

ARS MUSICA

Urszula Mizia

**THE MIMETIC  
STRAND IN THE  
CELLO LITERATURE**

**WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF HISTORY,  
INSTRUMENT DESIGN, ICONOGRAPHY  
AND CELLO PERFORMANCE**

INTERDISZIPLINÄRE STUDIEN  
Herausgegeben von Elżbieta Szczerko und Tadeusz Guz



PETER LANG

This book is the first integral study of the history of imitative or co-creative artistic work that has led to the creation of cello transcriptions and arrangements. Of an interdisciplinary character, it explores the views that have shaped approaches to the art of cello performance and describes the role of cello transcriptions and the development of instrument making. The book also addresses issues related to philosophy, history of aesthetics and visual arts, including iconography presenting historical images of the cello. The theoretical part contains definitions and systematics that make it possible to categorise the vast amount of transcriptions, as well as descriptions and suggested recordings of a selection of those transcriptions.

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## The Mimetic Strand in the Cello Literature

# Ars Musica. Interdisziplinäre Studien

Edited by Elżbieta Szczurko and Tadeusz Guz

Volume 7



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**PETER LANG**



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# Introduction

My enduring interest in the subject of *mimesis* in cello music, which has given rise to this book, arose through my experience in performing concert repertoire in various styles and my reflection on repertoire selection and expansion. Many intriguing questions emerge within this context. How can a Romantic or late Romantic work be classified as early Classical in most current editions? Do works originally written for different instruments and transcribed for cello retain their full artistic value? How original is the cello music that is widely available?

This work represents an attempt to study the phenomenon of cello mimesis in a comprehensive way. It is of an interdisciplinary character and contains a wide range of considerations covering the views and concepts which, through the instrument's design and technical capacities, informed approaches to the art of cello before and since the instrument's conception. At the same time, it deals with issues from philosophy, the history of aesthetics and the visual arts, including iconography representing an historical image of the cello that almost failed to survive to the present day. It is not easy to discover the full historical truth from the distant past. In order to approach it, from 2008 to 2018, I conducted extensive research in museums of musical instruments and of the visual arts and in libraries across Europe. The library research enabled me to gather interesting material related to the historical, social, aesthetic and ethical aspects of transcription and arrangement. Gaining access to manuscripts and first editions of musical works made me realise just how much the vocal and instrumental – including cello – musical literature has been altered, recomposed, arranged and transcribed over the centuries. Academic integrity necessitated an impartial presentation of the full spectrum of views on artistic output of this type. Here we find concepts regarding the transcription as a work of art, a valuable proposition worthy of the concert hall, and also views which – besides the didactic value of transcriptions, confined to a certain stage in learning the cello – tend to suggest avoiding them in artistic presentation. The museum research and cataloguing of cellos in private collections or in the hands of excellent musicians was designed to determine the number of extant historical instruments. It allowed me to determine the probable date when the earliest instrument was made and inspired a brief presentation of the masters of violin making who produced these exceptional works.

The cellos discussed in the historical part of this book, now incredibly valuable, were originally used in ensemble performance that involved repeating and arranging vocal parts or as alternative instruments in a changeable performance apparatus. Historical and unique cellos have been modernised and refurbished; hence, I briefly discuss the evolution of crucial (in terms of the subject in hand) elements in the design of the instrument and the bow. Most of the items are listed with their name, date of construction and location or information about the musician currently in their possession.

The painstaking search for the iconography presented here involved examining tens of thousands of paintings and sculptures produced between the sixteenth and the twentieth century for the presence of a cello-related feature. To save the reader valuable time, I include detailed information relating to paintings, many of which can be found on the Internet by entering the name of the artist, the original title and the location. A picture must be seen, just as a musical work must be played or heard. I hope that these descriptions will encourage readers to acquaint themselves with this remarkable iconography, which is not described at length in the cello literature. It provides a great deal of valuable information. In my work, it represented visual confirmation of the existence of a cello in mimetic performance practice, from the moment it first came into use, as is documented to a limited extent by early written sources. It is worth taking this opportunity to draw attention to the appearance of cellos, to the playing apparatus, and to the ways and circumstances in which cellists have been artistically depicted in the past.

Besides the original cello literature, every period in history (with varying intensity) has given rise to arrangements reflecting the habits, interests and musical fascinations of cellists. They have served a popularising role, expanding the repertoire of professional and amateur cellists. The great dynamism of that kind of work is reflected in the large number of cello arrangements and in the variety of methods used for transcription. I have tried to discover the mechanisms behind this kind of musical and artistic activity on the part of cellists, whom I partly emulate in my artistic work as a soloist, chamber musician, transcriber and editor.

The theoretical part of this study includes a systematics enabling the countless cello transcriptions to be divided according to the criteria of the preservation of the original material and the original performance apparatus. I have supplemented each type of transcription with examples from the musical literature.

The work ends with a description of selected concert cello transcriptions from the violin and piano repertoire, covering works from different eras: the

Baroque, Classicism, Romanticism, twentieth and twenty-first century, recorded in my renditions on the attached CD.\* One cannot simply write about cello transcriptions; they were intended to reach the greatest possible number of listeners with a popularising musical message that goes beyond the instrument itself.

*Urszula Mizia*

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\* The recordings are available at: <https://www.peterlang.com/view/title/62791>



# Chapter 1: *Mimesis*<sup>1</sup> – general issues

## 1.1. *Mimesis* and the art of music

In the history of art, there exist two opposing currents: the mimetic, chronologically the first, representing the artistic imitation of the nature of existing things, and the current of pure art, representing innovative artistic work. Both of them possess musical aspects, concepts and theories that are subject to varying assessments.

For the present work, it is essential to trace the evolution of the aesthetic category of *mimesis*. It is in *mimesis* that, from an historical point of view, the cello transcriptions and arrangements which arose out of tendencies prevailing in art for centuries found their justification and their *raison d'être*.

In its most primary meaning, the term *mimesis* referred to the repeated ritual acts of a priest, which covered singing and dancing.<sup>2</sup> In the philosophical system of Plato (427–347 BCE), *mimesis* was reduced to imitation: 'all music is a matter of representation and imitation [...] resemblance to its model, beauty'<sup>3</sup>

In the work of art (music), Plato saw merely the arrangement into an artistic object of existing elements: rhythm, melody and harmony. The artist did not create a work but recreated it, copying it faithfully and passively.<sup>4</sup> The philosopher who introduced the element of artistic freedom, crucial to art, and appreciated its aesthetic aspect in his approach to the representation of imitated reality was Aristotle (384–322 BCE). In his concept, man possessed an innate instinct for imitation, and art that was comprehensible, recognisable, that idealised or even deformed the reality imitated by the artist, was close to the receiver. Aesthetic pleasure has an ethical dimension that acts in a moral way, changing the beholder (*katharsis*) in a positive way.<sup>5</sup> The Roman orator Cicero (106–43 BCE) also developed that concept. In his opinion, 'man himself was created to

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1 The Greek word *mimesis* denotes imitation in the broad sense. In art history, it is an aesthetic category relating to the copying of existing reality in a work of art, the imperative of realism in art. Adaptations of compositions – of real existing entities – in the form of transcriptions or arrangements are mimetic products (works).

2 Tatarkiewicz, *A History of Six Ideas*, 266.

3 Plato, *The Laws*, Book 2, 668 a–b.

4 Tatarkiewicz, *A History of Six Ideas*, 267; Witkowska-Zaremba, 'Platon', 128; Tomasiak, 'Starożytność', 56.

5 Tatarkiewicz, *A History of Six Ideas*, 341; Lissa, 'Arystoteles', 79; *Słownik myśli*, 77.

contemplate and reflect the world.<sup>6</sup> According to Cicero, imitation was the artist's free expression.<sup>7</sup> Several decades later, the writer, poet, stoic philosopher and Roman rhetor Lucius Annaeus Seneca the Younger (4–65 BCE) declared: 'Omnis ars naturae imitatio est' ('All art is the imitation of nature').<sup>8</sup> Seneca replaced the Greek word *mimesis* with the Latin *imitatio*, meaning, like its Greek equivalent, imitation or repetition. The Middle Ages saw in the art of imitation the discovery of the invisible world: 'For by the greatness and beauty of the creatures proportionably the maker of them is seen.'<sup>9</sup> Saint Augustine (354–430), the father of Mediaeval philosophy and an advocate of the Pythagorean concept of music,<sup>10</sup> referred to the imitation of numbers in his works: 'Now in music, in geometry, in the movements of the stars, in the fixed ratios of numbers, order reigns.'<sup>11</sup> The ancient numerical concept of the harmony of the world was similarly referred to by Boethius (480–524 BCE), who in *De institutione musica libri V* employed the following division:

- *musica mundana* – the movement and harmony of the spheres of the universe, ordered by the inaudible power of measure and number that organises all existing phenomena,
- *musica humana* – the harmony of body and soul, which affects how art influences a person's soul, faith and outlook,
- *musica instrumentalis* – audible music, practical vocal and instrumental performance.<sup>12</sup>

According to Boethius, this last form was the lowest in the hierarchy. The instrumentalist was incapable of attaining wisdom through his endeavours: 'every carpenter and workmaster, that laboureth night and day [ . . . ] cannot declare justice and judgment.'<sup>13</sup> The true musician was an educated intellectual guided by speculative principles, possessing the requisite mathematical-musical knowledge.

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6 Cicero, *The Nature of the Gods*, 138.

7 Ibid., 145–6; cf. Tatarkiewicz, *A History of Six Ideas*, 268.

8 Seneca, 'Lucilio Suo Salutem', Liber 7, LXV. 3.

9 Wisdom of Solomon, 13:5, in *Apocrypha*, 65.

10 Pythagoras (570–531 BCE), a philosopher and mathematician, author of the numerical proportions of the first intervals. Pythagoreans considered that the harmony of the cosmos reflected the harmony of sounds.

11 Augustine, *De Ordine*, trans. Robert P. Russell, in Ludwig Schopp (ed.), *The Fathers of the Church*, i (New York, 1948), 289.

12 Chomiński and Wilkowska-Chomińska, *Historia muzyki*, i:75–76.

13 Ecclesiasticus, 38: 27, 33, in *Apocrypha*, 93–94.

The music that reflected such intricate premises was very simple: *a cappella*, performed by a male voice or voices in unison.<sup>14</sup> Liturgical song, the melody of which was determined by the text, raised the status of church services, giving praise to God, 'thou hast ordered all things in measure and number and weight'.<sup>15</sup> Characteristic of mediaeval music are numerous adaptations and arrangements, present in sacred and secular music alike. I will present just a few examples concerning chants of the Roman Catholic Church and secular art song, to show the continuity of the ancient idea of imitation. In sacred music, the unified Mass and liturgy of the Hours, codified by Pope Gregory I the Great (540–604), formed the material for numerous settings. Arrangements known as tropes and their special forms called sequences were set in a vast number of versions, with the large-scale introduction of secular melodies and national texts. Further examples of adaptations were the polyphonic forms that emerged from the ninth century onwards, known under the common name *organum*.<sup>16</sup> The basis of those settings, known as the *vox principalis*, was formed by Gregorian chant.<sup>17</sup> From the thirteenth century onwards, religious *organa* turned into the new polyphonic form of *motetus*. A popular sacred form permeated by elements of traditional folk and secular music was the evangelical and pious *conductus*. Here, the same melody was used for many different texts.

The art song of the troubadours, trouvres and minnesingers, devoted to the sphere of human emotions, was also based on numerous adaptations, arrangements and contrafacta. Secular music made use of existing repertoire, popular dances and even church songs, setting secular texts to existing melodies. Probably a contrafactum (a new text with an existing melody) was 'Bogurodzica' [Mother of God/Theotokos] (twelfth/thirteenth century) – the oldest extant knightly song and the hymn of the Jagiellonian dynasty.<sup>18</sup> The motet, the chief

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14 Book of Revelation, 14:3–5, in *The Holy Bible* [King James version] ('The 'new song' performed by virtuous men of faith was the opposite of pagan music, associated with amusement, pleasure and debauchery).

15 Wisdom of Solomon, 11:20, in *Apocrypha*, 64.

16 *Musica enchiriadis*, an anonymous treatise ascribed to Hucbald of St-Amand (840–930), contains the principles of part music at that time.

17 Guido of Arezzo (991/8–1033), in chapters 18 and 19 of his treatise *Micrologus*, gave the principles of part music during the eleventh century. In the twelfth and thirteenth century, *organum* was further developed at the Notre Dame school in Paris (up to four parts); the lowest tenor part, the *cantus firmus*, the original part of the chant, remained the formal cornerstone of composition.

18 Chomiński, *Historia Muzyki*, i:100–101; Feicht, 'Polska pieśń średniowiecza', 370–372.

form of *Ars antiqua*, had a cantus firmus or tenor that was taken mainly from Gregorian chant. That part could be performed by instruments. Interestingly, the musical text was often not fully written out, with a generally familiar initial keyword sufficing for its recognition. During the second half of the thirteenth century, the tenor could also be a secular tune, borrowed from the output of the troubadours, trouvres.

*Ars nova* continued the ideas of imitation in the musical forms created at that time: the isorhythmic motet, the canon (strict imitation – the repetition of a melody in different parts consecutively, with a slight delay) and the caccia (illustrative forms).<sup>19</sup> At this time, the first documented criticisms of arrangements, borrowings and exaggerated imitation appeared; those trends were opposed by the theorist Jacques de Liège/Jacobus Leodiensis (1260–1330). In the treatise *Speculum musicae*, he rejected the innovations and overcomplications of imitation of the *Ars nova* school of composition.<sup>20</sup> Pope John XXII, in the 1322 bull *Docta sanctorum patrum*, condemned the use of French secular motets sung in a liturgical context. He opposed a number of performance techniques and musical forms: hocket, motet and fugue in the sense of imitation.<sup>21</sup> Dating from the *Ars nova* period are the earliest instrumental arrangements of vocal works. French ballads by Guillaume de Machaut (1304–1377) are often notated in two versions, vocal and instrumental, for unspecified forces.<sup>22</sup> Secular songs, such as ‘L’homme armé’, were used in works by dozens of composers over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Instrumental imitation reached its zenith over subsequent centuries. The most frequently used term in the art of the Renaissance and Baroque was the Latin *imitatio*.<sup>23</sup> At that time, secular culture, learning and art developed much more freely alongside sacred art, which continued to flourish. Motets and Masses with plainsong or secular cantus firmi were written, with the number of parts and the degree of complexity to the polyphonic structures gradually increasing. The leading representatives of this type of output were Johannes Ockeghem (1425–1495) and Jacob Obrecht (1450–1505). Quotation used as a structural element

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19 The theoretical treatise *Ars nova* by Philippe de Vitry (1291–1361), from 1320, was a compilation of views on composition of that time.

20 Zbaraschuk, ‘Jacques de Liège’, 921.

21 Jeffery, ‘Liturgical Languages’, 1050–1051; also Chomiński and Wilkowska-Chomińska, *Historia Muzyki*, i:118.

22 The ballads ‘Hont’, ‘Paour’ and ‘Doubtance’ from 1324 and ‘De toutes flours’, from after 1356; cf. *Encyklopedia Muzyczna*, iii:513.

23 Tatarkiewicz, *A History of Six Ideas*, 270.

gave rise to a new type of Mass: the *missa parodia*. All kinds of motet and Mass based on plainsong or secular themes, as well as parodies, were composed by Josquin des Près (1455–1521). In the mid sixteenth century, the Catholic Church again adopted a stance with regard to arrangements in sacred music. Secular influences, which the Church saw as demoralising, as well as the use of chansons and madrigals as *cantus firmi* and the basis for *missae parodiae*, were criticised and banned by the Council of Trent (1545–1563). The official liturgy was purged of such forms as the trope. Composers of part music were accused of writing solely for listeners' worldly pleasure rather than the enhancement of religious feelings.

Secular music at that time was dominated by the imitation of nature – *imitazione della natura*. In Italian frottole, composers imitated the sounds of nature, birdsong, the din of battle, and so on. The Spanish arranged melodies in various ways, developing variation technique. The Germans and the French wove songs of different character into witty quodlibets. Another important application of the idea of *mimesis* in music of the Renaissance and the Baroque was the imitation of speech. Cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), a master of Latin and Italian, editor of Petrarch, considered that, in the process of composition, music should be harmonised with the sound of the words. According to Michael Praetorius (1571–1621), the name 'madrigal' referred not to music, but to the text, since the text was fixed, whilst the musical settings varied.<sup>24</sup> The oldest transcriptions of vocal works date from the sixteenth century and are contained in organ and lute tablatures.<sup>25</sup> Thanks to the numerous publishers and the use of moveable type, musical works and their arrangements were generally available for purchase.<sup>26</sup> In vocal music, the tradition of ensemble instrumental playing became established, where the adapted parts were repeated, improvised, ornamented, rhythmised (diminution, augmentation) and arranged in

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24 The first part of the third volume of Praetorius' *Syntagma Musicum* (Wolfenbüttel 1619) contains a description of all the vocal forms familiar to the author, including from Italy, with the madrigal among them.

25 On organ tablatures, see Chomiński, *Historia harmonii*, ii:219; also Brzezińska: *Repertuar*, 28–31, 141–147. On tablatures containing arrangements for lute, see Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 344; also *Musée de la musique guide: Les luths*, 44–45.

26 Fortune, 'Solo Song and Cantata', 125. By employing moveable type, the Venetian publisher Ottaviano Petrucci popularised polyphonic frottole (a kind of song), printing them from 1501 onwards, including in instrumental versions.

accordance with the taste and ideas of the players.<sup>27</sup> That practice was familiar from performances of large-scale vocal works in the circle of the Venetian school.<sup>28</sup> Composers employed instruments without clearly distinguishing the instrumental parts, which merely doubled or replaced vocal parts. In liturgical concertos from the early Baroque, instrumental parts were used as an alternative to vocal parts, for example in short (antiphons) or longer (movements) parts of a Mass.<sup>29</sup> Works were often furnished with general sounding notes, such as: *et altro per voci e strumenti musicali; per cantare e sonare*. But the further back we go in time, the sparser and more generalised are the composer's directions. 'For singing and playing on all manner of instruments' is a common instruction for music of the sixteenth century.<sup>30</sup>

Theoretical tracts and handbooks of playing described the principles of ensemble playing, the accompaniment of singers and the ways in which vocal parts were arranged by instrumentalists. In a two-part handbook from 1543, Silvestro Ganassi also describes the three-string bass violin.<sup>31</sup> In 1553, Diego Ortiz published a two-part treatise containing practical advice on the embellishment of parts, the use of ornaments, diminution, the leading of an additional voice and the arrangement of polyphonic vocal works for string instruments – *violones*.<sup>32</sup> In

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- 27 Kinney, 'Problems.' Kinney identifies two dominant styles of ornamentation: the Italian, based on vocal embellishment, and the French, derived from lute and then harpsichord accompaniment, including with the participation of a consort of viols.
- 28 The publishers Gardano (from 1557), Vincenti (from 1583) and Amadino (from 1579) published ninety-nine different collections for voices or instruments by composers active in Venice, including Orlando di Lasso (1532–1594), Giovanni Croce (1557–1609), Andrea Gabrieli (1533–1585), Ippolito Baccusi (1530–1608), Giovanni Bassano (1558–1617), Teodoro Riccio (1540–1600) and Adriano Banchieri (1568–1634).
- 29 Bonta, 'The Uses.' The author cites many examples of the use of alternative musical arrangements in the liturgy; the same part of the liturgy could be performed by singers or organ or instrumental ensemble. Also performed were instrumental canzonas and ricercars that were originally transcriptions of vocal works.
- 30 Harnoncourt, *The Musical Dialogue*, 9; see also Łobaczewska, *Style*, vol. i pt. 2, p. 166.
- 31 Silvestro Ganassi (b. 1492; d. first half of 16th c.), *Regola Rubertina* (Venice, 1542); *Lettione Seconda* (Venice, 1543).
- 32 Deگو Ortiz (1510–1570), *Trattado de glosas sobre clausulas y otros generos de puntos en la musica de violones nuevamente puestos en luz. Glose sopra le cadenze et altre sorte de punti in la musica del violone* (Rome, 1553). Ortiz's *Ricercate* were recorded by Bettina Hoffman (viola da gamba) and the Modo Antiquo ensemble (Brilliant Classics B000WC 3896/2007); each of the instrumental versions is preceded by a presentation of the vocal original, which represents excellent comparative material.

1592, the father of the Milanese school of violin, Riccardo Rognoni (1550–1620), published in Venice the handbook *Passaggi per potersi esercitare nel diminuire terminatamente con ogni sorte d'instrumento...*, written for the 'ornamental singing' of string and wind instruments, containing diminished arrangements of vocal compositions. In *Regole, passaggi di musica*, meanwhile, Giovanni Battista Bovicelli (1592–1594) presented the principles of diminution, passage-work, ornaments and added intervals, with examples of vocal works which could also be used by instrumentalists.<sup>33</sup> Of a similar profile is *Selva de varii passaggi secondo l'uso moderno, per cantare & sonare con ogni sorte de stromenti*, a handbook published in 1620 by Francesco Rognoni Taeggio (1585–1624).<sup>34</sup> The musical work provided the musical substance, but its notation was non-specific with regard to instruments. Various renditions were accepted and proposed by composers and were performed widely and without limitations. Also published were many collections of works intended for performance on instruments of every kind, without specification, based on vocal forms:

*Motetti. Madrigali et canzoni francese... per sonar con ogni sorte di stromenti* (Venice, 1591);

Vincenzo Bonizzi, *Alcune opere di diversi autori a diverse voci, passeggiare principalmente... per ogni sorte di stromenti, e di voci* (Venice, 1626);

Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Canzoni per sonare con ogni sorte di stromenti* (Rome: Masotti, 1628).

Recitative, used in opera, understood as songful speech, was given a simple chordal accompaniment, a *basso continuo*, performed by alternative bass instruments, including the cello.<sup>35</sup> The 1607 opera *Orfeo* by Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643) carries historical significance for cellists. It is believed that Monteverdi used a cello in the instrumental ensemble of that opera, defined as *basso de viola da braccio*.

The imitative aesthetic grew in strength during the eighteenth century. Jean-Baptiste Abbé Dubos (1670–1742) and Charles Batteux (1713–1780) reduced all kinds of art to one, indivisible truth: *mimesis*. We find a description of

33 Published by G. Vincenti of Venice in 1594.

34 Published by F. Lomazzo of Milan in 1620.

35 Vincenzo Galilei (1520–1591), *Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna* (1581), a treatise popularising Greek music and postulating a return to ancient traditions and distinctive texts, preferring accompanied monody and criticising rampant polyphony, formed the founding principles of the Camerata Fiorentina. In Katz and Dahlhaus, *Contemplating Music: Substance*, 51–75.

instrumental music as painting in tones in the *Dictionnaire de musique* of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), from 1768. He noted the musician's genius in the painting of pictures with sounds.<sup>36</sup> The Baroque theory of the affects, one of the founders of which was Johann Mattheson (1681–1764), emphasises analogies between music and rhetoric. A 'lexicon' of musical rhetorical figures, affects and linguistic structures arose. Particular keys were ascribed non-musical meaning.<sup>37</sup> The music of the Baroque represented non-musical reality: the realm of emotions and passions, the expression of speech, natural phenomena, the seasons, animal sounds, numbers, religious, historical and mythological content, and everyday life. Christoph Willibald Gluck wrote: 'In composing, I try to forget that I am a musician' and 'I have tried to be painter and poet rather than musician.'<sup>38</sup>

The starting point for cello performance was the imitation and absorption of existing musical repertoire. The cellist accompanied singers or performed vocal parts. Vocal melody was the first element that influenced the art of the cello. It was from that, based mainly on imitation, that the cello borrowed its means of artistic expression. *Mimesis* is the oldest cornerstone of the art of playing the cello. In each successive era, the process of imitation, present in the art of cello performance, has taken on a slightly different character, developing and perfecting its forms whilst essentially remaining unchanged.

## 1.2. Periodisation of the evolution of mimetic cello performance

### I. Ensemble performance practice with cello in the sixteenth century

- pre-arrangement, free adaptation, altering the vocal material,
- pre-transcription, supporting a vocal part, faithfully performing a vocal part,
- a lack of separate sheet music for cello,
- the printing of vocal works without specification.

### II. The development of pre-arrangement and pre-transcription for cello in the seventeenth century

- ensemble pre-arrangement and pre-transcription of vocal parts continued,

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36 Dahlhaus, 'Emancipation', 26.

37 Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*. That treatise includes a description of the theory of affects.

38 Qtd. after Newman, *Gluck and the Opera*, 266.

- alternative performance of *basso* parts,
- alternative instrumental performance as part of a *basso continuo* group from the music of keyboard instruments,
- self-transcription – transcription for cello made by the composer himself.

### III. Watershed – first half of the eighteenth century

- emergence of solo transcriptions for cello,
- self-transcriptions for cello,
- polyversions – music for alternative performance on specific instruments: viola da gamba or violin or bassoon or cello,
- multiple forces – the ad hoc selection of instrumental forces.

### IV. Stagnation – second half of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century

- emancipation of the cello – now a fully-fledged chamber and orchestral instrument,
- an end to alternative performance and the doubling of parts,
- polyversions of works for several optional instruments, including cello, continued,
- an end to the role of the doubling, arranging cellist, except for the execution of a *basso continuo* part from music intended for keyboard instruments,
- variations – a popular form of arrangement of a musical quotation,
- improvised virtuosic cadenzas in a solo concerto.

### V. Pinnacle – turn of the twentieth century

- the appearance of the term ‘transcription’ in the musical sense,
- the appearance of new professions: arranger, transcriber,
- the cello is an instrument preferred by composers,
- transcriptions treated on a par with original works, deemed to be works of art,
- the emergence of concert transcriptions for cello,
- the publication of cello transcriptions of a didactic character,
- the publication of cello transcriptions of a popular, mass character,
- polyversions, self-transcriptions continued,
- cello transcriptions and arrangements of cyclic works,
- transcriptions of vocal works: extracts from operas, oratorios, songs and arias,
- new kinds of cello arrangement: potpourri, fantasy on a theme,

- the emergence of cello miniatures of an illustrative character,
- original virtuosic cadenzas – a composer's self-arrangement,
- virtuosic cadenzas of Romantic cellists – reinterpretations of a Classical concerto.

#### **VI. Reflection – second half of the twentieth century**

- the appearance in Europe of a wave of criticism with regard to ubiquitous transcription, curbing the rise in the number of cello transcriptions,
- the regulation of copyright – protecting the composer of a musical work,
- giving the transcriber a clear field of competence – regarding him as the co-composer of an arrangement,
- basing systematic music schooling on didactic transcriptions,
- the United States leads the way in the composing and publishing of new cello transcriptions,
- recordings, radio and television programmes represent new ways of popularising cello literature, including mimetic output.

#### **VII. The use of new media in transcribing during the twentieth and the twenty-first centuries**

- preparing transcriptions with the help of digital technology,
- supplementing sheet music with CDs and DVDs,
- musical computer programs for self-teaching,
- long-term cello tuition based on transcriptions.

## Chapter 2: The Renaissance and the Baroque: the first evidence of the cello, the instrument's design and the earliest mimetic cello repertoire; terminology, iconography

### 2.1. *Mimesis* and Renaissance instruments

During the Renaissance (1430–1600), *mimesis* was a ubiquitous phenomenon in art. The departure from the mediaeval theology-based perception of reality and the discovery of the beauty of the world fuelled a desire to reflect reality in works of art. Thanks to humanistic reflection, both human talent and practical performance skills became more appreciated. Instrumental music became a field of art.

In an age dominated by polyphonic vocal forms of a sacred and secular character, families of musical instruments were built along the lines of the disposition of voices in a choir: a *chorus instrumentalis*. New musical professions arose: church and court musicians. Transcriptions of polyphonic vocal forms directly influenced the crystallisation of the first instrumental forms: the *ricercar* and the *canzona*.

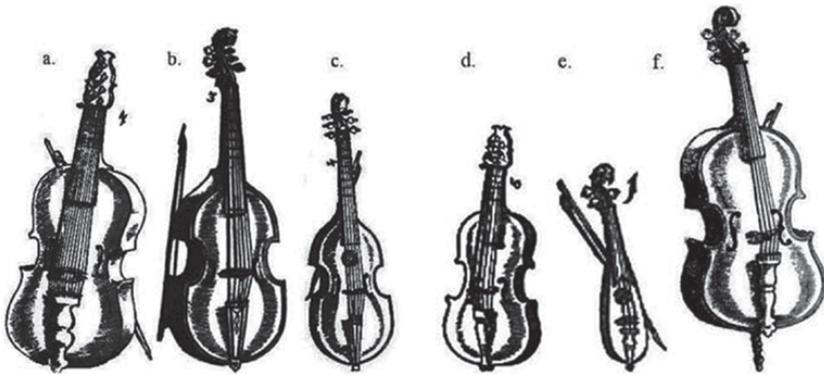
According to current knowledge, the cello appeared around 1535, as the last of the many bass string instruments. Older instruments, such as the *lira da gamba*, *lirone*, bass and tenor *viola da gamba* and *viola bastarda*, formed a sizeable group of familiar and valued instruments.<sup>39</sup>

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39 The *lira da gamba* had 9–14 strings, including two drones, five frets, a flat leaf-shaped head in the middle of which were placed two or three rows of pegs, a rosette and f-shaped sound-holes. A *lira da gamba* from 1592 made in Bologna by Antonius Brensius (Inv. no. 782) and another made in Brescia by Gasparo da Salò in 1612 (Inv. no. 783) are held in the Musikinstrumenten Museum der K. Marx Universität in Leipzig.

The *lirone* was a large *lira*; the only extant example (Inv. no. 780) is held in the Musikinstrumenten Museum der K. Marx Universität w Leipzig.

Two Italian bass viols from the sixteenth century made by Gasparo da Salò and Domenico Russo are held in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford: they have six strings set in a scrolled or lion's head pegbox; there is a rosette and C-shaped sound-holes in the table, the soundbox measures 60.4–68 cm, and there are seven frets. A family of



**Figure 1:** Renaissance and early Baroque string instruments, after Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, 1619: a. Italian lira da gamba (lirone); b. viola da gamba; c. viola bastarda; d. Italian lira da braccio; e. rebec (there also existed a bass variety); f. bass lira da braccio.

During the first century of its existence, the cello remained in the shadow of the human voice, the organ, spinet and harpsichord, and its great bass predecessors. It served to double or replace vocal parts or to take over the parts of viols or of brass or woodwind instruments.<sup>40</sup> Extant documents, rich iconography and material evidence in the form of Renaissance and Baroque instruments show that the cello participated in the execution of alternative *ad libitum* from the moment it was invented. I refer to a cellist's playing in a vocal-instrumental ensemble that makes use of existing vocal melodic lines as 'pre-transcription' or 'pre-arrangement'. This contains the essence of future transcription: the

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violans da gamba from 1600 made by Antonio Ciciliano, a representative of the Venetian school of violin making, is held in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna: SAM 70, 71, 72. Those instruments have a different shape than the Oxford specimens: an elongated triangle cut in the waist, a table without rosette, with f-shaped sound-holes, seven frets and six strings. The Museo Civico Medievale in Bologna is in possession of a tenor viol from the sixteenth century made by Antonio Ciciliano (Inv. no. 1761): this has six strings set into an elongated scrolled head, f-shaped sound-holes and no rosette; the soundbox measures 57–58 cm, and there are seven frets.

The viola bastarda had six strings set into the outside of an elongated head with a scrolled pegbox, seven frets, a rosette and C-shaped sound-holes.

40 Straeten, *History*, 130. In the author's opinion, the main task of the cello during the first century of its existence was to bolster the vocal parts in church music.

change of performance medium. The results of that type of performance were not written down, but it represented the start of a centuries-long phenomenon of cellists taking up foreign repertoire. That practice developed earliest in Italy, where many cellos were made during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their large number, despite the lack of musical material, is proof of the existence of forms of music-making in which the cello must have participated. Violin-makers' registers and church chronicles mention instruments and also musicians playing on a bass instrument that is not a viol. The term *violoncello* first appeared more than one hundred years after the first extant cello.

## 2.2. Renaissance instruments and the design of the cello

During the Renaissance, instrumental music experienced dynamic growth. Sixteenth-century instrument makers produced a new family of violins, which ultimately came to dominate violin making entirely. Since the model in music was the human voice, instruments were made according to the pattern of voices in a choir: treble/soprano (violin), alto (viola) and bass (cello). The bass violin did not catch on.<sup>41</sup> Violin playing was initially confined to the lowest bass register, and consequently to low positions. Today, instrument historians consider that the violin family with its bass variety called the violoncello evolved to adopt features of earlier families of string instruments.<sup>42</sup> The cello is related in design to the Renaissance *vielle* (Figure 2<sup>43</sup>), *viola da braccio* (Figure 3) and *lira da braccio* (Figure 4<sup>44</sup>). From those instruments, it took the contour of its

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41 The modern double bass, in its design, continues the line of the bass viol. We know of a double bass violin made by Nicolò Bergonzi in 1777, held in the Museo Civico in Cremona, an eighteenth-century Italian *streichbass* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (SAM 822) and a double bass violin by Hans C. Zäncker from 1700 in the Musikinstrumenten Museum in Berlin (Inv. no. 3341).

42 Boyden, *The History*, 306; Dilworth, 'The Cello', 7.

43 Otterstedt and Reiners, 'What old fiddles can teach us', 234.

44 The *viola da braccio* was closely related to the *lira da braccio*, tuned in fifths, with four strings, similar in size to the present-day *viola*, with C-shaped sound-holes. An original Italian specimen from c.1500 is held in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (SAM 65). A description of the *lira da braccio* with photographs can be found in Whiteley, *Stringed Instruments*, 22. Only a handful of instruments of this type have survived from the early sixteenth century. One of them is held in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. The Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna is in possession of perhaps the oldest *lira da braccio*, made by Giovanni d'Andrea of Verona in 1511, with five melodic strings and two drone strings (SAM 89), as well as a bass variety, a *lira da gamba*, from the sixteenth century (SAM 90), with fourteen strings, nine melodic and five drone.



**Figure 2.** Vielle



**Figure 3.** Viola da braccio



**Figure 4.** Lira da braccio

body, with rounded curves and narrowed waist, its vaulted plate and back, with projecting edges, its separate neck affixed to the body, its fretless fingerboard and its f-shaped sound-holes.

From the rebec (Figure 5), the cello acquired its fifths tuning, fretless fingerboard and lateral pegs.

In terms of design, the cello does not derive from the viola da gamba. The viol family coexisted with the cello, its junior by a hundred years, in the group of string instruments. Viols had a different design: sloping arches to the soundbox, a lack of projecting edges to the table and back, which were also thinner, a fingerboard with seven frets, a flat back, sloped off at the top, deep ribs, fourth-third tuning (D, G, c, e, a, d<sup>1</sup>), rosettes of various shapes and c- or f-shaped sound-holes. Although the viola da gamba did not pass its design features on to the cello,<sup>45</sup> it is highly significant for cellists and for the history of the cello.<sup>46</sup> More than one description of the history of cello performance has begun with the viola da gamba, its dominant role in many European countries, and the presentation

45 Harnoncourt, 'Viola da braccio and viola da gamba', in *Baroque Music Today*, 101–107.

46 Cf. Suchecki, *Wiolonczela*, 14–28; Straeten, *History*, 17–120; Wasielewski, *The Violoncello*, VII.



**Figure 5.** Rebec

of the instrument's parameters and of outstanding virtuosos of that instrument. Indeed, due to the similar way in which the two instruments are held between the legs, cellists partly adopted the position at the instrument and to some extent the technical elements of the right and left hands. Attention is also due to the use of the bow. At that time, there was no difference between bows for violas da gamba and for cellos. From a description of the collection of historical bows from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries held in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna,<sup>47</sup> covered by the common name *Streichbögen*, it is impossible to determine whether the bow was made for a cello or a viola da gamba.

The history of the cello can be dated back to the fourth decade of the sixteenth century,<sup>48</sup> which gave us the first extant cello made by Andrea Amati, known as *King* (after 1538), and also the first iconographic source – Gaudenzio Ferrari's fresco *The Concert of Angels* (1535), in the Basilica of Santa Maria dei Miracoli in Saronno (Italy). In order to identify the scope of the use of the cello after

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47 The Viennese exhibits with catalogue numbers SAM 852, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83 and 86 point to the common use of bows by gambists and cellists.

48 Suchecki, *Wiolonczela*, 327–332; Łobaczewska, *Style*, 166–167; Chomiński, *Historia harmonii*, 105 and 111–112; Chomiński and Wilkowska-Chomińska, *Historia muzyki*, i:269.

1535, I analysed compositional output in respect to the possible use of the cello, gathered documentation and literature relating to cellists, researched the history of the instrument's design, features of the earliest cellos (historical material evidence of the first cello performances) and the etymology of the term 'violoncello', established the name under which it functioned and studied iconographic sources.

### 2.3. The cello and ensemble performance practice: pre-arrangement, pre-transcription and self-transcription

The first cello was made during the Renaissance. The dates 1535 (the first portrayal of a cello in the Italian basilica of Santa Maria dei Miracoli in Saronno) and 1687 (the publication by Michetti of Bologna of the collection *Ricercate sopra il violoncello o clavicembalo*, by G. B. Degli Antonii (1636–1698)<sup>49</sup>) mark the earliest period in the functioning of the cello. A documented example of the Renaissance practice of reinforcing six-part vocal motets by Cipriano de Rore (1515/16–1565) with six violas da braccio dates from 1568.<sup>50</sup> Although the description does not detail each instrument separately, it is clear from analysis of extant motets by Rore from this period that a bass violin was also necessary for strengthening the parts.<sup>51</sup> In the mid sixteenth century, instrumental transcriptions were made of vocal *ricercars* and *canzonas*.<sup>52</sup> Composers did not specify particular forces, leaving the choice of instruments to performers.<sup>53</sup> Simple arrangements of popular songs for keyboard (virginal) or plucked string instrument (lute) formed the basis for all ensemble performance. In sixteenth-century church partbooks, instruments were not specified at all. Purely vocal parts were marked *a cappella*; in the remaining passages, the human voices required instrumental

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49 A modern edition prepared by Lauro Malusi was published by Zanibon of Padua in 1976.

50 On 22 February 1568, during the wedding of the Bavarian Prince Wilhelm V and Renata of Lorraine, in Munich.

51 Bonta, 'The Use of Instruments', 525.

52 Adrian Willaert placed the following note by his three *Fantasia, ricercari* for voice, from 1551: 'per cantare et sonare d'ogni sorte di stromenti'. Instrumental *canzonas* representing transcriptions of vocal *canzonas* were written by Andrea Gabrielli. Cf. Chomiński and Wilkowska-Chomińska, *Historia muzyki*, 185–187; Katarzyna Morawska, 'Andrea Gabrielli', in *Encyklopedia Muzyczna*, iii:176–180; Łobaczewska, 'Styl renesansowy', in *Style*, 166; R. J. Jackson, 'Canzona', in Jackson, *Performance and Practice*, 67.

53 Morawska, 'Andrea Gabrielli', 179.

doubling. Instrumentalists matched up with vocal parts depending on the disposition of clefs. In motets, composers included a general note to the effect that the works were for singing or playing ('cantare o sonare',<sup>54</sup> or 'canto o basso'<sup>55</sup>). A bass variety of violin/cello performed (or 'pre-transcribed') a bass choral or vocal part.<sup>56</sup> During the Renaissance, there were no differences between vocal and instrumental parts; there were no separate instrumental parts. This kind of performance practice lasted for more than one hundred years. During the Baroque, Renaissance performance traditions were continued. Composers of *drammi per musica*, madrigals and sacred works linked to Venice – Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643), Francesco Cavalli (1602–1676) and Giovanni Legrenzi (1626–1690) – did not specify the forces of their works, contenting themselves with notes relating to instrumental support for the voices. They used, among other things, a type of accompaniment where single instruments or groups of instruments played the same material in various configurations with the vocal parts, accompanying those parts, doubling and strengthening the sound of the ensemble. The cello was also introduced as one of the instruments accompanying singing in a basso continuo. The cellist would use the material of the harpsichordist or organist, playing the notated bass line and doubling the left hand.<sup>57</sup> Instrumental forces were similar in both the Renaissance and the Baroque: either *con sorte* (of the same sort) or *altro sorte* (of a different sort), where the forces included both string and wind instruments. The freedom and diversity in the choice of forces meant that the same work could be performed in many different ways. During the second half of the seventeenth century, in church sonatas (*da chiesa*), the general annotation *violoncello a beneplacito* meant that a cello could be added to the organ or theorbo.<sup>58</sup> From church registers of employed

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54 In the *Motetti. . . con sinfonie d'instromenti, partiti per cantar et sonar...* (Venice 1621 and 1637) by Alessandro Grandi (1575/80–1630), active in Ferrara, Venice and Bergamo, 'in polyphonic passages, the melodic line of the bc is the simplified line of the vocal bass [. . .] The instruments help to shape the flow of the work, repeating exactly or with minor alterations the formulas of the vocal part or parts'. Cf. Zygmunt M. Szwejkowski, 'Grandi Alessandro', in *Encyklopedia Muzyczna*, iii:443–445.

55 Bonta, 'The Use of Instruments', 524.

56 Domenico Freschi's *Messa a 5 e Salmi a 3 e 5* (Venice 1660) includes a violoncino part which does not serve as a bc, but doubles the vocal bass.

57 Manfredini (ed.), *I violoncelli*, 13.

58 Barnett, *Bolognese Instrumental Music*, 45–47. The author gives examples of compositions with optional cello by G. M. Jacchini (1697), P. C. Albergati (1683), G. M. Bononcini (1685) and G. Torelli.

musicians, we learn that besides wind players, the second largest group comprised violists da braccio of various kinds, including the bass variety. In Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo, close to the violin-making centres of Cremona and Brescia, between 1595 and 1709, there is not a single mention of the employment of a musician playing on a viola da gamba, and that instrument is also lacking in seventeenth-century Italian church music prints.<sup>59</sup>

Secular sonatas *da camera* could feature one melodic bass instrument chosen from several proposed by the composer.<sup>60</sup> A *basso* part would be pre-arranged when a performance contained changes, added ornaments or improvised passages. In Baroque violin sonatas by Giovanni Battista Fontana (1571–1630),<sup>61</sup> a whole range of instruments is given to choose among: wind, plucked or bowed. The *basso* part here can be performed by bassoon, chitarrone, violoncino (cello) or some other similar instrument.<sup>62</sup> The first harbinger of change in composers' awareness that the cello was suitable for solo playing is the above-mentioned *12 Ricercars* by Degli Antonii. Interestingly, preserved in Modena is a manuscript of those works for violin and bass instrument.<sup>63</sup> So the 1687 collection was a sort of self-transcription. The examples of sets of sonatas given below in chronological order indicate the widespread use of alternative performance practice in Venice, Bologna and Bergamo:

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59 Bonta, 'Terminology': 'Not once is the suffix *da gamba* encountered in surviving documents from Santa Maria Maggiore between 1595 and 1709. Evidence from Italian printed music of seventeenth century also suggests that viols were not used in church – except perhaps for the contrabass.'

60 Barnett, *Bolognese Instrumental Music*, 45–47. The author gives many examples of compositions offering a choice of cello or double bass (G. M. Jacchini, 1697), cello or spinet (G. Cattaneo, 1702) and cello or theorbo (F. Manfredini, 1704); G. M. Bononcini (1678) employs *violone* in the title and *violoncello* in the part name.

61 G. B. Fontana, *Sonate a 1.2.3. per il Violino, o Cornetto, Fagotto, Chitarone, Violoncino o simile altro Strumento* (Venice, 1641), posthumous edition. This composer worked in Brescia, Venice, Rome and Padua.

62 Similarly G. Legrenzi, *Sonatas*, Op. 2 scored for two violins and violone. Legrenzi furnished three works with the following formula: *A due Violino e Violone ò Fagotto* (Venice: Gardano, 1655), 10–12, violone part.

63 Arnaldo Forni, who prepared an edition of the Modena manuscript, considers that these works, traditionally regarded as the earliest published works for cello, were originally intended for violin with cello or harpsichord. Marc Vanscheeuwijck, a specialist in early Bolognese music, who prepared another modern edition, included a violin part in his edition; in his opinion, the *ricercars* were originally intended for violin and bc.

- G. B. Degli Antonii (1636–1698), *Balletti, Correnti, Gigue Sarabande da camera a violino, e clavicembalo o violoncello*. . ., Op. 3 (Bologna: Silvani, 1677).
- Tarquinio Merula (1594–1665), *Motetti e Sonate concertati* (Venice: Vincenti, 1624) for violin/cornett and bass: bass violin, trombone, dulcian or chitarrone,
- Giovanni Legrenzi (1626–1690) employed violone/bassoon in his sonatas published in Bergamo and Venice. In Libro 6, *Sonate a due, tre, e quattro stromenti...*, Op. 10 (Venice, 1673), he specifies cello among the forces, but gives cello/bassoon alternatively in the fourth piece. In Sonatas Nos. 17 and 18, the last in this book, he proposes even greater freedom: a part for viola da gamba or similar instruments (*viola da gamba ò come piace*).

Cellists played independently within a group of instrumentalists performing a similar supporting role.<sup>64</sup> The earliest cello pre-transcriptions and pre-arrangements represented a widespread ensemble performance practice.<sup>65</sup> The scope of the cello's use gradually expanded, but the function of an alternative instrument remained unaltered up to the 1680s.

## 2.4. Italian masters of the cello

Renaissance cellists remain anonymous. The common name for a group of violinists, *violini milanesi*, probably included players on bass instruments.<sup>66</sup> Professional cellists employed mainly in churches in northern Italy held the functions of *suonatore di violone*, *bass violine da braccio*, *basetto di viola*, *violone piccolo*. Pragmatic publishers, seeking the broadest possible readership, did not specify the names of instruments in their publications, only generally noting the register of a part: *basso*. The names of likely bass violinists first appear during the seventeenth century. Gasparo da Salò/Bertolotti (1540–1609), a famous violin maker from Brescia, played on the *vioione* – possibly the bass violin – for Assumption Day celebrations in 1604 in Bergamo.<sup>67</sup>

The leading centre for the cultivation of instrumental music was Bologna. Numerous musicians, composers and bass violinists, playing on the instruments

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64 Bonta, 'The Use of Instruments', 528–536. The author gives a list of works of church music: sixty-four scored for voices or instruments to be chosen by performers, forty-five instrumental works for unspecified forces.

65 Buelow, 'Instrumental Music', in *A History of Baroque Music*, 104.

66 The name comes from a document issued by Pope III (1534–1549) in 1538 concerning a peace conference in Nice. See Boyden, *The History*, 49.

67 After examining the records of the Church of Santa Maria in Bergamo, Stephen Bonta suggested that *vioione* means bass violin. See Bonta, 'Terminology', 5–42.

of various sizes which c.1665 were called *violoncello*, were associated with the city's flourishing musical institutions, such as the chapel of the Basilica of San Petronio, L'Accademia Filarmonica and the orchestra of Cardinal Benedetto Pamphilj (1653–1730), who from 1690 was papal legate in Bologna. There was a sheet music publisher in Bologna issuing instrumental works on what by Italian standards was a large scale.<sup>68</sup> It should be noted that most of the cellists documented at that time were trained, worked and began their careers in Bologna. Another city where instrumental music thrived was Modena, with the court of Duke Francesco II d'Este (1660–1694), a great music patron, violinist and collector of sheet music.

The first known cello masters were the following: **Domenico Galli (1649–1697)**, who from 1687 to 1691 was professionally linked to Modena. He produced a richly ornamented Baroque cello (as well as violins now held in the Galleria Estense in Modena) for the Duke of Modena, Francesco II d'Este. He wrote works for solo cello preserved in manuscript: *Trattenimento musicale sopra il violoncello*, Modena 1691,<sup>69</sup> with the compass C-e. There was also **Petronio Franceschini (1650–1680)**, *maestro di cappella* at Santa Maria della Morte in Bologna, composer and cellist, teacher of Domenico Gabrielli.<sup>70</sup>

**Domenico Gabrielli (1659–1690)** was employed as a cellist from 1680 to 1687 and 1688 to 1690 at the Basilica of San Petronio in Bologna and from 1687 was active in Modena. He wrote cello works preserved in manuscript: *Tre Sonate per Violoncello e tiorba o cembalo* (1687); *Ricercari, Canone e Sonate per Violoncello* (1689),<sup>71</sup> with the compass C-a. One of the first professional cellists to earn a living largely from playing the cello and composing. In the Modena manuscripts, he is described in Bolognese dialect as cellist *il Mingain dal Viulunzeel*.<sup>72</sup>

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68 Gregory Barnett (*Bolognese Instrumental Music*, 20) ranks Bologna in first place among publishers of instrumental music during the years 1669–1690; other cities (Modena, Venice and Rome) issued single editions or none at all.

69 Robin Stowell, 'Other solo repertory', in Stowell (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion*, 137; Biblioteca Estense Modena MUS.C.81

70 Margaret Campbell, 'Masters of the Baroque and Classical eras', in Stowell (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion*, 52.

71 Contemporary editions: Domenico Gabrielli, *Complete Works for Violoncello solo, for Violoncello and b.c.* Urtex, ed. Bettina Hoffmann (Hortus Musicus); 7 *Ricercari Cello Solo* (Schott Music). The original manuscript is held in the Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Mus. G.79 e Mus. F.416.1–2

72 There are different spellings: Anna Szweykowska (*Encyklopedia Muzyczna*, iii:199–200) writes 'Gabrielli. . . known as Menichino dal Violoncello, in Bolognese dialect "Minghen

**Giovanni Battista Bononcini/Buononcini (1670–1747)** and his brother **Antonio Maria (1677–1726)** began their European career in Bologna, where they studied composition and cello and belonged to the orchestra of Cardinal Pamphilj (1653–1730). They are ascribed up to twenty cello sonatas, including twelve church sonatas, a *Sonata da camera* and a *Sinfonia per camera*.<sup>73</sup>

**Giuseppe Maria Jacchini (1663–1727)**, a composer and cellist, a pupil of Domenico Gabrielli, worked in Bologna. From 1693 to 1703, he published instrumental works with cello: *Sonata da camera*, Op. 1 for cello and bc (Bologna: Liceo, 1697) and 10 *Concerti per camera*, Op. 4 (Bologna: Silvani, 1701). He was the first composer to give solo passages to a cello playing in an ensemble, thanks to which he made the cello partly independent of the basso continuo part.<sup>74</sup>

It is not easy to arrive at a full identification of cellists from the second half of the seventeenth century, since there are few musicians described unequivocally as such. They left a creative trace in the form of manuscripts for cello. Besides musicians active in Bologna, twelve other Italian composers gave the cello a place among the forces of their ensemble works during the period 1665–1687,<sup>75</sup> although that does not resolve the question of the repertoire for the more than one hundred extant cellos made after 1538.

dal Viulunzel””; Dimitry Markevitch and Florence Seder (*Cello Story*, 127) give ‘il Mingain dal Viulunzeel’. I found the latter spelling in the Modena manuscript G,79.

73 For a description of all the works by the Bononcini brothers, see Lowell Lindren, ‘Antonio Bononcini’, in *Complete Sonatas*, IX–XVII. The author dates the *12 Sonatas* to c.1694. The other works are later. There are three hypotheses concerning the original forces of those works:

- Agnes Kory and David Boyden state that they are for ‘treble violin’ tuned to G d a e’;

- These sonatas, like many others, could have been written for a small cello, which was a solo instrument; the large cello was an accompaniment instrument,

- Brent Wissick, after analysing the works’ compass, the character of the passage-work and the chords requiring a thumb position, stated that these works were intended for a five-string cello with the highest string tuned to d’ or e’, which would make them playable in the positions used at that time.

74 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, ‘Jacchini’, in *Encyklopedia Muzyczna*, iv:383.

75 Bonta, ‘From violone to violoncello’. The author identifies composers who used cello in their works.

## 2.5. Cello making schools, cello makers and extant instruments

### 2.5.1. The beginnings of cello making

The artistic cradle of the violin family and of the cello that belongs to it is northern Italy: Cremona and Brescia,<sup>76</sup> In Italy, France and Poland, makers of string instruments are known as luthiers. That is a traditional term derived from the name of the lute – a plucked string instrument that was hugely popular across Europe from the fifteenth century onwards. Also produced in the same workshops were cellos, which became part of the luthier's craft. Violins and cellos were initially less prestigious and influential; hence the name of the luthier's profession continued to be applied to the making of many stringed instruments. Besides the cello, they included cittern, guitar, theorbo and instruments from the da gamba and da braccio family.<sup>77</sup> From 1535 to 1687, a considerable number of cellos were made, long before the first documented use of the term *violoncello* (Bologna, 1665). I have found and catalogued 129 extant *bassi di violini*, now known as violoncellos.<sup>78</sup> It is likely that many more were produced. Mentioned in the literature are cellos made by the Cracow luthier **Marcin Groblicz I (1530–1609)** and by **Mateusz Dobrucki (1520–1602)**.<sup>79</sup> Displayed in the Musikinstrumenten-Museum in Berlin is a damaged fragment of a cello made in the first half of the seventeenth century by **Joseph Meyer (1610–1682)** or his contemporary **Adam Kirner** (seventeenth century). The preserved part of the table, with its characteristic decoration and shape to the sound-holes, represents the Alemannic School of violin making.<sup>80</sup>

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76 Boyden, *The History*, 34–35.

77 Cf. English terms 'luthier' and 'violin maker', German 'Geigenbaumeister' and 'Geigenbauer', Italian 'liutaio' and French 'luthier'. See Vogel, 'Lutherie'.

78 Carlo Chiesa, 'A brief history of the Amati family', in Cacciatori, Carlson and Chiesa, *The Amatis' DNA*, 27. '*violone da braccio*, now known as violoncello, although the name *bassi di violino* might have been more correct'.

79 Willibald Leo Lütgendorff (*Die Geigen*) mentions bass violins made by a Cracow luthier by the name of Dobruckl Matthäus (106) and considers that Marcin Groblicz of Cracow made excellent cellos.

80 Musikinstrumenten-Museum w Berlinie Kat. Nr 5202. The preserved element is the top plate. The Alemannic School is a separate branch of violin making in Switzerland, southern Germany and Austria, not related to the Italian school with its characteristic form of the instrument, embellishments, head shape and large sound-holes. Otterstedt, 'What old fiddles can teach us'.

Due to its size and fragile soundbox, the cello is quite easily damaged. There is no doubt that this has considerably diminished the number of extant instruments. Within this context, we must also bear other destructive factors in mind: fire, war, and ordinary wear and tear, which ultimately determined the fate of many instruments. The considerable number of these instruments, now aged between 472 and 323 years, together with the disproportionate lack of literature on this instrument, allows one to conclude that cello performance was probably based at that time on non-original, borrowed material, on pre-transcriptions and pre-arrangements.

Of the 129 earliest cellos to have come down to us, just fifteen were made outside Italy. Dating from 1685 is a Swiss cello by **Hans Krouchdaler (1650–1699)**, a representative of the Alemannic School from Oberbalm.<sup>81</sup> There are also two British cellos, by **Jacob Rayman (1596–1658)**, from 1646, and **William Baker (1645–1685)**, from 1672,<sup>82</sup> as well as a Flemish cello by **Caspar Bourbon (1601–1692)**, from Brussels.<sup>83</sup> In Absam, in the Tyrol, **Jakob Stainer (1619–1683)** produced eleven cellos inspired by the Italian school, all up to 1687.<sup>84</sup> The Real Conservatorio Superior de Música in Madrid is in possession of a cello from 1659 with a head carved in the shape of a youth.<sup>85</sup> The Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, meanwhile, has two Stainer cellos from 1658 (SAM 1071) and another (SAM 1037) that previously belonged to August Wenzinger. Displayed in the Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck is a cello from 1665.<sup>86</sup> A cello from 1670 was played by Laurence Lesser, a laureate of the Tchaikovsky Competition in Moscow. A cello made during the period 1640–1684 was played by the Berlin Philharmonic cellist Hans Bottermund (1892–1949). There are four

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81 Musikinstrumenten-Museum w Berlinie, cat. no. 4293. The museum is also in possession of a larger bass instrument shaped like the *Holdbass* cello from 1689, with five strings (cat. no. 5181). A similar instrument, referred to as a *violon basse*, from 1694, 912 mm in length, with five strings, is held in the Musée des Instruments de Musique in Brussels (inv. no. M1442).

82 Neece, 'The cello in Britain', 93–94.

83 John Dilworth, 'The cello: origins and evolution', in Stowell (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion*, 11. This instrument has survived in its original condition.

84 Alicja Knast, 'Stainer Jakob', in *Encyklopedia Muzyczna*, x:71.

85 A description of instrument no. Vc5 and photographs can be found at <http://rcsmm.eu/museo/visita-virtual/?aid=coleccion&categoria=cuerda-frotada> (accessed 8 September 2018).

86 For a description of instrument no. 208, see Senn and Roy, *Jakob Stainer*, 217; also <http://musikinstrumente.musikland-tirol.at/content/musikinstrumenteinhalt/jakobstainer/>

more cellos in private hands.<sup>87</sup> A full quartet of Stainer instruments, including a cello from 1673, has been made available for the Casals Quartett by the Musikkollegium Winterthur in Switzerland.<sup>88</sup>

The remaining 114 cellos were made by Italian masters. It is impossible to discuss each one. Their quantity is impressive and incredibly large compared to the few ensemble works specifying this instrument in their forces composed after 1665. They are all extraordinary, valuable, unique. Now satisfying the greatest virtuosos with the quality of their sound, when produced they diligently supported vocal parts, replaced wind instruments, played for dancing and doubled the bass line of a harpsichord or organ. The makers of early cellos were ahead of their time. It was only decades or centuries later that instrumentalists were able to reveal their full potential.

### 2.5.2. The art of cello making in Cremona

The first master to set the standards in the design and construction of the whole family of violin instruments which have largely endured till today was **Andrea Amati (1505–1577)**.<sup>89</sup> Only a few cellos by Amati have come down to us, the earliest representing a large model. The most famous among them is the *King*, made c.1538 for Catherine de Medici, adorned with the royal emblems and coat-of-arms of her son Charles IX after 1560.<sup>90</sup> This cello was a wedding present and formed part of a collection of thirty-eight string instruments. It arrived at the French court with eight other bass instruments. Elizabeth Cowling (1910–1997) asserted, on the basis of a first-hand examination,<sup>91</sup> that the cello had not been altered in its construction since the time of Amati.<sup>92</sup> Charles Beare, an eminent

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87 Ibid., 211. The firm of Hamma & Co. in Stuttgart is in possession of a cello from 1659 (203); Crosby Brown of New York has a cello from 1640 (213); Günther Haydn in Nuremberg and Paul Schreher in Wiesbaden possess two cellos from 1661.

88 Hopfner, *Jacob Stainer*, 168–170; <http://www.stainerquartett.ch/index.php?id=86>.

89 Mosconi, *Gli Strumenti di Cremona*, 7–8.

90 Instrument NMM 3351 in the National Music Museum, South Dakota, USA: <http://collections.nmmusd.org/Cellos/Amati/Amaticello.html> (accessed 8 September 2018).

91 Elizabeth Cowling was an economics graduate, a passionate cellist and gambist, a student of Luigi Silva and Pablo Casals, author of the lengthy publication *The Cello*, vice president of the American Viola da Gamba Society and a doctor of musical arts of the University of North Carolina in Greensboro.

92 Elizabeth Cowling describes the *King* cello (*The Cello*, 14, 28–29) and also mentions (33), based on correspondence with specialists, the existence of six other Amati cellos, three of which she saw in person.

expert from London, upon hearing it in 1982, declared: ‘I think the sound that came out of that instrument was perhaps the greatest cello sound I have ever heard beside of one or two of the great Strad cellos.’<sup>93</sup> Another of the decorated cellos from the royal collection is the *Lyon*, in the private collection of Jean-Frédéric Schmitt.<sup>94</sup> The *Berger*, from 1566, belongs to Julius Berger,<sup>95</sup> whilst a cello from 1575 is held at the Chi-Mei Culture Foundation in Taiwan,<sup>96</sup> and a 1566 cello was in the possession of M. H. Bakaert in Belgium.<sup>97</sup> We also know of undecorated Amati cellos from 1569, in the collection of Laurence C. Witten, and from 1573, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. Andrea Amati worked with his sons: **Antonio (1540–1607)**, who made one cello, which was played from 1937 to 1997 by the Russian cellist Shafran Daniil Borisovich (1923–1997), and **Girolamo/Hieronimus (1550–1630)**, who made two cellos by himself. A cello from 1620 is played by the Viennese cellist Stefan Jess-Kropfitsch. Antonio and Girolamo together made fourteen cellos. An instrument from 1587 is in the hands of the Dutch cellist Floris Mijnders;<sup>98</sup> another cello, from 1622, is played by Laurence Lesser, of Boston,<sup>99</sup> and another cello from that same year, the *ex-Benar Heifetz*,<sup>100</sup> is played by the Chinese cellist Wang Jian.

The golden age of the Cremona ateliers began with **Nicolò Amati (1596–1684)**, Girolamo’s son, regarded as the most outstanding of the Amati family. He influenced other master luthiers: Francesco Rugieri, Antonio Stradivari, Andrea Guarneri and Giovanni Battista Rogeri. He made twelve cellos. The earliest, from 1641, is mentioned in the subject literature.<sup>101</sup> Another, from 1642, was presented, as a token of appreciation, to the cellist Alfredo Carlo Piatti (1822–1901) by

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93 Qtd. after Laird, *The Baroque Cello Revival*, 6.

94 Cacciatori, *Andrea Amati*, 5–246.

95 Berger recorded a CD on this instrument, featuring works by D. Gabrielli and G. B. Degli Antonii: Julius Berger, *Birth of the Cello*, SM112, Solo Musica, rec. 28–30 May and 2–4 July, 2007.

96 For more on this instrument, see <https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID=49535> (accessed 10 January 2017).

97 Cowling, *The Cello*, 33.

98 For more on this, see [http://www.archiviodelialiuteriacremonese.it/en/strumenti/1587\\_violoncello.aspx?f=457896](http://www.archiviodelialiuteriacremonese.it/en/strumenti/1587_violoncello.aspx?f=457896) (accessed 10 January 2017).

99 For more on this, see <https://www.thestrads.com/galleries/in-focus-the-1622-brothers-amati-cello/8126.article>, 2 (accessed 8 August 2018).

100 For a description and photographs of the instrument, see Lim and Singer, *The Emil Hermann Collection*, pt 1, p. 21.

101 For a description and photographs of this instrument, see Cowling, *The Cello*, 38; it is held in the collection of Rembert Wurlitzer.

Franz Liszt (1811–1886), and was subsequently owned by the Hungarian cellist Willem Willeke (1880–1950), who performed on it chamber works with Brahms, Grieg and Richard Strauss. The *Willeke* cello now belongs to the Juilliard School of Music and is played in the Juilliard String Quartet.<sup>102</sup> A cello made between 1645 and 1650 for Duke Ferdinando I de Medici of Tuscany is on display at the Istituto Cherubini in Florence.<sup>103</sup> This reduced cello has a later rebuilt neck, mother-of-pearl incrustation representing the Medici coat-of-arms on the longer ebony fingerboard and an ivory nut.<sup>104</sup> A cello from 1650 is held in the GOS Collection in Moscow and has been played by Mstislav Rostropovich (1927–2007) and Ivan Monighetti (b. 1948).<sup>105</sup> A 1662 cello 78.1 cm long is one of three extant non-reduced cellos.<sup>106</sup> This instrument was played by Count Mateusz Wielhorski (1794–1866) and in the twentieth century by the American cellist Leonard Rose (1918–1984). From 1955 to 1975, the cello formerly belonging to Gregor Piatigorsky (1903–1976), built between 1679 and 1684, was played by Jack Kistein of the LaSalle Quartet. Another extant instrument is the *Herbert*, from 1677, belonging to the Smithsonian Institution Museum.<sup>107</sup> Up to 1687, the Amati family made a total of around thirty-six cellos.

**Francesco Rugieri/Ruggieri (1620–1698)** made instruments in the spirit of the Cremona School, influenced by Nicolò Amati. He brought smaller proportions to the development of cello design, two decades before Antonio Stradivari.<sup>108</sup> Rugieri made fifty-three highly regarded cellos, thirty-two of them before 1687. A Rugieri cello from 1673 was in the possession of the Polish cellist Aleksander Bronisław Ciechański (1927–2012), a member of the Warsaw Quintet.<sup>109</sup> Justin Pearson, first cellist of the London-based National Symphony Orchestra, has a Rugieri from c.1695. Another was played by the cellist of the

102 Solow, 'A who's who'.

103 This instrument appears in the collection under the catalogue number N. 32.

104 For a description and photographs of the instruments, see Cacciatori, Carlson and Chiesa, *The Amatis' DNA*, 160–161.

105 For a description and photographs of this instrument (GOS cat. no. 92), see Waller (ed.), *Genius Stradivari*, 102–103.

106 Cello with description: <https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID=42952> (accessed 11 February 2018).

107 Cello with description: <https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID=42793> (accessed 11 February 2018).

108 Tim Ingles and John Dilworth, 'Francesco Ruggieri', in *Four Centuries of Violin Making*, 473, 484.

109 For more on this instrument, visit <https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID=53794> (accessed 11 February 2018).

London Trio, William Whitehouse (1859–1935). The French cellist Diran Alexanian (1881–1954) owned a cello made in 1687. A 1676 cello made available by the Boubo Music Foundation in Binningen is currently played by Astrig Siranossian (b. 1988), and the musical instrument foundations Deutsche Stiftung Musikleben of Hamburg and Dextra Musica of Norway loan Rugieri cellos to talented young cellists.

A pupil of Nicolò, **Andrea Guarneri (1626–1698)**, from another Cremona workshop, made twenty-four cellos, twelve up to 1687. One his cellos from 1638 was played by János Starker (1924–2013), an American cellist of Hungarian extraction. Audrey King, of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, played on a 1683 Guarneri cello from 2013 to 2017. David Soyer (1923–2010), founder of the American Guarneri Quartet, played on a Guarneri cello from 1669. The Czech cellist Marek Jerie (b. 1947) of the Prague-based Guarneri Trio possesses an instrument from 1684. Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827) received a 1675 Guarneri cello together with a whole quartet as a gift from Duke Carl von Lichnowski (1761–1816). That instrument is now held in the Beethoven-Haus in Bonn (no. 10/4). A cello made between 1660 and 1670 – a larger model, with a body 77 cm long – is held in the GOS Collection in Moscow (no. 455).<sup>110</sup> A photograph of another instrument, from 1680, is reproduced in *The Cambridge Companion to the Cello*,<sup>111</sup> as an example of an excellent Guarneri model.

**Antonio Stradivari (1644–1737)** is now regarded as the most outstanding master of violin making. He produced a range of cello models, including the optimal ‘B’ Form and more than sixty extant instruments. His long life has been divided into periods, the first two of which partly fall before 1687.

During the Early Period (Period I), the master made two cellos: the *ex-Du Pré/ex-Harrell* in 1673,<sup>112</sup> the *Cavalieri/Chigiana* in 1680.<sup>113</sup> The latter instrument is now held at the Siena Academy in Italy. We are also familiar with the *Flatback/Betts/Iwasaki* cello, from 1670,<sup>114</sup> which given its flat back was probably a converted viol. The table was replaced around 1800 by the Hills. This instrument is

110 Mihalsky, *The Great Russian Collection*, 72; Waller (ed.), *Genius Stradivari*, 126–127 (description of the instrument, photographs).

111 Dilworth, ‘The cello: origins and evolution’, 15, 17.

112 For more on this: <https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID=41494> (accessed 11 February 2018).

113 Henley, *Antonio Stradivari*, 88; Goodkind, *Violin Iconography*, 169–170 (descriptions of the instrument, photographs).

114 For more on this: <https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID=24672> (accessed 11 February 2018).

played by Ko Iwasaki. Another conversion of a viola da gamba by Nicolò Amati, from c.1630, was done by Stradivari himself. This instrument was played in the Sistine Chapel, hence its name: *ex Vatican Stradivarius*.<sup>115</sup>

During the Long Form Period (Period II), up to 1700, Stradivarius made twenty-one cellos, two of them before 1687. The owners of the *Visconti*, from 1684, which was originally a viola da gamba, 76.7 cm long, decorated with the Visconti family crest,<sup>116</sup> have included Bernard Greenhouse (1916–2011). The *ex-Leo Stern/General Kyd*, from 1684, 77.5 cm long, is the property of the Los Angeles Philharmonic, having previously belonged to the cellist Peter Stumpf and then Robert de Maine.<sup>117</sup>

Stradivarius was the first violin maker to name his bass instruments *violoncello*. Thanks to records kept by the monk Desiderio Arisi from 1682 to 1707, we have valuable information about the cellos made by Stradivarius. He received orders from across Italy, and his instruments were sent all over Europe, as a special gift from the distinguished figures who ordered them.

In 1682, the Venetian banker Michele Monza ordered a complete set of instruments, including a small and a large cello, two violins and a viola – a gift for King James II Stuart of England (1633–1701). In 1685, Cardinal Pietro Francesco Orsini (1649–1730), Archbishop of Benevento and from 1724 Pope Benedict XIII, ordered a cello and two violins as a gift for the Duke of Catalonia. He also extended his patronage to Stradivarius, awarding him a patent and privileges in a letter of 25 June 1686. That same year, Stradivarius received an order to make a string quartet for the orchestra of King Amadeo II of Sardinia.<sup>118</sup> In 1686, a cello was ordered by Duke Francesco II d'Este of Modena.<sup>119</sup>

The galaxy of masters from Cremona ends with Nicolò Amati's last pupil, **Giovanni Battista Rogeri (1642–1710)**. Born in Bologna, Rogeri studied in Cremona and then settled in Brescia, in 1675. In his instruments, he combined Cremona and Brescia styles. He made twenty-three cellos, four of them up to 1687. One of his cellos from 1667 was played by Bessie Fagioli Griffiths – an

115 For more on this: <https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID=49233> (accessed 11 February 2018).

116 Goodkind, *Violin Iconography*, 190 (description of the instrument, photographs); Delbanco, *The Countess*, 47.

117 Goodkind, *Violin Iconography*, 194 (description of the instrument, photographs).

118 Joseph Wechsberg, 'Stradivari: Ne plus ultra', in *Trifles Make Perfection*, 194 (information on the instruments and their maker, Stradivari).

119 Ferrari Barassi, 'The musical language of the violoncello and the metamorphosis of the instrument', in *I violoncelli*, 21–73.

Australian cellist settled in Great Britain. The last cello from 1687, owned by the Staatsbank in Baden, Germany<sup>120</sup>, is played by the cellist Claudio Bohórquez.

### 2.5.3. Other cello making centres in Italy

Besides instruments from Cremona, we are also familiar with cellos from Brescia. Petr Hejny recorded a number of works of early music on a cello made by **Peregrino Zanetto (1520–1603)** in 1581. The most famous Brescian luthier's workshop belonged to **Gasparo Bertolotti, known as da Salò (1540–1609)**. We know of three original cellos made by him, the oldest dating from 1580, with double purfling and an ornament on the back.<sup>121</sup> The next, 73 cm long, is held in a New York collection.<sup>122</sup> The last of the trio belongs to a private collection in London.<sup>123</sup> A pupil of da Salò's was **Giovanni Paolo Maggini (1580–1630)**, who worked with his master up to 1606. Unfortunately, he did not date the labels inside his instruments. The list of instruments by this maker begins with the full-size *Dumas* cello, from c.1600.<sup>124</sup> The *Galitzen-Cillo* and *Chimay*, made in 1594–1632, belong to the Maggini Foundation of Switzerland and the Chimei Culture Foundation of Taiwan, respectively.<sup>125</sup> G. P. Maggini left us six cellos.

Besides the violin-making workshops in Cremona and Brescia, there were others elsewhere which gained significance over time. In Venice, **Martinus Kaiser (c.1642–c.1695)** made a cello in 1679, now held in the Museum of Musical Instruments in Brussels, which has its original, unaltered neck.<sup>126</sup> The Turin maker **Fabrizio Senta (1630–1700)**, is known for a cello from 1667, displayed at the Istituto Cherubini in Florence. Based in Milan was **Giovanni Grancino (1637–1709)**, who produced around seventy cellos, eight of them up to 1687 and two with his brother **Francesco (1680–1700)**. A Bologna luthier

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120 Bücking, Köstler and Priemer, *Die L-Bank Instrumentensammlung*, 10 (description of the instrument, photographs).

121 Stowell (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion*, 19.

122 Blot, *Liutai in Brescia*, 117, 148.

123 Dassenno and Ravasio, *Gasparo da Salò*, 59.

124 *Sotheby's Musical Instruments Auction Catalog*. London July 1993, 24. For a description of the *Dumas* cello, see Huggins, et al., *Gio: Paolo Maggini*, 66–67.

125 Maggini-Foundation, Switzerland, CH4900 Langenthal, <https://web.archive.org/web/20050312041512/http://www.cozio.com:80/Instrument.aspx?id=3579> (accessed 1 February 2019); this foundation loans instruments for an unspecified time and has 220 string instruments, including Maggini's *Galitzen-Cillo*. The Chimei Culture Foundation is based in San Chia, Jen Te, Tainan County 71702 Taiwan.

126 Dilworth, 'The cello', 11; Laird, *The Baroque Cello Revival*, 23.

was **Giovanni Tononi (1640–1713)**, who made one cello up to 1687. Based in Modena was **Antonio Casini (1630–1690)**, who built six cellos, three of them up to 1687. An instrument from 1667 is played by the American cellist Frank Dodge. A cello from c.1680 was owned by Amaryllis Fleming (1925–1999).<sup>127</sup> An irregular-shaped Renaissance cello made in 1590 by Divi Spilmann of Padua is held in the Early Instruments Collection in Vienna (SAM 104). Active in Saluzzo, Mantui and Turin was **Gioffredo Cappa (1653–1717)**, who made ten cellos, two of them by 1687.<sup>128</sup>

Already in the earliest period, from 1538 to 1687, cello making was of a very high standard. The general design of Renaissance and Baroque cellos has remained essentially unchanged. The accessories were of a slightly different shape and size or, as with the strings, were made of a different material than today.

#### 2.5.4. The cello in the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania and in Royal Prussia: hypotheses and views

No Polish museum collection is in possession of a historical cello made by a native violin maker from the turn of the seventeenth century. The design of cellos in Poland has been discussed by Polish musicologists, and it is worth recalling their opinions and hypotheses, together with the latest conceptions.

The musicologist Włodzimierz Kamiński (1930–1993), a specialist in instruments, considered that three large violins were used in professional Polish music during the sixteenth century: treble (violin), tenor (viola) and bass (cello). In his opinion, when identifying a violin or cello, one should consider, besides the shape of the instrument, purely musical issues, so above all the number of strings. Since there are no four-string violas da gamba, problematic instruments should be distinguished according to the number of strings.<sup>129</sup> It was traditionally considered that the cradle of cello making in Poland was Cracow – the location of workshops producing instruments known as *skrzypice*.<sup>130</sup> The earliest atelier, active before 1602, belonged to the royal hydro-engineer **Mateusz Dobrucki**,<sup>131</sup>

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127 *Sotheby's Musical Instruments Auction Catalog*. London November 13 & 21 2001; <https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID=69493> (accessed 11 February 2018).

