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

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4 Musical evidence

4.1 Music in the 17th century

In Chapter 1 extensive research has been done into the name of the cello/bass violin. It became clear that several names were used, that these names quite often were not unequivocal and sometimes even completely unclear. It was shown that also instruments of mixed shapes existed. It is even possible that each name stood for a slightly different instrument. The problem with the right meaning of the names goes as well for some of those discussed in this Chapter.

One of the names one quite often encounters in scores is '**basso viola**'. The only two written sources in the Low Countries discussing this name are Buys (1768; "basso viola" & "violo basso")⁶⁸⁶ and Anonymous (1772; "viola basso").⁶⁸⁷ According to Buys a basso viola is a viol, according to Anonymous it is a cello. One word with two meanings. This problem is also diagnosed by the cellist, gambist and musicologist Bettina Hoffmann. She writes:

"Two terms, 'basse de viole' and 'basse de violon', are in clear contrast to one another; the former refers to the bass instrument of the viol family, the latter to that of the violin family. There is a similar situation in English, even though not incontestably unambiguous, with the expressions 'bass viol' und 'bass violin'. This provides today's viol player who turns to Italian sources with a dangerous 'false friend'. In Italian, the 'basso di viola' has no opposite number; I have not been able to find any trace of a 'basso di violino'. [...] The expression 'basso di viola' is thus not one half of a pair, but rather it covers both categories and refers to the bass instrument of both the violin and the viol family."⁶⁸⁸

Summarising: whereas in the French and English speaking countries two contrasting words are used to name the cello and the viol, in Italian there is just one word: basso viola. The other half of the Italian (supposed) pair: until now basso violino was not to be found by me.

In the Low Countries, however, I have come across two examples of basso violino (the exception that proves the rule?): one in an art dictionary (Buys (1768)⁶⁸⁹) and one in printed music.⁶⁹⁰ In Buys it is stated that in music books one uses the word basso violino to signify the "Bass for the Bass Violin". This entry in Buys' dictionary, however, seems to be copied from an earlier English dictionary dated 1730.⁶⁹¹ One can therefore wonder if the entry in Buys' art dictionary represents the situation in the Low Countries or rather the situation in England (and that basso violino is in fact a direct translation of the English 'bass violin', even though in the dictionary 'basso violino' is referred to as an Italian word).

In printed music I found basso violino in Nicolaes à Kempis *Symphoniae* op. 1 (to be discussed in Section 4.1.1). Considering the previous facts, one can wonder how customary the word basso violino in fact was in the Low Countries.

Basso viola: this name is used in printed music regularly. What to do when encountering this name? In case the basso viola is the only bass instrument, the first thing to do is to check the ambitus of the part.⁶⁹² If this is within reach of the cello (a viol would normally go higher than a

⁶⁸⁶ Buys (1768), p. 206.

⁶⁸⁷ Anonymous (1772), p. 359.

⁶⁸⁸ Hoffmann (2008), p. 9.

⁶⁸⁹ Buys (1768), p. 206.

⁶⁹⁰ I found a possible third example: in the list of instruments in possession of the Collegium Musicum Ultrajectinum a "basso violon" is mentioned. As some of the other violins ("Handt Violon & Bord Violon") on this list are also called violon, one could wonder if the basso violon is a variation of basso violino. www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl, last accessed: 2017, February 22.

⁶⁹¹ Bailey, Gordon & Miller (1730), unpaginated: "BASSO Violino [Mus.] the Bass for the Bass Violin."

⁶⁹² In Johannes Schenck's *Il Giardino Armonico* (Amsterdam 1691) the basso viola is the sole bass instrument. Because of the ambitus (D-d") of the basso viola part, it is clearly meant for a viol and not for a cello.

cello), one also has to check other aspects: the technique asked for, possible double stops, the names of the other instruments in the score, and, if available, a representation of instruments on the frontispiece or title page. Another question to ask, if all other answers fail: is the composer a viol player or a cellist? If he is a viol player, it is very likely that the music is for viol; if not, both instruments are possible.

In case the basso viola is not the only bass instrument asked for, one should check the names of the other bass instruments. If the viol is (one of) the other bass instrument(s), then it is very likely that the basso viola is not a viol but a bass instrument of the violin family (as is also stated by Anonymous (1772)⁶⁹³).

In Sections 4.1.1-4.1.11 I will discuss several pieces of 17th-century chamber music including several pieces with a basso viola as bass instrument. I have only added music in which the basso viola could well be some kind of cello.

In some of the chosen pieces the cello doubles the basso continuo, in some the cello has a separate part and plays (more of) a solo role. I have chosen a few well-known pieces, but the great majority of these compositions are not known to the general public. Most of these pieces originated in the NN, although a few were composed in the ZN.

Several works in the following Sections have been either published or recorded in the last decades. In case a basso viola was prescribed, the scholars or musicians often made the choice, without explanation, to have it played by a viol. I will show that there is another possibility, also taking into account the enormous amount of representations of cellos found (and discussed in Chapter 2).

Hoffmann does not write about the Dutch language and terminology, but my research (see Chapter 1) has shown that the Dutch word '**basviool**' also covers both categories: viol (Marin (1752)⁶⁹⁴) and cello (Moerbeek (1768)⁶⁹⁵ & Anonymous (1772)⁶⁹⁶). Buys (1768)⁶⁹⁷ translates both bass viol and bass violin into *basviool*. Hendrik Anders *Trioos* (see Section 4.1.7) is the only musical source in this dissertation mentioning the '*basviool*'.

4.1.1 Nicolaes à Kempis: Symphoniae opus 1, 2 & 3 (Antwerpen, 1644, 1647, 1649)

Nicolaes à Kempis (ca. 1600-1676) composed four volumes of symphoniae: opus 1 in 1644, opus 2 in 1647, opus 3 in 1649 and opus 4 at an unknown date. Of opus 4 only parts 2 & 4 are extant.⁶⁹⁸ In the current Section opus numbers 1-3 are discussed.⁶⁹⁹

These symphoniae are composed for smaller or larger groups of solo instruments,⁷⁰⁰ ranging from string, wind and keyboard instruments to singers. In quite a few pieces a bass is called for. In opus 1 two different names are used for this instrument. In the pieces with one violin the bass instrument is called *viola*; in the pieces with two violins the instrument is called *basso violino* in the title of each sonata; in the index, however, it is called *viola*. In opus 2 & 3 the bass instrument is called *basso viola*.

⁶⁹³ Anonymous (1772), p. 359.

⁶⁹⁴ Marin (1752), p. 1188.

⁶⁹⁵ Moerbeek (1768), p. 33.

⁶⁹⁶ Anonymous (1772), p. 60.

⁶⁹⁷ Buys (1768), p. 206.

⁶⁹⁸ The British Library holds the '*pars quarta*' of opus 4. I have inquired if this part is the bass part. Unfortunately, reference specialist (Rare Books and Music) of the British Library Fiona McHenry was not able to answer this question. She has provided me with information about the instruments required in these *Symphoniae* opus 4 though. Specially the *symphonia a 6* is interesting: "*Duo Violini : Duo Tromboni : & Viola di Gambi, cum Baffo Viola*". In this *symphonia* the viol and the basso viola are used at the same time. Emails dated: 2017, May 17.

⁶⁹⁹ A good modern edition of opus 1, 2 and 3 was published by Alessandro Bares of *Musedita* between 2001-2003. For this chapter I have made use of this modern edition. The original titles can be found in the bibliography.

⁷⁰⁰ The music of these *symphoniae* was part of the music collection of the *Collegium Musicum Ultrajectinum* ("6. Volum. a 1.2.3.4.5.6. instrumenten door Nicolaus a Kempis gecomponeert. Antw: 1641 en 1649"). www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl, last accessed: 2017, February 22.

Do these names stand for three different instruments? There is not much difference as for the technical skills required of the bass player between the three opus numbers. The difference, however, is more between the instrumental and the vocal pieces. In the vocal pieces the bass is part of a group of string instruments playing the ritornelli in between the vocal parts. These bass lines are quite simple in comparison to the bass lines in the purely instrumental symphonias. In these symphonias the bass imitates the violins, and therefore is more virtuosic.

The ambitus of the bass parts in all opus numbers is C-d', although this low C is not used very often. Mostly the part only goes down to D. All three bass instruments (viola, basso violino, basso viola) play these low C's, although the basso violino plays this note only once (in 8 symphonias). This is a remarkable fact, because one would expect that this would be the instrument playing this note the most, since, judging by the name, it should definitely be a bass violin.

In all bass lines it seems that the low C is avoided sometimes, but at other times, when it would be easy to avoid it, it is not avoided, thus leaving a large gap between the low C of the bass lines and the c' of the violins.

The fast notes are mainly played in the upper octave (d-d'). All music is written in the f clef. In some of the instrumental pieces, there is a choice between a basso viola and a bassoon.⁷⁰¹ It does not make a difference in the ambitus, whether the solo bass part is only for 'basso viola' or for 'basso viola or bassoon'.

From the music it does not become clear what instruments are meant by the different names. Because the written sources are also ambiguous about it, I think both a cello and a viol could be used to play these pieces, also taking into account the large amount of representations of small groups of instruments including a cello.

4.1.2 't Uitnement Kabinet (Amsterdam, 1st part: 1646, 2nd part: 1649)⁷⁰²

The *Uitnement Kabinet* is a two part collection of instrumental pieces, ranging from solo pieces without bass to pieces for two melodic instruments with bass.

The full title of 't Uitnement Kabinet is as follows: '*T UITNEMENT KABINET, Vol Pavanen, Almanden, Sarbanden, Couranten, Balletten, Intraden, Airs &c. En de nieuwste Voizen, om met 2 en 3 Fioolen, of ander Speel-tuigh te gebruiken* (translation: '*T UITNEMENT KABINET, filled with Pavans, Allemandes, Sarabandas, Courantes, Ballets, Intradas, Airs etc. And the newest melodies, to be played with 2 and 3 violins, or other musical instruments*). To the title of the second part, published in 1649, is added: *Ook eenige stukken voor 2. Fioolen de Gamba* (also some pieces for 2 viols).⁷⁰³

In 1646 the bass part is called 'grondt-stem' (bottom voice), in 1649 it is called 'laeghste-geluid' (lowest sound) and in both volumes the bass part is unfigured.⁷⁰⁴ Is there any indication in the title and/or the music which (if any) bass instrument should play this bass part? Considering the title ("Fiool of ander Speel-tuigh") anything is possible. In the bass part no specific instrument is mentioned, except for the pieces for viol.⁷⁰⁵ The maximum ambitus of the bass part is C-d' (except for the viol pieces; in these pieces the maximum ambitus is somewhat larger: D-a').

⁷⁰¹ If a bassoon is used, the treble instrument is a cornetto and not a violin.

⁷⁰² The word 'uitnement' is spelled with a 't' in 1646, in 1649 it is spelled: uitnemend. As far as I could track down, the only complete copy of the 1646 part is held by the Library of the Brussels Royal Conservatory, inv. no. 24101 (see Rasch (1972), p. 162). For the 1649 part I used the copy held by the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid, inv. no. M/2821(2).

⁷⁰³ Underscore: ET.

⁷⁰⁴ Most music in the bass part books is meant for a bass instrument. Some music, however, is written in treble clef, and is part of the pieces for three high instruments.

⁷⁰⁵ The fact that most of the music is unfigured, does not necessarily mean that it is played without a harpsichord, lute or other instrument playing chords. There is, however, no indication in the music that a chordal instrument has to be part of it. Rasch states: "The bass line is most likely not to be regarded as basso continuo, although, in case a chordal instrument - such as a harpsichord, lute, cittern etc. - is at hand, it can be interpreted as such." Original: "De bassen dienen zeer waarschijnlijk niet als basso-continuo opgevat te worden, alhoewel ze bij beschikbaarheid van een akkoord-instrument – clavecymbel, luit, cyter enz. – als zodanig geïnterpreteerd kunnen worden." Rasch (1973), unpaginated. I could imagine that it depends on the situation whether or not a harpsichord is part of the instruments used. The images showing outdoor scenes do not contain a harpsichord, but rather a violin (or another melody instrument) and sometimes a cello. The music played here, in front of an inn or at a festival or party, was very likely folk music (to dance

For a few notes an alternative octave is given, to make the ambitus somewhat smaller. This is done in two different ways: with a 'double stop' (see Figure 272) and with a custos⁷⁰⁶ (see Figs. 273 & 274).



Figure 272 't Uitnemet Kabinet: Derde Carileen (a 2: (unspecified) treble and bass), composed by William Lawes, from 1649 volume. Circling shows alternative octave.



Figure 273 From: vierde fantasia, composed by Bernardo Borlasca (1646). Circling shows custos above low notes.



Figure 274 From: vijfde fantasia, composed by Bernardo Borlasca (1646). Circling shows custos below high note.

I do not really see the point of the alternative octaves, because in other pieces these high and low notes are used as well, and there no alternatives are proposed.

In short, it is very likely that these pieces (except of course the viol pieces) are also meant to be played on a bass violin with enough ambitus at the bottom.

4.1.3 Carolus Hacquart: Cantiones Sacrae (Amsterdam, 1674)

The *Cantiones Sacrae*⁷⁰⁷ composed by the viol player Carolus Hacquart (ca. 1640 - ca. 1701) consists of 10 motets for 1-5 voices and basso continuo, of which 5 motets are "Sine Instrumentis" and 5 are "Cum Instrumentis". In the motets with instruments there is a separate part for a bass. This bass part differs slightly from the basso continuo part. The instrumentation, ambitus and clef(s) of this bass line are the following:

to). 't Uitnemet Kabinet partly consists of this type of music. The music for viol is more grand, and very likely to be played indoors (with a harpsichord?).

⁷⁰⁶ A custos is the symbol at the very end of a line of music which indicates the pitch for the first note of the next line as a warning of what is to come. In 't Uitnemet Kabinet it is also used in an alternative way, indicating a possible octave transposition of one or two notes.

⁷⁰⁷ The copy used for this dissertation is held at the Openbare Bibliotheek Amsterdam, shelfnumber 210-A-5.






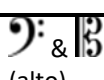
Motet title	Instrumentation in part book	Instrumentation in <u>index</u> of 'basso viola' part book	Ambitus	Clef(s) used
Ego sum	Basso viola	3 viol. & Viola di Gamba, vel Basso Viola	C-d'	
Nunc loquar	Basso viola	2 Viol. & Viola di Gamba, vel Basso Viola	 -d' (once up to g')	
O mi amantissime	Basso viola	3 instrumentis	D-d'	
Deus miseratur nostri	Basso viola	3 instrumentis	D-d'	
O Jesu splendor	Basso viola	2 Viol. & Viola di Gamba	D-g'	 (alto)

Table 13 Instrumentation, ambitus and clef(s) of the bass line in motets "Cum Instrumentis" of *Cantiones Sacrae*.

As is shown in Table 13 the ambitus of the bass line in the various motets is more or less the same, except for 'O Jesu splendor', in which the bass line goes a fourth higher. In this motet the bass line is meant only for viol and not for basso viola as well (even though the instrumentation in the part book is: basso viola). If for Hacquart viola da gamba and basso viola would have been the same instrument, he would not have written only "viola da gamba" in the last motet, and neither would he have written "vel" in the first two motets (which makes viola da gamba and basso viola opposites).

On the frontispiece (see Figure 275) of *Cantiones Sacrae* a group of musicians is depicted, including a player on a large bass instrument. Does this frontispiece shed more light on what the basso viola is exactly? I will come back to this at the end of this Section.



Figure 275 The frontispiece of *Cantiones Sacrae*.



Figure 276 Detail of Figure 275: The group of musicians.

The well known engraver Romeyn de Hooghe (1645-1708) produced this frontispiece. On the website of the Rijksmuseum the following is written about de Hooghe: "Most engravings by Romeyn de Hooghe are book illustrations. Mostly these illustrations are frontispieces - an

emblematical image depicting the title of the book."⁷⁰⁸ Therefore, it could be that the instruments depicted on the frontispiece of *Cantiones Sacrae* show instruments used in this music.

A traverso, a vertical windinstrument (cornetto, shawm?) and a large bass instrument are depicted. On the far left a violin is lying on a table (?), and a small violin is played by a boy in the front. On the far right a few pipes of an organ are visible. The violin, the bass instrument and the organ are used in the *Cantiones Sacrae*, but not the wind instruments (De Hooghe made a splendid frontispiece without wanting to tell us something about the exact instrumentation of these motets!).

The bass instrument is not very clear. A scroll shaped like a human or animal head and at least two pegs are visible. The back of the instrument seems completely flat, which would imply it being a viol. The sides seem very small, which is not common for either a cello or a viol. The shape of the sides, however, point more in the direction of a cello. In short: the frontispiece does not really help answering the question what exactly the basso viola in this music should be. This shows that the iconography is not always sufficiently helpful. The instrumentation in the index of the basso viola part shows that at least in this collection basso viola is something different than a viol.

4.1.4 Philippus van Wichel: Fasciculus Dulcedinis (Antwerpen, 1678)

Fasciculus Dulcedinis is a collection of 18 sonatas for varying cast, composed by Philippus van Wichel (1614-1675).⁷⁰⁹ In 7 out of these 18 sonatas a basso viola is asked for. What is this instrument? Rudi Rasch published a few of these sonatas in a modern edition.⁷¹⁰ In this edition Rasch states that a viol should be used. Is this true or is there also another possibility?

The name basso viola appears only in the index, in other places in the music it is called differently:

Sonata no.	Index	Part	Title for single pieces
A2. Sonata Quarta	Basso viola	Basso viol.	Basso
A3. Sonata Quinta	Basso viola	Basso viol.	Basso
A3. Sonata Sexta	Basso viola	Basso viol.	(Basso: in bc part)
A3. Sonata Septima	Basso viola	Basso viol.	Basso
A4. Sonata Octava	Basso viola	Basso viol.	-
A5. Sonata Nona	Basso viola	Basso viol.	-
A5. Sonata Decima	Basso viola	Basso viol.	-

Table 14 Names used for the string bass in *Fasciculus Dulcedinis*.

The names used for the other instruments are not very consistent either. Each part book has an index, and in this index all instruments except the basso viola are listed as 'violini'. In the parts, however, the 'violini' are sometimes shortened to viol.: viola, tenor, tenor viol., alto viol. but sometimes also violino in full is used. Whether in the bass part viol. is an abbreviation for viola, for violino or for both does not become clear.

It is obvious that at least publishers were not very consistent when naming instruments. Considering the names in the index (and also the fact that many instruments in Antwerp were in fact cellos (as is shown in Section 2.2.4)), it would be logical to have a consort of the violin family. Considering the scores: all basso viola music is notated in f-clef, so both cello and viol could play it. The basso viola part is independent from the basso continuo part. They both use the same harmonies, but the basso viola plays an independent and virtuosic part. The ambitus of the part

⁷⁰⁸ Original: "Het grootste deel van de prentproductie van Romeyn de Hooghe bestaat uit boekillustraties. Dat gaat vaak om titelprenten - een zinnebeeldige voorstelling bij de titel van het boek." Taken from: <http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/romeyn-de-hooghe>, last accessed: 2010, December 10.

⁷⁰⁹ *Fasciculus Dulcedinis* consists of 7 sonatas for violin solo, 4 sonatas for 2 violins, 1 sonata for violin and basso viola, 3 sonatas for 2 violins and basso viola, 1 sonata for 3 violins and basso viola and 2 sonatas for 4 violins and basso viola. To all sonatas basso continuo is added, except for one sonata for 2 violins, called la Ciacogna. The copy used for this dissertation is held at Durham Cathedral Library, inv. no. Mzss C.46.

⁷¹⁰ Published by the Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis in Amsterdam in 1979 (4 sonatas for violin and basso continuo) and 1982 (4 trio sonatas).

is small (D-d') and not using the top of the viol. The bottom D could point into the direction of a viol, but does not rule out the cello altogether.

