The 'cello' in the Low Countries : the instrument and its practical use in the 17th and 18th centuries

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2 Pictorial evidence

2.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 1, several names existed for some kind of cello or bass violin. A few of these names were in fact used for both a cello and a viol, which complicates the matter even further. It has also become clear that instruments existed in at least two different sizes. Treatises and other written sources, however, did not shed much light on the appearance of the cello, neither in writing nor in added images. In just a few cases the text was accompanied by an image (see for example Figs. 22 & 25). In general, however, the images in written sources are not the most detailed ones, when comparing them with certain extremely detailed paintings reproduced in this Chapter. This is a pity, because the combination of a name, a description of how the instrument was held and played, and a representation of the instrument (preferably in playing position) would shed the best light on the matter.
In the current Chapter the appearance of the cello and the way it was played will be thoroughly discussed, making use of pictorial sources.

Several art historians have researched the visual arts in the Low Countries and also the combination of visual art, music and musical instruments. J. Verbeek (former curator of precious metals of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam) remarks:

> "The grim struggle of the fewer than a million inhabitants of the delta area on the North Sea against the might of Spain had lasted for eighty long years. Thus it is all the more remarkable that it was precisely during that dogged war that this Republic developed not only into a powerful and prosperous trading nation, but also, and this is what we are concerned with in the present context, into a cultural power the like of which was scarcely known elsewhere. All branches of art came to great fruition there."[292]

In several of these branches there are art objects which contain images of musical instruments (both played and unplayed). So far, my research corpus consists of over 850 representations of cellos and cello-like instruments, dating from as early as 1561 up to 1800.[293] I strived to make my research corpus as large as possible, to be able to base my conclusions on the largest possible amount.
I am not the only one using pictorial sources for research on musical instruments. Art historian Magda Kyrova states:

> "Music as a theme in seventeenth-century Dutch painting is a subject that has engaged scholars from various disciplines, including musicologists and art historians. The interest shown by musicologists is hardly surprising when one compares the sheer number of representations of groups of musicians, still lifes and portraits which include musical instruments, with the scarcity of other sources." [294]

In the research on the cello I would not go as far as to say that there is a total lack of other sources. I would rather say that this scarcity applies to a scarcity of useful information in written sources, as was already shown in Chapter 1.
In her article Kyrova focusses on musicologists and art historians, but the information one can get from pictorial sources is also very important for musicians. As a cellist, I, for example, need to know how the instrument and bow were held, what fingerings were used and about other technical aspects of cello playing. As said before and as was shown in Sub chapter 1.4, there is a

[292] Verbeek (1979), pp. XIII, XIV. Underscore: ET
[293] I am sure these 850+ images are just a tip of the ice-berg. Every time I check the internet, the website of the RKD and auction catalogues new examples appear.
[294] Kyrova (1994), p. 31.

scarcity of useful information in written sources about the technique necessary to play the cello. Because of this fact, the pictorial sources become even more important. In this Chapter I will discuss many aspects of cello playing and for that matter what images can teach musicians.
The scarcity of useful informaton in written sources also effects our knowledge about the right instrumentation of the bass instrument for 17th century music. I will discuss this in Chapter 4.

Kyrova continues:

> "Painstaking research has shown that between ten and twelve per cent of all seventeenth-century paintings are works with a musical theme, and that within the oeuvre of a single master the figure can be as high as thirty per cent.[295] This relatively high number combined with the accurate representation of the instruments and manner of playing proved very helpful to musicians and musicologists interested in authentic performance practice."[296]

However, as for the cello specifically, several scholars write about the scarcity of this instrument compared to other musical instruments depicted in works of art. Ian Finlay for example states:

> "There are comparatively few examples of the violoncello in our paintings, as it had not really come into its own in the seventeenth century."[297]

The late Professor Louis Peter Grijp (Utrecht University & Meertens Instituut) counts just around 21 cellos from a collection of more than 500 instruments.[298] In the same collection he counted 114 violins and 120 lutes.
I agree with both Finlay and Grijp that less cellos are depicted than for example violins or lutes.[299] Finlay reasons that the lack of representations of cellos in the 17th century is due to the fact that the cello "had not come into its own". It is true that the cello was still being developed in the 17th century and became only popular and common in the 18th century. One would therefore expect that in the 18th century many more images of cellos would have been created than in the 17th century. However, as far as I have found, this is not true. The amount of 17th-century images in my research corpus is much larger than the fairly small amount of 18th-century images. The art historian Mariët Westermann (The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation) gives a reason for this:

> "Where seventeenth-century collectors had on the whole favored contemporary works over paintings produced in the past, in the eighteenth century owners preferred Golden-Age pictures that reflected and represented the Republic in its more prosperous, presumably natural state."[300]

In the 18th century new paintings with cellos would therefore have hardly been produced. This is underlined by my research corpus: out of a total of around 430 images from the NN, only around 55 (± 13%) were produced in the 18th century. In the ZN this proportion is not that extreme: out of a total of around 370 images, around 28% is produced in the 18th century.
Finlay mentions that the cello "had not yet come into its own in the 17th century", and therefore was not popular enough to be often depicted. About the popularity of musical instruments in proportion to the amount of representations of those instruments, not only the cello, Grijp writes:

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[295] In my opinion examples of artists who produced many paintings with musical scenes are Anthonie Palamedesz. in the NN and Hieronymus Janssens in the ZN.
[296] Kyrova (1994), p. 31.
[297] Finlay (1953), p. 57.
[298] Grijp (1994), p. 124.
[299] Unfortunately I cannot give exact numbers for violin and lute because I did not count other instruments while researching at the RKD in Den Haag.
[300] Westermann (1996), p. 180.

> "These observations[301] are on a fairly small scale, but even were we to have ideal statistics the fact that there are frequent illustrations of any one instrument being played does not necessarily indicate that we are dealing with a popular musical instrument. Such a conclusion would have to be compared with other sources such as the music and archive material available."[302]

Comparing with other Dutch sources will prove to be difficult (in the current Chapter as well as in other Chapters). Therefore my aim in this Chapter will not be to prove the popularity of the cello in the Low Countries in the 17th and 18th centuries. However, my intention is to offer information about what the instrument looked like and how it was played in that period. This will be supported by several other European written sources.
If one follows Finlay's argument that the cello was still a new instrument in the 17th century, and therefore not often depicted, the viol on the other hand was used very often, as a solo instrument and in consort playing. However, when doing my research at the RKD, I did not get the impression that the viol was depicted more often than the cello. There were definitely some artists who depicted more viols than cellos, but other artists depicted (many) more cellos than viols. A quick check of the RKD's online database (consulted 13-6-2016) supports this impression. Jacob Duck for example gives 20 hits for a viol, and just 2 for a cello. Johannes Vermeer gives 4 hits for the viol and none for the cello (on none of his extant works a cello is depicted!). Pieter Codde painted mainly cellos (in the RKD database just 3 viols), and Dirck Hals has no hits for viol at all.
Whereas Grijp and Finlay mainly looked for paintings, my research corpus consists of more than just paintings. Engravings and drawings have also been added, as well as several artefacts which have been united in a separate Sub chapter 'Applied Arts'.[303] The entire research corpus can be found in Part 3.

In his book *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst* (1678) the painter Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627-1678) made an attempt to put the different types of paintings into some kind of hierarchy. He made a distinction between history pieces (of the highest/most important class), smaller pieces with themes such as pastoral love scenes and comic scenes (being for example landscapes and genre pieces; middle class) and still life (the lowest class).[304] Most of the images in my research corpus belong to this middle class, being genre pieces. I found just a handful of history pieces. As for the still lifes, I also found just a few. However, I found many paintings with cellos lying or standing unused. But these are not still lifes, because there are people playing other instruments.

Many 17th-century paintings seem very realistic. Westermann writes:

> "Observers have always noted the uncannily real effect of many seventeenth-century Dutch paintings. Because of their verisimilitude, these pictures have often been considered uncommonly truthful and honest depictions of Dutch life.[305]

Taco Dibbits (director of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) agrees. He states:

> "In Rembrandt's time, there was one simple gauge: how lifelike is a painting? It had to resemble reality, as if it were happening right in front of you."[306]

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[301] That is: observations about the lute and violin being the instruments most frequently represented, while cittern, virginal, cello, viol and flute are depicted less often. During my research I did not keep exact numbers of other instruments, but I got a general idea and came to the same conclusions as Grijp.
[302] Buijsen & Grijp (1994), p. 116.
[303] The applied arts section consists of tiles and other ceramics, glass and silver ware, instruments from doll's houses, magic lantern slides, tapestries, lace and wooden sculptures.
[304] Westermann (2004), pp. 63,64.
[305] Westermann (1996), p. 71.
[306] Dibbits (2016, August 20-21), p. 19. Original: "In de tijd van Rembrandt was er een eenvoudige graadmeter: hoe levensecht is een schilderij? Het moest lijken op de werkelijkheid, alsof het zich voor je neus afspeelde."

Also Willem Jan Hoogsteder (art historian and valuer from The Hague) states that a 17th-century painting should be a reflection of reality.[307]
This realism also stands out in many of the paintings with cellos in my research corpus (apart from Mythological, Christian and allegorical scenes). Realism in paintings is a blessing not only for musicians and musicologists, but also for instrument makers. Grijp writes:

> "Dutch painting of the seventeenth-century is thoroughly studied by those who investigate the history of instrument making. Thanks to the realism with which these paintings are done it is often possible to deduce facts about the instruments that do not become clear from examining those that we have inherited. Many instruments in museums today have undergone changes and adaptations over the years so that it is scarcely possible to discover what they were originally like."[308]

This problem I have experienced myself as well. Many instruments have indeed undergone changes, or are in such bad shape that it is quite difficult to deduce facts about their original appearance. I will come back to the instruments in Chapter 3.

The Italian researcher and string maker Mimmo Peruffo argues in an article on lute strings that in 16th and 17th-century written sources the production process of those strings is discussed. One of the characteristics of lute strings are the colours, and these colours are often realisticly reproduced in paintings.[309]
This could go for cello strings (Section 2.2.6) and the bow hair (Section 2.2.7) as well.

As said before, many of the images in my research corpus are genre paintings. Westermann comments about this type of paintings:

> "A genre painter would draw after models, usually in the studio, and compose a painting on the basis of his studies and by reference to paintings or prints of similar themes." [310]

This comment reminds me of the paintings of Anthonie Palamedesz., Pieter Codde and Hieronymus Janssens. These artists produced large amounts of paintings, and many of these paintings show the same theme and sometimes even look extremely similar. Sometimes I needed to have a really close look to discover small differences, for example between facial expressions or a dog which was missing in one of the paintings.
Westermann's remark makes me wonder about the unused cellos which are so often depicted. It is known that several artists owned instruments themselves, which they could use while creating their paintings. The Haarlem painter Jan Miense Molenaer for example owned a violin, which, according to the inventory made after his death, was found in his studio.[311] Genre painter Jan Spanjaert owned "a large new Bass with its bow".[312] Interestingly enough, one painting with the image of a played bass instrument painted by Spanjaert is part of my research corpus. Unfortunately, the instrument is just a minor detail in the painting and on top, it is played from a high balcony. Therefore details of the bass instrument cannot be distinguished.

Professor Emeritus of iconology and art theory Eddy de Jongh (Utrecht University) writes:

> "The fact that in the 17th-century paintings and prints, music is so frequently being made, or that in a different way it is reminded of music, for instance by musical instruments at rest, may to a certain extent be considered as a reflection of the

[307] Hoogsteder, W. J. (2016, August 24). In the Dutch AVROTROS television programme *'Tussen kunst en kitsch'* at 15.29'.
[308] Grijp (1994), pp. 114,115.
[309] Peruffo (1994).
[310] Westermann (1996), p. 73.
[311] Bredius (1915-1922), p. 5.
[312] Bredius (1915-1922), p. 570.

> thriving musical life and the active singing culture from the everyday reality. At the same time, the realistic representation of musical scenes in the art of the time is misleading in so far, that painters were looking for more variety in the choice of instruments than musicians."[313]

The musical life De Jongh is referring to, should also be reflected in sheet music.

The instruments of mixed shape are the most difficult ones to deal with. I could have ignored all these instruments, but then I would have certainly missed out on many instruments which could have been considered an 8' bass instrument of the violin family as well in the time the images were produced. However, before adding certain images to my database I had to decide whether they were more cello-like or more viol-like (see also Section 2.2.4).
The definition I have worked with is the modern concept of the cello having the shape of a violin (with different proportions); sound holes in the form of an f; 4, 5 or 6 strings; a violin scroll; hardly ever frets. A very good example of all of these cello features is reproduced in Figs. 31-35.

Figure 31 NN: Pieter Cornelisz. van Slingelandt: *A music party* (ca. 1675).

Figure 32 Detail of Figure 31.

[313] De Jongh (2008), pp. 27, 28. Original: "Dat er ook in de zeventiende-eeuwse schilder- en prentkunst zo frequent gemusiceerd en gezongen wordt, dan wel op andere wijze, bijvoorbeeld door instrumenten in rust, aan muziek wordt herinnerd, mag tot op zekere hoogte worden beschouwd als een reflectie van het bloeiende muziekleven en de actieve zangcultuur uit de alledaagse werkelijkheid. Tegelijk is het realistische aangezicht van muziekvoorstellingen in de toenmalige kunst in zoverre misleidend, dat schilders wat instrumentarium betreft soms meer variatie zochten dan musici."

Figure 33 Sound holes, in the shape of an f.

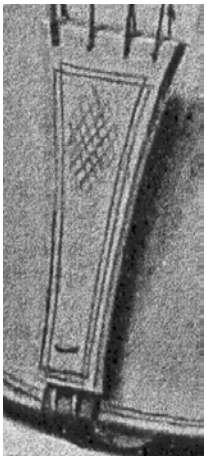


Figure 34 Tailpiece with beautiful inlay.

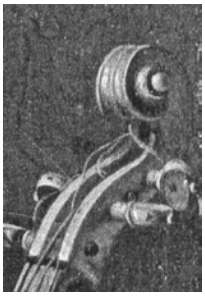


Figure 35 Scroll with strings sticking out.

2.2 Paintings, drawings and engravings in NN & ZN

The total amount of images from the Low Countries used in this thesis is 860. For a full list of all images, artists, titles, year of production and the kind of artwork see the research corpus in Part 3.

I have tried to document of all relevant instruments as many features and ways of playing as possible. They have all been documented in charts, which are reproduced in Part 3 as well. The charts are structured in the following way: Noordelijke Nederlanden, Zuidelijke Nederlanden and applied arts (NN & ZN). A glimpse of this database is reproduced in Figure 36. In the following Sections I will discuss these features.

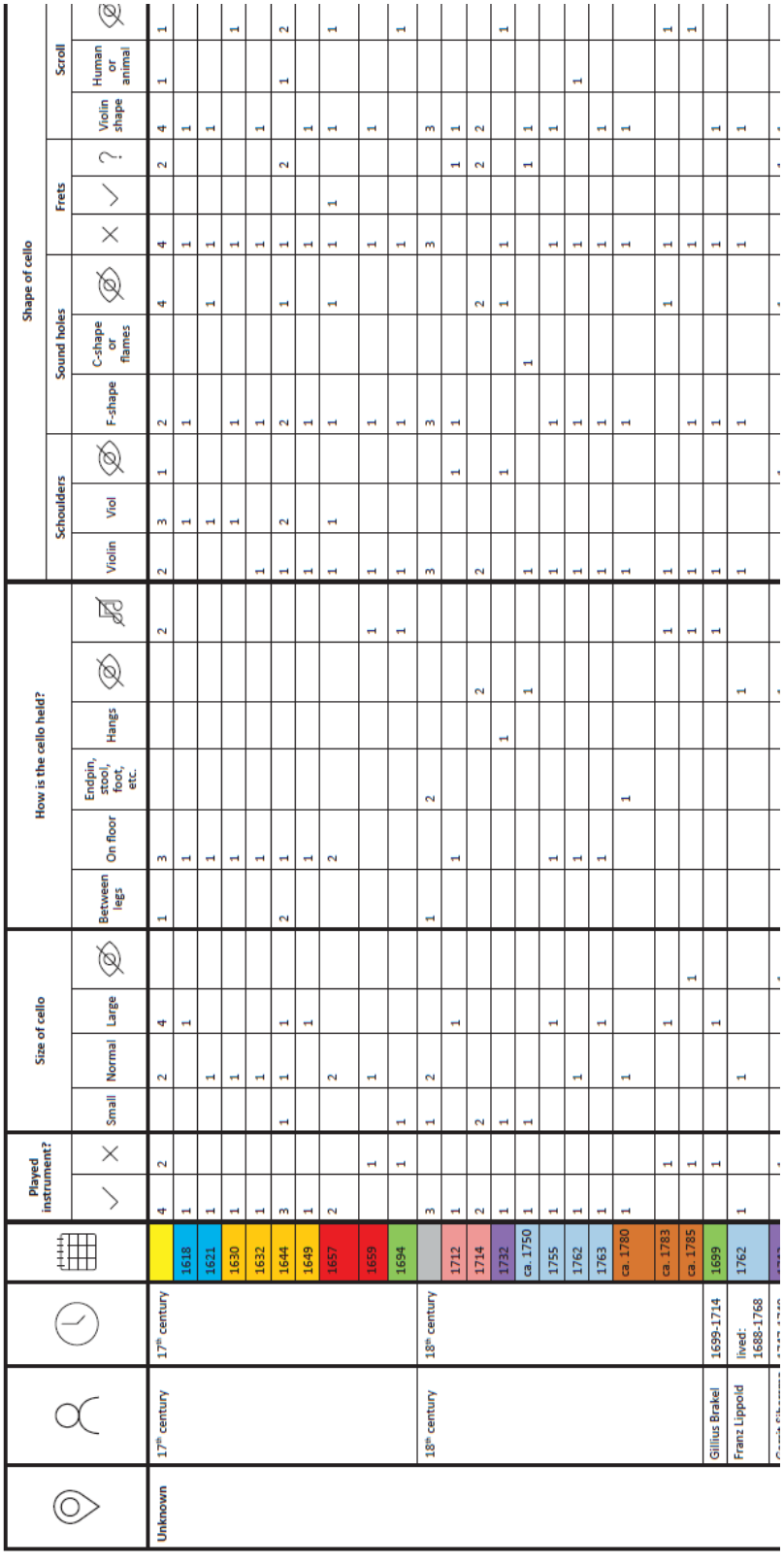
Not all instruments in the research corpus are depicted as beautifully and fully visible as the instrument reproduced in Figure 31. Sometimes only part of the instrument is visible, sometimes as little as only the scroll, the bottom part of the instrument, the left hand or the gender of the player. Because these small pieces of information have proven to be useful, I have therefore added also images where only parts of the instruments are visible.

I also had to struggle with bad reproductions. Some of the instruments in these reproductions are depicted in full, but, because of the bad reproduction, many details are invisible.

In the research corpus there are several paintings which are clearly more or less copies of each other, mostly created by followers of well-known artists (both NN and ZN). If in the original the cello is depicted without much care, this could very well be copied in the same (possibly wrong) way. If the original was good, the copy could be good too, but it could still go wrong there. This is something to be aware of.

I have divided the 17th and 18th centuries into periods of 25 years. The few images from the 16th century have been put in one time slot.

The oldest image in my research corpus dates from 1561 (an engraving made by Cornelis Cort (NN)), the most recent one dates from around 1800 (a painting by Johannes Beerblock (ZN)).



			Played instrument?		Size of cello			How is the cello held?					Shape of cello										
													Schoulders			Sound holes		Frets			Scroll	
			✓	✗	Small	Normal	Large		Between legs	On floor	Endpin, stool, foot, etc.	Hangs			Violin	Viol		F-shape	C-shape or flames		✗	✓	?	Violin shape	Human or animal	
Unknown	17th century		4	2		2	4		1	3			2		2	3	1	2		4	4		2	4	1	1
		1618	1				1			1						1		1			1			1		
		1621	1			1				1						1				1	1			1		
		1630	1			1				1						1		1			1					1
		1632	1			1				1					1			1			1			1		
		1644	3		1	1	1		2	1					1	2		2		1	1		2		1	2
		1649	1				1			1					1			1			1			1		
		1657	2			2				2					1	1		1		1	1	1		1		1
		1659		1		1							1		1			1			1			1		
		1694		1	1								1		1			1			1					1
	18th century		3		1	2			1		2				3			3			3			3		
		1712	1				1			1						1		1					1	1		
		1714	2		2							2			2					2			2	2		
		1732	1		1							1				1				1	1					1
		ca. 1750	1		1							1			1				1				1	1		
		1755	1				1			1					1			1			1			1		
		1762	1			1				1					1			1			1				1	
		1763	1				1			1					1			1			1			1		
		ca. 1780	1			1					1				1			1			1			1		
		ca. 1783		1			1						1		1					1	1					1
		ca. 1785		1				1					1		1			1			1					1
	Gillius Brakel	1699		1			1						1		1			1			1			1		
	Franz Lippold	1762	1			1						1			1			1			1			1		

Figure 36 Example of database of features of the cello in the Low Countries (for the rest of the database see Part 3).

From the NN 428 paintings, drawings and prints have been investigated, of which 2 originated in the 16th century, 367 in the 17th century and 59 in the 18th century. They originated in many different cities, namely: Amsterdam, Haarlem, Den Haag, Dordrecht, Leiden, Rotterdam, Delft, Utrecht, Middelburg, Groningen, Alkmaar and Deventer. Some artists were active in several cities, they have been placed in a separate category: 'active in several cities'.
Most images were produced in Amsterdam, Haarlem and the 'several cities' category; 113 images stem from Amsterdam, 82 from Haarlem and 80 from 'several cities'. Of the other cities Delft is also represented quite well (34). These high numbers were made by just a few artists, who produced paintings with a musical theme in huge quantities (in Amsterdam Pieter Codde (32); in Haarlem Dirck Hals (31) and Jan Miense Molenaer (17); in Delft Anthonie Palamedesz. (32)[314]).
Almost two-thirds (258) of the instruments depicted are being played, the other ones are not. In principle these unplayed instruments could give information about the appearance of the cello, if for example depicted not too far in the background. Unfortunately they do not offer any information about how the instrument is played.
The second quarter of the 17th century (1625-1650) was the most prolific, more than 50% of all images from the NN was produced in this period.

The situation in the ZN is a little different. Whereas in the NN works of art were produced in many different cities, in the ZN most images were created in Antwerp. Of a total of 354 images, 275 were produced in this town (78%), and 79 in other cities.[315] Another difference between NN and ZN is that in ZN most paintings were created in the first and third quarter of that century. Also the 18th century saw quite a few images (89 in total: 66 findings in Antwerp, 23 in other cities).
Of one painting I was not able to find a production date. I have added it to my database as being from an unknown period.

In the following Sections the most important features of the cello will be discussed. Of many of these features representations have been added. The caption underneath each image includes whether that image was produced in the NN or ZN.
I often insert numbers in the body of the text or otherwise in brackets to indicate the number of times a certain feature occurs. These numbers have all been taken from the database in Part 3.

2.2.1 Played and unplayed instruments

Of the NN cellos in my research corpus many are unplayed (170). Of all these unplayed instruments only a few are figuring in a so-called still life. In many paintings a cello is depicted but not played while other instruments in the same painting are actually being played. These unplayed instruments still offer a lot of information about the instrument itself and have therefore also been added.
Most unplayed instruments are depicted in Amsterdam, Haarlem and 'several cities' (119). Pieter Codde (30) is responsible for almost two-thirds of all unplayed instruments from Amsterdam. All his cellos, except for 2, are unplayed (see Figure 37).

