The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society

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EDITORIAL

This year, 1985, *Chelys* pays its tribute to Bach and Handel (and why not Schutz you may ask?). Financial constrictions unfortunately, have led the journal to be kept well within bounds — a factor which itself perhaps, has led to greater unity.

The subject-matter is therefore concentrated almost entirely in the eighteenth century. This is, of course, as late as we are likely to go; but in the present climate it is probably one of the most fruitful areas of research. Julie Anne Sadie brings to light many new and fascinating details of Handel's life and musical connections; and Lucy Robinson, in discussing the editing of Bach's gamba sonatas, raises many current issues about the role and responsibility of the editor vis-a-vis the performer. Ian Woodfield has ventured into the later history of the viol to discuss the origins of the pardessus, and a visit to Britain by the Younger Sainte-Colombe.

The review section is devoted largely to the three new books of outstanding importance in our field, all of which were published in 1984. Ian Woodfield's major study *The Early History of the Viol* is reviewed by Peter Holman; Mark Lindley's *Lutes, Viols and Temperaments* by Elizabeth Liddle; and Richard Charteris's more specialised catalogue of the music of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder by John Cockshoot.

Back to the sixteenth/seventeenth centuries next year!

WENDY HANCOCK

[3]

HANDEL: IN PURSUIT OF THE VIOL

JULIE ANNE SADIE

It is best to confess straight away that Handel composed but three works containing parts for the bass viola da gamba. However, there is much to discover about the circumstances of these works, the players involved and the character of their parts. The three works to consider closely are the Icarus cantata *Tra le fiamme,* the lavish Roman oratorio *La Resurrezione* and the well-known heroic opera seria *Giulio Cesare in Egitto.* The cantata and the oratorio date from Handel's highly successful stay in Italy, 1706-10; the opera dominated the 1723-4 season in London. Of equal and pertinent interest are the violoncello parts Handel chose to incorporate into these and other contemporary compositions, not to mention the players who inspired them. In order to understand why Handel might have chosen to use a bass viol in a few particular works, let us also look around him, at the music by which he may have been influenced.

We begin in Halle, where in 1701 Handel met and formed a lasting friendship with Georg Philipp Telemann.[1] If there persists some question as to whether Telemann himself mastered the viol, there is none concerning the variety of music he composed for it, much of which seems to have been intended for the Darmstadt court violist Ernst Christian Hesse (1676-1762).[2] From Halle on to Hamburg, where in 1703 Handel was befriended by the lively-minded Johann Mattheson. There he was employed by Reinhard Keiser as a ripieno violinist and later as a continuo player in the opera orchestra.[3] From Mattheson he observed how prominence could be given to the bass without compromising the melody.[4] From Keiser he came to know first-hand of the evocative character of instruments and, in particular, the effectiveness of a solo cello as an obbligato instrument as well as a solo continuo one; Keiser himself may well have been influenced by Agostino Steffani's Hamburg version of Il *trionfo del fato* (1695) in which the cello was heard in solo and duet obbligatos.[5] Handel, in turn, chose to include a short aria with violin and cello, "Was ist des Hofes Gunst?", in his first Hamburg opera, *Almira,* presented with much success at the Theater am Gansemarkt in 1705. Nor was the fashion to fade; Keiser continued to offer the cello solo parts in his operas after Handel's time there, as did Georg Caspar Schurmann, Telemann and Francesco Bartolomeo Conti.[6]

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[1] See Telemann's autobiography in J. Mattheson: *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* (Hamburg, 1740), 354; and the letters of 1750 and 1754, written in French from Handel to Telemann, in O.E. Deutsch: *Handel: a Documentary Biography* (London, 1955/R1974), 696-7, 754-5

[2] Much of Telemann's manuscript music for the viol is in D:DS. See G.J. Kinney: 'Telemann's Use of the Viol as a Solo or Concertant Instrument', *JVdGSA*, xvii (1980), 5

[3] Mattheson: *Grundlage,* 93-6

[4] G.J. Buelow: 'An Evaluation of Johann Mattheson's Opera *Cleopatra* (Hamburg, 1704)', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Music: a Tribute to Karl Geiringer on his Seventieth Birthday* (London, 1970), 93-105

[5] A.D. McCredie: *Instrumentarium and Instrumentation in the North German Baroque Opera* (Ph.D. diss.: Hamburg U., 1964), 274-5

[6] McCredie: *Instrumentarium,* 276-8

And what of the viol? It was from the Hamburg period that the spurious C major sonata was once thought to date.[7] Mattheson included the viol in *Das neu-er6ffnete Orchestre* of 1713, though he dismissed the tone of the instrument as 'murmuring' and 'delicate'. Rightly, he particularly associated it with French music,[8] but even in France the bass viol was primarily considered a chamber music instrument; it is, for example, significant that Marin Marais (1656-1728) himself wrote no solo part for his beloved viol in any of his four Academie [4] operas.[9] Hamburg had long been a centre of viol playing and, among the local players, the opera composer Johann Theile (1626-1724) wrote for the viol, though exclusively in his sacred works.[10] Indicative of a continuing tradition of viol playing in Hamburg was Telemann's *Damon* (1719, rev. 1724), where there is an aria that evocatively pairs two viols with bassoons to underscore the text, "Losche mein Feuer, sonst muss ich verbrennen".[11]

Elsewhere in Germany, and in Vienna, the viol was occasionally called for in dramatic works, generally when a distinguished player was in residence. Such was the case in Dusseldorf, where in 1696 the well-known Dutch viol-player Johann Schenk (b. 1660) took up an appointment as chamber musician at the court of the Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm I.[12] Within a year of Schenk's arrival, the court composer Johann Hugo von Wilderer provided an aria for viola d'amore and viola da gamba in his opera Il *giorno di salute.* Twenty years later Casimir Schweizelperg combined those instruments in *Lucretia,* performed at the Durlach-Karlsruhe court. In Vienna, compositions based on the Passion (called *sepolcri)* were lavishly performed with rich orchestral'resources, scenery and costumes. Antonio Draghi combined violas and viols in one such work, entitled *La vita nella morte,* performed there on 16 April 1688;[13] Handel used that combination of instruments to create a truly mournful effect in an aria in *La Resurrezione,* "Piangete". The oratorio, and in particular the Passion, with its themes of suffering and redemption, gave composers, Protestant as well as Catholic, the ideal opportunity to avail their music of the affecting resonance of the bass viol. Antonio Maria Bononcini (1677-1726), a cellist like his older brother Giovanni (1670-1747), used the viol in a programmatic sinfonia 'che descrive il moto dei cieli' in his oratorio Il

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[7] T. Best: 'Handels Solosonaten', *HJb* 1977, xxiii, 28

[8] Mattheson: Dar *neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1713)

[9] A thorough investigation of the partbooks at the Bibliothèque de 1'Opera, Paris is needed to determine the degree to which the bass viol was used in pre-Ramellian opera. The only known printed opera scores specifying a viol are those of the second edition of Andre Cardinal Destouches's *lssé* (1708/R 1984), and then only in a chamber music texture *(Prologue,* scene iv, 59-61), and Jean-Baptiste Matho's *Arion* (1714) which calls for one bass viol in an 'air de musette' in Act I, scene iii, 48-9 and an unspecified number of viols in the storm music of Act 111, scene iv, 186-204. See M. Cyr: *'Basses* and *base continue* in the Orchestra of the Paris Opera 1700-1764', *EM, x* (1982), 155

[10] W. Kleefeld: 'Das Orchester der Hamburger Oper 1678-1738', *SIMG, i* (1899-1900), 237

[11] McCredie: *Instrumentarium,* 217

[12] E. Hintermaier: 'Schenk, Johannes', *TNG, xvi,* 623; see also S. Luttmann: 'The Music of Johann Schenck: some Observations', JVdGSA, xviii (1981), 94

[13] R. Schnitzler: 'Draghi, Antonio', *TNG*, v, 603 (this page contains a facsimile of the opening bars of this work)

trionfo della grazia (1707).[14] The cellist Marc-Antonio Ziani (c.1653-1715) made particular use of both the viol and the cello in his Viennese operas.[15]

Still in Hamburg, Handel made two other very important and pertinent acquaintances. One was Hesse, who late in 1705 visited Hamburg on the first leg of a concert tour that was to take him to the Netherlands and England; there he may have consulted the distinguished instrument maker, Joachim Tielke, who was still making seven-string viols such as Hesse would have required.[16] Hesse was more than a mere viol-player; he was Secretary of War to the Landgrave Ernst Ludwig of Hesse-Darmstadt. Protocol notwithstanding, Hesse's playing would have commanded special attention since he had recently been to Paris (1698-1701) to study the French style with Marais and Forqueray.[17] As we shall see, Handel and Hesse were to meet again when their paths crossed first in Italy and later in Dresden; they are known to have corresponded in the interim.[18]

Another person Handel met in Hamburg was Prince Ferdinando de'Medici of Florence. It was probably Ferdinando, impressed with the gifted young Handel, who encouraged him to visit Italy. Aware of the kinds of opportunity this connection would bring, Handel set off and indeed spent part of each of the next four years in Florence, performing and composing cantatas.[19] It was there, during [5] November 1707, that his opera *Rodrigo* was first privately presented.

However, it was to Rome that Handel was ultimately drawn. There the triumvirate of cardinals - Colonna, Ottoboni and Pamphili - lately joined by the ambitious Marquis Francesco Maria Ruspoli, were known to employ substantial numbers of musicians to perform the latest music. Foreign visitors frequented these establishments, eager to hear the music of such men as Arcangelo Corelli and Alessandro Scarlatti. There they hoped to meet the right people and to gain the patronage necessary to add a certain lustre to their own reputations before returning home. In this Handel was no exception, though the apparent effortlessness with which he attracted attention must have left rival aspirants astonished and glum; Handel performed everywhere, accepting and carrying out ever more ambitious commissions from all the great houses.

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[14] W. Dean: *Handel's* Dramatic Oratorios *and Masques* (London, 1959), 20

[15] T. Antonicek: 'Ziani, Marc'Antonio', *TNG*, xx, 673-4; see also Deutsch: 'Das Repertoire der höfischen Oper' der Hof- and der Staatsoper', *OMz, xxiv* (1969), 385

[16] See G. Hellwig: Joachim *Tielke: ein Hamburger Lauten- and Violenmacher der Barokzeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1980)

[17] E.L. Gerber: *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig, 1790-92/R1976) [ed. O. Wessely (Graz, 1977), i, 630-321; E. Noack: *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts vom Mittelalter bis zur Goethezeit* (Mainz, 1967), 163-78; F. Vanson: 'Minister of War and Viol da Gambist! Ernst Christian Hesse 1676-1762', *Strad, lxxxvii* (1976), 23, 25; Noack: 'Hesse, Ernst Christian', *TNG*, viii, 536

[18] 1 am very grateful to Dr. Jürgen Rainer Wolf of the Hessisches Staatsarchiv Darmstadt for kindly sending me a photocopy of a letter written in French from Hesse to the Landgrave, dated 18 October 1715, in which he refers to having received two letters from Handel (see Noack, *Musikgerchichte,* 169). Handel and Hesse's Dresden encounter would have been at the 1719 musical events surrounding the marriage of Crown Prince Friedrich August 11 to the daughter of Joseph I of Austria [O. Landmann: 'Dresden', *TNG*, v, 619; see also J. Gress: 'Handel in Dresden (1719)', *HJb* 1963, ix, 135; 'Herrn Johann Joachim Quantzens Lebenslauf von ihm selbst entworfen', in F.W. Marpurg: *Historirch-kritische Beytrdge zur Aufnahme der Musik, i* (Berlin, 1754/R1970), 212-131

[19] See E.T. Harris: 'Handel in Florenz', *HJb* 1981, xxvii, 41

For his part, Pamphili was quick to supply the newcomer with cantata and oratorio texts from his own pen: The first results were presented on 18 February 1707 when Handel - with a band of flute [recorder], oboe, three violins, viola, cello, contrabass and the usual assortment of ripieno players - performed a new cantata at a meeting of Pamphili's academy. The cantata was *Delirio amoroso: da quel giorno fatale.*[20] The cantata is framed by instrumental music, and each of the three main arias is differently accompanied. The middle aria, "Per to lasciai la lute", contains an expressive cello obbligato, performed on that occasion by Giuseppe Maria Perone [Perroni];[21] the following year Perone was employed by Ruspoli in the performances of La *Resurrezione.*[22]

Pamphili was well accustomed to fine cello playing, having employed for many years Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier [Giovanni del Violone] (b. c.1650), considered the finest Roman cellist of his day; Lulier was also a composer of cantatas, in which, not surprisingly, he is said to have indulged the cello.[23] In Handel's setting of Pamphili's allegorical oratorio Il *trionfo del tempo e del disinganno,* performed during Lent in 1707, he used the cello to accompany solo instruments in orchestral textures and, at one point, wrote for two cellos in thirds.[24] Only weeks before, Handel had been in Venice where it is inconceivable that he would not have attended a performance of Scarlatti's Il *Mitridate Eupatore*;[25] in it Scarlatti incorporated an aria with two obbligato cellos.

Pamphili also enjoyed the services of a viol-player, a 'Monsieur Sciarli', up to at least 1706 and perhaps later.[26] Was it for him that Handel composed the prominent viola da gamba part in Pamphili's cantata Tra *le fiamme?*[27] The orchestration of this cantata, now

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[20] On 12 February 1707 Pamphili's copyist, Grinelli, was paid for copying this cantata *(GB:Lbl:* R.M. 19.a.1); three months later (14 May) Ruspoli's copyist, Angelini, was paid for recopying it (D:MUs: Hs. 1905). H.J. Marx: 'Handel in Rom - Seine Beziehung zu Benedetto Card. Pamphilj', *HJb* 1983, xxix, 108-9; Harris: *Handel and the Pastoral Tradition* (London, 1980), 164-5

[21] Marx: 'Handel in Rom', 109; Schnitzler: 'Perroni, Giovanni', *TNG,* xiv, 547-8; Marx: 'Die "Giustificazioni della casa Pamphilj" als Musikgeschichtliche Quelle', *Studi Musicali*, xii (1983), entry 155; see also entries 129, 134, 139, 146, 147, 150, 163, 173 spanning the years 1705-8 22. U. Kirkendale: 'The Ruspoli Documents on Handel', *JAMS*, xx (1967), 228

[22] U. Kirkendale: 'The Ruspoli Documents on Handel', *JAMS*, xx (1967), 228

[23] O. Jander: 'Lulier, Giovanni Lorenzo', *TNG,* xi, 321

[24] The aria "Come nembo the fugge col vento", with pairs of oboes, violins and cellos (each used largely in thirds), proved so effective that two years later Handel retained the orchestration in a parody, "Come nube the fugge" (transposed from G to F major), in his Venetian opera Agrippina. See J.M. Knapp: 'Die drei Fassungen von Handels "11 trionfo del tempo" (1707, 1737, 1757)', *Konferenzbericht: Halle* ₂1981, 86. Handel again employed two cellos in the serenata Aci, *Galatea e Polifemo* (Naples, 1708), in the second of his Op. 3 concertos (pubd. 1734), and in his oratorio *Alexander Balus* (1747-8).

[25] D.J. Grout: *Alessandro Scarlatti: an Introduction to his* Operas (London, 1979), 72. Among the cellists working in Venice in the early 1700s were Giacomo Taneschi [E. Selfridge-Field: 'Annotated Membership Lists of the Venetian Instrumentalists' Guild, 1672-1727', *RMARC,* ix (1971), 43] and P. Zuane Verandi [D. Arnold: 'Orchestras in Eighteenth-Century Venice', *GSJ,* xix (1966), 4].

[26] Marx: 'Handel in Rom', 111; Marx: 'Die "Giustificazioni"', entry 150

[27] L. Montalto: *Un mecenate in Roma barocca: il cardinale Benedetto Pamphilj* (Florence, 1955), 504

thought to date from July 1707[28] is very similar to that of *Delirio amoroso,* with the viol effectively taking the place of the viola. Both works were copied by Ruspoli's amanuensis, Angelini, on the same paper,[29] clearly indicating that these works had been well received and were, to some extent, considered to be a pair. From 1708 Ruspoli employed Bartolomeo Cimapane to play the viol in his Sunday afternoon *conversazione;* from 1689 to 1705 Cimapane had been engaged by Ottoboni to play the contrabass and the violone and, more recently, by Pamphili to play the cello.[30] It would have been [6] for a performance at the home of one of these patrons (perhaps Pamphili) that Alessandro Scarlatti composed a single cantata with viola da gamba: Gid *sepolto* e *fra Ponda (n.d.),* for soprano, two violins, violetta, viola da gamba and continuo. In the middle aria, the viol is used as both concertante and ritornello instrument. It would fit neatly if this work were from his Roman period ending in 1708.[31]

Handel's setting of *Tra le fiamme* requires a six-string viol, played up to d". The first two arias begin with chords indicating generally how the viol part is to be realized (Plate 1), continuing in an ambitious *style brise* - often leaping between the first and sixth strings - with occasional passages in high registers (Example 1). In the third aria the viol, now and then aided by the continuo cello, aptly characterizes the text "Voli per 1'aria" with a relentless obbligato to challenge the nimblest of players (Example 2). All the more to make one wonder who the original player might have been and where and why he was trained on that instrument, if indeed he was Italian.

Plate 1. *Tra le fiamme*, "Tra le fiamme" [GB:Lbl: R.M.20.d.13] (the opening of the cantata) [not reproduced]

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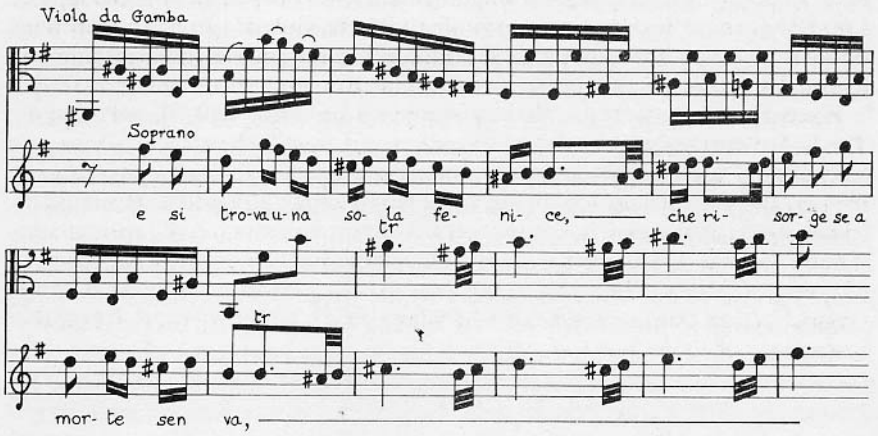
[28] Marx: 'Die "Giustificazioni"' entry 164. In that same month Handel's *Laudate Pueri,* commissioned by Cardinal Colonna, was performed in Rome; it contains passages for solo cello *(GB:Lbl:* R.M. 20.h.7). See A. Mann: 'Zur Auffuhrungspraxis Handelscher Vokalmusik', *HJb* 1966, xii, 38-9

[29] The autograph of *Tra le fiamme is* at the British Library (R.M. 20.d.13); the copy made by Angelini belongs to the Santini Collection, Munster. See R. Ewerhart: 'Die Handel-Handschriften der Santini-Bibliothek in Munster', *HJb* 1960, vi, 134; K. Watanabe: 'The Paper used by Handel and his Copyists during the Time of 1706-1710', *Ongaku* Gaku, xxvii (1981), 167; Harris: 'Handel in Florenz', 49-50

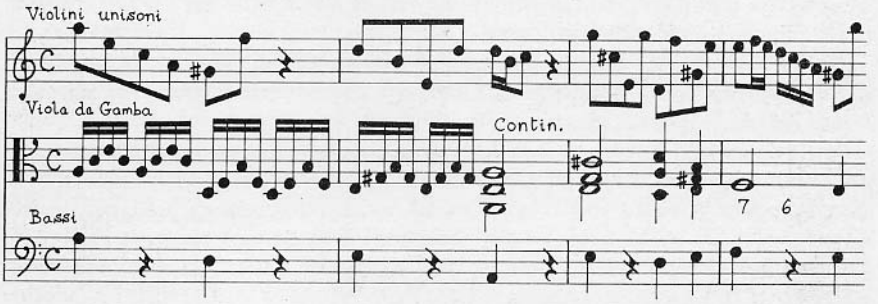
[30] Kirkendale: Ruspoli' 228; Marx: 'Die Musik am Hofe Pietro Kardinal Ottobonis unter Arcangelo Corelli', AnMc, no. 5 (1968), 166; Marx: 'Die "Giustificazioni"', entries 111, 155,173

[31] C.K. Van de Kamp Freund *[Alessandro Scarlatti's Duet Cantatas and Solo Cantatas with Obbligato Instruments* (Ph.D.diss.: Northwestern U., 1979), 674] kindly made a copy of this cantata available to the author.

