

*The*  
*Viola da Gamba*  
*Society*  
*Journal*

Volume Three  
(2009)

The Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain  
2009-10

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

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Abbreviations:	
GMO	<i>Grove Music Online</i> , ed. L. Macy < <a href="http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com">http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com</a> >.
MGG2	<i>Die Musik in Geschichte ud Gegenwart</i> , ed. L. Finscher < <a href="http://www.mgg-online.com">http://www.mgg-online.com</a> >
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. L. Goldman < <a href="http://www.oxforddnb.com">www.oxforddnb.com</a> >.
RISM	<i>Repertoire internationale des sources musicales.</i>

## Editorial

I am very pleased to introduce Volume 3 of *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*. The originally planned theme of lyra viol is well represented, and has been joined serendipitously by a second, overlapping theme of Germany—in the broadest sense; further contributions and reviews covering other areas make this a pleasingly wide ranging issue.

John Cunningham's painstaking unravelling of the complex interrelationship between composition and arrangement in music for two or three lyra viols, centred on the works of Simon Ives and Thomas Gregorie preserved in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin, has uncovered a host of previously unnoticed concordances; we have taken advantage of the absence of space limitations which online publication offers to include a substantial appendix of reconstructed duets and trios. My own look at the works of Clamor Heinrich Abel for scordatura viol, violin and continuo, published in Frankfurt am Main in 1677, and preserved here in Vienna, deals with a very different aspect of the repertoire, the meeting of the English lyra viol tradition with the German trio sonata. What the articles have in common is that they both investigate sources which have hitherto received scant attention; briefly noted and catalogued, but set aside due to being incomplete.

The discovery of a hitherto unknown manuscript is an exciting event—Mike O'Connor's finding, in a private library on St. Michael's Mount, of a beautifully copied bass partbook containing Jacobean consort music is reported by himself and Andrew Ashbee.

The modern revival of the viol, now well over a century old, has itself become a legitimate subject of scholarship, and it is becoming clear that the ways in which different nations rediscovered the instrument are every bit as varied as national musical styles of the Renaissance and Baroque. Our approach to the viol and to historically informed performance today is influenced by these differences, just as much as it is shaped by those national differences in the original use of and repertoire for the instrument. Sandra Zydek's article on the viol in the *Jugendbewegung* throws light on an aspect of its rediscovery which is little known even in Germany, despite the fact that some of its consequences are still felt today—anyone who has ever had the feeling, however vaguely, that viol players from other countries 'do it differently', will here find ample food for thought.

William Byrd is without doubt the most researched and edited English composer of the Renaissance, and yet there remain poorly documented aspects of his music. The indefatigable Byrd scholar Richard Turbet illuminates one such, and has assembled a comprehensive database of miscellaneous instrumental arrangements of Byrd's music by his contemporaries.

A few years ago allegations of shady goings-on in the world of top violin dealers made newspaper headlines; it nevertheless comes as a nasty surprise to realise that the viol world might also be affected—in the course of preparing a new catalogue of the musical instrument collection in the Ashmolean Museum Michael Fleming has investigated the provenance of the viols displayed there; some of his findings are distinctly unsettling.

The *Journal* also aims to include selected in-depth reviews whose scope and dimensions make them inappropriate for inclusion in *The Viol*. Here again, online publication permits greater length, something which Bradley Lehman in particular has taken full advantage of in his penetrating and fascinating assessment of Claudio Di Veroli's recent E-Book *Unequal Temperaments*. And finally—although none of the ‘big four’ composers whose various anniversary celebrations shaped the musical year 2009 were of central importance to the viol, I am pleased to include Carol A. Gartrell's review of the ongoing project by Edition Güntersberg to publish Haydn's Baryton trios with playing parts for the first time.

This has been the first full scale trial of the idea of guest editors taking on one issue each, under the guiding hand of General Editor Andrew Ashbee; for me it has been an unqualified success, and I wish to register my thanks to Dr Ashbee for that experienced guiding hand. The editor of vol. 4 (2010) will be John Cunningham; the *Journal* will continue to concentrate on research into early stringed instruments, focussed on the viol. Please contact him at or Andrew Ashbee if you wish to submit an article. A Style Sheet is available on the Society's website (for further details and contact addresses see above).

RICHARD CARTER  
Kritzendorf, December 2009

# Lyra Viol Ecclesiastica: A Neglected Manuscript Source in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin

JOHN CUNNINGHAM

Founded in 1701, Archbishop Narcissus Marsh's Library was the first public library in Ireland. Located just behind St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, today the library houses over 25,000 items, including over 100 music manuscripts and printed books. Over the last few decades several specialists in seventeenth-century English music have researched parts of the collection;<sup>1</sup> Richard Charteris's published catalogue of the music items will be familiar to many readers.<sup>2</sup> The main interest among these musicologists has been in the consort music sources, and several important manuscripts in Marsh's Library remain unexplored. One such source is found among the fascicles of a large guardbook, shelved at Z3.4.13. The volume mostly contains miscellaneous consort music (scores and parts) by early seventeenth-century English composers such as William Lawes, Simon Ives, John Coprario, and Christopher Simpson. Some of the Z3.4.13 fascicles have been discussed in print;<sup>3</sup> however, one important fascicle, a manuscript containing lyra viol ensemble music, remains relatively unexplored, despite being one of few such sources to have survived.

The lyra viol repertoire is substantial and varied, as even a cursory glance through the *VdGS Index* will demonstrate.<sup>4</sup> A popular solo instrument throughout much of the seventeenth century, the lyra viol was also used for song accompaniment, and in consort with other lyras or with other instruments.<sup>5</sup> There are over 75 surviving manuscript sources containing lyra

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\* I am grateful to Dr Muriel McCarthy, Keeper of Marsh's Library, and the staff of Marsh's Library, for their hospitality during several visits and for permission to reproduce images from the collection.

<sup>1</sup> R. Charteris, 'Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle [RMARC]*, 13 (1976), 27-63; R. Charteris, 'Music Manuscripts and Books Missing from Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *Music & Letters*, 61 (1980), 310-317; J. Irving, 'Two Consort Manuscripts from Oxford and Dublin: Their Copying and a Possible Redating', *The Consort*, 43 (1987), 41-49; R. Charteris, 'New Information about some of the Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *The Consort*, 43 (1987), 38-39; R. Thompson, 'A Further Look at the Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *Cheyls*, 24 (1995), 3-18.

<sup>2</sup> R. Charteris (compiler), *Music in Marsh's Library, Dublin* (Clifden, 1982).

<sup>3</sup> For an excellent overview of the sources, and a detailed exegesis of several sections of Z3.4.13, see Thompson, 'A Further Look', op. cit.; the George Jeffreys autograph fascicle has been discussed in J. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)* (Aldershot, 1997), 151-152 and 422.

<sup>4</sup> *The Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain: Thematic Index of Music for Viols*, comp. G. Dodd, rev. A. Ashbee (n.p., on-line edition 2008; updated 2009):

<<http://www.vdgs.org.uk/publications-ThematicIndex.html>>

<sup>5</sup> For a succinct introduction to the lyra viol, see J. Jenkins, *The Lyra Viol Consorts*, ed. F. Traficante, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era [RRMBE]*, 67-68 (Madison, WI, 1992).

viol music, the vast majority of which are English in origin.<sup>6</sup> In addition, 18 books containing lyra viol music were printed in England in the seventeenth century.<sup>7</sup> Ten were printed between 1601 and 1615, the rest were printed between 1651 and 1682. Most of the surviving sources contain solo music. After Alfonso Ferrabosco's *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols* (London, 1609) no lyra viol trios were printed in England. No duets were printed after William Corkine's *The Second Book of Ayres* (London, 1612); after Robert Taylor's *Sacred Hymns* (London, 1615) no lyra viol music was printed in England until John Playford's *A Musicall Banquet* (London, 1651). Thus, from the second decade of the century lyra viol music was disseminated through manuscripts, many of which have not survived or, in the case of ensemble sources, survive incomplete.<sup>8</sup> Of the surviving manuscripts, only a dozen or so contain ensemble music, and most of these lack at least one partbook. The interrelationships (and lack thereof) between the sources confirm that many more have not survived, a fact frustratingly reinforced by references to lost manuscripts in several auction catalogues from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.<sup>9</sup>

An important feature of the ensemble lyra viol repertoire is the essentially egalitarian relationship between the parts. In other words, the constituent parts of duets and trios are usually relatively complete harmonically and rhythmically, and are often capable of being performed as solos. This point is aptly demonstrated in the preface to Thomas Ford's *Musicke of Sundrie Kindes* (London, 1607), where Ford describes his duets as 'Pavens, Galiardes, Almains, Toies, Jigges, Thumpes and such like to two Basse-viols, the Lieraway, so made as the greatest number may serve to play alone'.<sup>10</sup> A consequence of this feature of the repertoire is that many constituent parts of lyra viol duets and trios were also disseminated (and survive unidentified) as solos.

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<sup>6</sup> See F. Traficante, 'Music for Lyra Viol: Manuscript Sources', *Chebs*, 8 (1978–79), 4–22. Although in need of updating, Traficante's list is the most complete currently available; see also A. Otterstedt, *Die Englische Lyra-Viol: Instrument und Technik* (Kassel, 1989), 250–267 (largely derived from Traficante's lists).

<sup>7</sup> Listed in F. Traficante, 'Music for the Lyra Viol: The Printed Sources', *Lute Society Journal*, 8 (1966), 7–24; reprinted in *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America [JVdGSA]*, 5 (1968), 16–33.

<sup>8</sup> Throughout this article 'lyra viol ensemble' refers to consorts of lyras (i.e. duets and trios), rather than ensembles which include a lyra viol (i.e. lyra consort).

<sup>9</sup> See H. Playford, 'A Curious COLLECTION of Musick-Books, Both VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL' (London, 1690) (GB-Lbl, Harl. 5936/nos. 419–420); 'Britton Catalogue', reproduced in J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 2 vols (1776; repr. 1877 and 1969), ii, 792–793; R. Andrewes, 'Hidden Treasure in Gloucester?', *VdGS Bulletin*, 28 (January, 1968), 13–14. For Playford catalogues, see W. C. Smith, 'Playford: Some Hitherto Unnoticed Catalogues of Early Music', *The Musical Times*, 67 (1926), 636–639, 701–704; L. Coral, 'A John Playford Advertisement', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 5 (1965), 1–12; and R. Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', *Early Music*, 23 (1995), 605–618. A fairly comprehensive appendix containing a list of references to the lyra viol in English sources 1593–1749 (including sale catalogues) can be found in F. Traficante, 'Lyra Viol Music? A Semantic Puzzle', in *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. A. Ashbee and P. Holman (Oxford, 1996), 335–351.

<sup>10</sup> The lyra viol duets are edited in *Thomas Ford: Lyra Viol Duets*, ed. O. Timofeyev, RRMBE, 90 (Madison, WI, 1998), which also includes a facsimile of the title page.

It is clear that our understanding of ensemble lute music is greatly hampered by the poor survival rate of the sources. Historical accident has undoubtedly played its part; however, the poor survival of sources may also be explained by the close relationship between the solo and ensemble repertoires. I have argued elsewhere that the lack of sources may be in part an indication that much of the repertoire was improvised or arranged from solo pieces, used as the basis for extemporized or informally composed *contrepartie* settings.<sup>11</sup> (The term *contrepartie* is generally used to describe a second lute part added to a pre-existing solo lute piece; most French baroque lute duets were composed in this manner.<sup>12</sup>) Examples of *contreparties* are found in several genres of English music from the first quarter or so of the seventeenth century.<sup>13</sup> There are several potential examples of *contreparties* in Ferrabosco's *Lessons*, perhaps the most important early printed collection of lute music. As we shall also see throughout this paper, the evidence suggests that *contreparties*—composed and improvised—played a significant role in the development of the ensemble lute repertoire.

The main difficulty with the few surviving ensemble sources is that they are generally incomplete, lacking at least one partbook; this naturally limits the information we can glean from them, and fosters a correlative lack of interest among musicologists. One such manuscript is found among the various sections of Z3.4.13 in Marsh's Library. As noted, Z3.4.13 is a large guardbook; it comprises several miscellaneous leaves and eight distinct manuscript fascicles: Table 1.

Section	Folios	Description
Miscellaneous leaves	1-4v	Miscellaneous leaves containing consort music parts
Fascicle 1	5-6v	Miscellaneous keyboard scores
Fascicle 2	7-12v	Organ part (score): Simon Ives, four-part fantasias
Fascicle 3	13-32v	Ensemble lute [one part only]
Fascicle 4	33-47	Continuo parts: four-part pieces by Ives, Jenkins, Ward, Ferrabosco II
Fascicle 5	47v-59v	Three-part scores: George Jeffreys, fantasias
Fascicle 6	60-64	Bass parts: Christopher Simpson's 'Seasons'
Fascicle 7	64v-71v	Continuo parts: Christopher Simpson's 'Seasons'
Fascicle 8	72-101v	Organ part (score): Coprario, five-part fantasias

Table 1. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13: outline of the complete guardbook<sup>14</sup>

Referring to the rather random selection of unrelated music in the guardbook, Richard Charteris described it as 'a testament, on the one hand to the skill of

<sup>11</sup> See J. Cunningham, "Let Them be Lusty, Smart-Speaking Viols": William Lawes and the Lute Trio', *JVdGSA*, 43 (2006), 32-68.

<sup>12</sup> See D. Buch, 'On the Authorship of William Lawes's *Suite for Two Lutes*', *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 16 (1983), 12-14.

<sup>13</sup> Cunningham, 'Lawes and the Lute Trio', op. cit., 38-40.

<sup>14</sup> For an inventory of the entire guardbook, see Charteris, *Music in Marsh's Library*, op. cit., 112-118.



the binder, and on the other hand to his lack of knowledge about music'.<sup>15</sup> The repertoire preserved in Z3.4.13 as a whole is likely to be representative of the kind of music performed at Narcissus Marsh's weekly music meetings, which he held in Oxford between 1666 and 1678 (see below). If so, it is intriguing to imagine lyra viol ensemble music also being performed at such meetings.

The volume was bound in its present form sometime before 1889,<sup>16</sup> presumably with the intention of preserving any unbound miscellaneous music manuscripts that could not be readily identified (and that lacked one or more parts). The lyra viol fascicle (the focus of this article) is a large oblong folio manuscript, measuring c286 x 217mm. The watermark is the Norman 'Grapes' type often found in music manuscripts from the first quarter or so of the seventeenth century.<sup>17</sup> The pages are uniformly ruled with a six-line, three-stave rastrum: there are six staves per page, with ruled margins on both sides.<sup>18</sup> It is unclear whether one or two companion partbooks are lacking,<sup>19</sup> and relatively few concordances are known to supplement the lost parts. The identity of the copyist is also unknown. However, before exploring the complexities of the lyra viol fascicle in more detail, we should perhaps first consider how Marsh obtained such a manuscript. (Although the shelf number Z3.4.13 applies to the guardbook as a whole, in the following discussion it will be used to refer specifically to the lyra viol fascicle.)

Narcissus Marsh (1638-1713) was born in Wiltshire, the youngest of five children.<sup>20</sup> From the age of 16 he was educated at Oxford University. He received his Bachelor's degree from Magdalen College in 1658, and in the same year was elected to a Wiltshire fellowship in Exeter College. He took his M.A. in 1660, his Bachelor of Divinity in 1667, and his Doctorate of Divinity in 1671. According to his diary, kept between the years 1690 and 1696, Marsh became interested in music during his time at Oxford. Referring to the year 1664 Marsh wrote 'I had before this betaken myself to the practice of musick, especially of the Bass Viol, & after the fire of London [1666], I constantly kept a weekly consort (of Instrumental musick & sometimes vocal) in my chamber on Wednesday in the afternoon, & then on Thursday, as long as I lived in Oxford'.<sup>21</sup> Marsh left Oxford in late 1678 to take up his appointment as provost of Trinity College, Dublin, indicating that his music meetings lasted for about 12 years, although Anthony Wood noted that Marsh held regular meetings at Exeter College from 1658. Whatever the case, Marsh's 'weekly

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<sup>15</sup> Charteris, 'Consort Music Manuscripts', op. cit., 31.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>17</sup> For further information on this watermark (and illustrations), see A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright (compilers), *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music [IMCCM]*, vol. 1 (Aldershot, 2001), 284-285; R. Thompson, 'Paper in English Music Manuscripts: 1620-1645', in *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, ed. A. Ashbee (Aldershot, 1998), 143-154.

<sup>18</sup> Following the measurement system in *IMCCM*, the rastral measurements are 15(17)14(17.5)14.5(17).

<sup>19</sup> The *VdGS Index* describes it as a one partbook of an original set of two: see below.

<sup>20</sup> For a detailed biographical account, see M. McCarthy, 'Marsh, Narcissus (1638-1713)', *ODNB* (accessed 28 October 2009).

<sup>21</sup> *Scholar Bishop: The Recollections and Diary of Narcissus Marsh, 1638-1696*, ed. R. Gillespie (Cork, 2003), 20. Marsh's diary begins 20 December 1690 and ends 8 December 1696. See also Charteris, 'Consort Music Manuscripts', op. cit., especially 35.

music meeting was the main such gathering at the University from 1666, and the only one after 1670'.<sup>22</sup> There were several such music meetings in Oxford, where professional musicians and university graduates gathered regularly to play chamber music. These music meetings appear to have begun on a regular basis around 1642, when the court was disbanded because of the Civil War leaving many musicians without a regular source of income. The meetings were essentially a way for professional musicians to generate extra income, and seem to have continued with occasional interruptions throughout the rest of the century. The best-documented meetings were those held by the organist William Ellis in the 1650s, attended by Anthony Wood. By the time Wood became involved in 1656, Ellis was holding his meetings at his house in Broad Street, on the site of what is now the New Bodleian Library, first on Thursdays then on Tuesdays. Members of the public were charged 6d a time for the privilege of playing with professional musicians.<sup>23</sup> Unlike Ellis's meetings, we have no records of the musicians who attended Marsh's meetings. Although Wood did note that 'some of the company' that attended the Ellis meetings also attended those held by Marsh.<sup>24</sup>

Marsh's interest in the bass viol roughly coincided with the first Playford publications of lyra viol music in the early 1650s. Indeed, according to Richard Charteris's published inventory of music manuscripts and prints now missing from Marsh's Library, Marsh owned a copy of the 1661 (second) edition of *Musicks Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way*.<sup>25</sup> Although this copy is lost, Marsh's own lyra viol manuscript containing a similar repertory has survived. The manuscript, Z3.5.13, is dated 1666 and contains 60 pieces for solo lyra viol copied by Marsh and an unidentified scribe.<sup>26</sup> Marsh was clearly also aware of lyra viol ensemble music; the same list of missing items includes references to lyra consorts by Christopher Simpson and John Jenkins.<sup>27</sup> We do not know when Marsh acquired the lyra viol manuscript now bound in Z3.4.13, however, it seems likely that by that time it had become separated from any companion partbooks. If this were true, notwithstanding Marsh's familiarity with the lyra viol as both a solo and ensemble instrument, we should not necessarily assume that he knew that Z3.4.13 actually contained music for two or possibly three lyra viols. Marsh may even have acquired it presuming its contents to be solos. There are no indications in the manuscript about the number of partbooks the

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<sup>22</sup> Charteris, 'Consort Music Manuscripts', op. cit., 35; see also B. Bellingham, 'The musical circle of Anthony Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration', *JVdGSA*, 19 (1982), 6-70.

<sup>23</sup> See P. Gouk, 'Performance Practice: Music, Medicine and Natural Philosophy in Interregnum Oxford', *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 29/3 (1996), 257-288, especially 277.

<sup>24</sup> See also P. Gouk, 'Music', in *The History of the University of Oxford, Vol. VI: Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. N. Tyacke (Oxford, 1997), 621-640.

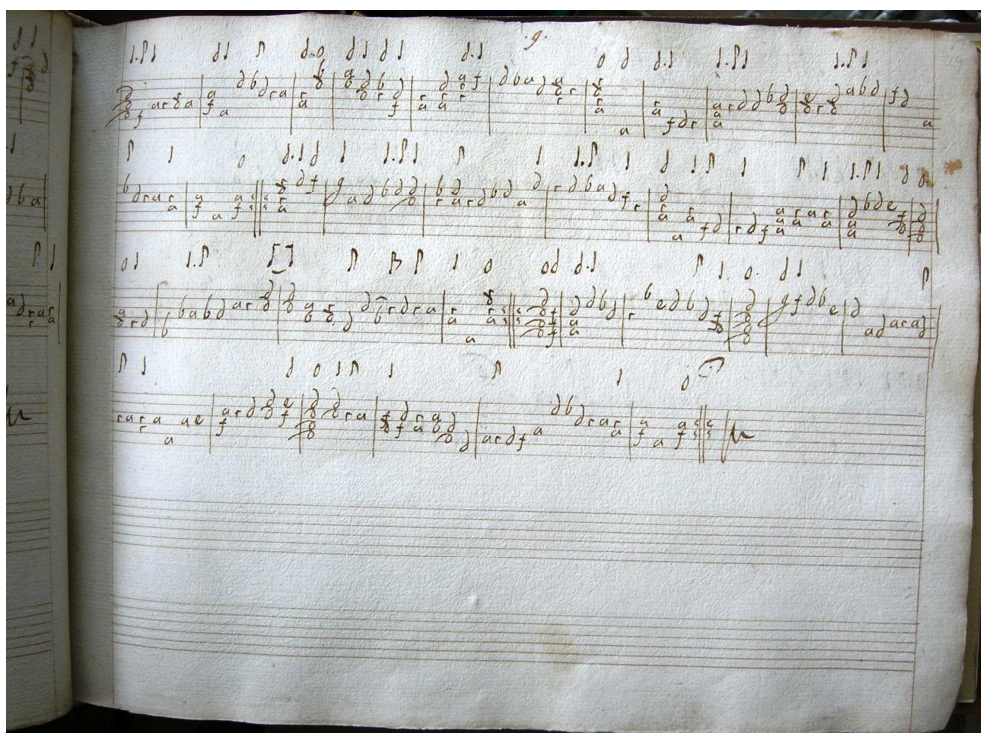
<sup>25</sup> See Charteris, 'Music Manuscripts and Books Missing from Marsh's Library', op. cit.. The volume was apparently shelved with William Lawes's 'Musick in 4 parts' [the Royall Consort?] as they shared the same shelf number; see also Charteris, *Music in Marsh's Library*, op. cit., 127-133.

<sup>26</sup> Facsimile edition: *Narcissus Marsh's Lyra Viol Book: MS Z3.5.13*, ed. R. Rastall, Musical Sources, 10 (Clarabricken, 1978).

<sup>27</sup> Christopher Simpson 'his Lyra Consort in 3 parts'; John Jenkins, 'Ejusdem Lyra Consort'; see Charteris, 'Music Manuscripts and Books Missing from Marsh's Library', op. cit.

set originally contained,<sup>28</sup> and few pieces contain telltale silences usually indicating a missing part; only four pieces begin with rests, and most of the pieces work reasonably well as solos with little or no adaptation. Indeed, as we shall see, several of the pieces in Z3.4.13 were disseminated as solos and are found in solo lyra viol manuscripts with few substantial variants.

Modern assessment of Z3.4.13 is hampered by the way in which it was bound into the guardbook; the late nineteenth-century binding does not preserve the lyra viol fascicle in its original order. The situation is further confused by the presence of two original numbering systems within the manuscript, in addition to the modern foliation of the entire guardbook added by Richard Andrewes in 1968. Both numbering systems were written by the same person, which appears to be the copyist of the tablature. First, there are page numbers at the top centre of most of the pages: Figure 1. For some of the manuscript this pagination also serves as piece numbers, as only one piece (regardless of length) was copied per page. The second group of numbers relate to pieces: Figure 2. However, as we can see from Table 2, neither numerical sequence is complete. There are no page numbers on modern ff. 20-20v and 22-22v, nor are there are piece numbers for ff. 21-32v. The two pieces on the single leaf ff. 22-22v contain neither page nor piece numbers.



*Fig. 1. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 29. With the permission of the Governors and Guardians of Marsh's Library*

<sup>28</sup> This information could, of course, have been contained on a now lost flyleaf etc.

Table 2. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, ff. 13-32v: Inventory (current order)

© = concordance(s) known      +(+)= additional part(s) known

Title	Modern		No.	Page	Tuning	VdGS <sup>1</sup>	©	++
	Attribution	Folio(s)						
<i>Coranto By: S: I:</i>	Ives	13	1	47	fhfhf	111/142	©	++
[Ayre]	[Ives]	13	2	[47]	fhfhf	112/141	©	++
<i>A Maske By S: I:</i>	Ives	13v	4	48	fhfhf	113		
[Alman]	[Ives?]	13v	5	[48]	fhfhf	114		
[Alman] <i>By: S: I:</i>	Ives	13v-14	6	[48]	fhfhf	115		
[M <sup>rs</sup> Mary Brownes Choyce] <i>By S: I:</i>	Ives	14	7	49	fhfhf	116/Gregorie 49	©	+
[Ayre] <i>By S: I:</i>	Ives	14v	8	50	fhfhf	117		
[M <sup>rs</sup> Colliers Choice] <i>By S: I:</i>	Ives	14v	9	[50]	fhfhf	143	©	+
<i>An Ayre By S: I:</i>	Ives	14v-15	10	[50]	fhfhf	118/144		+
<i>See the Buildings By: S: I:</i>	Ives	15	11	51	fhfhf	119	©	++
[Alman] <i>By: S: I:</i>	Ives	15	12	[51]	fhfhf	120		
[Alman] <i>By S: I:</i>	Ives	15v	13	52	fhfhf	121		
[Ayre] <i>By: T: G:</i>	Gregorie	15v	14	[52]	fhfhf	52/Ives 148	©	++
[All ye forsaken lovers] <i>By: S: I:</i>	Ives	15v-16	15	[52]	fhfhf	150	©	+
[Alman] <i>By: S: I:</i>	Ives	16	16	53	fhfhf	122		
[Alman] <i>By: S: I:</i>	Ives	16	17	[53]	fhfhf	123		
<i>Alman By R: Jo:</i>	[Robert Johnson?, arr. Gregorie]	16v	18	54	fhfhf	9	©	
<i>M<sup>r</sup> Jo: Wards Tune for 2 viols By: S: I:</i>	John Ward, arr. Ives	16v	19	[54]	fhfhf	124	©	
[The Fancy] <i>By: S: I:</i>	Ives	17	20	55	fhfhf	125	©	
[Ayre] <i>By: S: I:</i>	Ives	17	21	[55]	fhfhf	131/Gregorie 11	©	+
[Alman] <i>By: S: I:</i>	Ives	17	22	[55]	fhfhf	126		

<sup>1</sup> VdGS nos. refer to the person listed under 'Attribution'; where two nos. are given this indicates a second part listed in the *VdGS Index* under a different number. For details of concordances, see *VdGS Index*.

[Ayre] By: T: G:	Gregorie	17v	23	56	fhfhf	55/Ives 147	©	+
<i>Coranto</i> By S: I:	Ives	17v	24	[56]	fhfhf	127	©	
<i>Coranto</i> : By: T: G:	Gregorie	18	25	57	fhfhf	56		
[Ayre]	[Gregorie?]	18	26	[57]	fhfhf	57		
[Ayre] By: T: G:	Gregorie	18v	27	58	fhfhf	58		
[Ayre] By: S: I:	Ives	18v	28	[58]	fhfhf	128	©	
[Ayre] By: S: I:	Ives	18v	29	[58]	fhfhf	132/Gregorie 10	©	+
<i>Williams bis Maske</i> By: Tho: G:	Gregorie	19	30	59	fhfhf	59	©	
<i>A Humor</i> by: S: I:	Ives	19v	31	60	fhfhf	129	©	+
[Ayre] By: S: I:	Ives	20	32		fhfhf	130/146		+
<i>An Ayre</i> By: T: G:	Gregorie	20v	33		fhfhf	35	©	
<i>An Ayre</i> By: T: G:	Gregorie	20v	34		fhfhf	48	©	+
[Ayre; fragment]	[Gregorie?]	20v	35		[fhfhf]	---		
[Coranto]	[Anon.]	21		46	ffhfh	9101		
<i>M<sup>s</sup> Anne Forrist's Choice</i> / S: I:	Ives	21	3	[46]	fhfhf	145		+
[Saraband]	[Anon.]	21v		45	ffhfh	9102		
<i>Coranto</i> By: W: L:	Lawes	22			fhfhf	541		
<i>Allman</i> By: S: I:	Ives	22v			fhfhf	149/Gregorie 34	©	+++
[Pavan]	[Anon.]	23		44	ffhfh	9103		
[Galliard]	[Anon.]	23v		43	ffhfh	9166	©	+
[Pavan]	[Anon.]	24		42	ffhfh	9104		
[Pavan]	[Anon.]	24v		41	ffhfh	9105		
[Alman]	[Ferrabosco]	25		1	fehfh	115	©	+
[Alman]	[Anon.]	25v		2	fehfh	8221		
[Galliard]	[Ferrabosco]	26		3	fehfh	117	©	+
[Galliard]	[Anon.]	26v		4	fehfh	8222		
[Pavan]	[Anon.]	27		5	fehfh	8223		
[Alman]	[Ferrabosco]	27v		6	fehfh	118	©	+
[Pavan]	[Anon.]	28		7	fehfh	8224		
[Alman]	[Anon.]	28v		8	fehfh	8225		

[Galliard]	[Anon.]	29	9	fefhf	8226
[Alman]	[Anon.]	29v	10	fefhf	8227
[Pavan]	[Anon.]	30	11	fefhf	8228
[Pavan]	[Anon.]	30v	12	fefhf	8229
[Alman]	[Anon.]	31	13	fefhf	8230
[Unused page]		31v	14		
[Unused page]		32	15		
[Unused page]		32v	16		



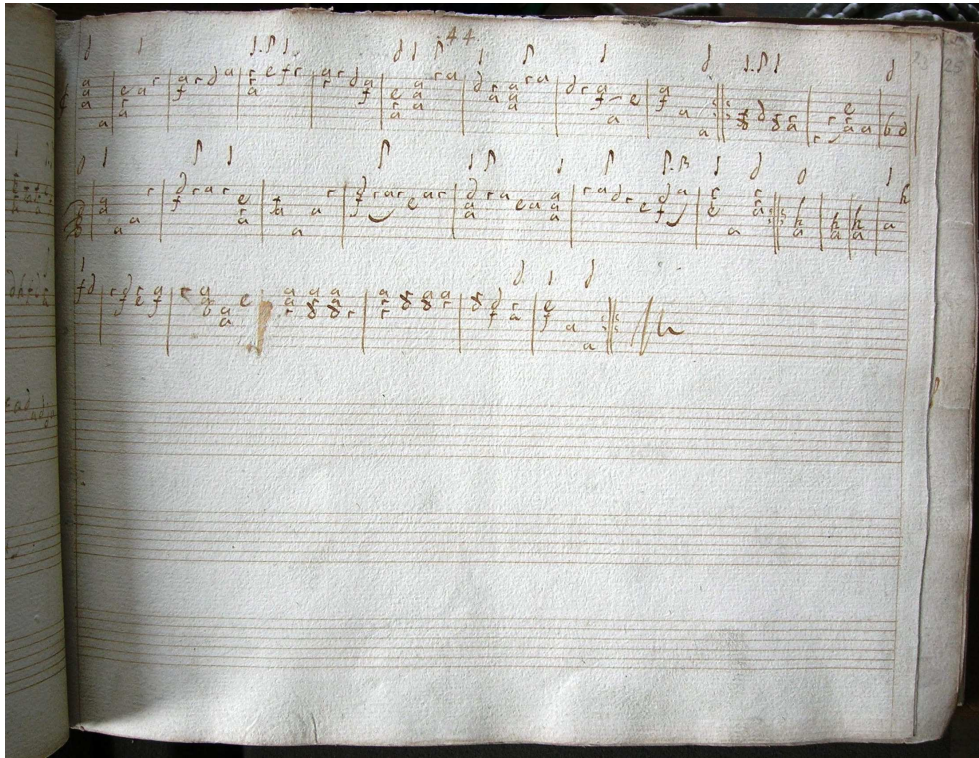


Fig. 2. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 23. With the permission of the Governors and Guardians of Marsh's Library

The obvious conclusion to be drawn is that the copyist paginated most of the manuscript before much, if any, of the music was copied. The leaf with neither page nor piece numbers was presumably a late addition and should be appended after p. 60 (modern f. 19v); the continuation of piece no. 31 from p. 60 onto the next unnumbered page (f. 20) shows that the copyist did not paginate after 60, although there were at least two further leaves in the manuscript. By rearranging the manuscript according to these numbering systems we can now see its original order: Table 3. The rather confused present order of the manuscript even led Richard Charteris to conclude that the first folio was missing,<sup>29</sup> whereas it was simply misplaced within the modern binding. However, rather than demonstrating the binder's 'lack of knowledge about music', the manuscript was bound within the guardbook in a logical order: first the large section of numbered pieces (nos 1-35), then the section with page numbers, and finally the unused pages.

