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CONTENTS

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LYRA VIOL ACCOMPANIMENT IN ROBERT JONES' SECOND BOOKE OF SONGS AND AYRES (1601)[1]

Deborah Teplow

The polyphonic and chordal capabilities of the viola da gamba have been a feature in its repertoire since the mid-sixteenth century. Indeed, a chordally conceived, polyphonically-oriented style for the viol has been included in a variety of musical genres at some point in each of the musical traditions of Italy, France, Germany and England.[2] The development of this style was undertaken by the Italian virtuosi of the mid-sixteenth century in the desire to create an idiomatic viol style and thereby expand the repertoire for solo players.

Ganassi provided the first published music for solo viol in this style in his instruction manuals of 1542 and 1543.[3] He describes a style in which the viol imitates the contrapuntal practice of the seven string lira da braccia, and includes examples of extensive chordal passages, short points of imitation and brief sections of polyphony.

In the Lettione Seconda of 1543, Ganassi also provides the first printed example of a madrigal for solo voice accompanied by the viol playing in this "lira" style.[4] Although no other examples of this style from this time survive, the practice of chordal accompaniment on the viol is documented in accounts of mid-sixteenth century music making.[5]

While it is unclear how wide a circulation the sixteenth-century Italian treatises enjoyed abroad, the frequent contact between composers and players of Italy and England must have exerted a strong influence on the English. In fact, the most significant elements of the Italian "lira" and viola bastarda styles are strongly reflected in the mid-seventeenth-century English music for the viol. The popularity of these styles is attested to by the great amounts of music published and in manuscript for the lyra and division viols as well as the many published treatises and written descriptions.[6] In addition, there was a widespread use of lyra and division viols, instruments designed specifically to aid in executing the heavy technical demands made on the player in these virtuoso styles. It is imperative to recognize, however, that it is the musical characteristics which distinguish the lyra and division styles rather than the use of a particular instrument.

One of the most important aspects of the lyra style is the variety of tunings that are employed. Open strings are tuned by thirds, fourths, and fifths to important pitches in the mode of the piece. Thus, the sympathetic vibration of the strings provides a particularly resonant sound quality. The music is given in tablature notation which allows the player to use these different tunings without having to relearn new fingering positions for each tuning.

From seventeenth-century writings, it is evident that providing lyra style accompaniment was an accepted practice.[7] There are accounts from various sources of solo singers being accompanied by a single viol as well as accounts of gentlemen players singing songs while providing their own accompaniments. In addition, the viol is also listed in many published song collections as an alternative accompanying instrument to the lute. Considering the popularity of the lyra and division styles and the English players' love of improvisation, it is highly probable that players would have embellished the simple bass line of an accompanied song with the addition of chords and/or divisions.

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[1] Robert Jones, *The Second Booke of Songs and Ayres* (London, 1601), facsimile ed. (Menston, England: Scholar Press, 1970). [A version of this paper was read at the Joint Meeting of the Northern and Pacific Southwest Chapters of the AMS in April, 1985.]

[2] Some of examples of this style are found in the music of Ganassi, Schenk, Telemann, Hume, Coperario, Playford, Jenkins, Simpson, De Machy, Marais and Forqueray.

[3] Sylvestro Ganassi, *Regola Rubertina* (Venice, 1542-43), facsimile ed., Max Schneider (Leipzig: Fürstlichen Instituts fur Musikwissenschaftliche Forschung zu Bückeburg, 1924). Facsimile edition of Volume II, *Lettione seconda pur della prattica di sonare il violone d'arco da tasti* (Bologna: Forni, 1970).

[4] Ganassi, *ibid.*

[5] Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 179-181.

[6] Frank Traficante, "Music for the Lyra Viol: The Printed Sources," *The Lute Society Journal* 8 (1966): 7-24.

[7] Edward Huws Jones, " 'To Sing and Play to the Base-Violl Alone': The Bass Viol in English 17th Century Song," *Lute Society Journal* 17 (1975): 17-23.

Robert Jones' *Second Booke of Songs and Ayres,* published in 1601, provides an important link between the Italian practices established in the sixteenth century and the fully matured English lyra viol style of Jenkins and Simpson in the mid-seventeenth century. In the history of the English lyra viol style, this book stands out for three reasons. First, it represents the earliest English source of music written in the style.[8] Second, it is the earliest source of English viol music written in tablature notation.[9] And finally, it is the first collection of English solo songs to include a lyra style accompaniment.[10]

With this in mind, Jones' *Second Booke* takes on added significance for modern viol players because it provides a model upon which to create other lyra style accompaniments for the English solo song repertoire provided only with a lute accompaniment.

The purpose of this article is to offer a first step towards developing a method for creating such an accompaniment style by describing Jones' lyra accompaniment as well as the relationship between the lyra and lute accompaniments of the *Second Booke.*

Jones' title page reads, "The Seconde Booke of Songs and Ayres, Set out to the Lute, the base Violl the playne way, or the Base by tableture after the leero fashion." For each of the twenty-one songs in the book, Jones provides parallel accompaniments for both lute and viol. In the title, "the playne way" indicates that the viol performs the unadorned bass line, given in staff notation. "The Base by tableture after the leero fashion" not only indicates a predominantly chordal texture that the tablature notation would suggest, but the specification of "leero fashion" further indicates that the viol plays in a contrapuntal style, similar to that played by the Italian lirone or lira da braccia.

Two types of accompaniment styles are found in this collection. In the first type, the accompaniment is wholly subordinant to the voice. It provides solid harmonic and rhythmic support for the vocal line and is most often found in songs having a light, frivolous text

[8]Traficante, *Op.cit.*

[9]Traficante, *Op.cit.*

[10]Another early source of songs accompanied in the lyra style is contained in the British Museum manuscript of lyra viol music, Egerton 2971, which includes four Italian songs provided with a lyra accompaniment and instructions on the new Italian ornamentation practice. See Mary Cyr, "A Seventeenth Century Source of Ornamentation for Voice and Viol: British Museum MS Egerton 2971," *RMA Research Chronicle,* 9 (1971): 53-72.

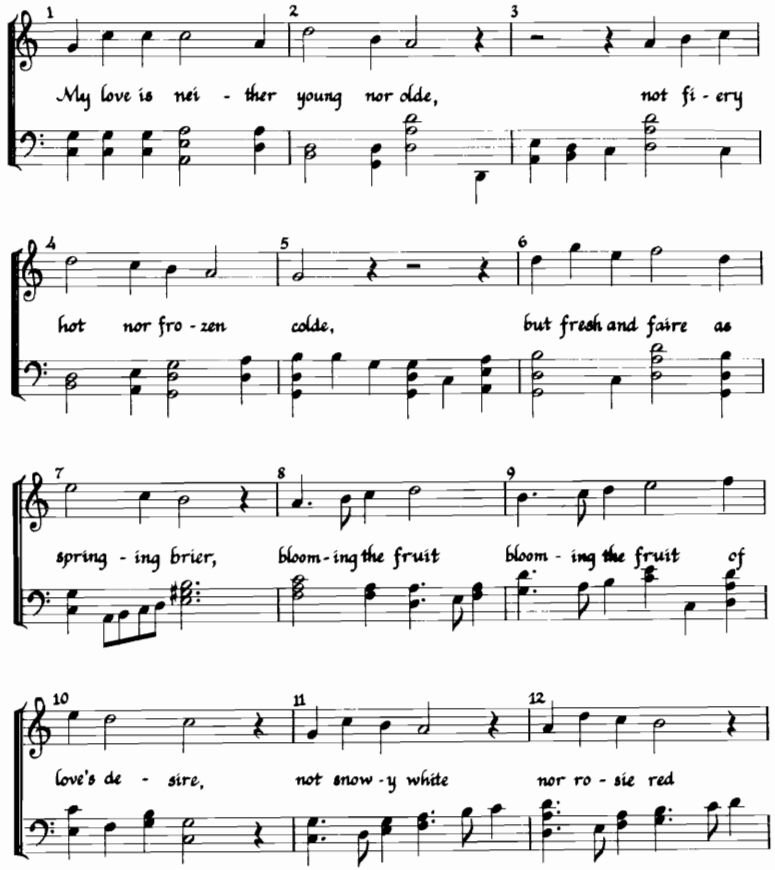
set in triple meter. In the second type of accompaniment, the viol still maintains its secondary position in comparison to the voice, but assumes a more important role by presenting new motivic material within instrumental interludes that is then repeated in the vocal line, providing points of imitation, defining metric structure, and reinforcing or enhancing the meaning of the text. Both types of accompaniments feature a richly resonant sound quality by making use of tunings particularly suited to the modes of the songs.

Some general features which characterized this first type of accompaniment are illustrated in the song, "My love is neither young nor olde." Each feature reflects the subordinant role played by the viol. The song has a predominantly homophonic texture with voice and viol moving together for much of the song. The viol's distinctly vertical, harmonic orientation includes the consistent use of two- and three-note chords whose roots move by thirds, fourths and fifths. When the viol departs from a chordal texture, it is only to introduce a brief division. The range of the part is fairly circumscribed and never crosses the voice. Much of it is played on the middle three strings, ascending only to the pitch of the open top string a few times and rarely descending to the lowest two strings. It never crosses the voice.

Although there is little that highlights the viol in this type of accompaniment, few of Jones' songs in his *Second Booke* with this type of accompaniment are completely devoid of independent material for the viol. This song ("My Love") illustrates the limited use of motivic material in this style. In measure 3, the stepwise ascent of a fourth, setting the words "not fiery hot," is first given out in the viol before it is taken up by the voice. As soon as the voice enters, the viol resumes its supporting role until the end of that phrase. Then in measure 5, it introduces the motive for the next bit of text in its bass which the voice imitates at the fifth above. The phrase, "blooming the fruit," is set to an ascending scale passage and is sung twice. Before its repetition, the viol echoes the motive down a fifth. In measure 11, the melody consists of a sequence which begins with the leap of a fourth. The melody of the third phrase is a variation of the beginning of phrase two. The viol part, however, preserves the melodic and rhythmic profile of the last part of the second phrase, thus providing a sense of unity.

Example 1

Jones, *Second Booke,* "My Love Is Neither Young Nor Olde", mm. 1-12



The song concludes in the style in which it began. The viol again provides solid rhythmic and harmonic support with little material to highlight it except for a quick division which fills in the leap of a fifth.

Most of the songs in this collection include the second type of accompaniment—one that is much more pronounced in individual character and structural importance than that found in the preceding song. One of the most important features in this style is the consistent introduction of new motivic material in regular and frequent interludes between sung phrases. In addition, motives are given out in different ranges on the viol, corresponding to the alto,

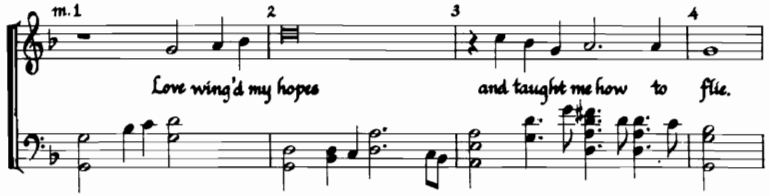
tenor and bass vocal ranges, thus recreating in a fashion the polyphonic texture of earlier English ayres.

In this way, the viol is elevated in importance and becomes an equal partner with the voice in introducing the points of imitation upon which each phrase is based. Indeed, in some songs, the viol takes such an active role that it is the singing of text and prominent vocal range that distinguishes the voice from the viol rather than the musical characteristics of the part.

"Love Wing'd My Hopes" clearly illustrates the second type of accompaniment. The song begins with the viol introducing the first point of imitation in its alto range over a G in the bass. The voice imitates the motive in the soprano and is followed by the viol's repetition of it down two octaves in the bass. The viol extends the phrase and provides a forward thrust that ultimately leads to the first cadence in measure 4. This first phrase alone illustrates how the viol functions to introduce motivic material, provide a rich polyphonic texture and carry a phrase forward.

Example 2

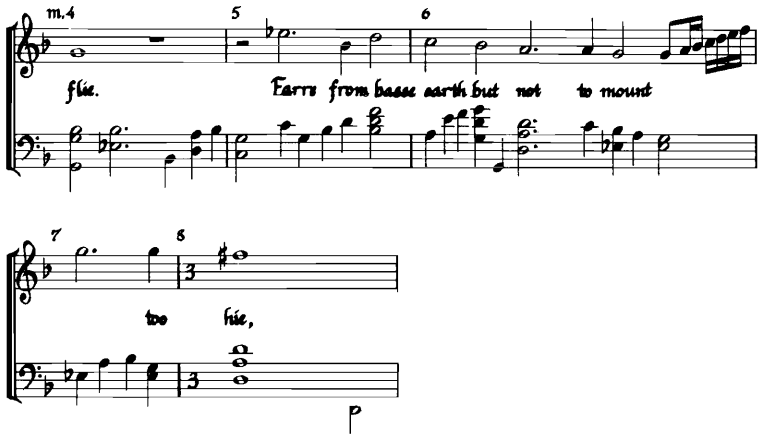
Jones, *Second Booke,* "Love Wind'd My Hopes," mm. 1-4



The second phrase begins similarly to the first. The initial point of imitation for the second line of text is introduced by the viol this time in its bass range with harmonization above. The voice imitates the motive but extends the phrase to end with a flourish before the cadence.

Example 3

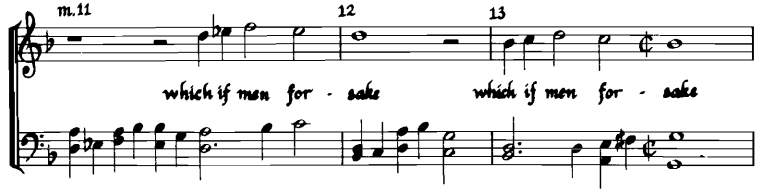
Jones, *Second Booke,* "Love Wind'd My Hopes," mm. 4-8.



The next motive (in measure 11) is given out again by the viol in its bass range with harmonization above. To this Jones adds a few notes of division. The voice repeats two octaves higher, and the viol returns to play the motive down a third which is again imitated by the voice.

Example 4

Jones, *Second Booke,* "Love Wing'd My Hopes," mm. 11-13

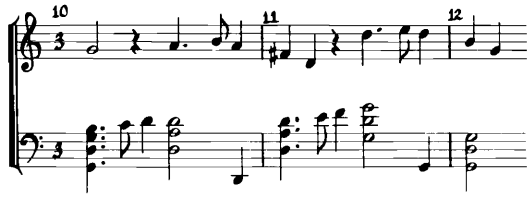


The song continues in this fashion with the viol presenting motivic material embellished with simple divisions and followed by the voice. In the last phrase, the voice enters before the viol completes its statement of the motive and introduces a stretto effect which is further intensified by the viol's divisions.

The viol's independent rhythmic character is another important feature in this type of accompaniment. Frequently, the viol signals either a shift in meter or introduces a new and distinct rhythmic motive. In the song "Fie, Fie, What A Coile is Heere," a change from duple to triple meter is signaled by the viol playing an ascending scale passage set to the rhythm ♩. ♪ ♩ 𝅗𝅥 . This rhythmic figure is taken up by the voice which sings an entirely different melodic motive. After the shift back to duple meter, the viol again plays a motive of which the rhythmic profile, but not melodic, is imitated by the voice.

Example 5

Jones, *Second Booke,* "Fie, Fie, What a Coile Is Here," mm. 10-12



Another way in which the viol takes an active role in the songs is to provide rhythmic counterpoint. This often involves the repetition of a particularly distinct rhythmic figure sung earlier as the voice reaches a more static portion of the phrase. Usually, the melody of the viol part consists of a simple division with primarily rhythmic interest.

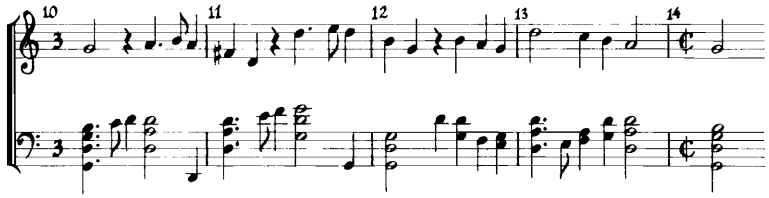
Variations in texture are an additional way in which the lyra accompaniment enhances its support of the vocal line. Jones varies texture to clarify metrical structure, shape phrases and provide shifts in dramatic intensity. To clarify meter, Jones places full chords of three or four notes on strong beats, double stops on weaker beats and single notes on the weakest. This hierarchical scheme is used with great consistency. In triple meter, for instance, the viol often plays full chords on beat one, a single note on beat two and a double stop on beat three.

Jones also introduces variations in texture to enhance shifts in meter. In "Fie, Fie," the viol reinforces a hemiola pattern. Here in measures 10-12, full chords are placed on strong beats with single notes on weaker beats.

Then, in measure 13, Jones provides a double stop on the fourth beat followed by a fuller chord on the fifth. In addition to this variation in texture to enhance the hemiola pattern, it is also reinforced by the leap downward from G to D.

Example 6

Jones, *Second Booke,* "Fie, Fie, What a Coile Is Here," mm. 10-14

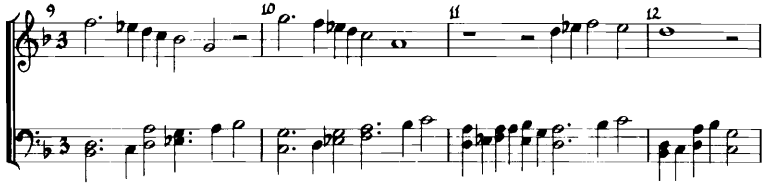


Another example of this kind of metric clarification appears in "Love Wing'd My Hopes." First, Jones establishes a strong dotted-half-note pulse by placing double stops on beats one and four, and double stops or single notes on the other beats.

In measures 11 and 12, the rhythmic impulse is intensified and shifts to a half-note pulse by alternating double stops with single notes on the quarter-beat level.

Example 7

Jones, *Second Booke,* "Love Wing'd My Hopes," mm. 9-12

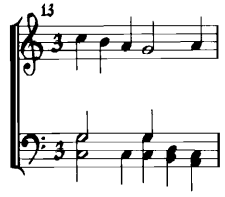


A final characteristic of Jones' variations in texture is the use of accords or unisons. An accord is executed by playing an open string with its unison played as a fretted note on the lower adjacent string. The resultant sound is somewhat like that produced on the lute using double courses of strings.

In "Now What is Love," Jones reinforces the sound of the notes on the strong beats through the use of accords. The tablature indicates that the G of beats one and four is to be played as a fretted note on the D^1 string along with the adjacent open G^1 string.

Example 8

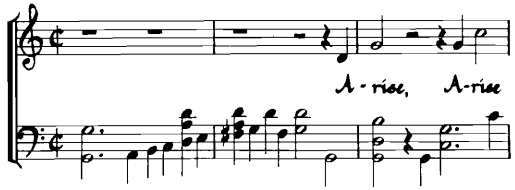
Jones, *Second Booke,* "Now What Is Love," m. 13



Pictorialism is another aspect of the lyra accompaniment which distinguishes this style. Occasionally, the viol plays a motive that musically depicts an idea or image described in the text and which is not part of the vocal line. In the song, "Arise, My Thoughts," for instance, the viol begins alone and makes a full octave ascent by step. The voice enters with a contrasting leaping motive to sing the text, "arise, arise." From this and other similar examples, it is clear that Jones provides pictoral material for the viol to establish a mood or create an image that is later expressed by the singer.

Example 9

Jones, *Second Booke,* "Arise, My Thoughts," mm. 1-3



A final word must be added here regarding the viol's performance of chords. Because the bow can easily only play two strings simultaneously, any chords of three or more notes must be rolled, and even the notes in a double stop can be struck individually. This introduces the added variable of the rhythm and speed in which chords are executed. By rolling a chord slower or faster, each string singly or in pairs, a player can profoundly alter the sense of motion within a phrase or between phrases.

In working toward an understanding of Jones' process in composing the lyra accompaniment, an important area to examine is the relationship between the lyra part and the pre-existent lute part. Almost without a doubt, Jones gave priority to the lute version. In the printed edition of the *Second Booke,* the lute tablature appears directly below each line of music for the voice. The bass line in staff notation is set vertically on the bottom of the facing page and the lyra tablature is placed horizontally above. In addition, of the five books of songs Jones wrote, this is the only one which includes an alternate accompaniment. Perhaps the provision of a lyra accompaniment was stimulated by a desire to reach a broader audience, or possibly it reflects contemporary performance practice as Jones suggests in his preface:

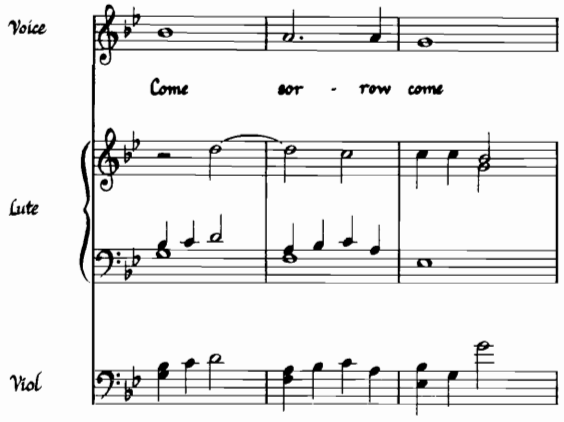
> If the Ditties dislike thee, 'tis my fault that was so bold to publish the private contentments of divers Gentlemen without their consents, though (I hope) not against their wils.[11]

In any case, when the lute and lyra accompaniments are compared, it appears that Jones extracted the lyra part from that of the lute, fashioning it into an idiomatic lyra style.

One of the most obvious differences between the lute and lyra accompaniments is the range in which they play. Both play almost exactly the same bass lines, but the viol rarely ascends more than a step above middle C whereas the lute frequently ranges between C and a ninth above. In addition, the lute consistently crosses the voice when the singer descends below G.

Example 10

Jones, *Second Booke,* "Come Sorrow Come," excerpt



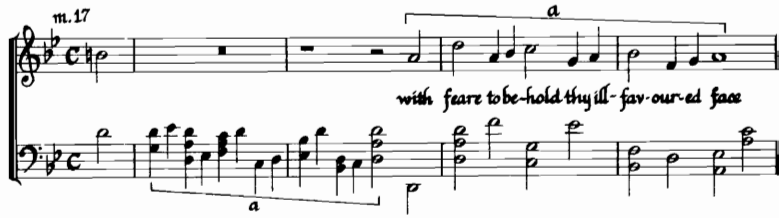
[11]Robert Jones, *Op.cit.*

In fashioning the lyra part, Jones transposes many of the highest notes in the lute part down an octave to avoid wide leaps. This brings most notes into a range easily reached on adjacent strings of the viol. Some notes are simply omitted but most of those are doubling of a chord tone already being sounded.

Texture is another significant difference between the lute and viol parts. The lute part is highly contrapuntal and often maintains a flow of two or three well-defined, independent voices. A consistently homophonic texture is usually seen only in very quick pieces having a fairly frivolous text. The viol, on the other hand, does not maintain a consistent texture but mixes two- and three-note chords, chordal passages, and single notes in an irregular pattern. Significant melodic motives or brief passages having melodic interest are played either in a treble or bass range and without a clearly defined inner voice. Notice too, that in Example 11 a the voice imitates the lowest voice of the viol at a fifth.

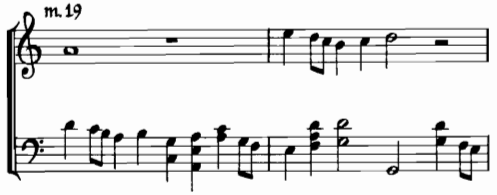
Example 11a

Jones, *Second Booke,* "Come Sorrow Come," mm. 17-21



Example 11b

Jones, *Second Booke,* "Arise, My Thoughts," mm. 19-20



In general, the lute plays more consecutive chords than the viol. For the viol, Jones often omits the treble notes from the lute part and leaves the bass line unharmonized on weak beats. The viol's capability to sustain and shape the individual notes, however, offers a much broader range of expressive nuances than the lute and surely makes up for the omission of notes.

Jones also makes substitutions of chord tones. The lute easily plays full triads. The viol more often plays open fifths or chords consisting of the root, fifth and the octave doubling of the root. Finally, the lute and viol parts differ in their rhythmic aspects. Simply stated, the lute is far busier than the viol. Within instrumental interludes between phrases, the two instruments share the same rhythmic characteristics, but as soon as the voice enters, the viol usually shifts to play in equal or larger note values than the voice. In contrast, the lute continues with the same note values. Again, the sustaining capabilities of the viol can be called upon to add color or intensity to individual notes.

In conclusion, it is clear that the lyra style accompaniments included in Robert Jones' *Second Booke* offer an effective and musically satisfying alternative to the standard lute accompaniment. In the simpler type of accompaniment, the viol provides a full-textured background that supports the vocal line harmonically and rhythmically. In the second type of accompaniment, the viol takes an active role in presenting important melodic and rhythmic material; and variations in the viol's texture clarify and enhance metric structure. In addition, the viol's capability of sustaining and shaping individual notes or entire phrases is invaluable in achieving a dramatic and convincing performance.

Finally, these lyra style accompaniments offer modern gambists a model upon which to pattern their own lyra accompaniments to other songs in the repertoire.