Example 1. *Tra le fiamme* (text by Pamphili, 1707), "Tra le fiamme" bars 147-58



Example 2. *Tra le fiamme*, "Voli per l'aria"



We can infer from watermark studies of the paper Handel used in Rome that in the midst of composing cantatas he began work on *Rodrigo,* his opera for the Florentine Cocomero Theatre.[32] In that opera the influence of the Italian concerto grosso technique he, had recently acquired blends effectively with the skills he had already gained in Germany.[33] It is with evident confidence, then, that Handel paired the cello with a violin in close imitation in "Fra le spine", an aria stocked with ever more varied tutti and solo textures. Handel re-used ideas from this aria, transposed down a tone and leaner textured, in "Tu ben degno" of the immensely popular opera *Agrippina,* mounted in Venice in December 1709.[34]

Back in Rome early in 1708, Handel took up residence at Ruspoli's palace where not long after he must have begun work on the intensely innovative, extravagantly conceived centre-piece of the year's Easter musical events: *La* [8] *Resurrezione.* For the orchestra Ruspoli hired extra players from the other Roman musical establishments. It will be

[32] Watanabe: 'The Paper', 135; see also R. Strohm: 'Handel in Italia: nuovi contributi', *RIM,* ix (1974), 152; Knapp: 'Handel's First Italian Opera: "Vincer se stesso e la maggior vi ttoria[11] or "Rodrigo"', *ML,* Ixii (1981), 12

[33] See A. Hicks: 'Handel's Early Musical Development', *PRMA*, ciii (1976-7), 88

[34] See B. Baselt: *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis: Bihnenwerke [Handel-Handbuch, i]* (Leipzig, 1978), 75, for a list of four other versions of this aria.

recalled that from Pamphili he had recently acquired the cellist Perone, and from Ottoboni the all-purpose bass player Cimapane, who was by now regularly heard on the viol in the cantatas performed at the *conversazione.*

To them he added the gifted cellist Filippo ('Pipo' or 'Pippo') Amadei (fl. 1690-1730), who served both Ottoboni and Pamphili.[35] His participation in this event was to mark the beginning of a long association with Handel: in 1718 Amadei went to London (one imagines at Handel's invitation) where he joined the Haymarket Theatre orchestra; then in 1720 he collaborated with Handel, and fellow cellist Giovanni Bononcini, on the opera Muzio *Scevola.* It is tempting also to add Antonio Caldara to the list of distinguished cellists, for Caldara arrived in Rome early in 1708 looking for a new post, leis previous one having abruptly ended with the death of his Gonzaga patron. So, whereas it was Ottoboni who had Caldara's oratorio *Il martirio di Santa Caterina* performed on 8 February 1708 at the Palazzo della Cancelleria, it was Ruspoli who, a year later, made him his first *maestro di cappella.*[36] To this end Caldara might well have been persuaded to join the *Resurrezione* orchestra led by Corelli. Conjectures aside, the archival material made available to us is insufficient to enable us to know who occupied the remaining chairs among the six known to have been allocated to Handel's cellists.

Three well-known cellists, two associated with Ottoboni, can however be definitely ruled out. First, the great Lulier had retired by the turn of the century. Next, Nicola Francesco Haym (1678-1729) had left Rome for London in 1700, where he pursued careers as a cellist, an impresario and an opera librettist, to name but a few. He is known to have played in the orchestra for Handel's first London opera, *Rinaldo,* in 1711;[37] many of his librettos, including that of Giulio *Cesare,* were set by Handel. Finally, Giovanni Bononcini, who served Lorenzo Colonna and Ottoboni, left Rome in 1697 to take up a position at the Viennese court; in 1720 he went to London to become a composer for the Royal Academy of Music. *Astarto,* the first opera he gave there, was extremely well received; it is now lost, but we know from Charles Burney that the singers relied upon a solo cello for accompaniment in at least three of the arias.[38]

Both the *Resurrezione* bass-viol and first cello parts are technically demanding, though in quite characteristically different ways. As in *Tra le fiamme,* the viol player must be able to realize figures (Example 3), arpeggiate chords artfully, play in high positions on the top two strings, and blend the tone of his instrument with those of a succession of other concertante instruments (Example 4). Facility and endurance are required of the cellist in the arias "Naufragando va per 1'onde" and "Caro figlio". And, whereas Italian-trained cellists of Amadei's calibre were never in short supply, suitably trained viol-players could be found hardly anywhere but in Paris. It is not impossible, as we shall see, that Amadei was the viol-player in question, but for the moment our thoughts

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[35] It is interesting to note that Amadei's oratorio L *Abele* was given at the Ottoboni palace during Lent 1708 [M.F. Robinson: 'Amadei, Filippo', *TNG, i,* 303]; Kirkendale: Ruspoli', 237; Marx: 'Die Musik am Hofe', entries 10, 11, 13, 21, 27, 32, 43, 56, 57, 82 spanning the years 1690-95

[36] Kirkendale: *Antonio* Caldara: *rein Leben and seine Venezianisch-Römische Oratorien* (Graz & Cologne, 1966), 39-41

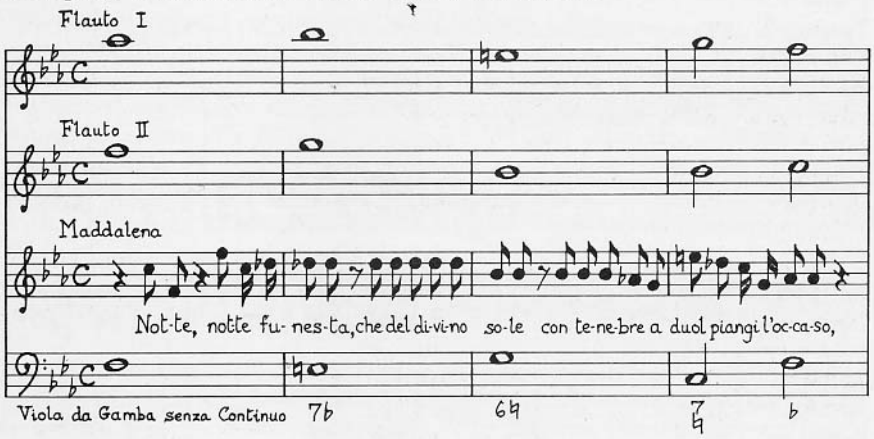
[37] J. Hawkins: A General History of the Science and Practice of Music (London, 1776/R 1963), ii, 814

[38] . C. Burney: A *General History of Music* (London, 1776-89); ed. F. Mercer (New York, 1935/R1957), ii, 707-8

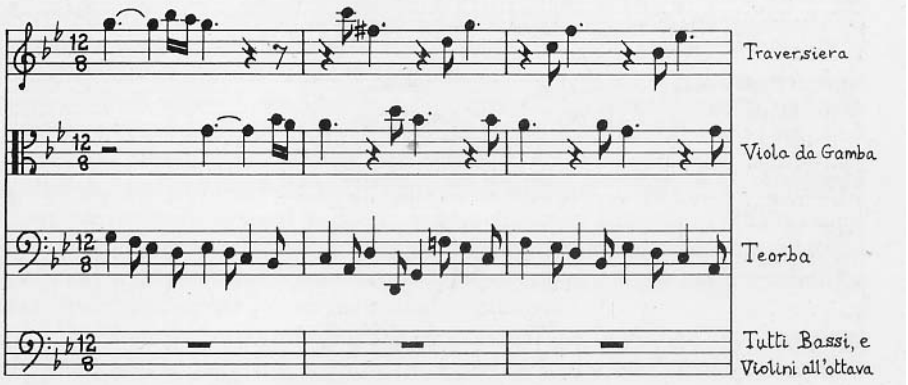
inevitably return to the [9] mysterious Monsieur Sciarli [Charly?], who was presumably of French origin, and the ubiquitous Herr Hesse.

The identity of the viol-player in *La Resurrezione is* not recorded in the Ruspoli documents. However, this particular omission in the regular accounts might be explained were the player a distinguished foreign visitor. The prominence Handel assigned the viol from the overture onwards certainly suggests a virtuoso player of distinction. To be paired in concertino parts with Corelli in the overture (Example 5), and in two of Maddalena's accompanied arias, the haunting and agonized "Per me gia di morire" (Example 6) and the triumphant "Se impassibile immortale sei risorto, o Sole amato", would have been an honour not lightly taken.

Example 3. *La Resurrezione* (1708), "Notte, notte funesta"



Example 4. *La Resurrezione*, "Così la tortorella"



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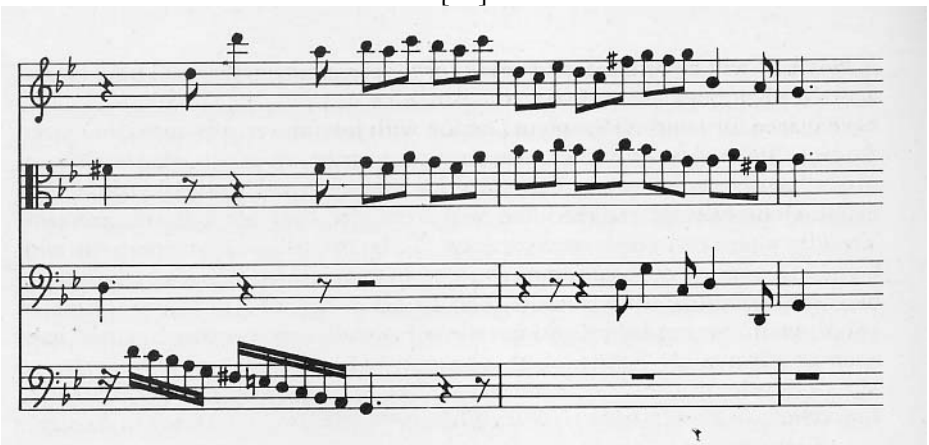
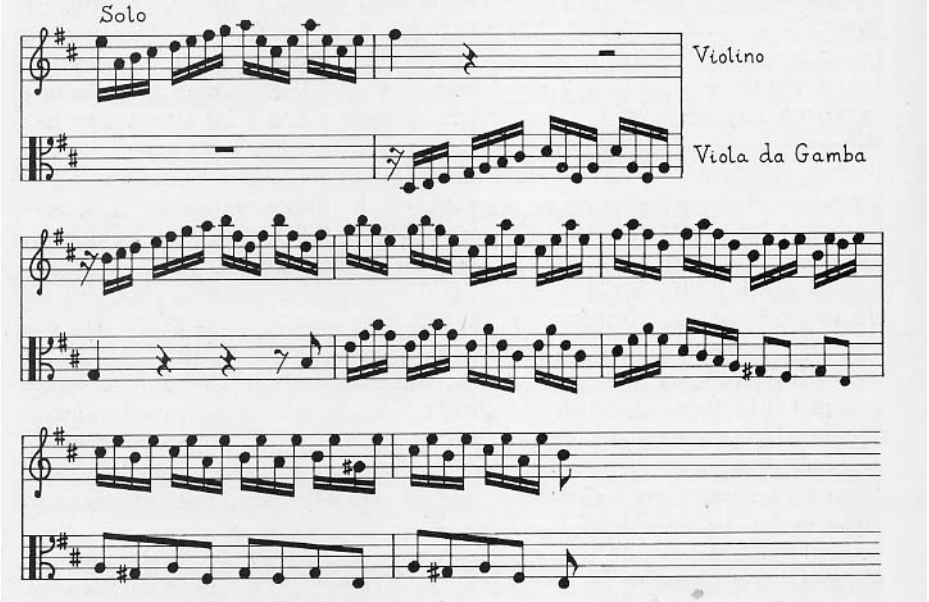
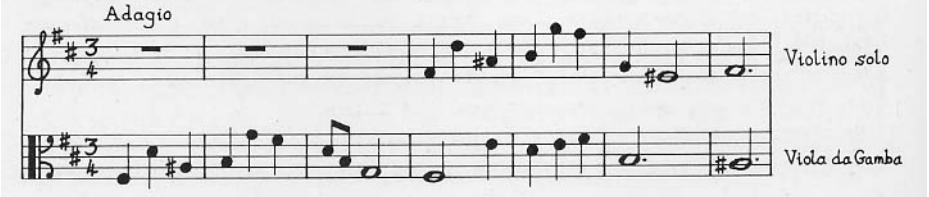


Example 5. *La Resurrezione*, Sonata [overture], bars 10-17 [GB: *Cfm*: Mu.Ms. 251, ff. 3-4]



Example 6. *La Resurrezione*, "Per me già di morire", bars 1-7



[11] Hesse, it will be recalled, had spent three years studying the viol in Paris and was already acquainted with Handel. While he was in Paris (1700) he is said to have played for Louis XIV, and in London with Johann Ernst Galliard for Queen Anne

(1706).[39] Thus he was a seasoned performer of some boldness. Early in 1708, having recently been appointed *Kapelldirector* by the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, Hesse travelled to Italy (allegedly to study in Mantua with Vivaldi) where he gave concerts in Venice, Naples and Rome before returning home in September of that same year.[40] As the Landgrave's Secretary of War, he may even have had official business to attend to in Italy.

For whom, one is bound to ask, would Handel have composed such a part? Such a confrontation of national tastes, so daringly and brilliantly woven into the fabric of the work, could be carried off only by a brash young composer, supremely confident of his own skill and that of his players. Was it calculated to display a fellow-countryman's consummate skill? or even a friend's?

Handel, the inveterate young traveller, was away soon after his triumph in Rome. That summer he visited Naples, where his *Aci, Galatea e Polifemo* was performed at a ducal wedding. Then he was off to Florence before wintering in Rome. He returned to Florence in March 1709 (just as Caldara took up the new post of *maestro di cappella* at the Palazzo Bonelli), remaining until November when preparations for *Agrippina* took him to Venice. On his first visit there in winter 1707-8, he is thought to have met Prince Ernst August, the brother of the Elector of Hanover, and on this second visit, the English ambassador Charles Montagu, Earl of Manchester. On each occasion an invitation was apparently extended to Handel. So, it was with reasonably firm expectations that Handel headed north early in 1710, after twenty-seven performances of *Agrippina,* pausing for a time in Innsbruck. Hardly had he arrived in Hanover when he was pressed to accept the Kapellmeistership; this he did, but on condition that he immediately be granted a year's leave to visit England. The elector - the future George I of England - no doubt delighted by Handel's exquisite dramatic cantata *Apollo e Dafne* and the prospect of grander works to follow, agreed to Handel's demands. And so, as quickly as he came, he was away to England where he at once created a sensation with *Rinaldo* - a pasticcio made up almost entirely from music he had composed while in Italy.

In all these works - *Aci, Galatea e Polifemo, Agrippina, Apollo e Dafne* and *Rinaldo* - Handel put aside the viol in favour of the cello. This may have been due in part to a dearth of viol-players, particularly in Naples and Venice; but the fact is that the viol had little place in modern Italian music. Thus whereas a foreign composer, recently arrived in Rome, might charm an audience of connoisseurs by writing for an instrument popular in his own country, a native composer- or a foreign ore with certain pretensions to mastery of the Italian style - would be less likely to compose for an outmoded instrument.

In the case of *Apollo e Dafne,* Handel catered for the superb wind band at Hanover, giving particular prominence to the oboe and bassoon as well as solos [12] to the flute, violin and cello. He purloined the tune and ensemble timbre from "Coll'ardor del tuo bel core" in *Agrippina* (which was in turn derived from "E ben folle quel nocchier", in

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[39] Noack: *Musikgeschichte,* 165-6; Galliard had only recently arrived from Celle where he must have known the viol-player Christian Ferdinand Abel (cl683-1737), later the father of the last of the great violists, Carl Friedrich Abel (1723-87).

[40] Noack: *Musikgeschichte,* 167

Il trionfo), transforming it from a concerto for soprano (castrato) and orchestra to an intimate chamber aria "Come rosa in su la spina", for bass voice, violin, obbligato cello and continuo. Soon after arriving in London, Handel made minor changes to the *Apollo e Dafne* version; resplendent in a new text, the aria was incorporated into the celebratory *Io languisco fra le gioje* as "Se qu'il Ciel ha gia prefisso".[41]

Before departing for London Handel visited Dusseldorf (at the invitation of Steffani) where he would very likely have met the viol player Schenk, who was made court chamber councillor in that year (1710); he went to Dusseldorf again a year later before finally taking up his duties at Hanover, and then once more in May 1719.[42] If there was an encounter with Schenk, it seems to have made no discernible impact upon Handel. In the autumn of 1712, after only fifteen months' residence in Hanover, Handel returned to England.

In London Handel would have found a thriving tradition of amateur viol-playing, though admittedly by this time new methods and music suitable for the viol were published in a trickle.[43] Thomas Britton, the viol-playing smallcoalman, who organized concerts at his Clerkenwell home, carried on until his death in 1714. The concerts were well attended and habitually frequented by foreign musicians such as Johann Christoph Pepusch,[44] so we need not be surprised if Handel attended and performed there, as Hawkins reports.[45] Hawkins also mentions several other prominent amateur players of the era: Lord Keeper [Roger] North, Nathaniel Crew (later Bishop of Durham), Sir Roger L'Estrange, old Mr. Shuttleworth of Spitalfields and Mr. John Immyns.[46] That the general level of viol-playing was not on a par with that of the French school is evident from Roger North, who lamented about 1710 'that so few understand the bow, and regular fingering, with the proper graceing of the notes upon it, as one seldome hears it well used or rather not abused'.[47] We know from the diary kept by a London law student, Dudley Ryder, that in 1715-16 he took lessons on the bass viol from a 'Mr.

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[41] The most complete accounts of these concordances are to be found in Baselt: *Verzeichnis,* 34; and Marx: 'Zur Kompositions-geschichte von Handels Pastoralkantate "Apollo e Dafne" (HW V 122)', *Gottingen Handel-Beitrdge, i* (1984), 70. Strohm's ['Handel in Italia', 171-2] early dating of to *languisco* has been overturned by recent studies of the manuscript watermarks [see Harris: *Pastoral Tradition,* 174; D. Burrows: A *Handlist of the Paper Characteristics of Handel's English Autographs* (typescript, 1982), 94]; and Burrows: 'Handel and Hanover', *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti Tercentenary Essays;* ed. P. Williams (Cambridge, 1985), 47-53, 58-9

[42] Deutsch: *Handel,* 26, 28-9, 42-3, 92; see note 12

[43] M. Tilmouth: 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', *RMARC, i* (1961), 40, 55, 56, 65, 81, 99

[44] Pepusch composed a miniature trio sonata entitled 'Small-coal', preserved in a manuscript once belonging to Thurston Dart (GB:Lkc: Dart MS 4, 30v-31), which also contains a sonata for 'flauto, viola da gamba e basso' (64v-69). See Hawkins: *A General History, ii,* 790

[45] Hawkins: A *General History, ii,* 791-808

[46] Hawkins: *A General History, ii,* 806, 826, 886-7; the advertisements of instruments being auctioned in estate sales reveal hitherto unknown amateurs such as Robert Orme Esq., whose collection of instruments included 'Ross and Jay-Viols' [Tilmouth: 'A Calendar', 80 *(The Spectator,* 27 November 1711].

[47] J. Wilson, ed.: *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays written During the Years* c1695-1728 (London, 1959), 227

Cynelum' [St. Colombe?], and that he found the greatest difficulty in drawing 'a soft and fine note'.[48]

Times and tastes were slowly changing, even in the Chapel Royal, where by this time the office of Violist was not necessarily held by a player of that instrument. From 1712, the cellist Francisco Goodsens (d. 1741)[49] divided his time between the Chapel Royal and the Queen's Music. Since November 1707 a 'Mr. Francisco' had been listed as a cellist alongside Haym and Giovanni Schiavonetti in the Opera House orchestra; the name 'S. Francesco' appears opposite the cello staff of an aria in *Rinaldo*.[50] And while there is every reason to believe that Goodsens did play the viol, his Chapel Royal part-books dating from the second decade of the century reveal by their range and character of line that a cello rather than a viol was increasingly preferred.[51] Goodsens was succeeded by the cellist Peter Gillier (d. 1767), who took part in the Foundling Hospital [13] performances of *Messiah* in 1754 and 1758.[52] At Gillier's death the office of Violist was dissolved.

After the time of Britton, the smaller societies that sprang up in the taverns tended to rely upon a cello rather than a viol to take the bass parts, though, looking back in 1728, North considered it little more than a 'hireling drudge', which at once struck the listener as 'a very hard and harsh sounded base, and nothing so soft and sweet as now'.[53] That more refined cello tone was brought to England and cultivated there by the Italians, principally Haym (1700), Amadei (1718) and Bononcini (1720). A further influx of accomplished Italian players in the late 1730s and early 1740s - Andreas Caporale (fl.mid 18th century), Giacobbe Basevi Cervetto (c.1682-1783) and Salvatore Lanzetti (c.1710-c.1780) - would be required to complete the transformation of the cello's image in English musical life. All these cellists had close connections with Handel. Two in particular, Haym and Amadei, concern us here.