4.1.5 Benedictus Buns: *Encomia sacra musice decantanda* (Utrecht, 1683)

Encomia sacra musice decantanda is a collection of motets for 1-3 singers and up to 5 instruments and basso continuo composed by Benedictus Buns (ca. 1642-1716).⁷¹¹ Buns was a monk (his name in the monastery was Benedictus a Sancto Josepho) and for some time sub-prior in the carmelite monastery at Boxmeer (south of Nijmegen, in the east of Holland). From 1679 onwards he also served as their organist.⁷¹²

In the index of each partbook of the *Encomia sacra musice decantanda* the bass instrument is called "basso viol.". Does the abbreviation viol. stand for violino or viola? In the parts this becomes clear (see Table 15). In these parts, however, also another name appears: viola di gamba. The abbreviation basso viol. from the index could therefore stand for both basso viola (a bass violin?) and viol.

Part book	Motet no.	Instrumentation in parts	Ambitus	Clef(s) used
Violino tertio & quarto	V	Basso viola concert	D-d'	
Fagotto	V	Basso viola prima	B-d'	
Violino tertio & quarto	VII	Basso viola prima	F#-d'	
Fagotto	VII	Basso viola secunda	D-c'	
Violino tertio & quarto	XIV	Basso viola prima	F-d'	
Fagotto	XIV	Basso viola secunda	F-d'	
Violino tertio & quarto	XIX	Viola di gamba prima	B-b'	 &  (alto)
Fagotto	XIX	Viola di gamba secunda	C-e'	

Table 15 Names of the string bass in *Encomia sacra musice decantanda*.

Even though it becomes clear from the instrumentation in the parts that in this specific music the basso viola is considered another instrument than the viola di gamba, it does not become clear what exactly it is. Considering the points made in the previous Sections and also the ambitus of the Motets in question, these pieces could definitely be played on a bass violin (except for Motet XIX which is specifically written for viol).

In motet V the top basso viola part is called basso viola concert (see Figure 277). Why this is done has not become clear. The musical material and the ambitus does not differ much from the basso viola primo parts in the other motets.

⁷¹¹ The copy used for this dissertation is held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, département musique, inv. no. VM1-1036.

⁷¹² Only the beautiful façade of his organ still exists.

I V. Basso Viola Concert. 19

* Non nobis Domine.

Figure 277 Motet V: Basso Viola Concert.

4.1.6 Kornelis Sweerts: Mengelzangen en zinnebeelden (Amsterdam, 1695)



Figure 278 Frontispiece of *Tweede deel der Mengelzangen* (1695).

Kornelis Sweerts (1669-1749) published his *Mengelzangen* in two parts; in 1694 and in 1695 respectively.⁷¹³ To the second part a new frontispiece ('tytelprint') was added (see Figure 278).⁷¹⁴ On this frontispiece many instruments can be seen, some of which are being played, others not. In a circle in the middle of the frontispiece a lively scene with several musicians is depicted, the cellist playing 'the first fiddle' (Figure 279). The instruments depicted here are the same as the instruments mentioned in the title (*Tweede deel der mengelzangen, van Kornelis Sweerts; Bestaande in Cantus en Bassus continuus, mede om op de Viool, Fluit, en andere Instrumenten te kunnen speelen*). As 'bassus continuus' here a cello and quite possibly a virginal are used. The cello is more or less of a normal size (not leaning on the floor, but held between the calves), it has f-holes, no sloping shoulders, no frets and 3 strings (at least one too few for a cello at that time; I would say a tiny mistake of the engraver Pieter van den Berge). The bow is held underhand, which was very normal in that time, see Section 2.2.7. Left of the middle circle a viol is depicted (see Figure 278), clearly a different instrument than the cello in the circle. It is interesting that the cello is the instrument being played and not the viol. One could wonder if Kornelis Sweerts intended the bass line for the cello (together with a keyboard instrument).



Figure 279 Detail of Figure 278. A violin, a flute, a virginal (?), a cello, and probably a singer.



Figure 280 The (female!) cellist.

The bass part of the *Mengelzangen* is very simple (see Figure 281). The range of this part is C-c', but the low C is used only once. Some simple figures are added for the keyboard. The notes are so simple, that, whatever tuning the cello had at that moment, they are easy to play.

⁷¹³ The texts of the 'mengelzangen' are of a lyrical, didactical nature. Characterization made by A.K.J. Zielhorst. <http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/sg/2007-0522-200326/liepkunst.pdf>, last accessed: 2010, September 22. The copy I used is held by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague, inv. no. KW 8 C 32.

⁷¹⁴ On the frontispiece of the first part (published 1694) also some instruments are depicted: a violin, a recorder and possibly a bassoon. This frontispiece is not reproduced here.

Laat ons met een helder.

Figure 281 The bass part for one of the *Mengelzangen*. This is the only song in which a low C is required (see circling).

4.1.7 Hendrik Anders: *Trioos, Allemande, Courante, Sarbande, Gighe &c.* (Amsterdam, 1696)

The *Trioos, Allemande, Courante, Sarbande, Gighe &c.*⁷¹⁵ are a collection of short trio pieces numbered from 1 to 34 for two upper voices and a bass voice composed by Hendrik Anders (1657-1714).

In the preface Anders writes the following about which instruments could play which part:

"[from] the author to the art loving aficionados of music.

The two upper parts of these trios and little airs can all be played on the violin and recorder; most of them similarly on the oboe; yet the last six could also be played by two trumpets, in addition to the instruments mentioned before. The bottom voice is suitable for bass violin, bassoon, harpsichord or for all together. All parts could also be doubled in this way, and be interchanged ad libitum."⁷¹⁶

This preface is a unique source for doubling instruments in trios (as are his *Symphoniae introductoriae*, see Section 4.1.9).

The instruments mentioned in the preface, except for the harpsichord, are depicted on the title page:

⁷¹⁵ The copy used for this dissertation is held by the Library of Leiden University, shelfmark: Thysia 2148.

⁷¹⁶ Original: "Den Autheur, Aan de Konstbeminnde Lief hebbers der Muzyk. Deze Trioos-Stukjes, en airtjes, kunnen in de twee boven Partyen altemaal op de Viool en fluyt gespeelt worden; desgelyks ook de meeste op de hautbois; dog de ses laatste kunnen mede door twee Trompetten, behalven de voorsz: instrumenten gedaan worden. De grond-stem is bequaam voor de Bas-Viool, Basson, Clave-cimbaal of voor altemaal gelyk. Zoo kunnen ook al de Partyen verdubbelt, en na believeen door elkanderen verwisselt worden."



Figure 282 Title page of Hendrik Anders *Trioos* etc. (1696). From left to right: bassoon (but looking like a dulcian), recorder (on the ground), trumpet, violin, oboe and bass violin.

The shape of the bass violin is a mix between a cello and a viol (see Figure 283): the shoulders are sloping. For the rest the instrument looks like a cello: scroll, 4 strings and sound holes in the shape of an f (mirrored). Taking these characteristics into account, I am convinced that the "bas-viool" mentioned in the preface means a cello and not a viol (see Sub chapter 4.1 on the double meaning of the word bas-viool),⁷¹⁷ even though the shoulders are sloping.



Figure 283 Detail of Figure 282. Bass violin from Anders (1696).

The parts are labelled: violino primo, violino secondo and basso continuo. The basso continuo part, which is also meant for bass violin and bassoon, has a range from D to e flat', an ambitus quite normal for bass parts dating from that time.

⁷¹⁷ And therefore (in the translation of the preface) translated into bass violin and not into bass viol.

4.1.8 Servaas de Konink: Trios, opus 1 (Amsterdam, 1696)

The collection of *Trios Pour la Flute le Violon le Hautbois et toutes Sortes d'Instruments* was composed by Servaas de Konink (1654-1701).⁷¹⁸ It consists of 30 short⁷¹⁹ numbered trios for 'Dessus', 'Second Dessus' and 'Basse'. The bass part is figured.

On the title page a few instruments are depicted: recorder, oboe and bassoon. In the title of this collection, however, a violin is also mentioned, as well as 'all sorts of instruments'.

In the catalogues of Roger's publishing firm up to 1699 the trios are advertised as 'trios for flute, violin, oboe etc.', which agrees with what is written on the title page. From 1700 up to 1744 they are advertised simply as 'trios for all sorts of instruments'.

The bass part has a maximum ambitus of C-e', although the high e' is only called for three times.

Given the ambitus, the vague instrumentation instructions on the title page and in the catalogues and the technical skills required in the bass part, this music is well fit for being played on a cello/bass violin.

4.1.9 Hendrik Anders: Symphoniae introductoriae (Amsterdam, 1698)

The *Symphoniae introductoriae*⁷²⁰ by Hendrik Anders are a collection of four sonatas for two treble instruments and bass, and eight sonatas for two treble instruments, alto and bass (of which one sonata with alto ad libitum as Anders states in his preface). They were published by Estienne Roger in 1698.

The original title: *Symphoniae introductoriae trium, et quatuor instrumentorum* does not mention for which instruments these symphoniae are meant. In Roger's catalogues the instrumentation changes over the years, as well as the category in which the music is listed (see Table 16).

Year of publication	Category	Instrumentation
1698-1700 ⁷²¹	-	Les Trios d'Anders pour toutes sortes d'instruments
1701 ⁷²²	Livres de pieces pour les Flûtes, les Hautbois & pour les Violons à la Française a 3 & 4 parties	Les Trios d'Anders pour toutes sortes d'instr.
1702-1706, 1708 ⁷²³	Sonates pour les violons à 2 violons & une Basse continue, la plupart avec un violoncello ou viole de Gambe	H. Anders opera seconda sonat. à 3 & 4 instr.
1712, 1716 ⁷²⁴	Sonates a deux violons et basse continue la plupart avec une basse de violon ou basse de viole	Henrici Anders opera seconda, Sonate à tre, due Violini e Basso Continuo, e à quattro, due Violini Alto Viola e Basso Continuo
1725, ca. 1730, 1735, 1737, 1744 ⁷²⁵	Sonate et concerts pour les violons a fortes parties	Henrici Anders opera Seconda [or seconda], Sonate a tre & quattro Stromenti, due Violini, Alto viola e Basso continuo

Table 16 The instrumentation of Hendrik Anders' *Symphoniae*.

⁷¹⁸ The only copy of this music is held by Durham Cathedral Library, inv. no. Mus. C. 56.

⁷¹⁹ The bass part in most trios consists of no more than one page per trio.

⁷²⁰ The only copy of this work is held by the University Library of Leiden University, shelfmark: Thysia 2220.

⁷²¹ Roger (1698), unpaginated. Roger (1699), unpaginated. Roger (1700), unpaginated.

⁷²² Roger (1701), unpaginated.

⁷²³ Roger (1702), unpaginated. Roger (1703), unpaginated. Roger (1704), unpaginated. Roger (1705), unpaginated. Roger (1706), unpaginated. Roger (1708), p. 12.

⁷²⁴ Roger (1712), p. 37. Roger (1716), p. 338.

⁷²⁵ Le Cène (1725), p. 63. Le Cène (ca. 1730), p. 63. Le Cène (1735), p. 59. Le Cène (1737), p. 59. La Coste (1744), p. 41.

The vague instrumentation given in the earlier catalogues corresponds with the equally vague instrumentation given on the title page. On the parts, however, it states 'violino primo', 'violino secondo', 'violoncello' (see Figure 284) and 'basso continuo'.



Figure 284 The violoncello part of Sonata prima. Note the difference in writing style between 'violoncello' and 'sonata prima'.

The instrument names seem to be 'written' in a different hand.⁷²⁶ Therefore it is likely that these names have been added later, at a time when the instrumentation in the catalogues was also changed.

The bass part consists of two separate parts, one for basso continuo and one for violoncello. These parts look entirely the same, the only difference is that in the continuo part figures are added. In the preface Hendrik Anders advises about doubling the parts in case there are more musicians available (he did the same in his opus 1, see Section 4.1.7):

"Necessary notice by the author to the real lovers and able prationers of pleasant music.

As promised, I offer you in this opus twelve sonatas, of which the first four consist of three parts, and the last eight consist of four parts. In the fifth sonata the alto part is ad libitum, and could be left out easily. All these pieces could be played with more instruments, in case there are enough musicians. Specially the last seven, which have been composed like Ouertures. One has to take special care when casting the Basso Continuo with one or more basses. In this case one will understand the intention of these sinfonias better, and listen to them with greater pleasure. If you like my work, I achieved my goal, and I will, with God's blessing, try to please you with more vocal and instrumental music."⁷²⁷

Anders advises (specially for the sonatas à 4) to use more bass instruments if available. Which instruments that should be, he does not specify. Possibly the frontispiece can answer this question (Figure 285). In the bottom right corner some instruments are depicted. A violin is lying on the floor, together with a dulcian and a cornetto. A cello is held upright by two cupids (for a detail see Figure 286). The cello has slightly sloping shouders,⁷²⁸ f-holes and 4 strings. It is difficult to determine the exact size, because of the cupids. In the background an organ is also depicted. The cello and the dulcian, and of course the organ could well be the bass instruments Anders was thinking of in his preface. In the preface to his *Trioos* (1696; see Section 4.1.7) Anders mentions the bassoon/dulcian and cello as well.

⁷²⁶ In the alto part there is no mention of a particular instrument.

⁷²⁷ Original: "Nootzakelyk berigt van den Autheur aan de Gunstige Beminnaars en konstige Oeffenaars der aangename Muzyk. Volgens myne beloften levere ik u lieden in dit tegenwoordige werk twaalf sonaten, waar van de vier eerste uyt drie, en de laatste acht uyt vier partyen bestaan, hoewel de Alt in de vyfde, ad Libitum gemaakt is, en heel wel kan uytgelaten werden. Alle deze stukken mogen met verdubbelde Instrumenten gespeelt worden, indien 'er uytvoerders genoeg zyn; maar in 't byzonder de laatste seven, dewelke op de manier van Ouerturen ofte Inleydingen gemaakt zyn. Op de Bass Continuus dient voornamentlyk gelet te worden, om die met een ofte meer Bassen te besetten. Zo zal men het oogmerk van deze Symphonien te beter begrypen, en dezelve met groter vermaak en indruk aanhoren. Indien U lieden deze mynen arbeyd niet mishaagt, zo hebben ik myn oogwit bereykt, ende zal verder trachten om U Lieden met meer andere, zo wel vocale als instrumentale Muzyk-werken door de Goddelyke Zegen te vermaken."

⁷²⁸ The violin has slightly sloping shouders as well, which means that the cello is possibly not a mixture between a cello and a viol, but a normal cello. For the rest the cello has only cello features.

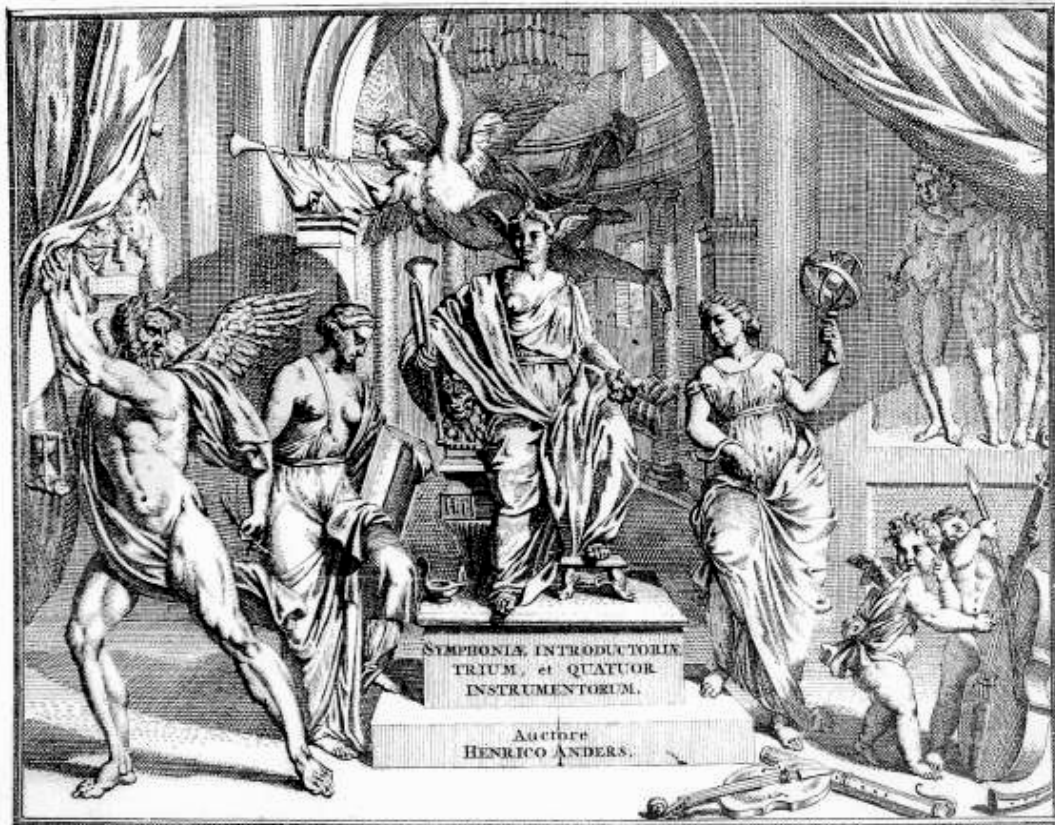


Figure 285 Frontispiece of *Symphoniae Introductoriae* by Hendrik Anders.



Figure 286 Detail of musical instruments in Figure 285.

The ambitus of the bass part is quite normal for that time, ranging from C-e'. This differs slightly in each sonata, mostly depending on the key of the piece.

4.1.10 Benedictus Buns: Orpheus Elianus è Carmelo in Orbem Editus (Amsterdam, 1698)

*Orpheus Elianus*⁷²⁹ consists of 13 sonatas and was composed by Benedictus Buns or "R. P. Benedictum A. S^{to}. Iosepho"⁷³⁰ as he is called on the title page. These sonatas are Buns' only purely instrumental work.

On the title page, which is written in Latin, the instrumentation is given as follows: "a. 2. Viol et Basso Viola Cum Basso Continuo [sic]". The same problem arises here as in some of the previous Sections: what is this basso viola? The instrumentation on the parts is clearer: 'Violino Primo' and 'Violino Secondo', 'Violoncello' and 'Organo' as basso continuo.

In the catalogues of Roger's publishing firm *Orpheus Elianus* is listed from 1698 onwards, and the cello (or violone in the first year) is the bass instrument asked for (see Table 17). From 1701 onwards Roger publishes many titles, and in the catalogues the music is divided into different categories. *Orpheus Elianus* is listed in the category: "Sonates pour les violons à deux violons & une Basse Continue, la plupart avec un violoncello ou viole de Gambe". In this category one indeed finds music with cello, music with viol (not that much though),⁷³¹ and music with "basso", in which the choice between a cello and a viol is quite possibly up to the musicians. Clearly Roger knew the difference between the two instruments, but wanted to sell as many copies as possible. Considering all the evidence, I am convinced that in *Orpheus Elianus* the basso viola is meant to be a cello.

Year	Category	Title
1698 ⁷³²	-	Josephi Benedicti opus octavum, sonates 13 a 4 2 viol. 1 violone 1 B cont.
1699 ⁷³³	-	Josephi Benedicti opus octavum sonate 13 a 3 col violoncello
1700 ⁷³⁴	-	Josephi Benedicti opus octavum Sonate a 3 col violoncello
1701 ⁷³⁵	Sonates pour les violons à deux violons & une Basse Continue, la plupart avec un violoncello ou viole de Gambe	Josephi Benedicti opus octavum sonates à tre col violoncello
1702 ⁷³⁶	Sonates pour les violons à 2 violons & une Basse Continue, la plupart avec un violoncello ou viole de Gambe	Josephi Benedicti opus octavum, sonates à tre col violoncello
1703 ⁷³⁷	Sonates pour les violons à 2 violons & une Basse Continue, la plupart avec un violoncello ou viole de Gambe	Josephi Benedicti opus octavum, sonate à tre col violoncello
1704 ⁷³⁸	Sonates pour les violons à 2. violons & une Basse Continue, la plupart avec un violoncello ou viole de Gambe	Josephi Benedicti opus octavum, sonate à tré col. violoncello
1705 ⁷³⁹	Sonates pour les violons à 2. violons	Josephi Benedicti opus octavum, sonate à

⁷²⁹ The only copy of this music is held at the Library of the Royal Conservatory in Brussels, inv. no. 14958.

⁷³⁰ R. P. = reverend father.

