



The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society

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EDITORIAL

When this issue of *Chehys* is published I shall with much regret resign from the editorship; for a variety of reasons I am no longer able to give the journal the sustained attention it deserves, and the increasingly late appearance of successive issues is unfair to authors as well as readers. I am deeply grateful to all the contributors whose work has appeared in *Chehys* over the last few years, particularly those who have patiently waited a very long time to see their articles in print. I wish the Society every success in its future publishing activities, and I hope my successors will find their task as interesting, rewarding and instructive as I have found mine.

ROBERT THOMPSON

ABBREVIATIONS

Grove *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (2001)

GSJ *Galpin Society Journal*

JAMS *Journal of the American Musicological Society*

JAMIS *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*

ML *Music and Letters*

RISM *Repertoire international des sources musicales*

RMARC *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*

GB-Ckc Cambridge, King's College, Rowe Music Library

GB-Lbl London, British Library

GB-Lva London, Victoria and Albert Museum

GB-Ob Oxford, Bodleian Library

GB-Och Oxford, Christ Church Library

GB-Ym York, Minster Library

IR-Dm Dublin, Marsh's Library

PL-WRu Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka

Books cited throughout the journal were published in London unless otherwise stated.

[1]
PLACING HATTON'S GREAT SET

DAVID PINTO

A 'Choice Collection and a greate treasure to a Musician': so John Baptist Malchair, cataloguing the music of Christ Church, Oxford in July 1787, termed present-day GB-Och MS Mus. 2. Shelfmark by format obscures the kinship of this large Stuart score to Mus. 397-408 (three part-sets, now short by a book) and Mus. 436 (their shared organbook). Together they form the 'Great Set', a modern nick-name but an apt echo of Malchair, and provide a comprehensive repertory of contrapuntal dances, fantasias and vocal transcriptions for musicians to recreate in performance (and for their patron to follow by eye). The set contains the completest extant series of 6-part Alfonso Ferrabosco II and 5-part John Coprario, trumped only by priceless *unica*, by Orlando Gibbons (6-part) and Richard Mico (5-part). The two copyists employed were separately the creators of another part-set each, still housed, like the Great Set, in the college's Aldrich Bequest. Mus. 612-13 and 432 are for strings and organ, Mus. 417-18 /1080, already incomplete when bound for Henry Aldrich, for strings alone.¹ Oddly, these are utterly devoid of verbal texting. But then so was the pristine Great Set, which has gained some unoriginal titling. The oddity is heightened by other quirks, in ancillary reuses made of these early sets. In the first of them the organbook has a few parts added, but usable only with later Great string parts. To create the Great sequel, the second set was cannibalised in its entirety; but the recopying contrived to omit just one series of fantasias, written at that by the one fully-fledged composer that the commissioning household boasted. That totals an outsize twenty 'separates', Great or predating Greatness: highly interdependent, pervasively textless, and resembling far less a normal household project than scribes' unmodified workplace output. Domestic compilers of course commissioned reams of professional copy happily enough, but were not inhibited about texting it, once supplied. Here, though, the entire assemblage is desperately bare of visible clues of origin and ownership, bar one (which is extrinsic, strictly speaking): the armorial design found on the covers of the earliest set. To date, the anomalous features in this clutch of manuscripts have met no tolerable explanation, or acknowledgement that they are puzzling.

All of it came to Aldrich as part of a large musical library; but after his death in 1710 its provenance, like its extent, was lost to recall for fourteen-score years.² It had been built up by Sir Christopher Hatton III (d.1670); an

1. Source-contents summarised in Table 3; see also Appendix 1. For the MSS of Hatton (and Le Strange, etc.) see A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright (compilers), *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts containing Consort Music*, I (Aldershot, 2001), published after these remarks were drafted.

² D. Pinto, 'The Music of the Hattons', *RMARC* 23 (1990), 79-108 assesses the extent of music in the Aldrich Bequest and elsewhere linked to Sir Christopher Hatton II and his son Christopher III, including short-lists and contents by author for the Great Set and its precursors. Testimony for most factual details cited in the present article may be found there, some of it reconfigured to include Egerton MS 2485 in the discussion. Grateful acknowledgement is due to John Wing, former assistant librarian at Christ Church, Oxford, for allowing wide-ranging access to the whole collection there; also to Dr Christopher D. S. Field for generous advice on this essay, including detailed corrections, which of course is

antiquarian and musical patron, ennobled 1st Baron Hatton of Kirby while comptroller of the Oxford royal court during the first civil war, 1642-6. Before Hatton's primacy was reasserted, one of his copyists was known: John Lillie or Lilly (d.1678).³ Lillie had been a teacher and copyist in the North family, like his good friend the composer John Jenkins; and though just a quaint retainer for the baronial Norths, [2] he was eminent enough (again, like Jenkins) to serve in the Royal Music after the Restoration in 1660. Pamela J. Willetts, who spotted his work in the Great Set for Hatton (a cousin of the Norths by marriage), also unmasked Lillie's associate: Stephen Bing or Byng (d.1681), a post-Restoration cathedral copyist, formerly a London music-master listed 'For the Voyce or Viole' in Playford's *A Muscicall Banquet* (1651). Hatton wellnigh had a corner in Bing's secular copying. One tranche, now scattered without provenance, concords with identified Hatton-owned printed music. Another, overlapping it, is linkable to Hatton's estate manager and domestic composer, George Jeffreys.

Naming copyists is no instant clue to their work-patterns; but clarity in assessing this project has, since identification of the collection, gone woefully retrograde—in more than one sense. Rehandling of the findings has relegated the Great Set's initially-assumed Restoration date to c1635-40, on no very comprehensive grounds.⁴ Its watermarks *are* congruent with an inception thereabouts, hard on the heels of the early sets; but we can draw conclusions less nebulous than: 'The picture is obviously too complex, and the surviving information too sparse, to reconstruct fully the events and chronology of copying'. The sources themselves exhibit at least three visible strata: evolutionary copying stages, plainly. The project was modified twice, at least. Just as plainly it lapsed, even though Hatton's collection survived a decade of royalist exile fairly intact until his reestablishment quite unmolested in later Commonwealth society.

Precise dating is elusive in the copying-stuff of this unified but featureless congeries, since terminal dates for watermarks are not innocent of collateral assumptions about trade-supply, copying methods and function of products.⁵ But favouring unifying features, in order to establish synchronicities (which fix

not to escape blame for errors of fact and judgement wilfully persisted in.

³ First identification and discussion of copyists: P. Willetts, 'John Lilly, Musician and Music Copyist', *The Bodleian Library Record* 7 (1962-7), 307-11; 'Stephen Bing: a Forgotten Violist', *Cheyls* 18 (1989), 3-17; 'John Lilly: a redating', *Cheyls* 21 (1992), 27-38.

⁴ J. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)* (Aldershot, 1997) and, travelling the same ground, 'The Christ Church Viol-Consort Manuscripts Reconsidered: Christ Church, Oxford, Music Manuscripts 2, 397-408, and 436; 417-418 and 1080; and 432 and 612-613', in *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. A. Ashbee and P. Holman (Oxford, 1996), 189-242. 5

⁵ Paper for Great and Lesser Sets comes from one quartet of moulds bearing a 'Strasburg Bend', perhaps but not certainly pre-1648; two of these marks are also found in Matthew Locke's score Lbl Add. MS 17801, which shares stave ruling as well as paper type with Och 2. The version of the Strasburg Bend in Lbl Egerton MS 2485 has a countermark MC, dateable 1650-60. The peacock mark in Och 612-13 and early MSS by Jeffreys can be dated to the 1630s, 'mark L' in R. Thompson, 'George Jeffreys and the "Stile Nuovo" in English Sacred Music: a New Date for his Autograph Score, British Library, Add. MS 10338', ML 70 (1988), 317-41. See also his 'A further look at the consort music manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *Cheyls* 24 (1995), 3-18, and comments on sorting or dating of two batches of peacock paper in D. Pinto, 'Mico, Marsh and Attributions' *Cheyls* 27 (1999), 40-58.

dates within half a decade at best), can all too easily overlook slender diachronic threads: the sort detected here. Lowering one's sights, seeking out evidence that, if slight, can yield a different conjectural paradigm, produces a fuller picture. It is of an affair, modest at first, which took wing and grew, fitfully but stubbornly, for fifteen years (at minimum). That is no pot-shot, but direct alignment from salient internal feature which luckily relate to an exterior sighting-point: Lillie's personal organbook, GB-Lbl Egerton MS 2485. That book is no 'mystery'. Its provenance is unknown, but it is close enough by hand and paper to give a cross-sight on the whole vexed Hatton assemblage. The evidence, through repertorial concordances and mutual order, is so far underestimated but is set out here in Tables 1 and 2. Measures in this field produce symmetries of association and order that combine to prove a common time-frame for Lillie and the Great Set. [3]

Table 1
Lillie's Organbook

Lbl Egerton MS 2485: organbook for 5-part fantasias, dances, madrigals in John Lillie's hand. A fragment of a later (eighteenth-century) binding preserves the stamp 'COPERARIO'S FANCEYS'. The fly-leaf is noted 'Purch<ase>.d of J. Harvey, 9 March 1878', and fol. 1 has Lillie's heading 'Heare begins M^r Coperario his fanceys of 5 parts'. Though there is no original numeration, ascriptions to all but nos. 14–15, and titling up to no. 18, are given. No. 13 is unfinished. In the Great Set, nos. 21–6 occur in the same order; all contents except for nos. 50, 52–3 (marked * in Column S) are found there. Other parallels in groups by Coperario and Lupo are noted in Column S as Sequences C, d–D, E. Otherwise:

§ marks seventeen items present in Great partbooks 404–8/436, but not score
¶ marks five items present in Great score 2, but not partbooks

No.	Author	Title (nos. 1-17 as MS)	VdGS no.	fol.	S
1	Giouani Coperario	Io son feritta [sic]	2	1	C
2	Giouani Coperario	Occhi	46	1v	C
3	Giouani Coperario	Per fer una [sic]	31	2	C
4	Giouani Coperario	Crude perchi [sic]	1	2v-3	C
5	Giouani Coperario	Lucretia mia	12	3v-4	C
6	Giouani Coperario	Lume tuo fugace	4	4v-5	C
7	Giouani Coperario	Rapiua L'alma [sic]	3	5v-6	C
8	Giouani Coperario	Luci beate	9	6v-7	C
9	Giouani Coperario	Dolce mia vita	14	7v	¶D
10	Giouani Coperario	Ohime	35	8	¶D
11	Giouani Coperario	Ninnfa crudele [sic]	29	8v	¶D
12	Giouani Coperario	Passa madonna [sic]	15	9	¶D
13	Giouani Coperario	Quall vaghezza [sic]	23	9v-10	¶D
14	[Coperario]	[untitled]	49	10v-11	
15	[Coperario]	Crese in voy [sic]	16	11	d
16	Mr Richard Mico	Pauen	2	11v	§
17	Mr Richard Mico	Pauen	1	12	§
18	Giouani Coperario	Gittene Ninfe	34	12v-13	d
(Nos. 19-56 untitled, unascribed; nos. 36, 38-9, 49, 51, 54-6 among items titled in the Great Set)					
19	Coperario	O sonno	21	13v-14	d
20	Coperario	Deh, cara anima mia	32	14	§C
21-6	Coperario	Fantasias	5, 8, 6, 7, 10, 11	14v-20	d
27-9	A. Ferrabosco II	In Nomines	3, 1, 2	20v-23	§
30	Mico	In Nomine	[1]	23v-24	§
31-3	Ferrabosco II	Pavans	3, 4, 9	24v-25	§
34	Ferrabosco II	Alman	4	26	
35	O. Gibbons	In Nomine	2	26v-27	

Table 1 (continued)

36	Ferrabosco II	'Dovehouse' Pavan	1	27v	§
37	Coperario	Leno	47	28	§C
38	Monteverdi	Voi pur da me partite	Libro IV à5	28v	§
39	Monteverdi	Luci serene e chiare	Libro IV à5	29	§
40-1	Lupo	Fantasias	4, 2	29v-30v	§E
42-3	Lupo	Fantasias	1, 3	31v-32v	E
44	Lupo	Fantasia	11	33v	§E
45-7	Lupo	Fantasias	12-14	29v-37	E
48	Coperario	Deh, cara anima mia	32 bis	37v	§C
49	J. Ward	Cor mio, deh! non	[12]	37v-38	A
50	Lupo	Alte parole	9	38v-39	*
51	W. White	Diapente	1	39v-40	
52	Ward	Leggiadra sei	13	40v-41	*
53	Ward	Dolce Languir	1	41v-42	‡ *
54	Monteverdi	Là tra'l sangue	Libro III à5	42v	
55	Mico	Parte seconda	[5]	43	
56	Marenzio	Arda pur	Libro VII à5	43v	

Lillie's organbook matches the Great Set's 5-part contents exactly but for three extra pieces. The shortfall in the Great Set is cryptic, until its imperfect state is noted—and then 'flipped', like the optical paradox in a Necker cube. Three other pieces, found in the Great score but not in Lillie's organbook, lack an opening or else ending, though two of them are preserved in full in Great companion part-sets. The score, then, has suffered losses: not a surprising turn of events if (as it seems) the Great Set was left unbound when first assembled. Arguably, then, Lillie's 'extra' content of three correlates to a missing part of the Great score. That granted, it is the easier to spot the presence in Lillie of Great score-segments, refracted: called Sequences C and d-D (Coprario) in Tables 1 and 5. Beyond that, Lillie's affinities are stronger in Sequence E (Lupo) to parts than score. Even more than that: Lillie's organbook, uncontentionally dateable c1650-60, can hardly antedate the latest Great phases, in score and organ.

Lillie began this organbook with Coprario, then tackled other 5-part items with maybe no clear notion of authorship, if lack of titling and ascription imply anything. He did title his opening Coprario and Mico, which are Hatton partialities (in the Great Set, by chance, it was also the 5-part opening sequence which had titling added, though not for identical pieces). It is unclear how Lillie's copying here assorts with his work on the Great string partbooks. Either his own organbook intabulated unbound portions of the Great score, copied by Bing, or he like Bing copied unscored pieces from organ parts superseded by the Great recopying. It seems improbable that he and Bing always devised organ parts straight from string parts, since they can correspond with other extant copies: Bing's parts for 3-part Mico, in Mus. 432, concord very closely textually with the [5] only other extant source, the North organbook Lbl Add. MS 29290. But the two men must have had some recourse to superseded sources, organ parts and all. All but one of the 6-part fantasias by Orlando Gibbons are now unique to the Great Set—made for the son of the composer's patron; and they show enough accumulated discrepancies between strings and organ to suggest recopying. Lillie's organbook, too, transmits substantive variants that reflect Hatton direct: his organ version of In Nomine no. 2 A5 by Gibbons cleaves to the variant Great form, against other extant sources. This pair are, if not twins of a birth, clearly more than kissing-cousins.⁶

⁶ Variants for Lillie and the Great Set are listed in *Orlando Gibbons: Consort Music*, ed. J. Harper (1982), *Alfonso Ferrabosco: Four Part Fantasias for Viols*, ed. A. Ashbee and B. Bellingham (1992), *Richard Mico: Consort Music*, ed. Andrew Hanley (1994), *John Ward: Consort Music of Five and Six Parts*, ed. I. Payne (1995) and *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger: Consort Music of Five and Six Parts*, ed. C. Field and D. Pinto (2003); *Musica Britannica* 48, 62, 65, 67, 81. See also a survey of the source-evidence before dating of the Great Set was disputed: J. Harper, 'The Distribution of the Consort Music of Orlando Gibbons in Seventeenth-Century Sources', *Chelys* 12 (1983), 3-18.

table 2

Lillie organbook and Great parts: pieces absent from Great score

Eg. 2485 no.	Composer	Titling ('Great' or by Lillie) †	VdG no.	Great partbooks 404-8 fol.	436 fol.
16	Mico	Pauen	1	13	63v
17	Mico	Pauen	2	13v	64
20	Coprario	[Deh, cara anima mea]	32	20v	72v
27	Ferrabosco	[In Nomine]	3	16v	67v
28	Ferrabosco	[In Nomine]	1	17v	68v
29	Ferrabosco	[In Nomine]	2	18v	69v
30	Mico	[In Nomine]	[1]	15v	66v
36	Ferrabosco	Dovehouse Pavan	1	12v	63
37	Coprario	[Leno]	47	19v	70v
38	Monteverdi	Voi pur [da me partite]	IV à5	11v	61v
39	Monteverdi	Luci [serene]	IV à5	12	62v
48	Coprario	[Deh, cara anima mia]	32	20v	72v

See Tables 5 and 6 for the positioning of these segments between Sequences A-B & B-C, and for correlations between Great partbooks and organ (fols 61v-64, 66v-72v)

But the Great Set, let alone lacking evidence of dating, gives no hint that it was ever completed or 'defined' in its own times. Apart in fact from matching score- to partbook-content, the main sign used to deduce its structure has been its uniform binding. This, though, is owed to Aldrich. Paper type, common to all stages from the second early set onwards, seems to clinch common aims; but these aims were more incremental than may seem at first blush. The reason is that the Great score and partbooks match unevenly in contents and order. Items or even whole series can be found in either parts or score.⁷ The one extant organ-book [6] is lop-sided, too; it is a selection (and no more) in 4-6 parts, whereas string sets for 4-parts and 5-6 parts are separate. There was another organbook, attested but lost, for 3-part work, which may have embraced 2-part repertoire; but some 2-part stave-systems pre-ruled in the score (as if to cover the earliest set of parts) are blank. It all hints at a later-diluted plan to match Great string sets with organbooks, three by three. Available proof falls short of that; but there are confirmatory signs in the clear structural faults, the still-visible redispositions made inside the early sets.

