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Brescia: Influences and Influence in Spain and England.

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Brescia had been a noted centre for instrument making since the late 1400's, but its international importance increased in the middle of the sixteenth-century during the lifetime of Gaspar da Salò. This rise to prominence was aided by two factors: In the first place, there appears to have been a European-wide acceptance that the finest commodities of whatever sort should be sought from particular centres of manufacture, instead of relying on the virtuosity of artists under local patronage. Perhaps as a reaction to this, communities of instrument makers began to compete in order to create instruments that gave them favourable status throughout the courts of Europe. Before the middle of the sixteenth century, regional centres for music had developed, but their importance was diluted because the instrument makers (who often combined making with a career as a musician) would travel, bringing their skills in music with them in order to seek employment and fortune in the courts throughout Christendom. In 1512, the lutenist Zuan Piero de Bustis had travelled from Brescia to the court of Henry VIII, becoming the highest paid musician in England, and described in 1517 as a 'very favourite attendant of the king's and much beloved of the Duke [of Suffolk]'. An equally important example of a fortune-seeking musician was a harpsichord player named Zuan de Leze, the bastard son of the Lord Lieutenant of Cyprus who arrived from Venice in 1525 bringing a 'very perfect' Venetian harpsichord across land to London which had cost the enormous sum of 100 Ducats to make, in order to ingratiate himself with the King. He was dismissed with 20 nobles for his pains, and in despair stabbed himself in the chest whilst at supper. Having been saved, later that night he hung himself with his dagger-girdle.

Many musicians spent a few years in different European courts before moving between them or returning to their native cities. Amongst the Italian musicians who came into the permanent service of the English court around 1540, those who either made or dealt in musical instruments included the Bassano, Lupo, Kellim, Comey, and Galliardello families, who settled in London respectively from Venice, Milan, Vicenza, Cremona and Brescia. Similar lists of Italian musicians are found at the French court of Charles IX of France from 1555, and at Munich where Italian string players were employed from 1561. Although this distribution of musicians throughout Europe spread the reputations of particular schools of instrument making, it also meant that there were financial incentives for makers to seek better employment elsewhere. From negotiations between Henry VIII and the Bassano family in 1540, we know from a letter written by Alvise, the eldest of the brothers, that it was 'at the contemplation of His Highness' letters' that he and his three brothers did leave their own country, the Seignory of Venice, to serve as well His Highness [and] His Grace's heirs and successors. Kings of this realm [England] in the science of music, and thereby ... lost their entertainment and [were] in jeopardy of utter banishment from thence [i.e. from Venice]'.¹ The financial rewards that they received upon reaching London gave them a higher pay than Bustis had earned in his lifetime, and they were granted the indefinite use of large parts of the Charterhouse, (which was, until the Reformation, London's greatest monastery) to become their dwelling place and

¹ *GB-Lpro*, C4/8/1/2 (c.1552) quoted in Lasocki, *The Bassanos* 8-9.

workshops. As a family, the Bassanos were the greatest wind instrument makers of the sixteenth century, and their economic migration is important because they were already established and successful in Venice. Their arrival in England was intended to provide Henry VIII with the prestige of dominating the supply of wind instruments throughout the courts of Europe. A great number of their works survive although it is impossible to differentiate with certainty between examples made in London and those by members of the family who remained in Venice: Michael Praetorius wrote in *Syntagma Musicum* (1619) that a type of shawm called the 'Bassanelli get their name from their master, who invented them (Iohann Bassano, a noble instrument maker and composer from Venice)'. However it was the London branch of the family who made 'instruments so beautiful and good that they are suited for dignitaries and potentates' that were offered for sale in 1571 from the Bavarian court in Munich to the archducal court in Brussels. These included two 'discants' that were 'more beautiful than any jasper', and a set of twelve crumhorns described as 'all gloriously beautiful and good instruments.'²

