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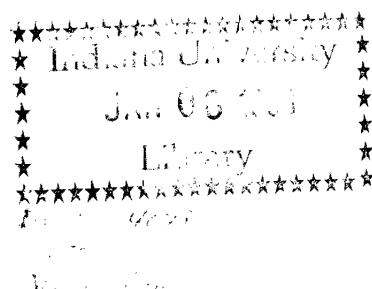
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CONTENTS

Viola da Gamba Society of America	3
Editorial Note	4
An Interview with Dick Bodig, July 1994 Phyllis Olson	6
Ornamentation in English Lyra Viol Music, Part II: Shakes, Relishes, Falls, and Other "Graces" for the Left Hand Mary Cyr	16
Ludwig Christian Hesse and the Berlin Virtuoso Style Michael O'Loghlin	35
Recent Research on the Viol	Ian Woodfield 74
Reviews	
Carl Friedrich Abel, <i>Sonatas for the Viola da Gamba</i> , ed. George Houle	Mary Cyr 76
Will Ayton, <i>Four Song Settings for Voice and Three Viols</i> ; David Loeb, <i>Fantasias for Eight to Twelve Viols</i>	Judith Davidoff 78
Johann Sebastian Bach, <i>The Art of Fugue</i> , viol transcr. Lucy Bardo	Kenneth Slowik 81
Daniel Norcombe, <i>Nine Divisions for Bass Viol</i> , ed. Patrice Connelly	Frank Traficante 85
Contributor Profiles	92

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The *Journal* editors welcome for consideration articles pertaining to the viols and related instruments, their history, manufacture, performers, music, and related topics. Articles, correspondence, and materials for review should be sent to the Editor: Caroline Cunningham, 735 Millbrook Lane, Haverford, PA 19041. Authors should consult the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th Edition, for matters of style. Articles and reviews should be submitted on disk specifying the computer and program used, with two printed, double-spaced copies. Camera-ready music examples must be printed on separated sheets and identified with captions, with source files included on the disk if applicable. Photos must be submitted as black-and-white glossy prints.



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

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EDITORIAL NOTE

In this issue of the *Journal* we are especially fortunate to have the second installment of Mary Cyr's article on the performance of lyra viol ornaments, as well as an important contribution from Australian performer and scholar Michael O'Loughlin. Michael has sifted through much fascinating source material on Ludwig Christian Hesse and the Berlin School of gamba playing and composing. Since this represents practically the last gasp of solo music for the viol, it is welcome indeed. Special thanks are also owed to Brent Wissick and Roland Hutchinson for editorial review of this paper.

We pay tribute to the memory of Richard Bodig, recent President of the Viola da Gamba Society of America, who passed away earlier this year: thanks to Phyllis Olson's interview from the 1994 Conclave, we can share Dick's musical journey and his thoughts on the Society in his own words.

Stuart Cheney has again brought us some excellent reviews of important new publications.

Ian Woodfield's bibliography of recent research on the viol—a welcome annual feature—reveals that the *VdGSA Journal* is an important source of writings on the viol. As we work our way towards the next millennium, we sense the presence of an ever-widening audience for information on the viol and its music, and we are pleased that the *Journal* is playing a vital role in making that information available.

Caroline Cunningham



Richard Durand Bodig (1923–1998). Photograph courtesy of Joyce Bodig.

AN INTERVIEW WITH DICK BODIG, JULY 1994

Phyllis Olson

Richard Bodig, former President of the Viola da Gamba Society of America, passed away on May 26, 1998. Phyllis Olson conducted the following interview at the 1994 Conclave in Raleigh, North Carolina, during Dick's term as President.

Phyllis: Tell us how you got started playing the viola da gamba.

Dick: The playing of the viola da gamba came many years after I had first heard the instrument live in a performance of the *St. Matthew Passion* with Bruno Walter in the early fifties. Of course everyone knows about the wonderful aria which is accompanied obbligato with viola da gamba. The performer was at that time Janos Scholz, who had a wonderful instrument, I remember. I was so transported by the sound of that instrument being so different from the cello, that it was engraved in my memory and ears. Subsequently I got recordings where viola da gamba was being played—the Bach gamba sonatas, et cetera—but it was just something I enjoyed listening to, but didn't participate in.

As a child I had played violin (didn't like it very much), so although I had experienced playing strings, this was kind of a distant thing in the past for me. As a young adult I really liked keyboard and took up the piano, and later took up harpsichord, always sang, and this memory of this shimmering sound of the viola da gamba stayed with me for a number of years; and the only reason I got into it was basically that after my fiftieth birthday I had the first of a series of four detached retinas. The first one occurred shortly after my fiftieth birthday, and the same eye had damage to it again a few months later. In all there was about a six-month period of surgery and recovery, during which

time I had to do a lot of soul-searching and encouraging myself to cheer up, despite this rather traumatizing experience.

In the course of this time, I had a peculiar fantasy of playing the viola da gamba, thinking, "Now, gee, this will be something different," but I had no idea of how one would get an instrument or anything. Approximately nine months after my first surgery, [when] I had recovered as much as I could (although my eyes were quite damaged; my left eye was very much damaged), I sang in a concert of "Gottes Zeit" [J. S. Bach's Cantata 106, *Actus Tragicus*]. In that cantata, [as] everyone knows, there are obbligato gambas playing, and the two gambists were Freddy Arico and Judith Davidoff. During intermission while we were rehearsing I went up to each one sequentially asking whether I would be a complete fool playing the viola da gamba, and each of them said, "Oh no, there are many amateurs who play," and encouraged me to go on to play. Then I asked each of them if they had time to teach me, and they were both too busy, and they said maybe somebody else could do it. Judith Davidoff then suggested a young person who had just come back from studies abroad, and she said, "This person is looking for students," and it turned out to be Mary Springfels.

Phyllis: You can't do any better than that!

Dick: No, you can't do any better than that. Anyhow, I was her first student. She really had never taught before that I know of, but she was just a natural teacher, fantastically good. Lucy Cross, with whom she was living at the time, had a bass viol to rent, so I rented it from her, and started doing Morley duets and things like that, and I learned to read the clefs very quickly. Within about a month I knew that this was my instrument—I just adored it!—at which point I went to Bill Monical and bought a bass gamba (which I still have), and was on my way. Then I continued to study with Mary. This was about a year and a half after my accident and my surgery, and the summer after that I heard about [the workshops at] Hampshire College (which now [take place at] Amherst), and I went to one. At that workshop I played viol; I was relatively new at it, but I remember meeting Richard Taruskin in the Collegium.

Phyllis: Was this his first workshop?

Dick: It was not his first workshop, but it was an early workshop for him. I remember that in the Collegium we were doing Gabrieli's "In Ecclesiis," and I was in the bass viol section, and at some point in the very beginning as we were starting, there was supposed to be a tenor to do the opening aria. Well, the tenor never showed up, and Richard said in his casual way, "Well, does anyone want to try this?" and I looked at it, and being a singer I saw that, though I'm a baritone, it was in my range, so I said, "Yes, I'll do that," and I got up and started singing the thing. As I went along (mind you, I knew nothing about Richard Taruskin at this time), I started adding embellishments because I thought it was appropriate, or I liked to do it anyhow, and at the very end of this particular first aria I did a goat trill as a cadential thing, at which point Richard stopped, everybody applauded, and I didn't know why they were applauding. I thought they might have booed, but they didn't, and he then said, "How come I don't know you?" and I said, "I don't know; how come I don't know *you*?" and anyhow we shook hands and had lunch together, and he said he thought we would be very good friends, and we did become immediate friends. And toward the end of the week he said, "You know, I'm starting this new group called Capella Nova; would you like to come sing with us?" so I said fine, and I became a member of that singing group.

Phyllis: Could you tell me what year that was?

Dick: That was—I can't tell you exactly, but it was about '76, maybe—around then. Anyhow, at that point I sang with them, and of course he knew I played viol. A year went by, and I was still in Capella Nova, and another year at Hampshire College developed; in the meantime Richard Taruskin had put out *Ogni Sorte Edizioni* [with parts in original notation and scores in modern notation], and he was doing these classes reading original notation. I elected to be in his notation class, and when I first entered this class there were about twenty people altogether; the room was rather small and extremely crowded, but Richard was undaunted, as he always is, and so he produced these pieces. I had already acquired two or three of them, and was rather intrigued about it, and so knew a little bit about it, but never had done it. So we started playing, and he had us read every part on whatever instrument we were playing, and then had us perform. It was kind

of cacophony, because people were confused about clefs, and you would hear fauxbourdons that were not written in the music at all.

Phyllis: Very inventive!

Dick: Very inventive, but he didn't care, and he just said "Onward" and so we did that, and that was the first day. The second day the twenty-odd people had diminished to eight, and the third day there were four of us.

Phyllis: Oh my!

Dick: The four of us lasted the rest of the week. It was just natural attrition, but I learned a tremendous amount in that week, and became very, very intrigued with it. The reason that I became sort of an expert at this is that a year or two later I had two detached retinas, so my eyes became very damaged, as they are to this day. The thing I noticed, however, was that I was able, and am still able, to read early notation much more easily than modern notation. I can read the notes more clearly, partially because everything is encompassed linearly and I can see how the phrases are going, and also the clefs allow me to know the range within which I am playing, and the clefs became no problem at all. In fact I found the clefs to be a help rather than a hindrance.

Phyllis: That is amazing, because most people find them to be very confusing.

Dick: I know. They come at it from the wrong attitude; they don't see it as telling them where the range of the music is, and that that range is in a certain portion of your instrument. It's very easy, once you know that, then you know that very likely there are usually about four strings when you are playing Renaissance music; it immediately confines your concentration to those four strings. So there are many advantages to it; but in my case it was because of my vision that I found I could manage quite well. It was kind of a blessing, and as a result of that, I had become very much enamored with this thing and I wanted to share it with people at workshops, and I just did at this workshop [teaching a weeklong class in early notation at the Conclave]. That doesn't mean I don't like to play consort music; I adore doing that.

But this is a kind of a special thing for me, and now, because of that knowledge I have of early notation, I have just completed a modern edition of ninety-nine *bicinia* from the Rotenbucher book of 1549—a wonderful collection of music from well-known

composers like Isaac, Josquin, Obrecht, and Ockeghem, and lots of anonymous composers, all in original notation. Some of them have very, very tricky and arcane rhythmic patterns, particularly the Isaac pieces; and Josquin does it too in [a piece in] which he has one voice in triple meter while the other is in duple meter; but the triple meter is very difficult because it is very slow to begin with, and then finally it becomes subdivided into smaller note values, and becomes kind of a frenzied thing until it comes to a cadence. It is really quite wonderful—the Josquin piece I'm thinking of. There are Isaac pieces; there is a wonderful mirror canon in which there is a Latin inscription on the top in which it is hinted that this is a mirror canon, [but] it doesn't really tell you that until you have tried it and you see that you can go backwards and forwards. This particular piece had a third part that is a completely independent part that weaves itself in the mirror canon, and so the way that it is played is that that third part goes its own way, one part goes forward, the other goes backward, and when they meet they go in the reverse direction. By the time they're finished the piece is over. It's a wonderful piece. Anyhow, I've been working on this collection for really four years, and I thought it would be easy but it was not at all easy. There are a lot of pieces, and I think Peter Ballinger is going to publish them. [Subsequently published in 1996 as PRB R001 and R002: Erasmus Rotenbucher, *Bicinia Amæna et Florida*, vols. 1 and 2.]

Phyllis: He is doing a wonderful job.

Dick: I think so; he has learned a great deal, and he is quite careful. There are always errors but [in his editions] there are relatively few. So I hope that happens, and it will be wonderful for people who like to play duets.

Phyllis: My husband and I like to do that.

Dick: It [the collection of *bicinia*] has every range: it starts with lots of things for two trebles, or treble and tenor, or two tenors, or tenor and bass, treble and bass; there are lots of pieces for two basses. So it will be a very nice collection for people to have, because the music itself is extremely interesting.

Phyllis: Let's talk about your joining the Society, and how you heard about it.

Dick: Well, again we go back to Richard Taruskin. It was he who . . . said to me . . . , "Are you a member of the Viola da

Gamba Society?" and I said, "What is that?" I didn't know what it was. And he said, "Oh, they have an annual Conclave—I just came from it, and it's fantastic; you *must* join." He almost twisted my arm, and it didn't need too much twisting! Well, I joined, and then the next year was my first Conclave. It was the one in Dayton, I believe; I don't remember the year.

Phyllis: That was 1980.

Dick: . . . So we're talking about fourteen years ago; it was my very first one, and I've come to every one since. It was wonderful to come to a Conclave where everybody played that same instrument, and to play in different consorts with different configurations, sometimes with voices, sometimes not with voices, sometimes six-part consorts, sometimes four-part, and to do recreational playing as well. This was, I thought, terrific. Of course the first time I felt a little bit shy and withdrawn because I didn't know anybody; I felt, "Well, do I belong here?" But I began to meet people, and you always have a little coterie of people who know you at one Conclave, and the whole thing mushrooms, and by the time you have come as many years as I have, most people know who I am. Anyhow, the Conclave is a wonderful, cohesive thing, and I think that this year (I was just counting up) there are 138 participants, including teachers, which is almost a record, if not *the* record. And that really is very, very rewarding to me and encouraging, because sometimes if attendance at the Conclave drops, you think, "Everything is over; the Society is going to pieces!"

Phyllis: That's for the pessimists!

Dick: Well, there are a lot of doom-and-gloom people; in fact last year at Loyola in Los Angeles, the attendance was about 90, and it seemed like that was rather low. It was a wonderful Conclave actually, but people were getting a little depressed, the turnout was so small. But of course a lot depends upon the location. There had been an earthquake scare, and some people were scared of that, and others didn't want to go to the West Coast. Who knows? It's completely unpredictable. But we had a feeling that Raleigh would be an attraction, because we had been here once before, and the attendance was pretty good then. It was at Peace College. But we didn't know that there would be as many. I think it is perhaps because some of the people who didn't

go last year said "I *will* go this year" because it's more accessible, and so on and so forth, and it's a sort of an averaging-out process, and maybe next year won't be as much, but then I have a feeling it will be, and that we will in all likelihood be back in Troy at Russell Sage College. . . .

Restored Troy is different from the Troy I knew as a youngster, when I went to Rensselaer Polytechnic. . . .

Phyllis: I was thinking: if you went to Rensselaer Polytechnic, did you go on in engineering?

Dick: No; I was a business administration student, and I majored in economics. I was told by my professor that I would never make a good economist. He said that I was bright enough, but I just didn't have it in my soul to be an economist. Well, the thing was he thought I wasn't poetic enough; I was very quantitative, I was very good in math, and he said, "You know, math and economics do not mix; you can't do that." Of course he couldn't have been more wrong, because now every economist has to be a mathematician, otherwise he can't do it. It's part of his craft.

After I graduated I went to Columbia where mathematical economics was just emerging, and if it had stayed the way it was, I wouldn't have gotten into it, but because of that I got into mathematical economics and econometrics, and so on and so forth, and got very much involved with it, and later on became an economist for Mobil Oil Corporation, and for the last thirteen years I worked for them. I was the economic specialist for anti-trust cases according to the general focus of the general counsel. So that was very interesting.

The nice thing about that was that we had to deal with professors of economics in universities and so on for expert testimony, so I was working for an oil company but was very much involved with academia because of the juxtaposition of these two things, and that was great fun because I would meet lots of scholars and so on, and be able to really focus on how they might help Mobil in the defense of antitrust negotiations.

But while all of that was happening, I was still very active in the Society. I did the [Ganassi] *Regola Rubertina* translation into English, and was asked to do a translation of Alfred Einstein's history of viol music in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century

Germany. It's a pretty big book, and it's rather turgid in style with sentences that take three pages to finish, or so it seemed. But I loved doing that. I also at one time translated [the introductions to] the five books of Marais; but other people have done that too.

Phyllis: And you were also active in—what's the group that has meetings once a year? I think it's in Massachusetts?

Dick: Oh yes, Aston Magna; I'm on the Board of Directors of Aston Magna, which has a festival every summer. It started out as [having] three concerts, now it is five. They repeat the concert [heard] at Bard College the day before. Aston Magna has a lot of the early instrumentalists that we all know: our own Laura Jeppesen has been in a concert a couple of weeks ago [at Aston Magna] and will be in a concert here tomorrow, and she is sort of the resident gambist, and before her John Hsu was running the organization. Actually Albert Fuller was the first director, and so it initially had a very large Baroque slant to it; later on Albert became bored with just Baroque, and he wanted to expand to later music—Classical and Romantic—although he didn't know very much about it, but was just intrigued by it.

So Aston Magna became broader in its scope. In the meantime Raymond Ericson, who was in the early days their chief harpsichordist (and still is) and was Professor and Dean of Music at Queens College, became intrigued with the idea of Academies which would focus on a particular period of music: it could be French Baroque, or Louis Quatorze, [or] it could be Schubert as it was last time, but a very confined period of time with a specific focus. At the Academy, [held] every other year, he has invited and continues to invite scholars . . . who give papers; some of them are art historians, some of them are physicians who know about medical practice of the time like [Marais's] *L'Opération de la Taille*, and then there are architects; and various kinds of disciplines are brought to bear, and they all give their view of the world of that particular period, and then the musicians sort of invade the area and see how it relates to them. So it is completely interdisciplinary, and what ensues is a very enriching experience for everyone. Historians learn about the music, musicians learn about history and architecture and art, which is very important.

Phyllis: Do they let people just come and listen?

Dick: No, people have to apply for this, and they have to have a reason for coming, not just sort of dilettantism; they really have to have a purpose. I as a Board member do attend, but that's different. It's by application and invitation. But it's a wonderful thing.

At one time I was on the Board of the New York Consort of Viols; I am no longer doing that. And I was on the Board of Directors of Early Music America, but my term expired; and I am somewhat relieved, because being President of the VdGSA is much more time-consuming than I had ever imagined, and I don't resent it, I do like it.

Phyllis: I was just curious about it. When I was President, every so often there would be things to do, but not all the time; I was wondering if that has changed?

Dick: It's completely changed; I am constantly having to put out fires. Or we will [try to] come to a decision about something, and today, because of communication with e-mail and faxes, it can really move more quickly. You know, sometimes you try to call people and you can't reach them, which makes it much it very frustrating, and one gets very annoyed and angry, et cetera. But e-mail and fax make things much easier, and therefore in a sense one has more problems to solve because one is accessible. So you can understand that.

