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Instrumental Ensemble Music in Central European Churches: Questions of Function, Scoring, and Performance Practice*

In the seventeenth century ensemble music was normally performed from parts. Scores were only used for storage, for study, for small ensembles such as solo voice or violin with continuo, or occasionally for keyboard players to play and direct from. Surviving sets of parts divide into two types. Partbooks, printed or manuscript, usually collect a body of music with compatible scorings—such as trios for two violins and bass, five-part strings, four voices with two violins and continuo, and so forth. There are also individual manuscript sets of parts, usually transmitting a single piece. They were mostly copied on single sheets of paper, and the practice in German-speaking areas of Europe was for one of the sheets, often the continuo part, to do duty as a wrapper containing the work's formal title, the library's shelf marks, and sometimes an incipit.

Sets of parts are invaluable because they often convey information not preserved in scores, such as how many instruments and voices played or sang each part, how doublings were organised, whether any voices or instruments dropped out of particular sections, or whether transposition was used. Individual sets of parts have the advantage over partbooks in that they were often copied for a specific, single performance, though of course they might have been subsequently reused, perhaps being changed in the process. When put together with information from account books, inventories, a knowledge of the original performing situations, and so on, they can sometimes allow the circumstances of original performances to be reconstructed in considerable detail.

The collection in the castle library at Kroměříž (Kremsier) in Moravia,¹ the subject of this paper, is one of only three substantial collections of

* I am grateful to Brian Clark for providing the music examples from his published editions, and to Robert Rawson for helpful comments on a draft of this paper.

¹ Jiří Sehnal and Jitřenka Pešková, *Caroli de Liechtenstein-Castelcorno episcopi Olomucensis operum artis musicae collectio Cremsirii reservata [CLCC]*, 2 vols. (Prague, 1998).

individual sets of parts surviving from the seventeenth century, the others being the Düben collection at Uppsala University Library,² copied and collected for the Swedish court, and the material copied for the *cappella musicale* of San Petronio in Bologna, now in the basilica's archive.³ The Kroměříž collection was assembled during the reign of Karl Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn (1624–1695), prince-bishop of Olomouc (Olmütz).⁴ Karl was elected bishop in 1664, and soon after formed a musical ensemble under the direction of the composer and trumpeter Pavel Vejvanovský, who was responsible for copying or acquiring most of the collection.⁵ Vejvanovský's death in 1693 and that of his bishop two years later put an end to its expansion. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was stored in the church of St Moritz in Kroměříž, where it was discovered in the early twentieth century and was transferred to the castle library.

THE LITURGICAL FUNCTION OF INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

The collection essentially divides into four types according to function: settings of sacred texts, settings of secular texts, ensemble sonatas, and ensemble dance suites, the last usually called *balletti* or *arien*. In this paper I am concerned with instrumental ensemble music performed in church services, so the suites will largely be ignored, as will those sonatas with titles that suggest they were written for secular use, such as Heinrich Schmelzer's solo violin sonata 'Cu Cu',⁶ or Heinrich Biber's *Sonata pro Tabula*.⁷ However, some sonatas, such as Antonio Bertali's *Sonata S. Leopoldi*, Biber's

² The Düben collection is gradually being made available online, see Erik Kjellberg and Kerala J. Snyder (eds.), *The Düben Collection Database Catalogue*, at www.musik.uu.se/duben/Duben.php.

³ For the San Petronio collection, see Anne Schnobelen, 'Performance Practices at San Petronio in Bologna', *Acta musicologica*, 41 (1969), 37–55; Eugene Enrico, *The Orchestra at San Petronio in the Baroque Era* (Washington DC, 1976); Osvaldo Gambassi, *La Cappella musicale di S. Petronio: maestri, cantori e strumentisti dal 1436 al 1920* (Florence, 1987); Marc Vanscheeuwijck, *The Capella Musicale of San Petronio in Bologna under Giovanni Paolo Colonna (1674–95): History, Organization, Repertoire* (Brussels, 2003).

⁴ For Liechtenstein–Castelcorno, see Jiří Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský and the Kroměříž Music Collection* (Olomouc, 2008), 10–24.

⁵ For Vejvanovský, see Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský*, esp. 25–66.

⁶ *CLCC*, i. 525 (A 572a).

⁷ *Ibid.* i. 198 (A 904a).

