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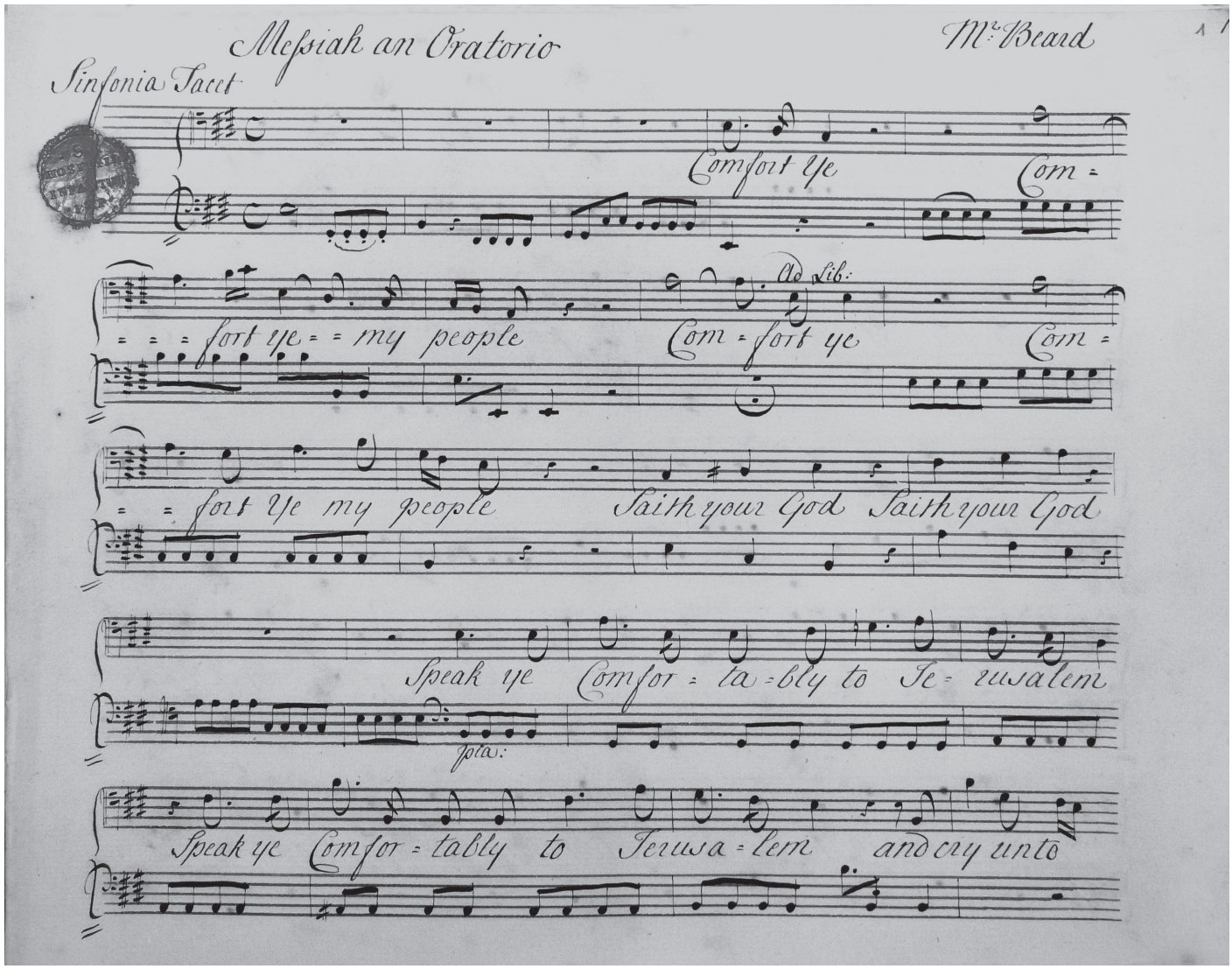

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COVER:
Tenor Principale part for *Messiah* from the set of parts bequeathed by Handel to the Foundling Hospital.

Editorial

Andrew Woolley

It is with pleasure that I write as the new editor of *Early Music Performer*. From issue 10 (August, 2002), *EMP* was relaunched under the editorship of Bryan White. The intention was to produce a more formal journal, a counterpart to the monthly *Early Music Review*, emphasising articles and reports, but to continue the journal's appeal to a readership both within and outside of the academy. Helped by assistant editors Clive Brown and Richard Rastall, and by Peter Holman, at the University of Leeds, Bryan has undoubtedly seen the journal come on considerably. I joined the team as an editorial assistant in 2005, and have since endeavoured to 'learn the ropes'. Indeed, I am greatly indebted to Bryan, as a friend and mentor to me throughout my time as a student at the University of Leeds, and from whom I have learnt a great deal.

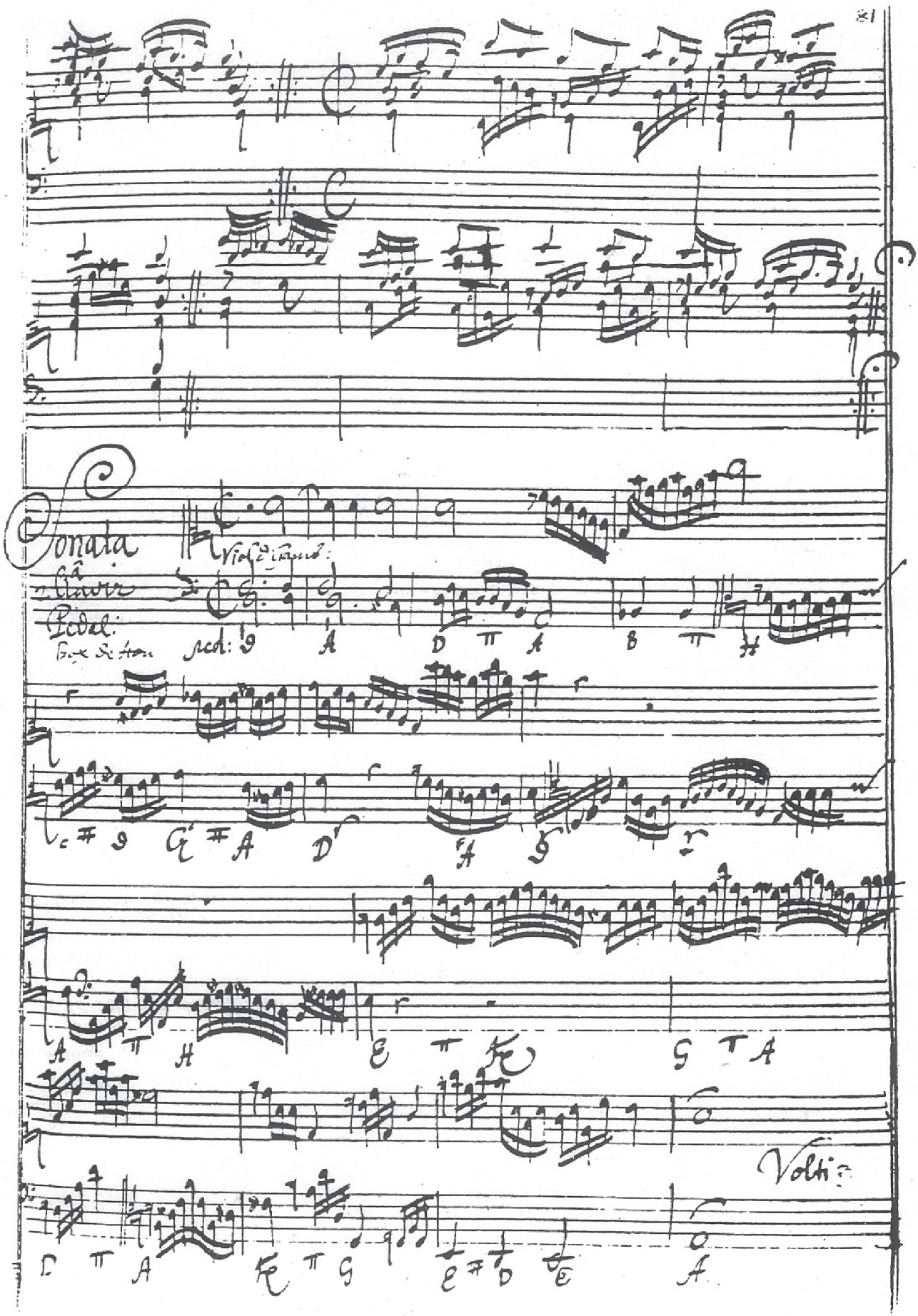
For the present we are planning few changes to the basic format of *EMP*, and are in favour of continuing its emphasis on scholarly articles complemented by reports and reviews. However, we will be looking to explore themes in forthcoming issues, and in particular, will endeavour to bring you articles that reflect on early music as a movement. In issue 10 was included a transcript of Jeremy Montagu's Margot Leigh-Milner lecture given at the NEMA day in 2001, 'Early Music—Earlier and Later', a fascinating personal account of early music performance in this country since the 1950s. In future issues, we will aim to bring you similar reflections on the past, and also articles that illustrate how the world of early music performance stands today. For this issue, I invited Erasmo Estrada, a performance Ph. D. student at the University of Edinburgh, to write about the early music movement in Mexico.

This issue can claim to touch on music of four centuries, and in two articles, veers towards the theme of the Spanish-speaking world. In addition to Erasmo's contribution, Clive Walkley brings our attention to the neglected sixteenth-century Spanish master Juan Esquivel, who invariably fares poorly in standard music histories when compared with his better-known contemporaries such as Victoria. The story is a familiar one: we tend to give most of our attention to the shining lights of an age, who can often be unrepresentative of a time and place. Clive points out that Esquivel was a highly skilled composer, whose music, in order to be properly appreciated today, should be understood within the context of the sixteenth-century Spanish church. As he quite rightly observes, the modern setup of recitals, recordings, and our tastes, encourages us to focus purely on the music at the expense of other considerations such as the music's role in ceremony and ritual, which would undoubtedly have meant a great deal to contemporaries.

It is hoped, with Tassilo Erhardt's article, that we may finally lay to rest at least some of the debate over a little trio sonata that has been visited once before in these pages, the only version of which that is widely known is a transcription for organ attributed to Buxtehude. Buxtehude scholars have proposed for some time that the original version of the work was a sonata for violin, viola da gamba and basso continuo, however in *EMP* 19 (December, 2006: 'Revisiting a Buxtehude Curiosity: the *Sonata* BuxWV Appendix 5'), Geoffrey Webber suggested it might originally have been written for two gambas and basso continuo. As attractive as this sounds, this has turned out not to be the case with the discovery of partbooks and scorebooks that contain the work scored, as originally suggested, for violin, viol and basso continuo. Tassilo goes on to point out the attributions to other composers besides Buxtehude in the sources, and that we may in fact be dealing with a work written by the seventeenth-century Austrian composer Antonio Bertali, whose music he has studied closely. To accompany the article, an edition of the original version of the work (hitherto unpublished), is included as a supplement.

For the remainder of this issue, we offer you George Kennaway's report on an exciting project that is now underway at the Universities of Cardiff and Leeds looking into nineteenth-century performing editions of string music. The project promises to enrich our understanding of nineteenth-century performance practices considerably, and one of its main outcomes, a catalogue of editions, will be available on the web. Complementing the previous issue of *EMP*, where John Bryan reviewed the second volume of Richard Rastall's Martin Peerson edition, David J. Smith looks at a recent recording by the choir of Selwyn College, Cambridge. The recording is of a selection of Peerson's sacred music, and also of music by John Milton snr, his contemporary and colleague at St Paul's cathedral in the early seventeenth century, and shows they deserve wider recognition.

We also thank Michael Talbot for responding to Graham Pont's article in *EMP* 23, raising several issues and pointing out a new hypothesis. And, lest you think we are neglecting this year's anniversary bonanza, I have reported for you on the exhibition 'Handel the Philanthropist' that is currently open at the Foundling Hospital Museum in London. Do visit it if you get the chance.



Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Library, Lowell Mason 5056, p. 81: 'Sonata / â / 2 Clavir / Pedal: / Box de Hou [Buxtehude]'.

Margot Leigh Milner Lecture, 29th November 2008

The Music of Juan Esquivel: a Neglected Master Revisited

Clive Walkley

In 1961, Robert Stevenson published his seminal study, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*. This influential text set out the fruits of the author's extensive research in Spanish cathedral archives over a period of many years, and established a knowledge base which has been used as a foundation for many other scholars working in this field ever since. Indeed, one wonders how many doctoral theses Stevenson's work has spawned; it would be foolish for any student to embark on a study of this topic without first consulting Stevenson's hugely informative work.

Stevenson's approach in 1961 was to highlight the life and work of three masters from his chosen period: Cristobal Morales, Francisco Guerrero and Tomas Luis de Victoria. But in order to paint a more complete picture of Spanish church music in his 'golden age', he gives the names of a further thirty-five church composers all active in Spain during the reign of Philip II (1555-1598), adding that this list is by no means complete. Then follows a detailed study of four of these thirty-five: Juan Navarro, Alonso Lobo, Sebastian de Vivanco and Juan Esquivel.

The number of composers operating on the Spanish Peninsula during the reign of the Philip II was vast compared with the number working on English soil during this period. Stevenson writes:

> Just as Tallis and Byrd stand at the heads of their generations in English music, so Guerrero and Victoria tower above contemporary Spanish composers. But the scales are not equally balanced when English is compared with Spanish music during the reigns of Elizabeth I and Philip II because of the sheer weight of numbers in the peninsula. For a Christopher Tye there was a Juan Navarro; for a Robert White an Alonso Lobo; for a Peter Philips, a Sebastian de Vivanco; for a Richard Deering, a Juan Esquivel.[1]

Esquivel is now known to have published three substantial volumes of music: *Liber primus missarum* (1608), *Motecta festorum et dominicarum cum communi sanctorum* (1608) and *Tomus secundus, psalmorum, hymnorum ... et missarum* (1613). The first two volumes have long been known to scholars within and beyond Spain and the composer's name has been given a place in some of the notable general histories of music; many of us will be familiar with these. To take some examples:

Paul Henry Lang's *Music in Western Civilization* (London, 1941) appears to be the first English text book to cite Esquivel as one of a number of composers in whose music can be found 'the austere and inimitably Spanish character'.[2] Not surprisingly, and in company with so many other writers, Lang saw Victoria as the chief exponent of the Spanish school.