128 Mandredini and Carlson, *I violoncelli*, 17.

129 Kamiński, *Instrumenty*, 94.

130 Szydłowska-Cegłowa, *Staropolskie nazewnictwo*, 6. The term *skrzypice* was noted on the territory of the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

131 Revised date given after Alicja Knast, 'Lutherie'. Zdzisław Szulc, Włodzimierz Kamiński and Beniamim Vogel give Dobrucki's dates as 1520–1602.

whose workshop produced a wide range of string instruments. From a posthumous inventory compiled at his atelier, we know that the dying master left behind ‘three bass’ forms. Found in the workshop was ‘one simple wooden chest with bass forms’. We also learn from the document that Dobrucki had debts, which were settled by his wife: ‘And there the aforementioned Helizabeth related that she paid the defunct’s debt of seventeen florins for bass forms.’<sup>132</sup> A list of Dobrucki’s moveable property attests to his lofty standing, wealth and extensive instrument-making capacities.<sup>133</sup> Probably another violin maker or the first noted owner of a bass violin was **Bartłomiej Kajcher (1548–1599)**. He belonged to the royal chapel in Cracow and ran a workshop producing mostly wind instruments. From posthumous inventories, we learn that he possessed two violins, ‘one bass, the other treble in a case’.<sup>134</sup> Also hailing from Cracow was **Marcin Groblicz (c.1674–1745)**,<sup>135</sup> whose cellos were noted by W. L. Lütgendorff: ‘Am besten sind seine Violoncelli’.<sup>136</sup> Ambroży Grabowski mentioned that ‘one Cracow family is in possession of a very old Violoncello inscribed within “Marcin Groblicz 1609”’. Wojciech Albert Sowiński called this instrument a violin: ‘this violin was on display at the Ossolineum in Lviv in 1861’.<sup>137</sup> Many violin makers were active in Poland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In Cracow, known by their surname are Jakubowski and Mosiązek, as well as Bernard Przeworski, *instrumentorium musicorum confector*, who lived in the early seventeenth century (d. c.1620), and Tomasz Głazowski. Jan Dankwart (?–1663) worked in Warsaw,<sup>138</sup> Baltazar Dankwart (mid sixteenth century to 1622) in Vilnius, and Franciszek Grondalski (1689–1764) in Poznań.

In Royal Prussia, an important centre for instrument making was Gdańsk. During the seventeenth century, ‘Gdańsk violins’ were renowned throughout Poland. The luthier and musician **Thomas Rossman/Rotzman (c.1630–1699)**,

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132 Szulc, *Słownik*, 46–49; Grabowski, *Dawne Zabytki*, 174; Kamiński, *Instrumenty*, 150–151.

133 Szulc, *Słownik*, 46–47, ‘*Inventarium rerum mobilium post mortem olim Nobilis Math. Dobruczkij*’.

134 Kamiński, *Instrumenty*, 134, 149; Vogel, *Słownik*, 103.

135 Revised dates given after Vogel, ‘Lutherie’. Zdzisław Szulc and Włodzimierz Kamiński give Groblicz’s dates as before 1550 to after 1609.

136 Lütgendorff, *Die Geigen*, 181; Janusz Jaskulski, Jacek Podbielski, Ryszard J. Wieczorek, *Polakowi*, 29.

137 Sowiński, *Słownik*, 140.

138 Revised dates given after Vogel, ‘Lutherie’. Szulc (*Słownik*) gave his date of birth as c.1600.

who plied his trade in the city without a licence and was repeatedly fined as a consequence, made cellos, as was noted in 1661 in an inventory of the municipal chapel of Gdańsk.<sup>139</sup>

We do not know who trained Mateusz Dobrucki, Marcin Groblicz and Thomas Rossman or who produced the forms for bass *skrzypice*. The results of the latest research conducted into the extant collection of the Polish school of violin making revises previously held views. Alicja Knast, who led the research, considers that in the case of the Dobrucki inventory the most important issue is to correctly interpret the words ‘basses’, ‘tenors’ ‘trebles’ and ‘skrzypice’. In her opinion, on the basis of linguistic research, and also such elements as ‘form’, we should assume that ‘Dobrucki did not make violins of various sizes, but violas da gamba typical of a consort of viols.’<sup>140</sup> Following this interesting thesis, the author reinterprets Praetorius’ term *Polnische Geigen*, claiming that he had in mind viol-type instruments rather than violins. According to Knast, only Agricola noted the existence of Polish instruments bearing the features of a violin: fretless, tuned in fifths, on which the player used a fingernail technique. Extant museum objects appear to confirm her thesis. The violas da gamba held in Polish museums were produced by native violin makers. Among these instruments, there are instances of conversion or reconstruction that represent a kind of vandalism, destroying the original design of the instruments. A viola da gamba would be adapted for cello performance by changing the bridge, giving the instrument four strings a, d, G, C, altering the neck for a slimmer one, set at a suitable angle, and removing the frets from the fingerboard. Following such procedures, although originally a viol, such an instrument essentially functioned as a cello, as is evidenced, for example, by an object displayed at the First Polish Music Exhibition, held in Warsaw in 1888: ‘a small cello converted from a viol, the work of Maggini. Owned by Mr S. Barcewicz’ (item no. 319).

Aleksander Poliński, author of the exhibition catalogue, explained: ‘the viola da gamba, an instrument now obsolete, differed from the cello in little other than the fact that it possessed between five and seven strings, whereas the latter has always had four strings.’<sup>141</sup> Such objects were also catalogued by Zdzisław Szulc. The first was a bastarda viola da gamba (no. 87), from 1600, with a flat back with inward-sloping upper part made of bird’s-eye maple, flame-shaped sound-holes, an intricate heart-shaped rosette, double purfling, non-projecting edges and

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139 Vogel, ‘Tomas Rossman.’

140 Knast, ‘Lutherie.’

141 Poliński, *Katalog*, 5.

an altered neck with a pegbox for four pegs crowned with an original dragon's or lion's head, characteristic of the atelier of Marcin Groblicz.<sup>142</sup> This 'baritone' instrument was subjected to dendrochronological analysis, which indicated a different date of construction, after 1693.<sup>143</sup> Another instrument catalogued by Szulc is a tenor viola da gamba (no. 88). This has a flat back with inward-sloping upper part and ribs from bird's-eye maple, f-holes and a non-original neck ending in a dragon's or lion's head. Stuck inside the instrument is a counterfeit label: Carlo Pergonzi Cremona 1651. Szulc suggested that this instrument was the work of an eighteenth-century Cracow maker and that the label proved that Polish instruments were sold as Italian originals. This instrument is now held in the National Museum in Cracow; according to the latest research published by Alicja Knast, it dates from the fourth quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>144</sup> The same collection also includes a bass viola da gamba converted into a cello, traditionally ascribed to Marcin Groblicz from 1601.<sup>145</sup> Dendrochronological analysis has dated it to 1715.

The conversion of violas da gamba of various types (bastarda/baritone, tenor, bass) for cello performance attests to the emancipation of an instrument tuned in fifths and the adaptation of old instruments for new musical purposes. The body of the transformed instrument is still that of a viol, yet through the addition of accessories – strings, bridge, slimmer neck (the original head was often left intact) with four pegs – the instrument served as a cello. When was that conversion carried out? Patryk Frankowski dates the conversion of Marcin Groblicz's bastarda/baritone viol to the nineteenth century.<sup>146</sup> It is worth noting that within the milieu of Gdańsk luthiers the conversion of instruments was noted much earlier, in the late seventeenth century. From an inventory of the music chapel of the Church of the Assumption compiled in 1731, we know of two works of this

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142 Szulc, *Katalog*, 43. Zdzisław Szulc, Włodzimierz Kamiński and Patryk Frankowski describe the figure adorning the head of these objects as a 'dragon'; Alicja Knast calls it a 'lion'.

143 Zdzisław Szulc and Włodzimierz Kamiński call this instrument a bastarda viola da gamba. It is displayed in the Museum of Musical Instruments in Poznań as a baritone (viola di bordone MNP-I-234), and that term is employed by Patryk Frankowski and Alicja Knast.

144 Knast, 'Nowa atrybucja'.

145 An instrument examined by Alicja Knast, 120.1 cm long, with the card 'Ad.M.D.G./ Marcin Groblicz/1601'; see 'Nowa atrybucja'.

146 Frankowski, 'Baryton', Nr 294.

type. **Christof Meyer (c.1645–1697)** converted a large violin (*wiolon*) in 1692;<sup>147</sup> the cello maker **Johann Goldberg/Goltberg (b. c.1701, buried on 15 April 1765 in Gdańsk)** converted a bass viol by the violinist and violin maker **Michael Cawarski (c.1647–1655)** into a cello in 1720.<sup>148</sup> A ‘cello converted from a viol’ was noted in the *Inventaria Conventus Varsaviensis Anno 1739* of the Pauline Fathers’ church in Warsaw. Entered in the inventory of musical instruments belonging to the Augustinian monastery in Warsaw in 1752 was ‘1 small old cello belonging to his Lordship’, alongside a standard cello.<sup>149</sup> This small instrument could have been a conversion. Paweł Podejko also mentions a small cello from Częstochowa that was a converted viol being displayed in 1881 in the First Instruments Exhibition in Warsaw.<sup>150</sup> These few examples show that the market for conversions functioned parallel to the making of new instruments from the end of the seventeenth century onwards.

It is currently impossible to identify who produced the earliest original Polish cello or where; the question requires further research. Practice shows that a violin maker produces many times fewer cellos than violins over the course of his work. That is due to the smaller demand, the amount of work involved and the large amount of material used. For these reasons, in the past, when the need for a bass instrument for ensemble playing arose (and the cello served that function for many decades), conversion was a satisfactory and economical solution.

### 2.5.5. The design of a Baroque cello and bow

The Baroque model of the cello differed from its modern counterpart in the lack of a fixed size. The body varied in length from 71 to 90 cm, the soundbox ended with a button or a short endpin, the neck was wide and stood out perpendicularly to the soundbox, the heel attached with a nail or a screw, the fingerboard was short, with a wedge underneath (high positions were not used), the strings were made of gut, with the lower strings wound in silver in Bologna c.1665, soundboards were high vaulted or, on the contrary, almost flat, and the bass bar was not separate, but formed an integral part of the top plate.

The Renaissance and Baroque bridge was lower and wider, thick, with a shallow top arch. The cut-outs (heart, eyes, space by wings and feet) were

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147 Rauschnig, *Geschichte*, 226; Vogel, ‘Meyer Christof’. Meyer was probably a pupil of Georg Fleming.

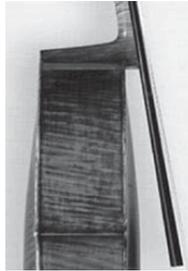
148 Rauschnig, *Geschichte*, 226, 355–356; Vogel, ‘Goldberg Johann’.

149 Mądry, *The Baroque part 2*, 353.

150 Podejko, *Kapela*, 99.



**Photo 1.** Renaissance or Baroque short fingerboard with wedge, thick, bulky neck and heel, set at right angles.



**Photo 2.** Part of a modern cello, rebuilt after 1800, with a long fingerboard without wedge, narrower neck and moulded heel, set at an acute angle.

smaller. Particularly noteworthy for scholars specialising in violin-making are the varnishes and forms used by luthiers, as well as the tree species, with their acoustic and aesthetic properties. All the parameters are currently undergoing research and analysis. The timbers traditionally used in particular parts of the cello are as follows:

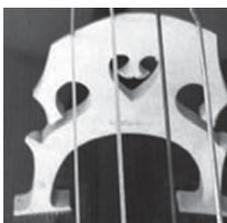
- fir or spruce in table, bass bar, soundpost, linings, corner blocks,
- sycamore or maple, less often beech, poplar or willow in the back, ribs, neck and head,
- poplar was used in cellos by F. Ruggieri, poplar and willow by A. Stradivari,<sup>151</sup> beech and poplar by A. Guarneri,<sup>152</sup>

<sup>151</sup> Harajda, *Akustyczne zagadnienia*, 10–11.

<sup>152</sup> On the types of wood used by Guarneri and Ruggieri, see Dilworth, ‘The cello’, 15–16.



**Photo 3.** Bridge for a Stradivarius 'B' Form cello, 1700



**Photo 4.** Modern French bridge

- the fingerboard was made of box or ebony, the tailpiece, pegs, nut, saddle and button (partly also the endpin) were made of exotic types of wood: ebony, mahogany, box or rosewood.

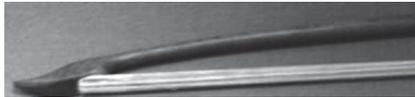
The cello bow, taken from the viola da gamba, consisted of a frog, stick and tip. All of those elements were improved. The frog, to which string, and then horse-hair was fixed, was provided with a clip-in device, and around 1700 it acquired a screw for regulating the tension of the hair. The arch of the stick became successively flatter. The tip, initially formless, gained the shape of a swan bill with a mortice into which the hair was fixed.

From the eighteenth century, a Brazilian timber known as pernambuco was used to make the stick of the bow, whilst ebony and ivory were the principal raw materials for the frog.

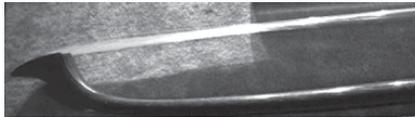
### Evolution of the bow tip



**Photo 5.** In the earliest universal bow for bass stringed instruments from the sixteenth century, the hair was tied to the end of the stick [Kunsthistorisches Museum SAM 81 Vienna, Austria].



**Photo 6.** The seventeenth-century bow has a tip in the form of a swan's head, with the hair wedged into a mortice and an arched stick; this was a universal bow for bass stringed instruments [Kunsthistorisches Museum SAM 75 Vienna, Austria].



**Photo 7.** The cello bow made by Stradivarius (who used the term *violoncello*) at the start of the eighteenth century has a tip in the shape of a swan's head, with the hair wedged into a mortice and an arched stick [Museo Stradivariano Inv. 476 Cremona, Italy].

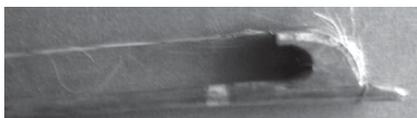


**Photo 8.** This French bow from the end of the eighteenth century has a tip in the shape of swan's head, with the hair wedged into a mortice and a straight stick parallel to the hair [Musikinstrumenten-Museum Cat. no. 4334 Berlin, Germany].



**Photo 9.** This French cello bow from the nineteenth century has a modern rhomboid tip, with the hair wedged into a mortice and the stick curved inwards [Musikinstrumenten-Museum Cat. no. 5021 Berlin, Germany].

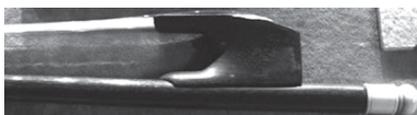
### Evolution of the frog



**Photo 10.** The fifteenth-century frog could not be regulated; the string or hair is tied on. This is a universal Italian bow for stringed instruments [Kunsthistorisches Museum SAM 107 Vienna, Austria].



**Photo 11.** The seventeenth-century frog had a clip-in device, but the hair could not be regulated. This is a universal bow for bass stringed instruments [Kunsthistorisches Museum SAM 75 Vienna, Austria].



**Photo 12.** A frog from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Around 1700, bows were equipped with a screw for regulating the tension of the hair. The frog is 'open', with no slide or ferrule. This is a Stradivarius cello bow [Museo Stradivariano inv. no. 476 Cremona, Italy].



**Photo 13.** This French frog from the end of the eighteenth century, made of ivory and mother-of-pearl, is shaped like a modern bow; the frog is 'open', with no slide or ferrule. [Musikinstrumenten-Museum cat. no. 4336 Berlin, Germany].



**Photo 14.** This nineteenth-century French frog, made of ebony, mother-of-pearl, and semi-precious and precious metal, is shaped like a modern bow; it has a metal ferrule, with the hair enclosed from beneath. [Musikinstrumenten-Museum cat. no. 5021 Berlin, Germany].

The overall design and constituent parts of the cello and its bow derive from the Renaissance and Baroque. Although they have evolved over the intervening four hundred years, their basic construction has remained unaltered.

## 2.6. Cello terminology in documents and treatises

### 2.6.1. Cello nomenclature in Europe

The term *violoncello* first appeared in Bologna in 1665, around 127 years later than the earliest known extant instrument which bears that name today.<sup>153</sup> How was it called previously? Who played it? What were the first cellists called? What sheet music did they use? Analysing the various terms employed in relation to the cello is no easy task. Discussion has raged for many decades among musicologists researching church registers and manuscripts of the earliest musical literature linked to the cello. In this part of my work, I will focus on a few of the most recent conceptions, comparing the effects of the long-term studies of authorities in this field.

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<sup>153</sup> Giulio Cesare Arresi (1619–1701), a composer active in Bologna, employed this term in *Sonate con la parte del Violoncello*, Op. 4 (Venice, 1665).

Not a single theoretical tract concerning the cello was written during the second half of the sixteenth century. It is merely mentioned by theorists, who used a range of terms to describe it. David Boyden shows that the term *violino* was used initially for the whole violin family, including the cello. That was a short form of the Italian *violone da braccio*. The Nuremberg-based scholar Hans Gerle (1500–1570), in his 1532 treatise *Musica teusch*, described a bass instrument tuned like the modern-day cello: C, G, d, a. In Brescia, Giovanni Maria Lanfranco (1490–1545), in his treatise *Scintille di musica*, from 1533, employed the term *violette da arco senza tasti*. He described the family of fretless stringed viols, including a bass instrument with four strings tuned in fifths. It is likely that the term *violini milanesi* mentioned in the documents of Pope Paul III participating in the Nice peace conference of June 1538 also denotes other instrumentalists from the violin family from the region of Milan, Cremona and Brescia.<sup>154</sup> Parisian inventories kept by luthiers and merchants in the years 1551–1625 mention instruments from the violin family in the Venice, Brescia and Cremona style. A collection of violins ordered from Andrea Amati by Charles IX consisted of 12 large, 12 small and eight bass instruments, together with six violas.<sup>155</sup> An example of an Italian export to Flanders is given by Edmund S. J. van der Straeten: in 1559, Pietro Lupo of Antwerp sold to Utrecht five ‘violins’,<sup>156</sup> probably various instruments from the violin family. In 1556, Philibert Jambe de Fer (1515–1566) wrote the following in his *Épitomé musical* about a family of violins:<sup>157</sup> ‘commonly used for dancing [by] [...] those who make a living from it’; ‘the bass [member of the family] is very difficult to carry because of its weight’.<sup>158</sup> So a bass violinist or cellist held a none-too-prestigious position as an instrumentalist in service, for hire. This is the first recorded information relating to professional cello performance, the possibility of earning money by playing on this instrument. Jambe de Fer distinguished three main *accordature* of *violons da braccia*, calling the bass instrument a *bass de violon*, tuned to B<sup>1</sup>, F, c and g, so a tone lower than a modern-day cello. More than half a century later, in 1619, Michael Praetorius (1571–1621) described in his treatise *Syntagma Musicum a Bass-Geig de bracio*: ‘since everyone knows about the violin family, it

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154 Boyden, *The History*, 26.

155 More information and documents on the violin family, including the cello, can be found in *ibid.*, 30, 33, 35–36, 43–44, 118 and 324.

156 Straeten, *History*, 128–129.

157 Jambe de Fer, *Épitomé*; qtd. after Kite-Powell (ed.), *A Performer’s Guide*, 157–8.

158 Qtd. in Boyden, *The History*, 32.

is unnecessary to indicate or write anything further about it.<sup>159</sup> The search for the cello and attempts at identifying it are complicated by the abundance of terms. Authors of treatises and composers, in the annotations to their musical works, use numerous terms.<sup>160</sup> Here are some of them, with their authors:

- *Basso di viola da braccio* – L. Zacconi (1555–1627), *Prattica di Musica*, Venice 1592,
- *Basso de Viola da braccio (brazzo)* – C. Monteverdi, *L'Orfeo*, Mantua 1607,
- *Basse de Violon* – M. Mersenne (1588–1648) *Harmonie Universelle*, Paris 1637,
- *Violoncino* – G. B. Fontana *Sonate a 1.2.3. per il violin o cornetto, fagoto chitarone, violoncino o simile altro instrumeti*, Venice 1641,
- *Basso di Viola Grande da Gamba di Cremona à 4* (corde) – a musical catalogue of the Medici collection, 1654–1660, Palazzo Pitti Florence,
- *Violoncello da gamba a quattro corde* – a musical catalogue of the Medici collection from 1700.<sup>161</sup>

### 2.6.2. Cello nomenclature in Poland

The term ‘cello’ was not known in the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania between the sixteenth and early eighteenth century. Initially, the term *skrzypice* was used for instruments of various size: treble, tenor and bass. The German composer and theorist Martin Agricola described the *polskie skrzypce/Polnische Geigen* in his treatise *Musica Instrumentalis Deudsch*, from 1545, as a fretless instrument, with the bass variety tuned in fifths: F, G, d, a. The term *skrzypice bassowe* [bass violin] appeared in a music inventory of 5 April 1599 of the castle ensemble belonging to Bishop Hieronim Rozdrazewski (c.1546–1600), in Wolbórz: ‘Newly purchased *skrzypice*: bass, treble, tenor (two), [total] four. Three poor old ones – burned to ash.’<sup>162</sup>

We find this term many times in registers of various kinds. In the Gidle sanctuary, on 10 April 1633, four groschen were paid for ‘strings for bass *skrzypice*’, whilst the following year 11 florins were invested in foreign strings of the highest quality: ‘For Roman strings for bass and treble *skrzypice*’, as noted in the *Expensa Conventus Gidlen* (Archive of the Polish Province of the Dominican Order

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159 *Ibid.*, 1; quoted from Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, vol. 2 pt. 2, chap. 22.

160 Jesselson, ‘The etymology’.

161 Gai, *Gli strumenti*, 16–17.

162 ‘*Monumenta Historica Dioeceseos Wladislaviensis*’, iii, Włocławek, 1883, 16; *Golos*, ‘*Do historii*’, 100.

in Cracow, shelf-mark Gi 187) – books concerning the church ensemble.<sup>163</sup> According to the musicologist Alina Mądry, researching church records from the Baroque, stringed instruments, including a cello, played with organ during liturgical rites at the basilica in Gidle from 1646.<sup>164</sup>

Another enigmatic term, *serb*, found in a court list from 1612, was noted by the music historian Aleksander Poliński (1845–1916). The dispute described in the list concerned the appropriation of instruments by the castellan of Płock, Walenty Zieliński, including ‘12 serbs’. Poliński explained that the *serb*, viola da gamba and cello were ‘almost the same’.<sup>165</sup>

Musicologist Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska considers that the cello first appeared in the line-up of the royal chapel during the reign of John II Casimir (1609–1672). Together with the changes that occurred in music, the first to be added was the *violone*, followed in the second half of the seventeenth century by the cello.<sup>166</sup> A record number of cellists employed as *Bassets* were recorded at the principal court of the Saxon electors and kings of Poland Augustus II and Augustus III in Dresden. Employed there were the Venetian Agostino Antonio de Rossi, from 1697, the Paris-born Jean-Baptiste Prache de Tilloy, from 1699, Jean-Baptiste du Houlondel, hailing from Brussels, from 1709, and Giovanni Felice Maria Picinetti, from 1717.<sup>167</sup>

One should also mention another term, *maiorem violam*, which appears in a decision issued by the cathedral chapter in Włocławek on 11 December 1686, on the strength of which this instrument (brought in from Toruń) was allocated to Jan Krystian/Chrystian Fiszer. Stanisław Chodyński, researching the documentation, notes that this could have been a ‘viola or a cello, since the Latin name could have applied to either’.<sup>168</sup> The first mention of *basses* in the choir of that same cathedral appears in 1681, although Chodyński concludes that such instruments were certainly used earlier, before being noted in the documents. In the chapter accounts of 1719, the following note appears in the context of the purchase of instruments: ‘Older drums, basses and violins are reliable and can be conveniently acquired’.<sup>169</sup>

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163 Patalas, ‘Wyciąg’, 373–374.

164 Mądry, *The Baroque part 2*, 279.

165 Poliński, *Dzieje*, 116.

166 Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *The Baroque part 1*, 75.

167 Stockigt, ‘The court’, 38–39.

168 Chodyński, *Organy*, 169.

169 *Ibid.*, 170–171.

Another term referring to the cello comes from Jesuit inventories of musical instruments held in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow. Adolf Chybiński noted a *basetla* in the choir of the Jesuit church in Cracow, listed in an inventory from 3 July 1722: ‘Bassetla 1, Quartviola Dankwart 1, Viols 5, Violins 17, of which Dankwart 2’. An entry from 1726 recorded repairs to an instrument: ‘*A reparatione basetlae*’.<sup>170</sup> From that time on, *basetla* was a frequently encountered term for the cello in church and secular records. As Józef Chomiński relates, an ensemble including *basetla* players was maintained by the Grand Crown Hetman Jan Zamoyski (1541–1605).<sup>171</sup>

We find the Italian form of the name, *violoncello*, in the records of the trusted adviser and minister to Augustus II, the Lithuanian equerry Jakub Henryk Flemming (1667–1729), a great music lover and amateur violist. In 1714, Flemming’s library included cello music by the Italian composer Giovanni Felice Marii Picinetti: a *Sonata a Violoncello solo, con Basso continuo*.<sup>172</sup> In the years 1716–1717, he maintained a chapel numbering twenty-two musicians, including a cellist. We have two documents – lists of moveable possessions from 1717 and 1726 from Flemming’s residence in Dresden – in which instruments are listed: ‘two violas da gamba and one cello’.<sup>173</sup> Noted in the instrumental line-up in 1718, without the name of the musician, was ‘*violoncello*’.<sup>174</sup> Szymon Paczkowski has pointed out that the term *Bassist* that occurs many times in Fleming’s financial documents refers not to singers, but probably to bass players. Another term, ‘*violinae bassi*’, with the note ‘violin for playing bass parts’, from 1783, comes from a report of the music boarding school in Święta Lipka which mentions instruments used for teaching in the school and available for the music ensemble. Added to the list is the following note: ‘the musical instruments listed heretofore are so badly damaged that they will be difficult to repair’.<sup>175</sup> The poor state of the instruments no doubt reflected their many years of use, and so their earlier presence in that institution.

Based on analysis of the terminology and the content of nineteenth-century definitions, we know that the word *basetla* was a synonym for cello, although the instrument’s design could have been shaped in various ways. The

170 Chybiński, ‘Inwentarze’, 46–47.

171 Chomiński (ed.), *Słownik Muzyków Polskich*, i:235.

172 Stockigt, ‘The court’, 33–39, 43.

173 Paczkowski, ‘Muzyka na dworze’, 70, 76, 79.

174 Central State Historical Archive of Belarus in Minsk, f. 694, op. 6, no. 85, p. 20. Qtd. after Bieńkowska, ‘Notatki’ 155–158.

175 Obłąk, ‘Szkoła’, 355.

historian Łukasz Gołębiowski (1773–1849), in his pioneering ethnographic study, described the cello as follows: ‘Violoncella *basetla*, formerly used solely for playing bass, and various forms imparted to its construction [. . .]. The *basetla* was no doubt brought to Poland a long time ago, when it became popular in the simple music of Polish villagers.’<sup>176</sup> Another definition, from the dictionary compiled by Samuel Bogumił Linde in 1854–1860, gives the meaning of the term *basetla*: ‘Bass 2. *Basetla*, a musical instrument, a bass *skrzypice*, a *wiolon* on which they play bass.’<sup>177</sup> In the first Polish encyclopaedic source, Samuel Orgelbrand’s *Encyklopedyja Powszechna*, from 1860, the musical entries were edited by the ethnographer, composer and pianist Oskar Kolberg (1814–1890). His lengthy definition may be summarised thus: ‘*Basetla*: violoncello, in short cello [. . .] similar in design to the violin and viola [. . .] reaches up to a<sup>1</sup>, and thanks to harmonics almost two octaves higher [. . .]. The present-day *basetla* is an improved version of the once used viola da gamba; it was supposedly invented by one Tardieu, a cleric from Tarascon, at the beginning of the eighteenth century; he originally fitted it with five strings, tuned to C, G, d, a and d<sup>1</sup>; later, in 1725, the d<sup>1</sup> was discarded as superfluous’. Kolberg drew on foreign sources; the second part of his text, concerning the cello as an improved version of the viola da gamba, is a reprint from German literature of that type: *Conversations-Lexicon*, from 1819 or Francis Lieber’s *Encyclopaedia Americana*, from 1831,<sup>178</sup> which means that conversions from a viola da gamba or violoncello piccolo were familiar not only in Poland. In 1852, the composer and music critic Józef Sikorski numbered the cello among ‘bowed string instruments’. In the entry ‘*Basetla*, Violoncello, short form cello’, he wrote: ‘It sounds and is tuned an octave below the viola; one writes for it in bass, tenor and treble clefs, according to the tones, in which it reaches up to a<sup>1</sup> and by means of harmonics almost two octaves higher still’. Elsewhere, the same author notes: ‘There are several varieties, some of the bowed instruments increasingly forgotten [. . .]. The viola di gamba [*sic*] is a small *basetla* with five strings not completely obsolete. Hence, we see no need to write at length about this and several others.’<sup>179</sup> A definition of the bass viol indirectly describing also the cello appears in the first history of music published in Poland, by Kazimierz Łada (1824–1871). To distinguish this instrument, the

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176 Gołębiowski, *Gry*, 217.

177 Linde, *Słownik*, i:62.

178 *Orgelbranda Encyklopedyja*, ii:981; cf. *Conversations-Lexicon*, x:349–350; also *Encyclopaedia Americana Francisa Liebera*, vii:576.

179 Sikorski, *Doręcznik*, 251–3.

author employs the criterion of the number of strings: ‘The bass violin, that is, the lower-sounding viola, was known by the Italians as a viola da gamba, to distinguish it from the viola da braccio. Those viols took the form of the present-day (violoncello) *basetla*, only with more strings.’<sup>180</sup> To close, a definition given by the Polish-Belarusian pianist and composer Napoleon Orda (1807–1883): ‘*Basetla* (violoncello), an instrument similar in form to the violin, but incomparably larger, has also four strings, tuned to C G d a.’<sup>181</sup>

Summarising the Polish cello nomenclature, we must bear in mind that the earliest terms, *skrzypice basowe* and *basy* could have been freely applied to different forms of bass instruments, not only to cellos, just as instrumentalists often specialised in playing several instruments, and basso parts with no specified instrument were played according to current performance practice (the performance category of *mimesis*). To my knowledge, the term *violoncello* first appeared in 1717, in the above-mentioned list of moveable property belonging to Jakub Henryk Flemming, but it did not immediately become widely used. The old term *basetla*, dating from the first half of the eighteenth century, was most commonly used and appears to be closest to the cello, also designating conversions and folk bass instruments. The terms *basetla* and *wiolonczella* were used on a par with one another into the nineteenth century. The many definitions of the cello in nineteenth-century dictionaries, encyclopaedias and scholarly literature indicate that the *basetla/wiolonczela* was a widely known instrument at that time. Although the terms used to define it sound somewhat dilettantish today, they certainly reflected the state of knowledge and the realities at that time, where the *basetla* played mainly bass parts and was also often a converted viol, acquiring a new identity through its four strings tuned in fifths.

### List of terms relating to the cello

- Skrzypice bassowe* – from a music inventory compiled on 5 April 1599 at the castle of Bishop Hieronim Rozdrażewski in Wolbórz,  
*Skrzypice basowe* – from *Expensa Conventus Gidlen* 1633, 1634,  
*Basy* – from documents belonging to Włocławek Cathedral in 1681,  
*Maiorem violam* – from a decision issued by Włocławek Cathedral Chapel on 11 December 1686,

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180 Łada, *Historja*, 161.

181 Orda, *Gramatyka*, 290.

*Violoncello* – from lists of moveable property at the residence of Jakub Henryk Fleming in Dresden in 1717 and 1726,

*Bassetla* – Instrumenta Chori of the Jesuit church in Cracow from 3 July 1722,

*Violinae bassi* – from a report of the music boarding school in Święta Lipka from 1783,

*Wiolonczella*, *violoncello*, *cello*, *basetla* – synonymous terms used in nineteenth-century dictionaries and encyclopaedias,

*Wiolonczela* – term used since the nineteenth century.

## 2.7. The depiction of the cello in European art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

### 2.7.1. Iconography as a source of knowledge about the cello

Artists began showing an interest in the cello during the first half of the sixteenth century. The greatest number of extant paintings featuring a cello date from the seventeenth century. Images of cellos were not isolated from reality; they reflected (the aesthetic category *mimesis*) and testified to the instrument's growing popularity, framing performance practice, attesting to the cello's social standing and showing its symbolic meanings. These paintings help us to determine who played the cello and in what circumstances, and also on what scale and territory it appeared.

### 2.7.2. The cello in Italian painting

The oldest fresco adorning the dome in the basilica of Santa Maria dei Miracoli in Saronno, produced by **Gaudenzio Ferrari (1475–1546)** in 1535, is *The Concert of Angels*, measuring 130 m<sup>2</sup> (Photo 15). It depicts a heavenly scene filled with angels, 30 dancing and 86 singing and playing on various instruments. In the central part, God opens his arms to greet the Virgin Mary. This is believed to be the earliest iconographic representation of the violin family including the cello.<sup>182</sup> Its appearance in Ferrari's depiction is as follows: convex table, soundbox in the shape of the violin family with visible ribs, a simple neck ending in a scroll, a fretted fingerboard, sound-holes with the letter *f* cut inversely than in modern instruments, and probably three strings. The player is holding the cello vertically downwards, slightly more towards the left knee, and the bow in quasi-Italian fashion. This fresco, from the central part of the basilica, also attests to

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182 Dilworth, 'The cello', 7; Boyden, *The History*, 7.



**Photo 15.** Gaudenzio Ferrari: *The Concert of Angels* [detail] mural from 1535 Basilica of Santa Maria dei Miracoli in Saronno, Italy.

Renaissance ensemble practice. The singers are holding partbooks and singing from the music, whilst the musicians are playing on all kinds of stringed, woodwind and brass instruments, as well as organ, without any music in front of them. Another Italian fresco depicting a bass violin is the anonymous *Assunta con Angeli*, dated to c.1550, from the front portal of the Renaissance chapel of Madonna di Loreto in Roccapietra. This is another joyful Marian subject. A cello or bass violin and *viola da spalla* are being played by angels without music. The angel cellist is playing in a seated position, with the instrument resting on the floor, holding the bow in a manner somewhere between the French and the Italian, and the fingers are shortening the strings in the lowest positions; this cello is clearly large, with f-holes (in mirror image). The Bolognese artist **Annibale Carracci (1560–1609)**, in the oil painting *The Coronation of the Virgin*,<sup>183</sup> produced after 1595, presents an angelic orchestra playing stringed instruments without music to accompany this exalted ceremony. A cellist appears on the left. Another painting by Carracci, from 1616, entitled *Paradise*, can be found in the altar of San Paolo Maggiore in Bologna. The angel cellist is playing in a group of plucked, wind and percussion instruments. The drawing *Angel Musicians* by **Francesco**

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183 Annibale Carracci, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, Metropolitan Museum of Art acc. nr 1971.155 New York, USA.

**Mazzucchelli/Morazzone (1573–1626)**,<sup>184</sup> which dates from c.1598–1599, was a design for a fresco to adorn a rosary chapel in Lombardy. It suggestively depicts a pair of angels playing cello and lute without music. The angel cellist, realistically portrayed in the foreground, is standing slightly inclined towards the instrument, which is resting on a stone plinth, holding the bow in the Italian style (palm down). The effort of playing is clear from the tense muscles. This drawing shows playing practice in a small instrumental group consisting of cello and lute. Held in the Museo del Prado in Madrid is an oil painting entitled *The Concert*,<sup>185</sup> produced c.1640 by **Aniello Falkone (1607–1656)**. The two instrumentalists, a cellist and a harpsichordist, are shown playing, with a small vocal ensemble in the background. All the performers have open books in front of them – probably sheet music. The cellist's bow, with a strongly arched stick, is held in the French style. The musician is using the bottom and middle strings and a low position; his mouth is open, and he is singing with the group. This is a very rare example of depiction of a cellist playing from music, but this fact cannot be unequivocally interpreted. It could have been vocal music or a universal *basso* part. The cello depicted by Falkone has a typical design to the soundbox, four strings, a bulky Baroque-style neck, which is clearly visible, ending in a reverse scroll, with a rosette – a feature not typical of the Renaissance viol – beneath the short fingerboard.

The Florentine artist **Anton Domenico Gabbiani (1652–1726)** produced a number of oil paintings now held in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence. They represent musicians belonging to the court of Duke Ferdinand de' Medici – a patron and lover of the arts. *Musicians of the Medici Court*,<sup>186</sup> from 1681, shows a cellist, a harpsichordist, two violinists, two viola players and a lutenist playing. Only the harpsichordist has music in front of him. The stringed instruments have four strings. The lowest cello string is metal wound, and an arched bow is visible. Another painting is the collective portrait *Ferdinand de' Medici with his Musicians*,<sup>187</sup> from 1685. Beside the cellist, a sort of bass lira da braccio lies idle; possibly, the cellist was playing two instruments. Besides scenes of a religious or courtly character, there is a sizeable group of allegorical paintings and still lifes on

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184 Francesco Mazzucchelli/Morazzone, *Angel Musicians* – drawing from 1598, J. Paul Getty Museum Nr 86. GG.16. Los Angeles USA.

185 Aniello Falkone, *The Concert*, Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain, inv. no. P000087.

186 Anton Domenico Gabbiani, *Musici della corte Medicea*, Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, Italy, inv. no. 2805.

187 Anton Domenico Gabbiani, *Ferdinando de' Medici attorniato dai suoi musicisti*, 1685, Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, Italy, inv. no. 2808.

which a cello is depicted as a refined decorative attribute. Working in Bergamo, a few dozen kilometres from Cremona and Brescia, were the artists **Evaristo Baschenis (1617–1677)** and **Bartolomeo Bettera (1639–1688)**. They specialised in the narrow field of still lifes with musical instruments.<sup>188</sup> Amidst exotic fabrics, books and sheet music, their works feature a cello with a violin, guitar and lute. These paintings are characterised by the utmost realism in the depiction of the instruments, and the same set of instruments and props is repeated many times in different variants.<sup>189</sup> In 1647–49, the Genoese artist **Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (1610–1664)** painted *Allegory of Vanity*, representing philosophical reflection on passing, symbolised by the figure of a woman with many valuable items strewn at her feet, including a cello.<sup>190</sup> **Cristoforo Munari (1667–1720)**, one of the best known artists in Rome and Tuscany, who produced elegant compositions featuring musical instruments,<sup>191</sup> decorated the interiors of palaces, courts and townhouses. The items he depicted were valuable in the material and spiritual sense. The musical instruments (including cello), books, globe, oriental fabrics, porcelain and crystals symbolised wealth and prosperity; they were also attributes representing secular musical culture, the power of science and the human need to acquire knowledge of overseas cultures.

From 1538 to 1689, the cello was an instrument well known to Italian artists of northern Italy. It served as an object of artistic inspiration. In their works, it is represented as a noble instrument, helping to forge the solemn mood of religious ceremonies and contributing to ensemble playing at ducal courts. The cello is valued for its beauty, as a precious prop in still lifes. Italian realism portrayed reality in an objective way, showing the world of objects and people. Hence it constitutes a crucial supplementary source of our knowledge about the cello,

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188 Schneider, *Still Life*, 172. In the author's opinion, Baschenis's art certainly reflects the development of violin making in Cremona.

189 Evaristo Baschenis, *Strumenti musicali e tendone verde*, c.1670, Pinacoteca dell'Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Italy, inv. no. 58AC00109; Bartolomeo Bettera, *Natura morta con strumenti musicali e globo celeste*, 1660–88, Narodna Galerija, Ljubljana, Slovenia, inv. no. NGS 1500; Bettera, *Natura morta con strumenti musicali*, 1660–88, Asta Pandolfini, Florence, Italy, inv. no. 463; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria, KHM/GG 2441.

190 Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, *Allegory of Vanity*, 1647–49, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, USA.

191 Cristoforo Munari, *Natura morta con strumenti musicali, frutta, porcellane e tappeto*, Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. no. 5139; Munari, *Natura morta con strumenti musicali e frutta*, c.1710, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Italy, inv. no. 7591.

including its standing, role and presence in the musical culture of those times. The cello was played in sacred music and also in secular music, where it seems to have enjoyed a significant position. It is worth noting that a cellist is never shown solo; with few exceptions, he or she plays without music in a vocal-instrumental or instrumental ensemble with a variety of other instruments: bowed and plucked strings, winds and keyboard instruments. The multitude and variety of images expands and lends a visual dimension to knowledge contained in theoretical tracts and composer's annotations. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a time of expansion in Italian culture, of which music, musicians and their instruments formed an integral part. In Europe, Italian musicians worked at many courts, playing on original stringed instruments. Among the countries maintaining close cultural contacts with Italy were the Netherlands, France and Spain – the latter two partly through marriages between dukes, princes and kings, and also through political and military activities, seeking, with varying success, to politically dominate Italian provinces, whilst at the same time succumbing to the power of the Italian Renaissance and Baroque.

### 2.7.3. Representations of the cello in Flemish art

During the seventeenth century, the capital of the Northern Netherlands, Antwerp, became an artistic metropolis, the centre of the Golden Age of Flemish painting, whilst at the same time being an economic power dominated by Catholic Spain.<sup>192</sup> Among the religious, mythological and allegorical paintings, the official scenes of gatherings at court and musical scenes indoors and out, one notes various musical instruments, including the cello. Every one of the outstanding representatives of the Antwerp school travelled to Italy as a budding artist to train, as well as to obtain rich patrons and clients for his work. Besides Italian influences, Baroque Flemish painting is distinguished by its rich colours, elaborate forms and variety of subject matter.

The pioneer of Flemish genre painting, **Louis de Caullery (1580–1621)**, in his depictions of banquets held in the majestic interiors of courtly residences, includes musicians playing without music on cittern and cello. *Gathering in a Palace* includes a schematic representation of the cello: a seated man plays on a long, violin-shaped instrument with flat table and back, f-holes and no endpin.<sup>193</sup>

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192 Vlieghe, 'Historical Context', 1–2.

193 Louis De Caullery, *Zebranie towarzyskie w pałacu / Gathering in a Palace*, Państwowe Zbiory Sztuki Zamku Królewskiego na Wawelu, Cracow, Poland, inv. no. 3974; cf. Janczyk, Winiewicz-Wolska and Kuczman, *100 Najpiękniejszych obrazów*, 80–81.

In his right hand, the musician is holding a strongly arched bow by its frog, palm upwards. *Ball* is the title of a painting by **Hieronymus Francken II (1578–1623)**, from 1607.<sup>194</sup> It represents a less grand interior than the Caullery, but the large ensemble of musicians, especially the cellist, are depicted in a similar way. **Jan van Kessel (1626–1679)**, in his *Allegory of Hearing*,<sup>195</sup> shows the gamut of instruments used at that time, including a four-string Baroque cello. The instruments look ready to be played. **Hendrick de Clerck (1570–1629)** and **Hendrick van Balen (1575–1632)** represent the mythological current: their works with a cello depict feasting gods, concerts and meetings between the muses and Minerva or Apollo.<sup>196</sup> The muses – sources of creative inspiration and protectors of artists – are portrayed with musical instruments. They bring joy with their music, whilst at the same time serving as a heavenly ensemble. Cellos are depicted in a simplified form. One wonders at their presence in paintings depicting mythological subjects, since stringed instruments were not part of Greek culture.<sup>197</sup> **Pieter Paul Rubens (1577–1640)**, in his design for the tapestries *Music Making Angels*,<sup>198</sup> produced in 1628 for the Poor Clares of Madrid, placed a cello in the foreground. The observer is struck by the realistic representation of the instrument: the minutest details of construction are visible in this typical Baroque cello without endpin, with its precisely shaped soundbox, f-holes, bulky bridge and thick neck with short heel. The angel cellist plays without music; only the singing angels have music in front of them. **Cornelis de Vos (1584–1651)**, in his painting *Seven Liberal Arts*,<sup>199</sup> personifies the disciplines of mediaeval learning, lending them suitable attributes. Besides grammar, dialectic and rhetoric, on a higher level was the study of numbers in space (geometry and astronomy), pure numbers (arithmetic) and numbers in time (music). The Baroque cello is one of attributes in Vos's painting, which may suggest a shift away from theory towards

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194 Hieronymus Francken II, *Ball*, Hermitage, St Petersburg, Russia.

195 Jan van Kessel, *Allegory of Hearing*, private collection, repr. <http://www.dulcians.org/iconography.htm#kessel> (accessed 5 January 2009). Another allegory, painted in 1620, is held in the Musée d'art et d'Histoire, St. Germain-en-Laye, France.

196 Hendrick de Clerck, *Les Noces de Thétis et de Pélée ou Le Festin des dieux*, 1606/1609, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France, inv. no. RF 1945–17; Hendrick van Balen, *Les Noces de Thétis et de Pélée avec Apollon et le Concert des Muses ou Le Festin des dieux*, 1618, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France, inv. no. DL 1973–21.

197 Sachs, *The History*, 216–218.

198 Pieter Paul Rubens, *Music Making Angels*, c.1628, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany.

199 Cornelis de Vos, *Seven Liberal Arts*, location unknown.

the practical performance of instrumental music, which at that time became distinguished as an art.

**Pieter/Peeter Boel (1622–1674)**, in his *Still Life with Musical Instruments*,<sup>200</sup> shows plucked (lute, guitar and harp) and bowed string instruments (violin, cello), winds (bagpipes, recorder) and percussion (tambourine). The suit of armour, globe and large cup refer to overseas travel and riches. The cello and bow are clearly visible in the centre of the drawing.

**David Teniers the Younger (1610–1690)** and **Hieronymus Janssens (1624–1693)** represent the genre current, showing the cello in charming musical scenes in intimate interiors, grand palaces and the open air.<sup>201</sup> In this type of painting, the cello, alongside other musical instruments, symbolises the harmony between the members of a music-making household.<sup>202</sup>

From the paintings by artists of the Antwerp school, we learn that they were familiar with the cello and represented it in a schematic, flat view, with the outline of the soundbox visible, or in a realistic, precise view, with many details visible.<sup>203</sup> Dozens of paintings from the ateliers of various artists show the same performance practice: cellists always play without the music in front of them. Sheet music is used by vocalists or set aside, far from the instrumentalists. One may conclude, therefore, that the artists were documenting the performance convention which was binding at that time: the cello played with other instruments, arranging popular songs. Sheet music was clearly intended for vocalists.

#### 2.7.4. Paintings depicting the cello in Dutch art<sup>204</sup>

The cello first appeared in the iconography of Protestant Holland during the second decade of the seventeenth century. Musical culture and art held an exceptional position here. Strong links with Italian art can be observed in music, through contacts made by Dutch composers working in Italy, and in painting, through artistic journeys and studies pursued by Dutch painters with Italian

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200 Pieter/Peeter Boel, *Still Life with Musical Instruments*, c.1605, Courtauld Gallery, London, UK, D.1952.RW 4496.

201 David Teniers the Younger, *Mother and Son; Musicians at the tavern*, Galleria Sabauda, Turin, Italy; Hieronymus Janssens, *A Ball on the Terrace of a Palace*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille, France.

202 Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture*, 127.

203 As a result of research into Flemish painting, I catalogued thirty-three pictures with cello.

204 This part of the work takes account of earlier research, expanding and updating information published in Mizia, 'Funkcja i znaczenie'.

masters, including Caravaggio,<sup>205</sup> which resulted in a style of painting faithful to nature.<sup>206</sup> The naturalist aesthetic of the Dutch masters means that the painting of the Golden Age represents interesting material for research into the history of the cello, its design, appearance and role in the musical culture of all strata of Dutch society.<sup>207</sup> Around ten per cent of Dutch painting shows musical subject matter.<sup>208</sup> The catalogue of Dutch paintings presented in this part of the book reveals how cellos looked at that time. They also enable us to establish the area over which the cello occurred, encompassing the cities of Delft, Haarlem, Utrecht, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Deventer and Leiden. With the exception of landscapes, the cello appears in every type of painting cultivated at that time: portraits, scenes from everyday life, 'merry companies', allegories, 'open-air meetings' and still lifes. Seventeenth-century Dutch artists are renowned for the exceptional detail in the objects they painted. The realism of their paintings resulted from the development of artistic skills, but also from the use of the camera obscura, an optical device that helped with the precise observation of objects. For cellists seeking information about their instrument, this approach among artists seeking to depict details in their paintings with the utmost accuracy provides valuable information about the appearance of the Baroque cello, the circumstances in which it was used and performance practice, as well as showing the musical cultural practices in which the cellist participated.

*Allegory of the Truce of 1609*, by **Adriaen Pietersz de Venne (1589–1662, Delft)**,<sup>209</sup> depicts the laying down of arms, embellished by a musical ensemble. The seated cellist rests his instrument on the clay ground, alongside the wind player, lutenist and percussionist. In front of the ensemble, we see bowls of food and drink. The artist contrasts the ravages of war with a group of rich, cultural townsmen, accompanied by music. In the same artist's *Musical Company*, music forms the backdrop to the gathering. The cellist is clearly visible on the left, next to two figures playing the lute and cittern.<sup>210</sup> The other elegant guests listen and converse.

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205 Vsevolozhskaia and Linnik, *Caravaggio*, 12–13.

206 Chiarini and Papi, 'Caravaggio i caravaggioniści', 324–326.

207 Buijsen and Grijp, 'Music in the Golden Age', 78.

208 Buijsen, 'Music in the time of Vermeer', 106.

209 Adriaen Pietersz de Venne, *Allégorie de la trêve de 1609*, 1616, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France, inv. no. 1924.

210 Adriaen Pietersz de Venne, *Musical Company*, 1635, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Netherlands, SK-A-1769.

**Gerrit van Honthorst (1590–1656, Utrecht)**, in his Caravaggio-style painting *The Concert*,<sup>211</sup> depicts a scene of singing accompanied on the cello. In the quiet of a bourgeois home, at a laid table, a couple of young singers are looking at a partbook, while a singing cellist plays in the foreground, on the other side, without music. The cello can be clearly seen from the bridge, up over the bulky neck and short fingerboard, to the head, crowned by a scroll with five pegs. The cellist is playing in a low register, with the left hand around the neck and the thumb visible in line with the fingers shortening the strings. The arched bow is held in the French manner.

**Dirck Hals (1591–1656, Haarlem)** specialised in the cheerful side of refined society life. His numerous paintings – *Merry Company at a Table*, *A Musical Party*, *Banquet Scene in a Renaissance Hall*, *Elegant Figures at a Concert*, *Merry Company* and *Cello Player*<sup>212</sup> – show the cello either being played or set aside for a moment. We see it with other string instruments, in duet with a lute without singers, with singers, and in a trio with lute and violin. The instrumentalists do not play from music, which only the singers have. In the genre scenes, we see groups of cheerful wealthy townfolk, for whom music and music-making is a crucial part of their gatherings. The last of the pictures represents a solo cellist, whose open mouth suggests he is singing as he plays. The musician is an elegantly dressed young man. Books lie on a table beside him, one of them open.

Dirck's young brother, **Frans Hals (1580–1666)**, specialised in portrait painting and often depicted instrumentalists as they played. *Cello Player* is the second painting known to me depicting a cellist playing solo with song.<sup>213</sup> His four-string Baroque cello is resting against a table in a half-reclining position. The arched bow is held in the French style, and he is playing on the lowest string. The hooked thumb holds the neck, as on a violin. The cello is faithfully depicted,

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211 Gerrit van Honthorst, *The Concert*, 1626–1630, Galleria Borghese, Rome, Italy, inv. no. 31. According to Marco Chiarini (*Galerie*, 540), Caravaggio's influence was greatest in Utrecht, where Gerrit van Honthorst was the greatest representative of the 'Caravaggists'.

212 Dirck Hals, *Merry Company at a Table*, 1627–1629, Staatliche Museen Berlin, Germany; *A Musical Party*, 1625, Michaelis Collection, Cape Town, RSA; *Banquet Scene in a Renaissance Hall*, 1628, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna, Austria; *Elegant Figures at a Concert*, private collection of Johnny van Haften, London, UK; *Merry Company*, 1625, Noortman Gallery, London, UK; *Cello Player*, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, Germany, inv. no. WRM 2983.

213 Frans Hals or his circle, *Cello Player*, unknown location.

but held in an unusual position. A book lies open beside him, but the cellist is singing with his eyes raised, not looking at the music.

**Hendrick Gerritsz Pot (1580/1–1657, Haarlem)**, in *The Painter in his Studio*, shows the artist working on a still life of the *vanitas* type.<sup>214</sup> The assembled objects including books, a lute, a violin, a recorder and a skull. A cello rests against a table, and a map hangs on the wall. This painting acquaints us with the appearance and equipment of an artist's studio and the process through which a painting is created from observation of nature.<sup>215</sup> Besides the many other objects, the artist uses authentic instruments, including a cello.

**Pieter Claesz (1597–1660, Haarlem)** specialised in still lifes. A cello is shown in his painting *Still Life with Musical Instruments*.<sup>216</sup> A laid table stands in the middle of the composition, surrounded by a lute, a violin, sheet music, open books and a flute. A large cello, with the bow pushed under the bridge, rests on an elegantly decorated chair. We can see the upper part of the soundbox, the bulky heel, the neck and scroll, and the four strings.

One artist to depict an unusually large, pear-shaped cello was **Leonaert Bramer (1596–1674, Delft)**. His painting *Musicians on a Terrace* shows young people playing on plucked and bowed string instruments and winds.<sup>217</sup> One of the instruments set aside on the right is a cello. His *Concert of Angels* is a religious drawing representing fifteen angels singing from music and playing without music, including on the cello.<sup>218</sup> The drawing *Musicians in an Interior* shows a room filled with string instruments: virginal, lute, cello and violin.<sup>219</sup> Two more works represent the genre of philosophical painting. In *Still Life* and *Vanitas*, a cello is depicted, like all the musical instruments, as a symbol of passing. Music is an exceptionally beautiful art, pleasing to the senses, but one that passes as soon as it arises. The title *Vanitas* is taken from the biblical Ecclesiastes 1:2 and 12:8: *Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas*, meaning 'vanity of vanities and all is vanity'.<sup>220</sup>

214 Hendrick Gerritsz Pot, *The Painter in his Studio*, 1650, Bredius Museum, The Hague, Netherlands.

215 Schneider, *Still Life*, 136.

216 Pieter Claesz, *Still Life with Musical Instruments*, 1650, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, UK, WA1845.11.

217 Leonaert Bramer, *Musicians on a Terrace*, 1665–70, private collection.

218 Leonaert Bramer, *Concert of Angels*, 1650–52, British Museum, London, UK.

219 Leonaert Bramer, *Musicians in an Interior*, 1660, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

220 Ecclesiastes, in *The Holy Bible* [King James version], 630, 637.

**Jan van Bijlert (1597–1671, Utrecht)**, in his painting *Merry Company*, shows two contrasting attitudes among young townsmen.<sup>221</sup> The left side of the picture depicts harmoniously spent free time, by means of a cello trio playing from the same sheet. The right side of the painting shows disorder, with a couple drinking wine and a woman smoking a pipe. The painting is of a didactic character, suggesting that music is a positive and harmonious way of spending one's free time.

**Evert Collier (1640–1708)**, a Dutch artist working in London, showed a Baroque cello in the central part of in his painting *Still Life of Musical Instruments on a Table with Flowers*.<sup>222</sup> The precisely depicted four-string instrument, with a light-coloured varnish, is visible from the bottom, with a low, bulky bridge, surrounded by other instruments; it refers to still life compositions from Bergamo.

**Jan Miense Molenaer (1600–1668, Haarlem)** depicted a typical four-string Baroque cello in his paintings *Allegory of Vanity*, *Family Making Music* (Photo 25<sup>223</sup>), *A Young Man and Woman Making Music* and *Allegory of Marital Fidelity*.<sup>224</sup> These paintings show a wide range of musical instruments: cittern, lute, violin, flute, recorder, cello and open spinet – all depicting wealth. In the first of the paintings, three female generations – a small girl with a toy, a young woman with a mirror and an old woman – symbolise youth, beauty and old age. A book denotes human knowledge, while a case containing valuable jewellery represents wealth that cannot be kept. It all symbolises vanity and passing. This is a Baroque reference to the mediaeval memento mori. Three more pictures show young musicians playing on cittern, lute, violin and harpsichord. They play without music (the singers have music in front of them), and the instruments symbolise harmony and love.<sup>225</sup>

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221 Jan van Bijlert, *Merry Company*, 1630, The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, USA, accession no. 37.707.

222 Evert Collier, *Still Life of Musical Instruments on a Table with Flowers*, nd., private collection.

223 For a reproduction and an interpretation of the painting as exceptional harmony in family relations, see Westermann, *A Worldly Art*, 12–15.

224 Jan Molenaer, *Allegory of Vanity*, 1633, Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio, USA; *A Young Man and Woman Making Music*, National Gallery, London, UK, NG1293; *Allegory of Marital Fidelity*, 1633, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, USA, 49.11.19.

225 Kahr, *Dutch Painting*, 283: 'Playing a musical instrument can in itself have sexual implications, and a second instrument suggests a sexual partnership, according to an iconographic tradition well understood at the time'. In this interpretation, the cello symbolises corporeal love.

One artist portraying life in high society was **Anthonie Palamedesz (1601–1673, Delft, Amsterdam)**. His *Social Scene*, *A Musical Company* and *Merry Company Dining and Making Music* (Photo 26) show refined, elegant interiors filled with well-dressed young people making merry.<sup>226</sup> A cellist is playing without music alongside a lutenist and a violinist (the singer holds a partbook). He plays in low positions, with the instrument resting on the floor, and holds the arched bow in the French style. His pose is the same as a decade earlier in the images of G. van Honthorst and D. Hals. The Baroque cello is represented extremely accurately. Palamedesz's paintings *Allegory of Hearing* and *A Bourgeois Interior with a Gypsy Telling a Lady's Fortune* depict the cello as an exclusive element of interior decoration.<sup>227</sup>

**Cornelis Saftleven (1607–1681, Utrecht)**, in his painting *Duet*, portrays himself and his brother Herman, also an artist.<sup>228</sup> The two men, playing a violin and a cittern, are clearly relaxed, surrounded by instruments: lute, recorders and, on the left, a Baroque cello with lion-shaped head. Sheet music is also present, and artist's props are arrayed on the floor. Interpretation of this painting is of an interdisciplinary character. The highlighting of musical and artistic attributes suggests harmony – a crucial element in both arts, essential to the creative process in both music and painting.

**Pieter Codde (1599–1678, Amsterdam)** painted scenes from everyday life: *An Elegant Company*, *The Return of the Hunters*, *Ceremony with Dancers in Masks* and *Merry Company* show palatial interiors and assembled couples, accompanied in their amusement by musical instruments; a lute with singing, as well as a cello, violin and lute set aside.<sup>229</sup> In the composition of the paintings, the

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226 Anthonie Palamedesz, *Social Scene*, 1630, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, Germany, WRM 1058; *A Musical Company*, 1632, Sinebrychoff Art Museum, Helsinki, Finland, S121; *Merry Company Dining and Making Music*, 1632, Mauritshuis Royal Picture Gallery, The Hague, Netherlands, inv. no. 615.

227 Anthonie Palamedesz, *L'Ouie*, 1630–40, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France, R.F. 2876; *A Bourgeois Interior with a Gypsy Telling a Lady's Fortune*, private collection.

228 Cornelis Saftleven, *Duet*, 1635, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna, Austria, inv. no. 696.

229 Pieter Codde, *An Elegant Company*, 1632, The Art Institute of Chicago, USA; *The Return of the Hunters*, 1633, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Netherlands, SK-A-4844; *Vrolijk gezelschap met gemaskerde dansers*, 1636, Mauritshuis Royal Picture Gallery, The Hague, Netherlands; *Merry Company*, 1633, Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna, Austria, inv. no. 1096.

cello is clearly visible in different views: full length, left side or back. The arched bow is usually wedged under the bridge.

**Adriaen Jansz van Ostade (1610–1685, Haarlem)** is known for his paintings of country life, taverns and homes. Two different paintings entitled *Rustic Concert* show a cellist playing an instrument without an endpin, tuning the cello or playing in an ensemble.<sup>230</sup> The sheet music held by the singer is used by all the musicians. The cellist plays in a sitting or standing position and sings. The pictures show the interiors of country cottages.

**Gabriel Metsu (1629–1667, Amsterdam)**, in his painting *A Woman Seated at a Table and a Man Tuning a Violin*, shows a metaphor of love, harmony and concord between a man and a woman.<sup>231</sup> Another of his paintings, *Woman at her Toilette*, is both portrait and still life.<sup>232</sup> The woman, attended to by her maid, sits in a room surrounded by many precious objects, including a clearly visible cello on the right resting against a chest with the bow tucked under the strings. *The Cello Player* (Photo 24) presents preparations for joint music making, which may also be interpreted as a symbol of love between the cellist tuning his instrument and the young lady descending the stairs with music in her hand.<sup>233</sup>

**Gerard ter Borch (1617–1681, Deventer)** unites the same elements in his paintings, symbolising faithfulness (a lying dog), delicacy and subtle womanly warmth (velvet women's clothes) and a prelude to amorous passion (a cello set aside).<sup>234</sup> In *The Suitor's Visit*, three paintings entitled *The Music Lesson* and three others entitled *The Concert*, the cello is partially visible from the side of the neck and scroll, or from the bottom (it may be a hybrid).<sup>235</sup> In four paintings, a

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230 Adriaen Jansz van Ostade, *Rustic Concert*, 1645, Hermitage, St Petersburg, Russia; *Rustic concert* from a private collection is described and reproduced in Buijsen and Grijp, *The Hoogsteder Exhibition*, 256–257.

231 Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman Seated at a Table and a Man Tuning a Violin*, 1658, National Gallery, London, UK, NG.838.

232 Gabriel Metsu, *Woman at her Toilette*, 1658, Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, USA, F.1972.15.1.

233 Gabriel Metsu, *The Cello Player*, 1658, The Royal Collection, London, UK, RCIN 405534.

234 Wheelock Jr., *Gerard ter Borch*, 32.

235 Gerard ter Borch, *The Suitor's Visit*, 1658, Andrew W. Mellon Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, USA, no. 1937.1.58; *The Music Lesson*, 1670, The Art Institute of Chicago, USA; *The Music Lesson*, 1668, Jean Paul Gallery Museum, Los Angeles, USA; *The Music Lesson*, Pushkin Museum, Moscow, Russia; *The Concert*, 1662–63, Kaiser Friedrich Museums Verein, Berlin, Germany; *The Concert*, 1670–80,

cello is played by a woman – a rare depiction of seated female cellists. In Dutch paintings, cellos are normally played by a man.

**Cornelis Bega (1620–1664, Haarlem)**, in the painting *Duet*, portrays a woman playing a lute and a man playing a violin.<sup>236</sup> They are surrounded by a cello resting against a bench, sheet music and wind instruments. The cello, of Baroque design, is a clearly visible element of the composition. The painting *Peasants Making Music and Dancing*, meanwhile, presents a rustic interior filled with merry figures dancing and singing to the music of a cellist and a violinist.<sup>237</sup> The cello rests against the floor, and the player holds the bow in the French fashion, playing in a low position without music.

**Pieter de Hooch (1629–1684, Rotterdam, Delft, Amsterdam)**, in *Company Making Music*, shows a spacious room, a man with a cello raising a toast and a woman with a songbook.<sup>238</sup> In E. S. J. van der Straeten's book *History of the Violoncello*,<sup>239</sup> we find another two paintings by this artist: *A Musical Party* and *A Musical Conversation*.<sup>240</sup> These unusual pictures represent elegant ladies standing and playing the cello, portrayed in the central part of the painting with a Baroque cello perfectly visible. They hold the bow in the French manner. The first cellist is playing together with a violinist, and we can also see sheet music and a cittern set aside. The other lady with a bow in her hand has stopped playing for a while and is making conversation, holding the cello against the floor. These two paintings are similarly composed: a pair of singers on the left with music, a cellist in the middle, a lutenist tuning his instrument on the right. Art historians have calculated that around twenty-five per cent of Pieter de Hooch's works are on musical subjects.<sup>241</sup>

The painting *The Family Concert* by **Jan Steen (1626–1679, Leiden)** is an example of a scene from everyday life – a genre that was highly popular with

Staatliche Museen Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, Germany, inv. no. 791g; *A Concert*, 1675, Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo, Norway, NG.M.01400.

236 Cornelis Bega, *The Duet*, 1663, National Museum, Stockholm, Sweden.

237 Cornelis Bega, *Peasants Making Music and Dancing*, 1664, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Netherlands, SK-A-24.

238 Pieter de Hooch, *Company Making Music*, 1666–68, Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig, Germany.

239 Pieter de Hooch, *Dutch Music Party*, 1658, unknown location.

240 Pieter de Hooch, *A Musical Party*, 1644–83, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, Denmark, inv. no. KMSp613; *A Musical Conversation*, 1674, Academy of Arts, Honolulu, USA.

241 Buijsen, *Music in the Age of Vermeer*, 106.

the middle classes.<sup>242</sup> The artist focusses on the interior of a wealthy bourgeois home and the amusement taking place: music-making on lute, recorder and cello, together with singing. We can also see a violin hanging on the wall. Only the lutenist and the singer have music in front of them. The cello, shown in the middle portion of the painting, is realistically portrayed. It is played by a boy, who holds the bow in the Italian style. All the figures are smiling, and the music-making signifies family amusement, creative relaxation, harmony and the strengthening of family ties. Four other paintings by the same artist are similar in content. Steen represents the world ‘upside down’. This is a specific form of naturalism combined with humour, irony and the grotesque, representing genre scenes. *A Village Wedding* and *Festive Family Meal* both display unusual images of the cello.<sup>243</sup> A cellist and a violinist are playing without music for the dancing at a riotous wedding party. In the last painting, a four-string Baroque cello represents a decorative object; it is hanging on the wall, as one of the most beautiful elements of interior decoration, alongside green creepers. This painting shows women and men of lower social status, captured in free poses. Amid the hubbub, we see drinks, little children, bagpipes, a small dog and objects in general disarray.

*Musical Company in an Interior* by **Pieter Symonsz Potter (1598–1652, Amsterdam)** depicts several figures: a cellist playing while leaning slightly towards his lady companion, and a second lady playing on the cittern and singing with another couple.<sup>244</sup>

**Cornelis Droochsloot (1630–1673, Utrecht)**, in his painting *Collegium Musicum*, depicts an institution that played an important role in the life of Dutch cities, supported by the wealthy citizens of Arnhem, Utrecht, Nijmegen, Leiden, Rotterdam and The Hague.<sup>245</sup> We see a college group playing without music and singing: two violinists, a lutenist, a cittern player and a cellist. Only the singing ladies have sheet music in front of them.

Although I have not discovered any cello works in the output of Dutch composers, they did readily borrow and quote popular melodies. Jans Pieterszoon

242 Jan Steen, *The Family Concert*, 1666, The Art Institute of Chicago, USA, 1891.65.

243 Jan Steen, *A Village Wedding*, 1671, Johnny van Haefen Collection, London, UK; *Wedding Party*, 1667, Wellington Museum, London, UK; *Repas de Famille*, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France, MI 983.

244 Pieter Symonsz Potter, *Musical Company in an Interior*, 1630, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Netherlands, SK-A-3338.

245 Cornelis Droochsloot, *Collegium Musicum*, 1645, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Netherlands, inv. no. 15950.

Sweelinck (1562–1621),<sup>246</sup> the lutenist Nicolas Vallet (1583–1642), Cornelis Thymansz Padbrué (1592–1670) and the lutenist Adrianus Valerius (1570–1625) all set love songs with a simple accompaniment for lute or cittern or in a version for unspecified instruments.<sup>247</sup> Music played an important role in social contacts. People believed in its positive influence, that it created harmony between the members of a household, close friends and people who loved one another.<sup>248</sup> In intimate settings, the cello became a symbol of love, concord and harmony. The poetic, symbolic signification of the cello, far from superficial merriment, may mean that its beautiful lyrical voice was familiar to Dutch society. Collective scenes represent an interesting source of knowledge about everyday life, leisure culture and amusement in elegant society. The ability to derive pleasure from prosperity, enjoying one another's company and contributing to musical culture that are depicted on paintings cannot be isolated from the realities of seventeenth-century life. From the evidence provided by the visual arts, we may conclude that in the Netherlands of the Golden Age, chamber music based on pre-transcriptions and pre-arrangements with cello was created in both high and low social strata.

### 2.7.5. The earliest traces of the cello in other European countries

In Great Britain, Germany, France and Spain, cellos appear to have been present on a small scale. That is linked to the strong position of the viola da gamba in those countries. Nevertheless, the history of the cello there is very interesting, on account of the autonomy in the instrument's construction. Cellos were produced independently of the Italian school of violin making in Germany during the sixteenth century, Great Britain in the seventeenth century and Spain in the eighteenth century.

In Great Britain, the terms bass violin, bass viol, bass fiddle and violoncello were used for a smaller instrument, whilst a larger model was called a church bass (the equivalent of the violone in Italy).<sup>249</sup> In written sources, the first mentions of a cello date from 1601. Fingering was modelled on that used with the violin. Cellists/violists also played violin melodies on their instruments. In 1658, we find the first record of a psalm tune that could be played and sung with organ, virginal, lute or bass viol. Brenda Neece considers that musicians learned

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246 Szelest, 'Jans Pieterszoon Sweelinck'.

247 Grijp, *Dutch Music*, 69–70.

248 Ibid., 110–113.

249 Hill, Hill and Hill, *Antonio Stradivari*, 113; Bonta, 'From violone to violoncello', 64–99.

more than one instrument from the violin family.<sup>250</sup> Bass instruments adopted the technical advancements of the violin, and the lack of distinction between instruments in the nomenclature was also due to the fact that one instrumentalist could play many different instruments of the viol family. The earliest British cello repertoire, as in other European countries, was based on the borrowing of melodies, pre-arrangements and pre-transcriptions in ensemble music-making.

In the years 1687–1688, *The Cryes of the City of London* published a portrait by **Marcellus Laroon the Elder (1653–1702)** entitled *Merry Andrew on the Stage*, which shows a character playing a cello while dressed as a donkey.

In Germanic lands, the oldest trace of the presence of a cello can be found in Saxony, in the Lutheran Cathedral of St Mary in Freiberg. The decoration of the choir, in the style of Italian Mannerism, is very interesting. At a height of twelve metres, one finds sculptures designed by the Italian artist **Giovanni Maria Nosseni (1544–1620)** in 1585, representing music-making angels with twenty-one authentic Renaissance instruments and nine exact replicas.

String instruments were made for an ensemble of angels in 1593/4 by the luthier **Paul Klemm of Randeck (1552–1623)**. They include, beside others, two cellos, or *bassgeige*. Copies of the Freiberg instruments are on display in the Museum of musical instruments in Leipzig.<sup>251</sup> The cello is symmetrical, with the top part of the soundbox the same size as the bottom part. There are large, long f-holes, four strings, a bulky bridge on two gently arching feet without any additional cut-outs, and a short fingerboard without wedge. The broad, bulky neck, set perpendicular to the box, is not sloped. The head is long and slender, and the tapering pegbox is crowned with a scroll.

The rare examples of German iconographic depictions of a bass violin or cello can be found in paintings on religious themes, displaying some affinity with the art of Italian Mannerism. **Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610)**, in his 1595 painting *Raising the Cross*, presents the story of the discovery of Jesus' cross by Helen, mother of Emperor Constantine the Great.<sup>252</sup> That event is accompanied by angelic choirs across the whole sky, including an angel cellist/gambist, visible just above the cross on the right. **Johann Heinrich Schönhofeld (1609–1683)** depicted the New Testament scene of the *Wedding in Kana*.<sup>253</sup> The bass player,

250 Neece, 'The cello'.

251 A copy of a *bassgeige mit bogen* was produced in 2003 by Hans Salger of Bremen for the Musikinstrumenten Museum der K. Marx Universität in Leipzig, Germany, inv. no. 5408.

252 Adam Elsheimer, *Verherrlichung des Kreuzes*, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, Germany.

253 Johann Heinrich Schönhofeld, *Hochzeit zu Kana*, 1670, Hermitage, St Petersburg, Russia.

clearly visible on the left of the picture, is playing while seated, in a low position, without sheet music, holding the bow in the French style. The artist paints a flat, large model of the cello, without a rounded soundbox.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the cello was an instrument familiar in Germanic lands, where luthiers made a distinctive line of violin instruments. On the basis of extant visual works, one may surmise that the cello appeared there in the setting of religious solemnities.

In France, the Parisian court was the first in Europe to boast an ensemble playing on violin instruments made by Andrea Amati. However, the iconography is sparse. **François Puget (1651–1707)**, in his painting *Louis XIV's Musicians*, represented many different instruments: a violin, a guitar and a lute on which none other than the king's composer Jean-Baptiste Lully is playing.<sup>254</sup> Behind him, we see a cello being tuned by a young musician, and there is a viola da gamba on the left. The presence of bass instruments suggests that they could have been used in alternation.

In Spain, although one finds depictions of bass instruments, the cello is very rare in the iconography. El Greco (1541–1616), in the painting *The Annunciation*,<sup>255</sup> shows a bass viol – a copy of an instrument by Gasparo da Salò.<sup>256</sup> Juan de las Roelas (1560–1624), in the painting *Adoration of the Name of Jesus*, from the Church of the Annunciation in Seville, depicted a cello-shaped bass instrument with C-shaped sound-holes. Another painting in that same church, *The Annunciation* by Antonio Mohedano (1563–1626), shows angels playing on the vihuela or viola da braccio and also a bass viol (C-holes) or cello (similar shape to the soundbox). A cello with all the characteristic features of that instrument appeared in Spanish painting as a result of cooperation with Italian artists. Frescos from 1668 by **Juan Carreño de Miranda (1614–1685)** and the Italian **Francisco Ricci/Rizi (1614–1685)** from the Church of San Antonio de los Alemanes in Madrid represent the apotheosis of St Anthony surrounded by a choir of angels. A cello is visible in the dome in the hands of one of the angels.

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254 François Puget, *Réunion de musiciens*, 1687, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France, inv. no. 7346.

255 El Greco, *The Annunciation*, 1596–1600, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, Spain, PO3888; *The Annunciation*, 1596–1600, Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, Spain, inv.no. 171 (1954); *The Annunciation*, Bilbao Fine Arts Museum, Spain, inv. no. 69/116.

256 For a description of the instrument and photographs, see Whiteley, *Stringed Instruments*, 6–7.

### 2.7.6. Summary

From analysis of iconography, we can draw many interesting conclusions relating to the role and spread of early cellos in Europe. Thanks to the Saronno fresco and its oldest image of a cello, we can adopt the year 1535 as the date of the earliest testimony to that instrument's functioning, although bearing in mind that the object represented must have been made before it was depicted in the work of art. The players in paintings and drawings all present a similar performance technique, and the cellos are of Baroque design. Up to 1687, the repertoire consisted of parts composed for voice or other instruments. On none of the pictures discussed here does the cellist have his or her own sheet music. This reflects the actual state of affairs, since there was no music for cello at that time. The frequent presence of singing figures with sheet music in their hands suggests a specific role for the cellist, doubling the vocal part or arranging its own accompaniment. Thus he or she acted as both instrumentalist and transcriber. The change of performance apparatus, with vocal parts replaced by an instrumental medium, represents transcription even if it was not set down on paper. Unfortunately, we cannot hear pictures. Scholars researching documents, writings and sheet music who deal with this subject have not mentioned the discovery of any sheet music for cellists, although they are depicted in great number by artists. It is likely that the cello, similarly to other instruments, participated in the pre-arrangement and pre-transcription of songs, mainly love songs, published in great number in partbooks for use in the home.<sup>257</sup> From the content of the pictures, we can also conclude that the cello and playing music on it constituted a source of pleasure: it was a clearly liked instrument. Lavish country weddings and music-making in the calm of a country home appear on just a few pictures, which indicates that the cello appeared more rarely in rural settings. It was an important element in the culture of higher social strata, as a valuable item of interior decoration, a costly object of symbolic meaning. In *vanitas*-type pictures, the cello is a symbol of existential philosophy, a reflective turn towards religion and the Bible, cautioning that pleasure, gaiety and wealth were merely ephemeral, like music, which fell into silence and oblivion soon after being performed. Mythological scenes, meanwhile, refer the observer to Greek beliefs and culture, so fashionable during the Renaissance. Muses and deities are given Renaissance requisites: instruments including the cello. The hosts of angels playing cellos without music point to the presence of the cello in sacred music.

