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CONTENTS

Viola da Gamba Society of America	3
Editorial Note	4
Is the Quinton a Viol? A Puzzle Unraveled . Myrna Herzog	5
The Richard Meares Viol in the Metropolitan Museum of Art Re-evaluated Benjamin Hebbert	36
Recent Research on the Viol Ian Woodfield	49
Reviews	
Annette Otterstedt, <i>The Viol: History of an Instrument</i> Bruce Bellingham	51
Ashbee, Thompson, and Wainwright, compilers, <i>The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music</i> Mark Davenport	61
L. and G. von Zadow, ed., <i>Königliche Gambenduos: 23 sonatas by French and Italian composers of the eighteenth century in contemporary transcriptions</i> Michael O’Loughlin	67

Correspondence	75
Contributor Profiles	80

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VIOLA DA GAMBA SOCIETY OF AMERICA

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The Viola da Gamba Society of America is a not-for-profit national organization dedicated to the support of activities relating to the viola da gamba in the United States and abroad. Founded in 1962, the VdGSA is a society of players, builders, publishers, distributors, restorers, and others sharing a serious interest in music for viols and other early bowed string instruments. VdGSA members receive a quarterly newsletter and this annual journal, and have access to the many activities and valuable resources of the Society. The website provides additional information on the annual Conclave, instrument rentals, the microfilm lending library for researchers, and other offerings.

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EDITORIAL NOTE

In this volume, we are pleased to make accessible to our readers a slightly updated version of a study by Myrna Herzog that clarifies the history of the quinton, its repertory, and its relationship to similar instruments; this fascinating member of the viol family is the topic of Ms. Herzog's recently completed Ph.D. dissertation. Benjamin Hebbert's examination of a seventeenth-century bass viol at the Metropolitan Museum of Art calls into question the traditional attribution of the instrument and reveals details about English construction and the instrument business. Ian Woodfield has again scoured the literature and furnished us with the valuable bibliographic update of research on our instruments.

Reviews are of two very different books and an edition of music. The English translation of Annette Otterstedt's insightful *Die Gambe, Kulturgeschichte und praktischer Ratgeber* is reviewed alongside the first volume of the Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain's new and comprehensive manuscript index project. A new edition of a dozen French suites for bass viol duo and nearly as many Italian solo sonatas transcribed from the violin repertory is based on a single interesting mid-eighteenth-century German manuscript.

I am grateful to my talented teammates at the *Journal*, Jean Seiler, David Dreyfuss, and George Houle, for their invaluable help throughout the year. I also extend thanks to each of the authors, reviewers, and referees who have contributed to this volume.

Stuart Cheney

Addendum to Volume 39 (2002):

In Mark Davenport's "Between Fantasy and Aire: The 'Active Braine' of William Lawes," Figures 2 and 3 on page 64 are reproduced with the permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

IS THE QUINTON A VIOL? A PUZZLE UNRAVELED¹

Myrna Herzog

This article originally appeared in Early Music, volume 28 (2000), pp. 8–31, and has been republished with the kind permission of Oxford University Press. The author has updated some of the information that appeared in the original article.

How hard it is to take enough precautions against prejudice and what great need we have of reasoning to put us in a condition to form a sane judgment. (J. J. Rousseau, 1753)²

From time immemorial, the relation between man and his musical instruments has been in a process of constant change. Instruments are invented, modified, and eventually abandoned, in response to the expressive needs of specific times, places, and cultures. Transient by nature, they rise and fall together with the societies that have created them, and which they mirror. The quinton is a case in point; it is also a special case.

Since musicology has embraced the task of studying the instruments of the past, few topics have been the object of such controversy and lack of consensus as this. Until recently so many opposing statements had been made about the quinton that it was

¹ This is an enlarged version of the article completed in 1996 as part of “The quinton and other viols with violin traits” (Ph.D. thesis, Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel, 2003) under the supervision of Prof. Joachim Braun, to whom I am indebted. It was presented as a lecture at the meeting of the British Viola da Gamba Society on 12 June 1999. I wish also to thank Eliahu Feldman, my husband, for his insightful support, as well as Fred Lindeman, Sylvette Milliot, Thomas G. MacCracken, and Robert A. Green, for generously sharing the wealth of their knowledge and experience. Many thanks also to Michael Fleming, Florence Gétreau, the late Michael Heale, to Glenna Houle, the Galerie Segoura, Paris, and the French Musée de la Musique.

² Jean-Jacques Rousseau, “Lettre sur la musique françoise” (1753), *Source Readings in Music History: The Classic Era*, ed. Oliver Strunk (New York: Norton, 1965), 65.



Figure 1. Louis Carrogis de Carmontelle (1717–1806), *Mlle. de Bernay playing a quinton* (1764) (Chantilly, Musée de Condé/Giraudon).

all but impossible to arrive at any clear idea about its nature. The following is a sample taken from twentieth-century sources:

Ancient violin, close to the viol in dimension, and tuned a fifth below the violin.³

A small French *Viole* [whose] name is sometimes given to an alto-tenor instrument with five strings.⁴

The quinton is a true violin and the pardessus de viole ... is a viol.⁵

Quinton and pardessus are of course one and the same instrument, apart from the number of strings.⁶

The quinton in France took also the name of *quinte*; it has substituted the *violino piccolo*.⁷

In the seventeenth century, the pardessus de viole.⁸

Baroque violin [quinton]...invented so that musicians with training in the technique of the violin could play the vast pardessus literature.⁹

Towards the mid-eighteenth century the pardessus imitates the violin more and more, until becoming this curious hybrid played on the shoulder, the quinton.¹⁰

³“Ancien violon se rapprochant de la viole comme dimension, et accordé une quinte au dessous du violon.” Michel Brenet [Marie Bobillier], *Dictionnaire pratique et historique de la musique* (Paris: Colin, 1926), 379.

⁴Francis W. Galpin, *A Textbook of European Musical Instruments* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1937; reprint of 1956 edition, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1976), 141–42.

⁵Nicholas Bessaraboff, *Ancient European Musical Instruments* (1941; reprint, Boston: October House, 1964), 303.

⁶Cécile Dolmetsch, “The Pardessus de Viole ou Chanterelle,” *JVdGSA* 3 (1966): 57.

⁷“Il Quinton in Francia prese anche il nome di quinte; esso avrebbe sostituito il violino piccolo.” *Enciclopedia della Musica*, ed. Claudio Sartori (Milan, 1964), 3:519.

⁸“Quinton,” *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music*, rev. ed., ed. Don Michael Randel (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 676.

⁹Mary Ann Ballard, notes for *Music of the French Baroque*, The Oberlin Baroque Ensemble, SVBX 5142 (3 records, 1977), 4.

¹⁰“Vers le milieu du [18ème] siècle, il [le pardessus] imite de plus en plus le violon jusqu’à devenir ce curieux hybride joué sur l’épaule, le quinton.” Pierre

It [the quinton] was played—equipped with frets, for the musicians who had practiced the viol—without frets, for those who had tried their hand at the violin.¹¹

The term quinton... was used rather freely in the eighteenth century, and the differentiation of quinton from other types of five-string pardessus seems to be an invention of our own time.¹²

There are three kinds of pardessus: one with six strings and two with five strings, which exist in viol and violin form, both named quinton.¹³

The complexity of the situation was summed up by Sylvette Milliot in 1997: “For a musicologist of our time it is rather difficult to define this hybrid instrument. Is it a viol or a violin? In what does it differ from a five-string pardessus? The confusion between the terms—always prevailing—is in fact very old.”¹⁴ Let’s try to unravel the mystery, and understand how things got to this state.

The Rise of the Violin and the Six-string Pardessus

As the seventeenth century approached its end Italian music began to spread in France in a quick and pervasive way, giving birth,

Jaquier and Jean-Louis Charbonnier, *L’art de jouer la basse de viole* (Paris: Heugel, 1987), 1:viii.

¹¹ “...se joua:—muni de frettes pour les musiciens qui avaient pratiqué la viole; —sans frettes pour ceux qui s’étaient essayé au violon.” Christiane Dubuquoy-Portois, “Le Pardessus de viole au XVIIIe siècle: un nouvel instrument de divertissement,” *Instrumentistes et luthiers parisiens, XVIIe–XIXe siècles*, ed. Florence Gétreau (Alençon: Imprimerie Alençonnaise, 1988), 137.

¹² Robert A. Green, “Recent Research and Conclusions Concerning the Pardessus de Viole in Eighteenth-century France,” *A Viola da Gamba Miscellany*, ed. Johannes Boer and Guido van Oorschot (Utrecht: STIMU, 1994), 105.

¹³ “Vom *Pardessus* gibt es drei Arten: den sechssaitigen und zwei funfsaitige, beide *Quinton* genannt, die es in Gamben- und Violinenform gibt.” Annette Otterstedt, *Die Gambe* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994), 135–36.

¹⁴ “Définir cet instrument hybride est bien difficile pour un musicologue de notre temps. Est-il une viole ou un violon? En quoi se différencie-t-il d’un pardessus de viole à cinq cordes? La confusion entre les termes, —toujours d’actualité—, est en fait très ancienne.” Sylvette Milliot, *Histoire de la lutherie parisienne du XVIIIe siècle à 1960*, vol. 2, *Les luthiers du XVIIIe siècle* (Brussels: Les Amis de la musique, 1997), 152.

on the one hand, to all sorts of internal quarrels,¹⁵ and on the other, to musical phenomena that implied the absorption and transformation of the Italian model. The violin, the Italian instrument *par excellence*,¹⁶ formerly despised for its connections with the lower (working) class, began to see its days of glory, especially as a result of the tremendous impact of Corelli's works. Although it was not until c. 1701 that Corelli's opus 5 was printed in France, his trio sonatas had been often heard and played in the Parisian *salons*, where private assemblies held by the aristocracy and the higher ranks of the bourgeoisie constituted a free forum for new literary, philosophical, and artistic tendencies.¹⁷

The first quarter of the eighteenth century saw the prestige of the viol declining in France in proportion to the rise of the violin. Signs of a shift in public taste had already been felt before the turn of the century, when viol players, possibly emulating the violin, began to restring the *dessus de viole* (treble viol, tuned *d-g-c'-e'-a'-d''*) in order to extend its upper register. All strings were moved down a peg (canceling the low *d*), making room for a new *chanterelle* on the first peg, a fourth higher. The other strings kept their original pitches, the result being *g-c'-e'-a'-d''-g''*. As a natural development, a smaller body soon began to be built in order better to serve this higher tuning, and the resulting smaller viol, named *pardessus de viole à six cordes*, gradually came to substitute for the traditional *dessus*.¹⁸

The newcomer was assured of a public of viol players fond of the violin and Italian music, but also, importantly, of a public of women: it was considered far more "decent" for a lady to have a

¹⁵ Rehearsed most famously in François Ragueneau, *Parallèle des italiens et des françois en ce qui regarde la musique et les opéras* (Paris, 1702), and Jean-Laurent Le Cerf de la Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique françoise* (Brussels, 1705–6; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1972).

¹⁶ See David D. Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing from Its Origin to 1761* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965; reprint 1979).

¹⁷ See Michel Brenet [Marie Bobillier], *Les Concerts en France sous l'ancien régime* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1909).

¹⁸ The practice of stringing *dessus* as *pardessus* did, though, remain in use well into the eighteenth century: "Mon instrument est un dessus de viole monté en pardessus...." Sarrau de Boynet (1738) in Hans Bol, *La basse de viole du temps de Marin Marais et d'Antoine Forqueray* (Bilthoven: Creyghton, 1973): 18.

pardessus between the legs than a violin on the arm.¹⁹ Moreover, “the position of the latter does not suit them, in addition to their hand being too little to hold it.”²⁰ The violin, notwithstanding its low-status associations (with professional music-making), together with the cello, was identified with masculinity.²¹ The viol, a symbol of French identity,²² was associated with femininity,²³ and even men, when playing it, showed great “delicacy.”²⁴

The earliest known mention of a pardessus de viole dates from 1699, in the inventory of the violist Jean Rousseau (1644–99),²⁵ although it is not until 1724 that we find music composed specifi-

¹⁹ “...surtout aux jeunes Demoiselles, de préférer par décence le Pardessus de Viole aux autres instruments....” Ancelet, *Observations sur la musique, les musiciens et les instruments* (Amsterdam, 1757; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1984), 23.

²⁰ “...la position de ce dernier ne les convient point, outre qu’elles ont la main trop petite pour le tenir.” Michel Corrette, *Methode pour apprendre facilement à jouer du pardessus de viole à 5 et à 6 cordes* (Paris, 1738; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1983), 3.

²¹ “...les sons mâles et hardis de son Violon...”; “Le Violon-celle qui a été preferé à la viole, a le son plus fort et plus mâle...” Pierre Louis d’Aquin de Chateau-Lyon, *Lettres sur les hommes célèbres dans les sciences, la littérature et les beaux-arts sous le règne de Louis XV* (Paris, 1752), 92, 140–41.

²² “Le Violon étoit échu en partage aux italiens, La Flute aux Allemands, le Clavecin au Anglois, & aux François la Basse de Viole.” Hubert Le Blanc, *Defense de la basse de viole contre les entrées du violon et les prétentions du violoncel* (Amsterdam, 1740; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1975), 1–2.

²³ “Oui, vous, Violon, avec tous les avantages d’un Son mâle que vous avez, vous ne devez néanmoins point effacer les charmes de l’Harmonie femelle qu’a la Basse de Viole.” Le Blanc, *Defense de la basse de viole*, 70.

²⁴ “...la delicatesse que demande la perfection du Jeu de la Viole...” Jean Rousseau, *Traité de la viole* (Paris, 1687; reprint, Amsterdam: Antiqua, 1965), 21. “...les accents tendres & séduisants du fameux Marais... Louis Bollioud de Mermet, *De la corruption du gout dans la musique française* (Lyon, 1746; reprint, Geneva, Paris: Minkoff, 1991), 34. “...toute la delicatesse que possèdent Mrs. Frocray et Marais sur la Viole... Corrette, *Methode ... pardessus de viole*, 1. “Pour la basse de viole on peut citer M. de Caix le jeune... il met une grande delicatesse dans son jeu.” D’Aquin, *Lettres sur les hommes célèbres*, 205.

²⁵ “...un pardessus de viole avec son ethuy de cuir, deux dessus et deux basses de viole...” Sylvette Milliot, “Du nouveau sur Jean Rousseau Maître de musique et de viole,” *Recherches sur la musique française classique* 27 (1991–92): 41.

cally for the instrument.²⁶ The fact that it was employed for so long without a literature of its own hints at its use for tackling the coveted violin repertoire.

As the first quarter of the eighteenth century went by, the violin's hegemony further consolidated. The development of the *pardessus à six cordes* had been an important step in the violists' endeavor to parallel the violin,²⁷ but it was not enough. And for two good reasons. The first was tuning: the typical viol tuning in fourths and thirds was very appropriate for chordal playing, but not for confronting the virtuoso demands of the violin literature, based on a tuning of fifths. The second was power: the viol's playing position on the lap, its numerous strings straining the table, and the limited flexibility of its flat back restrained its volume and brilliance and hampered the desired projection of sound, as compared with the violin.

The Concert Spirituel

The viol's limited projection became more evident after the opening in 1725 of the first French series of public concerts run on a commercial basis, the Concert Spirituel, in a spacious hall of the Palais des Tuileries.²⁸ The size of the hall demanded a lot more power from instruments than usual, and "how can one decide to present the viol's merit and have her appreciated, when one is given as battlefield the vast hollowness of a huge hall, which it is impossible for her to have enough lung power to fill!... The sound of the viol, heard from far away or in a large space, packed with people and their clothes, resembles the vapor of a spirit of wine which one throws into the air and from which nothing comes

²⁶ Thomas Marc, *Suite de pièces de dessus et de pardessus de viole et trois sonates avec les basses-continue, qui se peuvent jouer sur la viole, la flute traversière et autre instruments... Livre 1er* (Paris, 1724; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1987).

²⁷ "... Je n'ai jamais eu d'autre vue que celle d'imiter l'effet du violon. C'est, je crois, le seul guide qu'on puisse prendre pour porter notre pauvre instrument au-delà de ses étroites bornes..." Sarrau de Boynet (1738) in Bol, *La basse de viole*, 18.

²⁸ See Constant Pierre, *L'histoire du Concert Spirituel, 1725–1790* (Paris: Heugel, 1975).

down.”²⁹ Hubert Le Blanc, fierce champion of the viol, felt that the future of the viol was menaced to such an extent that Music itself “descended from Olympus, and appearing to the viol without being seen or heard by the violin, said to her: ‘Beware of endangering your ancient glory by performing your talents in a large site, as favorable to the Violin as it is unfavorable to you.’”³⁰

The Concert Spirituel would become and long remain “the first and the most advantageous place for making oneself known”; the violin would be regarded as “the most beautiful and perfect of all instruments”; while the bass viol would be “banished from the *grands concerts* due to the weakness of its sound.” An increasing awareness concerning the effects of acoustics on instrumental output would develop.³¹ The pendulum that in France oscillated between power and brilliance (Lully) on the one side, and softness and intimacy on the other (Lambert, Couperin), seemed to be swinging in the direction of its louder side in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.³²

²⁹ “... quel moyen de se résoudre à produire le mérite de la Viole & de la faire sentir, lorsqu’on affecte de donner pour Champ de bataille la vaste concavité d’une Salle énorme en grandeur, ou il est impossible qu’elle eût la force de poumon de fournir! ... Le Son de la Viole entendu de loin, ou dans un grand espace, rempli de personnes avec leurs habits, ressemble à la vapeur de l’esprit de Vin qu’on jette en l’air, dont il ne retombe rien...” Le Blanc, *Defense de la basse de viole*, 57–58.

³⁰ “...descendit de l’Olimpe, & se montrant à la Viole, sans que le Violon l’a vît, ni l’entendît: gardez-vous bien, lui dit-elle, de commettre votre ancienne gloire à exercer vos talens dans un grand endroit aussi favorable au Violon qu’il vous l’est peu.” Le Blanc, *Defense de la basse de viole*, 61.

