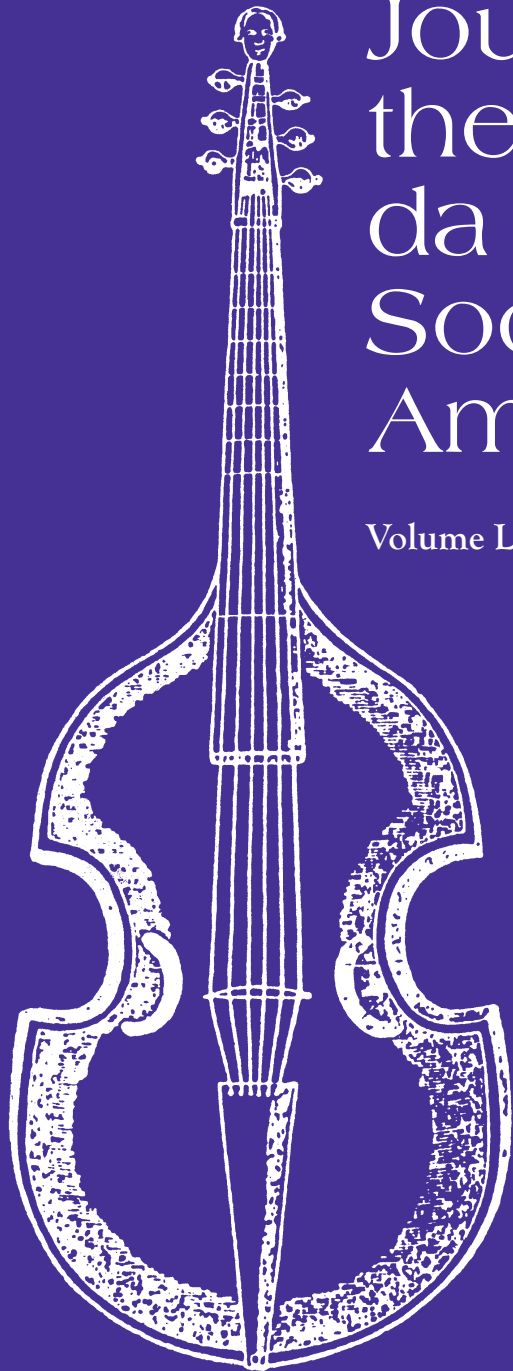


# Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America

Volume LI

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**JOURNAL OF THE  
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**CONTENTS**

Viola da Gamba Society of America . . . . .	3
Editorial Note . . . . .	4
The Merry Jest of Jenkins’s Partbooks. . . . . Zoe Weiss	5
The Viola da Gamba in Eighteenth-Century Virginia and Maryland: New and Reconsidered Evidence. . . . . Loren Ludwig	27
“It is Time to Die”: Coprario’s Six-Part Pieces. . . . . Brent Wissick	67

**Reviews**

Michael Fleming and John Bryan, <i>Early English Viols: Instruments, Makers and Music</i> . . . Kenneth Slowik	101
<i>Maltzan Sammlung</i> , ed. Sonia Wronkowska . . . John Moran	107
<b>Contributor Profiles</b> . . . . .	115

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The Journal editors welcome for consideration articles pertaining to the viols and related instruments, their history, manufacture, performers, music, and related topics. Articles, correspondence, and materials for review should be sent to the Journal Editor, VdGSA, at the address above, or via e-mail to <journal@vdgsa.org>. Authors should consult the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 17th Edition, for matters of style. Articles and reviews should be submitted on disk specifying the computer and program used, or sent to the e-mail address above. Figures, diagrams, photographs, and music examples should be submitted separately as publication-ready digital image files or black-and-white glossy prints. Please consult the Editor if there is any question as to appropriate format, size, or resolution.

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## VIOLA DA GAMBA SOCIETY OF AMERICA

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

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**EDITORIAL NOTE**

This issue presents two articles that discuss English consort music from the player's point of view: Zoe Weiss posits that John Jenkins composed his consort music as a witty exchange between composer and player, and Brent Wissick explores the relevance of Coprario's madrigal titles to the performance of his music. In addition, Loren Ludwig gives an extensive exposition of his research on the viol in colonial Maryland and Virginia. Those of us who heard Dr. Ludwig's fascinating talk at last year's VdGSA Conclave are provided here with a full discussion of his work.

One innovation introduced in this issue is the possibility of accessing on the VdGSA website full performances of works discussed by Ludwig and Wissick.

The journal also includes two reviews, in which Ken Slowik discusses a book with new insights on early English viols and John Moran reviews a modern edition of a recently rediscovered collection of eighteenth-century viol music.

Since 1988, Dr. Ian Woodfield has provided each issue of the journal with a bibliography of recent research concerning the viol and its music. In doing so he has immeasurably enhanced the value of our publication. He has now retired from this task, and we offer him our gratitude and wish him well.

Robert A. Green

# THE MERRY JESTS OF JENKINS'S PARTBOOKS

Zoe Weiss

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## Abstract

John Jenkins's music was much beloved by his aristocratic patrons, many of whom were families of amateur musicians. One such patron, Nicholas Le Strange, kept a book of "merry passages and jeasts," which recorded humorous anecdotes he was told, including several by Jenkins himself. Using a partbook-based analytical approach to foreground both the individual and social aspects of the experience of playing polyphony, this article considers how Jenkins infused the music he wrote for Le Strange and other patrons with his own musical wit. The concept of "multiple agency" provides a framework to theorize the interactions among parts, partbooks, and players, interactions that can be manipulated by a composer to witty ends. Jenkins's six-part consort works provide examples of how rhetorical wit can be executed by controlling the flow of musical information to individual partbooks. Three types of musical "joke" are considered, all of which draw their power from the strength of the expectations surrounding them: the unfolding of openings, metrical instability, and cadential gestures.

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John Jenkins's most famous student, Roger North, recalled that Jenkins "past his time at gentlemen's houses in the country where musick was of the family, and he was ever courted and never slighted, but at home wherever he went; and in most of his friends houses there was a chamber called by his name."<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Jenkins was much beloved by his friends and patrons, and had many of both. His career, spent presiding over music-making in a number of aristocratic households, frequently involved the viol consort, a musical pastime popular with his patrons who included Lord Dudley North (Roger's father) and Hamon Le Strange and his children. Hamon's son, Nicholas Le Strange, recorded hundreds of humorous anecdotes in a notebook filled with "merry passages and jeasts," several of which he attributed to Jenkins. One story, which

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1. Roger North, *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from His Essays Written during the Years c. 1695–1728*, ed. John Wilson (London: Novello, 1959), 344.

was apparently narrated to Le Strange by Jenkins, concerns a certain Mr. Saunders who attended a meeting of “Fancy Musick” for viols and organ at which several ladies were chatting so noisily that their talk covered the sounds of the instruments. The witty Mr. Saunders enjoins them, “Ladys, sayes he, This Musicke is not vocall, for on my Knowledge, These Things were never made for words.”<sup>2</sup> Another passage, contributed anonymously, also gives a taste of the scene in a music room Jenkins might have presided over:

A Gentleman being profferd his part upon the viole of an Aire which had many ♯ and some ♯ Rests, and full of a stirring Division; Excusd Himselſe Thus, Vipers Tongues are Dangerous, I dare not come neere them; Besides, I see the Air Growes so Black, as I know there is a Storme and Tempest comming, and no Shelter or Refuge left for me, but your Indulgence and Dispensation from so Perillous a Taske.<sup>3</sup>

Just as these anecdotes capture some of the moments of wit that suffused the social lives of Jenkins’s patrons, so too does wit suffuse the music Jenkins wrote for their music meetings. The music rooms of the Le Strange household at Hunstanton and the Norths at Kirtling are the settings in which we can best understand the music of John Jenkins—who sat at the center of a musical-social network that valued him as a composer, player, teacher, and friend.

Although music publication was on the rise in this period, viol players at gatherings such as these typically relied on manuscript copies, which were zealously collected by connoisseurs. One such connoisseur-extraordinaire was Nicholas Le Strange, for whom Jenkins copied a number of manuscripts.<sup>4</sup> Sir Nicholas’s own hand has also been identified by Pamela Willets in the music manuscripts of his collection.<sup>5</sup> A famous set of partbooks from the Le Strange collection (GB-Lbl: Add MSS 39,550-4) contains

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2. Nicholas Le Strange, *Merry Passages and Jeasts: A Manuscript Jestbook*, ed. Henry Frederick Lippincott (Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg, 1974), 144.

3. *Ibid.*, 157.

4. See Andrew Ashbee, *The Viola Da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2001), 5–6.

5. Pamela Willets, “Sir Nicholas Le Strange and John Jenkins,” *Music & Letters* 42, no. 1 (1961): 30–43.

meticulous annotations documenting variants found in copies of the same pieces owned by his friends and neighbors, as well as identifying and correcting mistakes found in his versions. Le Strange's fixation with the accuracy of his manuscripts and his interest in possessing an authoritative text make authorial voice an important consideration in the consort music played by his circle and those like it.

Since manuscript copies of Jenkins's music are found almost exclusively in partbook form, examining his music through the lens of the partbook rather than a score has several related advantages: it gives us a first-person view of the social interactions encoded in the musical material, it most closely approximates the analytical perspective of the musicians who cultivated and appreciated this music, and it encompasses both the visual and aural experience of playing the music to produce an analysis that is relevant to today's musicians. Andrew Ashbee implicitly recommends partbook-based analysis when he warns that "the score-reader is in danger of neglecting that other viewpoint—the individual's contribution to and experience of the whole as transmitted through his own part."<sup>6</sup> There is a great deal that can be accomplished with a partbook-based analytical perspective, and this article can only scratch the surface. I have chosen to look at Jenkins's six-part consort music as an example of dense counterpoint that survives only in partbooks and their associated organ parts. While there are no surviving manuscripts from the Le Strange household containing Jenkins's six-part works, I will treat them as belonging to the same milieu. As Ashbee points out, "it seems inconceivable that the L'Estranges played only his five-part pieces, virtually all of which occur in Royal College of Music MS 1145; presumably the other sets were present in books now lost."<sup>7</sup> Within these six-part works I will focus on Jenkins's careful and witty use of the partbook interface to manipulate players' individual experiences and show how Jenkins exploits the first-person nature of partbooks in order to write delightful social interactions into his music for the enjoyment of his patrons.

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6. Andrew Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins* (Surbiton, England: Toccata Press, 1992), 205.

7. *Ibid.*, 164–65.



### Context

While all chamber music reflects and produces musical and social relationships, Loren Ludwig argues that consort music in particular “*foregrounds* the social.”<sup>8</sup> The music played in these aristocratic households often served to highlight the social equality within a group of friends, but it could also create equality. Women, for example, sometimes joined men in their music-making; Roger North notes that, “many of the Ladys were good consortiers.”<sup>9</sup> North also reports that several members of staff at his grandfather’s house were able musicians: “the servants of parade, as gentlemen ushers, and the steward, and clerck of the kitchen also play’d.”<sup>10</sup> Such varied company contributed to the vibrancy of the aristocratic music room—a room where individual personalities and social relationships could be mirrored in the music itself. Edward Klorman has coined the term “multiple agency” to describe the way in which chamber music contains “multiple, independent characters—often represented by the individual instruments.”<sup>11</sup> This concept can easily be applied to consort music. It is not, for example, difficult for me to imagine saying of a fantasia, “the Tenor undermines the cadence and forces the phrase to continue for another two bars.” Even though all the parts of the piece were presumably composed by a single mind, it is tempting to give agential power to this entity we call the “Tenor.” As Klorman writes, “multiple agency thus emphasizes that the musical fabric is produced through the interaction of all parts within the texture, correcting a tendency in music analysis to view scores from an omniscient, outside vantage point.”<sup>12</sup>

Multiple agency as an analytic tool is ideally suited to consort music, where the polyphonic interaction of parts and people is

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8. Loren Monte Ludwig, “‘Equal to All Alike’: A Cultural History of the Viol Consort in England, c.1550–1675” (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 2011), 8.

9. North, *Roger North on Music*, 294.

10. *Ibid.*, 10.

11. Edward Klorman, *Mozart’s Music of Friends: Social Interplay in the Chamber Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 122.

12. *Ibid.*, 136.

primary. After all, as Ashbee reminds us, Jenkins's consort music "was, first and foremost, to be experienced 'from the inside' by players."<sup>13</sup> Klorman explains that "seemingly spontaneous" interactions between the independent musical characters associated with each instrument create the shape of the music through "the exchange of roles and/or musical ideas."<sup>14</sup> These exchanges are encoded by the written music in a manner similar to a script for a play.<sup>15</sup> In a play, a human actor portrays a fictional character by speaking lines that were written by the playwright. This creates many layers of agential roles. Chamber music has similarly layered agencies when a musician performs a part by playing music written by a composer. Ludwig captures this profusion of identity when he writes that the entity we call "Treble I" is really "a composite, simultaneously a polyphonic schema, a role within an ensemble, a musical and rhetorical persona, a social being enmeshed in the corporation of the consort, and a living, breathing body."<sup>16</sup> There are many dyadic relationships that can be extracted from all these layers, and none of these relationships is static. In a real-time performance of a piece of consort music, a player and the musical part he or she plays may act as separate entities one moment and as a single unit the next. These composite wholes of part-plus-player may then interact with each other as Klorman describes.

Although equally social, the pervasively polyphonic texture of consort music differs from the chamber music of, say, Mozart (Klorman's subject). Unlike the Classical-era string quartet, in which parts must take turns playing the melody while the others accompany (and we all know who gets the melody most of the time!), consort music really is a conversation among equals. In the dense musical environment of imitative polyphony, players usually cannot rely on their ears to tell them if they are in the right place the way they could in a more homophonic setting. Homophonic moments and group rhetorical gestures are rare in consort

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13. Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins*, 205.

14. Klorman, *Mozart's Music of Friends*, 122.

15. *Ibid.*, 123.

16. Ludwig, "'Equal to All Alike,'" 131.

music. These moments, imported from continental chansons and madrigals, are special instances. They not only change the texture but also alter the normative musical experience for the viol players by allowing them to be guided by their ears. This need for eye-based rather than partially ear-based reading ties the player of consort music more tightly to the written page than players of other repertoires. Furthermore, without barlines for orientation, correct counting is of fundamental importance. The use of organ accompaniment to keep players together and in tune attests to the difficulty of this endeavor for seventeenth-century gentlemen as much as for modern-day performers.<sup>17</sup> In consort music then, the text of the partbook is the primary mediator between the player and the music. Moreover, the partbook also acts as a mediating bottleneck that regulates the flow of information to the musician.

The stylistic homogeneity of fantasias is an advantage from a player's perspective. It means that the seasoned player's expectations are well honed and can be relied upon when approaching a new piece. Just by scanning a part visually, an experienced consort player will recognize typical figures and how they should be played, the unfolding of imitative entrances, when cadences appear to happen or how they may be elided, what texture and mood changes to expect, and where standard "effects" like homophony or duets and trios may occur. While consort music does not lack emotional depth, it is also intellectual music, and the phrasing and aesthetic beauty arise directly from an analytical understanding of the counterpoint that players develop intuitively. Consort music's highly independent polyphonic lines require players to make *intellectual* sense of their parts (i.e., to understand how the parts fit together contrapuntally) in order to make *musical* sense of the piece. Much of this information can be gleaned from the partbook itself. More than a recipe to follow faithfully, then, the partbook is also a viol player's guide to how

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17. I was once asked by an eminent viol player whether my professional consort had ever played an entire concert without anyone getting lost. After thinking hard, I was forced to confess that though it was rarely noticeable to the audience, every performance had a moment or two where someone was momentarily confused or off. He seemed reassured and confided that in his decades of playing consort music at the highest levels, he too had never played an entire concert where no one got lost.

to hear and understand the totality of the music. It is from this starting point that each musician may assume the social character of his or her part.

The other character who plays an important role in consort music, and whom we have thus far ignored, is the composer. In addition to scripting the conversation and setting up the relational possibilities, a composer may exert his own agential presence by causing a rupture in the relationship between player and part, severing the complex composite persona of, say, the entity Treble I back into a partbook and a human being playing the treble viol. He can do this by carefully controlling the limited information about the whole that each player receives through his or her partbook. The strong expectations that an individual line implies about the whole makes space for a composer to give players conflicting information: the eye predicts one thing while the ear tells a different story. The potential for mismatch between these two sources of musical information—for example, a notational cue for a cadence that does not happen—can then be exploited to manipulate players into false assumptions and wrong musical choices. By doing this, the composer reasserts his control over the experience of each player and divorces a player from his or her part. Usually, Jenkins chooses to make his presence known only briefly and in order to join in on the musical conversation taking place.

The use of rhetorical wit in the composition of consort music has been persuasively argued by Ludwig. His work, similarly to Klorman's, focuses on the way the part/person amalgams interact with each other to give players a sense of witty agency. Ludwig writes, "to the extent that playing consort music is experienced as social interaction, as 'pleasant conversation,' these compositional gambits in individual parts allow their players to enjoy a sense of rhetorical agency, a sense of wittily directing the flow of the interaction."<sup>18</sup> He argues further that the rhetorical agency created by these witty moments provides opportunities to the individual players for self-fashioning, a chance to put themselves forward as the author of the wit in their parts. The wit explored here allows

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18. Ludwig, "Equal to All Alike," 115.

for such moments of self-fashioning by the composer as well. For beneath the self-fashioning wit that Ludwig describes runs a second layer of wit, one in which there is a “pleasant conversation” between composer and player—this one fully mediated through the notation of the partbook. Just as one player may experience the power of changing the direction of the piece through a witty intervention, so too may the composer assert his own control in changing the direction of a player’s performance through his own witty intervention. This subsidiary communication between composer and player is like a whispered conversation that runs concurrently with that which is spoken aloud between the players. The jokes of this whispered conversation are private but at times they are made public, often at the expense of the player who has been fooled by his or her own partbook. In these instances, the musical text silences the player in order to exert its own agential power—no longer conforming to the player’s expectations but confounding them. Not only does the notation establish the musical whole in which the musicians are free to play their roles, but in these moments it also asserts total control of the player, leading him or her astray. The player no longer plays the part; the part plays the player.

The idioms of the genre and the received understanding of how to play these idioms are just as important for this kind of wit as the literal notes on the page. By knowing and subverting expectations, the composer can either surprise the group as a whole or create traps for individual players, luring them into making the wrong musical choice and then exposing their error for the merriment of all. These witty moments rely on players’ expectations to lead them to make particular musical decisions. In looking at these instances of wit, we learn not only about the joke itself but also about the musical rule that has been undermined. These jokes at the expense of a player may only work a single time on any given person, and once the trap is understood it may be avoided. Even avoided, however, the residue of the joke remains, and the other players will appreciate that the gaff has been sidestepped. This lack of a punchline can be just as potent as the original joke if everyone is in on it. One can even imagine visiting players being subjected to a partbook full of such wit!

Thus far, I have ignored the one score-like part that exists for these pieces: the role played by the organ. While Jenkins's organ parts are not a full score, and particularly not in the six-part works, they do often allow the organist a broader view of the music than what is allowed the viol players. In moments where the organ part gives a more aerial view of the music, the organist becomes blind to much of the wit at the partbook level—unable to see the trees for the forest. Perhaps in addition to supporting counting and intonation, the organ's function included keeping such witty moments from derailing the entire piece.<sup>19</sup>

Analyzing this music from the first-person perspective of the partbook opens a rich vein of enquiry. I focus here on three types of musical moment when the dynamic relationship between player and partbook creates opportunities for witty interventions by the composer. Unsurprisingly, these moments play on some of the deepest-held expectations of any viol player: the unfolding of the imitative opening of a fantasia, the metrical grounding of the music, and cadential formulas.

### Openings

A ripe opportunity for subverting expectations comes at the opening of a fantasia. Most openings follow a procedure so standard that even a minor change may be considered an instance of wit. Though a minority of fantasias begin with homophonic gestures, the vast majority of openings are polyphonic and imitative. There are two basic schemes with which players of consort music will be familiar: in one, a piece begins with a point of imitation (hereafter called a “point”) that each voice then utters in turn; in the other, there are two subjects, often presented as a

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19. The use of a keyboard instrument (organ, harpsichord, or even virginal) to accompany consort music appears to have been the preferred method of performance in the seventeenth century. Thomas Mace and Roger North both express that an ideal consort setup includes an organ, and consort music for which no keyboard part is extant was overwhelmingly composed by keyboard players who likely played themselves and required no part. See Peter Holman, “‘Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly Acchording to All’: The Organ Accompaniment of English Consort Music,” in *John Jenkins and His Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 353–82.

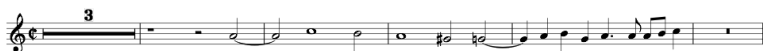
pair, of which each voice enters with at least one. The details of the points are flexible and the spacing of the entries may vary considerably, but the structure remains the same. These points (or just the one) usually continue with additional entrances until that paragraph of music is ended and a new point or gesture emerges. In Jenkins's case, these opening points often establish the material of the entire piece; as Ashbee notes, "the problem of sustaining one idea through a whole piece seems always to have stimulated Jenkins' invention...."<sup>20</sup> Of Jenkins's twelve fantasias *a6*, all but one conform to these opening conventions. The one that does not is Fantasia VdGS no. 8, which sows confusion by having one voice enter with what sounds like a point of imitation but is actually a red herring, a wrench thrown into the gears of the fantasia. This is clear enough when examining the score, but what happens when we examine this opening from the viewpoint of the players and their partbooks?<sup>21</sup>

In looking at his partbook, Treble I sees rests followed by the entrance of a point of imitation built on a dotted minim followed by two quavers on the same pitch. Whether there are one or two subjects to this beginning paragraph, Treble I expects he will hear someone play this point before he enters (Example 1).



**Example 1.** Jenkins, Fantasia *a6* no. 8, Treble I, mm. 1–8.

Likewise, Treble II sees many rests in her part before a lyrical point that rises a third before descending. She too expects that she will hear this point played before her entrance (Example 2).



**Example 2.** Jenkins, Fantasia *a6* no. 8, Treble II, mm. 1–8.

Tenor II looks at her part and sees that she plays from the beginning of the piece. She assumes that she will begin alone and

20. Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins*, 191.

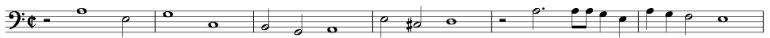
21. Forced to pick pronouns for the various players, I have chosen those of the musicians with whom I most recently had the pleasure of performing these pieces.

that her figure is the first, and possibly only, point on which this fantasia will be based. She plays it accordingly (Example 3).



**Example 3.** Jenkins, Fantasia *a6* no. 8, Tenor II, mm. 1–7.

In scanning his part before he plays, Bass I sees a minim rest followed by a slow melody of descending leaps. He knows that an entrance after a very short interval means he'll likely be playing a countersubject paired with someone's opening point (Example 4).



**Example 4.** Jenkins, Fantasia *a6* no. 8, Bass I, mm. 1–6.

Scanning further, he sees a second entrance that looks thematic. He would not be amiss in thinking this was to be the subject to which his first entrance answers. His point enters before there would be time for him to hear confirmation of this expectation, but he must be at least a little confused when he hears Tenor II play something entirely different. Is his second entrance not motivic?

There are no surprises for Bass II. She hears Tenor II play a rising third before she enters with her own, confirming that she has the second entrance of the point. She also hears Bass I play what she assumes is a countersubject and is content that this fantasia has two subjects (Example 5).



**Example 5.** Jenkins, Fantasia *a6* no. 8, Bass II, mm. 1–7.

At this point, Treble I may be starting to get confused: three voices have entered and yet he hasn't heard his point of imitation yet. Tenor I is in the same boat. Having looked at her part, she too expects to have heard the motive she enters with before she plays, but after three entrances there is nothing that sounds close to her distinctive point (Example 6).



**Example 6.** Jenkins, Fantasia *a6* no. 8, Tenor I, mm. 1–6.



There is also no opportunity for her to realize that Bass II's entrance imitates Tenor II's opening point since Bass II has only played a single note by the time Tenor I must place her bow on the string and play her subject. How confused she must be! Is she even looking at the correct piece of music? Perhaps she should play her entrance quietly, as if it were non-thematic. Or perhaps the three lower voices are not playing thematic material at all and have created a lush harmonic texture above which her opening may soar as the first entrance of the point. In thinking this she might recall another nonstandard opening, that of an Orlando Gibbons fantasia where the main imitative point of falling thirds is missing from an opening trio of the low voices and only emerges as the subject of the piece in measure three when Tenor I begins outlining thirds followed by the two trebles (Example 7).