Sonata S. Polycarpi, or Vejvanovský's *Sonata Scti Mauritii*,⁸ are named after particular saints, suggesting that they were written for their respective feast days. There are those such as Schmelzer's *Sonata Natalitia* or Vejvanovský's *Sonata Paschalis* and *Sonata Natalis*,⁹ that were clearly written for great feasts, and those, such as Vejvanovský's *Sonata ante Dixit* or his *Sonata Vespertina*,¹⁰ that suggest a particular liturgical function. Jiří Sehnal, the scholar who has spent his career studying the collection, has pointed out that a 1695 inventory of the collection places the sonatas among the categories of church compositions, implying that most of them were composed for that purpose; the *balletti* are placed at the end of the inventory.¹¹

It is not immediately clear where the sacred music in the collection was performed. Karl was bishop of Olomouc, so we might expect performances in the cathedral there, but in fact he spent much of his time at his palace in Kroměříž, about 30 miles from Olomouc, where his estates were administered, so it is likely that most of the music was performed at St Moritz.¹² Significantly, Vejvanovský was described at his death as 'Chori praefectus ad S. Mauritium',¹³ and the 1695 inventory describes the collection as 'rerum Musicalium [...] in Collegiata Ecclesia Sti: Mauritij Cremsirij'.¹⁴ There is no surviving description or picture of its interior before 1836, when it was destroyed by fire, though Sehnal has argued that the musicians performed in the chancel,¹⁵ an arrangement that can be seen in Melchior Küsel's engraving of musicians performing in Salzburg Cathedral in 1682, though with four additional groups in galleries attached to pillars of the building.¹⁶

There also does not seem to be much information about the role of instrumental music in services at St Moritz, though the title of Vejvanovský's *Sonata ante Dixit* suggests that it was used to introduce the psalms at Vespers, and another place for sonatas might have been as a Magnificat antiphon substitute, the possible function of the *Sonata sopra Sancta Maria* in

⁸ Ibid. 172, 198; ii. 644 (A 469, 556, 573, 611).

⁹ Ibid. i. 548; ii. 609–610, 644 (A 480, 553, 624).

¹⁰ Ibid. ii. 580, 609, 645–646 (A 240, 623).

¹¹ Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský*, 73–75. See also the facsimile in *CLCC*, i. 41–76.

¹² For music at St Moritz, see Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský*, esp. 176–199.

¹³ Ibid. 65.

¹⁴ See the facsimile in *CLCC*, i. 41.

¹⁵ Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský*, 120, 202f.

¹⁶ See the discussion in Eric Thomas Chafe, *The Church Music of Heinrich Biber* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1987), 40–51.

Monteverdi's 1610 Vespers.¹⁷ In the Mass the traditional positions for sonatas were after the Epistle (as in Mozart's Epistle sonatas), after the Gospel, or during the Communion.¹⁸ To judge from the Kroměříž collection, vocal music was normally sung at the offertory of the Mass, though Vejvanovský's *Offertur Ad Duos Choros* of 1692, a three-movement sonata-like piece for a double choir of strings and continuo, might have been intended to fulfil that role.¹⁹ However, the word 'offertur' could equally refer to some sort of secular offering, and this interpretation is supported by the middle movement, a two-section 'Sarabanda'.

Most of the sonatas in the Kroměříž collection are multi-section pieces lasting about four or five minutes, though there is a set of shorter five-part *Sonatellae* by Bertali.²⁰ They only last a couple of minutes each, and could have been used as intradas for the Mass or Vespers; many of the festive masses at Kroměříž start with short sonatas. Bertali's sonatellas were certainly performed in Vienna during processions. In the *Distincta Specificatione* or inventory of the imperial court chapel in Vienna, Bertali's sonatellas seem to be the pieces listed in the section 'Sonate Ordinarie p[er] Chiesa' as 'Sei sonate per la processione à 5.2. Cornetti, è 3. Tromboni, e Fagotto'.²¹ They are scored in the Kroměříž copy for two violins, two violas, viola da gamba and continuo, though a set of parts in the Düben collection gives two cornetts and three trombones with organ as an alternative to strings,²² and there is a separate Kroměříž set of parts of no. 4 scored for five 'Flautae'—recorders—and organ.²³ A set of 24 anonymous short sonatas for two violins, viola da gamba and continuo probably served a similar function.²⁴

¹⁷ On this point, see Stephen Bonta, 'Liturgical Problems in Monteverdi's Marian Vespers', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 20 (1967), 87–106, reprinted in Bonta, *Studies in Italian Sacred and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century* (Aldershot, 2003), no. 1; David Blazey, 'A Liturgical Role for Monteverdi's "Sonata sopra Sancta Maria"', *Early Music*, 17 (1989), 175–183.

