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[3]

A FURTHER LOOK AT THE CONSORT MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS IN ARCHBISHOP MARSH'S LIBRARY, DUBLIN

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Editors of seventeenth-century English consort music have long recognised the importance of the collection of scores and part-books assembled by Narcissus Marsh (1638-1713), Archbishop of Armagh, and given by him to the great public library that bears his name. The contents of Marsh's music books have been described by Richard Charteris, whose designation of scribal hands will be followed here,¹ and research by Charteris and other scholars has established that much of the collection originated before the Civil War, although the manuscripts were almost certainly used at the music meetings Marsh held in Oxford during the twenty years between his election as a fellow of Exeter College in 1658 and his appointment as Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1678.²

The principal consort manuscripts in Marsh's Library are two carefully-organised sets of part-books, MSS Z3.4.1-6 and Z3.4.7-12. Two score-books, MSS Z2.1.12-13, and a composite volume of scores, continuo and organ parts and other material, MS Z3.4.13, must have consisted of separate sheets and loose gatherings until they were bound in the last century; a further continuo book, MS 24.2.16, retains its handsome seventeenth-century binding. The score, organ and continuo books correspond only intermittently, and with varying degrees of exactness, to the contents of MSS Z3.4.1-12, and appear to have been acquired for Marsh's collection over a number of years and in different ways. Paper characteristics, though adding little except reinforcement to present views about the date of the principal part-books, suggest possible relationships with other important seventeenth-century sources and contribute valuable evidence about the history of the rest of the Marsh collection. By narrowing down the field of enquiry, a survey of the manuscripts' paper has also led to the recognition of some more

¹ Richard Charteris, *Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin*, *RMARC*, 13 (1976), 27-57. See also Charteris, 'New Information about some of the Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *The Consort*, 43 (1987), 38-39; John Irving, 'Two Consort Manuscripts from Oxford and Dublin: their Copying and a Possible Redating', *The Consort*, 42 (1986), 41-49. I am also most grateful to Andrew Ashbee, Bruce Bellingham, Christopher Field and Jonathan Wainwright for sharing with me their ideas and notes on the Marsh manuscripts and related sources.

² Although Marsh refers in his manuscript diary to weekly meetings 'after the fire of London' (quoted in Charteris, 'Consort Music Manuscripts', 35), Wood states that Marsh held regular meetings at Exeter College as early as 1658. See Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss (London, 1813-20), I, xxxv-vi; IV, 498.

hands to add to John Irving's identification of Charteris's Hand J as the scribe of GB-Ob MSS Mus. Sch. C.64-69, a set of parts dated 1641.³

In two Marsh sources, the part-books MSS Z3.4.7-12 and the score-book MS Z2.1.12, all the music pages consist of paper marked with an elaborate peacock emblem (fig. 1). The pair of peacock marks in the part-books differs from that in the score, but the two are so closely similar as to suggest that they were formed by a quartet of moulds in use at a two-vat mill. Both pairs are found in a number of other manuscripts dating from the 1630s or a little later: the basic measurements of the watermarks are set out in Table 1 and the manuscripts in which they appear, in several cases linked by stave ruling as well as paper type, in Table 2.

Although the group of sources made of the same type of paper listed in Table 2[4]

Table 1
'Peacock' watermarks

	Chain-line spacing*	Height*	Width*	Distance from circle to chain line*:	
				Left-hand	Right-hand
Pair 1 a.	29/27.5	53	52	2	1.5
b.	26.5/29	53	55	0	0
Pair 2 a.	28/30	51	49.5	3	5
b.	28/30	55	52	3	3

*All dimensions in millimetres.

Table 2
Manuscripts consisting of 'peacock' paper

Manuscript	Rastrum	Format	Comments
<i>Watermark pair 1</i>			
Och Mus 612/3		Folio, 10 staves	Hatton part-books
Och Mus 1236		Oblong quarto organ book, 6 six-line staves	William Ellis autograph
Ob MSS Mus. Sch. D.238–40		Upright quarto, 7 staves	William Lawes autograph
Ob MS Mus. Sch. D.229		Oblong folio (i.e. sheet folded along top or bottom edge), 8 six-line staves	William Lawes autograph
Dm Z2.1.12		Copied on loose sheets, 12 staves	Marsh score
Lcm 1197	*	Upright quarto, 8 staves	Mico part-books: autograph
Lbl Add. 31432		Folio, 12 staves	William Lawes autograph song book
<i>Watermark pair 2</i>			
Lbl RM 24.k.3		Oblong folio, 8 six-line staves	Organ book
Dm Z3.4.7–12	*	Upright quarto, 8 staves	Marsh part-books
Dm Z3.4.1–6	*	Upright quarto/small folio, 8 staves	Marsh part-books
Lbl Add. 17816; 30829/30	*	Upright quarto, 8 staves	Jeffreys autograph parts
Lbl Add. 53723		Folio, 12 or 8 staves	Henry Lawes autograph song book

* = ruled with a two-stave rastrum drawing a 12 mm stave, a 13 mm gap and a 12.5 mm stave, measuring 36.5 mm overall.

is exceptionally large by seventeenth-century standards, the peacock mark is otherwise extremely rare in English documents of any kind:

³ Irving, 'Two Consort Manuscripts', 41

Heawood's Watermarks records no more than three examples, of which two, his watermarks 173 and 174, closely resemble the marks described in Table 1.⁴ Mark 173 was found in an Inigo Jones drawing, a promising link with the English court, and mark 174 is dated 1628. [5] Much of the peacock music paper was evidently used in court circles in the middle or late 1630s and the George Jeffreys part-books, still finely bound in their original white vellum, may well have provided performing material for the exiled court at Oxford in the early years of the Civil War, at which time the Oxford musician William Ellis probably acquired the keyboard volume now GB-Och Mus.1236.⁵ But although MSS Z3.4.7-12 quite possibly originated in circles close to the court, their repertory of traditional polyphonic consort music, including music by the relatively obscure William Cranford, and the fact that their principal scribe, copyist J, did not have access to the best sources of the Ferrabosco fantasias,⁶ suggest that they were compiled for a group of gentlemen amateurs or off-duty cathedral singing-men rather than for the official use of court musicians. A note on the flyleaf of another peacock paper manuscript, the William Lawes autograph song book GB-Lbl Add. MS 31432, may provide a further link between the Marsh part-books and the court:

Richard Gibbon his book given to him by
Mr William Lawes all of his owne pricking
and composeing.

The recipient of Lawes's gift might perhaps have been the composer Richard Gibbons, whose two known fantasias appear in MSS Z3.4.1-6 and Mus. Sch. C.64-69.

The peacock paper which forms all the music pages, and the fact that hand J, known to have been active before 1641, was responsible for the substantial original sequences of music in three, four and five parts, suggest that most of MSS Z3.4.7-12 was written before the Civil War. Copying was carried out on unbound quires, and for some reason was not completed by J, who made a start on a six-part section but soon abandoned it to be incorporated at the end of MSS Z3.4.1-6, the six-part music in MSS 7.3.4.7-12 being added by two less elegant scribes.

It is unclear whether MSS Z3.4.7-12 were bound soon after their initial copying was finished. The style of the boards preserved at Marsh's Library after conservation work in 1973, and the various flyleaf papers in the six books, offer evidence of binding some years later: end-paper watermarks in MSS Z3.4.7-12 include two different and very large pots, one lettered GRO and the other ILP, broadly resembling Heawood mark

⁴ Edward Heawood, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Hilversum, 1950). Heawood's peacock 172, though of the same general pattern, has a countermark clearly absent from the English music sources and both it and its date of 1651 can be disregarded.

⁵ Although the hand of this manuscript shows considerable variation, it is clearly the same as that identified as Ms's in Oxford, St John's College MS 315. See J. Bunker Clark, 'A re-emerged seventeenth-century organ accompaniment book', *M&L*, 47 (1966), 149-52. The plate facing p. 149, chosen to show Ellis's signature, illustrates an unusual variant of Ellis's normal treble clef.

⁶ Andrew Ashbee and Bruce Bellingham (eds), Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger: Four-Part Fantasias', *Musica Britannica*, lxii (1992), xxiii-xxvi

3680, dated 1637, and a pillars mark lettered GM in the same style as Heawood 3515, dated 1672. In general, such large and late forms of the traditional Norman marks belong to the post-Restoration period when English music manuscripts tended to use Angoumois paper even for flyleaves. The most surprising flyleaf marks in the set are two Angoumois posthorns - with the countermark AI, probably identifying the paper maker and merchant Abraham Janssen: other examples of this countermark appear in the flyleaves of Ob MSS Mus. Sch. C.54-57, true of which Lowe inscribed on 29 December 1668. The present state of the manuscripts, together with the boards removed in 1973, clearly reflects a binding carried out well into the 1660s, perhaps replacing an earlier one [6] and substituting various odd sheets of more recent paper for any original flyleaves there may have been. A possible interpretation of the evidence, supported by the set's many annotations in Marsh's hand, is that Marsh himself was responsible for both the initial and subsequent bindings, the first in the late 1650s and the second c. 1670.

At different stages, several copyists other than J added music to the three-, four- and five-part sections of MSS Z3.4.7-12, and some of these subsidiary hands can be identified in other manuscripts. One, Charteris's hand A, was responsible for the Mico parts in GB-Lcm MS 1197, another set made of peacock paper.⁷ It has long been suspected that this source represents Mico's autograph, but positive identification of his music hand has proved impossible because his signature appears only on the covers of each part-book.⁸ In MSS Z3.4.7-12 the same signature is written as an ascription at the head of two five-part works by Mico, apparently by the copyist of the music (plate 1): the only other work copied by hand A is an unattributed three-part fantasia at the end of a sequence of Mico works, and may also have been composed by him. There could be no more convincing evidence that the Mico part-books in Lcm MS 1197 are indeed his autograph, and they may well, at the time of copying, have been intended to form a section of MSS Z3.4.7-12, to which they correspond in paper type and ruling. The Marsh part-books contain no four-part music by Mico at all, a surprising omission in view of their inclusion of his three- and five-part works, but one shared with J's other collection, MSS Mus. Sch. C.64-69. Coming as they do at the end of a section copied by hand J, the attributed Mico works in MSS Z3.4.7-12 have an important bearing on the date of the collection as a whole, as Mico's signature in both the Royal College and Marsh part-books resembles that in documents of c. 1630 rather than later examples of 1651.⁹ Mico appears not to have joined other Royalist musicians at Oxford during the Civil War, so his

⁷ I am grateful to David Pinto for the information that Lcm MS 1197 consists of peacock paper. If the identity of the hand of Lcm MS 1197 and Charteris hand A is indeed a discovery, he deserves much of the credit for it.

⁸ A music page of Lcm MS 1197, an ascription from one of its covers and an example of Mico's signature from a document of 1630 are illustrated in Andrew Hanley (ed.), 'Richard Mico: Consort Music', *Musica Britannica*, lxx (London, 1994), xxvii-xxviii.

⁹ John Bennett and Pamela Willetts, 'Richard Mico', *Chelys*, 7 (1977), 24-46, especially p.

additions to the Marsh manuscripts were most probably made at London in more ordered times, during the 1630s; had he written in them when relative stability returned during the Commonwealth we might expect his signature to be different.

At some stage in their history, then, the part-books MSS Z3.4.7-12 came into the hands of Richard Mico, Queen Henrietta Maria's organist. But Mico, Charteris's hand A, also copied most of the Ferrabosco fantasias in MS Z2.1.12, a peacock paper score-book originally consisting of loose sheets copied across their entire width. Hand J's Ferrabosco copies in MSS Z3.4.7-12, though not the Ferrabosco parts in another hand in MSS Z3.4.1-6, have been altered to match Mico's score,¹⁰ and it is therefore improbable that Mico supervised the initial production of the part-books, or even that the score and parts were brought together before Marsh acquired them. The corrections, like the cross-references in the manuscripts linking score and parts, probably date from Marsh's open checking of MSS Z3.4.7-12, evidenced by the regular occurrence in his hand of headings, such as '5 parts', the examination mark 'true', and his addition of ascriptions in a large and flowing [7] hand different from the neat, constricted writing of his other annotations but resembling his signature in his lyra manuscript Z3.5.13.¹¹

The latest additions to MSS Z3.4.7-12 were the six Brewer fantasias added at the beginning of the four-part section by Charteris's hand K, causing the subsequent four-part music to be renumbered (plate 2). In MSS Z3.4.7-9 these pieces seem to have been copied on empty pages at the end of the three-part section, but in MS Z3.4.10, where the four-part works are the first music in the book, the first five folios have evidently been cut out from elsewhere and are now pasted to binding stubs: the Brewer series ends on the original blank first recto, now fol. 6r. The need to cut out individual pages, rather than transfer a complete quire, and to put the new works at the beginning rather than the end of the appropriate series, shows that K's additions were made after the books had been bound and therefore later than much of the other copying. In the composite organ book and score, MS Z.3.4.13, examples of K's writing occur on paper dating from after 1660 (plate 3), so two forms of codicological evidence suggest that his work may- well have been carried out for Marsh's Exeter College music meeting. Hand K is in fact a well-known Oxford copyist, responsible for the six 'Old Consort Books', Ob MSS Mus. Sch. E.431-36, the isolated part-book Och MS 1011 and most of the John Wilson song book, Ob MS Mus. b.1, dated c. 1656.¹²

¹⁰ Ashbee and Bellingham, *op. cit.*, xxv. A page of Mico's score is illustrated on p. xxxiv.

¹¹ On fol. 54 of MS Z3.4.7 the flowing ascription 'Alfonso' is in an ink different from that of the music but apparently the same as the adjacent number '19' providing a cross-reference to MS Z2.1.12 and a correctional sharp beneath the final note. On fol. 55 the ink of the ascription matches that of the word 'true'. For Marsh's signature see Leslie Hewitt (ed.), *Narcissus Marsh's Lyra Viol Book* (facsimile, Clarabricken, 1978).

¹² Facsimile in Elise Bickford Jorgens (ed.), *English Song 1600-1675*, vii: Manuscripts at Oxford, Part II (New York and London, 1987). See also Margaret Crum, 'A Manuscript of John Wilson's Songs', *The Library*, 5th series, 10 (1955), 55-59

Elsewhere in the Marsh collection itself his distinctive hand, recognisable by a characteristic G clef, a frequently curved ascender at the end of his directs and a tendency to place a fermata both above and below his terminal flourish, has hitherto been mistaken for J (compare plate 4): it appears on fol. 3v of the Ferrabosco score, MS Z2.1.12, to which he added two of the fantasias found in MSS Z3.4.1-6; in the scores of fantasias by Coprario and Orlando Gibbons in MS Z2.1.13 fols 7-22; in a series of bass parts in MS Z3.4.13 fols 34-46 copied directly from MS Z3.4.1-6 onto spare pages belonging to an autograph score of George Jeffreys's fantasias, and in keyboard music elsewhere in the same manuscript.¹³

Copyist K's contribution to the John Wilson manuscript, and his work in a major set of Oxford placing parts, imply that he was one of the musicians involved in music meetings during the 1650s and listed by name by Anthony Wood.¹⁴ The suggestion that the Old Consort Books were copied by Thomas Jackson, a singing man at St John's, is persuasive, though positive proof is lacking. In August 1657 Wilson himself wrote an account stating that £1 was 'given in hand to Mr Jackson for pricking of aires for the scooles', and it is at least possible that the copyist to whom Wilson entrusted his own song book was also employed on work for the Music School.¹⁵

A third hand from MSS Z3.4.7-12 to be identified in a manuscript outside the Marsh collection is Charteris's hand L., who added an anonymous pavan as the last of the four-part sequence (plate 5), and also wrote out a series of anthems, some of them verse anthems with independent viol parts, at the end of Ob MSS Mus. Sch. D.212-16. These part-books are otherwise devoted to *In Nomines* copied in two different hands, the second being the principal hand of Ob MSS [8] Mus. Sch. E.437-42: in MSS Mus. Sch. D.212-16 this copyist started work on a new supply of paper to which hand L subsequently added the anthems.

The paper types of the second section of MSS Mus. Sch. D.212-16, with small grapes and pot watermarks, suggest an origin in the 1630s, but copyist L was clearly adding to existing material, as he did in MSS Z3.4.7-12, and his copying in both sources is difficult to date. The first and second series of *In Nomines* in MSS Mus. Sch. D.212-16 need not have a common origin or have been bound together until some years after they were copied: we can, however, be certain that the anthems were added in Oxford after the manuscripts were bound, because L wrote the sixth part of three anthems in Ob MS Mus. Sch. E381 under the heading 'Sixt part in the white books' (fol. 55v). MSS Mus. Sch. D.212-16 still have their white vellum covers, while MS Mus. Sch. E381 is one of the Forrest-Heather part-books, part of William

¹³ A page in K's hand from MS Z2.1.13 is shown in Charteris, 'Consort Music Manuscripts', 34. At that time it was attributed to Marsh himself: in fact, Marsh's hand shows a number of similarities to K, who could perhaps have been his instructor.

¹⁴ *Athenae Oxonienses*, I, xxv-vi; xxxiv-vi

¹⁵ Margaret Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', *M&L*, 48 (1967),

Heather's original bequest to the Music School and therefore a book that should not have been 'lent abroad upon any pretence whatsoever, nor removed out of the Schoole and place appointed'.¹⁶ Hand L, must therefore have copied the three parts in MS Mus. Sch. E381, and probably the corresponding music in MSS Mus. Sch. D.212-16, in Oxford, possibly under the direction of John Wilson in his revival of the Music School from 1656 onwards: the pavan in the Marsh part-books is likely to have been added in similar circumstances. Hand L, like hand K, could have been involved in the flourishing musical life of Oxford in the late 1650s and perhaps have been available to copy music for Marsh when he established his own music meeting in 1658. Hand L has sometimes been identified as that of Richard Nicolson (d. 1639), *Informator Choristarum* at Magdalen College, Oxford, and the first Oxford Professor of Music,¹⁷ but a faulty reading in one of the Nicolson anthems suggests otherwise,¹⁸ and there is no evidence that MSS Z3.4.7-12 were in Oxford before Nicolson's death.

A few sheets of the peacock paper used in MSS Z3.4.7-12, including those copied by hand J with two six-part fantasias by Peerson, are incorporated in a second set of part-books, now MSS Z3.4.1-6.¹⁹ No more peacock paper was available, but its size, weight and ruling were approximately matched by pasting together already ruled ten-stave sheets of more everyday material and removing the top and bottom of each double page, leaving a relatively heavy eight-stave page in a cut-down folio format the same size as the larger peacock paper in upright quarto. Traces of the outermost staves can be seen in several places, and, if the pages were not cut before they were written upon, the copyist must have known what was intended for them as he would otherwise have started on the top stave. Complete pasted double sheets also occur in MSS Mus. Sch. C.64-69, but there could be no reason for extravagantly removing two staves from each page other than to make the set match its companion, MSS Z3.4.7-12: MSS Z3.4.1-6 are therefore a complement to MSS Z3.4.7-12 in presentation as well as in content and are in some respects the 'subordinate' set, their dimensions being modelled on the peacock paper of MSS Z3.4.7-12, though the two principal copyists could have worked on their respective sets at the same time. A single [9] scribe, Charteris's hand H (plate 7), wrote all the music in MSS Z3.4.1-6 except for a sequence by Hilton added by a further hand, I, the Peerson works probably already copied by J bound in at the end of each part-book and two parts of a single work left blank

¹⁶ Quoted in *ibid.*, 23

¹⁷ John D. Bergsagel, 'The Date and Provenance of the Forrest-Heyther Collection of Tudor Masses', *M&L*, 44 (1963), 246; Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650: The Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor, 1982), 193-207

¹⁸ John Morehen, 'The Southwell Minster Tenor Part-book in the Library of St Michael's College, Tenbury (MS. 1382)', *M&L*, 49 (1968), 361

¹⁹ MS Z3.4.1 fols 79-86, 123-24, 129-32; MS Z3.4.2 fols 47-50, 83-90, 123-24, 129-32; MS Z3.4.3 fols 43-46, 83-90, 113 (pasted in), 123-24, 129-32; MS Z3.4.4 fols 33-40, 73-74, 79-82; MS Z3.4.5 fols 33-34, 39-42; MS Z3.4.6 fols 22-23, 25-28, 57-64, 101-102, 107-110

and later copied by Marsh himself. There seems to have been some sort of professional relationship between J and H, as H had access to exemplars used by J in copying MSS Mus. Sch. C.64-69.²⁰ Copyist H was also able to use a source related to Ob MSS Mus. Sch. E.437-42, in particular for his copies of three- and five-part music by Lupo,²¹ so the connection between MSS Mus. Sch. E.437-42 and D.212-16 reflected by their common hand, and between MSS D.212-16 and Z3.4.7-12 shown by hand L, may be evidence of a more closely related origin for all three than is now apparent. MSS Z3.4.1-6 retain their original lettered bindings of distinctly early-seventeenth-century appearance, and portions of watermarks visible in their endpapers seem to belong to a grapes mark similar to Heawood 2110, dated 1643.

The pasted pages of MSS Z3.4.1-6 contain six watermark pairs, four of the pillars type and two pots. Two of the pillars pairs bear the name 'R. Guesdon', which also appears in a pillars mark in Och Mus. 732, one of a set of partbooks to which Lbl MS R.M. 24.k.3, a peacock paper organ book with the arms of Charles I stamped on the covers, is a companion.²² Another pillars watermark in MSS Z3.4.1-6 seems to be labelled 'I. Ganne', and the fourth, much the most distinctive, has a heart-shaped band curving round the posts on either side (fig. 2). This watermark is undoubtedly Heawood's mark 3513, dated 1634.²³ One of the pots, bearing the letters 'PO' in double wires, lacks the crescent or other pattern normally to be found at the top of such marks by the 1630s: the other, more conventional, is lettered 'OO' and is no more than 64 mm. high. All these marks are of small, characteristically pre-Civil War patterns and paper evidence thus supports the date in the 1630s generally accepted for the original layers of copying in both sets of part-books.

In contrast to the two large part-book sets, which are, in spite of the later additions to MSS Z3.4.7-12, essentially well-ordered collections properly bound in the seventeenth century, the scores, organ parts and bass parts in MSS Z2.1.12, Z2.1.13 and Z3.4.13 are all collections of loose papers and copied but unbound gatherings. MS Z2.1.12 contains nineteen complete sheets of peacock paper, with twelve staves ruled without a break across each side. Ten of these sheets contain scores of Ferrabosco's four-part fantasias, the first two, on the now misplaced

²⁰ For example, the four six-part fantasias by Tomkins common to the two sources, which seem to have been copied into both from a lost exemplar: see John Irving, *The Instrumental Music of Thomas Tomkins, 1572-1656* (New York and London, 1989), 167.

²¹ I am grateful to Andrew Ashbee for pointing out many repertorial connections between the Marsh part-books and other sources.