Nicolino Haym was a very energetic and gifted man, possessed of administrative and literary talents as well as musical training. From 1713 to the end of his life, Haym was occupied with the preparation of Handel's librettos, spanning from *Teseo* to *Tolomeo,* though his association with Handel, one recalls, dated from the first performances of *Rinaldo* in which he took the principal cello part in a section that included Goodsens, James Paisible and Henry Rogers.[54] Meanwhile, Haym served first the Duke of

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[48] I. Woodfield: 'Dudley Ryder 1715-16: Extracts from the Diary of a Student Viol Player',*JVdGSA*, xxi (1984), 65

[49] Burrows: Handel and the English Chapel Royal During the Reigns of Queen Anne and King George I (Ph.D. diss.: Open U., 1981), 14-15, 162; Hawkins: A General History, ii, 784

[50] *Rinaldo,* Act 11, scene viii, "Ah! crudel" (GB:Cfm: Mus.Ms. 254, f. 46); see J. Milhous and R.D. Hume: *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers* 1706-15 (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1982), 30-1; in the critical report of Friedrich Chrysander's Handelgesellschaft edition of *Rinaldo* (second version), lviii, p.v the Hanover cellist Francesco Ernesto Allivierti is put forward as a possible 'Francesco'.

[51] GB:Lbl: R.M. 27.a.10-11; Burrows [*Handel,* 56] has found records of payment by the Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal in 1721 and 1725 for the repair of viols; see also Burrows: 'Handel's "As Pants the Hart"', *MT, cxxvi* (1985), 113

[52] Handel left money to Peter Gillier senior in his will [Deutsch: *Handel,* 751-2,800,826-8, 828].

[53] Wilson: *Roger North,* 304

[54] Dean: 'Haym, Nicola Francesco', *TNG, viii,* 415-16; Milhous and Hume, *Coke's Theatrical Papers,* 151, 158-60

Bedford, then the Earl of Carnarvon (later the Duke of Chandos); Handel and Haym would have worked together briefly in 1717-18 at Cannons, the Earl's Edgware mansion. Haym was succeeded at Cannons by the cellist Charles Pardini, who remained there until 1724.[55] Though Haym continued to perform in chamber music concerts in London, at the Theatre Royal and the York Buildings, and was a regular member of Handel's orchestra in the Haymarket,[56] he was effectively displaced as the leading Italian cellist in London by the arrival in May 1715 of his fellow Roman 'Signor Pipo [Amadei]'.

Amadei must have found many opportunities to play in private concerts, though it was not until just before Christmas 1718 that a concert at the Stationers' Hall, in which he is known to have performed, was advertised.[57] In the months that followed, *The Daily Courant* carried advertisements for concerts in which he played at Hickford's Room (13 February 1719), the little Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre (16 April) and the Merchant Taylors' Hall (29 April). In 1720 Amadei became the principal cellist of the newly formed Royal Academy of Music where his salary was second only to that of the leader, Pietro Castrucci. With him in Handel's orchestra were the cellists Haym, Pardini and Henry Simmonds, and contrabassists Pessenwolt Davide and George Angell.[58] In March 1722 a lavish benefit concert for the violinist Carbonelli at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane included 'a Concerto on the Bass Violin [violoncello], composed and performed by Sig. Pippo'.[59]

The availability of good cellists in London, especially from 1720 onwards, ensured that Handel would continue to compose a seemingly endless variety of [14] concertante and solo continuo parts in the operas and oratorios that followed - this despite a general trend away from such accompaniments. Benedetto Marcello commented in 1720 that by then modern composers no longer took the trouble to compose 'arias with *basso solo obbligato*.[60] However, for Handel it was never particularly troublesome and even as late as *Theodora* (1749) he was still effectively employing this textural device. Burney repeatedly remarked in his *History* that he always found Handel's arias with solo cello accompaniment 'elegantly simple and pathetic'. Regarding the cello's role in Il *pastor fido* (1712) he observed that Handel 'always contrives to make this single accompaniment interesting without overwhelming the voice part, or depriving it of attention'.[61] In this way Handel must have pleased both singers and players.

What then of the viol and its professors? To begin with, when in 1712 the third edition of Christopher Simpson's *Division Viol* - first published as far back as 1659 -

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[55] G. Beeks: 'Handel and Music for the Earl of Carnarvon', *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti Tercentenary Essays,* 3-8, 12. Pardini, assisted by Pietro Castrucci and Jean Christian Kytch, put on a benefit concert in Hickford's Room on 17 April 1724 according to *The Daily Courant* (9/15/17 April 1724).

[56] Tilmouth: 'A Calendar', 64, 77, 81

[57] *DC,* 22 December 1718; the concert took place on the 23rd. Records of the Academy orchestra personnel for this period have yet to come to light.

[58] Milhous and Hume: 'New Light on Handel and The Royal Academy of Music in 1720', *TJ*, xxxv (May 1983), 158-9

[59] *DC,* 13/14 March 1722

[60] B. Marcello: 'll teatro alla moda' (c1720) [ed. O. Strunk: *Source Readings in Music History* (London, 1952), 529]

[61] Burney: *A General History,* ii, 682

appeared, it was bound with bass-viol transcriptions, engraved by Thomas Cross, of two Corelli sonatas (Op. 5 nos. 6 and 11).[62] One might easily speculate on the economics behind this odd coupling, but of more immediate interest is the probable history of the transcriptions. A clue to their origin lies with an early eighteenth-century French concordance (F:Pn: Vm^{7}6308), containing transcriptions of the entire Op. 5; from the similarity of these two sources, it would appear that the Cross engravings derive from that source.[63] It seems reasonable to attribute the French source to the school of Forqueray and perhaps even to Antoine Forqueray (1671/2-1745) himself.

How these sonatas found their way to London is less clear. Could it have been by way of Ernst Christian Hesse? We know that Forqueray was performing Italian violin sonatas on the viol,[64] and he would surely have included Corelli in his repertoire; it is not far-fetched to assume that his best students did so too. Hesse was one such student, and in Paris at very much the right time. If he acquired the sonatas, he probably performed them on tour during 1705-6, and could have left a manuscript of two of them in England (where Corelli was very popular). Galliard or an admirer could have subsequently arranged for them to be engraved; evidently it was deemed convenient to issue them with the Simpson.

To pursue this speculative vein we can consider who else might have performed the Corelli sonatas in London. It is, for example, unlikely that Mr. St. Colombe, who gave a benefit concert at Hickford's Room on 14 May 1713, would have done so, bearing in mind the school of playing from which he descended;[65] or for that matter, Henry Eccles (?1675/85-? 1735/45), who gave a benefit concert the very next day before the French ambassador (the Duke d'Aumont), at the Stationers' Hall, in which he played 'a Single Piece on the Bass Viol'.[66] Perhaps the Mr. Franchville mentioned by Hawkins as 'a fine performer on the viola da gamba'[67] might have performed them, or even Angelo Zannoni,[68] the Venetian singer on leave from his post at Darmstadt, who is known to have played the bass viol in his own benefit concert at Hickford's Room on 9 May 1715; it surely would have been at Darmstadt with Hesse, not in Venice, that Zannoni learned to play the [15] viol and, perhaps, the Corelli sonatas.

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[62] The 21 February 1712 issue of *The Post Man* advertises the Simpson 'with an addition of Corelli's solos in two parts' [Tilmouth, 'A Calendar', 81]. See Gordon Dodd's 1980 facsimile edition of the Corelli transcriptions (Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain Supplementary Publication No. 136).

[63] H. Miloradovitch: 'Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Transcriptions for Viols of Music by Corelli and Marais in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: Sonatas and *Pièces de Viole', Chelys, xii* (1983), 47-57

[64] P.L. d'Aquin de Chateau-Lyon: *Siecle litteraire de Louis XV ou Lettres sur les hommes celebres,* Premiere Partie (Paris, 1753), Lettre vi, 143

[65] Tilmouth: 'A Calendar', 85; Sieul de Sainte Colombe *(le pere?)* was the much revered teacher of Marais, Danoville and Jean Rousseau.

[66] Tilmouth, 'A Calendar', 85

[67] According to Hawkins *[A General History,* ii, 808], Franchville played in the concerts organized by Talbot Young and Maurice Greene at the Queen's Head Tavern in Paternoster-row some time during 1714-24.

[68] Dean: 'Zannoni, Angelo', *TNG, xx,* 643

The year 1715 witnessed the first of a series of benefit concerts for the so-called 'Signor Pietro' in which he advertised solos for the bass viol and German flute.[69] Signor Pietro - actually Pierre Chaboud - was himself firmly established as a bassoonist in the Academy orchestra.[70] By 1718 he was a member of the Cannons Concert where, in 1721, he was listed as a composer for flute and oboe.[71] If we assume that Pietro played the flute in his own benefit concerts, who would have taken the part of the viol? According to *The Daily Courant* of 29 April 1719, the programme included 'a Solo on the Bass Viol and German Flute by Signor Pietro and Signor Pipo'. Can Pipo Amadei have played the viola da gamba in this concert? A week later, on 6 May, 'a Solo on the Bass Viol by Signor Pietro' was included on the programme of Mr. Kytch's benefit concert. This entry calls into question the interpretation of the wording of the earlier advertisements. Should we assume that Pietro himself played the bass viol on this occasion or merely that he composed music for the bass viol?

Perhaps we have been too easily misled by the mention of a 'Bass Viol', for those who set newspaper type, kept account books and mentioned it in correspondence were not necessarily familiar with the difference between a bass viol and a bass violin. In a letter dated 5 November 1715 Cassandra, wife of the Earl of Carnarvon, described Haym as a player of the bass viol.[72] The early records of the opera orchestra variously label the instrument of Haym and Goodsens as a 'base', 'basso', 'violoncello' and 'bass viol', though we are fairly certain that they were always playing the cello.[73] Surely the Dover customs official who, on 1-2 May 1718, entered 'One Bass Viol Case' among 'Sent Pepo's things', was referring to Amadei's cello.[74] On the other hand, at the same time *The Daily Courant* was advertising Pietro's benefits, it was also advertising concerts in which Mr. St. Colombe, Henry Eccles (and probably Angelo Zannoni) are known definitely to have played the viol.

Around the mid-1720s Walsh brought out two collections of duo sonatas by Pietro which specify bass violin, not bass viol. Can these be the same works that were performed in Pietro's benefits? And, if so, might Walsh have taken it upon himself to modernise the instrumentation for the sake of sales? It can hardly be by chance that the bass part never descends to low C, even in the sonata in C major (i/5), whereas broken octave Ds occur regularly throughout both sets. Admittedly, by the 1720s, the viol was performed only infrequently in public. Referring to the benefit performance by Mrs. Sarah Ottey (b. c.1695) at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields on 27 February 1722, when she played the viol, harpsichord and violin within the comedy *Love makes a Man*

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[69] See *DC,* 23 April 1715, 23 March 1717 and 29 April 1719; the announcement of two further benefit concerts for Signor Pietro, on 2 March 1722 and 4 April 1723, make no specific mention of a bass viol.

[70] Milhous and Hume: *Coke's Theatrical Papers,* 31, 33, 69, 79-81, 114, 119, 127, 133, 151, 158-9, 179, 187; Milhous and Hume: 'New Light', 160-61

[71] Beeks: 'Handel', 8; see also C.H.C. Baker and M.I. Baker: The Life and Circumstances of James Brydges, First Duke of Chandos, Patron of the Liberal Arts (Oxford, 1949), 132-3

[72] . Beeks: 'Handel', 3

[73] Milhous and Hume: *Coke's Theatrical Papers,* 31, 33, 119, 127, 159-60

[74] R. Williams: 'Lord Burlington and the Gifts for 'Senr. Pope', *Notes and Queries,* ccxviii (1973), 7-8; 1 am very grateful to Elizabeth Gibson for bringing this reference to my attention.

or, The Fop's Fortune (1701), Burney wrote that 'such exhibitions ... were remarkable for their singularity'.[75]

Nevertheless, at about this time, Handel himself indicated, by means of an incipit on the manuscript of the G minor violin sonata (known as the oboe sonata Op. 1 no. 6, published c.1730), that it could be transposed down an octave 'per la [16] Viola da Gamba'.[76] Was it intended as a suggestion to Walsh or for a particular player? and if so, whom? The Duke of Chandos, Handel's patron from 1717 to 1719, owned two bass viols.[77] Sir Edward Walpole, Horace's brother, went on playing it even later,[78] much as the daughters of Louis XV did;[79] that is, in spite of the fashions of the general public. Such was the decline that when, in the late 1750s, Carl Friedrich Abel single-handedly brought about a revival of the viol in London, it was more a measure of the man than of the instrument.[80]

It is thus somewhat difficult to understand just why, even in February 1724, Handel chose to use a viola da gamba in the onstage orchestra heard and seen in Act II, scene ii of *Giulio Cesare*. Was it a whim, or a calculated choice, in which the virtues of symbolism and exotic tone colour - though neither Egyptian nor Greek - could usefully be united?[81] A viol, in the slightly more plausible company of a harp and a theorbo, does in fact contribute effectively to the scene on Mount Parnassus. Oboes, bassoons and muted strings gently reinforce the celestial trio in a sinfonia and accompaniment to the memorable seduction aria "V'adoro pupille" that follows.

The scene on Mount Parnassus evolved from a sketch in the autograph and developed in the course of several drafts.[82] The earliest version of the opening bars of the sinfonia clearly shows that Handel envisaged a separate viol part, unrelated to the continuo. After a brief exchange between Cesare and Nireno the sinfonia restarts, although this time in a skeletal texture of oboe and harp (later joined by strings) with an obbligato part for theorbo and viol, better suited to the former than to the latter. The fact that the penultimate bar of the obbligato contains a broken octave C- impossible

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[75] *DC,* 8/17 February 1722; Burney: *A General History,* ii, 995; for an interesting account of the earlier use of the bass viol on stage in theatrical productions, see C.A. Price: *Music in the Restoration Theatre* (Ann Arbor, 1979), 78, 81

[76] Thurston Dart transcribed the entire sonata for viola da gamba and continuo (London: Schott, 1950); Best: Händels Solosonaten', 432-3

[77] . The Duke of Chandos purchased a new bass viol in September 1721 [Baker and Baker: *The Life,* 130, 139-140; see also Deutsch: *Handel,* 109-10].

[78] Deutsch: *Handel,* 619

[79] See J.A. Sadie: *'Musiciennes* of the Ancien Régime', *Women Making Music;* ed. J.M. Bowers and J. Tick (Urbana-Champaign, 1985), 322

[80] See W. Knape and M.R. Charters: 'Carl Friedrich Abel', *TNG, i, 11;* S.J. Wynn: 'Karl Friedrich Abel - Some Contemporary Impressions', *JVdGSA, x* (1973), 5

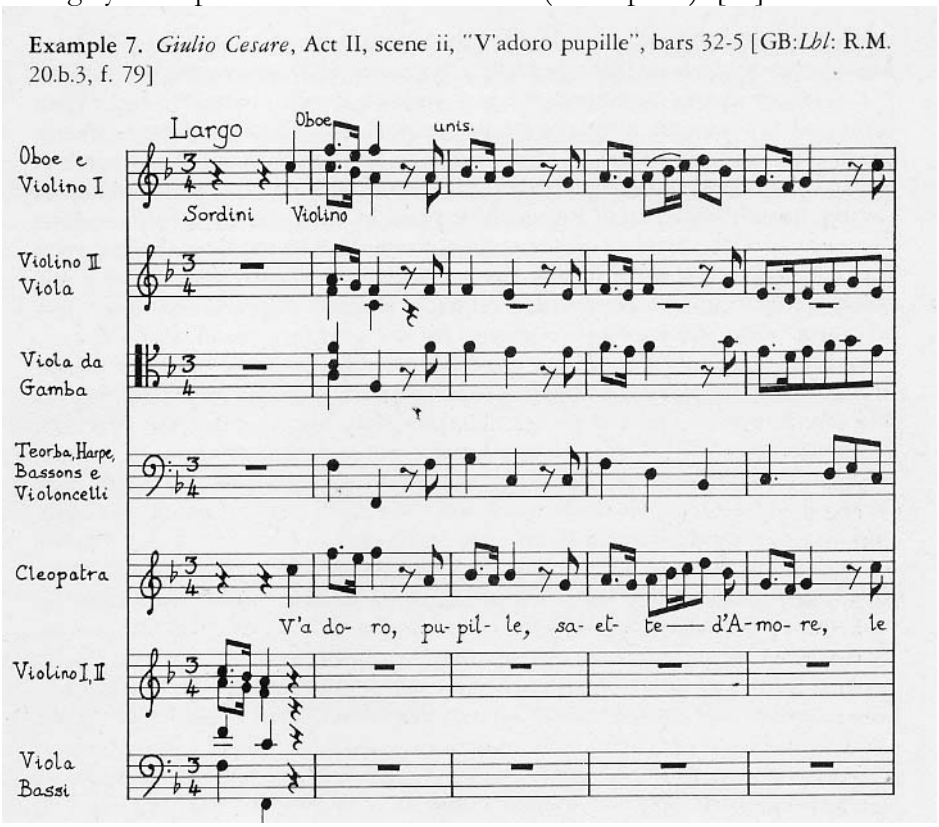
[81] Dean: *Handel and the Opera Seria* (London, 1969), 182-99; Knapp: 'Handel's Giulio Cesare in Egitto', *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk* (Princeton, 1968), 396; G. Bimberg: *Dramaturgie der Handel-Opern* (Halle, 1985), 37-8

[82] There exist two versions of the sinfonia and aria in two pairs of manuscripts, separated by a lost intermediate version. The autograph (GB:Lbl: R.M. 20.b.3) and a Smith copy (GB:Lbl R.M. 19.c.6) represent the first version; the conducting score (D:Hs: M A/ 1019) and a later copy (GB:Lbl: R.M. 19.c.7) represent the later version. The conducting score best reflects the version heard by the London audiences of 1724.

on a viol without re-tuning-confirms the unsuitability of the part. In the later version Handel remedied these deficiencies by exploiting more fully the capabilities of the viol. Relieved of obbligato duties, the player is nevertheless assigned double, triple and quadruple stops.

The aria, among Handel's most memorable, seems at first to have vexed him (Plate 2). The autograph of "V'adoro pupille" is untidy. Cleopatra's part is begun and crossed out on one staff, then moved to another, and the viol, harp and theorbo are uncomfortably crowded on to one staff. At the end of the first eight bars, the viol is again asked to play a low C. Was Handel merely being careless? or did he intend the instrument to be tuned down? It comes as a surprise then to discover that at the end of the A section the viol-player is directed to join the violas for the closing phrase, thereby avoiding a third low C; nevertheless, in the final draft, the player once again finds himself confronted by that particular Nemesis. This is curious, since the viol is otherwise largely exempted from continuo duties (Example 7). [17]

Example 7. *Giulio Cesare*, Act II, scene ii, "V'adoro pupille", bars 32-5 [GB:*Lbl*: R.M. 20.b.3, f. 79]



Was Handel half-expecting a cellist to take part? Might that have been why, in all the extant manuscript sources, he notated the viol part in the tenor clef rather than in the alto? The chordal character of the final version of both the sinfonia and the aria mitigate this circumstance. One has only to examine the cello obbligato in the stirring B section of the Act III aria, "Piangero" - which must surely have been executed by Pipo Amadei - to realise that the distinctions Handel had previously applied to viol and cello

idioms were still in force: "V'adoro pupille" requires an artful player, "Piangero" a nimble one.

Little more than three months after the opera was first presented, John Cluer brought out an elegantly-produced pocket edition of Julius Caesar.[83] When, many years later, Burney consulted Cluer's score he noted the absence of the sinfonia, which he knew to be 'a long symphony for the Viola da Gamba';[84] missing too was the orchestral accompaniment for "V'adoro pupille". It is mystifying that Handel, having taken so much trouble over this scene and, in particular, over [18] accommodating the viol, should have authorised such deletions. It is perhaps ironic that a viol-player, together with a harpsichordist, graces the title-page.[85,] It remains to speculate upon the viol-player himself, for he has never been identified. It does seem likely that he was drawn from the ranks of the Academy. He could have been Pietro or Pipo, but more likely they took the bassoon and cello parts in the Parnassus orchestra. Then there is the cellist and contrabassist George Angell:[86] like Haym, Pietro and Pardini, he had been in the employ of the Duke of Chandos; certainly one or more of them must have played the bass viols kept at Cannons and at the duke's Albemarle Street residence. Alternatively, it is possible that Francisco Goodsens, the Chapel Royal Violist and one-time opera orchestra cellist, rejoined his colleagues for the performance of *Giulio Cesare*.

