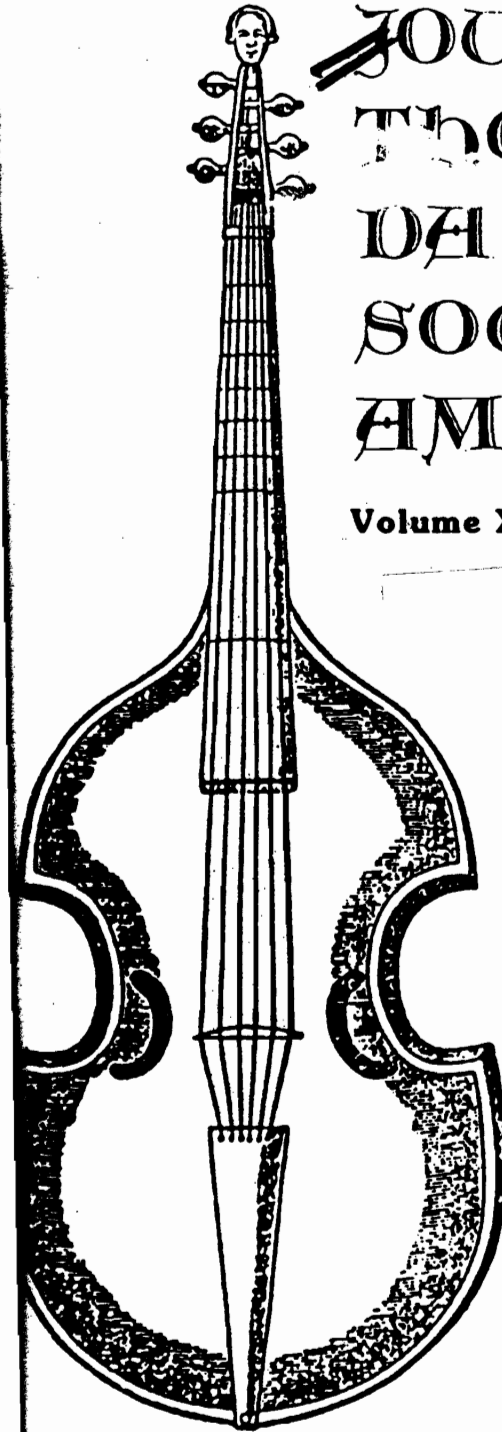


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CONTENTS

Viola da Gamba Society of America	3
Editorial Note	4
Re-examining the Pardessus de Viole and its Literature, Part I: Introduction and Methods	Richard Sutcliffe 5
Viols in Japan in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries	Yukimi Kambe 31
Research Report: Conferences in Magnano and Edinburgh	Thomas G. MacCracken 68
Recent Research on the Viol	Ian Woodfield 84
Correspondence	90
Contributor Profiles	93

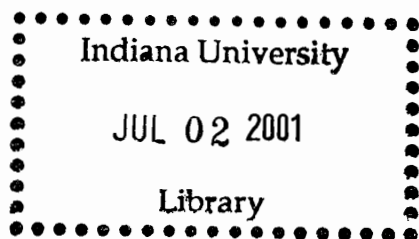
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The *Journal* editors welcome for consideration articles pertaining to the viols and related instruments, their history, manufacture, performers, music, and related topics. Articles, correspondence, and materials for review should be sent to the Editor: Stuart Cheney, 4222 31st St., Mt. Rainier, MD 20712. 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 separate 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. The website provides additional information on the annual Conclave, instrument rentals, the microfilm lending library for researchers, and other offerings.

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EDITORIAL NOTE

As incoming editor, I would like first to express my own and the entire Society's sincerest appreciation to my predecessor Caroline Cunningham. It is an honor to follow in her footsteps, as well as those in a distinguished line of previous editors. The standard that Caroline set for this *Journal* during her seven years at its helm presents an exciting challenge that I hope to meet. She has been most gracious in sharing her counsel and experience with me during the editorial transition this year.

Thanks also to Jean Seiler, associate editor, for her meticulous work with copyediting, formatting, layout, and so many other matters relating to the *Journal's* content. Thomas MacCracken has, as always, been very generous with his expert advice on aspects of putting together a scholarly publication such as ours. I also thank the VdGSA's Board of Directors for their support and encouragement.

In this volume we are pleased to present two incisive articles, a double conference report, our regular bibliographic update, and one new item. First, Richard Sutcliffe's study significantly expands the current state of knowledge on the pardessus de viole by presenting and elucidating several new sources, while reinterpreting others already known. Second, Yukimi Kambe's groundbreaking research examines for the first time the history of the viol in Japan during the late Renaissance and early Baroque periods and its connections to European practices. Thomas MacCracken gives us reports on a pair of fascinating conferences pertaining to the viol, one that took place in Italy and the other in Scotland. And it is always a pleasure to present Ian Woodfield's compilation of recent scholarship in the field of viol research. In this volume we are also initiating a new feature: scholarly responses to articles we have recently published, together with the author's rebuttal. Reviews will resume with the next volume.

I invite your suggestions and comments on what you hope to see in future volumes of the *Journal*.

Stuart Cheney

RE-EXAMINING THE PARDESSUS DE VIOLE AND ITS LITERATURE

Part I: Introduction and Methods

Richard Sutcliffe

The pardessus de viole remains one of the least-explored members of the viola da gamba family. While slowly gaining popularity among modern performers, its repertoire remains obscure and largely unavailable. Most viol players think that there is a very small repertoire for this instrument; a further complication is the existence of several types of pardessus. Several articles concerning the pardessus focus on specific pieces or composers, or give a general view on the instrument's use in France.¹ This article will examine the repertoire of the

¹See Tina Chancey, "Gender, Class, and Eighteenth-Century French Music: Barthélemy de Caix's Six Sonatas for Two Unaccompanied Pardessus de Viole," parts 1 and 2, *JVdGSA* 33 (1996): 47–78, and 34 (1997): 16–47; Cécile Dolmetsch, "The Pardessus de Viole or Chanterelle," *JVdGSA* 3 (1966): 56–59; Christiane Dubuquoy-Portois, "Le pardessus de viole au XVIII^e siècle: un nouvel instrument de divertissement," *Instrumentistes et luthiers parisiens, XVII^e–XIX^e siècles*, ed. Florence Getreau (Paris: Délégation à l'action artistique de la ville de Paris, 1988), 134–48; Robert Green, "Charles Dollé's First Work For Pardessus de Viole," *JVdGSA* 18 (1981): 67–75; "The Pardessus de Viole and its Literature," *Early Music* (July 1982): 300–7; "The Treble Viol in Seventeenth-Century France and the Origins of the Pardessus de Viole," *JVdGSA* 23 (1986): 64–71; "Recent Research and Conclusions Concerning the 'Pardessus de Viole' in Eighteenth-Century France," *Proceedings of the International Viola da Gamba Symposium Utrecht 1991* (Utrecht: STIMU, 1994), 103–14; Myrna Herzog, "Is the *quinton* a viol? A puzzle unravelled," *Early Music* (February 2000): 8–31; John Hsu, "Solo and Duet Viol Music by Charles Dollé," *JVdGSA* 3 (1966): 24–25; Hans Peter Linde, "Dessus und Pardessus de viole—französische Modeinstrumente des 18. Jahrhunderts und ihr Einfluss auf deutsche Komponisten, insbesondere G. Ph. Telemann," *Der Einfluss der französischen Musik auf die Komponisten der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Blankenburg, 1981), 26–38; Hazelle Miloradovitch, "Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Transcriptions for Viols of Music by Corelli and Marais in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: Sonatas and Pièces de Viole," *Chelys* 12

pardessus as a whole as well as several little-known sources that provide new information on the instrument.

Several articles have been written concerning the repertoire for the pardessus de viole, each examining only a fraction of the whole. Adrian Rose took on the challenge of compiling the first repertoire list for the pardessus in his articles for this *Journal* and for *Chelys*.² His list, while groundbreaking for the time, is somewhat incomplete and inaccurate, providing only surviving works. He added several lost works in a later article for *Chelys*.³ Robert Green's article provides a short list of lost works, but its main purpose is to provide an overview on the instrument.⁴

Part I of this article will provide a brief introduction to the pardessus de viole, examine the methods and other technically oriented texts written for it, and briefly discuss pardessus performers and teachers of the eighteenth century. Part II will provide a list of approximately 250 extant and lost works that specify the pardessus de viole on their title pages.

Before discussing these works, it is important to place the pardessus in its historical context. The six-string pardessus (Pà6) was developed sometime before 1701,⁵ the year that Joseph Sauveur lists its tuning in his *Principes d'acoustique et de*

musique...⁶ The practice of tuning a dessus de viole (treble viol) to the Pà6 tuning⁷ (see Example 1) probably started earlier, leading to the modification in the dessus' size and resulting in the true Pà6. The Pà6 is structurally similar to the dessus but smaller. It has sloping shoulders and wide ribs, as does the dessus, resulting in a flute-like sound. This instrument was probably used until the end of the eighteenth century, although its popularity declined drastically after 1745.⁸

Several instruments that could be called seven-string treble viols exist in various instrument museums in Europe.⁹ These rare experiments are possibly another approach to the Pà6. Edward Mountagu, the First Earl of Sandwich, gives an account of a Pà7 used at the court of Don Juan sometime between 1666 and 1668. The account describes using the instrument to play high passages of the treble repertoire, in this case music by William Lawes and several other composers.¹⁰



Example 1. Tuning for the six-string pardessus, according to Corrette's *Méthode* (c. 1748)

(1983): 47–73; Terry Pratt, *The Dessus and Pardessus de Viole in France from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries*, (Basel, 1977), "The Playing Technique of the Dessus and Pardessus de Viole," *Chelys* 8 (1978): 51–5; Adrian Rose, "Music for the Dessus and Pardessus de Violes, Published in France, c. 1650–1770," *JvdGSA* 16 (1979): 40–46, "The Solo Repertoire for Dessus and Pardessus de Violes Published in France, c. 1650–c. 1770: A List of Works with Introduction," *Chelys* 9 (1980): 14–22, "Another Collection of *Pièces* by Charles Dollé," *Chelys* 11 (1982): 32–35, "The Pardessus de Viole: Notes for a Master's Thesis," *Chelys* 24 (1995): 34–46.

²Rose, "Music for the Dessus and Pardessus", "Solo Repertoire."

³Rose, "Pardessus de Viole."

⁴Green, "Recent Research."

⁵Green cites an instrument by Michel Colichon from 1690 as the earliest example of a pardessus. See Green, "Treble Viol," 69–70. The inventory of the viol player Jean Rousseau made in 1699 lists a pardessus de viole among his possessions. See Sylvette Milliot, "Du nouveau sur Jean Rousseau Maître de musique et de viole." *Recherches sur la musique française classique* 27 (1991–1992): 41.

⁶Some titles have been adjusted to include missing accent markings. Original spellings of titles have been retained when possible.

⁷A letter written by Sarrau de Boynet to Monsieur Christin in Lyon discusses this practice. The letter is dated 1738 and Boynet refers to dessus built in 1665. See Léon Vallas, *Un siècle de Musique et de Théâtre à Lyon 1688–1789* (Lyon: P. Masson, 1932), 105.

⁸The last publication mentioning the Pà6, Louis de Caix d'Hervelois' *V^e Livre. Pièces pour un pardessus de viole à cinq et six cordes...X^e œuvre*, appears in 1753. Publications for the Pà5 begin to appear in 1749.

⁹Pà7 exist in the Musée de la musique, Paris, France and the Musik-Museet, Stockholm, Sweden.

¹⁰See Ian Woodfield, "The First Earl of Sandwich, a Performance of William Lawes in Spain and the Origins of the Pardessus de Viole," *Chelys* 14 (1985): 40–42.

The next change to the pardessus resulted in the first instrument that was noticeably different from the viol's basic design, the five-string pardessus (Pà5). The Pà5 has smaller ribs than the Pà6, which results in a more aggressive tone.¹¹ This instrument was definitely in use by 1745,¹² although possibly much earlier since both Jean-Marie Leclair l'ainé's opus 3 of 1730¹³ and Joachim Michaut Chamborn's first book of pieces from 1722¹⁴ require an instrument tuned with fifths to play all the chords.¹⁵ The shift in popularity from the Pà6 to the Pà5 occurred between 1749 and 1753, as shown by several works that indicated either instrument on their title pages.¹⁶ Luthiers' inventories also reflect the same shift in popularity, although somewhat later.¹⁷ The Pà6 could also be easily converted into a Pà5 by simply leaving off a

¹¹Some Pà5 exist with the same characteristics of the Pà6 and vice versa, but the majority of pardessus fall into the categories discussed here.

¹²Peter Tourin mentions quintons from as early as 1701. See Tourin, "Viol nomenclature," *Early Music* (July, 1976): 361. Sylvette Milliot in *Documents inédits sur les luthiers Parisiens du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Heugel, 1970), 123, and *Histoire de la lutherie parisienne du XVIII^e siècle à 1960. Tome II: Les luthiers du XVIII^e siècle* (Spa: Les Amis de la Musique, 1997), 138, mentions "petites basse de violle appellées quintons" in the inventory of Pierre Véron of 1731; whether these references are to the Pà5 or a true quinton is questionable.

¹³*Sonates à deux violons sans basse...troisième oeuvre; on peut jouer ces sonates à deux violes.*

¹⁴*Sonates à violon seul et basse...livre premier. Il y a plusieurs Sonates; dans cet Oeuvre, qui peuvent se Jouer sur la Flûte Traversière, et sur le pardessus de Viole et la dixième est a Violoncello obligez.*

¹⁵Chamborn's sonatas can be performed without chords, since flute is also noted on the title page, but Leclair's duos cannot. See also footnote 23 concerning violins converted to pardessus.

¹⁶Michel Corrette, *Méthode pour apprendre facilement à jouer du pardessus de viole à 5 et à 6 cordes avec des leçons à I et II parties* (Paris, n.d. [c. 1748]); Charles Dollé, *Livre troisième, pour le pardessus de viole, tant à cinq qu'à six cordes. Oeuvre 5^e* (1749); Louis de Caix d'Hervelois, *V^e Livre. Pièces pour un pardessus de viole à cinq et six cordes...IX^e oeuvre* (1751); Idim., *V^e Livre. Pièces pour un pardessus de viole à cinq et six cordes...X^e oeuvre* (1753). Caix d'Hervelois' opus IX is a true mix for both instruments, while his opus X is almost entirely for the Pà5.

¹⁷The luthier Salomon mentions "pardessus a l'ancienne façon" in 1767, which could possibly be a reference to the Pà6; earlier inventories frequently mention "pardessus vieux." See Milliot, *Documents*, 180 and *Histoire*, 343.

string and possibly changing the nut, bridge and tailpiece.¹⁸ These conversions do not benefit from the difference in sound of a true Pà5. The Pà5 tuning makes most violin-type chords and double stops possible for the pardessus. This instrument's tuning is often given as c', e', a', d'', g'', but the only historically correct tuning, with the exception of that given by N.G. Lendormy and discussed below, is g, d', a', d'', g'' (see Example 2).¹⁹



Example 2. Tuning for the five-string pardessus, according to Corrette's *Méthode* (c. 1748)

The terms pardessus à cinq cordes and quinton are often used interchangeably, as they were by Michel Corrette in his *Méthode*. It appears that the term quinton is used to describe a pardessus à cinq cordes that has a body similar to a violin; however, this is more of a luthiers' term, since it does not appear on any musical print.²⁰ François-Alexandre-Pierre de Garsault gives us an insight into the change from the Pà5 to the quinton form:

Le par dessus de Viole étoit ci-devant un instrument assez mesquin, maigre, & d'un son foible; mais on s'est avisé de le monter sur un corps de violon, auquel, quoi qu'il soit inférieur, on peut cependant le supposer maintenant assez heureusement. Les Dames ne jouent guères du violon, le par-dessus de Viole leur en tient lieu, parce qu'il joue à peu près tout ce que le

¹⁸See Herzog, "Quinton" for other examples of converted Pà6.

¹⁹It is also possible that the Pà5 was also tuned g, d', a', e'', g'' in anticipation of the four-string pardessus, although no documentation has been found to prove this. See Tourin, "Viol nomenclature."

²⁰Sylvette Milliot, Peter Tourin, and Adolf Heinrich König provide information in support of the quinton as a Pà5 with a violin body. See Milliot, *Histoire*, 152 and *Documents*, passim; Tourin "Viol nomenclature," 361, and Adolf Heinrich König, *Die Viola da gamba* (Frankfurt: Erwin Bochinsky, 1985), 159-63. See Herzog, "Quinton" for a thorough discussion of structural differences between the Pà5 and the quinton.

Violon peut exécuter. Il est monté de cinq cordes, qu'on fait sonner avec un archet. Les tons se sont justes au moyen des touches qui barrent le manche, au nombre de sept: ces touches sont des cordes à boyau serrées & nouées en travers, de distance en distance, sur la touche du manche.²¹

(The pardessus de viole was formerly a rather stingy, thin, and weak-sounding instrument, but then came the idea of building it on the body of the violin, for which, although it may be inferior, we can now substitute it happily enough. Ladies hardly play the violin; the pardessus de viole serves as a substitute because it can play almost everything the violin can. It has five strings, which are played with a bow. The pitches are correct due to seven frets that cross the neck: these frets are made from gut tightened and knotted horizontally from pitch to pitch on the fingerboard.)²²

The quinton gave the Pà5 a sound that was even stronger and closer to that of the violin. The Pà5 and quinton were used until the end of the eighteenth century.

The last and least-known form of the pardessus de viole is the four-string pardessus (Pà4). Since there are no known surviving instruments of this type we must assume that it was in fact a violin held on the knees as a pardessus.²³ The Pà4 completed the pardessus' development towards an instrument capable of playing violin chords. This instrument is mentioned by L'Abbé le fils,²⁴ Pierre Hugard (also called Hugard de St. Guy),²⁵ and C.R.

²¹François-Alexandre-Pierre de Garsault, *Notionnaire, ou mémorial raisonné* (Paris, 1761), facsimile ed. in *Méthodes & Traités 5: Série I: France 1600–1800: Alto & Par-dessus de viole: Méthodes et Traités-Dictionnaires*, ed. Philippe Lescat and Jean Saint-Arroman (Courlay: Fuzeau, 2000), 126.

²²All translations are by the author.

²³Milliot gives several references to "violon en pardessus" and "petit violon en pardessus," though whether this refers to a Pà4, Pà5, or a quinton is unclear. These references occur as early as 1730. It is clear that they could not be referring to the Pà6 owing to the instruments' small size. Instruments were also converted from pardessus to violins (or perhaps Pà4) and viola d'amour. See Milliot, *Documents*, 136–37, 222–28, and *Histoire*, 324–25, 364–66.

²⁴*Principes du Violon, ... Les Personnes qui jouent du Par-dessus-de Viole à quatre Cordes peuvent faire usage de ces Principes...* (Paris, 1761, reprinted 1772).

²⁵*Le Goût du siècle pour le Pardessus de Viole à 4 cordes, ou Violon* (Paris, c. 1771).

Brijon (writing under the name Posuel de Verneaux) in the method that will be discussed later. Brijon gives the tuning of this instrument as g, d', a', e'', and tells us that the choice between the Pà4 and the Pà5 is a matter of taste. This instrument was in use by 1766 and remained in use until the end of the eighteenth century. The last reference we have to a pardessus of any type is an inventory from the luthier Lejeune of Paris in 1801.²⁶

The pardessus experienced a final transformation towards the end of its popularity. In 1779 N.G. Lendormy introduced the alto viole. This instrument is described as a Pà5 with wide ribs, which has been restrung a fifth lower (c, g, d', g', c''). Lendormy wrote three collections for this instrument: 1) *Mélanges d'Airs choisis, Ariettes, &c. pour être exécutés en solo ou avec la Basse, par un Alto-viole, ou par l'Alto, précédés d'observations sur l'Alto-viole & sur la manière de jouer cet Instrument*; 2) *Six Duo, de différents Auteurs Italiens, ajustés pour deux alto ou alto viole, & mis au jour par M. N.G. Lendormy... Oeuvre II*; and 3) *Six Trietti, de différents Auteurs Italiens, ajustés pour deux alto ou alto viole, avec la basse, mis au jour par M. N.G. Lendormy... Oeuvre III*. These works, which are discussed below, appeared between 1779 and 1781, as advertised by the *Mercure de France*, the *Annonces, affiches et avis divers*, and the *Almanach Musical*.