¹⁸ See Stephen Bonta, 'The Uses of the *Sonata da Chiesa*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 22 (1969), 54–84; reprinted in Bonta, *Studies in Italian Sacred and Instrumental Music*, no. 2.

¹⁹ CLCC, ii. 636–637 (A 774). Modern edition: Pavel Josef Vejvanovský, *Composizioni per orchestra*, iii (Prague, 1961), 50–58.

²⁰ CLCC, i. 175–176 (A 533).

²¹ *Distinta Specificatione. / Dell'Archivio Musicale per il Servizio / della Cappella, e Camera Cesarea*, A-Wn Mus. Hs. 2451, fo. 14^v.

²² S-Uu imhs 001:006; facsimile at www.musik.uu.se/duben/Duben.php.

²³ CLCC, i. 169 (A 475).

²⁴ Ibid. ii. 874–876 (A 643).

SCORING

Turning to the scoring of the Kroměříž sonatas, the first issue to be addressed is the identity of the stringed instruments. The sets of parts appear to call for a bewildering variety of instruments: *violino*, *violetta*, *viola*, *viola da gamba*, *violon*, *violone*, *violone grande*, *basso viola*, *viola di basso*, or just *basso*. However, three inventories of the Kroměříž instruments help us to understand how stringed instruments were deployed, as does a general knowledge of string consorts at the time. Sehnal labelled the inventories A, B and C, suggesting that they were drawn up respectively in 1683, 1695 and after 1700.²⁵ They list five main types of bowed instrument: 11 'Violini' (A), 12 'Violini seu fides' (B), and 12 'Geigen' (C); 12 'Violae' (A), 11 'Violae di Brazzio' (B), and 11 'Bratschen' (C); two instruments called 'Bassetl' (A, B) or 'Violoncelli' (C); three instruments called 'Violon' (A), 'Violoni' (B) and 'Violonen' (C); and three 'Viola da gamba' (A), two 'Viola di gamba' (B), and two 'Gamben' (C). For the purposes of this paper I will disregard the other stringed instruments in the inventories, 'Violini piculi'; 'Viola fagotto' or 'Viola Fagott'; 'Violae d'Amour' or 'Violen d'Amour'; and those listed variously as 'Schalamey geigel', 'Fidiculae Schalamarum', and 'Kleine Schalmai geigen'. They are not specified in Kroměříž sonatas.

If we assume, as I think we can, that the instruments listed were mostly the same in all three inventories, then the changes in terminology are revealing: the 'Bassetl' in A and B became 'Violoncelli' in C; and 'Violae' in A became 'Violae da Brazzio' in B and then 'Bratschen' in C. This suggests that inner parts in Kroměříž sonatas labelled *viola*, *alto viola*, *tenore viola*, or *violetta*, were normally played by violas, and it explains why the ensemble needed as many of them as violins. Kroměříž sonatas often have more viola parts than violin parts: six-part string sonatas are usually scored for two violins, three violas and bass, while Vejvanovský's *Offertur Ad Duos Choros* has parts for violin, two violas, and basso viola in each choir.

One possibility we must consider is that inner parts marked *viola* or *violetta* were actually played by viols, as specified in a number of modern editions and used in some recordings. This may have happened occasionally: Alessandro Poglietti's autograph parts of a five-part balletto have the inner parts labelled 'Violetta' and 'Gamba', while a copy made at Kroměříž assigns them to 'Gamba' and 'Tenor Gamba'.²⁶ However, I do not think it was a

²⁵ Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský*, 95f.; there is a facsimile of B in *CLCC*, i. 78.

²⁶ *CLCC*, i. 378–379; ii. 669–670 (A 768, 922).

general practice at Kroměříž, for several reasons. First, the inventories suggest that ‘viola’ unqualified meant the violin-family instrument, *Bratsche* in modern German. Second, when gambas are specified in Kroměříž sonatas they tend to be given soloistic parts, sometimes contrasted with ordinary violas, as in three large-scale sonatas by Augustin Kertzinger, director of music at St Vitus Cathedral in Prague from 1658 to 1664 and at St Stephen’s Cathedral in Vienna from 1666 to 1678.²⁷ In these pieces a single viola da gamba is contrasted with violin-family instruments (including parts labelled ‘Viola’ or ‘Violae’) and wind instruments. It acts as a sort of continuo instrument, sometimes doubling the bass, sometimes playing chords and sometimes playing divisions. An eight-part sonata by Poglietti is scored for two violins and two gambas ‘in Concerto’ with alto, tenor and bass *viola* ‘per Complimento necessarii’—that is, essential but subsidiary instruments.²⁸ The violin and viol families were not generally mixed in Italian and German string consort music until quite late in the seventeenth century; Poglietti and Kertzinger may have been pioneers in bringing them together in mixed ensembles.²⁹