<sup>29</sup> Charteris, *Music in Marsh's Library*, op. cit., 113.

Table 3. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, ff. 13-32v: Inventory (original order)

© = concordance(s) known      +(+)= additional part(s) known

<b>Title</b>	<b>Attribution</b>	<b>Modern Folio(s)</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Tuning</b>	<b>VdGS<sup>1</sup></b>		
[Alman]	[Ferrabosco]	25		1	fehf	115	©	+
[Alman]	[Anon.]	25v		2	fehf	8221		
[Galliard]	[Ferrabosco]	26		3	fehf	117	©	+
[Galliard]	[Anon.]	26v		4	fehf	8222		
[Pavan]	[Anon.]	27		5	fehf	8223		
[Alman]	[Ferrabosco]	27v		6	fehf	118	©	+
[Pavan]	[Anon.]	28		7	fehf	8224		
[Alman]	[Anon.]	28v		8	fehf	8225		
[Galliard]	[Anon.]	29		9	fehf	8226		
[Alman]	[Anon.]	29v		10	fehf	8227		
[Pavan]	[Anon.]	30		11	fehf	8228		
[Pavan]	[Anon.]	30v		12	fehf	8229		
[Alman]	[Anon.]	31		13	fehf	8230		
	[Unused page]	31v		14				
	[Unused page]	32		15				
	[Unused page]	32v		16				
-----								
[Pavan]	[Anon.]	24v		41	ffhf	9105		
[Pavan]	[Anon.]	24		42	ffhf	9104		
[Galliard]	[Anon.]	23v		43	ffhf	9166	©	+
[Pavan]	[Anon.]	23		44	ffhf	9103		
[Saraband]	[Anon.]	21v		45	ffhf	9102		
[Coranto]	[Anon.]	21		46	ffhf	9101		

<sup>1</sup> VdGS nos. refer to the person listed under ‘Attribution’; where two nos. are given this indicates a second part listed in the *VdGS Index* under a different number. For details of concordances, see *VdGS Index*.



<i>M<sup>rs</sup> Anne Forrist's Choice / S: I:</i>	Ives	21	3	[46]	fhfhf	145		+
<i>Coranto By: S: I:</i>	Ives	13	1	47	fhfhf	111/142	©	++
[Ayre]	[Ives]	13	2	[47]	fhfhf	112/141	©	++
<i>A Maske By S: I:</i>	Ives	13v	4	48	fhfhf	113		
[Alman]	[Ives?]	13v	5	[48]	fhfhf	114		
[Alman] <i>By: S: I:</i>	Ives	13v-14	6	[48]	fhfhf	115		
[M <sup>rs</sup> Mary Brownes Choyce] <i>By S: I:</i>	Ives	14	7	49	fhfhf	116/Gregorie 49	©	+
[Ayre] <i>By S: I:</i>	Ives	14v	8	50	fhfhf	117		
[M <sup>rs</sup> Colliers Choice] <i>By S: I:</i>	Ives	14v	9	[50]	fhfhf	143	©	++
<i>An Ayre By S: I:</i>	Ives	14v-15	10	[50]	fhfhf	118/144		+
<i>See the Buildings By: S: I:</i>	Ives	15	11	51	fhfhf	119	©	++
[Alman] <i>By: S: I:</i>	Ives	15	12	[51]	fhfhf	120		
[Alman] <i>By S: I:</i>	Ives	15v	13	52	fhfhf	121		
[Ayre] <i>By: T: G:</i>	Gregorie	15v	14	[52]	fhfhf	52/Ives 148	©	+
[All ye forsaken lovers] <i>By: S: I:</i>	Ives	15v-16	15	[52]	fhfhf	150	©	+
[Alman] <i>By: S: I:</i>	Ives	16	16	53	fhfhf	122		
[Alman] <i>By: S: I:</i>	Ives	16	17	[53]	fhfhf	123		
<i>Alman By R: Jo:</i>	[Robert Johnson?, arr. Gregorie]	16v	18	54	fhfhf	9	©	
<i>M<sup>r</sup> Jo: Wards Tune for 2 viols By: S: I:</i>	John Ward, arr. Ives	16v	19	[54]	fhfhf	124	©	
[The Fancy] <i>By: S: I:</i>	Ives	17	20	55	fhfhf	125	©	
[Ayre] <i>By: S: I:</i>	Ives	17	21	[55]	fhfhf	131/Gregorie 11	©	+
[Alman] <i>By: S: I:</i>	Ives	17	22	[55]	fhfhf	126		
[Ayre] <i>By: T: G:</i>	Gregorie	17v	23	56	fhfhf	55/Ives 147	©	+
<i>Coranto By S: I:</i>	Ives	17v	24	[56]	fhfhf	127	©	
<i>Coranto: By: T: G:</i>	Gregorie	18	25	57	fhfhf	56		
[Ayre]	[Gregorie?]	18	26	[57]	fhfhf	57		
[Ayre] <i>By: T: G:</i>	Gregorie	18v	27	58	fhfhf	58		
[Ayre] <i>By: S: I:</i>	Ives	18v	28	[58]	fhfhf	128	©	

[Ayre] By: S: I:	Ives	18v	29	[58]	fhfhf	132/Gregorie 10	©	+
<i>Williams bis Maske</i> By: Tho: G:	Gregorie	19	30	59	fhfhf	59	©	
<i>A Humor</i> by: S: I:	Ives	19v	31	60	fhfhf	129	©	+
[Ayre] By: S: I:	Ives	20	32		fhfhf	130/146		+
<i>An Ayre</i> By: T: G:	Gregorie	20v	33		fhfhf	35	©	
<i>An Ayre</i> By: T: G:	Gregorie	20v	34		fhfhf	48	©	+
[Ayre; fragment]	[Gregorie?]	20v	35		[fhfhf]	---		
<hr/>								
<i>Coranto</i> By: W: L:	Lawes	22			fhfhf	541		
<i>Allman</i> By: S: I:	Ives	22v			fhfhf	149/Gregorie 34	©	+++

The first folio of the manuscript in its present order (f. 13) is quite badly damaged, with much of the ink on the top half of the page obscured (Figure 3). This suggests that the manuscript spent some time in contact with a floor or some such before being bound into the guardbook. The stave lines on the last leaf (f. 32v) are also quite faded—there is no music entered—and has the same kind of damage as on the first leaf (f. 13): whatever the cause, this strongly suggests that these were the two outer pages of the manuscript for some time. Both of the current outer leaves also have a portion of the top right-hand corner torn away; the dimensions of the torn portions are similar but not identical. The implication is that Z3.4.13 was unbound by at least the late nineteenth century, which also explains why several of the pages—modern ff. 21-24—were bound the wrong way around (i.e. verso to recto; each has an even page number on the verso side). With the exception of f. 21,<sup>30</sup> the outer edges of these pages are cut quite close to the ruled margin (see Figure 4, and Figure 2, above); this indicates that they were cut out from another binding, and re-bound in this way because of the wider margin on the outer edge.



Fig. 3. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 13. With the permission of the Governors and Guardians of Marsh's Library

From the original ordering of Z3.4.13 given in Table 3 we can see that the manuscript was organized by tuning, a common feature of many lyra viol sources (although none are identified in the manuscript).<sup>31</sup> Only three tunings

<sup>30</sup> Folio 21 is also the wrong way around, but the right-side was not cut out: only about two inches at the top of the right-side are torn; however, one can still see the crease of the old binding on the outer edge of the page.

<sup>31</sup> In some lyra viol sources the tunings are indicated by a table of pitches, an intervallic shorthand (e.g. *fe/hf*) or by a reference to the tuning name (e.g. 'harp way flat' etc.).

are used, the same three needed for Ferrabosco's *Lessons*. The first section is in *febf*, commonly as 'lyra way' or 'Alfonso his first way'. The second section is in *ffhfb*, generally known as 'Alfonso way'. The final section is in *fbfb* or 'eights' tuning. The tunings and the style of the pieces suggest that the much of the music dates to before c1625.<sup>32</sup>

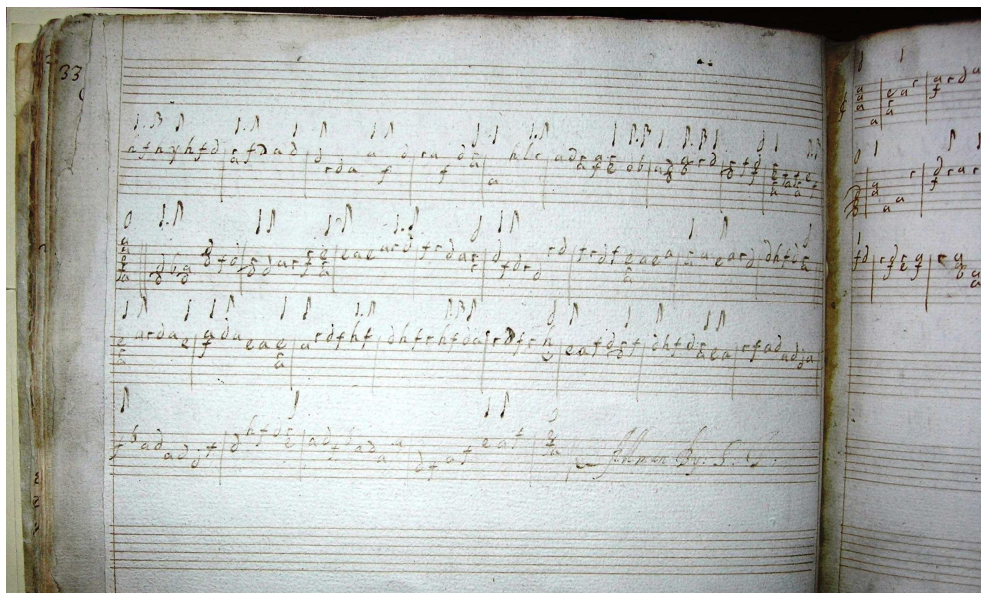


Fig. 4. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 22v. With the permission of the Governors and Guardians of Marsh's Library

Z3.4.13 was copied by a single scribe in at least two distinct phases.<sup>33</sup> The first phase comprises the first two tuning sequences (*febf* and *ffhfb*), in which the copyist provided neither titles nor composer attributions. Three of the pieces in the first tuning are also found Ferrabosco's *Lessons* (see Appendix, nos. 1-3); each contains minor variants from the printed versions (e.g. note(s) omitted from a multiple stop; notes played on a stopped string rather than an open one; minor rhythmic variants). The variants suggest that the printed edition was not the copy source, although it was certainly closely related to the print. The remaining ten pieces of the first tuning sequence are unique to Z3.4.13.<sup>34</sup> The six pieces in the second tuning (*ffhfb*) also appear to have been copied around the same time as the first. These pieces are stylistically similar to those in the first tuning section (*febf*), and all are unique to the manuscript. As can be seen from Figures 1-2, the hand in these two sections is careful but fluent: each piece is finished with a distinctive terminal barline after a repeat sign, usually incorporating a fermata over the double barline or final rhythm sign.

The second copying phase comprises the third tuning section (*fbfb*). This is the largest section of the manuscript, containing 37 pieces, one of which is unfinished (Example 1). With the exception of a corant by William Lawes and

<sup>32</sup> For lyra viol tunings, see F. Traficante, 'Lyra Viol Tunings: "All Ways have been Tried to do It"', *Acta Musicologica*, 42 (1970), 196-204.

<sup>33</sup> These phases denote overall periods of copying activity; there are, for example, several variations in the ink within these phases.

<sup>34</sup> None of the pieces in the first tuning section are given a time signature.



an alman by Simon Ives (ff. 22-22v), the pieces are numbered continuously 1-35; the unfinished ayre is no. 35 of this sequence.

Ex. 1. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 20v, no. 35: Anon., [Ayre] (fragment)

The *shfbf* section appears to have been copied some time after the first two tuning sections and with less attention to presentation. For example, in the previous two tunings only one piece was copied per page, but in this third tuning almost every page is filled with two or three pieces (Figure 5). Furthermore, the ink variations in the third tuning section suggest that it was copied in instalments. The sequence begins on p. 47 (modern f. 13), with nos. 1 and 2. However, the verso side of the leaf contains only nos 4, 5 and 6. No. 3 is actually the piece titled ‘M<sup>rs</sup> Anne Forrist’s Choice’ (modern f. 21). As noted (but unexplained) by Charteris, this (duple-time) piece is prefaced by the number ‘3’. The meaning is obvious, however, when the manuscript is presented in its original order. The copyist clearly forgot to add the piece, so did the logical thing and appended it to the end of the previous page (i.e. p. 46; Figure 6). This is of some note, as it suggests that the copyist had a clear order in mind when compiling the manuscript.

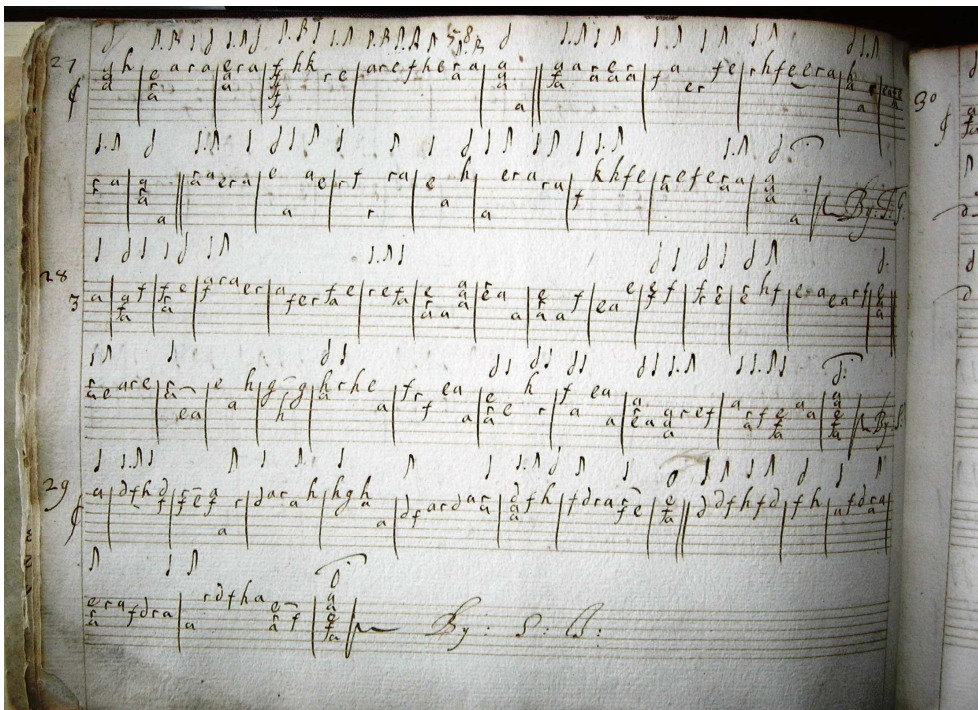


Fig. 5. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 18v. With the permission of the Governors and Guardians of Marsh’s Library

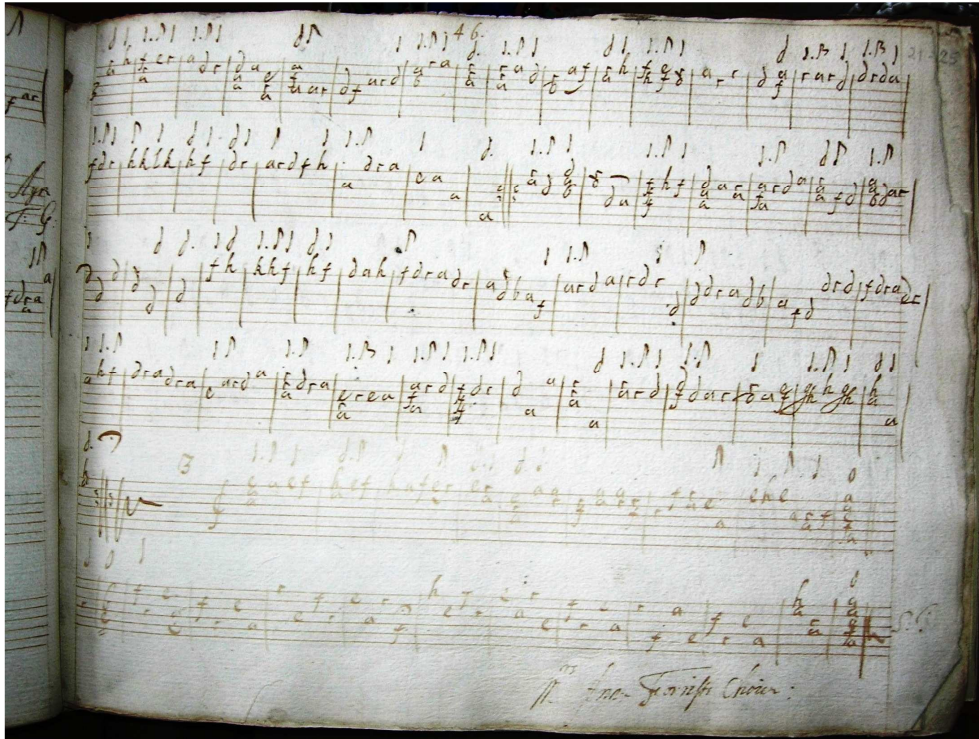


Fig. 6. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 21. With the permission of the Governors and Guardians of Marsh's Library

32 of the 56 pieces in Z3.4.13 are unique; 23 pieces carry no composer attributions in the manuscript, and many of these are unknown in other sources: this situation is paralleled in many ensemble lyra viol sources.<sup>35</sup> There is a single piece attributed to William Lawes ('W: L:'), and another to 'R: Jo:' (see below), and 24 are attributed to Simon Ives ('S: I:'). Seven pieces are attributed to 'T: G:'. This is presumably Thomas Gregorie, the only known lyra viol composer at this time fitting these initials. We know little about Gregorie. No connections have been established between him and the members of the Gregorie family that worked in the Royal Music at the English court during the seventeenth century.<sup>36</sup> Gregorie seems to have been active in the first half of the century and composed/arranged much lyra viol music; almost 90 pieces have been attributed to him in the *VdGS Index*, most of which are duets that now lack one part. A significant problem with Gregorie is, however, that few of the pieces attributed to him are uncontested in one way or another, and many are attributed to him by their position in a manuscript. One suspects that he was more an arranger than a composer; as we shall see, however, this distinction is often a difficult one to maintain or even identify in the lyra viol repertoire.

<sup>35</sup> For example, four of the five manuscript sources of lyra viol trios (US-CAh, MS Mus. 70; GB-HAdolmetsch, MS II.B.3; GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-247; GB-Och, Mus. 531-532) contain a high number of unattributed pieces; all pieces in the fifth source, GB-Och, Mus. 725-727, are attributed. There are also remarkably few concordances between these five manuscripts. See also Cunningham, 'Lawes and the Lyra Viol Trio', op. cit..

<sup>36</sup> See A. Ashbee and D. Lasocki, assisted by P. Holman and F. Kisby, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714* (Aldershot, 1998), i. 521-525; F. Traficante, 'Gregorie, Thomas', *GMO* (accessed 6 December 2009).

The pieces in the first two tuning sections are stylistically similar to the three pieces from Ferrabosco's *Lessons* (1609) found in the first tuning sequence. However, perhaps the most interesting piece is the opening alman (f. 25; Ferrabosco VdGS 115). This piece is also found as a duet in another set of partbooks copied by John Merro, GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-247.<sup>37</sup> Merro and our copyist must have taken the piece from sources closely related to the printed edition; all three versions are similar, but with the usual minor variants. The piece is also found in another set of lyra viol partbooks: GB-Och, Mus. 531-532, two partbooks from an original set of three containing lyra viol trios.<sup>38</sup> As can be seen from the Example 2a-c, the first strain of the 531-532 version is largely the same as the printed version, although the chordal texture is distributed evenly (in solo lines) between the voices, resulting in fewer chords. Indeed, much of the missing third part of the first strain can be reconstructed from the printed version.

Ex. 2a-c. Alfonso Ferrabosco, [*Alman*] (VdGS 115): Strain 1 variants

Ex. 2a. *Lyra viols 1-2: Alfonso Ferrabosco, Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols (London, 1609), no. 26; GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-246 (John Merro partbooks), p. 23; Concordance for lyra viol 2: IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 25*

Ex. 2b. *Strain 1: GB-Och, Mus. 531-532, no. 19*

<sup>37</sup> For inventory and analysis, see *IMCCM*, vol. 1, 139-166.

<sup>38</sup> For 531-2 (including inventory, facsimiles, and transcriptions), see J. Cunningham, 'Music for the Privy Chamber: Studies in the Consort Music of William Lawes (1602-45)', Ph.D. thesis (University of Leeds, 2007), i. 136-143, ii. 368-384.

Merro/  
Lessons/  
Z3.4.13

531

532

5

10

Ex. 2c. Editorial reconstruction of Strain 1 for three lyra viols

From this, it seems that Ferrabosco's alman existed as a lyra viol duet and trio. However, the second and third strains of the 531-532 version are significantly different to the duet version.<sup>39</sup> The second strain of 531 again begins with a scaled-down version of one of the duet parts, but after the first two bars quickly turns into a different piece (both versions are given in full in the Appendix, nos. 1b and 1b, below). The 531-532 version is stylistically typical of Ferrabosco and retains the overall character of the alman. However, this version is less adventurous harmonically, generally avoiding the extended excursions to flat keys; the overall harmonic scheme is significantly altered between the two versions. Although it is impossible to say with certainty which version came first, one suspects that the 531-532 version predates the printed version. This may indicate that the piece originated as a lyra viol trio (if this was not itself an arrangement) and that Ferrabosco (re-)arranged it as a duet for publication in 1609. The 531-532 version certainly seems musically less mature than the published version; even allowing for the missing third part, the last two strains are quite homophonic which is rare in Ferrabosco's music (adding to the suggestion that it may be an early work).

The six pieces in the second tuning also seem to date to around the first decade of the century; no concordances have been identified, and they are of no particular interest in the current context. The third tuning section is dominated by music attributed to Ives and Gregorie. Of the 42 complete pieces in this section, 24 are attributed to 'S: I:' and 7 to 'T: G.': several more can reasonably be attributed to either man 'by position'. This section seems to have been copied in the early to mid 1630s, although some of the music is much older (e.g. several pieces are associated with court masques from the first quarter of the century). The pieces in this section also demonstrate several—

<sup>39</sup> A point not noted in the *VdGS Index*.



often related—issues that one comes across in the lyra viol repertoire generally: (1) cross-attributions, especially where two parts of a duet survive in two separate sources: this occurs in several instances with Ives and Gregorie; (2) the interrelationship between the solo and ensemble repertoires, and the significance of *contreparties* in the development of the ensemble repertoire; (3) the number of arrangements (especially of popular tunes and masque dances), where the distinction between arranger and composer is blurred.

The untitled air by Simon Ives on folio 18v (no. 29) is an arrangement of a piece found in four- and five-part consort versions in two important collections of consort music published in Hamburg by two expatriate English composers. The five-part setting is found in William Brade's *Neue ausserlesene liebliche Branden* (1617), the four-part setting in Thomas Simpson's *Taffel-Consort* (1621).<sup>40</sup> Like many of the pieces in these publications, this dance may have originally been composed for an English masque.<sup>41</sup> Andrew Sabol suggested that it was performed in George Chapman's *Memorable Masque of the Middle Temple* (1613); however, there is little, if any, evidence to support attribution to this masque in particular.<sup>42</sup> The Z3.4.13 version is unique, and apparently one part of a duet. It is one of several pieces from Z3.4.13 to be given a dual attribution in the *VdGS Index*: Ives 132, Gregorie 10. The 'other part' of the duet is found in four lyra viol sources, three of which are manuscripts of solo music; three of these sources carry attributions to 'Tho: Gregorye or 'T.G.'<sup>43</sup> The implication seems to be that Gregorie arranged the piece for solo lyra viol, a version that was disseminated quite widely. It was common for masque dances to be arranged in this fashion for amateur consumption on solo instruments such as the lyra viol, lute or keyboard. However, the attribution in Z3.4.13 implies that this additional part was composed/arranged by Simon Ives, presumably a *contrepartie* to the popular solo setting.<sup>44</sup> The four-part and lyra viol duet versions are given in Examples 3a-b.

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<sup>40</sup> W. Brade, *Neue ausserlesene liebliche Branden* (Hamburg, 1617), ed. B. Thomas, 3 vols. (London, 1974); T. Simpson, *Taffel-Consort* (Hamburg, 1621), ed. B. Thomas, 3 vols. (London, 1988).

<sup>41</sup> We know that masque tunes were composed and disseminated in treble-bass format; the inner parts of these consort arrangements were presumably made by Brade and Simpson. See P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 2/1995), 179-196.

<sup>42</sup> A. Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque* (Providence, RI, 1978), 602. Sabol based his identification on the presence of the piece in a 2-part version in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10444, where it is titled 'The Second of the Temple' (titled 'Der Irlender Tanz' in Brade's collection). *Taffel-Consort*, no. 44—a 'Ballet'—is also found in 10444 titled 'The third of the Temple'; it is also found in Brade's collection titled 'Auffzug zu Grienwitsch'. Sabol attributes the composition of both pieces to Robert Johnson. Johnson was paid (a substantial) £45 'for Musicke and songes' and Thomas Ford was paid £5 'for setting songes used at the Maske'. The masque was performed as part of the festivities at the wedding of Princess Elizabeth and the Count Palatine in 1613. See P. Walls, *Music in the English Courty Masque 1604-1640* (Oxford, 1996), 38.

<sup>43</sup> GB-CHer, MS DLT/B 31 (Peter Leycester's *A Booke of Lessons for the Lyro=Violo*; solo), f. 90: 'Tho: Gregorye'; GB-Lam, MS 600 (the John Browne Bandora and Lyra Viol Book; solo), f. 41: 'T. G.'; GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.221 (incomplete duet), no. 10: 'T: G.'; GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.247 (of D.245-247, the Merro partbooks; solo), f. 34v: untitled and unattributed.

<sup>44</sup> D.221 is the sole surviving partbook of what appears to be a set of two, containing lyra viol duets by Thomas Gregorie ('T. G'), John Jenkins and anonymous, see also below. Of

CANTUS  
ALTUS  
TENOR  
BASSUS

7  
1. 2.

14  
1. 2.

Ex. 3a. *Anon., 'Mascarada': Thomas Simpson, Taffel-Consort (Hamburg, 1621), no. 32,*<sup>45</sup> for ease of comparison it has been transposed down a 4th

LYRA VIOL 1  
LYRA VIOL 2

5  
10

Ex. 3b. *Arrangement of the 'Mascarada' for two lyra viols; Lyra viol 1: IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 18v, no. 29 ('By: S: I:'); Lyra viol 2: GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.221, no. 10 ('T: G:'); both sources lack the final tripla strain (typical of many masque dances). Cf. lyra viol 2 and the Cantus of the consort version. Lyra viol 1 appears to be a contrepartie*

Similar arrangements of pieces known in consort versions are often found in the lyra viol repertoire,<sup>46</sup> and many more may yet be identified; there are at least

course, we have no way of knowing whether the Z3.4.13 part is the same as that contained in the now lost companion book to D.221.

<sup>45</sup> First and second time bars are not indicated in the print. Tenor originally notated in C2 clef; the continuo figures are omitted here.

five such arrangements in Z3.4.13. Another example—again with a probable masque connection—can be found on f. 17 (Example 4). The piece carries no title in Z3.4.13, though the four-part consort version—also by Ives—is known as ‘The Fancy’. It has been argued that this title may indicate a connection with the elaborate Inns of Court masque *The Triumph of Peace* (1633), for which Ives composed some of the music with William Lawes.<sup>47</sup> ‘The Fancy’ may be the music for the first antimasque, of Fancy, Opinion, Confidence, Novelty, Admiration, Jollity, and Laughter. The tune was evidently popular, and is found in arrangements for keyboard, lute and baryton.<sup>48</sup>

Ex. 4. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 17, no. 20: Simon Ives, [*The Fancy*]

Another masque tune arrangement in Z3.4.13 highlights the issue of attribution. ‘Williams his Maske’ is attributed to ‘Tho: G.’ in Z3.4.13, f. 19. The piece is an arrangement of an untitled (and unattributed) masque dance published in a setting for five-part consort in John Adson’s *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (1621): Example 5a-b.<sup>49</sup> Again, the tune was clearly popular. The treble and bass parts of the are found in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10444, titled ‘Williams his Love’; a keyboard arrangement in US-NYp, Drexel MS 5612, p. 159 also carries the same title. Two concordances are known for the lyra viol arrangement in Z3.4.13: both versions contain minor variants, and were disseminated as solo pieces. There is an unattributed and untitled concordance in one of John Merro’s partbooks, D.247, f. 34; another in GB-Mp, MS BRm 832 Vu 51, p. 80 titled ‘A Maske’ (also unattributed). The Z3.4.13 version is ‘by Tho: G.’, suggesting that Gregorie was the arranger. This fits with the wording of the Z3.4.13 attribution to Ives, where we know he was arranging rather than composing (see below).

<sup>46</sup> For example, in *Lessons* there are nine pieces also found in four- and five-part consort versions; although we cannot be certain of which version came first, Christopher Field has convincingly argued that the lyra viol versions postdate the consort versions: ‘The Composer’s Workshop: Revisions in the Consort Music of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger’, *Cheyls*, 27 (1999), 1-39. See also A. Ferrabosco (the Younger), *Consort Music of Five and Six Parts*, ed. C.D.S. Field and D. Pinto, Musica Britannica, 81 (London, 2003).

