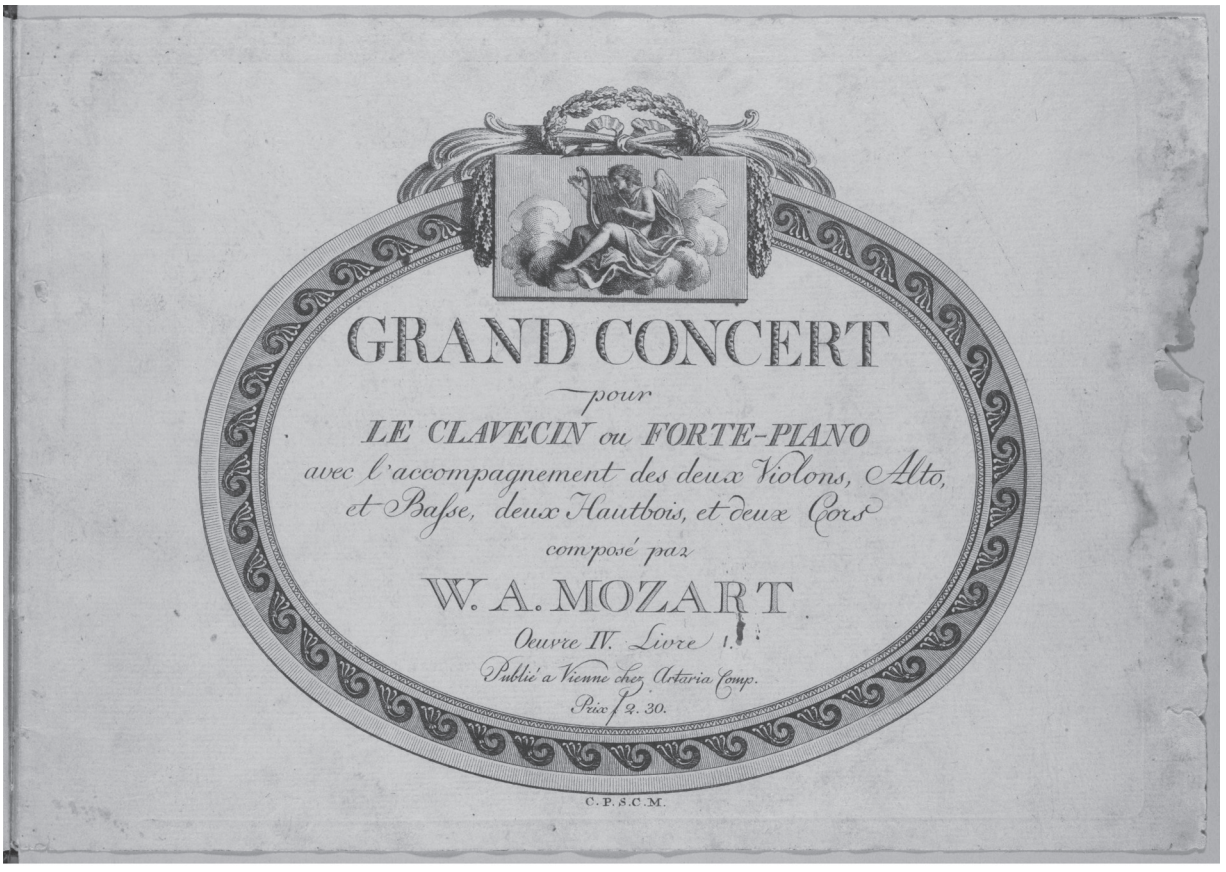
Early Music Performer



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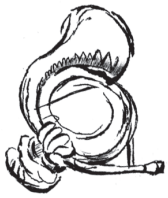


COVER:
W. A. Mozart, *Grand concert / pour / le clavecin ou forte-piano / avec l'accompagnement des deux violons, alto, / et basse, deux hautbois, et deux cors / composé par / W. A. Mozart / oeuvre IV, livre I.* Title page for printed parts of Mozart's keyboard concerto in A major, K414, published by Artaria, c. 1785. Reproduced by kind permission of The Eda Kuhn Loeb Music Library of the Harvard College Library

Editorial

Andrew Woolley

One of the most noteworthy changes brought about by the early music movement has been the invigoration of the 'classics' and the adoption of early music performance styles into the mainstream. A well-known example are Beethoven symphonies, which since the interpretations of John Elliot Gardner and others, are widely performed in a style influenced by specialist early music groups. Nevertheless, a more rigorous adoption of historically-informed performance practices, especially for music of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, is not without obstacles, affecting the choices of both groups and concert promoters. More often than not these are of a practical kind, such as the need to fill large concert spaces, which favour singers with a powerful projection, and correspondingly large or powerful instrumental forces. It is also worth pointing out that the spirit of experimentation in early music performance (at its most engaging) can clash with audiences who perhaps tend to prefer the familiar.

Works that remain known in largely modern guises are the keyboard concertos of Mozart, some of which were written for harpsichord as well as piano and for modest orchestral forces. In the present issue, Richard Maunder explores important questions of scoring in these works. A 'chamber-music' aspect to some of them has been known for sometime, notably the series K413–415**,** which are performable without wind parts as a piano quintet. Since the later Viennese concerti employ elaborate wind writing (especially from K451 onwards), it has been assumed that these are more 'orchestral' in conception. However, contemporary orchestral parts give invaluable clues to the sizes of orchestras in eighteenth century Austria, when performing keyboard concerti, and surprising conclusions are also reached concerning the employment of 'ripieno' and 'solo' parts within the orchestra, which echo earlier orchestral practices. One hopes that the evidence presented here will have some influence on future performers, even if many audiences may continue to prefer the modern concerto conception of 'orchestra vs soloist'. Maunder also examines a keyboard concerto written by Emanuel Aloys Förster (1748–1823) in Vienna between 1775 and 1785, for which autograph orchestral parts survive, shedding light on Mozart's. The work is also clearly of musical interest in its own right, however, and as a supplement to this issue, we include a score of its slow movement.

Besides contemporary sets of parts, another well-established resource for performance practice research are contemporary theoretical works and rudiment books, which not only give invaluable information on how to interpret unfamiliar notation, but can often give insights into contemporary performance aesthetics. One eighteenth-century composer who clearly had strong views on questions performance style was Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, and in this issue, Sarah McNulty, a performance Ph.D. student at the University of York, examines the composer's flute and continuo sonatas, especially in the light of contemporary music theory and ideas of rhetoric. Drawing evidence from a range of sources, McNulty argues for a close relationship between Bach's musical language and the aesthetic outlook of many eighteenth-century German musicians. One can also see that that the flute sonatas are fine works that deserve to be more widely known, and it is exciting that a new Complete Edition of C. P. E. Bach's works, published by the Packard Humanities Institute, is currently in progress. The comparatively low price of the volumes, due to generous financial backing, is a considerable attraction (for more information see http://www.cpebach.org/).

2009 has been an important year for NEMA, which saw its conference on 'Singing Music from 1500 to 1900' take place. For those of you who were unable to attend (myself included, unfortunately), we include Mark Windisch's report on the conference in this issue. Investigations into early singing practices have evidently lagged behind research into instruments and instrumental practices, which were covered by the previous conference 'From Renaissance to Baroque' (1999). While powerful styles of delivery are perhaps necessary for performing Monteverdi or Purcell opera in the Leeds Grand or the London Coliseum, the NEMA survey report shows many would prefer to hear singers with a more restrained technique (the NEMA survey report can be downloaded from the homepage of the Association website, http://www.nema-uk.org/).

For the remainder of this issue we include a report on a new source of seventeenth-century English keyboard music recently sold at Sotheby's, which your editor was fortunate enough to examine in person back in May, and three stimulating reviews. George Kennaway gives us a performer's take on a book that has caused some rumblings in the musicological world, Elizabeth Le Guin's *Boccherini's Body: An Essay in Carnal Musicology*; Peter Holman reviews a new handbook of string instruments in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; and Derek Scott reviews Peter Holman's edition of the surviving materials for Charles Dibden's *Sadler's Wells Dialogues.* We are also grateful to Andrew Pink for pointing out a factual error in the report on the Handel exhibition at the Foundling Hospital Museum, which appeared in the previous issue.

The scoring of Mozart's keyboard concertos

Richard Maunder

A very basic question about Mozart's keyboard concertos is: how many instruments did he expect to take part, and what were they? In particular, is the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe's* assumption that all the concertos are for 'Pianoforte' correct, or might some have been intended for harpsichord? Current orthodoxy, among 'period' as well as 'modern' performers, favours an orchestra including twenty or so strings, with the solo part played either on a Steinway or on the kind of fortepiano Anton Walter of Vienna was making around 1800. How closely does this approximate to what Mozart had in mind?

On the face of it orchestras of that size can be justified since they are known to have existed in Salzburg, Vienna and elsewhere in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.[1] But there is an apparent paradox: almost all surviving sets of eighteenth-century performing material for concertos, whether printed or in manuscript, and in libraries all over Europe and beyond, contain only one of each part. What is the explanation? Have duplicates been lost or destroyed over the years? Of course, parts do get mislaid from time to time, but it would be hard to believe that all music-librarians of the time adopted a uniform policy of disposing of duplicates and retaining only single master copies—especially when there are often multiple sets for symphonies in the same archives. For example one of the largest collections of performing material from the second half of the eighteenth century is the Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek at Regensburg, which includes over a thousand sets of parts for symphonies and concertos: of nearly eight hundred symphonies, about two-thirds have duplicated violin parts—usually bass parts as well—but more than 90% of over two hundred and fifty concertos have only one of each. It seems safe to assume, then, that as a rule concerto sets had single parts right from the start, and the only question to be answered is: which of them were intended for single players and which were shared by pairs of performers?[2] Whatever is the answer, we can certainly conclude that concertos were normally played by smaller bands than symphonies. Even on the same occasion? This might seem a strange idea to us, but we should remember that eighteenth-century concert programmes were more varied than most of today's, with songs, instrumental solos and chamber pieces as well as symphonies for full orchestra.

Were string parts routinely shared in the eighteenth century, as they are in modern orchestras? Pictures from the time, for example a well known painting of an opera performance at Eszterháza,[3] usually show each player with his own part, which should at least warn us not to assume that sharing was the norm in the eighteenth century. There is ample evidence to show that in the baroque period most solo concertos were played one-to-a-part,[4] though there are a few well understood exceptions such as Tartini's violin concertos (which will be discussed below). In particular all the Bach family's harpsichord concertos up to about 1750 are intended for single strings, sometimes but by no means always reinforced by a double bass. It makes good sense from the point of view of balance, since a harpsichord is much less powerful than a modern piano.

What about after 1750, in south Germany and Austria? One-to-a-part performance of concertos seems to have remained the norm there in the 1750s and 1760s, although occasionally numbers were beginning to

creep up a little in non-keyboard concertos, for example by using pairs of first and second violins instead of single players (still with single parts, of course). But there is no evidence that this happened in keyboard concertos before the 1770s. Even then, we are still a long way from the nineteenth-century concept of the concerto as a heroic struggle between a lone soloist and a full symphony orchestra.

Mozart's keyboard concertos span a period of nearly twenty years, from K175 of 1773 to K595 of 1791. Did he still regard them as 'chamber music', or was he already moving towards the nineteenth-century 'orchestral' idea? There are various types of evidence that appear to throw some light on this question, but some prove to be less useful than others. Contemporary pictures of instrumental ensembles including a keyboard instrument tell us little or nothing, since they almost never make it clear what music is being played: it *could* be a keyboard concerto but it could equally well be a symphony with harpsichord continuo. The only picture I know which is unequivocally labelled 'Concerto a Cembalo obligato Con Stromenti' (Zurich, 1777)[5] shows a lady playing a harpsichord, accompanied by two flutes, two horns, two violins and a cello—evidently still a one-to-a-part performance. Documentary sources such as diaries and letters are equally sparse; and lists of personnel at musical establishments only tell us the maximum possible size of an orchestra, which as we have already seen was usually bigger than the band that played concertos. The best evidence, when it still exists, is the original performing material, sometimes supplemented by the autograph score.

Original sets of parts survive for all the keyboard concertos Mozart wrote before he moved from Salzburg to Vienna in 1780, save only for the very first, K175 (there *are* Salzburg parts for this one, but they date from some ten years after its composition, and unlike the other concertos no autograph score survives). As a first 'case study', let us deduce what we can about K246 in C major, written in April 1776 for Countess Antonia Lützow of Salzburg. There are, as usual, single copies of each part, for the soloist (this was standard practice at the time: it was very unusual to play from the score or from memory), violin 1, violin 2, viola, 'Violone' (more about this below), two oboes and two horns. Were any of the string parts shared? Fig. 1 shows the start of the autograph score: note the plural 'Violini', 'Viole' and 'Bassi' (Mozart was very precise about this sort of thing). 'Violini' does not help, since there would be two violins even with only one first and one second, but 'Viole' and 'Bassi' are clear enough: two violas and two 'bassi', each pair sharing a single part.

In that case the ensemble would be pretty unbalanced unless violins 1 and 2 were doubled as well (this is confirmed in another keyboard concerto, K271 of January 1777, where again Mozart writes 'Violini' between the staves, but in the second movement each stave separately has 'con sordini' and 'senza sordini' markings—again in the plural). What does 'Violone' mean? In the Baroque period the word could refer to all sorts of things including the bass violin and the cello as well as various lower-pitched instruments, but after 1750 it had essentially settled down in Austria to mean the local variety of double bass, with five strings and frets, tuned to (written) *F*, *A*, *d*, *f sharp* and *a*, but sounding an octave lower. So does Mozart want only double bass(es) in K246, or has a cello part got lost? At first sight the idea of having no cello at all seems strange, but in fact it was common practice in Austria at the time. The double concerto for two pianos, K365, provides good evidence: a set of Salzburg parts again includes one labelled 'Violone' but nothing for cello; the cover-sheet in Leopold Mozart's hand reads 'Concerto à Due Cembali, 2 Violini, 2 Viole, 2 Oboe, 2 Fagotti, 2 Corni e Contrabasso', which confirms that 'Violone' really does mean double bass, and that there never was a cello part.

Next question: does Mozart's plural 'Bassi' mean two violones, or perhaps one violone plus a keyboard continuo? It might seem an odd idea to have a second keyboard instrument playing continuo in addition to the soloist, but this is exactly what happened in at least one of Bach's harpsichord concertos, BWV 1055 in A major: Bach put figures in his autograph cello part (headed 'Continuo'), while giving the soloist a written-out part in the tuttis. However, we can rule out such a practice in K246 since Mozart wrote out a continuo realisation in the solo part, presumably for Countess Lützow's benefit (see Fig. 2). So there wasn't a second keyboard instrument: hence 'Bassi' means two violones, and the string section numbered 2/2/2/0/2, each pair sharing a part. K246 is, in fact, among the first Austrian keyboard concertos with more than single strings.

What was the solo instrument? There is no record whatever of a fortepiano in Salzburg until about 1780 (except for a small square piano dated 1775, owned by Archbishop Colloredo), but there is plenty of evidence that harpsichords existed: for example a year before K246 was written Archduke Maximilian visited Countess Lützow and noted in his diary that he had 'heard the