²² See Peter Holman, *Four and twenty fiddlers: the violin at the English court, 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993), 215-16; Pamela Willetts, 'John Barnard's collections of viol and vocal music', *Chelys*, 20 (1991), 28-42, especially pp. 31, 34-35

²³ The 'heart' pillars watermark of MSS Z3.4.1-6 appears in the sheet forming fols 177 and 184 of George Jeffreys's autograph score Lbl Add. MS 10338, at the beginning of a section started by Jeffreys in 1649. This paper type does not appear elsewhere in the score, and the bifolium was probably an odd sheet of old material. See Robert Thompson, 'George Jeffreys and the "Stile Nuevo" in English Sacred Music: a New Date for his Autograph Score, British Library, Add. MS 10338', *M&L*, 70 (1989), 317-341

fol. 19, copied by the otherwise unique but apparently early hand D and most of the others by hand A, Richard Mico. The exceptions, numbered 7 and 8, are in the hand of the later Oxford copyist K: unlike the Mico copies, these scores have been altered to correspond with their string parts in MSS Z3.4.1-6 rather than the other way round. It is puzzling that K, who obviously worked closely with Marsh at some stage, did not copy these works directly from the MSS 23.4.1-6 parts themselves: perhaps his exemplar was a Mico sheet which had been torn or otherwise damaged. Seven folios of MS Z2.1.12 contain scores of Lupo's three- [10] part fantasias, made from the MSS Z3.4.1-6 parts or from a closely related source by the unidentified copyist C. Another early source amongst the continuo books is MS Z4.2.16, the small pot watermark of which suggests a date no later than the 1640s. Although Marsh cross-referenced the duplicate bass parts in this book to his other manuscripts, he probably acquired it less for its copied contents than for its mane unused pages, on some of which he wrote out suites of dances by Christopher Gibbons.²⁴

In the remaining score, organ and continuo books most of the copying evidently took place after the collection had arrived in Oxford. Hand K's score on fols 7-22 of MS Z2.1.13 mainly consists of paper with a flag watermark and a countermark consisting of the letters 'PA and three circles beneath (fig. 3), the exception being a sheet with a more familiar Strasbourg bend mark. The same combination of papers is to be found in the Jenkins organ part Ob MS Mus. Sch. D.261 fols 39-60, though the two sources are differently ruled. Lowe's inscription on fol. 61r of MS Mus. Sch. D.261 is ambiguous:

Organ Parte to Mr Jenkins fancies Division for 3 parts prickt in the
Bookes with vellim covers & given mee be Mr Colbius Organist of
Exeter.

The string parts are MSS Mus. Sch. D.241-44, which were clearly considered to form a set with MS Mus. Sch. D.261 in spite of certain divergent readings. Lowe's note does not tell us whether either source is in fact in the hand of Theodore Colby, organist of Magdalen College from 1661 to 1664 and of Exeter Cathedral from the latter year, but MS Mus. Sch. D.261 must have been part of the gift, which Lowe would otherwise have recorded in the string parts, and the inscription cannot have been written until Colby was appointed 'Organist of Exeter' at the end of 1664. The similarity of paper between MS Z2.1.13 fols 7-22, the work of the Oxford copyist K, and MS Mus. Sch. D.261 fols 39-60, probably presented to Lowe by the departing Magdalen organist in 1664, suggests that both copyists had access to a mixed stock including some rather unusual paper in Oxford around 1660, an impression further reinforced by a third appearance of the same paper types in part of MS Z3.4.13. The first three bifolia (fols 1-6) of MS Z2.1.13 include on fols

²⁴ I am unable to agree with Charteris's identification of the principal earlier copyist in MS Z4.2.16 with hand N, the first copyist of the six-part music in MSS Z3.4.7-12.

3v-4r a suite attributed to 'Dr' Gibbons copied by Charteris's hand F:²⁵ they belong to the act music performed for Gibbons's doctorate on 11 July 1664 and preserved in Ob MS Mus. Sch. C.138, also partly in hand F. On fols 5-6 is a fantasia by 'W.K.', presumable composed and copied by William King (d. 1680), organist of New College.²⁶

The most complex and varied of the Marsh sources is MS Z3.4.13, which contains a variety of scores, keyboard and lyra music, bass parts and organ parts. The sections of the volume most important to the overall history of Marsh's consort music collection are two sections copied by hand Q, organ scores for Coprario's five-part fantasias extending from fols 72 to 101 and for four fantasias by Ives between fols 7 and 12 (plate 6).

Like K, hand Q belongs to an identifiable Oxford copyist, in this case William Ellis (d.1674), whose autograph has been identified in St John's College, Oxford [11] MS 315 and Och Mus. 1236. Ellis was also responsible for all the earlier material in Och Mus. 468-72 and most of Ob MSS Mus. Sch. F.568-69.²⁷ The contrast between the relatively informal writing in MS Z3.4.13 or MSS Mus. Sch. F.568-69 and the bolder, semi-calligraphic presentation of Mus. 468-72 confuses the issue, but the basic formation of clefs, notes and directs is the same in all cases. Q's Ferrabosco copies in Mus. 468-72 appear to have been copied from MS Z2.1.12, and so this set of parts seems doubly likely to have been copied for use in Marsh's circle: in turn, both Mus. 468-72 and Z3.4.1-6 seem to have provided copy- texts for Matthew Hutton in compiling his part-books GB-Y MSS M.3/1-4 (S), dated 1667.²⁸

Ellis's copying career extended over many years. His peacock paper keyboard manuscript, Och Mus. 1236, was probably started in the Civil War; the Bodleian part-books, consisting entirely of paper with pot and hat watermarks, date from the 1650s.²⁹ The Christ Church parts, in contrast, are made of Angoumois fleur-de-lys papers of the kind that became characteristic of English manuscripts from 1660 onwards. The

²⁵ The three movements in MS Z2.1.13 are an almaine in d minor based on the same material as VDGS 33; a second almaine in D major and a galliard in the same key, VDGS 53.

²⁶ The hand in MS Z2.1.13 fols 5-6 corresponds with that of Ob MS Mus. Sch. C.44 fols 86-92, a suite in score ascribed to 'W.K.'. Because of the differing nature of the music and function of the manuscripts it is difficult to relate King's hand in the early New College bass part-books, such as Ob MS Mus. c.48 fols 2-11, to these instrumental scores.

²⁷ It has already been suggested that one of the hands in Ob MSS Mus.Sch. F.568-69 might be Ellis's: see Bruce Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, 19 (1982), 69-70.

²⁸ See John Irving, 'Matthew Hutton and York Minster MSS. M.3/1-4 (S)', *Music Review*, 44 (1983), 163-77

²⁹ For other sources containing the hat paper see Robert Thompson, 'Manuscript music in Purcell's London', *Early Music*, 23 (1995), 605-18. Hand Q appears to have copied fols 3r-63v (Lawes and Jenkins) and 79v-103v (Rogers) in MS Mus. Sch. F.568, together with the corresponding sections of MS Mus. Sch. F.569. The Bodleian typescript *Revised Descriptions* suggest that the Rogers is in another hand, but there seems to be no more variation between the two sections than might be expected from a single copyist working at different times.

Coprario organ score in MS Z3.4.13 contains paper marked with a late and debased form of the arms of France and Navarre with the initials 'DV', identifying the Norman papermaker Denis Vaulegard, as countermark. Although the Vaulegard family, like the France and Navarre watermark, had a long history in Norman papermaking, the use of a letter countermark in the Angoumois style is unusual, and could suggest a date as late as c. 1670 for this paper.³⁰ A half sheet of the same Vaulegard paper (fols 2 and 5) elsewhere in MS Z3.4.13 was used for keyboard music by hand K, and Q's organ parts for the Ives fantasias (MS Z3.4.13 fols 7-12) are on the same type of paper as K's score in MS Z2.1.13. The latest paper in any of the extant Marsh material is probably that of the Simpson thoroughbass parts between fols 64 and 71 of MS Z3.4.13, which have a classic Angoumois fleur-de-lys countermarked HIS/LM and could well date from the 1670s: these parts, and his music by Christopher Gibbons, represent Marsh's only known forays into anything approaching modern music, although his score of a fantasia apparently by William King in MS Z2.1.13 suggests that exercises in the traditional style may have been encouraged at his music meeting.

The chronology of the Marsh consort manuscripts implied by their paper types and other physical features falls somewhere in between the extremes occasionally suggested in the past. The watermarks of the main part-book sets confirm that they were probably copied in London in the 1630s, in circles in which access could be had to manuscript paper like that used by the royal musicians. Furthermore, Richard Mico could contribute works in his own hand. Much of the other score and continuo material, in contrast, seems to have been copied by scribes working in Oxford c. 1660 and beyond, such as K, Q and possibly L,³¹ and is likely to reflect Marsh's personal involvement with the collection between 1658 and 1678. The extent of these later additions to the collection, and the direct evidence they provide of active study and performance of polyphonic consort music in Oxford during those years, deserves the same emphasis as the undoubtedly earlier origin and probable courtly connections of the two part-book sets.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Plates 1-7 are reproduced with the permission of the Governors and Guardians of Marsh's Library. I am most grateful to Mrs Muriel McCarthy, Keeper of Archbishop Marsh's Library, and her staff for their assistance and generous hospitality, and to the Leverhulme Foundation for a grant to cover the cost of research

³⁰ Vaulegard's initials appear as countermarks to Heawood 439 (1670) and 2261 (1671).

³¹ A further tentative identification, made too late to obtain photographs, is between hand M and the copyist of Och Mus. 517-20 and 527-30. The scribe of the two Christ Church sets is undoubtedly the same: there are striking similarities between his text hand in ascriptions and basic clef formations and those of M, whose hand in MSS Z3.4.7-12 is crude and badly formed and possibly that of a novice.

towards the Viola da Gamba Society's *Index of Manuscripts containing Music for Viols*, which will present the information summarised here in greater detail.

[12]

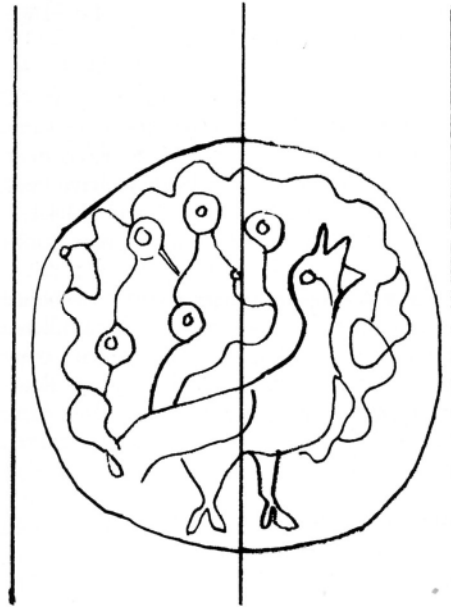


Fig. 1 A peacock watermark (eye-drawing).

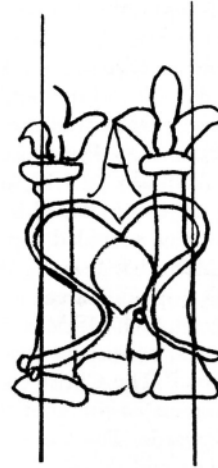


Fig. 2 A distinctive pillars watermark found in MSS Z3.4.1–6 and Lbl Add. MS 10338 (eye-drawing).

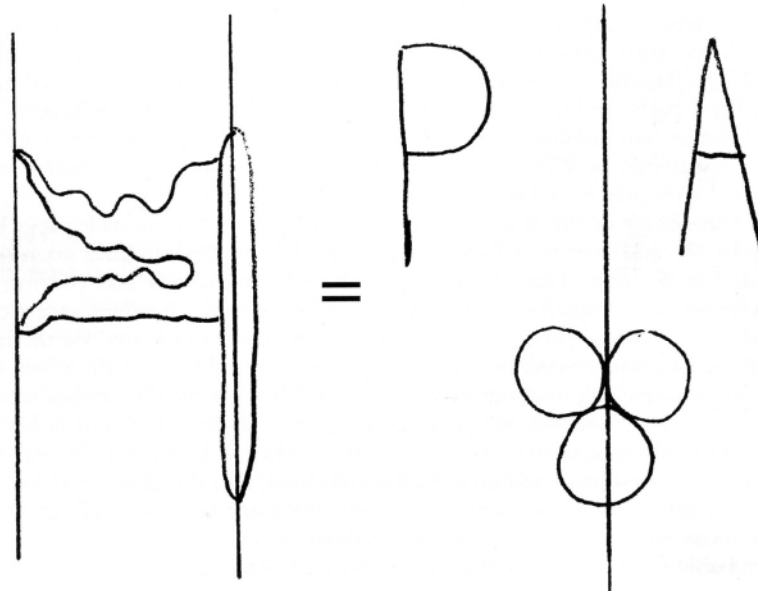


Fig. 3a&b A flag watermark countermarked 'PA' found in the Marsh collection and in Ob MS Mus.Sch.D.261 (eye-drawing).

[13]

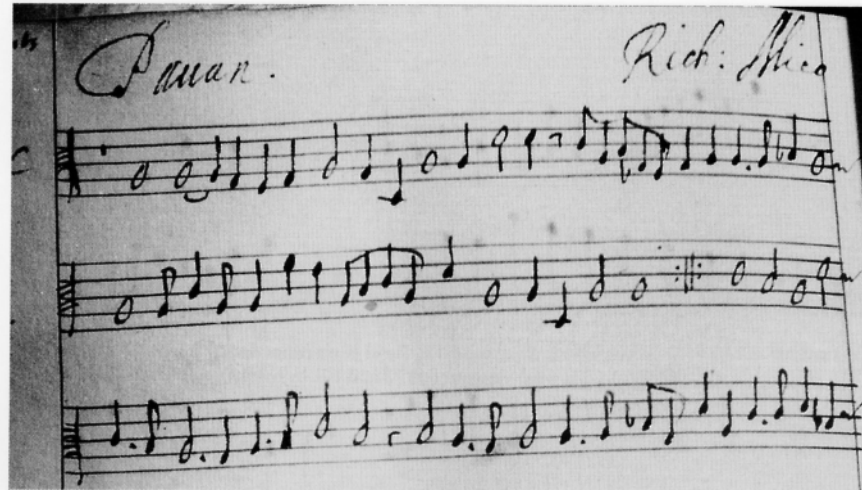


Plate 1 MS Z3.4.10 fol. 64v. Richard Mico's five-part pavan, VDGS 2, autograph.

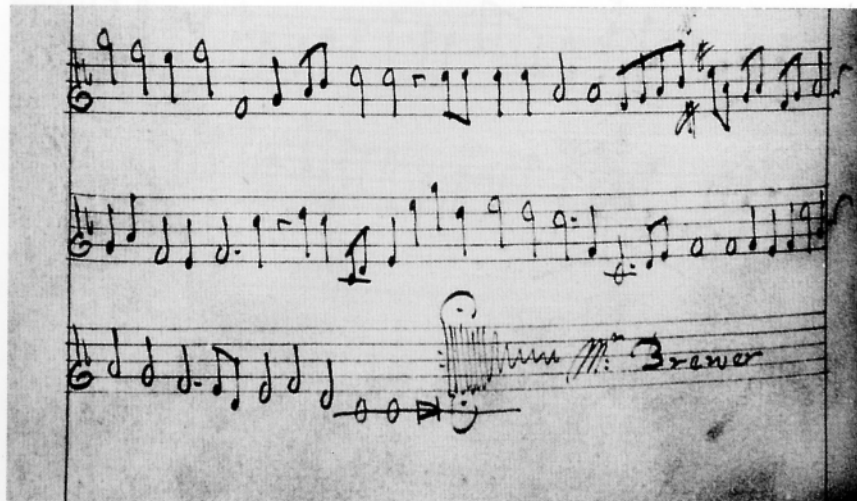


Plate 2 MS Z3.4.7 fol. 36v. Thomas Brewer's four-part fantasia, VDGS 5, copied by hand K.

[14]

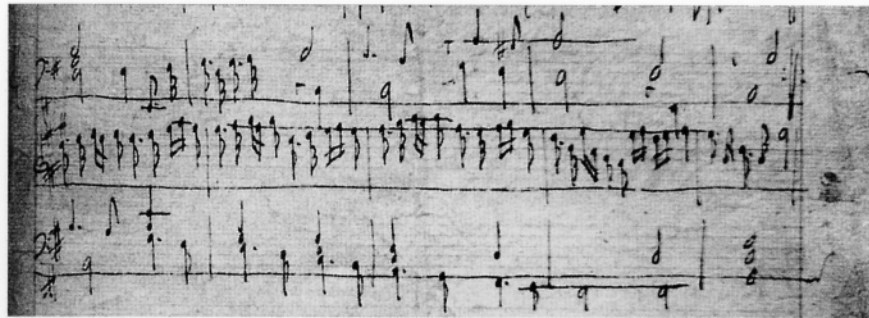


Plate 3 MS Z3.4.13 fol. 5r. Keyboard music copied by hand K on paper dating from c. 1660 or later, similar to that used between fols 72 and 101 by hand Q.

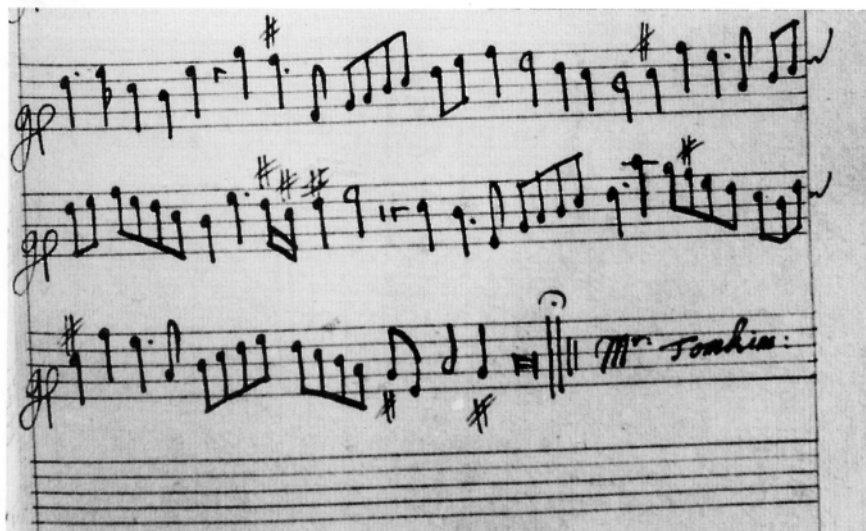


Plate 4 MS Z3.4.7 fol. 36r. Thomas Tomkins's three-part fantasia, VDGS 12, copied by hand J.

[15]

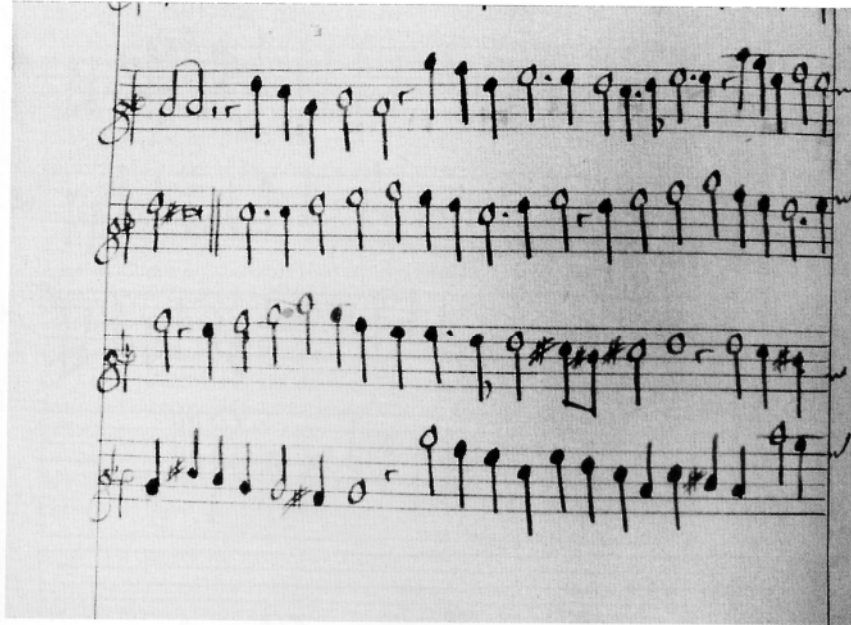


Plate 5 MS Z3.4.7 fol. 60v. Anonymous four-part pavan copied by hand L.

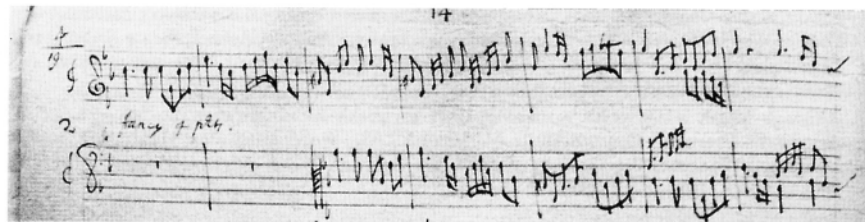


Plate 6 MS Z3.4.13 fol. 9v. Organ part to Ives's four-part fantasia, VDGS 2, copied by hand Q on paper from the same stock as MS Z2.1.13 fols 7–22.

[16]



Plate 7 MS Z3.4.1 fol. 24r. Alfonso Ferrabosco's four-part fantasia, VDGS 15, copied by hand H. Most of the headings and examination marks in this set, unlike MSS Z3.4.7–12, are not in Marsh's writing.

[19]
GIBBONS'S SOLO SONGS
RECONSIDERED

DAVID McGUINNESS

Orlando Gibbons is often described as a conservative composer. Those who have seen in his three-part printed fantasias the beginnings both of the fantasy suite, and of the Baroque trio sonata, may care to disagree: as John Harper pointed out, what appears as conservatism is often simply the manifestation of his preference for the intimate genres of the English song and fantasia.¹ Gibbons's *First Set of Madrigals and Mottets of 1612* has clear parallels with the first secular song collection of his teacher William Byrd: the *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs* of 1588 and Gibbons's collection share the same dedicatee in Sir Christopher Hatton, and also the practice of including consort songs for voice and viols with text added to all the parts. In Byrd's case, this allowed his publication to serve both the lovers of the English song tradition and the new audience hungry for madrigals; for Gibbons, the purpose of adding words throughout seems to have been a more general widening of the volume's appeal and its economic viability. By the time of Gibbons's set, the consort song proper had really become a thing of the past, and an air of nostalgia for better, more thoughtful times is lent to the set by the texts chosen, which are almost without exception sober and sententious. "The Silver Swan" opens the collection, reaching the bitter conclusion that 'More Geese than Swans now live, / More fools than wise',² and the second poem asks for a reconsideration of the modern aesthetic: 'O that the learned Poets of this time ... Would not consume good wit in hateful rhyme / But with deep care some better subject find'. Elsewhere, dying flowers ("Fair is the Rose", "Yet if that age") and fading beauty ("Lais now old") abound.