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257 Buijsen, 'Music in the age of Vermeer', 110.

### 2.7.7. Drawing, painting and sculpture with the cello and hybrid instruments in Poland

The earliest objects of visual art found on the territory of the former Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania, Silesia and Royal Prussia are among the sources of our knowledge about the presence of bass string instruments, including cellos, in the musical culture of past centuries.

On the title-page engravings of old prints on musical subjects collected in the past in Silesian libraries, we find, alongside schematic representations, depictions of instruments of very good quality. Several examples are given below.<sup>258</sup>

A putto playing on a four-string fretless instrument can be seen on the title pages of lute tablatures from 1572 (*Das erste Büch newerlessner fleissiger ettliche viel schöner Lautenstück von artlichen Fantaseyen. . .*<sup>259</sup>) and 1582 (*Novae Tabulae Musicae testudinariae hexachordae et heptachordae. . .*<sup>260</sup>) published by Bernhard Jobin of Strasbourg. The engravings show precisely the parameters of the instruments, as can be seen from the angel guitarist shortening the strings on a fingerboard with frets and six strings.

We find a muse playing on a slender four-string fretless bass instrument with C-holes on the title page of the *Discantus* partbook from a collection including three-part songs by Jacob Regnart entitled *Tricinia. Kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder zu dreyen Stimmen nach art der Neapolitanischen oder Welschen Villanellen* (Nuremberg, 1593).<sup>261</sup> The bass instrument presented there displays a form similar to an instrument on the title page of Michael Praetorius' songs *Musae sioniae geistreiche Concert Gesänge über die fürnembsten deutsche Psalmen und Lieder* (1607).<sup>262</sup> That collection contains vocal works for two mixed choirs and unspecified instruments. The title page shows woodwinds, brass, percussion and strings. A youngster holding an arched bow palm down plays on a four-string fretless instrument with C-holes.

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258 The largest collection of old prints in Poland is held in the Zbiory Specjalne, Oddział Starych Druków, Wrocław University Library.

259 A collection of lute transcriptions of songs and motets by Orlando di Lasso, Alessandra Scandello and Girolamo Frescobaldi is held in the Zbiory Specjalne, Oddział Starych Druków, Wrocław University Library, shelf-mark, 50074, Muz.

260 Lute tablature containing works by Giulio Cesare Barbetta, a Renaissance composer from Padua, Zbiory Specjalne, Oddział Starych Druków, Wrocław University Library, shelf-mark 50010 Muz.

261 Zbiory Specjalne, Wrocław University Library, shelf-mark 50727 Muz.

262 Zbiory Specjalne, Wrocław University Library, shelf-mark 50715 Muz.

One source of knowledge regarding the appearance and typology of bass instruments at the beginning of the seventeenth century is Praetorius' treatise *Syntagmatis Musici Michaelis Praetorii C. Tomus Secundus 1619*.<sup>263</sup> In the section entitled 'Theatrum Instrumentorum seu Sciagraphia', we find forty-two woodcut tables with representations of bass instruments, among others. Table V shows a five-string *Gross Contra-Bass-Geig*, Table VI a six-string *Violone Gross Viol-de-Gamba-Bass* with bow, Table XX a six-string *Viola de gamba* in three sizes, Table XXI a five-string *Bas-Geig de braccio*. In an earlier part of the treatise, 'Tabella Universalis', Praetorius gives the number of strings on the instruments. In Table 22, the *Bass Viol de Braccio* – a predecessor of the cello – has four strings. An original copy of Praetorius' treatise in an unidentified seventeenth-century collection held in Wrocław University Library attests to the keen interest in music theory shown by its Silesian owner.

A copperplate showing an angel playing on a four-string fretless bass violin adorns the front page of Heinrich Albert's song collection *Arien erster Theil*, published by Ambrosio Profe of Leipzig in 1657.<sup>264</sup> The top part of the print shows four putti with harp, lute, lyre and viola da braccio. The angel bassist plays standing up, with the instrument resting on a rock on a short endpin, his right hand holding a bow palm up while the left shortens the strings in a low position. Aphrodite, Eros and a couple in wedding attire form an allegory of love, whilst a panorama of Wrocław appears in the central part of the copperplate. Profe (1589–1661) was a publisher of sacred songs, organist of the Church of St Elisabeth in Wrocław and a teacher at the grammar school there. Further representations of a bass instrument come from the prayer-book *Alimonia Menstrua, Monathliche Seelen-Nahrung*, published by the rector of the Jesuit college in Wrocław, Bartholomäus Christelius (1624–1701).<sup>265</sup> The prayer text it contains could be sung to twenty-six melodies. The presence of music in prayer no doubt increased its effectiveness and linked it to heavenly singing. Instrumental accompaniment is suggested by the front page of the prayer-book, showing an angelic trio playing on harp, lute and cello. The bass instrument shown there, with a short fretless Baroque fingerboard, bulky bridge and rounded soundbox, adorned with double purfling, f-holes and projecting edges, looks like a cello and has five strings.

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263 Zbiory Specjalne, Wrocław University Library, shelf-mark 351588 OSD.

264 Zbiory Specjalne, Oddział Starych Druków, Wrocław University Library, shelf-mark 50242 Muz.

265 Johann Christoph Jacob, 1666, shelf-mark 300696 Muz; Jež, *Kultura*, 264–265; Killy *Literaturllexikon*, ii:422.

The several prints discussed above do not exhaust the representation of cellos in prints. Yet they do draw attention to the fact that the artists producing these works had at their disposal a whole range of bass instruments of varying form, with four or five strings, which could have been conversions or hybrids. These drawings show the evolution of bass instruments, which ultimately gained four strings tuned in fifths. It is worth noting that they adorned tablatures and vocal music, which suggests the accompaniment of vocal parts.

Various forms of secular graphic art also show the cello. A colour woodcut of a satirical character by an unknown artist dating from 1655, entitled *Lament różnego stanu ludzi nad umarłym kredytem* [Lament of people of various estate over the demise of credit], shows a cello with four pegs (so four strings).<sup>266</sup> The cello symbolises the social status of the musician, among representatives of other crafts: barber, painter, goldsmith, butcher, tailor and apothecary. Below the woodcut, we find humorous verse:

...Także panów muzyków kilkakroć oszukał  
Gdy na kredyt poszli grać, jeszcze ich  
pofukał. (. . .Gentlemen musicians too, he cheated several times,  
When they went to play on tick, he even snarled and whined).

In a nutshell, one should not play for nothing: no money, no music.

A drawing of a secular character was also included in Treatise XII, *O karczmie gościnney* [Of a welcoming inn] by Jakub Kazimierz Haur (1632–1709).<sup>267</sup> This print shows a group of musicians in a simple schematic pose. A standing violinist holds a knee-held vielle in an upright position.<sup>268</sup> From the text, we learn that an innkeeper ought to have music consisting of pipes and violin, paid by the dancers.<sup>269</sup> The term ‘violinist’ applied to someone not playing with the instrument on his shoulder confirms that a common nomenclature functioned for musicians playing on shoulder- and knee-held instruments at that time.

### 2.7.8. Sacred painting and sculpture depicting a cello

As vocal-instrumental style developed in liturgical music, choirs were arranged in Polish churches, where music was played. Instrumental music for religious purposes became much appreciated. Choirs, galleries, organ prospects, stalls and

266 Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow, inv. no. 35244. Another colour woodcut was in the possession of the Pawlikowski Library and Lubomirski Museum in Lviv. See Skoczylas, *Drzeworyt*, Table 99; also Grodziska and Walecki, *Lament*.

267 Haur, *Skład*, 155; Kolberg, *Lud. Krakowskie*, v:168–171.

268 Dahling-Turek and Pomianowska, *Polskie fidele*, 17–20.

269 Haur, *Skład*, 156.

even naves referred in their decoration to the angelic concert of heavenly music. Among angels with instruments, symbolising the merging of earthly prayer, or *musica humana*, with the divine music of the universe, or *musica mundana*, we note iconographic motifs with cello. I shall provide several examples below.

One of the oldest Mannerist Renaissance prospects featuring a cello in Poland can be found in the Gothic Church of the BVM in Toruń.<sup>270</sup> This work was produced from 1602 to 1609 by **Wawrzyniec Weistock of Chwaliszewo** and **Johann Hellwig of Neustadt**. The angel cellist on the left of the prospect is playing in a low position.

In the angelic stalls of the Cistercian Church of the BVM in Lubiąż, Lower Silesia, from 1681 to 1696, the Austrian artist **Matthias Steidl (1644–1727)** placed fifty sculptures of angels and putti playing and singing. Unfortunately, in 1945, this object was dismantled by the Germans and never regained its original form. We do have archive photographs, thanks to which we can see a seated angel playing on a bass violin.<sup>271</sup>

Monumental frescos showing the glory of the Holy Trinity and Marian scenes with angelic choirs, including angels with a cello, can be found in the historical church of St Joseph in Krzeszów. Polychromies adorn the fresco *Gloria caelestis / Heavenly Glory* in the vaulting of the main altar, produced from 1692 to 1695 by **Michael Lukas Leopold Willmann (1630–1706)**. Placed beneath an image of the Holy Trinity is an angel cellist, playing in a trio with a violinist and a lutenist. Below the winged musicians, we see the inscription *Gloria in excelsis Deo*. The ensemble is surrounded on all sides by putti with wind, string and percussion instruments and singing from music. The cello is shown from its left profile, and the arched bow is held palm up. The instrument has a short, bulky Baroque heel, a violin-like shape to its body, a pegbox crowned with a scroll and f-holes.

In the central part of the nave in the Augsburg Evangelical Church of Peace in Świdnica, we find a plafond with angelic choirs and a large celestial orchestra surrounding the Holy Trinity. The instrumental ensemble is dominated mainly by wind instruments, but in the corner of the mural, a seated angel is holding a six-string fretless bass instrument with f-holes, projecting edges, a high vaulted body and a contour indicating a cello. In the years 1694–1696, the church's ceiling was adorned with murals by the local artists **Chrystian Sussenbach (1651–1698)** and **Chrystian Kolitschk**.

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270 Smulikowska, *Prospekty*, 221; Domasłowski and Jarzewicz, *Zabytki*, 116–119; Dorawa, *Organy*, 83, 86.

271 Bildarchiv Foto Marburg 1900–1925.

Visual works representing angelic music were also created in Royal Prussia (incorporated into Poland in 1499). In the Church of the Holy Trinity in Gdańsk, an angel cellist appears in the central part of the (later) canopy adorning the Gothic pulpit from 1540. The angel is standing, playing the four-string fretless cello with f-holes, which rests on a short endpin, with an arched bow. In the same church, the organ gallery of the main instrument from 1618 (enlarged in 1648) is adorned with images of young women playing music, including a standing female cellist, resting her instrument on a sleeping dog. She is using an arched bow, which she holds palm sideways.

Preserved in the State Archive in Gdańsk and the Bildarchiv in Marburg, Germany, are photographs of an organ prospect dating from 1625–1629 entitled *Anioł z wiolonczelą z kościoła św. Jana* [Angel with cello from the Church of St John].<sup>272</sup> This instrument is fretless, with four strings. The sculpture is situated at the top of the pipe column, on the right (Photo 20). The figure of the angel cellist can now be seen in the Cathedral of the Assumption in Gdańsk, where the prospect was relocated. Two more angels captured on photographs come from the interior of the Church of St Catherine, from prospects dating from 1606 and 1649/50.<sup>273</sup> Although the instruments have not survived, the archive photographs document their existence. The angel from the small organ prospect is using an arched bow to play a four-string cello of flat, elongated form, with a characteristic bulky heel and short fingerboard, resting on the floor. The other shows a similar flat cello, played with the same technique. Both the cello sculptures have reversed f-holes.

After analysis of the assembled iconography, it should be stated that bass instruments with a violin-shaped contour to the soundbox functioned in many areas of religious and secular life during the period from which their images and sculpted forms date. There is no doubt that artists working in the former Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania, Royal Prussia and Silesia, drawing inspiration from the world around them, immortalised in their works early forms of the cello family from the musical setting of everyday breviary prayers and solemn liturgical celebration. Musicians also played for secular purposes, without sheet

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272 Jakub Deurer, photographs and drawings of architecture in Gdańsk, Archiwum Państwowe 10/1629/0/3; Dore Barleben 612.253, Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, Germany.

273 Jakub Deurer, photographs and drawings of architecture in Gdańsk, Archiwum Państwowe 10/1629/0/2, 10/1629/0/11, Dore Barleben 612.362, Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, Germany; Deurer, photographs and drawings of architecture in Gdańsk, Archiwum Państwowe 10/1629/0/1; Dore Barleben, Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, Germany.

music, supported vocal parts, to which they arranged bass parts, and played bass for dancing and amusement. The form of the instruments varied. Besides typical bass violins, there were also instruments with an elongated or conical viol form, but in the latter one often notes a lack of frets and the presence of four strings, which attests to their adaptation to a fifths tuning characteristic of the violin family.



## Chapter 3: The late Baroque, cello transcriptions and arrangements after 1687

### 3.1. The cello as an alternative instrument

#### 3.1.1. General issues

Around the turn of the eighteenth century, the cello continued the Renaissance traditions of doubling, backing and arranging bass parts. It became one of the main alternative instruments for basso continuo parts.<sup>274</sup> Between 1687 and around 1750, several hundred cellos were made. The phenomenon of the instruments now regarded as the finest from this period far transcends the limited artistic functions of the cello at that time. Although the first concert cellists appeared during the first half of the eighteenth century, the cello did not play a significant role as a solo instrument. Composers' inscriptions and the musical literature published during this period indicate that a bass violin / violone / cello was used as one of the variant instruments performing ad libitum bass parts, alongside such instruments as the theorbo (bass lute), the harpsichord and its variants, the bassoon and the viola da gamba. This is testified by numerous sheet music publications:

Godfrey Finger (1660–1730), *Six Sonatas or Solos for the Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin* (London: Walsh, 1690).

Francesco Manfredini (1684–1762), *12 Concertini per camera a violino e violoncello o tiorba*, Op. 1 (Bologna: Silvani, 1704).

Francesco Antonio Bonporti (1672–1749), *Sonate da camera à violino solo col basso continuo violone o cembalo* (Venice, 1707); this same opus 10 set was also published under the title *X Inventioni da camera a violino solo con l'accompagnamento d'un violoncello e cembalo o liuto* (Bologna, 1712).

Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713), *Parte Prima. Sonate a violino e violone o cembalo*, Op. 5 (Rome: Santa, 1700).

Giuseppe Valentini (1681–1759), *Allettamenti per Camera a violino e violoncello o cembalo* (Amsterdam: Roger, 1720).

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274 Chomiński, *Historia*, 105, 111–112; Stowell, 'The Sonata', 116.

Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767), *Quadri a violino, flauto traversiere, viola di gamba o violoncello, e fondamento* (Hamburg, 1730); *12 Concertini e Serenate con arie. . . e chiuse a violino, e violoncello o cembalo* (Augsburg: Leopold, 1736).  
 Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762), *The Art of Playing the Guitar or Cittra containing several compositions with a bass for the violoncello or harpsichord* (Edinburgh: Bremner, 1760).  
 Jacques Aubert (1689–1753) *Sonates a violon seul et basse continue. . . édition corrigé et augmentée et les basses ajustées à la portée du violoncelle et du basson* (Paris: Le Clerc, 1737).

These collections of chamber works, published in many European cities, show that alternative performance practice for bass parts was widespread not just in Italy (Venice, Rome, Bologna), but also in other musical centres: London, Edinburgh, Amsterdam, Paris, Hamburg and Augsburg:

### 3.1.2. The cello and the viola da gamba

In Italy, the bass violin or cello replaced the viola da gamba around 1610.<sup>275</sup> Yet the first cello sonatas were not published until 1695, with concertos following around 1703.<sup>276</sup> In France, Britain and Germany, the popularisation of the cello took much longer. In France, the viola da gamba held a very strong position. The finest virtuosi worked at the court of Louis XIV: Marin Marais (1656–1728), his pupil Louis de Caix d’Hervelois (1670/80?–1759) and also Antoine Forqueray (1672–1745). In harpsichord and organ basso continuo parts, notated in a simple way by means of a bass line with figures, the cello was used increasingly often as the backing instrument, playing the material of the left hand. Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764) wrote only vocal parts out in their entirety, leaving bass parts, with a pattern of figures indicating the use of a continuo instrument (harpsichord, cello, double bass, occasionally bassoon), without the forces being specified. In concertos, alongside parts for viola da gamba, Rameau included alternative passages for cello. These were not yet separate cello parts, but the occasional adaptation of a part to the possible use of cello, which could replace the viola da gamba.<sup>277</sup> Between 1700 and 1738, viols were ultimately replaced by cellos.<sup>278</sup> The earliest cello playing school, *Méthode théorique et pratique* by **Michel Corrette (1709–1795)**, dating from 1741, attests to its author’s

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275 Larid, *The Baroque Cello Revival*, 3; the viol family went out of fashion c.1610.

276 Stowell, ‘The Sonata’, 116–117.

277 Baron, ‘The Piano Trio’, 159.

278 Jackson, ‘Continuo Instrumentation’, 105.

contribution to that process. By following his advice, a gambist could learn to play the cello. Besides practical aspects of performance, articulation and the use of the thumb in fourth position, Corrette included a table comparing grips for gamba and cello.<sup>279</sup> He proposed initially keeping the frets when changing instruments, for a surer intonation. Corrette's work also betrays the influence of violin technique: the fingering transcribes violin finger technique.<sup>280</sup>

Viols continued to be used for a particularly long time in Britain, up to the death of the outstanding virtuoso Carl Friedrich Abel (1723–1787). Here, too, composers did not specify instruments for the bass parts in vocal-instrumental works: bassoon, viola da gamba, cello and double bass could all perform them alternatively. **George Frideric Handel (1685–1759)**, in the autograph manuscript of his *Te Deum* in A major, HWV282, from 1724, composed for the Chapel Royal, specified everything except the bass part. In *As Pants the Hart*, HWV251, in its version from 1712, the bass parts are entrusted to viola da gamba, but the next version, from 1722, has cello. In the Chapel Royal, the cello took over the function of continuo around 1750, having earlier been treated as an alternative instrument. A violist was employed, who from 1711 also received a salary for playing the cello.<sup>281</sup> Similar tendencies held sway in the performance of German music, as exemplified by the output of **Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750)**, who in vocal-instrumental works wrote obligatory parts without any markings of forces, as can be seen in the extant original scores. Even a Bach expert may have difficulty in specifying the instrumentation intended by the composer. Bach himself altered the string and wind forces backing vocal parts depending on the musicians available. According to the performance practice of those times, there could be as many instrumentalists as vocalists: 'in a Bach performance it is not a question of an *accompanying* orchestra, but of the co-operation of a vocal choir and an instrumental choir, the latter playing, if anything, the leading rôle.'<sup>282</sup> It did occur that a cellist would double a viola part an octave below, as in the *St Matthew Passion*. In one of the duets, Bach placed the remark 'Violoncelli concordant violi', without writing out a separate cello part.

The solo repertoire was expanded through specific types of transcription: self-transcription and polyversion. Nathalie Dolmetsch notes that the Sixth Sonata

279 Marx, Boyd and Monosoff, 'The Violoncello', 156; Corrette, *Méthode*, 45.

280 Walden, *One Hundred Years*, 126 ('The purpose of thumb fingerings was to facilitate the transcription of violin music for the violoncello'); Jackson, *Performance and Practice*, 72–73 ('Corrette's 'attempt to transfer violin fingering to the cello').

281 Burrows, *Handel*, 474–9, 449, 475–6.

282 Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, ii: 444.

by **Benedetto Marcello (1686–1739)**, now part of every cellist's core repertoire, was written for viola da gamba or cello,<sup>283</sup> and a number of passages that can be played on the cello are much easier to perform on viola da gamba. This is clearly indicated by the inscription on the earliest edition of this work: *VI Sonate a tre: due violoncelli o due viole di gamba e violoncello o basso continuo*, Op. 2 (Amsterdam: Witvogel, 1734).

Here are some other examples: **François Francœur (1698–1787)**, a violinist with the Paris Opera and the 24 Violons du Roi, scored the last of his 12 *Sonatas* for violin in E major for *le violoncelle ou la viole avec la basse continua* (Paris: Le Clerc, 1720); **Carlo Zuccari (1704–1792)** wrote a *Solo per la viola da gamba o violoncello & bass*, from 1730, held in manuscript at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (Vm7–6285);<sup>284</sup> **Giorgio Antoniotti (1692–1776)** scored the first five of his *XII Sonates le prime cinque à violoncello solo e basso, e la altre sette à due violocelli overo due viola di gamba* (Amsterdam: Le Cène, 1736) for cello and bass, with the others intended for two cellos or two violas da gamba.

Also exemplifying Baroque polyversion are sonatas for alternative deep-sounding instruments: bassoons, violas or cellos. Here are just a few examples: **Michel Corrette**, *Les Délices de la Solitude*, for bassoon or cello or viola da gamba and b.c. (Paris: Le Clerc, 1739); *Le Phenix. Concerto pour quatre violoncelles, violes ou bassons* (Paris: Le Clerc, 1738); **François-André Danican Philidor (1647–1730)**, *Pièces à deux basse de viole, basse de violon et basson* (Paris: Roussel et Foucault, 1700); **Joseph Bodin de Boismortier (1689–1755)**, *Six sonates pour deux bassons, violoncelles, ou violes*, Op. 40 (Paris: Le Clerc, 1732); **Willem de Fesch (1687–1761)**, *6 Sonates à deux violoncelles, bassons ou violes*, Op. 1 (Paris: Le Clerc, 1738).

From these selected examples, we may surmise that the cello served as an alternative instrument in an accompaniment group, and subsequently in solo music, in areas previously reserved for the viola da gamba, before gradually taking over that instrument's functions for good.<sup>285</sup>

283 Dolmetsch, *XII Lessons*, 15; Dolmetsch, *The Viola da Gamba*, 23.

284 Ghielmi, 'An Eighteenth-Century Italian Treatise', 78.

285 Versari, *Venezia*, 60 ('This instrument (viola da gamba), in vogue in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was gradually replaced by the violoncello'); Bianconi and Isotta (eds), *International Music Museum*, 116 ('The instruments of the viola da gamba or da braccio family (depending on whether they were held between or on top of the leg, or between the player's arm and chest) are bowed string instruments with frets attached on the neck; from the early 17th century onwards they were gradually replaced by the instruments of the violin family'); Whiteley, *Stringed Instruments*, 3 ('It was the triumph of the violin family at the end of the sixteenth century that ousted the

### 3.1.3. Artistic transcription, self-transcription and polyversions for solo cello

Johann Sebastian Bach produced transcriptions and self-transcriptions. Although theorists regarded such procedures as being linked to compositional training, penetrating the secrets of earlier and contemporary composers, in music history it was J. S. Bach who initiated this kind of creative work in an artistic sense.<sup>286</sup>

The *Six Suites* for solo cello, BWV 1007–1012, composed between 1717 and 1723, while Bach was kapellmeister at Köthen,<sup>287</sup> were not published until 1824, in an edition prepared by L. P. Norblin: *Six Sonates ou Etudes Pour le Violoncelle Solo Composées par J. Sebastien Bach. Oeuvre Posthume* (Paris: Janet et Cotelte). Particularly of note for our considerations are the following:

- Suite No. 5 in C minor, BWV 1011 with scordatura; this is a self-transcription of the Suite in G minor, BWV 995 for lute. Familiarity with the lute version may prove helpful for cellists, since it has come down to us in Bach's manuscript from 1730, whilst the cello version is preserved only in copies made by Anna Magdalena in 1727–1731.<sup>288</sup>
- Suite No. 6 in D major, BWV 1012, traditionally regarded, since the second half of the eighteenth century, as a work for *viola pomposa*, was composed for *violoncello piccolo*.

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viol in Italy. In England, where viol-players were first employed at the court of Henry VIII, it remained in fashion throughout the seventeenth century [. . .]. Beautiful viols were also made in eighteenth-century France, and, while the smaller treble and tenor viol passed from fashion, the bass viol remained in common use as a solo instrument. The major repertoire for the solo bass viol in France and elsewhere dates from the eighteenth century. It was not, however, well adapted to deal with the music of the nineteenth century, and because of this, it was universally passed over in favor of the violin, the viola and the cello).

286 Zavorský, *Jan Sebastian Bach*, 72.

287 *Ibid.*, 344–346 and 467–472 (on transcriptions and parodies).

288 Wimmer, 'Bach's C Minor Suite'. Harry Wimmer published a version of the Fifth Suite for cello that takes account of the lute manuscript; hence the differences in the execution of ornaments and short notes, which are faithful to Bach's manuscript. Likewise Jungmook Lim, of the University of Cincinnati, in his 2004 *Performance Guide to J. S. Bach's Suite No. 5 for Violoncello Solo*, published his own version of the Suite with a commentary. In his opinion, the 1730 autograph manuscript is perfect, containing markings of tempi, grace notes, ornaments, chords and bass notes – everything that is absent from the copy. On the basis of the original, we can eliminate the copyist's errors and successfully perform elements of the lute version from 1730 on the cello.

- Suites Nos. 1 to 4, in G major, D minor, C major and E flat major, BWV 1007–1010, betray the influence of violin fingering, which is the main argument behind the view that the suites were intended for shoulder-held instruments.

Self-transcriptions and self-arrangements were also written by the Italian composer and violinist **Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762)**, a theorist of instrumental performance, who in 1739 was awarded priority publishing rights in London and Paris by King George II of Britain. In 1746, Geminiani transcribed his own *Six Sonatas* for cello and b.c. They were published in London, The Hague and Paris, including in a version for violin and b.c.

**Joseph Bodin de Boismortier (1689–1755)**, a French composer of instrumental music from the first half of the eighteenth century, specialised in music for alternative instruments: viola da gamba/bassoon/cello and b.c. He published *Cinq sonates pour le violoncelle, viole, ou basson avec la basse chiffrée*, Op. 26 (Paris: Le Clerc, 1729). The London-based composer **Henry Hargrave (1720–1780)** wrote five concertos with a solo part for bassoon/cello or oboe and bassoon/cello, which he published himself in 1765. The Viennese composer **Georg Matthias Monn (1717–1750)** composed seven harpsichord concertos, one of which, a Concerto in G minor, from 1746, also appears in a version for cello. **Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788)** published his harpsichord concertos Wq 26, 28, 29, in alternative versions for flute (Wq 166, 167, 168) and for cello (Wq 170, Berlin 1750); Wq 171, Berlin 1751; Wq 172 C, Potsdam 1753). The part of the string ensemble accompaniment is identical for each of the instruments.

From this brief survey of published music scored alternatively for cello, we learn that there was considerable demand for such material. Musicians, including a growing number of cellists, had polyversion publications for solo instrument at their disposal.

### 3.2. Cellists active in Europe from 1688 to 1750

Cellists ceased to be anonymous alternative musicians, and their performance art attained a higher level. They became more active, touring and composing. However, most of the works written for cello at that time remained in manuscript, probably written for the composer's own performances and not intended for publication.

### **Bologna and other Italian cities**

Active in Bologna, a centre for instrumental music, were the cellists **Domenico Gabrielli** (works in manuscript), **Giovanni Battista Vitali** (works in manuscript), **Domenico Galli** (works in manuscript), **Giovanni Battista Degli Antonii** (Ricercate, Op. 1, Bologna 1687, self-transcription), **Giuseppe Maria Jacchini** (works in manuscript) and their successors, spread around Italy. **Giovanni Battista Cirri (1724–1808)**, a cellist employed at San Petronio in Bologna from 1759, a member of the Accademia Filarmonica, performed across Europe and wrote a dozen or so opuses of instrumental compositions with cello, including in alternative forces (preserved in manuscript, partly published after 1765). The cellist **Angelo Maria Fiorè (1660–1723)** was a member of the Accademia Filarmonica in Bologna from 1697 and of Duke Sabaudia's orchestra in Turin from 1697 to 1721 (works in manuscript).

The priest **Pietro Giuseppe Gaetano Boni (1700–1750)**, a member of the Accademia Filarmonica in Bologna, worked in Rome as a cellist. His *12 Sonate per camera*, Op. 1 for cello and bass were published in Rome in 1717. **Giovanni Battista Costanzi (1704–1778)**, a cellist who worked in Rome (from 1722 in the Capella Contarelli La Chiesa di San Luigi dei Francesi, from 1725 in the service of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, and from 1740 as Maestro di Capella) and was known as *Giovanni del violone/violoncello*, left concertos, sinfonias and sonatas (in manuscript).<sup>289</sup> **Filippo Amadei (1670–1730)**, a composer and cellist known as *Pippo del violoncello*, was employed by Cardinal Ottoboni from 1690 to 1711 before settling in London, in 1719, where he worked as an instrumentalist, composer and manager (none of his compositions have come down to us). **Francesco Alborea detto Franceschiello (1691–1739)**, of Naples, the first outstanding cello virtuoso known throughout Europe, left *2 Sonatas* (in manuscript). **Antonio Tonelli De'Pietri (1686–1765)**, of Carpi, was renowned as a multi-instrumentalist, his instruments including the cello. He studied in Bologna, worked in Parma, Allasio and Carpi, spent three years in Denmark, performed in Venice and appeared as a virtuoso in Modena. We have his *2 Concertos* (in manuscript).

### **Britain, London**

The cello was popularised in Britain by Italian cellists. **Salvatore Lanzetti (1710–1780)** worked in Loreto, Turin and Paris before moving to London. He wrote

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289 His Sonatas in A minor and in F major have been published in our times for violone/viola da gamba/cello and b.c. (London: Yorke, 1970).

works for cello. His Sonatas, Op. 1 were published by Le Clerc of Paris in 1736.<sup>290</sup> His 6 *Solos*, Op. 2 for alternative instruments, including cello, published several times in London (Cooke 1740, Walsh 1745, John 1745), contain polyversion transcriptions of six selected sonatas from Op. 1 'for two Violoncellos or a German flute and a bass'. A similarly prepared edition of 6 *Solos* (without opus number), published by Walsh of London (no date), contains the remaining sonatas from Op. 1, also in a version 'for two Violoncellos or a German flute and a bass'. Further works by Lanzetti, from the second half of the eighteenth century (*Sei Sonate a Violoncello, e Basso*, Op. 5), published in Paris by the composer, are composed in high registers, with the solo part led in tenor, alto and treble registers, which also indicates that these works were intended for a smaller, five-string Baroque cello (Lanzetti's other works are preserved in manuscript).

**Andrea Caporale (?–1757)** lived in London up to 1745 and in Dublin from 1754. Handel composed a solo for him in Act 3 of his opera *Deidamia*. His playing was ascribed a 'sweet vocal tone'. His works dedicated to the Prince of Wales were published in the collection *XII Solos for the violoncello, VI of Sigr. Caporale, VI compos'd by Mr. Gallard*, in 1746.

**Giacobbe Basevi Cervetto (1680–1783)** was first cello of the orchestra at the Royal Theatre in Drury Lane, London, from 1728. His compositions with cello (*VI Sonatas or trios*, Op. 1 and *XII Solos for cello and b.c.*, Op. 2) were published in London in 1741 and 1750, whilst his other works were published during the second half of the eighteenth century or remained in manuscript.

The first English cellist, **Robert Lindley (1776–1855)**, esteemed for his excellent technique, beautiful tone and perfect intonation, was celebrated as an outstanding accompanist and arranger of operatic and oratorical recitativo secco. When performing such parts with Domenico Dragonetti, he even replaced the harpsichord. Lindley would fill in the harmonies on the cello while the double bass led the lowest notes of the bass line.<sup>291</sup> Music ensembles in London benefitted from his skilful arrangements for forty-nine years,<sup>292</sup> but he also won

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290 Salvatore Lanzetti wrote *12 Sonatas for cello and b.c.*, Op. 1 of varying difficulty. From the fifth Sonata in A minor in this collection, the solo part is led in the tenor register; in the Sonata in F major No. 11 also in the alto register, and in the Sonatas in A minor No. 9 and in D major No. 12 also in the soprano. The high register of these works indicates that they were intended for a smaller, five-string Baroque cello.

291 Palmer, *Domenico Dragonetti*, 114–115.

292 Walden, *One Hundred Years*, 244.

over every kind of audience with his uncomplicated renditions of old popular songs.<sup>293</sup>

### France

The Parisian school of cello was influenced by Italian music.

**Jean Barrière (1701–1747)** studied in Italy with Francesco Alborea detto Francischiello. He composed *24 Sonatas* for cello and b.c., published in four books between 1733 and 1739 by Le Clerc of Paris.<sup>294</sup>

**Martin Berteau (1700–1771)**, initially a gambist, changed his instrument under the influence of Francischiello's playing. He made his debut as a cellist in Paris in 1739. An outstanding instrumentalist and teacher to a whole generation of cellists, he developed left-hand technique through the use of thumb positions, pizzicato and double notes. He did not possess publishing rights in Paris, hence his compositions were published, from 1746 onwards, in collections by other composers (J. L. Duport's *21 Etudes* (six pieces)) or under pseudonyms (Giovanni Battista Sammartini, Giuseppe Martini).

### German lands

It was mainly Italian cellists who were active in German lands. The composer, violist and cellist **Antonio Caldara (1670–1736)**, an organist in Mantua and Rome, from 1726 was kapellmeister at the court of Charles VI in Vienna (his works with cello have been preserved in manuscript).

The oboist, violinist, cellist and singer (tenor) **Giovanni Benedetto Platti (1697–1763)** worked initially in Italy, then from 1722 in Würzburg, Germany. He wrote several dozen *Concerti per camera* with a *violoncello obbligato* part (preserved in manuscript). The violinist and cellist **Evaristo Felice Dall'Abaco (1675–1742)** worked in Modena, then from 1701 mainly in Germany (Bavaria-Munich; his entire oeuvre is in manuscript).

In the years 1687–1750, thanks to the expansion of Italian art, the cello became familiar throughout Europe. Before 1750, we note the first non-Italian cellists and the beginnings of French and British cello schools. Technical skills were developed and the compass was expanded: besides bass registers, a tenor register also appeared (influenced by viols) and even a soprano register (influenced by the violin). Possibly already developed by this time was the method of playing

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293 Jones, *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 121.

294 The Second Sonata in D minor from the third book is scored for two cellos or violin and cello or three cellos and b.c., of which the first part is written in the treble register.

an octave below the music written in the treble clef, widely used in cello parts of the turn of the nineteenth century (influenced by the violin and the violoncello piccolo).

### Poland, Silesia

In Polish lands, professional cellists were employed in church and secular ensembles. For their work, they were provided with instruments which were probably made for the most part locally. The substantial outlay involved in buying those exclusive work tools was borne by their employers. Fragmentarily preserved in documents of the Catholic Church kept from the eighteenth century onwards is information concerning the cello, known as *basetla* or *skrzypice basowe*. One major musical centre at that time was Cracow, where the Jesuit Church of SS Peter and Paul employed an ensemble for liturgical purposes. The Jesuits linked the ensemble's work to free musical education, given in boarding schools. Courses lasted at least three years, and graduates worked off the cost of tuition by playing in the ensemble for the next three or four years. Pupils of the first three years were known as *inscripti*, whilst graduates who remained for three more years in order to pay off their education were *respectivi*. Highest in the musical hierarchy were the *salariați*, a group of paid professional musicians. A cello (*basetla*) was kept in the Cracow music choir already during the first half of the eighteenth century, as is confirmed by the document *Instrumenta Chori*, from 3 July 1722: '1 *basetla*, 1 Dankwart quart viol, 5 viols, 17 violins, 2 by Dankwart'. An entry from 1726, meanwhile, noted repairs made to a *basetla*. An *Inventarium instrumentarium anni* from 1 September 1729 lists the following: '1 *basetla*, 2 quart viols, 4 violas da gamba'.<sup>295</sup> The Jesuits were the first to record cellists and multi-instrumentalists in the ensemble by their full name, which in eighteenth-century Poland was a unique phenomenon. The following were taught and worked in the ensemble (in order):

- Józef Moranty, enrolled at the boarding school in September 1723 for seven years of tuition and one year paying it off. Assumed to have played in the ensemble up to 1748, he received annually for his service, in different years, 120, 130, 140 zlotys, 100 florins plus board. He was a good bassoonist, quart violist and *basetla* player.<sup>296</sup>

295 Chybiński, 'Inwentarze', 46–47.

296 Tylka, 'Instrumentaliści', 458.

- Albert Kalinowski, in 1737 played the organ, *basetla*, quart viol and viol, as well as singing bass, in which he displayed particular aptitude.<sup>297</sup>
- Antoni Grocki (Grodzki) was a boarding school pupil from July 1723 to July 1727. He then worked in the ensemble as a paid musician, at least until 1737. His remuneration in different years was 150, 160 zlotys, 200 florins and a gallon of beer a day. He was a violinist, quart violist, *basetla* player, bassist when required and organist. He had a wife. From c.1746, he was master of the cathedral chapel.<sup>298</sup>
- A. J. Pezery (Pazery) was a member of the ensemble from 1731 to 1734. For his services in particular years he received 200 and 250 zlotys. He played on the *basetla* and sang tenor.<sup>299</sup>
- Wawrzyniec Zagórski was a member of the ensemble from 1732 to 1739. He was a good violinist, violist, *basetla* player, vocalist (with a soft voice) and quart violist and quite an accomplished composer. His works are mentioned in the ensemble's inventories from the years 1737–1739: *Litaniae de S. Cajetano ex E*, motets, concertos and antiphons.<sup>300</sup>
- Szymon Doliński enrolled at the boarding school in September 1734 for four years tuition and one year working it off; he played on the clavichord and the *basetla*.<sup>301</sup>
- Michał Rzepliński enrolled at the boarding school in July 1734 for five years tuition and one year paying it off; he worked in the ensemble as a paid musician from 1740 to 1746, was a treble, *basetla* player and violinist.<sup>302</sup>
- Wojciech Kalinkowski, a bassist and instrumentalist from 1736 (or earlier) to 1749, played on the violin, quart viol, organ and *basetla*, and from 1738 he was conductor in the boarding school.<sup>303</sup>
- Augustyn Fiałkowski enrolled at the boarding school in August 1737 for four years tuition and one year working it off; he was a good violinist, a 'deft'

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297 Ibid., 431.

298 Ibid., 444; Chybiński, 'Inwentarze', 42.

299 Tylka, 'Instrumentaliści', 461.

300 Ibid., 474.

301 Ibid., 439.

302 Ibid., 465.

303 Chybiński, *Słownik muzyków dawnej Polski*, 53; Chomiński, *Słownik muzyków Polskich*, 253.

oboist, quart violist and *basetla* player.<sup>304</sup> According to other sources, from 1737 to 1740 he taught cello at the boarding school and gave lessons in violin, viol and oboe.<sup>305</sup>

Documents kept from 1749 to 1756 and preserved at the Piarist Church of St Joseph in Wieluń (*Domus Vielunensis*) noted two *basetlas*,<sup>306</sup> and there was one *basetla* in the rector's office and a 'poor big viol' in the choir.

The collegiate chapel in Kielce was founded in 1729.<sup>307</sup> From lists of seminary expenses, including the chapel, we learn that the ensemble possessed a *basetla*.

Boarding schools run by monastic orders, especially the Jesuits, trained youngsters to perform church music. Within that system, the first cello appeared, as well as the first regularly trained cellists-singers-multi-instrumentalists. On account of their wide-ranging curriculum, the Jesuit boarding schools of music have been called the first music conservatories in Poland.<sup>308</sup> The role of cellists involved complementing the choir, replacing or supporting low choral voices and executing basso continuo with the organ. On completing their boarding school tuition, the cellists joined the numerous chapels being established at that time in churches, towns and courts.

The cello first appeared in the royal chapel during the reign of John II Casimir. Along with the changes occurring in music, introduced into instrumental forces were first the violone and then, in the second half of the seventeenth century, the cello.<sup>309</sup> During the era of the Saxon elector kings of Poland, the cello became firmly established in the royal chapels. Under the reign of Augustus II the Strong, a Polish ensemble was active in Warsaw: from 1697 to 1707 a Polish Royal Chapel (Königlich Pohlische Capelle) and from 1716 to 1733 a Polish Chapel ('Pohlische Capelle', also known as 'Pohlische Capell-Musique', 'Pohlisches Orgester' and 'Notre Orchetre de Pologne'). Initially, the ensemble included one bass violinist (*basse de violon*). In 1730, the bass section also included a bassoonist, a lutenist and a cellist. The chapel performed in Warsaw that year with a solo gambist and cellist from Venice, Casparo Janeschi. Under Augustus III, the ensemble's bass section was expanded. From 1734 to 1756, two cellists worked in the ensemble, playing other instruments as well. Details of the ensemble's

304 Tylka, 'Instrumentaliści', 441.

305 Chybiński, *Słownik muzyków dawnej Polski*, 31.

306 Mądry, *The Baroque part 2*, 352–353.

307 Oborny, *Życie muzyczne*, 192.

308 Prosnak, 'Z dziejów nauczania', 140–145.

309 Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *The Baroque part 1*, 72–73.

cellists-multi-instrumentalists were noted in salary records in 1718. The double bass player and cellist Daniel Hasse received an annual salary of 200 thalers, and the cellist and bassist Sebastian Reimel earned 230 thalers in 1732. A record number of foreign cellists were recorded at the main Saxon court in Dresden:

- **Giovanni Felice Maria Picinetti**, known as Felicetti, worked at the court of Augustus II from 1717 for 500 thalers a year,
- The Rome-born **Agostino Antonio de Rossi** was employed from 1697 for 500 thalers,
- **Jean-Baptiste Prache de Tilloy**, born in Paris and employed at the court from 1699, earned 300 thalers a year,
- **Jean-Baptiste du Houlonde**, hailing from Brussels, employed from 1709, earned 250 thalers.<sup>310</sup>

The musical culture of the royal court represented an example to be imitated for aristocrats, and especially for the incredibly wealthy magnates: ‘Dukes and magnates, following the example of the royal court, manifested their wealth, and when the Commonwealth [of Poland and Lithuania] was in its pomp, music was among the adornments and even the necessities, of a court. What music was performed? Lusty music – for dancing, amusement and domestic pleasure.’<sup>311</sup> Unfortunately, court records often omit the names of the cellists playing there, merely listing the instruments possessed.

One protector of all the arts (including music) was the German aristocrat Franz Ludwig von Pfalz-Neuburg (1664–1732), Bishop of Wrocław, Duke of Nysa, Archbishop of Trier and Mainz, and Arch-chancellor of the German Reich. He maintained several chapels in the cities where he served. From an extant testament dating from 6 April 1732, covering allowances for musicians, we know that cellists were among the artists employed by the bishop. They included **Joseph Schwachhofer**, who was probably also a composer of works with cello published by Breitkopf: *6 Trii da Schwachhoffer a Violoncello. Violino e B.*<sup>312</sup> Another of the bishop’s musicians was the cellist and French horn player **Schwobolden/Paul Swoboda/Paul Snovada (d. 1762)**, noted at courts in Mainz.<sup>313</sup>

The Hetman Jan Klemens Branicki (1689–1771) employed numerous players at his court in Białystok. A cellist by the name of **Niedźwiecki** worked there from

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310 Stockigt, ‘The Court’.

311 Chodyński: *Organy*, 146.

312 Brook, *The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue*, col. 786.

313 Joachimiak and Muła, *Między katedrą a dworem*, 379–382.

1742.<sup>314</sup> In 1755, a contract was signed with **Johan Rottengruber**, who played the violin, clavicembalo, *basetla* and flute. Branicki systematically purchased strings for *basetla* and quart viol in Warsaw.<sup>315</sup> Music adorned every event at court, with musicians often playing for many hours, be it for dancing or solely to make the time pass more pleasantly.

In the chapel at the court of Michał Kazimierz ‘Rybeńko’ Radziwiłł (1702–1762), in 1758, when the ensemble numbered fourteen musicians, a *basetla* player by the name of **Maciej Szymgdy** appeared in the list of chapel musicians.<sup>316</sup> In 1740, **Jacob Märtens/Martens/Mertens**, a musician playing on the *basetla*, oboe and timpani, resided at the court of Duke Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł (1715–1760). In 1744, the ensemble was joined by a *basetla* player from Königsberg by the name of **Woczyk/Weczyk**, who could not endure the hardships of his service and before 1750 fled to a chapel in Königsberg.<sup>317</sup> The orchestra of Karol Stanisław ‘Panie Kochanku’ Radziwiłł (1734–1790) in Nieśwież included the *basetla* player **Kazimierz Kozłowski**.<sup>318</sup>

The introduction of a cello to ensemble music in Poland during the eighteenth century undoubtedly enriched its sound, but it should be remembered that playing on this instrument was an extra occupation. The cellists of those times – graduates of monastic boarding schools – were versatile, playing several instruments, and also trained vocalists. *Basetla* players, like other instrumentalists employed in churches and at courts, were in service; they were not artistically free, and there are no records of any soloists or composers of solo cello works in their midst.

### 3.3. The art of cello making after 1687

#### 3.3.1. Cello making in Europe

During this period, violin makers produced cellos in much greater number than ever before. In Italy, besides Cremona and Brescia, thriving centres arose in Venice, Bologna, Milan, Naples, Mantua, Piacenza, Bolzano, Saluzzo, Rome and other Italian cities. It was here, in the years 1688–1750, that a huge quantity of

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314 Kowecka, *Dwór*, 259–262.

315 Ibid.

316 ‘Regestr barw na ludzi... w 1758, 5 Aug. sporządzony w Nieświeżu’ [Register of colours for people. . . in 1758, 5 Aug., compiled in Nieśwież], NGAB, 694, OP. 10796, fol. 39r. Repr. in Bieńkowska, ‘Mecenał’, 176.

317 Bieńkowska, *Muzyka*, 176–178, 193, 366

318 ‘Kopje rozporządzeń’ [Copy of directives] from 1780, in Miller, *Teatr*, 40.

Italian cellos were made, never to be repeated in the history of the instrument's production. Cello making also expanded outside Italy: British, Dutch, German, French and Swedish violin makers produced cellos of many different sizes. Whilst noting the most famous extant cellos and their masterful makers, one should consider two questions. For whom were these instruments being made? Who played them and in what repertoire? The quantity of compositions with cello specified in the forces and the group of prominent cellists is incomparably small compared to the several hundred cellos made over a period of just sixty-two years.

The considerable rise in the number of instruments attests unequivocally to growing interest in the cello. Anonymous cellists playing on this fashionable instrument, even as an alternative, created a huge market, on which violin makers could sell their wares. Between 1687 and 1750, luthiers honed their skills to the utmost mastery and produced what we regard today as extremely valuable cellos.

### 3.3.2. The art of cello making in Cremona

**Antonio Stradivari** enjoyed a lofty position and prestige. He benefitted from privileges, tax exemptions, generous fees and widespread respect. The expression 'rich as Stradivarius' was coined.<sup>319</sup> From 1687 onwards, he produced around sixty cellos.

Up to 1700, the master was in the second period of his output, the so-called Long Form period, during which he made twenty-one cellos. From the writings of the monk Desiderio Arisi, we know that commissions for cellos came from rulers across Europe:<sup>320</sup>

- in 1690, he completed a commission for a cello and a set of two violins, viola and tenor violin for the Tuscan court,
- in 1694, for King Philipp V of Spain (1683–1746), he made a wonderful set of inlaid and decorated instruments, including the *Spanish Court* cello, now on display at the Palacio Real in Madrid,
- dating from 1688 is the *Marylebone* cello (ornamented during the twentieth century after the fashion of the *Spanish Court*), held in the Smithsonian Institute Museum,<sup>321</sup>

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319 Fétis, *The Celebrated Violin-Maker*, 72; Hart, *The Violin*, 214; Jaskulski, 'Antonio Stradivari', 7.

320 Arisi's manuscripts and Cardinal Orsini's award of a patent to Stradivari are reproduced in Pollens, *Stradivari*, 50–52.

321 Francais, *The Dr. Herbert Axelrod Stradivari Quartet*, 29–31.

- Marquis Giovanni Battista Toralba commissioned a cello and two violins as a gift for the Duke of Alba,
- in 1707, to a commission from the future Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI, he produced a cello, six violins and two tenor violins,
- on 10 June 1715, Augustus II the Strong (1670–1733), King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, commissioned, through his personal envoy to Cremona, twelve violins.<sup>322</sup>

Other well-known Stradivari cellos include the *Archinto*, from 1689, known as the sister to the *Tuscany* – the finest example among the cellos made before 1700.<sup>323</sup> Arisi described the impression made by the *Tuscany/Mediceo* cello of 1690, produced for the Duke of Tuscany. Upon receiving it, the court musicians declared that: ‘they had never heard a Violoncello with such an agreeable tone.’<sup>324</sup> This instrument, 79.25 cm in length, is held in the Museo degli Strumenti Musicali in Florence. Also from 1690 are the *Boni-Hegar*,<sup>325</sup> *Leveque (L’Eveque)*<sup>326</sup> and *Bonjour* cellos,<sup>327</sup> the *Bonjour* is owned by the Canada Council for the Arts. The next Stradivari cello, dating from 1691, is the *ex-Hollmann*. The *Segalman*, from 1692, held at the Royal Academy of Music in London (no. 2002.926), is shorter, measuring 74 cm in length. The *Barjansky* cello, with its original pearwood scroll, belongs to the British cellist Julian Lloyd Webber.<sup>328</sup> The *ex-Gendron*, from 1693, belonging to the North Rhineland-Westphalia Kunststiftung, is played by Maria Kliegel. The highly decorated, inlaid *Spanish Court* cello of 1694, originally a gift, as part of a whole quartet, for King Philipp V of Spain, was acquired in 1775 by the Infant Don Carlos.<sup>329</sup> This is an exceptionally beautiful instrument: the fine-grained table is inlaid with mother of pearl and has black wood intarsia instead of purfling. The ribs are entirely covered with black decorations of flora and fauna. In 1700, Stradivari made another cello for the Spanish court. Both instruments are on display in the Palacio Royal in Madrid.

Cellos made between 1700 and 1720 date from Stradivari’s third, or Golden Period. These are his finest models. During this period, he made around eighteen

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322 Hart, *The Violin*, 204–205.

323 Goodkind, *Violin Iconography*, 228–229.

324 Hart, *The Violin*, 193.

325 Goodkind, *Violin Iconography*, 232.

326 *Ibid.*, 234.

327 See Ingles and Dilworth, ‘Antonio Stradivari’, for information on Stradivari (521–523) and for a description and photographs of the instrument (554–555).

328 More at <http://archive.li/uLmb3> (accessed 27 October 2016).

329 Hill, Hill and Hill, *Antonio Stradivari*, 76–82.

cellos with an optimal form to the soundbox, 75 cm in length. Stradivari called this model his B Form, and it served him for the *Cristiani* 1700, *Gore-Booth* 1710,<sup>330</sup> *Duport* 1711, *Batta* 1714 and *Piatti* 1720.<sup>331</sup>

During his fourth, Late Period, after 1720, twenty-two more cellos were made, of which we have the smaller *Iwasaki*,<sup>332</sup> from 1727, the slimmer *ex-Pawle/Ben Venuto*, from 1730,<sup>333</sup> and a smaller and more rectangular type represented by the *Pleeth*, from 1732.<sup>334</sup>

The B Form is considered to be the ideal model, comparable with the finest violins produced during the Golden Period. We should also mention, however, that at the beginning of the eighteenth century, instruments made by the Amatis and Jakob Stainer were more popular and more expensive. Stradivari only became renowned as the most outstanding genius of violin making years later. The collector of Cremona instruments Count Ignazio Alessandro Cozio di Salabue (1755–1840), the first expert on the subject, compiled a handsome collection of Stradivari instruments and bought from the maestro's sons Paolo and Antonio II all their father's souvenirs and tools, which since 1930 have been held at the Museo Stradivariano in Cremona.

**Girolamo Amati II (1649–1740)**, son of Nicolò Amati, was the last Cremona maker, also working in Piacenza. He produced four cellos. One of his instruments, from 1690, belonging to the University of Saskatchewan,<sup>335</sup> has been played since 2004 by the Canadian Peter Hedlin of the Amati Quartet.

Also belonging to the Cremona circle was the above-mentioned **Francesco Rugieri/Ruggieri (1628–1698)**,<sup>336</sup> traditionally regarded as the youngest pupil of Nicolò Amati. The closeness of the two masters can be gauged from the fact that Nicolò was godfather to one of Francesco's sons. After 1687, Rugieri built highly

330 Ingles and Dilworth, 'Antonio Stradivari', 556–557.

331 The date of the emergence of the B Form is given after information from the Museo Stradivariano in Cremona. The *Cristiani* cello is on display at the Gli Archi del Palazzo Comunale in Cremona. In the subject literature, one also finds a later date for the B Form: 1707.

332 See <https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID=%2082217> (accessed 20 February 2017).

333 See <https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID=41556> (accessed 20 February 2017).

334 Ingles and Dilworth, 'Antonio Stradivari': description of the instrument from 1730 (558–559) and photographs (560–561).

335 See <https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID=40071> (accessed 8 March 2019).

336 Ingles and Dilworth, *Four Centuries*, 473, 484–485.

regarded cellos. An instrument from 1688 is in the possession of the Sveaas Foundation of Oslo, a cello from 1690 belongs to Dextra Musica of Norway, and one from 1694 is in the hands of the Royal Northern College of Music in Manchester. A cello made a year later, in 1695, is held in the Royal Academy of Music in London. The tradition of making instruments was continued by Francesco's sons **Giovanni Battista (1653–1711)**, **Giacinto (1661–1697)** and **Vincenzo (1663–1719)**.<sup>337</sup> Giovanni made one cello in 1700.<sup>338</sup> Giacinto's sole cello, from 1690, was played by Anthony Lewis of the Medici String Quartet (1973–2006). Vincenzo made nine cellos. One of his instruments, from 1692, is in the GOS Collection in Moscow, another from 1693 belongs to the Chi-Mei Culture Foundation, whilst his latest instrument, made c.1715, is owned by the Maggini Foundation of Switzerland. After 1687, the Rugieri family produced a total of around thirty-five cellos.

After 1687, the above-mentioned **Andrea Guarneri** made another twenty cellos, in which he imitated the style of the most outstanding representative of the Amati family, Nicolò.<sup>339</sup> A cello from 1692 forms part of the collection of the Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi in Milan.<sup>340</sup> Another instrument from 1692 was played by the Belgian virtuoso Adrien-François Servais.

**Giuseppe Guarneri (1666–1739)**, Andrea's son, made around twenty-five cellos. One of his instruments, from 1694, is in the possession of the first cello of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, John Sharp. Another instrument from the same year, with a belly made of poplar, was played by Friedrich A. Kummer. A cello from 1692 belongs to the Royal Academy of Music in London (no. 2002.930). An instrument from 1706 was played by the brilliant French cellist Paul Tortelier (1914–1990), whilst another, from 1709, was played by Auguste Franchomme's successor at the Paris Conservatoire, Jules Delsart (who also played on Stradivari's *Archinto*). The British cellist Robert Cohen plays on an instrument from 1712. A cello from 1714 is in the possession of the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra. Two cellos from 1710 and 1720 are owned by the Australia Council, whilst a well-known cello from 1729 belongs to the Finnish cellist Timo-Veikko Valve.

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337 Thöne, *Italian & French Violin Makers*, 33.

338 Chiesa, *And They Made Violins*, 4, 116–118.

339 Ingles and Dilworth, 'Andrea Guarneri', in *Four Centuries*, 313, 324–325.

340 Mosconi, *I Centenari Dei Guarneri*, 86; at this time, Andrea's cellos were actually made by his son.

One of the best-known luthiers from the Guarneri family, often mentioned on a par with Stradivari, was **Giuseppe Guarneri del Gesù (1698–1744)**, known as such from the monogram IHS (Jesus Hominum Salvator) which he placed on his labels. In 1731, he made only one cello, the *ex-Messeas*, which has been played successively by Christopher Loring, first cello of the Montreal Symphony Orchestra, David Geringas and, to this day, the Russian cellist Natalia Gutman (b. 1942).

Active in Cremona and Mantua was Andrea's eldest son, **Pietro Guarneri (1655–1720)**. In 1695, he made the cello which was played by the Italian-born American cellist Luigi Silva (1903–1961).

### 3.3.3. The art of cello making in Brescia and Bologna

Preserved from the second oldest Italian centre for violin making, Brescia, are around twenty cellos. Active there from 1675 was Nicolò Amati's pupil **Giovanni Battista Rogeri (1680–1705)**, who made esteemed cellos of standard and small sizes ranging from 69.4 to 76.5 cm. After 1687, he made nineteen of them. For the ribs and belly, he used maple, poplar, beech and willow. One of his cellos, from 1690, has a characteristic belly made from a single piece of poplar.<sup>341</sup> Another instrument, from 1706, was played by the American cellist Bernard Greenhouse (1916–2011). **Pietro Paolo De Vitor (1710–1765)**, a Venetian violin maker active in Brescia for several years, made one cello c.1730, which now belongs to the Chi-Mei Museum.<sup>342</sup>

Bologna, traditionally seen as a thriving centre of instrumental music, was also a major centre for violin making. Some interesting cellos were produced here. After 1687, **Giovanni Tononi** made six cellos in Bologna. An instrument from 1681 is in the possession of the Oesterreichische Nationalbank, whilst another, from 1740, is owned by the Museum of the Smithsonian Institute, Washington DC. **Carlo Annibale Tononi (1675–1730)** began his career in Bologna, before spending his last thirteen years in Venice. He produced seventeen cellos. An instrument from 1700 is held in the collection of the Juilliard School of Music. His *ex-Pablo Casals* cello, from 1730, is now played by the German cellist Peter Bruns (b. 1963), while another specimen from the same year is played by the Italian cellist Francesco Strano. After 1687, the Tononi family produced a total of twenty-four cellos.

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341 Ibid., 459 and 464–465.

342 See [https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker\\_ID=2315&filter\\_type=4](https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker_ID=2315&filter_type=4) (accessed 20 February 2017).

In the years 1699–1738, **Giovanni Floreno Guidante (1687–1760)** made around a dozen cellos, all of which are in the hands of music instrument collectors and dealers. Another Bologna violin maker, **Aloysius Michael Garani (1680–1743)**, made in 1702 a cello now owned by the Israeli cellist Gavriel Lipkind (b. 1977). **Dom Nicolò Amati (1725–1750)**, a priest and violin maker, made two cellos between 1723 and 1733. His real surname was probably Marchioni, and he received the pseudonym Nicolò Amati in the nineteenth century.

### 3.3.4. The art of cello making in Milan

This school is represented by two violin-making families: the Grancinos and the Testores. After 1687, **Giovanni Grancino** made forty-five cellos, plus one more with **Francesco Grancino**. Among the most famous is a cello once played by the Belgian artist Adrien-François Servais. An instrument from 1699 is owned by the Swedish Järnaker Foundation and loaned by the cellist Jesper Svedberg,<sup>343</sup> while a specimen from 1700 belongs to the Chi-Mei Culture Foundation. The 1706 cello once played by Alfredo Piatti is in the collection of the Oesterreichische Nationalbank. Giovanni worked with his brother, **Giovanni Battista Grancino (1673–1730)**, who made sixteen cellos. A cello from 1699 is on display at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (SAM 1072). A cello from 1710 was played by the Italian cellist Enrico Mainardi (1876–1976).<sup>344</sup> A cello from 1713 belonged to the cellist Lauri Kennedy (1896–1985). In total, the Grancino family made sixty-two cellos after 1687.

**Carlo Giuseppe Testore (1660–1716)**, a pupil of Giovanni Grancino and the pre-eminent representative of his family, made twenty-seven cellos after 1687. His *ex-Piatti*, made between 1685 and 1717, was played up to 1893 by the Italian cellist Alfredo Piatti. Another instrument, made in the years 1689–1717, belongs to the Bayerisches Staatsorchester. A cello from 1694 is in the collection of the Museum of Musical Instruments in Poznań (MNP-I-541). A cello from 1697 is owned by the Chi-Mei Culture Foundation. Another cello, built after 1700, belongs to the Musée de la Musique in Paris. A cello from 1711 is on display at the Museo Degli Strumenti Musicali Castello Sforzesco in Milan (inv. no.79). The latest cello, from 1715, is owned by the Finnish Cultural Foundation. **Carlo Antonio Testore (1693–1765)**, the son and pupil of Carlo Giuseppe, made seventeen cellos. His younger brother **Paolo Antonio Testore (1700–1767)** made thirty-two cellos. A cello from 1750 is in the possession of the Juilliard School,

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343 *The Strad*, August 2006, 44–48.

344 Lebet, *Il Violoncello Mainardi – Baldovino*.

and it is currently played by the American cellist Jay Campbell. All told, the Testore dynasty produced around seventy-five cellos.

We are also familiar with a Milan cello by **Antonio Tanegia** (*fl.* 1725–1740), made in 1730, which is now on display at Il Museo Della Musica in Venice.

### 3.3.5. The art of cello making in Venice

Venice was a city where the term *violoncello* was used in sheet music publications.<sup>345</sup> Many valuable large instruments, subsequently reduced in size, were made here. These instruments were called *basso di viola da braccio* or *basso da braccio*, and they were produced up to 1730. The smaller variety, measuring approx. 72 cm, was known here as the *violoncino*.<sup>346</sup>

**Matteo Goffriller (1659–1742)** made cellos regarded as comparable with those by Stradivari or Montagnana. After 1687, he made ninety-one esteemed cellos measuring 77–79 cm. A cello from 1690 is currently in the possession of the New Jersey Symphony Orchestra. Two instruments from 1689 and 1708 are owned by the Istituto per l'Infanzia Santa Maria Della Pietà. A cello from 1695 is the property of the Banque Générale du Luxembourg. A cello from 1697 was played by Alfredo Piatti, the Russian cellist Joseph Malkin and then the American Leonard Rose. Dating from that same year is the famous *Count Marcello* instrument, which belonged to Count Girolamo Marcello and was probably played by Benedetto Marcello (1686–1739). The *ex-Barbirolli*, from 1700, was owned by Sir John Barbirolli (1899–1970), whilst the *ex-Casals* from 1700 is played by the German cellist of Peruvian-Uruguayan extraction Claudio Bohórquez. Also made in 1700 was Niccolò Paganini's instrument, subsequently owned by Alfredo Piatti, hence its name: *ex-Paganini-ex-Piatti*. Piatti was a collector of musical instruments, and at one time or another he owned a dozen or so bowed string instruments, including two cellos by Matteo Goffriller: the *ex-Piatti* from 1697 and another from 1698. The *ex-Garbusova*, from 1703, was played by the American cellist of Russian origins Raya Garbusova (1907–1998). A cello from 1705 was owned by János Starker (1924–2013). Pablo Casals owned a Goffriller from 1710. A cello from that same year is in the collection of the Musée de la Musique in Paris. The French cellist Marc Coppey plays on a Goffriller from 1711. A cello from 1715 belongs to the Samsung Foundation of

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345 As already mentioned, works by the Bologna composer Giulio Cesare Arresti were published in Venice: *Sonate a2 & a tre con la parte di Violoncello a Beneplacido*, Op. 4 (Venice: Francesco Magni).

346 Pio, *Violin and Lute Makers of Venice*, 128.

Culture. Another, from 1722, was played by Pierre Fournier. Cellos from 1726 and 1732 were played respectively by Bernhard Cossmann (1822–1910) and Emanuel Feuermann (1902–1942).

**Domenico Montagnana (1686–1750)** is another outstanding cello maker, who produced solo concert instruments of a piercing tone and the highest quality, comparable with the cellos of Stradivari. He made twenty-six cellos, all of them after 1687. His oldest instrument, made in 1710, was played by the Belgian cellist Adrien-François Servais. Cellos from 1720 are played by the Lithuania-Israeli cellist Mischa Maisky (b. 1948), the Hungarian cellist István Várdai (b. 1985) and the American cellist Lynn Harrell (1944–2020). An instrument from 1721 was inherited by the grandson of Gregor Piatigorsky, the cellist Evan Drachman (he also owns Stradivari's *Batta* from 1714 and *Baudiot* from 1725). The *André Hekking* cello from 1721 was played up to 2012 by the German cellist Jan Vogler (b. 1964). Another Montagnana cello, from 1723, is owned by SR Bank of Norway and played by Truls Mørk (b. 1961). A cello from 1729 is played by the American cellist Ralph Kirshbaum (b. 1946),<sup>347</sup> another from 1733, known as *Petunia*, is played by Yo-Yo Ma (b. 1955) and another cello from that same year was owned by Maurice Eisenberg (1900–1972).<sup>348</sup> Another cello from 1735 was played by Boris Pergamenshikov (1948–2003) and is now played by the Belgian cellist David Cohen. A cello from 1732 was played by Emanuel Feuermann.<sup>349</sup> A cello from 1738 is owned by the American cellist Nathaniel Rosen (b. 1948). Piatigorsky's *Sleeping Beauty* cello, from 1739, was played by the Austrian cellist Heinrich Schiff (1951–2016). The GOS Collection in Moscow is in the possession of three Montagnana cellos: from 1732 (inv. no. 44), 1740 (89-a) and 1740 (113). An instrument from 1735 was played by Pablo Casals's pupil Guilhermina Suggia (she also owned Stradivari's *Suggia*, from 1717). The latest instrument, from 1742, is held at the Swedish Royal Academy of Music.<sup>350</sup>

**Pietro Guarneri of Venice (1695–1762)** made fifteen cellos. A cello from 1726 belonged to Prince Miklós József Esterházy (1714–1790), and one from 1734 is the property of the Musée de la Musique in Paris.<sup>351</sup> A cello from 1739 was played by the British cellist Beatrice Harrison (1892–1965), the first performer of Edward Elgar's Cello Concerto, winner of the Mendelssohn Competition in

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347 See <https://tarisio.com/cellos-piatigorsky-festival/ralph-kirshbaum-montagnana-1729/> (accessed 2 February 2018).

348 See <https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID=46599> (accessed 2 February 2018).

349 See <https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID=42637> (accessed 2 February 2018).

350 See <https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID=42639> (accessed 2 February 2018).

351 Pio, *Violin and Lute Makers of Venice*, 210, 232.

1910 and the first woman cellist to perform at Carnegie Hall in New York. The latest instrument, from 1755, is owned by the Istituto per l'Infanzia Santa Maria Della Pietà in Venice.<sup>352</sup> The Guarneri family made around fifty-three cellos after 1687.<sup>353</sup> The list of Venetian master luthiers ends with **Francesco Gobetti (1675–1723)**, who made one cello in 1700.<sup>354</sup>

### 3.3.6. The art of cello making in Rome

Around 1560, families of German violin makers settled on Via dei Leutari in Rome – a street traditionally associated with the art of lutherie, close to the parish church of violin makers: San Lorenzo in Damaso.

**David Tecchler (1666–1747)**, born in Lechbruck, near Füssen, was one of those to settle there. He probably came to Rome as a member of the Swiss Guard. He remained in the Eternal City for good and became a leading representative of the violin-making profession. He made forty-nine highly regarded cellos. A cello from 1696 was owned by Jacqueline du Pré (1945–1987). A cello from 1700 was played by the American cellist of Russian extraction Dmitry Markevitch (1923–2002), who also played the Stradivarius *Delphino*, from 1709. Bernhard Romberg played on the *ex-Romberg* cello from 1703.<sup>355</sup> The Canada Council for the Arts is in possession of the *ex-Schumacher* cello, from 1706.<sup>356</sup> The Cherubini Conservatory in Florence owns a Tecchler cello from 1699.<sup>357</sup> A cello from 1714 is played by Guy Jahanston. Another cello, from 1715, belonged to the French cellist Ferdinand Pollain (1879–1955). A cello from 1730 is played by Yehuda Hanani. The British cellist Robert Cohen plays the *ex-Roser*, from 1723, whilst the *ex-Feuermann*, from 1741, was played by Emanuel Feuermann and is now played by Martha Babcock.

Another Roman violin maker was **Simone Cimapane (?–?)**, also a cellist himself, who played with Antonio Corelli in the orchestra of Cardinal Pamphili. He belonged to the Congregazione di Santa Cecilia in Rome and made a cello with a characteristic rhomboid rosette, dated to 1692, now in the Orpheon

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352 Pio, *Violin and Lute Makers*, 253–254.

353 Ingles and Dilworth, *Four Centuries*, 313, 324 (Andrea Guarneri), 345 (Pietro Guarneri); Hill, Hill and Hill, *The Violin-makers*, 16 (Andrea Guarneri), 53, 62 (Giuseppe Guarneri), 87 (Giuseppe Guarneri 'Del Gesù'), 146 (Pietro Guarneri 'of Venice').

354 This cello was auctioned by Bongartz's on 2 June 1979.

355 See <https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID=43492> (accessed 2 February 2018).

356 See <https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID=46246> (accessed 2 February 2018).

357 Bernabei, Bontadi and Rossi Rognoni, 'A dendrochronological investigation', 194, 196.

Foundation's Vazquez Collection.<sup>358</sup> We are also familiar with a larger *basetto* or *basso di violino* cello from 1685 (a card inside bears the word *contrabasso*). The Italian cellist Alessandro Palmeri plays early cello works from the seventeenth century on this instrument. **Michele Platner (1684–1752)** made four cellos from 1720 to 1740. **Giovanni Georgio Tanningard (1665–1717)** produced four cellos in the years 1700–1710.<sup>359</sup> **Giulio Cesare Gigli (1725–1794)** made two cellos up to 1750. An instrument from 1739 is in the possession of the Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique in Paris. In 1688, **Francesco Framonti (?–?)** made a *violoncello grande/violone/basetto*, measuring 78.2 cm. That instrument, which originally had four strings, is on display in its incomplete state in the Museo di Strumenti Musicali dell'Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia in Rome (MS2006 n. 124).

### 3.3.7. Other Italian centres for cello making

The earliest known violin maker in Naples, **Alessandro Gagliano (1665–1732)**, made twelve cellos, one of which was played until 2015 by the Brazilian artist Antonio Meneses.<sup>360</sup> A cello from 1724 was subjected to dendrochronological analysis by John Topham, which indicated that the timber for the instrument was acquired c.1713.<sup>361</sup>

One violin maker active in Saluzzo, Mantua and then Turin was **Gioffredo Cappa (1653–1717)**, who made seven cellos after 1687. A Cappa cello from 1690 is played by the American cellist Meta Weiss, while an instrument from 1696 is played by the Canadian Jean-Guihen Queyras.<sup>362</sup> **Bartolomeo Cristofori (1655–1732)**, the inventor of the piano, from Florence, also made bowed string instruments. We have one of his cellos from 1716.<sup>363</sup> **Spirito Sorsana (c.1714–1740)**, from Cuneo, near Turin, made two cellos between 1720 and 1726. **Bernardo Calcagni (1710–1750)**, of Genoa, made one cello in 1740.<sup>364</sup> **Enrico**

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358 This non-reduced cello, measuring 77 cm, can be found at [http://orpheon.org/OldSite/Seiten/Instruments/violoncello/vc\\_cimapan.htm](http://orpheon.org/OldSite/Seiten/Instruments/violoncello/vc_cimapan.htm) (accessed 10 October 2008).

359 For information on the Roman violin makers Tecchler, Cimapane, Platner and Tanningard, see Lebet, *Rome & The Luthiers*.

360 See <https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID=59801> (accessed 2 February 2018).

361 See <https://www.thestrads.com/lutherie/from-the-archive-a-1724-cello-by-alessandro-gagliano/7636.article> (accessed 2 February 2018).

362 See [https://tarisio.com/digital\\_exhibition/jean-guihen-queyras-gioffredo-cappa/](https://tarisio.com/digital_exhibition/jean-guihen-queyras-gioffredo-cappa/) (accessed 2 February 2018).

363 Dilworth, 'The Cello: Origins and Evolution.'

364 Ingles and Dilworth, 'Bernardo Calcagni', in *Four Centuries*, 93, 96–97.

**Catenar (1620–1701)**, of Turin, made one cello in 1700, whilst **Antonio Casini**, active in Modena, made at least four cellos.<sup>365</sup> One of his instruments, from 1668, is played by Brannon Cho (b. 1994). Held in the collection of the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence is a cello made from cypress and maple by the otherwise unknown luthier **Rocco Doni (?-?)** in 1696 (inv. no. Cherubini 1988/40).<sup>366</sup>

The instruments mentioned here are now dispersed around the world, in the hands of outstanding musicians, cultural institutions, orchestras, foundations, banks, museums and private collectors. They are sold by the greatest auction houses. In the musical life of the time they were made, they supported vocal parts or played accompaniment. With the instruments they produced, luthiers affected the course of music history and contributed to the existence of the classical set of orchestral instruments. Their great number attests to the continuous changes occurring in the range of instruments used in European music. The production of cellos was quite remarkable. The Cozio Archive records the production of as many as 716 cellos over the period 1688–1750.<sup>367</sup> Over the subsequent 260 years – a period four times as long – 781 cellos were produced. Given such a huge number of instruments, the original cello repertoire of that period is rather modest. The first owners must have performed some repertoire, and we can only assume that it was largely borrowed, polyversion or alternative music for ensemble performance.

### 3.3.8. European cello makers active outside Italy

Cellos were also produced in Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Sweden, Britain and elsewhere. We have limited knowledge of violin makers active outside Italy, and it is difficult to estimate the range and quantity of cellos produced there over the period 1688–1750, few of which have survived. Flemish and Dutch violin makers produced cellos in the Italian style. **Matthijs/Matthias Hofmans (c. 1660–1740)**, a violin maker active in Antwerp, made one cello in 1700.<sup>368</sup> **Pieter Rombouts (1667–1728)**, who worked in Amsterdam, made at least six.<sup>369</sup>

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365 Two cellos can be found at [https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker\\_ID=1982&filter\\_type=4](https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker_ID=1982&filter_type=4) (accessed 2 February 2018).

366 Falletti, Anglani and Rossi Rognoni, *Accademia Gallery*, 18.

367 Number of items from the Cozio Archive on 10 October 2012.

368 See [https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker\\_ID=1476&filter\\_type=4](https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker_ID=1476&filter_type=4) (accessed 10 October 2018).

369 There are two cellos at [https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker\\_ID=1539&filter\\_type=4](https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker_ID=1539&filter_type=4) (accessed 10 October 2018).

A cello from 1690 is particularly esteemed by soloists specialising in Baroque performance. It has been played by Viola de Hoog, Pieter Wispelwey and Job ter Haar. Another Rombouts instrument, from 1699, from the collection of the Nationaal Muziekinstrumenten Fonds. NL, was in the hands of Kristen Jenson and is now played by Felicia Hamza.<sup>370</sup> A cello from 1700 is held in the Musikinstrumenten-Museum in Berlin,<sup>371</sup> whilst a specimen with a carved lion's head scroll from 1702 is owned by the cellist Claire Garabedian, a specialist in historical performance.<sup>372</sup>

**Hendrick Jacobs (1629–1704)** worked in Amsterdam and made four cellos in the years 1690–1700.<sup>373</sup> Although Rombouts was employed by Jacobs, the instrument in the collection of the Nationaal Muziekinstrumenten Fonds. NL, as the foundation maintains, was made by the latter c.1690. Today it is loaned out to gifted young Dutch cellists.

**Sveno Beckman (1717–1762)**, a violin maker active in Stockholm, made smaller cellos, measuring approximately 69 cm, with light varnishes. In terms of form, his instruments adhere to the Italian style. A cello from 1748 belonged to the Portuguese virtuoso David de Sousa (1880–1918), a professor at the Conservatório Nacional in Lisbon, and another instrument, from 1757, is held in the Sibelius Museum (no. 0071) in Turku, Finland. The Nydahl Collection, of Sweden, owns another cello by this maker (IST069).

