

Editing Jenkins

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EDITING JENKINS

JOHN CUNNINGHAM

But for curiosity sake . . . , it would doubtless afford satisfaction to professors and lovers of the art, if they could acquire true information concerning their names, characters, and works: of the latter, much knowledge might be obtained, if the old collections, not yet rotten, of many patrons of Music were accessible. In these we might still find the productions of Alfonso Ferabosco [sic], Coperario, Lupo, Mico, Este, and divers others, especially of John Jenkins, whose musical works are more voluminous, and, in their time more esteemed than all the rest, though they now (1728) lie in utmost contempt.¹

Roger North's blunt reflection on the state of Jenkins's oeuvre remained largely true for almost another two-hundred and fifty years. Today the majority of the composer's vast output is available in modern editions, and a substantial portion has been recorded – some pieces several times. This happy reversal in fortunes is the result of many hands and heads, working across many years. However unfashionable today, it is inescapable that several positivistic activities are essential to the proper scholarly construction and understanding of any composer or genre. In his introduction to Part I of this festschrift, Peter Holman rightly highlighted Andrew Ashbee's role in the development of the *Thematic Index*, taking over from Gordon Dodd's pioneering work. In Jenkins's case *Thematic Index* lays bare not only the sheer scale of the task of making his music available in editions but also the ensuing complexities arising from the number of sources for many pieces. Jenkins's oeuvre is among the largest of composers working in seventeenth-century England. As Roger North (1653–1734) noted, 'It is not possible to give an account of his compositions, they were so numerous that he himself outlived the knowledge of them'.² Jenkins had the advantage of time, coming of age in the reign of James I and only succumbing to it towards the end of the reign of Charles II. Written a century after the death of the composer, in his *History of Music* Charles Burney began his account of Jenkins by describing his as 'a voluminous composer of *Fancies* for viols, which were in great esteem during this rude state of instrumental Music'.³ Indeed, the *Thematic Index* entry for Jenkins runs to 77 pages, within which his music is counted in well over a hundred contemporary sources, mostly manuscript parts. This testifies to the veracity of the reputation that Jenkins retained as an emblem of the consort tradition. While Burney had to resort to hyperbole – 'the infinite number of pieces that he composed for the viols' – we are in the enviable position today of being able to assess and contextualise Jenkins's vast output. This is most in evidence in Ashbee's two monographs, which are liberally illustrated with music examples.⁴ And there is a substantial range of recordings of much of this material. All of Jenkins's major instrumental works are now available in modern critical editions, accessible (for the most part) in score and parts; indeed, there are relatively few gaps. As with the *Thematic Index*, Ashbee has been a central figure in this project, as even a cursory glance at his bibliography at the end of this volume will reveal. For any composer, having readily available editions – in score and parts – are essential to understanding the impact of their music and to introducing it to new audiences through performance.

The story of how Jenkins's music has been curated through printed editions is a microcosm of a complicated cultural history yet to be written. Ashbee's role cannot be overstated but his contribution must be understood in the context of the Viola da Gamba Society (VdGS) and wider trends in early music scholarship. It has its origins in the early music revival of the late nineteenth century, but begins in earnest only in the wake of the Second World War. The story bears witness to the development of editorial practices, the tension between the commercial needs of publishers and the demand from players, the growth and decline of the publishing industry itself, and the radical shift in how such positivistic endeavours are viewed by the academy due to the rise of radical Neo-Marxism in education, and beyond.

In this brief article I attempt to give something of a history of Jenkins's instrumental music in modern editions. I have, inter alia, drawn upon the bibliographies available in Ashbee's monographs and *John Jenkins and his Time* but the greatest debt is to the *Thematic Index*.⁵ I have consulted as many of the editions discussed as possible (many from my own copies⁶) but some are out of print and it was not possible to track down copies for inspection ahead of publication. In those cases information has been drawn from other sources such as library

¹ Roger North, quoted in C. Burney, *A General History of Music*, 2 vols., ed. F Mercer (New York, 1957), ii. 322.

² Quoted in Burney, *A General History of Music*, ed. Mercer, ii. 322.

³ Burney, *A General History of Music*, ed. Mercer, ii. 323.

⁴ A. Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins. Volume One: The Fantasias for Viols* (London, 1992); idem., *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins. Volume Two: Suites, Aires and Vocal Music* (London, 2020).

⁵ Also, C. Coxon, 'A Handlist of the Sources of John Jenkins' Vocal and Instrumental', *Royal Musical Association*, 9 (1971), 73–89.

⁶ I am grateful to William Hunt of Fretwork Editions for providing me with access to a Jenkins volume, which I had mislaid.

or publishers' catalogues. This overview is not exhaustive, nor is it intended to be.⁷ The rediscovery of Jenkins's music is part of the wider cultural history of the early music revival. The foundation of the Viola da Gamba Society (VdGS) in the wake of the Second World War was a crucial moment in this. The following decades witnessed a burgeoning scholarly interest on both sides of the Atlantic in English consort music, and its neglected masters, as is evidenced by the range of doctoral dissertations produced on the repertoire, for example: Robert Warner on Jenkins's fantasias (1956); Ashbee on Jenkins's four-part music (1966); Carolyn Coxon on Jenkins's instrumental music (1969); Christopher D. S. Field and Jane Troy Johnson on the English fantasia-suite (1970 and 1971, respectively).⁸ The nature of these projects, exploring what was then neglected and largely unknown music and composers, meant that they were often heavily supplemented by editions. Important as they are to the wider discussion of Jenkins scholarship, I have, however, not discussed them here.⁹ I also have eschewed discussion of labels such as 'critical' or 'performing' editions but have drawn attention to related issues where appropriate, especially (as we shall see) in the early history where publishers were reluctant to print parts.

A survey of Jenkins editions must begin with Burney's *History of Music*. It is difficult to know exactly how much of Jenkins's music he knew, given that much of his account is based on North's memoirs. He commented that none of Jenkins's inestimably large repertoire of viol music was printed, noting that his first publication was a vocal collection titled *Theophila* (1652), a now lost setting of Edward Benlowes's poem. While there was no single collection of Jenkins's music printed, his pieces were included in most of Playford's collections, as well as others.¹⁰ The collection of 'twelve Sonatas for two violins and a base, with a thorough-base for the organ or theorbo' written in the Italian style that Burney claimed were first printed in 1660 and then reprinted in Holland in 1664 are most likely a ghost.

In volume 3 (1789), Burney included a transcription of a three-part version of 'The Five Bell Consorte'.¹¹ As compared to the complete setting for lyra consort (treble, lyra-viol, bass and harpsichord; VdGS 56) he included bars 23–52, 65–75 and 89–95,¹² and seems to have been working from a now lost source.¹³ It was prefaced with excerpts from North's *Memoires of Musick* noting that 'But of all his conceits, none flew about with his name so universally as the small piece called *his Bells*'.¹⁴ Burney attributed the inspiration for the piece to *Tintinnologia, or the Art of Ringing* (London, 1668). John Stafford Smith included the same piece in vol. 2 of his 1812 anthology *Musica Antiqua*, but in two parts, treble and bass; he also gave the piece in full omitting only bars 53–65.¹⁵ He prefaced it with the two-part VdGS 163, one of six two-part airs by Jenkins published in Thomas Low and John Banister's *New Airs and Dialogues* (1678): 'New Lessons for Viols or Violins ... Pub^d. by Cl. I. at London, A. Salutis 1678'.¹⁶ Stafford Smith transcribed three movements from 'Lady Kath. Audley's Bells', noting that 'This part is unpublished'. In his 'Remarks' on the pieces, he noted that Jenkins 'had heard,

⁷ It also focussed on editions, overlooking arrangements such as those for recorders issued by Peacock Press / Recorder Mail Music. <https://www.recordermail.co.uk/index.html>: lists seventeen arrangements of Jenkins's consort music, mostly in five or six parts. Other notable examples, include Ian Gammie's arrangement for Corda Music of 'The Siege of Newark' for guitars (CMP 657, c.2000).

⁸ R. Warner, 'The Fantasy in the Work of John Jenkins', Ph.D. dissertation (University of Michigan, 1956); A. Ashbee, 'The Four-Part Instrumental Compositions of John Jenkins', Ph.D. thesis (University of London, 1966); C. Coxon, 'John Jenkins: A Critical Study of his Instrumental Music', Ph.D. thesis, 2 vols. (University of Edinburgh, 1969); C. D. S. Field, 'The English Consort Suite in the Seventeenth Century', Ph.D. thesis (New College, Oxford, 1970); J. T. Johnson, 'The English Fantasia-Suite, ca. 1620–1660, Ph.D. dissertation (University of California, Berkeley, 1971).

⁹ In today's digital age some dissertations are more readily available online but this is not universally true and (for US dissertations) can require access to repositories such as Proquest, which lie behind a paywall. Before the cyber attack on the British Library in 2023, it was possible to access many UK doctoral theses (excluding institutions such as Oxford and Cambridge) via their EThOS repository; at the time of writing the service is unavailable.