To ascertain which of the collection are solo songs, one has to look for the characteristics of the consort song in one of the voices. Joseph Kerman summarises these neatly in his description of the 'first singing parts' of Byrd's collection:

... it is usually the last to enter, and is more vocal in conception than the other parts; it generally progresses more slowly; it has a more rounded

¹ See Peter Holman's discussion of the fantasias in his *Four and twenty fiddlers. the violin at the English court, 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993), 221-24, and John Harper, 'Orlando Gibbons: The domestic content of his music and of Christ Church MS 21', *MT*, cxxiv (1983), 770

² John Stevens was of the opinion that Gibbons's setting of this poem misses most of its subtleties (John Stevens, 'The Elizabethan Madrigal: "Perfect Marriage" or "Uneasy Flirtation"', *Essays and Studies*, new series, xi (1958), 29). Given the conventions of expression in the native English song (see Philip Brett, 'Word-setting in the songs of Byrd', *PRMA*, 98 (1972), 47-64), this is really a bit harsh. Besides, as Gibbons writes in his dedication, 'Experience tells us that Songs of this Nature are usually esteemed as they are well or ill performed'. A fine performance can do justice both to the beautiful tune and the bitter mock-pathos of the verse.

melody, with no awkward skips, especially at cadences; its range is usually within an octave or a ninth ... ; it declaims the words carefully, and never repeats the text except under exceptional circumstances.³

The ‘exceptional circumstances’ listed by Kerman are not particularly exceptional: the emphasis of a short exclamation, the opening of a song with a ‘motto’-like phrase, an extended coda at the last line, or the repetition of a word or two at the end of phrases. Philip Brett makes the additional and important point that in a consort song, Byrd always respects the form of the poetry he is setting: separate lines have clearly separated phrases, their shape reflects the rhyme scheme, and the relative strengths of cadences follow the overall structure of the poem.⁴

Whereas with Byrd’s 1588 songs, the ‘first singing part’ contains the vocal line only, and the other parts can be taken by the viols,⁵ Gibbons’s songs require a [20] little more detective work. Joseph Kerman first pointed this out in respect of the opening of “What is our life” (ex. 1),

Ex. 1.

The image shows three staves of musical notation. The first staff is labeled 'CANTUS' and 'QUINTUS'. The Quintus part has the lyrics: [WHat is our life? our life? a play of etc. The Cantus part has a bracket labeled 'x' over the first measure. The second staff is labeled 'CANTUS' and has the lyrics: pas - sion,] What is our life? What is our life? The Cantus part has a bracket labeled 'y' over the first measure and a bracket labeled 'y'' over the second measure. The third staff is labeled 'CANTUS' and has the lyrics: our life? a play of pas - si - on, The Cantus part has a bracket labeled 'x' over the first measure.

where the second entry of the Cantus, ‘so carefully prepared, must be the original entrance of “the first singing part”’.⁶ In this and other musical examples, I have enclosed in brackets text which has apparently been added to instrumental passages; test indicated in the original by ‘ij.’ or, more usually, ‘&c.’ is in italics. Compare the relatively half-hearted word-setting of the opening phrase with the

³ Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal* (New York, 1962), 103.

⁴ Brett, ‘Word-setting in the songs of Byrd’, 52

⁵ The manuscript consort versions of some songs given by Philip Brett in *The Byrd Edition*, xvi show up only minor differences of detail between the instrumental and the texted readings. Brett warns that the greater differences that appear in some sources should not necessarily be attributed to the composer, given the concern that Byrd expressed in the Dedication about the ‘vntrue incorreced coppies’ of his songs already in circulation (Philip Brett, ‘The English Consort Song, 1570-1625’, *PBM4*, 88 (1962), 78).

⁶ Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal*, 123.

correct entry, in which, to borrow Kerman's term, the first short 'motto' ('y') has the opening point ('x') appended to its inversion. A similar procedure to this is found in Byrd's "Ah silly Soule" from his *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets* published only a year previously in 1611 (ex. 2).

Ex. 2.



[21] This inclusion of instrumental passages within the Cantus part has led to some confusion over precisely which of Gibbons's songs are really solos. Besides "What is our life", which, as we shall see is more complex still, Kerman considered as solos no. 1, "The Silver Swan", and nos 15 to 19, "Ah dear heart", "Fair is the Rose", and the elegy for Prince Henry in three sections "Nay let me weep".⁷ Peter le Huray omitted "The Silver Swan" from his list in Grove 6, and recent recordings have ventured solo versions of no. 12, "Now each flowery bank of May", no. 9, "Dainty fine bird", and even the four sections of "I weigh not fortune's frown" (nos 3 to 6), -which are surely as polyphonic and unlike solos as can possibly be imagined, even having two soprano parts (Cantos and Quintus are both given in G clef) which exchange lines for the repeat of the final section of no. 6.⁸

In an attempt to make some sense of this confusion, I shall work through Kerman's list of Gibbons's consort songs in more detail, and then consider the more doubtful cases.

Although it is not in consort song form, "The Silver Swan" has a tune that is simply irresistible. Its ABB shape makes it look very much like a part-song, but it also bears a certain resemblance for the consort song "Sweet was the song the virgin sung" (*Musica Britannica*, xxii, 99). Besides solo and five-part vocal versions, performance as a lute-song does not seem entirely inappropriate: the largest manuscript collection of Bird's consort songs (GB-Lbl Add. MS 31992) consists entirely of lute arrangements.⁹

⁷ *Ibid.*, 123-24.

⁸ "Now each flowery bank of May" is recorded by the Consort of Musicke (L'Oiseau-Lyre DSLO 512, 1976, deleted) and the other songs more recently by Tessa Bonner and the Rose Consort of Viols (Naxos 8.550603, 1994). "I weigh not" is one of the songs described by John Harper as coming 'close to being fantasias with added texts' (Harper, 'Orlando Gibbons: The domestic content of his music', 770).

⁹ Brett, 'The English Consort Song', 82. Brett gives an example of one of these arrangements in *The Byrd Edition*, xiv, 176-77. Robert MacKillop tells me that "The Silver Swan" does not sit as comfortably on the lute as it might, and so it was probably not conceived as a lutesong. Given that Gibbons was a keyboard player rather than a lutenist, this would have been fairly unlikely anyway.

Nos. 17 to 19 form the three parts of Gibbons's elegy for Prince Henry, a solo song with a short three-minim time section at the end (ex. 3).¹⁰ It shares with "What is our life" the use of the *alla breve* C/ mensuration sign, and is remarkably strict in adhering to the traditions of word-setting and form inherited from Byrd.

The few places where poetic lines are not separated by rests can all be explained as instrumental interludes in the Cantus part. The most striking of these are in no. 19, "Yet if that age": the first is at its opening, where two instrumental phrases appear in the Cantus before the real vocal entry, which begins on the *d'*, which the voice left at the end of the previous section. The other is just before the change to three-minim time: if the final 'I might have been more niggard of my tears' is left to the viol, any sense of congestion before the cadence is relieved, and the previous falling phrase, with its suggestion of tolling bells, is made far more dramatic.

In no. 18, "Ne'er let the Sun", the first two occurrences of 'With whom my mirth, my joy, and all is done' can be given to the viol alone. The overall pattern that results, with a long rest for the voice between the two lines of the final couplet, and the contrapuntal anticipation of the coming phrase during the rest, makes perfect sense after the similar pattern of the previous two lines.

The two instrumental sections in the Cantus of no. 17 are both short cadential figures which plug the gap between two vocal phrases: on removing the final repetition of 'I'll pay this yearly rent', the last sung note can be lengthened to a

¹⁰ Although The Consort of Musicke perform this final section as a chorus in their recording, the occasionally bizarre word-repetitions in the lower parts suggest to me that the text here was added only for publication, and that the whole piece is really a solo.

Ex. 3.

CANTUS

NAy let me weepe, though oth - ers teares be spent, Though all eyes
dry - ed be, let mine be wet, Un - to thy grave ile pay this
yeere - ly rent, Un - to thy grave ile pay this yeere - ly
rent, [Ile pay this yeere - ly rent,] Thy live - lesse Coarse de - mands of
mee this debt, I owe more teares then e - ver Coarse did crave,
then e - ver Coarse did crave, Ile pay more teares then ere was
payd to grave, Ile pay more teares then ere was payd to grave,
[then ere was payd to grave,] then ere was payd to grave.
NEre let the Sunne with his de - ceiv - ing light,

Seeke to make glad these wat - ry eyes of mine, these wat - ry

eyes of mine, My sor - row sutes with me - lan - cho - ly night,

I ioy in dole, in lan-guish-ment I pine

I ioy in dole, in lan-guish-ment I pine, My friend is

set, he was my Sunne My deer - est friend is set, he was my Sunne,

he was my Sunne, [With whom my mirth, my ioy, and all is done.

with *whom my mirth, my ioy, and all is done,*] with whom my

mirth, my ioy, and all is done, my mirth, my ioy, and all is done.

[YEt if that age had frost - ed ore his head, had frost - ed ore his head,]

yet if that age had frost-ed ore his head, Or if his face had
 fur - row'd beene, Or if his face had fur-rowed beene with yeeres,
 I would not thus be-mone that hee is dead, I would not thus be-
 mone that hee is dead, be-mone that hee is dead, I might have
 beene more nig-gard of my teares, [I might have beene more nig-gard of my
 teares,] But O the Sunne new rose is gone to bed,
 And Lil - lies in their spring - time hang their head.
 [is gone to bed,] But O the Sunne new rose is gone to bed,
 And Lil - lies in their spring - time hang their head.

[25] semibreve; and the penultimate, rather uncomfortable, repetition of 'than ere was paid to grave' is quite clearly not part of the vocal line which surrounds it.

I have already noted the opening solo of "What is our life" and the instrumental phrase included at the beginning of the Cantus part. At the line 'our graves that hide us from the setting sun' another textural change takes place. Kerman writes:

The style changes abruptly to what is surely a-cappella writing. Then ... there is a beautiful interlude of typical string writing, with the text adapted clumsily once again.¹¹

The instrumental passage referred to here begins most probably after the rest in each part in the first system of page 95 of Fellowes's edition (*The English Madrigal School*, v), and the voices re-enter at 'Thus march we playing'. Even performed as a solo throughout, it makes sense for the voice to drop out here, as the repetition of the line of poetry is superfluous, and the continued dissonant syncopations played out by the Cantus are quite out of character with the rest of the song; (ex. 4).¹²

Ex. 4.
CANTUS

[When the play is done, the play
is done, Are like drawne cur - taynes when the play is done,]

With its chorus, however, the piece takes the strict consort song form and lets it develop and expand naturally at the bidding of the verse.¹³

No. 16, "Fair is the Rose", also follows the pattern of the consort song, albeit a less formal one. There is no playing out of imitative points before the first vocal entry, and the vocal line itself is allowed greater variety of pace. Even within this related setting, there are still two short passages which seem slightly out of place. The first is the final repetition of 'yet soon grow old', which even with its syncopation seems to have been weakly tagged on after the previous cadence. Could it have originally belonged in the Quintus, on the viol (ex. 5)? Its transference to the Cantus could have been required by the addition of text for the 1612 print: were the Quintus to sing 'yet soon grow old' at this point, the breathless result would be particularly exposed by its place at the top of the texture.

¹¹ Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal*, 124.

¹² The use of consonant and dissonant syncopations in the earlier consort song is discussed in my thesis 'Syncopation in English Music, 1530-1630: "gentle daintie sweet accentings" and "unreasonable odd Cratchets"' (unpublished Ph.D., University of Glasgow, 1994), 196-229.

¹³ This interpretation of the piece is taken even further in the Deller Consort's imaginative 1970 recording with the Jaye Consort of Viols (Harmonic mundi HM 219, deleted), where the soprano soloist is joined periodically by other single voices, and drops out for 'Heaven the judicious sharp spectator is' (this line alone is not preceded by a rest as the formal consort song demands). The result is not entirely convincing, but it does open the ears to what textures may be latent in other pieces. In their 1956 recording with the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis for Archiv (14 056, also deleted), all the voices double the viols throughout.

The other slight incongruity, but one which admits no obvious explanation, is the whole phrase that sets ‘White is the Snow, yet melts against the Sun’. The awkward repeated quavers near the beginning, and the hurried repetition of ‘against the Sun’, are rather crammed in, particularly in view of the expansive phrase to come. Strangely enough, the word-setting of the Quintus here is rather more [26] convincing; (ex. 6), but simply to swap the parts for this phrase would mean a highly unlikely removal of the vocal line from the top of the texture. I have tried to find a ‘verse’-like interpretation of this song with the text shared between two or more voices, as the words are often fitted very successfully in more than one part, but no clear solution has presented itself.

Ex. 5.

CANTUS

QUINTUS

Sweet are the Vi - o - lets,

Vi - o - lets, yet soone grow olde,

yet soone grow olde, yet soone grow old,

yet soone grow olde, The Lil - lie's white,

Ex. 6.

CANTUS

QUINTUS

White is the Snow yet melts a - gainst the Sunne, yet melts a-against the

White is the Snow yet melts

Sunne, a - gainst the Sunne,

a - gainst the Sunne,

[27] In the last item on Kerman’s list, the delightful miniature “Ah dear heart” (no. 15), each line is separated by a rest in the vocal Cantus, except before the final couplet, where the music draws to a full close

and restarts, and before the second line. This second line appears to be another case where the Cantus should be purely instrumental (ex. 7):

Ex. 7.

CANTUS

AH deere hart, why doe you rise? [The
 light that shines comes from your eyes, your eyes,]
 The light that shines comes from your eyes, from your eyes,

the first appearance of the words merely sets off the chain of imitative entries which prepare for the second, correct entry.

Turning to the more doubtful cases that have appeared on recordings recently, the four parts of “I weigh not fortune’s frown” have already been mentioned as unashamedly polyphonic throughout. From the opening of no. 12, “Now each flowery bank of May” (ex. 8), one would assume it to be another consort song, but when the counterpoint begins to gather momentum with the ‘streams that glides away’, the Cantus joins in. This is all very charming and figurative, but soon afterwards there is a truly painful piece of underlay, which includes the unfortunate repetition ‘Loves the humble, the humble looking Dale’. Closer examination proves this phrase actually to be in imitation of the previous one, but with the wrong line of text set to it: ‘Mountains fanned by a sweet gale’ fits far more easily. It is difficult to imagine Gibbons making such an error unless this phrase was meant originally to be either instrumental or part of a vocal ensemble.¹⁴ Ex. 8 presents a fairly radical interpretation of the whole of the Cantus part divided into instrumental and vocal sections, based on similar principles to those above. Other infelicities in the word-setting which are eliminated by this admittedly speculative approach include the unexpectedly low note on a weak beat which wrongfoots the final syllable of ‘winds the loved leaves do kiss’, and the word ‘hate’, a metrically strong syllable, squeezed in ugly fashion onto a weak quaver near the end. The only really

¹⁴ Two unusual repeated phrases from Gibbons’s verse anthems invite comparison here. ‘O spare me a little, me a little’ from “Behold, thou hast made my days” can be genuinely pathetic in expression when sung well (Tomkins repeats the same phrase in his “Hear my prayer”), but it is difficult to see ‘Blessed be he, be he that cometh in the name of the Lord’ from “See, the word is incarnate” as anything other than an unintentionally awkward attempt by Gibbons to invest the phrase with more dynamic. This latter example is, however, from a chorus section rather than a solo verse, and so is less exposed.

Ex. 8.

CANTUS

NOw each flow - ry bancke of May, Wooes the streames that
glides a - way [Wooes the streames that glides a - way, a - way,]
Moun-taines fan'd by a sweet gale, a sweet gale, [Loves the hum-ble, the
hum - ble look-ing Dale,] Loves the hum - ble look - ing Dale,
Windes the lov - ed leaves doe kisse, [windes the lov - - ed leaves do kisse,]
Each thing tast - eth of loves blisse, [Each thing tast - eth of loves blisse,]
One - ly I though blest I be, by des - ti - nie, One - ly I though
blest I be, to be lov'd by des - te - ny, Love con - fest by her sweet

[29]

breath, [Whose love is life, whose hate is death.] Whose love is
 life, whose hate is death, is death, [whose love is life, whose love is
 life whose hate is death, whose hate is death,] Whose
 deere love is life, whose hate is death.

problematic phrase is ‘Only I, though blessed I be, to be loved by destiny’. Its first setting has the smoother, more vocal shape, but omits part of the line and incorporates some dissonant syncopations, similar to those in the interlude of ‘What is our life’. The second sets the whole line but has an unusually wide range, with an octave leap which strongly emphasises the word ‘by’. Neither of these seems totally satisfactory. Despite this, I hope that my interpretation reveals what a lovely song is hiding beneath all the superfluous words.

In no. 9, “Dainty fine bird”, the Cantus is generally more fluid than in the songs so far discussed. There are no obvious errors of underlay to point to instrumental origins, as in “Now each flowery hank”, but neither are there clear distinctions between a formal consort song style and an instrumental one. The writing is clearly vocal, but the many repetitions of text make it less soloistic. In Gibbons’s verse anthems, verses for more than one voice tend to be much more free in their use of textual repetition than do solo verses, and this points to the most likely explanation of the piece. Gibbons seems to have been unable to resist the understandable temptation to set the poem as a duet for two sopranos.¹⁵ Cantus and Quintus are both in G clef, and their compasses are identical. Even the variant reading from Oxford Christ Church MS 21, given, ironically enough, by John Harper as an example of the appropriateness of instrumental performance, works well as a duet (ex. 9).¹⁶

¹⁵ Anthony Rooley noticed this, and the Consort of Musicke’s recording is scored accordingly.

¹⁶ Harper, ‘Orlando Gibbons: The domestic content of his music’, 770.

Ex. 9.

1612 CANTUS

QUINTUS

Och MS 21 (from Harper)

One - ly thus we dif - fer thou and

One - ly thus we

One - ly thus we dif - fer thou and

One - ly thus we dif - fer thou and I, one - ly thus we

I, and I, Thou liv'st sing - ing, but ...

dif - fer thou and I, wee dif - fer, Thou liv'st ...

I, and I, Thou liv'st sing - ing, but ...

dif - fer, thou and I, we dif - fer, Thou liv'st ...

All of the evidence so far discussed for these interpretations of Gibbons's songs has been internal, from the music itself. External evidence, from its presentation in the original print, is harder to come by.

The original edition offers no explicit clues whatsoever as to scoring. There are no 'first singing part' indications as in Byrd's 1588 set, nor are there any sections left textless as in his 1611 collection: the general description 'apt for Viols and Voyces' on the title-page is the only

direction. In addition, the printer Thomas Snodham, who was also responsible for Byrd's *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets* the previous [31] year, has been admirably precise with the underlay throughout the collection: Gibbons was clearly prepared to make a meticulous professional job of the addition of text where there was none before. Punctuation and capitalisation are likewise generally very consistent, and the occasional variation in spelling ('destinie'/'desteny') is usually just the shortening of a word to make it fit more easily on the page. Even Gibbons's use of the word 'motet' to describe some of the pieces does not imply any particular kind of performance, but refers only to the texts, as is here explained by Thomas Morley:

I say that all musicke for voices ... is made either for a dittie or without a dittie, if it be with a dittie, it is either grace or light, the grace ditties they haue stil kept in one kind, so that whatsoeuer musicke bee made vpon it, is comprehended vnder the name of a Motet ...¹⁷

Neither do the clef groupings used by Gibbons offer any concrete guidance, although they perhaps drop a few hints. "The Silver Swan" and "What is our life", both solos, are the only pieces with the combination of G2 C2 C3 C4 F4; all of the other songs have F3 in the bassus part. Those songs which have Cantus and Quintus both in treble G2 clef (nos 2 to 6, 8 to 11, and 20) are all resolutely polyphonic, with the exception of the duet, no. 9. Curiously enough, in no. 7, "How art thou thrall'd", which forms the first part of no. 8, "Farewell all joys", Cantus and Quintus are in soprano C1 clef: this first part could conceivably be sung as a solo song, but the second, which uses G clefs, could not, as the line 'Break then poor heart' only appears in the lower parts, and the writing is in any case more contrapuntal. Of the remaining songs, no. 15, "Ah dear heart" has C1 C2 C3 C4 F3, no. 13, "Lais now old" G2 C2 C3 C3 F3, and the rest (nos. 12, and 16 to 19) have G2 C1 C3 C3 F3. As can be seen, there is a general tendency for the solo songs to have only the Cantus in G clef, but it is difficult to make any more definite connection than this.

The most obvious implication for performance practice of the inclusion of instrumental passages in the Cantus of Gibbons's songs is the need for five viols, one of which doubles the voice, rather than four as in the sixteenth-century consort song. The evidence of reworking in some of Gibbons's five-part verse anthems ("Glorious and powerful God", for example, exists complete in four- and five-part versions)" opens up the possibility that the printed versions of the solo songs may have been restored by Gibbons from original versions for voice and four viols. However, with the possible exception of ex. 5 discussed above, there is no real evidence in the music to support this. In any case, "Ah silly soul" and "How vain the toils" from Byrd's 1611 set, provide eloquent examples of songs in the old style scored in six parts for voice and five viols.

¹⁷ Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597), 179.

I hope that this short look at some of Gibbons's songs sheds new light on Kerman's well known comment: 'no composer ever used the conventional label 'apt for Viols and Voices' more aptly than Orlando Gibbons'.¹⁸ Perhaps Gibbons was not such a conservative composer after all.

Thanks to the staff of York Minster Library, and to Robert MacKillop and Catherine Bott for helpful advice.

¹⁸ David Wulstan has suggested that the string parts preserved in Och MS 21 are amplifications of organ scores which were themselves derived from pre-existing string parts. The bizarre octave at the opening of "Sing unto the Lord" proves that the part writing cannot be entirely authentic (*Early English Church Music*, iii, viii; David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (London, 1985), 333-34).

[34]

THE PARDESSUS DE VIOLE: NOTES FOR A MASTER'S THESIS

Adrian Rose

During the summer of 1981, at the conclusion of a one year M.A. degree course in the editing and interpretation of Renaissance and Baroque music, I submitted a thesis upon the subject of the French pardessus de viole, the most obscure and neglected member of the viol family.¹ This was the result of several years of painstaking research at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and of extensive conversations with friends and colleagues such as Cécile Dolmetsch (the true pioneer of the pardessus), Hazelle Miloradovitch and Christiane Dubuquoy-Portois, all of whom share my interest in playing, the instrument as well as researching its elusive history and development. There was, inevitably, a pretty strict word limit when it came to writing the dissertation, and this meant that quite a bit of what I'd found out could not be included. However, with ever-increasing interest forming amongst scholars and performers in the pardessus,² I thought that it might now be appropriate to publish these findings, together with the results of subsequent research, in the form of notes and observations.

Origins and development

It has always been my belief that the evolution of the pardessus de viole in France at the close of the seventeenth century had very little, if anything, to do with the rising popularity of the violin and Italian violin music (this was to have its effect some years later), but rather as a response to developments rooted in the French classical tradition.³ There seem to me to have been three principal stimuli for the introduction of a smaller and higher pitched viol at this time:

1. the increasing range and complexity of seventeenth century French treble viol music as exemplified by the works of Louis Couperin, Henri Dumont, Nicolas-Antoine Lebègue and Marc-Antoine Charpentier;
2. the enormous impact of Maria Marais's solo bass viol music upon the French musical scene, his own virtuosic and 'angelic' playing style and, no doubt, the demands of his important *Pièces en Trio* of 1692 which, though high in their general tessitura, were the first purely chamber works on a grand scale to specify the use of the *dessus de viole* alongside other instruments;

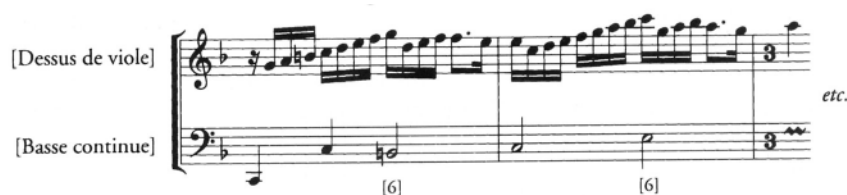
¹ Adrian Rose, 'The Pardessus de Viole in France c. 1720-1780' (M.A., University of Nottingham, 1981).