In France, meanwhile, serious attempts were being made by the financier Pierre Crozat, in league with the Prince of Carignan, to re-establish Italian opera in Paris. It was to England rather than Italy that he turned for the very best singers and operas.[87] In the spring of 1723 Crozat arranged for a contract and passport to be drawn up for Bononcini and five singers; in the event, only Bononcini and Anastasia Robinson made the trip.[88] Plans to mount full-scale productions with the Italian singers were postponed until the following year. For their part, the French were prepared to underwrite the venture as well as to provide a prologue and scenery, dances and dancers, and most of the orchestral personnel.[89] A year later Bononcini did in fact arrive, with Cuzzoni, Durastanti, Berenstadt, Boschi, Bigonzi and a Madame Palerme in tow, though instead of a series of grand occasions there were private performances at Chantilly before the king and at Crozat's residences at Montmorency and Paris. The singers' recent London repertoire of course included Handel's *Ottone* (1723) and *Giulio Cesare*; the existence of printed librettos with French translations would seem to confirm that they gave these operas, although neither the Mercure nor the Gazette mentions any such

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[83] Deutsch: *Handel,* 162

[84] Burney: *A General History, ii,* 728 85. See the cover of this journal

[85] Deutsch: *Handel,* 162

[86] Beeks: 'Handel', 8

[87] See L. Lindgren: 'Parisian Patronage of Performers from the Royal Academy of Musick (1719-1728)', *ML, lviii* (1977), 4ff

[88] M. Barthelemy: 'L'Academie Royale de Musique et l'opera italien de Londres en 1723', *RBM,* x (1956), 161-2; M. Benoit: *Musiques de Cour: Chapelle, Chambre, Écurie* (Paris, 1971), 331; Lindgren: 'Parisian Patronage', 15-16

[89] Lindgren: 'Parisian Patronage', 9-10 90.

performances.[90] Under the circumstances, they would have performed *Giulio Cesare* with relatively modest forces-perhaps using the Cluer edition and dispensing with some of the instrumentation. If, however, the Parnassus scene was performed in the original Academy version, one might have expected to hear Roland Marais (c.1680-c.1750) or Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Forqueray (1699-1782) on the viol.[91]

It is fair to say that the cello, not the viol, was a great favourite of Handel's; certainly he counted many of its exponents among his friends: Unmindful of fashion, he wrote for a single cello in a myriad of contexts, spanning his entire output, whereas he wrote for the viol only under exceptional circumstances: a commission (Pamphili's Tra le fiamme), a probable personal connection (Hesse), and the realisation of a particular effect that could easily be accommodated by the versatile bass players available in the Academy orchestra. Too much therefore should not be made of Handel's viol writing *per se*.

It is rather Handel's place in this period as an extraordinarily gifted and gregarious musician, much travelled and exhaustively chronicled, that will be of [19] interest to viol-players.[92] For it is through him that the activities and relationships of lesser figures can be uncovered, as can be the extent to which the viol was still played in Germany and Italy at the turn of the century. Of broader import is the versatility evident among string players, akin to that of wind players which is so much better documented; pointing up the looseness of terminology that confounds modern musicians, not to say musicologists, yet is nevertheless indicative of the shift in taste from the viol to the cello in London, as elsewhere, during the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

Plate 2. *Giulio Cesare,* "V'adoro pupille", first version [GB:Lbl: R.M. 20.6.3, f. 78] (autograph) [not reproduced]

ABBREVIATIONS

AnMc	*Analecta Musicologica*
DC	*The Daily Courant*
EM	*Early Music*
GSJ	*Galpin Society Journal*
HJb	*Handel Jahrbuch*
JAMS	*Journal of the American Musicological Society*
JVdGSA	*Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*
ML	*Music & Letters*
MT	*The Musical Times*
ÖMz	*Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*

[90] Lindgren: 'Parisian Patronage', 22-23. See R. McQuaide: *The Crozat Concerts 1720-1727:* A *Study of Concert Life in Paris* (Ph.D.diss.: New York U., 1978)

[91] Marpurg: *Historisch-kritische Beytrage,* 238

[92] Winton Dean's *The New Grove Handel* (London, 1982) has provided the details of Handel's life on which this paper is based. The author particularly thanks Malcolm Boyd, Donald Burrows, Anthony Hicks and Curtis Price for the advice and assistance they have generously given.

PRMA	*Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*
RBM	*Revue beige de musicologie*
RIM	*Rivista italiana di musicologia*
RMARC	*Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*
SIMG	*Sammelbande der internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft*
TJ	*Theatre Journal*
TNG	*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*

NOTES ON EDITING THE BACH GAMBA SONATAS (BWV 1027-1029)

LUCY ROBINSON

The Peters edition of the Bach gamba sonatas appeared in 1935 and that, to the tastes of the 1980s, was not an improvement on the Bach Gesellschaft edition which came out some 125 years ago. It is thus astounding that three new editions, begun independently, should now appear almost simultaneously. This article describes my research in preparing the new Faber edition. The other two are the Neue Bach Ausgabe, edition by Hans Eppstein, which I was lucky enough to see when putting the finishing touches to my own edition, and a new Peters edition, to be edited by Lawrence Drefus, which I have not seen and which is said to be due out soon.

I

It has been widely believed that Bach wrote his three sonatas for obbligato harpsichord and viola da gamba while he was employed at the court of Cothen, from 1717 to 1723. It seems to me that they date from his time at Leipzig.[1] The grounds for the earlier point of view were that Bach wrote much chamber music at Cothen,[2] that he had as a colleague and friend there the virtuoso gambist Christian Ferdinand Abel[3] and that Prince Leopold himself was an exponent of the gamba. But there are three reasons why it is possible to argue that the sonatas date, instead, from Leipzig.

First, the earliest surviving manuscripts of all three sonatas were written in Leipzig. Of these the earliest is a fair copy of the G major work in Bach's own hand. This dates from about 1740.[4] Three years after Bach's death the D major and G minor sonatas were copied by the sixteen-year-old Penzel while he was a pupil at the Thomasschule. It is less likely that he would have seen the manuscripts there had Bach not written them in Leipzig.

Second, there is evidence for this later dating in the material of two of the sonatas: the G major and the G minor.

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[1] While preparing this article I heard that Lawrence Drefus had likewise come to the conclusion that the sonatas were written in Leipzig. I formed my view independently before his work was available. Likewise, this article was written before 1 saw Christoph Wolff's essay 'Bach's Leipzig Chamber Music' in *EM, xiii* no. 2 (May, 1985); he also came to similar conclusions about dating.

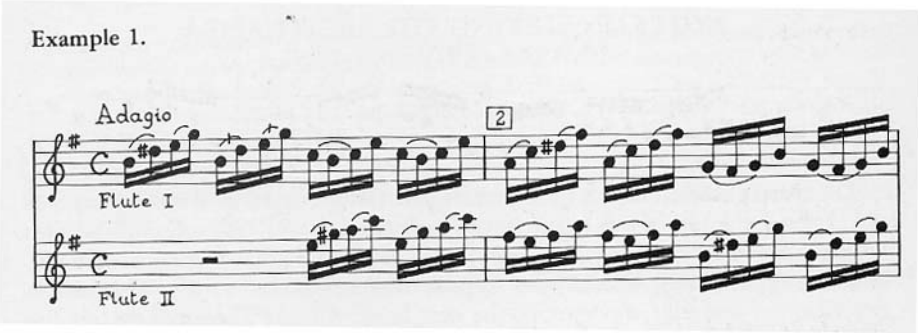
[2] See J.N. Forkel: *17ber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst and Kunstwerke* (1802) in H.T. David and A. Medel (eds.) *The Bach Reader* (1945 rev. 1966), 343.

[3] In 1720 Bach became Godfather to Abel's first daughter.

[4] I am indebted to John Butt for that dating. His evidence is the water mark which dates between 1738 and 1742, details of Bach's handwriting (such as the flourish at the top of crotchet rests and the beaming of the minims) and the extensive use of slurs and dots. The manuscript appears to be both a presentation copy and a performing part; the gamba part is copied on both sides of a double sheet of manuscript paper to avoid page turns.

The music of the G major piece has come down to us in alternative versions:[5] that for the gamba and harpsichord, and another for two flutes and continuo.[6] One of these is almost certainly an arrangement of the other and the evidence strongly suggests that the flute version was written first. The two intertwining upper parts seem to have been conceived for equal voices. This is especially noticeable in the highly expressive third movement where the upper parts exchange prominence every minim, making a continuous fluid line, hard to achieve when shared between gamba and harpsichord. (See Example 1.)

Example 1.



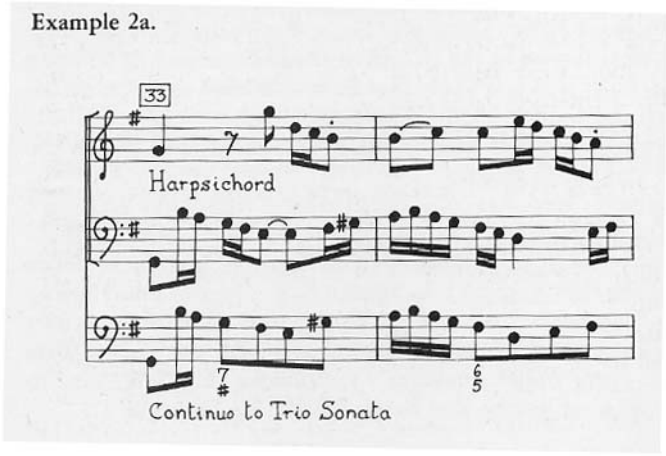
Also, a comparison of the two versions reveals that there is a more elegant and flowing line in the bass part of the gamba version, where it is enriched by points of imitation (Example 2a) and by extensive semiquaver movement (Example 26). Of course one could argue that the increased movement is necessary for a bass line not sustained by a string instrument. But the continuo part of the flute version is so sparse in comparison that it is unlikely that Bach would have achieved that result by pruning. Furthermore there are significant differences in the upper voices which do not appear necessary on technical grounds but instead seem to be purely aesthetic. One of these is found in bar 58 of the second movement. The line of this is predictable in the flute version and takes an ingenious turn in the gamba sonata (Example 2c). Another is in the penultimate bar of the third movement, where in the gamba version the thirds are filled in with exquisite *notes perdues* (Example 2d). In both cases the gamba version must be seen as an improvement on the other. Thus the sonata BW V 1027 can be said to be a parody of the trio sonata BWV 1039.[7]

[5] Movements 1, 2 and 4 exist in a version for organ (or pedal clavier) BWV 1027a.

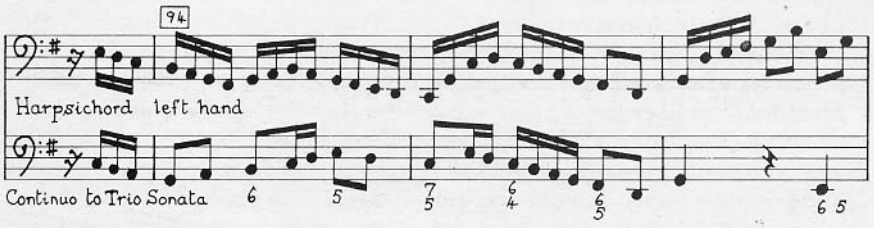
[6] The gamba takes the second flute part down an octave and the harpsichord the other two voices at the same pitch as in the flute version. The copyist of the bass is different from that of the flute parts although their script is similar.

[7] See also H. Eppstein: J.S. Bach Triosonate G-dur (BWV 1039) and ihre Beziehung zur Sonate für Gambe and Cembalo G-dur (BWV 1027)', *Musikforschung, vol.* 18, 1965, 126-31.

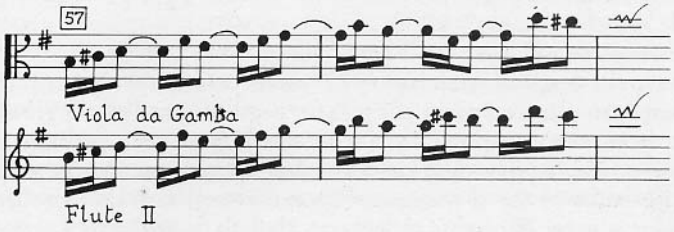
Example 2a.



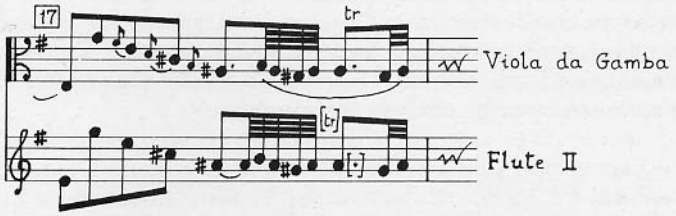
Example 2b.



Example 2c.



Example 2d.



The G minor sonata is cast in the grand Italianate three-movement concerto form:[8] it may well be an arrangement of a concerto now lost. The opening is characteristic of a ritornello of a concerto grosso complete with the dominant two semiquaver, quaver motif much beloved by Vivaldi in his concerti and very characteristic of the

[8] It shares this distinction amongst the sonatas with the flute sonata in E flat major BWV 1031.

Brandenburgs and other Bach concerti.[9] Indeed the first movement as a whole proceeds along concerto-grosso-like lines with the ritornello appearing throughout the movement and finally returning triumphantly in the tonic in unison, as it does at the climax in the first movement of the Second Brandenburg. The slow movement is in the cantabile Italian style complete with semiquaver flourishes à la Corelli. And the final movement is a rattling allegro in compound time, in which once established in the second bar the semiquaver movement never lets up; there is also much Italianate passage work. In short such a work seems unlikely to have been conceived for the comparatively slender resources of gamba and harpsichord (although the daring of arranging it for these two instruments is entirely characteristic of Bach's Leipzig period); I am not the first to speculate that the sonata originated as an instrumental concerto [28] similar to the Brandenburgs.[10] So here again we seem to have a parody. If BWV 1027 and 1029 are indeed parodies then this is highly suggestive about their date of composition, because it was at Leipzig from the late 1720s onwards that Bach used parody extensively as a method of composition.

My third piece of evidence for dating is the availability in Leipzig of players for the sonatas. The majority of Bach's works scored for gamba date from Leipzig. Those written between 1723 and 1731 do not make exceptional technical demands on the player. But the *obbligati* in the *St John Passion* and the *Trauer Ode* are both of significance within the context of their respective works as a whole, which indicate that Bach must have had a good player to hand. Of greater interest is the *obbligato* to `Komm susses Kreuz' in the *St Matthew Passion,* which in the original version of 1727[11] is scored for lute. But in 1736, when Bach revised the work, he rewrote the part for gamba. That difficult virtuoso *obbligato* must have been inspired by an outstanding player, perhaps only recently available. Might not this virtuoso also have been the inspiration for the arrangements of the G major and G minor works and the composition of the D major sonata? Who this player was, though, is unclear.[12] Later, in 1743, Carl Friedrich Abel, son of Bach's colleague at Cothen, took up a position as gamba player in the court orchestra at Dresden[13] and stayed there until 1757 or 1758. Many players from this orchestra visited Bach at Leipzig.[14] Thus we know that in 1736 and again from 1743 until his death Bach had the services of at least one excellent violist worthy of these three sonatas.[15]

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[9] Notably the harpsichord concerto in D minor BWV 1052, third movement.

[10] See Peter Williams: 'Bach's G minor Sonata for viola da gamba and harpsichord BWV 1029. A seventh Brandenburg Concerto?' *EM,* xii no. 3 (Aug, 1984), 345-354

[11] Or perhaps 1729, see C. Wolff: J.S. Bach', *The New Grove* (London, 1980), 810

[12] It is possible, but unlikely, that Carl Friedrich Abel was the player for whom Bach revised the obbligato to "Komm Susses Kreuz" in 1736 (even though at the time he was only 13) since according to Burney Abel studied with Bach in Leipzig. But it seems probable that Abel did not study with Bach until after his father's death in 1737.

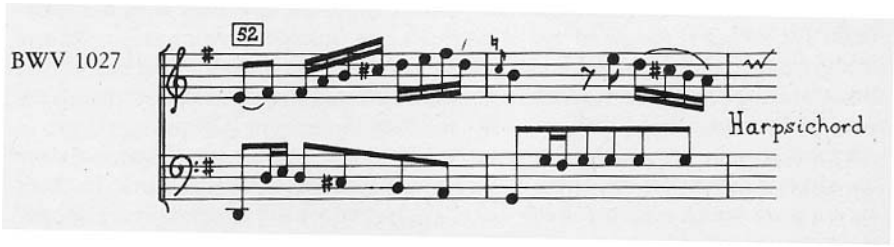
[13] Dresden was the court of the Elector of Saxony and at Leipzig Bach was indirectly under his control. In 1736 Bach's links with the court were formalised when he was appointed to the position of *Hofkomponirt.*

[14] C. Wolff. ibid., 798

[15] Another gambist Bach may have had contact with is Ludwig Christian Hesse (1716-1772), the son of the 'ubiquitous' Ernst Christian Hesse (see previous article). Ludwig Christian was described by Hiller as 'indisputably one of the greatest viola da gamba players of our day', and he admired him for

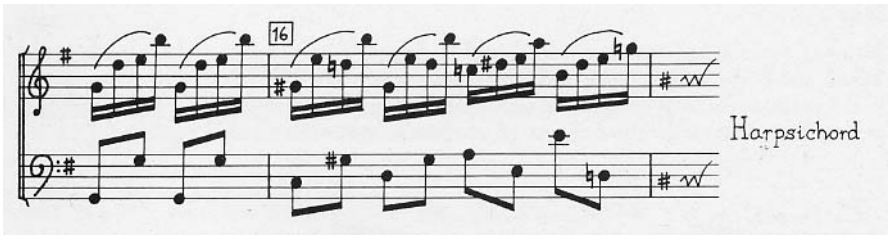
II

Many gamba players will now be comfortable with the 1935 Peters edition of the sonatas. But there are a number of places where that edition corrects 'mistakes' in the manuscript which should be allowed to stand in their original form.[16] In explaining in detail my reasons for believing this, I hope to persuade players to follow me and revert to the original text.



Mov 1
6.53 hpsd rh note 1: JSB natural, BG ed. sharp, P(1935) sharp
c" natural appoggiatura functions as an accented passing note, and is thematically [29] significant (cf. b.2 and 3). c" sharp would be confusing because it would raise the question as to whether its function was an auxiliary note to d".

Harpsichord

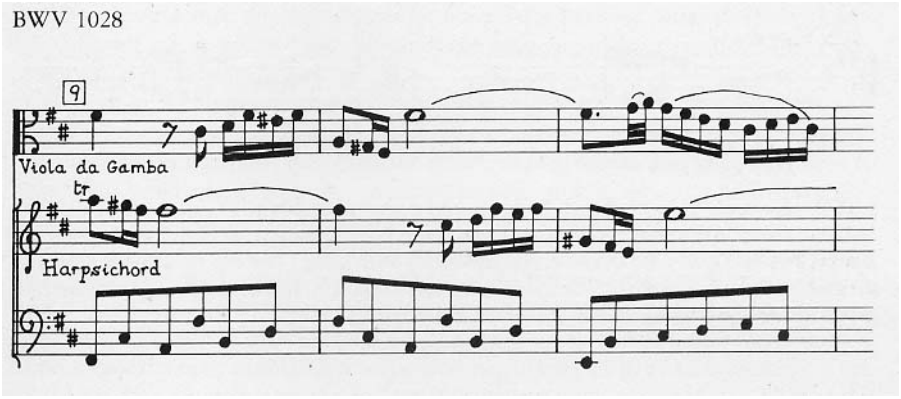


Mov 3

b.16 hpsd rh note 3: JSB d BG ed. and P(1935) B
c at the beginning of bar is not prepared and thus is not dissonant (on the contrary a B would need to fall to A; as it does in the upper voice). d is involved in voice exchange and falls locally to c" in upper voice.

'his dexterity, neatness and fire of execution'. From 1741 he was a colleague of C.P.E. Bach's at the royal court of Berlin. Bach visited Berlin both in 1741 and 1747. (C.P.E. Bach probably had Hesse in mind when he composed his three gamba sonatas.)

[16] I should like to thank Dr Nicholas Routley for his advice on these decisions.

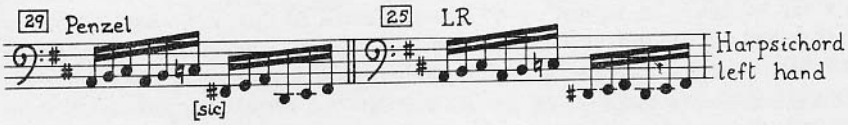


Mov 1

6.10 hpsd rh note 5: Penzel natural, BG ed. sharp, P(1935) sharp
Natural because passage is not parallel to b.9 vdg: interval of minor 7th over barline not major 6th.
b.11 vdg note 2: Penzel natural, BG ed. sharp, P(1935) sharp
g' natural is correct as it is an auxiliary to Y sharp. Thus g' sharp would be extremely muddling. (If one listens to the phrase without notes 2 and 3 the ear will be content to accept natural).

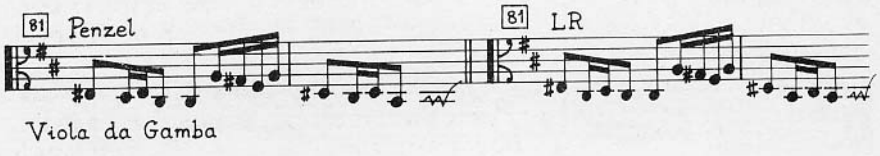
Mov 2

b.21 vdg notes 4 and 5: Penzel includes these notes, BG ed. and P(1935) omit them. BG ed. and P(1935) avoided hidden similar motion to octaves between vdg and hpsd lh on beat 2 at the expense of desecrating additional semiquaver movement to mark climax and of creating an unvaried third repeat of a sequence, which is atypical of Bach.



Mov 4

b.25 hpsd notes 7-9: Penzel and BG ed. and P(1935) F sharp G A
My reading appears motivically correct: that figure only falls a 3rd after three notes b.122-123 and there does so four times. Penzel marked unnecessary sharp against note 7 but he would have needed sharp for D. D sharp leads to E minor first inversion chord.