Mus. 612-13 (Lillie) with Mus. 432 (Lillie, then Bing) carry the Hatton armorial bindings not afforded to later-copied Great fascicles. This 'Hatton Set', with a unique layer of 2-part work, can be termed Stage 1. Bing's intervention added organ parts for 3-part Mico to it, ignoring its limitations. In so doing, he leap-frogged Stage 2, Mus. 417-18 /1080, the part-set for 3-4 parts, that he himself copied (now incomplete). There, at midpoint in the 3-part section, he did include as much Mico as was to hand; but it was two pieces short (nos. 5 and 7). The full series he later copied into Stage 1, Mus. 432, matches Lillie's partbooks in later Stage 3, Mus. 401-2. But his parts in 432, that bypass Stage 2, are a make-shift *even*

⁷ See Tables 5 and 6.

at Stage 3, because this had its own organbook authorised for it—Mus. 401-2 have lost a fourth book as well as a string part, as the binding stamp by Aldrich reveals, and this must be a keyboard part. The 'Lesser Set', 417-18 / 1080, is distinct from Stages 1 and 3 as the only occasion that Bing turned his hand to a part-set. It was not, though, a parallel initiative (say for another household). As well as the common paper-type, some curious absences reveal that. Bing broke off during the final 4-part entries: he left three incomplete (by Ward) in partbook 417, and nine in 1080 (Ferrabosco nos. 20-22, and all the Ward). Lillie, though, completed all these for Stage 3 while quarrying abandoned Stage 2 to recopy the rest, as Bing began on the companion organ-part and score. But now the new Great 3-part order, juggled to complete Lupo and Mico, suppressed one author. Where all other former Stage 2 contents survived intact, fantasias by Jeffreys have vanished: last in, first out in their entirety. The 'Lesser' copies of these that were made antedate the final version in Jeffreys' holograph score in only small details. They are works with italianate linear and harmonic features well abreast of the decade's trends, plausibly sitable in the later 1630s. But if so, how soon—and why—did Jeffreys come to be ejected? [7]

Table 3
The Great Set and its Precursors

{Stage}	Shelfmark	Type	Contents
The Hatton Set			
{1}	612-613	string parts	2 parts, for basses
{1+3}	432	organbook	parts for 612-13, and 3-part (tr-2b) additions for 401-2
The Lesser Set			
{2}	417-18/1080	string parts; no organbook?	3-4 parts, now lacking one string partbook; wellnigh all contents duplicated at Stage 3 by 397-400, 401-2
The Great Set			
{3}	397-400	string parts	4 parts
{3}	401-2	string parts	3 parts, now lacking a treble book and probably organbook
{3}	403-8	string parts	5-6 parts
{4}	2	score	3-6 parts common to Stages 3, 5; a 2-part section unfilled
{5}	436	organbook	4-6 parts, a selection only from Stages 3 and 4

Suggested relations in copying
Stemma is downwards and left-right, not implying uniform time direction
O stands for an assumed non-extant source

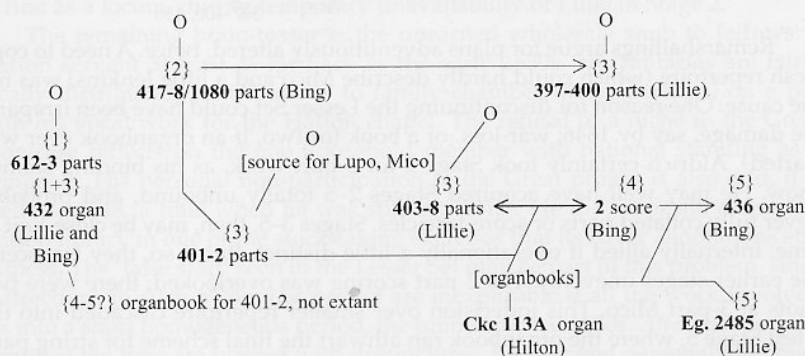


Table 4
Reuse of Early Sets

Mus. 612-613 and 432	à2	Coprario 2 basses nos. 1-10 Jenkins 2 basses nos. 37-8, 44-6, 63 Ward 2 basses nos. 1-6	} not recopied into the Great Set
Mus. 432 only	à3	Mico treble and 2 basses	reverse section; not in 612-3
Mus. 417-418/ 1080	à3	Coprario nos. 1-6, 9-10	repeated Mus. 2, 401-402, same order
		Gibbons nos. 1-9	repeated Mus. 2, 401-402, same order
		Jeffreys nos. 1-6	not recopied into the Great Set
		Lupo no. 14	series completed in Mus. 401-2
		Lupo (attr.) Pavans nos. 1-4 Mico nos. 1-4, 6	repeated Mus. 401-2, not 2 complete in Mus. 432 and 2, 401-2
	à4	Bull	repeated Mus. 2, 397-400, 436
		Ferrabosco	nos. 1-9, 12-23 (nos. 20-22 incomplete); series completed in Mus. 2, 397- 400, 436
		Ward	nos. 1-6 (nos. 4-6 incomplete); the series copied entire in Mus. 2, 397-400, 436

Remarshallings argue for plans adventitiously altered, twice. A need to copy fresh repertoire (which could hardly describe Mico and a little Jenkins) was not the cause. One reason for discontinuing the Lesser Set could have been irreparable damage, say by 1646; war-loss, of a book (or two, if an organbook ever was started). Aldrich certainly took Stage 2 for 3-part work, as his binding stamps show. He may well have acquired Stages 2-5 totally unbound, and probably never fully collated parts or score-fascicles. Stages 3-5, then, may be close-knit in time; internally allied if operationally a little distinct. But if so, they transcend the earlier stages unevenly. The 2-part scoring was overlooked; there were two shots at 3-part Mico. This indecision over smaller repertoire cascaded into the latest Stage 5, where the organbook ran athwart the final scheme for string part-books. Titling was neglected too, if the later-century round hand that made attempts to begin it in score and parts is in fact that of Aldrich (possibly modelled on Bing's). Selectiveness, absences, are compromises under outside constraints obscured by dearth in evidence, and few contents apart from Jeffreys offer evidence for dating, so retrospective are they. Still, two aspects of handling [9] do complementarily reveal that method was fixed from the very beginning. Grouping, as in the Le Strange copies of the mid 1630s, is intentionally methodical by author except for work of vocal type—signs in both collections of an evolving canon, despite grouping by contrasting methods:

Le Strange sited it by aggregation (with, for example, a work by Byrd being added later to a pre-sited Ferrabosco I group); the Great Set always aimed at completed blocs. Where Le Strange sought to annotate and alter copiously, the Great ideal is textless perfection. It has an abnormal veto on titling and numbering (though a texting phase must have been reserved for completion). Casual accretion *cannot* produce either of those features: Textless Order plus Unity by Copyist and Paper equals Plan (albeit twice-modified). Nor do normal precautions harbour discards after augmentation, though here an abandoned layer was kept.

In the Lesser Set, shelving of Mus. 1080 apart from its companions stems from the lack of a designatory stamp 'FANT•D•3B[ooks]' that Aldrich placed on 417-18. This omission hides an overlap in the Great project, even a redefinition of it. From this primary set in 3-4 parts Coprario, Gibbons, Lupo and Mico fed into 3-part Mus. 401-2, with new pieces by Lupo and Mico. Similarly 4-part Mus. 397-400 took in works by Bull, Ferrabosco II, Ward (Coprario and Jenkins fresh: Table 4). The amplification, with comparable piece-order, confirms an intent to supplant Stage 2 by 3 .except for the mentioned anomaly: the ostracism of Jeffreys. Stage 1 was not co-opted, but was never wholly superseded, as the maladroit insertions into Mus. 432 show. (Was it quality of binding that saved this Hatton Set?) The additions to it fit a deducible specialism of Bing on continuo and score, since elsewhere he also dealt with vocal score: he may have stepped in first as a locum, during temporary unavailability of Lillie in Stage 2.

The remaining brain-teaser is the unearned wholesale snub to Jeffreys: a Hatton servant at least as far back as the early 1630s. His fantasias are fairly locally distributed; contributions to family chamber music perhaps, on a par with his vocal work for the Hatton chapel. The refusal of a niche in the Great showcase reflects on the one household member with national standing as a composer. His personal non-participation in the Great project is also odd, if it predates 1648, a time when he was still in service. He did, after all, assess the Hatton library in one of the stock-taking exercises that its cover annotations still witness. The 'false start' seen in the Lesser Set may be part of this problem, since redirections in such a copying project are inexplicable if all the work involved fits into a short homogeneous period, the uninterrupted 1630s. *After* that decade, events of the time are littered with disjunctures, historic and personal, that map better against these tangles.

Negative evidence says little either way in dating Hatton's supervision of his Great Set. That includes the war years, since the notion that the Oxford court encouraged intensive music-making is not borne out by the records. The music [10] attested there is choral, for 4-5 voices; not instrumental. For the duty of entertaining the battle-weary, the straggle of royal instrumentalists in attendance is anyway unlikely to have rated highly 6-part recreational polyphony, as in the Great Set.⁸ After surrender of royalist Oxford, Hatton's pastimes leave few traces; but in his exile from 24 November 1646 he was patently still active. In

⁸ Vocal music at civil-war Oxford is identified in D. Pinto, 'The True Christmas: Carols at the Court of Charles I', in *William Laves (1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, ed. A. Ashbee (Aldershot, 1998), 97-120.

May 1652 Edward Hyde (the future Lord Clarendon) viewed Hatton's musical instruments and library in his suburban Paris lodgings. The tool-type used for the Hatton Set must have accompanied him, since found on his Parisian binding for Claudius Hemeraeus, *De Academia Parisiensi* (Paris, 1637), now GB—Lva CLE SS 20; one of the stamps for it is still extant. Music apart, Hatton was acquiring additions to his library in exile, some sent by his clerical associate Peter Gunning from London.⁹

Hatton's association in exile with colleagues and family is obviously relevant here: it was relatively untrammelled. Letters to his fellow-exile Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State, mention his heir Christopher IV staying with him between 2 and 16 January 1653/4.¹⁰ Another paints a picture of 'a gipsie visit of a mother & her children bag & baggage that came to visit me & are heere with me & my eldest daughter very ill since her journey' (25 September 1654).¹¹ A pass survives granting overseas passage for his wife, son and daughter Mary (9 August 1654).¹² The Commonwealth government agents monitoring these visits intercepted a letter from Lady Hatton in Paris (3 /13 January 1654 / 5).¹³ Hatton discussed with his business associate, [John] Clements, the plans of his son and, on 2 October, the prolonged stay that other family members were making. By 26 March following they were gone, apart from one daughter.¹⁴ His second son Charles came out to Paris by July 1656; books sent to him include Richard Crashaw's *Steps to the Temple* and George Herbert's *Poems*.¹⁵ Return out of this companionable interlude abroad marked no break in Hatton's round; he issued book-requests to his servant George Holmes on 29 January 1659.¹⁶ The finances of a man who bewailed his penury to Secretary Nicholas, and that of his wife in England, form a poser; but then so do his circumstances, including domestic expenditure, at any time of his life. He clearly maintained appearances regardless and left the reckoning to others. That, in fact, is the key to his cold-shouldering in family papers by the very next generation.

Proof that activities of the 1st Baron Hatton, which include his patronage, were expunged soon after his death lies in the gaps of the record—a negative, but as meaningful to us as the dog that didn't bark in the night for Sherlock Holmes. Hatton witnessed epochal events: the faltering of royal 'personal rule' by 1640, when he entered county politics; the armed camp of the civil-war court; the exiled intrigue; and the return of the monarchy when he sued for adequate place in affairs: but all leaving so few traces as to show censorship on his death in 1670. Quick oblivion at that delicate phase in a reputation is given unwitting [11] corroboration by one musical commentator who was also well-attuned to the affairs of the Hatton family: Hatton's wife's nephew, Roger North.

⁹ GB—Ob MS Bodl. 878, fols 22-3; checklist for his library, 16 March 1647, with Parisian almanacs 1648-9.

¹⁰ Lbl Egerton MS 2534, fols 148,153-5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, fols 219-220v

¹² Ob MS Rawl. A.328, fol. 110

¹³ Thurloe Papers; Ob MS Rawl. A.9, fol. 128

¹⁴ Lbl Egerton MSS 2534, fol. 226, 2535, fols 30, 98

¹⁵ Northamptonshire Record Office, Finch-Hatton Papers 2393, account of William Hicks, schoolmaster at Bullwick, to Lady Hatton at Kirby, 27th April 1655; *ibid.*, 2504, miscellaneous receipts.

¹⁶ Lbl Add. MS 29550, fol. 344.

North cannot be expected to have measured to the inch the state of pre-civil-war music, long outmoded when he wrote, c1690-1728; but he had imbibed a good deal of surrogate wisdom from his boyhood tutor John Jenkins, Lillie's old friend and colleague. For one so well-informed, he can still mislead. He had no inkling that his family had shared the services of Lillie with the Hattons, as copying-evidence proves (even if Hatton may have employed Lillie 'out-house'). He shows a like ignorance in an acerbic side-swipe found in a memoir of his brother John North, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. 'This sketches his Hatton uncle denied high office, living straitened in London away from his family seat and wife, discoursing indolently on the 'decorum's of the stage' with a crew of players.'¹⁷ But since nothing links Hatton to London theatre, pre- or post-war, it is plain that rumour-mills were distorting his foibles; a familiarity with *musician* players in the Restoration era. If hard to credit that two baronial families related in the nearest degree, employing a skilled retainer in common and enjoying the same antiquated music had no community of interest, that at least confirms Hatton's isolation after 1660. If no-one recorded his music-making at that time, he was at least mentally active; he recruited Gregory King, assistant to his former protégé Sir William Dugdale, to help him with heraldic work. He had by now fallen out with Jeffreys, his secretary and manager, who as late as 1648 assisted him to ward off sequestration by preparing his plea *in absentia* for laying before the Committee for Compounding in London. The ill-feeling that arose, recorded in extant letters by Jeffreys to the heir, Christopher IV, apparently dates from after Hatton's return from exile in 1656.¹⁸ Here, then, the primary aesthetic artefacts must correct contemporary hearsay—or its absence. Differentiated phases are clear from diplomatic evidence: for the Hatton Set (Stage 1) a pre-war inception, 1638-42; Stage 2 perhaps straddling the war period until 1646, but amplification in Stages 3-5 hardly before exile at that point, since the rift with Jeffreys cannot be before 1649. A dating of the 1650s for Egerton 2485 hints that even this could unduly telescope events of Hatton's last years; incongruities in order between this organbook and Great Stage 5 leave a nagging suspicion of further linkages. [12]

¹⁷ Quoted in Pinto, 'The Music of the Hattons'.

¹⁸ See, for example, Lbl Add. 29551, fol. 35 (13 April 1663) and Lbl Add. 29552, fol. 7 (10 January 1669), cited in Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 120, n. 21.

Table 5
The Great Set Compared

Sequences of 5-part madrigal-fantasias by Coprario and Lupo; all items lack titling, texting and ascription. Comparison is with items found in Egerton MS 2485, (Table 1), shown in bold-face, for select contents of Mus. 2 / 404-408 / 436: (score / five partbooks out of six (403-408) / organbook); in the hands of John Lillie (403-8) and Stephen Bing (2, 436).