PAUL DE WIT
A REVIVER OF THE VIOLS

John Rutledge

Paul de Wit (1852-1925) belongs to a small number of cellist-antiquaries who in the late nineteenth century developed an interest in the viola da gamba. Thanks are due to these individuals for helping to insure that the gamba had a nineteenth-century history at all. His achievements are as diverse as those of some of the men with whom he might be compared, such as Galpin, Mahillon, Dolmetsch, P. Harlan, or A. Tolbecque. De Wit combined aesthetic appreciation and musical ability with entrepreneurial ambition. He left a lasting mark on the history of the continental revival of the viols. His interest in the viola da gamba will be the chief focus of this brief study.

The most complete "biography" we have of Paul de Wit is a sketch of his life, on the occasion of his death, by Paul Daehne. [1] Published in the journal that de Wit founded shortly after de Wit's death, it is more in the nature of a eulogy. Hence it does not provide a truly critical review of de Wit's achievements, but is rather a sympathetic account in which de Wit's personality and life's work are presented in a laudatory way. Despite the lack of an official biography (except a notice in contemporary editions of *Wer ist wer*), de Wit deserves to be remembered for several important contributions to the musical world. He was the founder and publisher of the trade journal of the musical instrument industry, the *Zeitschrift für Instrumentenbau*. His collecting activities formed the basis for several important collections of historical instruments. Of more concern to us, however, is his attempt to revive interest in ancient instruments, particularly the viola da gamba.

Born in Maastricht in western Holland near Aachen, de Wit enjoyed the best education that his patrician family could provide (Daehne, 322). The family was fond of music and the son was allowed to study the cello with Joseph Hollmann. As a fourteen-

[1] "Paul de Wit's Leben und Wirken," *Zeitschrift für Instrumentenbau* 47/7 (1 January 1926): 321-325. For a more modern appreciation, based strongly on Daehne, see "Er zeigte der Musikindustrie den Weg in die Welt," *Instrumentenbau-Zeitschrift* 34/10 (October 1980): 653-654.

year-old he had lessons with a cellist of European reputation, Adrien-François Servais (Daehne, 322). After a period of conflict over career goals with his father, who was not inclined to allow the boy to pursue the career of a virtuoso, de Wit arrived at a compromise solution and headed off for Leipzig, an important center for musical activity, to work as a volunteer in the music-publishing firm of Christian Friedrich Kahnt, the publisher of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* founded by Robert Schumann. In these circumstances de Wit got to know leading figures in the musical world of his day (Daehne, 322), such as Franz Brendel and Liszt, whose compositions—along with a great deal of salon music—were published by Kahnt.[2]

In 1880 he founded, in collaboration with Oskar Laffert, the *Zeitschrift für Instrumentenbau (ZfI)*, which under his direction became the authoritative trade journal of the music industry. The journal was designed and published expressly for the "music trade"—that is, for instrument builders, purveyors of music-related products, music professionals such as piano tuners, and instrument dealers, many of whom were presumed to have a broad general interest in music and music history. *ZfI* regularly reported on musical instrument exhibits in the major centers of Europe and the rest of the world. Sales of new and antique instruments, auctions, and instrument repairs were given a great deal of attention. The journal is a reliable source of information on musical controversies, given that its pro-industry bias is clearly understood. The influence of de Wit on the journal is always near the surface.

THE COLLECTOR

The psychological forces that produce a collector of anything will probably never be understood or agreed upon completely. Whatever they are, however, de Wit must have possessed them in full measure since his collecting talents—and, it must be admitted, his circumstances—led him to develop three important gatherings of historic musical instruments.[3] According to Daehne, it began when de Wit was rewarded for an eleemosynary act towards an impoverished organ builder by the gift of a Kirkman clavichord *(Spinett)*. As de Wit's reputation grew, old instruments literally flowed in from the attics of churches, palaces, nunneries and builders' shops—wherever they lay gathering dust (p. 323). Also, de

[2]Deaville, James. "The C.F. Kahnt Archive in Leipzig: A Preliminary Report," *NOTES* 42/3 (March 1986): 502-517.

[3]"Wit, Paul de," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), v. 20, p. 464.

Wit frequently travelled abroad; outside Leipzig (often humorously dubbed "the Saxon Cremona" in the *ZfI)* he was able to locate remarkable and valuable instruments for his collections. Not content merely to collect these instruments, de Wit set up a repair shop (headed by the instrument builder Hermann Seyffarth) where these historic instruments were made playable again (Daehne, p. 324).

By the mid-1880s the reputation of de Wit's collection had reached the Royal Academy of Music in Berlin. A commission was set up (one member of which was Karl Spitta) to investigate the collection for possible acquisition by the Academy. In 1888 and 1890 successive groups of instruments that had been collected by de Wit were removed to Berlin to become part of the institute. Symptomatic of his expertise was a contract from Archduke Franz Ferdinand (who would later be killed at Sarajevo) to catalogue the instruments from the archducal collection at Modena (Daehne, p. 324). A third collection was formed as the collection in Leipzig outgrew the available space. An art collector in Cologne named Wilhelm Heyer urged de Wit to allow a portion of the instruments to be transferred to the "Musikhistorisches Museum Heyer" in Cologne. This was accomplished in 1905. De Wit put together a fourth, but smaller, collection after 1905 which was auctioned off after his death.[4]

THE PERFORMER

De Wit not only collected gambas, he performed on them as well. It is not known when and how de Wit became attracted to the gamba. Presumably this predilection resulted from the confluence of interest in instrument collecting and an early career interest in performing on the cello. Between 1883 and 1886 he gave a series of performances on the gamba in several European cities, principally in Brussels, Paris, Leipzig, and Dresden. Private performances, such as that given at Castle Rabensteinfeld for the archducal family of Mecklenburg, also formed a part of de Wit's effort to revitalize the gamba.

Between 1881 and 1884 de Wit participated in a series of "historical concerts" at the Royal Conservatory in Brussels. These concerts, called the "Queen's Concerts" because she was accustomed to attend, were held in a small auditorium of the Conservatory where seating was limited to 500 persons. Attendance was open

[4]"Er zeigte der Musikindustrie den Weg in die Welt," *Instrumentenbau-Zeitschrift* 34/10 (October 1980): 653-654.

only to the "contributing members" of the Conservatory who supported the concert series by financial contributions.[5]

Antecedents for historical concerts go back to Alexandre-Etienne Choron (1771-1834) in France, and much earlier in England. When de Wit performed on his beloved Vincenzo Ruggieri gamba, it was not an absolute innovation. At least as early as 1879 August Tolbecque had performed on viols at the historical concerts at the Royal Conservatory in Brussels.[6] Throughout the 1880s gamba performances were a regular part of the historical concerts, as the annual reports of the Conservatory make clear. Edouard Jacobs, a cellist at the Conservatory, performed on gamba regularly. There was even a student performance group—a *collegium musicum* even if not so named—that performed Jean-Baptiste Lully's *Armide* (1686) on six viols at one of the concerts.[7]

THE REPERTORY

To say that at this time the gamba repertory had not yet been recovered borders on the euphemistic. Editions were practically nonexistent and the choice of pieces to perform was limited. Hence, we find that the same pieces were frequently repeated by all the revivers. The composers performed included J.S. Bach, C.P.E. Bach, Boccherini, Marin Marais, and Tartini. A review of the pieces that de Wit performed shows that he did not shy away from the more difficult composers. Several times he played one of C.P.E. Bach's notoriously difficult sonatas, and an "Aria" by J.S. Bach.

He also performed works not composed specifically for the gamba. Tartini's famous "Largo" and a Boccherini "Menuet" were surely selected to convince the world that the gamba could compete in brilliance, volume, and sonority with the best cello. While Tartini and Boccherini might conceivably be performed on the gamba, it seems nothing short of desecration for de Wit to have played the fourth of Liszt's "Consolations" at the Thomaskirche in Leipzig! The piece by Liszt may have been included to honor the composer, whom de Wit knew personally (Daehne, 322). At the same concert he also produced an "Aria" by Antonio Lotti (1667-1740),[8]

[5] *ZfI* 16 (1 March 1885): 195.

[6] August Wenzinger, "Die Viola da Gamba einst und jetzt," in A.H. König's *Die Viola da Gamba* (Frankfurt: Bochinsky, 1985), p. 8.

[7] *Annuaire du Conservatoire royale de musique de Bruxelles* (Brussels: Muquardt, 1887), v. 11, p. 113.

[8] *ZfI* 2/20 (1 August 1882): 290.

presumably a transcription from a vocal score, but possibly a movement from Lotti's trio for flute, gamba, harpsichord, and continuo. One can well imagine that de Wit chose this piece to demonstrate the "suitability" of the gamba for Italian singing style.

ARTISTIC INTENTIONS

No dull historicism plagued de Wit's approach to the gamba. He saw his task as a reintroduction of a viable instrument rather than as an exercise in history. Walter Anger, a writer for the *ZfI*, states that de Wit's intention was to re-establish the gamba's rightful place.[9] Articles on the gamba published in the *ZfI* corroborate this educative intent, as for example a two-part article on the baryton published in November, 1887.

What was the nature of the sound that was being sought, the *Klangideale*? Some hints at this question may be seen in a very negative review of Wasielewsky's *Das Violoncell und seine Geschichte*, published in *ZfI*.[10] The author, H. Eichborn, discourses at length on the comparative sound characteristics of the gamba and the cello. De Wit's tone on the gamba, it is claimed, is completely without a nasal character. Nasal quality, essential to any definition of gamba sound, is viewed derogatorily, to be sure. The cello itself is frequently prey to this nasal tone, and many of the earlier gambas certainly had it, though not de Wit's Ruggieri gamba, which is free from it. Eichborn attributes the nasal sound to the flat plate ("platte Boden") of most early gambas. He further claims that de Wit's gamba playing is in no way inferior to good cello playing.

The result of such an approach, of course, is the confusion of the two instruments. That this issue plagued the entire nineteenth century is attested by the frequent re-inventions and remodelling of the gamba. It is probably due to the fact that the early revivers were often cellists. Had they been recorder players, the entire history of the revival of the viols would surely have been different.

PERFORMANCE PRACTICE

In the lengthy description of the Ruggieri gamba that de Wit played, it becomes clear that he preferred to work with splendid instruments. Not for its decoration alone (which even included diamonds!), but for its tone, the instrument was highly praised.

[9] *ZfI* 4/21 (21 April 1886): 263.

[10] *ZfI* 9/23 (11 May 1889): 315, 317.

(Writers in the *ZfI* wax ecstatic when describing de Wit's playing and his instrument. Such sycophantic journalism, however sincerely believed by the authors, needs to be read with a great deal of reservation.) De Wit had learned rudimentary gamba technique on an Amati gamba which he had previously acquired.[11] He also owned a Barak Norman tenor, and it was these instruments that he chose to perform in public. Whatever the performance practice, the original high quality of these instruments would have been difficult to suppress. Then, too, the visual splendor of the Ruggieri was broadly advertised and commented on, so that the instruments served as press agent for the player.

It may be safely said that de Wit's "gamba technique" was thoroughly cellistic. His intention was to make the gamba do everything and more that the cello could do. The Ruggieri gamba was played without frets, or "free of frets" (*bundfrei*), and Eichborn, who may be presumed to echo de Wit's sentiments faithfully, informs us that the frets were not an inherent evil of the instrument.[12] The frets were deemed undesirable not only because they were thought to interfere with the performance of rapid passage work, but also because they prevented the emotive glissando. The more or less continuous use of glissando was an important feature of nineteenth-century *da braccia* technique and continued well into the twentieth century, as older sound recordings testify. In this de Wit was probably no more reprehensible than other "revivers" who also made of the instrument a "cellamba."

In a slightly more speculative vein, we might imagine de Wit's playing to be much like that of his teacher, Adrien-François Servais, considered by many the finest cellist of his day. Servais was described by Berlioz as "Paganinian" and was praised for his intense, pure sound, flawless intonation, and acrobatic technique. His enormous Stradivari is still known as the "Servais" cello.[13] It seems likely that de Wit drew much of his musical intent, his technical goals, and his love of powerful and flamboyant instruments from Servais.

Recognizing that the traditional cello bow was not suited to the performance of chordal compositions, de Wit had a bow constructed for him by Heinrich Siefert of Leipzig. It was Siefert who had restored the Ruggieri gamba, which had itself been converted to a

[11] *ZfI* 6/21 (21 April 1886): 262.

[12] *ZfI* 9/23 (11 May 1889): 317.

[13] Patrick Peire in the article on Servais in the *New Grove Dictionary*, v. 17, p. 188.

cello. This bow is depicted with the Ruggieri gamba in *ZfI* (4 (21 April 1886), p. 263) and looks remarkably like a gamba bow, being curved outward slightly.

CRITICAL RECEPTION

The historical concerts in which de Wit performed on the gamba were not merely musical affairs: there was considerable interest in the instruments themselves. Indeed, the instruments played belonged to the Royal Conservatory. Frequently the critics mentioned the idea of recapturing the sounds of an earlier era. The harpsichord used was a Ruckers. Sometimes period costumes were used as well. The instruments used were almost totally unfamiliar to the audience and even to the critics, who would certainly have had few opportunities to hear a gamba or harpsichord peformance. The critics lacked a vocabulary to speak of their "early music" experiences in a sophisticated way. Many wisely refrained from opining.

Notices of his performances appeared in journals such as the *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* and the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. Generally they comment on de Wit's virtuosity, or the fact that he is reviving the viols, or the quality of his instrument. They do not speak to the quality of the performances.[14]

De Wit was himself disappointed in the critical reception, so much so that he "abandoned" public performance after 1886. One exception to this is a gala performance in 1893 at the music-historical museum in Leipzig in the presence of King Albert of Saxony (Daehne, p. 324), but this might not be considererd a "public performance." Walter Anger speaks of de Wit's "bitter disappointment" that the musical establishment of the time—*Concertinstitute*, conservatories, and music groups—did not lend any aid to de Wit's attempts to revive the viols.

LASTING CONTRIBUTIONS

From the point of view of moderate historic fidelity that is widely considered the best approach to the viols, de Wit failed to appreciate the gamba for what is was. Although he had an accurate picture of the place the gamba had occupied in history, he pursued his own idea of what the gamba should be with little regard for what it had been. At the time he was attempting to revive the viols it was

[14] For the former see v. 16/4 (15 January 1885); for the *NZfM* see v. 80/2 (19 December 1887), p. 548.

not at all clear that the method faithful to history would prevail. He was not the first cellist to re-create the gamba in the image of the cello. That he attracted so few followers—in contrast to Dolmetsch, for example—may be attributed to his virtuosity: he made the gamba seem beyond the reach of educated laymen who might have been enticed by it. The initial accessibility of some of the early instruments is, after all, one of the keys to their twentieth-century revival. Perhaps de Wit's expectations were unrealistic. Where were these followers to procure instruments? Here the value of Dolmetsch's approach is clearly seen.

He certainly gave the gamba more visibility than it had previously had. After de Wit it was scarcely possible for a performance of the St. Matthew Passion to be given without someone's noticing that the gamba part was being played by a cello. We can end this study of de Wit with a quote from Kinsky on de Wit's merits, written in 1912:

> It has been only about thirty years now since the gamba was plucked out of the undeserved oblivion which was its lot in the entire 19th century. Now, however, a small but gradually growing group of cellists is at work to give new life to that expressive instrument (viz., the gamba). It is one of Paul de Wit's accomplishments to have given the impetus to this movement.[15]

[15] *Musikhistorisches Museum von w. Heyer. Katalog*, v. 2: *Zupf-und Streichinstrumente* (Cologne, 1912), p. 440.

*CATALOGUE OF THE EUROPEAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS...IN THE UENO GAKUEN COLLECTION

1. VIOLA DA GAMBA (treble)

By Johann Stephan Maldoner. Fussen; 1702. Photographs 1a-f.
Label: *Joannes Stephanus Maldoner / fecit Fu ( ) en, 1702* (printed).

Belly of pine of fine grain in two pieces, with normal purfling. C-shape soundholes. Back of curled maple in two pieces so joined as to make the curls rise symmetrically. Ribs of curled maple. Ribs of lower bouts in one piece. Lower block half-circle. Small corner blocks. Wood of neck and head including pegbox unknown. Peg for the first string comes at the lowest end of the pegbox instead of that for the sixth string as is usual. Finial of lion head with a man-like face (or half-lion head). Fingerboard of maple veneered with ebony. Neck quite thin and the curve of fingerboard mild. Wide fingerboard and pegbox (width of upper end of fingerboard 49.4), compared with body size. Tailpiece, wood unknown, is attached to hook-bar of ebony. Brownish gold varnish.

Total length 703. Length of body 344. Width of bouts 171/120/200. Depth of ribs 52/81. Number of strings 6. Vibrating length of strings 396.

Belly, back, ribs, interior fittings of body, neck, head including pegbox, and hook-bar are considered original. Bass-bar, upper cross-bar, lower cross-bar and cross-strip restored to the original shape in Japan in 1977. Many five-stringed pardessus are preserved among treble viola da gamba models produced in the eighteenth century, but not many treble gambas are in existence now. Because of the comparatively long strings and wide fingerboard, this instrument is fit to be played by bass gamba players.

*Permission to reprint the viola da gamba and baryton photographs as well as the commentary by Nobuko Uchino from the *Catalogue of the European Musical Instruments in the XVIIth, XVIIIth and XIXth Centuries in the Ueno Gakuen Collection* (The Institute for the Study of Musical Instruments, Ueno Gakuen College, Tokyo, 1980) was kindly granted by Hitoshi Iwata, Director of the Administrative Division, Ueno Gakuen College.

2. VIOLA DA GAMBA (treble)

By Rudolph Höss. Munich; late seventeenth century. Photographs 2a-c.
Label: *Ruedolph HöB Churst / Hof Lautenmacher in / München 16*( ) (printed).

Belly of pine of close grain, edged with ebony. Flame soundholes. Back of bird's-eye maple in two pieces, bent inward in the upper part with an interior lace at this point. Ribs also of bird's-eye maple. Neck and pegbox in one piece, topped with a devil's head. Wood of these three unknown. Neck made in the style of that of violin. Pegbox open at the back. Tailpiece attached to end-pin [end-button]. Tailpiece, end-pin [end-button] and fingerboard of ebony. Light reddish brown varnish.

Total length 648. Length of body 376. Width of bouts 194/128/237. Depth of ribs 55. Number of strings 5. Vibrating length of strings 349.

Belly, back and ribs are considered original. Neck, pegbox and finial are quite old, but they did not belong originally to this instrument since there are traces of the neck having been replaced. Judging from the shape and size of body, this instrument has presumably been remodelled from viola d'amore. However, there is no trace of sympathetic strings having been put on the body.

3. VIOLA DA GAMBA (bass)

By Thomas Edlinger, Augsburg; 1673. Photographs 3a-c.
Label: ( ) *homas Edlinger / Lauten und Geigenmacher in Augspurg / 1673* (written in ink).

Bass gamba of festooned model. Back and belly overlap ribs as in violins. Belly of pine of close grain in three pieces, rises immediately from the edge without any scoop and turns flat at the breast. Flame soundholes. Edge of belly and back with neat normal purfling. Back and ribs of maple with a fine curl. Back in two pieces. Lower block bow arch. Blocks at the corners of upper bouts; reinforcement parchment for ribs at middle and lower bouts. Wood of neck and head including pegbox unknown. Violoncello-type neck so that fingerboard is narrow with a strong curve. Neck is joined in a modern manner. Finial of lion head. Tailpiece attached to hook-bar. Tailpiece, hook-bar and fingerboard of rosewood. Dark reddish orange varnish.

Total length 1084. Length of body 635. Width of bouts 309/219/381. Depth of ribs 90/121. Number of strings 6. Vibrating length of strings 619.

Belly, back, ribs and interior fittings of body excluding bass bar are considered original. Belly is made slightly thick showing the influence of the style of the violin family. The head part may possibly be the work of Edlinger, but it did not originally belong to this instrument since its pegbox is made narrow to fit the neck. A round hole has been filled in at the lower end of ribs, and also a cylindrical hole at the lower block. They are probably traces of end-pin, but it is not clear when the end-pin was attached.

4. VIOLA DA GAMBA (bass)

Possibly by Marcus Stainer. Tyrol; mid-seventeenth century. Photographs 4a-f.
Label: *Jacobus Stainer in Absom / Prope Oenipontumthis 1652* (written in ink).

Belly of pine of close grain in two pieces with the typical high arch of the Stainer model. Typical Stainer f holes. An oval rose with rosette pattern under the end of the fingerboard reinforced by metal at the back. Belly and back with neat normal purfling of ebony and maple, close to the edge. Back of maple with a close curl in four pieces, bent inward in the upper part with an interior parchment at this point. Ribs of maple with a close curl. Lower block bow arch. Neck and head including pegbox of maple. The length, width, depth and curve of neck reflect the taste of the eighteenth century (Photographs 4a-c). Pegbox purfled at the back and dots engraved on its sides. Finial of open scroll (Photograph 4 b). Nut of ivory. Tuning pegs, violoncello-type, of ebony decorated with white balls at their ends. Tailpiece and fingerboard of pine veneered with ebony on the surface, and with maple on the sides. Tailpiece attached to hook-bar of ebony. Brownish gold ("gelb-braun" according to WLGL [Willibald Leo Frh. von *Lütgendorff, Die Geigen-und Lautenmacher von Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Frankfurt, 1922] II, p. 481) varnish.

Total length 1240. Length of body 680. Width of bouts 305/224/403. Depth of ribs 87/128. Number of strings 6. Vibrating length of strings 727.

Belly, back, ribs, corner blocks, linings, and reinforcement parchment at the upper bend of back are considered original. Of linings of middle bouts, only that of the right side of belly is probably original. This instrument was extensively restored in Tokyo in 1977

on the basis of the information supplied by Mr. Nicolaus Harnoncourt (in Vienna). Photographs 4a-c were taken after restoration and 4d-e before. Main parts of the instrument before restoration were as follows: Neck and pegbox made of one piece of pear, the width narrow as with violoncello. Lion head of pear. Nut of ivory. Tuning pegs of boxwood. Tailpiece and fingerboard of mahogany edged with ivory. Tailpiece attached to end-pin, but a trace of hook-bar at the lower end of ribs. Total length 1160. Vibrating length of strings 637.

There is a photograph of this instrument on page 164 of WLGL I. Its description on page 481 of WLGL II mentions that the instrument originally had a label of Marcus Stainer (Jacobus' brother) instead of the current Jacobus Stainer's. If the instrument is truly the work of Marcus Stainer, it should be a valuable specimen.

5. VIOLA DA GAMBA (bass)

By Joachim Tielke. Hamburg; 1695. Photographs 5a-f.
Label: *JOACHIM TIELKE / in Hamburg, An ( ) 1695* (printed, except '95' written in ink).

Belly of pine of close grain in three pieces with double simulated purfling. C holes made thin at the cut end. Back of curled maple in two pieces. The arch of back, with its edge turned up, was probably shaped by using a pressing mould. Normal purfling in the middle join of the back. Ribs of maple with a close curl. Inside the back, rhomboid patch in each corner, thin plate at the middle join, and round back plate of pine in the centre slightly to the right. Corner blocks small. Neck of maple. Wood of head including pegbox unknown. Pegbox is engraved with small dots at the back and sides and also with flowering plants at the back, and flower petals round the holes of tuning pegs. The sides of pegbox turn narrow at the lower end (Photograph 5b). This instrument has a peg for the first string at the bottom of its pegbox instead of that for the sixth string as usual. Finial of a carved head of a woman with three rolls of hair. Tailpiece attached to hook-bar. Wood of tailpiece and hook-bar unknown. Dark red varnish.

Total length 1185. Length of body 665. Width of bouts 299/208/367. Depth of ribs 78/120. Number of strings 6. Vibrating length of strings 650.

Belly, back, ribs, back plate, corner patches, head including pegbox, and hook-bar are considered original. The lower rib

perhaps not original as its inside is cut smoothly whereas that of the other ribs is cut as if combed.

6. QUINTON

By Simon Gilbert, Metz; 1752. Photographs 6a-g.
Label: *SIMON GILBERT, / Musicien de la Cathédrale / á Metz, 1752* (printed, except '2' written in ink).

Viola da gamba shape, but with arched back. Belly of pine of fine grain in two pieces, its edge pinched in the French style. Flame holes going up straight. Edge of belly and back marked with normal purfling. Back of maple with a broad curl in one piece. Ribs also of maple with a broad curl. Ribs of lower bouts in one piece. Traces of frets left on the maple neck. Maple head including pegbox, topped by a carved head of a woman wearing a hat. The back of pegbox is carved with braided-hair pattern. Four pegs for the first four strings, among a total of five, are of boxwood decorated with ebony at each end. Tailpiece, of maple veneered with ebony, is attached to end-pin of boxwood. Saddle flush with the edge of belly. Fingerboard of maple, or a kind of maple, veneered with ebony, with a nick at the join of body and neck, a typical style of the time. Brownish gold varnish.

Total length 602. Length of body 324. Width of bouts 152/102/192. Depth of ribs 37. Number of strings 5. Vibrating length of strings 308.

