal artifice, triggered Gillies Whittaker's observations on Purcell's *harmony*, in one of the first attempts to overview Purcell's

³ Peter Holman, 'The British Isles: Private and Public Music' in *Companion to Baroque Music*, Julie Ann Sadie (ed.), (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 261–9 (261).

⁴ Robert King, *Henry Purcell* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 87.

⁵ Maureen Duffy, *Henry Purcell* (London: Fourth Estate, 1994), 81; Bruce Wood, *Purcell: An Extraordinary Life* (London: ABRSM, 2009), 57.

⁶ Scholars often evoke comparisons between Purcell and the German romanticists. One such example can be seen in Price's observation regarding how 'the new upper parts of the choral version [of 'Hush, no more'] produce a modulation more Brahmsian than baroque', or Harris' treatment of Purcell's ground technique, claiming that 'Purcell [...] takes these apparent compositional limitations, much like J.S. Bach later treated strict contrapuntal procedures and Beethoven viewed the sonata form, as a base from which his imagination could take flight'. Curtis Alexander Price, *Purcell and the London Stage*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 341; Ellen T. Harris, *Henry Purcell's Dido and Aeneas* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 107.

achievement in those genres.⁷ Chapter 3 was mainly concerned with formal aspects which dictate the large-scale processes through which Purcell's forms unfold, but these aspects had limited effect on our understanding of the harmonic progressions within the single musical sentence. Even when considering the larger scope of his works, techniques that were shown to have had their roots in earlier consort music (pre-planned segmentation, allocation of subjects to the different parts, *ars combinatoria*, uses of palindromic designs and adaptation of *cantus firmus* technique) had decisive influence on musical form; but one can hardly use them in order to explain either Purcell's vertical sonorities or the tonal plans of his works. This chapter will focus on techniques used by Purcell in order to set the course of the harmonic plan in some of the imitative sections of the Fantazias and the movements of the Sonatas. Being considerations that are inseparable from western concepts of pitch structure, they hold great influence on Purcell's language and, whereas some of the techniques discussed earlier were almost extra-musical and were shown even to share some ideas with other arts, the ideas discussed in this chapter have little in common with other arts and invite little more than comparison with musical techniques of later times. This chapter will seek to present various approaches to the discussion of Purcell's harmonic language, and to suggest a new way to explain some of the bold harmonic irregularities in the Fantazias. This will be done through a suggested reconstruction of some of the composer's structural considerations, probably remnants of modal and hexachordal modes of thought, which dictated the list of notes on which he chose to present his point or points of imitation. Although the Fantazias will be the main focus of the chapter, discussion of earlier consort music, and other works by Purcell, will help to create a bigger picture of the compositional challenges that shaped Purcell's unique harmony.

⁷ As mentioned in Chapter 1, Gillies Whittaker's choice of works was arbitrary, and he focused more on Purcell's harmony than on the nature of the forms which served as a platform for that harmony and for demonstrating its peculiarities. W. Gillies Whittaker, 'Some Observations on Purcell's Harmony', *The Musical Times* 75/1100 (1934): 887-94 (887).

HARMONY OF ITS TIME?

To complement Duffy's quotations above, Westrup's impression of Purcell's harmonic language may be illuminating. Westrup claimed that

Purcell's harmony is of its time in the sense that it shows a progress from freedom to a regularity no less free. Or, to exchange paradox for technicalities, we may say that it begins by inheriting the multiple tonality of the modes and ends by accepting the single system of our modern major and minor[.]⁸

Considering the chronological idea behind this sentence, and even from just observing the music itself, it is clear that the Sonatas and Fantazias stand at the earlier side of the process, the side of 'freedom'. But when one tries to clarify to oneself what Westrup meant when he referred to the so-called 'multiple tonality of the modes' things are not so clear-cut: Westrup goes on to overview the difference between the use of chromaticism during the evolution of the tonal system and after its consolidation, the idea of independent part-writing epitomised in the idiom of false relations, and Purcell's use of irregularly resolved suspensions.⁹ But what is the *multiple* tonality of the modes? Is it the multiple melodic ductus around the same 'tonic' (for example the *cantus mollis* G minor with one flat; G minor with two flats, G major, a 'mixolydian' G major with a predominant lowered seventh) which allowed Purcell to explore remote keys by way of changing the mode around a common tonic (or equal-tonic mixture to use a common-practice terminology)¹⁰? Is it passages which exhibit, or even are caused by, the use of enharmonic misspelling¹¹? Is it the passages whose harmonic boldness is driven by voice-leading considerations,¹² or by the nature of the specific mode in use?

Regarding the later part of the process, that of the 'regularity no less free', Westrup's observation is easier to verify. Towards his mature creative life, Purcell used the major-

⁸ J.A. Westrup, *Purcell* (London: J.M. Dent, 1937), 245.

⁹ Westrup, *Purcell*, 246–53.

¹⁰ For example, the final chorus ('In a consort of voices') of *Welcome to All the Pleasures* is in E major (with three sharps in the key signature), arrived at with no modulation from E minor.

¹¹ In Fantazia 4, for example, the enharmonic misspelling is featured in a cadence in F# minor, while the key of the piece is G minor.

¹² For example, the Close of Fantazia 2.

minor system in ways which foreshadow the kinds of sensitivity to vertical sonorities that one can readily identify in later composers. Here again, it may be appropriate to lament the scant and haphazard use of Purcell's music in common-practice textbooks. Late Purcell, and especially works written for the stage, is a repertoire which exhibits great attention to elements which are unmistakably vertical, such as doublings.

The overture in *Dido and Aeneas*, although at least two years earlier than the 1690s productions represented in the *Ayres*, already exhibits growing awareness of the strengths of homophonic texture.¹³ The quick section of the overture, described by a contemporary of Purcell as 'a very neat point th[a]t moves all in quavers',¹⁴ is probably one of the most extreme cases in which Purcell's writing intentionally lacks rhythmic independence. However, already at the first note of the slow section Purcell deviates from the common way of harmonisation. Very little of the part-writing in that section can be explained via contrapuntal procedure, as it is one of the very few overtures which do not open with a point of imitation (Illustration 4.1). The first chord (C minor) does not double the note C but the note G, without any apparent contrapuntal limitation which rules out the obvious doubling of the former. Two probable justifications for the unusual doubling (obeying the ductus of the 'melodic minor'; destabilising the sonority on bar 1 in order to shift the weight on to bar 2) comply with later common-practice theory,¹⁵ but cannot be explained properly using theoretical writings of Purcell's time.

The first eight bars of the chorus 'Hush, no more' from *The Fairy Queen* give another illustration of Purcell's vertical thinking. Examining the two settings of the first verse ('Hush, no more, be silent all')—the first time sung by the soloist (and accompanied by two violins and bass), and the second sung by the whole choir (accompanied by full strings)—one can see how Purcell uses incomplete vertical sonorities in order to create the subtlety required from the dramatic context (Titania's falling into sleep), and how he creates harmonic interest in the choral version, thus avoiding an obvious repetition of what has been heard (Illustration 4.2).

¹³ According to Wood *Dido and Aeneas* is even much earlier, around 1683–4. Bryan White, 'Letter from Aleppo: dating the Chelsea School performance of *Dido and Aeneas*', *Early Music* 37/3 (August 2009): 417–428; Bruce Wood, *Purcell: An Extraordinary Life*, 81–2.

¹⁴ White, 'Letter from Aleppo', 419.

¹⁵ Yitzhak Sadai, *Harmony in its Systemic and Phenomenological Aspects* (Tel-Aviv: Yanetz, 1980), 305–328.

The first version, sung by the solo bass, is set in a three-part texture, and more specifically in 'the constant practice of the Italians in all their musick' as is described by the composer himself: the middle part (second violin) moves in parallel thirds to the top part (first violin).¹⁶ This technique, albeit at the expense of the full harmony of some chords, serves to add interest and to blur the implied harmony in some of the incomplete sonorities whose real harmonic function is clarified only later in the choral repeat, where they are completed by the fuller scoring. The first seven bars are dominated by chords with no fifths (in bars 1, 4, 6, and the final chord which, characteristically for three-part texture, is not harmonised at all); the obvious progression implied by bars 1–6 is, in Eb major: I – V – V – ii – IV – I. The rest of the air brings about several surprises: the cadence which rounds off the solo version, in C minor, clarifies the tonality of the air and requires that the opening be reinterpreted in C minor rather than in Eb major and despite the Eb major chord which opened the air (hence in retrospect the progression in bars 1–6 is clarified to be, in C minor: III – V of III – V of III – iv – VI – III).¹⁷ When the progression repeats itself in the choral version, its last chord, equivalent to the III chord with no fifth in the first version, turns out to be an ambiguous sonority, whose 'fuller' version is not, as one would expect, the full III triad (Eb; G; Bb), but rather I₆ (Eb; G; C). Not only that this last chord is not the obvious interpretation of the incomplete sonority from the first version, but also the doubled note in it is not C but Eb, hence shaking its tonic nature and turning it into a weakened mediant, which fits the dream-like quality of that *sommeil* scene.

The extensive use of Roman numerals and of later terminology in the previous analyses of the excerpts from *Dido and Aeneas* and *The Fairy Queen* does not mean to imply that sketching a tonal scheme, in a manner similar to the analytical method accepted in the study of later repertories, necessarily embodies the key for understanding Purcell's approach to the harmonic aspect of musical structure, let alone during the period that Westrup identifies with Purcell's 'freedom'. As Martin Adams put it in his cautious reservation,

¹⁶ Henry Purcell, 'The Art of Descant', in John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 12th edn (London: Henry Playford, 1694), 115–6.

¹⁷ 'Hush, no more' is the only number in the masque which begins with a chord other than the tonic of C minor. The C minor tonality of 'See, See Even Night', 'I am Come to Lock All Fast', 'One Charming Night' and *Dance for the Followers of Night* is much clearer.

True, a number of writers have referred to the orderly key-schemes around which groups of pieces are arranged. Orderly they are: but a key scheme does not make structure.¹⁸

This point is of particular interest: although Purcell's short but fruitful creative life supplies several examples which seem to partly contradict Adams' observation (for example the ode *Welcome to all the pleasures* Z.339, where the harmonic scheme i – VI – iv – i – I does represent much of the work's structural tension), a large part of Purcell's repertoire, of which the Sonatas and mainly his Fantazias can be seen as representatives, may well consist of a series of movements or sections which all begin and end on the tonic.¹⁹ Several movements (usually not more than one per work) may start in another key and contain bold modulations but on the whole these serve as a prolongation of their opening chord, usually the dominant. Thus, these movements keep a very strong connection with the key of the entire work and they usually cadence onto the tonic, which also starts the next movement with no break (for example Z.804). Fantazia 11 demonstrates the point clearly: the tonal scheme of the 50-bar work, shows a solid structure which is palindromic (along the lines described in Chapter 3) and in which most of the harmonic contrast and motion is channelled to the short middle section (Illustration 4.3a). However, considering both the proportions of the section lengths (24, 7 and 19 respectively) and Purcell's contrapuntal mastery which is demonstrated more clearly in the first and third section, it makes little sense to attribute too much significance to that middle section, which can hardly be seen as the centrepiece of a triptych, all the more when other fantazias such as Fantazia 12 have 'outer wings' alone (a reduction of the tonal centres of each of the two sections in Fantazia 12 will result in a mere prolonged tonic). The problems that arise from

¹⁸ Martin Adams, *Henry Purcell: The Origins and development of his musical style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 63.

¹⁹ In *Welcome to All the Pleasures*, however delicate the balance between of the predominant E minor tonality and the surprising and short E major finale may be, their relative weights were not necessarily observed as a crucial part of the musical form for Purcell's contemporaries. This may be gathered from evidence regarding the Stamford Cecilian entertainment in which trio-sonata movements were interpolated between the different items of the ode, resulting in a greater balance between the two keys (a total of nine numbers in E minor and eight numbers in E major). Bryan White, "A pretty knot of musical friends": the Ferrar brothers and the Stamford music club of the 1690s' in *Music in the British Provinces, 1690 – 1914*, Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (eds.) (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 1–44; Bryan White, 'Mixing "Britain's Orpheus" with "Corelli's Heights": a Cecilian entertainment in Stamford', paper given at the 14th Biennial Conference on Baroque Music, Belfast, 3 July 2010.

sketching Purcell's musical forms in this way may explain Tilmouth's saying that the 1694 *Te Deum* 'has the qualities of patch-work'.²⁰

In order to describe Purcell's tonal planning it is required to go further into detail and to examine the harmony within each section or movement. A detailed harmonic plan of *Fantazia 11* shows greater variety than what may seem in the general harmonic outline, but little invention (Illustration 4.3b). Attempting to understand the tonal plan through the circle of fifths, one can find that in the first and third sections Purcell does not go beyond D major/B minor (two sharp signs) and Bb major/G minor (two flat signs). In those terms, the dense and chromatic middle section does achieve a tonal goal which is more remote on the circle of fifths—Eb major (three flat signs)—but that hardly qualifies for the 'climax' of the *Fantazia*, rather the contrary: in means of *tessitura*, the range of Viol I in the second section is f'-f'' (all below the g'' which ended the previous section); also the chromatic ascent of bars 28–30 only starts after the cadence on Eb major.

Another way of looking at the tonal plan is by examining the way in which Purcell modulates from one key to the other. The fifths-based oscillation around the key of G major is unfolded in a gradual, wave-like, fashion. This may be yet another aspect in which the second section can be seen as climactic: while equal-tonic major/minor inflections are the only means in which Purcell deviates from his leaps of fifths (this happens only twice, in bars 15 and 25), the second section gives a more surprising modulation from Eb major to D major—the tonicised dominant which prepares the third section. However, this kind of wave-like harmonic oscillation around the tonic is a feature which can be found in almost every seventeenth-century through-composed instrumental work (other than ground basses). Describing a piece by listing the exceptions to that rule (Purcell's flexible equal-tonic transition from one mode to another, centred round the same key note or bolder modulations such as those in the second section) will not necessarily yield a faithful picture of the main audible events of the musical form.

Fantazia 11 also exhibits another feature of Purcell's harmony which is rarely discussed in the literature—the use of harmonic progressions which are idiomatic of specific keys. This feature, usually mentioned only in relation to the extra-musical context it serves

²⁰ Michael Tilmouth, 'The Technique and forms of Purcell's Sonatas', *Music and Letters* 40/2 (1959): 109–21 (109).

(either in anthems or in music for the stage) is highly relevant to Purcell's early 'abstract' music,²¹ and it raises the question whether certain progressions were used by the composer in order to give unity to different sections of a specific piece or whether they were used by the composer only within the limits of certain keys. Before examining the progressions which are characteristic of Fantazia 11, a few examples of that harmonic feature should be mentioned.

Sonata Z.804 contains one cadential formula which, together with the 'archetypal' motif-family to which some of its subjects belong (see Chapter 2), binds together several movements of the piece. In its most crystallised form the cadence that ends the Sonata can be described in the roman numerals $V_7 - iv_7 - V^{4-3} - i$ (Illustration 4.4a), a cadence with a distinctive sound stemming from the parallel sevenths which are embedded in its first two chords. Gillies Whittaker, who observed that in Purcell's music "consecutives" are like blackberries in autumn', made note of that distinctive sound and mentioned two cadences similar to that in the same Sonata (Illustrations 4.4b; 4.4c).²² The distinctive cadential iv_7 chord also appears in another A minor cadence in the piece (Illustration 4.4d), *in passim* in the G major and E minor cadences in the last movement and in the A minor subject of fugeing which follows (Illustration 4.4e). But as interesting as this cadence may be as a thread throughout the piece (and mainly in the context of A minor), this particular cadence seems to permeate other passages, mainly in A minor, in other sonatas: Sonata Z.805 (bar 73, where it appears before a similar cadence in D minor; Illustration 4.5a), Sonata Z.794 (bars 98–100; Illustration 4.5b) and Sonata Z.799 (bars 99–100; Illustration 4.5c). In Sonata Z.790 it appears in G minor (bar 77–9) and in Z.792 in D minor (23–4). The cadence also features in other works: in *Remember not, Lord, our offences* it appears consecutively in G minor and on A minor; in the Almand of the D minor harpsichord Suite Z.668 it appears in a middle cadence, again on A minor (the dominant). Thus, although it does not appear exclusively in A minor, it is certainly more frequently used in that key, and never in keys more flat than G minor or more sharp than E minor.²³

²¹ Price, *Purcell and the London Stage*, 21–6.

²² Gillies Whittaker, 'Some Observations on Purcell's Harmony', 890–1.

²³ Here statistics of the kind demonstrated by Schjeldrip-Ebbe may be of some use, as it seems that the frequency of that cadence is in direct relation to the key's proximity to A minor on the circle of fifths, or perhaps, its proximity to natural key signature.

Another characteristic A minor cadence involves the unusual inner voice G#-F#-E (that is a descent through the #7 and #6 of the key, rather than the normative natural 7 and 6). That cadence can be found in Fantazia 9 (Illustration 4.6a) and also in *Fly Bold Rebellion* (bars 259–60; Illustration 4.6b). A cadence in *Sound the Trumpet* (bars 32–3; Illustration 4.6c) demonstrates that even when the characteristic descent of a fourth is incomplete (Violin II descends from a' to an ornamental f# but then ascends back to a') the distinctive sound of that cadence is supported by the harmonic superimposition of components which belong to the major subdominant (F# and A) on a chord which functions as a dominant (on E), and by the metrical placement of that chord on a weak beat.²⁴ A highly chromatic approach to a cadence in the minor which involves the #iii chord appears primarily in the context of G minor in Purcell's music and will be discussed briefly below.