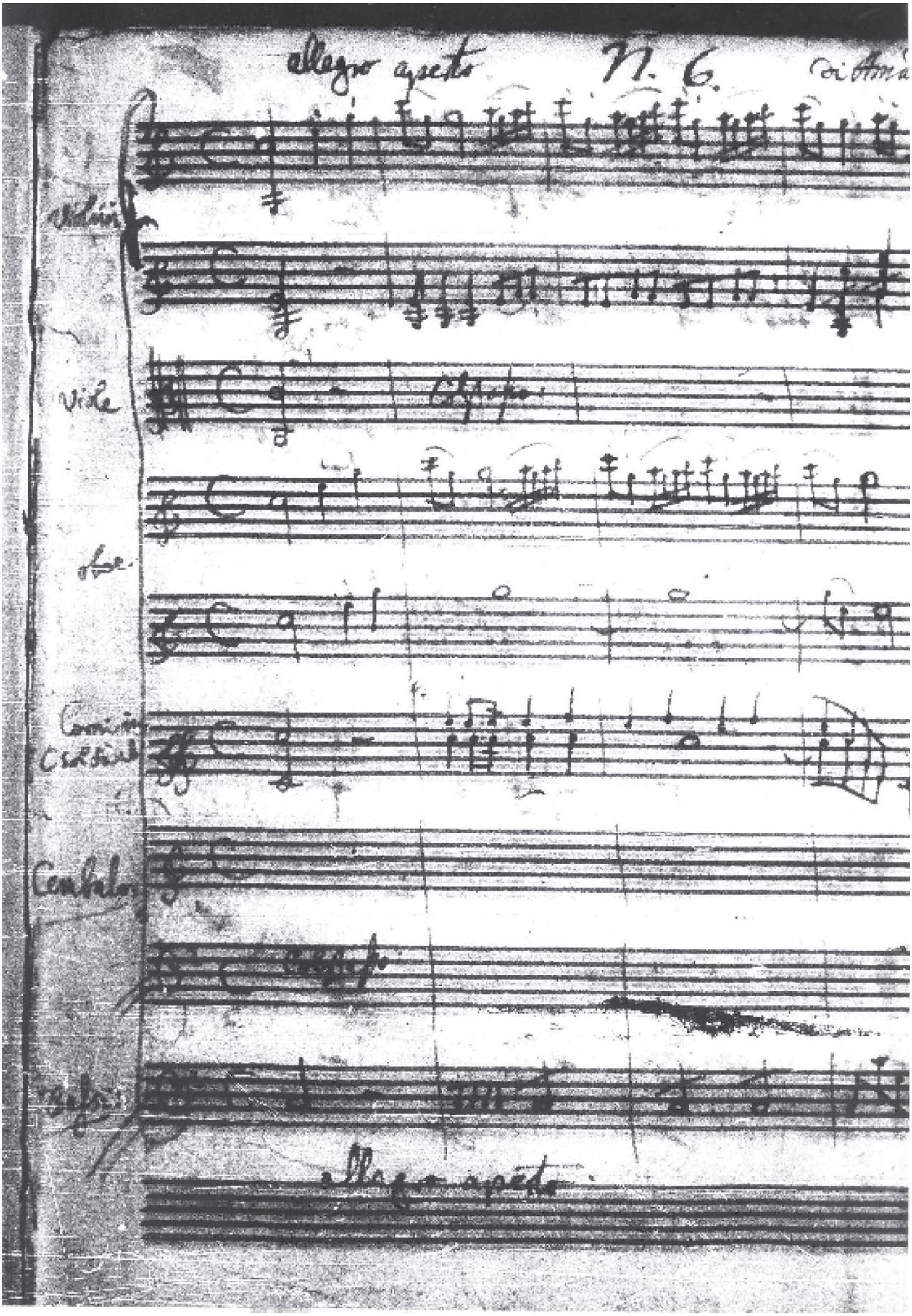


Figure 1. Mozart, K246: start of the autograph score

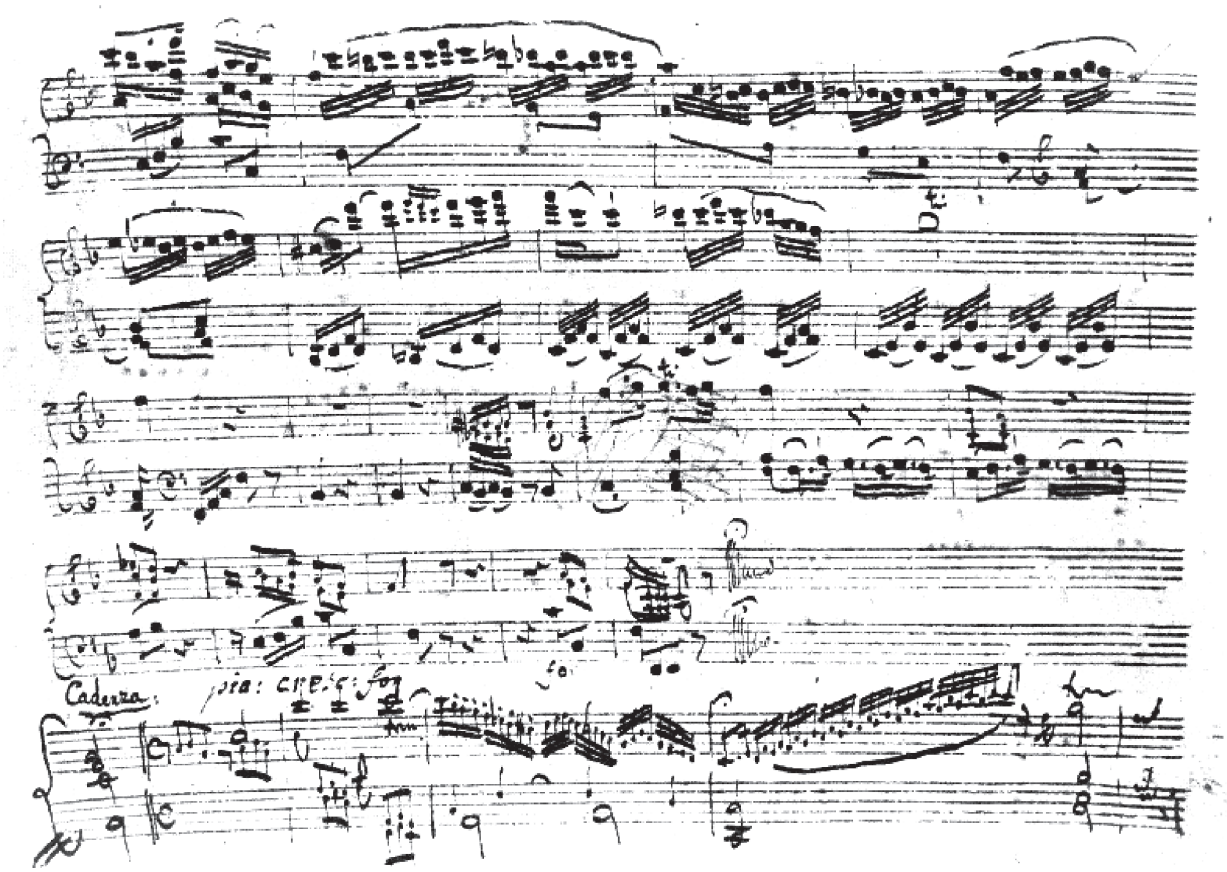


Figure 2. Mozart, K246: a page of the original keyboard part, with Mozart's autograph continuo realization.

famous young Mozart playing the harpsichord' there. We don't know anything definite about the Countess's harpsichord, but we can make plausible guesses from her solo part in K246: in the extreme bass it uses only *GG*, *BB*, *C*, *D* and *E* (no *FF* or accidentals), which suggests a common form of short octave tuning, whereby *E flat*, *C sharp* and *BB* are tuned to *BB*, *AA* and *GG* respectively. There are one or two dynamic markings in the second movement, so it probably had two manuals.

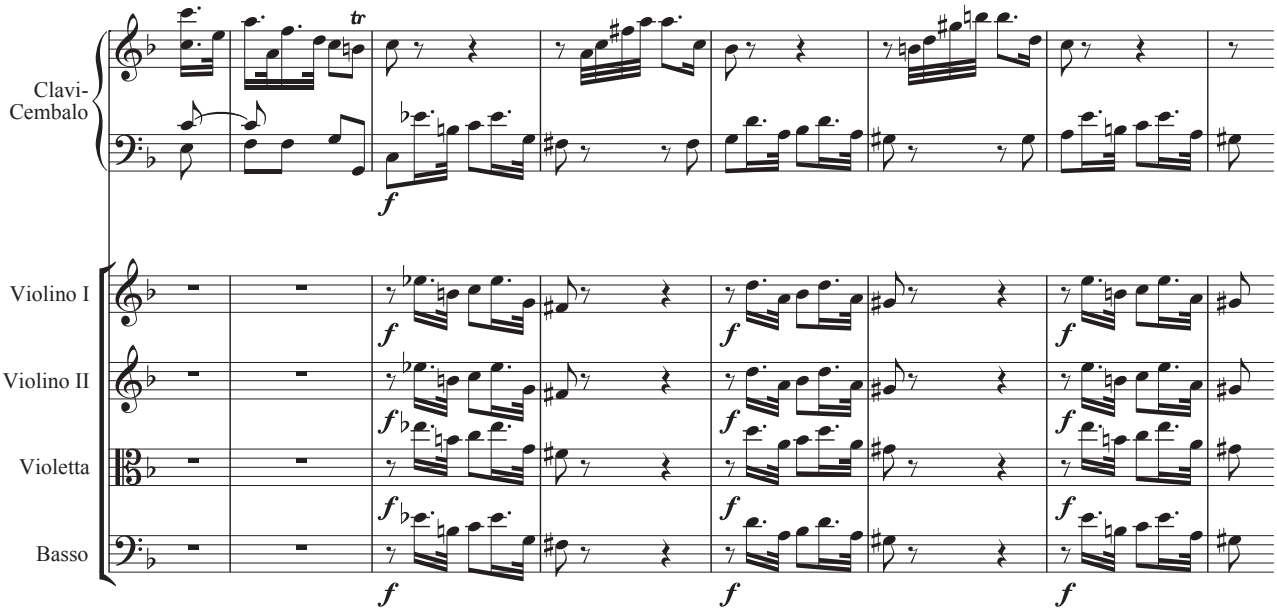
We now move on six years to K414 in A major, written in Vienna in 1782 as one of a set of three (with K413 and K415) Mozart advertised for sale by subscription in a Vienna newspaper on 15 January 1783. The advertisement said that 'These 3 concertos can be performed by a full orchestra including wind instruments, or "a quattro", that is, with 2 violins, 1 viola and cello.' There are no surviving original string parts for K414 (although there is a set of single parts for K415 with Mozart's own corrections). In the autograph score, Mozart marked the oboe and horn staves 'ad libitum', and on the viola stave he first wrote '2 viole' but then crossed it out and replaced it by '1 viola'. It is not clear whether 'full orchestra' means two-to-a-part violins (assuming that there were only single parts) or simply the addition of wind instruments, but at least we know that Mozart expected only one viola, and regarded a string quartet accompaniment as a legitimate possibility. A noteworthy difference to the scoring of K246 is that a cello is explicitly specified. Another is that the solo instrument was probably a fortepiano. At the time when K413–415 were written, fortepianos were something of a novelty in Vienna,[6] but Mozart regularly played one by Johann Andreas Stein of Augsburg, which was lent to him by Countess Thun. This might explain why evolution seems to be running backwards in these three concertos, where Mozart suggests single strings rather than pairs as in K246 of 1776: fortepianos of around 1780 were quieter than harpsichords.[7]

The next example is K466 in D minor, written in 1785. By this time Mozart had his own Walter fortepiano, which was rather more powerful than Countess Thun's Stein,[8] and the band is 'beefed up' with trumpets and drums as well as flute, oboes, bassoons, horns and strings. It would be hard to believe that Mozart still wanted only single violins, and even pairs might seem a bit feeble. We shall see shortly that he probably expected a dozen or so strings, but this creates a balance problem: wouldn't they drown the soloist? How can the new 'orchestral' sound

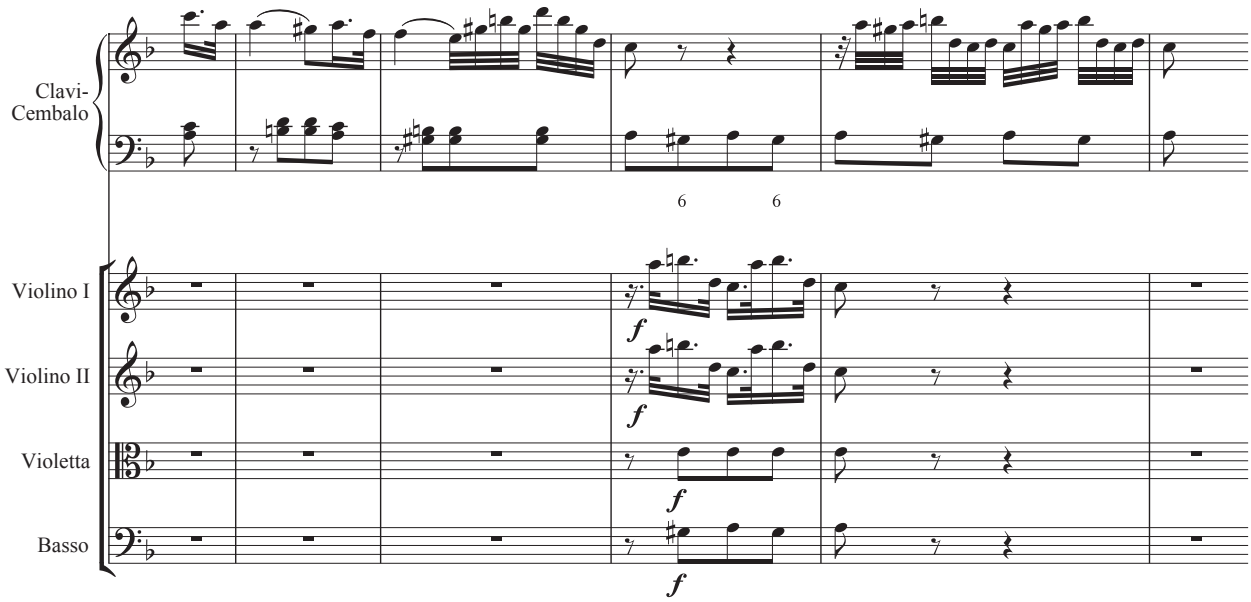
of the tuttis be reconciled with the old 'chamber music' expectations in the solo sections?

The answer was to use a system invented by Tartini: add extra strings in the tuttis, but give them rests in the solo sections. In Tartini's Op. 2 violin concertos, published in about 1734, there are eight printed parts: the usual one each for the soloist, violin 1, violin 2, viola, cello and harpsichord continuo, plus two extras called 'Violino Primo de Repieno' and 'Violino Secondo de Repieno', which reinforce the tuttis but have rests elsewhere. Thus the soloist continues to be accompanied by single strings, as was normal in concertos of the period. This system was occasionally used by other composers, and as time went on a few of them began to realize that it had a built-in flexibility: instead of automatically using the ripieno players just to reinforce the tuttis they could now and again, for special effect, play in solo accompaniments or, conversely, be dropped from 'tutti' passages, leaving only single strings there. A particularly good example, close in date and place to Mozart's K466, is a keyboard concerto in F major by Emanuel Aloys Förster (1748–1823), written in Vienna between 1775 and 1785. There is a complete set of autograph parts for this piece, which shows exactly what the composer wanted everyone to do. Apart from the soloist and the oboes and horns, there are the usual four parts for violin 1, violin 2, viola and 'Basso', with three extras called Violino I ripieno', Violino II ripieno' and Basso ripieno'. The ripieno parts usually reinforce the tuttis and have rests during solo accompaniments, but there are places where the soloist is interrupted by the full string band (Ex. 1) as well as similar places where the ripienists do not play (Ex. 2); and Ex. 3 shows a 'tutti' (i.e. non-solo) passage played by single strings. Such subtleties are, of course, completely lost if everyone plays throughout in the usual modern fashion.

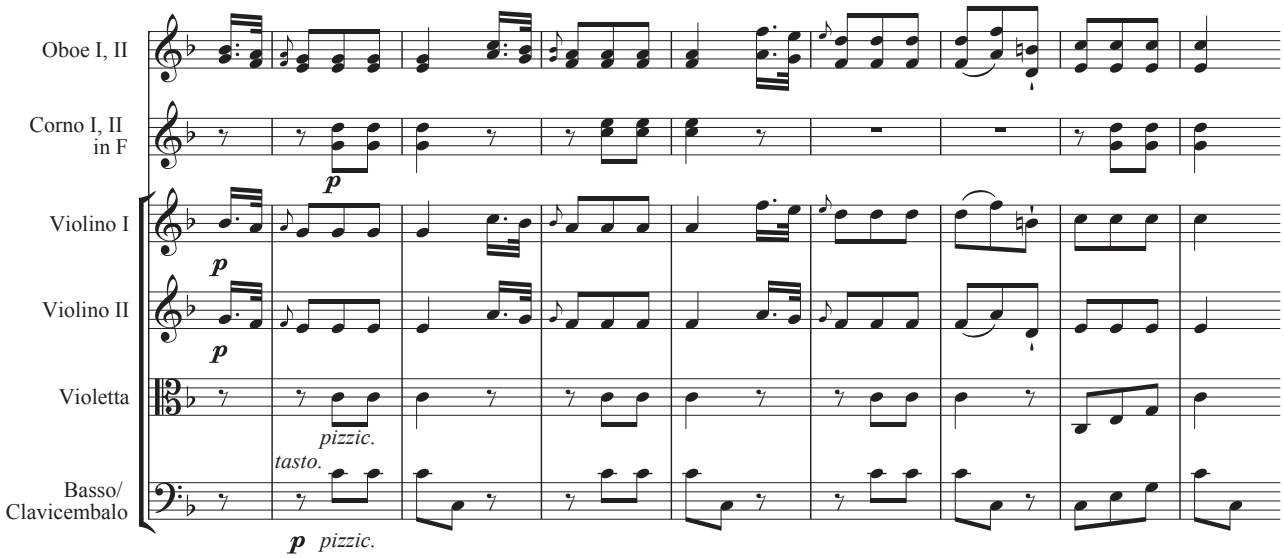
Back to K466. The parts Mozart used himself do not survive, but we have the next best



Example 1. E. A. Förster, Concerto in F, first movement ('Allegro moderato'), bars 162–169 (oboes and horns have rests, ripieno parts play)