[314] These numbers also include paintings made by followers of the artists mentioned.
[315] Of these 79 images 40 were painted by unknown artists or by known artists who worked in one or more other cities as well. Of these known artists Jan Brueghel I, Mattheus van Helmont, Theobald Michau, Peter Paul Rubens and David Teniers II worked in Antwerp as well as in Brussels. Theodoor van Thulden worked in Antwerp, but also abroad. In view of these facts it is quite possible, that some of these 40 images were created in Antwerp as well.

Figure 37 NN: Pieter Codde: *Merry company with masked dancers* (1636).

Figure 38 Detail of Figure 37.

Most unplayed instruments were painted between 1625 and 1650, not only in Amsterdam but in all cities. Of all the NN cellos 258 instruments are being played. In proportion to the 17th century, in the 18th century more cellos are being played in the paintings.
In the ZN many more instruments are played than in the NN. Only 55 cellos are unplayed (out of a total of 354 instruments). Due to the composition of the artworks (musicians often in the background) and also due to poor reproductions, not many data could be retrieved from these paintings. The question whether an instrument was played or not, was often one of the only questions which could be answered.
As mentioned above, in the NN almost all cellos painted by Pieter Codde are unplayed. In the ZN this is the case with the cellos painted by Jan Breughel II (allegories). More than a quarter of all unplayed instruments were painted by him (14).[316]
A few cellos are listed as unplayed instruments, but the instrument is held in the hand of the player. It is clear that the instrument was being played just a minute ago. An example of this is reproduced in Figure 39.

Figure 39 ZN: Peeter van Bredael: *The Prodigal Son is being chased from the brothel after spending all his money*.

Figure 40 Detail of Figure 39. Musicians running away from a fight with cello and violin in their hands.

[316] In his paintings Breughel usually depicts several bass instruments at once. In this case, it is not 14 paintings by Breughel, but 14 unplayed cellos.

2.2.2 The size

As is shown in Chapter 1, (at least) two sizes of cello existed in the 18th century. Quantz even advises to have two instruments, different in size: a bigger one for playing bass lines in orchestral music and a smaller one for playing solos.[317] In France also cellos in several sizes existed. Michel Corrette states that the "grosse basse de Violon" was abandoned there around 1710-1715.[318]
As will be shown in this Section in the NN as well as in the ZN three sizes of cellos were depicted: small, normal (more or less of modern size) and large.
When measuring the size of the instruments in the images, the following 'rules' are applicable. I started by deciding whether the musician was seated or not. If the player was indeed seated, I had to decide in how far he was seated upright, or whether he was for example leaning forward, as the cellist reproduced in Fugure 39 is. In this respect the height of the chair is also important. Quite often it looked like the player was seated, but when examined more closely, the cellist was half standing. When indeed seated at the right height to have angles of 90 degrees in the legs, the next step was to determine how the cello was held. When it was resting on the ground, and the scroll reached above the head, the instrument was considered large. When held between the legs, or on a stool or endpin, the cello was mostly of a normal or even small size.
When the instrument was not played, I estimated the length (from scroll to endpin or other supporting mechanism), and compared it with the size of the people in the painting. When the cello was more in front than the public, I took that into consideration. I did the same when the cello was more in the background than the people.

In Table 10 an overview is given of the numbers of images of the three different sizes of instruments found in the NN and ZN. In the rest of this Section I will show a few of these images and point out some striking details.

	Total	**Small**	**Normal**	**Large**	**Invisible size**
NN 16th century	2	0	2 (100%)	0	0
NN 17th century	367	45 (ca. 12%)	175 (ca. 48%)	132 (ca. 36%)	15 (ca. 4%)
NN 18th century	59	14 (ca. 24%)	23 (ca. 39%)	12 (ca. 20%)	10 (ca. 17%)
ZN 16th century	6	1 (17%)	3 (50%)	2 (33%)	0
ZN 17th century	260	33 (ca. 13%)	109 (ca. 42%)	105 (ca. 40%)	13 (5%)
ZN 18th century	89	4 (ca. 4%)	29 (ca. 33%)	47 (ca. 53%)	9 (ca. 10%)

Table 10 The number of small, normal and large cellos and instruments of an invisible size in the NN and ZN through the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.

In the NN in Haarlem Cornelis Dusart made a drawing of a small cello (Figure 41). The cellist is leaning slightly forward, which makes the cello look a bit larger than it is in reality. This cello is one of 11 small cellos depicted in Haarlem (out of 82 representations of cellos in Haarlem altogether).

[317] Quantz (1754), p. 141.
[318] Corrette (1741), p. A.

Figure 41 NN: Cornelis Dusart: *Musicians in an inn* (1691).[319]

Figure 42 Detail of Figure 41. At the bottom right, Dusart's signature and the date can be seen.

A very nice 17th-century NN example of a normal size cello is reproduced in Figure 43. It is painted with much detail, note the beautiful tailpiece.

Figure 43 NN: Gabriel Metsu: *The Cello Player*.

Figure 44 Detail of Figure 43. A cello of a normal size.

[319] Cornelis Dusart was the son of the Haarlem based organist, composer and carillonneur Johan (Joan) Dusart (1621-1691). In the 'Amsterdamse Schouwburg' musicians were employed. A certain Frans Dusart is listed as the bass player there in 1638. (Information taken from: Rasch (1987), p. 186.) Could Frans Dusart be related to Cornelis and Johan? He should be at least of Cornelis' father's age, if he was playing at the schouwburg in 1638. If indeed Cornelis knew Frans, he might have drawn the instrument from nature. In this respect, it is striking that all 4 cellos depicted by Cornelis Dusart have square shoulders. I have not come across shoulders like these anywhere else, except for one engraving by Pieter van den Berge (1712), which is also part of my research corpus.

In the 17th century 132 large cellos were depicted. Four painters are responsible for 28% of these large instruments: Dirck Hals (15) and Jan Miense Molenaer (9) in Haarlem, Pieter Codde (12) in Amsterdam and Anthonie Palamedesz. (11) in Delft.
In the first 3 periodes of the 17th century the proportion between normal size and large cellos is almost 50-50. In the period 1675-1700 this proportion changes completely. From this period onwards the normal size cellos are in the majority. This is a development which, around the same time, happened all through Europe.

In ZN also at least three sizes of instruments existed. In the 17th century the small size is seen only 33 times. For an example of a small cello, see Figure 67. The instrument depicted here is really small (one of the smallest I have found), and, although this cannot be seen, it should be hanging by a rope from the player's back of the neck, otherwise it is impossible to play and use the left hand more or less freely and walk or stand at the same time.
In Figure 45 a ZN example of a large cello is reproduced. More than half of Gilles van Tilborgh's cellos are of a large size. In contrast to the NN, where of all the instruments the size could be determined, in the ZN there are 13 instruments of which the size could not be defined.
Whereas in the NN towards the end of the 17th century the normal size cello became more popular than the large cello, in the ZN the popularity of the large cello had a temporary upswing in the period 1700-1725 (32 large cellos, 10 normal size cellos). From the period 1750-1775 onwards the normal size cello is in the majority.

Figure 45 ZN: Gillis van Tilborgh: *Portrait of a family in a 'Kunstkammer'*.

Figure 46 Detail of Figure 45. More than half of Tilborgh's cellos are large ones.

2.2.3 The way the instrument is supported

At the end of this Sub chapter images of many different ways of supporting the cello have been added.
As summarized in Sub chapter 1.4, the Dutch translation of Leopold Mozart's *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* is, as far as I could etablish, the only book in the Low Countries in which something is written about the way the instrument should be supported. Mozart states that also the bass instrument which he calls "Bas, Bassete, and Violoncel" is nowadays[320] held between the

[320] "heut zu Tage" (German; 1756) and "Hedendaags" (Dutch; 1766)

legs.[321] This *nowadays* implies that before it was not held between the legs or at least that it was not common practice. What used to be common practice, he does not say.
The NN images in my database show that in the 17th century many instruments (118) rested on the ground. It is quite possible that this way of supporting the cello is the way Mozart is hinting at.
According to Michel Corrette, this way of supporting is not advisable:

> "[…] and see that the instrument does not touch the ground, since that would dampen the sound."[322]

When reading Corrette's comment, one can only wonder how these many instruments in the 17th century, while resting on the ground, would have sounded. It has to be taken into account though that many instruments in the 17th century were much larger than the 18th-century ones. Supporting a large cello with the legs will be very tiring, if not impossible. Apart from resting on the ground, the large instruments also lean against the player's chest and legs, thus damping the sound even more.
Although Mozart states that also the cello is nowadays held between the legs (and not at all before??), I have found 36 17th-century NN examples of cellists holding the cello between the legs.

Corrette also mentions the use of an endpin for standing cellists. He does not find this position advisable. He writes:

> "Sometimes a stick is put at the bottom to hold the instrument when it is played standing up. Not only is this position not very handsome but it is also the most contrary for difficult passages. Thus the best way to hold the cello is in the seated position holding the body erect, the head straight, and the feet pointed out. Never point them straight ahead."[323]

I completely agree with Corrette. I have tried to play some solo sonatas while standing with the cello on a long endpin. In that way, the cello becomes very unstable, and I did not have proper control over my left hand. Playing some of the simpler bass lines, which will be discussed in Sub chapter 4.1, is possible.
In my database there are quite a few representations of standing cellists, some of whom use an endpin. Others stand and partly hang over/on the cello with their backs bent. In these cases the cello is mostly resting on the ground. This I would not advise, it is bad for the body and also for the sound produced by the cello.
Another solution for standing (and walking!) cellists is to hang the cello with a rope around the back of the neck. One would think that in that case the cello would be on the smallish side, otherwise it would get too heavy. This is not the case. In my research corpus there are a few examples of both small and large(r) instruments attached to a rope and carried around the back of the neck.
As far as I know, the only other 18th-century source discussing an endpin is Crome's method of around 1765. Crome writes:

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[321] Mozart makes this remark in the section on the viola da gamba, which Italian name, as he explains, means 'Beingeige' (leg violin). The cello could now be called a 'Beingeige' too, because nowadays it is, as the viola da gamba, held between the legs.
[322] Corrette (1741), p. 7. Original text: "et observer que l'Instrument ne touche point a terre, attendu que cela le rend sourd." Translation taken from: Graves (1972), p. 18. I do not fully understand Corrette's remark, because when a cello rests on the floor and the floor is made of wood or stone, that fact would probably even enhance the sound. Only when there is a carpet on the floor, it will dampen the sound.
[323] Corrette (1741), p. 7. Original text: "quelque fois on met un baton au bout pour soutenir la basse, quand on joue edebout: non seulement cette porture n'est pas la plus belle, mais elle est encore la plus contraire aux passages difficiles. Ainsi la plus belle maniere de tenir le Violoncelle est d'etre assis, tenir le Corps ferme, la tête droite, et les pieds endehors, et jamais ne les tenir de côté." Translation taken from: Graves (1972), p. 18.

> "This Instrument [the violoncello] may be Consider'd as a Large Fiddle only held the contrary way, and the fourth String is next to the Bow-hand, as the body is turn'd downward, the lower part is to rest on the Calves of the Leggs supported with the Knees, but for the greater ease of a Learner we wou'd advize him to have a hole made in the Tail-pin and a Wooden Peg to screw into it to rest on the Floor which may be taken out when he Pleases."[324]

Crome does not mention standing with the endpin, he clearly states that the cello should rest on the calves of the legs. In that case the endpin will not be very long.

Corrette also advises about the right height of the chair. He writes:

> "In order to play the cello well, it is necessary to sit on a chair or stool of a size proportional as much as possible to one's height so as not to be seated too close to the edge. Then one must place the cello between the two calves, hold the neck with the left hand and slant it a little to the left side."[325]

Also Jean Louis Duport mentions the height and posture of the cellist in connection with the manner of holding the cello. In his *Essai* of 1806[326] he states:

> "The manner of holding the Violoncello between the legs varies greatly according to the habits and different stature of persons. A man may play very well, although holding his instrument somewhat higher or lower than ordinary. The following method is the most usual and is perhaps the best.
> The player must first seat himself on the fore part of the chair, extend his left foot forward, and draw in his right; then place the instrument between his legs, so that the lower left hand corner of the back may fall into the hollow of the left knee, and the weight of the instrument be borne on the calf of the left leg, the foot being turned outwards. […] The right leg must be placed against the lower side of the instrument to keep it steady."[327]

Just a few of the cellists in my database sit on a lowish chair suitable to the posture of each cellist; many are seated on a considerably higher chair than advised by Corrette, thus resulting in stretched legs. Another, unwanted, result is that the cello will (only) lean on the left leg, instead

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[324] Crome (1765?), p. 1.

[325] Corrette (1741), p. 7. Original text: "Pour bien jouer du Violoncelle, il faut s'asscoir sur une chaise, ou tabouret d'une hauteur proportionnée a sa taille, autant que cela se peut trouver, et n'estre pas assis trop avant sur le siege: Ensuite il faut placer le Violoncelle entre les deux gras des jambes; tenir le manche de la main gauche, et le pencher un peu du côté gauche, […]." Translation taken from: Graves (1972), p. 18.

[326] In his method Duport focusses on the technique of the left hand. His way of fingering, which is still in use today, is entirely different from what was done before. I quote from Oxford Music Online: "The culmination of Duport's Berlin experiences was the publication of his cello treatise *Essai sur le doigté du violoncelle et sur la conduite de l'archet* in 1806, which drew immediate approbation from J.F. Reichardt: 'the friends of the violoncello, this beautiful, noble instrument, must be very grateful for the diligence with which he has composed his work'. Building upon the systemization devised by Berteau and amplified by his brother, Duport delineated idiomatic cello technique, distinct from the influences of the viola da gamba and violin. His methodology of sequential, diatonic fingerings for note patterns in all keys became fundamental to many subsequent players." Last accessed: 2014, January 24.

[327] Duport (1806), p. 5. Original text: "La tenue du Violoncelle entre les jambes varie beaucoup, suivant les habitudes et la différente taille des personnes. On peut très-bien jouer en tenant son Instrument, un peu plus haut ou un peu plus bas. Voici la manière la plus usitée et qui doit être la meilleure. Il faut premièrement s'asseoir sur le devant de sa chaise; porter ensuite le pied gauche loin de soi en avant, et rapprocher le droit; alors placer l'Instrument entre les jambes, de façon que le coin de l'échancrure enférieure d'en bas à gauche, se trouve dans la jointure du genou gauche, afin que le poids de l'Instrument, soit porté sur le mollet de la jambe gauche; et le pied gauche en dehors. Si le genou se trouvoit au contraire dans cette échancrure, il empêcheroit l'archet de passer aisément, lorsqu'on voudroit se servir de la Chanterelle ou première Corde. La jambe droite se pose contre l'éclisse d'en bas de l'Instrument, pour le maintenir en sureté." English translation taken from: Duport (ca. 1852), p. 5.

of being supported by both legs. As Corrette advises against an endpin for playing difficult passages, I would advise against sitting on a very high chair without the support of both legs.

Not only each player has a different stature, also each instrument is of different proportions. Giving rules on how to hold an instrument is good, but for each individual they will have to be adapted slightly.
Apart from letting the cello rest on the ground, the support of an endpin and hanging the cello around the neck there are many more ways of holding the cello. In my database many different ways of support can be found, e.g. resting on a stool, on a block of wood, on a book, on a cloud, on the tip of a shoe, on a foot, on a rock. I am sure many of these possibilities were used, although not all of them are very comfortable. In a painting by Jan Steen and a drawing by Jan van Goyen the cellist is sitting on a ladder! This particular way of sitting with a cello is only possible in case the cello is held with a rope from the neck.

Many of the 17th-century NN instruments were not played (149), and of 45 cellos it was impossible to determine how they were held.
In the 18th century there are still instruments resting on the ground, but not by far as many as in the 17th century. The proportion in the 18th century between instruments resting on the ground and supported by legs or another device is around 50-50.

In the ZN the proportions between the different ways of supporting the cello both in the 17th and in the 18th century are more or less the same as in the NN, except that there were not that many unplayed 17th-century instruments. It is surprising that in the 18th century in the ZN the amount of large cellos is still very high (much higher than in the NN and also much higher than the amount of normal size cellos), and that at the same time there are not that many instruments resting on the ground.

On the following pages several different ways of supporting the cello are shown.

Figure 47 NN: Adriaen van Ostade: *Rural Musicians* (1655).

Figure 48 Detail of Figure 47. A cello held between the legs. The chair has the right height. Cellist holding cello as traditionally advised in cello methods.

Figure 49 NN: Gerrit Lundens: *Bridal couple dancing in an inn, with musicians and spectators*.

Figure 50 Detail of Figure 49. Cello resting on the ground with the cellist hanging over it.

Figure 51 ZN: Hendrick Govaerts: *A Party with Music and Actors Entertaining the Company*.

Figure 52 Detail of Figure 51. Cello resting on beautiful endpin.

Figure 53 ZN: Louis de Caullery: *Banquet scene in a palace interior*.

Figure 54 Detail of Figure 53. Playing side-saddle, no support, cello is in the air.

Figure 55 NN: Jan Miense Molenaer: *Elegant company playing music and peasants drinking in an interior*.

Figure 56 Detail of Figure 55. Cello supported by a foot/shoe.


voor Tegenspoedt. 19
TEGENSPOEDT
Leert ons bidden.
Sy hebben geroepen tot den Heere, als zy in lijden waeren. Psalm. 106. ✝. 6.
SINNE-BEELDT.
Uyt bedwanck,
Komt den klanck.
ICk sien den Organist, en oock den korder 't samen
Met vingeren 't clawier, met handen 't morssel pramen:
Den lierman, vioolist die spannen even sterck,
't Is om den klanck gedaen dat ider is in 't werck;
Wat soeten klanck is dit! van alderhande snaren!
Men speelt hier wel soo soet al oft het Engels waren:
B 2

Figure 57 ZN: Gaspar Bouttats: *Adversity teaches us to pray* (1679).

Figure 58 Detail of Figure 57. Cello supported by a book.

Figure 59 NN: Hendrick Goltzius: *The mystic marriage of Saint Catherine* (ca. 1600-1602).

Figure 60 Detail of Figure 59. Cello supported by a raised platform.

Figure 61 NN: Pieter de Hooch: *A music party*.

Figure 62 Detail of Figure 61. Cello on a stool.

Figure 63 NN: Jacobus Buys: *Music making company* (1782).

Figure 64 Detail of Figure 63. Cello leaning against the left leg and resting on a short endpin.

Figure 65 NN: Leonaert Bramer: *Musicians* (1659).

Figure 66 Detail of Figure 65. A fairly large cello hanging with a rope from the neck.

Figure 67 ZN: Peeter Gijsels: *A village scene with figures dancing*.

Figure 68 Detail of Figure 67. A small cello hanging from the neck.

2.2.4 The shape of: the cello - the scroll - the sound holes

In Sub chapter 2.1 it was discussed what the shape and other characteristics of a real cello are. Below, a few illustrations from other European cello methods have been added to the one

already reproduced in Sub chapter 2.1 to underline these characteristics, assuming that illustrations in cello methods, which are meant to instruct about the instrument and the way of playing, are both correct and clear.[328]

Figure 69 Corrette (1741).[329]

Figure 70 Anonymous (n.d.).[330]

Figure 71 Laborde (1780).[331]

Figure 72 Aubert (n.d.).[332]

[328] In Section 2.2.11 I will discuss this further.
[329] Corrette (1741), unpaginated page.
[330] Anonymous (n.d. [between 1805-1807]), unpaginated page.
[331] Laborde (1780), p. 309.
[332] Aubert (n.d., 1802?), title page.

In Sub chapter 2.1 five characteristics of the cello were specified. In the current Section three of these five characteristics will be discussed: the shape of the cello body, the shape of the scroll and the shape of the sound holes. The presence of frets will be discussed in Section 2.2.5 and the number of strings in Section 2.2.6.

When considering whether an instrument depicted is a cello or not, one will first look at the **shape** of the instrument in question. For many images the question whether the bass instrument is a cello or a viol is easily answered.
As already pointed out at the end of Sub chapter 2.1, there are, however, also quite a few instruments which have a mixed shape: instruments with some characteristics of the cello and some of the viol. In these cases I had to make a decision whether to add them to the research corpus or not. The following example shows that this has not always been an easy task.
In *The Division-Violist* Christopher Simpson shows two different instruments (see Figure 73). The one on the left has quite a few characteristics of a cello (scroll and shape of the body, and even the 6 strings and the frets could be characteristics of the cello (see Sections 2.2.5 & 2.2.6)), the one on the right is without doubt a viol. About the sound the left instrument produces, Simpson writes: "The *Sound*, quick, and sprightly, like a *Violin*; and *Viols* of that shape[333] (the Bellyes being digged out of the Planck) do commonly render such a Sound."[334]
Simpson considers the left instrument a viol and not a cello (even though it has some external characteristics of a cello and, according to Simpson, it sounds different than a 'normal' viol). This shows that there must be something else which makes this instrument a viol and not a cello. This makes me believe that, in case of a mixed shape, it is very likely that it is the pitch of the strings which determines whether the instrument is a cello or a viol.[335]

Figure 73 Two different types of viol, as presented by Christopher Simpson.[336]

[333] Underscore: ET
[334] Simpson (1659), p. 2.
[335] In this case the instrument has 6 strings, something a cello in principal could have as well, which complicates the matter if an image like this (without a description) is found.
[336] Simpson (1659), p. 1.

My idea is endorsed by the late violin maker Fred Lindeman:

> "Besides the differences in shape of the body, it is especially the different tuning of the strings of the [different] families of instruments which brings about the specific tone color." [337]

How the strings of an instrument are tuned, however, is something which cannot be taken from an image, which complicates the matter.

Lindeman also states:

> "In this connection it is interesting to mention that in France during a short period in the 18th century viols were built with the body of a cello by Andrea Castagneri (Turin 1696 - Paris 1747) among others. These instruments are very informative, because they show the influence of the design and the tuning. The body has the form of a cello with sloping shoulders as the viol, the back at the top is not bent and is curved as on the cello. The front has f holes and the tuning corresponds with that of the viol. Not only the design makes these instruments hybrids, it is true that the sound is full and powerful like the sound of the cello because of the curved back, thanks to the tuning (overtones!) the sound color is more similar to that of the viol." [338]

As Lindeman writes, there is another difference between a cello and a viol: the back of the cello is curved and the back of the viol is flat and bent at the top. In most images the back of the instrument is invisible, as are the backs of both instruments in Figure 73. Therefore it is not clear either if Simpson's left viol (with the body of a cello) has a curved or a flat and bent back.
As discussed on page 101, according to Simpson a viol with a cello shape sounds more like a violin [than like a viol]. One can only wonder what a cello with a viol shape would have sounded like.

In order to provide the whole scene, I have added to the research corpus quite a few mixed shape instruments as well, with the risk that a some of these were in fact considered a viol and not a cello.[339]
These mixed shape instruments can have different combinations of characteristics: one can e.g. have all cello features except for the shoulders; another one can have all cello features except for the sound holes (see for example Figs. 5 & 6).

In the NN most depicted cellos have the shape of a violin, which means that the shoulders are not sloping as on the viol. Of 16th, 17th and 18th centuries together less than 10% of all instruments depicted has sloping shoulders.

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[337] Lindeman (2016), p. 17. Original: "Naast de verschillen in vormgeving van de romp is het vooral de andere stemming van de snaren in de instrumentenfamilies die een eigen toonkleur teweegbrengt."

[338] Lindeman (2016), pp. 18, 19. Original: "In dit verband is het interessant te vermelden dat in de achttiende eeuw in Frankrijk tijdens een korte periode gamba's zijn gebouwd met de romp van een cello door onder anderen Andrea Castagneri (Turijn 1696 - Parijs 1747). Het zijn bijzonder leerzame instrumenten, want zij maken de invloed van de vormgeving en de stemming hoorbaar. De romp heeft de vorm van een cello met bovenaan aflopende schouders als van een gamba, het achterblad heeft geen knik bovenaan en is gewelfd als bij een cello. In het bovenblad zitten f-gaten en de stemming is overeenkomstig die van een basgamba. Niet alleen qua vormgeving zijn het hybride instrumenten. De klank is weliswaar vol en krachtig als van een cello door het gewelfde achterblad, maar dankzij de stemming (de boventonen dus) is de klankkleur weer meer als van een gamba."