Coprario Sequences C-d>D				Coprario Sequence D	
	Mus. 404-8	Mus. 436	Mus. 2	Mus. 2*	
VdG no.			C d----->-----D	VdG no.	
47	19	70v	----	19	176v
16	20	71v	163†	25	177v
32	20v	72	----	26	178v
1	21	72v	120v	37	179
2	21v	73v	121	45	179v
48	22	74v	163v	17	180v
31	22v	75v	121v	18	181v
34	23v	76v	164v	20	182v
3	24v	77v	122v	22	183v
4	25v	78v	123v	23	184v
5	26v	79v	165v	24	185v
9	27v	80v	124v	27	186v
8	28v	81v	166v	28	187v
6	29v	82v	167v	29	188
7	30v	83v	168v	30	188v
10	31v	84v	169v	35	189
11	32v	85v	170v	33	189v
12	33v	86v	125v	43	190v
49	34v	87v	171v	40	191
38	35v	88v	172v	42	191v
46	36v	89v	126v	41	192
			-127		
14	----	----	173v	39	192v
21	37v	90v-91	174r-v	36	193v
15	----	----	175	44	194v†
13	----	----	175v		
Lupo Sequence E					
4	38v	91v	----		
5	39v	92v	----		
18	40	93v	----		
2	40v	94v	----		
11	41v	95v	----		
12	42v	96v	201§		
13	43v	97v	201v		
14	44v	98v	202v		
1	45v	99v			
3	46v	100v	204v		

* no parts in 404-8 / 436

† incomplete: end only for Coprario no. 16; incipit only for Coprario no. 44

§ incomplete in Mus. 2 (end only)

[13] VdG = numeration of fantasias in *Thematic Index of Music for Viols*, ed. G. Dodd, which has cross-references to numeration by Ernst Meyer (where different) and a further system for Coprario by Richard Charteris. The basis for order in Coprario is Lbl Egerton MS 3665, which the Great Set seems indirectly to reflect. Unused *folia* (though with staves pre-ruled into systems) occur in score between sequences: fols 153r-162v, just before Coprario Fantasia no. 16 (now without beginning, which has been lost); fols 195r-200v, between Coprario and Lupo (Lupo similarly incomplete at opening); fols 205v-213v. Other contents fols 127v-152v are 5-part fantasias and dances by Alfonso Ferrabosco II, Orlando Gibbons, John Jenkins, John Ward, William White. Benedetto Pallavicino 'o come vaneggiate, donna' *Libro VI a5* (1600) is in Great partbooks only: see Table 6. Lillie's organbook has Coprario Sequence C items together at fols 1-8, if not in the same order. It gives Sequence d>D items grouped together in part: one strand (source-nos. 21-6)

in the same order, nos. 5, 8, 6-7, 10-11. Sequence E (Lupo) occurs in two groups with some omissions but identical absolute order: nos. 4, 2, 1, 3, 11-14.

The Great score offers a sequential 5-part group of Coprario's fantasias (fols 173v-195v) not found in the companion parts. They counter with a diverse batch missing in score: Coprario, Fantasias nos. 32, 47, Alfonso Ferrabosco II, Pavan no. 1 ('Dovehouse') and In Nomines nos. 1-3; Lupo, Fantasias nos. 2, 4-5, 11, 18; Mico, In Nomine, Fantasias nos. 3-4 (*unica*), Pavans 1-3; Monteverdi, 'Luci serene e chiare', 'Voi pur da me partite'; Pallavicino, 'O come vaneggiate, donna': there are also four 3-part pavans absent in score, assigned nowadays to Lupo (Thomas Lupo I), present at the start of Stage 2 parts and reinserted last in Stage 3. Fantasias incomplete at beginning, Coprario no. 16 and Lupo no. 12, show that *folia* were lost from the Great score before its first binding (in Malchair's day, it was a now-vanished 'rough calf'). This is where three 'extra' works in Lillie (Lupo no. 9, 'Alte parole'; Ward nos. 1, 13, 'Dolce languir' and 'Leggiadra sei') offer a clue to other losses. Fantasias by Coprario in Lillie's organbook found only in Bing's Great score may also point to missing Great string parts; and the eleven pieces now only in parts may once have been scored. The Great Set deliberately sets untexted vocal 5-part matter before 'real' instrumental repertoire: the intent is shown by the inclusion in this group of a definite instrumental work, William White's 'Diapente', Fantasia no. 1, simply for possessing a title (found in the organ and score, attested elsewhere). The separation is purposeful: White's Fantasia no. 2, the untitled second part to 'Diapente', accompanies his other fantasias in the instrumental section. Of course, distinguishing vocal works from 'madrigal-fantasias' on the strength of a pastiche title was probably as knotty a problem by the 1650s as it continues to be; but the additional deduction to be made here is that an organiser, if not copyist, was in charge of assembly and ordering. Checklists of contents for this purpose will have been kept, as Christopher Field points out, even if Aldrich was the first to avail himself of them. The three pieces saved by Lillie are in this borderline group—perhaps put aside for assessment, pending exact placement in the Great scheme of things.

Table 6
Great Set: Displacement of 5-part Sequences

Contents	404-8 parts	436 organ	2 score	Remarks on score contents
Vocal sector (Sequence A)	1v-12r	49r-62v	108r-120r	First 5-part group overall, but its end may be bodged in the score (which lacks Monteverdi, 2 madrigals)
Ferrabosco-Mico (Sequence B)	12v-18v	63r-69v (partial)	—	Lacking in score, and a further lacuna at start of Coprario Sequence C ‡
Coprario (Sequence C)	19r-36v	70v-89v	120v-127r	First and third pieces of C absent
(Sequence d)	20r-37v	71v-90v	163r-174v	The first piece with end only
(Pallavicino)*	37r	90r	—	
Coprario (Sequence D)	—	—	173v-194v	The last piece has incipit only. For the overlap with Sequence d, see below; but the major <i>transposition</i> in score, relative to Eg. 2485, is of Sequences d and D
Lupo (Sequence E)	38v-46v	91v-100v	201r-205r	The first five pieces absent, and the sixth with end only
Ward, Ferrabosco, Jenkins, Gibbons, White, Pallavicino*	47v-72v	101v- 125v†	127v-152v	Pallavicino absent—and note the loop to Sequences d>D, in score alone

*Benedetto Pallavicino 'O come vaneggiate, donna' and 'Cor mio, deh! non languire' *Libro VI* (1600): at extremes of blocs, in string parts only, fols 37r and 72v. 'O come vaneggiate, donna' overlaps with Coprario Sequence d, Fantasia no. 21: this last fantasia is the pivot for Sequences d and D in score.
†only select Ward, Ferrabosco and Gibbons.

[15] Lillie actually copied twice (as if doubly sorted) Coprario's 'Deh, cara anima mia'. By no chance, this is one of the rare madrigal-fantasias (like Ward, 'Cor mio, deh!') that are extant even now in two states: one retaining text underlay (at least partially) and one untexted. Lillie may have worked from both. In his book, [15] 'vocal' pieces gravitate towards the end, where the items absent from the Great Set survive. Symmetry between the sources extends to partial presences: by Gibbons, In Nomine no. 2 only, in its Hatton version; by Ferrabosco, Pavans nos. 1, 3-4, 9 only, the last three in mirror-order, and his Alman no. 4 only, next to the Pavans in both copies (as Mico's sole In Nomine is next to Ferrabosco's three).

Just one of the incomplete 5-part fantasias in the Great score has no organ part: Coprario no. 44. It lacks an ending; the other two lack beginning. To make organ parts here, Bing either did make scores (now lost) or else had recourse to a prior part. Musical concordances with Lillie make it likely that both men used prior parts to an extent; but no one organbook can have existed, recopied at a bibliophile's whim. A patchwork effort is suggested by the widely-diffused works of Ferrabosco. For his 5-part Alman no. 4 in F, the

organ parts by both Lillie and Bing are the same as the one copied by John Hilton in GB–Ckc Rowe MS 113A for John Browne in the mid-1630s.¹⁹ On the other hand, Bing's detailed parts for 6-part Ferrabosco fantasias are superior and unrelated to those made by Hilton for Browne in Och Mus. 1004. (Bing's procedure when reducing from score is to an extent deducible. He had a habit of segmenting note-values of a minim or above and rejoining by ties, even where no bar-line compels the division, and must have scanned portions of score by blocking off side-portions with rules.) It seems therefore that whatever the date of the Great organbook, it follows the score and parts; and dislocated 5-part order in score suggests assemblage not simply in overlapping time-stages but also a remove in place (between Kirby and London, perhaps even Paris). So far as Great partbook order and contents go, we can say that from their otherwise systematic intent, the missing works by Coprario would have been incorporated, grouped together, if available—but what lack of opportunity kept them from Lillie is beyond guessing, so far. For the score even that much cannot be said, since we do not know what of it is missing; though enough has been recovered here to show the juncture Sequences d–D as a major nexus in the problem.

Mirror- and weft-order in the Great score's involute foliation might well be dovetailed more closely with Lillie's organbook than is suggested by the present observations—set out unvarnished, even wooden, but maybe the firmer for it. The Great Set has allure as a case of partbook formation in arguably near-hermetic 'laboratory' conditions: a fixed corpus, copied by known scribes to exacting guidelines, kept fairly 'intact' during and since the life-time of a known patron. We lack external documentation for the processes involved, but the internal clues do suggest a deep-laid plan unevenly fulfilled, and can somewhat reconcile codicological uniformity with aberrance and disunity in design. It entails granting that a project hatched in a small way, by about 1640, pupated into the retrospective due to family pride. Maintained with antiquarian zeal through thick and thin, over two decades or more, it was blighted before the full imago [16] metamorphosed. A time-scheme so extended and a perseverance so episodic seem unusual to extremes: but Hatton was a man for extreme times, which must often have subjected his dearest concerns to indefinite delays. The 'why' of this process will stay the unclearer, though, by as much as we are unwilling to tease out the 'how' through all its implications.

¹⁹ For the identification of Hilton's hand in Ckc 113A and Och 1004 see *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger: Consort Music of Five and Six Parts*, ed. Field and Pinto, *Musica Britannica* 81, liii, 207.

Appendix 1					
Alphabetic Classification by Aldrich of his Bindings					
Motet Series		Fantasy Series		Madrigal Series	
MOT:	Mus.	FANT:	Mus.	MAD:	Mus.
A	919-921‡	A	409-410	A	484-488‡
B	922-925‡	B	411-413	B	908-912
C	926-930‡	C	414-416	C	913-918
D	931-935‡	D	417-418§	D	449-454
E	881-886‡	E	401-402§	E	502-507
F	489-494	F	419-422		
G	887-892	G	397-400§		
H	877-880	H	403-408§		[?Series]
I	893-899‡			Z	510-514
K	900-907				

‡ contain purchases made by Hatton in 1638;
§ were copied for Hatton – see Pinto (1990).

FANT: D, when bound for Aldrich, had already lost a companion book and been parted from another (Mus. 1080, still extant but separately shelved). Aldrich may have combined a pre-existing partbook collection with his Hatton acquisitions, his scale of scorings rising from two to six real parts (continuo ignored). FANT: A contains Matthew Locke, FANT: C Christopher Gibbons, FANT: B, C, F Coprario, fantasia-suites for one or two violins; all with bass viol and continuo. The same principle of increase in size by scoring seems to apply to the vocal series as well. Z stands outside the system to an extent, being manuscript copies of 5-part Italian madrigals, augmented by Aldrich in the reversed blank leaves with sacred music copied out by himself.

Appendix 2

Non-musical hand in the Great Set

At the start of the 5-part section in the Great Set, titling and numeration were later inserted for the first 24 pieces. To state that text hand is otherwise absent, here and in the linked sources, needs qualification in one respect. 'Great' copyists sporadically provided arabic numerals in two 6-part variation works, not as part of titling but within the musical system, to indicate sectional divisions. These pieces are Alfonso Ferrabosco Junior's In Nomine 'through all parts', on the traditional sacred cantus firmus, and the ballad tune 'Go from my window' [19] in a setting ascribable to Orlando Gibbons.

Ferrabosco's 6-part In Nomine 'through all parts' reveals' most. This remarkable piece runs the cantus firmus through all parts in a descending order, transported into contrasting key-areas and rhythmically distorted. There are, regrettably, no extant parts early enough to confirm notational forms at the time of composition—no composer's autograph is known. Still, best practice is very likely revealed in the Marsh set of books IR-Dm MSS Z.3.4.7-12, thought for long to postdate the 1650s but now convincingly reassigned to the early

1630s. Here, every statement of the disguised cantus firmus is identified by an appropriate numeral at its head and an end-mark in the form of a coronis (the modern pause-mark) used to demarcate the end of a *musical* text-row, though often elsewhere, including the Great Set itself, just a sign of congruence. It is revealing to compare the use of the coronis in a conceptually similar way in Och Mus. MSS 56-60, a highly literate source for voices and viols of the mid-Jacobean period c1612-18 (five partbooks that survive out of a set of six quite possibly copied for the Hattons). Here it signals, above the *musical* stave, the last note in sung portions of the *verbal* text below; or on occasion seems to show alternation in different *types* of underlay (presumably, solo and chorus). A contemporary, Thomas Myriell, used other devices for the same duty of showing the start and duration of undoubled instrumental material: a colophon-type virgule, and a *hedera*, ivy-leaf, symbol. Both these, though, occur *in* and apply to substave verbal text. The Marsh books go a step further in abstraction by marking entry numerals and final coronides in the totally unsung cantus firmus for this piece: and not just in the part bearing the plainsong but in *all* simultaneously, to leave no part in doubt about its participation. Marks that survive in other sources tend to be less thorough, without simultaneous notice in all the parts.

That background explains the methodology with symbols in the Great set. The parts copied by Lillie lack numerals to signal *entries* (except for one—see below), but do nonetheless provide all the *termination-marks*, the coronides. Only one thing can explain a self-contradictory procedure of sign-posting ends, ignoring beginnings. Lillie was dutifully conforming to a prohibition against copying text-hand (which, it has been deduced from its general absence, was being kept in reserve till later). This he took to prohibit numerals too, and so avoided them. Bing, who also put end-marks into his score, in contrast does retail some numeral entry-headings—but not all, and not the first. From that, the only possible inference is that he was inadvertently reverting to the copy under his hand: and that can be confirmed by the one (and just one) numeral that slipped under Lillie's guard. Significantly, this numeral is the 'wrong' one, going by the part it is found in: *in* partbook 5 but *labelled* for line 6 (with a figure 6), and coinciding with the very point in the text where the sixth cantus firmus enters. Lillie can be presumed to have written one numeral before realising it was also [20] of a type with rubric status. That further inadvertence must clinch the matter. There had been present in prior sources recopied into the Great Set, at least intermittently in this piece, an ampler style of pervasive coordinating numerals of the sort that harked back to the practice seen in the Marsh books. All hyper-musical matter was intentionally suppressed during copying of Great parts and (less successfully) score.

The Great Set gives signs of congruence in the more archaic of Ferrabosco's fantasias and his *Nomine* no. 1, in both score and parts; and this helps explain the style of notation in the one secular 'ground' by Gibbons. Here coronides survive in all lines of the score (not parts), at the end of variation 4 only. They are followed by a double bar, in score and the otherwise unbarred parts as well (apart from Mus. 408 which has a single bar); but this, in one variation out of ten, is unlikely to indicate pause-marks and is also interpretable as a sign of termination for the cantus firmus, notated in all parts. They may have been more widespread in a prior source, but the piece is now unique to the Great Set apart from a

fragmentary few bars in a probably unconnected scorebook, Och Mus. 21, which provide no further insight into rubrics. Statements of the ground are totally unnumbered in Great parts, but *partially* numbered in the score—variation nos. 2-4 and 7. Variation no. 5 is misnumbered towards its end in line 1 as 6, which may be a blundering notice of a statement of a tune here divided, at this point, between lines. More significantly, perhaps, no. 8 is numbered in the right place, and 'wrong' line. Here again a prohibition against numeration, and its imperfect observation by one copyist (Bing), are both clearly visible. The practice is in clear contrast to that in Ferrabosco's 4 / 5-part hexachord settings as found in the Great Set; to which arabic numbering is haphazardly applied in just two other sources elsewhere. One, the relatively late Hutton partbooks GB-Ym MS M3 /1-4(S), gives a 4-part form; the other, the Tregian score Lbl Egerton MS 3665, has the 5-part expanded form. Tregian was meticulous—he even numbers dance-strains, a trait hard to parallel; but in Ferrabosco's piece his numeration for statements of the hexachord plainsong and texting of its syllables covers its first upward half only. The Great Set gives full complete texts of Ferrabosco's 'Hexachords', both versions and both halves, but does not number its statements. One must then view recourse to numbering in the Great Set's 6-part works, howsoever partial, as immethodical by its own lights, and seek reasons for internal variability in numeration by reference to absence of external numeration and text hand.