Although most of the music mentioning the pardessus does not specify the type of instrument, the chord voicing indicates that the majority can be performed on either the Pà5 or Pà4. Those pieces intended solely for the Pà6 were written before 1753 and, as Corrette mentions, are very few.²⁷ It is interesting to note that Corrette lists the two books by Louis Heudelinne as

²⁶See Milliot, *Documents*, 229 and *Histoire*, 367–68.

²⁷...et pour le Pardessus à 6 cordes, il n'y a que 4 livres de musique composez exprès, savoir, 2 de Mr. Hudeline qu'on ne trouve plus: un de Mr. l'Abbé Marc, et un de Mr. Barrier, quoique ces auteurs soient excellents, on ne peut pas toujours jouer la même chose toute sa vie." (...and for the six-string pardessus there are only four books of music composed specifically for it: two by Mr. Hudeline [Louis Heudelinne] which we don't find any more, one by Mr. L'Abbé Marc [Thomas Marc], and one by Mr. Barrier [Jean Barrière]; while these are excellent composers one cannot play the same thing all one's life.) Corrette, *Méthode*, 2. Corrette's is not a complete list of pieces for the Pà6.

music for the Pà6, since they are originally intended for the treble viol. There are in fact several works appearing from 1692 to 1722 that are possibly intended for the pardessus de viole.²⁷ The term “dessus de viole” also changes meaning throughout the eighteenth century to indicate either the true treble viol, the Pà5, or the Pà6.

Methods

Perhaps the most important resources for gambists are the methods and technical writings concerning their instrument. Those related to the pardessus de viole are:

Pierre Dupont, *Principes de violon par demandes & réponse* (1718, reprinted 1740).

Charles Dollé, *Pièces pour le pardessus de viole avec la basse continue, divisées en trois classes pour la facilité de ceux qui apprennent à jouer cet instrument...oeuvre III^e* (1737).

Joseph Bodin de Boismortier, *Principes de pardessus de viole. Oeuvre 92^e* (c. 1741).

Michel Corrette, *Méthode pour apprendre facilement à jouer du pardessus de viole à 5 et à 6 cordes avec des leçons à I et II parties* (c. 1748).

Bordet, *Méthode Raisonnée...* (1755, reprinted 1759).

L'Abbé le fils (Joseph Barnabé Saint-Sevin), *Principes du Violon pour apprendre le doigté de cet instrument, et les différens agrémens dont il est susceptible...Ces Principes sont suivis de deux suites d'airs d'Opéra à deux Violons...Les Personnes qui jouent du Par-dessus-de Viole à quatre Cordes peuvent faire usage de ces Principes, en observant seulement de*

²⁷Among these are Marin Marais, *Pièces en trio pour les flûtes, violons & dessus de viole*, 1692; Jean-Féry Rebel, *Pièces pour le violon, avec la basse continue divisées par suites de tons: qui peuvent aussi se jouer sur le clavecin et sur la viole*, 1705; Jacques Morel, *Chaconne en trio, Le Dessus de cette Chaconne se peut joier avec un Violon. ou un Dessus de Violle in his I^r Livre de pièces de viole avec une chaconne en trio pour une flûte traversière, une violle et la basse continue*, 1710.

donner aux Lettres t et p une signification contraire à celle que l'on trouvera dans ce Livre (1761, reprinted 1772).

Anonymous, *Recueil d'Airs (Principes de Musique pour le Pardessus de Viole)* (1763).

Posuel de Verneaux, *Méthode nouvelle et facile pour apprendre à jouer du par-dessus de viole* (1766).

Lendormy, *Mélanges d'Airs choisis, Ariettes, &c. pour être exécutés en solo ou avec la Basse, par un Alto-viole, ou par l'Alto, précédés d'observations sur l'Alto-viole & sur la manière de jouer cet Instrument* (c. 1779).

Boismortier's *Principes* dates from around 1741 but is unfortunately lost. It is curious to note that Boismortier wrote only four works for or including the pardessus (opus 57, 61, 63, and 65) in 1735 and 1736. There is a span of five to six years and thirty works before his *Principes*.²⁸ The *Méthode Raisonnée* by Bordet of 1755 (reprinted 1759) is a basic introduction to reading music and playing several instruments, especially the flute. Bordet gives the tuning and fingering for the Pà5 only and mentions that the bow markings are the opposite of those for the violin. The privately held anonymous *Recueil d'Airs*, which contains a section entitled *Principes de Musique pour Le Pardessus de Viole*, is mentioned in an article by Miloradovitch²⁹ and is still unavailable for study.³⁰

L'Abbé le fils published his revolutionary method *Principes du Violon...Les Personnes qui jouent du Par-dessus-de Viole à quatre Cordes peuvent faire usage de ces Principes* (Principles of the Violin...Those who play the four-string pardessus can make use of these principles) in 1761 and again in 1772. All of the works by L'Abbé le fils that include pardessus (whether the Pà5 or Pà4) represent an astonishing level of technical ability

²⁸Dubuquoy-Portois mentions that Louis de Caix d'Hervelois' Opus 6 and Boismortier's Opus 61 list both authors living at the same addresses. It was perhaps Caix d'Hervelois' influence on Boismortier that led him to include the pardessus in these works; sadly opus 57, 63, and 65 are lost. Dubuquoy-Portois, "Pardessus de viole," 145.

²⁹Miloradovitch, "Manuscript Transcriptions," 66.

³⁰Personal inquiry to the Library of the Geneva Conservatory of Music.

Minuetto
(vivace).

Piano, Forte.

Variatione I.

Variatione II.

Example 3. L'Abbé le fils, *Jolies airs...* (Paris, 1763), pp. 26–27

27.

Variatione III.

FINIS.

(see Example 3).³¹ Although many of the bowing techniques discussed by L'Abbé are nearly impossible on the pardessus, the majority of the music is possible and remarkably well suited to the instrument (including two chaconnes from Forqueray arranged for two violins or pardessus). Inclusion of the pardessus in certain of L'Abbé's works cannot be haphazard, since none of his other works for violin call for it.

Dupont's *Principes* of 1718 and 1740 both mention the Pà6. He simply describes the difference in bow direction for the pardessus and the violin and states that the pardessus can use the same lessons found in his *Principes*.³² No further mention of the pardessus is made except to give the standard tuning of the Pà6. The publication in 1740 is exactly the same as that of 1718, except that the later edition gives a name for the Pà6 tuning.

The *Pièces pour le pardessus de viole avec la basse continue...oeuvre III^e* of 1737, by Charles Dollé, approaches the instrument in a didactical way, presenting graded solos and duos.³³ It is likely that Dollé was active as a pardessus teacher and was writing for his students.³⁴

The most widely available method today is Corrette's *Méthode*, which provides a vast amount of information about the technical aspects of playing the pardessus as well as important performance practice information.³⁵ Its one perplexing aspect is the bow grip, which Corrette describes as follows:

³¹The five works are 1) *Jolis airs ajustés et variés pour un violon seul...ces airs peuvent se jouer sur le pardessus...oeuvre VII^e* (1763); 2) *Premier recueil d'airs françois et italiens avec des variations pour deux violons, deux pardessus ou pour une flutte ou hautbois avec un violon* (c. 1756); 3) *Deuxième recueil d'airs françois et italiens avec des variations pour deux violons, deux pardessus ou pour une flutte avec un violon* (c. 1757); 4) *III^e Recueil d'airs françois et italiens avec des variations pour deux violons ou deux pardessus* (1757); 5) *IV^e Recueil d'airs françois et italiens avec des variations pour deux violons ou deux pardessus* (c. 1771).

³²Dupont, *Principes de violon par demandes et réponses* (Paris, 1718), 8.

³³This work was thought to be lost but was discovered in the Yale University library. See Green, "Charles Dollé's First Work," 67.

³⁴See Green, "Charles Dollé's First Work," passim.

³⁵The date of Corrette's *Méthode* has frequently been given as 1738; however, he cites Barrière's Book 5, which was not published until 1739, according to its privilege. Madame Lévi, who is also mentioned in Corrette's

L'Archet se tient avec trois doigts de la main droite; sçavoir, poser le pouce sur le bois de l'archet et au dessus du crin pres de la hausse, le second doigt sur le dos de l'archet, le 3 doigt entre le crin et le bois, et le 4^e dessus le dos de l'archet, et le 5^e doigt dessous le crin sans rien tenir.³⁷

(The bow is held with three fingers of the right hand; place the thumb on the wood of the bow and above the hair, close to the frog, the second finger on the back of the bow, the third finger between the hair and the wood, the fourth finger above the back of the bow, and the fifth finger under the hair without holding anything.)

This appears to describe a grip that uses four fingers to hold the bow,³⁸ eliminating the possibility of using the middle finger for adding tension to the hair. The product is a sound that is loud and not easily controlled. The directions for the fourth finger are most likely a mistake and should read "et le 4^e dessous le dos de l'archet" or "the fourth finger *under* the back of the bow." Corrette's directions for the fourth and fifth finger seem to be intended to prevent the student from clutching them to the palm, which would reduce the flexibility of the other fingers. Unfortunately, the only surviving copy of Corrette's *Méthode*, in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), is missing the picture of a pardessus player referred to on page 5, which might have provided some answers to these questions.³⁹ Several well-known portraits from the same period show a bow grip that seems to match Corrette's description, such as those of Jean-Baptiste Forqueray by J.-M. Frédo and Madame Henriette de France by J.-M. Nattier.

Corrette's *Méthode* includes an illustration of a pardessus bow that looks like a standard viol bow where the stick meets the hair at an angle of 45°. I have had the privilege of seeing several

Méthode, did not make her Paris début until 1745. The *Mercure de France* advertised the *Méthode* in April 1748.

³⁷Corrette, *Méthode*, 10.

³⁸This view is confirmed by Pratt, "Playing Technique," 54.

³⁹This is probably due to a nineteenth-century rebinding of the book by the Paris Conservatoire. My thanks to Dr. Thomas Leconte of the Bibliothèque Nationale for his help in my research.

extant pardessus bows that were found with their instruments in their original cases.⁴⁰ One of these bows is closer to a Tourte-style violin bow, with the stick meeting the hair at an angle of 90°. As Tina Chancey discusses in her article, the bow greatly affects the articulation and sound of the pardessus.⁴¹

Corrette also gives us several hints to the expanded repertoire of the pardessus. Among the violin composers that Corrette mentions in his *Méthode* are Corelli, Vivaldi, Tartini, and Locatelli. In examining the repertoire for the pardessus de viole, it is very easy to lose sight of the fact that pardessus players would have played any music for a treble instrument that they liked. One of the most curious uses of the Pà5 given by Corrette is:

Le Pardessus à 5 cordes est encore très commode pour jouer l'Alto Viola des Concerto, comme cette partie ne se joue que sur les Basses, elle est beaucoup plus aisée sur le Quinton, que sur le Pardessus à 6 cordes par rapport à l'accord; car où il n'y a que 2 cordes au Pardessus à 5 cordes pour les Basses il y en a 3 au pardessus à 6 cordes.⁴²

(The five-string pardessus is also very useful for playing the viola part in concertos; as this part is only played on the bass strings, it is much easier on the quinton [Pà5] than on the pardessus with six strings due to its tuning; while there are only two strings for the bass on the five-string pardessus there are three on the six-string pardessus.)⁴³

This practice does not make sense in Corrette's description, since the alto part of concertos of this period mostly double the bass part and would frequently go too low for either the Pà5 or Pà6. This type of thinking would present itself again in Lendormy's method of 1779.

⁴⁰These bows are currently in the possession of the Musée de la Musique (Paris, France), Tina Chancey in Alexandria, Virginia, and José Vasquez in Vienna, Austria. The instrument in Vienna is of Flemish origin and has been examined by Karel Moens of the Vleeshuis museum, Antwerp.

⁴¹Chancey, "Gender, Class," 2: 40-41.

⁴²Corrette, *Méthode*, 4.

⁴³Corrette uses the terms quinton and pardessus à cinq cordes interchangeably.

The last surviving method is by Posuel de Verneaux, most likely a pen name for the violin and pardessus teacher, composer, and performer C.R. Brijon.⁴⁴ His *Méthode nouvelle et facile pour apprendre à jouer du par-dessus de viole* of 1766 is one of the most amusing and perhaps self-serving methods written for any instrument.⁴⁵ It is divided into two sections. The first, entitled *Au Public*, was written in 1765 and discusses the nature of music and how music should be judged; it presents Brijon as a prominent musician in both Paris and Lyon. Verneaux discusses Brijon's "new" method of bowing for the violin that places down-bows on strong beats (hardly a new or revolutionary concept in 1766) in accordance with the conducting pattern of swinging the arm up and down to mark beats in cut time. In the last paragraph Verneaux mentions that Brijon also teaches the pardessus with the same technique.

The second section is the actual method, which is further divided into more sections. The first is entitled *Observations préliminaires*. Verneaux begins with the following:

Le par-dessus de Viole avoit été regardé comme très-imparfait, avant que Madame Lévi eût fait entendre & connoître à tout Paris, qu'il rassemble les perfections du Violon; mais notre admiration doit encore s'augmenter bien plus sur ses talents si supérieurs & uniques, en considérant les désavantages qui résultent de la manière de tenir & conduire l'Archet du pardessus de Viole. Malgré la faveur la plus signalée de la nature dans les dispositions surprenantes de cette Dame, quelle étude immense ne lui a-t-il pas fallu faire, pour surmonter les obstacles dont on va parler?⁴⁶

(The pardessus de viole was regarded as an imperfect instrument before Madame Lévi made evident throughout Paris that it summons up the perfections of the violin; but our admiration for her superior and unique talents must grow even more when

⁴⁴The card catalogue of the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague lists the author of this work as C.R. Brijon.

⁴⁵The only copy of this ten-page book is housed at the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague, The Netherlands (shelf mark 4 C 63); a photocopy can easily be obtained for a very small fee and shipping costs.

⁴⁶Posuel de Verneaux, *Méthode nouvelle et facile pour apprendre à jouer du par-dessus de viole* (Lyon, 1765), 3-4.

considering the disadvantages that result from the manner of holding and moving the bow on this instrument. In spite of her amazing natural aptitude, what immense study must she have made to surmount these obstacles?)

One can only imagine Madame Lévi's reaction to this introduction.⁴⁷ Verneaux cites several problems with the underhand bow grip. He says it makes it impossible to play *inéga*le or *détaché*. When playing on the fourth and fifth string (Verneaux is speaking only about the Pà5) the hand is in an unnatural position and the arm, hand, and fingers are uncomfortable. When a pardessus and violin are playing the same part their bowings are contrary.⁴⁸ Successive notes sound dragged and cannot be varied with lifted *détaché*, articulated slurs, and so on. Brijon closes the *Observations préliminaires* section by saying:

On pourroit étendre les remarques sur ce sujet bien plus loin; mais on va seulement rapporter que le regne de la Basse de Viole n'est tombé, que par l'uniformité qui se trouve dans l'exécution sur cet instrument occasionnée par les mêmes défauts. Dans les commencements que l'on a joué du Violoncelle ou Basse de

⁴⁷Mademoiselle Lévi (she is referred to as both Madame and Mademoiselle) was one of the first virtuoso performers of the pardessus de viole. She appeared fourteen times at the Concert Spirituel in Paris between February and April 1745, each time performing a concerto. See Chancey, "Gender, Class," 1: 62–66. Mademoiselle Lévi's sister Madame Haubault was also a virtuoso pardessus performer who appeared three times at the Concert Spirituel in April of 1750. It is interesting to note that while Mademoiselle Lévi was the more praised sister (her name was still being used as a reference as late as 1775), Madame Haubault's appearance in 1750 coincides with a period of increased publications for the pardessus de viole. Pierre-Louis d'Aquin mentions both sisters in his *Siècle littéraire de Louis XV, ou Lettres sur les hommes célèbres* (1754) but seems to praise Madame Haubault more by including a pastoral ode to her. An interesting coincidence with the 1766 reference to Mademoiselle Lévi in Verneaux is an entry in the *Mercur de France* (April, 1765), 159–60, "Six Sonates de harpe, qui peuvent se jouer sur le clavecin, avec accompagnement de violon, par M. Lévy, Maître de musique & par-dessus de viole..." This Monsieur Lévy is perhaps yet another pardessus-playing member of the Lévi-Haubault family.

⁴⁸The practice of a pardessus and violin playing together was very common in Lyon, where the orchestra at one time was made up of more viols than violins. See Vallas, *Siècle de Musique*, 104. Lendormy's *Trois Dialogues en Duo pour un Pardessus de Viole à cinq cordes, & un Violon...Oeuvre I*, also supports this practice.

Violon, on suivoit pour l'Archet la même méthode que celle qui s'observe à l'égard de cette première Basse; mais on en a reconnu l'abus; il est bien temps de le reconnoître à l'occasion du pardessus de Viole. Au surplus il regne seul dans son espèce actuellement. On ne peut disconvenir qu'il est fait pour rassembler les perfections du Violon. Les principes que l'on substitue pour cet effet, sont sûrs, ils sont courts, & se trouvent aisés, parce qu'ils sont puisés dans la nature.⁴⁹

(We could carry these remarks further but we will only note that the reign of the bass viol fell only because of the uniformity in execution on that instrument due to the same faults. When we began to play the violoncello or the basse de violon we used the same method for the bow that we have seen with the bass viol but we recognized the abuse; it is high time to recognize this for the pardessus de viole. In addition it is currently the only instrument of its type. We cannot deny that it was made to imitate the perfection of the violin. The techniques that we substitute for this effect are sure, short, and easy because they are more natural.)

The remainder of the method describes adapting an overhand bow grip to the pardessus. Brijon says that the rest of the technique for the pardessus is the same except that "on observera seulement lorsque l'on posera cet instrument sur soi pour en jouer, de ne pas tout à-fait l'approcher si près des genoux."⁵⁰ (We observe only that when the instrument is put in playing position that it is not too close to the knees.) He closes with:

A Paris beaucoup de personnes jouent le par-dessus de Viole à quatre cordes, alors le Doigté & l'accord sont semblables à celui du Violon, néanmoins ce choix dépend de la volonté. L'on remarquera que l'objet de ces observations ne peut tendre qu'à un avantage très-grand, & que le zèle qui conduit M. Brijon dans ce genre d'ouvrage, est fondé sur son intention constante de le rendre utile aux Amateurs.⁵¹

(In Paris many people play the four-string pardessus de viole, thus the fingering and tuning are similar to the violin; nevertheless the choice is a matter of taste. We remark that the object of these observations can only benefit, and that the zeal that M.

⁴⁹Verneaux, *Méthode*, 6–7.

⁵⁰Verneaux, *Méthode*, 10.

⁵¹Verneaux, *Méthode*, 10–11.

Brijon has for this type of work is founded on his intention to make it easy for amateurs.)

We cannot be sure if the overhand bow grip ever gained any popularity, but L'Abbé le fils tells us on the title page of his *Principes du Violon* that the underhand bow grip is still used as late as 1772 by his comment, "Les Personnes qui jouent du Pardessus de Viole à quatre Cordes peuvent faire usage de ces Principes, en observant seulement de donner aux Lettres *t* et *p* une signification contraire à celle que l'on trouvera dans ce Livre." (People who play the pardessus de viole with four strings can use this method, observing only to give the letters *t* and *p* [tirez (pull) and poussez (push)—the strong and weak bow directions respectively in overhand bowing, but the opposite in underhand] an opposite meaning to that found in this book). Lendormy's *Mélanges* (discussed below) also mentions the use of the underhand bow grip in 1779.

The remaining method, to my knowledge, has never previously been mentioned in any of the literature on the pardessus de viole. The *Mélanges d'Airs* by N.G. Lendormy is lost, but the *Mercur de France* provides a lengthy introduction to this work:

Observations sur l'Alto-viole, ou Dessus de viole monté en haute-contre, par M. Lendormy.