The London violin maker **Barak Norman (1651–1724)** produced many cellos.<sup>374</sup> One 1710 specimen is owned by the Dutch cellist Pieter Wispelwey. Another luthier active in London, **Peter Wamsley (1715–1751)**, made at least a dozen or so cellos.<sup>375</sup> One of his instruments, from 1735, is played by the American cellist Loretta O'Sullivan.

370 See <https://www.muziekinstrumentenfonds.nl/291/collectie/instrument-bouwer/?id=417> (accessed 10 October 2018).

371 Schiegnitz, 'Ein Violoncello von Pieter Rombouts', 137–145; this instrument belongs to the Musikinstrumenten-Museum in Berlin (inv. No. 5669).

372 Laird, *The Baroque Cello Revival*, 258.

373 There are three cellos at [https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker\\_ID=309&filter\\_type=4](https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker_ID=309&filter_type=4) (accessed 10 October 2018).

374 Eleven cellos are described at [https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker\\_ID=954&filter\\_type=4](https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker_ID=954&filter_type=4) (accessed 10 October 2018).

375 Eight cellos are described at [https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker\\_ID=1540&filter\\_type=4](https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker_ID=1540&filter_type=4) (accessed 10 October 2018).

The German school of violin making was represented by **Joseph Meyer**, **Adam Kirner** and **Hans Krouhdaler**.<sup>376</sup> Their cellos share similar stylistic features: a characteristic elongated form to the soundbox, a short neck set on a wide heel with a fingerboard reaching to around sixth position. The characteristic large head has a scroll ornamented with purfling. The huge f-holes, extending along almost one-third of the soundbox, are vertical and wide, with large openings. The belly and ribs often have faint – if any – grains. The table and belly feature purfling with floral or fantastical motifs in the central part of the belly. The soundbox, head, scroll and f-holes display a form that is characteristic of the German school of violin making.

The cellos of **Leopold Widhalm (1722–1776)**,<sup>377</sup> an Austrian violin maker active in Nuremberg, made in the style of Jakob Stainer, refer to Italian styling. One of his cellos, from 1778, is played by the Polish cellist Tomasz Strahl (b. 1965). **Anton Bachmann (1716–1800)**, working in Berlin, made a cello in 1773.<sup>378</sup>

Madrid and Barcelona were known for the work of Spanish violin makers called *violeros*, who produced mainly guitars. Their rare cellos betray the influence of guitar decoration. The oldest Spanish cello, from 1709, was made in Madrid by the court luthier **Gabriel de Murcia**. Measuring 79.5 cm, it was a bass instrument, known in Spain as a *violón*, inlaid with ornamentation at the base of the neck (like Spanish guitars), with f-holes and a rough finish to the wood; it was distinguished by its very good sound. A cello made in Valladolid in 1724 by **Domingo Román** is now in private hands in Bilbao.<sup>379</sup> **Nicolaus Duclos (1740–1780)**, a French violin maker active in Barcelona and then, from 1766, in Madrid, made a cello in 1760. That instrument, now held in the Museu de la Música in Barcelona (MDMB 1032), has a large soundbox decorated with floral motifs at the top and bottom of the table. On his labels, Duclos described himself as a pupil of Stradivarius: *Discipulus de Stradivarius*.

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376 Cellos and other instruments from the violin family are held in the Musikinstrumenten-Museum in Berlin (cat. nos. 5202, 4293, 5181).

377 A cello from 1739 is held in the Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig; a cello from 1750 can be found at the Musikinstrumenten-Museum in Berlin (cat. no. 4264).

378 Musikinstrumenten-Museum in Berlin (cat. no. 5161).

379 Bordas, 'Musical Instruments', 188; also mentioned here, besides the oldest cellos from Madrid and Bilbao, is a hybrid vihuelo-cello from the Museo del Convento de la Encarnación in Avila. See also Baquero, 'El violón de Domingo Román'.

The Catalan harpsichord maker **Salvador Bofill**, active in Barcelona, made a cello in 1744 (Museu de la Música MDM). This is an instrument with a large, rectangular soundbox.

Scholars researching extant Spanish musical works and old sources have noted that instruments were used mainly for the backing, replacement or ornamental arrangement of vocal parts, in both sacred and secular music.<sup>380</sup> The cello was used less frequently than the viol and continued to offer an alternative to other bass instruments in *basso* parts up to the turn of the eighteenth century.<sup>381</sup>

### 3.3.9. Design changes and conversions of cellos and bows after 1700

Most extant cellos have been rebuilt. Large instruments bear traces of having their soundbox reduced in size, which occurred after 1700 (e.g. Amati's famous *King*). Necks were altered from the Baroque style to modern style after 1800. Revisions to instruments resulted from continuous experimentation and improvements in acoustics and technique. The smaller dimensions brightened the timbres, whilst the longer fingerboard of the rebuilt neck and the use of thumb technique around 1740 extended the instrument's range to include a tenor register. The use of silver-wound strings lent greater stability to the sound and lessened the effects of atmospheric conditions on the tuning. Strings were stronger and did not break; they played more loudly and increased the power and resonance of the instrument, which was significant in larger rooms. The smaller instrument, given strings of suitable length, offered less resistance to the left arm and freed the hand from the superfluous effort of shortening longer strings. The distances between notes were lessened, which made it possible to move the fingers more quickly. The ergonomics of playing the instrument were improved. In order to withstand the growing tension of the strings, the small bass bar carved into the table was replaced by a separate, stronger and longer bass bar. A long neck, affixed at a suitable angle, also helped to obtain the right string tension. The higher bridge, thanks to its open-work form, carried the sound waves to the resonator more effectively. These procedures increased the cello's sound capacities. This was of huge significance, since musical life, which had hitherto proceeded mainly in courtly halls and church choirs, began to enter opera houses and concert halls.

The first bow makers were anonymous. It was only during the eighteenth century that the first trademarks appeared on frogs and sticks. At the Museo

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380 González Valle, 'Liturgical Music', 65, 58, 60, 65, 67.

381 Jones, 'Austrian Symphonies'; Vilar, 'The Symphony in Catalonia', 171.

Stadivariano in Cremona, among the tools, forms, templates and drawings from the master's workshop, there is plenty of evidence that Stradivari made bows which were typical at that time, including a swan's head bow tip (cat. no. 499), numerous models of frogs of various size and two bulky sticks ending with a tip (nos. 476, 477), the first with an ebony frog with a clip-in device and an ivory screw, the other without a frog, with a mortice, and wound with string. Before 1700, the clip-in device known as a frog, affixing the horse hair and at the same time keeping it a suitable distance from the stick, was unable to alter the tension of the hair. It was not until the eighteenth century that a screw made that alteration possible.

In the evolution of the bow, we also note a tendency to use longer and straighter rods. The stick was given its final form by **François Tourte (1747–1835)**, known as the Stradivari of the bow. Over time, the tip, in the form of an elegant swan's head, characteristic of the eighteenth century, altered its shape and became shorter, as can be seen from Stradivari's bow model and from the later French model from the second half of the eighteenth century.

### **3.4. The European expansion of the cello, as documented in art from the turn of the eighteenth century**

#### **3.4.1. Baroque and Rococo iconography with a cello motif – introduction**

In European art, the traditions of the realistic depiction of people and objects continued; hence the iconography of this period still represents an interesting source of knowledge about the cello, right- and left-hand playing technique, the instrument's compass and appearance, and the position of the cellist while playing, as well as showing the increasing range of its occurrence. Paintings and sculptures produced in countries where the viola da gamba had previously dominated (France, Spain, Britain, Germany, Austria, Poland) document the ousting of the viola da gamba by the cello. An important new object shown on a small number of paintings is a music stand with the cellist's music open upon it. The cello appears to a lesser extent on still lifes, *vanitas* paintings and works depicting the life of people of lower social status. In the social hierarchy, the cello now occupies a lofty place. It can be seen in the hands of princes and princesses and dominates the everyday and festive life of the upper spheres of society. Particularly noteworthy are the first portraits of professional cellists of those times. Baroque and Rococo paintings with a cello motif are rich in details

and colours and of a cheerful mood. Today, they may serve to chronicle the cello and its performance.

### 3.4.2. Depictions of the cello in Italian art

The painting *Concerto in casa Lazzari*, by **Girolamo Martinelli (?-?)**, shows the complete violin da braccio family, with its soprano, alto and bass (cello and double bass) varieties.<sup>382</sup> The performers, dressed as monks and nuns, are playing from music which lies on a closed harpsichord with the inscription ‘The Lazzari family of Carpi’. The cellist has a music stand. **Giacomo Francesco Cipper (1664–1736)**, in his painting *Musicians*,<sup>383</sup> portrayed a seated violinist and a cellist tuning his instrument. Lying on a table are an alto recorder and open books of music, but they are not being used by the cellist.

**Giovanni Paolo Pannini (1691–1765)**, in the painting *Concert*, depicted a grand concert organised by Cardinal Frédéric Jérôme de la Rochefoucauld (1701–1757) at the Teatro Argentino in Rome to mark the wedding of Louis Bourbon and Maria Josepha Wettin, daughter of Augustus III, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony.<sup>384</sup> The large orchestra is arranged in amphitheatrical fashion around the distinguished couple. The cellists and double bassists on the left and right of the painting form the bass instruments section. They have no music in front of them and are facing the harpsichordist. The paintings *Rehearsal of the Opera ‘Pyrrhus and Demetrius’* and *Rehearsal of an Opera* by **Marco Ricci (1676–1730)** are similar in content.<sup>385</sup> The former presents the London-based librettist, cellist and impresario **Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729)** seated at the harpsichord and the castrato Nicolini (Nicolò Grimaldi, 1673–1732). The cellist, identified as Andrea Caporale, is playing in a seated position, and his instrument has a short endpin. The latter painting is identically composed. In both paintings, the cellist is portrayed without separate sheet music – he is looking at the harpsichordist’s score. The Neapolitan artist **Gaspere Traversi (1732–1769)**,

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382 Girolamo Martinelli, *Concerto in casa Lazzari*, museo del Palazzo dei Pio. inv. no. 10000096. Carpi, Modena, Italy. At the museum, this painting is dated 1650–1661, but the inscription on the harpsichord points to the eighteenth century: *Carpensis Familiae de Lazaris A.C.MDCCXXX* [illegible content] *Aegrotaturis Insigniter* [illegible content].

383 Giacomo Francesco Cipper, *Musicians*, 1695, Pushkin Museum, Moscow, Russia.

384 Giovanni Paolo Pannini, *Concert Given by Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld at the Argentina Theatre*, 1747, Musée du Louvre INV 414 Paris, France.

385 Marco Ricci, *Rehearsal of an Opera*, 1709, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection (B1981.25.524); cf. Sadie and Hogwood, *Companion*, 302.

in the painting *La Séance de musique*, presents a cellist playing without music, in first position, holding the bow in the Italian style.<sup>386</sup> Only the singer has music in front of them. Traversi's *Music* shows a trio playing from one score.<sup>387</sup> The flautist and cellist are looking at the harpsichordist's music. The cellist is playing in a low position. The Milanese realist artist **Giacomo Ceruti (1698–1767)** painted *A Man Playing Cello*.<sup>388</sup> The anonymous instrumentalist, of lofty social status, as can be gauged from his appearance and attire, is holding a full-size Baroque four-string cello. We can see the heel and the short fingerboard with a wedge underneath. The cellist is playing in third position, with a violin-style left-hand grip – his thumb is curled around the instrument's neck. He is holding the bow in the Italian style, above the frog, and does not have music in front of him. The Rococo Italian artist **Alessandro Magnasco (1667–1749)**, active in Genoa, in his painting *Strolling Players*,<sup>389</sup> depicted a group of players amusing themselves against a background of ruins. The standing cellist is playing in a low position and holding the bow in the French style. The instrument is hanging diagonally down from his left shoulder.

### 3.4.3. Paintings and drawings with cellos in British, Austrian and Germany art

**Marcellus Laroon the Younger (1679–1774)** was a painter, drawer, singer and cellist, who depicted musical life in London and elsewhere. His drawing *Concert at Montagu House*, from 1735, shows the house's interior and its owner, the Duke of Manchester, British ambassador to the Republic of Venice.<sup>390</sup> Amid distinguished ladies and elegant gentlemen, in the central part of the picture we see a cellist playing in duet with a flautist; they are both looking at a shared stand with music. Of similar content is another drawing with the same title.<sup>391</sup> Among the

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386 Gaspare Traversi, *La Séance de musique*, 1755, Musée des Beaux-Arts Inv.929.3 Rouen, France.

387 Gaspare Traversi, *Music*, 1755–60. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art (F61–70 Gallery P20) Kansas City, Missouri, USA.

388 Giacomo Ceruti, *A Man Playing Cello*, 1745–50, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria.

389 Alessandro Magnasco, *Wędrowni bazarze* [Strolling players], 1725, Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw, M.Ob.667 (129929), Poland.

390 Marcellus Laroon, *Concert at Montagu House* (pencil with black and grey ink on paper), Courtauld Gallery D.1952.RW.3256, London, UK.

391 Marcellus Laroon, *Concert at Montagu House*, 1736, British Museum, 1848,0708.207, London, UK.

noble figures, we distinguish Johann Jacob Heidegger (1659–1749), the Swiss prince, impresario and manager of the operas of George Frideric Handel. He is singing and playing on the harpsichord, alongside a cellist, who is gazing at his music while playing an instrument with a short fingerboard.

The Berlin-born portrait painter **Philippe Mercier (1689–1760)**, from a French family, worked in London and then in Yorkshire. His portraits depict the Prince of Wales, Frederick Lewis (1713–1757), and his sisters Amelia, Anne and Caroline. The prince, playing the cello, is clearly making use of a score open on his music stand. *The Music Party, Frederick Prince of Wales with his Three Eldest Sisters* shows a palatial interior (Photo 27).<sup>392</sup> Another painting, *Prince of Wales and his Sisters*, shows the same company playing music in the open air.<sup>393</sup> On completing his service at the Prince of Wales's court, Mercier painted portraits with a cellist playing from a harpsichordist's music, as can be seen on *A Music Party*.<sup>394</sup> This attests to the enduring role of the arranging, transcribing cellist using music originally intended for a different instrument. In the allegorical painting *The Sense of Hearing*, from a cycle on the senses, the lady musicians have a single shared score open on the harpsichord's stand. The seated cellist, looking over the harpsichordist's shoulder, is playing in second position and holding her bow in the Italian fashion. The perfectly visible cello appears in the middle of the picture, alongside a flautist and a violinist. The *Portrait of John Hebdon* (1740–1760) depicts the authentic figure of a cellist, gambist and bassoonist with Handel's orchestra.<sup>395</sup> The cellist is playing in fifth position, holding the bow above the frog in the Italian style, with an open score on the stand in front of him.

The English Rococo artist **William Hogarth (1697–1764)**, in the painting *Musical Party: the Mathias Family*, portrayed a group of musicians including a cellist playing from music in a low position.<sup>396</sup>

392 Philippe Mercier, *The Music Party, Frederick, Prince of Wales with his Three Eldest Sisters*, 1733, Royal Gallery RCIN 402414, London, UK.

393 Philippe Mercier, *Prince of Wales and his Sisters*, 1733, National Portrait Gallery NPG1556, London, UK. Cf. *Prince Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales (1707–1751) playing the Cello, accompanied by his Sisters, Anne (1709–1759), Caroline (1713–1757) and Amelia (1711–1786), making Music at Kew*, 1733–1750, Cliveden Estate NT766108.2, Buckinghamshire, UK.

394 Philippe Mercier, *A Music Party*, c.1737–40, Tate Gallery T00922, London, UK.

395 Philippe Mercier, *Portrait of John Hebdon* (engr. J. Faber), 1741, British Museum (Kk67.221), London, UK.

396 William Hogarth, *Musical Party: the Mathias Family*, 1730, Fitzwilliam Museum of Cambridge, call no. 647, Cambridge, UK.

**Johann Georg Platzer (1704–1761)**, a representative of the Austrian Rococo, in the ensemble scene *The Concert*, showed musicians and their audience.<sup>397</sup> The cellist is situated in the middle, and the fingers of his left hand are in third position.

Another painting by Platzer, *Musical Entertainment*,<sup>398</sup> is dominated by magnificent outfits and exotic fabrics. A table is covered by a music stand and valuables. The trio comprising a lutenist, violinist and cellist (with a Baroque cello) stands in the foreground. The cellist plays standing up, with his instrument resting on a decorative stool, and he is shortening the strings in second position and holding the bow in the French style. Musical scenes by another Rococo artist, **Franz Christoph Janneck (1703–1761)**, show conversations and society gatherings, representing a continuation of the Dutch style. *An Elegant Company*<sup>399</sup> represents a gathering with music making in a woodland setting. Elegantly dressed couples are walking or sitting on carpets, alongside baskets of food and filled glasses. The cellist is playing in a seated position with the instrument resting on a short endpin on the ground. He is playing in a low position without music, holding the bow in the French style. The lutenist and flautist beside him are also playing without music. Janneck also showed a cellist in the painting *Elegant Company in an Interior*.<sup>400</sup>

The most eminent German and Austrian masters of the Baroque and Rococo depicted cellos or instruments with distinctly cellosque features in a number of impressive frescos under the title Engelskonzert (Angelic Concert). From 1748 to 1750, **Gottfried Bernhard Götz (1708–1774)** painted an angelic fresco above the organ in the Birnau Sanctuary in Swabia. In 1714–1715, **Cosmas Damian Asam (1686–1739)** adorned the dome of the Church of the Holy Trinity in Munich with an impressive fresco. **Andreas Meinrad von Au (1712–1792)** painted frescos in the Church of St Martin in Messkirch, Swabia. In 1729, **Johann Heinrich Ritter** adorned the Franciscan church in Saalfeld, Thuringia, with angels making music. Between 1751 and 1754, the Munich court artist **Johann Baptist Zimmermann (1680–1758)** produced murals for the Benedictine

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397 Johann Georg Platzer, *The Concert*, 1740, Germanisches Nationalmuseum GM1329, Nuremberg, Germany.

398 Johann Georg Platzer, *Musical Entertainment*, c.1740, Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Archaeological and Art Museum.

399 Franz Christoph Janneck, *An Elegant Company*, 1730, Sotheby's auction on 22 April 2004, Lot 101 London, UK.

400 Franz Christoph Janneck, *Elegant Company in an Interior*, Sotheby's auction held on 27 January 2005, lot no. 200, New York, US.

monastery in Andechs, Bavaria. In 1752, **Joseph Wannemacher (1722–1780)** painted angelic frescos in the Franciscan monastery of Schwäbisch Gmünd in Baden-Württemberg. From 1743 to 1766, the Rococo painter **Franz Martin Kuen (1719–1771)** created huge frescos in the Church of St Michael Wengen in Ulm, Baden-Württemberg. In 1773, the illusionist artist **Johann Baptist Wenzel Bergl (1718–1789)**, active in Austria, adorned with frescos the Melkerhof chapel and palace in Vienna. In 1742, the Moravian Baroque artist **Johann Christoph Handke (1694–1774)** painted frescos in the chapel of Losina Castle (Schloss Groß Ullersdorf) in Moravia, giving an unusually precise depiction of a cello-playing angel. In 1750, the Austrian artist **Johann Michael Strickner (1720–1750)** produced a fresco in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Innsbruck. Each of these works includes an angel cellist without separate sheet music. On the basis of these frescos, we may conclude that during the mid eighteenth century, in territory originally dominated by the viola da gamba, the cello was a familiar instrument, performing in the liturgical setting of religious ceremonies.

#### 3.4.4. Iconography with a cello motif in Flemish and Dutch art

**Jan Josef Horemans the Elder (1682–1759)** worked in Antwerp, depicting musical motifs that referred to his predecessors, presenting the joyful side of the everyday life of the townsfolk. *A Musical Party* shows the interior of a wealthy home in which the guests are accompanied by a harpsichordist, a singer (holding music) and a cellist, playing in a standing position without music.<sup>401</sup> *A Musician Playing the Violoncello in a Landscape with Classical Statuary and Ruins* is a portrait of a young cellist playing seated on a piece of stone ruin.<sup>402</sup> He plays in a low position, with his left hand in violin grip with the thumb visible around the neck. *Musicale* shows a large group of people dancing and singing with musicians playing without music: a lutenist, recorder players and a standing cellist whose left hand in violin grip is around third position.<sup>403</sup>

*An Allegory of Spring* by the Antwerp artist **Peter Jacob Horemans (1700–1776)** combines portrait with still life.<sup>404</sup> A Baroque cello, the third biggest object

401 Jan Josef Horemans the Elder, *A Musical Party*, Tweed Museum of Art, University of Minnesota, D64.X2, US.

402 Jan Josef Horemans the Elder, *A Musician Playing the Violoncello in a Landscape with Classical Statuary and Ruins*, Sotheby's auction, lot no. 165, London, UK.

403 Jan Josef Horemans the Elder, *Musicale*, 1702–1759, Princeton University Art Museum, No. Y1959–102, New Jersey, US.

404 Peter Jacobs Horemans, *An Allegory of Spring*, Sotheby's auction, lot no. 156, London, UK.

in the painting, stands leaning against a table, alongside scattered requisites, books and sheet music. *Portrait of a Court Musician with String Instruments* shows a neoclassical interior.<sup>405</sup> The artist has represented, with photographic accuracy, many musical instruments, including a cello and a viola da gamba. **Jan Josef Horemans II (1714–1790)** portrayed musical gatherings in some of his works. In *Concert in an Interior*, a harpsichordist and a singer are performing from a single score, while the cellist standing beside them plays without music.<sup>406</sup> *Lesson of Singing* again shows a cellist playing without music in the central part of the picture.<sup>407</sup> He is resting a four-string cello with unusual C-shaped resonance holes on a low stool. The singers next to him have separate scores. Another Flemish artist, **Paul Joseph Delcloche (1716–1755)**, in paintings on similar themes (*Concert at the Court of Prince Evêque de Liège*<sup>408</sup> and *Hofkonzert beim Fürstbischof von Lüttich auf Schloß Seraing*<sup>409</sup>), showed a cellist and a viola da gambist playing from one score, while the harpsichordist and the wind and string players have separate music. The Antwerp artist **Joseph van Aken (1699–1749)** specialised in scenes of everyday life. In the central part of *A Musical Party on a Terrace*, he painted a large cello with a short endpin.<sup>410</sup> The player is seated, with music scattered around, which the musician is not using directly, while other instruments have been set aside for a while. We see a violin, a lute, a guitar and couples dancing and singing. In another painting with the same title, distinguished figures are playing on a cello, a guitar and a violin.<sup>411</sup> All the instrumentalists have music, except for the cellist, who is playing around fourth position, resting the instrument on a chair. On the painting *Elegant Company Drinking and Music Making in a Courtyard*, a cellist and a flautist are playing without music for the revellers; the cellist is seated, holding the bow in Italian

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405 Peter Jacob Horemans, *Portrait of a Court Musician with String Instruments*, 1762, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Inv. Mu 280, Munich, Germany.

406 Jan Josef Horemans II, *Concert in an Interior*, 1746, Rockox House, Antwerp, Belgium.

407 Jan Josef Horemans II, *Lesson of Singing*, 1750, Ermitage (ΓΘ-8500), St Petersburg, Russia.

408 Paul Joseph Delcloche, *Concert at the Court of Prince Eveque de Liège*, 1750, Chateau De Seraing, Belgium.

409 Paul Joseph Delcloche, *Hofkonzert beim Fürstbischof von Lüttich auf Schloß Seraing*, 1755, München Bayer Nationalmuseum, Munich, Germany.

410 Joseph van Aken, *A Musical Party on a Terrace*, 1720–30, Towner Art Gallery EASTG:1554, Eastbourne, UK.

411 Follower of Joseph van Aken, *A Musical Party on a Terrace*, Christie's auction, lot no. 232, New York, US.

style, and playing in a low position.<sup>412</sup> A third painting entitled *A Musical Party on a Terrace* depicts figures in oriental attire.<sup>413</sup> The standing cellist, resting the instrument on a long endpin, is in the foreground, playing without music and holding the bow in Italian fashion, with a lutenist and a bassoonist sitting next to him. Sheet music is lying on the floor and the table, not being used by the musicians.

In Dutch art, **Evert Collier (1640–1708)** continued the tradition of creating *vanitas*-type compositions. In 1696, he painted *Still Life with a Volume of Wither's 'Emblemes'*.<sup>414</sup> Here, a Baroque four-string cello is resting against a table with shiny drapes, on which we see an open copy of Wither's book, with a skull in the left corner and a sheet of paper with the inscription *Vanitas*, a book of music, a clock, a compass, wind and string instruments, valuables, a rich table setting, wine and fruit. The book and the visible quotation from Ecclesiastes 1:2 are of a moralising character. This is the latest in a small number of *vanitas* paintings showing a Baroque cello from after 1687.

**Jan Philipp van Schlichten (1681–1745)**, in his painting *The Three Bavarian-Palatine Princesses Making Music*, shows how the cello was present in everyday musical culture in palatial interiors.<sup>415</sup> The instrument is situated on the right, resting against the harpsichord of Princess Maria Franziska of Sulzbach (1724–1794).

### 3.4.5. Depictions of the cello in French and Spanish art

**Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684–1721)**, a representative of the French Rococo, often painted high society gatherings in idyllic settings, with the playing of musical instruments. In *Life's Charms*, he shows a cello. The instrument is in the foreground, but not being used. An elegantly dressed couple is listening as the rest of the company plays plucked string instruments.<sup>416</sup> In *The Grand Turk giving a Concert to his Mistress*, the French painter of musical gatherings

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412 Joseph van Aken, *Elegant Company Drinking and Music Making in a Courtyard*, Christie's auction, lot no. 1608, London, UK.

413 Joseph van Aken, *A Musical Party on a Terrace*, 1725, Towner A.G. & Local Hist. Mus. Eastbourne, UK.

414 Evert Collier, *Still Life with a Volume of Wither's 'Emblemes'*, Tate Gallery, inv. no. 5916, London, UK.

415 Jan Philipp van Schlichten, *The Three Bavarian-Palatine Princesses Making Music*, unknown location.

416 Jean-Antoine Watteau, *Les charmes de la vie*, 1718–19, Wallace Collection P410, London, UK.

**Charles André Carle van Loo (1705–65)** depicts music making in a palatial interior.<sup>417</sup> A cellist is playing close to a harpsichordist, following his music, while the violinists have a separate music stand. Another painting by Loo, *Putti Playing Musical Instruments*, shows Baroque angels playing ensemble on cello, violin, wind instruments and percussion, all without music.<sup>418</sup>

The cello appeared in Spanish art thanks to cooperation with Italian painters. **Luca Giordano (1634–1705)** was the only Italian working at the royal court in Spain. He depicted a cello in the magnificent 250m<sup>2</sup> fresco *The Apparition of the Virgin to St Ildefonso*, from 1698. That work adorns the vaulting in the sacristy of Toledo Cathedral. The cello appears on the right of the scene, beneath the second window.

To sum up, one should contend that nature and the beauty of surrounding objects were the most important sources of inspiration for Baroque art and subsequently for the 'lighter' art of the Rococo. Yet despite the wide range of colours, the decorative quality and the discernible pathos, the objects represented in paintings were still shown in great detail, rather than being idealised, since they were modelled on original instruments. The pompous, rather theatrical human gestures and the movements of the people holding cellos documented not only the etiquette of those times, but also the positions adopted at the instrument and elements of the performance apparatus. Likenesses of the cello in numerous paintings of the turn of the eighteenth century, across the whole of Europe, represent an interesting source of knowledge about the instrument. The position and playing apparatus were not uniform. Cellists played sitting down or standing up, and the instrument was supported in different ways: without an endpin, directly on the ground, in *da gamba* position, with endpin or resting on a stool. They show the various ways in which cellos were arranged while playing. From the eighteenth century onwards, the arched bow was often held in the Italian style. In most pictures, the left hand is situated as close as possible to fifth position. A music stand, together with a separate score for a cellist, is visible in a dozen or so paintings analysed by the author. In the clear majority of the more than thirty paintings, the cellist is playing from the music of a harpsichordist or vocalists or playing without music at all. This attests to the lack of originality of cello parts or works. On the basis of this survey of iconography, one concludes that cellists

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417 Charles van Loo, *The Grand Turk Giving a Concert to his Mistress*, 1727, Wallace Collection P451, London, UK.

418 Charles van Loo, *Putti Playing Musical Instruments*, International Fine Art Auctioneers, UK.

were still being used as alternative musicians, arranging and transcribing the music of other performance media (keyboard instruments, vocal parts), playing for religious purposes in the liturgy or for functional purposes to well-known tunes and dances.

### 3.4.6. Sacred sculpture with depictions of a cello in Poland

In Poland, I have not found any paintings by native artists representing the cello. Rare exhibits from the collections of the Royal Castle in Cracow, the National Museum in Warsaw and Wilanów represent foreign art – Flemish or Italian. So it was crucial to study Baroque organ prospects adorned with groups of sculptures presenting an ‘angelic concert’. Those prospects date back to the end of the seventeenth century, have been preserved intact and, crucially, provide authentic testimony of the occurrence of the cello in Poland. An angel cellist is present on a dozen or so of the prospects that I studied, not infrequently on two or three objects in a single church. The number of catalogued cellos in the list below is not final.

**Pomerania.** In 1499, the old Royal Prussia, with Gdańsk and Elbląg, was incorporated into Poland; in 1772, it became part of the Kingdom of Prussia. In the Cathedral Basilica of the Assumption in Gdańsk, there are fourteen wooden figures from 1760 representing music making in praise of the Creator by the most outstanding sculptor of the Rococo, **Johann Heinrich Meissner (1701–1770)**. Angels with a cello adorned the organ prospect, partly lost in 1945.<sup>419</sup> One of the extant sculptures now stands by the southern wall of the chapel (Photo 23). The angel is realistically portrayed, and the sculpture of the instrument represents an excellent replica of a cello. The profiled vaulting and protruding edges of the soundbox, as well as the full-size proportions, indicate that the sculptor took an original instrument as his model. The other angel is now unfortunately lacking its cello, holding only the bow.

Angel cellists adorn the right and left corners of the organ prospect in the Church of St Nicholas in Gdańsk, produced in 1755.<sup>420</sup> Playing in a standing position on a long flat cello without an endpin (Photo 22), they are shortening

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419 The lost fragments of the prospect were inventoried in 1943/44 by Jakub Deurer, in ‘Fotografie i rysunki architektury Gdańska’ [Photographs and drawings of the architecture of Gdańsk], Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku, Poland, 10/1629/0/18.

420 Jakub Deurer, ‘Fotografie i rysunki architektury Gdańska’ [Photographs and drawings of the architecture of Gdańsk], Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku, Poland, 10/1629/0/16; Dore Barleben, Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, Germany, 612.253.

the strings with fingers in a middle position and holding an arched bow. In the gallery, in the second niche from the left, we see another angel holding a four-string cello in a different way than the corner angels: upright, from the left. All the angels are holding their bows in the French fashion.

In the Church of the Holy Trinity in Gdańsk, in the triangular prospect of the pedal section, produced by **Tobias Lehmann (c1660–c1710)** in 1704, a realistically sculpted angel with cello stands on the plinth crowning the prospect on the right among angels with musical instruments (Photo 21). It is resting the five-string instrument on a short endpin and playing in a low position. From the Church of St Nicholas in Elbląg, we have mentions of the use of a cello. Here, up to 1711, the municipal ensemble gave concerts on instruments belonging to the church. From an inventory compiled by Joseph Langhannius on 18 June 1757, we learn that the ensemble, consisting of string, wind and percussion instruments, included a *Bass-violin*, or cello.<sup>421</sup>

**Lower Silesia.** A celestial orchestra with many Baroque instruments adorns the organ case in the Church of the Visitation of the BVM in Bardo Śląskie. It includes an angel with a cello, on a cornice on the left of the richly gilded and decorated prospect, produced by the local cabinetmakers **Henryk Hartmann** and his son **Jan Nepomucen** in the years 1755–1759. The angel cellist is realistically represented in a half-seated position, playing with an arched bow in the Italian style, shortening the strings in a low position and resting the endpinless instrument on symbolic clouds. The bow and the cello are gilded. A mobile celestial ensemble, designed to remind listeners, as the organist played, that this was how the angels played their instruments, is situated on the western wall of the Evangelic Church of Peace in Świdnica. Dating from 1669, this instrument was produced by the Brzeg-based firm of Gottfried Klose in 1776–1784; further embellishment was added by the artist **Zeitzius of Ząbkowice**. In the middle of the ensemble adorning the cornice in the middle section of the organ pipes, we see a putto with a schematically represented bass instrument with clearly rounded cello-like shapes and a scrolled head. The little angel is sitting with a cello resting on the cornice, holding an arched bow in the Italian style. The left hand is shortening the strings in a low position.

**Warmia-Masuria.** One of the most precious historical artefacts in the district of Pasym is an organ prospect from 1705, the work of **Jan Josue Mosengel of Koenigsberg**. A silver-gold angel cellist appears on the decorative cornice adorning the right section of pipes. The instrument is resting on the ground, the

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421 Kowalski, 'Kultura muzyczna', 210–218.

right hand shortens the strings in a low position, and the arched bow is held in the Italian style.

**Kujawy-Pomerania.** In the Sanctuary of Our Lady Queen of Krajna in Byszewo, the first organ and prospect were produced around the mid seventeenth century. During the next century, Rococo decoration was added. The angel cellist on the right crowns the tower of the organ prospect. The elongated gilded cello is held at an angle. The angel's left hand is holding the instrument in a violin grip, while the right hand plays with an arched bow.

The sculpted angel cellists of Poland (see the Gdańsk angels with cello on photos 20, 21, 22, and 23) indicate the presence of cellos in liturgical music, in the setting of sacred rites. The cellos differ in appearance. The oldest are schematically shown, with few details, yet the overall construction of the cello is preserved, with the short fingerboard and the bulky neck. They are large and proportional, resting on pedestals, heavenly clouds or short endpins. The strings are always played with arched bows held in the French or Italian style. The most frequent position at the instrument is standing, with a half-seated or seated position less common. The cellists are always playing in low registers, from first to third position, and they never use the music held by the singing angels. The absence of music shows that the cellists, as well as other instrumentalists, merely backed or doubled the singers, which are always represented with music. Naturalism also permeated sacred decoration, as is shown by the cello sculpture by J. H. Meissner. It is an exact copy of a cello.

### 3.5. The form of musical instruments called *violoncello* and their repertoire

#### 3.5.1. Introduction

Presented below is the mosaic of Baroque instruments and their design. They were called *violoncello*, but they are not violoncellos in our present-day sense of the term. The cited examples of works also attest to repertoire adopted from these specific performance media, close to the cello, yet different. The question of the originality of the cello literature is particularly complex when we examine the earliest literature. The performance technique at that time was arbitrary, the instrument chosen according to what was available, and the parameters of instruments more varied than at any time since. In their notation, composers employed five different clefs and experimented with instruments in terms of both performance and design.

### 3.5.2. Hybrids and conversions

Hybrid forms represent design features of two different families of string instruments: the viol and the violin families. The earliest hybrids were produced in the atelier of the brothers Antonio and Girolamo Amati in Cremona. They combine features of the viola da gamba, popular in the west of Europe, with the contour of the violin family, fashionable in Italy. We do not know the exact reasons or specific musicians for which they were made. It is possible that master luthiers wished to design a single universal model for both groups of instrumentalists. At that time, it was the gamba that dominated at the courts, but with a 'two-in-one' instrument, a musician could be employed also in churches, where the performers were mostly bass violinists. Displayed in museums are three extant hybrids made in the years 1600–1611 by Antonio and Girolamo Amati. The first, 70.7 cm in length, with five strings, is held in the Royal Academy of Music in London (A.No.2002.602). This instrument was owned by Amaryllis Fleming (1925–1999), a precursor of historically informed performances of early music who was one of the first to use this instrument to play a work more than one hundred years old: J. S. Bach's Sixth Suite. The other two instruments were made in 1611. The first is held in the GOS Collection in Moscow.<sup>422</sup> In the past, due to its smaller dimensions, it was wrongly used as a four-string children's cello. Today, after reconstruction, it is a tenor viol with six strings. A bass viol 62.9 cm in length is held in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and the item's description draws attention to its cello-like shape.<sup>423</sup>

Alfredo Carlo Piatti (1822–1901), owner of nine excellent full-size Italian instruments, had a cello that was a converted viola da gamba. Now held in the Museo Donizettiano in Bergamo (inv. no. 11), it was probably made by the school of Gasparo Bertolotti da Salò in Brescia at the turn of the seventeenth century. This instrument has a characteristic flat belly, a soundbox with a clearly refashioned contour, four strings and an endpin. A bass viol built in 1639 by Paul Hiltz of Nuremberg, with a serpentine shape to the soundbox and a beautiful rosette near the fingerboard, made of sycamore and pine, ornamented with ivory intarsia in the ebony tailpiece and short fingerboard, with serpentine- or flame-shaped resonance holes, is held in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London (FWK

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422 Waller (ed.), *Genius Stradivari*, 94–95.

423 Laird, *The Baroque Cello Revival*, 11. The author calls this instrument a 'cellambas', since it has features of the cello and the viola da gamba. John Whitely, meanwhile (*Stringed Instruments*, 10–11), in his description of this instrument, points out that this bass viol looks like a cello.

no. 398–1871). This originally six-string instrument was altered to a cello during the eighteenth century. It was given a cello-type neck, an original carved scroll in the shape of a woman's head, four pegs and a cello bridge. The instrument's outward form was retained, and the soundbox is 70 cm in length.

Interest in obtaining material from historical instruments to produce unique cellos remained strong up to the end of the nineteenth century. In the Museum of Musical Instruments in Poznań, one can see a baritone viola di bordone made by Marcin Groblicz I, converted during the nineteenth century into a cello. The body is 68 cm in length, and the instrument is crowned with an original dragon's head, characteristic of Groblicz's workshop.<sup>424</sup> Another bass viola da gamba, made by Gasparo Bertolotti da Salò in 1609, now held in the National Music Museum University of South Dakota (no. 3378), is 79.2 cm long. It was probably converted during the nineteenth century.<sup>425</sup> During the first half of the eighteenth century, viols were converted into cellos in Warsaw and Częstochowa. This is mentioned in extant documents from the Pauline church of the Holy Spirit and Saint Paul the Hermit: a 'cello converted from a viol' is noted in *Inventaria Conventus Varsaviensis* from 1739, a '*basetla* cum 4 choris in theca lignea' in an *Inventarium Sacristia* of 1742, and a 'ruined *basetla* and converted tenor viola' in 1752.<sup>426</sup> A small cello from the Jasna Góra sanctuary in Częstochowa converted from a viol was displayed in 1888 in the First Polish Musical Exhibition in Warsaw.<sup>427</sup>

Conversions attest to the ousting of viols by cellos. Making use of excellent material from Cremona, Brescia and elsewhere, their producers destroyed the original instruments. Made for practical purposes, they were to serve cellists and the new Classical and then Romantic set of instruments.

### 3.5.3. Repertoire for the viola da gamba or cello – selected concepts relating to the original instruments

The earlier viol and later violin families of stringed instruments functioned in parallel from the 1530s to the end of the seventeenth century. Views differ with regard to the original repertoire of both families, attesting to their closeness,

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424 Muzeum Instrumentów Muzycznych Oddział Muzeum Narodowego w Poznaniu, inv. no. MNP-I-234. Characteristic of this viol are the flame-shaped resonance holes, heart-shaped rosette placed centrally under the fingerboard, flat canted belly and overall form of the instrument.

425 Beare, 'Guided Tour'.

426 Mądry, *The Baroque, part 1*, 346.

427 Podejko, *Kapela*, 99.

not just through instrument construction, in the form of hybrid instruments, but also in terms of the possibilities of mutually adapting musical literature.<sup>428</sup> The cellist Paul Grümmer, initiator of the viola da gamba's return to the concert hall, declares in his school of viola da gamba playing that early cello sonatas were transcriptions of gamba sonatas.<sup>429</sup> He includes among their composers the French musicians Marin Marais, Antoine Forqueray, Louis de Caix d'Hervelois, Martin Bertau, Jean-Baptiste Bréval and Joseph Bonaventure Tillière and the Italians Domenico Gabrielli, Giuseppe Jacchini, Giovanni Battista Sammartini, Giovanni Battista Grazioli and Giacobbe B. Cervetto. The literature and catalogues of cello works describe many of these musicians as composers of the earliest cello literature.<sup>430</sup> Domenico Gabrielli, known as 'Mingain dal Viulunzeel', composed *ricercars*, canons and sonatas held in manuscript with the inscription *per Violoncello*, which rules out their being written for viola da gamba. His earliest extant cello works, from 1689, are technically advanced. Gabrielli's *Ricercar* No. 6 includes multi-stops (bars 67–69) impossible to perform on a cello of those times without using an unnaturally wide thumb position or on a cello with the scordatura tuning C, G, d, g. One is struck by the large span of the leaps in small rhythmic groupings with the compass C-a<sup>1</sup>, not encountered in bass viol parts. This text is written in many clefs: tenor, alto, baritone and bass, with the bass clef dominant.<sup>431</sup> Giuseppe Jacchini's *Sonate a violino et a violoncello solo*, Op. 1, published by Buffagnotti of Bologna in 1692–1695, are no less striking. Scored for cello and b.c. and for cello and bass, they possess a virtuosic cello part on a par with violin parts. The key to resolving the puzzles posed by these scores may lie with Carlo Buffagnotti, Jacchini's pupil and publisher. He is believed to have played a *violoncello da spalla*.<sup>432</sup> Giovanni Battista Martini/Sammartini

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428 Meucci, 'Early Evidence', 32–33. Around the 1620s, the bass violin (cello) familiar from the performance of church music replaced the viola da gamba in opera, due to its stronger sound and nimbler articulation, required for supporting solo voices. In amateur music-making, consorts of viols continued to be used.

429 Paul Grümmer (1879–1965), a pupil of Julius Klengel, cellist and director of the Wiener Staatsoper, teacher at the Wiener Musikhochschule, his pupils including Nikolaus Harnoncourt and August Wenzinger.

430 See Stowell (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion*; also Lambooj and Feves, *A Cellist's Companion*.

431 Domenico Gabrielli, 'Ricercari, canone, sonate per violoncello'. Biblioteca Estense, Modena, Italy, MS from 1689: Ms. Musica G.79 and F416/1–2.

432 Badiarov, 'The Violoncello', 133. The author considers that G. B. Vitali, D. Gabrielli, the Bononcini brothers and A. Caldara belonged to the *da spalla*, shoulder-playing tradition.

(1700/01–1775) wrote a Concerto in C major for violoncello piccolo or violin and orchestra and a Solo in B flat major for viola da gamba or cello and bass (Paris, 1730). In these works, he employed the term *violoncello*. Compositions by Giovanni Battista Grazioli (1746–1820) were arranged for cello and piano in the twentieth century: his Harpsichord Sonata in G major, Op. 2 No. 5 by J. Salmon (Paris: Ricordi, 1918) and his Violin Sonata in F major, Op. 3 by K. Schröder (Mainz: Schott, n.d.). These works were not originally scored for either cello or viola da gamba. Giacobbe Cervetto (1682–1783), in his own London edition of the *VI Sonatas or Trios*, Op. 1 (1745) and in his *Six Lessons*, Op. 4 (1750), clearly specified *violoncellos*. It would appear that Grümmer wrongly ascribed to the gamba sonatas by French cello virtuosos who did not write for the viola da gamba: Martin Berteau, a violist and then cellist, founder of the French school of cello, Jean-Baptiste Bréval and Joseph Bonaventure Tillière, author of *Méthode pour le violoncelle* (Paris: Bailleux, 1774).

Elizabeth Cowling, based on her own knowledge of works, considered that many early cello sonatas originally written for that instrument could have been performed by both cellists and gambists.<sup>433</sup> The cellist and gambist Gordon James Kinney (1905–1981) suggested performing Giovanni Degli Antonii's *Ricercate*, Op. 1 (Bologna, 1687) on a six-string instrument, similar to a bass viol, with the alternative tuning C (D), G, c, e, a, d.<sup>1</sup>

Each of these concepts, based on their author's performance practice, has logical justification. Given the customs of the day, recommending the use of *ad libitum* instruments, it is impossible to unequivocally divide the repertoire, which could have been played by various instruments. A musician was often employed as a multi-instrumentalist. There was no awareness of the integrity of the musical work, and composers did not demand the strict performance of their works.

### 3.5.4. Violoncello piccolo

Around 1700, Stradivari produced his optimal B Form cello, but there was not a single model used by violin makers. Instruments with a violin-shaped soundbox around 45 cm long, held in horizontal position, were called *violoncello piccolo*, *viola pomposa*, *viola da spalla*, *viola di spalla*, *violone piccolo da braccio* or *schulter viole*. They had various tunings: C, G, d, a, e<sup>1</sup> or G, d, a, e<sup>1</sup> or c, g, d<sup>1</sup>, a<sup>1</sup>, e<sup>2</sup>. The first theoretical source treating of the 'shoulder cello' is the manuscript *Compendio musicale* by Barlomeo Bysmantova of Ferrara, from 1677–1697. In chapter

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433 Cowling, 'Were the Early Violoncello Sonatas Transcriptions?'

seven, 'Regola per suonare il violoncello da spalla', the author describes left-hand technique, which adopts violin fingering.<sup>434</sup> The smallest instrument of this type, compared to the *alto da braccio*, with a piercing tone, was the 'Bach-Hoffmann' *violoncello piccolo*, measuring 43.5 or 45.5 or 46 cm. During his Leipzig period (from 1723 to 1748), due to a lack of instruments, J. S. Bach employed different instruments depending on what was available: *viola da gamba*, *violoncello piccolo* (also known as *fagottgeigen*), measuring 60–70 cm, and the smallest *violoncello piccolo*, approximately 45 cm in length.<sup>435</sup> In the obligato parts in cantatas, the same voice could be performed by a violist, employing the shoulder method (*da spalla*), or by a gambist or cellist, holding the instrument between the knees.<sup>436</sup> A number of documents from the years 1766–1790 mention a *viola pomposa*, ascribing its invention to Bach. However, there is no justification for that thesis. Scholars studying this question consider that this was an initiative on the part of biographers wishing to embellish Bach's profile, whereas the composer himself did not leave an annotation concerning the use of *viola pomposa* in any of his works, scores or parts.<sup>437</sup>

The Polish instrumentologist Mieczysław Drobner ascribes the *viola pomposa* and *violoncello piccolo* to the viol family.<sup>438</sup> Willi Apel, meanwhile, numbers the *violoncello piccolo*, which J. S. Bach preferred to the full-size cello, to the violin family, like the *viola pomposa*, which was a larger shoulder-held viola with five strings *c, g, d<sup>1</sup>, a<sup>1</sup>, e<sup>2</sup>*.<sup>439</sup> It should be added that Luigi Boccherini (1743–1805) used a small cello referred to in quintets published by Pleyel as the *alto violoncello*. The *New Grove Dictionary of Music* describes the *viola pomposa* as follows: 'A five-string viola, tuned either *c, g, d<sup>1</sup>, a<sup>1</sup>, e<sup>2</sup>* [...] or possibly *d, g, d<sup>1</sup>, g<sup>1</sup>, c<sup>2</sup>*, as Galpin suggested. It was in use from about 1725 to about 1770 and was played on the arm. [...] The only surviving music for the instrument comprises two duets for flute and *viola pomposa* or violin by G. P. Telemann [...], a double concerto by J. G. Graun, and a solo sonata by C. J. Lidarti. The invention of the instrument

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434 Barnett, *Bolognese Instrumental Music*, 130–134. The author presents evidence of the use of *da spalla* technique and iconography showing such performance in the first editions of works from the Bologna school.

435 Smith, 'Johann Sebastian Bach's *Violoncello piccolo*'. The author details compositions using every kind of *violoncello piccolo*, not excluding the possibility that J. S. Bach himself played this instrument.

436 Cantatas with a *violoncello piccolo* part: BWV 6, 41, 49, 68, 85, 115, 175, 180, 183, 199.

437 Boy and Butt, *J. S. Bach*, 492.

438 Drobner, *Instrumentoznawstwo*, 45.

439 Apel, *Harvard Dictionary of Music*, 803–804, 797–798.

was erroneously ascribed to J. S. Bach by several late 18th-century writers.<sup>440</sup> On asking staff at the Museum of Musical Instruments in Leipzig about the *viola pomposa* and *violoncello piccolo*, I was told that there was little difference between the two instruments. The *viola pomposa* had only shallower ribs, whilst the *violoncello piccolo* was a few centimetres wider. Instruments by the Leipzig violin maker J. C. Hoffmann displayed in the museum once as a *violoncello piccolo* (depth of ribs 9 cm<sup>441</sup>) and once as a *viola pomposa* (depth of ribs 7.7 cm<sup>442</sup>) would appear to confirm that thesis.

Dmitry Badiarov and Lambert Smith equate Bach's *violoncello piccolo* with the *viola pomposa*.<sup>443</sup> Mark Smith distinguished two different types of *violoncello piccolo*: a *da braccio* type (45 cm) and a larger *da gamba* type (approx. 60–70 cm).<sup>444</sup> Albert Schweitzer (1875–1965) considered that a good cellist could play Bach's *violoncello piccolo* and *viola pomposa* parts, and if necessary such a part should be divided between cello and viola.<sup>445</sup> Sigiswald Kuijken (b. 1944) points out that in German and French lexicons up to 1740, the term *violoncello* was used for a *da spalla* instrument.<sup>446</sup> Nikolaus Harnoncourt, besides a full-size cello, possessed a bass violin with a short fingerboard from c.1580, which he tuned to G d a e', as the Bolognese author Adriano Banchieri proposed in his treatise.<sup>447</sup>

Solo works for *violoncello* by French composers from the Bolognese school now being published for cello should be numbered among transcriptions, on account of the change in the original performance medium. That would be confirmed by many years' practical and theoretical research into artistic and technical

440 Brown, 'Viola pomposa'.

441 J. C. Hoffmann, three *violoncellos piccolo*, in the Museum für Musikinstrumente der Universität Leipzig (nos. 918 from 1732, 919 from 1741 and 921 from the second half of the eighteenth century).

442 J. C. Hoffmann, two *violas pomposa*, in the University of California, Department of Music Instruments (from 1732), and the Brussels Music Instrument Museum (no. 1445). These two instruments display similar parameters to those in Leipzig.

443 Badiarov, 'The Violoncello'; L. Smith, 'Towards a More Consistent and More Historical View'.

444 M. Smith, 'Johann Sebastian Bach's *Violoncello piccolo*', 64.

445 Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, ii: 431.

446 Sigiswald Kuijken, *Johann Sebastian Bach Cello Suites BWV 1007–1012*, CD Accent 2007, 2009, ACC24196.

447 Banchieri, *Conclusioni*, 55; bass violin tuning G d a e'.

aspects of the performance of this literature and performances by cellists and violinists specialising in playing on reconstructed Baroque instruments.<sup>448</sup>

The *violoncello piccolo*, *alto violoncello*, hybrids and conversions represent different performance media. In their overall design, they show some similarity to the violin family, yet their timbre differs considerably from that of a full-size cello. The Finnish cellist Anssi Karttunen (b. 1960), who plays both contemporary cello and five-string Baroque cello, states in the foreword to a CD recording that during the Baroque everyone was prepared to arrange works for whatever instrument happened to be available; hence, when referring to that tradition, he performs on a Baroque cello both original repertoire and also works from the *viola da gamba* and violin repertoires.<sup>449</sup>

### 3.5.5. Historical Baroque cellos

Instruments which in the second half of the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth century were called *violoncello* should be divided into three groups:

1. *Violoncello piccolo*, *violoncello da spalla*, instruments held horizontally on the shoulder, which could be used by violinists and *da spalla* violists; the smallest group of instruments, they are currently used in concert by Dmitry Badiarov, Ryo Terakado and Sigiswald Kuijken.
2. *Violoncello piccolo*, held between the knees in *da gamba* position; larger instruments, measuring from 56 to 62.9 cm.<sup>450</sup> These could be used by bass instrumentalists playing on the violone, bass violin (*basso di violino*) and *viola da gamba*. This group includes hybrids and conversions, and smaller models of cello. Instruments of this type were played by Alfredo Piatti (conversion) and Amaryllis Fleming (hybrid), and they are now played by cellists specialising in historical performance: Anner Bylsma (b. 1934), Jaap

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448 Vanscheeuwijck, 'The Baroque Cello', 80; Vanscheeuwijck, 'Recent Re-evaluations'; Barnett, *Bolognese Instrumental Music*, 1–25; Barnett, 'The *Violoncello da Spalla*'. Similarly, the cello maker and performer Dmitry Badiarov considers that works scored for *violoncello* from the Bolognese school can successfully be performed on suitable shoulder-held instruments.

449 Anssi Karttunen, *Bach and Telemann on Violoncello Piccolo*, Petal 002.

450 The Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna is in possession of a four-string *violoncello piccolo* 56 cm long (C 110). The Münchner Stadtmuseum in Munich holds a five-string *violoncello piccolo* made by J. P. Christ of Munich in 1735, 62.9 cm long (inv. no. 40–243).

ter Linden (b. 1947), Pieter Wispelwey<sup>451</sup> (b. 1962) and Josephine van Lier (b. 1968).

3. Bass violin, *church bass*, *violone* (in Italy), *violoncino*, *violoncello*, 71–90 cm in length, a protoplast of the modern-day cello, resting directly on the ground or on an endpin. This model, perfected by Stradivari with his B Form, is now known as a cello.

### 3.5.6. Viola da spalla, hybrids and violoncello piccolo in iconography

The oldest image of a *viola da spalla* can be found in the anonymous fresco *Assunta con Angeli* painted c.1550 on the front portal of the Renaissance chapel of Madonna di Loreto, near Roccapietra in Italy.

Hybrids were painted by Dutch artists. **Carel Fabritius (1622–1654, Delft)**, in *A View of Delft with a Musical Instrument Seller's Stall*, depicted a viola da gamba with cello features: a vaulted table, rounded soundbox and no frets.<sup>452</sup> We find a different kind of hybrid in *Music-Making Company* by **Jacob Ochtervelt (1643–1682 Delft)**.<sup>453</sup> This instrument has the typical appearance of a Baroque cello, with two differences: the resonance holes are in the form of a flame, and the instrument has six strings. *The Music Lesson* also shows a fretless viola da gamba with a scrolled neck.<sup>454</sup> The omission of frets, highlighting of the soundbox's curves and inclusion of a scrolled neck in these instruments are not errors on the part of these Dutch masters, who were known for their remarkable attention to detail. They attest to changes occurring in instruments at that time.

A shoulder-held *violoncello piccolo* or *viola pomposa* can be seen on the 1650 painting *The Concert* by **Jan Jansz van Bronckhorst (1627–1656, Amsterdam, Utrecht)**, held in the National Museum in Warsaw. This depicts a four-string instrument from the violin family, larger than a viola. It is bulky and has deep ribs. A *violoncello piccolo* is depicted with photographic precision by the still life specialist **Pieter Claesz (1597–1660, Haarlem)** in his painting *Still Life with Musical*

451 For a profile of this Dutch cellist and an assessment of his performances of suites by J. S. Bach and other works (p. 32), see Dyer, 'Pieter Wispelwey'.

452 C. Fabritius, *A View of Delft with a Musical Instrument Seller's Stall*, 1652, National Gallery NG 3714, London, UK.

453 J. Ochtervelt, *Musizierende Gesellschaft*, Bibliotheca Hertziana Inv. C 10013, Rome, Italy.

454 J. Ochtervelt, *The Music Lesson*, 1671, Art Institute of Chicago, US.

*Instruments*.<sup>455</sup> We see a precisely moulded soundbox with high vaulting, double purfling, f-holes, five strings, a bulky bridge and a thick neck with a short heel. The French artist **Bernard Picart (1673–1733)** produced an etching of two noblemen, one of whom is playing a cello (Photo 19).

The smallest ‘Bach-Hoffmann’ *violoncello piccolo* is depicted by **Johann Christoph Dehne (1713–1741)** in his engraving *Performance of a Bach Cantata*, from 1732, reproduced on the frontispiece of Johann Gottfried Walther’s *Musikalisches Lexikon*. Several examples of iconography, together with descriptions of *da spalla* instruments of this type are presented in an article by Dmitry Badiarov.<sup>456</sup> In *Portrait of a Music Lover*, the Dutch artist **Cornelis Troost (1697–1750)** painted one of the van der Mersch brothers of Amsterdam.<sup>457</sup> As well as a *violoncello piccolo*, Troost depicts an open score with the visible title Sonata.

The English Rococo artist **Thomas Gainsborough (1727–1788)** was passionate about music and painted portraits of Johann Christian Bach, Johann Christian Fischer and his close friend Carl Friedrich Abel (three times).<sup>458</sup> In *John Chafy Playing the Violoncello in a Landscape*, he portrayed that talented amateur musician, pastor, knight and member of Ipswich Musical Club.<sup>459</sup> In the background, we see an English garden with a temple hidden in greenery, an urn and a statue with a lyre – an attribute of the muse of dance and poetry. In those remarkable surroundings, we find a man playing a cello. The instrument has four strings and is smaller than instruments in analogous works of art.

In Poland too, we find images of various bass instruments combining features of viol and violin (*basso di violino*). There are several representations of instruments of this type in the wooden church of St John the Baptist in Orawka (Lesser Poland), containing a polychrome painted between 1656 and 1711 by an

455 P. Claesz, *Still Life with Musical Instruments*, 1623, Musée du Louvre R.F.1939–11, Paris, France.

456 Badiarov, ‘The Violoncello’, 136–140.

457 C. Troost, *Portrait of a Music Lover from the Van der Mersch Family*, 1736, Rijksmuseum Sk-A-3948, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

458 One portrait of Abel is held in the Hunting Art Collection in California, USA (1777, Acc. No. 25.19), the other two are in the National Portrait Gallery in London, UK (1765, NPG 5947; c.1765 (pencil drawing), NPG 5081), which also holds the portrait of Bach (1776, NPG 5557). The portrait of Fischer belongs to the Royal Collection Trust in London, UK (RCIN 407298).

459 T. Gainsborough, *John Chafy Playing the Violoncello in a Landscape*, 1750–1752, Tate Gallery TO 3895, London, UK.

unidentified artist. The paintings adorning the music choir and the case of an historical positive organ from the seventeenth century show a dozen or so angel musicians, three of which are playing on bass instruments.<sup>460</sup> The angel on the left of the gallery is holding a six-string instrument with a violin body, f-holes and a small rosette. The other two angels on the organ prospect are employing the same performance technique, sitting with the instrument held at a slant on the floor. These instruments have tapered shoulders and C-shaped resonance holes. The first has four strings and the others have five strings. This church is also home to likenesses of thirteen demons, one of which is playing a three-string bass instrument in a seated position.

This list of authors and their works presenting various instrumental forms called *violoncello* is not complete and may constitute a starting point for further research. In the present work, it serves to complement and illustrate the complex issues relating to terminology.

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460 Trajdos and Pieńkowska, *Kościół*, 59–60.

## Chapter 4: Classicism and the mimesis aesthetic, mimetic musical forms, the Classical cello of the years 1750–1815/20

### 4.1 The aesthetic category of mimesis during the second half of the eighteenth century

In his treatise *Les Beaux Arts réduits à un même principe*, from 1746, Charles Batteux (1713–1780) declared that one principle common to all the arts was imitation, which he saw as being essential to the very existence of a work of art.<sup>461</sup> Art gained the adjective ‘fine’, and music was added to its fields, alongside literature, the plastic arts and architecture. Previously, the French classics had considered that imitation should not be exclusively passive.<sup>462</sup> Art could be more beautiful than reality; it could rectify human errors and the imperfections of nature. The view that art ought to reflect reality was shared by many thinkers, and it remained prominent up to Romantic times.

During the Classical era, the cello’s status clearly grew, and it became a key member of chamber and symphonic ensembles. The Classical cello ultimately ousted the bass viol from the ensemble music of the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>463</sup> The cello’s growing importance was consolidated by composers entrusting it with chamber and orchestral parts. Although a cello part was not yet clearly specified in works (the general term *basso* continued to be used), we know from widespread practice that Classical composers departed from variant, alternative, unspecified performance in ensemble works. Instrumental works were written for specific instruments, and the four-string cello was a fully-fledged member of the string section, alongside the violin and the full-size viola. The previously popular free arrangements and transcriptions of vocal arias, songs, dances and works for other instruments held their place in domestic music-making and amateur performance. Cellists used the music of harpsichordists

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461 See Tatarkiewicz, *A History of Six Ideas*, 273.

462 *Ibid.*, 278.

463 Le Blanc, *Défense*, 11–28, 69–80. The author, an admirer of the bass viol, bemoaned its waning popularity and defended it in a three-part treatise, expressing his opposition to the pretensions of the violin and the cello. In his opinion, the cello was a poor relation that hid behind the harpsichord in shame.

or pianists, as evidenced by extant iconography. Paintings show grand palatial interiors, balls, concerts and bourgeois gatherings embellished by small instrumental ensembles, including cellists playing without their own sheet music.

From research into the iconography of this period, we learn that the turn of the nineteenth century was a time of small but crucial changes to the cello's design. The neck became slender and lost its heel, and the fingerboard was extended – a distinctive feature of the Classical type of cello.

## 4.2. Arrangements and transcriptions in Classical musical forms

Alongside cultivating traditional forms, the mimetic strand in the cello literature of this period adopted a Classical shape, which manifested itself in the form of Classical variations, sonatas for solo alternative instruments, and virtuosic cadenzas.

### 4.2.1. Classical variations<sup>464</sup>

The initial melodic material of this musical form was the theme – a quotation taken from a popular opera, song or dance, transformed in a sequence of fantastical lyrical and virtuosic variants. Classical variations did not leave the instrumentalist the freedom to improvise; they were strictly notated compositions. In terms of performance, they required the perfect and faithful execution of the composer's score. Performing cellists turned to the fashionable form of variations in order to show off their skills in playing and arranging and to enhance their instrument's repertoire with works based on the theme of a popular melody. The earliest sets of variations can be found in the oeuvre of **Jean-Baptiste Bréval**.<sup>465</sup> In his Sonata in G major, Op. 28 No. 4 for cello and basso (London: Cooper, 1790), Bréval employed the theme of the British national anthem, 'God Save the King', in *tempo di menuetto con 3 variationi*.<sup>466</sup> In 1794, **Filippo Lolli / Luigi Bicchi-Lolli** composed *12 Variazioni*, Op. 2 for cello and basso *sur un Thème*

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464 Variations in which composers used their own themes, equally popular at that time, lie beyond the scope of our considerations, as they do not display a mimetic character.

465 Jean-Baptiste Bréval (1733–1823), a French cellist, a pupil of François Cupis, made his debut in a Concert Spirituel in 1778. He was first cellist of the Grand Opera in Paris and a professor of the Paris Conservatoire (till 1802).

466 Performed on Baroque cello by Claudio Ronco in an arrangement by Susan Sheppard as part of the Faber Concert Repertoire Series in London, 2000, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yRGGWfRnTTc>

*favorite du Ballet Alcina*.<sup>467</sup> **Jean-Pierre Duport** published *8 Aires variés*, a collection of variations for two cellos based on eight operatic arias (Paris: Pleyel, 1796–97), with some of the themes coming from Mozart arias.<sup>468</sup> Mozart repaid the cellist by quoting the theme of the Minuet from the latter's Sonata No. 6 in E major for cello and b.c., Op. 4 in his Variations in D major, K.573.

In cello variations, the original performance medium was altered. The use of a quotation from an existing composition was a specific form of artistic utterance, in which the cellist struck up a dialogue with recognised compositional output. Sets of variations also became a forge of ideas, a laboratory of advanced instrumental technique of the freshly emancipated cello.

#### 4.2.2. Classical sonatas, self-transcriptions and polyversions

Classical cello sonatas were most often published in dual editions, with a version for violin or flute. That practice was already familiar from the Baroque era, when composers were largely dependent on publishers interested in maximising demand. Although increasing in number, cellists did not yet represent a sufficiently large group of clients, and such editions expanded the potential market to include violinists and flautists as well. It is difficult to state unequivocally whether this was originally the idea of composers or a marketing ploy on the part of publishers. Popular cello sonatas were subsequently published many times over in different versions.

Jean-Baptiste Bréval published compositions in dual versions from his Opp. 6, 10, 19, 23, 34 and 41 – for two violins or for violin and cello. His popular *Six Sonates a Violoncel et Basse*, Op. 12 was published in a version for cello or violin. Interestingly, the solo part is notated in the treble clef, so the cellist received from the publisher the violin material and either had to transpose it or play it on a five-string cello. Besides the dominant treble clef, the bass clef also appeared occasionally in cello parts.

**Giacobbe Basevi Cervetto** published *8 Solos* for cello and b.c., Op. 3 (London: Johnson, 1757), all of which are self-transcriptions of original works

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467 Filippo Lolli / Luigi Bicchi-Lolli (1773–1824), a Stuttgart-born cellist of Italian origins, the son of a violin virtuoso. He was a Wunderkind and travelled to Berlin, Copenhagen and Vienna, where he published his *12 Variazioni* for cello and bass.

468 Jean-Pierre Duport (1741–1818), a French cellist, a pupil of Martin Berteau, made his debut in a Concert Spirituel in 1761 and toured Great Britain and Spain. He was first cellist in the royal chapel, artistic director and cello teacher at the court of Frederick William II, King of Prussia.

from 1750 scored for flute and b.c.<sup>469</sup> Around 1795, the same outstanding cello virtuoso published 3 *Duets*, Op. 5, Op. 6 for two cellos (London: Birchall). In that edition, the part of the *violoncello primo or violin* is written entirely in the treble clef (compass: g-f3), while the equal part of the second cello is notated in tenor and bass clefs with a top note of e2. According to current notation standards, the text of the *violoncello primo* part is a part for violin, not cello.

### 4.2.3. Virtuoso cadenzas in cello concertos

During the Classical era, the virtuosic cello concerto emerged.<sup>470</sup> In such compositions, the soloist was expected to perform an improvised cadenza. Antonin Kraft,<sup>471</sup> in his Cello Concerto in C major, Op. 4 (1784), published by Breitkopf & Härtel of Leipzig in 1792, did not include a virtuosic cadenza, but that did not mean no cadenza was performed. The same applies to concertos by Haydn. Neither the Concerto in C major, HobVIIb:1, from 1765 (Prague: Národní Museum České Hudy, MS TrB71 no. 95069) nor the Concerto in D major, Op. 101, HobVIIb:2, from 1783, published on the basis of the composer's original manuscript by Offenbach of Leipzig in 1783, contained a cadenza, although in the latter work the appropriate place was marked *kadenz*. The Classical virtuosic cadenza was a free element of a concerto, performed solo, without orchestra, in which, besides technical prowess, the audience could admire the soloist's skills as an arranger. It normally appeared in the first movement Allegro before the coda, but could also be found in a third movement Rondo, just before the last tonic or the coda, less often in the second movement. It was based on thematic material already played. The virtuosic cadenza as a display of technical mastery was not a new phenomenon in the Classical era.

Baroque opera singers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries embellished arias, before the last tonic, with improvised virtuosic vocalises. These were short and usually sung on a single breath. Similar improvised instrumental interludes

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469 Giacobbe Basevi Cervetto (1680/82–1783), an Italian cellist working at the Drury Lane Theatre in London. He collaborated with Handel and achieved huge financial success.

470 Earlier concertos for cello based on a dialogue between soloist and string ensemble (tutti-solo) did not have virtuosic solo cadenzas. See e.g. the Baroque cello concertos of Antonio Vivaldi (twenty-eight solo and two for two cellos) composed between 1703 and 1720 for the Pietá orphanage in Venice, published from the manuscripts during the second half of the twentieth century, and Leonardo Leo's six concertos from the years 1737–1738.

471 Anton Kraft (1749–1820), a Czech cellist and composer. His compositions were ascribed to Haydn, with whom Kraft worked at the court of Prince Nikolaus Esterházy.

appeared in the late Baroque concerto, in the output of J. S. Bach. The first notated cello cadenzas appear in the concertos of **Giuseppe Tartini (1692–1770)**. His Cello Concerto in D major has two kinds of cadenza. The first, of the character of a vocal improvisation, comes in the first movement Largo and the third movement Grave, and it bears the name *Cad.* It is rather short and based on the dominant. Its presentation is followed by a closing tonic. The other kind of cadenza, played solo without accompaniment, which the composer calls *Capriccio*, appears in the rapid movements and displays the character of technical fireworks, containing small ornamented rhythmic groups, passagework and arpeggios.

So Classical cadenzas had earlier vocal and instrumental models, but they differed in that Baroque cadenzas did not have to refer to the work being performed; they could introduce completely new melodic-rhythmic material. The Classical cadenza retained a free, improvised character, but it referred in content to the melodic material of the particular movement, representing a sort of arrangement of that material and an integral part of the movement.

#### **4.2.4 The compass of Classical works for cello within the context of the original instruments, performance practice and iconography**

The numerous sets of variations, polyversional sonatas, concertos and self-transcriptions for cello attest to an expanding repertoire that manifested considerable progress in instrumental technique. However, when we compare the compass of those works with the iconography or with extant non-converted instruments from that period, several disconcerting questions arise. The shape of the neck and the length of the fingerboard shown in iconographic sources allow one to surmise that full-size cellos with four strings tuned C, G, d, a could not have possessed such a large compass. In his Concerto in D major, Op. 101, HobVIIb:2, Joseph Haydn employed the compass C–g3. The span of the notes in Luigi Boccherini's Concerto in B flat major, G.482 is D–b3, in Jean-Baptiste Bréval's Sonatas G–a3, and in Boccherini's Sonatas C–g3. By way of comparison, self-published editions of works by another cello virtuoso, Giacobbe Basevi Cervetto, *Six Solos for the Violoncello*, Op. 1, from 1741, and *Lessons or Divertiments*, from 1750, for two cellos (London: Walsh), were notated in the tenor clef, with a much narrower compass to the solo part of C–c2. Could Cervetto have had a different cello at his disposal?

It is worth considering this point, particularly when we are looking for translations from a different performance medium to the cello. The subject is quite complex. We know that concertos by the French cellists Jean-Baptiste

Bréval and Jacques-Michel Hurel de Lamare were sold first of all to violinists.<sup>472</sup> Richomme's 1786 catalogue advertises Bréval's first two concertos as works for violin or cello. Similarly recommended as works for violin or cello were concertos co-written by Lamare (and published under his name).<sup>473</sup> In that sense, the cellist received a violin part that required transposition. Researching early editions of parts for cello written in the treble or alto clef, presenting a high technical level and small, mobile rhythmic values, as well as perilous passagework and arpeggios demanding playing in high positions of the three-line octave, one notes that J. S. Bach, in his cantatas, notated the *violoncello piccolo* part in a similar way (in the alto clef). It could be that cellists did not have to transpose their parts – their instruments, called *violoncello*, enabled such playing in high registers, with highly advanced technique. Johann Joachim Quantz (1697–1773) mentions that a cellist needed two cellos for playing: 'one for solos, the other for ripieno parts in large ensembles. The latter must be larger, and must be equipped with thicker strings than the former.'<sup>474</sup> The thinner strings and smaller instrument certainly indicate its higher register. In his 1805 publication *Méthode de violoncelle et de basse d'accompagnement* (a Paris Conservatoire textbook), Jean-Henri Levasseur distinguishes between the solo and accompanying cello in the very title.<sup>475</sup> Marc Vanscheeuwijck has noted that besides full-size cellos there were others of smaller dimensions. According to Johann Mattheson's definition in *Das Neueröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1713), violoncellos were 'small bass violins in comparison with the larger ones with five or also six strings, upon which one can play all manner of rapid things, variations, and ornaments with less effort than on the larger machines.'<sup>476</sup> During the Classical era, various types of *violoncello piccolo* instrument remained in use. Vanscheeuwijck mentions Carlo Graziani's *style gallant* sonatas for violoncello and basso,<sup>477</sup> published

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472 Jacques-Michel Hurel de Lamare (1772–1823), a student of Jean-Louis Duport and a teacher at the Paris Conservatoire. He performed in Germany, Poland and Austria and was soloist at the imperial court in St Petersburg.

473 Walden, 'Technique', 242.

474 Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, 241.

475 The French cellist Jean-Henri Levasseur (1763–1823) was a pupil of Jean-Louis Duport and a professor of the Paris Conservatoire. *Méthode*... was a joint publication with Pierre Baillot, Charles-Simon Catel and Charles Baudiot.

476 Vanscheeuwijck, 'Recent re-evaluations', 181.

477 Carlo Graziani (1710–1787), an Italian cellist who performed throughout Europe. Invited to Berlin, he worked at the Prussian court of Frederick William II as royal teacher of cello and chamber music.

between 1760 and 1780, close in style to Boccherini, which were intended for a five-string instrument.<sup>478</sup> The Allegro brillante first movement of his Sonata in A major, from 1778,<sup>479</sup> is notated in the tenor and treble clefs, like the sonatas of Bréval and Boccherini, although its compass is quite large: A–e3. This is unquestionably another example of a work intended for a smaller instrument called *violoncello* or for performance on a full-size cello an octave lower. Graziani's Sonata in G major, Op. 1 No. 1 was so similar to works by Boccherini that it appeared in the manuscript Nosedà E.24–26. Vanscheeuwijck believes that the cello model employed today, tuned C, G, d, a, was first used by **Jean-Pierre Duport (1741–1818)** and his brother **Jean-Louis (1749–1819)**. This question is certainly interesting within the context of the history of the full-size cello and its repertoire, and it requires further comprehensive research.

Below, based on selected compositions, I will present changes in works by Classical composers that resulted from the actions of later editors and arrangers.

#### 4.2.5. Editions and arrangements of Classical works, taking as an example Jean-Baptiste Bréval's Sonata No. 5 in G major, Op. 12

This work was published many times in Paris and London during the composer's lifetime. In the first Paris edition of 1783, the Sonata appeared in the collection *Six Sonates a Violoncel a Basse*. It consists of three movements: Brillante, Adagio, Rondo. The two-system score, with no dynamic markings, comprises a *Violoncel* part for solo cello, notated in the treble clef, with the compass G–a3. In movements I and III, we note occasional bars in the bass clef with an accompaniment voice. This part, of a virtuosic character, contains plenty of passagework, numerous triplet semiquaver figurations in a high register (higher than that of full-size modern cellos). The treble clef suggests that this material could have been performed by a violinist. A cellist wishing to play it would have had to transpose the part down by an octave or possess a different, smaller cello tuned G, d, a, e1 or a *violoncello piccolo* tuned C, G, d, a, e1. The *Basso* part is that of an accompanying cello, written in parallel to the solo part in the bass clef, with the compass C–g1.

This Sonata has been published many times since its first edition. Its greatest popularity was achieved through the considerable number of twentieth-century arrangements with piano accompaniment. Most of those arrangements departed

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478 Vanscheeuwijck, 'Recent re-evaluations', 191, 183.

479 The manuscript of the Sonatas is held in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Musikabteilung (m1943) in Berlin.

a long way from the original. It is worth mentioning several of the arrangers and detailing the differences.

Diran Alexanian (Paris: Ricordi, 1918) wrote the cello part an octave lower, without any significant changes. He adds his own ornaments, as well as markings of dynamics, articulation and agogics. The accompaniment does not take account of the original bass part; it is composed according to an original harmonic scheme, marked by considerable melodic variety, quasi-Romantic in character and distinctly unobtrusive.

Ernst Cahnbley (Mainz: Schott, 1918) introduced his own markings of dynamics, agogics and articulation. He made limited use of the original cello part, written an octave lower, made many changes and in places used entirely new melodic material. His changes look as follows:

Movt I *Allegro brillante*: the original *Brillante* had 106 bars, whereas Cahnbley has 96 (10 bars of the original are removed), of which 9 make changes to the material, 34 introduce new melodic material, 53 bars of the original are used unaltered.