Belly, back, ribs, linings, corner blocks, neck, head including pegbox, four pegs, saddle, end-pin, fingerboard, and varnish are considered original. This instrument is valuable since there are very few quintons preserved in good original condition like this one. Tailpiece was restored to fit the fingerboard, and bass bar was renewed in original size (length 253.5; maximum width 5.75; maximum height 7.3) in Tokyo in 1978.

7. BARYTON

By Samuel Hünger. Borstendorf; 1736. Photographs 7a-e.
Label: *Samüel Hünger / machte mich Borstendorf / bey Agusteburg 1736* (written in ink).
Repairer's label: *Repareert of Instrumentmageer / Andreas Hjorth: Kiöbenhavn 1811* (printed).

Festooned model of baryton. Belly of pine of close grain (wide grain at the edge). Flame holes, also an oval rose with interlace

pattern under the edge of the fingerboard. Barber's pole inlay of ivory and brown shade of wood marks the edge of belly and round the rose. Back and ribs of maple. Back in two pieces. Neck and head including pegbox of maple. Neck is hollowed out and open at the back (Photograph 7d). Finial of a lion's head. Tailpiece attached with a hook-bar to an end-pin. Wood of these three unknown. Fingerboard of pine veneered with ebony, placed on the left half of the neck (Photograph 7a). Twelve sympathetic strings fastened to twelve bridges arranged obliquely across the belly. The strings pass through the hollowed neck and reach their pegs in the upper pegbox. Grayish claret varnish.

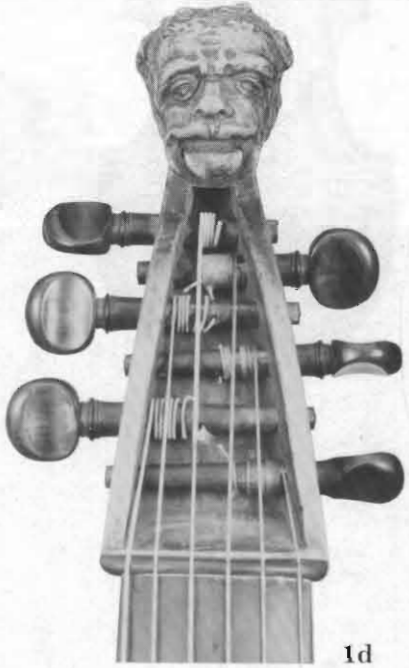
Total length 1214. Length of body 587. Width of bouts 303/211/369. Depth of ribs 69/92. Number of playing strings 6; vibrating length of strings 597. Number of sympathetic strings 12; length 886/541.

Belly, back, and ribs are considered original. Neck and inner fittings of body were repaired in Tokyo in 1977, and at the same time a new bridge was attached to make the instrument playable. Also, end-pin was removed, and tailpiece as well as hook-bar was restored to the eighteenth-century style. Photographs 7a-b, d-e were taken before restoration. Among the small number of barytons preserved today, small barytons such as this instrument are rare.

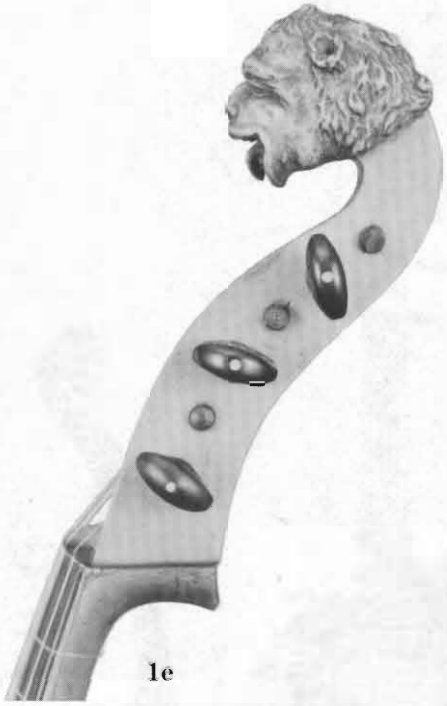
1a

1b

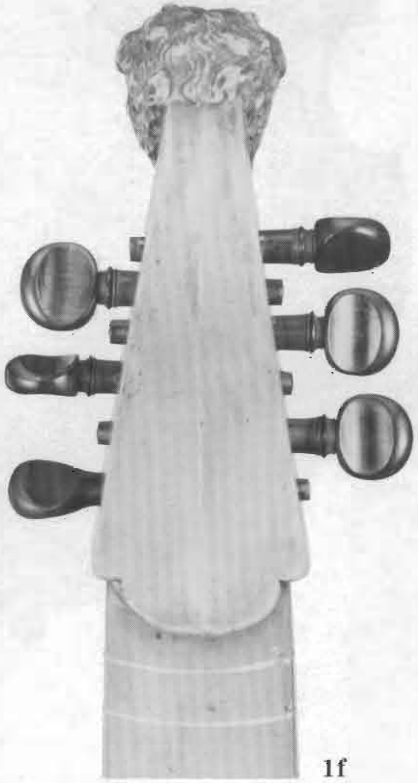
1c



1d



1e



1f

2a

2b

2c

3a

3b

3c

4a

4b

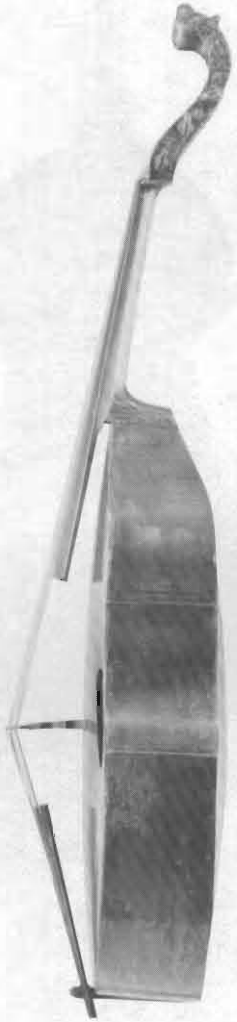
4c

4d

4e

4f

5a



5b

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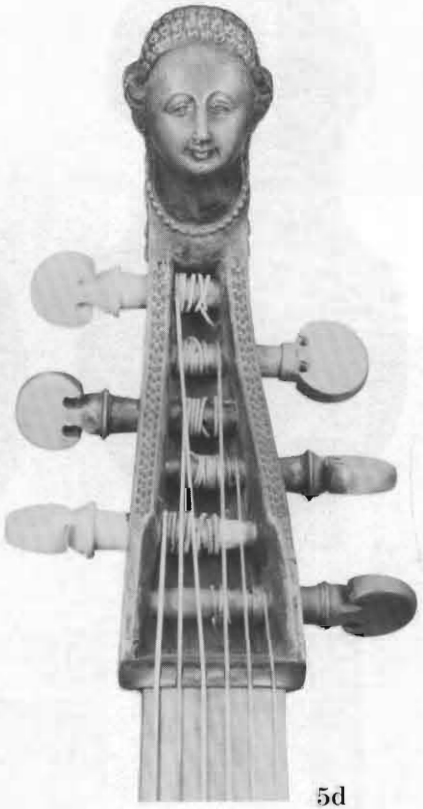

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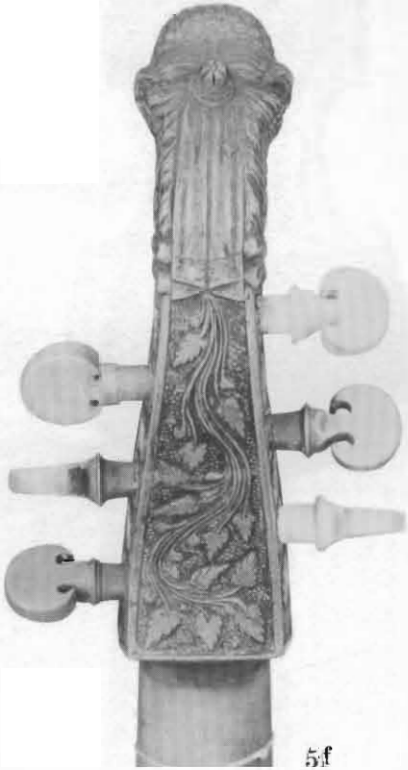

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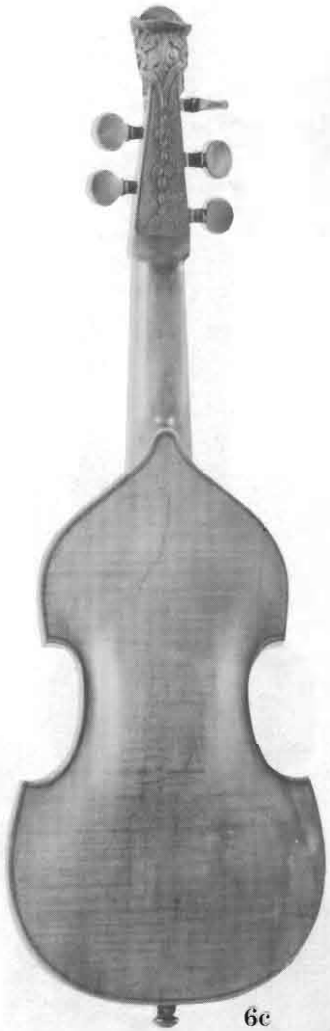

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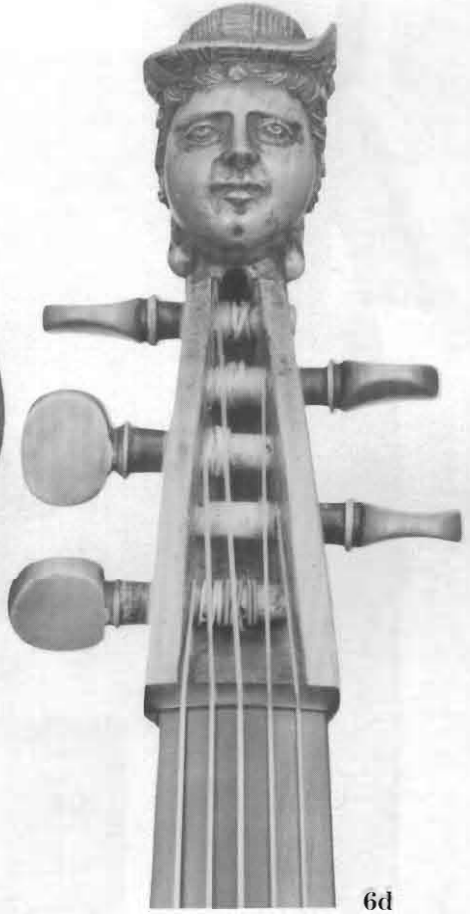

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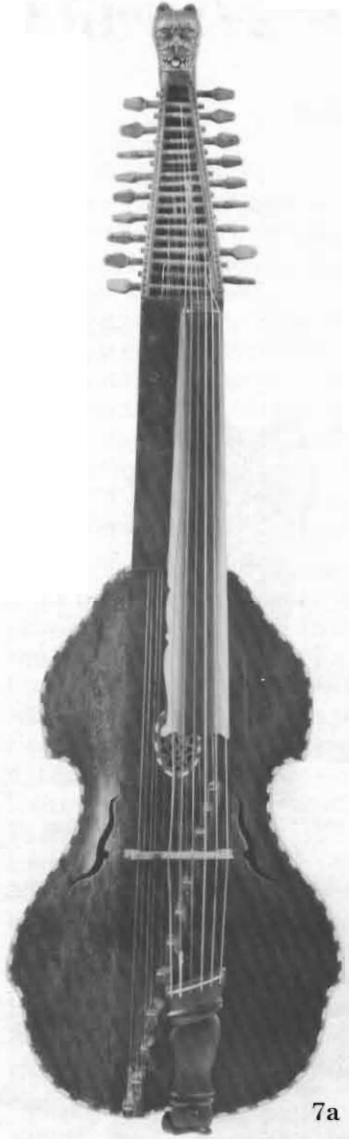

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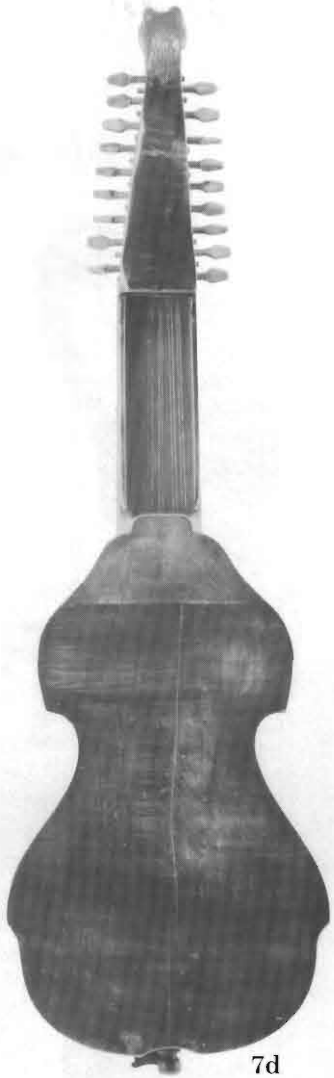

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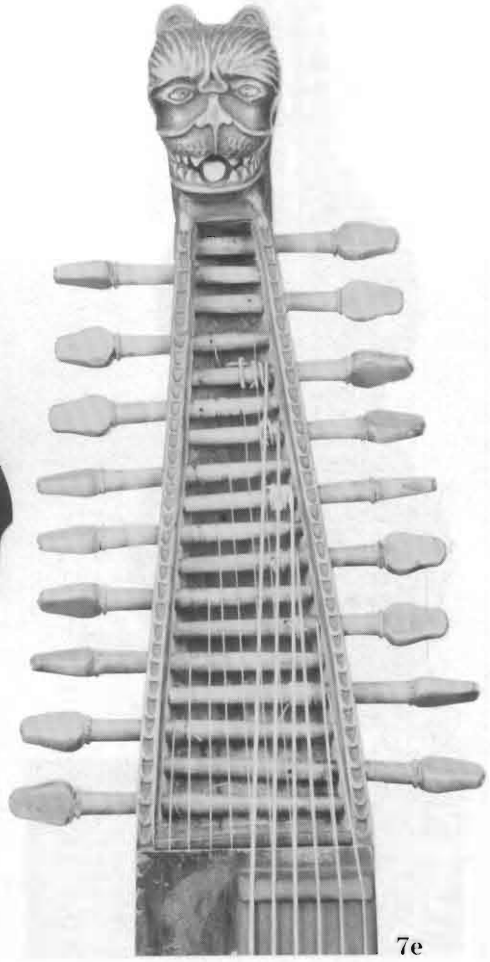

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JOHN WARD OF CANTERBURY

Robert Ford

The family name Ward, in any number of orthographic variants, has never been a rare one in England. At Canterbury during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a number of separate families with this surname co-existed, and nearly all of them used the equally common Christian name, John. My purpose in the present essay is to clarify the relationships between some of the Wards who worked at the cathedral in Canterbury and to demonstrate that the John Ward who wrote the book of madrigals published in 1613 died in 1617, not sometime in the 1630s. Furthermore, I will suggest that this man's son of the same name was also a musician, and perhaps the composer of the works for viol usually attributed to the same man who wrote the madrigals and the sacred music.

John Ward assuredly takes pride of place as the most enigmatic of the important Jacobean composers. His position as "gentleman musician and composer" in the entourage of Sir Henry Fanshawe, the Remembrancer of the Exchequer until his death in 1616, has been remarked upon frequently, and he has been considered, along with Kirbye and Wilbye, a prime example of this type of practitioner. Ward's lack of "professional" affiliation has also been seen as the cause for the paucity of biographical information, and this lack of material has in turn given rise to a great deal of speculation. Pamela Willetts has suggested that Ward might have been the court-connected scribe responsible for British Library, Egerton MS 3512, a copy of Tallis' *Spem in alium*, and that he was involved in the compilation of many other important manuscripts, including those associated with Thomas Myriell, one of the great collectors and enthusiasts of Jacobean times.[1] John Morehen, on the other hand, has proposed that Ward might have been his "Scribe A" of the John Barnard partbooks, Royal College of Music MSS 1045-1051.[2] Both cannot be correct, since the two handwritings are very different.[3]

[1] See Pamela J. Willetts, "Musical Connections of Thomas Myriell," *Music & Letters* 39 (1968): 36-42.

[2] John Morehen, "The Sources of English Cathedral Music, c.1617-c.1642," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1969, Chapter 3, pp. 214ff.

[3] More recently, Ian Payne, in "The Handwriting of John Ward," *Music & Letters* 55 (1984): 176-188, has given a long discussion of the handwriting of the supposed composer John Ward. The specimens of Ward's handwriting he uses, however, are those of Ward the son, not Ward the composer of madrigals and sacred music, as I show below. Payne's support for the possibility that the younger Ward, *like his father*, may also have been somehow connected with Thomas Myriell and his circle is nonetheless quite gratifying.

Since the publication of the *Supplement* to the fifth edition of *Grove's* there seems to have been a consensus that John Ward the composer was christened at St. Mary Magdalen, Canterbury, on 8 September 1571, and died as an Attorney of the Exchequer and resident of Ilford Magna in Essex between 1636 and 1638. Recently, Andrew Ashbee has buttressed this position with evidence that the John Ward who was the father of the John Ward baptized in 1571 was a minor canon at the cathedral who died in 1617.[4] Both Ashbee and predecessors, however, have badly skewed the evidence. It was the minor canon himself who was born in 1571, while his son, the civil servant, was born some two decades or more later and died in the 1630s.

The first John Ward, or, as he spells it, John Wade, who sang in Canterbury's choir predates both of the men mentioned above. He was a lay substitute for a minor canon at least as early as 1560.[5] In late 1567 he became a lay clerk, and in his time he held several valuable leases from the dean and chapter, including property at "the Bullstake." This John Ward the first, then, died in 1593, having in the meanwhile become senior lay clerk.

During the latter years of John Ward the first's life, the archives of the cathedral attest to the presence of another man of the same name. John Ward the second had probably been a chorister at the cathedral in the 1580s, a period sparsely documented in the surviving records. Certainly, however, he had become a "substitute" (again, for a minor canon) by 1589. In 1590 he became a lay clerk, and in 1607 a minor canon. This was the man who died in 1617.

During the years immediately preceding and following the turn of the century yet two more John Wards sang in Canterbury's choir. One boy served two years, from the third term of the year 1597-8 to the second term of 1599-1600. It is quite clear from the records that this boy was replaced for the remainder of the last-named year. In the first term of the next year, 1600-1601, however, another John Ward took a place in the choir—fittingly at the bottom of the list of choristers. This boy was paid as a chorister until the second term of 1603-4; he was also listed as a King's scholar at the cathedral's

[4]In a review of *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650: the Sources and the Music*, by Craig Monson (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), in *Music & Letters* 55 (1984): 252-255.

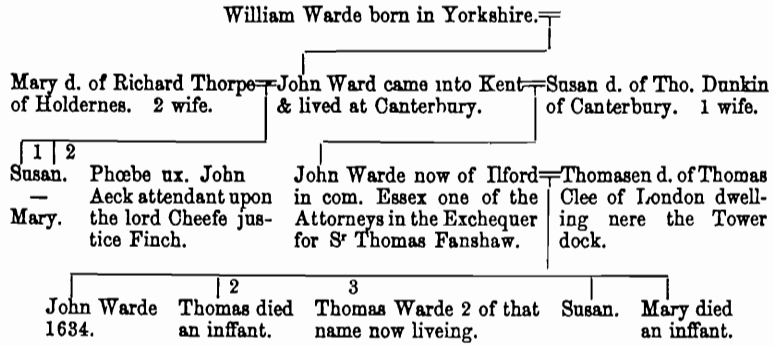
[5]This and subsequent dates for service at Canterbury Cathedral are taken from both the drafts of the treasurers' and receivers' yearly accounts and the "New Foundation Accounts," formal renderings of the Cathedral's financial activities written in Latin. The former are more dependable, but fewer in number; they also contain signatures of the payees (including the various Wards).

grammar school for the same first two terms of 1603-4, and for the next several years (until the second term of 1606-7).

The four John Wards I have just described were not the only men and boys of that name at the cathedral during these years, and many others had the same patronymic but different given names. A William Ward had been a King's scholar in 1542; another man of the same name was a *"pulsator Campanarum"*—a bell-ringer—from at least 1556 until his death in 1570. An Edward Ward was a substitute from the third term of 1598-9 until 1609, while another of this same name was a player of the cornet or sackbut between 1614 and 1634. Finally, there was yet a further John Ward who served as works supervisor at the cathedral between the 1580s and about 1607.

The central document for bringing some order to these armies of Wards is the family tree drawn up in conjunction with the visitation of the County of Essex in 1633-4 which confirmed to the John Ward who was Attorney at the Exchequer his right to bear heraldic arms (Ex. 1).[6]

Example 1



[6]*The Visitations of Essex...*, edited by Walter C. Metcalfe, the Harleian Society, vol. xiii (London: 1878), p. 518, as part of "The Visitation of Essex, 1634."

Ashbee's principal error, it would seem, was his under-estimation of the length of time John Ward the second had sung at Canterbury prior to becoming a minor canon in 1607. The place of substitute was used as a stepping-stone between a boy's years as chorister and his appointment as a lay clerk. Thus, if Ward the second had already been a substitute for some time by 1589, it is probable that he had been a chorister in the first half of the decade, and thus had been born in the early years of the 1570s. There can be little doubt, then, that he was born in 1571, in St. Mary Magdalen parish.

The visitation of 1634 indicates that John Ward the Exchequer Attorney was the son of the minor canon by his first marriage. His birth, which has not been recorded, cannot then have taken place until 1592 or so, when his father had reached the usual minimum age for marriage in this period—twenty-one. This in turn rules out the possibility of identifying him with the first of the two chorister John Wards, since he would have been only five years old at his admission in 1597. Instead, it is possible to hypothesize that the boy who became a chorister in 1600, and later went to the King's School, thus receiving more than a choirboy's meagre education, was the one who rose to some importance at court.

Turning again to the origins of the Ward family, we must now concede that the pedigree given at the 1634 visitation may not be entirely accurate. The "William Warde born in Yorkshire" ought not to be taken as the literal father of the "John Ward (who) came into Kent and lived at Canterbury," but rather as that antecedent whose status as gentleman was sufficiently secure to serve as a basis for the latter-day Wards' claims of gentility. Thus, there is no reason to doubt that the father of John Ward the second was John Ward the first, and that it was this older man who, in the 1550s it would seem, "came into Kent." The John Ward who was supervisor of the cathedral's works, and the first chorister John Ward either came from collateral branches of the Ward family descended from John Ward the first's other children—whose baptisms are recorded in a number of different parish registers—or stem from one or more of the other Ward families then living in Canterbury. In any case, these other men are not central to my argument.

I will not belabor these questions of genealogy; there is much more evidence for my reconstruction of the Ward pedigree than is possible to give in this context. We must turn now to the crux of the matter—the identity of the man or men with the name John Ward who composed.

Let us review quickly the career of John Ward the second. He was born in 1571, served as a chorister in the early 1580s, then as a substitute, and was appointed a lay clerk in 1590. Canterbury at this period frequently practiced the policy of encouraging their best lay clerks to take orders and thus become eligible for clerical benefices and a higher rate of pay. The minor canons also provided the church with its precentors, the men who were the *Rectores Chori,* the directors of the choir; obviously, it was desirable to have the best possible men in these positions. In the years after the turn of the seventeenth century several Canterbury lay clerks took orders, among them organist George Marson and John Ward the second. Ward apparently received his orders in about 1602 or 1603, since from the latter year until a minor canonry became vacant, the dean and chapter paid him a supplement to his salary which brought his rate of pay nearly up to that of a minor canon. He received his official appointment in 1607, and thereafter served a number of curacies until he was appointed to one of the church's more valuable livings. The whole of this time Ward was involved in a multitude of activities, both cathedral-related and not.

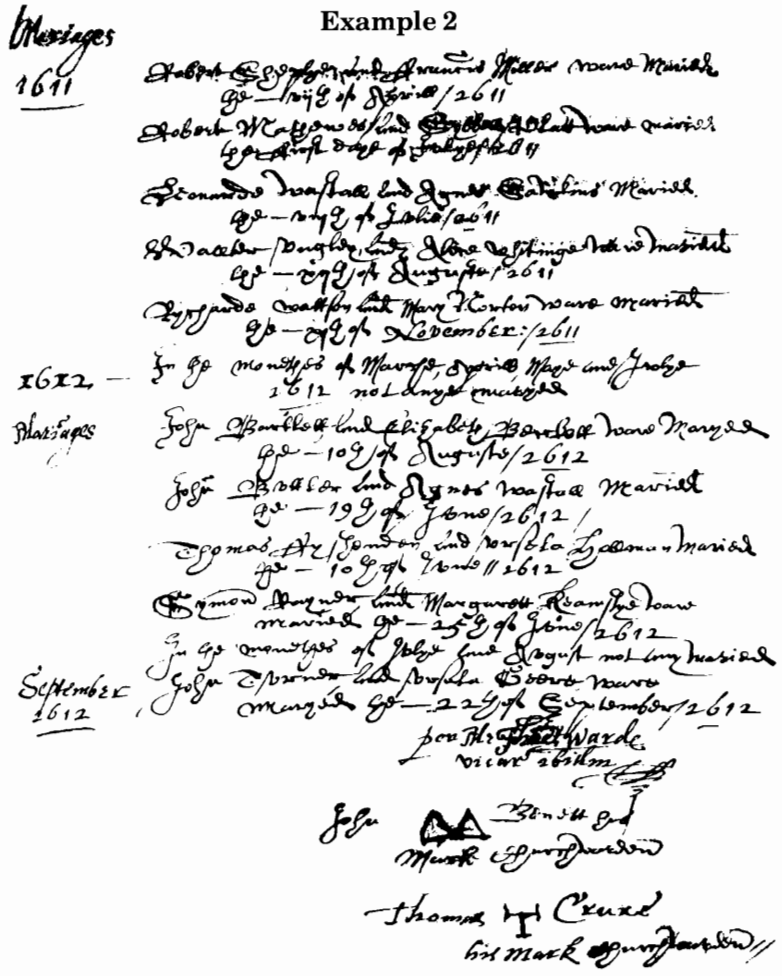
The chapter clerk and auditor of the cathedral during the early part of the seventeenth century was one Thomas Cocks. In the course of his duties Cocks used a number of subordinates to write out the legal documents required by the chapter's business—leases, presentations to benefices, and so on. As it happens, Cocks' "Diary," his list of expenses for the years 1607-1610, has survived in the cathedral library and has been published.[7] John Ward figures frequently in this book as one of the copyists of legal papers. And we can be certain that it was John Ward the minor canon who led the life of a professional scrivener because Cocks accords him the style "Mr." with which he is generally none too free.