In 1950, the Spanish scholar, Samuel Rubio, devoted substantial space to Esquivel in his study of the musical archive of Plasencia Cathedral.[3] He listed 62 works found in manuscript there and acknowledged Esquivel as a forgotten master, describing him as worthy to be placed alongside the most distinguished masters of the Spanish school. Some years later, in his small textbook *Classical Polyphony* (Oxford, 1972), Rubio drew on Esquivel for many illustrations of sixteenth-century polyphonic technique,[4] and in his *Historia de la música española, 2. Desde el 'ars nova' hasta 1600* (Madrid, 1983), Rubio devoted a substantial section of one chapter to Esquivel, offering a critique of the composer's contribution to the development

of Spanish polyphony as well as summarising the known facts about his life.[5]

In his mighty *Music in the Renaissance* (London, 1954), Gustave Reese compared Esquivel to Infantas for his conservative tendencies and commented on his use of canon and *cantus firmus* technique in his masses.[6] Esquivel's name next appears in the 1968 edition of *The New Oxford History of Music* where the prolific Spanish scholar, Higinio Anglés, dismisses the composer in one single paragraph, placing him after Victoria as a 'lesser worthy' and singling out only one work for special mention, the *Missa Batalla*.[7]

Robert Stevenson, with whom I began, was the first American author to study Esquivel's music and his *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* still remains the best-known study of this field. Much of the information has been updated and revised by Stevenson himself in several issues of *Inter-American Music Review.*[8]

Finally, no less a figure than Howard Mayer Brown made mention of Esquivel in his general study *Music in the Renaissance* (Englewood Cliffs, 1976). Brown listed Esquivel with various contemporaries and ranked him as a lesser composer '... whose music is so fine that it deserves to be studied and performed even today'.[9] He argued that only Victoria can be compared with Palestrina, Lasso and Byrd for the stature of his achievements.

The general impression gained from this brief review of the literature is of a composer who does not rank as first-rate. However, retrospectively, we can now see that few, if any, of the writers who have attempted to pass judgment on Esquivel's music were really in a position to do so because they didn't have access to his total known output.

In 1973 a major breakthrough in Esquivel research occurred when the late Professor Robert Snow discovered a long-lost volume of his music in the ancient church of Santa María de la Encarnación in the Ronda, an ancient city some sixty miles from Malaga. During the turbulent times of the 1930s, the volume was saved from destruction by the vigilance of an altar boy who hid it along with some dozen or so Renaissance chant books before the church was looted and its Baroque organ destroyed. How many other such valuable sources, one wonders, suffered the same terrible fate under Franco's regime?

The fact that this volume—one of the largest collections of Renaissance polyphony ever printed—lay undiscovered for so long is a musicological disaster! Its discovery effectively tripled the quantity of music by Esquivel available for study. To the six masses of the *Liber primus missarum* and the 72 motets of the *Motecta festorum* were now added eight psalm settings, 30 hymns, 16 magnificats, the four Marian antiphons, eight more masses and various miscellaneous items.

The increased knowledge of Esquivel's music demands, I think, a reappraisal of his work. Until fairly recently, only Robert Stevenson and Robert Snow have come anywhere near to offering a balanced assessment. An early attempt, made in 1918 by the German musicologist, Albert Geiger, is deficient on many accounts, as I have pointed out elsewhere.[10] In addition to my own work, there are two recent studies—one by an American and one by a young Spanish scholar—so that, together with the availability of more of his music in modern performing editions, we now have a much greater body of evidence on which to make a judgment.[11]

I want to suggest that Esquivel's music deserves to be better-known, on the grounds of its quality. Given his large output, little is published, and still less has been recorded. Although not all of it is perhaps consistently of the highest quality, his best pieces are comparable to those of his more well-known contemporaries.

Esquivel's life-style must have been typical of most cathedral composers of his time, and for this reason I think it would be helpful if I provided a little biographical detail. The known facts of Esquivel's life are few; we know that he was born in Ciudad Rodrigo, in Salamanca province, but we do not have a record of his birth date. Our earliest reference to him is an isolated entry in the chapter acts of Ciudad Rodrigo cathedral (the chapter acts are the minutes of the daily meetings of the cathedral chapter). On 22 October 1568, it is recorded that Juan de Esquivel is received as a *mozo de coro* (a choir boy). Assuming he was around eight or nine years old at that time, he was probably born around or just before 1560.

A most useful source of information on Esquivel is provided by the seventeenth century Spanish writer Antonio Sánchez Cabañas, who was a choir chaplain at Ciudad Rodrigo during Esquivel's tenure. Cabañas wrote a long (and terribly tedious!) history of Ciudad Rodrigo and its cathedral—his *Historia Civitatense*, now available in a modern edition.[12] He tells us that the composer was a native of the city, a choir boy at the cathedral there, and a pupil of Juan Navarro. He then lists the churches Esquivel went on to serve: Oviedo, where he was a canon; Calahorra and Avila; and finally Ciudad Rodrigo. He tells us that Esquivel had a strong attachment to that cathedral for 'he did not want to vacate it for any other church because love of his native land was too strong to enable him to leave it'.[13]

Cabañas then lists the three printed volumes of works I have already mentioned: a book of masses and another of motets for all the year; and another large volume which contains three books, the first of *fabordones,* the second of hymns, and the third of

magnificats and masses. Of this last collection he tells us:

> This volume is all of three hundred leaves and is valued by those of the Royal Council at thirty ducats. It is a book of great importance and useful for all the churches of Spain and no-one should have to be without it because his music is skillful and very sonorous to the ear.[14]

Oviedo, 1581

Esquivel's first post, that of *maestro de capilla* in Oviedo, came about as the result of a protracted legal battle—no doubt typical of many in those days—due to the mishandling of the appointments process on the part of cathedral authorities. There were two rival candidates, Alonso Puro, chapel master in Zamora, and Esquivel. Each claimed the post and the affair had to be settled in court. After much legal wrangling, Esquivel was declared the holder of the post on 15 November. We get a feeling of how acrimonious this dispute must have been from a record of court proceedings:

> This day a notary read an order from Prior Bandera, Provisor of León, as apostolic judge, in favour of Juan Esquivel [...] and, following the reading by the said notary, it was ordered that he should be given possession of the prebend of maestro de capilla within three days upon pain of excommunication.[15]

On 18 November Esquivel was officially installed as *maestro,* probably around the age of 20.

Esquivel's duties as maestro

Having been appointed, what were his duties? These are laid out in the cathedral's *Libro de estatutos y constituciones*. He was expected to teach singing 'to the people of the church' (i. e. anyone who wished to learn); this, of course, included the choir chaplains and boy choristers. Times for the lessons were specified. He was to provide music for Double Feasts of Four Copes, First and Second Vespers and High Mass; High Mass on every Sunday of the year; All Souls' day and specified church anniversaries; Saturdays in Paschal time; the Marian Feasts of the Assumption, Purification, Annunciation and Christmas, and at other times as directed by the president of the *coro*. In addition to this formidable list of obligations must be added the composition of *villancicos* and music for the *autos* (religious plays) as required, especially at Christmas and the Feast of Corpus Christi. None of this music has as yet been discovered.

Clashes with chapter

There seem to have been frequent clashes with the cathedral chapter in Oviedo. One such clash occurred as a result of the practice of the musicians, including the *maestro de capilla*, hiring themselves out to other parishes, presumably to enhance their incomes. On 25 March, 1582, the chapter ordered this practice to cease. Following this, the acts of 20 April make reference to 'many errors made by the singers in the *coro*'. Esquivel seems not to have managed his finances well. By 3 August,1584, he was in debt ('*esta muy endudado*') and unable to pay off his loans; the following year, a minute of 16 September implies that he and another chapter member (Pedro Ruiz) were both bankrupt and it was agreed to discuss the matter at the first chapter meeting in October. Finally, on 4 November, he abandoned his post, perhaps seeking a way out of his financial difficulties.

Calahorra, 1585

Esquivel's next appointment was that of *maestro de capilla* in Calahorra in the Rioja region. The post became vacant in 1585 following the death in April of the previous incumbent, and the protracted appointment process lasted from May to November. Appointments to cathedral posts were heavily sought after in sixteenth century Spain, just as they are now. Posts were publicly advertised and then the candidates were summoned to an interview; they also had to undergo a rigorous selection process. In this case, the four candidates from Pamplona, Oviedo (Esquivel), Bilbao and Logroño presented themselves before a senior canon and another member of the cathedral chapter.

Following an interview, an examination was held the following day when the applicants were given three tests: they were expected to demonstrate their ability directing the choir at the *atril* (lectern) in the performance of a Josquin mass; they were set the task of devising soprano and bass voice parts for the 'Et incarnatus' of the Credo from the same mass; lastly, they were given a plainsong antiphon and asked to write a polyphonic setting in five parts with two soprano parts, setting the antiphon as a *cantus firmus* in breves. All candidates were ordered to appear at the chapter meeting the next day. Esquivel was the successful candidate and his presence at a chapter meeting is recorded in the minutes for 23 and 29 November where he is listed as a *medio racionero*.

Again, his time in Calahorra was not entirely trouble free; another reminder of the strains and stresses of life in a very enclosed and in many ways secretive society. On 13 August 1588, it is recorded in the chapter acts that Esquivel and another licentiate were confined to their respective houses day and night under threat of a fine of fifty ducats. Two months later, on 3 October 1588, Esquivel was again subject to disciplinary proceedings for falsely stating that a choir boy was ill when this was not so, but he was excused the fine of the day for this minor misdemeanour.

There are also references to breaches of discipline on the part of the choir. Ordered worship was a particular concern of the post Council of Trent reformers who wished to encourage the imposition of silence. Pre-Tridentine worship could be noisy, with a celebration of mass profaned by the sound of chatter from the laity who attended. Cut off from the centre of activity in the *coro*, it is not perhaps surprising that the laity reacted in this way, but the conduct of the clergy was little better in some instances. Cathedral canons were notorious for their persistent chatter, quarreling in the aisles, and shouting across the building; and so to encounter references to the need to be silent in public worship is, perhaps, no surprise. So we find a chapter minute of 4 June 1590 reminding the chapter that silence in the *coro* is expected; another minute, twelve days later, suggests that orderly discussion was lacking at times in chapter meetings as well as in the *coro* and expresses the resolve of the members of the chapter to deal with the problem.

Clearly, choir discipline was an on-going issue for Esquivel. Almost two years after his appointment a chapter act orders that: 'the choir boys should obey the *maestro de capilla* and enter and leave the *coro* with reverence'. And there are references to the annual revelries on the day of the Holy Innocents (28 December)—one of the oldest rituals in the church calendar—when roles were reversed in the church and a boy bishop ruled for the day. There must have been some trouble at this annual event in 1587 because a chapter act of 24 December that year forbids the choir boys making a boy bishop for the forthcoming Feast.

Esquivel left Calahorra in 1591. The exact reasons for his departure are not clear, although we know that he was never given a full prebend (in effect, a full salary) and perhaps this was an on-going source of friction. On 1 June, in that year, the cathedral chapter received a letter from Ciudad Rodrigo in which Esquivel stated his reasons for leaving Calahorra—although today the letter is lost, and the reasons are unknown—and agreed that his half-prebend should be declared vacant. The chapter accepted his resignation and on 13 July agreed to pay the portion of the meat ration owing to him.

Hereafter, Esquivel seems to have rejected all opportunities offered to him to further his career, choosing instead to go back to his hometown, Ciudad Rodrigo, about fifty miles south west of Salamanca and about seventeen miles from the Portuguese border. He must have loved the place very much, as Cabañas observed; but even in his day the town must have been a bit of a backwater. Today it has reinvented itself a tourist attraction, with a very fine Parador (a medieval castle) and, of course, the cathedral being the main tourist attraction.

Esquivel must have lived on in Ciudad Rodrigo until around 1623 because Cabanas makes reference to him around this date. In one of his descriptions of the cathedral he says:

> this sacred temple has twenty-eight altars and one of these [...] is that dedicated to San Ildefonso on which is said Requiem Mass for the repose of souls in purgatory by applying to the dead the indulgence of per modum sufragi. On this altar is said every Monday of the year a Requiem Mass for the maestro de capilla, Juan de Esquivel, and for the souls of his parents.[16]

The sources

At less than 60 x 40 cm, Esquivel's three printed choirbooks are not large compared with many manuscript choirbooks of the period. They may have been intended as presentation or library copies.

Surviving copies have met with mixed fortunes over the years. Only one copy of the *Liber primus* survives in the cathedral archive of Badajoz; it has lost its title page and dedication and someone at some time has ripped out pages 55-90 and 237-244 making it impossible to reconstruct two of the six masses, the *Missa Batalla* and the *Missa pro defunctis*. Fortunately, another complete copy was found in a second-hand bookshop in Munich by the German musicologist Albert Geiger (whom I have already mentioned) sometime during the early years of the twentieth century. In 1918, Geiger published an article about the volume.[17] He supplied the missing title and included a reproduction of the copper engraving found in the volume that shows Esquivel kneeling before an altar, over which, hangs a painting of the Virgin with the Infant Jesus. This suggests that the volume may have been dedicated to the Virgin.

Four copies of the *Motecta festorum* survive, again all incomplete in one way or another: one is owned by The Hispanic Society of America in New York City; another is housed in the library of Badajoz Cathedral; a third copy is in the possession of the cathedral at Burgo de Osma; the fourth copy (recently restored) came to light in 1995 when the extensive cathedral archive in Coria (Cáceres) was re-catalogued. By studying all four copies, it is possible to piece together a complete picture of the volume's contents and to attempt a musical reconstruction of motets damaged in one source or another.

In passing, it is worthwhile pointing out that for a Spanish chapel master at this time to have his music published was a remarkable achievement, and few of Esquivel's fellow composers succeeded in this respect. Esquivel's success was probably due to the generosity of Don Pedro Ponce de León, Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo, 1605–9, who underwrote the cost of this publication. He may well have done so for the two 1608 volumes.

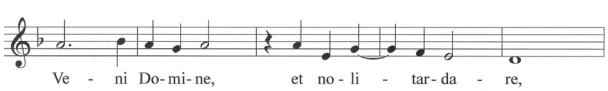
Close observation of Esquivel's music reveals

the extent to which he was indebted to his past. He is a link in a chain which stretches from Morales through into the seventeenth century. His language is formed out of the modal system used for generations; his contrapuntal technique is that of Morales and Guerrero. He does not exploit the possibilities of multi-choral writing, rarely venturing into eight or more parts. Harmonically, he is not as adventurous as some of his Italian contemporaries; rhythmically, he tends to shun shorter note values and the buoyant springy rhythms which we find in the works of his contemporary Vivanco.