<sup>47</sup> See S. Ives, *The Four-Part Dances* (GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 18940-18944), ed. P. Holman and J. Cunningham (Launton, 2008); the consort version is no. 22. For *The Triumph of Peace*, see Walls, *Music in the English Courty Masque*, op. cit., 159-205.

<sup>48</sup> See Ives, *Four-Part Dances*, op. cit.

<sup>49</sup> J. Adson, *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (1621), 3 vols. ed. P. Walls (London, 1977). I am grateful to Richard Carter for bringing the concordance to my attention.

CANTUS  
 MEDIUS  
 ALTUS  
 TENOR  
 BASSUS

7  
 14  
 20

This block contains a musical score for five vocal parts: CANTUS, MEDIUS, ALTUS, TENOR, and BASSUS. The score is written in a single system with five staves. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The score is divided into four systems, with measure numbers 7, 14, and 20 indicated at the beginning of each system. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and repeat signs.

Ex. 5a. J. Adson, *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (London, 1621), no. 13: [*Williams, his masque*]; for ease of comparison it has been transposed down a 4th

LYRA  
 VIOL

7  
 14  
 20

This block contains a musical score for the LIRA VIOL part. The score is written in a single system with four staves. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The score is divided into four systems, with measure numbers 7, 14, and 20 indicated at the beginning of each system. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and repeat signs.

Ex. 5b. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.14, f. 19: *Williams his Maske By: Tho: G.*'

A similar kind of arrangement can be found on f. 16v where there is an arrangement by Ives of a bass viol duet by John Ward, titled ‘M<sup>r</sup> Jo: Wards Tune for 2 viols By: S: I:’ (Z3.4.13, f. 16v). Another version of this piece also circulated as a solo, and was arranged by Ives in a four-part consort setting: Example 6a-c.<sup>50</sup> As we can see from Example 6a-b, the lyra viol setting is similar to the Altus part of the four-part version, except that the four-part version has an extra bar. In contrast to the previous examples where the consort version is likely to have come first, the lyra viol version of Ward’s tune seems to have preceded the consort version: the extra bar in the consort setting was added to the Cantus part in order to allow for the imitative dialogue between the two upper parts.

Ex. 6a. *John Ward, arr. Simon Ives, [Ayre] (VdGS 18): four-part consort version (GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 18940-18944)*

<sup>50</sup> See also Ives, *Four-Part Dances*, op. cit., no. 18.

LYRA  
VIOL

Ex. 6b. *John Ward, arr. Simon Ives, Ayre (VdGS 124 / 18): lyra viol arrangement from IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.14, f. 16v: 'M' Jo: Wards Tune for 2 viols By: S: I:'); for ease of comparison, top string taken as c' (cf. the *Altus* part of the four-part version; lyra viol arrangement omits the first (silent) bar)*

LYRA  
VIOL

Ex. 6c. *John Ward, arr. Simon Ives, 'Ayre' (VdGS 124/18): solo lyra viol version (GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. F.575, f. 87 (inv): 'Almaine by Sy: Ive'); lacks tripla strain; defhf; for ease of comparison, top string taken as g' (ornament signs omitted)*

The untitled ayre 'By S: I:' on f. 14 of Z3.4.13 also carries a dual attribution in the *VdGS Index*: Ives 116, Gregorie 49 (see Appendix, no. 8).<sup>51</sup> The Z3.4.13 version is also found (unattributed and untitled) as a solo piece in D.247, f. 30; the two versions are closely related, but include enough minor variants to indicate separate lines of transmission. The Gregorie attribution arises from a second part in D.221, no. 93. It is unattributed, but assigned to Gregorie from its position in the manuscript. D.221 is an important source of additional parts to several of the Z3.4.13 pieces. The manuscript is in two sections. A later section (c1650?) comprises over 70 pieces by Jenkins for 'Lyra with a Continual Basse'. An earlier section contains 95 pieces: 70 are attributed to Gregorie and 25 to Jenkins; most of the pieces in D.221 are not ascribed, with most attributions implied by position or by concordances. A note on the flyleaf indicates that the section is written 'For 2 Basse vialls'; however, Andrew Ashbee has noted that another part may not be needed to complete all of the

<sup>51</sup> Another masque-related tune from Z3.4.13 carries a cross-attribution: Ives 131, and Gregorie 11. This is another example of a piece that circulated as a solo and as a duet. It is found as an unattributed solo piece in US-LAuc, M 286 M4 L992 (the Mansell lyra viol book), f. 31 (anon.), where it is titled 'Rice Davies Maske'. The same part but evidently one of two is found in D.221, no. 11, where it is attributed to 'T. G.'. The piece also appears as a duet in the Merro partbooks, where it is again unattributed: D.245, p. 151, and also at D.247, f. 32v; the second part is in D.246, p. 176. It is this second part that is found attributed to Ives in Z3.4.13, perhaps suggesting that Ives added a *contrepartie* to Gregorie's original arrangement. See Appendix, no. 13.

pieces.<sup>52</sup> But this explanation hardly covers all lyra viol ‘solo’ that also appear to have functioned as a constituent part of an ensemble. Rather, it suggests that such pieces circulated as solos that sometimes acquired a *contrepartie*; in this case the Z3.4.13/D.247 piece is the ‘solo’, the companion part in D.221 the *contrepartie*. In this instance (and several others) we should perhaps not rush to attribute the D.221 part to Gregorie simply by its position in the manuscript.

The Z3.4.13 cross-attributions are not limited to Ives and Gregorie. The alman attributed to ‘R. Jo.’ (f. 16v) also clearly circulated as a solo; it is also found (unattributed) in the Merro partbooks, D.247, f. 33. Another concordance is found in D.221, where it is attributed to ‘T. G.’. It is of course possible that neither of the two ensemble manuscripts—Z3.4.13 and D.221—carried a second part, although in the context of the other solo/duets this seems unlikely. The conflicting attributions suggest that this is an arrangement made by Gregorie of a piece, possibly another masque tune, composed by Robert Johnson (c1583-1633; the most likely candidate for ‘R. Jo.’): it is at Gregorie 9 in the *VdGS Index*. Unlike Gregorie, the court lutenist Robert Johnson does not appear to have been a substantial contributor to the lyra viol: only four other pieces for the instrument are attributed to him.<sup>53</sup>

A more complex instance of cross-attribution is found on f. 15v, with another untitled ayre, this time ‘By T: G.’ (Appendix, no. 12). Concordances for the Z3.4.13 version appear in five solo lyra viol sources. In three of these it is attributed to Gregorie: GB-Lam, MS 600 (the John Browne Bandora and Lyra Viol Book), f. 41;<sup>54</sup> US-LAuc, M 286 M4 L992 (the Mansell lyra viol book), f. 25v;<sup>55</sup> and in GB-CHer, MS DLT/B 31 (Peter Leycester’s *A Booke of Lessons for the Lyro=Viole*), f. 90.<sup>56</sup> It is also found in GB-Mp, MS BRm 832 Vu 51 (the Manchester lyra viol book), p. 77, attributed to [Richard] ‘Sumarte’, and in Playford’s *Musicks Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way* (London, 1669), attributed to Thomas Bates. The Merro partbooks have the piece as both a solo and as a duet.<sup>57</sup> Concordances for the Z3.4.13 version are found at p. 56 of D.245 and at p. 178 of D.246. A second part is in D.245, p. 153: an alternative version of which is given at D.246, p. 56; all are unattributed. The logical explanation is that the version found in Z3.4.13 *et al.* was composed/arranged by Gregorie and disseminated widely as a solo piece; the sources to contain the Gregorie attribution are much earlier than those with Sumarte or Bates. Whether the second part in the Merro partbooks was also by Gregorie is impossible to tell.

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<sup>52</sup> A. Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins*, vol. 2: *Suites, Aires and Vocal Music* (forthcoming), 218. I am grateful to Dr Ashbee for allowing me access to his book ahead of publication.

<sup>53</sup> Robert Jones (fl 1597-1615), who published five collections of lutesongs, is perhaps another (though less likely) possibility; again, he is not known as a significant lyra viol composer.

<sup>54</sup> For inventory and analysis, see *IMCCM*, vol. 2, 125-130.

<sup>55</sup> For a detailed discussion of the manuscript (including facsimiles and transcriptions), see F. Traficante, ‘The Mansell Lyra Viol Tablature’, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Pittsburgh, 1965).

<sup>56</sup> For a detailed discussion of the manuscript, see R. Carter, ‘Peter Leycester and “A Booke of Lessons for the Lyro=Viole to play alone in severall Tunings”’, *The Viol*, 2 (2006), 8-15, and ‘Postscript’, *The Viol*, 3 (2006), 9; see also H. Abbey, ‘Sir Peter Leycester’s Book on Music’, *JVdGSA*, 21 (1984), 28-44.

<sup>57</sup> There are several such duplicate entries in the Merro partbooks.

These few cross-attributions demonstrate the sometimes complex web of attribution in the lyra viol repertoire. Such issues are perhaps inevitable, as much of the repertoire was based on arrangement of songs, popular tunes, and consort pieces; we can presume this to be true even where we cannot identify an ‘original’ source. This also brings into question our rather modern distinctions between composer and arranger. For example, the title page of *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (1621) states that the ayres were ‘Composed to 5. and 6. Parts, for *Violins, Consorts,* and *Cornets,* BY IOHN ADSON’; this of course means that Adson was—in the modern sense—arranging the ayres by the addition of three or four inner parts to the two-part, (treble-bass) ‘originals’: the same is true of Brade and Simpson.<sup>58</sup> A distinction between composer and arranger was rarely maintained by contemporary copyists. This assumes, of course, that individual copyists knew whether a piece was freshly composed or arranged; however, in at least one instance in Z3.4.13, cited above, the copyist clearly knew the distinction but did not significantly alter his approach to ascription. From the information available, we must conclude that arrangement was understood as another aspect of composition.

From Z3.4.13 a clearer picture of Thomas Gregorie the arranger begins to appear; the manuscript also throws significant light on Simon Ives’s lyra viol music, as it is of particular importance in recovering several of his trios. The *VdGS Index* lists 25 trios composed—or arranged—by Ives. Unfortunately none have survived complete.<sup>59</sup> As mentioned earlier, a significant problem is that many constituent parts of lyra viol duets and trios survive unidentified as solo pieces (a fact clearly demonstrated by several concordances of Z3.4.13). However, by comparing strain lengths and cadential formulae it is sometimes possible to identify otherwise unknown ensemble parts; the Ives pieces in Z3.4.13 are an excellent example of this technique.

In another important lyra viol manuscript, GB-Och, Mus. 725-727—a set of three partbooks—there is a sequence of ten pieces by Ives.<sup>60</sup> The Ives pieces are, however, found in only one of the partbooks, 727. The first piece is headed ‘M<sup>rs</sup> Mary Brownes Choyce by Sy: Iue · for 3 lyros; the other parts ar in the 2 violl bookes’ (f. 23v (inv.)). The other partbooks to which the note refers are lost. It is unlikely to refer to 725 and 726, as the sentence implies that that the parts were already copied; 725-726 do not include the other parts nor is there any evidence that any pages were removed. The ten Ives pieces are numbered 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 12, 16, 32, 36 and 37, indicating that the copyist took a selection from a larger collection containing at least 37 pieces; the titles of many of the pieces suggest masque origins. Fortunately, six of the trios can be fully reconstructed from other sources, and one other part has been identified

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<sup>58</sup> ‘Originals’ in the sense that masque dances were composed in two-part versions; see Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, op. cit., 186-196.

<sup>59</sup> The Ives trios survive in two main sources, GB-HAdolmetsch, MS II.B.3 and GB-Och, Mus. 725-727.

<sup>60</sup> In addition, the manuscript contains eight complete trios, six by William Lawes [see W. Lawes, *Lessons for Three Lyra Viols*, ed. R. Carter and J. Valencia (Kritzenorf, 2006)] and two by Robert Taylor [see R. Taylor, *Two Almainses for Three Lyra-Viols*, ed. R. Carter and J. Valencia (Kritzenorf, 2009)]. For 725-727, see Cunningham, ‘Music for the Privy Chamber’, op. cit., i. 146-155, ii. 406-431; Cunningham, ‘Lawes and the Lyra Viol Trio’, op. cit., 44-47.



for the remaining pieces.<sup>61</sup> The concordant parts are found in two main sources: Z3.4.13 and the Merro partbooks mentioned earlier, D.245-247. (It is worth noting that a second part for all ten Christ Church pieces is found in Z3.4.13. However, the numeration does not correspond between the two manuscripts, and there are several variants indicating that the two manuscripts are not directly related.) As we saw with Ferrabosco Alman (VdGS 115) at the start of Z3.4.13, the fact that these pieces have concordances with trios does not necessarily imply that Z3.4.13 originally contained trios; rather, it reinforces the *contrepartie* idea that much of the lyra viol ensemble repertoire was expanded through extemporization and arrangement. One suspects that the ten pieces in 727 were written as *contreparties* to an existing set of lyra viol duets copied into a now lost set of (two) partbooks: all are transcribed in the Appendix (see also Example 7b).

The last Ives piece in 727, ‘All you for saken Louers’, is especially interesting. It is an arrangement of a song of the same title attributed to Alfonso Ferrabosco in two manuscripts.<sup>62</sup> The same music was used by Ferrabosco for his setting of Ben Jonson’s poem ‘The Hourglass’, first printed in *The Underwood* (1641), which begins with the line ‘Do but consider this small dust’.<sup>63</sup> Edward Doughtie convincingly argued that the music is much better suited to Jonson’s text, suggesting that it is likely to be the original setting with ‘All you forsaken lovers’ being the contrafactum.<sup>64</sup> This is yet another piece with a dual attribution in the *VdGS Index*: Ives 150, Gregorie 36. The lyra viol arrangement in Z3.4.13 has concordances in three other sources, all unattributed and each with only minor variations: GB-Lam, MS 600, f. 38v (solo); US-LAuc, MS M286 M46992, f. 29v (solo); GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.221, no. 80. The 727 part was clearly intended as a *contrepartie* to this popular tune (Example 6a-b). Once again, we cannot know whether the 727 part is the same as that in the lost companion book to D.221; nor can the attribution to Gregorie from its position in the manuscript be anything more than tentative. The version in 600 is one of a sequence of seven pieces. Peter Holman has convincingly suggested that these pieces have strong connections to the masques staged for Princess Elizabeth’s wedding in 1613, and that the arrangements may have been made for Browne by the court musician Robert Taylor.<sup>65</sup> It is worth noting that the sequence to which Holman refers is immediately followed by a sequence of five pieces attributed to ‘T.G.’ (ff. 41-41v). One of the pieces is the arrangement of the Brade/Simpson piece mentioned earlier, another piece with masque pedigree; the sequence also includes the remarkably popular tune ‘See

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<sup>61</sup> These concordances were identified by Peter Holman, who brought them to my attention.

<sup>62</sup> GB-Cfm, MS Mu.MS 782 (formerly MS.52.D), f. 111v [compiled c1620 and known as ‘The John Bull MS’]; and GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10337, f. 47 [compiled c1656]. The author of the poetic text is unknown.

<sup>63</sup> Carlisle, Cathedral Library, MSS Box B1, no. 8, attributed to ‘Alf. Ferabosco’; only the altus and bassus of an original three-voice setting survives.

<sup>64</sup> E. Doughtie, ‘Ferrabosco and Jonson’s “The Houre-glasse”’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 22/2 (1969), 148-50; J. Cunningham, ‘Ben Jonson and Music’, *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. D. Bevington, M. Butler, I. Donaldson (Cambridge, forthcoming).

<sup>65</sup> A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright (compilers), *IMCCM*, vol. 2 (Aldershot, 2008), 128.

the buildings' (also found in Z3.4.13, attributed to Ives; see Appendix, nos. 11a-b).<sup>66</sup>

VOICE

CONTINUO

5

9

13

All you for-sak - en lov - ers, come And pi - ty my dis - tress. I'll tell you why:  
All ye be - lov - ed Can pi - ty me no less. For love I die,  
yet hope at last To move pi - ty from her breast. My poor heart may find some rest  
Which hath so long been pain'd To show my dis - tress, My faith and love un - feign - ed.

Ex. 7a. Alfonso Ferrabosco, 'All You Forsaken Lovers':  
GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10337, f. 47

LYRA VIOL 1

LYRA VIOL 2

7

14

Ex. 7b. Alfonso Ferrabosco, 'All You Forsaken Lovers', arr. Simon Ives. Lyra viol 1: IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.14, f. 15v-16, no. 15 ('By: S: I:'); Lyra viol 2: GB-Och, Mus. 727, f. 20 (inv.), no. 37 ('All you for saken Louers. S:I:'). Lyra viol 2 is a contrepartie

<sup>66</sup> For a detailed discussion of this song, see F. Traficante, 'Procrustean Pairing of Sentiment and Tune: A Seventeenth-Century English Strophic Song', in *Essays in Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson*, ed. L. Lockwood and E. Roesner (Philadelphia, 1990), 177-191. Another masque tune arrangement is found on folio 17v of Z3.4.13, the 'Tom of Bedlam' tune, popular in various seventeenth-century settings; the same tune was set by Ives in 727 as 'The Man in the Moon', a popular ballad associated with the *Gray's Inn Masque* (1613), the music for which is presumed to have been composed by Coprario (The piece is also found in staff notation in Nicholas Le Strange's partbooks, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10444, no. 99, and arranged for solo lute in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 38539 (Sturt lute book), f. 29v. This lyra viol arrangement also circulated as a solo piece: a concordance for the Z3.4.13 version is found in US-LAuc, M 286 M4 L92 (the Mansell lyra viol book), f. 26: 'Tom of Bedlam' 'M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Gregories Eight'. The evidence suggests that Gregorie arranged the tune for lyra viol.

This brief discussion of these concordances demonstrate the complex nexus and interrelationships between various aspects of solo and ensemble *lyra viol* repertoires (and between the duet and trio repertoires), and the significant role played by *contreparties*. As we have seen throughout this paper, masque tunes were especially popular fodder for the *lyra viol* arrangers. The appearance of so many of these ensemble parts in solo manuscripts can hardly be coincidence; one suspects that a main reason is an overlap between the amateur and professional repertoires. There are rarely signs that the *contreparties* are any more difficult to play than the ‘original’ part, dismissing the idea that the amateur would play the ‘simple’ tune embellished by a virtuoso professional. Of course, this implies that these pieces were played as written, without ornaments, which is a separate matter; however, it is true that we find much fewer ornament signs in ensemble pieces than in solos. The answer seems to be not so much that ‘amateur=simple and professional=complex’, but rather that the main difficulty lay in the execution of a *lyra viol* ensemble, an ensemble that had the amateur at its heart. It made perfect sense for tunes to be arranged to fulfil multiple functions: one the one hand, the solo amateur; on the other, the potential ensemble of amateur and professional(s). This is not to argue that ensemble *lyra viol* music was performed exclusively by professionals or by a mixture of amateur and professional. For example, John Merro was an amateur player, yet his partbooks (D.245-247) are one of the most important sources of complete *lyra viol* duets and trios. We should, however, bear in mind the difficulties involved in keeping any ensemble of viols in tune. This (and a lack of sufficient viols) must have limited the appeal of duets and trios among amateurs, and added to the difficulties of performing ensemble pieces—difficulties potentially alleviated (at least to some degree) by the participation of professional players.<sup>67</sup>

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By way of closing we should perhaps examine the role of the Z3.4.13 copyist. Although his identity is unknown, we can assume that he was closely connected to London music circles of the 1630s; he clearly had access to a substantial amount—and variety—of *lyra viol* ensemble music. The lack of attributions in the first tuning sections (including the three pieces by Ferrabosco) could indicate that he knew the repertoire intimately, although it could equally indicate the opposite. Whatever the case, our copyist was evidently on close terms with Simon Ives, Thomas Gregorie, William Lawes and Robert Johnson, each of whom he identified by initials only. It is, however, the music of Ives that dominates the manuscript, which may suggest a close connection between copyist and composer.

Ives was born in Ware in Hertfordshire in 1600. At the age of eight he seems to have been received into the service of the Cecil family at nearby Hatfield

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<sup>67</sup> This brings to mind Anthony Wood’s comment on his list of students and fellows who attended Ellis’s music meetings, ‘These did frequent the weekly meetings; and by the help of publick masters of musick, who were mixed with them, they were much improv’d’: quoted in Bellingham, ‘The musical circle of Anthony Wood’, op. cit., 40.

House to learn music from the court musician Innocent Lanier.<sup>68</sup> Little is known of Ives in the years that follow, but it is possible that he returned to his home town and was employed by the Fanshawe family at Ware Park, perhaps as a pupil of John Ward who worked there between about 1607 and 1616. He rose to prominence in 1633 when he was commissioned, with William Lawes, to compose some of the music for the Inns of Court masque *The Triumph of Peace*, performed in February 1633/4. He became a member of the London Waits in 1637 and was also associated with the musical establishment of St Paul's Cathedral. In addition to his consort music, Ives was a significant contributor to the lute repertoire; over 90 pieces for one, two and three lutes have been attributed to him in the *VdGS Index*. Ives was evidently well known to our copyist, who may well have acquired much his music from him; indeed, it is perhaps significant that John Ward is the only composer in Z3.4.13 to have his name spelt out in full and to be prefaced by the honorific title of 'M<sup>r</sup>'. It is tempting to suggest Ives himself as the copyist; comparison of the handwriting in Z3.4.13 with Ives's signature in the Longleat papers relating to *The Triumph of Peace* reveals some interesting similarities, but not enough to advance a convincing argument.<sup>69</sup>

Although the identity of our copyist remains unknown, a preliminary investigation suggests that he may also have been responsible for copying sections of another lute trio manuscript; however, again only one partbook survives. The manuscript is Mus. 70 from the Houghton Library in Harvard University, which also contains 18 pieces copied by William Lawes.<sup>70</sup> At the start of the manuscript there is a series of eight unattributed pieces, which I provisionally suggest were copied by the Z3.4.13 copyist. The manuscript is bound in reversed calfskin and the covers bear the arms of Charles I; this binding incorporates an original vellum binding. It seems likely that our copyist originally owned the vellum-bound manuscript, which was later acquired—probably in the early 1630s—by Lawes who had it bound by the royal stationer. The anonymous Mus. 70 pieces are 'tentatively' attributed to Lawes in the *VdGS Index*, although there is little reason for doing so beyond their physical proximity to the holograph pieces. Of course, identification of a copyist's hand in tablature can be especially hazardous, given the largely conventional aspects of the notation; in this instance it is exasperated by the small sample of handwriting in Mus. 70 and Z3.4.13.

Although incomplete, the lute portion of Z3.4.13 offers further evidence of the important part played by arrangement techniques in the development of

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<sup>68</sup> See also R. Charteris, 'Jacobean Musicians at Hatfield House, 1605–1613', *RMARC*, 12 (1974), 115–136; L. Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury (1563–1612)', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 116 (1991), 24–40.

<sup>69</sup> The comparative samples are too few for such an argument; also, the 'S' of Ives's forename is quite distinctive in the Longleat papers and not replicated in Z3.4.13, although a simpler version of the signature is found in Ives's last will and testament from 1661 (GB-Lpro, Prob/11/308; available at <<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/>>). Ives's signature from the Longleat papers is reproduced in M. Lefkowitz, 'The Longleat Papers of Bulstrode Whitelocke: New Light on Shirley's "Triumph of Peace"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 18 (1965), 42–60, Plate I.

<sup>70</sup> For Mus. 70, see Cunningham, 'Lawes and the Lute Trio', op. cit.; J. Cunningham, *The Consort Music of William Lawes, 1602–1645*, *Music in Britain, 1600–1900*, 5 (Woodbridge, forthcoming).

the lyra viol ensemble repertoire. At least ten of the pieces in the manuscript also circulated as, or form a second part to, solo lyra viol pieces, reinforcing the suggestion that the ensemble repertoire was expanded and developed by *contrepartie*-type arrangements. Z3.4.13 unfortunately sheds little light on the performance of lyra viol ensemble music in Restoration Oxford. Like many of the music manuscripts in Marsh's collection, Z3.4.13 appears to have been copied no later than the middle of the century. The third tuning section (the second copying phase) is likely to have been compiled in the early to mid 1630s. The first two tuning sections (the first copying phase) are likely to have been copied some time earlier, although one is reluctant to give a *terminus post quem* any earlier than c1625. Despite the concordances of several pieces with lyra viol trios, the majority of concordances for Z3.4.13 suggest that the manuscript originally contained duets. Marsh probably acquired the manuscript in the 1660s when he began to play the bass viol. Even by this time, Z3.4.13 may have been separated from any companion partbooks. However, given the retrospective repertoire presumably performed at Marsh's music meeting, lyra viol duets are certainly not out of the question.<sup>71</sup> Although the lyra viol continued to be popular as a solo instrument until towards the end of the seventeenth century, lyra viol ensembles appear to have declined in popularity after the around the middle of the century. One wonders whether the trouble-filled years of the Interregnum contributed to a social breakdown in the suggested amateur/professional nexus at the heart of the lyra viol repertoire; it is perhaps no coincidence that after c1650 we find the repertoire dominated by solo music of the kind published by Playford, a representation perhaps of a fissure between amateur and professional.

The incompleteness of Z3.4.13 is unfortunately typical of most lyra viol ensemble sources, leaving us today with a frustratingly partial glimpse. It is a glimpse that does, however, contribute to our understanding of Ives, Gregorie and the process of lyra viol 'composition/arrangement'. In such light it is tempting to consider Anthony Wood's recollection of Ives: he was 'excellent at the Lyra-Viol, and improved it by excellent inventions'.<sup>72</sup> Wood was perhaps referring here to Ives's many arrangements, whether *contrepartie* settings or settings of consort pieces etc. If so, it is perhaps only fair to say the same of the little known Thomas Gregorie.

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<sup>71</sup> Anthony Wood mentioned one lyra viol player who attended William Ellis's music meetings, a former student of John Jenkins by the name of Joseph Proctor; he died in 1656, so could not have attended Marsh's meetings. See Bellingham, 'The musical circle of Anthony Wood', op. cit., 34-35.

<sup>72</sup> GB-Ob, MS Wood D19(4); quoted in P. Holman, 'Ives, Simon', *GMO* (accessed 8 December 2009).

## APPENDIX

*Transcriptions of Z3.4.13 pieces for which an additional part or parts can be established from other sources*

- 1a. Ferrabosco, [Alman] (VdGS 115): Version 1 [fhfhf]
- 1b. Ferrabosco, [Alman] (VdGS 115): Version 2 [fhfhf]
2. Ferrabosco, [Galliard] (VdGS 117) [fhfhf]
3. Ferrabosco, [Alman] (VdGS 118) [fhfhf]
4. Anon., [Galliard] (VdGS 9166) [fhfhf]
5. Ives, 'M<sup>rs</sup> Anne Forrists Choice' (VdGS 145) [fhfhf]
6. Ives, 'Coranto' (VdGS 111 / 142) [fhfhf]
7. Ives, [M<sup>rs</sup> Mary Brownes Choyce] (VdGS 112 / 141) [fhfhf]
8. Ives, [Ayre] (VdGS 116) / Gregorie (VdGS 49) [fhfhf]
9. Ives, [M<sup>rs</sup> Colliers Choyce] (VdGS 143) [fhfhf]
10. Ives, 'Ayre' (VdGS 118 / 144) [fhfhf]
- 11a. Ives, 'See the Buildings' (VdGS 119): Staff notation version
- 11b. Ives, 'See the Buildings' (VdGS 119) [fhfhf]
12. Gregorie, [Ayre] (VdGS 52) / Ives, [Si<sup>r</sup> Will Owens Choyce] (VdGS 148) [fhfhf]
13. Gregorie, [Ayre] (VdGS 11) [fhfhf]
14. Gregorie, [The man in y<sup>e</sup> moone] (VdGS 55) / Ives (VdGS 147) [fhfhf]
- 15a. Ives, [Humour] (VdGS 129) [fhfhf]
- 15b. Ives, [Humour] (VdGS 129) [fhfhf]
16. Ives, [Ayre] (VdGS 130 / 146) [fhfhf]
17. Gregorie, 'Ayre' (VdGS 48) [fhfhf]
18. Ives, 'Allman' (VdGS 149) / Gregorie (VdGS 34) [fhfhf]

In each of the transcriptions Z3.4.13 has been used as a copy-text (even where a more authoritative source is available, e.g. Ferrabosco's *Lessons*), unless otherwise stated; where the other part(s) exist in more than one source the best available was chosen: copy-text is indicated by ♣. Only significant variants between sources have been noted. Minor errors have been corrected without comment. Ornament signs have been reproduced as closely as possible; the sign # usually representing a 'shake' has been represented by \* to avoid confusion with a sharp sign. Where available, titles of pieces and ascriptions are given in italics after the source; where the source only is given, it indicates that the piece is untitled and unattributed. Titles are taken from Z3.4.13 (as given in Tables 2-3). Repeat marks have been editorially supplied in many cases.

1a. Ferrabosco, [Alman] (VdGS 115): Version 1 [fefhf]

Lessons, p. 26

Z3.4.13, f. 25

**SOURCES:**

- *Lyra viol 1:*

♣A. Ferrabosco, *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols*, p. 26: *ALmaine*

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 23: *These be Leero sett for tow* [sic] *Base Violls*

- *Lyra viol 2:*

♣IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 25

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 23: *These bee Leero sett for 2 Bass violls*

**Notes:** The readings in D.245-246 and *Lessons* are almost identical; some minor variants in Z3.4.13.

1b. Ferrabosco, [Alman] (VdGS 115): Version 2 [fefhfhf]

532, no. 19

531, no. 19

6

12

18

23

29

35

40

**SOURCE:**

- *Lyra viols 1 and 2:*

GB-Och, Mus. 531-532, no. 19



## 2. Ferrabosco, [Galliard] (VdGS 117) [fefhf]

Z3.4.13, f. 26  
Lessons, p. 27

5  
11  
16  
21  
26  
31  
36

### SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*

♣ IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 26

A. Ferrabosco, *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols*, p. 27: *GAlliard*

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 24

- *Lyra viol 2:*

♣ A. Ferrabosco, *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols*, p. 27: *GAlliard*

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 24

### 3. Ferrabosco, [Alman] (VdGS 118) [fefhf]

Lessons, p. 28

Z3.4.13, f. 27v

#### SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*
- ♣ A. Ferrabosco, *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols*, p. 28: *Almaine*  
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 25
- *Lyra viol 2:*
- ♣ IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 27v  
A. Ferrabosco, *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols*, p. 28: *Almaine*  
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 25: *Alman A. F.*

#### 4. Anon., [Galliard] (VdGS 9166) [ffhfh]

23.4.13, f. 23v  
17795, f. 57v

6  
11  
16  
21  
27  
33  
39  
45

[From here: D.245, p. 47]

**SOURCES:**

- *Lyra viol 1:*  
 ♣IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 23v  
 GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 47
- *Lyra viol 2:*  
 ♣GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17795, f. 42v  
 (♣)GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 47  
 GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 47

**Notes:** All sources give the same reading; however, bb. 39-59 of lyra viol 2 are taken from D.245: from this point D.246 and 17795 have the lyra viol 1 part. This kind of variant is not unusual in lyra viol ensemble sources.