If key-idiomatic progressions are not limited to the boundaries of a single piece and feature in different works of the same tonality, there are at least three other possible reasons for Purcell's use of them: for reasons of temperament; they betray Purcell's idiosyncratic keyboard skills; they betray traces of Purcell's skills on other instruments. The question of temperament may be seen as an obstacle to the present study as it may force one to distinguish between Purcell's key system in the Sonatas (intended for violins and keyboard, hence tuned in meantone or another compromised temperament)²⁵ and in the Fantazias (intended for viols with no keyboard accompaniment, hence able to enjoy those instruments' capacity of playing in equal temperament). However, it should be noted that while Purcell's music for the harpsichord is playable in meantone and it seems that the composer was careful not to incorporate conflicting accidentals in it (for example he avoids using Ab and G# in a single work, as they cannot be performed in conjunction on meantone-tuned keyboard without split-keys),²⁶ the Sonatas do pose obstacles to meantone temperament: Sonata Z.790 asks for both C# (bar 74) and Db (bar 96); Sonata Z. 803 asks for both F# (bar 50)

²⁴ Illustration 4.6a, bar 10, eighth quaver; Illustration 4.6b, bar 69, fourth quaver; Illustration 4.6c, bar 32, sixth quaver.

²⁵ Bruce Wood, *Purcell: An Extraordinary Life*, 71.

²⁶ Andrew Parrott, 'Performing Purcell', in *The Purcell Companion*, Michael Burden (ed.), (London: Faber and Faber, 1995), 387–444 (394).

and Gb (bar 17); Sonata Z.805 asks for both G# (bar 73) and Ab (bar 63).²⁷ It is therefore intriguing that Purcell specifies the organ or the harpsichord as the two optional harmonic continuo instruments on the cover of the 1683 Sonatas but not the theorbo which would have dealt with the enharmony more easily (the theorbo is mentioned as an optional continuo instrument in the vast majority of song publications in Purcell's time).²⁸ It seems that regarding temperament, the open questions are far too crucial to allow any satisfying inferences within the scope of this study.

Purcell's personal skills as a performer may have direct connection to his idiomatic use of certain keys. As observed by Howard, some of Purcell's canzona subjects can be explained as deriving from progressions in the thoroughbass treatise in Locke's *Melothesia* (1673).²⁹ It is not only probable that certain stock progressions of continuo accompaniment were adopted by the young composer as building blocks of his works, but also one can expect that other features of keyboard harmony (avoiding the 'wolf' interval in meantone, preference of specific keys, specific chord spacing and others) may have permeated Purcell's compositional style. The problem in pursuing this line of inquiry is that except for the fact that Purcell was a professional keyboard player (for which we have ample evidence), we do not know what other instruments he played and whether such instruments and their idiomatic melodic or harmonic style permeated the composer's style. As far as positive evidence is concerned, one can be sure that Purcell was a proficient organist and harpsichord player, but circumstantial evidence also raises the options that he sang and he played the tenor violin. Motteux's enthusiastic report of *Hail! Bright Cecilia* Z.328 and his ambiguous suggestion that Purcell himself sang 'with incredible graces' is very explicit in describing the composer's vocal abilities and yet isolated and is not supported by any other source;³⁰ Between 1673 and 1683, as apprentice to John Hingeston, keeper of the King's instruments, Purcell is known to have taken an active part in maintaining the royal keyboards and wind instruments, which

²⁷ Margaret Laurie identifies Purcell's deliberate exploitation of his keyboard's temperament in his solo songs, where the use of remote keys 'is clearly a calculated part of the effect'. Margaret Laurie, 'Purcell's extended solo songs', *The Musical Times* 125/1691 (Jan., 1984): 19–25.

²⁸ Parrott, 'Performing Purcell', 395–6.

²⁹ Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice,' 172–192.

³⁰ Bruce Wood, *Purcell: An Extraordinary Life*, 65, 151.

may have exposed the young composer to oboes or recorders.³¹ One should also take into account that viols and lutes were taught to the children of the Chapel Royal, a fact which may have offered Purcell opportunities to encounter early consort repertoire.³² At least in one case, Purcell seems to have given the lute an unusual treatment in terms of tone painting,³³ and the instrument's being characterised by distinctive chord positions and voice-leading limitations, may require a more thorough study of Purcell's cadential formulae in that aspect. In such a case, it is ironic that Purcell is usually identified by lutenists as representing the period of that instrument's decline in the late seventeenth century.

Now let us return to Fantazia 11. As Howard observed, the Fantazia's first section contains a reworking of the same subject which Purcell dealt with two months earlier, when composing the third section of Fantazia 6. According to Howard, this time Purcell presents several two-part interlocks that he had not incorporated previously in Fantazia 6.³⁴ One of the interlocks which Purcell uses, for the first time in the set, is the entrance of the *per arsin* version, followed by a *per thesin* at the fourth, at the temporal interval of a semibreve (see Illustration 4.7. Note that Howard's example is in diminution in order to compare its interlocks with those of Fantazia 6).³⁵

The interlock in its abstract form (see Illustration 4.7), although perfectly valid, does not appear anywhere in the piece. For Purcell, this interlock is not on a par with the other 25

³¹ The *Three upon a ground* Z.731 and, more specifically, the fragmentary autograph of the recorder part of the piece, validates Purcell's involvement with at least some music for recorders in the early 1680s.

³² Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell, 1659–1695: His Life and Times*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 34.

³³ In 'Beauty thy scene of love' from *Welcome to all the pleasures* the tenor's rising figure on the line 'We offer with Lute and with Voice' is juxtaposed to a descending bass. While a simple voice exchange (d'-e'-f# against f#-e-d# generating the interval sequence 6-8-10) is an accepted idiom in two-part writing of that period, the ascent here is modified by the introduction of an additional chromatic step (d' - d'-e'-f# against f#-e-d#) and it results in an expanded interval sequence (6-7-8-10). Purcell's distinctive alignment of the passage results in a clash of the voice's d# with the bass's e, on the word 'Lute'. This dissonance, approached on the downbeat in that particular way, is so rare in Purcell's oeuvre that it may hint at Purcell's attempt to highlight the significant instrument name 'Lute' in a way comparable to that he used nine years later when he highlighted other musical instruments (flute, violin, organ) in his setting of *Hail! Bright Cecilia*.

³⁴ Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice,' 134–48.

³⁵ Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice,' 134; 136.

interlocks that Howard observes in the section; its harmonic function is that of a cadence, with a distinctive sound which Purcell consistently exploits throughout the section. The way in which Purcell modifies that interlock is important: interpreting the subject both in its *per arsin* and its *per thesin* forms as cadential melodic formulae (5-(5)-6-7-8-7-8 and 8-(8)-7-6-5 respectively), Purcell adds the required accidentals on the seventh degree (which must be a natural seventh in descending melody and a leading note when ascending) thus creating false relations—‘a frequent, and in general a successful, application of the principle [of independent movement]’.³⁶ In bars 20–22 the unmistakable false relation enhances the cadence on E minor (Illustration 4.8a); in bar 3 he creates a similar deceptive cadence (Illustration 4.8b) which may have stemmed from a discarded draft that employed the interlock as it is (Illustration 4.8c); in bar 24 he presents a full false-relation cadence to close the section (Illustration 4.8d). Even beyond the boundaries of the first section, bars 38–9 use the same idea although differences in metrical positions make its false-relations sound less distinctive (Illustration 4.8e); bars 45–6 make an attempt to superimpose two instances of false relation one on the other (Illustration 4.8f); the final cadence in bars 49–50 give an appropriately augmented version of the cadence Illustration 4.8g). Thus within the fifty bars of the Fantazia, Purcell makes use of this false-relation cadence at least five times. Even if this cadence is far from being unique to Purcell, and in fact serves as a trademark of English polyphonists from Elizabethan times to Purcell’s, the density of its presentation is unusually high.³⁷

Also notable is Purcell’s frequent use of the augmented triad. Margaret Laurie’s observation on the ‘Cambury’ manuscript version of *Distresse’d Innocence*, that it contains more augmented triads, can be extended in this context: if the ‘Cambury’ version is indeed Purcell’s and the version from the *Ayres for the Theatre* involves the compositional intervention of another composer, than one can say that the augmented

³⁶ Westrup, *Purcell*, 247.

³⁷ Some irregularity as to Purcell’s use of the false-relation cadence can be observed in the G major Sonata Z.797, where in the *Poco largo* movement one cadence shows false relations (bars 37–8), and three show a similar cadence without the flattened seventh (bars 41–2, 45–6, 49–50). The fact that the regular seventh is considered questionable is reflected in Roger Fiske’s editorial questions and decisions in the aforementioned bars. If the cadences in that movement are to be amended according to the false relation idiom, then the movement may be seen as a parallel to Fantazia 11 in its obstinate insistence on that type of cadence. Roger Fiske (ed.), *Purcell: Sonatas of Three Parts Nos. 7–12* (London: Eulenburg, 1975), ix, 10–11.

chord, found more in 'Cambury' than in the *Ayres for the Theatre*, is characteristic of Purcell, more so than to part-writing techniques of the other, anonymous, composer.³⁸ Moreover, analysis of one of the sonata movements where Purcell makes extensive use of that chord, the Adagio from Sonata Z.800 (where the augmented triad appears five times within the span of fifteen bars), shows that no two instances derive from a similar complex, hence all five instances were designed independently and thus reflect the composer's free choice in free contrapuntal material and its harmonic implications (see detailed analysis below).

All these observations, however, are descriptive in nature, as they characterise the sound and the form of Purcell's finished works, rather than explaining ideas which may have generated the forms. The next section will describe a single aspect of form which is consistent throughout Purcell's Fantazias, and therefore may reflect a deliberate approach to the works' design on the composer's side.

³⁸ Alon Schab, 'Distress'd Sources? A critical consideration of the authority of Purcell's *Ayres for the Theatre*', *Early Music*, 37/4 (November 2009): 633–45.

MODULATING FORMS IN ENGLISH CONSORT MUSIC

Purcell's approach to musical form combines, at the same time, continuity and innovation. Continuity with early seventeenth-century approaches to imitative counterpoint can be traced in the ways in which Purcell goes on expanding the number of modal degrees on which his imitative subjects may be presented—a process which started in the late sixteenth century. His innovation can be seen in the consistency of the idiomatic design which he employs for that wide array of notes, and the systematic way in which he exploits the properties of that array in order to give his musical forms their unique shapes. It is hard to find a specific composer or a set of works which could have served as a model for Purcell's innovative approach to form, but in order to examine that approach properly, a brief overview of those elements which reflect continuity, and their historical and systemic backgrounds, is essential; one of them is the interval of a fifth.

The fifth, resultant of a 3:2 ratio of frequencies, was the interval on which the western tuning systems and temperaments were based. It was at the heart of Gregorian chant and of prayer intonation in general, at the foundations of early organum and early polyphony, at the foundation of the modal solmisation system (as the interval between the respective *ut* notes of the *recta* hexachords: mollis, naturalis and durum hexachords), and, once the concept of tonal harmony was ripe, it stood at the heart of the tonic-dominant dichotomy. Therefore it lies at the core of the most fundamental concepts of western music—tension, time and drama. Despite the apparent continuity of these phenomena (stretching over a millennium), the process reflects a sea change from one situation in which musicians and theorists (to use anachronistic professional titles) observed the fifth and tried to understand it as the root of the quadrivial science of music, as a proportion which is in inseparable part of the mystery which binds together *musica mundana*, *musica humana*, and *musica instrumentalis*, to another situation in which composers (this time a more relevant title) harnessed that proportion and its potential in order to give shape to an artificial musical form. Even long after the *ficta* accidentals were integrated as equal components of the chromatic scale and the circle of fifths, transition from one mode to the other (and from one key to the other) was still frequently a transition by a fifth. So this interval was at the same time an intrinsic

feature of the scale, and a primary artificial device with which the composer organised pitch by creating tension and resolving it.

The rise of imitation as an essential element of counterpoint was intertwined with seeking new ways to vary musical texture that would balance the growing homogeneity of motivic material. Thus, in tandem with differentiation in significance of imitative material, composers began to present primary imitative subjects in more than one mode, or starting on more than one note. The role of the fifth interval was central to this process, and soon it extended beyond the single fifth which divided a subject from its answer. From a bird's-eye view, the major progress in these terms happened in the continent from the mid-fifteenth century to the mid-sixteenth. In England, by comparison, the process evolved differently and slightly later. Examining the Tudor repertoire of the Eton Choir Book, one can observe how the counterpoint is largely *non-imitative* which retains much of the interest in the melodic gestures, rhythmic variety and vocal virtuosity, and eventually results in sizeable structures that embody but limited activity in terms of harmony (in its modern sense), compared to continental parallels. It is important to mark at this point that Purcell's tendency to oscillate between different modes which use the same final has interesting precedents in the Eton Choir Book repertoire.³⁹

The previous chapter gave an overview of the development of the hexachord fantasia and how, especially in settings for viols, composers in the early seventeenth century began to explore a growing choice of hexachords alongside the common Hard hexachord (used mainly for keyboard settings): at first they incorporated the Soft and the Natural hexachords, and then with the original designs of Ferrabosco II and Richard Mico also *ficta* hexachords. Another example for that process of expanding tonal horizons is the *Browning*—a genre which existed in the middle grounds between a *cantus firmus* setting and a ground, and preoccupied several composers at about the same time as the hexachord fantasia (late sixteenth century to the early seventeenth).⁴⁰ Like the

³⁹ For example Walter Lambe, 'Salve Regina' (no. 14 in MB10); Walter Lambe, 'Ascendit Christus' (no. 32 in MB12); Gilbert Banester, 'O Maria et Elizabeth' (no. 28 in MB11). Frank Ll. Harrison (ed.), *The Eton Choir Book : I*, MB10, 2nd edn (London: Stainer and Bell, 1967), 131–9; Frank Ll. Harrison (ed.), *The Eton Choir Book : III*, MB12 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1961), 37–41; Frank Ll. Harrison (ed.), *The Eton Choir Book : II*, MB11, 3rd edn (London: Stainer and Bell, 2002), 117–27.

⁴⁰ Stonings, *Browning my dear* (no. 40 in MB 44), Clement Woodcock, *Browning my dear* (no. 41 in MB 44), William Byrd, *Browning à 5*; John Baldwin, *A Browning* (no. 124 in MB 45), Elway Bevin, *Browning* (no. 15 in MB9) ; William Inglott, *The Leaves bee greene*. MB44 (London: Stainer and

hexachord fantazia, the *Browning* is a genre which was intended both for keyboard and for consort. There is no need, for the purpose of study, to overview the origin of the instrumental *Browning* and how it evolved from the ballad 'The Leaves be Green'; suffice it to outline the basic principles of its setting as a ground (which is not limited to a single part and may migrate from one part the other). However, taking the *Browning*, rather than the hexachord fantazia, as an example for the expanding approach to tonal form allows a clearer perspective for numerous reasons: the technicalities of the compositional challenge embodied in that genre give a pattern strict enough to allow isolating the element of pitch organisation and to assess it separately; the shorter and varying rhythmic values leave the composer with limited freedom regarding phrase length (it is difficult not to yield to the regular cadencing implied by the endings of the different entrances of the ground); composers tended to use melodic ideas from the ground as imitative material thus limiting the melodic variety and encourage variety in other aspects, particularly harmony.⁴¹

The earlier examples of *Browning* settings stay within the limits of presenting the ground on a single hexachord. William Inglott presented the ground thirteen times on the hard hexachord; Henry Stonings presented it five times and Clement Woodcock thirteen times, both on the soft hexachord. These three settings, through a fairly limited harmonic scope, demonstrate the challenge in creating a convincing set of divisions, and the texture in all of them demonstrates growing technical demands from the performer as the piece unfolds.⁴² By comparison, the next generation of *Browning* composers—Byrd, Baldwin and Bevin—began exploring the ability to shift from one hexachord to the other from within the strict conventions of ground setting.⁴³ John Harper describes

Bell, 1979), 70–3; Kenneth Elliott (ed.), *The Collected Works of William Byrd, Volume 17, Consort Music* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1971), 39–47; Paul Doe (ed.), *Elizabethan Consort Music : II*, MB45 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1988), 9–12; Thurston Dart and William Coats (eds.), *Jacobean Consort Music*, MB9, 2nd edn (London: Stainer and Bell, 1966), 19–21; J.A. Fuller Maitland and W. Barclay Squire (eds.), *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, Vol. 2 (New York: Dover, 1963), 381–3.

⁴¹ Reference to the compositional challenges of setting a *Browning* is limited to what can be extracted from analysing the surviving specimens. No contemporary theoretical description of the genre is known.

⁴² Stonings' *Browning my dear* setting is also a textbook example of the part-allocation technique discussed in Chapter 3—each part plays the ground once.

⁴³ The chronology of some of the settings is discussed in John Harper, 'Ensemble and Lute Music' in *Music in Britain: The Sixteenth Century*, Roger Bray (ed.), BHMB2 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995),

Byrd's 'cohesive tonal structure' which goes through all three *recta* hexachords (Illustration 4.9a)⁴⁴. However, an important detail regarding this tonal structure must be observed. The shifts from one hexachord to the other are always between two adjacent hexachords (that is, two hexachords with a single fifth between their respective *ut* notes), and so Byrd's process gives two wave-like processes of shifting between hexachords: from the soft to the hard hexachord and back, and from the soft to the natural hexachord and back. Bevin's structure is in many ways similar to Byrd's only that it goes further into the realms of a *ficta* hexachord below the soft hexachord (on B-Flat), thus resulting in a more balanced structure (Illustration 4.9b). Baldwin's work expands the structure by introducing yet another *ficta* hexachord, this time above the hard hexachord (on D) (Illustration 4.9c). Although the procedure of mutation in solmisation theory is usually applied to a change of hexachord during the unfolding of a single voice, we see here a different procedure which resembles it: the shifts from one hexachord on which the ground is presented to the other are consistently between adjacent hexachords,⁴⁵ even when the range of possible hexachords in a piece is much greater. Theoretically, in a *Browning* setting which involves five hexachords, such as Baldwin's, a composer was able to shift from any hexachord to at least two hexachords which are not adjacent to it, and Baldwin demonstrates this ability in his part writing which shows deviation from the strict procedures of mutation (for example the excerpt from viol II in Illustration 4.10) but not between the entrances of the ground. Whether this pattern of setting a work's tonal plan only according to shifts between adjacent hexachords was a deliberate act on the composers' side or an intrinsic attribute of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pitch structure is hard to say. Nevertheless, it does seem clear that the mutation procedure migrated from the level of the single voice (where it served as a 'liberating' element, allowing the music to explore beyond the limits of a single hexachord) to the level of harmonic design (where it served as a restricting element, defining a standard modulation from a one key to another which lies a fifth away from it).