² Principally in the USA through Robert Green's articles and Tina Chancey's performances and proposed PhD programme.

³ The idea that the instrument was born 'over-night' seems highly improbable: no doubt treble viols were re-strung at first and various tunings tried out. There is even a seven-string treble/pardessus in the Musée du Conservatoire, Paris.

3. the fact that amateur aristocratic women musicians (who, no doubt, due to the influence of *préciosité* and the highly civilised *précieuses*, considered treble viol playing to be more feminine and elegant - and no doubt more practical due to the 'way they dressed'. - than violin playing) were in need of an instrument that would enable them to play this music more easily (in first position largely) [34] without having to shift way up on the top string of the treble viol, where the tone of the instrument becomes ever-more strained and space increasingly limited.⁴

Looking at the *Simphonies* for solo treble viol and continuo by Louis Couperin,⁵ and the twenty or so *Prludes* contained within Henri Dumont's extensive collection, the *Meslanges* (Paris, 1657-61),⁶ one notices immediately the relatively high tessitura of all of this music: rarely, if ever, are the low D and G strings of the treble viol used. In the Couperin, for instance, passages incorporating *b-flat*' *b-natural*' or *c*' are quite frequent (ex. 1), whilst Dumont ventures not quite as high (*b-flat*'/*b-natural*') but rarely writes parts that are lower in range than *d* on the C string.



Example 1 Louis Couperin, *Simphonie* [in F major], bars 20–22

The same is true of Lebègue's writing for the *dessus*,⁷ whilst Charpentier's parts, as well as tending to be on the high side, take things a stage further in that they are technically much more challenging (with frequent use of double-stopping) and even more idiomatically conceived.⁸

Marais's extensive *Pièces en Trio*,⁹ though written with other instruments, as well as the *dessus de viole*, in mind (*pour les Flutes, Violons et Dessus de Viole*), do lie beautifully on the treble viol (plate 1), except for the high passages involving shifts up on to the top string to the second, third and fourth positions (ex. 2).

⁴ See Margot Martin, 'Préciosité, Dissimulation and Le bon goût Societal Conventions and Musical Aesthetics in 17th-Century French Harpsichord Music', *The Consort*, 51/1 (1995), 4-6.

⁵ See *Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. Paul Brunold (Editions de l'Oiseau Lyre, Paris, 1936), 134-37

⁶ It is believed that no modern edition is available to date, although Dovehouse Editions had planned to bring out a number of them, I think.

⁷ See *Motets pour les Principales Festes de l'Année* (Paris, 1687)

⁸ See Adrian Rose, 'Mare-Antoine Charpentier's *Première Leçon du Vendredi Saint* - an Important Source of Music for Solo Treble Viol', *Chelys*, 13 (1984), 47-60

⁹ Copies survive in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Durham Cathedral Library, and in the British Library (incomplete).



Example 2 Marin Marais, *Passacaille* from *Pièces en Trio* in e minor, 1^{re} dessus (extract)

As in other contemporary treble viol music, the low D string is never used and it would seem that a pardessus de viole (minus the low D string but plus a high G) would be the most satisfyingly appropriate instrument on which to perform this music. Marais again specifies the *dessus* in the *Avertissements* to his *Pièces de Viole* of 1711¹⁰ and 1717¹¹ as being a suitable alternative viol upon which one could play his bass viol suites; but whilst the high passages, though difficult to master, work perfectly well on a bass (there is more space on the fingerboard even in high positions, and tonally it is much more stable), many would again be very nearly impossible (transposed up an octave of course) to bring off on a treble: as before, [36]

Plate 1 The title-page of Marais' *Pièces en Trio* of 1692.

a pardessus de viole would largely solve these problems for amateur musicians. It seems possible therefore that the music of Marais itself could have stimulated the creation of a higher viol to perform it comfortably upon. A further example is the magnificent *Chaconne en Trio* for flute, bass viol and continuo, which Jacques Morel (a pupil of Marais) composed as a rousing conclusion to his 1709 set of *Pièces de Viole*.¹² Here the *dessus de viole* is specified as an alternative instrument to the flute, but the very high range of the part virtually precludes this; though it does, however, work admirably on the pardessus de viole.¹³

The first composers to publish solo music for the treble and pardessus, Louis Heudelinne¹⁴ and Thomas Marc,¹⁵ both left suites which are conscious imitations of Marais's music (though not without their own stylistic idiosyncracies as well). Marc even states in his *Avertissement* that

Ces Instrumens [Dessus et Pardessus de Viole] estant entierement semblables à la Basse de Viole, les âgréments dont il faut se servir pour en bien jouer, sont absolument les mêmes que ceux que Mr. Marais a donnez au Public pour l'exécution de ses pieces; n'estant pas possible de trouver un plus parfait

¹⁰ Robert Green, 'The *pardessus de viols* and its literature', *Early Music*, 10/3 (1982), 303.

¹¹ *Pièces à une et à trois Violes*. Marais writes that 'Ces mesmes pieces, au defaut de deux Violes, se peuvent executer par des dessus de Violon, on dessus de Viole, et mesme par deux Flutes traversieres. L'on peut aussi mesler un instrument avec un autre, comme la Flute traversiere avec le Violon on dessus de Viole, ce fait un concert de Chambre fort agreable' - thus following traditions laid down by his *Pièces en Trio*.

¹² A modern edition of the *Chaconne*, edited by Gordon Kinney, is available from Dovehouse Editions (1981).

¹³ I gave the first modern performance of the work using this instrumentation, with Hazelle Miloradovitch (bass viol) and Chris Dance (harpsichord), as part of a recital in Paris during the summer of 1981.

¹⁴ *Trois Suites de Pièces a Deux Violles* (Paris, 1701/Minkoff, 1980)

¹⁵ *Suite de Pièces de Dessus et de Pardessus de Viole et trois Sonates, avec les Basses Continues* (Paris, 1724). The suite is available from Dovehouse Editions (edited by Adrian Rose), and the G major sonata (II) is a supplementary publication of the Viola da Gamba Society.

modele, je declare que je fais gloire de l'imiter, non seulement pour les âgréments, mais même pour les caracteres par les quels il les à designez ...

perhaps implying that players of the higher viols were already familiar with the great man's music in transcription for their instruments. Heudelinne's first book, published in 1701, and therefore contemporary with the first mention in print of the *pardessus de viole à six cordes*,¹⁶ almost certainly coincided with the appearance of [37] some sort of prototype pardessus (again, the high tessitura would suggest this) although it is clearly stated on the title-page that this music is for the *dessus*, and the highest passages are fingered thus by Heudelinne for performance on a high D, rather than G string. His music was certainly later played on the pardessus 'proper' as Corrette states in his *Methode*.¹⁷ By the time of Marc's collection (1724) the six-string pardessus had clearly become a fully developed instrument, although Marc does provide a brief description of it in comparison to the *dessus* and quotes the tuning, indicating perhaps that the pardessus had only recently established itself fully upon the French musical scene.

A letter from Sarrau de Boynet

Leon Vallas, in his pioneering book *La Musique d Lyon au XVIIIe. Siècle* (Paris, 1908), quotes in full an extraordinarily interesting letter preserved amongst the archives of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Bordeaux, which gives an invaluable insight into the extent to which, by the 1730s, the violin and it's music had influenced the development of the pardessus de viole. The innovative Marc, as well as publishing a long suite in the style of Marais in his 1724 collection, followed this with a set of three sonatas (all published in the same volume) containing movements which are distinctly more elaborately Italianate in style and thus more indebted to the violin and it's literature than to the bass viol. Such a division of material into two distinct styles and genres suggests that by the 1720s some treble violists and pardessus players (like bass violists) were already becoming affected by, and their playing styles influenced by, the huge surge of interest in the violin in France at this time. Whilst Boismortier's sonatas for the pardessus de viole of 1736 juxtapose more Italian style movements with others that are distinctly more tenderly French in flavour (and thus indebted to viol music for their inspiration), Barrière's collection of 1739 (still for the six-string pardessus) is in a fully-fledged violinistic style, brilliant and showy, but with little regard for an idiomatic approach to composition. Such a dramatic change in tastes and direction is partially explained, with fascinating clarity, by de Boynet's letter (dated 1738) where, to quote the most revealing passages, he says:

¹⁶ Joseph Sauveur, *Systems General des Intervaller, des Sons & son Application a tour les Systemes et à tous les Instruments des Musique* (Paris, 1701). Dupont also gives the tuning of the six-string pardessus in his *Principes de Violon par Demandes et par Reponse* (Paris, 1718).

¹⁷ Michel Corrette, *Methode pour apprendre facilement à jouer du Par-dessus de Viole à 5 et à 6 Cordes* (Paris, c. 1750), 2

... L'inclinaison qui j'ai toujours eu pour la musique italienne m'a fait jouer du dessus de violle dans un temps on nous n'avions pas à Bordeaux un seul jouer do violon en état de l'exécuter. J'ai regretté la perte de temps-la où j'étais encore assez jeune pour me former au violon, instrument supérieur à tous égards à celui que vous et moi exerçons. Mais son rapport avec la basse de violle dont j'avois appris à jouer de feu Mr. Marais des l'année 1701 me dormant quelque facilité, ... Je n'ai jamais eu d'autre vue que celle d'imiter l'effet du violon... Mon instrument est un dessus de violle monté en pardessus. Il est de Paris par Bongard en 1665. ... Il a un son assez fort et gracieux.

The fact that the instrument he uses is a treble viol 'monte en pardessus' (i.e. tuned as a pardessus) suggests that even as late as the 1730s there were still strange hybrid instruments around as well as standard models. This might also explain [38] why Charles Henri de Blainville left a set of sonatas for what he calls the *dessus de viole* (c. 1750), which are really for the pardessus, and why Charles Dollé, on the title-page to his *Oeuvre IIIe*. (1737) gives the *dessus de viole* as a suitable alternative to the pardessus! Sarrau's passionate interest in the violin and Italian music at this time is representative of that clientèle already referred to who, without the necessary technical accomplishment to play on the violin (or a teacher to help them to do so), were intent upon imitating its effects and playing its music upon the pardessus.

This approach appears to be quite contrary to that which, right up until the 1760s, still favoured the playing of transcriptions of Marais's music (and other pieces de viole) on the pardessus,¹⁸ and it would seem sensible to conclude that two 'schools' of player arose with differing aims in mind. Later, well after the introduction of the *pardessus de viole à cinq cordes* and, in effect, signalling its total demise, the pardessus shed (in select circles) yet another string and adopted a straight violin tuning, surviving more or less until the Revolution on a diet of violin music.¹⁹ But by now manners and tastes had changed in France and more and more women were beginning to take violin lessons, which in turn posed yet another threat to the pardessus's continued existence.²⁰

¹⁸ See Hazelle Miloradovitch, 'Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Transcriptions for Viols of Music by Corelli and Marais in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: Sonatas and 'Pièces de Viole', *Chelys*, 12 (1983), 47-73. Jean-Baptiste Forqueray also states that his and his father's *Pièces de Viole* (Paris, 1747) may be played on the pardessus (see title-page), and many of Louis de Caix d'Hervelois's *pièces* for the pardessus *à six et cinq cordes* (Paris, 1751 and 1753) are arrangements of his own *pièces de viole* for the bass. Back in 1981 I discovered another manuscript source in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Res. Vmc. Ms. 85) consisting of arrangements *en duo*, for two pardessus and pardessus/bass, of bass viol pieces by all of the best French composers. This has recently been published in facsimile by Editions Minkoff.

¹⁹ See Posuel de Vemeaux [C.R. Brijon], *Méthode Nouvelle et Facile pour Apprendre à jouer du Par-dessus de Viole* (Lyon, 1766), 10. Also L'Abbé le Fils, *Principes du Violon* (Paris, 1779), title-page

²⁰ An exquisite watercolour of 1760 by Louis Carrogis (dit Carmontelle) exists in the Musée Carnavalet, Paris, showing the three daughters of Joseph Nicolas Pancrace Rover (harpsichord tutor to 'Mesdames de France') playing the violin, harpsichord and guitar. The violinist stands and manages to look very elegant, with an 'on-the-breastplate' hold!

Other players and teachers

Notable players of the treble viol in seventeenth-century France are well documented: Louis Couperin, Nicolas Hotman and Sebastien Le Camus (whose playing Rousseau praised in his *Traité de la Viole*)²¹ held royal appointments,²² and one of the daughters of the great Sainte-Colombe was an accomplished player.²³ Three engravings survive in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (two by Bonnard and one by Trouvain) of amateur noble women players, and that by Trouvain, which is roughly contemporary with the publication of Marais's *Pieces en Trio*, names the player 'Madame La Marquise de Grancey' (plate 2). Here, great care is taken over portraying the sumptuous splendour of her dress and little to representing her treble viol accurately. No doubt further engravings of players are yet to be revealed.

Both Heudelinne (*Premier Livre*) and Marc dedicated their collections to aristocratic treble viol and pardessus players respectively. Heudelinne praises the playing style of his pupil and dedicatee, Monseigneur de Becdelievre, Marquis de Quevilly, for 'ce jeu tendre, & brillant qui fait le propre, caractere du Dessus de Viole; peu de personnes le connoissent, & le discernent aussi-bien que vous'.²⁴ Mlle de la Roche-sur-Yon, Marc's pupil and dedicatee, and the first *named* player of the pardessus de viole that we have record of, must have been quite accomplished if the difficulties of much of Marc's music are anything to go by.

Only two players, it seems, achieved 'virtuoso' status on the pardessus, with their performances in Paris during the 1740s and 1750s causing an enormous stir. Madame Lévi, a player from Rouen,²⁵ and possibly a pupil of Heudelinne,

[39] **Plate 2** Madame la Marquise de Grancey [playing on the treble viol].

[40] performed no less than twelve times in 1745; once in February and March, and ten times throughout April, with virtually all of her performances coinciding with motets by Lalande, and works by Blavet, Mondonville and Guignon, played by the composers themselves.²⁶ What Mme Lévi herself played isn't known, but it seems to me highly unlikely that she would have performed works of her own composition,²⁷ rather adaptations of violin sonatas or concertos for the pardessus de viole.²⁸ Her playing quickly aroused unanimous praise throughout France, for people were amazed by the brilliance and technical virtuosity presumably unheard of before in public. Corrette described her as the 'célèbre Madame Lévi',

²¹ See p. 72.

²² Marcelle Benoit, *Musique de Cour—Chapelk, Chambre, Ecurie* (Paris, 1971).

²³ cf. Titon du Tillet, *Le Parnasse François* (Paris, 1732)

²⁴ cf. Rousseau, *Traité de la Viole* (Paris, 1687), 72

²⁵ Michel Brenet says Rennes, see *Les Concerts en France sous L'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1900).

²⁶ See Constant Pierre, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel 1725-1790* (Paris, 1975) 250-51

²⁷ In contrast to Green, op. cit., 304

²⁸ cf. Corrette, op. cit., 1

and Pierre Louis Daquin (son of the famous organist) wrote that she and her sister Mme Haubault (also a virtuoso of the pardessus)²⁹

... ont montré tout leur talent sur cet instrument: la légèreté, la précision, la finesse du coup d'archet, les sons articulés & flatteurs leur ont attiré les applaudissemens du Public au Concert Spirituel ...³⁰

Mme Haubault performed at the Concert Spirituel three times in March 1750, and later, on 4 April 1762, a certain Mlle Lafond 'presque dans l'enfance' performed a solo on the pardessus de viole.³¹

At least two of the six daughters of Louis XV, Mesdames Adelaide and Sophie,³² played the pardessus as well as a host of other instruments, forming only a small part of an intensive educational agenda reserved for young French women aristocrats (plate 3).³³ Their activities in this field are recounted by the Due de Luynes in his memoirs,³⁴ but one gets the firm impression that they were not particularly accomplished players:

6 octobrc, Dampierre [1746]

Madame [Adelaide] a moins de talent pour la musique; elle dessine et peint en miniature. Il y a environ un mois qu'elle a desiré de jouer du par-dessus de viole; pour y pouvoir naieux reussir, on lui a conseillé d'apprendre d'abord a jouer de la basse de viole ...³⁵

21 septembre, Versailles [1751]

[De Caix] l'ainé à été longtemps à Fontevault pour montrer le par-dessus de viole a Madame Sophie; il est revenu avec elle ...³⁶

They were both pupils of Barthélèmy de Caix, whose fine set of six sonatas for two unaccompanied pardessus was dedicated 'A Madame', possibly Adélaïde, for 'L'honneur que Madame à fait à mon Père en le choisissant

²⁹ See Pierre, *op. cit.*, 257.

³⁰ Daquin, *Siecle Litteraire de Louis XV* (Amsterdam, 1754), *Lettre VI Sur le Violon, la Basse de Viole, & les autres Instrumens*. Daquin also states that 'Les Maitres de viole voyant avec douleur leur instrument negligé, ont eu recours au pardessus a cinq cordes, stratagemes bien permis, & qui n'a pas manqué de reussir, par la raison qu'il nous fait toujours du nouveau.' See, in addition, Ancelet, *Observations sur la Musique, les Musiciens, et les Instrumens* (Amsterdam, 1757), p.24: 'Pour ce qui regarde le Pardessus de Viole, Mademoiselle Lévi en a tiré le meilleur parti: elle a le talent de bien enseigner, & rend, pour ainsi dire, son Instrument égal au Violon par la beauté de son execution'.

³¹ Pierre, *op. cit.*

³² Born in 1732 and 1734 respectively

³³ For more on the education of young French women aristocrats, see Madame la Comtesse de Genlis, *Tales of the Castle ... being Les Veillées du Chateau*, translated into English by Thomas Holcroft (London, 1787), 6 volumes.

³⁴ See Norbert Dufourcq (ed.), *La Musique de la Cour de Louis XIV et de Louis XV d'Après les Memoires de Sourches et Luynes 1681-1758* (Paris, 1970)

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 103

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 147

pour la Basse de Viole'.³⁷ Blainville also dedicated his solo pardessus sonatas to Adélaïde. But by September 1750 the Duc de Luynes reports 'Mme Adélaïde ne joue point de la basse de viole, mais elle joue superieurement du violon', her teacher being the brilliant and important French violinist Jean-Pierre Guignon 'Premier Violon du Roy'.³⁸ Vallas, in his book,³⁹ lists numerous players and teachers of the pardessus de

[41] **Plate 3** Madame Sophie de France by Drouais.

[42] **Plate 4** The title-page to Nicolas Lendormy's *Second Livre de Pieces*, c.1780, the last published music for the pardessus de viole.

[43] viole active in Lyons during the mid-eighteenth century, suggesting that this was as important a stronghold for the instrument as Paris and its environs. He mentions a certain Mr Guillot of the Rue du Bat-d'Argent 'professeur du violoncelle, violon, pardessus de viole et vielle';⁴⁰ a Mr Sambat, 'teinturier en drap, occupait ses loisirs a enseigner la composition, la musique vocale française, le gout du chant, le violoncelle et le pardessus de viole';⁴¹ and Mr Tauseany of the Rue du Boeuf 'maitre du luth, de guitare, de pardessus de viole et de mandoline'.⁴² Perhaps most interesting of all is a player Mr Fouquet 'qui avait fait annoncer qu'il etait L'élève du célèbre joli et des plus grands maîtres de Paris, et qu'il possedait la methode la plus breve'.⁴³ In a later study *Un Siècle de Musique et de Theatre d Lyon 1688-1789* (Lyons, 1932) Vallas also mentions, in his *Supplément Biographique*, Jacques Meynard 'professeur du violon, violoncelle et pardessus de viole', and Mr. Ferre 'professeur du chant, de par-dessus de viole et de guitare'.

The eminent Madame la Comtesse de Genlis (1746-1830), writer, educationalist and governess to the children of the Duc d'Orléans, and a close friend of both Madame Recamier and François-René de Chateaubriand, lists (with some regret) in her memoirs the pardessus de viole as being one of the numerous instruments that she played, like the royal princesses, in her youth:

³⁷ *VI Sonates pour deux Pardessus de Viole a Cinq Cordes, Violons ou Basses de Viole* (Paris/Lyon, c. 1748). It seems very unlikely to me that Madame Sophie would have played this music, as Green suggests in his article (op. cit): according to the Duc de Luynes she didn't begin the pardessus until 1751 (aged 17). The music also demands very considerable technical accomplishment.

³⁸ Duc de Luynes, op. cit., 142

³⁹ *La Musique a Lyon*, 37

⁴⁰ p. 96

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² p. 125

⁴³ p. 135

Je voudrais bien aujourd'hui que tout le temps que j'ai consacré au pardessus de viole, a la musette, au tympanon et a la mandoline eut été employé à m'instruire un peu des affaires ...⁴⁴

Long after the disappearance of the pardessus post-Revolution, and many of the other instruments associated with the *ancien regime*, the Due de Chateaubriand wrote of her in his *Memoires d'Outre Tombe*:

Elle demeurait a l'Arsenal, au milieu de livres poudreux, dans un appartement obscur. Elle n'attendait personne; elle etait vetue d'une robe noire; ses cheveux blancs offusquaient son visage; elle tenait une harpe entre ses genoux, et sa tête etait abattue sur sa poitrine. Appendue aux cordes de l'instrument, elle promenait deux mains pâles et amaigries sur l'autre coté du reseau sonore, dont elle tirait des sons affaibles, semblables aux voix lointaines et indefinissables de la mort ...⁴⁵

a sad tribute to a brilliant lady broken by political upheavals and, indeed, taking a wider, symbolic interpretation, to a rich, diverse and peculiarly French cultural ambience swept away for ever by the events of 1789. The harp became one of the most popular successors (for amateur women musicians) to the pardessus de viole from before 1760 on; and one gets the impression that to some extent the pardessus (like the vielle and musette) became, in the hands of the more idle women aristocrats, little more than a slightly sophisticated toy: a regrettable decline indeed!

Amongst the last known players of the pardessus de viole are the dedicatees of Nicolas Lendormy's two books of *pièces* for the *pardessus à cinq cordes*, that of the first being Madame de Bonneville, and of the second Mademoiselle la Marquise de Montbas (plate 4) indicating a continued interest on the part of the aristocracy in the pardessus. The publication of the *Premier Livre* was announced in the *Mercure de France* of January 1779, thus making Lendormy's music the last to be put into [44] print for the instrument.⁴⁶ It is very weak material on the whole and could be seen as a last desperate attempt to win for the pardessus an admirer or two.

Lost music

Robert Green, in his latest article,⁴⁷ lists a small number of lost works for the pardessus de viole which, although known about for a number of years, have still not surfaced. Included amongst them are two further books by Boismortier, one of unaccompanied duos, the other a tutor for the instrument. Boismortier's sonatas for pardessus *à six cordes* and continuo op. 61, held for many years in a Swiss private collection, are now the property of the library of the Conservatoire de Musique, Geneva, and I am

⁴⁴ See *Souvenirs de Félicie*, Bibliothèque des Memoirs Relatifs a l'Histoire de France pendant le 18e et le 19e Siecle, No. 14, ed. by Barriere (Paris, 1857), 137

⁴⁵ Livre Vingt-Neuvième, Chapitre 8

⁴⁶ Information from the Bibliothèque Nationale's card index. Both books are available in facsimile, in one volume, from Editions Minkoff.

