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CONTENTS

Viols in Seventeenth-Century Flemish Paintings:
The Iconography of Music Indoors and Out 5
Richard D. Leppert

Monteclair, the Viol Player's Composer 41
Julie Anne Sadie

Antique Bowed Instruments in the Dolmetsch
Collection 51
Nathalie Dolmetsch

Violin Versus Viol in English Fantasia-Suites 88
Jane T. Johnson

Change and Tradition in the Early In Nomine 102
Robert W. Weidner

Reviews 113
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Viols In Seventeenth-Century Flemish Paintings: The Iconography Of Music Indoors And Out

Richard D. Leppert

For the viol, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century representations (in works of art) are particularly numerous, and from these we could document its rise and decline in popularity, how it was used in combination with other instruments and voices, and the manner in which it was played. A thorough study and compilation of existing works of art would certainly be a most welcome addition to the history of the instrument.

(Mary Cyr, JVdGSA, XI (1974), p. 5.)

In 1977 my study The Theme of Music in Flemish Paintings of the Seventeenth Century was published. The book contains a descriptive catalogue of 770 paintings with musical subjects and an analytical text which considers in detail the musical contents of a large sample of these pictures. In all, forty-seven different instruments were catalogued. Of this number only twenty-six instruments can be said to occur more or less commonly (i.e., in more than fifteen depictions). Among these, viols are fairly numerous; 109 occur in sixty-one different pictures. Almost all are bass instruments. Viols are found in large numbers in allegories of hearing, where for the most part they are unplayed and serve only as part of still life, and in concerts of Apollo and the Muses. In both these rather popular secular subjects, as in sacred genre (especially glorifications of the Virgin), the presence of viols seems clearly

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2 The catalogue does not purport to contain every seventeenth-century Flemish painting with a musical subject. Indeed, absolute comprehensiveness is virtually an impossible ideal. But the compilation would safely seem to represent a substantially trustworthy random sample. The chapter arrangement is as follows: instruments associated with art music, instruments in scenes of common folk, military instruments, and instruments of the hunt.

3 Perhaps in fitting reflection of the sad political state of the Southern Netherlands in the seventeenth century, the catalogue contains 273 cavalry trumpets, but only thirteen virginals and eighteen harpsichords.
to reflect a general respect for these instruments that is more
directly confirmed in portraits.4

My aim in this essay is to examine the use of viols in Flemish
society. For the most part, as one would expect, this means that
I will consider their function in upper class surroundings, for
which family and society portraits generally seem to supply the
most direct documentation, since private chamber music was the
primary secular musical practice. In the Spanish Netherlands of
the seventeenth century, there were as yet no public concerts
(except for the playing of the town bands at civic events) and
very little opera.

In Flemish painting, however, portraits set in “domestic” in-
teriors (and containing viols) do not occur in anything approaching
the numbers of Dutch portraits with viols—for one thing,
portraiture as a genre was somewhat more popular in the bour-
geois, Calvinist North than in the Catholic South. In my research
I found viols depicted only eleven times in domestic settings (in
eight of these paintings the instruments were played by men, in
three by women).5 But while Flemish painters rather infrequently
documented upper class chamber music with viols, they did record
the apparent performance of art music played outdoors. They also
occasionally depicted the use of viols in lower class settings. Dutch
artists rarely furnish documentation of either sort.

* * * * *

One painter among seventeenth-century Flemish artists stands

4 A good deal has been written on allegories of hearing. In particular,
see my Theme of Music in Flemish Paintings, 1, 108-14, and 11, Cat. Nos.
99-101, 109-11, 384, 398, and the excellent study by A. P. de Mirimonde,
"Les 'Cabinets de musique.'" Jaarboek, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone
Kunsten, Antwerp, (1966), pp. 141-78. On pictures of Apollo and the
Muses, see especially Mirimonde's "Les Concerts de Muses chez les maitres
du nord," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Ser. 6, LXIII (1964), pp. 129-58, and
"L'Hélicon ou la visite de Minerve aux Musees," Jaarboek, Koninklijk
Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, (1961), pp. 141-50, and my Theme
of Music in Flemish Paintings, 1, 104-06, and 169-70. On sacred subjects,
see this same study, I, 90-93.

5 By comparison, the lute, by far the most common instrument of art
music (it is virtually ubiquitous as a symbol of musical sophistication and
taste in portraits) is found sixty-five times played by men, twenty-one
times by women. No other instrument comes close to matching this ap-
parent popularity in upper class settings. The other soft instruments occu-
curring more frequently than viols among upper class amateurs include the
guitar (twenty depictions), violin (seventeen), and harp (thirteen).

out for his pictures of upper class musical amateurs—Gonzales
Coques (1618-1684).6 Several of his paintings include viols used
in domestic settings. The Portrait Presumed that of van Cou-
denburg Family (Plate 1),7 painted between c. 1650 and 1660, is
a case in point. Music occupies the left half of the picture in a
room abounding with the signs and activities of good taste, refine-
ment, and wealth. A decorous meal progresses in the background,
while at the right a young man returns from the hunt, a sport very
popular among the well-to-do during the period.8 A trio performs;
two women sing from partbooks to the accompaniment of a third
woman filling in at the harpsichord, no doubt a Ruckers instru-
ment judging from the characteristic decorations covering the

9 Four other instruments are present but unused. They are:
two lutes—one only partly visible, the other a theorbo-lute—a cittern,
the body of which is visible on the floor between the lutes, and,
finally, at the left, a fine bass viola da gamba with its bow.
The most noteworthy detail visible on the instrument is the flame-
shaped sound hole. The painter has carefully depicted the instru-
ment's high bridge, made especially evident in profile. The pegbox
is not visible.

Coques's Portrait of a Family on the Terrace of Their House10
is set before an architectural background serving as an obvious
and conventional sign of advanced social standing. Very little music
takes place; as in the first picture, instruments are included pri-

6 A. P. de Mirimonde devoted an article to the musical works of this
artist and his followers, "Les Sujets de musique chez Gonzales Coques et
ses émules," Bulletin, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, XVI

7 See also the discussion of this work in my Theme of Music in Flemish
Paintings, 1, 137.

8 See ibid., I, 224-42.

9 The inscription on the lid is a Latin motto: "Audi, videt et tace,
si vis vivere in pace," that is, "Listen, watch, and be silent, if you wish
to live in peace." Thomas McGee (University of Illinois) has recently
studied harpsichord molettes and has shared his typescript with me. He
has found two Johannes Ruckers instruments with this inscription; a double
virginal (c. 1627), and a virginal (1627), both listed in Donald Bealch's
Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840, 2nd ed.

10 Oil on wood, 67 x 90 cm. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen,
See also the discussion in Mirimonde, "Gonzales Coques," p. 191.
marily as props whose presence connotes cultural refinement. At the right, a young man tunes a guitar, but all the rest of the instruments stand by themselves in a decorative heap at the left. They include another theorbo-lute, a violin, and a straight cornett (the so-called cornetto muto). In addition, there is a bagpipe, in this case a rather fancy one whose drones and chanter seem fashioned from ebony. The bagpipe in the seventeenth-century Southern Low Countries was almost exclusively a peasant’s instrument, so its presence here is unusual, even though this one is made from expensive materials. In the late seventeenth century, the instrument became popular at the French Court, but there is little visual evidence to suggest that this was also the case among upper class Flemings. In the middle of all these instruments stands a lovely treble viol. It is especially noteworthy because in Flemish paintings of the period it is the bass viol which occurs almost to the exclusion of the smaller members of the family.

The Family of Jacques van Eyck (Plate 2) (the father was the wealthy mayor of Antwerp), like the last picture, is set on a terrace. At the left a young man plays an unusual bass viol. The instrument represents something of a hybrid in that its body outlines the shape of the violin family—in size it approximates the basse de violon—but the remaining organological features belong to the viol proper. Its sound holes are in the characteristic C-shape; its pegbox is surmounted by a carved head; the fingerboard is fretted. The instrument has six pegs but only five strings.

If the artist intends to suggest an ensemble, the instrumental grouping is unusual—unique, in fact, as far as Flemish iconography is concerned. In addition to the viol, and most likely a singer or two, there is also a guitar and a small portable organ. This last instrument otherwise occurs only in paintings on religious subjects or, more rarely, in allegories of hearing.

A rather different sort of private music making is illustrated in a painting by Joos van Cleve (1603/08-1662) of a Gathering of Rhetoricians (Plate 3). The rhetoricians of the Southern Low Countries were roughly the equivalent of the German Meistersingers; they were burghers who competed among themselves in composing lyrical and dramatic works. The group here consists of about ten musicians who play and sing. The instruments include, left to right, a very small pocket fiddle, a viol, two theorbo-lutes, and a virginal. The viol has six pegs and strings, although a seventh string has been painted in below the bridge. The musicians appear to be performing from both partbooks and song sheets at the same time. In this picture, as in Plate 1 before, we find instruments which are not being played. Their presence would most obviously seem to support the notion of interchangeability among instruments in such performances. It is quite likely that a single musician might perform on several instruments, picking and choosing one or another on the basis of aesthetic judgment, the requirements of the piece, or mere fancy. Caution is the byword with such suggestions, however, since musical instruments which are present but unplayed in portraits may simply make allusion to the sitters’ refined sensibilities and not necessarily to their musical skills.

A Music Party (Plate 4), dated 1667, by the Bruges painter Jacob van Oost the Elder (1601-1671) seems to represent a similar group of musicians. Here, however, the surroundings seem somewhat more formal and even elegant. These musicians appear to be considerably more refined than those in the previous picture. Except for the servant carrying in the large wine carafe at the right, all the sitters are posed in such a way that their faces are completely visible. Such an arrangement adds credence to the idea that the artist is depicting a real group of individuals. Two of the company

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12 This is a much discussed picture. See in particular Miramon, "Gonzales Coques," p. 192, my Theme of Music in Flemish Paintings, I, 137-38, and Walter Salmen, Haus- und Kammerspiele, Musikgeschichte in Bildern IV/3, ed. by Heinrich Besseler and Werner Bachmann (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1969), p. 32.

13 Walter Salmen, ibid., has pointed out that in contemporaneous England viols were sometimes combined in concert with the organ.


15 Salmen, op. cit., p. 66.
sing to the accompaniment of a violin and a large six-string bass viol. One of the singers beats time (or otherwise regulates the ensemble) with his right hand. He reads from a partbook. Neither instrumentalist seems to be reading from music.

On the matter of performance practice, these five paintings suggest a finding strengthened by many other similar pictures—namely, that in the seventeenth-century Southern Netherlands, large ensembles of vocalists and instrumentalists were rare. Ensembles larger than quintets seldom occur (except in sacred, allegorical, and mythological subjects such as angel concerts and concerts of Apollo and the Muses). In chamber music situations it is common to find more instruments than players. While there is evidence of instrumental ensembles without voices, mixed ensembles are more common by far. Moreover, among purely instrumental ensembles, unbroken consort playing, such as occurred in England, is unknown.16

Music represents a social activity. Except in the case of the paintings of (all-male) rhetoricians, men and women nearly always make music or listen to it together. The settings are commonly domestic; one has that feeling even when the setting is outdoors. Music making often follows a meal, as in Plate 1; otherwise, refreshments follow the playing, as in Plates 3 and 4. But in either case, it is clear that music is performed by amateurs as an activity which was both ordinary and socially esteemed and hence worthy of being preserved in portraits.

There is a great deal of symbolic and allegorical pictorial evidence to suggest the esteem in which music making was held by bourgeois and upper class devotees of the art. On the matter of symbolism, I have elsewhere written detailed analyses of pictures not substantially different in appearance from those already discussed here.17 A Concert in a House18 (Plate 5), sometimes ascribed to Gonzales Coques, is a case in point. Briefly put, this portrait-like concert scene in fact represents a complex allegory on the nobility of music as a fine art. That the musicians depicted here are engaged in an activity worthy of praise is clarified by the artist’s use of a number of symbolic images, the most notable of which are the pictures hanging on the back wall and the relief carving of the fireplace mantle. All three are religious subjects undoubtedly placed here to signal the viewer that the musical activities dominating the painting are godly.

