

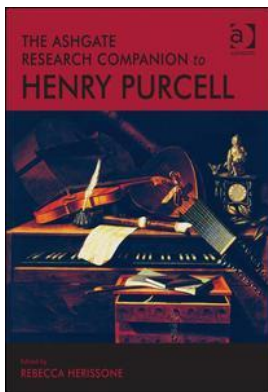
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## **The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell**

Rebecca Herissone

### **Understanding Creativity**

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# Understanding Creativity

*Alan Howard*

This chapter is concerned with what we can know about the genesis of Purcell's music: what evidence survives concerning his creative strategies, how we can recover and interpret this evidence, and indeed why we might be interested in so doing. Scholarly interest in such matters relates closely to the branches of musicological study usually referred to as 'sketch studies' and the investigation of 'compositional process'; the broader term 'creativity' reflects more recent thinking which has called into question a number of the basic assumptions of these sub-disciplines – particularly concerning the nature of musical texts and the functions of their sources – such that it is beginning to be acknowledged that the study of the creation of a seventeenth-century musical work cannot simply seek to account for a putative process of 'composition'. It must equally consider the work's various notated guises, how they relate to one another and to the music as it may have been performed, how and why its sources were originally produced, and, above all, what impact all of these factors may have had upon the music as it is known today.<sup>1</sup> Thus to stress the term 'creativity' in this connection is to reject the caricature of the composer spending his days writing music for others to distribute and perform (a caricature which is in any case far from the reality for virtually any composer, for all that this is sometimes forgotten), and instead to approach Purcell's music as the product of a musician active in musical performance, improvisation, notation, criticism, teaching, editing, arranging, distribution and any number of other activities alongside his composing.

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I would like to thank Rebecca Herissone, Peter Holman and Stephen Rose for their comments on the first draft of this chapter.

- 1 This is part of the background behind the use of the word 'creativity' for the project Musical Creativity in Restoration England, which was sponsored by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council, and was based at the University of Manchester under the direction of Rebecca Herissone from 2006–10 and led to a monograph by Herissone under the same title, currently in preparation; the present author was employed as postdoctoral research assistant on the project until August 2009. An interdisciplinary conference, Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England, was held under the auspices of the project at Manchester in September 2008; a volume of essays selected from among the contributions is also in preparation.

The study of Purcell's creativity embraces two principal methodologies, both of which draw additionally on seventeenth-century music theory in order to facilitate and evaluate their interpretations, and as a means of contextualizing their findings.<sup>2</sup> The first might broadly be described as a palaeographical approach: that is, one that involves the analysis and comparative study of the sources and texts in which the music is preserved. The second, meanwhile, seeks to recover the composer's creative strategies by identifying and interpreting their traces in the music preserved within these texts.

What I am calling the 'palaeographical' approach to Purcell's creativity takes its precedent from numerous studies of the compositional habits of other composers, most of which trace their roots to Gustav Nottebohm's pioneering studies of Beethoven's sketchbooks beginning in the 1860s.<sup>3</sup> Even prior to this, in fact, authors referred to autograph music manuscripts and multiple versions of works for didactic purposes: as early as 1800, William Shield, for example, published a lengthy extract from the (now lost) 'Author's foul score' of Arne's *Artaxerxes*, complete with his own annotations designed to show how Arne's various crossings-out and other changes improved the composition.<sup>4</sup> Interest in compositional process as an academic topic in its own right, however, really began with Nottebohm, whose legacy was taken up in the 1960s by scholars such as Douglas Johnson, Joseph Kerman, Lewis Lockwood and Alan Tyson. Among the composers to have attracted this kind of attention since that time are (for example) Mozart, Schubert, Schumann and Wagner, Mahler, Debussy, Stravinsky and Tippett.<sup>5</sup>

The motivation behind such studies has been varied, but tends to include (in differing proportions for different scholars and at different times) the clarification of work chronology and other biographical details concerning the composer, the attempted completion of unfinished works, the examination of successive 'stages' in the composition of a given work together with the extrapolation from this information to produce more general statements about the composer's working methods, and the derivation of analytical insight into the finished work.<sup>6</sup> This latter goal has not been without controversy, with purists arguing that any analytical

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2 For a comprehensive introduction to and analysis of English music theory in Purcell's lifetime, see Rebecca Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

3 For a summary, see Douglas Johnson, 'Beethoven Scholars and Beethoven's Sketches', *19th-Century Music* 2 (1978): 3–17.

4 William Shield, *An Introduction to Harmony* (London, 1800), pp. 120–21. On Shield's wider interest in eighteenth-century autograph manuscripts, see Clare Brown and Peter Holman, 'Thomas Busby and his "Fac Similes of Celebrated Composers"', *Early Music Performer* 12 (2003): 3–12. I am grateful to Peter Holman for alerting me to Shield's interest in such matters.

5 For a good basic bibliography, see Nicholas Marston, 'Sketch', in *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (last accessed 27 November 2009).

6 *Ibid.*; or for a more detailed examination of the usual aims of so-called 'sketch studies', see Joseph Kerman, 'Sketch Studies', in D. Kern Holoman and Claude V. Palisca (eds), *Musicology in the 1980s: Methods, Goals, Opportunities* (New York: Da Capo, 1982), pp. 53–65.

observation arrived at through the study of superseded 'early versions' ought in any case to be detectable in the work as heard by audiences of the final version (and that if it is not, it is irrelevant).<sup>7</sup> Such a hard line has had little impact upon studies of Purcell's working manuscripts, which have not in any case been of great interest to the institutionalized discipline of music theory that is more prevalent in the United States; rather, this aspect of Purcellian research is well placed to benefit from the brand of richly contextualized 'criticism', incorporating study of early versions and working methods alongside insights arrived at through varied analytical, biographical and historiographical approaches, envisaged by Joseph Kerman.<sup>8</sup>

What is most notable about those composers whose sketches generally attract interest is their overwhelming concentration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; indeed, Kerman went as far as to suggest that the increasing trend in 1970s' American musicology towards work in these time periods was itself a major factor in the 'upsurge of sketch studies' he observed in 1982.<sup>9</sup> By way of explanation of the good fit between 'sketch studies' and these comparatively recent repertoires, Nicholas Marston observes that 'research along these lines will necessarily be partly dependent upon the survival of a critical mass of material' and 'tends to proceed from a particular understanding of the composer as original creative artist and of the musical work as an organic and teleological whole'.<sup>10</sup>

Both of these factors, needless to say, conspire against the successful 'palaeographic' examination of music from earlier periods. Nevertheless, a number of studies have assessed the autograph documents of early composers for evidence of compositional activity: Robert Marshall published his important book *The Compositional Process of J.S. Bach* in 1972, and more recently David Hurley has considered Handel's creative habits in his later oratorios and dramatic works.<sup>11</sup> An important precedent for recent developments in the understanding of Purcell's creativity is Jessie Ann Owens's systematic study of evidence of compositional activity in Renaissance composer autographs, which offers a potential methodological model for future studies of compositional process in the music of Purcell and his contemporaries: it tackles the dearth of surviving sources by presenting a systematic overview alongside discussion of individual works, and it attempts to consider the working methods of composers inasmuch as they can be discerned from the individual sources and their intended functions, rather than reading the sources in the light of creative paradigms originally designed to elucidate nineteenth-century compositional habits.<sup>12</sup> Rebecca Herissone's

7 Johnson, 'Beethoven Scholars': 15.

8 Kerman, 'Sketch Studies', p. 65.

9 Ibid., p. 64.

10 Marston, 'Sketch'.

11 Robert Lewis Marshall, *The Compositional Process of J.S. Bach* (2 vols, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972); David Ross Hurley, *Handel's Muse: Patterns of Creation in his Oratorios and Musical Dramas, 1743–1751* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

12 Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition, 1450–1600* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

forthcoming monograph *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* will be the first full-length study of this type concentrating on seventeenth-century English composers, but there is already a growing body of literature on the creative process as it relates to Purcell's near contemporaries. The sources of consort music by William Lawes and Matthew Locke have been examined extensively, for example,<sup>13</sup> while Herissone's work on creative process in the music of composers other than Purcell has included, apart from her PhD thesis, articles on Richard Goodson, William Turner, Edward Lowe and Henry Aldrich.<sup>14</sup>

The second methodological approach to Purcell's creativity has similarly strong connections with work on other composers. In a penetrating recent essay, Nicholas Cook points out that most musical literature written under the broad heading of 'analysis' makes implicit use of what he calls the 'language of creative intention', citing not just the obvious ways in which analytical observations are commonly expressed as compositional acts ('*N* delays the cadence ...'), but also how apparently more systematized approaches such as Schenkerian analysis remain firmly tied to Romantic notions of genius on the part of the few 'great' composers.<sup>15</sup> For all his healthy scepticism about the extent to which this might genuinely express the creative agency of the composer, and his entreaties to seek a more pluralistic theory of music that is less reliant on an idea of musical creation that he identifies as 'historically and ideologically specific', Cook nevertheless acknowledges that this kind of discourse about music has become an important facet of the Western tradition since the nineteenth century, and is likely to remain so.<sup>16</sup>

Indeed, a growing body of analytical work on several earlier composers has explicitly appealed to the language of creative intention: John Milsom has recently

13 See, for example, Michael Tilmouth, 'Revisions in the Chamber Music of Matthew Locke', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 98 (1971–72): 89–100; Robert Thompson, 'The Sources of Locke's Consort "For Seaverall Friends"', *Chelys* 19 (1990): 16–44; David Pinto, 'New Lamps for Old: the Versions of the Royall Consort', in Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *William Lawes (1602–1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 251–81; and John Cunningham, *The Consort Music of William Lawes, 1602–1645* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2010).

14 See Rebecca Herissone, 'The Theory and Practice of Composition in the English Restoration Period' (PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1996); Herissone, 'Richard Goodson the Elder's Ode "Janus did ever to thy sight": Evidence of Compositional Procedures in the Early Eighteenth Century', *Music & Letters* 79 (1998): 167–91; Herissone, 'The Revision Process in William Turner's Anthem "O Praise the Lord"', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 123 (1998): 1–38; and Herissone, "'To entitle himself to ye Composition": Investigating Concepts of Authorship and Originality in Seventeenth-Century English Ceremonial Music' (Unpublished paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music, Huntington Library, San Marino, 17–19 April 2008).

15 Nicholas Cook, 'Playing God: Creativity, Analysis, and Aesthetic Inclusion', in Irène Deliège and Geraint A. Wiggins (eds), *Musical Creativity: Multidisciplinary Research in Theory and Practice* (Hove: Psychology Press, 2006), p. 18. Note the parallel here with Marston's observation about the theoretical basis of 'sketch studies' cited above.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 18–19.

illuminated the methods of sixteenth-century polyphonists including Josquin, Clemens non Papa and Crecquillon by seeking to reveal 'the composer's conceptual starting-points' through analysis; Christopher Wintle observed the 'workbench methods of the composer' in Corelli's transformations of 'tonal models' in his sonatas, and Laurence Dreyfus has approached the music of J.S. Bach through the 'historical *modus operandi* that informs the practice of [his] daily craft'.<sup>17</sup> Each of these at some level acknowledges the inadequacy of standard analytical tools when it comes to accounting for the characteristics of early music, and of course it is no coincidence that these same imperfect tools are closely tied to the historically specific idea of creativity described by Cook. Rather than addressing this problem by abandoning the notion of creative intention, however, the approaches taken by Milsom, Wintle and Dreyfus – different as they are in many ways – all effectively exploit the familiarity and ubiquity of this concept as an opportunity to discover more historically sensitive methods of analysis.<sup>18</sup> By positing the attempted recovery of creative decisions and the contexts in which these were made by the composer as the goal of an analysis, scholars have been successful in presenting analytical insights that, while they cannot be proved to represent the composer's conception of the music, are at least informed by theoretical and even aesthetic principles that would have been familiar to contemporary musicians.

That a large amount of this kind of work is directed particularly towards composers' handling of strict contrapuntal idioms is a function of the fact that it was these techniques that required the most effort on the part of the composer, who had to devise and manipulate his material successfully within the constraints of idiomatic handling of consonance and dissonance (as determined by chronological and local consensus), rather than relying simply on tasteful invention. The challenges of this kind of composition provide opportunities for the analyst who can identify and attempt to resolve once more the technical difficulties and creative decisions that the composer may have faced, and it is exactly for this reason that certain parts of Purcell's repertoire have proved similarly suited to such an analytical approach.

In order to examine how these two methods of investigating musical creativity have contributed to our understanding of Purcell's music, and indeed how the approaches themselves have developed more recently, the remainder of this chapter is divided into three sections: the first two deal with 'palaeographical'

17 John Milsom, 'Crecquillon, Clemens, and Four-Vice "Fuga"', in Eric Jas (ed.), *Beyond Contemporary Fame: Reassessing the Art of Clemens non Papa and Thomas Crecquillon* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), p. 300; Christopher Wintle, 'Corelli's Tonal Models: The Trio Sonata Op. III, n.1', in Sergio Durante and Pierluigi Petrobelli (eds), *Nuovissimi studi Corelliani: atti del terzo congresso internazionale, Fusignano, 4–7 settembre, 1980*, Quaderni della Rivista italiana di musicologia, vol. 7 (Florence: Olschki, 1982), p. 31; and Laurence Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 30.

18 This concern has been prominent in recent studies of pre-1750 musical repertoire; for the main arguments, see Margaret Bent, 'The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis', in Cristle Collins Judd (ed.), *Tonal Structures in Early Music* (New York: Garland, 1996), pp. 15–59.

studies of creativity, initially in their more conventional manifestations and then through some of the recent challenges that have arisen; the third concentrates on analytical approaches to Purcell's creative strategies, and their potential to increase still further our understanding of how he and his contemporaries may have worked. This critical review of Purcellian and related literature aims to provide an overview of past and present understandings of Purcell's creative habits, while pointing up methodological problems and likely areas of future research along the way. At the same time, the chapter adopts a single case study, the symphony anthem *My Beloved Spake*, in order to illustrate and test the ideas explored; as well as providing a point of entry for the questions raised by this kind of research, the case study draws together and builds upon some of the many tangential references in other studies to what is one of Purcell's most interesting works from the perspective of creativity.

### Exploring Creativity: Conventional Source-based Approaches

As Robert Thompson explains in Chapter 2 above, interest in the autograph sources of Purcell's music stretches back to the eighteenth century, and can often be detected where manuscripts have passed through the hands of collectors. This is indeed the case with the only surviving autograph of *My Beloved Spake*, which is preserved in the second volume of the important collection of Canterbury stationer William Flackton, compiled in the late eighteenth century (now Lbl Add. 30931–3).<sup>19</sup> Two particular annotations made to this score are typical: one attests to the presence of Purcell's hand ('[by Hen. Purcell] in his own hand writing, the original score | P Hayes | 1785'); while the other draws attention to concordances ('see a fair copy of this in catalogue No 72').<sup>20</sup> Although Flackton seems to have acquired most of his documents from the manuscripts of Canterbury musicians, and may not therefore deliberately have collected Purcell's autographs, inscriptions like these nevertheless demonstrate the value conferred upon such documents because of their autograph status, to the extent

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19 On Flackton see Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 306, and also Chapter 2, pp. 14–15 above. His collection also includes several other Purcell autographs, as well as a large amount of material (mainly sacred music) copied by the Canterbury Cathedral musicians Daniel Henstridge and William Raylton.