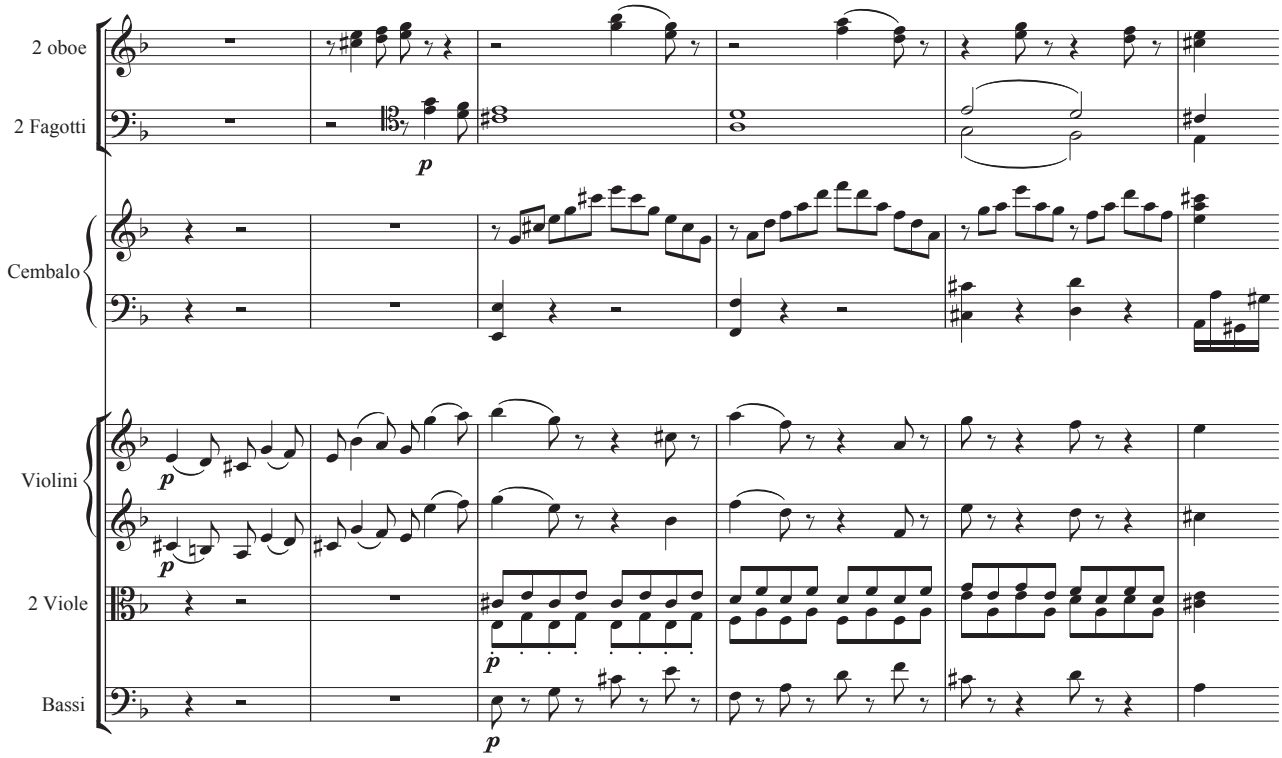
Example 2. Förster, Concerto in F, first movement ('Allegro moderato'), bars 235–242 (ripieno parts, and oboes and horns, have rests)



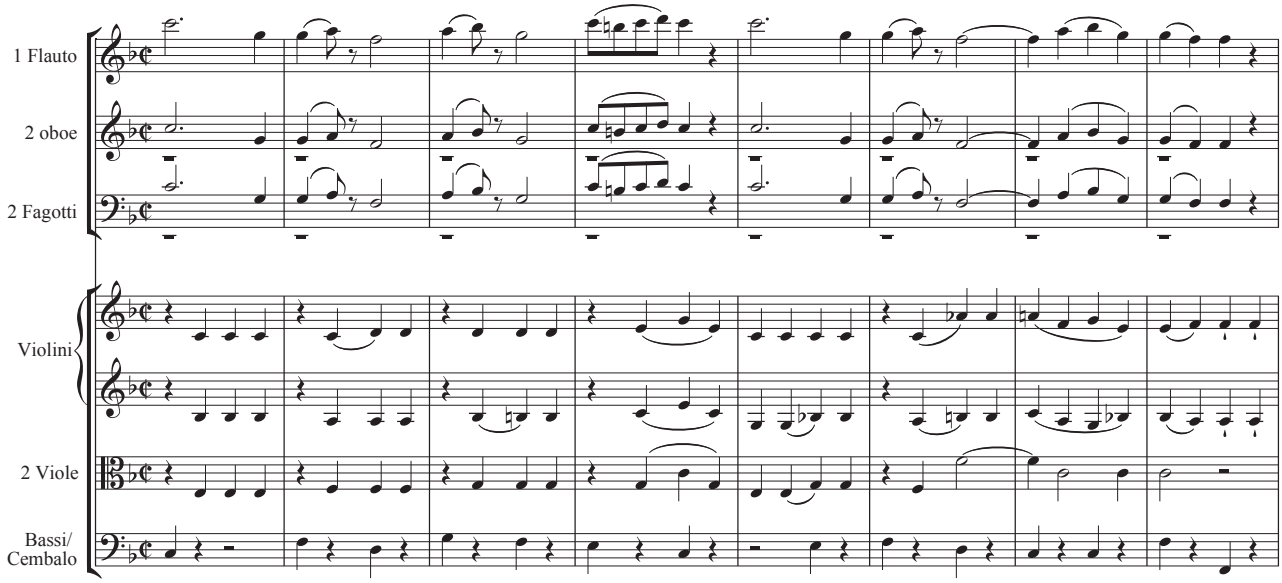
Example 3. Förster, Concerto in F, third movement ('Allegro'), bars 327–335 (ripieno parts have rests)

thing: a set prepared in Salzburg for Leopold Mozart just after he had returned from a visit to Vienna, where he had heard the work's première. These parts consist of one each for the soloist and the wind and timpani, one each for 'Violino 1mo', 'Violino 2do', 'Viola 1ma e 2da' (a combined part, with violas 1 and 2 distinguished by up- and down-tails where they are *divisi*) and 'Bassi', plus three more, for 'Violino Primo Rip^{no}', 'Violino Secondo Rip^{no}' and 'Violone' (but this time 'Violone' is not a 'ripieno' part: it plays throughout except where Mozart's score directs the double bass(es) to drop out). It is very probable that this arrangement stems from Mozart himself. The reason is that, as in Förster's concerto, the ripieno parts do not always do the 'obvious' thing, and it is most unlikely that Leopold would have taken liberties with his son's music in such a way. For example, sometimes the ripieno violins play during solo accompaniments (Ex. 4) but sometimes they drop out even where the texture is full and the violins have chords (Ex. 6); and occasionally they stop playing in 'tutti' passages (Ex. 5).

What can we deduce about numbers? With a single shared part for violas 1 and 2, there can only have been one of each. On the 'Bassi' part,



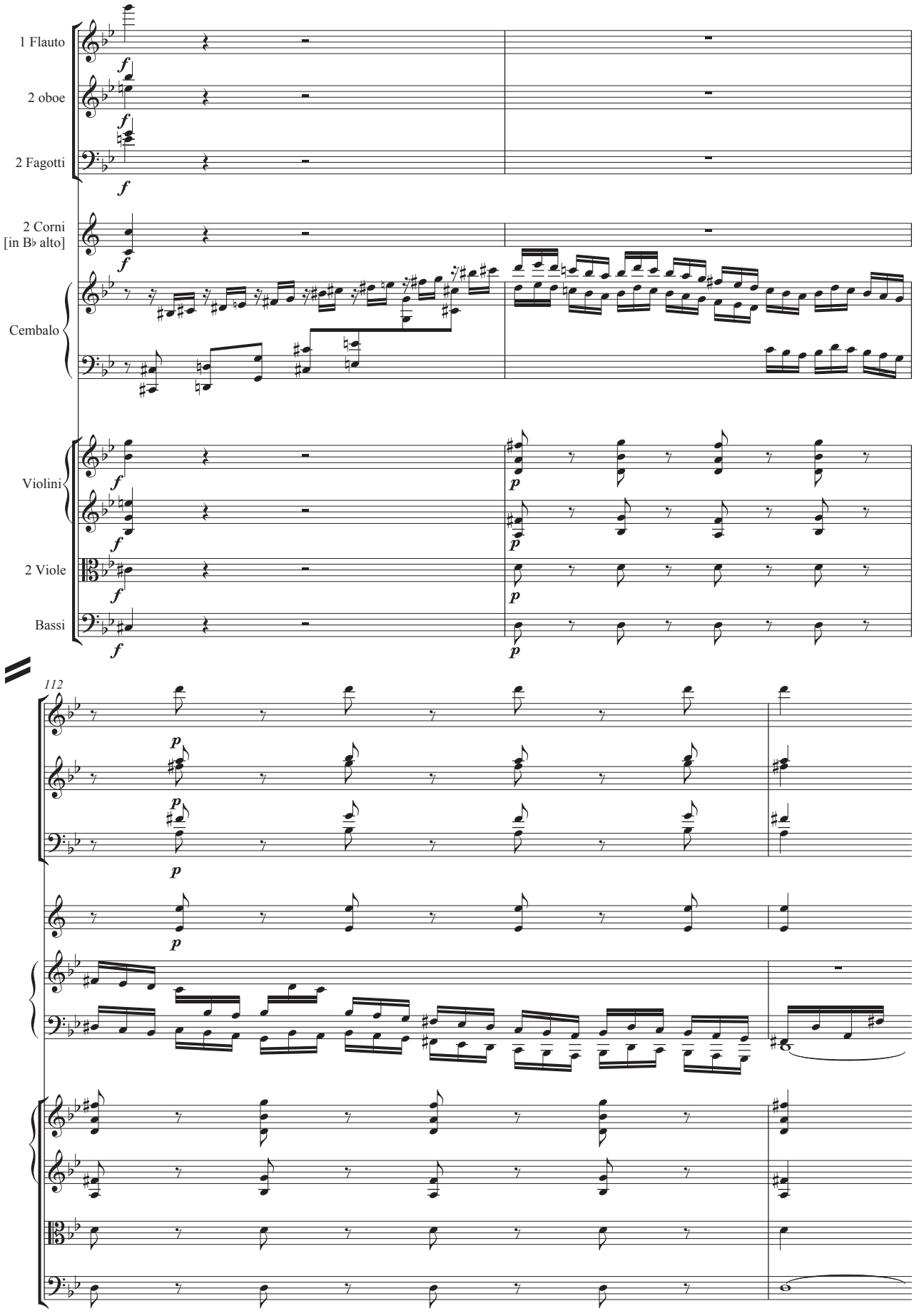
Example 4. Mozart, K466, first movement ('Allegro'), bars 276–281 (other wind and timpani have rests, but all strings play)



Example 5. Mozart, K466, third movement ('Allegro assai'), bars 139–146 (other instruments, and ripieno violins, have rests)

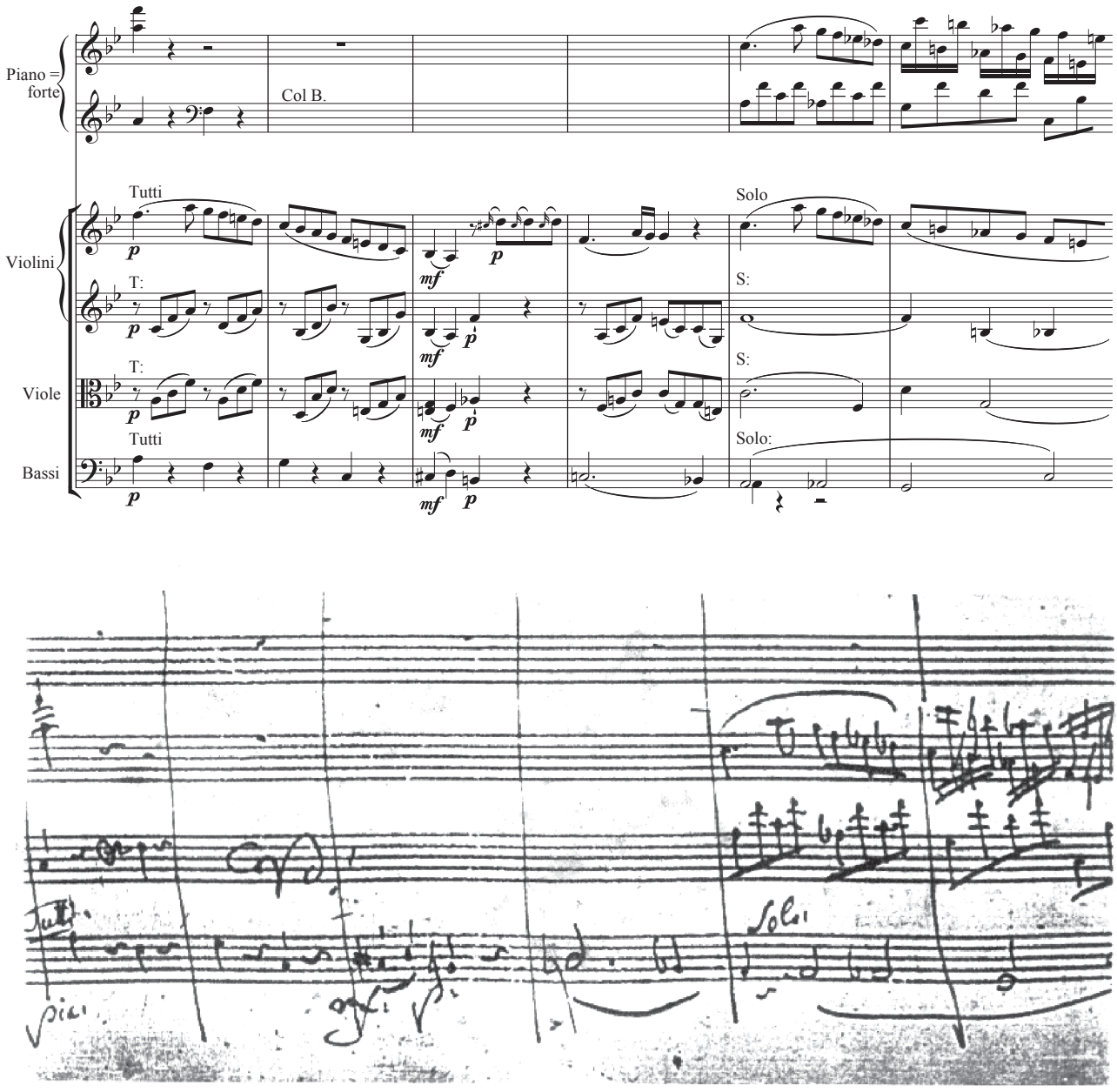
Leopold wrote 'Per il Violoncello e Violone', so it must have been shared by a cello and a double bass, presumably with a second double bass playing from the 'Violone' part (theoretically it too could have been shared, but a single cello plus *three* double basses seems rather unlikely). What about the violin parts? The two violas are quite often in unison even when the ripieno violins drop out (as in Exs. 5 and 6), which strongly suggests that the (non-ripieno) violin parts were meant to be shared, and the reduced string band numbered 2/2/2/1/2 (just as in K246, except for the addition of a cello). An impossible turn for ripieno violin 1 near the end of the opening tutti implies that this part, too, was intended for a pair of players, and hence that all violin parts were shared and the full string complement numbered 4/4/2/1/2.

Exactly the same system, with extra 'ripieno' parts usually having rests in solo sections, is used in many other sets of concerto parts from the 1780s and 90s.[9] There are sets like this for



Example 6. Mozart, K466, second movement ('Romance'), bars 110–113 (ripieno violins have rests)

Mozart's K453, 503 and 595, but they probably date from around 1800 so are not relevant to Mozart's own performances. However, there is an interesting piece of evidence in the autograph score of K595 (1791), which has some *Solo* and *Tutti* markings (see Ex. 7). Such markings, at least in parts, are often just warnings of various kinds (*Solo* meaning 'here you are exposed', or 'here you are accompanying the soloist: don't play too loud') but in the autograph of K595 they are addressed to the copyist, *Solo* being an instruction to put rests in the ripieno part. See, for example, bar 147 (illustrated in Ex. 7), where the 'Tutti' basses have a crotchet followed by rests, while 'Solo' continues with minims. We can presume that just one cello and one bass continue: with his usual precision, Mozart writes 'Violoncelli' when he wants double bass(es) to drop out of 'Tutti' passages, and 'Violoncello' within solo passages.



Example 7. Mozart, K595, first movement ('Allegro'), bars 143–148: (a) transcription (woodwind and horns have rests); (b) detail of the autograph score (the second and third staves down are for 'Piano=forte', and the bottom one for 'Bassi')

1. See Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception* (Oxford, 1989), especially the table on pp. 458–9.

2. At a pinch three violinists (but not three cellists) could perhaps share a part, but it would be hard to believe that this uncomfortable practice was regularly adopted by eighteenth-century orchestras.

3. Reproduced as Plate VIII in Daniel Heartz, *Haydn, Mozart and the Viennese School* (New York and London, 1995).

4. See Richard Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos* (Woodbridge, 2004) for full details.

5. Reproduced as Plate VI in Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies*.

6. Richard Maunder, *Keyboard Instruments in Eighteenth-Century Vienna* (Oxford, 1998), Chapter 7.

7. According to Michael Latcham, 'Mozart and the Pianos of Johann Andreas Stein', *Galpin Society Journal* 51 (1998), 114–153, it was not until 1783 that Stein started using solid wooden hammer-heads covered in leather. Previously he had fitted hollow round hammer-heads similar to those used by Cristofori on the earliest fortepianos.

8. See Michael Latcham, 'Mozart and the Pianos of Gabriel Anton Walter', *Early Music* 25 (1997), 382–400.

9. See Dexter Edge, 'Manuscript Parts as Evidence of Orchestral Size in the Eighteenth-Century Viennese Concerto', in N. Zaslaw (ed.), *Mozart's Piano Concertos* (University of Michigan Press, 1996), 411–460.

A Musical-Rhetorical Vocabulary in C. P. E. Bach's Flute and Continuo Sonatas, Wq125–129 and 134, and Implications for Performance

Sarah McNulty

It is widely acknowledged that Baroque composers used rhetorical figures to heighten the meaning of texts in vocal music. There is evidence, however, that some composers of the period also employed a rhetorical-musical vocabulary in their abstract music. This article explores a rhetorical-musical vocabulary present in texted and semi-abstract music from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Germany (by 'semi-abstract' I mean instrumental music that carries an evocative title, or is accompanied by artwork reflecting the character of the music, or accompanied by explanatory material). Several important questions arise from the study, such as how the use of such rhetorical figures relates to the contemporary 'doctrine of the affects'? As a performer of C. P. E. Bach's flute sonatas, I am regularly presented with interpretative problems, being unaided by subtitles, images, or prefaces. An understanding of the musical-rhetorical language in these works, however, can transform the performer's approach, and indeed approaches to the interpretation of much Baroque abstract music.