On the other hand, as not infrequently happens even in paintings which appear strikingly naturalistic, like this one, the artist’s desire to make a point symbolically can easily outweigh his desire to produce a musically factual scene. In the case of this picture, for example, the artist seems to have created a musical anarchy by placing together two discrete musical ensembles, one gathered around the virginal, another placed around the table at the center. It turns out, in fact, that this latter group is borrowed virtually intact from an engraving by another artist—and a French one at that, Abraham Bosse (1602-1676)—which renders the picture less trustworthy as a document of Flemish musical practices.19

The Self-Portrait of Jean-Baptiste de Champagne (1631-1681) with Nicolas de Platte Montagne (Plate 6), painted in 1654, and The Painter in His Studio20 by Gonzales Coques represent somewhat similar uses of musical instruments as props alluding to the art of music. The painting by Coques is set in the midst of the artist’s studio. An unframed painting stands behind the artist, who plays a cittern with the aid of a spectrums. The picture includes four other instruments, all of which undoubtedly served the artist as studio props in his many musical portraits of upper class Flemish families. They include a recorder in the center leaning against the box containing the painter’s brushes and colors, a lute atop the wardrobe at the back, and a small harpsichord and bass viol at

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16 See further my Theme of Music in Flemish Paintings, 1, 244-46.
18 In addition to my study of this work in Early Music, see also the remarks by Mirimonde, “Gonzales Coques,” p. 197.
19 In addition to my comments on the Bosse engraving in Early Music, see Salmen, op. cit., pp. 46-47.
the extreme right. Coques's own musical abilities may have been modest, since the little cittern he plays was an instrument less demanding even than the guitar, though it was still held in some esteem in seventeenth-century Flanders, as is suggested by its presence in the portrait of the van Coudenberg family. (Plate 1). The presence of the viol in this piece again suggests the respect in which the instrument was held, since its use in portraits was apparently common enough to require the artist's keeping one in his studio as a prop.

We move next out of the painter's studio and into a picture gallery perhaps belonging to two of the most important patrons of the period, the Archduchess Isabella (r. 1598-1633) and her husband Archduke Albert (r. 1596-1621), since it is they who are portrayed (Plate 7). Jan Bruegel the Elder (1568-1625) and Frans Francken the Younger (1581-1642) have documented here one of the most obvious signs of refinement, the collection of beautiful objects. The gallery contains not only paintings and objets de curiosité but two viols (apparently a bass and a soprano) hanging on the wall, and a lute and a tenor recorder (?) lying atop a table. An open partbook lies under the recorder. Such a gallery would serve perfectly for chamber music concerts, and that may explain the presence of these instruments. But one would more likely expect a much larger collection of instruments if this gallery were used regularly for music making. I suspect that the viols may simply function as objets d'art collected by the patron more for their visual impact than their aural one. This would help explain why they somewhat incongruously hang on the wall of the picture gallery. I am reminded of the existence of several famous viols extravagantly fashioned by their makers to serve such a double function. The Tieffenbrucker Viol with the Plan of Paris (Plate 8) made for Francis I, is a case in point. It goes without saying that the very fact that the viol was singled out for such elaboration for a collector is an indication of the instrument's position in the hierarchy of instruments of the time and place.

* * * *

Viols in outdoor settings are interesting more for studies of performance practice and social history than for organology, because the instruments in such scenes are often very small and sometimes nearly swallowed up by landscape. A fairly typical example is an anonymous Landscape with a Music Party (Plates 9 and 10), in which an elegant group of musicians performs on the edge of a thick stand of trees. Two ladies appear to hold partbooks for singing, while two men accompany them on a flute and a tenor (?) viol. As for the latter, few details are possible to discern. The detail is so small that the artist is forced to abandon accuracy with respect to hand position on the fingerboard; the man appears simply to grasp the entire neck rather than to stop individual strings.

Outdoor music parties seem to have their iconographical source in pictures representing the season of Spring (Plates 11 and 12) as in a work by the Antwerp artist Abel Grimmer (1570/75-before 1619). Here, in the foreground, peasant laborers—men and women alike—tend to the plantings in a small formal garden, no doubt associated with the castle in the left background, while others of their lot shear sheep of their winter wool. In the background (Plate 12), however, the peasants' social betters enjoy the season as a time for gaiety, courtship, and music making. Two discrete musical events occur. First, at the right, a nobleman resting his head in his lady's lap serenades her with a lute (?). He surely represents an amateur musician. But at the left we find something quite different, a professional musician playing a large bass viol,

21 This picture is discussed by Mirimonde, “Gonzales Coques,” pp. 205-06, particularly as regards its symbolic aspects, and also by W. Martin, “The Life of the Dutch Artist in the Seventeenth Century: III. The Painter's Studio,” Burlington Magazine, VIII (October, 1905), p. 18. Martin's concern is with the studio itself. He mentions every instrument he mentions, except for the lute, calling the cittern a guitar, the harpsichord a clavichord, and the viol a violoncello. Cf. plate 1, p. 15, for a studio picture by the Dutch artist Frans van Mieris (1635-1681) which includes a bass viol propped against a wall in the background.

22 The Museo del Prado, Madrid, possesses a picture essentially identical to this one, except that Isabella and Albert are not present. The picture is reproduced in Simone Speth-Holtkoff's Les Peintres flamands de cabinets d'amateurs au XVIIe Siecle, Les Peintres Flamands de XVIIe Siecle, No. 7, (Paris and Brussels: Elsevier, 1957), plate 11.

23 Among Flemish painters the seasons were a more popular subject in the sixteenth century than in the seventeenth, whereas outdoor music parties became common especially in the seventeenth century.
presumably for the pleasure of the couple embracing with their backs to us.24

From this rather modest celebration of spring, we can move to a related subject, the garden of love, or pleasure garden, where love and music intertwine, often on an elaborate scale. Martin van Valkenberg the Elder's (1535-1622) *Celebration in a Park*25 (Plates 13-16), painted in 1612, is a fine example. The somewhat fanciful setting is either a town or an estate with formal gardens. All around the central scene, boating parties float on canals and a small lake. In one boat in the right foreground a nobleman in the bow holds a lute with which to serenade the lady standing behind him. The primary musical interest, however, is spread throughout the garden in the center. Here several groups of musicians play instruments all commonly associated with chambers rather than the out-of-doors. Within the garden hedge at the left (Plate 14) several couples dance to the accompaniment of a virginal (?), a harp, and perhaps a viola da braccio. At the opposite side of the enclosure, a second trio (Plate 15), consisting of two lutes and a bass viol, plays for other dancers. I would be inclined to consider both groups of musicians professionals, although this is certainly not evident in their costume.

In the foreground, just outside the hedge, two additional musical events occur. At the right of center, two men play lutes, one of which seems to be a theorbo-lute. If this is indeed the case, it represents one of the earliest depictions of the instrument in Flanders. Four singers (three women and one man) complete this ensemble, reading from partbooks held in their laps.

Just to the left of this group is the last ensemble (Plate 16), consisting of two male lutenists seated at table and reading from partbooks, a man bowing a viola da braccio (?), and another man playing a large bass viol which seems to have six pegs. The pegbox is topped by a volute instead of a carved head. Next to him, a character dressed in a fool’s garb, replete with pellet bells, may sing. This group is probably made up of professional musicians—hence of the lower class—since their costumes clearly differ from those of the elaborately dressed nobles at the left for whom they play.

An engraving of Aetas (Summer) (Plate 17) by Abraham Hondius after a picture by David Vinckboons (1576-1631/33) shows something of the same sort, except that here we are in the midst of a town festival. At the left the local peasants enjoy the meaner entertainments, while at the right a group of nobles dances and plays instruments. A rather large and varied ensemble is implied, though some instruments are merely held and not actually played. Left to right, they include a smallish viol with a too-long neck, a small viola da braccio (?), a lute or perhaps a citern, a transverse flute, and another lute. The group is completed by a lady at the extreme right singing from a partbook.

All of these essentially elaborate pictures of the pleasures of music and love have their roots in a sacred subject often treated by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Flemish artists, the Prodigal Son among the courtesans, loosely based on St. Luke’s gospel (15:30), a topic which nearly always includes music as part of the scene of the errant’s final spiritual debauchery. A considerable amount has recently been written on this subject,26 so that here I only wish to point out one salient point: the necessarily negative associations such pictures conjured up about the practice of

24 It is not possible to define his social class on the basis of costume, since neither his livery nor that of the servant pouring wine from a pitcher differs significantly from the costumes of the noble couples. We must make the judgment on the basis of the function he performs. It seems unlikely that one male noble would take the time to serenade another male noble making love to a female companion.

25 See further the description of this work in my *Theme of Music in Flemish Paintings*, 1, 119-20. This picture is a replica after one in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orleans, which was in turn inspired by an engraving by Nicolas de Bruyn after a work by David Vinckboons. The subject must have been popular since several copies exist, each with some variations, including a painting which was held by art dealer G. Stein in Paris before 1946, and one sold from the Talon Coll. at Brussels (March 10, 1927, lot No. 110). The original picture by Vinckboons seems to be one in a private Antwerp coll. It was painted before 1604. I have reproduced the version by Valkenborgh because of all the paintings of this subject, including Vinckboons’ original, the musical events are most clearly depicted here. The Vinckboons picture is reproduced in *Jaarboek, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*, Antwerp, (1968), p. 62, fig. 1.

secular music sometimes included instruments which otherwise had very secure reputations. Martin van Heemskerck's (1498-1574) *Prodigal Son among the Courtesans* (Plate 18) illustrates the point clearly. The Prodigal, here dressed as a sixteenth-century northernman, is literally being enchained by the personification of lust as his moral seduction comes to a climax with the very obvious aid of a small instrumentarium. Most notable is an extremely elaborate, if questionably designed, (tenor?) viol. It has only five strings and very shallow ribs, as well as a preposterously shaped floor spike. The belly is decorated with perhaps as many as sixteen separate sound holes. Viols are not common to this subject, but the presence of one here may be explained by its highly exaggerated degree of decoration which probably serves as a visual allusion to the vanities of worldly things (see my comments on *vanitas* paintings, below). The other instruments include a lute held by an immodestly draped courtesan and, on the ground, two transverse flutes (one is just barely visible under the fruit compote), a soprano recorder, and what looks like a somewhat fanciful violino piccolo with its characteristic scalloped outline. In keeping with the spirit of contemporaneous *vanitas* paintings, the flutes and recorder quite directly served as reminders of sexual debauchery due to their phallic shape. The violin was associated with the dance, the lute with prostitution (by nature of the fact that courtesans often played these instruments in taverns, a practice documented many times in both Dutch and Flemish art).

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Finally, on the matter of viols in outdoor settings, Flemish art does not deny us some apparent anomalies: specifically, the use of these instruments by professional (?) musicians in peasant and even in military (!) surroundings. Jan Bruegel the Elder's *Peasant Dance* (Plate 19) from 1614, for example, shows two musicians at the lower left playing for a circle dance with what appears to be some kind of fiddle and a (tenor?) viol. Since the painting itself is so small, there is little opportunity for the artist to reproduce either instrument in much detail. However, several pictures by David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690) show viols—actually hybrids comprised of design features of both viols and violoncellos—close up and in large detail. In an *Interior with Peasants Dancing and Drinking* (Plate 20), a lower class musician bows such an instrument alongside a boy playing a violin or a viola da braccio whose neck is exaggerated in length. The hybrid viol has a sloped back, deep ribs, and C-holes; the strings and pegs seem to number upwards of six. All these details are characteristic of viols. But the pegbox is surmounted by a volute instead of the more usual carved head, and, more importantly, the body has the upper, middle, and lower bouts of the violin family. The convex bow is worked in the "palm-up" manner; the hair seems to be tightened by the player's fingers, implying the absence of a frog.

