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THE VIOLA DA GAMBA SOCIETY JOURNAL
General Editor: Andrew Ashbee

Editor of Volume 2 (2008):
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p.k.holman@leeds.ac.uk

Editor of Volume 3 (2009):
Richard Carter, Bahngasse 11, A-3420 Kritzendorf, Austria
Johanna.richard@utnet.at
(Articles will be welcomed on the lyra viol and its music)

Full details of the Society's officers and activities, and information about membership, can be obtained from the Administrator. Contributions for *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, which may be about any topic related to early bowed string instruments and their music, are always welcome, though potential authors are asked to contact the editor at an early stage in the preparation of their articles. Finished material should preferably be submitted on IBM format 3.5 inch floppy disc (or by e-mail) as well as in hard copy.

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Editorial

Welcome to vol. 2 of *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, the on-line replacement for *Chelys*, the Society's Journal from 1969 to 2004. The journal is published annually, is freely available online, and is intended to be a significant forum for research into early stringed instruments, focussed on the viol family.

As promised, this issue is devoted to topics after the 'golden age' of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Bettina Hoffmann conducts a semantic investigation into the words used for the viol in Italy from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. She concludes that the news is mostly bad for those who want to play Italian music on the viol, though it throws much-needed light on a murky area. Her paper needs to be read by all those who label instruments in museums, edit Italian music of the period, write about it, and, above all, perform and record it. John Robinson provides us with the first detailed study of the Leyden lyra viol manuscript, now in Newcastle University Library, and a nineteenth-century partial copy of it, now in the National Library of Scotland. It is an important source of Scots tunes arranged for the viol, though it also contains English music, by Henry Purcell and his contemporaries. My paper, a survey of what is known of the musical activities of the novelist Laurence Sterne, is relevant here because he is routinely said in the Sterne literature to have been a bass viol player. It serves as an introduction to Claire Berget's study of the links and parallels between Sterne and Charles Frederick Abel. She argues that both were leading exponents of the sensibility cult of the period, and that Abel's playing had its counterpart in 'musical' features of Sterne's novels. This issue also contains another instalment of reviews of significant recent publications, giving them more space than would be possible in *The Viol*.

Bettina Hoffman's article in the original German will be available on the web-site in due course.

The editor of vol. 3 (2009) will be Richard Carter (<johanna.richard@utanet.at>). A theme will be viol music in tablature, although papers on other subjects are also invited; please contact him or the General Editor, Andrew Ashbee (<aa0060962@blueyonder.co.uk>). A style sheet has now been compiled, and is available on the Society's website.

PETER HOLMAN
December 2008

Abbreviations:

GMO	*Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. L. Goldman <www.oxforddnb.com>.
RISM	*Repertoire internationale des sources musicales.*

The Nomenclature of the Viol in Italy

BETTINA HOFFMANN

Translated by RICHARD CARTER and JOHN STEEDMAN

A part in bass clef marked 'viola'; a four-part piece for 'viole', notated entirely in C clefs; a part-book labelled 'basso di viola'; a museum inventory which lists a 'viola inglese'; an account book recording a payment to a 'violone' player: these are situations commonly found in Italian Baroque music, which repeatedly lead to confusion for performers and musicologists. Which instrument is meant? A violoncello, or one of its predecessors? A viola, or similar alto/tenor instrument of the violin family? One of the many variants of the double bass? A viol? Or an unspecified bowed instrument whose precise organological characteristics simply did not matter to the writer?

For these and other similarly confusing situations an attempt to clarify the terminology is necessary, even if perfect answers cannot be guaranteed. Someone interested in the history of the Baroque double bass might once have asked 'What exactly is a violone?'[1] The question, of course, cannot be answered, because in terms of the thinking of that period it is meaningless. Clear definitions, international conventions, and reference books which deliver snappy and irrefutable descriptions are not found in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Moreover, the instruments were in a constant state of rapid and non-uniform development, and terminology often limped along hopelessly behind the reality. 'Violone' stood for many different instruments, and at the same time the sought-after bass instrument was known under many different names. A historically meaningful question would then be: which of the various instruments known as a 'violone' is to be understood in the context in which we have come across the word? Or is no particular instrument in mind after all? And this must be our approach to all the problematic names with multiple meanings which inhabit the world of bowed string instruments, such as 'viola', 'basso', 'lira'.

How, then, was the viol referred to in Italian? Our investigation will be restricted to 'pure' Italian sources, that is, those written by Italians referring to the situation in Italy. To begin with, here is a list of terms which can be shown with sufficient certainty to have been used at least once to refer unequivocally to the viol. Variant spellings (viola/viuola/vivuola, arco/archo, tastato/tastado etc.), and the inconsistent use of *da* or *a* are not taken into account:

Viola da gamba
Viola
Violetta
Violotto
Violone
Viola d'arco
Viola d'arco tastata
Violone d'arco
Violone da tasto e da arco
Basso di viola
Basso da gamba
Viola (all')inglese
Violetta all'inglese

[1] A question asked in F. Baines, 'What exactly is a Violone?', *Early Music*, 5 (1977), 173-176.

Lira
Viola bastarda

The list is worryingly long, but the real difficulty is that not one of these terms was reserved exclusively for the viol. Only the first, 'viola da gamba', presents itself as the obvious exception; but even here a degree of caution is not out of place, as we shall see. The viol has to share the remaining names with other instruments, in particular with those of the violin family, but also with the lira da braccio, the lirone, the hurdy-gurdy, the viola d'amore, and even with plucked instruments. My aim in the following pages is to delineate more precisely the areas of application of the various names which were used for the viol in relation to other instruments. The value of this linguistic exercise will, I hope, be shown in the interpretation of the list of names given above, and should make it possible at least to decide whether a writer is referring specifically to the viol, to a general class of instruments which may include the viol, or to another instrument altogether and definitely not to the viol.

Viola da gamba

This term appears very early – we read it for the first time in the instrument catalogue of Ippolito d'Este in 1511[2] – but it was for some time rarely used. However, in 1556 Jambe de Fer was able to assert unconditionally that 'Les Italiens les appellent viole da gambe'.[3] By the end of the sixteenth century the term is found more often, and in systematic contrast to the *viole da braccio*. In this sense it was used by Vincenzo Galilei in his *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna*,[4] Girolamo Dalla Casa, Claudio Monteverdi, Lodovico Zacconi and others. Francesco Rognoni even used the unusual expression 'violino da gamba' for the treble instrument of the family.[5]

This name remained valid even in the period of decline and neglect of the viol in Italy, that is to say, after around 1640,[6] and continued to be used on the rare occasions when the viol was mentioned. The old and familiar expression 'viola da gamba' is to be found in use by Giovanni Legrenzi,[7] in the instrument inventories of the Mendicanti orphanage in Venice,[8] among the instruments of the Venetian Alberto Gozzi,[9] and the Roman violinist Lelio Colista,[10] in the payment books of the Roman noble family Pamphili,[11] in the chronicles of the Venetian Contarini family,[12] and in the inventory made in Florence in 1700 of musical instruments

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[2] I-MOs, Registro d'amministrazione del Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, 1511, f. 245r, repr. W.F. Prizer, 'Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia, Master Instrument-Maker', *Early Music History*, 2 (1982), 110.

[3] P. Jambe de Fer, *Epitome musical des tons, sons et accordz, es voix humaines, fleustes d'Alleman, fleustes à neuf trous, violes, & violons* (Lyon: du Bois, 1556), 62.

[4] V. Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna* (Florence: Marescotti, 1581), 147.

[5] F. Rognoni, *Selva di varii passaggi secondo l'uso moderno* (Milan: Lomazzo, 1620), part 2, [2].

[6] The viol was abandoned in Italy during the years 1620 to 1640, therefore not coinciding with the traditional musical-historical view of decisive changes occurring around 1600. See B. Hoffmann, 'La viola da gamba in Italia dopo il 1640', *Recercare* (2008), in preparation.

[7] G. Legrenzi, *La cetra consecrata al nome immortale della sacra cesarea real maestà di Leopoldo primo sempre augusto*, op. 10 (Venice: Gardano, 1673).

[8] I-Vas, *Ospedali e luoghi pii diversi*, Busta 646 (1 May 1700) and Busta 642, ff. 13, 41v.

[9] I-Vas, Osp., B. 892, fasc. V, eredità Gozzi, 'Per li Sei Luochi Pij…', ff. 45r-46r (20 February 1726). See A Vivaldi, *Le opere per viola all'inglese (viola da gamba)* (Florence, 2006), ed. B. Hoffmann, introduction.

[10] See H. Wessely-Kropik, *Lelio Colista: un maestro romano prima di Corelli* (Rome, 2002), 110.

[11] See H.J. Marx, 'Die "Giustificazioni della casa Pamphilij" als musikgeschichtliche Quelle', *Studi musicali*, 12 (1983), 121-187.

[12] 'Enciclopedia morale et civile della vita et costumi et impegni di religione dell'Abate Ant. Olivieri', I-Vmc, Codice Cicogna ms. nr. 2550; repr. A. Zanotelli, *Domenico Freschi, musicista vicentino del eeicento, catalogo tematico* (Venice, 2001).

belonging to Ferdinando, Granprincipe dei Medici.[13] This is an important point which should be noted: an unambiguous label was available for anyone who wished to refer to the viol, even in the high Baroque period.

However, the generally reassuring clarity surrounding the use of the term is not completely unclouded: in the catalogues of the Medici music collection in the Palazzo Pitti for the years 1654 to 1660 we read of a large four-stringed 'Basso di Viola da Gamba' from Cremona.[14] Here without doubt an instrument of the violin family is meant, as is confirmed by a general survey of the collection. The facts of the matter are even clearer in the Florentine inventory of 1700 already mentioned, which distinguishes itself by a high standard of organological accuracy. Without exception four-stringed violoncellos are listed there as 'Violoncello da gamba'.[15] We should have sympathy with Italians who prefer to describe an instrument held between the legs as a 'leg viola' or a 'leg cello' rather than an 'arm viola'; that the violoncello is organologically a member of the violin family signified less than its 'da gamba' playing position. Both of these Florentine inventories contain further information which allows possible misunderstanding to be avoided; care should be exercised in cases where such help is absent.

Viola

The term 'viola' was in use for both bowed and plucked instruments up to the late sixteenth century. In his *Cortegiano* Baldassare Castiglione compares the 'viola', a plucked instrument, with the 'viola d'arco', a bowed instrument.[16] From the correspondence between Isabella d'Este and her instrument maker Lorenzo da Pavia it is clear that 'viola' was an alternative to 'liuto'.[17] For Francesco da Milano the 'viola' was also similar to a lute.[18] In his *Sopplimenti musicali* (1588) Gioseffo Zarlino numbers 'the lute, the viola and similar instruments' with the instruments 'which are played with the fingers on the strings'; clearly differentiated from these are instruments such as the violone, 'which are played with the bow'.[19] As late as the 1590s Luigi Zenobi refers to 'the Spanish guitar, or better, the viola'.[20] However, in the Renaissance 'viola' also stood for all conceivable bowed instruments, including the fiddle, the lira da braccio, and all members of the 'da braccio' and 'da gamba' families. Only the musical or historical context can determine which instrument is meant.

After the turn of the century the extension of meaning covering plucked instruments was lost, but 'viola' continued to be used for all bowed instruments, and could in fact be employed simply as a generic term for them. Thus, in the introduction to *Il primo libro delle musiche* (1618) Lorenzo

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[13] 'Inventario di diverse sorte d'instrumenti musicali in proprio del Serenissimo Sig. Principe Ferdinando di Toscana', repr. V. Gai, *Gli strumenti musicali della corte medicea e il Museo del Conservatorio 'Luigi Cherubini' di Firenze. Cenni storici e catalogo descrittivo* (Florence, 1969), 16-17.

[14] Repr. in F. Hammond, 'Musical Instruments at the Medici Court in the Mid-Seventeenth Century', *Analecta musicologica* 15 (1975), 202-219, at 210 and 213: 'Basso di Viola Grande da Gamba di Cremona à 4 [corde]'. In this context it should be remembered that the instrument collections of Ferdinando de' Medici, and that of the Medici family in the Palazzo Pitti were independently maintained.

[15] 'Inventario di diverse sorte d'instrumenti musicali', in Gai, *Gli strumenti musicali della corte medicea*, 16-17: 'Violoncello da gamba a quattro corde'.

[16] See esp. S. Lorenzetti, '*Viola da mano* e *viola da arco*: testimonianze terminologiche nel *Cortegiano* (1528) di Baldassare Castiglione', *Liuteria musica e cultura* (1996), 2-23.

[17] Lorenzetti, *Viola da mano*, 8.

[18] F. da Milano, *Intavolatura de viola o vero de lauto* (Naples: Sultzbachius, 1536).

[19] G. Zarlino, *Sopplimenti musicali* (Venice: de' Franceschi, 1588), 'Tavola de gli istrumenti arteficiali', 217: 'il Liuto, la Viola, & altri simili'; 'che si suonano toccando le chorde con una mano'; 'che si suonano con l'archetto'.

[20] L. Zenobi, [Letter to a Prince], repr. B.J. Blackburn and E.E. Lowinsky, 'Luigi Zenobi and his Letter on the Perfect Musician', *Studi musicali*, 1 (1993), 88: 'Chitarra alla spagnuola o per dir meglio Viola'.

Allegri wrote: 'I have set these Sinfonias in score, for the benefit of the perfect instruments, such as the lute, organ, and in particular the double harp. They may be performed with the first upper part, and with the two upper parts and thoroughbass, if the other parts are missing; otherwise also with *viole* and wind instruments'.[21] Here 'viole' is a general category, set against the other general categories of polyphonic (and therefore 'perfect') instruments, and wind instruments. The question of precisely which family these 'viole' belonged to is not treated as being of any importance in the instrumentation given on many title pages. But what is certain is that, not only could 'viola' stand for instruments of the violin family, from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards it stood principally for them. Three examples will suffice.

Francesco Todeschini wrote that his *Correnti, gagliarde, balletti, et arie* (1650) were to be performed 'with four *viole*, that is with two violins, a viola and bass'.[22] In Alessandro Stradella's Sonata di viole, the earliest known concerto grosso, the 'viole' of the title reveal themselves as expected, in the solo parts, to be violins.[23] For Giovanni Legrenzi 'viola' and 'viola da braccio' are interchangeable terms, often used for a bass part, for example in *La cetra* and the op. 8 sonatas.[24] At this point it is perhaps worth reminding German readers especially that 'viola da braccio' does not mean the *Bratsche* (i.e. the viola in the modern sense), but was an all-purpose name for all members of the violin family, and was therefore also used *ante litteram* for the violoncello.

With the increasing specialisation and standardisation of instruments in the Baroque era the individual members of the violin family acquired their own names, where previously they had been distinguished either by the qualifiers *soprano*, *alto*, *tenore*, and *basso*, or by easily interchangeable terms of augmentation and diminution. During this process, which ran anything but an even course, and which arrived at a generally accepted terminology only after many changes of name and much overlapping usage, the bass instrument of the violin family gained the name 'viola' in some geographical areas. So it was, for example, in Venice: in the operas by the famous violoncello virtuoso Domenico Gabrielli the arias with obbligato violoncello were duly marked with 'violoncello' in the scores for performances in Bologna, Modena and Turin, but with 'viola' in the Venetian scores.[25] From the music it may be seen that these parts are without question composed for a violoncello, in Gabrielli's favourite scordatura tuning *C-G-d-g*. Two excerpts from the 'Aria con la viola' 'Se il tiranno caderà' from the opera *Rodoaldo re d'Italia* should demonstrate this convincingly (Fig. 1).

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[21] L. Allegri, *Il primo libro delle musiche* (Venice: Gardano, Magni, 1618): 'Hò voluto situare le Sinfonie spartite per commodità dell'Instrumenti perfetti come Liuto, Organo, e in particulare dell'Arpa doppia. Si possono sonare co'l primo Soprano, e con dua Soprani, e'l Basso continuato, immanchanza dell'altre parti; oltre con Viole, e Instrumenti di fiato'.

[22] F. Todeschini, *Correnti, gagliarde, balletti, et arie, à quattro da sonare con quattro viole cioè due violini, viola, e basso* (Venice: Vincenti, 1650).

[23] In a manuscript at I-Tn Foà 11, see C. Gianturco and E. McCrickard, *Alessandro Stradella (1639-1682), a Thematic Catalogue of his Compositions* (Stuyvesant NY, 1991), no. 7.4-2.

[24] G. Legrenzi, *La cetra*; id., Sonate *a 2, 3, 5 e 6 istromenti* (Venice: Magni, 1663).

[25] Arias by Gabrielli with obbligato violoncello from operas performed in Venice are: *Clearco in Negroponte* (performed 1685), 'aria con la viola', I-Moe, ms. F.424, ff. 105r-107v, and 'aria con la viola', ff. 115r-117r; *Rodoaldo re d'Italia* (performed 1685), 'aria con la viola', ms. F.418, ff. 85-87.

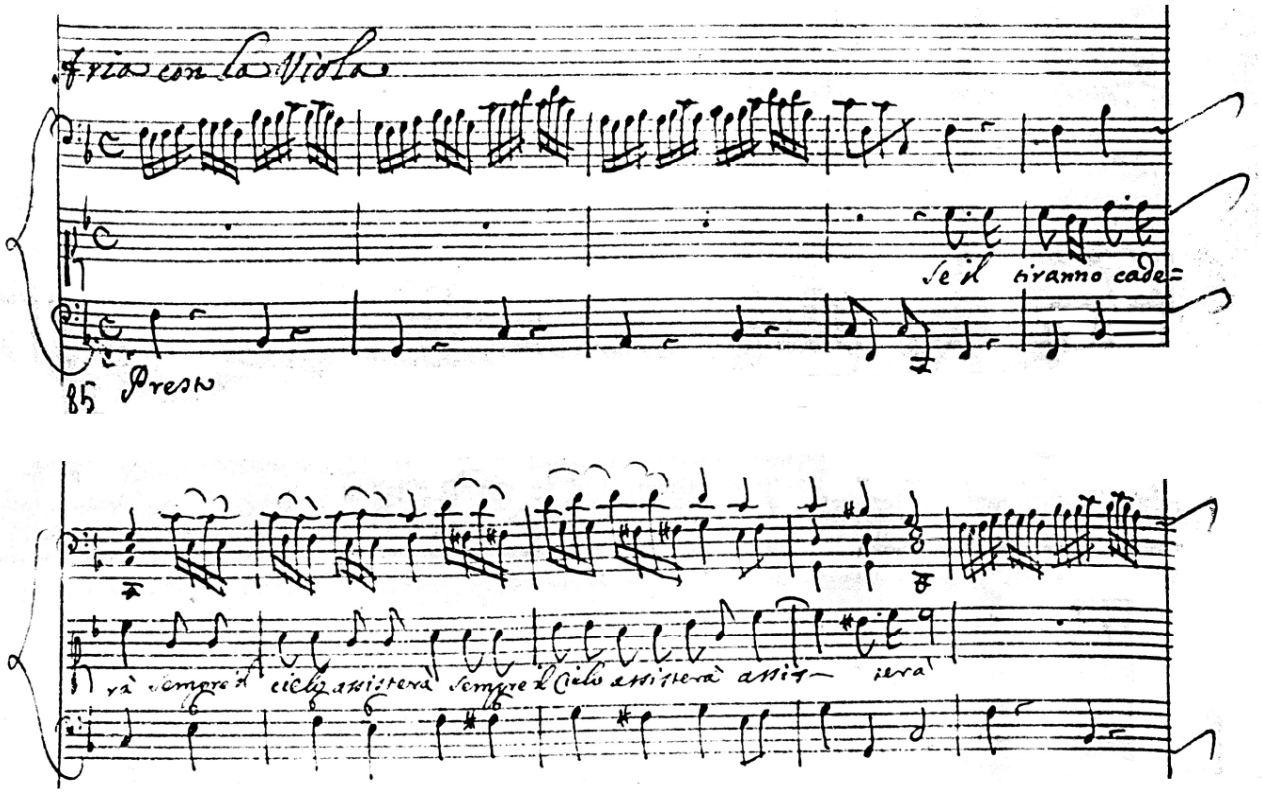

Fig. 1. Domenico Gabrielli, two excerpts from the aria 'Se il tiranno caderà', *Il Rodoaldo*, I-MOe ms. F. 418, ff. 85r and 86v.

In the records of the Venetian orphanages the musicians were named after their instruments, and the various sizes of violin appear as follows: 'violin', 'violeta', 'viola', and 'violon'; apparently here 'viola' is used for the violoncello.[26] Pupils of the cellist Antonio Martinelli were named as 'viola' players in administrative documents.[27] Bernardo Aliprandi was named in his first contract with the Pietà as 'Maestro di violoncello', but later always as 'Maestro di viola'.[28] The cellist Antonio Vandini from nearby Padua described himself as 'Proffessor di viola'.[29] In the music library of the Obizzi family in the Catajo Castle near Padua 'viola' is often to be found against the solo part in sonatas and studies.[30] From the chords and other features of the instrumental idiom, it may be deduced that two different four-stringed members of the violin family are meant, a normally tuned violoncello,[31] and an instrument tuned *A-e-a-e'*.[32] An instrument tuned one octave below

[26] P.G. Gillio, 'L'attività musicale negli ospedali di Venezia nel settecento. Quadro storico e materiali documentari', (Florence, 2006), documents on CD, 111; M. White, 'Biographical Notes on the *figlie di coro* of the Pietà Contemporary with Vivaldi', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*, 21 (2000), 75-97; G. Rostirolla, 'Il periodo veneziano di Gasparini', *Francesco Gasparini (1661-1727), atti del primo convegno internazionale*, ed. F. Piperno and F. della Seta (Florence, 1981), 116-118.

[27] Arch. IRE, Der. G. 2. n. 48, fascicolo Musica, inserto 77, repr. G. Ellero, J. Scarpa, and Maria Carla Paolucci, *Arte e musica all'Ospedaletto: Schede d'archivio sull'attività musicale degli ospedali dei Derelitti e dei Mendicanti di Venezia* (Venice, 1978), 138 and fig. 16.

[28] The Pietà documents from 1722-1728 are reprinted in R. Giazotto, *Antonio Vivaldi* (Turin, 1973), 371-377.

[29] Repr. P. Petrobelli, *Giuseppe Tartini: le fonti biografiche* (Vienna, 1968), 26.

[30] The collection is today housed in the 'Estensischen Musikalien' at A-Wn.

[31] For example, the 'Sonate Per Viola', A-Wn, E.M.67 Mus, and the 'Sonata del Marina per Viola', a transcription of a violin sonata by Carlo Marini transposed down a twelfth.

[32] 'Sonata per Viola', A-Wn, EM.70. Mus.

the violin – a tenor violin – was also in use in the Catajo Palace.[33] In one instance in the Obizzi library, however, 'viola' does mean viol: in the 'Sonatta â 2 Violino Solo e Viola Del Sig. Nicola' the part is marked 'viola da gamba'.[34] This sonata is, however, stylistically unrelated to the rest of the collection, and could be from the first half of seventeenth century; furthermore, the typical instrumentation for violin and viol suggests an English or even German origin.[35]

Also in Rome, although admittedly less often, cellists were listed in payment books as players of the 'viola', among them the well-known Giovanni Lulier.[36] Filippo Bonanni's illustration in his *Gabinetto Armonico* (Fig. 2) is quite clear; his explanation runs thus: 'In the following illustration an instrument whose outline is the same as a violin is being played, which, because of its size is called a *Viola*'.[37] Bonanni is often to be treated with caution; the curatorial and encyclopaedic ambitions of his book lead to a certain amount of confusion. However, given its retrospective nature, it may be reliable evidence for the use 'Viola' a few decades earlier.[38]

Fig. 2. Filippo Bonanni, *Gabinetto armonico* (Rome, 1722).

[33] For example, in sonatas by Niccolò Sanguinazzo, which in A-Wn, E.M.42-44 Mus are transposed an octave from the violin versions.

[34] A-Wn, E.M.71 Mus.

[35] Marc Strümper links the sonata hypothetically with Nicholas Lanier, an English composer and viol player, who was at Venice in 1625. See M. Strümper, *Die Viola da gamba am österreichischen Kaiserhof*, Ph.d. thesis (U. of Vienna, 2001), 304-306.

[36] S. La Via, *'Violone* e *violoncello* a Roma al tempo di Corelli', *Studi Corelliani IV, atti del quarto congresso internazionale*, ed. P. Petrobelli and G. Staffieri (Florence, 1990), 165-191, at 169, fn. 8.

[37] F. Bonanni, *Gabinetto armonico pieno d'istromenti sonori indicati e spiegati* (Rome: Placo, 1722), 101: 'L'imagine seguente è in atto di suonare un'istromento simile nella figura al Violino, mà per la grandezza che hà è nominato *Viola*'.

[38] La Via, *'Violone* e *violoncello* a Roma', 177.

In summary, in Italian 'viola' was used to describe a variety of bowed instruments, and in the Renaissance also plucked instruments. It was a generic term for all bowed instruments, which in the Baroque became more restricted, being used especially for the alto/tenor and the bass instruments of the violin family. This specialisation during the Baroque period in Italy bypassed the viol. I know of no document from a purely Italian source later than 1640 in which the simple term 'viola' was implicitly used for the viol.[39] The state of affairs here is decidedly different from that in England or France, for example, where at least for particular periods and contexts the words 'viol' or 'viole' were available as unambiguous technical terms. Our familiarity today with the reasonably clear terminological situation during the heyday of the viol in those countries must not be allowed to distort our view of Italy, where the instrument had become a rarity after 1640. In Italian, the plain word 'viola' had no special affiliation to the viol.

Violone

For Diego Ortiz, Gioseffo Zarlino, Giovanni Francesco Prandi, and many others 'violone' was a technical term for the viol which required no qualification.[40] The viol originated as a low-pitched, large instrument, and this augmentative form of the name was applicable even to the smallest members of the family. Nevertheless, the viols did not have a monopoly on 'violone'. In the 1511 Ferrara inventory already mentioned four 'Violoni of the Neapolitan sort' are listed among the lutes, not the viols, and were therefore plucked instruments.[41] Thus the qualifier 'd'arco' (bowed) might also be necessary with 'violone', and at the same time also 'da tasto' (fretted) to make a clear distinction from the fretless instruments of the violin family. Hence Lanfranco and Ganassi use the expression 'Violone d'arco da tasto' for the viol.[42] For a native speaker the etymology of the augmentative form 'violone' will always be clear, and the term can be applied at will to a variety of instrument types, among them naturally the greater or lesser of the larger incarnations of the violin family. We must not lose sight of the fact that the violin family was already fully developed in all its voice ranges in the first half of the sixteenth century;[43] the frequently reproduced fresco by Gaudenzio Ferrari in the cathedral in Saronno dated around 1535 is perhaps the earliest visibile evidence of this. The research carried out by Rodolfo Baroncini even suggests that in the religious brotherhoods in late sixteenth-century Venice 'violone' was the standard family name for 'da braccio' instruments.[44] During the first decades of the seventeenth century the term 'violone' becomes ever more firmly attached to the bass instrument of the violin family – the violoncello *ante litteram* – and remained so up to the end of the century, as the work

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[39] The sole exception, the 1696 catalogue of the Benavides collection, should be mentioned here; viols by both Linarols are listed as 'Viole', 'Violoto', 'Violone Basso' and 'Violette'. This centuries-old collection remains in the family's possession, and for the scribe the descriptions were obviously clear enough without further qualification. The catalogue is reprinted in G. Stradner, 'Musical Instruments in an Inventory by Andrea Mantova Benavides, Padua 1696', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 55 (2002), 62-103.

[40] D. Ortiz, *Trattado de glosas sobre clausulas y otros generos depuntos en la musica de violones* (Rome: Valerio and Luigi Dorico, 1553); Italian edition: *El primo libro de Diego Ortiz Tolletano / nel quale si tratta delle glose sopra le cadenze & altre sorte de punti in la musica del violone nuovamente posti in luce* (Rome: Dorico, 1553); Zarlino, *Sopplimenti musicali*; G.F. Prandi, 'Compendio dell musica', I-Bc, E/19.

[41] I-MOs, Registro d'amministrazione del Cardinal Ippolito d'Este (1511), f. 245r: 'Quattro violonj alla napolitana'.

[42] G.M. Lanfranco, *Scintille di musica* (Brescia: Britannico, 1533), parte IV, 'Dei Violoni da tasti: & da Arco; S. Ganassi, Lettione Seconda pur della prattica di sonare il violone d'arco da tasti' (Venice: author, 1543).

[43] See P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: the Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993; 2/1995), 1-31.

[44] R. Baroncini, 'Contributo alla storia del violino nel sedicesimo secolo: "i sonadori di violini" della Scuola Grande di San Rocco a Venezia', *Recercare*, 6 (1994), 61-190.

of Stephen Bonta has shown.[45] The first clear evidence comes in a motet by Giovanni Ghizzolo from 1624, which may be accompanied by a 'Violone da Brazzo'.[46] In a lost treatise by Cristoforo Bianchi, *Tavola d'imparare a formare passaggi e fugghe, e intavolarli per il liuto, gravicembalo, violone, e viola da gamba* (Rome, 1614), 'violone' and 'viola da gamba' appear to be two different instruments.[47] The illustration in Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia* also leaves no room for doubt: 'Chelys … major dicitur vulgo Violone' is, through its outline, its lack of frets, and its four strings tuned in fifths, unmistakeably marked as a member of the violin family, and is contrasted with a viol (Fig. 3).[48]

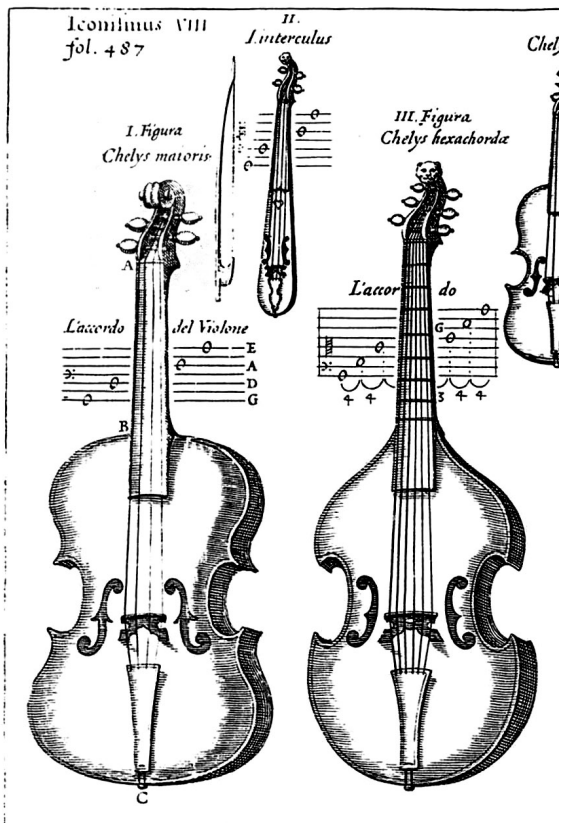

Fig. 3. Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis* (Rome, 1650), detail from f. 487.

Of course, 'violone' is also one of the names used for a bowed double bass instrument. Here it is important to remember that in old Italian a dividing line between 'contrabbasso' and 'violone' on the grounds of belonging either to the viol or violin family could not be established. Etymologically, the composite word 'contrabbasso' means a 'contra' part which could lie above or below the bass. Only later, and by a circuitous route via expressions such as 'contrabbasso di

[45] S. Bonta, 'From Violone to Violoncello: a Question of Strings?', *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, 3 (1977), 64-99; id., 'Terminology for the Bass Violin in Seventeenth-Century Italy', *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, 4 (1978), 5-42.

[46] G. Ghizzolo, 'Quem terra pontus con due violini et chitarrone o violone da brazzo', *Seconda raccolta de' sacri canti … fatta da Don Lorenzo Calvi, musico nella cathedrale di Pavia* (Venice: Vincenti, 1624).

[47] Bianchi's book is known today only because it is quoted in M. Mersenne, *Harmonicorum instrumentorum*, repr. in *Harmonicorum libri* (Paris: Baudry, 1648), Liber Primus, Propositio XVII, 24. F.-J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* (Paris, 1883), i. 404 dates it 1650, evidently in error, since he quotes Mersenne's 1648 publication as his only source.

[48] A. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, i (Rome: Grignani, 1650), 486-487.

viola', did it become an abbreviated instrument name, without however acquiring any particular attachment to a four-stringed fretless instrument en route. The administrator of the Medici collection between 1670 and 1691, for example, labelled the four-stringed bass instruments 'violone' and the six-stringed ones 'contrabbasso di viola', exactly the opposite of modern international usage.[49]

To summarise: the multi-faceted expression 'violone' was applied in the Renaissance mainly, but not exclusively, to viols. In the seventeenth century it meant primarily the eight-foot instrument of the violin family, but was also applied to sixteen-foot bowed instruments in general, irrespective of membership of the violin or viol family.

Basso di viola / Basso viola

It is easy to be lulled into a false sense of security by the French terminology of the Baroque period. Two terms, 'basse de viole' and 'basse de violon', are in clear contrast to one another; the former refers to the bass instrument of the viol family, the latter to that of the violin family. There is a similar situation in English, even though not incontestably unambiguous, with the expressions 'bass viol' und 'bass violin'.[50] This provides today's viol player who turns to Italian sources with a dangerous 'false friend'. In Italian, the 'basso di viola' has no opposite number; I have not been able to find any trace of a 'basso di violino'. This is not altered by the existence of unusual expressions such as Adriano Banchieri's 'primo violino per il basso'.[51] The expression 'basso di viola' is thus not one half of a pair, but rather it covers both categories and refers to the bass instrument of both the violin and the viol family. We find confirmation of this in the already mentioned Medici collection, in which the expression is used indiscriminately for both four-stringed and six-stringed instruments.[52] Even the musicians are still referred to in Florence up to 1712 as players of 'basso', 'bassetto', 'basso di viola', or 'basso viola'.[53] The possibility that they were always viol players is conclusively contradicted not only by music history, but also by the very realistic paintings of Anton Francesco Gabbiani, which portray two cellists.[54] The unlovely neologism 'violoncello', with its amalgam of diminutive and augmentative forms, was introduced late in Florence, stronghold of the Italian language with an inclination towards conservatism. We read about it for the first time in 1700 in the above-mentioned list of Ferdinando's instruments.

The expression 'basso viola' is found mainly on individual parts in association with 'tenore viola', 'alto viola' and 'canto viola' (which, however, is often replaced by 'violino'). These descriptions relate exclusively to the pitch range and convey no information as to the classification of the instruments, nor about tuning etc.. It is, for example, likely that 'alto viola' and 'tenore viola' parts were performed by identically sized instruments with identical tuning, as we know from all

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[49] P. Ferrari, 'Ancora sulla collezione medicea di strumenti musicali: gli inventari inediti del 1670 e 1691', *Studi in onore di Giulio Cattin offerti dall'Istituto di Paleografia Musicale*, ed. F. Luisi (Rome, 1990), 227-265, *passim*.

[50] For a discussion of semantic change in the use of 'bass viol', see P. Holman, 'Continuity and Change in English Bass Viol Music: the Case of Fitzwilliam MU. MS 647', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 1 (2007), 20-50, at 20-24; id., *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch*, ch. 3, forthcoming.

[51] A. Banchieri, *Conclusioni del suono dell'organo* (Bologna, heirs of Rossi, 1609), 55.

[52] The relevant documents are reprinted in M. Fabbri, 'La collezione medicea degli strumenti musicali in due sconosciuti inventari del primo seicento', *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale*, new series, 1 (1983), 51-62; Hammond, 'Musical Instruments at the Medici Court'; Ferrari, 'Ancora sulla collezione'.

[53] W. Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians in Florence during the Principate of the Medicis* (Florence, 1993) 369-463, 490, 496. Both Kirkendale and J.W. Hill ('Oratory Music in Florence II: at San Firenze in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Acta Musicologica*, 19 (1979), 246-67, at 257) thoughtlessly translate the expression as 'bass viol'.

[54] A.D. Gabbiani, *I musici del Gran Principe Ferdinando* (*c.*1685), now in the Instrument Museum in Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia.

known descriptions of the tuning of string instruments, and was already confirmed in 1645 by Gasparo Zannetti in his work *Il scolaro.*[55] It has to do with purely practical designations, which differentiate the part-books from one another, at the point of sale and in subsequent use. In this context 'basso viola' means nothing more than 'low string part'.

Viola d'arco / Violone d'arco

The need to differentiate plucked from bowed instruments arises from the double meaning of the word 'viola' already discussed. 'Viola d'arco' is therefore a frequently used name for the viol, from the first evidence of the instrument in Ferrara right up to the early years of the seventeenth century. Johannes Tinctoris uses the Latin expression 'viola cum arculo' for an instrument which was widespread in every country and which was used to accompany story-tellers.[56] By this he must have been referring to the lira da braccio or possibly the fiddle, since Tinctoris could definitely not have maintained in 1481 that the viol was played 'in the greater part of the world'. It cannot be ruled out that 'viola d'arco' was used sporadically for other stringed instruments even later; however, I know of no explicit examples to back up this assumption. Slight doubts arise solely from the two specialised textbooks from the first half of the sixteenth century already mentioned: Silvestro Ganassi considers it important to define his instrument as 'viola darcho tastada' or 'violone d'arco da tasti', and thus implicitly leaves open the possibility of a 'viola d'arco' without frets. Giovanni Maria Lanfranco similarly contrasts the 'violoni da tasto & da arco' with the 'violette da arco senza tasti' or 'violette da braccio, & da arco'. However, according to Scipione Cerreto in 1601, 'viola d'arco' is still an equivalent name for the viol;[57] in *Il Secondo libro de Ricercate* by Giovanni Maria Trabaci, violins and 'viole d'arco' are obviously two different groups of instruments.[58] To my knowledge this is the last time in Italy that 'viola d'arco' refers to the viol. An anonymous poem from the Florentine region written around the 1720s with the title 'Capitolo sopra l'Instrumento della Viola d'Arco' makes it clear by means of sarcasm that it is the modern 'arm viola' and not the age-old, immobile 'leg viola' which should be extolled as the 'viola d'arco'.[59]

Viola all'inglese / Viola inglese / Violetta all'inglese

The opera *L'incoronazione di Dario* by Antonio Vivaldi, which was performed in 1717 in the S. Angelo theatre in Venice, contains a 'Cantata in Scena con Viola all'Inglese', which has become well known to viol players.[60] It is sufficient to look at the chords of the recitative (Fig. 4) in order to confirm that this 'viola all'inglese' is a viol, or at least – to be extremely cautious – that it is an instrument tuned like a six-stringed bass viol in D. For the time Antonio Vivaldi's terminology shows an exemplary clarity, which means that the identically named instruments in *Juditha*

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[55] G. Zannetti, *Il Scolaro … per imparare a suonare di violino, et altri stromenti* (Milano: Camagno, 1645). It can be seen from the tablature that *alto* and *tenore viole* have the same tuning.

[56] J. Tinctoris, 'De inventione et usu musicae', manuscript (Naples, *c.*1481), quoted from *Thesaurus musicarum Latinarum*, www.chmtl.indiana.edu: 'Et quamvis aliqui ad hoc instrumentum id est leutum: quaslibet cantilenas (ut super tetigimus) jocundissime concinant: ad violam tamen sine arculo in Italia et hispania frequentius. Viola vero cum arculo: non solum ad hunc usum: sed etiam ad historiarum recitationem in plerisque partibus orbis assumitur'.

[57] S. Cerreto, *Della prattica musica* (Naples: Carlino, 1601), 329: 'la Viola da gamba, da altri detta Viola d'Arco' ('the Viola da gamba, called by others Viola d'arco').

[58] G.M. Trabaci, *Il Secondo libro de Ricercate* (Naples: Carlino, 1615), with a 'Canzon Francesa à Quattro per concerto de Violini, ò Viole ad Arco'.

[59] Extracts from the poem are to be found in B. Hoffmann, 'La viola da gamba in Italia '.

[60] See esp. M. Talbot, 'Vivaldi and the English Viol', *Early Music*, 30 (2002), 381-394; Vivaldi, *Opere per viola all'inglese*, ed. Hoffmann.

triumphans RV 644, and in the two concertos for several instruments, RV 579 und RV 555, are also viols. And it means that Vivaldi himself played the viol or at least taught the instrument, because he was paid as a teacher of the 'viole all'inglese' at the orphanage of the Pietà from 1704.[61] 'Viole all'inglese' were also played in the neighbourhood of the Pietà and appear in records: in a serenata by Giovanni Porta,[62] a serenata written for a Viennese celebration by Francesco Gasparini,[63] and in the already named collection of Alberto Gozzi. Since, as we have already confirmed above, the expression 'viola da gamba' was still current in Venice around 1700, it is to be assumed that the 'viola all'inglese' differentiated itself from the viol by a structural peculiarity; the reference to sympathetic strings, which were known all over Europe as an English speciality and referred to as such, presents itself here. The Venetian 'viole all'inglese' could, therefore, have been a sort of 'viola da gamba d'amore', like the ones which John Playford knew.[64]

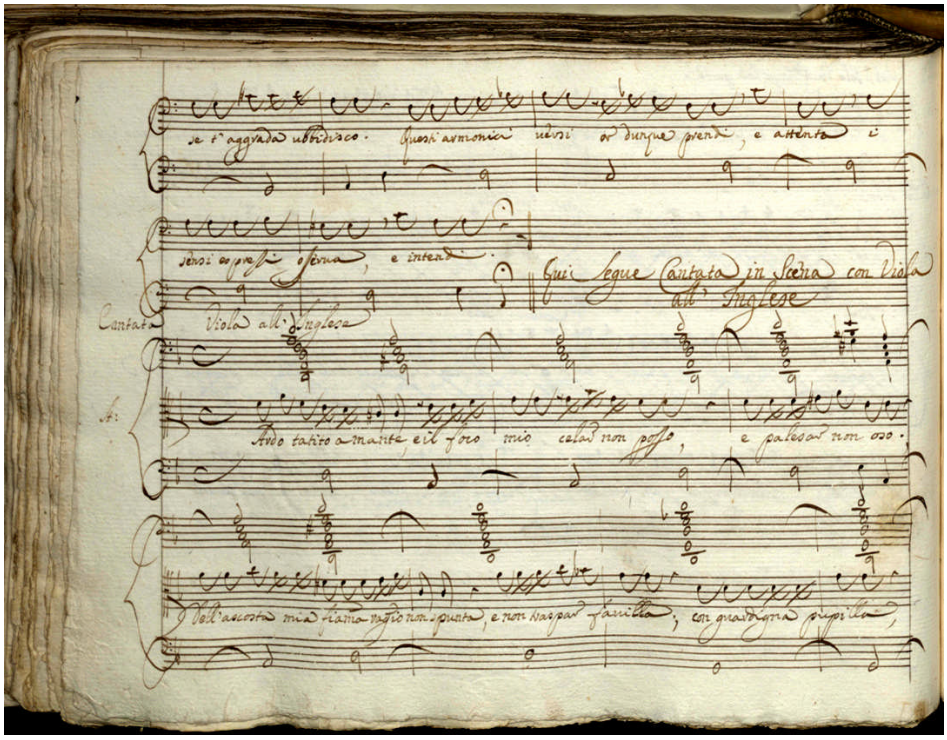

Fig. 4. Antonio Vivaldi, *L'Incoronazione di Dario* RV 719, Act I, Scene 15, beginning of the 'Cantata in Scena con Viola all'inglese'. Autograph in I-Tn, Giordano 38, f. 283v.

It may not have been like that at all times and in all parts of Italy. Two of the viols described in detail in the collection of Ferdinando de' Medici are called 'violette all'inglese' because they were made by the Englishmen Christopher Wise and James Jasbery; they did not have sympathetic

61 I-Vas, Ospedali e luoghi pii diversi, Notatorio n. 7 (G) Busta 688, c. 182 (delibera dei governatori della Pietà). There is a facsimile in T. Antonicek and E. Hilscher, *Vivaldi* (Graz, 1997), 46.