³¹ “...la premiere place & la plus avantageuse pour se faire connoître”; “...le plus beau & le plus parfait des instruments”; “...bannie des grands Concerts, par rapport à la foiblesse du son”; “il est impossible qu’ils fassent beaucoup d’effet ... leurs Orchestres, sur-tout celui des François ... pour ainsi dire enterré dans un endroit profond et resserré, qui absorbe totalement le son des instruments ... l’Orchestre de l’Opéra Comique fait beaucoup plus d’effet, par le choix de la Musique ... & par la construction de la Salle, qui est la plus sonore qu’il y ait en France.” Ancelet, *Observations sur la musique*, 15, 12, 23, 10.

³² “Depuis que le goût François a passé les Monts, il semble que notre Nation soit devenuë sourde. On aime le tintamare.” François Campion, *Lettre de Monsieur l’Abbé Carbasus à Monsieur de *** auteur du Temple du Goust, sur la mode des instruments de musique, ouvrage curieux & interessant pour les amateurs de l’harmonie* (Paris, 1739), 25.

Late French Viols

With the advent of the Concert Spirituel, the viol world was confronted with the need to change—or die. And it changed ... by incorporating features of the “enemy.” So, as a natural development, some time around 1725 a new sort of viol began to be built in France, sharing features of the violin family. Those instruments, which I shall call *late French viols*, exhibited a reduction in the number of strings, accompanied by a variable combination of significant organological changes; these included *f*-shaped soundholes, pointed corners, overlapping edges of table and back, arched back, and tailpiece attachment to a button by means of a thick gut string.³³ The reduction in the number of strings enabled the table to vibrate more freely, yielding a quicker response and a more powerful ring, while the round back contributed to the instrument’s stability and ensured a more consistent sound.³⁴

Two sizes were produced: bass, usually with six strings (instead of seven) tuned *D–G–c–e–a–d'*, named simply *viola*,³⁵ and high treble, with five strings (instead of six) tuned in fourths and fifths (*g–d'–a'–d''–g''*), named *quinton* or *pardessus de viola à cinq cordes* (Figure 2). The word *quinton* might have been chosen to emphasize the instrument’s five strings and its attractive link with *violon* (*quint* = 5 + suffix *on*).³⁶

³³ Instead of the usual C-shaped soundholes, flush corners and edges of table and back, flat back with an upper bending, tailpiece attachment by means of a hookbar.

³⁴ Arched backs started to appear even in French viols of traditional shape. On an Ouvrard viol (Paris 1743), see James Caldwell, “Antique Viols and Related Instruments from the Caldwell Collection,” *JVdGSA* 11 (1974): 87.

³⁵ “VIOLE, f.f. (Lutherie) instrument de musique, qui est *de même figure que le violon*, à la réserve qu’elle est beaucoup plus grande... elle a *six cordes* et huit touches divisées par demi-tons...” Louis, Chevalier de Jaucourt, in *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d’Alembert (Paris, 1751–80; reprint, Stuttgart: Frommann, 1967), vol. 17 (1765), 310. [Author update: A few violin-shaped viols were also built with seven strings, as evidenced by Carmontelle’s watercolor c. 1760, *Mlle Pitoin et son père* (Chantilly, Musée de Condé).]

³⁶ The author plays two late French viols, an Andrea Castagneri bass, Paris 1744, and a quinton attributed to Nicolas Chappuy c. 1760. Their similarity is striking. The two instruments can be heard in the CD *Peace*, The Jerusalem Consort, label Arcobaleno, 2000, EMS Music Group Belgium [and on the CD



Figure 2. French violin and viols

From left to right:

violin, c. 1750, school of *Vieux Paris*, restored by Fred Lindeman, 1991;
 bass viol by Andrea Castagneri, Paris 1744, restored by John Topham, 1994;
 quinton, c. 1760, attributed to Nicolas Chappuy, head by Lafille, restored by
 Fred Lindeman, 1996. (Photo: Dov Tana)

The first references to a new, as yet unnamed, small hybrid instrument, combining physical features of the *pardessus de viole* and the violin, appear in 1730 in the inventory of the deceased viol-maker Claude Pierray.³⁷ There are listed *violons en pardessus de viole*, among *violons, dessus*, and *pardessus*. In the following year, luthiers Vauboam and Barbey, while in charge of the inventory of their deceased colleague Pierre Véron, itemized “*dix pièces*

Wind and Sea, PHOENIX, the Israel Consort of Viols, dir. Myrna Herzog, NMC Music Ltd., 2003]. The quinton was also recorded in duos with hurdy-gurdy as part of a CD on the Focus label, *The Baroque Hurdy-gurdy*, with Robert Green (hurdy-gurdy), planned for release in the Spring of 2004.

³⁷ All the following information concerning inventories derives from Milliot, *Les luthiers du XVIIIe siècle*, 320–71. See also Sylvette Milliot, “Violonistes et Luthiers parisiens au XVIIIe siècle” in Gétreau, ed., *Instrumentistes et luthiers parisiens*, 83–103.

tant dessus que pardessus de violle,” immediately preceded by “*deux petites basses de violle appelées quinton,*” in what seems to be the earliest known use of the word *quinton*. It is hard to believe that experienced viol-makers in the course of an inventory would have made such a clear distinction between *dessus* and *pardessus* on the one side and *quintons* on the other without a practical purpose.

Corrette further published a *Methode pour apprendre facilement à jouer du Pardessus de Viole à 5 et à 6 cordes* (Method to learn easily how to play the five- and six-string pardessus) (Paris, 1738), focusing on the “*Pardessus de Viole à 5 cordes*, named by some *Quinton*, a new musical instrument ... recently invented by Mr.***, ... a kind of androgynous instrument, set with five strings, which takes after the pardessus de viole and the violin.”³⁸ Corrette describes its tuning—meant to facilitate access to the violin literature³⁹—derived from the violin (the two lower fifths *g-d'*, *d'-a'*), and from the pardessus à six cordes (the two upper fourths *a'-d''*, *d''-g''*), from which it also borrowed its frets and bowing rules.⁴⁰ The fact that the actual body of this “androgynous” instrument was different was self-evident, since Corrette was counting on the illustration to which he alludes on page 5 (“*Voyez l’Estempe*”), and which, for unknown reasons, failed to be published (Figure 3).

Quinton and Five-String Pardessus

What made matters more complicated is that c. 1730, parallel to the invention of the quinton, the pardessus began to be produced in a five-string version as well. This introduced to the market two models of five-string high treble viols: one called *quinton* or *pardessus de viole*, violin-shaped, and the other called simply *pardessus de viole*, viol-shaped, a five-string version of the

³⁸ “...Pardessus de Viole a 5. Cordes nommé par quelques uns Quinton nouvel instrument de Musique nouvellement inventé par Mr.*** ... une espece d’instrument androgyné monté a 5. cordes qui tient du Pardessus de Viole et du Violon.” Corrette, *Methode ... pardessus de viole*, 1.

³⁹ “... Cet accord [of the quinton] est plus commode pour jouer des Sonates ... pour jouer des Sonates de Violon avec cet accord [of the six-string pardessus de viole] cela est embarrassant et même presque impossible.” Corrette, *Methode ... pardessus de viole*, 1–2.

⁴⁰ The viol, quinton, and double-bass had their bowstrokes reversed as compared to the violin family.

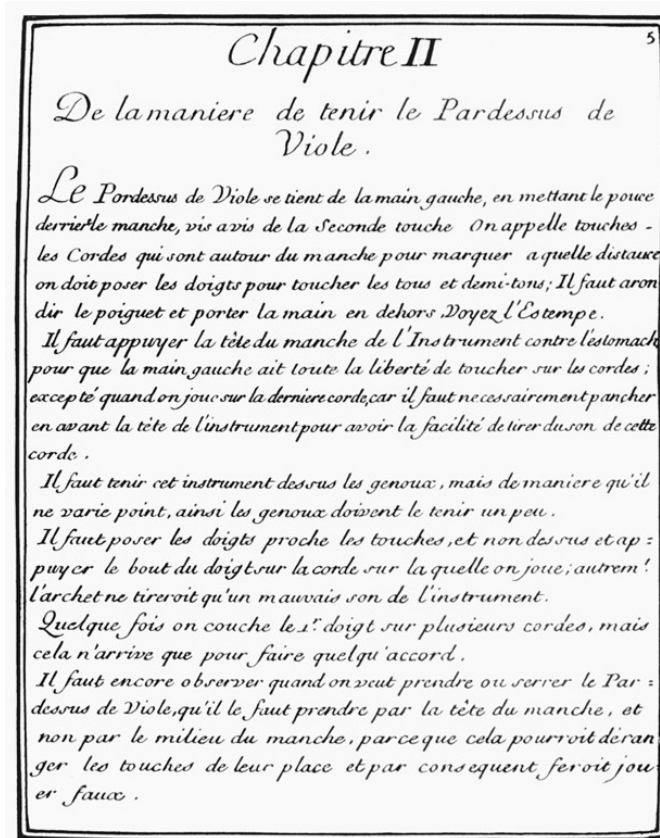


Figure 3. Michel Corrette, *Methode pour apprendre facilement à jouer du pardessus de viole à 5 et à 6 cordes* (Paris 1738), p. 5. See the instruction “Voyez l’Estempe” at the end of the first paragraph.

six-string pardessus.⁴¹ It is significant that Corrette refers to both instruments when commending their virtues for women, as opposed to the violin: “...they have yet great trouble in ascending on

⁴¹ According to Green, “the pardessus itself was altered considerably in the 1730s, in that the bodies became somewhat thinner and the sound ceased to be so treble-like.” R. A. Green, personal communication, November 1996.

the first string... which is done without shifting on the first string of the quinton, as well as on the five-string pardessus.”⁴²

The doubt among researchers concerning which form of high treble viol Corrette might be referring to in his method has been created, on the one hand, by the missing illustration, and on the other, by the peculiarities of the French nomenclature of the time, which has made it utterly impossible to distinguish between the two forms.⁴³ In French, instruments were often designated by their role in the harmony. The words *dessus* and *basse*, for instance, meaning upper and lower parts respectively, were used for naming different instruments such as *dessus de viole* (treble viol), *dessus de violon* (violin), *basse de viole*, and *basse de violon*.⁴⁴ The word *pardessus* meant solely a very high voice, the voice above the top one—above the *dessus*, *par-dessus*; it referred to the context of voices or parts rather than to organological features of a given instrument.

It is not likely that the main object of Corrette’s method would have been any other than the violin-shaped quinton. It would not make sense to treat a simple change in tuning and the omission of a string (the case of the viol-shaped *pardessus à cinq cordes*) as the invention of a new instrument, especially in the light of the viol’s long tradition of alternative tunings (*tablature*) and subtraction and addition of strings. The seventeenth-century French writers Mersenne and Trichet, for instance, refer to five- and six-string viols, the first tuned in fourths and the latter tuned in fourths with a third in the middle,⁴⁵ a tuning favored by Mersenne “although we may

⁴²“... elles ont encore une peine infinie a monter sur la chanterelle ... ce qui se fait sans démancher sur la Ire. Corde du Quinton, ainsi qu’au Pardessus a 5 Cordes.” Corrette, *Methode ... pardessus de viole*, 3.

⁴³“Il est troublant de noter que Corrette assimile le pardessus à 5 cordes au Quinton.” Dubuquoy-Portois, “Le Pardessus de viole au XVIIIe siècle,” 137.

⁴⁴“PARTIE. f.f. C’est le nom de chaque Voix ou Mélodie séparée, dont la réunion forme le Concert ... On divise aussi la Musique Instrumentale en quatre Parties: qui répondent à celles de la Musique Vocale, & qui s’appellent Dessus, Quinte, Taille & Basse.” Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1768; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1969), 362–63.

⁴⁵“...les chordes de chasque viole ayant cinq rangs se montent tousjours de quatre en quatre; quant a celles de six rangs leur accord consiste en deux quartes: par après l’on faict faire une tierce majeure, et puis deux autres quartes...” Pierre Trichet, *Traité des instruments de musique* (c. 1640), ed. François Lesure

tune the viol in many other ways.”⁴⁶ Even a change in tuning *and* in external form was no novelty, as Jean Rousseau points out in 1687: “... the first viols played in France had five strings ... their form was very close to the one of the violin ... when the form of the viol was changed, a sixth string was added, and the tuning was changed to what it is now.”⁴⁷ Mersenne credits Jacques Mauduit with the addition of the sixth string, while Rousseau gives us an account of the addition of the seventh string by Sainte Colombe.⁴⁸ With this background in mind, we may be sure that only significant organological changes would justify references to the “invention” of a “new instrument.”

The question remains whether the quinton preceded the five-string pardessus or not. My own view is that the five-string viol-shaped pardessus started as an adaptation of the six-string one, an alternative version inspired by the advent of the new instrument, the quinton. This would explain why we find many extant six-string pardessus adapted as five-string ones,⁴⁹ and why the body dimensions of the two versions, when built by the same

(Geneva: Minkoff, 1978), 169. See also Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (Paris, 1636; reprint, Paris: CNRS, 1975), IV: 191–93.

⁴⁶ “... encore que l’on puisse accorder la Viole *en plusieurs autres manieres...*” Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV: 193.

⁴⁷ “Les premieres Violes dont on a joué en France estoient à cinq cordes ... la figure de cette Viole aprochoit fort de la Basse de Violon ... quand on changea la Viole de figure, on y ajoûta une sixième corde, & on changea l’accord comme il est aujourd’huy.” Jean Rousseau, *Traité de la viole*, 19–20.

⁴⁸ “... Jacques Mauduit a ajouté la 6 corde aux violes, qui n’en avoient que cinq auparavant...” Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, preface to book I, vol I: v. “C’est aussi à Monsieur de Sainte Colombe que nous sommes obligez de la septième corde qu’il a ajoûtée à la Viole, & dont il a par ce moyen augmenté l’estenduë d’une Quarte.” Jean Rousseau, *Traité de la viole*, 24.

⁴⁹ For example: a six-string Vauboam (Paris, 1719) has a second set of five holes drilled in its original tailpiece; a six-string Barbey (Paris, 1745), built for six pegs in the peg-box, was never strung with more than five strings, for the sixth peg has no string hole and the apparently original tailpiece has only five holes; a six-string Feyzeau (Bordeaux, 1748), has its tailpiece drilled also for five strings; a six-string Gaviniès (Paris, 1756), has its pegholes bushed, plus another set of five plugged. This information derives from “A Viola da Gamba Database” on extant viols before the twentieth century, being compiled by Thomas G. MacCracken, Virginia, USA, in continuation of the work initiated by Peter Tourin in his *Viol list: A Comprehensive Catalogue of Historical Viole da Gamba in Public and Private Collections* (Duxbury, VT, 1979 and Oakton, VA, 1998).

maker, are either identical or nearly identical.⁵⁰ From the makers' standpoint it was quite simple to offer the two possibilities to the public, with five or six strings, using the same mold for the body and adapting neck, fingerboard, and peg-box according to the client's wishes. The five-string version of the viol-shaped pardessus did *not* supersede the six-string one, which continued to be built as late as 1760.⁵¹

This is why, in mid-eighteenth-century France, we find coexisting these two five-string small viols with different organological features, both being called *pardessus* (high treble) and both fulfilling precisely the same musical role (Figure 4). This is why we shall possibly never know which form of high treble viol was played by the incomparable Mlle. Levi.⁵² And this is why not a single piece of music is ascribed to the quinton: as a five-string high treble viol, the whole of its repertory can be found under the heading *pardessus de viole à cinq cordes*.⁵³ For musical purposes there

⁵⁰ Guersan is a good example: his 1750 six-string pardessus in the Leipzig University Collection has a body length of 32.8 cm, exactly the same as his 1760 five-string in the Caldwell Collection; the body widths of both instruments differ by millimeters. See MacCracken, "Viola da Gamba Database."

⁵¹ MacCracken, "Viola da Gamba Database." On those grounds I therefore disagree with the view that: "the six-stringed pardessus was a modification of the treble, while the five-stringed instrument was a newly created instrument ... the six-stringed instrument was part of a continuum, but the five-stringed pardessus was the result of a disruption in that continuum." Tina Chancey, "Gender, Class, and Eighteenth-Century French Music: Barthélemy de Caix's *Six Sonatas for Two Unaccompanied Pardessus de Viole*," *JVdGSA* 33 (1996): 53.

⁵² Mademoiselle Levi was the most celebrated player of the pardessus de viole. She was born in Brittany c.1715 and performed several times at the Concert Spirituel in 1745, with extraordinary success. She played with brilliance and sweetness, displaying great virtuosity: see *Mercure de France, 1745–1770* (reprint, Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970); Ancelet, *Observations sur la musique*: 24; C.R. Brijon, *Méthode nouvelle et facile pour apprendre à jouer du par-dessus de viole* (Lyons, 1766): 3; François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1863), 5:293.

⁵³ For a bibliography of music for pardessus de viole and quinton see the important contribution of Terry Pratt, "The Dessus and Pardessus de Viole in France from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries" (dissertation, Basel, 1977), 42–47; Adrian Rose, "The Solo Repertoire for Dessus and Pardessus de Violes," *Chelys* 9 (1980): 14–22; Hazelle Miloradovitch, "Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Transcriptions for Viols of Music by Corelli and Marais in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: Sonatas and Pièces de Viole," *Chelys* 12 (1983):



Figure 4. Quinton (left) as compared with viol-shaped pardessus de viole (right): France mid-eighteenth century. (Photo: Dov Tana)

was no need to differentiate between the two instruments, since they shared the same tuning and were played in the same way.

There were, nevertheless, other areas where differentiation was important. In the Parisian business milieu, whenever instruments were to be appraised, bought, or sold, the difference between the pardessus (from now on, used in the sense of the viol-shaped instrument) and the violin-like quinton, was clear-cut and translated into sums of money. This is the case in the inventories of the Parisian luthiers Véron, Grosset, Boivin, Guersan, Lambert, Salomon, Louvet, and LeJeune, carried out by colleague *maitre-luthiers* during 1731–84, where the two instruments were evaluated separately. This was still true after the French Revolution, when Bruni inventoried the musical instruments confiscated from the aristocracy and high bourgeoisie (1793–94), listing five pardessus and four quintons. The distinction was carried on through time, chiefly

47–73; Robert A. Green, “The Pardessus de Viole and Its Literature,” *Early Music* 10 (1982): 301–8; and Green, “Recent Research and Conclusions,” 111–14. [Author update: See also Richard Sutcliffe, “Re-examining the Pardessus de Viole and Its Literature, Part II: Repertoire from 1722 to c. 1790,” *JVdGSA* 38 (2001): 27–77.]

among French luthiers, dealers, and researchers.⁵⁴ And there can be no possible doubt about what was what, because pardessus were classified according to the technique employed on the making of their flat back, which could be *uny* (made of a single wood) or *à bandes* (veneered with stripes of light and dark wood),⁵⁵ a procedure altogether absent on quintons.