The last picture of this sort that I want to mention is the most curious of all, for it shows two (?) musicians, probably professionals, performing for a small group of dancers in a *Military Camp* (Plates 21 and 22). The picture was painted in 1663; the artist is Robert van den Hoecke (1622-1668). The only instrument possible to identify is a bass viol. The scene is visually shocking, for just in front of the dancers wounded soldiers are being cared for. In sum, it is difficult to square these last pictures with our usual notions of the social position of the viol in the seventeenth century. Written sources and visual documents both support the claim for the elevated role viols played in the region, yet to whatever degree these other pictures can be trusted, it would seem that viols were used by the lower class professional musician as well. It needs to be said that, at least in Flemish art, the number of depictions of "peasant" viols is small; bagpipes, hurdy-gurdies, and pocket fiddles (among other instruments) far outnumber them. It is also noteworthy that, except for paintings by David Teniers the Younger,

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28 See my *Theme of Music in Flemish Paintings*, I, 77.

29 See further Slim, op. cit., p. 10. Perhaps the most famous painting of this sort is the *Procures* by Dirck van Baburen in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

30 For examples of other, essentially similar, hybrids, see my "David Teniers the Younger and the Image of Music," *Jaarboek, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp* (1978), figs. 25 (p. 99), 26 (p. 101), 27 (p. 105), 32 (p. 110), 34 (p. 113), and 35 (p. 116). Several of these pictures show peasant settings.
all such “viole” seem to be crudely made, although this may only be a reflection of the fact that in most peasant settings musical instruments are usually tiny details not allowing artists the opportunity to paint with organologically significant exactness.

Students of organology will find that still life paintings produce the best harvest of documents, because in this genre musical instruments are often depicted in large detail and with the utmost accuracy. A particularly fine example (Plate 23) by Cornelis Janszoon de Heem (1631-1695) contains a dozen instruments, the most significant being a magnificent viol which dominates the entire scene. However, these pictures include instruments among the still life not as mere decoration, but as symbols reminding viewers that the pleasures of music, like the pursuit of power (symbolized by the military trumpet) or wealth (the heap of expensive silver objects and the box filled with gold coins) are at best a waste of man’s limited time on earth. These pictures came to be known as vanitas still lifes; the impetus for the genre, along with a key to its often complex imagery, came from Calvinist scholars at the University of Leyden.31 The paintings were patently didactic and served to remind the viewer of the pilgrim’s progress and of a verse from Ecclesiastes (1:2): “Vanity of vanities, said the Preacher, vanity of vanity; all is vanity.”32 Such pictures confirm the ambiguity with which the secular arts were often still looked upon in the Low Countries during the period (the genre was more popular among the Dutch, but Flemish artists produced it as well). For better or worse, musical instruments are included in an enormous number of paintings of this sort.

31 In recent years a good deal has been published on this subject. See in particular the monograph by Ingevar Bergström, Dutch Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century, trans. by Christina Hedström and Gerald Taylor (London: Faber and Faber, 1956), passim; two studies by A. P. de Mirimonde, “Musique et symbolisme chez Jan-Davidszoon de Heem,” Cornelis-Janszoon et Jan II Janszoon de Heem,” Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, (1970), pp. 241-93; and “Les Naures mortes à instruments de musique de Peter Boel,” same journal, (1964), pp. 107-41; and my Theme of Music in Flemish Painting, 1, 72-85.

32 The bagpipe, pocket fiddle, and violin almost surely are used to allude to the dance, an activity seriously frowned upon by the Calvinists. The other instruments include: a cittern, a lute, perhaps a mandoline, a shawm, and two recorders. See further the discussion of this painting by Mirimonde, “Musique et symbolisme chez Jan-Davidszoon de Heem,” pp. 288-90.
Plate 5. Franco-Flemish School (Seventeenth Century), *Concert in a House*, formerly at Brussels, Janssen Coll. (Copyright A. C. L., Brussels.)

Plate 6. Jean-Baptiste de Champagne, *Self-Portrait with Nicolas de Platte Montagne* (Oil on canvas, 132 x 183 cm.), Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Inv. no. 1120. (Copyright A. C. L., Brussels.)
Plate 7. Jan Bruegel the Elder and Frans Francken the Younger, *Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella in a Picture Gallery* (Oil on wood, 94 × 123.4 cm), Baltimore Walters Art Gallery, Inv. no. 37.2010.

Plate 8. Gaspar Tieffenbrucker, *Viol with the Plan of Paris*, Brussels, Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Cat. no. 1427. (Copyright A. C. L., Brussels.)
Plate 9. Anonymous Flemish (Seventeenth Century), *Landscape with Music Party* (Oil on copper, 11.4 x 14.5 cm.), Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Inv. no. 481. (Copyright A. C. L., Brussels.)

Plate 10. Detail, Plate 9.
Plate 21. Robert van den Hoecke, *Military Camp* (Oil on copper, 47 x 53 cm.), Dunkerque, Musée municipal, 1905 Cat. no. 146. (Copyright A. C. L., Brussels.)

Plate 22. Detail, Plate 21.
Montéclair, The Viol Player’s Composer

Julie Anne Sadie

Like his contemporaries Marin Marais and François Couperin, Michel Pignolet de Montéclair (1667-1737) was a professional musician, composer, and teacher.¹ He played the *basse de violon* and the *contrebasse*² in the Académie Royale de Musique, for which he composed an opera and an *opéra-ballet*, as well as sacred works now lost and chamber music. He was never favored with a court appointment,³ and thus was forced to supplement his income, which he did through private teaching and the part-ownership of a music shop. His five theoretical works reveal his gifts as an articulate and imaginative pedagogue. The depth of his musicianship and his admiration for Marais and Couperin are shown by his remark in the preface to the *Brunettes anciennes et modernes* (Paris, c.1714):

Je suis persuadé que Messieurs Marais et Couperin, qui par la beauté de leurs ouvrages se sont attiré l’estime universelle, croyant fièrement que les petits airs tendres qu’ils ont mêlé parmi leurs autres pièces, sont les plus difficiles à exécuter par le sentiment qu’ils demandent et qu’ils ne les affectent pas moins que leurs grandes pièces.⁴

Montéclair dedicated his *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre la musique* (Paris, 1709) to Couperin and made numerous references to viol playing in his theoretical *chef d’oeuvre, Principes de musique* (Paris, 1736), in a section devoted primarily to vocal ornamentation.

Reflecting his own experience at the Opéra, Montéclair used *basse de violon*, double bass, and bassoon together in his large-scale

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³ An early appointment as *maître de la musique* to the Duke of Vaudemont enabled him to visit Italy, where he gained a first-hand knowledge of contemporary music.

⁴ p. i.
works. His chamber cantatas and flute concerts, however, call for bass viol. Sensitive to the associations and timbres of each instrument, he combined and contrasted them within individual works, assigning the viol, in particular, melodic as well as harmonic functions. He first experimented with multiple bass instruments in his Sérénade (Paris, 1697), published in three partbooks. The bass book was intended to be shared by a basse de viole, a basse de violon, and a bassoon. In the “Somneil” movement the viol (whose part is always in alto clef) accompanies two flutes; their music alternates with sections where the basse de violon (in bass clef) accompanies two violins. 

Montéclair paired the viol with the flute again in his six concerts, published almost thirty years later. In addition to doubling the bass, the viol was given a programmatic obligato in “Le Rémouleur” of the second concert (Example 1) and momentary alto-range melodic material imitating that of the flute in isolated movements of the first, second, and sixth concerts. It was, however, in the cantatas — published in three collections (c1709, 1713 and 1728) — that Montéclair made especially imaginative use of the potential of the continuo viol.

Passages in the continuo parts of “Le Triomfe de la constance”

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5. In Montéclair’s opéra-ballet, Les Festes de l’été (Paris, 1716) the basses de violon carry the bass part alone and together with the bassoons in the first entrée; both a “prélude à trois basses” featuring “basses du côté droit,” “basses du côté gauche,” and “contrebasses, basses d’accompagnement (harpischords and theorbs), & bassons” occur in the third entrée. In his scriptural tragédie lyrique, Jéphé (Paris, 1732), Montéclair again divided his bass complement (Act I, scene iv and Act II, scene v).

For further discussion of works with multiple bass parts, see:


6. See Vertrees, ibid, pp. 105-110.

7. concerts pour la flute traversière avec la base chiffrée (Paris, 1724-1725).

   II. “Plainte,” p. 6.
   VI. “Mélange des trompettes et des musettes,” p. 2.
   “Mélange des flûtes, des tambours, et musettes,” p. 3.
   “Musette,” p. 15.

(I), “Le Retour de la paix” (I), and “Pan et Sirinx” (II) are marked “viole seule.” Composed in a higher range than the rest of the part, they are also melodically imitative; the return of the harpsichord is signaled by the resumption of harmonic functions in a lower, bass-clef range. In “Le Triomfe de la constance,” the combination of voice and viol “sans base” provides a fifth texture in addition to those of accompanied voice, accompanied viol, viol with “touche seule” (at the beginning of the air tendrement, page 14), and trio. In the first duet of “Tircis et Clémene” (III,
pages 50-51) he assigned brief melodic independence to the continuo viol.\(^9\)

In “Le Retour de la paix,” the viol joins two violins in an instrumental ritournelle (“sans basse”) of an air léger et doux.\(^10\) Not content with one new texture, Montéclair had the voice enter unaccompanied, thus adding another timbre to his ensemble. The descent to hell at the end of the final recitative (Example 2) is all the more effective when doubled.\(^11\)

**EXAMPLE 2.** Montéclair. “Le Retour de la paix” (I, c. 1709), p. 92

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[Music notation]
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“Pan et Sirinx” uses “viole seule” in a succession of two-part textures with voice, violin, then flute or violin. In each case, the viol part remains in an alto-clef range and is melodically imita-


\(^10\) pp. 88-90.

\(^11\) Four of the airs of “La Fortune” (I) begin with solo bass line introductions.

tive, despite the presence of figures above some of the notes (Example 3); it would seem that Montéclair provided the figures so that

**EXAMPLE 3.** Montéclair. “Pan et Sirinx” (II, c. 1713), p. 35

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[Music notation]
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a harpsichordist could perform the part in the absence of a viol player.\(^12\)

His interest in the color of the bass part is nowhere more evident than in “Ariane et Bacchus . . . canante à voix seule avec une flûte ou un violon” (III) in which four of five airs are accompanied by a concertante flute or violin continuo. The fifth, marked modéré and accompanied by a concertante viol and harpsichord, is preceded by an instrumental introduction of bass-line divisions and a short unaccompanied recitative (Example 4).

Montéclair was not alone in experimenting with textural contrast within the limited means of a chamber ensemble and the miniature framework of French airs and dances. But few composers achieved a comparable subtlety. He may have been inspired by the music of Marc-Antoine Charpentier, whose sonata for eight instruments (including basse de viole and basse de violon) repre-
sents a tour de force of instrumental color. At the other end of the spectrum of French Baroque music, Jean-Phillipe Rameau’s Pièces de clavecin en concerts (Paris, 1741)—because it is the harpsichord part rather than the highest voice that commands the principal interest—offer textural gradations beyond Montéclair’s.

In Montéclair’s cantatas, the indication “viole” often appears in the bass lines, as well as in the independent parts, in alto clef. At only three points did he indicate more specifically that it was a “basse de viole:” in the bass partbook of the Sérénade and in the cantatas “Le Triomph de la constance” and “Ariane et Bachus.” When in “La Badine” (1) he suggested that “l’air suivante se joue sur le clavecin, ou sur la viole avant que la voix le chante” (Example 5), he was expecting the viol to be played in a range better suited to the dessus de viole.14

It is difficult for the bass viol player to transpose the part at sight down an octave, because there is no familiar clef to superimpose.15 However, if we look at two airs from “Le Triomph de la constance,” we can see that points of imitation between the voice

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13 See Vertrees, ibid, Appendix (commentary and score).
14 p. 24.
15 See Vertrees, op cit, chapter v: “Ad libitum practices.”
and viol were made at the distance of an octave (Examples 6 & 7). In spite of the range of the air in “La Badine,” the fact that a dessus instrument is not called for elsewhere in the cantata implies that the continuo viol must undertake it. The decision as to whether to play it at pitch or down an octave must remain that of the player.