Phyllis: It's interesting, but I didn't find that many problems.

Dick: Well now they are emerging. Or people perceive a problem they didn't see before. Maybe we just glossed over them before: "What about this, what about that? What are we going to do next?" et cetera, et cetera. And one of the things that has encouraged this continuing communication, which I think is very good among the officers and the board members, is the semi-annual meetings which didn't exist many years ago, which force people to say, "We're going to have a meeting in six months; we had better prepare ourselves for these, because we don't have a whole year to wait." So I think it's been a good thing, and I think our contemporary business styles sometimes makes problem-solving easier, but also add to [the volume of] problem-solving.

Phyllis: Well, I guess that's about all the time we have. . . .

ORNAMENTATION IN ENGLISH LYRA VIOL MUSIC

Part II: Shakes, Relishes, Falls, and Other “Graces” for the Left Hand

Mary Cyr

Part I (Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America 34 [1997], pp. 48-66) discussed ornamentation performed with the bow.

In the second part of this study of ornamentation in English lyra viol music, I intend to explore the various types of “graces” (or ornaments) that were performed by the left hand. I shall begin by summarizing briefly the kinds of information we have for studying ornamentation, paying particular attention to sources from the first half of the seventeenth century, since these have received less scrutiny from scholars. By offering explanations of the principal ornament signs found in the manuscript sources and comparing some examples of written ornamentation, I hope to be able to add a few suggestions for how players might add ornamentation where none was indicated.

By any estimation, the sources for the study of ornamentation in English lyra viol music are voluminous; they include several printed treatises as well as numerous manuscript and printed collections of music. It seems hardly surprising, then, that such a wealth of information would also give rise to ambiguities and contradictions. The more we study written graces in English lyra viol music, the more we are reminded that ornamentation was a living art, and that the signs were merely visual cues for the player. It was an improvisatory skill that was essential to good playing and also very personal. One of the reasons for studying the original notation in the manuscript sources, therefore, is to

gain some awareness of how individual the art of gracing one’s playing was.

Sources for Studying Ornamentation: Tables, Treatises, and Manuscripts

Frank Traficante published an important study of approximately seventy manuscript sources of lyra viol music about twenty years ago,¹ in which he identified fifteen manuscripts as documents for ornamentation. In addition to these musical sources, there are at least six tables of ornaments: four in manuscript sources, and two in treatises by John Playford and Christopher Simpson (see Table 1 on page 20). Also significant are certain written instructions on ornamentation. These range from only a sentence or two to more detailed descriptions, such as those found in Thomas Mace’s *Musick’s Monument* (London, 1676). Taken together, these sources cover virtually the entire period within which lyra viol music flourished, and they provide a wealth of examples and directions that players can use to interpret the signs found in other manuscript sources.²

Mention should also be made of the close relationship between lute and lyra viol ornamentation. Although scholars have emphasized the importance of studying both repertoires, few have addressed the correlation between lyra viol sources and late-sixteenth- or early-seventeenth-century lute music and treatises.³

¹Frank Traficante, “Music for Lyra Viol: Manuscript Sources,” *Chelys* 8 (1978–79), 4–22.

²The use of English ornaments signs in viol tablatures that originate outside of England lies outside of the scope of the present study; however, it is a subject that deserves further investigation. In this regard, players may wish to compare in particular ornament signs found in Norwegian manuscripts that include some English music, shown in an appendix to François-Pierre Goy, “The Norwegian Viol Tablatures,” *Chelys* 23 (1994), 69–70.

³Important early studies that present findings from the lute repertoire are those by Janet Dodge, “Ornamentation as Indicated by Signs in Lute Tablature,” *SIMG* 9 (1907–1908), 318–36, and Thurston Dart, “Miss Mary Burwell’s Instruction Book for the Lute,” *Galpin Society Journal* 10 (1957) 3–69 (especially pp. 31–36 on ornamentation), and by the same author, “Ornament Signs in Jacobean Music for Lute and Viol,” *Galpin Society*

One exception is Stanley Buetens, who provides some useful guidelines for interpreting ornament signs that appear in both lute and lyra viol manuscripts.⁴ Buetens' principle that the melodic and rhythmic context offer clues to interpretation is a useful one to apply when players encounter unfamiliar signs or when the interpretation seems ambiguous. A wide-ranging study of ornamentation by Frederick Neumann also includes some lute and viol ornaments, although the subject of English ornamentation generally lies outside the focus of his otherwise valuable work.⁵

Particularly significant for my study then, are the manuscript and printed tables of ornaments intended specifically for the viol. These form an important basis from which to draw comparisons between signs and their interpretations, and to interpret signs whose meanings are unclear. Each of the tables of ornaments listed in Table 1 includes anywhere from a few to as many as sixteen different ornament signs, most of which have titles but not specific realizations.⁶ In this regard, the detailed tables and descriptions of ornaments in treatises by Simpson, Playford, and Mace offer a valuable comparison, for they frequently do provide specific realizations.

Taken together, the seven sources shown in Table 1 represent virtually the entire seventeenth century.⁷ Of course, dates for each

source must be considered only as a guide, since a manuscript itself may have been compiled and used over a period of two or more decades, and printed sources often circulated (or were reprinted) for many years after they were first published. Several scholars have already drawn comparisons between some of these tables of ornaments and related advice from Simpson and Mace.⁸ To my knowledge, the table of ornaments in British Library Additional ms 59869, the so-called Cartwright manuscript, is the only one that has not previously been studied.⁹ One other manuscript source, identified in 1984 by Hermione Abbey,¹⁰ must also be mentioned as an important new source for the study of lyra viol ornamentation. Entitled "Sir Peter Leycester's Book on Music," it is presently located in Chester, England in the Cheshire Record Office, The Castle. Compiled between 1659 (the year that Peter Leycester acquired a set of six viols and a lyra viol) and Leycester's death in 1678, this manuscript includes many written instructions for playing, as well as "A Booke of Lessons for Lyro-Viol," consisting of seventy compositions on eighty-three folios. Since the music in this manuscript is not yet well known to players, I shall include some examples from it and discuss the ornamentation in comparison to examples from the earlier part of the seventeenth century.

Journal 14 (1961), 30–33. Discussions of ornamentation in English lyra viol music were cited in Part I of this article, this *Journal* 34 (1997), 49, note 4.

⁴Stanley Buetens, *Method for the Renaissance Lute* (Instrumenta Antiqua, 2nd ed., 1971), 31–36 and 46–47.

⁵Frederick Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978), 591–604. Neumann does include ornaments from certain English sources, especially Thomas Mace.

⁶I use the word "realization" to signify a precise, note-by-note (or letter-by-letter) indication of how an ornament is to be performed.

⁷Mace does not include a table of ornaments, but he gives lengthy descriptions (with a sign) for each ornament. Because of its obvious significance, I have included his treatise in Table 1. For a study of Egerton 2971, see my article "A Seventeenth-Century Source of Ornamentation for Voice and Viol: British Museum Ms. Egerton 2971," *R.M.A. Research Chronicle* 9 (1971), 53–72. A comparative table of ornaments can be found in my edition of *Toyes, Thumpes, and Ayres* (Montreal, 1986). For a comparison of four relatively late

sources (RCM ms 921, Manchester, Mace, and Simpson), see Carolyn Coxon, "Some Notes on English Graces for the Viol," *Chelys* 2 (1970), 18–22.

⁸A particularly useful comparison of English ornaments can be found in Coxon's article, cited above in note 7. See also my article cited in note 7.

⁹Graham Nelson discusses the provenance and musical contents of the Cartwright manuscript in his article "A Case for the Early Provenance of the Cartwright Lyra-Viol Manuscript," *Chelys* 25 (1996/97), 107–15. Nelson does not discuss the table of ornaments.

¹⁰Hermione Abbey, "Sir Peter Leycester's Book on Music," this *Journal* 21 (1984), 28–44.

Table 1. Tables of ornaments found in seventeenth-century English lyra viol manuscripts and treatises.¹¹

Title or shelf number of source	Place of publication, or present location	Date of publication, or approximate dates covered	Number of signs included, with or without realizations
Egerton 2971	London, British Library	ca. 1600–1625	7 signs (two unreadable); no realizations
Mansell Lyra Viol Manuscript	U L Auc M286 M46992	first half of 17th cent.	10 signs; no realizations
Manchester Lyra Viol Book	Mp Brm/832 Vu51	mid-17th cent.	16 signs; 6 with realizations
Add. 59869 (The Cartwright ms)	London, British Library	second half of 17th cent.	8 signs, no realizations
John Playford, <i>Introduction to the Skill of Musicke</i> ¹²	3rd ed., London	1660	13 signs, with realizations in staff notation
Christopher Simpson, <i>The Division Viol</i>	London	1665	13 signs, with realizations in staff notation
Mace, <i>Musick's Monument</i>	London	1676	no table, but explanations of 10 signs for lute and viol

¹¹I employ the dating of manuscripts assigned by Frank Traficante in his article "Music for Lyra Viol: Manuscript Sources," *Chelys* 8 (1978–79), 4–22.

¹²Franklin B. Zimmerman, preface to the Da Capo reprint of the 12th edition (New York, 1972), p. 15. According to Zimmerman, the third edition of Playford's treatise was the first one to include the table of ornaments, which is ascribed to Dr. Coleman.

By far, the most elaborate tables are those found in Mansell and Manchester.¹³ The number and variety of ornament signs displayed in these two sources demonstrates the extraordinary imagination and inventiveness that was associated with the art of "gracing" one's playing. When performing pieces from these two collections, players will need to study ornaments from the appropriate table in order to interpret specific signs, but for the majority of other lyra viol manuscripts, the situation is less complex. The principal signs used in most manuscript sources can be summarized by referring to the tables from Egerton 2971 and the Cartwright manuscript, which are shown in Table 2 (page 22). Each of these ornaments is described below.

Trills

The terms *trill* and *shake* cover a group of ornaments that have in common a fluctuation in pitch, in most cases between two adjacent notes. Trills may be written out, letter by letter, showing exactly which pitches and note values are to be used, or they may be indicated by a sign above, before, or after the letter. Written-out trills, already discussed in Part I of this article, were used either at cadences or within a phrase, but they appear less frequently in lyra viol music than in division music, probably because of the rather cumbersome repetition of letters that tablature notation requires. The distinction between these two repertoires based on style of notation is by no means clear, however, and there are even examples of a division being written in tablature notation, complete with written-out trills.¹⁴ Nevertheless,

¹³In the present study, I refer to the Mansell Lyra Viol tablature as Mansell and the Manchester Gamba Book as Manchester. See Frank Traficante, *The Mansell Lyra Viol Tablature* (Ph.D. dissertation, U. of Pittsburgh, 1965), 2 vols. (especially vol. 1, chapter 4, 136–52). The tables of ornaments from Manchester and Mansell are reproduced in Martha Bishop, *Tablature for One* (Atlanta, 1982), x.

¹⁴See, for example, the division by Peter Young notated in tablature, but with the ground written in staff notation, in Sir Peter Leycester's Book, ff. 121'–22. Cadential ornaments in that composition are written out in tablature notation.

Table 2. The tables of ornaments from two manuscripts in the British Library (London), Egerton 2971 and Add. 59869.

(a) Robert Downes' table of ornaments from L-BI Egerton ms 2971 (first quarter of the 17th century):

[symbol missing]	relish	}	with ye hand
#	shake		
x	falle		
[symbol missing]	tast	}	with ye bow
⌣	traille		
..	thump		
{	shake		

(b) Table of ornaments from L-BI Add. 59869 (the Cartwright ms), page i (second half of the 17th century):

#	a shake
-· ·	beat
⌣	slur
⌣	tug
∴	relish
/	forefall
;	backfall
x	elevation

trills written with signs are much more common in lyra viol music than are written-out trills.

The ornaments that fall under the general category of trills vary in length and complexity, and several different signs were used to indicate them. Used throughout the seventeenth century, trills are probably the most common ornament found in English lyra viol music. They fall into three basic categories: one for the right hand (called the *shake with the bow*) and two for the left

hand, the *close shake* (a rarely-used type of finger vibrato), and the common trill, called simply a *shake*.

The shake with the bow (marked {c)¹⁵ consists of an intermittent fluctuation of a single pitch, producing a sound close to tremolo;¹⁶ it was probably performed with an undulating motion of the bow hand and sounded similar to vibrato. This type of bowed shake is rarely found in lyra viol music and was probably used sparingly.

The close shake (marked ċ) can be described as a type of two-finger vibrato that was rarely marked in printed or manuscript sources. To execute it, one must hold another finger next to the one producing the note and "Wave your Hand (Exactly) downwards and upwards."¹⁷ In other words, by moving or rocking the hand lightly, so that the higher finger touches the string lightly above the note being played, a vibrato-like sound is produced. Mace also tells us that the ornament had fallen out of fashion by 1676, the year his work was published.¹⁸

The shake could be approached or finished in various ways, but in its simplest form it was an alternation between two notes a half-step or whole-step apart, beginning either on the principal note or the one above. The most common signs for the ornament are a single dot before the note or a sharp sign before, above, or after the note: ·c or #c.¹⁹ The shake is found in both manuscript and printed sources, and it is not necessarily cadential. In fact, as Anthony Woodford has observed, ornament signs rarely occur in the final cadence. When they do, the ornament most likely to be found is the beat or fall (see below for explanations of these ornaments).²⁰ Shakes were used most often where strong fingers

¹⁵In Manchester, the sign # is used for the bowed shake.

¹⁶See Part I of this article, p. 57.

¹⁷Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument*, 109.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹The use of the sign # to mean a shake with the bow in the Manchester manuscript appears to be unique to that source.

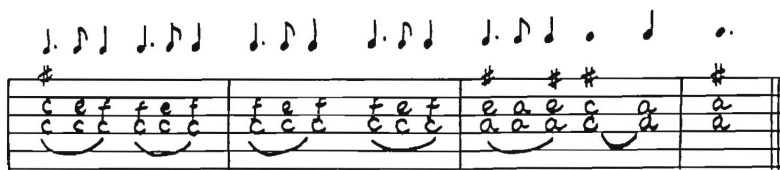
²⁰Anthony Woodford, "Music for Viol in Tablature: Manuscript Sources in the British Museum," *Chelys* (1970), 23–33.

(usually the first and second) could handle the rapid reiteration of notes easily, but open strings were not necessarily avoided. There are no written descriptions that neatly settle the issue of whether the trill ought to begin on the principal note or the note above. Nor do written-out trills provide a definitive clue, since they can be found beginning either way. Because an appoggiatura is often specifically added to a trill with another sign (usually called a *backfall and shake*), my own preference for most short trills is to begin them on the written note.

An example from Sir Peter Leycester's Book demonstrates that even the tuning itself occasionally suggests the use of ornamentation. In this case, for the tuning called "eights" (*fhfhf*, which he also refers to as "bagpipe way"²¹), it appears that slurs and shakes, the latter indicated by the sign #, were both common in this tuning (see example 1).

Example 1. An ornamented passage in "eights" tuning from Sir Peter Leycester's Book (Cheshire Record Office, The Castle, Chester, England, DLT/B 31), fol. 102'. Tuning: *fhfhf*.

"Remember to strike those [that] be linked together in one continued motion of the Bowe: shake your right hand in ye motion evenly and gently, as it were slurring the Bowe on the stringes: for it will goe more sweetly in this tuning: and this tuninge doth require many notes to be strooke in one Bowe for the most part, to make it sweete."



²¹There were several tunings known as bagpipe way, all of which featured some fifths and rarely used the lowest string. See Frank Traficante, "Lyra Viol Tunings," *Acta musicologica* 42 (1970), 204.

Another term that appears to correspond to a type of trill is variously spelled as either *relish* or *rellish*. Although the sign for this ornament is now unreadable in Egerton 2971, its placement near the shake suggests that it belongs with left-hand trills. It may be a type of trill with a termination (more on this below), but the term was probably also used in a more general sense to cover various types of flourishes or decorated trills. A typical written direction showing the context for the use of the word *relish* is the following passage from Sir Peter Leycester's Book (fol. 102):

This mark denotes a Rellish, where ever you see it put. A Rellish is the nimble movinge of a finger on a stringe to make the sound rellish better to the eare.

The trill with termination (marked \ddot{c} or $\dot{c}:$), called variously a *whip* (Egerton 2971), a *relish* (Mansell), a *single relish* (Simpson), or a *double relish* (Mace) is a frequently encountered ornament. This ornament consists of a trill that finishes with a turned ending, and when indicated by a sign, it is bowed in a single stroke. When completely written out in letters, it appears to have been performed with separate bow strokes for each note of the ornament.

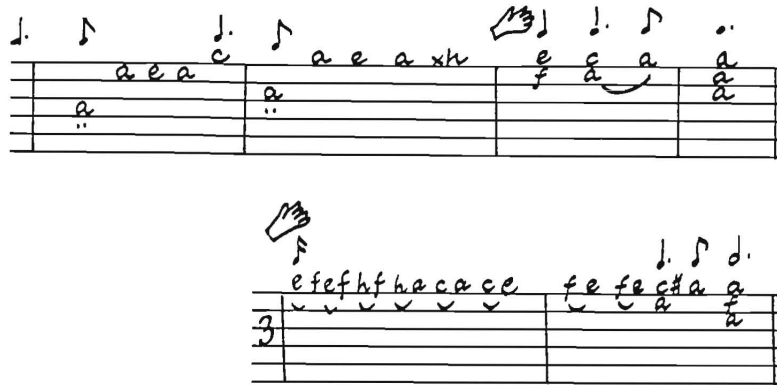
An unusual example from Sir Peter Leycester's Book suggests how the approach to the cadence might be decorated with such a trill in a piece entitled "Mr. Daniels Choyes" by R. Pickering (see Example 2). It appears from the written directions that, despite the notation in two-note slurs, the entire ornament is meant to be taken in a single bow stroke, followed by a shake on the last double stop at the cadence. This bowing appears to be similar to that described in Manchester as a slur with "jobbings or juts" at every note.²²

²²It may also correspond to the "tug" (or "jug"?), which appears to be a bowing indication in the table of ornaments from the Cartwright manuscript (see Table 2).

Example 2. An ornamented cadence in "Mr. Daniels Choyes" by R. Pickering, from Sir Peter Leycester's Book, f. 93'.

Tuning: *fhfhf*.

"A close of a lesson ending in y^e key w^{ch} must be strooke gently & evenly all in one Bowe shaking your Bow lightly on y^e string with your right Arme."