Cocks' *Diary,* then, was kept during the years after Ward had become a priest. For several years between 1609 and 1613 the no-longer-young musician turned cleric served as the curate of the Canterbury parish of St. Mildred's. In 1610, however, he had been presented to the living of Halstow by the dean and chapter, which he held until his death. I mention this here because lengthy specimens of Ward's elegant handwriting survive among the

[7] *The Diary of Thomas Cocks, March 25th, 1607, to December 31st, 1610,* edited by J. Meadows Cowper (Canterbury: Cross & Jackman, 1901).

transcripts of the Halstow parish registers submitted to the church's visitors at various points during Ward's tenure. Example two gives one such page, with the notation "Per me Johne Warde vicar ibidum" near the bottom. The signature is comparable to some but not all of those preserved in the Canterbury treasurers' books of the period.[8] From these differences, however, we ought to conclude that Ward, as a professional scribe, was a master of all the important styles of writing—secretarial, italic, court hand, legal hand, and so on.

Example 2



[8]As mentioned above, only the draft treasurers' reports have signatures indicating that the man's stipend has been received. In at least some cases, however, the treasurer himself, or some other man, signs for the payee, but using the payee's name; this may explain some of the discrepancies in signatures.

The important point here is that the script of the Halstow register transcript is very like that of the courtly scribe who Pamela Willetts thought might have been John Ward many years ago, the man who made contributions to the manuscripts of Thomas Myriell, among others. The dates of the Myriell manuscripts with Ward's handwriting in them, as with all the manuscripts containing the same script, are compatible with the fact that Ward died in 1617. The RCM Barnard parts, which may now be dismissed as certainly not Ward's work, were in fact copied long after the minor canon's death in any case, and are probably, as I shall suggest elsewhere, the work of John Thorogood, the resident music copyist at St. Paul's in the 1620s and 1630s.

John Ward was not only an important copyist of legal documents at Canterbury, but also a leading, if not *the* leading musical figure there. At this period of Canterbury's history the habit of rotating the precentorship among the minor canons had not yet been adopted. Thus, the most apt minor canon was always named as precentor (when possible). Ward served in this post six of the ten years he was a minor canon. As the precentorship generally brought with it the requirement for a more strict residence at the cathedral than was usual for the other minor canons, the years when Ward was not precentor may be significant. These were: 1607-8 (his first year in the position), 1609-10, 1611-12 and 1614-15. During these years Ward would have been more free to travel to London, and it is interesting to note that they coincide with the years of Prince Henry's death and the compilation of Thomas Myriell's *Tristitiae Remedium*. Thus, it is unnecessary to hypothesize a musical correspondence by post, if Ward really was the scribe of the Egerton *Spem in alium* manuscript and of various sheets now in Myriell's collections, since Ward could conceivably have been in London during these times, and in fact, during any other periods when he was able to perform his duties as precentor by deputy.

As precentor, Ward had charge of the music manuscripts and the performance of music at Canterbury Cathedral. He would also have had the right to decide who copied the music there. As he himself had been doing this since at least 1598, he chose to continue the practice. Thus, hardly a year passed between 1598 and 1617 when Ward was not paid for supplying the choir with music. In some cases the wording of the documents even permits an interpretation that the music had been composed by Ward himself. (Incidentally, parts to Ward's now incomplete second service were among the first manuscript additions to Canterbury's post-Restoration repertory.) This brings us to a crucial point.

It is a mistake for twentieth-century scholars to posit too freely the existence of a man who wrote church music in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who had no formal connections with some choral establishment. (And here I speak of anthems and services, not devotional sacred music.) Composition was a way to profit and preferment then as it has always been, and the composer who wrote for the church generally did so because he expected a gratuity or the favor of those for whose church he wrote the music. Ward the third, the Attorney of the Exchequer, had no church position after his early years as a chorister, and, in his position in life, could scarcely have benefitted much from clerical patronage even if he had sought and obtained it. It was a cleric who wrote the services and anthems by John Ward—John Ward the second.

Were then the composer of the sacred music and the madrigalist the same man? If, as I have suggested, Ward's hand is present in the manuscripts of Thomas Myriell, which, together with the other London manuscripts, Christ Church MSS 56-60, contain most of Ward's unpublished secular works for voices, then it is hard to dismiss him as the composer of the published madrigals, which are stylistically very close to the manuscript pieces. I should also note, in way of preparing for my argument that the composer of music for the viols was not the same John Ward, that the unpublished secular vocal works of Ward, though found in some of the principal sources of music for voices and viols, are *all* entirely vocal, and only five anthems with viol parts survive. Would we not expect the composer of viol fantasias to have favored those vocal genres which also used instruments?

Briefly summarized, the evidence that the composer of the 1613 madrigal print was the minor canon who had composed the sacred music of John Ward, is as follows. Stylistically the music belongs to the generation of men born in the 1570s or early 1580s at the latest. Next, nothing ascribed to John Ward except the viol works needs to be dated any later than 1617. And finally, the lofty nature of the texts to the 1613 set, and curious title page to that publication, with its depiction of the cardinal virtues and a Jacobean clergyman deliverying a sermon to a congregation, are both in keeping with what we would expect from a man in orders.

The objections likely to be raised against my hypothesis involve (1) the fact that the composer is referred to as a "gentleman"; (2) the dedication of one of the madrigals in Thomas Tomkins' set of 1622 to John Ward; (3) the fact that Ward calls his madrigals the *primitiae* or first-fruits of his Muse; and (4) the various connections recorded between Ward and the Fanshawe family, including the dedication

of the 1613 publication. I hope to show, however, that all of these objections can be dismissed or explained.

As to Ward the second's gentility, it should be noted that if Ward the third claimed to be of gentle parentage, his father was, *ipso facto,* a gentleman. John Ward the first had possessed several lucrative leases from the dean and chapter of Canterbury in his time, and this would have been in keeping with some attempt on his part to keep up an air of gentility. The family itself was probably the impoverished cadet branch of a decayed but once more significant Yorkshire family (perhaps Yorkshire genealogists can come to our aid here). And as Andrew Ashbee has recently pointed out, the postmortem inventory of the Canterbury minor canon, which has survived, shows that he had in his home a number of escutcheons with the family arms.[9] Finally, the often-cited attribution of a work to "Mr. John Ward, a gentill man," is in fact appended to a sacred work, the anthem "Let God Arise," in the Batten organ book. And as I have already proposed, it is unreasonable to assume that the Attorney of the Exchequer had written the anthems for liturgical use.

The dedication of the madrigal "Oft did I marle" to "Master John Ward" in Thomas Tomkins' 1622 publication is almost certainly addressed to the younger John Ward (the third). Not all of Tomkins' dedicatees were in fact composers, though all had musical connections. I believe that this dedication is actually a valuable piece of evidence for the contention that the Attorney of the Exchequer was at least a musician, and probably a composer in his own right.

The reference in Ward's dedication of his 1613 Madrigals as being the *primitiae* of his Muse can be easily explained by a careful reading of that dedication:

> ...And though I know the excellent varietie of these Compositions, hath fed time with fullnesse, and bred many Censors, more curious, then (perhaps) Iudiciall; and since no Science carries so sufficient authority in it selfe, but needs submit to that Monster OPINION, halfe truth, halfe falshood; yet these of mine being thus fronted with your Countenance, digested by your Eare, and allowed in your Knowledge; should they prove distastfull with the queasie-pallated, or surfeited delight, yet with the sound (unsubiect to such disease of Humor, and appetite) I presume they will pleasingly rellish, and (with your equall selfe) mainteine me against the corrupted number of Time-sicke humorists. These (honoured SYR) are the *primitiae* of my Muse...

The point, then, is that these works had been in existence some years before they were published, and had been found wanting—perhaps because of their relative seriousness, though perhaps for any number

[9]See note 4 above.

of other reasons—by some of the era's critics. Thus, although Ward was forty-two when his *Primitiae* were published—and he may be referring either to the fact that they are early compositions or to the circumstance that this was his first publication—these pieces were probably written many years earlier. Judging by the poetry set by Ward, which includes many poems by Michael Drayton and Francis and Walter Davison which were published in the years 1602-4, Ward may have been composing his 1613 set as early as the turn of the century. That some of the versions of the poems differ from the published ones might even suggest that he had access to them only in early, pre-publication recensions.

This leads me to the last of my hypothetical objections—Ward's connections with the Fanshawe family. It is my belief that both Wards, father and son, were servants to the Fanshawes. We need only assume that two different Wards are intended in the various documented references linking them with the Fanshawes.

The earliest of these Fanshawe papers which names John Ward is one dated 20 May 1607, known to us only because it was mentioned in Lady Fanshawe's will of 1629. In 1607 she had assigned a lease of one of the estates of her jointure to her son-in-law, her nephew and her "ancient servant John Ward gent." In 1607 John Ward the third would have been, at most, about sixteen years old; he was obviously not the man referred to in the document. In 1613, when a John Ward witnessed Sir Henry Fanshawe's will, the younger Ward would have been only 21 or thereabouts. On the other hand, it was probably the younger man who, as his father's heir, received some arrears of rent in 1619 from the land which had been entrusted to the older man in 1607. And it was probably he who witnessed Lady Fanshawe's will of 1629. The researches of Ian Payne seem to bear out this interpretation.[10]

I should like to note in passing that it may be significant that so many of these documents link the Wards with *Lady* Fanshawe. Elizabeth Fanshawe had been born Elizabeth Smith, the daughter of the well-known Thomas Smith of Ostenhanger, Kent. Thomas Smith, of whom a portrait survives at the British Art Center at Yale, was a man of considerable local political clout and influence, who owned lands throughout Kent, including some just outside Canterbury in the former domain of St. Augustine's Abbey. John Ward the second may well have been Lady Fanshawe's servant at or near Canterbury before her marriage (her "ancient servant", therefore), and thus came to be introduced into Sir Henry's circle. Later, of course, Ward would write

[10]See note 3 above.

his "Passions on the death of Sr. Henry Fanshawe," the madrigal "If heav'ns just wrath." The Ward service to the Fanshawes was clearly both "ancient" and hereditable.

Finally, I should like to touch on the subject of the third of the major categories of composition which exercised the talents of one or the other John Ward—the Fantasias and In Nomines for viols.

It is one thing to shed new light on the life of an acknowledged composer, but another entirely to split his works between two different men. For one thing, stylistic criteria must be brought into play, and the dissimilarities must seem significant enough to warrant the creation of complexity where once there was simplicity. Although I must limit my remarks here, I should mention that my proposal to give the man who wrote the viol music a birthdate closer to the turn of the seventeenth century has met with favor among those of my viol-playing friends on whom I have tried it out.

To begin with I should like to recall that Ward the third would have had both the motives and the ability to write viol music. The rise in popularity of consort music during the first two decades of the seventeenth century, and its gradual supersession of the madrigal and other vocal music as the primary musical pastime of the amateur is attested by both the surviving manuscripts and the prints of the era, and to literary and iconographical evidence. Even the Italian madrigals written by Ferrabosco, Coperario, and later, by Ward himself, were quickly converted to instrumental music once they passed from the halls of well-educated patrons like the Fanshawes to the less discriminating middle-class connoisseurs. And since the writing of English madrigals was not so highly in favor, and in fact had largely passed to provincial and second-rate musicians by the 1610s and 1620s, a man like Ward the future Attorney of the Exchequer perhaps felt it more fitting to exercise his talents in the more popular instrumental genres. Incidentally, since Sir Henry Fanshawe died in 1616, Ward the third worked for Fanshawe's son, Sir Thomas, who may conceivably have favored viol music himself, since his father had specifically bequeathed him all his instruments.

John Ward the third's education at Canterbury, first as a choirboy and then as a King's scholar, would almost certainly have included instruction in playing the viol. Payments for a chest of viols or individual instruments, and, of course, for strings, abound in Canterbury's records, beginning in the 1580s. If the young scholar had gained any proficiency on the instrument, he certainly would have been encouraged to maintain his abilities if he became attached to the Fanshawe household in some way. And it should also be men-

tioned, in way of showing that John Ward the second is unlikely to have had any particular interest in viol music, that he was one of the few talented musicians at the cathedral *not* paid for supplying viol strings, and that the postmortem inventory mentioned before included no viols; in fact, the list included only "one old lute." Assuredly the writer of so much instrumental music would have had at least one instrument of his own!

The earliest datable source for any of the viol music of John Ward is Tregian's score, Egerton MS 3665, which was finished before 1619. The next earliest source, the organ books in Myriell's collection, Christ Church MSS 67 and 44, have been shown to be later than most of his other work, and probably date from the last years of the compiler's life—between 1620 and 1625.[11] Thus, there is no reason to place any of the Ward instrumental music earlier than the second half of the second decade of the seventeenth century, by which time Ward the third was over twenty. Moreover, the later date of composition for the Ward Fantasias is confirmed by the repertory with which they are grouped and the misattributions given to them. Not only do these pieces frequently occur alongside those by Lawes, Jenkins and other men born in the 1590s, but some are mistakenly ascribed to Deering, Simon Ives and Jenkins himself. Assuredly the copyists of these manuscripts were not so out of touch with the stylistic contents of these works as to have mistaken pieces written by a man born and trained in the 1570s and 1580s for those written by men born in the 1590s.

If we accept my theory that two Wards wrote the music of John Ward, we are in the interesting position of discovering a son who was quite as gifted a composer as his father. The Fantasias and In Nomines are skillfully wrought, with just enough contrapuntal ingenuity to make them interesting in the egalitarian circles of the consort player, but not so filled with the more arcane types of writing as to rob them of their spontaneity. Their origins in the decades of the 1620s or just before are betrayed by some of their structural aspects. Sections are clearly divided from each other in many instances, unlike the closely dove-tailed musical phrases of the previous generation of instrumental composers. And these sections are often arranged like miniature movements within the whole; for example, a slower-moving or homophonic section is generally placed somewhere in the second half of the work. A few homophonic chords after a rest signal a second or third major portion of the work by clearing the air of the previous dense polyphony.

[11]See Monson, *Voices and Viols* (note 4 above) for the most complete available discussion of Myriell and his manuscripts (Chapter 2).

These solutions were arrived at only in the late teens and twenties, near or after the death of Ward the second.

Perhaps the attributes which most set apart the viol works from the madrigals are the qualities they lack. Gone is the seriousness of the Ward madrigals, their earnest and occasionally slightly rigid rhythmic and melodic patterns. Repetitions of all sorts contribute to the rhetorical character of the madrigals; whole sections repeated at pitch with pairs of cantus or tenor parts interchanged, or at two or more different pitch levels, impart weight to the poet's words or contribute to large-scale symmetries. Pedal tones in the cantus, bass or middle parts stretch to its limits the elder Ward's intuitive but old-fashioned grasp of chordal relationships. All of these gestures, and many more, belong to the generation of Weelkes and Wilbye, and all are missing in the Ward Fantasias. Missing too are the madrigals' thick and unusual suspensions and oddly-resolved dissonances. These are replaced by the more direct and more easily-handled chromaticisms which entered English music with the new influx of Italian works written in the first decade of the new century. The manuscript Ward madrigals, some of which certainly postdate the 1613 publication (the Fanshawe elegy, for example), show none of these influences but rather remain true to the late-Elizabethan style of the printed set.

Finally, the Ward Fantasias are quite simply more tonal than the Ward madrigals. New key centers are established and maintained with greater freedom and greater skill. The angular melodies and points of imitation are firmly rooted in, or based on triadic configurations; the step-wise motion more frequently than not, can be recognized as a series of chords with the intervening steps filled in, after the fashion of the new virtuoso music. The influence of the violin can be felt throughout. These purely abstract concerns are quite foreign to the text-derived vocal gestures in the Ward madrigals. And though we must be careful in making enough allowance for differences between genres, we must not make too much of this either; the degree of disjunction between the viol works and the vocal ones is formidable.

I have not touched on a number of minor issues connected with the biography and works of the Wards, father and son. Some of these, I believe, further support the ideas I have put forward here; others may need to be explained in light of these new theories (a few doubtful attributions for example). My goal in this report has been to expound the length and the breadth of my thoughts on this matter. There is a need here for others to lend their expertise to this question.

THE TREBLE VIOL IN 17TH-CENTURY FRANCE AND THE ORIGINS OF THE PARDESSUS DE VIOLE [1]

Robert Green

In recent years the place of the bass viol in the musical life of seventeenth-century France has received considerable attention. There are few today who would question the quality of the music of Marin Marais, and that it is placed on a level comparable only to that of François Couperin is due at least in part to the many fine performances which have enabled us to form aural impressions on which to base judgements. More recently scholars and musicians have become interested in placing the treble viol and its successor the pardessus de viole in their proper historical perspective and in describing their place in the life of seventeenth-century France.[2] Much new factual material has been uncovered, not only interesting in itself, but when related to previously available information, it provides a substantially revised view of these instruments and their significance.

The viol family has a long history in France which can be traced back to the second quarter of the sixteenth century, almost concurrent with the appearance of viols in England.[3] In both countries there was extensive literature for the viol consort, but the style of this music differed in one important way. In England toward the end of the sixteenth century, music for viol ensemble became idiomatic, suitable for performance only on those instruments. In France, composers such as Claude Le Jeune, Eustache du Caurroy, and Etienne Moulinié created music for viol consort in a style more closely akin to concerted vocal music.[4] Further, it is clear from surviving inventories of private music collections from 1600 to 1650 that much of the viol consort music played in France was actually vocal music—motets of Lassus and the other great composers of Renaissance vocal music.[5]

Developments in viol music were thus related to those in vocal music, and when the Italian style with its soprano-bass texture began to appear in France in the 1650s, parts for the tenor viol began to disappear. At this time a small group of lutenist-viol players discovered English solo bass viol music and by combining its virtuosity with their own distinctive implied counterpoint and "broken style" lute texture, created a style that eventually culminated in the style found in De Machy's suites in 1685. At the same time Sainte-Colombe and his followers Danoville, Rousseau, and Marais pursued a style which was more melodic, somewhat less difficult, and for the most part accompanied by continuo. This style was demonstrated in the first publication of Marais in 1686, and the conflict between the two styles resulted in a fomentation which is heavily documented.[6] We possess a great amount of information concerning this stylistic technical controversy of the 1680s not only from published music but also from Danoville and Rousseau who wrote about it. These two provide us with much more of our information concerning the place of the treble viol in the scheme of things. Rousseau describes the treble viol as a melodic instrument which should avoid violin-like virtuosity.[7] The impression given is that the treble viol is a secondary instrument. This view is reinforced by a paucity of music specifically for treble viol; two basic

[1] The following was presented at the annual meeting of the American Musical Instrument Society in 1984 at Arizona State University.

[2] See Hazelle Miloradovitch, "Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Transcriptions for Viols of Music by Corelli and Marais In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: Sonatas and *Pièces de viole*," *Chelys* 13 (1984): 47-69.
Robert A. Green "The Pardessus De Viole and Its Literature," *Early Music* 10 (July, 1982): 300-307.
Adrian Rose, "The Solo Repertoire for Dessus and Pardessus de violes," *Chelys* 9 (1980): 14-22.
Terry Pratt, "The Dessus and Pardessus de viole in France from the Sixteenth To the Eighteenth Centuries," (Unpub. thesis, Basel, 1977).
Mary Cyr, "Solo Music for the Treble Viol," *Journal Of the VdGSA* 12 (1975): 4-13.

[3] See Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 196-227, for a discussion of the introduction of the viol to France and England. The first music for the viol published in France was the work of Claude Gervaise, the first volume of which appeared in 1547.

[4] Michel Sicard, "The French Viol School before 1650," *Journal of the VdGSA* 18 (1981): 76-93, however, does point out some nascent idiomatic features. They are nowhere near as pronounced as those found in the Jacobean consort repertory.

[5] Madeleine Jurgens, *Documents du minutier central concernant l'histoire de la musique (1600-1650)* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1969), pp. 874-876 gives the inventory of the government functionary Hugues Yver and his wife, who owned ten viols and a large quantity of music most of which was by sixteenth-century Italian composers. Other inventories in this volume reveal similar collections.

[6] Gordon Kinney, "A 'Tempest in a Glass of Water' Or a Conflict of Esthetic Attitudes," *Journal of the VdGSA* 14 (1977): 42-52.

[7] Jean Rousseau, *Traité de la viole* (Paris, 1687), p. 73.

collections often cited are the *Mélanges* of Henri Du Mont published in 1657 and 1661, and the symphonies of Louis Couperin from the Bauyn manuscript dated about 1650.[8] However, a second look at circumstantial information from a number of different sources suggests that between 1650 and 1700, the treble viol was as important, if not more important, than the bass viol as a solo and ensemble instrument in chamber music. So where is this music?

The treble viol continued in its earlier role of playing vocal music, and the development of the *air sérieux* in the 1650s presented it with a perfect vehicle for displaying its tender and languid qualities. In the *air sérieux* French melody found its most perfect expression and from there passed into opera and instrumental forms.[9] Sebastien Le Camus is second only to Michel Lambert as a composer of the *air sérieux*. He was a treble viol player at the royal court from 1661 until his death in 1677.[10] At his death, he left a portrait of himself holding a theorbo while on an adjacent table lay a treble viol, bow, and music.[11] Jean Rousseau in describing the treble viol says:

> The melodic style is its proper role, and that is why those who wish to succeed in playing this instrument well must devote themselves to the delicacy of song in order to imitate all that a beautiful voice can do...as did the late Monsieur Le Camus who excelled in playing the treble viol to the point that the memory of the beauty and tenderness of his performance erases all that has been heard to the present time on this instrument.[12]

Le Camus left us only airs ostensibly for voice, but there seems to be little question that he acquired his renown as a player of the treble viol from the performance of his vocal works.[13] The most

[8] The pieces for treble viol by Louis Couperin from the Bauyn manuscript are found in the *Oeuvres complets* ed. by Paul Brunold (Paris: Editions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 1936).

[9] See Theodore Gérold, *L' Art du chant en France au XVIIe siècle* (Strasburg: Faculté des lettres de l'Universite de Strasbourg, 1921), pp. 97-180, for a discussion of the evolution of the French air and its relationship with opera.

[10] For the official record of his appointment on August 29, 1661, see Marcelle Benoit, *Musiques de cour. Chapelle, Chambre, Ecurie* (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1971), p. 3.

[11] Norbert Dufourcq, "Autour de Sebastien Le Camus," *Recherches* II (1961-62): 49. Unfortunately the portrait does not survive.

[12] Jean Rousseau, *Traité de la viole* (Paris, 1687), p. 73. Le Jeu de Melodie est son propre caractère, c'est pourquoy ceux qui veulent parvenir à bien jouer de cet Instrument doivent s'attacher à la delicatesse du Chant, pour imiter tout ce qu'une Belle Voix peut faire,...comme le faisoit feu Monsieur Le Camus, qui excelloit a un point dans le Jeu du Dessus de Viole, que le seul souvenir de la beauté & de la tendresse de son execution efface tout ce que l'on a entendu jusqu'à present sur cet Instrument.

[13] Gérold, *L' Art de chant en France au XVIIe siècle*, pp. 136-37, discusses the possibility that many airs originated as instrumental pieces. Although the works of Le Camus are now known in their vocal guise, it is possible that some of them were created as instrumental pieces.

likely types of airs which could have been used as instrumental pieces are those which incorporate dance rhythms such as the sarabande.[14] Example one is typical of such a piece. It was composed about 1671 and has the characteristics of a sarabande. The restricted range of the melody lies well for the treble viol, but the apparent simplicity conceals the control and technique necessary to project the character of the music.

Among the thousands of airs which were published in the late seventeenth century, there are a number which specify treble viol as an additional instrumental part. For example, the works of Jean Sicard contain several which are primarily imitative and use the treble viol like an additional voice part. In others of his works, ritornellos or true obbligato parts are given to violins.