62 G. Porta, *Il ritratto dell'eroe* (performed Venice, 1726), unnumbered manuscript in S-Skma.

63 F. Gasparini, *L'Oracolo del Fato* (performed Vienna, 1709 and 1719), manuscript in A-Wn, mus. hs. 17253, 17278.

64 *Musick's Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-Way* (London: Playford, 1661), sig. A2.

strings.[65] On the other hand, however, there are five 'viole inglesi da gamba' by the Italian violin maker Niccolò Amati in the collection of Count Carbonelli.[66] However, the expression may also refer to a 'da braccio' instrument. The theatre instrument which the principal actor in Antonio Sartorio's *Orfeo* plays on the stage, and which is named in the score as 'lira o viola all'inglese', is more likely to have been a 'da braccio' instrument, in order to conform to the Classical representation of Orpheus. In his treatise *Sopra la viola da sei, o sette corde* (1747) the Bolognese Francesco Antonio Sgargi deals with the viola d'amore and 'viola angelica', both of which are played 'da braccio'.[67]

Lira

'Lyre', a term both ennobled and encumbered by its historical associations, was required by Renaissance culture to cover a broad field. 'Lira' was not only the name for certain specific instruments, in particular the plucked instrument of antiquity and the lira da braccio of the fifteenth century. It also served as a substitute in poetry for specialist terms for other instruments, where these appeared unseemly because they were too technical. It is not only possible that the viol came within this category, it can even be proven in one concrete instance. The famous singer Leonora Baroni, about whom André Maugars had enthusiastically reported that she accompanied her own singing on the 'viole', was portrayed in a metaphorical painting by Fabio della Cornia (or Corgna) around the time of this French viol player's visit – to Rome in 1639.[68] Amor breaks his bow, planning instead to fire his arrows from Baroni's viol bow, which has more power over the hearts of humanity. This metaphor inspired various poets in Rome to produce a series of poems which were collected and published in 1639. Francesco Ronconi introduced the collection with an iconographic interpretation of Cornia's painting, whereby he called the instrument a 'lira'.[69] Fortunately, the oil painting still exists, and is accessible to the public; the instrument depicted leaves no doubt that Leonora Baroni played a viol (Fig. 5).

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[65] 'Inventario di diverse sorte d'instrumenti musicali', in Gai, *Gli strumenti musicali della corte medicea*, 21.

[66] I-MAa, not. G. Righelli, f. 7984, f. 24r et seq., 'Inventario del marchese Vincenzo Carbonelli, 23 luglio 1740'. The complete document is reprinted in C. Chiesa and D. Rosengard, *The Stradivari Legacy* (London, 1998), 112-115: 'cinque Viole inglesi da gamba tutte di Nicolò Amati'.

[67] F.A. Sgargi da Minerbio, *Sopra la viola da sei, o sette corde* (Bologna: Colli, 1747). Vivaldi, *Opere per viola all'inglese*, ed. Hoffmann, 40-42, with extracts from a letter from Antonio Vandini, who comments on the work of Sgargi.

[68] A. Maugars, *Response faite à un curieux sur le sentiment de la musique d'Italie, escrite à Rome le premier octobre 1639* (Paris, *c.*1640), 22.

[69] *Applausi poetici alle glorie della Signora Leonora Baroni*, ed. F. Ronconi (Bracciano, 1639), 11-12: 'il quale la rappresenta tutta intiera, in piedi, con habito di color di cenere, e che s'attiene con la sinistra ad vna Lira, e con la destra sostenta l'arco di essa, à cui Amore, rimirando lei in viso, furtiuamente accomoda vn de' suoi strali'.

Fig. 5. Fabio della Cornia, *Portrait of the Singer Leonora Baroni*,
oil on canvas, Castello di Pieve del Vescovo, Corciano, Scuola Edile di Perugia.

Viola bastarda

That 'viola bastarda' was not only an instrument but also a method of playing has already been demonstrated by specific studies carried out some years ago.[70] As an instrument we should regard the viola bastarda as a special case within the viol family, in which it probably often only distinguished itself by its comfortable size. In 1620 Francesco Rognoni wrote: 'The viola bastarda … is an instrument, which is neither a tenor nor a bass viola, but rather an intermediate size between the two of these'.[71] Whether in addition there were any structural differences cannot be decided at the present state of research. The playing specification 'viola alla bastarda' undoubtedly also referred to the 'normal' viol, just as the designation 'trombone alla bastarda' envisaged the normal trombone, and 'basso da cantar alla bastarda' a normal low singing voice.[72]

In Germany the expression 'viola bastarda' was adopted in the seventeenth century, but its meaning was altered and extended. Michael Praetorius associated it with the English, with their sympathetic strings and with their scordatura,[73] and there is also evidence for this use of 'viola bastarda' during the course of the century.[74] An echo of this seems to have found its way back to

[70] V. Gutmann, 'Viola Bastarda: Instrument oder Diminutions-Praxis?', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 35 (1978), 178-209; J. Paras, *The Music for Viola Bastarda* (Bloomington, 1986).

[71] Rognoni, *Selva di varii passaggi*, part 2, [2]: 'La Viola Bastarda … è un instromento, qual non è ne tenore, ne basso de Viola, ma è tra l'vno, e l'altro di grandezza'.

[72] Rognoni, Rognoni, *Selva di varii passaggi*, part 1, 46; part 2, 61.

[73] M. Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum* (Wolfenbüttel: Hotwein, 1619), ii. 26, 47-48.

[74] A sheet of paper with typical mid seventeenth-century English tablature headed 'a la Viole Bastarta' was at Darmstadt but is now lost. There is a transcription in W. Tappert, *900-1900. '*Tausend Jahre Entwicklungsgeschichte der musikalischen Zeichenschrift', D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. theor. W. Tappert. The page is also reproduced at http://www.arcimbolo.ch/cantar-alla-viola/8.Ausblick.htm. Lorenz Erhard wrote in *Compendium Musices Latino-Germanicum* (Frankfurt: Kemper, 1660): 'Viole di gamba, ist eine Geigen mit 6. Seyten und Bünden/wie eine Laute /

Italy: in the rich collection of natural history specimens, antiquities, curiosities and musical instruments of the Milanese nobleman Manfredo Settala can be found 'a group of large Viole bastarde in the English style with many strings, and one plays them by holding them between one's legs'.[75]

Conclusion

In conclusion, our reflections on terminology should be applied to a few concrete examples taken from Italian Baroque music.[76] Our task here is adversarial: to demonstrate that many pieces of music and many parts in the modern literature are listed as viol music because the instrumental descriptions have not been interpreted in accordance with historical and geographical reality. They invite the exercise of a good deal of semantic caution.

In 1610 Giovanni Paolo Cima printed the first sonatas in which 'violino, & violone' assume solo functions and are accompanied by a basso continuo.[77] At such an early date 'violone' could just as easily have been a viol as the bass instrument of the violin family; an instrument at the lower octave is out of the question due to the nature of the part.[78] However, in these avant-garde sonatas Cima would have been more likely to have been thinking of an instrument of the more advanced violin family. In 1666 and 1670 motets by Giacomo Carissimi were published in Cologne and Constance.[79] Unlike the earlier printings of these works in Rome, the German editions and various contemporary copies offer additional instrumental parts for two violins and a bass instrument, which is variously referred to as 'viola', 'violone', or else is not named at all, and which always doubles the continuo part when the violins are playing. Even supposing that these designations (and the parts themselves) can be traced back to Carissimi, he surely did not mean these names to apply to anything other than 'some low-pitched string instrument or other'; when we translate them as 'viol', we at best commit the error of anachronistic over-emphasis.[80] In 1686 the opera *L'Amazone corsara, ovvero L'Alvida regina dei Goti* by Carlo Pallavicino was performed in the San Giovanni Grisostomo theatre in Venice; it contains an aria in the third act with obbligato 'viola'. As we know, this meant 'violoncello' in late seventeenth century Venice, and the nature of this part in no way contradicts this interpretation (Fig. 6).[81] Pietro Sammartini,

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welche Viola zwischen den Beinen gehalten / sonsten auch Viola bastarda genennet wird / weil man alle Stimmen gleich einer Lauten / auff eine besondere Art und Verstimmung mit Verwunderung kan hören lassen' ('Viola da gamba is a violin with six strings and frets / like a lute / which viola held between the legs / is also called viola bastarda / because one can cause all the voices to be heard with wonderment / in a special way and with scordatura'). On the other hand, in the manuscript 'Canzoni e concerti' by Adam Jarzebsky (1627) 'viola bastarda' is used for an ordinary virtuoso solo part; see A. Jarzebski, *Canzoni e concerti*, ed. A. Bares (Albese con Cassano, 2006).

75 P.F. Scarabelli, *Museo ò galeria adunata dal sapere e dallo studio del Sig. Canonico Manfredo Settala nobile Milanese* (Tortona: Viola, 1666): 'Vn concerto di viole grandi bastarde all'inglese con molte corde, e si suonano tenendole fra le gambe'.

76 A comprehensive discussion of the viol repertoire in Italy during the Baroque period will appear in B. Hoffmann, 'La Viola da gamba in Italia'.

77 G.P. and G.A. Cima, *Concerti ecclesiastici* (Milano: heirs of Tini and Lomazzo, 1610), with four sonatas for 'Violino, & Violone', partly as alternatives to cornett and sackbut.

78 Note in particular that in a sonata by G.A. Cima in *Concerti ecclesiastici* the 'violone' plays the tenor part.

79 G. Carissimi, *Missa a quinque et a novem … novem, trium vocum et duorum instrumentorum* (Cologne: Friessner, 1666); id., *Arion Romanus sive Liber primus … vocibus vel instrumentis concinedarum,* (Constance: Hautt, 1670).

80 On the other hand, A.V. Jones, *The Motets of Carissimi* (Ann Arbor, 1982), and id., 'Giacomo Carissimi', *GMO* lists these works with the instrumentation 'viola da gamba'. The description of the instrument as 'instrumental bass' in I. Buff, *A Thematic Catalog of the Sacred Works of Giacomo Carissimi*, (New Jersey, 1979) is greatly preferable.

81 However, this and many other 'Arie con viola' are listed as arias with obbligato viol in the national online catalogue of the *Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle Biblioteche Italiane e per le Informazioni Bibliografiche* (*ICCU*), an error that occurs also in RISM A/II.

maestro di cappella at Florence Cathedral, published *Sinfonie a due violini, e liuto, e basso di viola* in 1688. 'Basso di viola' was, however, the everyday word for the violoncello at this time in Florence; he certainly did not wish to create any particular link to the viol.[82] We can probably link the 'Concerto per Viola' in D major by Giuseppe Tartini with the cellist, Tartini's close friend Antonio Vandini, who styled himself 'viola professor'.[83] The concerto contains a number of arpeggios which fit the cello but not the viol. The violoncello is thus terminologically and idiomatically the only convincing candidate for this part.

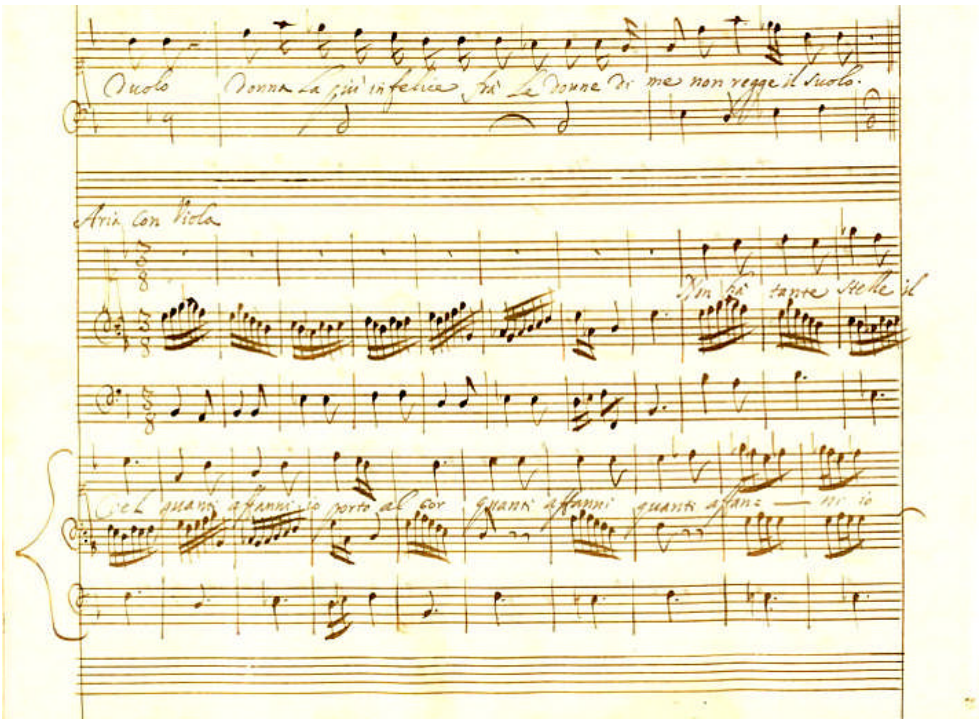

Fig. 6. Carlo Pallavicino, *L'Amazone corsara, ovvero L'Alvida regina dei Goti* ,
Act III, Scene 12, beginning of the 'Aria con Viola',
Library of the Conservatory of S. Pietro a Majella, Naples, Rari 6.5.6, f. 117v.

Even the already small number of viol players in Italy during the Baroque period must be further reduced: when the cellist Antonio Caldara is praised in a poem by his librettist Paolo Emilio Badi as player of the 'loquacious viola';[84] when Giacomo Taneschi, cellist at St Marks and at the Derelitti orphanage, is remembered as being 'the not-fabulous Orpheus of our time, because he is a very famous viola player',[85] the reference in this poetic context is not likely to be a concrete reference to an instrumental classification, but if it is, this is most probably the violoncello. It is definitely not evidence of viol playing on the part of these two musicians (something which has nevertheless sometimes been stated). We often read in modern writings that Bartolomeo Cimapane, an indefatigable violone or double bass player in Roman palaces, played the viol in the

82 P. Sammartini, *Sinfonie a due violini, e liuto, e basso di viola* (Florence: S.A.S. alla Condotta, 1688).

83 Autograph in A-Wgm, A 423 Ms. IX-33952.

84 P.E. Badi, preface to *L'Argene* (Venice, Accademia di Saloni, 1689), I-Bc. The poem is reprinted in U. Kirkendale, *Antonio Caldara: sein Leben und seine Venezianisch-Römischen Oratorien* (Graz, 1966), 25: 'Viola loquace'.

85 *Pallade Veneta* (13-20 December 1710), repr. E. Selfridge Field, *Pallade Veneta: Writings on Music in Venetian Society : 1650-1750* (Venice, 1985), 265-266: 'Orfeo non favoloso de' tempi presenti, perché suonatore molto celebrato di viola'.

Ruspoli household. This information very probably stems from a misleading translation of 'violone' as 'bass viol'.[86]

None of this is good news for those viol players who like to play Italian music of the Baroque period. We can offer only a little by way of consolation, but it is at least historically incontestable: if a viol player wished to perform on his own instrument a part composed for a violoncello, a bassoon or even a trombone, an Italian musician of the time would perhaps have reacted with astonishment at this antiquated instrument, but never with anger or philological disgust. Instrumental tolerance was great, greater than the difference in sound between the violoncello and the viol, and even as the Baroque style came to an end the decision as to instrumentation was still largely a matter for the performers, not the composer. Owners of viols, such as Lelio Colista or Leonora Baroni, the Florentine musicians who borrowed viols from the Medici collection, and the many foreign viol players who went on their Grand Tour of Italy, had a potential repertoire at their disposal, which with a minimal effort spent transcribing could be just as comprehensive as that of its omnipresent competitor, the violoncello.

[86] The misunderstanding probably goes back to U. Kirkendale, 'The Ruspoli Documents on Handel', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 20 (1967), 222-273, at 228, and is repeated in the latest editions of *GMO* and *MGG*. Neither in published documents known to me, nor in private correspondence about Roman music history with Giancarlo Rostirolla (whom I wish to thank for his assistance), does one read that Cimapane played the viol.

John Leyden's Lyra Viol Manuscript in Newcastle University Library and George Farquhar Graham's Copy in the National Library of Scotland

JOHN H. ROBINSON

The manuscript described in this article was owned by the poet and linguist John Leyden, by which name it is known today, although its provenance predates him by a century (see Fig. 1 for portrait and signature).[1] The manuscript includes tablature for lyra viol copied late in the seventeenth century probably by the Glasgow musician Andrew Adam. It includes English and Scottish tunes that are also found in contemporary manuscripts originating in Scotland, as well as from the many printed music editions for a variety of instruments published by John Playford and others in London. The tablature is followed by violin music in mensural notation added by several scribes early in the eighteenth century. After John Leyden's death the manuscript was acquired from the Leyden family by James Telfer (1800-1862), a poet in the Borders. Telfer loaned it to the nineteenth-century musician and scholar George Farquhar Graham (1789-1867), who made a copy of the tablature dated 1844. Later in the nineteenth century the manuscript came into the hands of another Border poet, and antiquary, Robert White (1802-1874), probably from Telfer who was his friend. The manuscript was part of Robert White's library inherited by his sister's descendants and donated to King's College Library in Newcastle upon Tyne in 1942, and is now in the Robinson Library of Newcastle University.[2] The original manuscript and the Graham copy will be described here, together with brief biographies of the men with whom it has been associated.

Fig. 1. John Leyden (1775-1811)

[1] I would like to thank the following librarians for help with consulting sources: Melanie Wood and Geraldine Hunwick from the Special Collections of the Robinson Library of Newcastle University, Kenneth Dunn from the National Library of Scotland, and Sue Wood from the Northumberland Collections Service, Woodhorn, Northumberland. Thanks are also due to Andrew Ashbee for help with lyra viol cognates, Matthew Spring for information from the inventory of his forthcoming facsimile edition of the Balcarres Lute Book, Warwick Edwards for permission to visit the library of the Department of Music at Glasgow University, Peter Holman for pointing me towards Evelyn Stell's Ph.D. thesis (see footnote 8) and Warwick Edwards's article (see footnote 28); and David Greer for his helpful comments on my draft text. Fig. 1 was scanned from the frontispiece of J. Reith, *The Life of Dr John Leyden Poet and Linguist* (Galashiels, 1923).

[2] GB-NTu, Bell-White 46 (*olim* White MS. 42); see F.W. Radcliffe, 'Chapbooks with Scottish Imprints in the Robert White Collection, the University Library, Newcastle upon Tyne', *The Bibliotheck*, 4 (1964), 88-174; C. Hunt, 'Scottish Ballads and Music in the Robert White Collection in the University Library, Newcastle upon Tyne', *The Bibliotheck*, 5 (1968), 128-141; W. Boetticher, *Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentabulaturen des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, RISM B/VII (Munich, 1978), 233-234.

John Leyden

John Leyden was born in 1775 at Denholm, in the parish of Cavers near Hawick, Roxburghshire, and was educated at Edinburgh University between 1790 and 1797.[3] His father was also John Leyden, and his grandfather was 'John of Leyden' (d. 1688), who was brought to England from Holland by Sir James Douglas, heir to the House of Cavers, while the latter was studying at Leiden University.[4] Our John Leyden was licensed as a preacher in St Andrews in 1797-1798 but was unsuccessful in finding an appointment as a priest. He qualified as a doctor of medicine at St Andrews, and studied oriental languages in London before embarking on a colonial adventure, arriving in Madras in 1803 to take up a post as surgeon in charge of Madras general hospital. In 1805, he toured Mysore as surgeon and naturalist, but by November had fallen ill. From May to September 1805 he travelled extensively, returning to India in 1806 and settling in Calcutta, where he became professor of Hindustani at the Calcutta College, later holding a variety of posts in the colonial administration. In 1811 he was the interpreter on a journey to Java led by Lord Minto, the Governor General of India from 1807 to 1813. During the tour he visited an unventilated library, and as a consequence contracted a fever and died a few days later on 28 August 1811, aged only 36.[5]

John Leyden wrote and published poetry, including contributions to Walter Scott's *Border Minstrelsy* of 1802, after making his acquaintance in 1801.[6] He also wrote a dissertation on the languages he encountered, and studied in considerable detail whilst on his travels. Although his biography is known in some detail, there remains no information on his interest in music or whether he played any instruments himself,[7] nor on the circumstances leading to his acquisition of the two music manuscripts he is known to have possessed, the William Stirling cantus partbook which he acquired in 1690,[8] and the lyra viol manuscript described here.

Robert White

Robert White was another poet from the border region, as well as an antiquary, born in Yetholm in 1802.[9] He spent his youth as a farm labourer, although developing a love of

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[3] T.W. Bayne, rev. R. Maxwell, 'John Leyden', *ODNB*; R. White, *Some Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr John Leyden from Mr Robert White's Manuscripts* (Newcastle upon Tyne, ND).

[4] Reith, *The Life of Dr John Leyden*, 66.

[5] John Leyden's tomb inscription reads 'Sacred to the memory of JOHN CASPAR LEYDEN, M.D. who was born at Teviotdale in Scotland, And who died, in the prime of life, at Molenvliet, near Batavia, on the 28th August, 1811, Two days after the fall of Cornetis', see Reith, *The Life of Dr John Leyden*, App. i-iv, 'Description of Tonabang Cemetery in Batavia and what it Contains'. Leyden is mentioned in Walter Scott's poem 'Land of the Isles': 'Quenched is his lamp of varied lore / That loved the light of song to pour / A distant and a deadly shore / Has Leyden's cold remains' (cf. *The Complete Poetical and Dramatic Works of Sir Walter Scott with an introductory memoir by William B. Scott* (London, 1883), 329-399; see W. Scott, 'Biographical Memoir of John Leyden, M.D.', *Edinburgh Annual Register*, 4 (January 1811), 41-68. A monument to Leyden's memory was erected by public subscription at Denholm in 1861.

[6] J. Morton, *The Poetical Remains of the late Dr John Leyden, with Memoirs of his Life* (London, 1819); R. White, *Poems and Ballads by Dr John Leyden, with a Memoir of the Author by Sir Walter Scott, and Supplement by Robert White* (Kelso, 1858); T. Brown, *The Poetical Works of John Leyden with Memoir* (London, 1875).

[7] Leyden's poem 'Scottish Music: An Ode. To Iolanthe', lines 67-72, verse 12: 'Sweet sounds that oft have soothed to rest / The sorrows of my guileless breast, / And charmed away mine infant tears: / Fond memory shall your strains repeat, / Like distant echoes, doubly sweet, / That in the wild the traveller hears', T. Brown, *The Poetical Works of John Leyden*, 147-150.

[8] GB-En, Adv. 5.2.14, which also contains viol music, see E. Stell, 'Sources of Scottish Instrumental Music 1603-1707', Ph.D. thesis (U. of Glasgow, 1999), 183-185.

[9] R. White, *Autobiographical Notes* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1966), 14th June 1873; E.I. Carlyle, rev. C.M. Fraser, 'Robert White', *ODNB*.

books from an early age, and during 1823 he attended a tutor in Newcastle upon Tyne to study Latin grammar and Roman classics. From 1825 he struggled for five years as a low-paid clerk to a firm of plumbers in Newcastle. In the summer of 1830 he took a walking tour of Scotland, and on his way back visited his friend James Telfer, a poet and novelist employed as a schoolmaster at Saughtrees in Liddesdale, Roxburghshire. By 1838 he had saved enough money to lease a farm with his brother George, but abandoned the ruinous venture penniless in 1842. His luck changed in 1850 when he was appointed executor of the will of his friend and mentor Robert Watson, and on the death of Watson's sister Mary he inherited a considerable fortune. His newfound prosperity gave him the opportunity to travel widely in Europe and considerably enlarge his library, which at the end of his life included the Leyden and other manuscripts as well as virtually every major printed collection of Scottish ballads.[10] He published his own poetry, beginning with *The Tynemouth Nun* (Newcastle, 1829), and his later *Poems including Tales, Ballads, and Songs* (Kelso, 1867), and edited an edition of the poetry of John Leyden in 1858.[11] He also published *A Complete Collection of the Songs Sung in Newcastle on Tyne by John Wilson, the Scottish Vocalist* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1849) and authored a number of local histories including accounts of the battles of Otterburn (1857), Flodden (1859) and Bannockburn (1871). He remained unmarried throughout his life and died in Newcastle in 1874, leaving his estate to his two sisters.

George Farquhar Graham

George Farquhar Graham was born in 1789 in Edinburgh and died at Gilmore Place, Edinburgh in 1867.[12] He graduated from the University of Edinburgh and taught himself music, becoming a talented violinist and composer. In 1811 he composed a divertimento for piano entitled 'The Battle of Barrosa', and his most popular song, 'Ah, county guy', was supposedly written at the request of Walter Scott. However, he is best known for his writings on music, publishing *An Essay on the Theory of Musical Composition* (Edinburgh, 1838), editing *The Songs of Scotland, adapted to their Appropriate Melodies* (Edinburgh, 1848-1853), as well as contributing articles on music to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *The Edinburgh Review*, and *The Scotsman.*[13] Of particular significance here is the fact that he was a nineteenth-century pioneer in the study of music notated in tablature. He contributed to William Dauney's modern edition of the Skene manuscript, published in 1838,[14] and made his own fair copies of two other important tablature manuscripts; in 1839 he copied the tablature of a selection of the music from the now-lost lute book of Robert Gordon of Straloch, originally from 1627-1629,[15] and in 1843/1844 he copied the lyra viol music from the Leyden manuscript (see below). He was intent on preserving the music they contained, and so donated his copies to the Library of Advocates in Edinburgh, now held in the National Library of Scotland.

Description of the Leyden Manuscript

The Leyden manuscript now consists of 183 folios each 215 mm wide x 180 mm tall,

[10] See Hunt, 'Scottish Ballads and Music in the Robert White Collection', 140-141.

[11] White, *Poems and Ballads by Dr John Leyden*.

[12] A.P. Baker, 'George Farquhar Graham', *ODNB*.

[13] Graham describes the Leyden manuscript in a section headed 'Ancient Scottish Manuscripts containing Scottish Melodies' in the introduction to the edition.

[14] W. Dauney, *Ancient Scotish Melodies* (Edinburgh, 1838). For the Skene manuscript, see GB-En, Adv. 5.2.15.

[15] GB-En, Adv. 5.2.18. Modern tablature edition: *The Straloch Manuscript*, ed. W. Cripps (Fort Worth TX, 1995).

with signs of additional missing pages. The manuscript was rebound and a number of new front and rear flyleaves added in 1984. The original manuscript begins with the stub of a lost title page (see Fig. 2), followed by a list of contents of the lyra viol music on the recto and verso of a single folio (transcribed in App. 1). This incomplete list of contents, copied on the left and duplicated on the right in a different hand, includes only the first 15 items (see inventory and partial concordance list in Table 1),[16] which are quite disordered as well as beginning with a few titles for which there is no tablature remaining, possibly referring to music now lost. There follows three folios of instructions beginning part way through, suggesting that an additional page or more is missing at the beginning (transcribed in App. 2).[17] The incomplete instructions begin with bowing technique, and then describe how to play a thump, how to tune the lyra viol in harp-way sharp, followed by a description of rhythm signs and the two 'Moods' or proportions of time, of which 'two are only used in lessons lyra way', 'Common or Semibrief' and 'Tripla' time.

Fig. 2.
stub before folio 1

The instructions are followed immediately by 177 folios ruled with five six-line staves without a rastrum, the lowest indented on the right throughout.[18] A second and more complete list of contents numbered 1-80, also in a seventeenth-century hand, is found at the end of the manuscript with a more accurate sequence of the lyra viol music, although the numbering deviates slightly from the contemporary numbering added to the music (transcribed in App. 3). The binding is now too tight to reveal details of the arrangement of folios into gatherings. However, the microfilm held at Newcastle University Library reveals a looser original binding, presumably photographed before it was rebound in 1984. From the microfilm it can be seen that ff. 3-6, bearing the instructions, forms a gathering of four folios. The folios of ruled staves are also largely made up of gatherings of four folios, or two double pages folded in half.[19] The last frame of the microfilm also shows the stub of a folio bearing text as well as the rear flyleaf of the original calf leather binding. Not now visible on the microfilm is the phrase 'Pour la viole' that was apparently written along the spine of the previous (original?) binding.[20] It

[16] Only instrumental cognates are included; some of the many song settings are found in the references to Day and Murrie, Simpson, and Zimmerman. Manuscript sources and prints consulted are limited to those dated before 1801. Many of the printed sources for cognate versions of the music were available as facsimiles through *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>; see also *Folk Archive Resource North East* <http://www.asaplive.com/archive/> for facsimiles of some of the manuscripts from Woodhorn, Northumberland in the bibliography to Table 1. The details of cognate tunes in Playford's many editions (only the first edition in which the tune appears is included in the inventory) of *The Dancing Master* were taken from J. Barlow, *The Complete Country Dance Tunes from Playford's Dancing Master 1651-ca.1728* (London, 1985). Many keyboard sources are listed in V. Brookes, *British Keyboard Music to c.1660: Sources and Thematic Index* (Oxford, 1996), and seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scottish music manuscripts in B. Olsen, *Roots of Folk: Old English, Scots, and Irish Songs and Tunes* <http://www.csufresno.edu/folklore/Olson/SCOTMS.HTM>.

[17] It begins part way through on f. 3r and ends on f. 5r, and is followed on f. 5v by charts for tuning the lyra viol.

[18] Indenting is usually on the left of the first stave to allow room for a title, suggesting the music was copied upside-down. Curiously, the binding of 1984 also inverts the manuscript to read upside-down from the back, and the bookplate is on the inside rear cover.

[19] The microfilm does not include the folios of blank staves, except for those bearing text and pen trials (listed in fn. 21).

[20] See Hunt, 'Scottish Ballads and Music in the Robert White Collection', 140.

is not known why this title was written in French.

Music is copied onto only the first 64 ruled folios (ff. 7-70), and the remainder comprise blank staves except for occasional phrases and pen trials on a few openings, largely in a single nineteenth-century hand.[21] Tablature for 84 pieces of music for a six-course lyra viol (including two on a single folio now missing) was copied onto both sides of the first 49 folios (see inventory with concordances in Table 1).[22] The tablature includes bar lines throughout, but curiously 53 of the items lack any rhythm signs, and these are irregularly interspersed with the remaining items – some of which also have incomplete rhythm signs. Ornaments used by the main scribe of the tablature are limited to occasional double hashes on tablature letters (including open strings), three dots under tablature letters to indicate a thump as described in the instructions (see App. 2), and abundant slurs represented as curved lines beneath two or three tablature letters (see Fig. 3). A second hand also occasionally added an ornament in the form of a comma (see Fig. 4). Following on below the last item in tablature on f. 49v, are another 49 tunes in mensural notation for violin, copied in several hands ending on f. 70v (see below).

The six-course lyra viol was a smaller version of the bass viol or viola da gamba, the latter usually tuned *d'-a-e-c-G-D*, that is, in intervals of a fourth except for a third between the third and fourth courses. The tuning can be indicated as *ffeff*, showing the fret positions for unisons between courses from the highest to the lowest. This method of tuning by unisons is described in the instruction on tuning in the Leyden manuscript (see App. 2). However, in the seventeenth century dozens of variant tunings were developed for the lyra viol, including two common tunings termed 'harp-way sharp' (*defhf*) and 'harp-way flat' (*edfhf*), both used for the lyra viol music in the Leyden manuscript and described in the instructions on ff. 3r and 5v (see App. 2). Folio 6v also refers to 'harp way sharp tuning', and f. 5v provides additional charts for 'high harp sharp' (*fdefh*) and 'high harp flat' (*fedfh*), which are not used for any music in the manuscript. Although only four of the items for lyra viol (nos. 1, 60, 67, and 80) bear the tuning indication 'harp sharp' in the titles, all the music in tablature is for a lyra viol in harp-way sharp tuning, except nine items (nos. 61-66, and 82-84) which are in harp-way flat tuning, mostly marked 'harp flat' in the titles.

Nothing is known of the provenance of the manuscript prior to its acquisition by John Leyden around 1800. However, a study of the watermarks of the paper used and a comparison of the repertory with other sources, together with the identification of the principal scribe that copied the lyra viol tablature,[23] permits a reasonably secure dating of several periods of copying of the tablature and mensural notation sections of the manuscript to between the last decade of the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century.

The paper used for ff. 3 and 4, on which were copied the instructions for the lyra viol, bear different halves of a watermark in the form of a horn in a crowned shield with a makers initial 'W' below, closely resembling Fig. 66 in Heawood 1930 and Fig. 193 in Heawood 1950,[24] found on paper most likely made in Holland and known to be used in England in the years 1687-1690. Two matching sections of another watermark are found

[21] As numbers only appears on folios containing music, i.e. up to f. 71, the folios containing text were deduced as ff. 71r, 77v, 78r, 83r, 84v, 85v, 86r, 89r, 89v, 108r, 111r, 120r, 140v, 146r, 163r, 166r, and 181v.

[22] The contents of the Leyden manuscript were previously listed in N. Diem, *Beitrage zur Geschichte der Schottischen Musik* (Zurich, 1919); Stell, 'Sources of Scottish Instrumental Music', 121-123.

[23] Stell, 'Sources of Scottish Instrumental Music', 113-123.

[24] E. Heawood, 'Papers used in England after 1600', *The Library*, 11/3 (December 1930), 263-293; id., *Historical Review of Watermarks* (Amsterdam, 1950). It is also similar to W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in the XVII and XVIII Centuries* (Amsterdam, 1935), no. 317 with the initials WR [?Wendelin Riehel].

on adjacent pages at frequent intervals throughout the folios ruled with staves. The form of this second watermark is the common 'Grapes' motif found in paper made in Paris and used in England throughout the seventeenth century, and bearing close similarity to Fig. 50 in Heawood 1930 and Fig. 141 in Heawood 1950, except that the makers initials 'SC' are inscribed in the lower portion. Although two types of paper are found in the original manuscript, it seems likely they were bound together at the same time in the form of a blank music book, since the instructions and most of the lyra viol tablature were copied by the same scribe (see below).

With regard to the music itself, John Leyden described the manuscript as a 'MS. collection of airs adapted to the Lyra Viol, written soon after the Revolution', i.e. after 1688.[25] The examples of tunes that he quoted from it include music from both the lyra viol and violin sections of the manuscript, confirming that both were present when the manuscript was in his possession. In the prefatory text to the copy of the manuscript (see App. 5), George Farquhar Graham also ventured the opinion that:

> from internal evidence, Doctor Leyden's Lyra-Viol Book in Tablature, could not have been written earlier than towards the close of the 17th century; since we find in it not only "Boyne Water", - no doubt [an] allusion to the battle of the Boyne in 1690, - but also "King James' March to Ireland", besides "Oh the bonny Christ-Church bells", a Catch composed by the Celebrated Dean Aldrich, who died in 1710, aged 63.

Many of the ballad tunes in the manuscript were dated to the second half of the seventeenth century by Claude M. Simpson (see Table 1), although cognates for some are found in sources from nearer the beginning of the seventeenth century. The music includes both English and Scottish tunes that are found in contemporary manuscripts of Scottish music as well as from the many printed music editions for a variety of instruments published by John Playford and others in London,[26] presumably representing the most popular tunes in vogue during the closing years of the Stuart dynasty.

Evelyn Stell observed that the instructions at the beginning of the Leyden manuscript end with the statement 'Thus having briefly given these Necessary rules and directions, which if diligently practiced will be useful to yow in your study in This Musick; which that it may is the sole desire and endeavour of your well wisher and honourer of all true Lovers of Musick' (see App. 2), suggesting that the music was copied for a member of the nobility or at the very least a wealthy customer – who, however, remains unidentified.[27] It is likely that the rest of the stub of the title page and the missing folio or folios bearing the now-lost first part of the instructions would have furnished the name and details of the patron, dedicatee or intended purchaser of the manuscript. However, the hand of the copyist of the now incomplete instructions, as well as nearly all the lyra viol tablature (nos. 1-81) (hand A in Table 1), was identified by Stell as that of the

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[25] J. Leyden, *The Complaynte of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1801), 285-286: 'In a MS. collection of airs adapted to the Lyra Viol, written soon after the Revolution, I find the following airs : "Over the mure to Maggie [no. 9]"; "Robin and Jannet [13]"; "My dearie, if thou dye [12]"; "Money in both pockets [14]"; "The lady's goune [15]"; "Bonie Nanie [16]"; "Meggie, I must love thee [20]"; "Where Helen lays [21]"; "Strick upon a strogin [25]"; "Hallo even [26]"; "Happie man is he [30]"; "Womans work will never be done [35]"; "Jocke the laird's brother [39]"; "Bonie lassie [45]"; "Jenny, I told you [46]"; "The Gilliflower [49]"; "The bonny brow [50]"; "The New Kirk gavell [51]"; "The Nightingall [55]"; "Jockie went to the wood [56]"; "Sweet Willie [68]"; "Bony roaring Willie [69]"; "Tweed side [75]"; "When she cam ben (she bobbit) [77]"; "Full fa my eyes [81]"; "When the bryd cam ben, she becked [92]"; "The Colleyrs daughter [96]"; "Foull take the wars [98]"; "The milkeine pell [99]"; "The bonnie brookit lassie, blew beneath the eyes [109/110]".

[26] 30% of the titles have cognates in English prints.

[27] Stell, 'Sources of Scottish Instrumental Music', 113-123.

Glasgow musician Andrew Adam, who also copied the manuscript inscribed 'Margaret Sinkler aught this musick book, written by Andrew Adam at Glasgow, October, the 31 day, 1710', as well as a keyboard manuscript, both in mensural notation and now bound with it in GB-En, 3296.[28] Stell suggests that two now-lost lyra viol manuscripts owned in the nineteenth century by Andrew Blaikie (see GB-DU, Mus.10455) were also copied by Andrew Adam.[29] From the internal evidence of the titles of some items of music, noted by Graham (see App. 5), Adam's copying of this section of the manuscript dates to the 1690s.

The final three items of tablature were copied by a second scribe (hand B) that also copied the first section of violin music (nos. 85-95 & 103-104). The work of this scribe overlaps with that of two further scribes, one (hand C) copying the majority of the violin music (nos. 96-102 & 107-123), and the other (hand D) a single item (no. 105); scribes B, C, and D worked on the manuscript simultaneously, probably before 1705. After a page of blank staves a later scribe (hand E) added eight more violin pieces (nos. 124-131), whom Stell tentatively identifies as the scribe of the Bowie manuscript (GB-En, 21714), thought to be John McLaughlin of Edinburgh or a contemporary of his.[30] A last scribe (hand F) added the remaining item of violin music (no. 132); this final section, copied by scribes E and F, was completed in the early eighteenth century (see Figs 3-9 for facsimile pages from the manuscript illustrating each of the hands). Thus, although the main scribe of the lyra viol tablature came from Glasgow, neither the name nor location of the dedicatee for whom it was copied is now known.

Considering the later provenance of the Leyden manuscript, the first known reference was published by John Leyden in 1801,[31] probably soon after he acquired it. However, he provided no information on how he came by it. As he was on the first leg of his colonial travels in 1803, never to return, it is noteworthy that the original flyleaf of the Leyden manuscript bears the inscription 'M Leyden 1805' (crossed out by a later owner), and that on the otherwise blank staves of f. 84v is found the text 'My Dear Marg[a]ret Leyden I wish I had you fo[r] a spouse I wo[ul]d make a fine Dash'. In addition, 'Denholm', the village where John Leyden lived, is written five times on the next opening (ff. 85v-86r) and in the same hand, so Margaret may be John Leyden's sister and she may have been in possession of the manuscript during his travels and after his untimely death in 1811; some time at this period the hopeful suitor added the textual note above expressing his designs on her hand in marriage. After a lacuna of some four decades, the inscription 'James Telfer 1843' was added below the crossed-out name 'M Leyden' and 'James Telfer Saughtrees, Liddesdale 24th Octr 1843' on f. 2v. James Telfer lived in Saughtrees in Liddesdale, Roxburghshire from after 1834 until his death.[32] He can hardly have been the unnamed suitor of Margaret as he was only five years old in 1805.[33] In the preface to his copy of the manuscript, George Farquhar Graham described the provenance of the Leyden manuscript as far as he was aware (transcribed in App. 5). He recalled that it was borrowed from Telfer in 1844 (although his notes on the manuscript are in fact dated 1843, see App. 4), via Graham's friend Patrick Maxwell from Edinburgh. He stated that

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[28] W. Edwards, 'Seventeenth-Century Scotland; the Musical Sources', *Defining Strains: the Musical Life of Scots in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. J. Porter (Berne, 2007), 66.

[29] Stell, 'Sources of Scottish Instrumental Music', 43.

[30] Ibid., 120; *The Lowlands & Border Piper's Society* <http://www.lbps.net/RRW/interlude.htm>.

[31] Leyden, *The Complaynte of Scotland*, 285-286.

[32] Northumberland Collections Service, Woodhorn, Northumberland, MS Sant/Gen/Mus/1/9, 'Collection of the Local Tunes as Played in Northumberland', is an undated manuscript of 28 pages of music for violin bound at the front, entitled 'Mr Telfers Tunes / Presented by her Grace the Duchess of Northumberland'.

[33] R.N. MacKenzie, 'James Telfer', *ODNB*.

Telfer had acquired the manuscript from John Leyden's brother in Roxburgshire,[34] and that Maxwell then returned it to Telfer. Although there is no record, it is possible that this brother acquired the manuscript from his sister (the Margaret above?) during her life or upon her death.

At the end of the nineteenth century John Glen (1833-1904) tried unsuccessfully to locate the manuscript, and so it was assumed to be lost.[35] However, it transpired that Robert White had acquired the manuscript from Telfer, and it remained in White's library, only resurfacing in 1942.[36] This was the year that Professor Sir George White-Pickering, the grandson of one of Robert White's sisters, donated his library of some 4,400 books to King's College Library in Newcastle upon Tyne. King's College was part of Durham University until 1963, and its library was later incorporated into the Robinson Library of Newcastle University, where the Leyden manuscript has been consulted during the preparation of this article. Robert White was acquainted with Telfer from at least 1830, and is known to have enlarged his private library after 1850 (see above), so that it seems very likely that White acquired the Leyden manuscript from Telfer sometime after Graham's study of it in 1843, and that it passed to his sisters after he died in 1874, remaining in the family until 1942.

Accompanying the manuscript are three loose leaves in the hand of George Farquhar Graham written in 1843-1844 while the manuscript was on loan to him. From one of these one can infer the contents of the missing folio between what are now ff. 14 and 15. The other two, one 'Written for Mr. Telfer the Proprietor of the M S', explain the conversion of lyra viol tablature into mensural notation and its transposition (transcribed in App. 4). A fourth refers to notes on songs and ballads in issues of *The Gentleman's Magazine* from 1793 and 1794, but the relationship of the latter to the Leyden manuscript is not known.

George Farquhar Graham's Copy of the Leyden Manuscript

George Farquhar Graham copied the lyra viol music from the Leyden manuscript in 1843-1844. He seems only to have been interested in the tablature, copying it all and the titles faithfully (his rendering of the titles and the foliation of his copy are included in Table 1). He omitted the section of violin music, commenting disparagingly that 'The rest of the volume [includes] some Tunes written clumsily in modern notation, and of no importance, and evidently long after the Tablature part of the book had been written', and 'These modern Tunes, so written I did not think it worth my while to transcribe; as they are found in various printed works of recent date'.

Graham's copy of the Leyden manuscript comprises 66 folios, the first 18 blank except for a dedication on f. 4r reading 'This Manuscript is Respectfully Presented to The Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh, by Their very obedient Servant George Farquhar Graham, 25th November 1847'.[37] On f. 5r there is the title 'Copy of the Tunes in

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[34] Possibly Andrew, see dedication 'To Mr Andrew Leyden, the youngest brother of Dr John Leyden this report is respectfully inscribed' in *Supplement to Sir Walter Scott's Biographical Memoir of Dr John Leyden by Robert White, Reprinted from the New Edition of Leyden's Border Poems* (Kelso, 1857).

[35] John Glen was a member of a well-known Edinburgh firm of musical instrument makers, and compiled the Glen Collection of Scottish Dance Music, now in GB-En; he was also author of *Early Scottish Melodies* (Edinburgh, 1900).

[36] Hunt, 'Scottish Ballads and Music in the Robert White Collection'.

[37] Now GB-En, Adv 5.2.19. The catalogue of Advocates Manuscripts describes it as: '5.2.19 / THE LEYDEN LURA-VIOL [sic] BOOK, a "Copy of the Tunes in Tablature in Doctor John Leyden's Manuscript Lyra-Viol Book". The original MS., dated ca. 1690, once thought lost, is now White MS.46 [added by hand: MS B/W 46] in the University Library, Newcastle, and is described in *The Bibliotheck*, vol.5,

Tablature in Doctor John Leyden's Manuscript Lyra-Viol Book,' an introduction on ff. 6r-8v (transcribed in App. 5). There is an index numbered 1-81 on ff. 9r-11r and on ff. 12v-13r, a 'Key to decyphering and translating of the Leyden MS. Lyra-Viol Book' is nearly identical to the loose leaf that Graham left with the original Leyden manuscript (see App. 4, loose leaf 4). Following on, ff. 19r-66v are ruled with five six-line staves. Graham copied the tablature onto ff. 19r-61r in a style that closely resembles the original, then leaving the staves of ff. 61v to 66v blank.

1968, no.4, pp.139-40. This copy by George Farquhar Graham, includes some details of the history of the original MS. and a list of its contents. Many of the tunes are discussed in Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, Rutgers University Press. 1966. Most of them are Scottish, but composers include Henry Purcell, John Bannister, James Hart, William Lawes, and Henry Aldrich. / Paper; ii + 68 ff. Oblong quarto. Presented by the transcriber, 1847'.