Esquivel's indebtedness to his past should not surprise us, of course, and it does not necessarily indicate that he was ignorant of new developments; it could indicate a conservative disposition, or a reluctance of a cathedral chapter to admit the new. But we do find instances of what Robert Snow has termed 'mild chromaticism' in his music, an expression perhaps of an incipient Baroque spirit which is never allowed to break totally free. For instance, the interval of the augmented sixth between two parts appears in some of his motets; but then we can find this interval in Guerrero, and it may arise, of course, out of the attempts of contemporary singers to apply the rules of *musica ficta* (the desire to approach an octave from above and below via the closest interval, the semitone). Semitonal inflections are often to be found in his motets, as they are in the works of other composers writing at a time when the modal system was beginning to break down. Victoria is an example.

The Advent motet *Veni Domine* is a good example of a piece which has its roots firmly in the past, but which contains semitonal inflections. The text (translated) is as follows: 'Come Lord and do not delay. Visit us in peace and let us rejoice in your presence with a perfect heart.' The motet is constructed around a melodic ostinato heard in the second soprano part a total of six times. Two different pitches are used, a fourth apart.

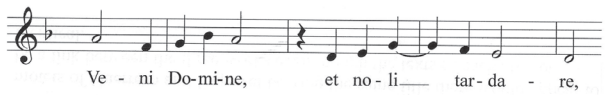
Ex. 1. Esquivel: ostinato from *Veni Domine*



Of course, this structural device was used well before the time of Esquivel. One famous example is Josquin's deeply-moving *Miserere mei* in which the phrase 'Miserere mei, Deus' is intoned periodically throughout the work. It is probably not without significance that this device is employed in a work of a commemorative nature since numerous later composers use it in this context. Spanish composers seem to have had a particular liking for the ostinato device and there are many examples.

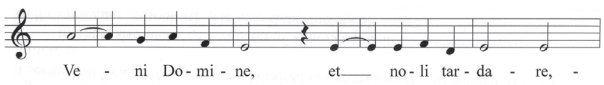
Guerrero's setting of *Veni Domine*, found in his *Sacrae cantiones* of 1555, has so many points of similarity with Esquivel's that it is difficult not to read Esquivel's work as a tribute to the older master. Both motets are in the same mode; both carry the *ostinato* in the same melodic line, *superius II*; in both cases even-numbered statements are pitched a fourth higher than odd-numbered statements; moreover, the melodic and rhythmic contours of the *ostinato* are strikingly similar.

Ex. 2. Guerrero: ostinato from *Veni Domine*



But if we go back even further, we find the same ostinato principle in Morales' setting of this text:

Ex. 3. Morales: ostinato from *Veni Domine*



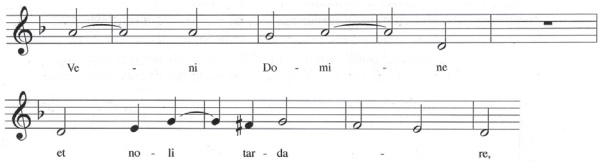
Although this motet has a text more extensive than that used by Guerrero and Esquivel, we can see that the ostinato begins with the same rhythmic pattern and a similar melodic one. Morales's ostinato treatment is more elaborate than that of his pupil Guerrero. He lowers the pitch of the ostinato by one tone on each appearance, but the overall constructional principle is the same and it is used for the same expressive end: to symbolize the hope of deliverance expressed in the words 'Come, Lord, and don't delay'. Esquivel's motet, then, forms a link in a historic chain joining three generations of composers, each passing on to the next the skills of the trade. Esquivel is paying homage to Guerrero, and Guerrero likewise to Morales.

Further links in the chain can be found in the works of Esquivel's contemporaries. Several of them use the melodic ostinato as a principle of design in their music; among them Infantas (several examples including *Veni Domine*), Vivanco (the motet, *Ecce sacerdos magnus*), and Alonso de Tejeda, a relatively close neighbour of Esquivel in his position of *maestro de capilla* at nearby Zamora (several works including a setting of *Veni Domine*).

Tejeda's *Veni Domine* motet appears to be closely modelled on Guerrero's setting: the work is in the same mode and carries the ostinato in the same voice part; like Guerrero, Tejeda raises the pitch of his ostinato a fourth higher on even-numbered

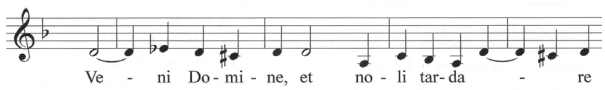
repetitions, and the second phrase of his ostinato even bears a strong melodic resemblance to Guerrero's second phrase.

Ex. 4. Alonso de Tejeda, ostinato from *Veni Domine*



The other feature of Esquivel's setting *Veni Domine* to which I would like to draw attention is the presence of the C sharp in the alto line:

Ex. 5. Esquivel, *Veni Domine, altus.*



This C sharp was suppressed in a later eighteenth century manuscript copy of this motet in Plasencia cathedral (MS 1). Certainly, it is unusual and there is no compelling reason why it should be there; in fact there are good reasons for arguing for its suppression. The ostinato, from which this phrase is taken, does not indicate a semitone at this point, nor does the leading voice; nor are there any harmonic requirements dictating the need of a C sharp. Its appearance, therefore, is difficult to explain on theoretical grounds, although there is a similar example of the juxtaposition of C-sharp and E-flat in an other motet in the collection, *Christus factus est*. It may be that the semitonal inflection in each work is placed there for expressive reasons, as a means of intensifying the emotional content of the text.

In his 1978 monograph on the composer, Robert Snow remarked that Esquivel's technical skills were considerable.[18] Esquivel must have acquired these from his teacher, Juan Navarro (another neglected, relatively unknown Spanish master) and through the process of diligent study and emulation of past masters, Guerrero in particular. As is well-known, the principle of basing a mass on a polyphonic model (parody technique) was common practice the sixteenth century; six out of Esquivel's eleven mass ordinaries are parody works, and five of these six are based on motets by Guerrero. In all of these, Esquivel shows how skillfully he can rework borrowed material, adapt it to a new text, or combine it in new ways with contrapuntal lines of his own making.

His ability to devise elaborate canons is another indication of his technical mastery. The first mass in the *Liber primus* is based on Guerrero's celebrated motet *Ave Virgo sanctissima*, which has the two soprano lines moving in canon at the unison throughout. In his mass, Esquivel preserves this relationship throughout the greater part of his work, but expands these five voices to six in the second Agnus. Here, canon is abandoned in favour of ostinato treatment of the head motive from Guerrero's motet: *Ave Virgo sanctissima* floats serenely over the top of the other voices—a symbolic tribute to both Guerrero and the Virgin Mary, the assumed dedicatee of the volume.

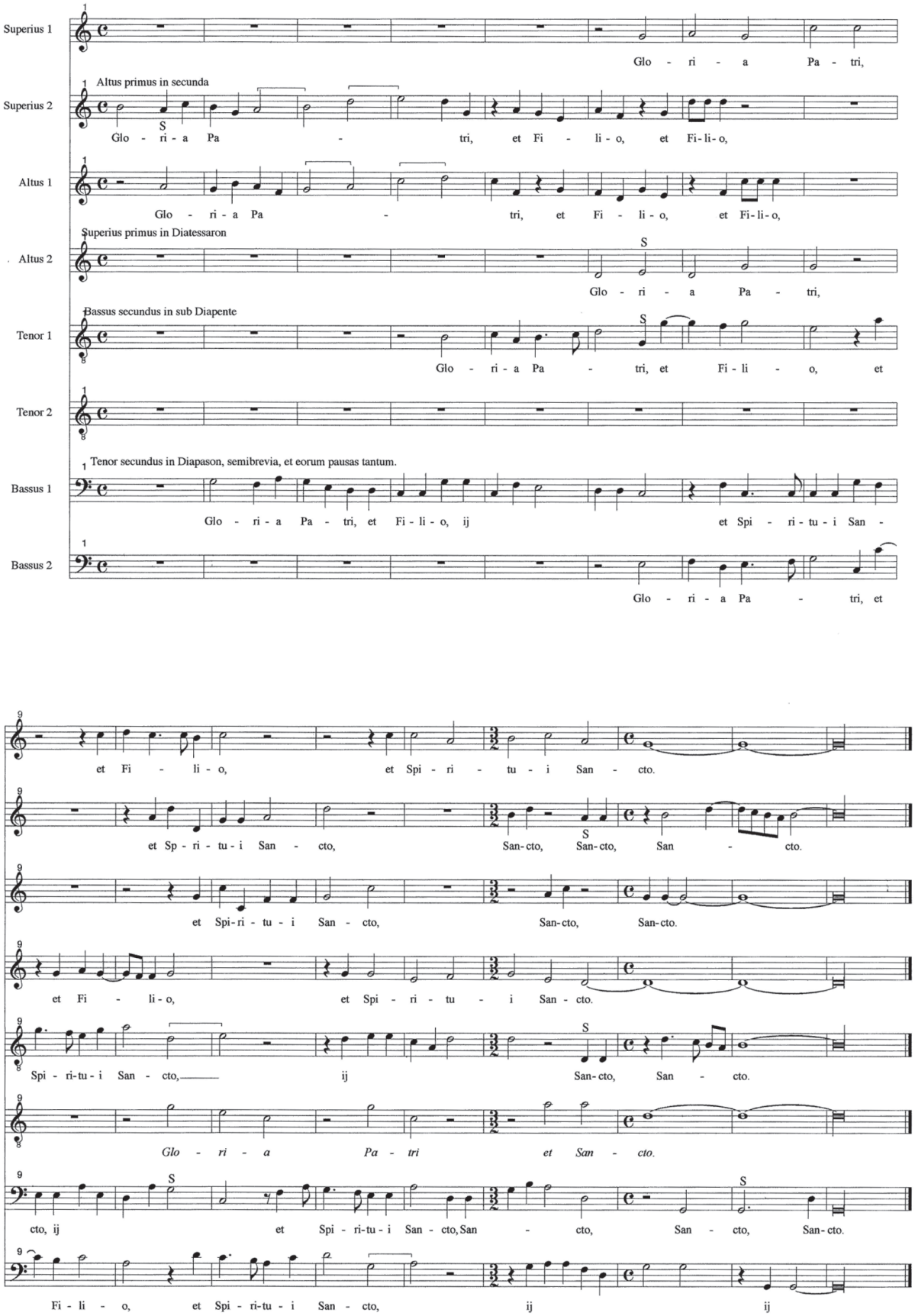
His skill in canonic writing is particularly evident in the Magnificat settings of the *Tomus secundus.*

For the *Magnificat Octavi toni,* Esquivel provides two versions of the doxological verse (Ex. 6). The second setting is shorter and requires an additional bass voice; it was, perhaps, intended as an alternative to the first setting, to be sung on a feast day of a greater ranking when an extra voice could be bought in for the occasion. As can be seen, the second tenor is required to invent his part from that of the first bass according to the instruction: '*Tenor secundus in Diapason semibrevia, et eorum pausas tantum*' ('Second tenor at the octave above the bass, using only semibreves and their rests'). The fact that Esquivel left it to his singers to work out their part from the instructions given over the bass voice part is further proof of the skills required of a cathedral singer at this time.

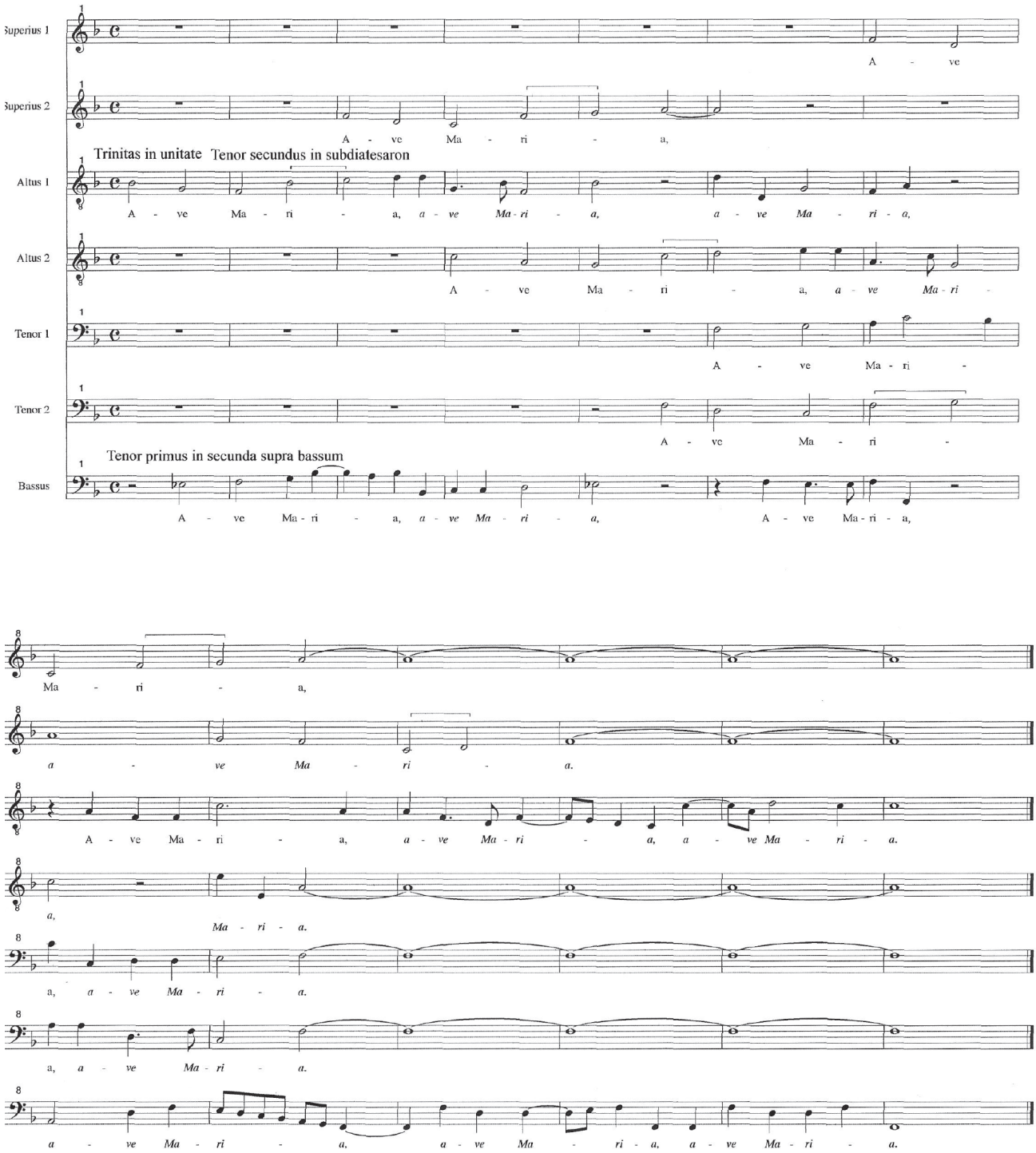
This example proves without doubt Esquivel's ability to create the kind of intellectual puzzle that renaissance composers had indulged in, and amused themselves with, for generations. It is, perhaps, a self-conscious display of contrapuntal technique, but nevertheless a successful one which is demonstrated yet again in some of his mass settings, the *Missa Gloriose confessor Domini* for example.