L'Auteur de ces Observations a composé & arrangé pour ce nouvel instrument différentes pièces, qu'il a publiés sous le titre de *Mélanges d'Airs choisis, Ariettes, &c. pour être exécutés en solo ou avec la Basse, par un Alto-viole, ou par l'Alto, précédés d'observations sur l'Alto-viole & sur la manière de jouer cet Instrument.*

Le 1er Recueil de ces airs, avec les Observations, se trouve aux Adresses ordinaires de Musique. Prix, 3 liv. 12 sols.

L'abondance des matières ne nous a pas permis d'insérer en entier, dans ce Journal, les Observations sur l'Alto-viole,* que l'Auteur nous a adressées depuis long-temps; nous allons en donner un extrait.

Le corps de cet Instrument est le même que celui du Dessus de Viole, & il a des Touches comme celui-ci, mais il en diffère par le nombre de ses cordes, & par la manière dont il est accordé.

Le Dessus de Viole a six cordes, qui sont, en commençant par la plus basse, *ré, sol, ut, mi, la, ré*, accordées comme on voit, par quartes, excepté la corde *mi*, qui est à la tierce d'*ut*; au lieu que

l'Alto-viole, avec moins de cordes, a un ton de plus d'étendue du côté du bas. Ses cordes sont *ut, sol, ré, sol, ut*; les premières s'accordent par quintes, & les deux extrêmes par quartes.

Entre les divers avantages qui résultent de cet accord, & de la suppression d'une corde, pour la qualité du son de l'Instrument, on a encore celui de pouvoir, au moyen de l'*ut* d'en-bas, jouer la Partie de l'Alto, qu'on fait être devenue une partie souvent très-intéressante depuis quelque temps, ce qu'on ne peut faire avec le Dessus de Viole, borné au par en bas. Le Recueil d'Airs que vient de publier l'Auteur, prouve d'ailleurs qu'on joue des Pièces sur cet Instrument, & il assure que les Ariettes, ainsi que les Chants tendres & affectueux, y font le plus grand effet.

Cet Instrument paroît convenir particulièrement aux femmes, soit par la douceur de ses sons, la facilité que lui procure son accord, soit encore par la manière de conduire l'Archet & de tenir l'Instrument, qui est la même que pour le Par-dessus de Viole. Ses principes sont également les mêmes; ainsi les personnes qui jouent du Par-dessus seront bientôt en état de jouer de l'Alto-viole.

Pour ce qui regarde la manière de fixer le ton sur cet Instrument, comme il n'a point de corde *la*, on le monte sur le *sol*, & l'on a pour cela deux *sol*, l'un au grave, l'autre à l'aigu, selon la nature des Instruments dont on prend le ton. L'Auteur remarque dans ses observations que l'Alto-viole se monte aussi haut que l'on veut, & que peu d'instrumens fatiguent moins les cordes que celui-ci, avantage qu'on n'a point avec le Par-dessus de Viole, qu'il est bien difficile d'assortir de Chanterelles qui puissent se monter au très-haut des Concerts d'aujourd'hui.

*Il seroit à souhaiter qu'on désignât ce nouvel Instrument par un autre nom. Celui d'Alto-viole a trop de ressemblance avec le mot Italien *Alto-violà*, qui est le nom propre de l'Instrument, qu'on appelle simplement aujourd'hui *Alto*. Mais puisqu'on a ainsi abrégé le mot *Alto-violà*, qui est-ce qui assurera que dans moins de cinq à six ans, on n'abrégera pas de même celui d'*Alto-viole*? On n'aura donc plus alors que le mot *Alto* pour désigner un Instrument à Touches, & fait comme une Viole, ou un Instrument sans Touches, & fait comme un Violon?⁵²

(Observations on the Alto-viole, or Treble viol tuned in haute-contre, by M. Lendormy.

⁵²*Mercur de France* (5 January 1779): 65-67.

The author of these observations has composed and arranged for this new instrument various pieces that he has published under the title *Collections of selected Airs, Ariettes, etc. to be played solo or with a bass, by an Alto-viole, or by the viola, preceded by observations on the Alto-viole and on the manner of playing this instrument.*

The first collection of these airs with observations can be found at the usual locations for music. Price, 3 liv. 12 sols.

The abundance of this material did not permit us to include in their entirety the observations on the alto-viole, which the author had addressed to us some time ago. We will give only a portion in this journal.

The body of this instrument is the same as the treble viol and it has frets as well, but it differs in the number of strings and the manner of tuning.

The treble viol has six strings which are, from the lowest, d, g, c', e', a', d'', tuned as we see in fourths, except for the e' which is tuned a third to the c'; the alto-viole has fewer strings and extends the range a tone lower in the bass. Its strings are c, g, d', g', c''; the first are tuned by fifths and the last two by fourths.

One of the many advantages that result from this tuning and the omission of one string, which improves the quality of the instrument's sound, is the possibility of playing the viola part, thanks to the low C string. This part is often very interesting and could not be played by the treble viol. The collection of airs just published by the author proves that pieces are being played on this instrument, and he assures us that the *ariettes* and *chants tendres et affectueux* have a great effect.

This instrument seems particularly appropriate for women due to its sweet sounds, the ease of tuning, and the manner of bowing and holding the instrument, which is the same as for the pardessus de viole. Its technique is also the same, and those who play the pardessus will soon be able to play the alto-viole.

Concerning the tuning of the instrument, because there is no A, we tune by G; there are two Gs, one low and one high, so we can choose according to the type of instruments to which we are tuning. The author notes that this instrument can be tuned as high as wanted and that few instruments cause less wear to the strings, unlike the pardessus de viole which is very hard to furnish with top strings that can be tuned up to the pitch used in concerts today.

*It would be desirable to call this instrument by another name. The name Alto-viole bears too much resemblance to the Italian

word *Alto-viola*, which is the proper name of the instrument we call today simply *Alto* [the French term for "viola"]. But since we have thus shortened the name *Alto-viola*, who is to say that in five or six years we will not shorten the name *Alto-viole*? Will we then have only the name *Alto* to signify both a fretted instrument made like a viol and an unfretted instrument made like a violin?)

Lendormy is essentially describing a Pà5 with the body of a treble viol that is tuned a fifth lower. Several other advertisements give us more information on the alto viole:

Alto Viole, ou dessus de Viol monté en haute-contre

Ce nouvel instrument pour lequel M Lendormy vient de publier un Recueil d'Airs & qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec l'alto, est de la même forme que le par-dessus de viole; il a aussi des touches, & la maniere de tenir l'instrument & de conduire l'archet est la même que pour le par-dessus; la seule différence qu'il y ait entre ces deux instrumens, est que le par-dessus de viole a six cordes, qui sont, en commençant par la plus basse, ré, sol, ut, mi, la, ré, & l'alto viole n'en a que cinq, qui sont, ut, sol, ré, sol, ut. Il est aisé de voir que ces cinq cordes embrassent, au moyen de leur accord, autant d'étendue que les six cordes du par-dessus, c'est-à-dire, deux octaves à vuide. On peut, au moyen de l'ut d'en bas, exécuter sur le nouvel instrument la partie de l'alto, ce que l'on ne peut pas faire avec le par-dessus qui est borné au ré. Les cordes du nouvel instrument peuvent se monter au ton le plus haut des concerts, & fatiguent beaucoup moins que celles du par-dessus pour lequel on a peine à trouver des chanterelles. Au reste, les principes de ce nouvel instrument sont les mêmes que ceux du par-dessus de viole & ceux qui savent jouer de l'un auront peu de peine à passer à l'autre. Cet instrument convient surtout aux femmes par la douceur de ses sons, la commodité de l'attitude dans laquelle on en joue, & la facilité de ses principes.⁵³

(Alto viole, or Treble Viol tuned in haute-contre)

This new instrument, for which M. Lendormy has just published a Collection of Airs and which must not be confused with the viola, has the same shape as the pardessus de viole; it also has frets, and the manner of holding the instrument and moving the

⁵³*Almanach Musical* (Paris, 1779): 31-33.

bow is the same as for the pardessus; the only difference between these two instruments is that the pardessus de viole has six strings, which are, from the lowest, d, g, c', e', a', d", and the alto viole only has five, which are c, g, d', g', c". It is easy to see that these five strings encompass, by the method of their tuning, as much as the range of the six strings of the pardessus—two octaves—on open strings. One can, because of the low C, play the viola part on this new instrument, which is not possible with the pardessus which is limited to d. The strings of this new instrument can be tuned to the highest concert pitch, and wear out much less than those of the pardessus, whose highest string is difficult to obtain. For the rest, the principles of this new instrument are the same as those of the pardessus de viole, and those who know how to play one can easily pass to the other. This new instrument is especially appropriate for women because of its sweet sound, the comfort of its playing position, and the ease of its technique.)

Mélanges d'airs choisis, d'ariettes, &c, pour être exécutés en solo ou avec la basse pour un alto viole, précédés d'observations sur l'alto viole, & sur la manière de jouer de cet instrument; prix 3 liv. 12 sols.

La viole a toujours été employée en France à lier dessus avec les basses, & a remplir les vuides qui existoient entr'eux si on ne la faisoit pas servir à compléter l'accord du tout. Il y a trente ans qu'on faisoit apprendre aux jeunes personnes à jouer de cet instrument à six cordes. On l'a abandonné à cause de son peu d'étendue. M. Lendormy s'est flatté de remettre cet instrument en usage. Il a par ce moyen réformé l'accord de cet instrument. Il l'a rendu très-propre à former la partie de l'alto.⁵⁴

(Mélanges of selected airs, ariettes, etc., to be played solo or with bass for an alto viole, preceded by observations on the alto viol and the manner of playing this instrument. Price 3 liv. 12 sols.

The viol was always used in France to link the treble parts with the basses and to fill the gap that would exist between them if one didn't use it to complete the harmonies. For thirty years this six-string instrument was taught to young people. It was abandoned owing to its small range. M. Lendormy claims to have put the instrument back into use. He has changed the tuning

⁵⁴*Almanach Musical* (Paris, 1781): 190.

of this instrument. He has made it appropriate for playing the part of the viola.)

6 Duo pour 2 alto ou alto-viole, de différens Auteurs Italiens, ajustés & mis au jour par M. N.G. Lendormy. Oeuvre II. -6 Trietti pour 2 alto ou alto-viole, avec la basse, aussi de différens Auteurs Italiens, par le même. Oeuvre III. Aux adresses ordinaires de musique: 4 liv. 16 s. pièce. Ces 2 livres ont été faits pour l'alto-viole, instrument à 6 cordes, connu sous le nom de dessus de viole, anciennement très en vogue, & depuis long-tems totalement abandonné, à cause de peu d'étendue que lui fournissoit son accord, quoiqu'à 6 cordes, pour jouer les parties supérieurs ou les parties basses, telles que l'alto, qui est sa véritable partie. M Lendormy vient de remettre en usage cet instrument, que regrettoient les personnes qui en ont connu la douceur & la beauté. Au moyen d'une réforme, tant dans l'accord que dans le nombre des cordes, qu'il réduit à 5, il le rend propre à faire très-avantageusement la partie de l'alto, en même tems qu'il est plus sonore & d'une exécution plus facile. Il a publié il y a quelque tems, pour ce nouvel instrument, un Recueil d'Airs, intitulé: Mélanges d'Airs choisis, Ariettes, &c. pour être exécutés en solo ou avec la basse, par un alto-viole, précédés d'observations sur l'alto-viole & la maniere de jouer cet instrument. Oeuvre I. Aux adresses ordinaires: prix 3 liv. 12 s.⁵⁵

(6 Duos for 2 violas or alto-viols, by various Italian composers, adapted and brought to light by M. N.G. Lendormy. Opus II. 6 Trios for 2 violas or alto-viols, with bass, also by various Italian composers, by the same. Opus III. At the usual music locations: 4 liv. 16s. apiece. These two books have been written for the alto-viole, a six-string instrument, known by the name treble viol, formerly very popular and then totally abandoned for a long time because of the small range resulting from its tuning, even though it has six strings, used for playing the high or low parts such as the alto which is its true part. M. Lendormy has just put this instrument back into use, which had been missed by those who knew its sweetness and beauty. By changing its tuning and number of strings, which he has reduced to five, he has made it appropriate for playing the viola part and at the same time it is more sonorous and easier to play. Some time ago he published for this instrument a collection of airs entitled: Mélanges of

⁵⁵*Annonces, affiches et avis divers* (Paris, 18 February 1780): 389.

selected airs, ariettes, etc., to be played solo or with bass by an alto-viole, preceded by observations on the alto-viol and the manner of playing this instrument. Opus I. At the usual locations: price 3 liv. 12 s.)

The practice of playing viola parts on a pardessus may have been even less popular than Brijon's overhand bowing, but it is not a foreign concept. As we have seen, Corrette mentions using the Pà5 as a viola substitute in 1749; fifty years later Lendormy took this practice further by changing the tuning of the Pà5 to better fit this range. Another interesting fact is that the Pà6 was still known as late as 1779, although it was no longer popular. We also see that the pitch used in concerts by around 1780 had risen too high for the pardessus.

In the notices of these works for Alto-viole, there is no mention of any of the three books for pardessus by Lendormy, also numbered opus I to III. This absence of any reference to Lendormy's *Trois Dialogues en Duo pour un Pardessus de Viole à cinq cordes, & un Violon...oeuvre I*; his *Premier livre des pièces pour le pardessus de viole ou le violon avec la basse...oeuvre II*; or his *Second livre de pièces pour le pardessus de viole à cinq cordes avec la basse...oeuvre III*, seems strange since the *Mercure de France* frequently mentions previous works by the same author as a way of selling old works and promoting the reputation of the author. Perhaps because the *Mélanges* were intended for a different instrument—the Alto-viole—Lendormy's works for pardessus are not mentioned.⁵⁶

⁵⁶Rose dates Lendormy's opus 2 and 3 as 1779 and mentions that the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris gives a reference to Lendormy's opus 2 in the January 1779 *Mercure de France*; see Rose, "Pardessus de Viole," 43–44, 46. However, the only mention in that month of Lendormy is of the *Mélanges*. Furthermore, François Lesure's *Catalogue de la musique imprimée avant 1800 conservée dans les bibliothèques publiques de Paris* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1981) does not mention this reference; however, the reference is given in the card catalogue of the library itself. Lendormy's opus 1 is advertised in the *Annonces, affiches et avis divers*, 8 March 1756; this would seem to place opus 2 and 3 closer to 1760.

A Brief Look at Pardessus Performers and Teachers

The pardessus de viole was frequently described in the eighteenth century as an amateur instrument or a substitute for the violin. The most quoted account supporting this is from Ancelet:

La Basse-de-Viol est donc maintenant releguée dans les cabinets des vieux Partisans de l'ancienne Musique, qui, après s'être amusés toute leur vie, semblent vouloir perpétuer leur goût en inspirant à leurs enfans, & surtout aux jeunes Demoiselles, de préférer par décence le Pardessus de Viole aux autres Instrumens, comme s'il étoit moins honnête de mettre un Violon sur l'épaule qu'un Pardessus entre les jambes.⁵⁷

(The bass viol is now confined to the apartments of the old supporters of the old style of music, who, being entertained by it all their lives, seem to want to perpetuate their tastes and inspire their children, and especially their young daughters, for decency's sake to prefer the Pardessus de Viole to other instruments, as if it would be less respectable to place the Violin on the shoulder than the Pardessus between their legs.)

Ancelet does not mention pardessus players' abilities, merely the types of people who play the instrument. Undoubtedly in some circles the pardessus de viole was a very amateur instrument, as can be seen from the vast number of *Recueils* for it published throughout the eighteenth century.⁵⁸

Many prominent musicians played the pardessus in addition to their main instruments. These players included cellists (Jean Barrière⁵⁹ and Mr. De Caix⁶⁰), violinists (C.R. Brijon), and gam-

⁵⁷Ancelet, *Observations sur la musique, les musiciens et les instrumens* (Amsterdam, 1757), 23.

⁵⁸*Recueils* were collections of popular melodies and instrumental pieces, most frequently arranged for two treble instruments. Although most are fairly simple, several are quite complex, such as those by L'Abbé le fils. Several *Recueils* are intended for voice with instrumental accompaniment.

⁵⁹The cellist Jean Barrière owned several pardessus de violes at the time of his death. See Sylvette Milliot, *Le Violoncelle en France au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Champion-Slatkine, 1985), 121.

⁶⁰*Tablettes de Renommée des Musiciens, Auteurs, Compositeurs, Virtuoses, Amateurs et Maitres de Musique Vocale et Instrumentale, les plus connus en chaque genre* (Paris, 1785). It is not clear if this De Caix is Barthélemy de Caix or another member of the same family.

bists (Marin Marais,⁶¹ Barthélemy de Caix,⁶² Charles Dollé, Roland Marais,⁶³ and Thomas Marc⁶⁴). Three pardessus virtuosos also appeared during the eighteenth century (Mademoiselle Lévi, Madame Haubaut, and Mademoiselle Lafont⁶⁵). Pierre-Louis d'Aquin gives us an interesting bit of information concerning gambists switching to the pardessus de viole:

Les Maitres de viole voyant avec douleur leur instrument négligé, ont eu recours au pardessus à cinq cordes, stratagème bien permis, & qui n'a pas manqué de réussir, par la raison, qu'il nous faut toujours du nouveau.⁶⁶

(The masters of the viol have sadly seen their instrument fall into disuse but have had recourse in the five-string pardessus de viole, a strategy that has succeeded because we always need something new.)

As we can see from examining these methods and performers, the use of the pardessus was not easily defined, and the instrument and its technique continued to evolve throughout the eighteenth century. The talents of pardessus players ranged from the amateur to the virtuosic, as did its repertoire. As we will see in the second part of this article, the repertoire itself presents similar revelations about the instrument, particularly regarding its size and diversity.

⁶¹An inventory taken at the time of Marais' death shows that he had in his possession a pardessus lent to him by a Monsieur Colliery. See Paris, Municipal Archives Minutier central, III, 872: 134.

⁶²See Chancey, "Gender, Class," passim.

⁶³Roland Marais is listed as a teacher of the bass viol and the pardessus de viole à cinq cordes in the *Annonces, affiches et avis divers* (February 1753).

⁶⁴Thomas Marc dedicated his pieces to his pardessus student.

⁶⁵See Constant Pierre, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel: 1725-1790* (Paris: Heugel, 1975), 281.

⁶⁶Pierre-Louis d'Aquin, *Siècle littéraire de Louis XV, ou Lettres sur les hommes célèbres*, première partie (Amsterdam and Paris, 1754), 144.

VIOLS IN JAPAN IN THE SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Yukimi Kambe

In 1988, the Viola da Gamba Society of America invited me to write an article on the history of viols in Japan. While the editors initially wanted a general survey, in the course of my research I found an interesting fact: the Japanese knew and even played viols themselves during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Indeed, it has been generally thought that viols were in Japan in the sixteenth century; however, nobody has proven it with documentary evidence.¹

It may be surprising that Japan shared the European vogue for viols in this period. This view arises from the fact that only one side of Japanese culture has been actively presented: Japan is thought to have kept itself from foreign (especially Western) influences, fostering its unique culture, such as *kabuki* and *ukiyo-e*. That is true of the Edo period; from the early seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century, the Edo government adopted an isolationist policy and restricted contacts with foreign Christian countries. However, for more than half a century before this isolation began, Japan accepted foreign influences and actively imported new technology and art from Europe.

¹I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Tatsuo Minagawa, who gave me the opportunity to write this article, and who encouraged me to give an oral presentation in a regular meeting of the Musicological Society of Japan. I am also grateful to Professor Yoshio Miyama, who gave me good advice when I wrote another article for the *Festschrift* for Professor Minagawa's seventieth birthday. I express my cordial gratitude to Mr. Seishiro Niwa, who translated this article into English. David Loeb kindly assisted in the final editing stage. However, I own the responsibility for any errors.

I have examined only a limited number of materials. Because new documents will be discovered later, I will appreciate all advice and suggestions.