Rhetoric as understood in the eighteenth century

To place C. P. E. Bach in the context of eighteenth-century rhetorical practice, a short introduction defining the art of rhetoric and its relationship to contemporary music aesthetics and theory follows. Rhetoric was seen as the art of using language effectively in writing and oratory (public speaking). Quintilian defined rhetoric and oratory as 'the science of speaking well and also the science of inventing well and expressing well'.[1] Often called the 'art of persuasion', oratory more directly concerned the effective organisation and presentation of ideas. The intention was to persuade or convince the audience to take the speaker's viewpoint. Rhetoric could be divided into five categories: *inventio* (invention), *dispositio* (disposition, arrangement), *elocutio* (decoration, elaboration), *memoria* (memory), and *pronunciatio* (delivery, performance).[2]

Ancient philosophical writers such as Aristotle (in *Poetics* and *Treatise on Rhetoric*, written in the fourth century BC), Quintilian (in *Institutio Oratoria*, AD 95), and Cicero (in *De Inventione*, 84 BC and *De Oratore*, 55 BC) instructed the orator on how to gain control, direct the response of the audience, and move their affections (emotions). This had implications for all art forms, especially music. Affinities between music and oratory were noted in writings and treatises on musical composition and performance in the eighteenth century,

such as J. Mattheson's *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739), J. J. Quantz's *Versuch einer Anweisung, die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (1752), C. P. E. Bach's *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* (1753), and J. P. Kirnberger's *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik* (1771). Here, the performer's role was considered to be that of an orator, whose primary aim was equivalent to the goals of rhetoric as defined by Quintilian: to instruct, to move, and to delight.[3]

The rhetorical concept of moving the feelings of the audience was elaborated in music into a 'doctrine of the affects'. Music was thought to represent emotions and elicit them as language did. C. P. E. Bach, in a review of the first volume of J. N. Forkel's *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (1788), remarked: 'Music has long been called a language of feeling, and consequently, the similarities that lie beneath the coherence of its expression and the expression of spoken language have been deeply felt.'[4] Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century philosophers, such as R. Descartes, G. W. Leibniz, D. Diderot and J. J. Rousseau, were also concerned with the 'doctrine of affections' as applied to music. They promoted a stereotyped set of musical figures with which to evoke particular emotions in the listener.[5]

The expression of emotional content in eighteenth-century music

Specific rhetorical figures intended to arouse sentiment occurred in the *elocutio* stage of a discourse. Figures of speech expressed the passions that the orator hoped to stir in the hearts of his listeners. A composer could similarly persuade and move the audience through comparable musical figures. Definitions of musical-rhetorical figures are found in treatises written from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, including those by J. Burmeister, J. G. Walther, J. Mattheson, and J. N. Forkel.[6]

Certain melodic and harmonic formulae (figures) in music were intended to convey emotional states, for example a particular contour in a melody. Indeed, the melody, harmony, rhythm, tempo, structure, dynamic, and tonality, could all be used by a composer to represent certain characteristics of the passions, which it was believed the listener interpreted as representing a particular sentiment. In this way the abstract language of music was given symbolic meaning. As the modern writer S.K. Langer puts it, 'wherever a symbol operates there is meaning'.[7]

Many writers in the eighteenth century divided the emotions into two types: those governed by pleasant feelings and those governed by unpleasant ones. The theorist J. G. Sulzer, in his *Allgemeine Theorie* (1771–4), asserted: 'the passions are in essence just sentiments of particular strength, accompanied by pleasure or displeasure, from which desire or aversion results'.[8] In the music of the period similarly, composers employed more 'natural' progressions and harmonies to represent 'pleasurable' states, and more angular melodies and unusual harmonies to represent 'unpleasant' ones. States of calm and contentment, or 'pleasurable' states, were expressed by more conventional musical progressions (equivalent to stimuli of moderate intensity).[9] Features such as diatonicism, symmetrical phrases, and conjunct melodies could be said to represent these emotional states. Sulzer specified that harmony must 'move easily and naturally, without great complexity or ponderous suspensions, if the mood is gentle or pleasant'.[10]

Extreme emotional states, such as anguish, fear, and anger, are expressed by more forceful departures from conventional melody and harmony (intense stimuli).[11] Sulzer continues:

> If the mood is violent or recalcitrant, however, the progressions should move haltingly, and there should be fairly frequent modulations into remote keys; the progressions should also be more complex, with frequent and unexpected dissonances, and suspensions which are rapidly resolved.[12]

Composers would thus employ chromaticism, irregularity in rhythm, and disruption to melodic and harmonic progressions to express these emotional states.

An emotive-rhetorical vocabulary in texted and semi-abstract music

Examples of musical-rhetorical figures in eighteenth-century instrumental music can be compared to similar devices in vocal works where there is a text, and vocal works can also be compared with one another.[13] Especially fruitful comparisons can be made between C. P. E. Bach's own vocal compositions, *Die Israeliten in der Wüste* (*The Israelites in the Wilderness*) Wq238 (1769) and *Die letzten Leiden des Erlösers* (*The last sufferings of Christ*) Wq233 (1770). Here the text helps us to understand the emotional content more clearly.

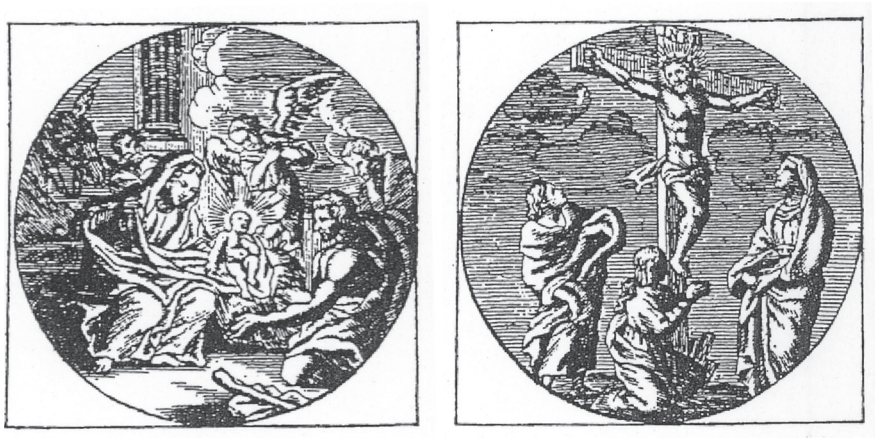


Figure 1. Engravings associated with Heinrich Biber's 'Mystery' Sonata III, 'The birth of Christ', and 'Mystery' Sonata X, ' The Crucifixion'

A kind of semi-abstract music are keyboard pieces that employ a cantus firmus associated with a particular text. Examples I would like to draw attention to include J. S. Bach's *Orgel-Büchlein*, BWV 599–644 (1713–15), and Dietrich Buxtehude's *Choralbearbeitungen*, BuxWV 177–224.[14] These organ preludes are based on chorale melodies associated with a religious text, and examining the texts provides a key to understanding the intended affective qualities of the music.

It is also worth exploring how emotive qualities are conveyed in semi-abstract music. Examples of semi-abstract music from the seventeenth century include Heinrich Biber's 15 'Mystery Sonatas' for violin and continuo (?1674). Here, engravings of images pasted into the manuscript source, rather than titles or texts, present the performer with illustrations of the subjects the music depicts (Fig. 1).

Another example is Johann Kuhnau's *Musicalische Vorstellung einiger biblischer Historien* (1700), or *Biblical sonatas*, for keyboard.[15] Each sonata is prefaced by a prose description of a particular incident from the Old Testament. In these works, both Biber and Kuhnau adopted rhetorical devices to capture emotional states emanating from an action or description of a character.

In his preface, Kuhnau states that music has the power to affect the human emotions.[16] Nonetheless, he accepts the limitations of instrumental music for conveying a narrative. He allows that a composer can express general emotions such as joy and sadness. However, a composer is unable to distinguish, with any precision or certainty, between, for example, Hezekiah's lament and Peter's weeping unless the music is supplied with a programmatic heading.[17] He also considers that the ability of the music to convey emotional states is dependent on the character of the listener.[18]

Many examples of musical-rhetorical figures featuring dissonance and interruptions to the melodic and harmonic flow are found in texted and semi-abstract music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These devices communicate unnatural and vehement associations, and themes of anger and distress, although it must be borne in mind that one can come to several conclusions when exploring this rhetorical vocabulary. The figure *ellipsis*, for example, (term explained below) can and often does portray wrath in C. P. E. Bach's vocal works, but not in every situation. The frequency with which certain figures are associated with similar text, however, would suggest that the composer favoured using such techniques to convey opposing human sentiments.

I shall explore the emotional states described above and their expression through two rhetorical figures. The works discussed express several common emotional states, although it is important to bear in mind that these may be expressed in a variety of ways through a wealth of different types of musical figure. These concepts include the following: evil, fear, suffering, doubt, and vehemence contrasted with the eternal, salvation, love, magnificence, praise, thanks, joy, perfection, faith, promises, and hope. In most cases the emotive associations of the figures are employed for religious purposes. In secular pieces, however, the object might differ but the affection remains the same.

The following musical-rhetorical figures best express concepts of vehemence, anger, distress, and foreignness:

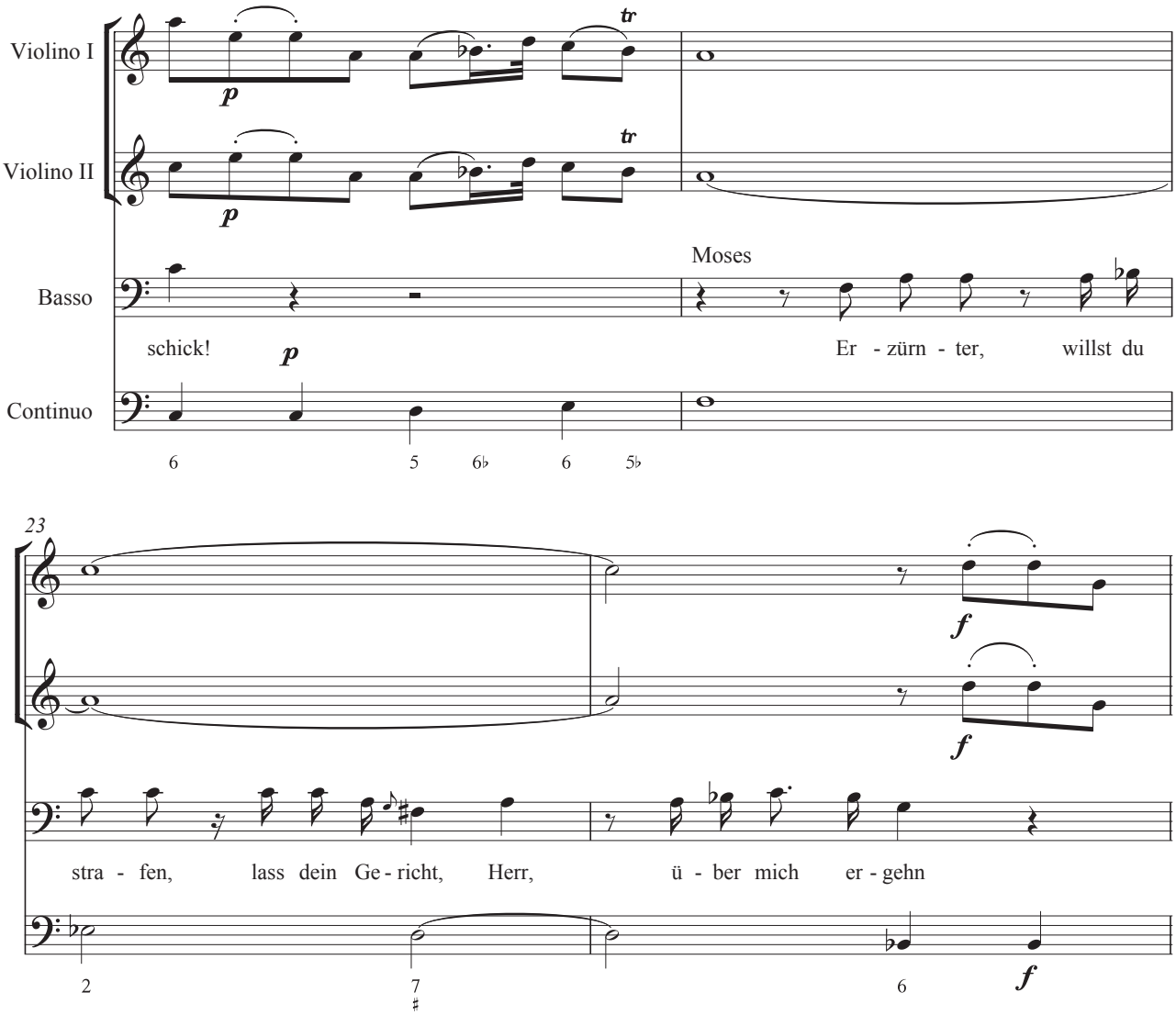
1. *Ellipsis*: an omission of an expected consonance or an abrupt interruption in the music. J. G. Walther explains the figure *ellipsis* in his *Praecepta der musicalischen*

Composition (1708): 'The ellipsis is an omission or suppression of a consonance which occurs when a *pausa* [silence] replaces a consonance and is followed by a dissonance'. J. Scheibe presented another explanation of the figure's meaning in his *Der critische Musicus* (1745): 'Or one can alter the expected ending notes of a passage and proceed to a completely foreign and unexpected chord'. Concerning the use of dissonance in the *ellipsis* figure, Scheibe wrote: 'The more vehement the affection, the more foreign the chord must be which alters the expected cadence'.[19]

2. *Pathopoeia*: a vivid representation of an intense or vehement affection mainly through the use of chromatic passing notes.

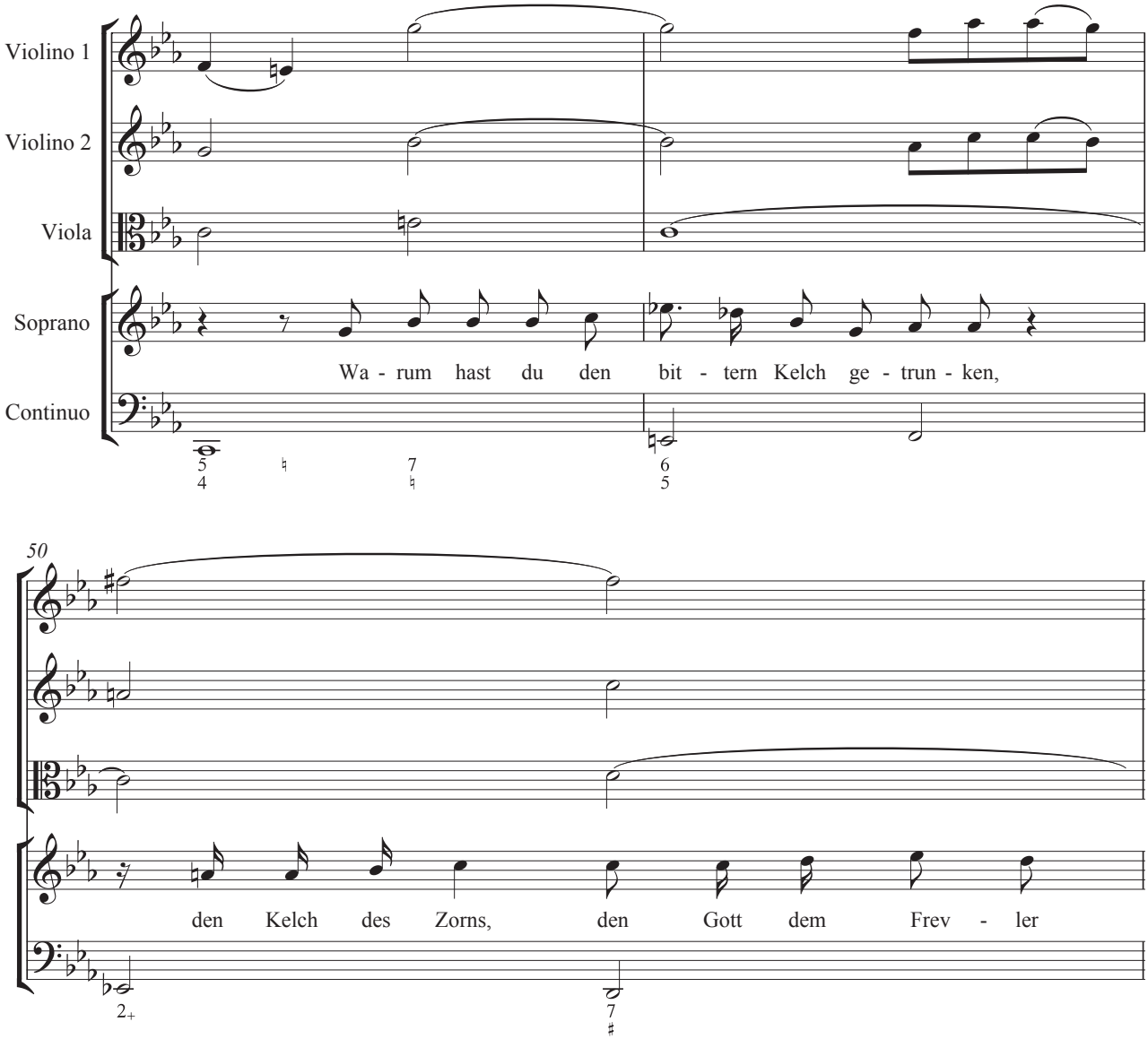
J. Burmeister described this figure in his *Musica Poetica* (1606): 'It occurs when semitones are inserted into a composition which neither belong to its *modus* or *genus* but are introduced into a composition's *modus* from another'.[20]