It is important to note that, while quintons were called alternatively pardessus (high treble) due to their musical function, the reverse is not true—viol-shaped pardessus de viole were never called quintons, because this word referred to a specific instrument with characteristic organological features.

Construction

The construction of quintons exhibited several interesting peculiarities, as the expert restorer Fred Lindeman of Amsterdam has pointed out to me.⁵⁶ First of all, in a number of quintons he examined, “the ribs were glued into a groove in the back, archaic construction used in France at the very beginning of the eighteenth century in instruments of the violin family” (Figure 5). It is noteworthy that “halfway into the 18th century the makers in Paris used the normal way of ribs upon the back” for their violins, violas, and cellos, but still made quintons in this old-fashioned way as late as 1760. I brought to Lindeman’s attention the absence of molds for quintons in the eighteenth-century inventories of Parisian luthiers—although there were many for violins, bass viols and pardessus. His explanation is that quintons were either built the old-fashioned way and in this case “the archaic technique doesn’t

⁵⁴ We find it in Constant Pierre, *Les facteurs d’instruments de musique* (Paris, 1893; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1971); Albert Jacquot, *La Lutherie lorraine et française depuis ses origines jusqu’à nos jours* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1912; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1985); Paul Garnault, “Les Violes,” *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, ed. Albert Lavignac and Lionel de La Laurencie (Paris, 1925), 1753–93; René Vannes, *Dictionnaire universel des luthiers*, 2nd ed., ed. Claude Lebet (Bruxelles: Les Amis de la musique, 1959). [Author update: While Jacquot, Garnault, and Vannes can no longer be trusted for this matter, the reader should instead refer to Gétreau, ed., *Instrumentistes et luthiers parisiens*, and Milliot, *Les luthiers du XVIIIe siècle*.]

⁵⁵ For example, see Louis Guersan’s inventory 1758 (Milliot, *Les luthiers du XVIIIe siècle*, 330).

⁵⁶ The following quotations are extracts from personal correspondence with Fred J. Lindeman.

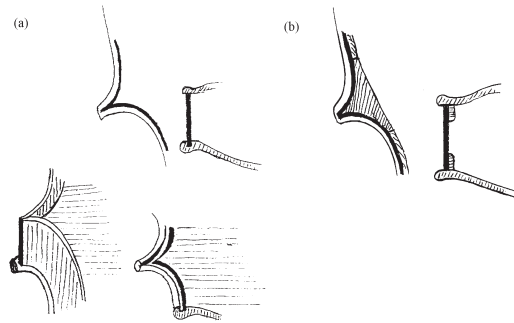


Figure 5. Construction of instruments of the violin family:
 (a) archaic—without corner blocks or linings, ribs into the groove of the back;
 (b) modern—with corner blocks and ribs with linings.
 (Drawings: Fred Lindeman)

use molds at all; the back of the instrument is made first, next the ribs placed in the grooves, etc.,” or else they were “made the modern way around the available violin mold, . . . and there is no technical problem to shape the ribs of a quinton body using an inside mold for a violin.” Second, Lindeman observed that carved heads on quintons were often bigger than the ones on violins and similar in size to the ones on pardessus. Third, the necks of quintons were apparently built forecasting the use of frets: they were flatter than those of violins, and “I observed a number of original necks deeply cut-out at the heel (where the neck-foot is put upon the body) . . . I guess that this was done to create a place for the highest fret” (Figure 6). Otherwise, “while the bellies had violin-length (sometimes even a bit on the short side), the necks, in relation to them, were slightly on the long side according to today’s standard, but fitting with the French violin-necks of that period.”

From the actual finding of bows in the company of extant quintons and the few available illustrations, it is possible to learn that a variety of bows, most of them long, were used for the instrument, ranging from the early models with clip-in frogs and elongated heads (see Figure 1), to later ones with screw-buttons and

heads in quasi “hammer” shape.⁵⁷ I doubt if special bows were ever made for the quinton; I would rather assume that customers tried to be equipped with the very best violin bows available on the market.

Zenith

Quintons were made all over France. Paris produced the most elaborate examples, with heads often carved by the extraordinary Lafille (Boquay, Boivin, Castagnery, Chappuy, Cousineau, Fleury, Grosset, Guersan, LeJeune, Louvet, Ouvrard, Salomon, etc.).

Other centers of manufacture included Bordeaux (Gaviniès), Metz (Gilbert), Mirecourt (Bourdot, Colin, Nicolas, Pacherele, and also unlabeled and more modest works, bearing simple scrolls), Tournai (De Comble), Troyes (Aubert), and Valenciennes (Chatelin).⁵⁸ They were also built and played in England, Germany, and even Sweden.⁵⁹ The popularity enjoyed by the instrument was such that Guersan’s violins and even Cremonese ones

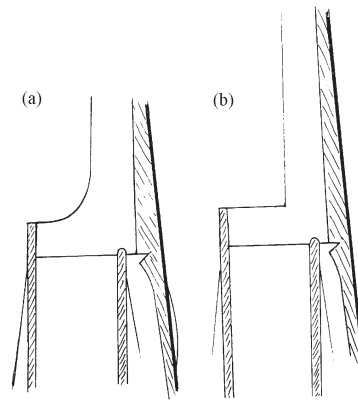


Figure 6. Neck and fingerboard of
(a) eighteenth-century violin,
(b) eighteenth-century quinton.
(Drawings: Fred Lindeman)

⁵⁷ See item 34 in Geneviève Thibault, with Jean Jenkins and Josiane Bran-Ricci, *Eighteenth-Century Musical Instruments: France and Britain* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1973).

⁵⁸ These instruments are studied in volume II (A Catalogue) of the author’s dissertation (see note 1). See also Pierre, *Les facteurs d’instruments de musique*; Jacquot, *La Lutherie lorraine et française*; Willibald Leo Freiherr von Lutgendorff, *Die Geigen und Lautenmacher vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, 3 vols. (Tutzing: Schneider, 1904–09); Vannes, *Dictionnaire universel des luthiers*; correspondence with Lindeman, MacCracken, and Musée de la Musique. See also MacCracken’s database.

⁵⁹ On Germany and England, see Carsten Dürer, “Das Quinton, ein vergessenes Streichinstrument zwischen Violine und Gambe,” *Instrumentenbau-Zeitschrift—Musik International* 43 (June, 1989): 28, and MacCracken, “Viola da Gamba Database.” A Bohemian example appeared as lot 474 in Sotheby’s



Figure 7. Quinton d'amour
This eighteenth-century
instrument by Jean Colin is
now at the Metropolitan
Museum of Art, New York.
(Photo: Tony Bingham)

were transformed into quintons.⁶⁰ Quinton d'amour versions also appeared, with sympathetic strings in the fashion of the viola d'amore (Figure 7).⁶¹

Quintons fetched high prices on the market, rivaling the most elaborate pardessus. They were assessed between 6 or 7 *livres* up to 30 *livres* (Guersan), falling to 2 or 3 *livres* (20–40 *sols*) in 1784. Prices of pardessus displayed even greater variety, usually from 2 to 36 *livres* (for Guersan's models *à bandes*), attaining 120 or 140 *livres* in the 1760s, to end up being rated at 1 *franc* (Koliker, 1798) or 30 *centimes* (J. B. Lejeune, 1801).⁶²

A number of instruments also appeared that fall in between the two models of five-string pardessus, the viol-like and the violin-like. They are difficult to

Musical Instruments auction of 5 December 1977. The Museum of Music in Stockholm owns a beautiful quinton with a finely decorated scroll, by the Swedish maker Sven Beckman (1717–62), made in Stockholm 1758. Beckman is said to have worked in Königsberg in the late 1730s, returning to Sweden in 1740, where he became a leading master and was appointed Court Instrument Maker in 1756; see Bengt Nilsson, *Svensk fiolbyggar konst (Swedish Violin Making)* (Malmö: September, 1988), 11–13.

⁶⁰ *Annonces, Affiches, Avis divers*, period 1752–89 (Milliot, *Les luthiers du XVIIIe siècle*, 148); Antonio Bartolomeo Bruni, *Un inventaire sous la Terreur* (Paris: Chamerot, 1890; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1984), 91 (“Un quinton en forme de violon”).

⁶¹ Michael Heale in correspondence has brought to my attention an instrument by Jean Colin c. 1750, now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Its “neck has distinct marks where frets have been tied on in the past, presumably when the varnish was fairly fresh ... The sympathetic strings, of which there are six, run under the fingerboard and are fixed at the bottom of the instrument to brass nails which are inserted into an ebony plate, either side of the tailpiece saddle, set flush with the ribs.” Another example by Salomon (Paris, 1740s) can be seen in Anthony Baines, *European and American Musical Instruments* (New York: Viking, 1966), ill. 133, although misclassified as a *violon d'amour*.

⁶² Milliot, *Les luthiers du XVIIIe siècle*, 142, 320–71.

classify, and the degree of deviation from the standard forms is variable. We find instruments by Gilbert and Salomon, made in the 1750s, viol-shaped with an arched back and modified *f*-holes, with ribs of intermediate height.⁶³

The earliest extant quinton, as far as the present stage of research allows us to know, is an instrument made in 1733 by Andrea Castagneri (1696–1747), preserved at the Musée Bernard d’Agesci, Niort, France. The last maker to build them seems to have been François Lejeune in the early 1770s.⁶⁴

Although in use until the French Revolution, the most significant part of the quinton’s life-span corresponds to the early Classical period (c. 1730–c. 1770), with a “golden era”⁶⁵ around the 1750s, when prices were at their height and its literature at its most fecund. This era coincided with the debut of Diderot’s *Encyclopédie* (1751), and the explosion of the Querelle des Bouffons (1752).⁶⁶

The quinton was an answer to a specific need: “if one wishes to play violin concertos and sonatas, one should necessarily play the quinton, taking into account that the good composers after Corelli have written all their *simphonies* for the violin, while there are only four books of music composed specifically for the six-string pardessus ... one cannot always play the same thing all one’s life.”⁶⁷

⁶³ For Gilbert see illustration in Nobuko Uchino, “Catalogue of the European Musical Instruments...in the Ueno Gakuen Collection,” *JVdGSA* 23 (1986): 31, 46–47.

⁶⁴ MacCracken, “Viola da Gamba Database.” [Author update: An instrument made by Bourdot in 1772 is cited in Vannes, *Dictionnaire universel des luthiers*, 39; Lejeune’s last known quinton dates from 1768, but the inventory made on the occasion of his wife’s death in 1784 lists a significant number of quintons.]

⁶⁵ “Période brillante,” first hinted at by Sylvette Milliot in her letter of June 1995.

⁶⁶ One of the most virulent arguments between supporters of French and Italian music.

⁶⁷ “Si vous voulez jouer des Concerto et Sonates de Violon, il faut necessairement jouer du Quinton, attendu que les bons Auteurs depuis Corelli, ont composé toutes leurs Simphonies pour le Violon, et que pour le Pardessus a 6. cordes, il n’y a que 4. livres de Musique composez exprès ... on ne peut pas toujours jouer la même chose toute sa vie.” Corrette, *Methode ... pardessus de viole*, 2.

And ladies, well, "... ladies ... will never play the violin, because the position of the latter doesn't suit them ... if they wish to perform concertos or sonatas, it is surely more appropriate for them play the quinton rather than the six-string pardessus."⁶⁸ So they did. We know of the incomparable Mlle. Levi and her sister Mme. Haubault, of Mlle. Hilaire, Mlle. Lafont, Mme. de Genlis, de Bonneville, de Montbas, and so many others, including the daughters of Louis XV, Sophie and Adelaide.⁶⁹

Decline

But one could not "stop the progress of the triumphing violin, inasmuch as one would not have stopped the movement of the sun."⁷⁰ As it became gradually accepted for the upper classes to play the violin,⁷¹ both forms of pardessus enjoyed a progressive loss of their character as viols. The first unmistakable signs of this process began to show in the 1760s, a decade in which Rameau's death (1764) marked the end of an era, and that witnessed the rise of virtuosity in violin-playing and the first expressions of Romanticism, as well as the diffusion of new social ideas that would lead ultimately to the French Revolution.

Those winds of change could not but affect very seriously both forms of pardessus de viole, so closely linked to the monarchy and its values. The *salon*, which had once nurtured them, was now the nest of transformation. The first stage of decline was soon to be seen, in the "conversion" from five to four strings, and the change

⁶⁸ "... les Dames ... ne joueront jamais du Violon, par ce que la position de ce dernier ne leur convient point ... si les Dames veulent executer des Concerto ou des Sonates, il est surement plus apropos qu'elles joient du Quinton, que du Pardessus a 6. cordes..." Corrette, *Methode ... pardessus de viole*, 3. A notable exception is Mlle. Hauteterre, a performer, composer, and possibly violin teacher, who appeared at the Concert Spirituel as early as 1737; see Lionel de La Laurencie, *L'école française de violon de Lully à Viotti*, 3 vols. (Paris: Delagrave, 1922–24), 2:130–31.

⁶⁹ Upon the back of a quinton owned by Michael Heale "is scratched the name of a one time owner, Mllence D....oz." Correspondence Heale–Herzog. See also *La musique à la cour de Louis XIV et Louis XV d'après les memoires de Sourches et Luynes 1681–1758*, ed. Norbert Dufourcq (Paris: Picard, 1970).

⁷⁰ "... ne pouvaient pas plus arrêter les progrès du violon triomphant qu'ils n'auraient arrêté le mouvement du soleil!" Garnault, "Les violes," 1790–91.

⁷¹ "Le violon vint de plus en plus à la mode, & les gens de condition eurent la permission d'en jouer." Ancelet, *Observations sur la musique*, 13.

to violin tuning and fingering, hinted at already in 1761 by L'Abbé le fils in his *Principes du Violon*, a milestone for French violin playing: "Those who play the four-string pardessus de viole can make use of these *Principes*, provided that they give to the letters *t* [pull bow] and *p* [push bow] an opposite meaning to the one found in this book."⁷² Brijon would confirm this in his *Methode nouvelle et facile pour apprendre à jouer du pardessus de viole* (1766): "In Paris many people play the four-string pardessus de viole."⁷³ Brijon's *new* method went even further, recommending a change to the overhand bowgrip of the violin, including the reversal of all bowings. This advice might not have had followers, judging by Corrette's comments in his 1781 double-bass method.⁷⁴

The removal of frets might also have been part of the decharacterization of the instrument (whose neck, as I have pointed out, had been originally built to accommodate them). Frets seem absent from Carmontelle's water-color *Mlle. de Bernay playing a quinton* (1764) (see Figure 1); however, they can be easily seen in two paintings of a later period (1770–73) by Anne Vallayer-Coster (one of which is reproduced here as Figure 8). No written eighteenth-century source mentions quintons or pardessus ever having been played either *da braccio* or without frets.

It is no wonder that the process of loss of identity would find expression in the "enlightened" literature of the time. A case worth

⁷² "Les Personnes qui jouent du Par-dessus-de Viole à quatre Cordes peuvent faire usage de ces Principes, en observant seulement de donner aux Lettres *t* et *p* une signification contraire à celle que l'on trouvera dans ce Livre." L'Abbé le fils (Joseph-Barnabé Saint-Sevin), *Principes du violon* (Paris, 1761; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1976), title page.

⁷³ "...A Paris beaucoup de personnes jouent du par-dessus de Viole à quatre cordes..." Brijon, *Methode nouvelle*, 10. On the contents of Brijon's method see Pratt, "The Dessus and Pardessus de Viole," 13; and Pratt, "The Playing Technique of the Dessus and Pardessus de Viole," *Chelys* 8 (1978–79): 55–56.

⁷⁴ "L'Archet de la contre-basse se tient comme celui de la Viole et celui du quinton... A l'égard des coups d'archet les contre-bassiers sont gueres d'accord sur cela, les uns veulent, avec assez de raison par rapport à la maniere de tenir l'archet, que les notes longues se jouent en poussant et les notes breves en tirant comme à l'ancienne Viole et au quinton; d'autres pretendent au contraire qu'il faut jouer les longues en tirant et les breves en poussant comme au Violoncelle." Corrette, *Methodes pour apprendre à jouer de la contre-basse à 3. à 4. et à 5. cordes, de la quinte ou alto et de la viole d'Orphée* (Paris, 1781; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1977), 7–8.



Figure 8. Anne Vallayer-Coster (1744–1818), *Instruments de musique* (1770), including a (fretted) quinton.
(Paris, Musée du Louvre, INV 8260; © photo RMN)

examining is the first edition of Diderot’s *Encyclopédie*. In two entries, the first of which is by Louis, Chevalier de Jaucourt, viols are defined as instruments “with the outline of the violin,” “of the violin category,” their construction being “the same as that of the violin” (see Figure 9).⁷⁵ However, in the “Table of correspondence of the ranges of voices and musical instruments as compared to the harpsichord” they appear as a family on their own, distinct from the violin family.⁷⁶ The table’s many idiosyncrasies and contradictions with the written text can only be understood through the investigation of its origins.⁷⁷ It was elaborated by Jacques Delusse, a contemporary *woodwind* maker, based on an old chart in Joseph

⁷⁵ Vol. 17 (1765): “VIOLE, f.f. (Lutherie) instrument de musique, qui est de même figure que le violon ...” (310); “VIOLE, basse de, (Instrument de Musique.) de la classe des violons ... la facture de cet instrument est la même que celle du violon ...” (311).

⁷⁶ “Table du Rapport de l’étendue des Voix et des Instruments de Musique comparés au Clavecin,” plates volume (1767), plate XXII.

⁷⁷ Eric Halfpenny, “Diderot’s Tunings for the Violin Family,” *The Galpin Society Journal* 26 (May, 1974): 15–20.