The image shows a musical score for six voices, arranged in two systems of three staves each. The top system consists of two treble clefs and one bass clef. The bottom system consists of two bass clefs. The music is in common time (C) and features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including quarter notes, half notes, and eighth notes, with some rests. The key signature is one flat (B-flat).

**Example 7.** Gibbons, *Fantasia a6 VdGS no. 2*, mm. 1–5.

Whether our Tenor I in the Jenkins fantasia is pushed to play her point accompanimentally or soloistically, this will inevitably be an exaggerated choice, one that may provoke some chuckling from all, perhaps even a little at her expense, once it has become clear which are the true subjects of the fantasia. That moment of clarity only comes in measure five when Bass I has his true entry of the second subject. At this point, each voice has entered with one of the two subjects and the fantasia continues without further confusion (Example 8).

**Example 8.** Jenkins, *Fantasia a6* no. 8, mm. 1–6.

What appears, from the bird's-eye view of the score, to be nothing more than a small anomaly is a mystery (perhaps even an unsettling one) to each of the players in the moment.

### Metrical Instability

The difficulties in counting consort music are manifold. Without the regulatory stroke of a barline, Jenkins's parts must be read relationally, which is often complicated by long strings of syncopations and asymmetrical rhythms. Compounding this is a dense texture in which each part is so independent that it rarely plays rhythmic gestures in sync with any other part. In fact, finding oneself in rhythmic unison with another player for more than a single gesture is usually cause for concern. When sight-reading consort music, there is a corner of one's brain constantly asking, "Is this how it's supposed to sound? Am I in the right place? Did I count that rest correctly?" At times, this chorus of doubts is not simply internal but written into the music with figures intended to make the players question themselves. The music can become a giant counting game in which a perfect score is nearly impossible—an intellectual puzzle that is satisfying to execute correctly.

Many of these counting games are fleeting, but Jenkins's *Fantasia a6* VdGS no. 2 opens with a long passage that plays trick after trick on the players. From the perspective of the score, it is immediately apparent that there is an unusually long gap between the initial entrance of the first two parts and the entry of the other four voices, creating an opening duet. This duet deconstructs a point of imitation in a series of hocketing gestures

doubled exactly by the organ. After a while, the other four voices enter in pairs with the point in augmentation. What follows is a long series of hocketing in all six voices in which the organ doubles two to four of the parts at any given moment. It is an exciting opening, rich with rhythmic activity, “the fragmented speech of which becomes a distinctive ingredient of the ensuing volatile writing,” as Ashbee notes.<sup>22</sup> But when one is looking only at the partbooks, this passage becomes a much more harrowing adventure full of doubts and hesitations. Such difficulties can be observed clearly through the eyes (and ears) of Treble II, the first voice to enter (Example 9).



**Example 9.** Jenkins, *Fantasia a6* no. 2, Treble II, mm. 1–9.

Treble II looks at this part and thinks: I see a standard fantasia. I begin with a jaunty motive, a leap down, a quick scale up, and a descent to D. Next, I see a rest followed by a series of what appear to be accompanimental figures. As I begin to play, I hear Tenor I enter when I reach the highest note of the point, two semibreves into the piece. This is not an unexpected interval for the entry of a second voice, and I take no particular notice. I expect the entry of a third voice to occur two semibreves later on my first rest. It doesn't come, however, and I'm slightly confused. I play my first hocket gesture but still no entry—just Tenor I imitating my ascending third. I play a four-note ornamented version of that ascending third and again Tenor I imitates me, and still no new voices enter. It becomes clear that this is an extended duet. I play another pair of notes to which Tenor I replies and then a longer run of six notes to which Tenor I responds with a run of eight. At this point I now expect a cadence. Looking ahead, I see an opportunity at my upcoming rest (number 1). Sure enough, Tenor I sounds like she is heading up a scale to meet my descending one, and we arrive at a cadence. But still no new voices enter; Tenor I and I go back to trading hocketing gestures. I see a second

22. Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins*, 191.

opportunity for a cadence in my descending scale to C (number 2). As expected, Tenor I and I meet there, but our cadence is obscured by the long-awaited entries of Treble I and Tenor II, who play the point twice as slowly as I had. As I hear them continue, I realize that the hocketing gestures are part of the point itself, not merely a feature of the opening duet.

This whole time I have been doubled by the organ, a welcome reassurance that I've played the right rhythms and come in correctly after rests. But now it is doubling only the two voices that have just entered. I falter a little at number 3, surprised to hear myself in parallel rhythm with Tenor II, for the hocketing gesture has never before aligned with another part. The crochet rest that follows this gesture is longer than the quaver I expect; I hear my partner Tenor II enter after only a quaver, further concerning me. Perhaps I've made a mistake. I listen for the organ but it is not doubling the hocketing gestures anymore. At number 4 I falter again, hearing the organ play my note during my rest. I must have lost count. At number 5, I nearly stop playing. We have arrived at a cadence to E-flat; the organ and three other voices have stopped moving, but my part continues, and I hear two other parts jump off the quaver rest in rhythmic unison with me. How could we all be correct if we are playing the hocketing gesture in unison? If I survive this moment of doubt, I will soon hear the organ doubling me again and feel confident that I have played the passage correctly.

Only nine breves in and already a very different picture of the piece has emerged based on Treble II's knowledge of consort music. It is easy to imagine, too, the four players who do not enter for quite a while glancing worriedly at each other. Surely one of them was supposed to play and his missed his or her entrance. Perhaps they are also worrying they mis-parsed the opening rhythm of the point and, having miscounted, that it was their own entrance they missed! After all, the point looks twice as slow in their parts, and there is a real possibility that they will misinterpret the tempo at the opening. Returning to the score, it is clear how this anxiety has been cultivated (Example 10).

The image displays a musical score for Jenkins' Fantasia a6 no. 2, measures 1 through 11. The score is organized into three systems, each containing five staves. The top staff is the treble clef, and the bottom staff is the bass clef. The middle three staves are for two violas da gamba. The music is in 3/4 time and features complex rhythmic patterns and melodic lines. The score includes measure numbers 1 through 11, with some measures containing rests or specific rhythmic markings. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings.

**Example 10.** Jenkins, *Fantasia a6* no. 2, mm. 1–11.

While the organ may be present to reassure the players, there are moments in which it contributes to the confusion. After the organ exactly doubles the viols in their hocketing gestures for the first six measures, slight rhythmic discrepancies between the organ and viol parts appear in the seventh and eighth bars, as the organ anticipates the viols' offbeat entrances. This, as well as the organ's increasing lack of doubling of the hocket gesture, may very well destabilize the piece. So too might the cadence to the downbeat of measure eight, in which the organ and three of the viols come to a point of rest while the other three continue in rhythmic unison, momentarily undoubled. These moments are not coincidentally tricky. Jenkins has arguably cultivated more metrical anxiety than normal amongst the players in order to create a deliberately puzzling experience of the work.

### Cadences

The frequent use of elided and avoided cadences may also be considered small acts of wit on the part of the composer. These can occur at the level of the whole consort, in which all the players think they are approaching a cadence only to find that the expected closure evaporates. In this classic act of deception, agency is often assigned to the part that plays the surprising note or continues on despite the opportunity for repose offered by the cadence. But there is also a more personal level of this phenomenon. While a harmonic cadence by definition requires more than one voice, there are cadential formulas and paradigmatic gestures that allow individual players to anticipate and expect a cadence based solely on their own musical line. One way to exploit such expectations is to write strong cadential cues in one or two parts but not in the others, leading the players of those parts to try to make a cadence that is not there. This is a common if small joke with individual players, one which may not even be noticed by the other musicians unless the players emphasize their supposedly cadential line. Instead it is a private amusement, a *sotto voce* jocularity between player and composer that demands a quick course correction on the part of the player. The opposite type of cadential wit can occur when a musically strong cadential moment is notationally obscured from many of the players, leading to a sonic surprise upon arrival.

An example of this type of cadential mixed messaging occurs in Jenkins's *In Nomine a6* no. 1. *In Nomines* are always special with respect to cadences since the pre-composed chant on which the composition is based limits both the harmonic choices and the speed of harmonic motion. The chant's steady movement (usually in breves) provides extra layers of choices to the composer: cadences can take place in the middle of a chant note, or at a change in chant note; and the chant line itself can function as one of the cadential voices, or as a consonant tone. Using the chant as a cadential voice imparts added strength to the cadence as it pulls the chant into a structural function.<sup>23</sup>

The cadences of Jenkins's *In Nomine a6* no. 1 create structure through their pacing, which speeds up in the middle before slowing back down to the end of the piece. The urgency of this increased cadential activity in the middle centers upon a key structural cadence (to B-flat in measure 48) that Jenkins hides from the players by removing typical visual clues. He does this, in part, by diverting these cues to the cadence that immediately precedes it (to F in measure 47), creating the illusion that this prior cadence will be the apex of the cadential crescendo. In fact, the structural cadence that arrives at B-flat on the downbeat of measure 48 is only a half bar later than the previous one that resolves to F—the closest proximity of any two cadences in the piece (Example 11).

This structural cadence in measure 48 is visually concealed in five of the six viol parts but is quite clear in the organ part. Moreover, not only is the cadence to B-flat visible to the organ player but the prior cadence to F in measure 47 is downplayed in the organ part, which doubles the bassline but neither of the contrapuntal voices (Example 12).

Following the cadence to B-flat in measure 48, the organ even takes a break from doubling the viol parts—which continue to be busy—to prolong the harmony and accentuate the repose that follows this climactic cadence. In effect, though the organ

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23. This is especially true of seventeenth-century *In Nomines*. Unlike earlier *In Nomines*, the prevalence of faster note values slows down and extends the chant line, making it less and less relevant to the structure of the piece. Purcell's *Fantasia upon one note* pushes this development to its logical extreme.

**Example 11.** Jenkins, *In Nomine a6* no. 1, mm. 46–51.

**Example 12.** Jenkins, *In Nomine a6* no. 1, Organ, mm. 41–51.

player is in on the punchline, he may be just as surprised by the joke as the viol players since the cadence to F in measure 47 is not particularly visible to him. Bass I may feel similarly to the organist as the cadence to B-flat in measure 48 is equally obvious in his part but, like the organist, he has no information in his part about the previous one to F (Example 13).

**Example 13.** Jenkins, *In Nomine a6* no. 1, Bass I, mm. 46–51.

However, if we look at the other five parts, there is no clear indication in any of them that something remarkable happens after the F cadence in measure 47. Treble II is playing the chant and must get all of her musical information by ear. Hearing the



cadence in measure 47, she is unlikely to expect another cadence so soon.

Treble I has rests following his participation in the cadence to F, so he has no reason to anticipate another cadence (Example 14).



**Example 14.** Jenkins, In Nomine *a*6 no. 1, Treble I, mm. 47–51.

Tenor I begins to play thematic material that elides through the cadence to B-flat, so she won't see it coming either (Example 15).



**Example 15.** Jenkins, In Nomine *a*6 no. 1, Tenor I, mm. 47–51.

It is conceivable that Tenor II might suspect that her step down from C to B-flat could be cadential, though it is by no means as obvious as Treble I's decorated version of that same motion in measure 47 (Example 16).



**Example 16.** Jenkins, In Nomine *a*6 no. 1, Tenor II, mm. 46–51.

Bass II, having just played a decorated cadential bassline, is as unlikely as most of the others to suspect a cadence in measure 48 (Example 17).



**Example 17.** Jenkins, In Nomine *a*6 no. 1, Bass II, mm. 46–51.

From the standpoint of the score, the structure and primacy of the cadence to B-flat is clear. In the arrival to B-flat in measure 48, there is even a forbidden parallel octave between Treble II and Tenor II—an on-paper violation that is not at all offensive to the ear and even serves to strengthen one of the contrapuntal voices of the cadence. Furthermore, although the motivic activity does not

cease at this point, there is a momentary thinning of the texture following this cadential climax. But, of course, none of the players are privy to such a view. The humor in this moment comes from the awkward manner in which it will be executed by the players as they read through the piece for the first time. The quicker pace of cadences will seem to culminate in measure 47. The players are likely to execute this F cadence with strength, anticipating a climax, only to stumble into the subsequent B-flat cadence. Only on a second pass may they be able to feel the climax in the right place, perhaps by listening to the organist who phrased it correctly all along.

### **Conclusion**

The seventeenth-century consort music of Jenkins and others like him was written for a very specific social environment, that of the aristocratic music room. This music was valued not only for its aesthetic properties, but also for the way in which it framed social gatherings, provided entertainment, and intellectually engaged its participants, especially its performers. Traditional analytical techniques that focus on the aesthetic and formal features of Jenkins's works, while certainly crucial to the study of this music, do not always capture all of the playful and puzzle-like aspects of the experience intentionally crafted by composers for the performers. Analysis rooted in the relationship between player and partbook provides a new perspective from which to view the ways in which composers leveraged that relationship to craft moments of wit. The little twists and turns of expectation and surprise explored here keep players on their toes and provide continual interest through the social and performative interplay among the players. These moments rely on the blindered view given each player by his or her partbook as well as the potential dissonance between the visual information the partbook contains and the aural information the player receives from the musical whole. This continually shifting and layered intricacy of the first-person and group experiences is essential to the richness of playing this music. The musical witticisms are crucial to the work as a whole, making it a rewarding experience for the players. Hilarious the first time through and provoking a wry smile upon

repetition, these jokes make a piece worth playing again and again. Surely this is part of why Jenkins's music was so beloved by his aristocratic patrons and remains so by viol players to this day.

**THE VIOLA DA GAMBA IN  
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY  
VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND:  
NEW AND RECONSIDERED EVIDENCE**

**Loren Ludwig**

Abstract

Recent archival discoveries reveal that the viola da gamba was present in the English colonies of Virginia and Maryland through, at least, the 1750s and that players of the instrument were active in amateur and professional music communities in and around Williamsburg, Virginia and Annapolis, Maryland. Newly examined records of Colonial libraries reveal the presence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of printed pedagogical and musical material related to the instrument including publications by John Playford, Christopher Simpson, and John Walsh's 1750 reprint of Jean-Philippe Rameau's *Pieces de clavecin en concert* for violin/flute, viola da gamba, and harpsichord. In addition to records of the presence of these sources in Colonial libraries, a newly discovered manuscript music commonplace book dated 1738 contains nearly a dozen works for solo viola da gamba (the first music for the instrument known in a Colonial source), including arrangements of music by Henry Purcell and Jean-Baptiste Lully. The manuscript—dubbed the James River Music Book—was likely associated with the Tarpley family of Williamsburg and Anthony Collins, an organist during the late 1730s at Poplar Springs Church in Petsworth Parish, Gloucester County, Virginia. The earliest layer of the James River Music Book is catalogued and its contents and concordances described and analyzed. This newly discovered source, in combination with a thorough re-evaluation of archival materials relating to Colonial musical activities in the English Tobacco Colonies, testifies to a vibrant musical culture that included the viola da gamba at least until the middle of the eighteenth century.

**I**n 1789 Benjamin Franklin, the venerable printer, inventor, diplomat, and author of American liberty, wrote to his agent in London from Philadelphia, “[Please] procure for me one of those little Books that teach to tune and play upon the Instrument called Viol de Gambo: which is about the Size of a Bass Viol, but is not the same, this having Six Strings. Send with the Book a Bow proper for the Instrument, and a Set of

Strings.”<sup>1</sup> This was not the first mention of the viola da gamba in Franklin’s correspondence. About a decade earlier his son had written to him in France from embattled Philadelphia to report that the British had sacked Franklin’s house, and “stole and carried off with them some of your musical Instruments, viz: a welch harp, bell harp, the set of tuned bells which were in a box, Viol de Gambo, all the spare Armonica Glasses and one or two of the spare cases.”<sup>2</sup> By the final decades of the eighteenth century, the viola da gamba would likely have been an antiquarian curiosity—were it recognized at all—to the ransacking British soldiers or the music shop owner in London where Franklin hoped his agent would find a bow, set of strings, and an instruction book for “the Instrument called Viol de Gambo.”

No records survive documenting when Franklin first became interested in or acquired the viola da gamba that was looted by the British. However, my recent research in Colonial archives in Virginia and Maryland has revealed that the viola da gamba was known and played in these so-called Tobacco Colonies from the 1620s through the middle of the eighteenth century. While a few scattered references to the instrument have been known to historians of the British Colonial centers of Williamsburg, Virginia and Annapolis, Maryland, the absence of any surviving music or actual instruments has discouraged research on the viola da gamba in British Colonial America.<sup>3</sup> This article will describe

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1. Benjamin Franklin, November 15, 1789, postscript to a letter to Benjamin Vaughan; James G. Blaine Papers, Library of Congress.

2. *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 27, ed. Claude-Anne Lopez and Douglas M. Arnold (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1989), 100.

3. The historiography of the European Colonial project in North America offers just a few glimpses of the viola da gamba in a Colonial context—John Koegel, for example, documents the presence of the *vihuela de arco* in sixteenth-century Florida (John Koegel, “Spanish and French Mission Music in Colonial North America,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 126, no. 1 [2001]: 6). In her book about the history of music in Nouvelle France, Elisabeth Gallat-Morin describes a rich and well-documented history of the use of the viola da gamba in sacred and secular contexts, including the survival of several violas da gamba in collections in the U.S. and Canada (Elisabeth Gallat-Morin and Jean-Pierre Pinson, *La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France* [Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 2004]). The so-called Ursuline music manuscript, now in the hold-

my discoveries of the presence of printed sources of viol music in Colonial libraries as well as an actual manuscript—the James River Music Book—from Colonial Gloucester County, Virginia, containing fifteen works for solo viol, among other musical items.<sup>4</sup> This new material adds substantially to what is known of settler-colonist musical culture of Virginia and Maryland before the middle of the eighteenth century and introduces a veritable library for performers of Colonial American music.<sup>5</sup> The James River Music Book itself nearly doubles the page count of surviving instrumental music from British Colonial America and contributes repertoire for keyboard, violin, voice, and viola da gamba by composers including Handel, Purcell, Lully, and, of course, Anonymous.<sup>6</sup>

Before undertaking a detailed discussion of the viola da gamba music in the JRMB, however, this essay will first summarize references to the viola da gamba in Colonial records in Virginia and Maryland. This summary will be followed by a discussion of the discovery that several printed sources of music for viola da gamba (by John Playford, Christopher Simpson, and Jean-Philippe Rameau) circulated in the British colonies during

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ings of The Historic New Orleans Collection, contains a manuscript copy of dozens of sacred *contrafacta* originally published in Paris in the early decades of the eighteenth century and gifted to the Ursuline nuns of New Orleans in 1754 (Alfred E. Lemmon, ed., *French baroque music of New Orleans: spiritual songs from the Ursuline Convent [1736]* [New Orleans: The Historic New Orleans Collection; Versailles: Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles, 2014]). Among the songs in the manuscript are several with continuo parts that appear to have been initially conceived for the viola da gamba, based on their range, cleffing, and vocabulary of ornaments (see, for example, the alto-clef bass line to the *recitatif La Mort*).

4. VHS MS-5 C6454-1, shelfmark US-RIhs Mss5; the title “James River Music Book” is my own invention and is not part of the formal citation information for the manuscript.

5. It is important to make explicit here that this article focuses on a notated musical tradition imported by European—principally English—colonists and their descendants, while acknowledging the broader context of “American” musical practices associated with African and Indigenous peoples during the eighteenth century.

6. The author’s modern premiere recording of the works for viola da gamba in the James River Music Book will be made available at [www.vdgsa.org/vdgsa-journal-supplemental](http://www.vdgsa.org/vdgsa-journal-supplemental).

the eighteenth century. The particulars of these prints and their reception by Colonial musicians provide essential context for the subsequent discussion of the solo music in the JRMB.

### **References to the Viola da Gamba in Colonial Records in Maryland and Virginia**

Several (though not all) of the following references to the viola da gamba have been noted in scholarship over the last century and have appeared in accounts of particular Colonial communities of musicians or general histories of music in British Colonial America (or both). In addition, recent research on the continued presence of the viola da gamba “post Purcell” in Europe by Peter Holman and others offers additional context to music making in the American colonies predicated on English models.<sup>7</sup> Eighteenth-century archival sources in the United States mention the viol cluster in Virginia and Maryland, with a few scattered references associated with Moravian communities in Bethlehem and, of course, Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia.<sup>8</sup> Records of the viola da gamba in New England, such as those compiled by Barbara Lambert, relate to the seventeenth century and have been as thoroughly investigated as surviving records allow.<sup>9</sup> For that reason, I will focus my comments on Maryland and Virginia and the eighteenth-century musical activities illuminated by the James River Music Book.

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7. Peter Holman, “Continuity and Change in English Bass Viol Music: The Case of Fitzwilliam MU. MS 647,” *Viola da Gamba Society Journal* 1 (2007), and *Life after Death: The Viola Da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2013); Annette Otterstedt, *The viol: history of an instrument* (Kassel: Bärenreiter. 2002).

8. Hope E. Stoddard, “Early Colonists and the ‘Bars-Vile,’” *Music Educators Journal* 67, no. 8 (1981): 50.

9. Barbara Lambert, “Social Music, Musicians, and Their Musical Instruments in and around Colonial Boston,” in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts 1630–1820*, vol. 2: *Music in Homes and Churches* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts; Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1985). One curious outlier in New England is William Howe’s mention of “three viol da gambas and two viol d’Amors” supposedly built in the Boston violin shop of Asa Warren White during the mid to late nineteenth century (see William Howe, “Early American Violin Makers,” *Violinist* 20, no. 7 [2016]: 18).

Table 1 presents known references to the viola da gamba culled from general studies of music in British Colonial America completed over the last century. While many items I include are unequivocal references to the viola da gamba, it is important to register the multivalent nature of the terms “viol” and “bass viol” during the periods in question. As Peter Holman and others have documented, “bass viol” was increasingly used over the course of the eighteenth century to refer to a four-stringed instrument tuned in fifths, a convention that may have begun as early as the late seventeenth century in England.<sup>10</sup> While Franklin’s painstaking description of the viola da gamba in his 1789 letter, above, is late enough to represent something of an outlier, John Playford’s description of the instrument in his popular *An introduction to the skill of musick* (first published 1654) reveals how slippery the term “bass viol” can be to those attempting to survey historical references to musical instruments. “I shall give you the Directions for Tuning the Bass-Viol,” Playford writes, “which is usually strung with six Strings ..., which six strings are known by six several names; the first, which is the smallest is called the Treble; the second, the small Mean; the third, the great Mean; the fourth, the Counter-Tenor; the fifth, the Tenor or Gam-ut string; the sixth, the Bass.” In its appearances in British Colonial America, “bass viol” seems to have been used by different writers to refer variously to the viola da gamba, the cello, or the four-stringed “bass viol” associated with New England psalmody later in the century (and strongly influenced by English “west gallery” practice).<sup>11</sup>

The word “gamba” appears only once in the archival record, in an entry from 1747 in the Record Book of the Annapolis Tuesday Club (see below). Much more common in Colonial records is the ambiguous term “bass viol,” which could mean an instrument with six strings (as in Playford’s seventeenth-century usage, above) or one with four strings (as in Franklin’s eighteenth-century description). None of the usages of “bass

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10. Holman, *Life after Death*, 95–99.

11. Frederick Richard Selch, “Instrumental Accompaniment for Yankee Hymn Tunes: An Investigation of the Evidence” (PhD diss., New York University, 2003).



Table 1. Known references to the viola da gamba (and related terms) in archival sources in Virginia and Maryland.