⁷³¹ One of the pieces with viol: "Finger Opera prima, 12 sonates les 3. premieres à 1 violon, une **viole de gambe** & 1 bass. cont. les 3. suivantes à 2 violons, 1 **violoncello** & 1 bass. cont. les 3 autres à deux viol. une Haute contre & bass. contin. & les trois dernieres à trois viol. & une bass."

⁷³² Roger (1698), unpaginated catalogue.

⁷³³ Roger (1699), unpaginated catalogue.

⁷³⁴ Roger (1700), unpaginated catalogue.

⁷³⁵ Roger (1701), unpaginated catalogue.

⁷³⁶ Roger (1702), unpaginated catalogue.

⁷³⁷ Roger (1703), unpaginated catalogue.

⁷³⁸ Roger (1704), unpaginated catalogue.

⁷³⁹ Roger (1705), unpaginated catalogue.

	& une Basse Continue, la plupart avec un violoncello ou viole de Gambe	tre col. violoncello
1706 ⁷⁴⁰	Sonates pour les violons à 2. violons & une Basse Continue, la plupart avec un violoncello ou viole de Gambe	Josephi Benedicti opus octavum, sonate à tré col violoncello
1708 ⁷⁴¹	Sonates pour les violons à 2. violons & une Basse Continue, la plupart avec un violoncello ou viole de Gambe	Josephi Benedicti opus octavum, sonate à tre col violoncello
1712 ⁷⁴²	Sonates a deux violons et basse continue la plupart avec une basse de violon ou basse de viole	R. P. Benedicti à Sto Josepho opera Ottava, Sonate à tre, due Violini, Violonc. e Basso Cont.
1716 ⁷⁴³	Sonates a deux violons et basse continue, la plupart avec une basse de violon ou basse de viole	R. P. Benedicti à Sto Josepho opera Ottava, Sonate à tre, due Violini, Violonc. e Basso Cont.
1725 ⁷⁴⁴	Sonates a deux violons et basse continue, la plupart avec une basse de violon ou basse de viole	R. P. Benedicti à Sto Josepho opera Ottava, Sonate à tre, due Violini, Violonc. e Basso Cont.
ca. 1730 ⁷⁴⁵	Sonates a deux violons et basse continue, la plupart avec une basse de violon ou basse de viole	R. P. Benedicti à Sto. Josepho opera Ottava, Sonate à tre, due Violini, Violonc. e Basso continuo
1735 ⁷⁴⁶	Sonates a deux violons et basse continue, la plupart avec une basse de violon ou basse de viole	R. P. Benedicti à Sto Josepho opera Ottava, Sonate à tre, due, Violini, Violonc. e basso continuo
1737 ⁷⁴⁷	Sonates a deux violons et basse continue, la plupart avec une basse de violon ou basse de viole	R. P. Benedicti à Sto Josepho opera Ottava, Sonate à tre, due, Violini, Violonc. e basso continuo
1744 ⁷⁴⁸	Sonates à deux Violons & Basse continue, la plûpart avec une Basse de Violon ou Basse de Viole	R. P. Benedicti à Sto Josepho opera Ottava, Sonate à tre, due Violini, Violoncello e Basso contin.

Table 17 *Orpheus Elianus* from 1698 to 1744.

The Orpheus Elianus sonatas are trio sonatas (Sonate a tre⁷⁴⁹), with a more embellished version of the basso continuo part for the cello (see Figure 287).

⁷⁴⁰ Roger (1706), unpaginated catalogue.

⁷⁴¹ Roger (1708), p. 12.

⁷⁴² Roger (1712), p. 37.

⁷⁴³ Roger (1716), p. 338.

⁷⁴⁴ Le Cène (1725), p. 57.

⁷⁴⁵ Le Cène (ca. 1730), p. 57.

⁷⁴⁶ Le Cène (1735), p. 53.

⁷⁴⁷ Le Cène (1737), p. 53.

⁷⁴⁸ La Coste (1744), p. 35.

⁷⁴⁹ Except for the 1698 catalogue these pieces are listed as such. In the 1698 catalogue they are listed as Sonate a 4.

Allegro

Violoncello

Organ

5

10

14

Figure 287 The first half of the Allegro of Sonata 5, cello and organ parts, showing the diminutions of the bass line in the cello part.

From 1712 onwards the name of the string bass in the title of the category has been changed from violoncello to basse de violon (just as viole de gambe has been changed into basse de viole). This is curious, because the basse de violon was an instrument used in the 17th century and not so much in the 18th century.⁷⁵⁰

The ambitus of the cello part is as follows: in 7 sonatas D is the lowest note, 5 times C and once the lowest note is E. As highest note 8 times e' or e' flat occurs, twice d' and twice f'. Once tenor clef is used, and in this case the highest note is g'⁷⁵¹ (see Figure 288).

Figure 288 Sonata I: detail from the cello part. See circling for the use of the tenor clef. This is the only time in all 13 sonatas.

Are these sonatas indeed written for cello? This is most likely the case. Although the instrumentation on the title page is a bit confusing, the part clearly indicates a cello as can also be seen in the catalogues.

⁷⁵⁰ The basse de violon was used in France, and tuned a whole tone lower than the cello. I do not think this basse de violon was the intended instrument here. Probably Roger just used this name because he was highly focused on the French market.

⁷⁵¹ For the g' one would need an extra ledger-line. This was unpractical to read, and therefore the tenor clef was used.

4.1.11 Servaas de Konink: Trioos, opus 4 (Amsterdam, 1698)

In 1698 Servaas de Konink had a second set of trios published by Estienne Roger: *Trioos Voor de Fluyten Hautbois en Violen [...] Tweede Trioos Boek Vierde Werk*.⁷⁵² This opus number consists of 35 short trios, shorter than the trios opus 1. The listings in the Roger catalogues show the same pattern as the listings for opus 1. In the first couple of years the different instruments are mentioned, from 1700 onwards the trios are advertised as 'trios for all sorts of instruments'.

There is a strong resemblance between these trios and the 'trioos' composed by Hendrik Anders in 1696: short pieces which can be joined to a larger 'suite' as one pleases.

The ambitus of the bass part is the same as in opus 1: C-e'. In view of the vagueness in instrumentation, I nevertheless think that it is very plausible that this music is composed for cello, because of the ambitus and the fact that many contemporary pieces were specifically composed for the cello (see for example Section 4.1.10).

4.2 Music in the 18th century

As was shown in Sections 4.1.1-4.1.11, the 17th-century bass violin/cello was almost solely used for playing the bass line (sometimes with diminutions). Towards the end of the 17th century the first solo⁷⁵³ music for violone and cello was composed in Italy, for example: the *Partite sopra diverse Sonate per il Violone* by Giovanni Battista Vitali (ca. 1680), the *Ricercars and Sonatas* by Domenico Gabrielli (1689) and the *Trattenimento musicale sopra il violoncello* by Domenico Galli (1691). In the beginning of the 18th century this development was continued in the Low Countries: also Dutch composers started composing music for solo cello (see Table 18).

Chronological overview of Dutch baroque music for solo cello				
Year of 1 st publication	Composer	Opus number	Instrument	Publisher(s)
1702	Mr/sieur Carolo	Triosonatas	Basse de Violon	Estienne Roger
ca. 1716	W. de Fesch	Opus 1b	?/Violoncelle	Roger (lost)/ Le Clerc (1738)
1716-1717	J. Klein	Opus 1, book 3	Basse de violon	Jeanne Roger
1717-1719	J. Klein	Opus 2	Violoncello	Michel Le Cène/ Le Clerc (1739) ⁷⁵⁴
1725	W. de Fesch	Opus 4b	Violoncello	Author/ Le Clerc (ca. 1740)
1733	W. de Fesch	Opus 8b	Violoncello/ violoncello/ violoncelle	Benjamin Cooke/ John Johnson (1736)/ Gerhard Witvogel (1737 lost)/ Le Clerc (1738)
1733	J.H. Fiocco	Lamentations	Violoncello	Manuscript
ca. 1740	J. Klein	Opus 3	?/Violoncello	Le Cène (lost)/ Le Clerc (ca. 1749)
1740 (composed between 1725-1740)	U. van Wassenaer	Concerti Armonici	Violoncello (obl.)	Carlo Ricciotti
1746	J. Klein	Opus 4	Violoncello	Gerhard Witvogel

⁷⁵² The only copy of this work is held by the Durham Cathedral Library.

⁷⁵³ In this case solo means not playing a bass line, but playing a solo role.

⁷⁵⁴ The le Clerc edition is held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. no. VMG-32536. I have not been able to consult this copy. According to their website this edition is not mentioned in RISM A/I.

ca. 1750	W. de Fesch	Opus 13	Violoncello	? possibly author/ John Walsh (1757)
1758-1759 ?	A. Magito	Opus 1	Violoncello	Wynne
1763	W. G. Kennis	Triosonates Opus 6	Violoncello	Mr Le Menu
1780	P. Hellendaal	Opus 5	Violoncello	Author

Table 18 Music for solo cello composed in the Low Countries in the 18th century.⁷⁵⁵

Table 18 shows that a handful of Dutch composers produced quite an impressive collection of solo music for the cello.⁷⁵⁶ It is therefore the more surprising that in the Roger/Le Cène catalogues a special section with works for solo cello does not exist. The few cello sonatas which are mentioned in the catalogues are in fact part of the chapter with solo works for the viol. From the early catalogues up to the catalogues dating as late as 1744, there is no change.⁷⁵⁷ Considering that by the mid 18th century the cello had become a respected solo instrument, one would expect that the catalogues would show this trend as well. The Selhof catalogue of 1759 has indeed several chapters entirely focused on cello music (solo sonatas, concerti, duets, trios and Corrette's cello method) and thus shows this trend.⁷⁵⁸

As was already shown in Section 4.1.10, there exists an inconsistency between the names for the bass instrument in the titles of the different catalogue categories and the name of the bass instrument in the actual titles of the publications. Roger was leading an international publishing firm, not only publishing Dutch music, but also music from foreign composers, living in the Low Countries as well as abroad. At various times he also had agents in Germany, France and England. Could this be the reason that the bass instrument offers such a mixture and inconsistency of names? A few examples:

Composer	Year of publication (a); ⁷⁵⁹ year of first time in catalogue (b)	Name in catalogue	Name on publication
B. Buns	1698 (a)	Basse de violon/ Violoncello/Violone	Basso viola/Violoncello
Mr Carolo	1701 (a)	Basse/Basse de violon	Basse de violon
G. Visconti opus 1	1703 (a)	Basso continuo	Violone o Cembalo
G. Valentini opus 5	1715 (a)	Basso continuo	Violoncello o Basso Continuo
P. Castrucci opus 1	1725 (b)	Basso continuo	Basse de violon
D. S. Passionei	1725 (b)	Basse de violon	Violoncello
G. Antoniotti opus 1	1735 (b)	Violoncello	Violoncello/Viola da gamba

Table 19 Comparison of a few names of the bass instrument in the Roger catalogues and on the actual publications.

Several of the Dutch composers who composed music for cello, moved to England at some point in their lives and also published cello music there. To simplify matters these composers are also

⁷⁵⁵ The music listed in this table is not all music composed for solo cello in the Low Countries. More music was composed but, at present, considered as lost (see Section 4.2.9).

⁷⁵⁶ Besides this solo music, the cello is also often used as a continuo instrument, as is demonstrated in the Roger/Le Cène catalogues from 1697 onwards.

⁷⁵⁷ Mr Carolo's sonatas (no. 306) are mentioned from 1702 onwards; Klein's opus 1 (no. 425) and opus 2 (no. 449) sonatas from 1725 onwards and his opus 3 sonatas (no. 591) from 1744 onwards. Also a few books of sonatas by Italian composers are mentioned: 12 sonatas by Domenico Silvio Passionei (no. 446) from 1725 onwards and Giorgio Antoniotti's opus 1 sonatas (no. 569) from 1735 onwards.

⁷⁵⁸ Selhof (1759), pp. 111, 112, 126, 127, 148, 208, 209, 211, 215, 224, 231.

⁷⁵⁹ Dates taken from: Lesure (1969).

considered as belonging to the Dutch heritage for the purpose of this dissertation, and all their cello music has therefore been added to Table 18.

Extensive research has been done by Wakelkamp (Klein opus 3 and 4) and Rasch (Hellendaal) on several publications and composers. I confine myself to a short description of these works. I have concentrated on the other composers and works, and have added a case study on Alexis Magito, a composer about whom up to now nothing was known.

Apart from real solo music (among others sonatas), three collections of chamber music have also been added: the Van Wassenaer *Concerti Armonici* because they are very famous Dutch heritage and because of the connection with Alexis Magito (Sections 4.2.4 & 4.2.6); the Fiocco *Lamentations* because the cello plays a very important (solo) role in this music (Section 4.2.5) and two triosonatas for two solo cellos and basso composed by Kennis (Section 4.2.7).

4.2.1 M^r/sieur Carolo (active 1701)

In one of Roger's 1701 catalogues the following book is said to "appear shortly": "*Dix sonates a deux Bassons & 1 Basse continue tres propre aussi pour deux Basses de violon ou deux Violes de Gambe & une basse continue*".⁷⁶⁰ And in another catalogue of the same year the sonatas are listed as: "*10 Sonates à 2 violes de Gambes Basses ou Bassons & 1 B. Cont.*"⁷⁶¹ In both catalogues there is no mention of a composer.

One of the 1702 catalogues solves this mystery: "*Dix sonates a deux violes de Gambe & 1 bass. cont. tres propres à jouer avec des Basses ou des Bassons de la composition de sieur carolo, gravé. f. 4.*"⁷⁶² In all the Roger catalogues up to 1744 this music is listed.

The title page of the actual publication reads as follows:

X SONATES
à 2 Violes de Gambe & 1 Basse Continue
également bons à jouer Sur
2 Bassons ou Basses de Violon
Composez Par
M^r CAROLO
A Amsterdam

It is curious that one of the first catalogues which mentions this music, lists the sonatas as 'sonatas for two bassoons, also good to be played on 2 bass violins or 2 viols', whereas in all the other catalogues up to 1744 the viols come first, followed by bass violin and bassoon. On the actual publication the order is: viol, bassoon and bass violin. Carelessness or premeditation (to show that the music is equally good for any of these instruments, as is in fact written in the title)? Considering all the solo viol music printed in the Low Countries in the 17th century, the listings in most Roger catalogues and the listing on the title page, I am convinced these sonatas are firstly meant for viol. Around the turn of the century, however, the cello (and bassoon?) must have been introduced as a new solo instrument in the Low Countries, and therefore Roger doubled or even tripled his market by adding these instruments to the title.

Who is Mr Carolo? Johann Gottfried Walther states in his *Musicalisches Lexicon* that Mr Carolo is probably Carolus Hacquart.⁷⁶³ Composer and author of a dictionary of musicians Ernst Ludwig Gerber, interestingly, states that according to Roger's catalogue Carolo Hakart has composed "X sonat. pour 2 Violadigambes et B".⁷⁶⁴ Although Roger's catalogues do not offer this information, for Gerber there is clearly no doubt that Mr Carolo and Carolus Hacquart are the same person. François-Joseph Fétis and Edmund van der Straeten give the same information as Gerber.⁷⁶⁵ Musicologist Ernst Hermann Meyer, however, states that the sonatas differ in style from

⁷⁶⁰ Raguenet (1701), unpaginated. Roger's catalogue is to be found at the end of Raguenet's book.

⁷⁶¹ Danet (1701), unpaginated. Roger's catalogue is to be found at the end of Danet's book.

⁷⁶² Roger (1702), unpaginated. Underscore: ET.

⁷⁶³ Walther (1732), p. 268.

⁷⁶⁴ Gerber (1812), column 485.

⁷⁶⁵ Fétis (1866), p. 204 & Van der Straeten (1914), p. 94.

Hacquart's works, and that they seem to be German.⁷⁶⁶ Musicologist Pieter Andriessen and others follow this idea, and suggest that these sonatas were composed by Dominus Carolo, a composer working for the Cologne elector in the second half of the 17th century.⁷⁶⁷

Whether these sonatas were composed by a Dutch composer or not, I have decided to include them in this dissertation because they were published in Amsterdam (and must have been played there as well) and they offer really early repertoire for the special combination of two cellos and basso continuo.

The sonatas differ in length from 4-6 movements. The names of the movements do not show much variation. The only aspect that stands out is that all but one sonata have a movement called 'canzona' (see Table 20).

Sonata I	B flat major	Poco Largo	Allegro	Canzona	Allegro		
Sonata II	F major	?	(Poco) Allegro	Canzona	Adagio	Allegro	
Sonata III	g minor	Poco Allegro	Adagio	Poco Allegro	Canzona	Allegro	
Sonata IV	d minor	Poco Largo	Poco Allegro	Adagio	Allegro		
Sonata V	G major	Poco Allegro	Adagio	Canzona	Allegro		
Sonata VI	B flat major	Largo	Poco Allegro	Adagio	Canzona	Allegro	
Sonata VII	d minor	Poco Allegro	Poco Allegro	Adagio	Canzona	Allegro	
Sonata VIII	a minor	Poco Largo	(Poco) Allegro	Adagio	Canzona	Allegro	
Sonata IX	C major	Poco Largo	Solo	(Poco) Allegro	Adagio	Canzona	Allegro
Sonata X	G major	Poco Allegro	Allegro	Adagio	Canzona	Allegro	Allegro

Table 20 10 Sonatas composed by sieur Carolo (1702).

Almost all movements have been composed without repeats, except for three movements in three different sonatas.⁷⁶⁸ Apart from in the Poco Allegro of Sonata VIII (see Figure 289) there are no dynamic indications at all.



Figure 289 Sonata VIII: Poco Allegro showing the only dynamic sign in all 10 sonatas (1st bass part).

The Adagio of Sonata VI is the only movement in which some notes are slurred (see Figure 290).



Figure 290 Sonata VI: Adagio, showing the only slurs in all 10 sonatas (2nd bass part).

⁷⁶⁶ Meyer (1939), p. 267.

⁷⁶⁷ Andriessen (1974), p. 46.

⁷⁶⁸ Sonata III: Poco Allegro, Sonata IV: Allegro & Sonata VIII: Allegro.

There is hardly any difference in technical difficulties between the two solo parts and also the ambitus of both parts is the same: C-e'. This ambitus agrees with that of the Ricercars of Domenico Gabrielli mentioned in Sub chapter 4.2 and composed around a decade before in Italy. Most movements are quite short without a real musical development. An idea is started, there is a sequence and the end often comes quite unexpectedly. Not only the ambitus has clear similarities with Gabrielli's Ricercars, also the melody shows a resemblance. The melody partly sounds like a bass line which often becomes some kind of real melody. In short: in this music there is a clear development from the bass function the cello had in the 17th century to the solo function it acquired in the 18th century (see Figure 291).



Figure 291 Sonata VI: Largo, showing the development from bass function to solo function (1st bass part).

4.2.2 Willem de Fesch (1687-1761)

Violinist and composer Willem de Fesch (see Figure 292) was born in Alkmaar in a family originating from Liège. The family returned to Liège before 1690; Willem, however, moved back to Holland (Amsterdam) in 1710. He left for Antwerp in 1725 and a few years later crossed the Channel to London, where he stayed for the rest of his life, mostly working as a violinist.

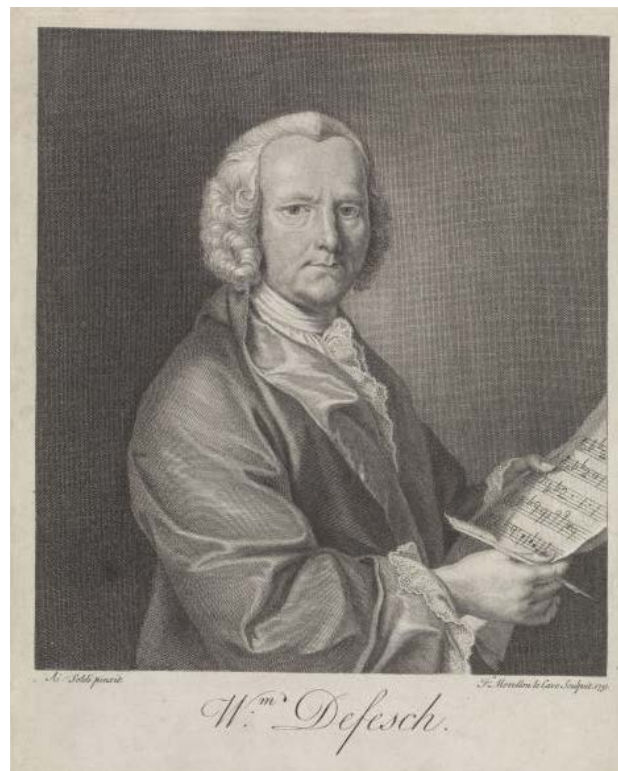


Figure 292 Willem de Fesch (1751).⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶⁹ Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-23.746.