**5. Ives, ‘M<sup>rs</sup> Anne Forrist’s Choice’ (VdGS 145) [fhfhf]**

**SOURCES:**

- *Lyra viol 1:*  
 GB-Och, Mus. 727, f. 21v (inv.), no. 10: *M<sup>rs</sup> Anne fforests Choyce S: I:*
- *Lyra viol 2:*  
 IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 21, no. 3: *M<sup>rs</sup> Anne Forrist’s Choice: / S: I:*

**Notes:** The symbols in bb. 1-2 of 727 are not reproduced here.

## 6. Ives, 'Coranto' (VdGS 111 / 142) [fhfhf]

727, f. 22 (inv.)  
 D.245, p. 50  
 (Z3.4.13, f. 13)  
 D.245, p. 154

### SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*  
 GB-Och, Mus. 727, f. 22v (inv.), no. 4: *Coranto: S: I:*
- *Lyra viol 2:*  
 ♣GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 50: *Symon Iuy*  
 IRL-Dm, Z3.4.13, f. 13, no. 1: *Coranto By: S: I:*  
 GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 180: *Coranto*
- *Lyra viol 3:*  
 ♣GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 154: *Coranto*  
 GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 58: *Symon Iuy*

**Notes:** Z3.4.13, f. 13 has been quite badly damaged; most of this piece is impossible to make out (see Fig. 3, above). Thus, D.245 has been chosen as the copy-text for lyra viol 2. There is another copy of this part in D.246: there are minor variants between the D.245 and D.246 versions.

7. Ives, [M<sup>ris</sup> Mary Brownes Choyce] (VdGS 112 / 141) [fhfhf]

727, f. 21v (inv.)  
 D.245, p. 155  
 Z3.4.13, f. 13

**SOURCES:**

- *Lyra viol 1:*

GB-Och, Mus. 727, f. 22v (inv.), no. 2: *M<sup>ris</sup> Mary Brownes Choyce by Sy: Iue for 3 lyros the other parts ar in the 2 violl bookes*

- *Lyra viol 2:*

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 155: *An Ayre by Sy Iue*

- *Lyra viol 3:*

♣IRL-Dm, Z3.4.13, f. 13, no. 2

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 179: *An Ayre*

GB-Cu, Add. MS 9284, f. 2v, no. 3: **not consulted**

**Notes:** Z3.4.13, f. 13 has been quite badly damaged and some passages of this piece are difficult to make out; where this is the case, D.246 has been preferred with those passages/notes given in small font. D.246 and Z3.4.13 agree closely.

8. Ives, [Ayre] (VdGS 116) / Gregorie (VdGS 49) [fhfhf]

Z3.4.13, f. 14  
D.221, no. 93

**SOURCES:**

- *Lyra viol 1:*

♣IRL-Dm, Z3.4.13, f. 14, no. 7: *By S: I:*  
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.247, f. 30

- *Lyra viol 2:*

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.221, no. 93, pp. 78-79

**Notes:** D.247 has *lyra viol 1*, bars 1-22 and *lyra viol 2*, bars 23-39; D.247 agrees closely with the corresponding parts in Z3.4.13 and D.221.

9. Ives, [M<sup>ris</sup> Colliers Choyce] (VdGS 143) [fhfhf]

Z3.4.13, f. 14v  
727, f. 22 (inv.)  
D.246, p. 215

SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*  
♣IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 14v, no. 9: *By: S: I*  
GB-Cu, Add. MS 9284, f. 2v, no. 4: **not consulted**
- *Lyra viol 2:*  
GB-Och, Mus. 727, f. 22 (inv.), no. 7: *M<sup>ris</sup> Colliers Choyce: S: I:*
- *Lyra viol 3:*  
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 215: *Sy Ives*



## 10. Ives, 'Ayre' (VdGS 118 / 144) [fhfhf]

Consort version  
TREBLE 1

Consort version  
TREBLE 2

Z3.4.13, f. 14v

727, f. 22 (inv.)

7

13

### SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*

IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 14v, no. 10: *An Ayre By: S: I*

- *Lyra viol 2:*

GB-Och, Mus. 727, f. 22 (inv.), no. 8: *The Choyce. S: I:*

**Notes:** The Z3.4.13 part is mostly compiled from the two treble parts of the consort version (also titled 'The Choyce' (Ives VdGS 2; GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 18940-18941, f. 28v: *The Choyce / M<sup>r</sup> S. Ives*): see Ives, *Four-Part Dances*, no. 2.

11a. Ives, 'See the Buildings' (VdGS 119): Staff notation version

SOURCE:

- Treble and bass:

C. Simpson, *A Compendium of Practical Musick* (London, 1678), p. 183:  
*LESSONS by Sundry Authors for the Treble, Bass-Viol, and Harp.*

11b. Ives, 'See the Buildings' (VdGS 119) [fhfhf]

SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*

IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 15, no. 11: *See the Buildings By: S: I:*

- *Lyra viol 2:*

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 154: *See the Buildings*

- *Lyra viol 3:*

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 178: *See y<sup>e</sup> buildings*

**Notes:** For other sources, see *VdGS Thematic Index*.

12. Gregorie, [Ayre] (VdGS 52) / Ives, [Si' Will Owens Choyce] (VdGS 148) [*fhfhf*]

**SOURCES:**

- *Lyra viol 1:*

GB-Och, Mus. 727, f. 21 (inv.), no. 32: *Si' Will Owens Choyce. S: I:*

- *Lyra viol 2:*

♣IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 15v, no. 14: *By: T: G:*

GB-CHEr, MS DLT/B 31, f. 90: *Almayne per Tho: Gregorye./*

GB-Lam, MS 600, f. 41: *Ayre T. G.*

GB-Mp, MS BRm 832 Vu 51, p. 77: *Alman / M<sup>r</sup>. Sumarte*

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 56

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 178

US-LAuc, M 286 M4 L992, f. 25v: *M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Gregories Eights*

J. Playford, *Musicks Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way* (London, 1669), no. 134:

*AYr. / Mr. Thomas Bates.; fdefh*

- *Lyra viol 3:*

♣GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 179

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 56: *Almaine*

- *Lyra viol 4:*

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 153

**Notes:** Although there are several minor and notable variants, the sources for lyra viol 2 agree closely with the reading given in Z3.4.13; only M4 L992 and DLT/B 31 also give the semiquaver figuration in b. 5; there are several minor variants between the D.245 and D.246 versions of lyra viol 2. There are several variants in strain 2 of the D.246 versions of lyra viol 3. The *VdGS Index* lists lyra viols 2 and 3 as a duet, with lyra viol 4 listed as an alternative to lyra viol 3; there are a number of potentially significant similarities between lyra viol 4 and lyra viol 1.

### 13. Ives, [Ayre] (VdGS 131) / Gregorie, [Ayre] (VdGS 11) [fhfhf]

#### SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*

♣IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 17, no. 21: *By: S: I:*  
 GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 176

- *Lyra viol 2:*

♣GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.221, no. 11: *T: G*  
 GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 151  
 GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.247, f. 32v  
 US-LAuc, M 286 M4 L992, f. 31: *Rice Davies Maske*

**Notes:** There are several significant variants between the two versions of lyra viol 1; all sources of lyra viol 2 agree closely.

14. Gregorie, [The man in y<sup>e</sup> moone] (VdGS 55) / Ives (VdGS 147) [fhfhf]

727, f. 21 (inv.)  
Z3.4.13, f. 17v

6  
11  
17  
22  
28  
34

**SOURCES:**

- *Lyra viol 1:*

GB-Och, Mus. 727, f. 21 (inv.), no. 16: *The man in y<sup>e</sup> moone S: I:*

- *Lyra viol 2:*

IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 17v, no. 23: *By: T: G:*

15a. Ives, [Humour] (VdGS 129) [fhfhf]

Z3.4.13, f. 19v

8

13

19

25

29

33

37

41

50

59

66

75

83

**SOURCE:**

- *Lyra viol (1 and 2):*

IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 19v, no. 31

**Notes:** Z3.4.13 contains both parts of the D.245-246 version (Appendix 15b), laid out one after the other, with no indication: to facilitate ease of comparison, the strains are editorially labelled A, B, C, D (and the parts 1 and 2).

## 15b. Ives, [Humour] (VdGS 129) [fhfhf]

The image displays a musical score for the piece 'Humour' by Charles Ives, identified as VdGS 129. The score is written for Viola and is divided into two parts: D.246, pp. 179-180 and D.245, pp. 154-155. The score is in 3/8 time and consists of 38 measures. It is marked with a tempo of 'Allegretto' and a dynamic of 'mf'. The score is divided into several sections labeled A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2, D1, and D2. The first system (measures 1-5) is labeled A1 and A2. The second system (measures 6-10) is labeled B1 and B2. The third system (measures 11-16) is labeled C1 and C2. The fourth system (measures 17-23) is labeled D1 and D2. The fifth system (measures 24-29) is labeled D1 and D2. The sixth system (measures 30-37) is labeled D1 and D2. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

### SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*  
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, pp. 179-180: *Humors Iue*
- *Lyra viol 2:*  
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, pp. 154-155

16. Ives, [Ayre] (VdGS 130 / 146) [fhfhf]

727, f. 21 (inv.)  
Z3.4.13, f. 21

5

9

14

18

23

**SOURCES:**

- *Lyra viol 1:*

GB-Och, Mus. 727, f. 21v (inv.), no. 12: *S: I:*

- *Lyra viol 2:*

IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 20, no. 32: *By: S: I*



## 17. Gregorie, 'Ayre' (VdGS 48) [fhfhf]

Z3.4.13, f. 20v  
D.246, p. 177

5  
10

### SOURCES:

- *Lyra viol 1:*

♣IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 20v, no. 34: *An Ayre By: T: G:*

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.221, no. 92

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 153

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 177

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.247, f. 34v

US-LAuc, M 286 M4 L992, f. 29

- *Lyra viol 2:*

♣GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246, p. 177

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p. 152

**Notes:** All sources of lyra viol 1 agree closely; D.221 and the D.245-247 versions all contain the same variant (bb. 7-8), not found in Z3.4.13 or M 286. There are several minor variants between the different sources of lyra viol 2.

18. Ives, 'Allman' (VdGS 34 / 149) [fhfhf]

Z3.4.13, f. 22v  
727, f. 20v (inv.)  
D.247, f. 30v  
D.247, f. 44

5

9

13

17

**SOURCES:**

- *Lyra viol 1:*  
IRL-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, f. 22v: *Allman By: S: I:*
- *Lyra viol 2:*  
GB-Och, Mus. 727, f. 20v (inv.), no. 36: *S: I:*
- *Lyra viol 3:*  
♣GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.247, f. 30v  
GB-CHEr, MS DLT/B 31, f. 93: *Almayne Tho: Gregorye*  
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.221, no. 78
- *Lyra viol 4:*  
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.247, f. 44

**Notes:** This is not intended as a lyra viol quartet, simply to demonstrate all available parts. Although the four parts fit together reasonably well for much of the piece, it is perhaps best to think of them as two sets of duets (Z3.4.13 and 727; D.247) on the same tune. A convincing trio could be constructed from three of the parts. The sources of lyra viol 3 agree closely, although there are several notable variants between the three sources. The *VdGS Index* lists Z3.4.13 as a concordance for lyra viol 3 of this transcription; the incipits are similar, but they are clearly different parts.

# Clamor Heinrich Abel's *Dritter Theil Musicalischer Blumen*, 1677: A Lost Source of Lyra Consort Music

RICHARD CARTER

## Introduction

Clamor Heinrich Abel (c1634-1696) was born in Hünnefeld near Osnabrück in Lower Saxony into a family of musicians, painters and landscape gardeners. He was an organist and viol player, serving at the courts in Celle and Hanover, and later as a town musician in Bremen. Abel's previously accepted line of descent from Grandfather Heinrich Othmar (c1580-after 1630) and father Ernst (c1610-1680)<sup>1</sup> has been challenged by recent scholarship, but as yet a completely reliable picture of the names, dates and family relationships between members of the Abel dynasty in the seventeenth century has not emerged. Oliver Rosteck<sup>2</sup> suggests that Heinrich Othmar Abel (no date of birth or death given, but still active in 1662) and Ernst Abel 'the elder' (a Hanover court musician from 1636) were brothers and that Clamor Heinrich was the son of the former, whilst Ernst Abel 'the younger' (otherwise Ernst Othmar Abel, *d* 1679) was the son of the latter. With Clamor Heinrich's descendants we are on rather firmer ground: Christian Ferdinand (c1683-1737), viol player and violinist at Anhalt-Cöthen in the time of J.S. Bach, was the youngest of his nine children, and his grandson Karl Friedrich (1723-1787), the best known and most studied of the dynasty, needs little introduction here.

The main surviving music by C.H. Abel is his substantial collection *Musicalische Blumen*, which was printed in Frankfurt am Main in three volumes dated 1674, 1676 and 1677<sup>3</sup>. The 1674 and 1676 prints, *Erstlinge Musicalischer Blumen*, contain suites for a four-part instrumental ensemble with harpsichord continuo, they have survived more or less complete<sup>4</sup>. The third, *Dritter Theil Musicalischer Blumen*, contains suites for violin and harpsichord continuo, and for scordatura viol ('verstimbte Violadagamba'), violin and harpsichord continuo. Copies of the violin and harpsichord partbooks are in the Musiksammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna<sup>5</sup>, no copy of the viol partbook is known to survive.

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, W. Knappe, *Karl Friedrich Abel, Leben und Werk eines frühklassischen Komponisten* (Schünemann Universitätsverlag: Bremen, 1973), 15ff.; Id., 'Abel', *MGG2*, Personenteil 1, 31; Id. et al., 'Abel', *GMO* (accessed 20 November 2009); V. Greuel, 'Clamor Heinrich Abel und das Bremer Musikleben im 17. Jahrhundert', *Viola da gamba – Mitteilungen* (Newsletter of the Viola da gamba Gesellschaft D/CH/A), No. 21 (1996, Vol. 1), 4-8.

<sup>2</sup> O. Rosteck, *Bremische Musikgeschichte von der Reformation bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Münster (Eres-Verlag: Lilienthal/Bremen, 1999), 68ff. & 76ff.

<sup>3</sup> These are the dates on the title pages, the dedications of the second and third volumes are dated respectively 27 August 1675, and 7 August 1676, that of volume one is undated.

<sup>4</sup> The partbooks are held in the Ratsbibliothek in Kamenz, near Dresden.

<sup>5</sup> Shelfmark SA.76.A.7 Mus 31 1.2. I wish to thank the staff in the reading room for their friendly and patient assistance, thanks also to Marc Strümper for supplying additional material.

With the exception of the Sonata Battaglia from the 1676 collection, C.H. Abel's music has aroused relatively little interest until recently.<sup>6</sup> The four-part suites have been discussed in the context of the Hanover court orchestra by Erik Albertyn<sup>7</sup> and in the German courtly consort repertory by Michael Robertson.<sup>8</sup>

The main purpose of this article is to examine and set in context Abel's *Dritter Theil Musicalischer Blumen*, the third volume in the series, and in particular, to see what information about the missing viol part can be gleaned both from the surviving partbooks and from other contemporary sources. But before moving on to consider the 1677 print it is worth briefly touching on some aspects of the four-part pieces, which have not always been reported fully or accurately.

### *Erstlinge Musicalischer Blumen*

The 1674 set consists of 52 pieces which are grouped into suites—a slow prelude leads to a contrapuntal sonatina with imitative entries, these are followed by a sequence of dance movements, usually allemanda, corranter, sarabanda and gigue. The 59 pieces in the 1676 set follow much the same pattern, except that here there are no sonatinas (despite them being advertised on the title page), and the set ends with a suite of more varied dance types, including gavotte and ballet, headed by the Sonata Battaglia. The last page of the second partbook is missing, and thus the last four pieces are incomplete.

The 1674 and 1676 prints are both titled *Erstlinge Musicalischer Blumen* (The First Fruits of Musical Flowers), the 1677 print *Dritter Theil Musicalischer Blumen* (The Third Book of Musical Flowers). It seems that Abel did indeed intend to call the second set *Ander* or *Zweiter Theil Musicalischer Blumen*, as one might have expected,<sup>9</sup> since he wrote in the dedication to the *Dritter Theil*:

... hat mich bewogen, so wohl hiebevör eine und andere Musicalische Blumen, als auch anjetzo dieses gegenwertige geringe Wercklein ... außzufertigen und in offenen Truck [sic] herzugeben.

... has moved me to prepare and offer publicly in print ... not only the previous first and second Musical Flowers, but now also this comparatively feeble little effort.

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<sup>6</sup> Searching the internet for 'Clamor Heinrich Abel' now produces far more 'hits' than five years ago, although many duplicate the same incomplete and not entirely accurate information. There is an audio file of the Sonata Battaglia to be heard at <[http://gauss.suub.uni-bremen.de/html/mm/bremen/z\\_1666m.htm](http://gauss.suub.uni-bremen.de/html/mm/bremen/z_1666m.htm)> (accessed 2 November 2009).

<sup>7</sup> E. Albertyn, 'The Hanover orchestral repertory, 1672–1714: significant source discoveries', *Early Music* Aug. 2005. Albertyn misleadingly writes that *Erstlinge Musicalischer Blumen* consists of three sets of suites for four instruments and continuo (the article 'Clamor Heinrich Abel' in *GMO* (accessed 28 October 2009) also perpetuates this misconception), and rather vaguely gives the impression that two partbooks are missing from the 1677 *Dritter Theil*.

<sup>8</sup> M. Robertson, 'The court suite revisited', *Early Music*, Feb. 2006, and *The Courtly Consort Suite in German-Speaking Europe, 1650-1706* (Ashgate, 2009) 95, 114–116.

<sup>9</sup> Ernst Meyer used the form *Zweiter Theil musicalischer Blumen*, see E.H. Meyer, *Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts in Nord- und Mitteleuropa* (Bärenreiter-Verlag: Kassel, 1934), 176.

It presumably went wrong because of a change of printer: although all three volumes were published by the Hanover bookseller Thomas Heinrich Hauenstein, the first volume was printed by Balthasar Christoph Wust and the remaining two by Johann Görlin (both printers were in Frankfurt am Main). For volume two, Görlin appears to have simply copied the text (although not the layout) of the title page from Wust's for volume one (if this supposition is correct, it also explains why the non-existent sonatinas are listed), but matters were corrected in time for the third volume.

A further curiosity on the title page of the 1674 set is that the date is given in the form of a Latin chronogram: RIDet AbeL tetros MorsVs VIrVsQVe CaInI. The date may be easily enough deduced by rearranging the capitalized letters thus: MDCLVVVVIII (R and A are of course discarded), but to adequately translate the text, and to investigate what events might lie behind it, are beyond the scope of the present article.<sup>10</sup>

Four partbooks survive from each of the 1674 and 1676 prints, but the title page rubrics 'mit vier Instrumenten und Basso continuo' (1674) and 'mit vier Instrumenten sampt Basso continuo' (1676)<sup>11</sup> lead one to expect five, as with other similar publications of the time. In fact there is evidence that this was the case. The four surviving partbooks from the 1674 set are named on their respective title pages as 'Pars Prima', 'Pars Secunda', 'Pars Tertia' and 'Cembalo'.<sup>12</sup> The parts in the 1676 set have the same names, but only one title page seems to survive—that of Pars Secunda. Fortunately, unlike the 1674 set, the names are given again just before the first piece, and in addition are repeated as a running 'footer' at the bottom left of the recto of most leaves (written as Pars I., Pars II., Pars III., and CEMBALO). But the final page of each partbook is, in this respect, slightly different—Pars Prima has 'PARS' at the bottom right; Pars Secunda lacks this page, as explained above; Pars Tertia has 'PARS IV.', also bottom right; Cembalo has 'FINIS', grandly placed in the centre, with a decorative woodcut below. This suggests that the printer worked from a manuscript containing all the parts copied in sequence (and including a now missing Pars Quarta), with a text direct before each new part, which the compositor dutifully included.

There is conclusive evidence from a curious feature of the 1674 continuo part: the 1676 'Cembalo' part is figured throughout, and includes basso seguente passages in treble, soprano or alto clef, usually where the parts enter in sequence from the top down; the surviving 1674 part is, however, mostly unfigured, with rests at such points—only one leaf, pages 7 and 8, has figures

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<sup>10</sup> I am indebted to Robin Adams for providing what he describes as 'the first meaning of the words' (i.e. not yet with the status of a translation): 'Abel laughs off the foul bitings and slobber of Cain', which suggests a local rivalry or jealousy, couched in what appears to be quite unpleasantly strong language.

<sup>11</sup> Both translate as 'with four instruments and basso continuo'.

<sup>12</sup> Music prints in more than one volume at this time generally used the German designations 'Erster Theil' etc. for the successive volumes, the Latin terms 'Pars Prima' etc. here refer to the instrumental partbooks; Abel was not entirely consistent, but I will maintain this useful distinction. I believe the confusing notion that the printed volumes were also named 'Pars Prima' and 'Pars Secunda' has arisen because of this title page problem, associated with the change of printer, and also because the only title page which appears to have survived from the 1676 set (that is, the only one on the microfilm) is, by chance, that of 'Pars Secunda'.

and *segunte* passages notated in the higher clefs. This must be a composite part, mainly ‘Pars Quarta’, the fourth instrument, but bound together with the title page and a single leaf from the harpsichord part.<sup>13</sup> Although direct comparison of individual pieces is not possible, there is no sign that the figured continuo part is a simplification of Pars Quarta, so although the figuring is largely lost, the music is nevertheless complete.

The nature of the music leaves no doubt that stringed instruments were intended; the clefs and ranges of the four parts are G2 ( $g - e'''$ ), C1 ( $g - a''$ ), C3 ( $d - e''$ ) and F4 ( $C - e'$ ). At first sight the clefs suggest a violin band with two violas,<sup>14</sup> but the range of Pars Secunda merits a closer look:  $a''$  is a higher upper limit than generally expected for viola parts at the time<sup>15</sup>, especially as this upper note, one octave above the open string, is called for more often than Pars Prima is taken up to  $e'''$ , the equivalent note on the violin.<sup>16</sup> In these higher passages Pars Secunda sometimes crosses with Pars Prima. It cannot be ruled out that Abel’s choice of soprano clef throughout the part, including the passages which go up to  $a''$ ,<sup>17</sup> was made precisely in order to indicate that it is not a violin part, but the evidence is at best ambiguous. The pell-mell ending of the Sonata Battaglia (Example 1) certainly suggests violins on both upper parts and it is likely that this is an example of what one might term the ‘string quartet’ layout—with two unequal violin parts—as opposed to the ‘trio sonata’ layout with equal treble parts.<sup>18</sup>

In the dedication in the 1674 print Abel writes:

... Ich habe diese wenige Musicalische Blumen zusammen gelesen  
von der Arbeit vieler Jahren, ...  
... I have compiled these few Musical Flowers from many years’  
work, ...

This may simply be a conventional formula, but it hints at possible heterogeneous origins for the music—for example that sonatinas and giques were added to existing prelude-allemanda-corrante-sarabanda sets. It is noteworthy that the extremes of range and more adventurous writing for the middle parts are found mostly in the sonatinas and giques, where a lively contrapuntal equality of parts is the order of the day; in the preludes and

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<sup>13</sup> My first encounter with Abel’s *Erstlinge Musicalischer Blumen* (1674 & 1676) was a set of badly collated loose photocopies, subsequently organized and bound with the help of digital images of the microfilms provided by Jochen Thesmann of the Stadtarchiv in Hamm, to whom I also owe thanks for sending me his complete transcription of the music. I must also thank Michael Robertson for some helpful additional clarification: there are however outstanding issues, such as this apparently composite bass/harpsichord partbook, which can only be resolved by examining the original partbooks.

<sup>14</sup> Albertyn, *op. cit.*, argues for this interpretation.

<sup>15</sup> The upper limit for the Renaissance or Baroque viola in extended first position is nowadays usually considered to be  $f''$ , see J. Tarling, *Baroque String Playing for Ingenious Learners* (Corda Music, 2000), 228; however J. J. Prinner (see below) implies  $g''$ .

<sup>16</sup> In total,  $e'''$  is called for just five times in Pars I,  $a''$  comes nine times in Pars II, most instances are in the 1674 volume.

<sup>17</sup> Pars III and Cembalo conspicuously avoid extra leger lines by briefly switching clefs, in one instance for only one note, to C1 & C3 respectively, in occasional higher passages.

<sup>18</sup> See Robertson, *The Courty Consort Suite*, 177 & 231, for further examples of this situation in German courtly suites.

remaining dance movements the important material is generally confined to treble and bass, the middle parts are often relatively dull *parties de remplissage*.

The image shows a musical score for four parts: PARS PRIMA, PARS SECUNDA, PARS TERTIA, and CEMBALO. The first staff (PARS PRIMA) is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with a performance instruction "[orig. c'', b♭ each time]". The second staff (PARS SECUNDA) is in bass clef. The third staff (PARS TERTIA) is also in bass clef. The fourth staff (CEMBALO) is in bass clef. The score consists of two systems of music, each with four staves.

Ex. 1: C.H. Abel, the ending of 51. Sonata Battaglia,  
*Erstlinge Musicalischer Blumen*, 1676.

Given that a good number of Abel's potential customers would have, of necessity, played one to a part, the 'orchestral' context is not the only one to consider,<sup>19</sup> and string ensembles in German speaking lands by no means confined themselves to instruments of the violin family at this time. The Austrian composer and theorist Johann Jacob Prinner, in his manuscript *Musicalischer Schlißl*, 1677, listed the bowed strings in use at the time, giving tunings and indicating an upper limit to the range.<sup>20</sup> As 8ft bass instruments he describes the 'Basso di viola', tuned *g-d-A-F-C-GG*, (today's G-violone) which he says may be played beyond the last fret (sounding *d'*) as high as the fingerboard allows, and the 'Viola da Gamba', tuned *d'-a-e-c-G-D*. The latter, with a stated upper limit of *a''*, can also cover the middle parts, indeed, the absence of low *C* would seem to rule it out for Abel's Pars Quarta.<sup>21</sup> In addition, in the Viennese court suites by Alessandro Poglietti the tenor parts are marked 'Gamba'.<sup>22</sup> Prinner does not mention the bass violin or violoncello, which was, however, recommended by Georg Muffat, alongside the viol.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> For the sizes of late seventeenth-century German *Kapelle*, see J. Spitzer and N. Zaslav, *The Birth of the Orchestra, History of an Institution, 1650-1815* (OUP, 2004) 213ff., and Robertson, *The Courty Consort Suite*, 16ff.

<sup>20</sup> J.J. Prinner, *Musikalischer Schlißl* (autograph, 1677), Washington, Library of Congress, 82ff.

<sup>21</sup> Tuning the bottom string down does not seem to have been German practice, Prinner certainly does not mention it; see also the discussion of Buxtehude and Reincken below.

<sup>22</sup> Robertson, *The Courty Consort Suite*, 214.

<sup>23</sup> G. Muffat, Foreword to *Armonico tributo* (Salzburg, 1682): '... Violoncinò ò Viola di Gamba per fondamento'; Foreword to *Florilegium II* (Passau, 1698): 'die kleine Bass-Geigen, so die Welschen Violoncinò die Teutschen den Französischen Bass nennen' (the small bass violin which the Italians call the Violoncinò and the Germans the French Bass); Foreword to *Auserlesene Instrumental-Musik* (Passau, 1701): 'Diser Baß aber/ wird auff einem frantzösischen



Muffat's listing of the viol as an alternative for the Italianate sonatas in *Armonico tributo* is surely a concession to contemporary practice in German speaking lands, and his repeated recommendations to use the violoncello in preference to the violone—and the constant need he felt to explain what it was—indicate that the latter generally remained the favoured 8ft bass instrument in at least some parts of Germany, even at the start of the eighteenth century. For the tenor and alto registers Prinner further lists the 'Viola da Braccio', with the normal tuning *a'-d'-g-c*, and a range of up to *g''*, and the 'Violetta', or 'Violettl', described as a small viol with the tuning *g'-d'-a-f-c-G*, and a range of up to *c'''*.<sup>24</sup> This striking difference in upper limit presumably reflects the relative ease of position shifting on the da gamba instruments. All sources agree on the violin as the standard treble instrument, there is no mention of the treble viol.

According to Georg Fischer the Hanover Hofkapelle in 1667-1668 under Kapellmeister Antonio Sartorio consisted of seven singers (six Italian), seven instrumentalists, and one instrument maker. There were two organists, a lutenist and four players of bowed strings: '... Abel, Strunk, Violist Recaldini, Bassviolist Stefel ...'. In 1678-1679 under Kapellmeister Vincenzo de Grandis the list is a little longer but gives less detail; in addition to eight Italian singers and an organ builder there were '... Abel, Strunk, Recaldini, Morselli, Brothage, zwei Organisten Trento und Coberg (gleichzeitig Violist) ...'.<sup>25</sup> Clearly a degree of caution is necessary when drawing specific conclusions from information taken from such a variety of sources, but there can be little doubt that one to a part performance with a mixed instrumentation of violin(s) and viols, as proposed by Veronika Greuel,<sup>26</sup> also reflects contemporary practice.

### *Dritter Theil Musicalischer Blumen*

The two surviving partbooks of Abel's third volume are, uniformly with those of the *Erstlinge Musicalischer Blumen*, in upright quarto format, measuring approximately 317 by 202 mm. They are in reasonably good condition, and, despite considerable discolouring are perfectly legible, with no serious problems of show through (the last gathering in the harpsichord partbook is a different paper type, which has not discoloured at all). The music is set in moveable type with diamond noteheads on staves measuring approximately 11 mm, the number of systems per page varies between a spacious nine and a rather cramped thirteen. 'Violino' is notated in G2 clef throughout, 'Cembalo' basically in F4, with occasional excursions into C3 for higher passages, and into G2 or C3 for basso seguente passages. There are enough barlines printed to suggest that these were intended to be regular, indeed there are many instances

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Bassetl besser als auff einem diser Orthen gebräuchigen Violone außkommen/ ...? (this bass part will work better on a small French bass than on the violone commonly used in these parts, ...).

<sup>24</sup> Prinner, op. cit., 92, further remarks that players should be able to read in at least four clefs—G2, C1, C3 & C4—plus F4 when taking over the bass part in emergency.

<sup>25</sup> G. Fischer, *Musik in Hannover* (Verlag der Hahn'schen Buchhandlung: Hanover and Leipzig, 1903), 4. [Note: 'gleichzeitig' here means 'also'; 'Violist' may simply mean 'string player' in a non-specific way—and Fischer may also have modernised the spelling.]

<sup>26</sup> Greuel, op. cit., 8.

of notes tied across where an absent barline should be. The standard of accuracy is fairly good, and the errors—including missing and extra notes—are mostly easy enough to correct, especially given the presence of the figured bass; in many movements the divisions for the violin provide a useful cross check. There is no beaming, the printer evidently had no type for demisemi-quavers, nor was he adequately equipped to notate chords, all of which contributes to a quite old-fashioned appearance.