## VIRGINIA

Date	Text	Archival Source
1624	“[William Tyler] confesseth y' he called M' Utie fiddler, because he saw him play vppon A violll at sea: and saith y' he hurde other say he was a musitione in England”	Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, 1624 <sup>a</sup>
1685	“a base viall unfixt”	Estate of Thomas Jordan <sup>b</sup>
1743	“Henry Carter's [1674–1743] personal estate contained besides the usual furniture, and jewelry mentioned in the will, a large amount of clothing, 15 books, a pair of silver shoe buckles, a viol, twelve leather chairs, 2 pewter flower pots, etc.”	Estate inventory of Henry Carter, Lancaster County, VA <sup>c</sup>
1755	“the Nine Muses playing in concert on divers musical Instruments, as the Harp, Hautboy, Bass Viol, etc.”	<i>Virginia Gazette</i> , September 5, 1755 <sup>d</sup>
1772	“A female Savoyard, with her Viol; she played upon her Instrument with great Delicacy, and sung to it (in French) with still greater;”	<i>Virginia Gazette</i> (Purdie and Dixon), July 30, 1772 <sup>e</sup>

## MARYLAND

Date	Text	Archival Source
1747	[Thomas Bacon played a] “viol a gambo, or six stringed bass.”	Tuesday Club Records, sederunt 59, May 26, 1747 <sup>f</sup>

a. H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, 1622–1632 (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1924), 19.

b. “Defense of Col. Edward Hill,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 4 (1897): 3.

c. Estate inventory of Henry Carter, Lancaster County, Virginia.

d. *Virginia Gazette* (September 5, 1755).

e. *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon, July 30, 1772).

f. Elaine Breslaw, ed., Records of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis, 1745–56 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 48.

1754	“[George Neilson] was a bold musician, and could play in a very extraordinary manner upon several instruments, such as the violin, Bass viol flute, Hautboy and Bassoon, and some say that he handled the Jews Harp with great dexterity; but the Bassoon excelled all his other performances...” <sup>g</sup>	MS “History of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club,” Book II, Chapter II (“I, 81”) <sup>h</sup>
1754	“Such as the sudden transmutation of a human form, into a wheel barrow, a flight of stairs, or a bass viol—which is called pantomime”	MS “History of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club,” Book VIII, Chapter I (“II, 185”) <sup>i</sup>
1754	“A certain tall, Gygantic negroe fellow, bringing into the Club room, the Bass viol, on which the Secretary that night performed Solo”	MS “History of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club,” Book IX, Chapter VIII (“II, 459”) <sup>j</sup>
1754	“Squire Strap next appears with his Chin on his Crowd; who played any part well but never played loud; The Orator last, with his wonted grave face; Closed the rear, with his viol vcleped the Bass.” <sup>k</sup>	MS “History of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club,” Book X, Chapter VII (“III, 131”) <sup>k</sup>
1753	“The flute and the viol put voices to trial”	“Anniversary Ode for the Ancient and honorable Tuesday Club, for the Year 1753” <sup>l</sup>
1754	“Bagpipe drones with Snuffling bellows, Viols, violins, violoncellos” <sup>m</sup>	MS “History of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club,” Book XIII, Chapter IV (“III, 367”) <sup>m</sup>

g. The author of the history refers repeatedly and specifically to the “violoncello,” suggesting that “bass viol” refers to the viola da gamba.  
 h. Robert Joseph Micklus, “Dr. Alexander Hamilton’s ‘The History of the Tuesday Club’ (Volumes I–IV)” (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 1980), 86.

i. *Ibid.*, 690.

j. *Ibid.*, 909.

k. *Ibid.*, 1151.

l. *Ibid.*, 1224.

m. *Ibid.*, 1313.

viol” in the table above are unambiguous, and a cautious reader might err on the side of assuming that they refer to four-stringed instruments (I have only included instances of “bass viol” that I believe *may* have referred to six-stringed instruments, as opposed to those mentions that unequivocally refer to four-stringed instruments). The term “viol” (in its myriad spellings) likely always refers to a six-stringed instrument, especially when it appears listed alongside “violin” or “violoncello,” as in several of the examples below. This is particularly true in seventeenth-century sources—by the eighteenth century the viola da gamba was comparatively rare in England and had, in many circles, become an item of antiquarian interest (as we infer, for example, from Handel’s use of the instrument as part of a mythological tableau in “V’adorno pupille” in *Giulio Cesare*). The “viol” mentioned in the 1772 *Virginia Gazette*, played by a “Savoyard” in a London performance, may gesture towards a similar pastoral imagery or may refer to the hurdy-gurdy, an instrument associated with Savoyard musicians. Similarly, an erudite antiquarianism may explain several of the uses of “viol” in the anecdotes and poetry of the Tuesday Club reproduced below. This table of archival mentions of instruments displays both the range and ambiguity of Colonial references and confirms the familiar terminological challenges facing research on the “viol” in the eighteenth-century. It provides a backdrop to the new and substantially unambiguous evidence of viola da gamba activity in the Tobacco Colonies that I present later in this article.

### **Printed Music for Viola da Gamba Known to Have Circulated in Maryland and Virginia**

But what music might Colonial viola da gamba players have actually played? Before I detail the fifteen items for solo viol that appear in the opening pages of the JRMB, I will describe a repertoire of music for viola da gamba whose presence in Colonial Virginia and Maryland (and, indeed, British Colonial America more broadly) has been entirely overlooked. At least three printed sources of music for viola da gamba circulated in Colonial libraries, and their presence both helps contextualize the

unaccompanied dances in the JRMB as well as attests to a Colonial musical culture substantially less “barbarous” (to borrow Thomas Jefferson’s famous description of the state of music in the British colonies) than has been previously assumed. The earliest item is found listed in the estate of one Col. Ralph Wormely, Esq. (1650–1701), of Rosegill, Middlesex County, Virginia.<sup>12</sup> In Wormely’s extensive library is a volume described as *Skill of Music*, which almost certainly refers to John Playford’s *A brief introduction to the skill of musick for song and viol in two books: first book contains the grounds and rules of musick for song, second book, directions for the playing on the viol de gambo and also on the treble violin*, first published in 1654 and reprinted more than a dozen times thereafter until 1730 (see Figure 1).<sup>13</sup> Another copy of Playford’s *A brief introduction* is listed as “*An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*” in the estate inventory of Edmund Berkeley, recorded in June, 1719.<sup>14</sup> While previous scholars have noted the debt to Playford’s *A brief introduction* evident in numerous Colonial musical publications, they have seemingly been unaware of documentation of the presence of the actual volume in the Colonies.<sup>15</sup>

Focused on the rules for singing described in Playford’s “first book” containing “the grounds and rules of musick,” scholars of American music have ignored the second section of Playford’s *A brief introduction*, containing “plain and easie directions for the

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12. “Libraries in Colonial Virginia,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 2, no. 3 (1894): 172.

13. The only title listed in the English Short Title Catalogue containing the phrase “skill of music” is Playford’s publication; John W. Grashel, “John Playford’s ‘An Introduction to the Skill of Musick’ and Its Influence on the Musical Textbooks of Colonial America,” *The Bulletin of Historical Research in Music Education* 5, no. 2 (1984): 39.

14. “Library of Edmund Berkeley, Esq.,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 2, no. 4 (1894): 250.

15. Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1947), 178; Allen Purdue Britton, “Theoretical Introductions in American Tunebooks to 1800” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1950), 43; Gilbert Chase, *America’s Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955), 21; Irving Lowens, “The Bay Psalm Book in 17th-Century New England,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 8 (1955): 27; Grashel, “John Playford’s ‘An Introduction’.”

A B R E I F  
 I N T R O D U C T I O N  
 To the Skill of  
**MUSICK:**  
 F O R  
 S O N G and V I O L.

In two Books.

First Book contains the *Grounds and Rules of Musick for Song.*

Second Book, *Directions for the Playing on the Viol de Gamba, and also on the Treble-Violin.*



By J. Playford, *Philo-Musico.*

London, Printed by W. Godbid, for John Playford,  
 at his Shop in the Inner-Temple, neer the  
 Church dore. M. DC. LVIII.

Figure 1. Title page, John Playford's *A brief introduction to the skill of musick* (1658).

bass-viol, or viol da gambo.” This “second book” is comprised of several pages of basic instruction in tuning and reading music on the different sizes of viola da gamba. Playford assumes that the reader is familiar with how to hold the instrument and bow and instead focuses on the names and tuning of the strings, the pitches available at different frets, and the basic notational conventions associated with music for the viola da gamba. Following his ten pages of instruction are six “short lessons to the bass-viol” comprised of five solo pieces and one duet (an almaine by Alphonso Ferrabosco [II]) in bass clef. Playford concludes the book with an extremely abbreviated (just over two pages!) primer on the treble violin.

While the actual notated musical offerings for a Colonial viol player offered by Playford are slight—the longest “lessons” are roughly a dozen common-time measures and lack double stops, divisions, or notated ornaments of any kind—they may have been perfect for Colonial amateurs in provincial circumstances. Later volumes of Playford’s treatise added a composition component (the 1655 edition reprinted Thomas Campion’s *A New Way of Making Foure Parts in Counterpoint*, while later editions included material on composition by Christopher Simpson and Henry Purcell), which would have been useful, indeed, to Colonial musicians with very limited access to printed musical resources.<sup>16</sup> As Charles Burney noted in his *General History* (1786–1789), “the form, price, and style, were so suited to every kind of musical readers, that [*A brief introduction*] seems to have been more generally purchased and read, than any elementary musical tract that ever appeared in this or any other country.”<sup>17</sup> There is no surviving evidence that Wormely or Berkeley or anyone in their families played the viola da gamba, and the Playford volume appears to be the only music text listed in diverse collections of titles. Yet the presence of printed instructional materials and a set of “lessons” for the instrument in Colonial Virginia (Wormely’s home in Middlesex County was a day’s ride from Williamsburg) provides useful context for the more substantial music on offer in the JRMB and elsewhere.

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16. Grashel, “John Playford’s ‘An Introduction,’” 40.

17. Cited in Grashel, *ibid.*, 39.

Another English treatise—this one written by famed viola da gamba player Christopher Simpson and, likely, featuring dozens of solos and duets for the instrument—appears in records associated with the milieu of the Tuesday Club in mid-eighteenth-century Annapolis, Maryland. In *Secular Music in Colonial Annapolis: The Tuesday Club 1745–56* John Barry Talley describes the rich and varied musical activities of a group of mid-century Colonial music enthusiasts who performed chamber music, accompanied ballad opera and dances, and composed music for club ceremonies. Among the characters involved in the Tuesday Club was Thomas Bacon (1711–1768), an Episcopal clergyman, musician, publisher, and author. Born on the Isle of Man, Bacon was educated in Ireland and emigrated to Maryland in the 1740s. The extensive records of the Tuesday Club mention that on May 26, 1747, Bacon performed on a “viol a gamba, or six stringed Bass.”<sup>18</sup> The previous year, Bacon had written to another Annapolis music enthusiast and member of the Tuesday Club, Henry Callister, recommending Christopher Simpson’s *A compendium of practical musick*, published initially under the title *Principles of practicle musick* in 1665 and, later, with its new title in 1667 and 1678 (see Figure 2). “I sent you Si—pson’s Compendium,” Bacon wrote, “which you will find easy & at the same time full enough for any young student in composition.”<sup>19</sup> While we don’t know which edition of Simpson’s publication Bacon owned, both the 1665 edition (with the earlier title) and the 1678 edition feature an appendix containing dozens of works for one and two violas da gamba. That Bacon played the viola da gamba (likely bringing his instrument and library with him from Dublin) suggests that he would have chosen an edition of Simpson’s *Compendium* that offered a wealth of music for his instrument.

All known editions of Simpson’s *Compendium*—with or without the appendix of compositions for viola da gamba—bear evidence of their author’s enthusiasm for the instrument. In

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18. John B. Talley, *Secular Music in Colonial Annapolis: The Tuesday Club, 1745–56* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 40. The curious locution “six string bass” to refer to viola da gamba also appears on the title page of *A musicall entertainment for a chamber* published in Ireland in 1725 and 1726.

19. Talley, *Secular Music*, 35.

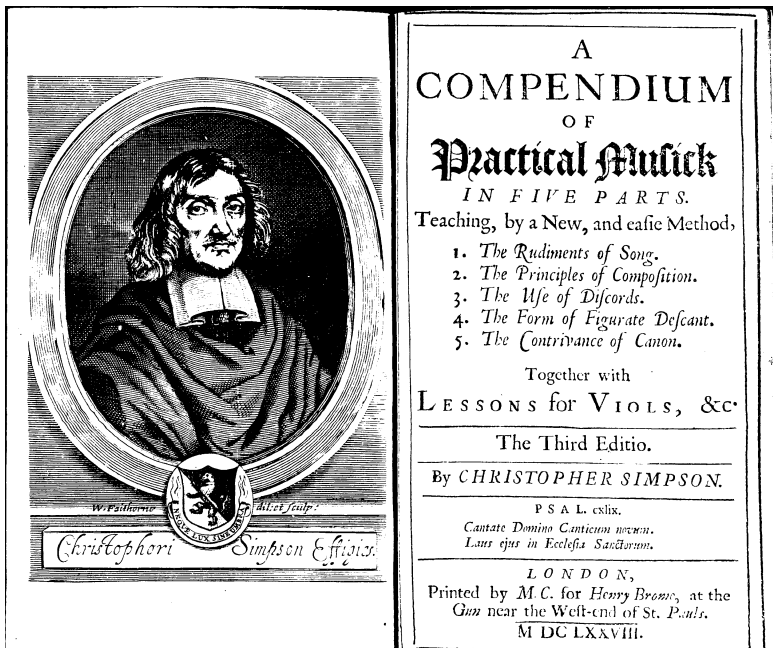


Figure 2. Title page, Christopher Simpson's *A compendium of practical musick* (1678).

the opening pages of the volume's first section, "Teaching the rudiments of song," Simpson introduces the viola da gamba as the instrument of choice to help students learn the gamut, the musical intervals, and solmization using four syllables (see Figure 3). "We will take the Bass-Viol for Example," Simpson explains, "in the Common old Tuning; and in the way of Tablature, where six Lines stand for the six Strings of the Viol... and Letters are set for the Frets." Subsequent music examples offer standard notation accompanied by six-line tablature for viola da gamba, presumably to offer students correct pitch references as they learned to sing from notation. The presence of Simpson's *Compendium* in the Colonies, with its explicit use of a bass stringed instrument to teach singing, should give historians of American psalmody pause. This is precisely the strategy that would be adopted in subsequent decades across the Northeastern states of the new republic as peripatetic singing teachers, armed with bass viols (the four-stringed variety), taught generations of



American Protestants to sing from notation (a practice referred to as “regular singing”)<sup>20</sup>

**6**      *A Compendium of Musick.*

If it be set at the beginning of a Song, it makes all the Notes standing in that Line or Space, to be *sharp*; that is, half a Tone higher, throughout the whole Song or Lesson, without changing their Name. In any other place, it serves only for that particular Note to which it is applied.

§ 4. *Of Tuning the Degrees of Sound.*

**T**uning is no way to be taught but by Tuning, and therefore you must procure some who know how to Tune these Degrees (which every one doth that hath but the least Skill in Musick) to Sing them over with you, until you can tune them by your self.

If you have been accustomed to any Instrument that hath *Frets*, as *Viol*, *Lute*, *Thorbis*, &c. you may by help thereof (instead of an assisting voice) guide or lead your own voice to the perfect Tuning of them. For every Degree is that distance of Sound which is found upon any fretted Instrument from the open String to the second Fret, or from any one Fret, to the next but one to it; except that Sound to which we apply *fa*; for *fa*, is always but the distance of one Fret from the Sound of the Degree next under it.

We will take the Bass-Viol for Example, in the Common old Tuning; and in the way of *Tableture*, where six Lines stand for the six Strings of the *Viol*. (the highest for the highest or *Treble* String, and so the rest in order) and Levers are set for the *Frets*. (though in a different way from the Scale of Musick, to wit [*a*] for the open String, [*b*] for the first *fret*, [*c*] for the second, and so the rest in order; each *fret* making the Distance or Interval of a *Semitone*, or *Half-Note*.)

Example.

*Rudiments of Song.*      **7**

Example.

Tuning.	Frets.						
1 <i>a</i>	<i>a</i> <i>b</i>	r	d	e	f	g	h
2 <i>f</i> <i>a</i>	<i>a</i> <i>b</i>	r	d	e	f	g	h
3 <i>f</i> <i>a</i>	<i>a</i> <i>b</i>	r	d	e	f	g	h
4 <i>e</i> <i>a</i>	<i>a</i> <i>b</i>	r	d	e	f	g	h
5 <i>f</i> <i>a</i>	<i>a</i> <i>b</i>	r	d	e	f	g	h
6 <i>f</i> <i>a</i>	<i>a</i> <i>b</i>	r	d	e	f	g	h
		1	2	3	4	5	6

B 4      Example.

**Figure 3.** The *Compendium*’s reliance on viol tablature to teach basic musical concepts.

It is more likely than not, however, that Bacon’s copy of Simpson’s *Compendium* also included the aforementioned appendix featuring sixteen short “ayres” for treble and bass instrument, six duets for “two bass viols” printed in tablebook format, six works for viola da gamba in tablature with accompanying bass line in staff notation “for Sir John Barbe, Baronet” (the *Compendium*’s dedicatee), and eight “Lessons by sundry authors for the treble, bass viol, and harp,” also in tablebook format. This veritable smorgasbord of Restoration instrumental music would have likely been just perfect for an amateur viola da gamba enthusiast with a handful of musical friends nearby. The short dances and ayres for treble and bass instrument would have invited repetition and

20. For more on the history of “Yankee viols” in the development of American psalmody, see Selch, “Instrumental Accompaniment.”

ornamentation and been suggestive of the music for one or more fiddles that accompanied the ubiquitous dances that enlivened life in the Tobacco Colonies.<sup>21</sup> The mildly imitative fantasias for two bass viols would have suited a more pensive, and perhaps slightly more learned, mood (on the rare occasion one could get two violas da gamba in the same room in Colonial Annapolis). Finally, Simpson's suite of "lyra"-style pieces set in tablature present sophisticated harmonies and technical challenges with their numerous chords and passages above the frets, perfect for a Colonial musician to while away solitary hours or play with a harpsichordist, bassoonist, cellist (such as the Tuesday Club founder Alexander Hamilton), or visiting viol player.<sup>22</sup>

Surviving correspondence among Tuesday Club members reveals frequent musical gatherings, such as one in 1755 that included Callister (to whom Bacon had lent his copy of Simpson's *Compendium*, above), Colonel Samuel Chamberlaine, and Charles Love, a professional musician. Talley notes that the quartet appears in subsequent writings referred to as "the Musical Society," suggesting that their gathering in 1755 was one of many (see Figure 4). In a surviving letter prior to the 1755 meeting, Bacon requested that Callister bring his "tenor fiddle," a term that Talley takes to mean "viola da gamba."<sup>23</sup> It is worth pausing for a moment to consider Talley's interpretation of "tenor fiddle." Conventional wisdom from the other side of the Atlantic would suggest that "tenor" (or "tenor violin") refers to the viola, the "alto" member of the violin family. Yet the phrase "tenor fiddle" is employed here by a known language trickster—the minutes of the Tuesday Club are rife with language play, and all members (and

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21. Norman A. Benson, "The Itinerant Dance and Music Masters of Eighteenth Century America" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1963); Albert Stoutamire, *Music of the Old South: Colony to Confederacy* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1972), 16–28; Richard Crawford, *America's Musical Life* (New York: Norton, 2001), 70–76; Kate Van Winkle Keller, *Dance and Its Music in America, 1528–1789* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2007); Joshua R. LeHuray, *Virginians Will Dance or Die! The Importance of Music in Pre-Revolutionary Williamsburg* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2016).

22. Talley chronicles the wealth of musical instruments in Colonial Annapolis in Chapter 3 of *Secular Music*.

23. Talley, *Secular Music*, 25.

most visitors) were routinely assigned humorous pseudonyms (Bacon was known as *Signior Lardini*, while Benjamin Franklin was referred as *Electro Vitrifico*). In fact, another letter sent by Bacon to Callister in May 1755 reveals a penchant for playful names for musical instruments: “Your strum-strum must wait til the garden will permit me a day or two’s leisure to tinkle it at Oxford [Maryland].”<sup>24</sup> In the early 1750s the records of the Tuesday Club report an homage to one Jonas Green “set to most excellent dulcisonorous music, in Three parts, Con voce, viola, violino and Violoncello,” suggesting, perhaps, both that there was a viola among members’ instruments and that it was referred to as a “viola.”<sup>25</sup> There are no known, confirmed uses of “tenor” to refer to the viola in the archival record of the Tobacco Colonies, though a notice in the *Virginia Gazette* from 1766 mentions a performance by an ensemble composed of “3 violins, 1 Tenor, 1 Bass, 2 Fluits, 1 Hautboy, 1 Horn, 1 Harpsichord,” in which it seems likely that “tenor” was used in the conventional British sense of the period.<sup>26</sup> The 1776 estate inventory of one Mrs. Anne Digges lists both a “bass viol” and a “tenor fiddle,” though we can’t be sure of what is meant by either term.<sup>27</sup> Certainly “tenor” could refer to the viola in all cases, or “tenor fiddle” could represent an eccentric Colonial term for the viola da gamba. What is certain is that Bacon (and perhaps others) played chamber music on viola(s) da gamba in eighteenth-century Annapolis.<sup>28</sup>

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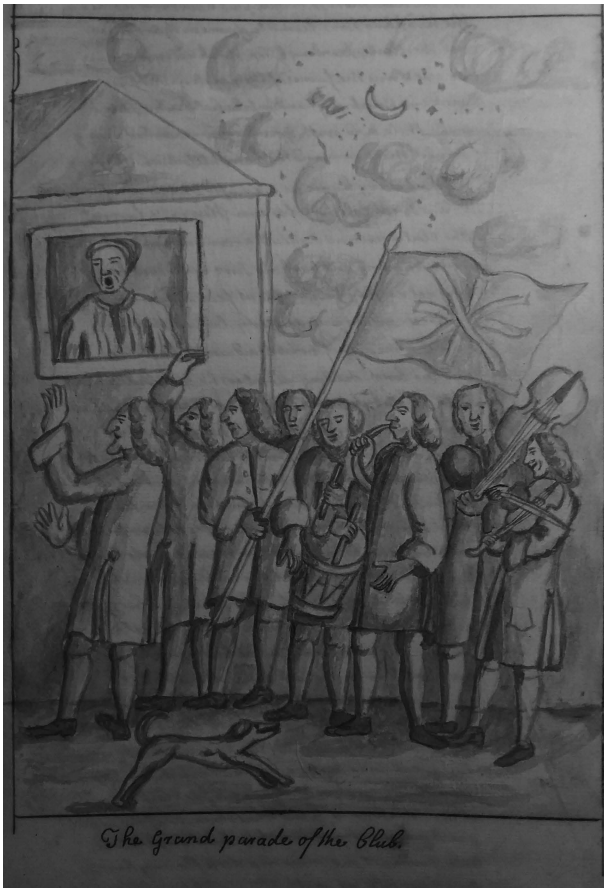
24. Bacon may be referring here to the banjo, an instrument mentioned several times in Tuesday Club records. In the appendix to his *A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica (1707)*, Hans Sloane included the earliest known European representation of a banjo, which he captioned “Strum Strumps.”

25. Robert Joseph Micklus, “Dr. Alexander Hamilton’s ‘The History of the Tuesday Club’ (Volumes I–IV)” (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 1980), 866.

26. Surprisingly, the Virginia Historical Index includes no entry for “tenor”; Benson, “Itinerant Dance and Music Masters,” 46.

27. Colonial Williamsburg Digital Library:  
<http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/view/index.cfm?doc=Probates/PB00067.xml&highlight=viol> (accessed 2/21/2019).

28. Surviving records of the Tuesday Club reveal sophisticated organological knowledge on the part of at least some of the members. See, for example,



**Figure 4.** Drawing of a Tuesday Club musical gathering in the Tuesday Club Record Book, Maryland Historical Society.

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the following lyrics sung at a Tuesday Club event in 1754 (Micklus, “Hamilton’s ‘History,’” 1312):

Sackbuts, Cymbals, Timbrels, lutes  
Bangeos, dulcimers and flutes.  
Bagpipe drones with Snuffling bellows,  
Viols, violins, violoncellos  
Pipes and Tabors, kettle drums,  
Trumpets Shrill, and deep humstrums.  
Harpicord, and Hauboy Sharp,  
Irish, Welsh and Jewish harp,  
Grave Hybernian Clarshoo.  
Cor de Chace, Guitarre also

The very year that Bacon, Callister, and others gathered to play music involving a viola da gamba in Maryland, an advertisement for music lessons appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* in Williamsburg, the capital of Colonial Virginia from 1705 until 1779. The March 28, 1755 notice offered “to teach Gentlemen and Ladies to play on the Organ, Harpsichord or Spinett; and to instruct those Gentlemen that play on other Instruments so as to enable them to play in Concert” and was posted by one Cuthbert Ogle, who had recently appeared in Williamsburg (likely directly from England) and who would die less than a month later, on April 23rd.<sup>29</sup> The surviving inventory of Ogle’s possessions, including an “old Brown Coat and 2 pair Breeches” and a half a pound of “Green Tea,” did not, in the words of one of the first scholars to study Ogle, “bear the marks of a distinguished and important gentleman.”<sup>30</sup> Unlike the musical Virginia planters Thomas Jefferson, Robert Carter, and Edward Tarpley, the first owner of the JRMB, Ogle was a professional musician and music teacher whose most valuable possessions, at death, were his instruments and his impressive collection of music.