⁴⁷ 'Recent Research and Conclusions Concerning the 'Pardessus de Viole' in Eighteenth-Century France', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 46 (1993), 1-12

told that a facsimile edition of this volume by Editions Minkoff is planned.⁴⁸ This should make an intensely rewarding collection much more accessible.

Not listed by Green, however, but mentioned by Vallas in his book,⁴⁹ are untraced compositions by Brijon and Fouquet: from the former he writes of a set of *Romances et Menuets Agreables et quel-ques Airs aussi variés*, 'qu'il faisait paraître par feuille periodique pour violon et pardessus de viole, avec une *basse arbitraire*',⁵⁰ whilst by Fouquet (mentioned earlier) he lists 'quelques duos tres faciles pour deux pardessus de violes et les avait fait graver à Paris'.⁵¹ Could these be by the Pierre-Claude Fouquet who published three sets of *Pièces de Clavecin* in Paris in 1751?⁵²

The manuscript *Receuil d'Airs* (Nevers, 1763) containing a set of *Principes* for the pardessus (briefly described by Hazelle Miloradovitch in her article)⁵³ is, regrettably, still unavailable for private study and very likely to be so for some time to come: however, steps are being taken to change this situation I gather.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Information from the Librarian at the Conservatoire, Mr Xavier Bouvier. The sonatas were originally discovered by Cécile Dolmetsch (aided by Richard Newton) back in the 1960s. She has subsequently performed all of them many times and made recordings.

⁴⁹ See note 39.

⁵⁰ *La Musique a Lyon*, 115

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 135

⁵² Facsimile edition by Minkoff

⁵³ See note 18.

⁵⁴ Information again from Xavier Bouvier.

[47]

THE CELLO BOW HELD THE VIOL- WAY; ONCE COMMON, BUT NOW ALMOST FORGOTTEN

Mark Smith

Ample evidence can be found to show that many early cellists, including some of the most distinguished, held the bow with the hand under. It seems likely that hand-under bow-holds were more common than hand-over bow-holds for cellists (at least outside of France) until about 1730, and it is certain that some important solo cellists used a hand-under bow-hold not only until 1730, but well into the second-half of the eighteenth century. Therefore, a significant part of the early cello repertory (perhaps some of it well-known today) must have been first played with the hand under the bow. Until now, hand-under bow-holds have been discussed only superficially by historians of the cello.¹ With more information, I hope that some cellists may try such a bow-hold in the compositions which were or may have been originally played that way.

Iconographic evidence

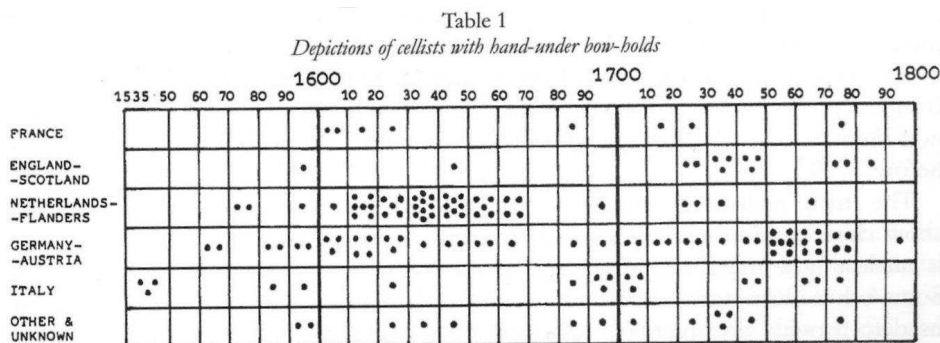
Little written information about any aspect of cello technique is known earlier than the oldest dated cello method, that of Corrette in 1741.² However, there are hundreds of pictures of cellists earlier than 1741, and these provide the bulk of information about bow-holds up to that time (see Table 1). I have studied 259 paintings, drawings, engravings and other works of art depicting cellists, from the earliest-known example, dating from about 1535, up to 1800.³

The number of depictions is probably too small to give an accurate estimation of the actual number and distribution of cellists using the two bow-holds. Furthermore, one cannot take all of the statistics at face value. For example, the twenty-seven eighteenth-century German and Austrian depictions of hand-under cellists include seven angelic church decorations and four romantic porcelain

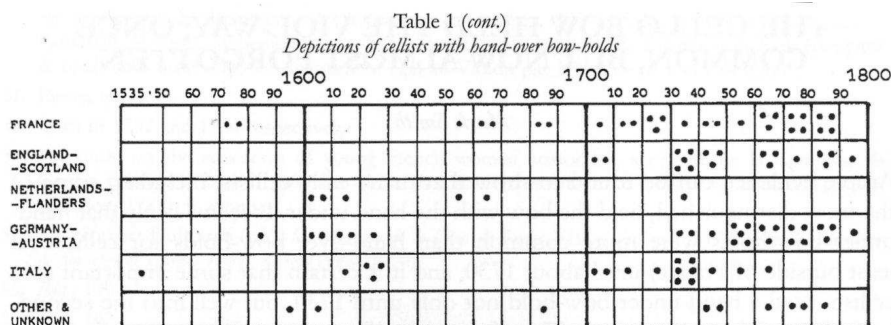
¹ One of the few who has promoted this bow-hold on the cello was Marco Pallis, who in 1978 pointed out that for a long time the Baroque cello was bowed like the bass viol, and he urged players to give careful consideration to its use ('The rebirth of early music' *Early Music*, 6/1 (1978), 45).

² M. Corrette, *Methode ... pour apprendre ... le violoncelle* (Paris, 1741/Geneva, 1980).

³ The core of this study is in my doctoral thesis 'Certain aspects of Baroque music for the violoncello as finally exemplified in the suites for unaccompanied violoncello by Johann Sebastian Bach' (unpublished Ph.D., Flinders University of South Australia, 1983). I have used the term 'violoncello' (or 'cello') in a broad sense, to include instruments of three, four or five strings, and in size from a body-length of about 60 cm to one of about 78 cm. (The usual body-length today is about 75 cm). The proportion of hand-over to hand-under bow-holds (as shown in the pictures) is about the same for all types of cello.



[48]



figures; it is likely that these angels and romantic figures follow fashions in painting and modelling, and do not necessarily show the current fashions in cello-playing. The large number of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish pictures is partly due to the fact that this prosperous area supported many artists. Musicians were a popular subject and painters may have liked the cello's shape. It is also possible that the instrument was symbolic. Therefore, we cannot presume from Table 1 that there were a large number of Dutch and Flemish cellists. The paucity of British pictures of cellists before 1700 may be partly due to the cello being less popular in England at this time. Another aspect which these statistics do not show, is that only French cellists who are either clowns, street-musicians, actors, or treated in a satirical manner are shown with the hand under the bow, whereas all the apparently professional French cellists have the hand over the bow. Italian, German and English cellists are shown using both bow-holds for all types of music. Accompanying a singer is almost the only role shown for the cello (usually played hand-under) in the Flemish and Dutch pictures, either in allegorical bacchanals (Flemish), or in village weddings or by a burgher at home (Dutch). In their own special category are four Italians who hold their cellos horizontally. In this position a cello is almost impossible to play with the hand under the bow; therefore the player has no choice but to have the hand over the bow. Notwithstanding anomalies such as those listed above, there is such a strong preference shown in the pictures of non-French cellists for hand-under bow-holds before the year 1730 (101 under, compared to twenty-five over), that one can conclude that there were actually more non-

French cellists using hand-under bow-holds than hand-over bow-holds before 1730.⁴

The many realistic seventeenth-century Dutch pictures can be relied upon to show clearly and accurately how some cellists held the cello and bow,⁵ even if it is unclear how much these pictures reflect the actual use of cellos (see Plate 1). Some other illustrations depict an identified place and event, and therefore can be used to provide documentary evidence. One example is a painting by D. Heins of a musical party at Melton Constable (Norfolk, England) in 1734,⁶ which shows [49]

Plate 1 Cornelis Saftleven (Rotterdam, 1607-1681), Young man playing on a cello, 1636. Chalk drawing. The Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam.

the cellist with a bow-hold (carefully painted) like the almost Simandl-hold of the double-bass player standing next to him. Another example, is a painting by Martin van Meytens and his workshop, of the wedding festivities of Joseph II of Austria and Princess Isabella of Parma in 1760.⁷ This painting appears to be a careful and accurate record, and shows the continuo-cellist (very likely a member of the [50] Viennese Court Chapel) with his hand under the bow. Some other pictures seem to be documentary, even though the precise place and event are not known. For example, in a series of paintings by Marco Ricci of Italian opera in an English house between 1708 and 1711, three show a continuo-cellist (perhaps Italian) with the hand under the bow.⁸ While these Ricci paintings are sketchy, they give the impression that they are true to life.

Also important are those pictures in which the identity of the cellist is known, for example pictures of Pietro Salvetti in 1684-87, Pietro Sterlich in the first half of the eighteenth century, Cardinal Johann Theodor of Bavaria in 1753, Tonelli c. 1760, Antonio Vandini c. 1770, and Donald Gow in 1780. Salvetti is portrayed in a painting of musicians from the Medici Court in Florence by Antonio Domenico Gabbiani.⁹ John Walter Hill, who identified Salvetti, demonstrated that he was a very capable and highly-regarded musician.¹⁰ Gabbiani painted the cellist's bowhold carefully and clearly, and although the musicians are obviously posing for the painter, the cellist's bow is in a playing position (see Plate 2). Sterlich is shown in a caricature by Pierleone Ghezzi.¹¹ While caricatures are not usually expected to provide reliable information, Pierluigi Petrobelli has shown, from the

⁴ Among street and folk cellists, the viol bow-hold has never completely died out, as witnessed by pictures (including more recently, photographs).

⁵ For example, a painting by Jan Miense Molenaer, in Richard D. Leppert, 'Concert in a house: Musical iconography and musical thought', *Early Music*, 7/1 (1979), 14.

⁶ Reproduced on the front cover of *The Violin Family (The New Grove Musical Instruments Series)*, London, 1989)

⁷ Reproduced on the front cover of *Early Music*, 9/3 (1981).

⁸ Reproduced in *Early Music*, 14/3 (1986), 325, 327 and 328 (illustration nos. 3, 4 and 5)

⁹ Reproduced in *Early Music*, 18/4 (1990), 545.

¹⁰ John Walter Hill, 'Antonio Veracini in context: new perspectives from documents, analysis and style', *Early Music*, 18/4 (1990), 549-550

¹¹ Reproduced in *Early Music*, 21/1 ('1993), 135

copious annotations that sometimes accompanied Ghezzi's caricatures, that Ghezzi was a reliable observer;¹² according to Ghezzi, Sterlich was a good cellist. The Cardinal Johann Theodor is shown in a small orchestra in the Seraing Palace in Liege, in a painting by Paul Joseph Delcloche.¹³ Delcloche probably took some artistic license

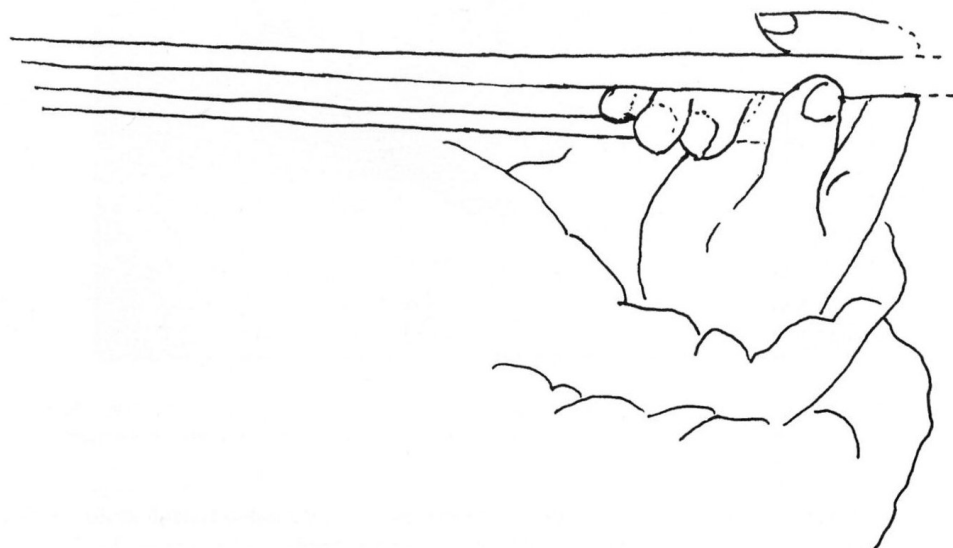


Plate 2 Drawing taken from a painting by A.D. Gabbiani, (1652-1726), 'Portrait of the Musicians of the Medici Court in Florence' 1684-7 (Florence, Pitti Palace, No. 2805) The cellist is probably Pietro Salvetti.

[51] with the positioning of the musicians, making the cellist appear to be a soloist, whereas the Cardinal was perhaps merely a player of a bass-part. However, one would also expect, because of the high status of the Cardinal, that Delcloche gave him the correct bow-hold. Tonelli and Vandini, both of whom were celebrated as soloists and continuo-players, are shown late in life (or even post-mortem) in rather imprecise engravings,¹⁴ and Gow is shown accompanying a Scottish highland dance.¹⁵

Written evidence

In the preface to his *Florilegium Secundum* of 1698, Georg Muffat wrote that French players of the 'Bass' (i.e. probably the basse de violon, particularly of a large size) held the bow the same way as French violinists, whereas Italian gambists and other bass-players (presumably including cellists) placed their fingers between the hair and the wood of the bow

¹² Pieduigi Petrobelli, 'Violin techniques in Rome during the first half of the 18th century as documented by the caricatures of Pierleone Ghezzi' in *Jakob Stainer and seine Zeit*, ed. Walter Salmen (Innsbruck, 1984)

¹³ Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, no. R 7158, reproduced in H. Besseler and W. Bachmann, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern - Konzert* (Leipzig, 1971), pl. 7

¹⁴ Both are reproduced in E. Van der Straeten, *The history of the violoncello* (London, 1914), Tonelli on p. 146, and Vandini on p. 162.

¹⁵ G.S. Emerson, *Rantin' Pipe and Tremblin' String* (London, 1971), pl. 17.

(presumably with the palm facing upwards, and with the fingers not touching the hairs).¹⁶ In the Swedish *Musikalske elenrenter* of 1744, J.D. Berlin described a viol-type bow-hold for cellists, but he also stated that not all held the bow the same way.¹⁷ Charles Burney, in his account of his visit to Padua in 1770, wrote ‘It is remarkable that Antonio [Vandini] and all the other violoncello players here hold the bow in the old-fashioned way, with the hand under it. Burney also wrote that it was said that Vandini ‘plays and expresses “a pallare”, that is in such a manner as to make his cello speak’.¹⁸ In 1720-21 Vandini had been cello-master at the Pieta in Venice where Vivaldi was employed. Vandini was known as a fine soloist, and he was the cello-accompanist of Tartini from at least 1723 to 1768. Burney also described a concert in Berlin in 1772, in which ‘M. Grauel, a violoncello performer in the King’s band, played a concerto; it was but ordinary music; however, it was well executed, though in the old manner, with the hand under the bow’.¹⁹ Burney’s comments ‘in *the* old manner’ and earlier, ‘*the* old-fashioned way’ (not just *an* old manner or way) imply that the hand-under bow-hold had once been the normal way, not just an option.

In 1799 an anonymous article was published in Leipzig about the cellist Johann Georg Christoph Schetky.²⁰ It is an evocative portrait of Schetky, and gives a detailed description of his hand-under bow-hold, complete with some (now quaint) scientific explanations:

Schetky war einer der vorzüglichsten Virtuosen, die ich je auf dem herrlichen Violoncell gehört habe. Sein Ton war der Ton der Oboe, wens er wie ein Luftseegler in den Regionen der Hohe herumkreutzte; and wenn er in der Tiefe deherbraufste, glaubte man den schönsten Contrebass zu hören. Er hatte den Bogen auf das vollkommenste in seiner Gewalt, um solche Stärke and Geschmeidigkeit damit abzuwägen. Zum bewundern war es, dass er die feinste Zartheit des Tons eben sowohl, als die höchste Kraft hervorbrachte, da seine Haltung des Bogens von der, aller Violoncellisten, die ich je gehört habe, verschieden war, and worüber andere Virtuosen, die sich auf diesem Instrumente mit ihm zu messen wagten, (es gab deren wenige) erstaunten. Es wind mir schwer fallen, these Haltung des Bogens begreiflich zu machen. Gewöhnlich wird der [52] Bogen mit dem Daumen unter, and mit vier Fingern über dem Holz geführt, wie bey der Violin, nur class bey dem Violoncello der Arm herabhängt and der Bogenstricht unterwärts geht, anstatt dass bey der Geige der Arm gekrümmt, die Hand erhoben and der Bogen aufwärts gerichtet seyn muss. Bey Schetky war das anders. Der Daumen lag auf dem Frosch des Bogens, der Zeigefinger allein

¹⁶ G. Muffat, *op. cit.*, translated by Kenneth Cooper and Julius Zsako in ‘Georg Muffat’s Observations on the Lully Style of Performance’, *M.Q.* 53/2 (1967), 223-24.

¹⁷ J.D. Berlin, *Musikalrke elementer* (Trondheim, 1744), as reported and translated by Peter Walls, in ‘Strings’, *The New Grove Handbook in Music. Performance Practice*, ‘Music After 1600’ (London, 1989).

¹⁸ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London, 1773/New York, 1969), 142.

¹⁹ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, The Netherlands, and the United Provinces* (London, 1775/New York, 1969), 219. In Van der Straeten, *op. cit.*, 192, Grauel is identified as Marcus Heinrich Graul, who was a chamber musician in the Prussian court from 1742 to 1798.

²⁰ *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, no. 3 (Leipzig, 1799/Amsterdam, 1964), columns 33-37. I am indebted to Anja Schoene for her help in translating this quotation.

auf dem Holze; die drey andern Finger unterwärts auf den Haaren. Durch den Druck der unten liegenden, besonders des kleinen Fingers, vermehrte oder verminderte er die Kraft seines Bogens auffallend, and brachte dadurch die höchste Stärke der Tiefe, oder den lieblichsten Oboenton in der Höhe hervor. Die Sache ist nach mechanischen and physischen Grundsätzen richtig. Der Spieler hat hierdurch die Wirkung des Bogens mehr in seiner Gewalt; well das Unterwärtsstreichen ohnehin der Hand durch den abwärts gesenkten Arm die Kraft benimmt, welche der gekrümmte, aufwärts gekehrte, gewährt. Das Blut strömt im ersten Falle mehr unterwärts and stört die Spannkraft der Muskeln durch sein Anschw-llen. Bey der Violine ist es umgekehrt. Das Blut tritt zurück, well der Arm erhoben ist and läst den Muskeln ihre Freyheit. Allein es gehört grosse Uebung zu dieser Bogenhaltung, die ich indessen angehenden Violoncellisten aus obenangezeigten Gründen empfehlen mochte.

Schetky machte mit dieser Bogenhaltung Staccato, vorwärts and rückwärts, zog dagegen im Adagio den Ton aus seinem Instrumente, wie man das süsse Oehl aus der reifen Olive presst, and im Allegro gieng es mit einer Fertigkeit über die Saiten hinweg, dass man zehn Augen nöthig gehabt hätte, um sein Vprato zu bemerken, ob man gleich nur ein Ohr dazu bedurfte.

Im Accompagnement zum Recitativ war these Bogenhaltung in ihre vollen Kraft. Die Pflicht des Violoncellisten ist im Accompagnement des Recitatives die Hauptnote in der Höhe anzugeben, abet den Akkord mit dem Grundton zugleich hören zu lassen. Mit diesem Anne hat die verstorbene Gambe dem Violoncello ein Legat vermacht. Der Violoncellist, welcher im Recitativ nur die Bassnoten herunterstreicht, versteht die Pflicht seines Instrumentes nicht, oder ist höchstens ein Fiedler, dem der Generalbass terra incognita ist. Sänger and Sängerinnen, die auf dem klippenvollen Meere des Recitativs ängstlich herumwogten, wurden durch sein Accompagnement vor dem Stranden gesichert.

Sein Ton war nicht nur voll, durchdringend and schneidend, sondern auch schmeichelnd, and seine Fertigkeit entsprach dem Uebrigen. Ich war oft Zeuge, class bey Quartetten, die wir in unserm freundschaftlichen Zirkel neu erhielten, etwan die erste Violonstimme fehle, and Schetky sie prima vista von seinem Violoncell herunterspielte, als hätte er die Geige in der Hand. Schwierigkeiten in der Höhe and Tiefe wuste er mit der reinsten Intonation hervorzubringen, und, wo sein Daumen hinflog, da sass er auch wie der gute Reiter im Sattel. Seine Applikatur wechselte mit der gewöhnlichen Daumenapplikatur and der Applikatur der Violine ab, daher fallen die, für seine eigene Hand gesetzten Kompositionen, dem gewöhnlichen Violoncellisten auferst schwer.

Schetky was one of the most superior virtuosi whom I have ever heard on the glorious violoncello. His tone was that of an oboe when he traversed the high regions like a swallow, and when he boomed in the depths, one could believe one was hearing the finest double-bass. He had the most accomplished control of the bow, with which he could balance such strength and flexibility. It was a marvel how he could produce equally well the finest sweetness and the greatest strength of tone, because his holding of the bow was different from all the violoncellists that I have ever heard, and about which other virtuosi who ventured to match him on this instrument (there were few of them) were amazed. It will be difficult for me to make others understand this method of holding the bow. Usually the bow is held with the

thumb under, and with the four fingers directed over the stick, as with the violin, only that with the violoncello the arm hangs downwards, and the bow-strokes are directed downwards, whereas with the violin, [53] the arm is bent, the hand is raised, and the bow must be directed upwards. With Schetky it was otherwise. The thumb lay on the frog of the bow, the index-finger was alone on the stick; and the three other fingers were down on the hairs. Through the pressure of the lower fingers, especially the little finger, he conspicuously increased or decreased the pressure of the bow, and brought forth by this means the greatest power of the depths, or the sweetest oboe-tone in the upper regions. This method is right from mechanical and physical grounds. By this means the player has the action of the bow rather more under his control, because [when] playing with the bow directed downwards, anyway, the strength is taken away from the hand because of the lowered arm, whereas [the strength] is released by the bent arm turned upwards. In the first case, the blood flows more in the part of the arm directed downwards, and interrupts the strength of the muscles because of the swelling up of the arm. [!] With the violin, it works the other way. The blood flows back because the arm is raised and therefore lets the muscles have their freedom. However, much practise is needed for this bow-hold, which I would recommend nevertheless to beginners on the violoncello, for the reasons presented above.