In 1549 Francisco de Xavier (1506–1552) came to Japan, and the Jesuit missionary project began. The missionaries brought viols to Japan for liturgical and educational purposes. Their project lasted until 1613, when the Edo government expelled Christians. Missionaries sent reports on Japan to Rome, Portugal, and other places. Today these documents are referred to as the *kirishitan monjo* (Christian documents). In these documents I found fourteen episodes in which missionaries mentioned viols: six recorded between 1561 and 1565, and eight between 1580 and 1613. In the latter period the *rabequinha*, a small instrument of the braccio family, also appeared. In this article I discuss the fifty-year early history of viols in Japan, presenting the fourteen episodes in chronological order, examining the names of the instruments, and comparing them with instrument names in Western viol literature.

Historical Background and Materials

Why did Christian missionaries visit Japan? Why did they bring viols there? Asia had resources that attracted Europeans. Asia produced raw silk, spices, tea, and pottery in abundance, and Japan was especially rich in gold and silver. Despite the fact that Japan temporarily lost its political unity while local lords fought for hegemony, its culture and religion were in their mature stages. Politics held a predominant position over religion, and the country maintained a considerable military force to resist foreign invaders. While Europe was suffering from plagues, famine, and endless wars, expansion into Asia offered possible relief. Portugal and Spain were especially enthusiastic in their Asian projects, competing with each other in this region as in the New World. Christian missionaries played a leading role, serving as ambassadors of European culture. They had contact with foreign rulers as the representatives of their kings. Accordingly, they provided themselves with the trappings of refined culture, including music, suitable to their prestigious position.

Oda Nobunaga (1534–82; reigned 1568–82) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–98; reigned 1585–98) reunited Japan by their military power. Their reigns were called the Azuchi-Momoyama period. Under their reign, Japanese culture flourished with

international elements. The Edo period followed, beginning with Tokugawa Ieyasu's new government. He eliminated contacts with European Christian countries, with the restricted exception of the Dutch Republic. The early history of viols in Japan lay in the Azuchi-Momoyama period and in the early years of the Edo period.

When Francisco de Xavier first arrived in Japan, he reported that the Japanese were rational and a good target for the missionary projects. However, he changed his opinion during the course of his work. At last, when he was about to leave Japan, he reported that the Japanese maintained great military power, suggesting that any colonization by force would be difficult.²

Pope Alexander VI (reigned 1492–1503) issued a bull in 1493 to encourage missionary work in the "heathen" lands. About fifty years later, King Joan III (reigned 1521–57) of Portugal sent Jesuit missionaries to Japan. Ignatius de Loyola, the director of the Jesuit society, ordered them to send reports. These reports were read in European churches and monasteries to spread the knowledge of foreign lands and to encourage the missionary projects. Given this propaganda purpose, the documents were not always accurate. Achievements may have been exaggerated, and bad news, such as martyrdom, was often reduced, omitted, or even deliberately altered. However, they were detailed and informative accounts of the Portuguese Asian projects. Moreover, they often contained information that Japanese documents did not. The authors of the documents—the missionaries—were simultaneously diplomats representing their kings, so they had opportunities to be closer to the Japanese rulers than some Japanese authors could have been. Consequently, the *kirishitan monjo* documents are today regarded as important materials for examining the history of Japanese politics, economy, religion, and diplomacy.³

²Francisco Xavier, *El Padre Maestro Francisco Xavier en el Japon*, ed. Minoru Izawa (Tokyo: Sociedad Latino-Americana, no date), 149–50, 157.

³Because of the importance of the *kirishitan monjo* documents, scholars, including non-Japanese, have translated them into Japanese. The translations of names of stringed musical instruments played with bows are confusing, because the translators knew little about them. They were aware that such

I examined the relevant documents preserved in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) in Rome, the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon, and The British Library in London. Facsimile reproductions of these materials are available in Japan at the Kirishitan Bunko collection of Sophia University.⁴

The original versions of the *kirishitan monjo* documents were sent from Japan to Portugal and other European destinations during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The reports were sent once a year, by way of Macao, Cochin, and Goa. To reduce the risk of losing the documents through accident, storm, or piracy, missionaries translated the original Portuguese texts into Italian and Spanish and sent the translations separately. In the

instruments existed in Japan, but they rendered all the different terms simply as *viola* with no distinction between those of the gamba family and those of the braccio family. Moreover, they did not distinguish between "one viol" and "viols in consort." (Grammatically, Japanese nouns do not have the plural form.) In one case, an incomprehensible description "bow-shaped viola" is found.

⁴The documents in this collection that I used include first the category *Japonica Sinica* (*Jap. Sin.*) of the ARSI in facsimile reproductions. It includes primary sources such as autograph, original, and copies of those manuscripts in various languages, mostly in chronological order. From these documents and others, Manoel de Lyra published *Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Jesus escreverão dos Renos de Japão & China...anno de 1549 ate o de 1580...* (Évora, 1598) in two volumes (*Cartas I and II*) of transcriptions. *Cartas I and II* contain the records from 1549 to 1589 (reprint, Nara: Tenri Central Library, 1972). This collection also includes annual reports on Japan from 1581 in manuscripts. Concerning the year 1607, see Episode XIV below.

Second, there is the category *Jesuitas na Asia* of the Biblioteca da Ajuda. The manuscripts, *Cod. 49-IV-54* and *Cod. 49-IV-57*, are the microfilm copies of Luis Frois's *Historia de Japam* and *Apparatos para a Historia...* (both autographs are lost). The former microfilm is readable but the latter is not. Both codices contain documents from 1549 to 1578 and from 1588 to 1593 that are relevant to this article. Frois began to write around 1582 and finished all three parts in the 1590s from the primary sources of colleagues' reports and from his own experiences. The *Historia* is now available in a modern edition: *Historia de Japam P. Luis Frois* in five volumes, edited by José Wicki (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1976-1984); page citations in the present article refer to this edition.

The third category consists of microfilms of the Marsden Manuscript in The British Library, Add. Mss. 9860.

course of the voyages they were copied again at each port of call. In Europe, some of the documents were printed for wider circulation.⁵

The *kirishitan monjo* documents are the only sources that tell us about viols in Japan. No significant materials, such as instruments, literature, or visual sources, survive in Japan.⁶ Toyotomi Hideyoshi realized that the Europeans had secret territorial ambitions behind their missionary projects. When he prohibited missionary work in 1587, he ordered all related items destroyed. Some Christians were even martyred in Nagasaki. Consequently, the only way to examine the viol practice in Japan is to compare the records in the *kirishitan monjo* documents with the contemporary viol literature written in Europe. I believe that there are sufficient materials in the *kirishitan monjo* documents to make such a comparison. In addition to the Portuguese texts, there are Italian and Spanish versions. Moreover, in some cases more than one missionary mentioned the same episodes involving viols.

Descriptions of Viols in the *Kirishitan Monjo*

In the following English translations of the *kirishitan monjo* documents, names of musical instruments are presented as found in the original documents, with italics added in the present study. In addition, those concerning bowed string instruments (both gamba and braccio families) are emphasized with underlining.

⁵The situation surrounding primary sources for the *Cartas* and *Historia* is complex. On the one hand, some primary sources are lost and some others are said to have been kept secret, so it is not a simple question of which versions to take as our primary sources. On the other hand, some printed editions are not easy to understand because of circumstances of publication, such as accidents, an author's death, or the bankruptcy of the publisher. The documents have been repeatedly copied, translated, and printed, generally in a manner faithful to the original manuscript sources, but in this process the names of musical instruments have often been modified from old-fashioned terms to ones more contemporary with the readers.

⁶Two similar *Yōjin sōgakuzu byōbu*, one in the MOA Museum of Art and the other in the Eisei Bunko Collection, depict long-necked Spanish *vihuelas de arco* around 1500. These images were copied from European pictures brought by ship, and do not reflect the actual practice in Japan.

Since some parts of the manuscript sources are illegible, in some cases I have relied on the printed editions, mainly in Portuguese but also some in Spanish and Italian.

Section I: Six Episodes from 1551 to 1579

The first reference to a stringed musical instrument occurred in 1551. It was a plucked instrument referred to as a *viola*.⁷ No bowed instrument is mentioned before 1561. Prior to these, no musical instrument apart from the voice is mentioned.

Episode I: Aires Sanchez teaches *violas de arco* (1561)

In 1562, Irmão Aires Sanchez (1527–90) reported that he taught *violas de arco* (in the Italian version *violoni*)⁸ in Bungo (present-day Ōita Prefecture; see Plate 1). Two missionaries mentioned this episode, including Sanchez himself. Born in Portugal in 1527, he came to Japan in 1561. He worked for the missionary project until 1566, and died in Ōmura in 1590. He was an assistant in the medical section, and was talented in music. He mentioned this episode in a letter of 11 October 1562:

⁷It is evident from the context that it was a Japanese *biwa*.

⁸When the missionaries translated their reports, they chose the words so strictly that the uses of words in the translations in various languages correspond almost one-to-one. The term *viola de arco* (Portuguese) and *violone* (Italian) indicate what we call *viola da gamba* today. Ian Woodfield has discussed these terms in detail in *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). In Italian publications, the following terms are found: Giovanni Maria Lanfranco, *Scintille di Musica* (Brescia, 1533): *violone* (*violoni* in the plural form); Sylvestro di Ganassi dal Fontego, *Regola Rubertina* and *Letione Seconda* (Venice, 1542 and 1543): *viola darcho tastada*, *viola da gamba*, *viola d'arco*, *violone*, *violone d'arco da tasti*, etc.; Diego Ortiz, Castilian edition of his *Trattado de glosas sobre clausulas y otros generos de puntos en la musica de violones* (Rome, 1553): *vihuela d'arco*, *violon*, *vihuelas*, *violones*, etc., and in the Italian edition: *violone*, *viola d'arco*, *viola*, etc. In his index, Woodfield provides a list of the names of viols in various languages (under "viol, terminology of"). Yet he did not list the Portuguese term *viola de arco* (*violas*). Instead, he included about forty terms, all plural forms, in Italian and Spanish, such as *viola de arco*, *violone*, *viuole*, *biguelas*, *vihuelas*, etc.

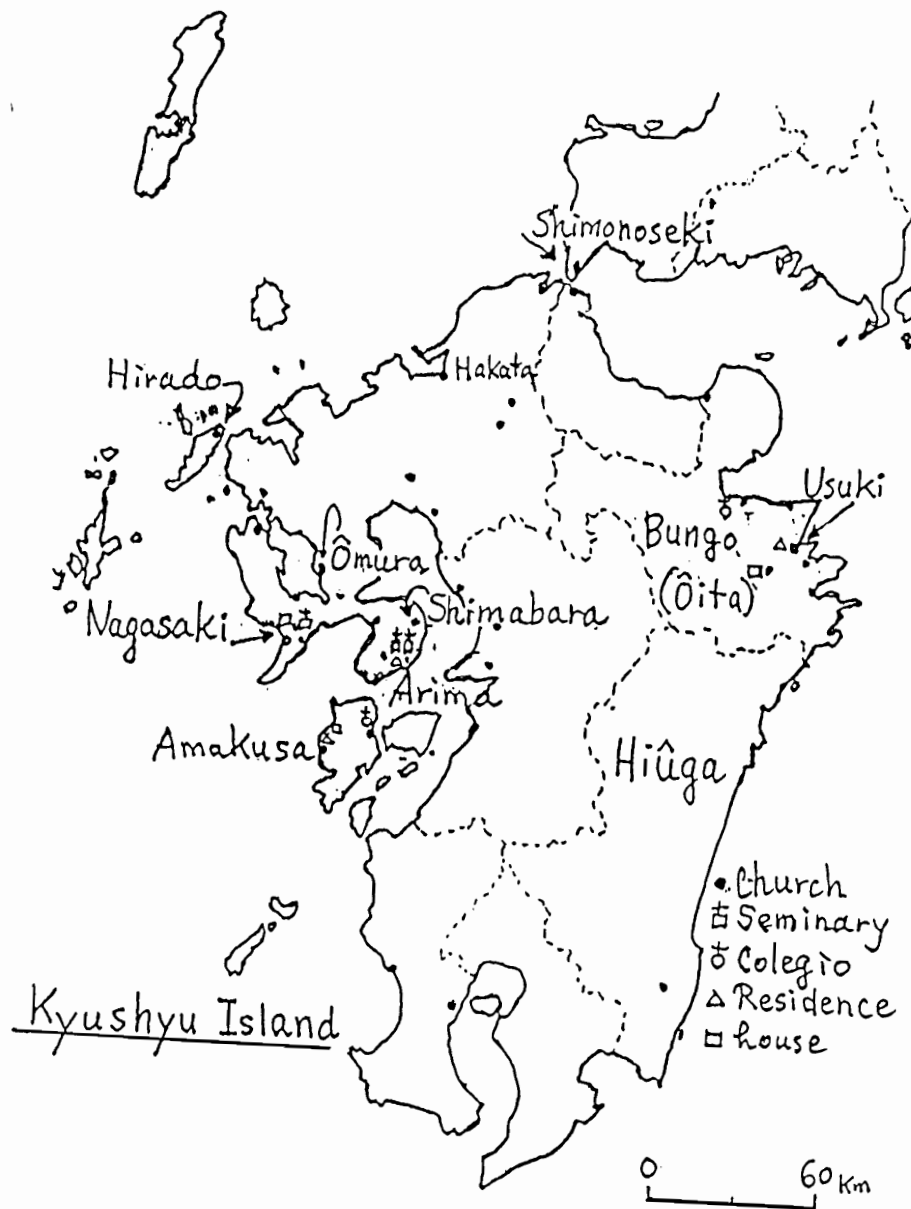


Plate 1. Kirishitan bases in Kyushu in the second half of the sixteenth century. G. Matsunaga, Pedro Kibe (Tokyo: Chūkōshinsho, 1984), 35.

At present my work is to care for the sick persons and to teach fifteen boys, Japanese and Chinese,⁹ to read, to write, to sing, and to play the *violas darco*. They are here in this house to serve God, conducting every divine office with great solemnity.¹⁰

The other missionary who recorded this episode was a Portuguese Jesuit priest, Padre Luis Frois (1532–97; arrived in Japan 1563). He left Europe at the age of sixteen, and was in Goa by 1552. In Japan he served as a secretary to the Jesuit office. He wrote many documents and mentioned musical affairs more than anyone else. However, as evidenced by the following quotations, his vocabulary in music was quite limited; he mentioned neither music theory nor the manner of performance. Frois wrote a general history of the Jesuit missionary project, *Historia de Japam*, by command of the provincial; there he mentioned Sanchez's episode in his first part of the *Historia* (completed in Shimonoseki in 1586). Since the episode was in 1562, a year before his arrival in Japan, he took his information from Sanchez's letter.¹¹

Except for Sanchez, the missionaries were not particularly good at music. They were familiar with it only to the extent required by its liturgical function. They seem to have followed Sanchez in the use of the term *viola de arco*.

⁹Here "Chinese" did not mean boys from China, but from Goa. In 1554, five boys left the college of Goa, and they came to Bungo in 1556. They were orphans from Portugal. The names of the five boys are known: Gilhelmo (Guillelmus) Pereira, Regueira, Ruy Perera, Manoel, and Gaspar. They were selected as missionaries because they were familiar with liturgy and with music. They had mastery of both plainchant and polyphony. They brought two books of *Canto chão* and *Canto d'orgão* with them. These facts are written in *Missiones Orientales Documenta Indica III (1553–1557)* of Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu vol. 74, Monumenta Missionum Societatis Iesu vol. VI, edited by Joseph Wicki (Rome: Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu, 1954), 86, 125–126, 204–205.

¹⁰*Cartas I*, f. 101r, left column. In Portuguese manuscript: *violas darco* (*Jap. Sin.* 4, f. 257v); in Italian MS: *violoni* (*Jap. Sin.* 4, f. 261v, 267r).

¹¹*Historia*, 1:206–7. In Port. MS: *violas de arco* (Biblioteca de Ajuda, *Jesuitas na Asia Cod.* 49-IV-54, f. 88r).

When Sanchez taught viols in Bungo, this instrument was also in vogue in his native Portugal. The kings of Portugal traditionally patronized music. King Duarte (reigned 1433–1438) employed at least six boys in his chapel from 1436 onward. In 1592, the royal chapel had twenty-two boys, four of whom sang polyphony. Heliodoro de Paiva, a son of King Joan III's wet-nurse, was a multi-talented musician. He was a composer, organist, singer, and a master of counterpoint, and he also played the viol.¹² The instrument maker Dom Brás made several viols for a member of the royal family, Dom António.¹³

Both Sanchez and Frois mentioned the instrument in the plural form *violas*. This corresponded to the custom of consort performance in Europe. Viols were usually made, owned, and played in consorts. Thus, viols brought to Japan during the period when the instrument was popular in Europe were employed in the same manner as in Europe.

Episode II: Missionaries receive Ôtomo Sôrin with *violas darco* (1562)

Irmão Luis de Almeida (1525–83; arrived in Japan 1552) was a Jesuit monk and surgeon who recorded this episode. The Jesuit office invited Ôtomo Sôrin, lord of Bungo. Ôtomo was himself a Christian, and protected his fellow believers. Almeida mentioned the following in his letter of 25 October 1562:

We received all the persons who came with him [Ôtomo], who were the noblemen to the King [Ôtomo], in the house, which we had decorated as neatly as possible. After sitting at the table, dishes were served, in their style and in ours. We ate while music of *violas darco* was played. It was so nice that it could have been suitably played even in front of a Christian prince [in

¹²Rui Vieira Nery, *A Música no ciclo da "Bibliotheca Lusitana,"* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1984), 184.

¹³Rui Vieira Nery, "New Sources for the Study of the Portuguese Seventeenth-Century Consort Music," *JVdGSA* 22 (1985): 18.

Europe]. The boys who played were Christians, and all in white costume. They were extremely pleased to hear it.¹⁴

The viol was regarded as a noble instrument in Europe, a notion confirmed by the authority on courtly life in Europe, Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529), who praised it as good for courtiers.¹⁵ Viols were regularly played at European courtly festivities. In this sense, the Jesuit missionaries received the Japanese lord Ôtomo in accordance with the European manner.

Episode III: The Assumption with *violas darco* (1563)

Frois reported this episode twice, first in a letter on 14 November 1563. He wrote:

The feast of the Virgin Mary in August was approaching. Padre Cosme de Torres was in the position to conduct his profession [i.e. celebrate the Mass], which had been absent here for five years because we had had no *padre* of the Company. On the feast day, *irmãos* decorated the church as neatly as possible.... Irmão Aires Sanchez came from Bungo three or four days before with boys who brought *violas darco*. They performed in the vespers and in the Mass. [Christians] in this land, both Portuguese and Japanese, put branches on the street corner, and

¹⁴*Cartas I*, f. 110r, right column. In Port. MS: *violas darq'* (*Jap. Sin.* 4, f. 276v); in It. MS: *violoni* (*Jap. Sin.* 4, f. 286v).

¹⁵*Il libro del cortegiano*, ed. and trans. J. Shimizu, T. Iwakura, and K. Amano (Tokyo: Tokai Daigaku Shuppankai, 1987), 216, 218. This edition contains a facsimile reproduction of the first printed edition of the book (Venice, 1528) with Japanese translation. An English translation is Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, translated and with an introduction by George Bull (Baltimore: Penguin, 1976). When Rodrigo Borgia moved from Valencia to Rome as Pope Alexander VI in 1492, his musicians accompanied him. They brought their instruments, including viols, which soon became popular in the leading Italian courts, including Ferrara, Mantua, and Urbino. Castiglione himself played the viol. Northern Italy, especially Brescia and Pavia, became a center of viol making. Today examples of the viol of the time survive in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Raphael depicted a viol in his *Ecstasy of St. Cecilia* (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna), originally for the altarpiece of San Giovanni in Monte around 1516. The painting clearly illustrates a curved fingerboard and bridge, as well as other features.

showed their joy for this day.... In the vespers the boys sang and the *padre* made an oration.¹⁶

Then he described this event in more detail in his *Historia*:

And three or four days before, Irmão Aires Sanches came with five or six boys, Japanese and Chinese, whom the same *irmão* had taught to play the *violas d'arco*. They knew well of offices in the Mass, and played the instruments skillfully.¹⁷

While it is debatable whether musical instruments normally took part in the Mass,¹⁸ the Jesuit Society actively employed them in its missionary projects when it proved effective.