[339] My database consists of more than 850 images. If a few of those images are in fact not of a cello but of a viol, that is not a huge problem, because I base my conclusions on such large numbers.
A viol mostly has 6 or even 7 strings, although there are a few 16th and early 17th-century descriptions of 5-string instruments. In France in the 1760s there was also a 4-string instrument: a 4-string 'pardessus de viole'. Information from: www.oxfordmusiconline.com, last accessed: 2014, March 6.

All instruments depicted by Cornelis Dusart and also one by Pieter van den Berghe have square shoulders (for an example see Figure 41). I have not come across this kind of shoulders anywhere else, at least not so extreme.
Far more than in the NN, cellos in the ZN in the 17th century had a mixed shape with sloping shoulders. Around 80% of all 17th-century instruments had a cello shape and 20% had sloping shoulders.
Towards the end of the 17th century ZN cellos with sloping shoulders are hardly depicted anymore, and in the 18th century I counted only 3 instruments with sloping shoulders as opposed to 77 cellos with normal ones.

I have found three types of **scroll** on the cello: a violin scroll, a scroll shaped like a human head or a scroll shaped like an animal head. The last two shapes are very common on a viol, but not so much on a cello. Most NN instruments have a violin scroll (287), although an animal or human head is depicted on some instruments as well (33). All these deviating NN scrolls date from the 17th century, except for 1 dating from the 18th century. A NN example of a human head is shown in Figure 74. A ZN example with an animal head is shown in Figure 76. I will come back to this in Chapter 3, in which one instrument with a human head and one with the head of a satyr is included.

Figure 74 NN: Edwaert Collier: *Vanitas still life with decorative tableware, jewelry boxes, regalia, a clock, a Nautilus-shell beaker, musical instruments, a book and other objects*.

Figure 75 Detail of Figure 74. A cello with sloping shoulders and a scroll in the form of a human head.

Figure 76 ZN: Frans Floris: *The celebration of David after the fight with Goliath* (1550-1575).

Figure 77 Detail of Figure 76. Note the scroll shaped like an animal head, in this case a lion.

Figure 78 Detail of Figure 76.

Because of the subject of many of the ZN paintings the musicians appear in the background (for more on this subject see Section 2.2.10). It is therefore often difficult to see whether an instrument has a cello scroll, or a scroll shaped like an animal or a human head. Over more than 2 centuries I only found 8 instruments which definitely did not have a normal cello scroll. In many cases (193) I was able to determine that the instrument indeed had a cello scroll.

Most NN instruments (295) have normal **sound holes** in the shape of an f. I found only a handful (8) of instruments which have different sound holes, from both the 17th and 18th centuries. In three of these cases the instruments did not have any sound holes at all.[340]
In the ZN I found 20 representations of instruments with sound holes in a c (see Figure 79) or flame shape. Of 121 instruments it could not be identified what the shape of the sound holes was. The rest (213) had sound holes in an f shape. Towards the end of the 17th century these differences in the shapes of the sound holes disappeared almost completely.

[340] This was the case with Simon Fokke, Matthijs Pool (1720) and Jan & Casper Luyken (1694, Amsterdam Museum, TA 13420).

Figure 79 ZN: Jan Josef Horemans II: *A musical company in an interior*.

Figure 80 Detail of Figure 79. Note the c-holes.

The narrow shape of the instrument in Figure 81 reminds us of the cello depicted in Laborde's cello 'method' reproduced in Figure 71. Also note the shape of the sound holes.

Figure 81 ZN: Hieronymus Francken II: *Dancers and musicians in an interior*.

Figure 82 Detail of Figure 81. Note the shape of the sound holes and frets (to be discussed in Section 2.2.5).

The images above show, as already stated at the beginning of this Section, that the mixed shape instruments consisted of different combinations of characteristics of the cello and the viol.

In quite a few cases one or more aspects of the shape of the instrument are invisible, mostly due to the fact that the cello is partly hidden behind a person.

As shown in Section 2.2.2, over the 17th century there was a clear development towards a smaller/normal-sized instrument. This development is not so clear for the shape of the cello and the f-holes. In the 17th and 18th centuries the proportion between both features remains more or less the same.

However, as said above, I only found 1 differently shaped scroll in the 18th century. Although among cellos with invisible scrolls, there could well have been one or a few with a different shape.

2.2.5 Frets

Frets are firstly associated with the viol and not with the cello. In Dutch literature hardly anything can be found about frets, except in the anonymous *Verhandeling over de muziek* (1772) and in Quantz *Flötenschule*.[341] It is stated in the *Verhandeling* that the basso viola used to have frets, but not anymore. Quantz mentions cellos with frets and gives instructions on how to handle them when playing flats. An example of an instrument with frets is reproduced in Figure 83.

Figure 83 NN: Cornelis Cort: *Hearing* (1561).

Figure 84 Detail of Figure 83.

Although the instrument in Figure 83 has frets, the shape of the instrument, the number of strings, the f-shaped sound holes and the shape of the scroll point in the direction of a cello.

[341] Anonymous (1772), p. 359 & Quantz (1754), p. 145.

In the literature written outside the Low Countries, henceforth European literature, one can find a bit more information on the use of frets on the cello.
In 1741 Michel Corrette writes:

> "In the beginning [meaning: when one starts playing the cello] one could mark on the fingerboard of the cello the 12 half tones of the octave according to the division below [not reproduced here], by making transversal lines on the fingerboard, which will enable one to learn in an instant on which line to play which note."[342]

In England Robert Crome (1765?) writes:

> "Tho' the Learner may have a good Ear, it will be some time before he can stop the Notes perfectly in tune, and therefore it will be a great help to him at first to have his Finger board Fretted, like that of the Guittar, and when the Fingers are acquainted with the Finger board, have the fretts filed down;" [343]

Also in England, in the cello method published by Broderip and Wilkinson (published around 1800) one can read the following in the Chapter on 'shifting':

> "Yet though the Learner may have a good Ear it will be some time before he can stop the Notes perfectly in tune, therefore some have the frets or cross lines as in the Scale opposite Page 19 marked on the finger-board, till such time as practice & an improved Ear enable them to do without those guides."[344]

All authors agree on the fact that for beginners it could be useful to have frets, but at a later time they will be removed again. Does this fact say something about the technical level of the cellists in Figs. 85 & 88? These images are 2 examples out of 9 NN instruments with frets. All instruments with frets date from the 16th and 17th centuries. From the 18th century no images were found (except a ceramic plate, see Section 2.3.2). This corresponds with what is written by Anonymous (1772).[345] Most instruments (322), also the 17th-century ones, did not have frets, but of 97 instruments it could not be distinguished.

Figure 85 NN: Lumen van Portengen: *Musical gathering* (1643).

[342] Corrette (1741), p. 23. Original: "Dans les commencemens on peut marquer sur le Manche du Violoncelle les 12 demi-tons de l'Octave selon la division cy dessous, en faisant sur le Manche des lignes transversalles, ce qui apprendra dans le moment que sur telle ligne transversalle on fait tel ton."
[343] Crome (1765?), pp. 6, 7.
[344] Anonymous (n.d. [between 1805-1807]), p. 21.
[345] Anonymous (1772), p. 359.

Figure 86 Detail of Figure 85.

Figure 87 Detail of the fingerboard.

The frets used on viols, are made of small pieces of gut tied around the fingerboard. The frets in the painting reproduced in Figure 85 do not seem to be covering the total width of the fingerboard, at least not all of the frets. The frets in the higher positions are shorter/smaller than the ones in the lower positons. In my opinion these frets are an indication for how high one used to play on an instrument, and only the higher strings were used to play higher notes. The frets seem to be quite far apart from each other (although it is hard to judge when one does not know the exact measurements of the cello) and the neck of the cello looks quite short.
The frets on the cello in Figure 88 look like normal 'viol' frets and seem to be covering the total width of the fingerboard.

Figure 88 NN: Laurence Neter: *Elegant company courting, dancing and playing music in an interior* (ca. 1635).

Figure 89 Detail of Figure 88.

In the ZN I found a similar amount of representations of fretted cellos (12), all dating from the 17th century, except for two, one of which is reproduced in Figure 90. All the other instruments had either no frets (176) or the image or reproduction was not clear enough (166).

Figure 90 ZN: Petrus Norbertus van Reysschoot: *Design for a ceiling with the representation of the marriage of Jupiter and Juno*.

Figure 91 Detail of Figure 90. Note the frets and the 5 strings.

All 17th-century fretted instruments in ZN date from the first half of the century, more or less from the same period as was the case in the NN.

2.2.6 The strings (number and material)

Some written sources from the Low Countries mention the number of strings (see Sub chapter 1.5). This differs from 4 to 6. All three possibilities were found on images, although one more than the other.

Anonymous (1772) is the only written source to mention 6 strings. And as little as is written about 6-string instruments, as few images were found, 9 in total (7 from NN and 2 from ZN). All these 6-string instruments date from the 17th century. Towards the end of the century they are not depicted anymore. See for an example of a 6-string instrument Figure 92.

Figure 92 NN: Simon van de Passe: *Musical company* (1612).

Figure 93 Detail of Figure 92. A 6-string cello.

In several European treatises the 6-string cello is also mentioned. In Germany Johann Mattheson writes in 1713:

> "The outstanding violoncello, the basso viola and viola da spalla are small bass violins/in comparison to the larger ones/ with 5 and also 6 strings/…"[346]

Mattheson's text is copied almost literally by Johann Gottfried Walther[347] and Johann Christoph & Johann David Stöβel (1737[348] & 1749[349]).
In 1738 Johann Philipp Eisel writes:

> "How many strings does a violoncello have?
> Generally four, sometimes also five, now and then one finds one which has even six."[350]

Towards the end of the 18th century Johann Adam Hiller comments:

> "Violoncello, small bass violin. Formerly the cello had 5 and 6 strings."[351]

In England in 1740 James Grassineau writes:

> "Violincello [sic] of the *Italians*, is properly what we call the Bass Violin with four strings, sometimes even five or six; but those are not common, the first being most used among us."[352]

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[346] Mattheson (1713), p. 285. Original: "Der hervorragende Violoncello, die Bassa Viola und Viola di Spala [sic], sind kleine Bass-Geigen/in Vergleichung der grössern/mit 5 auch wol 6. Saiten/…."
[347] Walther (1732), p. 637.
[348] Stöβel (1737), p. 417.
[349] Stöβel (1749), p. 418.
[350] Eisel (1738), p. 45. Original: "Wie viel hat ein Violoncello Saiten? Insgemein vier, manchmal auch fünff, dann und wann trifft man ihrer an die wohl gar sechs haben."
[351] Hiller (ca. 1792), p. 86. Original: "Violoncello, kleine Baβgeige. Man hatte deren ehemals mit 5 und 6 Saiten." Underscore: ET.

And in France Sebastien de Brossard writes in 1703:

> "Violoncello. It is strictly speaking our 'quinte de violon', or a small bass violin with five or six strings."[353]

These quotes show that elsewhere in Europe also 6-string cellos were used, however not very regularly. This corresponds with my findings in the Low Countries.
The few Dutch 18th-century written sources which mention the number of strings are more or less in agreement that in the 18th century the cello had 4 strings, but that in the 17th century (or: in the past) the cello could also have 5 strings. The only 17th-century source Douwes (1699) confirms this.
Many NN images of 4 and 5-string instruments were found. Whereas in the 17th century there were twice as many 4-string instruments (117) as 5-string instruments (59), in the 18th century this proportion is very different: 23 4-string cellos and only 3 5-string instruments (proportion ca. 8:1). Especially in the period 1625-1650 many 5-string instruments were depicted. The only 16th-century instrument with visible strings has 4.
In two periods (1600-1625 & 1625-1650) when the proportion between normal and large size instruments is almost 50-50, one finds 4 and 5-string instruments in more or less the same proportion. In the following period (1650-1675) there is a huge increase of 4-string instruments, whereas the proportion between normal and large size instruments still remains around 50-50. This proportion changes completely towards the end of the 17th century, and in the 18th century hardly any large and 5-string instruments are found anymore. It has been argued that the decrease of the size of the instrument has to do with a new kind of (low) string: one wound with metal. For both the NN and the ZN I have found a few 18th-century examples of instruments which clearly show this metal wire. For an example see Figure 94. The metal wire can be clearly seen on the bottom 2 strings: the colour is very different from the other strings. In very many images it was impossible to decide what colour the strings had, and 132 cellos clearly had all gut strings.

Figure 94 ZN: Balthasar Beschey: *Portrait of Jacob-Johannes Cremers (....-1762) and Cornelia Johanna Nicolai (....-1786) at their wedding* (1768).

Figure 95 Detail of Figure 94. Note the colour of the strings. Also note the white hair of the bow and the endpin.

[352] Grassineau (1740), p. 329.
[353] Brossard (1703), unpaginated. Original: "Violoncello. C'est proprement nôtre Quinte de Violon, ou une Petite Basse de Violin à cinq ou six Chordes."

In several newspapers of the time silver strings are advertised. For example: "silver bass strings"[354] and "[...] silver strings; of the last three sorts also cello strings".[355]
Verschuere Reynvaan is the only Dutch treatise mentioning the material of the strings: he states that the bottom string is silver.[356] I am convinced a silver wound string is meant.
These metal wired strings are also described by Heinrich Christoph Koch in 1802:

> "It [the cello] is strung with 4 gut strings, of which the bottom two are covered with [metal] wire, […]."[357]

Koch describes which strings have the wire, the newspaper adverts are not that clear. In the ZN the situation is a little different from that in the NN. Where in the NN quite a considerable amount of 5-string instruments was depicted in the 17th century, in the ZN I have found just a handful. In total I found 17 5-string instruments, as opposed to 78 4-string ones. In this century in the period of 1625-1650 the production of 5-string instruments was the most prolific, as it was in the NN during the same period. After this period there was a huge decline.
Even more than in the NN, in the ZN paintings were produced[358] in such a way that tiny details like strings (including the colour) and pegs could not be identified. This was the case for more than 50% of all paintings produced in ZN.

A few treatises from the Low Countries give a tuning for a 4-string instrument (CGda). This is a tuning for an 18th-century cello. Whether this same tuning was used in the 17th century does not become clear. John Playford in England (*Introduction to the Skill of Music*) and Michel Corrette (1741) in France give a tuning B♭Fcg for the (larger) bass violin. Many of the 17th-century instruments from the Low Countries are large instruments. It is quite possible that on those instruments the same tuning was used.
As is shown in this Section also 5 and 6-string instruments were played. There are no written sources from the Low Countries which indicate a tuning for these instruments. Framery gives a tuning for a 5-string instrument: CGdad'.[359] I wonder whether this tuning is the right tuning for the large instruments, because the pitch of the highest string is quite high.

2.2.7 Case study: overhand or underhand bowing

In many of the 17th-century paintings from the NN an underhand bow grip is depicted (see for example Figs. 85, 88 & 108). As shown in Chapter 1, this is not documented at all in Dutch written sources of the time. Also in modern books on the violoncello I was not able to find much information on this subject. An exception to this is the article *The cello bow held the viol-way; once common, but now almost forgotten* by the Australian cellist Mark Smith[360] and the book *One Hundred Years of Violoncello* by Valerie Walden.[361] Grove Music Online devotes just one sentence to this way of playing.[362] The Italian viol and cello player Alberto Rasi has collected many representations of cellists playing underhand from several European countries.[363] He has also made experiments with playing with an underhand bow grip.
However, in the 18th century there are several European sources which document this way of holding the bow, including the Dutch translation of Quantz's *Flötenschule*. These 18th-century

[354] Anonymous (1758, January 9). *Utrechtsche Courant*, p. ??, via Rasch (2015, November 12), p. 41. Original: "zilveren bassnaren".
[355] Anonymous (1761, March 18). *'s-Gravenhaagsche Courant*, p. ??, via Rasch (2015, November 12), p. 6. Original: " Zilvere Snaeren; zo ook van de laetste drie zoorten Violoncel-snaeren".
[356] Verschuere Reynvaan (1795), p. 67.
[357] Koch (1802), p. 1697. Original: "Es ist mit vier Darmsaiten, von welchen die zwei tiefsten mit Drathe übersponnen sind, bezogen, […]."
[358] As well as their reproductions in modern times!
[359] Framery & Guinguené (1788), p. 25.
[360] Smith (1995), pp. 47-61.
[361] Walden (1998).
[362] Grove Music Online, last accessed: 2014, January 24.
[363] Website Rasi: https://get.google.com/albumarchive/109342865246470664335/album/AF1QipPu74qbZSG8xzJecb4oph3UvJDy0Xj0AQoAfPgJ

sources (in)directly confirm what is documented in pictorial evidence: that in the 17th century (or at least some time before those treatises were written) it was normal[364] to play with an underhand bow grip. They say in fact that in the 18th century the underhand bow hold is old-fashioned, thus showing that before it was normal to play with underhand grip, but that by then it was not done so often anymore.
Because there are so few written sources dealing with this way of playing, I will chronologically quote all of them here.
The only 17th-century source I was able to find is Georg Muffat's *Florilegium Secundum* (1698). Muffat writes the following:

> "Most Germans agree with the Lullists on the holding of the bow for the violins and violas; that is, pressing the thumb against the hair and laying the other fingers on the back of the bow. It is also generally held in this way for the bass by the Lullists; they differ from the Italian practice, which concerns the small violins, in which the hair is untouched, and from that of the bass gambists and others, in which the fingers lie between the wood and the hair.
> Although good violinists hold that the longer, steadier, more even, and sweeter the bow-strokes, the better, yet it has been observed that the Germans and the Italians do not agree with the Lullists, not even to any great extent among themselves, in the matter of the rules for up- and down-bows. But it is well known that the Lullists, whom the English, Dutch, and many others are already imitating, all bow the most important notes of the musical meter, especially those which begin the measure and which end a cadence, and thus strongly show the motion of the dance, in the same way, even if a thousand of them were to play together."[365]

The fact that Muffat mentions the Dutch (in Latin original: "Belgae"), makes this quote, in the light of the present dissertation, extra interesting. Lullist bass players generally bow overhand, as Muffat states. It is implied that Italian bass gambists and others [cellists?!] bow underhand. By 1698, at the publication of *Florilegium Secundum*, the Dutch are already imitating the Lullists with the way they are bowing. By writing "already imitating" Muffat implies that the Dutch bowed in a different manner before, i.e. underhand.
The German born organ player and composer Johann Daniel Berlin published a musical treatise, including methods for several instruments, among which is the bass violin. It was published in Trondheim, Norway, in 1744. Berlin writes the following about holding the bow of the bass violin:

> "The bow of the 'Basse-fiolen' should also be held and handled in its own way; hold the bow in the gap between the thumb and the index finger, so that the index finger and the middle finger rest on the wood of the bow. The ring finger and the little finger are located within over the hair of the bow. Others hold the bow differently; most important is to find the way that is the most comfortable."[366]

In the *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* of 1752 Johann Joachim Quantz writes about bowing (referring to both the viol and the violin). For both instruments he only mentions one bowing direction. This direction of the bowing, the bowstroke for the main note, also implies the way the bow is held.

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[364] 'normal' or 'fairly normal'. How normal it was exactly, will be shown later in this Section.
[365] Muffat (1698). Modern English translation taken from: Wilson (2001), p. 33.
[366] Berlin (1744), p. 92. Original: "Basse-Fiolens Buc har ogsaa sin egen slags holdelse og Styrelse: Med Gabet imellem Tommelfingeren of Pegefingeren anfattes Buen, saa at Pegefingeren of Mellemfingeren hviler paa Træe-Buen. Guldfingeren og den lille Finger ligger inden for over Haar-Buen. Og stal man saaledes komme til at tvinge Buen i dens Strygen, ligesom man vil. Andre bruger Buen andeledes; det kommer meest and paa, at vænne sig til den Maade, hvorved man best kand komme fort." Translation very kindly made for me by Roar Blye, April 2013.

Quantz writes:

> "Some use the bow as is common on the viol, that is: instead of the down bow on the main note, from the left to the right hand, they make an up bow from the right to the left [hand], and start with the tip of the bow. Others however do it as the violinists, and start the same bow with the lower part of the bow. This last way is common with the Italians, and has a better result than the first way, not only when playing a solo, but specially when accompanying."[367]

Johann Daniel Berlin leaves the decision to the player, for him the most important thing is that it is comfortable. Quantz however clearly favors the overhand grip, which, as he says, has a better result, hinting at a better sound and probably better articulation.
Two years after the publication of Quantz' Flötenschule in Germany, the book was translated into Dutch by the organist, composer and theorist Jacob Wilhelm Lustig. Lustig was of German descent but also wrote books in Dutch, so one could expect that the translation was in safe hands with him. He indeed translated literally, but added the word 'here' ('hier'):

> "Zommigen gaan hier[368] met de boog eveneens te werk, als by de Viola da Gamba; maakende namelyk by de hoofdnooten eene opstrek, met de punt des strykstoks beginnende; daarentegen doen anderen gelyk de Violinisten, die by de gemelde nooten met de benedenstrek, of met het onderste gedeelte der boog aanvangen. Deeze laatste manier, by de Italiaanen gebruikelyk, is niet aleen by 't Solo-speelen, maar ook voornamelyk by 't accompagnement, van meerder dienst:...."[369]

By adding the word 'here' in the quote above, it feels like Lustig wanted to emphasize that not only in Germany but also in Holland some cellists played with underhand grip.[370]
In the German text one finds the word 'einige' and in the Dutch text it says 'zommigen', both words meaning 'some'.[371] Valerie Walden concludes: "Quantz indicated in the middle of the century that, among German players with whom he had contact, the underhand grip was as common as the overhand grip."[372] I am not at all convinced that 'as common as' means the same thing as 'some'. If she has based her conclusion just on the text quoted above, I strongly feel that she jumped to conclusions too quickly.
A rather unclear quote comes from *Apollo's Cabinet: or the Muses Delight*, which was published in England in 1756:

> "The Bow must be drawn across the Strings parallel to the Bridge: But as both Bowing and Fingering is not only difficult to describe but also practised various Ways by different Performers, what has already been said will be found sufficient for an Introduction to playing this Instrument."[373]

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[367] Quantz (1752), p. 212. Original text: "Einige streichen mit dem Bogen so, wie es bei der Viola da Gamba üblich ist, nämlich: anstatt des Herunterstrichs, von der linken zur rechten Hand, bei den Hauptnoten, machen sie den Hinaufstrich, von der rechten zur linken, und fangen mit der Spitze des Bogens an. Andere hingegen machen es wie die Violinisten, und fangen denselben Strich met dem untersten Theil des Bogens an. Diese letztere Art ist bei den Italiänern üblich, und thut nicht nur beim Solospielen, sondern auch vornehmlich bei dem Accompagnement, bessere Wirkung als die erste:....."
[368] Underscoring: ET.
[369] Quantz (translation Lustig J. W., 1754), p. 141. In this case I made no translation of the Dutch text, because I translated the German text, and the German and Dutch texts are exactly the same, except for the word 'here'.
[370] In other translations Lustig made, he also added words or even entire passages.
[371] Translation of 'einige' confirmed to me by Jörn Boysen. Email of February 5th, 2014.
[372] Walden (1998), p. 79.
[373] Anonymous (1756). The manuscript I used lacks page numbers after page 44, but this text is on the last page but one. http://javanese.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/4/40/IMSLP100880-PMLP207040-apolloscabinet_vol1_instructions.pdf, last accessed: 2013, April 17.