20 The two remarks occur respectively on fols 87 and 93v of Lbl Add. 30932. That on f. 93v is in Flackton's own hand, and refers to a copy that is apparently no longer extant; see the discussion below. On Philip Hayes, Heather Professor of Music at Oxford University from 1777, see Simon Heighes and Peter Ward Jones, 'Hayes: (2) Philip Hayes', in *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (last accessed 27 November 2009); and Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, p. 308.

of ensuring their survival despite duplication in more legible form elsewhere in the same collection.<sup>21</sup>

The antiquarian interests of Hayes, Flackton and other collectors of ‘ancient musick’ fed directly into the presentation of Purcell’s music in modern printed editions, which began as early as the eighteenth century with William Boyce’s *Cathedral Music* and Benjamin Goodison’s proposed complete edition of Purcell’s works.<sup>22</sup> The task of determining which sources of Purcell’s music should be considered definitive, however – traditionally a key tenet of ‘monumental’ editions like that of the Purcell Society – has proved problematic.

For *My Beloved Spake*, as G.E.P. Arkwright explained in the Purcell Society’s first volume of Purcell’s sacred music (1921):

we have Purcell’s early autograph copy, with emendations and excisions marked on it; but that [the work] underwent further revision still is evident from there being yet more emendations and a new slow movement of the Symphony printed in Novello’s edition (supported by Blow’s [*recte* William Isaack’s] MS., Fitzwilliam, 117), which was derived from a second Purcell autograph now missing.<sup>23</sup>

Arkwright chose to base his edition on the Lbl Add. 30932 autograph, but a second part of Volume 13 (never published) was additionally to include the later version published by Novello and concordant with that in Cfm 117. When Peter Dennison later revised Volume 13 in 1988, however, he chose the slightly different form of the latter version copied by Charles Badham in Ob Tenbury 1031 (fols 3–13) as his copy text for *My Beloved Spake*, considering that some of the variants in Cfm 117 ‘could not possibly represent Purcell’s intentions’.<sup>24</sup> More recently, Shay and Thompson

21 Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, p. 139.

22 See the section ‘Editions of Purcell’s Music’ in Chapter 8 below; H. Diack Johnstone, ‘The Genesis of Boyce’s “Cathedral Music”’, *Music & Letters*, 56 (1975): 26–40; and A. Hyatt King, ‘Benjamin Goodison and the first “Complete Edition” of Purcell’, in Richard Baum and Wolfgang Rehm (eds), *Musik und Verlag: Karl Vötterle zum 65. Geburtstag am 12. April 1968* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968), pp. 391–6.

23 Henry Purcell, *Sacred Music, Part I*, ed. G.E.P. Arkwright, The Works of Henry Purcell, vol. 13a (London: Novello, 1921), p. vii. Arkwright refers here to Henry Purcell, *My Beloved Spake*, ed. Vincent Novello, Purcell’s Sacred Music, no. 13 (London: Novello, c.1829), a version of the work that Novello asserts to have been made ‘From an unpublished M.S. formerly in the possession of M<sup>r</sup> Bartleman’. (James Bartleman (1769–1821) was an English bass; see Robert Toft, ‘Bartleman, James’, in *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (last accessed 27 November 2009).) Arkwright repeats the common nineteenth-century attribution of Cfm 117 to John Blow, though it was in fact copied by William Isaack of St George’s Chapel, Windsor; for literature on this attribution, see Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, pp. 40 and 311; see also Chapter 2, p. 16 above.

24 Henry Purcell, *Sacred Music, Part I: Nine Anthems with Orchestral Accompaniment*, ed. Peter Dennison, The Works of Henry Purcell, vol. 13 (rev. edn, London: Novello, 1988), p. 162.



have argued that the Fitzwilliam version may well have been preferable, given its similarity to a copy made by Philip Hayes in 1785 (KNt MR 2–5.4, pp. 118–38),<sup>25</sup> which apparently derives from the second copy that once formed part of Flackton’s collection;<sup>26</sup> this in turn is almost certainly to be identified with the lost autograph mentioned by Arkwright.<sup>27</sup>

What all this shows is that many of the questions asked by scholars interested in Purcell’s creative habits have long been posed by editors of his music; further evidence, if it is needed, is apparent in the detailed stemmatic diagrams, and appendices containing ‘earlier versions’, found in several of the Purcell Society volumes.<sup>28</sup> Consideration of source priority, and the apparent replacement of one version of a given passage with another, provide many of what Kerman described as the ‘hard facts’ that are the first findings of all ‘sketch studies’.<sup>29</sup> Notwithstanding the desire to include transcriptions of significant superseded or alternative readings in such editions, however, the traditional concerns of editors with the establishment of clear hierarchies among sources, and the determination of a ‘best text’ (or even an idealized reconstruction of ‘the composer’s intentions’) as the basis for the edition, tend to relegate evidence for more localized variants and creative decisions on the part of the composer to critical commentaries, which, even when complete and accurate, can make their recovery laborious. Perhaps it was for this reason that Michael Tilmouth chose to publish his thoughts on Locke’s

25 Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, pp. 62–4 (note that the page range for Hayes’s copy of *My Beloved Spake* in KNt MR 2–5.4 is given incorrectly on p. 62, where it should read ‘pp. 118–37’, not 108–37).

26 At the end of his copy of *My Beloved Spake* on p. 138 of KNt MR 2–5.4, Hayes writes: ‘This and the following Anthem were transcrib’d from Purcell’s Original Scores in the possession of Mr W: Flacton at Canterbury who favor’d me with the loan of them | 1785. | Phil. Hayes’. See also Chapter 2, pp. 14–15 in this volume.

27 That these two sources are one and the same is evident from Novello’s statement quoted above that his text derived from Hayes’s score via a copy once owned by Bartleman. However, the footnote on the first page of Novello’s edition complicates the issue by stating that Hayes later deposited his source in the King’s Library; since Hayes’s note in KNt MR 2–5.4 indicates that he had borrowed his source from Flackton, this seems unlikely. The autograph described by Novello as owned by the Rev. Joshua Dix of Faversham (d. 1832; see *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, no. 4139 (25 August 1832): 3) is probably the copy in Lbl Add. 30932, providing additional information on the whereabouts of Flackton’s collection between his death and the time it was owned by Julian Marshall (who sold the manuscripts to the British Museum). See Robert Ford, ‘A Sacred Song Not by Purcell’, *Musical Times* 125 (1984): 45, n. 4; and Arthur Searle, ‘Marshall, Julian’, in *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (last accessed 21 August 2009).

28 See, for example, Henry Purcell, *Ten Sonatas of Four Parts*, ed. Michael Tilmouth, *The Works of Henry Purcell*, vol. 7 (rev. edn, London: Novello, 1981), pp. xii and 132–44. Note, however, that Christopher Hogwood’s interpretation of the source relationships in the *Sonatas of Four Parts* differs considerably from Tilmouth’s; see Henry Purcell, *Ten Sonatas of Four Parts*, ed. Christopher Hogwood (2 vols, London: Eulenberg, 1978), vol. 1, p. vi, and below.

29 Kerman, ‘Sketch Studies’, pp. 57–8.

revisions to his consort music separately from his editions for *Musica Britannica*, in what was one of the earliest studies of creative process in the music of Purcell's contemporaries.<sup>30</sup> Study of alternative versions in Purcell's music with the aim of critical insight apart from (or as well as) the creation of modern editions began a decade later, with the appearance of a survey of 'Revisions and Reworkings in Purcell's Anthems' by Robert Manning, and a detailed investigation by Robert Ford of the Funeral Sentences, prompted in part by Manning's article.<sup>31</sup>

At this point some clarification of the relationship between Purcellian studies and the wider discipline of 'sketch studies' as described by Kerman is necessary, since the surviving sources that preserve evidence of Purcell's creative activities present one considerable methodological obstacle in this respect: the conspicuous absence of almost anything among them that could even loosely be described as a 'sketch'. The Lbl Add. 30932 copy of *My Beloved Spake* is a good example of the kinds of autograph manuscripts we do possess from near the beginning of Purcell's creative process: there are alterations and deletions in several places, but the score is continuous from beginning to end, all the necessary parts are present, the layout is planned, and sufficient verbal cues are provided that a competent musician could complete the underlay with few problems.<sup>32</sup> While not particularly neat, the music is entirely legible and there is nothing to suggest that this is anything but a finished version of the piece. In other words, any attempt to approach this (or, for that matter, any other piece by Purcell) from the methodological angle of 'sketch studies' in the strict sense inevitably stretches the term 'sketch' almost to breaking point.<sup>33</sup>

This may seem no more than terminological pedantry, but the point is worth making since it draws attention to the fact that, unlike scholars of some other composers, those working on Purcell's music have very little opportunity to penetrate the earliest stages of the creative process – stages that can in consequence take on something of an occult status. Yet while Purcell may indeed have been, as Manning put it, 'a composer who was able to write down his musical ideas clearly and spontaneously',<sup>34</sup> it does not follow from this that we should understand Purcell as a sort of seventeenth-century Mozart, a romantic genius working in a fervour of divine inspiration.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, it is worth considering briefly what other explanations there could be for Purcell's apparent compositional facility.

30 Tilmouth, 'Revisions in the Chamber Music of Matthew Locke': 89–100.

31 Robert Manning, 'Revisions and Reworkings in Purcell's Anthems', *Soundings* 9 (1982): 29–37; Robert Ford, 'Purcell as his Own Editor: the Funeral Sentences', *Journal of Musicological Research* 7 (1986): 47–67.

32 Nevertheless, Isaack's evident difficulty with this task in his Cfm 117 score of *My Beloved Spake* (copied not from Lbl Add. 30932, but from another source with only incipits underlaid) suggests that he found this more troublesome than might be expected; see Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, p. 64.

33 This possibility was indeed acknowledged by Kerman; see 'Sketch Studies', pp. 54–5.

34 Manning, 'Revisions and Reworkings in Purcell's Anthems': 29.

35 Even for Mozart, of course, this popular image has been largely discredited in the scholarly literature; see, for example, Maynard Solomon, 'The Rochlitz Anecdotes: Issues of Authenticity in Early Mozart Biography', in Cliff Eisen (ed.) *Mozart Studies*

It should not be thought that Purcell was unusual among his peers in this respect: there are equally few surviving true ‘sketches’ in the hands of Matthew Locke, John Blow or Pelham Humfrey, or for that matter of Jeremiah Clarke, William Croft or John Eccles.<sup>36</sup> One reason for this might be that the higher costs of writing materials encouraged composers to reuse paper for other purposes; this would explain the presence of the only known sketch fragment in Purcell’s hand on the underside of a correction slip pasted into fol. 7 of Ob Mus.c.26, an autograph copy of the anthem *Let mine Eyes Run Down with Tears*.<sup>37</sup> It may also be relevant that this fragment is contrapuntal, since the greater technical demands of such passages might understandably have demanded notated trials more often than did more homophonic writing.<sup>38</sup> It is possible, of course, that rather more sketches were made than have survived: we have several fragmentary jottings in the hand of Henry Aldrich, for example, and it may be that his academic training and antiquarian interests encouraged him to hold onto materials of a kind that were not so valued by professional composers.<sup>39</sup> Equally, it may be that some material was sketched using erasable tablets, though as Herissone observes, there is no evidence for such a practice in Restoration England.<sup>40</sup>

These considerations aside, however, it is clear that Purcell made much less use of what we would consider ‘sketches’ than did some later composers, not because he was more talented or inspired than they were, but simply because that was the norm at the time. One reason for this could be stylistic: it seems obvious that even the most ambitious music of the seventeenth century is simpler both in texture and structure than, say, a Beethoven symphony or Verdi opera, and might therefore

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(Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), pp. 1–59.

- 36 Fragmentary sketch-like material by James Hawkins and John Blow is discussed and reproduced in Herissone, ‘The Theory and Practice of Composition in the English Restoration Period’, pp. 136, 137 and 144.
- 37 See Rebecca Herissone, ‘Purcell’s Revisions of his Own Works’, in Curtis Price (ed.), *Purcell Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 63–4. As I read it, the fourth and fifth notes after the first bar line on the lower stave of this ‘sketch’ were intended to be e<sup>b</sup> and f<sup>♯</sup> respectively, not d<sup>♯</sup> and e<sup>♯</sup> as transcribed in Herissone’s article; thus there is very little difference between the part as sketched and as in the final version of the piece.
- 38 See Rebecca Herissone, ‘“Fowle Originalls” and “Fayre Writeing”: Reconsidering Purcell’s Compositional Process’, *Journal of Musicology* 23 (2006): 591. Some similar sketch-like material survives in the hand of Daniel Henstridge, on either side of fol. 127 of Lbl Add. 30933 (vol. 3 of Flackton’s collection), although here the sketching (of canonic voices from a larger, four-part texture) is laid out in the context of whole systems, suggesting that these are aborted drafts rather than sketches as such.
- 39 For a list of sketch-like materials in Aldrich’s hand at Christ Church, Oxford, see John Milsom, ‘Henry Aldrich: The Autograph Manuscripts’, in Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*, <http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/> (last accessed 18 August 2009). Another reason that more sketches survive in Aldrich’s hand could simply be that, as an amateur composer, he required them more often to marshall his thoughts.
- 40 Herissone, ‘“Fowle Originalls”’: 585. For a discussion of this phenomenon in earlier Italian music, see Owens, *Composers at Work*, p. 97.

require less written experimentation. On the other hand, the argument of scale and complexity is not entirely persuasive, since Beethoven and his contemporaries also left sketches for much simpler works than operas and symphonies.<sup>41</sup> There is considerable research to be done, therefore, into why musicians in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries seem not to have needed extensive sketches, and how we can gain an insight into other methods composers may have used to invent their materials. One possibility, as discussed in the third part of this chapter below, is to examine some of the specific musical techniques that we know Purcell used (such as imitative counterpoint) to see how these might have affected his invention of materials. Another important line of inquiry, as Herissone points out, is the significance of musical memory, which was far more central to the skills of musical performers during the seventeenth century than it is today, and is thus likely to have influenced the activities of composers as well.<sup>42</sup>

It is in the techniques of improvisation, at the boundaries of composition and performance, that most information might be forthcoming. Two particular accounts of Restoration creative processes are instructive in this respect: Thomas Mace's extraordinary description of his composition of the lesson 'My Mistress' in *Musick's Monument*,<sup>43</sup> and the inscription by Edward Lowe in Ob Mus.Sch.c.138, fol. 146, that records Matthew Locke's composition of the Prelude and Gloria on fols 146v–7 'at ye musick schoole betweene ye Houers of 12, & 3 afternoone the 9th of November [1665]'. From Mace, we learn that his 'Secret Genius, or Fancy, prompted [his] Fingers, (do what [he] could) into This very Humour; So that every Time [he] walk'd, and took up [his] Lute, (in the Interim, betwixt Writing, and Studying) This Ayre would needs offer It self unto [him], Continually', and only after some time '(liking it Well, (and lest It should be Lost,) [he] took Paper, and set It down[)]'.<sup>44</sup> In other words, the composition of the work itself was largely intuitive: Mace perceived it as almost involuntary, coming to him unbidden as he procrastinated over letters to his sweetheart and her mother (as we learn elsewhere in his account); the notation of the music was a separate event, linked to its preservation rather than its composition. Mace is somewhat notorious for his over-romanticized view of his own youth, and since he was an amateur musician

41 See, for example, Lewis Lockwood, 'Beethoven's Sketches for *Sehnsucht* (WoO 146)', in Alan Tyson (ed.), *Beethoven Studies* (New York: Norton, 1974), pp. 97–122. Peter Holman has suggested that the presence of sketches even for comparatively simple pieces during the nineteenth century may to some extent be explained by the need to produce legible copy for printers once the ubiquity of later print culture made it common for composers to sell their autographs to publishers: autographs preserving evidence of multiple versions would obviously be ambiguous, hence the need for separate notated records of the earlier stages of the creative process (private communication, 20 November 2009).