De Fesch composed four sets of cello sonatas. Most of these sonatas were republished at a (much) later date and by other publishers, often also under different opus numbers (see Table 21).

Opus no.	RISM no.	Publisher	Republished as	RISM no. reprint	Publisher of reprint
Opus 1b			Opus 1	F 616	Paris: Le Clerc
Opus 4b	F 623	Amsterdam: author	Opus 3	F 622	Paris: Le Clerc
Opus 8b	F 629	London: Benjamin Cooke	Opus 8	F 630	London: John Johnson
			Opus 8		Amsterdam: Gerhard Witvogel
			Opus 2	F 618	Paris: Le Clerc
Opus 13	F 639	?author?	Opus 13	?	London: John Walsh

Table 21 The cello sonatas composed by Willem de Fesch and the reprints.

4.2.2.1 Sonatas opus 1b (Amsterdam ca. 1716 (lost), Paris 1738)

Musicologist Robert Tusler states that de Fesch' opus 1 consisted of 6 sonatas for 2 violins (opus 1a) and of 6 sonatas for 2 cellos (opus 1b). Tusler dates these sonatas ca. 1712-1715,⁷⁷⁰ but I think they were in fact not published before 1716, because in Roger's 1716 catalogue they are not yet listed. In the 1725 catalogue, however, at least the violin sonatas are listed (as no. 414).⁷⁷¹ Why the cello duets are not listed in the latter catalogue as well is a mystery to me, especially since Klein's opus 2 duets (see Sub section 4.2.3.2) are actually mentioned in this catalogue and these duets were composed for the same combination of instruments as de Fesch' opus 1b. Unfortunately until now neither the violin sonatas nor the cello sonatas of the first edition have been found.

Le Clerc and Boivin in Paris republished the opus 1 sonatas, an edition which still exists today.⁷⁷² The title page of this edition reads:

SONATES
A
Deux Violoncelles
Bassons ou Violles
COMPOSÉES
PAR
M^r DE FESCH
PREMIER OEUVRE

This edition is meant for 2 cellos, 2 bassoons or 2 viols. Whether this was also the case with the original Amsterdam edition I have not been able to establish.⁷⁷³

Most sonatas have four movements in the SFSF order (see Table 22).

⁷⁷⁰ Tusler (2005), pp. 32-34. I have not been able to find conclusive proof that opus 1b was in fact meant for 2 cellos.

⁷⁷¹ Le Cène (1725), p. 46.

⁷⁷² As for the date of this reprint the modern editors differ slightly. Tusler (1995): 1738; Oxford Music Online & Bibliothèque nationale de France: ca. 1745. I am inclined to follow Tusler, because the opus 4 and opus 8 sonatas were also reprinted by le Clerc and they are both dated 1738.

⁷⁷³ According to Tusler (2005) "Bassons ou Violles" has been added by Le Clerc. I am inclined to agree with him, because the other opus numbers are also only meant for cello. On the other hand: the option of cellos, viols and bassoons is likely as well, compare Mr Carolo's 1702 sonatas.

Figure 294 Largo of Sonata V. Note the chords in the second and fourth line.

When compared to the duets opus 4b (see Sub section 4.2.2.2), the opus 1 sonatas/duets are more solo sonatas with a bass line than duets with two equal lines. The 'bass line' in opus 4b, on the contrary, is more equal to the top line.

4.2.2.2 Sonatas opus 4b (Amsterdam 1725)

The opus 4b⁷⁷⁶ sonatas (opus 4a is intended for solo violin, violone and harpsichord) are composed as proper duets.

The title page reads as follows:

XII SONATE
in due libri
 il primo: 6 à Violino, Violone, e Cembalo
 ed il secondo: 6 a due violoncelli
 Dedicate
 Al Molto illustre Signore
 Il Sig^r: Giacomo Dupeyrou Jansz:
 da
 Guglielmo de Fesch
 Opera Quarta

⁷⁷⁶ In several modern sources these sonatas are dated 1725. On the website of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, however, they are dated 1726 (last accessed 2017, March 23). There are two reasons why this cannot be true: 1: De Fesch moved to Antwerp in 1725, and the sonatas were sold at his house in Amsterdam; 2: the patent (see below) is dated 24-1-1725.

On the title page the following is also mentioned: "in Amsterdam, in casa del Autore. fatto stampare a sue spese" ("[to be had] in Amsterdam, at the house of the author, printed at his own expense."). At the bottom right of the title page it is signed "Gugl^{mo} de Fesch" (see Figs. 295 & 296).

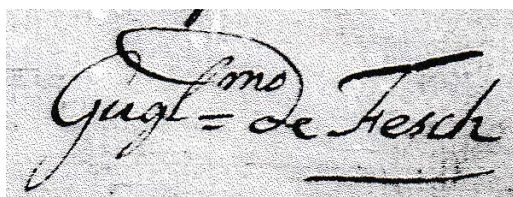


Figure 295 De Fesch' signature on the copy in the NMI.⁷⁷⁷

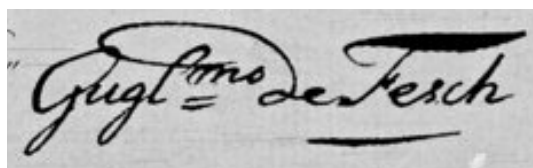


Figure 296 De Fesch' signature on the copy in the BnF.⁷⁷⁸

This signature is part of the patent which is printed in the back of the score. De Fesch was granted a patent for 15 years by the 'Staten van Holland ende West-Vriesland', to protect him against reprints made without him knowing. Part of the patent reads as follows:

"[...], that some selfish people, after all his [de Fesch'] assiduousness and expenses, [...], would reprint, have reprinted or print somewhere else in the Province of Holland and West Friesland, this new music in full or partly, [...]; not only at his injustice and loss, but even the decay of his works [as a result]: [...]"⁷⁷⁹

As was shown in Tables 18 & 21 a reprint was indeed made in Paris, just when the 15-year patent had expired. It was advertised as "estampes nouvelles" in December 1740 in a catalogue of music books Le Clerc had engraved.⁷⁸⁰

This specific edition was published as opus 3 for "deux violoncelles bassons ou violles".⁷⁸¹

All sonatas consist of 4 movements:

Sonata VII ⁷⁸²	a minor	Preludio Largo	Allegro	Adagio	Tempo di Gavotta
Sonata VIII	D major	Preludio Largo e cantabile	Allemanda Allegro	Largo	Giga Vivace
Sonata IX	C major	Largo	Allemanda	Ciciliana	Tempo di minuetto
Sonata X	d minor	Largo	Allegro	Largo	Giga Vivace
Sonata XI	F major	Preludio Largo	Allemanda Allegro	Sarabanda Largo	Minuetto Primo/Secondo Piani
Sonata XII	A major	Preludio Adagio	Allemanda	Largo	Vivace

Table 23 Sonatas opus 4b by Willem de Fesch.

⁷⁷⁷ This copy is held at the Nederlands Muziek Instituut, inv. no. NMI 27 A 52.

⁷⁷⁸ This copy is held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. no. VM7-6312.

⁷⁷⁹ Original: "[...], dat Sommige baatzugtige menschen, naar zyn aangewende vleyt en onkosten, [...], deze Nieuwe Musieck Werken in 't Geheel of ten Deele na te drucken, te doen nadrukken, of elders naagedrukt, in de Provintie van Holland ende West-Vriesland, [...]; niet alleen tot Zyne groote verongelyckinge en schade, maar Zelfs tot bederf zyner gemelde werken: [...]"

⁷⁸⁰ Anonymous (1740), p. 2919. Lambooij & Feves (1999), p. 141 and Tusler (2005), p. 34 mention 1738 as year of publication. I do not know what is the basis of their statements. Since the Le Clerc publication was advertised as "new print" in 1740, it is very plausible that this edition was in fact published during that year and not in 1738.

⁷⁸¹ A copy of this edition is held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. no. VM7-6351. See Table 21 for the illogical way Le Clerc gave partly new opus numbers to his editions of the de Fesch sonatas.

⁷⁸² The counting of the cello sonatas starts at sonata VII, the first 6 sonatas are the sonatas for violin.

Both parts make use of the f and tenor clef. These sonatas do technically not differ much from the opus 1b sonatas. In general the first cello plays higher than the second cello.

As stated at the beginning of this Sub section, the opus 4 sonatas are composed as proper duets. Also the second cello part often has the leading voice, whereas in the opus 1 sonatas this part was a real accompaniment (see Figure 297). The bottom part, however, acts more often as an accompaniment than the top part.

36

Giga Vivace

Figure 297 Sonata VIII: Giga Vivace. Notice the alternation between accompaniment and leading voice.

4.2.2.3 Sonatas opus 8b (London 1733)

Of the opus 8b sonatas four editions were published in quick succession by four different publishers. The title page of the 1733 Benjamin Cooke edition⁷⁸³ reads as follows:

XII SONATAS
Six for a *VIOLIN*, with a
THOROUGH BASS
Several of them are proper for y^e GERMAN FLUTE
and Six for two *Violoncellos*
Dedicated to the Right Hon.^{ble}
THE LORD TEYNHAM
COMPOS'D by WILLIAM de FESCH
Opera Ottava

On the list of subscribers is a certain Mr W^m Hogarth. Could this be William Hogarth the artist?

The title page of the 1736 John Johnson edition⁷⁸⁴ reads as follows (in this edition only the six sonatas for cello are published):

⁷⁸³ The copy consulted for this dissertation is held by the Library of the Royal Conservatory in Brussels, inv. no. 26 403.

⁷⁸⁴ The copy consulted for this dissertation is held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. no. A-33702.

Six
SONATAS
For a
VIOLONCELLO
with a *THOROUGH BASS* for the
HARPSICHORD,
Composed by
William Defesch
Opera Ottava

The Amsterdam publisher Gerhard Witvogel published these sonatas as no. 57 around 1737: "Willem de Fesch Opera octava Libro Secondo 6 Sonate a Violoncello Solo con Basso Continuo".⁷⁸⁵ This edition, however, is currently classified as lost.

The title page of the 1738 Le Clerc edition (as opus 2)⁷⁸⁶ reads as follows:

VI
SONATES
A
DEUX VIOLONCELLES
BASSONS
OU VIOLLES.
Composées
PAR M^r. DE FESCH
SECOND OEUVRE

Almost each edition was intended for a different combination of instruments, although published in such a short period of time (to increase sales?). The instrumentation on the Le Clerc edition of opus 8 follows that of the opus 4 sonatas (and the opus 1 sonatas, although they were published later), which were also published for 2 cellos, bassoons or viols.

Most sonatas consist of three movements:

Sonata VII (I) ⁷⁸⁷	D major	Largo	Allegro	Minuetto I & II	
Sonata VIII (II)	B flat major	Largo	Allegro	Vivace	
Sonata IX (III)	d minor	Ceciliana ⁷⁸⁸	Allemanda	Arietta, Larghetto e Piano	Minuetto I & II
Sonata X (IV)	C major	Largo	Vivace	Minuetto	
Sonata XI (V)	g minor	Largo ⁷⁸⁹	Alla breve	Minuetto I & II	
Sonata XII (VI)	G major	Largo	Vivace	Minuetto	

Table 24 Sonatas opus 8b by Willem de Fesch.

The first edition of these sonatas was published as duets for 2 cellos. Whereas in the opus 4 sonatas both cellos have more or less similar parts (which is to be expected with duets), in the opus 8 sonatas there is a clear distinction between the upper and the lower part. In these sonatas the first cello clearly has the solo part and the second cello plays an accompaniment (as was the

⁷⁸⁵ Dunning (1966), p. 48.

⁷⁸⁶ The copy consulted for this dissertation is held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. no. VM7-6350.

⁷⁸⁷ The counting of the cello sonatas in the 1733 edition starts at Sonata VII, the first 6 sonatas are the violin sonatas. The numbers in parentheses are taken from the 1736 and 1738 editions.

⁷⁸⁸ 'Siciliano' in 1736 edition.

⁷⁸⁹ In 1736 edition without tempo indication.

case in the opus 1 sonatas). To this first edition no figured bass is added, except in the two Minuettos of Sonata I. Why? We do not know.

The 1736 Johnson edition is set up for cello and harpsichord. To the bass line figured bass has been added. The 1738 Le Clerc edition shows a similar lay-out as the Cooke edition, including the figured bass in the two Minuettos of Sonata I.

The technical level of all the De Fesch sonatas is more or less the same.

The top voice alternates between bass and tenor clef, whereas the bottom voice only uses bass clef. The ambitus of the solo part is C-a'.

A short extract is reproduced in Figure 298.

The image shows a musical score for Sonata V/XI, Largo. The score is written in G major and 3/4 time. It consists of four systems of music. Each system has a treble clef staff (top) and a bass clef staff (bottom). The first system is labeled 'SONATA XI.' and 'Largo.' The music features a melodic line in the treble and a supporting bass line in the bass. The fourth system shows a specific bowing technique where two notes are played in one bowstroke, indicated by dots above the notes.

Figure 298 Sonata V/XI: Largo (Benjamin Cooke edition, 1733). Notice the bowstrokes in line four: two notes in one bowstroke, but they should not be slurred, hence the dots.

4.2.2.4 Sonatas opus 13 (ca. 1750)

The exact date of publication⁷⁹⁰ of the opus 13 sonatas is under debate. The British Library dates them 1740 with a question mark. Grove Music Online dates these sonatas around 1757.⁷⁹¹ Musicologists Smith and Humphries state that a first edition was issued in 1750, without imprint. A second edition ("London. Printed for I. Walsh, &c.") was made of the same plates by John Walsh in 1757.⁷⁹² In Selhof's catalogue of 1759 they are listed as no. 445: "*Gugl. de Fesch, VI Sonatas for a Violoncello Solo, with a thorough Bass for the Harpsichord, opera XIII.*"⁷⁹³ I am inclined to follow Smith and Humphries.

The title page of this collection of sonatas reads:

⁷⁹⁰ The copy consulted for this dissertation is held by the Library of the Royal Conservatory Brussels, inv. no. 27 187.

⁷⁹¹ www.grovemusiconline.com last accessed 2017, March 26.

⁷⁹² Smith & Humphries (1968), p. 120.

⁷⁹³ Selhof (1759), p. 112.

VI SONATAS,
FOR A
VIOLONCELLO SOLO,
with a Thorough Bass for the
HARPSICHORD.
*Dedicated to His Grace Peregrine
Duke of Ancaster, and Kesteven.
Hereditary Lord great Chamberlain of England &c.&c.&c.*
BY
William Defesch.
OPERA XIII

No publisher is mentioned anywhere in the first edition. Did de Fesch publish it himself, as he did with the opus 4 sonatas? Or was Walsh also the publisher of the first edition (without mentioning his name)?

Most sonatas have three movements, only the first has 4 (see Table 25). As in the opus 8 sonatas, most of these sonatas have a minuet as last movement.

Sonata I	D major	Siciliana	Allemanda	Gavotta	Minuetto
Sonata II	C major	Larghetto	Alla Breve	Minuetto	
Sonata III	A major	Siciliana	Allemanda	Menuetto [sic]	
Sonata IV	d minor	Largo	Allemanda Allegro	Minuetto I. ^{mo} /2. ^{do}	
Sonata V	D major	Siciliana Andante	Allemanda Comodo	Minuetto I. ^{mo} /2. ^{do}	
Sonata VI	a minor	Larghetto	Alla Breve	Giga Allegro	

Table 25 Sonatas opus 13 by Willem de Fesch.

The ambitus of these sonatas is the same as the others by de Fesch: C-b' (this b' is only used a couple of times in Sonata III to play a trill on the a'). Since opus 1, however, the technical possibilities of cellists have improved which is shown in Figs. 299 & 300: many fast notes, double stops and quick position shifts.

SONATA III.

Siciliana

The image displays a musical score for 'SONATA III. Siciliana'. It consists of four systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The first system includes the title and tempo marking. The score is written in a key with two sharps (F# and C#) and a 6/8 time signature. Various musical notations are present, including trills (tr), slurs, and specific fingerings (e.g., 6, 5, 4, 3, 7, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1). The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Figure 299 Sonata III: Siciliana. Some difficult spots: second line, first bar; third line, third bar and fourth line, first bar.

At several spots de Fesch changed the normal pattern of the minuet. The most beautiful and best example of this is reproduced in Figure 300. See the very special form he choose: ABBACA DDEEA.

4.2.3.1 Sonatas opus 1, book 3 (Amsterdam 1716-1717)

Klein's opus 1 sonatas are among the very first sonatas for solo cello written in the Low Countries. Also for these sonatas, as for some of the de Fesch sonatas, there is some confusion about the exact year of publication. Oxford Music Online dates these sonatas at 1717.⁷⁹⁶ The Bibliothèque nationale de France dates them ca. 1716.⁷⁹⁷ The first Roger/Le Cène catalogue which lists them is dated 1725. In this catalogue the sonatas are listed as: "425 Jacobi Klein, Junior libro terzo del opera prima, VI. Sonates à une Basse de Violon & Basse continue."⁷⁹⁸ The title page reads as follows:

VI SONATES
A une Basse de Violon & Basse Continue
DEDIÉES A MESSIEURS
NICOLAAS NOPPEN, JACOB HOUTMAN & JEAN DE WOLF
PAR
JACOB KLEIN LE JEUNE, AMATEUR DE MUSIQUE
PREMIER OUVRAGE LIVRE TROISIEME⁷⁹⁹
A AMSTERDAM
CHEZ JEANNE ROGER

The title page shows that these sonatas are in fact meant for basse de violon. Did Jeanne Roger (the daughter of Estienne Roger) really have the basse de violon in mind? Baroque cellist Frank Wakelkamp suggests that, because Jeanne Roger was very much focussed on the French market, these sonatas were published for basse de violon (the instrument much in use in France in that time), but that in fact the cello was the intended instrument. These sonatas are amongst the few for 18th-century scordatura cello (Italian: *scordare* = to detune). The normal tuning for the cello, as we know, was CGda; the tuning of the basse de violon, normally, is a whole tone lower: B \flat Fcg; although the instrument needed for these pieces should be tuned DAeb (see Figure 301), two whole tones higher than the basse de violon and one tone higher than the cello.



Figure 301 The tuning of the cello in Jacob Klein's opus 1 sonatas.

That is why Wakelkamp states that the difference in string tension between the French basse de violon (in B \flat) and the intended tuning (two whole tones higher) is too much for the strings to handle, and that rather a normal cello is meant.⁸⁰⁰

⁷⁹⁶ www.oxfordmusiconline.com last accessed 2017, April 14.

⁷⁹⁷ The copy consulted for this dissertation is held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. no. IFN-9057235.

⁷⁹⁸ Le Cène (1725), p. 68.

⁷⁹⁹ Klein's opus 1 consisted of three books of 6 sonatas each, the first 12 sonatas for either oboe or violin and basso continuo, the last 6 for basse de violon and basso continuo. As to the exact instrumentation of the first 12 sonatas Walther ((1732), p. 342) and Le Cène ((1725), pp. 38 & 46) do not agree completely. Until now the first 12 sonatas are lost. Opus 1 book 3 (not to be confused with opus 3!) is the only part which survived the test of time.

⁸⁰⁰ www.frankwakelkamp.com/nl/artikel/JHKlein_2_Leven_Werk.html last accessed: 2017, March 26.

As I have shown in Chapter 1, in the Low Countries the name basse de violon was translated into violoncello.

The most conclusive evidence, however, that the cello was in fact the intended instrument comes from the music itself. The solo part is notated in grip notation (to make playing easier).⁸⁰¹ Therefore the solo cello and the basso continuo have different accidentals. If the basse de violon tuning was the frame of mind, different notes would have been written down in the solo part than is in fact the case (see Table 26 and Figs. 302-304).