The so-called “Ogle inventory” has occupied a central place in studies of music in Colonial Virginia for the last half century and has often been compared to Jefferson’s impressive music library assembled decades later at Monticello. Though historians have thoroughly picked over these and other archival materials documenting Williamsburg’s comparatively rich musical culture, they have missed at least one important item hiding in plain sight.

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29. “Libraries in Colonial Virginia,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3, no. 4 (1895): 251; Maurer Maurer, “A Musical Family in Colonial Virginia,” *The Musical Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (1948), “The Library of a Colonial Musician, 1755,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (1950), and “The ‘Professor of Musick’ in Colonial America,” *The Musical Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (1950); Mary R. M. Goodwin, *Musical Instruments in Eighteenth Century Virginia* (Research Report Series 120, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library, 1953); John W. Molnar, “A Collection of Music in Colonial Virginia: The Ogle Inventory,” *The Musical Quarterly* 49, no. 2 (1963); Benson, “Itinerant Dance and Music Masters,” 43; Stoutamire, *Music of the Old South*, 40; H. Earle Johnson, “Review of Music in the Virginia Colony: Selections from the Music Inventory of Cuthbert Ogle,” *American Music* 3, no. 3 (1985); LeHuray, *Virginians Will Dance*, Appendix “Ogle Inventory.”

30. Maurer, “Library of a Colonial Musician,” 39.

While Ogle's inventory offers a fascinating snapshot of mid-eighteenth-century musical fashion and includes, as one would expect, numerous works for various forces by Handel, Avison, Corelli, Hasse, and others, it also holds chamber music for the viola da gamba! Two-thirds of the way down the inventory one finds "5 Concertos by Ramesa [*sic*]," a reference to John Walsh's reprint of Jean-Philippe Rameau's 1741 *Pieces de clavecin en concerts, avec un violon ou une flute, et une viole ou un deuxième violon*, a collection famous among viola da gamba players for its distinctive instrumental textures, sharply drawn musical characterizations of eighteenth-century French musicians, and tricky writing for viola da gamba.<sup>31</sup> Unsurprisingly, the publisher, Walsh, suppressed the mention of the viola da gamba in his 1750 reprint, titled *Five Concertos for the Harpsicord Compos'd by Mr. Rameau. Accompanied with a Violin or German Flute or two Violins or Viola, with some Select Pieces for the Harpsicord alone* (see Figure 5). For readers not alert to evidence of the viola da gamba, Walsh's title has cleverly disguised the collection's actual contents. But one has simply to open the English-language reprint—presumably the print owned by Ogle—to the first page of music to discover a part labeled "*viole*" (the French term for viola da gamba), identical in range and cleffing to Rameau's original (see Figure 6). Preceding the music in Walsh's reprint is Rameau's original French "*Avis pour la viole*," translated misleadingly across the page as "Directions for the viola, or 2nd violin."

So surviving Colonial records reveal both printed didactic material for viola da gamba (in the Playford and Simpson prints), a variety of simple solo and chamber music for the instrument (in the same volumes), and a publication some of the most up-to-date and sophisticated chamber music for viol known in the mid-eighteenth century. Alongside the varied and (nearly) up-to-date contents of the JRMB, these prints substantially expand the European repertoire now known to have been available to Colonial musicians and offer a much less provincial (or "barbarous") picture of Colonial musicking.

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31. William C. Smith and Charles Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh during the Years 1721–1766* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1968), 283.

*FIVE*  
**CONCERTOS**  
 FOR THE  
**HARPSICORD**

COMPOS'D BY  
*M.<sup>r</sup> RAMEAU.*

*Accompanied with a Violin or German Flute  
 or two Violins or Viola.  
 with some Select Pieces for the Harpsicord alone.*

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*London. Printed for I. Walsh, in Catharine Street, in the Strand.*

OF whom may be had Just Publish'd for the Organ or Harpsicord.

Six Double Fugues by Mr Roseingrave	with Sig <sup>r</sup> Dominico Scarlatti's Celebrated Lesson.	
Handel's 12 Concertos	Handel's Fugues	Alberti's Lessons
Stanley's Concertos	Roseingraves 15 Voluntaries	Pisetti's Lessons
Avifon's Concertos	Zipoli's Voluntaries	Handel's Lessons
Burgels's Concertos	Paquini's Voluntaries	Handel's 60 Overtures
Halle's Concertos	Baffani's Voluntaries	Handel's 80 Songs

Figure 5. Title page, John Walsh's 1750 reprint of J.-P. Rameau's 1741 *Pieces de clavecin en concerts*.

2

LA COULICAM

Violon :S:

Rondement

Violo :S:

Clavecin

CONCERTO I

Figure 6. Detail of John Walsh's 1750 reprint of Rameau's *Pieces* showing the unaltered viola da gamba part.

### US-RIhs Mss5: The "James River Music Book"

The James River Music Book, listed in the catalogue of the Virginia Museum of History and Culture as "Musick song book, 1738," is a handwritten compilation of 34 leaves measuring approximately 6 x 7 3/4 inches. All but the first two leaves have ruled margins at either side, and are ruled with six five-line staves, which appear to have been drawn using a six-stave rastrum. The manuscript has neither pagination nor foliation; for ease of reference I have adopted an editorial pagination and have numbered each piece. Covered in damaged but largely intact leather-covered boards and lined with colorful marbled end papers, the JRMB appears to be largely in its original state. Half of one leaf is missing, rendering one piece (an arrangement of Handel's aria "Si, t'amo, caro") fragmentary. The watermark throughout the manuscript is Arms of Amsterdam (see Figure 7), in a version that does not match any of the seventy-eight examples provided by Churchill or the five provided by Gravell and Miller found on paper in eighteenth-century America. The wide distribution of the Arms of Amsterdam in English, French and Dutch eighteenth-century sources limits what can be inferred about the geographic origin of the JRMB's paper prior to its arrival in York County, Virginia.<sup>32</sup>

32. W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, Etc. in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and Their Interconnection* (Amsterdam: Men-



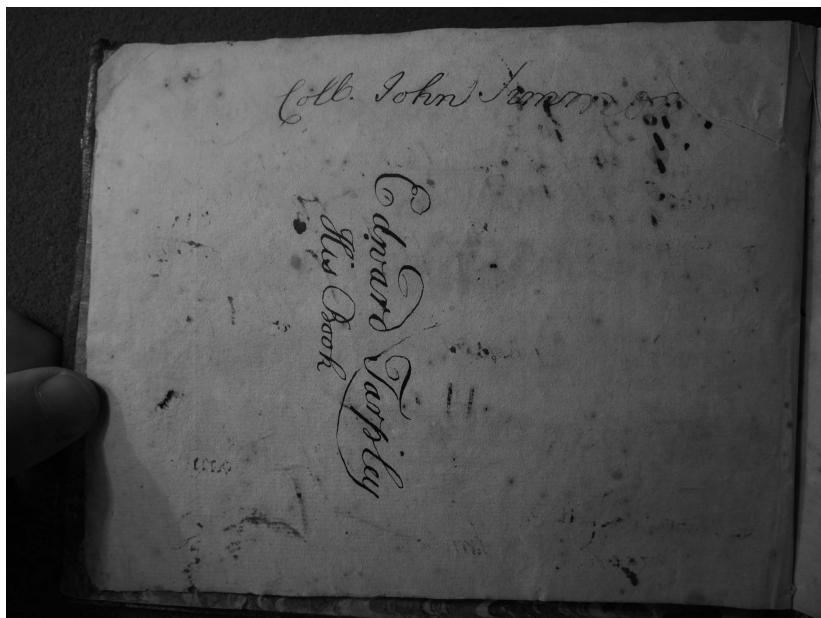


**Figure 7.** Arms of Amsterdam watermark as it appears in the James River Music Book.

The earliest date to appear, on the verso of the second leaf, is 1738, in what appears to be the same hand that signed the verso of the first leaf in large, elegant cursive “Edward Tarpley His Book” (see Figure 8). The first two leaves are a dense palimpsest of

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no Hertzberger, 1935). Thomas L. Gravell and George Miller, *A Catalogue of Foreign Watermarks Found on Paper Used in America 1700–1835* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1983) provides six examples of the Arms of Amsterdam watermark in paper used in British Colonial America. Five examples date from the first half of the eighteenth century, while one outlier is dated 1801.



**Figure 8.** Edward Tarpley’s signature on the verso of the first leaf of the JRMB.

signatures, pen tests, and scribbles, many by one James Cocke, who owned the manuscript later in the eighteenth century.<sup>33</sup>

The contents of the JRMB span from 1738 to at least 1821, a date that appears following the title of the “New March” in a later hand.<sup>34</sup> While several subsequent hands have entered dozens of tunes and dances from the second half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a substantial number of items appear to have been entered around the time Edward acquired and signed the manuscript. This earliest layer, which includes fourteen dances and airs for viola da gamba, two pages of pedagogical material, an arrangement for keyboard of the aria “Si, t’amo, caro” from Handel’s *Teseo* (1713),

33. Nikos Pappas, who initially described US-RIhs Mss5 in his dissertation of 2013, speculates that James Cocke, mayor of Williamsburg, Virginia 1767–68 and again 1772–73, may have come into possession of the JRMB in his role as an executor of the will of Edward Tarpley’s mother, Elizabeth, who died in 1772. Nikos Pappas, “Patterns in the Sacred Music Culture of the American South and West (1700–1820)” (PhD diss., University of Kentucky, 2013), 149.

34. A critical edition of the entire manuscript is currently in preparation by the author.

and three short “fugues for the organ,” appears to be in the hand of an experienced music copyist.<sup>35</sup> In all cases in this earliest layer, clefs, rests, ornament signs, and notes are entered correctly and fluently and display the confidence and elegance that come with experience (see Figure 9). Later hands, by way of contrast, feature all manner of notational eccentricities and infelicities and are reminiscent of the numerous surviving American manuscripts of the later eighteenth century preserving tunes and dances.<sup>36</sup>



**Figure 9.** JRMB number 1, Almain in C.

Edward Ripping Tarpley (1727–1763), whose signature appears on the first leaf of the JRMB, was born to wealthy landowners John Tarpley (1695–1736/7) and his second wife, Elizabeth Ripping (?–1772) in Richmond County, Virginia. The family would relocate to Williamsburg in the 1730s, where Edward’s father would die

35. I am indebted to Dr. Sandra Mangsen for identifying the surviving fragment of the Handel aria. See Sandra Mangsen, *Songs without Words: Keyboard Arrangements of Vocal Music in England, 1560–1760* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2016), 149–50.

36. The author’s upcoming critical edition of US-RIhs Mss5 will detail the collection’s non-viol da gamba items.

prematurely, leaving the family dependent on an inheritance from Edward and Mary Ripping, Edward's maternal grandparents.<sup>37</sup> In 1744 Edward would inherit his grandparents' plantation in New Kent County, Virginia, as well as livestock and household furniture.<sup>38</sup> The absence of marriage records suggests that Edward remained a bachelor until his untimely death in 1763, the same year that saw the deaths of two of Edward's brothers. Edward's will, executed by his brother James, bequeathed "my negro girl Sal" and an annual allowance to Edward's mother and the remainder of his possessions to his brother James.<sup>39</sup> No surviving will of any members of the Tarpley family mentions a viola da gamba or other musical instrument, though smaller household goods (such as books or instruments) are very rarely mentioned in such documents. Most of the records of New Kent County were destroyed by fires in 1787 and 1865, including Edward's estate inventory (if it existed) and other official records of the Tarpley family.

But enough of the historical record survives to offer a few hints about Edward Ripping Tarpley's musical circle and his surviving music copybook. Likely an important figure in the story of the JRMB is the organist Anthony Collins (d. 1741), whose name appears in the Vestry Book of Petsworth Parish, Gloucester County, Virginia. During the late 1730s the vestry book records efforts by the vestry committee to commission an organ from England for the Poplar Springs Church in Gloucester County. In June of 1737 the vestry committee secured Anthony Collins to assume the post of organist, which he held until, likely, 1740. The final mention of Collins in the vestry orders that "Mr Anthony Collins Officiate as Organis Untill Such Time As the mony [exceeding that collected for the purchase of the organ]...be Expended At the Rate of 20 pound per annum."<sup>40</sup> No additional payments are listed for Collins, perhaps because Collins died in January of 1741 in

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37. Pappas, "Patterns in the Sacred Music Culture," 149.

38. Mary Ripping, will, in *York County Wills and Administrations (1633–1811)*, Book 19 (York County, VA, 1762), 333–34.

39. Edward Ripping Tarpley, will, in *York County Wills and Administrations (1633–1811)*, Book 21 (York County, VA, 1762), 147–48.

40. C. G. Chamberlayne, ed., *The Vestry Book of Petsworth Parish, Gloucester County, Virginia 1677–1793* (Richmond, VA: The Library Board, 1933), 261.

neighboring Middlesex County. Collins's estate was inventoried and appraised on May 4th, 1742, and contained (among its many items): "a voyallen," and "a parcel of Musick Books."<sup>41</sup> Collins's musical expertise and the absence of records in Virginia prior to his marriage to Mary Ann Yates in Middlesex County in 1732 suggest that he emigrated to the Colonies from England or Ireland, a possibility supported by the conspicuous absence of slaves in his estate inventory. Pappas surmised that Collins was Tarpley's teacher and the possible origin of the music in the earliest layer of the JRMD (including the pieces for viol, the "fugues for the organ," and other items), if not the copybook itself. While Collins remains a likely candidate for the origin of the music in the JRMB, no examples of Collins's handwriting have come to light and the contents of the "parcel of Musick Books" listed in his estate inventory remain a mystery. The surety and competence with which the music in the earliest layer of the manuscript was entered argues strongly against Tarpley (who would have been an adolescent in 1738), while the hitherto unknown works for organ suggest a connection with Collins and the Poplar Springs Church.

Connections between the Tarpley family and the Carter family may offer additional clues to Edward Tarpley's musical activities. A surviving deed from 1708, witnessed by John Tarpley (1647–1738), Edward's paternal grandfather, documents the transfer of a plot of land to Robert "King" Carter (1663–1732), a wealthy Virginia planter who served as the acting governor of the Virginia Colony during the 1720s.<sup>42</sup> Carter's grandson, Robert Carter III (1728–1804), amassed a collection of musical instruments and books at Nomony Hall later in the eighteenth century, and has figured prominently (perhaps second only to Thomas Jefferson) in histories of music in eighteenth-century Virginia.<sup>43</sup> Born in 1728, Carter was a near exact contemporary of Edward Tarpley,

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41. Anthony Collins, estate inventory, Middlesex County, Virginia, 1742, in Middlesex County, Virginia Will Book C, 1740–1748, pp. 66–69.

42. Virginia Museum of History and Culture Mss2 C2469 c1-2.

43. Louis Morton, *Robert Carter of Nomini Hall* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1945); John R. Barden, "'Innocent and Necessary': Music and Dancing in the Life of Robert Carter of Nomony Hall, 1728–1804" (master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1983).

and attended the College of William and Mary Grammar School starting in 1737. Surviving records are incomplete, but given the location and prominence of the Tarpley family in the 1730s, and the fact that Edward's younger relatives appear in the Grammar School records in the 1770s, it is likely that Edward Tarpley and Robert Carter III knew each other, even if their simultaneous attendance at grammar school remains speculative. What is clear is that the historical record documents moments of contact between the Tarpley and Carter families, whose sons were active music enthusiasts in the Virginia colony.

If, as seems likely, Robert Carter III of Nomony Hall knew Edward Tarpley, then Carter also serves as a link between the community of musical planters in Virginia and Thomas Bacon, the gamba-playing clergyman from Maryland, as well as the Tuesday Club of which he was a member. In his dissertation on Carter, John Barden describes a series of letters from the late 1760s documenting an attempt by Carter to purchase Thomas Bacon's violin from Bacon's widow (Bacon had died in Frederick, Maryland, in 1768 and Carter seemingly wasted no time in following up with Bacon's widow about the instrument).<sup>44</sup> Bacon's widow had already, apparently, sold the violin, which Carter perhaps remembered from Bacon's visit to Williamsburg during the early 1750s, when Bacon played music together with Carter and other planter musicians on several occasions. As Barden recounts, "John Blair, in his diary, refers to Carter's presence in town, as well as Bacon and his violin: '[June 28, 1751] R. Carter arrived .... [July 16] Mr. Bacon &c dined here, we had fine musick .... [July 17] [Bacon] dined with Dr. Gilmer. Fine Violin.'"<sup>45</sup> Carter's correspondence does not mention a viola da gamba, nor is there any reason to think that Bacon would have brought his viol along with him when he made the trip to Williamsburg in the summer of 1751 to raise money for his charity working school. A letter dated 1747 (described above) documents Bacon's activities as a viola da gamba player, so it is tempting to imagine that Bacon met Tarpley (through their mutual contact Robert Carter III or any of a handful of other planter musicians in Williamsburg) and

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44. Barden, "Innocent and Necessary," 14.

45. *Ibid.*

perhaps saw, played, or copied the works for viola da gamba in the JRMB. What is certain—and illuminating—is that geographic distance did not prevent the various Colonial enthusiasts of the viola da gamba from, likely, comparing notes on their esoteric interest.

However they had originally found their way into Edward Tarpley's manuscript, the pieces for solo viol that begin the collection are typical of the many accessible works for the instrument in tablature and staff notation representative of English viol playing in the decades surrounding the turn of the eighteenth century. The fifteen individual pieces in staff notation are organized into two suites followed by two "cibells," an early-eighteenth-century dance derived from Jean-Baptiste Lully's 1676 *tragédie en musique, Atys*. As a set, the pieces reflect the English adaption (and, often, simplification) of French writing for the viol characteristic of many contemporary English print and manuscript collections.<sup>46</sup> While numerous features of the repertory and notation point to an English scribe, several of the works themselves, as we will see, appear to be related to French works for solo viol from the previous century that were widely copied into English sources and favored by English viol enthusiasts through the early part of the eighteenth century. In fact, the distinctively "Anglo-French" idiom of the viol works (including the settings of Lully's tune from *Atys*), offer new evidence that eighteenth-century music making in the Tobacco Colonies may not have been as strictly Italophile as previous sources have suggested. A thorough search of the known repertory for solo viol from—roughly—the century preceding the earliest layer of the JRMB has turned up no exact concordances and only one solid identification (a setting of "The skolding wife") among the thirteen short movements that comprise the suites. These works, if *unica*, are diverse enough that competing claims

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46. See, for example, John Moss, *Lessons for the Basse-Viol on the Common Tuning* (London, 1671); John Playford, ed., *Musick's Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-Way* (London, 1682); Benjamin Hely, *The Compleat Violist: Or An Introduction to Ye Art of Playing on Ye Bass Viol* (London, 1699); *Aires & Symphonys for Ye Bass Viol* (London: J. Walsh, 1710); John Cunningham and Andrew Woolley, "A Little-Known Source of Restoration Lyra-Viol and Keyboard Music: Surrey History Centre, Woking, LM/1083/91/35," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 43 (2010); Holman, "Continuity and Change."

to a French versus English origin will likely remain unresolvable, a situation complicated by the fact that much of the known English music for solo viol from the period is already deeply influenced by French style.

The first suite, comprised of short dances and “aires” in C major and A minor, begins with an almain (see Figure 9) preceded by instructions to “let down the 6th string one note lower,” a scordatura that contributes a low C string to the initial, stately dance and that strongly suggests an English origin of, at least, the first work in the collection.<sup>47</sup> Comprised of two strains of eight measures, the almain exploits the polyphonic possibilities of the instrument, featuring frequent leaps outlining multi-voice textures and full chords at several cadences. The first strain tonicizes G major, while the second strain briefly visits A minor before a chain of 2-3 suspensions leads back to a C major cadence with a final chord requiring all six strings of the instrument. The overall form, as well as the opening gesture, are very reminiscent of opening almands in the two suites ascribed to Benjamin Hely in the *The compleat violist* (c. 1700). Both of Hely’s Almands are of the same length as—and feature nearly the exact phrase structure of—the opening Almain in the JRMB, and all three pieces share a strikingly similar opening gesture (see Figure 10). By contrast, the two almands and one allemand in Walsh’s *Aires and symphonys for ye bass viol* (1710) are several measures longer and open with typical gestures that are nevertheless quite distinct from those that open the Hely and JRMB examples. The several “almands” in Surrey History Centre, Woking, LM/1083/91/35, ascribed to composer John Moss in Cunningham’s and Wolley’s article on the manuscript, are of a similar scale and idiom to the opening almain of the JRMB but do not feature the distinctive opening

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47. In *The Division-viol* (1665), Christopher Simpson offers several examples “in *C fa ut*, with the lowest String put down a Note, as we commonly do when we play in that Key.” These, as well as the numerous English works for lyra viol in *ffesh* tuning (two fourths, a third, a fourth, and a fifth—the exact tuning that results from the JRMB’s instruction to “let down the 6th string one note lower”), suggest that the English were particularly familiar with a “dropped C” tuning for viol. Later in the eighteenth century, a collection of music for viola da gamba in the hand of Carl Friedrich Abel, GB-Lbl Add. 31697, begins with a page showing the tuning of the viola da gamba that features a low C.



gesture found in the Hely examples. The Woking manuscript, likely dating to the late 1680s, is also the latest known English source of viol music in tablature.<sup>48</sup> Though solo music in tablature for lyra viol might appear to be a distinct genre, extant solo works appearing both in tablature and in staff notation in the later seventeenth century suggest that sources in either notation system are candidates for concordances with the JRMB. As we will see, for example, variations on “The skolding wife” similar to those that open the second suite in the JRMB appear equally distributed in sources in staff and tablature notation.



**Figure 10.** Opening gesture of JRMB number 1, Almain in C (top), compared with opening gestures of almans in Benjamin Hely’s *The compleat violist* (c. 1700).

48. (Assuming one discounts the tablature notation in the aforementioned Playford volumes.) Cunningham and Woolley, “A Little-Known Source,” 22.

Following the opening Almain in C major in the first suite are five aires and dances, including a titled aire, sarabande, and jig and untitled menuet, which feature the balanced phrase structures and characteristic musical gestures common to much of the surviving (smaller-scale) dance music for the viol of the period. The third “dance” in the sequence, however, a distinctive untitled piece in duple meter, presents something of a generic mystery. At twenty-one measures, the work is the longest among the pieces for viol and also one of the least dance-like, with its irregular phrase lengths, unpredictably placed cadences, and wide variety of rhythmic values (see Example 1). The irregularity of phrase structure and texture, as well as the placement in the midst of the suite and absence of an opening anacrusis, argue against a formal identity as an allemande. Yet the work is presented in two strains separated by the same double bar that divides each of the other dances in both suites. Were the piece found among works by French composers like Dubuisson or Hotman (for example in a collection like Warsaw 377, which Dodd dates to the 1650s or 1660s) one might be tempted to call it a *fantasie* or *ballet*, a title that was sometimes used to denote a certain level of non-dancelike abstraction (as we see below in the several “Skolding wife” variations that bear that title). The preludes in Warsaw 377 and cognate sources, for example, very rarely feature multiple strains, and never appear in the midst of a suite of dances. The mysterious work is the first in A minor in a set that begins with the C major almain, above, and so might suggest an alternate reading of the whole sequence as actually *three* suites, with the mystery piece forming the beginning of a (now shortened) suite in A minor. Such a reading would cast the mystery piece as another almain, though one lacking the form’s characteristic anacrusis and possessing a very eccentric—though not impossibly so—phrase structure.<sup>49</sup> The several scribal mistakes, canceled with a generous

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49. The division of sequences of pieces bearing the same key signature into distinct suites remains a central challenge to any editor working with sources of viol music from the decades surrounding the turn of the eighteenth century. Most sources, including the JRMB, seem to present individual works in sequences that suggest suites comprised of a minimum of four or five dances, such that a division of the first six works with the same key signature in the JRMB into two *separate* suites seems counterintuitive and not entirely justified solely by the generic

application of ink and unique to the viol pieces in their scale and severity, may attest either to a similar generic confusion on the part of the scribe or an act of composition or re-composition. The density and variety of ornament signs here is also unique, with two signs (an asterisk and a very small circle) appearing only in the mystery work.