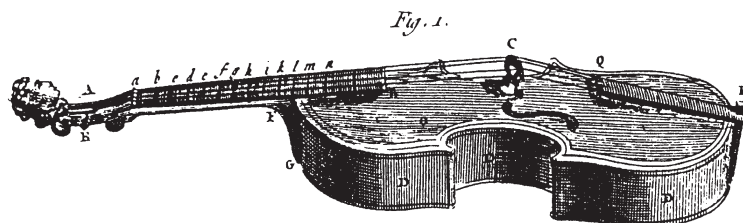


Figure 9. Basse de viole, as depicted in plate XI, “Lutherie, Instruments qui se touchent avec l’archet,” by Goussier, from Diderot and D’Alembert’s *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (Paris, 1751–80), vol. 26 (1767).

Sauveur’s *Principes d’acoustique et de musique* (1701); for this reason, it “reflects an earlier organization ... rather than anything contemporary with the *Encyclopédie* itself.”⁷⁸ The viol family represented at Delusse’s table is typical of the early 1700s and is therefore anachronistic:⁷⁹ it still includes the *dessus*, which by the second half of the century had fallen in disuse; it omits the six-string *viole* and the viol-shaped *pardessus à cinq cordes*; it joins the quinton to the violin family possibly on the grounds of resemblance and of the ongoing process of decharacterization.

As late as 1780, LaBorde’s *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* confirms that *pardessus* was an alternative name for the violin-shaped instrument: “It is a kind of violin with a neck resembling that of the viol, bearing frets; this instrument has five strings ... to play the *pardessus* we rest it upright on the knees, holding the bow with the right hand turned upside down ... the bass viol and the *pardessus* are the only [viols] still in use sometimes.”⁸⁰ (See Figure 10.)

⁷⁸ Halfpenny, “Diderot’s Tunings,” 19.

⁷⁹ Seven-string *basse* (*A’-D-G-c-e-a-d’*), *dessus* (*d-g-c’-e’-a-d’’*) and six-string *pardessus* (*g-c’-e’-a’-d’’-g’’*), indeed a replica of the viol family in Sauveur’s table, as Dr. Robert Green has kindly checked for me.

⁸⁰ “Viole (Par-dessus de). Est une espece de Violon avec un manche ressemblant à celui de la Viole, & dont les touches sont marquées; cet instrument a cinq cordes ... pour jouer du Par-dessus, on l’appuie droit sur les genoux, & on tient l’archet avec la main droite renversée ... la Basse de Viole & le Par-dessus,



*Pardessus de Viole
à 5 Cordes.*

Page 308.

Figure 10. Quinton, from Jean Benjamin de La Borde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1780).

portrayed might have been brought to Turkey by gypsies, a most likely explanation, since it is known among luthiers that some of the violins used nowadays by European gypsies for fiddling are still in Baroque condition.

Music for the *pardessus de viole à cinq cordes* was published as late as 1780,⁸¹ and the instrument was still taught in 1785, when the *Tablettes de Renommée des Musiciens pour servir à l'Almanach Dauphin* mentions four teachers.⁸²

After their time passed, quintons were scattered throughout the world, played as violins or used simply for decoration. I recently found just one such testimony on a visit to Istanbul, where a carpet shop exhibited a still-life c. 1965 by an anonymous Turkish-Armenian painter, depicting a quinton (Figure 11).⁸³ According to the shop owner, the instrument

sont les seuls dont on se sert encore quelquefois....” Jean-Benjamin de La Borde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* (Paris, 1780), 1:308.

⁸¹ The publication of the first of Lendormy’s two books of *Pièces* was announced in the *Mercure de France*, January 1779; see Adrian Rose, “The Pardessus de Viole: Notes for a Master’s Thesis,” *Chelys* 24 (1995): 43.

⁸² Barry S. Brook, *La Symphonie française dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle*, 3 vols. (Paris: Institut de Musicologie de l’Université de Paris, 1962), 1: 25.

⁸³ I am indebted to Antonio Onderoglu, La Casa de Varol, Istanbul, for allowing the picture to be reproduced and providing information on the painting.

Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Views

In our times there have been numerous reasons for the cloud of mystery around the quinton: as a late French viol, its hybrid nature has been the main obstacle to its proper study. On the one hand, since they do not really belong to the violin family, late French viols have not been considered worthy of attention; on the other hand, as viols “contaminated” by violin

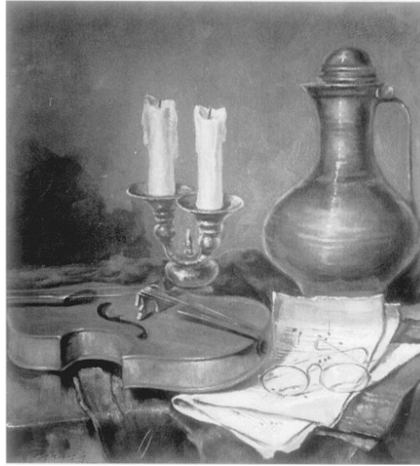


Figure 11. Still-life with quinton, by anonymous Turkish-Armenian painter, c. 1965.

features, they have been subject to ostracism owing to the *prejudice* of viol players and lovers of the viol seeking “purity” and a clear-cut separation from the violin family.

Only on account of this last factor is it possible to understand the entry in the 1954 edition of *Grove*: “the *rather ugly word* Quinton seems to have originated as a 19th-century *dealers’ name* to describe a curious hybrid sort of viol-violin that occasionally turns up.... Modern research *condemns* the use of the word for *true viols ...*” (my emphases).⁸⁴ This also explains Dart’s assertion that “during the eighteenth century certain hybrids between the two families of viols and violins made a brief appearance on the musical scene—for instance, the quinton, the baryton and the arpeggione—but few musicians regretted their equally abrupt departure.”⁸⁵

The history of the quinton in modern literature is quite short: not much has been written (the instrument still has no entry in the newest edition of *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*), and,

⁸⁴ Gerald Hayes, “Quint, Quinte, Quintus, Quinton,” *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th ed. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1954), 6:1037.

⁸⁵ Thurston Dart, “The Viols,” *Musical Instruments through the Ages*, rev. ed., ed. Anthony Baines (London: Penguin, 1969), 189.

as we saw at the outset, what has been written is often inaccurate. Delusse's table showing the quinton with the violin family became the major source for a significant number of modern writers, who as a result classified it as a five-string violin.⁸⁶ Another trend identified quinton with *quinte*,⁸⁷ the alternative word for "alto" in French, meaning viola or viola player.⁸⁸ Some authors tried also to establish a connection between the quinton and seventeenth-century sources, unaware that the instrument is a product of the eighteenth century.⁸⁹

The still incipient research into extant quintons is especially problematic, not only because already in the eighteenth century many instruments were converted into violins, but also because of the terminological intricacies discussed above. For this reason it is important that the precise meaning of the term quinton should be preserved, avoiding the anachronistic and indiscriminate use to designate five-string instruments other than the violin-shaped high treble viol described here.

Quintons, when played as viols, with viol technique, appropriate tuning, and use of frets, yield a charming, beguiling sound, with a very characteristic ring. We were familiar with the sound of

⁸⁶ Among others, Curt Sachs, "Quinton," *Reallexicon der Musikinstrumente* (Berlin, 1913; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1962), 312–13; Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: Norton, 1940), 361; Brenet, *Dictionnaire pratique et historique*, 379; Bessaraboff, *Ancient European Musical Instruments*, 303; Kurt Geiringer, *Musical Instruments* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1943), 155; Willi Apel, *Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1944), 621; Robert Donington, *The Instruments of Music* (London: Methuen, 1970), 80; Thibault, Jenkins, and Bran-Ricci, *Eighteenth-Century Musical Instruments: France and Britain*, 30.

⁸⁷ Among others, Hugo Riemann, "Quinton," *Musik Lexikon*, ed. Alfred Einstein (Berlin: Hesse, 1929), 1455; Sachs, "Quinton," 313; *Enciclopedia della Musica*, ed. Sartori, 519; *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1984), 3:176.

⁸⁸ "QUINTE, est aussi le nom qu'on donne en France à cette Partie instrumentale de remplissage qu'en Italie on appelle Viola ... Le nom de cette partie a passé à l'instrument qui la joue." Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique*, 396.

⁸⁹ See, among others, Sachs, "Quinton," 312–13; *Enciclopedia della Musica*, ed. Sartori, 519; *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, 3:176; "Quinton," *Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 712; and "Quinton," *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music*, 676.

our family's quinton (one of the many that had lost a string in the course of time), which had for many decades been played violin-like, and tuned violin-way, and were utterly surprised when it came back from restoration with its fifth string. Upon receiving thick gut frets, appropriate strings and tuning, being held on the lap and played viol-way, it rewarded us with an unexpected fairy-tale sound! Restoration has given it back not merely a string, but its character, which is well described by Corrette: "The quinton has a delightful sound because it possesses the fluted high register of the pardessus de viole, and the sonorous bass register of the violin—it sounds much better than the ordinary pardessus, the table being less loaded with strings."⁹⁰ This is a perfectly accurate description of the sound not only of the quinton but of late French viols in general.⁹¹

Summary

Let us sum up. The quinton is a late French viol, sharing features of the violin family, in use mostly during the early Classical period. It appeared in France between 1725 and 1730, as a viol response to the prestige of Italian violin music in that country, and became an instrument favored by ladies, with whom it shared the *salon* and the Concert Spirituel. It had five strings, tuned *g–d'–a'–d''–g''*, and seven gut frets. It was played on the lap, with underhand bow grip, all bow strokes being reversed as compared with the violin, like any viol. Its sound has a characteristic ring, combining the resonance of the viol's high register with the solid-

⁹⁰ "Le Quinton a un son ravissant puis qu'il a les dessus flutez du Pardessus de Viole, et les basses sonores du Violon; il sonne beaucoup mieux que le Pardessus ordinaire, la Table étant moins chargée de corde." Corrette, *Methode...pardessus de viole*, 2.

⁹¹ "Once again I was intrigued by the character of your gamba (Castagneri), a mixture of gamba as well as cello characteristics. The gamba overtones partly because of the tuning, of course, so the gamba-color of sound. But much less narrow than an average gamba, with the fullness and maybe thickness sometimes of the cello. In short, the instrument sounds like its body is, a most interesting mixture; and being made by a first class maker, ... if I may suggest so, much more a kind of development of the old-fashioned gamba in an attempt to add to the gamba-elegance as known, the other type of power which the cello has..." Fred Lindeman, letter of 5 April 1995. For more on this instrument, see Herzog, "Finding out the True Identity of the Castagneri Viol: a Detective Story," *JVdGSA* 31 (1994): 60–73.

ity of the violin basses—a feature typical of late French viols. Parallel to the quinton’s invention, the viol-shaped *pardessus de viole à six cordes* began to be produced also in a five-string version, which adopted the quinton tuning.

Both quinton and five-string *pardessus*, tuned and used in the same way although organologically different, were called *pardessus de viole à cinq cordes* or five-string high treble viols, according to their musical function. Differentiation between them occurred for buying and selling matters, when organological features prevailed over musical ones. The word *quinton* had a specific and non-interchangeable meaning (a viol with violin-like shape) and was never used to designate the viol-shaped *pardessus*.

Quintons were quite popular, made and played all over France and also outside it. They had peculiarities in their construction that demanded a high degree of workmanship and achieved high prices on the market. Between quintons and viol-shaped *pardessus*, a number of intermediate forms appeared, mainly viol-shaped instruments with an arched back and narrower ribs. The quinton was in use possibly until the French Revolution; it enjoyed a “golden” phase in the 1750s, when a version with sympathetic strings appeared; after 1760 a decay began, translating itself into loss of character, expressed in the literature of the period. The erroneous classification of the quinton as a violin has been a major factor in preventing the understanding of its character and musical function.⁹²

Envoi

I shall borrow my final words from d’Aquin and Ancelet, both writing during “the golden era” of quinton and *pardessus*:

The viol, formerly very much in fashion, and above all in the last reign, has lost much of its credit, maybe because it does not yield enough sound, and it is almost never heard at the big concerts.⁹³

⁹² See Myrna Herzog and Robert A. Green, “Quinton,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 20:681–82.

⁹³ “La viole fort à la mode, autrefois, & surtout dans le dernier règne, a perdu beaucoup de son crédit, peut-être parce que elle ne rend pas assez de son, & qu’on ne l’entend presque point dans les grands Concerts.” d’Aquin, *Lettres sur les hommes célèbres*, 140.

The viol masters, seeing with sorrow their instrument neglected, have resorted to the five-string pardessus de viole, a well-permitted stratagem, and which has not failed to succeed, for the reason that we are always in need of novelty.⁹⁴

The quinton has a delightful sound...this instrument is one of the most perfect, because it enables us to play all kinds of music, sonatas as well as concertos.⁹⁵

Mademoiselle Levi has made the best of it: she has the talent of teaching well, and makes, so to speak, her instrument equal to the violin by the beauty of her execution.⁹⁶

To the memory of Joseph Feldman, my father-in-law, a passionate instruments collector, to whom I owe acquaintance with precious instruments and stories.



Figure 12. The author, playing a quinton, with her husband, Eliahu Feldman, playing a Baroque violin. For details of the three instruments in the picture, see the caption to Figure 2. (Photo: Raymond Asséo, 1998)

⁹⁴ “Les Maîtres de viole voyant avec douleur leur instrument negligé, ont eu recours au pardessus de viole a cinq cordes, stratagème bien permis, & qui n’a pas manqué de réussir, par la raison qu’il nous faut toujours du nouveau.” d’Aquin, *Lettres sur les hommes célèbres*: 144–45.

⁹⁵ “Le quinton a un son ravissant ... cet instrument est un des plus parfaits, puisqu’on peut avec lui executer toutes sortes de musiques tant Sonates que Concerto.” Corrette, *Methode ... pardessus de viole*, 2.

⁹⁶ “Mademoiselle Levi en a tiré le meilleur parti: elle a le talent de bien enseigner, & rend, pour ainsi dire, son Instrument égal au Violon par la beauté de son execution.” Ancelet, *Observations sur la musique*, 24.

THE RICHARD MEARES VIOL IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART RE-EVALUATED

Benjamin Hebbert

The collection of viols at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (MMA) contains a number of important English examples including fine and relatively uncomplicated specimens of the work of Barak Norman (1693) and Henry Smith (1629). Arguably the most striking viol in the collection (MMA Inv. No. 1982-324), traditionally attributed to Richard Meares circa 1680, has attracted discussion and controversy. This instrument has formerly been identified at best as a composite and at worst as a nineteenth-century fake. This article is intended to argue an altogether different perspective about the origin of this specimen.

The report of a “show and tell” visit to the Metropolitan Museum on 15 May 1992¹ records a view, suggested by Joe Peknik of the MMA’s musical instruments division, that the instrument revealed itself as “a composite of several instruments of unknown origin. Overlarge soundholes suggested that the table had been recut, carving on the pegbox jarred with decoration elsewhere, the head was out of proportion, and the retooling of the purfling hid ...what? Repair or reconstruction?” Another report, by Karel Moens in 1991, summarizes the probable attribution of the instrument as “composed from different recut old parts (some of 17th-century English origin??) and newer parts.”²

In May 2001 I was able to make a detailed examination of this instrument as part of my ongoing research into makers of the violin and viol in England. Having compared my findings to observations concerning other artifacts of the same period, I find myself in a position to give an opinion about the nature of this viol. With further research, including the discovery of several comparable in-

¹ *VdGSA News*, vol. 29, no. 3 (September 1992), 6–7.

² Karel Moens, unpublished report, MMA, 1991.

struments, the time has finally come to defend the authenticity and importance of this complex, unusual, but nonetheless remarkable specimen of an early-eighteenth-century viol. By a process of deconstruction and comparison, combined with historical research, this article will provide evidence to illustrate that the instrument came from the workshop of Edward Lewis. It was incomplete upon his death in 1717, whereupon it was taken over and completed by Richard Meares II, who gave it his label.

Viols of Edward Lewis

A partial attribution to Edward Lewis is not a new proposal. Viol maker and researcher John Pringle may have been the first to suggest this, and it is echoed by Stuart Pollens, who writes that “this instrument closely resembles a bass viol signed by Edward Lewis that is in the musical instrument collection of the Royal College of Music in London and it is possible that the viol pictured here was actually made by Lewis and sold in Meares’s shop.”³ There are only four extant viols by Edward Lewis that contain labels.⁴ Two viols are dated 1687; the others are dated 1695 and 1703. In addition, there survives a modest number of violins and cellos providing label dates of 1701, 1704, and 1709.⁵ From the characteristics of these instruments, it has been possible to identify a further four viols whose attribution to Edward Lewis is sustainable.

A number of features are common among all viols by Lewis. His purfling is characteristically thin on both his violins and viols. The bellies of his viols are executed in the same manner as that of a violin—made from two pieces of conifer and carved into shape. This may be an interpretation of Christopher Simpson’s ideal that the finest viols are those with “the Bellies being digged out of the

³ Stuart Pollens, “Musical Instruments,” in *The Still Lives of Evaristo Baschenis: The Music of Silence*, ed. Andrea Bayer (Milan: Olivares, 2000), 62–65, incl. fig. 39.

⁴ Contrary to Pollens’s statement (*ibid.*, p. 63), these do not include the one at the Royal College of Music (RCM), which is unlabeled.

⁵ My thanks to Thomas MacCracken for information concerning viols, and Andrew Fairfax at J&A Beare Ltd. for help compiling information on violin family instruments.

Planck,”⁶ a practice also found on relatively few very early English viols; but extant viols with fronts of this sort are by no means common after 1660, though a bass viol in the Horniman Museum, London, by George Miller dated 1669 is such an example by a maker other than Lewis.⁷ A further observation concerning the backs of viols by Lewis is that as far as I have seen they are consistently in three pieces irrespective of the level of ornamentation.⁸ In each case these observations do not provide definite rules for ascribing a viol to Edward Lewis, and a depth of research beyond the scope of this article is needed to draw firm conclusions. Table 1 provides a summary of the known viols attributed to Edward Lewis. By comparing the characteristics of the Metropolitan Museum’s bass viol with similar specimens ascribed to Lewis, it becomes clear which components can be irrefutably attributed to this maker.