A LITTLE-KNOWN COLLECTION OF
CANZONAS REDISCOVERED: THE
*CANZONI A CINQUE DA SONARSI CON
LE VIOLE DA GAMBA* BY CHERUBINO
WAESICH (ROME, 1632)

FLORIAN GRAMPP

The music department of the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka at Wrocław (PL-WRu) possesses a seventeenth-century music print of great rarity, entitled *Canzoni a cinque di Cherubino Waesich do sonarsi con le viole da gamba, aggiuntovi dui madrigali a 6. concertati con gli strumenti*.¹ This collection by the composer, instrumentalist and maestro di cappella Cherubino Waesich was printed in 1632 by Paolo Masotti in Rome (see Plate 1). Although specified as Waesich's *Opera Seconda*, it is the only work preserved today to bear witness to this nearly unknown master, whose musical activity in seventeenth-century Rome can be traced for almost two decades. The unique source (PL-WRu, Mus. 763/50896 Muz.) is erroneously described in bibliographical literature as an incomplete set of part-books—a circumstance probably responsible for the almost complete oblivion Waesich and his compositions have fallen into. A critical score edition of the canzonas, works undoubtedly worthy of remark for their musical quality, has recently been published.²

Little is known about the composer of the collection. A number of documents indicate the presence of Cherubino Waesich (also Wesich, Weisch) in Rome between 1632 and 1649. We have no information about his provenance, but his name seems to originate in the Lower Rhenish or Flemish-Dutch region. Interestingly, in Rome Waesich maintained contact with the German and Flemish communities. The 1632 print of the *Canzoni a cinque* constitutes the earliest proof of his activity in the papal city. The dedication of the work to Mario Conti Sforza, dated 'At the Holy Apostles' [church] in Rome, January 1st 1632', uses the heading 'to my most illustrious and excellent master and most highly esteemed patron',³ suggesting that Waesich was in the service of this prince at that time, or at least, that he sought his favour and protection (Plate 2). Although the dedicatee's name

¹ Five-part canzonas by Cherubino Waesich, to be played with the viole da gamba, with a supplement of two six-part madrigals, concerted with the instruments (RISM W 4).

² A score edition of Waesich's *Canzoni a cinque*, prepared by myself, was published in spring 2003 (*Ut Orpheus Edizioni*, Bologna). Beside the works mentioned in the title, the print of the *Canzoni a cinque* contains five more short movements: the Canto secondo, Alto, Tenore and Basso continuo part-books each bear on their title-page a canon for three or four voices, and the basso continuo part contains a further one at the end of the booklet. None of these pieces shows a clear musical relationship to the canzonas or madrigals, but they illustrate another interesting aspect of Waesich's musical production and are, therefore, quoted in the appendix of the edition, including their Latin mottoes and the indications for their resolution.

³ 'De SS. Apostoli in Roma il 1. di Gvnnaro. 1632'; 'all'illustrissimo et eccellentissimo Signor mio e Padrone colendissimo'.

may point to a great Lombard noble family, Principe Mario Conti Sforza was the head of a branch of the Sforza that had been Roman for generations: the 'duchi di Onano e Conti di Santa Fiora' who in 1548 had married into the Roman Conti dynasty, themselves 'duchi di Segni e Conti di Valmontone'. The Conti Sforza family, which from that time bore the names and titles of both houses, resided in Rome from about 1581 on and maintained close ties with the Church through several cardinals among its members.⁴

[22]



Plate 1. Cherubino Waesich, *Canzoni a cinque*, title-page of the Canto Primo part-book (by courtesy of the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Wrocław).

⁴ Hammond's note on Waesich, according to which the dedication of the *Canzoni* was addressed to 'a northern nobleman', may thus be rectified: see F. Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, (New Haven, 1994), 105.



Plate 2. Cherubino Waesich, *Canzoni a cinque*, dedication (by courtesy of the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Wroclaw).

Mario Conti Sforza (1594-658), a 'refined and accomplished cavalier',⁵ was strongly inclined to music and, in particular, to Italian poetry.⁶ As proof of his aesthetic authority, his name figures, for instance, among the poets of the *Applausi Poetici alle glorie della Signora Leonora Baroni*, a volume of laudatory [24] poems on the celebrated soprano (1639). Although his sumptuous court life compelled him to sell, from 1633 on, his most important

⁵ 'Colto e compito Cavaliere'; see P. Litta, *Famiglie Celebri d'Italia* (Milano, 1819-75) VII, 70.

⁶ In the dedication of the *Canzoni* Waesich exalts him as a man 'of an exact knowledge of such compositions, [who] is unsurpassed among the princes of our era' ('d'esatta cognitione di sì fatti componimenti, [che] non ha chi Favanzi fra i Principi dell'Eta nostra').

possessions and titles, he continued to live, as befitted his noble rank, 'with great pomp and magnificence'.⁷

Three years after the publication of the *Canzoni*, in the months of April and May 1635, Cherubino Waesich is mentioned as organist at the Roman parish church of Santa Maria in Trastevere.⁸ In 1639 he performed as second harpsichordist in the carnival opera *San Bonifatio* at the court of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, nephew of Pope Urban VIII.⁹ Between 1647 and 1649 Waesich, now named as *maestro di cappella*, organized the music for the feast of the consecration and for the Patron Saint's day at the Flemish national church San Giuliano dei Fiamminghi;¹⁰ in the receipts for the years 1648 and 1649 the composer signs as 'D. [on] Cherubino Wesich', using the common title of a secular priest. From 1646 on Waesich had been employed as organist at Santa Maria dell'Anima, the church of the German nation in Rome, where his tasks included the organization of the music for the annual consecration feast and for the procession on Corpus Christi Day.¹¹ Waesich's last payment record dates from December 1649 and the post of organist, vacant because of the death of the incumbent, was opened for competition in January 1650.¹² Waesich's death, therefore, occurred around the turn of the year 1649/1650.¹³

⁷ 'Col maggiore sfarzo e magnificenza'; see N. Ratti, *Della Famiglia Sforza* (Roma, 1794/5), 1, 330; *Enciclopedia Italiana* (ed. 1949), s. v. *Sforza*.

⁸ See G. Dixon, 'The Cappella of S. Maria in Trastevere (1605-1645): An Archival Study', *ML* 62 (1981), 30-40, at p. 39.

⁹ See F. Hammond, 'Girolamo Frescobaldi and a Decade of Music in Casa Barberini: 1634-1643', *Analecta Musicologica* 19 (1979), 94-124, at pp. 109, 120.

¹⁰ San Giuliano dei Fiamminghi, archive of the church, III. 1, Entrata & Uscita dall'anno 1601 k tt.o 7bre 1663, fols 149v, 152, 152v, 155, 155v; idem, IV. 2, Giustificazione de pagam.ti fatti da Febraro 1648 a t.tto Gen.o 1649, fols 21, 35.

¹¹ Santa Maria dell'Anima, archive of the church, *Libro di Mandati 1644-1656*, fols 13v, 17v, 20, 24, 26v, 31, 34v. The sum of 30 scudi, as usually spent on the music for the consecration feast at Santa Maria dell'Anima, indicates a large-scale musical accompaniment of the festivities. The amount allowed the engagement of between 15 and 20 singers and instrumentalists. At San Giuliano Waesich received only 10 scudi for the festal music (for comparable payment lists from the same years see J. Lionnet, 'La musique a Saint-Louis des fran~ais de Rome au XVIIe Sibcle', *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale*, nuova serie, IV, 1986, supplementi, doc. 121-125). See also R. Heyink, *Fest and Musik als Mittel Kaiserlicher Machtpolitik. Das Hans Habsburg and die deutsche Nationalkirche in Rom S. Maria dell'Anima* (forthcoming).

¹² Santa Maria dell'Anima, archive of the church, *Libro dei Decreti 1632-1686*, fol. 62 (entry for 21 January 1650). The church administration justifies the announcement 'per obitum q: D. Francisci'. The dedication of the *Canzoni* ('De SS. Apostoli in Roma') suggests a possible relationship between Waesich and the mission of the Franciscan conventuals at the Roman church of Santi Apostoli. Research in the archive of the convent, however, yielded no results. The archives of the Germanic confraternity at the Camposanto teutonico in Rome similarly provide no further information on Waesich, and inquiries at the Roman Archivio Capitolino concerning a possible will of the composer were also unsuccessful.

¹³ The *Canzoni a cirque* may have been published in a relatively small number of copies. (For an example of seventeenth-century Roman music publishing practice see A. Morelli, N 'Nuovi documenti frescobaldiani: i contratti per l'edizione del primo libro di Toccate', *Studi Musicali* 17 (1988), 255-65). According to a Roman bookseller's catalogue of 1676, though, copies of the Waesich print could still be found on the market decades after the composer's decease: see O. Mischiati, *Indici, cataloghi e avvisi degli editori e librai musicali italiani dal 1591 al 1798* (Firenze, 1984), 263.

'Canzoni a cinque da sonarsi con le Viole da gamba'

The canzonas of 1632 represent a rarity for several reasons, not least for having been published in a period during which the viola da gamba had been supposed obsolete in Italian music until recent research showed otherwise.¹⁴ This research uncovered evidence of quite frequent use of the viol, especially in Rome during the first half of the seventeenth century and particularly in consort-playing.

Furthermore, Waesich's compositions constitute a novelty in stylistic and technical respects, as the author himself briefly intimates in the dedication:

... as I have searched to find a rare and uncommon manner of playing with the viols, and invented a style (which I consider new, since I have never met it in any author, ancient or modern) and composed various consorts in it.¹⁵

In the course of the collection, Waesich does not give any further indication as to how this 'rare and uncommon manner of playing with the viols' might distinguish itself. To illustrate the stylistic characteristics of Waesich's compositions, however, we shall briefly compare another contemporary canzona-collection, Frescobaldi's volume of solo and ensemble canzonas, *Il Primo libro delle Canzoni a una, due, tre, e quattro voci*, which appeared only a few years before Waesich's and, surprisingly, was printed by the very same music publisher: Paolo Masotti in Rome.¹⁶

[25] There are, in fact, some significant differences. While the 35 canzonas by Frescobaldi (37 in Grassi's version) are arranged in nine different instrumental formations (in one to four parts, plus the basso continuo), Waesich's series of sixteen pieces maintains throughout a five-part disposition (CCATB) with continuo. In Frescobaldi's four-part canzonas an imitatory beginning predominates, but the pieces by Waesich open, in about equal numbers, with either an accordic, 'toccata-like' introduction or a polyphonic exposition. Tempo indications appear only rarely in the canzonas by Frescobaldi, especially in those for four parts; in Waesich such references are employed more frequently, even though not in a systematic way.

¹⁴ See F. Hammond, *Girolamo Frescobaldi* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 84-5; W. Witzemann, 'Beiträge der Brüder Mazzocchi zu den musikalischen Akademien Kardinal Francesco Barberinis', in W. Frobenius, N. Schwindt-Gross and T. Sick, eds, *Akademie und Musik, Festschrift für Werner Braun zum 65. Geburtstag* (Saarbrücken, 1993), 181-214; M. Kirnbauer, '"wherein the most compleat Harmony was heard"-The Viola da Gamba in Chromatic and Enharmonic Music in Seventeenth-Century Rome', in S. Orlando, ed., *The Italian Viola da Gamba: Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Italian Viola da Gamba, Magnano, Italy, 29 April-1 Mai 2000* (Solingen and Turin, 2002), 35-52. Thanks to Witzemann's research it has been possible to correct the bibliographical description given by Claudio Sartori and RISM stating that the source of Waesich's Canzonas is incomplete.

¹⁵ '...havendo cercato di ritrovare una maniera pellegrina di sonar con le Viole da gamba, & inventato uno stile (che stimo nuovo, per non l'haver mai veduto in alcuno Autore antico, 6 moderno) e con esso composto vari concerti.'

¹⁶ The Masotti edition (1628) appeared in score and was prepared by Frescobaldi's student Bartolomeo Grassi. A part-book version of the canzonas, bearing solely the composer's name, was also published in 1628 (possibly prior to the score print) by G. B. Robletti in Rome. Another version in part-books, drastically revised by Frescobaldi himself, came out in 1634, now printed by Alessandro Vincenti (Venice); see Hammond, *Girolamo Frescobaldi*, 188-202.

Moreover, the accordic passages in the opening of Waesich's canzonas sometimes bear the specification *Affetti* or *Scherzi*, the word *Canzona* in many cases marking the beginning of the imitatory structure (see Example 1).

In contrast to Frescobaldi's canzonas, where we find entire successions of rather short and often thematically unrelated imitatory phrases, in Waesich's works we frequently encounter vast polyphonic sections in which a single subject is treated extensively. In Frescobaldi's canzonas the end of a single section often coincides with a change of metre, but Waesich uses time-changes, if at all, rarely more than once within the whole piece; in most cases, a long section in triple metre makes up the final passage of the canzona. Generally, Waesich's canzonas present themselves as far less complex in structure than Frescobaldi's. In several of Waesich's canzonas the five-part polyphonic texture alternates with sometimes extended concerted sections for fewer parts (mostly the two trebles); in Frescobaldi's four-part canzonas such concerted passages appear very rarely.

Beyond stylistic differences, the two collections are clearly distinguished by their specific indications regarding the instrumentation: while Waesich's is explicitly conceived for viols (with organ continuo),¹⁷ the canzonas by Frescobaldi may be performed 'on any kind of instruments'.¹⁸

'... aggiuntovi dui madrigali a 6. concertati, con gli strumenti'

Not only the viol canzonas, but also the two six-part madrigals at the end of the collection (*Ardo per voi, mia vita* and *O rubella d'amor, mentita amante*; SSAT¹TB, 6 viols, bc)¹⁹ are rare examples of their genre. In these two pieces Waesich illustrates a vocal-instrumental concertato style, as referred to, it seems, by only one other seventeenth-century Roman music print: Domenico Mazzocchi's *Madrigali a cinque voci*.²⁰ As we shall see, though, Mazzocchi's publication, unlike Waesich's, lacks precise performance directions.

A particular quality of Waesich's madrigals lies in their vocal and instrumental disposition, which is continually varied in the course of the composition. Besides clear dynamic indications, the composer makes use of a large spectrum of timbric nuances, based on contrasting combinations of vocal and instrumental elements. In particular, he alternates between purely instrumental preludes and interludes, passages for the six voices with basso continuo only, tutti sections, [26] and vocal duo and trio textures with and without a *colla parte* accompaniment of the viols. In this way Waesich increases the expressiveness of the specifically madrigalistic changes between declamatory homophonic and polyphonic textures.²¹ Furthermore, he varies the sound of the ensemble in repeated passages through changes in scoring: a section first performed by two voices with continuo may reappear in the

¹⁷ Clefs: g2, g2, c3, c4, f4 (viols), f4 (bc). In Canzona 16 only Waesich employs the following clefs: c1, c1, c3, c4, f4 (viols), f4 (bc).

¹⁸ 'Con ogni sorte di Stromenti'. In Frescobaldi's part-books (1634), the single parts are occasionally specified as 'Violino', 'Cornetto' and 'Tiorba', the basso continuo as 'Organo'.

¹⁹ Clefs: cl, cl, c3, c4, c4, f4 (voices and viols), f4 (bc).

²⁰ D. Mazzocchi, *Madrigali a cinque voci, et altri varij Concerti* (Roma, 1638); score and part-books.

²¹ It is possible that Waesich's above-cited 'uncommon manner of playing with [!] the viols refers in fact to this particular technique of timbric differentiation in instrumentally-accompanied madrigal.

textual and musical repeat of the passage in a more elaborate setting such as a four-part realisation (see the madrigal *Ardo per voi*, bars 20-23, 28-32).

There are no separate instrumental part-books, the singers' parts containing various indications such as 'tutti', 'sonate' and 'non sonate' as well as untexted sections and passages marked 'Sinfonia a 6.'. These references, which obviously concern the instrumentalists, are mainly set with great accuracy. The simple method of a double use of the same partbooks allows a secure interaction of vocal and instrumental performers. The role of the instruments goes far beyond the mere accompaniment of the voices (in *Ardo per voi* the purely instrumental passages amount to almost half of the piece), and the ideal of a 'concertare' of two separate, yet closely related groups is perfectly realised (see. Example 2).

The peculiarity of Waesich's madrigals becomes clearer by comparing them to other contemporary Roman madrigals with viols. The above-mentioned collection of Domenico Mazzocchi's *Madrigali a cinque voci* (1638) presents twenty-four works in various vocal formations, arranged, in three divisions of eight pieces each, as 'concerted [or 'to be sung'] on the instrument', 'to be sung without instrument' and 'variously concerted'.²² In the dedication to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, Mazzocchi underlines that, among his contemporaries, it is no longer usual, to compose madrigals: 'The most ingenious discipline music has ... is that of the Madrigal; but nowadays few are composed, and even fewer are sung, so they appear-to their disadvantage-almost banished from the Academies.'²³

At the same time, though, the composer praises the cardinal's special preference for the madrigal, which he enjoyed 'to relieve the mind from the burden of public affairs', in particular 'by hearing them sung on his Consort of Viols'.²⁴

The use of Cardinal Barberini's viol consort in the course of his academies has been examined in a detailed study by Witzenmann.²⁵ The privileged musical genre performed in this academic setting was, in fact, the madrigal with viol accompaniment-corresponding to the cardinal's favourite. In 1634 the cardinal had ordered for his viol ensemble 23 music prints from the Venetian music publisher Gardano, as Witzenmann reports. Five of the prints, which presumably were acquired to be performed in the cardinal's academies, were madrigal books by Gesualdo (printed between 1594 and 1611; reprinted until 1619). Besides Gesualdo's works, the order comprised four volumes of madrigals and other [27] vocal prints by Monteverdi, three by P. Nenna and two each by Fontanelli and D'India, as well as prints by G. M. Nanino, Priuli, Landi, Merula and Rovetta. Interestingly, in 1634 only four of these works had first been printed less than ten years previously. Thanks to Witzenmann's important discovery we can form some impression of the

²² 'Concertati'[or 'da cantarsi] su l'istrumento', 'da cantarsi senza istrumento' and 'variamente concertati'.