There are some instances in the Kroměříž parts of gambas being allocated to ordinary bass parts, as in the Bertali sonatellas already mentioned, or in a four-part sonata by Poglietti.³⁰ The autograph parts of the latter are labelled ‘Violino’, ‘Violetta’, ‘Alto d. Viola’, ‘Viola da Gamba’, and ‘Organo’. Significantly, these are high-pitched parts: Poglietti’s gamba part is in the baritone (F2) clef with the range *B flat* to *d’*. In general, in German consort music of the period the *violone* and the *fagotto* were commonly used as alternatives for ordinary-range bass parts, while the gamba and the tenor trombone were used as alternatives for high-pitched parts. High-pitched bass parts are often a sign in early seventeenth-century music—for instance, in Monteverdi—that the music was to be transposed down according to the rules of *chiavette*,³¹ though I know of no evidence that this practice was in use as late as the Kroměříž sonata repertory.

²⁷ Ibid. 325–326 (A 527, 541, 4995). For Kertzinger, see Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský*, 30, 85.

²⁸ *CLCC*, i. 390 (A 476).

²⁹ On this point, see Peter Holman, “‘Col noblissimo esercizio dell vivuola’: Monteverdi’s String Writing”, *Early Music*, 21 (1993), 577–590, at 587–588.

³⁰ *CLCC*, i. 389 (A 601).

³¹ See Andrew Parrott, ‘Transposition in Monteverdi’s Vespers of 1610: An “Aberration” Defended’, *Early Music*, 12 (1984), 490–516; Patrizio Barbieri, ‘*Chiavette* and Modal Transposition in Italian Practice (c.1500–1837)’, *Recercare*, 3 (1991), 5–79; Stephen Bonta, ‘The Use of Instruments in the Ensemble Canzona and Sonata in Italy, 1580–1650’,

Mention of the *violone* raises the question of the identity of bowed bass instruments. The Kroměříž inventories include two types, the *bassetl* or violoncello, and the *violone*. A third type, *violone grande*, is not listed in the inventories, but is occasionally called for in Kroměříž parts—as in Vejvanovský's *Offertur Ad Duos Choros*. Leaving aside the *violone grande* for a moment, it is likely we are dealing here with two types of violin-family instrument, not one violin-family type and one type of viol, as Sehnal asserts.³² The *Bassetl* was a common eighteenth-century Austrian name for the violoncello (Leopold Mozart wrote that the *Bassel* or *Bassette* 'also goes under the name *Violoncell*, from the Italian *violoncello*'),³³ though in the 1680s the instrument might be more properly thought of as a small bass violin, called in Italy *violoncino*, *violonzino*, *bassetto di viola* or some-such.³⁴ The *violoncello*, used for solo music and dependent on the use of metal-wound bass strings,³⁵ was developed in Italy in the 1660s and –70s as a solo instrument (it was first specified in Giulio Cesare Arresti's op. 4 of 1665),³⁶ and was not generally adopted north of the Alps until the early eighteenth century. At first it was strongly identified with Italian players, such as Antonio and Giovanni Bononcini in Vienna.³⁷

Sehnal suggests that the *violone* at Kroměříž was a large viol tuned *GG-C-F-A-d-g*, pointing out that Johann Prinner and Daniel Speer described instruments of this sort in 1677 and 1687.³⁸ However, as with *violone* parts in the music of Buxtehude and other north German composers,³⁹ it is striking

Recercare, 4 (1992), 23–43; reprinted in *Studies in Italian Sacred and Instrumental Music*, no. 14.

³² Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský*, 109–110.

³³ James Webster, 'Violoncello and Double Bass in the Chamber Music of Haydn and his Contemporaries, 1750–1780', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 29 (1976), 413–438, esp. 414–417.

³⁴ Stephen Bonta, 'Terminology for the Bass Violin in Seventeenth-Century Italy', *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, 4 (1978), 5–42; reprinted in *Studies in Italian Sacred and Instrumental Music*, no. 5.

³⁵ Stephen Bonta, 'From Violone to Violoncello: A Question of Strings?', *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, 3 (1977), 64–99; reprinted in *Studies in Italian Sacred and Instrumental Music*, no. 4.

³⁶ Bonta, 'From Violone to Violoncello', 71, 96, 99.

³⁷ For the Bononcinis as cellists, see the introduction to Antonio Bononcini, *Complete Sonatas for Violoncello and Basso Continuo*, ed. Lowell Lindgren, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, 77 (Madison, WI, 1996).