Appoggiaturas

The *fall* or *backfall* (marked $\downarrow c$ or $\downarrow c$ or $\downarrow c$ or $\downarrow \dot{c}$) is an appoggiatura that usually resolves *downward* by a half- or whole-step. Like the shake, it is one of the most frequently used ornaments and may be combined with it. Mansell uses three terms for appoggiaturas, none of which carries a specific realization: a *biet* (sic) and *fall* ($\downarrow c$), a *half-fall* (λc), and a *fall* ($\times c$). The beat and fall is probably an appoggiatura combined with a trill, the same ornament that Simpson calls the *backfall shaken*. An *upward-resolving* appoggiatura, either by half- or whole-step, is usually called a *beat* (marked $\uparrow c$ or $\uparrow c$ or $\uparrow c$ or $\uparrow \dot{c}$), although Mace's term for the same ornament is a *half-fall*. The beat is also a common ornament in both manuscript and printed sources of lyra viol music. Despite the obvious ambiguities inherent in the terms beat and fall, players can usually take a cue from the upward or downward direction of the melodic line when interpreting ornaments as appoggiaturas.

Slides

The *elevation*, or slide from a third below (either a minor or major third, depending upon the mode of the piece), is used frequently in lyra viol manuscripts, and it is generally marked as λe or $\downarrow e$ or $\uparrow e$ or $\times e$. Again, Mace's terminology varies from that of most other sources. He uses the term *whole fall* for the slide of a third, which he says is "much out of use, in These our Days,"²³ an observation that is echoed by Simpson. Although the slide is included in the table of ornaments found in Manchester (as γe), the sign rarely occurs in the music of that source. We may therefore conclude that the slide belongs primarily to music from the first half of the century, and that it probably ought to be used more sparingly, if at all, in lyra viol music from 1650 or later.

Interpreting the Manuscript Sources

The application of some of the foregoing ornaments can be seen by studying a few examples from the lyra viol repertoire. A composition intended for the back (that is, the wood) of the bow from Sir Peter Leycester's Book (Example 3) uses the left-hand thump or pizzicato as well as an ornament marked \times . The appearance of this ornament on the letter b in measure 1 rules out the possibility that it is a slide, and the best alternate interpretation for it would be a beat or upward-resolving appoggiatura. This example may be compared with another version of the same piece from the William Ballet Book, which was shown as Example 12 in Part I of this article. The version in Sir Peter Leycester's Book is considerably more ornate and demonstrates an unusual alternation of the thump with notes that are struck with the bow stick. As is often the case, ornaments occur either on the first note of a phrase, or here commonly also on upbeats, adding a light, playful touch when coupled with the unusual use of the wood of the bow.

Only a few ornamented manuscript versions survive of music that was published during the first two decades of the seventeenth century by composers such as Tobias Hume, Thomas Ford,

²³Mace, 105.

Example 3. Anonymous untitled piece from Sir Peter Leycester's Book, fol. 68. Tuning: *efgh* ("Alfonso way flat").

(Note: The erroneous inversion of the last double stop in m. 6 is in the original.)

"To be played wth y^e backe of y^e Bowe: the Bases [*sic*] w^{ch} are Pricked are to be thumped with y^e finger without y^e use of y^e Bowe."

Alfonso Ferrabosco, and William Corkine.²⁴ These ornamented versions in manuscript are particularly valuable documents, since ornament signs in the printed collections from this period are usually entirely absent. One such example is a fragment of an ornamented version of Hume's "Love's Pashion" (*The First Part of Ayres*, London, 1605), which was included in Silvanus Stirrop's Book, a manuscript dating from the first quarter of the seventeenth century.²⁵ In this version (see Example 4b), the sign #, most likely a trill, is used throughout as the principal ornament sign, especially at the beginnings of phrases, on the first note of a measure, and on long notes. It should be noted that the sign # in this example appears to apply to the note that *precedes* it. Players must examine ornament signs carefully to determine whether they apply to the note preceding or following the sign, since usage varies considerably in the sources. As in Example 3, the × used here appears to represent an appoggiatura, not a slide, judging by the context, and it may apply to the note following it. Also used in the example is a straight line indicating where holds are to be done. The frequent use of a dot under a letter (ç) in this example is somewhat puzzling. Although the dot often meant a thump when placed under a letter, I believe that here it represents a pull stroke of the bow, since it recurs regularly in a manner suggesting a bowing indication.²⁶ It is also interesting to note that trills are sometimes found on open strings (e.g., mm. 1 and 7) and even on three- and four-note chords (mm. 14–15), requiring skillful execution on the player's part. This ornamented fragment of

²⁴For a full list of printed sources of lute music, see Frank Traficante, "Music for the Lute Viol: The Printed Sources," *The Lute Society Journal* 8 (1966), 7–24.

²⁵The identification of this piece as Hume's was made by Pamela J. Willets in her article "Silvanus Stirrop's Book," *R.M.A. Research Chronicle* 10 (1972), 104. She did not discuss the ornament signs found in this example.

²⁶This interpretation has a parallel in lute manuscripts, where the single dot under a note often indicated that the player should pluck with the index finger, and two dots indicated the middle finger. See Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music*, 393–94.

Example 4. "Love's Pashion" by Tobias Hume, in two versions.

Tuning: *fe/fhf*.



(a) As printed in *The First Part of Ayres* (London, 1605).
(Note error in first chord: lowest note should be *a* [open string].)



(b) An ornamented version in Silvanus Stirrop's Book
(L-BI Add. 56279), fol. 11'.

Hume's piece provides an excellent model for how ornaments might be applied to his other published works.²⁷

Thomas Ford's "And if you touch me ile crie" (*Musicke of Sundrie Kinds*, 1607) offers another example of a lyra viol solo that can be found in several manuscript versions with ornaments.²⁸ Example 5 shows Ford's music in three versions: (a) from the 1607 print, (b) from Sir Peter Leycester's Book, and (c) from Silvanus Stirrop's Book. Ford's piece has several measures of 4/4 within the predominating 6/4 meter, and this aspect is treated differently in each of the versions (including the print, where a manuscript notation has been entered in this copy). Ford indicated holds in mm. 11 and 13, but otherwise no ornamentation was included in the printed version. The copy in Sir Peter Leycester's Book uses the alternate title of "Sir Richard Titchbourne's Toy" and includes a thump in m. 2, several slurs, a slide (marked *x*), and several trills (marked *#*). The version in Silvanus Stirrop's Book, which was probably copied nearer to the time of Ford's publication, departs from the original in several passages, where chords are added and the cadences are varied slightly. Ornaments are used more liberally in this version too. The mark *#* (a trill) is added frequently at the beginnings and endings of phrases and on long notes. The sign *x*d, which is used only once (in m. 5), may be a slide, and the sign *b* in m. 11 may indicate an upward-resolving appoggiatura. As in Example 4, the dot under a letter appears to indicate a pull stroke of the bow. Although the two ornamented versions differ considerably, they offer a fascinating comparison of two versions by skilled players whose styles of ornamentation appear to have been quite personal.

²⁷Hume's piece can also be found as an unattributed "allemande" in F-Pn Réserve ms 1111, fol. 246'-47. This version was included as no. 15 in my edition of *Toyes, Thumpes, and Ayres*.

²⁸Ford's piece was published as a duet; however, the first part also bears the indication "This to be plaide alone."

Example 5. Three versions of Thomas Ford's "And if you touche me ile crie." Tuning: *fefhf*.

This to be plaide alone, and so from hence in this part to the end.

(a) Printed version from Ford, *Musicke of Sundrie Kindes*, London, 1607.²⁹

(b) "Sir Richard Titchbourne's Toy" (without attribution), from Sir Peter Leycester's Book, fol. 114'.

²⁹On the second viol part for Ford's piece, the alternate title "Sir Richard Titchbourne's Toy" is indicated in addition to the original title.

(c) An untitled, anonymous composition from Silvanus Stirrop's Book, fol. 8.³⁰

As we have already seen, each lyra viol manuscript presents certain challenges and peculiar problems of interpretation. A few general observations may provide a starting point for interpreting the signs and for adding ornamentation where none is written:

1) The most frequently encountered signs are those for the trill or shake (# or ·), and the elevation or slide from a third below (+ or ×, although the latter mark has other interpretations as well).

³⁰The identification as Ford's composition was made by Willets, "Silvanus Stirrop's Book," 103. The piece is also found in Manchester, p. 41. The ornamented version from Manchester was included as no. 17 in my edition of *Toyes, Thumpes, and Ayres*.

These ornaments are suited to most types of pieces, both slow and fast, and are often used at the beginning of a phrase and to accent important melodic notes.

2) The elevation (+ or ×) or slide from a third below was used primarily during the first quarter of the century, and it often occurs in pieces where no other ornamentation is used. In the latter part of the century, according to Mace, it fell out of fashion. The slide can also be performed from a third above (the double backfall, according to Mace), and it may finish on an open string.

3) The lower appoggiatura or beat (b–c) is frequently used on the first or last note of a strain, especially on one note of a chord, or on the lower note of a unison at a cadence.

4) On the frequency of ornaments, Sir Peter Leycester's *Book* offers succinct advice to the player: "Grace your Musique by falls & Rellishes as oft as you can" (p. 38).

Ornamentation is a complex art that adheres neither to strict rules nor to unvarying patterns. Within the limits of a given time period, repertoire, locale, or a single composer's works, we may be able to define some of the boundaries that represent a common practice or style of ornamentation, but more often than not, there remain some unanswered questions. Even with early treatises and written accounts to amplify our understanding, ornamentation comes to life at the moment of realization, and it cannot always be accurately represented with symbols. Ornamentation remains a fluid art that has continually developed and changed, leading Roger North to observe that attempting to describe how players ornamented is "the hardest task that can be."³¹

³¹John Wilson, ed., *Roger North on Music* (London: Novello, 1959), 149.

LUDWIG CHRISTIAN HESSE AND THE BERLIN VIRTUOSO STYLE

Michael O'Loughlin

The importance of Ludwig Christian Hesse (1716–72), the only gambist ever to work in the Prussian *Hofkapelle* after its reinstatement by Frederick the Great in 1740, can hardly be overestimated. Not one original composition can be attributed with certainty to him,¹ yet he was responsible for a large part of the highly significant corpus of gamba music of the Berlin School. The Berlin gamba repertoire comprises about thirty-five works, most of them major sonatas or concertos in three movements, preserved in about forty-five manuscript copies. This music has remained relatively unknown, since none of it was published in the eighteenth century, and very little has been published in this century. Whereas the well-known and well-researched French suites of the "golden age" were published for the enjoyment of amateur players, the Berlin works were intended for private performance, largely by Hesse, at the Berlin courts.

Hesse was a player of extraordinary ability: the few contemporary accounts of his prowess, considered together with the internal evidence to be found in the gamba music of the Berlin court, allow us to rank him along with Jean-Baptiste Forqueray *le fils* (1699–1782) and Carl Friedrich Abel (1723–1787) as one of the last three great virtuosos of the viola da gamba. His very existence as gambist among the professional musicians of the Berlin court from 1742 to 1763 set this court apart from other German courts at the time, and his presence in Berlin after 1763 continued to influence composers.

The following section of an article by Johann Adam Hiller, published during Hesse's lifetime in 1766, will serve as an introduction to this remarkable musician:

¹The attribution by Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM) of Am.B. 585 to Hesse must be considered doubtful. See below, p. 59ff.

In the service of His Royal Highness the Prince of Prussia are the following musicians:

Mr. Christian Ludwig Hesse, viola da gambist, from Darmstadt; a son of the formerly equally famous gambist and later War Councilor Mr. Hesse in Darmstadt, and his wife, who was famous in the former German Theater as a very fine singer. The skill, attractiveness and fire in performance that our Mr. Hesse possesses to such a high degree make him, in our time, incontestably the greatest gambist in Europe.²

Hesse must have been the star of this small band, since the next member, a violinist named Müller, is described only by one short sentence, and the other three members (a violinist and two clarinetists!) are not even named.

A player whom Hiller could praise as the greatest gambist in Europe at a time when Forqueray and Abel were still alive certainly deserves investigation. An attempt to piece together a biography of Hesse stumbles quickly on two problems: the original sources of information on him are few, and the modern secondary sources conflict with each other and with the original sources.

The musical community of Berlin, where Hesse spent almost all of his thirty-year career, was insular and conservative. At a time when great numbers of sonatas for middle-class amateurs were being published by many other musicians, Hesse was not known as a composer. His activities were probably little known outside Berlin and Darmstadt, and therefore occasioned little critical comment. The amount of contemporary written information available on him is small; however, when we consider it, together with the evidence from the many surviving copies and

²"Bey seiner königl. Hoheit dem Prinzen von Preußen sind als Musici in Diensten. Herr Christian Ludwig Hesse, Viola da Gambist, aus Darmstadt; ein Sohn des ehemals so berühmten Gambisten und nachherigen Kriegsraths Hrn Hesse in Darmstadt, und seiner auf dem ehemaligen deutschen Theater, als eine sehr brave Sängerin, berühmt gewesenen Gemahlinn. Die Fertigkeit, Nettigkeit und das Feuer in der Ausführung, welches unser Herr Hesse in so hohem Grade besitzt, machen ihn, zu unseren Zeiten, unstreitig zu dem größten Gambisten in Europa." Johann Adam Hiller, "Bey seiner königl. Hoheit dem Prinzen von Preußen sind als Musici in Diensten," *Wöchentliche Nachrichten* 11 (1766), 81.

arrangements in his hand, and the many other compositions that were written for him, we can gain some sort of picture of this extraordinary musician.

There are four published references to Hesse from the eighteenth century: one by Friedrich Wilhelm Marburg, two by Johann Adam Hiller, and one by Ernst Ludwig Gerber.³ Unpublished contemporary sources include the files and payment lists from the *Hofkapelle* in Darmstadt; unfortunately many of these have not survived the wars of this century.⁴ An important source for Hesse's time in Berlin is the collection of payment lists for Frederick's *Hofkapelle*, which have survived almost in their entirety.⁵

During the nineteenth century, Ernst Pasqué was able to study the then still extant documents from the Darmstadt court. His history of the Darmstadt court music was published in installments in the popular magazine *Die Muse* (Darmstadt 1853–54).⁶ Pasqué has provided the most complete and detailed biography of Ludwig Christian Hesse in existence, and since much of the later comment on Hesse is based on it, I will quote and examine it at some length later in this article. Before venturing into the turbulent waters that have flowed from Pasqué's essay, I will attempt a brief biography of Hesse, based on the few facts about which we can be reasonably certain.

Ludwig Christian Hesse was born in Darmstadt on November 8, 1716, the third child of two of the court's leading musicians,

³Friedrich Wilhelm Marburg, "Nachricht von dem gegenwärtigen Zustände der Oper und Musik des Königs," *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* 1 (1754), 75–84. J. A. Hiller, "Bey seiner königl. Hoheit," 81. J. A. Hiller, "Hesse (Ernst Heinrich)," *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Musikgelehrten und Tonkünstler* 1 (Leipzig, 1784), 165–71. Ernst Ludwig Gerber, "Hesse (Ernst Christian)," *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler* 1 (Leipzig, 1790), 690–91.

⁴Elisabeth Noack, *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts vom Mittelalter bis zur Goethezeit*. Beiträge zur Mittelrheinischen Musikgeschichte 8 (Mainz: Schott, 1967), 8.

⁵Geheimes Staatsarchiv Berlin, Hauptabteilung I, Repositur 36, 2435–90.

⁶Ernst Pasqué, "Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Darmstadt. Aus Urkunden hergestellt von Ernst Pasqué. VII. Zeit Ernst Ludwigs. (1688–1739.)," *Die Muse* 2 (1854), 196–200.

gambist Ernst Christian Hesse (1676–1762) and his second wife, singer Johanna Elisabeth Döbricht (1692–1786). In 1784 Hiller judged Hesse senior to have been “indisputably the greatest gambist we had had up to his time,”⁷ and according to Noack, Döbricht “was considered the finest German woman singer of her day.”⁸

Unlike his son, Hesse senior flourished in the “golden age” of the gamba, and made a major international career. During his lifetime, when the instrument and its music were brought to an unparalleled degree of refinement and elegance in France, Darmstadt was one of the few centers outside that country where gamba playing reached a similarly high standard. The tradition commenced in 1686, when the virtuoso gambist August Kühnel (1645–c. 1700) was appointed by Landgravine Elisabeth Dorothea as director of instrumental music, with the same salary as *Kapellmeister* Briegel.⁹ Kühnel left again in 1688, but in his short time in Darmstadt he was able, according to Elisabeth Noack, to inspire the young Landgrave Ernst Ludwig with his gamba playing.¹⁰ The Landgrave sought a suitable replacement, and in 1692 he discovered and encouraged the sixteen-year-old virtuoso from Thuringia, Ernst Christian Hesse.

Ernst Christian Hesse traveled widely on study and concert tours, but accepted no appointment outside Darmstadt during his long and illustrious career.¹¹ His first trip after appointment to the *Hofkapelle* in Darmstadt was to Paris, the acknowledged center of gamba playing. He stayed there at the Landgrave’s expense from 1698 to 1701, studying with the instrument’s two greatest masters, Marin Marais (1656–1728) and Antoine Forqueray the elder (1642–1745). Late in the eighteenth century a story concerning his activities in Paris began

⁷Hiller, “Hesse (Ernst Heinrich),” 170.

⁸Elisabeth Noack, “Döbricht, Johanna Elisabeth,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), 5:516.

⁹Noack, *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts*, 157.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 158.

¹¹Noack, “Hesse, Ernst Christian,” *New Grove*, 8:536.

to circulate, and was published by Cramer, Hiller, and Gerber.¹² The anecdote is well known, but amusing enough to be worth repeating here. Apparently Hesse’s two masters were antagonistic, so Hesse concealed from each the fact that he was studying with the other, presenting himself to one as Hesse and to the other as Sachs. Each master boasted to the other of his outstanding student, and it was not until the concert arranged for the purpose of comparing the two students that Hesse’s ruse was discovered. Soon after this event, relates Hiller, the young virtuoso found it advisable to leave Paris!