²³ 'I più ingegnoso studio, che habbia la Musica...e quello de' Madrigali; ma pochi hoggi se ne compongono, e meno se ne cantano, vedendosi per loro disavventura dall'Accademie poco men che banditi.'

²⁴ 'Per alleviar l'animo dalla gravetza de' publici affari ; 'co'l sentirli cantare sopra il Consorto delle sue Viole'.

²⁵ Witzenmann, 'Beitrage der Bruder Mazzocchi'.

viol and vocal repertoire in one prominent academic circle of Roman nobility.

However, it remains unclear how exactly such compositions were performed, especially regarding the practice of having them sung 'on his consort of viols' as Mazzocchi states. In this context, Kirnbauer refers to a contemporary painting by a certain Giovanni Maria da Orvieto from the Barberini collection, which, according to seventeenth-century documents, depicts 'the academy of viols in a life-size portrait', and 'the academy of [Virgiliol Mazzocchi, that is several boys who play viols and sing].'²⁶ Virgilio Mazzocchi, maestro di cappella of the Cappella Giulia at St Peter's, was, like his brother Domenico, closely connected with Cardinal Francesco's court. As the latter's principal court musician, he was, from 1636 on, in charge of the musical organization of the academies. Unfortunately, the painting of the 'academy of Mazzocchi' is lost, so we can only speculate whether the boys represented on it sang while playing the viols or whether they accompanied on the viols other boys who were singing. Witzmann's research, however, has revealed that several of Virgilio Mazzocchi's singing students, who performed in the Barberini academies, received lessons in viol playing. Also, other singers in Cardinal Francesco's service distinguished themselves by mastering several instruments, among them the viol. Therefore it seems at least plausible that Giovanni Maria da Orvieto's painting depicted a simultaneous performance of the same vocal and instrumental parts by the same interpreters—doubtless a spectacle of particular pleasure for the academic listeners.

Only one madrigal of Domenico Mazzocchi's collection makes a clear reference to the use of an unbroken viol consort: no. XX, *Chiudesti i lumi, Armida* for SSATB, bc,²⁷ a five part work from the category 'variously concerted' bearing the indication 'Ruggiero a 5. per le Viole'.²⁸ Even here, neither score nor part-books contain anything other than the vocal lines and basso continuo, and no information about possible changes of the vocal and instrumental disposition is given.

If we exclude, at this point, an arranger's 'instrumentation' of the work, we have only the structural appearance of the composition to lead us to any hypotheses on its execution. Mazzocchi's 'Ruggiero' version consists of four short sections of about equal length, in each of which two verses (*endecasillabi*) of an underlying eight-verse poem are elaborated musically. Each of the sections forms a musical unit, starting in D major, modulating to the dominant and returning quickly to the original key. Double bar lines

²⁶ The entire entry in the *Registro di mandati* (1637-1641) reads: 'Gio. Maria [...] da Orvieto Pittore sc[udi] 50 m[one]ta [...] un quadro p[al]mi 10 x 8 rappresenta l'accademia delle viole con li ritratti del naturale 25 Ott[ob]re 1639'. In a 1649 inventory of Cardinal Francesco Barberini obviously the same painting is described as 'Un quadro senza cornice in tela l'accademia del Mazzocchi cioe diversi Ragazzi the suonano viole e cantano alto palmi nove e largo otto'; see M. Lavin, *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art* (New York, 1975), 27, 248; see also Kirnbauer, 'Wherein the most complete Harmony was heard'.

²⁷ Clefs: cl, cl, c3, c4, f4 (voices), f4 (bc).

²⁸ Since the madrigal does not belong to the category 'to be sung without instrument', the indication 'Basso continuo se piece' at the beginning of the basso continuo line might be read as a reference to an execution with a five-part string accompaniment.

create visual separation marks between the sections. The entire piece might be realised *colla parte* by all [28] the voices and instruments, with or without repeating the four sections; alternatively, the clear division into four sections would allow each section to be performed first 'tutti' and to be repeated either by the viols or by the singers alone, in which case the possibility of instrumental or vocal diminutions could be considered. A purely instrumental version would not reflect the classification of the piece among the 'variously concerted' madrigals. The definition 'variously concerted', however, seems to indicate multiple ways of performance for every single one of the madrigals XVII-XXIV of the collection.

For this reason the idea of an 'instrumentation' of the work does not appear to be misleading at all; the Waesich madrigals illustrate one type of an 'arrangement', in which the viols act as a kind of 'register' that can be switched on and off, and which, particularly in the diminution passages, mostly remains silent. Consequently, in the case of Mazzocchi's 'Ruggiero', the 'dramaturgey' between voices and instruments could be realised in a quite similar way. In practice this means that the arrangement would have to be agreed among the performers and stabilised during the rehearsals-and that it could be changed from one performance to another, according to the performers' taste.²⁹

One other five-part madrigal of Roman provenance with string accompaniment shows similarly obvious differences from the two Waesich pieces. It is *Altro non ho the povertà del pianto* (SSATB, bc), the final movement of the sacred cantata *Inferno*, a contemplative work for five singers and instruments from the circle around Luigi Rossi dateable between 1636 and 1643 (Rome, Vatican Library, MSS Barb. lat. 4189, 4296).³⁰ Here the string ensemble consists of five viols (clefs: g2, g2, c2, c3, f4) and two violins, which play in unison with both treble viols.³¹ Furthermore, the function of the strings in the musical context differs both from what we saw in Waesich and what we supposed for Mazzocchi. In the present case, the through-composed madrigal assigns to the strings the role of an accompanying instrumental choir which joins the voices only in short but prominent passages: these occur mainly at cadences of the vocal tutti and usually double the singers' choir *colla parte* or in octaves. The division of the piece into three sections, as conditioned by the text (four *endecasillabi*, two *sestenni*, two *endecasillabi*), results in a change into

²⁹ In his annotations Mazzocchi justifies the necessity of the score edition as follows: 'if it is anyone's taste ... to give an instrumental accompaniment also to the madrigals which do not require it, he will easily be able to do so'. To the performers he gives an important piece of advice regarding the preparation of the performance: the madrigals should be concerted 'with deliberation before presenting them in public' (See D. Mazzocchi, *Madrigali a cinque*, score, 4f). An arranger's 'elaboration' of the piece should therefore be regarded as a likely option.

³⁰ The manuscript source contains, besides the singers' parts, the part-books for two violins, five viols, lute, lira, violone and basso continuo (presumably harpsichord). See F. Grampp, 'Eine anonyme Kollektion römischer Oratorienkantaten und Oratorien. Beiträge zur Geschichte des römischen Oratoriums im 17. Jahrhundert' (Ph.D., Pontificio Istituto di Musica Sacra, Roma, 2002). The study comprises a complete score edition of the cantata.

³¹ A string ensemble of five to six viols and two violins can also be found in the prologue of Luigi Rossi's opera *Il palazzo incantato* (1642). In this case, though, the violin lines are independent from the two top viols (see also O. Jander, 'Concerto Grosso Instrumentation in Rome in the 1660's and 1670's', *JAMS* 21 (1968), 168-80).

triple metre for the middle section, but the function of the string choir remains the same. At the end of the first section the strings enter for the singers' cadence and round off the phrase with a five-measure *Sinfonia*, an extended instrumental codetta set in a basically homophonic texture (see Example 3); otherwise, the string accompaniment functions like a compact *ripieno* with the sole purpose of underlining outstanding moments of the singers' musical text. Apart from these sections the viols and violins pause. Their partbooks contain no references to the vocal parts or the basso continuo, so a general *colla parte* doubling of the voices can be excluded. In its clear subordination of the strings to the vocal ensemble, this composition presents a notable contrast to [29] the two above-mentioned madrigals, in which voices and instruments fulfil largely equivalent roles. Instead of 'concertato madrigal', this work might rather be classifiable as a 'madrigal with instrumental *ripieno*'.

Very little source material contains early baroque Roman madrigals in which the vocal ensemble is matched by an instrumental group of comparable size. Pending the discovery of new documents, we must, therefore, assume the coexistence of at least the three madrigal-types described above: first, the entirely through-composed madrigal with free alternation between vocal and instrumental parts, as represented by Waesich's pieces; second, the madrigal with or without a *colla parte* accompaniment or an alternation 'section by section' between voices and instruments, including also the possibility of a varying 'arrangement' between voices and instruments, as we assume for Mazzocchi's collection; and third, the 'madrigal with instrumental *ripieno*', illustrated by the example from the circle around Luigi Rossi. Cherubino Waesich's works represent the most musically expressive of these three types, through the richness in timbric nuances created by their frequent use of elaborated instrumental preludes and interludes, large gamut of dynamic effects and varied scoring in repeated sections.³²

In the end, these different modes of performance appear to reveal how madrigals composed for voices only may have been performed by a vocal *and* instrumental ensemble in seventeenth-century Roman academic circles. To arrive at conclusions, however, these matters will have to be tested in detail by practical realisation.

The copy of Waesich's *Canzoni* preserved in Wrocław merits our interest for a further reason: the part-books contain a great number of misprints, most of which have been accurately corrected by, as it seems, a seventeenth-century hand. This writer-whose work indicates that he was undoubtedly a

³² In fact, Waesich's madrigals might be the key to what Mazzocchi calls the 'variously concerted' manner of performance: while the pieces in the category 'concerted on the instrument' seem to allow a *colla parte* doubling as well as a realisation alternating between voices and instruments, the 'variously concerted' pieces may be subject to an even freer treatment of the musical text (i.e. the above-mentioned division between singers and instrumentalists). As is demonstrated in Waesich's madrigals, both groups perform from the same part-books. In compositions for few vocal parts one may therefore consider the further option of a more or less improvisatory addition of new instrumental lines by the viol players to complete the five-part texture of the accompaniment (most of Mazzocchi's 'concerted on the instrument' madrigals are set for two sopranos and be). This aspect of singing 'on the Consort of ...Viols', however, is still to be examined.

professional musician and possibly a viol player—was German-speaking, as can be seen from his use of letters to name single notes (instead of solmisation syllables).³³ No fewer than 230 of the handwritten corrections in the part-books were relevant for the realisation of the modern edition. Since there is no other source of Waesich's *Canzoni*, these and many other marks in the text represented a precious support for the editor when preparing the modern score. Another interesting aspect of these anonymous entries is that they cast light on the practice of setting accidentals in numerous different musical contexts. They may therefore be read as a period point of view on this subject, proposed by an expert hand.

Besides the Waesich canzonas the Wrocław library possesses a set of part-books of the above-mentioned *Madrigali a cinque voci* by Domenico Mazzocchi (1638; incomplete), a collection which, as we have seen, can in some respects be considered viol repertoire, and a copy of Frescobaldi's *Primo libro delle Canzoni* (1628; incomplete). Interestingly, this latter set of parts, like the Waesich collection, [30] has been subject to extensive correction of the text by the hand of a German-speaking writer.³⁴ The library also has a set of partbooks of Marc Antonio Ferro's *Sonate a due, tre, & quatro* (Venezia, 1649; incomplete), a further collection which includes compositions requiring one to four viole da gamba.³⁵

This remarkable concentration of Italian works from the first half of the seventeenth century, all more or less explicitly indicating the use of viols, could of course be the result of a pure coincidence. On the other hand, however, one can speculate that these prints may have been collected intentionally, maybe—as the handwritten entries suggest—even by contemporary German viol players. How and when these prints in the end came to Wrocław is a secondary question. Of particular significance for us are the corrections in the Waesich and Frescobaldi prints, made by one or more North European hands, for they seem to bear witness to the circulation of early baroque Roman viol repertoire outside Italy. And they open up new perspectives on the dissemination of Italian instrumental music far away from its place of origin, thus offering a valuable incentive for further studies.

³³ Furthermore, in *Canzona Ottava* the writer adds signs and numbers to clarify the grouping of the coloured notes, a grouping which in the print at first glance does not appear very clear. This intervention seems not to be an 'editorial supplement', possibly inserted by the hand of the publisher. It rather represents the effort of a practical musician to make a rhythmically complex passage turn out as intelligible as possible.

³⁴ See G. Frescobaldi, *Il primo libro delle canzoni a una, due, tre e quattro voci nelle edizioni di Roma 1628 e Venezia 1635*, ed. E. Darbellay (Milano, 1998). Darbellay makes the same observations as we did in Waesich, regarding the accuracy of the corrections and the writer's use of letters to name single notes.

³⁵ The Ferro print, too, bears a number of handwritten corrections which resemble the ones in Waesich.

Affetti

Canto primo

Canto secondo

Alto

Tenore

Basso

Organo

5

6
[#4]

3

7

#6

#

[6]

#

7

#6

Example 1. Cherubino Waesich, *Canzona Ottava*, opening.

5

[6] [2]

7

Canzona

4 3# [42 bars]

Example 1 continued.

Sinfonia a 6.

Canto primo

Canto secondo

Alto

Tenore primo

Tenore secondo

Basso

Organo

[6]

3

Example 2. Cherubino Waesich, 'Ardo per voi, mia vita', opening.

Musical score for Example 2, measures 5-6. The score is written for a piano with six staves (three treble and three bass clefs). The key signature is one flat (B-flat). Measure 5 shows a complex texture with eighth and sixteenth notes in the upper staves and a more active bass line. Measure 6 continues the texture with some notes held over from the previous measure.

Musical score for Example 2, measures 7-8. The score continues with six staves. Measure 7 features a more static texture with many whole and half notes, particularly in the upper staves. Measure 8 concludes the passage with sustained notes across all staves.

[6]

Example 2 *continued.*

9 [Madrigale a 6.]

Canto primo A - - do per voi, mia vi - ta e in sì dolce, e in sì

Canto secondo Ar - do per voi, mia vi - ta e in sì dolce, e in sì

Alto Ar - do per voi, mia vi - ta e in sì dolce, e in sì

Tenore primo Ar - do per voi, mia vi - ta e in sì

Tenore secondo Ar - do per voi, mia vi - ta e

Basso Ar - do per voi, mia vi - ta e in sì

Canto primo

Canto secondo

Alto

Tenore primo

Tenore secondo

Basso

Organo

[6] [b6]

Example 3. Anonymous (Lute Book 17) Cantata Infima [Italian Madrigal], bars 37-40

Example 2 continued.

11

The musical score consists of two systems of staves. The first system has six staves (three vocal parts and three piano accompaniment parts). The second system has six staves (three vocal parts and three piano accompaniment parts). The lyrics are in Italian and are written below the vocal staves.

System 1:

- Vocal 1: dol - ce ar - do - re mo - re e ri - na - sce dol - ce - men -
- Vocal 2: dol - ce ar - do - re, mor' e ri - na -
- Vocal 3: dol - ce ar - do - re mo - re e ri - na - - sce dol - ce -
- Piano 1: dol - ce ar - do - re mo - re e ri - na - - sce dol - ce -
- Piano 2: in si dol - ce ar - do - re
- Piano 3: dol - ce ar - do - re

System 2:

- Vocal 1: (continuation of the first system)
- Vocal 2: (continuation of the first system)
- Vocal 3: (continuation of the first system)
- Piano 1: (continuation of the first system)
- Piano 2: (continuation of the first system)
- Piano 3: (continuation of the first system)

6 4 3 7 6 7 6 [36 bars]

Example 2 continued.

37

[Violino primo
Violino Canto]

[Violino 2.°
Viola Quinto]

[Viola Alto]

[Viola Tenore]

[Viola Basso]

[Soprano primo]
vi - tia, o - gni do - vi - tia a - van - -

[Soprano 2.°]
za, o - gni do - vi - tia a - van - - za.

[Alto]
za, o - gni do - vi - tia a - van - -

[Tenore]
o - gni do - vi - tia, o - gni do - vi - tia a - van - -

[Basso]
za, o - gni do - vi - tia, o - gni do - vi - tia a - van - -

Cembalo. Liuto.
Lira. Violone.]

♯ 6 3 4 3

Example 3. Anonymous (Luigi Rossi?), *Cantata Inferno*, [ultimo Madrigale], bars 37-46, tutti a 5 (Rome, Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 4189, fol. 20v).

40 *Sinfonia*

za.

za.

za.

za.

za.

Sinfonia # 7 6 #

Example 3 continued.

43

O for - za d'in - can - ti che ac -

Example 3 continued.