Score

## [Untitled] VHS MS-5 C6454-1 #3 p9

Anon.

Example 1. JRMB number 3.

Two pages of theoretical material that appear later in the JRMB may offer a hint to the pervasive use of keyboard ornament signs throughout the works for viol. Copied on both sides of a single leaf, examples of ornaments, rhythmic values, clefs, and the gamut appear to closely match the content and layout of various sections of Peter Prellleur's *The Modern Musicke-Master* (1731), a compilation of short treatises on the violin, harpsichord, flute, oboe, and voice. The scribe seems to have gathered useful excerpts from various sections of Prellleur's compilation, including a full leaf enumerating how the gamut maps to the violin fingerboard

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ambiguity of the "mystery" work that occupies the third place in the sequence.

and how the treble and bass staves of a grand staff can represent the right and left hands of a keyboard player. The signs for “beat,” “shake,” and “slur,” as they appear in Prelleur, are labeled in the JRMB and occur with great frequency in the works for viol (see Figure 11). The English printed collections of viol music by Hely (c. 1700) and Anonymous (*Ayres and Symphonys for the bass viol*, printed by Walsh in 1710) make use of the same signs for shake (trill) and slur that appear in the JRMB, and the Walsh print presents the distinctive “crossed slur” that signals the need to separate notes played under the same bowstroke (see Figure 12).<sup>50</sup>

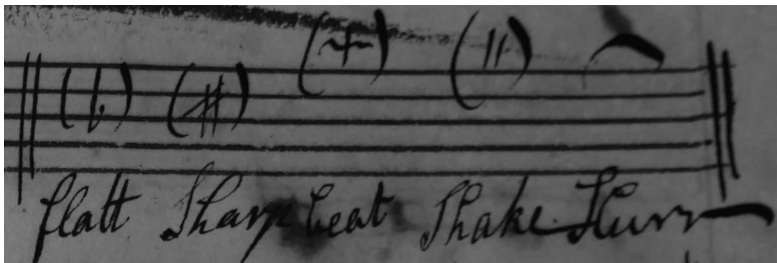


Figure 11. Table of ornaments, JRMB.

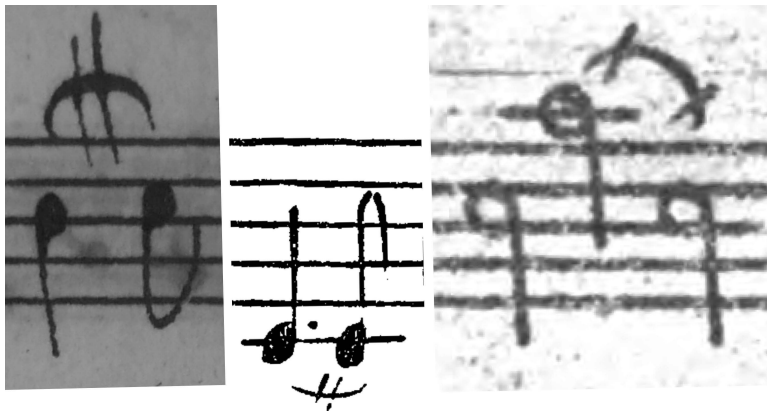
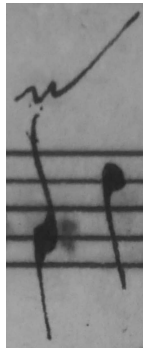


Figure 12. “Crossed slurs” in JRMB (left) compared to examples in Hely (c. 1700) (center) and *Ayres and Symphonys* (1710) (right).

50. In e-mail correspondence with the author, Peter Adams points out that the very same “crossed slur” figure appears in the viol tablature in GB-Lam, MS 600, associated with John Browne.

But the viol works in the JRMB also feature numerous idiosyncratic marks that suggest that the notation was intended for an amateur player or a student of the instrument. Where a simple cross (as indicated in Prelleur) is used to indicate a “beat” (mordant) on single notes in the pieces for viol, an alternate sign—nearly identical to the *custodes* that appear sporadically among the viol pieces—is used to indicate a mordant on the collection’s many unison double stops (see Figure 13). A professional player would likely recognize the redundancy of two different signs for the same ornament. Another idiosyncratic annotation—mentioned above—is the use of asterisks to mark notes that would ordinarily be played on an open string but that must be fingered for smoothness of phrasing, a marking that would be largely unnecessary to an experienced player. Several additional ornament signs occur sporadically—and not always correctly—among the works for viol in what appears to be a different ink (and perhaps a different hand) than the original layer of music and ornaments. This variety of annotation may suggest that the works were originally copied by a knowledgeable and experienced scribe, perhaps in England, but were then played and further annotated by an amateur player remote from centers of musical learning. Though the few English sources of viol music from the early eighteenth century show an increased preference for ornament signs also found in keyboard sources, the ubiquity of such signs in the JRMB argues for Anthony Collins, the Petsworth organist in the late 1730s, as a likely scribe.



**Figure 13.** Ornament sign for double-stop unison mordant in the JRMB.

The second suite is comprised of seven short movements in D minor, only the last of which, a “jigg,” bears a title. The first two pages hold an untitled set of variations on “The skolding wife,” a tune that appears in divergent forms in nearly a dozen widely distributed manuscript sources of solo viol music. As in nearly all the known sources of “The skolding wife,” the version in the JRMB features several variations on each of the tune’s various strains, though none of the JRMB variations are exactly concordant with any other source (see Appendix 2). In the JRMB the first strain of the tune, which is most consistent across the various sources, appears with an alteration to the third pitch, an eccentricity that may signal a relative distance of the source from the other known sources or some lost exemplar. The wide distribution of settings of “The skolding wife” in English and Continental sources means that its presence in the JRMB offers little insight into the origin of the manuscript, but does confirm the impression that the source’s viol music represents a somewhat “typical,” if slightly out-of-date, offering of music from around the turn of the century.

One source of “The skolding wife” does invite additional scrutiny for its potential proximity to the JRMB: Fitzwilliam Museum’s GB-Cfm MU MS 647, a compilation of musical items associated with the Ferrar papers. While I have not been able to examine GB-Cfm MU MS 647, Peter Holman’s detailed article and inventory reveal the following similarities with the JRMB in addition to the presence in both manuscripts of (nonconcordant) versions of “The skolding wife.”<sup>51</sup> First is the presence in both sources of English works that likely date to the first several decades of the eighteenth century (Holman’s likely copying dates for the various items in Fitzwilliam 647 range from the mid-1690s through the 1720s, a period that accords well with both the contents and probable history of the JRMB). Next, both sources contain similar repertoires, including short works for unaccompanied viol (exemplified by “The skolding wife,” a work emblematic of the accessible solo music in tablature and staff notation popular among English viol players prior to the turn of the century), keyboard arrangements of dances and

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51. Holman, “Continuity and Change.”

songs (such as the Handel minuet in G minor in Fitzwilliam 647 or “Si, t’amo, caro” from Handel’s *Teseo* in the JRMB), and, notably, the very same “cibells” (as Thurston Dart spelled it<sup>52</sup>) in the same order in both sources. Finally, according to Holman’s inventory, several of the pages of Fitzwilliam 647 bear an “Arms of Amsterdam” watermark, a version of which appears in the paper of the JRMB (see Figure 7). While important to mention, the significance of this potential shared watermark is mitigated by the popularity of versions of the design during the early eighteenth century and the inconclusiveness of comparisons of imperfect photographs of manuscripts physically separated by an ocean.

It is the distinctive cibells (“cabelles,” as they are titled in the JRMB) that appear in both Fitzwilliam 647 and the JRMB, however, that most compellingly suggest a relationship between these two manuscripts.<sup>53</sup> As Dart explains, the cibell was an instrumental dance form based on a chorus in Lully’s *Atys* echoing the exhortations of the goddess Cybelle as she descends to her temple. Both Lully’s melody as it appears in *Atys* and Purcell’s distinctive parody were further adapted by numerous composers including Jeremy Clarke, Godfrey Finger, William Croft, and Jean-Baptiste Loeillet, all of them, as Dart notes, either Englishmen or else foreign composers living and working in England. The roughly two dozen cibells chronicled by Dart originate among London-based composers and the couple of decades surrounding the turn of the eighteenth century. Though they share a title, Lully’s and Purcell’s cibells are different pieces, and it was Purcell’s cibell that was more widely emulated by composers in England. Of the sources known to Dart, only two—both manuscript compilations of keyboard dances—present both Lully’s and Purcell’s cibells, and in neither compilation do they appear adjacent to one another.

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52. Thurston Dart, “The Cibell,” *Revue belge de Musicologie* 6, no. 1 (Jan.–Mar. 1952): 24–30.

53. In *Dance and Its Music in America*, Keller cites an earlier appearance of a cibell in the Colonies in a letter written by ten-year-old Virginian Betty Pratt: “I can perform a great many dances and am now learning the Sibell, but I cannot speak a word of French.”

Yet Fitzwilliam 647 and the JRMB, neither of which was known to Dart, present nearly identical versions of both composers' cibells back to back in the same order and idiosyncratic arrangement for bass viola da gamba. Different title orthography (Fitzwilliam 647 offers "Another Sebell" and "A tune in imitation of Sebell made by Mr. Purcell" while the JRMB presents "French Cabelle" and "Purcell's Cabelle") and occasional divergences of melodic figuration and ornamentation suggest a relationship no closer than a shared model. Yet cibells in both sources are identically cleffed for viol in alto and bass clefs, and both sources collapse the solo and bass parts of Purcell's cibell into one voice, with clef changes used to show the origin of a given passage in the treble or bass part of Purcell's keyboard setting, the likely source, ultimately, of the piece. In the JRMB—but not Fitzwilliam 647—Lully's cibell receives the same treatment as the Purcell.

While not conclusive, the distinctive similarities between the JRMB and Fitzwilliam MU MS 647 help further establish the JRMB as intimately connected to the culture of amateur music making in England emulated by Colonial planters. After all, the members of the Ferrar family that likely compiled Fitzwilliam 647, as Holman describes, were successful, cultured merchants and clergy with a keen interest in the latest musical developments at home and abroad—perfect models, in other words, for the merchant planters of the Tarpley family in the faraway Virginia colony.<sup>54</sup> In combination with the other evidence of viola da gamba playing in the Tobacco Colonies described above—references to the presence and use of the instrument in eighteenth-century Virginia and Maryland as well as printed music for the instrument in Colonial libraries—the two suites and two cibells for solo viola da gamba in the JRMB suggest that the instrument played an active role in Colonial music making at least through the middle of the eighteenth century. That the viola da gamba had become strongly associated with French musical culture by the early decades of the century, as we see in the ubiquitous French dances that constitute the lion's share of English music for the instrument from the period, complicates narratives of Colonial

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54. Holman, "Continuity and Change," 37.



music making that have placed, perhaps, too much emphasis on the importance of Italian and Italianate sources. The stylistically French suites for solo viola da gamba in the JRMB, the cibells—an idiom strongly associated both with Lully and with Purcell’s embrace of French style, and the presence in Cuthbert Ogle’s library of Rameau’s *Pieces de clavecin en concerts* alongside English and Italian music suggest a surprisingly international musical culture and offer a preview of Jefferson’s and Franklin’s later fascination with French music. Franklin, whose surviving letters from 1778 and 1789 testify to his enthusiasm for the viola da gamba, had visited Williamsburg in 1756 on post office business and to receive the first honorary degree awarded by the College of William and Mary.<sup>55</sup> Perhaps Franklin was already interested in the viol, in which case one can imagine the tight-knit community of planter musicians endeavoring to bring Tarpley and the Philadelphian together. What is certain is that music (in print and manuscript), documented instruments, and players of the viola da gamba testify to a culture of music making in the English Tobacco Colonies that persisted at least until the middle of the eighteenth century.

### Appendix 1

Inventory of the James River Music Book (VHS MS-5 C6454-1), pieces for viola da gamba. All items are in Hand A and *unicum* unless otherwise noted.

The continuous pagination is modern. Clefs: A=alto, B=bass.

<u>Page</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Title; Key; Clef (of solo part); Concordances (=); Comment; References</u>
7	1	“Almaine”; C major; A, B clefs; preceded by instruction to “Let down the 6th string one note lower”
8	2	“Aire”; C major; A clef
9	3	[?]; A minor; A, B clefs; extensive cancellation
10	4	[Minuet]; A minor

55. franklinpapers.org (accessed 2/2018).

- 11 5 “Saraband”; A minor; A clef
- 12 6 “Jigg”; A minor; A, B clefs
- 13–15 7–11 [The skolding wife with 4 variations]; D minor; A, B clefs; not concordant with any of the known settings of “The skolding wife” documented in the Thematic Index of Music for Viols compiled by Gordon Dodd.<sup>56</sup>
- 16 12 [Courante]; D minor; A, B clefs
- 17 13 “Jigg”; D minor; A, B clefs
- 18–19 14 “French Cabelle” [J.-B. Lully]; A minor; A, B clefs; a so-called “Cibell,” an arrangement for solo viola da gamba of the “Descente de Cybelle” from J.-B. Lully’s *Atys* (1676) LWV53/38 that appears to be closely related to a version that appears in Fitzwilliam MU MS 647 (p. 38, no. 41)<sup>57</sup>
- 20–21 15 “Purcell’s Cabelle” [Henry Purcell]; C major; A, B clefs; a “Cibell” by Henry Purcell arranged for solo viola da gamba, based on the “Descente de Cybelle” from J.-B. Lully’s *Atys* (1676) LWV53/38 that appears to be closely related to a version that appears in Fitzwilliam MU MS 647 (p. 38, no. 42)<sup>58</sup>

## Appendix 2

Known “Skolding wife” concordances in staff and tablature (italicized) notation.<sup>59</sup>

*A-ETgöess MS ‘C’ [“Göess II”], seq. no 45*

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56. Gordon Dodd and Andrew Ashbee, Thematic Index of Music for Viols, online edition 2008, updated 2009, Hotman-4 1982, rev. 1992.

57. Dart, “Cibell”; Holman, “Continuity and Change,” 40, 47.

58. See note 57.

59. Dodd and Ashbee, Thematic Index, Hotman-4; Janet M. Richards, “A Study of Music for Bass Viol Written in England in the Seventeenth Century” (B.Litt. thesis, Oxford University, 1961), 249.

*D-Kl Ms. 4° Mus. 108 .2, f.9':2*

*D-Kl Ms. 4° Mus. 108 .3, f.2', "Ballet"*

F-Pc MS Rés 1111, f.237', "Allemand and Variatio"

GB-Cfm MU MS 647 p.13, "Skolding Wife"

*GB-CHEr MS DLT/B 31, f.50:2<sup>60</sup>*

HAdolmetsch MS II.c.24 f.1

*Lbl Ass MS 15118 f.33:1*

Mp MS 832 Vu 51 p.3:1, "A Schoole Grounde"<sup>61</sup>

US-NH MS Filmer 3, bass book, f.16v, "Aria," and f.18', untitled

US-RIhs Mss5, pp. 13–15, untitled<sup>62</sup>

WTM Sygn. R221/inv. 377 f.62, "Ballet"<sup>63</sup>

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60. Leycester MS.

61. Manchester MS.

62. James River Music Book.

63. Cracow Bass Viol MS.

## “IT IS TIME TO DIE”: COPRARIO’S SIX-PART PIECES

**Brent Wissick**

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### Abstract

John Coprario’s six-part consort pieces fall into the category of madrigal-fantasias. Some of them have Italian titles but no additional texts, some are untitled but are clearly in madrigal style, and two are fully texted pieces based on Italian poetry by Petrarch and Guarini. This article analyzes the relationship between the music and the poetry in the texted pieces, emphasizing the part played by word painting, and proposes new narratives for understanding several of the other pieces. An awareness of these references may enhance our interpretation of this music.

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**V**iol players love the music of Giovanni Coprario (c. 1575–1626), and many like to point out that his real name was John Cooper, which he Italianized to make him seem more exotic and credentialed, even though there is not much to confirm that he ever traveled to Italy, at least not until later in his career. He was indeed very popular in seventeenth-century England; he produced a large body of music that is preserved in many sources, and he held important posts—eventually including some at the Royal Court, where he taught music to the future King Charles I and also William Lawes. He clearly knew a great deal of Italian vocal music and poetry, as did many other English musicians of his time, although it is not always easy to understand how he applied it to his compositions.

I first played two of the Coprario six-part pieces from *Musica Britannica* volume 9, *Jacobean Consort Music*, in the late 1970s, and like many others was struck by how similar to Italian madrigals they were.<sup>1</sup> Those two did not have a text, but one of the Coprario five-part pieces in the volume did have an Italian title. This madrigal

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I wish to express my gratitude to Jack Ashworth, Sarah Mead, Seth Coluzzi, Tim Carter, Jonathan Wexler, and an anonymous peer reviewer, who read my work and contributed thoughts and ideas. Thanks also to Alex McKeveny for his help with the music examples.

1. Thurston Dart and William Coates, eds., *Jacobean Consort Music*, *Musica Britannica* vol. 9 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1955), 115–18.

connection was already suggested by Ernst Meyer in the 1940s and confirmed in 1976 when the scholar Richard Charteris first published an article about the five- and six-part pieces.<sup>2</sup> Soon after, Charteris released an edition of all of the six-part pieces that included an as yet unattributed text for one of the two in *Musica Britannica* that he discovered in a manuscript held at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, as well as another text in that manuscript by the famous poet Giovanni Battista Guarini (1538–1612).<sup>3</sup> All of this is documented in his later, revised edition of Coprario's complete six-part works that includes an expanded commentary with re-edited score and parts.<sup>4</sup> This is an often-used edition within the viol community today, and numerous players now know these pieces. I have played from it and used it in teaching many times. But even more work on Coprario has been done since that publication, summarized magnificently by David Pinto in his 2005 article about the madrigal-fantasia that updates what we know.<sup>5</sup> My goal here is to look even more closely at a few of the six-part pieces to see what more might be of interest to those of us who play them often, and perhaps invite us to perform them differently. I will start with the two fully texted pieces, proceed to the two with titles for which texts have been identified, examine one with a title that has not been matched to a text, and finally consider an untitled one.

### **“Che mi consigli, Amore” (PRB#6, C78/C178)<sup>6</sup>**

The madrigal text that Richard Charteris had not yet attributed

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2. Ernst H. Meyer, *English Chamber Music* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1946, repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1976), 148–49. Richard Charteris, “John Coprario's Five- and Six-Part Pieces: Instrumental or Vocal,” *Music and Letters* 57, no. 4 (October 1976): 370–78.

3. John Coprario, *The Six-Part Consorts and Madrigals*, ed. Richard Charteris (Kilkenny, Ireland: Boethius Editions No. 3, 1982).

4. John Coprario, *The Six-Part Pieces*, ed. Richard Charteris (Albany, California: PRB Productions, 2002).

5. David Pinto, “The Madrigal-Fantasia: Italian Influences in Early Seventeenth-Century England,” in *A Viola da Gamba Miscellanea*, ed. Susan Orlando (Limoges: Pulim, 2005), 95–128.

6. PRB numbers refer to the edition cited in footnote 4. C numbers refer to Richard Charteris, *John Coprario: A Thematic Catalogue of His Music with a Bibliographical Introduction* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1977).

in his two editions is "Che mi consigli, Amore." Christopher Field identifies it as coming from the first stanza of a canzone by the great Renaissance poet Francesco Petrararch (1304–1374), "Che debb'io far" (What shall I do?).<sup>7</sup> Those opening words are not used by Coprario, who starts mid-line and also omits some of Petrararch's later lines. David Pinto writes about these odd, almost brutal, omissions, posing a serious question: "Can Coprario and his patrons have felt any regard for verse models as poetry?"<sup>8</sup> I will be exploring this question further, and others after that. Here is Petrararch's text showing the lines omitted by Coprario. This translation is a blend of one by A. S. Kline of the complete Petrararch poem, as posted in the online Liedernet Archive,<sup>9</sup> and the one printed in the PRB Coprario edition, which includes only the lines Coprario set. PRB owner Peter Ballinger has told me that the PRB translation is by John Steele, although it is not attributed there, and it is used with permission.

**Petrarch (omitted lines in parentheses)**

(*Che debb'io far?*) Che mi consigli, Amore?

Tempo è ben di morire

E ho tardato piu chi'io non vorrei:

Madonna è morta

E ha seco 'l mio core:

(*et volendol seguire*)

(*interromper conven quest anni rei*)

(*perche mai veder lei di qua non spero,*)

(*et l'aspetter m'e noia.*)

(*Poscia ch'*) Ogni mia gioia per lo suo departire

In pianto è volta:

Ogni dolcezza di mia vita è tolta.

**Translation**

(*What must I do?*) What do you counsel, Love?

it is the right time to die

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7. Christopher Field, "Coprario" (2001), *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (accessed 2021).

8. Pinto, "The Madrigal-Fantasia," 105–6.

9. Petrararch, "Che debbio io far," trans. A. S. Kline, [https://www.lieder.net/lieder/get\\_text.html?textid+109332](https://www.lieder.net/lieder/get_text.html?textid+109332).

and I have delayed longer than I would;  
 my lady is dead  
 and she has my heart with her;  
*(and if I wish to follow)*  
*(I must interrupt this cruel life)*  
*(since I have no more hope of seeing her here)*  
*(and waiting galls me.)*  
 (Now) all my joy through her departure  
 is turned into weeping  
 Every sweetness of my life is taken away

Coprario begins his madrigal with a lively “canzona francese” rhythm for the text (Example 1a), initially outlining what modern theorists would call an A minor triad.<sup>10</sup> (I will be avoiding tonal language in much of this article, preferring to use modal terms, such as Aeolian, but A minor will serve to get us started.) All six voices participate in the imitations “Love advises me” for eight measures, offering an illusion of flighty Cupid until there is finally a thin evaded cadence on D (m. 9) and Cupid’s flight is interrupted by the statement “it is time to die.” This poem was one of many written by Petrarch after the death from the plague of his beloved, idealized Laura—it was a time when he renounced sensual imagery and truly wished his life would end too. The succeeding stanzas of his poem continue to explore this anguish, and several earlier Italian composers, including Palestrina and Tromboncino, had used some of them in their settings.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, Petrarch’s poetry was well known in Elizabethan England, so it is not surprising to see it show up in this madrigal. But I believe that Coprario was intentionally portraying a “little death,” a standard Renaissance metaphor for orgasm, and this may begin to explain the omitted lines that seem to do such violence to Petrarch’s verse. Starting in m. 9 of Coprario’s setting, the note values are long (Example

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10. The Coprario music examples throughout this article are from Richard Charteris’s edition for PRB, cited in note 4. Used by permission. The author’s recordings of music related to this article will be made available at [www.vdgsa.org/vdgsa-journal-supplement](http://www.vdgsa.org/vdgsa-journal-supplement).

11. See Liedernet entry for other settings.

1b), delaying a full cadence for seven dissonant measures, a word-painting technique that reminds one particularly of Luca Marenzio (1553–1599), whose madrigals were likely a significant model for the Italy-smitten Coprario. (David Pinto has suggested that Coprario's models were more musical than poetic.) This section cadences on A at m. 15. The piece is Aeolian, but Coprario frequently cadences on D as well as A. The C-sharp needed for D cadences is introduced as early as m. 2 and becomes important in several aspects of the piece, a detail that scholars of mode consider important.<sup>12</sup> This might seem like theoretical nit-picking, but it does help explain how early and often that C-sharp is used. Still, at this point Coprario's setting could be about Petrarch's desire to join Laura in an actual death. There is not yet an explicit expression of a "little death."

Soprano 1  
 Che mi con-sig-li, a mo-re, che mi con-sig-li, a more.