Hesse senior had twenty children, but surprisingly, only Ludwig Christian was to become a professional musician. We have no definite information about Ludwig Christian’s youth, except that he studied gamba with his father.¹³ Records of the Martin Luther University in Halle show that he enrolled in the University of Jena on October 4, 1734, and continued his studies in Halle, where he enrolled as a law student on July 8, 1737. According to Pasqué he soon returned to Darmstadt, and was appointed by Landgrave Ernst Ludwig as government lawyer and chamber musician in 1738.¹⁴ In January 1740 the new Landgrave, Ludwig VIII, was forced to tighten the purse-strings, and many of the twenty-four members of the Darmstadt *Hofkapelle* had to take a reduction in pay or a deterioration of conditions. Ludwig Christian Hesse appears on the new payroll of 1740, and was still to receive 400 Gulden per year, the highest remuneration apart from *Capellmeister* Graupner and *Concertmeister* Endler. The list was given to Graupner with the following stipulation:

Thereby to inform the advocate Hesse in particular, that the 400 Gulden allocated to him will not be paid except under the condition that he should present himself for service at any time not only in the church music, or wherever else in Our princely chapel you [Graupner] deem it necessary, but also in the court,

¹²Carl Friedrich Cramer, “Musicalische Anekdoten,” *Magazin der Musik* 1 (1783), 745. Hiller, “Hesse (Ernst Heinrich),” 170. Gerber, “Hesse (Ernst Christian),” 690–91.

¹³Hiller, “Hesse (Ernst Heinrich),” 169–70.

¹⁴Pasqué, “Geschichte,” 197.

whenever We would demand to hear him before Us with his instrument.¹⁵

The new order must have been difficult for the musicians, and Noack lists three who left to make their careers elsewhere.¹⁶ Ludwig Christian Hesse soon went to Berlin, where we find him in Frederick the Great's employment from 1741 until August 31, 1763, with the possible but unlikely exception of the year June 1, 1762 to May 31, 1763, for which the record is lost. This information comes from a long series of payment records, now kept in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv in Berlin, for Frederick's *Hofkapelle* during his entire reign from 1740 until 1786.¹⁷ The records are for all musicians, singers, dancers, and ancillary personnel, each year being reckoned from Trinity, which is for this purpose clearly defined on several of the records as June 1. The year is divided into four quarters starting on this date, named *Crucis*, *Lucia*, *Reminiscere*, and *Trinitas*.

Since Hesse does not appear in the record for 1740–41, it is probable that he officially joined the *Hofkapelle* after June 1, 1741. Unfortunately there is no detailed record for 1741–42, only a general balance sheet. It is possible that no detailed account for this year was made, since the record for 1744–45 uniquely separates the musicians into three groups: "Den 1. Capell-Bedienten" (to the original *Kapelle* employees), "Denen neuen

¹⁵"Dabey insbesondere dem Adv. Hessen zu publiciren, daß ihme die ausgeworffene 400 Gld. nicht anders als mit der condition, daß er sich sowohl bey der Kirchen Music oder sonsten, da ihr ihn bey unser Fürstl. Capell nöthig befindet, als auch bey Hoffe, wenn wir ihn vor Uns selbst mit seinem instrument zu hören verlangeten, jeder Zeit zur Auffwartung mit einfinden sollte, gereicht wurden." Quoted in Pasqué, "Geschichte," 197–98; Willibald Nagel, "Zur Geschichte der Musik am Hofe von Darmstadt," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 32 (1900), 62; and Noack, *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts*, 221.

¹⁶Noack, *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts*, 220–23.

¹⁷The years 1742–87, with many duplicates, are kept in the Königliche Hausarchiv, Hauptabteilung I, Repositor 36, Nos. 2435–90. The year 1740–41 was formerly in Rep. 12 B, No. 3, and has been published in Heinrich Miesner, "Beziehungen zwischen den Familien Stahl und Bach," *Bach Jahrbuch* 30 (1933) 75–76. The year 1741–42 is missing, but is partly covered by the record for the year 1742–43.

Capell-Bedienten, so anno 1741 zugekommen" (to the new *Kapelle* employees, who commenced in 1741), and "Denen letzteren Capell-Bedienten, so anno 1742 zugekommen." Hesse is listed in the second group, those who commenced in 1741.

From June 1742 onwards, Frederick's accountant settled into a routine with few variations. Sometimes a quarter is further divided into three months, for the purpose of deducting a month's pay for a musician's absence. Hesse received over his entire tenure an unvarying sum of 300 Reichsthaler per year, divided into 75 Rtl. per quarter. This appears to have been the standard rank-and-file rate. A few members, particularly some of the viola, double-bass, and bassoon players, received less; this was perhaps (hopefully!) an indication of the part-time nature of their employment. A few were more handsomely rewarded: for example, in 1763–64, Hesse's last year, C. P. E. Bach received 500 Rtl., cellist Mara received 600 Rtl., Franz Benda received 800 Rtl., Concertmaster Johann Gottlieb Graun received 1,200 Rtl., and Frederick's private teacher Quantz was paid 2,000 Rtl. The king's star Italian singers averaged also about 2,000 Rtl.

In 1763 Hesse was paid the usual 75 Rtl. for the *Crucis* quarter, which extended from June 1 to August 31. His position is then listed as vacant for September, October, and November 1763—that is, for *Lucia*. The 75 Rtl. then reappear under his name for the quarters *Reminiscere* and *Trinitas*, but a special note indicates that the 150 Rtl. for these two quarters were actually paid to the cellist Grauel, who commenced on January 9, 1764 and remained in the *Kapelle* for several years thereafter. Thus the last professional gambist in the Berlin court orchestra, probably in any major orchestra, was replaced by a cellist.

The payment records do not identify any members of the *Hofkapelle* by their first names; identification by instrument commences in 1763–64, Hesse's last year, in which he is listed among the violoncellists. A further confusing factor arises in 1753–54 and reappears in each year until 1761–62: an entry of 300 Rtl. which is normal in every way and is reckoned along with all of the others as expenditure, but which is identified not by a name but by the phrase "von den [*sic*] Hesse an den ältern Benda" (from Hesse to the older Benda). The older Benda is of course

Franz (1709–1786), so called to distinguish him from his brother Joseph (1724–1804) who was also a member of the *Hofkapelle*. But what had he to do with Hesse?

In fact there were two members of the *Hofkapelle* called Hesse. In 1763–64 they are identified as “Hesse Sen” and “Hesse Jun,” and after this year the latter still continues to be identified as “Hesse Jun” or “dem jüngeren Hesse” for some years, in spite of the absence of Ludwig Christian Hesse. Fortunately it is possible to identify both players through an article by Marburg that gives the full name, instrument, and home town or region of each member of the *Hofkapelle* in 1754. Marburg identifies “Hr. Christian Ludwig [*sic*] Hesse, Gambist, aus Darmstadt” and “Hr. Leonhard Hesse, Violinist, aus dem Pommerschen.”¹⁸ The latter was still in the orchestra in 1766, when Hiller identified him in a similar list among the violinists as “Herr Johann Leonhard Hesse, aus Stargard in Pommern.”¹⁹ Presumably the king sponsored the young violinist, who studied and probably lodged with Franz Benda, the senior violinist at the court after concertmaster Johann Gottlieb Graun. This would account for Benda receiving, on paper at least, the full 300 Rtl. There was a precedent for such royal support: for instance, in 1744–45 Johann Gottlieb Graun received 360 Rtl. extra “Vor den Russen, welchen Seine Königl. Maj. informieren lassen” (for the Russian for whom His Royal Majesty provides training).

Unlike other members of the *Hofkapelle*, Hesse was never away on leave. His lifestyle contrasts greatly with that of his father, who traveled widely and for long periods, and played for royalty all over Europe. Ludwig Christian is not recorded as having played anywhere else, although he must have been as good a player as his father; we can conclude this not only from Hiller’s

¹⁸Marburg, “Nachricht von dem gegenwärtigen Zustände,” 75–84. The given name “Leonard” is omitted in the original article, but added in a list of corrections in “Fortsetzung der Nachricht von dem berlinischen Operntheater,” *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge* 1 (1754), 503.

¹⁹J. A. Hiller, “Verzeichniß der Personen, welche gegenwartig die königliche preußische Capellmusik ausmachen, im Julius 1766,” *Wöchentliche Nachrichten* 10 (1766), 76.

assessment of him but also from the highly virtuosic nature of the music written for him. As we know from Burney, the Berlin orchestra enjoyed a high standard, and the conditions must have been at least reasonable for a musician such as C. P. E. Bach, with his high reputation and many successful publications, to remain there for twenty-eight years. Ludwig Christian Hesse would have found the professional climate much harsher for a traveling virtuoso gambist than his father, who was forty years older and flourished in an age when the instrument was still fashionable. The other courts had almost no use for gambists: in Marburg’s lists of 307 musicians in twelve other German court orchestras over the years 1754–57,²⁰ the instrument appears only once, played as a second instrument by the cellist Streicher, in Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt.²¹ In Berlin, the position of gambist must have existed only because Hesse was there to fill it; Hesse probably considered himself fortunate to have found in Frederick a monarch who had the will and the means to indulge an old-fashioned whim.

What did Hesse actually do in the *Hofkapelle*? There is for the time a disproportionate amount of music for viola da gamba written by the *Hofkapelle* members, and most of it would have been played by him. Those more difficult pieces written in what I will identify later in this article as the Berlin virtuoso style could only have been played by him. However, during the Carnival season the major part of the musicians’ work must have been in the opera. The scores and main sets of parts for the operas that were performed in Berlin do not display evidence of a separate part for viola da gamba. However, the Königliche Hausbibliothek (the private library of the ruling members of the house of Hohenzollern in Prussia) contains under separate shelfmarks gamba arrangements of nine of the twenty-eight operas, almost all by Carl Heinrich Graun, which were performed between 1742 and 1756. These will be discussed in more detail below: in general they appear to be *Hausmusik* arrangements, but the possibility

²⁰Marburg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge* 1–3 (1754–57).

²¹Marburg, “Hochfürstl. Schwarzburg-Rudolstädtische Capelle,” *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge* 3 (1757), 79.

that Hesse used some of them in the opera cannot be ruled out. The payment record for 1763–64, where he is listed among the cellists, may provide a clue: perhaps he also played the cello, or perhaps he played the viol along with the cellists, the viola players or even the violinists. (Hesse could easily have read violin parts: the viola da gamba parts in Berlin chamber music are mostly written in treble clef to be played an octave lower, and the violin as well as the viola appears as alternative instrument to the gamba.)

Not long before his forty-seventh birthday in 1763, after twenty-two apparently peaceful years in Frederick's *Hofkapelle*, Hesse moved on. Whether he went back to Darmstadt, where his father had died the previous year and his mother still lived, or whether he remained in Berlin, we do not know. He may have immediately commenced his employment with Friedrich Wilhelm, Prince of Prussia, who at the age of nineteen may have been in a position to start up a small *Kapelle* or at least engage Hesse as gamba teacher and music director. In any case, the article by Hiller quoted above establishes that he was certainly in the prince's employment by September 1766. Friedrich Wilhelm's later success as a cello player is well known, as is the fact that Mozart and Beethoven dedicated works to him. At this stage, however, it seems he was still a keen viol player.²²

²²Readers may have noticed that Hiller did not name the prince of Prussia who employed Hesse. In his article on the Hesse family in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (MGG), Karlheinz Pauls was still uncertain as to whom Hiller had in mind, referring only to "a prince of Prussia" (my italics) ("Hesse, Ernst Christian," MGG 6 [Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 1957], 317–19). At this point it will be valuable to clear any confusion regarding the many and various princes of or in Prussia. Only males could ascend the throne: Frederick II, the oldest son of Friedrich Wilhelm I (the "Barracks King"), became king on his father's death in 1740. August Wilhelm (1722–1758) was the oldest of Frederick's three younger brothers. In 1744 Frederick signed an official decree naming August Wilhelm as heir to the throne (Charlotte Pängels, *Königskinder im Rokoko: die Geschwister Friedrichs des Großen* [Munich: Callwey, 1976], 334). The decree states that August Wilhelm thereby gained the unique right to be named and referred to as "the Prince of Prussia" without use of his given names. His two younger brothers had the titles "Prince Heinrich of Prussia" and "Prince Ferdinand of Prussia." Since Frederick had no children, the unique title of "Prince of Prussia" passed to

Hesse remained with the prince at least until late 1770, probably 1771. His duties were to perform in the prince's small *Kapelle*—of which, to judge by the relative significance given to him in Hiller's article, he was probably the leader—and to give the prince instruction in viola da gamba playing. Some time in 1771 or 1772, Hesse left Berlin and returned to Darmstadt for the last time. He died there on September 15, 1772.

There are two rich and interrelated sources of information on Hesse's creative activities and duties during his time with Friedrich Wilhelm: the letters from Jean-Baptiste Forqueray to the prince, and the prince's music collection, which today forms part of the Königliche Hausbibliothek.

Between 1767 and 1769, Friedrich Wilhelm engaged in correspondence in French with Jean-Baptiste Forqueray about viol playing. The letters from the prince to the virtuoso have been lost, but five letters from Forqueray to the prince exist, and have been published by Yves Gérard.²³ The longest letter, which has also appeared in this *Journal* in an English translation by John Rutledge, contains much information on the playing technique and construction of the viol.²⁴ In this letter Forqueray writes:

I have no recollection, my Lord, of having heard of Monsieur Hes, neither from my father nor from anyone else, but I am no less persuaded that he is an able man; his principles cannot have been other than excellent and he will certainly have passed on the same to Your Royal Highness.²⁵

August Wilhelm's oldest son, Friedrich Wilhelm (1744–1797), on August Wilhelm's death in 1758. Thus it is clear that the Prince of Prussia referred to by Hiller in 1766 was Friedrich Wilhelm, who became king on Frederick's death in 1786.

²³Yves Gérard, "Notes sur la fabrication de la viole de gambe et la manière d'en jouer, d'après une correspondance inédite de Jean-Baptiste Forqueray au Prince Frédéric-Guillaume de Prusse," *Recherches sur la musique française classique* 2 (1961–62), 165–71.

²⁴John Rutledge, "A Letter of J.-B.-A. Forqueray, Translated and with Commentary," *JVdGSA* 13 (1976), 12–16.

²⁵"Je ne me souviens point, Monseigneur, d'avoir entendu parler de Monsieur Hes à mon père n'y à personne, mais je n'en suis pas moins persuadé qu'il est un habile homme, il ne peut avoir eu que de très excellents

Neither Gérard nor Rutledge was able to identify Monsieur Hes, but Gérard reported that the spelling was doubtful. Spelling, especially of names, was not standardized in the eighteenth century: many variants that could be similarly pronounced were used. Given that a French person such as Forqueray would have pronounced "Hesse" as one syllable, not two as in the German manner, it is easy to see how such a variant on Hesse's name could arise. Even in Berlin, he appears in two sources as "Heß."²⁶ Friedrich Wilhelm would have known that Hesse's father had studied with Forqueray's father in Paris; Forqueray's reference to his father may be in response to a comment or question from the prince concerning this. Hesse is not named elsewhere in the Forqueray letters, but Forqueray does make another reference to Friedrich Wilhelm's teacher:

I do not doubt at all that the person who has the honor of giving him instructions is capable of conveying the style of my pieces. It is simply a matter, My Lord, of fingering them correctly: that is the main thing.²⁷

Forqueray also sent the prince several pieces (which have since unfortunately disappeared), carefully graded for his instruction.

Along with his own pieces, Forqueray also sent or promised to send the prince several of the latest operas that had appeared at the *Opéra Comique* in Paris. He writes:

I have the honour to send Your Highness *Lucile* [by Grétry; premiere January 5, 1769], a small opera in one act, which has had the greatest success in our *Opéra Comique* in Paris. . . . A fortnight ago an opera appeared which has the title *Le Déserteur* [by Monsigny; premiere March 6, 1769]. . . . This work, which is in three acts, earns the approbation of the connoisseurs, one hopes that it will be printed immediately; I will not fail to

principes et par conséquent les donner de même à Votre Altesse Royale." Gérard, "Notes," 166. Translation from Rutledge, "Letter," 13.

²⁶D B KHM 2255, 2263.

²⁷"Je ne doute nullement que la personne qui a l'honneur de luy enseigner ne soit très capable de luy donner le goût de mes pièces, il est question, Monseigneur, que de les bien doigter, c'est le principal." Gérard, "Notes," 167. Translation from Rutledge, "Letter," 15.

send it to Your Highness. In the last three or four months, seven or eight *Opéra-Comiques* have been given that have absolutely not succeeded. I will offer him [Your Highness] only those that deserve to be presented to him.²⁸

Friedrich Wilhelm could not have heard these operas in the conservative royal opera in Berlin, which gave only Italian operas, almost all by *Kapellmeister* Graun. He must have been happy to receive them from Forqueray, and may have had other sources of them. The Königliche Hausbibliothek (royal library of the house of Hohenzollern) in Berlin contains numerous examples, both in manuscript and in the printed editions to which Forqueray refers. Both of those mentioned above by Forqueray, and many others, are found in the library in a fascinating series of *Hausmusik* arrangements by Hesse, for one or two gambas, with or without bass.

As with all of the collections held in the former Preußische Staatsbibliothek, the music collection of the Königliche Hausbibliothek suffered great losses during the Second World War.²⁹ In 1895, when Georg Thouret compiled his catalogue of the Königliche Hausbibliothek, there were at least nineteen volumes under fourteen shelfmarks containing mainly *Opéra-Comiques*, and at least three volumes each containing one opera by Carl Heinrich Graun, all in gamba arrangements by Hesse.³⁰ Thouret was evidently able to identify Hesse's hand, since he correctly

²⁸"J'ay l'honneur d'envoyer à Votre Altesse Royale, *Lucile*, petit Opéra en un acte, qui a eu le plus grand succès sur notre théâtre de l'Opéra Comique de Paris. . . . Il paroît depuis quinze jours un Opéra Comique qui a pour titre, *Le Déserteur*. . . . Cet ouvrage, qui est en trois actes, captive tous les suffrages des Connoisseurs, on espère qu'il incessamment gravé; je ne manqueray pas de le faire tenir à Votre Altesse. Il a été donné depuis trois ou quatre mois, sept ou huit *Opéra Comique* qui n'ont point réussi. Je ne lui proposeray que ceux qui seront dignes de lui être présentés." Gérard, "Notes," 168–69.

²⁹*Verlagert, verschollen, vernichtet: das Schicksal der im 2. Weltkrieg ausgelagerten Bestände der Preußischen Staatsbibliothek* (Berlin: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1995), 23–24.