42 Herissone, "'Fowle Originals'": 585; see also Stephen Rose, 'Memory and the Early Musician', *Early Music Performer* 13 (2004): 3–8.

43 Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument, or a Remembrancer of the Best Practical Musick* (London, 1676), pp. 122–3.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 122.

we should be careful about applying this account too widely, but it does at least provide an indication of one way of working.

The Locke example is somewhat different. From Lowe's inscription we know that the piece was 'made, prickt, & Sunge' in the three hours Locke spent at the Oxford Music School. In this case, 'prickt' probably referred simply to the copying of the performing parts, since the Gloria and its Prelude on fols 146v–7 are clearly the composing manuscript: there are several obvious alterations and aborted lines, and even despite these there remain numerous problems with the voice-leading that Locke would not usually have allowed to stand given the leisure of more time. Although the compositional process did involve notation in this instance, Locke still seems to have relied on techniques closely related to improvisational practice, such as the long falling bass line that underpins the prelude, and the heavy use of writing in parallel thirds in the violin parts.<sup>45</sup>

In the absence of 'sketches' in the strictest sense of the word, then, the 'palaeographical' study of creative process in Purcell's music concerns itself instead with the broader range of documents – drafts, working autographs, paste-overs and so on – admitted by Kerman into the more pragmatically defined field of 'sketch studies' on the basis of their fulfilment of two criteria which he considered essential: '(1) it has survived, and (2) it was in the composer's mind superseded'.<sup>46</sup> On this basis, he argued, one might proceed logically to study the successive forms and early versions of particular works, and from there to 'questions about composers' criticism of their own music'.<sup>47</sup> The attraction of such a model in terms of understanding the formation and development of a composer's style over the course of a career is obvious, and it was from this methodological starting point, derived directly from the conventional discipline of 'sketch studies', that several articles of the 1980s and 1990s provided important insights into Purcell's own music. Although much of this literature has since been superseded, it provides a crucial background to the more recent reassessment of Purcell's creative activities explored in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

Manning's groundbreaking article of 1982 is a particularly good example of the direction in which 'questions about composers' criticism of their own music' tend to lead: in the course of his discussion of Purcell's autographs of four well-known anthems, he described the revisions made by the composer, evaluating their success according to the largely unspecified criteria that for him constituted Purcell's 'sensitive musical discrimination'.<sup>48</sup> His comments on the Funeral Sentences, which initiated a series of perceptive studies of these heavily revised works, provide a case in point: Manning accounted for the composer's revisions in terms of the 'extra harmonic and melodic interest', 'slightly firmer feeling of continuity' and

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45 See, for example, the similar techniques Locke recommends in his thoroughbass 'rules': *Melothesia, or, Certain General Rules for playing upon a Continued-Bass* (London, 1673), pp. 5–[11].

46 Kerman, 'Sketch Studies', p. 54.

47 *Ibid.*, pp. 54–5.

48 Manning, 'Revisions and Reworkings in Purcell's Anthems': 35.

'greater affective and melodic unity' that they achieved and, towards the end of *Thou knowest, Lord*, the 'better command of tonality' shown in the later version.<sup>49</sup>

If Manning's observations seem fundamentally persuasive, this is perhaps because most readers who share a twentieth-century Western musical education will recognize their origins in the values of musicality and taste inculcated by such a background. On the other hand, more recent developments have shown that the picture presented by Manning is at the very least oversimplified, and perhaps even misleading in places.

One problem is the selectivity of his account: it may be true that the revisions Manning discussed provide ample evidence of Purcell's refined musicality, but what of all those revisions he omitted to mention, which in some cases, at least to modern ears, seem detrimental to the effectiveness of the music? By ignoring these, he presented a coherent account of the kind of consistent improvement we would expect from the 'great' composer, when in reality the situation is much more problematic. This was one of the criticisms implied by Robert Ford's response to Manning's article: by drawing attention to a number of other changes made by the composer, many apparently in the name of consistency (including one that introduced particularly flagrant consecutive perfect fifths), Ford was able to show that Purcell's revisions were rather more hit-and-miss than the unerring sense of self-criticism implied by Manning would suggest.<sup>50</sup> Despite Ford's greater awareness of variation in the quality of Purcell's revisions, however, the methodology of the two articles is basically similar: both evaluated the revisions according to what might be called criteria of general musicality, and both assumed that changes made by the composer represented putative improvements in Purcell's estimation, and were therefore evidence of his musical judgement according to those same criteria. Hence Ford's attempt to excuse Purcell's fallibility on the grounds that he 'may well have been a far better composer than editor'.<sup>51</sup>

For all that he remains within this paradigm, though, Robert Ford made one particularly important contribution in his article that has been borne out by more recent work: his insistence on the importance of non-autograph sources as records of compositional reworkings.<sup>52</sup> Ford observed that a large group of sources of the Funeral Sentences commonly regarded as preserving corrupted or inauthentic texts in fact agreed sufficiently with one another to suggest that their variants all derived from a common source.<sup>53</sup> Particular features of the handwriting of Daniel Henstridge in one of these manuscripts, US-LAuc fC6966/M4/A627/1700, allowed him to date this

49 Ibid.: 30–31.

50 Ford, 'Purcell as his Own Editor': 54–62.

51 Ibid.: 66.

52 Ibid., *passim*, but see especially p. 47. As Herissone observes in pointing out this aspect of Ford's article, the importance of non-autograph sources in this respect has been more widely recognized in studies of Locke's music: see Tilmouth, 'Revisions in the Chamber Music of Matthew Locke': 89–100; and Thompson, 'The Sources of Locke's Consort "For Seaverall Friends"': 16–44.

53 Ford, 'Purcell as his Own Editor': 51–2.

version to around 1681–82, meaning that it almost certainly predated the autograph score of the first two Sentences in Cfm 88, and therefore seemed most likely to represent an intermediate stage of revision by Purcell between the earliest extant autograph in Lbl Add. 30931 and the version in the Fitzwilliam collection.<sup>54</sup> Although he was concerned only with the Funeral Sentences, the case of *My Beloved Spake* demonstrates the wider applicability of Ford's observation about copyist sources: as we have seen already, even a source as late as Philip Hayes's score of the work from the 1780s can prove pivotal to the comparative evaluation of surviving versions.

Comparatively little of Purcell's music will admit such detailed investigation of earlier versions; there are simply no sources preserving significant variant texts for the vast majority of his works. Nevertheless, an overview of those works that are susceptible to such treatment was provided by Herissone's early *Purcell Studies* article, which also showed two notable developments on earlier approaches to Purcell's creativity: the attempt to present a more general overview, and the linking of the implicit criteria of general musicality found in earlier studies with more explicit observations about stylistic change.<sup>55</sup>

In attempting a global description of Purcell's working methods drawn from the broad corpus of surviving sources, rather than concentrating on a given work, Herissone's 1995 article offered a number of invaluable starting points for the analysis of individual sources. One such insight was Purcell's care in planning his copying, although like most Restoration copyists he occasionally seems to have lost his place in his source text, prepared systems for the wrong numbers of parts, or entered the music for a given voice or instrument on the wrong staff.<sup>56</sup> When such mistakes occurred, or indeed when revising a score, Purcell would use one of a number of methods of amendment: he might enlarge or otherwise modify notated symbols such that their pitch or rhythm (or both) were altered, cross out individual notes or whole passages, or scrape away the surface of the paper in order to remove the notation and write over the top of it; each of these methods can be seen in the Lbl Add. 30932 score of *My Beloved Spake*. More extensive revisions might be notated elsewhere in the manuscript, their intended use being indicated by some sort of written rubric, or they might be added on separate sheets and secured into the manuscript using glue or pins.

Of even greater interest in terms of compositional process was Herissone's observation that Purcell tended to notate outer parts first, before going back to complete the texture.<sup>57</sup> This can be seen in certain autograph works where the inner

54 Ibid.: 52–3. For the most recent discussion of the relevant qualities of Henstridge's handwriting, see Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, pp. 223–4.

55 Herissone, 'Purcell's Revisions of his Own Works', *passim*; this article actually derived from Herissone's MMus dissertation, 'The Compositional Techniques of Henry Purcell as Revealed through Autograph Revisions Made to His Works' (MMus dissertation, King's College, London, 1993).

56 Herissone, 'Purcell's Revisions of his Own Works', p. 56.

57 In fact, there is considerable precedent for this kind of compositional process in comparable repertoires: Peter Holman makes reference to its use in homophonic dance music as early as the 1550s (see *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540–1690*, Oxford

parts were never filled in, such as the Suite in G and the symphony anthem *Rejoice in the Lord Alway*, and where changes in ink colour show that the parts were notated at different times, as in anthems like *Bow Down thine Ear* and *My Heart is Fixed*, and in the *Chacony* in G minor.<sup>58</sup> In other works, such as the symphony anthem *I was Glad*, the number of revisions to the inner parts seems to indicate that they were being composed directly into the manuscript despite the fact that there is no change of ink; it may be that, rather than having composed the treble and bass and later returning to the same manuscript in order to complete the remaining parts, Purcell was here actually copying from another source containing outer parts only, and composing the inner parts in the process.<sup>59</sup>

Once again, *My Beloved Spake* provides a convenient testing ground, and there are indeed passages in the Lbl Add. 30932 score that seem to confirm that Purcell began by notating outer parts alone: on the second system of the opening symphony on fol. 87, for example, the alignment of the inner string parts is clearly different from that of the first violin and thoroughbass, and the same is true of the start of the middle system of fol. 90v (the end of the ritornello following the first 'alleluia'). There is, however, one passage in which Purcell's revisions to the score defy explanation in these terms – a passage that thus helps both to refine the theory and to pin down the function of this source. At the top of fol. 88v (see Figure 3.1), before he made a significant cut at the words 'the rain is over and gone', Purcell altered the text underlay and the notes of the tenor part. Two aspects of these revisions are crucial. First, they show that Purcell was copying, rather than composing: as he wrote out the text beneath the first empty stave (using the text to determine the spacing before any music was copied was another common working method), he made the classic copying error of jumping ahead to a similar passage later in the music, with the result that all the text from the first 'the' on this line was effectively copied three bars early.<sup>60</sup> Second, the revisions to the notes in the tenor part show that he was copying both the alto and tenor simultaneously, or at least a few notes at a time: we can see that he had copied four notes in the tenor before realizing his mistake and attempting to remedy it, but he cannot by this point have copied the whole of the alto line for this system, since there are no corrections to the notes in the top part. Instead, it seems he had completed just the first three notes of the alto – the three notes, indeed, that were the same at the beginning of this phrase and the next, and hence that contributed to the mistake in the first place. Perhaps at this point Purcell added the start of the first bass part to the alto and tenor already

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Monographs on Music (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), p. 90), and the practice of *remplissage* in Lully's operas, whereby the inner parts were apparently supplied by the performers and transcribers of the works rather than by Lully himself, is well known (see Ronald Broude, 'Le Cerf, Lully, and the Workshop Tradition', in Ronald Broude (ed.), *Studies in the History of Music 3: The Creative Process* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1992), pp. 17–30).

58 Herissone, 'Purcell's Revisions of his Own Works', p. 57.

59 Ibid.

60 All references to barring and bar numbers refer to the edition of *My Beloved Spake* in Purcell, *Sacred Music, Part I*, ed. Dennison, pp. 103–32.





Figure 3.1 Purcell's alterations in his autograph score of *My Beloved Spake*, Lbl Add. 30932, fol. 88v. Reproduced by permission of the British Library. © The British Library Board; all rights reserved.

notated, since doing so would immediately have alerted him to the error in his copying and prompted him to revise the text and tenor part before going on to complete the alto line without need for any alterations.

Thus, despite Hayes's annotation to the effect that the Lbl Add. 30932 autograph is Purcell's 'original score', and its rough appearance, it is clear that this source is in itself a copy of an earlier source of some sort; indeed, this would explain how what has always been thought of as a composing score found its way into Flackton's collection: perhaps after all it is a transmission copy that was sent to Henstridge at Rochester, as has been suggested for the other autographs in Lbl Add. 30931–3.<sup>61</sup> The implications for Purcell's copying habits, meanwhile, are that, while it may be true that he completed outer parts first for passages in which the inner parts were yet to be composed (perhaps, in other words, his copy text had only outer parts for the symphony and ritornelli), at least on fol. 88v he copied in descending order from the highest part. The evidence is far from conclusive, since the second bass is silent for the crucial notes, but given that Ford observed a similar pattern in the sources of the Funeral Sentences, it is worth considering that, at least when copying textures that were already complete, Purcell may have followed such an order. Apart from anything else, there are good practical reasons for doing so, giving the danger of smudging an already notated bass part if the inner parts are added immediately.

In addition to describing Purcell's general working methods, the other main focus of Herissonne's *Purcell Studies* chapter was the analysis of the actual revisions he made in the works under discussion, and their interpretation as indicators of stylistic change in Purcell's music. Given least attention were the expected corrections of errant voice-leading, as well as some seemingly less important revisions of detail that involve the handling of dotted rhythms in any part, and of octave displacements and rhythmic simplification in thoroughbass lines, and the kind of neutral reworkings of melodic details, especially in the approaches to cadences, characterized by both Manning and Ford as 'tinkering'.<sup>62</sup> Examples of such details in *My Beloved Spake* might include the handling of the second repeat in the overture (a literal repeat from the anacrusis to the last four bars in Lbl Add. 30932 and Badham's Ob T 1031, but with the bass altered to crotchet F – minim f immediately prior to the *petite reprise* in Cfm 117, Lbl Add. 17820, KNt MR 2–5.4 and Novello's edition), or the sixth note of the first bass part in the verse 'For lo the winter is gone' (b, in the autograph and Ob T 1031, c' in the other sources).

Three kinds of more extensive revision were treated at greater length by Herissonne in this chapter: modifications to harmonic language and tonal content (particularly in the Funeral Sentences and the anthems *Hear me, O Lord* and *Let mine Eyes Run Down with Tears*), to imitative textures (in *Let mine Eyes Run Down with Tears* and the *Benedicite* from the Service in B Flat), and to large-scale structural organization, particularly towards the ends of pieces (in the 'Golden' Sonata,

61 Ford, 'Purcell as his Own Editor': 48–9.

62 Herissonne, 'Purcell's Revisions of his Own Works', pp. 82–6; Manning, 'Revisions and Reworkings in Purcell's Anthems': 35; Ford, 'Purcell as his Own Editor': 66.

no. 9 from the 1697 *Sonatas of Four Parts*, and in Fantazia 2).<sup>63</sup> Included in this latter bracket are the two more significant structural revisions made to *My Beloved Spake* in the Lbl Add. 30932 autograph: the removal of the last nine bars and anacrusis from the end of 'For lo the winter is gone' – the last two of which are reinstated in all sources of the later version – and the cutting of five bars from 'My beloved is mine'. As Herissone observed, these greatly improve the sense of climax of their respective verses,<sup>64</sup> although in this case as a result of removing harmonically redundant phrases rather than due to improvements in part-writing.