Thus the treble viol came to embody French melody. In Jean Garnier's painting *Louis XIV entouré des attributs des arts* painted about 1675, the treble viol together with the violin represent this most important feature of French music.[15] The revealing and entertaining passage from Jacques Bonnet's *Histoire de la musique* involving a debate between Mademoiselle M. and the Chevalier concerning the merits of the treble viol vs. the Italian violin further illustrates this point.

> The violin, cried Mademoiselle M., . . .as for the great tenderness you attribute to it, cannot the treble viol do as much? If simple airs, such as *le beau berger Tircis* or some other, are played on the treble viol, are you not enchanted? I think the treble viol will speak as tenderly as the violin.[16]

It would be well to point out here that the debate is between the attributes of the treble viol as opposed to the Italian violin with thicker strings and a longer bow than the French violin, according to the participants. The violin per se, at least early on was not a rival

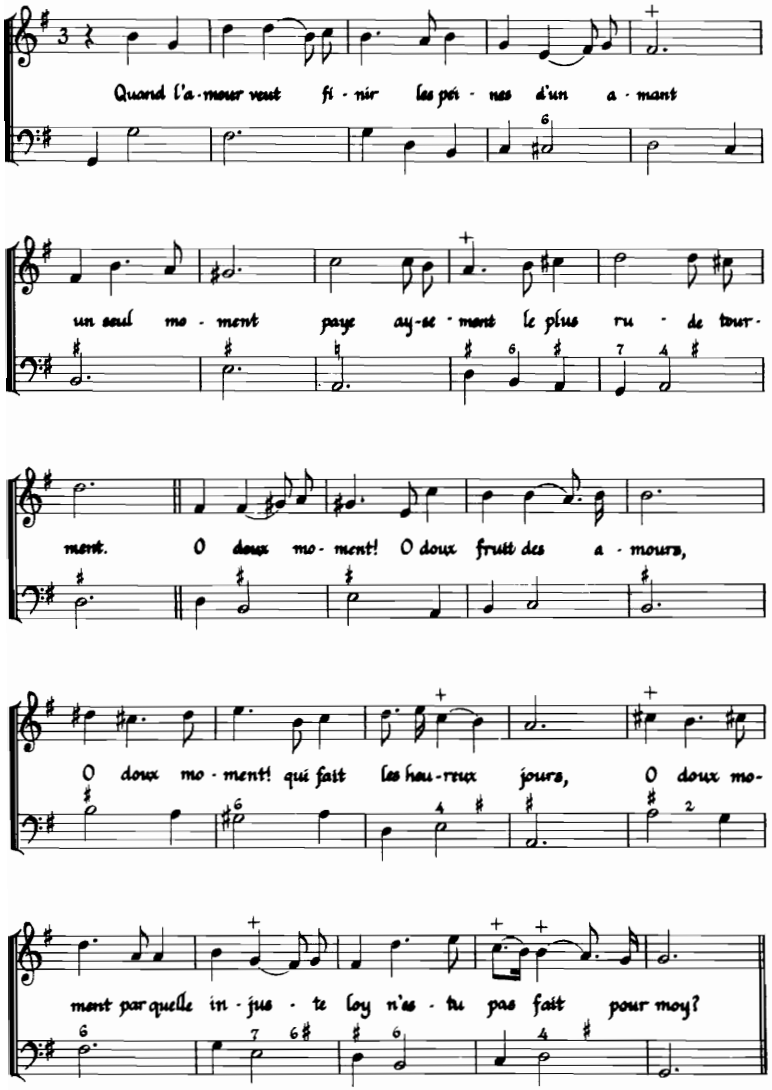
[14] For a discussion of the relationship between vocal and instrumental sarabandes, see Patricia Ranum, "Audible and Mute Rhetoric: The 17th-Century French Sarabande," *Early Music* 14/1 (1986): 22-40.

[15] Richard Leppert, *Arcadia At Versailles. Noble Amateur Musicians and Their Musettes and Hurdy-Gurdies at the French Court (c. 1660-1789): A Visual Study* (Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger B.V., 1978), pp. 72-74, reproduces the painting and discusses it at some length. He labels the treble viol a pardessus but the size of the instrument together with the date of the work fairly well eliminate this possibility.

[16] Pierre Bourdelot and Pierre Bonnet, *Histoire de la musique et de ses effets depuis son origine jusqu'à present & en quoi consiste sa beauté*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1715), p. 104. "Quant à cette grande tendresse que vous lui attribuez, est-ce que le dessus de Viole n' en a pas autant? Qu'on joue bien sur le dessus de Viole de ces Airs simples, dont vous êtes enchanté, Le beau berger Tircis, &c. ou quelque autre, je pense que le dessus de Viole parlera aussi tendrement que le Violon."

Example 1

Sebastien Le Camus, Air, "Quand l'amour veut finir"



to the treble viol, since it was necessary for large ensembles where the treble viol would be inappropriate and was the instrument of Lully, who himself came to symbolize French music and is often shown playing a violin.

The association of the treble viol with vocal music goes deeper, as it was used interchangeably with the violin in performing instrumental interludes and obbligato parts in sacred and secular vocal chamber works or divertissements, forerunners of the cantata. While few of these works survive, as they were usually *pièces d'occasion,* the works of Henri Du Mont and Marc-Antoine Charpentier may be singled out as containing instrumental parts specifically for treble viol.[17] From 1670 to 1688, Charpentier was employed by Marie De Guise, who maintained a musical ensemble consisting of eight to ten singers, one of whom was often Marc-Antoine himself, harpsichord and bass viol for continuo, and two treble viols.[18] This ensemble was augmented from time to time with other instruments, most notably, flutes. This type of ensemble with singers, two treble strings, either violins or treble viols, and continuo was common enough, and the many references to it include the ideal chamber ensemble described by the bourgeois gentleman in Molière's play of that name.[19] Thus the conflict over the type of solo literature appropriate for the bass viol did not involve the treble whose literature was fully established and sanctified by time and tradition. What has been said here helps to explain some anomalies concerning the origins of the pardessus de viole.

The oldest pardessus was at one time thought to be the instrument by Nicolas Bertrand in the Musée Instrumentale du Conservatoire in Paris dated 1714.[20] This instrument accorded nicely with the date of the first musical publication mentioning the pardessus on its title page *Sonates á violon seul et basse. Il y a plusieurs*

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[17] The motets by Henri Du Mont which contain demanding and extensive parts for treble viol have not been published in modern edition. For a listing of those works of Marc-Antoine Charpentier which contain parts specifically for treble viol, see H. Wiley Hitchcock, *The Works of Marc-Antoine Charpentier. Catalogue Raisonné* (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1982). In many cases, Charpentier indicates only treble strings without indicating whether they are treble viols or violins.

[18] Claude Crussard, *Un musicien oublié: Marc-Antoine Charpentier* (Paris: Librairie Fleury, 1945), p. 16.

[19] Molière, *Le bourgeois Gentilhomme,* Act II, sc.1: Maître de musique "...Il vous faudra trois voix, un dessus, une hautecontre et une basse, qui seront accompagnées d'une basse de viole, d'un téorbe et d'un clavecin pour les basses continues, avec deux dessus de violon pour jouer les ritournelles."

[20] See Peter Tourin, *Viollist. A Comprehensive Catalogue Of Historical Viole da Gamba In Public And Private Collections,* 1979, later editions, for information on this instrument.

sonates dans ce oeuvre qui peuvent se jouer sur la flûte traversière et sur le pardessus de viole...by the Lyonnais violinist Joachim Michau Chamborn published in Paris in 1722. Recently Peter Tourin noted an instrument in the Germanische Nationalmuseum in Nürnberg by Michel Colichon from about 1690 or possibly before.[21] While this instrument might have been labelled an isolated experiment, Adrian Rose located a reference to the pardessus in the table at the back of Joseph Sauveur's *Principes d'acoustique et de musique* of 1701.[22] This table clearly shows the pardessus de viole, dessus de viole and basse de viole as the commonly used members of the viol family at the beginning of the eighteenth century. There is no indication here or elsewhere in the book that the pardessus is experimental or rare. In other words, at least thirty years separate the invention of the instrument from its first appearance on a piece of music.

There are a number of conclusions which can be drawn from this information. First, the treble viol was so firmly established in the seventeenth century, and its associations with French music were so strong that it was not easily replaced. It is clear that Thomas Marc's publication, which is the first specifically for pardessus de viole, dated 1724, makes every effort to accommodate the treble viol as an almost equally acceptable instrument.[23] The last mention of the treble viol on a piece of music is found on Charles Dollé's first work for pardessus de viole published in 1737.[24] Parenthetically, after that date, the term *dessus de viole* is used to refer to the pardessus de viole which by that time had supplanted the older instrument.

Second, these dates refute the argument by Hans Bol and others that the invention of the pardessus was a last-ditch effort by the

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] Correspondance with the author.

[23] Thomas Marc, *Suitte de pièces de dessus et de pardessus de viole et trois sonates, avec les basses continues...livre Ier* (Paris, 1724). The suite which begins this collection has been edited by Adrian Rose for Dovehouse Editions. One of the sonatas has been reproduced in the series published by the Viola da Gamba Society.

[24] On this work, see Robert A. Green, "Charles Dollé's First Work For Pardessus de Viole," *Journal Of the VdGSA* 18 (1981): 67-75. Also see Adrian Rose, "Another Collection by Charles Dollé," *Chelys* 11 (1982): 32-35.

partisans of the viol to compete with the violin.[25] In the 1680s virtuoso violin music was barely known in France.[26] The growing body of instrumental music published from the 1690s called for ever higher notes and probably encouraged the beginnings of the instrument. However, the instrument did not become popular until a change in aesthetics took place.

While it would be easy to ascribe the rise in popularity of the pardessus in the 1720s and 30s to a growing interest in the Italian sonata, I believe the problem is more complicated than that. In the aforementioned *Histoire de la musique* dated 1715, the Chevalier representing the newer generation supports the idea of a gentleman learning to play the violin, an instrument by which people of lower station made their living. The Marquis, who voices the opinions of the generation of Louis XIV, counters by pointing out that one of the most important purposes of music is to provide a means of spending one's time agreeably and to play for oneself or perhaps a few friends. Now, he laments, everyone wishes to play the virtuoso, not content to leave that kind of music making to the professional.[27] This changing role of music in the lives of the aristocracy was magnified at court where nobility put on entire Lully operas serving in the pit with the court musicians.[28]

There are no doubt further sources to investigate before the place of the treble viol in the musical life of seventeenth-century France can be thoroughly assessed. Enough already exists, however, to demonstrate that its importance was so great, that during much of the second half of the seventeenth century it was a very important member of the viol family. During its period of dominance, it came to be used to represent some of the most distinctive traits of French music. Its tradition was so strong that it was able to forestall the rise in popularity of possible replacements and survived almost as long as its larger relative the bass viol about which so much has been written.

[25] Hans Bol, *La basse de viole du temps de Marin Marais et d'Antoine Forqueray* (Bilthoven: A.B. Creyghton, 1973), pp. 17-18.

[26] The beginning of virtuoso violin music in France is usually given as the performance of Johann Paul Westhoff at the French court in 1682. The sonata which he played on that occasion was published in *Le Mercure Galant* in December of that year.

[27] Bourdelot and Bonnet, *Histoire de la musique* p. 98.

[28] See the gouache by Charles-Nicolas Cochin of a performance of Lully's opera *Acis et Galathée* in 1748 with aristocratic singers and pit orchestra at Versailles.

A COMPOSER INDEX FOR GORDON DODD'S *THEMATIC INDEX*

Gordon Sandford

The great period of the viola da gamba was the seventeenth century, and much of its finest literature comes from this time. Most of the music was not published in its day but existed solely in manuscripts from which people performed to entertain themselves in the stately homes of England. Today most of the surviving music has been collected in the large research libraries of the world. A great deal has been published in modern editions, but a great deal of the repertoire is known only to a small group of aficionados.

Thanks to Gordon Dodd we now have a clearer idea of the totality of the repertoire for viols. Commander Dodd (he is retired from the British Navy) has devoted more than thirty years to his *Index* which lists the known manuscripts, their locations, their shelf numbers, and all sorts of smaller pieces of information relating to the manuscripts. He has, of course, been aided by many others, but his efforts are monumental in themselves. Essentially he has finished his work, but of course there will always be minor additions, subtractions, and alterations of various types. One can scarcely begin to work on these manuscripts without consulting Dodd's *Index*.

Dodd has issued his *Index* in three installments over a period of time (1980, 1982, and 1984). He has cited nearly 150 composers, sometimes using only the initials or name abbreviations found in the manuscript. Often the spellings for a composer's name vary widely. Often the same piece is found in several libraries in varying handwritings and with interesting variants. All too often individual parts are missing to the frustration of all.

Dodd has an excellent bibliography supporting the *Index*, and he often adds bits of biographical material and other information, such as efforts in tracing copyists, not available elsewhere. Research on viol music still has many unanswered questions, and Gordon Dodd gives intriguing insights relating to the remaining mysteries of his topic. His work is the starting point and inspiration for research on music for the viola da gamba, beyond question.

At times the *Index* is clumsy to use because of its format. It was issued in looseleaf pages to enable a person to add and/or delete pages as necessary. Sometimes a composer's works are found in all three installments, and sometimes composers are not cited exactly in the basic alphabetical order. Thus it has proven useful to me to create a composer index to facilitate usage. My index gives one a quick idea of the composers, and their music can be easily located by volume and page. Page numbers in volume three use a composer name and a number; these appear in the *Index* in alphabetical order. If one were to collate the three installments these pages would be combined with the numbers of the first installments. Dodd's pagination, thus, is a bit confusing, but with my index his work is very easy to use.

Gordon Dodd's *Thematic Index of Music for Viols* (3 installments) is published by the Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain, and is available from: Caroline Wood, Administrator, 93a Sutton Road, London N10 1 HH, England a.

Composer	Volume	Page
Alcock	2	27
Allison, Richard	2	25
Amner, John	2	27
Amner, John	3	Amner-1
Anonymous	3	A-DI-1
Arnald	2	27
Bachiler, Daniel	2	27
Baldwin, John	2	28
Ballarde	2	27
Baltzar, Thomas	3	Baltzar-1
Banaster, Robert	3	Banaster-1
Barrière, Jean	3	Barriere-1
Bassano, Augustine	3	Bassano-2
Bassano, Giovanni	3	Bassano-1
Bassano, Jerome (Hieronymus)	3	Bassano-2
Bates, John	3	Bates-1
Bates, Thomas	3	Bates-1
Baxter, John	3	Bennet-1
Bennet, John	3	Bennet-1
Betolski, A.	3	Betolski-1
Bevin, Elway	3	Bennet-1
Birche, Tho.	3	Betolski-1
Blagreave, Rob.	3	Betolski-1
Blainville, Charles Henri de	3	Blainville-1
Blankes, Edward	1	17
Blow, John	3	Browne-1

Composer	Volume	Page
Blundeville, John	3	Blundeville-1
Boismortier, Joseph Bodin de	3	Boismortier-1
Bosley, Jo.	3	Betolski-1
Boys, Will.	3	Browne-1
Bramley, R.	1	20
Brewer, Thomas	1	19
Brewsters (Brusters)	1	20
Browne, John	3	Browne-1
Browne, R.	3	Browne-1
Bucke, John	1	20
Bull, John	3	Bull-1
Burroughs	3	Betolski
Butler, Henry	2	29
Byrd, William	2	31
Caix d'Hervelois, Louis de	3	Caixd'H-1
Caix, Barthélèmy	3	deCaix-1
Campion, Thomas	3	Clarke-1
Carlton, Richard	2	47
Carwarden, John	3	Clarke-1
Chetwoode	2	47
Clarke, Simon	3	Clarke-1
Clayton	2	47
Clerke, James Abercrombie	2	47
Cobb, John	3	Coleman-15
Cobbald, William	2	48
Cocke	2	47
Coleman, Charles	2	49
Coleman, Charles	3	Coleman-13
Coleman, Charles (Colman)	1	21
Colledge, Ed.	3	Colledge-1
Coprario, John	2	61
Coprario, John	3	Coprario-16
Corkine	3	Corkine-1
Cormacke	3	Coleman-15
Cosyn, Benjamin	3	Colledge-1
Cosyn, John	3	Colledge-1
Cranford, William	1	23
Cranford, William	3	Cranford-1
Crosbey	3	Colledge-1
Cutting, Francis	2	77
Cutts, John	2	77
D.B.	3	DB-1
Daman, William	2	78
Daniell, John	2	77
Dano, Jacomo Acquilino	2	78

Composer	Volume	Page
Deering, Richard	1	27
Deutekom, William	3	Deutekom-1
Dowglas, Patrick	2	78
Dowland, John	2	79
Drew, William	3	Drew-1
Dubut	3	Drew-1
East, Michael	2	83
East, Michael	3	East-1
Eberlin, Daniel	3	Eberlin-1
Eglestone, John	2	78
Elliott, Mr. (Oxon)	3	East-5
Esto, John	3	Esto-1
Facy, Hugh	2	87
Falle, Canon Philip	3	Falle-1
Farmello, Francis	3	Falle-1
Farnaby, Giles	3	Falle-1
Farrant, Richard & Daniel	3	Farrant-1
Ferrabosco, Alfonso I	1	31
Ferrabosco, Alfonso II	1	33
Ferraboscvo, Alfonso II	3	A.F. II
Finger, Godfrey	1	43
Ford, Thomas	2	89
Ford, Thomas	3	Ford-1
Gerrarde, Gervise	3	Gibbons-7
Gibbons, Christopher	2	93
Gibbons, Edward	1	49
Gibbons, Orlando	1	45
Gibbons, Orlando	2	101
Gibbons, Orlando	3	Gibbons-7
Gibbons, Richard	1	49
Gibbs	3	Gibbs-1
Giles, Nathaniel	3	Gibbs-1
Gill, George	3	Gibbs-1
Giovanelli	3	Gorton-1
Goldar	3	Gibbs-1
Golding, Sir Edward	3	Golding-1
Goodall, Stephen	3	Gibbons-7
Gorton, William	3	Gorton-1
Goter	3	Goter-1
Gregorie, Thomas	3	T. Gregorie-1
Gregory, William	3	W. Gregory-1
Grome, John	3	Goter-1
Guy, Nicholas	3	W. Gregory-1
H.S.	3	H.S.-1
Hake, Edward	2	107

Composer	Volume	Page
Hake, Edward	3	Hilton-1
Harding, James	2	107
Harding, James	3	Hilton-1
Hely, Benjamin	2	109
Herwich, Christiaen	3	Herwich-1
Hilton, John	2	107
Hilton, John	3	Hilton-1
Hinde, R.	3	Hilton-2
Hingeston, John	1	51
Holborne, Anthony	1	59
Holmes, Thomas	3	Holmes-1
Holst, Daniel	3	Goter-1
Hooper, Edmund	3	Hilton-2
Hotman, Nicholas	3	Hotman-1
Hotman, Nicolas	3	Steffkens-1
Hudson, George	2	111
Hudson, George	3	Hudson-3
Hume, Tobias	3	Hume-3
Ives, Simon	1	67
Ives, Simon	3	Ives-5
Jackson (?)	3	Jeffries-1
Jeffreys, George	2	115
Jeffreys, George	3	Jeffreys-1
Jeffries, Matthew	2	115
Jeffries, Matthew	3	Jeffries-1
Jenkins, John	1	73
Jenkins, John	3	Jenkins-61
Johnson, John	3	J. Johnson-1
Johnson, Robert	3	Johnson-2
Johnsons (Edward Johnson)	3	Johnsons-1
Jones, Robert	3	Jones-1
K. [ing], W. [illiam]	3	Jones-1
Kingelake, William	3	Jones-1
Kirbye (?)	3	Jones-1
Lanyer, Nicholas	3	Jones-1
Lauder, James	3	Jones-1
Laurence, John	3	Laurence-1
Lawes, William	1	133
Lawes, William	3	Lawes-23
Le Strange MSS	1	209
Leetherland Thomas	3	Laurence-1
Lestrange, Sir Roger et al	2	117
Leycester, Sir Peter	3	Laurence-1
Lidl, Andreus	3	Lidl-1
Lillie, John	3	Lillie-1

Composer	Volume	Page
Locke, Matthew	2	119
Loosemore, George	2	137
Loosemore, Henry	2	137
Lupo, Joseph	2	137
Lupo, Thomas	1	155
Lupo, Thomas	2	139
Mace, Thomas	3	Mace-1
Mallorie (Malery)	2	137
Mando, Patrick	3	Maynard-1
Marks, Andrew	3	Maynard-1
Mason	2	141
Mason	3	Mason-1
Maynard, John	3	Maynard-1
Mericocke, Thomas	3	Mason-1
Mericocke, Thomas	2	141
Mico, Richard	1	165
Milton, John	2	141
Milton, John	3	Mason-1
Morley, Thomas	2	141
Moss, John	3	Moss-1
Mudd, Henry	2	145
Mudd, Henry	3	Mundy-1
Mundy, John	2	145
Mundy, John	3	Mundy-1
Mundy, William	2	145
Mundy, William	3	Mundy-1
Nayler	2	141
Nayler	3	Mason-1
Nicholson, Richard	2	147
Nicholson, Richard	3	Nicholson-1
Nicolai, Johann Michail	3	Norcomber-3
Nor, Mr.	3	Norcombe-3
Norcombe, Daniel	1	169
Norcombe, Dianiel	3	Norcombe-3
Okeover, John (Oka or Okar)	1	171
Paget, William	3	Norcomber-3
Parsley, Osbert	2	149
Parsons, John	3	Parsons-2
Parsons, Robert	2	150
Pattrick, Nathaniel	3	Parsons-3
Pedersen Magnus	3	Parsons-3
Peerson, Martin	1	172
Peerson, Martin	3	Peerson-2
Pethick	3	Parsons-3
Philips, Peter	3	Philips-1

Composer	Volume	Page
Pilkington, Francis	3	Pilkington-1
Pinel, Germain	3	Pilkington-1
Pising, W.	3	Pilkington-1
Playford T	3	Playford T-1
Polewheele	2	153
Polewheele	3	Polewheele-1
Poole, Anthony	2	155
Poole, F.	2	156
Poul, P.	2	156
Poynte	3	Poynte-1
Preston, Thomas	3	Poynte-1
Price, John	3	Poynte-1
Primrose	3	Poynte-1
Purcell, Henry	2	157
Pyttyns, Richard	3	Poynte-1
R, Mr	1	173
R., Mr.	3	Ravenscroft-1
Ramsey, Robert	3	Renold-1
Randall, William	3	Ravenscroft-1
Randall, William	1	173
Ravenscroft, Thomas	1	173
Ravenscroft, Thomas	3	Ravenscroft-1
Read, (various)	3	Read-1
Renold	3	Renold-1
Rosseter, Philip	3	Renold-1
R(owe), W(alter)	3	Renold-1
Sadler, John	2	159
Sadler, John	3	Simmes-1
Schuts	2	159
Schuts	3	Simmes-1
Shepherde	2	159
Shepherde	3	Simmes-1
Sherlie, Joseph	3	Sherlie-1
Simmes, William	2	159
Simmes, William	3	Simmes-1
Simpson, Christopher	1	175
Simpson, Christopher	2	161
Simpson, Christopher	3	C. Simpson-9
Simpson, Thomas	3	T. Simpson-1
Stannar, William	2	163
Stanton, Peter	3	H.S.-1
Steffkens, Dietrich	3	Steffkens-1
Stepkins, Frederick	3	D. Steffkens-1
Stevenson	2	163
Stonings, Henry	2	163

Composer	Volume	Page
Stonnard, W.	3	Sumarte-1
Strogers, Nicholas	2	164
Stubbs, Simon	3	Sumarte-1
Sumarte, Richard	3	Sumarte-1
Switoni, Pater	3	H.S.-1
T.C. (Thomas Crewe?/ Timothy Collins?)	2	47
T.H.	3	Goter-1
Tallis, Thomas	2	166
Tanner, Ed.	3	Tielche-1
Taverner, John	2	166
Taylor, Robert	3	Taylor-1
Thorne, John	2	171
Tielche	3	Tielche-1
Tomkins, John	3	Tomkins-5
Tomkins, Thomas	1	183
Tomkins, Thomas	3	Tomkins-5
Tregian, Francis	3	Tielche-1
Tunings	3	Ziegler-2
Tye, Christopher	2	167
Verdufen	3	Verdufen-1
W	3	Verdufen-1
Wadham, Rob.	3	Tielche-1
Walfardt	3	Verdufen-1
Ward, John	1	187
Ward, John	3	Ward-7
Warner, Peter	3	Warner-1
Warwick, Thomas	3	Warner-1
Watkins, R.	3	Warner-1
Webb, Mr.	3	Warner-1
Webster, Maurice (Maarit)	3	Webster-1
Weelkes, Thomas	2	174
Weelkes, Thomas	3	Weelkes-1
Westley	3	Westley-1
Whitbrooke	3	Wilbye-1
White, Robert	2	171
White, William	1	195
White, William	3	White-1
Wigthorpe, William	3	Westley-1
Wilbye, John	3	Wilbye-1
Wilder, Philip van	3	Wilbye-1
Wilkinson, Thomas	3	Wilkinson-1
Wilson	3	Westley-1
Withie	2	173
Withie	3	E. Withy-1

* GERMAN LITERATURE FOR VIOLA DA GAMBA IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

Alfred Einstein

Translated by Richard D. Bodig

INTRODUCTION

We understand the viola da gamba to be a bowed instrument with the fingerboard of a lute, that is to say, a fingerboard on which frets set boundaries for successive semitones.