Notwithstanding its subtitle, “cantate à trois voix avec un dessus de violon,” “Pyrame et Thétis” (II) contains four airs with treble concertante parts marked “violin, flûte ou violle.” In this context, it would seem that Montéclair meant “dessus de viole,” particularly since he grouped these three instruments along with the recorder in the opening statement of his preface to the Brunettes anciennes et modernes.

Il y a longtemps plusieurs amateurs de la flute traversière, flûte-à-bec, dessus de viole et de violon descendent un recueil de ces petits airs...

For Montéclair, the performer of French music must possess “du goût, de l’âme, de la flexibilité,... et du discernment” in addition to technique. To assist those who would perform his music, he included a wide variety of performance instructions within his editions; his suggestions, elaborated upon in his treatises, form a valuable legacy of French Baroque practice. Grace notes—coulés, ports de voix, chûtes, coulées—abound in both instrumental and vocal lines, as does the familiar “x.” Passages where he preferred “croches égales” are so indicated, as are recitatifs “mesurés.” He was quite specific about articulation: slurs are idiomatically ordered and passages are often annotated with “marqué” and “detaché.” For string players he advocated a basic bow stroke which, as in the Italian style, was very evenly drawn:

Il faut d’abord s’accoutumer à le tirer d’un bout à l’autre également par tout et à le pousser de même sans faire crier la corde.

It could then be varied by an enflé or a diminuendo, on which Montéclair claimed to have advised Antonio de Planes.

Frequent references to the practices of viol players in the Principes strengthen the force of his words à propos the viol parts and their interpretation. In “Pan et Syrinx” there is a “son glissé”

16 P. i.
If a bas dessus were substituted for the basse taille, as Montéclair suggested in the remarks preceding “Pyrame et Thésthe,” then one might wish to adjust the disposition of the parts so that the concertante instrument and voice would not conflict; under such circumstances, one might call upon the continuo viol to undertake the concertante part. See Vertrees, Ibid., pp. 263-265.

18 Montéclair: Méthode facile pour apprendre (sic) à jouer du violon avec un abrégé des principes de musique nécessaire pour cet instrument (Paris, 1711-1712), p. 3.
19 Principes, p. 88.
reference to "les joueurs de viole" who
... ont un doigt déjà pesé, glissent doucement le doigt le long de la corde d'une touche à l'autre, pour former cet agrément.20

As a cantata composer, Montéclair's special regard for the bass viol undoubtedly influenced his contemporaries, who, especially after the appearance of his first book of cantatas, incorporated the bass viol in multiple roles in many of their cantatas. Among them are Jean-Baptiste Stuck, Thomas-Louis Joseph Bourgeois, Louis-Nicolas Clérambault, Nicolas Renier, Laurent Gervais, René Drouart de Bousset, and Jean-Philipe Rameau;21 all these, like Montéclair, took their inspiration from the superb playing of their colleague, Marin Marais.

20 Principes, pp. 88-89
21 See Vertrees, op cit, index.
Barak Norman "second violin"

Length of body: 36.5 cm. String length: 34 cm.
Breadth, upper bout: 17.5 cm. Breadth, lower bout: 22 cm.
Depth of ribs: 4.2 cm.

This is a slightly oversize violin by Barak Norman, believed by Arnold Dolmetsch to have been intended for use as a "second violin." It is a good-looking instrument with its original scroll, but without a label or monogram. It has double purfling and a red-brown varnish. (From the Dolmetsch Family Collection)

Hans Vohar Bass Viol

Length of body: 67 cm. String length: 68.5 cm.
Breadth, upper bout: 26.6 cm. Breadth, lower bout: 32.2 cm.
Depth of ribs: 11.2 cm.

The most ancient viol listed is from the fifteenth century. The label, in a gothic script, appears to give the name of one Hans Vohar. When the instrument was found in a Paris music shop some fifty years ago, it had its original neck, pegbox, scroll, pegs, fingerboard, and tailpiece. All these were in serviceable condition with the exception of the neck, which was dangerously worm-eaten. This was carefully replaced in the Dolmetsch Workshops. Lütgendorff, in his Die Geigen und Lautenmacher, lists a Viennese maker, one Hans Vollrat, of the early fifteenth century. Allowing for difficulty in deciphering the label and spelling latitude at the period, these two makers might prove to be the same man, and even the instrument he lists may be the same one mentioned here.

As may be seen by the illustration, the viol is slim and elegant and without corners. The back is vaulted, the neck narrow and thick, typical of the period, with practically no backward tilt. The magnificent open scroll and pegbox are richly carved to represent an unfolding fern frond. It bears on the front the heraldic device of a single-headed eagle, the early form of the emblem of the royal house of Austria, which later acquired a second head to its eagle. The sound holes are F shaped, the purfling single, and the varnish dark and brown. Its tone is rich and sombre.

(Property of the Dolmetsch Foundation)
Italian Tenor Viol

Length of body: 47 cm.  String length: 48 cm.
Breadth, upper bout: 21.5 cm.  Breadth, lower bout: 26 cm.
Depth of ribs: 9.7 cm.

Next in antiquity is this viol bearing no label, which may date from as early as 1500. This, like the preceding viol, has no corners. When found in a London music shop, it had its original narrow neck, pegbox and scroll, pegs, fingerboard, and tailpiece. The neck, though slightly worm-eaten, could be retained. As with all early viols, the neck is narrow and thick and with little backward tilt. The fingerboard, however, was too worm-eaten to be retained. Being eager to complete his consort, Arnold Dolmetsch fitted the viol with a “temporary” fingerboard in ebony, intending to replace it with a fingerboard to match the tailpiece at a later date. It still bears this “temporary” fitting, now approximately eighty-five years old. The back is flat, and the sound holes are F shaped. The tailpiece is attached with a gut loop around an end button, in Italian fashion. The varnish is rich, and the instrument has been the model for many modern tenor viols.

(From the Dolmetsch Family Collection)
Stainer Bass Viol

Length of body: 68.5 cm.
String length: 68.5 cm.
Breadth, upper bout: 31 cm.
Breadth, lower bout: 40.5 cm.
Depth of ribs: 13 cm.

This is a seven-stringed bass by Jacobus Stainer, in Absam, 1655, bearing its original label. This viol has a flat back, rounded shoulders, and its original carved lion's head. The sound holes are F shaped, the purfling single, and the varnish brown. It was the personal instrument of Mabel Dolmetsch for many years.

(Property of Carl Dolmetsch)
Meares Alto Viol
Length of body: 40 cm.  String length: 40.7 cm.
Breadth, upper bout: 19.5 cm.  Breadth, lower bout: 23.5 cm.
Depth of ribs: 7 cm.

Lacking its label, this alto viol has been ascribed to Richard Meares, circa 1668. It bears a heart-shaped rose, C holes, and single purfling. The lion's head is a replacement by Nathalie Dolmetsch. The ribs, which had been cut down, were rebuilt in the Dolmetsch Workshops, with the addition of walnut stripes. The varnish is a reddish brown.

(From the Dolmetsch Family Collection)
Miller Division Viol

Length of body: 67.5 cm.
Breadth, upper bout: 30 cm.
Depth of ribs: 11.5 cm.

String length: 66.5 cm.
Breadth, lower bout: 37 cm.

This viol, bearing the label “George Miller, in Vine Court, without Bishop-Gate, London. 1669,” has its original carved head, a heraldic lion. It has C holes, sloping shoulders, and an inlaid and inscribed ornament on the belly. The purfling is double, and the varnish brown.

(From the Dolmetsch Family Collection)
Barak Norman Division Viols 1 and 2

Length of body: 67.5 cm.  String length: 66.5 cm
Breadth, upper bout: 30 cm.  Breadth, lower bout: 37.8 cm.
Depth of ribs: 11.5 cm.

The oldest of the five Barak Norman viols in the collection is a small division viol which has lost its label but can be fairly accurately dated at 1692 by its detail of construction and its ornamentation. It belongs to the period before Barak Norman had begun to inlay his monogram at the center of the back and stamp his name in a small circle on the belly. His typical early inlaid pattern is placed at the center of the flat back. The head was replaced by Nathalie Dolmetsch. The purfling is double throughout, and there is an inlaid and inscribed pattern on the belly. The varnish is light brown. (Property of Marie-Thérèse Dolmetsch-Carley)

A second instrument in the collection appears to have been made with the same mold as the preceding one. This is unusual—among the fourteen Barak Norman viols I have seen, I know of only one other paired set. This would suggest that, in general, his viols were built without a mold.

This viol's label reads “at the sign of the Bass Viol, St. Paul's Church-yd: London Fecit 1696.” The shoulders are sloping and the sound holes are C shaped. It does not bear the monogram of later viols, but it does have the same inlaid pattern in the center of the back as the preceding one. There is an inlaid and inscribed front pattern, enclosing a small circular stamp stating “Barak Norman, London Fecit.” The purfling is double throughout, the varnish is golden and transparent. The viol has a modern open scroll by Alec Hodgson. (Property of the Dolmetsch Foundation; bequeathed by Leslie Ward, the first treasurer of the Viola da Gamba Society)
Barak Norman Division Viol 3
Length of body: 68 cm. String length: 65.5 cm.
Breadth, upper bout: 30 cm. Breadth, lower bout: 37.5 cm.
Depth of ribs: 13.5 cm.

This Norman viol, of a later date, is slightly larger than the previous two. Its label reads “Barak Norman, at the Bass Violin, St. Paul’s Church-yd; London Fecit. 1712.” This viol has sloping shoulders and C holes. In the center of the back is Barak Norman’s fine inlaid monogram B and N interlaced. On the belly is an inlaid and inscribed pattern, in the center of which is the little circular stamp stating “Barak Norman, London Fecit” as on the preceding viol. It bears its original open scroll. The purfling is double throughout and the varnish is reddish brown.

(Personal instrument of Nathalie Dolmetsch)
Barak Norman Division Viol 4
Length of body: 68 cm.          String length: 65.5 cm.
Breadth, upper bout: 30 cm.    Breadth, lower bout: 37.5 cm.
Depth of ribs: 13.5 cm.

This instrument is almost identical to the preceding one, differing only in that it bears a very beautiful woman's head. Its label is dated 1713. The reddish brown varnish seems to be of better quality than that on the 1712 division viol. Barak Norman seems to have experimented with varnishes as well as with the design of his viols.

(From the Dolmetsch Family Collection)
Barak Norman Consort Bass

Length of body: 68.5 cm.  
String length: 68 cm.  
Breadth, upper bout: 33 cm.  
Breadth, lower bout: 39.3 cm.  
Depth of ribs: 12.5 cm.

This viol is very different from the others. The label reads “Barak Norman, at the Bass Violin, London Fecit, 1718.” It is a consort bass with rounded shoulders, a vaulted back, an original open scroll, a monogram in the center of the back, double purfling, and dark brown varnish.

Barak Norman is believed to have been the first English maker of violoncellos, which no doubt accounts for his renaming his workshop “at the Bass Violin” in place of “at the Bass Viol” at the turn of the century or a little before.

(Property of Jeanne Dolmetsch, to whom it was bequeathed by the late Ruth Daniells)
Gregor Kárho Bass Viol

Length of body: 70 cm.
String length: 68 cm.
Breadth, upper bout: 31.2 cm.
Breadth, lower bout: 36.2 cm.
Depth of ribs: 12.5 cm.

Although its label appears to bear the date 1513, it obviously should read 1713, as may be judged by the style and build of the instrument. It bears a particularly fine carved head of a man crowned with laurel, suggestive of a Roman senator. The pegbox is also richly carved. The sound holes are flame shaped, the purfling is single, and the varnish is dark brown.

(Property of the Dolmetsch Foundation, by bequest of Queenie Bowyer)
English Treble Viol

Length of body: 37.5 cm.  String length: 35.5 cm.
Breadth, upper bout: 17 cm.  Breadth, lower bout: 21.5 cm.
Depth of ribs: 11.5 cm.

Arnold Dolmetsch considered this to be a late seventeenth-century instrument by an English maker. It has no label, and the body appears to have been thinned down after that time, presumably for use as a viola. It has, nevertheless a fine tone. The head was carved by Arnold Dolmetsch. The purfling is single, and its varnish is a transparent brown.