Herissone's analysis of the revisions in the works covered by her essay aimed to present a clear picture of the stylistic background to Purcell's 'criticism of his own music', to return to Kerman's idea about the class of questions probed by 'sketch studies' in the broad sense: drawing on common observations about the stylistic trajectory of Purcell's career, she observed harmony becoming more tonally directed and less locally idiosyncratic, imitative textures tighter and more motivically concentrated, and structures more balanced, with clearly driven climaxes.<sup>65</sup> Such arguments have their own potential problems, however, and Herissone's penultimate sentence is revealing: 'Even where change seems to have resulted in significant improvement, one can only speculate about Purcell's intentions as a reviser of his own music.' In other words, given the ultimate inaccessibility of Purcell's actual reasons for reworking a given passage, stylistic arguments like those advanced here may prove little more than a thin veneer covering an analysis that is still essentially subjective.

This is not to say that such arguments are inherently less persuasive. The relative merits of the versions of Sonatas 7 and 8 from the 1697 *Sonatas of Four Parts* preserved in the print and in the autograph manuscript, Lbl Add. 30930, for example, are a matter of individual taste; in theory one might agree with Michael Tilmouth that the printed version of Sonata 7 is 'a clear advance' on the Add. 30930 text, or with Herissone that certain passages of this sonata sound 'weak and uninspired' in the print, but are 'considerably stronger and more vital' in Lbl Add. 30930.<sup>66</sup> As observations about Purcell's revisions, however, Herissone's comments gain more weight from the fact that material from the printed version of Sonata 8 appears on the reverse of correction slips used in the Lbl Add. 30930 copy of Sonata 9, suggesting

63 Herissone, 'Purcell's Revisions of his Own Works', pp. 66–73, 73–80 and 80–82 respectively.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 82.

65 On the increasingly Italianate style of Purcell's music see (for example) Jack A. Westrup, *Purcell, The Master Musicians* (rev. edn, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995; originally published London: Dent, 1937), pp. 240–47; Kenneth R. Long, *The Music of the English Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1972), p. 272; or for a more subtle account incorporating recent emphasis on the importance of 'ancient' contrapuntal methods even in Purcell's later music, Martin Adams, *Henry Purcell: The Origins and Development of his Musical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), *passim* (see the statement of Adams's main thesis in his preface, pp. ix–x).

66 Purcell, *Ten Sonatas of Four Parts*, ed. Tilmouth, p. xv; Herissone, 'Purcell's Revisions of his Own Works', pp. 60–61.

that the version of Sonata 8 that was later to be printed had already by this time been altered. The existence of such physical evidence for the chronological order of the different versions suggests that Herissonne's opinion might indeed have been closer to Purcell's own, and also allowed her to add the more Italianate and violinistic style of the manuscript versions to the list of likely reasons for his revisions.

Nevertheless, it is important to understand the limitations of this kind of evidence, since in other contexts it can prove unreliable or even downright misleading. Manning, for example, based his entire argument concerning the relative chronology of the versions of *My Beloved Spake* on criteria of taste, resulting in an idiosyncratic view of the piece that has apparently no grounds in the surviving evidence. Manning's interpretation rested on the qualities of the two versions of the first strain of the opening symphony, a third important variant among the sources that we are yet to consider. He observed that the Cfm 117 version of these opening bars 'modulates rather more freely' than the autograph text, and contains 'more passing harmonic and melodic quirks'; the autograph, he suggested, 'seems to be the more assured of the two passages musically; on stylistic grounds we might therefore date it slightly later' than the Fitzwilliam version.<sup>67</sup> The argument here was essentially that, since Manning believed the autograph version to be better, it must necessarily have been later. Yet as Robert Ford was later to show, it is unwise to assume Purcell's infallibility of judgement when editing his own music. Manning's belief in the legitimacy of this kind of stylistic evidence was sufficient that it even outweighed the evidence presented by the cuts to 'For lo the winter is past' and 'My beloved is mine' in Lbl Add. 30932, which are followed in every other source of the anthem; his attempt to explain this away as an exceptional instance of indecision in the process of revision was extremely unconvincing and, to my knowledge, his theory has never gained currency.

Apart from the danger of using stylistic arguments in the absence of secure chronological evidence, this view of *My Beloved Spake* also hints at further methodological problems with the explanation of revisions in terms of stylistic development. First, it is far from clear that a gradual change of style over a whole career (even a short one like Purcell's) can always be used to explain revisions made within a short period of time of the original composition. There are very few works that are known to have been composed near the beginning of Purcell's career and revised towards the end of his life. Most, like *My Beloved Spake*, were probably composed and revised within a rather shorter space of time – perhaps months, or a few years at most – such that it may be safer to view the revisions as reflections of increasing competence rather than long-term stylistic change (although the two are admittedly difficult to disentangle). It would be more convincing to compare revisions made, say, between the late 1670s and the 1690s, but such a project would be hampered by the fact that the overwhelming majority of works containing significant revisions

<sup>67</sup> Manning, 'Revisions and Reworkings in Purcell's Anthems': 32–3. The Lbl Add. 30932 autograph of *My Beloved Spake* is in fact the only source to preserve its version of the opening of the symphony; all other sources contain readings similar to that in Cfm 117.

date from the late 1670s and early 1680s, while those works from the 1690s that do display some textual fluidity have variants for very different reasons.<sup>68</sup>

Second, and perhaps more importantly, the association of a given set of revisions with a particular stylistic trend risks underplaying other, perhaps equally important motivating factors. At its extreme, this can lead to apparently contradictory accounts of the same music. Consider, for example, Herissone's account of the Funeral Sentences, which attributes Purcell's revisions of *In the Midst of Life* and *Thou knowest, Lord* to his desire to 'clarif[y] the harmonic content', 'simplify the chromaticism', 'remove pungent harmonies' and '[reorganize] the tonal plan', all of which are discussed in the context of the stylistic trajectory towards a more Italianate, tonal harmonic style.<sup>69</sup> By contrast, Robert Shay, in a 1998 article that is the most recent contribution to the extensive literature on these works, associates Purcell's revisions with the lessons he learnt from studying the polyphony of older English composers including Tallis, Byrd and Gibbons.<sup>70</sup> One of the most significant aspects of Purcell's revisions in this regard is his tendency to introduce greater elision of imitative entries.<sup>71</sup> In this context, the very increase in harmonic control and balance associated by Herissone with an emerging tonal style is attributed by Shay to a better understanding of Renaissance imitative procedures.<sup>72</sup> To complete the reversal, whereas Herissone observes the removal of 'pungent harmonies', Shay points out the introduction of unconventional dissonances for specific affective purposes, noting their frequent citation as 'the most conspicuous (*and modern*) feature of [Purcell's] polyphonic works' (my emphasis).<sup>73</sup>

68 Isolated instances from the works of other composers might help here, such as the case, suggested to me by Peter Holman (private communication, 20 November 2009), of a symphony song by Blow, which occurs as 'Whilst on Septimius's panting Breast' in *The Theater of Music: Or a Choice Collection of the Newest and Best Songs Sung at the Court, and Public Theaters ... The First Book* (London, 1685), p. 68 in a version that includes three singers in the chorus sections, with a French-style overture and ritornelli; the version that appears with the text 'As on Septimius' panting Breast' in Blow's *Amphion Anglicus: A Work of Many Compositions, for One, Two, Three and Four Voices* (London, 1700), p. 171, however, is a vocal duet with imitative, Italianate instrumental parts. The issue of whether or not these clear stylistic changes constituted the original motivation behind the revision requires further investigation, as does the actual date of the revisions themselves: were they carried out expressly for the publication (and thus at least 15 years after the original composition), or might they be somewhat earlier?

69 Herissone, 'Purcell's Revisions of his Own Works', pp. 66–8.

70 Robert Shay, 'Purcell's Revisions to the Funeral Sentences Revisited', *Early Music* 26 (1998): 460. Shay's article draws on material originally included in his unpublished doctoral thesis, 'Henry Purcell and "Ancient" Music in Restoration England' (PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1991), in which he explores a similar thesis with respect to a wider selection of Purcell's music, through a detailed examination of contemporary theoretical texts and Purcell's contribution to Cfm 88.

71 Shay, 'Purcell's Revisions to the Funeral Sentences Revisited': 463–4.

72 *Ibid.*: 463–5.

73 *Ibid.*: 465.

The point of contrasting these views of Purcell's revisions of the Funeral Sentences is not that one or the other is less persuasive or even 'wrong', but that by associating the revisions with a particular stylistic trait or trend each author has excluded other interpretations that are equally plausible. It seems far more likely that the impulses behind any given alteration were multiple and varied, and some of them perhaps unconscious; the search for multiple interpretations, then, might yield both explanatory power and a greatly increased richness of discourse within future discussions of Purcell's compositional revisions and reworkings.

### Sources, Versions and Revisions: The Example of *My Beloved Spake*

Over little more than a decade since Robert Shay's article on the Funeral Sentences, the 'palaeographical' study of Purcell's creativity has begun to change in a number of ways, partly in response to the kinds of methodological debates outlined above, and perhaps even more so as a result of increasing realization that the models of creative activity on which most studies of the 1980s and 1990s were based are in many respects unsuited to Restoration music. At this point we might look in more detail at *My Beloved Spake* in order to bring out some of these problems with the traditional approach, and in the process provide a more comprehensive account of Purcell's anthem itself.

One of the casualties of recent thinking has been the assumption, irrespective of variation in creative habits caused by genre or performance circumstances, that we can understand Purcell's creative process as an orderly succession of compositional stages from initial inspiration through the working out of a composition to its arrival in a definitive version, and that these stages will be preserved in an equally orderly series of documents from sketches through rough drafts to the final fair copy. It is these kinds of assumptions that underpin the criteria applied by Kerman for the admission of materials into his broadly defined discipline of 'sketch studies' cited above: '(1) it has survived, and (2) it was in the composer's mind superseded'.<sup>74</sup> It does not take much study of the sources of *My Beloved Spake* to arrive at the conclusion that these criteria are deeply problematical when applied rigidly to Purcell's music.

As we have already seen, it has been widely assumed that the surviving sources preserve evidence of two versions of *My Beloved Spake*: one in the Lbl Add. 30932 autograph, and one represented by a group of sources including both Cfm 117 and Ob T 1031. The minor controversy over the relationship between these latter two, however, may derive ultimately from a multi-stage revision process similar to that observed by Robert Ford in the Funeral Sentences: both the Fitzwilliam and Tenbury texts, I would suggest, can be traced to different exemplars likely to have come from Purcell's own hand. The study of Purcell's creative process in this piece

<sup>74</sup> Kerman, 'Sketch Studies', p. 54.

thus inevitably involves the conceptual reconstruction of at least one source that has not survived.

Dennison's assertion that some of the Cfm 117 variants 'could not possibly represent Purcell's intentions' is a good place to start.<sup>75</sup> In fact, many of the variants in Isaack's copy are relatively easy to explain. As Shay and Thompson note, it is clear that Isaack copied very little text at the time he notated the music;<sup>76</sup> thus we may safely attribute the often faulty underlay to him, noting in passing that this is a common problem throughout Cfm 117, and that several other passages also seem likely to represent simple misreadings on Isaack's part.<sup>77</sup>

Such infelicities aside, three features of Isaack's text are likely to have aroused Dennison's suspicions (see Example 3.1): a viola part that creates particularly ugly consecutive fifths in the second strain of the symphony (b. 19), and a tenor line in the closing chorus that makes two unconventional minor seconds with the bass (b. 301) and consecutive fifths with the alto (b. 307). These three readings are distinct from the obvious inaccuracies of Cfm 117 since each is shared with Hayes's KNt MR 2–5.4 score, which as we have seen is likely to derive independently from the later Purcell autograph, now lost.<sup>78</sup> What Dennison does not make clear, however, is that these two scores also share other readings that are not found either in the Lbl Add. 30932 autograph or in the Ob T 1031 score by Badham that was his copy text (see Example 3.2).

Such a level of agreement between Isaack's and Hayes's scores seems unlikely to have arisen by chance, so we need to consider what reasons there could be for the three problematic readings. In fact the first can be explained rather simply: as Novello evidently realized, there is a sharp missing from the third note of b. 19 in the viola part, which when restored creates perfectly acceptable counterpoint.<sup>79</sup> As for the two problems with the tenor line in the final chorus, it may simply be necessary to recall Robert Ford's observation that Purcell sometimes made

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75 Unfortunately, Dennison's conviction that these readings were simply spurious led him to ignore most of them in his critical report, with the result that the relationships between them and two additional sources he did not collate (Hayes's KNt MR 2–5.4 and Novello's edition of the work largely derived from it) are difficult to spot – an object lesson in the necessity of listing every variant, even if only to attribute them to apparent corruption. If patterns do not occur to the editor during collation, they may well appear to the reader in considering additional sources or simply approaching the data with a fresh eye.

76 Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, p. 64.

77 See, for example: faulty accidentals at bb. 13 (thoroughbass), 41 (bass) and 78 (thoroughbass); two vocal bass parts in parallel unison at bb. 103–7; rhythmically nonsensical second bass part at bb. 170–72; and a missing note in the thoroughbass, first beat of b. 146.

78 The same readings are also found in an early eighteenth-century source, Lbl Add. 17820 fols 96–102, although this source also contains many of the obvious errors found in Cfm 117 and for this reason seems likely to have been copied directly from Isaack's score.

79 There is even a clear technical reason why Purcell might have preferred this reading in his later revision: it avoids the accented passing note in the first violin sounding against its note of resolution as it had in Lbl Add. 30932.

(a) <sup>18</sup>

(b) <sup>302</sup>

al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia,

al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia,

al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia,

al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia,

Cfm 117:

(c) <sup>306</sup>

al - - - le - lu - ia.

al - - - le - lu - ia.

al - - - le - lu - ia.

al - - - le - lu - ia.

Cfm 117:

Example 3.1 *My Beloved Spake*, three problematic variants from Cfm 117: (a) b. 19; (b) b. 301; (c) b. 307.



(a) <sup>41</sup>

(b) <sup>100</sup>

(c) <sup>121</sup>

Example 3.2 *My Beloved Spake*, three further variants found in both Cfm 117 and KNt MR 2–5.4: (a) b. 41 (bracketed note does not occur in Lbl Add. 30932 or Ob T 1031); (b) b. 102 (small staves represent readings in Cfm 117 and KNt MR 2–5.4); (c) b. 122 (bracketed notes are not found in Lbl Add. 30932 or Ob T 1031).

ill-advised revisions on the spur of the moment. In this case there are attractive incentives for both changes: the first smooths out a rather angular moment from an otherwise pleasingly intuitive line, and the second strengthens the final cadence by introducing a seventh to the penultimate chord; the resulting contrapuntal transgressions are probably no more than unfortunate by-products.