It is not completely clear to me whether the anonymous author writes about the way to hold the bow or not. Holding the bow in overhand or underhand grip will automatically result in other ways of bowing, so it could well be that he also writes about the bow hold. At least he points out that different performers do it in different ways, and this alone is interesting.
While collecting materials for his *A General History of Music*, Charles Burney collected additional material which was published between 1771 and 1775 as *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* and as *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces*. In these two journals a few descriptions of cellists playing with underhand grip are found.
In Padua, Burney specifically went to listen to Antonio Vandini playing the cello. He remarks:

> "It is remarkable that Antonio, and all the other violoncello players here, hold the bow in the oldfashioned way, with the hand under".[374]

Corrette's remark that in Italy the overhand bowhold is used the most, clearly does not count for Padua about which cellists Burney writes that they all play with an underhand bow hold.
Charles Burney is not the only one who wrote about Vandini's bow hold. In 1776 Christoph Gottlieb von Murr writes the following in the *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte* (a German journal that was published between 1775 and 1789):

> "Padua. The famous Antonio Vandini. He holds his bow in the old way, with the hand on the hair and the thumb on the wood, as is done on the Viol."[375]

The following image shows Vandini actually playing underhand.

Figure 96 Pier Leone Ghezzi: a caricature of Antonio Vandini[376]

[374] Burney (1773), p. 142.
[375] Murr (1776), p. 23. Original text: "Padua. Der berühmte Antonio Vandini. Er hält den Bogen nach der alten Art, mit der Hand am Haare und dem Daumen am Holze, wie bey dem Gambenspielen."
[376] Fossombrone, Bibliotheca Civica Passionei and Vatican City, Ottob. Lat.3118, f162r.

Charles Burney also visited Berlin. He remarks about a certain Mr Grauel:

> "M. Grauel, a violoncello performer in the King's band, played a concerto; it was but ordinary music; however, it was well executed, though in the old manner, with the hand under the bow."[377]

In 1786 a Dutch translation was published of both Burney's Journals. This translation was made, again, by Jacob Wilhelm Lustig. As pointed out before, at several spots Lustig added words or entire passages. In this case however he left out something:

> "…; dan, de Heer Grauël, Violoncellist en Kamermusicus des Konings, een ander, op zyn Instrument, welke Kompositie niet veel om het Lijf had, schoon de Uitvoering goed was;"[378]

By leaving out the passage on the bow hold, we miss out on important information. Why? The part about Vandini is almost unchanged in the Dutch translation, except for different instructions of how to hold the bow (both underhand though):

> "Evenwel quam het my vreemt voor, dat *Antonio*, en alle Violoncellisten alhier, den Strijkstok nog op de oude Manier hielden, met de hand aan 't hair en den duim op het hout."[379]

In cello methods I have not been able to find any information about underhand playing. A treatise which comes close to a real method is *Anleitung zur praktischen Musik* by Johann Samuel Petri. Petri includes playing instructions for many instruments. The part about the cello ('Violoncello' or 'Baβgeige') fills over 40 pages. It starts very simple with mentioning the number of strings, but ends with very complicated fingerings for double stops and chords. About the way of holding the bow, Petri remarks:

> "The heavy bows of the past were held in such a way that the thumb was pointing upwards and the middle finger together with the ring finger was holding the frog. The index-finger however was held on top and was approaching the tip of the thumb. It was believed that one would have enough strength in the arm to get the heavy cello strings moving, because the cello was still handled as a violone.
> Nowadays however, now that the cello has better strings and the bow is completely different, one cannot and should not hold it like this anymore. Just in tutti passages when playing extremly loud, one could hold it like this, to relax a bit from holding the bow too long."[380]

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[377] Burney (1775), p. 219.

[378] Burney (1786), pp. 366-367. In this Dutch translation both English journals (one on France & Italy (1773) and the other on Germany, the Netherlands & United Provinces (1775)) are published together in one volume instead of the original two; on the Dutch title page the Netherlands and United Provinces are not mentioned.

[379] Burney, (1786), p. 67.

[380] Petri (1782), p. 418. Original text: "Das Bogenhalten geschah ehmals in die groben Bogen also, daß der Daumen in die Höhe stand und der mittelste große Finger nebst dem Goldfinger in dem Frosche widerhielten, der Spitzfinger aber sich oben überlegte und sich der Daumspitze näherte. So glaubte man Kraft genung im Arme zu haben, die groben Cellosaiten in Bewegung zu sezzen, da man das Violoncello noch Violonmäßig behandelte. Heut zu Tage aber, da das Violoncell besser bezogen ist, und der Bogen ganz anders beschaffen ist, kan und soll man den Bogen nicht mehr so halten, es müßte denn beim Tutti im äußersten Forte seyn, daß man einmal die Hand in diese Lage legen wollte, um von dem zu langen Halten des Bogens etwas auszuruhen."
The edition of 1782 was the second edition. The first edition was published in 1767. In that first edition Petri was able to only finish part of what he originally intended. He did not have time to write anything about the cello (or any other bowed instrument for that matter). As he stated himself: "That will have to wait until an extended version."

Petri not only gives information on how the bow was held in the past, but he also points out that those bows were heavier than the ones in use at the time he wrote his treatise. This makes sense, because instruments were larger and strings were thicker. In order to get those strings moving, one needed a heavy bow.
What strikes me in this quote is that Petri states that one could hold the bow the oldfashioned way, if one wants to relax a bit. I, as a cellist, have never felt the need of relaxing from holding the bow overhand, not even when playing loud for some time.
In the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* of 1799 there is a long report on the cellist Johann Schetky. I quote it partially:

> "It was to be admired, that he [Schetky] was able to produce the sweetest tone as well as much power, because the way he held his bow was different from all other cellists I heard. Other virtuosi (there are a few), who can match with him on this intrument, are surprised about this. It will be difficult for me to explain this bow hold. Usually the bow is managed with the thumb under and with four fingers over the stick, as with the violin, except that with the violoncello the arm hangs down and the bowstroke goes downwards […]. With Schetky it was different. The thumb lay on the frog of the bow, and the forefinger alone on the stick and the three other fingers underneath of the hair. Through the pressure of that [the fingers] lying below, especially of the little finger, he increased or decreased the power of his bow stroke, and thereby brought the maximum strength to the lower parts, or the loveliest oboe tones to the higher parts."[381]

This is a very detailed account of Schetky's playing. Again it becomes clear that the underhand bow grip is something which is hardly in use any more. The anonymous writer explains exactly how to hold the bow and even gives an idea of what kind of sound Schetky made.

From several quotes above it becomes clear that in the past many cellists used to play underhand, and that in the 18th century most cellists had changed to overhand playing. The way the bow is held, however, does not necessarily say something about the direction of bowing. Muffat and Quantz are the only authors who directly or indirectly mention the direction of bowing. They agree on the fact that when the bow is held underhand, the heavy bow stroke is the up bow. When playing overhand, the heavy bow stroke is the down bow.
Whether the other authors agree on this or not, does not become clear. In this respect, the following quote from Corrette's bass tutor (1781) is interesting, because it shows that double bass players do not agree with one and other: some bow this way and others bow the other way, even when holding the bow in the same way.
Corrette writes:

> "On the double bass one handles the bow as on the viol, which is the opposite of the violoncello. With regard to the bow strokes, the double bass players are not in agreement on that. Some, with enough reason in relation to the manner of holding the bow, want that the long notes[382] are played in an up bow and the short notes in a down bow as on the antique viol […]; others claim the opposite, that one

[381] Anonymous (1799), cols. 33-34. English translation: ET and Walden (1998), p. 80. Original text: "Zum bewundern war es, dass er die feinste Zartheit des Tons eben sowohl, als die höchste Kraft hervorbrachte, da seine Haltung des Bogens von der, aller Violoncellisten, die ich je gehört habe, verschieden war, und worüber andere Virtuosen, die sich auf diesem Instrumenten mit ihm zu messen wagten, (es gab der wenige) erstaunten. Es wird mir schwer fallen, diese haltung des Bogens begreiflich zu machen. Gewöhnlich wird der Bogen mit dem Daumen unter, und mit vier Fingern über dem Holz geführt, wie bey der Violin, nur dass bey dem Violoncello der Arm herabhängt und der Bogenstricht unterwärts geht […]. Bey Schetky war das anders. Der Daumen lag auf dem Frosch des Bogens, der Zeigefinger allein auf dem Holze; die drey andern Finger unterwärts auf den Haaren. Durch den Druck der unten liegenden, besonders des kleinen Fingers, vermerhte oder vermiderte er die Kraft seines Bogens auffallend, und brachte dadurch die höchste Stärke der Tiefe, oder den lieblichsten Oboenton in der Höhe hervor."
[382] I think that with "long notes" Corrette means the important notes and the "short notes" are the less important notes.

> should play the long [notes] in a down bow and the short [notes] in an up bow as on the violoncello."[383]

Not only Corrette writes about the different opinions. Muffat states that the Italians and Germans, although they do not agree with the French about the direction of bowing, they are also not in agreement among themselves.
As said before, Rasi has experimented with underhand playing, and he has come to the conclusion that "by holding the bow closest to the frog there is more naturalness in using the down bow as 'good'."[384] Double bass and violone player Maria Vahervuo (teacher of violone and baroque bass at the Sibelius Academy, Helsinki) states that baroque bass players nowadays, whether playing overhand or underhand, always follow the bowings of the other string players.[385]
Considering all of the above, it is very likely that in the Low Countries the bass violin players (an instrument more equal in size to a small double bass and with much thicker strings than the cello) also did not agree with each other, and that some bowed in one direction and others in the other direction, while all holding the bow in underhand grip.

In the text about Schetky it is mentioned that he plays in a different way (that is: underhand) than all other cellists the author knows. In many 18th-century sources the overhand playing is discussed. I will quote a few of the sources here.

In Michel Corrette's cello method three slightly different ways of holding the bow are mentioned. All three are overhand, but they differ from each other in the way the thumb and little finger are placed on the bow.
Corrette writes:

> "It is necessary to hold the bow in the right hand. One may hold it in three different ways. The first, which is the way used most often by the Italians, is to place the second, third, fourth and fifth fingers on the stick at points A, B, C, and D with the thumb below the third finger at E. The second way is also to place the second, third, and fourth fingers at the stick at A, B, and C, the thumb on the hair at F and the little finger poised on the stick opposite the hair at G. The third way of holding the bow is to place the second, third, and fourth fingers on the side of the frog at H, I, and K, the thumb underneath the hair at L, and the little finger on the side of the stick at M. These three different ways of holding the bow are equally good and it is best to choose that one which has the most power. To play the cello it is necessary to have power in the right arm to pull out the sound."[386]

Corrette adds an image to clarify his description (Figure 97):

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[383] Corrette (1781), pp. 7-8. Original: "L'archet de la contre-basse Se tient comme ce lui de la Viole […], ce qui est le contraire du Violoncelle. […] A l'egard des coups d'archet les contre-bassiers ne Sont gueres d'acord sur cela, les uns veulent, avec assez de raison par rapport à la maniere de tenir l'archet, que les notes longues se jouent en poussant et les notes breves en tirant comme à l'ancienne Viole […]; d'autres pretendent au contraire qu'il faut jouer les longues en tirant et les breves en poussant comme au Violoncelle."
[384] Email dated: 2017, May 27.
[385] Email dated: 2017, May 27.
[386] Corrette (1741), p. 8. Translation taken from: Graves (1972), pp. 19-20. Original text: "Il faut prendre l'Archet de la main droite. On peut le tenir de trois façons differentes: la premiere qui est la manière la plus usitée des Italiens, est de poser le 2e. 3e. 4e. et 5e. doigts sur le bois ABCD et le pouce dessous le 3e. doigt E. la seconde maniere est de poser aussi le 2e. 3e. et 4e. sur le bois ABC, le pouce sur le crin F, et le petit doigt posé sur le bois vis a vis le crin G.
Et la 3e. maniere [sic] de tenir l'Archet est de poser le 2e. 3e. et 4e. doigts du côté de la hausse H.I.K. le pouce dessous le crin L. et le petit doigt acôté du bois M. Ces trois façons differentes de tenir l'Archet sons également bonnes, et il est bon de choisir celle avec la quelle on a plus de force: Car pour jouer du Violoncelle il faut de la force dans le bras droit por. tirer du Son."

Figure 97 Three ways of holding the bow, as mentioned by Michel Corrette.

Corrette states that the first way is the way generally used by the Italians. This is also the way which is seen for the most part in 18th century representations and the one used predominantly to hold the baroque bow nowadays. The second way with the thumb on the hair and the little finger behind the stick is not so common, it is the French way as Corrette states in his violin method which was published just three years before his cello method.[387] The thumb on the hair is still used by some violin players today.[388] The third way is similar to the second way except that the whole hand is moved to the frog.

What to me is most interesting in Corrette's bow holds 2 and 3 is the way the little finger is placed on the bow. I tried this position myself, but I do not find it very comfortable, as opposed to one of my amateur cello students who had figured this position out all by himself, and said that he had more control over the bow like that. This example shows that details of the bow hold are very personal, exactly as Corrette stated almost 300 years ago.

The only clear example of the little finger behind the stick I was able to find in the NN, stems from the 18th century, and is reproduced in Figs. 98 & 99.

Figure 98 NN: Anonymous: *Cellist* (18th century). Cellist holding the bow in Corrette's manner no. 3.

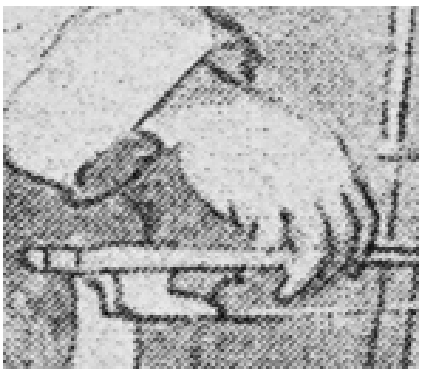


Figure 99 Detail of Figure 98. The little finger is clearly held behind the stick.

Because there was so little evidence for this position in the Low Countries, I have also inventorised whether this position was more popular in the rest of Europe than in the Low Countries. I have been able to find one example in Italy, one in England, and a few in France (all by the same artist), dating from the 16th century up till way into the 18th century. These examples

[387] Corrette (1738), p. 7.

[388] Dutch violin player Antoinette Lohman is a great advocate for this way of holding the bow.

are reproduced in Figs. 100-107. It is an understatement to say that this bow hold was not very popular in other countries either.
Except for the one example from Italy (the oldest!), in all the other images the cellists hold the bow away from the frog.

Figure 100 Bass instrument player from Saronno church (1536).

Figure 101 Detail of Figure 100. This cellist has two fingers behind the stick, and holds the bow close to the frog.

Figure 102 Gawen Hamilton: *A Musical Party, The Mathias Family* (1730s).[389]

Figure 103 Detail of Figure 102.

[389] Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. no. 647.

Figure 104 Pierre-Paul Prud'hon. View from front: cellist holding the bow with little finger behind the stick.[390]

Figure 105 Pierre-Paul Prud'hon. View from back. The little finger behind the stick can be seen very clearly.[391]

Figure 106 Prud'hon. View from side.[392]

Figure 107 Detail of Figure 106.

The examples of an overhand bow hold with the little finger behind the stick, made by Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, are very unique. These drawings were intended for a cello method, which Baron de Joursanvault from Beaune was planning to write. I have not been able to track this method down, it was probably never published, but the drawings were made and survived time. And part

[390] Prud'hon, P. P. ((1758-1823). Paris: Fondation Custodia, inv. no. 2004-T.38.
[391] Prud'hon. Paris: Fondation Custodia, inv. no. 2004-T.40
[392] Prud'hon. Paris: Fondation Custodia, inv. no. 2004-T.34.

of Corrette's bow hold no. 3 is very clearly used by the cellist (Joursanvault himself?). More on these drawings can be found in Section 2.2.11.
The exact position with the thumb under the hair, the little finger behind the stick and the hand at the frog, as mentioned by Corrette, I have not been able to find anywhere, also because in certain cases the placing of the thumb was not visible.

As far as I have found, Corrette is the only one who explicitely gives more than one option for holding the bow overhand. Robert Crome, however mentions that different performers use the bow differently, but he continues to describe only one way. He writes:

> "As the use of the Bow is practis'd various ways by different performers and being of the greatest Consequence we will endeavour to put the Learner in a regular way; The Bow may be consider'd as the Tongue of the Instrument as all the Expression is from the Bow; the Bow in playing is always in Action, but the Fingers are often of no use; […]. the Bow must be held near the Nutt with the Thumb and fore Finger, and supported with the other Fingers near the end at a small distance from each other."[393]

Petri is very short about how to hold the bow:

> "The common way to hold the bow now, is the same as the one that is used on the violin, with the difference that the wood of the bow is turned more upwards. The result is that the hairs can receive more weight in order to bring out a penetrating and sharp bowing. In this way the bow will 'fall' on the string in a more perpendicular way, and the hand does not need that much strength to move it."[394]

Although in sources from NN nothing has been written about the bow grip, other European sources are quite convincing about how it was done in other European countries at the time. Contrary to the 18th century (and also the modern way of using the bow, with an overhand bow grip), in the 17th century many cellists played with underhand grip, as viol players still do today. The images from NN show that this was common practice here as well. Out of 367 17th century images just 31 cellists play with overhand grip, spread over the entire century (1600-1625: 6, 1625-1650: 10, 1650-1675: 6, 1675-1700: 9). In the entire 17th century 152 instruments are played underhand. When comparing the amount of instruments played overhand to the amount of instruments played underhand in the various time periods, one could easily say that during the 17th century overhand playing becomes gradually more common. This leaves 184 images, of which 150 are of unplayed instruments. The remaining 34 are played instruments, but it is impossible to determine how the bow is held. In the 18th century the overhand way of holding the bow becomes even more common, although some cellists are still depicted with an underhand bow hold.

In the ZN, as in the NN, the most popular way of holding the bow in the 17th century is with underhand grip. Of 167 visible grips, 129 are underhand, and 38 overhand. Compared to the NN, in the ZN far more overhand grip is found (in NN 1:5, in ZN ± 1:3). This is a big difference. I have not been able to find an explanation why this is so.
It is surprising that in the total of 5 16th-century images 4 cellists play with overhand grip.
Due to the vagueness of many paintings, in 49 cases the bow grip is invisible. For 44 paintings there is no bow grip, because the instruments are unplayed.
Whereas in the 17th century 37 cellists played with overhand grip, in the 18th century 43 cellists (of a much smaller total) are depicted playing with overhand grip, as opposed to 16 playing with

[393] Crome (1765?), p. 11.
[394] Petri (1782), p. 418. Original text: "Die jetzt gewöhnliche Art, den Bogen zu halten, ist eben dieselbe, die man bey der Violine gebraucht, nur daβ man die Bogenstange mehr aufwärts wendet, damit die Haare zu einem schneidenden und scharfen Striche desto mehr Druck bekommen können. Denn auf solche Weise fällt der Bogen beinahe perpendikulär auf die Saiten, und die Hand braucht weit weniger Kraft anzuwenden, ihn zu führen."

underhand grip. Clearly the underhand grip went slowly out of fashion. Unfortunately again in 30 cases the bow grip could not be identified or was not existing (unplayed instrument).
In the 18th century the ZN produced more paintings than the NN. In the ZN the dominance of the overhand grip is much more convincing.

In a few images the cello (and also other instruments in these images) is played the 'wrong' way round: it is bowed with the left hand. See for an example of this practice Figure 19.
All these cases are found on engravings. It is very probable that the cellists were not meant to play the wrong way, but that the visual artist was incapable to engrave instrumentalists in mirror.

In his *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* Quantz comments on the type of hair one should have on the bow for playing a bass line. In such cases, he writes, one should have a stronger bow with black hairs because that combination will attack the strings more fiercely.[395]
In more than half of the images from the NN the colour of the bow hairs could not be determined. Of 151 visible bows, 110 had black hair (Figure 108) and 41 had white hair (Figure 109). The numbers over the two centuries do not show a huge increase or decrease of one or the other type of hair. In certain periods in the 17th century the numbers are much higher than in other periods. The only reason for this is that in certain periods overall many more images were made than in other periods.
In the ZN the proportions are more or less the same as in the NN: 102 instruments with black hair, 27 with white hair, and of 225 instruments the colour could not be determined.

Figure 108 NN: Detail of Herbert Tuer: *Young woman playing a cello* (1669). A bow with black hair.

[395] See Section 1.1.1 and Quantz (1752), p. 212.

Figure 109 NN: Detail of Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp: *Putto blowing bubbles standing beside a table with a vanitas still life* (ca. 1629). A bow with white hair.

2.2.8 Case study: the left hand

For cello playing both hands are essential. In Section 2.2.7 the right hand was discussed. In the currect Section the left hand will be dealt with.
The images from the Low Countries show two different ways (with slight deviations) how the left hand is placed on the fingerboard: perpendicular and oblique. The difference between the two positions of the hand is very clearly shown in Figure 110 (image taken from John Gunn's cello method of 1789).

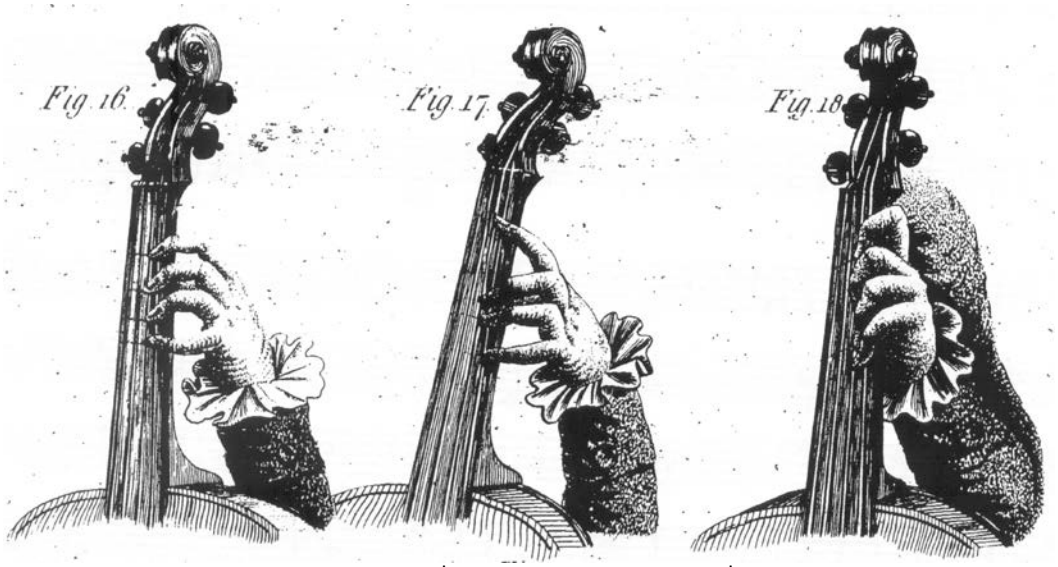


Figure 110 Perpendicular (Fig. 16 (normal 1st position) & 17 (extended 1st position)) and oblique (Fig. 18) hand positions from Gunn (1789).[396]

The perpendicular hand position shows the four fingers being placed at right angles on the strings, with evenly curved fingers. In the oblique hand position the entire hand is slanted backwards in the direction of the scroll/peg box, which cancels the right angles and the curved fingers. Gunn comments on these hand positions:

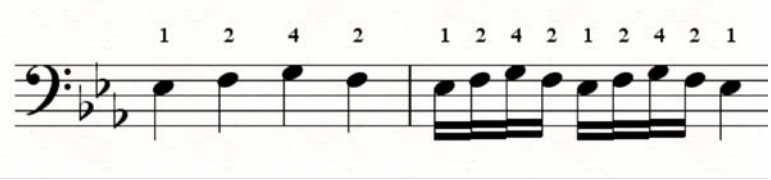
> "It will then be necessary to place the fingers of the left hand, on the fingerboard, in the position at Fig. 16, separating the fingers at about an inch

[396] Gunn (1789), between pp. 32 & 33.