263–322 (287–8); The term shift is used here, rather than mutate, as the latter is often used to describe a melodic change from one hexachord to the other through a pivotal note.

⁴⁴ Harper, 'Ensemble and Lute Music', 287–8.

⁴⁵ Rebecca Herrisone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 86.

This technique of presenting the subject on a chain of hexachords, a fifth apart from one another, was adopted by Purcell and not necessarily in his music for viols but in the Sonatas. The fact that Purcell shows continuity of earlier techniques supplies the modern researcher with fascinating comparisons. Let us revisit the opening movement of the Sonata Z.796. Outlining the notes on which the subject is presented, one can see that the basic plan is almost identical to the one observed in Byrd's *Browning* setting (Illustration 4.11, compare with Illustration 4.9a). The task of finding candidates for further comparison becomes easy since the motif of that movement is, again, a well known stock motif. The stepwise descent of a sixth may as well be considered as a more flexible variant of the strict hexachord motif of the hexachord fantazias. Two comparisons can be made with works of earlier composers, Michael East (c1580–1648) and, again, Sweelinck. Purcell, like the two earlier composers, used the descending hexachord strictly as a subject of imitation, and not necessarily following the intervallic sequence which corresponds to the solmisation syllables *la-sol-fa-mi-re-ut*.

A comparison with Sweelinck shows that both composers presented their subject on three pitches, a fifth apart from one another; comparison also shows that no theoretical limitation required that transition between the three pitches is to be done only between two notes which are fifth apart. In his ninth Fantasia, Sweelinck uses the stepwise descending sixth in the major mode with an added turn and in a ground-like manner,⁴⁶ but unlike in Purcell's work, the transition from one entrance to the next is not limited to notes which are a fifth away (Illustration 4.12, especially bars 33–43). Nonetheless, the three notes on which the subject is presented throughout the piece (G, D, and A) are all adjacent notes on the circle of fifths, hence corresponding to the three notes in Purcell piece (E, B, and F#)

Purcell's insistence on presenting any two consecutive subjects on notes which are a fifth apart from one another seems to be characteristic of English composers: in the first section of the East's fantazia entitled *Peccavi*, any two adjacent entries of the subject are a fifth from one another (Illustration 4.13), exactly as in Purcell's case (the two works are also of the same length—East's section has 21 bars, Purcell's movement 26).⁴⁷ East's use of added entrances in parallel thirds above the subject (see Illustration 4.13, bars 12,

⁴⁶ Gustav Leonhardt (ed.), *Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck: Opera Omnia, Vol 1: Keyboard Works*, 2nd edn (Amsterdam: VNM, 1974), 61–67.

⁴⁷ Michael East, *Third Set of Bookes* (London, 1610); Edmund H. Fellowes (ed.) and Thurston Dart (Rev.), *Michael East: Third Set of Books (1610)*, Emad31a (London: Stainer and Bell, 1962), 104–8.

14, 15 and 18), as well as his avoiding the use augmentation, elucidates the different levels of originality demonstrated by the two composers,⁴⁸ but it is important that, as in Byrd's *Browning*, both works start with presenting the subject on a specific note and return to the same note for the last entrance of the movement or the section. The G minor tonality of *Peccavi* makes the S-shaped chain of entrances on D-G-D-A-D a natural choice as the descending sixth from D (d'-c'-bb-a-g-f#) stabilises that tonality rather easily (Illustration 4.14).

But again, Purcell shows his own original approach in the choice of the opening and ending entrance note, an approach which seems to accommodate his late seventeenth-century harmonic language and his own idiom. While the natural choice for the E minor tonality of the Sonata would have been the note B (equivalent to East's choice, hence a possible entry would have been b'-a'-g'-f'-e'-d'#), Purcell chose to start and finish with E (hence e''-d''-c''-b'-a'-g'#) which seems to incline towards A minor rather than to E minor. Purcell self-imposes a chromatic G# once in bar 2 (G# in the bass which is contextualised in E minor as V of iv. This is echoed melodically by the D# in the bass in bar 3) and once in bar 4, which is a bit more imposing and requires a more explicit chromatic alteration in the first violin down to g' (natural) in order to re-introduce pitches characteristic of E minor (See Illustration 1.4).

The same challenges which characterised the use of an unusual choice of note for the opening also govern the last bars of the movement, where the same explicit chromatic alteration is used to neutralise the E major shadowing which the subject imposes on the first beat of bar 25. Without having to know East's precedent, Purcell could have easily presented the last entrance on B (descending b'-a'-g'-f'-e'-d'#) and thus end the subject on a dominant chord, resolve it and finish the movement. However, if indeed the interdependence of the note of the first entrance and the note of the last entrance played a role in Purcell's decision making, it is then clear that Purcell deliberately tried to establish a certain key while presenting the subject on a note which would not be the obvious choice and, more importantly, presented the note g'# that, unless Purcell wanted to cadence with a *tierce de Picardie* (which is never an explicit note in any of the parts in Purcell's three-part idiom), required that the composer presents chromaticism

⁴⁸ Again, the case of *Distress'd Innocence* shows that Purcell preferred to give each part a genuine entrance while the lesser anonymous composer who completed the viola part chose 'the easy way out' of an added entrance in parallel thirds. Alon Schab, 'Distress'd Sources? A critical consideration of the authority of Purcell's Ayres for the Theatre', *Early Music*, 37/4 (November 2009), 633–45 (638–9).

at the end, as from the beginning, of the Sonata movement. Thus, Purcell's pre-compositional decisions as to the notes on which the subject would appear have a significant role in shaping the foreground harmonic progressions he eventually used.

Howard mentioned the composer's 'marked preference for complexes involving imitation at the fourth, fifth or octave',⁴⁹ and indeed some of these complexes embody the potential of supporting a modulation by a fifth and, if some are coupled together, even a sequential modulation round the circle of fifths. One of the more elegant complexes of that kind is in bars 8–10 in Sonata Z.790, and it was mentioned in Chapter 3 for its similarity to one of the complexes in Byrd's four-part Mass (see Illustration 3.13). As a three-part complex, it has two interlocks, both in a fifth or a fourth; the different temporal offsets (a minim and a semibreve respectively) cause the interval at the time of the second entry to be a third (interlock α), and at the time of the third entry—an octave (interlock β) (Illustration 4.15), and Purcell joins two such complexes together (with α and β in each of them, bars 8–10 and bars 10–13) using an additional β interlock. Thus, the notes on which the subjects appear in the first complex (D – G – D) are interlocked with a similar complex, transposed in a fifth (G – C – G), in a complex which can be, theoretically, go on *ad infinitum* (C – F – C ; F – Bb – F) (Illustration 4.16).

However, even when a composer does not limit himself to only fifths between every two adjacent entries, it is often the case that instrumental works with imitative texture present the subject on a list of notes which can be reduced to a series of fifths; most imitative movements or sections in the English repertoire for consort or keyboard will range from two fifths (hence three notes)—as was the case in Byrd's *Browning*, East's *Peccavi*, Sweelinck's *Fantasia* and in the first movement of Purcell's Sonata Z.796—to four fifths (hence five notes)—as in the Baldwin's *Browning*, and numerous other works.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice,' 140.

⁵⁰ For example Nicholas Stogers' *Fantasia* or Daniel Farrant's *Four-Note Pavan*. John Caldwell (ed.), *Tudor Keyboard Music c.1520–1580*, MB66 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1995), 54–5; Dart and Coats (eds.), *Jacobean Consort Music*, MB9, 101–2.

THE HEXACHORDAL INTERSECTION

This section will revolve around a neologism which aims to describe the consistent structure of the note series which Purcell employs in some of his imitative sections—the hexachordal intersection. An example of the hexachordal intersection may be seen in Fantazia 5, and before characterising the phenomenon in technical detail, its general features should be highlighted. The subject of the second section of Fantazia 5 appears on eight different notes throughout the section (bars 11–26): on Bb (bar 11, 14 and 20), Eb (bar 12, 22 and 23), F (bar 12, 15, 18, 10), C (bars 15, 18), D (bars 17, 20), A (bar 20), Ab (bar 23),⁵¹ and G (bar 23) (first occurrence on each note marked in Illustration 4.17). These eight notes are called, for reasons that will be clarified below, a hexachordal intersection, and the special and bold sound of the Fantazia sections which demonstrate that structure stems largely from this very rich palette of notes on which the subject is presented. The choice of notes is far from being arbitrary and is rooted in a consistent type of note series that Purcell used and may have served as a list to be exhausted when planning an imitative section.

Contrapuntal limitations are bound to have discernable implications on harmony and it is at least partly the indirect consequence of Purcell's ongoing preoccupation with contrapuntal artifice (and the melodic restraints of canon and strict imitation) that his harmonic language appealed to early twentieth-century scholars, in the Fantazias more than in any other genre.⁵² However, the influence of horizontal considerations on the harmonic features and the overall sonority of a piece can be manifested in two ways which can be seen as complete opposites: the one is when strict motivic working or canon dictate the harmony; the other is when the principle of minimal melodic movement or predominance of stepwise motion assume greater importance than that of a defined motif. An example for the first type of horizontally-driven harmony can be seen in the 'Dance for the Followers of Night' from *The Fairy Queen*, where the strict '4 in 2' procedure is applied on the first violin and the bass. Creating a melody which can serve both as the treble melody and as the harmonic bass of a dance tune will inevitably compromise some of the distinctive character each part has for its function in the

⁵¹ The entrance on Ab, being one of the last entrances of the section, is slightly modified. This is in accordance with Purcell's practice as will be shown below.

⁵² Adams, *Henry Purcell*, 99–100.

texture: in the 'Dance for the Followers of Night' this can be seen in the predominance of leaps in the first violin and the bass, which is characteristic of bass parts more than of treble parts. However, the 'strangeness [of that dance] is clearly intended to reflect the scene on the stage', the result of the unusual canonic imitation is a concentration of empty sonorities, chords which hardly can be explained as triads, root position of diminished chords, and unusual metric treatment of harmonic function (Illustration 4.18a).⁵³ One may also compare the strange succession of harmonies in that dance to that of another '4 in 2'—the *Miserere* canon Z.109—where the treble is coupled with the inner third part, and the bass with the inner second, resulting in a more 'standard' harmonic progression (Illustration 4.18b).

Schjelderup-Ebbe, in his study of Purcell's cadences, remarked that

while often maintaining the basic cadential progressions S – (T⁶₄) – D – T, he may for reasons of melodic and contrapuntal origin insert, often daringly, one or more accessory tones, which may be accented or unaccented, and may be considered foreign to the chord, or even to the key, or not. Due to the composer's exceedingly prolific harmonic imagination the procedures vary in almost every case.⁵⁴

One example of such a chord which is consistent across Purcell's oeuvre is #iii in 6/3 position. While the composer's 'prolific harmonic imagination' was indeed original and ever-surprising, sometimes it was aided by the composer's own self-imposed challenges. The #iii chord is customarily achieved as result of a chromatic descent both in the upper part and in the bass. This idiom can be found in Sonata Z.809 (bars 23–5), the ending of the overture in *The Rival Sisters* Z.609, in the famous ritornello which rounds off Dido's Lament, and the passage 'To yonder cool shade, my Dorinda, we'll fly; whilst there in each other's embraces we lie' in *Hark how the wild musicians sing* Z.542 (Illustration 4.19a–d). In relation to the earlier discussion of idiomatic use of specific keys, it should be mentioned that all the above examples are set in G minor. In the Bb major Pavan Z.750 one can observe a rare variant of that idiom in C minor which includes a surprising approach into the 6/4 position of that chord (Illustration 4.19e, bars 22–3). This imitation-driven use of #iii was not Purcell's invention, and one can find it for example in Lawes' Fantasia for three Lyre-Viols (Illustration 4.20a) and in Sweelinck's 'A-Phrygian' Fantasia (Illustration 4.20b), but Purcell clearly adopted it as an extension

⁵³ Adams, *Henry Purcell*, 145.

⁵⁴ Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Purcell's Cadences* (Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1962), 13–4.

to his variety of chords which Schjelderup-Ebbe defined as '(T⁶₄)' but is practically an added suspension to the function of the dominant.

But whereas all these examples were of the first type of horizontally-driven harmony (defined by motif), the same chord can also result from the second approach—that of free motivic material. The third movement of the Sonata Z.800, a highly chromatic intermediate movement which starts on an applied dominant (V of iv), can illustrate that: the short movement has practically no motif of discernable significance for more than two bars in a row, save perhaps the turn figure *x* (Illustration 4.21) which appears five times within seven bars; reducing the melodic lines to a more structural level, one can see that the two upper parts in the movement hardly contain melodic leaps and are built almost exclusively from stepwise motion (Illustration 4.22); bars 58–9 are an exception and indeed contain a harmonic centre-point in the form of strong sequence; it is within this lack of motif that distinctive vertical sonorities as the #iii6 (marked *y*, see Illustration 4.21) or the augmented triad (marked *z*, Illustration 4.21) may give a feeling of unity to the whole, even if each time they are approached in a different manner, and even serve different harmonic functions: whereas the second #iii6 in the movement (bar 67) is yet another instance of this chord functioning as a dominant, the first one either as a secondary dominant (of the iv) or as a subdominant (of the VII).

In movements such as that one, it seems that Purcell was led, to a large extent, by idioms of keyboard harmony. In light of Howard's explanation of some of the canzona subjects as modifications of sequences found in Locke's *Melothesia* (see above), some of these shorter intermediate movements may seem as being less chamber music in nature, and more of an organ voluntary. In relation to that, it is also significant that Purcell almost avoids voice exchange; save bar 64 where the two violins switch for the rest of the movement, the keyboard-like spacing and the order of the parts is strictly kept. This can be contrasted with both the previous and the following movements: an excerpt from the second movement contains many voice exchanges caused by the greater melodic independence and instrumental idiom of the violin parts (Illustration 4.23; bars 23–7); the fourth movement not only contains voice exchanges but also chords whose spacing is far from being natural for a keyboard player (for example, the V chording which contains two superimposed tenths, marked *x*, Illustration 4.24 bars 75–88).

However, the dependence of Purcellian harmony in horizontal considerations does not always stem from the keyboard and from the voice-leading instincts of the famous 'organist of their majesties chappel', but at times seems to have stemmed from a

carefully planned structure that does not betray any specific instrumental idiom. These plans, which directly influence the overall harmonic idiom of the Fantazias, are maybe not motifs in the traditional sense, but they are certainly horizontal in essence, and for understanding those we must return to the fifth-based structures discussed in the previous section. Purcell's use of the fifth as a prime building block in his musical structures has not been ignored in the literature. In relation to the Fantazia 7, Mellers observed that

the organization of [the first] section is as much tonal as contrapuntal. The fugal exposition covers a cycle of fifths. The first three entries establish C minor; the fourth entry modulates sharpwards to G minor, but then flatwards back to C minor, and then again flatwards to F minor. This also introduces the fiercer, semitonal false relation of A natural and A flat.⁵⁵

Essentially, Mellers' analysis is not different from that of Fantazia 11 presented earlier, which highlighted a wave-like oscillation around the tonic. But does that kind of organisation, 'as much tonal as contrapuntal' and to a large extent in resonance with later harmonic thinking, reflect Purcell's harmonic strategy? As mentioned above, models for Purcell's innovative approach cannot be easily traced.

The structure of the hexachordal intersection can be demonstrated on the opening section of Fantazia 11 which has been analysed in the previous section. Marking the different notes on which the subject begins, and especially when compared to the limited number of entrance-notes incorporated in works by earlier composers discussed above, one may get the impression that Purcell took pains to include the subject on as many pitches as he could, nine in this case (Illustration 4.25). However, as this Fantazia contrasts the subject with its inversion, examination of the two modes of the subject separately (*per arsin* and *per thesin*) may be illuminating (Illustration 4.26). Here one can see that Purcell gradually presents each form of the subject in a series of no less than eight pitches, in a process which stretches along almost the entire length of the section (22 of the 24 bars). One should bear in mind that as we have seen in the previous sections, most imitative movements do not present the subject on more than four or five different notes.

In both its forms, *per arsin* and *per thesin*, Purcell presents the subject on each of the seven diatonic note-names of the scale (A; B; C; D; E; F; G), plus an altered note. Slightly

⁵⁵ Wilfrid Mellers, *Harmonious Meeting: A Study of the Relationship between English Music, Poetry and Theatre, c. 1600–1900* (London: Denis Dobson, 1965), 195.

reordered, both can be seen as series in which all notes are still a perfect fifth apart from one another, with the altered notes at the beginning and at the end of the series: *per arsin* entrances on eight notes (F; C; G; D; A; E; B; F#) and *per thesin* entrances on eight notes (Bb; F; C; G; D; A; E; B). The two series are similar (albeit transposed), and other similar structures can be traced in many other sections in the Fantazias and therefore some discussion of its properties is essential. For that purpose let us focus on the note series of the *per thesin* entrances in Fantazia 11.