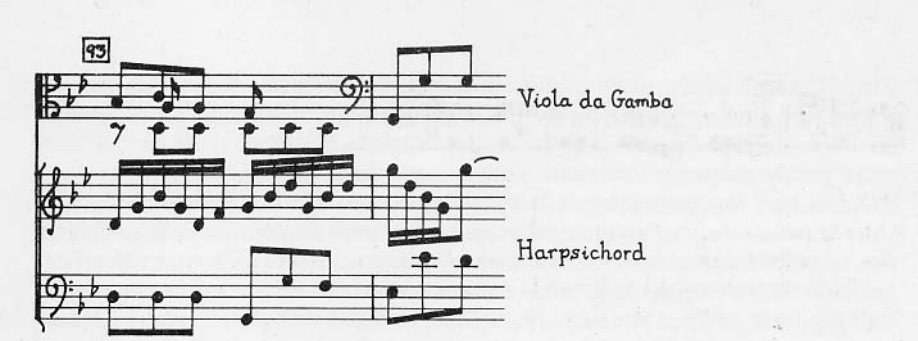


b.81-2 vdg notes 2-3: Penzel d, e sharp and c sharp, d sharp. BG ed. and P(1935) d sharp, e sharp and c sharp, d sharp. I have altered this to adhere to motif. It accounts for Penzel's missed sharp b.81 note 2, and fits nicely with bass. (The BG ed. preface refers to an undated version of this sonata for violin and keyboard. Interestingly that manuscript gives the above passage in my preferred reading.)

BWV 1029

Mov 2

b.29 vdg note 2: Penzel g′, BG ed. and P(1935) b′ flat
g′ vital to clarify 7/4/2 chord obscured by g′ flat hpsd rh note 6



Mov 3

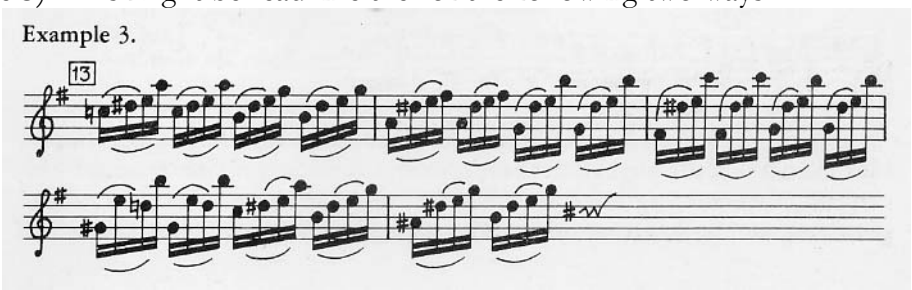
hpsd lh b.93 note 6, bar 94 note 1: Penzel f, g, BG and P(1935) f sharp g.
It has to be f e flat, otherwise e′ flat b.94 note 2 is unprepared. Missing sharp is a clue.

III

The G major sonata we have in Bach's own hand. Bach's manuscript is highly accurate as regards pitch and rhythm. But Bath's treatment of slurs, dots and ornaments is sometimes surprising. This leaves the editor in a dilemma. He needs to decide whether Bach meant to create a surprise or whether he simply made a copying mistake. Further difficulties arise because other of Bath's slurs are difficult to decipher. This section contains an examination of the most interesting of these points.

The most serious of the editor's difficulties concerns the slurs in the harpsichord part of the Andante. Here there is one slur per four semiquavers. But more often than not it is difficult if not impossible to decipher over which notes the slur is intended to go: should it be over all four notes, or be written one plus three or three plus one. The ground is made all the more uncertain when more than one level of marking is apparent, throwing the door open to inaccuracies on Bach's part. To slur them all in fours is perhaps to play safe and that is probably the happiest solution for the editor. But here I think that the player should also be provided with a facsimile so that he can make up his own mind. A particularly ambiguous section occurs in bars 13 to 17 (Example 3). This might be read in either of the following two ways:

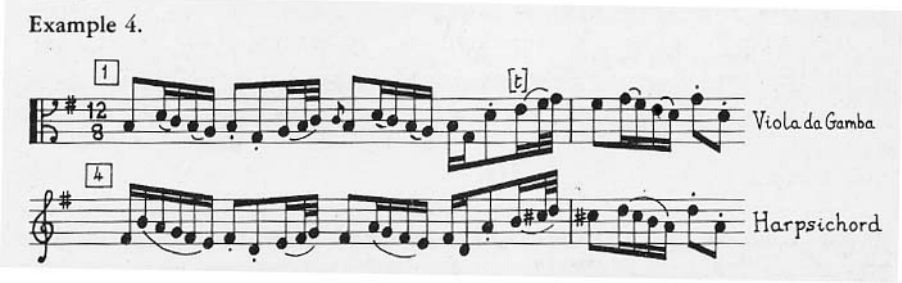
Example 3.



[32] The difference between the performance of the two forms of slur is likely to be significant. If the player comes to the conclusion that many slurs should indeed be taken three plus one/one plus three it might be taken to imply an affetuoso style, gently shaped rather than severely articulated.

A marked and interesting feature of the manuscript is that Bach varied the slurs between the viol and harpsichord for the same material.[17] He does this on two occasions and in both cases the variation is consistent. The first example is found in the opening Adagio where the semiquavers are slurred in pairs in the viol part and in fours in the harpsichord part (Example 4).

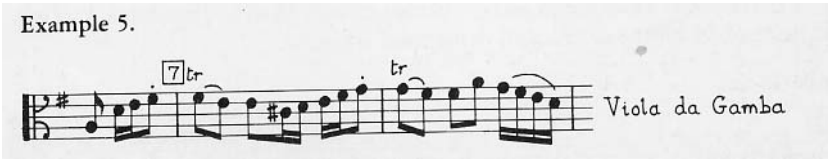
Example 4.



In the gamba part the slurs allow the violist to land with an up-bow on the principal beats. Can this variation be accounted for by Bach's adherence to the current strong-bow-on-the-strong-beat principle? Or does it simply reflect a preference on Bach's part to have the two instruments slurred differently?[18] The other variation of slurs occurs in the problematic third movement. Here the gamba commonly has two slurs per group of four semiquavers against the harpsichord's one slur. Did Bach use paired slurring in the viol part to encourage more tone from the instrument? Slurs of four disjunct notes would have been weak, and indeed are uncharacteristic of Bach.[19]

Throughout the sonata, variations in the use of slurs occur with different statements of the same material. To take an example, the four-semiquaver group in the third bar of the principal theme of the second movement (Example 5) are generally slurred as a group of four:

Example 5.



But in bars 39 and 98 it is un-slurred and in bar 108 it is slurred in pairs. Is that variation intended? Might it not be to accommodate changed circumstances with respect to tessitura or countermelodies? Or does it simply provide extra interest? Might it not also be accounted for as a copying slip and require correction? The [33] editor's path becomes perilous. It seems to me that if the editor feels obliged to embark upon a course of rationalisation he finds himself in grave difficulties. Where does he draw the line? Does he wish to create a score covered with fussy rococo slurs? I think not. I feel he should leave the evidence as close as possible to how Bach left it. The performer is then able to judge for himself if he wants to make any alterations.

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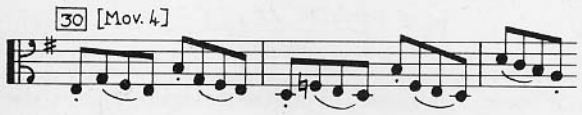
[17] A look at the flute version reveals that there the semiquaver slurring is uniform: slurred as fours in both parts, with the exception of the first entry on the second flute.

[18] This variation between the parts is not encountered in the flute version.

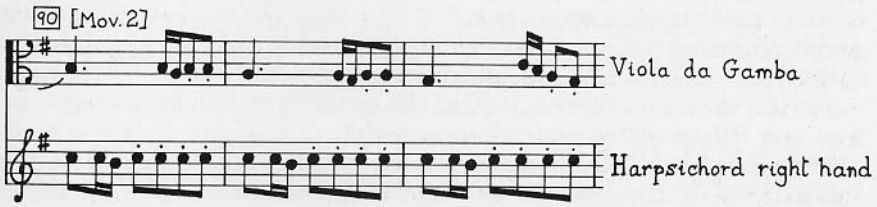
[19] In the foreword to the Bach Gesellschaft edition the editor writes that shortly before his edition came out (and thus too late to include its content) he saw an autograph copy of the G minor sonata. He believed it to be authenticated by C.P.E. Bach. Then it was in private hands; its whereabouts is unknown today.

Like the use of slurs, Bach's frequent notation of dots in the manuscript is a progressive feature. The intended effect of those dots seems to be to indicate *détaché* quavers and phrase ends. The *détaché* quavers are found to give air before a trill (Example 5), to shape passage work (Example 6a), and as a marked *détaché* effect in its own right (Example 6b). An instance of a dot used at the finish of a phrase is to be found at the end of the opening theme of the Adagio (Example 6c).

Example 6a.



Example 6b.

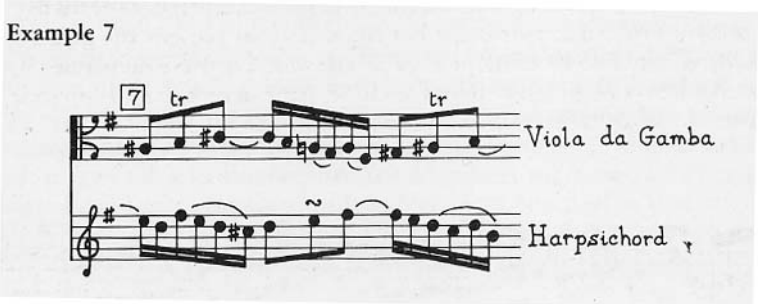


Example 6c.

But the same puzzling variation with subsequent statements of the identical material happens with dots as it does with slurs, throwing up the same difficulties raised in the previous paragraph.

Finally there is a surprising use of ornaments in the juxtaposition of turns in the harpsichord line with trills (tr) in the gamba part. The two most striking [34] examples are to be found in bars 7 (see Example 7) and 19 of the first movement, and the countersubject of the second movement. This juxtaposition is used entirely consistently. One may only deduce that Bach felt that the different ornaments suited each instrument best.

Example 7



The D major and G minor sonatas exist only in inaccurate copies.[20] For these there is the harder editorial problem in trying to determine what Bach wrote. An editor must first evaluate the available manuscripts. The most important source is Penzel (1737-1801) who copied the D major sonata in score and the G minor work in parts. A manuscript of the gamba part of the D major sonata in an anonymous hand has come down to us; and there is a second copy by Forkel (1749-1818) in parts, of the G minor sonata.

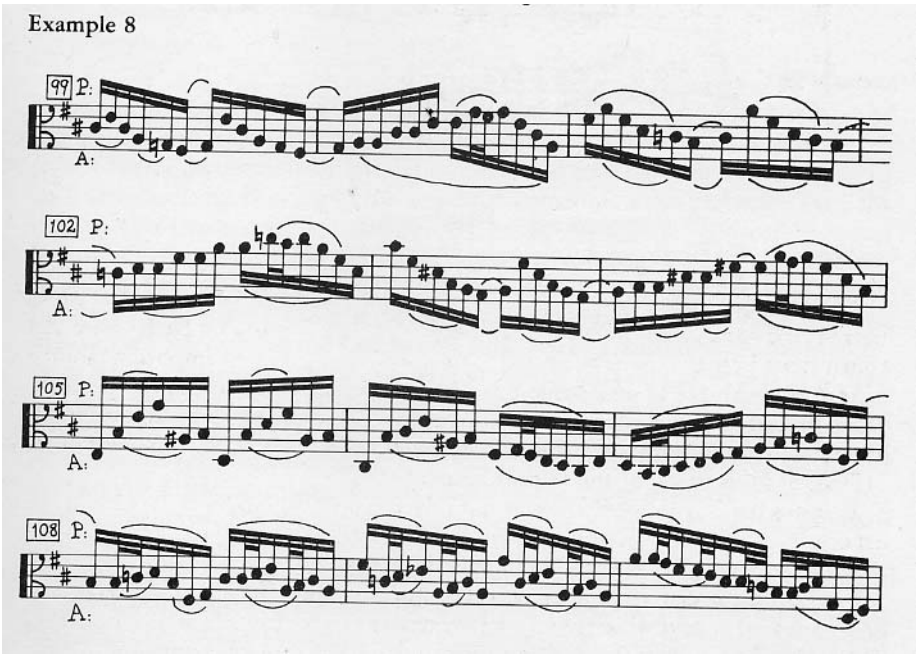
Penzel's hand is decidedly rococo and tidy, but unfortunately his copying is not especially reliable. For example, in the gamba part of the fourth movement of the D major sonata bar 114: f is written over dominant harmony in place of e. In the following bar a clef change is omitted. Furthermore there are a number of anomalies in the text which seem uncharacteristic of Bach and lead one to suspect that from time to time Penzel has gently updated the text, in keeping with mid-eighteenth century taste and its emphasis on detailed phrasing. The sentimental marking *cantabile* mid-movement in the Allegro of the G minor sonata appears to be an example of this. The same is true of the phrasing slurs in the harpsichord part, bars 5 and 7 of the Adagio.

The hand of the anonymous copyist of the gamba part of the D major sonata is, when compared to that of Penzel, old fashioned and Baroque in character. A cursory glance might tempt one to think that the part had been copied from Penzel's score: the two manuscripts have many similarities, notably the same gross mistakes (including the two quoted in the paragraph above). But there is not conclusive evidence for this belief. Indeed, the many variations of bowing perhaps point towards the two versions having been copied from another, [35] lost, intermediate source.

Forkel's manuscript is unlikely to date before the 1770s as it was at that time that Forkel first began his research on Bach. Furthermore his hand is classical. The liberal use of slurs and phrasing marks in a rococo manner suggests that Forkel added many of these, to update the manuscript to the practices of his day.

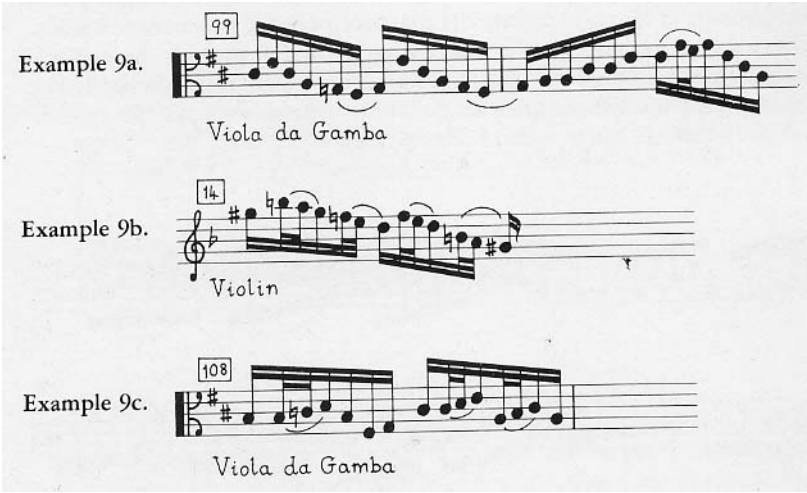
As in Bach's own manuscript it is the bowing slurs that present the greatest problem to the editor. The most illogical of all the slurs are those demanded by both Penzel and the anonymous hand for the viol's virtuosic cadenza-like episode near the close of the D major sonata (Example 8).

[20] For example in the first movement of Brandenburg 3.

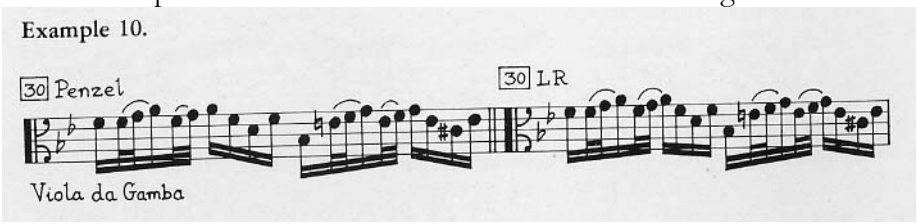


Here the rule of the strong-bow-on-the-strong-beat principle is largely thrown aside and a nonsensical and at times impossible path is mapped out. In short, one is forced to deduce that neither version can be considered a performing edition. My solution in the Faber edition is to change Penzel's two-note slur in bar 99 to the three-note slur so favoured by Bach over that semitone figure[21] (Example 9a) and to retain Penzel's slur over notes 7 to 10 in bar 100 which is also characteristic of Bach.[22] That deals with bars 99 to 104. Penzel's bowing for bars 105 to 107 is satisfactory and thus stands. But in bars 108 to 110 the slurs are utterly unidiomatic to the viol and are at times unplayable. The shape of the melodic line with its lively cross rhythms agrees with short slurs across the beat which occur once in Penzel's score and three times in the anonymous part. In addition [36] Bach bowed a similar figure in that manner in the Allemande to the second unaccompanied Partita (Example 9b). So it seems correct to use slurs across the beat for these bars (Example 9c).

[21] For example in the first movement of Brandenburg 3.
[22] Partita no. 2 for unaccompanied violin, Allemande.

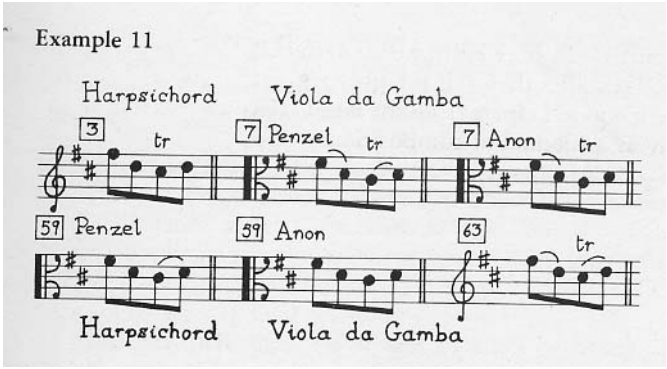


Another example of unidiomatic bowing by Penzel is found in the Vivace of BW V 1029. The motif which first occurs in bar 30 is more often than not slurred so that the bowing comes out upside down with the weak bow on the strong beat.

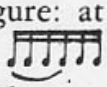
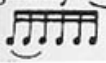


This is incorrect by Baroque criteria. As it stands the passage is not only difficult to play but it also goes against the grain of the harpsichord accompaniment, by throwing the accent onto the second and fourth beats. Thus it seems that the second slur of the motif should be over notes 5 to 7 and not just over notes 5 and 6.

The editor of these two sonatas comes up once again against the problem of variation of slurring and other markings at subsequent statements of a motif. But in these sonatas the problem is greater because one must also interpret how a copyist interpreted Bach. Let us look at an example in the second movement of the D major sonata. [37]

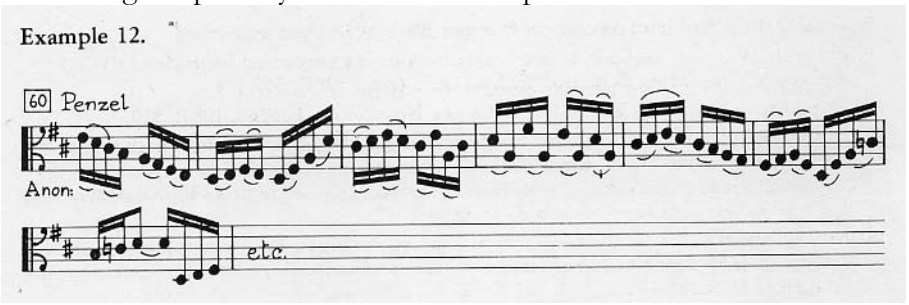


Example 11 illustrates the four statements of the figure that appears within the course of the movement. The phrase occurs twice on each instrument: it comes paired with one instrument having the material four bars before the other. In both instances the slurring in the second statement is more elaborate than the first. Is this intentional or merely an oversight in copying? A second reading from the anonymous hand only serves to make the situation more ambiguous. The first pair of this figure with the harpsichord plain and the viol slurred presents no problems in itself, being perfectly characteristic of Bach. But the half-slurred utterance in the viol, bar 59, followed by a slurred harpsichord statement leaves room for doubt. If it is felt that the viol part should, in fact, be slurred and include the trill then doubt must in turn be shed on the harpsichord's first statement. Is the ground here not treacherous? If such a phrase as this is regularised the editor's foot is again in the door and he may be tempted also to smooth out other charming idiosyncrasies. In the Faber edition I have left this section unaltered, but the players should feel free to experiment and discover which version they prefer.

A yet more perplexing example of variation of slurs within subsequent statements of material comes in the Allegro of the G minor sonata. This concerns the six-semiquaver accompanying figure: at times the quavers are marked  at others  and yet again  . This last slurring is very rare in Bach's writing and is highly improbable as a figuration. To arrive back on the strong bow for the beginning of the bar the player would need to negotiate an ungainly  at a fast tempo. On such evidence it seemed correct to decide for  .

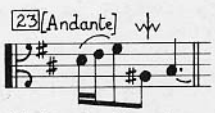
The variation of bowing between Penzel and the anonymous source in the gamba part to BWV 1028 often provides two equally plausible alternatives. For example, in the second movement, bars 60 to 68 (Example 12) the anonymous hand gives a reading nicely slurred in pairs, which also seems to have the alternative motive of preventing the viol from obscuring the primary interest in the harpsichord line.