Movt II *Adagio cantabile*: the arranger added 16 bars, 8 bars have altered material, 28 bars introduce a new musical text in the spirit of the original's melodic writing or entirely different, and 26 bars of the original solo part are scattered throughout the 62-bar arrangement.

Movt III *Rondo Allegro con grazia*: the arranger added 31 bars to the original 118, with 15 bars displaying altered material, 43 bars introducing a new text, occasionally referring to the melody of the original, and 91 bars of the original solo part.

The accompaniment, based on the original harmonies, introduces modifications in the spirit of late Romanticism, not taking account of the original bass part. In the dense chordal texture, with multiplications of chords up and down, the arranger employs figurations and dotted rhythms, arpeggios, accented notes and additional adornments. The accompaniment part is an equal partner, and at times even dominates the solo part. As a result of all the changes and the kind of accompaniment, Cahnbley's arrangement altered the character of the Sonata from early Classical to late Romantic.

Joseph Salmon's Sonata for 'harmonised' cello and piano (Paris: Ricordi, 1921) contains the arranger's annotation in French, English and Italian (p. 2): 'The public performance of this work is only authorized on the condition that the name of J. Salmon is printed on the programme in conjunction with that of the composer.' Salmon used the solo cello part almost literally, an octave lower, only once changing the mode from major to minor in the second movement *Adagio* (bars 26–28); he added his own cadenza in bar 45. Particularly

noteworthy are the changes in the articulation of the solo part. He also employed a permanent legato in the scales and figurations. The accompaniment is lacking the original bass part, and the figural piano texture is wholly Romantic. The arranger modernised the Sonata to a considerable extent by introducing a piano-type narration. Given that Salmon's name appears alongside that of the original composer, we know that he treated his work on a par with that of Bréval himself.

Edwin Koch's edition for cello and b.c. (Mainz: Schott, 1966) remains faithful to the idea of Bréval's Sonata, including the original tempo markings. The solo part is moved down an octave and given a parallel basso voice. The b.c. part takes account of the original. Harmonised in a simple way for harpsichord (piano), it remains subordinated to the solo part. Like the original, the arrangement has no dynamic markings. In the second movement Adagio, the solo part is enriched with an ornamented extension of the repeated melodies (in bars 18 and 25) and a short cadenza (bar 45).

Based on these twentieth-century editions of Bréval's Sonata in G major, Op. 12 No. 5, one notes how powerful – or even destructive – a creative tool the arrangement can be. The original impulse behind arrangements was a desire to introduce the Sonata to cellists, in the conviction that in its original form the composition had little chance of breaking into the cello repertoire. The idea was that it could only become popular thanks to recomposition, modernisation and transferral to the musical realities of the early twentieth century. Its original character was rejected. The arranger employed his own dynamic markings, altered agogic markings and transformed the style and texture of the original by adding an elaborate piano accompaniment. In order to render the work technically more complex and supposedly more interesting, arrangers altered the melody of the work, and even its form.

The intuition of the arrangers and publishers did not fail them. All these editions of the Sonata (originally intended for Baroque *violoncello* – a different performance medium) were popular and are still being performed today, thanks to re-editions. Ultimately, it is up to the instrumentalist to decide which of them to include in his or her repertoire. Yet, the choice must be made in the knowledge of how extensively the work was altered by the arranger. To close, attention should be drawn to the global aspect of such arrangements. A similar fate, albeit not crowned with such a spectacular publishing success, awaited the lion's share of early Classical and older sonatas published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It is worth bearing this in mind when turning to literature of this type.

#### 4.2.6. Contemporary views on transcriptions and arrangements of works by Luigi Boccherini

The first outstanding cello virtuoso renowned throughout Europe was at the same time a remarkably fertile composer. It is difficult to identify his legacy in full, as numerous arrangements coexist with original works, but there are 346 compositions of confirmed authenticity plus 250 of dubious authorship.<sup>480</sup> We can distinguish four groups of arrangements of works by Boccherini: self-transcriptions; arrangements by contemporary publishers issued under Boccherini's name; transcriptions and arrangements by unknown amateurs from the eighteenth century; nineteenth- and twentieth-century arrangements made by instrumentalists and editors. Hereafter, I will focus on selected cello works: sonatas and concertos.

##### **The sonatas of Luigi Boccherini: their original scoring and successive editions**

Gérard's catalogue lists twenty-seven cello sonatas preserved in the Nosedà Collection at Milan Conservatory. Those works are inscribed as *Sonata a Violoncello Solo e Basso dal Sigr Luigi Boccherini*. Numerous copies of those works can be found in Florence, Genoa, Graz, Liverpool, Lennoxlove, Dresden, Prague and Marburg. They differ from one another in tempo markings and in the order of the movements, and some contain transpositions to different keys. Most frequently arranged have been the *Six Sonatas for the Violoncello composed by L. Boccherini for violoncello solo e basso*, published in London by Robert Bremner (1771), Bland (1780), Campbell (1782–1795) and Forster (1803, 1816). The first edition differs from the later arrangements. The *Sonatas* appear in the following order: A major G13, C major G6, G major G5, E flat major G10, F major G1 and A major G4. The *Violoncello* part is the solo part, in a high register, with the compass C–g3, in tenor, alto and soprano clefs, with bass clef also appearing occasionally throughout the cycle. The *Basso* is the accompaniment part, written in the bass clef, without any figures suggesting the use of a keyboard instrument. Dynamic markings in the sonatas are few and far between.

The *Sonatas* were published multiple times not only in London: from 1775 they were issued five times in Paris in a version for violin and basso. In Boccherini's autograph manuscript, there is no violin transcription of the *Sonatas*.<sup>481</sup> That

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480 Gérard, *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue*, XIV–XIX.

481 *Ibid.*, 24–26.

no doubt attests to their commercial success. The first arrangement for cello and piano was produced in the years 1865–1874 by the Italian cellist and composer A. C. Piatti for Ricordi of Milan. Besides numerous re-editions, further arrangements were also made:

- F. Grützmacher (Leipzig: Bartholf Senff, 1870; Berlin: Simrock, 1881),
- Gilberto Crepax (1890–1970) (Milan: Ricordi, 1954–58),
- Analee Bacon (New York: Schirmer, 1970),
- Aldo Pais (b. 1906), Sonata in A major G6 for two cellos/cello and b.c./piano (Padua: Zanibon, 1983); twenty-six Boccherini sonatas (1978–1995),
- Vito Paternoster, nineteen sonatas for cello and bass/piano (Milan: Ricordi, 1987–1988).

The Sonata No. 6 in A major G4, the most popular piece in the set, was also published in arrangements for cello and piano in incomplete or single editions:

- Carl Schröder (1848–1935) (London: Augener, 1900),
- Alfred Moffat (1868–1950) (London: Schott, 1911),
- Jules de Swert (1843–1891) (Berlin: Merseburger, n.d.),
- Luigi Forino (1868–1936) 3 *Sonate* G4, G5, G6 (Milan: Ricordi, 1923),
- Milton Katims (b. 1909) for viola/cello and piano (New York: International Music Company, 1947),
- Niso Ticciati (1924–1972) Sonata in A major G4 (South Croydon: Lengnick & Co., 1964),
- János Starker (b. 1924) 5 *Italian Sonatas* (New York: Schirmer, 1987),
- Joachim Stutchewski (1891–1981) Sonata in A major (Mainz: Schott, 1993; Leipzig: Peters, n.d.). Stutchewski altered the order of the movements (Tempo di Menuetto, Adagio cantabile, Allegro moderato) and used an expanded accompaniment.

This Sonata was also published incomplete in the following editions:

- Carl Fuchs (1865–1951) *Violoncello-Werke*, No. 6 Adagio und Allegro (Mainz: Schott, 1911),
- Jacques van Lier (1875–1951) *Adagio et Allegro de la célèbre Sonate* No. 6 (Magdeburg: Heinrichshofen, n.d.),
- Paul Antoine Vidal (1863–1931) *Adagio et Allegro de la 6. Sonate* for cello and orchestra/piano (Paris: Heugel & Cie, 1912),
- Enrico Mainardi (1897–1976) *Largo und Allegro* (Mainz: Schott, 1942), where the Largo comes from the Sonata G1 and the Allegro from the Sonata G6.

- Friedrich Grützmacher's arrangement (Leipzig: Bartholf Senff, 1870; Berlin: Simrock, 1881) is criticised due to the considerable departures in the text of the solo part:

in the Adagio, the changes affected 10 of the original's 22 bars, in the Allegro (*molto moderato*), changes were made to 10 of the opening 34 bars, while another 48 bars have new material that refers freely to the original. The bulk of the musical text is re-composed. The piano part does not include the original basso part. The expanded accompaniment altered the style of the composition from Classical to late Romantic. Grützmacher, like many other arrangers, introduced his own ornamentation, dynamic markings and cadenza in the Adagio movement. He also changed the form of the work, retaining the Adagio and the Allegro (*molto moderato*) and omitting the last movement *Affettuoso*.

Piatti's arrangement is the opposite of Grützmacher's. He does not make any major changes to the solo part. The piano part is new, with discernible use of the original basso part in the left hand. The accompaniment is of a quasi-harpsichord character – transparent, ostinato, subordinate in relation to the solo part. Piatti retained the original agogic markings, but introduced his own dynamic markings and additional ornaments here and there, as well as a few minor rhythmic alterations. The cello part is moved to the bass, tenor and treble clefs, but the original compass A–g<sub>3</sub> is retained. This arrangement commends itself with its extensive faithfulness to the original, although nineteenth-century instruments were used.

An arrangement that stands midway, as it were, between the above two examples is Carl Schröder's 1911 edition of the Sonata (Mainz: Schott). Schröder proposed his own agogic markings: Adagio molto, Allegro moderato, *Affettuoso*. The solo part is a faithful reiteration, without any major changes. The accompaniment, which takes account of the *basso* part, is characterised by its elaborate figurational texture, adhering to a Romantic aesthetic.

By way of comparison, it is worth noting a 2015 edition of the Sonata. The Swiss cellist Orfeo Mandozzi (b. 1968) published an urtext for two cellos in the original and modern notation, in the three existing versions of the manuscripts: 1b, 2b (different order to the movements: Allegro, Adagio, *Affettuoso*), 3b.<sup>482</sup>

Alongside the whole range of available arrangements of Boccherini's sonatas, there is ongoing research and discussion concerning the original performance medium for which these compositions were written. The first question relates to

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482 Material available online: [https://imslp.org/wiki/Cello\\_Sonata\\_in\\_A\\_major%2C\\_G.4\\_\(Boccherini%2C\\_Luigi\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Cello_Sonata_in_A_major%2C_G.4_(Boccherini%2C_Luigi)) (accessed 21 June 2018).

the *basso* accompaniment part. Scholars are considering whether the composer intended it for a second full-size cello or perhaps a double bass.<sup>483</sup> The considerable degree of complication, the use of multiple clefs and the broad compass of the solo part create the impression that the simple *basso* part was meant for a different instrument than the *violoncello*. This question was not clear even during the times when *basso* parts were performed. In his *Traité du Violoncelle* (Paris: Janet & Cotelte, 1804), Jean-Baptiste Bréval informs anyone unfamiliar with elementary principles that *La Basse* was a cello used for accompaniment. This is one piece of evidence of the establishment of new principles, according to which the cello ought not to be replaced by another bass instrument. That may indicate that the composer's contemporaries, unfamiliar with the new principles, continued to use various bass instruments, as was widely practised before.

Another important issue relates to the use of a C clef in the solo part – alto and soprano, not used by cellists today. Is there any question of a different performance medium? What instrument did the composer originally intend? Did Boccherini and other composers of his day employ the term *violoncello* for different performance means? In his cello school of 1840, Bernhard Romberg states that notation for the cello employs the bass, tenor and treble clefs. He notes that other clefs appear in examples of so-called early music, especially in Boccherini. Yet he does not mention the possible use of a different performance medium. In Romberg's opinion, Boccherini used the alto and soprano clefs to indicate the thumb position.<sup>484</sup> During the twentieth century, attention was drawn to the question of clefs and the likelihood of the use of a different instrument by Renzo Sabatini, first cello of *I Virtuosi di Roma*, professor at the Conservatorio Di Santa Cecilia in Rome and editor of the Sonata G18. That may have been the alto cello. The manuscript of the Sonata G18 (Noseda E-N.24–30, not published during the composer's lifetime) contains the inscription: *Sonata A' Viola o Violoncello solo del Sigr. Luigi Boccherini*. The music is notated on two systems. The solo part is written in the alto clef, with the tenor clef appearing occasionally. Attention was drawn to the 'obsession' with high registers by Ivan Monighetti in his edition of three Boccherini sonatas for cello and basso.<sup>485</sup> Yves Gérard considers

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483 Monighetti, 'Editorial notes'.

484 Romberg, *A Complete Theoretical and Practical School*, 36, 60.

485 Monighetti, 'Editorial notes', 35 [1]: 'The present edition of the three sonatas is based on a manuscript forming part of the so-called "Noseda collection", which is kept in the library of Milan conservatory. So far over thirty sonatas for cello and bass have been published, correctly ascribed in the main to Boccherini, although the composer himself did not include one single piece for solo cello in his own catalogue [. . .]. The most

that the *alto-violoncello* was a smaller instrument than the modern-day cello, but larger than the viola, the part of which was placed alternatively in a series of string quintets for two violins, viola and alto cello/cello or two cellos. The *alto-violoncello* part is written in the alto clef, with the alternative Violoncello part in the bass and tenor clefs; this is a clear indication of the alternative use of the instruments. These works were composed over many years, 1778–1779, 1787–1788, 1792–1793, and published partly during the composer's lifetime, with the specification *alto-violoncello*, in a Paris edition published by Ignaz Pleyel (1757–1831).<sup>486</sup>

From analyses of iconography contemporary to Boccherini, we learn that the Classical cello did not possess the compass C–g<sub>3</sub> that we find in these *Sonatas*. In those days, the fingerboard of a full-size four-string cello was too short to produce the notes of the three-line octave. According to my own calculations, the size of the fingerboard allowed for the production of notes no higher than a<sub>2</sub>. These arguments suggest that Boccherini intended some of his works for performance on an instrument smaller than the full-size cello, tuned higher or possessing five strings. Discussion over the use of the C clef and the original instruments has lasted for more than 170 years and is still not closed. Suzanne Wijsman, after discussing the *violoncello piccolo*, considers that it is possible that two different sizes of cello were in use up to the nineteenth century. Be that as it may, we know that two different terms were used in Paris during the early nineteenth century for solo cello and *basso*.<sup>487</sup> Valerie Walden also mentions Parisian cellists performing on small instruments intended for solo playing.<sup>488</sup> The editor

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problematic question concerns the part accompanying the cello solo. How should one understand the word “basso” on the title-page of each sonata? Most probably this is a second cello or small double bass – a violone. That is why it is only with great caution that the harpsichord is suggested as an accompanying instrument. The part for a keyboard instrument [. . .] suggested in the present edition is only one possible realization [. . .]. One of the typical features of Boccherini's cello style, which in some instances is paradoxical, is his “obsession” with high registers.’

486 Boccherini's quintets specifying *alto-violoncello*: Op. 25, G295–300, published in 1785, 1804, 1813; Op. 28, G307–312, published in 1798/99, 1802 and 1822; Op. 39, G337–339, published in 1811–13; Op. 41, G346–347, published in 1798/99 and 1811/12; Op. 42, G348–351, published in 1802–04; Op. 45, G355–358, published in 1798 and 1804; Op. 46, G359–364, published in 1798–99, 1804, 1809 and 1913; Op. 49, G365–369, published in 1798–99 and 1813; Op. 51, G376–377, published in 1811–12 and 1813.

487 Wijsman, ‘Violoncello. II’.

488 Walden, ‘Technique’, 242n.29.

of the urtext, Orfeo Mandozzi, does not address the question of the solo cello, but he is of the opinion that Boccherini's sonatas were written for two cellos and not, as earlier believed, for cello and basso continuo or cello and double bass.

### Luigi Boccherini's Concerto in B flat major G 482 and its editions

There are ten extant Boccherini concertos for cello and orchestra: three in dubious autograph manuscripts, five published in Paris during the composer's lifetime and two in differing copies held in Grenoble, Marburg, Prague, Genoa and Dresden. The differences concern the contents of the musical material,<sup>489</sup> changes of key and instrumental forces.

The concerto in which Friedrich Grützmacher made the greatest number of changes in his arrangement is the Concerto in B flat major, G482 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895). This Concerto was reissued fourteen times and was a fixture of the cello repertoire around the turn of the twentieth century. The changes made by Grützmacher cover the following:

- rhythmic modifications,
- harmonic modifications in the spirit of late Romanticism,
- a free treatment of the melodic line of the solo part,
- the second movement Andantino is a modified version of the third movement Allegro from the Concerto in G major, G480, appended in an incomplete version to the Concerto in B flat major,
- the third movement Rondo Allegro has a reduced ritornello,
- the structure of the accompaniment is altered,
- the couplets are altered and freely adapted.

Besides the substantial alterations, the text also abounds in minor deviations:

- it contains new dynamic markings,
- the part of the two oboes is *obligato*, against the original *ad libitum*.

Grützmacher produced the first historical arrangement and edition of this work. This Concerto has been recorded in this arrangement by Jacqueline du Pré and Daniel Barenboim (EMI Classics), Pablo Casals and Ronald Landon (Naxos), Yuli Turovsky (Chandos), and Pierre Fournier and Karl Münchinger (Testament). Although this version has been the most popular, there is no

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489 See Yves Gérard, *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue* (527–544) for information on Boccherini's use of thematic material from his own works, self-quotations, free adaptations of his own themes and contemporary arrangements of his concertos for other instruments.

lack of critical voices. Yves Gérard, for one, has said that what was left after the real Boccherini was the composer's name printed on concert posters.<sup>490</sup> Gregor Piatigorsky (1903–1976) shared his reflections on this Concerto in his autobiography: 'It was never pleasant to hear of that work, arranged, orchestrated, and harmonized by others than Boccherini. Many cellists, including myself, decorated it with their own cadenzas, some of which were longer than the movements themselves. The great demand for this concerto was the more incredible, considering the prodigious output of this composer which remains unknown, while the most performed and recorded one was of doubtful authenticity. Aware of this and unable to locate the original score, I gradually stopped playing it and never agreed to put it on record.'<sup>491</sup> A copy of the Concerto in B flat major, G482 from the end of the nineteenth century held in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek-Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (Musica 3490/0/5) currently serves as a model. This version of the concerto was published by Richard Sturzenegger (Eulenburg 1949), and it is additionally confirmed by the manuscripts of two Sonatas in B flat major: No. 23, G565, from Genoa, and G565b, from Lennoxlove, which have the same melodic material as the Dresden version of the Concerto. The brilliant American cellist Yo-Yo Ma recorded Grützmacher's version in 1982 with the English Chamber Orchestra and José Luis Garcia (SICC20112), and in 2000 a period version with the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra and Ton Koopman (B00004W5A9). Taking the former recording as an example, we can hear what a huge effect a transcriber can have on a work. In Grützmacher's version, the Concerto is eminently Romantic and reflective, marked by considerable expressive charge and emotional fluctuation. The latter version, performed with Classical lightness, is dominated by a buoyant mood and dazzling movement. The orchestral accompaniment is proportional, with a balance maintained between soloist and ensemble, and the character of the work is optimistic, full of Classical enthusiasm. Worthy of attention and admiration are the soloist's different readings of the two versions of the Concerto. In each instance, Yo-Yo Ma displays completely different musical aspects; the two performances are both masterful, yet differ from one another in the extreme. In order to obtain an historical sound to the instrument, Yo-Yo Ma installed a Baroque bridge on his Stradivari *Davidov* (on which Jacqueline du Pré recorded Grützmacher's

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490 See Y. Gérard, *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue*, 540.

491 Piatigorsky, *Cellist*, Chapter 23, <http://www.cello.org/heaven/cellist/index.htm> (accessed 22 July 2009).

version with Daniel Barenboim), put on gut strings, lowered the cello's tuning by a semitone and played with an arched bow. There is nothing inappropriate about his actions; if Boccherini performed this Concerto on a full-size cello, its 'settings' were still Baroque. The set of accessories employed by Yo-Yo Ma was characteristic of instruments which were still in use during the second half of the eighteenth century.

### 4.3. Classical violin makers and their cellos

#### 4.3.1. Innovations in cello design 1750–1815

During the period 1750–1815, violin makers made several changes to the parameters of the cello's component parts. The expansion of the instrument's compass occurred around the 1770s, when the fingerboard was lengthened, although not yet to our modern-day extent, as it probably ended around  $f_2$ . In relation to the short Renaissance and Baroque fingerboards on which the range was from  $b_1$  to the maximum  $d\#_2$ , this was a crucial change.

Another element, the neck, was gradually lengthened.<sup>492</sup> Around the turn of the nineteenth century, Baroque necks were replaced by Classical necks, set at a sharp angle. Up to then, the massive, stocky neck with the short fingerboard and high-moulded heel was screwed in at right angles. Since high positions were not used, no attention was paid to the size of the neck and the way it was attached to the instrument's body. Thanks to the new model of neck, the cellist acquired not only a more comfortable slant of the fingerboard for playing, but also a stronger sound. The cello was adapted to the increasing acoustic demands. Reaching higher positions was facilitated by the flattening and narrowing of the neck.<sup>493</sup> That made it easier to make changes above fourth position. In order to strengthen the soundbox to counteract the greater tension of the low strings, a separate bass bar was glued inside the box. The Baroque bar was shorter and most often carved into the plate. Another change was made to the design of the bridge. It became higher and thinner and acquired an open-work design, and the edge on which the strings rested was given a more prominent profile. Those procedures enhanced the instrument's sound qualities.

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492 Dilworth, 'The Cello: Origins', 13.

493 The heel is a wooden element, passing into the neck, affixed to the soundbox; the fingerboard is attached to the heel from above.

These innovations were of great significance for facilitating performance technique and the player's comfort. The full-size cello gained a stronger sound and the ability to perform solo repertoire in all acoustic conditions: from a small chamber hall to a large concert hall.

#### 4.3.2. The Italian art of cello making during the second half of the eighteenth century

Italian master violin makers of successive generations mostly modelled their work on that of the masters of Cremona: Antonio Stradivari and Nicolò Amati.

##### Violin makers of Milan

**Paolo Antonio Testore (1700–1767)** built around nine cellos after 1750. A 1750 Testore was recently sold in auction,<sup>494</sup> while a specimen from 1752 appears in the Tarisio catalogue.<sup>495</sup> **Giovanni Battista Guadagnini (1711–1786)**<sup>496</sup> worked in Piacenza with the cellist Carlo Ferrari and also in Milan,<sup>497</sup> Cremona, Parma and Turin. He was employed by Count Cozio di Salabue (1755–1840), a collector of items from Stradivari's workshop. Thanks to that acquaintance, he became familiar with elements of Stradivari's style. From 1775, he placed the inscription *Alumnus Antonio Stradivari* on labels inside his instruments. Several such cellos have come down to us. One of them, from 1780, was owned by the Russian cellist Karl Davydov (1838–1889), and then by the German cellist Julius Berger (b. 1954).<sup>498</sup> Another Testore instrument, from 1768, was played by the Italian cellist Antonio Janigro (1918–1989) and is now loaned to the American instrumentalist Oliver Herbert. A cello from 1772 was played by David Popper (1843–1913). A 1783 Testore instrument from the collection of Mstislav Rostropovich was sold at auction by Sotheby's

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494 For more on this, see <https://www.bromptons.co/auction/11th-march-2008-sale-1/lots/62-an-italian-cello-by-paolo-antonio-testore-milan-circa1750.html> (accessed 16 August 2018).

495 For more on this, see <https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID=44330> (accessed 16 August 2018).

496 Dilworth, 'The Cello: Origins', 24.

497 A dozen or so photographs of cellos with descriptions can be found at [https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker\\_ID=234&filter\\_type=4](https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker_ID=234&filter_type=4) (accessed 16 August 2018).

498 Lebet, *Le violoncelle "Davidoff"*, 1–31.

for the record sum of 1,930,000 dollars.<sup>499</sup> After 1750, G. B. Guadagnini made around twenty-seven cellos. **Carlo Ferdinando Landolfi (1710–1784)**<sup>500</sup> was probably a pupil of G. B. Guadagnini. One of his instruments, from 1753, was owned by Gregor Piatigorsky. After 1750, Landolfi produced nine cellos. His pupil **Pietro Giovanni Mantegazza (1730–1803)**<sup>501</sup> enjoyed the protection of Count Cozio di Salabue. He made four cellos, one of which is held in the GOS Collection in Moscow (No. 110-a).

### Violin makers of Naples

**Gennaro Gagliano (fl. 1770–1795)**,<sup>502</sup> who drew inspiration from the style of Stradivari and Amati, is regarded as one of the finest violin makers in his family. One of his cellos from 1760 is held in the Royal Academy of Music in London (2002.597). After 1750, Gennaro Gagliano made around seven cellos.<sup>503</sup> His brother **Nicolò Gagliano (fl. 1740–1780)**<sup>504</sup> made around eight cellos, also inspired by the form and style of the great masters of Cremona. One of his instruments from 1753 is played by the Hungarian cellist Edward Szabó, while a specimen from 1780 is played by the American cellist Richard Locker. **Ferdinando Gagliano (1724–1795)**,<sup>505</sup> Nicolò's son, made around eight cellos. An instrument of his from around 1760, formerly belonging to Hugo Becker, is now in the possession of the Canadian cellist Joseph Elworthy. The cellist Camille Thomas plays on the *Chateau Pape Clement*, from 1788, loaned by Institut Culturel Bernard Magrez. The Argentinian Eduardo Vassallo plays on another instrument by Ferdinando Gagliano, from 1792. Another of Nicolò's sons, **Giuseppe Gagliano (1770–1800)**,<sup>506</sup> built instruments inspired by his

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499 For more on this, see <https://www.thestrad.com/news/two-cello-records-set-at-sothebys-sale-of-rostropovich-collection/8407.article> (accessed 20 November 2018).

500 Ingles and Dilworth, *Four Centuries*, 367.

501 *Ibid.*, 399.

502 *Ibid.*, 205 (information on the violin-maker's life and work), 210 (a description of the *ex-Barbirolli* cello from 1760 with photographs).

503 See [https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker\\_ID=190&filter\\_type=4](https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker_ID=190&filter_type=4) (accessed 16 August 2018).

504 *Ibid.*, 213. More at [https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker\\_ID=1497&filter\\_type=4](https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker_ID=1497&filter_type=4) (accessed 16 August 2018).

505 *Ibid.*, 221, 228 and [https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker\\_ID=189&filter\\_type=4](https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker_ID=189&filter_type=4) (accessed 16 August 2018).

506 More at <https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/property/?ID=41217> (accessed 16 August 2018).

father's output, making around seven cellos. Between 1780 and 1810, Giuseppe worked with his brother **Antonio Gagliano**, with whom he made around eleven cellos.<sup>507</sup> One of their cellos from 1800 is held in the collection of the Maggini Foundation in Switzerland. Another member of the family, **Giovanni Gagliano (1785–1815)**, made around twelve cellos.<sup>508</sup> All told, the Gagliano family produced around fifty-three cellos.

### The late Cremona school

**Tomaso Balestrieri (1720–1788)**<sup>509</sup> worked in Cremona and Mantua. His instruments, displaying an ample sound, refer freely to the style of Stradivari. A Balestrieri cello from 1760, previously owned by the German cellist Julius Berger, is now in the collection of the Landeskreditbank in Karlsruhe, Germany. The Italian cellist Andrea Noferini plays on another of his instruments, from 1759. After 1750, Balestrieri produced around five cellos. **Lorenzo Storioni (1744–1816)**, a representative of the last period in the activity of the great violin-makers of Cremona, made around eleven cellos.<sup>510</sup> The Chi-Mei Culture Foundation is in possession of a Storioni instrument from 1778. **Giovanni Battista Ceruti (1756–1817)**<sup>511</sup> was influenced in his lutherie by his acquaintance with the brothers Nicola and Carlo Bergonzi. He made around nine cellos.<sup>512</sup>

### Florence

**Giovanni Battista Gabrielli (fl. c.1740–1770)**, the greatest violin-maker in Florence, made around eight cellos.<sup>513</sup> His pupils **Lorenzo** and **Tomaso Carcassi**, who worked in Florence between 1770–1780, made around five cellos after 1750.

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507 More at [https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker\\_ID=1206&filter\\_type=4](https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker_ID=1206&filter_type=4) (accessed 16 August 2018).

508 More at [https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker\\_ID=191&filter\\_type=4](https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker_ID=191&filter_type=4) (accessed 16 August 2018).

509 Ingles and Dilworth, *Four Centuries*, 63.

510 Two of these cellos are described with photographs at [https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker\\_ID=720&filter\\_type=4](https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker_ID=720&filter_type=4) (accessed 16 August 2018).

511 Ingles and Dilworth, *Four Centuries*, 135.

512 Photographs of three cellos with descriptions can be found online: [https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker\\_ID=126&filter\\_type=4](https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker_ID=126&filter_type=4) (accessed 16 August 2018).

513 For a description of a 1750 cello with photographs, see Ingles and Dilworth, *Four Centuries*, 187, 192.

### 4.3.3. The art of cello making in Britain and France

Around the turn of the nineteenth century, London violin-makers produced numerous cellos of the highest quality. They were familiar with the instruments of Stradivari and collaborated with German and Italian craftsmen.<sup>514</sup> **Benjamin Banks (1727–1795)** made twenty-three cellos after 1760. A Banks cello from 1780 was played by the first English cellist, Robert Lindley (1777–1855). **Sir William Forster (1739–1808)** made forty-two cellos. His labels bore the names of his protectors: *Royal Highnesses, The Prince of Wales and Duke of Cumberland*. His *Royal George* cello, built in 1790, bearing that label, is preserved with the original fingerboard, reaching up to d# 2. This instrument is adorned with the insignia of the Prince of Wales and King George IV (1820–1830), as well as the motto *Liberty and Loyalty*. A Forster cello from 1772 was owned by Robert Lindley. Another eminent representative of the British school of violin-making, **Thomas Dodd (1785–1830)**, made nineteen cellos in the years 1790–1810.

**Nicolas Lupot (1758–1824)**,<sup>515</sup> known as the ‘French Stradivari’, worked in Orléans and Paris. He was renowned for his exceptional ability to imitate the masters of Cremona. Two Lupot cellos from 1796 are in the possession of the Pohjola Bank Art Foundation in Helsinki and the Chi-Mei Culture Foundation. A decorated cello with the coat-of-arms of King Charles X on the belly, known as *The King of France*, from 1811, belonged to the Curtis Institute of Music Collection.<sup>516</sup> Up to 1815, Lupot made around six cellos.

A great innovator of the Classical era, who exerted an influence on cello technique, was the bow-maker **François Xavier Tourte (1747–1835)**, known as the ‘Stradivari of the bow’. He worked with the famous violin virtuoso Giovanni Battista Viotti (1755–1824) and from 1785–1790 made crucial changes to the design of the bow:

- he used pernambuco for his bows,
- he employed a larger, rhomboid head (the Baroque head was thinner, with a swan’s head shape),

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[https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker\\_ID=183&filter\\_type=4](https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker_ID=183&filter_type=4) (accessed 16 August 2018).

514 For information on violin-makers of the London school, see Dilworth, ‘The Cello: Origins’, 25.

515 See Ingles and Dilworth, *Four Centuries*, for information on this maker (383) and a description and photographs of a 1793 cello (388).

516 *Catalogue 1938–1942*. The Curtis Institute of Music, 11.

- he bent the thermally shaped stick inwards a little, which enabled the introduction of spiccato, sautillé and saltando technique, as well as the improvement of staccato,
- he used a fluted, hexagonal stick, which improved the bow's balance and stability,
- the frog acquired accessories holding the hair inside the ebony casing rather than around the frog, as previously.

The overall weight of the bow increased, and the frog also became heavier. The possibilities for precise and expressive playing were expanded. Because of these innovations, Tourte is regarded as the father of the modern bow,<sup>517</sup> and bows made today refer to his design solutions.

#### 4.3.4. Other centres of cello making

**Vincenzo Trusiano Panormo (1734–1813)**, an Italian violin-maker active in Naples, Paris, London and Dublin, modelled his work on Amati. After 1750 he produced around ten cellos.<sup>518</sup> On a Panormo instrument from 1786, the German cellist and gambist Rainer Zipperling (b. 1955) recorded Bach's cello suites, and a 1775 cello is played by the Italian Enrico Bronzi. The Spanish violin-maker **José Contreras (c.1710–1800)** worked in Madrid and Granada, where he made around six cellos.<sup>519</sup> One of his instruments, from c.1770, was played by the French cellist Paul Tortelier (1914–1990), whilst another belonged to the American cellist Bernard Greenhouse. A 1746 instrument, loaned by BSI, is played by the Frenchman Gautier Capuçon (b. 1981), while an instrument from the first half of the eighteenth century was played by Christina Mahler. The Dutch luthier **Johannes Theodorus Cuijpers (1724– 1808)** made twelve cellos after 1750.<sup>520</sup> An instrument from 1770 is owned by Maurice Eisenberg.

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517 Dilworth, 'The Bow', 28–29, 32.

518 For photographs of two cellos and further information, see [https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker\\_ID=515&filter\\_type=4](https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker_ID=515&filter_type=4) (accessed 16 August 2018).

519 For more information and photographs of four cellos, see [https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker\\_ID=1368&filter\\_type=4](https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker_ID=1368&filter_type=4) (accessed 16 August 2018).

520 For photographs of seven cellos and more information, see [https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker\\_ID=1338&filter\\_type=4](https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/browse-the-archive/makers/maker/?Maker_ID=1338&filter_type=4) (accessed 16 August 2018).

It is impossible to state for certain whether the cellos discussed above were built in the Classical type with a thinner neck, set at an angle, a higher, more arched bridge and a longer fingerboard. One may assume that the outstanding instrumentalists of this period influenced cello makers and that instruments from the turn of the nineteenth century differed from those of the early eighteenth century. We know, for example, that **Bernhard Romberg (1767–1841)** not only used a modern bow by François Tourte, but also played on a cello with a fingerboard cut short under the G and C strings, of his own design.<sup>521</sup> Was he also one of those behind the idea of extending the fingerboard? Towards the end of his life, in 1840, Romberg published his *Violoncell-Schule* – a complete theoretical and practical school of cello playing. Besides adopting a modern approach to questions of technique, he normalised notation, declared himself against the practice of notating cello parts an octave higher and stated that the highest note playable on a cello was a3. Hence the conclusion that Romberg had at his disposal a cello with a full, modern-size fingerboard.<sup>522</sup>

#### 4.4. European iconography featuring the cello during the Classical era

##### 4.4.1. Changes to the image of the cello during the second half of the eighteenth century

A careful observer of representations of the cello in the art of this period is struck by the change in the appearance of design elements that are crucial to the instrument's sound: the neck and the fingerboard. Those two elements became gradually longer and slimmer. The Baroque cello made way for the realistically depicted Classical cello. This was the age of rationalism, of seeking precise general truths by means of logical argumentation. It saw the mind as an all-powerful tool capable of cognising reality. Mimesis was still one of the fundamental aesthetic categories; art was to be a tool for cognising reality through rational means, hence it imitated reality very precisely. The appearance of the figures and objects presented in paintings is objective, of ideal proportions, captured without superfluous emotions or touching on personal matters. Only true and beautiful reality was worth the efforts of an artist imitating nature. Hence the cello presented in iconography is an object worthy of the attention of a scholar wishing to learn of its appearance at that time, as well as its technical capacities

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521 Ingles and Dilworth, *Four Centuries*, 417.

522 Romberg, *A Complete Theoretical and Practical School*, 36 and 60.

and its sound. This allows for research aimed at reconstructing the appearance of the model of the Classical cello.

#### 4.4.2. Italian and British art featuring the cello

A portrait of Luigi Boccherini (1743–1805) painted by an unknown representative of the Italian school in the second half of the eighteenth century shows the famous cellist in performance.<sup>523</sup> His instrument, without an endpin, has a slightly extended fingerboard. The position of the musician while playing is in the *da gamba* style, with the fingers of the left hand in the fifth position, and the flat bow is held above the frog, in the Italian fashion.

In his *Portrait of a Man with a Violin and Cello*, the English artist and amateur violinist **George Rommey (1734–1802)** portrayed a cello with its back to the viewer.<sup>524</sup> **Johann Zoffany (1733–1810)**, a leading English artist of German origins, painted a cello many times in his work. His compositions show classicist, spacious interiors, elegantly dressed figures and musical instruments. His portraits captured prominent figures, including cellists with Classical cellos characterised by a thinner neck and longer fingerboard. His *Self Portrait with his Daughter, Maria Theresa and Possibly Giacobbe and James Cervetto* shows Italian cellists active in London: Giacomo/Giacobbe and his son James Cervetto.<sup>525</sup> James and his cello are filling the foreground and demonstrating the thumb position. The cello, with an elongated fingerboard, displays a Classical, slender neck, without a wedge. This work shows a meeting and the friendship between the figures portrayed, and it is also a symbolic depiction of mutual inspiration between the arts: music and painting. Another painting by Zoffany is *The Gore Family with George 3rd Earl Cowper*, showing a family against the backdrop of Tuscany.<sup>526</sup> Charles Gore is sitting with a cello in *da gamba* position alongside his daughter Emilia at the piano. The keyboard instrument is an English grand

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523 Anonymous, *Portrait of Luigi Boccherini*, 1764–1767. National Gallery of Victoria (Accession Number 1210–5), Melbourne, Australia.

524 George Rommey, *Portrait of a Man with Violin and Cello*, 1758–1760. Yale, The Paul Mellon Center for British Art (Accession Number B1981.25.541), New Haven, Connecticut, USA.

525 Johann Zoffany, *Self Portrait with his Daughter, Maria Theresa and Possibly Giacobbe and James Cervetto*, 1779. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection (Accession Number B1977.14.88), New Haven, Connecticut, USA.

526 Johann Zoffany, *The Gore Family with George 3rd Earl Cowper*, 1775. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection (Accession Number B1977.14.87), New Haven, Connecticut, USA.

piano – a new chamber partner for the cello. The cellist is playing in fifth position, holding the bow above the frog in the Italian style and looking at the music over the pianist's shoulder. The painting symbolises family harmony and marital concord, guaranteeing prosperity. Another painting by Zoffany with cello is *The Family of Sir William Young*, showing a distinguished family gathered in the open air with props showing the passions of the twelve figures.<sup>527</sup> Sir William, in the pose of an instrumentalist ready to play, is holding a cello without endpin in da gamba position with a bow, alongside his wife with a cittern and the remaining members of his family. They are accompanied by animals: a thoroughbred horse and a dog. The theme of family interests is also represented on the painting *The Sharp Family*.<sup>528</sup> Around 1750, this musical family was known for its concerts in London. The cello on this painting is of Classical appearance, with an elongated fingerboard and a full-size bow, its stick parallel to the hair, tucked under the bridge. Another painting, *The Morse and Cator Family*,<sup>529</sup> shows a cello and harpsichord duet. The cellist is sitting in da gamba pose, shortening the strings in second position. The bow, with a shallow arch, is moving in Italian style, it is positioned toward the score book open on the harpsichord's music stand. A portrait of Giacomo Cervetto (1680–1783) shows the musician shortening the strings in fifth position.<sup>530</sup> He is holding the arched bow in the Italian fashion, above the frog, and looking at the music from the right. The cello has a bulky head, a straight neck and an elongated fingerboard. The bottom part of the instrument cannot be seen.

#### 4.4.3. French paintings with cellos

**Charles-André (Carle) van Loo (1705–1765)**, in his painting *La musique*,<sup>531</sup> depicts children playing and singing. The cellist is seated, holding the bow in the Italian style, turned towards sheet music spread out on the harpsichord's music stand. On the right, another cello is resting against a chair. Fifteen years later, Charles's nephew **Louis-Michel van Loo (1707–1771)** depicted a cellist looking at a harpsichordist's

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527 Johann Zoffany, *The Family of Sir William Young*, 1770. The Walker Art Gallery, WAG Inventory Number 2395, National Museum Liverpool, UK.

528 Johann Zoffany, *The Sharp Family*, 1779–81. National Portrait Gallery (NPG L169) London, UK.

529 Johann Zoffany, *The Morse and Cator Family*, 1784. Aberdeen Art Gallery, UK.

530 Johann Zoffany, *Portrait of Musician*. Private collection.

531 Charles van Loo, *La musique*, 1752–1753, Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, US.

music in a palatial interior in the painting *Sextet or Spanish Concert*.<sup>532</sup> The cello is a Classical instrument with elongated fingerboard and slender neck, without the Baroque wedge. The bow is held in the Italian fashion. The cellist is seated in da gamba style, looking at the harpsichord music and playing in first position. The other musicians – the harpsichordist and four violinists – have their own music.

**Michel-Barthélémy Ollivier (1712–1784)**, in his painting *The Young Mozart at the Clavichord*,<sup>533</sup> presents a reception at the palace of Louis-François I de Bourbon (1717–1776), Prince of Conti. To the left of Mozart, we see a cello with bulky head and neck and a slightly longer fingerboard, resting against a chair. The open music is visible over the head of the cello. *Portrait de Jean-Louis Duport*,<sup>534</sup> by **Rémi-Fursy Descarsin (1747–1793)**, shows an instrumentalist playing in thumb position. Duport's cello (probably a Stradivarius) is a Classical instrument, with lengthened fingerboard.

**Louis Carrogis de Carmontelle (1717–1806)**, in his watercolour *Quatuor*, depicted Jean-Louis's brother, Jean-Pierre. The musicians are seated at a table, on which lies the music. *The Musician's Table*,<sup>535</sup> a painting by **Henri de la Porte (1724–1793)**, is a still life with musical instruments. It refers to Dutch painting, but the scenery is modest and shows a simple table and faithfully represented musical instruments. The Classical cello, with elongated fingerboard and straight neck without wedge, can be seen on the right. The long bow, with a screw to regulate the tension of the hair, is tucked under the bridge, as in such paintings from the seventeenth century. Alongside it, we see other instruments (recorders, bassoon, horn, violin), books of scores, a music stand under the table and sheet music. The French artist **John Francis Rigaud (1742–1810)** etched a *Portrait of Franz Joseph Haydn and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*<sup>536</sup> by **Michele Benedetti/Beneditte (1745–1810)**. This work shows the leading composers of the Classical era with a precisely rendered cello standing in the foreground. The instrument

532 Louis-Michel van Loo, *Sextet or Spanish Concert*, 1768. Hermitage, St Petersburg, Russia.

533 Michel-Barthélémy Ollivier, *The Young Mozart at the Clavichord*, 1766. Château de Versailles, France.

534 Remi-Fursy Descarsin, *Portrait de Jean-Louis Duport, dit le Cadet* 1788. Musée de la Musique Paris (Acquisition Don-02/10/2002), description in Markevitch and Seder, *Cello Story*, 59.

535 Henri de la Porte, *The Musician's Table*, 1760. Musée Municipal de Cambrai, France.

536 John Francis Rigaud, *Portrait of Franz Joseph Haydn and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*. Unknown location.

has four strings, a short, bulky neck and a longer fingerboard. The swan's head bow has a stick almost parallel with the hair.

#### 4.4.4. German, Flemish and Swedish art with cellos

A watercolour from 1780 shows a performance of Joseph Haydn's opera *L'incontro improvviso*.<sup>537</sup> The first cellist of Prince Nikolaus Esterházy's orchestra, Anton Kraft (1751–1820), is reading music (over Haydn's shoulder) from a harpsichord stand, while the other musicians, except for the bass section, are playing from separate scores. **Januarius Zick (1730–1797)**, a leading German Late Baroque painter, in his work *The Remy Family in Bendorf near Koblenz*,<sup>538</sup> captured three pastimes: conversation over tea, billiards and music-making. The cellist is playing seated in the centre of the picture, shortening the strings in low positions. The cello has no endpin, but has an elongated fingerboard, and the stick of the bow displays a smaller arch. The musician is holding the bow in the Italian style and looking at the music of the lady playing the clavichord. The violinists playing alongside have music stands with separate scores.

*Portrait of a Court Musician with String Instruments*,<sup>539</sup> by the Flemish artist **Peter Jacob Horemans**, shows, among other things, a cello and a viola da gamba with photographic exactness. The cello has a typical Baroque design, as evidenced by the short fingerboard and the simple, bulky neck. The bow stick has a distinctly smaller arch.

**Pehr Hilleström (1732–1816)** was an artist who faithfully portrayed Swedish society. His precise representations of objects are valuable for our knowledge of the times of Gustav III (1746–1792). In his painting *Musical Gathering in a Gustavian Interior*,<sup>540</sup> Hilleström shows the musical culture of middle-class Stockholm. The cellist is playing without music, while the other instrumentalists (harpsichordist, violinists and flautists) have their own scores. **François-Nicolas-Barthélémy Dequevauviller (1745–1807)** produced

537 Anonymous, eighteenth-century German school, watercolour from the collection of the Deutsches Theatrumuseum Munich, Germany, see Markevitch and Seder, *Cello Story*, 80.

538 Januarius Zick, *The Remy Family in Bendorf near Koblenz*, 1776. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nuremberg, Germany. Brauchli, *The Clavichord*, 169.

539 Peter Jacob Horemans, *Portrait of a Court Musician with String Instruments*, 1762. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlung (Inv. Mu 280) Munich, Germany.

540 Pehr Hilleström, *Gustaviansk interiör med musicerande sällskap*, 1779. Nationalmuseum (NM 2404) Stockholm, Sweden.

the watercolour *Musical Assembly*,<sup>541</sup> after a painting by **Niclas II Lafrensen (1737–1807)**, depicting a Classical palatial interior, elegantly dressed musicians, singers and listeners. There are many instruments visible: harpsichord, wind instruments and brass. The musicians and singers are performing from music, which can be seen in various places. The cello, with a bulky neck and slightly elongated fingerboard, stands on the right, on a medium-length endpin, resting against an armchair.

#### 4.4.5. Summary

The cello is depicted in Classicist European art in a realistic way. Compared to the previous era, it does not appear on reflective (vanitas) or religious (Marian or angelic concerts) paintings. It no longer serves as an instrument of a decorative character (still life). Artists show the cello in the context of the everyday culture of the townsfolk and princely courts. It is played during elegant gatherings and chamber concerts, in homes, palaces and the open air. It is one of several popular instruments at that time, alongside the violin, flute and harpsichord (clavichord). We find the first depictions of the cello performing with piano, which will soon become its inseparable musical companion. The appearance of the cello represented in the art of this period varies. Instruments of Baroque design are still being used alongside cellos of the Classical model, with a longer neck and fingerboard. Also extremely interesting is the portrait art of this period, representing professional musicians making a living from playing the cello, shown while performing, with advanced left- and right-hand technique compared to the anonymous cellists of the previous era. Portraits of Luigi Boccherini, Giacobbe Basevi Cervetto and Charles Gore show cellists playing in fourth and fifth position. Later portraits, from the turn of the 1770s, capture James Cervetto and Jean-Louis Duport, demonstrating thumb position. In addition, portraits enable us to identify amateur cellists who are also princes and aristocrats, playing not for a living, but for pleasure.

### 4.5. The evolution of cello design from the Baroque to the Classical era

During the Classical era, the cello evolved in terms of the size of all its component parts: endpin, bridge, string, fingerboard, soundbox, bass bar, neck and

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541 François-Nicolas-Barthélémy Dequevauviller, *L'Assemblée au Concert*. The Library of Congress. Miller Collection (ID0219a/y), Washington DC, US.

head. Instruments preserved in museums are mostly rebuilt, as are historical instruments in private hands. It is assumed that these elements were rebuilt towards the end of the eighteenth century, which is consistent with observations of the appearance of cellos in the iconography.

Up to the end of the eighteenth century, the **bass violins – Baroque cellos** in use possessed the following:

- a short, bulky neck, set at right angles,
- a short fingerboard (compass up to one octave on each string),
- a wedge beneath the fingerboard,
- a low, bulky bridge,
- gut strings, the lowest two of which were sometimes silver wound,
- a short bass bar carved out of the plate,
- a short endpin or no endpin at all,
- a lower tuning for a1 392 Hz, 415 Hz,<sup>542</sup>
- a larger soundbox, which meant a deeper tone and reduced scope for varying dynamics.

**Classical cellos** from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century were used in parallel to Baroque cellos; they differed in the following elements:

- a neck extended by a few centimetres and a deeper curve to the fingerboard and the bridge,
- a reduced wedge beneath the fingerboard,
- a thinner neck,
- a neck set at a sharp angle,
- a deeper moulding of the heel at the edge of the soundbox,
- a smaller soundbox (old models adapted),
- a higher vaulted and thinner bridge.

The changes gave the following results:

- greater tension of the strings,
- wider compass to the strings,
- the extended fingerboard covered 1.5 to 2 octaves on each string,
- the possibility of varying dynamics,
- a brighter timbre,

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542 Used today are a tuning of 435–440 Hz or higher and the historical tuning 415 Hz.

- easier use of the higher positions IV–VII,
- better ergonomics of the left hand,
- better ergonomics of the right hand.

An observer who analyses paintings featuring a cello with regard to the instrument's compass is struck by the changing size of the fingerboard over the centuries. In order to obtain a sound, the string has to be shortened, by pressing it to the fingerboard. An active cellist, when looking at a painting, can determine with considerable accuracy the compass of the fingerboard and the player's finger position. One then compares the instrument in the painting to a contemporary cello, noting the topography of the fingerboard with the distribution of the positions and the arrangement of whole notes and semitones.

#### **4.6. Obtaining approximate dimensions of necks and fingerboards of Baroque and Classical cellos from photographic documentation**

Photographic documentation can be used to obtain specific numerical proportions. Computer software, such as GIMP 2, is necessary to measure the photographed objects in pixels ( $px$ ). One should choose paintings in which a cello is shown in its entirety, modelled on authentic instruments. Such works are marked by their remarkable accuracy and detail in depicting the instrument and reflections of the varnish. Photographs of sculptures and extant cellos are also suitable for such analysis.

##### **Calculation 1**

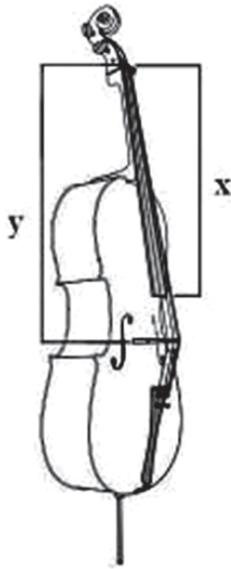
Calculation of the fingerboard length from the instrument's proportions. The following sections (Figure 6) were measured, in  $px$ :

$x$  – fingerboard,

$y$  – vibrating string (from the nut to the start of the bridge).

Let scale factor  $p$ :

$$p = x/y$$



**Figure 6.** Fingerboard ( $x$ ) and vibrating string ( $y$ )

Length of the fingerboard can be then obtained using proportionality:

$E = 68.5 \text{ cm}$  – length of a vibrating string of my own, modern instrument,  
 $e$  – length of a fingerboard from a photograph in cm.

The value of  $e$  is a solution of:

$$e = Ep$$

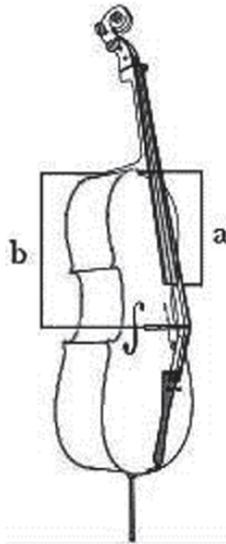
### Calculation 2

Calculation of the fingerboard length above the edge of the soundbox and the length of the neck (Figure 7):

$a$  – length of the fingerboard protruding from the edge of the soundbox in  $px$ ,  
 $b$  – length of the string from the edge of the soundbox to the beginning of the bridge in  $px$ .

Let scale factor  $k$ :

$$k = a/b$$



**Figure 7.** Fingerboard (*a*) and vibrating string (*b*) above the soundbox

Again, using proportionality, length of the fingerboard above the the soundbox can be obtained:

$E' = 41.5 \text{ cm}$  - length of the string in my modern instrument, measured from the edge of the soundbox to the bridge,

$e'$  - length of the fingerboard above the the soundbox, in *cm*.

The value of  $e'$  is a solution of:

$$e' = E'k$$

Length of the neck  $n$  can be calculated by subtracting the length of the fingerboard  $e'$  above the edge of the soundbox from the length of the fingerboard  $e$ :

$$n = e - e'$$

Results can be transferred to a modern fingerboard: stick a paper tape with a centimetre scale onto the fingerboard, in order to determine the highest notes that can be produced by shortening the strings at any given time.

**Example**

Freiberg, Germany: Angel with Cello, 1593/4. Measurement in pixels, based on the formula  $p = x/y$

$$p = 109.4 / 204.2 = 0.53$$

Then:

$$e = Ep$$

$$e = 0.53 \times 68.5 \text{ cm} = 36.3 \text{ cm}$$

which is the approximate length of the fingerboard from the photograph.

Calculate the length of the fingerboard above the soundbox according to the formula  $k = a/b$

$$k = 44.1 / 134.9 = 0.32$$

Then:  $e' = E'k$

$$e' = 41.5 \text{ cm} \times 0.32 = 13.28 \text{ cm}$$

which is the length of the projecting fingerboard from the edge of the box from the photograph.

Next, length of the neck  $n$  from the photograph can be obtained:

$$n = 36.3 \text{ cm} - 13.28 \text{ cm} = 23.02 \text{ cm}$$

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, cellos were tuned a semitone lower than today but for the contemporary tuning C, G, d, a, the result is b $\flat$ 1.

Using this method, I examined 43 objects. Given below are 18 selected examples:

- Jan van Kessel, *Allegory of Hearing*, 1618,
- Jan Steen, *The Family Concert*, 1666,
- Jean-Antoine Watteau, *Les charmes de la vie*, 1718,
- Antonio Stradivari, reconstruction of the *Piatti* cello, 1720,
- Joseph van Aken, *A Musical Party on a Terrace*, between 1720 and 1730,
- Franz Christoph Janneck, *An Elegant Company*, 1730,
- William Hogarth, *Musical Party: the Mathias Family*, 1733,
- Philippe Mercier, *Prince of Wales and his Sisters*, 1733,
- Cornelis Troost, *Portrait of a Music Lover*, 1736,
- Giacomo Ceruti, *A Man Playing Cello*, 1745-1750,
- Peter Jacob Horemans (1702-1759), *A Musician Playing the Violoncello*, n.d.,
- Johann Heinrich Meissner, *Angel with Cello*, 1760,
- Louis Carrogis de Carmontelle, *Quatuor*, 1765-1770,
- Louis van Loo, *Spanish Concert*, 1768,

- Johann Zoffany, *Self Portrait with his Daughter, Maria Theresa and Possibly Giacobbe and James Cervetto*, second half of 18th c.,
- Anonymous, *A Portrait of Luigi Boccherini*, second half of 18th c.,
- William Forster, *Royal George* cello, 1790,
- John Francis Rigaud, etched portrait of Haydn and Mozart, beginning of 19th c., after a painting by Michele Benedetti.

The modern full-size cello used as the model on a scale of 1:1 is a typical instrument modelled on Stradivari's 'B' Form, with the following measurements; length of neck 27 cm, length of fingerboard above the edge of the soundbox 31.5 cm, total length of fingerboard 58.5 cm, length of vibrating open string 68.5 cm, length of fingerboard from the edge of the soundbox to the bridge 41.5 cm. The highest note that can be played by shortening the string in tuning C, G, d, a is g3.

## Results

Object	Fingerboard ( <i>e</i> )	Fingerboard above soundbox ( <i>e'</i> )	Neck ( <i>n</i> )	Highest note in tuning C, G, d, a
Freiberg 1593/4	36.3 cm	13.3 cm	23.0 cm	b <sub>1</sub>
J. v. Kessel 1618	39.7 cm	11.6 cm	28.1 cm	c <sub>2</sub>
J. Steen 1666	41.7 cm	14.9 cm	26.8 cm	c <sub>♯</sub> 2
A. J. Watteau 1718	43.1 cm	17.4 cm	25.7 cm	d <sub>2</sub>
Strad reconstr. 1720	43.1 cm	17.8 cm	25.3 cm	d <sub>2</sub>
J. van Aken 1720–30	45.2 cm	18.6 cm	26.6 cm	d <sub>♯</sub> 2
P. Janneck 1730	43.8 cm	17.0 cm	26.8 cm	d <sub>2</sub>
W. Hogarth 1733	41.7 cm	12.0 cm	29.7 cm	c <sub>♯</sub> 2
P. Mercier 1733	41.8 cm	15.3 cm	26.5 cm	c <sub>♯</sub> 2
C. Troost 1736	41.1 cm	13.3 cm	27.8 cm	c <sub>2</sub>
G. Ceruti 1745–50	41.2 cm	13.7 cm	27.5 cm	c <sub>2</sub>
P. Horemans 1759	44.5 cm	16.2 cm	28.3 cm	d <sub>♯</sub> 2
J. Meissner 1760	45.2 cm	17.0 cm	28.2 cm	d <sub>♯</sub> 2
L. Carrogis 1765–70	47.2 cm	20.3 cm	26.9 cm	f <sub>2</sub>
L. van Loo 1768	50.6 cm	32.8 cm	17.8 cm	g <sub>♯</sub> 2
J. Zoffany 2nd half 18th c.	45.2 cm	19.9 cm	25.3 cm	d <sub>♯</sub> 2

Object	Fingerboard	Fingerboard above soundbox	Neck	Highest note in tuning C, G, d, a
L. Boccherini 2nd half 18th c.	47.2 cm	21.9 cm	25.3 cm	f 2
W. Forster 1790	45.2 cm	17.8 cm	27.4 cm	d $\sharp$ 2
J. Rigaud up to 1810	50.6 cm	24.0 cm	26.6 cm	g $\sharp$ 2
Cello 1996	58.5 cm	31.5 cm	27.0 cm	g $\flat$ 3

The chosen objects represent painting and sculpture from Germany, the Netherlands, Flanders, France, Austria, Britain, Italy and Poland and photographs of four spatial objects:

- a cello from Freiberg made by Paul Klemm of Randeck,
- a copy of a Stradivari cello made by Federico Lowenberger,<sup>543</sup>
- a sculpture of a cello made by J. H. Meissner of Gdańsk,
- a Classical cello made by W. Forster in 1790.

Based on the results obtained, it is possible to trace the evolution of the size of the cello's neck and fingerboard from the last decade of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The fingerboard was lengthened by 14.3 cm. The highest note playable on the Freiberg cello is b  $\flat$  1. The Renaissance fingerboard was the shortest, measuring just 36.3 cm. On the Meissner cello from 1760 and the Forster cello from 1790, with a fingerboard measuring 45.2 cm, the highest playable note was d $\sharp$  2. The longest fingerboard, measuring 50.6 cm, is depicted on paintings from 1768 (L. van Loo) and 1810 (J. F. Rigaud). Such an instrument reached up to g $\sharp$  2. In other cases, the average length of the fingerboard was less, allowing for the use of seventh–eighth position at most. The modern-day fingerboard is approximately 22.2 cm longer than the Freiberg model.

<sup>543</sup> Federico Lowenberger (b. 1948), an Italian violin-maker active in Genoa who specialised in making Baroque replicas of viols and violins. Based on paper models used by Stradivari, he reconstructed a Stradivari cello from 1720.

#### 4.7. The compass of works for cello and the instrument's actual performance capacities

The highest note playable on the Classical cello from iconography was g $\sharp$  2. The compasses of Classical concertos for cello give one pause: they are written in higher registers:

- J. L. Duport, Concerto No. 4 in E minor (Paris 1749): C–b2 and e3 (harmonic),
- L. Boccherini, Concerto in B flat major (R. Sturzeneger, original version): G–b flat3,
- J. Haydn, Concerto in D major, Hob VIIb:2 (Offenbach 1783): C–b2, but the arrangement by J. Klengel (Leipzig: Peters, n.d.): C–d4,
- J. Reicha, Concerto in A major (Simrock 1780) – notated in treble clef, in arr. by Bohuš Heran: C–e3,
- A. Kraft, Concerto in C major, Op. 4 (1784; pub. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel 1792): C–c3.

Interestingly enough, Ludwig van Beethoven employed the compass C–f2 in his Sonatas, Op. 5 Nos. 1 and 2, from 1796, C–f sharp2 in Op. 69, from 1803, and C–f2 in Op. 102 No. 1, but in his last Sonata in D major, Op. 102 No. 2, the compass is C–d2, so an octave lower. Did he have a different cello at his disposal? There are several hypotheses.

1. The prevailing customs in publishing and performance. Concertos were published in the treble clef, so that violinists could play them. Cellists transposed the score down by an octave. We can read about this practice, for example, in the playing schools of J. L. Duport<sup>544</sup> and Pierre Baillot (1771–1842); the latter presents the scales with the bass clef altered to treble clef and teaches how they can be played in practice, for example the next note after c1 in notation is d2, but we play that note an octave lower, d1. Bernhard Romberg wrote many times about this method, to which he was opposed.<sup>545</sup>
2. Outstanding Romantic cellists and their successors of the turn of the twentieth century left the score unaltered, since the range of the later fingerboard enabled a work to be performed in higher positions; what is more, they even added notes increasing the compass (Klengel's arrangement of a Haydn Concerto ranges from C to d<sup>4</sup>).

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544 J. L. Duport, *Essai*, 4.

545 Romberg, *A Complete Theoretical and Practical School*, 36, 60.

4. The Concerto was intended for *violoncello piccolo* or some other kind of Baroque instrument. We know that Luigi Boccherini probably had such an instrument at his disposal.
5. Iconography recorded the average length of a fingerboard. It could be that outstanding cellists such as Boccherini, Kraft and Reicha had their own individually chosen instruments with a longer fingerboard. This cannot be ruled out entirely. Perhaps their cellos were ground-breaking and had a longer fingerboard.

#### 4.8. The views of contemporary cellists on original instruments and the period performance of Classical works

Prominent cellists today employ various procedures in their performance practice to increase the authenticity of their interpretations of Classical works. Christophe Coin uses an unaltered short-necked cello by Jean-Nicolas Lambert from 1760 to play music from the Baroque to the Classical era, a Testore cello for later repertoire and a five-string *violoncello piccolo* for J. S. Bach's Suite No. 6 and for violin repertoire that can be easily played on such an instrument.<sup>546</sup> When recording the discs *Simply Baroque* and *Simply Baroque II* with the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra, as well as Classical concertos by Boccherini, Yo-Yo Ma altered the settings of the 1712 *Davidov* cello by Stradivari. Peter Wispelwey plays a modern cello with incredible facility, but finds Baroque cello a bigger challenge. A cellist playing on a Baroque instrument is faced with such demands as articulation with the right bow and such technical aspects as playing on gut strings, with lesser vibration used as an ornament, and on empty strings without fourth position on the low strings. Wispelwey describes his five-string Barak Norman cello from 1710 as 'semi-classical'.<sup>547</sup> It has a Baroque bridge and its tuning is below 400 Hz, which is the most advantageous for this instrument. He uses gut for the top three strings, with the two lowest strings steel-wound. In 1995, Wispelwey used this instrument to record Haydn concertos with Florilegium (Channel Classic W138817).

The question of the faithful performance of period repertoire does not end with Bach's Suite No. 6. The transitional period also covers Classical works by Boccherini and Haydn. The changes to neck and fingerboard design lasted for decades; the end of the Baroque (1750) and even the close of the Classical era

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<sup>546</sup> Laird, *The Baroque Cello Revival*, 89–92.

<sup>547</sup> *Ibid.*, 110–111 (an anonymous German cello from the eighteenth century).

(1815/20) does not mark the end of playing on older models of cello or similar instruments.

#### 4.9. Between Classicism and Romanticism

The output of the Classics of the early nineteenth century contains harbingers of the approaching Romanticism, such as the use of melodies from different nations and new kinds of arrangement and transcription.

**Bernhard Romberg**<sup>548</sup> employed tunes from different European nations in his free arrangements: Russian (Op. 20), Swedish (Op. 42), Moldovan (Op. 45), Austrian (Op. 46), Polish (Op. 47), Norwegian (Op. 58), German (Op. 65) and Spanish (Opp. posth. 13, 16). All those works were published shortly after their composition. They were not designed for the composer himself or for a small group of listeners, as in the case of the manuscripts of Romberg's predecessors. They were aimed at the mass market, with an interesting form and variant forces: quartet/quintet/orchestra/piano. In his variations, capriccio<sup>549</sup> and divertimenti,<sup>550</sup> he upheld and at the same time broke with the traditions of Classicism by expanding the forces and introducing national themes, as in his *Variations sur deux airs russes*, Op. 20 for cello and quartet/quintet/strings/piano (Moscow: Elbert, 1810). He drew on popular Polish melodies in his *Capriccio sur des airs et danses polonaises*, Op. 47 for cello and piano/quartet/orchestra (Vienna: Haslinger, 1829). For Romberg, the divertimento became a pretext for setting Austrian melodies for cello and alternative accompaniments, as in the

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548 The German composer Bernhard Romberg (1767–1841) wrote seventy-eight works with opus number. A Wunderkind of the cello, he performed in concert from the age of seven in Germany, the Netherlands and France. In 1796 he performed Beethoven's Sonatas, Op. 5 in Vienna with the composer. He worked with orchestras in Bonn, Hamburg and Berlin. In 1799, in Paris, he met Boccherini. He was the first cellist to represent a modern style of playing. His *Violoncell-Schule*, from 1840, is a theoretical and practical school of cello playing.

549 The Baroque capriccio (caper, caprice, from the Italian *capra*, meaning 'goat') was a prelude to a fugue, with a free design and the use of imitation or variation technique. The capriccio is associated mainly with a short solo work of a virtuosic character and with the output of the violin virtuosos Pietro Locatelli and Niccolò Paganini.

550 The Italian *divertimento* was of similar meaning to the coeval French *divertissement*: an instrumental work, popular during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It derived from the tradition of ballet shows, operatic interludes and theatrical entr'actes, associated with the Italian courtly tradition of the turn of the eighteenth century. It was a sort of multi-sectional bouquet of tunes from operas or elsewhere.

*Divertimento über Österreichische Volkslieder*, Op. 46 for cello and quartet/piano/ guitar (Vienna: Haslinger, 1829).

Fantasias on the themes of songs or well-known operatic tunes represented a new nineteenth-century kind of arrangement, in the form of an instrumental miniature freely juxtaposing musical segments and themes according to the composer's inventiveness or fancy, without any strictly defined rules. The first fantasy for cello was Romberg's setting of the melodic material of Norwegian songs, *Fantaisie sur des Airs norvégiens*, Op. 56, from 1827 (Mainz: Schott, 1837).<sup>551</sup> Now known primarily as an excellent cello virtuoso and teacher, in his day Romberg was an innovator in his approach to Classical forms and a herald of Romanticism, as is most fully manifested in his now forgotten arrangements.

**Justus Johann Friedrich Dotzauer**<sup>552</sup> was the first cellist-arranger working on a large scale. All the works mentioned below were published shortly after their composition, by several firms at once, in Leipzig, Bonn and Berlin, and in most instances also in Paris. His capriccios, variations and divertissements scored for cello and quartet/quintet/orchestra/piano combine a Classical type of arrangement with a Romantic narration of the accompaniment, scored for various alternative sets of instruments. The first typically Romantic arrangements were nocturnes, potpourris and virtuosic rondos and fantasias. Their quantity is quite impressive. Here is a catalogue of works for which the composer has been identified:

*Nocturne sur les Thèmes de G. Rossini*, Op. 56,<sup>553</sup>

*Variations sur l'air 'O Cara Memoria' de Carafa*, Op. 79,

*Potpourri sur des thèmes de l'opéra 'Euryanthe' de C. M. de Weber*, Op. 83,

*Capriccio sur différents thèmes de G. Rossini et F. A. Boieldieu*, Op. 87,

*Potpourri, composé sur des thèmes de l'opéra 'Preciosa' de C. M. de Weber*, Op. 94,

*Caprice sur des thèmes favoris l'opéra 'Oberon' de C. M. de Weber*, Op. 96,

*Variations sur des thèmes l'opéra 'Oberon' de C. M. de Weber*, Op. 98,

551 The earlier known Baroque fantasia was based on free imitation; it was a form of arrangement of a chorale, for example.

552 The German cellist Justus Johann Friedrich Dotzauer (1783–1860) worked in orchestras in Meiningen, Leipzig and Dresden. A representative of the Dresden School, he wrote 183 opuses published during his lifetime, including nine cello concertos. He also wrote several handbooks of cello playing and collections of études which are still used in teaching.

553 The nocturne derives from the Christian liturgy of the Hours and denotes evening prayer. It is an instrumental miniature of a calm, cantilena character, occasionally presenting sadness and melancholy – moods characteristic of the Romantic era.

- Divertissement sur des thèmes de G. Rossini*, Op. 99,  
*Divertissement sur des motifs de l'opéra 'La dame blanche' de F. A. Boieldieu*,  
 Op. 105,  
 3 *Fantaisies*, arrangements of works by Auber, Rossini and Weber, Op. 107,  
*Divertissement über Themen a.d. Oper 'Der Temppler und die Jüdin' de H. A. von Marschner*, Op. 110,  
 3 *Fantaisies*, arrangements of works by Auber, Op. 115,  
*Duo concertant sur des thèmes de l'opéra 'La muette di portici' de D. Auber*,  
 Op. 119,  
*Duo concertant sur des thèmes favoris l'opéra 'Guillaume Tell' de G. Rossini*,  
 concerts for violin and cello, Op.124,  
*Sechs Rondinos über Motive beliebiger Opern* (Meyerbeer's *Robert der Teufel* (Nos. 1 and 2), Bellini's *La Straniera* (Nos. 3 and 4),  
 Auber's *Fra Diavolo* (Nos. 5 and 6), Op. 129,<sup>554</sup>  
*Sechs Rondinos über beliebte Opern-Melodien von V. Bellini*, Op. 131,  
*Fantasia, Amusement sur des thème de Norma de V. Bellini*, Op. 132, 135,  
*Récréations – fantasias on motifs from operas by Auber and Meyerbeer*, Op. 136,  
 Op. 142 (Dotzauer used the terms 'récréation' and 'amusement' for his fantasias),  
*Museum pour les amateurs – works based on Irish and American melodies and fantasias on motifs from the operas Don Giovanni* (Mozart), *Der Freischütz* (Weber) and *Ernani* (Verdi), Op. 137,  
*Variations brillantes sur motifs de l'opéra 'Il Crociato in Egitto' de G. Meyerbeer*,  
 Op. 145,  
*Caprice über ein Thema aus 'Le pré aux clercs' von Hérold*, Op. 146,  
*Fantaisie sur un thème de l'opéra 'Guillaume Tell' de Rossini*, Op. 149,  
 3 *Morceaux de salon d'après des mélodies d'opéras favoris* (by Auber and Rossini),  
 Op. 163,  
 3 *Fantaisies élégantes d'après des mélodies des opéras de G. Donizetti*, Op. 164,  
 12 *Pièces brillantes*, Op. 166 for two cellos, based on themes from operas by Auber, Bellini, Donizetti, Grétry, Halévy, Hérold, Marschner, Meyerbeer and Mozart,

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554 The rondino/rondo is a work with refrain derived from early Italian opera of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The rondo appeared in ballets and operas and as one of the movements in cyclical works during the Baroque (partita) and Classical eras (sonata, symphony and concerto). The nineteenth century brought the self-contained rondo of a virtuosic character: the *rondo brillant*.

*Les temps anciens et modernes*, Op. 171, three pieces based on arias from operas by Gluck, Wagner and Donizetti,  
 3 *Grand Divertissements*, Op. 173, on themes from a symphonic ode by David and operas by Auber and Bellini,  
*Le carnaval de Venise, morceau brillant*, Op. 177, an arrangement of Paganini's Op. 10,  
*Variations sur l'air 'Nel cor più' de Paisiello*, Op. 183,

and a dozen or so works without opus number: variations, divertimentos, duets and fantasias based on themes from popular operas. Besides operas, Dotzauer also arranged German (Opp. 10 and 143) and Russian (Opp. 32 and 128) folk melodies and songs. In his two-volume collection of *Airs with variations* (no opus number), the sixth variation is based on the British national anthem, 'God Save the King' (London: Bannister, 183-).

From the exceptionally rich oeuvre of J. J. F. Dotzauer, a representative of the German *style brillant*, we learn that the composer knew and valued contemporary opera and turned to the operas of previous eras, and he found favourite themes, melodies, motifs and arias from those works to be convenient material for arranging dozens of collections of cello pieces. Output of that kind was of a light character, often furnished with a poetic, elaborate title that summarised its musical content (another Romantic accent). It was addressed to musicians of all levels of ability. Thanks to its 'entertainment formula', this repertoire attracted publishers and users in large numbers. Now all but completely forgotten, in the composer's day this part of his oeuvre made a substantial contribution to increasing the cello's popularity.

Among composers of the turn of the Classical and Romantic eras, it was popular to afford the possibility of performing works in various ways. **Ignaz Joseph Pleyel (1757–1831)**, a producer of Classical pianos, pianist, composer and publisher, often published his compositions for alternative combinations of instruments, altering rhythms and keys and joining together sections of different works, and he did so in order to meet growing public demand. Many works were published in different parts of Europe with different opus numbers and performance apparatus. The Cello Concerto in C major, Op. 26, from 1789, exists in versions for viola, piano and wind instruments, and it has been published in around eleven editions, including in 1997 by PWM Edition of Cracow, in an edition prepared by professor Andrzej Zieliński. Pleyel's Concerto for flute/clarinet in C major, Op. 1, was published for solo cello (Op. 60 or Op. 4) by several European firms: Offenbach of Leipzig, Pleyel of Paris, Artaria of Vienna and Barth of Rotterdam.

**Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778–1837)**, a multi-instrumentalist, excellent pianist, violinist, cellist and percussionist, active between the Classical and Romantic eras, employed in his compositions different performance variants for different optional instruments, where the cello appeared in the role of an instrument alternating with double bass and bassoon, as in the *Sérénade en potpourri* in G major, Op. 63 for piano, violin, guitar, clarinet/flute and bassoon/cello; another variant of this work, for piano, flute, cello/violin, clarinet and double bass, from 1814, was published by the composer.

**Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827)** had several outstanding cellists in his artistic entourage. In 1796, while travelling to Berlin and Potsdam, he met the cellist Jean-Pierre Duport (1741–1818), director of music at the court of the Prussian King Frederick William II, and his younger brother Jean-Louis Duport (1749–1819). It is believed that Beethoven and Jean-Louis performed together the former's Sonatas, Op. 5 for harpsichord or piano and cello obligato in F major No. 1 in F major and No. 2 in G minor, which he composed 'for Duport (first cellist to the king) and for himself'.<sup>555</sup> In January 1797, in Vienna, the composer performed the Sonatas with the cellist Bernhard Romberg.<sup>556</sup> Beethoven certainly also heard Anton Kraft,<sup>557</sup> whom he took into consideration as a performer of his Triple Concerto in C major, Op. 56. Ultimately, the first performer of the Concerto (Leipzig, 18 February 1808) was J. J. F. Dotzauer.<sup>558</sup> In 1797, Count Karl von Lichnowsky presented Beethoven with a Guarneri cello (1675). Besides the Sonatas for piano and cello, Opp. 5, 69 and 102, Beethoven also composed a Sonata in F major, Op. 17 for horn or cello. Its first edition carried the annotation: 'Sonate pour le Forte-Piano avec un Cor, où Violoncelle composée et dédiée A Madame la Baronne de Braun par Louis van Beethoven.' This is a rare example of polyversion, in which a cyclical work for solo French horn is intended for performance on the cello. Despite the specific idiom and the distinctive melodic phrases characteristic of the French horn, this work is also successful in its version for cello, as a more delicate version. Beethoven carried on the tradition of composing variations in many performance variants:

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555 Albrecht (ed.), *Letters to Beethoven*, 52–53.