Episode IV: Easter with *violas darco* (1564)

Three persons reported this episode, two based on first-hand knowledge. Padre Giovanni Battista de Monte (1528–87; arrived in Japan 1563) was an Italian missionary. He mentioned this episode in his letter of 9 October 1564:

With crosses on their chests, with lighted candles in their hands, and with garlands on their heads, they sang hymns to praise Our Lord. Almost all of these boys were offered to this house by their parents to serve the Lord. Some of them study to spread the Lord's teaching, and others to praise the Lord. Some were good singers and players of *viola darco*. Finally, the *irmãos* and I followed the procession. Then Christians received us in their best clothes, with lighted candles in their hands, with garlands on their heads. The procession came to the corner beside the hospital. There was a great number of Christians. According to the *irmãos*, many more Christians gathered at that time than ever. We returned to the church and conducted the Mass, in which good voices and *violas* served.¹⁹

¹⁶*Cartas I*, f. 135v, left column. In Port. MS: *violas darco* (*Jap. Sin.* 5, f. 27v); in It. MS: *viola d'arco* (*Jap. Sin.* 5, f. 34r).

¹⁷*Historia*, 1:336. In Port. MS: *violas darco* (*Cod.* 49-IV-54, f. 150r).

¹⁸Kenneth Kreitner, "Minstrels in Spanish Churches, 1400–1600," *Early Music* 20 (1992): 532–46.

¹⁹*Cartas I*, f. 153v, right column, to f. 154r, left column. In this very section of the *Cartas*, it is revealed that the document is "translated from

Reference to the singular form *viola darco* seems to be a misprint in this citation, since two copies of de Monte's letter, and that of Almeida—who also attended the event—give the plural form. Later, in the Mass, the instrument is mentioned in the plural form, but without specifying the manner of performance. It is evident from the context that these were *violas de arco*.

Almeida mentioned the same episode in his letter of 14 October 1564. He wrote in greater detail:

On Holy Saturday, all the ceremonies were conducted with great solemnity, and the big candle of Easter was set very neatly.... The boys of the house, fifteen in number, Japanese and Chinese, were all in white costume, which was decorated with great crosses of green velvet with gold embroidery. They put on hats with numerous flowers, which were found here in this season. They looked indeed suitable for the servants of such a King [God]. Many of them were good at music, and played their *violas darco*, which were really nice to listen to. Padre Joaõ Bautista [Giovanni Battista de Monte] and many *irmãos* brought four candle stands and a canopy. Thus we were received by the Christians. They were in their best clothes and with hats on. We went to the Cross, located in the field beside the hospital, and sang many songs of joy and of praise of the Lord. On this day, Christians held a feast, in which they discussed many spiritual matters.²⁰

Frois mentioned this episode in his *Historia*. He took de Monte as his source.²¹

Episode V: *Salve Regina* and the Mass with *violas de arco* (1565)

Giovanni Battista de Monte reported this episode in a letter in 1565 (no date). He wrote:

Italian into Portuguese"; the original Italian document is lost. The Portuguese copy was completed in Japan before being sent to Europe. In Port. MS: *violas darco... viola* (*Jap. Sin.* 6, f. 102r); in It. MS: *violoni*...[illegible] (*Jap. Sin.* 6, f. 107r).

²⁰*Cartas I*, f. 156r, right column, to f. 156v, left column.

²¹*Historia*, 1:378. In Port. MS: *violas dearco* (*Cod.* 49-IV-54, f. 171v).

After the Mass, boys recite the doctrines repeatedly. The *irmãos* are occupied in teaching the Christians, in learning the language [Japanese], and in copying many books in the same language. We spend the whole day on these and other spiritual exercises. After *Ave Maria*, we conduct litany. On Fridays, not only we but also all the Christians practice asceticism. On Saturdays, [we sing] *Salve Regina* with the *violas de arco*. On Sundays and feast days, we conduct the Mass with *uiolas*, and sing some motets with great solemnity.²²

This schedule was to become the new basic framework of the seminary, established in 1580.

Episode VI: Christmas with *violas darco* (1565)

Irmão Miguel Vaz (c. 1546–1609; arrived in Japan 1563), a Portuguese, reported this episode in his letter of 16 September 1566. He wrote:

After a few days, the feast of Christmas came. The church was decorated as neatly as possible in conformity with local taste, and a stable was located. Although the church was large, platforms were newly added for this night, because too many people came here from this city as well as from neighboring places, ranging four or five *legoas* [one *legoa* was about six kilometers], one or two days before the feast. They came not only on the feast days, but also on Saturdays to attend the Mass on the following Sundays, from one place and another. The Christians performed many plays of the Old Testament, such as the corruption of Adam and Eve, Noah's ark, and others, which were all represented in the language of this land. These were performed with great devotion, and led everybody into weeping. After the supper, the Mass was celebrated with *violas darco*, and with many motets. They showed great joy.²³

From 1567 to 1579, the missionaries do not mention the viols. It is possible that viols were not played there in this period; the

²²*Cartas I*, f. 198r, left column. In Port. MS: *violas darco... violas* (*Jap. Sin.* 6, f. 104r); in It. MS: *violoni* (*Jap. Sin.* 6, f. 109v).

²³*Cartas I*, f. 226v, right column. In Port. MS: *violas darco* (*Jap. Sin.* 6, f. 128v); in It. MS: *viola di arco* (*Jap. Sin.* 6, f. 130v).

fact that Sanchez left Bungo after 1566 may support this hypothesis.²⁴ However, it is more likely that viols were still played but the fact ceased to be mentioned. As we shall see later, the Jesuit office in Japan banned viols in 1580. Yet this prohibition was soon canceled, because viols were deemed an essential device without which the missionary project would suffer. This fact suggests that viols were still played actively during the 1570s. Missionaries also probably hesitated to mention the viols in their reports after the Council of Trent restricted the use of musical instruments in liturgy. They could not mention viols openly in letters of a more or less official nature.

Back in Portugal, the last quarter of the sixteenth century was a turning point in the country's history, both politically and musically. King Sebastião died in 1578, and King Felipe II of Spain took control over Portugal from 1580. It is also during these years that the Renaissance style of music gradually declined and the new Baroque style rapidly became popular. As part of this trend, instrumental music began to flourish. Accordingly, the changes in Portugal had a great influence on the Jesuit missionary project in Japan. What happened to viols in Japan from 1580 to 1613 reflected this situation.

Section II: Eight Episodes from 1580 to 1613

Before further consideration of specific episodes in the *kirishitan monjo* documents, I would like to examine the relationship between the braccio (violin) and the gamba (viol) families of bowed strings. The braccio family was already popular in Europe by the 1580s, but treatises were not written for them until the seventeenth century. However, sixteenth-century viol literature in Europe clearly indicates that these two types of bowed string instruments co-existed at the time. The two differed in the presence or absence of frets and in the position of holding the instruments. What was the relationship between these two families?

²⁴Sanchez was in Shiki (Amakusa) in 1567, as evidenced by his correspondence. Later he went to Macao, where he became a priest. He returned to Japan in 1580.

Sebastian Virdung discussed the gamba instruments, writing, "This type of instrument...has frets, and therefore they serve as a certain target or mark, where one can grip securely." Of the braccio instruments he wrote, "These are not something to regularize or to describe how to learn. Therefore, one must learn through much practice."²⁵ Martin Agricola mentioned braccio instruments, writing, "It is difficult to grip the fingerboard in the correct position on the left hand without frets."²⁶

Silvestro di Ganassi dal Fontego mentioned braccio instruments after explaining the various tunings used for gamba instruments. He wrote, "The players of the *viola da brazo* without the frets...observe the rules for the *violon*, which you find in chapter 12, for the technique to regulate your fingers."²⁷ In this period, braccio instruments seem to have had only three strings. In 1556, Philibert Jambe de Fer reported for the first time that the *viola da braccio* had four strings. He compared the gamba and braccio instruments and wrote, "Few persons are found who make use of it [*viola da braccio*] other than those who, by their labor on it, make their living."²⁸

The documents on the *violas de arco*, examined in the preceding section, do not specify the number of strings, the presence or absence of frets, nor the position of holding the instruments. Yet it is evident from the contexts that they were easy to play and probably had frets; that is, they were members of the gamba

²⁵*Musica getuscht* (Basel, 1511; reprint, Kassel: Barenreiter, 1970), B verso.

²⁶*Musica Instrumentalis Deudsch* (Wittenberg, 1529; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1969), Das Zehend Capitel, 49 recto.

²⁷*Letitione Seconda* (Venice, 1543; reprint, Bologna: Forni Editore, 1970), chapter 23. The rules for *violon* are found in chapter 20, not in 12 as Ganassi stated.

²⁸English translation by Gordon J. Kinney, "Viols and Violins in the 'Épitome Musical' (Lyon, 1556) of Philibert Jambe de Fer," *JVdGSA* 4 (1967): 19. A facsimile of the original is given in the appendix of François Lesure, "L'Épitome musical de Philibert Jambe de Fer (1556)," *Annales musicologiques* 6 (1958): facs. 63.

family. Moreover, the Council of Trent restricted teaching and playing musical instruments that were "so difficult that one must concentrate on musical training." This implies that braccio instruments would not have been approved; instead, the missionaries must have used gamba instruments.

Around 1570, Andrea Amati was making braccio instruments in the shape of today's violin. King Charles IX of France ordered him to make a set of such instruments, some of which survive today. The viol literature, including Vincenzo Galilei's *Dialogo* (1581) and Girolamo dalla Casa's *Il vero modo di diminuir*, Book II (1584), mentioned both the gamba and the braccio instruments. It is likely that the four-stringed, violin-shaped braccio instruments were already also familiar in the Iberian Peninsula in the 1580s, since Italy and Spain were closely related both politically and culturally. A braccio instrument was first mentioned in Japan in 1580, and was definitely played there from 1591 onward. This instrument was called *rabequinha* in Portuguese. As we shall see, a Japanese diplomatic mission brought one back from Europe; it seems to have been a four-stringed, violin-shaped braccio instrument after the model of Amati, or something like it.

In early-sixteenth-century Italy, the name *viola* was a general term for bowed stringed instrument. The name *rabecca* was also a general term, used in the Iberian Peninsula. This name probably came from the Moorish instrument *rabe*, which is part of Portugal's national tradition. In the seventeenth century, they used the terms *rabecca* and *viola*, but not violin. Today *rabecca* (or *rebecca*) still refers to a folk violin in Portugal. But outside the *kirishitan monjo* there are few materials in the late sixteenth century relating to these instruments.

Let us return to the episodes in the *kirishitan monjo* documents. The following eight episodes demonstrate that the *violas de arco* (of the gamba family) and the *rabequinha* (of the braccio family) co-existed in Japan after 1585, just as they did in Europe. *Violas de arco* were played in ensemble and even made in Japan; this instrument is mentioned in the plural form. However, *rabequinha* is always mentioned in the singular form. In other

words, there was only one—the very instrument that a Japanese diplomatic mission brought from Europe.

In Japan between 1561 and 1565, viols were played only with voices. After 1580, they were played with other instruments, such as the *cravo* (plucked string keyboard or organ), *arpa* (harp), and *laude* (lute). The emergence of instrumental ensemble practice in Japanese missions probably reflected the popularity of instrumental music in Europe.

Episode VII: Viols prohibited and then readmitted (1580)

This episode took place in a seminary (secondary school) in Nagasaki. Education was a major part of the Jesuit missionary project. In Japan, 1561 had seen the opening of the first seminary, where Christian boys learned Japanese literature, music, Latin, catechism, and so on. The missionaries built such schools beside their churches in western Japan. By 1581, there were already as many as two hundred seminaries in Japan. The Jesuit Society established the Students' Regulation (*Ratio Studiorum*) in 1580. Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606; stayed in Japan 1579–82, 1590–92, 1598–1603), an Italian Jesuit visitor, created a plan to establish three types of schools: seminary (*seminario*), college (*colegio*), and novitiate (*noviciado*). He also fixed a weekly schedule for seminaries in Japan, in which students studied humanistic subjects, including Latin literature and music.

(A) Prohibition

In his *Obedientias* in 1580, Valignano prohibited polyphony and string instruments.

Just after the Congregation, this issue was discussed in Nagasaki. The conclusion was as follows: the Japanese made little success, although they studied various musical instruments of ours and also polyphony. They spent a long time and made great efforts, but achieved nothing. In opposition to the general custom of the Company, we have no reason to admit such a musical practice here as we permit in India. Henceforth we prohibit the learning of polyphony and the playing of the *violla*, *arpa*, *rabecca*, or other musical instruments, except for keyboards. Instead, only Gregorian chant, the organ, and other keyboard

instruments are permitted to serve in the church. We prohibit the use of polyphony here, as is seen in other churches of the Company. Instead, use simple plainchant, i.e. Gregorian chant, in accordance with our style. This rule does not apply to any Portuguese who came to Nagasaki.²⁹

The *violla* implies the *violas de arco*, which were in use in the seminaries. Valignano also mentioned a *rabel* (*rabeca* in Portuguese). However, no other document suggests that braccio instruments were ever played in Japan before 1590.

Valignano briefly prohibited polyphony and stringed instruments primarily in accordance with the decision of the Council of Trent to use simple music. Yet it is also likely that Valignano found polyphony unsuitable for the missionary project in Japan. The Japanese did not understand Western music well. In 1585, Frois explained the musical difficulties, writing, "The Japanese find the consonance and harmony of our polyphonic music noisy, and they dislike it."³⁰ Japanese traditional music did not have polyphony, but consisted of only monophony and heterophony. The new style of music imported from Europe must have confused them. It is easy to imagine how the differences in musical aesthetics between Europe and Japan caused friction.

The Japanese were poor at polyphonic music because they were not originally familiar with it, and also because they had different aesthetic ideas from those of Europeans. After organs were imported and installed in Azuchi and Usuki (Bungo), the Japanese began to better assimilate Western music, finding European music beautiful. Frois reported the improvement of music in Japan in 1590:

²⁹This quote is taken from the modern edition Lópes Gay, *La Liturgia en la misión del Japón del Siglo XVI* (Rome: Libreria dell'università gregoriana, 1970), 185. The terms *violla* and *rabeca* come from the manuscript source (*Jap. Sin.* 2, f. 140r).

³⁰*Kulturgegensätze Europa-Japan (1585) [Tratado em que se contem muito susinta e abreviadamente algumas contradições e diferenças de costumes antre de gente de Europa e esta Provincia de Japão]*, ed. and trans. Joseph Franz Schütte (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1955), 246, no.18.

Though without understanding what we intend in Japan, everybody [the Japanese] is pleased greatly to listen to songs and various instruments that they [the Europeans] brought. People admire the consonance of the instruments in ensemble and the correspondence between them, and they understand that our music is pleasing and artistic. They had failed to understand it because there had been no player to demonstrate it.³¹

(B) Readmission

The missionaries opposed Valignano's prohibition, insisting that it would disturb the new followers' minds, that a major part of the daily office would be lost, and that, moreover, music was a good device both to move heathens and to deepen the followers' faith.³² Padre Organtino Gneccchi-Soldo (1532–1609; arrived in Japan 1570) wanted to invite musicians to Kyoto. He wrote in a letter dated 29 September 1577:

I want to invite architects, painters, and musicians... If an organ and other musical instruments be given in Goki [five areas surrounding Kyoto],... Sakai and Kyoto would be converted within a year.... Then we could go on to the plan to convert China.³³

Aware of Portugal's ambition to colonize China, he tried to persuade Portugal to permit music by mentioning China.

Accordingly, Valignano changed his mind only months later and permitted the missionaries "to sing and to play the *cravo*, *violas* and other similar instruments, which serve the cult and ceremonies of the church, and solemn feasts that are to be conducted."³⁴

³¹ARSI: *Jap. Sin.* 50, f. 100r.; Gay, *La Liturgia*, 190.

³²Gay, *La Liturgia*, 163–64.

³³ARSI: *Jap. Sin.* 8 I, f. 179v.; L. Delplance, *Le Catholicisme au Japon: S. François-Xavier et ses premiers Successeurs 1540–1593*, vol. 1, bk. 3 (Brussels: Librairie Albert Dewit, 1909), 188; F. Schütte, *Alessandro Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1958), 159–60.

³⁴Schütte, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze*, Appendix 7, 481. In Port. MS: *violas* (*Jap. Sin.* 2, f. 37r).

to be played, and listened to them carefully. He praised the boy who played the *cravo*, a son of the king [lord] of Hiûga, and he praised the boy who played the *viola*, too. Then he went to see a bell and other curious things that the *padres* had in this house. These were very important items to attract the attention of the heathens, because, as we know from our experience, they are a good device to make the heathens familiar with us, and let them hear our preaching. Among the things that pleased the Japanese were the performance of organs, *cravos*, and *violas*. Accordingly, we have organs, one here in Azuchi and others in Bungo, and *cravos* in various places. The boys learn them, and fill the lack of singers in the Mass and other feasts.³⁶

Thus, Oda heard a solo *viola* [*de arco*]. According to the accounts, most Japanese audiences heard *violas* played in ensemble.

Episode IX: The Japanese diplomatic mission visits Europe (1582–90)

Valignano decided to send Japanese Christian boys to Europe on a diplomatic mission. This would provide a great promotional opportunity to demonstrate the achievements of the missionary project in Japan by presenting the talents of the seminary students. Valignano also aimed to train these boys to be the leaders of the Japanese Christians, by impressing upon them the power and culture of the European Church. He chose four boys from twelve to fifteen years old: Mancio Itô, Miguel Chijiwa, Martino Hara, and Juliano Nakaura. (See Plate 3.)

The envoys spent two years on the ship, during which they studied and practiced musical instruments. They first landed at Lisbon, eventually visiting Portugal, Spain, and Italy. They were warmly welcomed in all the places they visited. Princes granted them audiences and invited them to parties, where they heard

³⁶*Cartas II*, f. 41r. In Port. MS: *uiola... uiola... uiolas* (*Jap. Sin.* 45 II, f. 50r); in Spanish MS: *vihuela... viola... vihuela* (*Jap. Sin.* 46, f. 75v); in It. MS: *viola... viola... viole* (*Jap. Sin.* 46, ff. 101v–102r, f. 150r); in It. print: *viola... viola... viole*, *Lettere annuale delle cose del Giappone del 1582* (Rome, 1585), 82–83; two more versions, printed in Venice and almost identical to this Roman edition, present the same terms.

various ceremonial and salon music. They heard High Mass in cathedrals and colleges and attended Vespers and holy plays. The envoys spent a year and eight months in Europe.

Although he did not accompany the mission, Frois edited a journal of the envoys' travels.³⁷ Apart from Frois's book, each city where the mission visited has kept many documents of the events. At present, nine references to *viola de arco*, *viola*, and *rabequinha* have been found.



Plate 3. Four Japanese representatives of the diplomatic mission at Milan, 25 July to 3 August 1585. Printed in Augsburg, 1586 (in color). Collection of Kyoto University.

³⁷Luis Frois, *La première ambassade du Japon en Europe 1582–92, première partie*, ed. and trans. J. A. Abranches Pinto, Y. Okamoto, and H. Bernard (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1942). This volume contains the documents up to 1586. The second part has not been published, and the episode relating to Toyotomi Hideyoshi still remains unpublished.