These types of migration had taken place earlier in the Renaissance. The viol in Italy is thought to have its origins from the influx of Spanish culture following the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492. Likewise, the dominant Italian lute making tradition of the early sixteenth century was dominated by German immigrants who settled in Bologna, Padua and Venice. The case of the Bassanos is one of the last instances of this before a substantial change in attitudes took place across Europe. In musical instrument making, just as in other crafts consolidation began to take place along geographical lines in the 1550s and 1560s. From this point onwards, courts prided themselves upon obtaining the best commodities in the world from wherever they could be sourced from, rather than for inventing their own local traditions. The Guild of St Luke in Antwerp, which protected its artists, formally admitted harpsichord makers for the first time in 1557 taking in eleven who were working in the city at the time. In Füssen an instrument maker's guild was established in 1562. Added to that, other workshops appear to have received protection of some sort or another around the same time. John Rose a viol maker who was recorded in 1561 as having virtue and cunning that was commended as much in Italy as in his native country, was granted a lease for the state apartments of the redundant royal palace at Bridewell for as long as he or his family continued to make musical instruments.³ Brescia appears to have strengthened its long-held traditions for musical instrument making, and Cremona came under specific patronage by 1564, that allowed Andrea Amadi to produce instruments intended for the royal courts of France and Spain.

By the 1560s, Brescian instruments were recognised outside of Italy. The influential Augsburg banker, Raymund Fugger had a set of Brescian violins to compliment his vast collection of lutes for which an inventory was made in 1566.⁴ Much evidence of the spread of Brescian instruments by the seventeenth century is witnessed in the violin trade where many instruments circulate which are evidently very old and have superficial traits of Brescian work. Although there is a wide range of workmanship visible in these, most have been passed off falsely as Brescian at one time or another but appear to be regional responses to the instruments that circulated amongst the courts and through professional musicians. When these correspond to a particular regional school, they show indisputable

² Lasocki, *The Bassanos: Venetian Musicians and Instrument Makers in England, 1531-1665*, 212-13.

³ Bridewell Court Books for 8 August 1561 quoted in John Pringle, "The Founder of English Viol-Making", *Early Music* 6, no. 4 (1978)

⁴ Douglas Alton-Smith, "The Musical Instrument Inventory of Raymund Fugger," *Galpin Society Journal* 33 (1980).

evidence of the presence of Brescian instruments even when there are no documents or instruments with provenance to support such a contention.

One of the crucial elements in asserting the supremacy of one school over another was through the imposition of proportional schemes to the manner in which instruments were made. Iconography of the early sixteenth century shows that stringed instruments were made to a great variety of shapes and forms based upon empirical ideas of what worked best, but without attention to the 'science of music' which recognised the mathematical proportions that were inherent in Pythagorean harmony. Sylvestro Ganassi's *Regole Rubertina* published in Venice in 1542 devoted the entirety of chapter 7 to an attack against viol makers who did not get the proportions of the instrument right; from having to suffer bad instruments, he understood what good instruments should be. Although some instruments had been made according to mathematical principals prior to 1542, as exemplified by the drawings made between 1438 and 1446 by Arnault de Zwolle, Ganassi's influential treatise on viol playing represents important evidence of the developing renaissance ideologies that makers of the mid-sixteenth century began to consistently apply to the designs of their instruments. In 1595 P. Morigi noted of the Milanese harpsichord maker Annibale dei Rossi (active 1542 – died 1574) in *Nobiltà di Milano* that he 'was worthy of praise, as he was the first to modernize clavichords into the shape which we now see them. This skilful maker constructed amongst other works a clavichord of uncommon beauty and excellence ... Ferrante his son is following in the footsteps of his father in all respects and continuing to make improvements in clavichords thereby making a name for himself'. The instrument commented upon would appear to be the virginal in the Victoria and Albert museum, made by him in 1571 and fabulously decorated with 1,928 semi-precious stones,⁵ but an instrument dated 1542 at the Schubert Club Museum in Minnesota, the earliest of his known works, shows similar concern for proportional ideas. François Denis has convincingly demonstrated how proportional design was at the heart of Brescian and Cremonese instrument making. Elsewhere, I have demonstrated that similar ideas dominated English viol making from the same period onwards.⁶ The effects of this are expressed widely in late sixteenth century Europe, and best summarised by the Bolognese doctor, Leonardo Fioravanti in *Dello specchio di scientia universale* published in Venice in 1573:

Ingenious men, those who are rare in any profession could not become esteemed if it were not for the fact that they knew and worked with varied and diverse materials. He who would be esteemed in the art of musical instrument making must firstly be a painter in order to know how to design the form of the instruments; secondly he must be a Smith in order to make tools to proportion his art; thirdly he must be a Master Wood Worker in order to make the mechanics of the instrument; fourth, he must be a Musician in order to make well the proportions of the voicing, the consonants of the instruments; lastly he should be an Alchemist in order to know the preparation of the metals with which to make the strings as he must know the metals also to make the organ pipes ... He who would discover everything in his art would discover a multitude of diverse things, as if it were an deluge and would never ever find an end, much and deep and of great practice and science it is.

⁵ Inv. No. 809-1969

⁶ See Benjamin Hebbert, "The Geometry of Early English Viols", Transcripts of the British Violin Makers Society Conference, Dartington, 2007, (2007).

The supremacy of these 'Ingenious men' is witnessed in London in 1540 where the Bassanos were described as 'brothers in the Art and Science of Music' a title that was not conferred upon other musicians – even those who came from Italy were known only as 'minstrels' or by the instrument they were employed to play.

Spain

In addition to working in their own traditions, Brescian makers followed a practice of reconciling types made in other schools according to the increasingly important ideology of proportion that they had become masters of. The bass viol by Gaspar da Salo in the Ashmolean Museum is an important example of this practice. When it was first put on public display by W.E. Hill & Sons in 1904 at the Music Loan Exhibition at Fishmonger's Hall, Alfred F. Hill wrote that the instrument had been acquired from the Cathedral at Burgos, where it had presumably lived since the sixteenth century, perfectly preserved and un-played.⁷ The quality of manufacture, the choice of wood, the attention to proportion and general visual aesthetic conform to original label as the work of Gaspar da Salo, and it is one of a handful of Brescian examples of this model of work. Unlike other Brescian instruments, the fundamental ideas behind its design are unrelated to anything that continued to be made after the sixteenth century. Obvious comparisons can be made between these Brescian instruments and the work attributed to 'Dominicus Rvssso', by whom two viols have survived – one labelled accordingly in the Tiroler Landesmuseum, Innsbruck, and an unlabelled example in the Ashmolean Museum. Tentative connections have been made between Russo and Vincenzo Ruffo, *Maestro di Capella*, in Verona intermittently from 1553 to 1587, and his name likewise recalls the Rossi family of harpsichord makers in Milan, however there is no evidence to make a secure link to either. There is nothing that connects the workshop methods of the 'Ruffo' viols to other Italian traditions, although the basic shape, inward soundholes, and especially the use of external linings exhibit some similarities to the broken viol painted around 1515 by Raphael at Bologna in his altarpiece of the Ecstasy of St Cecilia.⁸ The choice of walnut as the wood for the back is in keeping with Spanish woodworking traditions, the wood for the front is unlike anything found in Italian instruments and the head of the example at the Ashmolean is likewise closer to Spanish figure-carving than Italian. The instruments are poorly balanced proportionally by contrast to Brescian work, but most significantly, they are heavily ornamented with Moresque intarsia squares. These are very similar in their distribution and execution a vihuela of sixteenth century Spanish (probably Toledo) origin branded 'Guadalupe' preserved in the Musée Jacquemart-Andrée, Paris which has uncomfortable proportions by Brescian standards. As instruments with inlaid ornaments, they are reminiscent of the 'Five *viuelas de arco* in white wood, with some portraits inlaid in the hand of Domenico' listed in a Spanish Royal inventory made in Madrid in 1602, and from the same inventory 'A small *clavicordio*, two *tercias* long and a *cuarta* wide, all worked in inlay over walnut, with the lid of pinewood, and ivory keys. It has inlays of the Moor of Zaragoza'.⁹ Although in all probability the Russo instruments are Spanish, nevertheless, from the beginning of the century, Italian makers had learnt to work in foreign styles - Isabella d'Este had ordered viols to be made for her whilst in Brescia in 1495, but found increasing importance in

⁷ Arthur F. Hill, et al. *An Illustrated Catalogue of the Music Loan Exhibition held under the patronage of His Majesty the King, Her Majesty the Queen, and their Royal Highnesses The Prince and Princess of Wales by the Worshipful Company of Musicians at Fishmonger's Hall, June and July, 1904*. London: Novello and Company, Limited. 1909.