> asunder, and raising them into the form of an arch; the fingers will then be at about the interval of a semitone from each other, but the first at that of a tone from the nut; and the fingers will, by the most simple movement, in crossing the strings, come to the proper distances for any of the notes on the other strings; a great advantage which this position of the hand has over that formerly in use (see Fig. 18), where the natural tendency of the fingers would be to move in the oblique direction, shown by the dotted lines; a tendency which can be counteracted but with great trouble."[397]

The dotted lines Gunn refers to are a bit difficult to see. In his Fig. 16 they can be seen best, and they are clearly at right angles to the strings, which enables one to place, without difficulty, the fingers on each string at more or less the same place (and thus play in tune!), considering the left arm moves along. In Gunn's Fig. 18 these dotted lines are not drawn at right angles. In case of playing the same finger on the top and bottom strings, the note on the bottom string will be much higher in pitch in proportion to the same finger on the top string.
This is not the only problem of an oblique hand position. In theory one could master placing the 1st and 4th finger in the right place in the oblique hand position (in my own experience only with some severe pain). However, placing the other two fingers in the right places and leaving the whole hand on the string is nearly impossible.

Duport writes about the problems for and the possibilities of the hand:

> "I used doublestops because in this way the hand will be put in the right position; also those who have their hand placed badly [i.e. oblique] when they play a single note, they will have it right when playing doublestops: one could say that they have two positions of the hand. What we call the bad position of the hand, is grabbing the neck like one does on the violin. This shortens the fingers and makes the interval between first and fourth [finger] almost impossible when two notes are required, unless one has an extremely large hand. People who play with this handposition, are obliged to lift the hand all the time, even when playing in one position, like in the following passage in e flat.
>
> 
>
>
> If those who grab the neck are in good faith, they will agree that they cannot execute this example without lifting the hand."[398]

Also in an anonymous serial in *Correspondance Des Amateurs Musiciens* of 1803 the correct position of the left hand is discussed, with reference to Duport (what is interesting is that Duport's method was published later than this newspaper article):

> "The true position of the left hand on the fingerboard of the bass, following the beautiful school of Duport, is completely horizontal, like that of the guitar. […].

[397] Gunn (1789), pp. 60-61.
[398] Duport (ca. 1806), p. 8. Original: "Je me suis servi de la double corde, parce qu'elle place forcément la main comme elle doit l'être; aussi ceux qui ont la main mal placée en jouant la corde simple, l'ont toujours bien quand ils font la double corde: on pourroit dire qu'ils ont deux positions de main. Ce que nous appellons mauvaise position de la main, est d'empoigner le manche comme on fait sur le Violon, cela raccourcit les doigts et rend presque impossible, l'écart du premier au quatrième, quand il doit être de deux tons, à moins qu'on n'ait la main extrêmement grande; ce qui fait que les personnes qui jouent avec cette position de main, sont obligées de sauter la main à tout moment, même en jouant la même position, comme en faisant le passage suivant en MI bémol. Si les personnes qui empoignent le manche, sont de bonne foi, elles conviendront qu'elles ne peuvent pas exècuter cet exemple, sans sauter la main."

> The horizontal position of the hand is necessary for elegance and ease of manner as well as for 'barrer'[399] without any effort in the arpeggios."[400]

When reading these quotes it is surprising that the oblique hand position was not considered bad by everybody. Some known cellists, among whom Donald Gow (1780), Jean Baptiste Janson (1803) and Bernhard Romberg (as late as 1839!), and for sure also many now unknown cellists played with this hand position.[401] Interestingly enough also the young Duport played with that hand position, but clearly changed his mind in later times.[402]
A good example of a perpendicular hand position is shown in Figure 108 and of an oblique position in Figure 113.

In Figure 110 it is impossible to see how the thumb is placed in the different hand positions.
My research corpus shows three different ways of placing the thumb on the neck, two of which have a similar effect on how freely the hand can move around on the fingerboard.
When the hand is placed perpendicularly on the fingerboard (with fingers standing in an arch) the thumb will be placed parallel with the other fingers on the neck with just the tip of the thumb, which position is shown in Figure 111.

Figure 111 ZN: Simon Floquet: *Minerva visits the Muses on Mount Helicon to see the fountain Hippocrene, which Pegasus had just brought forth* (1634-1635).

Figure 112 Detail of Figure 111. Tip of the thumb placed against the neck of the cello.

This way of placing the thumb is advocated in several cello methods.
Cupis writes about the flexibility of the hand in the perpendicular position:

> "One should place the thumb of the left hand in the middle of the length of the neck, on the other side of the fingerboard; thus the thumb will find itself

[399] 'Barrer': the way to place the fingers, like a movable nut, horizontally on the fingerboard to make chords.
[400] Anonymous (1803, October 1), p. 1. Original: "La vraie position de la main gauche sur la touche de la basse, suivant la belle école, celle de Duport, est tout-à-fait horizontale, comme celle de la guitarre. […]. La position horizontale de la main est nécessaire tant pour la grace et l'aisance, que pour barrer facilement dans les arpèges."
[401] Gow: Allan, D. (1780): Edinburgh: National Galleries of Schotland, inv. no. NGL 001.81; Janson: Anonymous (1803, October 1), p. 1; Romberg: Romberg (1839), between pp. 6 & 7.
[402] Duport is depicted playing with an oblique hand position around 1765-1770: Carmontelle, L. C. de. *MM Duport, Vachon, Rodolphe, Provers, Vernier.* Chantilly: Musée Condée, inv. no. CAR 424.

> opposite the index finger without grabbing the neck; otherwise one will place the fingers badly and one looses the advantage of making use of it easily."[403]

An anonymous writer in England is very specific about which part of the thumb has to be placed against the neck:

> "[…] only be careful to fix the first joint of your Thumb at the back part of the neck of your Instrument, […]."[404]

The anonymous author in the *Correspondance* of 1803 places the thumb between the first and second finger:

> "[…] the thumb, placed on the back of the neck, must stand between the first two fingers."[405]

Duport writes about the thumb being parallel to the other fingers:

> "First, the thumb should be placed very naturally under the neck, parallel to and between the first and second fingers, when these are placed on the fingerboard."[406]

These quotes give a good idea of how cellists should place their thumb. The writers agree on the fact that the thumb should be placed against the neck parallel to the other fingers. They, and also other writers, however, differ on where the thumb should be placed exactly, but the average is somewhere between the first and second finger.

In the oblique manner the thumb will either be placed along the neck (Figure 113) or around the neck (Figure 115).
For both of these ways the neck will be 'grabbed' with the entire hand, a position which is, as was shown above, highly discouraged.
When looking more closely at these examples it is striking that the cellos are held (quite far) away from the body. It is quite logical that when the cello is away from the body and there is no support from the body and the legs, it should be held in a different way. This is done by the entire hand, thus resulting in a thumb placed the way as is shown in these examples.
Musicologist and baroque cellist Marc Vanscheeuwijck suggests that "once the instrument was more regularly used in theatres and churches, and less in processions and in dance music, the support of the thumb was no longer necessary to carry the instrument".[407]
When writing this dissertation it became clear that learning to play underhand was more radical than thought at first. While doing so I had to change the position of the cello, which resulted in using my left hand thumb much more than before.

[403] Cupis (1772), p. 2. Original: "Il faut placer le pouce de la main gauche au milieu de la longeur du manche a l'opposite de la Touche de façon que le pouce se trouve corespondant [sic] à l'index sans empoigner le manche, sinon on dispose mal ses doigts et l'on perd l'avantage de s'en servir avec facilité."
[404] Anonymous (1785), p. 7.
[405] Anonymous (1803, October 1), p. 1. Original: "[…] le pouce, placé sur le dos du manche doit répondre au milieu des deux premiers doigts."
[406] Duport (ca. 1806), p. 6. Original: "Premièrement, le pouce doit se poser tout naturellement à plat dessous le manche, parallèlement entre le premier et le second doigt, quand ils sont posés sur la touche."
[407] Vanscheeuwijck (1996), p. 86.

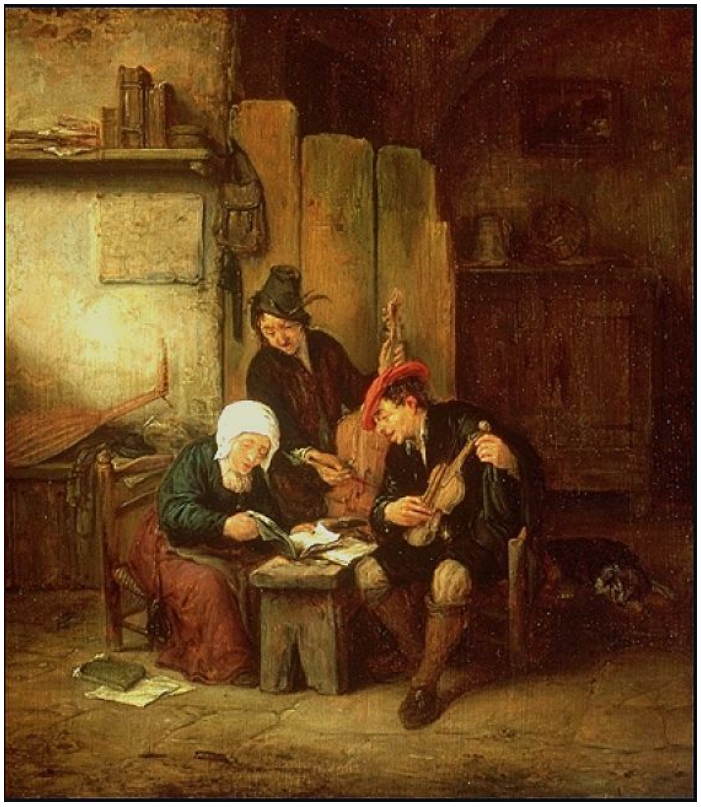


Figure 113 NN: Adriaen van Ostade: *Two men and a woman making music in a farmhouse interior* (1661).

Figure 114 Detail of Figure 113. Thumb along neck.

Figure 115 ZN: Ambrosius Francken I: *Triumph of the Christ child* (1605-1610).

Figure 116 Detail of Figure 115. Thumb around the neck.

In the NN this development is shown in the following numbers: whereas in the 16th and 17th century I found 40 examples of thumbs placed as discussed above, in the 18th century I only found 5 examples. In the ZN this is somewhat different: 28 in the 17th century and 34 in the 18th century. The 'increase' in the 18th century of ZN instruments played with the thumb lying against the neck is surprising, taking into account Vanscheeuwijck's remark. However, when looking at the numbers in the 'indoors/outdoors' category, it becomes at least partly clear why the numbers in the ZN are higher than in the NN. In the ZN still in the 18th century quite a few low-life outdoor scenes (in fact: as many as in the 17th century) were depicted (for example paintings by Elisabeth Seldron). The instruments depicted in these scenes are held away from the body, thus needing the support of the thumb.

In the oblique manner, it is difficult to place the fingers in the right spot. Most of the instruments in the 17th century were much larger, as was shown in Section 2.2.2. My own experience with placing my hand in an oblique manner on such a large instrument is, that one can only do this if one moves the hand for playing different notes. It is nearly impossible to have all fingers at their right places at the same time (unless one has a very large hand, which I do not). In case of moving the hand around, playing in tune and also playing double stops will become extremely difficult.
In many images the thumb is not visible. This is mostly due to the fact that cellists were often depicted from the front.

In many representations of played instruments the other 4 fingers are shown with these fingers placed on the strings in a few different fingering patterns.
In cello methods two different kinds of fingering patterns are discussed: a chromatic (1234) and a diatonic one (124 or 134). With the chromatic fingering pattern the distance between each finger is a semitone. With a diatonic fingering pattern the distance between the fingers can differ, between some fingers a semitone, and between other fingers a whole tone. In modern playing both fingering patterns are used and mostly a combination of the two. In case of the diatonic pattern, however, whole tones are played only between fingers 1 and 2 (called extension), and not between the other fingers.[408]
A comfortable (i.e. chromatic) fingering pattern for a C major scale in first position would be as follows:

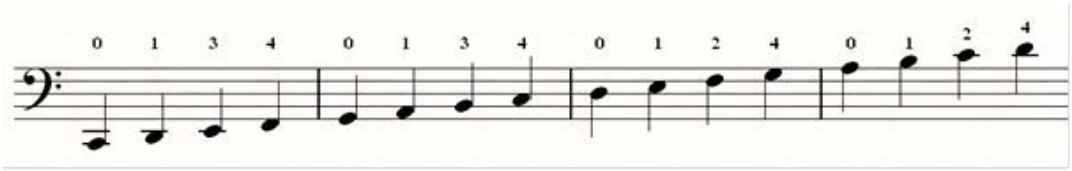


Figure 117 Chromatic fingering pattern.

This chromatic fingering is documented in many 18th-century cello methods and treatises.[409]
Most images show this chromatic fingering pattern, although there are a few where one can see an extension between the 1st and 2nd finger. The best example of this extension is reproduced in Figure 118.

Figure 118 NN: Pieter Symensz. Potter: *An aristocratic company making music.*

Figure 119 Detail of Figure 118. Left with extension between 1st and 2nd finger.

Corrette and Crome advocate another fingering (Figure 120), for different reasons.

[408] There are some exceptions to this basic rule. The cellists Tortelier and Starker also spanned a fourth between fingers 1 and 4, which means there have to be at least two whole tones and a minor second between those fingers. See for example: Tortelier (1975), pp. 74-75.
[409] In chronological order: Eisel (1738), pp. 45-46; Lanzetti (1772); Cupis (1772); Baumgartner (1774); Tillière (1774); Anonymous (1785); Kauer (1789).

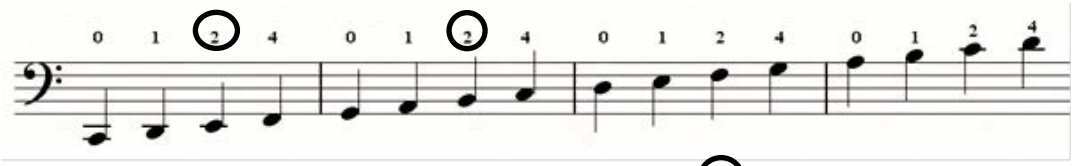


Figure 120 Fingering pattern by Corrette (1741) and Crome (1765?). (2) means different fingering from fingering shown in Figure 117.

Corrette comments:

> "Those who play the violin can hardly get used to this position [Figure 117] which is so different from the one of the violin: whereas the other position [Figure 120] is similar to it [the position of the violin].[410]

and:

> "This position [Figure 117] is an old-fashioned remainder of the big basse de violon, which was tuned on G and which is now excluded from the opera and all the foreign countries."[411]

The quote above may seem illogical. Musicians, however, were used to play different instruments, and for violinists who also played some cello, learning a new fingering was apparently too difficult. Still, the fingering in Figure 120 is different from that of the violin. On the violin one would use 123, but I agree with Corrette that it is similar. Corrette also seems to be very concerned of being in fashion. In his treatise he gives an extensive instruction for viol players who want to learn to play cello (the instrument which is "présentement dans le gout" as he says). Apparently the basse de violin fingering is also banned for being old-fashioned.

Crome writes:

> "The reason we omit the third Finger is, because the distance is great, and the Finger shorter."[412]

Crome's comment that he omits the third finger could mean that ideally he would like to have a fingering 123, instead of 124. The remark about the third finger being shorter would refer to the third finger being shorter than the second, not shorter than the fourth, but I do not see the point of this.
I am sure both Corrette and Crome had good reasons for advocating the above fingering. However, I find the fingering they suggest very uncomfortable on the C and G string and it creates more tension. For me a 123 fingering would even be easier than the suggested 124 fingering, moreover it would also be exactly the same as that of the violin (Corrette's reason). Corrette's and Crome's remarks thus raise questions which, at the moment, are impossible to answer.

Just a handful of images (less than 1% of the total of 860) show a cellist playing in a higher position than the first. Three of these images date from the 17th century (Figure 149), the other two from the 18th century (Figure 150).

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[410] Corrette (1741), p. 42. Original text: "Ceux qui jouent du Violon ne peuvent presque point s'accoutumer a cette position qui est toute contraire a celle du Violon: au lieu que l'autre position lui est semblable."
[411] Corrette (1741), p. 43. Original text: "Cette position est un reste gotique des grosses Basses de Violon montées en sol qui sont Excluës de l'Opéra et de tous les pays Etrangere." This 'sol' may seem wrong, but Corrette writes about the top string.
[412] Crome (1765?), p. 2. On page 7 Crome gives seven different scales without fingerings. Somebody who once used the copy now held in the British Library (d. 45) added fingerings to the scale of C-major, the fingerings we still use today.

The 17th-century images show cellists playing in positions not higher than the 2nd or possibly the 3rd. This is not surprising because in the Low Countries cellists in the 17th century almost solely played bass lines as will be shown in Sub chapter 4.1. These bass lines did not go very high and thus did not call for higher positions.
The fingers in these images are all placed in a chromatic fingering pattern. For 2nd position this is according to what is written in several European methods (in some methods the extension is also discussed). For 3rd position some methods dictate a diatonic fingering pattern, which is not shown in the few images I have found.
The only two 18th-century images show a cellist playing in a chromatic 3rd or 4th position and the other cellist playing in thumb position (with the thumb around the middle of the string and the first finger at least a quarter higher, see for a detail Figure 153). The later 18th-century and early 19th-century cello methods do discuss higher positions, and also music requires higher positions than those used in the 17th century (see Sub chapter 4.2).
Because in the 18th century far less paintings were produced than in the 17th century, it is possible that the proportion between 17th and 18th-century cellists playing in high(er) positions gives a distorted view of how often the 18th-century cellist really played in higher positions. It is highly possible that this was done far more often than one can deduce from these images.

2.2.9 The cellist (m/f)

Of the NN instruments being played, the majority is played by a man. Only 54 cellos, less than 20% of the total of 258 played instruments, are played by a woman. For an example see Figure 121.

Figure 121 NN: Cornelis Bisschop: *Women making music.*

Figure 122 Detail of Figure 121. Woman playing cello elegantly.

These numbers seem to indicate that it was far more common for men to play the cello than it was for women. Louis Peter Grijp, however, warns against too literal an interpretation of paintings with regard to the sex of the player:

> "The bass gamba and to a lesser extent the cello – appear to have been played by both sexes, […]. It is equally true in a discussion about which sex played what instrument, that the paintings need not necessarily give us an accurate picture […]. Here too we can say that research into other types of sources - literature,

> legal documents, personal documents such as letters and diaries - will add nuances to the impression that we gain from studying paintings."[413]

In the table below (Table 11) I therefore list many names of cello players (mostly professionals) found in several written sources dating from almost two centuries, without pretending to give a complete list. I have tried to find as many different names of cello players as possible. If a name appeared too many times, this name was only added to the table once or twice, unless there were particulars such as different spelling or additional interesting information about the cello player. As for the spelling of names: the list makes clear that one did not bother much about the exact spelling. Several names appear with different spellings. I have also added the name of the instrument they played (in original spelling) and the name of the concert location. Some of the text is in Dutch, some is in French.

Cellists in NN 17th and 18th centuries			
Year	**Name of cellist**	**Name of instrument**	**Location**
1638-1651 consecutively[414]	Consec.: Frans Dusart, Jan Pietersz, Willem Eliasz, Lucas van Uffelen, Willem Corneliszoon Velsen, Paulus Maas, Steven Slegel	Bas	Schouwburg Amsterdam
1661[415]	Heusdens & Haverhals	Violone	Bergen op Zoom
1683[416]	Abram Ysackse & Samuel Abrahamsz	Bas	?
1683[417]	Pieter Lambertus & Andries Teunisse	Bas	?
1736[418]	Alexis[419]	Bas	Utrecht University
1738[420]	Oratius de Vries, Franciscus de Wolf, Knecht van Kruinder	Cello	Schouwburg Amsterdam
1740[421]	J. H. Pothoff	't violoncello	in 't Wapen van Embden op de Nieuwendyk
1748[422]	Le Sieur Alexis Magito, Musicien Italien	No instrument mentioned, only: vocal & instrumental concert	À la grande Salle du Conseil de Guerre au dessus de la Grand' Garde
1749[423]	Heer Alexis	No instrument mentioned	te Haerlem op de Doele
1753[424]	Sr. Alexis/Heer Alexis	No instrument mentioned,	ten Huyze van de Wynhandelaar H.

[413] Grijp (1994), p. 119.
[414] Rasch (2013, January 7), p. 17.
[415] Balfoort (1981), p. 54.
[416] Ibid., p. 55.
[417] Ibid., p. 55.
[418] Riemsdijk (1881), p. 60.
[419] Alexis Magito (1711-1773) has been added to this table several times, even though not every entry provides an instrument. I am convinced they are all the same person. Magito will be discussed thoroughly in Section 4.2.6.
[420] Rasch (2013, January 7), p. 28.
[421] Anonymous (1740, February 9). *Amsterdamse Dinsdaegse Courant*, p. 2.
[422] Bernard (1781), p. 121.
[423] Anonymous (1749, December 27). *Oprechte Saturdagse Haerlemse Courant*, p. 2.
[424] Anonymous (1753, June 5 & 8). *Opregte Groninger Courant*, p. 2.

		only: instrumental concert	Veldtman, in de Gulden straat tot Groningen
1754[425]	Le sieur Alexis	Violoncello	dans la Salle du Collége de Musique au Vrybourg
1754[426]	Sr. Jobert	Violoncello	in de Scherm-Zaal op de Paapegragt te Leyden
1754[427]	Sr. Planti	Violoncello	op de Scherm-Zaal te Leyden
1758[428]	Ms. Abel, Capelmeester van zyn Koningl. Majt. Van Poolen	Violoncelle	Nieuw Maltha in de Nes
1761[429]	Sr. Woschitka, Camermusicus van zyn D. H. den hertog van Meeklenburg	Violoncello	op de Zaal van de Manege
1762[430]	Sr. Preysing, Kamer Musicus van zyne Doorl. Den Hertog van Saxen-Hildburghausen	Violoncello	in 't Logement de Witte Moolen
1764[431]	Mr. Baptiste, in dienst van zyn Zweedsche Maj.	Violoncello	in de Doelen in de Doelestraat
1764[432]	Mr Zappa	Violoncello	in de Zaal van de Manege
1765[433]	Sr. Zappa	Violoncello	a la Salle du Manége
1765[434]	M. Seprutini, van Londen hier gearriveerd	Violoncelle	op de groote Manege
1766[435]	Heer Zappa, Musiekmeester van zijne Koningl.Hoogheid den Hertog van Jork	Violoncello à Solo	in de nieuwe Musiek-Zael
1767[436]	Sr. Jäger	Violoncello	op de Zaal van de Manege
1768[437]	Mr. Zappa, Milaneesen	Violoncello	te Haarlem op 't Prinsenhof
1768[438]	Le Sieur De Boeck	Violoncello	au vieux Doele à la Haye
1768[439]	Musik-Meester Zappa	[no instrument mentioned]	op den Ouden Doelen
1770[440]	Monsr. Zappa, Virtuoso de Violoncello	Violoncello	à la Salle du Manege

[425] Anonymous (1754, January 28). *Gazette d'Utrecht*, p. ??, via Rasch (2015, November 12), p. 84.
[426] Anonymous (1754, January 28), *Leydse Maandagse Courant*, p. 2.
[427] Anonymous (1754, May 22). *Leydse Woensdagse Courant*, p. 2.
[428] Anonymous (1758, August 24). *Amsterdamse Donderdagse Courant*, p. 2.
[429] Anonymous (1761, April 9). *Amsterdamse Donderdagse Courant*, p. 2.
[430] Anonymous (1762, February 2). *Amsterdamse Dinsdagse Courant*, p. 2.
[431] Anonymous (1764, February 14). *Amsterdamsche Dinsdagse Courant*, p. 2.
[432] Anonymous (1764, October 27). *Amsterdamsche Saturdagse Courant*, p. 2.
[433] Anonymous (1765, March 14). *Amsterdamsche Donderdagse Courant*, p. 1.
[434] Anonymous (1765, June 8). *Amsterdamsche Saturdagse Courant*, p. 2.
[435] Anonymous (1766, November 24). *Utrechtsche Courant*, p. ??, via Rasch (2015, November 12), p. 16.
[436] Anonymous (1767, April 18). *Oprechte Saturdagse Haerlemse Courant*, p. 2.
[437] Anonymous (1768, April 16). *Oprechte Saturdagse Haerlemse Courant*, p. 2.
[438] Anonymous (1768, April 29). *Utrechtsche Courant*, p. ??, via via Rasch (2015, November 12), p. 46.
[439] Anonymous (1768, July 15). *Leydse Vrydagse Courant*, p. 1.
[440] Anonymous (1770, April 20). *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, p. ??, via Rasch (2015, November 12), p. 92.