(Property of Jeanne Dolmetsch, by bequest of Ruth Daniells)
Guersan Pardessus de Viole 1 and 2

Length of body: 32.4 cm.
String length: 31.7 cm.
Breadth, upper bout: 16 cm.
Breadth, lower bout: 19.5 cm.
Depth of ribs: 5.2 cm.

The label tells us this five-stringed pardessus de viole was made by Luciovic Guersan in Paris in 1762. The back and ribs are stripped. It has a carved cherub's head and ornamented pegbox, C holes, double purfling and the original neck fingerboard and tailpiece. The varnish is golden colored. (Property of Cecile Dolmetsch)

A second instrument identical with the one above except for the date 1763 is from the Dolmetsch Family Collection.
French *Pardessus de Viole*

Length of body: 31 cm.  
String length: 30.8 cm.  
Breadth, upper bout: 15.5 cm  
Breadth, lower bout: 20 cm.  
Depth of ribs: 5 cm.

This five-stringed *pardessus*, much plainer than the two Guersans, is probably of later date. It has no label, but can be presumed to be French. It has C holes, its original scroll, neck, *fingerboard* and tailpiece. It has *single purfling* and a light brown varnish.

(Property of the Dolmetsch Foundation, by bequest of Eileen Ward, the first secretary of the Viola da Gamba Society)
Maggini Violone

Length of body: 96.5 cm.
String length: 98 cm.
Breadth, upper bout: 42.9 cm
Breadth, lower bout: 57.8 cm.
Depth of ribs: 16.5 cm.

This six-stringed violone by Gio. Paolo Maggini of Brescia (1581-1628) bears the original label, which is not dated. It has a flat back, a fine scroll which is original, double purfling, and a transparent brown varnish.

This instrument was one of a family of five by Maggini, which consisted of two violins, a viola, a violoncello, and this violone. They were acquired by Messrs. Hill of London at the turn of the century from an old French chateau. Fortunately for Arnold Dolmetsch, there was little interest in the largest member of the set, and the price gradually came down to what he could afford.

(From the Dolmetsch Family Collection)
Violino Piccolo

Length of body: 26 cm.  String length: 26 cm.
Breadth, upper bout: 12 cm  Breadth, lower bout: 15.5 cm.
Depth of ribs: 3.5 cm.

This seventeenth-century Italian violino piccolo has no label. It has its original scroll, neck, and pegs. Instead of purfling, it has inscribed lines. The varnish is golden brown. It has a powerful tone, as was illustrated when, in 1915, Arnold Dolmetsch used it to perform the part written for it in J. S. Bach's first Brandenburg Concerto. The performance took place in the old Queen's Hall. A full orchestra was used. Its power is not surprising when one considers that the string length is consistent with its tuning, a fourth above the standard violin.

(From the Dolmetsch Family Collection)
Violoncello Piccolo

Length of body: 60 cm  String length: 55.5 cm.
Breadth, upper bout: 26.5 cm.  Breadth, lower bout: 34 cm.
Depth of ribs: 8.7 cm.

This instrument is ascribed to Jacobus Stainer, circa 1660, but it has no label. It has an original carved female head, a carved rose, a vaulted back, single purfling, and a brown varnish. It was acquired by Arnold Dolmetsch in his "early" years. He did not realize at first what he had obtained, and fitted it as a small cello for his first daughter, Hélène. In later years he restored its fifth string. It was shown to have a very full, rich tone when Rudolph Dolmetsch used it to perform Bach's sixth suite for unaccompanied cello.

(From the Dolmetsch Family Collection)
Seventeenth Century Viola d'Amore

Length of body: 36 cm.
String length: 34 cm.
Breadth, upper bout: 17 cm.
Breadth, lower bout: 22.5 cm.
Depth of ribs: 5.8 cm.

The original carved head has a blackened face with bandaged eyes. It has a carved rose, a flat back, flame-shaped sound holes, and a brown varnish. The more ancient name for this type of instrument was Viola da More, that is, "of the Moors." The romantic Italians referred to it as Viola d'Amore, the "Viol of Love." The head of this instrument reflects both names, the black face of the Moor and the covered eyes of the blind Cupid.

(From the Dolmetsch Family Collection)
Eighteenth Century *Viola d'Amore*

Length of body: 36 cm.  
String length: 36 cm.  
Breadth, upper bout: 18.5 cm.  
Breadth, lower bout: 23 cm.  
Depth of ribs: 5 cm.

This instrument has lost its label. It is probably German, dating from the mid-eighteenth century. Its head is a merry, unblindfolded Cupid. The back is flat, the sound holes are flame-shaped, the purfling is single, and the varnish is light golden brown. This instrument was the foundation stone of Arnold Dolmetsch's collection. It was while seeking original music for it that he went to the British Museum, where he discovered the store of viol consort music which was to influence him for the rest of his life.

*(From the Dolmetsch Family Collection)*
Violin Versus Viol In English Fantasia-Suites
Jane T. Johnson

The instrumental treatment in fantasia-suites conditions their style, while the three-movement form (fantasia-almaine-galliard or corant) defines the genre. Style and form are equally important aspects, and both were relatively, if not radically, new to English chamber music in the early seventeenth century. Especially so were the use of violins and bass viol in a reduced-voice texture and the consequent need for harmonic support provided by an obligato accompaniment (eventually a basso continuo) for organ. These instrumental requirements are cause and effect of the changing style; and they show English composers dealing with the musical problems of the new Baroque aesthetic and solving them in a uniquely English manner. After an introductory overview, the discussion will focus on these instrumental requirements — on the treatment of the violin and viol in particular, and their critical relationship in this very important genre. For fantasia-suites with their "new style" and composite form represent England's manifestation of the "sonata" idea in the seventeenth century.

Like Italian sonatas, fantasia-suites were composed in sets. Consequently, a limited number of composers account for the large repertory of 136 suites preserved only in manuscripts: Giovanni (John) Coprario—24; William Lawes—16; John Jenkins—46; John Hingston—22; John Birchensha—4; Christopher Gibbons—10; Christopher Simpson—4; anonymous [Jenkins]—10. Coprario apparently initiated the suite during the late Jacobean era. In its early days, it flourished in court circles, gradually gaining wider circulation among amateurs during the Commonwealth.

Soon after the Restoration the fantasia-suite as a form was discarded in favor of dance aires and suites or imported music.

The great majority of suites (ninety-nine) are for one or two violins, bass viol and organ; and the preference until mid-century was clearly for the single violin setting (sixty to thirty-nine). In this mainstream development, which flowed from Coprario to Christopher Gibbons (and ultimately on to Henry Purcell), the suites exhibit a remarkable uniformity in instrumentation, in types of final movements (galliard with duple coda), and in their obligato accompaniment style, whether written-out or given only in a basso continuo line.

In the latter part of the genre's history, John Jenkins evolved a secondary development marked by a more ornamental style and by changes in the classic instrumentation and dance movements. A second viol was added to the standard two- and three-part ensembles to provide a concertante elaboration of the harmonic bass, given in the organ "continuo." In the "division-style" suites by Jenkins and Simpson, figure was systematically incorporated into the fantasia as well as into ornamental variations of the dance strains. In the four-part suites, figure was used in a more limited and integrated fashion and without the ornamental variations of the dances. The abstract duple aire in this line of development showed little allegiance to the almaine; and the galliard (except for Simpson's "Seasons") was replaced by a corant or saraband without the coda.

In the seventeenth-century sources, fantasia-suites were almost always described in terms of voicing ("Mr. Gio: Coprario, his two

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1 The modern descriptive term "fantasia-suite" was apparently coined by Helen Joy Sleeper in "John Jenkins and the English Fantasia-Suite," BAMS, v.4(1938-41), p.34. There was no contemporary title for the genre.

2 Both in his book William Lawes (London, 1959) and in his edition of Lawes' consort music (Musica Britannica, v.XXI, London, 1963), Murray Lefkowitz called fantasia-suites "violin sonatas," a purely editorial title never associated with Lawes' music. To preserve the uniqueness of the English achievement, the term "fantasia-suite" seems more appropriate and is the most generally accepted title today.

3 For the complete history and development of the genre see my dissertation, "The English Fantasia-Suite, ca.1620-1660," University of California (Berkeley), 1971. The numbering of suites in the musical examples included in this dissertation follows that given in the Thematic Catalogue (Appendix C) in the dissertation.

4 There are eleven "division-style" suites by Jenkins (two for violin, viol and obligato organ, and nine for violin, two viols and organ) and five by Simpson, the "Seasons," for violin, two viols and organ "B.C."

5 Jenkins' eight suites for two violins and two viols are printed in Musica Britannica, v.XXVI, ed. by A. Ashbee. Although anonymous, the other four-part suites for three violins and viol are probably also by Jenkins.
Partes for a Treble and base to the Organ") or in terms of instrumentation ("For the Organ base viol and violin"). There is a great deal of inconsistency among manuscripts, even those copied or inscribed by the same person. Within a single source, both terms may appear in different places. For example, many manuscripts give instrumentation on the cover "title page" and label the parts inside according to voice range. Then again, the names of the movements were occasionally given as a kind of title.\(^6\)

As with other kinds of Baroque chamber music, there is a disparity between the number of parts designated and the number of players required for fantasia-suites. Manuscript sources say "two Partes" for suites for one violin, bass viol, and organ, and "three parts" for those with two violins, bass viol, and organ.\(^7\) The counted parts are for the melody instruments for treble and bass. Since the bass is performed by viol and organ together, each instrument is not considered a separate part, but expressed "bass to the organ" or "bass with the organ." Even when the viol becomes a more independent elaboration of the organ \textit{continuo} line, as in the three- and four-part suites with two bass violi, the counted parts are only the concertante instruments—those participating in melodic presentation. Apparently the \textit{continuo} was still considered part of the bass (viol) — a derivation, simplification, or even replacement during rests.

The new treble-bass polarity reflects the emerging harmonic concept of melody supported by a bass. In the suites with two, or even three, violins, the treble voices are all concerted and equal, but without the contrapuntal independence of two trebles in five- or six-part consorts for viols. Just as the treble is elaborated by more than one instrument, so does the bass become elaborated by two concertante instruments in the suites with two viols.

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\(^6\) Spelling is not standardized for any of the names of the three movements; and frequently the dances are simply called "aire" or "Aire," a generic term given to bipartite pieces in either duet or triple meter.

\(^7\) One exception occurs in British Library MS Add. 29290 where the organ accompaniment for suites by Lawes is headed "3 parts—for organ, Bass Viole and Treble." Perhaps following this lead, Leckowitz counted the organ as an independent part and considered all of Lawes' fantasia-suites to be for three or four parts, a numbering not in keeping with seventeenth-century general practice.

Concertante interplay of motives was an important stylistic development. On the one hand, it perpetuated a sense of imitative counterpoint, inherent in the fantasia, and on the other, it required implicit, if not explicit, harmonic underpinning. The bass line, from which the composition was reckoned (from as early as Coprario's "Rules how to compose," ca. 1610), generated the nature of the concerted figures and supported their fragmented \textit{repartee} between the instruments. In such concertante rivalry, the violin \textit{versus} the viol in English fantasia-suites.

Violin \textit{versus} viol is not, then, a question of instrumentation. With the exception of Hingston's two suites for cornets and sagbut with the organ, the treble and bass parts for fantasia-suites are specifically for violin, bass viol, and organ. Many manuscripts explicitly state these instruments. The greatest authority, however, is found in the Bodleian Library's autograph sources of William Lawes (MS Mus. Sch. d.240) and John Hingston (MS Mus. Sch. d.205). These designate violins for the treble in fantasia-suites, but not for other kinds of chamber music.\(^8\) Also, manuscripts most contemporaneous with Coprario, such as R.M. 24k.3, call for "treble violins." The fact that some manuscripts say only "Treble" should not imply that a treble viol or, for that matter, some other kind of treble instrument was intended. This is not to say that a substitute could not be, or was not, made. As a case in point, the manuscripts from the North family collection almost invariably say "Treble," and one such manuscript (Bodleian Library MS Mus. Sch. e.90) gives "Treble Vyl" for suites which the composer Lawes, in his own hand, assigned to the violin. (Since old Lord Dudley played and preferred the treble viol, the scribe must have been recording a feature of performances in the North household.)\(^9\) Regardless of manuscript authority or ambiguity, the use of the violin in all fantasia-suites can be determined to a certain extent by the style of writing.