There is one canon in the *Motecta festorum* which is a curious item and raises some interesting questions. A mere 13 bars in transcription, it is placed in a very prominent place at the head of the volume (see Ex. 7).

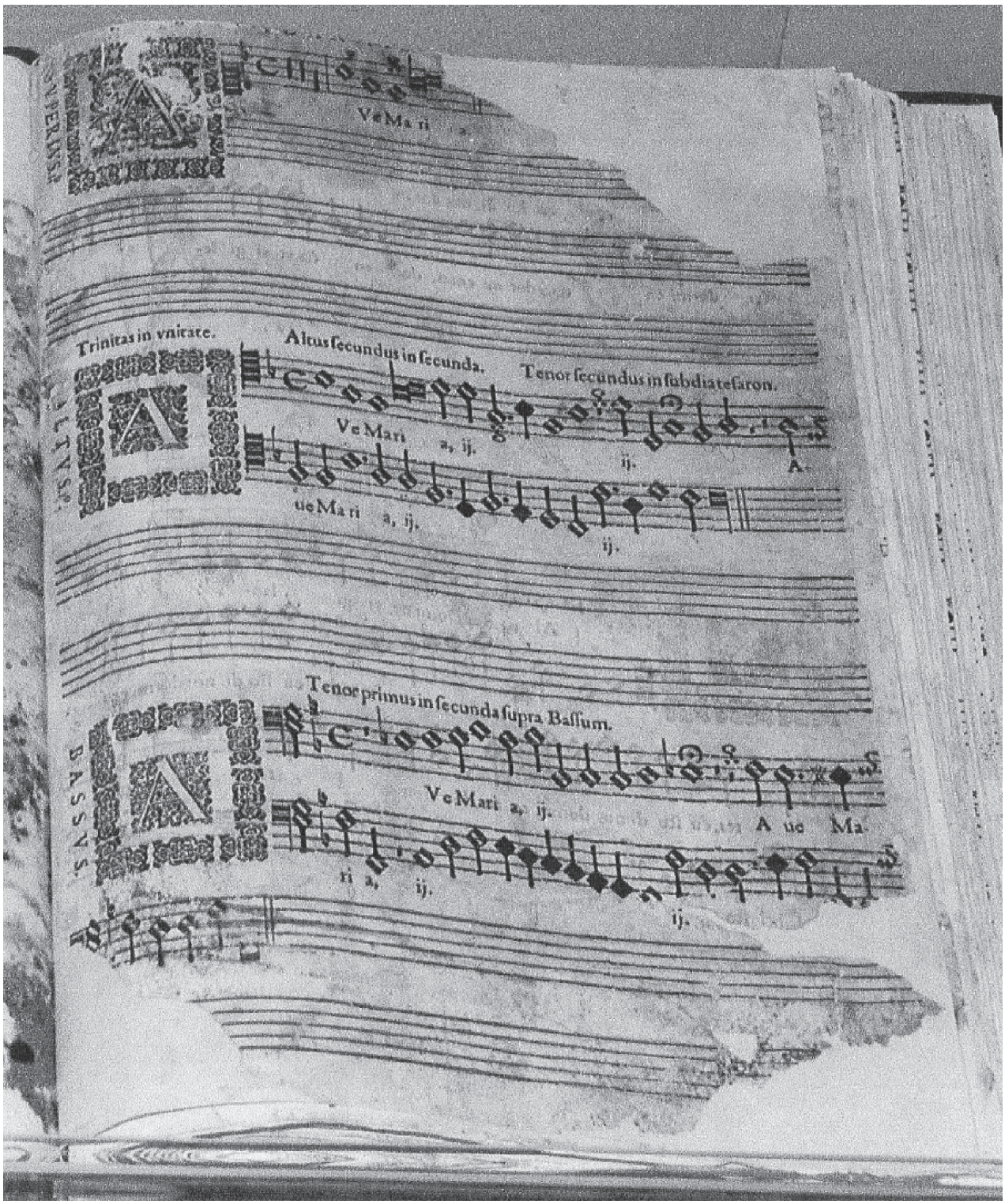
The piece only survives in the Coria copy of the volume (*Libro de cantorale*, no. 64), which is unfortunate since the page is heavily mutilated (Illus. 1). Top and bottom right-hand corners have been torn off, obliterating the final note of the given *superius* and the rubric for realising the implied canon with *superius II*. Further, it is obvious, when a resolution of this canon is attempted, that the printer erroneously gave the *superius* part a C1 clef; the only way that the part can be made to fit with *altus*, *tenor* and *bassus* is by the adoption of a C2 clef.



Ex. 6. The second Gloria from *Magnificat Octavi toni*, First Vespers.



Ex. 7. *Ave Maria* canon



Illus. 1. Facsimile of *Ave Maria Canon*

Esquivel's instructions for the resolution of the canons to be derived from *altus* and *bassus* are clear. The *altus* carries the tag '*Trinitas in unitate*' indicating a three-in-one canon: *altus secundus* is derived from this, as is the second tenor in conformity with the instruction '*Tenor secundus in subdiatesaron*' (canon at the lower fourth). The first tenor is to be derived from the *bassus* in accordance with the printed instruction '*Tenor primus in secunda supra bassum*', indicating a canon at the second.

But a problem arises when the *superius* is considered. The absence of the rubric for the canon's resolution leaves the transcriber with considerable guesswork. An additional problem is the invisibility of the final note of the printed *superius*, obliterated by the torn page. Both f′ and a′ are possible harmonically, but since this incipit is a quotation from Josquin's celebrated motet *Ave Maria ...virgo serena*, the last note must surely be a′. Since there is no evidence of a note stem, the most likely durational value is a *breve* and not a *long* as shown in the *altus* and *bassus*.

Now we come to the point of entry for a second *superius*, and the pitch of the canon's resolution. The *signum congruente* in *superius I* is obviously misplaced, and the most natural point of entry is bar three of the transcription;[19] the bar line indicated in the source after the rests in *superius I* seems to suggest that these rests are not part of the canon. But, given the brevity of the piece and the long coda-like passage in the *bassus*, a second entry is likely and possible (in retrograde) in bar seven. Conceivably the missing Latin tag read something like: 'Superius secundus vadit et venit, cancrizando.'

Apart from the missing information, which gives rise to some uncertainties and a certain amount of guesswork, this piece raises some intriguing questions: why did Esquivel give so much prominence to such an inconsequential piece? Was it placed at the head of the volume to signify the dedication of its contents to the Virgin? Was it perhaps an early work, the product of the young Esquivel who wanted to impress the world with his ingenuity? After all, to write a three-in-one canon and to combine it with even more canons is no mean technical achievement, however contrived the final result may be. Is there some hidden symbolism at work here? Perhaps the canon was not intended for performance at all?

Symbolic, decorative canons were common on engraved frontispieces in the sixteenth century. One example is Alonso Lobo's *Liber primus missarum* (Madrid, 1602). There, at the bottom of the elaborately-decorated title page, is a small oval vignette showing the composer holding a sheet of music on which is printed a three-in-one canon, while at the centre of the page is an engraving of the Virgin Mary.[20] If the position of Esquivel's canon has a similar decorative function, this would account for the motet's brevity, and also explain why such an insubstantial work is given pride of place in the volume: it is, I suggest, symbolic and decorative, and a sign of learning, but probably not intended for performance.

As I hope I have demonstrated, the music of Esquivel is worth revisiting. His work is not without its inconsistencies; for example, we might want to criticise some of his motets for their modal ambiguity, or melodic angularity. In my opinion, his works sometimes lack a sure sense of direction and design. Some of his motets are extremely short, almost perfunctory; and there are pieces which, by our present-day criteria, may be considered 'dull', or unexciting, which do not (to slightly parody Thomas Coryat) 'ravish the senses'. His Trinity motet *Duo Seraphim*, for example, lacks the drama of Guerrero's thrilling setting—the 'tingle factor' when all twelve voices enter for the first time. Nevertheless, Esquivel's setting is contrapuntally sound; it is simply designed in a different way, conceived, perhaps, not as a sacred drama but as a brief reflection on the two verses of scripture they set (Isaiah 6:2–3).

I have two final thoughts. Firstly, we should remember that not all the texts a sixteenth-century composer chose to set for performance in a liturgical context necessarily expressed the heights and depths of human emotion; some texts were emotionally neutral, honouring the life of a saint, recording the sayings of Jesus, or, in Lent particularly, providing a commentary on the gospel of the day, as in the example of the motet *De quinque panibus* (which recalls Christ's feeding of the five thousand in Luke 9:12-17). It is the most dramatic text settings that we tend to remember and admire, or put on a pedestal today; and it is to these we turn when we construct our concert programmes and our CD recordings. However, sixteenth century church musicians did not have the luxury of being so selective. Composers were expected to produce service music appropriate for a particular season or festive occasion as and when required, and the function of liturgical music was not to entertain in the modern sense, but to focus the mind on higher things; to praise, to instruct, to allow time for reflection on the homily, or to provide space for private devotion and contemplation. We do a disservice to Esquivel and many other church composers of his generation if we concentrate only on music which has immediate sensuous appeal and filter out the rest. Much music of historical importance is ignored through this process.

My second comment is to do with the nature of music criticism. By what criteria did sixteenth-century critics judge music? What did they value? We know very little about sixteenth-century music criticism, and most of our limited information appears

to come from Italian and not Spanish sources. But we do know that Esquivel's music was highly thought of by at least one well-respected Spanish figure in his day, the novelist, poet and musician Vincente Espinel. Espinel provided the approbation for the *Tomus secundus* in which he praises the music in terms of, its qualities of 'gentle harmony' ('apacible consonancia') and its 'elegant craftsmanship' ('gentil artificio'). It is music which, he says, is'well-cast, or, 'of good quality' ('buena casta'); 'well-constructed' I think we could say. These are very general terms, it is true, and lack precise meaning, but they do give us some indication of what was expected and admired—sound craftsmanship, of course, being a *sine qua non*. In forming our own value-judgments we must take care to avoid using critical instruments which we have developed over a period of time to evaluate music of a later period, some of which are invalid when its comes to offering a critical appraisal of sixteenth century music.

For a composer who, I believe, made a significant contribution to the music of the Spanish 'golden age', why has Esquivel's music been so neglected in modern times? Two reasons, I think: one historical, one historiographical.

For a long time, the sources of his music have been locked up in dusty Spanish archives jealously guarded by elderly priests acting as archivists and inaccessible to the general public and to the serious foreign investigator. I myself have experienced the hostile attitude which, until a few years ago, was quite common in Spain. One or two American and English scholars, Stevenson himself of course, have managed to gain the trust of this disappearing generation of clergy archivists. Thankfully, attitudes are now changing; the atmosphere is less hostile to foreign scholars and there is a growing willingness to cooperate and share information as we do in England.

Until recently, the only source of Esquivel's music that was relatively accessible was the copy of the *Motecta festorum* in New York City. It was a microfilm of this source, kindly lent to me by Bruno Turner, which set me on the Esquivel trail. Since that time, back in the 1980s, I have worked in several Spanish cathedral archives and have generally (although not always!) met with kindness and cooperation.

However, as I have just indicated, there is a historiographical explanation for Esquivel's neglect. There is a tendency among historians to view the past through the works of the 'great' composers: the giants of an age are seen as that age's representatives. Whilst it may be true that every age has its Bach or Beethoven, such an approach to the history of an art form gives us a distorted view of music's development and the characteristic achievements of an age. In the case of Spanish 'golden age' cathedral music, we have our 'Trinity of greats', of course. Morales, Victoria, and now Guerrero, are rightly held in high esteem. Their music was hugely influential in its time and has shaped our understanding of music of this period ever since. However, alongside the universally acknowledged great composers of any age, there are those who have come to be regarded as lesser figures; conscientious, highly-trained musicians, whose music must be taken into account if we wish to arrive at a more balanced understanding of the music produced at a certain point in time. The works of the 'lesser men' may be more typical of the kind of music produced than the works of those who reach the very highest pinnacle of achievement. As the late Howard Mayer Brown recognised, the history of music is shaped by the accomplishment of individuals.[21] *All* composers, great and small, contribute to a nation's musical achievement.

In Esquivel we have a man with highly-developed compositional skills working within the framework of an established tradition, a man who was a faithful servant of the church who chose to spend the greater part of his professional life in a small provincial centre on the edge of the great wilderness of Extremadura, far for the main archiepiscopal centres of influence such as Toledo, Seville and Burgos. These were wealthy churches, and measured in terms of annual income, Ciudad Rodrigo was far less wealthy. Only the generosity of a wealthy patron and perhaps the nearness of Salamanca, with its great university and its reputation as a centre for publishing, saved Esquivel's music from oblivion.

Are we now reaching a point where we can move outside the canon of the well-known works? Do we need another recording of the Victoria *Requiem*, fine though that work is? Or should we take courage and explore the unfamiliar, not assuming that because it is unfamiliar it is of little worth? We have begun to do this: we now have recordings of the music of Alonso Lobo, Vivanco and Infantas, and we are rediscovering the delights of Padilla and the slightly later Latin-American baroque music. Nevertheless, there is still someway to go before we bring back to life the music of the more than thirty 'unknown' masters on Stevenson's list. To neglect the lesser-known names, like Esquivel, is to do a disservice to our writing and understanding of the historical process, and through our neglect, we lose a lot of good music. I hope I have helped to convince you of the quality of one man's music in particular, and that you may be encouraged to explore it further.

1 Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley, 1961), 239.

2 Paul Henry Lang, *Music in Western Civilization* (London, 1941), 425.

3 Samuel Rubio, 'El archivo de música de la catedral de Plasencia', *Anuario Musical* 5 (1950), 147–151.

4 Samuel Rubio, *Classical Polyphony* (Oxford, 1972), esp. 90, 95, 157.

5 Samuel Rubio, *Historia de la música española, 2. Desde el 'ars nova' hasta 1600* (Madrid, 1983), 192–195.

6 Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (London, 1954), 610.