Soprano 2  
 Che mi con-sig-li, a - mo - re, che mi con-sig-li a

Alto  
 Che mi con-sig-li, a - mo - re,

**Example 1a.** Coprario, "Che mi consigli, Amore," mm. 1–2.

In m. 15, the texture changes to three high voices for the text "my lady is dead," so we could imagine it being sung by a trio of women, like the "Concerto delle Donne" of Ferrara—more word painting (Example 1c). Still, we could be talking about Laura. But in m. 18, Coprario introduces a surprising undulating chromatic line that includes a forbidden augmented second (B-flat to C-sharp) after the cadence on D, eventually taken up by all six voices to the text "she has my heart with her" for an excruciating ten measures (see Example 1d). As Coprario sets it, this could be a

12. Susan McClary, *Modal Subjectivities: Self-Fashioning in the Italian Madrigal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 49. See also Seth Coluzzi, "Black Sheep: The Phrygian Mode and a Misplaced Madrigal in Marenzio's Seventh Book (1595)," *Journal of Musicology* 30, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 129–79.



Soprano 1  
Tem - po è ben di mo - ri -

Soprano 2  
Tem - po, è ben di mo - ri - re E

Alto  
Tem - po, è ben di mo - ri - re E ho tar -

Tenor 1  
re, E ho tar - da -

Tenor 2  
re Tem - po, è ben di mo - ri - re E ho

Bass  
re Tem - po, è ben di mo - ri - re E ho

**Example 1b.** Coprario, “Che mi consigli, Amore,” mm. 8–11.

Soprano 1  
non vor - re - i; Ma - don - na è mor -

Soprano 2  
ch'io non vor - rei; Ma - don -

Alto  
- i; Ma - don - na è mor - ta, è

**Example 1c.** Coprario, “Che mi consigli, Amore,” mm. 15–17.

Bass  
E ha se - co'l mio co - re, mio co - re,

**Example 1d.** Coprario, “Che mi consigli, Amore,” mm. 18–22.

musical depiction of male difficulty and frustration with an act already completed by the lady, although it could still be mourning Laura. There are certainly examples in well-known Italian madrigals of word-painted orgasms, the earliest and most famous being found in Arcadelt’s “Il bianco e dolce cigno” of 1538, the original “Silver Swan” madrigal.<sup>13</sup> Coprario would certainly have

13. See McClary, *Modal Subjectivities*, 61. See also Laura Macy, “Speaking

been familiar with Arcadelt's sixteenth-century madrigals as well as with Petrarch's personal and spiritual journey of centuries before. But still, this chromatic passage could be about Petrarch's grief. Here however is where Coprario omits four lines of tragic verse, suggesting to me that Coprario was depicting the "little death" metaphor rather than Petrarch's sustained sorrow. There is suddenly a "happy" moment at the cadence on D in m. 28 (Example 1e) when one of the treble voices introduces the next line "all of my joy" with an enthusiastic return to the lively canzona rhythm of the opening, which could be referencing Cupid, and with a brief excursion into C. Is this depicting male success at last? The completion of the poetic line "all of my joy through her departure is turned into weeping" is expressed by a clear return to A in m. 30, but this seems to be happy weeping, rather than Petrarch's sorrowful weeping, and the two treble voices might be seen (and heard) as intertwining for the rest of the piece, voices crossing often and creating a shimmering texture. This is sensuous and beautiful music. Not much music of this time was ever copied or printed in score, but rather in parts or occasionally in organ short scores or lute tablature, so the visual experience of "seeing" crossing parts is not of Coprario's time, but still useful. Certainly skilled musicians of that era knew a crossing voice when they heard it, and we can appreciate it for the musical effect and poetic image it represents, even if it is not Petrarch's idea. Coprario did, after all, selectively leave out lines in Petrarch's poem making the edited text his own. He will make similarly interesting choices with Guarini texts in other pieces considered later in this article.

There is a cadence on F at m. 33, after which the final line of text is introduced in long, descending notes in the top two voices: "every sweetness of my life is taken away." The B-flats of the "soft" hexachord starting in m. 35 are particularly *dolce*. (Example 1f) These final measures, cadencing on A with a C-sharp, are indeed the sweetest-sounding music in the piece, suggesting the lovers are finally mutually happy, although the setting is from the male

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of Sex: Metaphor and Performance in the Italian Madrigal," *Journal of Musicology* 14, no. 1 (Winter 1996): 5. Not all scholars agree: see Mauro Calcagno, *From Madrigal to Opera: Monteverdi's Staging of the Self* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 105.

Soprano 1  
co - re;] Og - ni mia gio - ia per lo suo di - par - ti - re In pian -

Soprano 2  
Og - ni mia gio - ia per lo suo di - par - ti - re In

Alto  
co - re; Og - ni mia gio - ia per lo suo di - par - ti - re In

Tenor 1  
- re;] Og - ni mia gio - ia per lo suo di - par - ti - re

Tenor 2  
co - re; Og - ni mia gio - ia per lo suo di - par - ti - re In pian - to

Bass  
- re; Og - ni mia gio - ia per lo suo di - par - ti - re In

Example 1e. Coprario, “Che mi consigli, Amore,” mm. 28–30.

Soprano 1  
[og - ni dol - cez - za] di mia vi - ta, è tol - ta.

Soprano 2  
- za, [og - ni dol - cez - za] di mia vi - ta è tol - ta.

Alto  
og - ni dol - cez - za di mia vi - ta, è tol - ta.

Tenor 1  
- cez - za di mia vi - ta è tol - ta.

Tenor 2  
Og - ni dol - cez - za di mia vi - ta, è tol - ta.

Bass  
- ni dol - cez - za di mia vi - ta, è tol - ta.

Example 1f. Coprario, “Che mi consigli, Amore,” mm. 35–39.

composer’s point of view. Lots of “self-fashioning” is exhibited here, to borrow a term from musicologists Susan McClary and Mauro Calcagno. We rarely get the woman’s point of view in poetry and musical settings of this era, although there are several Guarini poems in female voice, particularly some in his pastoral tragicomedy *Il pastor fido*, where Amarilli addresses Mirtillo. This poet and these characters will become very important later in this article.

Before moving on to a theoretical/poetic analysis of other Coprario pieces, I'd like to offer viol players some specific practical suggestions for playing this madrigal based on these ideas that might be applied to other consort pieces as well. Many viol players already work to imitate the sounds of text in a variety of languages, and the opening line of "Che mi consigli, Amore" might start with a clear, fast "pull" bow to capture this articulation and subsequent airy vowel, ending these seven (eight with elision) syllables with a more legato "amore," good for sound and sense. The new section starting at the end of m. 8 seems an obvious pull bow for "tempo," changing to a slower bow for a more painful expression of this "time to die," appropriate to either meaning of "death." The change to a treble trio texture at m. 15 invites the third-line alto player to play a bit more strongly, now that the voice serves as a "bassetto." (That player can imagine herself or himself as the lowest voice in *The Supremes*.) The bass player can sneak in with a pull bow at m. 18 because of the vowel entrance, introducing the painful, visceral intensity of this chromatic passage. This is not "pretty" music, and it is okay for it to sound edgy and feel agonizing. The cadence in the middle of m. 28 can be a bit softer over the weak second syllable of "core" so that the interruption of the new line by Treble 2 is even more abrupt. The canzona figure can be played starting with a pull bow again, but this time with less bite ("Ogni") so that the emphasis of the text is on the word "gioia" with a push bow. Fast bows can give way to slower ones, until the obvious change to "pianto" (weeping) in mm. 30–31. Now the goal can be to create a beautiful viol sound with carefully blended unisons and shimmering acoustic "beats" when there are dissonances. As always, players can make sure there is still some intensity in the penultimate measure where the conventional dissonances occur, with a gentle resolution to the final weak syllable on what we might call a "major" chord. We have been hearing this C-sharp for much of the piece, where it allowed for several cadences on D, and it now contributes to a "happy ending"—especially as Coprario observes the convention of ending on a major chord.

**“Udite, lagrimosi Spirti” (PRB#8, C80/C179)**

The other surviving text in Coprario’s six-part pieces is based on some lines by the famous Giovanni Battista Guarini (1538–1612), an extraordinarily important poet whose verses were among those most often set to music in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. “Udite, lagrimosi Spirti” comes from his pastoral tragicomedy *Il pastor fido* (Venice, 1590), act 3, scene 6, and was used by at least twenty-two composers—actually a short list compared to some of Guarini’s other texts. Marenzio’s is the earliest known setting, dating from 1594, and might have served as an inspiration and in some ways even a direct model for Coprario’s version, although I cannot assert that Coprario owned a copy. We don’t know the exact dates of Coprario’s six-part pieces, but some of his so-called “Madrigali a5” (without texts, but with many Italian titles) show up in the Library of Moritz, Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel by 1613, confirming both that the madrigal-type pieces are relatively early Coprario and that he was becoming known on the Continent, alongside expatriots like Dowland and Brade who actually moved there.<sup>14</sup> Below is Guarini’s text with two translations, one by the late Marenzio scholar John Steele included in the PRB edition and the other by Nicholas Jones, a retired literature professor at Oberlin, who published a translation and commentary of 150 selected Guarini poems.<sup>15</sup> Steele’s is more literal, but Jones’s captures more meaning in English. (Jones is also an active viol player and singer, and his translation is printed with permission.)

**Guarini**

Udite, lagrimosi  
 Spirti d’Averno, udite  
 Nova sorti di pena e di tormento;  
 Mirate crudo affetto  
 In sembiante pietoso:  
 La mia donna, crudel più de l’inferno,  
 Perch’ una sola morte  
 Non può far sazia la sua ingorda voglia

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14. Charteris, “John Coprario’s Five- and Six-Part Pieces,” 370–78.

15. Nicholas Jones, *A Poetry Precise and Free: Selected Madrigals of Guarini* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018), 102–3.

(E la mia vita è quasi  
Una perpetua morte).  
Mi comanda ch'io viva  
Perchè la vita mia  
Di mille morti il di ricetta sia.

**Steele translation**

Hear, mournful  
Spirits of the underworld, hear  
of a new fate of pain and torment  
look at a cruel love  
in piteous guise:  
My lady is more cruel than the inferno  
since one death only  
cannot satisfy her greedy desire  
(and my life is almost  
a perpetual death),  
she commands me to live  
so that my life  
receives a thousand deaths a day.

**Jones translation**

Unhappy souls, weeping  
in Stygian darkness, hear  
of even more excruciating pains,  
as cruelty puts on  
the cloak of tenderness.  
My lady's more implacable than Dante's fiends,  
a single death—my death—  
won't satisfy her appetite for blood  
(and anyway, my life  
is simply one long death).  
She orders me to live—  
and thus my life each day,  
supplies her slaughterhouse a thousand deaths.

Coprario seems to honor Marenzio quite directly by building his piece on A, and with very similar contrapuntal imitations, but twisting things in different directions. Where Marenzio inflects up, Coprario inflects down. Marenzio's first entrance is in the

tenor, answered by soprano and soon by the others (Example 2a);<sup>16</sup> Coprario starts with the two top voices, and extends their descending chromatic meanderings for several painful measures before allowing the other voices to help call the sad spirits (Example 2b). Is this another of Coprario’s representations of the two lovers, but not so happily intertwined as in the close of “Che mi consigli”? (Viol players might recognize a purely instrumental consort-piece rendering of this motive in Tomkins’s *Fantasia No. 2 a6*. It would not be surprising to find that Tomkins knew this Coprario piece.)

[♩=72]

Soprano  
U - - - di - te,

Alto  
U -

Tenor 1  
U -

Tenor 2  
U - - - di - te, la - gri - mo - si

Bass  
U -

**Example 2a.** Marenzio, “Udite, lagrimosi Spirti,” mm. 1–3.

Soprano 1  
U - di - te, la - gri - mo - si Spir -

Soprano 2  
U - di - te, la - gri - mo - si Spir - ti,

**Example 2b.** Coprario, “Udite, lagrimosi Spirti,” mm. 1–4.

Marenzio offers one of his characteristic word paintings in m. 17 with a brief semitone dissonance on the word “tormento” (Example 3a). Coprario chooses to extend his dissonance in m.

16. Luca Marenzio, *Il settimo libro*, ed. John Steele (New York: Editions renaissantes, 1975).

21 to an excruciating length (Example 3b). With all due respect for Charteris's *ficta* suggestions in his edition, which sound conventional and only barely tormenting, I wonder if they are not needed, which would allow for more disturbing cross-relations.

At this point in their treatment of the text, the two composers have moved to different modal regions. Marenzio has chosen to cadence in F and then musically underline the words "mirate

Soprano  
— di pe - na, e di tor - men - to; Mi - ra -

Alto  
- na, e di tor - men - to, e di tor - men - to; Mi - ra -

Tenor 1  
sor - te di pe - na, e di tor - men - to; Mi -

Tenor 2  
pe - na, e di tor - men - to;

Bass  
- na, e di tor - men - to; Mi - ra -

Example 3a. Marenzio, "Udite, lagrimosi Spirti," mm. 15–18.

Soprano 1  
[no - va sor - te] di pe - na, e di tor - men - to; Mi -

Soprano 2  
di pe - na, e di tor - men - to; Mi -

Alto  
di pe - na, e di tor - men - to;

Tenor 1  
- na, e di tor - men - to; Mi -

Tenor 2  
- va sor - te] di pe - na, e di tor - men - to; Mi -

Bass  
pe - na, e di tor - men - to; Mi -

Example 3b. Coprario, "Udite, lagrimosi Spirti," mm. 19–22.



crudo affetto” (look at a cruel love) by dropping to D and adding one sharp, an expressive drop of a third, on his way through the phrase. Coprario has cadenced in D at m. 22 and depicts his look at the cruel one by rising to F-sharp on the way to a cadence on B that finally arrives in m. 26. Again, Coprario has chosen to extend and intensify his expressions of the poetic details, as many Italians of the next generation did. None of this is surprising in an era of parody technique, but it is nice to observe in a composer not often recognized for this kind of homage.

The line “La mia donna, crudel più de l’inferno” (My lady is more cruel than the inferno) is likewise treated quite differently by the two. Marenzio’s is set in homophonic declamation with a subtle chromatic lift on the word “crudel” (Example 4a), while Coprario continues in full six-part polyphony with an even fuller “cruel” chromatic shift in m. 33 (Example 4b). Marenzio’s sonority on “inferno” burns with a semi-cadence on C, while Coprario’s hell is depicted with a dense full cadence in A in m. 37 by way of an infernal low E in m. 36.

The image shows a musical score for five vocal parts: Soprano, Alto, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, and Bass. The music is in 3/4 time and one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: "La mia Donna, crudel più dell' inferno, Perch' una sola morte / Non può far sazia la sua ingorda voglia". The Soprano part has a chromatic lift on "crudel". The Alto and Tenor 1 parts have a chromatic shift on "inferno". The Tenor 2 and Bass parts have a chromatic shift on "inferno".

**Example 4a.** Marenzio, “Udite, lagrimosi Spirti,” mm. 24–27.

Both composers suggest the lady’s deaths at “Perch’ una sola morte / Non può far sazia la sua ingorda voglia” (since one death only cannot satisfy her greedy desire) with a change to higher, thinner textures, similar to the trio in “Che mi consigli,” and both propel the rhythmic energy with faster note values and syncopations. Both men contrast that with a return to fuller, lower textures at “E la mia vita è

Soprano 1  
so: La mia don - na cru -

Soprano 2  
La mia don - na, cru - del

Alto  
- bian - te \_\_\_ pie - to - so:] La \_\_\_

Tenor 1  
la mia don - na, cru - del, \_\_\_

Tenor 2  
- te pie - to so: La mia don - na, cru - del, la \_\_\_

Bass  
- to - so: La mia don - na, \_\_\_

S 1  
del \_\_\_ più \_\_\_ de l'in - fer - - no,

S 2  
più de l'in - fer - - no, Per -

A  
\_\_\_ mia don - na cru - del più de l'in - fer - no Per -

T 1  
[la mia don - na, cru - del] più de l'in - fer - no,

T 2  
\_\_\_ mia don - na, cru - del, cru - del più de l'in - fer - no,

B  
cru - del più de l'in - fer - no,

**Example 4b.** Coprario, “Udite, lagrimosi Spirti,” mm. 31–37.

quasi / Una perpetua morte” (my life is almost a perpetual death). They reinforce the male voice of the poet with this quite obvious gendering, and both extend the experience of the “perpetual death” with longer notes and delayed cadences; Coprario actually avoids a cadence from mm. 42 to 48. The line “Mi comanda” (she commands me) receives very different texture and rhythmic treatments, however. Marenzio returns to the lady trio texture with assertive, quick declamation (mm. 42–44, Example 5a), while Coprario sets a more expansive but firm series of imitative entrances (mm. 48–52, Example 5b).

Musical score for five voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, Bass) in 3/4 time, one flat. The lyrics are: Mi co - man - da ch'io vi - va, Per - ché la vi - ta mi -

**Example 5a.** Marenzio, “Udite, lagrimosi Spirti,” mm. 42–44.

The closing lines of Guarini’s poem include a trope familiar to the early music community from the already-mentioned Arcadelt, and from Cipriano da Rore’s famous 1547 madrigal “Ancor che col partire” (which is based on a text by Alfonso d’Avalos): that of a “thousand deaths a day.” The hyperbole of this metaphor is difficult to translate into a musical image, but both composers offer effective solutions; the earlier Marenzio’s is subtle, concise, and elegant, and that of Coprario is fuller and extended as we have come to expect. Marenzio’s is brief, with no line repetitions, starting with lovely syncopated suspensions and complemented with a beautiful surprise shift from C to A in mm. 47–48 (Example 6a). Clearly, Marenzio read Guarini’s “mille morti” as a pleasant experience, completed by a satisfied plagal cadence to A. Coprario chose to suggest the thousand deaths as Rore had done in “Ancor,” by numerous (maybe 15?) repetitions of the word “mille,” scattered throughout his six voices, ending like Marenzio on A but with an authentic cadence rather than a plagal one (Example 6b). But here too, the sonority is beautiful and happy rather than tormented. The earlier images of Averno and the Inferno have been left behind. This musical depiction of an obvious “little death” in the Guarini poetry gives me more confidence to hear Coprario’s version of “Che mi consigli” as depicting one as well.

Soprano 1  
- te), Mi co -

Soprano 2  
- te), Mi co - man - da ch'io vi - va

Alto  
Mi co - man - da ch'io vi - va, mi co - man -

Tenore 1  
- te), Mi co - man - da ch'io vi - va, mi co - man -

Tenore 2  
Mi co - man - da ch'io vi - va

Basso  
- te).

S 1  
- man - da ch'io vi - va Per - chè la vi - ta mia

S 2  
Per - chè la vi - ta mia,

A  
- da ch'io vi - va, [ch'io vi - va Per - chè la vi - ta

T 1  
- da ch'io vi - va Per - chè la vi - ta mia [per -

T 2  
Per - chè la vi - ta mia [per -

B  
Per - chè la vi - ta mia per - chè

Example 5b. Coprario, "Udite, lagrimosi Spiriti," mm. 48-55.

Soprano  
mi - a Di mil - le mor - ti, il

Alto  
mi - a Di mil - le mor - ti, il di

Tenor 1  
Di mil - le mor - ti, il

Tenor 2  
- a Di mil - le mor - ti, il

Bass  
Di mil - le mor - ti, il

S  
di ri - cet - to si - a.

A  
ri - cet - to si - a.

T 1  
di ri - cet - to si - a.

T 2  
di ri - cet - to si - a.

B  
di ri - cet - to si - a.

**Example 6a.** Marenzio, “Udite, lagrimosi Spiriti,” mm. 44–50.

Soprano 1  
Di mil - le, di mil - le mor - ti

Soprano 2  
la vi - ta mia] Di mil - le

Alto  
Di mil - le, di mil - le mor - ti, il di

Tenor 1  
- ta mia]

Tenor 2  
mia] Di mil - le, di

Bass  
mia

S 1  
il di ri - cet - to sia, di mil - le,

S 2  
[di mil - le] mor - ti, il di ri - cet - to sia, di mil - le,

A  
ri - - - cet - to sia,

T 1  
Di mil - le, di mil - le

T 2  
mil - le mor - - - ti,

B  
Di mil - le, di

Example 6b. Coprario, "Udite, lagrimosi Spirti," mm. 57-67.

### “Al folgorante sguardo” (PRB#3, C75)

Richard Charteris has considered the origins of the four six-part Coprario pieces with Italian titles but for which no text is underlaid in any source. But for two of them, “Al folgorante sguardo” and “Su quella labra,” he noticed that those lines also appear, like “Udite,” in Guarini’s *Il pastor fido*. I would like to acknowledge that this took a bit of serious digging on his part, since he made this discovery before one could do a quick online word search through a database. That suggests he actually read through all of Guarini’s long (but magnificent) play, which all of us should do. The two sections of text come from act 2, scene 1, from a longer speech by the shepherd Mirtillo in conversation with his friend Ergasto, describing an interaction with the nymph Amarillis.<sup>17</sup> The two texts occur in succession in the same speech, starting with “Al folgorante sguardo,” although as in the Petrarch poem Coprario has chosen to start mid-sentence here, which is again a bit odd, so he must have had something special in mind. Charteris is very skilled at text underlay, and he observes that the words are “unable to be accommodated to the music.”<sup>18</sup> David Pinto goes so far as to say that attempts will be “futile, except for a chance hit.”<sup>19</sup> Indeed almost no voice in any point of imitation includes enough notes for every syllable of the Italian text, so I agree with them that these pieces may never have been full-blown “sung” madrigals. But I do wonder if they might have been imagined as musically depicting the narrative images of the poetry? Pinto explores the history and models of the important English contributors to the genre, but does not consider this form of analysis.

Below is Guarini’s text with a translation from the early eighteenth century by Thomas Sheridan,<sup>20</sup> followed by some music examples with possible underlay. Guarini’s original is much more explicit than any of the seventeenth-, eighteenth-, or nineteenth-

17. Giovanni Battista Guarini, *Il Pastor Fido: Tragicomedia pastorale* (London: Giovanni Volfeo, 1591), 46.

18. Charteris, Introduction to the PRB edition, ii.

19. Pinto, “The Madrigal-Fantasia,” 107.

20. From *The faithful shepherd: A translation of Battista Guarini’s Il pastor fido*, ed. Robert Hogan and Edward A. Nickerson, trans. Thomas Sheridan (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989).

century translations, and might explain why Coprario did not develop a full texted version. Laura Macy notes that explicit madrigal poetry peaked in Italy during the late sixteenth century with some of Guarini's own poems ("Tirsi morir volea" is a good example) and was less employed in the seventeenth century.<sup>21</sup> The English themselves, in publications like *Musica Transalpina*, rarely translated the Italian texts to highlight those metaphors and did not do much with them in their own English madrigal poetry, although some will remember the opening line of one of Dowland's lute songs, "Come again, sweet love doth now invite," which could be read as explicit. There is, however, no trace of Arcadelt's "Bianco cigno" orgasm imagery in Gibbons's "Silver Swan" of the seventeenth century. Gibbons's swan really dies singing about foolish geese without suggesting a "little death." But I think Coprario understood the potential Italian metaphors fully, and they are vivid in his musical settings.

### **Guarini**

Al folgorante sguardo  
Come quell che sapea  
Che pur inganno era quellate, e furto  
Temai la Maestà di quell bel viso  
Ma da un sereno suo vago sorriso  
Afficurato poi, Pur oltre mi sospinsi.  
Amor si stave, Ergasto  
Com'ape suol, ne le due fresche rose

### **Sheridan translation**

(literally "flashing glance")  
When I approached her eyes that darted lightning  
as being conscious of my secret crime  
How was I struck by her majestic face  
Till emboldened by a serene smile  
I ventured on, Ergasto  
Then did love hide in her lips  
like a mysterious bee,  
Nestled between two new blown roses

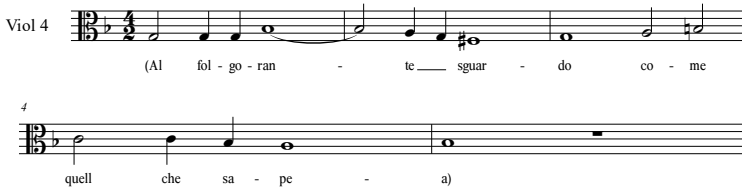
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21. Macy, "Speaking of Sex," 15–17.