With this bow-hold Schetky could do staccato upbow and downbow [i.e. multiple upbows or multiple downbows], whereas in an Adagio he drew from his instrument a tone like the sweet oil one presses from a ripe olive, and in an Allegro the bow skipped over the strings with a dexterity such that one would have needed ten eyes to perceive it [a poignant allusion to Schetky's blindness in one eye], while one would need only one ear to perceive his vibrato.

It was in the accompaniment to recitative that this bow-hold was shown to full advantage. The obligation of the violoncellist in the accompaniment of recitatives is to give the main note of the voice above, and at the same time to allow the chord to be heard together with the bass note. These duties are a legacy bequeathed to the violoncello by the defunct gamba. The violoncellist, who strokes only the bass notes in the recitative, does not understand the duty of this instrument, or is at most a fiddler to whom the generalbass is "terra incognita". Schetky knew his duty. Singers male and female who were fearful because the recitatives were seas full of rocks, were saved from being shipwrecked by his accompaniment.

His tone was not only full, penetrating and cutting, but also flattering, and his dexterity [in the left hand?] matched all his other abilities. I often witnessed, that in quartets which we received as new compositions in our friendly circle, when the first violinist was missing, Schetky played "prima vista" [i.e. sight-read] on his violoncello, as though he had a violin in his hand. In difficult passages both in the high and low registers he produced the purest intonation, and, where his thumb [flew through the air and] landed, he sat there like a good rider in the saddle. His fingering varied between the usual thumb-fingering and the fingering of the violin, which is why those compositions which were set for his own hand are extremely difficult for the ordinary violoncellist.

One wonders if the extravagant praise of Schetky is exaggerated. However, confirmation of his high ability comes from the 1760s with the gift to him of a Stradivari cello,²¹ and from his many reported performances.

I have not found any eighteenth-century cello methods that even mention the hand-under bow-hold. However, this is not surprising if one considers that the earliest non-French methods did not appear until this bow-hold was no longer fashionable; the earliest English method (that of Crome) was published in about 1765,²² the oldest surviving German method (Baumgartner's) is dated 1774²³ and was written in French, and none of the Italian methods has a text. Even Schetky [54] in his *Some Observations on and Rules for VIOLONCELLO Playing* (published about 1780 in London) makes no mention of his own hand-under bow-hold (see Plate 3).²⁴

Origins of the cello bow-holds

It is likely that most cellists who held the bow hand-under ultimately derived their bow-hold from that of the bass viol, either because the cello was introduced later than the bass viol, or because initially the bass viol had the higher artistic role. The establishment and dissemination of the bass member of the violin family seems to have occurred in a fragmentary fashion, and its technique generally lagged well behind that of the bass viol. Among the many early English references given by Peter Holman,²⁵ there are far more of violins accompanied by a bass viol, than of violins accompanied by a bass violin, particularly until the middle of the seventeenth century. Therefore, although a bass violin was presumably included in the sets of violins that were introduced to England from 1540 onwards (the earliest clear reference to a bass violin in England is dated 1601),²⁶ it seems likely that for a long time the bass violin was relatively rare in England, and did not enjoy as high a status as the bass viol or the violin.

An additional reason for cellists to have the hand under the bow, was that possibly until at least 1750 most bows did not have screws for the fine adjustment of hair-tension;²⁷ being able to adjust the hair-tension with the fingers was an advantage on screw-less bows, not only for expressive purposes, but also to compensate easily if the hairs were not at their best operating tightness. A few cellists may have copied the hand-under bow-hold of double bass players, particularly if they shared a continuo-part (as in

²¹ Van der Straeten, *op. cit.*, 191.

²² R. Crome, *The Compleat Tutor far the Violoncello* (London, c. 1765).

²³ J. Baumgartner, *Instructions de Musique, theorique et pratique à l'usage du Violoncello* (The Hague, 1774).

²⁴ J.G.C. Schetky, *Twelve duetts for two Violoncellos, with some Observations and Rules for playing that Instrument*, op. 7 (London, n.d.).

²⁵ Peter Holman, *Four and twenty fiddlers.- the violin at the English court, 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993).

²⁶ Holman quotes a mention (dated 1601) of a 'Base violin', *op. cit.*, 141.

²⁷ Ephraim Segerman gives evidence that bow-screws were not generally accepted until such a late date in two reports in the *Quarterly of the Fellowship of Makers and Researchers of Historical Instruments* (Oxford): 'Renaissance and Baroque Bows' (April 1982), 32-33, and 'Early 18th Century Bows and Screws' (April 1983), 50-51.

the Heins painting), and some cellists may have preferred a hand-under bow-hold because heavy sleeves (as worn by Salvetti and many others in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) were less in the way than with the hand over the bow.²⁸

As for the hand-over bow-hold on the cello, the most influential and long-lasting group of early players were probably the French royal players of the 'basses de violon'. The royal 'basse' players probably held the bow this way under Lully in his 'Les Petits Violons' (who first performed in 1656), because Georg Muffat described uniform bow-holds between the French violin and 'bass' in the context of the Lullist tradition, and this is supported by pictures.²⁹ It is possible that the royal 'basse' players placed the hand over the bow already well before Lully's time. There is a picture showing cello-like instruments being played this way in entertainments presented by the Queen of France in 1573.³⁰ The spreading influence of Lullist orchestral discipline between the late seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries probably encouraged cellists to hold the bow like the violinists. France produced some celebrated solo cellists and influential cello teachers, from Berteau in the 1730s, to the Duport brothers at the end of the century, and they probably played a major role in the eventual adoption of the hand-over bow-hold by most cellists in other countries.

²⁸ I am indebted to Ben Poglisi for this suggestion.

²⁹ One engraving, from a royal almanac of 1682, shows Louis XIV at a ball, probably in Versailles. This is reproduced in Robert Isherwood, *Music in the Service of a King* (New York, 1973), 255.

³⁰ The Valois tapestries "Catherine de' Medici at a ball following the Ballet of the Provinces of France, 1573", reproduced in Christopher Hogwood, *Music at Court* (London, 1977), pl. 35.

VIOLONCELLO PRIMO

DUETTO I

Larghetto

Allegro

The musical score is written for two violoncellos in D major, 3/8 time. It consists of two parts: a 'Larghetto' section and an 'Allegro' section. The 'Larghetto' section is marked with a '1' and a 'p' dynamic. The 'Allegro' section is marked with a 'p' dynamic. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings (p, f, mf, ff).

Plate 3 From J.G.C. Schetky, *Twelve duetts for two Violoncellos* ..., Op. 7 (London, c. 1780)

[56]

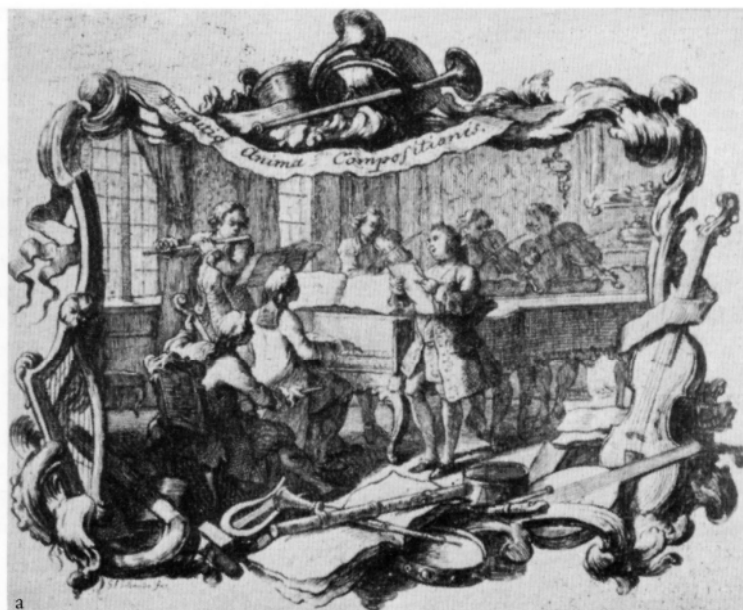


Plate 4a A realistic depiction of a continuo-cellist, sitting on a low chair, with his cello on or near the floor, and his hand under and around the frog of his screw-less bow. From J.J. Quantz's *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin, 1752).

Music

We can be sure that the cello music composed by Vandini, Tartini and Schetky was originally played with the hand under the bow; Vandini and Schetky played this way, and Vandini was Tartini's cellist. One can reasonably assume (from the iconographical and written evidence) that much of the Baroque cello music not composed in France or in a French style, was also played this way. However, there is little to find in the music itself (even that of Vandini, Tartini and Schetky) which identifies it as music to be played with the hand under the bow. When there are rapid, unslurred notes between adjacent strings, and the lower notes are on the beat, it is still a common practice for cellists to play the lower notes with an up-bow, which reverses the order of up- and down-bows for the hand-over-bow cellist, but which is normal for a viol bow-hold.³¹ An abundance of notes in this formation may indicate (but not guarantee) that originally a viol bow-hold was used.

³¹ A well-known example of this is the bass-part of the last variation of Corelli's 'La Folia'.

[57]

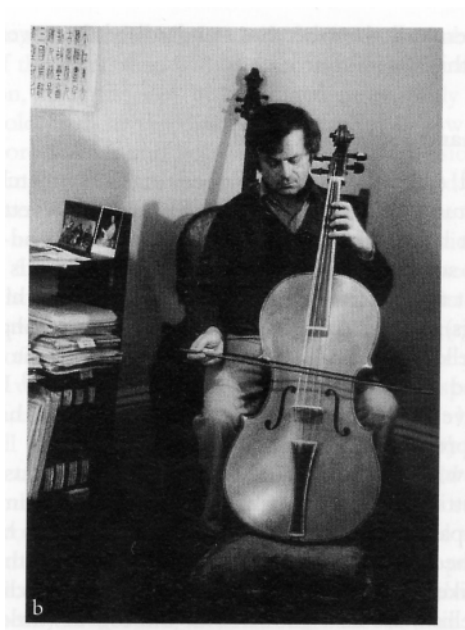


Plate 4b Mark Smith playing in the same position as illustrated in Quantz's 1752 publication.

The type of bow

While bows of all lengths are shown, and a medium length is the most common, far more long bows are shown in the pictures of hand-under-bow cellists than in the pictures of hand-over-bow cellists. If bows were long, they were probably heavy, and therefore perhaps suitable for playing long notes loudly, although the weight of the bow may have been less important than it is for a modern cellist, because more of the control is through the hairs rather than the stick, and also because the cello tended to be held more vertically. If the bow is held at its end (as it was by most hand-under-bow cellists), and it is concave, it needs to have a higher head so that the stick does not touch the string while playing. A tensioning-screw is not needed, but neither is it an impediment. Varying the tension of the hairs with the fingers (particularly when the hand is near the end of the bow) is much easier when there is no ferrule (a late-eighteenth century refinement), which as well as spreading the hairs, stopped the deflection of the hairs away from the frog. The heel of the bow is more comfortable to hold if it is rounded. Even today, while most violin bows have a sharp corner on the heel, most cello bows still have a rounded heel, which apparently is a legacy of the early cellists who held the bow with the hand around the heel, and this may be an indication that at the [58] time when the modern cello bow became standardised there were still some cellists who held the bow this way.

The typical cello hand-under bow-hold

Schetky's bow-hold (so elaborately described in 1799) matches the bow-holds shown in many pictures of earlier cellists (for example, Salvetti). While Schetky's style of music must have differed from that of Baroque hand-under-bow cellists, presumably at least some parts of the earlier playing-methods were passed on to him from one cellist to another. It is likely that Schetky held his cello the viol-way (gripped by the legs), because this was the most respected hold for the cello at that time, and his cello was probably very high and close to the body (it is reported that he hid his blind left eye behind the neck of the cello).³² In this position, his right arm could have been close to his body, which would have allowed him to exert considerable pressure with the bow on the strings.

The pictures show that most of the hand-under-bow cellists had the thumb on the frog (like Salvetti and Schetky), and occasionally the thumb is on top of the stick (as in Heins's painting) so that it could help to press the bow onto the string. When there was a heel on the bow, most of the cellists had the palm of the hand around the heel (like Salvetti and Vandini, and possibly Schetky). Most of the hand-under-bow cellists are also shown with the fourth (little) and third fingers on the hairs (like Schetky), and sometimes with the second as well (like Salvetti and Sterlich). Often, as shown markedly by Sterlich, the fingers are pulling rather than pressing the hairs. The Cardinal Johann Theodor is shown with a French solo viol bow-hold identical to that of the gambist in the same picture, but only a few other cellists are shown with a viol bow-hold like this, or the almost similar hold described in England by Christopher Simpson,³³ with the hand in from the frog, and with the tip of the second finger (sometimes with the third) pressing the hairs. Only a few hand-under-bow cellists are shown with no fingers on the hairs. (One of Ricci's cellists is shown this way.)

A wide variety of bow-holds is also to be found in pictures of viol players, but it is useful to compare a typical underhand cello bow-hold with the solo French viol bow-hold, because this was clearly defined, used by an important group of players, and is well-known today. I have tried the varieties of bow-holds, and this has led me to some tentative conclusions. For example, the average cello hand-under bow-hold (as typified by Salvetti), must have allowed a greater pressure and vigour than that of the solo French viol bow-hold, and must have at least equalled that obtainable with the hand over the bow. One reason for this was that (as shown in the pictures) most hand-under-bow cellists had the hand near the end of the bow, even on long bows, which meant they would have used more of the weight of the bow. The typical hand-under-bow cellist also had a more substantial grip of the bow. With the fourth and third fingers pulling the hairs, the cellist would also have had a more secure hold of the hairs; and because a greater leverage [59] was possible by using almost the whole hand, there was probably a stronger control over the tension of the hairs, than with the second finger usual in French solo viol playing. In addition,

³² Van der Straeten, *op. cit.*, 192.

³³ Christopher Simpson, *The Division-Viol*, second edition (London, 1665/1955), 2.

the hairs can be tensioned more easily by the fingers in a hand-under bow-hold, than by the thumb in a hand-over bow-hold, again because the bow-hold is more secure, and because the hairs are tensioned and the bow is pressed to the string in the same movement of the hand. This sensitive, yet powerful control over the tension allows an exceptionally fine control over dynamics when the bow is moving slowly. For the French solo viol player, tensioning the hairs with the finger(s) was an important part of the technique, an integral part of the basic bow-stroke, and particularly important in producing the *enflé* (swell). If J.B. Forqueray could claim that the third finger tensioning the hairs was the ‘prime mover of expressive playing’ and ‘gives character to all music’ on the viol,³⁴ perhaps this was how Vandini could make his cello ‘speak’.³⁵

When the hand was around the heel of the bow, the cellist had a bow-hold near to that which is still used today by German (and many other) double-bass players, and this was particularly true of the many cellists who held the cello very low, either resting it on the ground, on the left foot, or on a low stool or cushion (see Plate 4). (About two-thirds of my pictures up to 1730, and some as late as the mid-nineteenth century, show the cello in such a very low position, usually with the top of the cello well away from the player’s body. Salvetti’s and Vandini’s cellos are clearly near the ground, even though the bottom of their respective instruments is not visible.)³⁶ With the cello low, the cellist’s bow-arm can hang very relaxed, and it is easy to play a fast alternation between non-adjacent strings heavily (not a rare occurrence in Baroque Italian cello music). Also, as with the German double-bass bow-hold, when the cellist has the hand around the heel of the bow, up-bows and down-bows are equally easy to emphasise. A disadvantage of holding the bow at its end, is that the bow is not as easy to lift off the string, and a disadvantage of having the fourth finger on the hairs, is that because the hand is at a different angle, the wrist is prevented from having the flexibility that it has with the solo French viol bow-hold.

The use of a viol bow-hold did not mean that cellos needed to sound like bass viols. On the contrary, not only were cellos intrinsically louder than gambas, but (as suggested by a study of the pictures) hand-under-bow cellists played typically in a heavier style. The use of a viol bow-hold also did not mean a restriction of technique or style. If the description of Schetky is a reliable guide, hand-underbow cellists could be just as versatile as the best hand-over-bow cellists. With Vandini accompanying Tartini for at least

³⁴ This is quoted by John Hsu in ‘The use of the bow in French solo viol playing of the 17th and 18th centuries’, *Early Music*, 6/4 (1978), 527.

³⁵ Richard Holmes has recreated a hand-over cello bow-hold in which the hairs are tensioned by the thumb, facilitating a portato-style of playing. See R. Holmes, ‘New Baroque bow grip for cellists’, *The Strad* (January, 1994), 35-37.

³⁶ This is another part of cello history that has yet to take a proper account of iconographical evidence; while it is a widely-held belief that most Baroque cellists gripped the cello between the legs in a gamba-hold, this is contradicted by the evidence to be found in pictures. Of my assessable reproductions from 1535 to 1730, ninety-six cellos are on or very near the ground, only eight are held in a gamba-hold, and thirty-eight are held up by other means (such as a spike, stool, or rope); and for the period 1731-1800, the numbers are thirty-nine on or very near the ground, thirty-seven gamba-hold, and thirty-eight held up by other means.

forty-five years, one would expect that the playing-style of the hand-under-bow Vandini had much in common with that of the hand-over-bow Tartini. Therefore, it is possible that most hand-under-bow cellists sounded much like hand-over-bow cellists most of the time, and of course all the hand-under-bow cello music can be played very well today with the hand over the bow. However, it is inevitable that there would be a loss of some nuances that were distinctive not only of having the hand under the bow, but also of [60] tensioning the hairs with the fingers, of having the hand around the heel, and of holding the cello very low.

Acknowledgements

The iconographic part of this study would have been much smaller without the assistance of Uta Henning; to her I offer many thanks.

[62]

David Lasocki with Roger Prior, *The Bassanos' Venetian Musicians and Instrument Makers in England, 1531-1665* (Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1995). £40.00.

The opening of this book, 'In the 1530s, five Bassano brothers emigrated from Venice to England', indicates a complex historical phenomenon of immense importance for music in England, especially for the viol, that has been treated in isolated parts over the last 150 years but is only now comprehensively unravelled and presented for judgement. Early writings about the family, including those by Nagel (1894) and Pulver (1927), are reconsidered in the light of more recent work and the reader is presented with useful tabulations of the family tree which help to sort out the relationships among several generations of this family.

Part I of the book traces the origins of the Bassano family, the circumstances surrounding the brothers' arrival in England and members of subsequent generations. Chapter Six is principally by Roger Prior and presents the persuasive case for the Bassano's probable Jewish identity. The family originated in Bassano del Grappa, about forty miles from Venice. They established themselves as high quality wind instrument players in Venice during the early years of the sixteenth century, and moved there by about 1515 at around the time that Jews were expelled from Bassano del Grappa. There is some evidence that Alvise Bassano may have visited England as part of a group of wind players in the 1520s, but he definitely came in 1531, as a member of a sackbut consort with three of his five brothers. Eventually, five of the six brothers accepted places which established a recorder consort at the English court when they moved to settle in England in late 1539. As part of the arrangements, the brothers were housed at Charterhouse, a former Carthusian monastery, from where they were evicted after the death of Henry VIII. The Bassanos were generally well rewarded by the standards of musicians at the court of Henry VIII but their pay was static and became severely eroded by inflation during the century after their arrival. Nevertheless, some of them accumulated significant quantities of property and the status that went with such holdings. They also married into the gentry and 'fitted solidly' there.

Part II is an examination of the theory, first published by A.L. Rowse in 1973 and expressed convincingly here, that Shakespeare's 'dark lady' was Emilia Bassano. Emilia was a fascinating character whose activities included some significant poetry and through whom the Bassano family was joined to the Lanier family by marriage.

Part III considers the musical activities of the Bassanos, starting with those involved in the recorder consort (although they also played other instruments) whose existence was established by Lasocki. In discussing the repertory of the recorder consort, Lasocki states that consort music for a larger number of parts than four was as yet (1540-60) unknown in England

(p. 157) but this ignores the fact (recognised a few pages earlier) that they may routinely have played music written for other forces, particularly voices, as did other instrumentalists. The

nature and standard of performance that these recorder players may have brought to England is examined in some detail - this made me yearn for a similar treatment of viol playing. The Bassanos principally played a range of wind instruments but some of them also played on the lute and at least two (Jeronimo II and Scipio) seem to have had court places as viol players. Although Lasocki discusses the possibility that the Bassanos may have been significant in the evolution of what is now known as the broken consort, i.e. flute or recorder, treble viol or violin, lute, cittern, bandora and bass viol, the evidence for this is circumstantial and the theory, however attractive, should not (yet?) be regarded as an established fact. Nor am I wholly convinced that *lirone* should be taken to mean *viola da gamba*, as either instrument could work in the situation described by the quotations indicated (from early sixteenth century Italy, see p. 162).

The surviving compositions are considered. These are all attributed to the second generation of the Bassanos and none is accepted as having been intended for viols. The family's instrument making and repairing activities are examined in Chapter Twelve. Their lodgings at Charterhouse included rooms suitable for accommodating their instrument making activities, which had been one of their attractive qualities as potential employees. They had been renowned as makers of wind instruments when they were in Venice. Anthony Bassano was paid as 'maker of divers instruments of music' for Henry VIII from 1537 and, of the other brothers in the first generation, Alvise and John are also identified as instrument makers. The Bassanos' international importance as makers is indicated by a chest of forty-five wind instruments made by them which was offered to the Bavarian court in 1571. This was accompanied by a letter which mentioned a chest of six large 'viole da gamba' (two trebles, three tenors and one bass) and a chest of three lutes, all made by the Bassanos in London.

Lasocki considers whether the Bassanos may have originated the typically English stave construction way of making viol bellies. Unfortunately, this hypothesis cannot go beyond speculation and, especially in view of the paucity and unreliability of instruments which may be adduced as evidence, we can only support his conclusion that 'more research needs to be done on this question'. Where are the Venetian viols with stave-construction bellies? Any theory about the influence of immigrants on viol construction must also take account of the fact that viols were known in England before the arrival of the Bassanos. Apart from the instruments brought and used by non-Italian foreign musicians (van Wilder and others), an English maker called Richard Hume received an order for viols in 1535, and viols were in the possession of the Earl of Essex, the Duke of Rutland, the Marquis of Exeter and the Earl of Hertford before 1539 when the Bassano family immigrated. Consideration should also be given to the death of Benet Pryme, a Cambridge viol maker, in 1557, and the possession of viols by qualifying apprentices in Bristol, 1548-9. These facts indicate viol making activities away from the court which were likely

to be free from direct influence by foreign craftsmen at work in London. It is most unlikely that the Bassanos would have taken any English apprentices.

They would not have wished to pass on their skills or techniques while there were still family members interested in making instruments. Also, Lasocki describes how the Bassanos maintained their Italian *Weltanschauung* - both this and their Jewish background would have been obstacles to membership of the closely regulated and strongly Christian guild system which controlled apprenticeship.

In line with their activities as performers, the majority of the Bassanos' making seems to have been wind instruments. Lasocki presents an interesting discussion of the very intriguing possibility that certain marks (described as 'rabbits' feet' or '!!') which are found on over 120 surviving instruments may be associated with the Bassano family. While, unfortunately, no similar marks have been identified on any non-wind instruments, Andrea Bassano certainly worked on keyboard instruments as repairer if not maker, and we know from the letter mentioned above that the Bassanos made at least some viols and lutes.