A proper explanation of that particular note series as a group of eight notes is nowhere to be found among seventeenth-century English treatises. However, these eight notes, on which the *per Thesin* entrances of the Fantazia are presented, can be seen as the merger, or intersection, of the notes of the three *recta* hexachords: the six note-syllables (*ut; re; mi; fa; sol; la*) of the natural hexachord (C; D; E; F; G; A), an added *fa* from the soft hexachord (Bb; the remainder of the soft hexachord is embodied in the natural hexachord) and an added *mi* from the hard hexachord (B; the remainder of the hard hexachord is embodied in the natural hexachord) (Illustration 4.27). A term that is to describe this intersection should ideally take into account seventeenth-century modal terminology; but this might be of a certain problem due to the general confusion among seventeenth-century English theorists as to the correct terminology of the hexachordal theory (which was a remnant of the solmisation system, by then becoming obsolete and irrelevant to compositional practice). For that reason, the present author chose to use the term hexachord rather than any other English term used by seventeenth-century writers (*netures, properties, songes, deductions* etc.).⁵⁶ The term hexachordal intersection will be used henceforth in order to describe a series of notes which can be explained as the total of notes in the three *recta* hexachords, or a transposition of that series. Thus, the series of entrance notes established earlier for the *per arsin* entrances in Fantazia 11 can also be explained as a hexachordal intersection of two *recta* hexachords (on C and on G) and one *ficta* hexachord (on D).⁵⁷

The two forms in which the subject appears in the first section of Fantazia 11, *arsin* and *thesin*, raise a significant point—the reference to notes rather than tonal centres. Whereas the harmonic analyses of Fantazia 11 at the beginning of this chapter

⁵⁶ Herrisone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England*, 78–9.

⁵⁷ Herrisone suggests that may be misleading to use terminology which reflects the use of the three-hexachord system and that any neologism should reflect Purcell's theoretical views as to seven-note scales. Private correspondence, 23 May, 2010.

highlighted the various tonal centres explored by the composer throughout the section, the hexachordal intersection refers only to the first notes of the subject. For example, the first bar of the section, undoubtedly revolving about the tonal centre of G (which is clarified as G major in the next bar) gives two forms of the subject—*per arsin* starting on D and *per thesin* starting on G. The consistency of the phenomenon described here as the hexachordal intersection hints that if the composer was aware of the hexachordal intersection, then the matters of tonality did not define the identity of an entrance, and it was purely a matter of the first note of the entrance. Quite the contrary: it seems that composers' control of harmony was displayed in their ability to contextualise a series of disparate entrances through a harmonic progression that made sense.

Another example of the hexachordal intersection can be observed in the middle section of Fantazia 1 (Illustration 4.28). Purcell shows a flexible approach to his imitative subject, and in the process almost every interval that makes up the motif is being changed, and one can find variants which are considerably different in effect (Illustration 4.29). For the present analysis, all variants are held valid, excluding those whose fifth note is a quaver, a rhythmic detail which blurs the distinctive rhythmic character of the subject (see Illustration 4.28, marked with an asterisk). It is no coincidence that, in order to preserve the core characteristics of the subject, these modifications happen towards the end of the section, when Purcell approaches the cadence.

Again, as in the *per thesin* entrances in Fantazia 11, the hexachordal intersection is made up of the three *recta* hexachords. One of the rhythmically modified entrances is on Eb (which is not in the series), but the modification of that entrance, along with its metrical position in the bar, suggest that we may consider it as outside the structure. There is also the possibility that Purcell himself modified that extra entrance so it remains outside the hexachordal intersection count which, as will be demonstrated later on, appears consistently also in many other sections.

The application of the hexachordal intersection in Fantazia 1 is an unusually short one, crammed into thirteen bars, thus resulting in an exceptionally restless harmonic progression, passing through at least five harmonic degrees: minor dominant (bars 28–9), minor tonic (bar 30), minor seventh (bars 31–2), minor third (bars 33–4) and the minor subdominant (bars 36–7). But then again, perhaps the hexachordal intersection can supply us with an alternative to the use of Roman numerals, so often dismissed in Purcell research for anachronism: identifying a case of hexachordal intersection can

explain Purcell's bold harmonic plans without having to explain each cadence as a local tonicization—if the composer chooses to present a subject on eight different notes within a few bars then cadences, if they appear, will not be significant harmonic goals but links in a succession of harmonic events that contextualise the ongoing chain of subject entrances.

Another similar structure can be observed in the aforementioned Fantazia 7, which starts with a double subject. However, unlike in Fantazias 11, 1, or 5, here the hexachordal intersection is based on grouping the entrance-notes of the two imitative subjects as one (Illustration 4.30). While Fantazia 5, with which this section was opened, comprised of the soft hexachord and two *ficta* hexachords (on B-flat and on E-flat; Illustration 4.31), the hexachordal intersection in Fantazia 7 is of particular interest also for the fact that it comprises *ficta* hexachords alone (on A-Flat, E-Flat and B-Flat) (Illustration 4.32). But the most important issue is that the structure of the section, in terms of the hexachordal intersection it represents, may explain its tonal plan and the clashes caused by introducing the subjects on eight different notes; by comparison, the description of the section's tonal plan (a succession of Roman numerals representing the main tonicizations of the section) is shared by countless works and cannot explain the particularity of Purcell's harmonic language.

The adventurous harmonic progressions discussed earlier can now be understood as the implications of the attempt to incorporate entrances on all the notes of a hexachordal intersection. However, Purcell's control over these implications is impressive: in Fantazia 11 he paces the harmonic rhythm steadily and creates a 24-bar section of considerable harmonic interest but without breaching the overall harmonic style of a mid-seventeenth century fantazia; by comparison, in Fantazia 1 the shorter middle section swiftly modulates out of the conventional and uses the requirement of presenting all the notes of the hexachordal intersection in order to explore several tonal centres, not all of them characteristic of the mainstream of consort music tradition (among them the vii and the iii).

The first section of Fantazia 12 demonstrates how Purcell controls and regulates the pace of presenting the different notes of the hexachordal intersection (Illustration 4.33). Bars 1–17 sound as conservative and as *stile antico* as if quoted from an early seventeenth-century motet. This first phrase starts with the subject, imitated *per arsin* at three-minims offset, followed by three spaced entrances—all on D (the final) and on A

(the dominant)—and ending on a cadence on A.⁵⁸ The second phrase starts, again in an early seventeenth-century fashion, with a more intensive *stretto*, on A and on E. The entrance on D in bar 22 seems to hint at a flatwards-motion to G minor, but it is soon balanced by reaffirmation of D minor (bar 28), hence still within the tonal scope of an *antico*-flavoured motet texture. The pacing of presenting the subject on the different notes of the hexachordal intersection tones was moderate up to that stage: two notes in bars 1–2, a third note in bar 18 and another in bar 25. In bar 31, however, already within the second half of the 58-bar section, Purcell has four notes left to present. If one assumes that he was directed by the considerations of the hexachordal intersection, the four entrance notes which appeared up to that stage (G; D; A; E) could imply five different hexachordal intersections, each dictating a different group of four entrance notes which are yet to be introduced later in the section (Illustration 4.34): the most obvious one is the intersection of the three *recta* hexachords, which leaves the notes Bb, F, C and B as possible notes for presenting the subject on; the notes which have appeared can also be considered a part of a completely different set of hexachords, all of them sharp *ficta* hexachords—on D, A and E—which leaves the notes B, F#, C# and G# as possible notes for presenting the subject on; hexachords on G, D and A would leave the notes C, B, F# and C# to be presented; hexachords on C, G and D would leave the notes Bb, F, C and B; another possibility, which is the set that Purcell uses, is the hexachords on Bb, F and C. That means that in the remaining 27 bars, the music would have to exhaust the flat part of the hexachordal intersection spectrum, present the subject on the notes Eb, Bb, F and C, and eventually cadence back in D minor. This is perhaps the most convincing explanation of Purcell's flatwards excursion towards the second part of the section. With the need to present the subject on B-flat and even on E-flat, it may seem less surprising now that Purcell found it appropriate to modulate to B-flat minor. He could of course modulate to B-flat *major*, but, if we assume that the challenge for him was to present the subject on a note rather than in a key, B-flat major and B-flat minor are equally valid. Had Purcell chosen a different hexachordal intersection series from the five options we have overviewed, for example the hexachords on D, A and E, it would not have been surprising if he had modulated as far as C-sharp minor or F-sharp minor (out of the need to present the subject starting on C#), as he does indeed in the next section.

⁵⁸ For the attentive listener (or viol-player), the rise of harmonic tension in this section would sound much more moderate and gradual than that of the aforementioned section from Fantazia 11, let alone the hectic section from Fantazia 1.

The fact that the process of presenting the subject on each of the eight notes in the hexachordal intersection coincides with the length of the section as a whole may be no coincidence, but it is also possible that this process dictated the section's length: Purcell may have set the end of the section or aimed to finish it according to when he accomplished the presentation of the subject on all the notes of the series.

It is left to be asked whether it is, as Lorenzo Bianconi claimed, the composer's 'voraciously heterogeneous and versatile' style which makes his 'own personal imprint of melodic and harmonic invention [...] the only truly recognizable factor',⁵⁹ or whether it is the result of the composer's idiosyncratic approach to structural planning, in which case matters of style (be it adoption of French, Italian or English styles) are at times only of secondary significance. The use of hexachordal intersection seems to be Purcell's own personal strategy and, at least among his contemporaries, his are the only works in which I have found this compositional device.⁶⁰ The only earlier composer who seems to have applied the hexachordal intersection, at least in a way explicit enough to 'jump out of the score' and comparable to Purcell's, is Thomas Tomkins who, although he died two years before Purcell was born, could have had at least some influence on the later composer's musical upbringing both via his works which Purcell copied in manuscript Cfm 88, and via fantasias that Purcell may have encountered during his early explorations of the genre, both as a player and as an ambitious young composer aspiring to match and even outdo the work of his most celebrated predecessors and contemporaries.

Tomkins' three-part Fantasia VII presents its subject on the hexachordal intersection of the hexachords on Bb, F and C (Illustration 4.35).⁶¹ However, unlike in Purcell's case, it seems that the circular nature of movement around the circle of fifths has engaged the composer more directly and made him experiment with its boundaries (or lack of such boundaries) in a more explicit and audible way. For example, in the dance-like second section of the same Fantasia, the harmony moves in falling fifths through seven steps

⁵⁹ Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, David Bryant (trans.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 252.

⁶⁰ Some reservations regarding the term 'contemporaries' in relation to Purcell's generation can be found in Michael Burden, 'Purcell and his contemporaries' in *The Purcell Companion*, Michael Burden (ed.), (London: Faber and Faber, 1995), 52–98 (53).

⁶¹ The numbering of Tomkins' works here follows the numbering in John Irving (ed.), *Thomas Tomkins: Consort Music*, MB59, (London: Stainer and Bell, 1991).

around the circle and in a regular pace; in the third section of the same piece the composer balances the harmonic progression of the previous sections and passes through four rising fifths on the circle. Perhaps the wildest circular experiment in Tomkins' three-part repertoire is in Fantasia X where he devised a 'stacked' canon which completes a full circle from C# minor down through Ab minor back to C# minor (Illustration 4.36).⁶²

The preoccupation with the circle of fifths and the use of the hexachordal intersection, both in Tomkins and in Purcell, may offer another way in which horizontal considerations influence harmony, and give the composer his characteristic sound. However, it should be highlighted that whereas the bold harmonic design features in a substantial part of Purcell's Fantazias, and regardless of the bold harmonic progressions of the intermediate movements in the Sonatas (as in the aforementioned third movement from Z.800), not a single movement in the Sonatas is structured on the hexachordal intersection; it is probable that the wider audience at which the 1683 publication was aimed as well as the nature of the sonata fashion made Purcell hesitate with experimentation that would have risked the accessibility of the publication. Tomkins, as Purcell in his Sonatas, tend to use a more limited array of notes on which the subject may appear. Although in his Fantasia XIV Tomkins uses no less than nine such notes, his imitative sections normally employ five notes (the first section of Fantasia II uses D, A, E, C and G; the first section of his Fantasia VIII uses D, A, E, Bb and F; Fantasia XV uses C, D, E, F, G).⁶³

⁶² Discussion of the term 'stacked' canon can be found in Alan Gosman, 'Stacked Canon and Renaissance Compositional Procedure', *Journal of Music Theory*, 41 (1997), 289–318.

⁶³ Irving (ed.), *Thomas Tomkins: Consort Music*, MB59, 7–8, 21–23, 42.

IMPLICATIONS FOR MULTI-SECTIONAL FORMS

Although none of Purcell's sonata movements demonstrates the use of the hexachordal intersection, in terms of large-scale form, both the Sonatas and the Fantazias share the principle according to which first sections or movements, if imitative in nature, will exhibit a greater variety of notes on which subjects may be presented while later sections or movements will demonstrate a more restricted design, revolving around less pitches. For example, the first movement of Sonata Z.799 presents its imitative point on seven pitches—C, G, D, A, E, B and F# (thus lacking either an entrance either on F or on C# in order to present a complete hexachordal intersection). The second and the fourth movements present their respective subjects on six pitches each: the second movement on G, D, A, E, B and F#; the fourth on D, A, E, B, F# and C#. The intermediate third movement may be irrelevant for that matter as it is more homophonic in texture. In a similar way to the intermediate third movement of Sonata Z.800, it is difficult to extract a definite melodic motif which can be said to govern the movement.⁶⁴

Sonata Z.797 gives a slightly more elaborate design as it contains five movements, three of which are imitative. The three movements outline a continuous progress of focusing their structures from seven pitches in the opening movement, through six pitches in the canzona, to five pitches in the concluding Vivace. Since 'the note' is the first one to appear in the subject rather than the tonic it represents, in the opening movement of this Sonata the first note of the subject in its first entrance would be C although the subject is clearly in G major (Illustration 4.37). The seven pitches on which the subject is presented are therefore (in order of appearance) C, G, D, F, B, E and A thus lacking either an entrance on Bb or on F# in order to present a complete hexachordal intersection). The entrances on B (second violin, bar 17), although included in the counting, is an incomplete, or 'aborted', entrance whose ending had to be modified in order to avoid a clash with the first violin's *stretto* entrance a minim later (Illustration 4.38).⁶⁵ The entrance on A (first violin, bar 24) is incomplete for similar reasons (the bass's *stretto* entrance a minim later) but also hints at Purcell's priority when devising the complex.

⁶⁴ It does however have a very clear rhythmic pattern of crotchet; dotted quaver; semiquaver; crotchet; crotchet.

⁶⁵ Both the term 'aborted' and the graphic designation of clashes using x-shaped noteheads are also used by Alan Howard. For example Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice,' 125.

Considering the 'vocal' style of the subject, an entrance in parallel thirds would have worked nicely in the movement, and evidently Purcell was aware of that; the second violin's bars 25–7 may be the traces of such an entrance which would work perfectly with the bass's entrance, but collides with the first violin's (Illustration 4.39); Purcell may have chosen to edit out the entrance on F# in order to be able to add the entrance on A.

The second movement was discussed in Chapter 3 as it seems that Purcell's major concern here was the *ars combinatoria* plan, reshuffling three subjects (A, B and C) in five of the six possible permutations (see analysis in Chapter 3). Therefore, the four notes on which subject A appear (G, C, A and D) in that movement are irrelevant to the question of the imitative structure. The canzone attached to that movement however, is highly relevant as it shows entrances *per arsin* on three notes (G, C and D) and *per thesin* on three notes (E, F# and B), that is six notes in total (C, G, D, E, B and F#). The 9-bar fourth movement is again an intermediate movement which is of little imitative interest. The fifth movement presents its subject *per arsin* on four notes (G, A, E and B) and *per thesin* on two (G and D), that is five notes in total (G, D, A, E and B).

The same principle of form can be observed in the large-scale design of the Fantazias. Fantazia 9 contains two sections which are irrelevant for that matter (the pavan-like opening section and the madrigal-like third section which was discussed in Chapter 3). The second section presents two points of imitation—'a' (a swift descent of an octave) and 'b' (a descending tetrachord)—both inverted to *per arsin* later in the section. While subject 'b' is abandoned from bar 21 onwards, subject 'a' appears throughout the section and on seven pitches (F, C, G, D, A, E and B; Illustration 4.40a), thus, exactly as in the first movement of Z.797, lacking either an entrance on Bb or on F# in order to present a complete hexachordal intersection. The fourth section juxtaposes, again, two points—'c' (an arch-like quaver gesture) and 'd' (five descending crotchets)—this time both are pursued to the final cadence. In analysing this movement, one is faced with the challenge of establishing on which notes subject 'd' is presented, as from an early stage of the section's unfolding it is hard to decide both whether a sequence of more than nine descending crotchets should be considered as a merger of two entrances, and how one should regard a sequence of seven crotchets (that is, more than a complete entrance but less than a merger of two entrances). Subject 'c' is also hard to characterise as it is in constant dialogue with quaver movement in various contours. However, in its initial contour, subject 'c' appears on six pitches (C, G, D, A, E and B; Illustration 4.40b).

Fantazia 2 shows the same structure: the first section presents the subject on seven notes (F, C, G, D, A, E and B) thus, yet again, lacking either an entrance either on B \flat or on F \sharp in order to present a complete hexachordal intersection. Note that the same seven ‘white notes’ have served Purcell in structuring three movements or sections discussed here: the opening movement of Sonata Z.797, the second section of Fantazia 9 and the first section of Fantazia 2; yet each of the three is set in a different key: G major, A minor and F major respectively. It is possible that, since this pattern is as consistent as Purcell’s use of the hexachordal intersection, he might have used also an incomplete hexachordal intersection, consisted of the intersection of only two hexachords rather than three. In that case, the three sections in question are structured on the natural and the hard hexachords; the opening movement of Z.799 can be seen as structured on an incomplete hexachordal intersection of the hard hexachord and a *ficta* hexachord on D.