¹⁰ The list is based on that given in Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins. Volume Two*, 233. All published in London unless stated otherwise. John Playford: *A Musickall Banquet* (1651); *Musick's Recreation on the Lyra Viol* (1652–5; 1661; 1669; 1682); *Court Ayres* (1655); *Select Ayres and Dialogues* (1659); *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (1662); *Musick's Delight on the Cithern* (1666); *The Musical Companion* (1667, 1672); *The Treasury of Musick* (1669). Other collections: William and Henry Lawes, *Choice Psalmes* (1648); John Hilton, *Catch that Catch Can* (1652, 1658, 1663); B. C. Wust, *Exercitium Musicum* (Frankfurt, 1660); John Banister and Thomas Low, *New Airs and Dialogues* (1678); Dorman Newman, *Synopsis of Vocal Musick* (1680).

¹¹ Burney, *A General History of Music*, ed. Mercer, ii. 324–5.

¹² See J. Jenkins, *The Lyra Viol Consorts*, ed. F. Traficante, *Recent Researches in Music of the Baroque Era 67–8* (Madison, WI, 1992), xiv. Bar numbers refer to Traficante's edition, barred in 6/4 (Burney's transcription is barred in 3/4).

¹³ This is not to say that the piece is originally for lyra consort. As Ashbee notes (*The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins. Volume Two*, 190), Jenkins seems to have added some lyra parts to pre-existing works for treble, bass and organ.

¹⁴ Burney, *A General History of Music*, ed. Mercer, ii. 323.

¹⁵ J. S. Smith, *Musica Antiqua*, 2 vols. (London, 1812), ii. 168–9.

¹⁶ As Ashbee notes (*The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins. Volume Two*, 229), "'Cl. J.'" (not "Jenkins") was not the publisher, however, but rather the man who penned a dedication "To the Worthily Honour'd Roger L'Estrange.". As for "Lady Katherine Audley's Bells", which Smith included in his publication, the title seems to come from Playford's *Courtly Masquing Ayres* of 1662.

probably from Lady Katherine Audley, of the carillons in the Netherlands'.¹⁷ He seems to have taken the title from Playford's *Courtly Masquing Ayres* of 1662 (no. 102), which may have been his source.

The vogue for adding performance marks had not yet begun, so both Burney and Stafford Smith's scores include only cadential trill indications. They were, of course, recording the music – transcribing it for prosperity rather than editing it for performance, as John Pyke Hullah (1812–84) would fifty years later. In a series of lectures delivered in 1865 at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, pedagogue and composer Hullah used Jenkins's three-part fantasia for two trebles and bass in G minor (VdGS 1) to represent English music of the seventeenth century as part of a series of lectures delivered in 1865 at the Royal Institution of Great Britain. They were first published as a monograph in later the same year, with a second edition appearing in 1876.¹⁸ His comments are revealing of the state of knowledge of the repertoire as the early music revival was beginning and the challenges faced by would-be editors, and as such are worth quoting in detail:¹⁹

I need not say that all the instrumental music of this period, Italian or English, with the partial exception of Corelli's is now utterly forgotten. It will excite no surprise that the writings of John Jenkins have not proved exempt from this common lot. Yet assuredly no composer's reputation could have appeared to be built on a wider or a firmer basis. ... The piece I have selected for performance, from a collection which I have here, in a contemporary handwriting, possibly that of the composer, is one of his Three-Part Fancies. It retains few traces of the old tonality of which I have so often spoken, and begins and ends in G minor. It is built on two subjects, not treated at very great length, but certainly with much skill. It contains a pleasing little episode in triple time beginning in the relative major key of Bb. But the most remarkable features of the piece are some chromatic effects which you will recognise at once, and which you will have some difficulty in believing to be two hundred years old. I cannot vouch for their genuineness, though they are unmistakeably indicated in my old copy. Little reliance is to be placed on the accidentals found in early manuscript music, often inserted, as they evidently are, by a later hand. In some cases no doubt such insertion is the verification of a tradition, but in others it is simply the record of individual fancy.

The fantasia is transcribed in full.²⁰ Hullah seems to have been working from British Library, Add. MS 31428, the autograph score likely made by Jenkins for Nicholas Le Strange in the 1640s.²¹ Giving us a sense of the performance that accompanied his lecture, he liberally added dynamics, tempi (and metronome marks), trills, modernised the tripla time, and provided cautionary accidentals. Hullah followed the text faithfully, even where it led to errors. For example, Jenkins omitted the final two quavers of bar 12 of the first treble part, creating some interesting harmonies; Hullah resolved it by adding in a crotchet rest two bars later.²²

As interest grew in English music of previous centuries the repertoire was being rediscovered, partly thanks to the gradual decline of the private collectors and the absorption of their libraires by public institutions such as the British Museum. Transcription and editions were certainly made but transmitted in handwritten copies. The first proper edition of Jenkins's music published for its own sake appears to be by André Louis Mangeot (1883–1970), who included the four-part fantasia in G minor (VdGS 3) as part of his 1936 Augener edition, *Three Fancies for String Quartet*, based on Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 2.²³ Born in Paris, violinist Mangeot moved to London after the First World War and became naturalised.²⁴ Often collaborating with Peter Warlock (1894–1930), he edited a number of works by then neglected English composers, including Purcell and Locke. Produced in score and parts, the edition is full of performance instructions, Mangeot noting that they are 'suggestions for the guidance of players and not intended to be taken dogmatically'. As with Hullah's markings the often heavy-handed instructions offer a glimpse into performance practices. Mangeot's contribution to the viol repertoire has, however, been overshadowed and largely (if not completely) forgotten. In the frank words of Andrew Ashbee: 'We English have to admit that to a large extent the rediscovery of English consort music was thanks to sterling efforts by two foreigners: Dolmetsch, who played and collected it, and Meyer, who surveyed and wrote about it.'²⁵

¹⁷ Smith, *Musica Antiqua*, i. 10.

¹⁸ J. P. Hullah, *The Third or Transition Period of Musical History* (London, 1865; 2/1876). The second edition is freely available online. Citations are here taken from the second edition.

¹⁹ Hullah, *The Third or Transition Period*, 192, 193.

²⁰ Hullah, *The Third or Transition Period*, 194–9.

²¹ Description in *IMCCM*, ii. 56–7.

²² Bar numbers refer to J. Jenkins, *Consort Music of Three Parts*, ed. A. Ashbee, *Musica Britannica* 70 (London, 1997), 95–6.

²³ The volume also included fantasias by John Coperario and John Ward.

²⁴ L. MacGregor, 'Mangeot, André (Louis)', *GMO*.

²⁵ A. Ashbee, 'Review: Ernst Meyer, *Early English Chamber Music: The History of a Great Tradition from the Middle Ages to Purcell*', *Music & Letters*, 64/1 (1983), 99–101, at 99.

In the early twentieth century, the viol consort repertoire was gradually gaining an audience through the pioneering work of Arnold Dolmetsch (1858–1940) and his circle who rediscovered the works of Jenkins, William Lawes and others in the 1880s. That story needs not be retold here.²⁶ Dolmetsch made many manuscript editions, made from neglected sources he was rediscovering and acquiring, used as the basis for performances. He envisaged the publication of outstanding examples from the consort repertoire, fulfilled partly after his death.²⁷ In 1944 *The Dolmetsch Collection of English Consorts* was published (in ‘Conductor’s scores’ and parts) by Schirmer in New York. In this innovative series the consorts were given in two versions: one ‘Scored from the Original Version for Viols by Arnold Dolmetsch’, with relatively little editorial intervention and another arranged for ‘Modern String Instruments by Percy Aldridge Grainger, With Bowing and Fingering by Ottokar Čadek’. The edition had a long gestation, discussed in full by Kathleen Nelson in a 2011 article.²⁸ Grainger (1882–1961) and Dolmetsch met in 1931 when the former attended the Haslemere Festival in July; a measure of the esteem in which Grainger held Dolmetsch can be read in an article two years later praising Dolmetsch.²⁹ Grainger was particularly impressed by the performance of Lawes’s six-part *Fantasy and Air* (VdGS I), of which Dolmetsch made him a score; Grainger directed a performance of the piece in Toronto the following year. Grainger also obtained a transcription of the five-part Jenkins fantasia (VdGS I) from the Welsh novelist Llewelyn Wyn Griffith (1890–1977), and included it in his lectures.³⁰ After meeting in July 1931, Grainger and Dolmetsch discussed various ways to collaborate including plans for editions of consorts playable on modern instruments. Upon arriving back in New York Grainger secured support for the project from Carl Engel, president of G. Schirmer; however, nothing further happened until 1937. Dolmetsch selected twenty-four works suitable for publication, all of which had been performed at the Haslemere Festivals. Negotiations were protracted, with Engel put off by Dolmetsch’s high royalty requests. The deal was eventually done but Dolmetsch was slow to provide the materials, causing Engel to request Grainger’s intervention. Nelson notes that it seems that the idea of two versions for the edition arose around this time. However, by 1939 only two of the consorts were in preparation. After Dolmetsch’s death Grainger took charge of the project. With assistance from Mabel Dolmetsch three consorts were prepared, along with a substantial introduction by Grainger: Ferrabosco II’s ‘Four-note Pavan’ for five viols; Lawes’s *Fantasy and Air* (VdGS I) for six viols; and Jenkins’s *Fantasia* (VdGS I) for five viols.³¹ The series, however, seems to have been intended to comprise eleven consorts – mostly fantasias and pavans – by Richard Deering, Martin Peerson, Thomas Tomkins, Michael East, John Coprario and Thomas Weekles. Grainger saw the intended market as ‘school children and high school groups’.³² To that end the modern versions included bowing and fingerings by the American violinist and pedagogue Ottokar Čadek (1897–1956). Grainger’s substantial introduction to the collection, inter alia, emphasised Dolmetsch’s role in bringing this repertoire to light, describing how the ‘Musical Confucius’ happened upon the consort repertoire: ‘Looking for something quite different he chanced upon a treasure-trove of them, one day in the British Museum, and – with that genius for appraisal that was always his – instantly sensed their transcending importance. This is the more amazing when we recall that no scores existed of these pieces – only parts.’ Grainger listed the source for all eleven pieces (presumably intended to complete the series), the date and place of its modern premiere, and recordings (by Dolmetsch). The two works by Jenkins illustrate the approach:

John Jenkins: *Fantasy No. 8 for 3 Viols* (Add. MS 31428, British Museum); illustration to lecture entitled “Viols and Violins”, by Dr Frederick Bridge, at Gresham College, London, Nov. 21, 1890. Gramophone: Dolmetsch Recording No. 9 (obtainable from Dolmetsch Foundation, Jesses, Haslemere, Surrey, England), played by Carl, Cecile and Natalie Dolmetsch.