The lute had become the most cherished of instruments in the course of the fifteenth century. Its popularity can be traced to the beginnings of Renaissance music and the Renaissance emphasis on the development of the individual. This movement also affected stringed instruments which, at the very end of the middle ages, were regarded generally with suspicion in the hands of itinerant players, whose positions were superficial and inferior in comparison with the established musical forces. The viol as it appeared to Virdung, Judenkunig, Agricola and Gerle, was a direct descendant, not of the instruments used by fiddlers and other players nor by jongleurs or minstrels, but of the lute. As Kiesewetter had observed, the easily-played popular instrument became, like the lute itself, an instrument suitable for playing in the home. Only in this modified sense does the assertion seem to be reasonable,[1] that the viol [family]—the pardessus de viole, [bass] viola da gamba, cello and contrabass—stemmed from the "rote a manche libre" of the Middle Ages.

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*This issue is the first installment (pp. 1-13) of a translation of Einstein's *Zur deutschen Literatur für Viola da Gamba im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1905). Although it was published over 81 years ago, Einstein's essay is still an important research document. As one of the first extensive research efforts devoted to our instrument by a pioneer in modern musicology, it is valuable to scholars interested in both the history of musicological research, and in the history of knowledge about and attitudes toward the viol and its music at the turn of this century. It also brings focus to the need for present-day research on music for viol and attitudes toward the viol in German-speaking regions of Europe which, understandably, have been overshadowed by studies on the viol in France and England. We wish to express our special appreciation to Richard Bodig for his painstaking efforts in the preparation of this translation.—Editors.

[1] Kastner, *Les Danses des Morts* (Paris, 1852), p. 242.

There are numerous grounds for disclaiming the notion that stringed instruments fretted in semitones were used before the end of the fifteenth century.[2] There are also many grounds supporting the thesis that the lute fingerboard was adapted to the viol, with the requisite adjustment of register[3] shortly before 1500, at least in southern Germany and northern Italy, much before 1500.[4] At the very end of the fifteenth century the lute had a strong position in the development of polyphonic music, an overpowering one at that time.[5] It can be seen, in the illustration of the bass viol by Virdung (1511), how slavishly viol makers adhered to the model of the lute. The table of the instrument is flat and on the same plane as the fingerboard. Even the strings of the five-course lute (there are nine strings) appear to be retained. Large side bouts were constructed so that the player could hold the instrument easily with his knees. However, the striking but ugly indentations at the neck show only that space was needed for the seventh fret, which could not have been secured to the neck otherwise. These particular indentations are to be seen on all instruments which lacked a specially adapted fingerboard. One with permanently-installed metal frets (illustrated) in Mersenne's, *De Instr. harm.* lib. I, (page 45), had been known for some time.

The reason for mentioning adaptation is that it was more deliberate than necessary. The lute tuning, which developed from the "need to play to play chords,"[6] would not have been needed on

[2] Despite many attempts, the history of medieval music instruments is not yet developed to a sufficient extent to allow one to draw conclusions from the data with certainty. On the subject of string instruments of the early Middle Ages we have in view one solid study by E. Buhle: "Die Musikalischen Instrumente in den Miniaturen des frühen Mittelalters," p. 9.

[3] One should also compare the comment of G.B. Rossi in *Organo de Cantori* (Venice, 1618), p. 1: "Instruments...which...it is conceded, for the perfection of the nobly-born man, are those upon which by themselves, without the need of others, he can pass the time virtuously, such as are lutes, harpsichords, viols and the like." Quotation from Ambros, *Gesch. der Musik* III, p. 36, n. 3 (trans. Gordon Kinney).

[4] Perhaps in Spain, where even before the middle of the fourteenth century, the *vihuela de peñola* was distinguished from the *vihuela de arco* (See Carl Engel, *Researches into the Early History of the Violin Family,* 1883, p. 121f; Ambrose, II, 258), the rules for style and playing of the lute were applied to bowed instruments long before 1500. Thus, the claim of Vincenzo Galilei *(Dialoge della Musica,* 1581, p. 147, cited according to Rühlmann, *Geschichte der Bogeninstrumente,* p. 151), that the viol had come from Naples, where (through Aragonese domination) "the partial Hispanization of life took place early on, a development which did not take hold in the rest of Italy until a hundred years later."

[5] Otto Körte, *Laute und Lautenmusik bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts,* p. 78; R. Schwartz, "Die Frottole im 15. Jahrhundert," *Vierteljahrschaft für Musikwissenschaft,* II, pp. 463ff.

[6] Otto Fleischer, *VjMw* II, p. 504.

earlier string instruments. Tuning consistently in fourths, as was to prevail later on, is a sensible practice for all members of the viol family. Also the number of strings, five or six according to Gerle, was, like the number of frets, an unnecessary luxury despite the assurance that "people generally put seven of them on viols [Geygen]/though only five are needed on the bass/but on the other sizes, treble,/alto and tenor, one needs all seven." The entire range of notes accessible on these instruments would never be required for consort music. The reason for this lies in the fact that people considered the viol and the lute, at that time, to be generally one and the same, as they were considered substitutes. Virdung shows drawings of the lute, quintern and viol together on one page, while [small] fiddles were relegated to the little-honored tromba marina society because they lacked frets. Johannes Cocleus, in his Tetrachordum Musices (1516), dealt equally with the lute and the viol and discussed the differences between them only in a unified context.[7] The justification for the comparisons seemed evident to him. In Judenkunig's work (1523), the rules established for the lute are tacitly applied also to the viol. Lanfranco (1533) says, "because there is no other difference between the viol and the lute, save that the lute has paired strings lacking in the viol, it is necessary to have more viols [than lutes] playing together unaccompanied."[8]

Who was responsible for adapting the neck of the lute to the viol cannot be specified with certainty. People in Germany called the bass viol a *"Wälsche Geige"*, an Italian viol (Agricola), thus believing that it came from Italy. The supposition need not be dismissed since Giovanni Kerlino (Hans Gerle in German?) from Brescia, was among the first to have built such viols. Indeed the Marchioness Isabella of Mantua had one such viol made by him in 1495 and then had it tried out by the lutenist Giorgio Angelo Testagrossa.[9] Such instruments must have been quite new at the time, and only a lutenist could have been expected to play them.

[7] "The viol has a belly which is not as rounded as that of the lute, nor is it as wide, nor does it have as long a neck, nor as many strings. Furthermore, it is not plucked with the right hand, but its strings are activated with a bow such as to produce a ringing sound. Yet notes are fingered with the left hand, just as with a lute. Germans call this a 'Geygen' (viol)." *Tetr. Mus.* Joannis Coclei, Chapter X.

[8] "Furthermore, there is no difference between a viol and a lute except that the lute is double-strung, whereas the viol is single-strung, although the two are tuned in the same way. We shall discuss separately the tuning of several viols in consort." *Scintilla di Musica,* p. 142.

[9] E. Vogel, *Vierteljahrschrift f. M. W.* IV. 523 from. Stef. Davari *La Musica a Manova* 1894, p. 16.

A luthier from Nürnberg, a member of the Gerle family, undertook early on[10] to provide the new instrument with pieces to play. Likewise, since it had been conceived of as the antithesis of the ordinary folk instrument, he did not relate the literature for it to folk-like dance music but to the contemporary social music of elite society and to secular art songs:[11]

> German music / set for large and small viols / as well as for the lute / which, with skillful composition, contain transcriptions of songs into tablature / composed with dedication and artfulness /
> Thereby an amateur and beginner on the esteemed instrument, having the desire and talent / under instruction from a qualified teacher and with daily practice, may learn to play it / printed earlier by Hans Gerle, lutenist, published in Nurenberg 1592

(The second edition of 1537 had the same title and table of contents. The third edition reads:)

> Music in tablature / to be set for large and small viols / as well as for the lute / which, with skillful composition, transcribes songs into tablature / composed with dedication and artfulness / thereby a diligent amateur and beginner on the esteemed instrument, having an inclination for it, under instruction from a qualified teacher and with daily practice, can easily learn it / recently corrected and thoroughly improved upon / by Hansen Gerle, luthier, in Nürnberg. In the year MDXXXX.

The first edition contains a very old folk dance piece "die Gugel," then a canon well known by Wasieslewski, and finally twenty-eight transcriptions of vocal pieces. We find a basis established therein, from which the new polyphonic instrumental music could flourish. From these various parts the seed germinated, from which glorious musical creations were to flourish. "Die Gugel" represents dance music. Generally speaking, homophonic instrumental music, which for a long time found entry into the artistic repertoire only after various modifications, took on an artistic, contrapuntal form with the German suite. The instrumental canzona lost its rhythmic identification until, enlivened by rich folk sources, it ultimately

[10] His comment—"Although the same music has been played, in recent years, at times on the lute and on the viol/according to artistic suitability and placement/I do not find, as I have read,/that the dedicated student might play and improve equally on both."—probably can be attributed, so far as viols are concerned, to Attaingnant's printed works, the contents of which, being written in mensural notation, would not be within the reach of beginners.

[11] Concerning Gerle's pieces for viols, consult: S.W. Dehn, *Caecilia,* Bd. XXV (1846), 176ff.; Wasielewski, *Geschichte der Instrumentalmusik im XVI. Jahrhundert,* p. 65f. and Supplement, No. 19, among others.

proved to be stronger than all its bourgeois and aristocratic antecedents. The canon, which hardly could be called awkward, gave way to its companion form in vocal music, the motet, which also became a model for the principle polyphonic form of instrumental music in Italy, the ricercare. Transcriptions of (secular and sacred) songs dominated in numbers, as they also dominated in the early development of instrumental dance music and the ricercare, making this earlier development seem subordinate.

Of the twenty-eight arrangements for bass viol[12] twenty-four are similar in format. They are as follows:

1532/37/46 "Ich klag den tag." Forster L. Nr. XXXIII and in other places. Thomas Stoltzer.

1532/37 "Eym freylein sprach ich freuntlich zu."
"Pacientia" Forster I. Nr. CIIII. Ludwig Senfl.
"Mein fleiss vnd müe." Forster I. Nr. CV. a fourth higher. Ludwig Senfl.
"Mein selbs bin ich nit meer." Forster III. Nr. XXI. a fourth higher. Ludwig Senfl.
"Ach herre Gott wie syndt meiner feyndt so vil. Psalm iij."
"Auff erdt lebt nit eyn schöner weyb."[13]
"Entlaubet ist der walde." Forster I. Nr. LXI. a fourth higher. Thomas Stoltzer. Gerle's arrangement and Forster's source contributed by S.W. Dehn, *op. cit.*, Beilage; Dehn puts Gerle's piece a fourth higher again.
"Von edler art." Forster I. Nr. XXXV. Georg Schönfelder.
"Trostlicher lieb." Oeglin Nr. VIII. Paul Hoffhaymer. (Eitner's Neuausgabe p. 15.)

1546 "Ich schwing mein Horn." Ott Nr. LVII. a fourth higher. L. Senfl. (Eitner's Neuausgabe p. 153.)
"Viurai ie." Attaingnant, Trente et sept chansons musicales...1531 fo. VII. Claudin (Sermisy). Eitner's Bibliographie 1531.
"Hors de plaisir." Moderne. Parangon des chansons, second liure...1538 fo. 23. Richafort. Eitner 1538m.
"Licite." Moderne, Parangon des chansons, second liure...1538 fo. 19. G. de la Mœulle. Eitner 1538m.
"O Herr jch rueff dein namen an." Ott Nr. XXVII. a fourth higher. L. Senfl. (Eitner's Neuausgabe p. 72.)
"Sur tous regres." Ott Nr. LXXVIII. Jean Richafort. (Eitner's Neuausgabe. p. 213)
"Dont vient zela." Attaingnant, Trente et sept chansons musicales...fo. IIII. a fourth higher. Claudin. Eitner 1531.
"L'heur et malheur." Attaingnant, Quart liure contenant XXiij. Chansons...fo. VIII. Pierre de Villiers. Eitner 1539 v.

[12] The four pieces for Klein-Geigen are: 1532/37: "Mag ich gunst han," Forster I, no. LII, anon.; "Ein Maydt die sagt mir zu," Schöffer's *Liederbuch* (1513), fol. 4, Malchinger. 1546: "Es ligt ein Hauss im Oberlandt," Ott no. VIII, Oswald Reytter (Eitner's Neuausgabe, p. 29.); "Artlich vnd schön," Forster I, no. XXIII, Casparus Bohemus.

[13] According to Eitner, *Bibliographie,* p. 299, the song is considered anonymous according to Arnt Von Aych (1519) c. fol. 57. I could not verify this.

"Ce fut amour." Attaingnant. Trente et quatre chansons musicales... fo. VIII. sine autore. Eitner 1529f. According to Moderne, Parangon...livre 2 fo. 13 von Passereau.
"Si par sofrir." Attaingnant. Trente et vne chansons musicales...fo. III. Jean Courtois. Eitner 1534p.
"Jay faict pour vous." Attaingnant, Vingt et neuf chansons musicales...fo. XI.Claudin. Eitner 1530b.
"Si Jay pour vous." Attaingnant, Trente et sept chansons musicales... fo. XI.
Claudin, Eitner 1531.
"Amissofre." (Attaingnant, Trente chansons musicales...fo. X. sine autore. Eitner 1529c.)
"Damour me plains." Attaingnant. Sixiesme liure contenant XXVII chansons musicales...fo. IX. Rogier. Eitner 1539 X. (Reprinted in Publ. der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung Bd. XXIII. Nr. 49. p. 101.
"Ein gut geselle."
"Ich habs gewagt." Forster I. Nr. XVI. sine autore.
"Elsslein liebes Elselein." Schöffer-Apiarius 1536 Nr. IX. Ludwig Senfl.
"Ich het mir ein Endlein für genoinmen." Ott Nr. XXII. Ludwig Senfl. (Eitner's Neuausgabe p. 63)

Gerle's transcriptions are essentially literal. Apart from the fact that he showed a great deal of sensitivity (more about that follows) in the choice of vocal pieces for his collection, his modifications demonstrate a thorough knowledge of the characteristics of instrumental music. Ties over the beat are broken up, and smaller note values within the beat, necessitated by textural content, are linked, in contrast to the performance practice of lutenists and of the lutenist Gerle himself who preferred to divide larger note values when there were no written embellishments. In this manner Gerle's transcriptions make an entirely different impact than their original settings. Thereby, he transformed less rhythmic pieces into rhythmically-varied instrumental pieces.

In order to clarify the tone structure of the setting, Gerle makes changes in certain places. He shortens note values in a given voice in the original setting, and inserts rests as placed in another voice ("Ce fut amour," measure 17; "Dont vient zela," measures 16, 31, and 36). If the vocal composer shunned any interruption in the flow of sustained notes, Gerle would strengthen the piece deliberately with ornamentation. One song, "Amissofre," is particularly noteworthy. It has, in the source quoted above, a strophe of four rhyming lines in ABBA form. The composition contains a da capo in the sequence, i.e., the last line in the cantus reverts to the melody of the initial line, while the lower voices are of secondary importance. The first line ("amy souffrez que je vous ayme") is in a particularly sensitive setting. Timidly, yet masking the major tonality (lydian mode) of the song, the treble and alto lines are juxtaposed, while the tenor and bass lines join in haltingly. Not until

the end of the verse, coinciding with the cadence, is the restrained feeling interrupted with passionate musical expression and with a decisive feeling of tonality. The setting in the following two lines depicts an introspective feeling, just as an inward feeling is expressed in the final recaptitulation of the words ("que votre coeur") which, in its use of the opening theme, brings us back to the beginning of the piece in a sensitive and unobtrusive way.

Gerle's setting of this piece retains the original construction only in an overall sense. Of the melody, only the peaks and valleys are retained, modified here and there. The lower voices are fashioned in their own way; the tonality is established right in the beginning, and the cadences strengthened greatly. Since all of the voices come in together at the beginning and in the da capo, the inner cadence also needed to be isolated with a rest in all parts. Variations do not occur in the lower voices with the repetition of the melody. The sensitive composer of chansons was inspired through the content and external form of the text, to use the musical form of the rondeau but does so carefully, in a disguised way. The arranger, following the demands of instrumental music, strips it of the polyphonic structure, with which it formerly had been thoroughly disguised. Gerle was not the only arranger of this kind. Had the chanson in its new shape not come to my attention in printed form, it surely could have been found in Mus. Ms. 1516 of the royal Hof—und Staatsbibl., Munich, No. 16. Its appeal is sparkling in the two-voiced arrangement of Antonio Gardano.[14] The voices of the original setting lie together within a very narrow range. One might believe, from the way it was approached, that the reworking was to preserve and yet simplify the beautiful melody. This kind of reconstruction of vocal works into dance forms was not exceptional, however, in the middle of the sixteenth century. Later on, the spirit of dance music made an impact on the composition of secular vocal music and relieved the instrumentalists of the task of adopting arrangements. But already Clement Jannequin's chanson "Il estoit une fillette" requires only simple changes to be included as a rondeau in Tielman Susato's 1551 collection of dances.

Claudin's chanson "Dont vient zela," which Gerle changes into a tighter version, becomes a charming Bergerette in Susato's arrangement. The serious chanson by Courtois, "Si par souffrir,"

[14] *Il primo libro de Canzoni Francese à Due Voci.* The soprano melody (!) retaining, its integrity aside from a few ornaments, is given a skillfully imitative counter-melody in the tenor, with such inventiveness that Gardano had complete justification in giving himself credit for the arrangement. There are other arrangements of this melody, in which the sensitive feeling of style of the Cinquecento was preserved, and which still fulfilled the strict requirements of musical form.

also arranged by Gerle, is converted by Susato into a pavan. Whole portions of the chanson, such as its rich and beautiful ending, are adopted without change, except for free melodic interpolations. Other portions are removed and repeated as required. The setting is completely stripped of its polyphonic trappings, and we are left with a dance-like pavan.[15] It takes more serious tampering for Susato to change Josquin's revered chanson "Mille Regretz," into a pavan and Passereau's chanson "Pourquoy donc" into a rondeau,[16] recreated as a branle by Phalese in 1583. At the same time three chansons by Sandrin, "Ce qui m'est deu," "Mais pour quoy," and "Puisque vivre en servitude," are changed into galliards without difficulty (Phalese's 1571 and 1583 collections of Dances).[17]

In Italy Gorzanis builds a variation suite, consisting of a Passo e mezzo, Padoano and Saltarello on a folk song "La cara Cosa".[18] Marc Antoine del Pifaro takes a few themes from Jannequin's "bataille," to depict a "Chiarenzana," after which Francesco Milanese faithfully transcribes the whole work for the lute.[19] There were hardly any vocal art forms with enough intrinsic instrumental characteristics to make such arrangements unnecessary. The musical content of the frottole was too inconsequential, and the form, albeit symmetrical, was too monotonous, to be palatable without the "salt of words." In this connection, the genre almost came to an end with the appearance of the first edition of

[15] Reprint in *MfMg* VII, Beiheft, p. 95.

[16] Reprint in *MfMg* VII, Beiheft, p. 89f.

[17] Nevertheless, it remains to be said that rearrangements were inflicted on songs simply to create dance music. Moreover, the fact that dances were used as chamber music, is made known to us in the dedication and preface to the dance collection of the brothers Paulus and Bartholomeus Hesse (Breslau, 1555): "...many a pretty composition/in Spanish/Italian/English/and French styles/which, whether or not they already all have been arranged as artistically beautiful dances,/ should be used for the further development of this style. Certainly besides their being so artfully set/they may be heard, as German compositions, in all other nations, and played in a loving and friendly fashion on all instruments." "Also such pieces are intended by us not only for dances/but because of the lovable and pleasant qualities found in them by all foreigners in all nations/are distinguished, beyond secular use, for their qualities in praise and honor of God,/for the redemption of godly and pious people/and for the restoration of burdened and saddened souls."

[18] Reprinted by O. Chilesotti, *Rivista musicale italiana* IX, 56f.

[19] Chilesotti, *op. cit.*, p. 233f. Jannequin's "bataille" was a storehouse of dance motifs. Furthermore, based upon Pifaro's "Chiarenzana," there was a "Pass 'e mezzo sopra la battaglia" by J.C. Barbetta (1569), and the "Pavane la bataille" of Susato (1551), and later the "Pavane sur la bataille" of Phalèse (1571). But the "Pavane de la Bataille" of Phalèse (1583) uses new themes in part and adds (as Barberi appended a *saltarello* to the *passo e mezzo*, Chilesotti, *op. cit.*, p. 236), a galliard to the pavane.

Gerle's work, and with respect to the madrigal and the villanella, negated its heritage. The form of the madrigal was all too loose and, because its basis lay in the detailed expression of the word, too subjective. In the villanella, however, text and music portrayed, in another sense, an inseparable whole. Every factor intensified the other in its workings, in which one clarified the quaint peculiarity of the other. In this respect, the French chanson took a middle ground. In its multi-faceted ways, it always produced a natural structure, which instrumental music needed only to reproduce. Its melodic content was sufficiently strong, moreover, such that composers up through the beginning of the seventeenth century could create purely instrumental forms, either by transcribing a chanson verbatim and adding only ornamentation for an instrumental version, or by modifying one or more themes of a chanson as the raw material for the polyphonic fantasy or ricercare.[20]

Perhaps Gerle vaguely sensed the attributes of the transcribed chanson as an instrumental development when, along with the cherished German secular songs, he selected mostly "Frantzösche Lieder" for the expanded edition of his book, and disregarded the madrigal, which at that time was charming everyone with its novelty and intrinsic appeal. Indeed, Gerle did not simply select the

[20] I take the liberty of pointing out a work of Andrea Gabrieli, which contains examples of both kinds of chanson adaptation and which has so far completely escaped the attention of researchers: "Canzoni alla francese et Ricercari Ariosi, tabulate per sonar sopra istromenti da tasti...Libro quinto" (Venice, 1605). In the collection, there are, on the one hand, glorious transcriptions of Orlando di Lasso's "Susanne un jour", "Frais & gaillard" by Clemens non Papa (not by Crequillon, as is cited in the edition!), Jannequin's "Martin menoit", Crequillon's "Orsus au coup" and Sermisy's "Pour ung plaisir." We find also four "Ricercari Ariosi," which likewise derive from French chansons, a "Ricercar sopra Martin Menoit," "sopra Orsus au coup" and "sopra Pour ung plaisir." The shapes of these ricercari are quite odd. The construction of the chanson, included in the collection, has great merit. Every (unornamented) theme in the upper voice, i.e. of the original, highest voice, goes through a longer or shorter development as a fugue. They are paraphrased chansons, the exact counterpart of the "Missa parodia," and of the paraphrased motet. Quite in the same vein A. Gabrieli earlier had chosen the madrigal of Giaches de Ponte "Con lei foss'io" as the raw material for a ricercare (reprinted by Wasielewski *op. cit.*, Example No. 24), wherein he subjects the ten themes of the madrigal in their imitative style into an ingenious example. Girolamo Cavazzoni appears, however, to be the creator of the form, "Ricercar Arioso," which, despite an imitative structure, retains a song-like architecture. In recent times, Luigi Torchi has provided us with two of his "canzoni" (*L' arte musicale in Italia* vol. III, p. 21f.). One is based on a chanson of Passereau, the other on a chanson of Josquin. It is beyond the scope of this book, however, to probe deeply into instrumental transcriptions of vocal forms.

After this excursion into the realm of keyboard music, permit me now to pick a second nugget on the way. The two *Arie di Canzoni francese per sonar del primo & del ottavo tono* in the organ tablature of Jacob Paix 1583 are works of Monteverdi's teacher, Marc' Antonio Ingegnieri and are found in the Second Book of his Madrigals 1579 fo. 20 and 21. One can see how envious Germans were of the strides taken in Italian instrumental music. Ritter's *Bemerkungen Zur Geschichte des Orgelspiels*, pp. 106 and 130 address this point.

most popular German songs (popular partly because of their transparent structure). One could not overlook Stoltzer's "Ich klag den Tag" and "Entlaubet ist der Walde;" Hoffhaymer's "Trostlicher Lieb" and Schönfelder's "Von edler Art;" Senfl's "Mein selbs bin ich nit meer," "mein Fleiss und Mue," "Patientiam," "Ich schell mein Horn," and "das Elsslein;" or the *Türkenlied,* which pours out its powerful pathos in this setting. [All are] songs in which the music is connected to the strophic structure freely yet precisely. However, if particular verses are not too irregular and the rhyme pattern is not excessively complicated, a musical form can result, which produces logical development in and of itself. Some of the lesser known songs are chosen obviously only for the sake of their instrumental characteristics. Thus "Eym freylein" could be found as an allemande in one of the German dance collections circa 1600. The piece contains the typical three-part construction of the allemande. The first part is charmingly arranged in the beginning and concluding phrases, modulates (likewise typically) to the dominant, and a repeat sign is simply inserted for the recapitulation of the theme, in order to remain true to the allemande form.

Some of the chansons are completely homophonic and dance-like, however, and among the richly polyphonic structures there are none which do not strive for greater clarity by the repetition of the first or last themes, or even of all sections, in a da capo statement.[21] Thus the practice of simply repeating a section persisted for a long time as the hallmark of the French chanson.