The Back and Head

The back of the Metropolitan “Meares” is made of three pieces. In common with five of the instruments listed (L1, L4–7) it displays a technique in which the seams are masked by bands of relief carving. The center panel is then inlaid with geometric purfling patterns running from the bottom up to the fold. The decoration in this area varies among instruments, including those by other makers, but the quality, theme, and tooling are consistent among those by Lewis. An inconsistent feature found upon the back of the instrument is the relief-carved motifs in each of the four corners. Viols by Lewis frequently demonstrate an elegant purfled fleur-de-lis pattern on the corners of both the back and the belly. While it is tempting to dismiss this evidence as a later addition, another viol attributed to Lewis, that at the Royal College of Music

⁶ Christopher Simpson, *The Division Violist* (1659), 2.

⁷ For an examination of English viols from the Tudor period that incorporate bellies carved out of two pieces of conifer see Benjamin Hebbert, “Nathaniel Cross, William Borraclaffe and a Clutch of Tudor Viols,” *Galpin Society Journal* 56 (2003), 69–76. It appears that viols with a violin-like outline consistently have carved fronts, whereas conventionally shaped viols normally have bent fronts.

⁸ Several instruments as yet unattributed are found with two-piece backs or with bellies of more than two pieces; these are in other ways closely related to the work of Lewis.

Table 1. Extant viols attributed to Edward Lewis (1651–1717)

<i>Type</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Body length</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Bass	1687	Musée de la Musique, Paris	70.0 cm	L1
Bass	1687	Private Collection, Austria	71.8 cm	L2
Double				
Bass*	1695	Private Collection, Germany	115.3 cm	L3
Bass	1703	Private Collection, England	67.5 cm	L4
Bass	?	Royal College of Music, London	65.8 cm	L5
Bass	?	Private Collection, England [†]	69.4 cm	L6
Bass	?	Musée des Instruments de Musique, Brussels	68.8 cm	L7
Bass	?	Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow	69.1 cm	L8

*This instrument, illustrated in Alfred Planyavsky, *Der Barockkontrabass Violone* (Vienna: Wiener-Kontrabass Archiv, c. 1989), 36–37 and described there as a violone, should properly be termed “double bass”; Planyavsky’s book appears in English translation as *The Baroque Double Bass Violone* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 1997). The inventory of musical instruments belonging to the Duke of Chandos, dated 23 August 1720, lists “5. A double Bass with a case for it by Mr Barrett. 16” (Stowe Papers, The Huntingdon Library ST66), indicating by the last digits a seventeenth-century date. This suggests that the term was certainly in use in England in 1720, if not at the end of the seventeenth century when this example by Barrett and the 1695 Lewis were built.

[†]Formerly on loan from the Rothschild family to the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

(L5), also includes carving in this bold style, this time extensively applied above the fold.

The geometric pattern that adorns the ribs is one of a number that are found on English viols, apparently from the earliest specimens.⁹ However, patterns differ, and no evidence suggests that patterns were transmitted between makers. During the Caroline period and later, the use of these designs is limited to a small number of viols made by Barak Norman (displaying at least two different forms) and Edward Lewis. Four viols by Edward Lewis (L1, L4, L6–7) have patterns that conform to those found on this specimen. Two of those four are labeled, providing the dates 1687 (L1) and 1703 (L4).

⁹The lyra viol in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, made by John Rose, dated 1598, and the sixteenth-century “Beaufort” festooned bass viol attributed to the same maker and in the same collection, are such early examples.

The head and pegbox of the MMA instrument are grafted onto a modern neck. These have been described as out of proportion with the rest of the instrument, with the clear implication of deception. Precisely how we are to judge what is right or wrong for this instrument is difficult to gauge. I know of only two viols by Edward Lewis that retain their original pegbox (L2, L8). These are relatively undecorated instruments, hence have an open scroll. Since I can say with confidence that the instrument in the Metropolitan Museum was intended to have a carving for its finial, because it has relief carving around the button intended to mirror relief carving found on the back of the original pegbox, viols with open scrolls have little bearing on the merits or demerits of this head.

Dismissal of the head on the grounds of proportion suggests that it has arrived from another antique instrument forming part of the composite. While it is known that Antonio Stradivari in Cremona made violoncellos with heads whose size varied in proportion to the body, there is no evidence for a parallel practice by English viol makers. If we are to take this criticism seriously we find by applying a rudimentary scale to the head that it would have belonged to an instrument far larger than the viols with which we are familiar today, so scale alone seems unlikely to be reasonable grounds upon which to doubt the authenticity of the head.

A relevant criticism of the present head is that the relief carving at the back of the pegbox does not match that found elsewhere on the body of the instrument. But this feature is wholly consistent with the manner in which viols were made historically, as is clear from the examples by contemporary makers, and in particular Barak Norman. Several instruments by this maker are surmounted by a bearded finial of a type exemplified by the bass viol dated 1718 in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., but also in examples dating as early as 1698. In every example known to me, the area of the back below the neck has relief carving that imitates the patterns on the reverse of the pegbox. However, the carving on the body is clearly executed by a different hand, possibly less practiced, and using different tools. The consistency of carving on the heads of viols by Norman and also Richard Meares I over periods of more than twenty years respectively does suggest strongly that makers were supplied specific patterns in large quantities. This contradicts documentary evidence provided by Samuel Pepys on

16 July 1663 when he wrote in his diary, “Then at Wapping to my Carver’s about my Viall head, and thence to my Viall maker’s in Bishopsgate,” indicating that Pepys was able to acquire a “custom-built” viol with a head to his own specification. However, both arguments are consistent in illustrating that the carver of the head was not the viol maker, and that such inconsistency should be regarded as normal. This also informs us that the proportion of the head size to the body length was not necessarily in the control of the instrument maker, indicating that there is no compelling reason to bring into question the authenticity of this component. All the same, a photograph of the MMA viol taken during the early twentieth century by then owners W.E. Hill & Sons, a firm of violin dealers, provides certain clues that support the argument that the head is not only legitimately old, but original to the instrument.¹⁰ The photograph clearly shows the head attached to a beautifully preserved low-angled neck embellished with a marquetry fingerboard, matching the surviving tailpiece and completely consistent with original workmanship. This is not the neck that is presently found on the viol. On this evidence, it is highly unlikely that the head joined the viol after the first quarter of the eighteenth century. And it seems that a great deal of the controversy surrounding this instrument relates to intervention that happened well within the last hundred years.

The Belly

At this juncture we can conclude that the upper parts of the instrument (with the exception of a modern neck), the sides, and the back are consistent with extant viols by Edward Lewis. The belly of the viol shows obvious signs of work by another hand, and the label in the viol reads “Ricardus Meares / Instrument. Music. Fabric. in area / Boreali. D. Pauli apud Londinates” (“Richard Meares, Musical Instrument Maker in the North Churchyard of St. Paul’s at London”).

The belly of the instrument is the component that creates the most problems. This is manufactured from two pieces of wood. Although I have stated that this is consistent with certain English viol makers, including Edward Lewis, it is generally regarded that English viols have bellies made of five or seven bent staves, and

¹⁰ Photograph in the possession of Dietrich Kessler, London.

since the majority of English instruments conform to this—especially those by Richard Meares I of Bishopsgate with whom the label had been incorrectly associated—it has been generally assumed that this is a universal characteristic of English viol making. The presence of a two-piece belly has been taken by some to indicate later, perhaps nineteenth-century, workmanship more typical of a violinmaker. However, as has already been noted, this is a defining characteristic of the instruments made by Edward Lewis. A dendrochronological examination of this viol was undertaken by Dr. Peter Klein of Hamburg University on 28 June 1999; he reported a match with his Alpine master chronology indicating a youngest tree ring date of 1673 on the treble side and 1672 on the bass side. Although it has not been possible to compare the data supporting these findings with the extensive study of English instruments carried out by John Topham, this was consistent with the findings of studies undertaken by Topham upon three bass viols (L1, L4, L6) and one violoncello (unlisted) by Lewis, compiled in Table 2.¹¹ This very rough comparison of data shows that the wood has generally similar characteristics of grain size, and comes from a source of similar age to the other instruments attributed to Lewis.

Table 2. Dendrochronological results for instruments by Edward Lewis compared with MMA Inv. No. 1982-324

<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Label date</i>	<i>Bass side</i>	<i>Treble side</i>	<i>Number of rings*</i>	<i>Dendro-chronologist</i>
L1	1687	1672	1679	159	John Topham
L4	1703	1664	1677	108	John Topham
L6	-	1672	1672	99	John Topham
<i>Average of these three</i>				<i>122</i>	
MMA	-	1673	1672	115	Dr. Peter Klein
<i>Average of all four</i>				<i>120.25</i>	

*Number found on largest side.

Although it therefore seems likely that the belly is constructed from wood taken from Lewis's stock, problems of attribution still persist. The purfling decoration applied to the belly is of a greater thickness than that on the back or ribs, and clearly indicates au-

¹¹ My thanks to John Topham for sharing his data with me.

thorship independent of the remaining body. Additionally, according to Moens, the soundholes are “very large for this body.” He suggests that this is evidence for another possibility: the belly having been cut down from a larger instrument (presumably undecorated), and all of the purfling added to the front at the time that the composite was assembled. However, viols by Lewis ordinarily incorporate a single line of purfling accentuating the soundhole. The size of the soundholes equates to the size of this border, and so it may be presumed that at some stage the soundholes were enlarged to remove evidence of this feature that forms a particularly fragile component of the instrument. Indeed, it may be that the purfler was unable to achieve this effect, particularly owing to his thick purfling, so simply cut back Lewis’s already formed soundholes to the line of the channel that had already been cut.

The fleur-de-lis patterns in the four corners of the belly are commonly found on viols by Lewis, and since these patterns are completely absent from the back it seems unlikely that these were added by a later maker unfamiliar with Lewis’s aesthetic concepts. The central motif on the belly is similarly consistent. A tracing of the motif exactly matches two instruments. The first is a bass viol in the Glenn Collection in Glasgow (L8); it is labeled impossibly “John Betts ... 1685,”¹² but is certainly the work of Edward Lewis, closely resembling L2 in most aspects with the exception of the central belly motif. Since the motif is purfled with the same fine purfling that is present on other parts of the instrument there is no problem in associating the design with the original maker. The second instrument, a violoncello, came to light in a London auction sale at Phillips in New Bond Street in 2002.¹³ The instrument is entirely of nineteenth-century construction except for the earlier, by now hideously deformed, belly. However, the belly provides yet another exact match with the tracing, while the *f*-holes and outline are identical to those found on other violoncellos (all undecorated) attributed to Lewis. The evidence suggests that

¹² John Betts I was born in 1752 and died in 1823. After an apprenticeship with Richard Duke in Holborn, he established himself at No. 2 North Piazza at the Royal Exchange in the City of London in 1782. See *The British Violin*, ed. John Milnes (Oxford: British Violin Making Association, 2001), 57–58.

¹³ Phillips 12 November 2001, lot 231, a violoncello attributed to Barak Norman.

while the purfling on the belly of the MMA viol is not consistent with the work of Edward Lewis, the motifs are his own design. Since dendrochronological evidence suggests that the age of the belly wood is consistent with original manufacture, it is likely that Lewis had completed the carving of the belly and had marked his patterns on it before the instrument was abandoned.

Changing Hands

Lewis died in 1717, and although his son relocated to Drury Lane where he continued as an instrument maker into the 1740s, his widow liquidated the contents of the shop in St. Paul's Alley, probably to provide herself with a pension. An advertisement in *The Post Man* dated 18 April 1717 reads, "To be sold at Auction. The Musical Instruments of Mr Edw. Lewis, late of St Paul's Churchyard, London, Instrument maker, deceased, to be disposed of by his Widow at Mr Heweston's at the two Golden Balls in Great Hart street....The sale is to begin the 1st May, and to continue four Days; where Attendance will be given on the Monday and Tuesday before the Sale begins, to shew or try the said Instruments, they being made by the best Masters in Europe." It seems that Richard Meares II was among the buyers at the sale that included the unfinished viols from Lewis's workshop. Lewis's son may have been unwilling to take these on, since his relocation to Drury Lane was a direct attempt to compete in the trade that supplied the theaters. The viol was already losing its fashionable status, and it is unlikely that the younger Lewis expected to make many sales of viols from his new surroundings. The dwindling market for newly made viols was best served in St. Paul's Churchyard where the focus of the old conservative market remained.

Evidence to link Richard Meares II with the MMA instrument is to an extent circumstantial. Labels in stringed instruments have a notorious habit of migration, and it is possible that the label turned up in the viol many years after it first entered the market; however, the label is excessively rare, with only three other examples known to me. Karel Moens in his 1991 report expressed a view that the label was not simply spurious, but also that it was probably applied by a stamp and therefore was a forgery. However, he did concede that it required further investigation. The application of a protective shellac coating has blurred the label,

giving it a “rubber stamp” appearance; however, other examples survive in better condition from which authenticity can be ascertained. The Richard Meares in question is not the well-known viol maker dwelling in Bishopsgate on the outskirts of the City of London during the late seventeenth century, but his son who worked at the Golden Viol and Hautboy in St. Paul’s Churchyard from 1699 to 1725. The label is printed from an engraved plate, and the style of lettering strongly matches that used for Meares’s edition of Godfrey Keller’s *A Complete Method for attaining to play a Through Bass...* and a trade-card written in English, French, and Italian. Neither the trade-card nor Keller’s treatise is dated; however, the frontispiece of the latter incorporates the design of the trade-card. A crude imitation of this same design is also found on the frontispiece of a privately printed set of sonatas by William Turner dated 1718, putatively dating both the treatise and the trade-card to around that year. The first datable publication by Meares that incorporates an Italian-language title page is Francesco Geminiani’s sonatas for the violin, also first advertised in 1718, so the use of this form of label can be limited from sometime around 1718 to Meares II’s death in 1725.

Of the three other instruments containing this label, the first is a bass viol at the musical instrument museum in Lisbon, Portugal. This is to some extent a twin of the viol in the MMA. Although I have yet to examine it properly, the back and ribs are unquestionably the work of Edward Lewis, while the belly raises questions. At best it seems that this was one step less complete when it was abandoned, and the decoration on the belly is entirely original to the later hand. This is important evidence, since the existence of two instruments with very different provenances but the same peculiarities of authorship is in itself good evidence to suggest that the labels legitimately belong to both instruments. A violin-sized instrument at Brigham Young University with five strings and a flat back provides a host of problems of its own, but it is sufficiently similar to an instrument by Peter Wamsley made around 1725 (also in the MMA) that there is no reason to dispute the legitimacy of the label (the lack of dates on English instruments made in the 1720s and 1730s is a consistent annoyance). Finally, a violin in a private collection in Oxford survives in a good state of preservation with a youngest tree ring date of 1717, so likely to have been

made around 1720–21.¹⁴ The instrument provides a link with the violoncello by Lewis. When the two were compared closely the varnish appeared to be identical. The deep red varnish is different from that used by other makers in St. Paul's Churchyard, though it is typical of that found on earlier work by Lewis and seems to indicate that Meares obtained a supply of Lewis's varnish when the workshop was liquidated in 1717.

The varnish on the MMA viol, by contrast, is an orange-brown color, chippy in appearance, and laid over a golden brown ground. While this is consistent with only one instrument by Meares II (the one at Brigham Young University), and is not generally associated with Lewis, the varnish closely resembles that found on instruments of other associated makers, in particular a violoncello by John Barrett of Piccadilly dated 1721. Several editions of music published by Meares are found with John Barrett's label affixed to the title page, illustrating a close connection between the two makers. The varnish is very close in consistency to known English work of the period, and very few instruments are known by Meares; however, there is no clear case for the varnish being original, though as it becomes clear that the instrument is in generally original condition, there seems little reason to dispute the originality of the varnish.

The tailpiece, and the earlier fingerboard shown in the above-mentioned photograph, are of a marquetry form that is found on a number of viols by Barak Norman from 1698. There were two marquetiers supplying the viol makers in St. Paul's Churchyard. The first, who seems to have disappeared around 1698, produced patterns of acanthus leaves interspersed with birds, moths, and other features. A typical example of this sort of marquetry is found on the Barak Norman viol in the MMA dated 1692. The second marquetier was responsible for several designs, but the main identifying feature is his ability to repeat the same design closely several times over. Though it seems clear that marquetiers were principally supplying Barak Norman, it is also likely that he resold fingerboards and tailpieces to other instrument makers. A lyra viol (private collection, London) that may be attributed in its entirety to Meares II, though in fragmentary condition, re-

¹⁴ English violins of this period typically exhibit a label date within three to four years of the youngest tree ring date.

tains parts of an original neck with marquetry fittings of the earlier sort. Although it is tempting to suggest that the fittings of the MMA viol have been salvaged from a Barak Norman viol that disappeared long ago, there is in fact no reason to doubt the integrity of these as original fittings available in St. Paul's Churchyard contemporary to the completion of the instrument.

Conclusion

Complexities about the viol labeled Richard Meares in the MMA have brought suspicions and accusations of fakery upon the instrument. Its history is not straightforward, yet there is nothing about it that is impossible for an instrument made in London during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. In 1717 Edward Lewis died unexpectedly, if not untimely for the early eighteenth century, at the age of sixty-six. His widow's subsequent liquidation of the assets at her disposal included a public auction of the stock of musical instruments in April that year. Lewis's assets included several valuable unfinished instruments that were acquired by his rival, Richard Meares II, who completed and labeled them for sale in his own shop. On one hand we can judge this as a remarkable survival from a moment in history; on the other hand it is an occurrence so common that there is nothing unusual that should arouse suspicions. When Barak Norman died in 1724, his widow employed Nathaniel Cross for a period of a year to make good the unfinished instruments in his workshop, and instruments from this period are so labeled. In Cremona, early violins by Antonio Stradivari and Girolamo Amati II are occasionally identified under the label of their aging master, Nicolo Amati. When Stradivari himself died in 1737, instruments were completed by his sons, Francesco and Omobono, creating a certain degree of later confusion. The viol in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, preserved in near original state, represents but another important waypoint in the life and death cycle of the English viol makers, telling us more about the interactions of three figures working in the eighteenth century than do many exquisite examples of a single maker's work.