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\(^8\) The violin was certainly not new in England. Court records show that for generations violinists had been employed in the royal musical establishment where their function was closely associated with dance music and entertainments, such as lavish masques. The violin did not seem to be common in amateur circles, nor was it used in chamber music before the "new style" of late Jacobean years.

Range is one factor distinguishing viol from treble viol style. The violin's tessitura is usually its full range, exploiting the outer limits. In the fantasia-suites, the upper part of the range is regularly used: a", b", even c" are fairly common, and in two suites (one each by Lawes and Simpson) a d" calls for a momentary shift in position. By contrast, music definitely intended for treble viol (such as a4k and a5 consorts by Coprario, Ferrabosco II, and Jenkins) rarely requires the player to go beyond the security of the frets, the highest note being an occasional a" or b-flat", guided by the last fret. Likewise, the lower range, particularly g to e', is used more often in violin than in treble viol music, where it would be in the territory of the tenor viol.10

The violin's wide range is dictated both by the few voices in the ensemble and by the style, which is often quite disjunct. Some motives, especially the more ornamental figures, use leaping arpeggios, quick scale flourishes, octave displacements, and rapid string crossings in a wide variety of note values. Dotted figures require incisive articulation, while long spun-out melodies in some of the galliards display the violin's more lyrical nature.

The most idiomatic violin writing is found in concertante style. In rivaling interplay of instruments, short fragmentary motives are treated in stretto imitation, often at the unison, or in alternating succession and sequential repetition. (Example 1; see also Examples 3, 4, 6) Concertante writing is most common to

Example 1. Coprario: from the fantasia of #6 a3

the two violins in a trio-sonata setting, and both the style and

violin treatment suggest an Italian model. The kinds of motives so treated often resemble modern division patterns and, as such, may have been influenced by the significant use of diminutions in early Italian violin sonatas.11 Purely ornamental, non-motivic division patterns were also occasionally employed by Coprario in both the two- and three-part suites, and were further developed by later composers.

In establishing the trio-sonata idiom in England, Coprario cultivated concertante violin writing not only in the fantasias, where the imitative repartee gave lip service to the polyphonic tradition, but also in the dance movements. There the concertante writing heightened the abstraction from the dance prototype, and the stylistic similarity among movements related and unified the suite. In the single violin setting, the violin was frequently a concertante participant in the fantasia, but rarely in the dances, except for occasional exchange at the opening of each movement.

While influenced initially by Italian writing, violin technique in England did not keep pace with continental developments through the mid-seventeenth century. After Coprario, few composers contributed to the development of the instrument's technique, other than to increase the usage, speed, and difficulty of figurations. There are no special effects, such as pizzicato; and double stops are extremely rare, found only in a few of the ornamental variations of the dance strains in Simpson's "Seasons."

In the mainstream development, the range and technical demands of the violin are generally similar for suites with either one or two violins. However, requirements vary within sets of suites depending upon the degree of ornamental writing. While Coprario was more idiomatic in writing for two violins, Lawes and Jenkins exploited the violin's technique more consistently in the single violin suites; and the violin styles of Hingston and Christopher Gibbons show little difference between the two- and three-part suites.

By the end of the fantasia-suite's history, there was a dichotomy in violin treatment, reflecting the two different stylistic de-

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10 In other ensembles with reduced scoring, the violin, not the treble viol, was apparently intended if written in the "new style" using concertante figurations. See Boyden, The History of Violin Playing (London, 1965), p.235.

11 For example, see B. Marini's solo sonata in Schering's Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen, #182.
velopments. The violin was either very melodic in a homophonic setting or very soloistic in a division style. In the homophonic style, the two violins frequently moved in parallel motion, note-against-note, more as first and second trebles than as equal partners; and the solo violin clearly dominated the viol, as in the two-part suites by Gibbons. In the soloistic or ornamental style, the violin displayed its greatest technical advancement while in constant contention with (versus) the viols.

In many respects the attitude toward the bass was more critical and more distinctively English than it was toward the violin; and the treatment of the bass is a measure of each suite's style. From the beginning the bass (viol and organ doubled) functioned both as harmonic foundation and concertante participant. The degree of melodic involvement varied from suite to suite by each composer and, of course, from composer to composer. It also varied from movement to movement within a suite, reflecting the stylistic differences between the more polyphonic fantasias and the more homophonic dances; and it further varied according to texture: one or two violins, one or two viols. As would be expected, there was greater bass participation in the fantasias than in the dances and in the two-part suites, which needed the bass for variety of melodic presentation.

The treatment of the bass in the mainstream development was also conditioned by the style of organ accompaniment for solo voices, appropriated from the verse anthem. This embraced both obbligato writing, the residue of a more polyphonic style of accompaniment, and the more conventional intavolatura principle of doubling voices. The obbligato aspects — solo introductions and interludes and occasional motivic quotes — were limited primarily to the fantasias, where they simulated contrapuntal interaction in a more harmonic structure and helped relate the disparate string instruments. Sometimes obbligato writing was extended to the dances, particularly their openings, which served to unify the movements, much as concertante writing did.

In general, the organ left hand either strictly doubled the viol when it played or derived a more sustained, simplified line, quite in the tradition of early Baroque accompaniment practice. When the viol rested during organ solos or soloistic textures of organ with violins(s), the organ assumed the bass role. Indeed, the organ provided the only continuous bass line and, as such, is the structural foundation for the composition. From this point of view, the organ is the basso continuo that the viol doubled or elaborated. Eventually the organ parts were condensed into a single line “B.C.” even when brief solos were still required.

The need for organ accompaniment to fill in the harmony and texture was symptomatic of the evolving homophonic style. That style was intrinsic to the dance movements, in which the bass (viol and organ) was expected to provide harmonic support for the dominating violin melody. Yet even in the fantasias, the role of the bass was more harmonic than genuinely contrapuntal. Its motivic involvement was usually confined to introducing the head of an imitative point and then retiring to support the violin entities. Nonetheless, its active motion, filling in between harmonic intervals or rhythmically suggesting the violin's material, tended to exaggerate the sense of counterpoint, especially in the two-part suites. A quick glance at Example 1 demonstrates that the bass did not command consistent interest!

In the mainstream development, the continuous underpinning of the organ allowed for several kinds of distinctive treatment of the viol. One rather inverse way was by its absence in rests, and the attention then drawn to its re-entry with the head of a new imitative point. Another way was in a soloistic, or reduced-voice texture of only viol and organ. Then the viol engaged in imitative exchange of motives with the organ or played independent, usually

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12 In the development of the verse anthem from the consort song accompanied by viol, the organ replaced the viols, retaining much of the independent polyphonic characteristics and the instrumental introductions and interludes. The obbligato aspects necessitated writing out the organ parts and those for early fantasias-suites antedate surviving sources for early verse anthem organ parts. Consequently, the organ parts for fantasias-suites may be a more accurate representation of early solo accompaniments style in England.

13 The organ parts were gradually telescoped from fully written-out to just the outer voices to finally only a single bass line for the suites by Gibbons. By mid-century the organist may have been able to "realize" at sight, but the solos were problematic enough to warrant cues in red ink in one manuscript, Christ Church (Oxford) Mus. MS 8.
ornamental, material, accompanied by the organ. (Example 2) (In

Example 2. Hingston: from the fantasia of #5 a2

another kind of reduced viol-organ texture, the viol, lacking
distinction, continued to double the organ through what was essen-
tially an organ solo interlude, suggesting an ambivalent attitude
toward the viol’s role.)

By far the most important way that the organ allowed dis-

tinction for the viol was by assuming the role of fundamental bass
which the viol could elaborate, usually in repartie with the violins.
The participation of the viol in such exchange was developed by
composers, such as Lawes and Jenkins, who understood the under-
lying harmony and could control the animation of a slow harmonic
rhythm. (Example 3)

Example 3. Lawes: from the fantasia of #7 a3

Sometimes the organ doubled figurations in a kind of basso
sequence approach to accompaniment. In other cases, often within
the same movement, the organ simplified and sustained the basic
harmonic line over which the viol elaborated. (Example 4) As the
sections of figurations became faster and the texture more frag-
Example 4 Jenkins: from the fantasia of #15 a2

Example 4. Jenkins: from the fantasia of #15 a2

mented, there was need to simplify the organ bass so as to provide
a solid framework on which to hang such decoration. The sep-

aration of organ bass and viol, the explicit distinction between
fundamental and ornamental basses, seemed to depend in part
on the degree and extent of ornamental bass writing. And in part
such separations may be a question of scribe rather than composer,
mirroring current performance practices. The figurations may have
been copied into the organ part only to show what was going on,
and what not to double. Then simplification by the organ was expected, if not provided.\textsuperscript{14}

In the mainstream development, viol elaboration of the bass was a limited resource used mostly in the fantasias. There it usually appeared in well-defined sections of motivic \textit{repartée} in which the viol “descanted” on the organ bass with figures imitating the violin, as in Example 3. Or the viol occasionally elaborated in purely harmonic figures, “breaking” the bass in a flashy outburst of display, especially in cadential flourishes and in extensive sequential passages. (Example 5) While the viol occasionally participated in

\begin{music}
\begin{xy}
\xymatrix{
\text{Example 5. Birchensha: from the almaine of \#4 a2.}
}
\end{xy}
\end{music}

motivic \textit{repartée} in the dances, particularly at the opening of a movement as mentioned earlier, it rarely broke away from the organ bass.

The enthusiasm for a more independent viol part—for a continuous elaboration of the bass—may have prompted Jenkins (and Simpson) to add another viol to fantasia-suite ensembles or to appropriate a peculiarly English texture of one or two trebles and two bass viols.\textsuperscript{15} In such ensembles the viols took turns doubling and ornamenting the fundamental bass, provided by yet a

third \textit{basso continuo} line in the organ.\textsuperscript{16} Simpson described the intermixing of bass parts in his \textit{Compendium}:

\begin{quote}
“Many compositions are said to have two \textit{Basses} (because they are exhibited by two \textit{Viols or Voices}) when in reality they are both but one \textit{Bass} divided into several parcels: of which, either \textit{Bass} doth take its Part by turns, whilst the other supplies the office of another Part. Such are commonly design’d for \textit{Instruments}.”\textsuperscript{17}
\end{quote}

The frequent exchange in function from fundamental to ornamental bass required a wide-ranging, disjunct style so well suited to bass viol display. Moreover, two concertante viols offered a solution to the problem of ensemble balance, which was jeopardized by the penetrating, concerted violins. (Example 6) In the “division-style” suites, the descanting and breaking of the bass is carried to extremes by all the concerted instruments, viols and violin. (Example 7)

\begin{music}
\begin{xy}
\xymatrix{
\text{Example 6. Jenkins: from the fantasia of \#8 a4}
}
\end{xy}
\end{music}

\textsuperscript{14} Dart considered this such a common convention that he recommended simplifying the thorough-bass part in both sets of Purcell’s trio sonatas. See “Purcell’s Chamber Music,” \textit{Proceedings of the Royal Music Association}, v.85(1958/9), p.84.

\textsuperscript{15} The three-part distribution of treble and two basses had been used in fantasies by Mico, Orlando Gibbons, and Tomkins, and also in a set of fantasies with obligato organ by Jenkins. A similar texture is found in Lawes’ “Harpe Consort” for violin, ornamental bass viol, theorbo and harp continuo and in Jenkins’ lyra concerts for violin, lyra viol, and bass viol and harpsichord continuo.

\textsuperscript{16} In Jenkins’ suites for two viols and two viols, the organ “B.C.” often seems more like a \textit{basso sequente}, derived from, rather than emanating, the viol parts.