The more or less accurate transcriptions from sacred and secular vocal works for viols remained fashionable in Germany in the period to follow and certainly were to be fruitful in the development of an independent style of instrumental music. Every regional musical history contains evidence of the important role played by viol consorts, either as added tone color in doubling voices or as substitutes for voices, not only in the home but also at festive occasions glorified by music. Certainly, viol consorts served as little as other instrumental ensembles for strengthening musical content but rather as a means of portraying, in unbroken expression, the splendor, variety and color of the music. How these consorts established new foundations, how they impacted regionally and how they blended in mixed ensembles, are not to be represented in the history of a single instrument, but in a general history of

[21] Praetorius, *Syntagma* III, 17: "The *Canzonas* are of two kinds:...2. Some are also composed without text with short fugues/and artful fantasies for 4, 5, 6, 8, etc. voices. In these, the first fugue mostly repeats from the beginning and ends thus. These are named [both] canzonas and canzoni."

instrumental music which links specific forms to their vocal antecedents.

Instrumental music exhibited little progress within its own boundaries before 1600. Composers placed their formal tonal and structural efforts in the vocal sphere. Instrumental music received a few offshoots of these efforts, which, according to their suitability, either shriveled away or set firm roots. There are forms, wherein each instrument weaves its own web-like texture and whose cohesive entity is not represented by the composition but almost completely disappears under a floral wreath of ornamentation (Ambros). This ornamentation was the work of the moment. Through long practice of improvisation, a specific style is established for each individual instrument. Each one acquires its own technical attributes, which in the final analysis prevent substitution, as was customary earlier, of any instrument in the same key and in the same range (for which Michael Praetorius gives extensive instructions in the third part of the *Syntagma,* pages 152 ff.).

The customary closing expression in titles of vocal and instrumental works, "to be played on all kinds of instruments," is expressed in German dance collections as, "for viols in particular,"[22] or "for the viola da gamba and viola da braccia in particular."[23] It is not accidental that this advice is to be found just in works containing dances in the English style and works of English composers. The explanation for this will follow later. Gradually the distinction sharpened between viols held up or held between the knees. It is possible, though not probable, that early German dance music or dance suites were specifically designated for viol consorts or for violin consorts, as had long been the case for domestic music in England, in which two violins were introduced only for the purpose of strengthening the bass.[24] It had been discovered early on that treble viols did not share the same prestige as the lower instruments in the viol family. Praetorius[25] gives the reason, that it was preferable to substitute the original keys for the consort of

[22] 1604 Valentin Haussmann; 1605 Val. Coleus; 1607 Füllsack-Hildebrand; 1608 Melchior Franck, Chr. Demant etc. But by 1544/45, in the *Sixiesme livre contenant trente et une Chansons* by T. Susato, he says in the dedication: "...chansons a Cincq & a Six parties (conuenables & propices a iouer sur les Violes, & autres instrumentz musicales."

[23] 1616 Barth. Praetorius. In Italy also, the distinction between the viola da gamba and viola da brazzo does not go back further than the 1580s.

[24] See Tho. Mace, *Musick's Monument* (1676), p. 246.

[25] *Synt.* III 157.

viols (S.A.T.B.—Mezzos. A.T.B.—transposed to S.A.T.B.) for the key dispositions of sackbut consorts (A.T.T.B.). "Since the thinnest strings on the treble viol/and the other thicker strings on the tenor or bass viols can not be heard with equal strength/one might choose instead of the treble viol, an alto (or?) tenor viol/or else play on the thicker strings of the trebles," because violins playing on the unwound lower strings cannot stay in tune.[26] That's why violins take over in the alto and soprano ranges (one must accept this also for works, in which the title specifies only "viols," as happens until after the middle of the century). When thorough bass comes in (since about 1620 in German instrumental music), the middle voices usually disappear as the basso seguente moves toward basso continuo. As a supporting instrument for keyboard instruments and for the lute, the more penetrating violoncello was soon preferred to the gamba, and it doubled the contrabass. The gamba was not fully displaced by the violin family but took an inferior position to the violin in solo and trio sonatas shortly after the middle of the seventeenth century. Indeed in the duo sonatas ad aequales ("à l'unisson") it was blamed for having been nursed along so that it could be used as a solo instrument. In these sonata forms all of its inherent technical capabilities could be expressed more freely than in consort music. We must take care not to leave ourselves open to criticism in describing its role. Without it, the historical importance, not only of compositions for solo gamba and for two gambas, but also of chamber music for three or more voices, especially trio sonatas for violin, gamba and continuo, could not possibly be explained.

In the course of the seventeenth century the status of solo instruments changed in favor of ensemble works. Despite their independent characteristics, the instruments worked well together in ensemble music in the beginning, but as their numbers diminished later on, their independent characteristics became a source of conflict. The conflict originated episodically but was to become more compelling eventually. Because of this conflict, it appears to us that not every suite or sonata contained a separate part for the gamba, other than that of doubling the continuo, although it was still customary to write out parts especially for it. Yet we need to consider that in instances where the gamba has a part independent of continuo, the instrument's individuality remains intact.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

REVIEWS

Deborah A. Teplow. *Performance Practice and Technique in Marin Marais' "Pièces de viole"*. Studies in Musicology; 93. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986. $49.95.

Deborah Teplow's book *Performance Practice and Technique in Marin Marais' "Pièces de viole"* is an excellent demonstration of the value of combining musicological skills with a performer's practical insights into the music. The book's purpose is primarily a pedagogical one: to provide technical and stylistic guidance to the gambist who wishes to play the music of Marais and that of his late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century contemporaries. From among Marais' repertory of over five hundred pieces, Teplow has chosen approximately forty appropriate for:

> intermediate gambists who are ready to begin learning Marais' simple, melodious pieces: those playing at a more advanced level but having little experience with French music; or accomplished players who seek to broaden their knowledge of the primary sources, or to review the specific aspects of technique as they apply to the Pièces. (Preface, x.)

Although the book is accessible to the intermediate player (the upper melodic range of the chosen pieces is limited to notes reachable with the first finger at the seventh fret), it has much to offer the more advanced player as well. Many of the pieces are quite challenging, and Teplow's discussions are consistently illuminating. She tackles all the major stylistic and technical problems associated with French music (and much other solo music, besides), including lute (or horizontal) fingerings, shifting, tenues, chords, frequent clef changes, ornamentation, inequality, and articulation.

A number of features make this a very attractive and useful book. For one the writing style is clear and elegant. The book is designed to be usable from a music stand. It stays open on a stand, and the calligraphy of the examples is large and dark. The sample pieces are presented in facsimile and for the most part are easily legible, although a few, such as that on p. 108, are fainter and more difficult to see.

Teplow includes frequent and enlightening quotations from contemporary French sources. She translates the quoted material into English within the text but includes the French in endnotes—a procedure that facilitates smooth reading while still providing access to the original wording for those who wish to see it. She broaches the problems posed by the fact that Marais' work spans a long period of time during which the rhythmic placement of

various ornaments was changing. Thus the same ornament might be performed before the beat in an early work and on the beat in a later work.

The author's thoroughness is apparent throughout. The bibliography is extensive and current, and a glossary helps the reader to thread the maze of the period's conflicting terminology. Teplow utilizes Hans Bol's excellent book, *La basse de viole du temps de Marin Marais et d'Antoine Forqueray* (Bilthoven: A.B. Creyghton, 1973), and refers as well to John Hsu's distillation of contemporary sources, *A Handbook of French Baroque Viol Technique* (New York: Broude Brothers Limited, 1981), cross-referencing differences in their uses of the terminology.

Seven of the book's eight chapters are organized around the standard dance movements of the French suite, excluding the sarabande and the courante, because they exceed the technical limitations Teplow adopted. The introductory chapter, "Preliminary Aspects of Technique," sets forth the primary written sources, and then addresses basic topics as they appear in the sources. Covered are body posture and position of the viol, left-hand position, tenue, bow grip, tuning, the French sound ideal, the basic bow stroke, and ornamentation. After the introductory chapter, subsequent chapters are based on individual dances: the menuet, the character piece, the prelude, the allemande, the gavotte, and the gigue. Each chapter treats one sample piece in great detail, covering specific topics designated with headings for easy reference to a particular subject (bowing techniques, left-hand techniques, shifting, ornamentation, dynamics, etc.). When the author reintroduces an ornament or technique, she refers back to previous discussions, thus insuring that the book is useful as a reference, as well as a manual to be read from start to finish. At the end of each chapter there are several additional "practice pieces" that involve the working out of similar problems.

Teplow speaks effectively on many musical levels, from the basics of hand position and the mechanics of executing ornaments to the shaping of phrases (p. 9) and the importance of considering ornaments within their musical context (p. 15). She approaches each aspect of technique comprehensively. In discussing dynamics (p. 52) for example, she addresses the distance of the bow from the bridge, the amount of pressure, the amount of bow, and the resulting changes in tone color. In this and other discussions she presents various interpretative possibilities for the same ornament or articulation depending on its musical context (e.g. pp. 106, 108, 110). Her suggestions are often based on markings found in the copy

of Marais' *Pièces de viole*, Livre II^{ième} owned by the Sibley Library of the Eastman School of Music.[1]

The author nicely bypasses the psychological aversion some players have to doing exercises in that those she provides are drawn directly from the music, and one can perceive immediately the positive results of doing the necessary groundwork. The exercises themselves are solid ones that include good tips we could all stand to be reminded of, such as the value of practicing passages that involve difficult string crossings without the left hand—that is, using open strings (p. 49). Good bowing exercises involving circular patterns, illustrated with diagrams, are incorporated into the fourth chapter (pp. 45-49).

There are some problems in the discussions of the already confusing terminology. Not all the ornaments are indexed, so it is difficult to locate definitions within the text, and the glossary definitions sometimes shed little light on the subtle differences between similar ornaments. What is the distinction, for instance, between *"filer"* and *"traisné"* or between *"jetté"* and *"sec"*? Occasionally terms are mentioned without being defined. On p. 18, for example, the omission of definitions for *"appuy"* and *"tremblement"* is potentially quite confusing because the discussion concerns fingering. Also in the practice pieces, ornaments are sometimes left unmentioned. The *flattement* seen in the example on pp. 25 (m. 12) and 41 (Fig. 3.19, mm. 4, 10, 14) is finally discussed on pp. 79-80. Likewise the sign indicating arpeggiation seen on p. 26 (mm. 8, 16) is finally discussed on p. 99; and the *plainte* appearing on pp. 38 (Fig. 3.14, m. 2) and 40 (Fig. 3.17, m. 14) is addressed on p. 80.

A larger issue is the question of which sources are truly relevant to the performance practices of viol music. As Robert Green points out, Rousseau's terminology and his explanations are drawn from vocal tradition;[2] and how close *is* the harpsichord tradition represented by Couperin to that of the viol? At least for the late seventeenth-century French repertory, lute sources may be more apropos, since some of the leading figures, such as Nicolas Hotman and Monsieur Dubuisson, were lutenists as well as viol players. More work remains to be done before some of these questions can be answered.

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[1] See Mary Elliott's master's thesis, "Technique and Style in the Performance of Marais: An Examination of Eighteenth-Century Handwritten Markings in Livre II^{ième}" (Standford University, 1979).

[2] Robert Green. "Jean Rousseau and Ornamentation in French Viol Music," *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 14 (December, 1977): 4-41.

There are a few mistakes and omissions. The bowings are omitted from the first paragraph of p. 58; the measure numbers are incorrect in the discussions on pp. 68 and 106; and on p. 89, the wrong pitches are indicated in connection with Fig. 5.60 and Fig. 7.34. Also the use of fragments of facsimiles for examples within the text causes problems in that the key signature is often missing. This can be quite perplexing when the topic is shifting, for instance. Is one aiming for an F-natural or an F-sharp in Fig. 3.12 on p. 36? Finally, there is no mention of the omission of the ornamented reprise of the second part of Allemande IV/2 (p. 68), although the congruency sign is reproduced.

Minor problems aside, however, Deborah Teplow's book is a valuable and welcome addition to the literature. It makes a solid contribution that integrates research, pedagogy, and stylistic interpretation.

Julia A. Griffin

Joel Cohen and Herb Snitzer, *REPRISE: The Extraordinary Revival of Early Music*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1985. $25.00

In the Prelude [Preface] to *REPRISE* the authors have written their own review of this engaging account of the revival of early music:

> This work is not the Last Judgment;...There is no way to 'cover' the whole field of endeavor in an exhaustive manner, and we haven't even tried. This book is a personal appreciation of some (but not all) of the important musicians in the early music field, and of some (but not all) of the aesthetic and human implications of the work all of us do...(p. xiii).

Concentrating on well-known performers may appear to be an eclectic approach, but the story of early music's revival is indeed a story about people. An entertaining story, it is likely to enlighten, occasionally vex, devotees of Medieval, Renaissance, Baroque, and even Classical music.

The first ninety-six pages written by Joel Cohen, director of the Boston Camerata, are divided into fifteen chapters. Seven of these are devoted to individuals: III, Arnold Dolmetsch; V, Noah Greenberg; VI, Thomas Binkley; VIII, The Harnoncourts; IX, The Kuijkens; X, Frans Bruggen; XI, Gustav Leonhardt. In these chapters averaging half a dozen pages each, Cohen draws on informal interviews, personal recollections, and biographical accounts to explore briefly but perceptively the aesthetic credo, performance style, and influence of leaders in the performance of early music. The chapter on Binkley and *Studio der Fruehen Music* is probably the best and most complete of these portraits, perhaps because Cohen can admire this group (especially Binkley and von Ramm) without reservations.

Cohen attributes to Noah Greenberg the inspiration for his own espousal of early music and quite rightly attempts an objective re-evaluation of *Pro Musica's* performance style. In assessing the influence of their success on the concert circuit the author illustrates the difficulty of maintaining an historical perspective:

> Tenaciously [after Greenberg's death] the old ways of doing things held on, not only within that ensemble; but also in the American performance world outside. Concert-booking agents now expected other ensembles to duplicate *Pro Musica's* proven formulas for success...Even in the mid-eighties, nineteen years after Greenberg's death, the canonization of *Pro Musica's* tricks of the trade continues. Only recently, for instance, an active American ensemble about to produce the *Play of Daniel* lost a whole string of prospective bookings...by insisting on designing new costumes and sets, while many sponsors demanded that the 'original' *Pro Musica* costumes...be reutilized. No *Pro Musica* costumes? Very well, no booking...

In the next paragraph Cohen refers to the absurdity of "preserving a thirteenth-century liturgical drama in the formaldehyde of a late-1950s Broadway-cum-Hollywood extravaganza..." (p. 35)

I like much better Cohen's program notes from the Boston Early Music Festival Book (1983), where he gives a more dispassionate account of Boston Camerata's revival of *The Play of Daniel:*

> It was our feeling that it would be no honor to the memory of that magnificent being [Greenberg] simply to revive his most famous production. The letter killeth, the spirit giveth life, and every generation needs to rethink anew the great masterpieces of the past. In the twenty-plus years since Greenberg's production of *Daniel* our knowledge of Medieval music has grown, and our tastes and apprehensions have been enriched by other ways of hearing, and other ways of performing, the music of earlier centuries. (Boston Early Music Festival Book, p. 91).

Usually Cohen is at his best when he draws on personal reminiscences and his own credentials as a knowledgeable historian-performer, and when he writes in a less ostentatious vein. In chapter XI on Leonhardt he pays tribute to the widespread influence the harpsichordist-scholar has exerted on the "attitudes of an entire performing generation," and eloquently explains how "It is the voice of the composer that Leonhardt so conscientiously searches out;" (p. 72).

The first paragraph of chapter IV, "Early 20th Century Music," begins with a graphic account of Ralph Kirkpatrick's last public appearance in Boston, and there follows a satisfying summary of the great harpsichordist's career. In this chapter Cohen also writes from first-hand experience a few paragraphs about Nadia Boulanger with whom he himself studied for two years. Performers will be tantalized by his references to Boulanger-directed recordings of Monteverdi's Madrigals (1937), and in the same chapter to Wanda Landowska's recording (78-rpm) of a Vivaldi-Bach solo concerto for harpsichord.

Chapters I, "The Avant-garde of the Distant Past" and II, "Origins" pay respect to individuals and societies in the 18th and 19th centuries "who began consciously to exhume the music of the distant past..." (p. 12). One might assume that this information is readily available, but not even *The New Grove's Dictionary of Music* has an entry on early music. These few pages set the mood for the first of the individual portraits, "Arnold Dolmetsch," mentioned above. Cohen's reference to Dolmetsch's book on the interpretation of Baroque music could also apply to Landowska's writings on music (collected, edited, and translated by Denise Restout, Stein and Day, N.Y., 1961):

> Many important style principles were accurately described and documented in that book [by Dolmetsch]; things that surprised critics and public in the 1960s and 1970s, when the 'New Wave' of Baroque performers began to achieve prominence, had been discovered and discussed by Dolmetsch half a century earlier (p. 20).

Much of chapter XIV, "Authenticity", is indebted to Laurence Dreyfus's provocative article, "Early Music Defended against its Devotees: A Theory of Historical Performance in the Twentieth Century," *(The Musical Quarterly* 69 (1983): 297-322). Cohen's tackling of this thorny subject, though brief, is to the point and deserves to be included in a twenty-first century *REPRISE,* when a new cast of players including revivalists of the nineteenth century will be on center stage.

Chapter XII, "Singers, or the Main Difficulty," opens with a quotation from George Bernard Shaw's comment on "The quality of the performances..." of the singers at Mr. Dolmetsch's concerts. This chapter has three interesting sub-sections on "Alfred Deller" (p. 76), "Changing Styles" (p. 78), and "English Singers: A New Regional Style" (p. 82). Performers and groups cited include Andrea von Ramm, *Musica Reservata,* Nigel Rogers, Max von Egmond, Kurt Equiluz, and Emma Kirkby.

"And Now the Players" is the title for the second half of *REPRISE* with 111 pages of pictures (in addition to eleven pages of photographs in the acknowledgments section, p. xv) taken by photographer Herb Snitzer. The captions accompanying over half of these photographs of musicians at rehearsals, during concerts, and in repose were prepared by both Snitzer and Cohen. By looking at the pictures and reading their captions, the reader can derive further information about the performers already mentioned and also meet others face to face. Some of Snitzer's photographs are outstanding, and every browser through these pages will find favorites. Mine are: a two-page shot of Leonhardt at a master class during the Boston Early Music Festival where he appears to be dancing a Pavan for a harpsichord student and audience participants; a wonderful candid shot of Anthony Rooley, Emma Kirkby, Joel Cohen, and several others taking a coffee break on the sidewalk outside an unidentified building; Christopher Hogwood conducting the Boston Symphony Orchestra during the 1983 Tanglewood Festival season, where he stands before the harpsichord and looks as if he might keel over backwards.

Designer Jeanne Fabboud and calligrapher John W. Cataldo have embellished the narrative and pictorial pages in an appropriate format without staginess or clutter. Lori Rowell-Jones' jacket

design has a front cover showing a group of fourteen lover-musicians (detail from 16th-century painter Francesco del Cossia's 'April', a fresco at Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara), three of the figures holding recorders and lutes. For the back cover, photographer Snitzer has assembled twentieth-century musicians (or their more photogenic surrogates) in nearly the same poses as their 16th-century forbearers.

With its visual appeal, its author's chatty (and parenthetical) style, and its splendid photographs, *REPRISE* should appeal to most musicians and to a large number of concert-goers. Perhaps the book's greatest appeal will be to the players and record buyers whose discernment have made possible this survey. In Chapter XIII, "The Amateurs," Cohen writes:

> Yet the professionals represent only the tip of an iceberg. The submerged majority of the early music movement consists of a mass of amateur players and singers, ranging in skill from near-total ineptitude to the most dazzling accomplishment...(p. 85).

The amateur viol player, however, should be warned he will search in vain in this chapter for mention of the Viola da Gamba Society of America (or of England), although the American Recorder Society members will be pleased to note that "The recorder has whistled its siren call into the ears of many adult amateurs;" (p. 86). In chapter VII, "Baroque Renewal," Cohen's pithy comparison of the modern and baroque violin offers some compensation for the exclusion of viol players.

It is inevitable that readers will discover omissions in a book of this nature, but that is more of an annoyance than a serious deficiency. Authors and publisher no doubt were compelled to be restrictive, a necessity that validates the success of the early music revival. Furthermore, names of individuals and groups come and go making even this survey less timely as the years go by. For future editions of *REPRISE* the publisher might consider adding an index by subject matter: (1) titles of periodicals and monographs devoted to some aspect of early music; (2) names of prominent individuals and performing groups in addition to those included in the narrative and photographic sections; (3) names of festivals and institutes of early music that cater to an international clientele. A few examples of omissions are: *Cambridge Society for Early Music, Il Complesso Barocco* (Alan Curtis), *Basle Schola Cantorum* (Wenzinger), *The London Early Music Centre, Pomerium musices* (Alexander Blachly), *Syntagma musicum* (Kees Otten), *Oberlin Consort, Early Music* (the quarterly founded by J. Thomson), *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* (Thomas Kelly), *The Interpretation of Early Music* by

Robert Donington, and the *Viola da Gamba Society* conclaves.

This is the first account, to my knowledge, of "our little field of specialized activity." For that reason alone, *REPRISE* is an important contribution to writings on music. That it is also enjoyable is due to Cohen's irrepressible fervor and shrewd insights together with Snitzer's permanent record of the players.

Caroline S. Fruchtman

Adolf Heinrich König. *Die Viola da Gamba*. Fachbuchreihe das Musikinstrument; 43. Frankfurt: Verlag Erwin Bochinsky, 1985. DM 132,—($48.00).

Ignore the title page and turn to the verso to find the title the author really intended: "Instructions for the Study and Production of the Instruments of the Viola da Gamba Family: Professional Information for Builders of Gambas." This is a more accurate description of the intent of the book. The book is an attempt to provide a *vademecum* for prospective builders. Its ideal reader, alluded to several times in the text, is a violin builder, amateur or professional, who has completed a serious course of study. But since the publication of a monograph on the gamba is a major event—and since this large, handsomely printed, and expensive volume promises much more—we must look beyond this rather narrow audience to see what advantages can be found for those of us who never put plane to plate.

Any book about gambas should, of course, bear a figurehead. In this case it is August Wenzinger, who provides a brief "historical introduction." Wenzinger shows the important place of the gamba in the musical life of the past, then devotes an almost equal amount of space to recounting the revival of the viols, in which activity he has, of course, played a very significant role. His essay is useful in that it helps to make better known the German/Swiss contribution to the revival of the viols. This perspective is often lacking in our American understanding of this movement, though it is not entirely our fault since the Germans have generally not placed the same emphasis on historic fidelity in gamba affairs as have the Americans and the British.

König's first chapter describes the various members of the viol family. After a brief typology (which barely touches on the difficulties of nomenclature and sizes of viols), the rest of the chapter discusses the instruments chosen for inclusion in the list of measurements (the "register"). Measurements are provided for some twenty instruments of the most prominent types, including basses representing four nationalities. Thirteen critical measurements (string length, height of bouts, etc.) are given for these twenty instruments. Unfortunately, there is no picture of five of the twenty, and number 8 is not an historic tenor, but an invention by König made by reducing the scale of a Meares bass. The text provides biographical detail of the makers and gives some tips that might lead to the choice of instrument to build. Stylistic features are highlighted, but there is very little on how the instruments

should sound, or on construction. The description of the instruments given here would not allow a builder to make a faithful historic copy.

Another lengthy chapter is devoted to instrument museums and their printed catalogues, a kind of tour guide for builders, much of it based on personal experience. Pictures of the more interesting instruments in these mainly European collections are one of the best features of the book. König provides some history of each collection he lists. Sometimes conditions in the museum are discussed. Frequently one wishes for more information. Only one instrument from the Bavarian *Nationalmuseum* is depicted. What could be said about the other "instruments housed in the basement?" How many are there? Are they interesting enough to warrant a trip to Munich?

A brief chapter entitled "Books on the History of the Instruments" reviews in desultory fashion a fraction of the available literature. This chapter reveals the lack of scholarship and thoroughness that plagues every aspect of the book. Its worst fault is that, after giving undue space to accounts such as Virdung and Le Blanc's *Défense,* it fails to give enough emphasis to Hans Bols' very important work on the gamba. This chapter lacks focus. One struggles to see how it was intended to aid the would-be builder.

Four pages of text review various methods, including Bacher, Wenzinger, Majer/Wenzinger, Grümmer, Simpson, Mace, Danoville, Corrette, and Baines. But what of Döbereiner, which Wenzinger mentions in his introduction? What of the tri-lingual method by Mönkemeyer published in 1959? It is particularly unfortunate that some of the more modern tutors (including Martha Bishop's) are not discussed. More advice on the choice of a tutor would have been in order, since König does recommend that the gamba builder should learn how to play the instrument. Rightly, however, his emphasis is on extracting information from these tutors that will be of use in the construction of an instrument.