An example of the figure *ellipsis* (an abrupt or unexpected harmonic progression or interruption of an expected progression) can be found in C. P. E. Bach's vocal work *Die Israeliten in der Wüste* Wq238. A somewhat unexpected diminished chord on E flat at the beginning of bar 23, and a modulation to G minor, accompanies the words 'Erzürnter, willst du strafen, lass dein Gericht, Herr, über mich ergehn' ('Wrathful God, if you will punish, then let your sentence, Lord, be upon me') to symbolise anger (Ex. 1).[21]



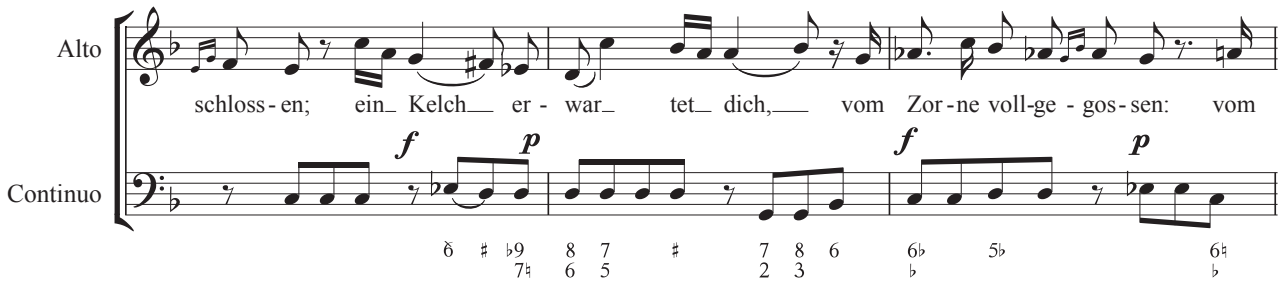
Example 1. C. P. E. Bach, 'Accompagnement' from *Die Israeliten in der Wüste*, Wq238 (no. 14), bars 21–24[22]

The same *ellipsis* figure emerges in the bass line of C. P. E. Bach's vocal work *Die letzten Leiden des Erlösers*, Wq233. An abrupt interruption of a diminished seventh chord in bar 50 signifies anger, set to the text 'Warum hast du den bittern Kelch getrunken, den Kelch des Zorns, den Gott dem Frevler' 'Why did you drink the bitter cup, the cup of anger that God gives to the evil-doer' (Ex. 2).[23]



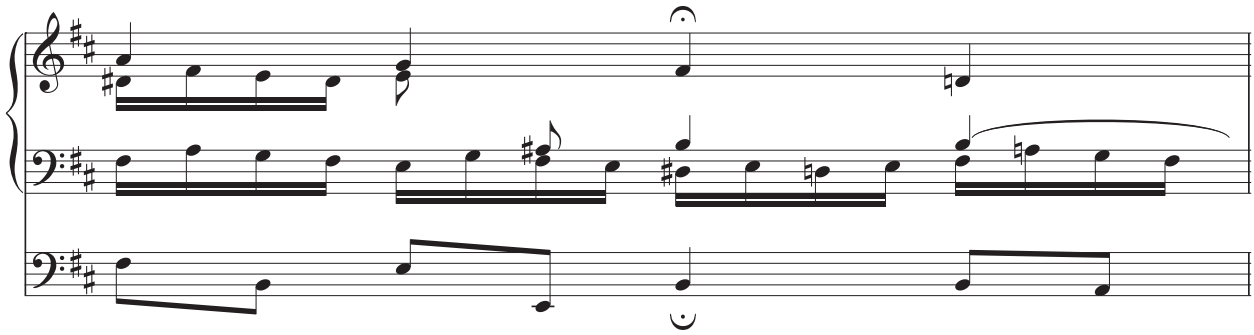
Example 2. C. P. E. Bach, 'Du Göttlicher!' from Die letzten Leiden des Erlösers, Wq233 (no. 1), bars 48–50[24]

Elsewhere in *Die letzten Leiden des Erlösers* the *ellipsis* figure representing God's wrath is set to similar text to that in the previous example. The abrupt appearance of Neapolitan harmony in G minor (bar 9) accompanies the text, 'ein Kelch erwartet dich, vom Zorne vollgegossen' ('a cup awaits you, full to the brim with anger') (Ex. 3).



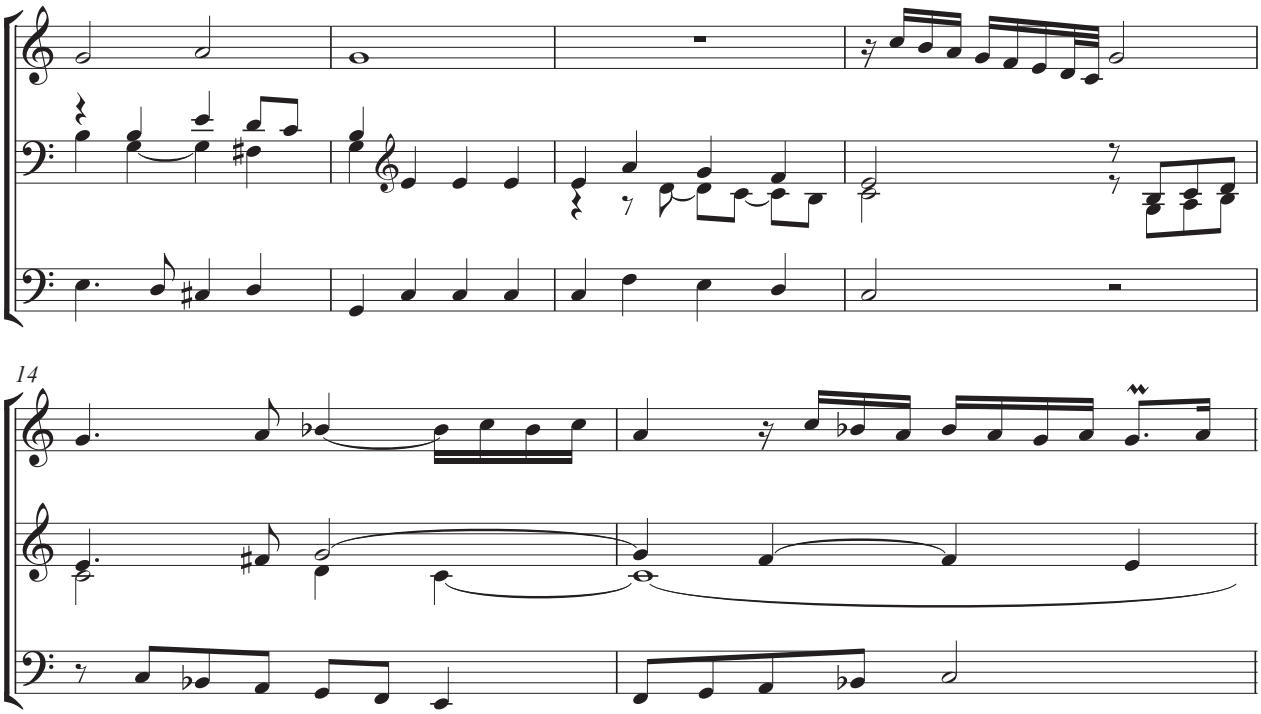
Example 3. C. P. E. Bach, 'Du dem sich Engel neigen' from *Die letzten Leiden des Erlösers*, Wq233 (no. 6a), bars 7–9

The hymn text belonging to the melody used in J. S. Bach's organ prelude BWV 638, 'Es ist das Heil uns kommen her' ('It is salvation that comes to us') depicts a central doctrine of Protestantism: Man fails to keep God's Law and commandments.[25] This rouses God to anger and to punish the sinner. God's penalty puts the sinner under great distress. Anger and distress are perhaps evoked through the addition of chromatic notes in bar 8 (*pathopoeia*) (Ex. 4).



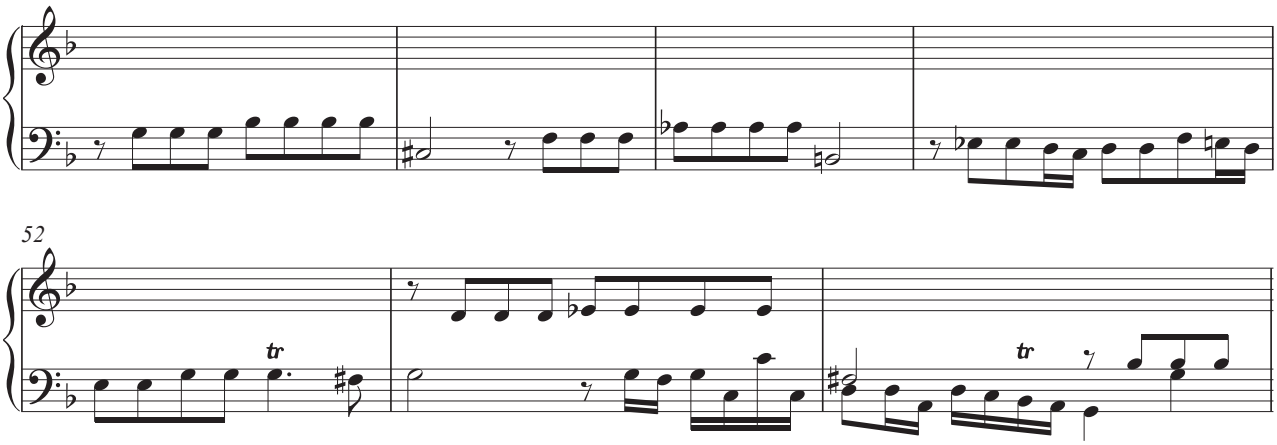
Example 4. J. S. Bach, BWV 638, 'Es ist das Heil uns kommen her', bar 8[26]

This *pathopoeia* figure also appears in Buxtehude's organ prelude setting of the same melody (BuxWV 186), in bars 10 and 13–14 (Ex. 5).



Example 5. Dietrich Buxtehude, BuxWV 186, 'Es ist das Heil uns kommen her', bars 10–15[27]

Kuhnau's Sonata Seconda 'Der von David vermittelst der Music curirte Saul' ('Saul who is cured by David through means of music'), from the *Biblical Sonatas* is prefaced by a text that describes God's wrath: 'Among the calamities which God, in fulfilling his divine purpose, often sends upon us may be numbered the diseases of the body' and its manifestation in King Saul's madness, whose heart was 'afire with ungovernable wrath'. When angered, God causes the sinner to feel physical and mental pain.[28] *Ellipsis* occurs in the form of the abrupt *antithesis* (opposition) when the fugue begins at bars 48–54. The keys of D minor (bar 49) and C minor (bar 50) are hinted at consecutively, emphasising the idea of wrath and its shocking and foreign nature (Ex. 6).



Example 6. Kuhnau, Sonata Seconda, 'Der von David vermittelst der Music curirte Saul', from *Musicalische Vorstellung einiger biblischer Historien* (1700), bars 48–54[29]

Dissonant and harmonically unpredictable figures suggested themes of anger, distress, and vehemence to composers of texted and semi-abstract music. Can these same concepts be transferred to the *ellipsis* and *pathopoeia* figures that appear in non-texted music, and in particular to C. P. E. Bach's flute sonatas? The rhapsodic and improvisatory speech-like quality of Bach's music is frequently noted by scholars, especially with regard to his keyboard fantasias. David Schulenberg comments on his unique expressive language: 'now known for its intense rhetoric founded upon sudden pauses, shifts in surface motion, harmonic shocks and occasional formal experimentation'.[30] I would like to show, however, that a more traditional understanding of rhetoric can be applied to the works of C. P. E. Bach. It should be noted, nonetheless, that this reading cannot be offered as conclusive, since C. P. E. Bach gave no personal indication that he was influenced by rhetorical ideas in these pieces.

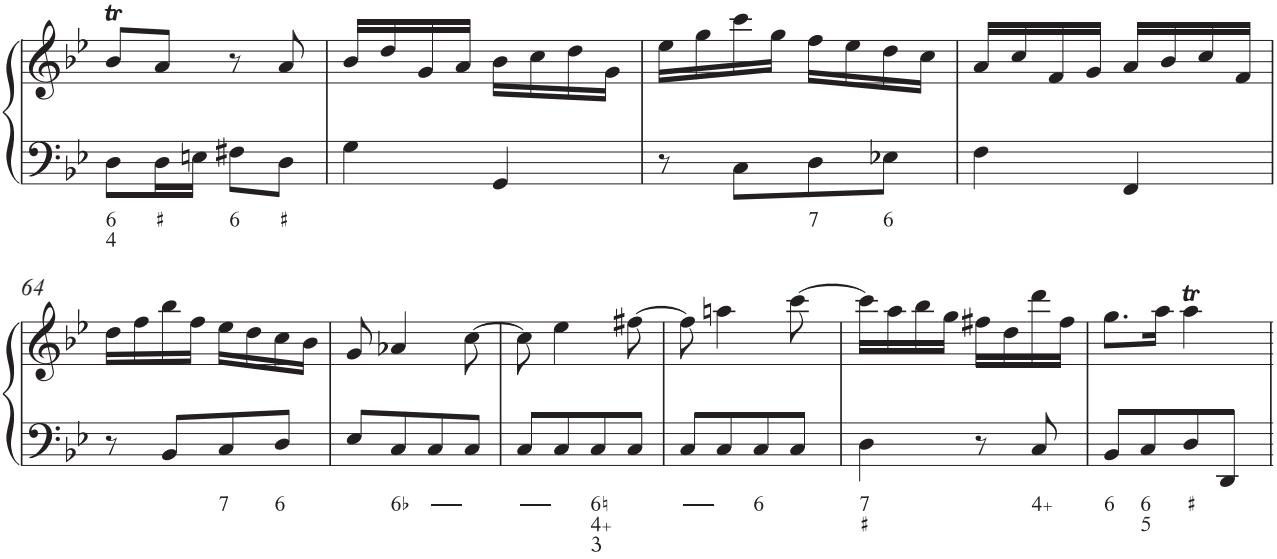
An emotive-rhetorical vocabulary in abstract music

The figures *ellipsis* and *pathopoeia* can alert the performer and listener to the expression of anger and distress in C. P. E. Bach's flute and continuo sonatas, Wq125–9, and 134 (1738–40). In a letter dated 21 March 1774, Bach appears to associate this figure with God's terrifying wrath. Concerning the erroneous changes in the text that accompanied the publication of the composer's setting of Psalm 47 from J. A. Cramer's *Psalmen mit Melodien*, Wq196, Bach declared:[31]

> they [the words] must remain as they are in my manuscript, namely: *Der Herr ist erschrecklich an*, etc. since my composition is set accordingly. In order to express this *erschrecklich* [terror] at least somewhat adequately, I intentionally went from E major directly to D major in an abrupt way and without preparation [...] There is no rationale for this harsh modulation as the words are now printed.

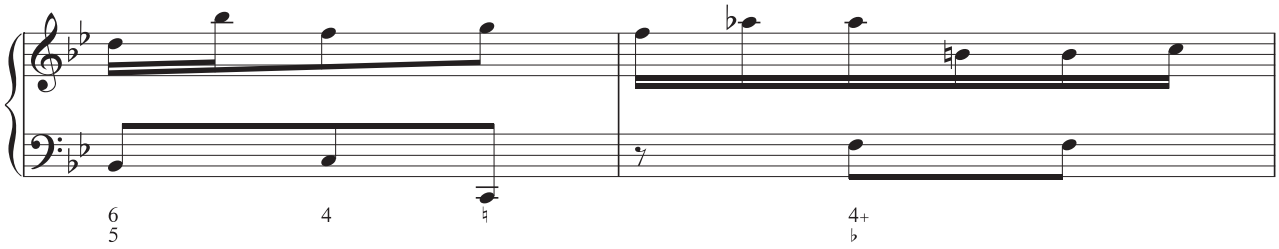
Similar abrupt harmonic progressions occur in the composer's instrumental works. In his Sonata in B flat major, Wq125, Bach uses the harmonically unstable progression (*ellipsis*) of a Neapolitan sixth in G minor followed by a diminished seventh at bars 65–67 of the Allegro (Ex. 7).

Similarly, in the Vivace of the same Sonata, dissonance and chromatic harmonies, and interruptions to the harmonic flow, could represent the foreign, unnatural, and vehement associations of anger. In bar 18 the figure *ellipsis* provides the first harmonic surprise. The listener's expectations of conventional harmony are denied when the composer omits an expected perfect cadence in F major, replacing it with a sudden interruption of a silence in the bass followed by a diminished seventh chord. Other obvious examples occur in bars 30 and 34 with the flattened seventh notes and diminished seventh harmony in bar 35 (Ex. 8).