RECENT RESEARCH ON THE VIOL

Ian Woodfield

This bibliography is intended as a concise guide to recent research related to the viol. It lists books, articles, dissertations, selected reviews, published papers, and major scholarly editions of music. Research on any aspect of the viol (and related instruments such as the baryton) will qualify for inclusion. Suggestions for additional entries in any language would be most welcome. They should be sent to Ian Woodfield, School of Music, Queen's University Belfast, Belfast BT7 1NN, Northern Ireland, or e-mailed to <i.woodfield@qub.ac.uk>.

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REVIEWS

Annette Otterstedt. *The Viol: History of an Instrument.* Translated by Hans Reiners and revised and enlarged from Annette Otterstedt: *Die Gambe, Kulturgeschichte und praktischer Ratgeber* (Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1994). Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002. 294 pp. \$39.00.

This is the first attempt at a comprehensive history of the viola da gamba, its composers, its music, its construction, and method of playing. The title of the earlier German-language version¹ tells more immediately than the present writing that the author intends to provide a cultural history and practical method (*Ratgeber* = adviser, counselor, guide). Such a project would be ambitious for any writer, past or present, in any language; but the scope of Annette Otterstedt's endeavor must surely be the result of her training and profession, as well as her personal proficiency as a player. I have had the personal pleasure of meeting her in Berlin in her capacity as a curator of the Curt Sachs collection of musical instruments (Musikinstrumenten-Museum im Staatlichen Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz), and of playing with her and her partner of over twenty years, Hans Reiners (a successful instrument maker of historic flutes and bows, and a professional interpreter and translator), as well as meeting their late cat Ferrabosco, whose choice of name has particular significance for my own work. We continued our acquaintance at an Edinburgh conference in 2000.² Their new website <www.bows-viols.de> may assist in assessing their achievements.

For us to deal with this book, we must come to terms, so to speak, with Otterstedt herself, as well as with Hans Reiners, because their writing is sometimes discursive and always entertaining, their treatment of the English version reveals a subtle and imaginative employment of language, and there are strong opinions and interpretations expressed. For example, the introductory section "Hat, Stick, and Boots" warns the reader to "equip yourself

¹ Reviewed in *JVdGSA* 32 (1995): 58–65.

² See Tom McCracken's Research Report "Conferences in Magnano and Edinburgh," *JVdGSA* 37 (2000): 68–83.

with waterproof boots, a stout stick, and hat before setting out on such a complicated journey” (p. 11), because she observes that “early music is an industry today that leaves little room for doubt. One of the aims of this book is to disseminate doubt, not for the sake of dissension, but for kindling discrimination and enhancing knowledge” (p. 16). The particular attraction and charm of this book, therefore, is that it has been created by not one but two humanists who truly love the subject and the language they use to deal with it.

They define their terms early on by distancing themselves from two paradigms of early music—the musicologist and the organologist. Otterstedt and Reiners have provided a valuable resource for us fellow viol-players and scholars by giving extensive quotes from original sources as well as their own translations. They explain that their purpose is to help the reader “extract only that meaning from them [the sources] that is in them, instead of construing and censuring a meaning they do not contain”; the fault, they claim, “lies in musicology, which is fixated upon written works and sneers at the medium with which they are performed. There are still musicologists who will cheaply poke fun at old instruments and declare the sounding result to be irrelevant” (p. 18). However, not far behind in blame come the organologists: “people who study the actual instruments are held in low esteem by musicology as a whole ... because it [organology] reeks of craftsmanship and dusty museums no one wants to see ... [and] because many organologists have accepted the situation and become bad scholars” (p. 18).

Characteristically, in order to assist the reader on the journey through this book, saints are beckoned or invoked (p. 17); Otterstedt’s and Reiners’ perceptions of the true “viol saints” are the best measures of their musical and humanistic understanding. They were all teachers, kept a low profile, and thus are elusive for us today, but they contributed to the perfection of playing technique and had outstanding pupils. Some readers may be surprised at Otterstedt’s choices—I quote the titles of three chapters: “First Legend of the Saints: The Grandee of the Viol, Alfonso Ferrabosco,” “Second Legend of the Saints: Three Stars in Epiphany: William Lawes, John Jenkins, Christopher Simpson,” “Third Legend of the Saints: The Last of the Humanists, Le Sieur de

Sainte Colombe”—but her elaborations upon the choices make for intriguing consideration. She draws her lines clearly and with purpose: “Before complaining that Bach and Purcell are missing, readers should consider that these composers—however great they may have been—were not involved in the development of the viol and are therefore alien to our subject” (p. 18).

As one progresses through the book, two basic tenets can be discerned that govern many of her observations and opinions. The first appears immediately within her introductory “Hat, Stick, and Boots” chapter mentioned above, under the subheading “Humanism and Rhetoric.” In a well-defined presentation, Otterstedt cites the valuable book *Musik als Klangrede* by Nikolaus Harnoncourt³ as her inspiration for observing that “‘Sounding Rhetoric’—and all early music, including instrumental music is that—is a language, and a language has to be learnt to be understood” (p. 12). This is a valuable observation for viol players as we come to understand the music that we play, and will help the reader of this book to follow her philosophy and choices of “viol saints.” For our purposes here, we should follow her reasoning through part of the book by citing some of her comments:

From the knowledge and understanding of a subject, discretion as well as affinity or aversion may accrue. This “love out of knowledge” was programmatic of an earlier movement in the Italian Renaissance, to which the viol was more closely linked than any other instrument: Humanism. “Humanists” loved sitting down in delectable foursomes to play viol quartet. (p. 12)

Humanism was a pragmatic life-style, and as befits its literary origins, the Word, that is to say, communication, was its pet child. Rhetoric was at the head of its curriculum. (p. 12)

Listeners in the 17th century had meanwhile become familiar with music as a language and expected the message proper from the expression of affections in the performance. This message was taken quite directly, so that the great viol teachers, such as John Jenkins,

³The full title is *Musik als Klangrede: Wege zu einem neuen Musikverständnis*, which is translated in the 1988 English-language version as *Baroque Music Today: Music as Speech: Ways to a New Understanding of Music*; Otterstedt’s translation of the title is the more explicit “Music as Sounding Rhetoric.”

used quite concrete imagery to help their pupils grasp the tensions of music. Music could now make an impression without the assistance of text. (p. 14)

In 1600, the terminology was still that borrowed from rhetoric, which was applied to certain figures in composition. (p. 14)

The main body of the book comprises three parts, with the first entitled “The Life and Opinions of a Princess” (it is left unclear whether this refers to the viol or to Otterstedt). The ideas mentioned above are dealt with in detail when discussing the history of the viol and its composers, and we continue to cite passages:

From the start the viol was a dilettante instrument. Nothing could have lent it more dignity in the eyes of Humanists such as Castiglione, for it placed the instrument firmly among the exclusive circles of noble persons.... In a modern sense, consort music is non-virtuoso, inasmuch as it does not strive to impress, but to exchange ideas among kindred spirits. Only those with good judgment can appreciate with pleasure the delicacies of contrapuntal ramifications and figures of rhetoric set to music. (p. 25)

Otterstedt traces the fortunes of the viol in Italy, 1550–1630, in a section named “The Humanists’ Delight,” and observes a change around 1600:

The violin and the cornetto began their triumphal progress, and the viol could only keep up in the shape of the viola bastarda.... This triggered a development away from the Humanist ideal of playing together. The “love derived from knowledge” of the dilettanti was supplanted by the brilliant tricks of trained virtuosi. (p. 35)

She sees an indigenous English idiom developing during that same period:

Unlike the rest of Europe, England remained unaffected by the Italian postulate “Let the Word be absolute mistress of harmony” for a long time. Instead, a distinctive instrumental style was derived straight from the motet, which was predictably abstract and accessible only to the knowledgeable. It is significant that the English viol fantasia never made it to the Continent. (p. 39)

She thus prepares for her treatment of her first major viol composer, “the Grandee of the Viol, Alfonso Ferrabosco,” with some perceptive conclusions based upon the very slim evidence that exists: that he occupied as many as four court positions and “shows

Alfonso at the top of the English musical profession. The elusiveness of his person is in stark contrast with the almost mythical reverence in which his name was held in England” (p. 44). She mentions especially his remarkable hexachord fantasias as having “unquestionably set a modulating technique in motion in England which made the country look like a precocious child wonder compared to the continental contemporaries” (p. 45), and in dealing with him as a *lyra viol* composer declares that “The *lyra viol* was the instrument of English Humanists, and Alfonso was their mouthpiece” (p. 46). Compared with his fellow English *lyra viol* composers,

Alfonso towers above them all. I believe he is the only composer in the history of the *viol* to have written polyphonic music for a single instrument wholly dispensing with any show of virtuosity.... Despite their indisputable difficulties the pieces are playable, which distinguishes them from later Dutch and German *viol* music, in which a polyphonic concept is pushed through ruthlessly, in blatant disregard of the instrument. (p. 45)

We may thus observe that Otterstedt advocates a line of connection between Humanism and rhetoric, and that she is particularly an advocate of the place of instrumental music in Renaissance expression of emotions and gestures. This becomes especially clear in her comparison with an Italian “contemporary celebrity who had been a *violinist* initially but gone the opposite way musically, Claudio Monteverdi”:

Like Alfonso, he had been a master of “all the Spirits of Musique,” but decided to subjugate music to the Word. It would be fatuous to attribute Alfonso’s attitude to a lack of information. He was perfectly familiar with Italian developments.... But in the end the Word left him cold. This is of some purport for us, because it proves that a conscious decision could be made in favour of an emancipated instrumental music at a time when the world was raving on about the Word.... In consequence of this trite assessment Monteverdi receives broad, appreciative coverage in every handbook, whereas Alfonso is usually missing. But what, one might ask, made Beethoven the towering genius, in plaster-cast ubiquity on every pianoforte? Precisely that emancipation of “abstract” instrumental music practised in early 17th-century *viol* music. This demonstrates in exemplary fashion that greatness is in the eye of the—biased—historian. (p. 47)

By now, these citations should demonstrate Otterstedt's advocacy of the viol, in ways of thinking that are perhaps unconventional or even unprecedented, and I wish to share them in order to give a flavor of her writing and ideas to present readers. For her, the lines are clear from Humanism to rhetoric to instrumental music to English fantasias to Ferrabosco. Her discussion of "Year of no Grace in the Country, England after 1630" (p. 48) places the viol and viol consort in decline as the violin gained increasing favour for its soloistic virtuosity. Her apt choices of passages from contemporary sources like Roger North and John Playford illustrate the passing of the consort as a Humanistic vehicle for their "delectable foursomes."⁴ Otterstedt carries this line of advocacy into her treatment of her "Second Legend of the Saints—Three Stars in Epiphany" (p. 52): she describes Lawes as "the composer of eternal forepleasure" and his music as "addictive"; "William did his best to overturn all our fine Humanist ideals." In her lucid discussion of the broad harmonic palette that grew in the English fantasia, she delineates the main path of influence:

It was Ferrabosco who had started this type of harmonic experiment, and William Lawes and, above all, John Jenkins carried on the technique with supreme mastership. (p. 54)

Otterstedt sees Jenkins as "Ferrabosco's musical heir" (p. 57), who "lived among tangible sounds in a wordless world of dramatic effects" (p. 58), and she perceives:

Surely it is a sign of the advanced state of English music at the time that a composer could brazenly assert the preponderance of instrumental music—incidentally, Ferrabosco's heir in this as well, which would undoubtedly have damaged the composer's reputation on the Continent. (p. 59)

And finally, the most fascinating proposal: that, based upon recent research, Simpson may have been a Jesuit and "the author of the only tutor ever written for our instrument in the viol stronghold, England" (p. 61).

In her succeeding section, "Hard Times on the Continent," Otterstedt observes that Heinrich Schütz "had imbibed the Italian

⁴ See my review in *Albion, a quarterly journal concerned with British studies*, 34/3 (Fall, 2002), 482–84 of Rebecca Herrison, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2000).

postulate of word supremacy,” illustrating “German scholarly culture in a word-dominated light unpropitious to an emancipated instrumental music” (p. 65). We are thus asked to place into this context her observations about the phenomenon of the traveling virtuoso: “all that was left of the Italian Humanists’ ideal of life was really outward show.... playing together in consort, as the Humanists had done, was abandoned in favour of the soloistic virtuoso style ostentatiously paraded in magnificent courtly surroundings” (p. 67). She cites a passage from Johann Kuhnau’s satirical novel about music in order to make a blistering criticism of one aspect of modern viol-playing:

Does not this ring a bell? The nauseation of the *Folies d’Espagne* repeated endlessly with unholy solemnity and the disgust at Jack-the-Ripper-like chords as the only pallid reminiscences of the once revered lyra viol are no strangers to us today. (p. 69)

French viol consorts may have been popular among the Huguenots, Otterstedt suggests (p. 72). Marin Mersenne printed a Ferrabosco fantasia in his *Harmonie Universelle*, and André Maugars “had most likely learned more than a little from Ferrabosco” (p. 74). Her line of discussion is really directed toward the “Third Legend of the Saints, The Last of the Humanists, Le Sieur de Sainte Colombe”—“a rare bird indeed” (p. 75). His personality and presence are dealt with in the same penetrating manner that Otterstedt applied to Ferrabosco, because so little is known of him, because his music was found only as recently as 1966, and because she is determined to correct the “invidious caricature of irascibility and selfish obsession with music proffered by the film [*Tous les Matins du Monde*]” (p. 77). Three luminaries of the French viol, Marais, Danoville, and Rousseau, acknowledged themselves as his pupils, and each developed an individuality through his encouragement and guidance. Through her study of his extant music, Otterstedt perceives a teacher of compassion and understanding, who “may have been the last of the Humanists of the viol” (p. 79). She sees details in the individual pieces, written in score, as teaching materials with the more difficult second part being the teacher’s in order to aid the pupil in grasping musical affections:

What Sainte Colombe was driving at is musical rhetoric, and he trained his pupils in using this art to address an audience. (p. 78)

I believe that it is in this context that readers might understand the greatness of Marin Marais in Otterstedt's interpretation. Some may be surprised that he does not loom higher in her presentation, but her own words place Marais in the court of Louis XIV, the absolutist "Sun King":

This was infertile soil for "Humanist" notions, and such courtiers degenerated to lickspittles and opportunists at worst. Be that as it may, ... the viol music of the period can only be understood in the light of this centralized organisation of society in which it had its place. (p. 81)

In the rivalry between Marais and Forqueray, they "both wanted to be sun king where there was room for one only—hence the venom.... We have come to the end of the road of the viol as the instrument of 'Humanists,' because the fundamental idea had run out of supporters" (p. 83).⁵

To this point, our review of this book has attempted to demonstrate Otterstedt's unique treatment, her strong opinions and penetrating observations, by tracing one basic tenet of her presentation. It should be clear that there is an interrelated web of connections—between Humanism and rhetoric, consort playing as compared with solo virtuosic display, independent and expressive instrumental music as opposed to word-oriented vocal music—and these many issues penetrate the many layers of her discourse. Her other basic tenet—that we must attempt to read and comprehend the sources without distortion—has been exemplified in the numerous citations she presents and some of which I have quoted above.

Otterstedt's treatment of the eighteenth-century decline in the viol's fortunes is well represented by Charles Burney's dismissal of the instrument's characteristic sound, "A human voice of the same quality would be intolerable" (p. 94), and she uses the example of the late-nineteenth-century *Musiklexicon* by Hugo Riemann as an example of "Rezeptionsgeschichte": "To trace the 'Viola da

⁵ A fuller treatment of Marais's teaching of expressive playing appears in Otterstedt's presentation "The Well-Shaped Lady's Leg" (p. 198).

Gamba' entry through all these editions is like witnessing the instrument waking up from anaesthesia" (p. 95).

As always, her palette is full of colorful potential, and any topic can provide the impetus for another citation drawn from a seemingly bottomless well of references. Such is the case with her discussion of an opera from 1859 entitled *Georg Neumark und die Gambe*—after which we avid viol players should expect a revival, put on perhaps at the Boston Early Music Festival. But alas, with such a tempting reference—and occasionally others in the book—Otterstedt should provide some bibliographical details for corroboration and further research.⁶

As we complete our treatment of the historical section of this book, Otterstedt offers a penetrating and sensitive encomium to her predecessor as a historian of the viol, Ernst Hermann Meyer.⁷ Of special interest is that the two countries where he lived his later life as an émigré, England and East Germany (the German Democratic Republic), each seemed to be unaware of his existence in the other. His "strange double life" ended as recently as 1988, and Otterstedt sees him as "a musical moralist, like Plato or the Italian Humanists" (p. 101).

Finally, bringing her substantial summary up to the present time, Otterstedt takes aim at two paradigms of modern viol-playing: the "muesli viol" consorts of insipid undifferentiated shapeless droning by players who take comfort in not practicing because it is, after all, early music; and the "machismo" virtuoso who must show off his or her "professionalism" in emulating Gérard Dépardieu from the film *Tous les Matins du Monde* by giving "a creditable impression of a man lifting heavy furniture rather than bowing the strings of a viol" (p. 102). Her final question may never be answered: "Will the 'brutals' prevail, until they are forced to quit the arena, limping arthritically, martyrs to tendonitis? Or will the 'mueslis' take the initiative and ignite the true flame of

⁶ Another example is her discussion of the English *In Nomine* (p. 177); there is no reference to the articles by Gustave Reese and Robert Donington that simultaneously in 1954 discovered the source of the century-and-a-half-long series of compositions.

⁷ Reference is made, by the way, only to the 1946 version, *English Chamber Music*, but not to the 1982 *Early English Chamber Music*, which does not deserve the subtitle "revised" because it was not really brought up to date other than adding more footnotes to the original printing plates.

violism, cheered on by noise-weary listeners?” (p. 104).⁸ She speaks out constantly as an advocate for the viol as an “expressive” instrument—“not merely for volume of sound, or uniformity of dynamics in a band of musicians, as in today’s orchestras, but for the individual shaping of an individual part by means of dynamics, articulation, and timbres” (p. 114).