The core of this work is the chapter entitled "Successive Steps in the Production of a Viola da Gamba" (*Arbeitsreihenfolge*). Roughly one-seventh of the text is devoted to the process of construction. This is König's area of expertise—he has been a builder for 40 years—and here he has the greatest success. Even though the technical German requires concentration on the part of English speakers, still one can get a clear picture of a basic sequence in the construction of a gamba. Presumably someone with experience in building can more readily imagine these steps—and what lies between

them—than I. Granted that the book is intended for a specialist, it nevertheless would have been helpful to have been told, for example, what the functions of the various parts are and how they influence sound production.

And there are imbalances. Since the plate or belly of the gamba has a great deal to do with the sound quality it produces, it seems that a great deal of attention should be given to its perfection. Instead, we find that relatively little attention is given to the plate, less even than is given to purfling (which, of course, has very little influence on sound quality). A scant twenty-seven lines is given to strings. It is no longer sufficient, now that so much experimentation is being done with strings, simply to recommend the products of two well-known producers of strings as if that were the only possibility. No advice is given as to the effects produced by silver versus silver plate, copper versus silver, etc. We are left with the impression that no experimentation is necessary. Nor is it acceptable simply to recommend one commercial dealer from whom to order pegs. This is far beneath the current standards applicable in the English-speaking world. The treatment of fret placement, although dependent on Hayes, is both theoretical and practical in a helpful way. (For a review by a gamba builder, see John Pringle's critique in *The Strad.)*

The bibliography unhappily reinforces the maddeningly incomplete character of this book. Since there are so few printed materials on gamba building, why omit to mention the ones that do exist, such as Nikolaus Harders' *Die Viola da Gamba und Besonderheiten ihrer Bauweise* (reviewed in this journal, vol. 15 (1978): 115-117), which was even published in German. Bibliographical entries are inconsistent. A better typography might have made the bibliography more inviting. Some recognizable system of organization, perhaps by author's last name, would have made it a handier tool. The list of journals does not include *Early Music* (although it was mentioned in the text as being "highly recommendable"), nor *Chelys,* nor this journal.

We should not hold the author to blame for all of the faults of the book. The Verlag Erwin Bochinsky, which published the late Günter Hellwig's beautiful and scholarly study of Joachim Tielke (reviewed in this journal, vol. 17 (1980): 74-78), has allowed several things to go wrong which should have been caught by a careful proofreader. The book has no index. This is all the more galling since much of the information presented lacks a sense of organization.

It is the photographs of instruments that are not widely known which will be most useful to a broad audience. The greatest usefulness of this book, for an American audience, will be to those who study the pictures for inspiration, and for what the eighteenth century might have called "improvement of taste." However, the illustrations are a source of frustration since the manner in which they are handled is confusing. Some examples: the color plates have both plate numbers and illustration numbers; the illustrations are not in strict numerical order; numbers plus letters are used in the text, but the letters do not appear under the illustrations; plate 13 is reversed, as are figures 6 (p. 40), 13A (p. 49), 32A (p. 80) and 54 (p. 114). The author (or publisher) must have sensed that the handling of the illustrations was needlessly complex, for there is a "List of Illustrations" at the end of the work. Seven of the instruments depicted are twentieth-century copies. The English captions, although not strict or complete translations in every case, do render the book more useful to non-German speakers, but the English is far from idiomatic.

Despite its scholarly trappings, this is not a scholarly work. It is rambling and anecdotal, at times trivial and naive. The work seems out of date and out of touch with the scholarship and practices that are now current in the Anglo-American viol circles. Symptomatic also is the dependence on J. Bacher's 1932 publication, *Die Viola da Gamba*. Why even raise the question of whether to play with or without frets? Surely, as König points out, this is a dead issue in every quarter now.

It is instructive to compare König's product with Harders' (mentioned above), even though Harders' guide is designed for the non-professional. König's work is much more lavish, more encyclopedic than Harders'. Harders chose to illustrate his process with line drawings, while König uses mainly photographs. My preference is for the line drawings, which make some of the woodworking techniques much easier to visualize. Probably no series of illustrations can provide the "hands-on" experience that one would need to construct a gamba. We are still waiting, perhaps in vain, for a thorough and careful "how-to" book on gamba building. Perhaps the next attempt will be published on video cassette. That should help make the obscure processes less mysterious.

John Rutledge

Ian Woodfield. *The Early History of the Viol*. Cambridge Musicology Texts and Monographs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984. $49.50.

The best review of Ian Woodfield's book has, in fact, been written by himself as its introduction. As he defines his task and its inherent problems, he quotes David Boyden's twenty-year-old *History of Violin Playing* on two occasions. First, concerning terminology of string instruments, he refers to Boyden's description of this field as "a treacherous quicksand ready and eager to engulf those who mistake it for *terra firma*,"[1] and second, in summing up the current state of research, he recalls Boyden's comment, "to date there is no satisfactory account of the origins and early history of the viols."[2] Woodfield has produced an exemplary study which places us firmly on higher ground. His 1977 dissertation and the *New Grove* article on the viol, which he co-authored with Lucy Robinson,[3] have had considerable influence in the field and provide a basis for the present book.

The general conclusions of this book may be summarized as follows:

> Whereas the violin seems to have found its 'ideal' form very quickly, for the viol it was a protracted struggle, and it was only at the end of the 16th century, with the instruments of John Rose...that any one form became sufficiently dominant to merit the description 'ideal' or 'classic.' To write of 'the renaissance viol' as a single type is therefore highly misleading....Whether in discussing the viol's physical structure, its tunings or its playing techniques, it is an insistence on the significance of local variation that runs like an *idée fixe* through this survey of the early viol (p. 8).

One of the many values of this book is Woodfield's tracing of the vertical playing position of bowed string instruments to the Moorish rabāb in Aragon, which "as the only bowed instrument in western Europe still regularly played *a gamba* by the late 15th century...must be considered the chief bowed precursor of the viol" (p. 15). Here, the etymology is important, as it is necessary to maintain a clear distinction from the more general European transformation of that instrument into the *rebec* (played *a braccio* and bowed overhand). Coincidentally, Alfred Einstein suggested in his

[1] David D. Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing from Its Origins to 1761* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 16.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[3] *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Viol."

pioneering study eighty years ago that there may have been a "Spanish connection" in the fourteenth century, when the *vihuela de peñola* was distinguished from the *vihuela de arco*.[4] This suggestion was later developed into a theory by Thurston Dart,[5] "the first to appreciate the true significance of the *vihuela* in understanding the origins of the viol" (p. 38). At this point, Woodfield uses iconographic evidence to show that by the 1480s Moorish musicians in Aragon who maintained the oriental method of holding the rabāb vertically were copied by Valencian players who had begun to bow their vihuelas. "In a very real sense, the viol was as much a product of Medieval Islamic civilization...as that of Christian Europe" (p. 37). Numerous illustrations of the Valencian viol and the "classic" seventeenth-century English viol lead to observations of stylistic differences such as the Valencian viol's proportionally longer neck, shallow ribs, lack of fingerboard, and flat bridge. While discussing the earliest depiction of a Valencian viol, from the 1470s, Woodfield cautions against hasty conclusions by noting that the arched bridge and fingerboard may be evidence that the panel had been subsequently repainted with a type of bridge that would have been more appropriate to a sixteenth-century instrument. The flat bridge of the Valencian viol thus limited the instrument to play drones, not polyphonic lines, and survived only a few decades before its well-deserved demise.

The next stages in the viol's evolution are placed by Woodfield in the context of socio-political events around the end of the fifteenth century, when the kingdom of Aragon controlled most of the Mediterranean. The vihuela was changed further by Italian makers so that by 1497, with one of the first depictions of a bowed viol in Italian art, the instrument appears to be capable of being played on separate strings. Documentation reveals that the emerging instrument was closely associated with the d'Este family, who personally played and commissioned sets of "viole da archo." Woodfield's interpretation (p. 94) of the terms "viole over lire," "vyoloni de archetto," and "viola spagnola" when Isabella d' Este ordered instruments for her Mantua court leads convincingly through one of Boyden's sandtraps.

It would pass the reasonable limits of a review to carry out a detailed comparison of one of the earliest studies of viola da gamba literature with the latest. Where Einstein and Woodfield

[4] Alfred Einstein, *Zur deutschen Literatur für Viola da Gamba im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1905), p. 2.

[5] Thurston Dart, "The Viols," in *Musical Instruments Through the Ages*, ed. Anthony Baines (London, 1961), pp. 184-5.

are on mutual ground is the migration of the viol into German-speaking lands. Einstein provides useful information for the modern student of German sixteenth-century music by relating the Gerle arrangements to their original models in the publications of Attaingnant, Moderne, Forster, and Ott. Woodfield proposes, however, that Gerle was not the earliest tutor but was preceded by Judenkünig's two publications which could be employed by viol players as well as lutenists. Woodfield also proposes that the earliest source of German viol tunings appears to be a Munich manuscript dated 1523.

Einstein's reference to the English "In nomine" works as having originated as organ music must be understood in relation to the famous simultaneous "discoveries" only thirty-five years ago of the Taverner Mass as being the birthground for this idiom.[6] Woodfield contributes a theory worth considering about the "overwhelming preponderance" (p. 218) of "In nomine" settings in the extant sixteenth-century English manuscripts. He suggests that they were played at benedictions or other formal ceremonial prayers during the annual feasts of the London city companies.

The second most substantial portion of Woodfield's book, subordinate only to his chapters on the early viol in Spain and Italy, is embodied in the last chapter, "The Viol in 16th-century England." Supported by archival, organological, and iconographic documentation, this work supplants the pioneering effort of Ernst Meyer.[7] Woodfield's considerable documentation counters some recent rather conservative and even negative interpretations of information about the use of viols in the sixteenth century.[8] Nevertheless, while emphasizing that "the choirboy viol-playing tradition was...probably the single most influential factor in the spread of the instrument throughout English society" (p. 227), Woodfield has to concede that secular viol playing and composition were limited and meager until the rapid burgeoning of a mature style at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

[6] See Robert Donington and Thurston Dart, "The Origin of the In Nomine," *Music & Letters* 30 (1949): 101; Gustave Reese, "The Origin of the English *In Nomine*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 2 (1949): 7.

[7] *English Chamber Music* (London, 1946); 2nd rev. ed., *Early English Chamber Music* (London, 1982).

[8] See Warwick Edwards, "The Performance of Ensemble Music in Elizabethan England," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 97 (1971): 113; Andrew Parrott, "Grett and Solompne Singing: Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War," *Early Music* 6 (1978): 182; Paul Doe, Introduction to *Elizabethan Consort Music, I*, Musica Britannica, vol. 44 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1979), esp. p. xviii.

There are five interrelated areas dealt with by Einstein and Woodfield that offer opportunity for further research now:

1. Archival collating is the most necessary primary activity, and just as Einstein depended upon Eitner, we now have the luxury of Commander Gordon Dodd's meticulous lists and indexes of sources.[9] However, the German literature for the viol, especially in the seventeenth century, has not been well explored. Many of the composers and works discussed by Einstein still fall into Dodd's list of "more Unfinished Business" in his *Third Installment* (1984): Ahle, Beck, Becker, Buxtehude, Ebner, Funck, Hacquart, Höffler, Kelz, Kühnel, Reinken, Schenck, Schmelzer, Strungk, Zachow.

2. The second area is that of publication. Recent publishing reflects the relative amount of modern activity in viol research, instrument building, and playing in the British Isles, North America, and continental Europe. German repertoire currently available is more limited than the English, but even within the area of published English viol music, we could wish for more practical editions of the consort repertoire.

3. Studies of the viol repertoire and performance practice also reflect the same preponderances of nationality and genre.[10] Although it can be asserted that Ian Woodfield's book has supplanted Meyer's in dealing with the sixteenth century, there is some value in delaying an attempt to embrace the seventeenth-century English consort repertoire until more of the music is accessible.

[9] See "A Summary of Music for Viols," *Early Music* 6 (1978): 262-267; *Thematic Index of Music for Viols*, 3 installments (Viola Da Gamba Society of Great Britain, 1980-1984).

[10] Excellent recent English essays are as follows: Andrew Ashbee, "John Jenkins (1592-1678): The Viol Consort Music in Four, Five and Six Parts," *Early Music* 6 (1978): 492-500; Oliver Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd* (London, 1978); Oliver Neighbour, "Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625): The Consort Music," *Early Music* 11 (1983): 351-57; Francis Baines, "The Consort Music of Orlando Gibbons," *Early Music* 6 (1978): 540-43; David Pinto, "William Lawes' Music for Viol Consort," *Early Music* 6 (1978): 12-24.

A considerable amount of research has been devoted to the French solo viol repertoire during the past fifteen years,[11] culminating in John Hsu's study of performance style in that literature.[12] However, Woodfield ends his chapter on "The Viol in France and the Low Countries" by observing that "our picture of viol playing in 16th-century France remains rather hazy because the chances of survival have been less than kind to the French renaissance viol...". (p. 205) Also, a cursory search through the bibliographies of the viol article in *The New Grove* written by Woodfield and Lucy Robinson, Dodd's *Thematic Index,* and Adkin's *Doctoral Dissertations in Musicology,* 7th edition (1984) turns up very few studies of German repertoire since Einstein.

4. Collecting and cataloging iconographic materials for the viol would be valuable. Such an activity was begun almost a decade ago as a RIdIM project at the Research Center for Musical Iconography of the City University of New York. Also, the Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain *Newsletter,* no. 50 (July, 1985) presents a report of a survey being undertaken by Kit Galbraith. Among the various studies of viol iconography known to me, the work by Richard Leppert is most valuable.[13]

Iconographic resources were technologically limited for Einstein, but Woodfield makes a major contribution

[11] See Barbara Schwendovius, *Die soloistische Gambenmusik in Frankreich von 1650 bis 1740* (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1970); M.I.J. Urquhart, "Style and Technique in the *Pièces de Violes* of Marin Marais" (Ph.D. diss., Edinburgh 1970); Hans Bol, *La Basse de Viole du Temps de Marin Marais et d' Antoine Forqueray,* Utrechtse Bijdragen tot de Muziekwetenschap, no. 7 (Bilthoven, A.B. Creyghton, 1973); Bonney McDowell, "Marais and Forqueray: A Historical and Analytical Study of their Music for Solo *Basse de Viole*" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1974); Julie Anne Vertrees (Sadie), *The Bass Viol in French Baroque Chamber Music,* Studies in Musicology, no. 26 (Ann Arbor, UMI Research Press, 1981); Michel Sicard, "Ecole Française de viole de gambe de Maugars à Marin Marais" (Doctorat, Paris, 1979); Susannah Lucy Robinson, "The Forquerays and the French Viol Tradition" (Ph.D. diss., Cambridge, 1981).

[12] John Hsu, *A Handbook of French Baroque Viol Technique* (New York: Broude, 1981); see also his "The Use of the Bow in French Solo Viol Playing of the 17th and 18th Centuries," *Early Music* 6 (1978): 526-9.

[13] "Viols in Seventeenth-Century Flemish Paintings: The Iconography of Music Indoors and Out," *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 15 (1978): 5-40; see also Mary Cyr. "The Viol in Baroque Paintings and Drawings," *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 11 (1974): 5-16.

with his masterful treatment of period paintings, complementing his discussion of instruments. The few criticisms I have concern some of the 103 black and white illustrations selected by Woodfield. Occasionally, the reproductions are very dark (plates 24, 28, 31, 37, 63, 94), or details are indistinct. Plate 23 seems more like a rebec than a vihuela de mano. Also on two crucial occasions, he does not provide the illustration pertinent to his argument. Italian viol consorts are illustrated by two angel groups (plates 95, 96) and the Ganassi woodcut (plate 93), but the Brusasorzi secular painting "of especial interest" (p. 156) in Verona is omitted. While stating that in sixteenth-century England "iconographic evidence, for once, is not helpful," (p. 224) he neglects to include either version of the Holbein portrait of the Thomas More family.

5. Finally, there is the area of the instrument itself. John Pringle has complained, "It seems unfair that amidst all the current activity in the field of early music such scant attention is being paid to the men who, in a sense, made the creation of the original music possible—the instrument makers."[14] Woodfield has depended on the work of instrument makers who have themselves studied extant viols and copied their construction, especially Ian Harwood and Martin Edmunds.[15] He proposes that much further research needs to be done on the Italian and English makers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Recent work on viol organology include articles by Hadaway, Pringle, and Kessler on English makers,[16] by Lawrence Witten on Italians,[17] and a major study by Gunther Hellwig on Tielke.[18].

[14] John Pringle, "[John Rose], The Founder of English Viol-making," *Early Music* 6 (1978): 501-511.

[15] Ian Harwood, "An Introduction to Renaissance Viols," *Early Music* 2 (1974): 235-46; Ian Harwood and Martin Edmunds, "Reconstructing 16th-century Venetian Viols," *Early Music* 6 (1978): 519-525.

[16] Robert Hadaway, "Another Look at the Viol," *Early Music* 6 (1978): 530-39; Dietrich M. Kessler, "Viol Construction in 17th-Century England: An Alternative Way of Making Fronts," *Early Music* 10 (1982): 340-45; Pringle (see above, fn. 14).

[17] Laurence Witten, "The Surviving Instruments of Andrea Amati," *Early Music* 10 (1982): 487-494.

[18] Gunther Hellwig, *Joachim Tielke, ein Hamburger Lauten-und Violenmacher der Barockzeit.* Das Musikinstrument, no. 38 (Frankfurt, 1979).

What becomes abundantly evident in reviewing Woodfield and Einstein is the growing crescendo of intensity in all aspects of the viol: performance, publishing, archival studies, manuscript collation, stylistic analysis, iconography, organology, and instrument making. We are witnessing the revival and restoration of the viola da gamba.[19]

Bruce Bellingham

[19] A valuable offering on a virtually unexplored aspect of the viol is John Rutledge's article, "Towards a History of the Viol in the 19th Century," *Early Music* 12 (1984): 328-336.

John Caldwell. *Editing Early Music*. Early Music Series, no. 5 Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985. $12.95 (paperback).

John Caldwell's book *Editing Early Music* is not the first English language text on the subject, though it is certainly the most comprehensive to date. Caldwell assesses the most widely accepted editorial procedures employed in modern Anglo-American editions of the main repertories of music before 1800 (including some less familiar English repertories of special interest to the author). Covering the gamut of musical styles from Gregorian chant to the piano concertos of Mozart, Caldwell's guide to editing early music surpasses in breadth and depth of coverage the combined articles in *MGG* and the *New Grove*.

The book replaces a twenty-two page pamphlet of the same name published by Oxford University Press in 1963. Unlike its more modest counterpart, Caldwell's guide, a kind of sequel and companion to Apel's *Notation of Polyphonic Music,* is aimed at those "who have acquired a good knowledge of their chosen field" (p. [v]), that is, who are already conversant in the detailed technicalities of paleography, notation, and source studies. Nevertheless, the novice can benefit as well from reading Caldwell's textbook. In the first and last chapters respectively, he discusses the fundamentals of transcribing and editing, and such practical matters as the preparation of the printer's copy (the focus of the earlier publication). What he offers in these chapters is a distillation of his experience as general editor of the British series *Musica da Camera* (Oxford University Press), and the American series *Corpus of Early Keyboard Music* (American Institute of Musicology). The following excerpts from the introductory chapter typify Caldwell's pragmatic, commonsense approach to a difficult and complex subject. "The better the editor knows his sources and his composer or repertoire [bibliographically, biographically, and stylistically], the more likely he is to arrive at the right answers" (p. 5). A few pages later, in discussing the kinds of information normally included in the written commentary, he cautions would-be editors against being too dogmatic about matters concerning authentic performance practices. "It is one thing to point out the virtues of the Baroque flute...in the performance of Bach's flute sonatas...But to imply that only a Baroque instrument can give a satisfactory result is not only to alienate users of an edition and reduce its sales (perhaps drastically); it is also to espouse a philosophy of absolute purism which rules out a great deal of effective re-creation of old music" (p. 8).

The subject matter of Caldwell's book does not make for easy

reading, a fact he acknowledges at the end of the second chapter on medieval and early Renaissance music. "It will no doubt be of some comfort to the reader who has travelled thus far [p. 33] to be assured that...the advice given in subsequent chapters will represent a simplification, as notation progressively becomes closer to present-day methods." Indeed, once past the numerous, complicated tables of time-values (pages 15-18), cluttered by footnotes and confusing footnote numbers that are indistinguishable from the figures themselves, it does get easier to follow the discussion. Since the tables are not vital to the discussion at hand, and since Caldwell himself refers to the tables in a parenthetical reference (p. 14), one wonders why they were not printed at the end of the book along with the other appendices. Besides, their presence in the body of the book creates havoc with the text. Twice, at the bottom of page 15, and again at the bottom of page 17, the author's thoughts are interrupted in mid-sentence by these tables. The page-turn at the bottom of page 17 is particularly annoying. The reader is forced to make his way past five pages of tables, plus a one-page illustration before he gets to the end of Caldwell's sentence dealing with the level of note reduction suitable for the proportional signs 0 and C.

These problems aside, Caldwell is to be commended for writing a textbook that succeeds in avoiding needless speculation and polemics that plague much scholarly writing on the subject of editing music. In the body of the text, he systematically evaluates the pros and cons for accepting or rejecting widely-adopted solutions to such perennial editorial problems as note reduction, barring, treatment of accidentals (the most outstanding part of the book in this reviewer's opinion), figured-bass realization, and ornamentation. As the following remarks make patently clear, he is aware of the controversies, but deliberately takes an objective, uncontroversial stance. Addressing the problem of transcribing and interpreting the plica, he laconically observes that this medieval neume is an "innocent looking sign [that] has given musicologists a lot of trouble" (p. 31). Later on, in the same humorous vein, he baldly remarks that "the transposition of Renaissance music is a minefield." He continues, "I do not want to enter into historical arguments here. Learned disquisitions about the absolute performing pitch of Renaissance music may be only partially relevant to an editor's decision...If performers are going to have to transpose anyway, it may as well be from the original written pitch as from some figment of the editor's imagination" (p. 5).

Techniques of editing early music have changed considerably during the three decades since Thurston Dart co-authored the original *Editing Early Music* with Walter Emery and Christopher

Morris. The concern of these pioneers of the early music movement was "to establish a minimum standard of scholarship for practical editions" (p. [5]). Caldwell approaches the problem of editing from the opposite side of the tunnel, so to speak, sharing the view held by many present-day editors of critical scholarly editions (see, for example, the editorial guidelines to the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe)* that "the text of a collected edition should be performable as it stands" (p. 1). At the same time, like his illustrious predecessors, he believes that a practical edition "should not distort the original and should be careful to distinguish between the composer's work and the editor's" (p. 1).

If standards of music editing have improved since the publication of the first *Editing Early Music,* then much of the credit must go to performer-scholars like Thurston Dart, who demanded authoritative editions of early music of utmost integrity and clarity. With the appearance of Caldwell's much-needed sequel, the general level of editing and performing early music should continue to improve, as a new generation of students learn the latest techniques of editing from this highly-respected scholar. Perhaps the best way to evaluate Caldwell's accomplishment is to quote his own assessment of the long-established series *Das Chorwerk*. It "combines scholarly probity with practical usefulness" (p. 119).

Deanna D. Bush

Henry Purcell: The Fantasies for Viols. The Oberlin Consort of Viols, James Caldwell, Director. Gasparo GS 245. $9.98.

The Oberlin Consort of Viols, now ten years old, consists of James Caldwell, director and bass viol, Catherina Meints, treble viol, Mary Anne Ballard, treble viol, Kenneth Slowik, tenor viol, Alice Robbins, tenor viol, Langdon Corson, tenor viol, and Fumiko Matsui, bass viol. This 1984 release of the fifteen fantasies for viols by Henry Purcell is their first recording with Gasparo. Producer Roy Christensen is to be commended for the excellent balance on this album, and for the realistic recording volume. Each voice is clearly heard without the group sounding like a modern string quartet. The trebles are clean, sparklingly so at times, the bass gives a full support, and the tenors have warm, smooth tones that give an overall glow to the ensemble. The ensemble sounds well rehearsed and of one mind, playing with distinct quick-moving notes and expressive chromatic lines. They produce an organ-like sound in the Slows, they swing together with a light and bouncy beat in the Quicks, and they simply toss off the more difficult fast sections, such as the end of 5-voice *Fantasy on One Note*. Balance and intonation are so comfortable that the resolution of dissonance is always satisfying. The shifts from slow to fast sections are delightfully executed.

The fifteen fantasies are arranged by number of voices. There are three for 3 voices, followed by nine for 4 voices, then one each for 5, 6 and 7 voices. The nine 4-voice fantasies, the meat of the record, are programmed thoughtfully. Side one closes with the 4-voice in C minor, the sort of slow moving, dissonant piece that you'd want to play through again and again in a reading session to savor the sounds. The last of the 4-voice set on side two, in D minor, is a masterpiece of bittersweet chromaticism. It is a treat to hear all of these old friends one after the other. As a player, I have gotten to know them from within, with the live sounds happening around me. It is nice to study them from without, and under such excellent conditions: great balance and intonation, simple and straightforward interpretations.

The informative program notes were written by Langdon Corson. He gives a history of the fantasia and explains where Purcell's works fit in. I also laud the concise and efficient box-chart on the back of the jacket which tells each performer's name, instrument type and make, and which fantasy he plays in. It enabled me to watch each player in my mind's eye.

Lisa Terry

Contributor Profiles

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