1770[441]	Sr. Domenico Lancetta	Violoncello	in de Zaal boven de Manége
1770[442]	Le Sr. Dominoc Lancetta, Violoncello di Camera de S.A.R. l'Infant-Duc de Parme	Violoncello	à la Salle du Manege
1771[443]	De Heer Baumgardner	Violoncello	in de Scherm-Zaal op de Papegraft te Leyden
1771[444]	Sr. Benossy, Eerste Violoncelliste aan 't Hof te Cassel	Boveng. Instrument [violoncello]	in 't Schild van Vrankryk
1771[445]	Den Heere Schlik, Kamer-Musicus by Zyne Doorluchtige Hoogheid den Heere Landgrave van Hessen-Cassel, &c., &c.	Stryk-Basso of Violoncello	Amsterdam
1772[446]	Seigneur Schlicht, virtuoso op de violoncello	Violoncello	in de grote muziekzaal
1772[447]	M. Hagenaar	Violon Cello	in de Bruilofts-Zaal op de Jooden Groenmarkt te Amsterdam
1773[448]	Sr. Penose	Violoncello	à la Salle aux Armes
1773[449]	Mr. Benozzi	Violoncel	in 't Wapen van Amsterdam
1773[450]	Sr. Benozzi	Violoncello	à la Salle aux Armes
1773[451]	Le Sieur Benossy	Violoncello	à la Salle aux Armes
1774[452]	de Heer Baumgardner	Violoncello	Leyden
1774[453]	Sr. Rakemann	Violoncello	au Parlement d'Angleterre, dans le Warmoesstraat
1774[454]	Monsieur Rackman	Violoncel	aux Armes d'Amsterdam
1774-1787[455]	Johan Leonard Mees	Cello	Schouwburg Amsterdam
1774-1791[456]	Johan Wilhelm Gotfried Hencke	Cello	Schouwburg Amsterdam
1775[457]	Op 't welke zyne twee zoone, zig zullen laaten hooren met Concerten en Saloos [sic] op de	Violoncello	op de ordinaire Muziek Zaal

[441] Anonymous (1770, November 10). *Amsterdamsche Saturdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[442] Anonymous (1770, November 13). *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, p. ??, via Rasch (2015, November 12), p. 105.
[443] Anonymous (1771, January 18). *Leydse Vrydagse Courant*, p. 2.
[444] Anonymous (1771, October 12). *Amsterdamsche Saturdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[445] Anonymous (1771, December 3). *Amsterdamsche Dinsdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[446] Anonymous (1772, February 14). *Utrechtsche Courant*, p. ??, via Rasch (2015, November 12), p. 35.
[447] Anonymous (1772, December 24). *Amsterdamsche Donderdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[448] Anonymous (1773, March 2). *Amsterdamsche Dinsdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[449] Anonymous (1773, March 13). *Amsterdamsche Saturdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[450] Anonymous (1773, April 1). *Amsterdamsche Donderdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[451] Anonymous (1773, December 13). *Leydse Maandagse Courant*, p. 4.
[452] Anonymous (1774, March 11). *Leydse Vrydagse Courant*, p. 2.
[453] Anonymous (1774, July 26). *Amsterdamsche Dinsdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[454] Anonymous (1774, December 15). *Amsterdamsche Donderdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[455] Rasch (2013, January 7), p. 37.
[456] Rasch (2013, January 7), p. 38.
[457] Anonymous (1775, February 17). *Groninger Courant*, p. 2.

	Violoncello; zynde de oudste van 11 en de Jongste van 6 Jaaren [Rauppe]		
1775[458]	De Heer Mattern, Hofmusicus van Bronswyk	Violoncello	Op de Groote Muziek Zaal
1775[459]	Mr. Cirri	Violoncelle	aux Armes d'Amsterdam
1776[460]	Monsieur Cirri	Violoncel	in het Wapen van Amsterdam
1776[461]	Civry	Violoncello	op de Zaal van den Heer J. Bax
1776[462]	Monsieur Cirri	Violoncell	in het Wapen van Amsterdam
1776[463]	Een groot Meester, de Heer Gans	Bas	Op het Stads Concert Zaal, op 't Mole-Water
1776[464]	Monsr. Benossy	Violoncel	in 't Wapen van Amsterdam
1776[465]	Sr. Bisschoff	Violoncelle	á la Sale aux Armes
1777[466]	Le Sr. Zygmuntowski, enfant de six ans et neuf mois Virtuos tres celebre	Violoncello	à la Salle du Manege
1777[467]	Le Sr. Triklir	Violoncello	aux Armes d'Amsterdam
1777[468]	J. N. Kliebisch, Musikmeester te Leyden	Violoncello	op de Mus[…[469]] van den Heer Bax
1778[470]	son fils, agé 9 Ans jouera un Concert et Solos sur le Violoncello [Romberg]	Violoncello	aux Armes
1778[471]	Le Sr. D Markordt	Violoncello	a la grande Salle du Manége
1778[472]	Le Sr. Naudy, Chanteur du Concert à Paris	Violoncello	aux Armes
1779[473]	de Heer L. Mattern	Violoncello	op de Groote Concert-Zaal ten zynen Huize in de Bierstraat te Rotterdam
1779[474]	Le Sr. Pietra Grua	Violoncello	aux Armes d'Amsterdam

[458] Anonymous (1775, December 8). *Groninger Courant*, p. 2.
[459] Anonymous (1775, December 18). *Gazette d'Utrecht*, p. ??, via Rasch (2015, November 12), p. 161.
[460] Anonymous (1776, January 27). *Amsterdamsche Saturdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[461] Anonymous (1776, February 14). *Leydse Woensdagse Courant*, p. 2.
[462] Anonymous (1776, March 14). *Amsterdamsche Donderdagsche Courant*, p. 2.
[463] Anonymous (1776, April 27). *Middelburgse Courant*, p. 2.
[464] Anonymous (1776, November 2). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[465] Anonymous (1776, December 17). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[466] Anonymous (1777, November 1). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[467] Anonymous (1777, November 4). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[468] Anonymous (1777, December 10). *Leydse Woensdagse Courant*, p. 2.
[469] Unreadable in the scan
[470] Anonymous (1778, April 2). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[471] Anonymous (1778, May 28). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[472] Anonymous (1778, November 26). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[473] Anonymous (1779, March 6 & 18). *Rotterdamsche Courant*, p. ??, via Rasch (2015, November 12), p. 88.
[474] Anonymous (1779, April 8). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.

1780[475]	Mr. Amantini, Musicien de Sa Majesté la Reine de France	Violoncello	aux Armes d'Amsterdam
1780[476]	Sr. Saimi, oud 12 Jaar	Violoncel	te Amsterdam in 't Bruiloftshuis op den Joden Groenmarkt
1781[477]	Le Sieur G. Agazzi	Violoncello	à la Salle du Rondel
1782[478]	De Heer Edeling	Bas	From: *Historie van Mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart* [private party]
1783[479]	Mons. Agazzi	Violoncel	à la Salle du Manége
1783[480]	De Heeren Rauppe	Violoncello	op de Groote Zaal der Stads Schutters Doele binnen Leeuwarden
1783[481]	de Heeren Rauppe	Violoncello	op de Groote Musiekzaal
1784[482]	Mr. Agazzi	Violoncelle	A la grande Sale du Manêge
1785[483]	de Heer Hencke	Violoncello	In de nieuwe groote Concert-Zaal ten zynen Huize
1786[484]	De Heer J. G. Hencke, beroemd Virtuoso	Violoncello	Ten zynen Huize in deszelfs Groote Concertzaal in de Bierstraat te Rotterdam
1786-1814[485]	Johann Georg Rauppe	Cello	Collège dramatique et lyrique
1794[486]	Heer H. Keun Orchest en Dansmeester der Steede Sneek	Violoncelle	ten Huise van den Coopman G. O. van Kammen
1797[487]	Calmoes	Violoncello	In de Ordinaire Concert Zaal by Muller in Poelen straat
1798[488]	H. Keun Musikant	Violoncello	Ten Huize van de Koek Mulder op de gewone Concert-Zaal
1798[489]	De burger Calmus	Violoncello	in de ordinaire Concert-Zaal

Table 11 Cello players, including a few children, in the NN in the 17th and 18th centuries.

[475] Anonymous (1780, January 18). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. ??
[476] Anonymous (1780, February 1). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[477] Anonymous (1881, March 6). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[478] Wolff & Deken (1782), pp. 377-378.
[479] Anonymous (1783, January 28). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 1.
[480] Anonymous (1783, May 3). *Leeuwarder Saturdagse Courant*, p. 6.
[481] Anonymous (1783, May 20). *Groninger Courant*, p. 1.
[482] Anonymous (1784, February 23). *Nederlandsche Courant*, p. 2.
[483] Anonymous (1785, March 3). *Rotterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[484] Anonymous (1786, February 25). *Rotterdamsche Courant*, p. 2.
[485] Rasch (2013, January 7), p. 39.
[486] Anonymous (1794, August 30). *Leeuwarder Saturdagse Courant*, p. 8.
[487] Anonymous (1797, December 5). *Groninger Courant*, p. 4.
[488] Anonymous (1798, January 16). *Groninger Courant*, p. 4.
[489] Anonymous (1798, August 28). *Groninger Courant*, p. 1.

These names show that indeed all documented cellists were male players. Also in other written sources I have not been able to find any evidence for female cello players during this period in the NN, whereas for example in the preface in the *'Uitnement Kabinet'* Juffr. Adriana van den Bergh is said to play the viol.[490]
The cello players in this list gave public concerts in theatres, concert halls, occasionally in private homes and many other places throughout the NN. Several of these cellists are still known to us today, for example: Francesco Zappa (who lived in The Hague and composed music for cello), Johann Baptist Baumgartner (of the cello method published in The Hague and who lived in Amsterdam for some time), Gaetano Agazzi (his opus 1 was published in Amsterdam), Alexis Magito (see Section 4.2.6) and the most famous of all Bernhard Heinrich Romberg.[491] When visiting Holland, Romberg was still a child, as were some other cellists in the list.
Rudolf Rasch states that in the 18th century all professional musicians were men, except for singers and an occasional soloist on violin or keyboard instruments.[492] So far this seems to be true for cellists in the Low Countries as well.
However, as shown in Table 11, these professional musicians mostly performed in the Amsterdamse Schouwburg and similar halls, places very different from the 'rooms' depicted in most of the images in my research corpus. Most of those images show a far more homely setting. Of all 54 female players, at least 20 are depicted playing in a homely setting. It could well be that in the NN there were indeed women playing cello, but only in the bosom of the family, a place where it did not matter so much when being inelegant. For now, only from the iconography there is evidence to point into the direction that there were also women playing cello.
There is 19th century material which shows that even by that time, female musicians, including cellists, were an oddity/something new-fashioned in the concert hall. Margaret Campbell writes the following in her book *The Great Cellists* in the chapter 'Ladies on the Bass Line':

> "At the turn of the eighteenth century, the violinist Ludwig Spohr discouraged his wife from playing the violin because it was 'an unbecoming instrument'. If this is true of the violin, what would he have thought of the cello which was deemed not only unbecoming but hardly respectable? Since the spike was introduced quite late in the nineteenth century, a lady had either to straddle the instrument like a man or cope with it side-saddle [for an example of playing side-saddle see Figure 76]. Paul Tortelier recalls that his first teacher, Béatrice Bluhm always used the more modest method, and this was in the twentieth century."[493]

Not only Spohr was concerned about women playing violin (let alone cello!). George Kennaway, in his thesis *Cello Techniques and Performing Practices in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, quotes several 19th-century examples of the reaction of people to female violinists.[494] He writes:

> "The principal concrete objection was that the woman's posture became in some way inelegant and distorted (only permissible in a man). However, in practice this was often seen to be not merely unattractive or distasteful, but as actually disgusting, except, significantly, in the case of female child virtuosi."[495]

He continues that "female cellists were even rarer than violinists, but seem to have aroused mild astonishment rather than disgust." Lisa Christiani at her debut in Paris in 1844 and some female

[490] I found one reference in a Dutch translation (dated 1779) of an English book to a female cello player: "MISS WEST speelt zeer goed op de *Violoncello*" ("Miss West plays very well on the violoncello"). From: Anonymous (1779), p. 236.
[491] Interestingly enough Romberg is said to be age 9 when he played in Amsterdam in 1778, but he was born in 1767, so he was in fact 10½. Maybe the younger he seemed, the more impressed to audience would be?
[492] Rasch (2013, January 7), p. 14.
[493] Campbell (1988), p. 200.
[494] Kennaway (2009), pp. 261-267.
[495] Kennaway (2009), p. 262.

cellists in the USA in 1853 are met with a series of three exclamation marks in newspaper articles, showing the authors' astonishment.[496]
A rather progressive author writes in 1860 about a competition at the Paris conservatoire:

> "[…] and one violoncellist. Ladyfiddlers we are tolerably well accustomed to, but the attitude of a lady grasping with all her limbs a violoncello is one to the grotesqueness of which usage has not yet reconciled us. In time, no doubt, we shall think nothing of it."[497]

I think the author of this review was right. I have the feeling that nowadays there are even more female cellists than male ones.[498]

One of the players whom I have listed as male in my database is in fact a child. This painting is reproduced in Figure 123. This is the only child depicted playing a cello I have come across. The entire attitude of this child is in complete contrast with the male child prodigies listed above in Table 11. These young cellists were touring the Low Countries (and some for sure other countries in Europe as well) to show their musical capacities. The child depicted in Brakenburgh's painting is holding the bow the wrong way round, and is giving the impression of trying to copy his parents and just wanting to play along.

Figure 123 NN: Richard Brakenburgh: *Company partying* (ca. 1680).

Figure 124 Detail of Figure 123. Note the way the child is holding the bow.

Three other players, which I have listed as male in my database, are in fact male monkeys, two from the NN and one from the ZN.[499] Paintings with monkeys, as well as with cats, both copying human behaviour, were very popular in the 17th century. For an example see Figure 125. The entire setup of this painting is very similar to 'normal' 17th-century paintings of parties, as shown in these Sections, except that humans have been replaced by cats and monkeys.

[496] Kennaway (2009), pp. 263-264.
[497] Kennaway (2009), p. 264.
[498] Most of my students at least are female.
[499] Pool (1716 & ca. 1720) & Anonymous (1632).

Figure 125 ZN: Anonymous: *Monkeys and cats at a masked ball* (1632).[500]

Figure 126 Detail of Figure 125.

In the ZN many more female cellists have been depicted than in the NN. Most of these female cellists are angels, muses and female cello players figuring in an allegory. For more information see Section 2.2.10. Most of these women try their best to sit in an elegant manner. For two examples, one from the front, and one from the back, see Figs. 127 & 129. The cellist in Figure 127 is sitting side-saddled, which is a very elegant, but for playing a very uncomfortable way. In my database there is also one male sitting in this elegant pose (see Figure 53) The cellist in Figure 129 is seen from the back. She is half standing, and supports the cello with her right knee. This is also elegant but also quite uncomfortable for playing. This last pose is used many times, also by men. For more ways of holding the cello, see Section 2.2.3.

[500] On the websites where I found this image the scene is described as: "symbol of folly and arrogance of man" and "a satirical comment on human pretence and self-importance". A similar scene was shown on TV in the Dutch AVROTROS programme 'Tussen kunst en kitsch' (2013, December 4). It was valued and described by the Dutch art historian and valuer Willem-Jan Hoogsteder as: "making fun of the world" and as "critical paintings with a mocking undertone". Info from:
http://avro.nl/tussenkunstenkitsch/uitzendingen/20131204_diverse_musea.aspx, last accessed: 2013, December 6. Fragment starts at 14:12.

Figure 127 ZN: Jan van Balen: *Apollo and the Muses on mount Helicon near the spring of Hippocrene*.

Figure 128 Detail of Figure 127. Lady is playing side-saddle.

Figure 129 ZN: Hendrick van Balen I: *Minerva's visit to the Muses*.

Figure 130 Detail of Figure 129. Note the way the right knee is used to support the cello.

2.2.10 Indoors or outdoors

There is a distinct difference between paintings produced in the NN and those in the ZN.
Most of the indoor scenes from the NN show a small(ish) group of fairly chic people making music. These people and their instruments are the main subject of the painting, and both are thus depicted at a large scale (see Figure 131). If the group is somewhat larger, the musicians and their instruments are generally still depicted very prominently. This is an advantage for observing many of the details of the cello and of cello playing.
Around 35 NN scenes are situated in an inn. The people in these paintings are less chic than in all the other indoor scenes. In the majority of these cases the musicians are not the most important subject, the dansers and drinking people are. The inn scenes all date from the 17th century.

Figure 131 NN: Anthonie Palamedesz.: *Company making music and dining* (1632).

Figure 132 ZN: Hieronymus Janssens: *Ball on the terrace of a palace* (1658).

In the ZN the situation is entirely different. Whereas in the NN the indoor scenes show small groups of people, the indoor scenes in the ZN often show a large crowd of people entertaining and dancing to music made by musicians who are 'hiding' in the background. As a result of this it is very hard to distinguish any details of the instruments. It is often possible to determine whether the player is male or female, but even of something as large as the bass instrument it is not always possible to see whether it is a cello or a viol. Smaller details like the number of strings or the left and right hand are often impossible to see. Hieronymus Janssens was a master of producing such paintings. The often poor quality of reproductions on the internet does not make it any better and cannot solve the problem, especially when there is no indication whatsoever where the original painting is. If the quality of the reproductions would have been better, it would have been much easier to distinguish many details. Therefore the results from the ZN are not as good as I had wished for and many results are listed as 'invisible'.
Hardly any scenes from the ZN are situated in an inn.
The outdoor scenes from the NN show more or less the same subject as the indoor scenes: mainly small groups of people making music together or farmers dancing outside an inn. This goes as well for the outdoor scenes with chic people and farmers from the ZN (see Figure 132): large groups of people with musicians in the background.
For the ZN the category outdoors ("otherwise") is quite large. In this category the following scenes have been put together: mythological and Christian scenes and paintings of an allegorical nature, as well as some images with monkeys. In the allegorical scenes quite often more than one cello is depicted.
In the NN not many religious scenes were found. In the ZN Catholicism was the main religion, which is much more focussed on imagery than Protestantism (NN). The Holy Virgin Mary plays a large role, and is seen in many of these paintings.
An example of an outdoor scene with farmers is reproduced in Figure 133. This is one of 8 paintings made by Elisabeth Seldron, the only ZN female artist in my research corpus!

Figure 133 ZN: Elisabeth Seldron: *Villagers feasting outside an inn*.

Figure 134 Detail of Figure 133.

2.2.11 Case study: Joursanvault's cello method

In the NN & ZN many representations of cellos have survived, as was shown in the previous Sections. These images were mostly made for decorating walls, rather than to instruct people how to play the cello. The large amount of paintings is in sharp contrast to the almost total lack of written instructions on how to play the cello. In Chapter 1 all written sources found have been reproduced and these, although they contain information about the cello, hardly contain any technical instructions. Therefore in Chapter 2 use was made of European methods to clarify certain things observed in images. These methods, however, hardly contain instructive images of

cellists playing the instrument. As far as I know the only methods containing such illustrations are those written by Michel Corrette, Anonymous (ca. 1790), Anonymous (n.d. [1805-1807]), Peter Prelleur,[501] Robert Crome, Jean-Benjamin Laborde,[502] Jean Baptist Bréval[503] and the method by Bernhard Romberg (written as late as 1839). Except the instruction images in Breval's and Romberg's methods, none of them is extremely accurate. In my opinion they serve more a 'decorating' than a real instruction purpose.
For the present research it is important to know if the NN & ZN images are more or less accurate and a good source for cello players who want to play as they used to do in the Low Countries in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.
In France a set of 12 drawings was commissioned from the very young artist in training Pierre Paul Prud'hon in 1777/1778.[504] These drawings were intended to be part of a cello method, to be written by Jean-Baptiste-Anne-Geneviève Gagnaire, Baron de Joursanvault (1748-1792/1793). Joursanvault advertises his method-to-be in a so-called 'Avis'[505] (reproduced in Appendix 2, followed by an English translation and a description of the drawings). In the 'Avis' Joursanvault states that he intends to write a very extensive method, the main body of the work containing more than 300 pages and 40 plates drawn and engraved by the most skilled artists. Part three of this method will contain a theoretical and practical treatise on the cello. The practical part will not offer much news, he writes, because Cupis, Tillière and others have already developed the positions of the cello. Given the nature of the drawings, I am convinced that they were meant for this part of Joursanvault's work. Although Joursanvault writes that this part will not offer anything new, I think the drawings would have offered something completely new, something which had not been done before, at least not on this scale. What makes these drawings unique is, that of each (technical) aspect of cello playing a drawing was made and that they would have offered a very welcome and needed addition to the written text.
As far as I have been able to establish, the announced cello method was never published and maybe never written, but the drawings have survived.
In the preceding Sections I have made extensive use of European cello methods to support the technical aspects of cello playing and external characteristics of the cello found in NN & ZN images.
In the current Section I will reproduce Prud'hon's drawings accompanied by similar images from the Low Countries. The drawings will support several technical aspects found in NN & ZN images.
I am indebted to Ton Koopman and art historian Stijn Alsteens for showing me these drawings. Most of the drawings are now part of the Frits Lugt Collection, in the Fondation Custodia in Paris.[506] A few are in other collections, which will be indicated at the appropriate places.

G 1017: full side view of cellist[507]

> "First of all one should sit on the front of the chair, in order to be able to hold the cello with ease, one places it between the legs in such a way that the lower corner of the left waist is in the knee joint, in order that all the weight of the instrument will be positioned on the calf of the left leg, and the left foot turned outwards; if the knee on the contrary would be positioned in that waist, it would prevent the bow to pass by easily when one would like to play on the a-string, and the right leg places itself against the lower side of the cello to keep it safe."[508]

[501] Prelleur (1731).
[502] Laborde (1780), pp. 309-323.
[503] Bréval (1804).
[504] Laveissière (1997), pp. 25-26.
[505] Without date. Private collection.
[506] The photos of the drawings in the collection of Fondation Custodia, which are all reproduced in this Section, were made by the author in 2007-2008.
[507] The numbers starting with G are taken from: Guiffrey (1924), p. 383. For a full description of Guiffrey's catalogue numbers and collection number, see Appendix 2.
[508] Cupis (1772), p. 1. Original text: "Il faut premierement s'asseoir sur le devant de sa chaise, afin de pouvoir tenir le Violoncelle avec aisance, le placer entre les jambes de façon que le coin de l'échancrure d'en bas à gauche se trouve dans la jointure du genouil, afin que tout le poid de l'Instrument soit posé sur le Mollet de

In the quote above the instructions from Cupis (one of the cellists Joursanvault mentions in his 'Avis') correspond quite well with the way Baron de Joursanvault is seated in Figure 135.
An image so accurate with a side view of the cellist is not part of my research corpus. As stated before, the images in my database were not produced to serve an instruction purpose, as was the case with the Prud'hon drawing below.
The painting reproduced in Figure 136 is the best image I have been able to find. The cellist is clearly sitting with a straight back, and although his legs are quite fat, he is supporting the cello in the same way as Baron de Joursanvault does.