Appendix 1

Transcript of contents list in seventeenth-century hands from ff. 2r-2v [index 1]. List in left and right hand columns are in two different hands, and the titles after '/' below were added in a third hand. The corresponding numbered title in the inventory is given in square brackets.

[f. 2r]
Hir is the [unfinished phrase]

1. Kind Robbin / Kind[38]
2. a Sarabanda / Saraban [nº 6/52/54/64?]
3. Leady Huarts jump / Leady
4. King Shall enjoy his oune [1]
5. Laviniane Shore / Lavinean Shore [8]
6. Robbine and Jonnet [13]
7. A French marche [11]
8. King James his march to Irlande [2]
9. A Minuway [10, 76 or 82]
10. Mᶜbethe [27]
11. Over the mountanes / a [17]
12. Hallouine [26?]
13. New hilland Laddie / the halland Ladde [31]
14. When she cam ben she babed [77]
[15. obscured] [her?]
[16] [com?]
[17] [hap? me? nict?] her peticot

1. Kind Robin
2. Lady Huris Jump
3. King hal injoy his oon [1]
4. Lavinian Shor [8]
5. King James his march [2]
6. A Miune [10, 76 or 82?]
7. Neue hiland Lady [31]
8. pege I most Love the [20]
9. over the mor to mage [9]
10. Mᶜcleans s[c]ots mesour [38]
11. twid sid [75]
12. A march [4?]
13. hap me nicht thy peticot[39]
14. A Spanish Jeig [71]
15. Lilebolero [70]

[f. 2v]

18. [G]illi crankie
19. Lillebolero
20. a spanish gige

16. No Charmes above his [73]
17. th[e] kinar eyes
18. gilicranke [5]
when she cam bee she becked [77]

[38] Music with the titles of nos. 1 and 3 are not found in the Leyden manuscript.

[39] Music with this title is not found in the Leyden manuscript, but see GB-En, 21720, f. 20v, 'Come hap me with thy Petticoat', for violin.

Appendix 2

Transcript of the incomplete instructions on ff. 3r-5r of the Leyden manuscript:

[f. 3r] 'And are to be stopt according to exact distances by the judicious Ear of / the performer / ['Example' chart] / Sometimes where single letters follow one Another, two or more of them are / Are [sic] struck with one drawing the Bow, which when they are to be so, they have / such a dash Under them as yow see in the former Example. Sometimes yow / will meet with a letter which hath this mark Under it ['a' with three dots below] which is called a / Thump, or the striking the string open with the finger of your left hand. / Secondly, for the tuning the lyra-viol : there are many several varietie[s] of / Tunings According to the Inventions of several Artists or composers of the / Lessons : As first harp way sharp, and harp way flat ; Next high harp shar[p] / and high harp flat[.] Several other tunings there are, but the first two being m[ost] / Usual, the collections of lessons in this book Are only to those two several tuning[s] / The Manner of which are in their proper places set befor those lessons which th[ey] Appertain to : the lessons which begin the Book are harp way sharp, whose Manner / of tuning by the Unison is thus set down / ['Example / of the tuning / harp way / sharp' chart 'Example / the tuning / harp way / flat' chart] / [f. 3v] In Unison, is the Making of two strings to agree in one sound, the one open, / the other stopt : to begin to tune it, raise or screw up the treble, or first / string, as high as it will conveniently bear without breaking, then tune the / other to it in this manner. First stop d on your second string, and / screw it up, till it agree so stopt in sound with the first string open : that / done, stop the third in e, and make it agree in like manner in sound with / the second open : then stop f on the fourth string, and make it agree with / the third open ; then stop the fifth in h, and make it agree to the fourth open, / then stop the sixth in f, and make it agree in sound with the fifth open / this exactly done, your viol is tuned. / Thirdly, for the Understanding the Notes or time which is placed over / the several Letters in the lessons, which Notes are set for the drawing / the sound slow or quick, this ought to be Understood. / I shall therefor, give yow the plainest directions I may : first, their / Names and then their proportions, and in it burthen your Memory / with no more than shall be usefull in lessons to the lyra viol, which are / only five in Number ['Names of the notes / Semibrief Minim Crotchet Quaver Semiquaver' modern rhythm signs] / In Musick there are four Moods or proportions of time ; but two are only / used in lessons lyra way, which are the common or Semibrief time, and / [f. 4r] Tripla time : to know them severally you have this character [crossed C] or Mood / placed at the beginning of the lesson when it is Semibrief time ; and this [3] / when it is triple time. / The proportion and measure of each I shall give you severally ; firstly to the / Common or Semibrief time, A Semibrief is the longest or Master note, and / Is as long again as a Minim. / for two Minims make one Semibrief, four crotchet make one Semibrief, / eight Quavers is on[e] Semibrief sixteen Semiquavers to the Semibrief this / Measure of time is usual to pavans, Almans, and Ayres ; as the following / Example. / The tripla time which is usual to corants, sarabands, and jiggs, is a mor[e] / light and Quicker measure of time, and his time Note is measured by a Minim / with a prick, which Amounts to three crotchets, or six Quavers, or twelve / Semiquavers See here an Example [two charts headed 'Common time' and 'Tripla time']

These several notes have all usually an addition of a prick of Augmentation / joyned to them which makes the note to which it is added half as much as it was before. / [f. 4v] ['Example' chart] / fourthly, some general rules are to be observed : first that in every bar / yow have the proportion or quantity of one Semibrief if it be / Common time ; if tripla time then the value or proportion of / one Minim with a prick. / 2 observe, that if you

have a crotchet or Quaver, or any other note, / over a letter ; and there follow three or four letters which have no / Notes over them, then those letters so following are to be played to the same / Measure, till the next note alters it. / 3ly observe, that whereas there are several marks or characters in Musick / for the rest or pauses, in this way of setting down lessons by tablature, / every pause or Rest is set down by the Note it self, be it Minim, crotchet. / Lastly, observe, that if at the beginning of a lesson there be an odd note / then you strike it with drawing the Bow backward; but if there be No odd Note at the beginning then with putting the bow forward. / Thus having briefly given these Necessary rules and directions, - [f. 5r] which if diligently practiced will be useful to yow in your study in This Musick; which that it may is the sole desire and endeavour of your well wisher and honourer of all true Lovers of Musick.'

[f. 5v] 'The tuning of the viol de Gambo / 'harp sharp' [chart showing intervals between strings, beginning with the the first, defhf] / 'high harp sharp' [chart showing intervals fdefh] / harp flat' [chart showing intervals edfhf] / high harp flat [chart showing intervals between the strings, from the first, fedfh]'.

Appendix 3

Transcript of contents in seventeenth-century hands from ff. 112r-112v [index 2]. Titles after '/' in a different hand. The corresponding numbered title in the inventory is given in square brackets.

[f. 112r]
[1] When the King enjoys his oune [1]
2 King James his march to Ir [2]
3 The olde mans wishe [3]
4 a Marche [4]
5 Gillie crankie [5]
6 Saraband / Saraband [6]

7 A Jigg / Jigg [7]
8 Corant / Corant [8]
10 Over the mure to Maggie [9]
11 A Minuit / A Minuet [10]
12 A French Marche [11]
13 My Dearie if thou dye [12]
14 Robine & yonnet [13]
15 Monie in both the pockets [14]
16 The Ladys goune [15]
17 Bonnie Nannie [16]
18 Over the mountanes [17]
19 Laviniane Shore [18]
20 The Duke of Lorains March [19]
21 Maggie I most Love the [20]
22 Wher Hellen layes [21]
23 The dance of itt [22]
24 Almone / Ane [23]
25 Corrant [24]
26 Strike upon a Stro yen [25]
27 Hallo-even [26]
28 M^{c}bethe [27]
29 Katrine=ogie [28]
30 What shall I doe to Showe [29]
32 Happie man is hee [30]
33 Neu hilland Laddie [31]
34 If Loves a Swet passione [32]
35 Cellia that I once was blist [33]
36 When Cold Stormes is past [34]
37 Womens worke will never be done [35]
38 The prince of Wales his welcome to the world [36]
39 The Seven Bishopes [37]

[f. 112v]
40 M^{c}Clains Scot measoure [38]
41 Joke the Lairds Brother [39]
42 Valiant Jockie [40]
43 The prince of Wailes his marche [41]
44 Ane Ayer [42]
45 No Scornefull beutie [43]
46 Young phaon [44]
47 Bonnie Lassie [45]
48 Jennie I told the[e] [46]
49 The Queens Almone [47]
50 Almon [48]
51 The Gillie floure [49]
52 The bonnie broune [50]
53 The new kirk gavell [51]
54 Saraband [52]
56 Almon [53]
57 Saraband [54]
58 The Night teen galle [55]
59 Jockie went to the wood [56]
60 Haile to the myrtle shade [57]
61 Adeu to the pleasours & follies of Love [58]
62 Montroses Lynes [59]
63 Gather your rose budes [60]
64 Come Love Lets walke [61]
65 Joy to the persone [62]
66 Allmon [63]
67 Saraband [64]
68 Haile graite S^{r} [65]
69 Whey in my yeies [66]
70 The Water of Boyne [67]
71 Sweet Willie [68]
72 Bonie Roaring Willie [69]
73 Lillie=bolero [70]
74 Spa[n]ish yigg [71]
75 Oh the bonnie Christ Churche Bells [72]
76 No Charmes above hir [73]
77 Katrine ogie [74]
78 Tued Syde [75]
79 A Minuet [76]
80 When she cam ben [77]

Appendix 4

A transcript of four loose leaves that remain associated with the Leyden manuscript. The first is inserted between ff. 14 and 15, and the remaining three are in a compartment of the box containing the Leyden manuscript.

The first sheet is 105 mm wide and 162 mm tall, is inserted between ff. 14 and 15, and reads, in George Farquhar Graham's hand: 'A leaf of the MS is wanting here / Tunes 17 and 18 wanting. / In the Index at the end of the volume, "Bonnie / Nanie" is numbered 17, while in the M S it is 16. / In the Index 18 is "Over the mountains," and 19 / is "Lavinian Shore." 20 is "The Duke of Lorains March", / while in M S that tune is marked 19. / G. F. Graham / Edin 18th November 1843'.

The second is 106 mm wide and 162 mm tall, and on one side bears the inscription in ink: 'Notes on Songs & Ballads / Gents Mag. [*The Gentleman's Magazine*] Aug. 1793 / Apl June July and Oct 1794.' The other side has written on it 'Mr Havelock / 1.15.15' in pencil in a modern hand.

The third sheet is 334 mm wide and 213 mm tall, and bears the title on one side: 'Key / to / The Leyden Viol MS. / G. F. Graham / Edin - Sept 1844 / Written for Mr Telfer, the / Proprietor of the M S.' On the reverse is written: 'Key to the decyphering and translating of [?] G. F. Graham. Edin - Sept [?]' [two double staves showing pitches of all the tablature letters labelled 'No 1' and 'No. 2'] / 'No 1 relates to the tuning of the Lyra Viol 'Harp Sharp', as it is called in the Leyden M S. / Thus: [pitch chart] / No. 2 relates to the tuning of the Lyra Viol 'Harp Flat', as it is called in the Leyden M S. Thus [pitch chart] / The large open notes O, in No. 1 and No. 2, indicate the open strings of the instrument. By reading / these sounds an octave higher, thus [pitch chart] and [pitch chart] (and omitting the lowest D [chart]) all the Tunes in the MS may be written in the Treble Clef. / G. F. G'.

The fourth sheet is 312 mm wide and 190 mm tall and contains on one side a description of the method of transposition of the tablature: 'Key by G. F. Graham Esqr. Edinb[urg]. to the decyphering and translating of the Leyden Viol Book M.S. - here transposed / to an octave higher than the original Key [two double staves showing pitches of all the tablature letters labelled 'No 1' and 'No. 2'] / No 1 relates to the tuning of the Lyra Viol 'Harp Sharp', as it is called in the Leyden M S. thus: [pitch chart] / No. 2 relates to the tuning of the Lyra Viol 'Harp Flat', as it is called in the Leyden M S. thus [pitch chart] / The large open notes O, in [?] indicate the open strings of the instrument. / By reading these sounds an octave higher, thus [pitch chart] and [pitch chart] (and omitting the lowest D [chart]) all the / Tunes in the MS may be written in the Treble Clef. / (signature) G. F. G.' / It is in order to facilitate the transposition of / the tunes that I have here transposed the Key'.

Appendix 5

Transcript of Graham's prefatory text on ff. 6r-8r of his copy of the Leyden manuscript:

'I have here to state how the Leyden M. S. Lyra-Viol Book came into my hands; and such other particulars regarding it as I have been made acquainted with. It seems to me best to state all these things fully, in the case of a transcript of any old M.S., the original of which is not preserved in any Public Library, but remains in the hands of a private family; and is therefore in danger of being lost, amid changes of moveable property in the course of a few generations. In my Extracts from the Straloch MS., - presented to the faculty of Advocates, in Edinburgh, - I have mentioned the loss of that MS., and my reasons for placing [it] under the guardianship of the Faculty of Advocates, in Edinburgh, the Extracts I made from that MS., and also the copy which I made of the Tunes in Tablature contained in the Leyden MS. Lyra-Viol Book.

In the year 1844, my friend Patrick Maxwell Esq[re]. (No. 5 Archibold Place Edin.) - who is a Grandson of John Maxwell Esq[re]. of Broomholm, in Dumphriesshire, the author of a very curious work "An Essay on Tune", published in Edin. - in 1781, - sent to me Doctor John Leyden's MS. Lyra-Viol Book, that I might examine it, and translate and transcribe it, if I pleased. I did transcribe the whole of it that was written in Tablature for the Lyra-Viol, and the following pages contain my transcription. The rest of the volume contained some Tunes written clumsily in modern notation, and of no importance, and evidently long after the Tablature part of the book had been written. In these Tunes in modern notation, the lower line of the six-lined stave had been struck through with a pen, and the more modern Tunes written upon the remaining five lines and four spaces of the stave.[40]

These modern Tunes, so written I did not think it worth my while to transcribe; as they are found in various printed works of recent date.

On applying to my friend Patrick Maxwell Esq.[re] for information regarding the Leyden MS. Lyra-Viol Book, he has been kind enough to furnish me with the following facts.

The original MS Lyra-Viol Book that belonged to the celebrated Doctor John Leyden, is now in the possession of Mr. James Telfer, Schoolmaster at Saughtrees, Liddesdale. M[r] Telfer informed Mr P. Maxwell that he got the Leyden MS. Lyra-Viol Book from Doctor Leyden's brother, a farmer in Roxburghshire; but that it was to be returned, else M[r]. Telfer would have given it to M[r]. Maxwell. The MS. was returned by M[r]. Maxwell to M[r]. Telfer, after I had transcribed all the Tunes in Tablature in it. M[r] Maxwell in a letter to me, quotes from Doctor Leyden's notice of the book in his Introduction to "The Complaynt of Scotland", page 285, edition of 1801, 8°, as follows :- "[a list of titles the same as those detailed by Leyden as in footnote 25] / in a succeeding paragraph, page 286, Doctor Leyden adds: "The MS. Collection which I have quoted, is not indeed of great antiquity, but as it approaches the era of the Revolution, it enables us to advance a step beyond Ramsey,[41] and as it shows that these songs were popular at the time of the Revolution, it renders it probable that their origin is of a much older date. Indeed, the aera of the Revolution seems to be that of the decline of Scottish music and song. Until that period, the remains of the bards and minstrels, existed in almost every quarter of the

[40] Bottom of f. 8r '‡ Note. These last five tunes are in clumsy modern notation in the Leyden MS. G.F.G'.

[41] The Scottish poet and literary antiquary Allan Ramsay (1686-1758) published an early anthology of Scottish songs, *The Tea-Table Miscellany* (1723, 1726, 1727, 1737).

Scottish Lowlands, but after that aera, scarcely any vestige of them can be traced." etc.

I have only to add, that, from internal evidence, Doctor Leyden's Lyra-Viol Book in Tablature, could not have been written earlier than towards the close of the 17th century; since we find in it not only "Boyne Water", - no doubt allusion to the battle of the Boyne in 1690, - but also "King James' March to Ireland"; besides "Oh the bonny Christ-Church bells", a Catch composed by the Celebrated Dean Aldrich, who died in 1710, aged 63.

I subjoin an Index to the Tunes contained in this MS., and also a Key to the Tablature for the Lyra-Viol. / George Farquhar Graham / 31 Gilmore Place, Edinburgh'.

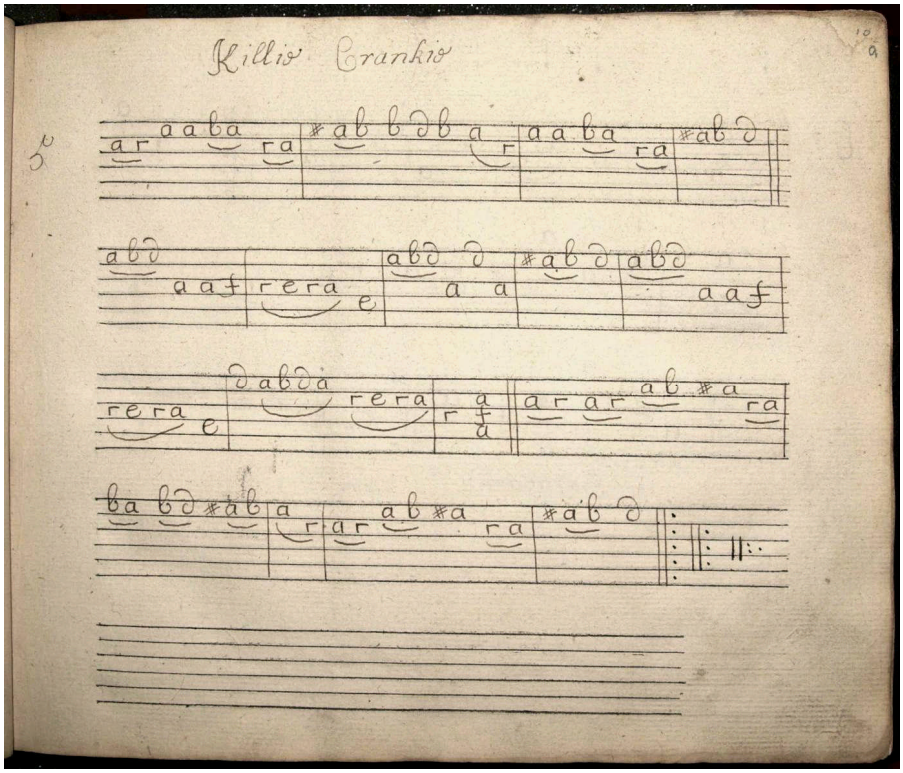

Fig. 3. Hand A (f. 9r)

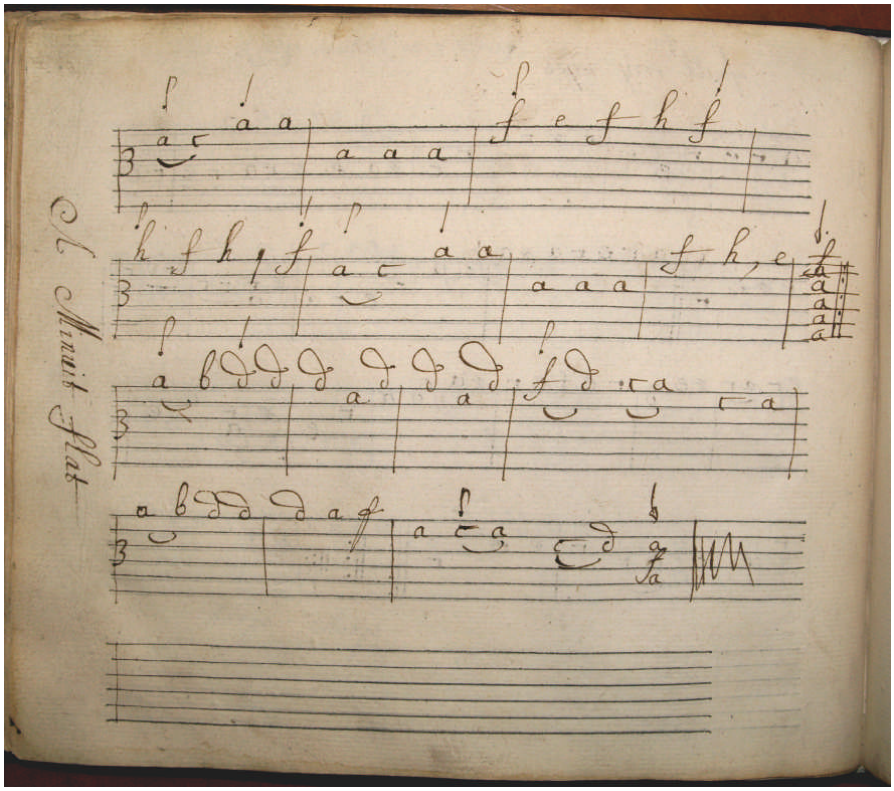

Fig. 4. Hand B (f. 47v)

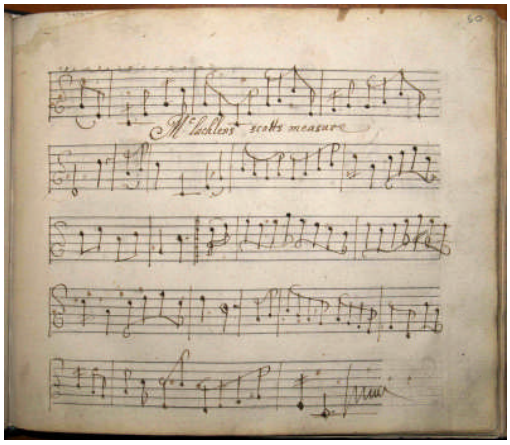

Fig. 5. Hand B (f. 50v)

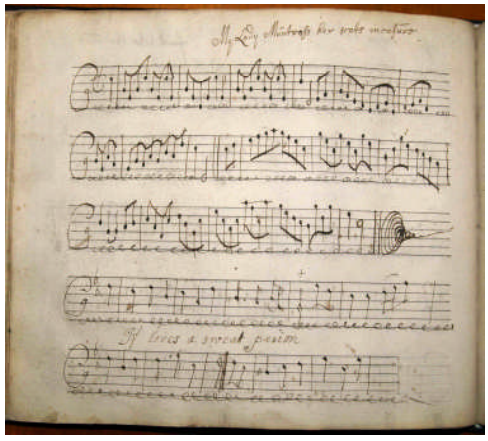

Fig. 6. Hand C (f. 56v)

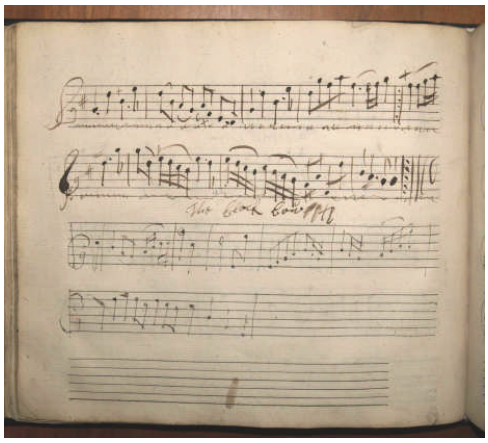

Fig. 7. Hand D (f. 58v)

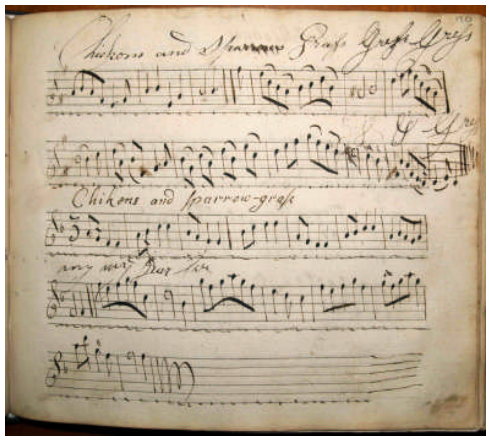

Fig. 8. Hand E (f. 70r)

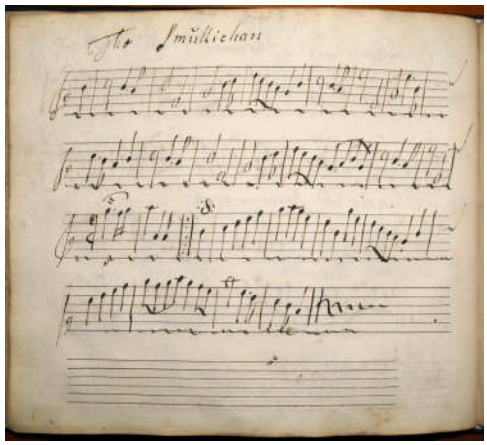

Fig. 9. Hand F (f. 70v)

Table 1: Inventory with Concordances and Cognates.[1]

No.	fol. Leyden	fol. Graham	*Leyden title* [Graham title]	concordances/cognates	hand
-	flyleaf r	-	Blank		-
-	flyleaf v	-	'~~M Leyden 1805~~' / 'James Telfer 1843'		-
-	1r-1v	-	Stub of torn out title page (see Fig. 2)		-
-	2r-2v	-	index 1 - transcribed in App. 1		Not A
-	2v	-	'James Telfer Saughtrees, Liddesdale / 24th Octr 1843'		-
-	-	-	Stubs of two? cut out folios		-
-	3r-5r	-	Instructions beginning on a previous page now missing - transcribed in App. 2		A
-	5v	-	Tuning instructions - transcribed in App. 2		A
-	6r	-	Blank		
-	6v	-	'Short and easie Lessons or Tunes for the Viol de Gambo / harpway sharp tuning [defhf] / A prelude of the notes ascending and descending / eights / Unisons / Cadence' [two staves of tablature examples]		A
			Lyra viol tablature[2]		
1	7r	19r	/ *When the King enjoys his own / harp sharp* [When the King enjoys his own / harp sharp]	Lyra viol: GB-En, Dep. 314/24, p. 1 *When The Kinge enjoys his own again Harp sharp*; GB-Eu, P637, f. 1v *when the King enjoyes his owne*; Playford 1651e, part I, p. 4 *When the K. enjoys &c*; Playford 1652b, p. 4 *7 THe K. enjoyes &c.*; Playford 1682, p. 4 *The king enjoys his own* Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 25 *The king enjoy his own again. by mr Beck*	A

[1] Only instrumental cognates are included; some of the many song settings are found in the references to Simpson, Zimmerman (Z) and Day and Murrie. The titles in the Graham copy are in square brackets following the original titles in italics. '/' is used to indicate a line break in the tiles or when a title follows the music in the original. The thorn (written similar to 'y') has been expanded to 'th' as in 'y^{e}' = 'the' throughout. Numbering of the pieces is the same as the modern numbering in the original and in Graham's copy (both only up to no. 81).

[2] Ff. 7r-49v contain six-line staves with tablature for six-course lyra viol.

				Cittern: US-CA, Mus. 181, f. 23r *The King enjoys his own*; Playford 1652c, p. 14 *29 When the K. enjoyes his own again*; Playford 1666, sig. C4v *29 THe King injoys his own* Gittern: Playford 1652d, p. 14 *29 When the K. enjoyes his own again* Keyboard: F-Pn, Rés. 1185, p. 252 *When the King Inioyeth his owne againe:*; GB-Lbl, Add. 10337, f. 5v *When the king enjoys his owne againe*; GB-KET, 353, ff. 15r-15v *The King shall enjoy his own again*; US-NYp, 5609, p. 5 *When the king enjoys his own again* Violin: GB-En, 2085, p. 167 *The King shall enjoy his own again*; GB-En, 3296, f. 67v *when the king enjoyes his oun*; GB-NTsa, Sant 1, p. 108 *The King shall Enjoy his own again*; GB-Och, 1114, f. 29v *When the king enjoys his own again*; cf. Playford 1726, vol III, p. 36 *Restoration of King Charles* Flute: GB-En, Acc. 10182, p. 35 *57 King enjoys his &c* Simpson, pp. 764-768	
2	7v	19v	*King James march to Irland* [King James March to Irland]	Lyra viol: GB-DU, Mus. 10455, p. 6 *King James March to Ireland* Lute: cf. GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 13 *Since Celia, is my foe, with the 9th string, lowed, halfe a note, by mr beck* Violin: GB-En, 3296, f. 65r *King James March* Simpson, pp. 661-662	A
3	8r	20r	*The old mans wish* [The old mans wish] [Walter Pope]	Keyboard: F-Pn, Rés. 1186 bis I, p. 26 *The old Man's wish* Simpson, pp. 542-544	A
4	8v	20v	*A March* [A March]		A
5	9r	21r	*Killie Crankie* [Killie Crankie]	Keyboard,: GB-En, 808, p. 38 *Gillicrankie*; Violin: GB-En, 2084, p. 216 *Gillecranky*; GB-En 2085, p. 85 *Killicranky*; GB-En, 21717, f. 26r *Killicrankie*; GB-En, 21720, f. 14r *Kilicrankie*; cf. GB-En, 3296, f. 52v *New Killicrankie* Flute: GB-En, Acc. 10182, p. 48 *74 Gilliecrankie* Recorder: GB-En 2833, p. 20 [*Killie Krankie*]	A

				cf. battle of Killiecrankie, 1689	
6	9v	21v	/ *Saraband* [Saraband]		A
7	10r	22r	/ *A jigg* [A jigg]		A
8	10v	22v	/ *Corant* [Corant]		A
9	11r	23r	*over the Mure to Maggie* [over the Mure to Maggie]	Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, pp. 46-47 *Over the moore, to Maggie, the new way by mr Beck, not so good, as mclaughlans way*; GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 96 *Over the moor, to Maggie, the old way by david grieve*; GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 139 *Over the moore, to Maggie, the old way in mr macklachlans fashion, by mr Beck* Keyboard: GB-En, 3296, ff. 14v-15r *Ore the Mure to Magie* Violin: GB-En, 808, pp. 68-69 *O'er the Moor to Maggie*; GB-En, 1667, pp. 31-33 *O'er the muir to Maggie*; GB-En, 3296, f. 62r *Ore the muir to Maggie*; cf. GB-En, 21720, f. 23r *Ore the Muir to Kitty* Flute: GB-En, Acc. 10182, pp. 48-49 *75 O'er the moor to Magie*	A
10	11v	23v	/ *A Minivet* [A Minivet]		A
11	12r	24r	*A french March* [A French March]		A
12	12v	24v	/ *My dearie if thou dye* [My dearie if thou dye]	Lyra viol: GB-DU, Mus. 10455, p. 7 *My Dearie if thou Dye* Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 36 *My dearie, an thou dye, Jean mores way. by mr Beck*; GB-En, Acc. 9769, pp. 36-37 *My dearie, an thou dye, John morisons way, by mr Beck*	A
13	13r	25r	*Robin and Jonnet* [Robin and Jannet]		A
14	13v	25v	*Money in both the pockets* [Money in both the pockets]	Violin: cf. GB-En, Adv. 5.2.17, f. 3r *She gote money by it*; GB-En, 21720, f. 28v *Money in both Pockets*; Playford 1688, p. 5 *The Jockey*; Playford 1713, p. 140 *Four Pence half-Penny Farthing*; Walsh 1718, p.153 *Four Pence Half-penny Farthing or The Jockey*; Walsh 1731, p.	A

				119 *Four Pence Half Penny Farthing*; Simpson, pp. 655-657	
15	14r	26r	*The Ladys Goune* [The Ladys Goune]	Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 80 *My Ladys night gown, by David Grieve*	A
16	14v	26v	*Bonie Nanie* [Bonie Nanie]	Lyra viol: GB-DU, Mus. 10455, p. 3 *Bonie Nanie*; GB-Eu, P637, f. 32v *Bonnie Nannie*	A
17	missing[3]	-	index 1 and 2 include *Over the mountains*, see appendices 1 and 3	Lyra viol: GB-En, Dep. 314/24, p. 6 *Over the mountains harp sharp*; GB-Eu, P637, f. 2r *Duck of Lowraines march*; Playford 1651, p. 6 *7 Over the Mountaines* Lute: GB-Ctc, O.16.2, p. 135 *Over the mountains*; GB-Lam, 603, f. 38v *love will find out the way* Cittern: GB-En, 9450, f. 41v *Ouer the mountaines*; US-CA, Mus. 179, f. 4r *Ouer the Mountaines*; Playford 1652c, p. 4 *9 Over the Mountaines*; Playford 1666, sig. B3v *5 OVer the Mountains* Gittern: Playford 1652d, p. 4 *9 Over the Mountaines* Keyboard: F-Pn, Rés. 1186, f. 135r *Over the mountaines*; US-NYp, Drexel 5609, p. 136 *Over the Mountains* Day & Murrie 2650/2651; Simpson, pp. 472-474	
18	missing	-	index 1 and 2 include *Lavinian Shore*, see appendices 1 and 3	Lyra viol: GB-DU, Mus. 10455, p. 5 *Lavinion Shore*; GB-Eu, P637, f. 32v *from the fair Lavinion Shore* Lute: GB-En, Adv.5.2.18 *From the fair Lavinian shore* [listed in original contents but music not copied]	
19	15r	27r	*The duke of Lorains march* [The Duke of Lorains March]	Lyra viol: GB-Lbl, Add. 63852, f. 80r *Lorains March* Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 28 *The old duke of loraines March, mr Becks way* Keyboard: GB-Lbl, Add. 63852, f. 36v untitled Violin: Playford 1665, p. 125 *The Duke of Lorai'ns March* Flageolet: Clarke 1690, p. 8 *The Duke of Lorrane's March*	A
20	15v	27v	/ *Meggie I must love*	Lyra viol: GB-DU, Mus. 10455, p. 8 *Yet Meggie I Must Love The*	A

[3] See App. 4 for a transcript of a loose leaf in Graham's hand describing the missing folio.

			the[e] [Maggie I must love the]	Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, pp. 92-93 *Peggie I must loue the, Master m^clachlands way, by m^r Beck*; GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 129 *Peggie I must love thee, by m^r beck* Keyboard: GB-KET, 353, f. 19v *Pegie I must love the*; cf. Playford 1689, sig. C1r *A New Scotch tune* Violin: GB-En, 2084, pp. 44-45 *Peggie I must love thee*; GB-En, 3296, f. 63r *Magie I most love thee*; GB-En, 3298, f. 7v *As I went down yon burn so Clear*; GB-En, 3346, p. 139 *Peggie I must Love thee*; GB-En, 21714, f. 16v *pege I most Love the*; GB-En, 21714, ff. 30v-31r *Pegy I mosst love thee Capt: Campbell his marsh*; Playford 1687b, part III, no. 5 *A Scotch Tune in fashion* Flageolet: cf. Clarke 1690, p. 20 *Billy was as blith a lad*; Hare 1697, f. 19r *Billy was as blith a lad* Simpson, pp. 573-575	
21	16r	28r	*Where hellen lays* [Where hellen lays]	Lyra viol: GB-DU, Mus.10455, p. 8 *Where Helen lays*; GB-En, Dep. 314/24, p. 9 *wher hilin Lys* Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 59 *I wish I were, where Helen lyes, by david grieve*; GB-En, Dep. 314/23, f. 43r *I uish I uer uher* Violin: GB-En, 3298, f. 2v *Where Helen Lyes*; GB-En, 21714, f. 33r *I wish I wer for hellen lyes*	A
22	16v	28v	*The dance of it* [The dance of it]	cf. no. 21	A
23	17r	29r	*Almon* [Almon / Allemande]		A
24	17v	29v	*Corrant* [Corrant]		A
25	18r	30r	*Strick wpon a strogin* [Strick upon a Strogin]		A
26	18v	30v	*hallo Even* [Hallo Even]	Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 29 *Hallow even, mr Becks way* Keyboard: GB-En, 3296, ff. 21r-21v *Hallow Even.* Violin: GB-En, 3298, f. 36r *Scots Measur*; Playford 1700, p. 16 *Holy*	A

				Even, a Scotch-measure; cf. GB-En, 21720, f. 23r *Hallow Een* [different tune]	
27	19r	31r	/ *Mackbeth* [Mackbeth]	Lyra viol: GB-DU, Mus. 10455, p. 5 *Mack Beth*; GB-En, Dep. 314/24, p. 10 *Mc Beth Harpe Sharp*; GB-Eu, P637, f. 1v *Mackbeth*; GB-SA, Mansfield, no. 2 *Mackbeth*; Playford 1682, p. 10 *Mackbeth* Cittern: cf. Playford 1666, sig. E6r *65 A Jig called Mackbeth* Flageolot: Greeting 1675, sig. A3r *Mackbeth*; Greeting 1680, sig. A3r *Mackbeth*; Greeting 1682, sig. A3r *Mackbeth*	A
28	19v	31v	*Katharine ogie* [Katherine Ogie]	cf. nos. 74 and 104 Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, pp. 28-29 *Katherine Ogie. mr Becks way* Violin: GB-En, 808, p. 47 *Katherine Ogie*; GB-En, 2084, p. 38 *Katharine Ogie*; GB-En, 9454, ff. 35v-36r *Kathren Oggie*; GB-En, 21716, p. 104 *Katherine Ogie*; GB-En, 21716, p. 107 *Katherine Ogie*; GB-En, 21717, f. 37r *Katherine Ogie*; GB-Eu, La.III.111, p. 299 *Ketron Ogie*; Playford 1687a, additional sheet, no. 8 *Lady Catherine Ogle, a new Dance*; Playford 1687b, no. 64 *A Scotch Tune* Flute: GB-En Acc. 10182, p. 50 *77 Katherine Hoggie* Simpson, pp. 54-55	A
29	20r	32r	/ *what shall I do to show* [What shall I do to show] [Henry Purcell]	Violin: GB-En, 2084, p. 288 *What shall I do to show how much I love her* Day & Murrie 3662; Simpson, pp. 754-755; Z627/18	A
30	20v	32v	/ *happie man is hee* [Happie man is hee] [Henry Purcell]	Violin: Playford 1691, sig. B1v *3 Oh! how happy's he*; Z403	A
31	21r	33r	/ *New hiland Ladie* [New hilland ladie]	cf. no. 83 Violin: GB-En, 808. p. 39 *New Highland Ladie*; GB-En, 21715, pp. 57-58 *New Highland Laddie*; GB-En, 21714, f. 8v *hyland Lady*	A
32	21v	33v	/ *if loves a sweet passion* [If love's a sweet passion] [Henry Purcell]	Cf. no. 101 Violin: GB-En, 3296, f. 67v *Loves a sweet passion* Day & Murrie 1691; Simpson, pp. xiv, 359-361 (quotes version in Playford 1693); Z629/17	A

33	22r	34r	/ *Celia that I once was blest* [Celia that I once was blest] [Henry Purcell]	Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 12 *Celia, that once was blest, with the 9th string, lowed, halfe a note, by mr beck*; GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 12 *Another Celia, with the 9 string, lowed, halfe a note, mr Becks way*; GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 12 *Another Celia, with the 9th string / lowed, halfe a note, mr Becks way* Violin: Playford 1691, sig. B2v *Celia, that I once was Bless'd* Day & Murrie 515; Simpson, pp. 89-90; Z572/3	A
34	22v	34v	/ *When cold storms is past* [When cold storms is past]	cf. Simpson, p. 554	A
35	23r	35r	/ *Womens work will never be done* [Women's work will never be done]	Lyra viol: GB-DU, Mus. 10455, p. 5 *Womens work will never be done* cf. Simpson, pp. 189-192	A
36	23v	35v	/ *The prince of Walles welcome to the world* [The prince of Walles welcome to the north]	cf. no. 41 Violin: GB-En, 3296, f. 60r *The princ of waills welcome to the world*	A
37	24r	36r	/ *The Seven Bishops* [The seven Bishops]		A
38	24v	36v	*Mc Leans Scots measure* [Mc Leans Scots Mesure]	Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 30 *Macklaines scots measure, mr Becks way* Violin: GB-En, Adv. 5.2.17, f. 4v *Marklains Scots Meassor*; Playford 1700, p. 1 *Mr. Mc. Laines Scotch-Measure*	A
39	25r	37r	*Jocke - the lairds Brother* [Jocke the lairds Brother]	Lyra viol: GB-DU, Mus. 10455, p. 5 *Jock the Lairds Brother*; GB-SA, Mansfield, no. 45 *Jock the laird's brother* Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 38 *Jock the lairds brother, John morisons way, by mr Beck*; GB-En, Acc. 9769, pp. 38-39 *Jock the lairds brother, Jean mores way, by mr beck*	A
40	25v	37v	/ *Vallent Jockie* [Vallent Jockie]	Violin: GB-En, 2085, p. 189 *Valiant Jockie*; Playford 1690b, part III, sig. B2r 6 *Valiant Jockey*; Playford 1691, sig. B2r *Valiant Jockey*;	A

				Playford 1695, p. 172 *Valiant Jockey*; Walsh 1718, p. 186 *Valiant Jockey*; Walsh 1731, p. 125 *Valiant Jockey* Flageolet: Clarke 1690, p. 5 *a new Scotch tune call'd Valiant Jockey*; Hare 1697, f. 25r *a new Scotch tune call d Valiant Jockey* Day & Murrie 3542; Simpson, pp. 733-734	
41	26r	38r	*The prince of walles march* [The Prince of Walles March]	cf. no. 36	A
42	26v	38v	/ *An Ayer* [Ane Ayer]		A
43	27r	39r	/ *No scornfull Beauty* [No Scornfull Beauty]		A
44	27v	39v	/ *young phaon* [Young Phaon]	Flageolet: Clarke 1690, p. 3 *a song tune call'd young Phaon*; Hare 1697, f. 9r *a Song tune call'd young Phaon* Day & Murrie 4132	A
45	28r	40r	/ *Bonnie Lassie* [Bonnie Lassie]		A
46	28v	40v	/ *Jenney I told yow* [Jenny I told you]		A
47	29r	41r	/ *The Queens Almon* [The Queens Almon]	Not the same as Simpson, pp. 590-591	A
48	29v-30r	41v-42r	/ *Almon* [Almon]		A
49	30v	42v	/ *The Gilliflouer* [The Gilliflouer]	Lyra viol: Playford 1682, p. 27 *The Gilliflower, by Mr Simon Ives*	A
50	31r	43r	/ *The bony Brow* [The Bony Brow]	Lyra viol: cf. GB-DU, Mus. 10455, p. 2 *The Bony Brow / Lady Binnys Lilt / In January Last*; Playford 1682, pp. 36-37 *Bonny Brow* Lute: F-Pn, Rés. 1110, f. 14r *Urania*; GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 63 *The lady Binnies lilt, by david grieve*; GB-En, Dep. 314/23, f. 26v *My lady binnes lilt*; GB-En, Dep. 314/23, f. 45r *My lady binnis lilt*; Mathew 1652, pp. 23-24 *Tantara*	A

				Cittern: US-CA, Mus. 181, f. 17v *Tantarra, or Lashley's March* Gittern: Playford 1652d, p. 7 *14 Tantarra, or Lashleyes March* Violin: GB-NTsa, Sant 1, pp. 151-152 *Leshleys March*; GB-Eu, La.III.111, p. 300 *My Lady binnies Lilt, or urania*	
51	31v	43v	*The New Kirk Gavell* [The New Kirk Gabell]		A
52	32r	44r	*Saraband* [Saraband]		A
53	32v	44v	*Allmon* [Allmon]		A
54	33r	45r	*Saraband* [Saraband]		A
55	33v-34r	45v-46r	*The Nightingall* [The Nightingall]	Lyra viol: GB-Eu, P637, f. 3r *Nightingale*; GB-Eu, P637, f. 31v *Nightingale*; GB-SA, Mansfield, unnumbered *The Nightingale*; Playford 1651, pp. 8-9 *11 The Nightingall*; Playford 1652b, p. 14 *22 NIghtingale*; Playford 1682, p. 12 *The Nightingale* Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 59 *The Nightingale, John Morisons way without any division, by mr Beck*; GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 60 *The Nightiggale, with a division by mr Beck*; GB-Ctc, O.16.2, p. 130 untitled; Mace 1676, p. 201 [*Nightingal*] Cittern: US-CA, Mus. 179, ff. 16v-17r *The Nightingale*; US-CA, Mus. 181, f. 16r *The Nightingale*; Playford 1652c, p. 3 *6 The Nightingale* Mandora: GB-En, Adv. 5.2.15, pp. 115-116 *nightingale* Keyboard: DK-Kk, 376, f. 12v *Engelendishe nachtigall*; F-Pn, Rés. 1186, f. 35v *The Nightingale*; F-Pn, 1186, f. 62v *The nightingale Mr Henry Loosemore*; GB-Lbl, Add. 10337, f. 9r *The Nightingale The Nightingale Gale*; GB-Och, 1236, p. 13 *The Nightingale*; US-NYp, 5609, p. 11 *The Nightingale*; US-NYp, 5609, pp. 122-123 *The Nightingale*; US-NYp, 5609, pp. 144-145 *The Nightingale Mr Henry Loosemore*; US-NYp 5609, p. 162 *The Nightingale*; US-NYp, 5612, p.	A