	Open string	Ascending by half tones					
		a flat	a	b flat	b	c'	d flat'
Grip notation on Basse de violon	g	a flat	a	b flat	b	c'	d flat'
Grip notation on Cello	a	b flat	b	c'	c sharp'	d'	e flat'
The actual sound and the tuning of Klein's top string	b	c'	c sharp'	d'	d sharp'	e'	f'

Table 26 The actual sound on Klein's basse de violon and the grip notation on cello (tuned CGda) and basse de violon (tuned B♭Fcg).



Figure 302 Sonata XIII: Largo. Solo cello in grip notation, basso continuo in sound notation. Different accidentals in solo part and basso continuo.

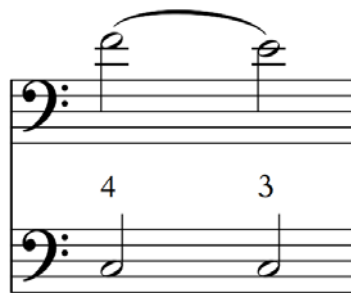


Figure 303 Given the figured bass, Figure 302 should sound as shown above.

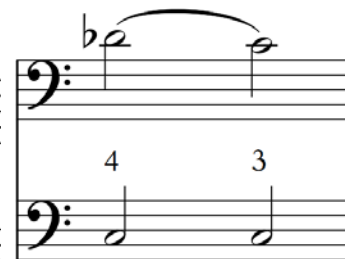


Figure 304 If the basse de violon was the intended instrument (tuned two whole tones lower than Klein's instrument), the notes above would have been written down.

In short: the pitch should be f'-e'. To achieve this, a cellist knows where those notes are to be found on the fingerboard. The instrument in these sonatas, however, is tuned one tone higher, and therefore one should place the fingers one tone lower on the string to achieve the same sound (and not two tones higher and lower as would be the case on the basse de violon). The music is notated in grip notation, so the notes needed to be notated a whole tone lower: this proves that this is notation for cello music.

What could have been the reason to compose music for this tuning (or at least notate it in this way)?

As said before, Klein's sonatas are amongst the first cello sonatas composed in the Low Countries. In the early 18th century the cello technique had not yet been very much developed. Notes above fourth position were not used much or even not at all. If the music requires higher notes, and the technique to reach those had not yet been developed, a good solution would be to tune the instrument differently, in this case DAeb. In Klein's sonatas the highest note is generally the octave above the open string (b'). A higher note occurs only twice.⁸⁰² As will be

⁸⁰¹ Klein's sonatas are not the only music notated in grip notation. Bach's cello suite no. 5 (for scordatura cello with tuning: CGdg) is notated in the same way, as well as for example Biber's scordatura violin sonatas.

⁸⁰² In Sonata XVII: Vivace: a minor ninth above the top open string is needed; this requires fifth or sixth position; in Sonata XVIII: the first Allegro: a major ninth above the open second string is required. If a fourth finger is used for this note, this could be played in fifth position, with the third finger this note is played in sixth position.

shown in Sub sections 4.2.3.3 and 4.2.3.4 the opus 3 and opus 4 sonatas require much higher notes than the sonatas discussed in this Sub section. However, when comparing these sonatas with the sonatas Willem de Fesch composed around the same time, Klein's sonatas have a definitely more adventurous ambitus.

The scordatura required in these sonatas will also result in a different resonance of the instrument.

Most sonatas have four movements:

Sonata XIII ⁸⁰³	C major	Presto, Adagio	Allegro	Largo	Allegro	
Sonata XIV	D major	Largo	Adagio, Poco Allegro	Allegro	Adagio	Allegro
Sonata XV	E major	Adagio	Allegro	Adagio	Allegro	
Sonata XVI	f sharp minor	Adagio	Allegro	Largo	Allegro	
Sonata XVII	a minor	Allegro, Adagio	Andante	Adagio	Vivace	
Sonata XVIII	b minor	Adagio, Vivace, Presto, Adagio	Allegro	Largo	Allegro	

Table 27 Sonatas opus 1, book 3 by Jacob Herman Klein.

Klein makes frequent use of double stops and chords, specially in slow movements. Several chords in Figs. 305 & 307 would not be possible or very difficult in normal cello tuning. The scordatura tuning enables different chords.



Figure 305 Sonata XV: second Adagio in original (grip) notation.



Figure 306 Figure 305 in sound notation.

⁸⁰³ Because of the 12 sonatas preceding the basse de violon sonatas, the numbering of these sonatas starts at number 13.



Figure 307 Sonata XV: first Adagio in original (grip) notation.

Figure 308 Figure 306 in sound notation.

4.2.3.2 Duets opus 2 (Amsterdam 1717-1719)

As opposed to many of the de Fesch sonatas, which are in fact duets but are called sonatas (see Section 4.2.2), Klein's opus 2 consists of duets and they are also called as such on the title page, which reads:

VI DUETTI
a due Violoncelli
 Preludii, Allemande, Correnti, Gighe, Sarabande,
 Gavotte, Minuetti, Fuga, e Ciaccone.
 DEDICATI AL SIGNOR
 MATTEO DUBROCQ
 Grand Amatore della Musica
 da
 GIACOMO KLEIN IL GIOVANE
 Amatore della Musica
 OPERA SECONDA
in Amsterdam
 APPO MICHELE CARLO LE CENE
 Libraro⁸⁰⁴

In the 1725 Roger catalogue, however, they are listed as: "449. Jacobi Klein, Junior opera seconda VI Sonate a due Violoncelli."⁸⁰⁵ And in the music they are also called 'Sonate'.

Willem Noske⁸⁰⁶ wrongly states that apart from two canons by the Italian composers Domenico Gabrielli and Angelo Maria Fiorè, this is the first music written for two cellos. I would definitely claim that De Fesch' opus 1b and opus 4b sonatas (composed around the same time) have to be added to this list (see Sub sections 4.2.2.1 and 4.2.2.2).

⁸⁰⁴ The copy consulted for this dissertation is held by the Nederlands Muziek Instituut, inv. no. NMI 28 B 26 [-27]. This copy is not complete (title page and pp. 1-4 are missing). It has been complemented with a few pages from the copy held by the library of Count Schönborn in Wiesentheid, classification mark 71.

⁸⁰⁵ Le Cène (1725), p. 68. Underscore: ET.

⁸⁰⁶ Noske (1987), p. 82.

Klein's duets are constructed as suites, starting off with a Prelude, followed by several dance movements:

Sonata I	d minor	Preludio Allegro	Corrente Poco Allegro	Giga Allegro	Sarabanda Largo	Minuetto Vivace	
Sonata II	C major	Preludio Allegro	Allemanda Andante	Tempo di Minuetto Poco Presto	Sarabanda Adagio	Giga Allegro	
Sonata III	e minor	Preludio Allegro	Corrente Allegro	Sarabanda Adagio	Gavotta Presto	Giga Allegro	
Sonata IV	D major	Preludio Allegro	Allemanda Andante	Fuga Allegro	Sarabanda Adagio	Giga Allegro	Gavotta Allegro
Sonata V	A major	Preludio Allegro	Corrente Vivace	Tempo di Gavotta Poco Presto	Sarabanda Largo	Giga Allegro	
Sonata VI	G major	Preludio Allegro	Gavotta Vivace	Ciacconna poco Allegro	Gavotta Presto	Minuetto Allegro	Giga Allegro

Table 28 Duets opus 2 by Jacob Klein.

The first five are for an instrument with a normal tuning, the last one is meant for two scordatura cellos: CGdg.

These pieces have been published by the same firm as the opus 1 sonatas, but the instrument they have been composed for (or at least the instrument they have been published for) has been changed on the title page from basse de violon to violoncello. Concerning the date of publication, also for this opus number slightly different dates have been proposed.⁸⁰⁷

The ambitus of the music is C-a', very normal for cello music composed at that time. In sonata IV, one can find an example of diatonic fingerings (see Figure 309), which are physically not very pleasant for a smaller hand.⁸⁰⁸ To make it easier to play for all cellists, these fingerings could be easily re-arranged, making use of thumb position.

Figure 309 Sonata IV: Preludio, first cello. Diatonic fingering would be: 43341331 (1st rectangle) and 24 (2nd rectangle). When re-arranged with thumb position it will be: 32230330 (0 being the thumb) and 13.

⁸⁰⁷ Rasch in Oxford Music Online states 1719. Last accessed: 2010, September 23. Darmstadt (1998) states around 1717. Noske (1987) states 1717-1718?.

⁸⁰⁸ Modern fingerings start from the principle that there can be a whole tone only between the first and second finger, and sometimes between the second and third finger (specially in higher positions). When applying diatonic fingerings, there can also be a whole tone between the third and fourth finger, thus making an interval of a fourth between the first and fourth finger. Employing these fingerings is very tiring, and can cause injuries to the hand and the tendons in the arm.

Also in Sonata IV a special bowing is asked for (see Figure 310). Twelve notes in one bowing, with daggers on each note. Nowadays one would call this flying staccato.



Figure 310 Sonata IV: Gavotta, first cello.

In Sonata VI, the scordatura sonata, pizzicato is asked for in 4 out of 6 movements (see Figure 311). Only open strings are played pizzicato, which is an indication that left hand pizzicato is meant.

Figure 311 Sonata VI: Ciaccona, first cello. The instruction says: "le note mercate Con punti, pizzicatte" (the notes marked with dots, pizzicato). Also note the changing accidentals, indicating that this sonata is notated in grip notation.

The scordatura sonata is notated in grip notation (see Figure 311), which makes playing the sonata easier than if it would have been notated in sound notation.

4.2.3.3 Sonatas Opus 3 (Amsterdam ca. 1740 (lost), Paris 1749)

Klein's opus 3 sonatas have long been considered lost.⁸⁰⁹ The only information about these sonatas was found in catalogues of booksellers and auctions. The earliest mention of this music I have been able to find is in the 1744 catalogue of music books sold by Jean de la Coste in Amsterdam.⁸¹⁰ In this catalogue Klein's opus 3 sonatas are listed as "591 VI. Sonate à Violoncello solo, e Basso contin. composta da Giacomo Klein, Opera Terza".⁸¹¹ They must have been published around 1740, since Anton Wilhelm Solniz' *VI Sonate à deux Flutes Traversiere sans Basse* (no 588) are first advertised in 1738,⁸¹² and Giovanni Battista Martini's *XII Sonate d'Intavolatura per l'Organo e 'l Cimbalo* (no. 592) are dated 1742.⁸¹³

⁸⁰⁹ In Oxford Music Online they are still listed as such (last accessed 2017, April 13).

⁸¹⁰ Jean de la Coste took over Roger's and Le Cène's firm in 1743 and sold their books until 1746, when De la Coste discontinued his own firm. In 1744 he published a catalogue of all the music printed by Roger and Le Cène, which he was selling.

⁸¹¹ De la Coste (1744), p. 47.

⁸¹² Anonymous (1738, December 3). *Leydse Courant*, p. 2.

⁸¹³ Oxford Music Online, last accessed: 2017, September 21.

After the death of Gerhard Fredrik Witvogel, the publisher of Klein's opus 4 sonatas, an inventory was made of his possessions. In this inventory Klein's opus 3 sonatas are also mentioned: "H. Klijn, solos voor de vioncello [sic] op terza."⁸¹⁴

In the 1759 catalogue of books sold at the Selhof auction in The Hague the sonatas are listed as number 446: "Giac. Herman Klein, VI Sonate a Violoncello Solo e Basso Continuo, opera terza".⁸¹⁵

According to a catalogue of books owned by Pietro Locatelli this opus number contained "zes Soloos voor de Bas".⁸¹⁶ Most of these entries in catalogues make it very clear that the opus 3 sonatas were intended for cello, as were Klein's opus 1 & opus 2.

In 2011, out of the blue, Wakelkamp received photos of an original of the opus 3 sonatas, an original which had been auctioned on Ebay in 2009.⁸¹⁷ Wakelkamp has published a modern edition⁸¹⁸ and recorded a cd in 2014, which makes the music now available to everyone.

The copy sold at the before-mentioned auction was a copy of the Le Clerc-edition published in Paris around 1749.

The title page of this edition reads as follows:

SEI
SONATE
a
VIOLONCELLO e BASSO
CONTINUO
Composte
DA
GIACOMO HERMAN KLEYN
Amatore della Musica
OPERA TERZA.

Most sonatas consist of 4 movements:

Sonata I	G major	Adagio	Allegro	Adagio	Allegro	
Sonata II	d minor	Moderato	Andante	Allegro	Menuetto I & II	
Sonata III	D major	Preludio Allegro	Largo Cantabile	Andante	Adagio	Presto
Sonata IV	A major	Adagio	Allegretto	Andante	Allegro	
Sonata V	F major	Largo Allegro Adagio	Allegro ma poco	Adagio Allegretto Adagio Allegretto Adagio	Allegro	
Sonata VI	C major	Allegro	Andante	Spiritoso	Minuetto I & II	

Table 29 Sonatas opus 3 by Jacob Klein

⁸¹⁴ Scheurleer (1914), p. 249.

⁸¹⁵ Anonymous (1759), p. 112.

⁸¹⁶ Anonymous (1765), p. 43. Original: "6 Solos for the Bass".

⁸¹⁷ The photos were kindly provided to Wakelkamp by the Alfred Richter Cello Library (Switzerland). Wakelkamp also kindly provided me with these photos in order to conduct my research. The current whereabouts of the original publication is unknown.

⁸¹⁸ Wakelkamp has added fingerings and has replaced the alto clef with the treble clef which makes it easier to read for modern cellists.

There is a huge difference between the opus 1 and opus 2 sonatas/duets and the sonatas discussed in this Sub section. Whereas the earlier opus numbers do not go above a', these sonatas go much higher (highest note: e''). For these higher notes the thumb position needs to be applied frequently, in the first couple of sonatas less than in the later ones. The higher notes and also the way the music is composed sometimes asks for complicated fingerings in higher positions (Figure 312).

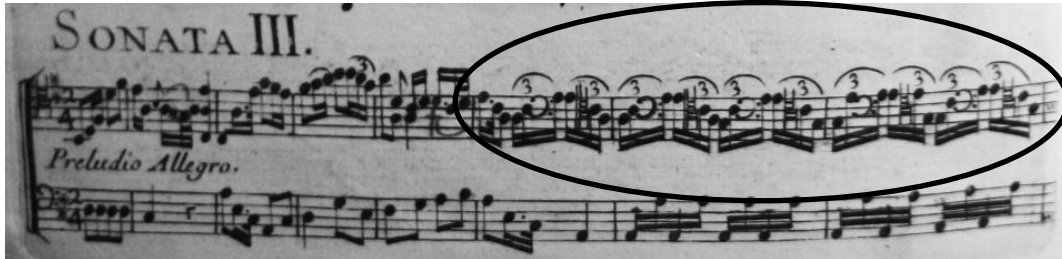


Figure 312 Sonata III: Preludio Allegro. Higher positions with notes over three strings.

Apart from the bass and tenor clef, use is also made of the alto clef in the higher passages. Also rhythmically and bowing wise (Figure 313) these sonatas are far more advanced than the earlier ones.

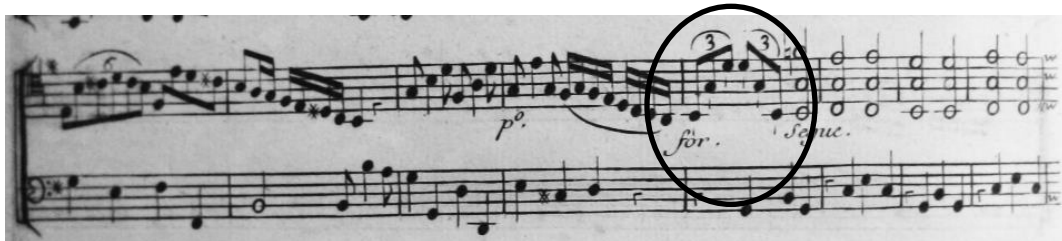


Figure 313 Sonata I: Allegro. Difficult bowing: slurred 'keilen' in down and up bow. This bowing is more advanced than the same kind of bowing technique (but only in an up bow) shown in opus 2 (see Figure 310).

There is an interesting resemblance between the theme of the Allegro of Sonata II (Figure 314) and the theme of the Giga Allegro of the de Fesch Sonata VI opus 13 (Figure 315). The intervals and rhythm are very similar, although the sonatas are composed in different keys. Did de Fesch know Klein's sonatas and did he re-use his theme?



Figure 314 Sonata II: Allegro



Figure 315 De Fesch Sonata VI, opus 13: Giga Allegro.

It is striking that there is so much difference in technique between the de Fesch opus 8b sonatas and Klein's opus 3 sonatas, because they were composed only a few years apart. And even Magito, though a cellist himself (see Sub section 4.2.6.4), still did not often make use of high positions even some 20 years later. Wakelkamp thinks that Klein suddenly showed so much progress thanks to the arrival of Pietro Locatelli in Amsterdam in 1729.⁸¹⁹ By that time de Fesch did not live in Amsterdam anymore, he had left for Antwerp in 1725 and moved to London a few years later. Also, he was a violinist, and it is therefore possible that he did not pick up the latest developments on the cello. Whether Magito has been in contact with Locatelli, I do not know. There must, however, be more to it, for it is highly unlikely that Locatelli, a violin player, is the sole musician who showed Klein the way, although it is of course possible that Locatelli saw the technique in Italy before he arrived in the Low Countries, and told Klein about it. The cellist

⁸¹⁹ www.frankwakelkamp.com/nl/artikel_JHKlein_2_Leven_Werk.html, last accessed: 2017, April 17.

Valerie Walden states that the "tessitura of solo works for the violoncello suggests that use of the thumb became an established virtuoso technique during the 1730s."⁸²⁰ It seems very likely that not only Locatelli but also and probably mainly travelling (Italian) cellists brought along this new technique and also cello music published abroad. As stated in Sub chapter 4.2, Roger's publishing house not only published Dutch music, but also foreign music, including cello sonatas. These sonatas, composed by Antoniotti and Passionei, do not go higher than b', but they do offer quite virtuosic music, much more virtuosic than Klein's opus 1 and opus 2 sonatas. Salvatore Lanzetti's opus 1 cello sonatas were published in Amsterdam in 1736. The solo cello part in these sonatas ascends up to b'', an octave higher than the Antoniotti and Passionei sonatas. It is very plausible that a combination of all these aspects showed Klein the new technique and a new direction for cello playing. But surely Klein was, at least in the Low Countries, (one of) the first to apply this technique.

4.2.3.4 Sonatas Opus 4 (Amsterdam 1746)

The Amsterdam organist and music publisher Gerhard Fredrik Witvogel (1669-1746) published Klein's opus 4 sonatas as no. 82 in the year of Witvogel's death.⁸²¹

The title page reads:

VI SONATE
A
VIOLONCELLO SOLO E BASSO CONTINUO
COMPOSTE DA
GIACOMO HERMAN KLEYN
Amatore della Musica
E DEDICATE
All Molto Illustre signore il signor
GIOUACHINO RENDORP
OPERA QUARTA

The sonatas consist of either 3 or 4 movements:

Sonata I	B flat major	Allegro	Poco Adagio	Poco Allegro	Allegro
Sonata II	A major	Adagio Cant.	Allegro	Adagio	Presto
Sonata III	G major	Allegro	Andante	Allegro	
Sonata IV	E major	Spiritoso	Largo	Allegro	
Sonata V	a minor	Poco Allegro	Adagio	Allegro	
Sonata VI	c minor	Allegro	Vivace	Adagio	Allegro

Table 30 Sonatas opus 4 by Jacob Klein

In 1746 around 30 years had passed since the publication of Klein's first opus number. As already had become clear in Klein's opus 3, the cello technique had changed tremendously since the first two opus numbers. Klein's opus 4 sonatas show an even greater extension of the ambitus. The higher positions are thoroughly explored. What makes these sonatas very special indeed are the approximately 1200 fingerings printed in the music. These early fingerings give a good view of the possibilities of the left hand around the middle of the 18th century. Just in case the fingerings alone would not be clear enough, Klein also added short lines above or under the notes, to indicate on which string the notes should be played.

It is interesting that Klein frequently asks for whole tone distances not only between the first and second finger, but also between two and three, and three and four.⁸²² When used too

⁸²⁰ Walden (1998), p. 126.