John Jenkins: *Fantasy No. 1 for 5 Viols* (Add. MS 30487, British Museum); at concert by Arnold Dolmetsch, “Music for the Viols”, at 20 Fitzroy St., London, March 19, 1892.

Only the first of these was published in the series. It is not clear why the series stalled. Nelson speculates that it may have had something to do with the death of Carl Engel in 1944; towards the end of the decade Nathalie

²⁶ For Dolmetsch, see M. Campbell, *Dolmetsch: The Man and his Work* (London, 1975); B. Blood, ‘The Dolmetsch Story’: <https://web.archive.org/web/20190602211739/https://www.dolmetsch.com/Dolworks.htm>

²⁷ Dolmetsch’s original list of twenty-four works also included the following works by Jenkins: the five-part fantasias VdGS 8 and 19; a fantasia-suite for two trebles, two basses and organ (Group V). There are eight groups of Jenkins’s fantasia-suites, as identified in Field, ‘The English Consort Suite in the Seventeenth Century’.

²⁸ K. E. Nelson, ‘Percy Grainger and the “Musical Confucius”’, *Musical Australia*, 33/1 (2011), 15–27. Much of the information about the relationship between Grainger and Dolmetsch and the history of the edition in this section is based on Nelson’s article.

²⁹ P. Grainger, ‘Arnold Dolmetsch: Musical Confucius’, *The Musical Quarterly*, 19/2 (1933), 187–98.

³⁰ This had been published in the first issue of *The Consort* (1929).

³¹ Grainger’s arrangements are available individually from the Schott Music Group, as part of the Bardic Edition series.

³² Letter to Mabel Dolmetsch, quoted in Nelson, ‘Percy Grainger and the “Musical Confucius”’, 22.

Dolmetsch enquired about the consorts scheduled to be published by Schirmer, as the newly-formed VdGS was intending to publish its own editions. Grainger's reply is unknown.³³

Shortly after the Second World War ended Ernst Meyer published his *English Chamber Music: The History of A Great Art* (1946), the first monograph of its kind. Born to a Jewish family in Berlin in 1905 Meyer fled Germany for Britain in 1933 to escape Nazi persecution, where he began to research the viol consort repertoire. A devout Marxist, Meyer returned to East Berlin after the Second World War. A second edition was published in 1982 as *Early English Chamber Music: The History of a Great Tradition from the Middle Ages to Purcell*, though the text remained largely unrevised or updated. Meyer's book is outdated and highly imperfect, but its impact and significance cannot be overstated. He covered a wide range of repertoire and crucially offered a healthy number of music examples, including several complete pieces as an appendix. Among them were editions of two Jenkins fantasias: for two trebles and bass in F major (VdGS 18) and four viols and organ (VdGS 1).³⁴ Meyer also edited an anthology of viol music for the Hortus Musicus series: *Englische Fantasien aus dem 17. Jahrhundert für drei Streich- oder blasinstrumente*. The series, published in Kassel by Bärenreiter Verlag, was established in 1949 and includes over 280 titles. The repertoire is mostly continental and includes popular works alongside 'long-forgotten works'.³⁵ Volume 14 of the series – which appears to have been published in 1949 – comprises eight three-part fantasias, the last of which was the Jenkins three-part work in F major (VdGS 18); the other composers represented were William Byrd, Thomas Lupò, Orlando Gibbons (twice), George Jeffreys, John Hilton and Christopher Gibbons.³⁶

While the Dolmetsch / Schirmer series stalled elsewhere in New York Sydney Beck (1906–2001) was also editing English consort music. Beck was head of the Music Division of the Rare Book and Manuscripts Collections at the New York Public Library from 1931–68, and obtained funding from the Works Progress Administration to transcribe items from collection, which included viol music. The project was paused during the War but restarted afterwards, with works published by Edition Peters.³⁷ One of these was the collection of *Nine Fantasias in Four Parts by Byrd, Bull, Ferrabosco, Jenkins and Ives*, edited by Beck: Edition Peters No. 6176. According to WorldCat.org it was 'First issued in 1942 as no. 4 of the Black-line print series'; the copies I was able to consult were from 1947 or later. It was certainly issued in 1947 as no. 2 of the series English Instrumental Music of the 16th and 17th Centuries from Manuscripts in the New York Public Library. It included two fantasias by Jenkins edited (for string quartet) from Drexel MS 4180–5: VdGS 5 and 6 from the 17 four-part fantasias for viols and organ. As Charles Warren Fox rightly noted in a review: 'It would be a pleasure to be able to say that the fantasias by Byrd, Bull, etc., require no recommendation. They do, however [sic], since this music is still unknown to many string players and musicians in general. Writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did much to throw this admirable body of music into darkness, and it is only recently that its great intrinsic value has again been realized.'³⁸

The foundation of the Viola da Gamba Society in 1948 was a significant moment. It offered a formalized mechanism for the growing interest in the viol repertoire, and for disseminating music. With little difference to Jenkins's own time, viol repertoire continued to circulate among members largely in manuscript. Traditional large music publishers were understandably slow to invest. As John Catch noted in his brief history of the Viola da Gamba Society, published at the end of the last century, 'Younger readers can hardly imagine how little music was available fifty years ago; if you wanted a piece, you borrowed it and made a manuscript copy.'³⁹ In its early years the VdGS Society issued a Bulletin, with a free edition of a piece given annually and to new members.⁴⁰ The Supplementary Publication series of music editions would not come into existence for over a decade (see below). The foundation of the Society was symptomatic of the growing interest in early music more widely, something that was also developing on American college campuses; The Viola da Gamba Society

³³ Nelson, Nelson, 'Percy Grainger and the "Musical Confucius"', 24. Nathalie Dolmetsch invited Grainger to be a vice-president of the VdGS. Nelson (ibid., 24) further notes that 'outside the collaboration with Mabel Dolmetsch, but with her approval, Grainger pursued the arrangement of Dolmetsch's editions for a variety of instruments both for performance and for publication in the proposed Chosen Gem series'.

³⁴ Respectively, at 288–93 and 280–7 (first edition), 328–34 and 320–27 (revised edition).

³⁵ <https://www.baerenreiter.com/en/about-us/baerenreiter-encyclopedia/hortus-musicus/>

³⁶ Various publication dates are to be found. For example, Ashbee (*The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins. Volume One*, 337) gives it as 1932.

³⁷ F. C. Campbell, 'The Music Division of The New York Public Library', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 16/3 (1969), 112–19, at 118.

³⁸ C. W. Fox, 'Review: *Nine Fantasias in Four Parts* ... [etc.]', *Notes*, Second Series, 5/4 (1948), 522–3, at 523.

³⁹ J. Catch, *The Viola da Gamba Society: A Brief History 1948–1998* (n. p., [1999]), 5.

⁴⁰ Catch, *The Viola da Gamba Society*; this is supplemented by the discussion on editions held at the Society's seventy-fifth anniversary, available on YouTube: 'VDGS 75th Anniversary – Music Editions': <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sIzVd7FGqZo&list=PLIEitY24trL3YOCYZcLqQIqEwhjvOli3k&index=6>

of America was founded in 1962, in Maryland.⁴¹ A visible remnant of this interest was the establishment of the Wellesley Edition, published by Wellesley College, Massachusetts. The series was the brainchild of Jan La Rue (1918–2003), then chair of the Music dept at Wellesley. The series ran from 1950 to 1973, and comprised eleven titles, though volumes 4, 7 and 9 were not published. The first volume was Helen Joy Sleeper's edition of *Fancies and Ayres* by Jenkins, which was partly funded by Doris Adams Hunn (1899–1950) and Hiram Simonds Hunn (1899–1984). Doris was an accompanist and specialist in music theory, who studied music at Wellesley.⁴² Her husband, Hiram, graduated from Harvard in 1921 and recruiting prospective undergraduate students for over 50 years.⁴³