				147 *The Nightingale*; US-NYp, 5612, pp. 150-151 *The nightingall* Violin: GB-Och, 1114, f. 28v *The nightingale* Recorder: Eyck 1644, ff 32r-32v *Engels Nachtegael*; Eyck 1646, ff. 34r-34v *Engels Nachtegaeltje*; Eyck 1649, ff. 34r-34v *Engels Nachtegaeltje* Flageolet: Greeting 1675, sigs. A1v-A2r *3 The Nightingale*; Greeting 1680, sig. A3r *The Nightingale*; Greeting 1682, sigs. A1v-A2r *3 The Nightingale* Simpson, pp. 511-513	
56	34v	46v	*Jockie went to the wood* [Jockie went to the wood] [William Gregory]	Lyra viol: Playford 1682, p. 19 *Jockey went to the wood* Violin: GB-En, Adv. 5.2.17, f. 2v *Jorkies gaine to the Wood*; GB-En, 3296, f. 62v *Jockie went to the wood* Flageolet: Clarke 1690, p. 12 *The Wood Nimph or dear Iockey*; Hare 1697, f. 10r *The Wood Nimph or dear Iockey* Simpson, pp. 390-391	A
57	35r	47r	*haill to the mirtle shade* [Haill to the mirtle shade] [Henry Purcell]	Lyra viol: Playford 1682, p. 22 *The Myrtle Shade* Day & Murrie 1227; Simpson, pp. 285-287; Z606/8	A
58	35v	47v	*Adew to the folles and pleasurs of love* [Adew to the folles and pleasurs of love]	Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 114 *Adieu to the Pleasures, mr mclaughlans way, by mr Beck* Day & Murrie 11; Simpson, pp. 1-2	A
59	36r	48r	*Montrosse lyns* [Montroses Lyns]	Lyra viol: GB-DU, Mus. 10455, p. 6 *Montrose lyns* Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 9 *Montroses tunes. Mr Becks way* Simpson, pp. 355-357 (under the title 'I'll never love thee more')	A
60	36v	48v	*Gather your rose buds / harp sharp* [Gather your rose buds harp sharp] [William Lawes]	Lyra viol: GB-DU, Mus. 10455, p. 8 *Gather your rosebuds*; GB-Eu, P637, f. 6r *Gather your Rosbuds*; GB-En, Dep. 314/24, p. 11 *Gathor your Ros buds harp sharp*; GB-Eu, P637, f. 59r *Gather your rosbuds*; Playford 1652b, p. 7 *13 Gather your Rosebuds* [texted] Gittern: Playford 1562d, p. 20 *35 The Song to this Tune. Gather your Rose-buds while you may*	A

				Violin: GB-En, 9454, f. 14r *Gather your Ross buds* Day & Murrie 1109; Simpson, pp. 247-248	
61	37r	49r	*Come Love lets walk harp flat* [Come Love lets walk harp sharp]	Lyra viol: GB-En, Dep. 314/24, p. 22 *Come love lets walk Harp flat*; GB-Eu, P637, f. 4v *Come Love Lets walke into the spring* Lute: GB-En, Adv. 5.2.18 *Com Love lets walk / Cum lett us walk into yon springe* [listed in original contents but music not copied] Mandora: GB-En, Adv. 5.2.15, pp. 195-196 *Com Love lett us walk into the Springe* Keyboard: GB-En, 3296, ff. 54v-55r *Come love lets walk* Day & Murrie 680; Simpson, pp. 123-124	A
62	37v	49v	*Joy to the person harp flat* [Joy to the person harp flat]	Lyra viol: GB-DU, Mus. 10455, p. 1 *Joy to the person*; GB-En, Dep. 314/24, p. 22 *Joy to the person* Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 31 *Joy to the Person, of my loue. mr Becks way* Cittern: GB-En, 9450, f. 42v *Joy to the persone of my loue* Mandora: GB-En, Adv. 5.2.15, pp. 24-25 *Ioy to the Persoune* Violin: GB-Eu, La.III.111, p. 310 *joy to the person of my love* Day & Murrie 1887; Simpson, pp. 404-405	A
63	38r	50r	*Allmon harp flat* [Allmon harp flat]		A
64	38v	50v	*Saraband harp flat* [Saraband harp flat]		A
65	39r	51r	*haill Great S^{r}* [Haill Great S^{r}]	Keyboard: GB-En, 3296, ff. 40v-41r *Haill Great S^{r}* Violin: GB-En, 3298, f. 3r *Haille great Sir* cf. Simpson, p. 642, fn 1	A
66	39v	51v	*why are myne eyes harp flat* [Why are myne eyes harp flat]	Violin: GB-NTsa, Sant 1, p. 74 *Why are my eyes*; cf. Playford 1687b, part III, no. 42 *A New Italian Ground* Flageolet: Clarke 1690, p. 21 *Why are my eyes or The eunuttch song*; Hare 1697, f. 20r *Why are my eyes or The eunuttch song* Day & Murrie 3919; Simpson, pp. 781-783	A
67	40r	52r	*The watter of Boyne harp*		A

			sharp [The watter of Boyne harp sharp]		
68	40v	52v	/ *Sweet willie* [Sweet Willie]	Lyra viol: GB-DU, Mus. 10455, p. 1 *Sweet Willie*; GB-DU, Mus. 10455, p. 1 *Another Way of Sweet Willie*; GB-SA, Mansfield, no. 41 *Sweet Willie* Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 5 *Sweet Willie, mr Becks way* Violin: GB-Eu, La.III.111, p. 305 *Sweet Willie*; GB-NTsa, Sant 2, p. 186 [in index, music missing] *Sweet Willie*	A
69	41r	53r	/ *Bony Roaring willie* [Bony Roaring Willie]	Lyra viol: GB-DU, Mus. 10455, p. 1 *Bony Roaring Willie* Different tune to: Violin: GB-En, 2084, p. 2 *Ratling roaring Willy*; GB-En, 3298, f. 4r *Ratling roaring Willie*; GB-En, 21719, f. 10v *Ranting Roring Willie*; GB-En, 21719, f. 26r *Ratling Roring Willie - John Campbell at Inveraray's Sets*; GB-En, 21719, f. 33v *Ratling Roring Willie*; GB-NTsa, Sant 1, pp. 134-135 *Ranting Roaring Willie*; GB-NTsa, Sant 7, p. [54] *Ranting Roaring Willie*	A
70	41v	53v	*Lillebolero* [Lillebolero]	Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, pp. 30-31 *lillybollaro mr Becks way*; GB-Ob, Mus.Sch. F. 576, f. 12r *Lairi bollairi bollinda* Violin: GB-En, Adv. 5.2.17, f. 2v *Lillye Burlerro*; GB-En, 2085, p. 233 *Lillibullero*; GB-NTsa, Sant 1, p. 75 *Lilliburlera H. Purcell*; GB-NTsa, Sant 2, p. 102 *Lilly Bullery*; Playford 1690a, p. 216 *Lilli Burlero*; Playford 1690b, part III, sig. k4r *45 Lilli Burlero*; Walsh 1718, p. 169 *Lilli Burlero*; Walsh 1731, p. 19 *Lilli Burlero* Keyboard: Playford 1689, sig. E3v *A new Irish Tune* [Z646] Recorder: Carr 1686, sig. C3v untitled Pipes: cf. GB-En, Adv.5.2.25, f. 1r *Reel to Lilliburlero* Simpson, pp. 449-455	A
71	42r	54r	*A Spanish jigg* [A Spanish Jigg]	Violin: Playford 1695, p. 171 *Spanish Jigg*	A
72	42v	54v	/ *oh the bonny Christ Church Bells*	Lyra viol: GB-SA, Mansfield, unnumbered *O the bonny Christ Church bells*; Playford 1682, p. 18 *Oh the bonny Christ-Church Bells*	A

			[oh the bonny Christ Church Bells] [Dean Aldrich]	Violin: GB-En, 21716, p. 42 *The bonny Christ Church bells*; Playford 1675, p. 17 *Christchurch Bells* Flageolet: Greeting 1682, sig. I1v *72 Christ Church Bells* Simpson, pp. 48-49	
73	43r	55r	*No charmes above her* [No Charmes above her]	Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 131 *No charmes above her, by mr beck* Keyboard: GB-En, 3296, ff. 36v-37r *No charmes above her* Violin: GB-En, 2084, p. 169 *No charms above her* cf. Simpson, pp. 347	A
74	43v	55v	*Katharine ogie* [Katherine Ogie]	cf. nos. 28 and 104 Simpson, p. 54	A
75	44r	56r	*Twide Syde* [Twide Syde]	Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 26 *Tweedsyde the old way. by mr beck*; cf. GB-En, Acc. 9769, pp. 26-27 *Tweedsyde, the new way. by mr beck* Violin: GB-En, 808, p. 21 *Tweed Side*; GB-En 1667, pp. 48-50 *Tweedside*; GB-En, 2084, p. 252 *Tweed Side*; GB-En, 3298, f. 13r *Down tweedsead*; GB-En, 21717, f. 30r *Tweed Syde*; GB-En, 21717, 56r *Tweed Syde*; GB-En, 21718, pp. 66-9 *Tweedside*; GB-En, 21719, f. 32r *Tweed Side* Flute: GB-En, Acc. 10182, p. 22 *39 Down Tweed Side* Pipes: GB-En, Adv. 5.2.22, f. 4v *Tweed Side*	A
76	44v	56v	*A Minive* [A Minive]		A
77	45r	57r	*when she came ben* [When she came ben]	Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, pp. 90-91 *When she came in, she bobbed, mr mclachlands way, by master Beck* Violin: GB-En, 3296, f. 62v *When she com ben*; GB-En, 21714, ff. 28v-29r *when she came ben she bobbed*; GB-En, 21717, f. 56v *When she came ben she bobbed*; Playford 1701a, p. 17 *And when she came ben she bobed*	A
78	45v	57v	*/ I cannot wine at her* [I cannot wine at her]		A
79	46r	58r	*A horn pyp* [A horn pyp]		A
80	46v	58v	*The Kings health in a*		A

			Mugg / harp sharp [The King's health in a Mugg]		
81	47r	59r	*Full fa my eyes* [full fa' my eyes]		A
82	47v	59v	*A Minuit flat* [A Minuit flat]		B
83	48r-48v	60r-60v	*/ hiland Ladie flatt* [hiland Ladie flat]	cf. no. 31 Lyra viol: cf. GB-DU, Mus. 10455, p. 3 *New Heilland Ladie* Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, pp. 4-5 *The New highland Ladye, mr becks way it may want the last measu*[re] Keyboard: GB-En, 3296, ff. 28v-29r *Highland Ladie* Violin: Playford 1701b, p. 304 *Cockle-Shells*	B
84	48v-49v[1]	60v-61r	untitled [untitled]	Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 128 *Sir william hopes scotts measure, by mr beck* Violin: cf. Playford 1700, p. 6 *Sir William Hope's Scotch-Measure* (different tune)	B
			Mensural notation for violin[4]		
85	49v[2-5]	-	*Minuit*		B
86	50r	-	*M[c]lachlens scotts measure*	Violin: GB-En, 808, p. 41 *M'Lauchlen's Scots Measure*; GB-En, 3346, pp. 93-94 *Maclauchlins Scots Measure* [4 versions]; GB-En, 21714, f. 22v *I: M[c]*[Lachlan's]*: Scotts Measure*	B
87	50v-51r	-	*Love is the caus of my mourning*	Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 98 *loue is the cause of my mourning, mr mclachlands way, by mr beck* Keyboard: GB-En, 3296, ff. 3v-4r *Love is the cause of my murning* Violin: GB-En, 2084, p. 189 *Love is the cause of my mourning*; GB-En,	B

[4] The music on ff. 49v-70v is for violin and written in mensural notation with a treble clef on six-line staves, usually with the top, but sometimes the bottom or neither, line of the staves crossed out.

				2085, p. 213 *Love is the Cause of my mourning*; GB-En, 3298, f. 53v *Love is the cause of my Mourning*; GB-En, 21714, f. 6v *Love is the Caues of My morner*; GB-NTsa, Sant 1, pp. 147-148 *Love is the Cause of My Mourning*; Playford 1700, pp. 10-11 *If love is the cause of my Mourning* Flute: GB-En, Acc. 10182, [p. 59] *Love is the Cause of my Morning*	
88	51v	-	*Loudons scotch measure*	Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 130 *Mr becks new tune*	B
89	52r	-	*Young I am*	Flageolet: Hare 1697, f. 6r *Young I am*	B
90	52v	-	*I am com to lock al fast* [Henry Purcell]	Day & Murrie 1487; Simpson, pp. 329-330 (quotes version in Playford 1693, part III); Z629/12	B
91	53r	-	*/ two furlongs from Edz toun*	Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 106 *It was but a furlong from edenburgh, with the 9th string lowed, halfe a note, mr mclaughlans way, by mr Beck* Violin: GB-En, 3296, f. 65r *within a furlong of Edenburgh*; GB-En, 21716, p. 51 *T'was within a furlong of Edinborough town*; GB-NTsa, Sant 1, p. 201 *With in a furlong of Edenborrow Town*; Playford 1696, part 2, p. 21 *'Twas within a Furlong of Edinborough Town*; Walsh 1718, p. 227 *Twas within a Furlong of Edinburgh Town*; Walsh 1731, p. 19 *Twas within a Furlong of Edinborough Town* Day & Murrie 3500; Simpson, pp. 635-638; cf. Z605/2	B
92	53v-54r	-	*When the bryd cam ben she becked*		B
93	54v	-	*/ Ane royel bowrie*		B
94	55r	-	*/ The saraband*		B
95	55r	-	*The Jeig*		B
96	55v	-	*The Colleyrs daughter*	Violin: GB-En, 808, p. 38 *The Coalliers Daughter*; GB-En, 3296, f. 67v *Coalliors daughter*; GB-En, 3298, f. 4r *The Coaliers daughter*; GB-NTsa, Sant 2, p. 20a *the Colliers Daughter*; GB-NTsa, Sant 7, p. [13] *The Collier's Daughter*; Walsh 1719, p. 231 *Collier's Daughter, or Duke of Rutland's Delight*; Neal 1726, p. 22 *Collyers Daughter*; Playford 1728, p. 209 *Colliers Daughter, or, The Duke of Rutland's Delight*	C
97	55v	-	*The Gray Eyed morning*		C

98	56r	-	*fow'll take the warss / foull take the wars*		C
99	56r	-	*The milkeine pell*	Lyra viol: GB-En, Dep. 314/24, p. 14 *the Milken Peal harp sharp*; GB-Eu, P637, f. 5v *the Milking Peale* Keyboard: GB-Lbl, Add. 22099, f. 9v *The nymphs and syl* Violin: GB-En, 3296, f. 64r *Milking peall*; GB-NTsa, Sant 1, p. 115 *The Milkinge Pale* Flageolet: Hare 1697, f. 3r *Milkin Pail* Simpson, pp. 490-493	C
100	56v	-	*My Lady Muntross her scotts measure*	Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, p. 101 *M^r^ kenneth m^c^kenzies scotts measure, m^r^ m^c^laughlans way, by m^r^ beck* Keyboard: GB-En, 3296, f. 42r *Mckinzies Scots Measure* Violin: Playford 1700, no. 2 *Mr McClauklaines Scotch-Measure*	C
101	56v-57r	-	*If loves a sweat pasion* [Henry Purcell]	Cf. no. 32 Flageolet: Clarke 1690, p. 19 *Loue's a sweet passion* Violin: GB-En, 3296, f. 65r *Loves a sweet passion* Day & Murrie 1691; Simpson, pp. xiv, 359-361; Z629/17	C
102	57r	-	*Great ware*		C
103	57v	-	*This Consenting maid*		B
104	58r	-	*Cathorne hogie*	cf. nos. 28 and 74 Violin: GB-En, 21714, ff. 19v-20r *Cathorin Logie*	B
105	58v	-	*/ The black Cow*		D
106	58v	-	[untitled, incomplete]		C
107	59r	-	[untitled]		C
108	59v	-	*The gellie braes*	cf. 113	C
109	60r	-	*The bonie brookit Lasie blew beneath the eys*	cf. no. 110	C
110	60v	-	*The bonie brooked Lassie*	different tune to no. 109	C
111	60v	-	*A Court minuit / End to the first straine*		C
112	61r	-	*A Jeig*		C

113	61v-62r	-	*Jollie Breez* [John Eccles]	cf. no. 108; Violin: GB-En, 21716, p. 53 *Jolly Breeze*; Playford 1701b, pp. 284-285 *The Jolly Brees* Recorder: GB-En, 2833, p. 22 *The Jolly Breise* Day & Murrie 1880	C
114	62r	-	*A new minuit*		C
115	62v	-	*Caladonia Phillis*		C
116	62v-63r	-	*The following Jeig*		C
117	63r	-	*Minuit*		C
118	63v	-	*Johnie is the blythest Lad*	Violin: cf. GB-En, 21719, f. 33r *Jockie Was the Blythest Lad*	C
119	63v-64r	-	*The enuchs fairweel*		C
120	64r-64v	-	*The Capin Trade*	Lute: GB-En, Acc. 9769, pp. 124-125 *The Caping trade, m^r^ m^c^laughlans way, by mr Beck* Violin: GB-En, 2084, p. 196 *The Caping Trade* cf. Simpson, pp. 523	C
121	64v-65r	-	*Jockie wood me long*		C
122	65r	-	*Queen maries minuit*		C
123	65v	-	*Minuit*		C
	66r	-	[blank staves]		
124	66v-67r	-	*Barrick Johnie*	Violin: GB-En, 3298, ff. 36v-37r *Berrick Johne*	E
125	67v-68r	-	*The I.tallian pastrella*		E
126	68r	-	*Bang the Brockere*		E
127	68v-69r	-	*The scots shechone*	Violin: cf. GB-En, 3298, f. 28r *highland air or A Scots chacune*; GB-En 21714, ff. 14v-15r *the Scots Chaconne*	E
128	69v	-	*I.onthea the Lovlay*	Day & Murrie 1657	E
129	69v[5]	-	*Yowng Jockie hee was and sandie was his nam*	cf. Sandie and Jockie Lyra viol: GB-Eu, P637, f. 31r *Jockie and Sandie* Violin: GB-En, 2084, p. 205 *Jockie was his name*; GB-NTsa, Sant 1, p. 13 *Sandy and Jockey*	E

[5] Written across ff. 69v and 70r: 'your acount is far to old if it is not pawin the /my my Darlin[g?]'.

				Flageolet: Greeting 1682, sig I3v *77 Sawney and Iockey*; Clarke 1690, p. 4 *Saney and Jockey*	
130	69v-70r	-	*The following / Chickens and Sparrow Grass Grass Gress / & Gress*	cf. different tune to no. 131	E
131	70r	-	*Chickens and sparrow – grass*	cf. no. 130 Violin: GB-En, 3346, p. 49 *Chickens and Sparrow Grass*; GB-NTsa, Sant 1, p. 221 *Chickens and sparrow Grass*	E
132	70v	-	*The Smullichan*		F
-	71r-182r	-	Blank staves - stub of torn out folio between 182-183		-
-	182v	-	'Scale' [inverted, 4 staves of scales in nineteenth-century hand]		?
-	183r-v	-	Index 2 – transcribed in appendix 3		not A
-	-	-	Stub of torn out folio		-

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Duke of Perth By Dav[id] Young' and 'Collection of the Best Highland Reels Written by David Young', for violin and dated 1734.

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Addendum

JOHN H ROBINSON

Since on-line publication of the article 'John Leyden's Lyra Viol Manuscript in Newcastle University Library and George Farquhar Graham's Copy in the National Library of Scotland', Richard Carter communicated to the author that he recognised the incomplete instructions from the Leyden lyra viol manuscript from one of the editions of John Playford's *Musicks Recreation on the Lyra Viol / Lyra Viol*. On inspection of the four known editions of 1652, 1661, 1669 and 1682, it is clear that the incomplete instructions in the Leyden manuscript were copied almost exactly from the final edition of *Musicks Recreation on the Lyra Viol* published in 1582. The following text from Playford 1682 sig. A2v completes the instructions copied by Andrew Adam into the Lyra Viol manuscript:

Instructions for the LYRA-VIOL.

First, The *Lyra-Viol* is strung with six Strings (a figure of which is set in the Title Page) on the neck of which is seven Frets or Stops, to which Frets is assigned seven Letters of the Alphabet, *viz*. b c d e f g h. The first Letter a is the String open. And as there is six Strings on the *Viol*, so the Lessons which are set down for the *Lyra-Viol*, are Prickt or Printed on six Rules or Lines; which Letters being placed on those six Lines, do allude to all the six Strings of the Viol alike.

Example. / The order of the Strings. / First Fret. / Second Fret. / Third Fret. / Fourth Fret. / Fifth Fret. / Sixth Fret. / Seventh Fret.

In this example you see the places of the Letter, as they are assigned to the Stops or Frets on the neck of the *Viol*, and though they here be all of one sort together, in the Lessons you will meet with them mixt with other Letters one under another according to Art, which are called full, which is the striking two, three, or four strings together with one stroke of the Bow, according to the number of Letters so placed.

Also in the Lessons following you will meet with many more Letters than are assigned to the seven Frets or Stops, as i k l m *&c.* above the Frets, [*the Leyden MS begins here:*] and are to be stopt according to exact distances by the judicious Ear of the Performer.

This is also an opportunity to correct an error in the date in the last sentence of the second paragraph on page 18, where 1690 is incorrectly given as the date that John Leyden acquired the William Stirling cantus partbook, when the date was in fact 1790.

Laurence Sterne the Musician

PETER HOLMAN

Laurence Sterne (1713-1768), the author of *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (1759-1767) and *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* (1768), is often regarded as a musical novelist. As we shall see, there are many references to music in Sterne's writing, and Pierre Dubois has argued that in them the autonomous language of music comes into its own when words are unequal to the task of expressing ideas and feelings.[1] Sterne has been claimed as the inventor of the 'musical novel', and *Tristram Shandy* has even been construed as a satire on the *Compendium musicae* by Descartes.[2] The aim of this brief paper, which serves as an introduction to Claire Berget's 'Laurence Sterne, Charles Frederick Abel and the Viol', is rather different: to assemble the evidence for the novelist's activities as a musician. In the process I shall examine the question of whether he really was a bass viol player, as is routinely asserted in the Sterne literature.

Like many eighteenth-century clergymen, Sterne probably learned music while he was at university – in his case at Jesus College, Cambridge between 1733 and 1737.[3] At the time music was seen as something to be encouraged among university students, partly because it was a polite, social activity that could replace excessive drinking. John Green, Bishop of Lincoln, wrote in 1750 that at Cambridge:

> The Money, which by one Part of the University, was formerly spent in midnight Drinkings, to the Ruin of their Health and Constitutions, is now employed in Securing themselves against those Complaints, to which a by [*sic*] *sedentary* and studious Course of Life, they are particularly exposed. And the Expences of the Students, which after the Example of their Leaders, were laid out to much the same Purposes, are now devoted to a different Chanel. A Taste for Musick, modern Languages, and other the [*sic*] polite Entertainments of the Gentleman, have succeeded to Clubs, and *Bacchanalian Routs*.[4]

A Cambridge student, writing in the same year, made much the same point, but thought that the main attraction was the interest of the opposite sex:

> In an University, how much more agreeably is an evening laid out by a select company of friends composing a concert, than in carousing over a bottle, and joining, to say no worse, in an unprofitable conversation? As to the concerts we frequently have in our halls, do they not in some measure contribute, by bringing

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1 P. Dubois, 'Sterne et la musique, ou l'harmonie impossible', *Anglophonia*, 11 (2002), 263-276.

2 W. Freedman, *Laurence Sterne and the Origins of the Musical Novel* (Athens GA, 1978); D.M. Vlock, 'Sterne, Descartes and the Music in *Tristram Shandy*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 38 (1998), 517-536. See also J.C. Leslie, 'Music's Sentimental Role in *Tristram Shandy*', *Papers on Language and Literature* (Winter 2005) <http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3708/is_200501/ai_n11826029>.

3 For Sterne's life, see esp. A.H. Cash, *Laurence Sterne, the Early and Middle Years* (London, 1975); id., *Laurence Sterne, the Later Years* (London, 1986); I.C. Ross, *Laurence Sterne, a Life* (Oxford, 2001). There is an extended discussion of the opportunities for musical education at Oxford and Cambridge in ch. 2 of my forthcoming book, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch*. See also C. Wordsworth, *Social Life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1874), esp. 199-203.

4 [J. Green], *The Academic, or A Disputation on the State of the University of Cambridge* (London, 1750), 22.

> us into company, to the wearing off that rust and moroseness which are too often contracted by a long continuance in college? And though these meetings are frequented by some so entirely on account of the company and conversation, that it has been declared that the concert would have been excellent if there had been no MUSICK in it, yet in general we shall find it otherwise. In these were abolish'd, what a mortification would many of our smart *fellow-commoners* undergo, to be deprived of the pleasure of presenting tickets to the ladies, and ushering them into the hall! Add to this, that the banishment of MUSICK from our rooms must necessarily be attended with the expulsion of the *harpsichord*, no inconsiderable part of our furniture. Not to mention the number of ingenious artists, that must by this means be reduc'd to a scanty subsistence, and that TIREMAN and RANDAL must then only rely on the organs of *Trinity* and *King's-College* chapels.
>
> As to FIDDLING in particular, for my part I see no absurdity in attracting the eyes of the fair by displaying a white hand, a ring, a ruffle, or a sleeve to advantage. Nor could any one, I imagine, blame the performer, nor could he himself be displeas'd with his art, if he was so successful as to *fiddle* himself into a good fortune. This would sufficiently recompence all the pains he took in learning it; and, whatever the rigid and austere may think, the approbation of the ladies is no small spur to a proficiency in this and many other sciences.[5]

William Tireman (d. 1777) and John Randall (1717-1799), organists of Trinity College and King's College respectively, were presumably the leading music teachers in Cambridge at the time.[6]

There does not seem to be any direct evidence of Sterne's musical activities in Cambridge, though he remembered in his memoirs that 'Books, painting, fiddling, and shooting' were his amusements when he was an obscure Yorkshire clergyman in the 1740s and 50s.[7] He is known to have borrowed some collections of sonatas and concertos from the music collection in York Minster Library at this period; they can be identified as Albicastro's *Sonate da camera à tre*, op. 8 (Amsterdam, 1704/5), *Sonate à tre*, op. 7 (Amsterdam, 1706) by the Bergamasque composer Carlo Antonio Marino, and the two sets of Walsh reprints of Vivaldi's *L'estro armonico*, op. 3 (Amsterdam, 1712), *Vivaldi's most Celebrated Concertos in all their Parts* (London, 1715), and *The Second Part of Vivaldi's most Celebrated Concertos in all their Parts* (London, 1717).[8]

The fact that Sterne borrowed violin trio sonatas and concerti grossi from York Minster Library suggests that he was a violinist, and there is confirmation of this in an anecdote told to William Hazlitt by a Dr Marriot. It has him leaving his daughter Lydia (b. 1747) in the middle of an epileptic fit because he was 'engaged to play the first fiddle at York that night' –

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[5] *The Student, or The Oxford and Cambridge Monthly Miscellany* (Oxford, 1750-1), i. 131-132.

[6] For Tireman and Randall, see W. Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538* (Oxford, 1991), 358-359, 363, 367-368; C. Hogwood, 'John Randall', *GMO* (accessed 22 November 2008).

[7] *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. L.P. Curtis (Oxford, 1935), 4.

[8] E. Brunskill, *Eighteenth-Century Reading: some Notes on the People who Frequented the Library of York Minster in the Eighteenth Century, and on the Books they Borrowed* (York, 1950); *A Catalogue of the Printed Music Published before 1850 in York Minster Library*, comp. D. Griffiths (York, 1977), xv; nos. 4, 221, 304, 305. See RISM A/I A 694, M 695, V 2204, V 2206.

probably in the music club that met at the George in Coney Street.[9] Several references in *Tristram Shandy* suggest that he had an intimate working knowledge of the violin and its repertory. In vol. 1, ch. 8 Tristram describes himself as 'both fiddler and painter',[10] while an unfinished poem written by James Boswell in 1760 also describes Sterne as a violinist and an artist:

> He had of Books a chosen few,
> He read as Humour bid him do;
> If Metaphisics seem'd too dark,
> Shifted to Gay from Dr Clark;
> If in the least it hurt his eyes,
> He instantaneously would rise,
> Take up his violin and play –
> His Pencil next, and sketch away.[11]

In vol. 3, ch. 5 of *Tristram Shandy* Tristram's angry father is likened to 'the sixth of Avison Scarlatti – *con furia* – like mad', a reference to the celebrated movement in the sixth of Charles Avison's concerto grosso arrangements of Domenico Scarlatti harpsichord sonatas, published in 1744.[12] These concertos, like those in Vivaldi's *L'estro armonico*, were part of the English repertory of string concertos, which was developed for the orchestras run by English music clubs (such as the one at York), and remained the mainstay of their repertory for most of the eighteenth century.[13] In vol. 5, ch. 15 Sterne provides an extraordinary evocation in words of the process of tuning a violin, clearly written by someone with a knowledge of the instrument:

> Ptr..rr..ing – twing – twang – prut – trut — 'tis a cursed bad fiddle. – Do you know whether my fiddle's in tune or no? – trut..prut.. – They should be *fifths*. — 'Tis wickedly strung – tr…a.e.i.o.u.-twang. – The bridge is a mile too high, and the sound-post absolutely down, – else – trut .. prut – hark! 'tis not so bad a tone. – Diddle diddle, diddle diddle, diddle diddle, dum.[14]

'Twing', 'twang', 'prut' and 'trut' presumably represent the violin being tuned *pizzicato*, while 'diddle, diddle' represents it being bowed. Later in the same passage Sterne refers to 'my

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[9] *The Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature*, iii (July 1808), 376-377; D. Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality: a History of Institutional Music Making in York c.1550-1990* (York, [1990]), 105.

[10] L Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, ed. I.C. Ross (Oxford, 1983; repr. 1998, 2000), 12.

[11] F.A. Pottle, 'Bozzy and Yorick', *Blackwood's Magazine*, 313 (1925), 297-313, quoted in Cash, *Laurence Sterne, the Early and Middle Years*, 196-197.

[12] Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, ed. Ross, 129. The collection was published as C. Avison, *Twelve Concerto's in Seven Parts for Four Violins, One Alto Viola, a Violoncello, & a Thorough Bass, Done from Two Books of Lessons for the Harpsicord Compos'd by Sig. Domenico Scarlatti, with Additional Slow Movements from Manuscript Solo Pieces, by the same Author* (London, 1744); RISM A/I S 1194.

[13] For music clubs, see esp. M. Tilmouth, 'The Beginnings of Provincial Concert Life in England', *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, ed. C. Hogwood and R. Luckett (Cambridge, 1983), 1-17; J. Burchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts? Concert Management and Orchestral Repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester, and Newcastle, 1730-1799* (New York, 1996); B. Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2006). See also P. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford, 1989), esp. 121-127, 332-335; P. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800, the Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2000), esp. 42, 62-63, 79-80. For the York music club, see Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, esp. 103-120.

[14] Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, ed. Ross, 297.

Cremona' – a common contemporary English way of referring to violins made by Stradivarius and his contemporaries in the Italian city.

The evidence that Sterne was a bass viol player is more ambiguous. His *alter ego* Yorick exclaims in *A Sentimental Journey* 'Why, I play a bass myself',[15] and it is likely that he played the violoncello because in 1757 he sold a copy of Salvatore Lanzetti's *VI Solos for Two Violoncellos with a Thorough Bass* (1737) to the Staffordshire landowner Samuel Hellier, who inscribed it 'Lanzetti's Solos bought of the so much cellebrated Mr Sterne, Prebendary of York and author of Tristram Shandy & Garricks Sermons &c'; it is now in the Music Library, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham.[16] As already mentioned, it is routinely said in the literature that Sterne played the viola da gamba, but the only references I have been able to find are to the 'bass viol' – which at this period does not necessarily mean the viola da gamba. According to an anecdote, given without a source in an early twentieth-century biography of Sterne, he 'performed on the bass-viol to his friends; and his wife, who "had a fine voice and a good taste in music," sometimes contributed to the entertainment by accompanying her husband on his favourite instrument'.[17] Lydia Sterne mentioned 'a Bass viol' valued at six guineas in an undated letter written after her father's death; Sterne died in London on 18 March 1768 and the instrument was evidently found among his possessions.[18]

The problem with this is that after about 1720 'bass viol' was often used to mean some sort of violoncello or bass violin; the six- or seven-string fretted instrument began to be referred to as *viola da gamba*, or some Anglicised variant such as 'viol di gambo'. A good example of this usage is in Joshua Steele's *Prosodia rationalis*, an attempt to use musical symbols to notate speech rhythms and pitches.[19] He suggested the use of a 'bass viol' to fix pitches, but gave it four strings (the lowest *C*) and later referred to as a 'violincello'. An illustration shows a cello-like neck with the sloping shoulders of a viol (Illus. 1). It is unlikely that when Viscount Percival mentioned 'bass viols' among the performers of his private concerts in London in the early 1730s he really meant gamba players. The groups seem to have been small orchestras with multiple violins in which the 'bass viols' played the bass part with a harpsichord and double bass. On one occasion, 9 March 1732/3, a Messrs. Payne and Withrington were listed as 'on the bass viol', while on 15 February 1733/4 they were listed as playing the violoncello with the Italian cellist Andrea Caporale.[20]

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15 Id., *A Sentimental Journey and other Writings*, ed. I. Jack and T. Parnell (Oxford, 2003), 27.

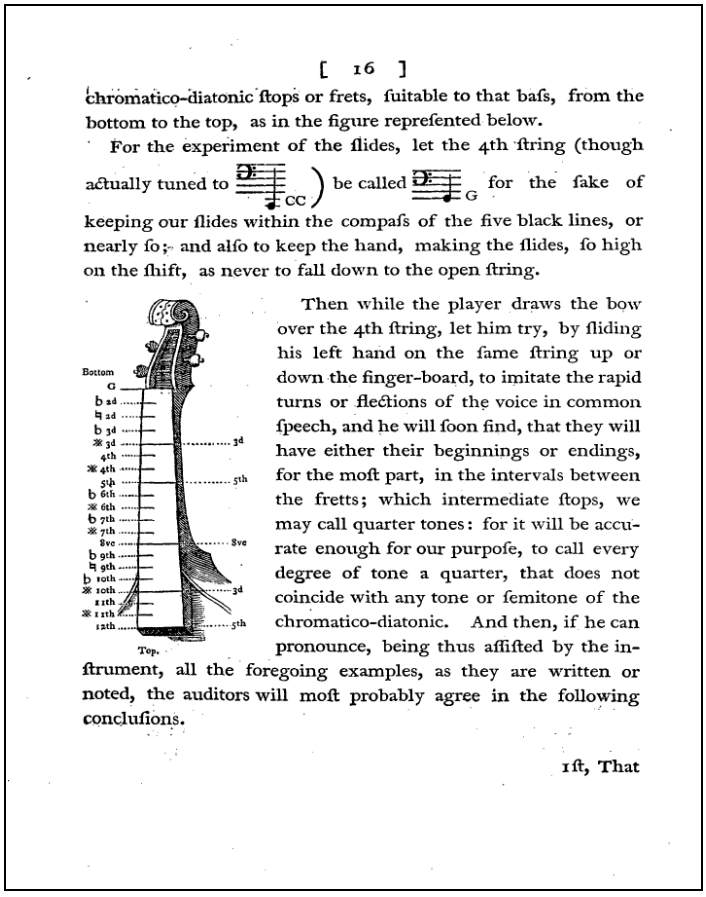
16 *A Catalogue of the Shaw-Hellier Collection in the Music Library, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, The University of Birmingham*, comp. I. Ledsham (Aldershot, 1999), 155. See also P. Young, 'The Shaw-Hellier Collection', *Handel Collections and their History*, ed. T. Best (Oxford, 1993), 158-170, at 160-161; L. Lindgren, 'Italian Violoncellists and some Violoncello Solos Published in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. D.W. Jones (Aldershot, 2000), 121-157, at 150-151; RISM A/I L 641.

17 W.L. Cross, *The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne* (New Haven, 3/1929), 67.

18 *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. Curtis, 441.

19 J. Steele, *Prosodia Rationalis, or An Essay towards Establishing the Melody and Measure of Speech, to be Expressed and Perpetuated by Peculiar Symbols* (London, 2/1779), esp. 16, 37; RISM B/VI^2, 805. I am grateful to Simon Hill for drawing this work to my attention. For Steele, see J.C. Kassler, *The Science of Music in Britain, 1714-1830, a Catalogue of Writings, Lectures and Inventions* (New York, 1979), ii. 974-978; id., 'Joshua Steele', *GMO* (accessed 22 November 2008); L. Gragg, 'Joshua Steele', *ODNB* (accessed 22 November 2008).

20 *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont: Diary of Viscount Percival afterwards First Earl of Egmont*, ed. R.A. Roberts, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 3 vols. (London, 1920, 1923), i. 342; ii. 30.



[16]

chromatico-diatonic ſtops or frets, ſuitable to that baſs, from the bottom to the top, as in the figure repreſented below.

For the experiment of the ſlides, let the 4th ſtring (though actually tuned to CC) be called G for the ſake of keeping our ſlides within the compaſs of the five black lines, or nearly ſo; and alſo to keep the hand, making the ſlides, ſo high on the ſhift, as never to fall down to the open ſtring.

Then while the player draws the bow over the 4th ſtring, let him try, by ſliding his left hand on the ſame ſtring up or down the finger-board, to imitate the rapid turns or flections of the voice in common ſpeech, and he will ſoon find, that they will have either their beginnings or endings, for the moſt part, in the intervals between the fretts; which intermediate ſtops, we may call quarter tones: for it will be accurate enough for our purpoſe, to call every degree of tone a quarter, that does not coincide with any tone or ſemitone of the chromatico-diatonic. And then, if he can pronounce, being thus aſſiſted by the inſtrument, all the foregoing examples, as they are written or noted, the auditors will moſt probably agree in the following concluſions.

1ſt, That

Illus. 1: Joshua Steele, *Prosodia rationalis* (London, 2/1779), 16.

The cellist Robert Inchbald was referred to as 'With fingers large and fat / On his bass viol strums away' in a verse description of the Holywell Music Room band in Oxford in the early 1790s.[21] There is no other evidence that Inchbald played the gamba, and even if he did, it is unlikely that he would have used it in that type of ensemble. In a letter dated 5 December 1789 the American inventor and statesman Benjamin Franklin wrote to a friend in London requesting 'one of those little Books that teach to tune and play upon the Instrument called *Viol de Gambo*; which is about the Size of a Bass Viol, but is not the same, this having *Six Strings* – the implication being that by then 'bass viol' was the normal term for the violoncello.[22] In general, it seems that the further the writer was from elite musical circles the more likely he or she was to use 'bass viol' to mean a violoncello. There are hundreds of references of this sort in parish church documents between the middle of the eighteenth century and the end of the nineteenth century, most if not all of which appear to refer to violoncello-like instruments.[23]

[21] *Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men, 1559-1850*, ed. L.M. Quiller Couch, Oxford Historical Society, 22 (Oxford, 1892), 197. For Inchbald, see J. Doane, *A Musical Directory for the Year 1794* (London, 1794; repr. 1993), 36; J.H. Mee, *The Oldest Music Room in Europe: a Record of Eighteenth-Century Enterprise at Oxford* (London, 1911), 120, 121, 130.

[22] Unpublished letter; see *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* <www.franklinpapers.org>.

[23] E. Halfpenny, 'The Berkswell Cello', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 37 (1984), 2-5; B. Neece, 'The Cello in Britain: a Technical and Social History', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 56 (2003), 77-115, at 87-88, 95-97. See also N.

Nevertheless, it is possible that Sterne's 'bass viol' was a gamba. He certainly had connections with known gamba players. During his period of fame in the 1760s he had access to exclusive concerts in London, including the series run by Charles Frederick Abel and John Christian Bach for Theresa Cornelys at Carlisle House in Soho Square.[24] On 16 January 1767 he wrote to Lord Fauconberg, the patron of his living at Coxwold in Yorkshire, that 'last night…the [Bach-Abel] concert at Soho [was] top full – & was (This is for the Ladies) the best assembly, and the best Concert I ever had the honour to be at'.[25] Sterne is not known to have studied with Abel, nor to have had any personal contact with him, though they moved in the same circles. A fascinating conversation group painted by John Hamilton Mortimer in the late 1760s includes Sterne and the composer Thomas Arne, as well as, apparently, the artists Giovanni Battista Cipriani and Francesco Bartolozzi, who were close friends of Bach and Abel.[26] Bartolozzi engraved Cipriani's design for a ticket for the Bach-Abel concerts and Carlini's 1782 portrait of J.C. Bach, and in his *Reminiscences* Henry Angelo singled out Cipriani, Bartolozzi, Bach and Abel as frequent guests of his father Domenico (1717-1802), a fashionable fencing master:[27]

> Well do I remember the delightful evenings which for years were frequent under my paternal roof, when they [Bach and Abel], with Bartolozzi and Cipriani, formed a little friendly party, and amused themselves with drawing, music, and conversation, until long after midnight.[28]

Cipriani, Bartolozzi, Abel and Bach were members of the same Masonic lodge in London, the Nine Muses; it was founded on 14 January 1777, and they joined it on 23 January 1777, 13 February 1777, 13 February 1778 and 15 June 1778 respectively.[29]

Abel and Sterne were thought of as leading exponents in their own fields of sensibility – the cult of sincere and direct emotion that was at its height in the 1760s. In a spurious letter on sensibility published by William Combe, Sterne is made say that 'there is an aimable kind of cullibility, which is as superior to the slow precaution of worldly wisdom, as the sound of *Abel's Viol di Gamba*, to the braying of an ass on the other side of my paling'.[30] One of Abel's obituaries states: 'The death of Abel occasions a great loss to the musical world. Sensibility is

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Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1979), i. 149; S.J. Weston, 'The Instrumentation and Music of the Church Choir-Band in Eastern England, with Particular Reference to Northamptonshire, during the late Eighteenth Century and early Nineteenth Centuries', Ph.D. thesis (U. of Leicester, 1995), 76-80, 285-348; H. Davidson, *Choirs, Bands and Organs: a History of Church Music in Northamptonshire and Rutland* (Oxford, 2003), 9-18, 61-191; Holman, *Life after Death*, ch. 2. Many unpublished references in parish church sources can be located by searching for 'viol' in *Access to Archives* <a2a.org.uk>.

[24] For Cornelys, see esp. J. Summers, *The Empress of Pleasure: the Life and Adventures of Teresa Cornelys, Queen of Masquerades and Casanova's Lover* (London, 2003). For Abel's concert activities, see esp. P. Holman, '"A Solo on the Viola da Gamba": Carl Friedrich Abel as a Performer', *Ad Parnassum*, 2/4 (October 2004), 45-71; id., *Life after Death*, ch. 5.

[25] *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. Curtis, 296.

[26] Illustrated and discussed in Cash, *Laurence Sterne: the Later Years*, 365-372.

[27] J.T.H. Baily, *Francesco Bartolozzi R.A.: a Biographical Essay … with a Catalogue of the Principal Prints and a Six Years' Record of Auction Prices* (London, 1907), 57, 58.

[28] *Reminiscences of Henry Angelo, with Memoirs of his late Father and Friends*, 2 vols. (London, 1828, 1830), i. 17-20. For the Angelos, see M. Fare, 'Domenico Angelo' [*formerly* Angiolo Domenico Maria Tremamondo]', *ODNB* (accessed 22 November 2008).

[29] S. McVeigh, 'Freemasonry and Musical Life in London in the Late Eighteenth Century', *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Jones, 72-100, at 94.

[30] *Original Letters of the late Reverend Mr Laurence Sterne, never before Published* (London, 1788), 109-114. It is not accepted as genuine in *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. Curtis. For Combe and his forgeries, see esp. ibid., 251-252.

the prevailing and beautiful characteristic of his compositions. – He was the *Sterne* of *Music*. – The one *wrote*, and the other *composed* to the *soul*'.[31] As we shall see in Claire Berget's paper, we get a fascinating glimpse in another of Abel's obituaries of him improvising a musical version on the gamba of one of Sterne's most touching expressions of sensibility, the famous deathbed scene of Lieutenant Le Fever in *Tristram Shandy*, vol. 6, ch. 6-10 as a subject, bringing 'Tears into the Eyes of his Hearers'.[32] It is interesting that Sterne dedicated The Story of Le Fever to another gamba player, Margaret Georgiana, Countess Spencer (1737-1814).[33] He is known to have stayed with her and her husband at Wimbledon Park.[34] All in all, it is likely that Sterne's 'bass viol' was a gamba.