The title page reads as follows (text originally in Gothic is here given in *italic*):

CLAMOR-HEINRICI *Abels/ | Hoch-Fürstl. Braunschm. Lüneburg,*  
*Cammer- | MUSICI | Dritter Theil | Musicalischer Blumen/ | Bestehend*  
*in | Allemanden, Correnten, Sarabanden, und Giquen, | nebenst ihren*  
*Variationen. | Theils | Mit einer Violin, theils mit einer verstimbten*  
*Violadagamba | und Violin, mit ihrem Basso pro | Clavicimbalo\* |*  
*[VIOLINO/CEMBALO] | Franckfurt am Mayn/ | In Verlegung*  
*Thomae Heinrich Hauensteins/ | Buch-Händlers in Hannover: | Gedruckt*  
*bey Johann Görlin/ Im Jahr | MDCLXXVII.*

[\* in the CEMBALO part this is changed to Clavicembalo]

The Third Book of Musical Flowers by CLAMOR-HEINRICUS Abel, Chamber MUSICIAN to the ducal court of Brunswick & Lüneburg. Consisting of Almains, Corantos, Sarabands, and Jigs, alongside their Divisions. Some with a Violin, some with a scordatura Viola da gamba and Violin, with their bass for harpsichord [VIOLINO/CEMBALO] Frankfurt am Main, Published by Thomas Heinrich Hauenstein, Bookseller in Hanover: Printed by Johann Görlin, in the year MDCLXXVII.

The violin partbook contains 11 introductory text pages (all rather attractively numbered (0)), beginning directly on the inside of the cover, and 52 pages of music; the harpsichord book has just 29 music pages numbered [3]-[31], the inside of the cover is blank. The text pages run thus: the first two openings contain a list of dedicatees, firstly court and town officials, mostly from Hanover, eight per page, and numbered 1 to 16 in order of rank; on the third page there are eight musicians, and on the fourth, ten merchants and businessmen from Hamburg, Hanover and Minden, including Abel's publisher Thomas Heinrich Hauenstein (who suffers the indignity of a printing error in his name—Tohmas). The musicians and merchants are not numbered. Abel rounds off with:

Meinen allerseits Hochzuehrenden Herrn und Gönnern/ auch  
 Brüdern/ Schwägern/ Vettern/ Gefattern<sup>27</sup> und liebwerten  
 Freunden.

To my altogether highly esteemed gentlemen and benefactors, also  
 brothers, brothers-in-law, cousins, relatives and dear friends.

A full consideration of the significance of this apparently carefully ordered list is beyond the scope of this article, but it is striking that space appears to have been left to add further names, giving it, superficially at least, something of the

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<sup>27</sup> This more or less obsolete term can mean either godfather or more generally, relatives of an older generation.

appearance of a subscription list (notwithstanding the numbering, only the first page is more than half full). Michael Robertson suggests that Abel was hoping by this detailed personal dedication to obtain a post as a town musician in Bremen, reinforcing his blanket dedication of the 1676 set to the entire administrative officialdom of that town,<sup>28</sup> but in fact the only named dedicatee in Bremen is the musician Ernst Abel, who was *Ratsmusikmeister* there at the time.<sup>29</sup> Ernst Abel died at the end of 1679, and the vacant post was filled first by Hector Adrian Janssen and then by his son Thomas Janssen, before C.H. Abel's eventual appointment as *Obermusicus* in 1694, only two years before his death.<sup>30</sup> Abel vanishes from the Hanover court records after 1685, but he nevertheless had to be formally released from his duties there before taking up the post in Bremen nine years later—his only known activity during this period was the publishing of his *Drey Opera musica* in Brunswick in 1687 (see below). He was clearly regarded as a good catch by the Bremen authorities and was not only well looked after financially but was also, as a renowned string player, excused *Turmbläserdienst*—this evidently involved fire watch duty as well as regular performances of wind music from the church tower.<sup>31</sup> The whole episode remains somewhat enigmatic.

Among the other musicians on Abel's list are Johann Georg Gumprecht,<sup>32</sup> Cantor in Hanover, Andreas Kniller (or Kneller, 1649-1724), the composer and organist whose elder brother Gottfried became well known as Sir Godfrey Kneller, portrait painter at the English court, and, not surprisingly, Abel's colleague Nicolaus Adam Strungk (1640-1700). Strungk, a notable opera composer and a violinist of some repute, was Konzertmeister at the Hanover court at this time—he and Abel had already worked together at the court in Celle before moving at the same time to Hanover in 1664.<sup>33</sup> It seems reasonable to assume that Abel had composed the suites in the *Dritter Theil* for himself and Strungk to play, but it is not clear to what extent the violin writing was shaped by Strungk's playing, which is reported to have featured much double stopping and scordatura.<sup>34</sup>

The dedication itself spreads over a lengthy and discursive four pages; Abel, despite the foregoing list of dedicatees, addresses himself here—albeit

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<sup>28</sup> Robertson, *The Courty Consort Suite*, 115.

<sup>29</sup> This is Ernst Othmar Abel, see Rosteck, op cit., 68. The way the dedication is framed certainly reinforces the contention that this Ernst Abel was not Clamor Heinrich's father. Rosteck (p. 76), however, conflates the dedications of the 1676 and 1677 volumes, and thus implies a much stronger Bremen link for the 1677 dedication.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 73ff.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 77ff.

<sup>32</sup> Not the lutenist Johann Gumprecht.

<sup>33</sup> Rosteck, op. cit., 77.

<sup>34</sup> M. Maul, 'Strungk, Nikolaus Adam', *MGG2*, Personenteil 16, 211; D. Härtwig, 'Strungk, Nicolaus Adam', *GMO* (accessed 23 November 2009). Strungk's contemporaries regarded him primarily as a virtuoso violinist and harpsichordist; J.G. Walther (*Musicalisches Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1732), 582) was the first to relate Arcangelo Corelli's reported comment after hearing Strungk play the violin in Rome: 'Herr, ich werde hier der Ertz-Engel genennet, ihr aber möget wol der Ertz-Teuffel darauf heissen!' (Sir, if I am known here as the Archangel, then you must be the Arch-devill). Only one virtuoso piece by Strungk survives by which to judge this appraisal, and more recently his violin playing has tended to be played down in favour of his contribution to the development of German opera.

indirectly—to Herzog Johann Friedrich, and extols the advantages and benefits of living and working within a peaceful regime under which the Arts can flourish, contrasting this with the privations necessarily suffered under the rule of a bloodthirsty, warmongering Duke; his duty as a musician is to publish the fruits of his labours.

After three laudatory verses—two are signed only with initials,<sup>35</sup> the third is from Cantor Gumprecht—comes an important Notice:

*Anmerckung*

*Weil wegen schleuniger Aufsertigung dieses Werckleins dem Drucker nicht also fort zu allen Allemanden und Correnten, in den Stücken Violino solo, die Sarabanden und Giquen haben können zugeschicket werden / als sind dieselbige nachgesendet / und in der Violino und Basso pro Cembalo hineingedrucket worden / woselbst sie in ihrer Ordnung (doch ohne Ziefer) zufinden. Da ich auch vernehmen werde / daß diese meine geringe Arbeit einige Liebhabers angetroffen / so werde ich denenselbigen Ehestens noch mit einigen Sachen / Viola da Gamba solo, verstimt / benebenst dem Basso Continuo, doch daß sie auch ohne denselbigen können gespielt werden / an die Hand geben / darauff dann auch bald / wenn Gott Leben und Gesundheit gönnet / einige Kirchen Sachen Vocaliter und Instrumentaliter folgen könnten.*

C. H. A.

Notice

Due to the hasty preparation of this little work it was not possible to send the Sarabands and Jigs [belonging] to all the Almans and Corantos in the solo violin pieces, to the printer immediately; these were sent on later, and may be found printed in the violin and harpsichord continuo partbooks in the correct order (but not numbered). If I sense that my feeble efforts are welcomed by a few lovers of music then I will as soon as possible get on with some things for solo viola da gamba, scordatura, with basso continuo, which nevertheless may be played without the latter; then soon after that, if God, Life and Health permit, some sacred things, vocal and instrumental, could follow.

In fact, as can be seen from the inventory (appended to this article), the continuo part to one saraband (seq. (23)) missed the boat completely.<sup>36</sup> But the main interest here is the information about the missing viol part. The first point to note is that it is not this scordatura viol part which is optional, as has

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<sup>35</sup> One in Latin, signed J. S. SS. Th. D., the other in German, signed S. H. C. I. O.

<sup>36</sup> There is no suggestion from the violin part that this movement is intended to be unaccompanied. The layout of the harpsichord part corroborates the *Anmerckung*, settling down to a regular pattern after the first two suites—the numbered allemanda and corrente are on a verso, the subsequently inserted and unnumbered sarabanda and gique on the following recto (thus each suite neatly occupies a single opening); the layout of the violin part is more difficult to reconcile with Abel's explanation, as allemandas often begin part way down a page, following the ending of an unnumbered gique. The typesetting of the violin part must have begun only after receipt of the missing movements, the numbering nevertheless had to match the work already completed on the harpsichord part. Yet the printer must have known that there were extra movements to insert, since the pagination is correct in the continuo partbook.

been asserted,<sup>37</sup> but the continuo part of the advertised forthcoming publication (which seems never to have been printed, nor indeed the ‘sacred things’ also mentioned<sup>38</sup>). Secondly, Abel’s explanation of the numbering problem provides further confirmation of which pieces are for solo violin only and which also for viol.

The collection has an organised layout: eight suites for violin and harpsichord (up to 22. Gigue) and seven for viol, violin and harpsichord (starting with 24. Ballet) flank the stand-alone 23. Lamento, also for viol, violin and harpsichord, as indicated by the rubric ‘& sequent. à2.’ in the continuo partbook at this point. For the final suite, nos 48-51, the violin is also in a scordatura tuning, see Example 6.

The suites for violin solo all present the same sequence of movements, and the allemandas, courantes, and sarabandas are provided with busy divisions, with the exception of 19. Allemanda—this is quite a dramatic piece, with the closing bars marked ‘adagio’, Abel perhaps felt that a division was inappropriate. The giques which close each suite are contrapuntal, allowing the harpsichord to break free of its otherwise often humble continuo function, even, in the first strain of seq. (16), to take a leading role (see Examples 2 & 3). Here the participation of an additional bowed stringed continuo instrument would be most effective, but Abel’s title page and other remarks suggest that this was not part of his thinking. The writing for the solo violin contrasts with that for Pars Prima in the consort suites, in that greater use is made of both extremes of range, including excursions up to *f*<sup>#</sup> (the one notated *g*<sup>#</sup>, in the division to 16. Courante, seems to be a misprint), wide leaps and broken arpeggios, but the suites make only relatively modest demands on virtuosity compared to the works of contemporary Austro-German violinist-composers such as Biber, Schmelzer, Walther or Westhoff. There are some extended slurs, including up to 12 semiquavers together in the Variatio to 15. Allemanda, but multiple stops are used very sparingly, and there is just one fleeting moment of genuine two-part writing (in 19. Allemanda). Only one ornament sign is used, which resembles a modern double staccato; it appears only in the second strain of 47. Gigue, and only ever above quavers; its meaning is not absolutely clear.<sup>39</sup> It is possible that Abel was hampered by limitations of the moveable type

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<sup>37</sup> Albertyn, op. cit. I too must own up to having similarly misinterpreted Abel’s *Anmerckung*, in information I supplied a few years ago for the *VdGS Thematic Index (The Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain Thematic Index of Music for Viols*, comp. G. Dodd, rev. A. Ashbee, available on the Society’s homepage at <<http://www.vdgs.org.uk/publications-ThematicIndex.html>>

<sup>38</sup> The only other known publication by Abel, now lost, is *Drey Opera musica, deren der erste und ander Theil in sich enthält, Overturen nach frantzö. Art, Alemanden, Cour., Sarab. u. Giquen m. 4 Instr. u. Clavicimb. ... Im dritten Theil befinden sich Sonaten, Arien nebenst ihren Variationen, Lamanten, Alemand., Cour., Sarab. u. Giquen, wie auch ein Kriegsexercitium der Infanterie, alles auf neue und besondere Art, m. 2. 3. 4. & 5. Instr. und B.c. pro Cembalo* (Brunswick, 1687). It is hard to disagree with Ernst Meyer’s suggestion (Meyer, op. cit., 176) that this was simply a reissue of the *Musicalische Blumen*, but the presence of three and five-part works indicates at least some degree of reworking (perhaps of the *Dritter Theil* only?), possibly to accommodate the prevailing fashion for the French style, or similar to Muffat’s reworking of his own *Armonico tributo* in *Auserlesene Instrumental-Musik* of 1701. But see also Robertson, *The Courty Consort Suite*, 115.

<sup>39</sup> Judy Tarling suggests either ‘shiver’ bowing or two semiquavers (private communication).

technology, the printer certainly had serious difficulties with the vertical alignment of the few chords which are present.

15. Allemanda.

Ex. 2: C.H. Abel, the opening of 15. Allemanda,  
*Dritter Theil Musicalischer Blumen*.<sup>40</sup>

8. Gique.

Ex. 3: C.H. Abel, part of 8. Gique, *Dritter Theil Musicalischer Blumen*.

<sup>40</sup> The divisions are for convenience here notated under the plain version. The original notation—plain version AB, followed by the division A'B', sometimes with a page turn between—makes it clear that an AABBA'A'B'B' performance was expected.

23. Lamento is by far the longest single movement, with two repeated sections 55 and 58 bars in length; ‘battle’ works of this period often end with a lament, it is tempting to cast this as a pendant to the Sonata Battaglia, the only other piece of similar length and substance in the *Musicalische Blumen*, but the differences of instrumentation and key make this unlikely, certainly paired performance is not an option. It is the first piece to introduce the ‘verstimbte Viola da gamba’—Abel’s own instrument—and as if to underline the importance of the moment it clearly began with a statement of the opening motif from the viol which is then taken up by the violin (see Example 4).

23. Lamento.

Ex. 4: C.H. Abel, the opening of 23. Lamento, *Dritter Theil Musicalischer Blumen*.

The suites which follow have the same sequence of movements as those for violin solo, except that the first two begin with a ballet rather than an allemande. These ballets are lively common time pieces with a simpler structure than most of the allemandas, they rather recall the English masque dances brought to Germany by William Brade and Thomas Simpson early in the seventeenth century. The writing for the violin is predictably more restrained than in the solo works, and in many places space is clearly left for the viol to come forward. This varies considerably between movements, 23. Lamento stands at one extreme, and contrasts sharply with the ballets, nos 24 & 28, both of which function perfectly well with just the surviving melody and bass. Here one imagines the viol providing a filling much like Pars Secunda and Pars Tertia in the consort suites. Elsewhere rests in the violin and harpsichord continuo point to imitative entries, and in occasional basso seguente passages short snatches of the viol part are tantalisingly revealed (Example 5).

27. Gique.

Ex. 5: C.H. Abel, the opening of 27. Gique, *Dritter Theil Musicalischer Blumen*.

There are far fewer movements with divisions, and here, unlike in the solo violin section, these are flagged up by rubrics at the end of the piece, at least in two cases. Thus in 25. Courante the harpsichord is marked at the end ‘Variatio à capite’ to indicate that the violin has a division; in 34. Sarabanda both violin and harpsichord have the indication ‘à capite’, suggesting that the viol has a division. The structure of this movement is in fact rather more complicated: for the second strain only, the violin has a written out repeat, marked ‘piano’, whilst the harpsichord has a division; it is not immediately clear how a division for the viol might have fitted into this scheme. The division to 45. Courante for the violin is not indicated by a rubric in the continuo part, so the possibility of further divisions for the viol cannot be ruled out.

Ex. 6: C.H. Abel, the first strain of 49. Courante,  
from *Dritter Theil Musicalischer Blumen*.

Throughout the collection Abel’s writing is varied and imaginative—far more so than the apparently rigid organization of the suites might suggest. Nowhere does he make use of the technique of basing a sequence of dance movements on the same musical material, and if some pieces do not sustain their promise, there are others in which he is bursting with ideas. The sarabandas show the most uniformity, with one exception they have regular strains of eight bars composed of two four bar phrases; only no. 42 breaks the pattern with strains of ten bars. The more unusual structure of no. 34 has already been described, and in four other sarabandas (no. 3, seq. (15), seq. (27) and no. 21) the violin part of the second strain is an inversion of the first. In no. 21 attention is drawn to this by marking the second strain ‘contra’; in seq. (15) Abel succeeds in also inverting the continuo for nearly two bars as well (Example 7), whereas in no. 3 the inversion of the violin part lasts only four bars. Within the suites, the sarabandas function as a point of repose between the more abstract allemandes and courantes and the lively and often unpredictable counterpoint of the giques. Most giques have a C12/8 time signature, they tend to have both strains the same length, even if that length is often irregular (seven or eleven



bars is typical). Sometimes Abel follows the ‘standard’ gigue pattern of beginning the second strain with an inversion of the opening of the first, but equally frequently the two strains use quite unrelated material (see Example 3). Just two giges, both in the section for viol, violin and continuo (nos 39 and 51), have a C3 time signature and bars of three crotchets, and are composed in a more flowing idiom.

Ex. 7: C.H. Abel, seq. (15) Sarabanda, *Dritter Theil Musicalischer Blumen*.

## Style

The obvious first place to look when considering how Clamor Heinrich Abel might have written for the viol in these suites is his one complete work for violin, bass viol and continuo. This is the Sonata sopra CucCuc which survives in three manuscript sources.<sup>41</sup> It is an accomplished and witty piece which makes similar technical demands on both violin and viol. As may be seen from Example 8, the viol part is mostly an independent voice on an equal footing with the violin, but occasionally drops down to join the continuo (thereby reducing the likelihood of the successful participation of a further bowed bass instrument). This repertoire typically acknowledges the viol’s chordal and polyphonic capabilities without exploiting them to any great extent.

Abel’s Sonata sopra CucCuc belongs to a variety of trio sonata cultivated in German speaking lands, especially in the North, which substitutes a viol for the second violin.<sup>42</sup> There are printed examples by Philipp Friedrich Buchner (1614-1669),<sup>43</sup> Dietrich Becker (1623-1679),<sup>44</sup> Johann Philipp Krieger (1649-

<sup>41</sup> London, British Library, Add.MS.31423 (anon.), Haslemere Dolmetsch Library, II.c.25 (‘Clamor Hen Abell’), and Durham Cathedral Library, MS D2, (‘Abell’). These mss show considerable overlap of contents, including works by Jenkins, Butler and Schmelzer.

<sup>42</sup> See, for example, the discussion in C. Hogwood, *The Trio Sonata*, BBC Music Guide (BBC Publications, 1979), 55ff.

<sup>43</sup> Ph.Fr. Buchner, *Plectrum musicum*, Op. 4 (Frankfurt am Main, 1662), a collection of 24 sonatas for a variety of instruments, including violin and viol.

<sup>44</sup> D. Becker, *Erster Theil zwey-stimmiger Sonaten und Suiten, nebst einem gedoppelten basso continuo* (Hamburg, 1674), facs. online at <[http://www.kb.dk/da/nb/samling/ma/digmus/pre1700\\_indices/becker.html](http://www.kb.dk/da/nb/samling/ma/digmus/pre1700_indices/becker.html)>, mainly for two violins, one sonata-suite (ed. L. & G. von Zadow,

1725),<sup>45</sup> Philipp Heinrich Erlebach (1657-1714),<sup>46</sup> and Dieterich Buxtehude (c1637-1707).<sup>47</sup> Of these, Buxtehude, Becker and Erlebach made use of the suite form in their trio sonatas.

Sonata sopra CucCuc

The image displays the opening of a three-part sonata by C.H. Abel. It consists of three systems of musical notation. The first system shows the Violino (Violin), Viola, and Basso continuo parts. The Violino part is in treble clef, the Viola in alto clef, and the Basso continuo in bass clef. The second system shows a grand staff with Treble and Bass clefs. The third system also shows a grand staff with Treble and Bass clefs. The music is in a 3/4 time signature and features a 'CucCuc' rhythmic pattern. Fingerings and ornaments are indicated throughout the score.

Ex. 8: C.H. Abel, the opening of Sonata sopra CucCuc.

An early version of Buxtehude's Sonata Op. 1 no. 4 in B $\flat$  survives in manuscript,<sup>48</sup> in which the sonata is followed by an A-C-S-G suite. In this suite, however—in contrast to the sonata, in which there is a great deal of genuine three-part writing—the viol doubles the continuo throughout, with only occasional and modest elaboration, and Buxtehude chose not to include any dance suites in the published sets.

Becker is perhaps of greater relevance here, he was an organist and violinist and seems to have narrowly missed officially being a colleague of Clamor Heinrich Abel at the court in Celle, where he held a post from 1656 to 1662, just prior to Abel's appointment, after which he spent the rest of his life living

Edition Güntersberg G064: Heidelberg, 2005) is for violin and viol. A second volume, *Ander Theil zwey-stimmiger Sonaten und Suiten* (Hamburg, 1679), is apparently lost, although Eitner's *Quellen-Lexikon* (Graz, 1959) listed a Bc partbook in the Stadtbibliothek, Hamburg.

<sup>45</sup> J.Ph. Krieger, *12 Suonate a doi, violino e viola da gamba*, Op. 2 (Nuremberg, 1693).

<sup>46</sup> Ph.H. Erlebach, *VI Sonate à violino e viola da gamba* (Nuremberg, 1694), ed. L. & G. von Zadow (Edition Güntersberg G051-056: Heidelberg, 2004).

<sup>47</sup> D. Buxtehude, *VII Suonate à due, Violino & Violadagamba con Cembalo*, Op. 1 (Lübeck, ?1694), *VII Suonate ...*, Op. 2 (Lübeck, 1696).

<sup>48</sup> BuxWV 273, see *DDT*, xi, ed. C. Stiehl, rev. H.J. Moser (1903, 2/1957); and *Dieterich Buxtehude: The Collected Works*, xvi, ed. K.J. Snyder, C. Wolff et al. (New York, 1987- ). I wish to thank Jochen Thesmann for bringing this to my attention.

and working in Hamburg.<sup>49</sup> In 1668 Becker published a collection of consort sonatas and suites for three to five instruments,<sup>50</sup> in which two four-part sonata-suite sequences (nos. 5-9 and 10-14) show particular similarities with Abel's *Erstlinge Musicalischer Blumen*—Becker's multi-sectional sonatas are more ambitious than Abel's preludes and sonatinas, on the other hand the dance movements in the subsequent A-C-S-G suites are somewhat slighter. He is generally credited with being not only the first composer to publish consort works in the A-C-S-G sequence, but also, in his 1674 *Sonaten und Suiten*, the first to use the term 'suite' to describe it. In Becker's trio sonata collection a suite of dance movements is appended to every sonata—in most cases an A-C-S-G sequence. As may be seen from Example 9, the viol has a good deal of independent material, as well as intermittently doubling the continuo.

Courant.

Ex. 9: Dietrich Becker, part of XLIII. Courant,  
*Erster Theil zwey-stimmiger Sonaten und Suiten* (Hamburg, 1674).

Erlebach's trio sonatas—in which a sequence of dance movements either follows, or is incorporated within, a multi-sectional sonata—were, on the other hand, published with the second part either for viol or for a second violin ('Violino Secondo se piace, in luogo della Viola da Gamba'). In order to ensure that the viol part is suitable for octave transposition for violin it is completely independent of the continuo throughout, and only ever descends below G for occasional full chords of D major; all the chords have in any case to be rewritten for the violin. Two of Erlebach's sonatas are written for scordatura violin, Sonata terza in A calls for *e''-a'-e'-a*, as does Abel for the same key—interestingly the transposed version of the viol part for the second violin is also in this same scordatura, but Erlebach nowhere asks for a retuning of the viol (see Example 10).

<sup>49</sup> U. Grapenthin, 'Becker, Dietrich', *GMO* (accessed 27 November 2009); C. Defaut, 'Becker, Dietrich', *MGG2*, Personenteil 2, 618.

<sup>50</sup> D. Becker, *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte in drei- vier- und fünf-stimmiger Instrumental-Harmonia nebenst dem Basso Continuo* (Hamburg, 1668), repr. as *Musikalische Lendt-Vruchten bestaende in drey, vier, vñf Instrumentale-Hermoniale stemmen beneffens den bassus continuus* (Antwerp, 1673). Modern sources show considerable disagreement on the orthography of Becker's titles.

Ex. 10: Ph.H. Erlebach, the first strain of the Courante,  
Sonata terza, *VI. Sonate* (Nuremberg, 1694).

A decade after Abel's *Dritter Theil*, in 1688, the coupling of sonata and A-C-S-G suite is encountered in Johann Adam Reincken's *Hortus Musicus*.<sup>51</sup> Although basically trio sonatas for two violins these works are in something of a hybrid form: the viol for the most part doubles or elaborates the continuo line,<sup>52</sup> especially at fugal entries the continuo is a simplification of the viol part; however, the viol sometimes has an independent tenor line in a true four-part texture—this is most often found in the slow section of a sonata, but occurs almost throughout the sixth sonata and suite, in the gigue the viol and continuo even have separate fugal entries. The sonatas all feature florid solo sections, as found in the early seventeenth-century Italian trio sonata repertoire and later in Buxtehude's trio sonatas for violin and viol; here the virtuosic honours are shared between the first violin and the viol, the second violin taking no part (in each sonata the viol repeats the violin solo exactly, an octave lower). Reincken (1643-1722), renowned as an organist on a par with his friend and colleague Buxtehude, almost certainly crossed paths with Abel—he studied with Heinrich Scheidemann in Hamburg, later returning as Scheidemann's assistant and in due course, successor, as organist at the Catharinenkirche. He married Scheidemann's youngest daughter, and their daughter Margarthe-Maria

<sup>51</sup> J.A. Reincken, *Hortus Musicus, recentibus aliquot flosculis, Sonaten, Allemanden, Couranten, Sar[a]banden et Giquen, cum 2. Violine, Viola et Basso continuo*, (Hamburg [1688]); ed. J.C.M. van Riemsdijk (Maatschappij tot bevordering der Toonkunst Vereeniging voor Nederlands Musiekgeschiedenis XIII: Amsterdam, 1886); ed. Thierry Mathis (Edition Walhall: Magdeburg).

<sup>52</sup> This includes occasional descents to low C; whether Reincken expected the player to retune or to use a seven-string bass, or whether this is simply careless, is not clear. Buxtehude always ensures that the viol part never descends below D, even in passages where it is doubling and the continuo has a low C.

became the wife of Andreas Kneller (or Kniller, mentioned above as one of the dedicatees of Abel's *Dritter Theil*).<sup>53</sup>

But despite the similarities in overall form, Reincken's music is in many ways quite different from Abel's. His disciplined counterpoint and rigorous approach to fugue (which appears to have especially attracted the interest of J.S. Bach<sup>54</sup>) contrast especially with Abel's more relaxed and flexible manner—one gets the impression that Abel was happy if his counterpoint worked well, but just as happily found another way forward if it did not. On the other hand, Abel generally stays closer to the original dance forms in the suites—if the movements were untitled there would be no problem identifying them—whereas some of Reincken's have rhythmical eccentricities which serve to considerably undermine the dance's character, especially in the sarabands.<sup>55</sup>

Thus the published trio sonatas of both Becker and Erlebach offer plausible templates of quite different character for realising Abel's missing viol part; Becker's use of the viol is perhaps more typical, alternating between an independent middle voice and doubling or elaborating the continuo, but Erlebach's fully independent and rather more challenging writing, entirely in the alto and tenor registers, is an attractive alternative.

Stylistically, Abel is very much in the mainstream of the North German trio sonata tradition, including the use of scordatura violin, but his exceptional use of a scordatura viol is evidence of at least an indirect English influence. English violinists, viol players and composers, and the English style had of course long been a fact of musical life in the North German courts and free cities, especially in the first half of the seventeenth century, and in turn, German musicians were active in England. In the context of Clamor Heinrich Abel's works Dietrich Steffkens (*d* 1673) and August Kühnel (see below) are perhaps of especial relevance. Steffkens was of German origin, but after a period of service at the Danish court appears to have made London his adoptive home. Between 1628 and 1642 he served at the English court, and returned promptly in 1660 after the Restoration. During the Civil Wars and Interregnum he held posts at the Brandenburg court, in The Hague, and, after 1652, in Hamburg. He was highly regarded by Constantijn Huyghens and according to Roger North, enjoyed a particularly close friendship with Jenkins.<sup>56</sup> Thus he was an important presence in North Germany at the time Abel was growing up and learning his trade. Example 11 shows how the lyra viol style had moved away from the dense polyphonic writing of Alfonso Ferrabosco the younger, William Corkine and Joseph Sherlie to an open *stile brisé* texture with much use of broken chords to sketch in the bass or produce an illusion of two part writing, with chords held in reserve to build up tension at the approach to a

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<sup>53</sup> U. Grapenthin, 'Reincken, Johann Adam', *GMO* (accessed 3 December 2009); Id., 'Reincken, Johann Adam', *MGG2*, Personenteil 13, 1506.

<sup>54</sup> BWV 965 and 966 are arrangements for harpsichord of movements culled from *Hortus Musicus*.

<sup>55</sup> This assessment is based on van Riemsdijk's 1886 transcription, which appears to have gone to some trouble to preserve inconsistencies and irregularities in the notation.

<sup>56</sup> See C.D.S. Field, 'Steffkin, Theodore', *GMO*, and Y. Wasserloos, 'Steffkins, Dietrich', *MGG2*, Personenteil 15, 1373. In the Ebenthal Tablature A-EBgoëss MS (B) the composer signed himself 'D. Stöeffken'.

cadence. Abel's writing for solo violin echoes many of these features, including the irregular length phrases and strains, and a tendency only finally to come to rest at a double bar.

[Almaine] VdGS 75 Mr. Stephkins

Ex. 11: Dietrich Steffkens, the first strain of the Almaine VdGS 75, *Narcissus Marsh's Lyra Viol Book*, IRL-Dm MS Z.3.5.13, f.15v.

The English music for lyra consort should also be considered here, especially that which found its way to the continent. The lyra consorts which survive complete—substantial quantities by John Jenkins<sup>57</sup> and Christopher Simpson,<sup>58</sup> with one set each by George Hudson<sup>59</sup> and George Loosemore<sup>60</sup>—actually form a quite heterogeneous group, regarding both the instrumentation—the presence, or not, of a continuo instrument and/or bass viol—and the role played by the lyra viol within the ensemble. Simpson is without doubt technically the most demanding, frequently the lyra viol is simultaneously doubling the bass, filling in harmony and providing a second melodic line; full chords abound, many of them awkward because of the frequent modulation. Jenkins tends towards a more open texture, the lyra viol part is typically more melodic, with fewer chords. Where Simpson provides a figured continuo part for an unspecified instrument, Jenkins calls explicitly for harpsichord and provides a written out part. In the matter of instrumentation George Hudson's set is the closest to Abel—significantly, the chordal instrument, theorbo rather

<sup>57</sup> Main sources: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS.Mus.Sch.C.84, 85 & 88, for violin/treble, lyra viol, bass (viol) and harpsichord, and Durham, Cathedral Library MS M.179-80, for treble, lyra viol and bass. All complete works ed. F. Traficante (A-R Editions, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, B67-68: Middleton, 1992).

<sup>58</sup> Main source: Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS.Mus.Sch.E.430, 'Mr Simpson's Little Consort' for treble, lyra viol, bass viol and bassus continuus; ed. I. Stoltzfus (PRB Productions VC043: Albany, 2003).

<sup>59</sup> Uppsala, University Library IMhs4:3, 'for the Lyro Violle-Treble Viollin and Theorba'; ed. I.H. Stoltzfus (Dove House Editions, Viola da gamba series no. 35, 1981).

<sup>60</sup> Brussels, Royal Conservatory Library MS Litt XY 24, 910; violin, lyra viol & bass viol.

than harpsichord,<sup>61</sup> is not supported throughout by a bass viol, but is occasionally doubled by the lyra viol. Since the set survives only in the Düben Collection it may be that the instrumentation was adapted to continental practice.