Sleeper (1892–1959) presented a short paper to the 1938 annual meeting of the AMS highlighting the range of Jenkins's music, prefacing a performance of three of his works. She also lamented that 'No complete census of the Jenkins manuscripts has yet been published'.⁴⁴ Her edition of the Jenkins suites has been described as the first viol music published in the US.⁴⁵ As we have seen, this was not true, but the edition was certainly significant. The anthology brought together: four of the seventeen five-part consorts (VdGS 1, 5, 8, 10); five of the twenty-one three-part consorts for two trebles and bass (VdGS 3, 4, 9, 10, 20); five of the fifty-two four-part consorts (VdGS 3, 24, 32, 49, 52); three of the fifteen Group VII fantasia-airs from 1674, for two trebles, bass and organ (VdGS 4, 10, 14), with continuo realizations by Hubert Lamb;⁴⁶ and two of the seventeen Group I fantasia-suites, for violin, bass and organ (VdGS 12, 17). Sleeper's edition was published in score only, meaning that performers would need to produce their own manuscript parts. Sleeper's edition included editorial interventions but (in the words of one reviewer) 'left the notes to speak for themselves, not wishing to impose her impression of the correct bowing, phrasing, dynamics, tempi, etc. on a publication intended to serve scholarly as well as practical terms' (Hartmann, 253).⁴⁷ As Sleeper explains, 'The aim of this edition is to provide an accurate text which will serve the purposes of the musical scholar, and at the same time be presented in a form intelligible to the general reader who may not wish to cope with some of the seventeenth century notational signs.'⁴⁸

The edition is high quality in terms of the music, critical apparatus and approach, with an insightful section on the music. It also includes facsimiles from Add. MS 31423. Sleeper consulted thirteen manuscripts for the edition, all described in good detail. The five British Museum (now British Library) sources were seen in person when she was living in London 1930–31. The remaining sources (Bodleian and Christ Church, Oxford; Royal College of Music; Gresham College) were consulted from microfilm copies as was often the case for US editions in the twentieth century. For our purposes, the short preface is particularly valuable for surveying the state of Jenkins research, and editing the repertoire:

It was difficult to choose between publishing in its entirety one set of like works ... and selecting a group of pieces from various categories. Modern scholarship on the whole favors the former procedure. For a composer such as Jenkins, however, whose works traverse nearly all of the instrumental forms and styles cultivated in England during his time, it seemed better, in a first collection, to show something of the remarkable range of his activity by a choice of typical examples of more than one kind.⁴⁹

The 1950s saw several single piece publications of Jenkins's music. Women were again at the forefront. The VdGS began to produce editions in dye-line-copied manuscript. As Catch notes, the Society produced the first three in the series before the 'next ten or so' were issued (from c.1951) in association with Schott and Co.⁵⁰ The sixth (1953) and seventh (1955) instalments – issued by Schott – were of works by Jenkins, edited by

⁴¹ See, P. E. Olson, 'A History of the Viola da Gamba Society of America' [parts I–II], *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, 30 (1993), 5–41 and [part III] 31 (1994), 25–43.

⁴² Sleeper also acknowledged research grants from Wellesley College enabling her to conduct the research.

⁴³ The Miller-Hunn Award (formerly the Hiram Hunn Award) is given annually to recognise alumni for their volunteer efforts to recruit and interview prospective undergraduates': <https://www.harvardmagazine.com/2023/08/jhj-haa-awards-so23>

⁴⁴ H. J. Sleeper, 'John Jenkins and the English Fantasia-Suite for String Ensemble', *Bulletin of the American Musicological Society*, 4 (1940), 34–6, at 34.

⁴⁵ See, J. Jenkins, *Seven Fancy-Ayre Division Suites for Two Trebles, Bass and Organ*, ed. R. A. Warner, rev. A. Ashbee, Fretwork Editions 8 (London, 1993), ii.

⁴⁶ A student of Nadia Boulanger, Hubert Weldon Lamb (1909–87) was Professor of Music at Wellesley from 1935 until his retirement in 1974; he was Hamilton C. Macdougall Professor of Music from 1950. An obituary was published in *The New York Times* (11 August 1987).

⁴⁷ A. Hartmann Jr, 'Review: John Jenkins, *Fancies and Ayres*, ed. Helen Joy Sleeper', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 4/3 (1951), 252–5. This was similarly noted by S. D. Tuttle in his review: *The Musical Quarterly*, 38/2 (1952), 322–5.

⁴⁸ J. Jenkins, *Fancies and Aires*, ed. H. J. Sleeper, Wellesley Edition I (Wellesley, Mass., 1950), xv.

⁴⁹ Jenkins, *Fancies and Aires*, ed. Sleeper, x.

⁵⁰ Catch, *The Viola da Gamba Society*, 5.

Nathalie Dolmetsch (1905–89) and her late father.⁵¹ Nathalie was one of the founders of the VdGS and (succeeding her mother, Mabel⁵²) its President from 1963 until her death in 1989. She was a pioneering editor, and was responsible for the first of the VdGS's Publications which came out in 1948.⁵³ The two-year gap between the editions spoke to the reality of commercial publication: 'The Society wanted more publications, and ... Dr. Walter Bergmann of Schotts ... had to point out that unless enough people bought them publications could not be expected.'⁵⁴ Plus ça change.

Cecily Arnold (1896–1974) published three editions towards the end of the decade. Arnold was a soprano, instrumentalist and pedagogue. In 1932 she married the gambist Eric Marshall Johnson, with whom she founded the Old Music with Old Instruments Consort. Arnold published several editions associated with the ensemble. As John Catch recalled, 'She and her husband performed, edited and taught extensively in Britain and in America. During the dark days of the 1940s they kept a thread of music-making going which the present writer, for one, remembers with gratitude and pleasure; and Cecily lived long enough to see much taken for granted which she herself had had to fight for.'⁵⁵ A member of the VdGS, she also suggested in 1957 that members should collaborate in developing what became the *Thematic Index*.⁵⁶ In a brief letter to the editor of *The Musical Times* Arnold and Johnson announced that they 'are transcribing and editing a series of sixteenth- and seventeenth- century string works' to be published by Stainer and Bell as The Consort Player, with each edition including source descriptions and biographical notes. They also noted that 'In fixing the price at is. 6d. for score and parts the publishers make them available for all pockets.'⁵⁷ The letter was in response to one Charles Wilson, who penned a lengthy letter to the same editor in which he lamented that despite the availability of various histories of English music, such as Meyer's, there was a dearth of available editions of the repertoire. It is worth quoting in some detail, if nothing else to confirm how little things have moved on in some ways:

As soon as a student begins to look around for copies of the music discussed he comes to realize that with the exception of one or two oases he is in the midst of a desert. ... Judging by the number and quality of the articles in our learned periodicals there are a sufficient number of scholars to take up the work of editing this music. If the publishing of it is not a sound commercial proposition are there no ways of getting financial backing? The government makes grants to museums and art galleries; it even makes grants to musical performers. ... I believe the art galleries publish reproductions of some of their more popular paintings; could not the museums publish copies of some of their music manuscripts and early printed editions? The Stationery Office are publishing "Documents on British Foreign Policy 1919–1939"; could they not be persuaded to publish documents of musical value, or are we only supposed to be interested in wars and rumours of war? The British Council do missionary work for English music abroad; do they supply photostat copies of earlier music, or are foreign musicians not encouraged to investigate our musical past. (There are certainly a few skeletons in that cupboard.) The Royal College of Music Library must have many valuable works that would be of interest to students; could not some of these be published by the Associated Board by means of special government grants? ... Editions should be not only cheap but reliable. Quite a number of editions of early keyboard music that have been published are valueless because the ornaments, which are an integral part of the melodic line, are omitted. Editorial additions are often necessary, particularly in works having a figured bass; but all additions should be printed in such a way that the student can distinguish them from the composer's original work. ... Many noble works of art have been destroyed in this enlightened age; surely we could make some amends to posterity by publishing some of the more significant music from our past, and by so doing help our contemporaries.⁵⁸

In 1955 Arnold and Johnson presented a paper at the Royal Musical Association annual meeting on the English fantasia-suite, as part of which Jenkins's 'Fantasy no. 5 of three parts to the organ' was performed.⁵⁹ Four publications of Jenkins's music followed, edited by Arnold, who also produced editions of works by Lawes and

⁵¹ *Suite for Treble and Bass Viols* (Anon. – *Attrib. Jenkins*), ed. A. and N. Dolmetsch, VdGS Publications 6 (London, 1953); J. Jenkins, *The Lady Katherine Audley's Bells and an Ayre for Treble and Bass Viols*, arr. A. and N. Dolmetsch, VdGS Publications 7 (London, 1955).

⁵² For Mabel Dolmetsch, see M. Pallis, 'Mabel Dolmetsch, Born 6 August 1874', *Chelys* 5 (1973–4), 51–61.

⁵³ M. Locke, *Suite for Treble and Bass Viols ... 'ffor several ffrriends'*, ed. N. Dolmetsch, VdGS Publication 1 (London, 1948).

⁵⁴ Catch, *The Viola da Gamba Society*, 5. Bergmann (1902–88) was born in Hamburg and became a lawyer; he fled Germany in 1938 after defending several Jewish clients. He joined Schotts at the end of World War Two: <https://www.schott-music.com/en/person/index/index/urlkey/walter-bergmann>

⁵⁵ J. Catch, 'Obituary: Cecily Arnold', *Chelys* 5 (1973–4), 76.

⁵⁶ Catch, *The Viola da Gamba Society*, 6.