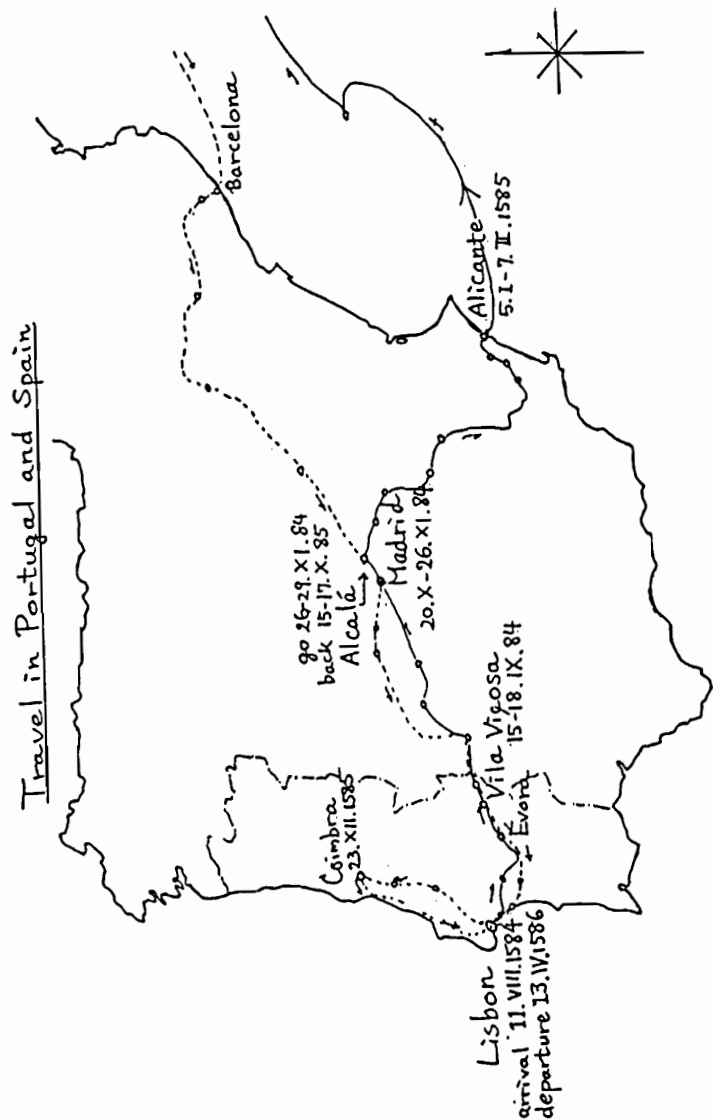


Plate 4. Route of mission in Portugal and Spain, from Luis Frois, *La Première Ambassade du Japon en Europe 1582-92* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1942).

(A) In Portugal and Spain

From 15 to 18 September 1584, the mission stayed in Vila Viçosa (about sixty kilometers northeast of Évora, Portugal), site of the palace of the Duke of Braganza.³⁸ (See Plate 4.) Frois's journal reports:

During the two and a half days they spent there, Senhora Dona Catharina³⁹ granted them audiences four or five times, as she desired.... [I]n order to show her sincere welcome, she offered lovely music, sung quietly. The duke found that the Japanese gentlemen could play musical instruments. He had a *cravo* and *violas* brought into the room. Those who heard the boys play and sing to a *viola* and *cravo* all admired them greatly.⁴⁰

Since they performed on viols in front of the noble hosts, the instruments employed were *violas de arco*, which they practiced in Japan and during the voyage to Lisbon. Prior to this occasion, Mancio Itô and Miguel Chijiwa had played excellently the three-manual organ at the Cathedral of Évora.⁴¹

Around 6 to 7 November, the envoys played various instruments in Madrid while awaiting their audience with the king. The journal reports:

At this moment, His Majesty was at Pardo, two *legoas* [about twelve kilometers] from Madrid. The Japanese gentlemen enjoyed various musical recreations in the house. They played *violas de arco*, *cravicordio* [plucked or stopped string keyboard], and other instruments. The almsgiving master and the chapel master to the king visited them repeatedly, and when

³⁸Don Theodosio (1568-1630) was sixteen years old, the seventh duke of Braganza, a son of the late Don Joan and Dona Catharina.

³⁹Mother of Don Theodosio, a cousin of King Felipe II of Spain.

⁴⁰Frois, *La première ambassade*, 53.

⁴¹The Archbishop of Évora, Theotonio de Braganza, was the younger brother of the late Don Joan and a great patron of the missionary project in Japan. He ordered the publication of the *Cartas*.

they could not come themselves they sent their proxies who brought music or some other entertainments.⁴²

From 26 to 29 November, they were welcomed with music at a college in Alcalá, about thirty kilometers north of Madrid. According to the journal:

The mission arrived at the principal college of the province. There *padres* and *irmãos* received them warmly at the gate.... [A]t the church, *charamelas* [shawms] were played, and meanwhile an oration was made. Then supper was offered. While they stayed there, a feast was held, accompanied by much pleasant music of various instruments, such as *violas de arco*, *sytara* [cythara?], *arpa*, *clavicordio*, etc., played in succession.⁴³

Thus the envoys played musical instruments at Madrid, and heard them at Alcalá.

(B) In Italy

They embarked at Alicante, about a hundred and thirty kilometers south of Valencia, bound for Livorno, about twenty kilometers south of Pisa. (See Plate 5.) The envoys spent five and a half months in Italy, traveling counterclockwise through Rome to Genoa.

During travels in the Iberian Peninsula, no *braccio* instrument was mentioned. But on 10 March 1585, they encountered a stop called "*rabequinha*" on an organ in Florence. The journal reports:

The *cravo* has infinite registers to manage every kind of music, such as *cravo*, *craviorgão*, *cravo cõ frautas*, *orgãos cõ sua contrabaixa*, *sacabuxa*, four different instruments in four parts, or a soprano sound of the *orgão*, *cravo tenor frautado a sacabuxa contrabaxa frautada*, *trombao*, *baixa sacabuxa*, *orgãos frautados*, those *meios frautados*, *charamelas*, and *trombetas*. It also has stops of combined instruments, such as very beautiful *sacabuxas*, *frautas* and *cornetas sobre canto d'orgão*, *descant*

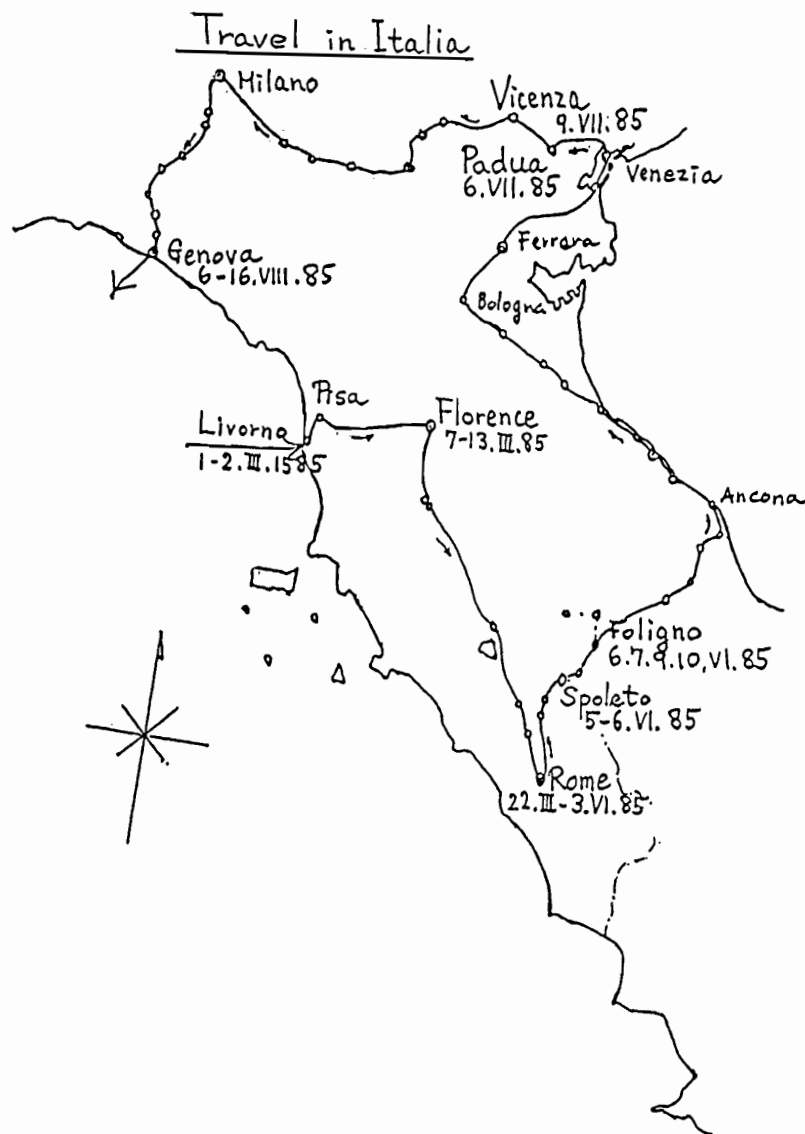


Plate 5. Route of mission in Italy, from Luis Frois, *La Première Ambassade du Japon en Europe 1582-92* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1942).

⁴²Frois, *La première ambassade*, 74.

⁴³Frois, *La première ambassade*, 112.

de cravo, and *viola*, *chitarra*, *rabequinha*, and *pifaro*, and *tambor* combined with other instruments.⁴⁴

From Florence the mission went to Rome, where they stayed for two and a half months, and where Pope Gregorius XIII (reigned 1572–85) granted them an audience. The Pope died soon after the meeting, and the Japanese envoys attended the enthronement of the next pope, Sixtus V (reigned 1585–90), whom they accompanied to S. Giovanni in Lateran on 5 May. A scene from this occasion was painted on the wall of Pope Sixtus V's room of the Vatican Library. On 6 June they left Spoleto, arriving 10 June in Foligno, where the days were spent "always hearing music of trumpet(s), flute(s) and viol(s)."⁴⁵ On 9 July they left Padua, stopping at Vicenza and visiting the Teatro Olimpico. There they heard an oration. The journal reported on

music of *virole*, played by the young boys, who pleased those princes greatly with the sound of the instruments and their voices.⁴⁶

It is not clear from this description, originally in Italian, whether the *virole* (the plural form of *viola*) were of the gamba or braccio family.

(C) On the Iberian Peninsula again

The envoys returned to Spain and stayed in Alcalá again from 15 to 17 October 1585. There, Ascanio Colonna gave them musical instruments. Daniello Bartoli (1508–85), an Italian, reported this episode in his *Dell'istoria della Compagnia di Giesu II* in 1660.

⁴⁴Frois, *La première ambassade*, 138.

⁴⁵Letter dated 13 June 1585. ARSI: *Ital.* 159, ff. 36–37v. Quoted in Japanese translation in Ryōgo Yūki, "Shin Shiryō: Tenshō Shōnen Shisetsu" of *Kirishitan Kenkyū* 29 (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1990), 120. I have not yet looked at the original text.

⁴⁶Gabriele Calzoni, "Letter to the Duke of Mantua Verona, July 11, 1585," *Dai Nippon Shiryō, part XI supplement II*, European Materials 158 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, 1961), 140.

...[M]usical instruments were brought: an *arpicordo* [plucked string keyboard],⁴⁷ presented by Don Ascanio Colonna, who later became a cardinal, *harpe*, *liuti*, and *viuole*. They [the Japanese envoys] were able to play all of them at a level more than mediocre, because of their natural talent in this art, and owing to their training during their pilgrimage.⁴⁸

Colonna thought that the musical talent of the envoys would be helpful for the missionary project. Since Bartoli specified Colonna as the donor of the instruments, which Frois did not, Bartoli seems to have used different sources from those of Frois. Among the *viuole* (in the plural form), a *rabequinha* was included (as will be cited later). It was the beginning of the history of the violin in Japan. Thereafter, the descriptions of viols always distinguished the instruments of the braccio and the gamba families, with a single exception in 1603.

The mission returned to Portugal, spending Christmas in Coimbra. On 23 December 1585, the envoys heard "the best music of the city, with a great variety of instruments in ensemble, such as *charamellas*, a *realejo* [portative organ? hurdy-gurdy?], an *arpa*, a *cravo*, *violas de arco*, a *rabecca*, etc." at a church.⁴⁹ They embarked from Lisbon in April 1586.

(D) On the way back to Japan

In August 1588 or later, they arrived in Macao. There they heard that Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who had succeeded Oda Nobunaga as ruler of Japan, had expelled Christian missionaries in the preceding year. After Valignano's patient negotiation, the envoys were readmitted two years later as diplomats of the viceroy of Spain in India. Meanwhile, time was put to good use in Macao.

⁴⁷An extremely expensive one and decorated magnificently with shells of pearly oysters; De Sande reported that it was made of cedar. *De Missione legatorum Japonensium ...* (Macao: Societatis IESV, 1590), 346.

⁴⁸Daniello Bartoli, "Dell'istoria della Compagnia di Giesu II Giappone, seconda parte dell'Asia, libro primo," *Dai Nippon Shiryō, part XI supplement II*, European Materials 201 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, 1961), 272.

⁴⁹Frois, *La première ambassade*, 258.

Padre Lourenço Mexia (c. 1540–99; came to Japan 1579) reported how they spent their days.

They did not waste their time during their voyage. As they had learned to play several musical instruments, they played when we gathered at the church in the evening of the Feast of Circumcision, 1 January.... One played the *arpa*, another the *clavo* [like *cravo*, a plucked string keyboard or organ], a third the *laude*, and the fourth the *rabeca*.⁵⁰

The mission finally arrived in Nagasaki on 21 July 1590, yet they were unable to see Toyotomi Hideyoshi, because he was busy meeting the ambassador from Korea and fighting in Odawara. The envoys had to wait for eight full months to be given an audience.

Episode X: *Rabequinha* and *violas de arco* for Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1591)

While Toyotomi continued contacts with foreign countries in order to trade goods and to acquire information, he prohibited Christianity, as mentioned above. He finally granted an audience to the returned envoys, but the atmosphere was tense. For while Toyotomi wanted to acquire information from the envoys, the envoys were eager for him to cancel the prohibition against Christianity. Frois reports:

At last, Toyotomi returned to the visitors. The dishes had already been taken away. They talked of various things, and he said that he wanted to hear the four gentlemen play some music.

Then the musical instruments were brought, which had been prepared in advance. The four gentlemen began to play and sing to the *cravo*, the *arpa*, the *laude*, and the *rabequinha*. They performed very gracefully because they had learned much in Italy and Portugal. He listened to them with great attention and curiosity. The envoys stopped playing soon after they began in order not to cause trouble to the ruler. He ordered them to perform three times on the same instruments. Then he took each

⁵⁰Padre Mexia's autograph letter from Macao, 8 January 1589, ARSI: *Jap. Sin.* 11 1a, f. 46r.

instrument in his hands, and asked the four princes questions about the instruments.

He further ordered them to play the *violas de arco* and the *realejo*. He examined them with great curiosity. He told various things to the gentlemen, and said that he was very happy to find them to be Japanese.⁵¹

Toyotomi ordered the *rabequinha* played three times, and then heard *violas de arco*. The envoys played a braccio instrument and then switched to the gamba instruments. It is interesting that in the Latin version of the documents one translator used a special term, *barbiton* (*barbitos*), a term associated with the ancient Greek lyre.⁵²

Episode XI: *Violas d'arco* and the *viola semplice* in the Mass (1593)

As Toyotomi oppressed Christians more and more severely, they were forced to close their seminaries and flee westward. They hid themselves in the mountains of Unzen (today in Nagasaki Prefecture) and opened their seminary there. Even in exile, they lived quite happily. *Padres* found it pleasing that the students discoursed in Latin, and that they conducted various ceremonies with chorus and instrumental music. The vice-provincial was so filled with spiritual pleasure that he "felt as if he were in Coimbra."⁵³ Music was an important part of their

⁵¹*Historia*, 5:308. In Sp. MS: *rabec... viguelas de arco* (*Jap. Sin.* 51, f. 320r); in It. Print: *ribeca*, *Lettera del Giappone degli anni 1591 et 1592* (Rome, 1595), 46; *viuole* in Bartoli (see footnote 48).

⁵²Ioanne Hayo, ed., *De Rebus japonicis indicis et pervanis epistolae recentiores* (Antwerp: Ex Officina Martini Nutij, 1605; reprint, Nara: Tenri Central Library, 1977), Section 16, 138. Marin Mersenne uses the same term for viol in his description of André Maugars and Nicolas Hotman in *Harmonicorum libri XII* (Paris, 1635), Liber primus de instrumentis harmonicis, Propositio XXX, 47. Jean Rousseau suggests the *Barbita* as one of the origins of the viol in his *Traité de la Viole* (Paris, 1687; reprint, Amsterdam: Antiqua, 1965), 13. But from the context of Episode X, it indicates also harp, lute, and *rabequinha*.

⁵³ARSI: *Jap. Sin.* 52, f. 19v.

spiritual life. The envoys who had visited Europe taught music in the seminary. Pedro Gomez (1535–1600; arrived in Japan 1583), a Spaniard, in his annual report of 15 March 1594, described how the Christians lived:

The seminary has an advantage over the other houses. In this period, no other institutions can conduct solemn ceremonies publicly, as is usually practiced here. Such people who perform music, and play various instruments, always conduct their offices with great solemnity. Moreover, every Sunday they conduct what we would do in the Holy Week or on an important feast day. There is a High Mass, sometimes with plainchant, and sometimes with polyphony, with music of various instruments, such as *orgãos*, *violas d'arco*, *arpa*, *laude*, *viola*, and *cravo*, which most people play very well.⁵⁴

Violas d'arco (in the plural form) means a set of viols, and *viola* (in the singular form) indicates the *rabequinha*. Battista Peruschi translated this description into Italian; his Italian term *viola semplice* (in the Portuguese manuscript source, just *viola*) clearly indicates a *rabequinha*, in contrast to the *viola d'arco* (*violas de arco* in Portuguese). The exact meaning of the sixteenth-century Italian term *viola semplice* has not been previously clearly identified. Now it is evident that the *viola semplice* was a small, treble braccio instrument, equivalent to the Portuguese *rabequinha*.

Episode XII: *Violas darco* played at the college of Nagasaki (1603)

The oppression of Christians became so severe in 1598 that the seminary had to be dissolved. However, after Toyotomi's death, they gathered again in Amakusa in 1599. In 1601 the great fire in Nagasaki drove them to Arima. In 1603 Diego Mesquita (c.

⁵⁴*Historia*, 5:479. Frois's manuscript version (*Cod. 49-IV-57*, f. 305r) employs the same terms. In Port. MS: *violas darco*... *viola* (*Jap. Sin.* 52, f. 20r)—this MS was Frois's source; in It. print: *viola d'arco*... *viola semplice*, *Lettere annua del Giappone dal Marzo de 1593 sino al Marzo del 94* (Rome, 1597), 69; *viola d'arco*... *viola semplice*, *Lettere annua del Giappone*... (Milan, 1597), 58.

1553–1614; arrived in Japan 1577; accompanied the Japanese Christian mission), a Portuguese, reported what it was like in the college.

In this college a very good chapel of singers is maintained, with which the bishop celebrates the feasts with great solemnity, and conducts pontifical offices at proper occasions. In this college, the students learn to sing polyphony and plainchant, and to play the *cravo*, *orgãos*, *violas darco*, and other instruments that serve the divine cult and Christian faith.⁵⁵

The music teachers included Luis Shiozuka (Xiozzuca)⁵⁶ and Martino Hara. Most of the music collection of the college was lost, but some was brought to Macao when the Christians were finally expelled from Japan. A catalogue of books in the college of Macao, dated 1632, included a Mass by Duarte Lobo (?1565–1646) that had been brought from Japan.⁵⁷

Episode XIII: The Christians made *biguelas de arco* (1603)

The third bishop of Japan, Luis Cerqueira (1552–1614; arrived in Japan 1598), a Spaniard, mentioned the musical instruments in the seminary in 1603.

They [the students] formed a choir and a chapel to help the divine offices. They learned to sing plainchant and polyphony, and to play the *organos*. Many of them [organs] were made by them [Japanese students], and also *clavos*, and *biguelas de arco*,

⁵⁵Gay, *La Liturgia*, 191. In Port. MS: *violas darco* (British Library, Marsden Manuscript, *Add. Mss.* 9860, f. 36r).

⁵⁶A Japanese painter and musician, Shiozuka was born in Nagasaki in 1576. He entered the seminary in 1588. Later he was expelled to Manila, where he entered the Dominican Order. After returning to Japan, he taught at the college of Nagasaki. In 1637, he was martyred in the ceremonial costume of the Dominican Order.