If the version of *My Beloved Spake* in Cfm 117 and KNt MR 2–5.4 itself derives from Purcell's revised 'fair copy', then Ob T 1031 is left in something of a state of limbo: Badham's score has all the major revisions, including the new first strain in the symphony and the two cuts shown by the crossings-out on fols 88v and 92 of the surviving autograph, yet contains none of the smaller variants found in the Isaack and Hayes scores. Any explanation of how this came about necessarily relies on a degree of speculation, but it is nevertheless possible to arrive at a convincing reconstruction of events. We have already seen that the Lbl Add. 30932 autograph is itself a copy from an earlier source, which for the present purposes we will call Source A. Given that the cuts on fols 88v and 92 of Lbl Add. 30932 were made after the notation of the music, it seems likely that Source A also originally contained those bars that were later removed: the alternative – that Purcell added the material as he copied Lbl Add. 30932 only to delete it later – is less probable, although his revision practices elsewhere indicate that he may well have introduced other, smaller variants as he copied. Thus we have evidence so far of at least two 'states' of the work: first as written in Source A, and originally copied (although perhaps with some revision) in Lbl Add. 30932, then as amended with the two significant cuts in Lbl Add. 30932.

Exactly when these cuts were made is difficult to establish, but the unusual system braces found in the Lbl Add. 30932 autograph of *My Beloved Spake* suggest that they were introduced at some remove from its original notation. In his mature hand, beginning probably as early as the late 1670s with the autographs in Cfm 88 and Lbl Add. 30930, Purcell tended not to use system braces at all; the inverted form originally used in *My Beloved Spake*, similar to that used by Blow in Och Mus. 628, is a particular feature of Purcell's earliest autographs, such as the copy of Pelham Humfrey's *By the Waters of Babylon* in Lbl Add. 30932, fols 52–55v, and the two Funeral Sentences in Lbl Add. 30931, fols 81v–84v.<sup>80</sup> But *My Beloved Spake* also contains a second layer of braces that have a more conventional shape which is also found in the Lbl Add. 30932 autograph of *Behold now, Praise the Lord*, from c.1678–79, and which is strikingly similar in formation to those used by the scribe referred to by Shay and Thompson as 'London A' in Lbl R.M. 20.h.8 and US-R M2040/A628/Folio.<sup>81</sup> Purcell seems to have added these braces at the same time that the cuts were made, since on the second system of fol. 88v the newer style of brace is drawn not at the left-hand extreme of the page – which would have been its conventional position, but occurs in the middle of the cut passage – but at the beginning of the ritornello

80 An accessible reproduction of a page of the Humfrey score can be found in Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, p. 3.

81 On London A, see *ibid.*, pp. 78–83, 131–5, 312; images of his copying in US-R M2040/A628/Folio and Lbl R.M. 20.h.8 can be seen on pp. 82 and 132 respectively.

that follows three bars later. I suspect that the alterations were made in the Lbl Add. 30932 autograph of *My Beloved Spake* some time after it was originally notated, in order to make it conform to Source A which had already been amended, and that the new braces were inserted deliberately to show that the manuscript had been checked against the revised Source A, either by Purcell or perhaps by London A (although the style of the system braces alone is insufficient to prove it).<sup>82</sup> If this is indeed the case, it may even be that the last two bars of the first cut (setting 'is over and gone'), rather than being reinstated in the later versions, were never intended to have been cut at all, but rather were crossed out as a result of carelessness.

Thus far, then, we have established that the Lbl Add. 30932 autograph was copied from Source A, and that both sources may have been amended with the cuts described. We can date these cuts to before 1677, since they are followed in a bass part of *My Beloved Spake* in the hand of William Tucker at fols 7–7v of Lbl Add. 50860, in between items attributed to 'Mr' John Blow.<sup>83</sup> It was at this point in the creative process that the Lbl Add. 30932 score left Purcell's possession, presumably passing to Henstridge at Rochester (such an intention may even suggest the reason for its revision), since this source does not record the next stage in the revision process, which was the replacement of the first strain of the symphony. If this was done in Source A using a paste-down slip or similar means of inserting the 11 new bars, the resulting text would have been more or less exactly that of Badham's score in Ob T 1031 – incorporating the two cuts and the new symphony, but without the variant details from Cfm 117 and KNt MR 2–5.4 described above. Only after the changes to the symphony, and perhaps prompted by concerns about the legibility of Source A, which was by now heavily revised, did Purcell copy out the whole piece for a third time, giving rise to what we shall call Source B, from which Isaack and Hayes both copied their scores.<sup>84</sup> Thus Kerman's criterion of survival seems almost irrelevant: at least three autograph scores (containing in total four states of the work) can be inferred from the surviving sources of *My Beloved Spake*, even though only one autograph is extant.

If this comes at all close to an accurate description of Purcell's work on *My Beloved Spake*, then it also starts to make Kerman's other condition – that original materials are superseded by later sources – look increasingly problematic. By the early 1680s there were evidently at least two forms of the anthem in circulation: the Lbl Add. 30932 version (which was probably known by Henstridge at Rochester), containing

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82 Only one of the other autographs in Lbl Add. 30932 has both styles of braces written one over the other as in *My Beloved Spake – Who hath Believed our Report?* – and there is no obvious evidence of revision in this case.

83 See Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, pp. 144–6.

84 Novello's text perhaps requires further explanation: in his edition of the revised version only the variant given in Example 3.1(a) is followed, with the addition of a sharp as already described. Given that Novello seems to have taken Hayes's score as his copy text, we might expect it to follow more of the Isaack/Hayes variants, but Novello also notes that he collated his text with that in the second volume of Tudway's *Services and Anthems* (Lbl Harleian 7338, dated 1716). Tudway's text is all but identical to Badham's, and thus could easily have provided Novello with these readings.

the cuts but not the new symphony, and the version derived from Source B copied by Isaack at Windsor; in addition, the revised Source A cannot by this stage have been destroyed, since it was still available to Charles Badham at St Paul's Cathedral when he copied Ob T 1031 in the first decade of the eighteenth century. Had Purcell truly considered each set of revisions to supersede all previous versions, he would surely have taken steps to ensure that earlier texts were removed from circulation; that he did not suggests that, as Ford observed in the case of the Funeral Sentences, he was content that the music should be known and performed in multiple versions.

The evidence for the persistence of earlier versions alongside revisions of Purcell's music is not limited to works found in the Lbl Add. 30931–3 autographs like the Funeral Sentences and *My Beloved Spake*. Indeed, the classic example – which has been widely quoted since 1995 when it was first expressed in print – is that of the revisions in Lbl Add. 30930 to what would become Sonatas 7 and 8 of the 1697 *Sonatas of Four Parts*. Robert Thompson pointed out these were made using correction slips originally pinned, rather than glued, in place.<sup>85</sup> The suggestion is that this method was used deliberately in order to permit selection between the different versions, and that neither was to be considered definitive; here, then, is an alternative interpretation that offers a way out of the impasse we encountered on pp. 83–5 above. No doubt some revisions were intended to replace earlier readings: it is difficult to imagine that Purcell himself continued to perform *My Beloved Spake* in its original form as notated in Source A after the cuts found in Lbl Add. 30932 were made, for example. Yet examples like those given here contribute to a growing body of evidence that challenges the idea that Restoration musical works ultimately existed in some definitive form arrived at through an organic and teleological process of creation and revision on the part of a composer.

This is not intended as a criticism of Kerman's assumptions, since he did not really consider much music before the middle of the eighteenth century and in any case quite calculatedly avoided the additional complication of notions of finality even in his core nineteenth-century repertoire.<sup>86</sup> However, recent work on Purcell's compositional process by Rebecca Herissone has shown that studies of Restoration music can ill afford to skirt this issue if they are to provide useful insight into the ways in which the music was created, notated and even perhaps performed.<sup>87</sup>

## Rethinking Purcell's Compositional Process

Herissone's reframing of the question of Purcell's creativity as evident from the sources begins with a problem that lurked not far beneath the surface of her 1995 *Purcell Studies* article: the terminology used to describe manuscript sources of

85 Robert Thompson, 'Purcell's Great Autographs', in Curtis Price (ed.), *Purcell Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 15–16.

86 Kerman, 'Sketch Studies', p. 55.

87 Herissone, "'Fowle Originalls'": 569–619.

Restoration music. Discomfort with the term 'fair copy' is already evident in the earlier article, perhaps most notably in its apparent synonymy with 'neat copy' despite the disclaimer in note 1 stating that the term 'fair copy' is intended not to reflect attention to presentation but simply the fact of post-compositional notation.<sup>88</sup> As we have seen, almost all Purcell's autograph sources seem to meet this second criterion; furthermore, even if 'fair' is open to interpretation, 'neat' is surely an unambiguous reference to the appearance of the notation, with the result that the article's use of these terms as largely interchangeable often seems to contradict the earlier footnote.

Further reflection on the use of the term 'fair copy' along with another common label, 'rough draft', led Herissone to arrive at two significant objections to the use of such terminology in conjunction with Purcell's manuscripts: one ontological, the other etymological. The latter argument in particular brings the problem into focus. It seems that the apparent similarities between the modern terms 'rough draft' and 'fair copy' on the one hand, and seventeenth-century labels such as 'fowle originall' and 'fayre writeing' on the other, can by no means be taken for granted. Most obvious is the problem with assuming equivalence between 'originall' and 'draft': these terms did indeed carry similar meanings in the late seventeenth century, but denoted an authentic original or exemplar, without the connotations of preliminary status or fragmentary nature usually implied by modern definitions of the term 'draft'.<sup>89</sup>

In effect, this confirms the observation made above about the problem with the rough draft/fair copy distinction in Herissone's earlier article, and it demands a significant change in the way we think about the relationship between Purcell's creativity and the documents in which his music is preserved. In the nineteenth-century traditions at the heart of Kerman's discipline of 'sketch-studies' it was possible to observe a number of largely discrete stages in the compositional process, their notated corollaries each differing in terms of visual appearance and even technology: from initial sketches through successive drafts to a fair copy and, ultimately, a printed edition that represented a form of authorized definitive version. By contrast, Restoration manuscript culture can now be seen as one in which even the earliest surviving sources preserve little detailed evidence of the initial creative act, and in which notational characteristics are at best a poor guide to the compositional status of a given source.

In such a context issues like the chronological sequence of revisions and the problem of whether or not one version is to be considered definitive start to appear less and less relevant. According to the nineteenth-century model, the creation of each source of a given work is a direct outcome of a given stage in the compositional process; thus if one can arrange the sources in the right order, one can be fairly sure of reconstructing a more or less coherent process leading up to the composer's 'final thoughts' on that piece. In Restoration music, by contrast, sources seem to

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88 Herissone, 'Purcell's Revisions of his Own Works', p. 51; see, for example, pp. 54–5 where Cfm 88 is described as containing 'fair copies', and pp. 66–7 where the same manuscript has 'neat copies'.

89 Herissone, "'Fowle Originalls'": 578–80.

have been created in response to particular functional demands rather than as part of a systematic 'creative process'. In such a context, Herissone suggests, music is constantly changing in response to the demands of differing performance contexts and resources, a situation she likens to Philip Bohlman's formulation of 'music as process' as against the more familiar (if equally flawed) nineteenth-century model of 'music as object'.<sup>90</sup> We have arrived, in other words, at the ontological problem with the conventional manuscript terminology: the written preservation of music in such a culture invariably reflects the intended use of the source, and the variation of musical details that goes with this use, much more than it does any teleological progress towards a definitive version of the work in question.

From this starting point, Herissone was able to outline a fresh approach to Purcell's creative processes based on the interpretation of sources in the context of their practical functions, rather than relying principally upon the relationship between their texts and any putative ideal forms of the works they contain. This is a task that has been largely facilitated by the appearance of Shay and Thompson's *Purcell Manuscripts* in 2000, with its detailed codicological study of all the principal autograph sources and many more copyist manuscripts containing Purcell's music.<sup>91</sup> Shay and Thompson's volume presents a wealth of information derived from the study of handwriting, paper types, bindings and collation, and textual comparison, which permits a much more detailed understanding of individual manuscripts, the circumstances of their creation and the complicated relationships among them than has hitherto been possible. Purcell's creative habits are greatly illuminated by this kind of information alone, but the book's authors also offer numerous intriguing nuggets that suggest further lines of enquiry, of which the various comments on *My Beloved Spake* taken up in this essay are just one example. Perhaps even more suggestive in the context of Herissone's work, however, was the organization of *Purcell Manuscripts* into chapters focusing on Purcell's most important score-books, and on the sources of music in particular genres. As Herissone points out, this kind of structure reflects Purcell's own categorization by genre of large score-books like Cfm 88, Lbl Add. 30930 and Lbl R.M. 20.h.8, both within volumes (by copying different repertoires from alternate ends of the same book) and between them.<sup>92</sup> The question that arises, then, is to what extent these differences in genre are discernible in the surviving sources, and how far they reflect Purcell's different creative habits when working in different contexts.

90 Ibid.: 572; see also Philip V. Bohlman, 'Ontologies of Music', in Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (eds), *Rethinking Music* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 18.

91 Related material also appeared earlier in Robert Shay, 'Purcell as Collector of "Ancient" Music: Fitzwilliam MS 88', in Curtis Price (ed.), *Purcell Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 35–50, and Thompson, 'Purcell's Great Autographs', pp. 6–34. For a recent reappraisal, see Robert Thompson's chapter in this volume.

92 See Herissone, "'Fowle Originals'": 572–6.

A key preliminary stage in this project is the establishment of a working vocabulary to replace the conventional references to source types as ‘rough drafts’ and ‘fair copies’. For Purcell’s manuscripts, Herissone suggests a five-fold division of document types, four of which can be illustrated with reference to the sources of *My Beloved Spake* discussed above.<sup>93</sup> The appearance of the surviving autograph, Lbl Add. 30932, might suggest that we designate it a ‘fowle originall’ – that is, what might be called a primary exemplar: the first complete text of the work, usable by copyists and, in some instances, performers (perhaps in the case of the composer playing continuo), defined as such by its untidy appearance and not by any preliminary or incomplete status.<sup>94</sup> However, we have seen that the Lbl Add. 30932 source of *My Beloved Spake* is in fact a copy from an earlier manuscript; thus it may be that the work’s true ‘fowle originall’ was Source A, with the various cuts and insertions described above. Like many of the Purcell autographs in Lbl Add. 30931–3, that of *My Beloved Spake* may instead have been a ‘transmission copy’ prepared by Purcell in order to provide Daniel Henstridge with a copy, following the practice by which most provincial cathedrals and other establishments seem to have acquired new repertoire.<sup>95</sup>

Both Isaack’s score in Cfm 117 and Badham’s in Ob T 1031, meanwhile, are examples of ‘file copies’: large, bound volumes containing collections of works copied in score for the purposes of storage and preservation, perhaps as exemplars for future performing materials or simply as part of a personal collection.<sup>96</sup> Finally, Tucker’s bass part to *My Beloved Spake* in Lbl Add. 50860 provides an example of performance materials. Thus the only one of Herissone’s five categorizations of Purcell autographs not represented among the sources for *My Beloved Spake* is that of teaching materials.<sup>97</sup> As Herissone acknowledges, there are other relevant manuscript functions; a good example would be Thomas Tudway’s copy of the anthem in Lbl Harleian 7338, fol. 224, a particular kind of file copy often referred to as a ‘presentation copy’ (this manuscript is one of a six-volume set entitled *Services and Anthems*, compiled by Tudway between 1715 and 1720 for his patron Edward, Lord Harley).<sup>98</sup> Finally, even entrepreneurial ‘manuscript publications’ may preserve variants that cast light on the creative history of a piece.<sup>99</sup>

93 A slightly different interpretation of sources based on musical function is outlined in Robert Thompson’s chapter in this volume, pp. 31–53 above.