After the first section presented the subject on seven notes, the second section presents it on six (F, C, G, D, A and E). The present author’s doubts as to Purcell’s intention to finish Fantazia 2 after 67 bars, and specifically with the particular cadence completed by Warlock and Mangeot, have been mentioned in Chapter 2; it is possible that Purcell left page 70r INV in **30930** empty in order to complete the copying of the Fantazia (starting on page 70v INV) for at least one more section which is now lost (if it was ever composed). As in the case of Fantazia 3, which was copied on one complete page (69v INV) and merely half a system of another page (69r INV), Purcell may have intended to ‘waste’ an entire page even on a relatively short section to finish Fantazia 2. It may look probable that Fantazia 2, as Fantazia 1, was intended to be laid out on one page; thus the probability that the five-four chord, with which Purcell abandoned the copying, implied a final cadence. In the analysis-centred discourse of the present chapter, some comparison of that section with other intermediate movements may be drawn.

Reduction of the section shows that despite the common feature with the intermediate movements—the apparent lack of motif—that section is dominated by a structural motif of a descending fourth, appearing three times (two times on B and one on F \sharp) and twice in augmentation (on B \flat and on D) (Illustration 4.41). Although it seems more than probable that viol II is supposed to resolve from the b \flat of bar 66 to a, either in bar 67 (if the augmentation relates to the rhythmic variant of viol I in bars 53–6) or in bar 68 (if it relates to the rhythmic variant of viol II in bars 58–61), and Purcell even made use of an imitative subject in cadential context (as in the final cadence of Fantazia 10), the present author believes that the weight of evidence (an empty page, a unique cadence which does not follow a definite tonicization) implies that the last surviving section (bars 53

onwards) is not a close at all and, in relation to large-scale form, it is possible that Purcell envisaged another imitative section that would have presented a subject on either six or five notes.

CHAPTER 5 – RECONSTRUCTING A COMPOSITIONAL PROCESS

THE PROBLEM OF RECONSTRUCTION

As suggested in Chapter 1, obstacles in reconstructing any composer's compositional process are abundant. Two main types of evidence are particularly suitable for use as primary sources for the study of compositional process: composers' spoken or written accounts on their own work (or second-hand testimonies) and compositional sketches. Some researchers are lucky enough to engage with the sundry methodological and interpretational challenges posed by those two kinds of evidence; but in Purcell's case, as in many other cases of seventeenth-century composers, such evidence is scarce, and analysts who take that path are usually required to seek internal evidence in the music itself.¹ The foremost device in reconstructing compositional process is describing the compositional act as a series of choices. This analytical approach requires that the compositional style would have some sort of theoretical underpinning (mathematical, contrapuntal) via which the modern analyst may define a finite number of solutions to the compositional problems in question. In the previous chapters that approach was applied either to analysis of complexes (where the rules of dissonance and consonance were used as criteria for understanding the element of choice) or to analysis of large-scale form (where other consistencies regarding the order of appearance of contrapuntal devices, phrasing, and pitch organisation were used as criteria).

However, up to this point in the study, no attempt was made in order to reconstruct the composer's working methods and order of composition; this will be done now, by tracing further palindromic layers in Purcell's musical form and by examining the possible ways in which such structures could have been planned and executed. As already stated in Chapter 3, the levels of palindromic design in Purcell's music only

¹ At least with regards to extra-musical accounts, unaware of the future admiration towards them and their profession, composers before the eighteenth century saw little to no significance in documenting their creative process. Jonathan Harvey, *Music and Inspiration* (London: Faber and Faber, 1999), xx.

rarely relate to strict retrograde—‘repeating the Notes backward’.² More often these relate to abstraction of structural features: in Chapter 3 we have observed a palindromic chain of numbers representing the number of bars in successive segments, and in the present chapter palindromic strings of symbols, each representing an imitative point, will be suggested. This chapter will go one step further and attempt to reconstruct some features of the compositional sketches of the Fantazias, documents which, if they ever existed, have not survived. The methodological problems in doing so are numerous and yet it seems that the conclusions of this analysis fall into place with several of the ideas discussed in earlier chapters, namely the distinction between Purcell’s compositional approach in the Sonatas compared to that in the Fantazias, the predominance of palindromic design in the composer’s approach to musical form and the use of the hexachordal intersection in shaping the unfolding of the imitative subject throughout the form.

Lack of documents which inform us of the ways in which past composers worked is not a problem exclusive to the study of seventeenth-century music, as the procedures of composition have been very rarely discussed in writing throughout the entire history of music, and even periods with relative abundance of writing on composition, such as our own days, pose formidable challenges in terms of the extent to which literature represents reality.³ The basic presupposition of the present chapter is that, as in our days, most of the skills acquired by composition ‘students’ were communicated verbally from teacher to student. In the absence of positive evidence, some methodological risk must be taken as it may yield conclusions which are, by definition, inaccessible within the accepted musicological protocol. The chapter will advance several hypotheses as to the palindromic sketches which stand at the heart of quite a few sections from the Fantazias and of three movements from the Sonatas (a genre of which that device is

² Henry Purcell, *The Art of Descant*, in John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 12th edn (London: Henry Playford, 1694), 112.

³ The full theorization of sonata form as a prescriptive doctrine, appearing towards the middle of the nineteenth century (in the writings of Marx and Czerny) is indeed much more detailed than earlier attempts to describe binary forms a century earlier (Mattheson, Scheibe) but hardly explains the technicalities of nineteenth-century composition (especially that of the great masters). Future musicologists who will attempt to formulate ‘late twentieth-century compositional technique’ will have a serious problem in assessing their extra-musical sources: a detailed article on the *Tintinnabuli* technique will be applicable on the music of only one composer; the syllabi of many composition courses contain species-counterpoint component which is more significant (several weekly hours) than the amount of time students spend with their mentor.

much less characteristic). Following this overview of the technical aspect of palindromic design, the chapter will return to the historical aspect of the Sonatas' publication history, and will extend the thesis that Purcell intended to publish a second set of sonatas, by demonstrating the way in which he prepared that publication (which eventually never materialised), and by trying to reconstruct some of his concerns and thoughts on the matter.

PALINDROMIC SKETCHES IN THE FANTAZIAS

Several issues regarding Fantazia 11 were discussed in the previous chapter: it was observed that, as a whole, its tonal scheme is palindromic (two outer sections in G major and a modulatory middle section, see Illustration 4.3a) but, when the tonal centres of each section are examined in detail, this palindrome is far from being perfect (see Illustration 4.3b); the Fantazia is unified by the constant use of false relation which, despite its status as an emblem of the English polyphonic style, is brought there to an unusual density and is precisely placed so as to create moments of intensity that are fundamental to the work's overall design. When the work's first section is examined alone, it demonstrates the use of the hexachordal intersection—*per thesin* entrances appear on the eight notes of the three hexachords (soft, natural and hard) while *per arsin* entrances appear on three (Natural, Hard and a *ficta* hexachord on D). Neither palindromic design nor consistent use of pitch lists is likely to be the result of chance and they were probably deliberate choices pertaining to the study of Purcell's compositional process.

A surprisingly consistent palindromic design governs several aspects of the disposition of contrapuntal material in the first section of Fantazia 11. The section comprises twenty-four bars, and the arithmetically-calculated position of its centre point (the bar line between bars 12 and 13) may be supported by several musical arguments. Unlike in Z.804 (see Illustration 3.42), where the sum of entrances was divided equally between the two sections of the movement, here the forty-five entrances are divided unequally: twenty in the first half and twenty-five in the second. However, we have already seen in 'See, See Even Night' (see Illustration 3.20) that examining the full score sometimes blurs consistencies that apply only to the outer voices. Thus, in the same way that limiting the scope in 'See, See Even Night' to the voice and the viola parts alone reveals the correlation between the palindromic design of the subject's entrances in the viola and the division to lines of the verse, here also the palindrome is in Viols I and IV alone. When these two parts are examined separately, the palindromic design is slightly tighter: Viol I has four entrances in the first part and five in the second; Viol IV has five entrances in each section; this gives nineteen entrances in total. However, if the last entrance of Viol I is ignored, the palindromic layout of the remaining eighteen entrances

seems to be also supported by another level—that of the *per arsin* and *per thesin* nature of the different entrances (Illustration 5.1).

The handling of *per arsin* and *per thesin* in the section is strictly palindromic: fourteen of these entrances are coupled around the centre point, in four couples of *per arsin* entrances (Viol I: bars 2 and 22, 3 and 19, 10 and upbeat to 13; Viol IV: bars 11 and 15) and three couples of *per thesin* entrances (Viol I: bars 9 and upbeat to 14; Viol IV: upbeat to 9 and upbeat to 17, upbeat to 10 and upbeat to 18). The two couples of *per thesin* entrances in viol IV also seem to form a memorable melodic gesture that hints at the correlation between the two halves of the section. In light of this more audible connection between the two parts it is intriguing to observe that Purcell also presents the *cantus*-like descending tetrachord d''-c''-b'-a' (bars 6–8) from the first half also in a corresponding retrograde (a'-b'-c''-d'') in the second half (bars 16–18) and even in the exact same rhythm (dotted minim, crotchet, semibreve, semibreve, semibreve tied to a crotchet). This figure is of particular significance in the *Fantazia*: the rhythmic pattern is repeated accurately in the *Drag* section (Viol IV bars 26–7, Illustration 5.2a); in the *Brisk* section, a double fugue in which the two points move primarily in quavers, the texture is no less dominated by another motif presented by Viol I in bars 33–4 (Illustration 5.2b), which is a rhythmically-modified version of that tetrachord and which appears at least nine times (and a few more times if free rhythmic variations are considered), two of them in strict diminution and inversion (Viol III, bars 39–40, see Illustration 4.8e; Viol IV, bars 43–4, Illustration 5.2c).⁴

As to the remaining four entrances in Viol IV (in the first section, bars 1, 4, 21 and 22), which do not split into two palindromic couples in the same way, another possibility should be raised. As noted in Chapter 4, it is possible that one of the working drafts of the piece had a different beginning for the part of Viol III, containing two if not three entrances in bars 1–3, rather than the single one which eventually appears in the version copied into **30930**. Further evidence of the effort of composing Viol III is evident in bars 7–10 in the autograph which show traces of scratched-out notes, deletion and correction (Illustration 5.3). It is possible that the first bar and a half of the present author's reconstruction of the earlier stage (see Illustration 4.8c) or some other abandoned version of that passage were originally intended for Viol IV and that their

⁴ Despite this evident significance of that additional subject, I believe it should still be considered a double fugue since the additional motif does not appear right at the beginning of the section, as Purcell would have done in a triple fugue section (for example the second section of *Fantazia 1*).

relocation to viol III (and the rewriting of the first bar and a half for Viol IV) was only done at a later stage. As will be shown below, it is hard to give a definite answer as to which compositional stage (involving which kinds of notation) entailed this kind of modification; however, it is possible that even if the palindromic designs were planned as a pre-compositional stage, Purcell knew which complexes of his chosen material would be used; in such a case, upsetting the perfect palindromic design of a preliminary draft in order to incorporate a certain complex was a probable modification. Inner evidence in Fantazia 7 implies that sometimes Purcell planned the preliminary structure of his works and then relocated the different parts in order to achieve better finesse even before the abstract structure was fleshed out into occurrences of the imitative point, hence deviating from the palindromic design. If indeed the first bar and half in the preliminary draft of Fantazia 11 contained conjoined entrances *per arsin* and *per thesin*, these would perfectly correspond to the last *per thesin* and *per arsin* entrances in the final version (thus creating two palindromic couples in viol IV (*per arsin* in the reconstructed bar 1 and bar 22; *per thesin* in the upbeat to the reconstructed bar 2 and upbeat to 21)).

Application of palindromic ideas to melodic aspects, epitomised in retrograde such as the one observed in Fantazia 11, requires a short discussion of the design of three-part Fantazia 1. The motivic connections between different sections of a single fantasia or the different movements of the same sonata were discussed in Chapter 2 but, with the palindromic idea in mind, connections between the different sections of Fantazia 1 may be identified; one of these connections results from the *retro* device. The imitative subject of the second section (in Viol II) is an almost exact retrograde of the responsorial section prior to the close of the work (in Viol I) (Illustration 5.4). This motif, in both its versions, consists of three notes (D, G and A) and the three notes which are a third above them respectively (F, B \flat and C). The significance of the former three notes, which are the main degrees of the D minor mode, is unusual in yet another way: these are the *only* three notes on which the imitative subject of the first section appears, and against the background described here—of sections which present their subject on eight different notes (the third section of this work, in bars 26–39, being no exception to the rule)—it must be noted that this is a deliberately restricted approach, applied on seventeen bars of the Fantazia. The three notes also open the subject of the imitative section in bars 39–53 (Illustration 5.5). But the important finding in relation to the present chapter is that one of the tightest connections in this intricate motivic web can be traced only if the idea of retrograde is taken into consideration.

Arguably the most fascinating case of palindromic design is that of Fantazia 7, which serves as a case study both for Purcell's use of palindrome and for the study of the order of the stages in his compositional process. In order to observe the traces of Purcell's pre-compositional planning one should extract a diagram, mapping the different entrances of the two subjects (Viol III, bars 1–2, labelled 'A'; Viol IV, bars 1–2, labelled 'B') and the pitches on which start (Illustration 5.6). As mentioned in Chapter 4, Fantazia 7 also features the hexachordal intersection, only that it is applied on both subjects as one: subject A appears only on five pitches (Db, Ab, Eb, Bb and F) while the remainder of the eight (C, G and D) are used for presenting subject B.

At first glance it seems that the only way in which the design of this Fantazia is palindromic is when considering the order of presentation of the subjects in Viol IV (B, A, A : A, A, B) and in Viol III (A : A : A). However, the palindromic design of Fantazia 7 is camouflaged by a feature of the work's surface design. Let us observe the opening four bars of the work. Purcell's opening imitation 'climbs' from Viols III and IV (bar 1), through Viol II (bar 2) and up to Viol I (bar 4) (Illustration 5.7). This clear directionality upwards is worth noting as it is unusual in the context of the Fantazias: Fantazias 5, 9 and 10 begin with a chordal texture; Fantazias 1, 4, 8 and 11 begin with alternating entrances which do not imply a clear direction (and certainly do not betray such direction when the score is examined visually); Fantazias 2, 3, 6 and 12 do begin with clear directionality but they all outline a descent from the top viol to the bottom viol. Therefore this 'orchestrational' tactic makes the outset of Fantazia 7 stand out in its overall effect, which resembles a similar climb in *Lord, how long wilt thou be angry?* Z.25. By comparison, in the *Fantazia upon one note* the emphasis is shifted from the upwards directionality to the stasis of the drone effect, drawing the players' or the listeners' attention to the middle register.

If we assume that the diagrammatical essence of Illustration 5.6, namely the representation of the musical subjects by letters even without any musical content whatsoever, played a role in Purcell's compositional process, than it is possible that some adjustments may have been made to this diagram once the musical content was accommodated to it. For example, if the letter A (Viol III, bar 1) was allocated originally to Viol II, and the letter B (Viol II, bar 2) was allocated originally to Viol I, it is more than probable that the resulting part for Viol I (roughly reconstructed in Illustration 5.8) was not to the composer's liking. However, if we assume the directionality of bars 1–4 results from the composer's attempt to adjust the palindrome in a way which both

creates a better-sounding part for Viol I and achieves an impressive ascending imitation which exploits the range of the four viols, then the diagram of the entrances is modified very slightly into a perfectly palindromic structure (Illustration 5.9; compare with Illustration 5.6).

The resulting diagram, the essence of which may resemble one of the composer's sketches, is palindromic in several different ways: in addition to the layout of the entrances in Viol IV, palindrome is also retained in the modified entrance layout of Viol III (A : A) and emerges in that of Viol II (A, A, B : B, A, A). Viol I is not only palindromic in the entrance layout (B, B : A : B, B) but also in the notes on which those entrances are presented (G, Db : D : Db, G). The only deviation from the strict palindromic structure is in the exact position of that part's centre point: arithmetically it should have been positioned on the bar-line between bars 13 and 14 but according to the two entrances in Viol IV, which seem to envelop the centre point from both sides, it is positioned one bar earlier (also Viol I is the only part with an odd number of entrances, hence its middle entrance should have coincided with the middle point, but it precedes it by three bars).⁵

It seems that such diagram, in essence, has very little to do with 'musical' consideration and that intellectually it is rather sophisticated. Musically it requires from the composer little more than having two invertible points of imitation when starting the compositional process. By contrast, processes of modification (of the kind that evidently was applied to that otherwise impeccable large-scale palindrome) imply that the 'orchestrational' design of entrances post-dated a preliminary layout of the work which apparently was dictated by palindromic considerations. This implies at least two types of processes in Purcell's compositional technique on which scholars would have to comment in addition to the composer's self-imposed challenges in contrapuntally combining different subjects into interlocks and complexes: first is the seemingly non-musical layout of 'ideas'—a layout whose rationale is graphic or at-least partly non-musical; second is a set of aesthetic considerations regarding the final layout in which the order of entrances may serve purposes other than forming a part of a palindrome: these may be the prescription of a pleasant interaction among the players of a consort, the visual beauty of a well-curved exposition as it is copied in score, or any other reason which is not understood by the modern scholar due to the limited evidence regarding

⁵ Very similar is the palindromic structure of the first section of Fantazia 12, where a shift of the first two entrances (Viol I, bar 1; Viol II, bar 2) to Viols III and IV respectively results in a valid palindrome which is absent from the accepted version of the piece.

the original contexts in which these works have been created. Both types of process are not subject to the known categories of validity or invalidity which characterizes the study of formal counterpoint. Hence, better understanding of these processes may add to the contrapuntal criteria highlighted by Alan Howard.