⁵⁷ C. Arnold and E. M. Johnson, 'Editions of Old English Music', *The Musical Times*, 90/1278 (1949), 288.

⁵⁸ C. Wilson, 'Editions of Old English Music', *The Musical Times*, 90/1277 (1949), 246–7.

⁵⁹ C. Arnold and E. M. Johnson, 'The English Fantasy Suite', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 82 (1955–56), 1–14.

others. Two of her Jenkins editions were issued (in score) by Stainer and Bell in 1957: the Group I fantasia-suite in G major, for violin, bass viol and organ (VdGS 4) and the Group II suite in C major, for two trebles, bass viol and organ (VdGS 5).⁶⁰ A further two were issued by the Hinrichsen Edition (in score and parts) in 1958, with 'a realisation of the figured bass in the manner of Jenkins's own writing by Cecily Arnold and Marshall Johnson': the two-part 'Sonata' in D minor and Aria in A major, for violin, bass viol and organ (no VdGS nos.) from Durham Cathedral MS D.5.⁶¹ They were published as part of Hinrichsen's Consort Series (general editor Watson Forbes), which offered 'Original music for consorts by Bull, Byrd, Ferrabosco, Geminiani, Ives, Jenkins, Locke, Purcell, Tomkins and others, with historical notes. Most of the scores are unedited; the parts have expression and bowing marks to facilitate performance.'⁶² The same sonata in D minor was also edited with a realized continuo part by Peter Evans (1929–2018), and published by Schott also in 1958 (in score and parts).⁶³ 1957 also saw the publication (in score and parts) of another single volume of Jenkins's music as volume 149 of Bärenreiter's Hortus Musicus series, edited by Nathalie Dolmetsch.⁶⁴ It comprises seven of the twenty-one fantasias for two trebles and bass (VdGS 3, 5, 8, 11, 13, 16, 19). Nathalie's eldest sister and pardessus de viole expert, Cécile Dolmetsch (later Dolmetsch Ward) (1904–97), edited (with ornaments and dynamics) two of the four-part airs from London, British Library Add. MS 18940–4 as no. 11 of the Society's Publication series (issued by Schott) in 1959.⁶⁵

In addition to the main Publication series issued by Schott and Co., the VdGS Supplementary Publication series of music editions was proposed in 1960 and its first instalment (c.1962) was Jenkins's four-part Pavan in D minor (VdGS 47), edited by Harry Danks.⁶⁶ The piece survives only in Bodleian Library MS Mus. Sch. C.98–9. The elegant handwritten edition (omitting the organ part) bears the note 'Expression marks have been added by the editor ... and are intended only as a suggestion.'⁶⁷ Danks (1912–2001) was principal viola of the BBC Symphony Orchestra 1946–78; in 1948 he founded and directed the London Consort of Viols, who were active into the mid-1960s.⁶⁸ Such editions were an important and necessary means of disseminating the repertoire, though it was not without problems. For example, as Catch notes of the Jenkins Tercentenary year:

The minute book suggests that 1978 was an anxious year, with seven committee meetings. The SPs were running into trouble, from a combination of technical problems in production and increasing demand, particularly for back numbers. ... There was some suggestion at this time of returning to archaic, contemporary conventions of notation in SPs, but 'the market' it seems prefers good modern printing and current conventions.⁶⁹

Such comments reveal a snapshot of how editorial conventions were developing and a growing disdain (at least in some quarters) for modernisations that were commonplace in commercial publications. The series is still ongoing today, now as VdGS Music Editions with almost 250 titles, of which there are almost thirty editions of Jenkins's music – within which W. H. Davies deserves mention, for editing eleven issues between 1966 and 1979.⁷⁰ As the society's website notes, the purpose of the series was

⁶⁰ J. Jenkins, *Fantasy Suite No. 4 in G*, ed. C. Arnold (London, 1957); J. Jenkins, *Fantasy Suite No. 5 in C*, ed. C. Arnold (London, 1957).

⁶¹ J. Jenkins, *Sonata a 2 in D minor and Aria a 2 in A major*, ed. C. Arnold, Hinrichsen Consort Series 559a/b (London, 1958).

⁶² Taken from the cover of the Jenkins edition.

⁶³ *Fantasia in D minor. For Violin, Viola da Gamba (or Viola or Violoncello) and Continuo (Violoncello or Viola da Gamba ad lib.)*, ed. P. Evans (London, 1958). Evans, who is perhaps best remembered for his work on Britten, studied music at Durham before returning as a lecturer in 1953 before moving to Southampton in 1961. His MA dissertation (1953) was on seventeenth-century manuscripts at Durham. His scholarly materials are housed at the Durham University Archives.

⁶⁴ J. Jenkins, *Sieben Fantasien für drei Stimmen / Seven Fancies in Three Parts*, ed. N. Dolmetsch, Hortus Musicus 149 (Kassel, 1957).

⁶⁵ J. Jenkins, *Two Ayres. For Four Viols (or String Quartet), etc.*, ed. C. Dolmetsch, VdGS Publications 11 (London, 1959).

⁶⁶ See, Catch, *The Viola da Gamba Society*, 5 (also includes a facsimile as the cover). J. Jenkins, *Pavan à 4. No. 1. Bodlian [sic] M.S. Music School C.98–9*, ed. H. Danks, VdGS Supplementary Publication 1 (London, c.1962).

⁶⁷ A facsimile of the first page is given as the front cover of Catch, *The Viola da Gamba Society*.

⁶⁸ See I. Gammie, 'The London Consort of Viols', *The Viol* 28 (2012); P. Thwaites, 'The London Consort of Viols, a Semi-Official BBC team': <https://www.semibrevery.com/2016/06/the-london-consort-of-viols-a-semi-official-bbc-team/>

⁶⁹ Catch, *The Viola da Gamba Society*, 13.

⁷⁰ ME 1, ed. H. Danks (c.1962); ME 25, ed. G. Dodd (1966); ME 26, ed. W. H. Davies (1966); ME 27, ed. W. H. Davies (1966); ME 28, ed. W. H. Davies (1966); ME 43, ed. W. H. Davies (1967); ME 79, ed. W. H. Davies (1971); ME 82, ed. G. Dodd (1972); ME 104, ed. W. H. Davies (1974); ME 108, ed. W. H. Davies (1975); ME 116, ed. W. H. Davies (1976); ME 117, ed. W. H. Davies (1976); ME 118, ed. W. H. Davies (1976); ME 132, ed. W. H. Davies (1979); ME 144, ed. G. Dodd (1982); ME 155, ed. A. Ashbee (c.1987); ME 167, ed. A. Ashbee (c.1993); ME 190; ME 193, ed. V. Brookes (c.2004); ME 200, ed. V. Brookes (c.2004); ME 222, ed. A. Ashbee (c.2008); ME 223, ed. A. Ashbee (c.2008); ME 228, ed. A. Ashbee (c.2009); ME 229, ed. A. Ashbee (c.2009); ME 231, ed. J. Barron (c.2010); ME 239, arr. S. Pelger (c.2015); ME 240, ed. A. Ashbee (c.2015). This information is based largely on the VdGS's published catalogue, which does not provide the name of the editor nor the publication dates; where possible these details have primarily been supplied from the online catalogues of the Bodleian Library and the British Library. The series was known as VdGS Supplementary Publications until the late 1990s (at least through ME 172 (c.1996), and became VdGS Music Editions around the turn of the millennium. They are generally all described by the later title now, and thus the ME abbreviation has been used throughout.

to make British viol music available in good value playable editions. They were carefully edited by enthusiasts from original sources and written out in clear manuscript. ... In the last few decades many works by major viol composers have been re-published in collected editions. The VdGS publications save players from having to buy a whole collection in order to find out whether they like that composer. They can buy one or two titles from a collection which are generally fairly cheap and often include an organ part. Unattributed compositions and those composers with few surviving pieces are less popular with publishers and are often only available as VdGS Music Editions.⁷¹

The situation is much improved today but into the 1960s major publishers remained slow to invest in the viol repertoire. The next major collection of Jenkins's music to be published came in 1966, as volume 10 of the Wellesley Edition (score): the seven fancy-ayre division suites for two trebles, bass and organ (Group VI), edited by Robert Warner (1912–86). It was another significant moment. In her review, Jane Troy Johnson (another Wellesley alum), highlighted that this was the first publication of 'a complete set of pieces' from the English consort repertoire.⁷² Johnson's review highlighted a range of issues with the edition, not least 'the unfortunate number of typographical errors, which even the errata sheet does not completely rectify'. The volume would eventually be revised by Andrew Ashbee in the early 1990s and republished (with parts) as Fretwork Editions 8.⁷³