7 Higini Anglès, 'Latin Church Music on the Continent—3: Spain and Portugal', *The New Oxford History of Music*, vol. 4, ed. Gerald Abraham (London, 1968), 405–406.

8 See especially vols. 12 (Spring-Summer, 1992), 13 (Fall-Winter, 1993) and 13 (Spring-Summer, 1993).

9 Howard M. Brown, *Music in the Renaissance*, (Englewood Cliffs, 1976), 314.

10 Clive Walkley, 'Juan Esquivel: an Unknown Spanish Master Revisited', *Early Music* 29/1 (2001), 76–92.

11 Michael O'Connor, 'The Polyphonic Compositions on Marian Texts by Juan de Esquivel Barahona: A Study of Institutional Marian Devotion in Late Renaissance Spain.', Ph.D. diss. (Florida State University, 2006); Francisco Rodilla León, *El Libro de Motetes de 1608 de Juan Esquivel de Barahona* (c.1560 - c.1624): Estudio y transcripción (Ciudad Rodrigo, 2006).

12 *Antonio Sánchez Cabañas. Historia Civitatense: Estudio Introductorio y Edición*, ed. Ángel Barrios García e Iñaki Martín Viso (Salamanca, 2001).

13 *Antonio Sánchez Cabañas. Historia Civitatense,* 154.

14 *Antonio Sánchez Cabañas. Historia Civitatense*, 154.

15 Oviedo cathedral, Actas capitulares 1581-1584, 17, f. 267.

16 *Antonio Sánchez Cabañas. Historia Civitatense,* 154.

17 Albert Geiger, 'Juan Esquivel: Ein unbekannter spanischer Meister des 16 Jahrhunderts', *Fetschrift zum 50. Geburstag Adolf Sandberger* (Munich, 1918).

18 *The 1613 Print of Juan Esquivel Barahona*, Detroit Monographs in Musicology 7 (Detroit, 1978).

19 I am most grateful to Hugh Keyte for his many helpful suggestions in relation to this canon; in particular, his suggestion of an entry for *superius II* in bar three.

20 Another example of the symbolic use of three-in-one canon as a feature of an engraving on a title page is that of Vivanco's *Liber magnificarum* of 1607. The engraving shows the composer on his knees before a crucifix; the text of the canon reads in translation: 'O come let us adore Christ the King, hanging upon a cross for us'. See Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music*, 277–8.

21 Howard M. Brown, *Music in the Renaissance*, 2nd edn. (New Jersey, 1999).

Revisiting a Buxtehude Curiosity Once Again[1]

Tassilo Erhardt

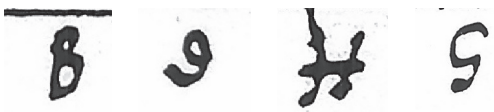
It is not often that a short and unassuming work such as the Sonata in D Minor BuxWV Appendix 5 receives more consideration than a cursory mention in a worklist. This piece, however, has received considerable attention in recent years, including two reconstructions of its original form. Any further lingering upon the subject would therefore be unnecessary were it not for the fact that a re-examination of the sources automatically leads to the—hitherto unpublished—original version of the sonata and throws doubt on Buxtehude's authorship. Until recently, the only known version of the work is an organ transcription, ascribed to Buxtehude, in the manuscript Lowell Mason 5056 at the Irving S. Gilmore Music Library (Yale University), the major seventeenth century source of Buxtehude's organ works.[2] As such it found its way into the catalogue of Buxtehude's works (Appendix 5) and Klaus Beckmann's edition of Buxtehude's organ works.[3] Aspects of the notation have prompted Eva Linfield to include a reconstruction of the assumed original version of the work, a sonata for violin, bass viol and continuo, in her edition of Buxtehude's instrumental works.[4] More recently, Geoffrey Webber reconstructed the work for two bass viols and continuo.[5] Less than a year later, both Peter Holman and David Yearsly pointed out that the piece in question is also contained in the manuscripts D2 and D10 at Durham Cathedral library as well as in a seventeenth century anthology known as the 'Partiturbuch Ludwig' in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.[6] These three sources all present the work—as concluded correctly by Linfield—as a trio sonata for violin, bass viol and continuo. It will become apparent from the following discussion of the sources that the attribution of the work to Buxtehude, in any scoring, is more than doubtful and that the most likely candidate for its authorship is the Viennese *Hofkapellmeister* Antonio Bertali (?1604–1669).

The manuscript Lowell Mason 5056 was copied by the Dresden organist Emanuel Benisch. Presumably the inscription 'E.B.—1688' on the cover refers to the year of the completion of the manuscript. The volume contains a wide range of keyboard repertoire from Scandinavia, Vienna, Rome, as well as from northern and central Germany, including ten pieces attributed to Buxtehude. Works by Bach and Kirnberger were appended to it in the 1770s by J. Becker. Benisch may have obtained his exemplars from Nicolaus Adam Strungk (1640–1700), who was appointed *vice-Kapellmeister* and chamber organist at the electoral court in Dresden on 26 January 1688. Strungk's travels to Vienna and Rome would have given him the opportunity to collect works by Kerll, Poglietti, and Pasquini, whilst his appointment at Hamburg from 1678 to 1682 might have brought him into contact with Buxtehude.[7] Another possible influence on Benisch may have been Vincenzo Albrici (1631–1696) whose travels during the 1650s and 1660s would have given him access to the repertoire found in LM 5056, and who may have been one of Benisch's teachers in Dresden.[8]

The Sonata BuxWV Appendix 5 carries the title 'Sonata/â/2 Clavir/Pedal:', the ascription 'Box de Hou' and the registration indication 'Viol di Gamb' between the two staves (Illus. 2). Oddly, only the left and right hand parts are written in staff notation, whilst the pedal part is written in German organ tablature, a form of notation unique within the manuscript. Furthermore, both the attribution to Buxtehude and the indication 'Viol di Gamb' are, contrary to Linfield, clearly later additions in a hand different from that of the title and the tablature.[9]

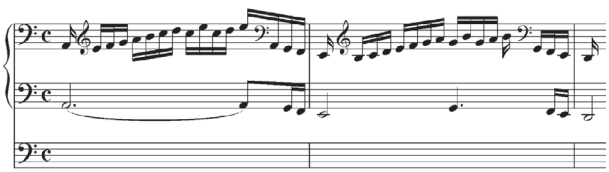
Illus. 2 US-NH Lowell Mason 5056, p. 81.
Attribution and registration indication

Samples from the organ tablature showing different letter formations.



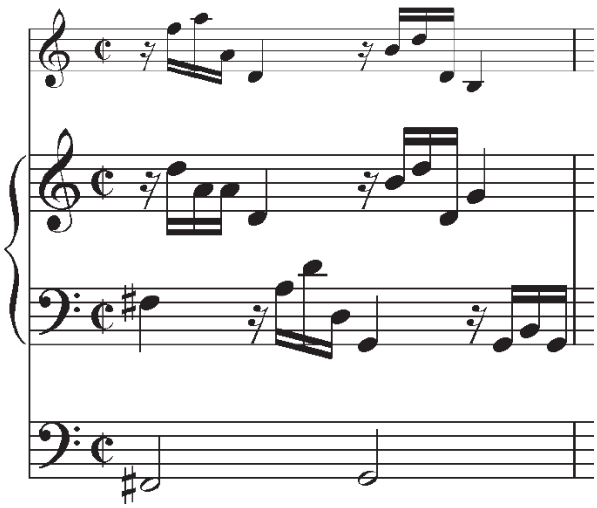
The doubt concerning the attribution is strengthened by the fact that none of Buxtehude's genuine organ works are called 'sonata' or display a comparable trio texture. Moreover, it is unlikely that a piece for organ would have been arranged as a trio sonata. The pedal part in BuxWV Appendix 5, moving slowly and essentially being a simplified version of the left hand part, resembles more the continuo parts of Buxtehude's ensemble sonatas than the pedal parts of his organ works, which usually provide either long pedal notes or take independent, often virtuosic parts in a polyphonic texture. Moreover, the piece contains several passages which are not only atypical of Buxtehude's organ music, but are generally awkward or nonsensical on a keyboard instrument, such as large leaps over more than two octaves leading into unisons between the two manuals:

Ex. 1. BuxWV App. 5, bars 49–51



Elsewhere, the keyboard arrangement lacks the consistency of figuration found in the trio sonata version:

Ex. 2. BuxWV App. 5, bars 12, with the reading of GB-DRc D2 and D10 in the ossia-staff



Such figuration is more characteristic of string writing, which prompts the question of whether the piece might be an arrangement of a sonata for string instruments by Buxtehude. With its 57 measures, however, the sonata is less than half as long than any of Buxtehude's ensemble sonatas, which are notorious for their extended length, and does not display their more rigid structure or their independent continuo parts in fugal movements.[10]

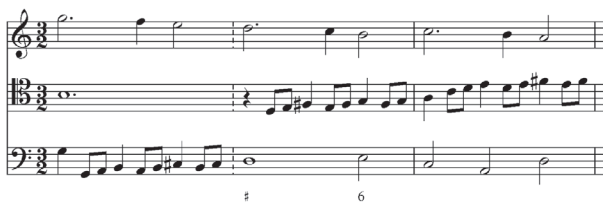
The two manuscripts D2 and D10 at Durham Cathedral Library confirm the assumed original form of the sonata as a work for violin, bass viol and continuo. Both manuscripts were left to the library by Philip Falle (1656–1742) and were probably copied in the 1670s.[11] Although no direct link between D2

and D10 can be established, it is remarkable that their readings of the Sonata are virtually identical, agreeing in numerous details against the other sources. D10 is a scorebook in miniscule writing containing mid-seventeenth century music for two stringed instruments and continuo. Judging from some of the attributions, such as 'Heinrich Butler' or 'Singr Wilh: Jonge', the copyist may to have been German or Dutch. However, paper, style, and some English spellings of names would point to England as place of origin.[12] The Sonata in D minor bears no attribution. D2, on the other hand, is a set of three partbooks for two stringed instruments and continuo, copied between 1672 and 1678.[13] Possibly, Falle acquired the set from Sir John St Barbe, a pupil of Thomas Simpson, when he was training for the priesthood in Chichester (1676–1681). An inscription on the front flyleaf of D2/2, perhaps by the binder, indicates that the books were made for, or sent to, 'the honorabl Sir John St Barbe near Rumsey in Hampshire'.[14] The Sonata in D minor is attributed to William Young in the violin and bass viol part books, whilst in the latter, an attribution to Henry Butler was crossed out. This correction, perhaps caused by the fact that the following work in the manuscript (mistakenly also numbered 21) is a sonata by Butler, betrays the uncertainty of the scribe. In addition, the attribution to Young seems unlikely on stylistic grounds. Young's sonatas published as *Sonate à 3. 4. e 5. Con alcune Allemand, Correnti e Balletti à 3* (Innsbruck, 1653), bear no resemblance being more archaic ensemble canzonas featuring imitative counterpoint and lacking virtuosic display. The three other sonatas attributed to Young in D2 (nos. 23, 29, 45) are similar in style to the trio sonata, showing more South German influence. They are, however, considerably longer, follow more complex patterns of organization, and put greater technical demands to the viol player, especially in the extended chordal playing, which is almost entirely missing from the Sonata in D minor.

The so-called 'Partiturbuch Ludwig' at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel is a scorebook containing 114 instrumental compositions. According to its title page, it was copied at Gotha in 1662 by Jacob Ludwig who dedicated it to his former employer Duke August of Braunschweig and Lüneburg (1579–1666) and his wife Elisabeth Sophie of Mecklenburg-Güstrow (1603–1676). The bulk of its repertoire originates in Saxony, Thuringia, or Vienna.[15] With eighteen works, Antonio Bertali is the best represented composer in the volume and the Sonata in D minor is attributed to him. This attribution is more credible than those to Buxtehude or Young as Ludwig's ascriptions are generally accurate. Five of the small-scale sonatas are reliably attributed to Bertali elsewhere.[16] Moreover, the large quantity of Viennese repertoire (works by Froberger, Schmelzer, Valentini, and an aria 'Caesar: Majest:') suggest a strong link to the Imperial Court, where Bertali worked from c.1625 to 1669, possibly stemming from Samuel Capricornus. Not only is Capricornus represented in the manuscript with one piece (no. 37), he must also have known Bertali from his studies in Vienna in 1649, and he studied and imitated Bertali's works, which he held in high esteem.[17] Capricornus, an avid collector of music, possibly travelled through Thuringia when he moved from Bratislava to his new position in Stuttgart in 1657.[18] The suspicion that he was instrumental in spreading Bertali's works in Germany is also substantiated by the fact that many of the latter's works can be found in the 1686 inventory of the Ansbach court where both his son Samuel, and his student Johann Fischer, worked as court musicians.[19] Another student of Capricornus, Johann Phillip Krieger, sold several works by Bertali to the Marienkirche in Halle and performed the works of others at the Weissenfels court.[20]

The Sonata in D minor and Bertali's instrumental works are also stylistically similar. Similar brevity is found in Bertali's six Sonatellae, which count between 35 and 64 bars (although a direct comparison may not be appropriate because these works are technically simple, largely homophonic processional music, originally probably for wind ensemble).[21] Bertali's sonatas contained in the 'Partiturbuch' are also similar to the Sonata in D minor: the sonatas 75, 80, 90, 98, 100, 101, and 108 all count between 40 and 104 bars in length, and and Sonata 42 closely resembles the Sonata in D minor. They correspond not only in key and scoring, but also follow the same overall organisation, opening with two distinct sections in common time, followed by an imitative section in 3/2-meter with two contrasting motives (Ex. 3), and concluding with ten bars, again in common time. Also in terms of technical demands the two works are virtually identical, with the ranges g–c``` (no. 51) and d`–c``` (no. 42) for the violin, D–b` (no. 51) and D–d`` (no. 42) for the viol, and virtually no double stopping in either sonata. Finally, a general motivic and textural similarity can be observed.