Ex. 12: George Hudson, Courant I for lyra consort, from S-Uu IMhs 4:3.

Our knowledge of the use of the lyra viol on the continent in the second half of the seventeenth century remains patchy; although sources continue to come to light there is still much research to be done to examine them and place them in proper context.<sup>62</sup> But what there is indicates that the use of tablature and the lyra viol was widespread, no doubt fostered by the activities of William Young in Innsbruck, Walter Rowe in Berlin, and John Price in Stuttgart, Dresden and Vienna. The same duality as in English sources is observable—on the one hand, simple pieces notated in tablature for teaching purposes, and on the other, original compositions, usually of a more challenging nature, which exploit the advantages of tablature for notating chordal music and make effective use of scordatura.

The large collection of tablature manuscripts in Kassel, D-K1 4<sup>o</sup>Mss.Mus. 108.2-7,<sup>63</sup> consists mostly the former, much of it French, with tablature or staff

<sup>61</sup> According to Ila Stoltzfus in the introduction to her edition there is also a keyboard part in German tablature, which consists of the bass and treble parts, similar to Jenkins's harpsichord parts; she casts doubt on whether it was intended to be played from.

<sup>62</sup> See A. Otterstedt, *Die Englische Lyra-Viol, Instrument und Technik*, Ph.D. dissertation, Technische Universität Berlin (Bärenreiter Hochschulschriften: Kassel, 1989); Id., 'Die Lyra Viol auf dem Continent und ihre Verwandten', in *Viola da gamba und Viola da braccio, Symposium im Rahmen der 27. Tage Alter Musik in Herne 2002*, ed. C. Ahrens & G. Klinke, pub. Stadt Herne (Musikverlag Katzbichler: Munich – Salzburg, 2006), 139-155.

<sup>63</sup> Inventories in C. Gottwald, 'Musica Manuscripta', vol. 6 of *Die Handschriften der Gesamthochschulbibliothek Kassel, Landesbibliothek & Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel*, ed. H.-J. Kahlfuss, (Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden, 1997), 624-661. Gottwald makes a considerable

notation bass parts.<sup>64</sup> These pieces are, with a few exceptions, in normal consort tuning. Scattered amongst these manuscripts, however, and especially in volumes 5 and 7, there is ‘true’ lyra viol music. There are anonymously copied works by English composers (those identifiable from concordances include John Jenkins, William Drew, Simon Ives, Christopher Simpson and George Hudson), and, significantly, works by German composers. The Ebenthal tablatures,<sup>65</sup> copied in the 1660s for the Goëss family of Schloss Ebenthal in Carinthia, Austria, contain much English music (including Jenkins, Charles Coleman, William Lawes and—not surprisingly—William Young), but also works by Nicolas Hotman and various German composers. Ambrosius Scherle, Christian Herwich, Daniel Eberlin, Willem Deutekom and Gottfried Tielke may not be household names, but their presence is indicative of a degree of activity of which the surviving manuscript and printed sources surely represent just the tip of the iceberg. Tablature was regarded as a perfectly normal alternative to staff notation; composition in other tunings, whilst not playing such a dominant role as in English solo viol music, was nevertheless unexceptional.

This is exemplified by the one German composer better known to viol players today whose music appears in the Kassel tablatures: August Kühnel (1645–after 1699) reportedly studied in France as a young man, he also travelled to England in 1682 ‘weil die Viol d’gamba auß Engellandt her kombt’ (‘because the viol came here out of England’); in 1685 the *London Gazette* reported performances on the viol and ‘Barritone’ by ‘Mr August Keenel’, and he must then have made the acquaintance of Christian and Frederick Steffkens, sons of Dietrich, who were both viol players.<sup>66</sup> In D-Kl 4°Ms.Mus.108.6, ff.8v-27, there is a sequence of seventeen pieces (VdGS 62-70 and 72-81), most of which are grouped into suites, with both solo and bass parts in tablature (*ffeff*). Some of these are also copied into D-Kl 4°Ms.Mus.108.7, along with the Prelude VdGS 61, this time with the bass in staff notation and figured; some subsequently appeared in Kühnel’s published set of Sonatas.<sup>67</sup> One, the Allemand VdGS 72, is a self contained solo piece without bass (Example 13), which shows a clear influence from the French school of Hotman and Dubuisson (who frequently notated in tablature but never used scordatura), as well as having an obvious kinship with the Steffkens *Almaine* shown above (Example 11). But more significant is the ‘Suite Aug: Kühnel’ in Harp way sharp tuning on ff.1v-2v of 108.6, apparently for two lyra viols. There are just two movements, Allemand and Ballett; the Allemand has a ‘Contra partie’, also

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number of highly speculative attributions, many of which are contradicted by concordances already known to the *VdGS Thematic Index*. The mss are all tentatively dated 1680 or later.

<sup>64</sup> Vol. 4 contains mostly staff notation bass parts to vol. 3; no parallel bass book for vol. 2 has survived, but the repertoire is very similar to vol. 3, and needs a bass. Vols 5 and 7 contain mostly solo pieces without bass, whereas vol. 6 has tablature bass parts alongside the solo part.

<sup>65</sup> See G. Dodd, ‘Matters Arising from Examination of Lyra-Viol Manuscripts’, *Chelys*, 9 (1980), 23-27; D.A. Smith, ‘The Ebenthal Lute and Viol Tablatures’, *Early Music*, Oct. 1982, 462-7; and T. Crawford, General Introduction (dated 1993) to the facsimile editions of A-EBgoëss MSS (A) & (B), ed. A. Reyerman (Tree Edition, 1997).

<sup>66</sup> E. Noack, ‘Kühnel, August’, *GMO* (accessed 20 December 2009); H. Itoh, ‘Kühnel, August’, *MGG2*, Personenteil 10, 834.

<sup>67</sup> A. Kühnel, *Sonate ô Partite ad una ô due Viole da Gamba con il Basso Continuo* (Kassel, 1698), facsimile ed. M.-F. Bloch (Edition Fuzeau: Courlay, 1998).



in Harp way sharp (Example 14), but the page facing the Ballett is blank, which suggests that copying was broken off.<sup>68</sup> The *VdGS Thematic Index* also lists two pieces by Kühnel in S-[K1] MS 21.068, in the tuning *efdef*, and there must have been more; but by the end of the 1690s, when his Sonatas went into print, the use of tablature and altered tunings for the bass viol was passing into history, and he published conventionally in staff notation with figured bass.

Allemand: AK

[Lyra viol  
Tuning: ffeff]

[Transcription]

Ex. 13: August Kühnel, the first strain of the Allemand for solo viol,  
VdGS 72, D-Kl 4<sup>o</sup>Ms.Mus.108.6, f.18v.

Allemand AK

Accord:

[Lyra viol]

Contra partie  
[Tuning defhf]

[Transcription]

[Transcription]

*piano.*

*piano.*

*p*

*p*

Ex. 14: August Kühnel, part of the Allemand for two viols,  
VdGS 84, D-Kl 4<sup>o</sup>Ms. Mus. 108.6, ff.1v-2.

<sup>68</sup> The Kühnel pieces appear to be all in the same hand, and are individually ascribed to 'AK'; the copyist seems to have left space after the 'Ballett' for further movements before commencing the *ffeff* pieces on f.8v. In some of this space, on ff.3v-6, there are anonymous pieces in a different hand.

One final example: the so-called *Wolfenbüttel Partiturbuch*,<sup>69</sup> a substantial scorebook presented by Jacob Ludwig to August, Herzog of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, and his wife Sophie Elisabeth in 1662, contains 113 works for various combinations of up to eight instruments with continuo. There is music by Antonio Bertali, Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, Johann Jacob Froberger, Christian Herwich, David Pohle, Johann Michael Nicolai, and others, more or less well known. Sitting slightly incongruously amongst the two-part works is a three movement suite, 26. Allemand, 27. Courant and 28. Sarabande, for violin and lyra viol ('Viola da gamba Verstimbt') without continuo, the viol is notated in tablature, in the tuning High harp way sharp (no indication of the tuning is given). The pieces are anonymous, but are undoubtedly of English origin. Only the sarabande has divisions, but here the two instruments take turns, as can be seen in Example 15. There is also one piece for scordatura violin, viol and continuo in the scorebook, an 'Aria' by Andreas Uswalt (1634-1656), and interestingly, in the index the copyist felt the need to point out that only the violin uses scordatura, writing 'Violino Verstimbt è Viola di Gamba natural'.

Variatio.

Violino

Viola da Gamba  
Verstimbt  
[Tuning, *fa/ef/B*]

[Transcription]

Ex. 15: the division to the first strain of 28. Sarabande  
'a2 Violino et Viola da Gamba Verstimbt' (Incerti),  
*Wolfenbüttel Partiturbuch*, 1662, pp. 32-33.

### Notation and Tuning

Of the two possibilities for notating the viol part—tablature and 'handgrip'—tablature seems without doubt to be the most likely to have been used, but it is worth stopping to consider why this should be. Handgrip notation is the usual method for notating scordatura violin, as seen in Examples 6 and 10.<sup>70</sup> The

<sup>69</sup> *Partiturbuch Voll Sonaten, Canzonen, Arien, Allemand; Cour.; Sarab.; Chiquen, etc mitt 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. Instrumenten ... Anno 1662*, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 34.7 Aug 2°; facs. online at <<http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=mss/34-7-aug-2f>> (accessed 30 November 2009), my thanks to Peter Holman for alerting me to this.

<sup>70</sup> The music is written on a normal five line staff, to be read as if the instrument were tuned normally. The notated pitches are transposed as necessary to take account of the scordatura,

only instance of its use for the viol of which I am aware—two works by Gottfried Finger<sup>71</sup>—shows just how impractical it is for this instrument. Tablature is an ideal system for the chromatically fingered fretted instruments for which it was developed, and allows complete freedom of choice of tuning; handgrip, on the other hand, has decided disadvantages, the most serious of which is that it may only be used for tunings in which the intervals between adjacent strings are the same as, or narrower than the normal tuning; if the interval is wider the pitch(es) immediately below the upper open string cannot be unambiguously notated. A related problem is that in higher lying passages the player must divine whether everything is to be played up and down the top string or whether the intention is to remain in a higher position and play across the strings—this is, of course, no problem to notate clearly in tablature. On the other hand, for the violin, fingered diatonically and with no frets, tablature is not idiomatic, indeed it is arguably counterintuitive, and the disadvantages of handgrip are less acutely felt—adjacent strings are never tuned wider apart than the normal fifth, for example.<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless the problem of notating cross-string passages in higher positions remains.

Related to this is the question of format, as printing tablature in moveable type requires a good deal more space than staff notation. The format of the surviving parts of Abel's *Dritter Theil* is large enough to have also been suitable for a viol part in tablature, but it is nevertheless possible that a different, larger format was used. Peter Holman, in discussing the question of partbooks in mixed format,<sup>73</sup> offers a plausible scenario of separation in library storage, and possible eventual loss of one book which does not match the others in a set.

There is less variety of key in the pieces for viol and violin than in those for violin solo, which reduces the number of tunings needed for the viol. Obvious contenders for the pieces in G minor and D major are Harp way flat, *edfbf* (*d'-b-g-d-G-D*), and High harp way sharp, *fdefb* (*d'-a-f#-d-A-D*); the use of the Harp way tunings was widespread and they are found in many sources, both English and continental. Surveying the lyra viol repertoire in general, Harp way sharp and flat seem to have been the most favoured tunings at this time; however, if the surviving music may be taken as representative, the High harp way tunings were preferred by some of the specialist composers, in particular Jenkins<sup>74</sup> and Steffkens<sup>75</sup>. For the remaining suites, in B $\flat$  major and A major, the tuning used by Finger, *efdef* (known in English sources variously as The French Sette, Banaster's way or Common way sharp), is a likely choice: depending on the

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on the basic assumption that, except for higher notes on the first string, only first position is used and that open strings are played wherever possible. Note that in the examples above, Abel and Erlebach tackle the necessary adjustment of the key signature slightly differently.

<sup>71</sup> In Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus.Sch.D.228 and D.249: modern edition *Gottfried Finger, The Music for Solo Viol*, ed. R. Rawson and P. Wagner (Fretwork Editions FE28, 2009).

<sup>72</sup> The 'interlocking octaves' tuning of Biber's *Mystery Sonata XI, The Resurrection, d'-d'-g'-g*, might seem to be an exception to this, but even here a complete scale can be unambiguously notated in first position.

<sup>73</sup> P. Holman, *Downland: Lachrimae (1604)* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 9.

<sup>74</sup> Of 107 surviving solo works for lyra viol, 45 are in High harp way, only 25 in Harp way.

<sup>75</sup> The overwhelming majority of Steffkens's surviving works for lyra viol are in High harp way, and in the Ebenthal Tablatures a sequence of pieces by Jenkins and Steffkens in High harp way sharp are annotated 'Ce que sont ton de Stefken' (A-EBgoëss MS (A), f.15).

tuning of the top string it yields  $d'-bb-f-d-Bb-F$  or  $c\#'-a-e-c\#'-A-E$ ; Finger's sonatas show us that both versions were in use.

There is another pair of tunings perhaps also worth considering which, although relatively uncommon, appear rather more often in continental than in English sources; these are *fedef* ( $d'-a-f-d-Bb-F$ ), which is a cunning mixture of High harp way flat and the French Sette, and *feded* ( $d'-a-f-d-Bb-G$ ). Surviving pieces in *fedef* are generally in  $Bb$ , but there are also some in G minor; for *feded* the situation is reversed,<sup>76</sup> furthermore, some pieces survive notated in both tunings.<sup>77</sup> The choice of such tunings, featuring mixed interlocking triads, is partly governed by the desire to enhance particular keys for intermediate cadences: for example, in *fedef*, a piece in  $Bb$  turning to D minor, or in *feded*, a G minor piece going to  $Bb$ , but they also, by virtue of a degree of tonal ambiguity, offer greater flexibility. Here the evidence from Abel's suites is not such as to immediately lead to definitive conclusions: in the first G minor suite (nos 24–27) the first strains of the ballet, courante and sarabanda end in  $Bb$ , the gigue in D minor; in the second and third G minor suites (nos 28–35) all first strains end in D major except for 29. Courante and 34. Sarabanda, which end in  $Bb$ . In the  $Bb$  major suite (nos 36–39) the first strains of the allemanda and courante end in F, the sarabanda in D major and the gigue in  $Bb$ . The remainder of the collection shows greater uniformity, in the D major suites first strains end either in A or D major, and in the A major suite, with scordatura violin, all the first strains cadence in E major.

Arguing on this basis, in the G minor suites *feded* could be used to some advantage in nos 24–27, but Harp way flat suits nos 28–35 better. The flexibility of *fedef* might be preferable to the French Sette for nos 36–39 in  $Bb$  (especially for the availability of an easy and resonant D major chord); there is no reason not to prefer High harp way sharp for the D major suites, and the French Sette for the A major.

The lyra consort works of Jenkins, Simpson, Hudson, and Loosemore which survive complete use Harp way and High harp way tunings almost exclusively, with the pieces in the expected keys of G and D, major and minor. Only Jenkins calls for a 'mixed' tuning, *dehfb* ( $d'-b-g-c-G-C$ ), which he uses for sets in C major and, a little surprisingly, A minor. But this A minor set is atypical, Jenkins uses the lyra viol mainly as a single line alto voice, with long passages only on the top string and almost no chords; thus there is neither discernable benefit nor any particular disadvantage from the retuning. There exist incomplete lyra consorts by Jenkins in which he uses the suitably resonant tunings *ffdef* ( $d'-a-e-c\#'-A-E$ ) for A major and *ffedf* ( $d'-a-e-c-A-E$ ) for A minor. The tuning *ffdef* thus also comes under consideration for Abel's A major suite.

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<sup>76</sup> See the *VdGS Thematic Index*, especially under William Drew, George Hudson, John Jenkins, Dietrich Steffkens, and the anonymous tablature pages. These tunings feature strongly in the Kassel tablature book D-Kl 4<sup>o</sup>Ms.Mus.108.7 (c1680), and also in the Ebenthal tablature book A-EBgoëss MS (A) (1664).

<sup>77</sup> For example, Jenkins VdGS 483 (in  $Bb$ , but making no use of the sixth string) and VdGS 484 (in G minor). Although it does occur, it is uncommon for lyra viol music to be in the key of a stopped note—it rather defeats the point of the retuning—and it may well be that the G minor pieces were all originally conceived in *feded*, but were rewritten by copyists perhaps unwilling to countenance tuning the sixth string so high.

It is noticeable that in all the tunings used in the English lyra consorts the top string remains tuned to *d'*—this of course not only tallies with the general instruction to keep the top string as high as possible,<sup>78</sup> it also ensures that higher passages on the top string feel ‘familiar’ to the left hand. Additionally, the fact that the bottom string remains as low as possible, usually *D* or even *C*, allows the lyra viol to double the bass when required. This is an interesting point: examination of the range of the continuo part of Abel’s *Dritter Theil* shows that although he calls for low *C* occasionally in the solo violin suites he avoids it completely in the pieces with viol. Furthermore in the suite in B $\flat$ , nos 36-39, he generally avoids going below *F*, dropping to *D* only three times, and the suite in A, nos 48-51, goes below *E* only once. The range of the continuo part does therefore seem to take account of the lowest note available to the viol, including the likely raising of the sixth string in the tunings put forward here for these suites, and the viol’s ability to reinforce the continuo is not seriously compromised.

### Conclusion

The suites for violin, scordatura viol and continuo in Clamor Heinrich Abel’s *Dritter Theil Musicalischer Blumen* are unique in the Austro-German trio sonata literature; the last suite, indeed, is the only work known to me which calls for scordatura in both violin and viol—it is thus all the more to be regretted that the viol part has not survived. However, there is enough evidence to mean that it would not be out of the question to make a satisfactory performable version; Abel’s considerable surviving body of work in these dance forms, his one complete sonata for violin and viol, the clues from the violin and continuo parts, and from the works of his contemporaries, amount to a solid enough basis on which to build. Granted, the validity of many of the conclusions drawn here is limited by the relatively small surviving repertoire, and the fact that both in the English lyra consorts and the German trio sonatas for violin and viol each composer is only typical of himself; a reconstruction would be more speculative than most, especially where the choice of tunings is concerned. On the other hand, it would enrich the repertoire whilst being in many ways no more speculative than the reconstruction of two missing parts of a five-part viol fantasy.

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<sup>78</sup> e.g. J. Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London, 1655), 44: ‘... the Treble being rayssed as high as it will conveniently beare without breaking, will then be D La Sol re...’

C.H. Abel, *Dritter Theil Musicalischer Blumen*, 1677  
Inventory

VIOLINO			CEMBALO		
		(seq.)			
1.	Allemanda – Variatio	(1)		1.	Allemanda
2.	Courante – Variatio	(2)		2.	Corrente
3.	Sarabanda – Double	(3)		3.	Sarabanda
4.	Gique	(4)		4.	Gique
[G, 1. & 2. no key sig., 3. & 4. one sharp]					
5.	Allemanda – Variatio	(5)		5.	Allemanda
6.	Corrente – Variatio	(6)		6.	Courante
7.	Sarabanda – Le Double	(7)		7.	Sarabanda
8.	Gique	(8)		8.	Gique
[g, one flat]					
9.	Allemanda – Double	(9)		9.	Allemanda
10.	Corrente – Variatio	(10)		10.	Corrente
	Sarabanda – Variatio	(11)			Sarabanda
8. [sic]	Gique	(12)			Gique
[g, two flats]					
11.	Allemanda – Variatio	(13)		11.	Allemanda
12.	Courante – Variatio	(14)		12.	Courante
	Sarabanda – Variatio	(15)			Sarabanda
	Gique	(16)			Gique
[C, no key sig.]					
13.	Allemanda – Variatio	(17)		13.	Allemanda
14.	Courante – Le Double	(18)		14.	Corrente
	Sarabanda – Variatio	(19)			Sarabanda
	Gique	(20)			Gique
[A, three sharps]					
15.	Allemanda – Variatio	(21)		15.	Allemanda
16.	Courante – Variatio	(22)		16.	Corrente
	Sarabanda – Variatio	(23)			[no saraband, nor any space left for it]
	Gique	(24)			Gique
[a, no key sig.]					
17.	Allemanda – Variatio	(25)		17.	Allemanda
18.	Courante – Le Double	(26)		18.	Corrente
	Sarabanda – Variatio	(27)			Sarabanda
	Gique	(28)			Gique
[B $\flat$ , one flat]					
19.	Allemanda	(29)		19.	Allemanda
20.	Courante – Le Double	(30)		20.	Corrente
21.	Sarabanda – Le Double	(31)		21.	Sarabanda
22.	Gique	(32)		22.	Gique
[F, one flat]					

VIOLINO contd.			CEMBALO contd.	
23.	Lamento		23.	Lamento & sequent. à 2.
				[g, one flat]
24.	Ballet		24.	Ballet
25.	Courante – Variatio		25.	Corrente /Variatio à capite
26.	Sarabanda		26.	Sarabanda
27.	Gique		27.	Gique
				[g, one flat]
28.	Ballet		28.	Ballet
29.	Courante		29.	Corrente
30.	Sarabanda		30.	Sarabanda
31.	Gique		31.	Gique
				[g, one flat]
32.	Allemanda		32.	Allemanda
33.	Courante		33.	Corrente
34.	Sarabanda /a capite		34.	Sarabanda /à capite
35.	Gique		35.	Gique
				[g, one flat]
36.	Allemanda		36.	Allemanda
37.	Courante		38. [sic] Corrente	
38.	Sarabanda		38.	Sarabanda
39.	Gique		39.	Gique
				[B $\flat$ , one flat]
40.	Allemanda		40.	Allemanda
41.	Courante		41.	Corrente
42.	Sarabanda		42.	Sarabanda
42. [sic] Gique			43.	Gique
				[D, two sharps]
44.	Allemanda		44.	Allemanda
45.	Courante – Variatio		45.	[untitled]
46.	Sarabanda		46.	Sarabanda
47.	Gique		47.	Gique
				[D, two sharps]
Verstimmung: e''-a'-e'-a				
48.	Allemanda		48.	Allemanda
49.	Courante		49.	Corrente
50.	Sarabanda		50.	Sarabanda
51.	Gique		51.	Gique
				[A, three sharps]

# A Jacobean bass viol book in Cornwall

MIKE O'CONNOR, OBE and ANDREW ASHBEE

The discovery of a hitherto unknown viol manuscript in a family library is both rare and exciting, especially when, as here, it is of high quality and beautifully copied. The bass book now at St. Michael's Mount seems to be all that survives from a set of six and is undoubtedly a 'fair', perhaps even a presentation copy.

## Introduction

The picturesque location of St. Michael's Mount has had a dramatic history. In the last thousand years it has served a number of religious institutions, been a resort of pilgrims and pretenders, a refuge of royalty, a fortress and a private house. Now owned by the National Trust, it is the site of a castle, with an extra-diocesan chapel, and a Victorian residence. The Mount is the official residence of Lord St. Levan.

The Mount has two libraries. One library, accessible to the public, is in the main part of the castle and was created from a breakfast room in the nineteenth century. A second, private library exists in the Victorian wing of the Mount that is the private residence of the St. Aubyn family, who have owned the Mount from the late seventeenth century. This wing is still the private residence of James St. Aubyn and his family. As the library contents are his private property, we are most grateful to James St. Aubyn for permitting Mike O'Connor access.

This private library contains books from the Mount and from the nearby country house of Clowance, on the mainland, which was also the property of the St. Aubyns until the mid twentieth century. The library contains numerous items of music. Most are from the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries and are the subject of separate scholarship. However, there is also a handwritten seventeenth century partbook of viol music, described in this paper, which was identified on 16 May 2008 and studied on 25 June 2008, when a complete digital photographic record was made at 4000 by 3000 pixels resolution.<sup>1</sup> Marked *BASSVS* the book contains the bass part of works for between three and six viols by 'Lupo', 'Coperario', 'Warde', 'Alfonso', 'White', and 'Deeringe'.

The volume, which is in good condition, is approximately 8.75 inches by 11.5 inches. It is bound in brown leather, and both front and back covers bear fine gold tooling comprising double gold lining with corner marks and a central decorative motif. The front cover also bears the word BASSVS. It has 116 pages bound from perhaps 30 sheets of paper with consistent watermarking marks and a central decorative motif. The front cover also bears the word BASSVS. It has 116 pages bound from perhaps 30 sheets of paper with consistent watermarking.

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<sup>1</sup> The Viola da Gamba Society is most grateful to James St. Aubyn for allowing a CD-ROM of the manuscript to be made and deposited with the Society.





Figure 1: the cover

Each page has eight staves of five lines between two vertical margin lines. The whole manuscript is in a single hand, generously spaced and with no later additions from other scribes, apart from a pencil signature of the fifth Sir John St. Aubyn (1758-1839) on the first page. There are no clues as to its origins other than the music itself. The composers represented are John Coprario, Richard Dering, Alfonso Ferrabosco the younger, Thomas Lupo, John Ward and William White. This immediately suggests a possible date around the later years of James I; the absence of any music by the next generation of composers like Ives, Jenkins and Lawes supports this view. The watermark is 2.8 inches wide and 4.1 inches tall and is of an emblem of unidentified arms bearing lions and crowns (see Figure 2). To date only one other manuscript set is known to have used this paper: Rowe MSS 114-117 at King's College, Cambridge, which originally belonged to John Browne (1608-1691), Clerk of the Parliaments.<sup>2</sup> Browne's own manuscripts (including the Rowe set) were probably compiled following his first marriage which took place *c*1630, but it is evident that his music-copying had begun earlier, around 1621, when he was taken under the wing of his uncle, another John Browne (1578-1627), a Merchant Taylor and citizen of London.<sup>3</sup> Possibly the paper bearing this watermark may have been left over from earlier times since it is mixed in with two or three other types in Rowe 114-117.

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<sup>2</sup> See A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts containing Consort Music* (Aldershot, 2008), 35-42 and 299-300. We are indebted to Robert Thompson for the information that no further examples of the watermark are currently known.

<sup>3</sup> See D. Pinto, 'Pious Pleasures in Early Stuart London', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 41, 2008, 1-24.



Figure 2: watermark of unidentified arms.

Most unusually the contents are rigidly arranged, twelve pieces to each section, mostly fantasias and mostly in groups of six by two composers. An exception is in the five-part section, where two *In Nomines* by Ferrabosco the younger are added at the end.<sup>4</sup> Could the fifty pieces mark a significant event, such as the age of the patron, or is the collection nothing more than a rational selection of the best music on offer at the time? The contents are as follows:

Folio <sup>5</sup>	Number	Three-Part	Composer	VdGS No.
1r	1	Phantasia	Mr Lupo	2
1v-2r	2	Phantasia	Lupo	3
2v-3r	3	Phantasia	Mr Lupo	4
3v-4r	4	Phantasia	Lupo	24
4v-5r	5	Phantasia	Lupo	22
5v-6r	6	Phantasia	Lupo	7
6v-7r	7	Phantasia	Coperario	9
7v-8r	8	Phantasia	Coperario	3

<sup>4</sup> In the six-part section there are only four fantasias by White, but two extra pieces (*In Nomines*) by Ward. See below.

8v-9r	9	Phantasia	Coperario	4
9v-10r	10	Phantasia	Coperario	2
10v-11r	11	Phantasia	Coperario	11
11v-12r	12	Phantasia	Coperario	1
12v	blank			
13r-v	blank			
		<b>Four-part</b>		
14r	1	Phantasia	Warde	2
14v-15r	2	Phantasia	Warde	1
1 5v-1 6r	3	Phantasia	Warde	3
1 6v-1 7r	4	Phantasia	Warde	4
1 7v-1 8r	5	Phantasia	Warde	5
1 8v-1 9r	6	Phantasia	Warde	6
1 9v-20r	7	Phantasia	Alfonso	6
20v-21r	8	Phantasia	Alfonso	4
21v-22r	9	Phantasia	Alfonso	15
22v-23r	10	Phantasia	Alfonso	1
23v-24r	11	Phantasia	Alfonso	9
24v-25r	12	Phantasia	Alfonso	8
25v	blank			
26r-27v	blank	[a page torn out?]		
		<b>Five-part</b>		
28r	1	Phantasia	Deeringe	3
28v-29r	2	Phantasia	Deeringe	4
29v-30r	3	Phantasia	Deeringe	7
30v-31r	4	Phantasia	Deeringe	5
31v-32r	5	Phantasia	Deeringe	6
32v-33r	6	Phantasia	Deeringe	8
33v-34r	7	Phantasia	Warde	13
34v-35r	8	Phantasia	Warde	3
35v-36r	9	Phantasia	Warde	2
36v-37r	10	Phantasia	Warde	1
37v-38r	11	Cor mio	Warde	12
38v-39r	12	Phantasia	Warde	7
39v-40r	13	Inominie	Alfonso	2
40v-41r	14	Innomine	Alfonso	1
41v	blank			
42r-45r	blank			
		<b>Six-part</b>		
45v-46r	1	Phantasia	Warde	2
46v-47r	2	Phantasia	Warde	3

47v-48r	3	Phantasia	Warde	6
48v-49r	4	Phantasia	Warde	7
49v-50r	5	Phantasia	Warde	4
50v-51r	6	Phantasia	Warde	5
51v-52r	7	Innomine	Warde	1
52v-53r	8	Innomine	Warde	2
53v-54r	9	Phantasia	White	4
54v-55r	10	Phantasia	White	3
55v-56r	11	Phantasia	White	1
56v-57r	12	Phantasia	White	2
57v	blank			

The limited blank space between sections suggests that the collection was considered complete and expansion was not expected. The scribal hand has not been traced elsewhere, but is clearly that of a professional musician (Figure 3).



Figure 3: f.1r of the manuscript (Lupo, three-part fantasia, VdGS no. 2).  
The signature of Sir John St. Aubyn (1758-1839) is at the top.

## Provenance

The library has no past catalogues or accession lists. In broad terms it is thought to contain items from the occupants of the Mount, from Clowance House and from St. Michael's Chapel. Also some early nineteenth century material may have been once used by the Penzance Philharmonic Society. Analysis of this material is underway. The viol partbook is apparently the only seventeenth century musical item. However, the library contains seven other early seventeenth century books.

Sir John St. Aubyn of Clowance, the fourth baronet (*b* 1726, succeeded 1744, *m* 1756, *d* 1772) his wife, five children and mother in law formed a family orchestra (according to the current guide book). His residency could have been a time of particular musical activities at Clowance and, in summer time, the Mount.

The signature of J. St. Aubyn is believed to be that of the fifth baronet. It is absent from sacred music of the early to mid eighteenth century in the library, but is found on instrumental music and other items dating from the mid to late eighteenth century.

Sir John St. Aubyn, fifth baronet, was born in 1758, succeeded in 1772, and died in 1839. A clever and distinguished man and a lover of the arts, he had extensive Cornish interests, but much of the time he lived in the Home Counties. He was reputedly great collector but on his death many items were sold.

### St. Michael's Mount in the Seventeenth Century

Acknowledging that the viol partbook could have been a casual acquisition at almost any time, a review of the seventeenth century history of the Mount may assist future research.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth the Mount was given to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury (1563-1612). The most distinguished musical patron of his day, he was a patron of Coprario. His life seems to have been centred on the court and the Home Counties, and as yet there is no evidence of him spending significant time at the Mount.