By the mid-1960s there was a growing academic interest in Jenkins. The first article in the VdGS's journal, *Chelys* (1969) was fittingly by Ashbee on the Jenkins fantasia-suites. Ashbee completed his doctoral work on Jenkins's four-part consorts in the same year as Warner's edition was published.⁷⁴ It led to his 1969 edition of the Jenkins four-part consort music for *Musica Britannica*, which was the first (reasonably) comprehensive volume of consort music in the series by a single composer (vol. 26).⁷⁵ The anthology of *Jacobean Consort Music* edited by William Coates and Thurston Dart was the trust's first foray into consort music (vol. 9; 1955, revised 1962); it was followed by Murray Lefkowitz's anthology of William Lawes's consort music (vol. 21; 1963, revised 1971). Ashbee's edition of the four-part music comprises fifty-one pieces but was still a selective representation of Jenkins's music in this scoring: five of the seventeen fantasias (VdGS 7, 9, 12, 15–16); the eight Group V fantasia-suites (VdGS 1–8); the thirty-two aires for two trebles, two basses and organ (VdGS 1–32); and twelve of the fifty-two airs (VdGS 4, 7, 10–11, 25, 31, 38–9, 41, 46–7, 51).⁷⁶ As Robert Warner commented in his review, the publication of *Musica Britannica* 26 saw Ashbee emerge 'as a major Jenkins scholar. ... He has succeeded admirably in presenting a more representative body of Jenkins's works than any former scholar'.⁷⁷ Accessing published parts, however, continued to be a challenge. Groundbreaking collections such as the Wellesley Edition and *Musica Britannica* were only available in score. In her previously cited review of Wellesley Edition 10, Johnson noted: 'The expense of time and effort required for scoring and editing division style pieces accounts, in part, for the dearth of editions today. Now, thanks to Mr. Warner, a superb set of pieces, displaying an extraordinary application of division technique, is available to the musical scholar and performer. In view of the growing interest in the instruments and music of this period, it would be immensely useful if the Wellesley Edition would also supply parts with this publication.'⁷⁸ Similarly Warner's review of *Musica Britannica* 26 concluded with a desideratum: 'Hopefully the publishers will follow their earlier practice of making at least part of this fine body of music available for performance'.⁷⁹ In a sense this situation represented a growing tension (or perhaps cleavage) between the idea of the academic critical edition and the needs of performers.

Leading to the tercentenary of Jenkins's death in 1978, the VdGS embarked on a project to bring to light Jenkins's four-, five- and six-part viol consorts. The project was subsidised by the Portuguese Calouste

⁷¹ <https://vdgs.org.uk/musiceditions/>

⁷² J. T. Johnson, 'Review: *Three-Part Fancy and Ayre Divisions for Two Trebles and a Bass to the Organ* by John Jenkins and Robert Austin Warner', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 21/1 (1968), 108–110, at 108.

⁷³ J. Jenkins, *Three-Part Fancy and Ayre Divisions for Two Trebles and a Bass to the Organ*, ed. R. A. Warner, Wellesley Edition, No. 10 (Wellesley, Mass., 1966). The revised edition: 1993; a further revised edition of Fretwork Edition 8 was published in 2004.

⁷⁴ Ashbee, 'The Four-Part Instrumental Compositions of John Jenkins'.

⁷⁵ It was followed by his article: 'The Four-Part Consort Music of John Jenkins', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 96/1 (1969), 29–42 (DOI: 10.1093/jrma/96.1.29).

⁷⁶ VdGS 23 ('Newark Siege') was also published as VdGS Music Edition 25 (with VdGS 24). The whole sequence (VdGS 1–32) has been edited by Albert Folop (see below), and freely available in score and parts on IMSLP:

[https://imslp.org/wiki/Airs_for_4_Viols_with_Organ_\(Jenkins%2C_John\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Airs_for_4_Viols_with_Organ_(Jenkins%2C_John))

⁷⁷ R. A. Warner, 'Review: *Consort Music of Four Parts* by John Jenkins and Andrew Ashbee', *Notes*, Second Series, 28/1 (1971), 100–02, at 100 and 102.

⁷⁸ Johnson, 'Review: *Three-Part Fancy and Ayre Divisions*', 110

⁷⁹ Warner, 'Review: *Consort Music of Four Parts* by John Jenkins and Andrew Ashbee', 102. At the time often only selections from *Musica Britannica* volumes were available as parts, if at all.

Gulbenkian Foundation, established in 1956 from the will of the oil tycoon Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian it is one of the wealthiest charitable foundations in the world, dedicated to promoting arts, philanthropy, science and education.⁸⁰ The editions were all issued by Faber Music Ltd., with the VdGS lending their name. Crucially it was available in score and parts (with a separate organ book). The first instalment in the trilogy was the pioneering edition of the seventeen Jenkins five-part fantasias, edited by Richard Nicholson (1905–95) with several editorial organ parts supplied by Ashbee.⁸¹ The volume was dedicated to the memory of Millicent Hales (d. 1965), one of the first honorary members of the VdGS and Honorary Secretary until resigning in late 1964 due to ill health.⁸² Only five of the fantasias had been published previously, in the Dolmetsch / Grainger edition as well as in Wellesley Edition I, but they were here complete for the first time. The fantasias were reissued in a revised edition (with detailed introduction and commentary) by David Pinto, published by Fretwork Editions, in association with the VdGS, in 2010.⁸³ The edition includes the three five-part pavans (VdGS 1–3), a three-part version of the third pavan (VdGS 68), and Pinto's reconstruction for five parts of another pavan based on the four-part air VdGS 50.

The second instalment followed in 1976: Nicholson and Ashbee's edition of the complete Jenkins six-part viol consorts.⁸⁴ This comprises the two pavans (VdGS 1–2), the twelve fantasias (VdGS 1–12), and the two In Nomines (VdGS 1–2). Ashbee reflected on a range of points that arose in the process of editing the consorts for a talk given at the VdGS meeting in June 1977, published in *Chelys*.⁸⁵ As chance would have it *Musica Britannica* issued Donald Peart's edition of the same repertoire (vol. 39) only a year after the publication of the Faber edition (a revised edition was published in 1993).⁸⁶ This was the first volume of consort music to appear in the *Musica Britannica* series since Ashbee's edition eight years earlier; it would be another two decades before the next Jenkins volume in the series. Peart (1909–1981) studied gamba with Arnold Dolmetsch and Marco Pallis (1895–1989) in the late 1920s, and with Robert Donington (1907–1990) and Richard Nicholson, later founded the Oxford Consort of Viols. In 1948 he took up a chair in music at the University of Sydney, retiring in 1974.⁸⁷ As Gordon Dodd noted in his review:

Had [Peart's edition] appeared in the *Musica Britannica* series close on the heels of Volume 9 (*Jacobean Consort Music*), there would have been cause for rejoicing. Unfortunately, this new score comes in the wake of the Viola da Gamba Society/Faber Music complete practical edition-score, parts and organ book. ... Although the comparison of the editorial work of Peart with that of Nicholson and Ashbee is interesting, it is far too much of a luxury, and the lavish outpouring of a second precious stock of engraving, paper and printing must, in these penurious days, be judged a sad waste of scarce resources. ... It seems a pity, when early music is in such keen competition for a share of the publishing market, to have to greet with less than total enthusiasm the appearance of an excellent modern edition of Jenkins's music. Yet, in relation to what has gone before, it gives us only another good score (no parts) of the same works. It cannot claim to open an alternative window into the sources. ... Might not some other part of the unpublished music of that prolific composer have been considered?⁸⁸

It would be another two decades before the next (new) Jenkins volume would appear in the *Musica Britannica* series.

Ashbee's *Musica Britannica* edition of the four-part consorts appeared in a revised edition in 1975. Among its selection it only included five of Jenkins's seventeen fantasias (VdGS 7, 9, 12, 15, 16). As the final instalment of VdGS / Faber Music editions, Ashbee edited the complete sequence of these fantasias, along with the two pavans from the sequence of 52 four-part airs found in Oxford, Bodleian, MS Mus. Sch. C.99. The nature of the volume meant that some duplication was unavoidable, but still eight of the fantasias had not been previously published (VdGS 2, 4, 6, 8, 10–14). The volume – dedicated to the memory of Kenneth Skeaping (1897–1977), as was vol. 8 of *Chelys* – was published (score, parts and organ book) a few months ahead of the tercentenary of Jenkins's death on 27 October 1978.

⁸⁰ According to Michael Hobbs, Nicholson was largely responsible for securing the funding from the Gulbenkian Foundation: 'VdGS 75th Anniversary – Music Editions': <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s1zVd7FGqZo&list=PLIEitY24trL3YOCYZcLqqIqEwhjvOli3k&index=6>

⁸¹ The last of the fantasias (VdGS 17) was published as VdGS Music Edition 82.

⁸² See Olson, 'A History of the Viola da Gamba Society of America' [part III], 41.

⁸³ J. Jenkins, *The Five-Part Consort Music*, 2 vols, ed. D. Pinto, Fretwork Editions 29–30 (Middlesex, 2010). The two volumes are now also available as one.

⁸⁴ J. Jenkins, *Consort Music for Viols in Six Parts*, ed. A. Ashbee and R. Nicholson (London, 1976).

⁸⁵ A. Ashbee, 'The Six-Part Consort Music of John Jenkins', *Chelys* 7 (1977), 54–68.

⁸⁶ J. Jenkins, *Consort Music of Six Parts*, ed. D. Peart, *Musica Britannica* 39 (London, 1977; 2/1993).

⁸⁷ G. Barnes, 'Peart, Donald', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* < <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/peart-donald-richard-15049>>.

⁸⁸ G. Dodd, 'Review: *Consort Music of Six Parts* by John Jenkins and Donald Peart', *Early Music*, 6/1 (1978), 113, 115, at 113, 115.