Example 12.



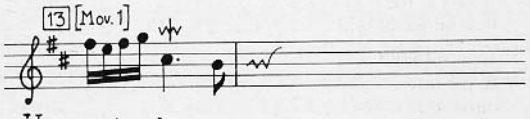
One final ambiguity found in Penzel's text is the sign: VtV. Generally it indicates, as one would expect, a mordent. But sometimes it seems to be an unclear turned trill (vv*) as in Example 13a; and at others, as in toe case of 13b, it appears to be a mistake for a straight trill.

Example 13a.



Viola da Gamba

Example 13b.



Harpsichord

THE FIRST EARL OF SANDWICH, A PERFORMANCE OF WILLIAM LAWES IN SPAIN AND THE ORIGINS OF THE PARDESSUS DE VIOLE

IAN WOODFIELD

The Journal of Edward Mountagu, First Earl of Sandwich, which was compiled during his years as ambassador in Madrid (1666-1668), includes a very interesting description of a Spanish performance of English consort music.[1] One afternoon, Mountagu, an assiduous ambassador, visited Don Juan, son of Philip IV, and was invited to participate in an informal session of consort playing. Like Pepys (his secretary), Mountagu was an ardent amateur musician and he needed no second invitation. His description of the afternoon's entertainment is worth quoting in full:

> When I came in, he would needs have mee play my part also, soe his Highness playd upon a treble violl with seven strings (the smallest whereoff is an addition of his owne to play lessons that rise much in alto, without the difficulty and uncertainty of stopping with one's fingers very low on the finger board and beneath all the fretts) and another upper bridge (some two inches on the finger board beneath the usuall one that soe the smallest string might hold the better). Don Juan tells me also that an Italian in towne plays on the violin with five strings for the same reason.
>
> I played at first on the Bass violl. The first musique wee played was the 1st and 2nd suite of Mr. W. Lawes his Royall Consort. The next were short light ayres composed in Flanders. The last was a composition of two trebles and a Bass, by Mr. Gregoryes, when his Highnesse played on the Base violl, and I on the treble violin.
>
> His Highnesse plays a sure part of the Treble and base violl, theorbo, and Harpsicall from a ground. He plays (and will have others doe sue too) very soft; loves light ayres best, and goes still forward on, never playes the same thinge twice.

This passage casts a good deal of light on a curious little incident that was reported by Roger North. Making the point that Jenkins was so prolific a composer that in his old age he had forgotten at least half of what he had written, North recalled that:

> A Spanish Don sent over to the late Sr P. Lely, the leaves of one part of a 3 part consort of his, with a desire to procure the rest, costa *the* costa [whatever the cost]: for his musick had got abroad and was more esteemed there than at home. I shewed him the papers, but he could tell nothing of them, when or where they were made, or might be found, onely he knew they were his owne.[2]

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[1] F.P. Harris: The Life of Edward Mountagu, K.G. First Earl of Sandwich (1625-1672) (London, 1912), vol. ii, 112

[2] 2. J. Wilson, ed:. *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), 296

In another version of this incident North claimed that the compositions in question were four-part consorts 'of a sprightly moving kind, such as were called Fancys'.[3]

The 'fancys' in question were probably either the twenty-seven fantasias for treble, two bass viols and organ, or the twenty-one fantasias for two trebles and bass (no organ part is extant). The four-part viol fantasias can be ruled out, both because of North's characterisation of the works as being 'of a sprightly moving [41] kind' and because it is inconceivable that Jenkins, even in old age, could have failed to identify his distinctive viol consort sets. That he had difficulty in recalling all of his vast output in the lighter style, however, is quite understandable; in North's graphic phrase, of this kind there were 'horsloads of his works'.[4] Also, if these 'fancys' were in three parts 'to the organ' (like the set for treble, two bass viols and organ), that would certainly account for the ambiguity concerning the number of parts in North's two versions of the incident.

North's anonymous Spaniard was in all probability the Royal Don Juan with whom Mountagu spent an afternoon playing the music of Lawes and William Gregory. His taste was clearly for English consort music of the lighter variety. Mountagu's description of his preferred manner of performance reads almost like a caricature of some modern amateur English viol playing: a uniformly timid approach to sound production allied to an insatiable desire for sight-reading!

The main point of interest in Mountagu's report is the very unusual instrument played by Don Juan: a seven-string treble viol with a second bridge for the additional string, tuned presumably to g". This device enabled the Spaniard to play high treble parts such as those of the *Royall Consort* in first position without the 'uncertainty' of playing above the frets. A much simpler solution would have been to abandon the low d string, which in any case would have been completely redundant in the music played by Don Juan, and add a high g" string instead. Dodd, on practical grounds, recommends the use of just such an instrument for the high treble parts of William Lawes in his article on 'The Chest of Viols Reconsidered'.[5] The seven-string viol described by Mountagu provides a clear historical precedent for this suggestion.

The use of a high treble viol in the first two suites of Lawes's *Royall Consort is* of great interest. These parts were certainly written for the violin; the autograph score of the New Version is headed 'For Two Violins, 2 Base Violls and 2 Theorboes'.[6] Yet much of the treble writing is not so far removed from the viol as to make it unplayable or even unidiomatic on that instrument. This adds weight to the suggestion made by Field[7] that the term 'treble' which appears so often in manuscripts of mid seventeenth-century English instrumental music (notably those containing the works of Jenkins), may sometimes have been left deliberately ambiguous, the implication being that composers felt obliged to keep an open mind on the subject of treble instrumentation (whatever the practice at Court may have been) and to reflect this uncertainty in a

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[3] *Ibid.,* 344

[4] *Ibid.*, 345

[5] G. Dodd: 'The Chest of Viols Reconsidered', *Chelys, iii* (1971), 22-24

[6] GB-Ob, MS, Mus. Sch. B.3

[7] C.D.S. Field: *The English Consort Suite of the Seventeenth Century* (unpublished DPhil thesis, Oxford, 1971), 142-3

relatively restrained style of writing for the upper parts. By the 1000s the majority of players, including Mountagu himself, were probably using the instrument that the composers themselves intended, the violin, but others such as Don Juan and the 3rd Lord North (who 'played on that antiquated instrument called the treble viol, now abrogated wholly by the use of the violin')[8] obviously still did prefer the older treble viol, with or without -a high g" string.

One English household in which Lawes's *Royall Consort* was probably performed with treble viols was that of Sir Peter Leicester. His inventory of [42] music books drawn up in 1667 includes the following item: 'The Royall Consort by Will: Lawes for 4 violes, with a Continued Basse: Manuscript: with 4 parts also by Jenkins'.[9] To judge by the phrase 'for 4 violes', this may have been a copy of the Old Version for two trebles, meane and bass. The list of Sir Peter's instruments shows that he owned a chest of seven viols containing two trebles, two tenors, two basses and a lyra, but only one violin - a suggestive, though by no means conclusive piece of evidence.

One further question raised by Mountagu's report deserves some brief comment - the relation, if any, between Don Juan's seven-string treble viol and the *pardessus de viole.* The *pardessus* was a small treble viol which appeared in France some time after c.1700 and enjoyed a considerable vogue for much of the eighteenth century. One of the two tunings given by Michel Corrette in his *Methode* (Paris, c.1750) was the equivalent of the normal treble viol tuning without the low *d* and with a high *g": g" d" a' e' c'* g.[10] As the high treble viol described by Mountagu was probably an isolated experiment made in response to the needs of one individual, it would be quite wrong to make a firm connection between this instrument and the later emergence of the *pardessus* in France. Yet Mountagu's explanation of the *raison d'être* for the Spaniard's seven-string treble surely applies also to the *pardessus* in France. Whatever the later sophistication of its repertory, the *pardessus,* I would argue, probably originated, like Don Juan's viol, as a 'first-position' instrument for amateur Parisian viol players of good breeding who were keen to perform Baroque sonatas on their own instrument, but who found the tessitura of many pieces just a little too high for the conventional *dessus. To* have transferred to the violin, however, which in Paris was an unambiguously professional instrument, may have been considered socially unacceptable.

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[8] J. Wilson, ed.: *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), 10

[9] E.M. Halcrow, ed.: *Charges to the Grand Jury at Quarter Sessions* 1660-1677 *by Sir Peter Leicester* (Chetham Society, Series 3, Volume 5, 1953), 151

[10] A. Rose: 'The Solo Repertoire for Dessus and Pardessus de Violes Published in France, c.1650-c.1770: a list of works with introduction', *Chelys, ix* (1980), 14

THE YOUNGER SAINTE-COLOMBE IN EDINBURGH

IAN WOODFIELD

The music of the younger Mr de Sainte-Colombe survives in only one source, the Durham Cathedral music manuscript, A. 27.[1] This valuable compilation of bass viol music includes several suites attributed to 'M. de Ste Colombe Le Fils', some individual dance movements and a 'tombeau' for the composer's father ('por Mr. de Ste Colombe Le Pere') which presumably dates from around 1701, the year in which Marais published his 'Tombeau pour Mr de Ste Colombe' *(Pieces de Violes, Livre Second).*

Details of the younger Sainte-Colombe's career are very scarce. He is assumed to have visited England in 1713. *The Daily Courant* for 11 May includes an advertisement for a consort for the benefit of Mr St. Colombe in Hickford's Room on 14 May.[2] Further references to Sainte-Colombe in Edinburgh now suggest that his stay in this country may have been a long one. In *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie* the following entries occur in the accounts for 1707:[3]

Edenburgh, January 1707

For mounthes at the violl to
Grisie with Sinckolum . . . . . £12. 0. 0.

For mending her violl . . . . . £ 2. 0. 0.

This garbled version of the Frenchman's name becomes clearer in a subsequent entry for the month of June: 'For *2* mounth to Grisie with St. Culume on the vyoll ... £15. 3. 0.' For a period of at least six months then, the young 'Grisie' - she was only fifteen years old - had the benefit of personal tuition on the viol with an exponent of the French school of viol playing.

The Baillie household was a musical one. Lady Grisell also studied singing with Jakob Kremberg and took lessons on the spinet, virginal and 'through bass'. Her sister Rachel was taught the spinet, virginal and flute. The *Household Book* contains many references to their musical activities and is particularly valuable (within its limits) as evidence of the family's concert- and opera-going habits.

The visit of the younger Sainte-Colombe to Edinburgh helps to explain the inclusion of his unpublished music in Prebendary Philip Falle's Durham bass-viol manuscript. Falle could have met Sainte-Colombe (and perhaps even taken lessons with him) in Edinburgh, Durham, London or Paris. The appearance of any French *maître de viole* as a teacher in eighteenth-century England (or Scotland) is worthy of note. Exponents of the French school of viol playing rarely visited England during this period (though their

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[1] M. Urquhart: 'Prebendary Philip Falle (1656-1742) and the Durham Bass Viol Manuscript A. 27', *Chelys, v* (1973-74), 7-20

[2] M. Tilmouth: 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', *RMA Research Chronicle, i* (1961), 85

[3] R. Scott-Moncrieff: *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie* 1692-1733 (Publications of the Scottish History Society, New Series, i; Edinburgh, 1911), 14 & 17

music was certainly known), whereas Dutch and German viol virtuosi such as Finger, Steffkin and Abel made quite an impact on English musical life.

The evidence of the *Household Book is* that Lady Grisell did not pursue her study of the viol after the departure of Sainte-Colombe - there are no further [44] payments for viol lessons or for the purchase of strings - notwithstanding her life-long devotion to music. During her visit to Italy, however, she made several payments for the copying of music, and one, on 14 May 1732, specifically 'For copying Corellies Musick'.[4] As we now know, Corelli's violin sonatas were sometimes copied out by viol players in transpositions suited to their own instrument. It seems unlikely that Lady Grisell would have requested Corelli transcriptions for viol at this date, but the unambiguous reference to the copying of Corelli's music for a known viol player is another clear pointer to the general practice of the period.

[4] *Ibid.,* 364

BOOK REVIEWS

Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (1543-1588): A Thematic Catalogue of his Music with a Biographical Calendar. Richard Charteris. Pendragon Press. £32

The life and music of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder, in common with many contemporary composers, remained a shadowy matter and all but undisturbed until the middle of this century. Even then, apart from a few continental giants, it was largely the music of English composers, under the championship of the late Dr. E.H. Fellowes, which captured and commanded attention. Little or no account was taken of the influence of foreign composers, or even of their existence. Only since World War II, with the rapid development and expansion of all branches of musical scholarship, are we now able to piece together an historical texture, which fascinates in its wealth of detail and evidence of interaction.

Before 1950, the most substantial research on the Ferrabosco biography had been undertaken by two scholars, the Italian Giovanni Livi, of Bologna, and the Englishman G.E.P. Arkwright (1864-1944). Both contributed to the short-lived *Musical Antiquary* in 1911-13, the former describing material in the Archivio di Stato in Bologna, Ferrabosco's birthplace, and the latter, reciprocating with material in the British Library, and, from his position in charge of the library of Christ Church, Oxford, identifying and listing the music of Ferrabosco there and in the Bodleian and elsewhere. Indeed, many of Arkwright's pencil ascriptions remain on the leaves of Christ Church manuscripts.

But this was insufficient to distract scholars from their pursuit of the English School, though the American, Joseph Kerman, perhaps more detached in outlook, produced an article in the *Musical Quarterly* of 1952, showing the relationship of Ferrabosco to the English madrigalists. The article became a curtain-raiser for his *The Elizabethan Madrigal. A Comparative Study,* of 1962.

With this as background, the present writer found himself tempted in 1957 to undertake a compilation of the lives and a critical edition of the complete works of both the elder and younger Alfonso Ferrabosco. This task required someone with the necessary resources of unrestricted time and finance to bring it to fruition within a reasonable span of time. Having neither resource sufficiently, I nevertheless transcribed, scored and partially collated almost the whole of the relevant music in some 1,200 pages of twenty-four stave manuscript, some of which have been consulted by scholars since. Full collation and commentary were to follow. In two short two-week holiday periods in Bologna and Turin, a substantial amount of biographical material was unearthed. After 1964, further research became virtually impracticable. Happily, a serviceable biography of several generations of Ferraboscos over more than 200 years resulted, and this, together with work lists, appeared in the *New Grove.* The biography, with some necessary clarifications of ascriptions betwen the two Alfonsos, also appeared, introducing an edition of the elder Ferrabosco's sacred music, with full collation and [46] commentary, in an unpublished doctoral thesis (1964). This has also been widely consulted by scholars.

In the last twenty years, particularly since 1976, when the *New Grove* article was completed, research by other hands has continued, and no doubt still more material awaits discovery. One such hand is the New Zealander, Richard Charteris; he has had the enviable good fortune 'to work with the original sources in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Poland, the United Kingdom and the United States of America' and 'been able to compile and type this catalogue and prepare my nine-volume edition of Ferrabosco's *opera omnia.'*

In producing this thematic catalogue of the music of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (I am glad he has retained my distinction between father and son, instead of the normal crude I and II) with a biographical calendar, Richard Charteris has shown himself as a patient and thorough worker in the field of Renaissance music. He flatters my thesis (and mildly amuses me) on several occasions by adopting the same descriptions and turns of phrase; if doing so has helped his project along, it is to be welcomed. The whole book is presented in clear typescript, with manuscript incipits for each work listed.

The biographical calendar, prefaced by a rather inadequately reproduced letter in the composer's hand, benefits from the discovery of more material during the last twenty years, and is now as continuous and coherent as one can reasonably expect. Even so, the future may yet yield more information. Each entry is given its date, summary title, brief description, and reference source. From the first mention of Ferrabosco in England on 28th March 1562, only one year (1568) passes without an entry until 6th June 1589, when an inventory of his musical and personal effects was compiled.

The bulk of the material is drawn from the Public Record Office, the Archivio di Stato of both Bologna and Turin, in which latter city, Richard Charteris seems to have been received more helpfully than I was. Generally, the contents of letters and other documents are summarized, rather than transcribed, but where transcriptions are made, original forms of texts, with their delightful idiosyncrasies, are retained, with their dates corrected to New Style. From my own records, these appear to be done accurately in essentials.

In the record of Alfonso's baptism on 18th January 1543, as transcribed on page 2, the final word 'Patritius' may possibly puzzle by its isolation. With a lower case 'p' in the original and placed closer to the next preceding matter, to make: 'D[omi]n[u]s Camillus Paleotus bon[oniensis] patritius', it clearly describes Paleoto as a noble, or patrician, of Bologna.

Alfonso's youthful service with Charles of Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine, in 1559, still receives no original documentary evidence, though three earlier scholars in related fields refer to the service.

On 5th March 1587, Ferrabosco transferred a lease (my thesis, page 35), which is not recorded in the calendar. The dates of the prefaces to the two books of madrigals, 25th May and 4th September 1587, respectively, could well have been [47] added (page 42). Of Ferrabosco's literary work, *Dell'Historia dAltimauro,* Richard Charteris gives no indication of the contents of the surviving 140 pages of one of the two volumes in the Turin University Library. As such work was apparently normally outside the scope of Ferrabosco's regular work in the 1580s, it would have been interesting to learn the trend of his narrative.

For the student of sixteenth-century religious attitudes, the calendar now provides a fascinating case study of one man's reactions to the spectre of the Inquisition, and the involvement of cardinals, papal nuncios, ambassadors, and even the French Queen mother, Catherine de' Medici. Much of this material resides in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano in Rome, which circumstances prevented my consulting.

During his stay in England, Ferrabosco became the father of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger about 1,675, and of another child, perhaps a girl, whose name is not known. Later, in the 1580s, he became the father of a son and daughter, named after the Duke and Duchess of Savoy, in whose service he then was in Turin. In an entry for 9th December 1583, Ferrabosco makes provision for his wife Susanna, who is named in known documents for the first time, and their children in the event of his death. Later documents clarify these 'children' as Carlo Emanuele and Caterina, born in Italy. A further distinction between Carlo Emanuele, described as 'suo figliolo l[egi]timo' and an unnamed 'primogenito' has hitherto suggested that Alfonso the Younger was illegitimate. But Richard Charteris, drawing on recent research by the American John Duffy, argues persuasively that Susanna, whether or not her marriage to Alfonso the Elder had 'been ratified by Catholic sacrament', was probably the mother of Alfonso the Younger.

The calendar, and indeed the whole book, is marred by irritating transpositions of letters by the 'typist's devil', which the reader must proof-read for the author. More particularly, Alfonso the Elder's mother is twice unaccountably named as Guilia, for Giulia; the record of Alfonso's absence in France is twice modernized from 'galiae' to 'Galliae', and the publication *Nervi d'Orfeo* (Leiden, 1605) consistently appears as *Nevri d'Orfeo*. Notwithstanding the apparent care in transcribing documents precisely in their original forms, occasional small differences have crept in, e.g., the Duke's title as Ducca (for Duca) from the titlepage of Il *primo libro de madrigalia cinque* (1587). A few words have slipped out altogether, e.g., Marc', in Marc'Antonio Martinengo (page 44) and 'mano' in 'in mano de sig. Anfione' (page 47), to indicate the then whereabouts of some printed books of music and manuscript works of Alfonso at the time of the inventory on 6th June 1589. Cardinal Paleotto (page 23) should be Paleoto, and Petruccio Ubaldini (page 29) should be Ubaldino.

The most substantial section of the book is the Thematic Catalogue. This is divided into subsections: Motets, Lamentations, Incomplete Motets and Ferrabosco's only Anthem. Squeezed uneasily in between these and the two books of five-part madrigals of 1587 and Italian madrigals in Manuscript and Printed Anthologies [48] are the two Latin Songs, four French Chansons and three English Songs, perhaps because they date earlier than the madrigals. Finally come the Instrumental Music and the inevitable Doubtful Works. Each piece is allotted a serial number.

The layout for each entry is clear and straightforward to use: serial number, title, voices used, musical incipit, manuscript sources, edition reference, and the location of the text (Bible and Liturgy for sacred music; poem and poet, where identified, for secular music). Occasionally the author indulges in an additional short commentary, of which one would appreciate more detail, but perhaps this is being reserved for a separate commentary.

The musical incipits are, according to Richard Charteris, 'taken from the opening voice, or the uppermost voice for pieces with homophonic openings.' Sometimes, it is not the 'uppermost voice' which is used, but fortunately no great confusion is caused. Accidentals in the musical incipits are paid to 'apply to individual notes', but sometimes notes repeating an inflected note, or returned to within a group of quavers, e.g., B natural C D B, have escaped re-inflection. It is very easy to be trapped by modern custom.

Even if it was not possible or thought necessary to reproduce the incipits in full score, it is a pity that they are so generously spaced that the majority end in midphrase, while twenty-five do not even quote the complete title, often for the want of one syllable!

The catalogue is useful for drawing attention to sources relatively recently discovered. Of these, two, namely, British Library: Madrigal Society G.44-7, 49 and the James MS, prove to be substantial, with thirty-one and nineteen pieces, respectively.

Under the heading of Motets (sixty-three pieces), it seems a little odd to find Richard Charteris referring to editions of the *Liber Usualis, Graduale Romanum* and *Antiphonale Romanum* dating back to the 1920s, when much more recent editions are available.