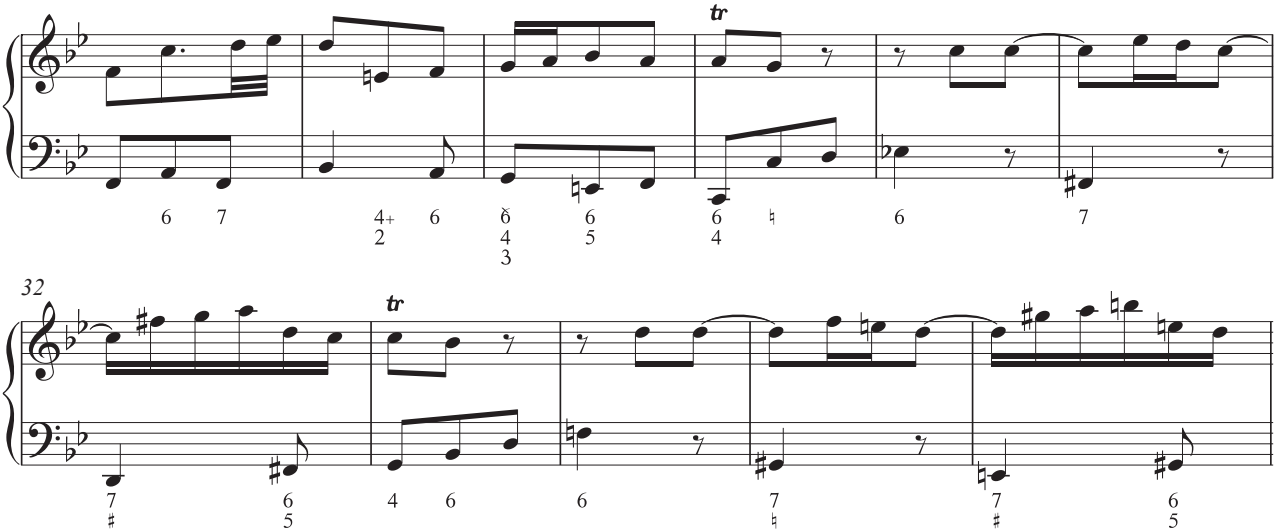


Example 7. C. P. E. Bach, 'Allegro' from Sonata in B flat major, Wq125, bars 60–69[32]

Bars 17–18

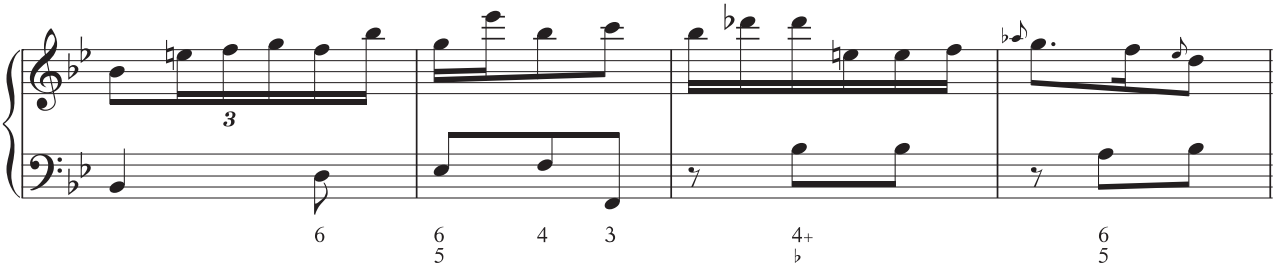


Bars 26–36



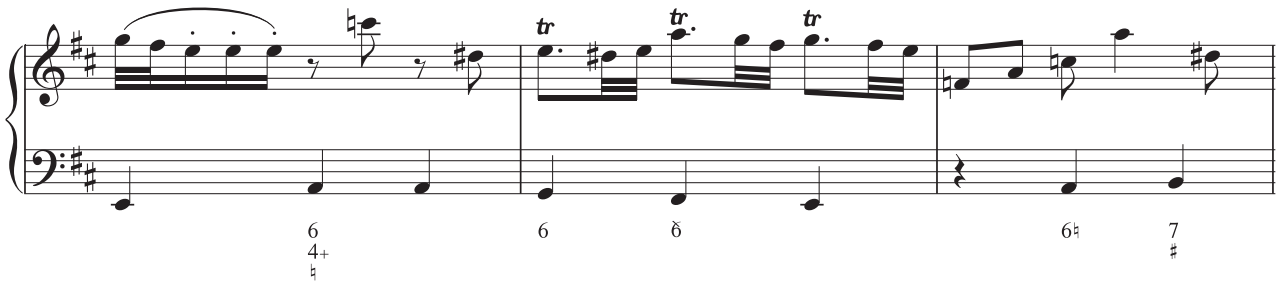
Example 8. C. P. E. Bach, 'Vivace' from Sonata in B flat major Wq125, bars 17–18, bars 26–36

The *pathopoeia* figure is found in the same movement. Foreign notes belonging to other keys are located in strange places, which may surprise the listener. The *e´´* in the melodic line in bar 60, for example, is contradicted by the *e´´´* flat in the next bar. In bar 63 the *a´´* flat in the flute line is immediately followed by an a in the bass (Ex. 9).



Example 9. C. P. E. Bach, 'Vivace' from Sonata in B flat major, Wq125, bars 60–63

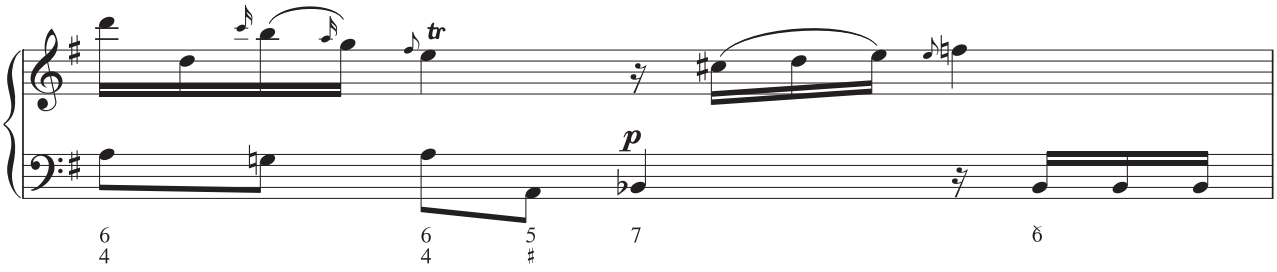
Figures possibly evoking foreign and unnatural images also appear in the Largo of the Sonata in D major, Wq126. In bar 15 a diminished seventh interval is combined with unexpected silences in the melodic part. Following this in bar 17 is Neapolitan harmony in E minor, where the bass is unexpectedly silent for the first beat of the bar (Ex. 10).



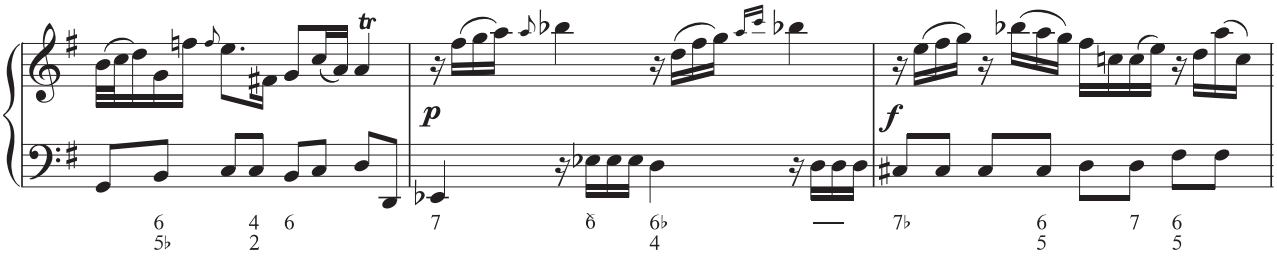
Example 10. C. P. E. Bach, 'Largo' from Sonata in D major, Wq126, bars 15–17

In the Adagio from the Sonata in G major, Wq127, *ellipsis* figures occur in bar 6. An expected perfect cadence is interrupted by a flattened sixth in the bass and a silence in the flute part. In bar 24, the diminished seventh harmony and brief silences in the flute part might also surprise the listener (Ex. 11).

Bar 6

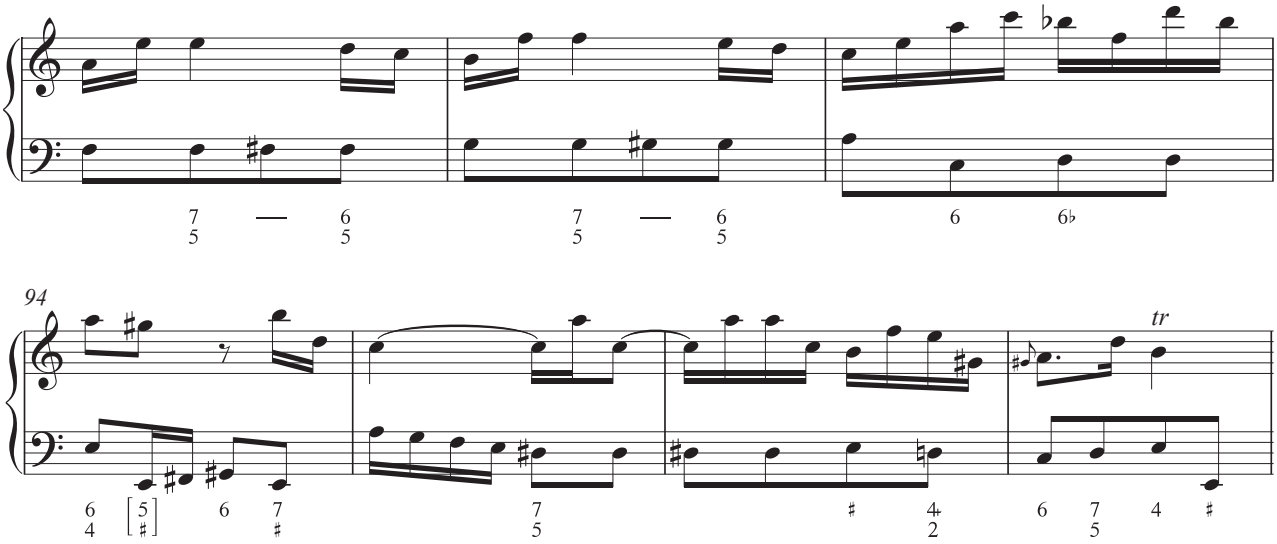


Bars 22–24



Example 11. C. P. E. Bach, 'Adagio' from Sonata in G major Wq127, bar 6, bars 22–24

Neapolitan sixths and diminished seventh harmony (*ellipsis* figures) occur in the Allegro of the Sonata in A minor Wq128. In bar 93, a Neapolitan Sixth in A minor occurs, and an abruptly placed diminished seventh chord begins a new phrase at bar 95. With the words of Scheibe in mind, these features possibly represent 'vehement affections'. (Ex. 12).



Example 12. C. P. E. Bach, 'Allegro' from Sonata in A minor, Wq128, bars 91–97

These examples show that similar musical-rhetorical figures found in texted music to express themes of anger, distress, and vehemence are also found in abstract music. The two types of rhetorical figures that I have tried to identify in both types of music, *ellipsis* and *pathopoeia*, at least point to similarities of musical language in both. Indeed, I would like to argue that the identification of such figures in abstract music is an important step to interpreting this music.

Performance outcomes and reception theory

Scholars have outlined how rhetorical ideas influenced musical composition in the Baroque period. However, few have suggested how such ideas may be applied in performance.[33] C. P. E. Bach himself wrote that 'performers [...] must try to capture the true content of a composition and express its appropriate affects'.[34] One of the main aims of the performer is therefore to determine the intended 'affects' alluded to in a composition, clarifying them through the performance style. The performer will be able to discover what is important in the music and what should be emphasised in a performance. The listener can also be alerted to expressive devices and persuaded to comprehend, both intellectually and emotionally, the 'meaning' of the figures. Contemporary treatises on rhetoric also mention how articulation, accent, and emphasis in speech can give character and expression to syllables, words, and sentences. Taking into account these rhetorical ideas can have considerable implications for the performer of C. P. E. Bach's flute sonatas (although the performer has other important considerations such as the choice of instruments, the venue, and audience).

Instances of interruption in the harmonic and melodic flow of a piece, which suggest foreignness and unnaturalness, can be emphasised through dynamic choices, articulation, delay, timing, and gesture. To make interruptive silences more profound in the melodic line, the flautist could hold the previous note strongly (see Ex. 11). To emphasise an unexpected gesture the performer could move his hands away quickly from the keyboard before a sudden silence or dissonant harmony ensues (see Ex. 8).

A veiled sound on the Baroque flute can be produced with the use of cross fingerings (used for notes outside the scale of D major), which can be employed for expressive purposes.[35] A performer on a modern flute, however, will have to devise other expressive devices. Notes that normally require cross fingerings on a Baroque flute (notes outside the scale of D major) can be subtly emphasised, for example by adding an accent or increasing the dynamic level. C. P. E. Bach advised accentuating chromatic notes:

> A noteworthy rule which is not without foundation is that all tones of a melody which lie outside the key may well be emphasized regardless of whether they form consonances or dissonances and those which lie within the key may be effectively performed piano, again regardless of their consonance or dissonance.[36]

The performer can also experiment with the delay and timing of *pathopoeia* figures (see Ex. 9).

Bach also advised that unusual melodic and harmonic progressions should be given special dynamic emphasis: 'An exceptional turn of a melody which is designed to create a violent affect must be played loudly. So-called deceptive progressions are also brought out markedly to complement their function'.[37] Sudden contrasts in the dynamic and the articulation can clarify the jarring sounds of figures that evoke anger and distress. Quantz advised that some dissonances should be performed with greater force than others and recommended that diminished sevenths should be given the loudest dynamic of *fortissimo*.[38] C. P. E. Bach, however, had reservations about the theory that the dynamic level should be determined by the harmony: 'I know that this constant changing from light to dark shadings is of no value, for it leads to obscurity rather than clarity'. He accepted the theory only in its broadest sense, namely that dissonances should be played loudly and consonances softly.[39]

With appropriate knowledge of music theory and theories of the 'affects', would an eighteenth-century audience have understood the use of symbolic language in instrumental music? We can assume that the listener, familiar with contemporary musical language, would have drawn associations between a text and the music set to it.[40] That listener may also have drawn associations between musical figures and text, and was conscious of such associations when they occurred in abstract music; the listener would have learned the symbolism in the same way as any language or convention.[41] It also seems likely that the emotional qualities associated with certain articulation, dynamics, rhythm and tempi, have not drastically changed since the eighteenth century. Audiences and performers still generally relate sharp and short articulation, loud dynamics, driving tempi, and energetic rhythms with what might be called the 'vehement'.

The twenty-first century performer can strive to convey 'affects' in performance but he or she can never be sure that the listener appreciates what the performer is trying to do. A written account needs to be provided to clarify such symbolism to the audience. A modern programme note, for instance, could at least give information about the general affects intended in a particular movement, depending on the expectations of the audience. Today, certain audience members will listen analytically, understanding procedures such as sonata form, for example, but other individuals will not. Similarly, many listeners in C. P. E. Bach's time were probably educated in musical-rhetorical theory to a sufficient degree, enabling them to listen at an advanced level. Others, not trained to hear in this way would probably have picked out obvious emotional qualities in the music, but only at a general level.

Conclusion

This article has developed the theory that rhetorical principles can be a considerable aid to the interpreter of Baroque instrumental music, with special reference to C. P. E. Bach's flute sonatas. In pointing to examples from the vocal and semi-abstract music of C. P. E. Bach, J. S. Bach, Buxtehude, Kuhnau, and Biber, I have tried to support the idea that C. P. E. Bach would have been aware of the extra-musical associations of musical-rhetorical figures. These examples also suggest the possibility that a rhetorical-musical language was established in Germany in the seventeenth century and employed well into the eighteenth century. Aware of the musical-rhetorical devices in this music, the performer is better able to judge the intended emotional qualities or 'affect' intended in the music. Baroque musical treatises are also a useful source of information on how performers treated particular figures and harmonies that were associated with particular 'affects'. Crucially, the writers argued that an appropriate performance style in a piece was dependent on identifying the intended 'affects'.

In this article I have offered some suggestions of how to interpret C. P. E. Bach's flute sonatas guided by ideas of rhetoric. Such an approach may, of course, be applied to eighteenth century music at large, and I hope you will be inspired to consider such an approach. I believe it is one that can enable performers to view this music in a new light, and inspire the performer to present the composer's ideas with clarity, understanding, and persuasion. Moreover, this exploration has highlighted the many interesting characteristics of eighteenth-century German instrumental music (such as its harmonic language), and how these relate to contemporary musical-rhetorical theories.

1 See Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, ed. Donald Russell (Cambridge, 2001), vol. 3, 223.

2 For a more detailed introduction to the art of rhetoric and its relationship to music, see Judy Tarling, *The Weapons of Rhetoric* (St. Albans, 2005), 1–40; Patrick McCreless, 'Music and Rhetoric', *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory,* ed. Thomas Christensen (New York, 2002), 847–879, and William A. Covino & David A. Jolliffe, (eds.) *Rhetoric: Concepts, Definitions, Boundaries* (Boston, 1995), 1–26.

3 *Institutio oratoria*, vol. 2, 39.

4 See Richard Kramer, *Unfinished Music* (New York, 2008), 35.

5 See Julius Portnoy, *The Philosopher and Music: A Historical Outline* (New York, 1980), 158.

6 A useful guide to musical treatises, as sources for musical-rhetorical figures, can be found in Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (London, 1997), 459–461.

7 *Philosophy in a New Key: A Study in the Symbolism of Reason, Rite and Art* (Cambridge, 1942), 97.

8 As quoted in Matthew Riley, *Musical Listening in the German Enlightenment* (Aldershot, 2004), 20.

9 See Leonard B. Meyer, *Emotion and Meaning in Music* (Chicago, 1956), 227.

10 As quoted in John Irving, *Mozart's Piano Sonatas: Context, Sources, Style* (Cambridge, 1997), 7.

11 See Meyer, *Emotion and Meaning in Music*, 227.

12 As quoted in Irving, *Mozart's Piano Sonatas*, 7.

13 I am not the first to suggest the transference of associations of certain musical-rhetorical figures in vocal music to instrumental music where the same figures are found. For a full account of this field of study, see my forthcoming Ph. D. thesis, 'C.P.E. Bach's Flute and Continuo Sonatas (Wq125–129, 134): Rhetorical Processes Used to Convey a Religious Understanding and Implications for Performance' (University of York).