Part IV of the book and the appendices give conclusions and pay some attention to later English members and the Venetian branch of the family. Altogether this is an interesting book, not just because of the information it presents about one family, but because of the description it gives of music at the English court in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To a certain extent it covers the same ground as Peter Holman's *Four and Twenty Fiddlers* (Oxford, 1993), but Lasocki's book sees the developments from a less string-orientated point of view and gives valuable recognition to what was probably the most important family of instrument makers in sixteenth-century England.

MICHAEL FLEMING

[64]

Ian Woodfield, *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration* (Stuyvesant NY, Pendragon Press, 1995). C36. Copies available from Rosemary Dooley, Crag House, Witherslack, Grange-over-Sands, Cumbria LA11 6RW, England.

By an odd coincidence, I received this book the week I finished reading Umberto Eco's new novel *The Island of the Day Before*. The novel is set in 1643, and concerns that fascinating moment in European intellectual history when established modes of thought were being challenged by scientific discoveries in all fields, not least as a result of the voyages of exploration to the East and the New World; the central concern of the novel is the search for a reliable method to fix longitude. Eco has obviously done his homework on seventeenth-century music, as on other aspects of the period, for in the course of many adventures, the hero meets Jacob van Eyck in Utrecht, and hears him play the tune "Doen Daphne d'over schoone Maegt" on a little recorder. However, most of the novel is set on a ship, the *Daphne*, marooned in the South Seas. On board is a mechanical organ that plays - you've guessed it - "Doen Daphne d'over schoone Maegt".

Ian Woodfield's new book is a work of scholarship rather than a novel, but it is concerned with some of the same themes, and it shows that truth can indeed be stranger than fiction. In 1595 the organ builder Thomas Dallam found himself [65] on a ship bound for Constantinople with a mechanical organ, a present from Queen Elizabeth to the Sultan of Turkey. Dallam's own account of his instrument suggests it was a veritable marvel:

Firste the clocke strouk 22; than The chime of 16 bells went of, and played a songe of 4 partes. That beinge done, tow personagis which stood upon to corners of the seconde storie, houldinge tow silver trumpetes in there handes, did life them to there heades, and sounded a tantarra. Than the muzicke went of, and the orgon played a song of 5 partes twyse over. In the tope of the orgon, being 16 foute hie, did stande a holly bushe full of blacke birds and thrushis, which at the end of the musick did singe and shake there wynges.

The Sultan was duly impressed, and gave Dallam 'five peecis of gould called chickers', though when the organ builder was working on the instrument on a later occasion he was alarmed to be confronted by four men brandishing scimitars.

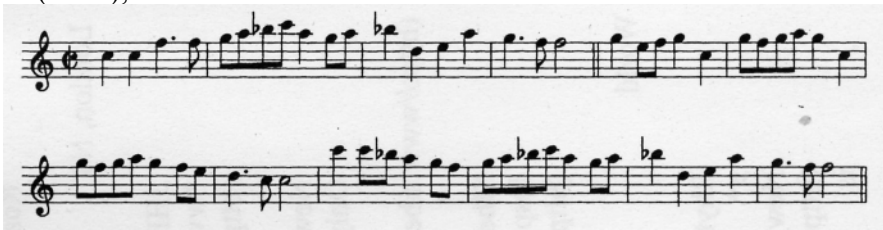
Dallam's account of his epic voyage, preserved in his diary, is relatively well known: it was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1893, and was the subject of Stanley Mayes's book, *An Organ for the Sultan* (London, 1956). But most of the material collected by Dr Woodfield is much less known, and was new to me. He starts by describing the musicians who went on the voyages of exploration. As well as the trumpeters, fifers and drummers, who provided the signalling services essential to any military or

naval undertaking at the time, the expeditions often included consorts of specialist musicians who played sets of wind and stringed instruments. To be honest, few of the references to music in the descriptions of the English voyages of exploration reveal anything very startling, and they do not refer to music or musicians known to us from musical life on land.

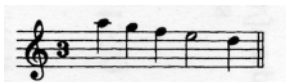
However, the chapter dealing with the signalling and ceremonial duties of trumpeters is interesting in that it tells us for the first time something about the music Elizabethan and Jacobean trumpeters played; to my knowledge, no written trumpet music survives in English sources from before the Restoration. Dr Woodfield discusses several references to trumpeters playing traditional ‘loath to depart’ tunes to warn guests to leave the ship before it sailed; one source even mentions the title of one of them, “Maids, where are your hearts?”. I cannot identify it, but I wonder if “Loath to depart”, set by Giles Farnaby in the Fitzwilliam virginal book and found in several other seventeenth-century lute and keyboard settings, is another of these tunes. It fits beautifully on a natural trumpet in C if transposed up a fifth from the Farnaby version (ex. 1).



[66] Dr. Woodfield says that ‘references to specific tunes played by trumpeters occur from the mid-seventeenth century’, but unfortunately he does not elaborate apart from mentioning a 1667 description of ship-board trumpeters playing “The king shall enjoy his own again”. The well-known tune “When the king enjoys his own again” does not fit on the natural trumpet in C, its normal key, but it does fit when transposed up a fourth to F major (ex. 2),



though it would take the player up to the 16th harmonic. Dr Woodfield also mentions trumpeters ‘ringing the bells on the trumpets very dolefully’ for a commemoration of Charles I’s execution, and playing ‘knells’ at funerals. He assumes that these knells consisted of ‘repeated tones like the tolling of a bell’. But the reference to ‘ringing the bells’ in the plural implies that more than one note was involved, and it is interesting that the five-part “Johnson’s Knell” in British Library Add. MS 31390 and elsewhere (edited in *Musica Britannica*, xlv, no. 39) is based on a five-note bell-like figure that would fit on a trumpet when transposed up a fifth (ex. 3).



“Alison’s Knell” in Morley’s *Consort Lessons* is a pavan, and is clearly not based on a trumpet call.

I have gone into this subject in some detail because it shows that, even when Dr Woodfield comes up with information that throws new light on practice in the wider musical world, he tends to miss its significance, mostly setting it out without comment. This is also true of some of the passages later in the book, where he traces the establishment of sea routes, and the establishment of colonies. For instance, he prints extracts from Sir Thomas Roe’s fascinating description of a visit in 1615 to the island of Socotra, off the Horn of Africa. The captain, William Keeling, went ashore with his wind band, and Roe noted down the Sultan’s comments. As a Muslim, the Sultan was scandalized by the use of wind instruments to perform religious music:

hearing our hoy-boyes in the Generals boat, hee asked if they were the Psalmes of David? and being asked yes: hee replied, it was the invention of the Devill, who did invent it: for King David, who before prayed God with his lips and heart in devotion, but after it was left to senceless Instruments.

[67] The interesting point here, which Dr Woodfield does not make, is that the passage suggests that wind bands included polyphonic settings of metrical psalms in their repertory. We know next to nothing about the repertory of groups of this sort, so evidence from any source, however exotic, is important.

Dr Woodfield’s central concern, he states in the introduction, is ‘the part played by English musicians in the growth to the overseas interests of their country, from the accession of Elizabeth I to the end of the seventeenth century’. But he also inevitably relies a good deal on the descriptions and reports of the colonial enterprises of other European nations. In fact, some of the most interesting material in the book comes from the reports made annually to Rome from the Jesuit missions, whether it is polychoral music in Goa in 1562, church music in Quebec in the 1640s, or the vogue for harpsichords in China through much of the seventeenth century. The remit seems to get wider and wider towards the end of the book, taking in European reports of oriental instruments, the identity of the exotic locations in Weelkes’s “Thule, the period of cosmography”, and even the attempts of the English in late eighteenth-century India to collect and arrange ‘Hindostannic airs’.

Inevitably, this means that the book is not as focused as it might be, and at times it gives the impression of being little more than a collection of essays loosely connected by a central theme, which might have been better published as separate articles. It would certainly have been a more rewarding book had it tackled a smaller, more defined area in greater detail, perhaps looking more comprehensively at music on English ships and in English trading posts and colonies during the seventeenth century, or at the role of music in the voyages of exploration of all European nations. As mentioned above, the book would also have benefited from a more

thoughtful and enquiring attitude to the evidence collected, and a greater willingness to relate the findings to the sort of broad cultural and sociological themes (it appears in a series entitled 'The Sociology of Music') explored so imaginatively by Umberto Eco. But Dr Woodfield writes well, and he has certainly shed light on a hitherto murky area. I noticed a few small errors, and my p. 32 was blank; I was also disconcerted and inconvenienced by the lack of a bibliography.

PETER HOLMAN

[67]

Robert Thompson, *The Glory of the Temple and the Stage: Henry Purcell 1659-1695* (London, The British Library, 1995). £9.95.

By the time you read this, it will be too late to see the British Library Purcell exhibition, *The Glory of the Temple and the Stage*. If you managed to get to see it, you will know how interesting it was. For Purcell scholars it was a unique chance to see virtually all of Purcell's autographs in one place, even though they were under [68] glass, and only one opening of each book was visible. I am sure that most of those who visited the exhibition purchased the catalogue, prepared by its curator, Robert Thompson, and I can only urge the rest to acquire it while they can. At £9.95 for a 64-page book with 60 beautifully-reproduced illustrations, it is one of the bargains of the Purcell Tercentenary_.

As an illustrated guide to Purcell sources, this catalogue breaks new ground. It includes samples from ten autographs, ranging from the childish copy of Humfrey's "By the waters of Babylon" in British Library Add. MS 30932, presumably arranged and copied out while he was a Chapel Royal choirboy, to the bold and confident hand in the recently-discovered keyboard manuscript, acquired by the British Library in 1995 with the accession number MS Mus. 1. It is also good to have reproductions of some little-known manuscripts, including Purcell's copy of the organ part of Blow's anthem "God is our hope and strength", recently discovered by Thompson in Christ Church, MS Mus. 554, and the set of instrumental parts of the anthem "My song shall be alway" in Christ Church MSS Mus. 1188-89. In the latter we can glimpse Purcell at work under pressure. An unidentified hand began the parts, presumably copying from the beginning of the autograph score while Purcell was finishing off the end; the composer took over copying the parts about two-thirds the way through. Francis Withey dated the work 9 September 1690 in his score in Bodleian MS Mus. Sch. C.61 (also illustrated by Thompson), the day the victorious William III arrived at Windsor after the Siege of Limerick. It is easy to imagine Purcell hastily composing a special anthem for the occasion, and enlisting the aid of one of his colleagues to get the parts copied in time.

My one regret is that the exhibition was not larger. Obviously, an exhibition in a library is going to concentrate on printed books and manuscripts, but it would have been good to have seen a larger selection of the rich store of visual material in the British Library's Department of Prints and Drawings, including more of the portraits of his friends, colleagues and patrons. I would also liked to have seen a representative selection of the instruments Purcell wrote for; the only one in the exhibition (and the only one reproduced here) was a 1664 John Player virginals, which supposedly came from Whitehall Palace. It is hard to avoid comparisons in this respect with the 1985 Handel exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery, which was wonderfully comprehensive. We cannot blame Robert Thompson for this,

nor the British Library, which was doubtless restricted by its budget and the space available. But it is unfortunate that, despite all the tercentenary hullabaloo, no-one managed to mount the sort of large-scale exhibition that would have put Purcell properly into the cultural context of his time. Yet we must be grateful for what we have. This is a first-rate catalogue, with an excellent biographical narrative woven deftly around the descriptions of the exhibits.

PETER HOLMAN

[69]

Annette Otterstedt, *Die Gambe: Kulturgeschichte and praktischer Ratgeber* (Kassel, Barenreiter, 1994). £29.90.

Although early musical instruments were sometimes in their own right works of art, their primary function often militated against their survival: as musical tastes changed, neglect, accident, wilful destruction, invasive rebuilding or simply the re-use of precious materials took a very heavy toll. To compound the difficulties faced by researchers, pictorial material is selective, detailed descriptions before the early seventeenth century rare, and other historical source material extremely summary. Even allowing for all this, however, the viol has not been studied as thoroughly as some of the other instruments central to the performance of early music: the viol has had no counterpart, for example, to what Frank Hubbard did for the harpsichord. Over the last few years there have been enormous gains in terms notably of the Renaissance viol, but there is still a great deal of uncharted territory.

It is one of the great attractions of Annette Otterstedt's new book that, whilst providing a dense and fascinating survey, she does not attempt to conceal where the problems lie. *Die Gambe* is exactly what its subtitle suggests: both a cultural history and a practical guide to the music and the instrument. One can hardly expect it to be exhaustive in 230 pages, but few readers will put it down without feeling both refreshed and better informed. Moreover, like the instrument and its greatest devotees, this book is truly cosmopolitan - the work of a musician and historian who is evidently thoroughly familiar even with some of the more obscure corners of the instrument's history.

The book is divided into three parts, of which the first is probably the most striking. It is basically a survey of the use of the viol from its origins until its twentieth-century revival, interspersed with three sets of aptly titled 'Heiligenlegenden' (lives of the saints), which allows a fuller discussion of particularly important individuals. The choice of 'saints' is itself interesting, and serves to highlight the main themes of the text: Alfonso Ferrabosco II, an English 'trio' consisting of William Lawes, Jenkins and Simpson, and, finally, not Marais but rather Sainte Colombe. Her great enthusiasm for, and understanding of, their music shows at every turn - so much so that she even feels obliged to defend Sainte Colombe personally against his portrayal in the film 'Tous les matins du monde'!

The main text provides an equally readable and informative historical survey. One might be slightly alarmed to see old ghosts reappear from time to time - as in the 'court versus country' description of the 1630s and 1640s in England, or the reliance on the Roger North version for the Commonwealth and Restoration period. On the other hand, it is truly refreshing to see long-standing problems confronted head-on: the importance of the lute and the lyra-viol in raising technical expectations to astonishing levels of virtuosity (compared for example with the violin);

inter-connections between France and England before 1660 (though this remains a very obscure area); the aesthetic and cultural conditions that favoured [70] consort music in England but gave it virtually no scope in France; and even the changing opportunities for women to perform on the viol.

The second, slightly longer, part of the book tackles specific themes. Here the structure seems a little less tightly controlled: useful sections on pitch, transposition and tuning systems are interspersed with rather more summary mention of questions of temperament, phrasing, ornamentation and the role of the organ in consorts. However, a useful analysis of the historical role of each member of the viol family (and some of its relatives, from the violone and the pardessus to the arpeggione) leads the author to a compelling discussion of a key problem: namely, the serious doubts recently raised about the authenticity of many of the surviving pre-1600 (Renaissance) viols, some of which may be outright fakes. We are evidently still a long way from a definitive version of the kind of detailed register of surviving instruments that Boalch launched for keyboards already in 1956. But as Otterstedt emphasises, we should use the opportunity to look not just at the Italian Renaissance viol, but also at those early German and French variants which by the 1630s were being displaced by the more successful English instruments.

The final, much shorter, part of the book offers comments on the purchase and maintenance of an instrument, with brief sections on varnish, soundposts, fingerboard, fretting, bridges and nuts, strings and bows. Given current controversies, such advice must necessarily be rather schematic, and can in any case be supplemented from that contained in current tutors and articles. References throughout the text, used in conjunction with the bibliography, will help readers find more.

This book fills a major gap admirably, and musicologists, historians and viol enthusiasts alike will welcome it. One hopes an English translation will be produced soon, to give the book the wider audience it eminently deserves.

THOMAS MUNCK

[70]

William Byrd, *Five-part consort music*, edited by George Hunter (Northwood Music WB-5, Urbana, Illinois, 1994). Score and parts, \$27.50.

Outwith *The Byrd Edition* (BE) itself, this is one of the most important modern printed sources of Byrd's music. It is a new edition of a publication from 1986 containing Fantasia: two parts in one in the 4th above, Preludium and ground "The queenes goodnight", Browning "The leaves be greene", the five In nomines, and the Pavan. It is this pavan that renders Hunter's edition so important, as it is the only one so far to include the authentic tenor part lately rediscovered by Warwick Edwards in a German manuscript. The pavan is the consort original of Byrd's First pavan for keyboard, and in the BE (vol. 17) Kenneth Elliott had to resort to the most reliable keyboard source *My Ladye Nerells Booke* to supply the missing tenor which, in the light of the real one subsequently found, he managed commendably. I have omitted to mention the final item in Hunter's edition. This is a reconstruction from *Ladye Nevells Booke* of the First galliard, for which there is no evidence of any [71] consort version. (The same is true of the galliard to the Fifth pavan: the latter survives fragmentarily in an arrangement for broken consort dated 1588, which seems to derive from Byrd's consort, rather than keyboard, original: see my reconstruction, Lincoln, Lindum Desktop Music, 1993). Presumably the addition of this item for the present edition was provoked by the intervening appearance of Fretwork's disc of Byrd's consort music that survives complete, on which another arrangement of the galliard is slipped in. Hunter's editorial apparatus includes an introduction, which discusses individual pieces and the question of compass; a complete list of sources; and a scholarly commentary, in which he is prepared to override Elliott. The score is easy to read and the parts are laid out with no page-turns. The quality of the music no longer needs rehearsing, other than to hail it as superlative, except for the merely decent and very early first In nomine. By every criterion this is an excellent publication that should be in the possession of performers and scholars, as well as lovers both of Byrd and of the viol.

RICHARD TURBET

[71]

Richard Mico, *Consort Music*, edited by Andrew Hanley (*Musica Britannica* LXV, London, Stainer and Bell, 1994). Score, £58.50; parts: sets I and 11, £18.50 each.

Members of the Viola da Gamba Society will no doubt be pleased to see another volume of consort music for viols in the *Musica Britannica* series. Andrew Hanley's edition contains all the surviving compositions of the English composer Richard Mico (c. 1590-1661). There are four fantasies a2, seven a3 with organ, 17 a4, and four a5; four pavans a4 and three a5; and an In Nomine a5 and Lateral a5. The numbering of all the pieces is the same as in the VdGS *Thematic Index*, apart from the four-part fantasies, which follow the order they appear in London, Royal College of Music MS 1197. No songs or keyboard music by Mico have survived.

Richard Mico was born in Taunton, Somerset, and was descended from a family of French immigrants called Micault. He worked for two Catholic households: from 1608 to 1630 for the Petre family in Essex, and from 1630 to 1642 for Queen Henrietta Maria. According to an inventory of musical instruments dated 1608 and signed by Mico, there were just five viols in the Petre household, which may help to explain why there is no extant six-part viol music by Mico.

Hanley's Preface is translated into French and German, but unfortunately the Introduction and other information is in English only. I would have thought that if the Preface is worth translating, the more informative Introduction would be too, but never mind. In his Introduction Hanley summarises Mico's life and work, and discusses aspects of performance and style. He acknowledges the work of other scholars, in particular the article 'Richard Mico' by John Bennett and Pamela Willetts, which appeared in *Chelys*, 7 (1977). It is a pity that John did not live to see this edition.

The surviving organ arrangement of the first two fantasies a2 apparently dupli-[72] cates the viol parts in such a way as to suggest solo performance. It has therefore been excluded from the edition, which is a pity, because it would have been interesting to see what it was like. For the seven fantasies a3, there is an organ part. Not only does it double the three viols, but it also has important independent material of its own. There is no organ part for the four-part pavans and fantasies, but there is one for some of the five-part pieces. Here its role is more as 'a *Holding, Uniting-Constant-Friend*' (as Thomas Mace described it), and it simply duplicates the viols, more or less. Only the organ parts which happen to have survived over the years are included in the edition, but there is surely a good case for printing suitably adapted keyboard short scores for the other pieces too. I find it hard to believe that Mico would have played along with the viols for his Pavans a5 nos. 1 and 2, but dropped out for no. 3. Yet that is precisely what his modern counterpart would end up doing, if he couldn't busk from the *Musica Britannica* score. I hope that this anomaly does not reflect either the

impractical rigidity in much modern scholarly thought or the fashionable diffidence towards the inclusion of an organ in the average twentieth-century viol consort.

One striking feature of Mico's music is the total lack of anything in triple time: no galliards, no corantos, not even a triple section in a fantasy. This perhaps accounts for the omission of the first note of each piece in the prefatory stave. All note values in the edition are kept the same as in the source, so I suppose there is less need for a first note.

All Mico's music, whether fantasy or pavan, is contrapuntal in character. He does not normally resort to homophonic passages for variety of texture, as a madrigalian composer might. The only exceptions occur briefly in Pavan a4 no. 1 and the first section of Latral. The latter is Mico's arrangement of Monteverdi's "La tra'l sangu'e le morti" from *Il terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1592). The second section of Latral is Mico's own composition, designed as an answer to Monteverdi's madrigal.

Editorial decisions with regard to accidentals seem reasonable enough, although there are a few places where an alternative solution might be thought possible. For example, in the sources of Fantasy no. 3 a3 with organ, there is a discrepancy between viol 2 and organ in bar 93 (p. 17). I would have kept the flat for the viol's quaver e, and added a flat to the organ part; Hanley removes the flat from Viol 2, and makes it natural to match the organ.

Another discrepancy occurs at bar 94 of the previous piece (p. 13): Viol 1 had f[#] in the source, but Hanley removes it to match the organ part, which has no #. The problem is whether to maintain the #'s through bar 94 in imitation of Viol 2 in bar 93, or to shift from the D major of bar 93 to d minor in bar 94, and back to D major in bar 95. All this occurs over a dominant pedal D in the bass. Both solutions sound fine, but my preference is for the former. Maintaining D major throughout might not be so exciting, but it does have the authority of the # in Viol 1. Moving to d minor gives a nice twist to the cadence, but it involves removing a source accidental. (All this assumes that my understanding of [73] the information as presented in the edition is correct. *Musica Britannica*'s house style of printing editorial accidentals small and adding other comments in a knitting pattern at the back of the book is economical with space, but can sometimes lead to ambiguities.)



Fantasy no. 2 a3 with organ, bars 93-96. Reproduced with permission of Stainer and Bell.

Andrew Hanley is to be congratulated on a fine edition. Stainer and Bell now make separate playing parts available as well as the score, so viol-players will be able to enjoy playing this excellent music.

STEWART McCOY

[73]

John Ward, *Consort Music of five and six parts*, edited by Ian Payne (*Musica Britannica* LXVII, London, Stainer and Bell, 1995). Score, £65; parts. £24.95.

Some doubts have recently been cast on the identity of John Ward. It may well have been Andrew Ashbee who raised the question whether the madrigals could have been composed by an older John Ward than the consort music. But - based on biographical data and a comparative analysis of works - Ian Payne shows convincingly that they are by one and the same person (in this context cf.: Ian Payne, 'John Ward: The Case for One Composer', *Chelys*, 23 (1994), 1-16). This places Ward among those few composers active both in writing madrigals, which were going out of fashion, and 'modern' consort music.

Although this is not the place to reiterate his biography, one fact deserves [74] mentioning: he did not make his living as a musician during the second half of his life, but as a kind of scribe (attorney to the Remembrancer of the Exchequer), a fate not unlikely to overtake more and more performers of today's Early Music, and above all evidence to the effect that even being an eminent composer was no safeguard against unemployment 350 years ago.