The next Jenkins anniversary in 1992 led to a wide range of publications on the composer including Frank Traficante's edition of the lyra-viol consorts, as part of AR Editions' Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era series (vols. 67–8). Jenkins composed well over 100 such pieces scored for treble, lyra-viol, bass and continuo, though fewer than half survive complete – all of which are included in Traficante's edition. Jenkins composed a large number of works for lyra-viol, especially for solo, though most of it remains unavailable in published editions; much of it is available in Carolyn Coxon's 1969 doctoral thesis.⁸⁹ Four of the solo pieces were published – in tablature – as VdGS Music Edition 144 (VdGS 234 [edfhf], 321 [fdefh], 397 [fdefh], 504 [efdef]). The tercentenary year also saw the publication of several Jenkins editions by Corda Music:⁹⁰ Ashbee's editions of four-part ayres mostly from Christ Church, Oxford Mus. 367–70 (CMP 419⁹¹) and of twelve trios for treble, tenor and bass viol arranged from lyra consorts (CMP 420). David Pinto's two-volume edition of twenty-five four-part aires for treble, two tenors and bass again from Mus. 367–70 were issued in the same year.⁹² Several of the fifty-two four-part aires had been published as VdGS Supplementary Publication 167, edited by Ashbee (VdGS 1–2, 8, 31, 45–6, 50–1);⁹³ thus – with *Musica Britannica* 26 – the entire sequence is available in modern editions.⁹⁴

The 1970s and 80s saw the birth of a number of independent music publishers, filling the many gaps left by the major publishers and catering to the increasing demand for viol music in affordable performing editions. Run by Judy and Ian Gammie, Corda Music (formerly Golden Phoenix Publications) began in 1986. Ashbee edited four other volumes of Jenkins's music for previous iterations of the press in the 1980s. Vols. 6 and 7 of the King's Music series were fantasia-suites for violin, two bass viols and organ (Group III), nos. 1 and 7 in G minor and D minor, respectively. Vols. 4 and 5 of the Golden Phoenix series comprised his *Selected Airs for Treble and Bass* (n.d.) (VdGS 14, 15, 30–1, 40–4, 61–4, 86–7, 154–7) and *Three Suites of Airs for 2 Trebles and a Bass* (1988) (VdGS 68–70), respectively. The VdGS catalogue lists 168 two-part pieces by Jenkins, some of which do also survive in three- or four-part versions), most of which remain unpublished in standard editions. However, VdGS 1–144 are all available on IMSLP, edited by Albert Folop (1925–2020) as part of the Folop Viol Music Collection (which runs to hundreds of editions, including the 32 Jenkins four-part aires for two trebles, two basses and organ).⁹⁵ Folop was an active member of the American VdGS, serving as Secretary from 1967 to 1978. A year before he retired as a Commander in the US Navy, in 1966 Folop travelled to England and met fellow naval commander, Gordon Dodd, at which point Folop was inspired to begin editing viol music. Somewhat mirroring what was happening in the UK VdGS, he made these editions readily available to members at a low cost, 'answering a need for practical editions much felt at the time'.⁹⁶ The Folop single-source editions are available in score and parts, with no critical apparatus other than sometimes citing the source.

Jenkins's oeuvre of three-part works is vast. There over 200 aires for two trebles and bass, including the 84 'Newberry' aires. Of these only about a quarter have been edited in Ashbee's four-volume collection of *Three-Part Airs* issued by PRB Productions (Albany, California) between 1993 and 2008 as part of their Viol Consort series: Vol. 1 (1993) (VdGS 1–6); Vol. 2 (2002) (VdGS 15–21, 35–44); Vol. 3 (2005) (VdGS 7–14, 53–9); Vol. 4 (2008) (VdGS 60–7, 71–4). These are supplemented by Ashbee's editions for the VdGS Music Editions series (nos. 222 and 229), also published in 2008.⁹⁷ In addition, Folop's single-source editions of VdGS 85–136 are freely available on IMSLP (score and parts).⁹⁸ The 10 three-part aires for treble, tenor and bass (VdGS 1–10) were published as vol. 132 of the VdGS Supplementary Publications; the first six of these pieces, unique to Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 379–81, are also available (score and parts) edited by Folop on IMSLP.⁹⁹ The

⁸⁹ Coxon, 'John Jenkins: A Critical Study of his Instrumental Music', vol. 2.

⁹⁰ <https://www.cordamusic.co.uk/early1.html>

⁹¹ VdGS 4, 9–12, 18–21, 23, 27–30, 34–7.

⁹² Vol. 1: VdGS 3, 5–7, 13–14, 22, 24, 38–9, 41–2 (and dubia 10); Vol. 2: VdGS 15–17, 25–6, 32–3, 40, 43–4, 49, 52.

⁹³ J. Jenkins, *Eight Airs*, ed. A. Ashbee, VdGS Supplementary Publication 167 (1993).

⁹⁴ Several of the aires were also published in other editions, e.g.: VdGS Supplementary Publications 11 (n.d.) [VdGS 5, 22]; Brian Jordan's English Consort Series, 14, 15, ed. R. Nicholson (Cambridge, n.d.) [VdGS 1, 45, 50]; Wellesley 1, ed. Sleeper [VdGS 3, 24, 32, 49, 52].

⁹⁵ https://imslp.org/wiki/Category:Folop_Viol_Music_Collection

Otherwise there is relatively little of Jenkins's music available on IMSLP. Jenkins's music is somewhat easier to survey. There are several facsimiles of seventeenth-century publications that include music by Jenkins, as well as a range of modern editions. For example, one can find a copy of the Meyer and Dolmetsch Hortus Musicus editions (parts only, no introduction), discussed above. There are several single-source editions by Allen Garvin (b. 1969) (Hawthorne Early Music). The bulk are by Folop.

⁹⁶ Olson, 'A History of the Viola da Gamba Society of America' [parts I–II], 31 (taken from a short biography of Folop).

⁹⁷ J. Jenkins, *9 Airs for Two Trebles and Bass*, VdGS 85–90, 92, 102, 103, VdGS Music Editions 222 (2008); J. Jenkins, *10 Airs for Two Trebles and Bass* VdGS 93–103, VdGS Music Editions 229 (2008).

⁹⁸ [https://imslp.org/wiki/Airs_for_3_Viols_with_Lyra_Viol_and_Harpsichord_\(Jenkins%2C_John\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Airs_for_3_Viols_with_Lyra_Viol_and_Harpsichord_(Jenkins%2C_John)) and

[https://imslp.org/wiki/Airs_for_3_Viols_\(Jenkins%2C_John\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Airs_for_3_Viols_(Jenkins%2C_John))

⁹⁹ [https://imslp.org/wiki/Airs_for_3_Viols_\(Jenkins%2C_John\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Airs_for_3_Viols_(Jenkins%2C_John))

twenty-one three-part fantasias for two trebles and a bass (VdGS I–21) were only published complete in 1997, in Ashbee’s *Musica Britannica* edition (vol. 70) – ten for the first time.¹⁰⁰ The volume also included the twenty-seven fantasias and one pavan for treble, two basses and organ (VdGS I–28), only nine of which had been published previously.¹⁰¹

Ashbee joined the Editorial Committee of *Musica Britannica* in 1988, serving until 2020, and in that time produced a further four volumes of Jenkins’s music for the series.¹⁰² This includes the three volumes of fantasia-suites, which must be counted as some of Jenkins’s finest music. Here we must acknowledge two influential doctoral dissertations on the fantasia-suites by Christopher D. S. Field (1970) and Jane Troy Johnson (1971), within which the figure of Jenkins loomed large.¹⁰³ Field published his edition of one of the fantasia-suites in A minor from Group I (VdGS 5) in 1976, with the *Musica da Camera* series (vol. 37) issued by Oxford University Press.¹⁰⁴ The seventeen Group I fantasia-suites, for treble, bass and organ, were published complete in *Musica Britannica* 104 *Fantasia-Suites III* (2019) (VdGS I–17) along with the two Group IV fantasia-suites for the same scoring (VdGS I–2); Ashbee had previously published an edition of the latter pieces with PRB Productions.¹⁰⁵ The ten Group II fantasia-suites, for two trebles, bass and organ, were published complete in *Musica Britannica* 78 *Fantasia-Suites I* (2001) along with the complete fantasia-air sets (Group VII) for two trebles, bass and organ (VdGS I–15); one of the Group II suites (VdGS 5) had previously been issued in an edition by Stainer and Bell, but otherwise the suites were previously unpublished. *Musica Britannica* 90 *Fantasia-Suites II* (2009) comprised the nine fantasia-suites for treble, two basses and organ (Group III); the appendix also gives the surviving bass part for the divisions for treble and two basses (VdGS I–29). The ten Group VIII fantasia-suites for three violins, bass viol and continuo were included – published for the first time – in the volume of *Restoration Music for Three Violins, Bass Viol and Continuo*, edited by Peter Holman and John Cunningham (*Musica Britannica* 103, 2018). With the publication of these four volumes all eight groups are now available in modern critical editions