⁵⁷Lobo was one of the most respected Portuguese musicians of his time. He worked as the chapel master of the Évora cathedral and of the Hospital Real in Lisbon. Guy Bourlignieux, "Lobo, Duarte," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980), vol. 11: 102–3. The Mass book in question, which was in Japan, was either *Natalitiae noctis responsoria*... (Antwerp, 1602) or *Cantica Beatae Mariae Virginis*... (Antwerp, 1605).

and other musical instruments with which they celebrate the divine offices.⁵⁸

A certain P. Giovanni Cola (called Nicolao in Portuguese documents) came from Rome to teach at an art school in 1582. While he taught copying European paintings (those copies were generically called *namban byōbu*) and other artistic techniques, he also taught how to make musical instruments. Instrument building was a part of the educational program of the Augustine orders in Portugal. In addition to instrument making, composition and performance were also parts of the program.⁵⁹ Nicolao and his students built organs with bamboo pipes in Shiki, Nagasaki. As a result, Japanese Christians filled the shortage of Western musical instruments in the Far East. Captain Ruis Mendes, a Portuguese, was surprised to see, touch, and hear an organ in 1596.⁶⁰

Episode XIV: *Viola* and *rabeca* played for Toyotomi Hideyori (1607)

Joan Rodrigues Giram (1576–1629; came to Japan 1586), a Portuguese, reported how vice-provincial Francesco Pasio (1551–1612) won the favor of Toyotomi Hideyori (1593–1615) by performing music for him. Toyotomi Hideyori was a son of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Fernando Guerreiro (1550–1617; did not come to Japan) compiled the annual report of Padre Giram, and wrote of this episode:

The *padre* took some fellows with him. Katagiri Ichinokami [Toyotomi's secretary] asked the *padre* if any of his fellows had some notable art, or some special talent, to please Hideyori. Hideyori was still young, and liked novelties. The *padre* answered that they did not know anything but singing and

⁵⁸Padre Cerqueira's letter 12 January 1603, ARSI: *Jap. Sin.* 20 II, f. 154r. In French print: *violes d'archet*, Léon Pagés, *Histoire de la religion chrétienne au Japon depuis 1598 jusqu'à 1651*, part 2, Appendices (Paris: Charles Douniol, 1869), 47.

⁵⁹Nery, "New Sources," 12.

⁶⁰British Library, Marsden Manuscript, *Add. Mss.* 9860, f. 52r; I refer to the citation in Gay, *La Liturgia*, 184, no. 135.

playing musical instruments of their land, and it would be easy to perform, if Hideyori requested. Katagiri answered that it was a novelty, which had never happened before, and asked them to come the following day with the company and musical instruments in question. He said that Hideyori would enjoy it greatly to see and to hear them. On the following day, the Christians visited Hideyori with their musical instruments—a *harpa*, a *viola*, a *rabeca*, a *realejo*—and sang and played for Hideyori and for many others. Everybody was greatly pleased. Hideyori was especially pleased with the shapes of the instruments, and picked them up one by one, examined their structure and work, and greatly praised the wisdom of the Europeans who invented such instruments.⁶¹

Each instrument was referred to in the singular form. This may mean that each person played a different instrument. This hypothesis cannot be proven at present because the source of Giram's description is not known.

From 1608 onward, musical instruments were mentioned without specification, such as "various instruments" (*varios instrumentos* in Portuguese) or "different instruments" (*diversos instrumentos* in Portuguese).

At first, the Jesuit missionaries sent the reports separately as occasion required. In 1581, the system was modified. The reports were first gathered and filed at the central office of the Japanese See. Then they were sent to Europe as the annual report of Japan. Later, four copies were sent to Europe by two routes—two via Goa, and two via Manila and Mexico. Consequently it is not clear

⁶¹*Relação annual dos coisas que fizeram os padres da Companhia 1607–1609* (compiled by Fernão Guerreiro), ed. Artur Viegas, *Scriptores Rerum Lusitanarum Serie A* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1942), Tomo III, 141. In Port. MS: *viola, rabeca* (*Jap. Sin.* 55, f. 382r); in Sp. print: *rabel, vihuela, Historia y anal relacion de las cosas...* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1614), cap. VII, p. 207. In Fr. print: *viola, rebec*, Léon Pagés, *Histoire de la religion chrétienne au Japon depuis 1598 jusqu'à 1651*, part 1 (Paris: Charles Douniol, 1869), 149.

what the original reports, written by the missionaries themselves, were like.

In 1613, the Edo government expelled the Christians from Japan; most of the missionaries fled to Macao.

In the Edo period, the Dutch Republic held a mercantile house in Dejima, Nagasaki. The Dutch in Japan were also involved in music, and records of this indeed survive. Today research is under way with these Dutch documents. However, so far as is known at present, Japanese musicians in this period did not play Western bowed instruments themselves. There exists a late-seventeenth-century painting showing an ensemble at Dejima that includes a presumed Indonesian servant playing a viol (the other two instruments are a harp and a violin).

Summary

Various genres of traditional Japanese music existed in the sixteenth century, such as *gagaku* and *dengaku* (a root of *nô*). Yet Japan did not know bowed instruments capable of long, sustained notes before the Jesuit missionaries introduced viols into Japan in 1561. The Christian seminaries served as the center of the introduction and practice of the viols. In this sense, viols were not free from the political, economic, and religious contexts that involved Japan and European nations. Since most missionaries were Portuguese or Italian, viol practice in Japan reflected the tastes of these countries.

The Japanese needed instrumental support to sing polyphony, so multiple *violas de arco* were introduced and played as a substitute for an organ. On the one hand, viols served liturgical and educational purposes, contributing to the recruitment of new Christians and to the education of young Christians. On the other hand, the viols provided salon music, too. They were used to entertain Japanese noblemen in the same manner as in Europe. The *violas de arco*—which we call *viola da gamba* today—were very suitable to these two purposes. They could produce long, sustained notes and were easy to play because they had frets. Moreover, they were suitable for the polyphonic music then in vogue.

About thirty years after the introduction of the viol, the Japanese Christian envoys, who had been educated at the seminaries, played the viols themselves for Portuguese and Spanish princes. They brought back from Europe a *rabequinha*, what we call violin today, adding further charm to the religious services in Japan. Even after the introduction of organs, Japanese Christians continued to play and to make viols. The history of viols in Japan lasted for about fifty years, from 1561 to 1613. After this, viols disappeared from Japan.

About a hundred and thirty years ago, the Meiji government replaced that of the Edo. The new government tried to cast away traditional Asian systems and introduce Western ones in every field; music was no exception. Western music of the time was quickly and even forcefully introduced into Japan. Thus, Western music again became popular.

Japanese musicians rediscovered the viols and played them in the 1930s as well as the post-War period. Viols were especially popular in the last thirty years of the twentieth century, parallel to the instrument's revival in Europe. This is a new chapter in the history of viols in Japan, one that I hope will be addressed in the future.

This article adds new Portuguese vocabulary to the viol literature of the mid- and late-sixteenth century. Moreover, it provides a vivid image of how Western culture flourished on its eastern edge during a period of great expansion. It is hoped that this work contributes to East-West musicological dialogue.

RESEARCH REPORT: CONFERENCES IN MAGNANO AND EDINBURGH

Thomas G. MacCracken

During the spring of 2000 two important European conferences took place devoted wholly or partially to recent research on the viol. The first of these, an International Symposium on the Italian Viola da Gamba organized primarily by VdGSA member Susan Orlando Brauchli, was held from 29 April to 1 May in the northern Italian village of Magnano, where she and her husband Bernard host an annual festival of early music. This was followed only a month later, on 1–3 June, by a Symposium on Bowed String Musical Instruments held at the University of Edinburgh's Faculty of Music, chaired by Arnold Myers (director of the university's Collection of Historic Musical Instruments) and jointly sponsored by the Early Music Forum of Scotland and the Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain. Both events featured papers by an international lineup of speakers, together with musical performances both formal and informal. In addition to the considerable interest and value of such structured occasions for learning more about the viol and its music, each of these gatherings also provided a rewarding opportunity for some sixty or seventy people to meet and share their knowledge of and enthusiasm for the instrument.

International Symposium on the Italian Viola da Gamba

Since there are no hotels in Magnano, attendance at the first conference was essentially by invitation only, in order not to exceed the capacity of limited local facilities. Most participants received free accommodations in one of the two large houses the Brauchlis own there, and also signed up for excellent group dinners at the nearest restaurant, a couple of miles down the road. No doubt largely due to the experience gained from four biennial Clavichord Congresses that Bernard has convened in Magnano

during the past decade, practical arrangements were handled very smoothly, with the added benefit this year of a newly dedicated cultural center made available by the village as the location for our sessions, in addition to the parish church for concerts. With basic needs thus comfortably provided for, participants were kept happily busy from 10:00 A.M. to 10:00 P.M. on both Saturday and Sunday, with a concluding session Monday morning to demonstrate the more than twenty Italian-model viols brought by the various builders and players in attendance.

After bilingual welcoming remarks by both Bernard and Susan Brauchli, the symposium got under way with a session of three papers devoted to aspects of the physical design of viols. The Swiss luthier Luc Breton spoke first, on "The Physical Problems of Barring and the Function of the Bridge." He pointed out that a viol bridge serves not only to transmit the vibration of the strings to the soundboard but also to change the direction of those vibrations (from horizontal to vertical), ideally with a minimum loss of energy. Just as the specific design of bridge cutouts influences the frequency and amplitude of those vibrations, so too the size and placement of any bars inside the body of the viol will affect the results of transmitting them to the instrument's back by means of the soundpost, notably in respect to which overtones are favored. Mr. Breton also noted that early pictures show bridges (at least on basses) placed at the level of the lower body corners, regardless of where this falls in relation to the soundholes; as a consequence, the soundpost—if there is one—is likely not to stand in the middle of the soundpost plate, contrary to modern assumptions.

In the second paper, based on research for her doctoral dissertation at Bar-Ilan University in Israel, Myrna Herzog posed the question, "Violin Traits in Italian Viol Building: Rule or Exception?" After describing four basic body shapes found in historical viols—the classic type with sloping shoulders and square corners at the center bouts; violin- or cello-shape with pointed corners; cornerless or guitar-shape; and festoon, having an outline with multiple "dimples"—she observed that, among early Italian instruments, those made in Venice tend to use what we now think of as the standard viol design, while those from Brescia (and later

also from Cremona) favor pointed corners, typically in combination with f-holes, scrolls, and overhanging edges. This was a legitimate variant form of the viola da gamba family that we can no longer afford to ignore; indeed, from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century in Northern Italy it was more the rule than the exception, and was also known in England (illustrated in Simpson's *The Division Viol* of 1665) and in France (as exemplified by Ms. Herzog's own Andrea Castagneri viol of 1744). She also described a less common model—which she has dubbed the “El Greco” because it appears in his painting of the Annunciation as well as in surviving instruments made in Brescia, Venice, and Bologna—characterized by a violin-shaped body with squiggle-shaped soundholes and pronounced ridges pointing to the four corners of the belly.

The morning concluded with a presentation by Simone Zopf on “The Construction of Early Italian Viols.” As a luthier and musicology student connected with the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, she has had the opportunity to study closely the three viols in that collection attributed to Antonio Ciciliano. Though questions have been raised about their origins, the museum believes that they do indeed date from the late sixteenth century—as revealed by scientific dating of the wood to c. 1585 in at least two cases—albeit with significant later modifications, probably in the course of so-called restoration in the nineteenth century. The set consists of three different sizes (treble, tenor, and bass, or more likely tenor, bass, and great bass) sharing a basic body shape in which the back is somewhat larger than the belly, with the result that the ribs at the shoulders are angled forward as well as sloping; however, the smallest viol differs in certain details from the other two, including having a carved rather than a bent belly. Ms. Zopf has made a copy of it with alternate fronts, one of each type, in order to measure and compare the different ways in which they vibrate using Chladni patterns.

After the lunch break we heard three more papers, two of them dealing with specific old viols. First, however, Paolo Pandolfo reflected on the process of improvisation in viol playing, in a kind of spoken prelude to his concert a few hours later. His own background in jazz, together with extensive study of the available

written material on Renaissance and early Baroque practices, has given him a strong interest in this little-explored aspect of the instrument's historical repertoire, which he characterized as a way of paying respect to the work of earlier composers while at the same time transforming and even subverting it through an exercise of one's own creativity. He also pointed out that surviving written-out examples of the viola bastarda style, like transcriptions of recorded jazz standards, are obviously less spontaneous and more regularized than the real thing, and thus of only limited use in learning how to play in this manner.

Next, Karel Moens, the recently appointed curator of the Vleeshuis Museum in Antwerp, spoke on “The Authenticity of Sixteenth-Century Viols,” giving what he humorously referred to as an improvisation of a different kind, in that his talk represented an extemporized summary of a much longer study that he published in 1995 on “The ‘Renaissance Viols’ in the Brussels Instrument Museum,” where he was formerly a curator. Focusing on three instruments from this collection (respectively attributed to Ebert, Zanetto, and Tieffenbrucker), and with the help of numerous slides, he called attention to a series of disturbing anomalies and inconsistencies in the physical and documentary evidence for their supposed provenance. While remarking that his purpose was primarily to raise questions rather than provide answers, ultimately Mr. Moens suspects that these and a number of other allegedly old viols were created in the nineteenth century, often (re)using significantly older wood, as a way of supplying the growing demand for such instruments by private and institutional collectors. This fascinating and convincing presentation was a reminder that skeptical scrutiny is always appropriate when evaluating any allegedly antique artifact.

In the final paper of the first day (and the only one of the entire symposium not given in English, although a thirteen-page illustrated translation was provided as a handout), the musicologist Marco Tiella offered a detailed description of a virtually unknown viol labeled “Antonio Ciciliano a Venetia,” which almost surely has been in the collection of the Accademia Filarmonica of Bologna ever since it and four others by the same maker were donated to that institution sometime before 1664. Despite

evidence of some attempts at restoration it is in very original condition, though quite fragile due to worm damage: the varnish has never been retouched, the neck is still only nailed in place (though now coming loose), and there are no internal bars or corner blocks. The soundpost and its plate are probably later additions, however, as are the nut, tailpiece, and perhaps the tuning pegs. Dendrochronological testing of the carved belly yields a date of 1596 for the most recent growth rings. With a body length of 64 cm it could be considered either a small bass or perhaps a large tenor, closely resembling in appearance the slightly smaller Ciciliano viols in the collections of Yale University and the Brussels Conservatory.

Before dinner the assembled company relocated to the village church, less than ten minutes' walk away, where Erin Headley was waiting to give a presentation on the lirone, long a specialty of hers. After briefly describing its special role as an esoteric extra continuo instrument—used exclusively to accompany the voice, so far as we know—and the “magical” sound of its dozen-or-so strings tuned in a multiply re-entrant pattern, she proceeded to play a short program of pieces by mostly early-seventeenth-century Italian composers, ably assisted by three of her students from the Conservatory of Malmö, Sweden (Anna Eriksson, soprano; Suzanne Persson, chitarrone; and Nora Roll, viol).

In the evening participants returned to the church for a two-part concert, which was also open to the public. The first half featured four members of the English ensemble Fretwork (Richard Campbell, Julia Hodgson, William Hunt, and Susanna Pell) performing ten selections from Ottaviano Petrucci's pioneering publications *Odhecaton A* (1501), *Canti B* (1502), and *Canti C* (1503). Transposing the music down a fourth or a fifth, they used a set of viols (tenor, bass, and great bass, all without soundposts) very recently made for them by the London-based builder Henner Harders—which he described as “inspired by” the extant instruments attributed to the late-sixteenth-century Venetian maker Ventura Linarol—plus English luthier Jane Julier's copy of a small bass by the mid-sixteenth-century maker Peregrino Zanetto that is in the University of South Dakota's Shrine to Music Museum. This was clearly new repertoire for the group, who are

best known for their performances of later English consort music, and they are to be commended for their interest in presenting it on chronologically and geographically appropriate models of viols. The concert concluded with a set of improvisations on madrigals and plainchants performed by Paolo Pandolfo (accompanied by harpsichordist Guido Morini), including works by Ortiz, Rognoni, and Valente as well as renditions presumably made up on the spot by the performers. This was highly virtuosic playing, in which Mr. Pandolfo fully exploited the surprisingly rich tonal resources of his viol, a rather homely-looking cornerless bass of unknown provenance and age.

The second day's schedule followed a similar pattern of three papers each in the morning and afternoon, followed by an evening concert shared by two different ensembles. The first session began with Susan Brauchli reading a paper by the English Baroque violinist and string maker Oliver Webber, who was unable to attend the symposium. Under the title “Real Gut Strings: Some New Experiments in Historical Stringing,” he pointed out that what most people do today differs from historical practice in several crucial respects. There is evidence that instruments of both the violin and viol families were strung more heavily than is currently the norm, and that the use of all-gut set-ups lasted longer than we think, in many places well into the eighteenth century; when overspun strings were introduced they were wound with round wire rather than flat as we do. Modern plain-gut strings, especially the thicker sizes, are insufficiently flexible because they are not twisted hard enough; with his strings he has found that the twisting is best done while they are still wet, an added benefit being that they then need only minimal polishing. As a player he finds the musical results of using such strings very satisfying, including a warmer, richer tone, greater variety and ease of articulation (especially with a fixed-frog bow), and a better ensemble blend and balance between treble and bass.

In the next presentation, entitled “A List of Extant Italian Viols,” I reported on my work in continuing the computerized database of antique viols begun nearly twenty-five years ago by Peter Tourin. After describing the nature of the research project itself I gave a general analysis of the 1,356 instruments currently

listed, considering such basic questions as when, where, and by whom they were made, where they are presently located, and what size they are. I then repeated this process for the 185 viols of known or supposed Italian origin (which incidentally are outnumbered by surviving instruments made in Germany [386], France [291], and England [204]). Despite many gaps in my information, the resulting broad picture confirms that Italian musicians lost interest in the viol earlier than their northern colleagues; that Brescia, Venice, Cremona, and Milan were the leading centers of viol-building in Italy while that interest survived; and that Italians favored the larger sizes of viols, with proportionally more violones and fewer trebles among extant Italian instruments than are found in the list as a whole. Approximately 40 percent of surviving Italian viols may be found today in half-a-dozen major museums in Brussels, Leipzig, Oxford, Paris, Vermillion (South Dakota), and Vienna, with the rest scattered internationally among various other museums and private owners.

To conclude the morning session, James Bates of the University of Louisville spoke on "Claudio Monteverdi, the Viola Bastarda Player," a role in which Monteverdi remained active at the court of Mantua even after being promoted to music director in 1601. Since his famous critic, Giovanni Maria Artusi, considered (probably correctly) that the innovative use of rapid diminutions and unorthodox dissonance treatment in vocal music was derived from earlier instrumental styles, Artusi's attack on Monteverdi may be viewed in the additional light of a leading theorist condescending to someone whom he may have regarded as primarily "just a player" rather than a properly trained composer.

On Sunday afternoon we heard papers on a variety of topics. Although I had to miss most of Martin Kirnbauer's talk on "The Viola da Gamba in Chromatic and Enharmonic Music in Seventeenth-Century Rome," I can report that it stimulated a lengthy discussion between the speaker and various members of the audience. This was followed by Vittorio Ghielmi's introduction to "An Eighteenth-Century Italian Treatise on the Viola da Gamba," written by an unknown Milanese author and entitled "Modo ovvero regolo per accompagnare il basso continuo con la viola da gamba." This document, which is owned by the library of

the conservatory in Bologna and will be included in a forthcoming volume of treatises to be published in facsimile by Fuzeau, provides evidence that at least some people were still playing the viol in Italy after 1700. In addition to giving tunings for a seven-string bass and a six-string viol in G, it also discusses the "*viola anglais*" as something distinct from the viola d'amore, suggesting that Vivaldi's *viola all'inglese* may have been a gamba after all.

Next came an illustrated presentation by the luthier Carlo Chiesa summarizing what we know of viol building in eighteenth-century Cremona. Not only are there various drawings from Antonio Stradivari's workshop, notably for a French-style seven-string bass (including patterns for bridge and tailpiece in addition to the body itself), and specific references to viols built there in 1684 and 1707, but it seems that at least one actual instrument has survived, converted to a cello but retaining its original flat back, which is currently part of a private collection in Texas. As for other surviving Cremonese viols, there is also a bass made by Giuseppe Guarneri in 1702 that was offered for sale by Sotheby's about ten years ago, to which might be added (though they were not actually mentioned) three basses by Francesco Rugeri dated 1697, 1699, and 1726, and a fourth by his son Vincenzo from 1702.