94 Herissone, ‘“Fowle Originalls”’: 586.

95 Ibid.: 587; on the practice of dissemination among cathedrals see Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660–1714*, Oxford Studies in British Church Music (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), p. 77; see also the discussion in Robert Thompson’s chapter, this volume, pp. 31–53.

96 Herissone, ‘“Fowle Originalls”’: 587.

97 Ibid.: 587–8.

98 See Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, pp. 87–8.

99 See Robert Thompson, ‘Manuscript Music in Purcell’s London’, *Early Music* 23 (1995): 605–18; and Alan Howard, ‘Manuscript Publishing in the Commonwealth Period: A Neglected Source of Consort Music by Golding and Locke’, *Music & Letters* 90 (2009): 35–67.

Herissone applies these terminological distinctions to two genres of music by Purcell: liturgical sacred music with organ accompaniment, and odes and welcome songs. The different relationship between 'fowle originalls' and autograph file copies in these genres is marked, serving to demonstrate her thesis concerning the importance of source function. In the liturgical music, 'fowle originalls' are complete texts showing evidence of some revision, particularly to imitative passages; the file copy Cfm 88 preserves these changes but also demonstrates Purcell's habitual revision of details when copying from his originals into his score-book.<sup>100</sup> Variants in Cfm 88 fall into one of three categories: pre-copying revisions, made before or in the process of copying and thus not visible as corrections; post-copying revisions, involving crossings-out and other self-evident alterations that Herissone suggests may have been prompted by Purcell's intention to allow Isaack access to his score-book;<sup>101</sup> and planned revisions, which are similar to pre-copying revisions except that Purcell had evidently not decided exactly what was needed; he therefore left gaps in works like *Save me, O God, O God, Thou hast Cast me Out* and perhaps *Blessed is He whose Unrighteousness is Forgiven*, some of which he never returned to complete. Apart from Herissone's observation that many of the pre- and post-copying revisions in Cfm 88 seem to have been made without any prospect of performance, then, the pattern in this repertoire is intuitively familiar from many later repertoires; the difference is the absence of a logically determinable 'definitive' version of each work.

The odes and welcome songs, by contrast, seem to suggest a situation in which Purcell made his file copies in Lbl R.M. 20.h.8 simultaneously with the copying of the 'fowle originalls'.<sup>102</sup> While there are few surviving loose-leaf copies of these works, those that are extant show a common pattern: they tend to contain relatively neatly copied vocal parts, with very few corrections, and singers' names inserted for the solos, yet have instrumental parts that are poorly laid out, heavily corrected and often incomplete, as if composed directly into the manuscript. The Lbl R.M. 20.h.8 file copies, on the other hand, have much more complete instrumental parts, and vocal parts that are sometimes insufficiently notated to provide a complete record of the work.<sup>103</sup> The implication, Herissone argues, is that the loose-leaf 'fowle originalls' were used as copy texts for the vocal parts, and the file copies for the instrumental, with time pressures prompting Purcell to work on both copies together in order to facilitate a division of labour in the preparation of performance materials. Here, then, is a compositional process that is fundamentally different from that of the liturgical sacred music, and one that can only be understood through the examination of the sources in the context of their likely intended uses.

Herissone's focus on the specific intended functions of manuscript sources has the potential to move the study of Purcell's creative strategies beyond the kinds of subjective accounts of his supposed motivations for making particular

100 For the discussion of liturgical sacred music with organ accompaniment, see Herissone, "'Fowle Originalls'": 588–604.

101 Ibid.: 603.

102 Ibid.: 612.

103 Ibid.: 616.



revisions discussed above, and towards a much more profound understanding of the relationship between his music and the sources in which it is preserved. Her conceptualization of the Restoration musical work as inhabiting a state of constant flux, furthermore, with sources recording only its state at a given point in time and even then only with sufficient completeness to fulfil the source's intended functions, points to a more fundamental reconsideration of the nature of musical creativity in late seventeenth-century England. An important ingredient in this new approach is our increased understanding of the implications of what was predominantly a manuscript rather than a printed-music culture, and the effects of scribal habits upon the texts they transmitted: not only might the specific notated details of a given source be expected to reflect the circumstances behind its creation and intended use, but variation could also result from the act of manuscript reproduction itself. The classic treatment of this topic by Harold Love contains much that is directly relevant to this kind of musical creativity; indeed, in the following passage he could almost be describing the same set of practices that Herisone found in Purcell's liturgical sacred music:

The ideal of creativity revealed in such cases is a gradualistic one ... the scribal author is able both to polish texts indefinitely and to personalize them to suit the tastes of particular recipients. This practice denies the sharp distinctions which can be drawn for print-published texts between drafts, the 'authorized' first-edition text, and revisions which are fully reflected on and well-spaced in time. It also militates against our identifying any particular text as the embodiment of a 'final intention', for while the process of revision may in some instances be one of honing and perfecting, it may equally be one of change for change's sake or of an ongoing adaptation to the expectations of readers. Versions produced in this way do not so much replace as augment each other. In some instances they seem to grow from a lifestyle in which the activity of altering a text was more important than its outcome.<sup>104</sup>

It might be objected that the situation with Restoration music is really not all that different from that in the nineteenth century, if one allows for the fact that the kinds of compositional manuscripts found among the sketches and drafts of Mozart, Beethoven and Schumann (for example) are simply not available for Blow and Purcell. Is this idea of 'gradualistic creativity' really all that different from the kinds of changes and revisions that were also made to nineteenth-century works in response to specific performance demands, and recorded in manuscript emendations and insertions to printed editions? Clearly one possible answer is that it is not. In many ways it would be helpful to view Restoration music practices as a specific instance of a much wider principle, one that begins to look increasingly important as we seek new ways to understand the core eighteenth- and nineteenth-

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104 Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998; originally published as *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993)), p. 53.

century repertoires without uncritically accepting the ideologies of monumental objectification that we have inherited along with them.

Nevertheless, there are issues of both scale and kind that set seventeenth-century music apart somewhat from this later repertoire, which concern the status of the written text in relation to its realization in performance in the respective traditions. Any nineteenth-century adaptation of music to fit particular performance circumstances is likely to have drawn on a notionally definitive printed version whose contents were carefully controlled by the composer. However imperfectly this printed version encoded the music, and however inaccurate its contents turned out to be, it was nevertheless understood as a fixed exemplar. For Restoration works, the likelihood of variation in performance and the comparative imprecision of musical notation at the time meant that this concept of fixity simply did not exist.<sup>105</sup>

This is borne out not only in the amount of information that is typically missing from a seventeenth-century music manuscript (instrumentation, thoroughbass realization, ornamentation, tempo, dynamics, and so on) but also in the degree to which these and other details typically vary between sources, even between autographs of the same work. An excellent example is Blow's *Venus and Adonis*, recently edited by Bruce Wood for the Purcell Society's new 'Companion Series' in a parallel edition that shows the differences between the two extant versions, including both 'background variation' of this type and genuine revisions.<sup>106</sup> Such works present an intriguing problem for modern editors, since to select one version or the other risks imposing an unwarranted sense of textual stability, whereas to print both tends to suggest self-critical reworking on the part of the composer when many of the variants are in truth simply alternative realizations of an underlying concept of the piece that is less circumscribed than that for later musical works.<sup>107</sup>

What Boorman calls the 'allusive' nature of musical texts can help us to an even more radical reinterpretation of the comparative authority of different Restoration musical sources. In his words, the particular details notated in any score '[are] there because the composer (or some intermediary) regarded them as essential indicators of some aspect of the execution, as stimuli, rather than as binding instructions. ... The text represents an amalgam of decisions about only the essential components

105 For a recent discussion of this issue see Stanley Boorman, 'The Musical Text', in Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (eds), *Rethinking Music* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 407.

106 John Blow, *Venus and Adonis*, ed. Bruce Wood, The Purcell Society Edition Companion Series, vol. 2 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2008). For an overview of the kinds of notational features that seem to have been regarded by composers as interchangeable, see Herissone, 'The Theory and Practice of Composition in the English Restoration Period', pp. 159–62.

107 See also my comments in 'John Blow in Parallel Texts', Review of John Blow, *Venus and Adonis*, ed. Bruce Wood, Purcell Society Companion Series, vol. 2 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2008), in *Early Music* 37 (2009): 319. My own edition of Blow's anthem *Jesus Seeing the Multitudes*, which attempts to differentiate between genuine revisions and 'background variation' of details of this type, is available in the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music's *Web Library of Seventeenth-Century Music*, <http://aaswebsv.aas.duke.edu/wlscm>.

of a work'.<sup>108</sup> While this is true of all notated music – the main difference being the amount of information considered essential at a given time or place – the absence of a sense of the definitive or authorized version of a work in much music of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries means that the qualitative distinction between variants introduced by the composer and by other individuals can be eroded almost to the point of elimination. This is why, for example, many of the variants in the Isaack score of *My Beloved Spake* deserve serious consideration rather than simply being dismissed as corruptions: given Purcell's own propensity to make similar changes when copying his own music (as shown by works like the Funeral Sentences, for which multiple autographs survive), there is no clear reason to deny Isaack's text of *My Beloved Spake* the authority afforded to Purcell's autograph as a record of the piece as it would have been understood by his contemporaries. Non-autograph versions of a Restoration work therefore potentially carry an authority equal to that of autographs, not only in cases where corroboration suggests a common autograph source (as with *My Beloved Spake*), but even where they can be confidently attributed to someone other than the composer.

In effect this extends Love's notion of 'gradualistic creativity' to a kind of decentralized concept of the Restoration musical work as the sum of all possible realizations. In order to understand works by Purcell and his contemporaries better, therefore, we need to study their treatment by others who were literate in his musical style and its notated essentials, rather than relying on literal readings of autograph texts. What this must not become, however, is a blandly relativistic attitude to the sources in which it is no longer possible to discern differing levels of authority among them. As well as examining the working methods of composers in general and the specific decisions they made about individual works, then, the study of Restoration musical creativity will be fundamentally about assessing the reliability and competence of individual scribes. It will also be concerned with establishing the validity of a source as evidence of musical activity in a given context, since even a text that seems comparatively distant from the origins of a musical work may preserve much of interest in the context of the culture in which it originated.

Two specific areas for further research present themselves in the light of this wider definition of the Restoration musical work. First, if the notated sources preserve notionally essential aspects of a given work, exactly what were the defining characteristics that were considered specific to a given composition? Second, and furthermore, how did composers and other musicians realize these characteristics in performance? Recent work on Restoration keyboard music has suggested a way into this topic by examining those aspects that remain comparatively constant in disparate sources of the same pieces and transcriptions of pieces. Good examples are Jeremiah Clarke's *Shore's Trumpet Tune* and Robert King's settings of songs from Thomas Clayton's *Arsinoe*, as noted by Andrew Woolley: it seems that the 'gists' of such compositions are confined to as little as their general melodic contour and harmonic structure, and even quite considerable variation of rhythmic, melodic

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108 Boorman, 'The Musical Text', p. 419.

and harmonic details within this framework could be accommodated without altering the identity or ascription of a work.<sup>109</sup> Keyboard music is particularly open to such observations, given the large number of concordances, the common practice of arranging music from other genres for keyboard, and the likelihood that this was a genre in which repertoire was transmitted at least partly orally among professional musicians, being written down only for the benefit of their pupils. This, of course, has a profound effect upon the problems of producing modern editions, and the inclusive approach to Restoration sources I have described is thus increasingly obvious in this field.<sup>110</sup>

The usefulness of the 'gist' idea in other areas of the repertoire is as yet difficult to assess. There is some evidence of a similar notion in Purcell's transcriptions of his solo songs in the 'Gresham' score-book, Lg Safe 3, another case involving the transcription and arrangement of works for use in new generic and functional contexts.<sup>111</sup> The fact remains, however, that cases that do not involve changes of genre and, in particular, some degree of transmission by memory, rarely seem to produce such extreme textual variation. In works like the odes and welcome songs discussed by Herissone, in which the creation of the earliest sources seems to have been closely tied to the preparation of performance materials, there is little evidence of textual variation in later sources. It may be that the lack of opportunity for repeated performance of these works simply meant that the kind of variation found in the keyboard music simply never came about. Nevertheless, the idea of the 'gist' might profitably be used in this context as a way of probing the likely earlier stages in the compositional process that are not recorded in the sources; after all, we know from passages of incomplete copying that the first things to be written down were very often the outer parts – in other words, the very parts that defined the 'gist' of the music.<sup>112</sup>

109 Andrew Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, c.1660–1720' (PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 2008), pp. 89–93. The concept of the 'gist' and the related idea of 'family resemblances' among related melodies and pieces is a common one among scholars of earlier lute music and popular songs; see, for example, John M. Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes: Osborn Commonplace-book Tablatures and Related Sources* (2 vols, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), and his earlier articles also making use of related ideas: 'The British Broadside Ballad and its Music', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 20 (1967): 28–86; 'The Hunt's Up', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 106 (1979–80): 1–25; 'The Morris Tune', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39 (1986): 294–331; and 'And who but Ladie Greensleeues', in Edward D. Olleson, Susan Wollenberg and John Caldwell (eds), *The Well Enchanting Skill: Music, Poetry and Drama in the Culture of the Renaissance – Essays in Honour of F.W. Sternfeld* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), pp. 181–212.

110 See Christopher Hogwood, 'Creating the Corpus: the "Complete Keyboard Music" of Henry Purcell', in Hogwood (ed.), *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 67–89.

111 See Henry Purcell, *The Gresham Autograph*, Introduction by Margaret Laurie and Robert Thompson (facsimile edition, London: Novello, 1995), pp. viii–ix.

112 An example from the odes is the final chorus of *Swifter Isis*, *Swifter Flow* in Purcell's

Conversely, it may be that better understanding of the practices surrounding the 'gist' concept in keyboard music can lead to a richer sense of the possibilities for performing some of the music that is preserved in less elaborate states; in other words (illuminating my second question), it could help us investigate the actual realization of the 'notated essentials' in performance. The propriety of added divisions and other extempore elements in the performance of Restoration music has been hotly debated, and it may seem difficult to reconcile the apparent freedom of some examples from the keyboard music with reported injunctions from some contemporary composers that performers avoid excessive divisions.<sup>113</sup> In part, this apparent contradiction may be attributed to the differing agendas of composers and virtuoso performers in late seventeenth-century England, but it might also be useful to consider whether the issue here was primarily one of imposing fidelity to the written text, or rather of asserting the principles of tasteful performance.