Coprarío's opening notes and rhythms do fit at least the first words of Guarini's text, although there are just barely enough notes to fit the syllables up to the cadence in m. 5 (Example 7a). The low four-part texture does not seem a "flashing glance" but rather suggests the depressed state of the male character described in the next line who will soon be enlivened by the glance. The new point of imitation in m. 5 seems to fit the text rhythm and syllables of the line "Che pur inganno," but seems more a word painting of the "flashing glance," starting up in the treble "lady" register (Example 7b). Yet after the cadence in m. 9, the second treble begins a declamation of "Temai la Maestà" that actually fits the available notes for the entire point, and also the impression of the "majestic face" (Example 7c). After the cadence at m. 15, another women's trio seems to start the line "Ma da un sereno" before passing it to a male trio in m. 17. Is this a dialogue of nymphs and shepherds? By m. 19 all parts are participating, possibly completing the line with "suo vago sorriso" (her pretty smile) portrayed with lovely long notes, cadencing in m. 22. The busy counterpoint from there to m. 29 fits the text of "Afficurato poi," moving forward with confidence, after which begins a longer pair of treble and bass trios. "Pur oltre mi sospinsi" might fit at m. 29, followed by "Amor si stave" at m. 33. The nymphs return at m. 37 with "Com'ape suol," and they join with shepherds to conclude with what seems to be the final line "fresche rose" at mm. 40–41. These could be nice images of the bee and the rose for a close. But then Coprarío tacks on a final and very unusual surprise return of the opening music, presumably restating the line "Al folgorante sguardo," reminding us of the shepherd's "furtive crime" and the flashing glance. I have wondered about this spot for years, long before I had really looked into the substance of the Guarini text. Again Coprarío surprises us, since a return to an earlier musical idea or line of text at the end of a madrigal is rare. David Pinto's observation that Coprarío seems willing to twist poems to fit a musical goal rings true yet again.

Viol 4



(Al fol - go - ran - - te \_\_\_ sguar - do co - me  
quell che sa - pe - - a)

**Example 7a.** Coprario, "Al folgorante sguardo," mm. 1–5.

Viol 1



(che pur in gan - no \_\_\_\_\_)

**Example 7b.** Coprario, "Al folgorante sguardo," m. 5.

Viol 2



(Te - mai la Ma - e - stà)

**Example 7c.** Coprario, "Al folgorante sguardo," mm. 9–11.

### "Su quella labra" (PRB#7, C79)

Coprario's instrumental madrigal on "Su quella labra" seems to continue directly with more of Mirtillo's speech in act 2.

#### Guarini

Di (Su) quella labra ascose:  
E mentre ella si stette  
Con la baciata bocca  
Al baciare de la mia,  
Immobile, e ristrotta;  
La dolcezza del mel sola gustai,  
Ma poi che mi s'offrese,  
Anch'ell, e poi  
L'una, e l'altra dolcissima su ros  
(Fosse o sua gentilezza, o mia ventura,  
So ben che non fu Amore)  
E sonar quella labra,  
E s'incontraro i nostri baci

**1809 anonymous translation**<sup>22</sup>

And while my kisses she received  
 Unmoved and passive,  
 I alone enjoyed the sweetness  
 of her honeyed mouth—  
 But when with less reserve, she offer'd me  
 The rosy beauties of her ruby lips  
 (Whether twas gaiety or good fortune  
 Alas, I know twas not love!)  
 And when our lips in glowing kisses met

This madrigal-fantasia fits the “sense” of Guarini’s text, but it is even more difficult to underlay the syllables here than in “Al folgorante sguardo,” the problem noted by both Charteris and Pinto. The opening canzona rhythm matches “Su quella labra” well (Example 8a) and one can almost underlay the text “con la baciata bocca” to the dotted rhythms in m. 6 (Example 8b), possibly matching “al baciare de la mia” with the long-note cadential formula in mm. 9–10. Up until then, this has been a busy, chatty depiction of lips, mouth, and kisses rather than a languid, sensuous one, although the top treble lines started crossing and interlocking early on. The repeated notes in m. 11 fit both the text and sense of “immobile” (Example 8c), starting down low, but eventually passing to all six parts. Things get trickier at m. 20, where one might attempt to fit the text “La dolcezza” to the close, high quartet texture. It fits the number of syllables, but the Italian accentuation is not convincing. In m. 22 the new point of imitation allows for the underlay of “Ma poi che mi s’offresse” answered by “Anch’ell e poi” in m. 26 down in the shepherd register. Nymphs respond in m. 28 with a return to “ma poi” and finally get to sing “Anch’ell” themselves in m. 30, with the male voices handling the cadence into m. 33. The ending is less certain, and it is not clear where Coprario decides to finish Mirtillo’s speech and conclude this kissing anecdote. Treble 2 starts a new point of imitation at the end of m. 32 that could accept the text “L’una e l’atta dolcissima,” while Tenor 1 and 2 start a countersubject in m.

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22. Battista Guarini, *The Pastor Fido in English Blank Verse*, anonymous translation (Edinburgh, 1809).

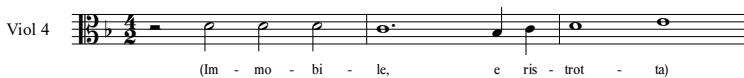
33 that accepts the line "E sonar quella labra" that follows after the parenthetical lines, which I think Coprario did not use. The cadence from m. 37 into 38 does allow for "su ros" completing the earlier line of "L'una." Coprario's final five measures are another of his expressive codas, although unlike "Al folgorante sguardo," he does not bring back music from earlier in the piece. I am not entirely certain, but observe that the line "E s'incontraro" might fit here, allowing for the word "baci" at the final cadence. This piece has, after all, been one about lips and kisses, and this ending might be the lingering kiss following all sorts of syllabic chatter. At the very least, Coprario's choice of this title from a speech in "Il pastor fido" offers us a general topic for thinking about this piece. Many of the syllables do not underlay well, but gambists might consider performing it with some playful banter and occasional warmth. It is clearly more than a severe counterpoint exercise.

Viol 1   
(Su quel - la la - bra a - sco - se)

**Example 8a.** Coprario, "Su quella labra," mm. 1–2.

Viol 1   
(Con la ba - cia - ta bocca)

**Example 8b.** Coprario, "Su quella labra," mm 6–7.

Viol 4   
(Im - mo - bi - le, e ris - trot - ta)

**Example 8c.** Coprario, "Su quella labra," mm. 11–13.

### "Sospirando" (PRB#5, C77)

Two of the six-part Coprario pieces have Italian titles for which no full text has been identified. I would like to take a closer look at "Sospirando" to consider, perhaps a bit fancifully, a possible poetic narrative to explain various sections in the music. (David Pinto

warns against this sort of thing in his article, but I will attempt it anyway.) There is little mystery to the word “Sospirando” (sighing), since the “sigh” is so often used in poetry and music of the time, in many languages. The first measures are just for Treble 1 and 2 (Example 9a), perhaps symbolizing yet again the intertwined lovers who “sigh” at each other in m. 1, with the rests as standard tropes for breathing (“So—spirando”). A third voice in the tenor joins in at m. 3, but clearly is distant from the two trebles, in range as well as purpose. Musically, it is again a sort of bassetto accompaniment, but not in the close harmony style of the lady trios we have considered so far. I wonder if this is a hidden observer of the lovers, a voyeur in the manner of French Trouvère poetry? Many viol players will know the Tenorlied “Ich stüend an einem Morgan” in settings by Ludwig Senfl that depicts a similar hidden observer, although in that case the lovers are arguing as they part in the morning, not sighing. Mario Calcagno discusses how Arcadelt also used a low voice as a commentary on the utterances of the upper ones in “Il bianco,” so Coprario would have had a model for one voice commenting on others.<sup>23</sup> This opening passage could be more than just a musical excuse to write a trio texture.

The image shows a musical score for three violas. The top staff is Viol I, the middle is Viol II, and the bottom is Viol III. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 4/4. Viol I has lyrics "(So - spi - ran - do)" under the first measure. Viol II and Viol III have rests in the first measure, followed by notes in the second and third measures.

**Example 9a.** Coprario, “Sospirando,” mm. 1–3.

There is a cadence on G in m. 8 (Example 9b), after which all six voices enter on an E-flat sonority. That shift down a major third with a cross-relation is something we have seen and heard used by Coprario, and others like Lupo as well, and the effect is stunning, partly because the texture is so open and wide and the note values are so long. (Another breath, but this time drawing in?) A busy chatter of close imitations follows in m. 9 that cadences

23. Calcagno, *From Madrigal to Opera*, 105.

in m. 12. But the pair of trios that begin at m. 13 are essentially declamations in homophonic blocks: high trio first, lower trio next (Example 9c). I have often wondered if this is actually uttering the name of the nymph "Amarilli" twice, although it has been pointed out to me by Marenzio scholar Seth Coluzzi that there are virtually no examples of a name repeated in the madrigal repertoire. The shift to an F-sharp in m. 17 returns the texture to another homophonic declamation, now with all six voices, that stretches into an expressive pre-cadential dissonance in m. 19. It may be conventional, but the A in the tenor against the B-flat in the bass is really beautiful, and leads into a sweet cadence in G (major) at m. 20.

Example 9b. Coprario, "Sospirando," m. 8.

Example 9c. Coprario, "Sospirando," mm. 13-14.

A longer group of high/low trios starts here with a cross-relation return to B-flat. These long notes are followed by rapid coloratura notes that are similar to “birds and bees” music in madrigals dealing with those pastoral images (e.g., “Rosignol” in Monteverdi’s Book III [Venice, 1592]). The nymph trio starts, the shepherd trio answers in m. 25, and the music accumulates energy with more close imitations. But Coprario really outdoes himself from m. 31 to the end (Example 9d). The hypothetical declamation of the name “Amarilli” returns in that measure, is

Viol I  
A - mar - il - li, A - mar - il - li, A - mar - il - li

Viol II  
A - mar - il - li, A - mar - il - li, A - mar - il - li

Viol III  
A - mar - il - li, A - mar - il - li, A - mar - il - li

Viol IV  
A - mar - il - li, A - mar - il - li, A - mar - il - li

Viol V  
A - mar - il - li, A - mar - il - li, A - mar - il - li

Viol VI  
A - mar - il - li, A - mar - il - li, A - mar - il - li

li)  
li)  
li)  
li)  
li)  
li)

**Example 9d.** Coprario, “Sospirando,” mm. 31–37.

repeated in m. 32, and then a third time in m. 33 but in a slightly stretched rhythm (in  $3/2$ ), so that the final syllable of "Amarilli" completes at the cadence on m. 34. I believe that Charteris's solution to the rhythmic notation is a very effective rendering of the original mensural coloration.

I have wondered about this passage for years as well, and have come to think it is yet another depiction of orgasm, where time is stretched as the name of the beloved is uttered several times. The final four measures, with the interlocking, crossing parts, might be a time for reflection on the just-completed act ("Was it as good for you as it was for me?"), with another small but stunning musical detail: the astonishing F over F-sharp cross-relation in m. 36 between Treble 1 and Treble 2. So many players assume it is a mistake, but it is a standard feature in much sixteenth-century music, and I am certain it is very intentional here: a reminder of the sweet pain just shared. I do hope that someday a new scholar discovers a text for this piece, and if I am still alive, perhaps I will be embarrassed by how far off my proposed narrative is. I have looked through lots of Petrarch, Guarini, and some others, and have not found anything that really matches. But truth is always better than fiction in this kind of situation, so I hope scholars keep investigating.

### Untitled (PRB#2, C74)

Finally, I would like to look at one of the two Coprario six-part pieces that are "untitled." This one was included in *Musica Britannica*, and is the one I have been playing and studying most since the 1970s. In fact, I had concocted my own narrative for it by the mid-1980s, one that now seems naïve and even wrong to me, but not completely off-base. This piece is in F with B-flat. Susan McClary reminds us that this was still considered the "Lydian" mode at this time, although using the "soft" hexachord.<sup>24</sup> It is not F major yet, easy as it is for us to call it that. But it is important to consider the implication behind this mode/hexachord choice in constructing some sense of the madrigal type, because mode suggests meaning. I had built myself a model of a "war" madrigal that I taught for many years, imagining this was a setting of a poem in which the lady was a castle to be stormed, opening with a

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24. McClary, *Modal Subjectivities*, 213.



solemn ceremony blessing the attempt, followed by many assaults with trumpet fanfares, and closing with another solemn ceremony when the lady surrendered. I wish I could take it all back, but the damage is done, and I hope some of the viol players I coached over many years will read this re-thinking.

The ceremony idea still seems right to me, but I now think it might be an Arcadian wedding, perhaps that of Mirtillo and Amarilli at the end of *Il Pastor Fido*, because the soft F hexachord is most often associated with pastoral, tranquil, and outdoor things.<sup>25</sup> By the eighteenth century it is codified as the hunting-horn key (Bach's Brandenburg Concerto No. 1) and indeed we know it well in the Beethoven Symphony No. 6. F major, as we can now call it, carries this pastoral association with it well into the nineteenth century.

Here is the final Chorus of Guarini's play, act 5, scene 10, that I think matches Coprario's untitled piece. Seth Coluzzi, who is writing a book on this Guarini work, has suggested to me that there is at least one other scene in *Il pastor fido* that could serve here, but let's explore this magnificent finale.

### Guarini

O fortunata coppia,  
 Che pianto ha feminato, e riso accoglie  
 Con quante amare doglie  
 Hai raddolciti tù gli affetti tuoi.  
 Quinci imparate voi,  
 O ciechi, e troppo teneri mortali.  
 I sinceri diletta, e i veri mali  
 Non è sana ogni gioia,  
 Ne mal ciò che v' annoia.  
 Quello è vero gioire,  
 Che nasce da virtù doppio soffrire.

### 1809 anonymous translation<sup>26</sup>

O pair most happy, who in tears have sown  
 And reap in smiles, when sorrow's clouds have flown;  
 How sweet the relish of your bliss at last,  
 When all your sighs and bitter woes are past.

25. McClary, *ibid.*, 212.

26. See note 19.

O blind and too faint-hearted mortals,  
Learn from hence true good from evil to discern.  
From now on, know this!  
All delight is not true joy,  
Nor all sorrow real annoy,  
That truest joy which springs  
From conscious virtue after sufferings.

There is essentially no pathos either in this poem or in Coprario's piece, which encourages me to continue with this bold match of a text to sections in the composition, admitting that without a title, this is the most difficult narrative to defend. As in "Al folgorante sguardo" and "Su quella labra," the lines often start with a possible rhythmic underlay, but don't always contain enough notes for the number of syllables or precise alignment with strong or weak syllables. David Pinto and Richard Charteris are yet again quite right to observe this problem in those titles, and it persists, but I think the narrative potential of this text is still strong.

Coprario's opening is solidly in the style of a full chorus address to the lucky couple: "O fortunata coppia." Guarini actually titled it a *Coro*, and his long/short/short/long rhythm fits the opening well (Example 10a). The cadence in m. 6 on F melts nicely into the next line "Che pianto," briefly suggesting weeping in low somber notes. But those are chased away with the happy smiles in m. 9 that are traded about for many measures until bliss is relished in m. 15. This is a short, compressed point of imitation that quickly cadences into F in m. 17, setting up a sort of fanfare that allows the underlay of "Hai radolcitti," although the actual "sweetening" seems to come musically in m. 20. A grand announcement comes at the end of m. 21 with yet one more "canzona francese" rhythm declaimed by all six voices, "Quinci apparate voi" (From now on, know this!), followed by a trio of nymphs addressing "O ciechi" (all blind mortals) in 23. A shepherd trio follows with the first of four closing morals, "I sinceri dilette, e i veri mali" (discern pleasure from evil) in m. 25, succeeded by "Non è sana ogni gioia" (not all is joy) in m. 29, which I suspect requires many line repetitions, with "ogni gioia" emphasized in the canzona rhythms of m. 33. Coprario had used something like this before in Petrarch's "Che mi consigli," as discussed above. The next moral,

“Ne mal ciò che v’ annoia” (Not all annoyance is bad), emerges in m. 36, sung by the four lowest voices with a quality of sacred polyphony, teaching us to be patient. Moral number four starts in m. 40 with a series of busy imitations for “Quello è vero gioire” (true joy) and closing with the final line in m. 44, “Che nasce da virtù doppio soffrire” (virtue born of suffering). This final line is set with layers of descending hexachords that again suggest liturgical music, and even allows us to fit the final word “soffrire” into the cadence. The profane has been made sacred: a madrigal ending that sounds like a motet. Arcadian love play in the pastoral F mode has been transformed into a noble, almost sacred lesson

The image displays a musical score for six violas and vocal parts. The score is in F major (one flat) and 4/4 time. It consists of three measures. The vocal parts are labeled Viol I through Viol VI. The lyrics are: (O) For - tun - a - ta cop - pi - a). The score shows a complex polyphonic texture with multiple layers of descending hexachords.

**Example 10a.** Coprario, Untitled, mm. 1–6.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a six-part piece. The first system contains six staves, each labeled from Viol I to Viol VI. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as quarter notes, eighth notes, and sixteenth notes, along with rests and slurs. The second system also contains six staves, continuing the piece with similar notation, including some notes with fermatas and longer slurs. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 4/4.

**Example 10b.** Coprario, Untitled, mm. 47–51.

about life and love, a fitting close to Guarini's magnificent work and Coprario's settings (Example 10b).

I hope I have invited a different way of thinking about these Coprario pieces. We already knew from his small treatise "Rules How to Compose" (c. 1610) and his reputation as a teacher that he was orderly in his thinking and pedagogy. We knew from playing the more conventional fantasias in two to four parts that he had disciplined himself to use the many tools of counterpoint in attractive ways. But this deeper look at the madrigal-fantasias in

six parts suggest that he had an intentional approach in interpreting this Italian poetry, even if he dismembered the poems themselves in ways that would have disturbed the poets. I am not suggesting we need to go “over the top” in exaggerating word paintings in performance. Indeed, part of the charm and sophistication of this music is how subtle the images are, and they might be best enjoyed with a wink and nod, rather than a loud laugh. (Laura Macy opens her article about metaphor in the Italian madrigal with a quote from *The Courtier* of Castiglione that might also work for Coprario as one who tried to pass as an Italian: “... using various ways of concealment, those present revealed their thoughts in allegories...”<sup>27</sup>) By choosing a poem by Petrarch, the fountainhead of Italian renaissance lyric poetry, for one of his madrigals, Coprario was clearly certifying himself as one who was grounded in this long tradition, and understood by those “in the know.” Even if Petrarch himself was truly mourning his Laura, I think it is clear that Coprario knew something about those who sang and played madrigals in England, especially ones based on Guarini from circulated manuscripts, and that they might exchange a glance when performing the phrase “It is time for me to die.” We too can exchange knowing glances when we play these in consort, and we can continue to admire and enjoy the rich repertory that Coprario left us, starting with the six-part pieces.

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27. Baldasar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* (1588), trans. George Bull (New York: Penguin, 1967), quoted in Macy, “Speaking of Sex,” 1.

## REVIEWS

**Michael Fleming and John Bryan.** *Early English Viols: Instruments, Makers and Music.* London and New York: Routledge Music and Material Culture Series, 2016. xxi, 373 pp., illus. Hardback ISBN 978-1-4724-6854-3; paperback ISBN 978-0-3672-2968-9; eBook (VitalSource) ISBN 978-1-3155-7839-2.

At first encounter, this handsomely printed book, written by two recognized experts, seems promisingly authoritative. Thirty-two full-color plates are supplemented by nearly ninety black-and-white “figures” generously scattered throughout the text. The seventeen-page bibliography is complemented by a detailed book index of similar length. The volume won the American Musical Instrument Society’s 2018 Nicholas Bessaraboff Prize, awarded annually for the best book-length publication in English.

And yet, the authors offer this charming disclaimer in their very first paragraph:

If half of England prefers to bathe in hot water and the other half in cold, it would be misleading to summarize the favoured temperature in a single word as “warm.” However much we value concise explanations and easily communicable ideas, any characterization of early English viols that ignores their great variety of form, manufacture and context can be no better than “warm.” More likely it would be fallacious and misleading.

The reader who expects to “find all of the answers” here will therefore experience a certain degree of frustration, but the viol builder, player, or researcher open to the speculative and the arcane as well as the factual will be fascinated by the breadth and depth of topics covered in the book’s eight chapters, which deal with the viol in England from its first appearance in Tudor times through the English Civil War (c. 1506–1642).

Chapter One takes its title, “English viols are the ones which one normally plays,” from Jean-Baptiste Antoine Forqueray’s c. 1769 letter to Friedrich Wilhelm II of Prussia. Fleming (author of all the chapters but the second, though “both authors were involved in all parts and are jointly responsible for the whole”) reminds the reader that already in 1687 Jean Rousseau’s *Traité*

*de la viole* described “old English viols” as those “which we particularly esteem in France.” Inventories prepared around 1730 show that the Parisian maker Nicolas Bertrand had twenty-three *violles angloises*, while Claude Pierray had two, and Pierre Véron eleven, *basses de violle d’angleterre*. Johann Philipp Eisel’s 1738 *Musicus autodidaktos* favors “the very old English [viols]... because of their delectable sound and their age, which is over a century,” so “Researching early English viols,” the chapter’s subtitle, is by no means an insular endeavor, but is also of interest in documenting later Continental practices.

There are, however, many obstacles to a clear understanding of the English viol’s early history, and the book is structured to take a close look into many of the approaches that can shed light on various aspects of the instrument and its music. Chapter Two’s title quotes Thomas Mace’s retrospective 1676 *Musick’s Monument* (not for the last time!) “*Choice consorts...(rare chests of viols)*” as it examines “The evidence of the repertory.” Although the earliest English prints (Holborne, Dowland) explicitly specifying viols as the preferred performance medium date from about 1600, though they may document earlier practices, the vast majority of the repertoire Mace eulogized (Ferrabosco II, Ward, Lupo, White, Dering, Lawes, etc.) was transmitted in manuscript, and “had a longevity that bears witness to a variety of performance contexts and probable changes in instrumental capabilities.” Using a carefully chosen selection of pieces for various combinations of viols, Bryan takes a close look at the overall compass of the works, the range of each individual voice, and the register (the most-used subsection of that range) to derive information about the instruments for which they were intended. Bass viols without soundposts, for example, would not have been able to project low notes very effectively, and indeed many of the Byrd compositions Bryan considers make but limited use of the very bottom of the bass viol’s range. Similarly, some relatively high descanting for treble viol confirms Praetorius’s 1619 claim that “the highest strings on the treble viol are quite soft.” One of the most tantalizing findings is the realization that a watershed may have been crossed about 1600, when “the more frequent appearance of the lowest notes of the bass viol...suggests a newfound confidence in this register

that possibly indicates some technical development, such as the more frequent use of a soundpost to maximize bass response, the availability of a superior quality of bass string, or possibly a change of body dimensions to give more substantial volume.” The chapter concludes with the observation that “one heterogenous set of instruments will almost certainly not do equal justice to the music of composers as widely separated in time as Cornysh, Byrd and Jenkins. No doubt in the seventeenth century, as now, people played new music on old instruments, as Mace recommended, as well as old music on new viols. But to appreciate fully the sonority of the compositions, and the varied interplay between their parts, we owe it to the creators of this repertory to experiment with a greater range of types, sizes and varieties of viol than our modern standardized world tends to presume.”

This challenge to the modern consort scene’s status quo makes a fitting segue to Chapter Three, which examines extant old viols from Mace’s jumping-off point: “We chiefly *Value Old Instruments*.” The book cites some forty-six extant antiques, identifying them both as they appear in Thomas MacCracken’s extremely useful Database of Historic Viols (an expansion of Peter Tourin’s pioneering *Viollist*, now accessible through the Viola da Gamba Society of America’s website), and in Michael Fleming’s 2001 PhD thesis “Viol Making in England c1580–1660.” But it is at precisely this point that the eager reader may experience the greatest sense of disappointment, for, as Fleming writes, “it is a matter of enduring regret that multitudinous caveats still make my conclusions [from the thesis] regarding the value of antique viols as organological sources seem so negative.” Viol labels may become detached and lost, or be deliberately inserted into some other instrument. They may have become difficult or impossible to read, even when modern scanning technologies are applied. Because of the prevailing high level of illiteracy in the period in question—as late as the 1640s, over two-thirds of English men and ninety percent of English women could not even write their own name—they may have been written by someone other than the maker and contain faulty information. Multiple makers or family members may share the same name, and the fluidity of spelling of the time means that the same name may appear in a variety



of guises. Surviving old instruments have often been subject to extensive changes, sometimes, as in the French habit of adding a seventh string to English viols (witness the Bertrand inventory), with full intentionality, at other times—due to aging, accidents, insect attack, or general wear and tear—more or less haphazardly. In any case, “almost no early English viols retain all of their major original components in an unaltered state.” The hygroscopic nature of wood is “a ubiquitous and inescapable reason why over many years all viols tend to break and fall apart,” and makes pseudo-scientific measurement to three decimal places of chimerical accuracy. Finials (scrolls and heads) may be separated from the viol for which they were intended and may, as entries in Samuel Pepys’s diary make clear, have been carved by hands other than those that fashioned the rest of the instrument. Old wood may be “recycled.” Fleming illustrates several fascinating examples of this, as when the decorative elements—which, Fleming finds, often echo similar ornamentation in contemporary architecture and bookbinding—on a bass viol are compromised when the instrument is radically cut down to make a tenor or treble. No less telling are the detailed photos of purfling and soundholes that have obviously been altered from their original state. Summing up, Fleming writes that “no aspect of the size, shape or setup as observed [in an extant early English viol] can be guaranteed to give more than a general idea of the original.”