He amplifies some references to Ferrabosco using Lassus, mostly, as a model on several occasions, and in his turn serving as a model for Byrd and Parsons. It is clear that Ferrabosco was considerably influenced by the Netherlands technique. Whether he acquired the Lassus models, which date back in one case ('Jerusalem, plantabis vineam' a 7 (incomplete)) as early as 1562, on his early journeys in Europe or in London may never be known, but they help to account for his command of technique by his early 20s. It is no wonder that this appealed to the impressionable Englishmen, notably Byrd in the *Cantiones Sacrae,* 1575. Even after Ferrabosco's death, John Baldwin testified (1591) 'in skill he had no peere', Morley wrote (1597) of his 'deepe skill', and to Robert Dowland (1610) he was 'The Most Artificiall and Famous Alfonso Ferrabosco of Bologna'.

Where Richard Charteris and I may seem to differ is whether the attribution of 'Fuerunt mihi lacrymae' (no. 36) should be to the Elder or Younger Ferrabosco. He takes me mildly to task for giving it to the younger man in the *New Grove* article, while not recording that I gave it originally to the elder composer in my [49] thesis (page 287)! The problem lies with the music. Not only is there no other instance of the elder Ferrabosco having written a self-contained motet or madrigal for four voices ('Extendens caelum' and Rigans montes' temporarily abate one voice, a sort of vocal orchestration, in the lengthy setting of 'Benedic, anima mea, Domino' (Vulgate Psalm 103) in 11 partes, as does 'Come solea,' part three of 'Poiche, lasso, m'e tolto', while 'Quoniam tu, Domine', part three of 'Inclina, Domine', is a component of a scheme in which the scoring of each successive pars, from the second to the sixth, is increased by one voice), but the original notation uses A flats and a D flat. These are an ambitious novelty for the elder Ferrabosco and for the 1570s generally. I was originally content, nevertheless, to give Tuerunt mihi lacrymae' to the elder Ferrabosco on the evidence of Francis Tregian's ascription in GB-Lbl Egerton 3665, where, as Richard Charteris writes, he 'meticulously distinguished between the works of both men.' Only very reluctantly, and against my better judgement, did I give it to the younger Ferrabosco on the opinion of a distinguished scholar, whose view I respected, on the grounds of the

notation and the motet's uniqueness, or near uniqueness, according to the point of view, as a four-voice motet. I am happy to recant! The musical incipit is, incidentally, an instance of three repeated E flats, each needing its flat, whereas only the first is lucky.

Smaller details may be cited: the text of 'Ad Dominum cum tribularer' (no. 1) is set for Vespers on Holy Saturday, not Maundy Thursday; the last word in the musical incipit of 'Draco iste' (no. 16) should be illudendum, not illudendem; the text for 'Gustate et videte' (no. 21) is the Tract for Commune plurium Confessorum (not Confessor) non Pontificum; the author omits that the opening words of 'Vias tuas, Domine' (no. 25) appear in LU in the Psalm in the Introit for the first Sunday in Advent; the fact that the younger Ferrabosco also set Taboravi in gemitu meo' (no. 46) is omitted; the entry for 'O vos mmnes' (no. 51) omits the use of the text for the 5th Antiphon at Lauds on Holy Saturday (LU); there is no comment on Lassus's slightly different use of the words of 'Peccata mea, Domine' (no. 53); Drexel 4302 is omitted in the US-NYp reference for 'Salva nos, Domine' (no. 54); and the reference to Ferrabosco's other setting of We derelinquas me, Domine' (no. 56) should be that it is for six, not five, voices.

After the four entries for the Lamentations comes the sad little group of Incomplete Motets. Richard Charteris has had virtually no more success than I in tracing missing voice parts to complete the restoration of the exciting augmentation scheme of 'Inclina, Domine' (no. 40). Among these items, however, Richard Charteris seems to have been confused over time values. The musical incipits are commendable in retaining original time values, but the rests in those for 'Confiteantur tibi populi' (no. 70), Jerusalem, plantabis vineam' (no. 74) and 'Plorans ploravit' (no. 75) have been inexplicably halved. (Nos. 70 and 74 should each have a double breve rest, and no. 75 should begin with three breve rests.)

In the case of the four French Chansons (nos. 81-4), a cross-reference to the English versions in Appendix 1, as provided for the printed sets of Italian [50] madrigals, would have helped. My reference in the *New Grove* work-lists to 'Susanne un jour' being known only in the English version of 'Susanna fair' was meant to imply a complete underlay to all voices. Richard Charteris' correction that a French text exists, 'albeit underlaid in the lowest sounding voice only', in GB-Lbl Egerton 3665, would have been too fine a detail for inclusion even in that context.

Outside the scope of my thesis, though not of my original work, is the considerable corpus of madrigals, both printed and remaining in manuscript. How important was Ferrabosco's posthumous reputation to the English musicians may be realized from the fact that there are more items of his music than of any other composer in both Nicholas Yonge's volumes of *Musica Transalpina* (1588, 1597) and in Morley's Collection (1598), whereas he seemed of little consequence elsewhere than Bologna and Turin, and then was soon submerged in the rise of opera and instrumental music. The impression on Francis Tregian, too, must have been great, for he transcribed almost all Ferrabosco's unprinted madrigal output.

The layouts of the entries continue the same pattern as before. While the musical incipits cite enough of an opening to identify a piece, they show the same apparent insensitivity as to where to cut them off. For the texts, Richard Charteris has named the poet and reference in complete editions in several instances: Petrarch is the favourite

quarry; forty-one madrigals are settings of his poems. Alamanni, Ariosto, Bembo, Coppetta, Gradinicio, Lionardi, Parabosco, Rinieri, Sannazaro, Spira and Tasso are among the poets of varying renown who were also drawn upon for at least two madrigals. Unhappily, 'poet unknown' remains, for the time being, the state of knowledge for twenty-seven of the 110 madrigals.

Pride of place goes to the two books of madrigals, printed in Venice by Gardano in 1587, and dedicated to the Duke and Duchess of Savoy respectively. The title-page of the Biblioteca Estense, Modena copy of each print is reproduced; that of the Primo Libro is a unique copy. Nicholas Yonge selected five madrigals from each print for inclusion in each of his English versions of *Musica Transalpina,* while Morley chose three from the first book and two from the second for his anthology. Indeed, the interest of Englishmen seems to have lain more with 'Englishing' the Ferrabosco madrigals, though some, such as Wilbye, Farmer, Bennet and Cavendish drew ideas from isolated examples.

In two cases in the Secondo Libro (nos. 114-17), Ferrabosco sets a *Proposta,* followed by a *Risposta,* not a *Riposta,* as unaccountably appears here. A *musica ficta* natural is needed for the B in the cadential formula in the musical incipit of 'Nel piti fiorito Aprile' (no. 126). Of 'Si ch'io mi cred'homai' (no. 125) in this book, Richard Charteris chides me for not recording in the *New Grove* that 'the English version was copied into Egerton 3665 ..... without underlay except for an Italian translation of the title of the English piece: 'Io penso the gli colli'. There was no space in the *New Grove* to note this minute detail (and many others, too!) The seventy-one Italian madrigals in Manuscript and Printed Anthologies, [51] which follow, include four: 'Come solea', 'Ove le luci giro', 'Io son ferito' and 'Hor the la notte' (nos. 129-31, 152), which appear in the large, but unattributed, Ferrabosco collection in Christ Church, Oxford (GB-Och 78-82). The first two also appear, still unattributed, in GB-Lbl Mad. Soc. G.44-7, 49, but Richard Charteris reasonably accepts all four into the Ferrabosco canon.

Besides GB-Och 78-82, the chief manuscript sources are the two huge scorebooks of Francis Tregian: (1) GB-Lbl Egerton 3665 for five-voice madrigals, and (2) US-NYp Drexel 4302 for six-voice madrigals, together with US-NH Filmer 1. GB-Lbl Mad. Soc. G.44-7, 49 also proves to have a substantial holding.

Just as Ferrabosco composed a psalm-motet, 'Benedic, anima mea, Domino' in eleven *partes* (nos. 8-18), so he made of a Petrarch canzone,'Vergine bella', a set of eleven madrigals (nos. 63-73), all for six voices.

Seventeen madrigals appear in GB-Lbl Egerton 2009-12, formerly belonging to Edward Paston, in an English version, which is not a translation of the Italian. These are separately listed later, and illustrate the continued usefulness of Ferrabosco's music to English musicians.

Spellings and accents given to the texts in the catalogue do not always agree with the manuscript sources. Presumably, these have been made to agree with texts appearing in the complete editions of poets, though this is not clear. For the record, one may note that the minim rest in the musical incipit of 'Sola voi no'1 sentite' (no. 160) should be deleted.

The final section of this catalogue of Ferrabosco's music is given to Instrumental Music. The Cambridge University Library provides the major source for the lute and/or

bandora solo music, ably supported by the growing number of lute books which have come to light. The musical incipits are in the original tablature without transcription, which may not worry readers of *Chelys,* and include eight fantasias, six pavans and two galliards.

The elder Ferrabosco was too early for the main stream of consort music, in which his son excelled, but he nevertheless wrote three In nomines for five viols, two fantasias for six viols (one for six bass viols, to match William Daman's piece for six trebles), and a pavan for mixed consort.

Lest they should prove to have more bearing on the Ferrabosco canon than seems likely, Richard Charteris has dutifully listed a limp group of Doubtful Works, consisting of fragments, textless pieces, arrangements, and some with vague and untrustworthy attributions. In a group of Spurious Works, incorrectly given attribution to 'Alphonso', or equivalent, the correct attributions are thoroughly provided.

A useful listing is of versions of Ferrabosco's music, chansons and madrigals, to unrelated texts, briefly referred to above. The heading of one, no. E15, lacks a word, and should be 'List not to sirens singing'.

The book is completed by careful lists of published editions, from 1572 to the present, containing the elder Ferrabosco's music, the literary sources of texts, a bibliography, and indexes of individual pieces of related poets and composers. [52]

If the impression from this review remains that this is a 'warts and all' book, the reason must lie largely in some hurried or negligent proof-reading. In any book, but particularly in one which aims, as this does, to be definitive in its scope, this is regrettable. For clearly, much care and thought has gone into its preparation and presentation. It is the outcome of much patient labour, some of it a treading of paths already trodden. It remains a distinctly serviceable and comprehensive guide to the music of an outstanding link between the Italian and English Renaissances. Whether the music will burst out into performances of the sacred music, sung originally probably in furtive fashion in lute-song arrangements in recusant households, or of the madrigals, in their day perhaps more studied than sung, may be doubtful in today's economic climate. But it is at last becoming possible to know the music of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder in its entirety. Some quatercentenary celebrations in 1988 may be in Order.

JOHN V. COCKSHOOT

Mark Lindley: *Lutes, Viols and Temperaments* Cambridge University Press, 1984. X17.50 hard covers, Y,7.95 paperback. Cassette, C.U.P., 1985, E5.50.

The positioning of the frets on a viol or a lute is critical to good intonation. Unfortunately, this is not an easy matter. Equal semitones between each fret results in 'equal temperament', a temperament in which the major thirds are considerably wider than pure. Semitones of varying sizes between the frets can result in a more satisfactory temperament, but owing to the fact that each fret position governs the pitch of at least five different notes (one for each string), there will inevitably be several notes on the instrument which are produced by frets in positions which are not ideal for that note in that temperament.

This book, as clear and concise as its title suggests, will therefore be seized eagerly by players of fretted instruments. It is not, however, a beginner's guide, and while it will be eagerly bought, I fear that it may remain largely unread, or at least undigested, as the book presupposes on the part of the reader a considerable fluency in the concepts and terminology of the subject of temperament.

What Lindley has done, in a wholly admirable manner, is to assemble evidence regarding temperament and fretting from an exhaustively wide range of theorists and practitioners from the fifteenth century onwards, and to classify the resulting systems as Pythagorean; meantone; just; equal; or indeed unworkable. He then draws some simple and well argued conclusions. These are (i) that 'the use of an instrument fretted for equal temperament is never historically "wrong"'; (ii) that unequal temperaments using two sizes of semitone (Pythagorean and meantone temperaments), while presenting practical problems, are also justifiable, and indeed desirable, for certain types of music; and (iii) that practical musicians modified their fretting systems empirically, both towards equal temperament, in order to achieve pure octaves and unisons (Ganassi), and away from equal [53] temperament, in order to achieve purer thirds (Praetorius) and to match the key colouration of French harpsichord tuning (Marais).

He supplements this evidence by a close scrutiny of musical, and in particular, tablature, sources, and provides a tape cassette of examples played in different fretting schemes. This has enabled him to draw further conclusions regarding the assumptions which composers made about fretting. For example, he concludes that Luis Milan favoured unequal semitones, with a wide semitone between nut and first fret, citing Milan's avoidance of this fret for g" in an E major chord, where although convenient, it would give a very wide major third. On the other hand, Milan uses this fret freely for f in F major chords, where it would make a narrower, purer major third with the open a above. Interestingly also, he concludes that composers from the late Renaissance onwards have *assumed* equal temperament (or at any rate a circular temperament) on fretted instruments for the purposes of modulation. One might well go on to argue that the adoption of equal temperament for these instruments, although initially for practical reasons, must have provided an important opportunity for composers to explore the widening horizons of tonality.

The production of this book is excellent: sources are quoted frequently and at length, both in their original language and in parallel translation; and the numerous illustrations are apt and well produced. Lindley's writing is incisive, economical, and frequently witty; his arguments are developed coherently and thoroughly, and his conclusions presented without dogmatism. I have one or two quibbles with some of his practical advice for fretting on viols, such as his suggestion that the fourth fret is the most likely candidate for modification away from straight equal semitone spacing. I consider that for practical purposes, frets two and three are the ones which tend to wander (third fret sharper, second fret flatter) in the pursuit of a 'meaner' sound - but it is one of the book's virtues that it is possible to disagree with a detail without bringing the whole edifice of Lindley's finely-researched argument crashing to the ground.

I hope the book will be both bought and read by many players; it is most emphatically worth while overcoming any horror of 'magnitudes and multitudes' in order to understand this valuable work of reference.

ELIZABETH LIDDLE

Ian Woodfield: *The Early History of the* Viol Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984, £25

A hundred years ago, when the serious study of music was in its infancy, instruments were discussed almost entirely in terms of their visual appearance. The nineteenth-century concept of progress dictated that early stringed instruments like the viol were of interest not in their own right but as stages in an inevitable Darwinian evolution towards the classic violin family of Stradivarius [54] and his contemporaries. How the viol was played and what should be played on it only began to receive attention when a small and rather subversive section of the musical world actually began to revive the instrument. As we know, many important questions of instrument size, pitch, stringing and technique have still to be resolved after over half a century of modern viol playing. Up to now, viol players interested in the early history of their instrument have had little to go on, since academics have continued to ask 'what did the viol look like?' rather than the much more useful 'how was it played?' and 'what did it play?'.

In this context, Ian Woodfield's new book is both exciting and frustrating. It is exciting because it brings together for the first time enough material for a coherent account of the viol's early history, based on treatises and documentary sources as well as pictures and surviving instruments. The most original and important part of the book is derived from his 1977 doctoral thesis, and concerns the development of the sixteenth-century Italian viol from the plucked and bowed *vihuela* of fifteenth-century Spain. This link was first suggested by Thurston Dart in a characteristic flash of intuition, but it was left to Woodfield to provide the evidence from a close study of fifteenth-century Spanish painting. He shows that the bowed *vihuela* was developed in Valencia and was imported into Italy in the last few years of the fifteenth century. Incidentally, he suggests that the election of the Aragonese Rodrigo Borgia as Pope Alexander VI in 1492 resulted in the movement of viol-playing musicians from Spain to Italy. Although this probably happened to some extent - though as a cardinal Rodrigo Borgia already had an established household in Rome - a more obvious cause is Ferdinand and Isabella's expulsion of the Jews from Spain in the same year. We know that Alexander VI was (for the time) particularly tolerant towards Jews, and Roger Prior and I have recently shown that a group of Jewish string players came to England from Spain and Portugal via Italy in 1540.[1]

Ian Woodfield's greatest contribution to our understanding of the viol's early history is his realisation that the move from Spain to Italy involved a fundamental change in the way the instrument was played. Spanish paintings show, without exception, that the instrument was bowed without a bridge, which means that the strings could only have sounded together, presumably to provide an improvised accompaniment to vocal music. He could have strengthened his case by pointing out also that the evidence for

[1] Roger Prior: Jewish Musicians at the Tudor Court', *The Musical Quarterly, lxix* (1983), 253-65; Peter Holman: 'The English Royal Violin Consort in the Sixteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association, cix* (1982-3), 39-59

modern arched bridges *on any stringed instrument is* tenuous in the extreme before the early 1480s, when Tinctoris described the strings on the *viola cum arculo* or vielle as 'stretched in a protuberant manner so that the bow ... can touch any one string the player wills, leaving the others untouched'.[2] In Italy, the very earliest pictures of viols, beginning with the famous 1497 painting by Lorenzo Costa at Bologna, show instruments with arched bridges. His conclusion, which is surely correct, is that the viol was given an arched bridge to make it suitable for playing a single line in written polyphonic music. The Tinctoris passage mentioned above contains a description of two Flemings (or Germans?) who played transcriptions of polyphonic chansons [55] on two vielles, presumably with arched bridges. Woodfield makes the valuable point that the Valencian bowed *vihuela* apparently seemed abnormally large to Italian musicians, since they referred to it as the *viola grande* or the *violone.* But he fails to take the next logical step: that the viol was seized upon with enthusiasm in Italy because it was significantly larger than the two existing bowed instrumenta, the vielle and the rebec. Given the conventional strings of the time, the viol was the first bowed instrument that would have been large enough to play the lowest parts of contemporary polyphonic music. An even more important point that is hardly touched on at all is the development of the viol in several sizes. As far as is known, both the vielle and the rebec were only ever made in a single size in the Middle Ages, though pictures show that this single size could vary quite widely at different times and places. But the Costa painting shows that someone had developed two sizes of viol by 1497 with the obvious intention of using them in polyphonic music, since they are shown being played together with arched bridges.

Where and when did this crucial change from single-size drone instrument to multi-size consort instrument occur? Again, Ian Woodfield hardly seems concerned by the question, even though his book contains most of the material necessary for a reasonably convincing answer. He mentions the role of Isabella d'Este and the twin courts of Ferrara and Mantua in the viol's development (Isabella's marriage in 1490 to Francesco Gonzaga allied the two cities), though he clearly has not perceived the importance of William Prizer's recent work in the Mantuan archives. Prizer has printed documents (mentioned by Woodfield) to show that in June 1495 Isabella ordered a set of three viols from a Brescian instrument maker. For some reason, Prizer missed his name, but luckily Stefano Davari had already revealed it in 1885 as 'maestro Kerlino'.[3] We know from other documents printed by Prizer that two of the three viols were large and one of them was small, and that in 1499 Isabella had a fourth made, also large. It is surely not forcing the evidence to suggest (i) that the 1497 Costa painting depicts two of the 1495 instruments (Costa was Ferrarese and their peculiar two-cornered shape is associated with the Brescian *lira da braccio)* and (ii) that they made up the first experimental viol consort, developed by Kerlino for Isabella d'Este.

It is at this stage in the book that the most frustrating feature of Ian Woodfield's approach, his unwillingness to combine his account of the instrument's development with a detailed discussion of its possible repertory, comes to the fore. Why was the viol

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[2] *2.* Anthony Baines: 'Fifteenth-century Instruments in Tinctoris's *De Inventione et Usu Musicae', The Galpin Society Journal, iii* (1950), 23

[3] Stefano Davari: 'La Musica a Mantova', *Rivista Storica Mantovana, i* (1885), 68

developed as a consort instrument in northern Italy around 1500? He suggests rather vaguely that 'in late fifteenth-century Italy there were two important genres of polyphonic secular music that might have been played on viols, Franco-Netherlandish chansons and Italian frottole', without pointing out (i) that the repertory of textless chansons found in the Petrucci song-books is apparently based on a north Italian repertory, (ii) that most of them are laid out in three parts with ranges that make them more suitable for viols than for wind instruments, and (iii) that the polyphonic frottola consisting of one voice part [56] accompanied by three low-lying untexted parts was developed at Mantua for Isabella d'Este while she was ordering the first consort viols. The only point that is made about the music is the all-too-familiar one that 'fast-moving, ornamental figurations' suggest instrumental performance. Many scholars have pointed out recently that our modern ideas of what is 'vocal' and 'instrumental' are useless for dealing with late Mediaeval music, which frequently has astonishingly complex and angular writing in purely vocal church music. Woodfield's failure to discuss these musical issues in suitable detail is an important missed opportunity, since even those viol players who specialise in Renaissance music seem to be unaware that they have a large and beautiful repertory of consort music dating from the earliest years of their instrument's existence.