In a similar vein to some of the ‘high-flying’ fantasia-suites found in Group VIII, Ashbee also edited three volumes of divisions on a ground, for treble, bass and continuo for the VdGS Music Editions series. There are six sets in total (D minor / major; A minor / major; G minor / major), all found without ascription in Oxford, Bodleian, MS Mus. Sch. C.80 but tentatively attributed to Jenkins based on style.¹⁰⁶ The Jenkins music for bass viols was first discussed in detail by Janet Richards in her unpublished 1961 thesis.¹⁰⁷ But it was not until the 1978 Tercentenary that published editions of the bass viol duos (to organ) appeared. The first were issued by another independent publisher Dove House Editions (based in Ottawa) in the late 1970s as part of their Viola da Gamba Series, all edited by (co-founders) Donald Beecher and Bryan Gillingham: VdGS 19 (1979); VdGS 37–8, 44–6, 63 (1979); VdGS 1, 2 (1980); VdGS 13, 23 (1980).¹⁰⁸ A further dozen duos were edited by the gambist Martha Bishop for Ogni Sorte Editions (under the general editorship of the late Richard Taruskin (1945–2022), who wrote a preface to each volume).¹⁰⁹ Based in Miami, Ogni Sorte was founded by Taruskin c.1980. They issued volumes in three series: Renaissance Standards; Sources & Repertoires; Viola da Gamba Music. The Jenkins volume was the second in the Viola da Gamba series (the first was treble and bass duos by Richard Mico, edited by Donald Beecher). According to one advertisement: ‘A unique feature of all Ogni Sorte editions is the separate oblong part-books hand-copied in a clear 16th-century “Petrucci-style” notation that preserves all the important notational features of the original manuscript – note values, mensuration signs, ligatures, coloration – free of the scribal errors, deterioration, and illegible hands that make so many

¹⁰⁰ VdGS I–12 are published also across four volumes of the VdGS Music Edition (155, 190, 193, 200), each with three fantasias (VdGS I–3, 4–6, 7–9, 10–12, respectively).

¹⁰¹ VdGS I–9 individually in VdGS Supplementary Publications 26, 27, 28, 43, 79, 104, 108, 117, 118. All twenty-seven fantasias and the pavan are arranged for treble and two basses in VdGS Music Edition 239.

¹⁰² In addition to his Jenkins volumes he also edited (with Bruce Bellingham) the four-part viol fantasias by Alfonso Ferrabosco II as vol. 62 of the *Musica Britannica* series (London, 1992).

¹⁰³ Field, ‘The English Consort Suite in the Seventeenth Century’; Johnson, ‘The English Fantasia-Suite’.

¹⁰⁴ J. Jenkins, *Fantasia-Suite in A minor for Violin, Bass Viol and Organ*, ed. C. D. S. Field, *Musica da Camera* 37 (London, 1976).

¹⁰⁵ J. Jenkins, *Two Fantasia-Suites for Treble Viol (Violin), Bass Viol and Organ*, ed. A. Ashbee, *Viol Consort Series* 10 (Albany, California, 1991).

¹⁰⁶ Anon. [Jenkins?], *Divisions on a Ground for Treble, Bass and Continuo, Nos. 1 and 2*, VdGS Music Editions 223 (2008); Anon. [Jenkins?], *Divisions on a Ground for Treble, Bass and Continuo, Nos. 3 and 4*, VdGS Music Editions 228 (2009); Anon. [Jenkins?], *Divisions on a Ground for Treble, Bass and Continuo, Nos. 5 and 6*, VdGS Music Editions 240 (2013). The pieces are discussed in Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins. Volume Two*, 61–2.

¹⁰⁷ J. Richards, ‘A Study of Music for Bass Viol Written in England in the Seventeenth Century’, B.Litt. thesis (Somerville College, Oxford, 1961).

¹⁰⁸ J. Jenkins, *Divisions in A Minor for Two Division Viols on a Ground*, ed. D. Beecher and B. Gillingham, *Dove House Editions, Viola da Gamba Series* 3 (Ottawa, 1979); J. Jenkins, *Six Aires and Divisions for Two Bass Viols and Keyboard*, ed. D. Beecher and B. Gillingham, *Dove House Editions, Viola da Gamba Series* 7 (Ottawa, 1979); *Jenkins, Whyte and Coleman: Four Duos for Two Bass Viols*, ed. D. Beecher and B. Gillingham, *Dove House Editions, Viola da Gamba Series* 14 (Ottawa, 1980); J. Jenkins, *Divisions for Two Bass Viols and Keyboard*, ed. D. Beecher and B. Gillingham, *Dove House Editions, Viola da Gamba Series* 15 (Ottawa, 1980).

¹⁰⁹ J. Jenkins, *Three Suites for Two Viols and Continuo*, ed. M. Bishop, *OSVdGS* 2 (Miami, c.1983).

manuscripts useless for performance. All parts contain rehearsal letters.' Bishop's edition comprised three suites, VdGS 24–36.

Together with Bishop's edition, Ashbee's two-volume edition of the duos for two bass viols and continuo issued by Fretwork Editions (2002 and 2005) mean that all of the duos are now available in modern editions. The first volume (Fretwork Editions 19), dedicated to the memory of Margaret Urquhart comprises VdGS 1, 2 (with reconstructed organ parts), 11–17;¹¹⁰ the second (Fretwork Editions 27) comprises VdGS 18–21, 23, 37–8, 63–4 (though confusingly the edition uses the Ashbee number for '63', i.e. 52). The editions use Ross Duffin's 'Parthenia' font, which allow accurate reproduction of a range of contemporary ornament signs found in the autograph London, Royal College of Music MS 921 (a sole surviving partbook probably copied c.1640, belonging to Nicholas Le Strange).

Most recently Ashbee has produced a two-volume edition of 16 *Airs* from Hamburg, MS ND VI 3193,¹¹¹ a set of five quarto partbooks from the early 1680s copied by an unidentified hand for the London merchant Sir Gabriel Roberts (1629–1715). The manuscript was first brought to light by Richard Charteris in the early 1990s, and is one of two sources for the Group VIII fantasia-suites for three violins, bass viol and continuo, but also includes music by Jenkins, William Lawes and Benjamin Rogers for two trebles, two basses and continuo.¹¹² The rub is that the first bass partbook is lost and so the four-part music has remained unpublished. In this edition for Edition Güntersberg Ashbee has reconstructed the first bass part and provided a realization of the continuo. Edition Güntersberg specialises in music for viola da gamba; the press was founded in Heidelberg in 1990 by Günter von Zadow and Leonore von Zadow-Reichling.¹¹³ They have also recently issued an edition of the Jenkins divisions for solo bass viol (VdGS 1–10 and the fragment 65), with a preface by Ashbee.¹¹⁴ Most of the pieces are there published for the first time; VdGS 3, 7–10 were previously published in VdGS Music Edition 231.

This brief overview reveals Jenkins editions to be in rude health. His vast output has been central to understanding the cultural impact of the viol consort – and especially the fantasia – in early modern England and thus making it readily available in good modern editions has been vital. In that sense there seems to be relatively little that remains to be done. While much of Jenkins's music lay in obscurity for centuries after his death, most of it is now available in reliable editions. The gaps, such as the solo bass viol pieces are relatively few and seem to be most glaring in the solo lyra-viol music (the same can be said of Williams Lawes's music) which is perhaps more niche, and less attractive due to a perception of triviality – it is also intertwined with issues of typesetting tablature. Jenkins also wrote around forty vocal pieces, of which twenty-eight survive more or less complete.¹¹⁵ They are beyond the scope of this paper, but few appear to be available in modern edition. They are, however, a relatively minor sub-plot to Jenkins's story.¹¹⁶ It is fitting that his works feature prominently in the national collection of music, *Musica Britannica*. Jenkins and John Blow are currently tied for the most single collections in the series: both have six volumes exclusively comprised of their music, though Jenkins's music forms a substantial portion of a seventh.¹¹⁷ One of the main trends to be observed in these editions is the tension between reliable, affordable editions that meet the needs of performers and the collected editions, such as *Musica Britannica*, which can be prohibitively expensive. The digital age presents new challenges for music publishers, challenges from which even major series such as *Musica Britannica* are not immune.¹¹⁸ But whatever the future brings, through the work of many early music pioneers – not least Andrew Ashbee – the place of Jenkins's music in it seems now secure. Roger North would no doubt rejoice.

¹¹⁰ It is wrongly listed as Fretwork Editions 21 in the *Thematic Index* etc.

¹¹¹ J. Jenkins, *16 Airs a 4 aus dem Hamburger Manuskript für zwei Diskant- und zwei Bassgamben*, Edition Güntersberg G411–12 (Heidelberg, 2023).

¹¹² See *Musica Britannica* 104, p. 117. It is described in full in *IMCCM*, ii. 15–23.

¹¹³ <http://www.guentersberg.de/index-en.php>

¹¹⁴ J. Jenkins, *Divisions on a Ground for Viola da Gamba*, ed. G. and L. von Zadow, with introduction by A. Ashbee, Edition Güntersberg G414 (Heidelberg, 2023) (score and parts).

¹¹⁵ See, Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins. Volume Two*, 197–223.

¹¹⁶ For example, two songs ('Cease not, thou heav'nly-voiced glorious creature', and 'Why sign'st thou, shepherd') were included in *English Songs, 1625–1660*, ed. I. Spink, *Musica Britannica* 33 (London, 1971; 2/1977).

¹¹⁷ At the time of writing: Matthew Locke is next with five; Thomas Arne and Samuel Wesley have four; William Croft, Richard Dering and Maurice Green have three; William Boyce, John Bull, Alfonso Ferrabosco II, John Field, Orlando Gibbons, William Lawes, and Thomas Tomkins all have two.

¹¹⁸ See, David J. Smith's article in this volume.