14 For an account describing the function and purpose of Bach's *Orgel-Büchlein*, BWV 599–644, see Peter Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach* (Cambridge, 2003), 233–234, 235–236. For a discussion of organ chorales in the context of the Lutheran Church service, see Hermann Keller, *The Organ Works of Bach: A Contribution to Their History, Form, Interpretation and Performance* (New York, 1967), 168. For an overview of the context and background to Buxtehude's organ works see Kerala J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck* (New York, 1987), 257–272.

15 For Kuhnau, see George J. Buelow, 'Johann Kuhnau', *Oxford Music Online* (http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com).

16 See Johann Kuhnau, *Six Biblical Sonatas for Keyboard*, ed. Kurt Stone (New York, 1953), ix.

17 Kuhnau, *Six Biblical Sonatas*, xiv.

18 Kuhnau, *Six Biblical Sonatas*, ix, xiii.

19 All as quoted in Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 249–250.

20 As quoted in Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 361.

21 Translation taken from *C. P. E. Bach. Die Israeliten in der Wüste*, William Christie (dir.), Corona & Cappella Coloniensis (Harmonia mundi, 1990, 1993 (CD) 1901321), 20–39.

22 C. P. E. Bach, *Die Israeliten in der Wüste. Oratorio. Series IV, Volume I of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: The Complete Works*, ed. Reginald L. Sanders (Los Altos, 2008).

23 Translation from Alison Wray's programme note for a performance of *Die letzten Leiden des Erlösers*, directed by Peter Seymour, at the University of York in 2004.

24 C. P. E. Bach, *Die letzten Leiden des Erlösers*, ed. Hans-Josef Irmen (Vaduz, 1982). An edition to be published by the Packard Humanities Institute is forthcoming.

25 Text translations for German chorales are taken from Peter Williams, *The Organ Music of J.S. Bach* (Cambridge, 2003), 227–317.

26 J. S. Bach, *Orgelbüchlein BWV 599–644*, ed. Heinz-Harald Löhlein (Kassel, 1983).

27 Dietrich Buxtehude, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke BuxWV 177–224*, ed. Klaus Beckmann (Wiesbaden, 1972).

28 Translation from Johann Kuhnau, *Musicalische Vorstellung einiger Biblischer Historien in 6 Sonaten*, ed. L. Hoffmann-Erbrecht (Frankfurt, 1964).

29 Johann Kuhnau, *Klavierwerke*, ed. Karl Päsler, rev. Hans Joachim Moser, Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst, Folge 1, Bd. 4 (Weisbaden,1958).

30 'C. P. E. Bach Through the 1740s: The Growth of a Style', *C. P. E. Bach Studies*, ed. Stephen L. Clark (Oxford, 1988), 217.

31 Quoted in C. P. E. Bach, *Cramer and Sturm Songs. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: The Complete Works, Series 6*, vol. 2, ed. Anja Morgenstern (Los Altos, 2009), xvi.

32 All examples from the sonatas are taken from an important new edition, which takes into account recently-discovered sources at the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin: C. P. E. Bach, *Solo Sonatas. Carl Philipp*

Emanuel Bach: The Complete Works, Series 2, vol. 1, ed. Mary Oleskiewicz (Los Altos, 2008), 127–146.

33 For authors who do discuss performance in relation to rhetoric see especially Don Harran, 'Toward a Rhetorical Code of Early Music Performance', *The Journal of Musicology* 15 (1997), 19–42; David Lasocki, 'Quantz and the Passions: Theory and Practice', *Early Music* 6 (1978), 556–567; Tarling, *The Weapons of Rhetoric*; T. Beghin and S.M. Goldberg (eds.), *Joseph Haydn and the Performance of Rhetoric* (Chicago, 2007) and Nia Lewis, 'The Rhetoric of Classical Performance Practice: Giving "Life to the Notes" in Mozart's Sonatas for Violin and Keyboard', Ph. D. thesis (University of York, 2007).

34 *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, ed. William J. Mitchell (London, 1951), 153.

35 The opening of successive ascending holes produces the rising scale of D major on a one-keyed flute. Most notes outside D major are produced by modifying one of the diatonic notes by cross fingerings (leaving a hole open and closing one or more holes below), moderating the breath, and covering more of the embouchure hole, thereby producing a veiled tone quality.

36 *Versuch*, ed. Mitchell, 163.

37 *Versuch*, ed. Mitchell, 163.

38 Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung, die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, ed. Edward R. Reilly (London, 1966), 255–6.

39 *Versuch*, ed. Mitchell, 163.

40 See Cathy Dew, 'Passion and Persuasion: The Art of Rhetoric and the Performance of Early Seventeenth-Century Solo Sonatas', Ph. D. thesis, (University of York, 1999), 207.

41 See John Butt, *Playing With History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance* (Cambridge, 2002), 67.

NEMA International Conference 7–10 July 2009

Singing Music from 1500 to 1900: Style, technique, knowledge, assertion, experiment

In co-operation with the University of York Music Department & The York Early Music Festival

Mark Windisch

The conference took place in the Music Department at the University and at the National Centre of Early Music (NCEM). Contributors were asked to consider evidence for vocal techniques and styles of the period and how such knowledge can enhance and invigorate current performances. Scholars from several countries presented, with nine from the USA and Canada, two from Australia, twelve from the UK and seven from other European counties. A small but valuable amount of funding was received from the Royal Musical Association. However others bodies applied to were unable to assist, otherwise more scholars from abroad would have been able to participate.

The opening session was chaired by Jo Wainwright and featured Anthony Rooley, Bonnie Gordon (University of Virginia), Ed Breen (King's College London) and Elizabeth Dyer (University of York). Anthony Rooley started his address 'A case for the pickled larynx' by suggesting that, just as lutenists needed a variety of instruments to interpret the music of different periods, so singers needed to adapt their voices to sing in various styles. His talk focused mainly on the rhetoric of eighteenth century practice. Three Aristotelian truths had to be observed in musical performance. They were Logos, Pathos and Ethos. Bonnie Gordon entitled her talk 'Making the Voices: Moulding the Castrato's Voice with song'. Her main source was a paper published in 1562 by Camillo Maffei, who suggested that the castrato should be able to mould his voice much as an artisan moulds his materials. Ed Breen has been given access to David Munrow's papers. Munrow thought that singers should perform early music with minimal vibrato and a clarity of line influenced by prevailing instrumental styles. Elizabeth Dyer's paper covered 'Voices in the European Jesuit Theatre 1640 to c. 1730'. Musicologists have only started investigating numerous dramatic productions produced by the order's colleges and seminaries. Her illustrated paper revealed the rich performance culture, the works performed (usually religious subjects from the Bible) and even the names of the performers—one of them being Leopold Mozart! Concluding the first day, John Potter in 'Historically performed Hyper Reality' distinguished between the past (what *actually* happened) and history (the *story* of what happened, which like any story may contain elements of fiction). He illustrated his argument by singing versions of a Schubert song as it might have been interpreted at different periods, accompanied by a fortepiano and a Steinway grand.

The second day's programme was chaired by John Potter and Jon Eato. It took place in the NCEM because the University were holding an open day. The morning started with a paper by Martha Feldman (University of Chicago), 'Hearing the castrato voice'. She compared recordings made by Moreschi and contemporary female singers, including Patti, Burzio Melba and Eames, illustrating their vocal similarities in different registers. She quoted Emma Calvé who had studied with another castrato, Domenico Mustafa, and cited physiological research suggesting that very high pressure from their lungs gave castratos a particular metallic voice quality. Christine Pollerus (University of Graz) spoke on 'Singing Coloratura in the 1750s: Regina Mingotti'. Mingotti, a celebrated prima donna of her time, had kept a meticulous record of her repertoire. This material gives considerable insight into contemporary coloratura practices. Next came the first in a series of workshops on Allegri given by Graham O'Reilly of Ensemble William Byrd of Paris. Unfortunately, his collaborator Hugh Keyte was indisposed, but Mr O'Reilly gave us some fascinating insights into the Papal Choir and its

history. He coached a group of singers from the University of York Music Department to illustrate the results of their researches. This was followed by Louise Stein (University of Michigan) on 'Vocal Diversity and the profession of the theatrical singer in Spain and its territories c 1550 to 1770'. Spain's views on female singers was more positive than the somewhat pejorative attitudes widespread in other European countries. Dr Stein showed how female singers in Madrid, Naples and Lima adapted their styles to suit local requirements.

After lunch, Laura Moeckli (University of Fribourg) presented 'Essential Frivolities: The importance of Vocal Ornamentation in 19th century Italian Opera'. Using transcriptions of ornamented arias by Rossini, Pacini, Bellini and Mozart, she explained how the ornamentation completed and enhanced the music. Christina Paine (Royal Holloway, University of London) showed in her paper, 'Voice, image and agency on the early 19th stage: the case of Angelica Catalani', how powerful and influential Catalani was. Composers wrote arias to show her voice to best effect. Much can be reconstructed about the sound she made from contemporary reviews, and this material needs to be utilised in the training of singers today. Leila Heil (Ohio State University) discussed 'What singers of Early Music can learn from Jazz singing techniques'. Her paper identified technical similarities between jazz vocalists and singers of early Western European art music. It was illustrated visually by spectrographic data derived from *Voce Vista* software and aurally by recordings of Mel Torme, Ella Fitzgerald, Sarah Vaughan, Diane Reeves and others. Robert Toft (University of Western Ontario) argued in his '*Bel Canto*: The Unbroken Tradition' that *Bel canto* techniques c. 1800 are far more evident in pop, rock and jazz singing than in the work of today's 'classically' trained vocalists. Recordings were played to illustrate the expressive use of register, tone colour, *messa di voce*, vibrato, portamento, ornamental figuration, delivery (smooth and detached, with tapering notes and phrases) by pop singers.

The third day opened with professionally-delivered presentations by David M. Howard (chair), Jude Brereton and Helena Dufferin (all from the University of York) introducing the science of the singing voice, the physiology of those parts of the body associated with voice production, measurement and analysis methods, the mechanisms of vibrato production and how it affects spectral energy. The talk was illustrated by excellent three-dimensional models, illustrations and vocal examples. We learnt, amongst much else, that while the average vocal pitch of males and females obviously deviates widely at age 20, their pitch immediately following birth and at the age of 100 is identical!

Greta Haenen (Hochschüle für Künste Bremen) followed with '*Dolcezza e soavita*, vibrato as an ornament in the 16th century'. She showed how the rise of solo singing in the sixteenth century engendered both expressive and technical virtuosity, producing a strong emotional impact on the listener. This trend was associated with the introduction of vibrato, which was used at different times both continuously and as an ornament, and with the enlargement of tessitura, diminution and refined *piano* singing. The next speaker was Michael Procter (Director of Hofkapelle, Publisher, General Editor of Giovanni Croce's Sacred Works). Giovanni Croce (d. 1609) was a respected maestro di capella at St Marks Venice. In common with other continental composers of the period his printed works demonstrate the use of clef-codes indicating transposition. Continuo parts used by Croce in his 'high clef' pieces prove conclusively that 'chiavette' transposition (generally a fourth down) was standard practice. Martha Elliot (Princeton University) presented on 'Vibrato Management and Ornamentation Differentiation in Rossini', demonstrating how vibrato and articulation were used to differentiate ornamental gestures in Rossini's arias. She argued that today's opera singers need to get back to more refined and varied early nineteenth-century styles, describing recent work by Diego Florez as a 'wonderful compromise'.

The afternoon's session was chaired by Martha Elliott. Graham O'Reilly continued his talk on and open rehearsal of the Allegri/Bai *Miserere mei*. This was followed by Christopher Allan (University of Newcastle, New South Wales) on 'Helping the young soprano bring emotional truth to 17th and 18th century recitative through the use of speech mode'. Quoting from the work of Jo Estill, the presenter outlined exercises which a young singer should use to accomplish much needed vibrancy and emotional response in performance. Catherine Gordon-Seifert (Providence College, Rhode Island) then spoke on 'Rhetoric and Expression in the mid-17th Century French Air; a Rationale for Compositional Style and Performance'. Works by Michel Lambert and Benigné de Bacilly were used to demonstrate how rhetorical principles underpinned compositional techniques. To conclude the day, an unforgettable performance of the Allegri/Bai *Miserere mei* was given by young singers from the University of York, directed by Graham

O'Reilly, using the extensive ornaments, phrasing, portamenti, dynamics, tempo variations and general mood found in a manuscript of the work made shortly before the dissolution of the College of Papal singers in 1870.

The fourth day was chaired by Peter Seymour and Clifford Bartlett. Rosemary Carlton-Willis (University of York) opened with 'Gesture and rhetoric in the seventeenth century English lute song and the twenty-first century Indian classical song'. In her illustrated talk, Carlton-Willis argued that the performance of Indian and Pakistani solo classical song incorporates natural and stylised gesture in ways resembling gesture systems described in English early modern treatises. Next, Elizabeth Belgrano (University of Gothenburg) presented on '*Lasciatemi morire* and *Rochers, vous etes sourds*'. Ms Belgrano's recordings illustrated a range of techniques including vibrato and Eastern throat beating to interpret the sighs, tears and pain of Arianna, featured in works by Monteverdi and Lambert. Katrina Mitchell (University of Kansas) presented 'Reading between the Brides: Lucrezia Vizzana's *Componimenti musicali* in Textual and Musical Context'. Vizzana was the first and only Bolognese nun to publish her compositions, which give insight into the musical world of cloistered nuns of the seventeenth century. Brooke Bryant (University of York) concluded from her research on 'The 17th century singer as locus of *ut picture poesis*' that the visual elements of seventeenth century song, often ignored today, should be restored in current performance. Alan Maddox (Sydney Conservatorium of Music) in 'The notes…perfectly imitate a natural discourse' considered how recitative should be shaped in accordance with rhetorical practice to produce the desired dramatic effect. Sally Bradshaw (Soprano) spoke on 'Taste and Common Sense in the singing of Baroque Opera'. This experienced singer deployed several arguments, including the existence of very large opera houses accommodating several thousand people, in support of her thesis that modern operatic singing styles still have a place in baroque repertoire introducing a stimulating note of controversy.

After lunch, Sally Drage (University of Leeds) directed a workshop on the performance of Psalmody 1700 to 1850, illustrated with compositions from Britain and America. After announcing the results of the NEMA survey, Richard Bethell (NEMA) invited delegates to choose which out of three versions (all sung by Peyee Chen) of Handel's *Lascia ch'io pianga* they preferred. Delegates voted in line with the NEMA survey results, supporting the conclusion that a modern operatic style with constant heavy vibrato was considered inappropriate for this music by most respondents. Clifford Bartlett (NEMA Chairman) chaired the concluding 'What Next' session.

Conference delegates clearly enjoyed three evening workshops. Dominique Visse conducted an open rehearsal of French Renaissance chansons sung by a solo ensemble from the York Chamber Choir. The latter were joined by all delegates to sing the Sanctus from Brumel's twelve-part 'Earthquake' mass, *et ecce terrae motus*. Philip Thorby (Trinity College London) directed two workshops. In the first, he substituted, at short notice, for Graham Coatman (Leeds College of Music) who was ill. Besides secular pieces, delegates sang a beautiful anthem by Thomas Ravenscroft, edited by Ian Payne, for publication by Stainer and Bell. Thorby's scheduled workshop 'The Music of Gods and Shepherds' featured Orazio Benevoli's sixteen-part *Dixit Dominus primi toni*.

After peer-review, the papers delivered to this Conference will be published. This will be announced in *Early Music Performer* and on NEMA's website.

Parthenia at Sotheby's

Andrew Woolley

A previously unrecorded exemplar of the 1646 printing of *Parthenia* was sold to a commissioned bidder for £50,000 at the Sotheby's sale on 10th June 2009. *Parthenia*, a landmark in the history of music printing, is a collection of twenty-one keyboard pieces by Wiliam Byrd, John Bull and Orlando Gibbons, first printed in 1612 or 1613.[1] It is known to have been issued six times between 1612/13 and 1659, and was originally intended as a wedding present to celebrate the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to Prince Fredrick of the Palatinate in 1613. Only one other example of the 1646 printing is known, but especially significant is a manuscript of 50 leaves (38 empty) bound into the book, containing fifteen further keyboard pieces, many of them apparently unique.

The book was formerly in the possession of the nineteenth-century American collector John Whipple Frothingham, whose bookplate appears on the inside of the front board.[2] A letter accompanying the volume, written by William Barclay Squire to the collector Bernard Alfred Quaritch and dated 5th December 1908, reveals that it was sent to Squire as a potential purchase for the British Museum. Squire's response is curious and unfortunate given the presence of the manuscript portion: 'I am returning the "Parthenia" as I find it so slightly differs from our copy of the 1655 edition that I cannot ask Mr. Fortescue to advise its purchase by the Trustees.'[3]

The book has a modern binding, but it seems likely that the manuscript and the print were brought together at an early date. The manuscript pieces are numbered in a contemporary hand '22–31' (following on from the numeration in the print), with a further six unnumbered, and comprise of pieces that may date from as early as 1615 to the middle of the seventeenth century. An inventory, compiled with the assistance of Professor Davitt Moroney has been published on the Sotheby's website. It identifies concordances and composers for some of the pieces, all anonymous with three exceptions: a piece attributed to 'Mr Cussens', a setting of an almand by Cormack MacDermot, an Irish harpist at the English court 1605–1617/18, and a piece by an unidentified 'A. H.'. Except no. 33 (by 'A. H.'), the pieces appear to be in the same hand (although some variations could be indicative of a third hand), the exception perhaps being of slightly later date.[4] Further to the published list of the contents, I have managed to trace concordances for two additional pieces:

no. 26. 'Cormack's Almen' = no. 4 of works by Cormack MacDermot in Gordon Dodd, *Viola da Gamba of Great Britain: Thematic Index of Music for Viols*, with revisions and additions by Andrew Ashbeee (London, 2004)

no. [32] & [36] = a setting of 'Courante La Vignonne' with *double*, a piece popular throughout Europe, especially in the Netherlands and Germany in the middle of the seventeenth century. This version of the piece is also found in London, Royal College of Music, MS 1154, ff. 90–92, a nineteenth century transcription of a seventeenth-century English manuscript now lost[5]

The piece attributed to 'Mr Cussens', perhaps by the early seventeenth century keyboard virtuoso Benjamin Cosyn (c. 1580–1653), is a setting of Dowland's 'Lachrimae Pavane'. It differs, however, from the known setting of this pieces by Cosyn.[6] Also significant is a piece elsewhere called 'Alman' and attributed to Martin Pearson (in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book) in a version that differs to Pearson's in numerous details.[7] Another noteworthy feature of the manuscript is the widely varying date of the repertory, despite apparently being in largely the same hand, or two similar hands. It may suggest that the pieces were copied by or for a musician with old-fashioned tastes, also interested in the pieces in *Parthenia*.