\textsuperscript{17} Christopher Simpson. \textit{A Compendium of Practical Musick} (London, 1667), p.73.
The development of an ornamental viol part had a parallel in the bass elaboration of Italian sonatas, just as the addition of a second viol had a parallel in the independent viol parts of German violin-viol sonatas. By mid-century, the waves of influence seem to have washed in both directions, and the concertante treatment of the bass may be one aspect of the English fantasia-suites that penetrated abroad. In particular, it may well have stimulated the development of the German version of violin versus viol.

After the fantasia-suite, the concertante contest between violin and viol was ultimately decided in favor of the violin. But even in Purcell’s trio sonatas, the participation of the bass was greater than in those of his Italian contemporaries. The relationship between viol and continuo in his trio sonatas — that particularly English tradition — led Thurston Dart to assume that Purcell’s one “solo” sonata likewise wanted a bass viol elaboration.\(^{18}\) Dart’s argument, if not all of his reconstruction, is extremely compelling; and the resulting violin-violon sonata may be considered the swan song of the preferred two-part setting of fantasia-suites.

Change And Tradition In The Early In Nomine

Robert W. Weidner

While scholarly literature has yielded comparatively little on the subject of the early ensemble In nomine since my doctoral dissertation was published,1 a greater abundance of theoretical and practical items is now becoming available. The twenty-one examples by Christopher Tye have appeared in an accessible edition of his complete ensemble music.2 In addition, an occasional In nomine—most likely a Tye example—turns up on special recordings of early music. Thus it appears that this interesting, peculiarly English type of fantasia is gradually assuming its proper practical as well as historical role.3 It is strange that this has not happened sooner, given the great variety of styles and levels of complexity found in examples of this genre.

Before taking up certain aspects of this subject that have not been systematically developed before, I should like to review some of the background that brings me to the present point of departure.4

The In nomine commands attention because of its considerable popularity in England over many years.5 Its melody, that of an antiphon for second vespers of Trinity Sunday, the text of which begins Gloria tibi Trinitas, survives more extensively than any other in the corpus of instrumental fantasias based on a cantus firmus.6 Moreover, it is regularly treated straightforwardly, generally appearing as a continuous succession of breves abandoned only occasionally for reasons of harmony or contrapuntal imitation.7 At times, however, certain tones of the cantus may be suppressed—a fact that will receive further comment later in this study.8

Because of its presentation in long note values, the cantus tends to dominate these works. The more rhythmic and energetic counterpoint of the “free” voices or parts either forms consonant sonorities with the cantus or is subjected to the rather strict limitations governing dissonance in this period. Although the slow, stately progress of the cantus may seem dull, it does provide even the most complex, technically demanding In nomine with a part that can be managed by the neophyte, assuming only a decent ear for intonation.

In previous studies I discussed the origin and growth of the In nomine in the sixteenth century, presenting information on those of its composers whose creative activity fell (insofar as could be determined) entirely within that century. I reviewed the background of the two principal In nomine sources to which I limited my attention and analyzed the pieces I selected from them, discovering in the process a variety of structures including monothematic, through-imitative (through-composed), and departure/return organizations.9 I also developed a hypothesis concerning nicknames assigned to most of the twenty Tye specimens in British Museum Ms. Add. 31390, concluding that they were related to features of the music, the source, or both.

3 It should be emphasized that our concern here is with ensemble music rather than keyboard or lute settings, which conform to somewhat different principles.
4 Similar ground is covered in greater detail in an article: “New Insights on the Early In Nomine,” Revue Belge de Muséologie 15 (1961): 29-46. Needless to say, my ensuing three-paragraph summary of the article cited above is extremely condensed in the present article.
5 The movement starts around 1530 with Taverner and Tye and ends some 150 years later with Henry Purcell.
6 From this point on I have simply referred to the cantus; for the In nomines it can be taken as an abbreviation for both cantus firmus (fixed, or main melody) or cantus prius factus (song previously made). Also, in the body of the text I am treating it as a naturalized English word.
7 Throughout this study I have not avoided terms like “harmony,” “subdominant,” etc. While they were invented long after the period under discussion, they convey my meaning more easily than less anachronistic terms.
8 Favorite targets for such omissions were one or more of the repeated tones from notes 11-14 and portions of repetitious patterns between notes 30 and 49.
9 The sources: British Museum Ms. Add. 31390 and Oxford Bodleian, Mss. 212-216.
What I propose to examine here are the kinds of changes that appear within the *In nomine* tradition during the sixteenth century after the inception of the genre around 1530. Four criteria will be considered: (1) position of the cantus in the texture—whether in the superius, median, tenor, etc.; (2) pitch authenticity of the cantus, that is, whether it is presented in its original form or a transposed version; (3) melodic integrity of the cantus, that is, whether the *Gloria tibi Trinitas* tune is followed explicitly; and (4) whether musical allusion to a pre-existent *In nomine* occurs.

Insofar as an *In nomine* chronology can be inferred—on the basis of slender and circumstantial evidence—a case can be made for two groups of *In nomine* composers: an earlier, perhaps founding generation, and a somewhat later, younger group. Table I offers a list of the ten composers comprehended in this study. The older group, listed chronologically (or so we believe) is divided by a line from the seven younger composers, who are listed alphabetically for want of reliable dates. This division, which may seem somewhat arbitrary, is based on the evidence of musical style.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table I—<em>In Nomine</em> Composers’ Birth and Death Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Taverner ................................................. 1495-1545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christopher Tye ............................................... 1489-1572-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Tallis .................................................. 1505-1585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfonso Ferrabosco, I ........................................... 1543-1588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Mundy .................................................. fl.1563-1591?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Osbert Parsley .................................................. 1511-1585</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert Parsons .................................................. ? 1570</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Thorne ..................................................... fl.1550-1573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert White ..................................................... 1530-1574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clement Ywoodcocke .............................................. ? ?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By now it is common knowledge that the original *In nomine* was simply a portion (essentially the last two-thirds) of the Benedictus of John Taverner’s cantus firmus mass *Gloria tibi Trinitas*, transcribed for viols—probably by an anonymous admirer. 10 Its

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10 Discovery was first publicly announced by Gustave Reese in a meeting of the American Musicological Society in Chicago on December 29, 1948. This was later printed in the *Journal of the Society*, 2 (1949): 7-22.
secondary and better known title derived from the fact that the instrumental ensemble music of the prototype begins at the point where the words “in nomine Domini” of the Benedictus begin. Example 1 gives the original antiphon (with individual notes numbered for convenient later reference) with the cantus as it appeared in Taverner’s mass below. (In its Sarum source the antiphon appears in square plainsong notation on a four-line staff.)

The final cadence of this prototype, illustrated in Example 2, is interesting for its lack of the leaping fourth (fifth) progression usually associated with final cadences in the sixteenth century. It is tempting to dismiss this curious usage on the grounds that this is really an internal cadence in the vocal source, with the Osanna section to follow providing the necessary strong, satisfying close. Such an assumption is vain, however, for the Osanna ends similarly inconclusively, as do most of the sections of the preceding Sanctus and its Osanna as well.

Example 2. Final Cadence of Taverner’s Original In Nomine

Because of his presumed age and the large number of his extant examples, Christopher Tye has long been my chief candidate for father of the In nomine movement. I feel that specific evidence is to be found in the music of what I have designated as Tye’s In nomine I. It relates not only to the comparatively staid motion of the piece (mostly in minims with semiminims occurring only in one voice at a time), but more importantly to a certain obvious gaucherie in the treatment of the cantus. To me, these features suggest, respectively, cautious beginnings and a simple lack of experience with the Gloria tibi Trinitas tune.

Placement of the untransposed cantus in the uppermost voice imposed upon the treble viol demands of range that were evidently uncommon for the period, at least in Tye’s view, and unexpected as well. What makes it appear that the unforeseen difficulty was discovered during the actual course of composition is an abrupt octave drop in the cantus at note 24 (see Example 1), thus avoiding a d”” at note 26. Shortly after this downward shift, a reverse octave leap returns the part to its original high register. Evidently this brush with the fate of Icarus impressed both Tye and his successors, for never again in this study do we encounter a placement of the untransposed cantus in the superius. These, then, are the features that persuade me of the primacy of this piece in the Tye instrumental oeuvre, and perhaps, after the Taverner prototype, in the In nomine movement generally.

It should be stressed that, apart from the problem just described, there is nothing clumsy about this piece. It is flawed in conception, not technique. (In fact, its angular imitative point and moderate speed resemble that of Tye’s In nomine II.) In two more respects this work departs from the pattern of the Taverner model: it ends with a strong, clear plagal cadence (Example 3)—establishing a precedent that is universally observed in the remaining works of this study—and it telescopes the cantus by suppressing tones involving repetitious patterns or identical pitches.

Example 3. Final Cadence of Tye’s First In Nomine

[Diagrams of musical notation are omitted.]

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12 Numberings throughout this study correspond to those of my dissertation (note 1, above).

13 Suppressed tones in this piece: two a’s from notes 11-14; g, 21; a-g-a, 34-36; f-g-a-g, 40-44.
If the *In nomine* represented a form of challenge this early in its development, Tye was content to meet it largely within the parameters of metrics, rhythm, and melody. In only three works besides number I (III, IX, and XVIII) is the cantus assigned to any voice other than the medius. In each of these cases the two upper parts act as twin trebles; that is, regardless of nomenclature, the true, functional medius has been moved downward to the third voice of the texture.\(^{14}\) As for the remaining criterion, cantus transposition, not once did Tye employ it.

Within his chosen arenas of experiment, Tye produced pieces abounding in interesting features. These include the use of duple and triple signatures in the same piece, quintuple meter, and very swift harmonic rhythm. Melodically there is direct chromaticism, brief allusion to other music, including *In nomines*, and a great variety of points including both conjunct and disjunct motion. There are also such contrapuntal harmonic devices as cross relations and changes of mode. Finally, even when he pays homage to Taverner by quoting the point governing the prototype, Tye’s individuality shines through.

Before turning to other matters, we must address the riddle of the curious, prevalent usage of what I have called telescoping of the cantus. The best hypothesis I can offer is that Tye desired to avoid monotony. While too much literalism would simply belabor the obvious, Tye also avoids the opposite danger—loss of identity of the borrowed tune—by following the earlier notes of the cantus faithfully and extensively enough so that its identity is never in doubt. Perhaps the most puzzling aspect of the telescoping practice is the relative rarity of its use by other composers of the period.

In Thomas Tallis we encounter a conservative composer of the *In nomine* whose two examples, both in four parts, follow Tye in that each presents the cantus untransposed and in the medius.\(^{15}\)

Also similar to Tye is the suppression in both examples of one of the repeated a’s between notes 29 and 34, but this detail is too minor to be taken as a mark of stylistic influence.

For purposes of addressing the styles of the later generation of *In nomine* composers, a second, comprehensive table will prove helpful. Besides eliminating lengthy and involved explanation about the works, Table II will summarize many salient details of the

Table II—Comparative *In Nomine* Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer and Number of Works Included in Present Study</th>
<th>Number of Voices in Texture</th>
<th>Location of Cantus in Number, etc.</th>
<th>Number of Ex-Samples of Type</th>
<th>Viol Received in Cantus</th>
<th>Transposition(^2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taverner—1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tye—21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>Tr/T</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Tr/T</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Tr/T</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallis—2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Tr/T</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferrabosco—2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Tr/T</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mundy—1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parsley—2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Tr/T</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parsons—4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>iv(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Tr/T</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thorne—1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Tr/T</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White—3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Tr/T</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Tr/T</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodcoke—3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Tr/T</td>
<td>iv(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{1}\) Abbreviations: Tr—Treble; T—Tenor; Tr/T—treble or tenor, optional.

\(^{2}\) Symbols: iv—subdominant minor/transposition; (2)—instances in which all data of columns 2, 3, 4, and 6 apply to two works.

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\(^{14}\) In number III., Tye’s only six-voice specimen, this analogy is particularly apt.

\(^{15}\) In one source, Ms. 31590 (See note 9 above), the Taverner work and the second Tallis example are furnished with added fifth voices; for purposes of this study they are reckoned according to their original versions.
study as a whole. In its comprehensiveness it immediately contrasts the two groups in regard to freedom of cantus transposition and placement in the texture. Paradoxically, these liberties often lead to greater restrictions in viol type (range), as the table also shows.