⁸ Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna

⁹ Martin McLeish, "An Inventory of Musical Instruments at the Royal Palace, Madrid, in 1602" *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 21 (1968) 108-128.

having instruments made in the Spanish fashion. On 16 December, she wrote to Lorenzo da Pavia concerning the construction of a lute, instructing him specifically to 'Remember to make the body in Spanish manner without giving anything of the Italian fashion'.¹⁰

If these Russo instruments represent the height of empirical instrument making, reacting to tone and ergonomics over any particular sense of proportion, it is evident how Brescian makers were able to assert their instruments as superior according to the rules emphasised as important in their own ways by renaissance writers such as Ganassi, Morigi and Fioravanti. Therefore, survival of one such Brescian viol with a reliable provenance to Burgos Cathedral is important. A second instance of an instrument of this type found in Spain is from a painting of the annunciation from an altarpiece (about 1596-1600) by El Greco who worked in Toledo. It was commissioned for the Colegio de Doña de Aragón¹¹ and incorporates a group of angels playing musical instruments. A lute, harp and chalumeau that were already common in Spain are depicted amongst the angels, but painted with greater detail and placed most conspicuously are a bass viol and a polygonal virginal. The bass viol is so similar to the Ashmolean example that it effectively confirms the presence of da Salo's viols in Spain. Likewise, the virginal with its high sides and inset keyboard is of a very particular type – made only by the Rossi family in Milan, and copied contemporaneously by Joest Karest in Antwerp, a major city in the Spanish Netherlands. Similar iconographical evidence supporting the importation of Italian viols into Spain comes from another altarpiece by El Greco themed upon the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception (between 1608 and 1613) painted for the Oballe Chapel in San Vicente, Toledo.¹² In this example the great-bass viol shows striking similarities to surviving Venetian examples, in particular the work of Jerg Gerle, Antonio Ciciliano and Francesco Linarol – all working in the middle of the sixteenth century, and all distinctive for an almost straight line to the upper bouts. In both examples the juxtaposition between the highly detailed, conspicuously positioned imported and largely unfamiliar instruments by contrast to the types of instruments that were better known in Spain appears to be a deliberate attempt by the painter to emphasise the nature of the celestial music being played by the angels.

The marriage of Philip II of Spain to Elisabeth de Valois, daughter of Catherine de Medici lasted from 1559 until her death in 1568, and roughly covers the period during which the da Salo instrument was made. Recent research on the violins of Andrea Amati reveals that some of the early painted examples have an association with the Spanish court of Philip II, and the similarity between these and the specimens from the court of Charles IX of France suggests that the two sets were commissioned at the same time, as gifts of Catherine de Medici. It is very likely that the instruments were accompanied by Italian musicians, thus establishing the link through which further Italian instruments became important within Spain. The Bassanos, the Venetian family of wind instrument makers who had been based in London since 1540, were also involved in this supply. Diego Guzman de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador to London was instructed by the chapter of Cuidad Rodrigo to send recorders and crumhorns from England by a letter dated 27 June 1567, and on 28 July Burgos Cathedral also agreed to buy in England unspecified instruments needed by their musicians. A group of four Shawms stamped with the Bassano's mark and consistent with a 1560s date survives at Salamanca

¹⁰ William Prizer. ... [Habiati advertentia ad fare el corpo tutto alla spagnola, senza dargli niente del italiano ... vogliati puramente condurlo alla spagnola, non lo bastardandolo in parte alcuna B.2993, L. 11, fol. 12r].