William Cecil (*b* 1591) was the only son of Robert. Letters to his father indicate that William was taught the viol by John Lanier 1611. On his father's death at least some of his family's musical patronage continued for some years. But William found his father's estate heavily encumbered with debt. These debts were largely resolved by 1614. His principal interests were in the Home Counties, and there is no evidence to suggest William Cecil left his mark on the Mount.

Sir Francis Basset of Tehidy (?1593-1645) purchased the Mount from William Cecil. The date of the sale is uncertain; often estimated as early 1640, it could have been earlier. A committed Royalist, Sir Francis repaired and rearmed St. Michael's Mount. In 1645 Prince Charles, the future King Charles II, spent much of the autumn and winter in Cornwall, principally at Launceston and Truro. He is believed to have briefly stayed at the Mount before embarking, at

Pendennis Castle, for Scilly on 2 March 1645/6. Sir Arthur Basset, brother of Sir Francis, held the Mount against the Parliament until July 1646.

Colonel John St. Aubyn of Clowance (?1610-1684) bought the Mount in 1657 from John Basset, son of Francis. However, the new owners used it mainly as a summer residence for the next two centuries.

Sir John St. Aubyn, the first baronet (created in 1671), was baptized in 1645. Married in 1665, he succeeded to his father's estate in 1684 and was buried in 1699 at Crowan.

## The Music

On the whole surviving manuscripts from the Jacobean period embrace a wider variety of music than is found here, including madrigals, verse anthems, and lighter instrumental airs. Exceptions are Los Angeles, University of California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library MS fF 1995 M 4 and British Library, Madrigal Society MSS G.37-42, both copied by the same scribe and possibly associated with the English court, and which, like the St. Aubyn manuscript, are limited to fantasias and In Nomines. The latter has its share of copying errors, some not seen elsewhere, but a close examination of the text reveals several details which are duplicated in one or more other copies and provide links with them.

The three-part section comprises fantasias by Lupo and Coprario, but none of the nine by Orlando Gibbons. The text of the Lupo pieces is extremely accurate and matches that of a modern edited version<sup>6</sup>: there is just one place where a minim and minim rest are substituted for a semibreve.<sup>7</sup> Nothing much can be deduced from the selection and grouping of the Lupo pieces, except they embrace both 'old' and 'new' styles.<sup>8</sup> Numbers 1-3 are for treble, tenor and bass in 'old' style and are found in the same sequence in John Merro's two collections, Bodleian Library, MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-247 (nos. 3-5) and British Library, Add. MSS 17792-17796 (nos. 12-14). Number 4 is for two trebles and tenor, the latter in C3 clef throughout, although it is possible to substitute a bass—the range being d-a. Number 5 is usually described as for treble and two tenors, but in the St. Aubyn manuscript the piece is a fifth lower, bringing it into line for treble, tenor and bass scoring; the F3 clef here ensures that the notation is similar to that of the C3 clef of the higher version. Just one other copy of the lower pitch version is known, at no. 3 in Cambridge, King's College, Rowe MSS 114-117,<sup>9</sup> one of John Browne's manuscripts. Jennings groups number 6 (VdGS no. 7) among the 'more modern' pieces, which might well have been written 1617-1625 for Charles, Prince of Wales. Its generally livelier motifs and scoring for two trebles and bass match those in the three-

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<sup>6</sup> e.g. R. Charteris, ed., *Thomas Lupo, The Two and Three-Part Consort Music*, Boethius Press, Clarabricken, 1987.

<sup>7</sup> No. 2 (VdGS no. 3), bar 84 of the Boethius edition.

<sup>8</sup> See J. M. Jennings, 'Thomas Lupo Revisited – is Key the Key to His Later Music', *Chelms* 12 (1983), 19-22.

<sup>9</sup> The Rowe MSS also include the higher version at no. 33.



part fantasias by Orlando Gibbons.

Of particular interest is a hitherto unknown Coprario fantasia at number 11:

The image shows a musical score for a three-part fantasia, numbered 11. It consists of six staves of music, each with a measure number at the beginning: 6, 10, 14, 18, and 21. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and a repeat sign at the end of the sixth staff.

This is only half as long as the other Coprario three-part fantasias, but there seems no reason to doubt the ascription. Maybe it was considered too slight by some to be worth copying. The other five fantasias occur in sequence (but not in identical order) in GB-Ckc, Rowe 114-117 (John Browne), GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.64-69 (George Stratford) and Hatton's 'Great Set' (GB-Och, MSS 2, 401-402, 417-418 and 1080). Readings here do not mirror those in any other source, but are mostly reliable.

The manuscript has more music by John Ward than any other composer, with series in four, five and six parts, a total of twenty pieces. The six 'Oxford' fantasias in four parts were very popular and appear in whole or part in nineteen other sources. Curiously these all seem at some remove from the circles in which Ward moved, with the exception of Christ Church Mus. 459-462, which are partly in the hand of the London clergyman Thomas Myriell (*d* 1625). Ian Payne writes 'The four-part works are impossible to date. The six Oxford fantasias, however, are unlikely to have been composed earlier than the five- and six-part pieces or the madrigals published in 1613'.<sup>10</sup> The bulk of the sources are now in or passed through Oxford (hence the nickname), but some seem to have originated in London, particularly the two sets now in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin, Z3.4.1-6 and 7-12. For once John Browne seems to have missed most of these pieces. The readings in the St. Aubyn manuscript cannot be associated with any other source—there are eight unique variants here—but the Marsh and Myriell manuscripts are those with strongest links.

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<sup>10</sup> J. Ward, *Consort Music of Four Parts*, ed. I. Payne, Musica Britannica 83, (London, 2005), p.xxiii.

Ferrabosco's four-part fantasias were the most popular of all, with the St. Aubyn manuscript becoming the 29<sup>th</sup> recorded source. So far as readings are concerned there are rhythmic variants here (some unique) often mirroring those in Lbl, Add. MSS 17792-17796 (copied by John Merro in Gloucester, c.1620s-1630s) and to a lesser extent in Thomas Tomkins's score, Lbl, Add. MS 19996. It is quite likely that members of the Tomkins family were the carriers of this music from London to Gloucester, especially since the minor canon Thomas Tomkins at Gloucester was the father of Thomas, John, Robert and Giles, all of whom served at the English court.<sup>11</sup> There are marked similarities too with the readings supplied for fantasias 11-12 by the original scribe in John Browne's books, Christ Church, Mus 423-428. Interestingly the only known source to show a similar sequence of these Ferrabosco pieces is Lbl, Add. MS 29427 where numbers 7-10 occur on ff.48r-49v with numbers 11-12 before them on ff.47r-v. This is among the earliest sources, compiled by Thomas Myriell, but only the Altus book survives.

Richard Dering's consort fantasias must have been written before he went abroad since they appear in Jacobean sources from the second decade of the 1600s. Later on Sir Nicholas L'Estrange had access to all Dering's five-part fantasias together with eleven of the twelve extant five-part pavans and almains. Variants in the St. Aubyn manuscript appear regularly in L'Estrange's books as well as in Lbl, Add. MSS 17792-17796 (Merro), Egerton 3665 (Tregian) and in two of the three fantasias also found in the Blossom partbooks (US-CLwr, MSS f.35v).

Ian Payne places the composition of Ward's five-part fantasias in the second decade of the seventeenth century<sup>12</sup> and the six selected here are all found in other Jacobean sources. Some variants are unique to the St. Aubyn book, but there is a good match with Lbl, Madrigal Society MSS G.37-42 (possibly associated with the English court) and with Francis Tregian's scorebook Lbl, Egerton MS 3665. Furthermore the sequence 8-11 in the St. Aubyn manuscript is matched by numbers 20-23 in G.37-42. It is strange that John Browne's extant manuscripts include only two of Ward's five-part fantasias, although it is possible that he had a copy of them, now lost. The six-part pieces on the other hand are mostly in his collection Och, Mus 423-428 where they are copied by the original scribe. Not only that, but the sequence is identical (apart from a reverse composer order): Ward 1-8 are 423-428 numbers 6-13 and White 9-12 are 423-428 numbers 2-5. The Browne and St. Aubyn texts largely match. In view of the preponderance of groups of six pieces in the St. Aubyn manuscript the absence of two fantasias (VdGS nos. 5 and 6) by White here also seems to strengthen an association with 423-428. These two pieces are generally copied after VdGS nos. 1-4 in the sources, but in 423-428 no. 5 only has been added by a later hand ('D'), while no. 6 is absent.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> John Merro witnessed the will of Thomas senior's wife Ann, stepmother to Thomas junior and mother to John, Robert and Giles.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. xxii-xxiii.

<sup>13</sup> It is possible that Och, Mus 473-8 (which has all six fantasias) came into Browne's possession at some time, providing a copy source for no. 5.



In general then the readings in the St. Aubyn manuscript are associated with the earlier extant sources for the music and suggest that a date of c1620 remains a reasonable estimate. Although not flawless the texts are good and many of the details match identical patterns in sources belonging to owners such as John Browne, Francis Tregian, Thomas Myriell and John Merro. Several of these were transmitted to later copies at Oxford and elsewhere.

The viol partbook could have been brought to the Mount, probably from London, by one of numerous distinguished individuals. These include Robert Cecil, his son William, Sir Francis Basset, the entourage of Charles II, and Sir John St. Albin (*sic*) of Clowance. This is speculative, but, given the textual links, a London origin seems more likely than a Cornish one. The St. Aubyn viol manuscript is an exciting find and gives hope that more books of the kind may yet await discovery in private libraries.

# The German *Jugendbewegung* and *Jugendmusikbewegung*: Introductory Notes

RICHARD CARTER

This very brief introduction to what for many readers will be unfamiliar territory is intended to provide some background and context for the following article. I am grateful to Sandra Zydek for commenting on an early draft, and for providing additional material.

## The *Jugendbewegung*

The Youth Movement, or *Jugendbewegung*, arose in Germany towards the end of the nineteenth century. In the wake of a period of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation younger members of the newly established middle class sought a means of escape from the restrictive atmosphere and often strict discipline of home, school, and church, and formed themselves into loosely organised groups whose principal activity was extended hiking tours—the image of the wandering medieval scholar and an idealised romantic view of the vagabond life shaped much of their thinking. Strange as it may seem from a twenty first century viewpoint, they expressed their dissatisfaction with society by abstaining from alcohol and tobacco, and by embracing a simple, healthy lifestyle—vegetarianism was widespread, for example. Less strange to modern eyes was the adoption of a distinctive dress code. In 1901 they adopted the term *Wandervogel* to describe themselves<sup>1</sup>. Music making, at least in the form of guitar strumming song accompaniment, was an important ingredient of the hiking tours, folk songs and *Landsknechtslieder* (songs associated with mercenary soldiers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) were favoured.

The *Wandervögel* were predominantly male. Some groups admitted girls or established separate groups for them, but this was a fiercely contested issue at a time when women did not yet have the vote, and there were serious worries that girls might become too ‘boyish’. Also hotly debated were the admission of Jews and the question of homosexuality.

The *Jugendbewegung* leaders were typically only a little older than the other members, but nevertheless took full responsibility for the group; however, the movement on the whole developed ‘from the bottom up’, and should not be confused with scouting, known in Germany as *Pfadfinder*, which is characterised by a ‘top down’ organisation, in which groups of young people are led by adults in outdoor activities, with uniform and rank in a military or police style. Despite these differences the two movements sought to cooperate with one another in the 1920s, and each adopted some elements of the other’s philosophy.

After the coming to power of the National Socialists in 1933 the *Jugendbewegung* was banned, along with all similar organisations, and in 1939 membership of

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<sup>1</sup> lit. migratory bird, this plays on the double meaning of *wandern* – to wander or hike.

the Hitler Youth became compulsory. As a rule the *Wandervögel* were not overtly political, and the few exceptions covered a wide spectrum, but the question of the extent of Nazi sympathies within the *Jugendbewegung* is complex and remains controversial. It is however a fact that before the movement was banned its members were subjected to systematic bullying and harassment from the Hitler Youth.

Post War revival in the West was generally even more closely allied to scouting, in the East only the state organised FDJ (*Freie Deutsche Jugend*), formed in 1946 under the leadership of Erich Honecker, was tolerated.

### The *Jugendmusikbewegung*

Some members of the *Jugendbewegung* were dissatisfied with the low standard of musical activity which had developed within the movement, and sought to encourage something rather more sophisticated than strumming a guitar to accompany indiscriminately chosen songs. Songbooks and magazines were published<sup>2</sup>, and greater consideration was given to the choice of instruments. The *Jugendmusikbewegung* began to have a separate existence outside the *Jugendbewegung* per se, and its musical purpose became increasingly pedagogic. The search for new forms of musical expression and, in particular, the rejection of nineteenth-century musical culture, with its perceived emphasis on the soloist and empty virtuosity, led to, amongst other things, an idealisation of Renaissance polyphony. Giselher Schubert sums up the aim of the movement as follows:

The *Jugendmusikbewegung* was also influential in the musical culture of the time [the 1920s]. Its adherents sought to create a new genre that was neither serious art music nor light music, had a particular sympathy for early music and folk music, and emphasized the importance of amateur musical performance. The movement recruited an increasing number of young composers.<sup>3</sup>

Probably the best known of these was Paul Hindemith. The movement was split into two major factions: one centred around Walther Hensel, the magazine *Die Singgemeinde* and publishing firm Bärenreiter, which was founded in 1924 by the then 21 year old Karl Vötterle; the other around Fritz Jöde, his magazine *Die Musikantengilde* (successor to Richard Möller's *Die Laute*, see below), and the publishing house Kallmeyer. Adherents of the factions tended to be antagonistic, although the leaders sought rather to cooperate.

Richard Möller (1891-1918) trained as a marine engineer with Blohm & Voss. He was a *Wandervogel* and prominent lute player from 1907, taking part especially in hikes with musical groups, and coaching musical evenings. In 1912 poor health prevented further active participation and he devoted himself to enriching *Hausmusik* activities by promoting suitable early instruments; in 1917

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<sup>2</sup> There is a complete listing on the homepage of the *Jugendmusikbewegung* Archive at <[www.archiv-der-jugendmusikbewegung.de/index.htm](http://www.archiv-der-jugendmusikbewegung.de/index.htm)>

<sup>3</sup> J. Kmetz, et al. 'Germany', *GMO* (accessed November 3, 2009).

he became the founding editor of *Die Laute* (The Lute), the first *Jugendmusikbewegung* magazine.<sup>4</sup>

Fritz Jöde (1887-1970), musicologist, editor, author and music educator, was closely involved with the *Jugendmusikbewegung* for most of his life. His policies, methods and ideals of the 1920s have been both criticized as actively, and excused as naively playing into the hands of the National Socialists.<sup>5</sup>

Peter Harlan (1898-1966), inspired by his experiences as a *Wandervogel*, and by contact with Fritz Wildhagen, a collector of early instruments, abandoned conventional schooling to train as an instrument maker, and founded his own workshop in 1918, immediately after his release from military service. At first he built guitars and 'lutes' for the *Jugendbewegung*, but soon began to pursue a double goal: on the one hand, the repair, restoration and copying of early instruments, and on the other, a vision of producing new instruments which adapted the spirit of earlier times for modern needs. He is particularly remembered for three developments: the first was the so-called 'German' fingering system for the recorder, which avoids forked fingerings, but only at the expense of irredeemably poor intonation.<sup>6</sup> Secondly, the quinton, which in this case was a tenor range 'da gamba' instrument tuned in fifths, b'-e'-a-d-G; and thirdly the *Fidel* (or *Fiedel*) family, a consort of instruments based on the viols, but with simplified construction and steel strings. Harlan saw the *Fidel* as his greatest achievement, but no less impressive was his tireless commitment to introducing amateurs to early music instruments and consort playing.

### Notes on the translation

I have translated the German term *Gambe* as 'viol', but left *Viola da gamba* as 'viola da gamba'. There is a persistent confusion of nomenclature for the bass viol (with the top string tuned to d'), for which the German speaking world often uses *Tenor-Bassgambe*—this originates partly in a misunderstanding of *Syntagma musicum*, in which Praetorius lists this tuning for the *Tenor-Alt-Viol de Gamba* in the context of a low consort.<sup>7</sup> Some reserve the term *Tenorgambe* for a small bass viol. Where the size of instrument intended is not absolutely clear I have also given the original German.

A number of terms which have no direct English counterpart are encountered: *Hausmusik*, *Gebrauchsmusik*, *Jugendmusik*, *Gemeinschaftsmusik*, *Spielmusik*, and so on. These terms themselves may be literally translated as domestic music, music for use, youth music, community music, music to play, but as these English expressions do not adequately convey the concepts, I have in general preferred to leave them in German.

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<sup>4</sup> *Die Deutsche Jugendmusikbewegung in Dokumenten ihrer Zeit von den Anfängen bis 1933* (Archiv der Jugendmusikbewegung e. V.: Hamburg, Wolfenbüttel & Zürich, 1980), 1018.

<sup>5</sup> See B. Joncus, 'Jöde, Fritz', *GMÖ* (accessed November 8, 2009).

<sup>6</sup> Harlan soon admitted that this was a big mistake, but the idea had taken on a life of its own, and cheap recorders using it are still sold today.

<sup>7</sup> M. Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, Wolfenbüttel, 1619 (facsimile ed. Bärenreiter-Verlag: Kassel, 2001), II, 25.

# The Rediscovery of the Viol in the *Jugendbewegung*

SANDRA ZYDEK

Translated by RICHARD CARTER<sup>8</sup>

Anyone considering the rediscovery of the viol in the twentieth century is as a rule unlikely to link it with the *Jugendbewegung*, despite the fact that the impetus from the *Jugendbewegung* made a significant contribution to the spread of the viol amongst amateurs. This connection also remains largely—and most unjustly—unrecognized in articles about the viola da gamba in the relevant major musical reference books.

## The First Discovery of the Viol for *Jugendmusik* by Richard Möller

As early as 1918 the viol was presented to musically interested members of the *Jugendbewegung* as the first rediscovered early instrument after the guitar and lute. The *Jugendbewegung* came to the ‘historical’ lute via use of the guitar for song accompaniment, and so began the rediscovery of ‘Early Music’. It was this use of the lute—at this early stage the term was often mistakenly used synonymously with guitar, and the instruments were built in a hybrid form—which inspired Richard Möller, editor of *Die Laute* (The Lute), the first *Jugendmusikbewegung* magazine, to suggest the viol as a complement to music making on the lute.

It seems that Möller and his circle were unaware of the activities of artists, music lovers, and instrument collectors outside the *Jugendbewegung*, such as Arnold Dolmetsch, Paul Grümmer, Christian Döbereiner, and Paul de Wit, who had been revitalizing the viol since around 1890—however, these men mostly came to the bass viol from the violoncello. Also that Robert Kothe, who had become a role model for the ‘lutenist-singers’ in the *Jugendbewegung*, had—apparently without exerting any lasting influence—researched and considered the viol, but rejected its introduction. Kothe wrote in his autobiography, without giving even approximate dates, that the instrument maker Michael Wach had made him a viol ‘after an old model’<sup>9</sup> and that he [a few years before the First World War?], as a result of studying German and Italian paintings depicting early musicians, ventured an experiment with the help of his (first) wife, who played the violoncello [!]:<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> This article appeared as ‘Die Wiederentdeckung der Viola da gamba in der Jugendbewegung’ in *Viola da gamba und Viola da braccio, Symposium im Rahmen der 27. Tage Alter Musik in Herne 2002*, ed. C. Ahrens & G. Klinke, pub. Stadt Herne (Musikverlag Katzbichler: Munich – Salzburg, 2006). I wish to thank the editors and publisher, and not least the author, for permission to make and publish this translation. I am especially grateful to the author for providing additional material and illustrations which were not part of the Herne article.

<sup>9</sup> ‘nach altem Modell’, R. Kothe, *Saitenspiel des Lebens. Schicksal und Werk* (Munich, 1944), 100.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 160.

In Venedig ... sammelte ich eine Anzahl Photos solcher Gemälde, die einen Einblick in das Musizieren vergangener Jahrhunderte gewähren. Vor allem sehen wir Lauten, Gamben, Violen vereint. .... So kam uns einmal der Gedanke, einen Versuch zu machen, den Dreiklang Singstimme, Laute und Viola da gamba für unsere Kunst zu verwenden. Eine alte kleine Gambe fand ich in einer der Konzertstädte. Ich ließ sie in München bei Michael Wach sorgfältig reparieren und machte mich mit Freude an die Arbeit, besondere Lieder auszuwählen und auch ein Solostück für Laute und Gambe zu komponieren. .... Es machte mir Freude, die Spuren gemeinsamen Musizierens alter Zeit zu verfolgen; .... Es war erfreulich, diese Neuheiten als kammermusikalische Bereicherung des Programms begrüßt und gewürdigt zu sehen.

In Venice ... I assembled a collection of photographs of paintings which provided a picture of music making in previous centuries. Above all, we see lutes, viols, and violins together. .... We then had the thought of trying the combined sound of voice, lute and viola da gamba for our artistic purposes. I found an old small viol in one of the cities where I had a concert. I had it painstakingly repaired by Michael Wach in Munich and cheerfully set to work choosing suitable songs, and also composing a solo piece for lute and viol. ... It gave me pleasure to follow the tracks of the ensemble music of olden times; ... It was pleasing to see these innovations welcomed and praised as an enrichment of our chamber music programme.

Kothe had originally set his 'Songs for Solo Voice, Lute, and Violin or Violoncello' for lute and viol, but either became uncertain about the suitability of the viol, or substituted it because of its unfamiliarity.<sup>11</sup>

Möller mentioned the viol for the first time in 1916 in an article in the magazine *Der Wanderer* (The Hiker).<sup>12</sup> In 1918 he introduced the viol to the wider readership of the *Jugendbewegung* simultaneously in an article 'Laute – Gambe – Bratsche' ('Lute – Viol – Viola')<sup>13</sup> and in *Laute, Viola da gamba, Viola da braccio, die alten Instrumente und ihre Bedeutung für unsere heutige Hausmusik* (Lute, viola da gamba, viola da braccio, the old instruments and their significance for today's domestic music making), the first volume of *Der Lautenspiegel* (The Lute's Mirror), a Supplement to the monthly *Die Laute*.<sup>14</sup>

Möller had ascertained from the illustration in Christopher Simpson's viol tutor that the viol resembled the lute in the number of its strings and the division of the fingerboard by frets. As he frequently found the rapid fading of

<sup>11</sup> R. Kothe, *Gesänge für eine Singstimme, Laute und Violine oder Violoncell* (Magdeburg, 1913), 2.

<sup>12</sup> R. Möller, 'Laute und Lautenmusik', in *Der Wanderer*, No. 7 (1916), Sonderheft zum Ausbau unsere musikalischen Kultur (special issue dedicated to the building up of our musical culture), quoted in: *Die deutsche Jugendmusikbewegung in Dokumenten ihrer Zeit von den Anfängen bis 1933* (Archiv der Jugendmusikbewegung e.V.: Hamburg, Wolfenbüttel and Zürich, 1980), 40-43, here 41.

<sup>13</sup> R. Möller, 'Laute – Gambe – Bratsche', in *Musikalische Jugendkultur. Anregungen aus der Jugendbewegung*, ed. Fritz Jöde (Hamburg 1918), 174-177.

<sup>14</sup> Pub. R. Möller, Wolfenbüttel, 1918. Despite its slightly later publication it is likely that Möller's claim that the Supplement predated the article is correct. In places the article follows the Supplement word for word, and functions more as a general introduction.

the sound of the lute unsatisfactory, he reasoned that the viol was well suited to ‘fill out and sustain the sound of the lute’, so as to ‘allow the lute once more to realise its full artistic potential’. In ensemble, ‘frankly, one often misses a steady sustained sound which provides a solid basis for the whole performance’.<sup>15</sup> Up to this time the chosen instrument for this complementary role had been the violin, which, however, only worked in combination with the lute when ‘its own sound colour’ could be ‘contrasted with that of the lute.’<sup>16</sup> The viol was now expected to make good this shortcoming.



Figure 1: ‘Violin maker’s workshop’ from R. Möller *Laute, Viola da gamba, Viola da braccio*, p. 19. At the rear left the body of a viol to Möller’s design (see Figure 2) may be seen, on the right a small bass viol in ‘violin’ form.

From his further reading of viol literature Möller deduced that the lute and viol shared the same tuning, and concluded that lute players could easily learn the viol, as they needed only to master the bow technique: thus a large number of people could quickly learn to play a variety of instruments, and with the help of the viol, modern musical life, especially in amateur circles, would be effortlessly enriched.<sup>17</sup> Möller argued that many people had insufficient time to devote to music or to learn the range of instruments which they themselves felt to be necessary. Such people had had to forego learning a bowed stringed instrument, but were dissatisfied with playing simple folksongs on the guitar,

<sup>15</sup> ‘... den Lautenklang am besten füllen und halten ... um die Laute wieder zu einem vollwertig künstlerischen Instrumente zu ergänzen.’ ‘... vermisse man oft geradezu einen ruhigen, gehaltenen Ton, der dem ganzen Spiel einen festen Boden gibt.’ R. Möller, *Laute, Viola da gamba, Viola da braccio*, 14.

<sup>16</sup> ‘... ihre eigene Klangfarbe im Gegensatz zu der der Laute [wirken könne].’ Ibid., 14.

<sup>17</sup> R. Möller, ‘Laute – Gambe – Bratsche’, 174ff.

and wanted to get to know the ‘great classics [!]: Bach, Handel, Beethoven, Brahms, et al., at first hand’. Such people could be helped by the old bowed stringed instruments.

Möller’s proposals were also based on personal experience with the viol, which he had taught himself to play: he wanted to try the instrument out, and had had one built:<sup>18</sup>

Hervorheben möchte ich jedoch besonders, daß ich mich bei allen folgenden Abgaben über die Spielmöglichkeiten, die Möglichkeit leichten Erlernens usw. bei diesen Instrumenten nicht auf *Theorie* stützte, sondern alles selbst *praktisch* erprobt habe, auf Instrumenten, die ich mir in ihren alten Formen wieder habe bauen lassen.

I must however particularly emphasise that the following views on the capabilities, and ease of learning, etc. of these instruments are based not on *theory* but entirely on personal *practical* experience with instruments which I have had built in their old form.



Figure 2: Lute, viola da gamba and viola da braccio, from R. Möller, *Laute, Viola da gamba, Viola da braccio*, p. 12.

Few violin makers were open to such ideas; he eventually found, in the Hamburg violin maker Julius Hempel, a luthier who showed sufficient understanding of and interest in his plans. Möller and Hempel described

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<sup>18</sup> R. Möller, *Laute, Viola da gamba, Viola da braccio*, 7.



finding the old types of instrument in museum catalogues and in the magazine of the *Kunst und Gewerbemuseum* (Museum of Arts and Crafts) in Hamburg.<sup>19</sup> Möller's viol was, despite these exemplary intentions, by no means an authentic reconstruction. This was partly a consequence of changes in instrument making practice, but also of misinterpretation. Möller himself used the expression 'instrument designs ... newly developed by me' (neu von mir geschaffene ... Instrumententypen), and he tuned his viol the same as a modern guitar, for the sake of consistency. Möller's viol was a small bass instrument, with the same sounding string length as his lute, it had an endpin, and fixed frets with the fingerboard hollowed out between them, as can be seen in a photograph of Hempel's workshop (Figure 1). Möller paid no attention to the idea of a family of viols, he regarded his so-called viola da braccio as a complement to the viol in a higher register. This was a treble viol played 'da braccio'; it was fitted with a chin rest, mirroring the provision of an endpin on the viol (see Figure 2).

Above all, Möller's musical examples demonstrate a very naïve approach to the material: he proposes, for example, piano or harmonium to accompany the viol in one piece, and he notates the viol part (and the lute/guitar part) in treble clef an octave above sounding pitch (see Figures 3 and 4).

Figure 3: the opening of the Scherzo from the piano trio in G major, Op. 1 no. 2, Beethoven. R. Möller, *Laute, Viola da gamba, Viola da braccio*, p. 63.

The importance for lute players which Möller attached to his rediscovery of the viol may be gauged from the fact that he dedicated the first Supplement to *Die Laute* entirely to the theme of 'Lute, viola da gamba, viola da braccio'. He addresses himself primarily to lutenists, his declared aim was the enrichment of lute music. Beyond this he did not see the viol as an independent instrument in its own right, with its own literature. Nevertheless, Möller's efforts kick started

<sup>19</sup> According to Fritz Jöde, and contradicting this description, Möller's viol may in fact have been built not to a design of his own and Hempel's, but 'from information supplied by the Hamburg lute teacher Meyer-Steinecke' (nach den Angaben des Hamburger Lautenlehrers Meyer-Steinecke): in 'Laute – Gambe – Bratsche, von Möller, eine Besprechung', (a review of Möller's article in *Die Laute*, Vol. 2, no. 3/4 (1918/1919)), 23-24.

interest in the viol for the *Jugendbewegung*. He was himself, however, unable to further the progress of the viol, as he died in August 1918.

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## Sarabande.

(Aus der 6. Violoncello-Suite.)

*Largo.* Job. Seb. Bach.

Viola da gamba.

Klavier oder Harmonium.

*p*

1.

2.

Figure 4: the opening of the Sarabande from the sixth suite for solo violoncello, J. S. Bach, arr. Möller.  
from R. Möller, *Laute, Viola da gamba, Viola da braccio*, p. 61.

## First Criticism

The revival of the viol was not without its critics: Fritz Jöde was initially highly sceptical. ‘Technical grounds, in the end, extra-musical considerations’ seemed to him ‘to be insufficient reason alone’.<sup>20</sup> Jöde did acknowledge the rediscovery of the instrument as a musical gain, and emphasised the ‘beautiful and varied sound world of the viol.’<sup>21</sup> He warned of the danger in the rediscovery of the viol—because of the ease of learning—of being satisfied with low quality music, drawing a parallel with the guitar. In addition he criticized Möller’s appendix of musical examples as ‘inadequate’; but he also, at first, ignored the wealth of literature for the viol.

Jöde reiterated Möller’s most important justification for re-introducing the viol into musical life—the ease with which lutenists could learn the instrument—and went on to say that ‘those who are familiar with the violin’<sup>22</sup> should also have no problems. Thus Jöde acknowledged the importance of the rediscovery not only for players of the lute, but also of bowed strings.

In 1922, alongside Jöde, Theodor Herman Reichenbach bemoaned the shortage of straightforward pieces—at the same time justifying his own compositions: Reichenbach’s *Mein Gambenbuch* is a collection of pieces for ‘Viola da gamba, Violoncello or Viola da braccio solo or with accompaniment for the lute.’<sup>23</sup> Alongside solo pieces for viol it includes duets for lute and viol and one for violin and viol, which he either composed himself or arranged. Reichenbach took it for granted that players would come to the viol from the lute, that the bow hold was that of the violoncello, and that the instrument was played with or without frets and tuned as the lute, although he also refers to the tuning in D:<sup>24</sup>

... Ich denke mir ihre Verwendung, nachdem der Schüler, (Beherrschung des Lautenspiels, besonders: korrektes Lagenspiel vorausgesetzt) zuerst einfache Lieder erst auswendig, dann nach Noten, dazwischen Tonleitern (E-Dur ist die leichteste) und Intervallübungen gespielt hat. Alles in dem bei der Laute üblichen chromatischen Fingersatz, .... Von einem Cellisten (der einen andern Fingersatz braucht) lasse man sich die Bogenführung zeigen, die anders ist als bei der Geige, .... Ist eine Gambe einen Ton tiefer als die Laute gestimmt, so müssen die Solostücke entsprechend transponiert werden.