Figure 135 G 1017.

Figure 136 NN: Franz Lippoldt: *Portrait of Philip Damiaan Ludovicus Ignatius Victorius Graaf van Hoensbroek* (1762). Cello is supported in the same way and cellist is sitting with a straight back.

G 1021: full front view of cellist

The seating position introduced in Cupis' quote and Figure 135, is pursued further in Figure 137.
I have chosen Dusart's drawing, because the seating position and the way the cello is supported is very similar to that of Joursanvault (although his back is not as straight); one can even see the muscles in the lower left leg. It looks like the cello is leaning on the left leg, as Cupis instructs. In both images the left foot is more in front, the right foot is placed more to the back.
The comparison of the left hand and the bow hold halts. For this comparison more detailed images follow below.

---

la jambe gauche, et le pied gauche en dehors; si le genouil se trouvoit au contraire placé dans cette échancrure, il empecheroit l'archet de passer aisément lorsqu'on voudroit se servir de la chanterelle, et la jambe droite se pose contre l'éclisse d'en bas de l'instrument pour le maintenir en sureté."

Figure 137 G 1021.[509]

Figure 138 NN: Detail of Cornelis Dusart: *Musicians in an inn* (1691).

G 1026: full view of cellist

The attribution of the following drawing to Prud'hon is very doubtful. The Musée de la Ville in Rouen has listed it as anonymous, 18th century.[510]
However, as an instruction image it is still quite good, although the placing of the left hand, the fingers and the thumb is impossible.[511]
In the engraving by van de Venne, the cellist is seated in more or less the same way (although the cello is not turned as much), a way which was not used that much in the 17th century, as is shown in Section 2.2.3. Holding the cello between the legs became more common in the 18th century when the instruments became smaller.

[509] Dijon: Musée des Beaux Arts, inv. no. inv Alb. TH A 7 f° 35.
[510] Communicated to me by Catherine Regnault, email 8-9-2008. Stijn Alsteens, who originally did some work on the drawings, agrees. Although, he writes, it might still be possible that Prud'hon himself made the drawing. Prud'hon must have been quite an inexperienced drawer at that time (he was about 18 years old), and one of the characteristics of inexperience is a certain stylistic instability. Email 25-9-2008.
[511] The fingers are placed perpendicularly on the fingerboard. When placed like that, it is impossible to place the thumb like the cellist is doing in this drawing. The tip of the thumb would end up much closer to the peg box than is drawn here.

Figure 139 G 1026.[512]

Figure 140 NN: Detail of Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne: Illustration from: Quintijn, G. J. (1629). *De Hollandsche Lijs met de Brabandsche Bely: Poeetischer wijse voorgestelt en gedicht* (1629).

G 1027: left hand in first position

In Figure 141 is shown how the fingers of the left hand should be placed on the fingerboard. Between each finger is a semitone, the starting-point for playing the cello. In almost a third of all images in my research corpus the left hand is placed on the fingerboard in the same way as in Prud'hon's drawing. Figs. 142-144 are three examples of the left hand placed in semitones.

[512] Rouen: Musée de la Ville, inv. no. AG1891.2.75.

Figure 141 G 1027.

Figure 142 NN: Detail of Simon van de Passe: *Musical company* (1612).

Figure 143 NN: Detail of Nicolaas Aartman: *Four musicians in front of a house* (1725-1775).

Figure 144 ZN: Detail of Balthasar Beschey: *Portrait of Jacob-Johannes Cremers (....-1762) and Cornelia Johanna Nicolai (....-1786) at their wedding* (1768).

G 1025: left hand in first position

The following drawing almost corresponds with the preceeding one, except that the hand is hanging/leaning a little bit towards the little finger. I have found this position in only 1 painting from the NN.
This way of playing is not very comfortable and prevents one from stretching the hand and fingers easily to make an extension. It is better, if one feels the urge to lean, to lean in the other direction (just a little oblique).

Figure 145 G 1025.

Figure 146 NN: Detail of Jan Miense Molenaer: *Probable self portrait with family* (ca. 1635).

G 1016 & G 1020: left hand, higher positions

The positions of the left hand in Figs. 147 & 148 were, in the later 18th century, necessary for playing the music of the time. It is hard to see in which position exactly the men play, but I would say that the cellist in Figure 147 plays in third position and the cellist in Figure 148 plays in fourth or fifth position.
Because the main part of my database consists of 17th-century images, it was hard to find representations of cellists playing in higher positions than the first position. The two reproduced here were the best I could find out of 6 in total.

Figure 147 G 1016.

Figure 148 G 1020.

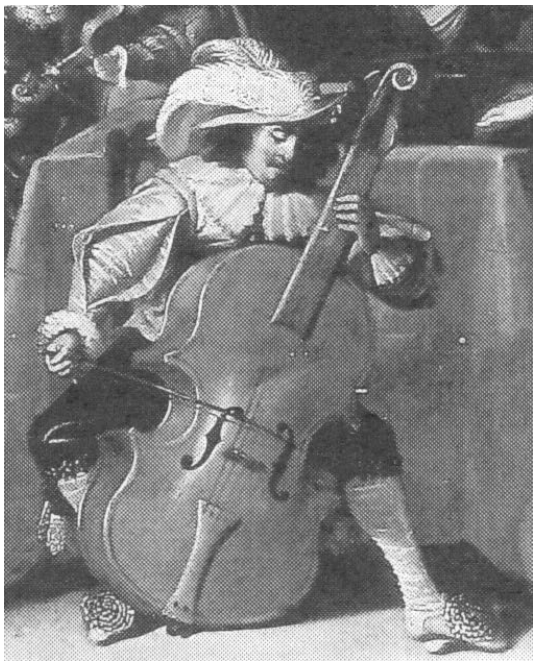

Figure 149 NN: Detail of Jacob Fransz. van der Merck: *Elegant company playing music and dancing in an interior* (ca. 1630). Possibly 2nd position.

Figure 150 NN: Detail of Anonymous: *'Dit is 't geselschap na de zwier'* (1732). Possibly 4th position. Terrible left arm.

G 1019 & G 1023: left hand: thumb position

When the technique developed even more, cellists started playing in thumb position as well. Anonymous (1780) is the only written source from the NN which hints at thumb position.[513] I managed to find one example of this in the NN.

Figure 151 G 1023.

Figure 152 G 1019.[514]

Figure 153 NN: Detail of Anonymous: *Cellist* (18th century).

[513] Anonymous (1780), p. 65.
[514] Paris: Christies, 21-3-2002.

G 1018: left hand, back view

The way the thumb is placed on the neck in Figure 154 does not correspond with that in Figs. 135 & 139. However, it does correspond with the other Joursanvault drawings where the left hand is depicted in lower positions. Even though the thumb is not always completely visible, it is possible to deduce from the way how the whole arm is held that the thumb must be placed as it is done in Figure 154.
Trying out the different positions myself, I came to the conclusion that it is physically impossible to place the fingers perpendicular on the fingerboard and still have the thumb lying in the neck as Joursanvault does in Figs. 135 & 139 (with the thumb lying against the neck and the tip of the thumb opposite the first finger). When the fingers are placed perpendicularly on the fingerboard, the natural way to place the thumb, is as shown below. This also gives the cellist more freedom to move around. If one really wants to place the thumb lying in the neck, it would end up in a different spot, but it would still be uncomfortable.
I have not been able to find any image from the NN with as clear a position. However, when trying myself, the way the thumb is placed in the image below, is by far the most comfortable one. I am convinced that many cellist sitters, who have a perpendicular left hand, also have their thumb as shown in Figure 154. If not, their wrist would be bent.

Figure 154 G 1018.

G 1022 & G 1024: right hand: the way to hold the bow

The drawings reproduced below have already been discussed in Section 2.2.7.
Figure 155 also teaches how to bow: that is along the bridge and fingerboard at right angles to the strings. For more images with straight bowing, see Figs. 143, 146 & 149.

Figure 155 G 1022.

Figure 156 G 1024.

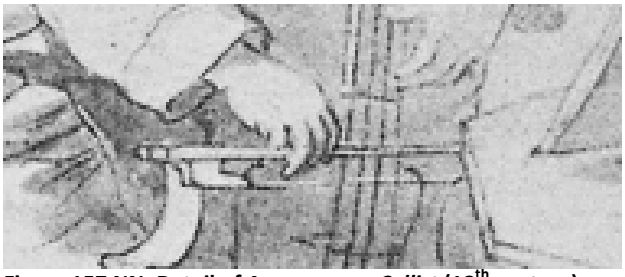

Figure 157 NN: Detail of Anonymous: *Cellist* (18th century). The little finger is held behind the stick.

2.3 Other pictorial evidence in NN and ZN: Applied Arts

In Sub chapter 2.2 images of cellos on paintings, drawings and engravings have been discussed. However, there are also other art forms which could contain representations of cellos. Verbeek states in a general sense:

> "[In the 17th century] In the field of the applied arts too productivity was enormous and of a high standard: silver, earthenware, pewter, copper, bronze, furniture, musical instruments and textiles."[515]

In the following Sections a few examples of some of these art forms will be discussed. In certain categories I have just come across one or two examples. In these cases they will all be reproduced here.

2.3.1 Tiles: NN

In the second half of the 16th century tile production came to the NN.[516] It became a huge success, and already before 1600 many factories had come into existence, including in Middelburg, Dordrecht, Rotterdam, Gouda, Haarlem, Amsterdam, Hoorn and Harlingen. Later on Delft and Makkum followed. Especially the factories in Rotterdam and Friesland (Harlingen & Makkum) were well-known for their tiles.
About the artists who made these tiles (very) little is known. Most of them were members of the Guild of St Luke, as were painters. It is even believed, that when painters did not have an income for some time, they would decorate tiles, just to stay alive.
From mid 17th century tiles with human figures were produced a lot. Tiles with cello players are among them.
In Section 2.2.3 many ways of supporting the cello have been discussed. On the tiles in my research corpus several of these ways are shown: resting on the ground, supported by the legs and one is supported by a stool. Some examples of these are reproduced in Figs. 158-165.

[515] Verbeek (1979), p. XIV.
[516] Information for this chapter is taken from: Clarijs (1970) and Korf (1960).

Figure 158 NN: Pieter Grauda: *Tile with cellist playing underhand while seated on a bench* (17th century).[517]

Figure 159 Detail of Figure 158. A cello resting on the ground.

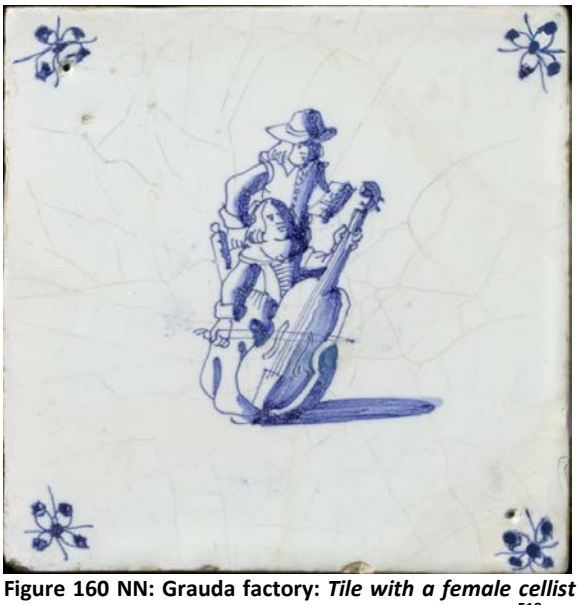

Figure 160 NN: Grauda factory: *Tile with a female cellist playing underhand and a man holding a song book*.[518]

Figure 161 Detail of Figure 160. A woman playing the cello.

The tiles reproduced in Figs. 162 & 164 show the same pattern, although they are mirrored. One's first reaction would be that the one cellist who is bowing with the left hand, must be a left-handed cellist. I think there is a different explanation. Painting the image on the tile, had at least two stages. The first was to pounce the tile, using a transfer pattern ('spons' = sponge), the outline of the drawing was pricked through a piece of paper the size of the tile, and the transfer pattern was placed on the tile and dusted with powdered charcoal. Then the artist would redraw this outline with a brush.
Dingeman Korf adds to this:

[517] Pieter Grauda owned a tile factory in Harlingen in Friesland from 1681 until 1708.
[518] Tile from the collection of the Nederlands Tegelmuseum Otterlo. Information in an email by curator Johan Kamermans, dated 2011, April 8.

> "In fig. 8 we see a dog. Usually an animal like this is placed on the tile with the head facing left, as appears in this reproduction. Tiles with the head facing right are less common. But a left-handed person prefers to draw them this way, and it is tempting to conclude that this painter was left-handed. Yet, if the sponge [transfer pattern] was laid in the wrong position on the tile, a right-handed man could easily put the finishing touches. Most tiles showing ships have ships sailing to the left; the curved lines of the sails are then easily drawn."[519]

This shows that already at the first stage of tile making a cellist bowing with the right hand, can become a cellist bowing with the left hand. It does not mean the painter knew a left-handed cellist and for that reason painted him bowing with the left hand. This is something to be taken into consideration when examining tiles.

Figure 162 NN: Anonymous: *Tile with a blue and white decor of a cellist playing overhand* (1650-1675).

Figure 163 Detail of Figure 162.

Figure 164 NN: Anonymous: *Tile (broken) with cellist playing overhand* (17th century).

Figure 165 Detail of Figure 164.
The same pattern as the tile in Figure 162.

[519] Korf (1964), p. 15.

2.3.2 Ceramics: NN

There is proof that already in mid 16th century there were factories in Delft who produced earthenware. Two types of earthenware were being made: pottery (transparant glaze, mainly cheap consumer goods) and majolica (front: white glaze painted with several colours, back: transparant glaze). However, both types were quite crude and roughly finished products. From the beginning of the 1600's Chinese porcelain, brought in by VOC ships, became very popular in Holland.[520] Because this porcelain was of superior quality compared to the Dutch majolica products, the sale of the latter dwindled and the manufacturers were compelled to invent technical improvements in order to be able to equal the Chinese product. The result was a more refined, more luxurious product (but still earthenware), nowadays called faience, which became very popular both in Holland and also abroad.
The decorators of this new product copied not only eastern motives, they also invented new exotic motives which they combined with western style ornaments. Besides this, they also painted landscapes and genre scenes based on 17th-century paintings.
Earthenware decorators used transfer patterns, as did tile painters. That way they were able to produce quickly and in huge quantities. However, before a decorator would become 'master', he should be able to decorate a large fruit-dish by hand.
Despite various efforts, the 18th century saw a huge decline of the factories in Delft. Meissen porcelain (a very refined real porcelain from Germany) and the English creamware (a harder, but cheaper pottery) became too popular to keep all factories in Delft open.[521]
It is therefore the more surprising that all Delft ceramics in this Section date from the 18th century.

In Figure 166 3 so-called pancake plates ('pannenkoekborden') are reproduced. These plates are part of a set of 6. All plates show musical scenes with several different instruments. The basic design of all plates is the same, the brims have the same pattern, all floors have blue and white tiles and the curtains and windows are placed in the same way. The combination of sitters and their instruments, however, differs from plate to plate.

Figure 166 NN: Anonymous: *Set of 6 pancake plates from Delft* (1754).[522]

[520] In Johannis de Brunes *Emblemata of Sinne-werck* of 1661 the sound of a Chinese porcelain bowl is compared with the sound of the human soul.
[521] Information on ceramics taken from: Aken-Fehmers, Schledorn, & Eliëns (1999), pp. 17-25.
[522] Formerly in collection Koos Limburg Snr. Reproduced with kind permission of Mr and Mrs Limburg.

At least two of the pancake plates (one with a cello and one with a harpsichord,[523] both amongst other instruments) seem to have been based on 18th-century engravings made by the German engraver Johann Christoph Schmidhammer (active: Nürnberg 1730-1766).[524] As Schmidhammer produced engravings in series, art historian Anna Bianco agrees with me that it is very likely that the other plates have also been based on engravings by Schmidhammer.[525] So far these engravings have not been found.
Schmidhammer's engraving with the cello (cello shape and scroll, 6 strings and 5 pegs) is reproduced in Figs. 163 & 169.

Figure 167 Engraving by Johann Christoph Schmidhammer.[526]

Figure 168 Pancake plate after engraving Schmidhammer.

Figure 169 Detail of Figure 167.

Figure 170 Detail of Figure 168. A small cello.

[523] The engraving with the harpsichord is to be found in the collection of Ton Koopman, inv. no. TK00364.
[524] I am indebted to Ton Koopman and Anna Bianco for pointing this out to me. Anna was able to find the engraving with the cello.
[525] Email: 2016, December 20.
[526] Johann Christoph Schmidhammer (active Nürnberg 1730-1766): *Musical scene: Trio of instrumentalists - a flautist (male), gamba player (male) and English guitarist (female)*. London: Royal Academy of Music, inv. no. 2003.2472.

The painter of the plate was very accurate, he copied most details of the cello and the way it is played in the engraving with great precision, except for the number of strings: their number has been changed from 6 to 4.

The cellos on the plates differ greatly in size and also in the way they are played. The large one (Figure 171) is supposed to be held between the legs, but is in fact placed in front of the legs. The small one (Figure 170) is so small, that it is almost leaning on the knees instead of being held properly between the legs. One is lying on the floor (Figure 172), unused, while the musicians are fighting.

Figure 171 Detail of Figure 166. A large cello.

Figure 172 Detail of Figure 166. An instrument with frets.

The instruments have been painted with much detail, the large cello even has purfling. The unplayed cello has frets, which is uncommon for a cello in the 18th century (for more information on frets, see Section 2.2.5). This is in fact the only example of an 18th-century fretted cello from the NN I have been able to find.

A fourth plate, which was clearly painted after the same design as the large cello in Figure 171 (and probably even using the same transfer pattern) is reproduced in Figure 173. The cello is held in front of the legs in the same awkward way. Also the sides of the cello are pretty small.

Figure 173 NN: Anonymous: *Dish of multi-colored painted faience* (ca. 1750-ca. 1780).

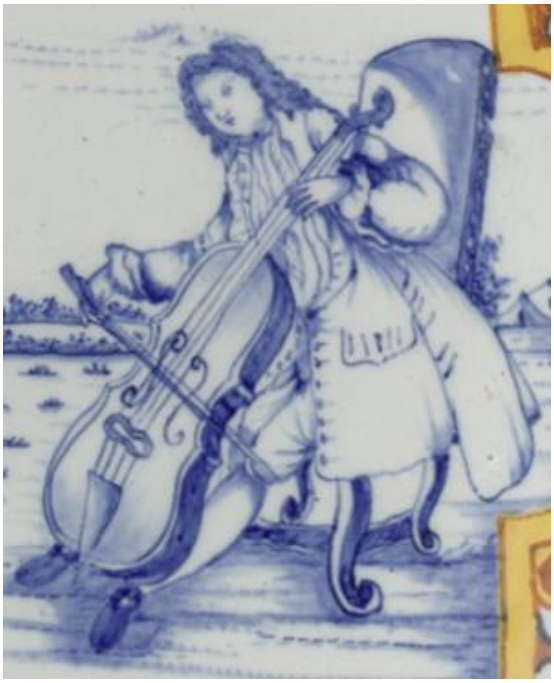

Figure 174 Detail of Figure 173. Same way of supporting the cello as in Figure 171.

A bowl, which was made in China, but decorated in the Noordelijke Nederlanden, is reproduced in Figure 175. This type of earthenware is known as 'Amsterdams bont' (clobbered ware), but it was not necessarily decorated in Amsterdam, but possibly Delft.[527]

Figure 175 NN: Anonymous: *Earthenware bowl with cellist and singer* (ca. 1730).

Figure 176 Detail of Figure 175.

The cellist is playing with an overhand grip, and the cello has three strings and four pegs.

[527] Information from: www.aziatischekeramiek.nl (this website is a collaboration of four museums: Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, Groninger Museum, Keramiekmuseum Princessehof Leeuwarden & Rijksmuseum Amsterdam), last accessed: 2018, January 26.

2.3.3 Silver: NN

In the 17th and 18th centuries silver objects were expensive to buy, and therefore mainly richer people were able to buy something made out of silver. Silver was generally aquired by the towns and the guilds as well as the court, the nobility and the church. Townsfolk also possessed silver objects, but mainly utensils, depending of course on their financial possibilities.[528]
The two brandy bowls, reproduced in Figs. 177-180, have both been made in Friesland. As in Holland, where several towns had their own silversmiths' guilds, in Friesland not only the capital of Leeuwarden but also several cities had their own guilds.
About brandy bowls, Verbeek (1979) writes the following:

> "Brandy bowls are typical Frisian objects. The earliest examples were polygonal [Figure 177], but in the eighteenth century they were oval in form [Figure 178]. The brandy bowl is an object used in folk customs: at the birth of a child brandy was served out of it with a silver spoon."[529]

On both brandy bowls a female cellist is depicted. Both cello's are played overhand, which, in case of the 17th-century bowl, is quite special because it was not very common at that time.
The shape of the cello in Figure 177 is quite good, the shape of the one in Figure 178 less so. The latter instrument has a very long neck and the body is quite wide.

Figure 177 NN: Anonymous: *Brandy bowl with images of the seven virtues* (Bolsward, 1686).[530]

Figure 178 NN: Jentje Harings Biltius: *Silver brandy bowl* (1711). The cello is situated under one of the ears of the bowl and cannot be seen in this photo.[531]

[528] Verbeek (1979), pp. XIII-XVIII.
[529] Verbeek (1979), p. 370.
[530] Picture taken from: Frederiks (1960), p. 75 & pl. 188.

Figure 179 Detail of Figure 177. A female cellist plays the cello overhand. The scroll appears to be in the form of a lion's head.

Figure 180 Detail of brandy bowl in Figure 178. A cello with a head of a woman, 5 strings, being played overhand. The neck of the instrument is very long, compared to the body of the instrument.[532]

2.3.4 Case study: Pieter van Avont & Wenzel Hollar

Figure 181 ZN: Wenzel Hollar: *Cherubs making music* (1646).[533]

[531] The bowl is made by Jentje Harings Biltius for Claes Pieters van der Werf, a master boat-builder in Sneek. Six women are depicted on the bowl, 4 of which are van der Werf's wives (he married 4 times); the other two, of which one is playing a cello, are fantasies. The woman playing the cello is most probably based on an engraving, according to the museum website (last accessed: 2013, June 2).

[532] Photo received from the museum (2012, March 19).

[533] Wenzel Hollar: *Cherubs making music* (*Musicerende cherubijnen)* (1646). Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-11.231.

One of the engravings in my research corpus is made by the Czech born artist Wenzel Hollar (1607-1677), who spent 8 years of his life (1644-1652) working in Antwerp. During his Antwerp time he designed the engraving shown above: a scene with 7 putti playing music (Figure 181). This engraving is one of two engravings with putti making music, both based on designs of the artist Pieter van Avont from Antwerp. Some of these designs[534] are kept in the Rijksmuseum, and show a single putto playing one instrument (see Figure 182).

Figure 182 Pieter van Avont: *putto playing harp* (1630-1652).

I am convinced that van Avont also made designs of the other instrumentalists. So far, I have not been able to track down van Avont's design of the putto playing cello.

Van Avont's designs and Hollar's engraving were very popular in the 17th century. Several artefacts, which are part of my research corpus, are based on their works.