556 Watkin, 'Beethoven's Sonatas', 43, 82–83, 89. Beethoven knew Romberg from his youth in Bonn.

557 Albrecht (ed.), *Letters to Beethoven*, 137. Kraft performed the Triple Concerto with Beethoven in Vienna in May 1808.

558 Watkin, 'Beethoven's Sonatas', 89–90; Albrecht (ed.), *Letters to Beethoven*, 137.

- 12 *Variations* on 'Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen' from Mozart's opera *Die Zauberflöte* for cello/violin and piano, Op. 66 (1796; Braunschweig: Litolff, 1860),
- 12 *Variations* on the chorus 'See, the conqu'ring Hero comes' from Handel's oratorio *Judas Maccabaeus* for cello/violin and piano (1796; Vienna: Artaria, 1797),
- 7 *Variations* on the duet 'Bei Männern welche Liebe fühlen' from Mozart's opera *Die Zauberflöte* for piano and cello, WoO 46.

This last composition has been preserved in a manuscript from 1801, and it was first published in a version for solo piano by Mollo of Vienna in 1802. Further editions were scored for violin/cello (Leipzig: Peters, 1814) and for flute/cello (Florence: Lorenzi, 1830). It should be noted that in Beethoven's cello works, the piano is a partner of the cello, and in places its part even dominates. These works were hugely popular, as is evidenced by a polyversion edition published decades later: *Sämmtliche Duos* for cello/violin/horn/flute/viola and piano, Opp. 5, 66, 69, 102 (Braunschweig: Litolff, 1860). That edition contains transcriptions of all Beethoven's cello works. The huge success of Beethoven's works is also borne out by the arrangement made by his pupil, friend and collaborator Carl Czerny (1791–1857), who transcribed for cello the famous 'Kreutzer' Violin Sonata in A major, Op. 47 (Bonn: Simrock, 185–).

Analysing the work of cellists and the impact of Classical and pre-Romantic composers on the development this instrument, one may observe that, with their arrangements and their scoring of compositions for polyversion performances, they laid foundations for the cello to become a popular, or even glorified instrument in the Romantic era.



## Chapter 5: The art of cello transcription and arrangement during the Romantic era

### 5.1. The mimetic strand and cello performance in the nineteenth century

Romanticism understood music in metaphysical terms. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) considered that writing music was a manifestation of the work of the spirit.<sup>559</sup> For Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860), music was ‘so much more powerful and penetrating’ than the other arts, expressing ‘the will itself’.<sup>560</sup> The creative genius of the composer of a musical work was appreciated. The virtuoso, an exceptionally gifted instrumentalist, gained an exceptionally strong position. The celebrated feats of **Niccolò Paganini**,<sup>561</sup> **Franz Liszt**<sup>562</sup> and the cellist **Alfredo Carlo Piatti**<sup>563</sup> aroused the admiration and greatest respect

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559 Hegel, *The Philosophy of Fine Art*, iv:224, 348–349.

560 Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Idea*, 333, 338.

561 Niccolò Paganini (1782–1840), the most outstanding violin virtuoso. In his compositional output, he preferred the form of variations written on themes from works by Elsner and Süßmayer, operatic arias by Mozart, Paisiello, Rossini and Weigl, popular tunes, the national anthems of Britain, Austria and France, and folk songs, where the quotation was a pretext for presenting his exceptional technique and unusual instrumental ideas.

562 Franz Liszt (1811–1886), one of the most outstanding musical figures of the nineteenth century. His pianistic repertoire, besides original works, included countless transcriptions of works by Beethoven, Berlioz, Bach, Wagner, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Chopin, Schumann, Bellini, Verdi, Meyerbeer, Rossini and Weber. His arrangements of works by dozens of composers comprise around 335 items in his oeuvre.

563 Alfredo Carlo Piatti (1822–1901), an Italian composer and virtuoso cellist. While in Munich, on a European tour, he played concertos in duet with Liszt, who dubbed Piatti the ‘Paganini of the cello’ and in 1844 presented the young Alfredo with an Amati cello. In 1866, Piatti received a 1720 Stradivari as a gift from his great admirer Gen. T. Oliver. He performed with the most outstanding musicians of his day: Clara Schumann, Anton Rubinstein, Joseph Joachim, Henryk Wieniawski, Hector Berlioz and Edvard Grieg. In 1844, Mendelssohn intended to compose a concert for the ‘young Italian virtuoso’. Unfortunately, that work was lost or not completed. From 1859 to 1896, Piatti presented highly successful Monday Concerts in London. He was also a teacher, a professor of the Royal College of Music in London and an editor of countless works of early music and transcriptions and arrangements for cello of works by such

of audiences. Romanticism noted and esteemed the genius of the performer, the soloist, the virtuoso.

The simultaneous aspiration to exceptional status on the part of composers and performers gave rise to tensions and conflicts. A problem arose: to what extent could a virtuoso performer depart from a brilliant composer's original score in order to highlight his own instrumental artistry? Composers also baulked at the behaviour of publishers who issued their works in a countless number of arrangements. Hector Berlioz, an uncompromising polemicist, outraged at the practice of a Parisian publisher making changes to works by Beethoven, expressed his views in a monologue of the eponymous hero of his monodrama *Lelio, or the Return to Life*, performed in a concert at the Paris Conservatoire on 9 December 1832: 'But the deadliest enemies of genius are those lost souls who worship in the temple of Routine, high priests of reaction who would sacrifice to their stupid goddess the most original new idea [. . .] the vandals who presume to lay profane hands on original works, subjecting them to mutilations.'<sup>564</sup>

A lively debate arose on the essence of the musical work. Reflection centred on issues relating to the objective value of the musical work. Which kind of music was weightier: music that triggered extra-musical associations, music that possessed a specific programme, music that showcased virtuosity or functional music that was part of the culture of everyday life? Or perhaps music that gave no extra-musical associations, absolute music linked solely to the concert hall – that temple of the musical art? What was the value of each of the above kinds of music? Was interference in a musical work permitted? Could a work be used for a purpose other than that intended by the composer?

A new field of philosophical reflection emerged: music aesthetics. The clash between two opposite aesthetic categories – mimesis, which was key to arrangements and transcriptions, to highlighting words and programmatic content in music, and pure, absolute music, which was key to non-programmatic genres – generated reflection not only on the role and purpose of music, but also on the value and sense of its existence. Increasingly common was the opinion that a finished work could not be subjected to outside interference, that no changes could be made to it and that it could not be used for a purpose other than that which was originally intended.

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composers as Boccherini, Locatelli, Veracini, Valentini, Marcello, Porpora, Ariosto, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Simpson and Brahms.

564 Berlioz, *The Memoirs*, 208.

During the nineteenth century, the cello became universally familiar and was widely used by the greatest composers. Composers relished the lyrical sound of the full-size cello. There is even mention of the cello and cellists being adored by the Romantics. There is no exaggeration in that assertion, which occurs in the letters of Fryderyk Chopin (1810–1849): ‘Merk, as is his wont, made them more charming than they really are [. . .] He’s the first cellist I’ve revered from close up.’<sup>565</sup> The powerful emotions which the cello could express with its warm tone, its affinity with the human voice, its great lyrical potential, and on the other hand its superior virtuosity, far from shallow display, were perfectly attuned to the Romantic aesthetic. Opinions like the following were not uncommon: ‘Whilst the fire of virtuosity which raged in Klengel’s compositions – an *Intermezzo*, a *Capriccio* and *Variations capricieuses* [. . .] – was inevitably ignited all over, two short pieces, namely, a Bach Sarabande (with Gavotte) and a well-known Chopin Nocturne, subtly and precisely played in every respect, presented a beautiful broad sound and also provided aesthetic pleasure to the refined musical connoisseur, resulting from the presentation of the “vocal” possibilities latent in the instrument.’<sup>566</sup> That reviewer valued transcriptions just as highly as original compositions. The cellist was rewarded with a lofty appraisal not just for his choice of repertoire, but also for his optimal presentation of the instrument’s qualities.

The cello was particularly valued by Romantic composers, as expressed in the previously unheard-of quantity of composed concertos, sonatas and miniatures, in their elaborate form and their degree of difficulty. For the first time, the cello spoke in its own, full, individual instrumental idiom.

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565 Letter to his family from Vienna, 28 May 1831, *Chopin’s Polish Letters*, 226.

Joseph Merk (1795–1852), an Austrian musician, vocalist, guitarist and violinist, who turned to the cello after suffering problems with his shoulder. He became first cellist at the Opera and a professor of the Vienna Conservatory. He wrote thirty-seven opuses, fourteen of which comprise variations, fantasies and other works based on themes from operas, arias, songs and popular melodies.

566 Review from the *Breslauer Zeitung*, 1883/699, 2. Cited in Literska, *Nineteenth-Century Transcriptions*, 109n.268.

Julius Klengel (1859–1933), first cellist of the Gewandhausorchester and a professor of Leipzig Conservatory. He wrote sixty-five opuses and a dozen or so works without opus number, and he also arranged works by Schumann, Paganini, Mozart, Rimsky-Korsakov and Rachmaninov. Chopin’s Nocturne, Op. 9 No. 2 could have been performed here in the artist’s own arrangement.

Besides original work, many different kinds of concert arrangement were produced, as well as a new type of adaptation, known as transcription. The peak period for such adaptations was the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. There were many reasons for this state of affairs. Exceptionally advantageous cultural, social and economic conditions arose, favouring this form of musical presentation. There was exceptional interest in concerts, and virtuosos became the object of unprecedented respect and adoration. As idols of the crowds, they exerted a huge influence on audiences and their musical tastes. The bourgeois salon was at the same time a musical salon, a locus of cultural life beyond the concert hall. Demand for concerts to accompany elegant everyday life and special occasions triggered a growth in the number of musical presentations. Music-making and all kinds of concertos for reduced forces flourished in the setting of social gatherings, and the cello was frequently played with piano. Also significant for the development of cello transcriptions were the beginnings of systematic cello teaching. There was a growing demand for instrumental literature for teaching and for domestic music-making for beginners and more advanced amateur cellists. Such instrumental skills became an integral part of a good education, and music-making was one of the favourite leisure activities. Thus emerged a vast group of listeners and music lovers – the largest in the history of instrumental performance.

In their efforts to meet growing demand, publishing companies commissioned composers, instrumentalists and arrangers to produce transcriptions, which were published in series of various collections. Consequently, everyone could satisfy their need to participate in the same wonderful musical culture. Sales of sheet music were huge. In chamber music, the cello was partnered by the piano, the development of which occurred in the Classical era, whilst its peak expansion in various areas of musical culture came over the twenty-year period from 1830 to 1850.<sup>567</sup> One of the crucial roles played by arrangements was popularisation. Due to the lack of mass media in our present-day sense of the word (radio, television, Internet, audio media), musical literature was spread by transcriptions, including for cello. In that way, a composer and his work, although not in its original form, became well known and popular. Arrangements were treated as fully-fledged musical genres, and their composers were rewarded on a par with the composers of the original works. When purchasing works, publishers also acquired the right to make changes to them and to produce arrangements. An

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567 Poniatowska, *Muzyka fortepianowa*, 23.

original work was often published in parallel to its transcriptions for several alternative instruments.

## 5.2. The art of cello transcription and arrangement after 1815/20

### 5.2.1. Romantic variations, fantasies, potpourris, transcriptions and paraphrases

Familiar genres such as variations, potpourri, divertimento, introduction *et rondo tiré de l'opéra*. . ., *caprice sur*. . . and fantasies continued to appear alongside a new type of arrangement, namely, the transcription, as well as arrangements given fantastical titles suggesting a programme or mood: *Amusement*, *Morceaux dramatiques*, *Duo pour les amateurs sur des motifs*. . ., *Réminiscences sur des mélodies*., *Pièce sérieuse sur des mélodies*. . ., *Notturmo über ein Lied*., *Pièce de salon sur*., *Les arpèges ou le tremolo sur*., *Délices de l'opéra*. . ., *Airs from*. . . and so on.<sup>568</sup>

Variations on themes from operas or other works present the quotation in a cycle of variant forms. Important in such works is the diversity of the variants and the display of technical skills. Variations were written by the following cellists:

- **Joseph Merk**: Opp. 4, 18, 21 and the *Variations 'O cara memoria' de Carafa* for cello and orchestra/string quartet/piano without opus number (Vienna: Mechetti, n.d.),
- **Friedrich August Kummer**:<sup>569</sup> *Air russes variés*, Op. 7 for cello and orchestra/piano (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1827), *Adagio et variations sur un Thème de l'opéra 'I Capuleti e i Montecchi' de Vincenzo Bellini*, Op. 31 for cello and string quartet/piano (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1836),

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568 These are just some examples, based on a list of compositions by Friedrich August Kummer, numerous and typical of cellists of this generation.

569 Friedrich August Kummer (1797–1879), a German cellist, a pupil of Friedrich Dotzauer, first cellist of the Dresdner Kapelle. He achieved great popularity as a virtuoso soloist across Germany. For fifty years he was a professor of Dresden Conservatory, and his pupils included the foremost cellists: Grützmacher, Cossmann, Goltermann, Hausmann and Böckmann. He wrote 170 works, including more than sixty editions (a dozen or so without opus number) of works based on motifs from operas by Weber, Donizetti, Bellini, as well as many salon miniatures and transcriptions.

- **Sebastian Lee**:<sup>570</sup> *Variations de concert sur un thème de l'opéra 'Guillaume Tell' de Rossini* for cello and orchestra/string quartet/piano/guitar (Hanover: Nagel, n.d.),
- **Auguste Franchomme**: *Variations sur un thème favori de Boieldieu*, Op. 2 for cello/piano/string quartet (Paris: Bornemann, 1836) and *Variations*, Opp. 6, 8, 11, 22, 25 and 31.

The fantasy was a type of instrumental miniature popular during the nineteenth century, freely combining themes and segments according to the composer's fancy, with no strictly defined principles. Fantasies for cello were written by the following cellists:

- **Joseph Merk**: *Fantasies*, Opp. 25, 31 and 36, as well as *Fleurs d'Italie, fantaisies sur des motifs les plus favoris d'opéras nouveaux*, Op. 26 and fantasies on themes from operas by Donizetti (Vienna: Mechetti, 1848),
- **Friedrich August Kummer**: *Fantasy*, Op. 68 on motifs from Donizetti's opera *Lucia di Lammermoor* for piano and cello/viola (Milan: Ricordi, 1841); *Fantasies*, Opp. 26, 51, 56, 78, 88, 130 Nos. 1 and 2, and 167,
- **Sebastian Lee**: *Fantasies*, Opp. 6, 25, 32, 41, 43, 51, 53, 55, 61, 65, 68, 72, 74, 94 and eight without opus number, including *Petites fantaisies faciles et brillantes* on operas by Rossini and Weber for cello and piano (Paris: Leduc, n.d.),
- **François George-Hainl**:<sup>571</sup> *Fantaisie sur la Norma de Bellini*, Op. 3 for cello and orchestra/piano (Paris: Costallat, n.d.) and *Fantaisie sur des motifs de 'Guillaume Tell' de G. Rossini*, Op. 8 for cello and orchestra/piano (Mainz: Schott, 1830),
- **Auguste Franchomme**: *Fantaisie sur 'La flûte enchantée' de Mozart* for cello and piano, Op. 40 (Mainz: Schott, 1872) and other fantasies, Opp. 13, 27, 28, 31, 36, 38, 39, 44 and 45.

The potpourri was an arrangement of simple melodies from operas, operettas, dances, songs by one or more composers; they were not very popular among

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<sup>570</sup> Sebastian Lee (1805–1887), a German cellist, soloist, from 1837 to 1868 first cellist of the orchestra of the Grand Opéra in Paris. In 1868, he returned to his native Hamburg, where he taught cello and composed. He wrote 131 mostly cello works with opus number and 85 arrangements without opus number: fantasies, divertissements, serenades and sets of transcriptions of works by such composers as Schumann, Mozart, Beethoven, Rossini, Paganini, Auber, Donizetti, Nardini, Pergolesi and Meyerbeer.

<sup>571</sup> François George-Hainl (1807–1873), a French cellist, a pupil of Louis-Pierre Norblin at the Paris Conservatoire, first cello of the Lyon Opera.

cellists. Berlioz spoke negatively about such pieces, calling them ‘pitiful medleys and arrangements in which the noblest strains were submitted to every kind of wanton outrage’.<sup>572</sup>

- **Friedrich August Kummer** arranged a *Potpourri sur des thèmes de ‘Preciosa’*, an opera by Weber, Op. 3 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1827),
- **Moritz Eduard Ganz** arranged for cello and orchestra his *Potpourris*, Op. 10 on national airs and Op. 15 on motifs from an opera by Meyerbeer, while other cellists, such as Lee, Merk and Franchomme, did not arrange works of this type,
- **Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778–1837)** published a *Potpourri pour le violoncelle avec accompagnement de l’orchestre* in D major, Op. 95 (Leipzig: Peters, 1822), an arrangement of his own *Potpourri*, Op. 94 for cello and orchestra from 1820.

One specialist in this form, with some thirty potpourris for cello and alternative instruments to his name, was **Giuseppe di Blumenthal / Baron Joseph von Blumenthal (1782–1850)**, a Belgian who lived in Vienna, an ardent amateur violinist and composer who arranged a great number of mainly vocal works: art songs, folk songs and extracts from numerous operas. Financially independent, he did not compose for money. Today, his arrangements are completely forgotten. Their number is impressive: besides thirty potpourris on themes from then popular operas for cello/flute and piano, he transcribed fifty-two songs and arias. All his arrangements were published by Präger & Meier of Bremen c.1870.

During the Romantic era, the adaptation of works or parts of works for a different performance medium, a practice that had been present in cello performance from the beginning (as discussed in previous chapters),<sup>573</sup> acquired the term ‘transcription’. During the 1830s, Liszt gave that title to his piano arrangements of vocal works.<sup>574</sup> Initially, however, he identified the term with a kind of piano fantasy, the definition becoming more precise over time. In the output of the first generation of Romantic cellists – **Kummer, Lee, Franchomme** and others – transcriptions appeared late, not until the 1850s. They do not include any integral cyclic forms: sonatas, suites, symphonies or concertos. The first cello transcriptions were adaptations of small-scale forms, such as arias, songs, dances and piano miniatures, or of extracts from operas, music dramas and large-scale instrumental works. Quite numerous, they were often published

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<sup>572</sup> Berlioz, *The Memoirs*, 415.

<sup>573</sup> Poniatowska, *Muzyka fortepianowa*, 313–316.

<sup>574</sup> *Ibid.*, 317.

in sets. Given below in square brackets, alongside the opus number, is the number of transcriptions:

- **Kummer:** Op. 111 [4], Op. 117 [19], Op. 121 [6], Op. 122 [7], Op. 142 [22], Op. 143 [4], Op. 155 [14], Op. 169 [1] – a total of seventy-seven transcriptions.
- **Lee:** Op. 98 [8], Op. 103 [2], Op. 104 [1] and around seventy-six without opus number, a total of eighty-seven transcriptions,
- **Franchomme:** *5 Transcriptions de Chopin*, published in 1870 by several Paris firms (Jobert, Fromont and Gérard) and by Breitkopf & Härtel of Leipzig.

The paraphrase is a kind of arrangement containing a recognisable musical quotation combined with new music that modifies the substance of the original. The parody is a variant of the paraphrase. Cello paraphrases are rare. I have found a single composer of such pieces, **August Lindner (1820–1878)**, a German cello soloist from Hanover. He wrote *3 Paraphrases*, Op. 12 to melodies from operas by Meyerbeer and Verdi. The best-known nineteenth-century paraphrase is Gounod's *Ave Maria – Méditation über das 1. Präludium von Bach*. The accompaniment in this work is the Prelude in C major from the first volume of Bach's '48', while the solo part is a new melodic line for violin/flute/cello/soprano.

All the types of arrangement gained a new Romantic expressive palette. They were certainly written for full-size cello and had to display a virtuosic or lyrical character. This type of output, as can be noted from the above examples, was the domain of virtuoso cellists who used arrangements to present their instrument in an unprecedented way.

### 5.2.2. The Romantic literal transcription of a cyclic form: Franz Schubert's Sonata in A minor, D 821 for arpeggione and piano

In 1823, the Viennese guitar-maker Johann Georg Stauffer (1778–1853) produced the arpeggione, also known as the bowed guitar or guitar-violoncello, which was a six-string instrument with twenty-two frets, tuned like a classical guitar to E, A, d, g, b, e1, adhering to da gamba style, without an endpin. It did not catch on, beyond a small group of enthusiasts and a handful of musicians. Franz Schubert wrote his Sonata in A minor, D821 for arpeggione in the treble clef.<sup>575</sup> The work was performed in its original version in November 1824 by the Viennese musician Vinzenz Schuster, author of a school for arpeggione playing. This Sonata held its place in the repertoire thanks to transcriptions for various

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<sup>575</sup> Urtext edition prepared by Wolf-Dieter Seiffert (Munich: Henle, 1995); the solo part is in the original treble clef.

instruments: violin, oboe, clarinet, double bass, guitar, flute, trombone, viola, two pianos and, its most popular version, cello. The first edition of this work, from 1871, contained a cello part and a violin part.<sup>576</sup>

Cellists play some of the solo part an octave lower. This work continues to fascinate artists willing to tackle its lofty virtuosic challenges. There are easily around fifty brilliant recorded renditions, by such excellent cellists as Pablo Casals, Mstislav Rostropovich, Emanuel Feuermann, Mischa Maisky (three different recordings), János Starker, Pierre Fournier, André Navarra, Antonio Meneses, Julian Lloyd Webber, Anner Bylsma (on violoncello piccolo), Heinrich Schiff, Maria Kliegel, Pieter Wispelwey, Leonard Rose, Lynn Harrell, Stanisław Firley and Yo-Yo Ma. This Sonata was orchestrated by Gaspar Cassadó, who gave the first performance of that version in 1940. The interpretations vary a great deal: from the poetical, reflective readings by Rostropovich/Britten, with every nuance polished (1968), lasting 28:42; through the marvellous rendition by Firley and Paul Badura-Skoda, faithful to the original (1980), weighing in at 25:62; the brilliant account by Mischa Maisky and Daria Hovora (1996), at 25:59; and the equally wonderful interpretation by Yo-Yo Ma and Emanuel Ax (2005), duration 24:28; to the dazzling rendition by Leonard Rose and Leonid Hambro (1953), lasting just 20:53.

The first Romantic Sonata transcription for cello is an example of a universal work that owes its popularity to the exceptional beauty of the melodic line, at the same time posing serious challenges to the performer, on account of the high level of technical difficulty.

### 5.3. Cellists in the entourage of Fryderyk Chopin (1810–1849) and cello transcriptions of his works

Chopin was a close friend of several cellists, including **Prince Antoni Radziwiłł (1775–1833)**, an ardent amateur cellist for whom was written the Trio in G minor, Op. 8. **Joseph Merk**, the adored leader of the Viennese Hofmusikkapelle, was the dedicatee of the *Introduction and Polonaise*, Op. 3. Before its publication, that work was to have been performed in a private concert with the Warsaw cellist **Józef Kaczyński**, as Chopin related in a letter of 10 April 1830 to Tytus Woyciechowski: ‘my Polonaise with cello, to which I added an Adagio introduction, especially for Kaczyński. We rehearsed it, and it will do.’<sup>577</sup> From Chopin’s correspondence, we also know that he took a keen interest in the cello. He knew or heard many cellists, among them **Antoni Teichmann (1798–1877)**, a cellist with

576 Günther, ‘Vorbemerkung’, in *Franz Schubert Sonate für Arpeggione und Klavier*.

577 *Chopin’s Polish Letters*, 151.

the National Theatre in Warsaw, in whose album, in Paris, on 27 January 1836, Chopin wrote the opening bars of his *Etude in F minor, Op. 25 No. 2*. He was on close terms with **Louis-Pierre Norblin (1781–1854)**, a cellist of Polish origins, a professor at the Conservatoire and a soloist with the Italian Theatre and the Grand Opera in Paris. Chopin also heard two representatives of the Dresden school, **Dotzauer** and **Kummer**, and after a concert in Dresden in 1830 he wrote about them: ‘famous local cellists, had several solos; for the rest, nothing in particular.’<sup>578</sup> In the context of domestic music-making, Chopin came across the Warsaw cellist **Adam Herman (1800–1875)**, a teacher at the Institute of Music, who played works by Chopin with the latter’s sister Izabela in 1834.<sup>579</sup> Chopin enjoyed the longest friendship with **Auguste Franchomme (1808–1884)**, an outstanding representative of the French school of cello, a professor of the Paris Conservatoire, composer and court cellist to Louis-Philippe. Hector Berlioz said of Franchomme: ‘there is no greater assuredness than his in dangerous intonations or charm in steady singing [. . .] a calm, but exquisite talent.’<sup>580</sup> Chopin’s friendship with Franchomme gave rise to a joint composition, the *Grand Duo concertant, Op. 16* for piano and cello, based on themes from Meyerbeer’s opera *Robert le Diable*. Chopin also produced a self-transcription of this work for four hands. He dedicated his *Sonata in G minor for piano and cello* to the French cellist. That was the fruit of long and laborious work in the years 1845–1846. Around one hundred sketches remain from that period. This is the greatest tribute that Chopin could have paid his good friend.<sup>581</sup> Franchomme was a great connoisseur of Chopin’s music and more than once negotiated with publishers on his friend’s behalf, as well as copying works at his request. Franchomme’s transcriptions for cello represent further manifestations of their friendship, resulting from his great respect for the composer. They were written for private and social purposes. Chopin knew them and was their first positive reviewer: ‘He rewrote, as you know, my *Sonata with a march for orchestra* – and he brought me one *notturmo* yesterday to which he set the words to *O salutaris*, and which sings well.’<sup>582</sup> Franchomme wrote the first cello transcriptions of works by Chopin to be published in print: the *Nocturnes in F minor and E flat major Op. 55* (Paris: Brandus, Schlesinger, 1845). For his own private use, he transcribed many more works by Chopin. We have around

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578 Letter to his family of 14 November 1830, *ibid.*, 198.

579 Letter from Izabela to her brother of 26 April 1834, *Korespondencja Fryderyka Chopina z rodziną*, 94–95.

580 Ruhlmann, *Chopin-Franchomme*, 27 and 31.

581 *Ibid.*, 86–87.

582 Letter of 8–9 June 1847, *Chopin’s Polish Letters*, 417.

fifty manuscripts of his arrangements for cello and piano, string instruments or orchestra. Among the preludes, mazurkas, nocturnes, etudes and ballades, also printed were his adaptations of the Preludes, Op. 28 Nos. 7 and 20 (1869) and a set of six transcriptions under the title *Œuvre de Chopin traduites pour le Violoncelle par AUG.<sup>TE</sup> Franchomme* (Paris: Gérard, 1870).<sup>583</sup> The last to be published, in 1871, were the Etude in C sharp minor, Op. 25 No. 7 and a re-edition of the two opus 28 Preludes (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel). Another example of a transcription produced during Chopin's lifetime is the Mazurka in F sharp minor, Op. 6 No. 1 (Leipzig: Kinster, 1842), arranged by the German cellist Robert Emil Bockmühl.<sup>584</sup>

The remaining transcriptions and arrangements were published in impressive number after Chopin's death. They were mainly dance miniatures arranged by such eminent cellists as the following:

Bernhard Cossmann (1822–1910) – 5 transcriptions,  
 Robert Bockmühl (1820–1881) – 1 transcription, 1 fantasy,  
 Friedrich Grützmacher (1832–1903) – 12 transcriptions and a set of *Compositions diverses*,  
 Leopold Grützmacher (1835–1900) – 51 transcriptions,  
 Jules Delsart (1844–1900) – 1 arrangement of two works,  
 Friedrich August Kummer – 1 arrangement,  
 Gaspar Cassadó (1897–1966) – 2 arrangements,  
 Alexander Abramovich Krein (1883–1951) – 1 transcription,  
 Georg Edouard Goltermann (1824–1898) – 1 transcription in three different collections,  
 Adrien-François Servais (1807–1866) – 3 transcriptions,  
 William Henry Squire (1871–1963) – 2 transcriptions,  
 Jules De Swert (1843–1891) – 13 transcriptions,  
 Julius Klengel (1859–1933) – 2 transcriptions,  
 Sebastian Lee (1805–1887) – 1 transcription,  
 David Popper (1843–1913) – 1 transcription,  
 Adolf Fischer (1847–1847) – 1 transcription,

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583 Ruhlmann, *Chopin-Franchomme*, 78.

584 Robert Emil Bockmühl (1820–1881), a German amateur cellist, postal worker. Robert Schumann asked him for advice while composing his Cello Concerto in A minor, Op. 129. A collection of letters sent by Bockmühl to Schumann is held in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow. Bockmühl wrote close to two hundred arrangements and transcriptions published in collections and individual editions (more than one hundred without opus number).

Charles Schiff – 1 transcription,  
 Alwin Schröder (1855–1928) – 2 transcriptions,  
 Carl Schröder (1848–1935) – 1 transcription,  
 Paul Bazelaire (1886–1958) – 3 transcriptions,  
 Luigi Silva (1903–1961) – 2 transcriptions,  
 Gregor Piatigorsky (1903–1976) – 1 transcription,  
 Werner Thomas-Mifune (b. 1941) – 5 transcriptions,  
 Julian Lloyd Webber (b. 1951) – 1 transcription.

Polish cellists have performed their own arrangements or published their transcriptions of works by Chopin since the nineteenth century:

Samuel Kossowski – *Souvenir de Chopin* for cello and piano (Gdańsk: Eufonium 845, 2010),  
 Maurycy Karasowski – performed Chopin mazurkas in 1842,<sup>585</sup>  
 Bohuszewski M. performed a Chopin mazurka in Stuck in 1858,<sup>586</sup>  
 Henryk Waghalter – 2 transcriptions,  
 Aleksander Wierzbilłowicz wrote transcriptions of Chopin mazurkas,<sup>587</sup>  
 Konstanty Paschalski transcribed Chopin's opus 38 Ballade as an *Andantino* (Warsaw: Gebethner & Wolff, 1910),<sup>588</sup>  
 Antoni Cink – 15 transcriptions for Gebethner & Wolff,<sup>589</sup>  
 Kazimierz Michalik – 3 transcriptions (Cracow: PWM, 2005/2006).

Among the composers to have produced the most numerous transcriptions, it is worth mentioning great European cellists.

**Karl Davydov (1838–1889)** – a Russian whom Tchaikovsky dubbed the 'tsar of the cello', a professor of Leipzig Conservatory at the age of twenty-two.

585 Sowiński, *Słownik*, 117; *Słownik Muzyków Polskich*, i:262.

586 Sowiński, *Słownik*, 36.

587 Suchecki, *Wiolonczela od A do Z*, 226.

588 This transcription was published in a cycle for violin or cello: *Choix de Pièces Classiques et Modernes pour Violon ou Violoncelle avec Accompagnement de Piano. Degré 6*.

589 These transcriptions were published by Gebethner & Wolff of Warsaw (Chopin's Mazurka, Op. 7 No.1, Mazurka, Op. 33 No. 2, Polonaises, Op. 40 Nos. 1 and 2 and Waltz, Op. 34 No. 2 for piano trio) and in the cycle *Kłosa - Najpiękniejsze śpiewy ułożone na skrzypce lub violoncellę i fortepian przez Gustawa Adolfsa* [Ears of corn: the most beautiful tunes arranged for violin or cello and piano by Gustaw Adolfson] (Chopin's Mazurkas, Op. 33 Nos. 2 and 3, Nocturne, Op. 10 No. 2, Nocturne, Op. 55 No. 1, Mazurka, Op. 68 No. 3, Preludes, Op. 28 Nos. 4, 15, 17 and 21, Etude, Op. 10 No. 3, Funeral March from Op. 35 and song 'Życzenie' [A Maiden's Wish]).

As a teacher, he advised students to observe violinists closely and learn their technique, which he himself perfected, willingly playing in high positions on his famous 1712 Stradivarius given to him by Count Mateusz Wielhorski. Of the forty-three Chopin mazurkas, he transcribed twenty-six. The sets cover full cycles of works from Opp. 17, 24, 30, 33, 41, 56 and 63, published in the original keys and order. The same applies to the *Transcriptions*. 42 and 64, the last ones of which are transposed up by a minor or major second. All these transcriptions were published by Breitkopf & Härtel of Leipzig and A. Büttner of St Petersburg.

The full cycles of Chopin's works attest to a holistic approach to his intentions. Not all arrangements of Chopin's works have been faithful to the original. Robert Bockmühl left us an arrangement of a work by Chopin regarded as an example of trivial music.<sup>590</sup> The work in question is the Mazurka in F sharp minor from Op. 6,<sup>591</sup> in which the arranger, by adding a lengthy solo introduction for the cellist, evinced a lack of respect and of confidence in the original's powers of persuasion. By interfering in the substance of the work, Bockmühl broke the style of the original, trivialising it to win over listeners. Bockmühl also published a *Fantaisie sur des Mazurkas de Chopin* for cello and piano,<sup>592</sup> giving it the opus number 15 (Mainz: Schott, n.d.). In this instance, he was able to adopt a freer approach to the original material, since a fantasy was not bound by strict principles governing the composer's use of the original work, and the artistic level of such works depended mainly on the arranger's ingenuity.

The excellent cellist **Bernhard Cossmann (1822–1910)** transcribed three nocturnes (Op. 9 No. 2; Op. 15 No. 2; Op. 32 No. 1) and the Funeral March from Op. 35, and he also performed his own transcriptions. We have complimentary reviews of his concerts in Wrocław from 31 January 1871, where he performed the Nocturne, Op. 9 No. 2: 'The Joachim of the cello [...] He belongs to the type of maestro who treats his instrument less virtuosically and more artistically [...] The artist played Eckert's Concerto with orchestra, a song by Schubert, a Chopin Nocturne and a Tarantella of his own composition, which had to be played again at the distinct request of the audience.'<sup>593</sup> There is also a positive review of a concert he gave on 29 January 1878, when the programme included his transcription of the Funeral March: 'He displayed

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590 Literska, *Dziewiętnastowieczne transkrypcje*, 236–237.

591 Gołąb, 'Dziewiętnastowieczne transkrypcje', 470–487.

592 Lambooy and Feves, *A Cellist's Companion*, 76.

593 Review from *Breslauer Zeitung*, 1871/55, 380; repr. in Literska, *Nineteenth-Century Transcriptions*, 102n.243.

his bravura technique in a *Capriccio all'Ungarese* by Bernhard Scholz, showed his consummate artistry in Popper's difficult *Papillons* and proved himself a master of cantilena while playing Chopin's Funeral March. All the works were received with great appreciation from the audience.<sup>594</sup> Barbara Literska has identified eighty cello transcriptions written during the nineteenth century. She classifies their composers – virtuoso cellists – as outstanding professionals who wrote transcriptions to enhance their concert and didactic repertoire, bringing the Chopin literature to the cello.<sup>595</sup> It is difficult to give a conclusive figure for cello transcriptions produced during the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries, but we should add to those eighty around 177 transcriptions by outstanding cellists. Such adaptations were also made by the composers Hector Villa-Lobos (1887–1959), Samuel Barber (1910–1981) and Alexander Glazunov (1865–1936) and by Alfred Edward Moffat (1868–1950), an arranger who worked closely with publishers. All told, around 283 editions of cello arrangements and transcriptions of works by Chopin were published during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>596</sup>

As part of its anniversary edition *Chopin na wiolonczelę i fortepian* [Chopin for cello and piano] (book 1 in 2005, book 2 in 2006), PWM Edition published twenty transcriptions by Kazimierz Michalik and Maciej Paderewski, David Popper, Auguste Franchomme, Alexander Krein, Alexander Glazunov, Karl Davydov, Friedrich Grützmacher and Grigori Pekker.

The work of Chopin transcribers was aptly summed up by Jerzy Pietrkiewicz:<sup>597</sup> ‘None of the Polish writers however enjoys a reputation abroad parallel to that of Chopin, simply because the success of a foreign classic depends on its vitality in translation, which has to be renewed, and Polish literature has not been served well by translators.’<sup>598</sup> In that approach, a transcription is a kind of translation, while a transcriber acts as a translator popularising

594 Review from *Breslauer Zeitung*, 1878/51, 2; repr. in Literska, *Nineteenth-Century Transcriptions*, 102n.244.

595 Literska, *Nineteenth-Century Transcriptions*, 56–57.

596 Lambooj and Feves, *A Cellist's Companion*, 117–118; that number is incomplete, as it does not include Waghalter's catalogue of transcriptions or the edition *Chopin na wiolonczelę i fortepian* [Chopin for cello and piano] (Cracow: PWM, 2005, 2006).

597 Jerzy Pietrkiewicz (1916–2007), a Polish prose writer, poet, translator and literary historian, a professor of the University of London.

598 Pietrkiewicz, ‘“Inner Censorship”’, 294.

the transcribed work and its composer. It is thanks to the work of transcribers that Chopin's work became comprehensible and found new listeners and performers.

## 5.4. A new profession: the cellist transcriber and arranger

### 5.4.1. Friedrich Ludwig Grützmacher (1832–1903) as a transcriber

During the nineteenth century, transcribing was a popular occupation for concert cellists. They produced transcriptions to commission for publishers, for their own use in their recital repertoire and for didactic purposes for their pupils. The list of transcribers is very long, so closer analysis will be given here to the composer who produced the greatest number of published transcriptions for cello, **Friedrich Ludwig Grützmacher (1832–1903)**. One of the most outstanding German cellists, royal virtuoso of the Dresden orchestra and first cello of the Gewandhaus orchestra, this composer was also an eminent pedagogue and a professor of Leipzig Conservatory. He produced several hundred transcriptions, which were published by many German firms. Not a single review of their performance has come down to us. It is unlikely that he produced arrangements for his own concert purposes, although his transcriptions of violin works, such as the Sonata in A minor, Op. 19 by Anton Rubinstein (1829–1894) and the Concerto in A minor, Op. 47 No. 8 by Louis Spohr<sup>599</sup> (1784–1859) are examples of adaptations that pose the greatest challenges to the cellist. From his correspondence with publishers, we learn that Grützmacher feared that the performance difficulties would have a negative effect and diminish interest in his transcriptions.<sup>600</sup>

We can identify three different groups of transcriptions by Grützmacher:

1. Transcriptions of existing transcriptions. This group includes the so-called 'musical hits' of Opp. 60 and 70, consisting of well-known works by Haydn,

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599 Lutzen, *Die Violoncell-Transkriptionen Friedrich Grützmachers*, 72. This work appears in the Peters catalogue in 1854, but not in the 1900 catalogue.

600 Grützmacher's letter of 3 June 1879 to a Dr Abraham at Peters of Leipzig concerning a transcription of Chopin's Nocturne in G major. In Lutzen, *Die Violoncell-Transkriptionen Friedrich Grützmachers*, 74–75.

Bach, Schubert, Mozart, Martini, Boccherini, Weber, Gluck, Handel, Cherubini and Beethoven.<sup>601</sup>

2. Arrangements of parts for cello as an alternative instrument. When publishing new works, composers sometimes sought the largest possible audience for their efforts from the beginning. A work by Edmund Medefind for flute/violin and piano was published in another version for cello arranged by Grützmacher.<sup>602</sup> In those days, composers would place their work in the hands of a specialist, who would prepare a cello version. Such a procedure provides further evidence of the lofty authority enjoyed by Grützmacher.
3. Arrangements of cyclical works. Here we find cycles of works by Baroque, Classical and Romantic composers constituting a closed whole. Grützmacher himself sometimes talked publishers into issuing full cycles, ensuring them that such works were suited to the cello and worth presenting in their entirety to performers, who could then choose for themselves. We do not know what material he used in his work. His transcriptions do not accord with urtext editions published today, betraying both original and extraneous elements. His transcriptions for cello and piano consist of the following:

– compositions for violin or viola da gamba:

Beethoven: *10 Violin Sonatas, Romances*, Op. 40, Op. 50,

Haydn: *8 Violin Sonatas*,

Mozart: *18 Violin Sonatas*,

Schumann: *2 Sonatas for violin and piano*, Op. 105, Op. 121,

J. S. Bach: *3 Sonatas for viola da gamba*, BWV1027–1029 (Leipzig: Peters, 1866),

Handel: *Sonata in C major for viola da gamba and harpsichord* (1685) (Leipzig: Bartholf Sneff, 187–),

C. P. E. Bach: *Sonata in G minor for viola da gamba and harpsichord* (1714) (Leipzig: Peters, 1881).

– compositions for wind instruments:

Mozart: *Sonata for bassoon and cello*, KV 292,

Flute miniatures by contemporary composers: H. Hofmann, F. Hüllweck, E. Medefind.

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601 Grützmacher, *Transcriptionen klassischer Musikstücke für Violoncello & Pianoforte*, Op. 70 (Dresden: Hoffarth) and *Transcriptionen klassischer Musikstücke für Violoncello & Pianoforte*, Op. 60 (Leipzig: Kahnt).

602 Medefind, *Liebesahnung. Romanze für Flöte oder Violine & Pianoforte* (Hamburg: Leichssenring), Violoncello & Pianoforte Bearbeitung von F. Grützmacher.

- compositions for voice:  
Robert Schumann: *17 ausgewählten Lieder*,  
Liszt: *Mignos Lied*.

The songs transcribed by Grützmaker show changes from the original works. In his Schumann cycle, the text of Song 5 is reduced by ten bars, as is Song 9. In Song 14 there are twelve fewer bars. The reverse occurs in Song 11, where the transcription is fourteen bars longer. We find frequent changes of key compared to the original version. For example, A flat major is altered to C major or F sharp major to C major, so the transcription has considerably fewer signs in its key signature. Grützmaker probably wanted to make things easier for performers. An inexperienced cellist, when seeing six sharps in the key signature, will be rather reluctant to start learning a work, whereas C major eliminates mental resistance and makes a work far more accessible. Besides a better sound, the less cluttered key signatures made performance much more comfortable for the cellist and provided a sure intonation. In his cycle of transcriptions of seventeen songs by Robert Schumann, Grützmaker changed the key thirteen times. A similar example is his transcription of Liszt's *Mignos Lied*, where he altered the key from F sharp major to A major and made minor changes of rhythm and melody.

- compositions for piano:  
Mendelssohn: *36 Songs without Words*,  
Chopin: *12 Transcriptions of piano works*,  
Schumann: *Kinderszenen*, Op.15,  
Schumann: *12 Selected Compositions*.

Here, too, Grützmaker changed the keys to those with fewer signs; for example, F sharp major to E major or E major to C major. In the *36 Songs without Words*, such a change occurs in twenty-six of the songs. The leading solo voice was transferred to the part of the cello, while the piano executes the remaining musical content, forming an accompaniment.

Grützmaker was convinced of the usefulness and high quality of his transcriptions. In one letter to a publisher, we read: 'I am very happy that I can send you my work of last summer, cello transcriptions of works by Schumann. I am sure that you will approve of the selection. In my opinion, this is a string of pearls, which will also sell in an arrangement for cello and will certainly bring great pleasure.'<sup>603</sup> During the second half of the nineteenth century, there was

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603 Grützmaker's letter of 31 August 1886 to Dr Abraham at Peters in Leipzig regarding *Ausgewählte Compositionen* ('selected compositions'). In Lutzen, *Die Violoncell-Transkriptionen Friedrich Grützmakers*, 85.

no faith in the ‘artistic self-sufficiency’ of works for solo cello. The ubiquity of the piano meant that in order to present the music of J. S. Bach, who had just been discovered by the Romantics, his solo works were supplemented with a ‘missing’ piano part; the whole of a cyclical form was not necessarily used, with individual extracts sufficient. Grützmacher arranged in this way Gavottes I and II from Suite No. 6 and a *Suite nach den Violoncello Solostücken von J. S. Bach für Piano und Violoncell* (Leipzig: Bosworth & Co., 1903). This quasi-suite contains excerpts from several Bach suites, with Grützmacher’s own tempo markings:

- Prelude: *Grave (non troppo lento)*, *Allegro moderato* from Suite No. 5 in C minor, shortened by thirty bars,
- Allemande: *Quasi Adagio* from Suite No. 6, transposed from the original D major to G major,
- Courante: *Poco vivo* from Suite No. 3 in C major,
- Sarabande: *Lento* from Suite No. 4 in E flat major,
- Bourrées I and II *Allegro energico* from Suite No. 3 in C major.

Grützmacher included dynamic and performance markings. The traditional last part of a suite, the Gigue, is missing. Grützmacher was not the first composer to make such extensive changes to the original material of solo works by Bach. Schumann before him had added an accompaniment to the cello suites, and Mendelssohn harmonised the Chaconne from the Partita in D minor, BWV1004 for solo violin with piano. After Grützmacher, suite arrangements in versions with piano were published by other cellists:

- Julius de Swert: excerpts from Suite No. 6: *Allemande und Gavotten* (Bremen: Cranz, 186-),
- Julius Klengel: Suites I, II and IV (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1908),
- Alfredo C. Piatti: Suites I and III (London: Augener, 1894/97),
- Carl Schröder: Suites I and III (Mainz: Schott, 1911).

Reviews were positive: ‘The ostensibly insufficient accompaniment serves first and foremost our adequate, fuller understanding of the Suite (Sonata)’.<sup>604</sup> Carl Georg Peter Grädener arranged all the suites with piano in two books (Bremen: Schweers & Haake, 1872).<sup>605</sup> ‘Grädener’s arrangement is impeccable; it discreetly serves the cello part and is also a judicious interpretation of Bach’s

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604 Weigl, *Handbuch*, 95.

605 Carl Georg Peter Grädener (1812–1883), a professor of the conservatories in Vienna and Hamburg.

harmonies.’<sup>606</sup> The reception of Bach’s solo works altered during the third decade of the twentieth century, thanks to the artistic intuition of Pablo Casals, who bought unfamiliar works that became the ‘great revelation’ of his life. Previously, only individual parts from the suites were performed, such as one of the dances. Bach’s compositions were regarded as cold and cerebral. Casals was a pioneer of performances without cuts, with all the repeats.<sup>607</sup> In his recitals, he programmed suites alongside transcriptions. In this respect, he was not a ‘purist’, as he himself described fanatics of later historically informed interpretations. He had his own opinion on that subject: ‘how much art and tact he [Bach] has brought to these arrangements! I have been one of the few people to defend transcriptions. To spurn them is a mistake. In all work there is the element of music, besides the “colour” of the instruments for which the works were written. The strictly musical value is above the instrumental value, and it should predominate. Why, then, shouldn’t it be transferred to other instruments? Bach did it consistently; why shouldn’t we do it?’<sup>608</sup>

To return to Grützmacher’s work as an arranger, one should note his limited interest in other kinds of adaptation, such as paraphrase, divertimento and fantasy, which represent only a small part of his mimetic output. As already mentioned, Grützmacher saw his transcribing work as a sort of mission, aimed at enriching the cello repertoire with valuable ‘strings of pearls’. Further motivation was provided by didactic aims. As a conservatory professor, he had the tuition of his pupils in mind. He wrote a school of cello playing, *Hohe Schule des Violoncellspiels*, *Technologie des Violoncellos* Op. 72, and a collection of *Daily Exercises for the Violoncello*, Op. 67. His pupils no doubt gained musical knowledge of composers at the same time, honing their cello-playing skills through familiarising themselves with a number of transcriptions.

For forty-nine years, Grützmacher worked with many German publishers: Breitkopf & Härtel, Peters, Kahnt, Hofmeister and Siegel of Leipzig, Hoffarth of Dresden and Litolf of Brunswick. Today, his arrangements are subject to

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606 Weigl, *Handbuch*, 95.

607 Corredor, *Conversations with Casals*, 27, 62. The suites were first performed twelve years after his work on them. One mention of a hugely successful performance of the Third Suite in C major comes from a concert given in London on 20 October 1909. The suites were recorded with the transcriptions in 1927–39 (Naxos Historical 07/2000).

608 *Ibid.*, 121.

harsh judgments, on account of their Romantic style and the excessive liberties they take with the original works. Cellists are discouraged from introducing his editions of Boccherini's sonatas or Concerto in B flat major into their repertoire. Margaret Campbell describes his arrangements as 'Grützmacher's vandalism.'<sup>609</sup> That which was acceptable just a few decades ago has ultimately failed to withstand the test of time. Nowadays, artists possess comprehensive knowledge in music history, and in their artistic creations they devote more attention to style and adapt their interpretations to the period in which a work was written. In academic environments (and beyond), there is a tendency to eliminate so-called poor editions. Publishers across Europe have turned to the originals, issuing urtext editions without any specialist preparation.<sup>610</sup>

However, we should see Grützmacher's work through the prism of his times and discern its positive aspects. His arrangements expanded the cello repertoire with works by almost forgotten Classics (Boccherini) and viola da gamba repertoire. Grützmacher was one of the first to note, in his own way, not just the technical qualities in the compositions of Johann Sebastian Bach, but also their potential for concert performance.

#### 5.4.2. Other transcribers of the German school

**Sebastian Lee (1805–1887)**, known today principally for his teaching work, was also a composer and arranger. Although he wrote few original works, there are dozens of opuses containing quotations from arias and motifs from operas by such composers as Tchaikovsky, Grisar, Verdi, Auber, Rossini, Weber, Bellini, Donizetti, Grétry, Halévy, Mompou, Bordèse, Hérold, Mermet, Marschner and Meyerbeer. They comprise sets of variations, nine divertimentos, 32 fantasies and 23 opuses of miniatures and miscellanea. Lee gave opus numbers to *Soirées du violoncelliste amateur, collection de transcriptions facile sur les opéras de Verdi*, Op. 98, *Don Carlos: opéra de Verdi transcriptions mélodiques pour violoncelle avec accompagnement de piano en deux suites*, Op. 103 and *Transcription sur l'opéra 'Le Premier Jour de Bonheur'*, Op. 104. He also left more than two hundred arrangements and transcriptions without opus numbers in sets and individual editions, some published after his death. They are based on quotations from operas or other works by Handel, Mozart, Gounod, Bizet, Offenbach, J. S. Bach, Pergolesi, Rameau, Corelli, Schubert, Schumann, Chopin, Beethoven, Auber,

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609 Campbell, 'Nineteenth-Century Virtuosi', 72.

610 Makewitch and Seder, *Cello Story*, 130–131.

Rossini, Weber, Verdi, Bellini, Donizetti, Grétry, Halévy, Leduc, Meyerbeer, Mendelssohn and others.

**Moritz Eduard Ganz (1802–1868)**, associated with Berlin, was first cello of the Hofkapelle in 1827 and replaced Bernhard Romberg in the Royal Orchestra. He initially specialised in works based on themes from operas by Weber, Rossini, Meyerbeer, Auber and others. He composed *Potpourris*, Opp. 10 and 15, *Concert Duets*, Opp. 4 and 7, *Fantasies*, Op. 16 and 22, and two fantasies without opus number. His 6 *Transcriptions*, Op. 30 were published around 1843 and his 10 *Transcriptions*, Op. 34 in 1850, by Schlesinger of Berlin.

**August Lindner (1820–1878)** was a German cellist-soloist associated with Hanover. His published output is dominated by transcriptions and arrangements. He produced many collections: *Paraphrases*, Op. 12, *Transcriptions*, Opp. 16 and 18, arrangements of sonatas in the collection *Altes und Neues*, Op. 36 and arrangements of works by past masters, *Alte Weisen*, Op. 39.

**Georg Goltermann (1824–1898)** was music director in Würzburg and kapellmeister at the Stadttheater in Frankfurt. As a composer, he left an impressive amount of works scored for cello, including seven concertos, as well as arrangements based on motifs from operas, songs and well-known tunes: fantasies, ballades, romances, musical illustrations, salon pieces, virtuosic works and lyric pieces – 133 opuses in total. His *Sonatinas*, Opp. 36 and 114 were composed for alternative performance on violin/viola/cello. Goltermann called his transcriptions ‘works’, giving them separate opus numbers: *Pièces choisies (Transcriptions)*, Op. 120 of works by Schubert and Stradella (Offenbach: André, 1878; Bremen: Schweers & Haake, n.d.); 6 *Transcriptions*, Op. 121 from operas by Mozart (*Idomeneo*, *Zaide*, *Così fan tutte*), Gluck (*Iphigénie en Tauride*) and Cherubini (*Médée*) (Offenbach: André, n.d.). Thirty-four transcriptions by Goltermann were included in a collection of popular works, *Album-Blätter*, alongside sixty-two works and arrangements for cello by other composers: the viola player **Hermann Ritter (1849–1926)** and the cellist **Norbert Salter**.<sup>611</sup> Goltermann transcribed works by a variety of composers: from J. S. Bach and Haydn through Schubert and Grieg to Wagner. His large output as composer

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611 Norbert Salter (1868–1935), a German cello soloist, a member of the orchestra at the Budapest Opera. From 1890 to 1892 he worked with Gustav Mahler. He transcribed, among other things, songs by Brahms, published numerous other arrangements, wrote etudes, orchestral studies, chamber pieces and anthologies of solo works and revised editions of *Etudes* by Dotzauer, *Sonatas* by Romberg and *Suites* by J. S. Bach.

and transcriber has not found a permanent place in the cello repertoire and is partly forgotten. Today, it is perceived mainly in terms of excellent teaching material.

**Leopold Grützmacher (1835–1900)**, Friedrich's younger brother, was a cellist at the Theatre and the Gewandhaus in Leipzig and also the German National Theatre in Prague, as well as being a soloist to the Grand Duke of Weimar and a composer. He transcribed for cello and piano fifty-one works by Chopin, published by Litloff of Brunswick in the years 1880–1888. He arranged twenty of Mendelssohn's Songs without Words and eighteen works by Schubert, Wagner and Weber.

**Julius Klengel (1859–1933)** was a highly regarded cellist and a professor at the Leipzig Conservatory, whose pupils included Gregor Piatigorsky, Emanuel Feuermann, Paul Grümmer and Joachim Stutschewsky. He wrote five concertos, three concertini, sonatas, sonatinas, suites and many original cello works. Of his sixty-five opuses, only the Caprice, Op. 43 for solo cello from 1905, dedicated to the excellent cellist Guilhermina Suggi (1885–1950), is based on themes taken from Schumann's Violin Sonata in D minor, Op. 121. He transcribed and arranged sixty-one works by the Classics and the Romantics (without opus number): Chopin, Schumann, Paganini, Mozart, Rimsky-Korsakov and Rachmaninov.

**Paul Klengel (1854–1935)**, Julius's brother, is regarded as the composer of a transcription of Brahms's Violin Sonata in G major, Op. 78, which in its cello version is transposed to the key of D major. He also wrote nineteen other arrangements.

**Hugo Becker (1863–1941)** was a German cellist who performed with such artists as Eugène Ysaÿe and Ferruccio Busoni, and subsequently with Artur Schnabel and Carl Flesch. A conservatory professor in Frankfurt am Main and first cellist of the opera, he replaced Robert Hausmann at the Hochschule in Berlin. His pupils included George Georgescu, Gregor Piatigorsky, Paul Grümmer, Enrico Mainardi and Ernst Cahnbley. He owned four Stradivarius cellos: the *Cristiani* (1700), *ex-Becker* (1719), *Marquis de Corberon* (1726) and *Ben Venuto* (1730). Besides fourteen cello opuses, the method handbook *Mechanik und Aesthetic des Violoncellspiels* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1929), orchestral studies, editions of suites by Johann Sebastian Bach, seven books of etudes by Sebastian Lee and caprices by Adrien-François Servais, he left behind a dozen or so transcriptions and arrangements: the Adagio and Allegro moderato from Schubert's Sonata for Arpeggione, D821 (Mainz: Schott, n.d.); *6 Transkryptionen*, a collection of atmospheric adaptations of works by Bach, Schubert, Tartini, Nardini and Schumann (Leipzig: Bosworth & Co., n.d.); and another set of arrangements of vocal works by Handel, Schubert and Wagner (Mainz: Schott, 187–).

**Karl/Carl Schröder (1848–1935)** was first cellist of the Gewandhaus and Julius Klengel's successor as a professor of the conservatories in Leipzig and then Berlin. He wrote three cello concertos, Opp. 32, 36 and 55, many other works, nine handbooks on orchestration and cello technique, collections of own didactic pieces, Opp. 22, 29, 31, 34, 35, 39 and 64, and around 140 etudes and caprices, published by twelve firms across Europe. Schröder's editorial work straddled the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His first transcriptions for two cellos are adaptations of concert duets for two violins by Viotti, Op. 29 (Brunswick: Litolf, 1870).<sup>612</sup> For Schott, he arranged and transcribed for cello and piano around forty sonatas and suites by such composers as Boccherini, Vandini, Berteau, Cervetto, Guerini, Marcello, Tillière, Bononcini, Bréval, Lanzetti and Loeillet, published in the series *Cello Bibliothek Klassische Sonaten*, suites and sonatas from the viola da gamba repertoire by Caix d'Hervelois, Marais and Forqueray. He also arranged J. S. Bach's Suites in G major and C major with a piano part.<sup>613</sup> The same arrangements were published simultaneously by Augener of London in the series *Classical Violoncello Music*. Another project realised for Schott was an arrangement of six books of *Alte Meister* with transcriptions of dances and excerpts from compositions by eighteenth-century masters.

**Robert Emil Bockmühl (1820–1881)** possessed an impressive output as an arranger-transcriber. Besides his above-mentioned adaptations of works by Chopin, he produced cello transcriptions of works by composers from the Baroque to the Romantic era. Of his 69 opuses and 95 publications without opus number, 39 are transcriptions or sets of works based on borrowed motifs. Bockmühl enjoyed the respect of publishers, as can be gauged from the fact that his arrangements were issued by all the Leipzig firms (Offenbach, Peters, Siegel, Schuberth, Hofmeister, Forberg, Kistner, Breitkopf & Härtel), as well as by other German publishers in Mainz, Berlin, Hamburg, Frankfurt and Brunswick, and also by many firms abroad: in Milan, London, Paris, Vienna and New York. The clear majority of his arrangements were published during his lifetime.

German cellists and publishers were in the European vanguard in respect to writing and publishing cello arrangements and transcriptions. There was not a single prominent German cellist who, besides playing solo and in an orchestra,

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612 This is a substantial transcription, without a change of key. It represents an exact transposition of the violin part down by one or two octaves to the cello register.

613 Weigl, *Handbuch*, 95.

composing and teaching, was not also the author of this type of mimetic cello literature. Arrangements were not the main focus of interest among instrumentalists; they were additional works, written thanks to the authority the musicians enjoyed in their milieu and the confidence placed in their professionalism. The incredible scale of the phenomenon of arranging and transcribing leads to the last link in the chain of these editions – the mass audience, the reception of the output of European composers of all eras, bringing great popularity to the composers of the original works.

Voiced in German music circles were the first words of criticism regarding the mechanical, mass use of recognised output. In *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, from 1833 onwards, Robert Schumann propagated brilliant new music. This great Romantic, whose music was also subjected to various kinds of transcription and arrangement, came out against ‘prosaic’ salon music that was easily accessible, common and far from ‘poetical’ true art. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, in the German avant-garde, the term ‘kitsch’ arose in relation to a certain type of output. ‘Low’ music was mentioned in opposition to ‘high’ music, and trivial output became the opposite of art music.<sup>614</sup>

#### 5.4.3. Transcribers of the French and Russian schools

**Auguste Franck** (1808–1884), besides his work with opera and theatre orchestras in Paris, taught cello at the Conservatoire. He performed alongside the violinist Jean-Delphin Alard, the pianist and conductor Charles Hallé, and the pianists and composers Felix Mendelssohn and Fryderyk Chopin. He also worked with Chopin on the latter’s late cello works. He was the first transcriber of works by Chopin. He wrote forty-five opuses of cello works: a concerto, caprices, variations on borrowed themes and miniatures. His eighty works without opus number include sets of transcriptions and arrangements.

The French cellist, gambist, composer and music editor **Jules Delsart** (1844–1900) was a pupil and successor of Auguste Franck at the Paris Conservatoire. An outstanding pedagogue, his pupils included a generation of outstanding French cellists: Louis Abbiate, Paul Bazelaire, Louis Feuillard and others. He did not regard his arrangements, which dominated his output, as works. He was inspired in that line by the music of French composers: Widor, Maréchal, Massenet, Saint-Saëns and Fauré. Particularly noteworthy is his

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614 For an exhaustive exposition of the history of the term *trivialmusik*, see Literska, *Nineteenth-Century Transcriptions*, 193–237.

arrangement of the cello part of César Franck's Sonata in A major, CCF123 (1886), which Delsart produced in 1886–88 for Hamelle of Paris.

**Louis Feuillard (1872–1941)** was a pupil of Jules Delsart and from 1925 his successor at the Paris Conservatoire. His eminent pupils were Maurice Maréchal, Joseph Salmon and Paul Tortelier. He wrote anthologies of works by various composers, useful for cellists. His transcriptions and arrangements of works of early, Baroque, Classical and Romantic music make up 143 items in his oeuvre.

The list of Russian transcribers opens with **Carl Davidov/Karl Davydov (1838–1889)**, a pupil and successor of Friedrich Grützmacher and teacher to Julius Klengel, Hanuš Wihan and Aleksander Wierzbilłowicz. He wrote numerous compositions for cello – four concertos, an *Allegro de concert*, Op. 11 and virtuosic works – and also a *Violoncell-Schule* (1887–1888). A large part of his output consists of transcriptions and arrangements of works by Beethoven, Moniuszko, Schumann and above all Chopin.

The German cellist **Wilhelm Karl Friedrich/Vasyli Fyodorovich Fitzenhagen (1848–1890)** was a pupil of Friedrich Grützmacher. Initially associated with the Dresdner Hofkapelle (up to 1870), he then moved to Russia, where he spent the rest of his life. A professor at the Moscow Conservatory, his pupils included Anatoly Brandukov and Józef Adamowski. As a composer, he wrote sixty-five opuses of original works: four concertos, virtuosic concert and lyric works, dance pieces, salon works and didactic miniatures. He also produced eight-seven arrangements of works by old masters, as well as potpourris and transcriptions. His works with opus number inspired by melodies derived from vocal output are *Hiedenröslein – Fantasie über Schubert's gleichnamiges Lied*, Op. 17 and *Dämon – Fantasie über Motive aus Rubinstein's Oper 'Der Dämon'*, Op. 34. His opuses 64 and 65 meanwhile, are arrangements and transcriptions of nineteen works by composers ranging from J. S. Bach to Paderewski. Of his remaining twenty or so works without opus number and sets of arrangements and transcriptions for cello and piano, particularly noteworthy are his numerous arrangements of works by Tchaikovsky, including the four-part collection *Tchaikovsky for the Cello*, and potpourris from the operas *The Slippers*, Op. 14, *Eugene Onegin*, Op. 24 and *The Maid of Orleans*. A close friend of Tchaikovsky, Fitzenhagen was the first performer of the *Rococo Variations*, Op. 33 (1877), dedicated to him. Following audience reactions in concerts, he rearranged the order of the variations. The theme and the first two variations remained essentially unaltered. The change of order occurs from the third variation onwards, and the eighth variation was omitted

entirely.<sup>615</sup> Tchaikovsky was not initially enamoured by that concept when the work was first published in a version for cello and piano in 1889. Yet Fitzenhagen's version was ultimately orchestrated by Tchaikovsky, becoming the most frequently performed version of the work, which held sway for many years to come.<sup>616</sup> This is an example of a positive suggestion made to a composer by a practising instrumentalist, the final effect of which was beneficial to the work. From the point of view of defenders of the integrity of the musical work, however, this was an unacceptable instance of interference. Tchaikovsky's manuscripts with Fitzenhagen corrections were brought back to their original form; the editor was the first cellist of the Bolshoi Theatre – Viktor Kubatsky (1891–1970). The variations in the original version were performed by Danill Shafran with the conductor Alexandr Melik-Pashayev in the Tchaikovsky Concert Hall Moscow.<sup>617</sup> This material was published by Muzgiz of Moscow in 1956 (repr. New York: Kalmus, n.d.), while

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615 Comparison of the *Rococo Variations*, Op. 33:

Tchaikovsky (Moscow: Muzgiz, 1956)	Ed. Fitzenhagen (Moscow: Muzgiz, 1962)
Moderato assai quasi Andante	Moderato assai quasi Andante
Moderato semplice – theme without repeats+8-bar bridge	Theme with repeats + 8-bar bridge
I Tempo della Thema	I – without changes
II Tempo della Thema bridge cadenza	II 26 bars as in the original, bridge from Var. VI, no cadenza
III Andante	III Andante sostenuto – VII original variation
IV Allegro vivo	IV Andante grazioso – V original variation
V Andante grazioso	V – original VI + bridge and cadenza from Var. II
VI Allegro moderato	VI Andante – original III
VII Andante sostenuto	VII – original IV + coda
VIII Allegro moderato con anima + coda	36 bars were omitted (the whole of Var. VIII)

616 Tchaikovsky's manuscripts, with a description, can be found on the website Спецпроект Чайковский: Открытый мир:

a score with Fitzenhagen's pencil alterations, <https://www.culture.ru/catalog/tchaikovsky/ru/item/archiv/variicii-na-temu-rokoko-variations-sur-un-theme-Rococo-dlya-violoncheli-s-orkestrom>; and a version with piano accompaniment, <https://www.culture.ru/catalog/tchaikovsky/ru/item/archiv/variicii-na-temu-rokoko-variations-sur-un-theme-Rococo-dlya-violoncheli-s-orkestrom-2017-08-17> (accessed 16 July 2019).

617 For more information, see the Tchaikovsky Research: [http://en.tchaikovsky-research.net/pages/Variations\\_on\\_a\\_Rococo\\_Theme](http://en.tchaikovsky-research.net/pages/Variations_on_a_Rococo_Theme) (accessed 16 July 2019).

in Western Europe, where only Fitzenhagen's version was previously known, the original version was published by Peters of Vienna in 2004.

**Anatoly Brandukov (1859–1930)** studied cello with Fitzenhagen and Cossmann and theory with Tchaikovsky at the Moscow Conservatory. Tchaikovsky dedicated to Brandukov his *Pezzo capriccioso*, Op. 62 (1882), while Rachmaninov dedicated to him the Sonata in G minor, Op. 19 for cello and piano and 2 *Pieces*, Op. 2. Brandukov, besides his own original compositions, wrote arrangements for cello of works by Rachmaninov: the *Vocalises*, Op. 34 No. 14 and the Prelude, Op. 23 No. 10. An esteemed soloist, he was director of the School of Music and Drama at the Moscow Philharmonic and then a professor of the Moscow Conservatory.

#### 5.4.4. Other European transcribers

The Italian **Alfredo Carlo Piatti (1822–1901)** was one of the foremost cellists of the nineteenth century. He performed with Liszt, Joachim, Wieniawski, Paderewski and Rubinstein. He played the cello in the old style, without an endpin. He was a key figure in the English cello school, a professor of the Royal Academy of Music in London. He trained a host of leading cello soloists: Robert Hausmann, Leo Stern, Hugo Becker, William Whitehouse and William Henry Squire. He wrote three concertos, 12 *Caprices* for solo cello, Op. 25 and around thirty late Romantic miniatures of a sentimental or virtuosic character. He expanded the concert repertoire with numerous valuable transcriptions and arrangements, which he published in the years 1865–1898, thereby contributing to the growth in interest in this kind of musical presentation. As a transcriber and arranger, he was interested primarily in Baroque, early Classical and Classical music.<sup>618</sup> His first arrangements of 6 *Sonatas* by Luigi Boccherini were published in Milan (Ricordi) between 1865 and 1874, with another twelve cyclical works issued from 1894 to 1897 in Schott's *Klassische Sonaten* series, and also by other publishers. Previously unknown sonatas arranged by Piatti are Locatelli's Sonata in D major, Porpora's Sonata in F major, originally for 'violino e basso', and Simpson's 13 *Divisions*, a transcription based on the collection *The Division Violis* from 1659, all published by Schott of Mainz in 1894.<sup>619</sup> Inspired by Schumann and Mendelssohn, his arrangements of works by J. S. Bach with piano accompaniment were designed to introduce performers and listeners to Bachian harmony. Piatti gave such treatments to Suite No. 1 in G major and Suite No. 3 in C major. He also arranged Giuseppe Valentini's Sonata No. 10 in E major from

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618 Stowell (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion*, 157–158.

619 Weigl, *Handbuch*, 89.

the *XII Solos for the Violoncello with the Thorough Bass* (London, 1720).<sup>620</sup> He transcribed Francesco Maria Veracini's Sonata in D minor, originally for 'Viol e Basso', and Attilio Ariosti's 6 *Sonatas* (in E flat major, A major, E minor, F major, E minor and D major), from the 1728 collection *Sei lezioni per la viola d'amore*,<sup>621</sup> for Schott of Mainz and Ricordi of Milan. His first arrangements of Benedetto Marcello's sonatas in G minor and F major were published by Simrock of Berlin in 1874. After the Piatti edition, others produced their own arrangements: Alfred Moffat and William Whitehouse (Mainz: Schott, 1894/5), Karl Schröder (Mainz: Schott, 1911), J. Slatter (Offenbach: André, 1911) and Joseph Salmon (Milan: Ricordi, 1918). Besides works by earlier composers, Piatti also transcribed Romantic and neoclassical pieces by Mendelssohn (*Songs without Words*, Opp. 19, 30, 38, 53, 62, 67, 85 and 102), Brahms (*21 Hungarian Dances*, 1881) in transcriptions for cello and piano in four volumes) and Schubert (*Am Meer*, Serenade and *Ave Maria*). This brief survey of transcriptions by Alfredo Piatti clearly shows that he did not confine himself to popular salon miniatures. He stimulated interest in transcribing and arranging whole sonatas and inspired others to follow suit. His cello versions revived interest in completely forgotten works from past eras. Although Piatti's transcriptions differ from the originals in the addition of a piano part and, in most instances, the alteration of the original performance medium, they are still regarded as 'faithful arrangements of eighteenth-century works',<sup>622</sup> valued by virtuoso cellists and recommended in teaching.

The Prague-born cello virtuoso **David Popper (1843–1913)** performed with great success across Europe. First cellist at the Vienna Hofoper, he was an esteemed chamber partner for Brahms, Liszt, Rubinstein, Menter and Auer. He was a professor of the Budapest Conservatory. In his works, he employed highly developed chromaticism. He wrote four cello concertos, a *Hohe Schule des Violoncellospiels*, Op. 73 and a collection of *40 Etudes* for advanced cellists. His abundant oeuvre contains around eighty virtuosic concert and salon miniatures.

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620 Ibid., 92. The piano part is an added nineteenth-century arrangement, originally played by harpsichord b.c. In the lyrical parts of this arrangement, one senses the spirit of Romanticism, while the quick sections are light, crackling with technical effects and interesting harmonic procedures. The result is an excellent showstopping gem. Piatti also added in the last movement a virtuosic cadenza with passagework, double stops and double trills.

621 Ibid., 94. All these works are beautiful; although the cello arrangements sound different than the originals, they are no less valuable for it.

622 Campbell, 'Nineteenth-Century Virtuosi', 72.

He jokingly described himself as ‘the first cellist to write cheerful works for the instrument’. He defined his 2 *Transcriptions*, Op. 46 as a ‘work’. The other twenty-six or so are without opus number. Eight of his transcriptions require advanced technique of the performer. One such example is his transcription of Chopin’s Nocturne, Op. 9 No. 2, in which the pianistic figurations, ornaments and two-note chords, together with the melody, were transferred to the cello part,<sup>623</sup> and the work was expanded with a quasi-improvised cadenza. Popper also arranged for cello and piano works by Schumann, Purcell, Wagner, Tchaikovsky, Schubert, Handel, Rubinstein, Lalo, Fauré, Cherubini and others. Besides his single editions, Popper’s transcriptions also appeared in series: *Perles musicales* (Offenbach: André, 1874), *Soirées intimes, transcriptions tirées des auteurs divers* (Paris: Hamelle, 1910) and 3 *Transcriptions de morceaux célèbres* (Paris: Hamelle, n.d.). Popper also produced five cadenzas based on the melodic material of concertos by Haydn (D major), Saint-Saëns (A minor), Op. 33, Volkmann (A minor), Schumann (A minor), Op. 129 and Molique (D major), Op. 45.

The Belgian cello virtuoso **Adrien-François Servais (1807–1866)** played a Stradivarius from 1701. He is considered to have popularised the use of an endpin, from 1845 onwards, which ensured a stable base for the cello and made playing more comfortable. It came into widespread use around the turn of the twentieth century. Servais wrote 19 fantasies and 31 duets on motifs from operas by Rossini, Auber, Donizetti, Halévy, Meyerbeer and others. He combined the fantasy genre with variations: his *Fantaisie et Variations brillantes sur la Valse de Schubert intitulée ‘Le Désir’*, Op. 4<sup>624</sup> and *Fantaisie et Variations brillantes sur l’Hymne national Hollandais*, Op. posth. No. 4 are examples of a completely free approach to the variation form. The Servais fantasy-variation is a late Romantic hybrid of two types of instrumental arrangement. It links two eras – the Romantic, through the free and undefined form of the fantasy, and the Classical, through the regulated form of variations. More than thirty arrangements by Servais were published by Schott of London and Brussels up to 1844.

The Dutch cello soloist **Alexandre Batta (1816–1902)** performed on a Stradivarius from 1714. His output is dominated by arrangements for cello and

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623 De’ak, *David Popper*, 277.

624 This work is in three sections: a *Maestoso* introduction is followed by an *Andante con moto* thirty-two bar theme from a waltz by Schubert and three *brillante* variations. They display an irregular design, with different numbers of bars: between 24 and 70. The first two variations contain virtuosic cadenzas, while the second and third have an additional piano solo. Besides the solo and the *Maestoso* introduction, the accompaniment part supports the virtuosic feats of the cello part.

piano from operas by Verdi, Weber, Donizetti, Meyerbeer, Bellini and Rossini, published by Schott, Ricordi and several Paris firms. Batta carried on intense concert work and also won competition prizes and decorations. He worked with many eminent musicians and played in a trio with Liszt and the violinist Chrétien Urhan. Not everyone admired his style; Clara Schumann, for one, was particularly scathing, calling him melancholy and a vocal dreamer of the bow.<sup>625</sup>

The Belgian cellist **Jules De Swert (1843–1891)** was a pupil of Servais and a professor of the Hochschule in Düsseldorf and then in Berlin. He was first cellist of orchestras in Düsseldorf, Weimar and Berlin. He performed with Clara Schumann and Leopold Auer. He wrote numerous compositions for cello and salon orchestra or piano: fantasies, miniatures and arrangements published in albums and in more than thirty single editions. His *Alte Violoncellmusik* (Berlin: Simrock, n.d.) is an album of twenty-two works derived from compositions by Johann Sebastian Bach, Luigi Boccherini, Domenico Scarlatti and Antonio Lotti. Other sets are the *Collection de morceaux choisis des maîtres classiques* (Schott: Mainz, Paris and London, 187–), 13 *Nocturnes* from Chopin's Opp. 15, 27, 37, 48, 55 and 62 (Schott: Mainz, 1919) and 6 *Consolations*, arrangements for cello and piano of Liszt's piano cycle, LW-A111b (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1869). Liszt added de Swert's arrangements of the *Consolations* to his concert repertoire and performed them with the cellist Ernst de Munck (1840–1915).<sup>626</sup>

It is impossible to name here all the cellists and their accomplishments in the field of cello arrangements. I have presented just the key figures on the nineteenth-century European music scene. Emerging from the mosaic of individual careers and great cello personalities is a picture of the progressive popularisation of the cello in Europe. Through the celebrity and authority of cellists, their teaching work, original output and, to a large extent, arrangements, the cello became a widely familiar and valued instrument. Never before in the history of cello performance were there so many multi-talented cellists: soloists, teachers, composers and arrangers. They performed titanic work, thanks to which the cello became one of the best loved Romantic instrumental media.