... I think of them [i.e. the pieces] being used after the pupil (presupposing that they have mastered the lute, especially the correct use of left hand positions) has at first played simple songs—initially from memory, then from music—and between times scales (E major is the easiest) and interval exercises.

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<sup>20</sup> ‘Musiktechnische, also letzten Endes außermusikalische Rücksichten als alleiniger Beweggrund ... als ungenügend.’ F. Jöde, ‘Laute – Gambe – Bratsche, von Möller, eine Besprechung’, 23.

<sup>21</sup> ‘... klangliche Schönheit und Vielfalt der Gambe.’

<sup>22</sup> ‘... der mit dem Geigenspiel vertraut ist ...’

<sup>23</sup> T. H. Reichenbach, *Mein Gambenbuch. Spielmusik für Viola da Gamba, Violoncello oder Viola da braccio allein oder mit Begleitung der Laute*, (*Hausmusik*, ed. F. Jöde, Vol. 17: Wolfenbüttel, 1922)

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

Everything in the chromatic fingering which is normal for the lute, ... They should ask a cellist (they use a different fingering system) to show them how to use the bow, this is different from the violin [Note: this does not imply an underhand bow grip!]. If the viol is tuned a whole tone lower than the lute, the solo pieces must be suitably transposed.

Playing the viol in consort seems not yet to have been aspired to in the 1920s, the small bass (*Tenor-Baß-Gambe*) was the most widespread size,<sup>25</sup> and apparently the use of simple old chorale or song settings for beginners was completely unknown. Indeed Peter Harlan encouraged free improvisation on the viol:<sup>26</sup>

Dr. Einstein beginnt in seiner Untersuchung des Gambenspiels der Alten einen Abschnitt: 'Das Spiel auf der Gambe war wesentlich Improvisation'; so baue ich auch heute im allgemeinen die Gambe nicht für Leute, welche auf einen Gambenpart angewiesen sind, sondern für solche, die sich den Tenorpart aus irgendeiner Stimme herauslesen können oder die auch mit dem Instrument irgendeine Melodie oder Baßstimme abspielen oder improvisieren wollen, wie es ihnen in den Weg kommt, also für Lautenisten[,] die nun einmal das Griffbrett kennen und leicht beim Hausmusizieren irgendeine Lücke damit ausfüllen wollen.

In his investigation of historical viol playing Dr Einstein begins one section thus: 'Viol playing was largely a matter of improvisation'; therefore in general the viols I build today are intended not for people who are dependant on a written part, but for those who can extract a tenor line from an existing part, or those who wish to play or improvise any given melody or bass line, as the mood takes them, in other words, for lute players who know the fingerboard, and can in this way easily fill a gap in their domestic music making.

Even though the 'rediscovered' viol did not establish itself with any great success in its first decade, and despite its protagonists still having very little idea of its historical repertoire, the viol was nevertheless, at least in theory, preferred over the violin as an historical instrument. The number of players remained very small during the 1920s. Notwithstanding the efforts of a small circle, it seems that more time was needed to establish the viol in amateur music making—this was certainly in part a financial question, as new viols had to be built.

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<sup>25</sup> P. Harlan, 'Zur Frage der Hausmusik-Instrumente', *Die Singgemeinde*, Vol. 2 (1925/26), 96-99.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

## ‘Numerically, really quite significant circles’: Viol Courses and the Turn towards Historical Performance Practice in the 1930s

In the 1930s the viol seems to have become more widely established amongst amateurs. In 1932 the following advertisement appeared in the magazine *Collegium musicum*:<sup>27</sup>

### Gambenkurse

Nach Art der Singwochen finden für Erlernung der Grundbegriffe und des Zusammenspiels im Gambenchor und mit anderen Instrumenten schon verschiedene Kurse mit recht gutem Erfolg statt. Wer für seinen Ort glaubt[,] einen Spielerkreis zusammenzubekommen[,] wird gerne von der Schriftleitung nach Kasseler Erfahrung beraten. Dr. Joseph Bacher, Peter Harlan, August Wenzinger und Waldemar Woehl geben ebenfalls gerne Auskunft und stehen als Lehrer zur Verfügung.

### Viol courses

A variety of successful viol courses have been held, modelled on vocal courses, for learning the basics and for playing together in consort, and with other instruments. The editors are happy to advise anyone who feels they can put together a group in their area, on the basis of experiences in Kassel. Dr. Joseph Bacher, Peter Harlan, August Wenzinger and Waldemar Woehl are also happy to advise and are available as tutors.

Around 1935 Alfred Zastrau wrote in a magazine article of ‘numerically, really quite significant circles’ of viol players;<sup>28</sup> in 1937 there came a call in the *Zeitschrift für Hausmusik* for a register of all players, makers, and teachers etc. of the viol, in order to spread the word and promote viol playing, on the grounds that the instrument ‘has once more achieved a level of importance which makes it desirable to move towards a full understanding of everything which has to do with the viol’.<sup>29</sup> In the next few years there are reports of fully booked courses<sup>30</sup> and of courses with up to 36 participants.<sup>31</sup>

Such courses were especially important for the many self-taught viol players, as the basics could be established. Above all, points of technique were clarified— from 1938 there is a report on the Recorder and Viol week in Schloß Halburg (18 to 25 April), led by Konrad Lechner, which reveals that the viol players were ‘largely beginners, some of whom had learnt to play without a teacher,

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<sup>27</sup> ‘Gambenkurse’, *Collegium musicum*, Vol. 1 (1932) no. 4, 80.

<sup>28</sup> ‘Zahlenmäßig schon recht bedeutenden Kreisen’, A. Zastrau, ‘Alte Instrumente für neue Hausmusik’, [1935] pp. 103-111 in an inadequately annotated cutting in the library of the *Musikinstrumentensammlung Hans und Hede Grumbt*, Bochum, p.107.

<sup>29</sup> ‘... wieder eine Bedeutung erlangt habe, die es wünschenswert erscheinen ließe, zu einer umfassenden Verständigung über alles zu gelangen, was mit der Gambe zu tun habe.’ In ‘An alle Gambenspieler, Gambenbauer, Herausgeber und Verleger von Gambenliteratur’, *Zeitschrift für Hausmusik*, Vol. 6 (1937) no. 1, 38.

<sup>30</sup> ‘Gambengruppe im Arbeitskreis für Hausmusik’, *Zeitschrift für Hausmusik*, Vol. 8 (1939) no. 3, 113.

<sup>31</sup> Joseph Bacher reported on two meetings in ‘Lehrgang für Haus- und Kammermusik in Loshausen bei Treysa 17. bis 31. Juli 1937. Leitung August Wenzinger’, *Zeitschrift für Hausmusik*, Vol. 6 (1937) no. 5, 191-194.

and whose technique was thoroughly “overhauled”<sup>32</sup>—the significance of the viol in musical society was discussed, and a selection of suitable literature for playing in consort and in domestic situations was presented and coached.

Right through to the early 1940s Peter Harlan was holding courses on which he made his own instruments available for the students.<sup>33</sup> Here the participants were sorted into groups according to their ability. Also at this time, annually during the ‘summer holiday weeks’, the instrument maker Johannes Adler offered the opportunity of trying out and learning to play on his range of instruments.<sup>34</sup>

In the 1930s playing practice on early instruments was increasingly influenced by musicological findings, and higher demands on music making began to be made: alongside the question of bow hold, notice was being taken of tuning in the old *Kammerton* [a'=415Hz]. Viols built after a variety of original models were on offer, both ‘consort’ and ‘solo’ instruments in different styles.<sup>35</sup>

The underhand bow grip appears to have come into fashion in the mid 1920s, Harlan advocated the use of a viol bow and its special hold from 1926 onwards. In 1928 August Wenzinger heard a viol player from Harlan’s circle using frets and an underarm bow technique. Although he found ‘the result ... unimpressive’, he nevertheless commented that ‘the demand for historical performance practice on faithful copies of old instruments’ had arrived.<sup>36</sup> A year later, in 1929, Wenzinger was invited by Karl Vötterle of Bärenreiter-Verlag to present a viol course using original playing techniques. Thus Wenzinger became involved in a study of original sources.

Like Wenzinger, Joseph Bacher also unravelled the old way of playing the viol with the aid of historical sources and made the results of his research available—not only to the *Jugendmusikbewegung*—in a publication of 1932 entitled ‘The Viola da Gamba. An introduction to the nature of the viol consort and to the playing manner of the old masters. With illustrations, a repertoire list, countless examples in tablature and staff notation, and music for viols.’<sup>37</sup> Bacher considered his book to be ‘an introduction to the old techniques of viol playing’.<sup>38</sup> In Bacher’s work the interested circles from within the *Jugendmusikbewegung* and amongst amateur musicians were presented

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<sup>32</sup> ‘... vorwiegend Anfänger, die z. T. ohne Lehrer Spielen gelernt hatten und technisch gründlich „überholt“ wurden.’ Reported in ‘Die Singwochenarbeit des Jahres 1938’, *Zeitschrift für Hausmusik*, Vol. 7 (1938) no. 6, 228-230.

<sup>33</sup> *Mitteilungen aus der Peter Harlan-Werkstätte*, after 1938, poss. 1939?

<sup>34</sup> Catalogue, *Johannes Adler-Werkstätten, Markneukirchen*, p.17.

<sup>35</sup> *Mitteilungen aus der Peter Harlan-Werkstätte*, c1935, p.4. Harlan offered early and late baroque models. ‘Historical bowed strings from the Johannes Adler Workshop’, Catalogue, *Johannes Adler-Werkstätten, Markneukirchen*, after 1938, 4-6, lists a ‘soloist’s’ viol ‘after Joachim Tielke (c1700)’ and a plainer value-for-money ‘consort’ viol.

<sup>36</sup> ‘... das Resultat ... nicht erhebend.’ ‘... die Forderung nach der originalen Spielweise auf originalgetreuen Instrumenten ...’ A. Wenzinger, ‘Die Viola da gamba einst und jetzt’, pp. 5-10 in Adolf König, *Die Viola da gamba*, Fachbuchreihe das Musikinstrument, Vol. 43, (Frankfurt am Main, 1985), here 8ff.

<sup>37</sup> J. Bacher, *Die Viola da gamba. Eine Einführung in das Wesen des Violenchores und in die Spielweise der alten Gambenmeister. Mit Bildern, einem Verzeichnis von Spielmusik, zahlreichen Tabulaturbeispielen, Notenbeispielen und Spielstücken für Gamben* (Bärenreiter: Kassel, 1932).

<sup>38</sup> ‘Einführung in die alte Technik des Gambenspiels’, *ibid.*, 42.

with a new fundamental work on the viol. His explanations are based on the writings of Jean Rousseau, Thomas Mace, Marin Marais, Christopher Simpson, Silvestro Ganassi and others.<sup>39</sup>

Bacher describes the viol as belonging to two stylistic periods: the Renaissance and the Baroque, and differentiates the uses of the viol—in the baroque period solo music held sway, in the Renaissance the consort music, which he primarily aimed to discuss, was more important: ‘This introductory publication will mainly discuss the viol consort’ (In dieser Einführungsschrift wird in erster Linie vom Gambenchor die Rede sein). Thus the viol was made useful for the *Jugendmusikbewegung* in a further way: as *Gemeinschaftsmusik* (community music).<sup>40</sup>

Bacher distinguishes ‘three types’:

*Diskant-Gambe* d, g, c', e', a', d" (hereafter *Diskant-Gambe*)

*Alt-Tenor-Gambe* G, c, f, a, d', g' (hereafter *Tenor-Gambe*)

*Tenor-Baß-Gambe* D, G, c, e, a, d' (hereafter *Baß-Gambe*)

As a low bass instrument (largely for reinforcing the bass line) there is also the *tiefer Baß* (after Praetorius) tuned AA, D, G, B, e, a and the *Kontrabaß* tuned DD, GG, C, E, A, d.

The solo viols, which are also today being built again (for the solo literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) are tuned as the *Tenor-Bass* consort viol D, G, c, e, a, d'. The latter is thus the common tuning for all bass viols.<sup>41</sup>

Nevertheless the practice of tuning the viol as the guitar—as proposed by Möller in 1918—continued for a long time. In 1926 Peter Harlan had still recommended the same tuning for viol and lute,<sup>42</sup> later he continued to mention it as a simplification for lutenists: around 1939 both Harlan and Johannes Adler suggest, in the context of the treble viol, that lutenists could retune in order to have the third in the familiar place.<sup>43</sup> We may take it from this that lutenists and guitarists continued the practice of such retuning with all sizes of viol.

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.: In Appendix I Bacher gives an overview of ‘music for viol consort’ (43–46), and in Appendix II ‘some pieces for viols’ (49–64) which are in one to three parts, and also mentions a forthcoming collection of easy pieces for viol from Bärenreiter (42, Note 42).

<sup>41</sup> ‘Die heute ebenfalls wieder gebauten Solo-Gamben (für die Sololiteratur des siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhunderts) haben wie die chorische Tenor-Baßgambe die Stimmung D, G, c, e, a, d'. Diese letztere ist also die einheitliche Stimmung für alle Baßgamben.’ Ibid., 19.

<sup>42</sup> P. Harlan, ‘Zur Frage der Hausmusik-Instrumente’, 98: ‘I am of the same opinion as Möller (his book *Laute, Viola da gamba, Viola da braccio*), that we should use today’s lute tuning for today’s viol’ (Ich bin mit Möller (sein Buch *Laute, Viola da gamba, Viola da braccio*) einer Meinung, daß wir für die heutige Gambe auch die heutige Lautenstimme nehmen).

<sup>43</sup> *Mitteilungen aus der Peter Harlan-Werkstätte*, undated (c1939?), 7. ‘Historical bowed strings from the Johannes Adler Workshop’, Catalogue, *Johannes Adler-Werkstätten, Markneukirchen*, after 1938, 5 (Library of the *Sammlung Grumbt*).

## Viol Tutors

The growing importance of viol consort playing is reflected not only in Joseph Bacher's publication but also in the viol tutors by August Wenzinger. These were created to complement both Bacher's work and Paul Grümmer's cellist-oriented tutor<sup>44</sup>, Wenzinger described them as 'a practical guide for amateurs who primarily intend to make music in consort with a viol ensemble'.<sup>45</sup> 'Viol Study. A Method for Viol Playing in Consort' appeared in two volumes: 'Part One – The Basics' and 'Part Two – Developing Further Technique'; a few years later came a tutor for beginners, especially aimed at children, by Wenzinger and Marianne Majer.<sup>46</sup> These tutors were the first of their kind and became something of a blueprint for a large number of viol and *Fiedel* tutors into the 1950s and 1960s. The comparable contemporary work is Helmut Mönkemeyer's series *Der Gambenchor* (The Viol Consort) which in contrast to Wenzinger's appeared in three parallel volumes, for treble, tenor and bass viol respectively.<sup>47</sup>

The children's tutor by Wenzinger and Majer aimed 'to assist the viol in regaining [*sic*] its rightful place in the early learning of music, and to encourage pleasure in music making for children and beginners'.<sup>48</sup> The authors considered the viol—especially the treble, because of its size—to be particularly suitable for children and beginners: 'Due to its relative simplicity, viol playing proves to be the best place to start when learning a bowed stringed instrument'.<sup>49</sup> Now players were no longer coming to the viol only from the lute.

### Viol Shortage during the Second World War and the Development of the *Kniefiedel*

During the Second World War the demand for viols could no longer be met. Harlan's response to this shortage was to lend<sup>50</sup> viols to interested participants on his courses, even in cases where these had no chance of continuing to play once back at home.<sup>51</sup> Initially with the aim of giving interested people the opportunity of acquiring a viol-like instrument—which they could, if necessary,

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<sup>44</sup> P. Grümmer, *Viola da Gamba-Schule für Violoncellisten und Freunde der Viola da Gamba*, (London & Hamburg, 1928).

<sup>45</sup> '... praktische Spielanleitung für den Liebhaber, der sich hauptsächlich dem chorischen Musizieren mit einem Gambenensemble zuwenden will.'

<sup>46</sup> A. Wenzinger, *Gambenübung. Ein Lehrgang für Chorisches Gambenspiel. Erster Teil: Die Anfangsgründe* (Kassel & Basle, undated [1935?]); *Gambenübung. Ein Lehrgang für Chorisches Gambenspiel. Zweiter Teil: Technische Weiterbildung* (Kassel & Basle, undated [1938?]); M. Majer, A. Wenzinger (editor), *Gambenfibel für den Anfangsunterricht insbesondere mit Kindern* (Kassel & Basle, undated [1943?]).

<sup>47</sup> This according to Mönkemeyer in his combined viol and *Fiedel* tutors from the 1950s: cf. H. Mönkemeyer, *Schule für Sopranгамbe oder 6-saitige Sopranfiedel in Quart-Terzstimmung mit 110 Übungen und Spielstücken zu 1-3 Stimmen* (Celle, 1952), 3.

<sup>48</sup> '... dazu beitragen, der Gambe den ihr in der Musikerziehung und Musikpflege zukommenden Platz wiederzugewinnen und Kinder und Anfänger zur Freude am Musizieren anzuregen.' M. Majer, A. Wenzinger (editor), *Gambenfibel*, 6.

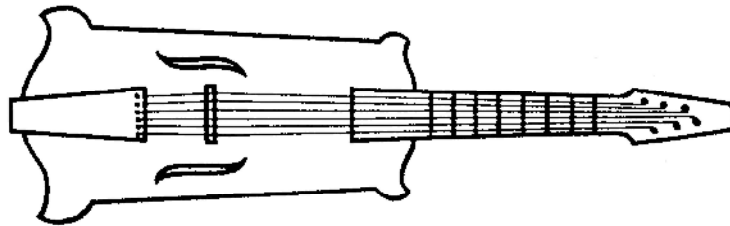
<sup>49</sup> 'Das Gambenspiel erweist sich durch seine relative Einfachheit als die beste Einführung in das Spiel auf Streichinstrumenten.' *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>50</sup> It is in fact not absolutely clear whether Harlan lent or hired out the viols.

<sup>51</sup> P. Harlan, 'Lob der Gambe', *Zeitschrift für Hausmusik*, Vol. 12 (1943) no. 1, 12.

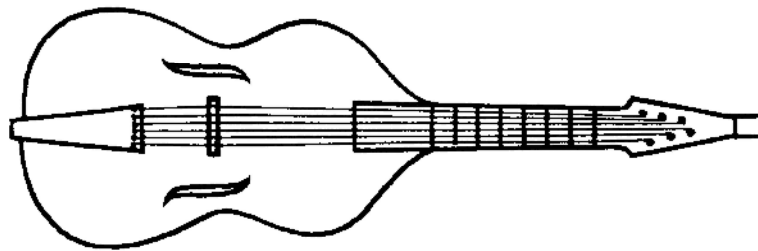


build for themselves—Harlan developed the simply constructed *Kniefidel* tuned as a viol in fourths and a third (see Figure 5). Here there are contradictory accounts, for although the *Fidel* was originally designed as a viol substitute, it soon began to represent a completely different musical ideal and developed a life of its own. The *Fidel* went a different way from the viol and became more and more a tool of music pedagogy, sometimes also tuned in fifths (this last was given particular impetus by Helmut Mönkemeyer, who in 1952, as director of the Music School in Krefeld, developed the so-called *Quintfidel* in cooperation with the Hermann Moeck Workshops in Celle).



**Eckige Fidel**

nach dem Werkbogen herausgegeben von Peter Harlan im Bärenreiter Verlag



**Werkstatt-Fidel**

aus der Peter-Harlan-Werkstatt, Burg Sternberg

Figure 5: ‘Rectangular Fidel’, from plans published by Peter Harlan (Bärenreiter-Verlag); and ‘Workshop Fidel’ from the Peter Harlan Workshops, Burg Sternberg. From [Peter] Harlan, [Erich] Valentin: *Die Fidel-Fibel* (Lehrbrief, Wilhelmshaven [1955]).

The popularity of the *Kniefidel*, sustained above all by its use in music education, remained something of a nine days’ wonder, but in the meantime the viol was increasingly establishing itself as an historic instrument for connoisseurs and amateur enthusiasts.

### The Advantages of the Viol for Youth and Amateur Music Making

To sum up: the viol, especially because of its sound and playing method, met the requirements and tastes and fulfilled the aims of the *Jugendmusikbewegung* and the spirit of the time:

- as an instrument on which a beginner (above all, because of the frets) could make rapid progress (in addition, the frets allow playing from tablature), especially for beginners who were already experienced guitar or lute players;

- because of the perceived ‘naturalness’ of the da gamba playing posture, which also permits simultaneous singing and playing, and because its veiled sound does not cover the singing;
- and most of all, because of its suitability for community music making (*Gemeinschaftsmusik*).

The ‘inner demeanour’ (innere Haltung) when playing the viol was also loftily compared with singing: ‘Playing the viol is almost like singing: whoever wants to do it, whoever is mentally prepared, will soon find they can.’<sup>52</sup>

The number of viol players in the *Jugendbewegung* was not high compared with the total membership, but it should nevertheless not be underestimated. Some of the instruments used were mass produced, and the impact of their use may be felt in ‘modern’ *Spielmusik* and *Gebrauchsmusik*. The viol increasingly freed itself from its early link with lute playing, and—despite the initial talk of ‘improvement’—the story of its rediscovery is the story of a genuine, steadily progressing rediscovery of the historical instrument and of its playing techniques, on a sound theoretical basis; in parallel with which, little by little, a group of experts in historical performance practice came into being.

A fascinating document survives from 1940, and is reproduced in full below. In an effusive letter headed ‘Delight of a novice viol player’,<sup>53</sup> Ortwin Wendland emphasizes a variety of advantages of the viol for amateur music making (easy to learn, natural playing position, possibility of singing along, continuo playing, suitability for ensemble playing), and in so doing expresses almost model views and opinions. Wendland also endeavours to justify the acquisition of such an instrument and such music making in wartime (emphasis original):

Lieber Werner,  
 nun wirst Du Dich wundern: ich habe mir eine Tenor-Gambe angeschafft. Mitten im Kriege, als ein 33jähriger, als einer, der ebenso wie all andern kein Zeit hat, eine Gambe! Es war wohl reichlich kühn, der Entschluß. Wenn der freundliche Instrumentenmeister mir nicht den Weg geebnet hätte, wäre er ja auch gar nicht möglich gewesen. Aber ich habe ihn nicht bereut. Wie habe ich mich, während sie gebaut wurde, im voraus auf die Gambe gefreut! Ich habe in Gedanken schon immer Gambe gespielt, mir vorgestellt, wo die Töne liegen, welche Finger sie greifen müssen usw. *Diese Freude allein war die Sache wert.*  
 Und dann kam die Überraschung. Mit Bangen war die Vorfreude gemischt gewesen. Du kennst ja mein Geigenunglück. Ich hätte gern Geige gespielt, bin aber zu ungeschickt dazu. Ich habe mich redlich gequält, kam aber nie zu einer reinen Freude. Dann hatte ich das Quinton. Aber so gern ich darauf spielte, ungetrübt war die Freude doch nicht. Wird es nicht bei der Gambe das Gleiche werden? Es wurde ganz anders. Nie hätte ich gedacht, daß es so leicht ist, Gambe zu spielen. Man muß wohl auch einen guten

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<sup>52</sup> ‘Gambe spielen ist fast wie Singen: wer nur will, wer die innere Bereitschaft hat, der wird es auch bald können.’ *Mitteilungen aus der Peter Harlan-Werkstätte*, after 1938, poss. 1939?

<sup>53</sup> O. Wendland, ‘Anfängerfreuden eines Gambenspielers’, *Zeitschrift für Hausmusik*, Vol. 9 (1940) no. 5, 99-100.

Lehrmeister wie Wenzinger dabei haben (der natürlich nur in Gestalt seiner „Gambenübung“ anwesend war). Von Anfang an hatte ich Freude am Spiel. Und dann: die Hände haben es so viel leichter als bei der Geige. Sie brauchen nicht verdreht oder verrenkt zu werden. Sie fassen Gambe und Bogen so natürlich wie nur möglich. Wer von der Geige herkommt, muß denken, die Gambe spielt sich allein. Bei der Geige muß man ja alles selber machen; wer das kann, ist dann fein heraus. Ganz anders bei der Gambe; es ist, als brauchtest Du Dich um nichts zu kümmern, ganz ungezwungen tun die Hände mit, und die Gambe fängt an zu singen. Je mehr Du ihr den Willen läßt, auf sie eingehst, in sie hineinhorchst, desto schöner singt sie. Du spielst ja auch die Blockflöte und weißt, daß sie wohl nur einen Fehler hat: den aller Blasinstrumente, wer sie spielt, kann nicht mit ihr mitsingen. Beim Gambenspiel kannst Du es. Die Gambe wünscht es sich sogar, sie erweckt Dich dazu. Das macht auch ihr Klang, zu dem es sich so besonders gut singt. (Nun habe ich vielleicht eine besonders schöne Gambe erwischt. K ... meint, seine sei eine Zigarrenkiste dagegen. Jedenfalls hätte ich nie geahnt, daß man für so wenig Geld ein so gutes Instrument bekommen kann). Und dann hat die Tenorgambe noch den Vorteil, daß man auf ihr richtige Baßstimmen streichen kann. Das Quinton ist doch mehr ein Mittelstimmen-Instrument. Nun kann ich in die Tiefe steigen, nach der ich eine geheime Sehnsucht hatte. Du weißt, wie lange wir uns schon ein Cembalo wünschen, und daß wir es aus naheliegenden Gründen noch immer nicht haben können. Und meine Frau, die nun schon seit Jahren nicht mehr flöten und Klavier spielen kann, sondern nur noch singen kann, hatte nie die rechte Möglichkeit, mit mir zusammen zu musizieren. Jetzt ist uns auf einmal geschenkt. Ein Vierteljahr habe ich die Gambe erst, zwei Stunden in der Woche konnte ich durchschnittlich auf ihr spielen, und doch genügt das, um schon jetzt Generalbaßstimmen wie die aus Bachs Schemelli-Gesangbuch zu bewältigen. Nun singt meine Frau zur Gambe und wir können wieder zusammen (mit Bach zu reden) Gott die Ehre geben und das Gemüt rekreieren. Daß das Cembalo fehlt, stört uns nicht; wir hören es uns gleichsam dazu. – So viel Freude haben wir also von der Gambe; und es ist doch erst der Anfang, von all den anderen Freuden, wenn K ... mit seiner Gambe kommt oder ich ihn (und sein Cembalo) besuche ganz zu schweigen.

Mitten im Kriege eine Gambe? Jeder von uns Daheimgebliebenen weiß sich in tiefer Schuld derer draußen. Unsere Arbeit kann dem Einsatz des Soldaten nur selten gleichgestellt werden. Aber es ist auch nötig, Stätten der Stille und des Friedens mitten im Kriege zu schaffen und zu pflegen, wo das Herz einkehren kann. Gerade zum Schutz dieser Stätten wird draußen das Blut eingesetzt. Und: man kann auch stellvertretend für die draußen musizieren. Musik ist ja ein Engelwerk, eine himmlische Kunst, vor der der Teufel flieht—wenn sie recht getrieben wird. So stehen wir denn doch mit im Kampf und stärken die Front von innen.

Warum ich Dir das alles schreibe? Um Dir Mut zu machen, es auch mit einer Gambe zu versuchen. Du wirst Ähnliches erleben wie ich. Ich bereue nur eins: daß ich nicht schon längst den Mut faßte, eine Gambe zu kaufen. Und dann aus Dankbarkeit. Auch

gegen den Instrumentenmeister für seine Freundlichkeit und für seine saubere, gute Arbeit. Vor allem aber gegen den, der uns die wunderbare Gabe der Musik gegeben hat.

Es grüßt Dich herzlich mit Heil Hitler

Dein Ortwin Wendland

Dear Werner,

now you will be wondering: I have acquired a bass viol (*Tenor-Gambe*). In the middle of the War, as a 33 year old, as one who, just like everyone else, has no time, a viol! It was a pretty bold decision. Indeed, if the friendly instrument maker had not smoothed the way, it would have been utterly impossible. But I don't regret it. How I looked forward to the viol, while it was being built! In my mind, I was constantly playing the viol, imagining where the notes are, which finger I should use etc. *For this pleasure alone it was worth it.*

And then came the surprise. The joyful anticipation was mixed with dread. You know my misery with the violin. I would love to have played the violin, but I was no good. I really tormented myself, but got no real pleasure out of it. Then I had the quinton. But however much I enjoyed playing it, the pleasure was never unclouded. Might it be now be the same with the viol? It was completely different. I would never have thought it was so easy to play the viol. You must of course have a good teacher such as Wenzinger to hand (present only in the form of his 'Gambenübung', of course). From the first moment the playing gave me so much joy. And then: it is so much easier on the hands than the violin. They don't need to be twisted or contorted. They hold the viol and bow just as naturally as can be. Anyone coming from the violin will think that the viol plays itself. On the violin, you have to make everything happen yourself; good luck to him who can. On the viol it is completely different; it is as though you don't have to take care of anything, the hands do what's needed quite naturally, and the viol begins to sing. The more you let it have its way, the more you let yourself go along with it, and tune your ears to it, the more beautifully it sings. You play recorder too, and you know that there is only one problem: that of all wind instruments, the player cannot sing along. When you play the viol, you can. Indeed, the viol asks for it, inspires you to it. The sound of the viol does that, it is so good to sing to. (Now, perhaps I have managed to get hold of a particularly good viol. K ... says his is a cigar box by comparison. In any case, I had never imagined that it was possible to get such a good instrument for so little money). And then the bass viol has the further advantage that you can play real bass parts. The quinton is after all more of an instrument for middle parts. Now I can descend to the depths, which I have always had a secret longing to do. You know how long we have wanted a harpsichord, and that for obvious reasons we still cannot have one. And my wife, who for years now has not been able to play the flute or the piano any more, but can only sing, has never had the real chance of making music with me. Now suddenly everything is possible. I've had the viol just three months, on

average I manage to play two hours a week, and yet it has been enough to master continuo parts such as those in Bach's Schemelli Song Book. Now my wife sings to the viol and together we can (as Bach would say) praise God and revive our spirits. It doesn't bother us that there is no harpsichord; we can both hear it playing along. – We have so much pleasure from the viol; and that is only the start, I will not mention all the other joys, when K ... comes with his viol, or I visit him (and his harpsichord).

In the middle of the War, a viol? All of us stay-at-homes are deeply indebted to those out there. Our work can rarely be compared to a soldier's service. And yet it is necessary to create and maintain havens of peace and freedom in the midst of War, where the heart can retreat. It is precisely in order to protect these havens that blood is being spilled out there. And: we can make music for those out there who cannot. Music is after all angels' work, a heavenly art, from which the devil flees – when it is properly done. So we are fighting too, and strengthening the front from behind.

Why do I write all this to you? To give you courage to try a viol as well. You'll have the same experience as I have had. I have only one regret: that I didn't pluck up courage to buy a viol long ago. And out of thankfulness, too. Also to the master instrument maker for his friendliness and good, neat work. Above all to him, who gave us the wonderful gift of music.

Kindest regards and Heil Hitler

Ortwin Wendland