Sterne's letters also contain a good deal of information about his wider musical interests. On 8 March 1760 we find him reporting from London to the singer Catherine Fourmantel in York that he was going to a performance of Handel's *Messiah* at the Great Music Room in Dean Street, Soho that night.[35] He had met Fourmantel the previous year in York, where she was singing at the Assembly Rooms, and had an affair with her lasting several years.[36] She sang at Ranelagh Gardens in London in 1759 and 1760, and Sterne wrote the words of a duet for her, 'How imperfect the joys of the soul', set to music by Joseph Baildon and published in 1760.[37] In other letters we glimpse him attending a private concert in 1760 where the Duke of York performed, probably on the violin,[38] and attending on 8 January 1767 a command performance at Drury Lane for George III of Michael Arne's opera *Cymon*, a setting of a libretto by David Garrick.[39]

Sterne also commented on music during his travels to France and Italy. The *opera comique* and and 'Mons. P****'s concerts' in Paris are mentioned in *A Sentimental Journey*, as are Giovanni Battista Sammartini's famous concerts in Milan.[40] On 17 March 1762 he gave an account of his Parisian musical experiences in a letter to his wife in York, which reveals the identity of 'Mons. P****':

> I was last night at Baron de Bagg's concert; it was very fine, both music and company; and to-night I go to the Prince of Contis. There is a Monsieur Popelinière, who lives here like a sovereign prince; keeps a company of musicians

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31 *The Daily Universal Register*, 23 June 1787.

32 *St James's Chronicle*, 28-30 June 1787; Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, ed. Ross, 334-343.

33 Cash, *Laurence Sterne, the Later Years*, 108-109; Ross, *Laurence Sterne*, 268-269.

34 For Countess Spencer, see *Letters of David Garrick and Georgiana, Countess Spencer, 1759-1779*, ed. A.E. Spencer and C. Dobson, Roxburghe Club, 226 (1960), xiv-xviii; G.W. Stone jr. and G.M. Kahrl, *David Garrick, a Critical Biography* (Carbondale IL, 1979), esp. 439-446; J. Friedman, *Spencer House: Chronicle of a Great London Mansion* (London, 1993), esp. 51-63, 198-203. For her musical activities, see Holman, *Life after Death*, ch. 7.

35 *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. Curtis, 96-98.

36 Cash, *Laurence Sterne, the Later Years*, 47-52. See also *The Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. Curtis, esp. 82, 465; 'Catherine Fourmantel', *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, ed. P. H. Highfill jr., K. A. Burnim and E. A. Langhans, 16 vols. (Carbondale and Edwardsville IL, 1973-1993), v. 376-377.

37 Cash, *Laurence Sterne, the Later Years*, 51-52; *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. Curtis, 106. The song appeared in J. Baildon, *A Collection of New Songs Sung by Mr. Beard, Miss Stevenson & Miss Formantel at Ranelagh* (London, 1760); RISM A/I B 652. It was advertised in *The Public Advertiser*, 30 August 1760.

38 *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. Curtis, 110-112. For the Duke of York as a musician, see J.H. Jesse, *George Selwin and his Contemporaries* (London, 1843-4), ii. 194-200.

39 *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. Curtis, 295-296. For *Cymon*, see R. Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2/1986), 347.

40 Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey and other Writings*, ed. Jack and Parnell, 42, 47-52, 92.

> always in his house, and a full set of players; and gives concerts and plays alternately to the grandees of this metropolis; he is the richest of all the farmer[s general]; he did me the honour last night to send me an invitation to his house, while I stayed here – that is, to his music and table.[41]

Baron de Bagge (1722-1791) was a wealthy amateur violinist and composer who ran a concert series on Fridays,[42] while the *fermier général* Alexandre-Jean-Joseph Le Riche de la Pouplinière (1693-1762) also ran concerts and was a patron of many musicians, including Rameau, Johann Stamitz and Gossec.[43] In another letter, written from Toulouse on 17 December 1762, Sterne told Robert Foley that 'We begin to live extremely happy, and are all together every night – fiddling, laughing and singing, and cracking jokes'; he mentioned 'a company of English strollers' who had arrived in the city, evidently stimulating the expatriate community to put on English comedies, including Susanna Centlivre's *The Busybody* (1709) 'with a grand orchestra'.[44]

A frequent topic in Sterne's later letters is the provision of instruments for his daughter Lydia. On 15 May 1764 he wrote to her from Paris that he had sent her 'a guittar' – by which he presumably meant the ten-string metal-strung English guitar, a relative of the various types of German cittern; it was at the height of its popularity among upper-class women in Britain in the 1760s.[45] The following year he described Lydia as having 'many accomplishments, speaks Italian, French, plays upon the guittar', while on 23 February 1767 he promised her: 'I will order you a guittar since the other is broke'.[46] However, a few days later he wrote to his banker in Paris, Isaac Panchaud, asking him to acquire a gut-strung guitar rather than the metal-strung English type:

> my daughter begs a present of me – 'tis a Guittar – it must be strung with cat gut & of 5 Cords – si chiama in Italiano, ["]La Chitera di cinque corde" – She cannot get such a Thing at Merseilles – at Paris one may have every thing – would you be so good to my Girl as to make her happy in this affaire, by getting some musical Body to buy one, & send it to her to Avignon directed to Mons^{r} Teste.[47]

By the 'La Chitera di cinque corde' Sterne seems to have meant an adaptation of the Baroque guitar with five single gut strings rather than the normal five courses or pairs of strings. It was popular among Italian guitarists in the late eighteenth century, and was described in print by Giacomo Merchi in his *Traité des agrémens de la musique* (Paris, 1777).[48]

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41 *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. Curtis, 154-156.

42 R.J.V. Cotte, 'Baron de Bagge [Bach] [Charles-Ernest Ennal]', *GMO* (accessed 22 November 2008).

43 M. Cyr, 'Alexandre-Jean-Joseph Le Riche de La Pouplinière [La Popelinière]', *GMO* (accessed 22 November 2008).

44 *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. Curtis, 190-191.

45 Ibid., 212-213. For the English guitar, see P. Coggin, 'An Easy and Agreeable Instrument: a History of the English Guitar', BA diss. (Colchester Institute, 1985), partially published in *Early Music*, 15 (1987), 204-218; S. Walsh, 'Was the English Guitar a Guitar or a Cittern?', *FoMRHI Quarterly*, 47 (1987), 43-47, comm. 798; R. MacKillop, 'The Guitar, Cittern and Guittar in Scotland: an Historical Introduction up to 1800', *Gitarre und Zister: Bauweise, Spieltechnik und Geschichte bis 1800*, ed. M. Lustig (Michaelstein, 2004), 121-153; G. Doc Rossi, 'Citterns and Guitars in Colonial America', ibid., 155-168; R. Spencer and I. Harwood, 'English Guitar', *GMO* (accessed 22 November 2008).

46 *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. Curtis, 256-257, 301-303.

47 Ibid., 303-304.

48 See J. Tyler and P. Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford, 2002), esp. 218, 220, 223, 225, 243-244, 282.

The new type of Spanish guitar (the ancestor of the modern instrument), was just beginning to be introduced to England and France at the time, though it had six single strings rather than five.

Sterne's last letter on a musical subject concerns Elizabeth Draper, the wife of a government official in Bombay, rather than his daughter.[49] He fell in love with Draper in January 1767, and in March he wrote to her from London while she was on board ship to India, returning to her husband:

> I have been with Zumps; and first your piano forté must be tuned from the brass middle string of your guittar, which is C. – I have got you a hammer too, and a pair of plyers to twist your wire with; and may every one of them, my dear, vibrate sweet comfort to thy hopes![50]

'Zumps' is the German instrument maker Johann Zumpe, who set up shop in London in 1761 and was particularly famous for his small square pianos; Elizabeth had presumably acquired one and was taking it back to India with her.[51] The English guitar normally had six courses tuned *c-e-g-c′-e′-g′*, with the three lowest courses single and the upper four double, making ten strings in all. By 'the brass middle string' Sterne presumably meant the fourth course (from the bottom), tuned to middle C, though it seems a strange idea to tune a piano from an English guitar rather than the other way round, since the former would have gone out of tune much more quickly than the latter. The lack of instrument makers or suitably qualified technicians in India combined with the severe climate meant that English ladies out there often had to learn to tune keyboard instruments themselves and do their own basic maintenance.[52] That it why Sterne provided Elizabeth with a hammer and a pair of pliers. The former was the tuning key for the instrument, sometimes still called 'tuning hammer', while the latter would have been needed when replacing a string to twist the end of the wire into a loop, thus enabling it to be secured on the hitch pin.

We can now see that Sterne was an informed and accomplished musician. He played the violin, the violoncello and, probably, the bass viol, and knew enough about guitars and pianofortes to buy instruments and accessories for others. During his period of fame during the 1760s he was an enthusiastic concertgoer, and seems to have had access to some of the most exclusive private and public London concerts. Perhaps his most interesting musical connection was with Charles Frederick Abel: Sterne thought one of the Bach-Abel concerts 'the best Concert I ever had the honour to be at', Abel repaid the compliment by improvising on the subject of the Story of Le Fever from *Tristram Shandy*, and both were thought to be the leading exponents in their own fields of the cult of sensibility.

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[49] For Sterne's relationship with Draper, see esp. Cash, *Laurence Sterne, the Later Years*, 270-304.

[50] *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. Curtis, 310-311.

[51] For Zumpe, see esp. M.N. Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700-1820* (Oxford, 2/1995), 329-334; M. Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era* (Oxford, 1998), 51-68; M. Cramner, 'Johannes Zumpe', *GMO* (accessed 26 October 2008).

[52] See esp. I. Woodfield, *Music of the Raj: a Social and Economic History of Music in Late Eighteenth-Century Anglo-Indian Society* (Oxford, 2000), 76-82.

Laurence Sterne, Charles Frederick Abel and the Viol

CLAIRE BERGET

All of Laurence Sterne's biographers describe Sterne as a keen gamba player. However, a close examination of his complete works, and in particular his private letters, yield somewhat scarce references to the viola da gamba. His conception of music in general must have been influenced by this personal practice of his, which in itself was rather singular at the time. Only a few amateurs kept practising the instrument, and, apart from Abel, professional gamba players did not have any wide media exposure. Sterne did not specifically make a case for ancient music: this may be because he did not think that it was threatened (and after all, the Academy of Ancient Music was very popular in the 1760s), or he may also have used it as a discreet ideological means to promote a social ideal. Sterne's works do not compare in any way with the desperate attempts of a work such as Hubert Le Blanc's *Défence de la basse de viole contre les entreprises du violon et les prétensions du violoncel* (Amsterdam, 1740).

Sterne's Writings and the Viola da Gamba

What echoes can we find between the literary works of Laurence Sterne and his practice of playing the gamba? On a literary level, many stylistic devices correspond to gamba techniques. The first striking thing for us readers of *Tristram Shandy*, because it is the most obvious as well, is the use of constant temporal ruptures. For Sterne, diegetic time (the time of the narration) and chronological time (time as it logically unfolds) are constantly disjoined. The usual distinctions between past, present and future are blurred, so that the narration illustrates with accuracy the fragmentary nature of thought. On a more general level, such a lack of hierarchy seems to suggest that the author and the narrator do not presume that one stratum of time is more deserving of interest than another, or should be put forward. In other words, the aim of narration is not to reach the end of the story, but rather to explore all the possibilities that stem from it. The (chronological) progress of the novel is not the only aim of writing. The art of the novelist is to play with the expectations of the reader, by deferring the expected *topoi*, such as the famous birth of Tristram, through a compulsive use of digressions. As the novel unfolds the reader is compelled to accept this new rule, and to start looking both forward and backward. Such a conception of diegesis, I would like to contend, is inseparable from Sterne's conception of history, and that may help us shed some light on his practice of playing the gamba.

As far as he is concerned, the past is not necessarily a period less evolved than the present, nor does he try to criticise or make light of it. Such a conception of history is coterminous with an aesthetic conception which puts an emphasis on music as an expressive tool. Musical techniques, for both playing and composing, abound throughout Tristram Shandy, as was shown by William Freedman.[1] Music occupies a determining place in the novel: it works as a theme which structures and organises the digressions of the diegesis, and also carries a strong symbolic impact. I will not demonstrate this at length, but the references to the

[1] W. Freedman, *Laurence Sterne and the Origins of the Musical Novel* (Athens GA, 1978).

gamba deserve a closer look. Sterne's writing is polyphonic, and is built as a series of 'divisions' stemming from a central theme. It also demonstrates a great mastery of improvisational techniques specific to the viol. As Freedman reminds us:

> Since improvisation (often on a very rudimentary score) was amongst the gambist's principal tasks, every player was expected at the same time to be at least one part composer; and if he was to function at all – not necessarily brilliantly, but minimally – he required some knowledge of division and other improvisational techniques, of chordal and melodic relationships, of harmony and tonality, cadential formuli, and so on.[2]

The interesting feature here is not so much the virtuoso aspect as the fact that Sterne excels in those stylistic techniques without it being gratuitous. The art of literary division (also known as *metalepsis*) is not a way to reduce Sterne's readership to a deserving few who would be able to understand its subtleties. Rather, it is a playful and inclusive device in which the narrative hierarchy is upset to the benefit of the inventiveness of the diegesis. Sterne is not trying to seduce an elitist public – the rather Rabelaisian content convinces us otherwise! The idiosyncratic qualities of gamba music and its practice are thus subservient to a kind of literature that opens out to the reader.

To come back to the symbolic function of music in Sterne's writings, one may observe that nearly every time music appears it provides a visual and acoustic clue to the author's conception of the human condition, whether of man as individual or of man in his dealings with his fellow men. Music therefore becomes an almost geographical feature in that it allows man to locate himself, to find his place in society:

> I believe, Mons. le Compte, said I, that man has a certain compass, as well as an instrument; and that the social and other calls have occasion by turns for every key in him; so that if you begin a note too high or too low, there must be a want either in the upper or under part, to fill up the system of harmony. – The Count de B**** did not understand music, so desired me to explain it some other way.[3]

The compass is here put next to the musical instrument, thus making a connection which emphasises Yorick's demonstration that French people are too polite, and have thereby lost some of their humanity. The musical and geographical metaphor may not be understood correctly by the count, which only points to his loss of sensitivity, but it still allows Sterne to develop a musical conception of the human being interacting with society in the way an orchestra would tune. What matters for Sterne is that one should be in agreement with oneself, literally to 'be in tune with oneself', as Tristram writes. The instrumental metaphor works on a double level, social on the one hand and ethical on the other. Music permeates all the social classes, from the Versailles aristocrats to the peasants from the Bourbonnais region. It acts, as we are going to see, as a leveller.

The episode of the *hôtel particulier*, in which La Fleur makes an entire household dance together, is representative of this quest for common harmony.

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[2] Ibid., 16.

[3] L. Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey and other Writings*, ed. I. Jack and T. Parnell (Oxford, 2003), 75.

> La Fleur's *prevenancy* (for there was a passport in his very looks) soon set every servant in the kitchen at ease with him; and as a Frenchman, whatever be his talents, has no sort of prudery in showing them, La Fleur, in less than five minutes, had pulled out his fife, and leading off the dance himself with the first note, set the *fille de chambre*, the *maitre d'hotel*, the cook, the scullion, and all the household, dogs and cats, besides an old monkey, a-dancing: I suppose there never was a merrier kitchen since the flood.[4]

The gradation of the persons entering the round does not follow any hierarchical pattern. The maître d'hôtel finds himself dancing with the maid and the scullion; the household and the animals are put on the same plane. The scene is not revolutionary in character; but clearly its aim is to point to the social symbiosis. Also, in the following passage enthusiasm is essential: the announced duets of La Fleur and his master's may never be represented as such within the novel, but their possibility is not excluded either:

> But you can do something else, La Fleur? said I — *O qu'oui!* – he could make spatterdashes, and play a little upon the fiddle – Bravo! said Wisdome – Why, I play a bass myself, said I – we shall do very well.[5]

Music 'tunes' people, it offers a new way of living together. Yorick and the allegory of Wisdom are convinced of the relevance of La Fleur's candidacy when they hear about his musical talents. Furthermore, what Sterne suggests here is a duet between a bass viol and a violin, in other words an alliance not only of social classes in a harmonious concert, but also an alliance of musical traditions, both ancient and modern.

The viola da gamba in Sterne's works is always associated with joy and harmony, be it in his novels, or in his personal writings. In the following letter to Robert Foley, dated 17 December 17 1762, he describes the Advent period – which he spends with his family – in the following terms: 'We begin to live extremely happy, and are all together every night – fiddling, laughing and singing, and cracking jokes'.[6] Everything in that sentence is reminiscent of family joys, and the gamba is precisely at the centre of the family occupations, not as a solo instrument, but as a way of getting people closer together, through singing mostly. This harmony is in fact so central to man that he ceases to be one as soon as he loses this capacity to tune up with other human beings. The character of Maria, who appears in both *Tristram Shandy* and *A Sentimental Journey*, is a conclusive example:

> And is your heart still so warm, Maria? said I.
>
> I touch'd upon the string on which hung all her sorrows – she look'd with wistful disorder for some time in my face; and then, without saying any thing, took her pipe and play'd her service to the Virgin – The string I had touch'd ceased to vibrate – in a moment or two Maria returned to herself – let her pipe fall – and rose up.[7]

The theme of the sympathetic strings as a model of empathy reaches its limits. On the gamba the configuration of the bridge and the sheer number of strings make harmonics

[4] Ibid., 37-38.
[5] Ibid., 27.
[6] *The Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. L.P. Curtis (Oxford, 1935), 190-191.
[7] Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey and other Writings*, ed. Jack and Parnell, 96-97.

inevitable; a sound is thus never unified, but always multiplied in a sonorous halo. Sterne can therefore use it as an efficient analogy for the empathic relationships of human beings in society. Maria is the counterexample of the human capacity to share feelings: her music is directed towards no human being, but towards the Virgin instead. It is a reflexive, interior kind of music which celebrates a communion with God alone. Maria is thus lost to the community because of her sorrow. Music appeases her momentarily, yet fails to restore the contact with other people. Still, hope prevails, even if Yorick's sympathy and goodwill do not 'cure' Maria's symptoms.

The gamba represents sensibility to such an extent in Sterne's writings that when he emphasises its superiority over other sentiments, he naturally turns to Abel, the most prominent gamba player of his time, and considered by many as the last. In the following letter attributed to him he answers a friend who accuses sensibility to make him a dupe and serve him ill:

> I was almost going to write – and wherefore should I not – that there is an amiable kind of *cullibility*, which is as superior to the slow precaution of worldly wisdom, as the sound of *Abel's Viol di Gamba*, to the braying of an ass on the other side of my paling.
>
> If I should, at any time, hear a man pique himself upon never having been a dupe – I should grievously suspect, that such an one will cause to be thought, at best, a mean-spirited dirty rascal. … I should be strongly disposed to hug the being, who would take the rag off his back – to place it on the shivering wretch who has nought to cover him.[8]

Abel's performance is superlative, and analogous to sensibility: no testimony could be more eloquent than that of the high esteem in which Sterne holds Abel. The gamba is right at the heart of the debate on sentiment and the necessity to be charitable, even when this charity may be mixed with gullibility. This letter indicates that the recipient knew Abel, if not in person, at least through his reputation. As far as Sterne himself is concerned, we know he is has heard Abel at his subscription concerts[9], as Williard Connely, one of Sterne's biographers attests:

> The 'society' collected by Mrs Cornelys paid a guinea to hear [Abel] and Bach, each ticket admitting either one gentleman or two ladies …. Her list of subscribers, from the blood royal down, was exclusive to the point of pain; but Sterne, what with his entrée to the Duke of York's house in Pall Mall, found no difficulty.[10]

His own commentary on the concert is highly laudatory. In a letter of 16 January 1767 he described a Bach-Abel concert as 'the best assembly, and the best Concert I ever had the honour to be at'.[11] Again, music and sociability are closely knit.

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[8] *Original Letters of the late Reverend Mr Laurence Sterne, never before Published* (London, 1788), 109-114. The letter is not accepted as genuine in *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. Curtis.

[9] More information on the context of the Bach-Abel concerts can be found in P. Holman, "'A Solo on the Viola da Gamba": Carl Friedrich Abel as a Performer', *Ad Parnassum*, 2/4 (October 2004), 45-71.

[10] W. Connely, *Laurence Sterne as Yorick* (London, 1958), 181.

[11] *The Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed Curtis, 296-298.

The idea of a harmonic vibration uniting men crosses Sterne's writings. Can we thus say that his conception of music is closer to an ancient contrapuntal ideal, in which all voices are equal, rather than to a galant style, in which a voice rises above the others – such as the violin? Not necessarily: Sterne also seems to appreciate Charles Avison's works, himself a violinist and a composer of concerti grossi to which Sterne's refers (favorably) in Tristram Shandy. The polyphonic qualities of the viol, even played as a solo instrument, make it the perfect allegory of a happy society such as Sterne conceived it. Sterne's practice of the viol is not put forward as an idiosyncrasy nor is it an ideological statement. It is in fact a rather 'fluid' social practice. It can be compared to that of many anonymous dilettanti amateurs who practice the gamba in private, family contexts.

The Narrative Viol

Although we have comparatively few testimonies of Laurence Sterne's instrumental practice, or that of Abel's, there exists one decisive point of intersection between the works of those two 'virtuosi'. Traces of it can be found in an obituary of Abel:

> justly admired as he was at his publick Performances, it was a few only of his intimate Friends in private who were Witnesses of his most wonderful musical Powers, to come at which, a Bottle or two of good Burgundy before him, and his Viol di Gambo within his Reach, were necessary. In that Situation his Friends would introduce the Subject of the human Passions, and Abel, not very capable of expressing *in English his own sentiments*, would catch up his Viol Di Gambo, and tell the Story of Lefevre thereon, till he brought Tears into the Eyes of his Hearers, and not lay it down, till he had made his Friend Gainsborough dance a Hornpipe on the Bottom of a Pewter Quart Pot.[12]

The reference to the viola da gamba 'within reach' certainly reminds us of Abel's 1777 portrait by Gainsborough in which Abel is seen composing while his viol rests on his thigh,[13] but it also enlightens us on Abel's social life, and his private, intimate practice of the viol.

Several points need to be underlined in order to understand the role of the gamba at the end of the period more accurately. In the first place, the reference to the tears which Abel makes his listeners shed seems central to me for the following reason. The ability to make people cry is first and foremost the sign that one is able to communicate a feeling with so much truthfulness and intensity that the original feeling is preserved and transmitted in a spirit of sympathy (to be understood here both as compassion and propagation of harmony) reminiscent of the age of sensibility which the end of the eighteenth century incarnates. The Lockean empiric rationalism, which prevails in the first half of the century, is not so close any more, and popular interest shifts chiefly towards spontaneous and individual emotions. This reminds us of Hume's hesitations: as he explains, although our knowledge of people and things can never be objective and predictable, life still has to go on, and society (a good dinner and a game of backgammon, as he puts it) dissipates all those distressing speculations.[14] Tristram Shandy, through the endless questioning of his identity, is a perfect example of this concept of a 'new man'. Sentimentality, a new and soon-to-be popular

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[12] *St James's Chronicle*, 28-30 June 1787, reference provided by Peter Holman.

[13] Henry E. Huntingdon Art Gallery, San Marino, California, inv. 25/19.

[14] D.E. Cooper, *World Philosophies, an Historical Introduction* (Oxford, 2/2003), 265.

concept, is presented by Laurence Sterne as something desirable because it opens an authentic window onto the nature of the individual. On that subject, Roy Porter explains:

> In sentimental narratives the generous man or woman of sensibility would confront the crimes and cruelties of the world – would above all *feel* such evils – and respond with oceans of tears. Treading a *via dolorosa* and armed only with humanity, the hero or heroine would find malice or misfortune lurking everywhere …. The sensibility, or sentimentality, cult thus painted a more sombre scene than that recently envisaged by the more sanguine Spectator: the embattled individual could not count on a happy ending. Yet such trials had their compensations: distress, disappointment and defeat confirmed moral superiority and heightened the piquancy of personal integrity.[15]

Tears must be read as clues to a human nature maintaining a double gaze on others as well as oneself, each enriching the knowledge the individual might have of himself. Instead of blurring vision, they represent in Sterne's writings a medium for the circulation of sympathy, in that they make people who share these tearful moments come closer together. Le Fever's death scene in *Tristram Shandy* is exemplary,[16] and in the same way that the characters listening to the story within the novel cry together, Abel's friends also shed tears and yet quickly forget them, some dancing a hornpipe, others drinking wine and smoking a pipe. Tears of sorrow transform in tears of joy at the sheer thought of the generosity of men which partly corrects the injustices of this world. Thus an ideal of moderation is promoted: sorrow may be legitimate and natural, but it is quickly neutralised and counterbalanced by the joy of living together in harmony, which explains why Uncle Toby subsequently adopts and protects Le Fever's young son.

The choice of the gamba as the instrument which translates this story into music is telling. The viol asserts itself as a single voice, maybe guided by Abel's intention, but still replacing his voice, as if he was incapable of putting his feelings into words. The human voice is powerless, inefficient, and has to be replaced by a different medium, the efficiency of which is never questioned since it manages to make the listeners cry. The viol can take charge of the diegesis, be an efficient vehicle for the meaning of a text, but more importantly for its emotional substance and appeal. The modern viol, through its solo or concertante repertoire, asserts itself as an independent voice, an expressive medium. In short, the viol is to Abel what the pen is to Tristram / Sterne: 'why do I mention it? — Ask my pen, – it governs me, – I govern not it'.[17] Such efficiency is proven cogently by the preserved circulation of the emotion, from the first narrator to the last members of the communication chain, the listeners of Abel's improvisations, in spite of the complexity of the *mise en abîme* pattern. Tristram tells the story of Le Fever as he knows it through the tales of Uncle Toby and Trim; the first evolution of the narration is the passage from an oral medium to a written medium. Then Abel tells the same story, which his friends have prior knowledge of – therefore the story becomes interiorised, it is integrated to a collective conscience – with his gamba; the musical medium retells the same story. Despite the successive accumulation of diegetic levels, the expected result is achieved. The last links of the narrative chain feel the same way as Uncle Toby when he first hears Trim's report of Le Fever's hardships: they cry.

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[15] R. Porter, *Enlightenment* (London, 2000), 285.

[16] L Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, ed. I.C. Ross (Oxford, 1983; repr. 1998, 2000), 334-343.

[17] Ibid., 334.

The viol does not obscure the meaning of the story, it seems that it both communicates and elucidates it.

What Abel plays is not strictly music, that is, a social entertainment; it is the illustration of the ideal of life in society which pervades Sterne's works. As Trim explains to Uncle Toby, 'I had to cry with [Le Fever's son] for company'. Once again, ideological and aesthetic principles are communicated through different media, and yet yield comparable results, in the same way that a painting of Abel by Gainsborough uses aesthetic criteria reminiscent of musical compositions in the galant style. This is particularly obvious in Gainsborough's 1777 portrait of Abel. This picture is a model in terms of balance and harmony: Abel's open expression reinforces the impression that what we are looking at is the pleasing depiction of a man outside the usual formalities of the court. Abel is busy composing, his instrument propped on his thigh, as if available to play a few bars. His other hand rests on a finely wrought golden snuff box. Harmony is figured not only through the organisation of space around two diagonal axes (the drapery is aligned with the dog, and the gamba and Abel's hands make up for the second diagonal), but also through the chromatic choices: although the main tones of the picture are warm, they are subtly softened by a few delicate touches of an icy blue (the lapels of his coat), the silvery shine of the dog's coat, and even the bluish green colouring of the drapery. The picture bathes in the sunlight, which particularly enhances the rich trimmings of the composer's clothes. I am inclined to see this mode of representation as a pictorial translation of the aesthetic principles central to Abel's music. The galant style is indeed governed by imperatives of harmonic balance, but also of intelligibility: the melodic line must never be overwhelmed by the accompanying part. The intrinsic composition of sonatas in three movements – Allegro, then slow, then fast again – also points to a constant concern that balance and moderation should be preserved; we have a pictorial illustration of that preservation here. Although the theory of the sister arts loses a considerable amount of credibility as the eighteenth century unfolds, due to a growing autonomy of instrumental music on the one hand, and the acceptance that music's effect is not merely a consequence of its imitative powers on the other, mimesis does not quite disappear. It only shifts to a superior level and becomes a mimesis of affections rather than of concrete physical objects.

Another clue to the strong link between Abel and Sterne is to be found in another obituary of Abel:

> The death of Abel occasions a great loss to the musical world. Sensibility is the prevailing and beautiful characteristic of his compositions. – He was the *Sterne* of *Music*. – The one *wrote*, and the other *composed* to the *soul*.[18]

The way Abel's music was perceived, by the part of his public which was also fascinated by Sterne's writings, could not be described more plainly, to the extent that it even imitates Sterne's stylistic idiosyncrasies! The ultimate recipient of Abel's music, or of Sterne's writings, is not the reader or the listener but their soul, the organ of sensibility.

A closer look at Abel's way of interpreting musical pieces shows how close to vocal technique it is: it is even characterised by similar physiological features. Charles Burney thus describes his playing technique and how he manages to avoid sterile and artificial virtuosity, to the benefit of a denser emotional content.

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[18] *The Daily Universal Register*, 23 June 1787, reference provided by Peter Holman.

> His manner of playing an *adagio* soon became the model of all our young performers on bowed-instruments: Barthelemon, Cervetto, Cramer, and Crosdill, who may be ranked of his school, were more sparing of notes in a cantabile than, during youth, their great facility of execution would have stimulated them to, if Abel's discretion, taste, and pathetic manner of expressing, I had almost said of *breathing*, a few notes, had not kept them in order.[19]

The expression and the voice are tightly bound in this description, although Burney refers to an instrumental piece (a 'cantabile', it may be granted). A powerful shortcut is made when he refers to Abel's way of 'breathing' the notes. He masters the viol so well that it replaces the voice. And it does not come as a surprise that Abel composed very little for the voice: we only have the compulsory catch required for the admission to the Catch Club and two arias, for a pasticcio by Galuppi, and for *Tom Jones*, by Arne and Arnold. His instrumental works do not need any kind of semantically explicit verbal content: all the expressivity is carried by the musical signifier, which thus also becomes an autonomous signified. We see how difficult it becomes to speak of mimesis in such a context, and how Abel must be understood as the linchpin between two periods. It is particularly interesting that Abel should be considered a master of the adagio, especially when one puts this in relation with the episode of Le Fever's death.

In *Tristram Shandy* or *A Sentimental Journey*, but also in all of Sterne's works, techniques of repetition, reiteration, and successive reworking of episodes find an obvious parallel with musical techniques. One only needs to think of the importance of improvisation in Abel's technique. The story of Le Fever's death is spread out over a number of chapters, and is interrupted regularly with comments and tears of the listeners, interspersed with digressions. In the same way, a piece for the viol could be modified, for example through the use of divisions. As we have already mentioned, this seventeenth-century technique takes up a theme and enriches, modifies and complicates it as it progresses. As far as the adagio is concerned, a narrative parallel can easily be found. When the death of the soldier draws near the multiplication of the voices ceases, and the polyphony becomes primarily a monody, until it imitates, literally, the fluttering pulse of the dying man:

> The blood and spirits of *Le Fever*, which were waxing cold and slow within him, and were retreating to their last citadel, the heart, – rallied back, – the film forsook his eyes for a moment, – he looked up wishfully in my uncle *Toby*'s face, – then cast a look upon his boy, — and that *ligament*, fine as it was, – was never broken. ——
>
> Nature instantly ebb'd again, — the film returned to its place, — the pulse fluttered — stopp'd — went on — throb'd — stopp'd again — moved —- stopp'd — shall I go on? — No.[20]

The 'ebb and flow' movement is likely to be translated into alternate bow strokes, and also through Abel's 'breathing' technique which Burney describes in his *General History*. The pulse is imitated in the text by the strongly semantic punctuation, which is almost certainly echoed in the gambist's performance by the use of pauses and silences breaking off the melody. The 'ebbing away' movement is indeed one of the governing motives of an adagio, the slow

[19] C. Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (London, 1776, 1782, 1789), ed. F. Mercer (London, 1935; repr. 1957), ii. 1019-1020.

[20] Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, ed. Ross, 342-343.

rhythm of which is often coordinated to the rhythm of the human pulse. It is undoubtedly the most appropriate expressive mood to depict Le Fever's death.

Finally, the question of charity, as we have seen, is addressed by Sterne in his letter on generosity. Even though this passage in *Tristram Shandy* is not the only one which portrays characters in the midst of charitable actions, it still stands as a most convincing example. When Uncle Toby learns about Le Fever's ordeal his first reaction is to offer his help, first by sending supplies of food and wine, and then offering his own house. The question of charity is thus indefectibly linked to the practice of the gamba in Sterne's writings. It also happens – it may of course be a coincidence – that one of Abel's key qualities is the unflagging help that he offered promising young musicians in order to facilitate their career throughout his own active life. This is made clear in Henry Bate's obituary in *The Morning Herald:*

> As a man, if he had a fault, it was too much generosity, – and when he found the world undeserving of it, – he was liable to lose his temper. Among his patrons, their *Majesties* take the lead; and among his friends, Mr. *Gainsborough*, – to whom his attachment was unexampled, – and who merited all his confidence and esteem. His last public performance was about a month since, for Mrs. *Billington*, at the Hanover-square Rooms. – It was his opinion she had not been treated well at the Ancient Music, – and therefore he came forward to assist her concert.[21]

The question of the use of the viol in Laurence Sterne's writings is thus less secondary than it appears at first. Not only does the instrument provide the author with a stylistic device to reinvent the art of diegesis, but the viol also takes up an entirely new depth of meaning when it is used by Charles Frederick Abel to transmute Sterne's meaningful narratives into a concentrated collection of feelings that moves listeners and puts them in touch with their sense of sociability. Although Sterne does not put the viol forward as the emblem of an ideological choice (that of ancient music over contemporary style), it clearly has a bearing on the way he approaches themes such as harmony (social and stylistic) and sensibility.

[21] *The Morning Herald*, 21 June 1787, reference provided by Peter Holman.

REVIEWS

Index of Manuscripts

DAVID PINTO

The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music, Volume II, comp. Andrew Ashbee, Robert Thompson and Jonathan Wainwright (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008). pp. xvi + 422, £60 (ISBN 978-0-7546-5866-5).

The first instalment of this *Index* in 2001 possibly fell foul of a chance of a timely review in *Chelys* through the journal's move into electronic form. The 'consort' music that it surveyed centred on surviving part-book sets in up to six parts, with the odd keyboard book thrown in, for fantasias, dances and vocal transcripts from a period of 1600-1660 or so. Sources, listed by content, were chosen on an unstated but clear basis of provenance or ownership: six major collectors, augmented by copyists (at times, collectors in their own right) to create a total of nine. Outside that twin classification was a tenth: a composer, John Jenkins, whose copying, by now documented in profusion, seems assumed to have been produced purely for clients or patrons. There seems to be an implicit assumption that he had no personal library of standing, linked to another that his style of life was never more than peripatetic.

This successor volume, slightly larger in size, has a more diverse scope by genre and date-range. The main major collector of the same era assessed is John Browne, Clerk of the Parliaments. Two or three other partbook sets without a strong pattern of previous inclusion in a collection also feature, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Mus. Sch. C.64-69 and E.437-442 being the chief. The rest looks further afield, taking aim at sources from about 1590 up to the 1730s, with attention to the later seventeenth-century. Of two sources listed predating 1600, one (owned by a collector discussed in volume one) has an uncommon mixture: canzoni by Merulo, canzoni or ricercari and a five-part madrigal by Diomedes Cato ('Tirsi morir volea'), texted in only the top line; also, two maybe by Cipriano di Rore that defy genre-placement – one of them put in a category of *valde dubium* in Bernhard Meier's Rore *Opera Omnia*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 14, volume 8 (Stuttgart, 1977). Cato seems to occur in England otherwise only in two sources at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: Mu. MS 689, Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Book, has one ricercar in a cognate lute-version, and Mu. MS 782, the 'Bull Manuscript', has the madrigal and more in score.

This is not the only entry on a source that merits wider notice. There is good news at the other end of the time-period: attention is paid to the lesser-known resources of Durham Cathedral Library, listing contents in more detail than Brian Crosby's very serviceable catalogue. A varied haul, largely acquired by or produced for Prebend Philip Falle (active until 1739, d. 1742), a native of Jersey with access to France and the Low Countries, gives copies of Hacquart, Marais, Sainte-Colombe and Schenk, and rarer items like works by the little-known Jesuit, Anthony Poole. Another way that the compendium of information breaks new ground is in its reference to previous studies by the compilers and others, and a correspondingly broadened approach to the sources. The post-Restoration period benefits: two sets of mid-century dance-based repertoire copied for Sir Gabriel Roberts in the 1680s, and a copyist whose parts in guard books (now in the British Library, bought from the Victorian collector Julian Marshall) show wide access to

foreign music as well as suites by Jenkins for three trebles (apparently violins) and Matthew Locke. In the same group owned by Marshall light is shed on another hand that had access to 'Mr Purcells Score Book' for purposes of checking Locke's output. Copiously chronicled, with new detail, are generations of copying in the possibly crypto-Catholic Withy family. They worked mostly as copyists and arrangers, but spanned diverse forms of music that link Purcell's era to an earlier one at Worcester when Thomas Tomkins was yet alive.

One has firstly to acknowledge the collaborators' dauntingly wide expertise, in this combined form probably unmatchable. The Viola da Gamba Society could hardly ask for a more dedicated Three Musketeers. There seems no reason for them not to branch out further, onto repertoire and manuscripts of the later eighteenth century in England, now that the viola da gamba of that era seems set for exhaustive investigation, again by personnel within the society's orbit. As a whole, this *Index* (*IMCM*) takes rise from, and is complementary to, the society's *Thematic Index* (*TI*). It reflects back the same repertoire but in more than mirror-image. *TI* has been unrivalled for findings issued in a user-friendly way, establishing and authenticating author-oeuvres, or adding detail where scholarly work was pre-existent (mainly with Byrd, Locke and Purcell). It did have gaps that *IMCM* has begun to cover, such as the Cato source mentioned, but is still indispensible for an alphabetical composer listing – not the primary purpose of *IMCM*.

But to say user-friendly omits one vital category: it has not found a place on the open-access shelves in libraries. Loose-leaf instalments for insertion in a ring-binder, with expansions and from time to time corrections, are a librarian's nightmare. They pose quandaries over format, shelving, cataloguing and maintenance outright (internal order is not absolute or standard, and has to be imposed). Drawn incipits on staves pose no problems for conventional copying, but have no easy transference into digital data, even after the arrival of electronic imaging. *TI* has been invaluable in an era when so much work was unpublished, but the balance has shifted enormously in recent years. One signal advance in *IMCM* is less in providing the background for editions of the music as such, than in giving scope for larger issues, like assessment of repertoires against the profiles of sources. For example, the concept of 'scribal publication' has been advanced by the late Harold Love, and upheld in print by at least one of the three compilers. While it has considerable attractiveness in the post-Restoration period for specific repertoires such as catches and glees and sonatas, this reviewer for one finds it offers little to explain how the large-scale consort repertoire was disseminated. Once examined with care, the examples instanced by Professor Love, including some of the collectors in *IMCM* and composers like Jenkins and Locke, are hardly of the force attributed to them. But the mass of evidence that *IMCM* now begins to offer will at least make it easier to formulate the right questions.

In the way of things, on this large scale there is a corresponding amount of loose detail that is likely to need adjustment and amendment. The user intending to make specific incorporation of findings into other studies will doubtless check all detail with the point of origin; but for a casual or more trusting reader there are two errors staring enough to demonstrate how lapses arise. One affects copyists. On p. 161 Edward Lowe, as Scribe D for the source Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Mus. Sch. D.241-4, is credited with the hand of plates 18 (a-c), and Scribe A, his unidentified associate, with plates 18 (d-e). This reverses the case. The other concerns a printed source that adds a section of hand-copied items (a source for Poole): Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus. Sch. C.71. On p. 155 it is misidentified as Christopher Simpson's *A Compendium of Practical Musick* (1667, etc.) though it is Simpson's *The Division-Viol* (second edition dated 1665, possibly delayed by the Great Plague and Fire to 1667). The lapse is odd, given that the octavo *Compendium* is

too small for most sorts of manuscript addition. It is *The Division-Viol* that seems to have invited expansion most, no doubt because of its apt folio format, and the encouragement given to the binding-in of extra personal copy by its final printed section that Simpson had supplied, of first-rate model divisions. But it is heartening for a reviewer with a personal tally of several king-sized errors on exactly this level of inattention to find even a triumvirate to be as liable.

A variability in other entries does give an impression that not all have benefited by panel criticism. Edward Lowe turns out to be central to this area. Symptomatic of problems and choices created by the cataloguing methods is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus. Sch. E.451. The listing omits p. 112 in its source pagination altogether, which has an unascribed 'Gloria patrj' (*sic*). An untitled basso part for 'La Folia' has not been detected on p. 124, added casually in a later hand; the content of p. 197, a misplaced duplicate copy of the Galliard in C from Matthew Locke's Broken Consort Part 2 also found on p. 119, is missed as well. This instalment lists another set associated with Lowe, MSS Mus. Sch. E.431-6. It has three pieces at its end (431/434/436, pp. 360-1) which Lowe himself attributed as a group to 'Battist'. While that is recognised as referring to Lully, the detail unrecorded is that they concord with pieces on pp. 195-6 in E.451, 'The 3 thinges I brought from Court in B [flat major]'. No origin is given for the pieces either; they equate to 33/1, 33/3 and 32/11 in Herbert Schneider, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtliche Werke von Jean-Baptiste Lully* (Tutzing, 1981), from *La pastorale comique* (1667) and *Ballet des muses* (1666). Carl B. Schmidt listed them in his additions to this catalogue, 'Manuscript Sources for the Music of Jean-Baptiste Lully', *Notes*, 2nd series 44/1 (September 1987), 7-32, though their presence in MS Mus. Sch. E.451 passed him by too.

The listing of pp. 203-5 in E.451 has a small pile of misleading detail. Fn. 21 is fn. 19 erroneously repeated; text references to it apply to fn. 20. Piece no. 19 on p. 204 of the manuscript is not the 'Ayre [in D]' by William Lawes named, Viola da Gamba Society no. 248, which is an unnumbered [no. 20]. Preceding it and numbered as 19, but unlisted here, is a 'Morris' based on VdGS no. 41. 'Gloria patris' on p. 249 misrenders 'patrj' (with terminal as found elsewhere). The four dances by William Lawes on pp. 347-8 reversed are likely to be all in a four-part scoring for two trebles, tenor, bass and continuo, in which they all occur in E.431-6 contiguously, in exact reverse order (the fact that the included dance VdGS no. 323 is identical with no. 322 is a *TI* oversight not picked up here). A little after that, on pp. 356-60 and 377-383 reversed, sections from the 'Royall Consort' by Lawes are almost certainly in that same scoring with a residual tenor line found in its so-called 'old version', and not as indicated here the 'new' (in which a bass replaces the tenor). It is only fair to add that, in the rest of this particularly diverse source, the contributors have gone to much untrumpeted trouble to specify the origins of its vocal repertoire.

With reference again to Lowe (pp. 187 ff.), the context of the instrumental set E.431-6 considered in isolation leaves avenues under-explored. A suggestion made a decade ago by Dr Thompson that its principal musical hand belonged to Thomas Jackson, an Oxford singing-man working in the Commonwealth era, has great plausibility, and is repeated. Slightly misleading, though, without a fuller discussion, is the incidental suggestion that this 'Jackson' hand 'also copied most of John Wilson's song-book', now Bodleian Library, MS Mus. B.1. Wilson himself, apart from writing the opening section of lute-tablature for fantasias or preludes, did little more than make small running corrections; but the rest is more involved than stated. Lowe was principal architect of the book. He was the sole and total supplier of verbal text, all the verse underlay, and ascriptions for the songs. On that basis, seemingly, he portioned it out in separate quires for other copyists to add musical notation. The contribution to that by 'Jackson' was

largest, about two fifths; Lowe himself wrote roughly 35%, and a third hand the rest. Two of the distributed quires have a variant form of its fleur-de-lys watermark: see the introduction by Elise Bickford Jorgens to the facsimile edition, *English Song 1600-1675*, vii: *Manuscripts at Oxford, Part II* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1987). That point might further clarify its relationship in time to the purely instrumental E.431-6, where Lowe exercised some similar overseer role. His titling additions are visible in the facsimiles, though not specified as such: plate 20 (a, c). The 'Jackson' hand copied the dance suites in this set first, and habitually supplied a written colophon to each piece. Lowe's main intervention was to add all the section headings listing instrumentation and (usually) composer.