³⁸ Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský*, 109–110.

³⁹ See the discussion in Peter Holman, 'Buxtehude on CD: A Tercentenary Survey', *Early Music*, 35 (2007), 385–396, at 388, 392. For the *GG* viol, see Kerala J. Snyder, *Dieterich*

that the Kroměříž *violone* parts never go below *C*—suggesting an instrument tuned like a violoncello. The ranges of the parts, frequently descending to *C*, also appear to rule out the strange *violone* tuning, *G-A-d-g*, given in the dictionary published in Prague in 1701 by Johann Balthasar Janowka.⁴⁰ Following Stephen Bonta's exhaustive study of the subject, it is now generally accepted that *violone* in Italian music up to and including Corelli meant a large bass violin rather than a viol, and this also seems to have been what the word meant at Kroměříž.⁴¹

In January 1670 Jakob Stainer was in the process of supplying Kroměříž with '2 Violone da Braccio', 'ein Paßviolon', and 'ein octav Violon'.⁴² A subsequent letter, written on 2 September 1670, mentions that the 'Octav Violon' was twice as large as a *Paßgeigen* that was sent to Kroměříž earlier, and would be clearly audible in the full ensemble ('und sich aus aller musica in pleno hören wird lassen').⁴³ It was therefore apparently a real contrabass, doubling the bass line at the octave, and was presumably the 'Violon grande' 'Violone grosso' or 'Violon magnus' called for in some of Vejvanovský's late secular instrumental works, such as the anonymous 'Harmonia Romana' of 1669 for six-part-strings and continuo (its parts are in Vejvanovský's hand and it is probably by him),⁴⁴ or the *Offertur Ad Duos Choros*. Thus (assuming that it the latter is a secular piece) it seems that at Kroměříž octave-transposing basses were used in secular rather than sacred music.

It is striking how close the string writing in the Kroměříž repertory (and more generally in Austria and central European music) was to Italian practice. For instance, Monteverdi and his contemporaries often labelled all the lower parts of string ensembles *violae*,⁴⁵ and the same usage can be found at

Buxtehude, Organist in Lübeck (New York, 1987), 371–372; Joëlle Morton, 'The Early History and Use of the G Violone', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, 36 (1999), 40–66.

⁴⁰ Thomas Balthasar Janowka, *Clavis ad thesaurum magnae artis musicae* (Prague, 1701), 93; there is a facsimile at <http://dig.vkol.cz/dig/10428/popis.htm>.

⁴¹ Bonta, 'From Violone to Violoncello'; idem, 'Terminology for the Bass Violin'; idem, 'Corelli's Heritage: The Early Bass Violin in Italy', *Studi Corelliani IV*, ed. Pierluigi Petrobelli and Gloria Staffieri (Florence, 1990), 217–231; reprinted in *Studies in Italian Sacred and Instrumental Music*, no. 7.

⁴² Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský*, 104.

⁴³ Ibid. 105.

⁴⁴ *CLCC*, ii. 775–776 (A 901). Modern edition: Pavel Josef Vejvanovský, *Composizioni per orchestra*, ii (Prague, 1981), 52–73.

⁴⁵ Holman, "'Col noblissimo esercizio dell'vivuola'", 578.

Kroměříž. An eight-part sonata by Poglietti is labelled as scored for ‘2. Violini 2. Clarini 4. Violae Con organo’ on the wrapper, but the lowest of the four ‘Viola’ parts is in the bass clef with the range *D-c*.⁴⁶ Sometimes all the parts in a string sonata were collectively labelled *violae*, just as Monteverdi referred to the violin-family instruments required for his *Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda* collectively as ‘quattro viole da braccio’ while labelling two upper parts ‘Violino’.⁴⁷ The Kroměříž copy of four five-part sonatas for two violins, two violas, and bass from Biber’s *Sonatae, tam aris quam aulis servientes* (Salzburg, 1676) is described as for ‘5 Violae Cum Organo’.⁴⁸

This usage helps to understand why, in an eight-part double-choir sonata by Bertali, all five parts in the second choir are labelled ‘Viola’ even though the top part, in the soprano clef, has the range *d'-g'* while the fifth, in the bass clef, has the range *D-a* (ex. 1).⁴⁹ This fine piece is conceived rather like a concerto grosso, with the first choir acting as a concertino and the second a ripieno. In one Kroměříž copy the first choir is scored for two violins and gamba, while in another the gamba is replaced by a *fagotto*. In this copy the fourth part down in the second choir is ‘Viola Quarta seu Viola da Gamba’.