#### 5.4.5. Arrangers of works for cello

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, publishers commissioned arrangers to produce editions for multiple instruments. In 1860, the Austrian composer and pianist Carl Czerny (1791–1857) prepared transcriptions of

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625 Lambooj and Feves, 'Batta Alexandre', in *A Cellist's Companion*, 48.

626 Arnold, *The Liszt Companion*, 223, 227.

six books of Mendelssohn's *Songs without Words* (36 songs) for violin/cello and piano for Cocks of London. For Czerny, these were secondary activities. One professional arranger was **Alfred Moffat (1865–1950)**. Born in Scotland, Moffat studied composition in Berlin and collected works of early music (his collection is now held in the Library of Congress in Washington). In working on arrangements for multiple instruments, including the cello, Moffat repeatedly collaborated with the cellist **William Whitehouse**<sup>627</sup> and with **Eugen Rapp (1906–1977)**, editor and arranger of twenty editions for Schott of Mainz. Moffat arranged for Schott sonatas by Benedetto Marcello in D major, A minor, C major, G major, E minor, F major and G minor, a Sonata in G major (actually by Martin Berteau, see below), and sonatas by Johann Ernst Gaillard, Willem de Fesch, Pietro Giuseppe Boni, George Frideric Handel and Giorgio Antonioti. He also prepared collections for young cellists: *Alte Meisterweisen für junge Cellisten* (10 transcriptions) and *Alte Weisen* (15 transcriptions of dance miniatures). Moffat also worked with Simrock of Berlin, who published his transcriptions and arrangements of works by Fesch, Gaillard, Louis de Caix d'Hervelois, Henry Eccles, Andrea Caporale, Stefano Galeotti, Jean-Baptiste Bréval and Johann Adam Birkenstock. Moffat also prepared collections of works by composers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the series *Meisterschule der alten Zeit* and sonatas by Luigi Boccherini, Jean-Pierre Duport, Giacobbe Cervetto, Gasparo Visconti and Giuseppe Valentini. He also arranged trio sonatas by such composers as Pietro Locatelli, Johann Stamitz, Jean-Marie Leclair and Antonio Vivaldi for two violins and piano with an *ad libitum* cello part. For Augener of London, Moffat prepared two volumes of transcriptions, *Album Antique*, containing a rich selection of works by such composers as Henry Purcell, Benedetto Marcello, Francesco Maria Veracini, Pietro Nardini, Francesco Geminiani and Arcangelo Corelli. Moffat's recompositions, transcriptions and arrangements for cello were published in more than ninety collections and editions, issued between 1885 and 1939. Their author strove to ensure the authenticity of his sources, basing his editions on the original or oldest available editions from European libraries. He transcribed from works originally composed for violin, wind instruments, chamber ensemble or voice. His vocal adaptations include transcriptions of arias and songs by the nineteenth-century composers Mendelssohn, Schubert and Schumann.

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627 William Whitehouse (1859–1935), a pupil of Alfredo Piatti, was a professor of the Royal Academy of Music and Royal College of Music in London and of King's College Cambridge. He also edited Piatti's caprices.

Moffat's contemporaries wrote positively about his work and his commitment to restoring works by past masters to musical life. They discerned the hidden beauty of this exceptional music, which thanks to the 'positive genius' of Alfred Moffat was saved from oblivion.<sup>628</sup> Moffat's piano arrangements of works of early music developed a bass line marked with figures. The upper part of the piano fabric was led in a free fashion, facilitating reception of the original's melody. Moffat did not overly emphasise his personality as arranger, thereby serving the good of the arranged music.

During the twentieth century, critical remarks arose regarding Moffat's work. It turned out that the surname of one of the composers of an arranged piece was erroneously given. The mistake arose from a misinterpretation of an inscription in a Paris edition from 1748: the composer's signature *Sig.<sup>r</sup> Martino* was read as Martini, so supposedly an abbreviated form of the surname Sammartini. In 1975, the matter was cleared up by Jane Adas, who resolved the enigmatic inscription. Based on comparative analysis with other editions, she established that the gambist and cellist **Martin Berteau (1707–1771)** published his compositions under that pseudonym.<sup>629</sup> This Sonata, originally scored for cello and basso, is a typical Baroque four-movement representative of the genre. In Moffat's arrangement for cello and piano, it has three movements and displays changes to the rhythm, chromatics, dynamics and tempo marking. The critical voices did not prevent the arrangement appearing in further reeditions; Schott of Mainz and Kalmus of London are still publishing Moffat's arrangements today.

## 5.5. The output of Polish composers in transcriptions

Polish composers occasionally produced transcriptions of their own works. In 1859, **Stanisław Moniuszko (1819–1872)**, the father of Polish national opera, placed in the introduction to the third act of his opera *Hrabina* ('The countess'), a polonaise entitled *Pan Chorąży* for three cellos, double bass and viola. A year later, Moniuszko produced the first transcription of this polonaise for cello and piano. Another self-transcriber was **Moritz Moszkowski (1854–1925)**. His piano works, Opp. 15, 18, 23, 45 and 58 were published by German, British and French firms in a version for cello and piano. Other works by Moszkowski were arranged for cello by the German composer **August Nölck (1862–1945)** and the German cellist **Sebastian Lee**.

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628 Boughton, 'Early English Chamber Music', 611.

629 Adas, 'Le célèbre Berteau'.

Here is a list of transcriptions of works representing the output of Polish composers of the nineteenth and early twentieth century (except Chopin, already discussed in this regard):

**Emil Młynarski (1870–1935)** – Mazur (David Popper);

**Stanisław Moniuszko (1819–1872)** – Barcarolle (Leo Schulz<sup>630</sup>), *2 Russian Romances* (Karl Davydov), *Valse mélancolique* (Bernhard Cossmann);

**Henryk Wieniawski (1835–1880)** – Kujawiak (Heinrich Grünfeld,<sup>631</sup> Wilhelm Carl Fitzenhagen, André Hekking<sup>632</sup>), Romance from the Violin Concerto, Op. 22 No. 2 (Jacques van Lier), *Légende* (Hekking, Willy Deckert<sup>633</sup>);

**Ignacy Jan Paderewski (1860–1941)** – *Mélodie*, Op. 38 No. 3 (Grünfeld), Minuet, Op. 14 (Fitzenhagen, Joseph Hollmann,<sup>634</sup> Gaspar Cassadó<sup>635</sup>).

It is not always possible to identify the author of a transcription: the *Polonaise élégiaque* by **Zygmunt Noskowski (1846–1909)**, published by Hainauer of Breslau in 1887, and the *Vier Impromptus*, Op. 6 by **Ludomir Różycki (1884–1953)**, published by Stahl of Berlin (n.d.) for cello and piano do not carry the transcriber's name.

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630 Leo Schulz (1865–1944), born in Poznań, a pupil of Robert Hausmann at the Hochschule in Berlin, first cellist in Berlin and then Leipzig. A member of American symphony orchestras in Boston and New York. A professor of the New England Conservatory and then of Yale University. He produced eighty-eight arrangements, including a collection of transcriptions of works by past masters. Editor of Classical works.

631 Heinrich Grünfeld (1855–1931), born in Prague, first cellist of the Komische Oper in Vienna, cellist of the Prussian royal court, soloist and teacher in Berlin.

632 André Hekking (1866–1925), a French virtuoso cellist, a professor of the Paris Conservatoire and the American Conservatory in Fontainebleau.

633 Willy Deckert (1870–1923), a pupil of Louis Schröder, Friedrich Grützmacher and Julius Klengel, he toured a great deal. A member of the orchestra of the Komische Oper in Berlin, he produced twenty-six transcriptions and arrangements.

634 Joseph Hollmann (1852–1927), a Dutch cellist, a pupil of Adrien-François Servais in Brussels and Karl Davydov in St Petersburg. An active soloist, he settled in Paris. Camille Saint-Saëns dedicated to Hollmann his Second Cello Concerto.

635 Gaspar Cassadó (1897–1966), a Spanish cellist and composer, a pupil of Pablo Casals, he performed on the *Boccherini* Stradivarius from 1707. He played with the finest musicians, including Arthur Rubinstein, Yehudi Menuhin and Bronisław Huberman. A professor of the Siena Academy of Music, he performed in Europe and across the world. He wrote original works and thirty-six transcriptions and arrangements.

## 5.6. The popularisation of the cello in Poland, transcriptions, arrangements and polyversions

In Polish lands, **Samuel Kossowski (1805–1911)** added arrangements to his concert repertoire. Initially, up to 1833, Kossowski was a concert violinist.<sup>636</sup> He only discovered the cello after settling in Lviv.<sup>637</sup> From 1842, he performed with huge success as a cellist, including in Berlin, Budapest, Moscow, St Petersburg and Prague.<sup>638</sup> As contemporary sources relate, he was an excellent cello virtuoso: ‘Among our compatriots, to date only Kossowski has made a name for himself in Europe.’<sup>639</sup> ‘He produced, according to the testimony of his peers, transcriptions of violin works’<sup>640</sup> Kossowski spent several years in Volhynia, Podolia and Ukraine. We have an account of a concert he gave in Lviv on 24 April 1845. His repertoire featured his own works and arrangements: Variations on ‘Abschied’ from Wenzel Müller’s operetta *Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind*, a *Fantaisie mélancolique* played without orchestra, a *Carnaval de Venise* and a Potpourri. One reviewer issued this glowing opinion: ‘(Kossowski’s) recent travels provided an excellent opportunity for him to add to his own splendour, his lofty talent: he has now attained a level on which he can measure up to the greatest musicians in Europe, and as a cellist he is already a rare phenomenon. We have heard that he will be staying for a while among us and giving further concerts. This one, despite the rather high prices, attracted quite a large audience, and the frequent bravos and tumultuous applause showed that the public was very content.’<sup>641</sup> Wojciech A. Sowiński opined that Kossowski had attained ‘a degree of excellence in terms of technique, purity of tone and tenderness in the performance of national melodies.’<sup>642</sup> Oskar Kolberg, after the cellist’s death, wrote: ‘The principal attribute of his playing was a beautiful tone and a sentimental tenderness. He performed melancholy domestic songs, national reminiscences and pious and rustic melodies most

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636 Sowiński, *Słownik*, 199; *Samuela Orgelbranda Encyklopedyja*, viii:518.

637 Sowiński, *Słownik*, 36.

638 Suchecki, *Wiolonczela od A do Z*, 222–223.

639 Sikorski, *Doręcznik*, 251.

640 Sensibility’, in *The Romantic Generation*, 586–7: ‘A cadenza is basically a relaxing of structural tension, a mimesis of improvisation which loosens both phrase structure and tempo.’

641 *Dziennik Mód Paryskich*, ed. Tomasz Kulczycki, vii (Lviv, 1845), 80.

642 Sowiński, *Słownik*, 199.

beautifully.’<sup>643</sup> Unfortunately, those works, probably arranged by Kossowski for his own performances, have not come down to us.

Polish transcriptions and works for alternative performance, intended for musicians of varying standard, were published by the Warsaw firm of Gebethner & Wolff towards the end of the nineteenth century. **Adam Herman-Hermanowski (1836–1893)** and Henryk Adamus transcribed Aleksander Michałowski’s *Mélodie*, Op. 12. Around 1910, the composer, violinist and cellist **Konstanty Paschalski** published with Gebethner & Wolff two collections of polyversion compositions for violin or cello entitled *Choix des pièces* and *Utwory na skrzypce lub wiolonczelę z towarzyszeniem fortepianu* (‘Works for violin or cello with piano accompaniment’), which he classified under four different levels of difficulty.<sup>644</sup> Paschalski also transcribed and published around fifty Baroque, Classical, Romantic and contemporary works, instrumental miniatures and vocal-instrumental works for violin or cello and his own polyversion works on six levels of difficulty, in the series *Choix de Pièces Classiques et Modernes pour Violon ou Violoncelle avec Accompagnement de Piano*.

An impressive output of this type was left by **Antoni Cink**.<sup>645</sup> He specialised mainly in propagating Polish music. He published, in four books, an *Album pieśni polskich* of forty-eight popular Polish songs, where the alternative violin part was prepared by the Polish violinist Stanisław Barcewicz (1858–1929). Those books were published by Gebethner & Wolff between 1912 and 1915. Further transcriptions by Cink were included in the series *Kłosa – Najpiękniejsze śpiewy* (‘Ears of corn: the most beautiful songs’). **Gustaw Adolf Sonnenfeld (1837–1914)** (pseudonym Adolfson), a composer of violin transcriptions, published one hundred miniatures with G & W, more than fifty of which were transcribed by Cink for cello. They were predominantly works by Polish composers: Chopin,

643 Kolberg, ‘Kossowski Samuel’, in *Samuela Orgelbranda Encyklopedyja*, xv:680.

644 Konstanty Paschalski (1860–1921) played in the Teatr Wielki orchestra from 1882 to 1890. He wrote handbooks and exercises for cello: *Szkoła na wiolonczelę: z zastosowaniem początkowych zasad teoretycznych* [School for cello: with the use of rudiments of theory], Op. 4 (1910), *Ćwiczeń na podstawie gam krzyżkowych i bemolowych w tercjach majorowych i minorowych* [Exercises based on sharp and flat scales in major and minor thirds] (1902), *Ćwiczenia Schradiecka opracowane na wiolonczelę* [Schradieck’s exercises adapted for cello], *Ćwiczenia na podstawie akordów rozłożonych* [Exercises based on spread chords] and *Gamy w trzech i czterech oktawach* [Scales in three and four octaves], published by Gebethner & Wolff of Warsaw.

645 Antoni Cink (1863–1933) – a professor of the Warsaw Conservatory from 1891 to 1907.

Moszkowski, Moniuszko, Noskowski, Żeleński, Dobrzyński, Ogiński and Kątski, as well as the lesser lights Kossakowska, Szopowicz, Komorowski, Nowakowski, Syrewicz, Osmański and Listowski, and also Polish songs, carols, dances and fantasies on Polish themes. Each of these miniatures carried an indication of the level of difficulty: \*very easy, \*\*easy first position, \*\*\*average, \*\*\*\*more difficult third position. Transcriptions were published around the turn of the twentieth century by the Warsaw firm of Ferdynand Hoesick. Another series of works transcribed and arranged by Cink, entitled *Répertoire des pièces classiques et modernes pour Violon* (G & W, beginning of the twentieth century), fingered and classified according to difficulty by Cink and Romuald Aust, both professors of the Warsaw Conservatory, contained miniatures divided into six groups according to difficulty. Each of the sections carried a brief commentary, with an indication of which positions the works were in.

Another teacher at the State Conservatory in Warsaw, **Henryk Waghalter**, also popularised the cello through transcriptions. He published almost sixty Classical and Romantic instrumental and vocal miniatures in arrangements for cello, also published in Maurice Rosen's violin collection *Les perles du violoniste*. The works marked with an asterisk were alternatively intended for cello, while original cello works, including by Popper, were transcribed by Waghalter for violin. Thus violinists had the opportunity to familiarise themselves with original cello repertoire. The miniatures were divided into three groups according to difficulty. These publications were issued by G & W over the first three decades of the twentieth century. Waghalter also produced arrangements and transcriptions of Romantic miniatures and vocal works in Romuald Aust's violin series *Les fleurs du violoniste*, for alternative performance on cello, which like the previous pieces were marked with an asterisk and grouped into three levels of difficulty. Waghalter also produced transcriptions for cello or violin of eighteen songs (Opp. 1, 3 and 4) by Mieczysław Karłowicz, published by G & W in three series during the 1910s.

An academic title or place of employment would be placed before the names of arrangers (Paschalski, Cink and Waghalter), invoking their authority in order to enhance the appeal of publications to cellists progressing through the levels. The main aim of these series of publications was education – increasing musical knowledge in a pleasant, practical way and developing playing ability. Transcriptions were most often literal adaptations, faithful to the original works. Beyond the change of performance medium, the musician was presented with material as close as possible to the original, not deformed by the transcriber's interference. The publication of a large number of cello transcriptions represented commercial publishers' response to market demand. The easy access to sheet

music in the form of arrangements certainly spurred musicians to improve. Previously, there had been a lack of such educational aids, and cello works played by Polish cellists were not published. Professors around the turn of the twentieth century spotted a need for suitable didactic materials to make it easier for pupils to study scales, passages and etudes and to encourage amateur cellists to familiarise themselves with great music accessible to all, regardless of ability, arranged by the finest teachers in Warsaw.

### 5.7. Virtuoso cadenzas

During the Romantic era, the Classical model of a cadenza, in the form of an improvised arrangement of the melodic material of the first and third movements of a concerto, less often the second, was modified. The role of the improvising instrumentalist came to an end, as David Boyden mentions: 'A distinctive feature of the solo concerto is the cadenza, in which the soloist indulges in a flight of fancy or caprice [. . .]. The beginning of the cadenza is indicated by the fermata, at which point the orchestra generally falls silent, awaiting in a mixture of admiration, awe, and boredom the soloist's display of technical virtuosity, one of the normal ingredients of the cadenza.'<sup>646</sup>

In Romantic times, the cadenza was written out, edited and published. Thus the earlier improvisation and arrangement of cadenzas ceased to be improvisation and remained arrangement alone. Whereas Classical composers placed a fermata by the word *cadenza* and expected the soloist to improvise his own cadenza, typical Romantic cadenzas were written by the composer. Charles Rosen defined the cadenza as 'a mimesis of improvisation',<sup>647</sup> so an imitation of improvisation which loosens phrase structure and tempo. From the moment it was written out and published in print, the cadenza became an imitation of improvisation performed by the soloist. It changed its form and its place in a performance. In a Romantic concerto, it could appear anywhere, in several different parts of the same movement or – as was equally frequent – omitted altogether. A performer was increasingly seldom the composer of a work, which was one of the reasons why cadenzas or their substitutes were written out or entirely omitted. Bernhard Romberg was the first not to include a cadenza in his Cello

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<sup>646</sup> Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing*, 334.

<sup>647</sup> Rosen, 'Classical Form and Modern Sensibility', in *The Romantic Generation*, 586–7: 'A cadenza is basically a relaxing of structural tension, a mimesis of improvisation which loosens both phrase structure and tempo.'

Concerto, Op. 7 No. 4 (1803), and he did the same in further concertos: Op. 51 (1829) and Op. 56 No. 9 (1823).<sup>648</sup> A full cadenza of a virtuosic character referring to the melodic material of the foregoing movement appeared in few original concertos: Karl Davydov's Op. 18 No. 3 (1868), Franz Neruda's Op. 66 No. 5 (MS 1888), Carl Reinecke's Op. 82 (1864), Joachim Raff's Op. 193 No.1 (an elaborate Quasi Cadenza – 1874) and Henri Vieuxtemps's Op. 50 No. 2 (1884).

Cadenzas written by composers became an integral and – by dint of being notated – invariable part of a concert. Unlike the Classics, which left performance to the soloist, the Romantic composer took control over the whole of a work. The cadenza was no longer of an exclusively virtuosic character. Many of them display no affinity with the concerto and carry the following markings:

- *A piacere*, at the performer's discretion, indicating freedom of interpretation and the option of employing tempo rubato: Georg Goltermann, Op. 14 No. 1, movt I, Op. 30 No. 2, movt III,
- *In modo di recitativo*, a kind of cadenza bearing the hallmarks of a vocal use of the instrument, through suitable narration, imitating singing that is close to melorecitation, after the fashion of recitative in large-scale vocal-instrumental forms: operas, oratorios, cantatas and passion, e.g. Henri Vieuxtemps, Op. 50 No. 2 (1884), movt II, '*A piacere in modo di recitativo*'.
- *Quasi*, meaning almost, or similar to, as in the following examples:

*Quasi cadenza*: J. Raff, Op. 193 No. 1, movt I, A. Dvořák, Op. 104, movt II (1894–95),

*Quasi recitativo*: D. Popper, Op. 24 No. 2 (1880),

*Quasi Fantazja*: Friedrich Gernsheim, Op. 78, movt I,

- *Colla Parte*, 'with the principal part', indicating the need to tailor one's playing to the main part's freedom in tempo and phrasing: Servais, Op. 5, movt III (1847),

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648 Here are some concertos without a cadenza: Johann Benjamin Gross (1809–1848), Op. 31 (1843); Georg Goltermann, Op. 51 No. 3 (1868), Op. 65 No. 4 (1872), Op. 76 No. 5 (1874), Op. 100 No. 6 (1882–4); Jules De Swert, Op. 32 No. 1 (1874); Karl Davydov, Op. 31 No. 4 (1878); David Popper, Op. 59 No. 3 (1880); Franz Neruda, Op. 59 No. 2 (1887); Daniel van Goens (1858–1904), Op. 30 No. 2 (1901). The following non-cellist composers omitted a cadenza: Eduard Lalo, Concerto in D minor (1877), Johan Svendsen, Op. 7 (1870), Eugen Albert, Op. 20 (1899), Franz Strigl, Op. 13 (1890), Karl Eckert, Op. 26 (1869), Charles Widor, Op. 41 (1877).

- *Cadenza ad libitum*, as one prefers, indicating that the player may play or omit the cadenza: Davydov, Op. 5 No. 1 (1859 version), Servais, Op. 18 (1860), Nölck, Op. 130, movt I.

Romantic and late Romantic cellists of the turn of the twentieth century wrote out exceptionally elaborate cadenzas to Classical concertos. On account of their expression and late Romantic narration, the characteristic motifs of the themes of a given movement which were present in such cadenzas, deftly entwined with passagework, cascades of chords with plenty of chromaticism and dynamic contrasts, completely altered the soloist's style of expression. The idea now was not only virtuosic display. A Romantic cadenza has lyrical and dramatic moments. Although written for a Classical concerto, it was not Classical; on the contrary, it represented a Romantic arrangement of the material. The Classical concerto was reinterpreted. The quantity of published cadenzas for Classical concertos is proportionate to their popularity. The more highly regarded a concerto was and the more frequently it was played, the greater the number of cadenzas written for it by cellists, editors or arrangers. It is worth mentioning at least three prime examples.

Cadenzas for **Luigi Boccherini's Concerto in B flat major, G 482** betray interest in this work on the part of the finest cellists:

- Pablo Casals, *Cadenza to the last movement of Boccherini concerto* (Philadelphia: Boss, 195–);  
 Jascha Bernstein,<sup>649</sup> *Cadenzas for Violoncello concerti*, movt III (New York: Violoncello Society Inc., 1968),  
 Wolfgang Boettcher,<sup>650</sup> *Solo-Kadenzen* (Berlin: Ries & Erler, 1989),  
 Maurice Gendron,<sup>651</sup> *Recueil de cadences* (Paris: Delrieu, 1971),

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649 Jascha Bernstein (b. 1903), a pupil of Julius Klengel, a transcriber of works by Bizet, Moszkowski, Dvořák, Chopin and Rachmaninov. We have photographs of the Bronisław Poźniak Trio of Wrocław, of which he was soloist in 1931.

650 Wolfgang Boettcher (b. 1935), cellist with the Berliner Philharmoniker, soloist, chamber musician, professor of Berlin College of Arts.

651 Maurice Gendron (1920–1990), one of the most outstanding French cellists of the twentieth century, who worked with the finest orchestras, conductors and musicians. He was the first cellist to play Boccherini's B flat major Concerto, G482 in its original form. A professor of the Paris Conservatoire, he wrote *L'art du Violoncelle (Die Kunst des Cellospiels)*, together with Walter Grimmer) and numerous transcriptions.

Lev Ginsburg,<sup>652</sup> *Concerto* (Moscow: Muzgiz, 1957),  
 Benedetto Mazzacurati,<sup>653</sup> *4 Cadenzen* (Berlin: Ferraresi, 1981),  
 Giuseppe Selmi,<sup>654</sup> *Studio su Boccherini, preparazione concerto si bemolle e cadenze* (Rome: Selmi, n.d.),  
 Luigi Silva, *Cadenza to concerto B G482, 3rd movement* (MS),  
 János Starker, *Cadenzas for violoncello* [3], unpublished,  
 Richard Sturzenegger,<sup>655</sup> *7 Kadenzen zu verschiedenen Konzerten* [2] (MS),  
 Paul Tortelier,<sup>656</sup> *6 Cadences* [1] (Nice: Delrieu, 1959).

#### Cadenzas to **J. Haydn's Concerto in C major, Hob 7b: 1:**

Maurice Gendron, *Recueil de cadences* (Paris: Delrieu, 1971),  
 Benedetto Mazzacurati, *4 Cadenzen* (Berlin: Ferraresi, 1981),  
 Miloš Sádlo, *Concerto in C major* (Prague: Supraphon, 1963; Moscow: Muzgiz, 1967),  
 Wolfgang Boettcher, *Solo-Kadenzen* (Berlin: Ries & Erler, 1989),  
 Paul Tortelier, *2 Cadences pour le concerto en do majeur* (1975) [1], unpublished,  
 Andrzej Orkisz, *Cadenza J. Haydn Concerto in Do-maggiore, movt I* (Cracow: PWM, 2001).

**Haydn's** supremely popular **Concerto in D major, Hob 7b: 2, Op. 101** has been treated to a large number of cadenzas notated by cellists performing it:

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652 Lev Solomonovich Ginsburg/Ginzburg (1907–1981), first cellist of the Moscow Radio Orchestra, a professor of Moscow Conservatory, a doctor of musicology, author of a history of the cello and transcriptions of works by Czech and Russian composers, among others.

653 Benedetto Mazzacurati (1898–1984), soloist of the Italian Radio Orchestra, he also worked with I Virtuosi di Roma. A teacher at Turin Conservatory, he wrote transcriptions of Kreutzer's *42 Etudes* and Fiorillo's *36 Etudes*, as well as Paganini's *Moto Perpetuo*, Op. 11.

654 Giuseppe Selmi (1912–1987), an Italian cellist, soloist, chamber musician and first cellist of the RAI Symphony Orchestra of Rome.

655 Richard Sturzenegger (1905–1976), a Swiss cellist, a pupil of Diran Alexanian and Pablo Casals, he studied composition with Nadia Boulanger. He was first cellist of the Dresden Orchestra and a teacher and director of Bern Conservatory.

656 Paul Tortelier (1914–1990), a French cellist, soloist, chamber musician and teacher of international renown, a professor of the Paris and Nice Conservatoires and the Folkwang Hochschule in Essen. He wrote a handbook published in several languages, *Technique et art du violoncelle*, original compositions for cello and transcriptions (*12 Classical and Folk Pieces I, II*), as well as arrangements of early Classical sonatas.

Robert Emil Bockmühl (Offenbach: André, 1850), movts I, II,  
 Pablo Casals, *Cadenza per il concerto di Haydn in re maggiore op. 101*  
 (New York: Tetra Music Co., 1972),  
 Jascha Bernstein, *Cadenzas for Violoncello concerto*, movt I,  
 Julius Klengel (Leipzig: Peters, 1905; Moscow: Muzgiz, 1956), movts I, II  
 and III, François-Auguste Gevaert,<sup>657</sup> (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890;  
 Moscow: Muzgiz, 1956), David Popper (Moscow: Muzgiz, 1956), movt I,  
 Karl Ripfel,<sup>658</sup> (Moscow: Muzgiz, 1956), movts I, II,  
 Anatoly Brandukov (Moscow: Muzgiz, 1956), movt I,  
 Bernhard Cossmann (Moscow: Muzgiz, 1956), movt I,  
 Hugo Becker (Moscow: Muzgiz, 1956), movt I,  
 Luis Abbiate,<sup>659</sup> (Moscow: Muzgiz, 1956), movt I,  
 Maurice Gendron, *Recueil de cadences* (Paris: Delrieu, 1971),  
 Benedetto Mazzacurati, *4 Cadenzen* (Berlin: Ferraresi, 1981),  
 Giuseppe Selmi *Cadenza per il concerto in re maggiore op.101 di Haydn*  
 (Milan: Carisch, 1968),  
 Richard Sturzenegger, *7 Cadenzen zu verschiedenen Konzerten* [3] (MS),  
 Paul Tortelier, *6 Cadences* [3] (Nice: Delrieu, 1959),  
 Luigi Silva, *Cadenza* (MS),  
 János Starker, *Cadenzas for violoncello* [1], unpublished.

There are more than thirty cadenzas to Haydn's D major Concerto written by well-known cellists such as Emanuel Feuermann and Felix Schmidt, and single cadenzas by composers and editors like François-Auguste Gevaert and Alfred Moffat. They all contain melodic motifs from the movements in question.

During the Romantic era and around the turn of the twentieth century, cadenzas to Classical concertos attained their greatest dimensions. Karl Ripfel wrote a cadenza longer than the movement itself. This is a kind of apotheosis of the cadenza, which would never again reach such huge proportions and such a degree of difficulty. Cellists gave free rein to their fantasy, inspired by an existing

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657 François-Auguste Gevaert (1828–1908), a Belgian composer, director of the Académie de Musique in Paris and the Brussels Conservatory, editor of Haydn's Concerto in D major, HobVIIb:2, Op. 101, among others.

658 Karl Ripfel (1799–1876), a German cellist-soloist, he worked with the Frankfurt Theatre Orchestra.

659 Luis Abbiate (1866–1933), first cellist of the Monaco Orchestra, then the Opéra-Comique in Paris, he worked at the St Petersburg Conservatory and was subsequently director of the Monaco Conservatoire.

work from the previous era. And although the balance between virtuosic display and the presentation of the original melodic line was sometimes disturbed, we have an exceptional, striking output of arrangements, worthy of the greatest concert halls, in which they were often presented.

## 5.8. Composers and their self-transcriptions

Composers, besides an increasing amount of original music, readily published compositions in polyversions for particular instruments, including the cello. The first great Romantic composer to produce small-scale instrumental works for alternative performance on cello was **Robert Schumann**:

- *Adagio and Allegro*, Op. 70 (1849) for French horn/cello/violin and piano,
- *Phantasiestücke*, Op. 73 (1849) for piano and clarinet/violin/cello,
- *5 Stücke im Volkston*, Op. 102 (1849) for piano and cello/violin.

**César Franck (1822–1890)**, a representative of the French national school, scored a large Romantic sonata for alternative performance: the Sonata in A major (1866), dedicated to the violinist Eugène Ysaÿe (1858–1897), published in a triple version also for cello/flute (Paris: Hamelle, 1866–1868).

Another great French composer and organist, **Gabriel Fauré (1845–1924)**, published a number of works in several versions, including for string instruments, with Hamelle of Paris:

- *Berceuse*, Op. 16 for violin/cello and piano (1879)/orchestra (1880),
- *3 Romances*, Op. 17 for piano (1878) for violin/cello and piano (1896),
- *Elegy*, Op. 24 for cello/violin and orchestra/piano (1898),
- *Dolly*, Op. 56 for piano for four hands (1892–9), for violin/cello and piano,
- *Papillon*, Op. 77 for cello/violin and piano (1885),
- *Sicilienne*, Op. 78 for cello/violin and piano (1898).

**Camille Saint-Saëns (1835–1921)** did likewise. His Romance, Op. 36 R195 and Romance, Op. 67 R189, scored for French horn and piano/orchestra, also appeared with an alternative cello part, while the Romance, Op. 51 R121, from 1877, was published for violin/cello and piano.

If we look at the cello's standing during the Romantic era through the prism of the original and arranged – mimetic – cello literature, we see that it brought a variety of material, greater than ever before, highlighting all the sound qualities of the instrument. The attainment of a previously unheard-of technical standard among cellist soloists was facilitated partly by the evolution in the instrument's design. The Romantic era is associated with important improvements to several



**Photo 16.** Belgian bridge



**Photo 17.** Dresden bridge



**Photo 18.** French bridge

parts of the cello. Up to the end of the nineteenth century, the process of the neck's redesign was successfully completed, and the fingerboard reached its optimum, present-day size. No less important for the comfort of the player was the use of an endpin when playing. The bridges available today – Belgian (Photo 16), Dresden (Photo 17) and French (Photo 18) – have Romantic origins and refer to those three cello schools.

Thanks to the larger bass bar and better strings, the sound became ampler, sharper and more resonant. The changes did not alter the basic design of the cello, but perfected it. In terms of construction, we are still dealing with the same type of instrument as was built around 1538 in Amati's Cremona workshop. The technological developments initiated during the nineteenth century, manifest in the emergence of better-quality strings and accessories, made from various materials, continue still today. During the Romantic era, smaller cello-like instruments fell from use. Highly complicated scores became playable on the Romantic cello, which ought to be called the **cello proper** or the **modern cello**. The new instruments like the arpeggione, cellone and violotta which were made at this time were merely interesting experiments.<sup>660</sup> The standing of great soloists and cellos was sufficiently strong that no new performance media survived for long.

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660 In his Sextet, Op. 68, from 1904, the German pianist Arnold Krug (1849–1904) used an instrument built c.1899 by Alfred Steltzner (1852–1906), called the violotta, tuned an octave lower than a violin, which was a hybrid viola/cello, and also the cellona, another hybrid, representing a combination of cello and double bass. The experiments were intended to enrich the sound of chamber music. This work also exists in a version for standard instruments: two violins, two violas and two cellos. In 1897, another German composer, Felix Draeseke (1835–1913), wrote the Steltzner Quintet in A major. The cellone and violotta from the quintet of Steltzner's instruments are on display in the Museum für Musikinstrumente der Universität Leipzig: *cellone* (inv. no. 939), *violotta* (inv. no. 916).

## Chapter 6: The cello and the mimetic current in the twentieth and the twenty-first centuries

### 6.1. New trends in music and cello transcription

At the end of the nineteenth century, composers were searching for new techniques, moving away from tonality and steering the art of music in different directions. Impressionism, employing tone colours created in defiance of the principles of Classical harmony, began the dismantlement of the major–minor system, the dominance of which was permanently undermined by dodecaphony (Arnold Schönberg, 1874–1951<sup>661</sup>), pointillism (Anton Webern, 1883–1945) and the modal system (Olivier Messiaen, 1908–1992).

Among avant-garde composers of the second half of the twentieth century, atonality was the basis for shaping the sound material. Aleatory techniques, the serialism of Karlheinz Stockhausen (1928–2007), the happening, musical experimentation, the preparation of instruments employed by John Cage (1912–1992), the controlled aleatory technique of Witold Lutosławski (1913–1994), sonorism and the music of sonorities cultivated by Krzysztof Penderecki (1933–2020<sup>662</sup>) are just a few of the key musical terms and prominent representatives of new creative trends in twentieth-century music. The traditional range of instruments was no longer sufficient, and sounds were generated in unconventional ways – electronic music was born. Noise and urban sounds gained the status of musical material. A typewriter, a factory siren and a car horn all became musical instruments. This altered composers' approach to notation, with traditional scripts replaced by graphic scores.

Against the background of such innovative currents and styles, cello transcriptions remained at the neo-Baroque, neo-Classical and neo-Romantic stage. They were mainly perceived as an excellent teaching aid. Virtuoso transcriptions continued to be produced, whereas arrangements of operas and songs were abandoned. Twentieth-century transcriptions include whole cyclical

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661 Dodecaphony – a composition technique employing a series of twelve notes in any sequence; its main theorist was Arnold Schönberg, and it was also represented by composers of the Viennese School: Alban Berg and Anton Weber.

662 Sonorism – a current of contemporary music and a composition technique highlighting the purely sonoric qualities in a work.

forms: sonatas and concertos. An interest in timbre and sonority – sonorism in the specific sense of the word – manifested itself in an aspiration to showing music in its authentic sound; hence the tendency for historical performances, resulting in the reorganising of the cello's accessories: gut strings returned, as did Baroque bridges and playing without an endpin. Outstanding cellists concluded that genuine instrumental performance meant possessing Romantic and Baroque cellos.

## 6.2. Cello arrangements and transcriptions and their composers in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries

### 6.2.1. European cellist-transcribers

The repertoire of twentieth-century cello transcriptions is particularly rich. Early Baroque and early Classical music was adapted by another generation of cellists, arrangers and publishers. From the second half of the twentieth century, greater care was taken to ensure that arrangements, despite the change of performance medium, did not alter the style of a work. Transcribed works were not adapted to contemporary aesthetics, as occurred during the nineteenth century.

The French composer **Francis Poulenc (1899–1963)**, referring to the Baroque and Classical eras, made creative use of his predecessors' music. He produced a transcription entitled *Suite française*, based on *Livre de danseries* by the French court violist Claude Gervaise (1525–1560), published in 1908 by Henri Expert (1882–1955). In the version from 1935, the work is scored for piano or harpsichord, and in another version for chamber orchestra, wind instruments and harpsichord. His final version, from July 1953, was of an occasional character: dedicated to the cellist **Pierre Fournier (1906–1986)**, it was intended for joint performance on tour.<sup>663</sup> This forgotten transcription returned to the concert platform on 4 July 1997, thanks to a performance by the 'First Lady of the Cello,' Cecylia Barczyk, during the Second World Cello Congress in St Petersburg, Russia.<sup>664</sup>

**Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971)** arranged the ballet suite *Pulcinella* for Serge Diaghilev's ballet company. This was based on the manuscripts of trio sonatas and vocal works by Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710–1736) in the commedia

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663 Schmidt, *Entrancing Muse*, 219, 384.

664 *Great Cello Music of the 20th Century*, IC Records (2000); besides Poulenc's transcription, this disc includes works by Krzysztof Penderecki, Witold Lutosławski, Sergey Prokofiev and Elliot Carter.

dell'arte convention. Instrumental transcriptions of this work were produced in five versions:

1. *Concerto-Suite* for small orchestra (1922),
2. *Suite* for violin and piano (1925), dedicated to the Polish violinist of Jewish descent Paweł Kochański,
3. *Italian Suite*, a transcription for violin and piano (1933) written by Stravinsky with violinist Samuel Dushkin (1891–1976),
4. *Italian Suite*, a transcription for cello and piano written by Stravinsky with Gregor Piatigorsky (1932), published by Russe de Musique in 1934,
5. A version of the *Suite* for two string instruments – a *mélange* of the violin and cello versions arranged by Piatigorsky and Jascha Heifetz (manuscript).

Cellists perform the fourth version by Stravinsky/Piatigorsky, with the following parts from the ballet: I Introduzione [1], II Serenata [20], III Aria [9], IV Tarantella [12], Minuetto e Finale [17 and 18].<sup>665</sup> The transcription showcases the cello's wide-ranging sound. It is full of ingenious instrumentation and larded with technical difficulties. It is an example of the creative collaboration between a composer and a high-class cellist, which bore fruit in a work full of technical challenges, presenting the cello in the broadest range of its instrumental idiom. This is more virtuosic arrangement than literal transcription. In his autobiography, Piatigorsky recalls that work on the *Italian Suite* and the meetings with Stravinsky in Paris gave him a great deal of joy, and he was sad when it came to an end. Shortly before the manuscript was submitted for print, in New York, Stravinsky called on Piatigorsky with a contract for royalties. Piatigorsky did not expect any remuneration and was just happy that the work was being printed, but Stravinsky insisted on a 'fifty-fifty' split, before explaining what the document contained. Stravinsky, as the composer of the music, was guaranteed ninety per cent of the profits; the remaining ten per cent was to be split fifty-fifty, meaning five per cent each. So on the strength of that contract, Piatigorsky received five per cent and Stravinsky ninety-five per cent. Although embarrassed by the proposal, Piatigorsky signed the contract and modestly admitted that he still loved Stravinsky's music and... admired his arithmetical skills.<sup>666</sup> It should be noted that Stravinsky was an exceptionally demanding composer, expecting performers to realise his concepts in full, since he, as the craftsman, and his ideally prepared work might be completely ruined by the wrong performer. In Stravinsky's

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665 White, *Stravinsky*, 288–289; parts of *Pulcinella* given in square brackets.

666 King, *Gregor Piatigorsky*, 81.

opinion, an autonomous performance concept represented inadmissible interference in the intentions of the composer, who at the same time was placed in a huge dilemma, since without an instrumentalist he was unable to present his perfect-in-every-way work. Hence Stravinsky, dogged by the curse of his thankless profession, condemned to deal with an intermediary, an instrumentalist, chose the performers he rated most highly, who were capable of not deforming the interpretation of his works.<sup>667</sup> This extreme example of a composer's lack of confidence in the artistic capabilities of a top-class instrumentalist was reflected in the 'Piatigorsky contract', although the *Pulcinella Ballet Suite* was not an original work of Stravinsky's. The composer described the motifs behind its composition as a manifestation of his love and respect for, and spiritual and intellectual affinity with, Giovanni Battista Pergolesi.

**Gregor Piatigorsky (1903–1976)** was a phenomenal cellist, who owed the first of his several excellent instruments to his performances of an atmospheric transcription of a melody from the ballet *Fiametta* by Ludwig Minkus (1826–1917). During a private concert, he received the handsome sum of 9000 roubles from a rich Muscovite music lover who was particularly fond of the sound of the cello, with the instruction that he buy a better instrument. In keeping with his benefactor's condition, he purchased a Guarneri cello.<sup>668</sup> Over the course of his concert career, Piatigorsky played on many exceptional cellos: three Stradivaris (*Aylesford*, 1696, *Batta*, 1714, *Baudiot*, 1725), as well as instruments by Bergonzi (1733), Montagnana (1739) and Landolfi (1753). In solo concerts, he habitually performed his own cadenzas. He was an esteemed teacher and produced highly popular transcriptions for cello and piano:

- *Sonatina in C major*, K. 439b by W. A. Mozart (material from Divertimentos Nos. 2, 4 and 5),
- *Sonatina in A major*, K. 439b by W. A. Mozart (material from Divertimentos Nos. 1, 2 and 5),
- *Divertimento in D major* by J. Haydn,<sup>669</sup>

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667 See Stravinsky, 'The Performance of Music', in *Poetics of Music*, 119–142; also *Chronicle of My Life*, 'Composers may well envy the lot of painters, sculptors, and writers, who communicate directly with their public without having recourse to intermediaries', 137.

668 Piatigorsky, *Cellist*, chapter 5, <http://www.cello.org/heaven/cellist/index.htm> (accessed 8 August 2009).

669 A transcription based on a transcription by Richard Heuberger for string trio: movt I Adagio is the melody of Hob. XI: 113, expanded and arranged; movt II Menuetto, from Hob. XI: 95, has a new melody in the trio; movt III Allegro di molto, from Hob. XI: 11, was supplemented with new musical material by the arranger.

- *Variations on a theme of Paganini* (1945/46), an arrangement for cello and orchestra of the *Caprice*, Op. 1 No. 24 (orchestration Ralph Berkowitz).

The *15 Variations on a theme of Paganini* for cello and piano was another arrangement of Paganini's *Caprice*, Op. 1 No. 24, where each of the variations caricatures an artist: Pablo Casals, Paul Hindemith, Raya Garbusova, Erica Morini, Felix Salmond, Josef Szigeti, Yehudi Menuhin, Nathan Milstein, Fritz Kreisler, Gregor Piatigorsky, Gaspar Cassadó, Mischa Elman, Ennio Bolognini, Jascha Heifetz and Vladimir Horowitz. These works were published by Vogel of Basel between 1944 and 1947. A collection entitled *Selected Works from G. Piatigorsky's Repertoire* (Chester Music, 1938) included transcriptions of Mozart's *Sonatina in D major*, K. 429b and De Falla's 'Ritual Fire Dance' and 'Dance of Terror'. The publication *Konzert-Transkriptionen* for cello and piano (Schott Music, 1932–1934) includes Weber's *Adagio and Rondo*, Scriabin's *Sonata in A major*, Op. 10 No. 5, *Etude*, Op. 8 No. 11 and *Poem*, Op. 32 No. 1, Loeillet's *Courant*, J. S. Bach's *Concerto No. 1*, BWV 59, Chopin's *Nocturne in C sharp minor*, Op. 27 No. 1, and two transcriptions of works by Anatoly Lyadov. Piatigorsky also produced a host of other transcriptions of works by Schubert, Prokofiev, Debussy, Granados and Rubinstein. In his rich concert work, he preferred solo performances with orchestra or chamber concerts. He was terrified by the idea of recital programmes, which unfortunately were most frequent. Here he writes about his preparations for recitals: 'while my daily work on legitimate music persisted as always, I was compelled to enter a territory, little known to me, of "effective" short pieces, fast ones that had to sound still faster, and all kinds of transcriptions for encores. To enter into the spirit, I acquired a fine collection of bugs: *Bee* by Schubert, *Mosquito* by Fairchild, *Bumblebee* by Rimsky-Korsakov, *Butterfly* by Faure, and a lot of tarantellas. As much as in my student days all acrobatics on the cello had meant fun, today they were an embarrassment.'<sup>670</sup> One wonders at such a proficient cellist as Piatigorsky bemoaning difficulties with performing his collection. What is more, he divided his repertoire into 'legitimate' works and 'effective' pieces. Excessive virtuosic display and 'acrobatics' became troublesome for this serious instrumentalist. Piatigorsky certainly appreciated the didactic qualities of miniature pieces, including transcriptions, which were fun for students. He admitted that as a recitalist he compromised with the public's expectations by preparing these works which he found 'embarrassing'.

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670 Piatigorsky, *Cellist*, chapter 21, <http://www.cello.org/heaven/cellist/index.htm>, (Łaccessed 8 August 2009).

One transcriber who wrote in the spirit of late **Romanticism** was **Ernst Cahnbley (1875–1936)**, a pupil of Hugo Becker, a solo cellist and professor at the Dortmund Conservatory. He wrote 7 *Miniatures* for cello and piano, as well as *Orchestral Studies*, and he edited four volumes of studies by Friedrich Dotzauer. Distinguished among his arrangements are four sets of miniatures including transcriptions (*Vortrags-Album*), as well as arrangements and transcriptions of sonatas by Jean-Baptiste Bréval, Henry Eccles, Andrea Caporale and George Frideric Handel, as part of Schott's series *Klassische Sonaten*.

**Willem Willeke (1880–1950)**, a chamber musician and first cello of the Covent Garden Theatre in London, director of a music festival in Berkshire. He performed works by Brahms, Grieg, Strauss and Saint-Saëns with the composers. He left us transcriptions published separately and in *Willeke's Violloncello Collections* (Schirmer, 1909), and in 1939 the Largo from Handel's Sonata in F major, the Rondo from Boccherini's String Quintet, G310 and Schumann's *Abendlied*, Op. 85 No. 12.

**Jacques van Lier (1875–1951)**, a Dutch cellist initially employed in Amsterdam, then a member of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. He produced around 119 arrangements and transcriptions.

**Maurice Maréchal (1892–1964)**, a French cellist, soloist, professor of the Paris Conservatoire. Maurice Ravel dedicated to him the cello part of his Sonata for violin and cello, and concertos were dedicated to him by Darius Milhaud and Arthur Honegger. For the Honegger, Maréchal arranged his own cadenza. Published in Paris were twenty-one editions and collections of his arrangements.

**Arnold Trowell (1887–1966)**, a New Zealander who studied with Hugo Becker and settled in London, a professor of the Royal College of Music and Guildhall School, he played on a cello by Montagnana (1710). He composed, transcribed and arranged for cello and piano more than fifty works, including violin compositions: Handel's *Sonata in G minor*, HWV 364a, J. S. Bach's *Sonata in E major*, BWV 1016 (in D major) and *Sonata in G major*, BWV 1019, and Tessarini's *Sonata in F major* (Mainz: Schott, 1923). Worth noting is a transcription of a *Sonata in E major* by Louis – not, as widely believed, his brother François Francœur, freely arranged, with the original second movement Corrent omitted and replaced by Trowell's own movement Allegro vivo and the last movement Gigue expanded (Mainz: Schott, 1924<sup>671</sup>).

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671 A faithful transcription from the violin original by Louis Francœur was published by the American cellist Nada Radulovich (Chicago: Ovation Press, 2016).

### 6.2.2. Cello transcription in Poland

**Henryk Waghalter (1880–1958)**, a pupil of Hugo Becker and Julius Klengel, a conservatory professor and first cellist of the Polish National Opera in Warsaw, he arranged for cello and piano recitatives and arias from the opera *Halka* by the Polish composer Stanisław Moniuszko: [3] ‘Skąd tu przybyła’ [How has she come here], [4] ‘Jako od wierchu’ [Like a sapling], [7] ‘Gdyby rannym słońkiem’ [If in the morning sunshine], [15] ‘Szumią jodły’ [The firs sigh], [19b] ‘O mój maleńki’ [O my little darling] (Berlin: Merseburger).

**Dezyderiusz Danczowski (1891–1950)**, an outstanding soloist, chamber musician and teacher,<sup>672</sup> he transcribed for cello the *Two Nocturnes* for violin, Op. 30 by Ludomir Różycki (Warsaw: Gebethner & Wolff, 1912). In 1954, as part of the *Miniatury wiolonczelowe* [Cello miniatures] series (No. 22), PWM Edition published his transcription of Różycki’s Nocturne in F sharp minor, Op. 30 No. 2.

**Kazimierz Wiłkomirski (1900–1995)**, a pupil of Mikhail Bukinik,<sup>673</sup> he studied at the Moscow Conservatory with Alfred van Glehn.<sup>674</sup> He combined rich concert work with teaching work, was first cellist of the Polish National Opera and the Warsaw Philharmonic, a composer and conductor. After the Second World War, he was an active soloist, chamber musician, conductor, competition juror and organiser of higher education. A professor of the State College of Music in Łódź, Sopot, Wrocław (where he was also director of the Opera) and Warsaw. Particularly noteworthy are his transcriptions of works by the Polish composers Henryk Wieniawski (*Légende*, Op. 17) and Karol Szymanowski (*Sonata*, Op. 9). Wiłkomirski personally suggested to Szymanowski that he write a concerto, sonata or cycle of miniatures for cello, convinced that it would be ‘one of the most precious gems of the cello literature’, to which Szymanowski apparently replied: ‘When, sir [...] I [...] don’t feel the cello.’<sup>675</sup> During Szymanowski Year 1982, Wiłkomirski undertook to transcribe Szymanowski’s *Sonata* for cello.

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672 Dezyderiusz Danczowski (1891–1950), a pupil of Alojzy Sladek in Lviv and Julius Klengel in Leipzig. Concertmaster of the opera house in Lviv, then in Poznań. A conservatory professor in Cincinnati and then in Poznań, where the Danczowski Cello Competition is held every five years.

673 Mikhail Bukinik (1872–1947), a Ukrainian cellist, teacher and composer of didactic literature and cello transcriptions of works by Tchaikovsky and Rubinstein.

674 Alfred von Glenn/Glehn (1858–1927), teacher of Kazimierz Wiłkomirski and Gregor Piatigorsky, from 1890 to 1921 a professor of Moscow Conservatory, he wrote four transcriptions of works by Tchaikovsky and Arensky.

675 Wiłkomirski, ‘Komentarz’, 11 [1].

It is a faithful transcription, retaining the original key; Wilkomirski only reduced a small number of double stops and shifted the material of the solo part down by an octave. Calling himself an ‘intransigent enemy of transcription’, he did not conceal his admiration for the original, while at the same time remaining convinced of the sense of his transcription: ‘The truly romantic music of this Sonata, with its pathos, heroism and lyricism, music filled with poetry and powerful emotional tensions, corresponds to the nature of the cello possibly even more than the nature of the violin. Szymanowski himself did not know how profoundly he “felt” the cello!’<sup>676</sup> Wilkomirski also published *Ćwiczenia na prawą rękę* [Exercises for the right hand], which was a transcription of Ottokar Ševčík’s *School of Violin Technique*, Op. 2, and re-arranged Cahnbley’s arrangements of sonatas by Caporale and Eccles. He had them in his repertoire and performed them ‘with love for music and an incessant need to cultivate it.’<sup>677</sup> He played the sonatas in recitals abroad. Following a concert in Tel Aviv on 14 February 1956, he wrote: ‘The Sonata by A. Caporale was probably the best on the whole programme.’<sup>678</sup> During one stay in Moscow, as a juror on the Tchaikovsky Competition, Wilkomirski recorded a recital disc with Asa Amintaeva, which included Eccles’s *Sonata in G minor*. He wrote about that recording with great satisfaction: ‘In terms of clarity and purity of timbre, I rate that disc the highest of all those I have ever recorded. (Moreover, there have not been many of them in my life.)’<sup>679</sup>

Contemporary Polish composers have also produced successful self-transcriptions that have gained considerable popularity. **Witold Lutosławski (1913–1994)** transcribed for viola and cello (1962) his piano *Bukoliki* [Bucolics] from 1952 (the instrumental parts were prepared by Stefan Kamasa and Andrzej Orkisz). Equally well known is *Grave, metamorphoses* for cello and piano (1981) or string orchestra (1982), published in 1982 by Chester of London and PWM of Cracow.

**Krzysztof Penderecki (1933–2020)** composed a *Viola Concerto* to commission for the government of Venezuela in 1983 and simultaneously produced a self-transcription for cello (the cello part was prepared by Boris Pergamenshikov<sup>680</sup>): ‘I have occasionally arranged my works, e.g. the *Viola Concerto* also exists in versions

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676 Ibid.

677 Wilkomirski, *Wspomnienie*, 278; letter of 15 February 1956.

678 Ibid., 278.

679 Ibid., 342.

680 Boris Pergamenshikov (1948–2004), a graduate of Emmanuel Fischmann’s class at the Leningrad Conservatory and a prize-winner in the Tchaikovsky Competition in

for cello and for clarinet. That concerto can be played on almost every instrument.<sup>681</sup> Penderecki makes no secret of the fact that he writes universal music that potentially represents excellent material for transcription: 'I do write for a specific instrument, but at the same time beyond it. The *Viola Concerto*, for instance, may also be performed on cello. That is how they composed in the Baroque.'<sup>682</sup>

### **The Polish part of the series *Miniatury Wiolonczelowe* [Cello miniatures] and other transcriptions published by PWM Edition**

Particularly noteworthy in the series *Miniatury Wiolonczelowe* [Cello miniatures] are the transcriptions of works by Polish composers:

- **Emil Młynarski, *Mazur in G major, Op. 7 No. 1*** [10], published in 1962, a work originally composed for violin and piano (Berlin: Ries & Erler, 1892; New York: Carl Fischer, 1901), was performed by the composer with great success across Europe. This is probably Młynarski's best known dance miniature, full of temperament, with striking double stops and chords, in ABA form. The lyrical middle section, in the minor mode, contrasts with the bravura A section, rich in leaps, syncopations and sudden suspensions. The first transcription of this work for cello and piano was produced by David Popper in 1911;
- **Michał Kleofas Ogiński, *Polonaise in A minor*** ('*Pożegnanie Ojczyzny*' [Farewell to the homeland]) [13], published in 1987. This is probably the best known of this composer's twenty-six extant piano polonaises, and at the same time one of the first examples in the history of Polish music of a stylised dance in the form of a piano miniature intended for listening, not for dancing. Dating from 1794, this polonaise is in three sections, solemn in character, with a major-mode trio in the middle. The cello transcriber is not known;
- **Zygmunt Noskowski, *Polonez elegijny*** [Elegiac polonaise] [14], published in 1963. This was originally a miniature for violin and piano, Op. 22; there is also an orchestral version under the title *W starym dworcu* [In the old manor]. It owes its great popularity to the lyricism and sentimental-patriot character of its melody. It displays a four-bar periodic design. The first cello transcription dates from 1887 (Breslau: Heinauer). Karol Mroszczyk's cello arrangement, in

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Moscow, he appeared in many prestigious festivals. An important place in his repertoire was held by interpretations of contemporary works.

681 From a conversation with Penderecki in Cracow on 22 December 2007, published in Haufa, *Krzysztof Penderecki*, 74.

682 Penderecki, 'W poszukiwaniu siebie', 18.

the key of G minor, was published by Czytelnik in 1947. The PWM edition, in an arrangement by Zofia Adamska,<sup>683</sup> is in E minor;

- **Karol Szymanowski, *Prelude, Op. 1 No. 1*** [36], published in 2001. The piano original of this youthful work by Szymanowski was transcribed for violin and piano by Grażyna Bacewicz in 1948. The transcription for cello, based on Bacewicz's transcription, was produced by Andrzej Orkisz; it is a literal transcription;
- **Karol Szymanowski, 'Pieśń Roksany' [Roxana's Song]** for cello/viola and piano, is the best-known number from Act 2 of the opera *Król Roger* [King Roger], Op. 46. It has been transcribed several times, by Grzegorz Fitelberg (1879–1953), Paweł Kochański (1887–1934) and Irena Garztecka, this last version produced in accordance with the composer's indications for voice and piano. The cello transcription published by PWM in 1994 was prepared after Kochański's violin transcription by Andrzej Orkisz,<sup>684</sup>
- **Grażyna Bacewicz, *Kaprys polski* [Polish caprice]** [30], published in 1995. This miniature, originally composed for solo violin (1949), was literally transcribed for solo cello by Andrzej Orkisz;
- **Grażyna Bacewicz, *Taniec Mazowiecki* [Mazovian dance]** [26], published in 1952. A self-transcription, with the fingering of the cello part prepared by Zofia Adamska;
- **Karol Kurpiński, *Dumanie nad mogiłą Wandy* [Reflection on Wanda's Mound]** [34], originally a miniature for harpsichord and violin, published in Warsaw as a supplement to the weekly *Tygodnik Muzyczny* (14 June 1820). The cello transcription was produced by Krzysztof Sperski,<sup>685</sup>
- **Karol Kurpiński, *Trzy Polonezy* [Three polonaises]**, published in 1992. A selection of Kurpiński's twenty-one polonaises for piano were transcribed

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683 Zofia Adamska (1903–1988), a cellist, teacher at the State College of Music in Cracow, Poznań and Warsaw.

684 Andrzej Orkisz (b. 1937), a cello soloist and chamber musician, a full professor who worked at Łódź Academy of Music and the Fryderyk Chopin University of Music in Warsaw. He has produced transcriptions of Polish works (Bacewicz; Szymanowski) and European music (J. S. Bach, Aria from the Pastorale, BWV 590; Saint-Saëns, Dalila's song 'Mon coeur s'ouvre à ta voix' from the opera *Samson et Dalila*). He also prepared the cello parts in arrangements of works by Szymanowski, Popper, Lutosławski and others.

685 Krzysztof Sperski (b. 1942), a cello soloist and chamber musician, a full professor, professionally associated with Gdańsk Academy of Music. He has prepared transcriptions of *Nieznaní kompozytorzy polscy XVI i XVII w.* [Unknown Polish composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries], works by Karol Kurpiński and cello parts in

for cello by Krzysztof Sperski, with the aim of reminding audiences of this outstanding composer and enriching the teaching repertoire for cello. The Polonaise in A minor is a compilation of polonaises from separate collections: Polonaise No. 3 in G minor from *Trois Polonaises Pour le Pianoforte par Kurpiński* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1813) and Polonaise No. 14 in E flat major from *XV Polonezów na Fortepian Kompozycji K. Kurpińskiego* [15 polonaises for piano composed by Karol Kurpiński] (Warsaw: Sennewald, 1858). The Polonaise in G major is a transcription of Polonaise No. 14 in E flat major from *XV Polonezów*. The Polonaise in G minor is a transcription of Polonaise No. 2 in F minor from *III Polonoises Pour Pianoforte composées par Kurpiński* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1814).<sup>686</sup> The *Three Polonaises* display beautiful polonaise phrasing, considerable difficulty and a large compass. They represent an interesting study for advanced cello students fond of Polish music. This is not the first attempt to popularise Kurpiński's polonaises among cellists. During the 1950s, Czytelnik published *Trzy Polonezy* [Three polonaises] which were arrangements by Kazimierz Sikorski of orchestral polonaises.<sup>687</sup>

The transcriptions published by PWM in the series *Miniatury Wiolonczelowe* and in separate editions between 1962 and 2005 represent a cross-section of works by outstanding Polish composers. These works are of considerable historical and education value, forming a sort of 'primer' for Polish cellists. They contain pearls of Polish instrumental lyric output by Chopin, Moniuszko, Ogiński, Kurpiński, Noskowski, Młynarski, Różycki, Szymanowski and Bacewicz. It is also an anthology of music by composers who have been influential in Polish musical culture. The transcriptions were made by outstanding Polish pedagogues and concert cellists, which only confirms their usefulness.

### 6.3. The mimetic art and aesthetic, ethical and legal issues

Depending on one's point of view, cello arrangements and transcriptions form a specific part of artistic work or an inadmissible, pseudo-artistic liberty.

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works by Karol Skarżyński and Samuel Kossowski. Besides his work for PWM, he has also published many other works, including transcriptions, arrangements and even reconstructions of works by Polish composers for the Gdańsk publisher Eufonium.

686 Sperski, 'Komentarz', 16.

687 Kazimierz Sikorski (1895–1986), a Polish composer, music theorist and conservatory professor in Poznań and Warsaw. After the war, he taught harmony, counterpoint and composition at the music colleges in Łódź and Warsaw.

Arrangements are not original works; their composition results from a particular attitude towards an existing work. Initially, pre-arrangements and pre-transcriptions represented a sort of functional music, serving strictly defined functions such as sustaining vocal parts, setting church liturgy and embellishing social gatherings. The original versions of works constituted a common good for musicians, from which one could draw at will. In the case of the cello, that state of affairs lasted from the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. It was only the nineteenth century that brought a change in the status of the musical work. Composers, theorists, philosophers and aestheticians of music distinguished a new fundamental feature: full, inviolable autonomy, resulting from the form and the unique content. Unlike in previous centuries, any interference in an original work was criticised. Paradoxically, critical voices arose in the Romantic era, when the greatest number of transcriptions were produced and every self-respecting concert cellist produced and published transcriptions and used them in teaching and performance. Robert Schumann called salon music, which included transcriptions, 'prosaic music'.<sup>688</sup> Hector Berlioz wrote about piano transcriptions that they destroyed a composer's individuality.

The twentieth century upheld views concerning the musical work's identity as an aesthetic entity, according to which a work demanded respect and an appropriate attitude acknowledging its intrinsic value. It was not a product serving any religious, secular or didactic function. A true work of musical art was an individual entity with a special significance. So imitations and adaptations are not true works.<sup>689</sup> The musical work was an independent entity, something that a performance was not, being solely a subjective presentation of a work. Under fire from critics, the twentieth century found a way to present the musical work: performance, interpretation. For its defenders, an interpretation was 'unquestionably a special kind of creative output';<sup>690</sup> for its opponents, it led to the falsification of the composer's intentions.<sup>691</sup> This subject generated keen interest among composers, whose works ultimately reached instrumentalists. Notes found

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688 Dahlhaus, 'Über die "mittlere Musik"', 134.

689 Dahlhaus, 'Trivialmusik', 16.

690 Stróżewski, *Dialektyka*, 15.

691 Stravinsky, 'The Performance of Music', in *Poetics of Music*, 122, 123, 127. Stravinsky distinguishes two types of 'translation into sound': the execution and the interpretation of a work. He rates execution much more highly than interpretation. The composer's genius can be represented in a brilliant execution. In the case of a virtuosic

after the death of **Grażyna Bacewicz (1909–1969)** include entries attesting to her views on the role of the composer and the artist: ‘the work of art should be as objective as possible and free from elements conditioned by the artist’s personality’; ‘An artist should not be more visible in a work – says Flaubert – than God in nature: present everywhere, but noticeable nowhere.’<sup>692</sup> The philosophy of the musical work was also addressed by the phenomenologist Roman Ingarden (1893–1970). In his approach, the musical work is unchanging, and each performance is a new performance. Performance processes do not create a work; they merely serve for it to be listened to. The musical work is one, in contrast to the multitude of performances. The notes or the score are not identical to the work of music; they merely represent a record or manifestation of the composer’s intention or will in a graphic form.<sup>693</sup> The professionalism of the performance of a work created by an outstanding artist is not a factor determining its value – its art. Transcriptions are equally as questionable as interpretations. Just as artists can falter in interpreting or understanding a work, so transcribers can err when preparing a work, although successful transcriptions may show their ingenuity, talent and good taste. The same applies to the instrumentalist whose interpretation represents a marvellous creation. It is difficult to determine just how far one can interfere in an original work without deforming it. The decisive factor in the value of a transcription is the personality and skill of the transcriber, and an outstanding transcription can also function as an independent work of art. **Ferruccio Busoni (1866–1924)**, who produced many transcriptions, including for cello (J. S. Bach’s *Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue*, BWV 903; Liszt’s *Valse oubliée*<sup>694</sup>), considered that a transcription was a sort of interpretation: ‘Every notation is, in itself, the transcription of an abstract idea [...] the performance of a work is also a transcription.’<sup>695</sup> One composer and brilliant transcriber in one was unquestionably **Maurice Ravel (1875–1937)**. His attitude towards the autonomy of the musical work and to the work of a transcriber was described quite subversively by Vladimir Jankélévitch: ‘Ravel liked to scandalise people

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interpretation, it is not the work that comes to the fore, but its realisation, which may result in the work shining through or becoming a caricature.

692 Naganowski, *Telemach*, 44–45; Gašiorowska, *Bacewicz*, 404.

693 Ingarden, *The Work of Music*, 23.

694 Works recorded by Angelo Pepicelli (piano) and Francesco Pepicelli (cello) on the disc *Busoni: Complete Works for Cello and Piano*. Naxos 2004 (UPC: 747313569120).

695 Busoni, *Sketch*, 85; also Zavorský, ‘Transkrypcje i opracowania’ [Transcriptions and arrangements], in *J. S. Bach*, 483.

with his humour too, for he was so fond of laughing at romantic fatalism, the fatalism that subjects a given feeling to a given form of expression, indispensable and predestined. [...] Ravel happily transcribed his own works himself [...]; he did this not only for the pleasure of trying out instrumental colour [...], but also because he did not care whether a piece of music is written for the trumpet, the banjo or the organ. Music is music [...]. Arrangements “for various instruments” which a lingering romantic prejudice causes us to regard as sacrilege would not therefore have shocked him *a priori*.<sup>696</sup> Witold Lutosławski adopts the middle ground, defending the composer of the original work but also noting the merits of the transcriber’s work: ‘If an imitation turns out to be a masterpiece – which could happen – it belongs to the imitator in a very small degree. It is almost completely the work of the artist who has been imitated, regardless of who is responsible for the actual execution.’<sup>697</sup> The widespread popularity and availability of works in many instrumental variants, including for cello, was seen by opponents as taking advantage of a musical work without reckoning with its original form. Particularly criticised were the following aspects: extracting fragments of a work from their context, popularising part of a work or splicing together unconnected fragments, as in a potpourri, interfering in the score (arrangements, recompositions), breaking the style, that is, adding new content, altering instrumentation, changing the performance medium, orchestrating or transcribing (e.g. for cello). It was considered that all functionalising of music impoverished, trivialised or negated a work’s aesthetic value. Reducing a work to a useful object was a crime committed on a truly valuable work of music. Such music was refused an artistic character.<sup>698</sup>

Igor Stravinsky stated that his music did not permit of any licence; it required absolute faithfulness to the score. He protected his works, himself choosing performers who could guarantee the proper performance of the original. In transcriptions of his works performed by a mechanical piano, he saw a way of limiting distortion and exercising complete control: ‘I had always been anxious to find a means of imposing some restriction on the notorious liberty, especially widespread to-day, which prevents the public from obtaining a correct idea of the author’s intentions. [...] these transcriptions [...] enabled me to create a lasting document which should be of service to those executants who would

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696 Jankélévitch: *Ravel*, 113–114.

697 Kaczyński, *Conversations*, 127.

698 Dahlhaus, ‘Über die “mittlere Musik”’.

rather know and follow my intentions than stray into irresponsible interpretations of my musical text.<sup>699</sup>

In performing transcriptions, cellists not infrequently consider a complex of artistic, aesthetic and ethical aspects, the phenomenon of acquiring and taking over 'foreign' repertoire for their instrument. They interpret adaptations on a par with original works, fully engaging their skills, talent and knowledge. From the instrumentalist's point of view, there is no difference in the approach, the amount of work and the artistic production between an original work and a transcription. Although cellists down the centuries have confirmed with their transcriptions, concert work and more recently recordings of transcriptions and arrangements the unwaning interest in this kind of literature, representing a considerable part of the cello repertoire, they continue to debate the subject of transcription. The Netherlands, which leads the way with regard to historical performance, boasting high-class academic and instrumental centres, is promoting musical education without any adaptations. There, one cannot play cello transcriptions of sonatas by Françoëur, Valentini or Locatelli.<sup>700</sup> Similar tendencies can be noted in the artistic attitudes and utterances of cellists and pedagogues in Poland. Stanisław Firlej<sup>701</sup> popularises Tchaikovsky's *Rococo Variations* and Prokofiev's Concerto in their original versions. Andrzej Orkisz considers that 'we ought to move with the spirit of the times [...] attune ourselves to the trends prevailing across Europe'.<sup>702</sup> As a consequence, he abandoned the publication of transcriptions of Brahms's *Two Sonatas*, Op. 120, although they were ready to be printed and had been successfully performed. His views had evolved, marked by a liberation from the post-Romantic aesthetic, and he considered that in order to meet the new trends he had to learn new repertoire and turn to original works: if a composer did not publish a cello version of his work, that ought to be respected. It goes without

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699 Stravinsky, *The Chronicles*, 166–167.

700 The opinions of professor Jeroen Reuling of the Royal Conservatory in Brussels and professor Stanisław Firlej of the music academies of Łódź and Wrocław, as related by professor Andrzej Orkisz of the Fryderyk Chopin University of Music in Warsaw in correspondence of 30 March 2011.

701 Stanisław Firlej (b. 1944), an outstanding cellist, virtuoso, soloist, chamber musician, conductor, teacher, full professor and graduate in cello from Moscow Conservatory, where he was taught by Galina Kozolupova and Natalia Gutman. He is a participant and prize-winner of prestigious festivals at home and abroad. A very active cellist, professionally associated with the music academies of Łódź and Wrocław.

702 Based on correspondence with professor Andrzej Orkisz of 16 April 2011.

saying that transcriptions will never replace original works and that musicians have every right to choose not to perform them.

To close, it is worth mentioning the legal documents that regulate issues relating to the adaptation of an artistic work. In the European Union, the binding legislation is the Paris Act of the Berne Convention on 'the protection of literary and artistic works',<sup>703</sup> on the strength of which an author 'shall enjoy the exclusive right of authorising adaptations, arrangements and other alterations of their works'. In Poland, the Bill of 4 February 1994 on copyright and related rights (Dz. U. 1994 Nr 24 poz. 83) defines in detail all questions relating to authorship, copyright, the adaptation of someone else's work and the period for which the rights of an author and co-author are protected. The bill applies to every adaptation of a work, regardless of whether it has been published or not. Copyright protection has been set at seventy years from the death of the author and in the case of transcriptions another seventy years from the death of the co-author. So the legality of transcriptions is precisely regulated by law.

In the twenty-first century, music philosophers and aestheticians who originally negated the *raison d'être* of transcriptions are now calling transcriptions artistic 'symbols' which indicate – as symbols do – more deeply hidden content. In this approach, a transcription becomes like a badge of identification for the original work.<sup>704</sup>

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703 The Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works of 9 September 1886, revised at Berlin on 13 November 1908, in Rome on 2 June 1928, and at Paris on 24 July 1971, Article 12.

704 Stróżewski, *Wokół piękna*, 59.

# Appendix I:

## Theory

### 1. The etymology and meaning of the word transcription; definitions and related terms; definition of cello transcription

The term ‘transcription’ carries interdisciplinary meaning, being widely used in the human and natural sciences, in law and the arts. In music, it was introduced during the nineteenth century. Transcriptions of musical works often possessed an opus number and stood on a par with the original compositions. The etymology of the word ‘transcription’ refers us to notions derived from ancient culture. It combines two Latin words: *trans* (across, beyond, on or to the other side of, into another state or form) and *scriba* (official or public writer).<sup>705</sup> The Latin *transcriptio* means making a copy.<sup>706</sup>

In order to formulate a definition of ‘cello transcription’, we need to be familiar with definitions characterising the term ‘transcription’ in music, which by analogy will help us to define its cello variety. Based on a dozen or so definitions known to the author, it can be stated that the essence of transcription consists of two inseparable elements: the use of an existing work and the transferral of that work to a different performance medium. The other features vary across the definitions. A number of them introduce the term ‘arrangement’. According to Norman Lloyd (1909–1908<sup>707</sup>) and Michael Kennedy (1926–2014<sup>708</sup>), a transcription is an arrangement. In Polish sources, transcription and

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705 *The New Shorter Oxford Dictionary*.

706 *Słownik wyrazów obcych*, 674.

707 Lloyd, *Großes Lexikon*, 604: ‘Transkription das Arrangement eine Komposition für andere Wiedergabemittel als die für die sie ursprünglich geschrieben wurde.’

708 *Oxford Concise Dictionary*: ‘Transcription (1) Arr. of music. comp. for a performing medium other than orig. or for same medium but in more elaborate style (2) ‘Conversion of comp. from one system of notation to another’ (745), ‘arrangement or transcription. Adaptation of a piece of mus. for a medium other than that for which it was orig. comp. Sometimes “transcription” means a rewriting for the same medium but in a style easier to play’ (29).

arrangement are predominantly seen as similar terms: the *Encyklopedia Muzyki* and *Mała Encyklopedia Muzyki* refer readers from 'transcription' to the entry for 'arrangement', as a semantically similar notion.<sup>709</sup> Barbara Literska, after painstaking analysis of a wide range of source materials relating to the notions of transcription and arrangement, concluded that 'every transcription is an arrangement; not every arrangement is a transcription.'<sup>710</sup> In her opinion, there is an additional condition that must be met by a transcription in art music: the adaptation of whole, integral and unviolated original works. An arrangement not satisfying that condition is not a transcription.<sup>711</sup> A different approach to the question of transcription was adopted by Zofia Lissa (1908–1980). In her opinion, a transcription is one of the many forms employing musical quotation. She lists transcriptions alongside cantus firmus technique, imitation, parody, contrafactum, variations and fantasies on a theme, the potpourri, paraphrase, pastiche, metamorphosis and stylisation. For her, the essence of transcription is 'preserving the transcribed work in its core elements and transferring it to a new sound environment.'<sup>712</sup> That is one of the few definitions not to explain the term transcription by means of arrangement. Norbert Dufourcq (1904–1990) gave a somewhat ampler definition of transcription, as 'transferring the sound fabric to different performance means, affording an opportunity to modify some sound properties of the original structures.'<sup>713</sup> Grigory Kogan (1901–1979), in his school of piano transcription, declared himself in favour of the utmost freedom in dealing with an original work: 'a transcription is an arrangement of a work that preserves its form [. . .] At the same time aspiring to be not a literal reflection but a free, artistic translation of a given work into the language of a different instrument and a different creative individuality, possessing the meaning and value of an independent work in the musical literature.'<sup>714</sup> There are different kinds of transcription, depending on the approach to the original work. The musical substance can be transferred accurately, preserving the original work, or freely, reducing or expanding the basic elements of the original.

Here are my proposed definitions of transcription and arrangement for cello:

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709 *Encyklopedia Muzyki*, 907; *Mała Encyklopedia Muzyki*, 1009.

710 Literska, *Dziewiętnastowieczne transkrypcje*, 16.

711 This condition is opposed by the existence of diffusive, functional and didactic transcriptions, standing at the bottom of the hierarchy of works of this type, but still called transcriptions.

712 Lissa, *Szkice*, 280.

713 *Ibid.*, 271–272.

714 Quoted in Zagórski, *Dzieła Jana Sebastiana Bacha*, 8.

**Transcription for cello** is the transferral or adaptation to cello of a musical work or part of a work originally composed for a different instrument or performance medium.

**Arrangement for cello** involves adapting for cello a work originally composed for a different instrument or performance medium. Arrangement is linked to the reorganisation or recomposition of a work.

A **self-transcription** is a transcription produced by the composer of the original work.