46

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system has five staves (three vocal staves and two piano staves) with rests. The second system has five staves. The vocal parts have the following lyrics:

Voice 1: cie - can gl'a-man - ti, che ac-cie - can gl'a-man - ti,
 Voice 2: O for - za d'in-can - ti che ac-cie - can gl'a-man - ti, che ac-
 Voice 3: O for - za d'in-can - ti che ac-

The piano part has the following notes in the bass clef:

Measure 1: G2, F2, E2, D2
 Measure 2: C2, B1, A1, G1
 Measure 3: F1, E1, D1, C1
 Measure 4: B0, A0, G0, F0

7 6 4 3 6 4 3 [87 bars]

Example 3 continued.

TOWARDS A MORE CONSISTENT AND MORE HISTORICAL VIEW OF BACH'S VIOLONCELLO

LAMBERT SMIT

Throughout this article eighteenth-century terms are in italics.

Introduction

The many wonderful performances of Bach's suites for violoncello played on modern or 'baroque' cello tend to confirm the impression that the meaning of Bach's term *Violoncello* is quite unambiguous. It is assumed without question that Bach's *Violoncello* was an instrument the same size as a bass viol and played in a similar way, i.e. held between the knees, resting on the calves. If this method of playing is used, it is possible to reach all the notes right to the end of the fingerboard.

In both French and German viol music, notes more than an octave higher than the top string can in fact be found at an early stage. For example, there is a *g''* in Marin Marais (1656-1728), *Deuxième Livre*, no. 83 bar 3, and Buxtehude included an *a''* in his 'Jubilate Domino'. It was not until later that cellists were prepared to venture into higher regions: the cellist Boccherini (1743-1805) climbs very high, but by that time the development of the thumb technique had made it easier to reach notes in the highest registers.

Because of the length of the strings, whether a modern or a 'baroque' cello is played, many cellists find it difficult to realise the figurations across three strings in bars 45-58 of the Prelude of Bach's third cello suite unless the left thumb is used to stop strings. However, the possibilities offered by this thumb technique for increasing the compass of the cello are not exploited anywhere in the first five cello suites. The *d''* in Prelude I, bar 34, calls for the most extreme hand position, while the note with the highest pitch in Suites I—V is *g'*, a seventh above the open A-string. It is hardly likely that Bach would have kept to this upper limit when writing for his *Violoncello* for no particular reason, since he generally made use of the entire compass of instruments; for example, he uses the whole range of the violin, right up to a tenth or eleventh above the top string.

On the face of it, there is therefore an inherent contradiction in Bach's *oeuvre* for cello solo. But there are other factors involved: the 'pre-history' of the present-day cello and other bass stringed instruments, like the early history of many instruments, is veiled in mystery.

Ambiguous and contradictory information in lexicons and manuals

Sometimes the information found in sources generally considered to be important is quite obscure. Take for instance the illustrations of stringed instruments, complete with their respective tunings, in *Iconismus VIII*, fol. 487 of Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis* (1650).¹ The instruments include

¹ A. Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis* (Rome, 1650, repr. Hildesheim, 1999).

the [46] *Violone* or *Chelys maior*, the *Chelys hexachorda* and the *Lyra dodecachorda*. Then there are the illustrations in Bonanni's *Gabinetto Armonico* (1723), a book of prints which was reprinted in 1776 under the title *Descrizione degl' istromenti armonici d'ogni genere*. The prints include pictures of the *Viola* (which looks like what we now call a cello) and the *Accordo*. In his text, Bonanni gives the following information about the *Viola*: it rests on the ground, it is bigger than the violin and the bow is even longer (*l'arco ancora a piu lungo*) [than that of the violin]. Kircher uses the term '*accordo*' to refer to tunings: the tuning of his *Violone* is *G-d-a-e*'. It is clear beyond doubt that Bonanni's print LX (the *Accordo*) is based on Kircher's *V Figura* (the *Lyra dodecachorda*), but Bonanni has misunderstood Kircher's term *accordo*, taking it to be the name of an instrument. Kircher's *Chelys hexachorda* in III. *Figura* might be a picture of a 6-stringed bass viol, but the tuning he gives is that of the instrument we now call a treble viol. In Bonanni's work, Kircher's *Chelys hexachorda* has been transformed into a *Violone*; his print LIX shows an instrument with six to seven tuning pegs, but with only four (or eight?) strings. In spite of mistakes of this kind, Bonanni's work is still, according to even the latest edition of Grove's Dictionary, 'one of the principal documents for the history of eighteenth-century musical instruments'.²

The information given in Brossard's *Dictionnaire* (1703) does not make things much clearer: 'VIOLONCELLO, this is properly speaking our *Quinte de Violon* or a small bass violin with five or six strings'.³ On p. 219 it turns out that his *Quinte de Violon* is a viola. Mattheson (1713) copies certain elements of Brossard's text: 'The excellent *Violoncello*, the *Bassa Viola* and *Viola di Spala* are small bass violins in comparison with the bigger ones, with 5 or even 6 strings, on which all manner of rapid things, variations and ornaments can be played with less effort than on the large instruments. The *Viola di Spala* or shoulder viola in particular is very effective in accompanying, because it is penetrating and can produce the notes clearly. A bass can never be brought out more distinctly and clearly than on this instrument. It is attached to the chest with a strap and as it were slung on to the right shoulder so that there is nothing whatsoever to stop or hinder its resonance'.⁴

Later German lexicographers reproduced most of Mattheson's text literally, sometimes with a few modifications. Walther (1732) cites Mattheson's text almost exactly, but adds: 'The four-stringed ones are tuned like a viola, *C-G-d-a*, and go up to *a*'.⁵ Majer (1732) also states that the *Violoncello* was 'commonly

² S. Martinotti, 'Bonanni, Filippo', *Grove* III, 848.

3. 'VIOLONCELLO, C'est proprement nôtre *Quinte de Violon* ou une *petite Basse de Violon* cinq ou six chordes'. S. de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de Musique* (Paris, 1703, repr. Hilversum, 1965), 221.

⁴ 'Der hervorragende Violoncello, die Bassa Viola und Viola di Spala, sind kleine BassGeigen / in Vergleichung der grossern/ mit 5 auch wol 6. Sayten/ worauff man mit leichterer Arbeit als auff den grossen Maschinen allerhand geschwinde Sachen /Variationes und Mannieren machen kan/insonderheit hat die Viola di Spala, oder Schulter-Viole einen grossen Effect bey dem Accompagnement, weil sie starck durchschneiden / und die Thone rein exprimiren kan. Ein Bass kan nimmer distincter und deutlicher herausgebracht werden als auff diesem Instrument. Es wird mit einem Bande an der Brust befestiget/ und gleichsam auff die rechte Schulter geworffen/ hat also nichts/ dass seinen Resonantz im geringsten aufhalt oder verhindert'. J. Mattheson, *Das Neu-Erbffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1713, repr. Hildesheim, 1964), 285-6.

⁵ 'Die viersätigten warden wie eine Viola, C. G. d. a. gestimmt und gehen bis ins *ā*'. J. G

strung with four strings' and that 'many held them between their legs'. He goes on to give the 'normal' cello tuning in musical notation and—in spite of the *da gamba* position which seems to imply a larger instrument—the diatonic fingering system (the system used for the violin),⁶ which was also recommended by Bartolomeo Bismantova (1694).⁷ Majer then writes: 'a bassoon violin was held on the arm and played like a viola, the tuning is also the same, except that it is a full [47] octave lower, so that stronger strings are used. The range and the fingering are just like those of the French bass violin or *Violoncello*'.⁸

Mattheson seems to have regarded the *Viola da spalla* as a distinct and particularly effective bass instrument. However, Eisel wrote the following about the *Violoncello*, *Bassa Viola* and *Viola di Spala*: 'All three [terms] can be used indiscriminately: for all three are small bass violins.'⁹ In general, the German sources do not draw clear distinctions, as Gregory Barnett noted in his important article on the *Viola da spalla*.¹⁰ As late as 1758, Adlung wrote about the cello simply that a 'violoncello is also called a shoulder viola'.¹¹

In note 53 of his article, Barnett mentions 'Bismantova's suggestion that the lowest string of the *Violoncello da spalla* be tuned to *D* (and to *C* only when necessary): this suggests that even a wire-wound low string could benefit from a higher tuning on the *Violoncello da spalla* because this smaller size of bass violin had such a short string length.'¹² Nearly all of the many 5-string cellos depicted in seventeenth-century paintings from the Low Countries are so large that the length of their strings would have precluded their top string being tuned to *e'*. Perhaps they were tuned *C—G—d—a—dc* a tuning given by Laborde in his *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* (1780). Six-string cellos, mentioned by commentators from Brossard to Zedler (1747), remain a mystery. Leopold Mozart (1756) is the first to drop the mysterious sixth *Violoncello* string in his *Violinschule*, where he

Walther, *Musikalisches Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1732; facsimile edn Kassel, 1953), 637.

⁶ 'gemeinlich mit 4 starken Saiten bezogen...von vielen aber wird sie zwischen beeden Beinen gehalten'. J. Majer, *Museum Musicum* (Schwabisches Hall, 1732, repr. Kassel, 1954), 79.

⁷ In his manuscript *Compendio Musicale*, mainly compiled in 1677 and now in the Biblioteca Municipale di Reggio Emilia (I-REm, Regg. E. 41; facsimile edn Florence, 1978). The section concerning the *violoncello da spalla alla moderna* was added on 20 October 1694. Bismantova gives the fingering 0-1-2-3-4 for the pitch series *a—b—c'—d'—e'*. For illustrations of relevant pages see www.greatbassviol.com/nbismantova.

⁸ 'Eine Fagott-Geige wird auf dem Arm gehalten, und wie eine Viola tractirt, auch ist die Stimmung also eingerichtet, nur dal sie durchaus um eine volle Octav tieffer, u. dierhalb die Saiten alle stärker darzu genommen werden. Deren Ambitus u. Application der Finger und Buchst. ist wie bey der Französ. Baß-Geige oder Violon cello'. Majer, *Museum Musicum*, 80.

⁹ 'Wir wollen alle drey in eine Briihe werffen: Denn alles dreyes sind kleine Bass-Geigen'. J. Eisel, *Musicus autodidaktos* (Erfurt, 1738, repr. Leipzig, 1976), 44.

¹⁰ The *viola da spalla* appears to have been synonymous with the *violoncello* or at least one version of it: according to Mattheson and other German sources, the *viola da spalla* was in fact defined as a shoulder-held equivalent of the *violoncello*...Later, in the mid-eighteenth century, Adlung explicitly states that *violoncello* and *viola da spalla* were indeed two names for the same instrument.' G. Barnett, 'The *Violoncello da Spalla*: Shouldering the Cello in the Baroque Era', *JAMIS* 24 (1998), 81-106, at p. 96.

¹¹ 'Violoncello heiß auch viola di spala'. J. Adlung, *Anleitung zu der Musikalische Gelahrheit* (Erfurt, 1758, repr. Kassel, 1953), 599. Barnett, 'The *Violoncello da Spalla*', 104, n. 53.

¹² Barnett, 'The *Violoncello da Spalla*', 104, n. 53.

states that 'formerly it had 5 strings; now it is played only with four'.¹³

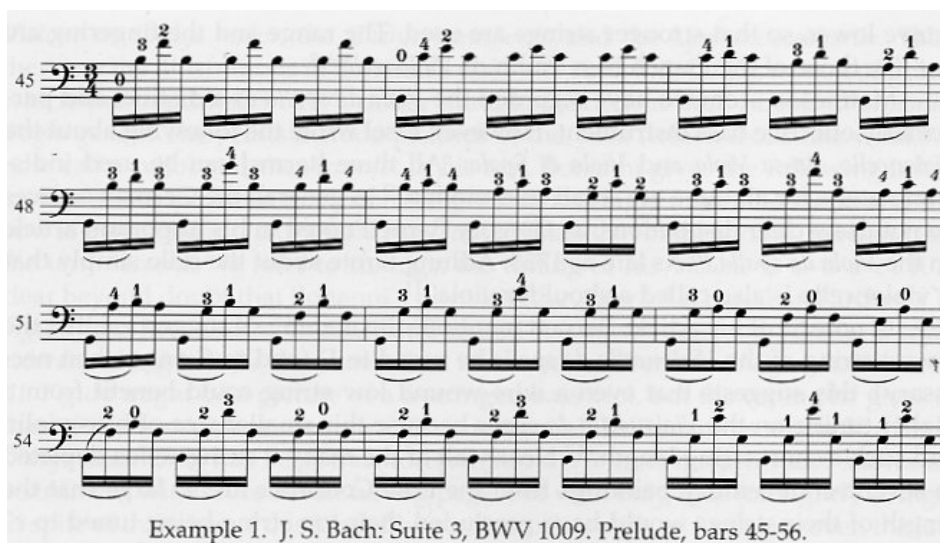
It is impossible to construct a clear picture of 'the' historical *Violoncello* from the information offered by all these lexicographic and pictorial sources.

Bach's music for *Violoncello* viewed in the dim light of old manuals

Perhaps a more reliable picture may emerge if we focus on certain details in the most authentic source of all: the actual music written by Bach for his various *Violoncelli*. There is a certain relationship between string length and the way an instrument is held on the one hand, and possible or impossible fingerings and available pitches on the other.

Imagine that now, in 2004, we were to see the *Violoncello* suites for the very first time, in the manuscript in which Anna Magdalena copied them more than 277 years ago.¹⁴ Then, bearing in mind the descriptions of the cello in German manuals discussed above, we might take a small children's cello, on which the fingering system described by Mayer and Bismantova is feasible. We might then attach this little instrument 'with a strap to the chest' like a truly authentic eighteenth-century *Violoncello* (alias 'shoulder viola' or 'small bass violin') and let our fingers find their own way to the following technical solution for the figurations in bars 45-56 of the Prelude of Suite III '*pour le Viola de Basso*'.¹⁵

[48]



Example 1. J. S. Bach: Suite 3, BWV 1009. Prelude, bars 45-56.

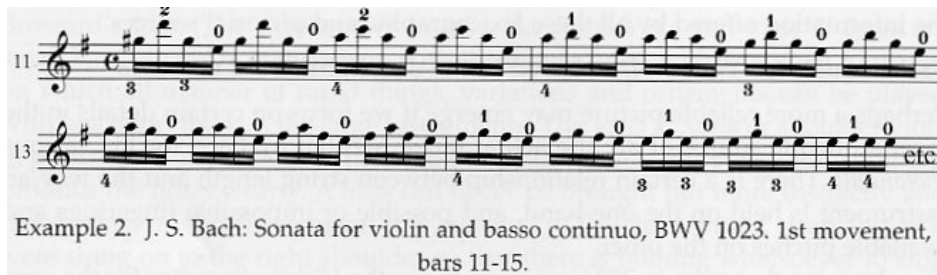
In the 1824 Paris edition the biggest 4-1 stretch, *b—c'* in bar 49, was changed to *a—c'*! The result destroys Bach's sequential structure in bars 47-48, 49-50 and 50-51. We might then be struck by the similarity of the above fingering to the equally obvious fingering for bars 11-15 of the first movement of the violin

¹³ 'Vor Zeiten hatte es 5. Seyten; itzt geigt man es nur mit vieren'. L. Mozart, *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg, 1756, repr. Frankfurt, 1976; enlarged edn Augsburg, 1787, repr. Leipzig, 1956), 3.

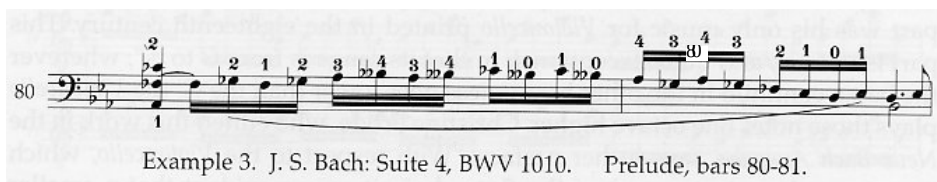
¹⁴ Anna Magdalena copied all of Johann's solo string music, BWV 1001-1012, for his pupil, Georg Schwanberg, in a single volume which now forms Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Mus. mss Bach P 268 and 269. P 268 contains the violin solos; P 269, dating from between 1727 and 1731, is the most important source for the cello suites..