Ex. 3. D-W Cod. Guelf. 34.7 Aug 2o, no. 42, bb. 101–103



The question remains of how the Sonata, if by Bertali, would have made its way into the Benisch manuscript and the two sources at Durham

Cathedral. The possibility that Strungk, who played to the Emperor in 1662 and was in personal contact with Schmelzer, brought the Viennese repertoire in Benisch's collection to Dresden has already been mentioned.[22] However, it is also possible that Buxtehude, to whom the organ transcription is attributed, had a hand in it. Christoph Wolff has pointed out how Buxtehude implemented Samuel Scheidt's concept of an 'imitatio violistica', i.e. the translation of string idioms into organ music, in his own works.[23] Transcribing string ensemble music for organ seems to be a logical step in this experiment. Besides, Buxtehude presumably knew Strungk from when the latter was director of music at Hamburg cathedral (1678–1682). In addition, he would probably have had access to Bertali's works through his contact with Copenhagen. The Düben collection, essentially compiled in Copenhagen, includes seven vocal and eight instrumental works by Bertali, as well as a wealth of other Viennese repertoire. Buxtehude might also have obtained copies of Bertali's music through musicians in Hamburg, such as Christoph Bernhard who was befriended by the Copenhagen *Kapellmeister* Kaspar Förster and praises Bertali in his *Tractaus compositionis augmentatus*.[24] In nearby Lüneburg, Bertali's works were also known, as three of them are mentioned in a 1696 inventory of St. Michael's school.[25]

With the Durham sources, the connection to the Viennese court seems obvious: William Young, to whom the Sonata in D minor is attributed in D2, served at the Innsbruck court of Archduke Karl Ferdinand from 1652 (at the latest).[26] In this position Young had ample opportunity for musical exchange with the Imperial Court in Vienna. He is possibly the 'Insprukherisch violist' to whom the Emperor's barber, Sebastian Rösler, intended to send his son for instruction on the 'viola' around 1640.[27] Likewise, Bertali taught several musicians from the Innsbruck court until at least 1651, and two of his operas were performed during a visit of the Archduke of Mantua in that year.[28] If, moreover, Young was the English musician from the Innsbruck court who received 100 ducats from Emperor Ferdinand III in Regensburg in 1654, he must have come into contact with Bertali, who was travelling with the Emperor. Young may have brought a copy of Bertali's Sonata to England during his visit in 1660 where it then circulated under his name.[29] Even if a detour via Germany or the Low Countries is admitted, due to the unusual spellings in D2, this connection is plausible. If it was indeed Young who played to the Emperor in Regensburg in 1654, the piece might have been brought to England *via* the Low Countries: Also present in Regensburg at that time was the music-loving Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, then Governor of the Habsburg Netherlands, who might have taken the works back to his Brussels court. Alternatively, the German viol player Dietrich Steffkin, who held various appointments at the English court, may have been responsible for bringing the piece to England. Steffkin played to Leopold Wilhelm in the same year as Young is believed to have been there and he spent several years during the Interregnum in Germany and The Netherlands. Incidentally, the notes on the D2 continuo partbooks, 'Freder' (inside front cover) and 'In the olde Jerry below the Church att a barber Ms Steffken' (front flyleaf) probably refer to Dietrich Steffkin's son Frederick who, together with his father, worked as a viol player in Charles II's Private Musick from 1662. Conceivably, Dietrich Steffkin might have been responsible for much of the striking amount of Continental repertoire in D2, including the Sonata in D minor, as he is also believed to be the compiler of several anthologies of Dutch provenance in the library of Count von Göss at Ebenthal, Austria.[30]

In conclusion, an examination of the various sources of the Sonata in D minor shows that its scoring was indeed, as suspected by Linfield and others, originally for violin, bass viol and continuo. Features of the manuscripts as well as stylistic considerations make the attribution of the Sonata to Buxtehude or Young highly unlikely. Nothing, however, speaks against Bertali's authorship, as suggested in the 'Partiturbuch'; on the contrary, the nature of the source as well as a comparison with Bertali's instrumental *œvre* support this attribution. Finally, musical connections across seventeenth century Europe do not only make an inclusion of a work by Bertali in the discussed sources plausible, they can also account for its misattributions to Buxtehude and Young.

1 An earlier version of this article was presented at the Buxtehude symposium in The Hague, 5–7 November 2007. My gratitude goes out to Peter Holman who has provided crucial hints for this research.

2 US-NH, Music Deposit 4, no. 53, 81–83; facsimile in Dietrich Buxtehude, *Instrumental works for strings and continuo*, ed. Eva Linfield, Collected Works 14 (New York, 1994), plates 10–12. For a detailed description of the source see F. W. Riedel, 'Quellenkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musik für Tasteninstrumente in der 2. Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Schriften des Landesinstitutes für Musikforschung, Kiel* 10 (Munich and Salzburg, 1990), 99–112, esp. 101–105.

3 *Dietrich Buxtehude. Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, ed. K. Beckmann, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1971), Appendix 4, 165–167.

4 Linfield in *Dietrich Buxtehude. Instrumental works*, 271–273. This scoring was suggested earlier by Josef Hedar, *Dietrich Buxtehudes Orgelwerke* (Stockholm, 1951), 53, and K. Beckmann, 'Probleme bei Dietrich Buxtehudes Choralbearbeitungen', *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress, Bonn,* 1970 (Kassel, 1971), 341–343.

5 Geoffrey Webber, 'Revisiting a Buxtehude Curiosity: the Sonata BuxWV Appendix 5', *Early Music Performer* 19 (December, 2006), 19–25.

6 Peter Holman, 'Buxtehude on CD. A tercentenary Survey', *Early Music* 35/3 (August 2007), 385–396, esp. 396, n. 23; David Yearsly, 'In Buxtehude's Footsteps', *ibid*., pp. 339–353, esp. 344, 353, n. 12. See also Mark Caudle, 'The English Repertory for Violin, Bass Viol and Continuo', *Chelys* 6 (1975/1976), 69–75. The shelfmarks in question are GB-DRc, MS D2, no. 21, pp. 30 (i), 32 (ii), 26 (iii), GB-DRc, MS D10, no. 30, pp. 223–225; D-W, Cod. Guelf. 34.7 Aug 2°, no. 51, p. 80.

7 Kerala Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude. Organist in Lübeck* (London, 1993), 324–326.

8 Harald Vogel, 'Quellentext und Interpretation. Beobachtungen zur Notation von Buxtehude-Werken in Codex E.B. *1688*', paper read at the Buxtehude symposium in The Hague, 5–7 November 2007, handout.

9 Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 300; Hedar, Buxtehudes Orgelwerke, 53; Linfield, *Dietrich Buxtehude. Instrumental works*, Introduction.

10 Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 301; Niels Martin Jensen, 'Nord- und südeuropäische Traditionen in der Kammermusik Buxtehudes', *Dietrich Buxtehude und die europäische Musik seiner Zeit* [Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft 35], ed. Arnfried Edler and Friedhelm Krummacher (Kassel, 1990), 215–223, esp. 223.

11 Margaret Urquhart, 'Prebendary Philip Falle (1656-1742) and the Durham Bass Viol Manuscript A.27', *Chelys* 5 (1973/1974), 7–20, esp. 9–13; Andrew Ashbee, Robert Thompson, and Jonathan Wainwright (compilers), *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, vol. 2 (Aldershot, 2008), 3–5.

12 Ashbee, Thompson, and Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index*, 64.

13 Robert Thompson, 'Some Late Sources of Music by John Jenkins', *John Jenkins and His Time. Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman (Oxford, 1996), 271–307, 294.

14 Thompson, 'Some Late Sources', 300; Ashbee, Thompson, and Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts*, 54.

15 Ulrich Konrad, 'Instrumentalkompositionen von Heinrich Bach (1615–1692). Zwei bislang unbeachtete Sonaten in einem Gothaer Partiturbuch', *Bach-Jahrbuch* 81 (1995), 93–113, esp. 94–100. A complete reproduction of the manuscript is available at http://diglib.hab.de/mss/34-7-aug-2f/start.htm.

16 No. 3 (pp. 5–9): CZ-Kra A 883; no. 42 (pp. 61–64): S-Uu IMhs 1:5; GB-HAdolmetsch II c 25, no 30; no. 69 (pp. 124–127): CZ-Kra A 517, A 625; S-Uu IMhs 1:4, 13:5, 80:9, *Prothimia suavissima* I, no. 2; no. 80 (p. 157–160): F-Pn Res Vm7 (Codex Rost), no. 37, CZ-Kra A 542, A 645, S-Uu IMhs 1:8. Nos. 75 (pp. 140 and 88 (p. 179-181) also appear in *Prothimia suavissima* I, no. 6 and *Prothimia suavissima* II, no. 2 respectively, a collection which may be (in parts) attributed to Bertali with some caution; see Ladislav Kačic, 'Ein Raubdruck aus den Jahren 1671–1672. S. Capricornus oder A. Bertali?', *Musik des 17. Jahrhunderts und Pavel Vejvanovský*, ed. Jiří Sehnal (Brno 1993), 237–240. For a survey of the dissemination of Bertali's small-scale instrumental works see Niels Martin Jensen: 'The Instrumental Music for Small Ensemble of Antonio Bertali: the Sources', *Dansk aarbog for musikforskning* 20 (1992), 25–43.

17 J.-L. Gester and Ladislav Kačic, 'Capricornus, Samuel', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Personenteil*, 17 vols. (Kassel, 1999), ed. Ludwig Finscher; Josef Sittard, 'Samuel Capricornus contra Philipp Friedrich Böddecker', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft* 3 (1901–2), 87–128, esp. 98, 101.

18 Richard Rybarič, 'Z dejín viachlasnej hudby v Bratislave v 17. storočí', *Bratislava*, 8–9 (1972–1973), 137–169.

19 Gwilym Beechey, 'Fischer, Johann', Oxford Music Online, ed. Laura Macy (accessed 12 February 2009); Kačic, 'Raubdruck', 238; Richard Schaal, *Die Musikhandschriften des Ansbacher Inventars von 1686* (Wilhelmshaven, 1966), 48, 64.

20 See Max Seiffert, Introduction to *Johann Philipp Krieger: 21 ausgewählte Kirchencompositionen*, Denkmäler Deutsche Tonkunst I, vols. 53–54 (Wiesbaden, 1916).

21 CZ-Kra A 533; S-UU Uu IMhs 1:5. Contrary to Marc Strümper, *Die Viola da Gamba am Wiener Kaiserhof* (Tutzing, 2004), 303, who places these works concert pieces for strings into the context of the academies held at the Imperial Court. They are listed in the

seventeenth-century Viennese court inventory, A-Wn Mus. Hs. 2451, f. 14v, as 'Sei Sonate per la processione à 5. 2. Cornetti, è 3. Tromboni, e Fagotto' in the category 'Sonate Ordinarie p[er] Chiesa'.

22 Dieter Härtwig, 'Strungk, Nicolaus Adam', *Oxford Music Online* (accessed 12 February 2009).

23 Cristoph Wolff, 'Buxtehudes freie Orgelmusik und die Idee der "imitation violistica"', *Dietrich Buxtehude und die europäische Musik seiner Zeit* [Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft 35], ed. Arnfried Edler and Friedhelm Krummacher (Kassel, 1990), 310–319.

24 Snyder, Dieterich Buxtehude, 22–26, 55, 109, 290; Joseph Müller-Blattau, *Die Kompositionslehre Heinrich Schützens in der Fassung seines Schülers Christoph Bernhard* (Kassel 1999), 90.

25 Max Seiffert, 'Die Chorbibliothek der St. Michaelisschule in Lüneburg zu Seb. Bach's Zeit', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft* 9/4 (1908), 593–621, esp. 600.

26 For a recent discussion of Young's career, see Stephen Morris, 'William Young, "Englishman"', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 1 (2007), 46–60.

27 See Herwig Knaus, *Die Musiker im Archivbestand des kaiserlichen Obersthofmeisteramtes* (1637–1705) [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Musikforschung 7], vol. 1 (Vienna, 1967), 45.

28 Walter Senn, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck. Geschichte der Hofkapelle vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zu deren Auflösung im Jahre 1748* (Innsbruck, 1954), 216, 220, 235, 268.

29 Michael Tilmouth and Peter Holman, 'Young, William', *Oxford Music Online* (accessed 12 February 2009).

30 Thompson, 'Late Jenkins Sources', 289, 301; Andrew Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins*, vol. 1 (Surbiton, 1992), 78, 83–85; Christopher D. S. Field, 'Steffkin, Theodore', *Oxford Music Online* (accessed 11 February 2009).

The Early Music Movement in Mexico: A Brief Survey

Erasmo Estrada*

The year 1492 constitutes a watershed in history. In early January of that year, Ferdinand II of Aragón and Isabella of Castile conquered Granada, the only part of the Iberian Peninsula that remained under Muslim rule. In August, the Genoese explorer and 'Admiral of the Seas', Christopher Columbus, undertook an expedition on behalf of the Catholic Kings, the outcome of which was only acknowledged fully many years later: the discovery of the New World. The conquest of Mexico, led by the Spanish expeditionary Hernan Cortés (1485–1547), was completed in 1521. The *conquista* brought not only a new centralized regime, but also a clash of cultures, apparent from the demography of modern Mexico (around 75% is *mestiza*), which partly explains the complexities of Mexican society.[1]

Unlike in other parts of Central and South America, the early *conquistadors* did not exterminate native populations. (Today we can still find many native communities distributed throughout the Mexican territory, which preserve the traditions, customs, and language of Mexico before the conquest). Instead, native populations were enslaved and used as labour for the building of new settlements mining, or employed as servants. The Catholic Church played a major role in this development: alongside the military conquest was a spiritual one. Indeed, 89% of the population nowadays is Catholic. Natives were catechized; in some cases they were instructed academically. Many were also employed in the demolition of the old temples and in the erection of churches.

One of the main aims of the church was the substitution of traditional native songs for music pertaining to the catholic tradition.[2] Although natives often went back to their earlier canticles, a church music performance tradition slowly emerged, one distinguished by the 'clean voices' of the singers. Composers of peninsular origin established themselves in the principal cities where new cathedrals were being built. Mexico City, Puebla and Oaxaca became important centres of music composition.

The archives of major cathedrals are nowadays important repositories of music manuscripts. Much of this material has been transcribed and published, although the number of transcribed works is rather small in comparison with what remains unedited. The CENIDIM (National Musical Investigation, Documentation, and Information Centre 'Carlos Chávez') is immersed in the process of cataloguing, transcribing, editing and publishing many vocal and instrumental works, which appear year after year.[3] The musicologists Aurelio Tello,[4] and Juan Manuel Lara Cardenas,[5] both members of the CENIDIM, have been transcribing and editing this music for some years. They have contributed considerably to the collection *Tesoro de la Música Polifónica en México*,[6] an important publication entirely devoted to Mexican colonial music. Aurelio Tello has also extensively recorded this repertoire as conductor of

* *In a short article such as this, it is impossible to offer a detailed discussion, and for this reason I have chosen to concentrate on the early music movement in Mexico as it stands today. In the main I refer to internet sources, and whilst the ephemeral nature of such sources means they can change or even disappear, they are an important record of the movement at present. Internet sources also feature videos of performers as well as links to personal or ensemble's web pages, and I have thought it best to refer mostly to audio rather than purely informative content. I would also like to point out that, in general, I consider long-established groups, and those which have had a lasting influence, and that I make no attempt to critically examine the recordings or performances.*

the Capilla Virreinal de La Nueva España, a vocal and instrumental ensemble.[7] Juan Manuel Lara Cardenas is active as organist and conductor of the ensemble Melos Gloriae.