The reservation regarding subject A's entrance on Db in Viol I, as if it is 'too early' in relation to the centre point of the section (bar 12), may be now revisited, by considering the primacy of the outer voices. In a way comparable to the one observed in relation to Fantazia 11, the coherence of the hypothesised preliminary layout is overshadowed by the even greater coherence of the two-part layout that is extracted from it (and again those parts are Viol I and Viol IV), to the extent that it becomes possible to consider that the first stage of the composition was in fact a two-part skeleton rather than a four-part skeleton. This is supported mainly by two aspects in its layout. First, the design of the Hexachordal Intersection is fulfilled with just those two voices and in that sense the two inner voices can be a later addition on an already-made infrastructure. Second, when stripped of free contrapuntal material (that is, only entrances of the main material are considered) the section is symmetrically divided into three divisions of equal length which are also palindromic in their inner division: five bars of entrances rounded off by three bars rest (eight bars in total); eight bars of entrances; three bars rest followed by five bars of entrances (eight bars in total). This palindromic layout of bars (5, 3, 8, 3, 5) is followed by a two-bars cadence (Illustration 5.10).

The importance of the outer voices as an initial stage in Purcell's compositional process has been highlighted by Herissone.⁶ One of the most clear-cut examples can be seen in **30930**: the G major Suite Z.770 (the Jig of which, based on 'Hey Boys, Up Go We' was discussed in Chapter 3) which is written in two parts (treble and then bass) using four-part systems, leaving space for the later completion of the inner voices (Illustration 5.11). While the completion of inner parts in dance-like music such as the G major suite or in music for the theatre is supposed to be an act of an almost-automatic nature for a literate musician, the use of a technique which implies such great differentiation in the significance of arguably 'equally important' parts is far from being obvious. However, if two-part writing did play an important role in the composition of this old-style four-part polyphony, then Purcell's handling of the outer voices seems to have been important in two distinct stages of the compositional process (brought here in reverse chronological

⁶ Rebecca Herisonne, 'Purcell's revisions of his own works', in *Purcell Studies*, Curtis Price (ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 51–86 (56–7).

order): the more obvious later stage of composing out the two-part melody and bass (which may later be modified in detail), and the initial stage of planning the structure of the movement.

In light of that, Purcell's essays in other genres may also require reassessment: the intermediate movement of Sonata Z.810 shows an unusual type of differentiation between the two violins. Most of the interest in that short movement, in terms of chromatic intensity, is limited to the first violin and the bass (Illustration 5.12). Within the span of fourteen bars, the first violin presents all twelve chromatic semitones and the bass presents eleven of them, all that by using melodies of a somewhat unusual nature (bars 68-71); however, the second violin is purely diatonic. This difference in attitude to the two violin parts is intriguing. It is unlikely to hint at varying levels of virtuosity among intended violinists—the slow movement poses no real challenge to either, whose parts are equally demanding throughout the Sonata as a whole. It is therefore left to be asked whether the two violins' parts originate from the same stage of compositional process; or perhaps one should ask whether the second violin part is just a resultant part which fills in the harmony implied by the essentially two-part texture of the first violin and the bass. Even if no piece of evidence can provide a positive explanation, it is certain that Purcell did *not* make an effort to balance the chromaticism of the first violin. He could easily have devised an exchange between the two violins, in the same way that he did in the intermediate movement in Z.800 (see Illustration 4.21).

Revisiting the first section of Fantazia 3 may shed some more light on the nature, and even the order, of the Fantazias' preliminary stages of composition. The analysis of the work in Chapter 3 highlighted the palindromic design which governs the spacing of the alternating subjects and answers in the section (see Illustration 3.43). As in Fantazias 7 and 11, it seems that the outer parts (in this case Viol I and Viol III) had a more significant role in the preliminary layout of the piece than the middle part (Viol II). The latter's only entrance between bars 8 and 31 is an answer which is outside the palindromic design (bar 17). Another answer is allocated to Viol II (bar 32); but because it comes only after the 32-bars palindromic design has ended, it may be seen as a part of a *stretto* intensification that prepares the final cadence of a section (examples of similar intensifications can be seen in Fantazia 1, bars 14–16 and in Fantazia 6, bars 78–9). Therefore, the only entrance in the part of Viol II which contributes to the palindromic design is in bars 4–7, while the other six entrances of the palindrome (of seven in total) are presented by Viol I and Viol III alone. If here too a two-part diagram can explain a

preliminary stage in the composition of the section, clarification of the way in which Viol II was integrated into it may hold important information about the composer's priorities when modifying an initial design.

However, it seems that, unlike in Fantazia 7, more than a simple reassignment of a segment from one part to another is needed in order to explain the relation between the hypothesised two-part layout and the finished work. If we assume that an initial two-part draft was sketched as an early stage for the entire thirty-seven bars of the section, such a sketch would embody several problems. Let us try to crystallise the choices that Purcell had to make, by reducing the three-part texture to a two-part texture, which does not use standard notation. To avoid confusion, the hypothesised two-part plan will be 'scored' here for two abstract viols (Viol α and Viol β).

Bars 8–31, where all the entrances are assigned to Viol I and Viol III, can easily be reduced to a two-part diagram (the two parts transferred to Viol α and Viol β respectively), and if those bars originated in such a sketch, they may reflect its essence faithfully (Illustration 5.13a, marked with a broken-line rectangle). As mentioned above, the only exception in those bars is that Viol II is involved in a single additional answer: following the palindromic design (of prolonging and then shortening the space between entrances), after an answer in Viol I in bar 13, the next entrance must be a subject (rather than an answer), and should appear at a distance of six bars from the entrance which precedes it ($13 + 6 = 19$); such entrance indeed occurs in Viol III in due time (bar 19). The answer in bar 17 (Viol II) does not follow this palindromic rationale; although, on the surface, it is an equally significant entrance of the subject, it does not coincide with the incremental process of the palindrome. Once the palindromic segmentation has been observed in analysis, the section may be laid out in a way which highlights that segmentation and implies certain hierarchy between seemingly equivalent entrances. The answer in bar 17 is therefore marked in Illustration 3.43 but is not represented graphically as a beginning of a segment. Setting out from what has been established as a probable sketch for bars 8–31, we can try to examine the first seven bars in retrospect. With a subject allocated for Viol β in bar 8 and in attempt to reconstruct the beginning using two parts only, two options arise: assigning the entrance in bar 1 and the answer in bar 2 to Viol α and Viol β respectively (Illustration 5.13b) which would yield a strange sequence of an answer and a subject in Viol β ; the other option is that the entrance that precedes the first subject which eventually was given to Viol β in bar 8 (an answer in bar 4) would have been assigned to Viol α , and if so the first entrance of the subject (bar 1)

would have been originally intended for Viol β ; in such a case, an unavoidable dissonance at the first beat of bar 4 would have rendered this sketch impossible to realize (Illustration 5.13c). Also the constant division between Viol I (constantly given the answers) and Viol III (limited to subjects only), does seem slightly mechanistic and uncharacteristic of Purcell.

It follows that despite the importance of the two-part preliminary layout, Purcell was aware of the envisaged scoring and its implications when he was pre-planning his Fantazias. Therefore, it may be illuminating to set out from a given two-part plan for bars 8–31 and consider Purcell's possible priorities when incorporating a third, middle, viol in the first exposition of the subjects in bars 1–7 (from this point onwards the discussion will refer to Viols I, II and III). Provided that he wanted to avoid a sequence of a subject and an answer in the same part, four options for laying out the first subject (bar 1) and answer (bar 4) might have been considered by the composer: Viol II presents the subject and Viol I presents the answer (which would have resulted in Viol I presenting four answers within thirty-one bars and answers alone); Viol III presents the subject and Viol II presents the answer (which would have resulted in Viol III presenting four subjects within thirty-one bars and subjects alone, and also in postponing the entrance of Viol I to as late as bar 13); Viol III presents the subject and Viol I presents the answer (which is identical to the hypothetical sketch of Viols α and β which, as mentioned above, contains an intrinsic contrapuntal problem as well as fails to incorporate Viol II); Viol I presents the subject and Viol II presents the answer (the option eventually chosen by Purcell. It allows Viol I to present a subject and not only answers, and it incorporates Viol II in a well-directed descending exposition.)

The two *stretto* entrances in the section (bars 17–20; bars 32–5), albeit 'outside' the palindrome, can be explained in relation to Howard's thesis, arguing that Purcell tried to pursue all possible complexes of his subjects. While from the aspect of palindrome, the two *stretto* entrances seem redundant and were referred to mainly as supplying some interest to Viol II which is otherwise deprived of entrances, it is important that they present the subject interlocked with itself at the intervals of one semibreve and two semibreves. The palindromic processes reflected in the section organizing the presentation of the subject interlocked with itself at the non-*stretto* temporal intervals of three, four, five and six semibreves, and therefore presenting two additional interlocks of one and two semibreves, are essential in order to exhaust all the viable temporal interlocks.

If the two-part preliminary layout is a matter of conjecture, then trying to reconstruct the composer's considerations and priorities when fleshing out such a diagram into the finished piece is also a matter of conjecture. Nonetheless, if one accepts the basic concepts of an initial two-part design and of the modifications that were applied to it, it may be possible to penetrate surface modifications made by the composer, to trace other palindromic infrastructures, and eventually to have a close look at what may have formed a part of his decision making.

The second section of *Fantazia 2*, for example, is clearly based on a modified palindromic design. Looking at the subject entrances in the section (Illustration 5.14), one can make several observations: the layout of the inner part (Viol II) is palindromic (BAB:BAB); for most of the section (bars 33–48), Viol I and III are also palindromic; the middle points of the different parts are misaligned (Viol I in bar 41; Viol II in bar 39; Viol III in bar 40), although the outer parts seem to have stronger correspondence with one another; the two segments outside the palindromic design in Viol I and III are correlated in length and by some kind of inversion in terms of the subjects they present and the way in which those are presented (in bars 20–22 Viol III imitates Viol I in presenting subject A; in bars 49–52 Viol I imitates Viol III in presenting subject B).

The way in which Purcell broke the palindromic pattern in *Fantazia 2* is, ironically, symmetrical and beautiful in itself. The sixteen palindromic bars are enclosed within two corresponding groups of three and four bars respectively. Sometimes, Purcell aborts the palindrome only at the end. One such case is in the fourth and final section of *Fantazia 5*, which ends with a *codetta* based on subject A (Illustration 5.15). The above analyses attest to the composer's understanding both of the value and the limitations of the palindromic design: he constantly modifies the beginning or the ending of the palindrome either in order to shape the directionality of the imitation, in order to divide the entrances more or less equally among the parts, or to create a final cadence with more thrust or with an intensive *stretto*.

In other cases it is harder to establish the relationship between the palindromic design and the finished work, to understand the aesthetic benefits that Purcell achieved through the modification of the original layout, or to reconstruct the full original layout to the extent that it is possible to understand what contrapuntal limitations forced him to deviate from it. One such example is the first section of *Fantazia 6*. A diagram of the entrances the section is unusual in that the two voices which betray palindromic design

are not the outer parts (Viol I and Viol IV) but rather the two upper parts (Viol I and Viol II) (Illustration 5.16).

SONATA PALINDROMES AND LOCKE AS A MODEL

In the seven fantasia-sections mentioned above as being palindromic, it is evident that one contrapuntal strategy stands out — four sections explore the technique of double counterpoint through two distinct subjects. These are four of a total of eleven double-counterpoint sections in the Fantazias,⁷ and it is significant that palindromes appear both in the three-part and four-part Fantazias: although surface differences were observed between the ways in which Purcell incorporates inversion and augmentation in the two scorings, the two groups of works show much greater affinity in their palindromic design. The double-counterpoint sections in the Fantazias seem to retain a very close connection with the palindromic sketches which have been suggested. This connection with a hypothesised palindromic draft is of great importance when one comes to revisit the generic comparison between the Sonatas and the Fantazias (see Chapter 2), this time from the aspect of their pre-compositional design and compositional process.

Since the palindromic sections in the Fantazias feature mainly in double-counterpoint sections, one may begin the comparison with the equivalent movements in the Sonatas, where six such movements exist.⁸ However, only two of these show traces of palindromic design, and in both cases the finished piece has a more remote connection to palindrome. Not all of the first movement of Sonata Z.798 is strictly palindromic in design although, with some corners cut, one may infer other palindromic couplings in the movement (marked with broken lines, Illustration 5.17), which may have been revised more thoroughly after its pre-compositional plan was conceived. The Canzona of Sonata Z.806 is, like Fantazia 6, palindromic but not in all the parts—in this case only the bass. No adjustment in the violin parts seems to unearth a three-part palindrome, as was

⁷ Fantazia 2, second section (*Brisk*, bars 30–52); Fantazia 5, fourth section (bars 32–43); Fantazia 6, first section (bars 1–44); Fantazia 7, first section (bars 1–26) and second section (27–34); Fantazia 9, second section (bars 11–28) and fourth section (*Quick*, bars 34–44); Fantazia 10, second section (bars 15–26) and fourth section (*Quick*, bars 39–49); Fantazia 11, third section (*Brisk*, bars 32–50); Fantazia upon one note, fourth section (bars 31–49).

⁸ Z.793, second movement (Canzona); Z.797, fifth movement (Vivace); Z.798, first movement; Z.800, second movement (Canzona); Z.806, second movement (Canzona); Z.809, second movement (Canzona).

the case in Fantazia 7. Nonetheless, the palindrome in the bass part is impressively consistent (Illustration 5.18).

One may assume that when writing the Sonatas, which were intended for the wider public, the composer may have refrained from incorporating sophisticated palindromes that might hinder the commercial venture, and therefore two general remarks regarding those palindromic designs should be made. First, as implied by the last two analyses, it is possible that the palindromes in the Sonatas exist but are obscured by several layers of compositional reworking and revision. Therefore, the possibility of other palindromes which were not discussed here should not be ruled out before the analytical tools for unearthing them are fully developed, through a comparative study of other composers' work in the field of palindromic pre-composition. Second, it should be considered that the palindromic design was not necessarily meant to be observed, even by the connoisseurs. With the little we know of seventeenth-century compositional technique, and in light of the overview of *cantus*-related techniques in Chapter 3, it is possible that palindrome offered seventeenth-century composers no more than scaffolding that, when sketching an imitative section with no plainsong as its infrastructure, would roughly double the length of the musical form without repeating any segment verbatim. Because it is harder to trace audibly, the retrograde in music (be it in the surface level by 'repeating the Notes backward',⁹ or in a more structural level when applied to the order of entrances), may have looked all the more attractive to composers who could rely on the ease with which it stretches musical form without drawing the listeners' attention. Simple adjustments of the kind that were highlighted in relation to Fantazia 7 certainly 'spoil' the elegance of the original palindrome, and this may imply that preserving the latter was not of high priority for the composer.

Even without attempting to decide which of the versions of Z.808 and Z.809 is more authoritative (see Chapter 2), the sheer fact that they survived in two different stages of revision supports the possibility that the Sonatas, as a whole and in comparison with the Fantazias, enjoyed greater attention and labour by the composer and represent a compositional stage which is more remote from preliminary sketches. This may also support identifying the dates on the four-part Fantazias as their date of composition rather than their date of copying. The clarity with which the sketch is reflected through

⁹ Henry Purcell, 'The Art of Descant', 112.

the finished piece may, to some extent, be explained by the short time the composer dedicated to each work.¹⁰

In the Sonatas, at least one palindrome is apparent in a movement which does not focus on double counterpoint but, as in Fantazia 11, in the inversion of material. However, unlike the composer's typical use of inversion in his Fantazias, the combination of palindrome and the typical sonata-treatment of inversion raises a problem. We have seen in Chapter 2 that Purcell's use of inversion in the Sonatas and Fantazias differs in the stage in the movement or the section when inversion is likely to occur—while in fantazias it would appear right at the outset of the section, in sonatas it will be incorporated only towards the middle of the movement, and therefore perceived as a meaningful step forward in intensifying the movement and making it more sophisticated (see Table 2.5). Therefore, if the composer waits n bars before inversion is presented and if strict palindromic rules are applied to the structure of the movement, there will have to be also a segment of n bars after the last use of inversion, and before the movement is brought to an end. The overall effect of such design might create the impression of inconsistency or even inability to pursue the challenges of combining the prime form and inversion together.¹¹

In Sonata Z.805, the palindromic segment stretches over most of the movement (bars 6–26) and, as we have seen in Fantazia 2, the areas outside the palindromic segment are symmetrical, five bars each (Illustration 5.19, compare to the diagram of Fantazia 2, Illustration 5.14). The similarities between the palindromic designs of Z.805 and Fantazia 2 are also apparent in the way that the two non-palindromic segments relate to one another: while in Fantazia 2 the opening segment presented an imitation on subject A moving down from Viol I to Viol III and the closing segment presented an imitation on subject B moving up from Viol III to Viol I, in Sonata Z.805 the opening segment presents an imitation on the subject *per arsin* moving down from the violins to the bass and the closing segment presents an imitation on the subject *per thesin* moving up from the bass to the second violin. But despite the similarities, in the Fantazia both subjects (A and B) are presented from the first bar of the section, whereas in the Sonata, the subject *per*

¹⁰ The remarkable speed in which the Fantazias were written is always mentioned as evidence to their composer's skill. It should be asked whether, compared to the Sonatas, the speed in which the Fantazias were composed does not result in a lower standard of finesse.

¹¹ The present author believes that, to some extent, this is the effect caused by the use of only one augmented entrance in the first section of Fantazia 8.

thesin, as mentioned before, is presented only after a third of the movement—in bar 11. With the centre point in bar 17, strict observance of the palindromic design would have resulted in the last entrance *per thesin* appearing in bar 23; but here we can see that the non-palindromic ending segment serves a crucial part in maintaining the interest created by the *per thesin* subject. In Fantazia 2 one could only comment on the beauty of the symmetry even outside the boundaries of the palindrome, whereas here the same symmetry serves a structural, and rhetorical, purpose.