⁸²¹ Dunning (1966), p. 52.

⁸²² These fingerings have not been invented by Klein. In other cello sonatas and methods they are also found, see for example Corrette (1741), p. 34.

intensively, these fingerings can be dangerous for the hand.⁸²³ Most fingerings can quite easily be re-arranged to modern and more convenient fingerings.

A short example of this music:

Figure 316 Sonata III: Andante. String indication lines (first circling), fingerings (whole tone between second and third finger: second circling), and thumb position in higher positions (third circling).

4.2.4 Unico Wilhelm van Wassenaer (1692-1766)

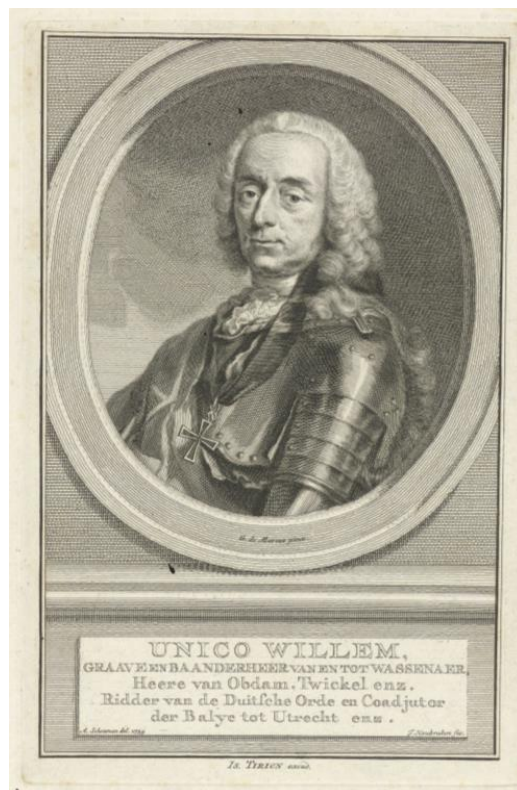


Figure 317 Jacob Houbraken: Unico Wilhelm van Wassenaer (engraving dated: 1749-1759).⁸²⁴

⁸²³ Therefore Frank Wakelkamp thinks a warning is in place. For more information see the article on his cd recording of the opus 4 sonatas or on his website: www.frankwakelkamp.com. I totally agree with him about the warning!

⁸²⁴ Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-48.364.

The *Concerti Armonici* composed by Count Unico Wilhelm van Wassenaer were published by Carlo Ricciotti in Den Haag in 1740. Magito was the engraver and quite possibly also the printer of the music (see Sub section 4.2.6.3). The title page reads as follows:

VI. CONCERTI
ARMONICI
a
Quattro Violini obligati, Alto Viola,
Violoncello obligato e Basso continuo.
Dedicati
All' Illustrissimo Signore
IL SIGNORE CONTE
di BENTINCK
&c. &c. &c.

Dal suo humilissimo Seruitore, C. Ricciotti,
detto Bacciccia, e stampati à sue spese,
alla Haye, in Hollanda.

On the title page no name of a composer is mentioned. This has caused a lot of confusion. The *Concerti* were wrongly attributed to Carlo Ricciotti and Giovanni Battista Pergolesi. Around 1979 Albert Dunning discovered the real composer of the *Concerti*: Unico van Wassenaer. In the autograph, held in the library of Twickel Castle,⁸²⁵ it is stated that it is the score of "my concerti" and that these concerti were composed at different times between 1725 and 1740.⁸²⁶ All concerti have four movements in the SFSF order:

Concerto I	G major	Grave	Allegro	Largo é Staccati	Allegro
Concerto II	B flat major	Largo Andante	Da Capella Presto	Largo. Affetuoso	Allegro. Moderato
Concerto III	A major	Grave Sostenuto	Da Capella Canone di Palestrina	Largo Andante	Vivace
Concerto IV	G major	Largo Piano	Da Capella Non Presto	Largo Affetuoso	Allegro
Concerto V	?	Adagio	Da Capella	á Tempo Commodo	á Tempo Guisto
Concerto VI	E flat major	Affettuoso	Presto	Largo	Vivace

Table 31 The *Concerti Armonici* by Unico van Wassenaer.

The concerti have two bass parts, one for violoncello obligato and one for basso continuo. The violoncello part is a real solo part, which differs from the basso continuo part in several ways. For some examples of this see Figs. 318-321.

⁸²⁵ The castle of the van Wassenaer Family close to Delden in the province of Overijssel, in the east of Holland.

⁸²⁶ Rasch and Vlaardingerbroek (1993), p. 44.

The cello plays alone while the basso continuo remains silent:

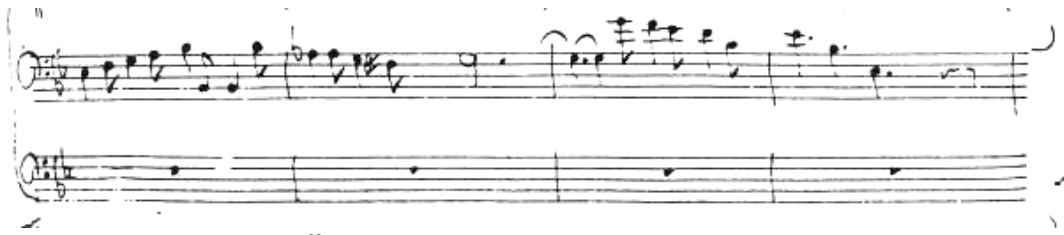


Figure 318 Concerto II: Largo Affetuoso.

The cello plays an octave higher than the basso continuo:

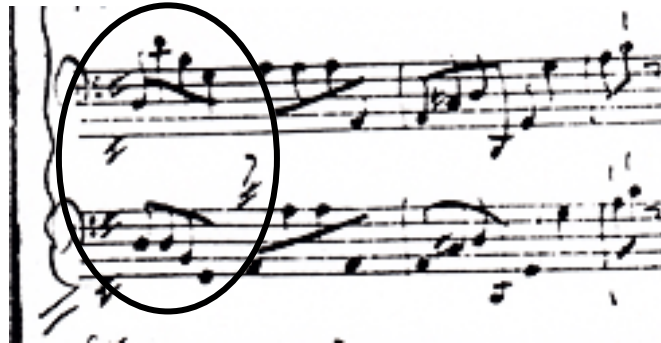


Figure 319 Concerto I: Allegro.

The cello fills in the chords of the basso continuo with imitative obligato:

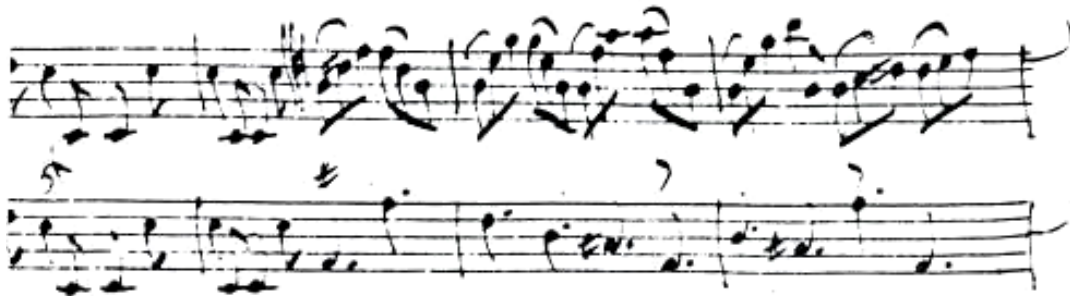


Figure 320 Concerto I: second Allegro.

The cello plays a solo role, while the basso continuo just plays the simple bass line:



Figure 321 Concerto I: Grave é Staccato.⁸²⁷

⁸²⁷ The name of this movement differs in the sources. In van Wassenaer's manuscript it was Grave e Staccato, but Grave has been taken out and was replaced by 'un poco andante', with the extra remark that "ce morceau est un peu trop long (this piece is a little bit too long)". In the first print by Magito all the part books have Grave é Staccato, except for the violoncello obligato part. In this part book the movement is called Largo é Staccato.

The ambitus of the violoncello part is C-a'. For a continuo part this would be quite large, but for a solo part it is fairly normal, especially if one compares the cello part of the *Concerti* with the sonatas by Willem de Fesch which were composed around the same time.

In Concerto V in the movement á Tempo Commodo the instruction 'Con Sordine' is given, an instruction quite rare in cello parts.

4.2.5 Joseph Hector Fiocco (1703-1741)

The composer, organist and harpsichordist Joseph Hector Fiocco was one of 15 children of the Italian composer Pietro Antonio Fiocco and was born in Brussels in 1703. In 1731 he succeeded Willem de Fesch as 'sangmeester' at Antwerp Cathedral when de Fesch left for England. In 1737 he returned to Brussels, where he died a few years later, only 38 years old.

In 1733, during his time in Antwerp, he composed the "*Lamentations du Mercredi, Jeudi et Vendredi Saint*".⁸²⁸ These compositions have been preserved in manuscript and are now held at the Library of the Royal Conservatoire in Brussels.⁸²⁹

The *Lamentations* have been composed for a combination of 1 voice, one or two solo cellos (solo cello(s) appear(s) in 5 out of 9 Lamentations) and basso continuo:

Lamentations du mercredi Saint		
1. ^{ere} lamentation ⁸³⁰	Canto, ⁸³¹ violoncello, basso continuo	A minor
2. ^e leçon	Canto, basso	E minor
3. ^e leçon	Canto, basso	G major
Lamentations du jeudi Saint		
1. ^{ere} lamentation	Canto, violoncello primo, violoncello 2. ^{do} , basso continuo	G minor
Seconde leçon	Canto, violoncello, basso	C minor
3. ^e leçon	Canto, organo ⁸³²	D minor
Lamentations du vendredi Saint		
1. ^{ere} lamentation	Canto, basso	A major
2. ^e leçon	Canto, violoncello, basso	B flat major
3. ^e leçon (l'oraison du prophete jeremie)	?, violoncello, basso c.	G minor

Table 32 The Fiocco *Lamentations*, 1733.

Each set of lamentations consists of a score and separate parts for voice, cello(s) and basso (continuo)/organo.

In the separate basso (continuo) parts hardly any figured bass is found, whereas the bass line in the score is figured throughout. This shows that the keyboard player played from the score. In the 3.^e leçon of jeudi Saint the separate bass part is labelled organo, this part is also figured throughout.

For what instrument could the separate unfigured bass parts have been intended, considering the keyboard player played from the score? I would say that an extra cello would be a very good option. In the 2.^e leçon of jeudi Saint a second instrument is definitely needed to play the bass line (see Figure 322). The top line of this bass part plays in 'duet' with the solo cello. In order to achieve the best mixing of sound between the parts, I draw the conclusion that this line is meant

⁸²⁸ Stellfeld (1941), p. 103. Some of the lamentations are dated, others are not.

⁸²⁹ Inv. no. 33804 (mercredi), 33805 (jeudi) and 33806 (vendredi).

⁸³⁰ The different pieces are alternately named 'lamentation' or 'leçon'. When writing about a certain piece I use the name which is in the manuscript.

⁸³¹ The vocal parts have no mention of the type of voice. The canto which I use in this table has been taken from the title pages. The soprano clef is used throughout the entire collection, also in the jeudi and vendredi lamentations, except for the 3.^e vendredi lamentation, which is written in bass clef.

⁸³² This organo part is interesting. In the catholic church it was not allowed to play the organ during the Holy Week. The part seems to be written by another hand (the f clef is mirrored), and could have easily been added later.

to be played on a cello. Given the fact that for all the lamentations there is a separate bass part, it is very likely that all lamentations were intended to be played with a keyboard and cello on the bass line.

Figure 322 *Seconde leçon du jeudi Saint*: cello, voice and continuo. The basso continuo clearly shows two musical lines, the top one in melodic duet with the solo cello.

The solo cello parts use both bass and tenor clefs. In the *leçon* with the male singer only the bass clef is used, as is done for the second cello in the 1^{ère} *Lamentation du jeudi Saint*.

In some of the lamentations/movements the cello has a proper solo part, in other lamentations/movements it acts more as counterpart to the voice.

The technical level asked for is not extremely high. It is more or less of the same level as the cello parts in the De Fesch sonatas and Klein's earlier opus numbers (see Figure 323), except that in Fiocco's Lamentations very fast movements do not appear.

Figure 323 1^{re} lamentation du jeudi Saint, the only lamentation with two solo cellos. This lamentation is the only one using forte and piano.

The music is very well written for the cello. I did not find anything which is not easily playable, except for one chord (see Figure 324). Did Fiocco for one moment forget what instrument he was composing for and did he think of the viol?

Figure 324 3^e leçon du vendredi Saint. Violoncello part: the last chord is not possible on the cello, unless played as an arpeggio. This chord is also to be found in the score.

4.2.6 Case study: Alexis Magito (1711- 1773): cellist, music engraver and composer

4.2.6.1 Alexis - his family and his life

The cellist, music engraver and composer Alexis Magito was born in Rotterdam in a native Dunkerque family of fairground showmen, acrobats and musicians, which had lived in Holland since around 1675. The Magito family was very well known in their time, especially for their performances as fairground showmen and acrobats. As early as the end of the 17th century a "centsprent" was produced showing Masiton⁸³³ and all the men and women of his fairground crew. An 18th-century version of this woodcut is reproduced in Figure 325 (details) and Figure 326 (whole woodcut):



Figure 325 Detail of Figure 326. Masiton ("Masiton de Baas van 't Spel") and a male ("Ik ben de eerste op de Hoofd/") and female ("Wagt mijn Vriend ik volg je voort") rope dancer.

⁸³³ Masiton is one of the many spellings of the name Magito. I have come across Magito, Masiton, Mageto, Mazito, Mahusto, Marchito and Machito. The Amsterdam city archive provided even more notations for this family name: Magiteau, Macito and even Shaagito. Information from: <http://stadsarchief.amsterdam.nl/archieven/archiefbank/indexen/doorregisters/voorbeeld/>, last accessed: 2011, December 2.



Figure 326 "Masiton met al zijn Gekken/ kunnen uw tot Vreugd verwekken".⁸³⁴

The name Magito was so well known that it could be used without explanation

"It seems like the fair: are these fellows from Magito's gang?"⁸³⁵

⁸³⁴ Anonymous (1767-1793). *Masiton met al zijn gekken* [Magito with all his fools]. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-84.360.

⁸³⁵ Langendyk (1760), p. 321. Original: "'t Lykt hier wel kermis: zyn dit kwanten uit de Troep van Magito?"

Alexis' father, the violin teacher Johannes Alexis Magito (who was a respected citizen of Rotterdam and who received a subsidy from the city council) bought a tent in 1726 and started performing as an acrobat as well.⁸³⁶

Of Alexis' older brother Pieter (who is said to be the first circus director in Holland) many newspaper articles can be found, for example:

"Every evening at 7.30 PIETER MAGITO will show his tricks to his fans, consisting of rope-dancing and jumping in the air."⁸³⁷

"During this last week of the fair, the aging gentleman P. MAGITO will have the pleasure, at the old age of around 90 years, to show his admirable balance on the rope to the Gentlemen, Ladies and respected fans. Amongst other tricks, he will execute incredible jumps, tricks and exercises with two men bound to his legs and on skates, [...]."⁸³⁸

These and other newspaper articles show that during the second half of the 18th century the Magito family performed throughout the Low Countries and also what their repertoire was. Acrobats of the Magito clan are also depicted on several 18th-century tiles⁸³⁹ made in Rotterdam. On one of these tiles two acrobats are depicted in front of a tent with the sign 'Magito' (see Figure 327).



Figure 327 Tile with figures, two acrobats in front of a building with a sign "Magito".⁸⁴⁰

⁸³⁶

http://www.cbgfamilienamen.nl/nfb/detail_naam.php?gba_naam=&nfd_naam=Magito&info=documentatie&operator=eq&taal, last accessed: 2017, March 5.

⁸³⁷ Anonymous (1770, September 25). *Opregte Groninger Courant*, p. 2. Original: "PIETER MAGITO zal alle avonden om half agt aan de Liefhebbers zyne Konsten vertoonen, bestaande in het danssen op de Koord en Lugtsprongen te maaken; [...]."

⁸³⁸ Anonymous (1788, October 7). *Amsterdamsche Courant*, p. 2. Original: "De oude Heer P. MAGITO, zal 't genoeg hebben, in zyn hooge Ouderdom van omtrent 90 Jaaren, deeze laatste Kermis-Week, alle avonden de Heeren, Dames en respectieve Liefhebbers, zyne verwonderingswaardige Equilibres op de Koord te toonen. Hy zal onder andere met twee Persoonen aan zyn Beenen gebonden en Schatzen aan, ongelooflyke sprongen, konsten en exercitien executeeren, [...]."

⁸³⁹ Several tiles are in the collection of the Museum Rotterdam:

<https://museumrotterdam.nl/collectie/zoekresultaten/0/16/&search=magito>, last accessed: 2017, March 5.

Other Magito tiles are reproduced here: <http://www.tegels-uit-rotterdam.com/magito.html>, last accessed: 2017, March 5.

⁸⁴⁰ Tile held by the Museum Rotterdam, inv. no. 5201.

The patriarch of the Magito family is called Alexander (Alexis⁸⁴¹) Magito. He is the one who moved to the Low Countries from Dunkerque. Alexander was the father of the violin teacher Johannes Alexis Magito and the grandfather of Alexis the cellist, who is discussed in this Section. The exact birth date of the last mentioned Alexis is unknown, but as is shown in Figure 328 he was baptised on 1711, September 15, so he must have been born in the preceding days.⁸⁴² At the occasion of Alexis' baptism, his name was written as Alexius,⁸⁴³ son of Jan Mahusto and Huybertje van Hasselt.⁸⁴⁴

However, at his enrollment at Leiden University in 1746 he is said to be 30 years of age, and at the time of his death and burial in 1773 he is said to be 64 years old. Sic!

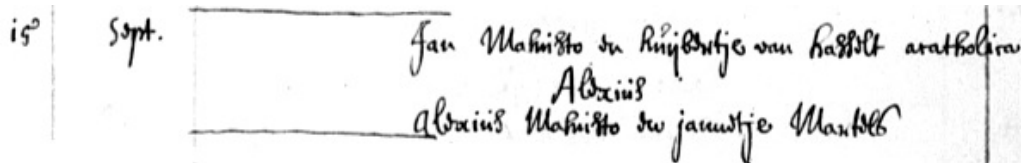


Figure 328 The baptism of Alexius on September 15th 1711. His parents: Jan Mahusto & Huybertje van Hasselt ("acatholica"). Witnesses: Alexius Mahusto & Jannetje Martels.⁸⁴⁵

The first sign of life after his baptism is when, on June 12th 1731, Alexis asks permission to live temporarily in Gouda.⁸⁴⁶ He must have lived there for at least 5 years, because he is said to have come from Gouda when playing at a concert in Utrecht in 1736 (see Sub-section 4.2.4.2).

Why did Magito move to Gouda? I have not been able to find a definite answer. However, the organist and composer Quirinus van Blankenburg lived in Gouda. Was he Magito's composition teacher?

In 1732 Alexis (as "Alexius Magito de jonge") acts as a witness at the baptism of his younger brother Henricus (see Figure 329).

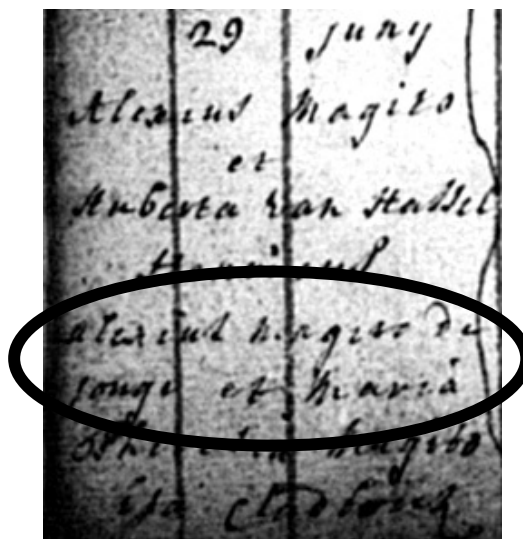


Figure 329 Baptism of Henricus Magito on June 29th 1732. "Alexius Magito de Jonge" is one of the witnesses.