In 1993, the recorder virtuoso Horacio Franco founded the Cappella Cervantina, a vocal and instrumental ensemble which performs Mexican as well as European repertoire from Gregorian chant to contemporary music.[8] This ensemble has recorded vocal repertoire including music of, among others, Monteverdi, Francisco López Capillas, and Hernando Franco. In 2004 it was renamed the Baroque Orchestra Capella Puebla. The group performs on modern instruments and has been one of the most successful instrumental ensembles in Mexico. Their most recent recording includes music of composers such as Handel, Vivaldi, Haydn and C. P. E. Bach.[9]

A variety of groups active in México employ diverse and flexible forces, from duos (such as Ensemble Clérambault; traverso and harpsichord), trios (such as La Fontegara;[10] recorders, viola da gamba and lute), to mixture ensembles such as Lux Aeterna (voice, lute and harpsichord), and the Capella Guanajuatensis (traverso, violin and continuo).[11] Ars Nova, primarily a vocal ensemble directed by Magda Zalles, performs and records music by Hernando Franco, Francisco López Capillas, Rodrigo de Cevallos, Manuel de Sumaya, among others. Los Tiempos Pasados, conducted by Armando López Valdivia, performs, on historical instruments, music from the Middle Ages, the Mexican colonial period, and Hispanic-Jewish-Arab Music. The now-defunct Coro y Grupo de Cámara de la Ciudad de México left behind a series of recordings of repertoire entitled 'Mexico Barroco'.[12] The most recently-formed early music ensemble in Mexico, Camerata Barroca Veracruz Chanterelle, performs both Mexican and European music, and uses copies of historical instruments.[13] Many of their instruments are made by Naum Landa of the Mexican state of Veracruz.[14]

It is noteworthy that a large number of musicians in Mexico who perform music from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, particularly soloists and members of large ensembles, are also active as performers of music of later centuries. For example, Horacio Franco is not only a recognised figure in the Mexican early music movement, but has also encouraged many modern composers to write music for the recorder,[15] including solo music and concertos with large orchestral forces. He is also the country's first professor of recorder at the National Conservatory, Mexico City, a post that was established in the 1980s. Another internationally-recognised performer, the Polish-born violinist Erika Dobosiewicz,[16] is currently leader of the National Symphony Orchestra, and has performed extensively as a soloist with major orchestras including the Capella Puebla.[17]

During the last years of the past century, an increasing number of students interested in period instrument performance went to study abroad, especially to Europe and the USA. In addition, the environment created by established performers as well as the touring of internationally-renowned ensembles and soloists has contributed to a widening of interest in early music repertoire and historically-informed performance.

The harpsichord occupies an important place in the early music scene in Mexico. One of the first champions of the instrument has been Luisa Durón. Alongside her distinguished career as a performer, she has taught a large number of students. Nowadays a new generation of harpsichordists are giving an important impulse to the performance of early music.[18] Raúl Moncada has, in recent years, performed complete cycles of J.S. Bach's music (including the English and French Suites, the Partitas, and Goldberg variations) around the country.[19] Eunice Padilla performs regularly with La Fontegara, and is also active as a soloist on harpsichord and fortepiano.[20] She has recently produced, together with La Fontegara, an interactive CD ROM, which offers an introduction to the historically-informed performance practice of the group.[21] The project XVIII-XXI Barroco Contemporáneo also has pedagogical aims.[22] Their performances combine contemporary dance with live harpsichord music, and they use historical buildings as venues. The group's choreographers, who are not allowed to use recordings for the purposes of study or rehearsal, develop their ideas before a performance by discussing the music and its original cultural context with the harpsichordist.

There is also a very active community of organists and music lovers interested in the rescue, preservation and promotion of historical organs. Especially in the state of Oaxaca (southern Mexico) a large number of instruments have been preserved, many of which were restored in the 1970s. The Oaxacan Historic Organ Institutehas been actively promoting the importance of these instruments by organising regular festivals featuring both national and international performers, among them the Mexican organist José Suárez who has recorded on the organ of Tlacochahuaya.[23]

Major festivals in Mexico devote an important part of their activities to early music performances. The most renowned festival in the country is the Festival Internacional Cervantino, which takes place in October in the city of Guanajuato (Centre of Mexico).[24] The cities of Puebla, Morelia, Oaxaca, Chihuahua, Zacatecas, San Miguel Allende, Jalapa, Guadalajara, San Luís Potosí, and Mexico City have, in recent years, organised important festivals

partly devoted to early music performances and masterclasses. Nationally- and internationally-recognised groups and soloists participate. Numerous early music festivals also take place in small towns like Tepozotlán. For more information on the dates and activities of these festivals, see the internet site of the Cultural Information System (SIC, information in Spanish).[25]

Finally, special mention deserves to be made of the recent efforts to promote the many aspects of early music performance in Mexico. To name just one: the Miguel Lerdo de Tejada Library,[26] in Mexico City, organizes a regular series of concerts centred on the solo harpsichord repertoire, and chamber music employing harpsichord. This weekly series has hosted, since 2004, both national and international leading performers. The popularity of the concerts is considerable: it is one of the best attended concert series in the country, a manifest symptom of the huge prevailing interest in early music.

1 Two important studies address this issue, Alan Riding's *Distant Neighbors. A Portrait of the Mexicans* (New York, 1984), is a critical text touching on the many distinctive elements of Mexican society. *El Laberinto de la Soledad* (Mexico City, 1950; English translation: *The Labyrinth of Solitude: Life and Thoughts in Mexico,* 1961) by the Mexican Nobel prize-winner Octavio Paz, is a brilliant collection of essays on the origins and condition of Mexican identity.

2 'Pero en otras partes, y en las más porfían de volver a cantar sus cantares antiguos en sus casas o en sus tecpas […] lo cual pone alta sospecha en la sinceridad de su fe cristiana.', in M. León Portilla, *Pueblos indígenas de México: Autonomía y diferencia cultural* (UNAM: Mexico City, 2003), 162.

3 For the Centro Nacional de Investigación, Documentación e Investigación Musical 'Carlos Chávez', see http://www.cenart.gob.mx/centros/cenidim/ (in Spanish)

4 For biographical information see http://www.composers21.com/compdocs/telloa.htm

5 http://www.cenart.gob.mx/centros/cenidim/personal.htm#

6 http://www.cenart.gob.mx/centros/cenidim/publicaciones_tipo.htm#Partituras (in Spanish)

7 For a performance of Capilla Virreinal de La Nueva España, see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1anBlHkXS9E

8 For Franco, see http://www.horaciofranco.net/, and for his performing, see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S6-erS8ljSE

9 Capella Puebla, QUINDECIM Recordings, QP 107, 2006; http://www.musicora.ch/detail.asp?artid=29864

10 For La Fontegara performances, see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Alwpvv60ppI and http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WceAhgVASc8

11 For Capella Guanajuatensis, see http://www.festivalcervantino.gob.mx/fic08/node/539 (in Spanish)

12 For one of their performances, see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DOG_veOyO9g and for a list of recordings in the series, see Mario A. Ortiz, *Spanish American Colonial Music: A Discography*, 11. The reference can be found at the following: http://amusindias.free.fr/pdf/disco_mo.pdf

13 http://www.veracruzbarroco.com/index.html

14 http://www.veracruzbarroco.com/laudero.html

15 For example, *Encantamiento* by the Mexican composer Daniel Catán; see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9GydJDry1DY

16 http://www.erikadobosiewicz.com/

17 For a performance of Erika Dobosiewicz with the Capella Puebla, see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wkb6zJ8nNM4

18 For example, Miguel Cicero, (see http://mercurequartet-sublists.blogspot.com/) and Santiago Álvarez (see http://www.santiagoalvarez.com/)

19 For Raúl Moncada, see http://bm-pm.com/en/raul-moncada-harpsichord.html. The guitarist Christhoper Avilez and Raúl Moncada have recently recorded Juan Antonio Vargas y Guzmán's *Explicación para tocar la guitarra...* (Veracruz, 1776). The original source was founded in the National General Archive.

20 See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g26R534TZSQ

21 *Resonancia: La sonata y otras formas instrumentales de los siglos XVII y XVII* (Nacional Autonomous University of Mexico) (see http://www.urtextonline.com/product_info.php?products_id=738)

22 For a Barroco Contemporáneo review (in Spanish), see http://www.neboint.org/cul/cultura.php?view=article&id=313

23 For the Oaxacan Historic Organ Institute, see http://www.iohio.org/eng/home.htm; for José Suárez performing, see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=czgj_R0Cdvs; for the Tlacochahuaya organ, see http://www.iohio.org/eng/organs8.htm

24 http://www.festivalcervantino.gob.mx/presentacion.html (in Spanish)

25 See 'Festivales' link at http://sic.conaculta.gob.mx/. The SIC belongs to the Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, or CONACULTA (National Council for the Culture and the Arts). CONACULTA is an organ of the federal government responsible for the promotion and dissemination of culture and the arts. See http://www.conaculta.gob.mx/?page_id=1643

26 For the Biblioteca Miguel Lerdo de Tejada (in Spanish), see http://www.apartados.hacienda.gob.mx/cultura/apartados/biblioteca_miguel_lerdo/index.html. For information about concerts, follow the links 'Actividades Culturales', and afterwards 'Música'.

A Candle to the Glorious Sun:

Sacred Songs by John Milton and Martin Peerson
The Chapel Choir of Selwyn College, Cambridge
Directed by Sarah MacDonald
Editions and reconstructions by Richard Rastall
Regent REGCD268 (2008)

David J. Smith

It is always encouraging to find recordings of repertoire where a musicologist shares the limelight with the performers. The recording under review is the product of a fruitful collaboration between the Chapel Choir of Selwyn College and Richard Rastall, whose recent work has included the promotion of the music of some relatively minor figures in British music history, John Milton (c.1563–1647) and Martin Peerson (c.1572–1651). In the last issue of *Early Music Performer*, John Bryan reviewed Rastall's second volume in the complete works of Martin Peerson. This recording provides an opportunity to hear music by the same composer brought to life in performance.

In his notes to the recording, Rastall expresses the hope that 'it may help to bring about a recognition of the high quality of the music of John Milton senior and Martin Peerson'. The CD contains all their English-texted sacred music in 'full' style (in other words, not employing instrumental forces), including settings of psalm-tunes. Rastall makes the interesting observation that the recording is unrepresentative of the quantity of the output of the two composers: Peerson was by far the more prolific, but composed sacred music mainly in 'verse' style. Knowledge of this repertoire helps to fill the gap between Byrd and Purcell, and what is striking is how, in stylistic terms, the music of these two composers seems distinct from that of some of their more famous contemporaries. With the benefit of hindsight, the harmonic language of pieces such as *O let me at thy footstool fall* may be understood as part of a tradition inherited by Purcell in the later part of the century. However, these works are not just interesting in historical terms: they include some real gems. The choice of Milton's *O woe is me for thee* to open the recording was a wise one: Milton's setting of his text is wonderfully expressive, and the choir responds with a beautifully paced and equally expressive performance.

Both Milton and Peerson belonged to a circle of composers and musicians centred on St Paul's Cathedral. Rastall points out that both lived close to the cathedral on the north-east side, and Peerson became Master of the Choristers there in 1625. However, none of this music should be considered liturgical: the publication of music with sacred words need not suggest performance in church. Indeed, this probably holds true more generally, even for music which appears on the face of it to have a liturgical function. It is all too easy to underestimate the degree to which the performance of music with sacred texts was a pastime comparable with madrigal singing in an age when private domestic devotions were not that uncommon. The number of choral foundations would not have been sufficient to support the publication of sacred music as a commercial venture.

In the case of Milton and Peerson, their 'full'-style sacred music is contained in domestic sources, and neither composer left any service music. Their settings of psalm-tunes were published in Thomas Ravenscroft's *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1621) which, as with all metrical psalters, was intended for private domestic use; interestingly, he had been a chorister at St Paul's. Sir William Leighton's *The*

Teares or Lamentations of a Sorrowfull Soule (1614) includes settings of his poetry by both composers, and can hardly be said to be intended for church use. Incidentally, it is from this publication that the title of this CD is drawn. The manuscript anthology *Tristitiae Remedium*, compiled by Thomas Myriell at about the same period, contains works by composers with connections to St Paul's including Milton and Peerson, and contains works in the same vein of piety.

Rastall rightly concludes that 'both composers wrote mainly or exclusively for the household market', and adds towards the end of his notes that he hopes 'that this recording will give an idea of what an early seventeenth-century domestic performance might have been like'. Why, then, record this repertoire with a collegiate choir? Of course, the use of women reflects a possible performance option of the day for domestic music, but it is unlikely that this would have involved more than one singer to a part. In fact, the use of a choir has the advantage of suggesting to the listener the possibility of using some of this music liturgically today, even if this is not what composers had in mind. There are many pieces on this disc which would be accessible to choirs and congregations alike.

In the case of the psalm-tunes, an associated psalm has been selected, and in the case of long psalms a number of related verses chosen. Leighton makes it clear that he intends performers to sing more than one stanza of his poetry to the music, even though the 1614 print has only one stanza underlaid. Presumably singers were expected to fit the poetry to the music by reference to the edition of the poetry which had been published the previous year.1 None of the works from this source which have more than one stanza are sung in their entirety, but Rastall manages to convey Leighton's intentions by underlaying several related stanzas to the music. The accompanying notes include the texts, but it is easy enough to hear the repetitions of the music to more than one stanza (for example, Milton's *O had I wings like to a dove*, track 9).[1]

The choir of Selwyn College, Cambridge, has a young, fresh sound. The approach to the music is of expressive enthusiasm. There is an excellent sense of line, with each part well shaped and each contrapuntal strand audible. Tempos are judged well, and the music is well paced. In my view there is an occasional anachronistic use of dynamic contrast, where an entire section is repeated at a different dynamic level. I also feel that the slowing down at the end of Milton's *I am the Ressurection and the life* (track 4) seems out of place. However, for the most part the interpretation remains true to both words and music; the diction is excellent, allowing the listener to follow the words without the aid of the printed texts. At times, the sopranos do not blend as well as they might, especially as they sing higher in their register, and on a number of occasions the pitch slipped ever so slightly. Despite these criticisms, the overall impression is left of a deeply committed and intensely musical performance, by a well directed choir, of repertoire that deserves to be heard more often.