In general, in determining whether parts are for violin or viola in this repertory one must take account of the range of the part and the clef as well as its name. Viola parts do not normally go out of first position (i.e. they do not go above *f''*), just as ensemble violin parts do not normally go above *c'''*. Thus the second choir of the Bertali eight-part sonata appears to be intended for violin, three violas and bass. A common error in earlier editions of this repertory was to allocate the second part of four-part string writing to a violin rather than a viola. In central Europe writing for violin, two violas, and bass was just as common as the more modern string quartet scoring—as it was in Italy until at least the middle of the century.⁵⁰ Most of the suites in the Kroměříž collection use this scoring, as do sonatas by Poglietti, Schmelzer, and Vejvanovský.⁵¹

⁴⁶ *CCLC*, i. 391 (A 547).

⁴⁷ Holman, “Col noblissimo esercito dell vivuola”, 578.

⁴⁸ *CCLC*, i. 199 (A 538).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 169–171 (A 502, 584). Modern edition: Antonio Bertali, *Sonata a 8*, ed. B. Clark (St Ives, 2004).

⁵⁰ On this point, see Peter Holman, ‘From Violin Band to Orchestra’, *From Renaissance to Baroque: Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Jonathan Wainwright and Holman (Aldershot, 2005), 241–257, at 244–245.

⁵¹ *CCLC*, i. 374, 389, 546; ii. 641–644 (A 470, 473, 495, 519, 534, 601, 622, 640, 4695).

A striking feature of the Kroměříž repertory is the use of a colourful range of wind and brass instruments. The inventories list ‘Cornetti’, ‘Cornetti muti’, ‘Flautae in futtrali’ (recorders in cases), ‘Fagotti’, ‘Schalamey pfeiffen’, and ‘Tromboni’, and the sonatas frequently have parts for cornetts, *fagotti* and trombones. In addition, many of the sonatas require trumpets and timpani, instruments not listed in the inventories—perhaps because they were kept and/or listed separately.⁵² Sehnal suggests that the *pfeiffen* or shawms were only used in secular music, and that recorders only appeared in sacred music at Christmas, where they served ‘as a reminder of the presence of shepherds at the manger of the Saviour.’⁵³

Schmelzer’s three-choir ‘Sonata Natalitia’ of 1675 is an interesting case in point, because its title suggests that it is a Christmas piece and yet it includes shawms; it is scored for five-part strings, three *piffari* and *fagotto*,

EXAMPLE 1. Bertali, *Sonata a 8*, bars 42–54 (ed. B. Clark)

Violin 1

Violin 2

Viola da gamba

Viola 1

Viola 2

Viola 3

Viola 4

Viola 5

Organo

6 6 4 3 ♭ 6 6 4 3 5 5 6 6

⁵² For trumpets and trumpeters at Kroměříž, see Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský*, 126–152.

⁵³ Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský*, 112.

Ex. 1. *Continued*

48

6 4 3 4 # 6

and four *flauti* and trombone or two mute cornets and three trombones, with organ continuo.⁵⁴ The choirs of wind instruments seem to evoke groups of rustic musicians around the crib, with the recorders representing the shepherds and the *piffari* perhaps representing the town musicians of Bethlehem (ex. 2). This is one of the few pieces in the collection where the strings seem to have been doubled: the wrapper lists the first choir as ‘5 Viol: Radop:’ and there are three copies each of the two violin and viola parts. In addition, there is an unfigured bass part marked ‘Basso per la Batuta’, suggesting that it was used by someone beating time. It should be emphasised that nearly all the Kroměříž sonatas survive in sets of single parts, and there does not seem to be any evidence that they were shared by more than one player.

A significant feature of the Kroměříž use of wind instruments is that the collection does not contain transposed parts, which suggests that there was

⁵⁴ CCLC, i. 548 (A 553). Modern edition: Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, *Sonata Natalitia*, ed. Brian Clark (Centelles, 2003).

a consistent pitch for both sacred and secular music, and that it was the high pitch associated at the time with wind instruments, and in particular with cornetts. Janowka wrote that ‘organs everywhere in Germany and Bohemia are tuned to the pitch commonly called *Zinck-* or cornett-pitch’,⁵⁵ which surviving instruments and other evidence shows was about $a' = 465$, a semitone above the most common modern pitch.⁵⁶ He added that *Chor-thon*, ‘a whole-tone lower [...] is the pitch of French flutes or recorders, mute cornets, and all instruments that are in unison with the Bb of our organs when they play C.’ The Kroměříž inventories B and C list two instruments respectively described as ‘Hautboe ex B’ and ‘Hautboi ex B’, while inventories A and B list two instruments described as ‘Flauto ex B’ and ‘Flauten ex B’.⁵⁷