At the very end of the afternoon, Mr. Chiesa returned to the podium to deputize for an absent Paolo Biordi in providing a slide-show survey of the viol as seen in Italian art. First, however, the musicologist Renato Meucci spoke on "Early Evidence of the Viola da Gamba in Italy." The first part of his talk was devoted to summarizing Ian Woodfield's book *The Early History of the Viol*, of which Mr. Meucci has just published an Italian translation. To this he added a short list of early Italian viols still surviving in various Italian collections, including two at the Accademia di Santa Cecilia in Rome which have remained almost completely unknown to modern researchers. In conclusion, he suggested that an important reason the viol essentially died out in Italy after the first quarter of the seventeenth century, except among amateurs, was that other instruments were considered superior for accompanying singers.

Sunday's concert began with performances by The Earle and His Viols, an ensemble based at the Schola Cantorum in Basel

consisting of Irene Klein, Jessica Marshall, Brigitte Gasser, and director Randall Cook. They used a specially commissioned set of instruments in four different sizes built by the Swiss-based American luthier Richard Earle—hence the group's name—which he described as “inspired by [the paintings of] Titian, c. 1520.” It was thus a little odd that the group's chosen repertoire came from the so-called Rossi Manuscript (London, British Library, Add. 30491) of approximately a century later, which moreover contains exclusively keyboard music, albeit written mostly in open score. Nevertheless, the performances were accomplished and the distinctive sonority of the consort provided a satisfyingly novel element. Then, because one member of the originally scheduled Quartetto Italiano di Viole da Gamba was unable to be present, his colleagues Vittorio Ghielmi and Rodney Prada combined forces with lutenist Luca Pianca to create a substitute program for the second half of the evening. After two madrigal settings by Girolamo Della Casa (enriched by Mr. Prada's use of a lirone) and a lute solo, Mr. Ghielmi offered a substantial novelty of his own in the form of two mid-eighteenth-century sonatas for viol and continuo by Carlo Zuccari and Andreas Lidl, attractively played on his original 1688 Collichon bass to the accompaniment of Mr. Pianca's archlute.

The final event of the symposium took place on Monday morning, when Christophe Coin moderated a two-hour session given over to demonstrations of instruments made by ten different builders, all of whom were present and invited to make brief introductory comments. (These instruments had also been on display and available for trial by participants during the previous two days.) In addition to revisiting the sets of viols by Richard Earle and Henner Harders already heard in concert, Messrs. Coin and Ghielmi took turns playing for us on an interesting variety of individual instruments, every one of which, as it happened, was based on a different model. My personal favorites included Carlo Chiesa's copy of an anonymous, cornerless tenor owned by Vittorio Ghielmi (especially interesting because it could be compared on the spot with its model); a brand-new but attractive-sounding tenor by Benoit Gervais (Austria) after the Linarol at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna; the above-mentioned small bass

by Jane Julier (England) after the Shrine to Music Museum's Zanetto, with an integral bass bar and no soundpost; and a bass after Gasparo da Salò by Floris van der Voort (Netherlands).

Other models demonstrated were basses after the Antonio Ciciliano in Vienna by Christian Brosse (Germany) and the Battista Ciciliano in Brussels by Eduardo Gore (Italy); Gore's copy of the Giovanni Maria treble in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford; a treble and tenor after Zanetto by Franco Giraud (Italy), necessarily conjectural since only basses survive from this maker; and a Maggini-model bass by Sergio Gistri (Italy), based on a drawing by John Pringle of an instrument whose current whereabouts is unknown. Finally, and almost in a category of their own, Toon Moonen (Netherlands) showed two different models of tenor viol ingeniously reconstructed after paintings by Raphael, a process described in full detail in his article for the May 1995 issue of *Strad* magazine.

Symposium on Bowed String Musical Instruments

The June conference in Edinburgh was the latest in an irregular series put on by Arnold Myers, the seemingly indefatigable director of the Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments (EUCHMI). Though primarily a specialist in brass instruments, he is also a viol player, and less than a year after hosting the July 1999 meeting co-sponsored by EUCHMI and the Galpin Society and covering all types of (western) instruments, Mr. Myers had devised a very full two-and-a-half-day program of more than thirty papers exclusively concerning bowed string instruments. While the majority of speakers hailed from either England or Scotland, others came from the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, and the United States, with additional registrants from France and Spain. (Here the ratio of participants to auditors was close to equal, in contrast to Magnano where it had been more like two to one.) In addition to the daily sessions held in St. Cecilia's Hall—Scotland's oldest concert hall and also the location of the university's splendid Russell Collection of Keyboard Instruments—the final afternoon offered opportunities to visit not only the wind and string instruments of EUCHMI proper, on display a ten-minute walk across town in Reid Concert Hall, but

also relevant exhibits at the National Library and the National Gallery of Scotland. The conference then culminated in a recital by Alison Crum, followed by a multi-course dinner for all who cared to participate.

Due to space limitations, this report will mention only those papers relating to the viol (as opposed to violin-family instruments), many of which were concentrated in a Thursday afternoon session that I had the honor to chair. We began with "The Chest of Viols Reconsidered" by Annette Otterstedt, a curator at the Berlin Musikinstrumenten-Museum and author of several books on the viol. Among her main points was that, despite ambiguities of terminology and even morphology, it seems that late Renaissance and early Baroque ensembles routinely combined instruments of the viol and violin families, especially on the continent, where it was evidently the norm for the top parts of a string group to be played on violins regardless of what was used on the lower lines. Ms. Otterstedt even went so far as to propose that the treble viol was an English invention, describing the "classical" mid-seventeenth-century grouping of two trebles, two tenors, and two basses—as used by Jenkins and Lawes, among others—as "an elaborate but short-lived phenomenon."

Next, the luthier Michael Heale discussed the viols shown in *Allegory and the Sense of Hearing* by the artist Jan Breughel (1568–1625). There are at least four and perhaps five lying about in the foreground, plus one more being played in a mixed ensemble in the next room; all have six strings, C-holes, and no frets, though this last feature may be the result of uninformed retouching of the painting. The smaller ones have a body outline with clearly pointed corners, similar to an instrument at the Royal College of Music in London of which Mr. Heale showed both slides and his own copy.

The following two papers dealt with particular seventeenth-century English builders of viols. Ben Hebbert spoke on "The Viol and Violin Maker, Barak Norman," the subject of his recently completed thesis for London Guildhall University. Mr. Hebbert has established that Norman was born in 1651, and has found the records of his apprenticeship in 1668 to a certain William Harding, bailiff of the weavers' guild. Since Norman

obviously made his career in a different field, this choice was probably just a stratagem to gain commercial entry into the City of London; his actual teacher was most likely Richard Meares, though this remains unproven. Norman's earliest surviving viol is dated 1689, and shortly after the turn of the century he also began to make instruments of the violin family, though relatively few are known to exist today. Nathaniel Cross was his apprentice, probably from 1706–13, and then his partner until 1722, the year before Norman apparently stopped making instruments (though his wife did not sell the business until 1730).

After a brief refreshment break the session resumed with Roger Rose's account of "The Viols of Henry Smith," one of which, a 1637 bass, he recently restored. The instrument had suffered two poorly done conversions, first to a cello and then back to a viol; now that it has been taken completely apart and put together again he reported that the results are "quite exciting" in the opinion of various professional players. Mr. Rose then gave a detailed description of the instrument, illustrated with slides and enhanced by comparisons to the only two others known to survive by this maker (whom Thomas Mace in 1676 cited as among the best of earlier times, together with Henry Jaye and John Rose), a bass of 1629 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and a tenor of 1623 located not far away from the conference site in Kilmarnock, Scotland.

Because Michael Fleming (the current chairman of the Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain) was unable at the last minute to attend the symposium, his paper was read by Ian Harwood (president of the Lute Society and a fellow luthier). Based on research for his doctoral dissertation, it was entitled "Who Made the Viols by Henry Jaye? English Viol Makers 1580–1660 and What We Know of Their Work." After examining twelve of the approximately twenty instruments attributed to Jaye, he has found that many of them have been altered and some contain only a few parts likely to have been crafted by their supposed maker—about whom there is, in any case, a surprising lack of documentary evidence. However, Mr. Fleming has discovered that Jaye was a member of the fletchers' (or arrow-makers') guild in 1606, which suggests that he was born around 1580, and has also found that

his name is absent from a membership list of 1641, implying that he had died by that time. Consequently, it seems likely that the large treble viol at the Victoria and Albert Museum dated 1667 and bearing his name must have been made by someone else, perhaps a namesake son. A number of other English viol builders of this period are known only from a unique instrument, and there are records of still more who practiced this trade but have left no surviving specimens of their work.

With only a short pause to catch his breath, Ian Harwood then delivered his own paper on "Henry Jaye, Tobias Hume, and English Viol Pitches," in which he returned to the topic of his 1981 article in *Early Music* on instrumental pitch in England c. 1600. Before the introduction of wound strings the range of possible pitches for a viol with a given string length was quite narrow, yet Jaye built both a very small treble of about 30 cm string length (which Mr. Harwood restored in 1967 and had brought with him) and also a large consort bass measuring about 80 cm. These two instruments could not have been tuned an octave apart at the same pitch standard, so either the small one was a super-treble in g" or—more likely, in his opinion—it reveals the existence of a high consort, pitched a fourth above the usual one, whose tenor and bass were the same size as the treble and tenor of the normal set. There is in fact a fair amount of other evidence pointing toward the existence of such an arrangement, starting with Tobias Hume's potentially confusing references to two viols both called D basses but evidently tuned a fourth apart, and going on to include Praetorius's "Quart-Geige" and the ambiguous relationship between the orpharion and bandora.

A further dozen papers scattered across the symposium's other sessions also dealt with topics specific to the viol or closely related instruments. On Thursday morning Toon Moonen spoke on "Raphael the Father of the Bowed String Instruments: The Discovery of the Arched Belly," in which he analyzed both the construction and the symbolism of a viol shown in Raphael's *The Ecstasy of St. Cecilia* and described the initially limited but ultimately widespread influence of the type of longitudinally arched soundboard illustrated in this painting of c. 1513–16. Next Joseph Morin, a musicologist from the University of Maryland,

Baltimore County, offered "Perspectives on the Supremacy of the Medieval Viella," in which he discussed not only its extensive practical use in musical performance but, even more importantly, its philosophical role as an ideal instrument both conceptually and didactically.

On Friday morning Terrence Pamplin provided an enthusiastic and informative introduction to "The Design and Construction of the Baroque Baryton" (the subject of his doctoral dissertation), making the point that this instrument had been in existence for some 150 years before Haydn began composing trios for Prince Esterházy to play on it. His paper was followed by two on the topic of temperaments for the viol. In the first of these, Ulrich Giese presented calculations showing that the frets on the realistically depicted instrument in Franz Friedrich Frank's "Still Life with Viol" (1671) are positioned in such a way as to suggest the use of sixth-comma meantone tuning. Sarah Manthey then attempted to lead listeners through the process of setting one's frets based on instructions found in treatises by Ganassi and other early writers. However, the strings of the viol she had borrowed for this purpose proved uncooperative, with the result that she was not able to complete her demonstration before time ran out.

Friday afternoon's session began and ended with papers pertinent to the viol. The German bow-maker Hans Reiners, speaking on "Criteria of Early Bows," pointed out—with the aid of many slides shown all too briefly—that fluted sticks and screw-frog mechanisms were rare until the second half of the eighteenth century, and that not only are most early bows unsigned by their makers, but there is no sure way to tell on which instrument they were intended to be used. And Mark Summers, an Edinburgh University student and gambist, offered "An Enquiry into the Viol's Fall from Grace" in eighteenth-century France as a result of changes in musical taste and the social and political context of music-making in the years following the end of Louis XIV's reign in 1715.

Finally, Saturday morning brought a pair of lecture-demonstrations on English repertoire, together with three presentations on diverse topics by local speakers. Musicologist Christopher Field led off with "Form and Gesture in Coprario's

Music for Violin, Bass Viol, and Organ," composed about 1625 for the private ensemble of Prince Charles in which the composer pioneered new ideas of instrumentation and contrast between related movements. These points were illustrated both with the aid of an extensive handout of music examples and by means of Mr. Field's performance of the Suite No. 2 in G minor, holding his entirely gut-strung violin low on his arm and assisted by Alison Crum (viol) and John Kitchen (chamber organ). Similarly, Bruce Bellingham's very scholarly lecture on "Borrowings, Conventions, and Transformations in English Viol Consort Fantasias," covering the interrelationship of vocal music styles (both madrigals and canzonets) with the more abstract instrumental fantasia, was illustrated not only with a lengthy handout but also by the live performance of excerpts from various pieces by an ad hoc consort of five players including the speaker himself.

The closing group of papers featured the husband-and-wife team of Murray and Patricia Campbell, both faculty members at the University of Edinburgh (he in physics, she in art history), who addressed points of intersection between their respective academic specialties and the world of the viol, in which they also participate with great enthusiasm. Murray brought along the appropriate scientific apparatus to illustrate various aspects of "Viol String Acoustics," including—again with the help of Alison Crum—making visible by means of computerized graphing the different forms of sound waves resulting from various kinds of bow strokes (forward and back, loud and soft, on plain and wound strings, and so on). Patsy likewise dealt, though rather differently, with the visual representation of music-making in "Sound and Image—The Iconography of Strings," focusing her remarks on the work of Scottish artists and others on view in Edinburgh in lieu of a guided tour of local museum galleries. In between their two presentations Thomas Munck, of the University of Glasgow, told us about another close-at-hand resource, "The Panmure Manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland," which are primarily remarkable to viol players for containing more than a hundred unaccompanied solo pieces by Sainte-Colombe. Though probably written out by a late-seventeenth-century collector rather than by the composer himself, these

sources seem to transmit early versions of the music; there is no evidence they were ever intended to have a continuo accompaniment.

The symposium was brought to a fitting close with a full-length late-afternoon recital by Alison Crum (president of the Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain) and harpsichordist John Kitchen. Held in the concert room of St. Cecilia's Hall and benefiting from the use of a visually and sonically splendid harpsichord made in 1755 by Jacob Kirkman, brought in from the Russell Collection's adjacent exhibit gallery, the program included an assortment of French and German compositions. After opening with the Bach Sonata in D Major, Ms. Crum offered a suite of unaccompanied pieces by Sainte-Colombe selected from the Panmure manuscripts described to us earlier in the day. Mr. Kitchen then rejoined her for the Marais *Labyrinth* before intermission and a Suite in G Major by Caix d'Hervelois thereafter, before continuing with a solo performance of Kuhnau's Biblical Sonata No. 1 ("The Battle Between David and Goliath"). For a grand finale the artists gave us the familiar but always exhilarating *Folies d'Espagne* by Marais, for which they received hearty and well-earned applause.

From the foregoing it must be clear that a great deal of work went into each of these symposia, not only on the part of the individual speakers and performers in preparing their own presentations but also by the two chief organizers, Susan Brauchli and Arnold Myers, in addition to numerous behind-the-scenes helpers of all kinds. We who share an interest in the viol owe a debt of appreciation to all of them: to the participants for offering their insights into so many different aspects of the instrument and its music, and especially to the conveners for providing two such excellent opportunities for the stimulating exchange of information and ideas. In order to put some of these contributions into a more permanent form, plans are well under way for the publication of a volume containing the complete set of papers given at the Magnano conference. This is expected to be available sometime next year; inquiries and orders should be addressed to Musica Antica a Magnano, Via Roma 43, I-13887 Magnano, Italy (or via e-mail to <bbrauchl@worldcom.ch>).

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 Belfast, Belfast BT7 1NN, Northern Ireland, or e-mailed to <i.woodfield@qub.ac.uk>.

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CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor:

In "The Early History and Use of the G Violone" (*JvGSA* 36 [1999]) Joëlle Morton mentions a painting by Sir Peter Lely, but some of her comments suggest she may only have seen a poor reproduction of it. This afternoon I reacquainted myself with this fine work and had as close a look as is possible with the painting hung as it presently is. What I saw encouraged me to clarify what Morton wrote about it. First, the painting is not dated 1640 (see below), but is judged to have been executed in the late 1640s. Second, the adult male violist is thought to be Lely himself, and others portrayed have in the past been considered to be members of his family; this latter is far from certain, but if true, it would hardly be appropriate to describe the ladies as courtesans. Third, the child behind the flautist is not playing a keyboard. Fourth, Lely's bow grip was also used by players of bass violins and is therefore not evidence that the instrument is a viol (see Mark Smith, "The Cello Bow Held the Viol-Way; Once Common, but Now Almost Forgotten," *Chelys* 24 [1995]). Finally, to describe the instrument as fretted is, I am afraid, wishful thinking. There are definitely no frets. However, I am happy to agree with Morton that the instrument is a viol, and when discussing this painting in my article "Viols in English Paintings c. 1580–1660," *Chelys* 25 (1996–97), I dismissed the absence of frets as "the only niggling objection" to calling the instrument a viol (p. 16).

If the instrument is English, it would be better to call it a great bass viol than a violone (I think the latter term would not have been recognized in England), in which case its player should not be described as a violonist (p. 58, twice) but as a violist, or great bass viol player. On the other hand, Peter Lely (Pieter van der Faes) was born (1618) in Westphalia of Dutch parents. He trained in Haarlem in the late 1630s and came to England only in 1641 or 1643. For the Courtauld painting, he could have been relying on his recent training (or even preparatory sketches), in which case the painting would give information about Continental, and not necessarily English, practice. The body of the instrument is portrayed with great freedom, but has many features in

common with the instrument by Zanetto 1683 that is the last entry in Morton's Table 2, p. 62 (to complete this table, the Zanetto has a cello shape, f-holes, and a scroll, and the Tourin ID is BRUS 45, not LEIPB 27 as given). It closely resembles an instrument in the widely reproduced still life of instruments on a table by Evaristo Baschenis (Brussels Musée de Beaux Arts No. 3893), although the instrument is larger than the one in the painting. BRUS 45 is both massive and massively characterful, and retains its original neck. In about 1987 I made an instrument based on it. It had a string length of about 125 cm; this would not be practical for a G tuning.

Michael Fleming
Oxford, England

Joëlle Morton replies:

I am grateful to Michael Fleming for responding to my article and for calling my attention to many details of the painting by Peter Lely. As my work was going to press, I was unfamiliar with Fleming's excellent writing. My observations were indeed, unfortunately, based on a poor-quality reproduction of the painting, and readers of Fleming's and my articles will be hard pressed to see better details for themselves in the reproductions in our publications. Regardless of whether or not the painting's subjects are members of Lely's family, the women are in a clear state of undress, which had led me to conclude that they must be courtesans. But I am glad to find that Fleming and I arrived at similar iconographical conclusions—that the instrument depicted is indeed a large-sized member of the viol family. The underhand bow grip (although of course in use for other instruments) was always, regardless of nationality, date, school, etc., a primary technique and characteristic of violas da gamba, and it is therefore highly relevant in this painting.

Regarding terminology, I feel that it is relatively unimportant whether we label this instrument by its (purportedly) English name "great bass viol" or by the more generic one "violone," since, as Fleming so aptly points out, we cannot ascertain if the painting depicts English or Continental practices. Moreover, most musicologists do not distinguish between English and Italian terms, such as "bass viol" and "basso da viola da gamba"

—the fact that they are the same instrument (size and/or tuning) is evident. Finally, Lely's depiction may in fact resemble the profile of the Zanetto instrument located in Brussels, but it also, and perhaps more closely, resembles the shape and profiles of DOLM 16 and SHRIN 6. These extant instruments have the same body and f-hole shapes, and are perhaps much closer in size to the scale shown in the painting than the Zanetto, which with a body length of 122 cm is far larger (unless the human figures are really giants by modern standards). I may also attest that when I imitate Lely's seated position with my copy of DOLM 16, the instrument fits my body in a very close approximation of the painting. While it is not possible to determine accurately the size of Lely's instrument, its proportion to the player makes it reasonable to assume that it would have a body length closer to the "standard" of approximately 86.0 to 97.0 cm that I proposed at the end of my article.

CONTRIBUTOR PROFILES

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