³⁰Georg Thouret, *Katalog der Musiksammlung auf der Königlichen Hausbibliothek im Schlosse zu Berlin* (Leipzig, 1895; facs. rpt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1983).

attributed some manuscripts to Hesse, even where the name is not present on the manuscript; however, he did not always do so. It is therefore now impossible to ascertain how many volumes of Hesse arrangements have been lost, or have gone missing; however, they must number at least three, containing twenty-three operas.³¹ Thouret's catalogue shows that Hesse arranged no less than seventy-two French operas, almost all complete, plus ten motets by Campra, and several opera sinfonias and dances.

The volume of the work shows that the prince kept Hesse very busy during his time at the court. The instrumentation is rarely defined exactly, but the general idea is clear; the works were meant to be played together by Hesse and the prince, with or without other musicians. The title pages, each pasted on the front cover, all follow a similar pattern, the most information being provided by KHM 2255:

Castor et Polux [*sic*] de Monsieur Rameau
Zemide, et Phaetuse de Monsieur
ISO, le tout extrai, et acomo
dé pour etre Joué a deux
Violes
par
Monsieur Heß
ordinaire de la Musique de
S. A. R. M. L. P. d. P.

[=Son Altesse Royale Monsieur Le Prince de Prusse]

Most of the titles contain a list of pieces, then the word "Viole," then "par Monsieur Hesse" or some variant of this, followed finally by a date.

The arrangements provide information on the period of Hesse's tenure with the crown prince, and on the gamba-playing period of the prince's life. Since such works as *Zaïde* by Royer and *Les fêtes d'Hébé* by Rameau were performed and published as early as 1739, a starting date for Hesse's arrangements or for his

³¹KHM 2258, 2260, 2261.

appointment at Friedrich Wilhelm's court can still not be established. Hiller's 1766 article remains the earliest documentation of Hesse's presence among the prince's musicians, and we do not know what he did between September 1763 and 1766. Fortunately many of the volumes carry dates, between January 3, 1767 and May 23, 1770. However, Hesse's tenure with the prince can be extended even further, probably into 1771, by checking the works found in two of the undated volumes. *Les deux avares* by Grétry (KHM 1974) was not premiered until October 27, 1770, and the same composer's *L'amitié à l'épreuve* (KHM 1971) was premiered on November 13, 1770. These works were published in 1771 and 1772 respectively, but both were present in the library in manuscript copies that could possibly have predated their publication.

Gérard supposes that Friedrich Wilhelm gave up the gamba and his first wife at around the same time, in 1769.³² We are now able to say that he was still playing it in 1771, possibly longer. Hesse was replaced as the prince's private teacher by the cellists Carlo Graziani (d. 1787) and Jean-Pierre Duport (1741–1818). The latter arrived in Berlin in 1773, and the former may have been there before then.³³ The Königliche Hausbibliothek contains many autographs and manuscript copies of cello sonatas and concertos by these virtuosi. The prince had in fact made his acquaintance with the cello long before: the library also contains a book of very basic exercises written in a childish hand, clearly for cello, which is identified as belonging to Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm!³⁴ As long as Hesse was around, the prince seems to have preferred the viol. His abandonment of it probably had more to do with his teacher's departure for Darmstadt and death soon after, than with his divorce. He would hardly have been able to find a professional viol player as replacement for Hesse, so he moved with the times and returned to the cello.

³²Gérard, "Notes," 171.

³³Guido Salvetti, "Graziani, Carlo," *New Grove*, 7:654. Gerard Béhague, "Jean-Pierre Duport," *New Grove*, 5:731–32.

³⁴KHM 6442.

Marred as it is by large gaps, the above account of Ludwig Christian Hesse's life at least has the advantage of being based closely on the known facts and reliable contemporary sources. The same cannot be said of the most comprehensive existing biography of Hesse, the article by Pasqué that was published in the Darmstadt periodical *Die Muse* in 1854. However, Pasqué did have access to a different set of sources, and he was much closer in time to the period he describes (although Hesse had no children, Pasqué mentions several descendants of Hesse's siblings who were still living in Darmstadt at the time). Since his biography has been relied upon by more recent writers on Hesse, it is worth quoting at length and subjecting to some examination:

His father had, since he showed talent, taught him the viola da gamba even as a boy, but proposed to send him like his other children into government service. To this end he sent him to the university in Halle in 1737, in order to study law. Prince August Wilhelm of Prussia was also there. The prince was greatly pleased by Hesse's musical talent, and offered him a position in his service. Hesse refused this undoubtedly flattering offer and returned to Darmstadt in 1738, hoping to find an appropriate position there. Landgrave Ernst Ludwig immediately promoted him to Government Advocate and gave him as chamber virtuoso a salary of 400 Gulden. . . .

The advocate Hesse must not have been well pleased with these conditions [the strict conditions for payment quoted above], since not long afterwards, when they were communicated to him in the "Rehearsal Room," he packed his viola da gamba along with his belongings, abandoned his decree as princely government advocate and his 400 Gulden as *Hofkapelle* gambist, and traveled to his princely benefactor, Prince August Wilhelm, in Berlin. At that time there had been a change in the regime there, and the brother of that prince, known as Frederick the Great, had ascended the royal Prussian throne, whereby a radiant sun had risen on Art at that court, a sun in whose warming and protecting rays a new, magnificent life seemed to bloom for her disciples, and in fact did bloom. Advocate Hesse must have known this, when so soon after that publication of his prince he left Darmstadt and exchanged it for Berlin.

At the Berlin court Hesse was welcomed and found there a good, lasting, and honourable position in the *Kapelle* of Prince August Wilhelm. First as gambist, then as concertmaster, and eventually even as councilor to the prince, which rank he held as long as that prince lived. When the prince died in 1758, Hesse obtained a not insignificant pension, and with this and his savings he returned to Darmstadt around 1759, living from then on a free, contented life there.³⁵

The other nineteenth-century source that was based on the Darmstadt court documents is by the musicologist Willibald

³⁵"Sein Vater hatte ihn, da er Talent zeigte, schon als Knabe auf der Gambe unterrichtet, gedachte ihn aber, wie seine anderen Kinder in den Staatsdienst zu bringen. Zu diesem Zwecke sandte er ihn 1737 nach Halle auf die dortigen Universität, um die Rechte zu studieren. Dasselbst befand sich der Prinz August Wilhelm von Preußen. Dieser fand großen Gefallen an dem musikalischen Talente L. Ch. Hesse's und bot ihn an, in seine Dienste zu treten. Hesse schlug diese gewiß schmeichelhafte Anerbieten aus und kehrte 1738 nach Darmstadt zurück, hoffend daselbst eine angemessene Stellung zu finden. Landgraf Ernst Ludwig beförderte ihn auch alsogleich zum Regierungsadvocaten und gab ihm als Kammervirtuose einen Gehalt von 400 Gld. . . .

"Dem Advocaten Hesse müssen diese Bedingungen aber nicht zum Besten gefallen haben, denn nicht gar lange darauf, als sie ihm von Kapellmeister Graupner im "Probir-Saal" mitgetheilt worden waren, packte er seine Gambe, nebst seine Habe zusammen, ließ sein Dekret als fürstl. Regierungsadvocat, seine 400 Gld. als Hofkapellgambist im Stich und reiste zu seinem fürstlichen Gönner, dem Prinzen August Wilhelm, nach Berlin. Dort hatte zu jener Zeit gerade ein Wechsel im Regimente stattgefunden und der Bruder jenes Prinzen, bekannt unter dem Namen Friedrich der Große, hatte den Preussischen Königsthron bestiegen, wodurch der Kunst an jenem Hofe eine glänzende Sonne aufgegangen war, in deren wärmenden und schützenden Strahlen ihren Jüngern ein neues, herrliches Leben zu erblühen schien und auch wirklich erblühte. Dieses hatte Advocat Hesse auch wohl gewußt, als er so rasch nach jener Publikation seines Fürsten Darmstadt verließ und mit Berlin vertauschte.

"Am Hofe zu Berlin wurde Hesse freundlich aufgenommen und fand daselbst eine gute, dauernde und ehrenvolle Stellung in der Kapelle des Prinzen August Wilhelm. Zuerst als Gambist, dann als Konzertmeister und endlich wurde er sogar wirklicher Rath des Prinzen, welche Charge er, so lange jener Fürst lebte, behielt. Als der Prinz 1758 starb, erhielt Hesse eine nicht unbedeutende Pension und mit dieser und seinen Esparnissen kehrte er etwa 1759 nach Darmstadt zurück, daselbst nunmehr ein behagliches, freies Leben führend." Pasqué, "Geschichte der Musik," 197-98.

Nagel.³⁶ Although the names of both of Ludwig Christian Hesse's parents frequently appear in his article, he does not mention Hesse himself, except to repeat the princely decree already quoted by Pasqué (see above). Were it not for caveats expressed by Nagel over the quality of Pasqué's work, one might be tempted to accept much of Pasqué's persuasive prose. Nagel writes that

. . . E. Pasqué has . . . published a little-known work that . . . seems unsatisfactory when seen as a whole. . . . The author, uncommonly versatile as a writer, did not have the necessary degree of technical grounding; also, an unusually florid imagination tempted him now and then to read things into the documents that sober, factual study was not able to discover in them.³⁷

Karlheinz Pauls, in his 1957 article on the Hesse family in *MGG*, quotes both Pasqué and Hiller, but declines to choose between Pasqué's account of Hesse returning to Darmstadt in 1759 and staying there, and Hiller's inclusion of him among the Prince of Prussia's musicians in 1766.³⁸ He is also uncertain as to the prince's identity, referring only to "a prince of Prussia" (my italics). In her foreword to *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts*, published in 1967, Elisabeth Noack regrets that since Pasqué's article was published in a popular magazine, his sources could not be detailed; however, she defends Pasqué, saying that his mistakes were "relatively few" and that Nagel's judgment was "unjustifiably harsh."³⁹ Her short biography of Hesse is indeed based on Pasqué; in particular, she repeats the claim that he worked for

³⁶Willibald Nagel, "Zur Geschichte der Musik am Hofe von Darmstadt," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 32 (1900), 62.

³⁷"... hat E. Pasque . . . eine wenig bekannte Arbeit veröffentlicht, welche . . . als Ganze betrachtet ungenügend erscheint. . . . Der Verfasser, als Schriftsteller ungemein vielseitig thätig, hat für kunsthistorische Arbeiten nicht über das nötige Maß technische Vorkenntnisse verfügt, auch hat ihn eine absonderlich blühende Phantasie dann und wann verleitet, Dinge aus den Akten herauszulesen, welche die nüchterne, sachliche Prüfung in ihnen nicht zu entdecken vermag." Nagel, "Geschichte," 1.

³⁸Pauls, "Hesse, Ernst Christian."

³⁹Noack, *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts*, 7.

Prince August Wilhelm in Berlin and returned to Darmstadt in 1759. To Pasqué's account she adds only that he commenced his duties in the Berlin Hofkapelle in 1741, and in 1744–45 received the same salary there as C. P. E. Bach.⁴⁰

In her 1980 article on Hesse in *New Grove*, Noack takes account of Hiller's mention of Hesse as a member of the Kapelle of "the Prince of Prussia,"⁴¹ and correctly identifies this prince as the one who later became King Friedrich Wilhelm II.⁴² She has now deleted any reference to Prince August Wilhelm and to Hesse's supposed return to Darmstadt in 1759, but continues to claim that Hesse studied law in Halle, and that his positions both in Darmstadt in 1738 and in Berlin in 1766 involved duties not only as a musician but also as a lawyer. This information appears to be based on Pasqué, and may therefore be unreliable. There are two other small inaccuracies, unrelated to Pasqué, in her article. She quotes Hiller as describing Hesse as "indisputably one of the greatest viola da gamba players of our time in Europe," but Hiller's use of the singular "dem" and not the plural "den" in the phrase "machen ihn . . . zu dem größten Gambisten" indicates clearly that he thought Hesse to be the greatest viola da gamba player in Europe (see the quotation near the beginning of this article, page 36). She concludes with the sentence, "His compositions, mainly for viola da gamba (noted in *EitnerQ*), were destroyed in World War II." This is misleading, since Eitner mentions no compositions, but refers only to the opera arrangements noted above; of these, only a small minority was destroyed in the war.⁴³

Whether Hesse enjoyed the extensive benefaction of Prince August Wilhelm, as described by Pasqué, is not clear. The many accounts of Prussian history and of the house of Hohenzollern, to

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 220.

⁴¹Hiller, "Bey seiner königl. Hoheit."

⁴²Elisabeth Noack, "Hesse, Ludwig Christian," *New Grove*, 8:537.

⁴³Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-lexikon* 5 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1901; rev. ed. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1959), 133.

which all of the Prussian royal families belonged, tend to focus on the deeds of the reigning kings, especially on the battlefield or in relation to their political activities and social reforms. The unfortunate August Wilhelm's main claim to fame is his ignominious failure as one of Frederick's generals in the Seven Years War, subsequent loss of his command, and his early death soon after these events.⁴⁴ He is also known as the progenitor of all the Prussian rulers up to 1918, and even of the present chief of the house of Hohenzollern.

Charlotte Pangels' *Königskinder im Rokoko* is a series of fully researched and documented short biographies of the nine siblings of Frederick the Great. In her chapter on August Wilhelm, she makes no mention of his having attended university in Halle. Rather, she makes the point that his education was severely neglected in favour of military training, and that his father, the "Barracks King," frequently took him away on military exercises. Whether on journeys, or in the palaces at Berlin, Potsdam or Wusterhausen near Berlin, he appears to have remained at his father's side until his father's death in 1740.⁴⁵ The Martin Luther University in Halle has no record of the prince having been enrolled as a student. This does not rule out a possible visit by him, but he would only have been fourteen or fifteen years old. It seems likely that on this point at least, Pasqué is indeed unreliable, and that Hesse did not meet Prince August Wilhelm in Halle. Given the lack of supporting evidence, one must conclude that this prince was probably never Hesse's employer or benefactor.

This in turn adds to the doubt on Pasqué's reliability as a source on Hesse. Considering the known and probable inaccuracies of Pasqué's account together with Nagel's very negative judgment of it, we must perhaps treat all of Pasqué's observations with caution until they can be independently verified.

We now turn from the life of Hesse to a consideration of his contribution as a creative musician to the musical life at the Berlin courts where he worked, and to his potential influence on

the valuable corpus of viola da gamba music that has come down to us. We have seen how Hesse's many opera arrangements help us to ascribe dates to the period of his life spent at Friedrich Wilhelm's court, and show us how he used his time as the prince's teacher at that court. However, these arrangements are also important in any assessment of Hesse and the viola da gamba music of the Berlin School for other reasons. First, they allow us positively to identify his hand; second, in the absence of autographs or definitely attributed original music by Hesse, they allow us to appraise his style as a creative musician and gambist, and assess how he may have influenced the more known composers.

It is fortunate that the scribe who wrote the title covers of the Hesse opera arrangements (who was not Hesse himself) chose to identify the arranger so clearly and so frequently. It is also fortunate that the hand in which the arrangements are written is so consistent, and so unusual as to be unmistakable. Since it is found elsewhere only in viola da gamba music, there can be no doubt that it is that of Hesse. Apart from the arrangements in the Königliche Hausbibliothek, Hesse copied many works by Johann Gottlieb Graun that are now found in Darmstadt. Example 1 shows one of the opera arrangements, and Examples 3 and 4 show other manuscripts in Hesse's hand from Berlin and Darmstadt.

One of the first characteristics one notices in these volumes of opera arrangements is Hesse's frequent use of parallel thirds. He used this texture so much that he found it necessary to invent a shorthand for it, a notational device that I call "figured melody." In this system, the principle of the figured bass is applied to an upper part: only one of two upper voices is notated, the other voice being indicated by figures above or below each note, indicating the interval between the voices. Figures written above the note indicate that the player must reckon the interval upwards; more usually, the figures are written below the note, indicating that the second voice is below the written one. This system could be and was used by Hesse for any interval from the second to the seventh, but was particularly useful for long passages of parallel thirds or sixths, where he needed to write the figure only once at the beginning of the sequence. In Example 1 (next page), Hesse

⁴⁴*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 1 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humbolt, 1875), 669–71.

⁴⁵Pangels, *Königskinder im Rokoko*, 322–24.



Example 1. Rameau, *Les Sybarites*, arranged by
Ludwig Christian Hesse. D B KHM 2253/1.

has also borrowed another figured bass convention in his use of the sharp sign.

Many such passages in thirds may have been intended for two players; occasionally, one finds a passage that could not have been played by one player alone, even Hesse. KHM 2253, for example, has two books, one marked "Viole" and the other marked "Basse/Violoncelle." The "Viole" book is written partly in two staves, indicating that it was intended for two players. They must have played a considerable amount in unison in those places written in single staff with no figures; in other words, where only one voice is present. However, in other places where two staves are present, one or both of the parts will often have thirds and other double stops, indicating that Hesse did intend this texture to be played by one player. Ultimately, the texture of parallel thirds in these arrangements comes not from Hesse but from the original operas that he arranged; it is after all characteristic of much of the lighter French music of the time. Hesse's contribution was to adapt it for the gamba and use it more systematically and thoroughly than before.

The complex interrelationships among the various volumes point to a very flexible attitude to instrumentation. For instance, KHM 2254/1 contains violin parts to five operas. These are the only violin parts among the Hesse arrangements, and this is the only volume that has been written partly by a hand other than his. KHM 2254/2 contains basses to the first three operas, and KHM 2254/3 the basses to the last two. KHM 2255 contains parts for two viols, mostly but not always in double staff, for the first three operas, and KHM 2256 has the same for the last two operas. The violin part was not indispensable, since the melody is normally present in one of the viol parts.

Even the bass could apparently sometimes be dispensed with, since it is not present at all for many of the works, nor was it present in 1895 when Thouret made his catalogue. Sometimes it is present in the second viol part, sometimes not. However, in many cases the bass and the other parts would have been available to the prince, since his library contained (now under other shelf-marks) printed editions such as those mentioned by Forqueray, or manuscript copies in another hand.

In general, one is presented with a picture of an enormously flexible ensemble of two or more players, with Hesse and Friedrich Wilhelm as its core; much of the music-making may have been done by just those two, in the form of extended lessons or playing sessions. The presence of full-voice harmony was not a priority. When playing the many operas for which other parts were present, the two gambists could have been accompanied by a few string or even wind players; there are also sparsely distributed oboe and horn cues in the viol parts, but these could instead have been played by one of the viols. If this sounds vague, it is necessarily so: there is simply no consistent rule or characteristic that can be extrapolated from all of the arrangements, except the presence of the viola da gamba. This *laissez-faire* philosophy of music-making fits well with the character of the works themselves, which are truly *galant*: light, quickly and effectively written by professional composers, above all pleasant and melodious. The alacrity with which they were printed after their premieres shows that they were popular for *Hausmusik*; the Hesse arrangements are, however, probably unique in their extent and in the nature of their scoring.