I do not wish to give the impression that Dr. Woodfield's work is so flawed as to be of little value. It is the best summary of the subject to date, and it will serve as a convenient base for future research. But it continually tries to cover too much, it is concerned too much with treatises and with documentary reports of abnormal events *(intermedii* and the like) and too little with actual viol music, and it is too cautious in its conclusions. As the sixteenth century progresses and the viol spreads into northern Europe, as it develops a wide range of sizes and tunings and generally becomes a more complex subject, so his treatment of it becomes less satisfactory. I suspect that he would have done better to stick to the more limited scope of his doctoral thesis, *The Origins of the Viol,* leaving the later sixteenth century for another occasion. It is also unfortunate that he has attempted a comprehensive history of the early viol at a time when so many of its features - tuning, sizes and pitch, for instance - are the subject of intense debate, and when we are promised books on music in Ferrara (by Lewis Lockwood) and Isabella d'Este (Clifford Brown and Anna Maria Lorenzoni) that will almost certainly add greatly to our knowledge of the subject.

A final comment needs to be made about Dr. Woodfield's last chapter, 'The viol in sixteenth-century England', since this is the area of the viol's early history this is likely to be of most immediate interest to readers of *Chelys.* He starts with a detailed survey of references to the viol in England and Scotland up to about 1575. Like all the recitals of facts in the book, it is well put together and substantially complete, though he underestimates the importance of the van Wilder family; the three van Wilders, Matthew, Peter and Philip, probably introduced the viol into England from Italy in or shortly before 1515.[4] The discussion of the possible early viol repertory in England is, once again, very inadequate. For instance, there is no mention of the manuscript

[4] An extended discussion of this point will appear in my forthcoming article 'The Earliest Viol Players in England and the Music they Played', a revised version of a paper given at the Performance Practice Conference in Oxford in 1984.

commonly known today as 'Henry VIII's Book'; it contains a number of textless three-part chansons apparently copied from the same northern Italian repertory that is associated with the early viol. On the other hand, a rather later source that he mentions as possibly containing viol music, the Lumley Part-books, contains dances probably written for violins, since they are simple and functional and several are ascribed to 'Albert', 'Innocent' and 'Peter'; three Italians with these Christian names were [57] serving in the royal violin consort in the later 1550s.[5] Throughout the book, the central issue of the relationship between the viol and the violin families and their repertories is never properly discussed. Much of the rest of the chapter is devoted to a detailed and welcome discussion of the importance of London's choir schools in the development of English viol playing, though his suggestion that they generated the Elizabethan repertory of contrapuntal consort music is not very convincing, since much of it appears to be for wind instruments. Since Warwick Edwards dispatched the old notion that the consort music of the time was written for amateur viol consorts, there has been a need for an extended and thorough treatment of the subject; a treatment that Dr Woodfield does not supply. We are still waiting for an account of the Elizabethan viol that combines the factual information compiled by Ian Woodfield with the perceptive approach to the music offered by Oliver Neighbour in *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd.*

PETER HOLMAN

The Historical Harpsichord i, **Edited by Howard Schott**. Pendragon Press, New York, 1984. $42

Distinguished musicologists are often honoured at some suitable stage in their careers or after their deaths by a *festschrift* - a volume of essays on their pet subjects by pupils and colleagues. This new volume is something of a novelty, since it is both a *festschrift* commemorating the Boston harpsichord maker and author Frank Hubbard and the start of a new periodical. *The Historical Harpsichord* nicely balances three different types of writing about musical instruments. It starts with an edited version of a lecture by Hubbard himself, part autobiography and part manifesto, that sets out the case for copying old instruments in general and the Franco-Flemish type of harpsichord in particular. However, as the owner of a Kirckman, I found that his comments on the eighteenth-century English harpsichord rather stuck in the throat. He condemns them as suitable models because they have no 'body of first-class music clearly appropriate' to them. But Kirckman and Schudi designed their instruments to suit the eclectic tastes of English harpsichordists, who liked to play Zipoli, [58] Rameau, Domenico Scarlatti and C.P.E. Bach as well as Handel and native English composers. By contrast, the late French type of harpsichord that Hubbard and his followers advocated is really only suitable for composers like Duphly, Balbastre and Armand-Louis Couperin, though it is frequently used for all types of keyboard music back to Frescobaldi and beyond.

The second paper takes up the bulk of the volume. It is a splendidly detailed account of 'The Surviving Instruments of the Blanchet Workshop' by William Dowd, for many

[5] Holman: *op.cit.*, 50-51

years Frank Hubbard's partner. Writers on stringed instruments could learn a lot from Dowd's approach, particularly his brave attempt to describe the tone of each instrument; organologists are usually as reluctant to talk about such things as are their musicologist colleagues to talk about the music.

The volume ends with a stimulating paper by Christopher Page entitled 'In the Direction of the Beginning'. He argues that the origin of the harpsichord can only be understood in terms of a move during the Middle Ages from what he calls 'monolinear' instruments (which never sound notes simultaneously) to 'plurilinear' ones (which allow the player to control 'the simultaneous outflow of two or more individualised lines'). He tentatively suggests that the psaltery was first mechanised to make a 'proto-harpsichord' in England during the fourteenth century. Christopher Page's invaluable work on Mediaeval instruments is clearing away years of accumulated preconceptions and false assumptions. His forthcoming general book *Voices and Instruments in the Middle Ages* (Dent) should give us a lot to think about in the field of Mediaeval bowed instruments.

This is a promising start to a new series, but the publishers will have few readers for it if they continue to charge $42 a volume.

PETER HOLMAN

[59] **MUSIC REVIEWS**

Jacques Buus: *Ricercari a quattro voci, Libro primo 1547,* nos. *1-5.* Edited by Donald Beecher and Bryan Gillingham. Italian Renaissance Consort Series, no. *5, vol. 1*. Dovehouse Editions, Canada. *£20.25*

Gregor Aichinger: *Three Ricercars in FourParts.* Edited by William E. Hettrick. Italian Renaissance Consort Series, no. 11. Dovehouse Editions, Canada. £8.35

The Buus title-page continues 'da cantare et sonare d'organo et altri stromenti'. *Altri stromenti,* we note, is the last of the performance suggestions, and viols is one of several in this category. To be reviewing two collections of sixteenth-century ricercars in a journal devoted to the viola da gamba is rather like reviewing a collection of chansons for the *Lute Society Journal* - all most relevant, even if such music was not originally composed with these precise instruments in mind (although one could add that several composers of ricercars were also renowned players of the viol, Buus among them). But of course, one must argue, this is the case with nearly all sixteenth-century music, a whole century's riches when the instrument itself was having a hey-day, but when instrumentation (from the composers' point of view) was rarely a consideration.

The ricercars of Jacques Buus, whatever one makes today of their immense length and apparent similarity of texture and mode, are of considerable importance in the history of music 'without a ditty'. His post as organist at St. Mark's, Venice, contemporary with Willaert, and the closeness in date to the *Musica Nova (1540),* place these works at the very origins of this distinctive type of composition - one that owed its existence to an attempt to secure for music a parallel to the art of rhetoric in

speech.[6] Hence the need for the lengthy debate of musical points, with modifications (rhythmic and melodic) in their presentation, and the use of ingenious contrapuntal devices. For centuries the ricercar was to be the contrapuntal and intellectual proving ground of composers, and the special interest for viol players lies in the origins of a form which was to be manipulated by several seventeenth-century fantasia writers, notably Alfonso Ferrabosco (II), and John Jenkins. The fourth ricercar of the Buus collection is monothematic, whereas the others skilfully manipulate a number of themes.

In the ricercars of Gregor Aichinger, an Augsburg musician who was sent to Venice to study, the forms are more compact, and themes are fewer. They are no less infused with contrapuntal devices - the third introduces three contrasting themes in separate expositions and then combines them in the final section. *Ricercar* no. 2 is brighter than any of Buus's, or indeed than most pieces of the ricercar type, with a suggestion of popular song in its principal subject.

The transcriptions seem unproblematic. The page-turns are well organised and the parts are clear. Some English players may not be happy with the use of transposing G clefs for middle parts, and bars of four crotchets (halved note [60] values) tend to impede the flow. (The original organ barring in Buus was thus, but sixteenth-century players did not feel harnessed to bar line stresses, as we do.) There are a few mistakes in the parts: Buus, *Ricercar Terzo,* cantus bar 185: fifth note should probably read e'; at the end of the same ricercar the bass is faulty: if one omits the second c in bar 235 all is well. The decision to include scores, though doubtless a contributing factor to the very high cost, is a sound one - the craft of the composers comes to light more readily. And if, in the end, we still find these sets of ricercars less than exciting, it may be more a comment on our own limited appreciation of their subtleties. In any case, one would probably not want to play too many ricercars in a line but, laced with a few chansons and Italian madrigals, they will make very satisfying additions to the sixteenth-century repertory.

JOAN WESS

Louis Heudelinne: *Suite in A for treble viol (violin) and continuo.* Edited by Margaret Johnston. Dovehouse Editions, Viola da Gamba Series No. 41. £7.75

Together with Charles Dollé, Jean Cappus, Pierre Hugard and other *maîtres de viole,* Louis Heudelinne is one of the more obscure, less 'accessible' viol players and teachers working in France during the first half of the eighteenth century, about whom we know only a little. Both volumes of his *suittes de pieces* for solo treble viol and continuo' reveal that he lived in the rue Beauvoisine at Rouen, and it would seem reasonable to assume that, like the majority of his contemporaries, Heudelinne had studied in Paris under Marais *le père.* Heudelinne's suites were the first of their kind to be printed in France, since they are for solo *dessus,* rather than *basse de viole,* and demonstrate a virtual amalgamation of *pièces de viole* styles (cf. Dubuisson, Demachy, Marais etc.) with the

[6] Warren Kirkendale: 'Ciceronians versus Aristotelians on the Ricercar' from Bernbo to Bach', *Journal of the American Musicological Society, xxxii* (1979), 1-44

freer, technically advanced treble-viol writing of such figures as Henri Dumont and Marc-Antoine Charpentier.

Dovehouse Editions have produced here the A major suite from Heudelinne's *Premier Livre... (i.e.* the *Trois Suites de Pièces...)* which, rightly, has been prepared from the more accurate *second edition* published by Roger of Amsterdam.[7] Although of slightly inferior quality (this is not the best of Heudelinne's suites) the music is melodious and elegant, and Heudelinne provides the player with valuable information about favoured bowing-patterns and fingerings (diatonic) in use at the time.[8] This detail has all been carefully preserved by the editor (who also supplies an interesting *Introduction),* and ambiguities relating to bowing have been clarified by the inclusion of editorial slurs. The parts are all notated clearly in an attractive, flowing hand (it's a pity that the cover is so very unattractive), and awkward page-turns have largely been avoided. However, I would question various aspects of the continuo realisation, which [61] has been constructed almost entirely of three-, rather than four-part harmony and includes numerous passages in only two parts. This results in a somewhat insubstantial texture which does not, I feel, provide sufficient support for the soloist. There are also dubious inclusions of unfigured 4-3 suspensions and sevenths, and frequently the distance between the solo viol and keyboard is rather wide, creating an uncomfortable polarity between the two.[9] But players can of course adjust according to their will (and skill!), and the volume certainly provides some excellent teaching material for students at all stages.

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4. See Michel de St. Lambert: *Nouveau Traité de 1'Accompagnement...* (Paris, 1707)

ADRIAN ROSE

MINKOFF Reprints:
Ancelet: *Observations sur la Musique...*
Boismortier: *Diverses Pieces de Viole avec la Basse Chifree* Corrette: *Methode...Pardessus de Viole*
Heudelinne: *Trois Suites de Pieces...* Hugard: *La Toilette, Pieces...* Lendormy: *...Pieces Pour le Pardessus de Viole...* Marais, R: *Livres de Pieces de Viole*
Milandre: *Methode...Pour la Viole d'Amour* Morel: *Premier Livre de Pieces*
Rameau: *Pieces de Clavecin en Concerts ...* (1741)

Playing from facsimile is the last and inevitable stage in the quest for a text without editorial accretions, and therefore a twentieth-(or nineteenth-) century bias. 'Be your own editor' is now the rage; and why not if the original print is accurate and if we can be reasonably certain that it was sanctioned by the composer. Of course there are problems: the original print may not have been authorised by the composer (as in the

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[7] *Trois Suites de Pièces à Deux Violles...* (Paris, 1701). Facsimile edition by Minkoff (Geneva, 1980). *Second Livre de Pièces pour le Dessus et Basse de Violle...* (Paris, 1705) - F-Pn Vm7 6277 See Mary Cyr: 'Solo music for the treble viol', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America,* xii (1975)

[8] Durham Cathedral Library, C40 (two part-books, treble and bass)

[9] See Adrian Rose: 'Some eighteenth-century French sources of treble viol technique', *The Consort, xxxviii* (1982), 431-9

case of Walsh's pirated prints of Handel's op. l and op.2, which he seems to have disguised by using the Roger imprint);[10] it may be full of mistakes (particularly irksome for the performer when the piece is unbarred, and rhythmic errors occur, as in some of the Dowland song-books and many eighteenth-century English prints); or the composer may subsequently have issued a corrected reprint which is unacknowledged in the facsimile of the earlier edition - this is unfortunately the case with Heudelinne's *Trois Suites de Pieces* in which we are [62] offered a facsimile of the first Paris edition of 1701.

Nevertheless, the advantages in terms of genuineness and stylistic insight are enormous, and there can hardly be a corpus of works better suited to this treatment than those of the French *maîtres de violes* of the early eighteenth century. Their works are almost uniformly accurate - they were undoubtedly guided through the press by their authors - and engraved with an elegance and clarity which puts most modern editions to shame. It is to the credit of Minkoff Reprints of Geneva that they have gradually assembled a library of such prints, the latest additions (produced between 1979 and 1984) filling in the gaps with some lesser-known works, which broaden our perspective of the period.

The music facsimiles may conveniently be discussed in chronological order, beginning with Louis Heudelinne's *Trois Suites de Pièces a Deux Violles* (Paris, 1701). This is interesting in that it is the earliest music for solo treble viol to be printed in France[11] consisting of three suites for treble and seven-string bass. Most of the pieces are of moderate difficulty (with a few whose difficulties lie in their broken figurations, particularly in the *sonates* which conclude each suite), and they are well worth the effort involved considering the scarcity of music specifically for treble viol and continuo. (The title-page also makes the concession that the pieces 'se peuvent jouer sur le Clavessin et sur le Violon'.) As I pointed out earlier, it is a shame that no editorial introduction explains that a second corrected edition was published by Roger at Amsterdam in 1705 (now at GB-DRc C. 40). The Paris publication is interesting nevertheless in that it is printed from movable type by single impression, a process which had largely been superseded by the end of the seventeenth century.

The works for seven-string bass viol present a few surprises. Jacques Morel's *Premier Livre de Pièces* of 1709 is dedicated to his teacher Marin Marais, the *grand maître* of the French viol school; and like Marais (of the third book, 1711) he adopts the full vocabulary of ornaments, as well as Marais' usual bowing symbols of 'p' and 't'. There are four suites, in A minor, D minor, D major, and G major, concluding with a 'chaconne en trio pour une flûte traversière, une violle, et la basse continue'.[12] The upper part, like Marais' trios of 1692, may be played on either violin or treble viol instead of flute. This was the earliest chamber work with this scoring to be printed, and it was not until 1724 that another such work was to appear. There are some good pieces here (although they are not up to the standard of Marais' best) ranging in

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[10] See David Lasocki (ed.): The Complete Sonatas for Flute and Basso Continuo (Faber, 1983), 57.

[11] Adrian Rose: 'The Solo Repertoire for *Dessus and Pardessus de Violes* Published in France, c. 1650 - c. 1770: a list of works, with introduction', *Chelys, ix* (1980), 16

[12] See Julie Anne Sadie: *The Bass Viol in French Baroque Chamber Music* (Michigan, 1978), 70; Mary Cyr: 'Traditions of Solo Viol Playing in France and the Music of Morel', *JVdGSA, x* (1973), 81-7

difficulty from the difficult to the well nigh impossible (they are really in the virtuoso class)! They are engraved in score in a clear and individual manner by 'M. Barlion'. This was an increasingly common format it would seem, owing to its commercial viability, although Marais' five books were printed in parts. Has anyone made a thorough study of the French engravers of this period and their relationships with the composers?

Joseph Bodin de Boismortier (1689 - 1755) may not immediately spring to mind as a composer for viola da gamba - he is more often associated with the 'cello, which became increasingly popular as a bass instrument in France after [63] about 1712.[13] Yet his op.31 consists of *Diverses Pièces de Viole avec la Basse Chifree,* published in 1730. These are his only works to specify bass viol (although he published a collection for pardessus in 1736) and the four suites are a real find. They are accessible - less difficult than those of Marais and Forqueray - yet idiomatic, and in an intriguingly rococo style.

The third collection for solo bass viol consists of the entire output of Roland Marais (son of the well-known Marin) in the form of two books published in 1735 and 1738. Roland was almost 30 when, in 1708, his father retired from the *musique de chambre,* and he, with Jean-Baptiste Antoine Forqueray (the son of Antoine Forqueray) made an attempt to continue the glory of the French viol tradition - Quantz speaks of hearing them play together in the *Academie* orchestra. The engraving maintains the highest standards with symbols for all kinds of ornament (pincé, tremblement, battement,4oight couché, plainte, tenue, enfler), symbols of bowing (p and t), fingering, slurs and dynamics *(doux* and *fort).* Nothing, it would seem, is left to chance; yet the music is of the most extreme difficulty, which makes one wonder whether this was the general level of attainment to be expected at the French court (the second collection is dedicated to 'Monseigneur le Dauphin') and in noble households (the first is dedicated to 'Le Duc de Bethune Charost'). The flashiness suggests Italian influence - the Italian style was gaining ascendency during the 1730s - and the writing is generally reminiscent of Antoine Forqueray.

Rameau's *Piecès de Clavecin en Concerts* of 1741 consisting of nineteen pieces grouped in five suites or 'concerts' is interesting in that these are really conceived as keyboard pieces with additional parts for violin (or flute) and viol (or second violin). Rameau says in the preface that they lose nothing by being played on the harpsichord alone 'on n'y soupçonne pas meme qu'elles soient susceptibles d'aucun autre agrement...'. The pieces are technically demanding: the keyboard parts in particular often demonstrate the working out of a particular technical problem; and the violin parts require certain adaptations (such as octave transposition) if played on the flute, and the viol parts if played on the violin. Some of the pieces are very fine such as 'La Boucon' and the two minuets from the *Deuxième concert,* and the fugue, *La Forqueray,* from the *Cinquième concert;* and they make a welcome addition for this combination of instruments. It seems likely that the 'Forqueray' and 'Marais' honoured in this fifth concert were the sons rather than the fathers - both Roland Marais and Jean-Baptiste Antoine Forqueray were at the height of their careers at this time.

The collections by Mr Lendormy (two books in one print) and Mr Hugard *(La Toilette)* are both for five-string pardessus, that late hybrid instrument whose repertory

[13] Sadie: *op. cit.,* 30

and playing technique owe as much to the violin as to the viol. These collections were probably published in the 1750s and contain the charming, sometimes facile music of the early galant. They were designed to be played by ladies of the court and there is nothing too technically demanding if they are played on the right instrument.[14] Although they are included in Adrian Rose's check-list, neither composer it appears, is important enough to warrant an entry [64] in *The New Grove*.

Considering the facsimile reproduction of treatises there is surely little to be said: the advantages are obvious and undeniable. Players of the pardessus will be delighted to see a facsimile of Corrette's famous *Methode Pour Apprendre Facilement à Jouer du Pardessus de Viole a Cinque et* a *Six Cordes*... (Parts, 1749) which gives a thorough description of the playing technique of these instruments.[15] It is also interesting to have a facsimile of Ancelet's more obscure *Observations sur la Musique, les Musiciens et les Instrumens* (Amsterdam, 1757). While he takes rather a subjective and anecdotal stance (Ancelet admits that he wrote it 'pour m'amuser a la campagne') he provides many interesting sidelights on the instruments, ensembles, composers, and performers of the period.

Finally, Milandre's *Methode Facile Pour la Viole d Amour* provides one of the few treatises on the playing technique of this instrument to be written during its heyday. By the late eighteenth century the viola d'amoure normally had seven playing and seven sympathetic (resonating) strings tuned in the key of D major. Milandre omits the lowest (A) string to give a tuning of d-a-d'-f'sharp-a'-d''. After setting out various diatonic and chromatic scales, and exercises in thirds and sixths, he proceeds to give an explanation of various ornaments, and finally the chords and harmonics for which the instrument is so well suited. The treatise concludes with various pieces, first for the instrument alone, then with accompaniment of bass viol or 'cello, and finally with the addition of violin. Considering the esteem in which the viola d'amoure was held in the late eighteenth century, and the abundance of works for it (it suffered a decline in the nineteenth century but never had to be 'revived' in the way that most old instruments have had to be) it seems high time for more people to take up the instrument again.

In almost all these works the quality of reproduction is excellent (a few pages are more faintly printed but are still wholly legible). My only criticism must be of the dates given for the original editions, which are sometimes wide of the mark; and my one suggestion that an editorial introduction, listing errors and giving some idea of the background (preferably with a bibliography), would make an improvement.

WENDY HANCOCK

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[14] Adrian Rose: *Ibid.;* Terry Pratt: 'The Playing Technique of the *Dessus* and *Pardessus de Viole', Chelys, viii* (1978-9), 51-8

[15] Terry Pratt: *Ibid.*