The inspiration Purcell drew from Locke's music for consort, and from the latter's *Consort of Four Parts* in particular, has often been observed by scholars.¹² However, unlike the case of the hexachordal intersection, where no evidence in Locke's repertoire may suggest that he was the model of Purcell's deliberate adoption of this compositional device, palindromic design does appear in the older composer's works. However, these cases must be dealt with only briefly as thorough research into the palindromic design in Restoration music is beyond the scope of this study.

The strict palindromic design of a single part—the bass—features in the second section of the Fantazia in Locke's Suite no. 5 (in the *Consort of Four Parts*) (Illustration 5.20). Although this example brings a new element to the discussion, being the first example of a palindromic *triple* fugue that we have seen, the feature which is in common to both Locke and to Purcell's Z.806—the palindromic bass part—is important because it raises the possibility that some composers preferred to pre-plan the bass part of a work (rather than any other part), above which it would have been easier to combine thematic material *post factum* rather than to risk an unconvincing bass part resulting from a chain of complexes in the upper parts and the contrapuntal constraints deriving from them. However, it seems that Locke was well aware of the potential ways to combine the three subjects in varying interlocks and that the palindromic order of entrances serves also as a platform for exploring different interlocks.

A plausible strategy may have been to draft several complexes, rather than to write out a provisional bass part, to impose previously-validated complexes on that bass and then to 'fill in' the gaps in the remaining inner parts harmonically. Examining the interlocks employed by Locke, one may suspect that they were tailor-made to the bass part: all of the interlock types in the section (with no exception) are presented at least once with the participation of the bass; two of those interlock types never appear without the bass.

¹² Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 77; Martin Adams, *Henry Purcell*, 8–13.

Another example from the *Consort of Four Parts* demonstrates a palindromic design which is far stricter yet in many respects similar to Purcell's examples. Bars 58–77 of the Fantazia in Suite no. 2 is a double fugue and it is palindromic in all four parts (Illustration 5.21). The middle point of this 20-bar section can be easily calculated as the bar line between bars 67 and 68. Bars 71–2 are of particular interest in terms of compositional process: the part of Viol I in those bars seems to derive from an entrance of subject B whose beginning was modified for one reason or the other (perhaps in order to enhance Viol IV's part by parallel thirds or answer Viol III's quaver movement in bar 71). This derivation is easily supported by the position of this entry—three bars after the middle point of the section—hence corresponding with another entry of the same subject, three bars before the centre point. However, as in some of Purcell's examples, the four palindromes of the different parts here are misaligned; the fact that there are four different centres (one to each palindrome) and that those of the outer voices are three bars apart from one another suggest that the composer did not necessarily plan a four-part palindrome that, when represented graphically, would result in a pleasing symmetrical figure, but rather thought of them as four distinct palindromes that need not reflect a common palindromic middle point.

This raises a methodological issue regarding the analysis of palindromic design. All the palindromic designs discussed hitherto were based on the principle that the section or the movement in question contained at least two kinds of imitative material which could derive either from a single subject and its manipulation (*per arsin* and *per thesin*) or from distinct imitative subjects (for example two subjects in Purcell's Fantazia 7 or three subjects in Locke's Suite no. 2). An interesting question may be how these two kinds of motivic material were perceived and abstracted by the composers. In the Purcell Society Edition one may see that various imitative subjects are abstracted and labelled by the editors as the letters A–C (see Illustration 3.21) or by various graphical signs; in examples where a single subject is manipulated, the subject is represented by a Root sign which also appears enlarged (when representing *per augmentationem*) reversed (when representing retrograde) and so on. If Locke and Purcell visualised their palindromic designs in a way comparable to the one used in this study, then we may infer that they used a similar way of creating either textual or graphical abstraction that would represent all the specific subjects or the instances of any specific manipulation. But then again, if one examines Purcell's own examples from Playford's *Introduction*, one may see that whereas manipulated subjects are being abstracted as a textual label

('Thesin', 'Per Augm' etc.), no such abstraction is attached to music examples which manipulate a single subject.

Locke's approach to the various sections of his Fantazias was different to Purcell's. The paucity of palindromic sections in Locke's consort repertoire highlights Purcell's view of the section as an autonomous unit that requires large-scale planning. Locke's sections pour from one into the other; and when devising, for example, the opening complex of the section from Suite no. 2 Locke designed it in a way it would overlap with the cadence of the previous section and transform it into a deceptive cadence. He thereby imposed an additional limitation on himself. Both composers seem to have used palindrome as a sort of scaffolding, but the breadth of Purcell's Fantazia sections required him to resort to that scaffolding much more often. This may have stemmed also from the different intellectual mindsets of the two composers: even if the use of palindrome in itself serves as a proof of intellectual capacity, Purcell's more thorough treatment of the device, as well as his ability to adapt it to other genres, may be seen as yet another manifestation of the composer's obsessive approach to artificial composition: his attempts to adapt *cantus* technique to his theatre music and court odes, to incorporate canons in those public genres or to form sizeable musical forms out of minimal motivic material.

IMPLICATIONS FOR CHRONOLOGY

In spite of the precedence of analysis over historical inquiry to this point in the chapter (and also over the previous chapter), almost every chapter thus far has referred—at least obliquely—to the textual problems that stem from the 1697 publication *Ten Sonatas in Four Parts*. The immediate problem faced by any modern ensemble which attempts a performance of those works is in establishing the Bassus and the Through Bass parts (the anonymous editor sometimes mixed them up). Also problematic is the figuring of the latter part, quite unsurprisingly considering the composer's copying technique (as reflected in **30930**). All these problems were carefully treated by Michael Tilmouth in his edition of the works,¹³ which exhausted all the solutions offered by studying the sources to these as to the other problems arising from that publication, mainly the problem of describing the different provenance of each Sonata. The purpose of this section is to suggest an alternative set of provenances for the Sonatas, in light of the conclusions from earlier chapters. Although a major part of this section will use the methodology of source studies, will base itself on Tilmouth's basic stemma of the 1697 Sonatas, and would not have been possible without Shay and Thompson's codicological study, the trigger for pursuing this direction of inquiry is analytical—the observations regarding the palindromic genesis of Z.805 and Z.806. The thesis I will try to suggest is that Purcell planned a second publication of sonatas, not long after the 1683 set was published, and took concrete measures in order to collect works specifically for that purpose.

Chapters 1 and 2 highlighted the difference between both the orderly tonal plan and the textual accuracy of the 1683 *Sonnata's of III Parts* and those of its posthumous sequel, whose tonal plan is more haphazard and text contains many errors. It was also established that the present study would be based on the hypotheses that the works of the 1697 publication are from several different times and that, in relation to the Sonatas which exist also in **30930**, the manuscript text is to be preferred.¹⁴ Treatment of these issues in literature during the past few decades underwent a process of professionalization along the lines described in that chapter. For example, Shay and

¹³ Michael Tilmouth (ed.), *Ten Sonatas of Four Parts*, NPS7 (Sevenoaks: Novello, 1981), ix–xxiii.

¹⁴ See pages 49–50 above.

Thompson's study of the autograph established 1684 as a *terminus ante quem* for the copying of the first three Sonatas into the manuscript (Z.802, Z.803 and Z.804),¹⁵ even if that date has no bearing on the date of their composition. The study of the autograph's paper, rastrology, hand writing and collation clarified how challenging and complicated the history of that manuscript is. When scholars today disagree about the chronology of the works, each Sonata is discussed separately.

In Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, the unusual beginning of the Adagio from Z.806 (not copied into **30930**) was identified as a device reminiscent of Purcell's Fantazia idiom of presenting a subject along with its inversion at the very beginning of a movement. The possibility that the first two Sonatas of the set formed part of a fourteen-sonata tonal scheme (published only in part in 1683) was outlined. Doubts were expressed as to the textual integrity of the printed version of Z.808, on the grounds of its uncharacteristic tonal plan. An unexplained connection between the two versions of the piece—after the same number of bars from its beginning—the appearance of the first inversion in the two independent versions of canzone—has also been noted.

Throughout the present chapter, and with the exception of Z.798, all the cases of symmetry and palindrome in the Sonatas have all been taken from the 1697 publication: the symmetry of Z.804 (originally discussed in Chapter 3) was mentioned as background to the division of a movement into two equal-length segments with similar properties (for example, the number of entrances), the palindromic Bass part of the canzona of Z.806 and the all-palindromic design of the first movement of Z.805 were described in greater detail. Since the palindromic design is much more common in the Fantazias than in the Sonatas, it may hint that the three works (Z.804–6 and especially Z.805) originate from the same time as the Fantazias, perhaps around 1680, and before the composition of the Sonatas which were later to become the twelve *Sonnata's of III Parts*.

For the purpose of the present discussion of the works represented in the 1697 publication I shall adopt a presupposition represented in the stemma devised by Tilmouth, who based his own ideas on a simpler stemma suggested by Emery (Illustration 5.22). An important feature in Tilmouth's stemma is the hypothesised manuscript X, which

¹⁵ Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 99; Peter Holman, *Henry Purcell*, (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 85.

must be considered not necessarily as a single manuscript but rather as a collection of Purcell's working papers which probably included not only drafts, revisions and finished original compositions but a good deal of music transcribed from the works of other composers too.¹⁶

Two points in relation to the way *X* is perceived in the present study must be stressed: the first is that *X* was the common fount of both the 1683 Sonatas and the 1697 Sonatas from which, when the composer set out to publish a collection, he chose the material for publication. Tilmouth stretches this idea further and mentions the possibility that some of the 1683 Sonatas were represented in an earlier state of **30930**,¹⁷ a thesis which I tend to reject for reasons that will be clarified below. A second point in which I deviate from Tilmouth's stemma is that while he situated *X* and **30930** (his source **A**) on the same horizontal line, hinting that they were on a par as far as the composer was concerned (and leaving room for a 'parent' manuscript), I believe that in relation to the Sonatas represented in **30930**, the autograph represents a later stage in their revision, and *X* contained working drafts or 'fowle originalls', which themselves were the 'parent' manuscript of **30930**.

After deciding on the specific Sonatas that were to be engraved by Thomas Cross, Z.802 and Z.803 (if they indeed formed part of a fourteen-sonata set) became the 'leftovers' of the composer's first ambitious publication (Although we do not know Cross' work-speed it may be assumed that this happened very early in 1683; and the present study allows some flexibility in that issue).¹⁸ It may be at this stage that Purcell copied them from *X* (where they were grouped until not long before that along with the twelve Sonatas that went to Thomas Cross) to a new gathering of manuscript paper that in short time will have become gathering K of his **30930** (See Illustration 5.23).¹⁹ The inscription 'Sonnata's' (in plural) at the head of Z.802 (folio 43v) may indicate that it was already at

¹⁶ Tilmouth (ed.), *Ten Sonatas of Four Parts*, NPS7, xii.

¹⁷ Tilmouth (ed.), *Ten Sonatas of Four Parts*, NPS7, ix.

¹⁸ The announcement of the volume's completion was issued on May 28th in the *London Gazette*: 'These are to give Notice to all Gentlemen that have subscribed to the Proposals Published by Mr Henry Purcel for the Printing his Sonata's of three Parts for two Violins and Base to the Harpsicord or Organ, That the said Books are now compleatly finished, and shall be delivered to them upon the 11th of June next[...]' Michael Tilmouth, 'Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719)', *R.M.A. Research Chronical* 1 (1961): ii-vii, 1–107 (5–6).

¹⁹ The letters given here as labels of the different gatherings are based on Shay and Thompson's full codicological study. Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 90–97.

this stage that Purcell, still unaware of the limited financial benefit he would see from his first set of Sonatas, envisaged the second publication.²⁰ Immediately after copying the 'leftovers' (in B minor and Eb major), Purcell went on according to a tonal plan and copied Z.804 (in A minor) and, as there is no way to rule out the possibility, maybe also Z.805 in D minor. Also this intervallic pattern of rising fourths (B, E, A, D) may suggest an envisaged publication (compared to the non-orderly sequence of the Fantazias) although it is hard to say, according to only four Sonatas, what was the plan that he aimed for: how many sonatas, where would the rising fourths stop and change direction (if he was to follow his own 1683 precedent), what modes would be used on each note and so on.

It is hard to establish if the planned second set of sonatas was the cause for that, but at this point Purcell sent several gatherings for binding. If that decision is related to the planned project, it is possible that the trigger was the fact that the copying exceeded a single gathering (K) and Purcell started a second one, in which cases, binding them together would have been a responsible deed. According to the order in which the first four Sonatas were copied (still into unbound gatherings), Z.809 (in G minor) was supposed to come next, and afterwards Z.808 (in C major). If we assume that the later 1697 publication represents the versions of these two Sonatas as derived from X (which, as I said, was earlier) it is probable that they were already composed by the time Purcell got his bound scorebook back, but perhaps he felt that they needed some revision. About twelve years later, the anonymous editor of the 1697 Sonatas might have understood from the evidence in X that Purcell planned to design a set according to rising fourths,²¹ hence the beginning of the later set's plan: B – E – A – D – G – (an extra work in G) – C. From the anonymous editor's point of view, this structure could be either preceded or succeeded by a work in F (Z.810) but this seven-note cycle left him with two 'redundant' Sonatas: one on G (either Z.806 in G minor or Z.809 in G minor) and one on D (either Z.805 in D minor or Z.811 in D major). Is it possible that the two Sonatas that were mentioned above as unusual in terms of their palindromic underpinning (which happen to be on D and on G) are those 'redundant' Sonatas?

²⁰ With the privilege of hindsight, one may say that in the long run, Purcell was playing a very smart move in terms of self-promotion.

²¹ Tilmouth (ed.), *Ten Sonatas of Four Parts*, NPS7, xi.

The thesis that Purcell *himself* planned a second publication can be supported by source evidence. Shay and Thompson responsibly avoid dating that fragmentary copying of Z.805 (on the recto side of 37*) but for the purpose of this study let us assume that that Sonata was copied, at the time of binding, onto the excised page 37* and the missing and hypothesised 37/i. If Purcell sent his papers for binding when having a clear concept of the next publication, and gathering K (already before it was bound) served as a neat copy of the Sonatas that he planned to publish in that second set, and the papers that were to be bound still did not have Sonatas Z.808–Z.811 copied onto them, then it is of prime importance to postulate what the newly-bound (and mostly empty) scorebook looked like (until it was rebound in 1895). According to the sequence of copying, the gatherings dedicated to the Sonatas were ordered (when the manuscript is inverted, see Illustration 5.23): gathering K (four sheets, or sixteen pages, almost completely filled in with the Sonatas Z.802–Z.804 and half of Z.805, two empty pages between Z.802 and Z.803), gathering J (four sheets: the end of Z.805 on two pages and fourteen empty pages),²² gathering G (two empty sheets) and gathering H (three empty sheets, now misplaced. The immediate possibility that it was put after gathering G is not exclusive.

The density of Purcell's copying is important, since it seems that he was aware of an average four pages that he needed to allocate to each Sonata: with sixteen-stave ruling, each page contained four systems and each Sonata was supposed to take sixteen systems. When starting to copy the Sonatas into the unbound gathering K, it took Purcell fifteen systems to copy Z.802. Then he left not only the remaining stave but also additional two blank pages before he started copying Z.803 which, again, took fifteen systems after which he left an additional blank system (page 40r, Illustration 5.24). Z.804 took Purcell sixteen systems but a copying mistake occurred on its second page (page 39r, Illustration 5.25) where, instead of leaving a blank stave for the figured bass part in the first system, he left two empty staves. This made Purcell 'waste' page 39r for three systems only and it pushed the end of the Sonata to its fifth page which was also the first page allocated to Sonata Z.805.²³ After receiving his bound scorebook back,

²² The possibility that the ending of Z.805 was copied into gathering J is raised by Shay and Thompson. Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 97.

²³ This copying mistake is interesting as it shows that even without a 'simplified' part for the figured bass in mind (as we see in the first and second movements of the Sonata, if Purcell had planned such part for a passage, he immediately copied it), it was important for him to leave a blank stave nonetheless. Also, it is only thanks to this copying mistake that we have any manuscript evidence as to Sonata Z.805.

Purcell started copying into gathering J with Z.810, on its third page (of the gathering's total of sixteen), still because of the two blank pages between Z.802 and Z.803. This Sonata took, again, sixteen systems in four pages.²⁴ Then we see that Purcell started to be slightly more economical in using his manuscript paper: Z.808 took only thirteen systems, and so Purcell did not want to waste three blank systems and started right away with copying Z.809 (page 34r, Illustration 5.26), which in turn took fourteen systems. Together, copying Z.808 and Z.809 took Purcell less space than expected (15 systems altogether which are seven pages instead of the average eight) so Purcell had no problem in leaving another system blank, and moved on to page 32r, started Z.805 for the second time and aborted again, then curiously left another two pages and started Sonata Z.811 which went on to gathering G. However, it took Purcell only twelve systems to copy it, hence gathering G remained otherwise empty, although, with its 1895 rebinding, it is hard to tell how many pages were in that gathering originally.

Considering Purcell's apparent copying density, we can see that he made at least some effort to regulate his copying according to a plan: although he occasionally leaves whole pages empty, his awareness of managing the space in his notebook is apparent in his attempt to compensate by increasing the density in the Sonatas he copied later on. According to the average of sixteen systems per sonata, the remaining eight Sonatas (needed to complete the four Sonatas already copied by the time of the manuscript's binding) would have required thirty-two pages. Eventually the eight Sonatas, with all the copying mistakes mentioned above (including four pages that were left blank or with negligible sketch and erasure—the two sides of page 41/i, 32r and 31v), took thirty-four pages (the seventeen leaves nos. 37–30, 29/vi–29/iv and 30/vi–30/v).²⁵

If Purcell planned a new publication of Sonatas, Tilmouth is probably right to assume that his immediate choice would have been another set of twelve.²⁶ This means that, with four Sonatas already copied into the manuscript before its binding (Z.805 was not yet torn out and therefore still was considered a part of the provisional set), he needed to bind enough empty pages to accommodate eight other Sonatas, that is, thirty-two

²⁴ A copying mistake comparable to that of page 39r happened again in page 37r. This time, he made the second system a three-stave system—too few staves rather than too many. Consequently, and unlike the former case, the Sonata did not take more room than it was supposed to.