If Hesse really wrote no original work, it would be somewhat surprising for a virtuoso gambist in a court position; possibly he felt that his role was to stimulate his colleagues in the Berlin *Hofkapelle* to write for him. Although there are no original compositions that can be definitely attributed to Hesse, there are four anonymous works for gamba—two concertos and two sonatas—that must be assessed for the possibility that he may have written them.

The two anonymous concertos are both found in the Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Darmstadt, in unique copies in Hesse's hand.⁴⁶ This library contains many of Hesse's copies of gamba pieces that he has clearly attributed to Johann Gottlieb Graun, including three solo concertos for gamba and strings and a double concerto for violin, gamba, and strings. These concertos are so similar in style to those of Graun that there is no reason to suppose that they are not by him. Hesse was such a prolific

⁴⁶DS Mus. ms. 1217 and 1234.

copyist and arranger for gamba that the existence of a work in his hand is no reason to conclude that he was its composer. One of the concertos (Mus. ms. 1234) is interesting and unusual in the context of the Berlin School in that it carries a date: 1769, within the last few years of the lives of both Hesse and Graun.

The first of the two sonatas is an attractive piece in D major for gamba and obbligato cembalo that is found in a unique manuscript source in the Amalienbibliothek, under the shelfmark Am.B. 585 (see Example 2). The Amalienbibliothek, now housed in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Haus 1 (the old Berlin State Library situated on Unter den Linden), is the superb music collection of the younger sister of Frederick the Great, the princess Anna Amalia. It includes among its 609 surviving volumes the largest collection of music for gamba by Berlin School composers, containing sixteen pieces, almost half of the number known to exist.

Although the manuscript does not divulge its author, this sonata has been identified by Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM) as being the work of Ludwig Christian Hesse. Unfortunately this attribution was made more than twenty years ago, and neither Dr. Ortrun Landmann of the RISM Arbeitsstelle in Dresden nor the person who made the attribution is able to indicate the grounds on which the piece was attributed to Hesse.⁴⁷ It would seem impossible to make a definite attribution on stylistic grounds to a musician who is not known to have written any other music. It is possible that the hand in which the manuscript was written, hereafter referred to as Copyist A, could have been mistaken for that of Hesse. Both hands share large round noteheads, although Hesse's are considerably larger. However, the differences are too numerous to ignore. In Hesse's hand, the beams of a group of notes frequently extend beyond the stems, but the stems almost never extend beyond the beams. With Copyist A, the opposite is the case. The treble and bass clefs are quite different, and the handwriting, for example the capital letters A and V, is also quite different.

⁴⁷Personal correspondence with the author.



Example 2. Anonymous, Sonata in D, 2nd movement.
D B Am.B. 585.

There are a couple of characteristics of this sonata that do link it with Hesse, however tenuously. Hesse had the habit of putting the occasional fingering into the many manuscript copies he made of the Berlin compositions for gamba. They are not necessarily on the most difficult passages, but simply as little reminders, perhaps for his royal patron—who was after all warned by Forqueray of

the importance of good fingering! Given the extreme level of difficulty of many passages in these manuscripts where no fingerings are found, and given Hesse's reputation as a player, it would seem unlikely that Hesse needed them himself. The manuscript of Am.B. 585 contains four such fingerings that could well be in Hesse's hand, although it is impossible to be sure. Hesse may have played the piece or prepared it for a student, but this is no indication that he wrote it.

A similarly tenuous link may be made in terms of style. The gamba part of the sonata contains several passages in parallel thirds, and we may observe from Hesse's many opera arrangements that he used this texture frequently. One may imagine that Hesse was able to perform such passages quite brilliantly. The other stylistic characteristic that could point vaguely to Hesse is the use of *recitativo accompagnato* to form the entire second movement. In a most unusual and enterprising fashion, the "vocal" part alternates between the cembalo right hand and the gamba; when it is in the cembalo right hand, the gamba and the cembalo left hand are the "orchestra." Hesse's vast labours in arranging opera for the gamba would have made him very familiar with the recitative style, which is relatively uncommon in gamba music and in the instrumental music of the Berlin School. Again, the evidence linking the piece with Hesse is circumstantial at best.

While it seems unjustifiable to attribute Am.B. 585 to Hesse, it is also impossible to attribute it with any certainty to any other composer. Full examination of the sonata would be out of place here; suffice it to say that the hand of Copyist A is found in several Berlin gamba scores, and the piece is typical of the Berlin School, but it does not fit comfortably within the oeuvre of any of the five known Berlin gamba composers. Some may consider this to be a further argument that Hesse wrote the piece, but for the moment we should perhaps remain unconvinced.

The other anonymous sonata, in C major, presents a rather different picture. It exists in one original source in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin in the hand of Hesse (Mus. ms. 13525) (see Example 3), and in two late nineteenth-century copies. The older of these copies (British Library Add. 32390), which predates

1884, was used by Beecher and Gillingham as the sole basis for their 1984 edition;⁴⁸ unfortunately the other sources were not known to them at the time. The later copy is dated 1896, and was made by the German enthusiast Klingenberg (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Slg. Klg. 82). Both nineteenth-century copies indicate that a manuscript in the Royal Library in Berlin had served as the original, and this must almost certainly be Mus. ms. 13525, of which the London manuscript is an accurate copy, and which Beecher and Gillingham thought to be lost.

In Mus. ms. 13525 and in the London copy, the anonymous sonata is preceded by a number of pieces by Roland Marais. Beecher and Gillingham discerned the difference in style between the sonata and the Roland Marais pieces, and correctly decided that "despite the attribution to R. Marais, the work bears clear evidence of another age and air, with all the characteristics of the Berlin School."⁴⁹ They suggest C. P. E. Bach as a possible composer, but then conclude that the most likely candidate is Christoph Schaffrath, "whose pieces for viola da gamba contain a number of figures to be found in the present sonata: the eighth notes followed by slurred sixteenth-note triplets, the extensive use of double stops in thirds, the symmetrical repetition of phrases in echo-like patterns, and his own formula for balancing arpeggiated passages against his melodic motifs."⁵⁰

The first figure described above (eighth notes followed by slurred sixteenth-note triplets) occurs in one of the six gamba pieces by Schaffrath, but does not occur at all in the original manuscript of this sonata. The rhythm described occurs in only one bar, and there the eighth and sixteenth notes are marked with staccato strokes. Schaffrath does use double stops in thirds, but so does Johann Gottlieb Graun, and so does Hesse in his arrangements. Moreover, Schaffrath's passages in thirds are never as extensive or as much an integral part of the texture as in this piece, and they tend to be more static, involving a narrower range

⁴⁸D. A. Beecher and B. Gillingham, eds., *Anonymous (Berlin School), Sonata in C major* (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1984).

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, Introduction.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, Introduction.



Example 3. Anonymous, Sonata in C, 1st movement, in Hesse's hand. D B KHM 13525.

and more repetition than here. The third of the above characteristics is typical of much *galant* music. The final characteristic is an excellent description of the prevailing texture in Schaffrath's Sonata in A for gamba and obbligato cembalo, in which the composer, himself a harpsichordist, balances brilliant and idiomatic cembalo figures against melodic lines in the gamba part.⁵¹ However, it seems less relevant in Mus. ms. 13525, which is a "solo" for gamba with figured bass, and therefore contains no idiomatic harpsichord writing, and very few arpeggio figures either in the gamba part or in the bass.

Schaffrath was probably not the composer of this piece. A more likely contender would be Johann Gottlieb Graun, who was by far the most prolific of the Berlin composers in terms of gamba music. Hesse copied several of his gamba pieces, and in the case of three of his solo gamba concertos, Hesse has provided us with the only surviving copies. The arrangement of the three movements with the slow movement first, Adagio-Allegretto-Allegro non troppo, is also typical of Graun; it was used to a lesser extent by other Berlin composers, rarely outside the Berlin School. The parallel thirds are absolutely characteristic of Graun, and he does not shy away from writing them in relatively fast note values, as they appear in Mus. ms. 13525: in thirty-second notes in the Adagio, and in sixteenths in the Allegretto.

The first movement of this sonata resembles Graun's opening slow movements in many respects. Like most of these, it is a single-section Adagio in common time with small note values. The main theme has dotted rhythms, appoggiaturas, and Graun's typical motive of a three-note rising scale passage consisting of a dotted eighth followed by two thirty-second notes. If some of these aspects sound like C. P. E. Bach or the Berlin School in general, the total effect is more like Graun than any other composer.

However, the piece is not entirely characteristic of Graun, whose sonatas are on a larger scale, and are more demanding both for the player and the listener than this piece. A survey of ten of Graun's sonatas in the three-movement slow-fast-fast format,

mostly obbligato sonatas with viola or viola da gamba, shows not a single first or third movement as short as those in Mus. ms. 13525. Graun's first and second movements are much longer on average, and his massive finales average over twice as long as that of Mus. ms. 13525. Charles Burney complained of Johann Gottlieb Graun that "in his concertos and church music . . . the length of each movement is more immoderate, than Christian patience can endure."⁵² It is safe to assume that Burney would have felt the same about Graun's sonatas!

If this piece were to have been written by Graun, it would be his only gamba "solo," that is, a piece for gamba and basso continuo. Although he is credited with twenty-seven solo sonatas for violin and eight for flute, his preferred chamber music texture is the trio, including its variant the obbligato sonata (many sonatas appear in both of these forms). All of his known gamba works are of this type, or involve larger ensembles.

One could spend much longer examining this attractive sonata in detail, and the chance of establishing it as the only original composition by the virtuoso of Berlin should perhaps encourage us to do so. However, such a hope must remain unfulfilled; we can only conclude that Johann Gottlieb Graun may be the composer, and that if he were not, Hesse would really be the only other possibility.

This apparent inconclusiveness may not be as problematic as it seems. The piece, along with some other anonymous works and many others that can be definitely attributed to Graun, may be in a sense the result of a long and close collaboration between the two musicians. By this I do not mean that they sat down together and wrote music, but that over many years in the *Hofkapelle* they learned from each other; that Graun's gamba music could only have been written after long and close consultation with Hesse.

Of the corpus of approximately thirty-five pieces involving the gamba by composers of the Berlin School, Graun wrote over half: at least nineteen, possibly as many as twenty-three. These are not

⁵²Charles Burney, *An Eighteenth-century Musical Tour in Central Europe and the Netherlands*, ed. Percy A. Scholes (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 206.

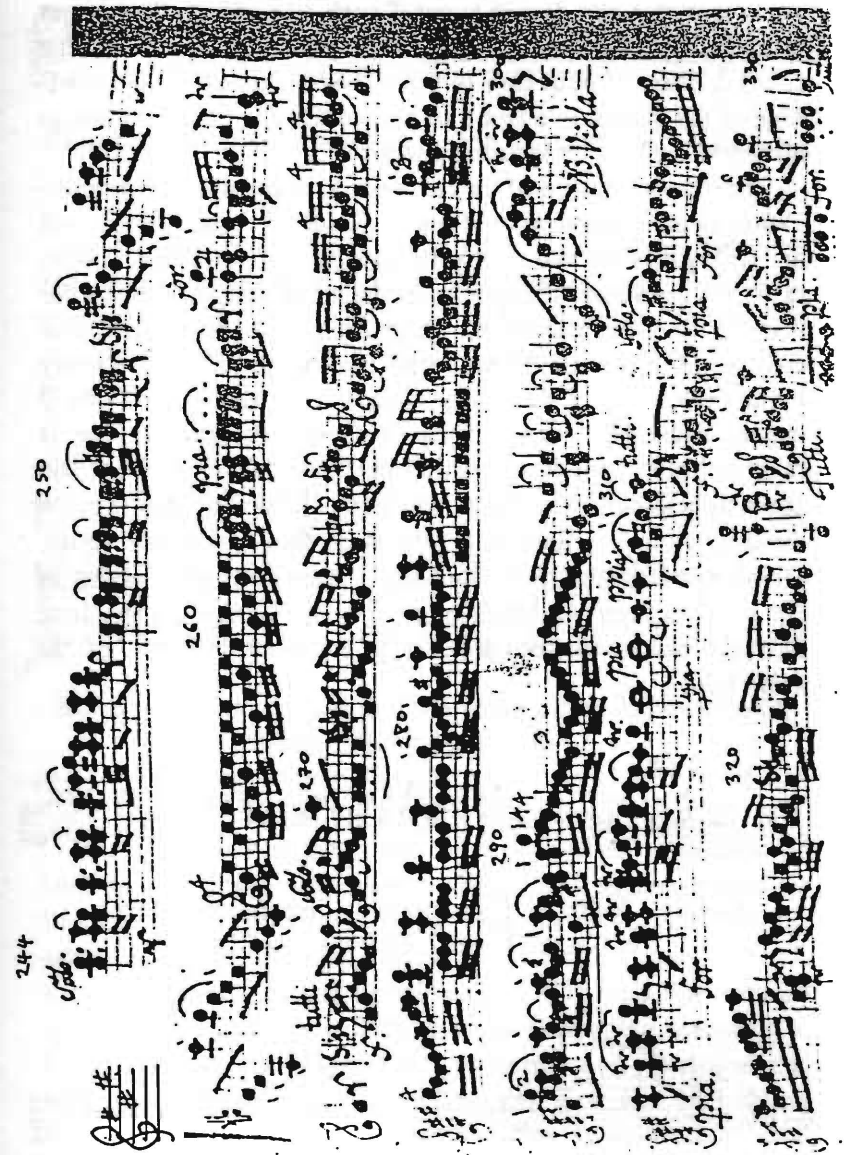
⁵¹D B Am.B. 497/17.

small *pièces de viole*, but major works, mostly sonatas or concertos of three movements, and all of them use the gamba in a prominent or soloistic capacity. Some of these are in standard combinations, such as the cembalo obbligato sonata and the quartet of three melody instruments and basso continuo; even here, the number of works written in these forms by other composers and involving the gamba is not great, which makes Graun's contribution quite significant. Other combinations are unique or very rare, such as the two cantatas with obbligato gamba, the two *Trios concertante* for two viols and basso continuo, and the six to eight concertos for solo gamba and strings.

Many players who have come across Graun's unpublished gamba music have been astonished by its difficulty. The level of virtuosic and idiomatic writing it displays is normally found only in the works of virtuoso viol players. In the concertos especially, we find a thorough knowledge of the technique and the tonal possibilities of the instrument, and a willingness to explore these possibilities. Example 4 shows the final solo section of the Allegro finale of Graun's concerto in A, which is preserved in a single copy by Hesse in Darmstadt.⁵³ It provides several illustrations of Graun's idiomatic virtuoso writing for gamba. As usual in Hesse's gamba manuscripts, the octave transposed treble clef is used, except for solo sections in bass clef in measures 252–57, 271–73 and 320–24, and a tutti interpolation in bass clef in measures 268–69.

The full range of the instrument is used in this excerpt, over three-and-a-half octaves from A' to e'': probably a greater useful range than any other non-keyboard instrument at the time. The open d', a, and e strings, a combination unique to the gamba, are clearly called for in measures 274–83. The chords in measures 294–96 are characteristic of the viol, as are the double trills in measures 266, 301, 317 and 323. The chord in measure 322, in which an open string is combined with two notes in a very high position, is truly extraordinary: whether played as written to great effect, or in a low position with three notes filled in, it could only be played on the gamba. Since there is no other source of this

⁵³D DS Mus. ms. 354.



Example 4. Johann Gottlieb Graun, Concerto in A, 3rd movement, Allegro, mm. 244–329, in Hesse's hand. D DS Mus. ms. 354. Measure numbers added.

work available, we do not know if such interesting effects stem from the composer or from the copyist, Hesse. However, this chord appears to be a case in which Graun has used his knowledge of the gamba to adapt a technique that is not uncommon in his works for his own instrument, the violin.

The slow movement of the same concerto contains other examples of Graun's knowledge of the technique of the instrument and his willingness to make creative use of that technique and to explore the instrument's unique resonance. Example 5 shows the main theme of this movement. Thematically and harmonically it is commonplace; its effectiveness and beauty are achieved entirely by its exploration of the rich resonance of the gamba in D and G major. Although Graun's style is thoroughly *galant*, one is reminded of the purely idiomatic technique of the lyra viol music that was written before Graun was born. Examples 6 and 7 show excerpts from the final solo section of this movement. Again, Graun revels in the rich sound and contrapuntal possibilities of the instrument in the hands of a virtuoso. (Unfortunately these excerpts had to be recopied due to the poor legibility of the original.)



Example 5. Graun, Concerto in A, from 2nd movement, in Hesse's hand. D DS Mus. ms. 354.



Example 6. Graun, Concerto in A, 2nd movement, mm. 104-10.



Example 7. Graun, Concerto in A, 2nd movement, mm. 121-25.

Such passages are also found in the works of Graun that were not copied by Hesse. In Example 8 the use of trills adds to the virtuosity of an already difficult chordal passage. The chords used, especially the last two in higher positions, are reminiscent of Forqueray.



Example 8. Graun, Concerto in A Minor, from 2nd movement, Adagio. PL Kj Am.B. 236/12.