Central to the resolution of such questions, and arguably at the heart of all of the issues discussed above, is the problem of whether and to what extent seventeenth-century English musical culture can be said to have had what we would recognize as a 'work concept' at all, and if so, how it was balanced with the textual variation observable throughout the repertoire to different degrees. The idea of a polarization in seventeenth-century music between composer- and performer-related types, suggested by Anthony Newcomb and expanded by John Butt in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music* to encompass a contrast between 'reified abstractions' and 'events', might be a useful starting point.<sup>114</sup> Yet there are problems here: we have seen that in one sense each notated instance of a Restoration piece constitutes an 'event' in its own right; yet even in cases of quite wide textual variation, certain aspects (certain musical elements, an attribution, perhaps some variant of a title) remain that seem to suggest a firm sense of identity. It may be that all Restoration music stands somewhere between these poles or, perhaps more usefully, is capable of being appropriated by either one at a given moment, and thus carries the potential to embody both functions.<sup>115</sup>

Apart from such general issues surrounding the status of Restoration music and its notated guises, it seems likely that much research in the near future will be devoted to the reinterpretation of source-based evidence in the light of increasingly refined understandings of the contexts in which they were produced, and of the various social roles played by Purcell and his contemporaries: the composer as student, and the continued role of the Renaissance principle of *imitatio* in the creation of new

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autograph, Lbl R.M. 20.h.8; see Herissone, "'Fowle Originalls'": 611–12. More examples abound in Purcell's instrumental and sacred music (see Herissone, 'Purcell's Revisions of his Own Works', pp. 56–8), although the actual relationship of these to Purcell's creative process has yet to be reconsidered in the light of the functions of their sources.

113 See, for example, Locke's preface to *The Little Consort* (London, 1656).

114 See John Butt, 'The Seventeenth-Century Musical "Work"', in Tim Carter and John Butt (eds), *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 28–33.

115 I am grateful to Stephen Rose for this suggestion.

musical works and styles; the impact upon composition of relationships among patrons, publishers, printers and the composers themselves; changing attitudes to authorship, and the roles of various scribal networks in the gestation, transmission and evolution of works, texts of works, and even whole repertoires.<sup>116</sup>

## Analytical Approaches to Creativity

Although, as we have seen, Kerman's criteria for materials relevant to 'sketch studies' ignore the importance of earlier versions that are preserved in non-autograph sources, it is hard to ignore the fact that in one sense his model holds true for Purcell's music. 'Palaeographical' approaches have little to offer in the way of insight into the earliest stages of the creative process, since, for some of the reasons described above, 'sketches' for this repertoire on the whole simply do not seem to have survived. In order to probe these aspects of Restoration creativity, then, an alternative approach is needed.

The language of 'creative intention', to return to Nicholas Cook's term as discussed at the beginning of this chapter, has always played a significant role in the analysis of Purcell's music, whether as its principal aim – as in Peter Holman's study of *Three Parts upon a Ground* – or more generally through the vocabulary used to make analytical observations about the music – as in Martin Adams's *Henry Purcell: The Origins and Development of his Musical Style*.<sup>117</sup> Neither of these studies, however, is primarily concerned with the detail of how Purcell actually composed his music. Holman's focus is principally upon the kinds of decisions Purcell had to make even before he began writing, such as scoring and choice of idiom; Adams, meanwhile, is mainly concerned with the critical appraisal of Purcell's achievements from a modern perspective, and the development of the composer's style in the course of his career. Both nevertheless harbour some interesting implications if one

116 Three projects on the horizon at the time of writing all promise to deal with these issues and more: *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, a collection of essays edited by Rebecca Herissone, arising out of the September 2008 conference of the same name at the University of Manchester; Herissone's monograph *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming); and Stephanie Carter's 'Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in Restoration England, 1650–1700' (PhD dissertation, University of Manchester, 2011).

117 Peter Holman, 'Compositional Choices in Henry Purcell's *Three Parts upon a Ground*', *Early Music* 29 (2001): 250–61; Adams, *Henry Purcell*. See, for example, p. 100 (on Fantazia no. 6): 'Purcell now uses this association to drive a series of entries'; and p. 195 (on the song 'I take no pleasure'): 'Purcell "bends" the harmonic progress for expressive purposes'. In addition, Purcell's agency is also implicit in many passages of Adams's book that do not specifically invoke his name, such as on p. 161 (on the relationship between the canzona of Sonata 7 from the 1697 set and that in the 'Trumpet Overture' from *The Indian Queen*): 'The changes in the subject are significant: they avoid the earlier work's clipped, two-bar phrasing.'

reads between the lines: Holman's discussion of Purcell's use of the four canonic passages in *Three Parts upon a Ground* 'as structural reference points', for example, strongly implies that these canonic sections must have been worked out separately and then incorporated into the overall plan.<sup>118</sup>

More recently, analytical study of Purcell's music has formed part of a wider interest in the idea of developing analytical tools based on techniques that demonstrably informed the activities of contemporary musicians, thereby opening up a new avenue of inquiry into Purcell's creative strategies.<sup>119</sup> Because the success of this kind of analysis depends upon the identification of specific compositional problems in the context of which decisions made by the composer can be examined and evaluated, there are potentially many different approaches that might be taken. In vocal music, for example, one might start with the nature of the text to be set, examining its metrical patterns, imagery and structural organization, and the relationship between these and the musical idioms selected by the composer. Katherine Rohrer's study of the connections between textual metre and dance styles in Purcell's songs offers a glimpse of the potential rewards of this topic, and indeed Purcell's treatment of different dance genres in both his vocal and instrumental music would be a good starting point in its own right for this kind of approach.<sup>120</sup> The remainder of this chapter, however, will focus on one aspect of Purcell's compositional technique that provides a clear window onto his creative strategies: his use of imitative counterpoint and canon. My own research on this topic forms part of an expanding body of literature – centred mainly on earlier composers but also including Laurence Dreyfus's work on J.S. Bach – which is largely devoted to the analysis of contrapuntal music through the discovery of its inventive origins and the mechanisms that determined the treatment of the resulting materials.<sup>121</sup>

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118 Holman, 'Compositional Choices': 258.

119 The background to this development is rehearsed in Bent, 'The Grammar of Early Music', pp. 15–59.

120 Katherine T. Rohrer, 'Poetic Metre, Musical Metre, and the Dance in Purcell's Songs', in Curtis Price (ed.), *Purcell Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 207–42. Much might be learned about Purcell's engagement with dance idioms by adopting an approach similar to that taken by Meredith Little and Natalie Jenne in *Dance and the Music of J.S. Bach*, Music Scholarship and Performance (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991); I analyse the third movement of Purcell's Sonata 5 from the 1683 set in the context of its juxtaposition of contrapuntal demands with dance-derived rhythmic considerations in my PhD thesis, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice: Compositional Strategies in the Fantasias and Sonatas' (PhD dissertation, King's College, London, 2006), pp. 219–23.

121 In addition to the examples cited above in n. 17, examples include Laurence Dreyfus, 'Bachian Invention and its Mechanisms', in John Butt (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 171–92; Julian Grimshaw, 'Morley's Rule for First-Species Canon', *Early Music* 34 (2006): 661–6; Grimshaw, 'Sixteenth-Century English Fuga: Sequential and Peak-Note Subjects', *Musical Times* 148 (2007): 61–78; Grimshaw, 'Fuga in Early Byrd', *Early Music* 37 (2009): 251–65; John Milsom, 'Analysing Josquin', in Richard Sherr (ed.), *The Josquin Companion* (Oxford:

Traditional accounts of Purcell's most concentrated contrapuntal passages have tended to use them as examples of the composer's ingenuity, often citing them as evidence of a conservatism of style manifested in his fascination for and familiarity with the techniques of 'Ancient' music.<sup>122</sup> This notion is a prickly one, since although he was admittedly unusual among his musical colleagues, Purcell's interest in the extreme forms of artifice he found in the older music he studied aligned him closely with ideas current in Restoration literature, theatre and architecture.<sup>123</sup> Putting this issue aside, however, it remains the case that the frequent admiring references to such passages in Purcell's music are rarely followed through in analytical study. Yet even very simple questions asked of familiar examples can result in interesting revelations. Consider the opening section of Fantazia 8, and the first movement of Sonata 1 from the 1683 set, both examples of Purcell's so-called 'conservative' style, and both founded on astonishingly varied combinations of their respective imitative materials. If we look at those materials themselves, outside the confines of the passages Purcell created from them, it emerges that he systematically exhausted the contrapuntally viable two-voice canonic combinations of his subjects in each case.<sup>124</sup> As a simple observation this is interesting; when viewed from the point of view of creative process it is critical, since it demands consideration of exactly how Purcell was able to achieve such a methodical working. Either, it seems, he was able to perceive and retain large amounts of contrapuntal information in his head, keeping track of its use as he wrote down his music, or he undertook some sort of written pre-compositional 'research' into the contrapuntal possibilities of his material.

Setting aside for a moment the question of exactly what form Purcell's investigation of his materials might have taken, consideration of how Purcell arranged them into an actual piece raises another set of questions. Here we can turn to Christopher Simpson's *Compendium of Practical Musick* (1667) as a possible model, since it gives by far the most detailed practical advice on the composition of imitative and canonic passages of all Restoration treatises. Specifically, Simpson presents an 'Example of the first Platform of a Fuge', in which the imitative parts

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Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 431–84; Milsom, 'Absorbing Lassus', *Early Music* 33 (2005): 305–20; Joshua Rifkin, 'Miracles, Motivicity, and Mannerism: Adrian Willaert's *Videns Dominus flentes sorores Lazari* and Some Aspects of Motet Composition in the 1520s', in Dolores Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 243–64; and Peter N. Schubert, 'Hidden Forms in Palestrina's *First Book of Four-Voice Motets*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 60 (2007): 483–556.

122 See, for example, Peter Holman, *Henry Purcell*, Oxford Studies of Composers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 74–85; see also Adams, *Henry Purcell*, p. ix.

123 For an amplification of this point, see Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice', pp. 224–33.

124 See *ibid.*, pp. 113–14 and 121–6; I make a similar observation about the second section of the sacred partsong 'Since God so Tender a Regard' in my article 'Composition as an Act of Performance: Artifice and Expression in Purcell's Sacred Partsong *Since God so tender a regard*', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 132 (2007): 47–9.



alone are notated.<sup>125</sup> This, he advises, should be the first stage of composing a passage of imitative counterpoint; once the subject entries are fixed, the composer may return in order to ‘fill up the empty places with such Concords and Bindings [i.e. suspensions] as you think fittest for carrying on your Composition’.<sup>126</sup> However, while this method works well for simple passages in which the subject entries are confined to one or two parts, it soon loses its explanatory power for music that contains complexes of three, four or even five subject entries. To give an extreme example, the many three-part canons in the first movement of Sonata 6 from the 1683 set – including the famous opening passage in which augmentation and double augmentation are used simultaneously – can hardly have been composed in this way: rather, the first and most artificial of the canons in this movement was surely fundamental to the very conception of the piece, a guiding principal of Purcell’s melodic invention.<sup>127</sup>

Similarly, the passage in bb. 16–18 of Fantazia 8, in which all four parts present the subject in one large complex of entries overlapping on successive minims, seems highly likely to represent the key creative impulse behind the whole opening section of this piece.<sup>128</sup> Once this is recognized, moreover, it becomes possible to account – in a surprisingly simple yet highly persuasive manner – for the range of contrapuntal invention in this section of the fantasia, and thus the form of ‘research’ undertaken by Purcell. In fact, not only is this passage constructed according to the principals of what John Milsom calls ‘stretto fuga’ – according to which such four-part canons can always be constructed from melodic material composed of the correct ‘interval stock’ – but also nearly all of the imitative combinations in this whole section are related either to this passage, or to the opening combination of the point in prime and inverted forms, by simple melodic or intervallic inversions and rotations of part order.<sup>129</sup> The great feats of memory or laborious notation of large numbers of combinations suggested above can therefore largely be replaced with simple ‘tricks of the trade’ that Purcell could easily have learnt from his studies of older music, or even from older contemporaries. Indeed, alongside the improvisatory techniques already discussed, Locke’s Gloria in Ob Mus.Sch.c.138 actually contains a short

125 Christopher Simpson, *A Compendium of Practical Musick in Five Parts ... The Third Editio[n]* (London, 1678; originally published 1667), p. 111.

126 *Ibid.*

127 In ‘Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice’, pp. 245–9, I demonstrate that a different technique recommended by Simpson, this time for the composition of canons in all parts simultaneously (*A Compendium of Practical Musick*, pp. 120–21 and 124–5), could easily have been adapted to compose this passage; in fact, this most cited of instances of Purcell’s contrapuntal mastery was probably comparatively simple to compose.

128 Howard, ‘Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice’, p. 124.

129 Milsom gives a concise summary of the principles of ‘stretto fuga’ in ‘Absorbing Lassus’: 313. For a more detailed analysis of this section of Fantazia 8, see Howard, ‘Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice’, pp. 121–32 (a full discussion of the observation made in the present chapter, which is updated from the original treatment in my thesis, will be included in my forthcoming book on Purcell’s ‘artificial’ techniques).

passage of imitation for four voices on a subject constructed on the same principles of 'stretto fuga' found in Purcell's Fantazia 8.

Observations like these are difficult to internalize in the absence of greater detail, but something of the explanatory potential of the ideas advanced here can be gained from a closer assessment of the end of the 'alleluia' in bb. 134–55 of *My Beloved Spake*. Any appeal to strict contrapuntal procedures in the analysis of this work may appear surprising, given that it dates from well before Purcell's documented interest in contrapuntal techniques at the end of the 1670s, and indeed there is no question of this passage even approaching the virtuosity of the fantazias and sonatas. Nevertheless, Purcell's methodology in this, one of the few sustained passages of imitation in the work, provides an opportunity to see some of these ideas in action and demonstrates that they formed part of Purcell's musical education even at a very early age.

In a procedure that was typical of the verse anthem in the 1670s, this section begins with a series of phrases based on the same material, sung by verse parts alone (see Example 3.3).<sup>130</sup> Here, Purcell's compositional approach is simple: he composes four verse entries, each based on the same dotted motif; he is careful to vary the harmonic content by contriving his phrases to end in different keys,<sup>131</sup> and he maintains momentum by overlapping each new entry with the preceding cadence (a device that is facilitated by the design of the motif, whose falling third fits easily when begun on the fifth degree).

The first imitative writing appears in bb. 146–8, and is accomplished by the simplest means: the alto part echoes the second bass an octave higher and a crotchet later, and there is no reason to suppose that Purcell did not fit these entries in around an already-composed bass part in a manner similar to the technique he would later call 'imitation, or reports' in 'The Art of Descant'.<sup>132</sup> Note, however, that this form of the dotted 'alleluia' motif, as used by Purcell in the first-bass and tenor entries in the preceding bars, was already predisposed to such treatment, given that it comprises two successive intervals of a falling third and thereby meets the requirements for 'stretto fuga'; thus Purcell may have designed the motif for its ease of contrapuntal combination from the outset. A final lone entry of the subject in these bars, in the first bass at b. 149<sup>3</sup>, is again designed to sustain momentum by overlapping with the cadence.

130 On this technique see, for example, Shay, 'Purcell's Revisions to the Funeral Sentences Revisited': 461.

131 See Simpson's advice for the composition of music 'in strains' (i.e. dance forms with repeated sections), *A Compendium of Practical Musick*, p. 116. Although this passage of *My Beloved Spake* is not strictly 'in strains', its idiom is clearly dance-derived and the need to avoid 'Reiterat[ing] the Aire too much', as Simpson puts it, is equally valid in this context.