Part Two of the book, “Meeting the Family,” is introduced by seven handsomely-produced plates illustrating the viol as solo, still-life, in consort, and as an object of study itself—very much representing the broad range of the viol family and many paths upon which the author leads us. Illustrations, musical examples, and analyses, all enrich the text and exemplify her discourse.⁹ She is dauntlessly unafraid of dealing with any aspect, as with “Italian Viols”: “Given the chance, I would gladly avoid this subject” (p. 156), and the controversy that is presently raging about the authenticity and possibly forgery of certain instruments in museum collections.¹⁰

Without question, this book is a major contribution to a fuller modern comprehension of the viola da gamba, and is only begin-

⁸ I cannot resist quoting her later comment on overly strong modern playing: “Frankly, would you like to have your erogenous zones treated the way you treat your viol? Passion and brutality are two very different things, and love as a power struggle should hardly be our aim” (p. 261).

⁹ Occasionally a German term or expression creeps into the English-language version, as in the music examples (p. 195) of embellishment from Thomas Morley’s *Consort Lessons* where a label identifies the Treble ornamentation as “Treble wdhlg.”; compare the German edition, p. 172. A more annoying problem is the omission of an index of terms, besides that of names.

¹⁰ See footnote 2 above and Susan Orlando (ed.), *The Italian Viola da Gamba: Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Italian Viola da Gamba, Magnano, Italy, 29 April – 1 May 2000* (Limoges: Edition Ensemble Baroque de Limoges / Torino: Edizioni Angolo Manzoni, 2002).

ning to gain universal recognition as basic reading for anyone in the field, professional to amateur, historian to organologist to performer to listener. I know that I will continue to plumb its pages for Otterstedt's knowledgeable discussion of "Aspects of Playing Technique" (p. 204) and her advice in Part Three on "Maintaining a Princess in Style" (p. 223)—which goes far beyond "care and feeding" to present costs and makers: "A good instrument maker is a godsend that bears no meanness" (p. 231).

We really have to let Annette Otterstedt (and Hans Reiners) give the last word(s) in this review of their book, since there are manifestly so many quotable passages:

This book stands—and that is the novel thing about it—at an unpopular point of intersection:

It is about music—but dispenses with analysis.

It is about organology—but not a catalogue.

It is about practical playing technique—but not a tutor.

And

It is about being entertaining—but it is not a novel.

Or is it? The romance of a princess ... sit back, friends, and pocket your popcorn bags: the curtain rises. (p. 18)

Bruce Bellingham

The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music, Vol. I. Compiled by Andrew Ashbee, Robert Thompson, and Jonathan Wainwright. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2001. xvi + 402 pp. \$84.95.

Finally, we have the long-awaited and much-welcomed first volume of the *Viola da Gamba Society* [of Great Britain] *Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*. Andrew Ashbee first proposed the idea of an index of manuscripts at the Jenkins Conference eleven years ago.¹ The *Index of Manuscripts* is a logical outgrowth of the Viola da Gamba Society's *Thematic Index of Music for Viols*, compiled by Gordon Dodd, and, indeed, is meant to stand along side it.

¹ At Little Benslow Hills, Hitchin, July, 1992.

The *Thematic Index* has its own charming history. What started as a card index of music for viols, begun by Robert Donington and later maintained by Nathalie Dolmetsch, was continued under Gordon Dodd. As Ashbee notes,

For nearly thirty years he [Dodd] was the hub of an enterprise in which all the English (and some Continental) manuscripts containing viol music were systematically recorded. Thematic indexes composer by composer were drawn up by him and were published in the Society's *Bulletin* and later in the journal *Chelys*. Eventually the *Index* took on a loose-leaf format, with six installments published between 1980 and 1992.²

The *Thematic Index* provides thematic incipits and comprehensive reference graphs detailing the sources for any given piece. Each piece is numbered serially (the source of the "VdGS" numbers [Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain]). Work on the *Thematic Index* continues with plans to provide future additions and amendments on-line as well as in print.

The *Index of Manuscripts*, presently under review, complements the *Thematic Index* by expanding on and updating the details of the source manuscripts. Rather than being composer-based, like the *Thematic Index*, the *Index of Manuscripts* identifies both the owners and copyists of the manuscripts as well as the composers and contents included in them. Volume 1 features over fifty manuscripts whose copyists or owners are known. These include Stephen Bing, Sir Christopher Hatton III, Matthew Hutton, John Jenkins, Sir Nicholas Le Strange, John Lilly, John Merro, the North Family of Kirtling, and the Shirley Family of Staunton Harrold. Brief biographical sketches on each of these figures or families are provided in the first part of the *Index*, as well as a list of manuscripts they copied and/or owned, and bibliographical citations.

The second section of the *Index of Manuscripts* offers descriptions and contents of the manuscripts, representing holdings from eight libraries: the British, Royal College of Music, and Guildhall Libraries in London; the Bodleian and Christ Church Libraries in

² *John Jenkins and His Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), viii. See also Ashbee's article "The Society's Indexes: A Way Forward," *Chelys* 23 (1994): 73–79.

Oxford; York Minster Library; the Newberry Library in Chicago; and the New York Public Library. This section is the “meat” of the *Index* and provides an invaluable resource. Anyone who has worked directly with some of these early manuscripts, or microfilm copies of them for that matter, understands the difficulty inherent in these centuries-old documents. Questions abound: Who were the composers of the music contained in the manuscripts? Is the manuscript in the composer’s hand or was it copied by another scribe? Is the manuscript copied by just one scribe or are there additional hands involved? What is the date of the manuscript? Where multiple versions of a work exist, is this an earlier or later version of the composition? What do changes in watermarks tell us? Why do pages appear to have been removed in one section and added in another? Deciphering something as seemingly simple as pagination becomes a task with numbers sometimes beginning at each end of the manuscript, overlapping, and other series of numbers being added at a later time by new owners or scribes.

The *Index of Manuscripts* attempts to answer many of these questions. What a pleasure to have, in one place, all the relevant and up-to-date information about a particular manuscript: its history, its owners and copyists, its contents, composer, dating, the number and title of the work or collection, scoring, foliation/pagination, special inscriptions, formatting and dimensions, rastrolgy (the characteristics of musical staving—the number of and thickness of lines in a stave, for example), collations, bindings, and bibliography.

Of special interest, and an important addition to this volume (and apparently future volumes as well), are the two appendices: I) Watermarks and Paper Types, and II) Facsimiles. In Appendix I, Robert Thompson offers a brief introduction and history of the paper trade from 1620 to 1700, a general (but useful) bibliography, and illustrations and descriptions of twenty-one watermark types. Thompson’s Ph.D. thesis, “English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade, 1648–1688” (King’s College, University of London, 1988), laid the foundation for his outstanding work in manuscript sources of the seventeenth century, and puts him in a particularly good position to join the editorship of these volumes.

This is a fascinating area of study that adds many clues to our understanding of the history of manuscripts. Thompson notes that

during most of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were no English paper mills producing the type of paper (“white paper”) needed for writing and printing. Consequently, all the paper used for English music manuscripts (from 1620 to 1700) was imported from a variety of European sources. The watermark representing a stylized pot or jug, for example (p. 297), was used by Norman makers between c. 1620 and c. 1655, whereas the emblem of a peacock within a circle “seems to be of Venetian origin and to have been reserved for high quality paper” (p. 290).

Appendix II: Facsimiles is also a useful part of the *Index*, providing examples of the scribal hands that appear in the manuscripts included in this volume. As the editors explain:

Where a copyist is known to have been active over a long period—such as John Lilly—we have provided several illustrations of his work from different sources; the same is true of John Jenkins, who wrote in two distinct hands: one a ‘working’ hand for conventional use and the other a careful ‘calligraphic’ hand, particularly employed in the manuscripts he copied for Sir Nicholas Le Strange. Wherever possible we have included samples showing the various clefs. Inevitably there are some identifications which are not straightforward and have caused (and will continue to cause) arguments. The editors hope that as the series builds, an increasingly comprehensive range of facsimiles will become an invaluable tool towards future studies of the manuscripts, their owners and copyists. (p. 311)

The *Index* is not without its shortcomings, however. A fairly significant number of abbreviated source references, in the sections “Notes on Owners and Copyists” and “Manuscript Descriptions and Contents,” are missing bibliographical citations, including three of the nine Jenkins citations and all of the Coprario, Gibbons, and William Lawes citations. One will have to consult, as I have, the Select Bibliography of Dodd’s *Thematic Index* to find some of the corresponding citation omissions. These include:

BARNARD W ... P. J. Willetts, “John Barnard’s Collections of Viol and Vocal Music,” *Chelys* 20 (1991): 28–42.

BULL D ... G. J. Dodd, “Coprario or Bull?” *Chelys* 1 (1969): 41.

COPRARIO C4 ... R. Charteris, "John Coprario's Five and Six-Part Pieces: Instrumental or Vocal?" *Music and Letters* 57 (1976).

COPRARIO C5 ... R. Charteris, "A Postscript to 'John Coprario—A Thematic Index,'" *Chelys* 11 (1982): 13–19.

FERRABOSCO II L ... E. Lowinsky, "Echoes of Adrian Willaert's Chromatic 'Duo' in 16th- and 17th-Century Compositions," *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk* (Princeton, 1968).

GIBBONS F ... E. H. Fellowes, *Orlando Gibbons* (London, 2nd ed, 1951; reprinted USA, 1970).

GIBBONS H ... J. Harper (ed.), *MB 48—Orlando Gibbons, Consort Music* (London, 1982).

GIBBONS H2 ... J. Harper, "The Distribution of the Consort Music of Orlando Gibbons in 17th-Century Sources," *Chelys* 12 (1983): 3–18.

GIBBONS N ... R. Nicholson, "A Note on Gibbons and the Anonymous 6-Part Fantasies in Christ Church Library," *VdGS Bulletin* (London, July 1967).

HUNTINGTON C ... R. Charteris, "The Huntington Library Part Books, Ellesmere MSS EL 25A 46–51, *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 50, no. 1 (Winter 1987).

JENKINS A8 ... A. Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins: The Fantasias for Viols* (Surbiton, 1992).

JENKINS C2 ... C. Coxon, "A Handlist of the Sources of John Jenkins's Vocal and Instrumental Music," *Royal Musical Association, Research Chronicle* 9, 73–89.

JENKINS PW ... P. J. Willetts, "Autograph Music by John Jenkins," *Music and Letters* 48, no. 2 (April 1967): 124–26.

LAWES D ... G. J. Dodd, "William Lawes—Royall Consort Suite No. 9 in F," *Chelys* 6 (1975–76): 4–9.

LAWES L1 ... M. Lefkowitz, *William Lawes* (London, 1960).

LAWES P2 ... D. N. Pinto (ed.), "William Lawes's Music for Viol Consort," *Early Music* 6, no. 1 (Jan. 1978): 12–24.

LAWES P3 ... D. N. Pinto (ed.), *William Lawes, Consort Sets in Five and Six Parts* (London, 1979).

LOCKE H ... R. Harding, *A Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Matthew Locke* (Oxford, 1971).

NORTH W ... J. Wilson (ed.), *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959).

WASHINGTON D ... G. J. Dodd, "The Coperario-Lupo Five-Part Books at Washington," *Chelys* 1 (1969): 36–40.

References to "LILLY W1" are presumably "LILLY W." References for "BING BW," "FANTASY P," "GIBBONS H3," and "MADRIGAL K" could not be located. Reference to "LAWES-A" (p. 13) is, I believe, A. Ashbee (ed.): *William Lawes 1602–1645: Essays On His Life, Times and Work* (Ashgate, 1998).

There are also some inconsistencies regarding the Viola da Gamba Society Thematic Index numbering (the "VdGS" numbers). Sometimes the VdGS number refers to a single piece. At other times the VdGS number is meant to represent the numbering of a set of pieces. There is no explanation given for this discrepancy, and the result may lead to some unnecessary confusion. For example, Add. MS 29,290 (an organ book for consorts by Jenkins, William Lawes, and Mico, in the London British Library), contains Lawes's works for "3 parts: For the Organ Base viole and Treble." Not everyone will automatically know that "VdGS No. 1," in reference to this collection, is meant to refer to Fantasia Suite No. 1 for Violin, Bass Viol and Organ, especially since the term "Fantasia Suite" is an invention of modern writers and today, the collection is also referred to as a "Suite" (as in the *Musica Britannica* editions) or "Sonata" (as in the 1994 recordings by the London Baroque). Also, because this particular Fantasia Suite is comprised of three pieces (Fancy, Almaine, Aire), each assigned its own VdGS number (Nos. 114–116 respectively), it might have been clearer to refer to the individual pieces rather than the collection or, perhaps, there should simply be a more transparent distinction made between the individual VdGS number and the "Suite" number (as is distinguished for the Oxford, Bodleian Library, Music School Manuscript C.90, p. 125).

Lastly, a separate index for Appendix I is provided, which is helpful, but the numbering of the index is off by three pages. Curi-

ously, there is no index for Appendix II, which would have been beneficial.

Despite these imperfections, the overall merit of the *Index* is high (and as a work in progress, any omissions/amendments can be addressed in future volumes). Providing a comprehensive index of music for viols is a valuable undertaking, and the inclusion of watermarks, paper types, and facsimiles of scribal hands is a significant and useful part of the *Index*. The editors are to be commended for their painstaking work. Considering that some of the currently available printed catalogs, such as those of the British Library and Christ Church, Oxford, are now almost 100 years old, the *Index of Manuscripts* will be an indispensable research tool for anyone interested in consort music for viols. I look forward to Volume 2 in the series!

Mark Davenport

Königliche Gambenduos [Royal Gamba Duets]: 23 sonatas by French and Italian composers of the eighteenth century in contemporary transcriptions. Edited by Leonore and Günter von Zadow. Heidelberg, Germany: Edition Güntersberg, 2002. 5 volumes. Vol. 1, €21; Vol. 2, €16; Vol. 3, €16; Vol. 4, €18; Vol. 5, €16.

In a delightful treatise that has been published in this *Journal*, Hubert Le Blanc in 1740 divided the known musical world into *pièces*, the province of the French, and sonatas, that of the Italians.¹ Lamenting the decline of the viol, Le Blanc attributes this in large part to the reluctance of its masters—including Marais senior—to broaden their art and embrace the technical and musical demands of the Italian sonata. Were Le Blanc miraculously to reappear, he might still castigate us for the same reason. Our defense would be that until recently, we were relatively unaware of the sonata repertoire. Modern viol players have been very well served for *pièces*: most if not all of the published suites from the “golden

¹ Hubert Le Blanc, *Defense of the Viola da Gamba Against the Enterprises of the Violin and the Pretensions of the Violoncello*, trans. Barbara Garvey Jackson, *JVdGSA* 10 (1973): 11–28, 69–80; 11 (1974): 17–58.

age” in France are available in facsimile or other modern editions. However, fewer High Baroque sonatas for the viol have been available, and they represent very few composers: for example, Telemann, J. S. Bach, Abel, Finger, and for the more adventurous, C. P. E. Bach.

This collection should therefore be hailed as an important publishing event for viol players. There are five volumes containing twenty-three sonatas in all, of which twenty-two have not been published since the eighteenth century in the version presented here. Eleven of the works are true solo sonatas, mainly in the Italian style, by various composers, and twelve are previously unknown suites for two bass viols in the French style by Boismortier. I am using the word “solo” in the eighteenth-century sense: a sonata for solo instrument with accompaniment. The collection represents a cross-section of composers who were popular in France in the middle decades of the eighteenth century: Somis, Corelli, Mascitti, Montanari, Senaillé, Leclair, and Boismortier, along with one who was more famous in Germany, namely Franz Benda.

Readers who are unaware of any gamba sonatas by most of the above composers need not feel that their education has been neglected: the solo sonatas are transcriptions from originals for violin. As Hazelle Miloradovitch has pointed out, the habit of transcribing violin sonatas for the viol was quite widespread in the eighteenth century.² The five volumes here under review represent a modern edition of a single eighteenth-century manuscript volume entitled “Recueil des Plus belles Sonates a basse de Viole avec accompagnement ou a deux basses sans Violon par les meilleurs auteurs François et Italien.” The original order of works in the manuscript has been preserved, resulting in the following distribution: Volume 1, Somis and Senaillé; Volumes 2 and 3, Boismortier; Volume 4, Corelli, Mascitti, and Leclair; Volume 5, Montanari, Senaillé, and Benda. The manuscript gives us an interesting insight into the performance practice of a particular time and place.

² Hazelle Miloradovitch, “Eighteenth-century Manuscript Transcriptions for Viols of Music by Corelli and Marais in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: Sonatas and Pièces de Viole,” *Chelys* 12 (1983): 53.

The place is Berlin, specifically the court of Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, who became King of Prussia in 1786 on the death of his uncle Frederick the Great. The manuscript is found in the Königliche Hausbibliothek, or Royal Library of the Berlin Palace, one of the many collections that now make up the music collection of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin National Library). As its name implies, the Royal Library contains music that was collected for the private use of the members of the royal household. The Prussian royal family contained several good musicians, but its only known gambist (and cellist) in the eighteenth century was Friedrich Wilhelm.³ The time is unfortunately more difficult to specify, but the manuscript was probably prepared during or close to the 1760s, the period when the prince was most actively involved in gamba playing.⁴

The manuscript was probably used by the prince and his teacher, the great virtuoso Ludwig Christian Hesse, along with the large numbers of Opéra Comique arrangements prepared by Hesse for the same combination. It is fascinating and stimulating to the imagination to find a collection with such specific associations, and herein lie its strength and its weakness. Hesse and Friedrich Wilhelm probably played the works without further accompaniment, and the copyist (who was not Hesse) did not provide figures for the bass. This presents no problems in the case of the Boismortier duets, which like his many similar collections were unlikely to have been conceived or played with continuo. However, the solo sonatas by the other composers were copied from originals that had a solo violin line plus figured bass continuo. The original performers of the gamba versions may have enjoyed playing them without harpsichord, but it is a shame that our performance possibility is similarly limited. Admittedly, the title of the collection, quoted above, envisages performance with or without (chordal) accompaniment. Then as now, there would have been keyboard players who could do a good job accompanying using a score with an unfigured bass line. However, it does make it more difficult. Even if they chose not to provide a keyboard realization,

³ Claims that Princess Anna Amalia (the younger sister of Frederick the Great) played the viol have not been substantiated.