1 Richard Rastall has discussed this issue in a previous edition of *EMP*. See 'Instructions for Performance in Sir William Leighton's *The Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule* (1614)', *EMP* 21 (November 2007), 2–12.

Researching Nineteenth-Century Performing Editions: The University of Leeds's AHRC Project in the School of Music

George Kennaway

Over the next four years a team of researchers at the universities of Leeds and Cardiff will be working on an AHRC-funded project which will examine nineteenth-century performing editions of chamber music for stringed instruments. This project will have several important outcomes: a *catalogue raisonné* in the form of a comprehensive web-based database, two international conferences, a published book and research papers, and public performances. The group is led by Prof. Clive Brown (Leeds), with Prof. Robin Stowell (Cardiff) as co-investigator; Dr. David Milsom (Leeds) joins the team officially later in 2009. George Kennaway (a current Ph.D. student at Leeds) is the team's research assistant, and Peter Collyer (Leeds) is pursuing Ph.D. research into nineteenth century music publishing as part of the project.

The main thrust of recent scholarly activity regarding musical texts has been to establish what are optimistically called *Urtext* editions—texts that embody the composer's settled intentions, correct mistakes and, in the most pervasive *cliché* of the early music movement, clean away the accumulated accretions of the intervening years. In some nineteenth century repertoires, such as the works of Chopin, such a concept is increasingly under strain. The two most recent online resources for Chopin students ('Chopin First Editions Online' and the 'Online Chopin Variorum Edition') give sufficiently motivated pianists the opportunity to construct their own version of Chopin's works in the light of his own partly improvised practice.[1] The most recent edition of Bach's unaccompanied cello suites consists of five facsimiles and a 'performing' text which gives the cellist every variant reading at every point.[2] A legacy of the *Urtext* movement is that editions produced long after the original works were composed and first published have been largely ignored as resources in their own right. Nevertheless, they have considerable interest as records of performance practice. In the case of Beethoven's violin sonatas, eight different editions from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have so far been identified by Ferdinand David, Jacob Dont, Carl Hermann, Joseph Joachim, Arnold Rosé, Fritz Kreisler, Adolf Brodsky and Leopold Auer. At the time of writing, copies of six have been obtained—Dont's edition is proving to be particularly elusive.[3]

The results of our catalogue searching (and of numerous follow-up enquiries to libraries here and abroad) are currently being entered into a large spreadsheet database. This reveals, for example, at least three different nineteenth-century performing editions of Haydn's quartets; six of Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto in E minor; and editions of Brahms's violin sonatas by both Auer and Joachim's pupil Ossip Schnirlin (d. 1937), who also edited Brahms's String Sextet no.2 in G. The significance of this material lies principally in the fact that such editions were compiled mostly by the leading instrumentalists of the time. Added to this, the connection in terms of pedagogical tradition between such figures as Spohr, David and Joachim, or Viotti, Kreutzer and Massart,

means that these editions can act as snapshots of ideas about performance and how they were transmitted, which will have a direct bearing on the vexed question of whether 'schools' of playing existed.

The online catalogue will comprise a fully-searchable archive of scanned copies of sheet music linked to explanatory text from such sources as instrumental tutors, and to sound and/or video files where appropriate. This will enable scholars to examine the work of individual editor-performers, compare editions by publisher, or compare the more important variants between texts, and will also provide a large body of information regarding publishers' plate numbers and their dating. This database will also be a significant resource for performers, teachers and students, who will be able to see at a glance the different performing approaches applied to their repertoire over a considerable period of time.

The conferences will take place in Cardiff ('Music for Stringed Instruments: Music Archives and the Materials of Musicological Research in the 19th and early 20th centuries', 2010) and Leeds ('Authorship and 'Authenticity' in Composition, Editing and Performance', 2012). Publications will include a book provisionally entitled *Annotated Editions and Historically-Informed Performance of Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century String Music*, volumes of conference proceedings, and articles. The project's outcomes will also be disseminated through workshops and lecture-recitals in Leeds, Cardiff and other places.

Within the last decade, research on historical performance practices, rationales and associated theoretical issues were consigned to an intellectual *cul-de-sac* when the editors of a guide to trends in current musicology observed that:

> It was originally intended to include a chapter on historically informed performance, but it proved impossible to find an author who could feel that there was something useful that could be said beyond a summary of conclusions of arguments current in the 1980s.[4]

While there are possibilities for historical performance practice research to embrace some new theoretical perspectives, the reappraisal of historical editions offers hitherto unexplored empirical evidence about ninteenth-century performance practices. This work will enrich the innovative work being done in this field by performers such as the Eroica Quartet and others. From the performer's perspective—and it should be noted that all the members of the research team are significant performers in their own right—this path-breaking research will undoubtedly provide new imaginative stimuli.

1 http://www.cfeo.org.uk/dyn/index.html; http://www.ocve.org.uk/

2 J. S. Bach. *6 Suites a Violoncello Solo senza basso BWV 1007–1012*, ed. Bettina Schwemer and Douglas Woodfull-Harris (Kassel, 2000).

3 Published in 1883 by Edouard Wedl in Wiener-Neustadt. *EMP* readers who know of its whereabouts are asked to contact George Kennaway (g.w.kennaway@leeds.ac.uk).

4 Mark Everist and Nicholas Cook (eds.), *Rethinking Music* (Oxford, 1999; rev. edn. 2001), 12, n. 5.

Handel's Philanthropy Remembered

Andrew Woolley

An exhibition celebrating Handel's life, and especially his charitable work, opened its doors at the Foundling Hospital Museum in London in January of this year and will continue until 28th June. Handel's close association with the Foundling Hospital during the final ten years of his life is well known.[1] In May 1749, he prepared a large benefit concert for the Hospital (said to have engaged 'above one hundred voices and performers'), and composed the Foundling Hospital Anthem, 'Blessed are they that considereth the poor', for the occasion. The concert, attended by Prince George (at whose instigation the original date planned for the concert, 24th May, was eventually changed to the 27th), seems to have been a success, and laid the way for the successes of the annual *Messiah* performances at the Hospital, which continued until well after the composer's death. As the exhibition is keen to point out, however, Handel was a philanthropist in other ways, notably as a subscriber to The Society for Decay'd Musicians, who put together many benefit concerts in order to promote it.

Many documents illustrating Handel's philanthropy are on display, brought together from numerous archives and libraries, and supplementing those from the Gerald Coke Handel Collection housed at the Museum. They include extracts from the minutes of the Foundling Hospital General Committee, which show Handel turned up to one of the meetings to offer the May 1749 concert, and the executor's copy of Handel's will showing his various benefactions, including a remarkable £1000 to the Society for Decay'd Musicians; the composer's own copy of his will, one of the treasures of the Gerald Coke Handel Collection, is on permanent display in the Museum, and a facsimile edition of it, edited by Donald Burrows, has been published to coincide with the exhibition.

Also on display are items showing how Handel's legacy supported musicians after his death, and handbills and advertisements relating to Handel festivals in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which raised funds for the Society of Decay'd Musicians and the Royal Society of Musicians. An interesting case study is William Russell (1777–1813), who became organist of the Foundling Hospital in 1801, and whose widow was awarded assistance from the Society of Decay'd Musicians after his premature death. Russell's application to become a member of the Royal Society of Musicians in 1802 is displayed. It includes the interesting statement that he 'studied and practiced music for a livelihood upwards of seven years, [is a] Composer and piano forte player at Sadlers Wells, plays piano forte at Covent Garden Theatre, [and] teaches the Piano Forte'.

Loaned to the exhibition are several portraits of Handel and his colleagues later in his life. Greeting the visitor upon entering is Thomas Hudson's famous portrait of the composer in old age from the National Portrait Gallery. There are also portraits belonging to the Royal Society of Musicians, a copy of one said to have belonged to the violinist Matthew Dubourg, and a watercolour (c.1737) from the Royal Collection. Showing the richness of the Gerald Coke Handel Collection are the portraits of Handel's contemporaries, notably Hudson's portrait of John Beard; Beard's name appears on the tenor voice part book from the set of parts for *Messiah* that the composer bequeathed to the Foundling Hospital, which is exhibited (see also the cover of this issue of *EMP*). Several of the music manuscripts on display are also loaned. Naturally, they include materials for the Foundling Hospital Anthem, including autograph portions of the score. [2]

Coinciding with the exhibition are a series of concerts, talks, and educational events. As I write, one of the finest concerts to-date was given by The English Concert on 27th February, who performed an all-Handel programme. Further information about concerts can be obtained from the Museum's website (www.foundlingmuseum.org.uk).

It is estimated that up to 20000 visitors will come to see the exhibition, which has so far enjoyed considerable public interest. Many will welcome the admirable attention to detail in the exhibits, and the opportunity to see such a wide net of documentary and musical material relating to Handel in one place. They may even be reminded of the value of charity amidst today's financial gloom.

1 See Donald Burrows, 'Handel and the Foundling Hospital', originally published in *Music & Letters* 58 (1977), 269–84, reprinted and revised by the author for a booklet accompanying the exhibition. For Handel's later career generally, see also Burrows, 'Handel, George Fredrick', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (http://www.oxforddnb.com).

2 The score represents a revised version of the work probably dating from the summer of 1751; see Burrows, 'Handel and the Foundling Hospital'.

Correction

'Recently-Discovered Seventeenth-Century Keyboard Music': Review of *The Selosse Manuscript*, ed. Peter Leech (*EMP* 23)

Andrew Woolley

In my review of Peter Leech's edition of *The Selosse Manuscript* (*EMP* 23), I regret to say I misinterpreted the editor's views concerning the identity of the manuscript's compiler. Peter has kindly pointed out to me that he does *not* assert that the manuscript is an autograph collection of Selosse's music as was stated, and I apologise to him unreservedly for making this error. The sentence in the Introduction where he makes this clear is as follows: 'In the absence of other evidence, the inscription indicating the composer of the contents (apart from No. 3 "The King's Hunt") as being by "Selosss" has to be taken at face value, although it is impossible to determine at this stage if they are in the handwriting of the composer.' Unfortunately, I only registered the first half of this sentence, and taking my cue from views that have been given on this subject in the past, I assumed that the autograph theory still stood, when this is not the case.

Correspondence

A Response to 'Handel's Souvenir of Venice' (*EMP* 23)

Michael Talbot

May I be allowed a few comments on Graham Pont's fascinating article 'Handel's Souvenir of Venice: The "Spurious" Sonata in C for Viola da gamba & Harpsichord' published in this journal last March?

First, the date of the Vivaldi sonata for violin, oboe, organ and optional chalumeau RV 779 can be narrowed down to the period running from 2 September 1708, when the large organ at the Pietà was restored to working order (the sonata may in fact be a demonstration piece for the rehabilitated instrument), and 25 February 1709, when Vivaldi's employment there, and consequently his requirement to produce new compositions, ceased for two-and-a-half years. If Handel heard it, this must have been during a visit to Venice in the 1708–09 operatic season. To my knowledge, his presence in Venice at this time has not been mooted by any scholar, but it is at least a possibility, given the dearth of information about his whereabouts during these months. Although Handel could have heard RV 779 at the Pietà, it is very unlikely that he had sight of Vivaldi's autograph score, which remained in the composer's own archive until, in 1716 or 1717, it passed to his friend and pupil Johann Georg Pisendel, who took it back to Dresden. So any resemblances to the Handel-attributed piece formerly in Darmstadt could be expected to be general rather than specific. And, in fact, I think Pont has 'oversold' these resemblances, which in my view are not close or detailed enough to justify a belief that Handel (or whoever it was) modelled his work on Vivaldi's.

Pont does not comment on the apparent strangeness of a work for viola da gamba in an Italian context (assuming for the moment that the sonata was not composed after Handel's return to northern Europe). But here, ironically, the obstacles vanish if one imagines a Venetian setting. The Pietà itself possessed a consort of viols (known by the idiomatic Italian term *viole all'inglese*), as showcased in Vivaldi's oratorio *Juditha triumphans* of 1716. And even outside its walls there was at least one expert local player of the instrument in the shape of the bass singer Angelo Zannoni (or Zanoni), who had a chance to exhibit his dual talents in Vivaldi's opera *L'incoronazione di Dario* of 1717 and later appeared in both capacities in London. Even outside Venice, the bass viol retained a foothold in Italy here and there.

The fact that an early source of the sonata existed until World War II in Darmstadt raises an alternative possibility that is worth exploring. The music-loving Prince Philipp, younger brother of the reigning margrave Ernst Ludwig of Hesse-Darmstadt, was commander of the imperial troops in the kingdom of Naples from 2 July 1708 to May 1714. Some of the music in the Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliotek clearly originates from Philipp in Italy (he was also governor of Mantua from 1714 to 1735)—one example is Mauro D'Alay's cantata *Amo Daliso, è ver*—and it could have been he who collected, or even played (he is known to have been a performer on an unidentified stringed instrument), the sonata, which later was copied by Christoph Graupner. Philipp certainly knew Handel's *Aci, Galatea e Polifemo*, since a performance of this serenata in Piedimonte in December 1711 was in the prince's honour, and he could well have given Handel a commission for this sonata at an earlier point. So, following this hypothesis and ignoring any connection with Vivaldi, the Handel-attributed sonata could easily have been written in Naples or its environs in the second half of 1708 or slightly later.

I am entirely convinced, however, by Pont's arguments for Handel's authorship. For me, the first, and most powerful, tell-tale sign occurs on the last beat of the very first bar. Here we find a 'trademark' melodic module: a decoration of the '6–5' progression over a bass note with an interposed '7'—in Handel, the resulting '6-7-5' progression can be either in dactylic (long-short-short) rhythm, as here, or in anapaestic (short-short-long) rhythm. The '7' is technically a *note échappée*—a recognized type of dissonance very characteristic of French music and of German music written in imitation of it, but rare in Italian music except when extended to form longer patterns. Bar 21 of the second movement of Handel's recorder sonata HWV 360 (Op. 1 no. 2) shows a typical occurrence of the module. And I agree, too, that this is a fine and unusual piece that should not be allowed to remain without at least a putative author.

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