¹⁵ This was how Kellner referred to the instrument on the title page of the oldest manuscript (1726) in which the suites BWV 1007-1012 have survived.

sonata BWV 1023:



While playing on this 'shoulder viola', we would find out for ourselves that the little finger can scarcely reach further than halfway up the string (i.e. one octave higher than the open string), because the wrist comes up against the base of the neck. Holding the instrument in this way prevents the hand from going on top of the cello. In Suites I—V, *g'* is the highest note and the highest hand position is the *d'* in Prelude I, bar 34. We would thus discover in practice that when in 1732 J. G. Walther gave *a'* as the absolute upper limit for the *Violoncello* of those days, he was quite right.¹⁶ In his sixth suite Bach did go higher, to *g''*; but this was after his friend and fellow townsman, the famous violin maker Johann Christian Hoffmann, had made a small five-stringed bass violin at his request in 1724. The surviving instruments of this type can be seen as *piccolo* versions of the [49] *Violoncello* of Bach's time: smaller and higher-pitched instruments, like other *piccolos*.¹⁷ Perhaps Bach called his own invention '*Viola Pomposa*' by nature of a joke. Anyone who plays a *Viola Pomposa* will observe that it is virtually impossible for the little finger of the left hand to stop the *e'*-string higher than *g''*, the highest note in '*Suite 6. me a cinq acordes*'. We would find that the number of unavoidable shifts of position is limited, even in Suite IV. This composer, who had two *Violoncelli* and a *Bassettgen* of his own—as we know from the list of possessions made after his death—managed to avoid position changes within groups of slurred notes in his music for *Violoncello*, even in the remotest keys. Take, for example, Prelude IV, bars 80-81:



It appears that in bar 3 of Sarabande V Bach even wants a leap on one string, from *e'-Bb* (the pitches actually heard are *d' - a6*), over an augmented fourth; the precise scordatura notation suggests the fingering 4-1, which on a small instrument is possible without a slide. There are many legato passages in which Bach seems to take the use of Bismantova's and Majer's

¹⁶ It may well be significant that the outer limits of the range of the eighteenth-century *Violoncello* (from *C* to *a'*) are nearly always identical to those in basso continuo music by German composers from Schutz (1585-1672) to Bach.

¹⁷ Surviving instruments which can be associated with the terms *Viola Pomposa* and *Violoncello piccolo* are discussed in U. Drüner, 'Violoncello piccolo und Viola Pomposa bei Johann Sebastian Bach: Zu Fragen von Identität und Spielweise dieser Instrumente', *Bach-Jahrbuch* 73 (1987), 85-112; M. Smith, 'Joh. Seb. Bachs Violoncello piccolo: Neue Aspekte offene Fragen', *Bach-Jahrbuch* 84 (1998), 63-81.

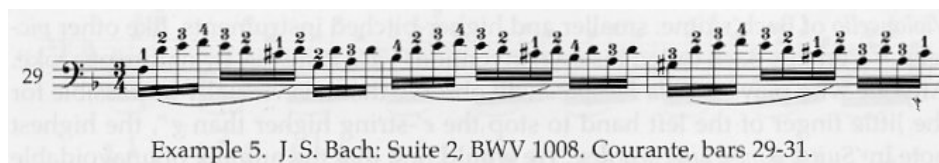
diatonic fingering for granted: Prelude V, bars 17, 65, 116, 166-170 (see Example 4), 184, 186; Allemande V, bar 16; Courante II, bars 29-31 (see Example 5). If played on a larger instrument, these passages—and in fact all six suites—seem to force the player to display the nineteenth-century phenomenon of constant shifting which inspires us all with enormous respect for unblemished cello playing.¹⁸



Example 4. J. S. Bach: Suite 5, BWV 1011. Prelude, bars 166-170.

If we accept that Bach wrote for a shoulder-held instrument there is no longer any need to doubt what Carl Philipp said about his father: 'He understood perfectly what the possibilities of all stringed instruments were'.¹⁹ For although he asked the utmost from the stretching capacity of the fingers of the left hand, he never actually went beyond what was feasible (for his own particularly supple fingers). The composer seems to take the extra short strings of the little five-stringed shoulder cello into account; after all, he had invented it himself. In Suite VI he entrusts very few notes to the C string. In Suite VI the bow touches the C string for less than 1.7% of the whole duration of the piece; in Suites I-V this proportion ranges from <4% to <6%.

[50]



Example 5. J. S. Bach: Suite 2, BWV 1008. Courante, bars 29-31.

On 4 February 1708, Bach's '*Mottetto. diviso in quattuor Chori*' BWV 71 was performed in Mühlhausen to celebrate the inauguration of the Ratswahl (Town Council). The fourth *Chorus* of this remarkable cantata consists of two recorders and a *Violoncello*. BWV 71 was the only piece of church music by Bach published during his lifetime (both text and performing parts were printed); the *Violoncello* part was his only music for *Violoncello* printed in the eighteenth century. This part is unique, and quite exceptional, in that its range is from G to ϕ ''; wherever the basso continuo in the other bass voices goes lower than the G, the *Violoncello* plays those notes one octave higher. Christine Frode, who edited this work in the *Neue Bach Ausgabe*, says in her preface: 'With respect to the *Violoncello*, which serves as a bass instrument of the flute choir, it seems evident that a smaller instrument tuned G d a e' was used, because the cello part goes up

¹⁸ In an article 'On the rise and progress of the violoncello' on p. 353 of the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* of 1824, a cello enthusiast observed, even a hundred years after Bach's '*Viola de Basso*' suites that 'the constant shifting of the hand required in performing a piece of music, of even ordinary difficulty, renders the time as well as the proper tone of the performer, unless he is particularly careful and laborious in his practice, most uncertain'.

¹⁹ 'Er verstand die Möglichkeiten alter Geigeninstrumente vollkommen.' See H.-J. Schulze, ed., *Dokumente zum Nachwirken Johann Sebastian Bachs, 1685-1750* (BachDokumente III, 1972), 785.

to $\flat$ " and pitches below G are avoided.²⁰ If an instrument like this is held like a violin, the notes, particularly in the 6th movement, suggest very obvious fingerings.²¹ To illustrate this, the final bars, 40-43, and bars 17-22, are shown in Examples 6 and 7 below.

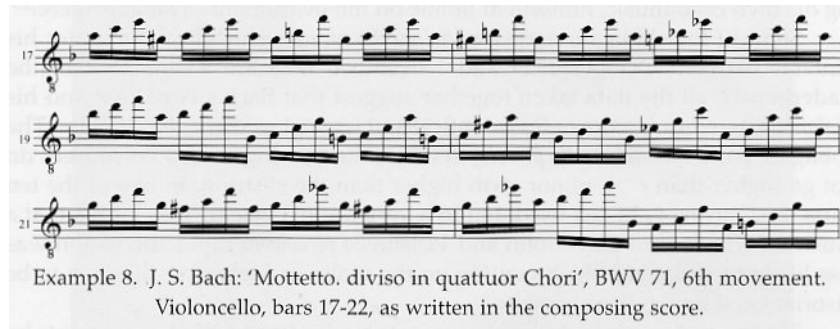
Example 6. J. S. Bach: 'Mottetto. diviso in quattuor Chori', BWV 71, 6th movement. Violoncello, bars 40-43.

Example 7. J. S. Bach: 'Mottetto. diviso in quattuor Chori', BWV 71, 6th movement. Violoncello, bars 17-22, as revised by Bach in the manuscript orchestral part.

[51] The notes (particularly bars 17-22) of the 6th movement, which Bach himself revised in the manuscript orchestral part, constitute a version which can be played more efficiently than the somewhat awkward figures going up to f'' which he had originally written in his composing score; throughout the whole of the 6th movement they inspire the player to use very natural fingerings. For comparison, the version of bars 17-22 in the score is shown below:

²⁰ 'Für das Violoncello als Baßinstrument des Flötenchores stand offenbar ein kleineres Instrument mit der Stimmt4ng $G d a e'$ zur Verfügung, denn der Cellopart ist zum es'' hinaufgeführt und die Baßtöne unterhalb des G sind ausgespart.' *Neue Bach Ausgabe*, Serie I, Band 32, 1, Vorwort, VI.

²¹ A source chronologically very close to this score is J. G. Walther's *Praecepta der Musicalischen Composition*, dated 13 March 1708. Walther was a court musician in Weimar and presented this work to his pupil, Prince Johann Ernst von Weimar; in July of that same year, 1708, Bach was also to join the Weimar court. Walther defines the Violoncello of Bach's days and surroundings unequivocally: 'The Violoncello is an Italian bass instrument resembling a Viol; it is played like a violin, i.e. it is partly supported by the left hand and the strings are stopped by the fingers of the left hand, partly however, owing to its weight, it is attached to the button of the frockcoat...It is tuned like a Viola' ('Violoncello ist ein Italiaenisches einer Violadigamba nicht ungleiches Bass-Instrument, wird fast tractiret wie eine Violin, neml. es wird mit der lincken Hand theils gehalten, und die Griffe formiret, theils aber wird es wegen der Schwere an des Rockes Knopff gehanget...Wird gestimmt wie eine Viola'). See J. G. Walther, *Praecepta der Musicalischen Composition* (Weimar, 1708) 161; repr. in *Jenaer Beiträge zur Musikforschung*, Band 2 (Leipzig, 1955), 56. We can take it for granted that the *Violoncello*, as a bass instrument, was tuned one octave lower than a *Viola*.



Later, when composing his 5 solo suites for *C—G—d—a Violoncello* and the suite for *C—G—d—a—e' Violoncello*, Bach took the same practical and instrument-oriented approach he had taken to the *G—d—a—e' Violoncello* in this cantata.

The strange implications of the commonly accepted view of Bach's *Violoncello*

If Bach's *Violoncello* really was the larger instrument held between the legs, as is commonly assumed today, then Carl Philipp was exaggerating when he wrote that his father '*understood the possibilities of all stringed instruments perfectly*'; after all, it would mean that Johann Sebastian wrote chords for this instrument which many cellists can scarcely play. Another implication is that while in bars 47-57 of Prelude III many cellists feel compelled to use the thumb technique, Bach made no other use of the possibilities offered by this technique in Suites I—V. There is no evidence that the thumb technique, which opens up the entire range of pitches above *g'* and was later fully developed by the Duport brothers and Boccherini, was already being used in Bach's environment. In fact, we are forced to assume that the suites were written for an unknown virtuoso player who was such a genius that he could play the figurations in the Prelude of Suite III and Bach's other cello-hostile chords without insuperable difficulties.

A more historic and more consistent view?

On the basis of the demystifying sketch of eighteenth-century cello playing presented above, we might consider the following hypothesis.

Unlike cellists after the Duport brothers and Boccherini, Bach knew a great deal about his own two *Violoncelli*. According to the lexicons of his own time, [52] they were *small* bass violins, for which violin fingerings could be used. They were sometimes called *Schulterviolen* (shoulder violas), in reference to a manner of holding the instrument which made it physically virtually impossible to play higher than *a'*. At his death, Bach's property included two *Violoncelli* and one *Bassetgen*.²² He wrote his *Viola de Basso* suites for himself or for members of his family; he was able to try out almost all his music for solo instruments, including

²² For the 'Spezifikation der Hinterlassenschaft' see W. Neumann and H.-J. Schulze, eds, *Fremdschriftliche und gedruckte Dokumente zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs, 1685-1750* (Bach-Dokumente II, 1969).

his own cello music, himself, at home, on the instruments available there.²³

Some of the obbligato parts for *Violoncello piccolo* which Bach wrote for his cantatas between October 1724 and November 1726 are written out in the leader's part; all the data taken together suggest that Bach's *Bassetggen* and his *Violoncello piccolo* are more or less identical and were played as *Schulterviolen*. The obbligato parts for *Violoncello piccolo*, in which the C-string is used very rarely, do not go higher than *c''*, a minor sixth higher than the e'-string. In five of the ten parts the C-string is in fact used, but to a very limited extent. This means that a musician who had to play violin and *Violoncello piccolo* in rapid succession was less likely to endanger his intonation on the violin in higher positions or to be disorientated by the five strings.

The present writer had two instruments made after original instruments by Hoffmann which are referred to in museum catalogues as '*Viola Pompose*' (plates 1-4). Their measurements (in cm) are given in the table below.

	Instrument made in 2000	Instrument made in 2001
Body length	45.3	46
Width of upper bout	22.4	21.7
Width of lower bout	27.2	27.3
Ribs	7.8	9
Sounding string length	42	42.5
Width of fingerboard	3.2 – 6.5	3.1 – 6.5
Length of fingerboard	31	31
Total length	76.5	78

Playing these instruments has made me realise how much pleasure Bach's own invention must have afforded him when he was composing and playing the *Suite 6.me a cinq acordes*, BWV 1012, in which he made use of the entire range of pitches, from *C* to *g''*.

Musicologists, organologists, cellists and others who have doubts about the arguments presented above are invited to provide proof based on historical documents that Bach used the term '*Violoncello*' to refer to the bigger instrument which was later to become so successful, and not the smaller instrument he and his contemporaries knew and valued.²⁴

Translation: Margaret Kofod

²³ Schulze ed., *Dokumente zum Nachwirken Johann Sebastian Bachs*, 288-9: apart from a few keyboard fantasies, 'he composed everything else without an instrument, but later tried it out on the instrument concerned' ('so hat er das ubrige alles ohne Instrument cornponirt, jedoch nachher auf selbigem probirt').

²⁴ Responses intended for publication will be welcomed by the Viola da Gamba Society. Other comments should be sent to Lambert Smit, Moeshorn 2, 9966 VH Zuurdijk, Holland



Plate 1. Playing position of the small violoncello upon the right shoulder (photograph Rudie Wiersma).

[53 above]

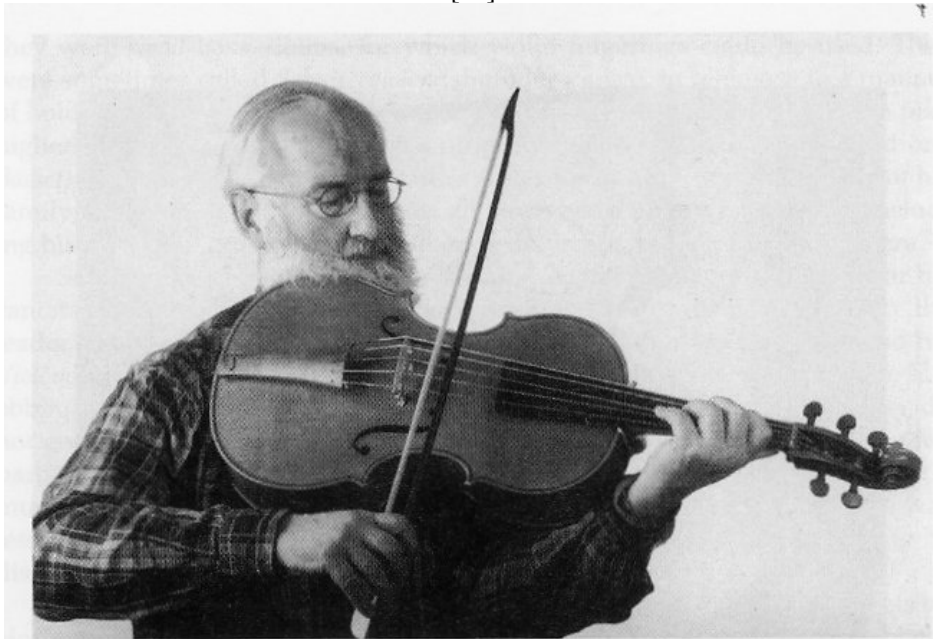


Plate 2. General view of the instrument (photograph Rudie Wiersma).

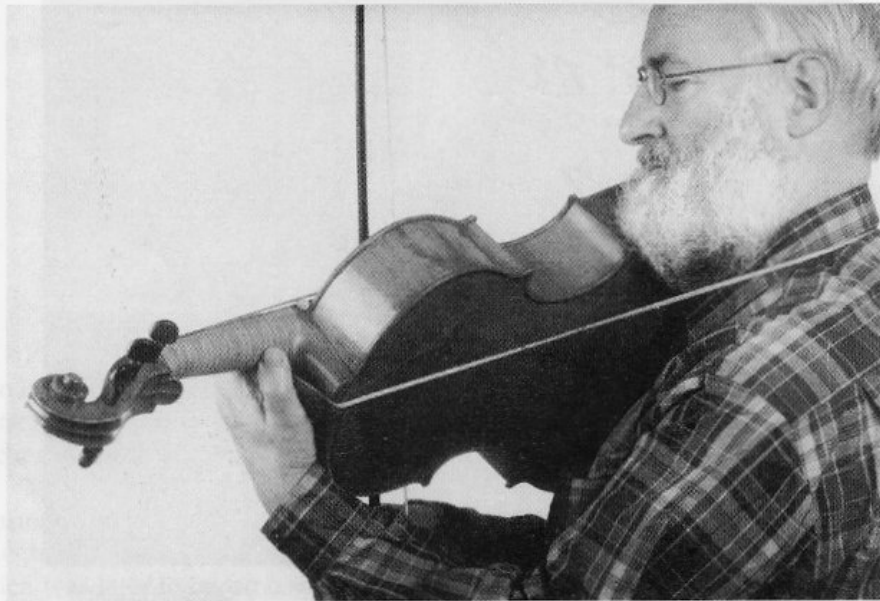


Plate 3. The back of the instrument, showing the supporting cord; note the knot securing the cord at the end of the neck (photograph Rudie Wiersma).