²⁵ Pages 43–2, 41/i, 41–38, 37*, 37/i, 37–30 (each * 2 sides).

²⁶ Tilmouth (ed.), *Ten Sonatas of Four Parts*, NPS7, x.

pages (assuming that he would be able to handle copying mistakes of the kind that, as we have seen, he was not immune to, to say the least). Since gathering J was already in place immediately following gathering K (implied by the ending of Sonata Z.805 in it), with fourteen blank pages in it. Purcell had to have at least another eighteen blank pages, and since each sheet had four pages on it, Purcell had to bind at least another five sheets (that is, twenty pages). This is exactly the number of blank pages that were at that time in gatherings G and H together. Their order may have been switched during the book's second binding in 1895 (hence the twelve-page gap at the middle of Sonata Z.811) or perhaps they were even collated together originally as a five-sheet gathering (Shay and Thompson's reconstructed '*Original Gathering TV*' also contains five sheets, thus it may be possible there was also an original gathering '*GH*').

The number of empty pages bound alongside the four Sonatas on gatherings K and J may serve not only to support the thesis that Purcell planned a second set of sonatas, but also that it was indeed a twelve-sonata set, and that he had already calculated the number of blank pages needed for copying those sonatas already existing in *X* as well as those he was yet to revise or compose in fair copy. The evidence of Purcell's second thoughts regarding this publication start to surface with the act of excising Sonata Z.805.

At least some of the confusion as to Purcell's original plan stems from Sonata Z.805 and from its place in **30930**. Thanks to the five bars that survived on page 37*r, this Sonata is being considered an inseparable part of **30930**, but quite a different picture is suggested if one looks at it as a Sonata that was deliberately taken *out* of that manuscript. It seems that despite Purcell's meticulous planning of his bound scorebook, he regretted the copying of Z.805. As we have seen, that Sonata bears witness to Purcell's technique of devising sizable musical forms on palindromes, a trait he was using extensively during the summer of 1680. Three years later, it is possible that he was no longer happy either with the way he constructed the form of its first movement (or perhaps other movements too) or with the end result which may have seemed to him by then a little too old-fashioned.

The fact that the next Sonata that he copied, the 'Golden' Sonata Z.810 (F major, Z.810), breaks from the intervallic pattern he himself set in the four Sonatas previously copied is curious. Instead of following the intervallic pattern (B – E – A – D) and copying a sonata in G minor or major, Purcell copies a piece on F and only then does he copy Z.808 and Z.809 (that is, first a Sonata in C and then a Sonata in G), the works which may be revisions and improvements of their versions in *X*, which is believed to be the source

(probably indirect) of the 1697 print (see Illustration 5.23).²⁷ If they already existed in an earlier version in *X*, then it is possible that he copied Z.810 while he was working on revising the two other Sonatas, which apparently were revised more thoroughly than any other sonata. It is interesting that once again, Purcell starts a second intervallic pattern, this time of *rising* fifths, specially if the 1697 publication reflects the falling-fifths order in which the Sonatas appeared in the now-lost *X*. Purcell's new intervallic order is followed consistently: Z.810 in F major, Z.808 in C major and Z.809 in G minor. Naturally, the next sonata would have had to be on D. That is why the fact that Purcell starts, again, to copy Z.805 (in D minor), is rather striking. Again, he aborted the copying and this time copied another Sonata in D (major or minor), this time Z.811 in D major. According to Shay and Thompson, this did not happen immediately and some time passed before Z.811 was copied into the manuscript. It is hard to say how much time exactly, but if it was composed especially in order to substitute for an existing Sonata that was written some time before, it is no surprise that it is arguably the most modern in style.²⁸ Another option which may be considered is that the aborted copying of Sonata Z.805 on page 32r happened before its previous copy on pages 37* and 37/i were torn out, and because Purcell realized that he himself got confused according to his change of tonal plan and began copying a work already in the manuscript.

Purcell's copying the D major Sonata on page 31r, after skipping two whole pages (32r and 31v) is also interesting: if he had planned the space in his scorebook; if he knew that the average space needed for him to copy a Sonata is sixteen systems; that the Sonata he was about to copy, the eighth in his set, is markedly short (perhaps he even knew that it is going to take exactly twelve systems, or three pages); and that after copying that Sonata he would have sixteen empty pages left for copying the remaining four Sonatas; then his decision to leave two pages empty before copying Z.811 would have had serious implications on the copy plan. If Z.805 was not yet torn out, and was still perceived by him as a successful candidate for the next set publication (after all, as the 1683 Sonatas prove, a D minor sonata and a D major sonata can appear in the same set), then he would have needed at that stage exactly the sixteen pages that he had left and his giving up on an extra page is curious. If Sonata Z.805 was already excised and Z.811 which he was about to copy was regarded by Purcell as the seventh sonata of the set, then he

²⁷ Rebecca Herissone, 'Purcell's revisions of his own works' in *Purcell Studies*, Curtis Price (ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 51–86: (60).

²⁸ Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 85; Adams, *Henry Purcell*, 30, 59–60.

would have needed a place for another five sonatas (hence twenty blank pages!) to be copied.

Knowing that he will be left with no empty pages to spare after copying Z.811, Purcell's treatment of empty pages can be seen as rather wasteful, unless he gave up the idea of a twelve-sonata set and aimed at a smaller set (he had either seven or eight sonatas already copied). If at that stage Purcell envisaged an eight-sonata set, I believe that he would not have added two works on D, and then it is possible that he envisaged a falling-fifths structure, comparable to what the anonymous editor of the 1697 Sonatas eventually created, although probably starting and ending on G: the G minor sonata Z.809, C major Z.808, F major Z.810, B minor Z.802, Eb Major Z.803, A minor Z.804 and D major Z.811; this could be complemented by either Sonata Z.806 or the Chaconne Z.807 which would complete the intervallic cycle (both are in G minor) and create an even number of pieces.²⁹

Eventually, with or without connection to Purcell's personal feelings about giving up the idea to publish a second set, the sonatas originally intended for that set started to circulate in their **30930** version,³⁰ although it is more than probable that earlier versions were kept in *X* all the while, to be aired by the widow in due time. The one Sonata that was probably in *X* but never copied into **30930** is the G minor Z.806. On stylistic grounds (the palindromic design of its canzona), it is possible that it entered *X* even earlier than the 1683 Sonatas, arguably as early as 1680. Along with Z.805, this Sonata gives the 1697 publication a taste of conservatism, otherwise absent from the set: Z.805 is the only sonata in the set which begins with a gradual imitative entrance of the different parts; Z.806 includes the only fantasia-like movement which begins with a

²⁹ Another option which may be interesting to consider is an uncharacteristic seven-sonata set. If Purcell initially planned a twelve-sonata set and lowered his expectations, it may have resulted from the low demand for his 1683 Sonatas, by then probably accumulating dust in Playford and Carr's shops (See reference to the widow's attempts to sell the two sets of sonatas after the composer's death in Chapter 2). In such a case, Cross' format may have made a seven-sonata structure a lower-cost project. While the format of the publication eventually published in 1697 format was folio printed from movable type (which is a cheaper printing technique but a format which requires much more paper), it is possible that Purcell's envisaged second volume was, as the first, an engraved quarto, in which case, printing a single partbook, with seven sonatas in it (each one laid out on two pages), would have taken only two sheets, leaving two empty pages for prefatory material. An eighth sonata would have cost another sheet or a part of a sheet, which would have seriously complicated the venture, and swell its expenses.

³⁰ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 113.

subject and its inversion. The fact that Z.804 and Z.805 were immediately ready for copying into gathering K makes it probable that they were rejected candidates for the 1683 Sonatas, and so was Z.806. The fact that all their keys (A minor, D minor and G minor respectively) were represented in 1683 may suggest that their styles should be compared to the Sonatas Purcell eventually printed in his first set. Comparing the D minor Z.805 and its 1683 equivalent, the D minor Z.792, one can easily see that Z.792 is far more Italianate. The A minor Sonata Z.803, which was argued to be connected to the English organ voluntary literature, might as well have been pushed out by its rival, the A minor Z.794, with its obvious recapitulating close, reminiscent of Legrenzi's opus 2.³¹ If Z.806 existed before the 1683 publication, then it cannot be ruled out that Purcell preferred to take Z.790 (or even write it) in its stead; albeit conservative, it was evidently thought of more highly by the composer, who did not copy it into his scorebook and laboured on revising another G minor for his publication.

Reading the 1683 *Sonnata's of III Parts* as an explicit struggle between two aesthetics—an 'English' contrapuntal and consort-derived (represented by Z.790, Z.791, Z.795, Z.796, Z.798 and Z.799) and an 'Italian' approach (represented by Z.792, Z.793, Z.794, Z.797, Z.800 and Z.801) which was at least the 'official' approach of whoever wrote its introduction (either Purcell, Playford or Carr)—may serve at least as a fresh perspective on this masterly publication. It is possible that, as it stands, this publication reflects a compromise between a composer and his publisher. By the same token, Purcell's planned sequel, as described above, might have been the composer's reaction: it was planned to be far more Italianate—the only Sonata in this publication that was planned to begin with a gradual imitative entrance was eventually torn out from the working manuscript.

³¹ Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 88.

CONCLUSIONS—PARTICULAR AND GENERAL

The last point of the previous section is a matter of pure conjecture. Having no personal correspondence between Purcell, Playford and Carr, we can never know what they talked about face to face, either in Playford's shop at the Temple, Fleet St., in an incidental encounter in a public house or on the street, maybe in St. Ann's Lane, Westminster, where the composer lived at that time. On the other hand, it fits in nicely with the widely accepted view that Purcell's music is the result of a complicated matrix of opposing forces and tensions: differing national fashions, street and court, learned and popular, conservatism and innovation. In that sense, seeing the 1683 Sonatas as a snapshot of an active inner struggle between 'English' and 'Italian' aesthetics represented by the three historic figures who shaped that publication (rather than seeing it as a calculated and crystallized response to the stylistic variety that the composer would have stood behind) may be inspiring and provoke new thoughts on the issue. The attempt to understand this struggle in technical terms (palindromes, hexachordal intersections, symmetrical structures, contrapuntal devices) adds another layer in our ability to assess Purcell's cultural achievement, and in our understanding of the aforementioned tensions, especially between conservatism and innovation, and between learned and popular. This type of contextualization, which was crucial in the process of bringing this music back to concert life in the mid-twentieth century, has now completed a full circle and is crucial again—this time for reminding us that Purcell's early instrumental music can be taken in ways other than at face value, and may have meant more than just a superior aesthetic achievement, an achievement for which it is surely appreciated today and by an audience which is far greater than the composer could have ever imagined.

Despite the joint discussion of the Fantazias and the Sonatas, we have seen that Purcell's essays in the two genres are a continuous and meaningful process rather than a single stage in the composer's development. This process, probably stretching over a period of no more than eight years (*ca.* 1678–85, hence more or less corresponding to the period Adams called the 'years of experiment'),³² seems to have left its mark, albeit in a more

³² Adams, *Henry Purcell*, 22–41.

refined manner, on all the composer's output later on. In that sense, Harnoncourt's remark, that 'All of Purcell's later compositions must be understood in relation to these early works' (which was quoted and criticised at the outset of Chapter 1), may perhaps be an exaggeration, but certainly an insightful one. There is no question as to the need to implement some of the ideas presented here also in Purcell's music for the church—after all, that part of the composer's oeuvre is more substantial in quantity, and we have every reason to suspect that he invested no less originality and effort in his anthems than in his public sonatas, let alone the more domestic fantazias.

This chapter exposed a phenomenon which, to my knowledge, has not been discussed in Purcellian literature to this day. The palindromic designs of the Fantazias and the fewer palindromic designs in the 1697 Sonatas may, on the one hand, highlight the way in which the later set was composed but, on the other hand, also mark the end of a period in Purcell's creative life in which he used palindromes as a primary device in structuring an imitative section or movement. This may hint that Purcell wanted to abandon the use of that technique around 1684–5, and therefore define the use of palindrome as an important compositional technique used by Purcell in his early formative years.

However, outside the contextualisation of Purcell's Fantazias and Sonatas, the findings of this study have also more general implications. Chapter 3 followed a well-trodden path: many commentators, and especially Adams and Holman, emphasised the idea of continuity between early seventeenth-century consort composers and the consort music of the young Henry Purcell. However, the technical detail supplied here, especially with regards to symmetry and tonal design, has enhanced and fortified that view while, perhaps, highlighting the need for a comprehensive analytical study of the compositional processes behind earlier consort music, especially music composed during the period when the use of *cantus prius factus* was falling out of favour and other ways of structuring a polyphonic piece were sought.

The points discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 still require quite a lot of work to be done by people outside Purcell research—researchers of earlier seventeenth-century composers, perhaps researchers of continental consort music, and even researchers from other disciplines: art, literature, but also psychology, sociology and, of course, historians. However, the contribution of this study is rooted primarily in the fact that it is a part of a process that has been increasingly evident in recent years—the increasing interest in Purcell's compositional process, as a part of an increasing interest in seventeenth-century creativity.

With regards to methodology, or even meta-methodology, two principles can be said to have governed the chain of arguments in this study: the attempt to escape from accepted presuppositions, even just for the sake of refreshing one's insight regarding a historical issue; and the attempt to understand processes 'from within their continuity'. Avoiding the acceptance of certain presuppositions which prevailed in several studies of the recent decades has been crucial for this chapter and its treatment of the 1697 Sonatas: instead of emphasising the inclusion of Z.805 in **30930**, it was attempted to emphasise the eventual *exclusion* of it, despite the fact that the autograph is considered a concordance of the piece. This change of lens allowed the detachment of that single work's provenance from those of its companion Sonatas in **30930**. In the same vein, why accept the year 1697 as a descriptor of the *Ten Sonata's in Four Parts* without asking how it is possible that Purcell himself did not publish the works much earlier? When looking for evidence for such early attempts to design a second set of sonatas, even **30930** (one of the most studied documents in Purcellian research) proved to yield such evidence. With the idea of a practical plan to publish more sonatas, the fact that eventually Purcell did *not* publish the Sonatas requires explanation: perhaps the financial loss caused by the 1683 Sonatas was more significant than we assumed? Perhaps Purcell lost interest in that genre, to the extent that he gave up at very final stages before having a 'fowle originall' that could have been sent for publication? This intellectual exercise can be applied also to smaller detail and to analysis of works. For example, why, outside the accepted number of recorders in the orchestra pit, the *Two in One upon a Ground* from *Dioclesian* is 'just' two in one and not three? Purcell would not have missed an opportunity for a contrapuntal *tour de force*! If one tries to add a third part to that canon, it becomes clear that it stems from the dichotomies of the sixth and seventh notes of the minor scale (both can be flat and sharp); the same work with its mode changed to major would have required but little adjustment in order to have pleasing results as a 'three in one upon a ground'.

Understanding historical and musical processes 'from within their continuity' is also important: understanding the copying process of **30930**, and especially the reassessment of one specific point on its timeline (the binding of the manuscript after copying Sonata Z.805) with a thorough analysis of what Purcell knew at that time and how this could affect his actions, suggested a deliberate calculation of the exact number

of pages needed for a second set of twelve sonatas.³³ The same principle, applied on **20.h.9**, shows John Reading's priorities and patterns of copying. Asking questions as to the eclectic nature of that manuscript, one can learn a lot about the way in which Purcell and his works were perceived by his contemporaries. When applied to smaller detail, a harmonic deviation at the end of a contrapuntal section in a fantazia should be understood in relation to its place in the continuous musical form; if the hexachordal intersection played a role in pre-compositional stages of Purcell's works, then some of the boldest modulations may be explained, and even understood as inevitable, by looking back at the entrances prior to the deviation, and inferring which are the pitches that the subject has yet to be presented on.

Eventually, the convictions which led me to undertake this study in the first place were revalidated and enhanced. Purcell's potential as a model composer for students today, outside Britain and the Republic of Ireland, is largely missed. In the public eye, he is cherished by a minority in the fringe of today's concert life, and in the academic world, too few show interest in the study of his music, almost none of them outside the boundaries of historical musicology (for example, analysts). As explained in the introduction, this study began with the intention to write a textbook on harmony and counterpoint. That book was intended to allow an alternative to the hegemony of common-practice repertoire in the study of musical rudiments in undergraduate level, with a focus on the compositional style of one the seventeenth century's greatest musical minds. Even if eventually it took no more than a few weeks, towards the end of 2007, to understand that such venture is at present impossible, I hope that the growing interest in Purcell's compositional process, and in composers' compositional processes in general, would either yield such a book in times to come, or at least help in disseminating the idea that seventeenth-century music can serve as a basis for musical education today, and that it can serve as an alternative musical grounding which is no less inspiring, enriching or sophisticated than musical education which is based on later repertoires. It seems to me that if we want the study of musical rudiments in academies and universities to aim at acquiring a set of skills which is essentially pertinent to the

³³ The attempt to understand processes 'from within their continuity' has also proven to be an idiosyncrasy of the present author. In articles published outside this thesis, the cognitive process of listening to the G minor Chacony Z.730 has been analysed as a continuous revelation of the form in a linear way; the music of *Distress'd Innocence*, as it survives in the *Ayres for the Theatre*, was split to several states, in order to discuss the compositional intervention of the anonymous editor of that volume.

world of a composer, then the music of the seventeenth century, especially in light of the evidence presented here as to the compositional processes that governed that period in music history (for example, palindromes), fits that purpose no less than the music of periods whose musical lives are still believed to have been ruled by giants and geniuses. If even the great Purcell was just a man, who are we to try to be Bach or Beethoven?