The underlying, even unavoidable complication is not just the genre jumble in E.451, that shifts from continuo part to table-book layout and compressed vocal score. It is that, outside of a total and very considered coverage for Lowe, no discussion would be quite adequate. He has presumably been judged not quite a copyist-collector in his own right, since from the 1650s, even before he became professor at Oxford, he occupied himself in building the holdings associated with the Music School of the day. Two sets of his that overlap with E.451 *are* included: D.241-4 and E.431-6. To have listed D.233-6 as well for comparison would have given greater clarity; amongst other things, they contain some parts for Lawes items mentioned above that would contribute to precision. The cost would be a great deal more duplication, and listing of vocal repertoire. This however seems to be part of the price of the choices when the sources are diversified in the variety of repertoire and media for which they are copied. It is in fact hard to see the ideal setting for including Lowe comprehensively, if his work spans genres that no longer crossed into instrumental categories. Possibly there may some day be a much-needed monograph on his considerable work during an active life of possibly a half-century. In fact, the ongoing web-site catalogue by John Milsom of the music at Christ Church in Oxford, Lowe's own college, is already assembling such a list, covering it as held in that collection. But the *IMCM* series as begun is already a point of first reference equal to any other.

Constraints of size have imposed limits on the achievable in other areas: the initial conspectus of sources contained, the cited bibliography and discussions of context, concordances, even provenance at times. It is not always clear how previous work is being interpreted, as with the major earlier seventeenth-century collector treated in this instalment, John Browne. It is clear, as stated on p. 1, 'that the bulk if not all of Browne's music was compiled by the time of the Civil War', despite his long life (he died in 1691). To say 'all' would be no exaggeration, either, on the evidence of the extant music. But then neither of the two articles cited here suggests that. One even claims the contrary: that Browne could have been at the Oxford Civil War court and participated in its hypothetical music-making – an unsupportable claim on any available evidence, since he was prominent in London in the Parliamentary opposition. One other thing not quite always covered as a matter of course is provenance. The practice here is to give a full account, but occasionally a gap remains. In this instalment it would be good to know, for general purposes, from which dealer (and when) the late Robert Spencer bought the Browne Bandora and Lyra Viol Book (formerly the Braye Book: it indirectly came from his modern descendants); and whether the Stephen Bing manuscript now in the New York Public Library (included here as an addendum) was in the collection of Joseph William Drexel (and so on, through the Lenox Library) through intermediary English dealers like Frank T. Sabin, as some were, or was acquired later. If the information is simply no longer available, then that too is a finding of sorts and deserves entering into a null set.

A couple of other comments, as they arise. On p. xiv, where reference to printed sources is said to be based on *RISM* conventions, the *RISM* sigla for libraries used on occasion are not all self-explanatory by cross-reference to the contents headings. Two omissions are for the Public Record Office, and Brussels, Conservatoire – Lpro, short for GB-Lpro, and B-Bc. As before, there is citation of articles by a reference-code that correlates with *TI*, to which the user will have to refer. It leaves eight cited articles and publications unexplained in the bibliography for this particular instalment: BRADE 1617, CAVENDISH H2, DUBLIN C2, OXFORD C2, HATTON P, PURCELL H1, SIMPSON T 1621, and YOUNG 1653/1. The initial 'Notes on Owners and Copyists' in this instalment omit an elucidatory footnote given before, that description-entries in italics denote sources not for the moment listed. The distinction otherwise is puzzling to a casual user. It breaks down in fact, since two sources in roman face should by this rule be in italic: Christ Church, Mus. 353-356, and British Library, Add. MS 31430 (ff. 1-13). One may hope that they are held over for another issue; rather as this one has one addendum omitted from volume 1, where the work of its copyist, Stephen Bing, was otherwise listed (New York Public Library, Drexel MS 5264), and another seemingly owned by Bing's sometime employer, the first Baron Hatton (Christ Church, Mus. 372-6). (One also hopes that other sources with italic status, in private ownership, will be added at some point.) Contrariwise, there are sources listed and discussed in the body of the work but not listed in these Notes. On pp. 5-6 the entry for Sir Gabriel Roberts omits to specify the two sources owned by him (Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, ND VI 3193, British Library, Add. MS 31431), and on p. 14 the anonymously-copied British Library, Add. MS 31435 has fallen out. A far from minute examination finds reference to VdGS numbering astray on occasion: at p. 267 four five-part fantasias by Jenkins numbered as VdGS 2, 6, 4, 5 should read 7, 9, 15-16, and on p. 268 source-no.20, a five-part fantasia by Lupo, could be numbered 17.

Now that *Chelys* itself has undergone a shift into electronic form, it comes naturally to mind to query the whole thrust of this paper project, and wonder if it should be assessed against that alternative method of making such information available; especially since Dr Milsom has recently addressed the society on the topic of his web catalogue for the music collection at Christ Church, and stressed the merits of the new order that his work exemplifies. Size, flexibility and amendability pose fewer problems in it. Updating and correction of errors are potentially easier. Virtual page spreads can be larger, and length or discursiveness are neither of them always a fault if the information or discussion is to the point. Against that level of flexibility is a slipperiness in updating in a continuum state where detail may (or may not) have been altered. Information is curiously more time-bound if one has to clock in a citation by a date; it is the harder to keep track of new information and ideas, or responsibility for it. It is thus the less permanent, even assuming that electronically retrievable data really will remain as stable and permanent as the frail codex. Accessibility is also an issue. Reliance on technology is still cumbersome: there is a need to employ a powered screen when assessing manuscripts against each other, whether working from printed facsimiles, microfilm, or (with great good fortune) the originals. The two issues of *IMCM* so far have already proved their practicality in tried forms and tested size; anything else other than a quarto bound volume would not suit nearly so well.

One looks forward with extreme interest to other collectors lined up. Even in the main period of large-scale partbook sets there is much remaining; for example, study by various hands of manuscripts assembled by Narcissus Marsh has assigned a rather larger time-span to them than once assumed. There are composer autographs that begin to survive in the middle three-fifths of the seventeenth century: not just Jenkins, as already

covered, but also William Lawes, John Hingeston, Christopher Gibbons, Matthew Locke and Purcell himself, much of it in score-form with numerous questions over stratification and date. There are segments of the repertoire, such as the verse anthem, not yet surveyed in *IMCM*. Among copyists for that looms Thomas Myriell; and London sources, or collectors of his type centred there (to the extent that they are identifiable), also await listing. Here a fault-line of vocal-instrumental looms again, for a different reason than the uncertain border of the Jacobean fantasia with the madrigal (especially Italian-texted). *TI* listed only 'consort' sources for verse anthems, and with some reason. Liturgical sources have no especial relevance to practice in the home, except to supply missing material for incompletely preserved repertoire. But even if the two are distinct, there are borderline cases such as Orlando Gibbons, whose ensemble parts often differ considerably from those in the organ-accompanied versions that must have been normative in cathedral use. His ensemble forms seem to have been revisions, for whatever purpose. Does one therefore give the ecclesiastical sources a brief listing? And what about the large, mysterious table-book British Library, Add. MS 31390, on which so much knowledge of mid-Elizabethan practices depends? It makes considerable use of vocal originals, despite its totally untexted condition: up-to-date full source-concordances in reasonably compendious reference form would be good to have, but offer a challenge to any compiler.

IMCM is already becoming like a familiar old friend: companionship enjoyed for the meeting of like minds, if causing exasperation at times over the mismatches – the obtusenesses on both sides of the relationship, the clearing up of misunderstandings, and the opportunity to observe hidden depths that only slowly reveal themselves. One obstacle to acquaintance in this sense is the sheer curtness in presentation of the material; which strikes in more than one way. For the purposes of familiarising oneself with the scholarly 'literature' the opening discussions, Notes on Owners and Copyists, are compact in themselves and give good though variedly exhaustive pointers to references. The main listings however are, probably out of necessity, terse in listing source characteristics. Rarely if ever is explanation offered, for example, of rastral measurements, and how they affect or must have varied the process of copying. Even how the observed watermarks impinge on dating and origin is not routinely explored. For example, the first-listed set (Hamburg, ND VI 3193) establishes the mark as 'fleur-de-lys I countermarked IHS/IP'; but that like the similar mark in the other source associable with the same collector (Gabriel Roberts), British Library, Add. MS 31431, does not correlate explicitly to any single 'fleur-de-lys I' tabulated on pp. 305-311. One accepts of course that a lot of this work is cumulative, and can only increase in effectiveness the more is gathered for cross-referencing.

In the other direction is the occasional byway that seems of limited relevance, such as a paragraph and ample footnote with references given over to the introduction of the natural sign to England, pp. 71-2. While the issue affects somewhat the dating of the source discussed (one from the Dolmetsch Library, related to others at Durham and the British Library), the footnote material concerns itself only with the mention of naturalising in theoretical works, and two printed sources of 1676 and 1698, neither wholly relevant to practice in consort sources. If any aspect of the issue deserves inclusion, existence of naturalising signs in manuscripts is more germane: in an 'h' form, they are found at least as far back as the 1580s in the so-called Gyffard Partbooks, British Library, Add. MSS 17802-17805, and recur in Martin Peerson's fantasias (later 1620s?). Double-sharping or -flatting and naturalising practices specific to modulation feature by the 1630s in keyboard works of Thomas Tomkins and his friend Nicholas Carleton. All of which shows that, amongst church musicians at least, there had long been an attempt

to handle pitch ambiguities, though they seem to have had no impact on the copying of sources for the most thorough key-exploration of the age, Alfonso Ferrabosco junior's hexachord fantasia 'Ut Re Mi Fa Sol La' (copied by Tomkins). But any discussion is far better than none. We can only be the wiser for such exhaustive analyses as that of Bodleian Library, MSS Mus. Sch. C.64-9 at pp. 144-7, where information is aligned with great clarity to explain the make-up of the set. And the final sections containing painstakingly copied watermarks and finely-reproduced facsimiles of musical hands are lavish and an education in themselves.

Baroque Performance Practice

SUSANNE HEINRICH

Mary Cyr, *Essays on the Performance of Baroque Music: Opera and Chamber Music in France and England*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008). Variorum Collected Studies Series: CS899, 344 pages, illustrated, £62.50 (ISBN 978-0-7546-5926-6).

This book presents Mary Cyr's excellent essays on the performance of Baroque music from 1971 to 2008. They were originally prefaces for music editions and articles in publications such as *Early Music*, *The Musical Times*, and *The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*. Part one contains essays on vocal music in France, focussing mostly on Élisabeth-Claude Jacquet de La Guerre and Rameau's cantatas and operas. Part two is entitled 'The Viol and Violin in England', highlighting violin playing in seventeenth-century England and ornamentation in lyra viol music.

'Vocal Music in France' will interest anyone concerned with the performance of French Baroque music. The essays on Élisabeth-Claude Jacquet de La Guerre give detailed information about her life. It becomes clear that she was an extraordinary musician and composer, making it in a world ruled by men. Other women published under their husbands' names in order to be recognized, but Jacquet de La Guerre was so talented, accomplished and full of energy that she had no need to hide her female identity: she overcame all difficulties and became well-known and respected in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century France. Some of her works are sadly lost, but her surviving music has already received recognition among musicians. Mary Cyr goes into much detail about Jacquet de La Guerre's compositional and notational style, which gives a good insight into the performance of vocal music in France.

In addition to the two detailed essays on Jacquet de La Guerre, there is another looking at modern recordings of her music, and her use of continuo instruments. It will be out of date when new recordings come on the market, and therefore its publication in a hard-cover book rather than a journal (it appeared in *Early Music* in 2004) could be seen as pointless. However, its inclusion in a book which will hopefully outlive the CD player will give modern musicians and early music enthusiasts of any capacity an insight into what the options are for continuo scoring, how it was most likely intended, and how it is performed today. It will be useful for future generations of scholars interested in early music performance in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries; and it shows in an academic as well as a practical, modern way how French continuo scoring varies enormously, from being precisely noted to leaving the performer *carte blanche*. As in much early music, a balance needs to be found between doing the music justice by using the right forces for the style, composition and period, and using the instruments available.

The essays on Rameau include one on his 'Cantate pour la fête de Saint Louis', discovered in the late 1970s. This leads to 'Performing Rameau's Cantatas', looking at instrumentation and performance. One would wish that every twenty-first-century singer faced with performing eighteenth-century French music would read 'Declamation and Expressive Singing in Recitative' and 'Eighteenth-Century French and Italian Singing: Rameau's Writing for the Voice' in order to be thoroughly informed about the performance of recitatives. Of further interest for singers (and anyone coaching singers, such as directors and keyboard players) are 'On Performing Eighteenth-Century Haute-Contre Roles', 'The Dramatic Role of the Chorus in French Opera: Evidence for the Use of Gesture, 1670-1770', 'The Paris Opéra Chorus during the Time of Rameau', and two essays concerned with motets by François Martin, one of which has been wrongly attributed to Rameau. Apart from the joy of knowing more about recitative and how it should be performed in an ideal world, the relevance to viol players of the first part is mainly in continuo practice. All essays contain useful information about continuo practice, but 'Basses and *Basse Continue* in the Orchestra of the Paris Opéra 1700-1764' should clear up any confusion about the use of continuo instruments at the time.

Part two makes up about a third of the book, but it is nevertheless essential reading for viol players: there are essays on the Egerton manuscript (British Library, Egerton MS 2971) concerned with ornamentation for voice and viol, Abel's solo viol music and its connection with Gainsborough, and a two-part paper on 'Ornamentation in English Lyra Viol Music'. Of interest to violinists are 'Books on Old Violins and Nineteenth-Century Playing from the Bequest of T. Wesley Mills', 'Tempo Gradations in Purcell's Sonatas' (also relevant to viol players), and 'Violin Playing in late Seventeenth-Century England: Baltzar, Matteis and Purcell'.

The articles on ornamentation in English lyra viol music are a must for viol players interested in this repertoire. Although several manuscripts contain various ways of notating ornaments, the limitations of tablature notation (especially when printed rather than hand-written) are evident. This leaves the modern performer with the obligation to be as informed as possible about those manuscripts that do notate ornaments, and to apply them to other sources, just as lute players are already doing. English lyra viol music, despite its apparent simplicity, can be a lot more complex than we think, and can only benefit from the informed application of ornaments in order to bring it alive. The view we have of this repertoire is that it is fairly simple and easy music, aimed at the amateur market, and is therefore not to be taken seriously. We use it, just as was the case 300 years ago, mainly for private amusement and refreshing and delightful entertainment. It has always struck me that there seems to be a big gap in complexity between the seemingly unassuming lyra viol music and the almost contemporary French viol repertory. Looking at the manuscripts and facsimiles, one is overwhelmed by the hurdles presented by the ornaments in Marais and Couperin, while one can relax playing a little piece by Hume with a suggestive title, as it does not ask for much more than the notes themselves. Mary Cyr compares printed sources without ornaments with manuscripts of the same pieces littered with shakes, relishes and other delights. It seems that lyra viol music was potentially just as complicated as the slightly later French viol works, and can (and should) in the hands of a skilled and informed performer be turned into something much more sophisticated.

This book covers 30 years of work, but is so well researched and close to the sources that the older essays are not out of date. Having such a diversity of subjects in one sizeable and expensive book is a little worrying. I wonder whether publishing the two very different parts in two smaller and more affordable volumes might have ensured wider circulation. Nevertheless, it is an extremely informative volume, of much use to

performers and scholars alike. It might not make it onto many private bookshelves, though I hope that most libraries will acquire it to make it available to anyone interested in performance practice.

Lawes's Harp Consorts

JOHN CUNNINGHAM

William Lawes, *The Harp Consorts*, ed. Jane Achtman *et al.*, PRB Viol Consort Series, no. 62 (Albany NY: PRB Productions, 2007). pp. xiii + 73 (score); pp. vii + 30 (harp part); pp. 16 (violin part); pp. 27 (division viol part); pp. 10 (theorbo part). Score and parts, $70; score and harp part, $53. (ISBN 978-1-56571-297-3).

The Harp Consorts, a 30-piece collection of dances and a single fantazy scored (in the composer's own words) 'for the violin, bass viol, theorbo and harpe', contain some of William Lawes's finest instrumental writing. Murray Lefkowitz included several pieces in his 1963 *Select Consort Music* volume for Musica Britannica, though a complete edition is long overdue. Thus it is with great anticipation that one receives this PRB edition, compiled under the general editorship of Jane Achtman; Maxine Eilander, Cheryl Ann Fulton and Stephen Stubbs edited the harp parts. The aim of this edition is 'to supply a scholarly compilation of extant material which would also serve as a playing edition' (Score, p. ix). Indeed, the edition is useful in many respects: the music text is generally accurate, and the editors have obviously spent much time attempting to sort out the hugely problematic issue of the harp parts, the complexities of which will be immediately acknowledged by anyone who has grappled with them. The edition is handsomely presented (in soft binding) and comes in two main volumes each with a separate introduction. The first volume is the 'Score' (VC062A), the second is the 'Harp Part' (VC062B) (hereafter references to the Score volume will take the form of 'S, p. x' etc., and to the Harp Part as 'H, p. x' etc.).

The overall presentation is generally good. However, especially in the harp part, the edition would have benefited from occasionally using a smaller font to give a less crowded appearance on some pages. The beaming is often inconsistent between the instruments, especially where the violin (or bass viol) and harp have the same rhythm in 6/4 time (examples of this are numerous: e.g., S, p. 42, staves 2-3; S, p. 43, staves 1-2). Moreover, the decision to beam semiquavers across two or three crotchet beats with no subdivisions tends to be rather hard on the eye (mine at least). In pavans of this period when the barring is regularised (in 4/2) one often finds bars containing two minims rather than four; however, in these cases it seems more sensible to add a 2/2 bar rather than create a 6/2 bar as the editors have done here (although one finds this solution frequently in editions). Also, the various division strains (embellished repeats of the dance strains, an important feature of the collection) are presented in score format with the original strains. This was done to save 'redundant repetitions' of the unchanged instruments and to provide 'the score reader with an easy means of comparison of the ornamented strains with the original strain without having to turn pages' (H/S, p. ii). Obviously, cost-saving measures are welcomed, especially as they allow the publisher to produce such editions at a reasonable cost, and this format certainly works well for many pieces in the volume. However, when we get to the pieces with complex repetitions (e.g., the pavans) this approach tends to become less useful. The matter is compounded by the

decision to place the theorbo part below the harp in the score. This was done because the theorbo (with the bass of the harp) acts as the fundamental bass for most of the pieces. It seems more useful to place the theorbo above the harp to highlight the harp's role as the accompaniment, as one would do with a keyboard, and to emphasise the relationship between the bass viol and the theorbo.

In terms of the editorial approach, the phrase 'Obvious mistakes have been corrected' (S, p. x) is always a little unsettling in scholarly editions, especially with a composer such as Lawes where 'mistakes' are sometimes not all that 'obvious' even when one is familiar with his compositional style. The edition was compiled without collation of secondary sources (although Achtman implies that they have been used 'for comparative purposes when the primary sources are unclear or give conflicting information'; S, p. x). This can often disguise telling reasons for corruptions that can reveal much about the nature and status of the sources and their interrelationships. Nevertheless, this commonly adopted approach need not be unduly problematic, and results in a commentary uncluttered from the minutia of comparative source readings. Interested readers will no doubt consult the originals.

The main scholarly and practical problem associated with the Harp Consorts is whether Lawes originally intended the wire-strung Irish harp or the gut-strung triple harp. Following the initial conclusions of Murray Lefkowitz,[1] Cheryl-Ann Fulton has long argued that Lawes composed for the triple harp, whereas musicologists such as Layton Ring, Peter Holman and I have argued that Lawes composed for the Irish instrument.[2] Nevertheless, of the few recordings of (parts of) the collection only one has used an Irish harp.[3] This apparent triumph of the triple harp is, I believe, largely a modern convenience, as large chromatic Irish harps are difficult to build and to play. It also reveals a tension between musicological thought and modern practice that could be greatly aided by a comprehensive and definitive edition of the Harp Consorts. In her introduction to the Score Achtman suggests that the 'modern term "Harp Consort" is slightly misleading as to the relative importance of the instruments in the consorts, implying that the harp is the most important instrument' (S, p. vi).[4] However, the term 'Harp Consort' is not as modern as she would have us believe. The earliest reference to the collection as such is from Henry Playford's 1690 sale catalogue, apparently of his father's old stock: item no. 117, priced 4s, is '*Mr. Lawes* Harp-Consort, and his Little Consort, in 4 parts, quarto, fairly pr[icked]'.[5] This implies that his contemporaries viewed the role of the harp not as the most important (I assume that Achtman here equates importance with virtuosity), but rather that they viewed its use in a consort ensemble as noteworthy and *characteristic*; in other words, presumably the *sound* of the harp was of importance. Thus the issue of harp type is central to our understanding of the collection.

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1 See M. Lefkowitz, *William Lawes* (London, 1960), esp. 91-2.

2 See L. Ring, 'A Preliminary Inquiry into the Continuo Parts of William Lawes for Organ, Harp and Theorbo', M.A. thesis (University of Nottingham, 1972); id., 'The Harp for Lawes', *Early Music*, 15 (1987), 589-590; P. Holman, 'The Harp in Stuart England: New Light on William Lawes's Harp Consorts', *Early Music*, 15 (1987), 188-203; J. Cunningham, 'A Tale of Two Harps: Issues Arising from Recordings of William Lawes's Harp Consorts', *Early Music Performer*, 21 (November 2007), 13-24; id., '"Some Consorts of Instruments are Sweeter than Others": Further Light on the Harp of William Lawes's Harp Consorts', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 61 (2008), 147-176.

3 See Cunningham, 'A Tale of Two Harps'.

4 Unlike the Harp Part, no author is given for the Introduction to the Score, although one assumes Achtman wrote it given her role as general editor.

5 'A Curious COLLECTION of Musick-Books, Both *VOCAL* and *INSTRUMENTAL*' (London, 1690), GB-Lbl, Harl. 5936, nos. 419-20. The 'Little Consort' in question presumably refers to some version of Lawes's Royall Consort.

It is not clear why the harp parts in nos. 1-8 are described as 'Reconstructed' as there is no element of reconstruction (except in the most philosophical sense): they are (editorial emendations excepted) presented as they survive in Lawes's autograph organ book (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus. Sch. D.229). The harp parts in nos. 9-16 are also said to be 'Reconstructed', though they are taken from Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 5 simply with the doubling violin parts omitted; again, one wonders whether 'Reconstructed' is the right word. The editors have also chosen to insert their 'Recomposed' harp part for pieces 17-20 in place of the surviving contemporary but non-autograph part in Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 5 – which the editors disregard on several occasions without satisfactorily explaining why. The harp parts from Mus. 5 are reproduced in the harp volume as an appendix. This is to be applauded, though they have been edited (or incorrectly transcribed) in places without any editorial comment.[6]

The harp part in Mus. 5 for nos. 17-20 is described as 'spare, often consisting only of two parts'; thus, the editors use only the bass line with a 'recreated treble line' (S, p. xii). However, it is not made clear in what sense they are 'spare'. It is true that they essentially double the outer string parts, only occasionally adding a descant to the violin. Nevertheless, apart from the addition of the violin line as a quasi-tenor part in nos. 1-16, Mus. 5 is generally textually quite close to Lawes's autograph sources. Fulton (H, p. iii) argues that the Mus. 5 parts are different in style to those in the pavans, for which we have fully voiced autograph parts. However, she fails to reconcile this with the fact that the pavans are different in style to the earlier dances in the collection. Is it not possible that Lawes intended two different kinds of accompaniment? Fulton states that 'Having the harp substantially duplicate the violin part at the octave makes no musical sense' (H, p. iii). However, one thinks of John Jenkins's fantasia-suites where the organ part generally doubles the strings throughout: had Jenkins 'no musical sense'? Perhaps Lawes intended the harp to double the strings for nos. 17-20. Perhaps not – one suspects that the second Mus. 5 copyist (see below) had access to a now-lost source of the violin and theorbo parts – but the issue is worth addressing.[7] On a related point, trill signs and other ornaments are given in the 'Recomposed' harp parts but not throughout the edition. Are we to assume that ornaments are only applicable to these pieces? Knowledgeable performers and students will sort these things out for themselves, but it reveals a rather haphazard approach to consistency also observable in other aspects of the edition.

In the edition the bass viol part is labelled as a 'Division Viol'; as Achtman explains,

> William Lawes seems to have been the first person to use the term "division viol", a term later synonymous with both a style of playing the viol and a specific type of bass viol. In his autographs of the Harp Consorts he calls for a bass viol, or refers to "divisions for the violin and bass viol". Although he does not use the term explicitly for the viol required for the Harp Consorts, his idiomatic use of the instrument merits labelling the viol "division viol" (Score, p. vii).

But is this label really merited? As Achtman notes, Lawes actually explicitly calls this part a 'Base Violl' (in the autograph score and parts). Lawes certainly seems to have been the first to apply the term 'division' to the bass viol, a point originally made by Annette

[6] Diplomatic transcriptions are available in J. Cunningham, 'Music for the Privy Chamber: Studies in the Consort Music of William Lawes (1602-45)', Ph.D. thesis, 2 vols. (University of Leeds, 2007).

[7] On a related point of sparse versus full accompaniment types, see P. Holman, '"Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly Acchording to All": The Organ Accompaniment of English Consort Music', *John Jenkins and His Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. A. Ashbee and Holman (Oxford, 1996), 353-382.

Otterstedt.[8] However, this appears to have been a descriptive use of the viol's function rather than a specifically smaller-sized bass viol, as implied by the usage in the edition. Of course, the large-scale pavans contain elaborate divisions that are much easier performed on a smaller instrument, and this may well have been the case. But it seems rather anachronistic to label the 'bass viol' part – the term actually used by Lawes – as 'division viol' throughout, as its function as a dividing instrument only really comes to the fore in the later pieces (nos. 27-9). Indeed, this term seems to stem from Lefkowitz, who applied it to the harp consort pavans in his 1963 Musica Britannica edition.[9] The pavans are at least closer in style to the pavan and alman for two bass viols and organ (for which Lawes actually used the term 'division viol') than much of the rest of the Harp Consorts; interestingly, Lefkowitz used 'Bass Viol' for the Suite in G minor (nos. 1-4 of the present edition). Terms such as 'division viol' should perhaps be reserved for comments on performance practice.

These are only minor points. More serious are the fundamental errors, omissions and misrepresentations in the introductions. It should be mentioned at the outset that much of Achtman's introduction (especially the 'William Lawes' and 'Chamber music at the Court of Charles I' sections) is culled, often without reference, from the existing literature, especially Murray Lefkowitz's *William Lawes* (London, 1960), Peter Holman's *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: the Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993; 2/1995), and David Pinto's *New Grove* article on Lawes. I do not mean to make the accusation of plagiarism: such introductions are often summations of existing research. However, it seems only proper in such cases to make this, and one's central sources, clear from the outset. Also, the ideas of previous commentators are often given in a form that does not wholly or fairly represent them. There is a good deal of unnecessary repetition between the introductions in the Score and Harp volumes. Indeed, the edition as a whole could have benefited from a uniform approach, ultimately the responsibility of the general editor.

On this subject, Achtman uses endnotes in the score volume, whereas Fulton uses an (Author, page no.) system in the harp volume. Fulton cites an article by Seán Donnelly (H, p. vi) without making it clear which of his articles in the bibliography she is referring to. Neither of them are given page numbers; she is referring to the article published in 2000. Incidentally, both bibliographies use abbreviations for journals without providing a key. Also, the referencing styles adopted by Fulton and Achtman are slightly different. In one example (of many), Fulton cites the '*New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*' with no volume or page numbers (H, p. vii), whereas Achtman has '*Grove6*' with both page and volume numbers (S, p. x). Indeed, the style of referencing is often inconsistent even within a single volume. For example, for co-authored entries Fulton uses a slash, and 'and' to separate the authors (H, p. vii; Bibliography entries 1 and 10); page numbers are not given for all articles; and before page numbers sometimes 'pp.' is used, sometimes a colon. Moreover, there are conflicting statements over the correct type of harp: it is noted that the inclusion of the harp in a mixed ensemble 'is not very surprising, as a harper had been an integral member of the "lutes and voices" from the initial foundation of the group' (S, p. vi). The harpers concerned all played the Irish harp and by implication the Irish harp was used in such ensembles. However, Fulton concludes that there are 'strong indications that [Lawes] was writing for the triple harp' (H, p. vii).

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[8] A. Otterstedt, 'Lawes's Division Viol: Pedigree of an Instrument', trans. H. Reiners, *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, ed. A. Ashbee (Aldershot, 1998), 307-339; see also ibid., fn. 39.

[9] *William Lawes: Select Consort Music*, ed. M. Lefkowitz, Musica Britannica, 21 (London, 1963; 2/1971).

Despite the fact that this is the first complete edition of the Harp Consorts – Fulton calls it 'an important contribution to the published literature available for the harp' (H, p. iii) – the editors have not attempted to analyse the sources in any meaningful way. A list of them is given in the Score (S, p. ix), and in it one is surprised to find that there are apparently concordances with John Adson's *Courtly Masquing Ayres* – a confusion with Playford's volume with the same title. Also, although it is made clear on p. x that the autograph sources are the main sources for the edition, the source list (S, p. ix) could have benefited from a division into primary and secondary sources. For instance, MS Chethams A.2.6. is a late source and contains only the bass part for a single alman (no. 1 of the edition), a widely disseminated piece also published in Playford's *A Musicall Banquet* (1651) and *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (1662).[10] The list also omits New York Public Library, Drexel MS 5612, which contains a keyboard arrangement of the alman VdGS no. 182 (no. 21 of the edition).[11] Incidentally, for ease of reference it would have been useful to have the VdGS numbers included somewhere in the volume.

More serious is the discussion of Lawes's autograph sources, which appears to have been taken, again without reference, from Lefkowitz's monograph. In 1960 Lefkowitz concluded, as Achtman does, that there were nine autograph manuscripts, all apparently of one set and bound in calf with the royal stamp on the covers. This is one of several Lefkowitz myths exposed by David Pinto in 1972, in the predecessor to this journal: they are not all one set, nor are they all bound alike, nor do they all bear the royal stamp.[12] The most worrying aspect of this is the implication that the original sources have not been consulted in person. Achtman even repeats Lefkowitz's claim that one of the nine volumes, known from a 1917 auction catalogue, is lost. If she had read Lefkowitz's monograph in its entirety she would know that this volume, a lyra-viol manuscript, is now in the Houghton Library in Harvard; at least, this appears to be the manuscript sold at the 1917 auction. Lefkowitz discovered it too late for inclusion in the monograph proper but made a note of it on p. x.[13] Indeed, Lefkowitz's (and Achtman's) total of nine autograph manuscripts was arrived at by counting each of the Lawes partbooks in the Bodleian Library as an individual manuscript (MSS Mus. Sch. D.238-40), and at the time that Lefkowitz was writing the Lawes/Shirley partbooks (British Library, Add. MSS 40657-61) had not yet been identified as being partly in Lawes's hand. Today, Lawes scholars generally agree that there are eight autograph (or part-autograph) sources, counting D.238-40 as a single source, though other manuscripts such as Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 725-7 have also been suggested as autograph.[14]

Achtman makes little attempt to understand the significance of the sources or their interrelationship, despite acknowledging that 'It is necessary to have a clear idea of the transmission of the consorts, so as to be able to make informed choices for the editing

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[10] Indeed, an inconsistent approach appears to have been taken in relation to modernizing the titles of the printed collections, where some elements are modernized while others are not: i.e. 'Musical Banquet' rather than *A Musicall Banquet*; 'Court Ayres' rather than *Court-Ayres*; 'Musick's Hand-maide' rather than *Musicks Hand-maide*. Quotations from contemporary sources are also haphazardly modernized: usually they appear in a half-modern, half-original hybrid (sometimes in quotation marks, sometimes not). If one were to be fastidious (being abbreviations rather than contractions), the Music School manuscripts in the Bodleian Library are more correctly given as 'Mus. Sch.' rather than 'Mus Sch'.

[11] This information is available from *The Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain: Thematic Index of Music for Viols*, comp. G. Dodd and A. Ashbee (London, 2/2004).

[12] See D. Pinto, 'William Lawes' Consort Suites for the Viols, and the Autograph Sources', *Chelys*, 4 (1972), 11-16, an important article not mentioned in the edition.

[13] This manuscript, US-CAh, Mus. 70, is discussed in detail in Cunningham, 'Music for the Privy Chamber'.

[14] For a discussion of the autograph (and suggested autograph) sources, see Cunningham, 'Music for the Privy Chamber', esp. ch. 2 and 4.

procedures' (S, p. ix). In describing one of Lawes's large autograph scorebooks now in the Bodleian Library, she notes that it 'has many mistakes and is at times illegible due both to the age of the manuscript and to hasty transcription of the music by the scribe. … The manuscript is poorly legible, because of ink spots as well as an erratic and slipshod transcribing hand' (S, p. ix). It is true that Lawes's hand in the scorebooks is often rather careless. This is presumably linked to the manuscripts' function, as he appears to have used them as compositional sketchbooks. However, what Achtman calls 'ink spots', presumably because they appear as such on the microfilm, are actually palimpsests: the notes are clearly visible on the manuscript itself – which is in very good condition for its age.

Although discrepancies between the autograph scorebook and parts are referred to, no attempt is made to understand why this is so. The scorebook presumably gives us a compositional sketch whereas the partbooks are fair copies; the only reason the parts seem to be preferred for the edition is their superior legibility. A detailed discussion of the Lawes sources can be found elsewhere,[15] though it should be noted that the watermarks of these manuscripts do not date to 1642 and 1643 (S, p. ix). In claiming this Achtman refers in a footnote to an article by Robert Thompson. However, Thompson states that 'The flyleaves [of Lawes's scorebooks], with highly distinctive heraldic watermarks, are unlikely to date from any later than 1630, and the books may perhaps have been bound in the mid- or late 1620s incorporating earlier material'.[16] The only Lawes autographs to bear the royal stamp are Bodleian, Mus. Sch. MSS B.2 and B.3, London, British Library, Add. MS 31432, and Harvard Mus. 70. The watermark dating and the royal stamp claim are both Lefkowitz myths, again exposed by Pinto in that same article almost forty years ago. Moreover, we can surely do without such statements as 'Music manuscript paper was difficult to obtain and had to be specifically ordered from *far away*' (S, p. ix) – my emphasis. There is research into the paper used in some of Lawes's autograph manuscripts that could have been consulted, or used in more depth.[17]

A fundamental failing of this edition is that the editors have done no proper research into the three harp sources. For some reason D.229, an autograph source containing harp parts for the first eight pieces in the collection, is not listed in the Critical Commentary. However, when one reads the Commentary, it is clear that Achtman has included D.229 under source 'A', which is described as 'GB-Ob Ms Mus Sch D.238-40'. D.238-40 is a set of autograph partbooks containing the violin (D.239), bass viol (D.240) and theorbo (D.238) parts only; D.229 is a separate source. Even if one accepts the arguments made by Lefkowitz (1960) and others that D.229 is a companion to D.238-40 – a point that is actually far from clear – the sources should have been listed separately. More seriously, it seems that the editors have done little research into Christ Church, Mus. 5, a crucial source in understanding the Harp Consorts. I have discussed it in a recent article, so it is unnecessary to comment on it in detail here.[18]

However, some points require clarification. Mus. 5 is not in the hand of Francis Withy, as the online Christ Church catalogue of music manuscripts would have revealed. There are at least two hands in this manuscript; at most, Withy may have added some titles, but even this is far from certain. Moreover, both copyists seem to have had access to different sources. The first seems to have worked from a harp source similar to D.229

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[15] Cunningham, 'Music for the Privy Chamber', especially ch. 2.

[16] R. Thompson, 'Paper in English Music Manuscripts: 1620-1645', *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, ed. A. Ashbee (Aldershot, 1998), 143-154, at 144.

[17] See, for example, Thompson, 'Paper in English Music Manuscripts'; Cunningham, 'Music for the Privy Chamber', ch. 2.

[18] Cunningham, 'Further Light on the Harp'.

and added the violin part (often transposed) as a quasi-tenor part. The second only added treble and bass outlines closely derived from the string parts. Another problem is that the editors do not always agree on the status of Mus. 5. For example, Achtman notes (S, p. xi, note 47) that Layton Ring argued convincingly that Mus. 5 was a harp book, while this is described as 'unlikely' by Fulton (H, p. iii), who suggests that it is for keyboard. Moreover, the no. 21 mentioned by Fulton which comes after the Lawes sequence in Mus. 5 is not actually no. 21; it is numbered '1' – presumably the first of a new and unfinished sequence – a later hand added the prefacing '2'. The piece is coincidentally the twenty-first in the manuscript (not counting the unnumbered piece between nos. 14 and 15).[19]

The inclusion of the accounts from John Playford and Anthony Wood about Charles I's interaction with his musicians needs a note of caution: they are presented in this edition as though they are fact. Readers may wish to know that the account of 'a vocal performance by Nicholas Lanier, during which the king rested his hand on Lanier's shoulder' (S, p. iv) comes from Roger North;[20] they might also need references for the discussion of possible places of performance at Whitehall (p. iii): Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, especially Ch. 2; Andrew Ashbee, 'William Lawes and the "Lutes, Viols and Voices"', *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work* (Aldershot, 1998), ed. Ashbee, 1-10; David Pinto, 'Music at Court: Remarks on the Performance of William Lawes' Works for Viols', *A Viola da Gamba Miscellany: Proceedings of the International Viola da Gamba Symposium Utrecht 1991*, ed. Johannes Boer and Guido van Oorschot (Utrecht, 1994), 27-40.

Achtman's section on 'Compositional Structure' also raises issues. For example, the statement that the 'pavan in G-minor [no. 29] is only very loosely based upon a Fantasia for two bass viols and organ by John Coprario' (S, p. v) repeats a point first made by Lefkowitz in 1960 and since repeated elsewhere (here without acknowledgement). However, Peter Holman's suggestion that Lawes was working from a now-lost consort pavan that also spawned the version for two bass viols and organ deserves to be reiterated.[21] Furthermore, what Annette Otterstedt called the 'stowaway Ferrabosco theme' in the Coprario pavan, should be put into context. Lawes used the same piece by Ferrabosco as the organ accompaniment for one of his pieces for two bass viols and organ, which seems to have been composed at around the same time as the large-scale Harp Consort pieces (i.e. *c*.1638). Lawes attributes the piece to Ferrabosco for the bass viol duet in the autograph score and parts; he may have subconsciously included a quotation to the piece in the Harp Consort pavan.

The plot thickens when the discussion moves to Harp Consort no. 9 (no. 28 of the edition). Like the Coprario pavan, this too carries an attribution in the theorbo part, this time to the Irish-born harper Cormac MacDermott. Achtman notes that

> Holman would like to believe that Lawes used an original harp piece by Cormack as the harp part. … This seems unlikely, if we assume that Lawes followed a similar procedure with this consort as with Harp Consort 10. In that case Lawes would have taken a theme from Cormack's original piece and developed it according to his own compositional fancy (S, pp. v-vi).

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19 The piece is transcribed in Cunningham, 'Further Light on the Harp', 158.

20 See *Roger North on Music*, ed. J. Wilson (London, 1959), 294.

21 Holman, 'The Harp in Stuart England', 203, fn. 27.

However, Achtman fails to mention Holman's suggestion that Lawes was working from a now-lost consort piece by Coprario. If one was attempting to debunk Holman's idea, it could be mentioned that, in the case of Ferrabosco's five-part pavan that Lawes used in the bass viol duet, he simply took the outer parts and added his own inner parts. This may (but not necessarily) imply that Lawes only used the outer parts of MacDermott's pavan.

The Harp Volume

Cheryl Ann Fulton wrote the introduction to the harp volume. She is an expert in the field of historical harps, especially the triple harp, which she has championed since the 1980s. She is certainly on home territory in her account of the instrument (H, pp. iii-iv), and it comes as no surprise that she has been one of the most persistent voices claiming the Harp Consorts for the triple harp. In the first instance, it should be said that there is no doubt that Lawes's consorts are perfectly playable on a triple harp: it has the range (diatonic and chromatic) and has a suitable timbre. This is not in question. The question is whether Lawes originally intended his consorts to be played with a triple or Irish harp. To assess the argument in terms of modern capabilities is to pose a question to which we already know the answer.

Fulton's arguments in favour of using a triple harp for Lawes's consorts were first advanced in a 1985 article in the *Historical Harp Journal*.[22] Since then Andrew Ashbee has published his nine-volume *Records of English Court Music*, which has done so much to improve our understanding of music at the English court. However, she quotes documents from Henry Cart de Lafontaine's *The King's Musick*, published in 1909 and now completely inadequate for scholarly purposes; *RECM* does not make it into the bibliography of either the score or harp volumes. Her introduction to the harp volume discusses in some length the arguments for both the Irish and triple harps, under the headings 'Sources', 'Harps and Harpists at the Court of Charles I', 'Compositional Considerations' and 'Conclusions'.

Fulton's 'Sources' section is brief and uninformative, with no explanation of the relationship between the three sources. The following section, 'Harps and Harpists at the Court of Charles I', is much lengthier and apparently discusses the arguments and contexts for using either an Irish or triple harp, both of which were in use in the 'British Isles' at the time (H, p. iii). (It is worth noting that the term 'British Isles' used to include the whole island of Ireland is actually offensive to some.) Perhaps the most insidious aspect to the discussion is that both types of harp are discussed, particularly since Fulton portrays the Irish harp as little more than a straw man, a second choice to her triple harp. She begins by noting that the harp for the Harp Consorts requires a range of four octaves from *D* to *d'''* and by giving a list of the chromatic pitches needed (H, p. iii). This is essentially correct (see my *Galpin Society Journal* article), but Fulton does not make clear how this information has been compiled: is it from the main copy-texts or from all three sources?

Fulton's rejection of the Irish harp seems to be largely founded on anecdotal evidence that chromatic Irish harps are difficult to play. Quoting private correspondence from the harper Bill Taylor, who has performed on a reconstruction of the Cloyne (or Dalway) harp (the fragment of an early seventeenth-century Irish harp that appears to have been

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[22] C.A. Fulton, '*For the Harpe, Base Violl, Violin and Theorbo*: the Consorts of William Lawes (1602-1645)', *American Harp Journal*, 10 (1985), 15-20.

chromatic),[23] she notes that 'someone used to an ordinary diatonic Irish harp would not necessarily easily be able to shift to playing all those chromatics absolutely required for Lawes' (S, p. v). However, this is an anachronistic conclusion based on judging seventeenth-century playing techniques from a modern standpoint, and depends on the assumption that the Irish harpers at court primarily played diatonic Irish harps; it is possible, perhaps likely, that the court harpers trained on chromatic instruments. Modern perceptions of the difficulty of playing Lawes's parts are simply beside the point.

Fulton notes that 'A group of skilled chromatic wire-strung harpers did not emerge from the Irish harpers [at court] in the way that there were gut-strung harp players who made the transition to the *arpa doppia*' (H, p. vi). This is true but misleading. First, it tacitly implies that the *arpa doppia* was the logical (even teleological) conclusion for harpers in the seventeenth century, and that the Irish harp was merely a step towards this conclusion. Second, it ignores the significant impact that the English Civil War had on the cultural status of Ireland. In England, distrust of Ireland – and Irish culture – was heightened in the mid-1640s when it became evident that Charles I was attempting to make a deal with Irish Catholics in order to secure his return to the throne; the Cromwellian conquests did little to engender sympathy. Thus, by the end of the 1640s the Irish harp, already a potent national symbol, was unlikely to have sat easily within the English consort music tradition. The cultural crossover represented by the chromatic Irish harp could not be sustained once the cultural network of the Stuart court had been dismantled in the 1640s and 1650s. The need for an Irish harp with a chromatic compass (enabling pieces with modulations to be played) disappeared once the instrument ceased to be a participant in English consort music; the Irish harp seems to have returned to being a diatonic instrument by the end of the century.[24] Moreover, from a practical perspective, one suspects that the construction problems involved with chromatic wire-strung Irish harps would also have contributed to the brevity of its existence; such problems would have been less of an issue in a court environment where costs of instrument repair and maintenance would have been borne by the crown.