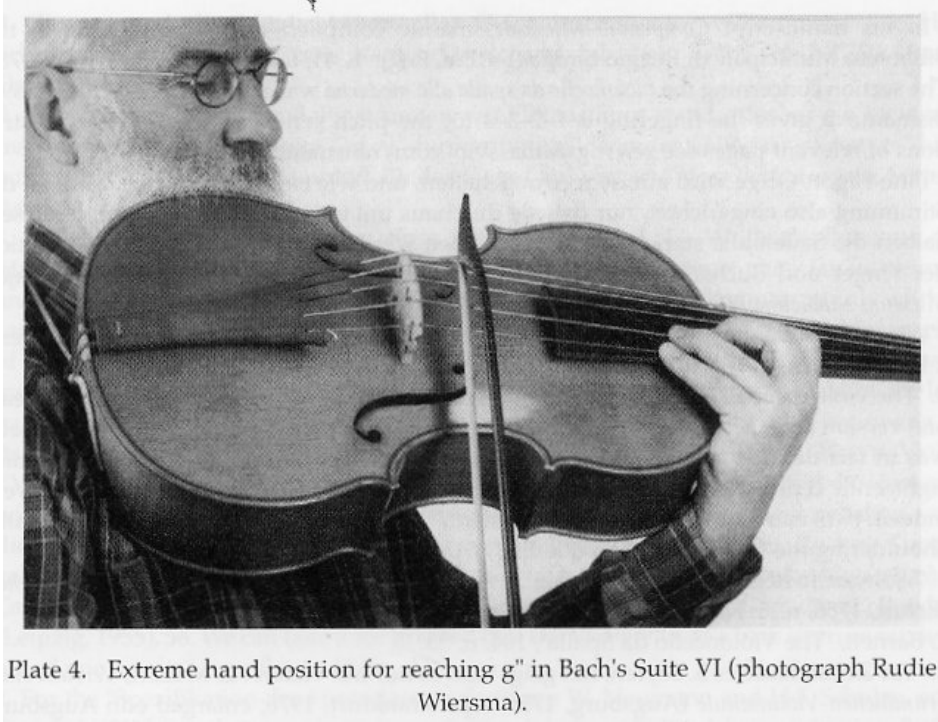


Plate 4. Extreme hand position for reaching g" in Bach's Suite VI (photograph Rudie Wiersma).

POSTSCRIPT Bach's Violone

If Bach's *Violoncello* really was a smaller shoulder cello, then it seems logical that *Violone* was a fitting term for the instrument next in size, namely a *CGda* cello which was too big to be played as a shoulder instrument and would have to be held vertically. Several sources support this hypothesis, while there is little compelling evidence to exclude it. For example, from the *Vocabulario degli Accademici della Crusca* (1729):

Violone: low-sounding stringed instrument, also called *Basso di Viola*, and if it is of a smaller size, *Violoncello*²⁵

[58] and Hawkins:

Violone [...]it seems that this appellation was formerly given to that instrument which we now call the Violoncello.²⁶

²⁵ 'Violone: Viola di tuono grave, the si dice anche Basso di Viola, e Violoncello, quando e di minor grandezza'. See S. Bonta, 'From Violone to Violoncello: a question of strings?', *JAMIS* 3 (1987), 64-99, at p. 85.

²⁶ J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776: repr. of 1853 edn New York, 1963), 603.

While Quantz (1752), Jacob Wilhelm Lustig (1771) and Georg Friedrich Wolf (*Kurzgefaßtes musikalisches Lexicon*, Halle, 1787 and 1792) recommend simplifications of bass parts, Bach wrote everything out precisely, and undeniably respected the lower limits of *all* instruments. The *Violone* parts in Bach's score of the Brandenburg Concertos are often identical to the *Violoncello* parts; for example, in the last movement of Concerto no. 3 Bach even wrote completely identical music in the four lowest staves for the three *Violoncelli* and the *Violone* (range: *C#–e'*). Since at that time scores served mainly to copy the instrumental parts from, it would seem that Bach did not want octave transpositions or simplifications for his *Violone*. The fact that in many cantata movements for which Bach's original *Violone* parts have been preserved only a 'baroque cello' is used (even in famous 'historical instrument performances') supports my hypothesis that Bach's *Violone* was a *CGda* cello; in fact, that Bach's *Violoncello* and *Violone* differed in size only, not in tuning.

The alto solo Cantata 170 (*Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust*) seems to have involved a *Violone* as the only bass fiddle; chamber pitch part no. 7 was for *Violone*; choir pitch part no. 8 was the organ continuo. The third movement is an aria for 'Alto, Organo obligato' and 'Violini e Viola in unisono'. In both continuo parts, nos. 7 and 8, the *tacet* for this aria is indicated by the description 'Aria senza Violone', not 'senza Violone e Violoncello'!

So we may assume that Bach's 27 July 1726 performance involved no *Violoncello*. It is highly unlikely that in movements 1, 2, 4 and 5 of this alto solo cantata Bach wanted a 16' *Violone* as the only bass string instrument (together with an hautbois d'amour, two violins and a viola). Laurence Dreyfus unintentionally confirms my identification of Bach's *Violone* with the cello when he writes: "Two continuo parts survive from Cantata 170—an unfigured part in *Cammerton* for the cello and a completely figured, transposed part notated in *Chorton*".²⁷

²⁷ L. Dreyfus, *Bach's Continuo Group: Players and Practices in his Vocal Works* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1987), 67.

REVIEW

Giovanni Battista Vitali, 'La Scalabrina' (Edition Güntersberg, G060), 'La Sassatelli' and 'Capriccio ditto it Molza' (Edition Güntersberg, G059); Giovanni Legrenzi, Sonata Quinta and Sonata Sesta a quattro from La Cetra (Edition Güntersberg, G025, G026)

There was an increasing focus on the trio sonata in late seventeenth-century Italy, though some composers continued to write four- and five-part sonatas. There are some fine examples in Giovanni Battista Vitali's *Sonate a due, tre, quattro, e cinque stromenti*, op. 5 (Venice, 1669) and Giovanni Legrenzi's *La Cetra*, op. 10 (Venice 1673). Although there have been editions of these pieces in the past—notably in the excellent complete Harvard edition of *La Cetra* edited by Stephen Bonta (Cambridge, MA, 1992)—it is good to have decent, user-friendly editions of them with parts.

Edition Güntersberg of Heidelberg has published a good deal of late viola da gamba music recently, so it is not surprising that it has turned its attention to the two remarkable four-part sonatas in *La Cetra* that Legrenzi labelled '*viola da gamba o come piace*'. They were printed with double clefs and key signatures so that they could be played in two keys a third apart: Sonata Quinta is in E minor or G minor, while Sonata Sesta is in C minor or E minor. Leonora von Zadow-Reichling and Gunter von Zadow have sensibly printed the score and parts of each piece twice, once in each key, though I think they have misunderstood Legrenzi's intentions by suggesting that both the high- and the low-key versions are suitable for viols. Consort music written specifically for viols in seventeenth-century Italy and Germany tends to be lower pitched than violin consort music, because viols are at their most sonorous and magnificent in low-lying music, and in particular because the treble viol sounds best if its upper extreme is avoided. Thus I think it likely that Legrenzi intended the low keys for viols—treble, two tenors and bass—and the high keys for violins—violin, two violas and bass violin, to judge from the ranges. All the rest of the music in *La Cetra* is for violins (though in one piece fagotto is given as an alternative to the bass violin) and the upper part-books are specifically labelled '*Violino Primo*' and '*Violino Secondo*'.

We do not know why Legrenzi suggested viols as an alternative to violins for these sonatas. One possibility is that he was trying to appeal to the dedicatee of the collection, the Austrian emperor Leopold I, for viols were commonly used in Vienna at the time. However, in his edition, Bonta points out that Legrenzi was working at the Ospedaletto in Venice when *La Cetra* was published, and that another Venetian institution, the Conservatorio dei Mendicanti, purchased seven *viole da gamba* in 1673. More generally, Vittorio Ghielmi ('An Eighteenth-Century Italian Treatise and other Clues to the History of the Viola da Gamba in Italy' in *The Italian Viola da Gamba: Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Italian Viola da Gamba*, ed. S. Orlando (Solingen and Turin, 2002), 73-85) has shown that there is much more evidence for the use of the viol in late seventeenth-century Italy than has been thought, and has argued that Vivaldi's *viole all'inglese* are simply viols—a conclusion reached independently by Michael Talbot ('Vivaldi and the English Viol', *Early Music*, 30 (2002), 81-394). Appropriately, Legrenzi wrote for them in an antique idiom with sober counterpoint,

affective dissonance and madrigal-like cross rhythms.

The editions have clearly been carefully prepared. Both the 1673 print and the 1682 reprint have been consulted, and, although there is no formal critical commentary, important changes are noted at the bottom of the page. On 'the debit side, coloration in the original is omitted without notice and editorial slurs appear as a dotted line—the slashed slur used in most British editions is a much better alternative. The figured basso seguente part has not been realised, and some may find the complex and rapidly changing harmonies difficult to cope with. But these are good editions of two pieces that every viol consort should have in its repertory.

Given the amount of late seventeenth-century Italian string music that has yet to appear in a modern edition, it is unfortunate that the three Vitali pieces are also available in a PRB volume edited by George Houle (Albany, CA, 1991). Both editions have their strong points. PRB provides the more informative introduction and has the three pieces in a single volume, while Edition Güntersberg has a more clearly printed score and has the basso seguente part only in treble and bass clefs; in the PRB edition it also goes into the alto clef, which may be a problem for some. Both editions suggest, presumably for commercial reasons, that the pieces can be played on viols as well as violins, though comparing them with the Legrenzi sonatas suggests that this is wide of the mark. Their lively and high-pitched violin parts would be uncomfortable on treble viols, and Vitali specifically states that they are for two violins, one or two violas, violone (i.e. bass violin) and organ. He advertises himself on the title-page as 'Musico di Violone da Brazzo' at San Petronio in Bologna, where the pieces would doubtless have been played.

Of the three pieces, the finest is the four-part sonata 'La Sassatelli' (in both editions the title is misread as 'Saffatelli'). It was evidently appreciated" in England, for its expressive chromatic opening passage was copied by John Reading into his score-book GB-Lbl R.M. 20.h.9, claiming that Nicholas Staggins, the Master of the Music, had produced it 'as his owne' on the king's birthday in 1679. The five-part 'La Scalabrina' is more conventional, though it is also more extended and has some rich five-part writing. The four-part 'Capriccio ditto it Molza' is a bizarre piece; others may find its weird side-slipping harmonies, its sudden changes of direction and its short-winded sections more convincing than I did. As with the Legrenzi pieces, the editing is simple but effective, and the production values are good.

PETER HOLMAN

**SIZES OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CONSORT VIOLS—
A NEW HYPOTHESIS**

Dear Editor,

The problem of reconciling large sizes of viols with the high pitches of seventeenth-century English organs¹ would not arise if gut strings were appreciably stronger than they are now. This possibility has been considered before, but no positive evidence has hitherto been found to support it.

But there is evidence, in the scaled drawings and 'Tabella Universalis' of tunings of Praetorius's *Syntagma Musicum*. Plate XX, no. 4 (see Plate 1 below), shows a 'Viol Bastarda' of vibrating string length 75 cm, very close to Simpson's 76 cm division viol. The tuning given in Praetorius's Tabella 21 (see Plate 2) is that of the *tenor* viol of the Praetorius consort (Plate XX, no. 2, vsl 58 cm), i.e. *D-G-c-e-a-d'*, the same as Simpson's division viol at (presumably) *a'* = 460.² This tuning in the 'Tabella' is confirmed elsewhere in the text.³ The same Plate XX, no. 3, shows a 'Kleinbaß' of the same vsl, 75 cm, which was tuned a fifth lower, *GG-C-F-A-d-g*.

Did Praetorius's draughtsman make a mistake over the vsl of the 'bastarda'? It seems unlikely in view of the general accuracy of his work, and particularly because, if that drawing is right, all the pieces of evidence on seventeenth-century sizes and pitches in England fall into place. This cannot be said of any other proffered solution.

If he got it right, it follows that theorising about co-existent 'families of sizes' is unnecessary and probably unwarranted.⁴ It also follows that theories of stringing which require that a given vsl narrowly limits the acceptable pitch are untenable.⁵ This last conclusion is supported by the tuning *FF-C-G-d-a* of the five-stringed 'Groß Quint-Bass Viola de Braccio' of Praetorius's Tabella 22, a cello and a quint bass in one.

'Small' English bass viols of vsl c65-70 cm survive from quite early in the seventeenth century. Bass viols of this size were played throughout the nineteenth century⁶ and when the modern revival took off from the 1890s they probably determined the other consort sizes—and probably incorrectly, for no

¹ J. Catch, 'The English Chest of Viols: a Response', *Cheyls* 30 (2002), 62-4, at p. 63.

² H. Myers, 'Praetorius's Pitch', *Early Music* 12 (1984), 369-71.

³ M. Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum* II, 'De Organographia' (Wolfenbüttel, 1619; repr. ed. W. Gurlitt, Kassel 1958), 47:1t is tuned the same as the tenor gamba, which can be used in its place if necessary'.

⁴ There is no explicit historical evidence for co-existing families of viols tuned to different pitches. If it was possible for pitches a fifth apart to be accommodated by the same vibrating string length there would be no need for them.

⁵ As suggested by Ian Harwood, addressing a VdGS meeting on 2 November 2002. See *VdGS Newsletter* 120 (January 2003), 5.

⁶ For the persistence of viol playing in nineteenth-century England see J. Catch, 'Prince Albert's Early Music', *G&J* 42 (1989), 3-9. Curiously, Arnold Dolmetsch gives 'large' sizes with vibrating string lengths for bass, tenor and treble of 76, 57 and 38 cm but says nothing about pitch; see *The Interpretation of the Music of the XVII and XVIII Centuries* (1915), 449. Hayes and Nathalie Dolmetsch do not notice this statement: see G. Hayes, *Musical Instruments and their Music* (Oxford, 1930), II, 41 and N. Dolmetsch, *The Viola da Gamba* (1962), 24-31.

tenor viols of appropriate size survive.

Further evidence for my hypothesis may be cited in *Musick's Monument* (1676). There are two obscure references to sizes and pitch of consort viols in Mace's time and some equally significant omissions, which have never been adequately explained and invite examination.

. First the omissions. There is nothing to indicate that pitches or sizes had changed in Mace's experience (he was born c1612-13), and nothing even suggestive of there being two *families* of viols of markedly different pitch. In advertising his table organ for sale (pp. 242-5) Mace gives an admirably full description of it but says nothing about the pitch. A lapse of attention, maybe, missed in proof-reading, but a would-be vendor might be expected to specify the pitch if alternative possibilities stood a fourth or a fifth apart. The obvious inference is that chamber organ pitches did not vary so widely, and that a purchaser would not need to be told.

On p. 246 Mace directs 'Let your [consort] bass [viol] be large'. That means that a) some bass viols were 'small' and b) Mace preferred big ones for his 'chest'—nothing more. On p. 249 he writes 'If it be stiff strung, or stand at a high pitch (*which is both as one*)' [my italics]; this can only mean that the possible difference of pitch referred to did not involve changing the strings and could hardly have been as great as a fourth or a fifth; more probably, at most, a tone or so.

I offer the following conclusions, as reconciling all these points:

1. Pitch for Mace was not precisely standardised, but variations were small enough to allow viols and violins to re-tune as needed. This is consistent with the range of chamber organ pitches, from c440 to 465, found by Gwynne.

2. Viols varied much in size, but size and pitch were not necessarily closely related. That was so in Praetorius's time, and a study of comparative measurements by James Talbot at the end of the century leads to the same conclusion.⁷ The evidence for 'families' is all circumstantial and speculative, and probably arises from the human craving to find order in a complex world.

3. We should be cautious in applying functional labels such as 'division' and 'lyra' to historical instruments. As commonly used they usually reflect the sizes laid down by Hayes and Nathalie Dolmetsch, which are in general use today but have no claim to be historically valid. The findings of Neesh that early *English* bass violins were not large, as generally assumed, but rather smaller than modern cellos, is further evidence of the need for caution.⁸

4. If my hypothesis is correct it will call for some changes in current ideas about consort viols and their music.

John Catch

⁷ J. Catch, 'James Talbot's Viols', *Chelys* 17 (1988), 33-9.

⁸ B. Neesh, 'The Cello in Britain: a Technical and Social History', *GSJ* 56 (2003), 77-115



1. 2. 3. Violn de Gamba. 4. Viol Bastarda. 5. Italianische Lyra de braccio

Plate 1. Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, Plate XX. The scale represents Brunswick feet of twelve inches (1 Brunswick inch = 23.78 mm).