132 Henry Purcell, 'The Art of Descant', in John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick. In Three Books ... The Twelfth Edition. Corrected and Amended by Mr. Henry Purcell* (London, 1694), p. 108. In the treatise Purcell defines this technique as the addition of imitative lower parts to an already-composed treble, but the method is equally applicable to the present case in which the bass, as the leading solo part, clearly has compositional priority.

135

Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia,

Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia,

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al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia,

Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia,

- le - lu - ia,

Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia,

149

al - le - lu - ia, Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia.

al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia.

al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia.

- lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia.

Example 3.3 *My Beloved Spake*, bb. 135–55.

Much more interesting is what happens in bb. 150<sup>3</sup>–53, a span of just over three bars in which the ‘alleluia’ subject is heard no fewer than nine times, five of which are complete entries and four are either truncated or have intervallic alterations. If we isolate the imitative content of bb. 146–55 (as in Example 3.4), it soon becomes apparent that even this density of entries is achieved very simply using the results of the initial imitative work in bb. 146–8. Example 3.4(a) shows both of the two-voice interlocks that resulted from the imitation of the bass in bb. 146–8: interlocks A, at the octave one unit later (between second bass and alto), and B, at the lower seventh two units later (between alto and the next second-bass entry). As shown in Example 3.4(b), every interlock in bb. 150–53 is formed either from one of these two complexes or from their inversions at the octave, tenth or twelfth (also shown in Example 3.4(a) for ease of reference), including one passage that uses the principles of four-part ‘stretto fuga’ to dictate the pitches of four successive entries (shown boxed in Example 3.4(b)). This whole passage, then, could easily have been composed with great fluency directly into the original manuscript in which Purcell first notated the piece: just like the Locke Gloria and the more ambitious examples in Fantazia 8 and Sonata 6 of the 1683 set, it uses simple imitative commonplaces and transformations of material to create complex-sounding textures with the minimum of effort.

As well as explaining the density of complete subject entries, this analysis of the relationship between the various interlocks also provides a framework within which to examine Purcell’s decisions about when to depart from the exact melodic content of the ‘alleluia’ motif (instances of which are shown in Example 3.4(b) by the replacement of altered pitches with crossed noteheads to show the notional exact form of a given entry). An initial example is the second-bass entry beginning at b. 147<sup>3</sup>, which we might speculate was altered in order to accommodate the entry on g’ in the tenor a crotchet later: as Example 3.4(a) shows, the resulting interlock A10 is not viable due to consecutive octaves. In this instance it should be noted that the tenor entry in fact only doubles the alto a third lower, and in any case the intervallic content of the motif in the previous three solo entries is not sufficiently consistent to rule out the possibility that Purcell always intended to alter it in b. 147 in order to strengthen the bass’s harmonic motion; thus the tenor entry may well be opportunist rather than playing an active role in the imitation.

Harmonic considerations may also have led Purcell to alter the second-bass entry in b. 152, although in this case the imitative role of the part seems more significant, given that complex A between the two bass parts here is a sequential repetition down a step (and metrically displaced) from the statement in the basses beginning in bar 150<sup>3</sup>, and also forms part of the ‘stretto fuga’-derived complex identified earlier.<sup>133</sup> In other words, Purcell here subordinates strict imitative treatment to

133 In case the reader wonders why such ‘altered’ subject entries are not accompanied by amendments in the autograph score of *My Beloved Spake*, it may be helpful to recall that the Lbl Add. 30932 score, while made by Purcell, is clearly itself a copy, as demonstrated above. Whether the original autograph, Source A, contained such amendments would depend on the extent to which Purcell was able to hold such textures in his head before notating them (thus removing the need for written changes), and whether he used

(a)

(b)

Example 3.4 Imitative materials in *My Beloved Spake*, bb. 146–55: (a) two-part interlocks; (b) ‘skeleton’ score showing disposition of these materials.

considerations of harmonic direction. Another example with similar implications is the alteration of the first-bass entry beginning in b. 152, which would not be necessary were it not for the alto part doubling the tenor entry a crotchet later at the upper third (thereby creating another instance of the unusable interlock A10). Although this alto entry seems less important in imitative terms, however, it forms a crucial part of a rising sequence beginning in the second bass with entries on a, b, and c from b. 146<sup>3</sup> onwards. After a short gap, this sequence is resumed with

any sketch-like materials as he did for *Let mine Eyes Run Down with Tears*; as already discussed, this is a matter for speculation.

an altered entry on e' in the tenor at bar 150<sup>3</sup>, leading to entries on f' and g' in the alto from bar 151<sup>3</sup>. By juxtaposing the two sequences identified here, the rising one in the alto and tenor and the falling one in the basses (which continues as far as the truncated entry on A in the first bass in b. 153), Purcell is able to build a strong sense of momentum towards the cadence in b. 155; no wonder, then, that he allowed this process to override the potential for a more exact imitative entry in the first-bass part.

Such a detailed account of a very short and in some ways unrepresentative passage may seem an insignificant advance in our understanding of the creative processes that informed the composition of *My Beloved Spake*. There are, nevertheless, other sections of the work that are open to similar considerations: the canon between tenor and violin at the start of 'The fig tree putteth forth', for example, is an interesting early instance of Purcell's interest in this technique; the construction of the subjects used in some of the other imitative passages, meanwhile, can be used to explain why he did not introduce more thorough imitative writing of the kind found in bb. 146–55 elsewhere; this may indicate inexperience, or simply different compositional priorities.<sup>134</sup> Furthermore, even short excerpts from a work as early as *My Beloved Spake* can help illuminate some of the changes to Purcell's technique that occurred over a very short period. By the time he wrote the fantasias around 1680, he had already developed the techniques of melodic invention that made possible the imitation in bb. 146–55 to such an extent that he was rarely forced to sacrifice strict imitation, and hence the degree of artifice on display, for the sake of harmonic concerns.

There remains much work to be done in order to understand Purcell's contrapuntal techniques, not to mention the other possible ways of studying his creative decisions suggested at the start of this section. One aspect of Purcell's approach to contrapuntal invention that has not been discussed here, for example, is the extent to which he relied on a relatively circumscribed range of melodic subjects in his imitative writing, testing these to the limits of their potential for contrapuntal elaboration.<sup>135</sup> This is a logical extension of the observations made above about the suitability of particular kinds of material for this kind of treatment, and it might ultimately provide new ways of understanding some of Purcell's most accomplished music of the 1690s in the context not only of techniques but also of specific materials he first developed in the instrumental music of the late 1670s and early 1680s. The problems of incorporating such materials into the very different stylistic context of music like *Hail, bright Cecilia* or the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate in D* themselves present further opportunities for the future interrogation of Purcell's creative practices.<sup>136</sup>

134 See, in particular, the later 'alleluia' at bb. 254–76, where the intervallic content of the subject prevents the formulation of large numbers of alternative interlocks.

135 I explore this topic in 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice', pp. 132–48.

136 My book on Purcell's 'artificial' creative strategies, incorporating material from my thesis, will also extend the topic to consider this later vocal music.

Purcell's ability to make use of these 'artificial' techniques is also in urgent need of contextualization within the wider corpus of Restoration music. We know that few other composers seem to have cultivated these approaches to such a degree, but there are nevertheless indications that Locke in particular was familiar with many of them. Blow is also a key figure in this regard: certain passages in his music (the canonic passages of the Service in G, for example, and perhaps even the instrumental parts of some symphony songs) suggest considerable contrapuntal skill, yet he clearly chose to exercise it much less than did Purcell. Apart from simply contrasting Purcell's style with those of his contemporaries, such questions are important since they provide possible contexts in which to explore the possibility of finding source evidence for the kinds of creative strategies found in Purcell's fantasias and similar works: some of Daniel Henstridge's attempts at canonic writing preserved in Lbl Add. 30933, for example, clearly show him working in the way suggested by Christopher Simpson.<sup>137</sup> Such an approach might also shed light on the mechanisms by which these kinds of skills were passed between different generations of musicians: did Purcell learn everything he knew about counterpoint from his copying of Byrd's and Orlando Gibbons's music, or might it be that Locke, and perhaps Christopher Gibbons, provided a direct link with the pre-Commonwealth generation by which these skills were maintained?

## Conclusions

The example of *My Beloved Spake* demonstrates the possible rewards of approaches to studying Restoration creativity that no longer rely on the principles of a discipline – 'sketch studies' as conventionally defined – that is principally concerned with much later repertoires. Given a greater contextual understanding of the sources and their intended functions, we can learn more about why the music is notated as it is; when we recognize the different reasons why composers and copyists made changes to the music they notated, we can better evaluate the relationships among the resulting texts and possibilities for their realization in performance; and by deepening our knowledge of the musical techniques that they used, we can begin to comprehend the kinds of issues composers were faced with as they created new works, and hence offer critical readings of their resulting decisions in many cases, even if these are not directly recorded in the surviving sources.

It remains the case, however, that some of the very factors that set Restoration music apart from later repertoires also present fundamental obstacles to the development of the kind of detailed knowledge of creative practices that have been possible in studies of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music. The scarcity of 'sketches' is itself a corollary of the likely importance of memory and other non-notated musical practices and skills; for all that we can capture something of these through written accounts, and even recover some of them by attempting to master

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137 Simpson, *A Compendium of Practical Musick*, pp. 120–21 and 124–5.

them ourselves, the actual processes that gave rise to particular passages and pieces of music are likely to be irretrievable.

Despite such problems, it may be possible to illuminate further the creative activities of composers like Purcell in a philosophical sense, a topic not hitherto explored in this essay, but nevertheless likely to provide another important starting point for future study. We know, for example, that Dryden maintained a fairly consistent tripartite model of creativity throughout his career, described most vividly in the preface to *Annus Mirabilis* as consisting of ‘invention’, ‘fancy’ or ‘variation’, and ‘elocution’.<sup>138</sup> That these derive ultimately from the five-part ‘divisions’ of classical rhetoric (the remaining two usually expressing memory and delivery in some form) comes as no surprise; indeed, as a possible model for musical creation this is promising given the importance that German theorists like Joachim Burmeister and Christoph Bernhard attached to similar conceptualizations of the act of musical composition.<sup>139</sup> There are problems with the application of these ideas to Purcell and his contemporaries, not least concerning their educational background: no Restoration musicians received the university education from which Dryden profited, and neither would they have been systematically exposed to humanist literature through public schooling of the kind enjoyed by aspiring musicians in Lutheran parts of Germany.<sup>140</sup> Furthermore, no Restoration musicians seem to have devoted space in published treatises to discussions of this nature, concerned as they tended to be with the more practical aspects of musical performance and composition.

On the other hand, it is clear that such ideas can help us to understand both manuscript evidence and analytical observations better. The consideration of how Purcell’s demonstrable activities and approaches relate to this kind of model of creativity is essential to their logical interpretation: it matters a great deal, for example, whether the addition of the inner parts to a four-part homophonic texture or the creation of an intricate contrapuntal texture are considered to belong to the realm of ‘invention’ or of ‘elocution’, since this fundamentally alters our understanding of how Purcell approached these tasks and how they related to the other creative strategies he pursued.

There are other approaches to understanding creativity that have been adopted in modern scholarship on Restoration literature that also have potential to inform future studies of Purcell and his musical colleagues. This is a large topic, which will require detailed investigation by scholars with a much broader knowledge of the

138 See Robert D. Hume, ‘Dryden on Creation: “Imagination” in the Later Criticism’, *The Review of English Studies* 21 (1970): 309–11.

139 See Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention*, pp. 3–4, and, for a more detailed discussion of the importance of rhetoric in eighteenth-century descriptions of compositional process, Ian Bent, ‘The “Compositional Process” in Music Theory 1713–1850’, *Music Analysis* 3 (1984): 29–55.

140 See Bettina Varwig, ‘“Mutato Semper Habitu”: Heinrich Schütz and the Culture of Rhetoric’, *Music & Letters* 90 (2009): 215–39; and Varwig, ‘One More Time: J.S. Bach and Seventeenth-Century Traditions of Rhetoric’, *Eighteenth-Century Music* 5 (2008): 183–5.



literature than my own, but I can at least report that preliminary forays reveal the potential riches of this approach. In terms of the general issues of textual instability and the importance of social contextualization of individual sources and texts, many of the concepts raised by the more recent approaches to the 'palaeographical' study of Purcell's creativity seem to have been central to the debate surrounding the similar reform of textual criticism in the early 1990s.<sup>141</sup> More specifically, the interest of musicology in the crossings-out, emendations and marginalia found in autograph sources has a clear parallel in work on late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century literature. In his essay on Pope's *Essay on Man*, prefaced to a series of source facsimiles and parallel transcriptions published among similar materials for Pope's wider output, Maynard Mack uses Dryden's distinction between 'wit writing' and 'wit written' to characterize what Mack calls the full 'terrain of the imagination', from the search for ideas stored in the memory through to the eventual creation of a refined and polished work.<sup>142</sup> Mack is able to observe the full gamut of creative modes between these opposite poles in Pope's manuscripts for the *Essay on Man*. Even if this is rarely possible with musical works, the polarization of creative activity in this way is strongly reminiscent of the similar division of musical creativity explored earlier, between performer-centred, 'event-like' domains and more highly 'composed' works, and also – recalling Mace's description of how he composed his lesson 'My Mistress' – between improvisatory and notational stages of the creative process.

The principal difference, perhaps, is Dryden's emphasis upon 'the finding of the thought' as against the apparent free fancy of musical improvisation. Yet the more one probes this difference, the less problematic it in fact becomes, for, as Roger North well understood, the 'excellent art of voluntary' was as much a skill of recall and successful combination of existing fragments as it was one of invention and fantasy. His description of the skills of the master 'voluntiere' might be equally applicable to the early stages of all creative processes in Restoration music:

It is not to be expected that a master invents all he plays in that manner. No, he doth but play over those passages that are in his memory and habituall to him. But the choice, application, and connexion are his, and so is the measure, either grave, buisy, or precipitate; as also the severall keys to use as he pleaseth. And among the rest, in the spirit of zeal when he is warme and

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141 See, for example, G. Thomas Tanselle, 'Textual Instability and Editorial Idealism', *Studies in Bibliography* 49 (1996): 1–61.

142 Maynard Mack (ed. and trans.), *The Last and Greatest Art: Some Unpublished Poetical Manuscripts of Alexander Pope* (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1984), pp. 190–202. Dryden's descriptions of 'wit writing' ('which, like a nimble Spaniel ... ranges through the field of Memory till it springs the Quarry it hunted after') and 'wit written' ('that which is well defin'd, the happy result of thought, or product of that imagination') are also from the preface to *Annus Mirabilis*; see Hume, 'Dryden on Creation': 296–7.

engaged, he will fulfil of his owne present invention a musick which, joined with the rest, shall be new and wonderfull.<sup>143</sup>

How we understand the results of this process, and their subsequent refinement in the many stages of revision and reinvention at the hands of composers like Purcell, will always be a topic of great interest to scholars of Restoration music. With the methods suggested by recent approaches both to the interpretation of sources and the analysis of the music, there is every reason to suppose that our knowledge of Purcell's musical creativity will continue to deepen.

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143 Roger North, 'Notes Concerning the Excellent Art of Voluntary', Lbl Add. 32536, fols 83v–88; in John Wilson (ed.), *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays Written during the Years c.1695–1728* (London: Novello, 1959), p. 141.

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