With respect to fidelity to the cantus, the younger composers as a group prove unexpectedly more conservative than Tye, resembling rather Tallis or Taverner. Minor note substitutions and inserted repetitions of a tone are rare, except in the works of Parsons and Woodcooke. There is one instance of telescoping (Parsons, IV, notes 33 through 35) and one of repeated substitution of the second for the third Dorian scale degree (Woodcooke, II, notes 45 through 47). A glance back to Table II will remind us that these two men were the least conforming of sixteenth-century In nomine composers generally, so their unorthodoxy here should come as no surprise.

For the younger group, one issue remains to be discussed—that of musical allusion to pre-existent works, particularly In nomines. The single example that I have found is the one extant specimen by William Mundy; who emulated (consciously, I believe) Tye’s XXI, with its clash between triple meter in the superius and medius (cantus-bearing) parts and duple meter in the remaining three voices. Mundy restricts his use of triple meter to the cantus (fourth, tenor voice), presenting it in straightforward perfect time. He thereby lengthens the part by half, producing a marathon work of eighty-two transcribed measures—nearly twice the length of his model. Besides the inherent metrical conflict (not in itself very striking) there are additional signature and background (sub-metric) changes that occur in specific voices at approximately corresponding points (in relation to the cantus) in the two works. These convince me beyond a reasonable doubt of a connection between the two pieces.

It is appropriate now to draw conclusions from our observations. Most important is the musical evidence that the leading figure of the In nomine movement—Tye—took up the genre not so much to test his skill vis-à-vis Taverner or any other composer, but rather as a series of abstract experiments in instrumental counterpoint upon a predetermined cantus. Accordingly he felt free to omit elements that might weaken the melodic vigor or the contrapuntal vitality of the composition. This, I believe, is the explanation for the common omissions at the repeated a’s (notes 11-14), and the yet more common deletions later in the cantus (selected fragments of notes 30-49) where it seems to hover uncertainly, undulating between the tones a and f mostly in scalar motion. In these suppressions, as in his manifest preference for a five voice texture over the four voices of the Taverner model, Tye may be regarded as progressive. In his avoidance of transposition for the cantus and his preference for its placement in the medius, he is conservative.

Thomas Tallis, as represented in this study, resembles Tye except for his preference for a four-voice texture and his nearly absolute faithfulness to the integrity of the cantus. Particularly in the latter respect it is perhaps most accurate to view him as a bridge figure to the later generation.

By the time the younger, newer men appear on the In nomine scene, it is probably correct to speak of an In nomine tradition, and also to view it as a test-piece genre. Not unexpectedly, the new men were freer in their disposition of the cantus in the texture (less frequently by half in the medius than in other voices!), and in the incidence of cantus transposition (seven out of sixteen examples). Yet paradoxically, especially for men that one might presume ambitious to imprint their separate individualities on their music, they are comparatively rigid in their almost absolute adherence to the literal course of the melody upon which they were building.

In summary, we see here not a linear movement from orthodoxy to heterodoxy, but a metamorphosis. If we set aside our two-period division for a moment and separate the In nomine composers according to their respect for the explicit and detailed course of the cantus, we still emerge with approximately equal numbers of pieces of each type. It is particularly interesting to note that Henry Purcell recognized the existence of these disparate types in the two In nomines that were among his four- to seven-part fantasias: the six-part specimen telescopes the cantus freely; the last, seven-part example follows it with remarkable faithfulness.

It should come as no surprise that as the old, modal system
breaks down and the existence of key signatures becomes more common, transposition should occur more frequently. But the changes, as they occurred, were not allowed to destroy the tradition upon which the genre was built. Indeed, as the later men took up the challenge, they seem to have felt a compulsion to shackles themselves to the cantus as to an iron frame, testing their contrapuntal mettle against its inflexibility, and perhaps also incidentally against the skill of their peers and forebears.

Reviews:


This work is one of the first offerings from the recently-established Pendragon Press, and is an offshoot from Charteris' 1972 master's thesis and 1975 doctoral dissertation from Canterbury, New Zealand. The catalogue is a valuable addition to research in viol sources because of Charteris' exemplary manner of dealing with a complex and bewildering array of biographical details, archival information, and musical materials.

Like many of his contemporaries, John Coprario is a shadowy figure to us today: his birth and death dates are unknown, as is information about any marriage or family. Evidence of an Italian sojourn, possibly to study with Monteverdi, is adduced mainly from Coprario's music itself, of which at least forty-four five-part and eight six-part fantasias were originally madrigals, found in some English sources with no texts or only incipits.

Charteris has amassed useful archival documentation and payment records from the estate papers of Lord Salisbury, Robert Cecil, Lord High Treasurer to James I, to whom Coprario was occasionally employed; along with Ben Johnson, John Bull, Inigo Jones, Thomas Campion, and Thomas Lupo. We know that Coprario was William Lawes' teacher, and was highly esteemed by Charles I, who had him in court service during the last four years of Coprarios life.

Even more useful is Charteris' list of sources, with annotations that bring together all pertinent, up-to-date literature about the manuscripts (none is in Coprarios own hand), and indications of present locations of contemporary prints (since RISM has not yet dealt with seventeenth-century instrumental publications), as well as modern editions. However, Oliver Rigby Hirsh's edition of Masque Music (Copenhagen, 1964) is not listed in the "Published Sources."

Of course, such a study as this would have been impossible without the work of two pioneers in English viol music: Ernst
Meyer and Commander Gordon Dodd. Dr. Charteris pays his respects to their dedication and enterprise. However, while he observes Meyer's *Die Mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Kassel, 1934) to be a landmark in the research of this repertoire, it is "marred by inaccuracies" and "sorely incomplete and inaccurate" regarding Coprario's works. One can only hope that the result of Commander Dodd's indexing will reach a broader accessibility in the near future.

This is a continuous running catalogue, with numbers proceeding from one to 179, plus unattributed and spurious works. His list provides the Meyer numbers and notice of modern editions, so that we can now assess the present state of Coprario research and perceive more clearly his contemporary standing. In the future, Coprario compositions will surely be identified by "RC" numbers, just as Ashbee is now associated with Jenkins, Lefkowitz with Lawes, and Zimmerman with Purcell.

All ten of the known three-part fantasias are available in modern editions (Charteris is not aware of the Folop Series, available to VdGSA members, which includes more legible copies of Meyer nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, and 7). Charteris corrects Meyer's misattribution of no. 12 to Lupo. Of the four-part fantasias, Meyer assigned nine to Coprario; Charteris identifies seven, with Meyer no. 9 (available as VdGS SP 32) now spurious, and no. 7 possibly by John Bull. The five-part and six-part pieces are more entangled, partly because they are of vocal derivation. Presently at a total of forty-nine (Meyer found fifty-seven, but there were five double entries, three others are actually by East, and a further three may now be attributed to Coprario), the five-part fantasias are the most numerous part of Coprario's works. As Charteris has explained elsewhere (Music and Letters 57 (1976), 370-8), perhaps only five of these display the tighter texture of true instrumental fantasias. These are almost the only pieces now published, except for the two untitled pieces in Jacobean Consort Music (35 and 36) which may both be parodies of madrigals.

It is the music from Charteris no. 81 on that especially warrants more study and performance. These works, not found in Meyer's 1934 catalogue, include the twelve fantasias for two bass viols and organ; the sixteen fantasia-suites for violin, viol, and organ; the eight fantasia-suites for two violins, viol, and organ; and the music for solo, two, and three lyra viols. This music reflects the current change from a "neutral," vocally oriented style to a more specifically instrumental idiom. Little of this repertoire has yet been published in modern editions.

As Dr. Charteris disclaims any "definitive" pretensions for his excellent catalogue of Coprario's output, he does thereby invite further revision. This will surely occur, especially as we are able to identify the works through research, their musical character through performance, and Coprario's style through more familiarity. We may find, like King Charles, that none pleases us more.

Bruce Bellingham

Nikolaus Harders. *Die Viola da Gamba und Besonderheiten ihrer Bauweise*. Frankfurt/Main: Verlag Das Musikinstrument, c1977 (Schriftenreihe Das Musikinstrument, No. 17)

Short on pages (64) and long on price (about $14.00 at the current exchange rate), this slim paperback joins Donald Warnock's manual and drawings as one of the very few practical publications on viol design and construction. Generous in illustrations, it will have to serve until something more thorough and more historically-minded appears.

Harders' own instruments, of which three are depicted, reveal touches of modernism and crude figureheads. The effect is bizarre and unlike that of antique instruments. *The Viola da Gamba and Particularities of its Construction* is itself imbalanced and uneven; its exact aims are unclear. In the preface Harders tells us modestly that he intends to describe the building of a viol, synopsizing all that he has learned thus far. However, the instructions in the book are too incomplete for an amateur builder, who would need much more on basic wood-working techniques, and
too elementary for a professional. And what is the purpose of the reduced-scale plan and elevation of a treble viol laid in the book? Nor is the volume scholarly, for its bibliography is curiously spotty and inconsistent.

It is the viol player who will most likely profit from Harders’ efforts, for in reading the book one becomes more aware of issues and principles involved in viol making. This is in itself extremely useful as serious gamba-building is still in the infancy of its second birth. Surely it is helpful for the player to have an understanding of the acoustic principles involved and to be stimulated to wonder why some instruments sound better than others. Harders lays bare the craft, if not the art.

In a very brief introduction to the twentieth-century renascence of the viol, the author places himself in the tradition of Peter Harlan, the Teutonic counterpart of Arnold Dolmetsch. Harlan, with whom Harders “had the privilege of studying,” promoted the use of the Fidel, a hybrid viol tuned in fifths. (Players who have worked with Mönkeneyer’s tutor will recognize the word from the preface.) Harders has been building instruments since 1964 and has produced Fideln as well as viols.

A second section traces the shape and dimensions of the viol in its historic evolution. Harders provides some discussion of the sound holes as they relate to the sound of the instrument and devotes particular attention to the design and function of the tailpiece. There is some speculation on the several factors which together determine the kind of sound that a viol produces, but does it make any sense to maintain (p. 10) that the overtone-rich viol sound is partially due to underhand bowing?

The major portion, on the actual construction process, takes the would-be builder from the selection of wood from some reputable tonewood supplier through the sculpting of the bridge and tuning pegs. Accompanying this section are sixty-nine line drawings of various details (e.g., steaming wood, clamping, planing, dimensioning, sound-post setting). Thus, the book is rendered graphically useful for those who do not read the author’s stodgy but fairly uncomplicated German. Fortunately, Harders provides handy profile and frontal diagrams of a viol with all parts labelled.

This small manual outlines the construction process of the viol and offers some valuable experiential hints. Happily, Harders is a player, and he often allows “playerly” considerations to guide his designs (broad fingerboards, comfortable string heights, bridge angles that facilitate accurate bowing). Occasional omissions, however, will leave the novice in the dark on such techniques as glueing or applying a finish to the instrument, while so non-essential a topic as purfling receives disproportionate emphasis. As indicated earlier, anyone who wants to build a viol will have to bring many skills to the project in order to profit much from this book. (But above all, the prospective builder should bring an ear which has heard the old viols and seeks to match that exacting standard of excellence.)

Harders has made measurements of antique viols in museums and uses this information to arrive at proportions for his instruments. He states that the length of the body of the instrument should be about the same as the vibrating string length, although in building he takes some license with this rule. At times his lack of concern with historic designs can be alarming. His pegboxes, for example, have only two sides; he removes the bottom as well as the top, claiming several practical advantages (ease of building, cleaning and stringing, reduction of total weight). Yet there is a visual aesthetic loss of no small degree, and Harders himself believes that the tone of the instrument may be influenced by this.

It should be apparent that Harders is not a copyist. To his credit, he recognizes that so-called reconstructions do not necessarily bring us very close to the sound of the old instruments. Instead, he opts for a freedom from tradition which places him outside the trend toward historic fidelity within the Early Music movement in the English-speaking countries and the Netherlands. There are now increasingly more viol-makers in Germany who are discovering and adhering to historic principles, but Harders is not among them.

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