¹¹ Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

¹² Museo de Santa Cruz, Toledo, inv. 1277

Cathedral.¹³ The death of Elisabeth de Valois was followed by the King's marriage to Anne of Austria. Don Juan of Austria, her brother enthusiastically sought musical instruments to present to the Spanish court. He gave 'A large *clavicordio* and *claviorganos* all together with much variation of music, which is played with hands and feet'.¹⁴ Some years later in 1572, when da Silva was appointed Spanish Resident in Venice, he was commissioned by Don Juan to acquire shawms, cornets, trumpets, recorders and music books for the Spanish court. Da Silva passed the task on to Girolamo da Udine, 'musician and minstrel at San Marco in this city of Venice', and receipts for the sale of instruments survive.¹⁵ Likewise, keyboard instruments from Antwerp in the Spanish Netherlands were coming to mainland Spain around the same time. The earliest dated Flemish rectangular virginal, made by Hans Bos in 1578, remains in the Monestario de Santa Clara, Tordesillas where it was a Royal gift in the sixteenth century. Another virginal with an identical lid painting to the Bos, showing the Archducal palace at Chateau de Mariemont was made in 1581 by Hans Ruckers and is decorated with medallions depicting Philip II and Anne of Austria. It was sent as a diplomatic gift to the Marquis of Cuzco, an Inca ruler in modern-day Peru.¹⁶ Therefore although it is impossible to give a precise date for the bass viol made by Gaspar da Salo, it is representative of an important period in Spanish musical culture in which musical instruments of special importance were being gathered together from Antwerp at the most northern point of its Empire, as well as from Brescia, London, Cremona and Venice for use by the church and court. The da Salo bass viol in the Ashmolean is evidence of how the Brescian makers took pre-existing forms and combined them with their own style in order to become more refined. Finally it shows clear demonstration of the importance of Brescian instruments that examples appear in Spanish iconography, and with provenances to Spanish cathedrals in preference to Spain's native traditions. This type of instrument was not made exclusively for Spanish customers, and had a limited reception in Italy. An example is depicted in Dominichino's altarpiece at the Barberini Palace in Rome of *Madonna and child with Saint Peter and John the Evangelist*, painted in 1629. Moreover, the form was adopted by Cremonese makers who further refined it, almost beyond the point of recognition. The viols made by the brothers' Amati, epitomised by the example from 1611 in the Ashmolean museum are based around the same basic proportions as the Brescian designs, distinct from the types of viols that were being made in Venice and London.

England

In 1482 the poet musician Pietro Carmeliano came to England from Brescia to serve as the Italian secretary to King Edward VI. He remained in the service of the English Kings until his death in 1527 maintaining property and close links with his family back in Italy. Through his intercession, Zuan Piero de Bustis was appointed as a lute player to Henry VIII in 1512, and later, the Galliardello family arrived from Brescia via Venice in the 1540s as musicians in the English court. Hence throughout the first part of the sixteenth century Brescian musicians could be found in one rank or another at court. The Bassanos had brought early Italian ideas of stringed instrument making to London – a letter from Wilhelmo Olivio written in 1571 makes reference to six large viola da gambas,

¹³ Beryl Kenyon de Pascual, "Bassano Instruments in Spain" *Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 40, (1987) 74-75.

¹⁴ Martin McLeish, "An Inventory of Musical Instruments at the Royal Palace, Madrid, in 1602" *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 21 (1968) 108-128.

¹⁵ Michael J. Levin & Steve Zohn, "Don Juan de Austria and the Venetian music trade" *Early Music*, vol. 33, no.3, (2005), 439-448.