Chapter Four turns to images. While the accuracy of their depictions varies widely, the best “can provide information about the form, appearance and use of early English viols that are uncompromised by degradation or alteration, unlike the instruments described in Chapter 3.” While there are barely a dozen extant sixteenth- or seventeenth-century English “moveable” (=oil) paintings showing viols (as opposed to painted walls and ceilings, though some few of these, too, survived “the Henrician dissolution and later iconoclasm”), and while the number of similar Continental paintings in England at the time is also quite limited, depictions of the viol in prints are more frequent. Even when certain physical aspects of the instruments themselves are sloppily portrayed, as when the number of strings does not tally with the number of pegs shown, or when a structurally important

element such as a tailpiece is absent, these images, *in toto*, provide valuable primary evidence for how viols were seen at the time. “Indeed,” Fleming writes, “they *are* what were seen at the time, and for those without ready access to the instruments, they may have been the *only* viols they saw.” In contradistinction to what we can glean from the relatively few extant instruments, “it is also clear that the most obvious aspect of viols—their shape (body outline)—varied greatly. No single type—‘viol’ shape, ‘violin’ shape, ‘festooned’ or more complex shapes—stands out as typical.” (Unfortunately, the website for Fleming’s English Viol Images database, described in the book as “probably close to comprehensive for the period addressed,” is not accessible at the time of this writing.)

Chapter Five examines viol making as a trade or occupation. Viol makers belonged to one of the two lower classes, “yeomen, which are artificers, or laborers.” They were unlikely to have received much schooling. In contrast to the practice in parts of Europe, no English guild explicitly governed viol making, though makers could join other guilds, but apprenticeships, which often started as late as age twenty and lasted for nearly eight years, were common. Sons sometimes pursued their father’s line of work, but “it is virtually impossible to confirm that this comprises a transmission and continuation of style and techniques of viol making.”

Moving from the general to the specific, Chapter Six begins with a discussion of the five makers singled out for praise by Mace—Aldred, Jay, Smith, Bolles, and Ross—using parish records, wills, and other written documents, many of which are reproduced in facsimile, to sort through a bewildering forest of alternate spellings (Alred—Aldred—Alldred—Aldrige—Aldrich; Bolles—Boles—Bowles; Ross—Rosse—Rose) to arrive at probable identifications. Other London makers discussed include some with extant viols (William Turner, Richard Blunt, George Gibs, and Thomas Cole), as well as some represented today only by violin-family instruments, such as Jacob Rayman, and some known only by name, like John Muskett or Thomas Barnard. Builders from elsewhere in England, who probably pursued some other craft as their main employment, were no doubt more

numerous than hitherto suspected (several case studies are given), and Fleming is “optimistic that further provincial viol makers will be identified,” but “the paucity of surviving records almost certainly means that the large majority of early English viol makers will remain unknown.”

Chapter Seven examines the early English viol makers’ physical resources, including wood, bow hair, rosin, and strings. Mace’s perplexing name for the best wood for lute bellies, and, presumably, viol tops, “Cullin-cliff,” is identified as timber split or “cleft”—rather than sawn—into useful sizes in Cologne. Nevertheless, “the combination of the lack of contemporary evidence about instrument making, and reliable information from instruments, makes it very difficult to establish exactly which woods the early English viol makers used, and exactly where they acquired it.” Fleming advises that the term “softwood” be used as the default description of viol belly wood, as “the terms spruce, fir and pine can be ambiguous and confusing and are best avoided.”

Chapter Eight humorously takes its title “‘I will search impossible places’: The future for early English viols” from the vow of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*’s Francis Ford to find his would-be cuckold, Sir John Falstaff. After reviewing aspects of the sizes, shapes, sounds, and reception of early English viols, Fleming sums up the book as having “the twin aims of understanding the past and enabling new refinement in the construction of instruments for us to use. It is part archaeology, part futurology,” the latter to include subjecting the extant instruments to “a series of systematic studies employing the most effective modern techniques and equipment,” such as CAT scanning and electron microscopy. While we await those investigations, we can join the Bessaraboff Prize Committee in saluting Fleming and Bryan for their “exceptional in-depth scholarship that presents extensive primary source materials and new research, and brings fresh perspectives to our understanding and appreciation of early English viols.”

Kenneth Slowik

**Maltzan Sammlung (Maltzan Collection)**, 10 volumes, edited by Sonia Wronkowska. Edition Güntersberg G301–G310, 2016.

**Vol. 1. Carl Friedrich Abel:** Duetto in G major for two Violas da Gamba (A3:5A). G301, ISMN 979-0-50174-3021-8. €12.80.

**Vol. 2. Abel:** Three Sonatas for Viola da Gamba and Basso (C minor A2:55A; G minor A2:56A; A minor A2:57A). G302, ISMN 979-0-50174-302-5. €19.80.

**Vol. 3. Abel:** Four Sonatas for Viola da Gamba and Basso (G major A2:58A; D major A2:59A; C minor A2:60A; A major A2:61A). G303, ISMN 979-050174-303-2. €19.80.

**Vol. 4. Abel:** Three Sonatas for Viola da Gamba and Basso (A major A2:62A; E-flat major A2:63A; E major A2:64A). G304, ISMN 979-050174-304-9. €19.80.

**Vol. 5. Abel:** Three Sonatas for Viola da Gamba and Basso (F major A2:65A; B-flat major A2:66A; D major A2:67). G305, ISMN 979-050174-305-6. €19.80.

**Vol. 6. Abel:** Three Sonatas for Viola da Gamba and Basso (G major A2:68A; C major A2:69; F major A2:70). G306, ISMN 979-050174-306-3. €19.80.

**Vol. 7. Abel:** Three Sonatas for Viola da Gamba and Basso (B-flat major A2:71; D major A2:50; G major A2:72). G307, ISMN 979-050174-307-0. €19.80.

**Vol. 8. Abel:** Three Sonatas for Viola da Gamba and Basso (D major A2:73; C major A2:74; D major A2:75). G308, ISMN 979-050174-308-7. €19.80.

**Vol. 9. Johann Christian Bach:** Sonata a Piano forte e Viola da Gamba obligato (C major WarB B3b). G309, ISMN 979-050174-309-4. €14.50.

**Vol. 10. Andreas Lidl:** Sonata a Viola da gamba Solo e Violoncello (C major). G310, ISMN 979-050174-310-0. €13.80.

In the past decade, three important new sources of viol music by Carl Friedrich Abel (1723–1787) have come to light and been systematically published by Edition Güntersberg: the “Second Pembroke Collection,” the “Ledenburg Collection,” and the “Maltzan Collection.” The first of these collections of pieces is a manuscript largely in Abel’s hand, which was purchased at

Sotheby's in 1994 by Elias N. Kulukundis. Together with the rest of his substantial holdings, much of which is concerned with the music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, it is on deposit at the Bach-Archiv, Leipzig (D-LEB). It contains ten sonatas for viola da gamba and basso (A2:42–51)<sup>1</sup> and four duettos for viola da gamba and cello (A3:1–4). This manuscript's provenance can be traced back to Abel's pupil and patron Elizabeth Spencer, Countess of Pembroke (1737–1831).<sup>2</sup> It has been designated the Second Pembroke Collection to distinguish it from the contents of the better-known Pembroke manuscript in the British Library (Add. MS 31,697).

The considerable holdings of Schloss Ledenburg were transferred in 2000 to the Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv Abteilung Osnabrück, Germany. The music in this vast collection of mostly literary material includes a wealth of eighteenth-century manuscripts and prints, featuring the viola da gamba, by more than a dozen composers. This collection came to the public's attention in 2015, when the musicologist François-Pierre Goy announced that he had found a copy of Telemann's long-lost twelve fantasias for solo viol in the composer's own edition. The Ledenburg Collection includes three previously unknown sonatas for viola da gamba and basso by Abel (A2:52–54), as well as several other pieces attributed to him for small chamber ensembles that include viola da gamba.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Catalogue numbers all refer to Peter Holman and Günter von Zadow: *Charles Frederick Abel's Viola da Gamba Music: A New Catalogue, Second Revised Version* (2017), available as a PDF download from <http://www.guenterberg.de/pdf-referate/abel-new-cat-2nd-revision.pdf>, which is an updated version of Peter Holman's "Charles Frederick Abel's Viola da Gamba Music: A New Catalogue, Revised Version," in *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal* 8 (2014): 77–117.

Holman and von Zadow's work supersedes the earlier catalogue by Walter Knappe, *Bibliographisch-thematisches Verzeichnis der Kompositionen von Karl Friedrich Abel (1723–1787)* (Cuxhaven, 1971). Holman's catalogue cross-references the familiar WKO numbers. However, the vast majority of the pieces from the three recently discovered collections are unique to those collections, and therefore do not have WKO numbers.

2. The manuscript's contents were published in 2014 in three volumes as modern performing editions by Güntersberg (G250, G253, and G254).

3. The collection is thoroughly described and catalogued in Günter von Zadow, "The Works for Viola da Gamba in the Ledenburg Collection," *VdGJSJ* 10

The largest of the newly exhumed troves of music by Carl Friedrich Abel comes from the Maltzan Collection of manuscripts in the library of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland (PL-Pu). Sonia Wronkowska discovered this collection in 2014.<sup>4</sup> It includes three manuscripts, which form the basis of Güntersberg's ten-volume edition called the *Maltzan Sammlung*:

**PL-Pu 7836**, a manuscript codex containing twenty-seven pieces for viola da gamba by Abel and a single sonata for viola da gamba and pianoforte by Johann Christian Bach

**PL-Pu 7457**, a manuscript of a single sonata for gamba by Abel (A2:75)

**PL-Pu 7458**, the autograph of a viola da gamba sonata by Andreas Lidl

This collection stems from a family estate in Milicz, Poland (formerly Militsch). This Silesian town was, from 1590 to 1945, an autonomous “state country” (*freie Standesherrschaft*) under the control of the German noble family Maltzan. Count Joachim Carl Maltzan (1733–1817), an amateur viol player, served as the Prussian Minister Plenipotentiary to London (1766–1782) under the reign of Frederick II “the Great,” the flute king. At the same time Frederick's nephew and successor Friedrich Wilhelm II, every bit as devoted to music as his uncle, but preferring the sound of bowed basses, employed the German virtuoso viol player Ludwig Christian Hesse at his court from 1766 until 1772 or 1773, when the crown prince retired his viol, shifting the focus of his obsession to the cello. Joachim Carl Maltzan was therefore connected with the two cities most associated with late-eighteenth-century cultivation of the viola da gamba, London and Berlin. His sojourn in the British capital coincided with the celebrated

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(2016): 43–80, also available from the Güntersberg website.

4. 2014 is the year given in Holman's *Catalogue* (p. 7). A flyer published by Güntersberg, distributed with this edition, which gives an overview of the Abel sonatas available from the publisher, states (apparently erroneously) that Wronkowska discovered the collection in 2016. However, her own unpublished master's thesis, *Muzyka na dworze rodziny Maltzan w Miliczu w XVIII i XIX wieku w kontekście zachowanego repertuaru. Katalog kolekcji*, had already been submitted at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań in 2014.

Bach-Abel concerts in that city, and he traveled to London again in 1787, the year of Abel's death and the sale at auction of the composer's possessions, suggesting several possible scenarios for Maltzan's acquisition of this important English Abel source.<sup>5</sup>

According to the critical report in vol. 1 of this edition, the primary Maltzan manuscript (PL-Pu 7836) in its current state consists of 86 folios of 23 x 28.5 cm paper manufactured by the James Whatman paper mill. It lacks contemporaneous binding and is likely missing the last few folios. It is the work of three people: Copyist A, who was also responsible for PL-Pu 7457; Copyist B, one of two hands, the other being Abel's, who wrote out the Second Pembroke manuscript; and Abel, who copied seven of the pieces into the collection and added corrections to a further three. This publication of the *Maltzan Sammlung* includes all twenty-three pieces (twenty-two by Abel) of the manuscript that are unique or sufficiently different from the existing form of the piece to constitute a separate version.

The vast majority of pieces in the collection (and, consequently, this publication) are sonatas for viola da gamba with an unfigured bass line. As was Abel's practice, the solo part is primarily in treble clef, intended to be played an octave down, and the lower part is in bass clef. In the source, nearly all of these sonatas bear the title "Sonata Viola da Gamba." In fact, each of first fifteen sonatas in the codex, all in the hand of Copyist A, has this name affixed. These sonatas are followed in the manuscript by the "Sonata a Piano forte, e Viola da Gamba obl:to di Sig. Bach" by J. C. Bach. In the succeeding autograph sonatas, Abel uses three alternative titles: "Sonata Viola da Gamba Solo e Basso di C. F. Abel" (A2:67); "Sonata Viola da Gamba Solo di C. F. Abel" (A2:69, 70, 71); and "Sonata Viola da Gamba Solo" (A2:50, 73, and 74).

While these naming variants probably have no significance, it is interesting that Copyist A consistently adopted a form different

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5. Sonia Wronkowska's Introduction and critical notes (in both German and English) in the first volume of the Güntersberg edition (G301) provide further valuable information on the state and history of the three manuscripts. The plan for a separate English version of the catalogue that forms part of her unpublished 2014 master's thesis (cited in the previous note), mentioned in her Introduction to vol. 1 (p. V, note 2), has not come to fruition, but in its place all of the pertinent information is now available in RISM online.

from any of the three used by Abel himself. This might provide a context for considering the designation “duetto” used for three of the pieces in the collection. The very first piece, which is in the hand of Copyist A, is called simply “Duetto” (A3:5A). Unlike all the other pieces in the collection, the two parts are notated in treble clef throughout. This has reasonably been taken as an indication that the piece is intended for two viols as opposed to viol with bass for an unspecified instrument; the two parts are roughly equal, taking turns at the melody and the accompaniment. The other two duettos (A3:1 and 2) are the only pieces in this manuscript in the hand of Copyist B, the anonymous copyist who wrote out some of the sonatas in the otherwise autograph Second Pembroke Collection. These two duettos are among the few pieces in the Maltzan Collection that appear elsewhere.<sup>6</sup> In the Second Pembroke they are in Abel’s own hand, and he includes the designations “viola da gamba” and “violoncello” on the two staff lines. Unlike the first duetto in this collection, presumably for a pair of viols, the lower part in these two pieces is reminiscent of the bass lines in the sonatas; it is more accompanimental and largely in bass clef but does use tenor clef for some of the higher passages. While the sonatas all have three movements, one of the duettos (A3:1) has only two. (While Abel’s sonatas are all in three movements, it is noteworthy that the J. C. Bach sonata in the same collection has only two movements.) The extent to which Abel viewed the duetto as a different genre from the sonata and how this may or may not affect instrumentation are open questions.

In Peter Holman’s estimation, even with all the recently unearthed music, much of what Abel must have composed for the gamba still remains lost.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, what we have here in the Maltzan Collection, especially when viewed together with the

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6. While these two duettos for viola da gamba and cello are included in the large manuscript codex of the Maltzan Collection, the same two pieces also appear in the Second Pembroke Collection. Because they are not unique to Maltzan, they are not part of the ten-volume *Maltzan Sammlung* set edited by Wronkowska. They were published, together with two other duettos, in the version in Abel’s hand in the *Second Pembroke Collection: Four Duets for Viola da Gamba and Violoncello*, ed. Thomas Fritsch, Edition Güntersberg (G250), 2014.

7. Holman and von Zadow, *Catalogue*, 60.



Second Pembroke Collection, offers the chance for a re-evaluation. The new repositories of sonatas provide more of a counterbalance to the weight of the virtuosic unaccompanied pieces of the Drexel Manuscript (US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871). The variety of keys in the Maltzan Collection is remarkable. Abel includes sonatas in keys that were neither advantageous for the viol nor favored by other Galant composers. The collection includes sonatas in eight major keys (C, D, E-flat, E, F, G, A, and B-flat) and four minor keys (C, E, G, and A). It almost seems that the challenge of writing in keys that were less idiomatically comfortable on the instrument inspired the composer to greater creativity. Among my own favorite sonatas in the set are those in C minor (A2:60A), E-flat major (A2:63A), and F major (A2:65A). This is not to say that the sonatas in the more familiar keys lack invention. The sonatas in D major (A2:59A) and G major (A2:68A) are among the many that stand out. It is impressive and somewhat unexpected how much imagination he displays. This will be new territory for those whose notion of Abel sonatas is based on the familiar *Six Easy Sonattas for the Harpsichord, or for a Viola da Gamba, Violin or German Flute, with a Thorough-Bass Accompaniment* ([?London, ?1772]) (A2:1–6). Galant music can come across as formulaic, but with the Maltzan sonatas we are in the presence of a fluent speaker who can communicate with the language any story that he chooses. His use of chromatic appoggiaturas, a hallmark of the style, is very personal. He remains fully within the syntax and grammar of the Galant without allowing himself to be constrained by dictates of “taste.” In these sonatas one can imagine his ability to enchant listeners at the Bach-Abel concerts and have them coming back time and again for more.

This collection also includes interesting features that offer insight into performance practices that might have ramifications beyond these pieces. For example, in the first movement of the E-flat major sonata (A2:63A) Abel provides a fingering for every eighth note of a passage arpeggiating across three strings. This fingering at once presents a clean technical solution in half position and, indirectly, implies that use of this position was not entirely self-evident. He provides short, inventive cadenzas or capriccios for approximately a third of the slow movements, in a couple of

instances adding the flourish in his hand to a page written out by a copyist. While relatively brief, these interpolations are somewhat longer than we might trust ourselves to add in similar situations. For example, the second movement Adagio of the E major sonata (A2:64A) contains 41 measures in 2/4 time. Abel's cadenza, as notated, adds the equivalent of ten measures, nearly 25% of the movement's length! The cadenza at the end of the slow movement of the F major sonata (A2:70) features sixteenth-note sextuplets, a rhythmic element used only fleetingly (early on) in the movement itself.

The collection also includes two pieces not by Abel. Johann Christian Bach (1735–1782) was Abel's closest associate during the three decades of his life in London. The two men were business partners, musical collaborators, and lived in the same building, so it is no wonder that the youngest of J. S. Bach's sons would have written for the viola da gamba. The sonata for pianoforte and viol in C major (WarB B3b) is a two-movement work that also survives in a version for piano and violin as no. 2 in his *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Pianoforte; with an Accompaniment for a Violin*, op. 10 (London, 1773). According to the notes written by Wronkowska and von Zadow, copyist errors suggest that the instrumentation with viol is secondary to the published violin version, in contradistinction to the other four accompanied keyboard sonatas by the composer that exist in both violin and viol versions. This charming piece makes an excellent case for such arrangements. The last volume of the Maltzan Collection is taken up by a witty three-movement work, which again specifies the combination of viol and cello, the *Sonata a Viola da gamba Solo e Violoncello* in C major by Andreas Lidl (?–before 1789). Lidl is best known as a baryton player, though he also played the viola da gamba. He served at the Eszterházy Court (1769–1774), where he composed baryton music for Prince Nicolaus and would have worked with Haydn. By 1778 he was living and performing publicly in London and died there by 1789. As in the Abel duettos, the cello's role is subservient to the viol's, but this exquisite piece is markedly different in style from the others in the collection, much more in the manner of Haydn than of the Northern-European Galant.

The music in the edition is complemented by an excellent critical apparatus in both German and English, in the form of Introductions by Wronkowska and notes on the edition by Wronkowska and von Zadow. These are liberally sprinkled with facsimiles of pages from the three manuscripts of the collection, which help clarify most points that might arise regarding editorial decisions. (These images of the very neat-looking manuscripts do make one wish for the opportunity to play directly from them, so we can only hope that someone will publish a facsimile eventually.) All pieces are supplied in score and parts (in the original clefs) along with additional alto-clef versions of the viol solo parts, originally notated in treble clef.

The first two decades of the twenty-first century have been kind to the fate of the viola da gamba. Only time can tell what further hidden treasures will be revealed.

John Moran

## CONTRIBUTOR PROFILES

**Loren Ludwig** is a viola da gamba player and music historian based in Baltimore, Maryland. He researches what he describes as “polyphonic intimacy,” the idea that music in the Western tradition is constructed to foster social relationships among its performers and listeners. Current research/performance projects include the use of the viola da gamba in eighteenth-century British colonial America and the reconstruction of a lost tradition of Early Republic New England string ensemble playing (both projects generously supported in part by the VdGSA via the Grants-in-Aid program). His research on (and interactive recordings of) the “alchemical fugues” from Michael Maier’s alchemical emblem book *Atalanta Fugiens* (1618) can be found at [www.furnaceandfugue.org](http://www.furnaceandfugue.org). He is a co-founder of LeStrange Viols and Science Ficta and a founding member of the seventeenth-century string band ACRONYM.

**John Moran** serves as president of the VdGSA (2020–2024) and teaches viola da gamba, Baroque cello, and musicology at Peabody Conservatory, where he also chairs the Historical Performance department. He studied modern and Baroque cello at Oberlin, where he was fortunate to get his foundation on the viol with Catharina Meints. He studied Baroque cello at the Schola Cantorum (Basel) with Hannelore Mueller, subsequently earning a Ph.D. in musicology at King’s College London where his advisor was Laurence Dreyfus, all the while practicing viol in secret. As a member of REBEL, he performs all over the U.S. and in Europe. With violinist Risa Browder, he co-directs Modern Musick, in residence at Georgetown University, and has appeared in concert and recordings with many American and European groups.

**Kenneth Slowik** is artistic director of the Smithsonian Chamber Music Society. A founding member of the Smithsonian Chamber Players, the Axelrod and Smithson quartets, the Castle Trio, and the Smithsonian Consort of Viols, he appeared frequently with the Amsterdam-based ensemble *Archibudelli*, and has been a soloist and/or conductor with numerous orchestras, among them the National Symphony, the Baltimore Symphony, *L’Orchestre Symphonique*

*de Québec*, the Vancouver Symphony, the Smithsonian Chamber Orchestra, and the Cleveland Orchestra. His extensive discography spans composers from Monteverdi to Stravinsky. A member of the University of Maryland faculty, he is artistic director of the Oberlin Baroque Performance Institute, and received the Smithsonian Distinguished Scholar Award in 2011.

**Zoe Weiss** is a Ph.D. candidate in musicology at Cornell University where she is writing a dissertation on networks of human and musical relationships within the Elizabethan In Nomine repertoire. A devoted teacher, she has been a Don M. Randel teaching fellow at Cornell and an instructor for the Cornell Prison Education Program. She is also a practicing musician who teaches and performs widely on the viola da gamba as a founding member of LeStrange Viols and Science Ficta and with the Oberlin Consort of Viols and the Smithsonian Consort of Viols. She has served on the board of the Viola da Gamba Society of America and is on the editorial board of the *JVdGSA*. Her recordings with LeStrange Viols, including an album of pieces from British Library Add. MS 31390 that emerged from her research, can be heard on the New Focus label.

**Brent Wissick** is Professor of Music at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where he has taught cello, viola da gamba, early music ensembles, and chamber music since 1982. His concerts have taken him throughout North America, Europe, Australia, and Asia as a soloist and with groups including American Bach Soloists, Parthenia, Smithsonian Chamber Players, Concert Royal, Boston Early Music Festival, Ensemble Chanterelle, Folger Consort, Atlanta Baroque Orchestra, Dallas Bach Society, Atlanta Symphony, and Wrocław Baroque in Poland; and he can be heard on numerous recordings. His online article “The Cello Music of Antonio Bononcini,” with sound and video, is published in the *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*. He is Past President of the Viola da Gamba Society of America, having served as President from 2000 to 2004, and was awarded Lifetime Membership in 2020. Having attended his first VdGSA Conclave in 1979, he continues to teach for workshops around the world.