## 2. A systematics of cello transcriptions with examples<sup>715</sup>

### 2.1. The classification of cello transcriptions in terms of the degree to which the original is preserved

#### 2.1.1. Faithful cello transcriptions: substantial, natural, literal

These transcriptions are the closest to the original works. Several kinds can be distinguished:

##### **Transcriptions with the same number of performers:**

- a. a transcription for solo cello is an adaptation of a work for a solo instrument:
  - G. Bacewicz, *Kaprys Polski* [Polish caprice], transcribed for solo cello by Andrzej Orkisz (Cracow: PWM, 1995).
- b. a transcription for cello and keyboard instrument:
  - G. Bacewicz, *Sonata da camera*, transcribed for cello by Urszula Mizia (Cracow: PWM, 2007),
- c. transcriptions for cello and instrumental ensemble or orchestra:
  - B. Bartók, *Viola Concerto*, Op. posth., transcribed for cello and orchestra by Tibor Serly (London: Boosey & Hawkes, n.d.),

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<sup>715</sup> The first attempts at a systematisation of transcriptions were made in music theory during the twentieth century. There is currently no single systematics for transcriptions. The present proposition is based on several concepts presented by Barbara Literska in 'The adopted criteria of the systematics', in *Nineteenth-Century Transcriptions*, 117–128.

**Transcriptions with a different number of performers:**

- a. a work for piano transcribed for cello with accompaniment:
  - F. Chopin, *26 Mazurkas*, Opp. 17, 24, 30, 33, 41, 56, 63, transcribed by Karl Davydov.
- b. transcriptions of orchestral works for cello, in which the musical material is faithfully preserved despite the reduced forces:
  - J. S. Bach, *Concerto for two violins in D minor*, BWV 1043, transcribed for two cellos and piano by Fabrizio Ferrari (Virtual Sheet Music, 1999–2006).

**2.1.2. Structural cello transcriptions**

In transcriptions of this type, the texture is altered through the expansion or reduction of the sound layers, while the work's form is preserved.

**The expansion of a work's structure:**

- a. a transcription of a work for cello with a basso part played by piano accompaniment:
  - A. Corelli, *Sonate a violino e violone i cimbalò*, Sonata in E minor, Op. 5 No. 8 transcribed for cello, transposed to D minor, with a *violone o cimbalò* part for piano accompaniment, by August Linder (Leipzig: Augener, n.d.)
- b. a literal quotation expanded with additional structures in the form of new original elements in the cello part:
  - R. Schumann, *Kinderszenen*, Op. 15, in Friedrich Grützmacher's transcription, in the ninth piece, the material of the piano part is expanded through the addition of a *pizzicato* cello accompaniment, as in Henryk Waghalter's transcription of Chopin's Prelude, Op. 28 No. 7.
- c. the expansion of a solo cello work through its arrangement for more instruments:
  - J. S. Bach, *Suites*, BWV1007, 1009, 1010 (London: Augener, 1894/1897), with the cello part harmonised by Alfredo Piatti in the form of a piano accompaniment.

d. the orchestration of a transcription:

- H. Eccles, *Sonata in G minor* for cello and strings, transcribed by Malcolm Lipkin (Bosworth & Co., 1957) and by Lev Aronson (1912–1988) (Bristol: Rarities for String Publications, 1982).

**The reduction of a work's structure** occurs in transcriptions in which the texture is simplified and the number of parts (and consequently the number of performers) is reduced:

a. a transcription of a concerto:

- A. Vivaldi, *Violin Concerto in A minor*, RV 522, Op. 3 No. 8, movts I, II, transcribed by Abram Stasewicz for cello and piano<sup>716</sup> (Moscow: Sovietyky Compozytor, 1954), a double reduction, in which the orchestral part becomes a piano reduction, and the violin parts a cello part.

b. a reduction of a work with the accompaniment of another instrument to a solo work:

- M. Marais, *Folies d'Espagne*, from *Pièces de Viole, Livre II No. 20*, transcribed for solo cello by Franz Bartolomey (Vienna: Doblinger, 2002).

### 2.1.3. Syntactic cello transcriptions

During the process of transcribing, the syntax is modified, with text added or removed:

- H. Eccles, *Sonata in G minor*, transcribed by Ernst Cahnbley (1875–1936) (Schott Music, 1918). Cahnbley made numerous changes to the original, first published by Foucault of Paris in 1720. The alterations are visible in the melodic material throughout the work, in the rhythmic reorganisation and the addition of twenty-six bars of new musical material. All the movements of the sonata cycle were substantially modified, through the addition of ornaments in movt I (Präludium, Largo assai), chords and six new bars in movt II (Courante, Allegro), rhythmic changes and five new bars in movt III (Sarabande, Adagio) and fifteen new bars in movt IV (Gigue, Vivace e grazioso).

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<sup>716</sup> Abram Stasewicz (1907–1974), a Russian conductor, editor and arranger of works by Shostakovich, Prokofiev and Arutunian.

### 2.1.4. Recontextual cello transcriptions

The form of the work is not retained, due to the use of reduction or the combining of fragments from different compositions. This is known as contamination or compilation.

- P. Locatelli, *Sonata in D major*, in a transcription for cello, where the transcriber, Alfredo Piatti, took the first movement Allegro from the Sonata in D major, Op. 6 No. 6, the second movement Adagio from the Sonata in D minor, Op. 6 No. 12 and the third movement Minuetto again from the Sonata in D major, Op. 6 No. 6, where it is the fourth and last movement.
- A. Dvořák, *Humoresque in G flat major*, Op. 101 No. 7, B187 for piano, from 1894. This is a self-contamination produced by the composer. The themes, except for the original theme that opens this work, are compiled from earlier works by Dvořák. The second theme comes from the Piano Trio in F minor, Op. 65 (from the third movement Poco adagio), B130, while the middle section of the Humoresque is based on a theme from the third movement Allegro from his Piano Suite in A major, Op. 98, B184.

### 2.1.5. Functional cello transcriptions

These are transcriptions in which the music is subordinated to extra-musical aims. They often display stark changes in many aspects of a work. Interference in the score, simplifications aimed at adapting the text for amateur or educational performance and the decontextualisation of extracts from larger works are all procedures arousing serious aesthetic and even ethical reservations. Yet there are hundreds of transcriptions of this type, which may be classified according to their purposes:

- a. didactic transcriptions: short excerpts from works transcribed for the purposes of music teaching. Such transcriptions are treated as tools for improving playing technique and mental aptitudes: hearing, a sense of rhythm, concentration and memory. A suitable selection of repertoire, backed by a teacher's commentary, introduces the pupil to issues relating to music history. Such transcriptions play an inestimable role in musical education, yet musical works and their brilliant composers are sacrificed for the acquisition and development of abilities and aptitudes. Many examples of such simplified and shortened arrangements can be found in cello handbooks.

## b. classical music 'hits':

Over time, the remarkable popularity of excerpts from larger works eclipses interest in the original compositions. It is impossible to explain why a particular transcription became popular. Music commentators draw attention to the mass audience, with listeners moved by a musical miniature and not necessarily interested in hearing a complete work: 'its place is very low in art history and very high in the history of the feelings of human society'.<sup>717</sup> Given below is a list of incredibly popular hits in cello transcriptions:

- The *Aria* from J. S. Bach's *Suite in D major*, BWV 1068 for two violins, string ensemble and b.c. exists in more than thirty versions written by a host of outstanding cellists, such as Hugo Becker, Robert Emile Bockmühl, Jules Delsart, Friedrich Grützmacher, Julius Klengel, David Popper, Leonard Rose, Carl Schröder and Pablo Casals, alongside editions for cello and organ by Eduard Biehl, August Reinhard and Werner Thomas-Mifune, as well as August Wilhelmj, who popularised this work in an earlier transcription for violin under the title *Air on a G String*. There is also a version for cello and string orchestra arranged by Christo Pavlov. Jerzy Strzemiński's transcription was published by Muzgiz of Moscow (1952) and PWM of Cracow (1958).
- L. Boccherini's *Minuet in A major*<sup>718</sup> is the third movement Minuetto: Con un poco di Moto of his own *String Quintet in E major*, Op. 13 No. 5, G275. It has been published in many cello versions: by Zofia Adamska (Cracow: PWM, 1962), Bernhard Triebel (London: Enoch & Sons, n.d.), Julian Lloyd Webber, in the series *The Classical Cello* (London: Chappell, 1980), Shinichi Suzuki, in *Cello School 3*, for piano and cello (Alfred Music, 1992).
- Z. Fibich's *Poem* (1850–1900) is an excerpt from his symphonic idyll *At Twilight*, Op. 39, from 1893. After the work's first performance, the composer published a piano version in the cycle *Moods, Impressions and Souvenirs*, Op. 41. The title *Poem* was given to the work by the violinist Jan Kubelik, who in 1909 transcribed it for violin and piano. The original symphonic work, in the key of D flat major, portrays Aneta Szulc – the composer's great love and the librettist of his operas. Jerzy Strzemiński's Polish edition

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717 Dahlhaus, 'Über die "mittlere Musik"', 131–134; Dahlhaus classifies transcriptions as functional works, representative of the 'middling', 'trivial' or society-salon music characteristic of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

718 Cegieła, *Przeboje*, 57–58: 'a work that can without exaggeration be called the most famous minuet in the world'.

- for cello and piano is in the key of B flat major (Cracow: PWM, 1982), and there is also a Czech edition by the cellist Antonio Fingerland (1882–?), in G major (Prague: Urbánek, n.d.).
- N. Rimsky-Korsakov's *The Flight of the Bumble-Bee*, from his opera *The Legend of Tsar Saltan* (1899). The composer arranged *Musical Pictures from the Legend of Tsar Saltan*, Op. 57 and the 'symphonic scherzo' *The Flight of the Bumble-Bee*, depicting the flight of Prince Gvidon in the form of a bumble-bee. This work is highly popular in countless transcriptions for violin, piano, guitar, clarinet, tuba, accordion and many others. It has also been arranged for cello and piano by Joseph Saunders (New York: Marx, 1948) and Leonard Rose (New York: International Music Company, 1960), for four cellos by Laszlo Varga (San Francisco: Musicelli, n.d.) and for cello and chamber orchestra by Roxana Panufnik (Vienna: Universal Edition, 2005).
  - M. de Falla's *Ritual Fire Dance* was originally the climax of his ballet *El Amor brujo*, composed in 1914–1915 for Serge Diaghilev and his Ballets Russes in Paris. This thrilling orchestral dance was transcribed for cello by Gregor Piatigorsky and published in *Selected Works from G. Piatigorsky's Repertoire* (London: Chester, 1938–39). Ernesto Halffter's arrangement for cello and orchestra dates from 1942, Charles Schiff's transcription *Pantomima Canción del Amor dolido* was published by Chester of London in 1988, and Emilio Colón's version for cello ensemble was published by Masters Music Publishing of Miami Lakes in 2003.
  - G. F. Handel's *Largo* comes from his opera *Xerxes*, HWV40. The arioso 'Ombra mai fu', placed at the beginning of the work in *larghetto*, is slightly quicker than the transcription. This work has proven popular not only with audiences, but also with countless arrangers and publishers. There are more than thirty transcriptions for the cello, by such outstanding cellists as Jules Delsart, Georg Goltermann, Julius Klengel, David Popper, Alwin Schröder and William Henry Squire, as well as a Polish version by Zofia Adamska.
  - F. Schubert's *Ave Maria*, Op. 52 No. 6 comes from the *7 Songs*, Op. 52, D839, based on Walter Scott's *The Lady of the Lake*. It is a prayer for salvation from Lady Helen to the Virgin Mary, written for soprano, but performed from the outset by both male and female soloists. There are around thirty-two cello versions, transcribed by Alexandre Batta, Robert Emile Bockmühl, Justus Johann Friedrich Dotzauer, Georg Goltermann, Adolphe Fischer, Friedrich August Kummer, August Lindner, David Popper, William Henry Squire, Josephine van Lier, Werner Thomas-Mifune and Zofia Adamska, among others.

- c. transcriptions for cello known as ‘classical hits’. The production of numerous transcriptions was stimulated by social demand. In a sense, they represented a gauge of a work’s popularity. A high level of interest in a particular composition meant numerous transcriptions; conversely, less popularity meant fewer transcriptions. During the nineteenth century, ‘the expansive domain of popular music fed on elements of art music. At this time, there was a preference for adaptations of every sort. Thanks to a variety of procedures, resulting from the demands of reception as broadly understood, a work of art found its way into trivial circulation in partial, fragmentary or mutilated form.’<sup>719</sup>

Discussed below are transcriptions and arrangements of compositions by Johann Sebastian Bach, mined particularly often during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Arrangers and transcribers chose pieces that were more or less popular and worthy of dissemination. At least 430 such editions for cello were produced.<sup>720</sup>

#### **Adaptations of vocal-instrumental music by J. S. Bach:**

- 39 editions of arrangements of Bach cantatas, including *Sinfonia from the Cantata Wailing, Crying, Mourning, Sighing* for cello and piano by Alexander Bariansky,<sup>721</sup> from BWV12 (New York: Schirmer, 1937),
- 7 cello arrangements of oratorios,
- 12 *Transcriptionen* for cello and piano by Wilhelm Müller (Nos. 6, 7 and 8 are adaptations of arias from the *St John Passion*, BWV 245<sup>722</sup>), published by Bote & Bock of Berlin in 1872,

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719 Poniatowska, *Muzyka fortepianowa*, 23.

720 Approximate number, as of 2007, according to the author’s calculations, based largely on Lambooj and Feves, *A Cellist’s Companion*.

721 Alexander Bariansky (1883–1961), a virtuoso Russian cellist who played on a 1690 Stradivarius. After meeting Bariansky in Geneva, in 1915, Ernest Bloch altered his conception for the *Hebrew Rhapsody*, initially planned for voice and orchestra. Ultimately, the human voice was replaced by the cello, not constrained by human language. *Schelomo* is dedicated to Bariansky. In 1937, Schirmer of New York published ten different transcriptions and arrangements by Bariansky of works by J. S. Bach.

722 Wilhelm Müller (?–?), a cellist with the Hofkapelle in Meiningen, Rostock and Wiesbaden, first cello in Berlin and teacher of Robert Hausmann at the Hochschule in Berlin, settled in the US in 1876.

- 23 editions of cello transcriptions of sacred songs,
- Pierre Fournier transcribed for cello and piano 6 *Chorales de J. S. Bach* (BWV 659, 727, 622, 639, 614, 641<sup>723</sup>), published by the International Music Company of New York in 1960/1981.

**Cello transcriptions of works by J. S. Bach for keyboard instruments** (110 editions):

- 3 organ *Choralvorspiele*, BWV 743, 762, 747 transcribed for cello and piano by Zoltán Kodály,<sup>724</sup> published by Universal Edition of Vienna, New York and London in 1924, 1951 and 1952.
- Frederick Neumann<sup>725</sup> arranged 20 *Duets* for violin and cello, including transcriptions of works for keyboard instruments: four preludes and fugues from *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier*, minuets, gavottes, a bourrée, a polonaise and a gigue from the English and French suites, and nine two-part inventions (New York: Boosey & Hawkes, 1963).

**Cello transcriptions of works by J. S. Bach for string instruments** make up at least seventy-three editions.

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723 Pierre Fournier (1906–1986) swapped the piano for the cello at the age of nine, after recovering from polio. He was a student of Paul Bazelaire at the Paris Conservatoire, where he subsequently taught. An outstanding performer, known throughout the world, he worked with the finest orchestras, conductors and musicians. He wrote transcriptions and arrangements of works by Dvořák, Schubert, Granados and Paganini.

724 Zoltán Kodály (1882–1967), a Hungarian composer and ethnographer, a professor of Budapest Music Academy and reformer of musical education, author of original works for cello and polyversions: the Sonata, Op. 4 for cello/viola and piano (1909), *Adagio* for violin/viola/cello (1910) and a prelude and fugue from J. S. Bach's BWV 853 for cello and piano.

725 Frederick Neumann (b. Bielsko-Biała, 1907; d. Richmond, 1994), a violinist, professor of the University of Miami and the University of Richmond. Founder of the Frederick Neumann Scholarship, a specialist in performance theory and practice of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and Baroque and post-Baroque ornamentation. He also taught on the Faculty of Music at Black Mountain College in Asheville, North Carolina.

From the violin repertoire:

- Laszlo Varga<sup>726</sup> transcribed the *Chaconne* from the *Partita* No. 2 in D minor, BWV 1004 in the original key for one cello or four cellos (San Francisco: Musicelli, n.d.),
- Ferdinando Ronchini<sup>727</sup> arranged the *Largo de la 5me Sonate pour violon seul de J. S. Bach* for cello and piano/organ (Paris: Senart, 1915),
- Pablo Casals/Alexander Siloti arranged for cello and piano the Andante from the *Violin Sonata in A minor*, BWV 1003 (New York: Fischer, 1927),
- Willy Deckert<sup>728</sup> arranged the *Gavotte a.d. 6 Sonate*<sup>729</sup> für Violin Solo in E, BWV1006 for cello and piano, published in *Perles musicales*, ed. David Popper, 33 (Offenbach: André, 1910–1925).

From the repertoire for viola da gamba and cello:

- Gustave Labelle<sup>730</sup> arranged for four cellos the *Final de la 1ère Sonate de J. S. Bach* for viola da gamba and harpsichord, MS in Médiathèque de Sedan.<sup>731</sup>
- *Suite* No. 6, BWV 1007–1012, arranged with other instruments in parts or as a whole, was published in at least forty-three editions in the second half of the nineteenth century and the twentieth century. One of the earliest transcriptions is Robert Schumann's *Klavierbegleitung für 6 Sonate* for cello and piano, from 1853, published in 1864 by Heinze of Leipzig under the title *Sonaten J. S. Bach. Neue billige Ausgabe, correct nach der von Robert Schumann auf Grund der Berliner Handschrift gemachten Revision* (Sonatas by J. S. Bach.

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726 Laszlo Varga (1924–2014), a Hungarian cellist, a graduate of Budapest Music Academy, first cello of the New York Philharmonic, professor of San Francisco State University. Of his more than fifty transcriptions, around twenty were published by Musicelli of San Francisco.

727 Ferdinando Ronchini (1865–1938), an Italian cellist and soloist, a pupil of Francesco Serato, he settled and worked in Paris.

728 Willy Deckert (1870–1923), a German cellist and soloist, a pupil of Julius Klengel, associated with the Komische Oper in Berlin.

729 BWV 1006 is the *Partita No. 3 in E major*.

730 Gustave Labelle (1878–1929), a Canadian cellist and composer, he taught at the École de Musique in Montreal, and his unpublished arrangements are held in the collection of Paul Bazelaire.

731 Paul Bazelaire (1886–1958), a French cellist and soloist, a professor of the Parisian State Academy of Music, he transcribed many works and gathered a sizeable collection of sheet music, consisting of original works and many transcriptions. A list is available online: <http://www.paul-bazelaire.com/>.

New cheap edition, corrected according to Robert Schumann's revision, based on the Berlin manuscript),

Kazimierz Wilkomirski arranged for four cellos dances from selected suites for solo cello in *Utwory dawnych mistrzów* [Works by past masters] (Cracow: PWM, 1992).

### **Works for wind instruments:**

There are just three editions from the flute repertoire:

- John Barbirolli,<sup>732</sup> from a cycle of 6 *Arias* for cello/violin and piano (Oxford University Press, 1928; No. 6 is the Aria from the Third Flute Sonata, BWV1032).

### **Works for ensemble or orchestra:**

We know of around sixty-four editions, comprising excerpts from concertos and orchestral suites:

- Charles Krane<sup>733</sup> arranged for cello and piano the *Adagio* from the *Violin Concerto in E major*, BWV1042 (New York: Markert & Co., 1952).

### **Other transcriptions of works by J. S. Bach:**

There are at least 111 editions.

During the nineteenth century, arrangements of original works were treated as proper musical genres. They were commercial objects, and lofty demands were placed on them: popularising highly regarded works and familiarising audiences with forgotten works worthy of attention. It was also considered that transcriptions helped form people's tastes.<sup>734</sup> Works by such composers as Bach, Handel, Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Schubert, Chopin, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Tchaikovsky, Wagner and Weber, whose original output for cello was meagre or non-existent, were made available to cellists through hundreds of transcriptions, in many editions and different versions.

732 John Barbirolli (1899–1970), a graduate of the Royal Academy of Music in London, first cello of the Queen's Hall Orchestra, a member of the Kutscher Quartet and, from 1925, a conductor.

733 Charles Krane, an American cellist, a teacher at Hartford Conservatory, author of several cello textbooks based on works by J. S. Bach: *Bach for the Cello, Ten Pieces in the First Position* (with CD), containing transcriptions, and *Intermediate Bach for Cello*. He has also produced numerous cello transcriptions, published between 1946 and 1970.

734 Poniatowska, *Muzyka fortepianowa*, 312–313.

## 2.2. The classification of cello transcriptions according to original forces

### 2.2.1. String instruments and transcriptions of their repertoire

String instruments are close to the cello in terms of performance technique, the way the sound is produced with a bow and, in the case of tenor–bass instruments, the similar compass. Transcriptions for cello have been produced both from works written for historical instruments (viola da gamba, viola d'amore, violoncello piccolo, violone, baritone, arpeggione) and modern instruments (violin, viola, double bass).

The **viola da gamba**, or knee-held viol, popular from the fifteenth to the mid eighteenth century, returned to performance practice at the start of the twentieth century. There are similarities between the viola da gamba and the cello in terms of the tenor compass and partly shared performance technique. The viola da gamba has seven frets and six strings tuned in fourths-thirds: D, G, c, e, a, d1. Examples of cello transcriptions cover a wide range of repertoire:

- G. P. Telemann composed mainly for the viola da gamba. His *Sonatas* TWV40:1, 41:a6; 41:e5 and 41:G6, *Concerto-Suite in D major* TWV53:D6, *12 Fantasies* for viola da gamba and many others function in the cello repertoire thanks to transcriptions,
- J. S. Bach's 3 *Sonatas* for viola da gamba and harpsichord in G major, D major and G minor, BWV 1027–1029 have received at least twenty-one different adaptations for cello,
- M. Marais's *2nd Livre de pièces de viole*, from 1701, was arranged by Christian Döbereiner as a *Suite aus den Pièces de viole avec la basse continue*, in a dual version for viola da gamba/cello and harpsichord/piano (Mainz: Schott, 1933).<sup>735</sup>

The **viola d'amore**, or love-viol, with an alto register, was popular during the seventeenth century. It has a lot in common with the viol family, but is a fretless

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<sup>735</sup> Christian Döbereiner (1874–1961), director of the Bach Society in Munich, a pioneer of the viola da gamba and baritone revival. Owner of Joachim Tielke's famous viola da gamba of 1683. He transcribed works from the viola da gamba repertoire for cello and harpsichord/piano: M. Marais, Suites from Books II and III (1933); D. Ortiz, *Ricercada*, 2 works from *Trattado de glosas*; C. Simpson, Variations (1936); F. X. Hammer, *Sonata No. 5* (1935); K. F. Abel, *Sonata in E minor* (1928); A. Kühnel, *Sonatas* in G major, A major and D major (1928, 1932, 1927), all published by Schott.

instrument. Its soundbox measures 35.5– 44.5 cm. Adapted to chordal playing, it had seven main strings tuned in the key of D major and seven sympathetic strings tuned diatonically from D to c.<sup>736</sup> The known transcriptions of works originally written for this instrument consist mainly of compositions by Attilio Ariosti (1666–1729):

- 6 *Lezioni per la viola d'amore*, b.c. transcribed for cello and piano,
- A. Piatti, 6 *Sonate* (London: Hill, 1897),
- 2 *Sonatas* by Piatti/Kozolupova (Moscow: Muzgiz, 1972),
- *Concertino after the third sonata* in E minor, transcribed by Albert Elkus for cello and string orchestra (Universal Edition, 1921<sup>737</sup>).

The **violoncello piccolo**, described above, was a member of the violin family. We know of the following transcriptions:

- J. S. Bach's *Suite* No. 6 in D major, BWV 1012,
- G. Tartini (1692–1770), *Trio in G major* for two violoncelli piccolo and bass, arranged for cello and piano by Louis Abbiate under the title *Adagio cantabile et Allegro festoso* (Leipzig: Zimmermann, 1913<sup>738</sup>).

The **violone** – an historical bass or double bass instrument. *Viol + one* means large viol or large violin. This instrument is classified in both the **viol family** (in German lands, as a fretted double bass instrument with five or six strings) and the **violin family** (in Italy, as a bass violin, without frets and with three or four strings). Cello transcriptions of works for this instrument include the following:

- G. B. Vitali (1632–1692), *Partite sopra diverse sonate per violone*, from 1670, published in a version for violone/cello (Vienna: Doblinger, 2000),
- D. Buxtehude (1637–1707), *Sonata in D major*, Bux WV 268 for viola da gamba and bass was arranged polyversionally by Árpád Pejtsik for viola da gamba/viola/cello and violone/cello/double bass, b.c. (Adliswil: Kunzelmann, 1991).

The **baritone or viola di bordone** is an historical tenor stringed instrument with six strings tuned like a viola da gamba and a dozen or so drone strings plucked

736 Drobner, *Instrumentoznawstwo*, 45.

737 See Boyden, 'Ariosti's Lessons', for a list of numerous transcriptions of works by Ariosti, including transcriptions for cello. Albert Israel Elkus (1884–1962) was an American composer and a professor of California University.

738 Louis Abbiate (1866–1933), a student of Casella in Turin and Delsart in Paris, was first cello in Monaco and then of the Opéra Comique in Paris and La Scala in Milan. He succeeded Aleksander Wierzbilłowicz at the St Petersburg Conservatory.

with the thumb of the left hand. It was popular in German lands during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Joseph Haydn (1732–1809) composed around 130 works for baritone for his employer, Prince Esterházy, of which the following were transcribed:

- J. Haydn, *Duetto* for two baritones, Hob. X, XI, XII, transcribed for cello and double bass by Jörg Baumann (Berlin: Bote & Bock, 1985<sup>739</sup>), and for two cellos by Árpád Pejtsik (Mainz: Schott, 1988),
- J. Haydn, *Divertimento* for two baritones, bass baritone, viola and bass in D major, Hob. XI/113, 95, 81, transcribed for three cellos by Hans Volkmar Andreae (Zurich: Kunzelmann, 1973<sup>740</sup>).

The **arpeggione or guitar violoncello** is a fretted stringed instrument tuned like a guitar: E, A, d, g, b, e1, built in 1823, which failed to gain popularity.

- F. Schubert, *Sonata in A minor* for arpeggione, D821, transcribed many times for cello and piano, by Jan Mulder (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1886), Pierre Fournier (Paris: Eschig, 1938) and Leonard Rose (New York: International Music Company, 1953), and also for cello and guitar by Klaus Jäckle (*Arpeggione-Sonate*) and for cello and chamber orchestra by Julius Spengel (*Arpeggionesonate*), both published by Doblinger of Vienna.

The **violin** is a stringed instrument with a soundbox measuring 35 cm, tuned to g, d1, a1 and e2, with the compass g–c5. The design and performance technique of this instrument were sufficiently close to those of the cello that an arranger could faithfully transfer the whole musical substance in a transcription. The feats of virtuoso violinists have always aroused admiration and inspired cellists. It was a great distinction to be dubbed the ‘Paganini of the cello.’ Adrien-François Servais (1807–1866) was given that accolade by Hector Berlioz in 1847, Alfredo Piatti (1822–1901) by Franz Liszt, and the same epithet was applied simultaneously to both Bernhard Romberg<sup>741</sup> and Arnold Földesy.<sup>742</sup> Jean-Louis Duport was

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739 Jörg Baumann, a cellist and soloist who worked with Herbert von Karajan in 1975, a cellist with the Berliner Philharmonisches Orchester.

740 Hans Volkmar Andreae (1879–1962), a Swiss conductor and composer.

741 *Musical Heritage Review*, xiii: ‘Romberg, known as the “Paganini of the Cello”, was truly a citizen of the world.’

742 Arnold Földesy (1882–1940), a Hungarian cellist, a student of David Popper and Hugo Becker, a soloist with the Berliner Philharmonisches Orchester. Suchecki, *Wiolonczela od A do Z*, 148–149, 159: ‘His technique was on a par with Paganini.’

hailed as the ‘Viotti of the cello’,<sup>743</sup> and Bernhard Cossmann the ‘Joachim of the cello’<sup>744</sup>. Cellists have readily performed with outstanding violinists in concert. One such inspirational duo for the young Luigi Boccherini was formed by Pietro Nardini (1722–1793) and Fillippo Manfredi (1729–1777).<sup>745</sup> Gaspar Cassadó (1897–1966) and Pablo Casals (1876–1973) worked with Bronisław Huberman (1882–1947). Violinists have attracted interest from cellists on account of their technical accomplishments. Louis Feuillard (1872–1941) published a violin school of bowing technique and forty variations by Otakar Ševčík (1852–1934) transcribed for the cello. Hugo Becker (1863–1941), under the sway of the violinist Carl Flesch (1873–1944), addressed the physiology of the playing apparatus and published *Mechanik und Ästhetik des Violoncellspiels* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1929). Cellists have always learned from violinists and aspired to similar virtuosity. Violin literature of all eras has always been the most frequently transcribed for cello, from concertos, sonatas, partitas, miniatures and studies to sets of technical exercises and even whole violin playing schools. Here are some examples.

- N. Paganini, *Violin Concerto in E flat major*, Op. 6, transcribed for cello and piano by Mildred Wellerson, transposed to D major (Berlin: Simrock, 1924<sup>746</sup>),
- J. Brahms, *Sonatas in G major*, Op. 78 No. 1, A major, Op. 100 No. 2 and D minor No. 3 for violin and piano, transcribed for cello by Laszlo Varga, with the original piano part retained (San Francisco: Musicelli, 1980),
- J. S. Bach, *Partita in E major*, BWV 1006, transcribed for solo cello by Laszlo Varga (San Francisco: Musicelli, n.d.),
- Pablo Sarasate, *Zigeunerweisen*, Op. 20, transcribed for cello and orchestra by Godfried Zeelander (Berlin: Simrock, 1919),
- N. Paganini, *24 Caprices*, Op. 1, transcribed for solo cello by Luigi Silva (New York: Ricordi, 1952).

The **viola** is an instrument of the violin family with a soundbox measuring between 40.6 cm and 43 cm, tuned an octave higher than the cello (c, g, d1, a1) and with the compass c–a3. Its scores are notated in the alto and treble clefs. Due

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743 Suchecki, *Wiolonczela od A do Z*, 123: ‘from his travels in Britain, he brought back the nickname “the Viotti of the cello”’.

744 Review from the *Breslauer Zeitung*, 1871, no. 55, 380; cited in Literska, *Nineteenth-Century Transcriptions*, 101.

745 Le Guin, *Boccherini’s Body*, 48–49.

746 Mildred Wellerson (1910–?), an American cellist of Russian origins, a child prodigy and soloist at the most prestigious American concert halls.

to the limited size of the soundbox, the lowest notes are weaker compared to the cello. The best-known transcriptions for cello include the following:

- B. Bartók, *Viola Concerto*, transcribed for cello by Tibor Serly (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1956),
- K. Penderecki, *Viola Concerto*, transcribed for cello by the composer,
- J. Joachim, *Hebrew Melody* for viola and piano, Op. 9 No. 2, transcribed by Philipp Roth under the title *Grave* in *Violoncell-Bibliothek* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890<sup>747</sup>). The original is in C minor, the cello transcription in A minor.

The **double bass** is the largest stringed instrument, similar in shape to the viola da gamba, tuned to (C1) E1, A1, D, G; its scores are notated in the bass clef, an octave higher than the instrument's actual sound. Double bass players can perform repertoire originally written for violone, an historical instrument, the history and etymology of which are also referred to by cellists:

- G. B. Costanzi, *Sonatas* in F major and A minor for violone in a modern edition for violone/double bass/cello/viola da gamba by the double bassist Rodney Slatford with b.c. by the harpsichordist Colin Tilney (London: Yorke, 1970),
- Giovanni Battista Vitali, *Partite sopra diverse sonate per il violone*, from 1670, in a modern edition for double bass/cello by Dieter Staehelin (Vienna: Doblinger, 2000). These works were originally scored for an instrument tuned B, F, c, g; the present edition uses the modern tuning C, G, d, a,
- Ludvig Albert Hegner, *Elégie* transcribed for double bass/cello and piano by the composer (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, n.d.<sup>748</sup>).

### 2.2.2. Struck string instruments and transcriptions from their repertoire

The **piano** has a compass of A2–c4, and its music is notated on at least two staves in the treble and bass clefs. The grand piano and its different varieties became popular during the nineteenth century. The pianist Franz Liszt was the first to employ the term 'transcription' in the musical sense. The exceptionally rich piano literature has been the subject of many cello transcriptions, in which the principal melodic line is most often transferred to the cello part, with the rest of the material forming the accompaniment. Suitable for such arrangements are

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747 Philipp Roth (1853–1898), a German cellist from Tarnowskie Góry.

748 Ludvig Albert Hegner (1851–1923), a composer and first double bass of the Royal Danish Orchestra, a double bass virtuoso.

miniature pieces and dances, due to the simple, transparent texture and beautiful melodic line. Here are some examples:

- F. Liszt, *Elégie* No. 2, S197 for piano and another version by the composer for violin/cello and piano (Leipzig: Nachfolger, 1878),
- F. Liszt, *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 5*, S244/5 for piano, transcribed for cello and piano by Yuri Leonovich in 2007,
- I. J. Paderewski, *Minuet in G major*, Op. 14 No. 1, transcribed for cello and piano by Joseph Hollmann (1852–1926) (Berlin: Bote & Bock, 1893).

### 2.2.3. Plucked string instruments and transcriptions from their repertoire

The **harpsichord**, **virginals** and **spinnet** dominated European musical culture of the Renaissance and Baroque. They had a compass of four to five octaves. Supplanted by the piano during the second half of the eighteenth century, they have now returned to performance practice. Although it is traditionally considered that the harpsichord was played mainly with the viola da gamba, iconography shows that it was also accompanied by cellists, who used the harpsichordist's music. Here are transcriptions from the harpsichord repertoire:

- G. M. Monn, *Concerto in G minor* for harpsichord (A-WGM IX 6369) or cello (A-Wgm IX 6370) and string orchestra, self-transcription from 1746,
- J.-B. Loeillet (1680–1730), *Leçons* for spinet/harpsichord from 1712. The Courante was transcribed for cello by Gregor Piatigorsky and published in *Konzert-Transkriptionen*, No. 3 (Mainz: Schott, 1932–34),
- Carl Schröder included transcriptions for cello and piano of harpsichord works in his opus 30,
- J.-P. Rameau, *Tambourin et Rondeau* (Hanover: Cranz 187–).

The **lute**, tuned to G, c, f, a, d1, g1 or A, d, g, e1, a1, was the instrument of singing knights errant from the thirteenth century onwards. Extant lute tablatures represent the earliest instrumental transcriptions from vocal and dance repertoire. Iconography shows that the cello was played with the lute and its later varieties, such as the theorbo and cittern, for singing. The few cello transcriptions from the lute repertoire include the following:

- The dance *Wyrwany* from a seventeenth-century lute tablature, transcribed for cello and piano by Krzysztof Sperski in *Utwory nieznaných polskich kompozytorów XVI i XVII* [Works by unknown Polish composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries] (Cracow: PWM, 1984),

- J. S. Bach, *Suite in G minor* for lute, BWV 995 transcribed by the composer as the *Suite in C minor* for solo cello, BWV 1011.

The **mandolin** has eight to twelve strings tuned in twos and threes in unison, according to the violin tuning gg, d1d1, a1a1, e1e1. The total compass of this instrument is g–a3. Its music is notated in the treble clef, while its fingering and positions are the same as for the violin. Chords are easy to play, and notes are produced by plucking the strings with a plectrum. Tremolos are characteristically used for playing long notes. Up to the seventeenth century, a predecessor of the mandolin was the slightly smaller mandola, with eight strings tuned a fifth lower: cc, gg, d1d1, a1a1. Here are examples of transcriptions:

- L. van Beethoven, *Sonatina in C minor* for mandolin and harpsichord, WoO 43a, transcribed for cello and piano by Joachim Stutschewski,<sup>749</sup>
- B. Althaus's *Dear Old Songs* are eighteen songs scored for alternative performance on mandolin/cello/violin/viola/flute/clarinet and piano (London: Francis Day & Hunter, n.d.).

The **guitar**, tuned to E, A, d, g, b, e1, with a total compass of E–a2, notated in the treble clef an octave higher than the actual sound. The fingering is chromatic, as on the cello. Here are examples of cello transcriptions:

- F. Moreno Torroba, *Suite castellana* for guitar from 1926, transcribed for cello and piano by Gaspar Cassadó under the title *Fandanguillo* (Mainz: Schott, 1938),
- L. Foss, *Orpheus* for viola/guitar/cello and chamber orchestra, self-transcription (Paris: Salabert, 1974),
- P. de Lucia, *El Tempul* for guitar was arranged by Werner Thomas-Mifune (b. 1941) for two cellos (Lottstetten: Kunzelmann, n.d.) and for cello and piano (Adliswil: Kunzelmann, n.d.).

#### 2.2.4. Woodwind and brass instruments and transcriptions of their repertoire

Wind instruments differ from the cello in the way the sound is produced. They have intense and piercing timbres, and characteristic models of figurations and

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<sup>749</sup> Joachim Stutschewski (1891–1981), a Ukrainian cellist active in Vienna, then Tel Aviv. He worked for Schott Music and left many volumes of didactic materials for cello. He arranged for cello and piano J.-B. Bréval's Sonata in C major, A. Vandini's Sonatas in F major and G major, and J. S. Bach's *Siciliana* and *Largo*.

intervals. The signalling character of the French horn, the flute's nimbleness in figurations, and the specific harsh sounds of the clarinet and bassoon cannot be imitated on the cello. Hence cello transcriptions of works for woodwind and brass instruments are characterised by much softer colouring.

The **recorder** is the oldest wind instrument, used widely up to the eighteenth century and attracting the interest of transcribers towards the end of the nineteenth century.

- J.-B. Loeillet, *Grande Sonate* in A minor for recorder and b.c., Op. 3 No. 5, transcribed for cello and piano by Jules De Swert (Mainz: Schott, 1875), Joseph Salmon (Paris: Ricordi, 1917) and Carl Schröder (Mainz: Schott, 1911),
- G. F. Handel, *Gavotte*, Op. 1 No. 7 from the *Sonata in C major* for recorder, HWV 365, transcribed for cello and piano by Carl Schröder in *Vortragsstudien* (London: Augener, 1894).

The **flute** has a compass of  $c^1$ – $c^4$ . On this instrument, rapid scales, passagework, runs, trills and frullato can be played, but not chords. Here are examples of transcriptions:

- I. Pleyel, *Concerto in C major*, ben 106 for flute, from 1799, also exists in a version for cello/clarinet (Offenbach: André, 1799),
- L. van Beethoven, *Sonata in F major*, Op. 17 for flute/French horn/cello/viola and piano (Vienna: Mollo et Comp., 1801),
- J. S. Bach, *Partita in A minor*, BWV 1013 transcribed for cello by Rezsoe Pertorini (Budapest: Editio Musica, 1995).

The **oboe** has a compass of  $b$ – $a^3$  and its music is notated in the treble clef. It is characterised by a sharp, nasal sound. This instrument was initially popular in ensemble playing and gained the role of a solo instrument during the Baroque. It is endowed with great expressive qualities, exceptional lyricism and at the same time great mobility. Playing long notes is facilitated by the technique of circular breathing, which makes it possible to play continuously by breathing in through the nose while pushing air out through the mouth. Here are some examples of transcriptions:

- G. F. Handel, *Concerto in G minor*, HWV 287, from 1703, transcribed many times, including for cello and orchestra/piano by Robert Emile Bockmühl (Leipzig: Schubert, 1874) and William Henry Squire (Mainz: Schott, 1926), and for cello and piano by Paul Grümmer (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1941/43<sup>750</sup>),

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750 Weigl, *Handbuch*, 38; all the transcriptions are in the original key of G minor, although the author admits that the cello transcription does not create such an impression as the original.

- Alessandro Marcello, *Andante sostenuto* from the *Concerto in D minor* for oboe, string orchestra and b.c., SF935, transcribed for violin/cello and piano by the American violinist and conductor Sam Franko (1857–1937) (New York: Schirmer, 1925).

The **clarinet** is a transposing instrument; its notation in the treble clef is not how it really sounds. It has a compass from e to c<sub>4</sub> and is characterised by a clear, sharp sound, rapid ornaments, frullato technique, sudden dynamic shading, mobility and long legato phrasing. Here are examples of transcriptions:

- C. M. von Weber, *Clarinet Concerto in E flat major*, Op. 74, transcribed by Gaspar Cassadó in D major (Mainz: Schott, 1935),
- W. A. Mozart, *Larghetto* from the *Quintet*, K.581 transcribed for cello and piano by Friedrich August Kummer (Berlin: Schlesinger, 1850),
- A. Honegger, *Sonatine pour clarinette en la* (1921–1922) or for cello and piano (Paris: Rouart Lerolle, 1924).

The **bassoon** is a bass instrument representing an extension of the oboe family. It has a compass of B flat<sub>1</sub>–f sharp<sub>2</sub>, corresponding to the cello, and plays in the bass and tenor registers. It is one of the instruments replaced by the cello in b.c. parts. A number of works have been written for bassoon or cello:

- H. Hargrave, *Five Concertos, the principal part for a bassoon or violoncello* (London, 1765), for bassoon/cello, strings and b.c.,
- G. P. Telemann, *Sonata in F minor* for bassoon, TWV 41: f1, from 1728, published in a version for cello by Amadeus of Winterthur in 1977.

The **trumpet** – its natural hand-made varieties dominated in the Baroque with their *clarino* technique for performing high notes. A transposing instrument, it has had valves since the 1910s, facilitating playing and expanding performance capacities. Cello transcriptions are most often polyversional editions:

- *Album ausgewählter Lieder*, songs by H. Weidt, W. Volkmann, W. Popp, C. Neumann and C. Macht, arranged for trumpet/cello and orchestra/string quintet (Hanover: Oertel, 188–).

The **French horn** – its natural varieties were used up to the end of the nineteenth century. Around the mid nineteenth century, chromatic valve French horns appeared. Its music is notated in the treble clef, with the lowest notes in the bass clef; its compass is f sharp–c<sup>3</sup>. Here are examples of transcriptions, self-transcriptions and polyversions:

- W. A. Mozart, *Horn Concerto in E flat major*, K.447 transcribed by Gaspar Cassadó in D major for cello and orchestra (Mainz: Schott, 1931/2),
- L. van Beethoven, *Sonata in F major*, Op.17 for French horn/cello/viola/flute and piano (Vienna: Mollo et Comp., 1801),
- R. Schumann, *Adagio und Allegro*, Op. 70 for piano and French horn/cello/violin (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1881).

The **organ** is the biggest and most complex musical instrument. In the modern tradition, it has been used in churches to support vocal parts, singing and improvisation based on themes from vocal works. The oldest transcriptions of sacred and secular music are preserved in organ tablatures. Organists were the first performers of transcriptions of vocal works. They were accompanied by bass violin/violone/violoncello. In the Romantic era, the organ became a fully-fledged concert instrument. Here are examples of transcriptions:

- J. S. Bach, *Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue* in D minor for organ/harpsichord, BWV 903, transcribed for cello and piano by Ferruccio Busoni (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1917),
- *Preambulum* from the Lublin Tablature, from 1537–1548, transcribed for cello and piano by Krzysztof Sperski in *Utwory nieznaných polskich kompozytorów XVI i XVII w.* [Works by unknown Polish composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries] (Cracow: PWM, 1984),
- J. S. Bach, *Aria* from the *Pastorale* for organ, BWV 590, transcribed for cello by Andrzej Orkisz (Warsaw: Dambit, 2003).

### 2.2.5. Cello transcriptions of vocal works

The human voice consists of the vibrating edges of the vocal ligaments, commonly called the vocal cords. As in string instruments, the vocal cords vary in length, from 12 to 20 mm in women and from 18 to 25 mm in men. Voice ranges vary, depending on a singer's individual capacities and timbre, which can be coloratura, lyrical or dramatic. Female voices are soprano ( $c^1$ – $f^3$ ), mezzo-soprano ( $g$ – $b^2$ ) and alto ( $g$ – $c^2$ ). Male voices are tenor ( $c$ – $c^2$ ), baritone ( $G$ – $g^1$ ) and bass (from E to the beginning of the one-line octave). Singing is characterised by a combination of sound production and enunciation, which distinguishes it from instrumental music. Although the human voice, in its physical characteristics and method of sound production, is diametrically different from the cello, there are strong similarities of interpretation and expression. It is often said that the cello is close to the human voice in timbre. A sensitive cellist aspires to achieving the depth of the human voice in the

leading of a melodic line. The skill of songful, cantilena playing is one of the fundamental elements of its performance arsenal. Teachers remarks such as 'play beautifully, sing!' accompany pupils as they learn the secrets of cello interpretation. In terms such as cantabile, arioso, mezza voce and sotto voce, one sees a clear inspiration from the human voice in the forging of instrumental expression. Cello transcriptions of vocal works are natural from an historical point of view, when the cello doubled a vocal part. Instrumental transcriptions are lacking one crucial element which the cello cannot perform, namely, a verbal layer, which is a fundamental component of a song or aria. Although the cello displays the greatest affinity of sound with the tenor and bass voices, cello transcriptions have been produced from vocal works scored for various voices. Here are some examples:

### **Soprano:**

- F. Mendelssohn, 'Auf Flügeln des Gesanges', from the cycle of 6 *Songs*, Op. 34, transcribed by Georg Goltermann for cello and piano (Leipzig: Bosworth & Co., 1899),
- C. Debussy, 'Les cloches', from the cycle 2 *Romances* transcribed for cello by Ferdinando Ronchini (Paris: Durand, 1911),
- K. Szymanowski, 'Pieśń Roksany' [Roksana's song] from the opera *Król Roger* [King Roger], transcribed for cello by Andrzej Orkisz, after a violin transcription by Paweł Kochański (Cracow: PWM, 1994).

### **Mezzo-soprano:**

- C. W. Gluck, aria 'Unis de la plus tendre' from the opera *Iphigénie en Tauride*, transcribed by Georg Goltermann for cello and piano (Leipzig: Bosworth, 1899),
- C. Saint-Saëns, 'Mon coeur s'ouvre à ta voix', aria from Act 2 of the opera *Samson et Dalila*, Op. 47 in the key of G flat major has received many transcriptions, including in cello versions in G major by Georg John Trinkhaus (1878–1960) (New York: Witmark & Sons, 1913) and in C major by Andrzej Orkisz (Warsaw: Dambit, 2003).

### **Alto:**

- G. F. Handel, *Dank sei Dir, Herr*, published as *Arioso aus Cantata con stromenti, für Alt* for cello and piano by Hugo Becker (London: Schott's Söhne, 1907).

**Tenor/mezzo-soprano:**

- G. F. Handel, aria ‘Ombra mai fu’ from the opera *Xerxes* for cello and piano.

**Tenor/baritone:**

- G. B. Pergolesi (or Vincenzo Legrenzio Ciampi), *Tre giorni son che Nina* scored traditionally for male voice. A cello transcription in G minor can be found in the collection *Stücke alter Meister nr 14* by Willy Burmester / Josephine van Lier (Berlin: Schlesinger, 1906). Gaston Borch’s version is a tone lower, in the key of F minor (New York: Fischer, 1910). Zofia Adamska’s arrangement in D minor was published by PWM of Cracow in 1978.

**Baritone:**

- R. Wagner, Wolfram’s aria ‘O du mein holder Abendstern’, from Act 3 scene 2 of the opera *Tannhäuser*, transcribed by Leo Schulz under the title *To the Evening Star* (New York: Schirmer, 1900) and by Georg John Trinkaus as *Song to the Evening Star* (New York: Witmark & Sons, 1913).

**Summary**

At the origins of mimetic artistic work stands the need for more or less faithful imitation, drawing on existing works. The classification of transcriptions and arrangements presented here, along with the selected examples, may help to assess the scale of the changes that have occurred in cello transcription. Thanks to the adaptation of repertoire from the human voice and from many different instruments, cellists have been able to draw on the art of composers who have shown with little, if any, interest in the cello. The work of transcribers has its positive and negative aspects.

The positive aspects are as follows:

**Universalism** – most often transcribed are ideal works, the musical language of which transcends a particular instrument and can be translated to different performance media.

**Communicativeness** – transcribers turn to beautiful, accessible works.

**Popularity** – thanks to a large number of performers, a work reaches a wide audience and spreads a composer’s name and work in places where the original version would never have been heard.

**Education** – a transcription identifies the original work and its composer, and it often stimulates listeners to become familiar with the original.

**Didacticism** – transcriptions are readily performed by pupils, representing an effective didactic tool that can help perfect technique (for example, transcriptions from the violin literature).

**Instruction** – transcriptions teach cellists to turn to a variety of sources, introduce them to the centuries-old tradition of mimetic performance and open them up to a wealth of music not confined to the original cello literature.

**Integration** – transcribed works become a common good for many instrumentalists and, through repeated performance, an object of aesthetic perception for a larger number of people.

**Breaking stereotypes** – producing a transcription may lead to the discovery of the deeper nature of one's own instrument and make a positive contribution to the development of cello performance.

The negative aspects are as follows:

**Interference in an original musical work** – a transcription is a copy.

**Change of performance medium** – this interferes in one of the most crucial constitutive elements of a work, its timbre.

**Deformation of a work** – transcription may lead to the deformation of an original work through the following procedures:

- idealisation, enhancement, embellishment,
- simplification, reduction, primitivism,
- trivialisation, banalisation, caricature, grotesque.

**Antagonism** – a transcription may trigger opposition and negative reactions among composers, music critics, theorists and aestheticians.

Transcriptions of musical works are not an unequivocal phenomenon. On one hand they popularise classical music; on the other they lower its status. Hence, they have often caused controversy and debate in the musical world during various eras.



## Appendix II:

### Concert transcriptions for cello. Description of the works recorded on the CD

The appended CD\* contains seven cello transcriptions that represent a musical illustration of the issues of mimetic repertoire for cello discussed in this book. The first two transcriptions, of works by Henry Eccles and Pietro Locatelli, were produced at the beginning of the twentieth century, when cello transcriptions were valued works. The virtuoso cellists who produced them were convinced of their crucial artistic aspects. In arranging and recomposing works, they displayed, besides their instrumental skills, their abilities as composers. One interesting example of the transcribing of Romantic piano literature is Chopin's Nocturne. The transcriber, Bernhard Cossmann (1822–1910), apart from transferring the piano's musical material and adding his own cadenza at the end, essentially changed nothing, which attests to his respect towards the composer of the original and towards the work itself. The other transcriptions represent contemporary output. The three literal transpositions of violin pieces by Grażyna Bacewicz are interesting for cellists on account of the ingenuity, temperament and motorics of Bacewicz's compositional language. The final piece in this collection is a transcription of a work by Juliusz Karcz (b. 1944), abounding in interesting musical ideas, combining a modern musical language with lyricism, embellished with humour, grotesqueness and carefree musical fun.

#### Henry Eccles (1670–1742)

##### ***Sonata in G minor* in transcriptions and arrangements for cello**

This work is the eleventh piece from set of twelve violin sonatas entitled *Premier Livre de sonates à violon seul et la basse* (Paris: Foucaut, 1720<sup>751</sup>). The movements of the work in the first edition bear the following markings: Largo, Corente Stacate Alegro, Adagio, Presto. Little is known about Henry Eccles, who was an English composer employed at the court of Louis XIV of France. This particular sonata

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\* The recordings are available at: <https://www.peterlang.com/view/title/62791>

751 The first edition of this set is available at the British Library under the system number 004319612. Physical Description: (folio), Music Collections K.7.e.5.(1.) UIN: BLL01004319612.

has attracted the interest of transcribers for more than one hundred years. The earliest cello arrangements of this Baroque sonata were produced at the beginning of the twentieth century. They were intended to restore this valuable and beautiful work to the repertoire. The first version, by Alfred Moffat (Berlin: Simrock, 1905), with the movements marked Largo, Corrente Allegro con spirito, Adagio and Vivace, displays considerable similarity to a later version by Joseph Salmon (1864–1943): the same number of bars in each movement (Salmon titles them Grave, Courante Allegro con spirito, Adagio, Vivace); similar musical content, which suggests that the two transcribers had similar source material at their disposal or that Salmon's version was based on Moffat's. The latter was published many times over the course of the twentieth century, in London (Lengnick & Co., 1954) and New York (American Music Publishers and International Music Co.). Joseph Salmon arranged the Sonata for Ricordi of Milan and Paris in 1914. That version formed the basis for Benjamin Crowell's contemporary edition of the Sonata for cello and piano from 2005.<sup>752</sup> Salmon used a register an octave lower in his cello part, ranging from G to a<sup>1</sup>. That makes the Sonata easier to play, without having to use the thumb in positions I–IV. Ernst Cahnbley (1875–1936) arranged this work for Schott (1918), introducing new titles for the movements – Präludium (Largo assai), Courante (Allegro), Sarabande (Adagio molto), Gigue (Vivace e grazioso) – and a dense chordal texture for the piano accompaniment, adhering to a late Romantic style. Interestingly, in 2009, the Tunisian cellist Jawhera Matmati produced a version that is remarkably similar to Cahnbley's. Other noteworthy arrangements for cello and piano from the second half of the twentieth century were published by the cellist Charles Krane (New York: Spratt, n.d.) and the composer Niso Ticciati (1924–1972), who wrote a cello-playing school (New York: Lengnick & Co., 1960). A modern version for two cellos was prepared by the American cellist and teacher Marian Drake for a set of *Cello Accompaniments* (vol. 1, Greensboro: Latham Music Enterprises, 1999). The next two transcriptions are characterised by an expansion of the forces. The *basso continuo* part is transferred to string ensemble. The British composer Malcolm Lipkin arranged the Sonata for solo cello and strings (London: Bosworth & Co., 1957). Lev Aronson (1912–1988) did the same in 1982 (Bristol: Rarities for String Publications<sup>753</sup>). In

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752 The piano accompaniment is the same for cello, violin and viola. The sheet music prepared by Crowell for teaching purposes is available online: <http://www.lightandmatter.com/music/strings/> (accessed 20 December 2009).

753 Lev Aronson, a pupil of Gregor Piatigorsky, was imprisoned by the Nazis in Auschwitz concentration camp (now Oświęcim, Poland). On his release by the soviets, he made

his introduction to that edition, Aronson wrote: 'Following a 19th-century praxis of performance, we are presenting here a new edition of this celebrated Sonata with accompaniment of string quartet or string orchestra if so desired'. At the same time, he assured users that his ensemble accompaniment was suited to most existing arrangements of the cello part and could be successfully performed both in teaching and in the concert hall, for cellists, violists and double bassists. Analysis reveals a certain similarity to the arrangements by Moffat and Salmon.

Many years ago, I added to my concert repertoire an edition of the Sonata prepared by Kazimierz Wilkomirski, who described Cahnbley's version as 'rich' and proposed his own 'slimmed down' version based upon it. Comparative analysis of the two versions shows that Wilkomirski exactly repeated the cello part in all the movements of the Sonata, only removing two and a half bars from the third movement *Sarabanda. Adagio molto*. At this point in the Cahnbley, there is a bridge led *attaca subito* by the solo cello into the fourth movement, *Gigue, Vivace grazioso*. Wilkomirski retained the G–e flat<sup>2</sup> compass of the cello part and made 'cosmetic' key changes. The piano part, meanwhile, is considerably reduced. Wilkomirski removes one note or several notes in every bar, and often abandons octave doublings or one chord member. He successively presented this version of the Sonata in recital. His arrangement was published by PWM of Cracow in 1957.

**Pietro Locatelli (1695–1764), *Sonata in D major* transcribed and arranged for cello and piano by the cellist Alfredo Carlo Piatti**

The original material for Piatti's arrangement comes from two different sonatas published in the set of *XII Sonate à violino solo e basso da camera*, Op. 6 (Amsterdam, 1737; Paris: Le Clerc, 1739). Pietro Locatelli was a brilliant virtuoso violinist, and his sonatas are refined in every respect. He enjoyed enormous publishing success and interest among performers and listeners in his rich compositional style. Later arrangements by outstanding musicians sustained a constant interest in his output. Alfredo Carlo Piatti's transcription (C sharp–a<sup>3</sup>) is of a syntactical and recontextual character. Piatti arranged the *basso continuo* layer in the form of a piano accompaniment, retaining the original *basso* line but omitting the traditional figuring.

Movt I *Allegro* was taken from the third movement of the Sonata in D major, Op. 6 No. 6, and it constitutes an almost literal transcription of the solo and bass parts. The cello part is usually written an octave lower, although in several places

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his way to the American sector in Berlin. He was first cellist of the Dallas Symphony Orchestra and taught such cellists as Lynn Harrell and Ralph Kirshbaum.

it adheres to the same register as the original (bars 20–21; 22–27; 59–63; 67–69). In bar 20, the cello part even appears an octave higher than the violin original. Piatti added individual ornaments to the cello's solo line, reduced the double stops and employed minor modifications of the rhythm. The *staccato* articulation which is typical of the violin idiom of Locatelli's composition, covering 8–12 notes per bow, was retained in Piatti's transcription.

Movt II Adagio, in AB form, comes from the last Sonata in D minor, Op. 6 No. 12, where it is the first movement in the cycle. In the transcription, the reflective, highly ornamented cantilena of the solo part appears an octave lower, with minor alterations to the ornamentation and rhythmic groupings. These procedures served to build the dramatic structure, while retaining the improvisatory character of the melodic writing, as do the cadenzas introduced by Piatti at the end of section A. The original work has two voltas with a cadenza after the second repeat. In the transcription, Piatti introduced his own virtuosic cadenzas.

Movt III Minuetto comes from the Sonata in D major, Op. 6 No. 6. The form of dance variations displays a clear, symmetrical design. In the original violin version, each of the virtuosic variants of the minuet is contained within eight numbered sixteen-bar arias, which are further divided into two segments of eight bars each. While retaining the form of the internal divisions, the transcription displays many departures from the original, with changes to double stops and the introduction of original musical passages (bars 66–80, 83, 87). In bars 49–64, the texture was altered through the polyphonic leading of an expansive second bass voice, not referring to the original. Omitted in the arrangement are bars 65–80 of the violin original, comprising the fifth aria. Further changes were made to the melody, harmony and rhythm in bars 109–112 and in the bridge preceding Piatti's original virtuosic coda, which covers the last seventeen bars. This movement of the Sonata is partly a recomposition – a sort of dialogue struck up by the transcriber with the composer of the original (a cello virtuoso with a violin virtuoso). Transcribing Locatelli's works for cello represents a considerable challenge. Piatti proposes a virtuosic arrangement that reveals a desire to explore the technical capacities of the cello. This is an impressive form of the art of transcription, in which the transcriber-arranger also expressed himself as a composer. It is worthy of note as one of the few transcriptions which enable the instrumentalist to explore more deeply the cello's technical capacities.

**Fryderyk Chopin (1810–1849), *Nocturne in E flat major*, Op. 9 No. 2 in a transcription for cello**

The piano original, dedicated to Camille Pleyel (1788–1855), was written in 1830–1831. In the rich compositional oeuvre of Chopin, it is one of the works

most frequently transcribed by cellists, from Romantic times to the present day.<sup>754</sup> It should be termed a ‘classical music hit’, as an extremely popular work, both lyrical and virtuosic in character. It was been transcribed by the most outstanding cellists:

Adrien-François Servais – transcription in D major (D–f sharp<sup>2</sup>),  
 Friedrich Grützmacher – transcription in C major (C–a<sup>3</sup>),  
 Georg Goltermann – transcription in E flat major (C flat–g<sup>2</sup>),  
 David Popper – transcription in E flat major (E flat–d flat<sup>3</sup>).

Also Julius Klengel, Leo Schulz, Oskar Brückner (1857–1930), Willem Engel (1871–?) and Emanuel Feuermann (*Emanuel Feuermann Rare Recordings 1934–42*, Classics Cello, 2007).

Performances of cello transcriptions of Chopin’s Nocturne, Op. 9 No. 2 were complimented by reviewers. On 13 March 1877, during a concert in Wrocław, the Belgian cellist Adolf Fischer (1847–1891) performed Chopin’s Nocturne ‘with great virtuosity’.<sup>755</sup> The work was reviewed in a similarly positive way when interpreted by Julius Klengel: Bach Sarabande (with Gavotte) and a well-known Chopin Nocturne, subtly and precisely played in every respect.<sup>756</sup> This work has attracted interest not only among cellists, but also among composers and arrangers: Alfred Moffat and also Francis Salabert (1884–1946), in whose 1922 version the work is scored for cello and orchestra. Further adaptations constitute polyversions: Ernest Reeves’s for violin or cello and piano from 1926, Richard Hofmann’s (1844–1918) for violin or cello (Leipzig: Bosworth & Co., n.d.) and an arrangement for double bass or cello and piano by Gustaw Zanger and Hans Wolf (199–).

The transcription of the Nocturne by the outstanding German cellist Bernhard Cossmann, dubbed the ‘Joachim of the cello’, transposes the work to F major, with the compass C–b2. Like each of the other transcribers discussed here, he transfers the top melodic layer of the piano part to the cello’s solo part, forming an accompaniment from the remaining harmonic material. This method results in ‘multiplication’,<sup>757</sup> increasing the number of sound layers. The transcriber modified the text in bars 12 and 20 and furnished the work’s conclusion with his own cadenza. An historical score (Leipzig: Kistner, n.d.) in my collection formerly

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754 Mizia, ‘Popularyzacja’.

755 Literska, *Nineteenth-Century Transcriptions*, 107n.260; review from *Breslauer Zeitung*, 1877, no. 124, 1.

756 Ibid. 109n.268; review from *Breslauer Zeitung*, 1883, no. 699, 2.

757 For more on multiplication, transmission and reduction of sound layers, see *ibid.*

belonging to the late Konstanty Borzyk, a concert cellist with the Polish National Radio Symphony Orchestra in Katowice, bears traces of his work on this composition: besides fingering, there are also pencil marks relating to interpretation.

**Grażyna Bacewicz (1909–1969), *Sonata da camera* for cello, transcription and arrangement of the cello part by Urszula Mizia**

This five-movement work, composed in 1945, is scored in the original for violin and piano. As the title indicates, it refers to Italian secular sonatas of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries dominated by dance rhythms.<sup>758</sup> We find here dances written in a contemporary compositional language. There is a graceful minuet in the third movement *Tempo di minuetto* and a playful gigue in the fifth movement *Gigue, Molto allegro*. The highly energetic second movement *Allegro* presents lively, dynamic dance similar to a polka. The first two dances are preceded by a reflective *Largo*, and the last by a cantilena *Adagio sostenuto* of rare beauty. The piano accompaniment, unlike the Baroque *basso continuo* in the *sonata da camera*, is strictly notated. My transcription for cello is of a literal character, without any interference in Grażyna Bacewicz's excellent compositional idiom. The cello part adheres as closely as possible to the original violin part, with the piano part completely unaltered. The use of a lower-sounding instrument brought the cello and piano parts closer together. Despite this, the musical material remains transparent, and the character of the work is preserved. The *Sonata da camera* is written in a universal musical language and works excellently well in the cello's lower range.<sup>759</sup> The compass E–f sharp<sup>2</sup> reflects this instrument's most advantageous registers. The phrasing, dynamics and articulation are mostly retained.

The substantial type of transcription, also called pure, literal or natural, was used several times by Grażyna Bacewicz herself, in her self-transcriptions for cello of such works as *Taniec mazowiecki* [Mazovian dance] and *Andante sostenuto*. It is worth mentioning here Bacewicz's work with many outstanding cellists, who greatly esteemed her and asked her to write works for them. The Czech cellist Miloš Sádlo commissioned from Bacewicz her First Cello Concerto. For the outstanding Spanish cellist Gaspar Cassadó, Bacewicz wrote her Second Cello Concerto, greatly admired and frequently performed by the Polish cellist Roman Suchecky (1933–2003).<sup>760</sup> Other leading instrumentalists, such as Zofia Adamska

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758 Gąsiorowska, *Bacewicz*, 146.

759 Mizia, *Grażyna Bacewicz Sonata da camera*, 27–28.

760 Gąsiorowska, *Bacewicz*, 348.

and Kazimierz Wiłkomirski, made the first arrangements and recordings of cello versions of her works. Those are just some of the names from the long list of cellists who have had works by Bacewicz in their repertoire. The composer was interested in the cello and spoke positively about its sound qualities. While working on one of her most interesting works, the *Kwartet na cztery wiolonczele* [Quartet for four cellos], she wrote: “The combination of four cellos appealed to me with its wealth of sound material [ . . . ] I arrived at the conclusion that four cellos in an ensemble represent limitless riches for a contemporary composer.”<sup>761</sup> The *Sonata da camera* for cello was published by PWM of Cracow in 2007.

**Grażyna Bacewicz, *Kaprys polski* [Polish caprice], transcribed for solo cello by Andrzej Orkisz**

This wonderful encore miniature for solo violin was written in 1949 and became ‘something of a signature tune or “trademark” of the composer’s punchy, virtuosic style.’<sup>762</sup> The caprice has been transcribed for clarinet, piano (self-transcription, 1954) and viola (Stefan Kamasa). In 1995, PWM Edition published a faithful transcription for solo cello prepared by the cellist Andrzej Orkisz.

This virtuosic work begins with a short lyrical intrada, which is followed by chords developing in pulsation and motorics, interspersed with striking scales and cascades of notes. The sound swells gradually and the tension rises towards the climax of the work, concluding with a sharp cut. The transcription for cello, despite the faithful transferral of the musical substance and the markings of dynamics and articulation, is slightly more delicate and toned-down, resulting from the lower timbre of the instrument. Those differences notwithstanding, the *Polish Caprice* in its cello transcription is a remarkable, temperamental work that stands out in the solo literature of this type.

**Grażyna Bacewicz, *Taniec mazowiecki* [Mazovian dance] – self-transcription**

This composition was originally intended as a functional work, training young violinists to develop the ability to listen to and perform contemporary music by performing miniatures. Here the composer used her own version of a folk music idiom. The transcription for cello was published by PWM Edition in 1952, a year after the publication of the violin original. It is a literal self-transcription. The composer transferred the violin part exactly to the cello, leaving the piano accompaniment unchanged. That by no means diminishes the charm and

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761 Ibid., 353; letter from Grażyna Bacewicz to Maria Dziewulska, 1963.

762 Gąsiorowska, *Bacewicz*, 191.

modernist flavour of this virtuosic miniature. The cello part was arranged by Zofia Adamska, and the work was first performed by Kazimierz Wiłkomirski and his sister Maria Wiłkomirska in Warsaw in the autumn of 1952.

**Juliusz Karcz, *Rapsod polski* [Polish rhapsody] – polyversion, transcription and arrangement of the cello part by Urszula Mizia**

Juliusz Karcz's work was written to a commission in connection with the Year of Polish Culture in Paris. It was first performed at the Salle Cortot in 2004. My cello transcription largely transfers the violin part from the original to cello with minor modifications of melody and rhythm. This composition refers to Polish, Slavic folk music. The reflective *Largo* introduction leads into a lively figurational *Allegretto*, against which a simple melody emerges in the cello part. This is a poetical tableau of mountains and babbling brooks. The opening idyll turns into a vital surge of the two interplaying instruments. The dramatic pursuit is calmed by a melody inspired by Polish dance – a kujawiak in a slow *Larghetto*. A moment's reflection is followed by a dignified quasi-polonaise theme, before the murmur of highland streams returns, in the mood of the opening *Allegretto*, which unexpectedly turns into a metrically varied dance suite. A light and cheerful mood dominates here. A duple-metre quasi-krakowiak gives way to a vibrant triple-time oberek in *Vivo*. Another moment of reflection in the rhythm of stately melodies in *Lento* and *Maestoso* is followed by a return of the cheerful play of krakowiak with oberek, leading into the work's closing coda, rounded off with a typical melo-rhythmic oberek formula.

This transcription was published in 2010 and has been performed in many concerts with accordion or piano. With their distinctive sound idioms and original expression, those two accompaniment instruments are expressively poles apart. This comes across when the work is performed polyversionally in its different variants. The practice of using alternative forces in performance, familiar from the Renaissance and Baroque, is an interesting artistic experiment in the twenty-first century.

**Illustrations**

**Photo 19.** Bernard Picart, *Two Noble Men Standing*, etching, 1704. British Museum, London, registration number: 1871,1209.2234.



**Photo 20.** An angel cellist from an organ prospect (detail) made in 1625–29, originally from the Church of St John, now in the Cathedral of the BVM in Gdańsk, Poland.



**Photo 21.** An angel cellist from an organ prospect (detail) by Tobias Lehmann from 1703, in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Gdańsk, Poland.



**Photo 22.** One of three angels with cello from an organ prospect (detail) from 1755 in the Church of St Nicholas in Gdańsk, Poland.



**Photo 23.** An angel with cello sculpted by Johann Heinrich Meissner from 1760, Cathedral of the BVM in Gdańsk, Poland.



**Photo 24.** Gabriel Metsu, *The Cello Player*, 1658, 63.0 × 48.2 cm, oil on canvas. The Royal Collection©2020, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II RCIN 4055 34.



**Photo 25.** Jan Miense Molenaer: *Family Portrait of Jan Miense Molenaer*, 1635, oil on panel, 62.3 x 81.3 cm. Haarlem Museum, the Netherlands, long-term loan from the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands, obj.no.os 75–332.



**Photo 26.** Anthonie Palamedesz, *Merry Company Dining and Making Music*, 1632, oil on panel, 47.4 x 72.6 cm. Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis in The Hague, the Netherlands (no. 615).



**Photo 27.** Philippe Mercier, *The Music Party: Frederick, Prince of Wales, with his Three Eldest Sisters*, 1733, oil on canvas, 79.4 x 57.8 cm.

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## Concert transcriptions for cello – CD\*

**Henry Eccles, Sonata in G minor**, arr. Kazimierz Wilkomirski

1. Preludium Largo assai, Courante Allegro (6:25)
2. Sarabanda Adagio molto, Gigue Vivace grazioso (4:13)

**Pietro Locatelli, Sonata in D major**, tr. and arr. Alfredo Carlo Piatti

3. Allegro (6:33)
4. Adagio (6:10)
5. Menuetto (9:44)

6. **Fryderyk Chopin, Nocturne, Op. 9 No. 2**, tr. Bernhard Cossmann (4:43)

**Grażyna Bacewicz, Sonata da camera** for cello, tr. Urszula Mizia

7. Largo (2:55)
8. Allegro (2:25)
9. Tempo di minuetto (2:40)
10. Andante sostenuto (2:40)
11. Gigue, molto allegro (2:16)

12. **Grażyna Bacewicz, Kaprys polski** [Polish caprice], tr. Andrzej Orkisz (3:02)

13. **Grażyna Bacewicz, Taniec Mazowiecki** [Mazovian dances], self-transcription (3:15)

14. **Juliusz Karcz, Rapsod Polski** [Polish rhapsody], tr. Urszula Mizia (9:24)

Performers:

Urszula Mizia – cello (1–14)

Elżbieta Pohludka – piano (1–5)

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\* The recordings are available at: <https://www.peterlang.com/view/title/62791>



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## Summary

*The Mimetic Strand in the Cello Literature within the Context of History, Instrument Design, Iconography and Cello Performance* is the first attempt at an integral study of mimesis in the cello literature. It consists of three parts. The first part deals with the history and origins of the recreative or, as others opine, co-creative artistic work which in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries gave rise to cello transcriptions and arrangements. Besides the original cello literature, adaptations of existing works reflecting the musical habits, interests and fascinations of cellists were written at every stage in history with varying intensity. Singled out here are particular composers and the forms which were characteristic of a given epoch. This part of the work, of an interdisciplinary character, contains wide-ranging considerations covering the views and concepts that forged the approach to the art of cello before and after its emergence, as well as issues relating to terminology, the art of instrument making and the technical capacities of the cello in the past. Also addressed are issues relating to philosophy, history of aesthetics and the visual arts, including iconography presenting the historical image of the cello.

The theoretical middle part contains reflection on the essence of transcription and arrangement, definitions, and a systematics making it possible to categorise the vast amount of transcriptions and arrangements for cello. Two criteria for classification were employed: the preservation of the original score and of the original forces. Each type of transcription is illustrated with examples from the musical literature.

The work ends with a description of selected concert transcriptions and arrangements and a comparison of the methods of transcribing employed by selected composers (<https://www.peterlang.com/view/title/62791>).

The information, photographic documentation, catalogues and descriptions of objects relating to the cello are based on collected material and on research conducted from 2008 to 2018 in museums of musical instruments and of visual arts and in libraries across Europe.



## About the Author

Urszula Mizia is a cellist, teacher, music event organiser and promoter of musical life. She is associated with the University of Silesia in Katowice, where she is a professor on the Faculty of Arts and Educational Science and, between 2016 and 2019, Vice-Director for Artistic Affairs, Development and Promotion at the Institute of Music. Born in Bielsko-Biała, she studied cello with prof. Witold Herman and chamber music with prof. Maria Szmyd-Dormus at Cracow Academy of Music. She graduated with honours in 1988 and obtained her PhD in 2001. In 2013 she received her habilitation at the Academy of Music in Gdańsk. Since 1995 she has been president of the Bielsko-Biała Music Society and author of the Education Through Music project realised in cooperation with the Bielsko-Biała Cultural Centre and co-financed by the Municipality of Bielsko-Biała.

As a soloist, she has given many recitals and concerts not only in Poland but also in the Czech Republic, the Netherlands, Italy, the United Arab Emirates, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Slovakia, Ukraine, Austria, Latvia and Lithuania.

Her academic work has dealt with Polish music, cello music, the promotion of classical music, and the history of Bielsko-Biała Music Society. She has presented papers to academic conferences at Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce, Charles University in Prague, Anton Makarenko and Mikhaïlo Kotsiubynsky universities in Ukraine, Daugavpils University in Latvia and the International Music Courses of the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre.

In 2011 she participated as a cellist, organiser and instructor in an international EU-funded project called Getting to Know Our Roots, and two years later she supervised two more international projects in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland: Music Unites Nations and Witold Lutosławski: Colours of Music, Colours of Life – the latter subsidised by the Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage. Her performances can be found on archive recordings, DVDs and CDs: *Muzyka w Bielsku-Białej I* [Music in Bielsko-Biała I], *Muzyka w Bielsku-Białej II* [Music in Bielsko-Biała II], *Klejnoty muzyki polskiej* [Jewels of Polish music], *Muzyka romantyczna* [Romantic music], *Transkrypcje koncertowe na wiolonczelę* [Concert transcriptions for cello], *Poznajmy nasze korzenie* [Getting to know our roots], *Witold Lutosławski: kolory muzyki, kolory życia* [Witold Lutosławski: colours of music, colours of life], *Muzyka łączy narody* [Music unites nations], *Cztery poru roku* [The four seasons] and *Jan Sztwiernia - utwory fortepianowe i kameralne* [Jan Sztwiernia: piano and chamber music]

She is the author of the monograph *Nurt Mimetyczny w literaturze wiolonczelowej* [The mimetic strand in the cello literature] and editor of four publications containing cello transcriptions of works by the Polish composers Grażyna Bacewicz, Juliusz Karcz and Jan Sztwiertnia, as well as chamber works by Sztwiertnia, all published by PWM, Euterpe and the University of Silesia Press.

Between 2016 and 2019, as a cellist, compere and specialist consultant, she led the educational project Music for All: Concerts in Rural Schools and for Selected Town and Village Communities, as part of the Accessible Culture programme launched by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage. Between 2017 and 2019 she took part in many concerts to celebrate the Centenary of Polish Independence in Great Britain, Poland and Slovakia, also financed by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage.

Urszula Mizia is member of the jury awarding the Ikar prize for achievements in culture. In 2004 she was nominated for the Złota Superata award for her outstanding achievements in culture and art by the Regional Culture Centre in Bielsko-Biała. In 2007 she was awarded an Honorary Badge of Merit for services to Polish Culture by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage.

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