¹⁶ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: Inv. No. 1929.29.90

and a chest of three lutes of black ebony linked with ivory, all made by the Bassanos in London that were property of the Bavarian court in Munich.¹⁷ In 1550 Mark Anthony Galliardello was paid 100 crowns for a chest of viols, although it is unknown whether he had made them himself, or from where in Italy he may have imported them. Nevertheless, the arrival of these instruments may signify the stimulus that began the English tradition of viol making, for in the following year the native English craftsman, John Rose was recorded repairing Venetian lutes, and making viols 'of the best sort', and in 1556 another of the numerous wives of Philip II of Spain, Queen Mary I sent *un cofre de vibuelas que vinjeron de Ynglaterra*, a chest of viols made in England as a gift to her husband.¹⁸ The Bassanos, Rose, or even Galliardello could have made them, but they are almost certainly the 'barred chest lined on the inside (with) black cloth. Inside are five *vibuelas de arco*, one of them very large and the other four small; made of German wood: they are from the reign of Queen Mary. - Valued at one hundred ducats with their chest' recorded at the Royal Court in Madrid in 1602. In 1561, John Rose was granted the lease of the state apartments at Bridewell, the charter stating that his virtue and cunning for making musical instruments was famed as much in Italy as in his native country. Whether or not his work was actually known in Italy, the fact that the Royal Court considered it to be worthy of this comment is significant. It shows that instruments made by John Rose and members of his circle in London during the late sixteenth century were intended to rival the best work of Brescia and Cremona. The majority of instruments made in England were viols, which became increasingly important to English and northern European musical taste, whilst becoming less popular in Italy. Other instruments that were made in England in the late sixteenth century, such as the bandora and orpharion were intended to provide a distinctly English genre of music. Nevertheless, in order to compete on the same terms as Brescian instrument makers, the English makers used Brescian prototypes as the standard from which their own independent tradition developed. Therefore significant common features are found between English and Northern Italian instruments during this period.

One of the most important instruments for demonstrating the relationship between English and Brescian work is a small cittern made around 1580 in London formerly in the collection of the barons Albert and Nathaniel Rothschild.¹⁹ The stripped back, made of plum and figured maple is typical of a range of English makers including George Gill, Francis Palmer and Henry Jaye, the Rosette is similar to that of an orpharion by Francis Palmer, and the circular punch-marks used to decorate the pegbox are similar to those of John Rose, Richard Blunt, and Jaye. The instrument conforms precisely in proportions to the *Klein Englische Zitterlein* illustrated by Michael Praetorius in 1619, and the small size and chromatic fretting make it compatible with the virtuosic repertoire that developed in England in the late Elizabethan period by composers such as Anthony Holborn and Thomas Robinson. Although its size makes it unlike any Italian cittern, the prototype for it is clearly the work of Girolamo Virchi. It is perhaps such an instrument, recorded as a 'fair cittern' that was given to Queen Mary by the Bassanos as a new year's gift in 1556.²⁰ A small relic appears to confirm that an instrument by Virchi had come to England, and takes the form of a lion's head made of cast gold. It was reworked to make an endpin for the 'British Museum citole' and a dated goldsmith's mark 'I.P. 1578' was added to further

¹⁷ Lasocki, *The Bassanos: Venetian Musicians and Instrument Makers in England, 1531-1665*, 212-13.

¹⁸ Edmund Van der Straaten, *La Musique Aux Pays-Bas Avant Le Xixe Siecle*, 8 vols. (Brussels: 1867-88) VII, 428-29.

¹⁹ NMM 13500

²⁰ David Lasocki, "The Anglo Venetian Bassano Family as Instrument Makers and Repairers," *Galpin Society Journal* XXXVIII, (1985): 120-21.

parts of the assembly. This was presumably taken from a broken cittern. Flavio Dassenno has observed that it matches examples found on the shoulders of the cittern built for Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol in 1574, and another example at the Louvre in Paris.²¹