The cornett was never remodelled to be used at the lower pitches at which the new Baroque woodwind instruments played, and was thus gradually replaced by the oboe. The only oboe parts in the Kroměříž collection are in the *Entree à 10*, sent to the bishop in 1694 or 1695 by the Olomouc cathedral Kapellmeister Thomas Albertini,⁵⁸ but the parts are not transposing, suggesting that, if the players used Kroměříž instruments in Bb (according to *Cornett-ton*), they transposed the parts a tone at sight. However, there is no evidence of low-pitched wind instruments in the sonatas or sacred vocal music performed at St Moritz. The *pfeiffen*, *fagotti*, and *flauti* used at Kroměříž must have been the high-pitched Renaissance or early-Baroque models, not the more familiar low-pitched types that became popular in France and elsewhere in the late seventeenth century.⁵⁹

Finally, we need to consider continuo practice at Kroměříž. A trend developed in the 1990s of using large groups of continuo instruments in recordings of the instrumental music of Biber, Schmelzer, and other composers represented at Kroměříž. It was inspired most likely by the documented practice in Italian theatrical works around 1600, such as the 1589 Florentine *intermedii* or Monteverdi’s *Orfeo*. It came to the fore in recordings of Biber’s *Mystery* or *Rosary sonatas* for violin and continuo: a recording made in 1989 by John Holloway has four continuo players, using a kaleidoscopic mixture

⁵⁵ Janowka, *Clavis ad thesaurum magnae artis musicae*, 93; translation from Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of ‘A’* (Lanham, MD, 2002), 147.

⁵⁶ Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch*, esp. 6–7, 78–82, 147–150, 425–428.

⁵⁷ Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský*, 96.

⁵⁸ *CCLC*, i, 125–126 (A 926a); see also Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský*, 57–58, 113–114.

⁵⁹ For an overview, see Holman, ‘From Violin Band to Orchestra’. The process is discussed in a number of other essays in the same volume.

EXAMPLE 2. Schmelzer, *Sonata Natalitia*, bars 84–94 (ed. B. Clark)

84 **Allegro**

CHORO I
Violino 1

Violino 2

Viola 1

Viola 2

Basso di Viola

CHORO II
Piffaro 1

Piffaro 2

Piffaro 3

Fagotto

CHORO III
Flauto 1
o
Cornetto muto 1

Flauto 2
o
Cornetto muto 2

Flauto
o
Trombone 1

Flauto
o
Trombone 2

Trombone 3

Continuo

6

Ex. 2. *Continued*

89

The musical score for Ex. 2 Continued, starting at measure 89, is written for five staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. The score is organized into three systems of staves. The first system (measures 89-94) shows a complex rhythmic pattern in the first four staves, with the fifth staff (Bass 3) providing a steady bass line. The second system (measures 95-100) continues the rhythmic complexity, with the first four staves showing more intricate melodic lines. The third system (measures 101-106) shows a continuation of the patterns, with the first four staves featuring more complex rhythmic structures and the fifth staff (Bass 3) providing a steady bass line. The score concludes with a final measure (106) featuring a complex rhythmic pattern in the first four staves and a steady bass line in the fifth staff.

of harpsichord, organ, lute, chitarrone, bass viol, harp, and lirone,⁶⁰ while one made in 1996 by Gunar Letzbor has six, playing harpsichord, organ, lute and archlute, two bass viols, and double bass.⁶¹

However, it needs to be emphasized that the most common way of transmitting music for solo violin and continuo was in score, implying that the soloist and a single accompanist read from the same copy. This is the format used for most contemporary publications, including Schmelzer's *Sonatae unarum fidium* (Nuremberg, 1664) and Biber's *Sonatae violino solo* (Salzburg, 1681), as well as the Munich manuscript of Biber's Mystery sonatas,⁶² the autograph of Georg Muffat's D major violin sonata (1677), preserved at Kroměříž,⁶³ and most of the other copies of solo violin and gamba music at Kroměříž. Of 26 pieces included in a recent edition of Kroměříž solo music, only four are preserved in parts rather than score, and of these, three have only a single copy of the continuo part; the bass part of the fourth is missing.⁶⁴ Furthermore, a survey of the Kroměříž parts of larger-scale sonatas shows that they all have only a single continuo part with one exception, G.F. Libertini's sonata for two trumpets, three trombones, four-part strings, and continuo, which has two organ parts.⁶⁵