⁴ See Michael O’Loughlin, “Ludwig Christian Hesse and the Berlin Virtuoso Style,” *JVdGSA* 35 (1998): 44–49.

the editors could perhaps have provided figures from the original publications of those violin sonatas that are available. It must be said that all of the pieces do work and are pleasant on the combination envisaged by the edition, namely two viols. One viol and one cello are also appropriate.

In other respects the publication is excellent. For the volumes that contain the eleven solo sonatas (Volumes 1, 4, and 5), the editors have provided two scores that are identical except for the choice of clef in the solo part. One score presents the music as it appears in the original, that is with the solo part in treble clef, to be read one octave lower. This is the way most gamba music of the Berlin School appears in the original manuscripts. Players unused to treble clef can use the other score, in which the alto clef and occasionally the bass clef are used for the solo part. In the case of the twelve duets by Boismortier, both parts in both scores are notated in bass clef, as in the original. The music printing is large and clear, making it as easy to read as one could hope for. The editors claim that only one of the twenty-three works has been published in a modern edition, namely the sonata by Benda. Obviously, many editions of the Corelli sonata (Op. 5, no. 9) are available, including a facsimile of another contemporary viol transcription, in the same key.⁵

The editors have published in Volume 1 an excellent and complete preface to the whole series, in German and English. Fortunately, buyers of the other volumes can download it from the publisher's website: <<http://www.guentersberg.de>>. Since the preface is easily accessible, I will summarize it only briefly here. It deals with the manuscript source and lists the composers and their pieces, giving the original printed sources of the violin sonatas where they could be found. In the case of the Boismortier duets, no other source was found, which will make Volumes 2 and 3 of the series attractive and important for players who enjoy this composer's many other works in this genre. The preface continues with an interesting comparison between the gamba transcriptions and the violin originals, which provides a summary of the types of alterations that the anonymous arranger made, illustrated by good music examples. Footnotes provide documentation, although in

⁵ Arcangelo Corelli, *Sonatas for Viol and Continuo*, with introduction by Hazelle Miloradovitch (Peer, Belgium: Musica-Alamire, 1989).

one case the name of the author of a relevant article has been omitted.⁶ There is a general statement of the editorial method, but no critical commentary. The few mistakes in the manuscript corrected by the editors are clearly marked in notes at the foot of the relevant page in the music, but players will need basic German for this.

One of the typical alterations made by the copyist of the Berlin manuscript was the omission or simplification of ornamentation. The editors rightly point out that this would speak for its use in teaching. However, we gather from authors such as Johann Reichardt, C. P. E. Bach, F. W. Marpurg, and Charles Burney that in the Berlin performance style, expressive playing intended to move the hearts of the listeners took precedence over virtuoso display. To this end, ornamentation was tasteful but sparing. As well as making the pieces more suitable for didactic purposes, the alterations could be an adaptation to the Berlin taste. For example, the alteration in the third bar of the first example in the preface, a sonata by Senaillé, serves not only to simplify the line, but also to make it more expressive.

Most of the composers show their allegiance to Corelli, and we are reminded of the enormous influence of that composer in the eighteenth century. Jean Baptiste Senaillé (c. 1688–1730) is the most well represented, with four sonatas from his Opus 3, 4, and 5. In 1743 Titon du Tillet said of him: “He made an agreeable blend of the natural, noble and gracious melody of French music with the learned and brilliant harmony of Italian music, which [combination] pleased persons of good taste.”⁷ Such persons will probably still be pleased by the strong Corellian bass lines matched to the undeniably French melodic patterns. The slow movements are perhaps better than the fast ones, some of which are melodically uninspired. The first of the sonatas by Senaillé is another interesting example of “Berlinization” by the arranger: it is a pasticcio of movements from two sonatas from the composer’s opus 3 and 5,

⁶ The full citation should read: Johannes Boer, “The Viola da Gamba Sonatas by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach in the Context of Late German Viol Masters and the ‘Galant’ Style,” *A Viola da Gamba Miscellany*, ed. Johannes Boer and Guido van Oorschot (Utrecht: STIMU, 1994), 115–31.

⁷ Quoted in Peter Walls, “Senaillé [Senallié, Senaillié, Senallier, Senaillier], Jean Baptiste,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (accessed 10 June 2003), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

arranged to form a single sonata in the typical “Berlin sonata schema”: three movements in the same key, slow–fast–fast. However, for Sonata 23 in Volume 5, the arranger put together a five-movement pasticcio from five different sonatas!

Volume 1 contains two sonatas by Giovanni Battista Somis (1686–1763), an Italian who assisted his country’s dominance of the French scene by teaching Leclair and other French violinists. Somis may have been the inventor of the “Berlin sonata schema,” which I have so named simply because it was more widely used by more composers in Berlin than in any other school. Both of these sonatas are in this form, and neither could be found by the editors among the composer’s known works. These are attractive pieces, demanding a level of technique perhaps equivalent to that of the Telemann sonatas for viol and basso continuo. In some of the fast movements, the bass line is busier than the upper voice.

The three composers in Volume 4 are each represented by one sonata. The Corelli piece is of course excellent, and fun for both players. The Adagio, with its descending chromatic fourth in the bass, is a miniature classic, although it contains none of the florid ornamentation found in other eighteenth-century editions of the Opus 5 sonatas. The final *Tempo di Gavotta* provides a workout for both players: string crossings in the top voice, and relentless eighth notes at a brisk tempo in the bass. Michele Mascitti (1663/4–1760) was an Italian expatriate much admired by Hubert Le Blanc and Paris generally. As one would expect, his sonata is quite Corellian. Its rather odd collection of five movements suggests that it may also have been put together by the arranger, but since neither the editors nor I were able to locate the original, one cannot be sure. The final movement is strikingly reminiscent of the Corelli gavotte mentioned above. In any case, this is a very attractive piece. Volume 4 concludes with a sonata by Jean-Marie Leclair (1697–1764), one of the best-known advocates of the mixed taste, as this sonata demonstrates. Another pasticcio from Opus 1 and 2, it is fortunately less virtuosic than some of the composer’s other violin works. These three sonatas make Volume 4 to my taste the best of the five volumes.

The last two composers are found in Volume 5, again with one sonata each, along with two by Senaillé. The sonata by Francesco (Antonio) Montanari (1676–1737) is not unpleasant, but it is

short-winded and perhaps overly sequential. The one by Franz Benda (1709–1786) is probably the latest of the sonatas, and although it is not as intense as similar works by other Berliners such as C. P. E. Bach, it has some typical characteristics of the Berlin style: singing melodies, appoggiaturas, and large expressive intervals such as sixths, sevenths, and tenths. This is the only work that has been published in a version sourced from the same manuscript.⁸ The earlier edition by Hannelore Müller has the advantage of a realization of the unfigured bass; however, this new edition is more stylistic and in touch with modern practice in its more cautious approach to editorial additions, and it does not clutter the music with bowings and fingerings.

Just over half of the twenty-three pieces are duet “sonatas” by Joseph Bodin de Boismortier (1689–1755), who is named in the manuscript “Beaumortier” or “Beaumortié.” These are found in Volumes 2 and 3. These pieces imitate the formal structure of the *sonata da chiesa*: four movements, slow–fast–slow–fast. However, the individual movements are quite French. The melodies are pleasant and flowing in the French manner, and there is never any Italianate arpeggiated passagework. Most of the fast movements are standard French dance forms: primarily allemandes and courantes for the second movements, and giges, gavottes or pairs of menuets for the final movements. The allemande can double as a fast movement (in one case marked *gayment*) or a slow movement (*gravement*). The other slow movements are either sarabandes or designated by such terms as *doucement* and *lentement*. Most of the movements are quite short, and a typical sonata would be over in five minutes with repeats.

These pieces can be played without leaving first position on the bass viol, and are technically quite easy. Intermediate players might benefit from the practice in trills and dotted rhythms that some movements provide, as well as the chance to work on perfecting the elegant French style in pieces that are less demanding than (for example) the duets in Marais Book 1. Players will also enjoy the fact that although the first voice remains for the most part above the second, both parts have equal interest and share the same

⁸ Franz Benda, *Sonata in F Major*, ed. Hannelore Müller (Wilhelmshaven, Germany: Heinrichshofen, 1971).

thematic material. Since there is no idiomatic writing for viol, the pieces could as well be played by any other bass instruments.

These five volumes form a very useful addition to the viol player's library. They will widen some players' horizons by providing them with music in a genre that is not especially rich in repertoire. Players can easily exchange the roles of Master and Pupil (or Master and Servant!), as both parts contain material that is equally interesting, though not always similar. The pieces are generally attractive, and were well selected by the anonymous arranger for their suitability for performance by two viols unaccompanied.

Michael O'Loghlin

CORRESPONDENCE

Response to Joëlle Morton

In her recent response (“A Few Observations, and Even More Questions,” *JVdGSA* 39 [2002]: 106–112) to an article of mine (“The Sizes and Tunings of Early Viols: Some Questions [and a Few Answers],” *JVdGSA* 38 [2001]: 5–26), Joëlle Morton suggests several areas of gamba research that warrant further investigation and consideration. She makes a number of interesting and valid points; however, I feel the need to comment in turn upon a few of her observations.

Morton is, I believe, quite right to stress the importance of determining not only the mechanism of transposition, but the reasons for it as well. There would seem to be three reasons to transpose on instruments. One, as mentioned by Morton, is to adjust the ambitus of the music to the range of the instruments. Another is to accommodate some of their technical idiosyncrasies; here, small changes of placement can make a great difference in terms of fingering convenience as well as sonority. (Such considerations would seem to be behind Ganassi’s recommendation, for instance, to transpose upwards by a step pieces in the “twice-transposed” modes—those with two flats in the signature; this issue is discussed in detail by Wolfgang Eggers in the commentary to his translation of Ganassi’s *Regola rubertina*.) A third reason to transpose is to match the differing pitch standards of other instruments (or the pitch needs of voices). Clearly, the advent of idiomatic instrumental literatures, as well as a more stable environment in terms of pitch standard, eventually lessened the need for transposition; however, there are many indications, particularly from Continental sources, that skill in transposition was still a requirement for instrumentalists in the early seventeenth century.

It was never my intent to imply, however, that any part of the literature for viola bastarda was meant to be transposed; it seems most probable it was notated according to the prevailing pitch standards of northern Italy, which were (during the relevant period) generally within a semitone or so of our own. On the other hand, to claim it is idiomatically conceived begs the question of just exactly what that idiom was: was the viola bastarda a particu-

lar size of gamba (as claimed by the two writers from the period who describe it, Francesco Rognioni and Michael Praetorius), or does “bastarda” refer merely to a style of composition (the “currently accepted” view, according to Morton)? Was it limited in its tuning to the standard intervals of consort viol tunings, or could it make use of the scordaturas mentioned by Praetorius? My only point here was to suggest his information about the viola bastarda should not be dismissed out of hand simply because of his supposed confusion between it and the lyra viol; only experimentation, in fact, can determine the practicality of his bastarda tunings. (I must confess I am puzzled by Morton’s comment [p. 107] concerning my citation of Rognioni’s piece *per il Violone Over Trombone alla bastarda*, since I do not see the errors in that citation she apparently wishes to correct.)

Morton clearly has a different sense from mine as to the value of Praetorius as a theorist. I have found him to be amazingly well informed about Italian musical matters, especially for someone who apparently never made it to Italy. (One of his conduits to Italian practice—it would seem from circumstantial evidence—might well have been Heinrich Schütz, who did, of course, study in Italy; I think we can be fairly certain that, given Praetorius’s passionate interest in Italian musical practice, their conversations on those occasions their paths are known to have crossed would not have been limited to Italian weather!) I have also found him to be quite open and forthright in distinguishing between his own ideas and those of others; see, for instance, his long discussion in the *Syntagma III* (Part II, Chapter XII) of unison and octave doubling practice. (Thus when he says on page 96 of that passage that doubling the bass at the lower octave is “quite common in current Italian *concerti*,” I see no reason to doubt him—or to think this was something he made up because he thought it was a good idea.) Morton suggests there are “numerous other contemporary treatises” against which we can compare his information; the problem for us is that there are few from Italy with even remotely comparable breadth and scope, forcing us to consult other types of sources—such as payment records, iconography, and musical scores—if we need to “check him out” concerning Italian practice. Dealing with these latter sources is never straightforward, since they rarely if ever match instrument names to physical descrip-

tions and tunings; interpretation remains controversial. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the word “*contrabasso*” is found rather frequently, in fact, in Italian seventeenth-century payment records, often in contexts that differentiate the *contrabasso* from the *basso* playing alongside it. Concerning Monteverdi’s *contrabasso*, it is not clear to me why (as Morton suggests) we should consider it to have been the “G or A violone,” when the majority of “theorists living at the same time [as] and in geographical proximity to Monteverdi” define the latter instrument as a *basso*, and one of them (Banchieri—the only one to specify a tuning for the *contrabasso*) equates the *contrabasso* with the “D violone.” That Monteverdi’s instrument might, upon occasion, play “at pitch” does not, in itself, alter the definition.

I do not follow the logic that, because Praetorius chose not to bore his readers with information about the violin family they were likely to know already, he himself therefore did not know whereof he spoke about other matters. According to his own account he was well enough acquainted with the recently invented *gar grosse Violn de Gamba SubBässe* not only to have tried using them, but to have then revised that use on the basis of his experience. (His personal acquaintance with the *viola bastarda* is, on the other hand, somewhat less certain.) Admittedly, he delighted in sharing with his readers the latest developments, several of which represented the current fervor among builders to produce deep, subbass instruments; generally he is quite clear, however, as to the novelty of such developments. (Note in particular it is only the largest subbass viol—that illustrated in his Plate V—and not the “D violone” in Plate VI that he claims was newly invented.) Potentially much more confusing to us now, I believe, is his habit of including out-of-date information from older writings, such as the consort viol tunings labeled as nos. 3, 4, and 5 in his tuning chart (*Syntagma* II, p. 25); the latter would seem to have been taken directly from the 1528 version of Martin Agricola’s *Musica instrumentalis deudsch*. (Praetorius mentions Agricola as the source of some of the tunings in his chart but leaves it up to us to figure out which ones.)

I do not find it surprising that Praetorius chose not to illustrate a *gamba* with sympathetic strings, despite mentioning its existence; his illustrations seem generally to have been confined to instru-

ments his (unfortunately still anonymous) draftsman could examine, and an example showing that English innovation might well have been unavailable. In any case, I do not see how his choice not to illustrate it constitutes a suspicious lack of agreement between his text and the depiction of a viola bastarda; his description of the English invention is actually rather short, the bulk of his excursus having to do with the general acoustic phenomenon of sympathetic resonance. All this is not to suggest Praetorius is without error; researchers (including myself) have identified a number of inconsistencies, errors in detail, and incongruities between his descriptions and illustrations. (All considered, there has probably been much more ink spilled questioning his veracity or reinterpreting his statements than accepting his information at face value.) One possible instance of such an error is the lowest note given in his chart for the *Gar groß Baß-Viol*. As printed, the tuning is $D'-E'-A'-D-G$ —that is to say, a tuning generally in fourths, but with a second on the bottom. One might simply accept this anomaly without question, were it not for the fact that D' is the same note given for the lowest string of the next smaller instrument (the *Groß-Baß Viol de Gamba*—some 10" or 25 cm shorter in string length), and that Praetorius tells us the invention of the larger instrument was responsible for making it possible to transpose the whole gamba consort down an octave. (To go to the trouble of producing a more cumbersome instrument for so little evident gain makes little sense.) Thus it seems likely the D' in the tuning for his largest viol is a misprint for B'' a third lower (and a fourth below E'), which would allow the playing of a sixteen-foot C' . There is, of course, a long distance between “likely” and “certain”; at this point we can only speculate. In any case, the first theoretical work to mention unequivocally a bowed string capable of the low C' would seem to be Martin Heinrich Fuhrmann’s *Musicalischer-Trichter* (Frankfurt an der Spree, 1706), allowing us to move Morton’s date of 1737 back just a few decades.

Morton is concerned that the goal of modern scholarship is to find single, definitive answers to all questions, fearing this quest will limit flexibility in the performance of early music. I believe, however, there is so much we do not (and cannot) know about early practice, and there are so many ways of interpreting the evidence that does exist, that there is little danger of there arising a

stultifying uniformity of approach; rather, I am pleased to find along the way a few pieces of information about which we can be reasonably certain. In any case, it has been my experience that—regardless of the findings of scholars—performers will always find ways to justify their own preferences.

Herbert W. Myers

CONTRIBUTOR PROFILES

Bruce Bellingham served as President of the VdGSA from 1975 to 1979 while he was also chair of the AMS Collegium Musicum Committee. Beginning his professional playing life as a double-bassist in jazz, dance-band, pit-orchestra, symphony, and chamber ensembles, he took up the viol while in residence for his Ph.D. in Toronto (his first experience was playing the Tielke bass in the Hart House chest of viols). He taught at the Eastman School of Music from 1969 to 1974, where he directed the Collegium, then moved to the University of Connecticut, from which he has just retired. His publications include editions of bicinia for Bärenreiter and A-R Editions, articles in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, and the Ferrabosco four-part fantasias for Musica Britannica. As a violone player, he has performed throughout the Northeast with the Acadia Players, Connecticut Early Music Festival, and other orchestras, and intends to be active as a player, reviewer, and writer in his new life. In September 2003 he read a paper “Harmonic Excursions in the English Early-17th-Century Four-Part Fantasias of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger” at Early Music: Context and Ideas, International Conference in Musicology, Krakow.

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Michael O'Loghlin received his bachelor's degree from the University of Sydney, and his Ph.D. from the University of Queensland in Brisbane, Australia. He was first inspired to love early music and fumble on the viol during his undergraduate years by the late Prof. Donald Peart and Winsome Evans. He later studied in Vienna and Salzburg with José Vazquez and Nikolaus Harnoncourt. He now lives in Brisbane, where he plays viola da gamba, violone, and double bass, and teaches viola da gamba and performance practice at the University of Queensland and the Queensland Conservatorium, Griffith University. He is a member of the ensemble for Baroque music on original instruments, the *Badinerie Players*, and also of the Queensland Orchestra. Cur-

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