⁸⁴¹ Wiersum (1920), p. 106.

⁸⁴² In those days roman-catholics were baptised very soon after being born. If the child died before having been baptised he/she would not go to heaven. Information kindly provided by vicars Monica Schwarz and Siebe Hiemstra, 2017, March 5.

⁸⁴³ Magito's first name is spelled as Alexis and Alexius.

⁸⁴⁴ Huybertje van Hasselt is one of many spellings of her name. I have come across: Huberta Assel, van Assel, van Asselt, van Hassel; Huybertje van Hasselt and Huybertje Ariens.

⁸⁴⁵ Copy of baptism record received from Stadsarchief Rotterdam.

⁸⁴⁶ www.groenehartarchieven.nl/voorouders/k1div/23183611, last accessed: 2014, April 11. At this occasion his name is spelled: Alexius Marchito

In April and May 1735 Alexis had to appear at the Gouda court twice for some minor offences.⁸⁴⁷ Especially the offence dealt with on April 22nd 1735 is interesting: Louis Florekin demands that Alexius Magito will pay him for the production of a few smooth sheets of tin. Could these sheets have been used for engraving? Here is another reason why Magito could have moved to Gouda. The Gouda city printer Dyvoort was a very wealthy man and as city printer he had the monopoly on all the official press-work of the city. Could it be that Dyvoort took students?⁸⁴⁸ The verdict of the court is that Magito has to pay Florekin f 4.10.0; Florekin must keep the tin himself.

In the years to come Magito appears in the Dutch concert scene several times. I will come back to this later.

At some point Magito moved back to Rotterdam. He lived in that city in the Schavensteeg from 1740-1752.⁸⁴⁹ I have not been able to verify this, except that on March 15th 1746 "Alexis Magito, Roterodamensis, musicus"⁸⁵⁰ enrolls at Leiden University.

The last sign of life in Holland dates from 1754 when he plays a concert in Utrecht (see Sub-section 4.2.4.2). After that, sooner or later, he must have moved to England.

Magito's first appearance in England is documented in a publication of 1760. He is among the subscribers to Giorgio Antoniotto's *L'arte armonica or A Treatise on the Composition of Musick*, which was published in London (see Figure 330). Behind several names a place of residence in England is mentioned, but never London and never abroad. Several gentlemen did not indicate a place of residence (Dr. [Thomas] Arne, Mr. Charles Burney and Signor Pasqualino [de Marzis]), although they lived in London at the time. It is very likely that all subscribers without a place of residence behind their names were living in London. Magito as well?.

⁸⁴⁷ www.groenehartarchieven.nl/voorouders/k1ora/882708 1735, April 22) & www.groenehartarchieven.nl/voorouders/k1ora/8834071 (1735, May 20), last accessed: 2014, April 11.

⁸⁴⁸ Abels, Goudriaan, Habermehl & Kompagnie (2002), pp. 488-489.

⁸⁴⁹ Wiersum (1920), p. 108.

⁸⁵⁰ Rieu (1875), column 1010.

SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

A.

DR. Arne.
Mr. Avifon of Newcastle.
Mr. Francis Ashbey.
Mr. Allen, *Organist* of Southwell.

Rev. Mr. Graham, *Fellow* of King's-Col-
lege, Cambridge.
Mr. Gardiner.
Mr. Garth, of Durham.
Mr. Gladwin.

B.

Henry Bridgman, *Esq*;
Mrs. Bridgman.
John Bagnal, *Esq*;
Robert Bell, *Esq*;
—— Barnard, *Esq*;
Captain Thomas Bourne.
Rev. Mr. Bugg.
Rev. Mr. Bowman.
Rev. Mr. Brailsford.
Dr. Boyce, *Organist and Composer to his Ma-
jesty, and Master of his Majesty's Band of
Musick.*
Mr. Butler, *Organist* of St. Margaret's, West-
minster.
Mr. Burton, 2 Books.
Mr. Charles Burney.
Mr. Thomas Bower.
Mr. Berfanti.

H.

John Hewett, *Esq*;
Mrs. Hewett.
Rev. Mr. Hewett.
John Hawkins, *Esq*;
Charles Grave Hudfon, *Esq*;
Francis Hurt, *Esq*;
—— Hutchinson, *Esq*; of Christ's Col-
lege, Cambridge.
Mrs. Hallows.
Rev. Mr. Hallows.
Dr. Hayes, *Professor of Musick at Oxford.*
Mr. John Hutchinson.
Mr. Hargrave.
Mr. Samuel Howard, *Organist* of St. Brides
and St. Clements-Danes.
Mr. Herletine, *Organist* at Durham.
Mr. Hawdon, *Organist* at Hull.

C.

Robert Copley, *Esq*;
Rev. Mr. Cole.
Mr. Cooke, *Master of the Choiristers, and
one of the Gentlemen of the Choir of West-
minster.*
Mr. Cox, of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's
Chapel Royal.

Dr. Johnson, of Loughborough.
Mr. John Johnson, 6 Books.

L.

Her Grace the Dutchess of Leeds.
Rev. Mr. Ludlam, *Fellow* of St. John's Col-
lege, Cambridge.
Rev. Mr. Lobb, *Fellow* of St. Peter's Col-
lege, Cambridge.
Mr. Layland, *Organist* of Chesterfield.

D.

Mr. Dodd.
Mr. Thomas Saunders Dupuis.

F.

Miss Ford.

M.

Charles Mellish, *Esq*;
Rev. Mr. Mafon.
Rev. Mr. Mudge.
Mr. Alexis Magito.
Mr. Miller, *Organist* of Doncaster.

G.

Rev. Mr. Gifborne, *late Prebendary* of Dur-
ham.

Dr.

Figure 330 Part of the names of subscribers to Giorgio Antoniotto's *L'arte armonica or A Treatise on the Composition of Musick*.⁸⁵¹

⁸⁵¹ Antoniotto (1760), unpaginated page.

After several concerts and other events in England to which I will come back later, Magito draws up his will in 1772 (see Figure 331).

Alexis Magito In the Name of God Amen
otherwise Mageto. I Alexis Magito of Cambridge in the County of Cambridge

Musician being weak in Body but of sound and disposing in Mind & Memory and understanding God be praised for the same do make and declare this my last Will and Testament in manner following that is to say all Mortgages and Moneys due to me ^{thereupon Moneys due to me} on Bond note simple Contract or otherwise and also all Government Securitys ready Moneys Goods and all other my personal Estate of what nature kind or quality soever after payment of my just debts and funeral expenses I give Advice and bequeath unto my loving Brother Ari Magito his Executors and administrators and I make nominate constitute and appoint the said Ari Magito sole Executor of this my last Will hereby revoking All former Wills by me made In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this thirtieth day of July one thousand seven hundred and seventy two – Alexis Mageto – Signed sealed published and declared by this said Alexis Magito as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of us who at his request in his presence and in the presence of each other have hereunto subscribed our Names as Witnesses In: Witness: Thos. Spenselowe, Jr. Butcher Attorney at Law of Cambridge

This Will was proved at London the seventh day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy three before the Reverendfull Francis a Simpson Doctor of Laws and Surrogate of the Right Reverendfull George Dean Duke of Laos Bishop of Exeter or Commissary of the Archbishopric Court of Cantorbury lawfully constituted by the Oath of Ari Magito his Brother of the deceased and sole Executor named in the said Will to whom administration of all and singular the Goods Chattels and Credits of the said deceased was granted having been first sworn duly to administer

Figure 331 Will of Alexis Magito of Cambridge, musician.⁸⁵²

The transcription of his will reads as follows:

"Alexis Magito, otherwise Mageto.

In the name of God Amen.

I Alexis Magito of Cambridge in the county of Cambridge Musician being weak in Body but of sound and disposing in Mind & Memory and understanding God be praised for the same do make and declare this my last Will and testament in manner following that is to say all Mortgages and Moneys due to me [in margin - thereupon Moneys due to me] on Bond note simple Contract or otherwise and also all Government Securitys ready moneys Goods and all other my personal Estate of what nature kind or quality soever after payment of my just debts and funeral expenses I give advice and bequeath unto my loving brother Ari Magito his executors and administrators and I make nominate constitute and appoint the said Ari Magito sole Executor of this my last Will hereby revoking All former Wills by me made. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this thirtieth day of July one thousand seven hundred and seventy two – Alexis Mageto – Signed sealed published and declared by this said Alexis Magito as and for his last Will and

⁸⁵² Received from: London, The National Archives, inv. no. PROB 11/991/316.

Testament in the presence of us who at his request in his presence and in the presence of ... other have hereunto Subscribed our names as witnesses ... Glover, Theo Spendelowe, ... Butcher attorney at law in Cambridge.

This Will was proved at London the seventh day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy three before the Worshipfull Francis Simpson doctor of laws and surrogate of the Right worshipful George ... Doctor of Laws ... or Commisary of the prerogative Court of Canterbury lawfully constituted by the oath of Ari Magito the Brother of the deceased and sole Executor named in the said Will to whom Administration of all and singular the Goods chattels and credits of the said deceased was granted having been first sworn duly to administer."⁸⁵³

In the will a brother called Ari is mentioned. This name has proven difficult, because in the archives there is no mention of a brother with that name. However, Alexis' maternal grandfather was called Arij Pieterssen van Hasselt. His daughter and Alexis' mother is sometimes referred to as Ariëns. It is very possible that one of the brothers was in fact called Ari after his grandfather, although the baptismal name is different.

There is some evidence dated between 1778-1788 of a violinist by the name of Mr Alexis and a musician by the name of Henry-Alexis Magito. This person could well be Alexis' brother Henricus. The English version of Henricus: Henry sounds quite similar to Ari. Henricus, Henry and Ari could very well be the same person, and the brother Alexis left all his possessions to.

The will shows that Magito felt his strengths weakening. A year after the will was drawn up he died, and was buried at the Royal Hospital and Collegiate Church of St Katharine by the Tower in London on September 19th 1773⁸⁵⁴ (see Figure 332). Shortly after this his will is also approved.

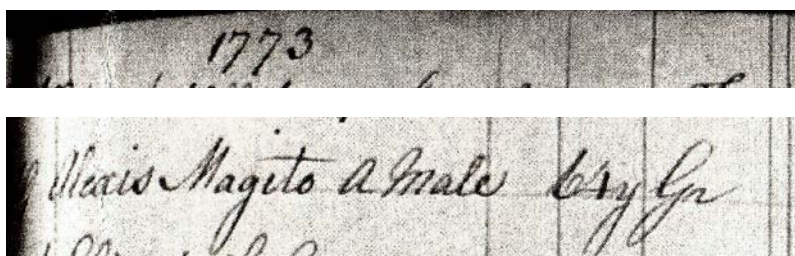


Figure 332 Registration of the burial of Alexis Magito, age 64 [sic].⁸⁵⁵

4.2.6.2 Alexis - the cellist

Several traces of Magito the cellist/musician have been discovered, both in the Low Countries and in England. I am convinced Magito must have given more concerts than the few listed here, but the ones listed below are the ones I have been able to trace until now.

The first trace is a concert at the centenary of Utrecht University in 1736. Alexis, said to come from Gouda, plays the bass and gets paid f 50.⁸⁵⁶

The next concert is in Maastricht on July 16th 1748 (see Figure 333). Magito is called an Italian musician, a mistake often made, even until very recently.⁸⁵⁷

⁸⁵³ I managed to transcribe most of the will. I owe many thanks to Peter Simmonds and Dirk Tinbergen for helping me make the transcription. A few details are still missing, and have been replaced by dots.

⁸⁵⁴ St Katharine's Church does not exist anymore. It was demolished in 1825 to build St Katharine Docks.

⁸⁵⁵ London, Metropolitan Archives, inv. no. CLC/199/TC/003/MS09660.

⁸⁵⁶ Original: "Uit Gouda, Alexis speeld [sic] op de bas f 50." From: Riemsdijk (1881), p. 60.

⁸⁵⁷ Hogwood & Lockett (1983), p. XVIII, Rasch (1983), p. 17 & Lindgren (2000), pp. 145-146

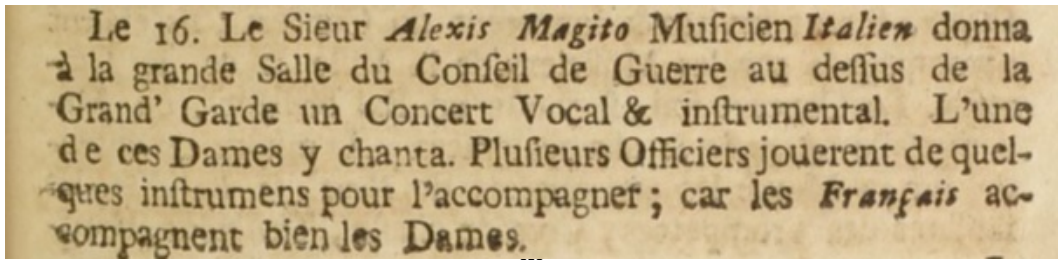


Figure 333 Alexis (an Italian!) in Maastricht in 1748.⁸⁵⁸

The above quote reads as follows:

"The 16th [of July]. Mr Alexis Magito, Italian musician, gave a vocal and instrumental concert at the large Hall of the War Council above the Great Hall (the room of the guards). One of the ladies sang. Several officers accompanied with various instruments; because the French are good at accompanying ladies."

After Maastricht Alexis travels to Haarlem, where he shows his skills in 1749. The advert reads as follows:

"On Monday, December 29th, 1749, in Haarlem at the Doele at 6 o'clock p.m., a concert will be given by the gentlemen Meyer and Alexis, accompanied by two eminent players on French horn. Tickets are to be had at H. Radeker, organist,⁸⁵⁹ at the cost of 1 Guilder."⁸⁶⁰

In 1753 he gives two concerts in Groningen, the second of which is on request of the listeners who want to hear more after the first concert. The adverts read as follows:

June 5th:

"Mr Bauermeester and [Mr] Alexis advertise to the music lovers, that today, being June 5th 1753, an instrumental concert will be given, at the house of wine merchant H. Veldman, in the Guldenstraat in Groningen. The Gentlemen music lovers are requested to arrive punctually at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. N.B. Tickets are to be had in the [before-] mentioned house."⁸⁶¹

June 8th:

"On request of Gentlemen music lovers, Mr. Bauermeister and [Mr] Alexis will give a final instrumental concert this Friday, being the 8th of this month, at the same house as last Tuesday. The price is one Carolus guilder each."⁸⁶²

⁸⁵⁸ Bernard (1781), p. 121.

⁸⁵⁹ Radeker was organist at the St. Bavo Church in Haarlem.

⁸⁶⁰ Original: "Op Maandag, den 29 December, 1749, zal te Haerlem op de Doele 's avonds om 6 uuren Concert gehouden worden door de Heeren Meyer en Alexis, geaccompagneerd door twee voornaame Waldhoornisten. De Lootjes zyn te bekomen by H. Radeker, Organist, à 1 Gulden." Anonymous (1749, December 27). *Haerlemse Courant*, p. 2.

⁸⁶¹ Original: "Sr. BAUERMEESTER en Alexis adverteeren de Heeren Liefhebbers van de Musiq, dat heeden zynde den 5 Juny 1753, een Concert Instrumentaal zal gehouden worden, ten Huyze van de Wynhandelaar H. Veldtman, in de Gulden straat tot Groningen en worden de Heeren Liefhebers der Musiq verzogt zig praecis 's agternamiddags om 5 uur aldaar te laten vinden. NB. De Lootjes zyn in 't gemelde Huys te bekomen." Anonymous (1753, June 5). *Opregte Groninger Courant*, p. 2

⁸⁶² Original: "Door verzoek van Heeren Liefhebers zal de Heer BAUERMEESTER en Alexis, aanstaande Vrydag zynde den 8 deezer Maand voor 't laaste een Concert Instrumentaal houden, ten zelfden huyze als Dinsdag laastleeden. De prys is een Car. Gulden den yeder Perzoon." Anonymous (1753, June 8). *Opregte Groninger Courant*, p. 2.

As said before, the last sign of life in the Low Countries is a concert in Utrecht in 1754. The newspaper advert reads as follows:

"Mr. Alexis, master of the Violoncello, and Mr. Vermeulen, master of the Violin, with Mrs Barbarini, Italian singer, will give a concert in the hall of the College of Music on the Vredenburg, on Monday the 4th of February at 5 o'clock p.m.. Tickets cost 2 florins and are to be had at the "Caffé Italien" from Mr. van Rhijn."⁸⁶³

As shown before, Alexis must have arrived in England around 1760. The only sign of his concert life there dates from 1767, when he plays some concerts in Cambridge: a benefit on February 21st ('for Mr Alexis'), on March 28th a concert with 'violoncello Mr Alexis', and a benefit concert at Trinity on July 6th (Mr Alexis).⁸⁶⁴ I have not been able to find more evidence of his concerts, but he must have had more musical activity, because in his will he is called "musician from Cambridge".

An engraving (dated 1767) in the former collection of the late Christopher Hogwood shows, amongst other musicians, a cellist who has been identified as 'Alexis' (see Figure 334).⁸⁶⁵



Figure 334 Sir Abraham Hume after Thomas Orde: *A concert in Cambridge (1767)*.

⁸⁶³ Anonymous (1754, January 28). *Gazette d'Utrecht*. Original: "Le sieur Alexis, Maître de Violoncello et le sieur Vermeulen, Maître de Violon, avec la Signora Barbarini, Chanteuse Italienne, donneront Lundi 4. du mois de Février prochain, à 5 heures du soir, un Concert dans la Salle du Collège de Musique au Vrybourg. Les Billets sont de 2 florins et se trouvent au Caffé Italien du sieur van Rhyn."

⁸⁶⁴ Hogwood & Lockett (1983), p. XVIII

⁸⁶⁵ With Mr Hogwood's permission, Ryan Mark (Musicalogical Assistant to Christopher Hogwood) kindly provided me with several photos of the engraving, some of which are reproduced here. Emails dated: August 2013.

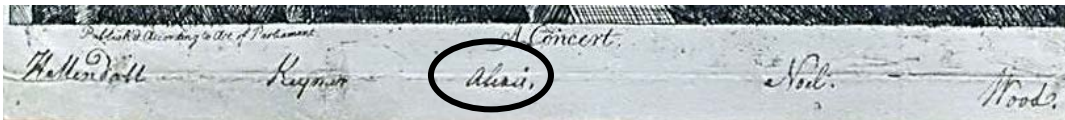


Figure 335 Detail of Figure 334. Names of five musicians, amongst whom Alexis.

It is not 100% certain that this cellist is indeed Alexis, because in two other copies of this engraving the cellist has another name.⁸⁶⁶

However: the cellists' nose bears a clear likeness to the nose of Alexis' older brother Pieter (see Figs. 336-338). The name of the double bass player in all three copies is John Wynne. He was a music publisher in Cambridge and Alexis had his sonatas published at Wynne's firm. It is very likely that there was not only the publishing connection between these two men, but that they played together as well, and were depicted together on this engraving.

Hogwood states that the alternative name for the cellist (a certain "West") is not to be found in Cambridge documentation.⁸⁶⁷ As is shown Alexis appears in the Cambridge music scene several times in 1767, in the same year as the engraving was made.



Figure 336 Pieter Magito in 1786.⁸⁶⁸



Figure 338 Detail of Figure 337.



Figure 337 Alexis? in 1767.

⁸⁶⁶ London: British Museum, inv. no. 1868,0808.4451 & inv. no. 1852,1211.135 (first and second state, both dated 1770). In both engravings the cellist is identified as West, except that in no. 1868,0808.4451 the name Cervetto (also a cellist) is crossed out and replaced by West. I have no knowledge of other copies with names.

⁸⁶⁷ Hogwood & Lockett (1983), p. XVIII.

⁸⁶⁸ Jelgerhuis, R. (1786). *Portrait of Pieter Magito*. KWN 127146. An engraving (dated 1790) after this drawing is held by the Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-47.862.

4.2.6.3 Alexis - the engraver

As mentioned at the beginning of this Section, Alexis also worked as an engraver of music.⁸⁶⁹ So far four books of music engraved by him have been discovered (see Figs. 339-342). On the title pages, three of these books show more proof that at some point Alexis must have moved back from Gouda to Rotterdam. The problem is that none of these books is dated. Rudolf Rasch has made an attempt, his dates are shown below.⁸⁷⁰

All four title pages look different, although there are similarities between the Hanot sonatas and the Lentz concerti. What stands out is that the distribution of letters on the Hanot publication is very uneven.