The Couven Museum in Aachen holds two almost identical flower-pot covers, so-called 'cache-pots' (see Figs. 183 & 184). It is not clear where in the Noordelijke Nederlanden they were produced. I found a reference to Delft, but the attendant in the museum[535] told me it could be Makkum as well.[536] Apart from this, the panel in the museum reads that these cache-pots are one of the most beautiful examples from the late 17th-century Dutch fayence piece-goods.
What catches one's eye immediately is the putto playing cello (for a detailed view of the cellos see Figs. 188 & 189). Both cellos and putti look extremely similar to the cellos and putti in Hollar's engraving. Whether this putto is based on van Avont's design or on Hollar's engraving I could not establish.

[534] These designs are: RP-P-BI-180 (harp), RP-P-BI-171 (triangle), RP-P-BI-188 (flute) and are combined by Wenzel Hollar in: *Concert of cherubs in the clouds*, University of Toronto, inv. no. P500.
[535] I visited the Couven Museum on June 6, 2012.
[536] The pots have been added to the database as being from Delft.

Figure 183 NN: One of *Two cachepots from Delft* (late 17th century).[537]

Figure 184 The other 'cache-pot' from the same museum. The design is exactly the same.

The Rijksmuseum holds a silver baby linen basket, elaborately decorated with Hollar's scene of 7 putti and a floral design (see Figure 185). A silver diaper basket like this would have been put on show (in the house of a (very) rich family) in the lying-in room of the mother and her newborn child. Fine baby linen could be displayed in it.[538]
The basket has been produced in Amsterdam, attributed to the silversmith Gerloff Brouwer. See Figure 190 for a detail of the cello.
It is very interesting that an engraving (or two, if the cache-pot is based on van Avont's design and not on Hollar's) which was produced in the ZN found its way to the NN where it was used to decorate art objects.

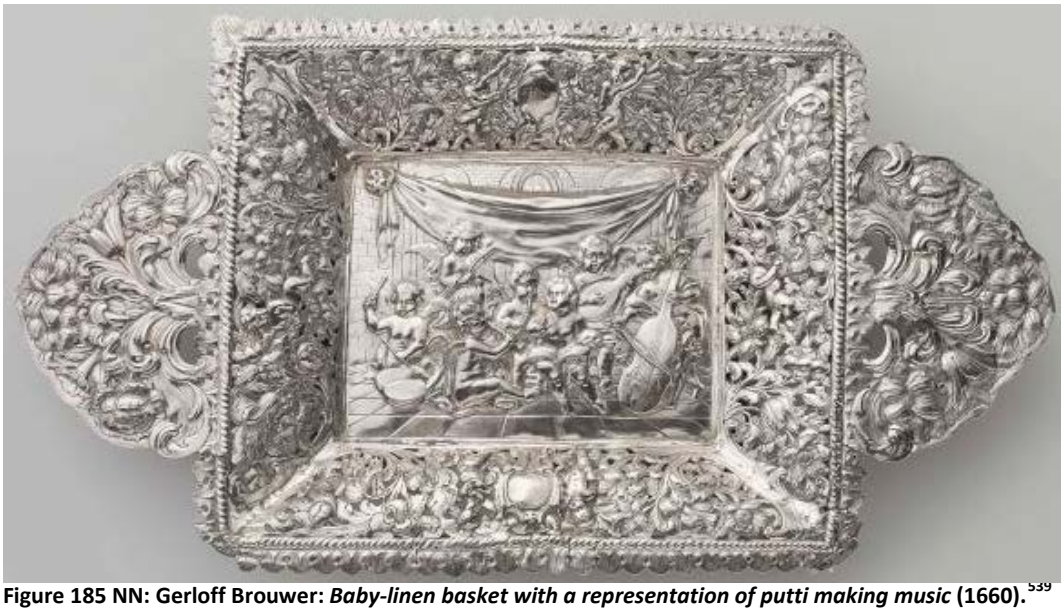

Figure 185 NN: Gerloff Brouwer: *Baby-linen basket with a representation of putti making music* (1660).[539]

[537] Both pots show a putto playing cello on the front. The back was not visible, and the staff in the museum could not tell me what the design on the back is. Photographs made by the author (2012, June 6).
[538] Information from panel in museum. Last accessed: 2012, June 6.
[539] The information panel in the museum and the Rijksmuseum website give different information about the production date. The panel states 1661, the website 1660.

Figure 186 Detail of Figure 185.

On the following page all cellos mentioned above have been reproduced.
In Hollar's original engraving the cello has frets. These have been left out in the artefacts in the NN. Of course this could be a coincidence. However, when checking numbers for frets in the NN and ZN in the other categories, in the NN in the 17th century only 1/40 of all visible fingerboards has frets, whereas in the ZN this proportion is around 1/12. It is possible that the artists who produced the cache-pots and the silver basket adjusted them to the current fashion in the NN.
Hollar's cello has 4 strings as does the cello depicted on the cache-pots. The cello on the silver basket, however, has 5 strings. On the whole, in the 17th century many more 5-string cellos were depicted in the NN than in the ZN (NN: 1/2; ZN: 1/6). This proportion goes also for Amsterdam where the basket was produced, but in Delft the proportion is different (1/1). It is therefore possible that Gerloff Brouwer changed the number of strings on purpose. His work is very detailed and precise, it would have been easy to keep the 4 strings if he wanted to.
The underhand bowing is copied well, so is the somewhat strange (low) placing of the bridge and sound holes.
What looks like tens of tuning pegs in Figure 188, clearly is the wing of the putto when comparing it with the putto in Hollar's engraving. On the right side of the peg box 3 tuning pegs can clearly be seen. On both cache-pots the tuning pegs have been left out.

Figure 187 ZN. Detail of Figure 181.

Figure 188 NN. Detail of Figure 183.

Figure 189 NN. Detail of Figure 184.

Figure 190 NN. Detail of Figure 185.

Apart from the objects shown here, I have also found some other copies of Hollar's obviously very popular engraving. The Rijksmuseum holds a series of 16 tiles produced in Harlingen,[540] on a couple of which the same putti are depicted (playing lute, trombone, violin, drums, triangle, harp, flute and some other woodwind instrument). Some of these putti have been taken from the other engraving without the cello, which is not reproduced here. Unfortunately there is no tile with a cello.
The title page of John Playford's *The Theater of Music* of 1685 shows Hollar's engraving, except for the drum player. And even as far as Mexico one can find copies: the Mexican painter Juan Correa used the engraving for his painting *El niño Jesús con ángeles músicos* (with an extra singer).[541]

2.3.5 Organ-cases: NN

Holland is known for its organs. Many organ-cases have been decorated with angels playing musical instruments, some of them playing cello. All cellos on organ-cases in my research corpus date from the 18th century.

Figure 191 NN: Haven & Struiwigh: *Cellist on the organ case of the Hinsz organ in the Petruskerk in Leens* (ca. 1734).

Figure 192 Detail of Figure 191.

It is very surprising that the cello on the organ in Leens (Figure 191) still has 6 strings. This is the only 18th-century 6-string instrument in my entire research corpus.
The instrument from the Garrels organ in Purmerend is unplayed and has 5 strings (Figure 193). This is not so common in the 18th century either, but it is seen more often. The cello from the Müller organ in Haarlem (Figure 194) is the most modern one of the three cellos. It has 4 strings, is played overhand and seems to be supported by a short endpin.

[540] Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-1955-321.
[541] Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Arte, inv. no. 17645.

Figure 193 NN: Johannes Romans: ***Cello on the organ case of the Garrels organ in the Koepelkerk in Purmerend*** **(ca. 1740).**[542]

Figure 194 NN: Jan van Logteren: ***Cellist on the organ case of the Müller organ in the St Bavo Church in Haarlem*** **(ca. 1738).**

2.3.6 Doll's houses: NN

Unlike modern doll's houses, which are meant for children to play with, 17th and 18th-century doll's houses from the NN were seen as collectors cabinets or art cabinets ('verzamelaarskasten' or 'kunstkabinetten'). These houses were fully furnished and form an unsurpassed source for research on daily life and the interior of a house in the 17th century. The quality of the materials used was very high. The walls and ceilings in Dutch doll's houses were painted by well-known artists of the day.

Furnishing such houses was solely done by women from the middle classes, daughters and wives of regents and wealthy merchants and artisans, living in thriving cities like Amsterdam and Leiden.

The owner of a doll's house would order all the objects specifically for her house. In the early times (1650-1675) the proportions and the materials were sometimes incorrect. After 1675 a greater perfection was persued. The 17th and 18th-centuries' doll's houses reflected an ideal household.

For all of these reasons the two cellos found in the NN doll's houses could be interesting for this research.[543]

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[542] Photo kindly made available by Bob Muller & Peter van Voorst, email dated August 25, 2016.

[543] Information about doll's houses taken from: Dommisse (2000), pp. 11, 12, 28, 49; Pijzel-Dommisse (1988); Eaton (1990); Pijzel-Dommisse (1980) &

One of the two cellos comes from Petronella de la Court's doll's house, which dates from ca. 1680 (see Figs. 195-199). The instrument is found in the 'saletkamer', the most important reception room in the house, together with a harpsichord, a violin, a recorder and a german flute. The violin, cello and harpsichord are being used, the other instruments lie on the harpsichord. The cello and violin are made out of palm wood.

Figure 195 NN: Anonymous: *Cello in the doll's house of Petronella de la Court* (ca. 1680). [544]

Figure 196 Side view, instrument is leaning on a foot-warmer. [545]

Figure 197 Detail of Figure 196.

http://centraalmuseum.nl/ontdekken/object/?q=poppenhuis&img_only=1#o:2044, last accessed: 2013, June 7.

[544] Picture taken from Dommisse (2000), p. 41.

[545] Colour photos taken by the author, 2012, February 8.

The cello has the external characteristics of a cello: normal shoulders, f-holes, four strings and pegs, and it is leaning on a foot-warmer. It has a scroll shaped like a human head; this was sometimes done, but was not a frequent phenomenon. The only weird thing is the extension built on the neck. This is something I have never seen before. I have asked several violin makers for advice and I received various suggestions: 1: a device containing resonance strings;[546] 2: a tool for the player to hold the instrument better;[547] 3: a so called 'capotasto': a tool which can clamp down the strings at different spots to make chords for less experienced players.[548] But also for them, it remains a kind of mystery.

Figure 198 Front view.

Figure 199 Detail of Figure 196. Note the extension built on the neck.

Petronella de la Court died in 1707. In or just after 1744 the house was sold to Pieter van der Beek, who again sold it in 1758. For the sale in 1758 a catalogue was produced. Unfortunately the instruments are not mentioned separately. The catalogue reads:

> "No. 4
>
> A Salet room, beautifully decorated all round by Moucheron, with 4 mirrors, 5 silver sconces, a church chandelier, upholstered chairs, a table, on which is lying gold and silver money, with a lady sitting at it playing [cards?] with a farmer from Waterland, and a company amusing themselves with all sorts of different

[546] Email from Serge Stam (violin maker in Utrecht), 2017, May 25.
[547] Email from Jurriaan van Roon (violin maker in Amersfoort), 2017, May 25. Enrico Gatti (Italian baroque violinist) in an email to Guust François (violin maker in Amsterdam), 2017, May 30.
[548] A (unknown) Naples violin maker in an email to Guust François, 2017, May 26.

> instruments. Also a beautiful ivory statue on its pedestal, and some other statues."[549]

The other doll's house with a cello was put together by Sara Rothé. In 1743 she bought 3 older doll's houses (two of them dating from the 17th century). She used the furniture to fill two new houses. In one of them,[550] in the music room or the painted room ('geschilderde kaamer'), as she called it herself, the cello is found.

Figure 200 The harpsichord and cello in the music room in Sara Rothé's doll's house.[551]

Figure 201 *Cello in the doll's house of Sara Rothé* (17th century). Detail of Figure 200. Note the four strings, pegs, the scroll and the way the tailpiece is attached.

The instrument has four strings and pegs, f-holes, normal shoulders and the manufacturer even thought about the purfling.[552] The scroll looks like a head of a bird, although it is just curved in outlines.

Although to modern eyes it may look like a cello, Rothé herself describes it as a 'fiool de gamben' in her notebook.[553] But to this she adds: "all these music books and instruments were part of doll's house no. 3".[554] And this house no. 3 is one of the 17th-century houses.[555] Therefore the

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[549] Taken from: Anonymous (1758), p. 5. Catalogue in the collection of the Rijksmuseum Research Library. Inv. No: C/RM0013.ASC/1144 * 1. Original: " Een Salet-Kamer, zynde rondom konstig Geschilderd door Moucheron, met 4 Spiegels, 5 Zilvere Arm-Blaakers, Kerk-Kroon, Bekleede Stoelen, een Tafel, waar op Goud en Zilver Geld, waar aan een Dame met een waterlandze Boer zit te Speelen, en verder Gezelschap, dat zig vermaakt met alderhande Muzyk Instrumenten. Verder een fraai Beeld van Ivoor, op zyn Pedestal en andere Beeltwerken meer."

[550] Today in the collection of the Gemeentemuseum Den Haag.

[551] Picture taken from Eaton (1990).

[552] In this case the purfling is painted, but that was done more often, also on full size instruments.

[553] Pijzel-Dommisse (1988), p. 51 and Pijzel-Dommisse (1980), p. 20.

[554] "Alle deese musiekboeke en instrumente sijn te voore in het cabienet no. 3 geweest".

[555] This house was formerly owned by Cornelia van der Gon (1646-1701).

cello/viol is clearly made for someone other than Rothé, and could well be meant as a cello and not as a viol.
In a later inventory, in a different hand than Rothé's, the cello, together with an other string instrument, is described as "twee fioole". This does not make it any clearer.

2.3.7 Magic lantern slides: NN

Not a lot is known about 18th-century performances with magic lantern slides. The slides themselves are the most important sources on what kind of subjects were performed. Especially slides with subjects from Jan and Casper Luyken's *Het menselyk bedryf* were popular.
Figure 202 shows the slide 'instrumentmaaker', and Figure 203 shows the engraving on which it is based. The cello is copied well, no major changes have been made, except that the details in the scroll are invisible on the slide.

Figure 202 NN: Anonymous: *Magic lantern slide: one out of a series of Four professions after Het menselyk bedryf* (1700-1790).

Figure 203 NN: Jan and Casper Luyken: *The instrument maker* (1694). The slide in Figure 202 is based on this design.

2.3.8 Glass: NN/ZN

Another artefact which is based on an engraving is reproduced in Figure 204. This glass is a melting-pot of influences. The glass itself was produced around 1750 in either England or the ZN. The stipple print on the glass was made in the NN by Willem Fortuyn in 1757. It is based on an engraving made by the German Johann Esaias Nilson (1721-1788). Although the original engraving (see Figure 205) was made in Germany, I have added this glass here because the stipple print was produced in the NN and, as was shown in Section 2.3.4, sometimes intentionally or unintentionally details get changed.

Figure 204 NN: Willem Fortuyn: *Chalice with a woman behind a spinet* (ca. 1750, before 1757).

Figure 205 Figure 204 is based on this engraving by Johann Esaias Nilson.[556]

On the glass the two putti are left out, which results in a better view of the cello (see for details the following page). Willem Fortuyn made a beautiful print and gave the instrument a real cello shape, whereas the shoulders in the engraving are a bit more sloping. The lion scroll has been copied as well as the f-shape sound holes. The number of strings is invisible.

[556] Johann Esaias Nilson (1721-1788). *Musicians in garden (Musici in tuin)*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1964-2949. According to the museum's website the engraving is dated between 1731 and 1788. However, it must have been made before the glass was produced, which means some time before 1750-1757.

Figure 206 Detail of Figure 204.[557]

Figure 207 Detail of Figure 205.

Another glass which was blown in England is reproduced in Figure 208. It was engraved in the NN, possibly in Rotterdam in 1739. A group of musicians is shown, with a female cellist proudly on the first row.

The instrument has a very clear cello shape, although the top part is wider than the bottom part. The left hand is held behind the instrument as if it is tuning a string. It looks like the instrument is bowed underhand, but I am not entirely sure. For the rest it has a cello scroll, 5 strings and f-shaped sound holes. For the 18th century 5 strings is quite exceptional, although in the applied art section 5-string instruments have been found more often than in Sub section 2.2. The cello is supported in the same (somewhat awkward) way as the cellos in Figs. 121 & 171. For a woman, however, it is more elegant, but the fact remains that it is quite impossible to play it easily.

[557] Photo made by the author, 2013, June 6.

Figure 208 NN: Anonymous: *Chalice engraved with Apollo and the nine Muses with opposite the statue of Erasmus* (1739).

Figure 209 Detail of Figure 208.

2.3.9 Tapestries & lace: ZN

There are several well known artists who not only produced paintings and similar works, but who also made so-called cartoons for the tapestry industry. Their designs were very suitable for reproduction in woven material. Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) for example was very well-known for his designs, they were in great demand in foreign countries. Unfortunately I have not been able to find a tapestry with a cello of his hand although some of his paintings do show a cello.

Many tapestries in my database have been designed by David Teniers (at least 8) [558] and Cornelis Schut (4, possibly 7). Teniers' rustic scenes were used a lot for cartoons and his style became famous. His designs were not only bought by weavers in the ZN, but also by weavers in France, England and Spain.[559]

At least 12 tapestries, but maybe as many as 22 have been produced in Brussels.

As already stated at the beginning of Sub chapter 2.3, there are not that many examples of representations of cellos in applied arts. The tapestries form the largest part of this section. Out of 71 images of cellos in total, there are 41 representations on tapestries. Some tapestries have even 2 cellos, often of different sizes.

[558] Mostly by David Teniers II, of two tapestries it is unknown whether they have been designed by him or by one of the other Teniers family members.

[559] Information on tapestries taken from: Thomson (1973), p. 374. Denucé (1936), pp. XXXIII, XXXIV. Marillier (1932), pp. VII-XI.

The engraving in Figure 210 by Cornelis Schut was a very popular design for making tapestries. In my research corpus there are 7 tapestries which have been produced after this design. They, however, differ greatly in quality and exactness. The one reproduced in Figur 209 is in the best shape.
In 5 of the tapestries the cello is placed on the left, in 2 of them it is placed on the right, as is the cello in the engraving.

Figure 210 ZN: Cornelis Schut: *The seven liberal arts*.[560]

The tapestry made after the engraving is part of a series of 8 tapestries, showing the seven liberal arts, the first 7 depicting one art at the time, in number 8 the 7 arts come together. Music is one of those arts, and in this tapestry represented by a cello, an organ, a lute and a putto playing the flute.[561]
The cello in the tapestry is very detailed, much more detailed than the engraving it is based on. What stands out are the number of strings and the number of pegs. There is an empty space for a 6th string to match the 6th peg.

[560] The Rijksmuseum holds a copy of this engraving. They have dated it 1618-1655. The British Museum (inv. no: 1929,0114.18) also holds one, there is is dated 1635-1645. The RKD dates it c. 1650.
[561] The tapestry of music alone also shows a cello, but of this one only the top part can be seen.

Figure 211 ZN: Anonymous: *The Apotheosis of the Seven Liberal Arts* (ca. 1675).

Figure 212 Detail of Figure 211. Note the number of strings and pegs.[562]

[562] Photo made by the author.

An 18th-century example is reproduced in Figure 213.[563] It is an extremely detailed tapestry and shows several 18th-century characteristics of the cello. The instrument is held between the legs and supported by an endpin; the cello has 4 strings and the bow has white hairs. The pegs and purfling (and even the button-holes on the jacket) are produced with extreme detail.
The only detail which is more 17th than 18th-century is the way the bow is held: underhand.

Figure 213 ZN: *Wall tapestry with musicians* (18th century).[564]

Figure 214 Detail of Figure 213. Note the detail in the pegs (and the button-holes).

An art object which does not show much detail is reproduced in Figure 215. I want to show this beautiful piece of lace here, because it is a rare example of a different art discipline than shown so far.
One could argue it is a double bass and not a cello. The width, however, looks more like a cello than a double bass and if one would use an endpin of the length shown here, a cello would come to this height.
With some fantasy one could see 4 strings, but that is about all.

[563] This picture was kindly made available to me by Mrs. Vangampelaere, email dated 2008, May 27.
[564] This date I took from the following book: Pape & Boettcher (1996), Tafel VIII. Bruges City Hall was not able to give me any more information as to the production date of the tapestry.

Figure 215 ZN: Anonymous: *Lace* (1720-1740).

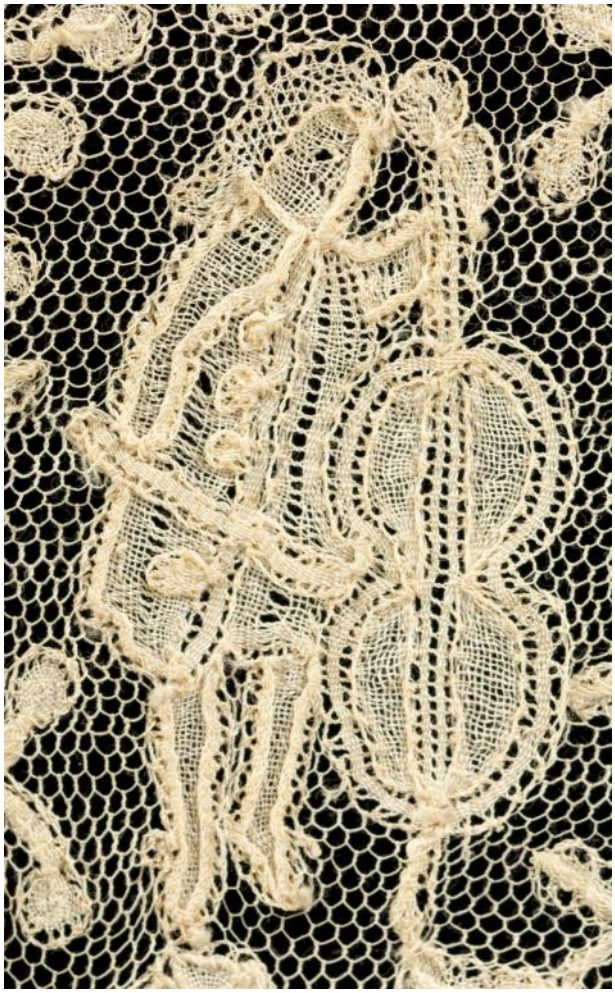

Figure 216 Detail of Figure 215.

2.4 Summary: the state of the 'cello' in the NN and ZN

As was shown in the preceding Sub chapters in the NN and ZN many representations of the cello, bass violin and mixed shape instruments were made in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. It is remarkable that these representations are not only found on paintings, drawings and engravings, but also on many different types of artefacts. One may conclude from the amount of images that the 'cello' was an important instrument for many people.
Over the centuries the appearance of the cello has changed. Whereas in the early times the cello had several different shapes and sizes, in the 18th century the appearance became more and more standardised. The most notable change is the number of strings, because this directly influences how one has to play. With the decrease in size the way of playing and supporting the cello also changed and became more standardised as well. Where in the 17th century one often saw that cellists also played underhand, in the 18th century this practice almost died out.
Another notable change is that in the 17th and 18th centuries the cello was hardly played by women. As was also shown, in the 19th century it slowly became more normal to 'see' female cellists on stage.
Because of the lack of useful written information in the Low Countries about several aspects of the cello and cello playing, the aim in Chapter 2 was to collect as many data as possible from pictorial sources. I have managed to collect a lot of data, especially from the 17th century. These data have shown that what is marginally discussed in NN and ZN written sources and more extensively in other European sources is in fact depicted many times.
I have also quoted several art historians who state that 17th-century pictorial art was supposed to be very realistic. This supports the conclusions I have drawn based on what is depicted, although a word of caution is in place: a cello with 4 strings and 10 pegs is not possible!