Graun's interest in the gamba certainly reached its peak during his long association with Hesse, but he could well have gained his first knowledge of it as a young man, some years before his arrival in Berlin. The older Hesse's only student apart from his son was Johann Christian Hertel (1699-1754). This fine virtuoso never worked in the same orchestra with Graun, but according to Hiller they were close friends, maintaining a "frequent and intimate exchange of letters."⁵⁴ The two first met in 1726 in Merseburg when Graun was concertmaster there; in 1732 Hertel traveled at Graun's invitation to Ruppín, where he played for Frederick, then Crown Prince. In 1742 he lost his employment as

⁵⁴Hiller, *Lebensbeschreibungen*, 157.

concertmaster in Eisenach, due to the death of Duke Wilhelm Heinrich and the subsequent dissolution of the court orchestra there. He went to Berlin and renewed his acquaintance with Graun, but was unable to obtain a position there since there was no vacancy. Doubtless Ludwig Christian Hesse's recent appointment contributed to this unfortunate circumstance. However, this story has a happy end: Hertel became concertmaster at Mecklenberg, where he composed "an unbelievable number of symphonies, trios, overtures, concertos and sonatas for the violin and gamba."⁵⁵

I have focused on Graun not only because he is the most significant of the Berlin School composers in terms of gamba music, but also because his collaboration with Hesse seems to have been responsible for the development of the highly interesting and idiomatic Berlin virtuoso style. However, not all of the Berlin gamba music, and not all of Graun's gamba music, is written in this style. C. P. E. Bach worked together with Hesse at the Berlin court for over twenty years. His three sonatas, none of which was published in the eighteenth century, were composed during this period (1745, 1746, and 1759), and were probably written for Hesse. However, only the D-major sonata (H 559) contains elements of the Berlin virtuoso style as we know it from the works of Graun. The C-major sonata (H 558) is a demanding piece, but could just as well be played on the violin, and the G-minor obbligato sonata (H 510) exists in two manuscript copies, one for viola da gamba and the other for viola.⁵⁶ Graun also

⁵⁵Hiller, *Lebensbeschreibungen*, 161.

⁵⁶Modern publications of the three are: *Sonata a Viola da Gamba solo e Basso* [C major, H 558] and *Solo a Viola di Gamba e Basso* [D major, H 559], published together in facsimile reprint of the original manuscript in Brussels (B Be 5634) by Alamire as *Due Sonate a Viola di Gamba e Basso* (Peer, Belgium: Alamire, 1990) (this edition lists the Helm numbers incorrectly as 557 and 558). *Sonate g-Moll für Viola oder Viola da gamba (Violoncello) und obligates Cembalo* (Wotquenne 88) [G minor, H 510], ed. Hugo Ruf (Mainz: Schott, 1969).

A good article for general information is Johannes Boer's "The Viola da Gamba Sonatas by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach in the Context of Late German Viol Masters and the 'Galant' Style," *A Viola da Gamba Miscellany*:

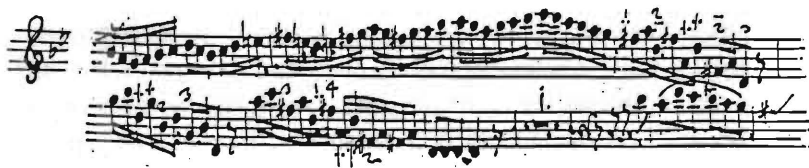
contributed considerably to the repertoire for the viola, and some of his pieces exist in alternative versions for viola or gamba. In other cases, the violin and the gamba are given as alternative instruments, a solution that is facilitated by the frequent use of treble clef in the Berlin gamba music manuscripts. With Graun there is always an element of string-playing virtuosity, but one can hardly claim such works as idiomatic gamba music!

In his formative years as a gambist, Hesse must have been strongly influenced by the French gamba culture, which was still flourishing in his youth. We know that Hesse's father Ernst Christian studied in Paris, that he was the only teacher of his son, and that the French influence was strong in Darmstadt. The fact that Ludwig Christian Hesse brought the *goût français* with him to far-off Berlin is confirmed by the markings in his manuscripts. The gamba parts contain fingering markings in the French style, in which the finger to be used is indicated by a number, and the string on which the finger is to be placed is indicated by the number of dots above or below this number. This system was invented by Marais, and first appeared in published form in his second book of *Pièces de Viole* in 1701. Another of Marais's characteristic fingering notation devices is the placing of a dot on either side of the figure "1" to indicate that the first finger is to be barred across two or more strings. The older Hesse would have learned these notational conventions in Paris, and passed them on to his son. Hesse also made use of the sign "x" for the mordent or *battement*, and of Marais's two vibrato signs, the horizontal wavy line for the *pincé* and the vertical one for the *plainte*. Example 9 shows Hesse's use of the French fingerings.

It seems almost certain that to match his French approach to playing the instrument, Hesse also had a French seven-stringed viol, a rarity in Germany. On the rare occasions when Graun calls

Proceedings of the International Viola da Gamba Symposium, Utrecht 1991, ed. Johannes Boer and Guido van Oorschot (Utrecht: STIMU, 1994).

[Editor's Note: Annette Otterstedt presents evidence that two of the C. P. E. Bach sonatas are actually for treble viol, in her article "Zwei Sonaten für die Diskantgamba von C. P. E. Bach," *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preussischer Kultur*, ed. G. Wagner (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1994).]



Example 9. Graun, Quatuor in G Minor, 3rd movement, in Hesse's hand. D DS Mus.ms. 1235.

for notes on the seventh string, he does it deliberately and unequivocally. He surely would not have expected his low A' in Example 4, measure 255, to be played up the octave.

There are indications of considerable French influence on the viol playing at court in Berlin: the aspects of notation mentioned above, Friedrich Wilhelm's correspondence with Forqueray, and the presence in the Royal Library of viol books by Marin and Roland Marais together with numerous *Comédies*. However, the compositional forms of the viol pieces remained stubbornly Italian: with the exception of two cantatas with obligato gamba to Italian texts by Johann Gottlieb Graun, all of the works are sonatas or concertos. In this respect, the viol pieces do not diverge from the general pattern of Berlin chamber music; the fashion, whether dictated by the king or by general taste, was Italian.

The Berlin School composers have provided us with what is probably the most significant unpublished corpus of gamba music. Many of the works of Johann Gottlieb Graun and C. P. E. Bach are very demanding, and there the influence of Ludwig Christian Hesse is clearest. We have not had the opportunity here to consider the works for gamba by the other masters of the Berlin School: those of Christoph Schaffrath and the few pieces by Franz Benda, Carl Heinrich Graun, Johann Gottlieb Janitsch, and Johann Philipp Kimberger. These pieces are easier, but still interesting and attractive for the player and listener. They could well have been played by Hesse, but also by amateurs within the house of Hohenzollern or among the burghers of Berlin. Janitsch's celebrated Friday Academy and several others like it would have provided a possible forum outside the court for performances of these works.

From their own time onwards, the Berlin composers have been condemned for their alleged conservatism, especially in relation to the Viennese and Mannheim schools. Whether this judgment is justifiable is a subject in itself, but it probably has as much to do with preconceptions and repeated myths as with facts about the music. In any case, we can be happy that Frederick the Great and his Berlin *Hofkapelle* nourished the final flowering of an old-fashioned instrument, that one of its last great virtuosi found support there, and that the Berlin composers were capable of taking up the challenge he gave them.

The author would like to extend warmest thanks to Dr. Hell and the staff of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Musikabteilung), to Dr. Bill and the staff of the Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Darmstadt, and to the staff of the Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Krakow; also to Dr. Eva Renate Wutta, Dr. Ortrun Landmann and Johannes Boer for their kind assistance. He would also like to acknowledge the help of the late August Wenzinger. This article was adapted by the author from his Ph.D. thesis in progress at the University of Queensland, on the viola da gamba music of the Berlin School.

RECENT RESEARCH ON THE VIOL

Ian Woodfield

This bibliography is intended as a concise guide to recent research related to the viol. It lists books, articles, dissertations, selected reviews, published papers, and major scholarly editions of music. Research on any aspect of the viol (and related instruments such as the baryton) will qualify for inclusion. Suggestions for additional entries in any language would be most welcome. They should be sent to Ian Woodfield, School of Music, Queen's University of Belfast, Belfast BT7 1NN, Northern Ireland, or e-mailed to <i.woodfield@qub.ac.uk>.

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REVIEWS

Carl Friedrich Abel. *Sonatas for the Viola da Gamba*, 3 volumes. Edited by George Houle. Stanford, California: Santa Ynez Music, 1998. \$18 per volume; \$47 for all three.

Carl Friedrich Abel's thirty-one sonatas and twenty-seven pieces for viola da gamba constitute a small but important part of the composer's 220 musical works. They offer viol players a rare opportunity to explore classical idioms, phrasing, and sonorities in their playing. Apart from one printed collection entitled *Six easy sonatas for a Harpsichord, or for a Viola da Gamba, Violin, or German Flute with a Thorough Bass* (London, 1772), Abel's music for viola da gamba survives in two major manuscript collections. One consists entirely of works for unaccompanied viol in twenty-seven movements (New York Public Library, Drexel manuscript 5871, published in facsimile as *27 Pieces for the Viola da Gamba* by Alamire [Belgium, 1993]; a partial modern edition, *10 Solostücke*, was published by Heinrichshofen in 1985). They are not entitled "sonatas"; however, most of the pieces fall nicely into sonata-like groupings of two or three movements in the keys of D major, D minor, or A major. They are wonderfully imaginative and difficult works that probably reflect Abel's own style of performing on the viol. The other manuscript collection consists of thirty-one sonatas for viol with bass from the music book of the Countess of Pembroke (London, British Library Additional ms. 31697). The present edition offers the latter collection, edited by the well-known early music specialist and viol player, George Houle.

A special feature of Houle's handsome edition is his reordering of the thirty-one sonatas according to technical difficulty, with the ten "easier" sonatas in volume 1, the ten "intermediate" sonatas in volume 2, and eleven "more difficult" sonatas in volume 3. This grouping emphasizes the didactic nature of the music and is especially helpful for players who may wish to study the volumes one at a time or concentrate on one set of sonatas, perhaps in preparation for Abel's more demanding unaccompanied works.

Proceeding through the ten or eleven sonatas in each volume, players can gradually acquire facility at shifting and using chords and double stops, and can also practice various types of long slurs and figuration. Each volume also offers a satisfying group of pieces in several different keys, diverse enough to provide a capsule view of Abel's attractive and unique style of writing for the instrument.

The solo viol part in these sonatas can be accompanied by another viol, or by cello, harpsichord, or even fortepiano. The bass is unfigured in all but one of the sonatas; the exception is Sonata in D, K. 156 in volume 1, which has figures that may have been added sometime after copying, perhaps by a later performer. Nevertheless, the presence of figures in one piece adds strength to the intuition one has in playing through the music, that the fuller harmonic support of a keyboard instrument might be preferable to accompaniment by another viol. Whereas Abel made expressive use of minor keys occasionally in his unaccompanied music, the sonatas of the Pembroke manuscript are all in major keys; C, D, and G predominate, with a few pieces in A and E. Many sonatas have only two movements, most often an Allegro and Menuet. The three-movement sonatas have an intervening Siciliano, Cantabile, or Adagio, where one often finds evidence of the expressive melodic writing that was highly praised in Abel's own performances.

Abel's sonatas make excellent studies in bowing technique. Left-hand demands in volume 1 are modest, with all pieces remaining in first position, but the right-hand demands include fluency in handling short and long slurs and multiple string-crossings. Chords are rarely used, and the melody and figuration sit mostly upon the top three strings of the instrument. In volume 2, there are some three- and four-note chords, and some shifting of the left-hand position is required in order to reach notes on the top fret. In volume 3, there are notes above the frets, more consistent use of rapid figuration, and a few more chords and double stops. I noticed one error in the tempo mark for the first movement of Sonata K. 156 (volume 1), which was Allegro in the manuscript, not Allegro molto as written in Houle's edition, but otherwise there appear to be very few errors.

The edition is clearly laid out and easy to read. An informative preface offers new insight about the provenance of the manuscript and traces what is known about Elizabeth Spencer Herbert, Countess of Pembroke (1738–1831), her life at court, and George III's passion for her. Unfortunately, nothing is known of her musical life or her association with Abel, apart from her name appearing in this manuscript. The musical text is presented with few editorial suggestions, apart from a few slurs (distinguished with a dotted line), and the result is a very clean edition that is pleasant to use. In addition to being excellent studies in bowing and phrasing, many of the sonatas would be attractive concert pieces that would share the stage well with music by C. P. E. Bach or Telemann. The editor has also recently issued a four-volume series of the works for one and two viols by August Kühnel, another neglected composer who contributed to the solo and duet repertoire for the instrument. It is a pleasure to welcome Santa Ynez Music to the viol player's library of dependable, scholarly, and reasonably priced editions.

Mary Cyr

Will Ayton. *Four Song Settings for Voice and Three Viols.* Albany, California: PRB Productions, [1997]. Contemporary Vocal Series No. 7. Score and parts \$15.00.

David Loeb. *Fantasias for Eight to Twelve Viols.* Albany, California: PRB Productions, 1997. Contemporary Consort Series No. 31. Score and parts \$21.00.

When the resurgence of the viol was getting under way in the late twenties and thirties, some solo pieces were being written, such as Rudolph Dolmetsch's unaccompanied *Caprice* (1929), or Yrjö Kilpinen's *Suite* for viol and harpsichord (1939). With the increase in numbers of viol players—both professional and avocational—during the fifties and sixties, composers were inspired to supply them with part-music. Today there are close to one thousand twentieth-century works for viols in consort, as well as for viols with other instruments and/or voice(s). Thanks to the enterprise of Peter Ballinger and PRB Productions, two publi-

cations have been brought out that would have been unimaginable just a few years ago. These two collections reflect an even further development in players' interest in new repertoire: consort songs and multi-voiced consorts.

Will Ayton, himself an enthusiastic and seasoned viol player, has composed over a dozen works for viol ensemble. David Loeb, who to date has created well over one hundred works for viol, is not himself a player, but is intimately familiar with the instrument's technique and repertoire. Both men are aware of the viol's strengths and limitations, and they stay within those parameters.

Consort songs are typically scored for voice and four viols. The Ayton settings are for voice and three viols: treble, tenor, and bass. For recreational sessions, Ayton's scoring is probably more useful, although undoubtedly his choice of instrumentation was musical rather than practical. The four songs make a rather disparate assortment, though familiar and well loved: John Dowland's *Go Crystal Tears*, Francis Pilkington's *Rest Sweet Nymphs*, Robert Croo's *Coventry Carol*, and the spiritual *Go Down Moses*. Since Ayton has included *Go Crystal Tears* in the original Dowland version, it is possible to see what changes he made in both the voicing and the harmony. He has added a twenty-bar instrumental introduction, a six-bar postlude, and some brief interludes. His harmony is only mildly and occasionally dissonant. The voice part has been left unchanged. *Rest Sweet Nymphs* receives a similar treatment. The carol is here called *Coventry Carol Fantasia*, and the three instrumental parts are a bit more challenging, with alternation of duple and triple rhythm, and rhythmic figuration, though in an adagio tempo. In *Go Down Moses*, Ayton departs further from the consort song model, though here again the setting is still quite conservative. The eighth-note passages in the viol parts contrast with the straightforward rhythm of the spiritual. The wide dynamic range and *ritardandi* add a dramatic touch that we associate with this more personal vocal form.

All of the songs are in a character congenial to the viol. Technically they are within the capability of intermediate-level gambists, and the voice parts should attract anyone capable of carrying a tune. (It would have been helpful to have the ranges of

the voice parts indicated.) An alternate voice part for treble viol has been provided, "for rehearsal purposes only . . . in the absence of a singer." My guess is that many viol players will be tempted to disregard the warning and turn the songs into consorts a4!

David Loeb's collection of fantasias for multiple viols consists of five pieces for eight, nine, ten, eleven and twelve viols. The occasions when this many viol players are gathered in one spot are less rare than they used to be, and the spirit of adventure is more evident as the general playing level rises. These compositions are quite short. They call for various combinations of treble, tenor, and bass viols. The first, a8, often plays a high quartet against a low one, reminiscent of the Italian double-choir style, although the language is very different. Meter changes further point up the resemblance. This octet, marked *Allegro vivo*, is the fastest of the collection. In general, the more voices, the slower the tempo, so that the final twelve-voiced fantasia, marked *Lento*, gives us a chance to enjoy the rare sonority of all of those viols resonating together, although much of the time three quartets are heard in triologue. Similarly, the fantasia for nine is divided into three trios of treble-tenor-bass. The eleven-voiced fantasia divides at times into a trio and two quartets, and the ten-voiced into two quintets. But beyond these mathematical divisions lies an exotic imagination. For the most part the texture is sparse, with occasional grace notes and pizzicato, tremolo and simple harmonics, gentle touches of syncopation and poignant dissonances. It all adds up to an interesting journey through an unfamiliar but unthreatening landscape.

Upper intermediate players can handle the few technical challenges, such as a treble high D in the eleven-part and some fast passagework in the octet. The pieces should give much pleasure even to those who are intrepid sight-readers.

PRB Productions has produced attractive and readable scores and parts, though the design of the cover of the Loeb somehow strikes the wrong note, visually speaking. We look forward to future offerings.

Judith Davidoff

Johann Sebastian Bach. *The Art of Fugue*, BWV 1080. Transcribed for viol consort by Lucy Bardo. Albany, California: PRB Productions, 1997. Viol Consort Series No. 26. Score and parts \$40.00; score alone \$17.00; parts alone \$28.00; additional sets of parts \$25.00.

For over two hundred years following its 1751 appearance in print, Johann Sebastian Bach's *Art of Fugue* was seen as the compositional and chronological climax to a line of monothematic, cyclically structured works leading from the Goldberg Variations (1741–42) through the *Musical Offering* and the Canonic Variations on *Vom Himmel Hoch* of 1747. Bach himself initiated the printing of the *Art of Fugue*, and supervised to a large extent its engraving, but was prevented by his loss of eyesight and final illness from seeing it through the presses. Following his death on July 28, 1750, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and Johann Friedrich Agricola hastily completed the task already begun, but, apparently misunderstanding the relationship of several manuscript pages, published the work without bringing its final fugue to a conclusion, "compensating the friends of his muse," they wrote, by including a four-part organ setting of the chorale *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen sein*, "which the deceased man in his blindness dictated on the spur of the moment to the pen of a friend." However, research over the last thirty years (largely by Christoph Wolff) has exposed the "deathbed chorale" as a myth and established that Bach began writing the *Art of Fugue* in the late 1730s or early 1740s (though completion and final redaction indeed date from just prior to 1750). These facts in no way diminish the work's monumental status as what Wolff calls "the attainment of an ultimate goal, the 'be-all and end-all' of an extraordinarily strong-willed artistic personality," a masterpiece in which "theory and practice merge, old and new techniques of composition as well as elements of style are integrated and thus embody the universality of Bach's art in the most unmistakable and inimitable manner."

The original edition of the *Art of Fugue* was laid out in score form, intended more as an exemplar of the highest level of contrapuntal mastery than as the basis for the work's performance.