On the Duni edition Magito promotes himself to musicians as an engraver and music publisher. This is an indication that this book could have been his first to be published.



Figure 339 Egidio Duni: Sei Sonate a Tre, around 1739.



Figure 340 Unico Wilhelm van Wassenaer: Concerti Armonici, ca. 1740.



Figure 341 Francesco Hanot: sei Sonate a Flauto, early 1740s.

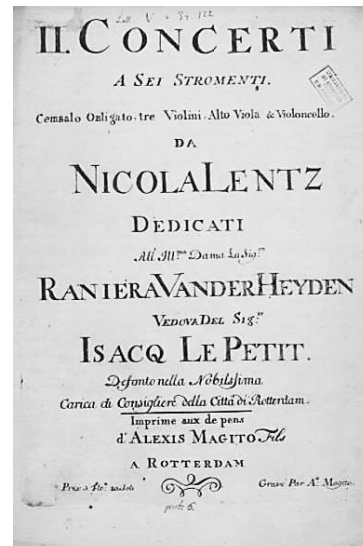


Figure 342 Johann Nicolaus Lentz: II. Concerti a Sei Stromenti, around 1750.⁸⁷¹

⁸⁶⁹ As shown in Sub-section 4.2.4.1 Alexis was convicted for not paying Mr Florekin for producing some sheets of tin. It is very likely he used these sheets for his engraving work.

⁸⁷⁰ Rasch (2009), p. 17.

⁸⁷¹ Many thanks to Ilse Wieërs of the Royal Conservatory in Brussels for providing me with this title page. Source: B-Bc 34122.

All editions are signed Alexis Magito (Fils) in one way or another (see Figs. 343-346).



Figure 343 From title page of Duni's sonatas.

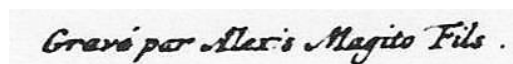


Figure 344 From one of the parts of the *Concerti Armonici*.

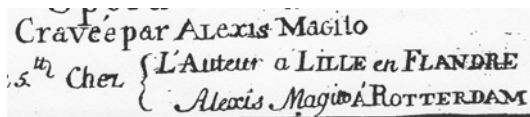


Figure 345 From title page of Hanot's sonatas.



Figure 346 From title page of *Lentz II. Concerti*.

4.2.6.4 Alexis - the composer

Magito's own cello sonatas suffer from the same problem as the music he engraved for others. Several attempts have been made to date these sonatas, but the result has never been conclusive.⁸⁷²

Recently two newspaper adverts (both dated 1759) have come to light, which enabled me to date the sonatas slightly better. In September of that year the Olofsen music firm in Amsterdam advertises that a "Violoncelwerk a VI Sonaten" by the "compositeur" Alexius Magito is available at his shop in Amsterdam and in other cities in Holland (see for an example Figure 347).⁸⁷³ All known copies of this music, however, were printed in Cambridge by John Wynne.⁸⁷⁴ Whether the advertised "Violoncelwerk" is this edition or an edition published by Olofsen himself does not become clear. It can now at least be assumed that Magito's sonatas were composed before 1759.

⁸⁷² Introduction to the modern edition Alexis Magito Six Sonatas, Grancino Editions no. 19: "ca. 1740". Cello catalogue from Muziekhandel Saul Groen, Amsterdam: "ca. 1760". Lindgren (2000): "ca. 1765", p. 153. Hogwood & Lockett (1983): "An undated publication from about this period [1767]", p. XVIII.

⁸⁷³ Anonymous (1759, September 10). 's *Gravenhaagsche Courant* & Anonymous (1759, September 11). *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, p. 2.

⁸⁷⁴ B-Bc, D-B, GB-Ckc, GB-Lbl & US-NYp.

... ANESTER DAN den 10 September. D. 17 deezersyngs Tefel...
 ... de Heeren BURGEMEESTEREN en REGEERDERS DER STAD GOUDA...
 ... De Heeren van de O. I. C. 1909, Welf-Indie Comp. 30; de He...

... de Heeren van de O. I. C. 1909, Welf-Indie Comp. 30; de He...
 ... de Heeren van de O. I. C. 1909, Welf-Indie Comp. 30; de He...

Figure 348 Detail of Figure 347.

Figure 347 Advert of music sold by Olofen firm including Magito's sonatas in Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant (inside black lines; enlargement of Magito detail shown in Figure 348).

Rasch states that Magito did not engrave his own cello sonatas.⁸⁷⁵ The title page of the cello sonatas (see Figure 349), however, shows a strong resemblance to the title page of the sonatas Magito engraved for Egidio Duni (see Figure 339). I wonder if it is possible that Magito engraved the music himself, and that John Wynne only printed and sold it (on the title page there is no mention of an engraver, it is only written that Wynne printed the sonatas for Magito).

875 Rasch (2009), p. 16.

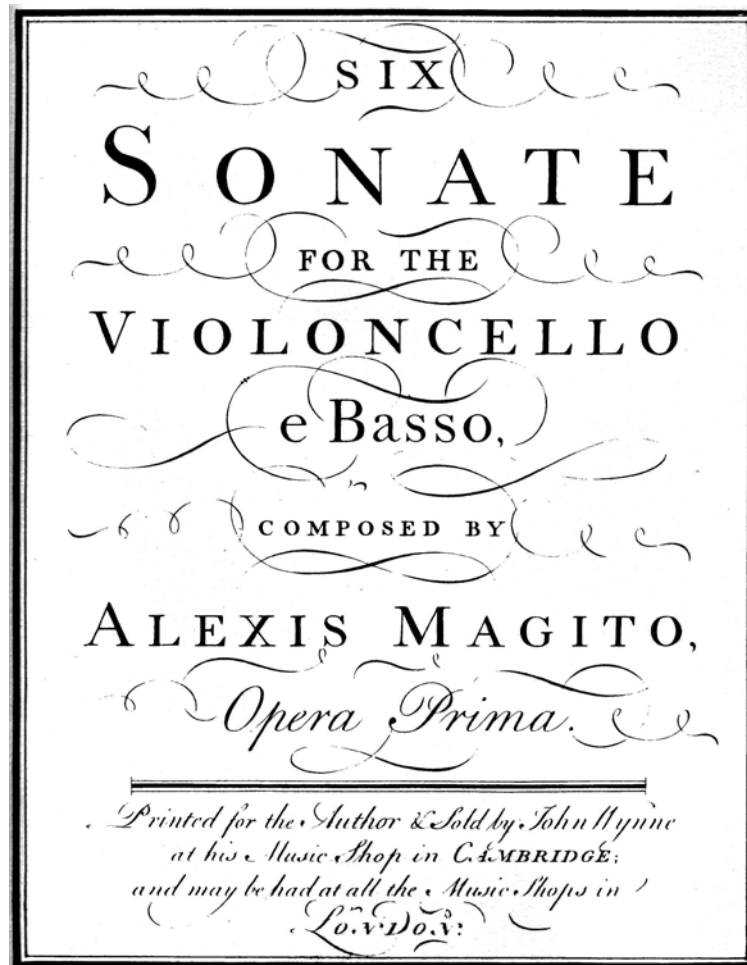


Figure 349 Alexis Magito, opus 1, Cambridge.

Two sonatas consist of just three movements, the other 4 sonatas have 4 movements:⁸⁷⁶

Sonata I	A minor	Adagio	Allegretto	Grave	Menuetto Primo/2 ^{do}
Sonata II	F major	Largo	Allegro Moderato	Aria Vivace	
Sonata III	D major	Adagio	Allegro Moderato	Andante Piano	Menuetto Primo/2 ^{do} Piano
Sonata IV	A major	Adagio	Allegro ma non Presto	Grave	Aria Andante/2 ^{do} Piano
Sonata V	G major	Andante	Largo Cantabile	Menuetto Primo/2 ^{do} Piano	
Sonata VI	D major	Adagio	Allegro	Ciciliana	Minuetto [sic] Primo/2 ^{do} Piano

Table 33 Sonatas opus 1 by Alexis Magito.

The sonatas have technically been very well written for the cello. Clearly Magito knew what he was doing. The highest note is mostly a', just in a few exceptions higher notes are asked for. Various fingerings could be used in those exceptions, thumb position being one of them and the most practical.⁸⁷⁷ For an example of this see Figure 350.

⁸⁷⁶ A world premiere recording of the first two sonatas was made in 2012 by Elske Tinbergen on cello and Jörn Boysen on harpsichord: *Baroque music in the Netherlands. Music for cello & harpsichord*. NMI CD1202.

⁸⁷⁷ In Dutch treatises this thumb position is for the first time mentioned in 1780, but it had been in use already long before (see for example Jacob Klein's opus 3 & opus 4 sonatas).



Figure 350 Sonata II: Aria Vivace. The first 4 bars of the second line are best played in thumb position.

The fast(er) movements sound very virtuosic, but are not extremely difficult. The virtuosity is mainly attained by passagework - as in Figs. 351 & 352.



Figure 351 Sonata VI: Allegro. Passagework over two strings.



Figure 352 Sonata II: Allegro Moderato. Passagework.

In Figure 353 we can see Magito at work as a skillful cellist-composer. He uses alternately an open string and the same note on an other string, thus reaching different timbres.



Figure 353 Sonata I: Allegretto. Passagework over two strings and the frequent use of forte and piano.

Another characteristic of these sonatas is the frequent use of forte and piano, of which an example is shown in Figure 353. The piano is mainly used as echo (of the same material in forte), in just a few cases the piano is used for a new idea or an answer.

As was shown before, in terms of date Magito's sonatas have been composed around the same time as the De Fesch opus 13 sonatas. Just as these De Fesch sonatas, Magito's sonatas ask more of the technical abilities of the cellist than the earlier sonatas composed by De Fesch. Also in style one can compare them with the De Fesch opus 13 sonatas as well as his opus 8 sonatas. In all

three opus numbers the majority of the last movements end in a minuet. The Hellendaal sonatas of 1780 demand even more of the technical abilities of the cellist (see Sub section 4.2.8).

4.2.7 Willem Gommaar Kennis (1717-1789)

Willem Gommaar Kennis (Guillaume Gommiare, or Gugl. Gomaro as he is called on the title page of his opus 6 trio sonatas) was a much admired violinist, who lived most of his life in Leuven. Charles Burney met him during his travels through Europe and wrote the following:

"I therefore contented myself, with gaining what information I could, relative to the state of modern music in that city; and I found, that M. Kennis is the most remarkable performer on the violin in point of execution, not only of Lovain, but of all this part of the world. The solos he writes for his own instrument and hand, are so difficult, that no one hereabouts attempts them but himself..."⁸⁷⁸

The opus 6 trio sonatas (Paris, 1763)⁸⁷⁹ has the following title page:

VI
TRIO
DA CAMERA
 4 a Violoncello solo, Violino et Basso
 Il V.^o et l'ultimo sono a due Violoncelli
 e Basso
Che si potranno facilmente essequi a 2 Violini e Basso
DEDICATE
All Illustriss Signore Il Sig.
ROUALLE DE BOISGELOU
Mousquetaire di SM Ch Amatore di Musica Virtuoso di Violino
Da Gugl Gomaro
KENNIS
Opera 6.^a
A PARIS

The last two sonates (for 2 cellos and bass) of this collection will be discussed here.

These pieces are definitely amongst the technically most advanced pieces for cello found in the Low Countries in the 18th century (together with the Hellendaal sonatas and Klein's opus 3 & opus 4).

Both cello parts make use of the normal f-clef and the tenor clef, but the first cello also plays in the soprano clef. For cello music from the Low Countries this is a first.

The bass part in these sonatas is meant for a string bass, considering chords, pizzicato, slurs and slurs with dots (see Figure 354).

⁸⁷⁸ Burney (1775), p. 62.

⁸⁷⁹ For this dissertation I have consulted the copy held by the Library of the Royal Conservatory in Brussels, inv. no. 13213.



Figure 354 Beginning of Sonata VI by Willem Kennis. Bass part. Notice the instructions for playing: lar and pez (arco and pizzicato? Playing pizzicato on slurred notes, however, is difficult).

The ambitus of the first cello is D-g¹, although the high notes above d²/e² are used only once in the two sonatas. The first cello quite often needs to make use of the thumb position, specially in the passages written in soprano clef.

In a few spots fingerings have been written in (see Figs. 355 & 356). These fingerings must have been added by the cellist who used this music, they are exclusively in this copy and not in other copies. The fingerings are very logical, also for the time when this music was composed, although it was a transition period, slowly approaching Duport's fingerings. Unfortunately I do not know when they were written in.



Figure 355 Sonata VI: Andante, first cello.



Figure 356 Sonata VI: second Allegro, first cello. The cross above the a¹ is an indication for placing the thumb.

Even though Kennis was a virtuosic violinist, his sonatas are well written for the cello (this is in contrast with the Hellendaal cello sonatas⁸⁸⁰). The higher positions are easy to reach, and the little finger rarely needs to be used (see Figs. 357 & 358).



Figure 357 The beginning of sonata V, first cello. The thumb position in soprano clef is easy to reach. The frequent alternation between forte and piano is remarkable.

⁸⁸⁰ Rasch states in his introduction to these sonatas that, although the sonatas are written for cello, the music is quite violinistic, especially considering the fingerings (Hellendaal (1981), p. XIV). In the Hellendaal sonatas one needs to make use of the little finger quite often in the higher positions. This is not very comfortable for a cellist (see Section 4.2.8).



Figure 358 The beginning of Sonata VI, first cello. Just before the repeat, one needs to use the little finger.

The second cello is technically less demanding than the first. The ambitus of this part is D-b'.

4.2.8 Pieter Hellendaal (1721-1799)

Pieter Hellendaal was born in Rotterdam and lived and worked in several cities in Holland before moving to England (1751), where he finally settled down in Cambridge (1762). He worked as a violinist, organist, composer and teacher of the violin and of theory.⁸⁸¹ It is believed that the violinist Hellendaal is depicted in the same engraving as is Alexis Magito (see Figure 334). In the three copies of this engraving available to me, he is identified as either Hellendaal or Hellendall.



Figure 359 Pieter Hellendaal, around 1767.⁸⁸²

Hellendaal composed mainly rather complicated violin and vocal music, but he also composed 8 Solos for Violoncello and basso continuo, which will be discussed here.⁸⁸³ The solos were published in Cambridge in 1780.

The title page reads as follows:

Eight
SOLOS
for the
Violoncello
with a
THOROUGH BASS
Composed

⁸⁸¹ Information taken from the article on Hellendaal by Leendert Haasnoot on www.oxfordmusiconline.com, last accessed: 2011, September 30.

⁸⁸² For further information on this engraving see Sub section 4.2.6.2. Reproduced with kind permission of the late Christopher Hogwood.

⁸⁸³ The copy consulted for this dissertation is held by the Library of the Royal Conservatory in Brussels, inv. no. T5705.

*and most Respectfully
Dedicated
To
M.^r JOHN ANDERSON
Merchant of Cambridge
by his much obliged
most humble, and most obedient Servant
Peter Hellendaal
Op. V.^{ta}*

All sonatas are written in major keys and have 3 or 4 movements:

Sonata Prima	G major	Adagio	Allegro	Allegretto	
Sonata II	D major	Adagio	Allegro	Affettuoso	Rondo
Sonata III	B flat major	Allegro	Andante Affettuoso	Rondo Gavotta/ Menuetto/ Menuetto 2 ^{do}	
Sonata IV	F major	Allegro	Affettuoso	Allegro	
Sonata V	G major	Adagio	Allegro	Andante Affettuoso	Rondo
Sonata VI	D major	Adagio	Allegro	Affettuoso	Pastorale Allegro
Sonata VII	C major	Larghetto	Allegro	Affettuoso	Allegretto
Sonata VIII	G major	Allegro	Affettuoso	Pastorale	

Table 34 Solos/Sonatas opus 5 by Pieter Hellendaal.

The Hellendaal cello sonatas are the youngest sonatas discussed in this dissertation. In terms of technique, these sonatas require more or less the same technical level as required in the Klein opus 3 & opus 4 sonatas and in the Kennis triosonatas. In most sonatas it is necessary to use the thumb position. The maximum ambitus is C-g¹.

In sonata II and sonatas V-VIII a wavy line is drawn at several spots below the notes. This line indicates that all the notes underlined like this should be played one octave higher than is notated. These passages are notated in both bass and tenor clef (see Figure 360).



Figure 360 Sonata VIII: Pastorale. Passage with wavy line below the notes. Transition from bass clef to tenor clef, all to be played one octave higher. Specially the passage in tenor clef is difficult to read and play.

A characteristic of the Hellendaal sonatas is his frequent use of trills and other ornaments (see Figure 361), a characteristic which was already present in the De Fesch opus 13 sonatas (see Figs. 299 & 300).



Figure 361 Sonata I: Adagio. A passage with many ornaments. Hellendaal frequently uses appoggiaturas, trills and turns.

These embellishments require frequent shifting, sometimes more than would be necessary with less ornaments.

4.2.9 Lost 18th-century repertoire

In 1732 Johann Gotfried Walther writes the following about **Gerardo Han**:

"Han (*Gerardo*) is carillonist at the city hall in Amsterdam. His first opus number containing sonatas for 3 parts (copper engravings) is to be had at Roger."⁸⁸⁴

And indeed in Roger's 1701 catalogue this music is mentioned: "Gerardo Han opera prima sonates à tre col violoncello."⁸⁸⁵ According to the RISM⁸⁸⁶ the official title of this opus number is: *Harmonie secolare, overo Dieci suonate da camera a due violini e violoncello obligato*⁸⁸⁷ col basso per il cembalo. Until now, however, the cello part is considered lost.⁸⁸⁸ Because the cello part was meant for cello obligato and the fact that this music was published around the turn of the century at the starting point of solo music for the cello, I would have loved to have been able to add Gerardo Han's music to my dissertation.

In the Oxford Music Online a cello sonata composed by **Unico van Wassenaer** is listed as lost.⁸⁸⁹ In Selhof's catalogue printed in 1759 a sonata by a certain Twicklo is found: "2165 *Twicklo*. I Sonate, ut supra [a Violoncello Solo col Basso Continuo]".⁸⁹⁰ One of Wassenaer's homes and his castle in the countryside was called Twickel. Could this Twicklo be van Wassenaer? This sonata is listed in the manuscript section of Selhof's catalogue, which could well mean that it was the only copy existing.

In the printed music section of the same catalogue cello sonatas by **Jacob Nozeman** are listed: "448 *Giacomo Nozeman*, VI Sonate a Violoncello Solo e Basso continuo, opera quinta."⁸⁹¹ Jacob Nozeman (1693-1745), composer, violinist and organist, was born in Hamburg during one of his father's travels. He not only composed sonatas for cello, but also sonatas for violin, music for solo harpsichord and vocal music. The style of his violin works is a mixture between sonate da camera, sonate da chiesa and the music typical of the transition from the late Baroque to the early pre-Classical style.⁸⁹² One can only guess at the style and technical difficulties of the cello sonatas. The very high quality of his violin music, however, is beyond doubt.

⁸⁸⁴ Walther (1732), p. 300. Original: "Han (*Gerardo*) ist Glockenist= oder Glocken=Spieler auf dem Stadt=Hause in Amsterdam. Sein erstes aus dreistimmigen Sonaten bestehendes Werck ist bei Roger daselbst im Kupferstich zu haben."

⁸⁸⁵ Roger (1701), unpaginated.

⁸⁸⁶ www.rism.info, last accessed: 2017, June 9.

⁸⁸⁷ Underscore: ET.

⁸⁸⁸ The violin parts are held at the British Library, London, inv. no. g.409.cc.(3.).

⁸⁸⁹ www.oxfordmusiconline.com, last accessed: 2011, January 10.

⁸⁹⁰ Selhof (1759), p. 209.

⁸⁹¹ Selhof (1759), p. 112. These sonatas were published as no. 92 by Gerhard Witvogel around 1742-1744.

Info from: Dunning (1966), p. 53.

⁸⁹² www.oxfordmusiconline.com, last accessed: 2011, January 11.