Whilst the ex-Rothschild cittern provides clear evidence of English copying design features of Brescian makers, Italian influence in other types of instrument is more subtle, especially in the case of viols where the English used their own designs in order to make distinctive instruments. A small group of instruments, one of which is labelled (perhaps spuriously) with the name William Bowcleff²² are conceptually related to early Brescian viols by Zanetto di Montichiaro, in terms of general proportions, the carved belly, violin-like corners but lacking an overhang, and the use of an end pin.²³ The instruments differ by the use of c-shaped soundholes, rounded shoulders, and the choice of materials. Polycurve viols by Rose, John Strong and Henry Jaye share the same basic construction characteristics, especially in the manner that the corners are joined. Another aspect of English instrument making from this period is the use of a separate top-block that the neck would be nailed to, and therefore the presence of a 'button' extruding from the back of the instrument upon which the neck is mounted. One dated example of this feature is the 1580 *Cymbalum Decachordon* made by John Rose. His polycurve viols and those of the 'Bowcleffe' type all have this feature in common with Brescian and Cremonese violins. As a general rule, English viols made before about 1610 can be distinguished because the c shaped soundholes have long needle-like wings, similar to those of Micheli and Zanetto f-holes.

Various concepts of purfling that are seen on both Brescian and Venetian instruments are echoed in England. Double purfling is as typical for English viols as it is for Brescian instruments. Purfling made from five pieces rather than three appears on instruments attributed to Rose, John Strong, John Hoskins, George Gill, and on the fingerboard and tailpiece that were added to the 'British Museum citole' around 1578. It also appears on the 'Ole Bull' violin and in Venice (in combination with conventional three-piece purfling) on examples that include a viol by Ventura Linarol made in 1582.²⁴ Another technique that is common on early English instruments is to reverse the colours of the purfling when it is inlaid into dark coloured wood. The *Cymbalum Dechachordon* made by John Rose in 1580 is a good example of this practice, and it is seen elsewhere on the plum strips of the Ex-Rothschild cittern, on the 'Bowcleffe' viols, and in use on examples by Jaye and Palmer. A Venetian lyra da braccio by Francesco Linarol, with a modern label giving the year 1563²⁵ provides an early Italian forerunner to this idea, in which reversed colour purfling is found on the cherrywood back. The geometric designs purfled on the back and front of this instrument, are found occasionally on early Brescian and Venetian instruments, but provide a precedent for the often very similar designs used by English viol makers from Rose and Jaye and extending throughout the English viol making tradition. Although early English makers absorbed many of the characteristics of Brescian making, deliberate copying of Brescian work does not appear to have emerged in England in the sixteenth century because this elite group of makers were working towards having their own work recognised as distinctly English. One rare

²¹ Musée du Louvre, Inv. No. D.MR.R.434

²² Benjamin Hebbert, "Nathaniel Cross, William Borraclaffe, and a Clutch of Tudor Viols", *Galpin Society Journal* Vol. 56, (2003) 96-76.

²³ NMM 3376

²⁴ NMM 3377

²⁵ NMM 4203

example of a violin copied after a prototype by Gaspar da Salo, was made by Jacob Rayman, working in Southwark – across the river from the City of London, in 1650. His work of the 1640s is more conventionally reminiscent of his origins in Fussen, and the sudden change in design corresponds to the period at which the Royal Court was disbanded following the execution of Charles I in 1649. Therefore it seems likely that he was responding as a maker to the instruments that had been recently distributed from the chapel royal, and other reports of royal instruments held in public hands made in 1655 support this possibility. After 1685, a new group of viol makers came to prominence in St Paul's Churchyard that was anxious to assert itself as a part of the tradition that had existed since the sixteenth century. Viols by Edward Lewis (fl. 1685 – d. 1717) consciously quote designs found in earlier works by John Rose, whilst Barak Norman (b. 1651 – d. 1724) consciously quotes the same motifs during the early 1690s that are found on Gaspar da Salo's work, before adapting them to his own specific style.

Brescia's importance on the world-stage as a centre for musical instrument making can be measured by its influences and its influence. It is more than likely that the viols which reached Spain to be depicted by El Greco, and stored at Burgos Cathedral were modelled on a Spanish design, but improved by Italian Renaissance thought to the point that the finest instruments of the Spanish tradition were ultimately made in a foreign country. Likewise, although English makers desperately attempted to assert themselves as representative of a new tradition with new types of instruments to play distinctive and new types of repertoire, amongst their early work the influence of Brescia is firmly visible, dominating the choice of materials, the method of decoration and the basic construction techniques.