Though it sold so poorly that C. P. E. Bach was forced to sell its plates, its logic and beauty have always attracted the attention of connoisseurs. Mozart came to know the work in Vienna through Baron van Swieten (to whose house, he wrote his father in 1782, he went each Sunday to play “nothing but Handel and Bach”), and his arrangement of Bach fugues for string trio (K. 404a) includes the eighth Contrapunctus from the *Art of Fugue* alongside fugues from both volumes of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*. In the second decade of the nineteenth century, string orchestra arrangements of several portions of the *Art of Fugue* were rehearsed in the Berlin Singakademie (future home of Mendelssohn’s famous 1829 “revival” of the *St. Matthew Passion*), though no public performance can be documented. Beethoven’s estate included two copies of the *Art of Fugue*, one of them the 1802 edition by Nägeli in which the original score notation was augmented by a two-system piano version. Robert Schumann prepared his own piano transcription in 1837, as did Beethoven’s pupil Carl Czerny, whose 1838 edition, complete with fingerings, tempo indications, and articulations, was intended for practical use, which it apparently received: through multiple reprintings, it had sold 2,700 copies by 1874 and over 20,000 examples by 1926. Nor did the 1875 open-score printing of the *Art of Fugue* as Volume XXV of the Bach-Gesellschaft Edition (used as the source for the edition presently under review) alter the general perception of the work as one primarily appropriate to keyboard performance.

Certain critics, however, continued to regard the *Art of Fugue* as more didactic than inspired, a characterization against which Philipp Spitta argued strenuously in his ground-breaking Bach biography of 1880. It remained for Wolfgang Graeser to popularize the *Art of Fugue* for mass audiences through his 1927 arrangement of the work—conceived for large public spaces—for string quartet, string orchestra, trumpets, trombones, oboes, bassoons, organ, and harpsichord. A June, 1927 performance in Leipzig of Graeser’s orchestration, given in Bach’s own St. Thomas Church, was hailed by one influential critic as “quite likely the most important instrumental event of the century.” The Schönberg disciple Alban Berg, witness to a similar performance

in Zurich less than a year later, ecstatically wrote to his wife: “A work that had up till now been considered as a mathematical exercise was revealed, in its orchestration by the young German, to be the most profound music.”

Closer to our own time, the *Art of Fugue* has been presented in a broad range of strikingly dissimilar guises. A recent edition of the Schwann *Opus* catalogue, for example, lists recordings of several different arrangements for string quartet, numerous period- and modern-instrument orchestral recordings, a handful of brass quintet versions, and even renditions by the saxophone quartets of Berlin and Los Angeles, as well as a large number by performers on piano, organ, and harpsichord. These latter may have been inspired by Gustav Leonhardt’s 1952 monograph “The *Art of Fugue*: Bach’s Last Harpsichord Work,” which so well summarized the arguments in favor of keyboard performance (including the open-score format, which had by Bach’s time long been used for fugues of this type) that, according to one recent scholarly tome, “the view that the *Art of Fugue* is best presented by an instrumental ensemble seems to have been largely abandoned.”

Aficionados of the viol may rejoice that “largely” does not mean “universally,” as Jordi Savall’s excellent 1986 Hespèrion XX recording of the *Art of Fugue* (on the Auvidis/Fontalis label, catalogue number ES 2001), with viols, cornetto, sackbut, oboe da caccia, and bassoon, makes abundantly clear. Savall’s performance note opines that “the consort of viols is the only ensemble which allows a faithful reading of the original text and an optimal realization in sound, since the transparency and clarity of articulation on these instruments allows a very balanced perception of the different voices without one part obscuring the others.”

Now, the ready availability of Lucy Bardo’s 1997 PRB Productions edition will allow gamba players of many different levels to test the validity of Savall’s statement. The presentation is serviceable rather than luxurious, with saddle-wire stitching instead of perfect binding or sewn signatures. The computer-typeset 9"x12" format makes for parts of excellent legibility, though many may find the lines of the score (which suffers somewhat from the machine-like regularity of the spacing of its measures) a bit too

small for easy from-the-stand reading. Page turns have been carefully thought out and considerably placed in the parts, which, like the score, are numbered every five measures. In the score, the two mirror-fugues (Contrapuncti XII and XIII) are conveniently laid out with their *rectus* and *inversus* readings on facing pages.

Both the score and the Viol I partbook contain a table (keyed t=treble, T=tenor, B=bass) indicating suggested instrumentations, and the score and all parts include small notes placed at the beginning of each piece showing the range(s) required. The two canons work with t-B or t-T, though in the latter case the tenor player must follow an *ossia* octave transposition. (The canons *per Augmentationem in Contrario Motu* and *alla Duodecima in Contrapunto alla Terza*, with their treble parts "not playable on a viol," have been omitted, as has Bach's arrangement of Contrapunctus XIII for two harpsichords. The chorale setting, not part of Bach's original design, is likewise excluded. This selective pruning does not seriously affect the integrity of Bardo's edition, for Bach no more intended a "complete performance" of the *Art of Fugue* than he desired uninterrupted readings of the Brandenburg Concerti, the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, the *Musical Offering*, and so on. Those who nonetheless lament these well-justified cuts may perhaps take solace in Bardo's inclusion of Donald Francis Tovey's 1931 completion of the final quadruple fugue.)

The first of the three three-part contrapuncti is scored for t-T-B, the latter two—the *rectus* and *inversus* versions of the mirror-fugue Contrapunctus XIII—for t-t/T-B. Since the first part ascends to e''' (three ledger lines above the treble staff, or several miles above the treble viol's top fret!), the editor has thoughtfully provided versions of these two *contrapuncti* transposed down a fourth. Inexplicably, since their inclusion in the score would have required only one more sheet of paper, these transposed versions are found only in the parts. (In a number of the other fugues, the treble part occasionally climbs to c'''. While well aware of the difficulties stratospheric parts can present, Bardo has wisely shown restraint in providing *ossia* transpositions of such passages to the lower octave.) The remaining fifteen fugues are in four parts, with t-t-T/B-B or t-t/T-T/B-B dispositions. (The third voice designation for Contrapunctus XII should certainly be T/B

instead of the indicated t/B.) Several of the fugues contain additional voices that, entering unannounced near their final cadences, make the texture too thick to be played by four gambists. In these cases the editor has also provided *ossia* solutions, printed in gray in the score, to bring the Contrapuncti to aurally satisfactory conclusions.

Approaching the *Art of Fugue* as a well-seasoned consort player, Bardo has chosen to notate most of the Contrapuncti in the 4/2 meter suggested by Bach's early manuscript version of some of the fugues, rather than in the more "modern" 4/4 meter into which Bach transcribed them for the 1751 print, arguing somewhat abstrusely in her preface that "4/2 allows one to see and hear the structure better." She goes on to explain that "for viol players, reading 4/2 is standard practice. It also helps to place the *Art of Fugue* at the end of a long history of polyphonic music in which viol players contributed an important role."

Consort players owe Lucy Bardo and PRB Productions a debt of gratitude for bringing this sublimely complex and endlessly fascinating music to their attention, thus broadening the circle in which the *Art of Fugue* is known and studied. While many may wisely elect to follow the lead of the Beethoven-era Singakademie, reading and rehearsing these masterworks but not attempting the daunting task of bringing them to performance, the mere act of becoming engaged with them on any level can only redound, as C. P. E. Bach suggested in 1756, "to the benefit of the musical public."

Kenneth Slowik

Daniel Norcombe. *Nine Divisions for Bass Viol*. Edited by Patrice Connelly. Albany, California: PRB Productions, [1997]. Baroque Music Series No. 16. Solo part \$10.00.

Diminution or *Division to a Ground*, is the Breaking, either of the *Bass*, or of any higher Part that is applyable thereto. . . . In this manner of Play, which is the perfection of the *Viol*, or any other Instrument, . . . a man may shew the Excellency both of his Hand and Invention, to the delight and admiration of those

that hear him. (Christopher Simpson, *The Division-Violist*, 1667, p. 27)

Most readers of this Journal will recognize these words of Christopher Simpson, whose justly famous treatise and appendix of musical examples is a treasure of information regarding seventeenth-century English improvisation. He makes three points in the passages cited above. First, improvisation is the pinnacle of performance—the “perfection” of instrumental playing. Second, he distinguishes between “Hand” and “Invention.” “Hand” refers to technical skill; “Invention,” conversely, is the ability to create music spontaneously in the heat of actual performance. Third, the purpose of such playing is to cause delight and admiration in the hearts of listeners. This is not the introspective pleasure in viol consort playing, for instance, experienced by the performers themselves without need for non-performing auditors. The primary function of division playing is to dazzle the listener. It represents an early stage of what would evolve, by the nineteenth century, into the kind of virtuosity epitomized by Paganini and Liszt.

Simpson and his contemporaries recognized that a person with great technical skill might lack the special talent for spontaneous improvisation.

Invention is a gift of Nature. . . . He that hath it not in so high a measure as to play *ex tempore* to a *Ground*, may, notwithstanding give both himself and hearers sufficient satisfaction in playing such Divisions as himself or others have made for that purpose. (Simpson, p. 27)

Thus, paradoxically, it is to those performers lacking this talent that we owe our gratitude for the valuable corpus of composed divisions bequeathed to us. Simpson’s further comments are useful to players wishing to use these as compositions for present-day public performance. He conceded that technical skill may be demonstrated as well in the performance of composed divisions as in the performance of improvised ones and even went so far as to say that the music might be “perhaps better” (p. 27). By this he meant that a prepared composition could be expected to be free of the missteps that are bound to occur on occasion in the course of

improvisation. Nonetheless, he goes on to say that the performance of composed divisions is “less to be admired, as being more studied” (p. 27). This point is reinforced in his discussion of a procedure whereby two instrumentalists could improvise simultaneously. The passage is tantalizingly suggestive of the high degree of skill among the performers of his circle.

I have known this kind of *Extemporary* Musick, sometimes (when it was performed by Hands accustomed to Play together) pass off with greater applause, than those Divisions which had been most studiously composed. (p. 59)

The point is that composed divisions should be played in a manner such as to give the impression that they are being improvised on the spot. (One obvious first step would be to play from memory.)

Recognizing the value of composed divisions, then, we welcome the nine by Daniel Norcombe edited by Patrice Connelly (numbers 1, 5, 8, 13, 16, 20, 25, 28, and 31 in the VdGS-GB *Thematic Index*). As noted in the Introduction, Christopher Simpson cited Henry Butler and Daniel Norcombe as composers whose divisions are worthy of imitation. An edition of the collected works of Butler, prepared by Elizabeth Phillips, was published by A-R Editions in 1991. Thus, this set of works by Norcombe represents a valuable step towards knowing all the surviving music of these two composers whom Simpson praised.

The editor of these Nine Divisions calls attention to the lack of biographical information about Daniel Norcombe. On the authority of articles in the current edition of *The New Grove* she considers it unlikely that Daniel the younger—the composer of the Nine Divisions—was the son of Daniel the elder. This is a reasonable assumption, given the evidence. If Daniel the elder was born in 1576, as *Grove* has it, then even if Daniel the younger were born, say, in 1592 when the elder would have been sixteen years of age, this would make the younger only ten years old when he was known to be in the service of the Archduke Albert in Brussels. In his research for the revision of the Norcombe article for the forthcoming new edition of *Grove*, however, Andrew Ashbee has discovered the 1576 birth date for Daniel the elder to be un-

substantiated. This, of course, does not serve to support a theory of paternity, but it weakens the case against it. There is also evidence now to indicate that Daniel the younger died at Brussels in 1655, thus providing as the latest possible date for his compositions one that is only four years prior to the publication in 1659 of Christopher Simpson's treatise. (This new information was generously provided by Andrew Ashbee in a letter of May 19, 1998.)

This is a fine edition with clear, easy-to-read pages of musical score. I found no more than six editorial emendations in the sixteen pages of music (that is, unless the eight occurrences of "(p)" in the "Echo" division of piece number 2 are editorial). All were accidental signs placed above the notes to which the editor means them to apply. Thus, one assumes the manuscripts on which the edition is based are unusually authoritative and well preserved. The editor explains the basis for her selection of these particular nine divisions as the desire for variety in a number of categories. Two of these categories are identified as "lengths of divisions" and "lengths of the grounds." This seems a curious distinction, since it is unlikely that the lengths of divisions will be different from the lengths of the grounds on which they are based.

A couple of slips occur in the Introduction. *Cormack's Almaine* is referred to as Number 4, when in fact it is Number 5 in the edition. The second of two versions of Tregian's Ground is referred to as Number 4, but it is Number 2. The manuscripts preserving the music of this edition reside in three collections. Perhaps proofreading oversight accounts for the fact that while gratitude for permission to publish is offered to the Bodleian Library and to Dr. Carl Dolmetsch none is directed to the Royal College of Music. One point escapes me entirely. Reference is made to "the oddities" of *Cormack's Almaine*, but what the oddities are is not explained. Nor is it clear on what basis one could suggest that these oddities have some relation to Cormack's physical appearance such as to justify the statement that "he must have . . . looked somewhat eccentric."

As a lyra viol enthusiast I am disappointed with the editor's decision to omit documentation of a few places where the scribe shifted momentarily from pitch notation to tablature. If it is true,

as the editor indicates, that when tablature was employed it was to notate a single chord, then to have included these at the foot of the musical page or in the critical notes might not provide any useful information. If, on the other hand, cadences were included in these segments, the original notation might provide valuable information regarding fingering and contrapuntal implications. The need to speculate about this could have been eliminated had the passages at least been identified in the critical notes, though I would prefer illustrative presentation of the tablature itself. It is unlikely that such annotations would have forced the present two pages of scholarly commentary into a third.

References to note names are made with the intention of indicating octave as well as pitch, but the scheme for designating the octave is not explained.

Information in the Critical Commentary is provided in the form of a table for each work, arranged in columns. The first two columns refer to the division number and the measure number respectively. In the score every fifth measure of music is numbered in a single series from the beginning of each piece to the end. The measure numbers referred to in the tables, however, are not those of the score but rather refer to separate series, which start at the beginning of each division. Thus, if one wishes to find the place in the first piece referred to as 3, 15 one has to find division 3, then count to the fifteenth measure of the division, which happens to be measure 63 of the piece. Much less cumbersome would be to eliminate the first two columns and replace them with a simple reference to the measure of the piece.

The editor refers to six of the nine works as having two grounds. I prefer to think of these as pieces based on a ground of two parts. In each case the two parts are closely related tonally. It is worth noting that in at least one of the source manuscripts employed for the edition (Royal College of Music Printed Book II.F.10[2]) the terms "1st strain" and "2nd strain" are used, though not in the Norcombe pieces, which appear in a manuscript appendix to the printed book. Christopher Simpson also alludes to the possibility that a ground might "consist of two or three Strains" (p. 56).

These works on grounds of two parts pose an interesting question of performance practice, having to do with the order in which the divisions might be played. They appear in the edition with the following orders that presumably correspond to those of the sources. The letters A and B refer to each section of the ground. A1, B1, etc. refer to the divisions based on them.

- | | |
|--|----------------|
| 1. A, A1, B, A2, A3, B1, B2 | Piece 5 |
| 2. A, A1, B, B1, A2, A3, B2, B3 | Pieces 3, 4, 7 |
| 3. A, A1, B, B1, A2, A3, B2, B3, A4, A5, B4, B5 | Piece 9 |
| 4. A, A1, B, B1, A2, A3, B2, B3, A4, A5, B4, B5,
A6, A7, B6, B7 | Piece 6 |

The unusual ordering of number 1 may be a manifestation of the oddities of *Cormack's Almaine* alluded to above. Orderings 2 to 4 are similar to each other, differing only in the number of divisions. It seems worth questioning whether the order of presentation is intended to dictate an invariable order of performance. Perhaps these schemes allow alternative choices. Taking order number 2 as an example, if one wished to play a very short piece one might perform A, A1, B, B1 only. If one wished to play a longer piece, on the other hand, might it not be reasonable to play A, A1, A2, A3, B, B1, B2, B3? Or if one wished to emphasize the relationship of one strain to another might one play A, B, A1, B1, A2, B2, A3, B3? This latter approach seems to be recommended by Simpson (p. 56), though his description is not entirely clear. Finally, the extreme brevity of the ground of Piece 6, based on order number 4, suggests a possible approach to performance not unlike a procedure in jazz playing known as "fours." This refers to a practice whereby a performer, in the midst of a performance, calls out the word "fours" upon which the members of the ensemble pass the improvisatory role to each other every four measures in rapid succession. Simpson described the seventeenth-century archetype of this procedure as follows (the letters "B." and "C." refer to each of two viol players, the continuo player being "A."):

C. may begin some Point of *Division*, of the length of a *Breve* or *Semibreve*, naming the said word, that B. may know his intentions: which ended, let B. answer the same upon the

succeeding Note or Notes to the like quantity of Time; taking it in that manner, one after another, so long as they please. (p. 59)

Each strain of the ground for piece number 6 in this edition is only two measures in length. Thus, the work could lend itself well to this exciting rapid alternation between two viol players.

The edition uses treble, alto, and bass clefs to accommodate the wide range of the music. The works call for occasional double stops and chords. Some of the divisions have rapid thirty-second-note passages and are equivalent in level of difficulty to those printed as an appendix to Simpson's treatise, with some sections playable by less experienced performers. This music is a valuable addition to our fund of musical works and historical data related to the practice of improvisation. The editor, Patrice Connelly, and PRB Productions are to be commended and encouraged to produce editions of the remaining works by Daniel Norcombe.

Frank Traficante

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Mary Cyr, gambist and Baroque cellist, is Director of the School of Fine Art and Music at the University of Guelph. She has led early music ensembles and collegia in Canada for the past twenty-two years in Montreal and Guelph, and she performs both as soloist and with various chamber ensembles in the Toronto area. She has published several works for viol under the imprint of Calliope Editions and is currently working on a collection of lra viol songs.

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Ian Woodfield received his bachelor's degree from Nottingham University and his master's and doctorate from King's College, University of London. He was Herschel Fellow at Bath University in 1976–1977. In 1978 he was appointed to the music faculty of Queen's University of Belfast, where he is now Director of the School of Music. His first book, *The Celebrated Quarrel Between Thomas Linley (Senior) and William Herschel: An Episode in the Musical Life of 18th-Century Bath*, was published by the University of Bath in 1977. He has also contributed articles and reviews to *Early Music* and the *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association*. His book *The Early History of the Viol* (published by Cambridge University Press in 1984) is now a classic on the subject. He delivered two lectures at the 1994 VdGSA Conclave. His most recent book is *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration*, published by Pendragon Press in 1995.