One wonders on what grounds Fulton suggests that the harp purchased for the French triple harpist Jean le Flelle in 1631 was 'likely bought for use in both his Majesty's service as well as the Queen's' (H, p. iv). This appears to be a tacit acknowledgement of Holman's point that le Flelle appears to have been primarily associated with the queen's household. Holman also made the point that what we know of the English court music suggests that there was a strong demarcation between the various households. Thus, while it is not impossible that le Flelle played it in the main royal music, it is not as likely as Fulton would have us believe. It is true that if le Flelle played 'a single row or even wire-strung harp [it] would in no way diminish his triple harp skills and would certainly not affect a connection with the performance of the Harp Consorts' (H, p. v). However, the basic question remains unanswered: why was le Flelle drafted in from the queen's household to play the Harp Consorts when there were two Irish harpers in the king's household? Fulton goes on to cite the apparent formation of le Flelle's consort in 1635 as another supporting factor in the triple harp case. Holman (1987) suggested that this group was actually formed to play some of the music in the Queen's masque *The Temple of Love*, performed in February 1635. Fulton argues that 'the reference to a consort led by

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[23] For the Dalway harp, see M. Billinge and B. Shaljean, 'The Dalway or Fitzgerald Harp (1621)', *Early Music*, 15 (1987), 175-187.

[24] This point is developed in J. Cunningham, '"Irish Harpers are Excellent, and their Solemn Music is much liked of Strangers": the Irish Harp in non-Irish Contexts in the Seventeenth Century', in *Music, Ireland and the Seventeenth Century*, ed. B. Boydell and K. Houston, *Irish Musical Studies*, 10 (Dublin, forthcoming in April 2009).

LeFlelle including [the singer-lutenist Nicholas] DuVal seems more likely to refer to the Harp Consort ensemble rather than only to the masque' (H, p. v), but does not explain why. It should be made clear that there is only a single reference to le Flelle's consort, which could suggest that it was a temporary ensemble, created for the masque.

Fulton also raises the issue of Daniel O'Cahill, an Irish harper employed in the households of Anne of Denmark and Henrietta Maria. In his 1987 article Holman noted that O'Cahill signed his name with a symbol resembling a harp, which may imply that he was illiterate and did not participate in an 'art music' tradition, but rather in an Irish (diatonic/modal) music tradition. This claim was refuted by Seán Donnelly, though his reading of Holman as 'one English writer' and of the argument as 'Anglo-centric and not a little anachronistic' is misconceived in its misplaced post-colonial fervour, and betrays an embarrassing '–centricity' of its own).[25] Fulton notes that this 'supposes that there is a correlation between literacy, intelligence and education in the seventeenth century', which is only true in part. Holman made no attempt to equate literacy with intelligence. Nevertheless, we cannot say that, even if O'Cahill was illiterate, he did not play 'art music'. What we can say is that, of the Irish harpers at court, O'Cahill appears to have maintained the strongest connections with his homeland throughout his life:[26]

Fulton's section on 'Irish Harpers at the English Court' ends with a virtuoso display of specious, syllogistic, arguments (H, p. vi). They are essentially as follows: we do not know for certain that the Irish harpers Philip Squire or Lewis Evans (or Cormac MacDermott) played chromatic Irish harps; Daniel O'Cahill may have been associated with the chromatic harp, particularly the Cloyne harp; (the French triple harpist) Jean le Flelle did play the triple harp and was at court at the same time as Lawes. The conclusion she draws is that therefore Lawes most likely composed the harp consorts for le Flelle and Cahill, both members of the Queen's music. Fulton's interpretation of Holman's statement about the court structure is equally misleading. It is not that 'Lawes would have preferred a harper/harpist because he was a member of the king's musical establishment (H, p. vi)', it was simply that the section of the Royal Music to which Lawes belonged (and therefore presumably composed most of his music) included two Irish harpers. Personal preference would have had little to do with it.

Fulton covers much the same ground as Achtman in her discussion of the Coprario and Cormack attributions in the theorbo parts of Lawes's autograph part-books. Again, the discussion is specious, as is the discussion of Cormac MacDermott (H, p. vi). Fulton goes on to present what she terms an 'insight': when Lawes wrote 'for the violin, bass viol, theorbo and harpe' he meant a triple harp by negative implication. She argues that, because there are references in contemporary literature to Irish harps (the example given is Bacon's *Sylva sylvarum*), Lawes's use of plain 'harpe' means a triple harp; he would have used 'Irish harpe' to mean an *Irish* harp (H, p. vii). This is certainly an 'insight', but tells us more about Fulton than Lawes. In a document dated 25 November 1663 (referred to by Fulton; H, p. v) detailing the purchase by the crown of an Italian harp for £15, Charles Evans is described as 'musician in ordinary for the Italian harp'.[27] This is a late reference, but it shows that one must be cautious in reading too much into references of this sort when attempting to answer complex organological questions' one cannot read too much into a single reference when attempting to answer complex organological questions.[28]

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[25] S. Donnelly, 'A Cork Musician at the Early Stuart Court: Daniel Duff O'Cahill (*c.*1580-*c.*1660), "The Queen's Harper"', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 105 (2000), 1-26, at 11.

[26] See Donnelly, 'The Queen's Harper'.

[27] Ashbee, *RECM*, i. 51.

[28] See, for instance, Holman's discussion of the origins of the violin in *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 19-24.

In her conclusion Fulton does not resolve the issue of the type of harp. Nevertheless, she raises some interesting possibilities that could perhaps have been explored further. For example, she suggests that 'the two different types of harps were intended for the two different styles of composition – one for the dance suites and one for the Pavans and Fantazy. In this case it would be most likely that the Irish harp would play the older style Pavans and the triple harp the faster, more French style influenced dance suites' (H, p. vii). However, it is not explained how this fits with the suggestion made throughout the edition that the large-scale pieces should be placed at the head of the dance suites. The implication is that O'Cahill played the large-scale pieces on his Irish harp followed by le Flelle playing the triple harp in the dance suites. This would be aurally significant and would have important implications for the development of the collection, though the matter is not pursued.

Furthermore, one might argue that, if two types of harp were used, it would be more logical for the triple harp (with its 'chromatic' abilities) to play the large-scale pieces, for which fully written out parts survive (and thus which require more 'chromatic' notes), leaving the Irish harp to play the skeleton parts of the 'dance suites'. The louder sound of the Irish harp might have been better suited to playing these thinner parts (presuming that Lawes intended them to be un-realized), thus filling out the sound. In other words, only slight adjustments would be needed for an ordinary Irish harp to play the skeletal lines for the 'dance suites', whereas the pavans and the fantazy would need a large chromatic Irish harp. This line of thought actually serves to bolster the Irish harp argument because it highlights the relationship between the harp and the other instruments: i.e., the harp accompaniment needs to be heard distinctly. Modern recordings of the Harp Consorts that use a gut-strung harp show that the instrument is too close to the timbre of the theorbo and struggles to be heard within the ensemble.[29] One suspects that both types of harp were used, depending on the occasion and resources to hand. However, I would argue that Lawes *composed* for the Irish harp.

Fulton also cites the Royall Consort 'new' version (2 violins, 2 bass viols, and 2 theorboes) as evidence that 'Lawes was moving away from the Elizabethan mixed consort sound which used mixed ensembles of bowed gut instruments, winds, plucked gut string and plucked wire string instruments' (H, p. vi). The conclusion drawn is that Lawes was thus more likely to have composed for a gut-strung harp, as this 'fits much more within the timbre of the rest of Lawes' output' (H, p. vi). However, Fulton again demonstrates a failure to grasp the fundamental issue (not to mention making a specious inference about the development of scorings): what is the point in composing for a different ensemble (the Harp Consorts and 'new' Royall Consort were composed around the same time) if you are only going to achieve the same sound?

In conclusion, this edition is to be welcomed, but with caution. The musical text is generally accurate and perfectly usable for a performing edition. However, the introductions are not as informative or scholarly as they might have been, or as they purport to be. The lack of referencing and the use of out-of-date secondary sources is a particular problem in the Score volume, and some of the arguments, especially in the Harp volume, border on the ridiculous. The danger is that those unfamiliar with Lawes's music and its sources will come to accept this edition as definitive. Unfortunately, it is not.

[29] See also Cunningham, 'A Tale of Two Harps'.

The following corrections need to be made to the introductions:

Score, p. iii: Fuller's *History of the Worthies of England* was edited by his son John and was published in 1662, not 1660.

Score, p. iii: Although we know from the records for the Inns of Court masque *The Triumph of Peace* that Lawes played the theorbo, there is, as far as I am aware, no evidence that he 'established himself as a renowned performer on the 12-course theorbo'.

Score, p. iii: '[Lawes] was commissioned to write the music for the important masque 'The Triumph of Peace'. In fact, Lawes was commissioned to compose the music with Simon Ives.

Score, p. iii: The statement that 'Because of the Civil War, Lawes' music disappeared from public circulation within fifteen years of his death [1645]' is not entirely accurate. One finds Lawes's music copied in fewer manuscript sources after the middle of the century, but his music does not 'disappear': it appears in several of Playford's publications after 1660, and one of his songs is even found in John Banister and Thomas Low's *New Ayres and Dialogues* (London, 1678).

Score, p. iv note 7: the quotation from Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* is from the 1683 edition. The introduction to the 1664 edition contained a similar passage.

Score, p. ix: The reference to a concordance in John Adson's *Courtly Masquing Ayres* is a confusion with John Playford's collection of the same name, published in 1662. Adson's collection was not published in 1611 and reprinted in 1622; it was printed only once, in 1621.

Score, p. x: The first bibliographic entry refers to an edition of the Harp Consorts by Achtman (Basel, 2002); we learn in 'footnote' 41 (S, p. xi) that this is Achtman's 'thesis', although no degree type is given.

Score, p. x: The *VdGS Index* has been revised since the 1992 edition: *The Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain: Thematic Index of Music for Viols*, comp. G. Dodd and A. Ashbee (London, 2/2004); this was issued on CD-ROM, with further additions available at http://www.vdgs.org.uk/publications-ThematicUpdates.html.

Score, p. x: volume nos. for *GMO* are given first in Roman and then in Arabic numerals.

Score, p. xi: The 'Footnotes' are more accurately 'Endnotes'.

Score, p. xi, note 11: 'The harp part for Harp Consort 11: Fantazy is also transmitted in Gb-Och Mus 5'. It is not; this appears to be a confusion with the harp part for the 'Aire' (no. 26 of the edition), which is.

Score, p. xi, note 18 (also Score, p. x): Simpson's treatise was first published in 1659 under the title *The Division-Violist*.

Score, p. xi, note 34: The Talbot MS should be 'GB-Och' rather than 'BG-Och'.

Harp, p. iv: 'No other set of works in Lawes' repertory has this sort of division and use of key [that we find in the Harp Consort] – the major minor scales of G and D only'. This is both true and misleading, true only in the sense that only these keys (g/G, d/D) are used, misleading in the sense that we find the same major/minor key divisions in Lawes's Fantasia-Suites (using a/C, g/G, and d/D) and in the 'suites' for two bass viols and organ (using the keys g/C). One could even apply a major/minor division to the Royall Consort.

Harp, p. v: 'Charles Evans […] was the first known Welsh player of the triple harp'. This seems to refer to Holman's suggestion that 'Evans alias Williams sounds Welsh' (Holman, 'The Harp in Stuart England', 200). It is certainly plausible, but it converts a suggestion into a fact: there is no evidence that he was Welsh other than his names.

Harp, p. vi: 'Cormac MacDermott was appointed to the Royal Musick of Elizabeth I in 1605, and continued under James I until his death in 1618'. Here Fulton appears to be referring to claims that MacDermott was employed at Elizabeth's court (Elizabeth actually died in 1603) prior to 1605 (a claim first advanced in Seán Donnelly). There is no evidence for this.

Harp, p. vi: Fulton dates Reinholdt Thim's painting *Christian IV of Denmark's musicians* as 'c. 1610', although it is not clear upon what evidence she bases this dating; it is my understanding that the picture dates from the early 1620s.

Harp, p. vii: Billinge [i.e. Michael Billinge and Bonnie Shaljean] omitted from the first Bibliography reference

The following is a list of errors and omissions from the music text and commentary (in the Score volume); where alternative readings are here presented they are not intended to imply that these readings should be preferred. A similar layout to the edition has been adopted (Bar number, Instrument, Item: Comment); Helmholtz system used for pitch notation. Sources are given in full on first citation, abbreviated thereafter.

Abbreviations, as in the edition: D = Division Viol; Dr = Division Viol: Repeat; H = Harp; T = Theorbo; V = Violin; a = alto; b = bass; s = soprano; t = tenor; ts = time-signature.

Manuscript abbreviations used below: D.229 = Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus. Sch. D.229; D.238-40 = Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Mus. Sch. D.238-40; Mus. 5 = Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 5.

1. Almane: 14 H b1: *c* in D.229.

2. Corant: 7 H s1: raised in D.229 (no need for ed. accidental) / 26 D (A1 strain) 3: there is a minim *a* below this note in D.240.

3. Corant: 10 H s4: *a″* in D.229; the editors have preferred the reading from Mus. 5.

4. Saraband: 5 Dr 12: D.240 does not raise this note, and seems more likely to be *b flat* (than natural) / 9 Dr 12: although the *e flat* is implied here by the key signature, Lawes does not actually cancel the preceding naturals (on notes 7 and 9) thus the case is more ambiguous than the edition suggests, and would perhaps be better severed by a cautionary natural (as was done in bar 5, which is essentially a similar case).

5. Aire: 11 Dr 7: although the *b flat* is implied here by the key signature, Lawes does not actually cancel the preceding natural (on note 3) thus would perhaps be better severed by a cautionary natural / 16 Dr 2-3: editorially dotted quaver semiquaver? / 20 T 4: raised in D.238 (no need for editorial natural).

6. Corant: 2 H s6: the note in Mus. 5 is *c″* not *c′* as noted in the commentary.

7. Corant: ts: should be 3i rather than 3! as in the commentary. / Bar 3: the clash between the harp and violin should be resolved. / The commentary notes that for 33 D 4 the chord is *a*/c#′/*e*′; however, the clef has been misread; before this chord Lawes changed back from the c4 clef to a bass clef (f4), which actually gives a *d*/*f*#/*a* chord. Indeed, this clef change, which is presumably the one referred to in the previous Commentary entry does not seem to have been included in the edition (despite the inference in the Commentary to the contrary). / 34 Dr 8-10: 3rd higher in D.240 (i.e. *g a b flat*).

9. Almane: 13 Dr 3-4: editorially dotted-quaver semiquaver?

10. Corant: 25 Dr 7: is given in the Commentary as 'D': this should be bar 26.

13. Aire: 8 V 5: the edition suggests that Lawes deliberately intended a c" (natural) here; however, he did not actually cancel the previous #. Certainly, one can argue for a *c″*

(natural) here because of the *c′* (natural) on the repeat strain in the bass viol (although the edition allows other instances of chromatic clash); however, the case is not quite as unambiguous as the edition suggests.
15. Corant: 11 & 26 V 4: the natural should be cautionary (not explicitly called for in the MS, and thus is not as unambiguous as the edition suggests). / 23 Dr 8: the flat should be cautionary (not explicitly called for in the MS, and thus is not as unambiguous as the edition suggests).
17. Almane: 13 Dr 2: natural should be editorial.
18. Corant: 24 D 6: the sharp should be cautionary (not explicitly called for in the MS, and thus is not as unambiguous as the edition suggests).
20. Saraband: 19 V 6-7: editorial slur?
21. Almane: 26 Dr 7-8: these notes are editorial, inserted to fill a rhythmic gap left at the end of the bar by the final quaver; however, this final quaver is actually a crotchet (originally beamed as a quaver with the previous semiquavers but the beaming was erased). / 30 Dr: ts is 6i not 3i (the commentary also misnumbers the bar as 31).
31 T 3: *c′* (natural) given in D.238; cf. the bass viol part; the harp bass should also by implication be *c′* (natural). / 33 V 5: *d#″* in D.239.
25. Saraband: 9 Dr 11: *g* in D.240. / 13-14 Dr: the hemidemisemiquavers are erroneously given as demisemiquavers in D.240.
26. Aire: The Commentary (p. xiii) notes that the harp from b.3 is 'illegible' at bars 1-2 and 18-19 and that a 'likely version' has been reconstructed according to Mus. 5. Certainly, these bars are illegible on the microfilm, as Lawes's palimpsests do not reproduce well on this medium; however, on a personal examination of the manuscript, the passages are distinguishable, although it is not always clear what Lawes ultimately intended to retain or omit. In such cases, it seems best to give the fullest possible reading. / 1 H a1-2: the minim *g′* should begin at the start of the bar (semibreve). / 1 H b1-2: the *b* in the first chord should be dotted, and there should be a crotchet *c* above the *A* on the last crotchet beat of the bar. / 2 H b1: the minim *d* should be omitted. / 8 H s4: this is listed as an *f‴* in the Commentary (for Mus. 5), it is actually an *f#″*. / 9 H a4-5: although hard to read, Lawes seems to have intended these quavers to be crotchets beginning on minim beat 2. / 15 H s1: the chord should also contain a dotted minim *d′*, editorially sharpened. / 17 D 1-2: should be beamed together. / Between bars 17 and 19 Lawes wrote a second line doubling the soprano line of the harp part (beginning on crotchet beat 4 of bar 17, and ending half way through bar 19), whether this was a second part or a recomposed line is unclear; there are also changes to be made in the bass of bar 19. The Mus. 5 and B.3 harp parts are both transcribed in Cunningham, 'Further Light', 154-5.
27. Paven: 18-19 D: there is an alternative reading of these bars (from second semibreve of bar 18 to first semibreve of bar 19) in B.3 that has not been recorded in the commentary.
29. Paven: 1 Dr (A2 Strain) 16: *e′* (natural) in B.3. / 8 Dr (A2 Strain) 1: quaver *f#* tied over from previous beat in B.3. / 14 H a2: *f#′* in B.3. / 22 V 4-5: minim *e″* in B.3. / 23 H b4: *f′* in B.3.
30. Fantazy: The Commentary states that B.3 'is quite illegible at times'; however, although Lawes's rather squashed writing can be difficult to read, to say it is illegible is an exaggeration, especially if one is looking at the manuscript in person. / Bar 37 has been 'reconstituted according to the other parts' because of this illegibility; however, the *f#′* in the harp part of this bar is not in Lawes's score (although one can see why it was included from the chromatic context: it could certainly suggest it editorially). / 42-42 H t3: the *b flat* (at the top of the chord) appears to have been erased by Lawes in favour of

the *g*. / 48 H t3: Commentary says this is a minim *D*, perhaps referring to the minim *E* that presumably is intended to go on the second minim beat of the bar.

Bettina Hoffmann

Die Namen der Gambe in Italien

Eine Stimme im Bassschlüssel mit der Instrumentalangabe „Viola"; ein vierstimmiger Satz für „Viole", der vollständig in C-Schlüsseln geschrieben ist; ein Stimmheft mit der Aufschrift „Basso di viola"; eine Instrumentensammlung, die eine „Viola inglese" verzeichnet; eine Abrechnung, in der ein „Violone"-Spieler bezahlt wird: Dies sind typische Situationen aus der italienischen Barockmusik, bei denen ausführende Musiker und Musikwissenschaftler immer wieder von denselben Zweifeln befallen werden. Um welche Instrumente handelt es sich hier? Um ein Violoncello oder eines seiner Vorformen? Um eine Bratsche oder ein ähnliches Alt- oder Tenorinstrument der Geigenfamilie? Um eine der vielen Varianten des Kontrabasses? Um eine Gambe? Oder um ein unbestimmtes Streichinstrument, dessen organologischen Charakterzüge dem Schreiber schlicht gleichgültig war?

Eine terminologische Klärung ist bei diesen und ähnlichen Zweifeln unabdinglich, wenn sie auch nicht immer eine endgültige Lösung bieten kann. „What exactly is a violone?" fragte sich einst, wer sich für die Geschichte des barocken Kontrabasses interessierte.[1] Die Frage blieb naturgemäß ohne eindeutige Antwort, denn ihre Formulierung war dem terminologischen Denken der Zeit nicht angemessen. Eindeutige Definitionen, internationale Konventionen und Lexika, die knappe und unumstößliche Beschreibungen liefern, waren die Sache des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts nicht; zudem befanden sich die Instrumente in ständiger, schneller und nicht gradliniger Entwicklung, und die Nomenklatur hinkte oft hilflos hinter der Wirklichkeit her. „Violone" stand daher für zahlreiche Instrumente, gleichzeitig trug das gesuchte Bassinstrument zahlreiche Namen. Eine historisch sinnvolle Frage müsste etwa so lauten: Welches der Instrumente, die unter anderem auch mit „Violone" bezeichnet werden können, ist in demjenigen Kontext gemeint, in dem wir das Wort vorgefunden haben? Oder ist vielleicht kein bestimmtes Instrument gemeint? Und ebenso sollten wir mit allen problematischen weil mehrfach belegten Namen vorgehen, die sich um den Archipel der Streichinstrumente bewegen, wie Viola, Basso, Lira usw.

Wie kann also die Gambe im Italienischen heissen? Unsere Untersuchung wird sich auf rein italienische Quellen beschränken müssen, also auf diejenigen, die von Italienern mit Bezug auf die Situation in Italien geschrieben wurden. Hier ist zunächst eine Liste der Namen, von denen wir mit ausreichender Sicherheit wissen, dass sie wenigstens einmal die Gambe bezeichnet haben. Irrelevante orthographische und morphologische Varianten (viola/viuola/vivuola, arco/archo, tastato/tastado usw.) und die Variante da/a sollen dabei unbeachtet bleiben.

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[1] Diese Frage stellte sich F. Baines, 'What exactly is a Violone?', *Early Music*, 5 (1977), 173-176.

Viola da gamba
Viola
Violetta
Violotto
Violone
Viola d'arco
Viola d'arco tastata
Violone d'arco
Violone da tasto e da arco
Basso di viola
Basso da gamba
Viola (all')inglese
Violetta all'inglese
Lira
Viola bastarda

Die Liste ist beunruhigend lang; die eigentliche Schwierigkeit unserer Aufgabe liegt aber darin, dass keiner dieser Termini ausschließlich und eindeutig nur für die Gambe steht. Nur der erste, „Viola da gamba", stellt darunter die selbstverständliche Ausnahme dar; aber auch hier ist, wie wir sehen werden, ein Funken Skepsis nicht überflüssig. Alle übrigen Namen muss die Gambe mit anderen Instrumenten teilen, mit Instrumenten der Geigenfamilie insbesondere, aber auch mit der Lira da braccio, dem Lirone, der Drehleier, der Viola d'amore und sogar mit Zupfinstrumenten. In den folgenden Seiten gilt es also, das Bedeutungsfeld der Namen der Gambe genauer gegen andere Instrumente abzugrenzen. Der Nutzen dieser linguistischen Übung wird sich – so hoffe ich – bei der Auslegung der anfangs aufgeführten Instrumentalangaben zeigen. Sie soll es möglich machen, wenigstens zu entscheiden, ob der Schreiber speziell die Gambe bezeichnen wollte, eine übergeordnete Kategorie meinte, die die Gambe durchaus einschliessen konnte, oder aber an ein anderes Instrument dachte und entschieden nicht an die Gambe.

1. Viola da gamba

Der Ausdruck erscheint schon früh – wir lesen ihn zum ersten Mal im Instrumentenverzeichnis von Ippolito d'Este aus dem Jahre 1511[2] – wird aber dann zunächst recht selten gebraucht. Trotzdem kann Jambe de Fer 1556 ohne jeden Zweifel behaupten „Les Italiens les appellent viole da gambe."[3] In den letzten Jahrzehnten des 16. Jahrhunderts finden wir den Ausdruck aber häufiger und in systematischem Gegensatz zu den Viole da braccio. In diesem Sinne verwenden ihn Vincenzo Galilei im *Dialogo della*

[2] Modena, Archivio di Stato, Registro d'amministrazione del Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, 1511, c. 245*r*. Abgedruckt in W. F. Prizer, 'Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia, Master Instrument-Maker', *Early Music History*, 2 (1982), 110.

[3] Philibert Jambe de Fer, *Epitome musical des tons, sons et accordz, es voix humaines, fleustes d'Alleman, fleustes à neuf trous, violes, & violons*, Lyon, Michel du Bois, 1556, 62.

musica antica et della moderna,[4] Girolamo Dalla Casa, Claudio Monteverdi, Lodovico Zacconi usw. Bei Francesco Rognoni lesen wir sogar den seltenen Ausdruck „violino da gamba" für das Sopraninstrument der Familie.[5]

Auch in der Zeit der Dekadenz und des Vergessens der Gambe in Italien, also etwa nach 1640,[6] bleibt der Name weiterhin gültig und wird für die seltenen Gelegenheiten gebraucht, in denen man von der Gambe noch zu sprechen hat. Wir finden den altgewohnten Ausdruck „Viola da gamba" bei Giovanni Legrenzi,[7] im Instrumentenverzeichnis des Waisenhauses der *Mendicanti* in Venedig,[8] unter den Instrumenten des venezianischen Alberto Gozzi[9] und des römischen Geigers Lelio Colistas,[10] in den Zahlungslisten der römischen Adelsfamilie Pamphili,[11] in der Chronik der venezianischen Familie Contarini,[12] im Verzeichnis der Musikinstrumente von Ferdinando *Granprincipe* dei Medici von 1700.[13] Dies ist bedeutsam und soll festgehalten werden: Wer die Gambe benennen wollte, hatte auch in hochbarocker Zeit noch einen eindeutigen Fachausdruck zur Verfügung.

Der Ausdruck ist im allgemeinen von komfortabler Eindeutigkeit, die dennoch nicht ganz ungestört bleibt: In den Registern der Musikaliensammlung der Medici im Palazzo Pitti lesen wir in den Jahren 1654 bis 1660 von einem großen, viersaitigen „Basso di Viola da Gamba" aus Cremona,[14] wobei es sich zweifellos um ein Instrument der

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[4] Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna*, Firenze, Marescotti, 1581, 147.

[5] Francesco Rognoni, *Selva di varii passaggi secondo l'uso moderno*, Milano, Lomazzo, 1620, 2. Teil, [2].

[6] Die Abkehr der Italiener von der Gambe vollzieht sich etwa in den Jahren 1620 bis 1640, fällt also nicht mit der musikgeschichtlich sonst so einschneidenden Jahrhundertwende um 1600 zusammen. Siehe B. Hoffmann, 'La viola da gamba in Italia dopo il 1640', *Recercare* (2008), in Vorbereitung.

[7] Giovanni Legrenzi, *La cetra consecrata al nome immortale della sacra cesarea real maestà di Leopoldo primo sempre augusto* […] *Opera Decima*, Venedig, Gardano, 1673.

[8] I-Vas, *Ospedali e luoghi pii diversi*, Busta 646 (1. Mai 1700) u. Busta 642, f. 13 u. f. 41 v.

[9] I-Vas, Osp., B. 892, fasc. V, eredità Gozzi, «Per li Sei Luochi Pij…», cc. 45*r*-46*r*, vom 20. Februar 1726. Siehe B. Hoffmann, *Antonio Vivaldi, Le opere per viola all'inglese (viola da gamba)*, Florenz, S.P.E.S. (2006), Einleitung.

[10] Siehe H. Wessely-Kropik, *Lelio Colista. Un maestro romano prima di Corelli. Con il catalogo tematico delle Sonate e tre a cura di Antonella D'Ovidio*, Rom (2002), 110.

[11] Siehe H. J. Marx, 'Die „Giustificazioni della casa Pamphilij" als musikgeschichtliche Quelle', in *Studi musicali* 12 (1983, 1), 121-187.

[12] Antonio Olivieri, *Enciclopedia morale et civile della vita et costumi et impegni di religione dell'Abate Ant. Olivieri*, in Museo Correr, Codice Cicogna ms. Nr. 2550; abgedruckt in A. Zanotelli, *Domenico Freschi, musicista vicentino del Seicento. Catalogo Tematico*, Venedig (2001).

[13] *Inventario di diverse sorte d'instrumenti musicali in proprio del Serenissimo Sig. Principe Ferdinando di Toscana,* Florenz, 1700, abgedruckt in V. Gai, *Gli strumenti musicali della corte medicea e il Museo del Conservatorio "Luigi Cherubini" di Firenze. Cenni storici e catalogo descrittivo*, Floren (1969), 16-17.

[14] Abgedruckt in F. Hammond, 'Musical instruments at the Medici court in the mid-seventeenth century', *Analecta Musicologica* 15 (1975), 202-219: 210 und 213: „Basso di Viola Grande da Gamba di Cremona à 4 [corde]". Es sei in diesem

Violinfamilie handelt, was auch ein allgemeiner Rundblick über die Sammlung bestätigt. Noch deutlicher steht der Sachverhalt in der schon erwähnten florentinischen Aufstellung von 1700, die sich doch durch hohe organologische Genauigkeit auszeichnet. Ausnahmslos werden dort viersaitige Violoncelli als „Violoncello da gamba" verzeichnet.[15] Wir müssen für die beiden Italiener Verständnis haben, die ein Instrument, das mit den Beinen gehalten wird, mit 'Beinviola' oder 'Beincello' und nicht etwa mit 'Armviola' bezeichnen; der organologische Bezug des Violoncellos zur Geigenfamilie war ihnen weniger einleuchtend und zwingend als seine Spielhaltung. In den Florentiner Verzeichnissen haben es zusätzliche Angaben ermöglicht, das Missverständniss zu klären; aufpassen sollte man also, wo derlei Hilfsmittel fehlen.

2. Viola

Mit „Viola" bezeichnete man bis ins späte 16. Jahrhundert hinein sowohl Streich- als auch Zupfinstrumente. Baldassare Castiglione stellt in seinem *Cortegiano* die „viola" (ein Zupfinstrument) und die „viola d'arco" (ein Streichinstrument) gegenüber.[16] Aus dem Briefwechsel zwischen Isabella d'Este und ihrem Instrumentenbauer Lorenzo da Pavia erhellt sich, dass „viola" eine sprachliche Alternative zu „liuto" darstellt;[17] auch bei Francesco da Milano ist „Viola" der Laute ähnlich.[18] Gioseffo Zarlino zählt in den *Sopplimenti musicali* von 1588 „die Laute, die Viola und ähnliche Instrumente" zu den Instrumenten „die man mit den Fingern auf den Saiten spielt"; davon sind klar unterschieden die Instrumente wie der Violone, „die man mit dem Bogen spielt".[19] Noch im letzten Jahrzehnt des Jahrhunderts spricht Luigi Zenobi von der „spanischen Gitarre oder besser gesagt Viola".[20]

Gleichzeitig aber steht „Viola" in der Renaissance für alle nur denkbaren Streichinstrumente, einschließlich der Fiedel, der Lira da braccio, aller Mitglieder der Familie 'da braccio' und der Familie 'da

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Zusammenhang daran erinnert, dass die Instrumentensammlung von Ferdinando de' Medici unabhängig von der im Palazzo Pitti aufbewahrten Sammlung der Familie de' Medici war.

[15] *Inventario di diverse sorte d'instrumenti musicali,* in Gai, 16-17: „Violoncello da gamba a quattro corde".

[16] Siehe hierzu insbesondere S. Lorenzetti, '*Viola da mano* e *viola da arco*: testimonianze terminologiche nel *Cortegiano* (1528) di Baldassare Castiglione', *Liuteria Musica e Cultura* (1996), 2-23.

[17] S. Lorenzetti, 'Viola da mano', 8.

[18] Francesco da Milano, *Intavolatura de viola o vero de Lauto*, Neapel, Sultzbachius, 1536.

[19] Gioseffo Zarlino, *Sopplimenti musicali*, Venedig, Francesco de' Franceschi, 1588, *Tavola de gli istrumenti arteficiali*, 217: „il Liuto, la Viola, & altri simili"; „che si suonano toccando le chorde con una mano"; „che si suonano con l'archetto".

[20] Luigi Zenobi, [Brief an einen Fürsten], abgedruckt in B. J. Blackburn und E. E. Lowinsky, 'Luigi Zenobi and His Letter on the Perfect Musician', *Studi Musicali*, 1 (1993), 88: „Chitarra alla spagnuola o per dir meglio Viola".

gamba'. Nur der musikalische oder historische Kontext kann also entscheiden, welches Instrument gemeint ist.

Mit dem Jahrhundertwechsel verliert sich die Bedeutungserweiterung auf die Zupfinstrumente, „Viola" bleibt aber weiterhin ein Name für alle Streichinstrumente und kann sogar als Gattungsname für Streichinstrumente schlechthin gebraucht werden. So schreibt Lorenzo Allegri in seinem Vorwort zu *Il primo libro delle musiche* von 1618: „Ich habe diese Sinfonien in Partitur gesetzt, für die Bequemlichkeit der perfekten Instrumente wie Laute, Orgel und insbesondere Doppelharfe. Man kann sie mit der ersten Oberstimme und mit zwei Oberstimmen und Generalbass spielen, wenn die anderen Stimmen fehlen; sonst auch mit Violen und Blasinstrumenten."[21] Violen sind hier also die Kategorie der Streichinstrumente, die den mehrstimmigen und daher „perfekten", und den Blasinstrumenten gegenübergestellt sind. Die Frage nach der genauen Familienzugehörigkeit dieser Violen wird in den Instrumentalangaben vieler Titelblätter mit zeitgemäß verständlicher Gleichgültigkeit behandelt; sicher ist aber, dass „Viola" auch für die Mitglieder der Geigenfamilie stehen kann und spätestens seit der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts vorrangig dafür steht. Dazu nur drei Beispiele:

Francesco Todeschini schreibt 1650, dass seine *Correnti, gagliarde, balletti, et arie* „mit vier Violen, das heisst mit zwei Geigen, einer Viola und Bass" aufzuführen sind.[22] In der *Sonata di viole* von Alessandro Stradella,[23] dem ersten uns bekannten *Concerto grosso*, entpuppen sich die „Violen" des Titels wie erwartet in den Solostimmen als Violinen. Für Giovanni Legrenzi sind „Viola" und „Viola da braccio" austauschbare Bezeichnungen, die oft für eine Bassstimme eingesetzt werden, so zum Beispiel in der *Cetra* und den Sonaten opus 8.[24] Hierbei ist es vielleicht nützlich besonders deutsche Leser daran zu erinnern, dass „Viola da braccio" nicht etwa die „Bratsche" im Besonderen meinte, sondern ein allgemeiner Name für alle Mitglieder der Geigenfamilie war und also auch für das Violoncello *ante litteram* gebraucht wurde.

Mit der fortschreitenden Spezialisierung und Standardisierung der Instrumente im Verlaufe des Barockzeitalters werden den einzelnen Mitgliedern der Streichinstrumentenfamilie eigene Namen zugeteilt, während sie bisher allgemein durch den Zusatz Sopran, Alt, Tenor, Bass, oder durch leicht austauschbare Vergrößerungs- und Verkleinerungsformen unterschieden wurden. Im Verlaufe dieses

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[21] Lorenzo Allegri, *Il primo libro delle musiche*, Venezia, Gardano, Magni, 1618: „Hò voluto situare le Sinfonie spartite per commodità dell'Instrumenti perfetti come Liuto, Organo, e in particulare dell'Arpa doppia. Si possono sonare co'l primo Soprano, e con dua Soprani, e'l Basso continuato, immanchanza dell'altre parti; oltre con Viole, e Instrumenti di fiato."

[22] Francesco Todeschini, *Correnti, gagliarde, balletti, et arie, à quattro da sonare con quattro viole cioè due violini, viola, e basso* […], Venezia, Vincenti, 1650.

[23] Handschrift in I-Tn Foà 11; Stradella-Katalog Nr. 7.4-2 (C. Gianturco und E. McCrickard, *Alessandro Stradella (1639-1682), A Thematic Catalogue of his Compositions*, Stuyvesant N. Y., (1991).

[24] G. Legrenzi, *La cetra*; Id., Sonate *a 2, 3, 5 e 6 istromenti*, Venezia, Magni, 1663.

Vorganges, der alles andere als geradlinig verläuft und erst über verschiedene Umbenennungen und Überschneidungen zu einer allgemein gültigen Terminologie führt, erhält das Bassinstrument der Geigenfamilie in einigen geografischen Umfeldern den Namen „Viola". So ist es zum Beispiel in Venedig: In den Opern des berühmten Cello-Virtuosen Domenico Gabrielli wird in Arien mit obligatem Violoncello das Instrument in den Partituren für Aufführungen in Bologna, Modena und Turin „Violoncello" genannt, in den venezianischen Partituren aber „Viola".[25] Den Stimmen sieht man aber fraglos an, dass sie für ein Violoncello in der von Gabrielli bevorzugten Skordatur C-G-d-g komponiert sind. Zwei Auszüge aus der „Aria con la viola" *Se il tiranno caderà* der Oper *Il Rodoaldo*, mögen davon überzeugen (Abb. 1).

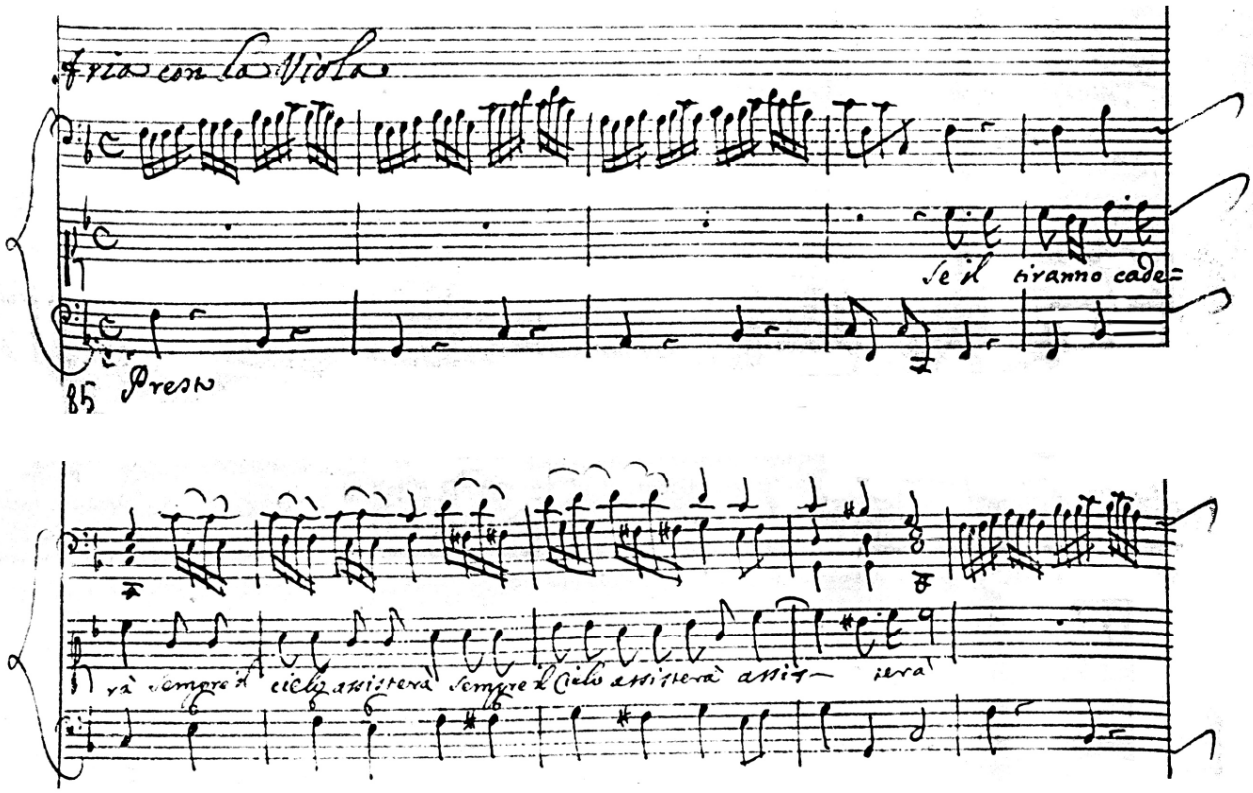

Abb. 1. Domenico Gabrielli, zwei Ausschnite aus der Arie *Se il tiranno caderà* *Il Rodoaldo*. I-MOe ms. F. 418, f. 85r und 86v.

In den Büchern der venezianischen Waisenhäuser werden die Musikerinnen nach ihren Instrumenten benannt, wobei die Namen der verschiedenen Größen der Streichinstrumente folgendermaßen lauten: „Violin", „Violeta", „Viola", „Violon"; offensichtlich steht hier „Viola" an der Stelle des Violoncellos.[26] Noch die Schülerinnen des Cellisten Antonio

[25] Arien von Gabrielli mit obligatem Violoncello aus in Venedig aufgeführten Opern sind: *Il Clearco in Negroponte*, 1685, mit „aria con la viola», I-MOe ms. F.424, cc. 105r-107v, und „aria con la viola», cc. 115r-117r; *Il Rodoaldo re d'Italia*, 1685, mit „aria con la viola», ms. F.418, cc. 85-87.

[26] P. G. Gillio, 'L'attività musicale negli ospedali di Venezia nel Settecento. Quadro storico e materiali documentari', Florenz (2006), Dokumente auf CD, 111;

Martinelli werden in den Verwaltungsschriften als Viola-Spielerinnen bezeichnet.[27] Bernardo Aliprandi wird in seinem ersten Vertrag mit dem Waisenhaus der *Pietà* „Maestro di violoncello" genannt, später immer und ausschließlich „Maestro di viola".[28] Auch der Cellist aus dem nahen Padua Antonio Vandini bezeichnet sich selbst als „Proffessor di Viola".[29] In der Musiksammlung der Familie Obizzi, die auf Schloss Catajo bei Padua saß,[30] findet sich öfters die Instrumentalangabe „Viola" in solistischen Sonaten und in Etüden. Aus einigen Akkorden und weiteren idiomatischen Anzeichen erhellt sich, dass sich hier das Wort auf zwei verschiedene viersaitige Instrumente der Geigenfamilie beziehen kann, auf ein normalgestimmtes Violoncello[31] oder aber auf eine Instrument in der Stimmung A-e-a-e'.[32] Ausserdem spielte man auf Schloss Catajo ein Instrument, das genau eine Oktave tiefer als die Geige gestimmt war, also eine Tenorgeige.[33] Einmal aber bedeutet „Viola" bei den Obizzis Gambe: Die *Sonatta â 2 Violino Solo e Viola Del Sig. Nicola*[34] schreibt in der Einzelstimme „Viola da gamba" vor. Diese Sonate ist aber stilistisch deutlich vom Rest der Sammlung abgesetzt. Sie könnte etwa in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts komponiert worden sein; die typische Besetzung mit Geige und Gambe läßt zudem an einen englischen oder auch deutschen Komponisten denken.[35]

Auch in Rom werden, wenn auch seltener, in den Zahlungslisten die Cellisten als „Viola"-Spieler aufgeführt, darunter zum Beispiel der berühmte Giovanni Lulier.[36] Esplizit und optisch überzeugend ist die

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M. White, 'Biographical Notes on the "Figlie di coro" of the Pietà contemporary with Vivaldi', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*, 21 (2000), 75-97; G. Rostirolla, *Il periodo veneziano di Gasparini*, in *Francesco Gasparini (1661-1727),* in *Atti del primo convegno internazionale*, hsggb. von F. Piperno und F. della Seta, Florenz (1981), 116-118.

[27] Arch. IRE, Der. G. 2. n. 48, fascicolo Musica, inserto 77. Abgedruckt in G. Ellero, J. Scarpa, Maria Carla Paolucci, *Arte e musica all'Ospedaletto: Schede d'archivio sull'attività musicale degli ospedali dei Derelitti e dei Mendicanti di Venezia*, Venedig, 1978, 138 und Abb. 16.

[28] Die Dokumente der *Pietà* aus den Jahren 1722-1728 sind abgedruckt in R. Giazotto, *Antonio Vivaldi*, Torino (1973), 371-377.

[29] Abgedruckt in P. Petrobelli, *Giuseppe Tartini: le fonti biografiche*, Vienna, Milano, Londra, 1968, 26.

[30] Die Sammlung wird heute in den "Estensischen Musikalien" der Wiener Nationalbibliothek aufbewahrt.

[31] Zum Beispiel in den *Sonate Per Viola*, A-Wn E. M. 67, und in der *Sonata del Marina per Viola*, eine Transkription einer Geigensonate von Carlo Marini, die hier um eine Duodezime tiefer gesetzt wurde.

[32] *Sonata per Viola*, A-Wn E. M. 70 r.

[33] Zum Beispiel in den Sonaten von Niccolò Sanguinazzo, die in A-Wn E. M. 42-44 im Oktavabstand zur Geigenfassung umgeschrieben sind.

[34] A-Wn E. M. 71.

[35] Marc Strümper erwägt eine Verbindung mit Nicholas Lanier, ein englischer Komponist und Gambist, der sich 1625 in Venedig aufhielt. Siehe M. Strümper, *Die Viola da gamba am österreichischen Kaiserhof*, Doktorarbeit, (Wien, 2001), 304-306.

[36] S. La Via, *«Violone» e «violoncello» a Roma al tempo di Corelli*, in *Studi Corelliani IV, atti del quarto congresso internazionale*, hsggb. von P. Petrobelli und G. Staffieri, Florenz (1990), 165-191: 169 und Fußnote 8.