I share the joy over a new *Musica Britannica* edition of viol consort music including part-books; but I'll have to risk annoying Stainer & Bell by repeating myself. When will the original clefs at long last come into their own? On the one hand, these would constitute a new and interesting challenge to the players, and on the other, different clefs imply a different tessitura, and to continue evading the problem will not take us one step further in our grasp of what instruments were originally intended. Although I appreciate Dr Payne's meritorious efforts on behalf of John Ward, I very much dislike his transcription of bars 25-28 of the Fantasia No 1 'Dolce languir' (p. 3):



which he explains in the textual commentary (p. 136: 'This extreme chromatic passage is spelt illogically and erratically in all sources, as the following example shows' (ex. from Lbl Add. MSS 39550-54):



*Both examples reproduced with permission of Stainer and Bell.

We should be as wary of ‘logicalizing’ musical text in order to make it conform to more recent standards as a literary historian may be averse to logicalizing [75] Shakespeare’s spelling in a twentieth-century sense, because he was well within the logic of his own time. Precisely at that time, musical orthography in England was a most interesting phenomenon distinct from, and unparalleled, by anything on the Continent, a fact nonchalantly glossed over in *Musica Britannica* volumes (further examples include John Bull’s keyboard music, Ferrabosco’s four-part works, and consort music by Thomas Tomkins). This way of notating suggests a tuning system with twelve equal notes to the octave, by means of which English composers around 1620 avoided distinguishing between g#/aflat, d#/e-flat and so on with great astuteness, much to the dismay of all Italian and Central European contemporaries. A generation later, a fixed system was derived from this seemingly chaotic orthography with equal justification as the subsequent harmonic-functional one, in which the twelve tone scale was firmly established.

It is apparently becoming common practice, at least in *Musica Britannica* circles, to base the text on a single primary source, which cannot be sufficiently praised as a policy doing authentic justice to the composers. In this case it is a compilation by Nicholas L’Estrange (Lbl Add. MSS 39550-54) after sources from the Fanshawe household where Ward held a post, i.e. a source which could not be closer to the fountainhead, failing the autographs. Moreover, the manuscripts by L’Estrange are particularly valuable because this industrious prig never rested until he had compared his versions with as many others as possible, which he carefully noted. The list and the description of the sources have unfortunately been printed far apart in the appendix and the introduction, making the process of checking rather awkward. A significant contribution is the reference to sources not yet listed in the VdGS Index, and it is to be hoped that this list is, and will remain, complete.

Summing up, here’s a marvellous fresh opportunity for placing this edition on the music stands at once, collecting some friends and lapping up Ward’s delightful harmonic tit-bits.

ANNETTE OTTERSTEDT transl. by Hans Reiners

[75]

John Ward, *Five-Part Consort Music*, edited by George Hunter (Northwood Music JW-5, Urbana, Illinois, 1994). Score and parts, \$25.00.

George Hunter's edition contains eight of Ward's thirteen five-part fantasias (VdGS nos 3-10) and the five-part In Nomine, but excludes the five pieces (VdGS nos 1-2, 12-14) which presumably originated as madrigals with Italian text. This omission is disappointing, as players familiar with the same editor's complete edition of the six-part consorts (reviewed in *Chelys* 1994) might have welcomed having all the five-part works under one cover. (The distinction here between fantasia and madrigal is in any case academic, because Ward's Italian madrigals were certainly, like their English-texted counterparts, 'apt both for Viols and Voyces'.) Hunter has renumbered the selected fantasias, but has not supplied the [76] VdGS numbers, which is a little confusing to readers (like myself) used to the Society listings.

Legible music-text clearly printed on stout paper and generally careful attention to layout are features of this practical edition. Just occasionally note-groups are a little too compressed for comfort (Treble 1, p. 4, staves 3 and 4 up) and accidentals bite neighbouring notes (Score, p. 5, bar 46, Treble 11), but such problems are hard to eradicate in computer-set music. My only major criticism of the presentation is the frequent and apparently random addition of editorial time-signatures (such as 2/2, 6/2) during a piece. These disrupt the flow of the 4/2 barring, are never cancelled, and are particularly confusing when whole bars of rests are involved. Surely the *Musica Britannica* practice of reserving essential half-bars for the very end of a section or piece is the lesser of two evils here? But this is a purely personal view.

The editor provides a commentary designed to 'focus attention on meaningful variants'. The introduction, however, claims that the manuscripts contain 'no important variants'; but it is a pity that primacy has not been given to the Tregian and L'Estrange sources (GB-Lbl MS Egerton 3665 and Add. MSS 39550-54) which transmit texts that were probably closest to Ward's circle.

Despite some reservations, this edition is worth owning by anyone requiring only a selection of the five-part works printed without their organ-parts. One remarkable feature is the musicianship inherent in the editing: in his impressive handling of one awkward moment from VdGS no. 8 (Fantasia no. 6, bars 37-38, Tenor I, in the present edition) Hunter takes his rightful place among the more perceptive and skilful of editors.

IAN PAYNE

[76]

William Lawes, *The Royall Consort*, edited by David Pinto (Fretwork FE11, 'New Version', and FE12, 'Old Version'). Scores, (£27 and £26 respectively, or £49 for two.)

With so much attention being paid in 1995 to the tercentenary of the death of Henry Purcell, commemoration of the 350th anniversary of the death of his great predecessor, William Lawes, received less than its due. The day was saved by Fretwork, who not only provided new recordings of his music, but were the promoters of a splendid festival in Oxford combining conference, concerts and coaching all devoted to Lawes's music. Publication of this edition of *The Royall Consort* adds another element to their work on his behalf and will be warmly welcomed.

With the bulk of the English viol fantasia repertory now available in modern editions, attention will increasingly focus on other consort music, of which there is 'horsesloads'. 'Airs' may be considered relatively slight as music when set against the contrapuntal ingenuities of fantasias and In Nomines, but they were an [77] important part of seventeenth-century music making; grouped as suites they become substantial entities in their own right. In David Pinto's words

The Royall Consort has a major importance for 17th-century English music ... It was (or perhaps more accurately, became) a collection of unusual stamp: one of 67 dances and fantasias for strings, formed in the 1630s by William Lawes (1602-1645). It is remarkable for the outstanding quality of its music, the precedent it set for composition in suite-form, and the significant evolution it underwent during the very process of composition, which presaged similar fashionable changes in scoring in the mid-century period. ... The extent to which Lawes' treatment of the scorings for the Royall Consort shaped the common coinage of theatre music from the 1650s on is yet to be decided, but it must have been considerable.

Pinto points out that although the collection had a considerable life-span of some forty years, it was not published (except for a few skeletal treble-bass arrangements of some dances in Playford's books). Furthermore, surprisingly little of the Royall Consort has been published in modern editions, so this complete version is doubly welcome.

Potential editors may have been put off by the extent and variety of sources. The whole edition is not a task to have undertaken lightly, and even though modern technology has proved helpful in processing the two main versions, the editor has had a formidable job to collate and order the music. In this he has succeeded triumphantly. The 'New Version' is scored in six parts for two violins, two bass viols, and two theorboes and comprises all sixty-seven pieces. The 'Old Version' is scored in four parts for two trebles, tenor and bass with theorboes. Pinto argues that this version was (and is) suitable for viols. It contains just fifty-nine of the sixty-seven airs of the 'New Version', but additionally includes fifteen miscellaneous airs for the

same scoring, whose links to the Royall Consort are somewhat tenuous. The music is grouped into 'Setts' of six or seven movements, usually beginning with a large-scale piece such as a fantasia or pavan, moving through almaines and corants to conclude with a saraband.

The editor's substantial introduction is common to both 'Old' and 'New' editions. A fascinating survey of the evolution of the Royall Consort and its importance is followed by sections headed Text, Sources, Titling, Instrumentation, and Editorial Procedure. There is a full critical commentary for each version (naturally not duplicated in both volumes). It goes without saying that Lawes can be relied upon to provide sparkling and original music of great variety. Buy it and play it. The publishers aim to produce parts according to demand, so they should be contacted regarding availability.

ANDREW ASHBEE

[77]

John Hingeston, *Fantasia Suites for 3 viols*, edited by John Domenburg (PRB Productions, Albany, California). \$35.00.

Peter Ballinger's PRB productions is continuing to provide some very useful [78] editions of music by the less mainstream composers, notably perhaps John Hingeston; whose suites for four, five and six viols have already been published. The present edition is the first of three volumes of music for three viols preserved in a set of part-books donated by Hingeston himself to the Music School at Oxford (GB-Ob MSS Mus. Sch. D.206-11). These nine fantasia suites, each comprising a fantasia and almande, are for treble, tenor and bass viols, with the exception of one additional movement, a pavan almande in Suite no. 6, which strangely calls for two equal trebles, reminiscent of John Dowland's "Thomas Collier galliard", the only one of his twenty-one dances requiring two trebles.

Tenor viol players will be aware that a large amount of three-part music does not include them. Even in the wonderful collection of fantasias by Gibbons (who was Hingeston's teacher) only four out of the nine are scored for the tenor; so it is good to find a whole set of pieces in this combination. The edition also includes an organ part. Most of the time this is a straightforward doubling of the viol' parts, so the many players who do not have an organ can quite successfully play the suites without. Occasionally the organ has some independence, but it never plays alone as is so often the case in trios by Jenkins and Lawes.

In my brief chance to play these trios I found them rather odd, and not very easy to perform or to understand. My experience of Hingeston's four-, five-, and six-part works has been very similar: they take some getting to know but perseverance pays off as one discovers some wonderful moments.

As usual for PRB, the parts are clearly produced and come complete with a score which includes an introduction and textual commentary by the editor, and a facsimile of the inscription on the cover page of the treble book which I think is a very nice touch, but now I would like to have a facsimile of the part-books complete!

ALISON CRUM

[78]

Nicholas Hotman, *Three Suites*, edited by Donald Beecher (Dovehouse Editions, VDGS-47, 1994). \$9.50.

Many viol players will be pleased to find that Dovehouse Editions have become easily available again, having being taken over and distributed by the Loux Music Publishing Company (USA). Since the take-over most of the out-of-print titles have been reissued and a few new editions have been added, one of which is the three suites by Nicholas Hotman who sounds much more French when spelled, as in one manuscript, Hauttement.

These nineteen movements for solo bass viol come from manuscript sources in Oxford (Bodleian) and Warsaw. The three suites include the standard grouping of allemande, courante, sarabande and gigue, including variations in the courantes and sarabandes. The presence of the gigue, which did not become common until about the middle of the seventeenth century, probably points to this music being [79] written quite late in Hotman's life, around 1660. There are five additional movements, all in d minor, which could be incorporated into the 2nd or 3rd suite. Hotman was himself a virtuoso viol player and his style of writing includes both the melodic and chordal aspects of playing, the importance of which were so hotly disputed by Rousseau and Demachy.

The edition includes an informative introduction by the editor and a short critical commentary. The printing is very clear: I presume computer set, judging by the unnaturally wide spacing, particularly in the quaver groups. The size of the stave and notes is much larger than most of the earlier Dovehouse Editions which were often rather hard to read.

My one small quibble is over the way one bar (7) in the first movement has been re-written using a notation which looks to me no less confusing than the original (shown in the commentary), and, for anyone familiar with Simpson's notation, perhaps preferable.

Dovehouse Editions have been pioneers in choosing works by lesser known composers for the viol. This edition, together with an early one of Dubuisson (VDGS-8), fills a quite considerable hole in the French repertoire from the mid-seventeenth century. The music is not too difficult technically and is rewarding to play.

ALISON CRUM

[79]

Dubuisson, *Thirteen Suites for Solo Viola da Gamba Vols I & II*, edited by Donald Beecher and Stuart Cheney (Dovehouse Editions, VDGS-49A & 49B, 1993). Vol. I \$7.50, Vol. II \$10.00.

Dubuisson is an important but shadowy figure in the early history of the viol in France. In March 1680 the *Mercure Gallant* reported a remarkable concert in which Dubuisson performed:

It was most extraordinary, and the first of its kind; it consisted of three bass viols. This most singular entertainment was created by MNI Du Buisson, Ronsin and Pierrot. The enthusiasm with which they were received demonstrates with how much pleasure the connoisseurs listened to them.

It appears that by this time Dubuisson was already elderly, as Jean Rousseau in his polemic to Demachy of October 1688 refers to the 'playing of the late old Dubuisson'; Dubuisson evidently died between 1680 and 1688. The earliest reference to Dubuisson is in a manuscript found in the Library of Congress dated 'Le premier jour de Septembre 1666', which could be the composer's autograph and contains twenty-two of his pieces along with interesting early instructions on bowing and fingering the viol. (Nineteen of these pieces are published by Dovehouse VDGS-8). This manuscript also informs us that in 1666 Dubuisson lived in the centre of Paris, on the Left Bank opposite St Chapelle, close to the celebrated luthier Nicolas Colichon.

[80] Dubuisson's contemporary reputation as a composer is demonstrated by the fact that 116 of his compositions survive in five different manuscripts. The largest of these was rediscovered in Poland (PL-Wtm MS R221 In.377) in the early 1980s, where 100 pieces are extant, eighteen of which have concordances with other sources. The 'thirteen suites' edited by Donald Beecher and Stuart Cheney are taken from this Polish source. Not surprisingly for a genre which is so closely akin to the highly fashionable lute suite of the second quarter of the seventeenth century, the suites use the allemande-courante-sarabande core. This is often prefaced by a prelude or fantasie and concluded with a gigue and at times a gavotte or ballet. Many of the movements have a variation.

Dubuisson's *pièces de viole* have much charm; Maugars declared in 1639 that the French violists 'cannot be equalled for beautiful singing rhythm, agreeable divisions & particularly for natural singing melodies of Courants & Ballets'. Dubuisson's *pièces* lie easily under the left hand, generally not ascending above the frets, and the bowing rarely demands more than slurs over pairs of notes. Harmonically their adventurousness does not move beyond dominant sevenths and four-three suspensions. Musically the binary movements are more successful than the through-composed preludes, which lack the benefit of structure through interesting harmonic vocabulary or disciplined use of motivic material. The works seem to date from the middle of the seventeenth century, contemporary with Hotman but the generation before Ste Colombe and Demachy, whose

compositions are technically far more demanding and musically on a grander scale. However it is possible that these pieces are not entirely representative of the type of music that Dubuisson would have himself improvised. Maugars, the leading violist of the previous generation, was celebrated for his ability to play unaccompanied in 'two, three or many parts on the bass viol, with so many ornaments and great dexterity of fingers'. In comparison to such a description these surviving compositions by Dubuisson appear somewhat straightforward, despite their simple beauty. Playing through the pieces I found myself inspired to embellish and ornament. Might it be that Dubuisson committed himself to paper for his students' benefit?

The editors have done a fine job; I particularly appreciate their decision to maintain original beaming. I did however find slips in VdGS no 19, bar 16; VdGS no 36, bar 6; and VdGS no 73, bar 6, which, thanks to computer setting, I hope can easily be corrected.

LUCY ROBINSON

[80]

Jean-Louis Charbonnier, *Decouverte de la Viole de Gambe* (London. United Music Publishers, 1994). £16.50.

This 'discovery' of the viol is another instruction book by the prolific Jean-Louis Charbonnier, who must still be enjoying the enormous surge of interest in the viol in France in the aftermath of the film 'Tous les Matins du Monde'. This tutor [81] claims to be an *initiation* for six to seventy-seven year olds, although the front cover shows a very eye-catching photo of a child whom I would guess is less than two years old 'playing' a treble viol with great happiness!

The whole book including text and music is handwritten using *calligraphie d l'ancienne* very similar to the French *Avertissements* of Marais. This makes a very refreshing change from today's computer editions. There are also hand drawn illustrations, most of which are amusing cartoons of viol players.

Although the book is in French, there is very little text except the introduction, so this should not be a problem to non-French speakers. The introduction provides a short history of the viol, followed by a few tips to remember, such as unscrewing your bow, and applying rosin regularly, this last of which I am always having to remind people! Then it becomes rather like a French version of the 'Tune a Day' books which many English people will have known in their youth - very simple tunes introducing one note at a time. The first exercises on open strings are plucked; they introduce simple rhythms explaining the note values as they occur - this is ideal for someone who is learning to read music for the first time as well as learning the viol, although I have found few people in England taking up the viol as a first instrument.

The bow hold is shown by two drawings (no words) and then the book continues introducing more notes using each finger of the left hand. I am slightly surprised to find a whole paragraph devoted to the positioning of the left hand when two pictures suffice for the right! Exercises, melodies and duets continue in a fairly logical sequence, though everything is kept in what I call 'half position' (first finger at first fret) for the first eleven lessons. Further elements of rhythm such as dotted notes are simply explained as they crop up.

Altogether this seems a very well structured book, and the music chosen is tuneful and enjoyable to play. It is in treble clef throughout and would appear to be intended for the treble viol (though it never mentions the *dessus*), but it could easily be used by bass players who are happy to read the treble clef. The pace in the early stages is very slow, but probably ideal for a young child, or for adults who like to take things slowly or who are new to music generally.

ALISON CRUM

[81]

Sarah Manthey, *The Viola da Gamba and Temperament. A Historical Survey and a Practical Manual* (Sarah Manthey, 1994). DM22. Copies available from the author, c/o V.G. Roose, 9817 Hannett Pl. N.E., Albuquerque, New Mexico 87112, USA.

This book is a brief guide for all male viol players (unnecessarily so in view of the admirable neutrality offered by the English language to modern users in such terms as 'the players') who have never, so far, had anything to do with musical temperament and are beset by an ominous suspicion that things are not as they ought to be. In outlining the problem and giving a selection of bibliographical sources, it [82] leads straight into the heart of the matter, and further details can be obtained from Lindley. The thing is complex, indispensable, and not too rewarding, as expressed plainly in Sarah Manthey's motto: 'Nur wer die Arbeit kennt, weiss (sic!) was ich meide,' (Only those who know work know what I avoid/try to avoid) evidently a paraphrase of Goethe's 'Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt, weiss was ich leide.' (Only those who know longing know what I suffer) (NB Dear Anglo-Saxons beware, such minute phonemic alterations may often result in Germanic guffaws.) I have to admit that, to my mind, she seems to be avoiding a little too much, for this tutor falls short of being either methodically conclusive or sure of the facts, and I hope this review may contribute something towards amending certain shortcomings, to make this manual more universal. This concerns theory (for example, reliability of footnotes. The quotations from Mersenne's *Harmonic Uasiverselle* are not only incomplete, but partly false. The meantone temperament in the diagram copied from Eugen Dombois (p. 7) defies detection; it can hardly be concealed in the 5th and 7th frets) as well as practical application, such as the absence of any allusion to the fact - as described quite early by Michael Praetorius (*Syntagma Musicum*, vol. II, p. 66) - that, unlike in keyboard tunings, temperament on fretted instruments is flexible to a degree, when he states that 'the strings can be helped by the fingering on the frets/to take or give (a little)' ('man auch ... den Saitten nut den Griffen uff den Bunden helfen/nennen (nehmen) and geben kan.').

This observation, I think, has to be taken as the pivotal point in all experiments with tuning fretted instruments, along with the reservation that even the most exacting positioning of frets may lead to an unsatisfactory result because of various factors, such as string length, age and quality of the strings, or sloppy fingering. Simply to ignore this circumstance and to construct a drawing board temperament under ideal conditions is tantamount to missing the point. Calculus we are familiar with, but hearing takes practice. In addition, viol teachers ought to know that a matching consort of viols (for example from a single workshop) often has a tendency to readjust

its own tuning, like an organ stop, and that the opposite may occur with incompatible instruments. This phenomenon is probably partly due to the structure of their harmonics, which may enable instruments of similar construction to complement one another, - a phenomenon well worth looking into.

It is not the major whole tone (9: 8), but the minor whole tone (10:9) which has to be introduced in order to achieve pure tuning - by no means purely theoretical, as Sarah Manthey assures us (p. 10); Thomas Salmon advocated it in the second half of the seventeenth century, and it found its uses specifically in lyra tunings. The choice of the major tone has its inescapable effect on certain frequent thirds. For no variety of meantone temperament works in lyra tunings, which may have induced Christiaan Huygens, a fervent addict of the pure third, to dispense with viols and theorboes in favour of the harpsichord.

The fretting charts may be accurately drawn, but - with one exception - address only those who happen to have an instrument with a 66.0 cm string length. As Sarah Manthey gives no ratios of intervals, except for fretting for a pure tuning, [83] and discloses no ways in which the series has been worked out, the results can only be transferred to viols of a different string length if all calculations are redone from the beginning. A pantographic rule or generally applicable formulae are indispensable.

These imperfections apart, which could of course be mended, the book's quintessence has rather disappointed me. I am left with the impression that this little tutor was written with the sole purpose of ending up precisely where it set out: 'I myself find viol repertoire on an irregular temperament more interesting and more beautiful, I have to concede that it is largely a question of taste' (p. 25). Meaning what? I presume most of us have meanwhile learned that temperaments take getting used to. The book offers no encouragement to try anything unfamiliar, let alone over an extended period of time or in spite of one's own inclination, although it is quite conceivable that there may be things worth discovering with an effort exceeding the matter of taste.

ANNETTE OTTERSTEDT transl. by Hans Reiners

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Editor,

I am intrigued by the dialogue between John Catch and Hans Reiners on the meaning of 'violetta'. While we await a student with time, energy, and expertise to solve the puzzle, as John is hoping for, may I add my own speculation?

Could not 'violetta' refer to any bowed string instrument that can be used to play the middle parts ascribed to 'violetta'? Whereas the treble part can be regarded as very exposing, and the bass part as very responsible, a middle part may be felt to be more protective to the player and more lyrical and therefore more encouraging to a wealthy amateur patron as existed in those days. He it is who is more likely to have some 'hybrid' instrument he particularly fancies and which he finds more lyrical in the middle range of pitch.

Though Bach may not call a spade 'a shovel of any complexion' might he not write a middle part for 'a shovel of any complexion' the choice of which he is prepared to leave to the player? The word 'violetta' sounds a convenient word to use when the composer is not aware of the precise instrument a player might have but which may be perfectly acceptable for that part.

I am not making this suggestion with any knowledge of the subject but merely as is suggested to me by the dialogue between John and Hans.

BOB NEWTON

Dear Editor,

I wonder if it would be more convenient¹ if the notes in *Chelys*² could leave as much as possible³ in the main body of the text⁴?

Yours sincerely⁵

NOTES

1. i.e. for the general reader who does not want to be distracted too much by lengthy notes, yet does not wish to miss anything interesting that the author has to say; also for the specialist reader who might wish to take up references but likewise does not want to be distracted by them while he is reading the article.

2. *Chelys* is an excellent and authoritative journal but I hope the Editor will not mind me making a point about notes.

3. A lot of statements appear in the notes which could easily be included in the main text. I sometimes wonder if the author concerned is not sure whether certain statements he wants to make are good enough or sufficiently relevant; so he puts them into notes as a 'can't make me mind up', 'second class' text. Perhaps he is not sure how to organise this more wayward material in the main text; so the easy cop-out is to transfer it to notes.

4. i.e. at the appropriate place in the article (where the note superscript number is), leaving only the specific reference to a source of information in the notes; e.g. putting, say, Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum MU MS 168, in the notes, but leaving the fact, for example, that this is the Fitzwilliam virginal book and/or any other interesting information about it or associated with it in the main text.

5. Bob Newton