The vast majority of those parts that specify a particular instrument (rather than just *basso continuo*, *basso* or *violone*—Kroměříž bass string parts sometimes have figures, presumably indicating that they were shared with a continuo player) are labelled *organo*, though some are labelled *cembalo*, probably because they were intended for secular use. Significantly, in a sonata possibly by Schmelzer for six-part strings, five trumpets, timpani, and continuo 'per Chiesa et Camera', the continuo part is labelled 'Organo ò Cembalo ad lib', presumably indicating the use of an organ in a church performance and a harpsichord elsewhere.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ Heinrich Biber, *The Mystery Sonatas*, John Holloway, Erin Headley, Stephen Stubbs, Andrew Lawrence-King, Davitt Moroney, Virgin Classics, Veritas 0777 7595512 5.

⁶¹ Heinrich Biber, *Sonaten über die Mysterien des Rosenkranzes*, Gunar Letzbor, Lorenz Duftschmid, Wolfgang Zere, Wolfgang Glüxam, Axel Wolf, Michaelm Oman, Ulli Fussenegger, Arcana, A 901.

⁶² Facsimile edition: Heinrich Biber, *Rosenkranz-Sonaten: Bayrische Staatsbibliothek München, Mus. Ms. 4123*, introduction by Manfred Hermann Schmid (Munich, 2008).

⁶³ CCLC, i. 346 (A 562); facsimile edition: Georg Muffat, *Sonata violino solo, Prag 1677*, introduction by Jiří Sehnal (Bad Reichenhall, 1992).

⁶⁴ *Solo Compositions for Violin and Viola da Gamba with Basso Continuo from the Collection of Prince-Bishop Carl Liechtenstein-Castelcorn in Kroměříž*, ed. Charles Brewer, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, 82 (Madison WI, 1997).

⁶⁵ CCLC, i. 343 (A 482). For the identity of Libertini, see Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský*, 86.

⁶⁶ CCLC, i. 470 (A 550).

However, in a few apparently secular sonatas, such as Giovanni Valentini's eight-part *Sonata pro Tabula* for three recorders, five-part strings, and continuo, the part is labelled *organo*.⁶⁷ In Schmelzer's *Sonata a.5. Per Camera. Al giorno delle Correggie* for five-part strings and *fagotto*, the wrapper mentions 'Organo' while the part is labelled 'Cembalo'.⁶⁸ This is clearly a secular piece: according to Charles Brewer, it 'was performed during a traditional meal, often presented by the nobility to their employees, called a "bean feast". "Correggie" is a dialect variant of "scorreggie", which is defined as a rumbling emission of gas from the intestinal tract';⁶⁹ the *fagotto* provides the appropriate noises. *Organo* was sometimes used in a generic sense to mean various types of keyboard instrument—as, for instance, in the editions of instrumental music by Vivaldi and other Italian composers published by Roger of Amsterdam in the early eighteenth century.⁷⁰

Conversely, we cannot assume that pieces with parts marked *cembalo* were not used in services at St Moritz. The main continuo instrument in the church was a seven-stop positive organ purchased in 1655 from Vienna which stood 'an dem Khor'—in the choir.⁷¹ According to Sehnal it was not used in Holy Week, when a harpsichord was substituted, though it is not clear to me whether ensemble sonatas were performed in St Moritz at that time. However, it seems that lute-family instruments were not part of the regular ensemble at Kroměříž, despite their appearance in most recordings of the repertory. The bishop ordered an 'arcelauto alla Romana' from Venice in 1676,⁷² though lutes do not appear in the three Kroměříž inventories, and lute parts in the collection are largely confined to a group of vocal pieces by Carissimi—which may therefore represent Roman rather than Kroměříž practice.⁷³

To sum up: the Kroměříž collection gives us a rare insight into the way sonatas were used in the liturgy in the Habsburg lands, and enables us to reconstruct the way they were scored in some detail.

⁶⁷ Ibid. ii. 571 (A 507).

⁶⁸ Ibid. i. 542–543 (A 496); see also, i. 544 (A 474).

⁶⁹ Notes to the recording Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, *Sonatas, Balleti Francesi, Ciaccona*, Tafelmusik / Jeanne Lamon, Sony Classical SK 53963 (1993).

⁷⁰ For Roger editions of Italian music, see François Lesure, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Estienne Roger et Michel-Charles Le Cène, Amsterdam, 1696–1743* (Paris, 1969).

⁷¹ Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský*, 118–120.

⁷² Ibid. 116–118.

⁷³ *CCLC*, i. 224–225, 227, 229 (A 356, 357, 366).