Darstellung bei Filippo Bonanni im *Gabinetto Armonico* (Abb. 2); die dazugehörige Erklärung lautet: „Auf dem folgenden Bild wird ein Instrument gespielt, dessen Figur der Violine gleicht, das aber wegen seiner Größe *Viola* genannt wird".[37] Bonanni ist häufig mit Skepsis zu betrachten, die museale und enzyklopädische Zielsetzung seines Buches schafft einige Verwirrung. Wenn wir aber, angesichts der rückblickenden Haltung Bonannis, diesen Beleg des Wortes „Viola" um einige Jahrzehnte zurückverlegen, erhalten wir sicher ein glaubhaftes Zeitzeugnis.[38]

Abb. 2. Filippo Bonanni, *Gabinetto Armonico*, Rom, 1722
Tafel LVI *Viola*

Zusammenfassend soll festgehalten werden: „Viola" kann im Italienischen verschiedene Streichinstrumente, in der Renaissance aber auch Zupfinstrumente bezeichnen, kann ein übergreifender Ausdruck für alle Streichinstrumente sein, erfährt aber dann im Laufe der Barockzeit eine Spezialisierung, wobei es insbesondere für das Alt/Tenor- und das Bassinstrument der Geigenfamilie stehen kann. Die barocke Spezialisierung des Wortes „Viola" ist im Italienischen an der Gambe vorbeigegangen; ich kenne keine rein italienischen Zeugnisse aus der Zeit nach etwa 1640, in denen das einfache „Viola" implizit für die Gambe steht.[39] Die Sachlage ist

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[37] Filippo Bonanni, *Gabinetto Armonico pieno d'istromenti sonori indicati e spiegati* […], Roma, Giorgio Placo, 1722, 101: „L'imagine seguente è in atto di suonare un'istromento simile nella figura al Violino, mà per la grandezza che hà è nominato *Viola*."

[38] La Via, *Violone*, 177.

[39] Als einzige Ausnahme soll das Verzeichnis der Sammlung Benavides von 1696 nicht unerwähnt bleiben, in denen die Gamben der beiden Geigenbauer

also deutlich anders als zum Beispiel in England und Frankreich, wo wenigstens zeitweise und in bestimmten Zusammenhängen „Viol" bzw. „Viole" als eindeutiger Fachausdruck gebraucht werden konnte. Unser heutiger Umgang mit der terminologisch verhältnismäßig klaren Situation in den Hochzeiten der Gambe dieser Länder darf den Blick auf Italien nicht verzerren, wo das Instrument seit etwa 1640 zur Seltenheit geworden war. Das einfache „Viola" hat im Italienischen keinen besonderen Bezug zur Gambe.

3. Violone

Für Diego Ortiz, Gioseffo Zarlino, Giovanni Francesco Prandi und viele andere war „Violone" ein Fachausdruck für die Gambe, der keine näher umschreibenden Zusätze benötigte.[40] Die Gambe war als tiefes und großes Instrument entstanden, auch ihre kleinsten Familienmitglieder konnten daher diese Vergrößerungsform erhalten. Trotzdem war „Violone" nicht etwa ein Monopol der Gambe. Im schon erwähnten ferraresischen Inventar von 1511 werden „vier Violoni nach neapolitanischer Art" in der Kategorie der Lauten, nicht der Violen aufgeführt, sind also Zupfinstrumente.[41] Auch beim „Violone" konnte daher der einschränkende Zusatz „d'arco" (Bogen-) notwendig sein, gleichzeitig aber auch der Zusatz „da tasto" (Bünde-) zur Unterscheidung von den bundlosen Instrumenten der Geigenfamilie. Mit „Violone d'arco da tasti" umschreiben daher Lanfranco und Ganassi die Gambe.[42] Denn für einen Muttersprachler bleibt die Vergrößerungsform „Violone" ethymologisch durchsichtig und kann jederzeit auf verschiedene Instrumententypen übertragen werden, darunter selbstverständlich auch die mehr oder weniger großen Formen der Geigenfamilie. Behalten wir dabei im Auge, dass auch diese Familie schon in der ersten Hälfte des 16.

Linarolo als „Viole", „Violoto", „Violone Basso" und „Violette" aufgeführt werden. Dem Schreiber war in dieser jahrhundertalten Sammlung, die immer im Besitz der Familie geblieben war, der Bezug zu den Instrumenten auch ohne weitere organologische Angaben offensichtlich klar genug. Das Verzeichnis ist abgedruckt in G. Stradner, 'Musical Instruments in an Inventory by Andrea Mantova Benavides, Padua 1696', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 55 (April 2002), 62-103.

[40] Diego Ortiz, *Trattado de Glosas sobre Clausulas y otros generos depuntos en la Musica de Violones*, Rom, Valerio und Luigi Dorico, 1553; italienische Ausgabe: *El primo libro de Diego Ortiz Tolletano / nel quale si tratta delle Glose sopra le cadenze & altre sorte de punti in la musica del Violone nuovamente posti in luce,* Rom, Valerio und Luigi Dorico, 1553; Zarlino, *Sopplimenti*, 1588; Giovanni Francesco Prandi, *Compendio dell musica*, Ms., Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, E/19.

[41] Modena, Archivio di Stato, Registro d'amministrazione del Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, 1511, c. 245*r*: „Quattro violonj alla napolitana".

[42] Giovanni Maria Lanfranco, *Scintille di musica* […], Brescia, Lodovico Britannico, 1533, parte IV, cap. *Dei Violoni da tasti: & da Arco*; Silvestro Ganassi, *Lettione Seconda pur della prattica di sonare il violone d'arco da tasti* […], Venedig, Selbstverlag, 1543.

Jahrhunderts vollständig in allen Stimmlagen ausgebildet war;[43] das oft abgebildete Fresco von Gaudenzio Ferrari in der Kathedrale von Saronno von circa 1535 ist dafür vielleicht der erste sichtbare Beweis. Nach den Forschungen Rodolfo Baroncinis ist „Violone" in den religiösen Brüderschaften im Venedig des späten 16. Jahrhunderts sogar der Familienname der Da-Braccio-Instrumente schlechthin.[44] In den ersten Jahrzehnten des 17. Jahrhunderts bindet sich das Wort „Violone" immer mehr an das Bassinstrument der Geigenfamilie, also an das Violoncello *ante litteram*, und bleibt in dieser Bedeutung bis zum Ende des Jahrhunderts gültig, wie Stephen Bonta in seinen Studien gezeigt hat.[45] Der erste eindeutige Nachweis findet sich in einer Motette von Giovanni Ghizzolo von 1624, die von einem „Violone da brazzo" begleitet werden kann.[46] In einem verlorengegangen Schulwerk von Cristoforo Bianchi, *Tavola d'imparare a formare passaggi e fugghe, e intavolarli per il Liuto, Gravicembalo, Violone, e Viola da Gamba*, 1614 in Rom erschienen, sind „Violone" und „Viola da gamba" offensichtlich zwei verschiedene Instrumente.[47] Sehr eindeutig ist auch die Abbildung in der *Musurgia* von Athanasius Kircher, in der die „Chelys […] major dicitur vulgo Violone" durch seine äussere Linie, Bundlosigkeit, Viersaitigkeit und Quintstimmung unverwechselbar als Geigeninstrument gekennzeichnet ist und dem Gambeninstrument gegenübergestellt wird (Abb. 3).[48]

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[43] See P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: the Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993; 2/1995), 1-31.

[44] R. Baroncini, 'Contributo alla storia del violino nel sedicesimo secolo: «i sonadori di violini» della Scuola Grande di San Rocco a Venezia', *Recercare*, 6 (1994), 61-190.

[45] S. Bonta, 'From Violone to Violoncello: A Question of Strings?', *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, 3 (1977), 64-99; Id., 'Terminology for the Bass Violin in Seventeenth-Century Italy', *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, 4 (1978), 5-42.

[46] G. Ghizzolo, *Quem terra pontus con due violini et chitarrone o violone da brazzo* in *Seconda raccolta de' sacri canti* […] *fatta da Don Lorenzo Calvi, musico nella cathedrale di Pavia*, Venedig, A. Vincenti, 1624.

[47] Das Buch von Bianchi ist uns heute nur bekannt durch seine Zitierung in Marin Mersenne, *Harmonicorum instrumentorum*, Paris, Baudry, 1648, *Liber Primus*, *Propositio XVII*, 24. François-Joseph Fétis, in der *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1883, Vol. I, 404, *Bianchi (Christophe)*, gibt als Editionsdatum 1650 an, offensichtlich ein Fehler, da auch Fétis als einzige Quelle Mersennes Werk von 1648 bezeichnet.

[48] Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis.* […] *Tomus I*, Rom, Grignani, 1650, 486-487.

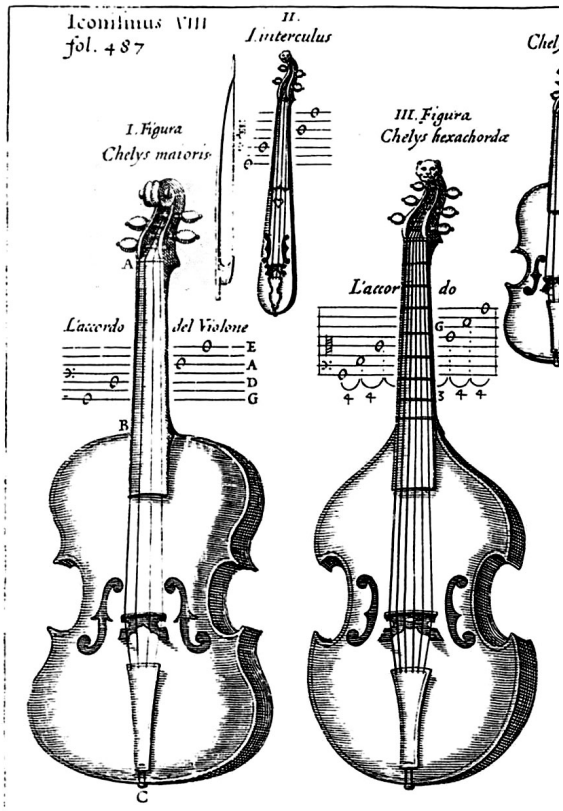

Abb. 3. Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis*, Rom, 1650
Ausschnit aus S. 487.

Natürlich ist „Violone" ausserdem einer der Namen eines Kontrabass-Streichinstrumentes. Dabei ist es wichtig festzuhalten, dass sich im historischen Italienisch eine Trennlinie zwischen „Contrabbasso" und „Violone" aufgrund der Zugehörigkeit zur Familie der Gamben- oder Geigenfamilie nicht durchsetzen konnte. Das zusammengesetzte Wort „Contrabbasso" bedeutet ethymologisch zunächst eine Gegenstimme, die über oder unter der Basslinie liegen kann; erst später und über Umwege wie „Contrabbasso di Viola" wird es als Abkürzung zu einer Instrumentenbezeichnung, ohne deshalb aber eine Spezialisierung etwa auf ein viersaitiges bundloses Instrument zu erfahren. Der Verwalter der Medici-Sammlung der Jahre 1670-1691 zum Beispiel nennt die viersaitigen Bassinstrumente „Violone", die sechssaitigen „Contrabasso di viola":[49] gerade das Gegenteil des heute international verbreiteten Sprachgebrauches.

Zusammenfassend: Der vielseitige Ausdruck „Violone" bezeichnet in der Renaissance vorrangig, aber nicht ausschließlich die Gambeninstrumente, im 17. Jahrhundert vor allem das 8-Fuß-Instrument der Geigenfamilie und das 16-Fuss-Instrument, unabhängig von seiner Zugehörigkeit zur Geigen- oder zur Gambenfamilie.

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[49] P. Ferrari, *Ancora sulla collezione medicea di strumenti musicali: gli inventari inediti del 1670 e 1691*, in *Studi in onore di Giulio Cattin offerti dall'Istituto di Paleografia Musicale*, hggb. von F. Luisi, Rom, (1990), 227-265, *passim.*

4. Basso di viola / Basso viola

Aus der französischen Sprache der Barockzeit sind wir terminologisch ein wenig verwöhnt: Zwei Termini, „Basse de viole" und „Basse de violon", stehen sich in klar abgezeichneter Opposition gegenüber; der erste bezeichnet das Bassinstrument der Gambenfamilie, der zweite das der Geigenfamilie. Ähnlich, wenn auch nicht immer unanfechtbar eindeutig, steht es im Englischen mit den Ausdrücken „Bass viol" und „Bass violin".[50] Dies schafft für den Gambisten von heute, der sich italienischen Quellen zuwendet, einen gefährlichen „false friend". Im Italienischen kennt der „Basso di viola" kein Gegenüber; nirgends habe ich bisher Spuren eines *„Basso di violino" finden können. Daran ändern auch seltene Umschreibungen wie zum Beispiel ein „Primo violino per il basso" von Adriano Banchieri nichts.[51] Der Ausdruck „basso di viola" ist also nicht die Hälfte eines Paares, sondern deckt beide Bedeutungsfelder ab und bezeichnet sowohl das Bassinstrument der Geigen- als auch der Gambenfamilie. Dafür finden wir eine Bestätigung in der schon genannten Medici-Sammlung, in der der Ausdruck ohne jede Unterscheidung für sowohl viersaitige wie sechssaitige Instrumente Einsatz findet.[52] Auch die Musiker werden in Florenz noch bis 1712 als Spieler von „basso", „bassetto", „basso di viola" o „basso viola", verzeichnet.[53] Dass dies unmöglich immer Gambisten gewesen sein können, ist nicht nur musikgeschichtlich zwingend, sondern kann auch den sehr wirklichkeitsgetreuen Gemälden von Anton Francesco Gabbiani angesehen werden, die zwei Violoncellisten portraitieren.[54] Der mit seiner Verquickung von Verkleinerungs- und Vergrößerungsform sprachlich unschöne Neologismus „Violoncello" hält späten Einzug in Florenz, Hochburg der italienischen Sprache mit Neigung zum Konservativen. Zum ersten Mal lesen wir ihn 1700 in dem obengenannten Verzeichnis der Instrumente Ferdinandos.

Der Ausdruck „Basso viola" findet sich vorwiegend auf gedruckten Einzelstimmen, in Verbindung mit „Tenore viola", „Alto viola" und

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[50] Zum Bedeutungswandel des englischen „Bass viol" siehe P. Holman, 'Continuity and Change in English Bass Viol Music: The Case of Fitzwilliam MU. MS 647', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 1 (2007), 20-50: 20-24; id., *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch*, chap. 3, forthcoming.

[51] Adriano Banchieri, *Conclusioni del suono dell'organo* […], Bologna, eredi di Giovanni Rossi, 1609, 55.

[52] Die entsprechenden Dokumente sind abgedruckt in Mario Fabbri, 'La collezione medicea degli strumenti musicali in due sconosciuti inventari del primo seicento', *Note d'Archivio per la Storia Musicale*, nuova serie 1 (1983), 51-62; Hammond, 'Musical Instruments'; Ferrari, 'Ancora sulla collezione'.

[53] W. Kirkendale, *The court musicians in Florence during the principate of the Medicis*, Firenze (1993), 369-463, 490, 496. Sowohl Kirkendale als auch J. W. Hill ('Oratory Music in Florence II: At San Firenze in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Acta Musicologica*, 19 (1979), 246-67: 257) übersetzen den Ausdruck leichtsinnig mit „bass viol".

[54] Antonio Domenico Gabbiani, *I musici del Gran Principe Ferdinando*, 1685 circa, heute im Instrumentenmuseum Florenz, Galleria dell'Accademia.

„Canto viola" (was aber oft durch „Violino" ersetzt wird). Diese Angaben beziehen sich ausschließlich auf die Stimmlage und enthalten an sich keine Informationen über die organologische Zugehörigkeit, die Stimmung usw. Es ist zum Beispiel sehr wahrscheinlich, dass „Alto viola" und „Tenore viola" von identischen Instrumentengrößen mit identischer Stimmung ausgeführt wurden, wie wir aus allen Angaben zur Stimmung der Streichinstrumente wissen und noch 1645 von Gasparo Zannetti in seinem *Il scolaro* bestätigt bekommen.[55] Es handelt sich um rein praktische Bezeichnungen, die beim Verkauf und Gebrauch die Stimmhefte unterscheiden; „Basso viola" bedeutet also in diesem Zusammenhang nichts weiter als „tiefe Streicherstimme".

5. Viola d'arco / Violone d'arco

Aus der schon besprochenen Doppelbedeutung des Namens „Viola" erwächst die Notwendigkeit, die gezupfte von der gestrichenen Viola zu unterscheiden. „Viola d'arco" ist daher ein häufig gebrauchter Name der Gambe, von den ersten Zeugnissen des Instrumentes in Ferrara bis in die frühen Jahre des 17. Jahrhunderts. Johannes Tinctoris gebraucht im Lateinischen den Ausdruck „viola cum arculo" für ein Instrument, das in allen Ländern verbreitet ist und Erzähler bei ihrem Gesang begleitet.[56] Hiermit ist also die Lira da braccio oder eventuell die Fiedel gemeint, von der Gambe konnte Tinctoris 1481 sicher nicht behaupten, dass sie „im größten Teil des Weltkreises" gespielt wurde. Im 16. Jahrhundert steht „Viola d'arco" dann hauptsächlich für die Gambe, wobei es aber nicht auszuschließen ist, dass der Ausdruck weiterhin für andere Streichinstrumente benutzt wurde; ich kenne aber keine ausdrücklichen Beispiele für diese Annahme. Leise Zweifel erwachsen allein aus den beiden schon erwähnten Fachbüchern der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts: Silvestro Ganassi hält es im Titel seines Lehrwerkes für nötig, sein Instrument als „Viola darcho Tastada" oder „Violone d'arco da tasti" genau zu umschreiben, und lässt daher implizit die Möglichkeit einer „Viola d'arco" ohne Bünde offen. Giovanni Maria Lanfranco stellt ähnlich die „Violoni da tasto & da arco" den „Violette da Arco senza tasti" oder „Violette da Braccio, & da Arco" gegenüber. Noch 1601 ist aber für Scipione Cerreto „Viola d'arco" ein gleichwertiger Name der Gambe;[57] im

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[55] Gasparo Zannetti, *Il Scolaro* […] *per imparare a suonare di violino, et altri stromenti* […], Milano, Camagno, 1645. Aus den Tabulaturen lässt sich erkennen, dass Alt- und Tenorviole dieselbe Stimmung haben.

[56] Johannes Tinctoris, *De inventione et usu musicae*, Hs., Neapel, o. D. (circa 1481), zitiert nach *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum*, www.chmtl.indiana.edu: „Et quamvis aliqui ad hoc instrumentum id est leutum: quaslibet cantilenas (ut super tetigimus) jocundissime concinant: ad violam tamen sine arculo in Italia et hispania frequentius. Viola vero cum arculo: non solum ad hunc usum: sed etiam ad historiarum recitationem in plerisque partibus orbis assumitur."

[57] Scipione Cerreto, *Della Prattica Musica* […], Napoli, Carlino, 1601, 329: „la Viola da gamba, da altri detta Viola d'Arco" ('die Viola da gamba, von anderen Viola d'arco genannt').

Il Secondo libro de Ricercate von Giovanni Maria Trabaci sind Violinen und „Viole d'arco" offensichtlich zwei verschiedene Instrumentengruppen.[58] Dies ist nach meiner Kenntnis das letzte Mal, dass sich in Italien „Viola d'arco" auf die Gambe bezieht. Ein anonymes Gedicht aus florentinischem Umkreis etwa der zwanziger Jahre des 17. Jahrhunderts mit dem Titel *Capitolo sopra l'Instrumento della Viola d'Arco* stellt sarkastisch klar, dass in der „Viola d'arco" die moderne Armviola, nicht die uralte und unbewegliche Beinviola besungen werden soll.[59]

6. Viola all'inglese / Viola inglese / Violetta all'inglese

Die Oper *L'incoronazione di Dario* von Antonio Vivaldi, die 1717 am Theater S. Angelo in Vendig aufgeführt wurde, enthält eine unter Gambisten inzwischen wohlbekannte *Cantata in Scena con Viola all'Inglese*.[60] Hier reicht ein Blick auf die Akkorde des Rezitatives (Abb. 4), um festzustellen, dass es sich bei dieser „Viola all'inglese" um eine Gambe handelt, oder aber – um ganz vorsichtig zu sein – dass es sich um ein wie eine sechssaitige Bassgambe in D gestimmtes Instrument handelt. Da sich Antonio Vivaldi durch eine für seine Zeit vorbildliche terminologische Klarheit auszeichnet, bedeutet dies zudem, dass auch die gleichnamigen Instrumente der *Juditha Triumphans*, RV 644, und der beiden Konzerte für mehrere Instrumente, RV 579 und RV 555, Gambeninstrumente sind. Und es bedeutet, dass Vivaldi selbst Gambe spielte oder doch wenigstens unterrichtete, denn er wurde am Waisenhaus der *Pietà* seit 1704 als Lehrer der „Viole all'inglese" bezahlt.[61] Auch im weiteren Umkreis der *Pietà* werden „Viole all'inglese" gespielt und verzeichnet: in einer Serenata von Giovanni Porta,[62] einer für Wiener Festanlässe geschriebene Serenata von Francesco Gasparini[63] und in der schon erwähnten Sammlung Alberto Gozzis. Da nun, wie wir oben festgestellt haben, in Venedig um 1700 der Ausdruck „Viola da gamba" durchaus noch aktiv war, ist anzunehmen, dass die „Viola all'inglese" sich durch eine organologische Besonderheit von der Gambe unterschied; der Bezug zu den Resonanzsaiten, die überall in Europa als englische Spezialität bekannt und benannt waren, bietet sich hierbei an. Es könnte sich demnach bei den venezianischen „Viole

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[58] Giovanni Maria Trabaci, *Il Secondo libro de Ricercate* […], Napoli, Giovanni Giacomo Carlino, 1615, mit einer „Canzon Francesa à Quattro per concerto de Violini, ò Viole ad Arco".

[59] Auszüge des Gedichtes finden sich in B. Hoffmann, 'La viola da gamba'.

[60] Detailliertere Ausführungen hierzu in M. Talbot, 'Vivaldi and the English Viol', *Early Music*, 30 (2002), 381-394; B. Hoffmann, *Antonio Vivaldi, opere per viola all'inglese*.

[61] Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Ospedali e luoghi pii diversi*, Notatorio n. 7 (G) Busta 688, c. 182 (delibera dei governatori della Pietà). Das Dokument ist als Faksimile abgedruckt in T. Antonicek und E. Hilscher, *Vivaldi*, Graz, 1997, 46.

[62] Giovanni Porta, *Il Ritratto dell'Eroe*, Venedig, 1726, Hs. in S-Skma, ohne Nummer.

[63] Francesco Gasparini, *L'Oracolo del Fato*, aufgeführt in Wien, 1709 und 1719, Hs. in A-Wn mus. hs. 17253 und 17278.

all'inglese" um eine Art „Viola da gamba d'amore" gehandelt haben, wie sie schon John Playford kannte. [64]

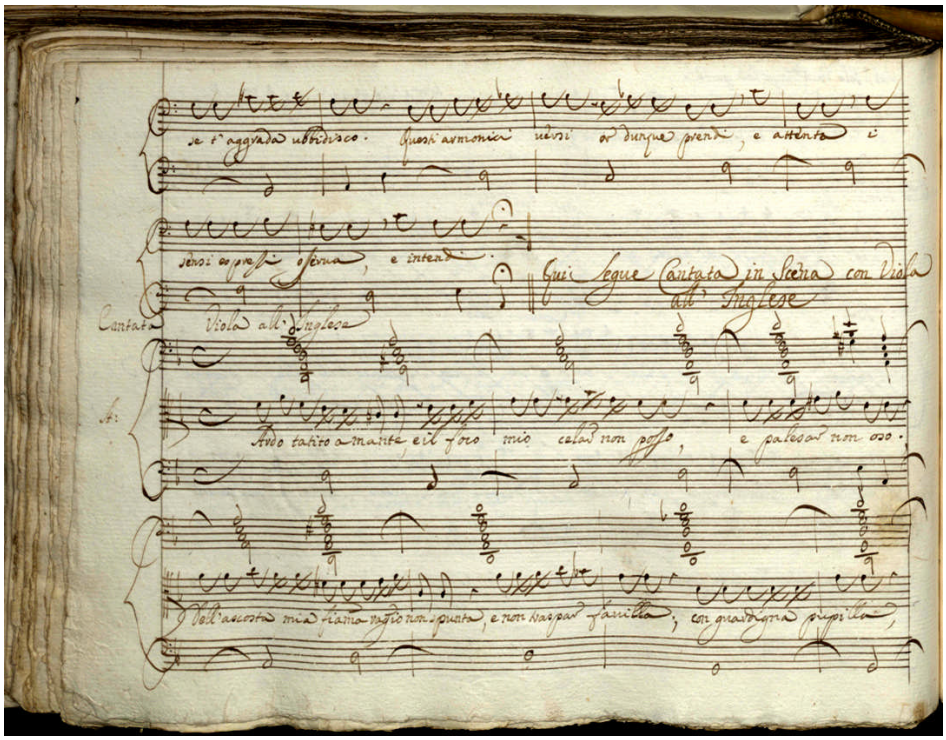

Abb. 4. Antonio Vivaldi, *L'Incoronazione di Dario*, RV 719
Akt I, Szene 15, Beginn der *Cantata in Scena con Viola all'inglese*
Autograph in I-Tn, Giordano 38, c. 283*v*

So muss es aber nicht immer und überall in Italien gewesen sein. Zwei in der Sammlung von Ferdinando de' Medici detailliert beschriebenen Gamben hießen „Violette all'inglese", weil sie von den Engländern Christopher Wise und James Jasbery gebaut waren; Resonanzsaiten hatten sie nicht.[65] Umgekehrt gibt es aber in der Sammlung des Grafen Carbonelli fünf „Viole inglesi da gamba" des italienischen Geigenbauers Niccolò Amati.[66] Außerdem kann sich der Ausdruck jedoch auch auf ein Arminstrument beziehen. Das Theaterinstrument, das der Hauptdarsteller im *Orfeo* von Antonio Sartorio auf der Bühne spielt und das in der Partitur „Lira o viola all'inglese" genannt ist, mag eher ein Da-Braccio-Instrument gewesen sein, um dem klassischen Bild des Orpheus zu entsprechen. Der Bologneser Francesco Antonio Sgargi behandelt in seinem

[64] John Playford, *Musick's Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-Way*, London, 1661.

[65] *Inventario di diverse sorte d'instrumenti musicali,* in Gai, 21.

[66] Inventario del marchese Vincenzo Carbonelli, 23 luglio 1740, archivio di Stato di Mantova, not. G. Righelli, f. 7984, c. 24*r* e segg.. Das vollständige Dokument ist abgedruckt in C. Chiesa e D. Rosengard, *The Stradivari Legacy*, Londra, 1998, 112-115: „cinque Viole inglesi da gamba tutte di Nicolò Amati".

Traktat *Sopra la viola da sei, o sette corde* von 1747 Viola d'amore und „Viola angelica", beides Instrumente, die „da braccio" gespielt werden.[67]

7. Lira

Die durch ihre Geschichte geadelte und belastete Lyre hatte dank der Renaissancebewegung ein weites Feld zu besorgen: „Lira" ist nicht nur der Name einiger bestimmter Instrumente, darunter insbesondere das Zupfinstrument des Altertums und die Lira da braccio des 15. Jahrhunderts; „Lira" muss auch immer dann herhalten, wenn in poetischen Zeilen die Fachausdrücke vieler anderer Instrumente unziemlich, weil zu technisch erscheinen. Dass damit auch die Gambe gemeint sein konnte, ist nicht nur wahrscheinlich; es lässt sich sogar in einem Fall konkret nachweisen. Die berühmte Sängerin Leonora Baroni, über die schon André Maugars begeistert berichtete, dass sie ihren Gesang auf der „Viole" selbst begleitete,[68] wurde etwa zur Zeit des Rombesuches des französischen Gambisten von Fabio della Cornia (oder Corgna) in einem metaphorischen Gemälde dargestellt: Amor zerbricht seinen Bogen, um die Pfeile an den Streichbogen der Baroni anzulegen, da dieser stärkere Macht über die Herzen der Menschen hat. Diese Metapher inspirierte in Rom einige Dichter und Literaten zu einer Reihe Gedichte, die 1639 gesammelt und herausgegeben wurden. Francesco Ronconi leitete die Sammlung mit einer ikonographischen Auslegung des Gemäldes von Cornia ein, wobei er das Instrument „Lira" nennt.[69] Glücklicherweise ist das Ölbild erhalten und heute öffentlich zugänglich; und das dargestellte Instrument läßt keinen Zweifel daran, dass Leonora Baroni Gambe spielte (Abb. 5).

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[67] Francesco Antonio Sgargi da Minerbio, *Sopra la viola da sei, o sette corde*, Bologna, Tommaso Colli, 1747. Siehe B. Hoffmann, *Antonio Vivaldi, opere per viola all'inglese*, 40-42, mit Auszügen aus einem Brief von Antonio Vandini, der die Arbeit Sgargis kommentiert.

[68] André Maugars, *Response faite à un curieux sur le sentiment de la musique d'Italie, escrite à Rome le premier octobre 1639*, o. N., o. D., 22.

[69] *Applausi poetici alle glorie della Signora Leonora Baroni* […], Bracciano, hsggb. von Francesco Ronconi, 1639, 11-12: „il quale la rappresenta tutta intiera, in piedi, con habito di color di cenere, e che s'attiene con la sinistra ad vna Lira, e con la destra sostenta l'arco di essa, à cui Amore, rimirando lei in viso, furtiuamente accomoda vn de' suoi strali."

Abb. 5. Fabio della Cornia, *Portrait der Sängerin Leonora Baroni*
Öl auf Leinwand, Castello di Pieve del Vescovo, Corciano, Scuola Edile di Perugia

8. Viola bastarda

Dass „Viola bastarda“ sowohl ein Instrument als auch eine Spielpraxis bezeichnet, haben spezifische Studien schon vor Jahren gezeigt.[70] Als Instrument sollten wir die Viola bastarda als ein gesondertes Mitglied der Gambenfamilie betrachten, unter der es sich wahrscheinlich oft nur durch seine bequemere Größe auszeichnete. „Die Viola bastarda […] ist ein Instrument, das weder eine Tenor- noch eine Bassviola ist, sondern eine Mittelgröße zwischen den beiden”[71] schrieb Francesco Rognoni 1620. Ob es weitere bauliche Unterschiede aufwies, ist beim derzeitigen Stand der Forschung nicht zu entscheiden. Die Spielangabe „Viola alla bastarda” wurde sicherlich auch auf die ‘normale’ Gambe bezogen, ebenso wie die Angabe „Trombone alla bastarda” die normale Posaune vorsah, und „Basso da Cantar alla Bastarda” eine normale tiefe Singstimme.[72]

In Deutschland wird der Begriff „Viola bastarda” im 17. Jahrhundert übernommen, seine Bedeutung verschiebt und erweitert sich hier aber. Michael Praetorius setzt ihn mit den Engländern, ihren Resonanzsaiten und ihren Skordaturen in Verbindung,[73] und auch im Verlaufe des

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[70] V. Gutmann, 'Viola Bastarda. Instrument oder Diminutions- Praxis?', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 35 (1978), 178-209; J. Paras, *The Music for Viola Bastarda*, Bloomington, 1986.

[71] Rognoni, *Selva*, 2. Teil, [2]: „La Viola Bastarda […] è un instromento, qual non è ne tenore, ne basso de Viola, ma è tra l’vno, e l’altro di grandezza.”

[72] Rognoni, *Selva*, 2. Teil, 61, und 1. Teil, 46.

[73] Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, Wolfenbüttel, Hotwein, 1619, Vol. II, 26 und 47-48.

Jahrhunderts lässt sich dieser Gebrauch von „Viola bastarda" nachweisen.[74] Davon mag wiederum ein Echo nach Italien gedrungen sein: In der reichen Naturalien-, Antiquitäten-, Kuriositäten- und Instrumentensammlung des Mailänder Adligen Manfredo Settala findet sich „Eine Gruppe von großen Viole bastarde auf englische Art mit vielen Saiten, und man spielt sie, indem man sie zwischen den Beinen hält".[75]

Ausblicke

Zum Beschluss sollen unsere terminologischen Überlegungen an einigen wenigen Beispielfällen aus der italienischen Barockmusik konkret angewendet werden.[76] Unsere Aufgabe ist dabei adversativ: Es gilt nachzuweisen, dass manches Musikstück und manche Stimme in modernen Katalogen als Gambenmusik verzeichnet wird, weil die Instrumentalangaben nicht den historischen und geographischen Gegebenheiten entsprechend ausgelegt wurden. Die folgenden Beispiele laden zu größerer semantischer Vorsicht ein.

1610 druckte Giovanni Paolo Cima die ersten Sonaten, in denen „Violino, & Violone" solistische Funktionen übernehmen und vom Generalbass begleitet werden.[77] „Violone" kann zu so früher Zeit sowohl die Gambe als auch das Bassinstrument der Geigenfamilie bezeichnen (während ein tiefoktavierendes Instrument durch die Struktur der Stimme ausgeschlossen ist);[78] aber in diesen avangardistischen Sonaten wird Cima sicher eher an ein Instrument der fortschrittlicheren Geigenfamilie gedacht haben. In den Jahren 1666 und 1670 wurden Motetten von Giacomo

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[74] „a la Viole Bastarta" las man auf einem einzelnen Blatt etwa aus der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts mit einer typisch englischen Tabulatur. Das Original ist verloren, eine Abschrift wurde von W. Tappert besorgt in: W. Tappert, *900-1900. Tausend Jahre Entwicklungsgeschichte der musikalischen Zeichenschrift*, D-B Mus. ms. autogr. theor. W. Tappert. Thilo Hirsch hat diese Abschrift wiedergegeben in www.arcimbolo.ch/cantar-alla-viola/8.Ausblick.htm. Lorenz Erhard schreibt im Compendium Musices Latino-Germanicum, Frankfurt, Kemper, 1660: «Viole di gamba, ist eine Geigen mit 6. Seyten und Bünden/wie eine Laute/welche Viola zwischen den Beinen gehalten/sonsten auch Viola bastarda genennet wird/weil man alle Stimmen gleich einer Lauten/auff eine besondere Art und Verstimmung mit Verwunderung kan hören lassen». In den *Canzoni e concerti* von Adam Jarzebsky, 1627 (hrsg. von A. Bares, Albese con Cassano, 2006). steht die Angabe „Viola bastarda" hingegen für eine allgemein virtuose Solostimme.

[75] Pietro Francesco Scarabelli, *Museo ò Galeria adunata dal sapere e dallo studio del Sig. Canonico Manfredo Settala nobile milanese* […], Tortona, Viola, 1666: „Vn concerto di viole grandi bastarde all'inglese con molte corde, e si suonano tenendole fra le gambe".

[76] Eine ausführliche Diskussion des Gambenrepertoires im barocken Italien wird in B. Hoffmann, 'La Viola da gamba in Italia', *Recercare* (2008), erscheinen.

[77] Giovanni Paolo e Giovanni Andrea Cima, *Concerti ecclesiastici* […], Milano, erede di Simon Tini e Filippo Lomazzo, 1610, mit vier Sonaten für «Violino, & Violone», teils als Alternative zu Zink und Posaune.

[78] Man bemerke insbesondere, dass in einer Sonate von Giovanni Andrea Cima aus den gleichen *Concerti ecclesiastici* der Violone di Tenorpartie übernimmt.

Carissimi in Köln und Konstanz herausgegeben.[79] Im Verhältnis zu den früheren römischen Drucken dieser Werke bieten die deutschen Ausgaben und einige zeitgleiche Abschriften zusätzliche Instrumentalstimmen für zwei Violinen und ein Bassinstrument an, das hier „Viola", dort „Violone", sonst auch gar nicht benannt wird und das den Generalbass immer dann verdoppelt, wenn die Geigen spielen. Wenn diese Bezeichnungen (und die Stimmen selbst) überhaupt auf Carissimi zurückgehen, so meinte er mit diesen Namen sicher nicht mehr als „irgendein tiefes Streichinstrument"; wenn wir mit „Gambe" übersetzen, begehen wir bestenfalls den Fehler einer zeitunangemessenen Überbestimmung.[80] 1686 wurde im Theater San Giovanni Grisostomo in Venedig die Oper *L'Amazone Corsara ovvero Alvida Regina dei Goti* von Carlo Pallavicino aufgeführt, die im dritten Akt eine Arie mit obligater „Viola" aufweist. Wie wir wissen, ist hiermit im Venedig des späten 17. Jahrhunderts das Violoncello gemeint, und der Verlauf dieser Stimme widerspricht dieser Interpretation in nichts (Abb. 6).[81] Pietro Sammartini, Kapellmeister am Dom von Florenz, gab 1688 *Sinfonie a due violini, e liuto, e basso di viola* heraus. „Basso di viola" ist aber zu diesem Zeitpunkt in Florenz der gängige Name des Violoncellos; sicher wollte er keinen besonderen Bezug zur Gambe herstellen.[82] Das *Concerto per Viola* in D-Dur von Giuseppe Tartini dürfen wir sicher in Zusammenhang mit dem Cellisten und intimen Freund von Tartini, Antonio Vandini, setzen, der sich selbst als „Violaprofessor" bezeichnete.[83] Das Konzert enthält einige Arpeggien, die sich dem Cello, nicht aber der Gambe anpassen: das Violoncello ist also terminologisch und idiomatisch der einzige überzeugende Kandidat für diese Stimme.

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[79] Giacomo Carissimi, *Missa a quinque et a novem* […] *novem, trium vocum et duorum instrumentorum* […], Köln, Friedrich Friessner, 1666; Id, *Arion Romanus sive Liber primus* […] *vocibus vel instrumentis concinedarum,* Konstanz, David Hautt jun., 1670.

[80] A. V. Jones verzeichnet diese Werke hingegen mit der Instrumentation „Viola da gamba" in *The Motets of Carissimi*, Ann Arbor (1982); und im Aufsatz *Carissimi* in *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, II Ausgabe, hsggb. von S. Sadie und J. Tyrrell, London, New York, (2001). Weitaus vorzuziehen ist die Umschreibung des Instrumentes mit «instrumental bass» bei I. Buff, *A thematic catalog of the sacred works of Giacomo Carissimi*, New Jersey (1979).

[81] Diese und viele weitere „Arie con viola" sind aber im nationale Online-Katalog des *Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle Biblioteche Italiane e per le Informazioni Bibliografiche* (ICCU), teils auch im RISM A/II, als Arien mit obligater Gambe verzeichnet.

[82] Pietro Sammartini, *Sinfonie a due violini, e liuto, e basso di viola*, Firenze, Stamperia di S.A.S. alla Condotta, 1688.

[83] Autograph in A-Wgm A 423 Ms. IX-33952.

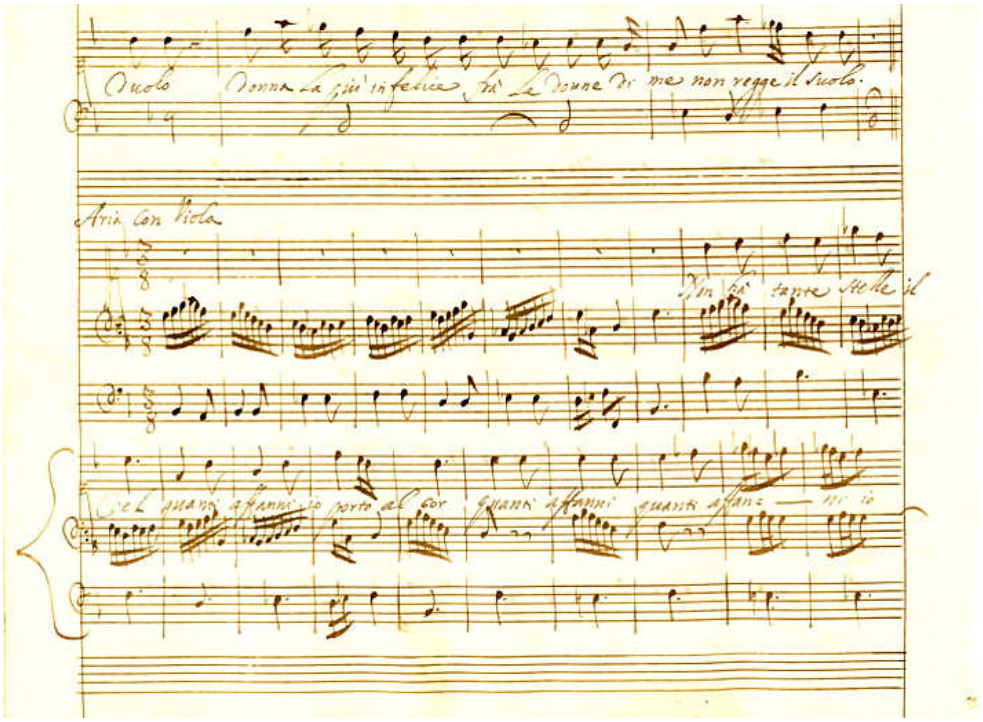

Abb. 6. Carlo Pallavicino, Akt III, Szene 12, Beginn der „Arie con Viola" (c.117v)
Bibliothek des Konservatoriums S. Pietro a Majella, Neapel, Rari 6.5.6

Auch die schon kleine Zahl der Gambenspieler im barocken Italien muss noch weiter eingeschränkt werden: Wenn der Cellist Antonio Caldara von seinem Librettodichter Paolo Emilio Badi in einem Gedicht als Spieler der „redseligen Viola" gelobt wird;[84] wenn man sich an Giacomo Taneschi, Violoncellist an San Marco und am Waisenhaus der *Derelitti*, als einem „nicht fabelhaften Orpheus unserer Zeit, weil sehr berühmten Spieler der Viola" erinnert,[85] so geht es in diesem poetischen Zusammenhang sicher nicht um eine konkrete organologische Bezeichnung, wenn überhaupt aber geht es um das Violoncello. Sicherlich ist es kein Beweis einer gambistischen Tätigkeit der beiden (was doch manchmal behauptet worden ist). Von Bartolomeo Cimapane, unermüdlicher Violone- oder Contrabbasso-Spieler in römischen Palästen, lesen wir in modernen Schriften oft, dass er bei den Ruspolis Gambe spielte. Diese Nachricht beruht mit höchster Wahrscheinlichkeit nur auf der irreführenden Übersetzung von „Violone" mit „Bass viol".[86]

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[84] Paolo Emilio Badi, Vorwort zu *L'Argene*, Venedig, Accademia ai Saloni, 1689, in I-Bc. Das Gedicht ist abgedruckt in U. Kirkendale, *Antonio Caldara: sein Leben und seine Venezianisch-Römischen Oratorien*, Graz, Colonia, 1966, 25: „Viola loquace".

[85] *Pallade Veneta*, Venedig, 13-20 Dezember 1710. Abgedruckt in E. Selfridge Field, *Pallade Veneta: writings on music in venetian society : 1650-1750*, Venedig, 1985, 265-266: „Orfeo non favoloso de' tempi presenti, perché suonatore molto celebrato di viola."

[86] Das Missverständnis geht wahrscheinlich zurück auf U. Kirkendale, 'The Ruspoli Documents on Handel', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 20 (1967), 222-273: 228, und wird auch in den neuesten Ausgaben von *Grove* und *MGG* weitergegeben. Weder in bisher veröffentlichten und mir bekannten

All dies kann dem Gambisten, der gerne italienische Barockmusik spielt, nicht lieb sein. Was wir zum Trost bieten können, ist wenig aber doch historisch unanfechtbar: Wenn ein Gambist der Barockzeit eine Stimme, die für Violoncello, Fagott oder sogar Posaune komponiert worden war, auf seinem Instrument aufführen wollte, hätte ein italienischer Musiker der Zeit vielleicht mit Verwunderung über dieses veraltete Instrument reagiert, niemals aber mit Entsetzen oder philologischer Abscheu. Die instrumentale Toleranz war groß, größer als der Klangunterschied zwischen Violoncello und Gambe, und die Entscheidung über Besetzung stand auch im ausklingenden Barockstil weitgehend noch dem Ausführenden, nicht dem Komponisten zu. Die Besitzer von Gamben wie Lelio Colista oder Leonora Baroni, die Florentiner Musiker, die sich Gamben aus den Medici-Sammlungen ausliehen, und die zahlreichen ausländischen Gambenspieler, die ihre *Grand Tour* durch Italien absolvierten, hatten ein potentielles Repertoire zur Verfügung, das mit geringer Übertragungsmühe ebenso umfassend sein konnte wie das des allgegenwärtigen Konkurrenten Violoncello.

Dokumenten, noch unter den persönlichen Aufzeichnungen zur römischen Musikgeschichte von Giancarlo Rostirolla (dem ich für seine Hilfe herzlich danke) liest man, dass Cimapane Gambe spielte.