At present it is known the book has been acquired by an undisclosed institution in the United States.[8] Its exact location will hopefully emerge in due course, which will allow the source—one of a relatively small number of English keyboard sources apparently dating from around 1650—to be studied more closely. The good quality of several of the previously unknown pieces should also have a wide appeal, and are perhaps worth publishing should an opportunity arise.

1 See Otto Erich Deutsch, 'Cecilia and Parthenia', *The Musical Times* 100 (1959), 591–592, and Janet K. Pollack, 'A Reevaluation of *Parthenia* and its Context', Ph. D. diss. (Duke University, 2001).

2 The following is based on my own examination of the book at Sotheby's in May 2009, in addition to an extended description of it, which includes two pictures, on the Sotheby's website (http://www.sothebys.com/app/live/lot/LotDetail.jsp?lot_id=159539223). I am grateful to Simon Maguire of Sotheby's for giving me access to it.

3 George Knottesford Fortescue (1847–1912) was Keeper of the Printed Books at the British Museum from 1889 until his death.

5 The second hand shares some features with the distinctive script of the Oxford copyist Henry Bowman (*fl.* 1660–85), such as unusual vertical double-stroke ornament signs.

5 See Alis Dickinson, 'The Courante "La Vignonne". In the Steps of a Popular Dance', *Early Music* 10 (1982), 56–82, and Andrew Woolley, 'The Harpsichord Music of Richard Ayleward (?1626–1669), "an Excellent Organist" of the Commonwealth and Early Restoration', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, forthcoming.

6 In London, British Library, Royal Music MS 23. l. 4 (f. 5v). See Orhan Memed, *Seventeenth-Century English Keyboard Music: Benjamin Cosyn*, 2 vols. (New York, 1993), i, 130–131 & ii, 13–19.

7 *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, ed. J. A. Fuller-Maitland & W. Barclay Squire, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1899), i, no. 90.

8 I am grateful to Richard Rastall for this information (through Simon Maguire of Sotheby's).

Elizabeth Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body: An Essay in Carnal Musicology*

(Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), $39.95/£27.95.

CD of music examples

Related website: http://epub.library.ucla.edu/leguin/boccherini/

George Kennaway

Elizabeth le Guin is a highly experienced baroque and classical cellist working in California, whose book on Boccherini seeks to integrate the physicality of performance and of composition itself into a reading of the work's meaning. This would be significant enough, but her view is wider still, encompassing an invaluable study of eighteenth-century Spanish musical culture, the importance of the visual in performance, and much else.

Boccherini's Body has been reviewed in several journals, but as far as I know it has not been reviewed by another cellist, so what follows will necessarily be more than usually selective. Le Guin's 'carnal musicology' is at once stimulating and baffling. Its origins are innocent enough, in her two-fold approach to the music of Boccherini which combines a reception study with a reflexive study of her own sensations and experiences while performing it. Her basic contention, given on p. 5, is that:

> Certain qualities in Boccherini's music [are] best explained, or even solely explicable, through the invisible embodied experiences of playing it. No music I have ever played seems to invite and dwell upon the nuances of physical experience as does Boccherini's: one can count on tiny variations of position, weight, pressure, friction, and muscular distribution having profound structural and affectual consequences.

When she goes on to recount the physical details of her 'trysts' with Boccherini, showing us 'the very sheets and the stains upon them', I confess to a mild embarrassment at catching her *in flagrante*. But when she sets out a scheme of description of the physical engagement of the player with the music, in terms of such binary oppositions as tension/release, fixity/mobility, extension/contraction, falling/resisting gravity, she is proposing a methodology which, though problematic, has interesting implications. Her physical sensations may well not be mine, or yours. Movements in playing certain passages on the cello which she associates with increased tension, I may perceive as the opposite. Le Guin finds a particular shift of an upward fourth (*g*–*c*″) in Boccherini's C major sonata (G17) 'technically risky'—others would disagree (later cellists like Dotzauer saw *portamento* precisely as an easy way round awkward shifts!). A diminished seventh may evoke memories of 'velvety skin' for le Guin, but that is, I think, her idiosyncrasy. However, when she gives a very detailed physical account of the 'granular level of translation from sensation to concept' in playing Boccherini's sonata in E flat (included in full on the CD), she describes many details of the player's physical responses in a way that many cellists will recognise. The apprehension caused by the opening bars in a high register with thumb position, followed by a gradual descent, with dotted-rhythm interruptions, is described thus:

> …one might construct a scenario of a rapidly subsiding bravado, being resisted with brief shows of rigidity. But then add to this the physical experience of playing the passage, which is a kind of drawing-in toward a center: from its initial extension, the left arm moves steadily in toward the chest, and psychologically, towards home, the familiar pastures of the tenor and bass ranges. […] as the pitches descend, the bow can be moved "in", again toward the body's center,

> a half-inch or so, and the strings' resistance diminishes considerably. For both hands this is an experience of increasing ease and relaxation, and probably relief. Thus the retreat from the screwed-up courage of the opening is, physically speaking, pleasant, welcoming, grateful.

Le Guin pursues this startlingly honest account at some length. The barely concealed sexuality of her writing will come as a shock to players who see Boccherini's music mainly as an exercise in elegant if occasionally eccentric charm (the 'female Haydn' trope) especially when she resolutely explores 'pathways toward a frictive physical pleasure'. Setting aside the prurient *frisson*, her approach is subtle and complex. Central to her method is the integration of *topos*, affect, and physical experience, in a continuous interplay of signification summed up as 'evoking that central eighteenth-century understanding of the voice as the ideal marker of a feeling selfhood'—a concept she substantiates with a useful discussion of Rousseau's distinction between the French *sentir* and the Italian *sentire.* She also confronts the issue of subjectivity (always present in practice-based historical performance research) head-on, and charmingly re-presents the same Boccherini sonata in almost the opposite terms. Her point is that an analytical re-reading would, if transposed into a performance, go unquestioned, and that therefore, for carnal musicology, performance and analysis constitute 'two faces of interpretation, an act which is both an art and a science'. She therefore rejects the idea of an authoritative reading of a work, but sets herself the goal of 'plausibility' instead, a plausibility which derives from a wider historical consideration of the composer and his *milieu*.

Here she may be trying to have her methodological cake and eat it. *Hamlet*, it has been said, can sustain directly opposing interpretations equally validly, but I rather incline to Richard Taruskin's opinion that paradox, rather than something to be prized or merely exhibited, is really a sign that something is wrong with one's theoretical model.[1] Performance and analysis may in the end not be two sides of the same coin. Analyses can be pondered, examined, argued about in detail, and (crucially) they should contain statements which ought (at least) to be verifiable. Performances are created from a wide range of influences and impulses, and pondered in fading hindsight. To bring these arguably quite distinct things together through historical 'plausibility' could be seen as setting the bar conveniently low.

Le Guin is particularly interesting when discussing the visible dimension of performance. She suggests that as performers we should tailor our appearance to ensure that it is 'legible' (her term) in some way, that is appropriate to the repertoire or to the particular expressive aim of this particular performance:

> Depending on the kinetic tradition we wish to evoke, we might comport ourselves as expressive gestures around a stable core; or as operating on a continuum from regal/stately to athletic/grotesque; or as newly, radically, frighteningly flexible and permeable, soft above all, and expressive in direct proportion to our softness.

However, typically, she elaborates this:

> Perhaps most globally, we do well to assume our nearly constant role as portals into the visualistic fantasies on the part of our audience; and, in this guise, be prepared to offer ourselves as (always carefully unacknowledged) erotic objects.

Not all performers are comfortable in such a role, although some have willingly embraced it, without le Guin's cautionary parenthesis. On the other hand, she also points out that much in the visible physicality of a cello performance consists of simple, barely visible, functional movements which, if noticed, carry no signification other than that they are the movements necessary to play the music. There is therefore legibility but also an 'a-legible' (my term, not hers) element in performance. This Le Guin finds profoundly important in the case of Boccherini, an 'icon of unreadability, [who] gestured tantalisingly on the edge of the abyss of the unfathomably subjective'. The outer performance can give no hint of the performer's inner subjectivity. The whole discussion of the performer's identity, assumed or real, gains very considerably from her examination of Diderot's *Le neveu de Rameau* (c. 1761), an account of an extraordinary character who assumes multiple personalities. She also adduces a very interesting anecdote of Diderot who complained that he did not like to have his portrait painted because it could not do justice to 'the hundred different physiognomies' that he felt he had in the course of day. Lionel Trilling's 1970 Charles Eliot Norton lectures *Sincerity and Authenticity* also exploit Diderot's *Nevue.* Having always wondered if Trilling's essentially literary meditation could have an application in music, I was particularly pleased to see Le Guin make use of Diderot. Historical performance in

particular can sometimes involve an element of ventriloquism which is at odds with the twentieth-century ethos of personal, sincere, expression, but Le Guin's approach rescues ventriloquism from the charge of insincerity and makes it, well, authentic.

While there is much that will dismay some readers, such as her concluding open letter not to Boccherini, but Haydn, or the analysis of Boccherini's quartet in E op. 13 by means of an open discussion between the players, there is more which is thought-provoking and stimulating. Her experimental book is invaluable in suggesting a way of researching historical performance which exploits the embodied knowledge of the performer, and should have applications in other repertoires, as the recent 'Music and the Body' conference in London confirmed.[2] According to amazon.co.uk, customers who bought this book also bought a book about improving one's eyesight (as at July 2009). Certainly, after reading it, one is tempted to look at a lot of things differently.

1 'Speed Bumps', *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 29 (2005), 196.

2 'The Musical Body: Gesture, Representation and Ergonomics in Performance', Institute of Musical Research, London (April, 2009).

Jon Whiteley, *Stringed Instruments: Viols, Violins, Citterns, and Guitars in the Ashmolean Museum*

(Ashmolean Museum: Oxford, 2008), £7.95

Peter Holman

In a series of donations made between 1939 and 1948 the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford acquired an important collection of European stringed instruments from the violin-making firm of W. E. Hill & Sons. It includes sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century viols by or attributed to Giovanni Maria of Brescia, Gasparo da Salò, Dominico Russo, the brothers (Antonio and Girolamo) Amati, John Rose, and Richard Blunt, a *lira da braccio* supposedly by Giovanni Maria, violin-family instruments by or attributed to Gasparo, Andrea, Nicolò and the brothers Amati, and Antonio Stradivari (including the famous 'Messiah' violin), citterns by Gasparo and attributed to Girolamo Virchi, Baroque guitars by Giorgio Sellas, René Voboam, Stradivari, and Antonio dos Santos Vieira, and English guitars by Preston, Michael Rauche, John Frederick Hintz, and Lucas. David Boyden published a catalogue of the collection as it stood in 1969,[1] though there have been acquisitions since then, including violin-family instruments by or attributed to Edward Pamphilon, Peter Wamsley or Walmsley, Nicholas Lupot, and Simon Andrew Forster, all donated by Albert Cooper in 1999.

Jon Whiteley writes in the introduction that:

> The present handbook discusses and illustrates every stringed instrument in the collection, but it is not intended to be a substitute for Boyden's book. A new, comprehensive catalogue, edited by John Milnes with contributions by John Dilworth and others, is in hand. This will provide the scholarly detail that the specialist will expect. The student of the subject, meanwhile, may find some use in this handbook, but it is chiefly intended for the many visitors to the Hill Collection and for the wider public who might wish for more information about the instruments and some background history.

One obvious advantage of the new catalogue over the old is that all the instruments are illustrated with good-quality colour photographs—Boyden's are all in black and white. Also, Whiteley uses the results of recent research, such as the dendrochronological (tree ring) surveys carried out by John Topham.[2] However, by focussing on hand-held stringed instruments, Whiteley omits the two keyboard instruments discussed by Boyden, the 1670 virginal by Adam Leversidge and the two-manual 1772 Kirckman harpsichord.

I take Whiteley's point that his book is not intended for specialists, though it is frustrating that there are no footnotes, and, as a musicologist rather than an expert on stringed instruments, I find some of his assertions questionable. For instance, the idea that the painter John Constable owned the tenor viol that has been attributed at various times of William Baker, John Shaw, Richard Blanke, and Richard Blunt does not seem to be based on any evidence—or at least none is offered. The two strings that run off the fingerboard of the *lira da braccio* are bowed drone strings, not sympathetic strings, and, as Whiteley admits, the attribution to Giovanni Maria seems to depend on a label inserted into the instrument between 1892 and 1904. There are a number of problems with labels in the Hill collection: the tenor viol just mentioned supposedly had a label attributing it to Blunt in 1914, though it is 'no longer in the instrument'. In one case, a viola supposedly by Andrea Amati, the attribution apparently depends on a label that 'appears to be a photocopy of a genuine label from another instrument'! Once again, the myth that the small 1564 Andrea Amati violin comes from a set of instruments commissioned for Charles IX of France is accepted as fact, despite the fact that the only documentary evidence for it comes from a book published in 1780, and, as Whiteley admits, the surviving members of

the 'set' are far from being uniform. I would also question Boyden's suggestion, repeated by Whiteley, that the small 1618 brothers Amati violin was 'designed for a child', particularly since the neck is not original. Another explanation is that violins of this sort (including the 1564 Andrea Amati) were made to play with wind instruments or church organs at a much higher pitch than the prevailing pitch in contemporary violin bands.

I agree with Whiteley that the wire-strung English guitar was probably an import from Germany, though it is unlikely that it appeared in England as early as 'the time of the Hanoverian succession' (i.e. 1714) as he suggests. The earliest English guitars date from the late 1750s, as do the earliest documentary references to the instrument and the first collections of music for it. John Frederick Hintz (who set up in business as an instrument maker in London in 1751 or 1752) claimed to be its 'first Inventor' in a newspaper advertisement (*The Public Advertiser*, 17 March 1766), a claim that is plausible since he came from Saxony, where several types of cittern similar to the English guitar were in use, and he was a member of the Moravian Brethren, which meant that he would have been in regular touch with their centres in Germany. There are also problems with the discussion of the two undated Preston English guitars in the collection. First, they are attributed to 'John N. Preston (working 1734-70)', which is much too early if, as is likely, this is the same person as the John Preston who had a music shop in London from about 1774 to 1798, from 1789 in partnership with his son Thomas.[3] Second, in the description of the Preston guitar with a watch-key mechanism (the strings are attached to sliding metal levers adjusted by a small key like that for a pocket watch), Whiteley accepts the maker's claim to have invented the device. However, in the 1766 advertisement just mentioned, Hintz claimed that:

> after many Years Study and Application in endeavouring to bring this favourite Instrument the Guittar (being the first Inventor) still to a greater Perfection in regard to tuning and keeping the same in Tune, which has always been a principal Defect as well as inconvenient, [he] has now found out, on a Principal entirely new, several Methods, whereby it is much easier and exacter tuned, and also remains much longer in Tune than by any Method hitherto known.

I take this 'greater Perfection' to be the replacement of ordinary wooden pegs with a watch-key mechanism.

My aim here is not to score points, but to suggest that we will only begin to understand old musical instruments properly when we are able to combine the musicologist's rigorous attitude to documentary evidence with the expertise in the instruments themselves provided by makers, restorers and curators.

1 *The Hill Collection* (Oxford, 1969; 2nd. edn., 1979).

2 'A Dendrochronological Survey of the Musical Instruments in the Hill Collection at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 55 (2002), 244–268.

3 Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1970), 263–264.

Charles Dibdin, *The Sadler's Wells Dialogues (1772–1780)*

edited by Peter Holman

Centre for Eighteenth-Century Music, Massey University, Series 1, No. 3 (AE477)

Derek B. Scott

Peter Holman aims in this edition of Charles Dibdin's *Sadler's Wells Dialogues* to make available what survives of these innovative short operatic works of the 1770s, and to 'draw attention to the wealth of material that survives for English theatre music' of that time. Dibdin wrote at least twenty-one 'musical dialogues' for Sadler's Wells, and the present volume contains the five complete works that have survived: *The Palace of Mirth*, *The Brickdust Man*, *The Ladle*, *The Grenadier*, and *The Mischance*. Excerpts of music and text from fifteen incomplete works are in Appendix 1, and Appendix 2 catalogues all the material that is currently known to exist.

Dibdin built a career as an actor-singer at Covent Garden in the 1760s, and began writing for productions himself. His first big success, however, was at Drury Lane with *The Padlock* (1768), after being hired at that theatre by David Garrick. He remained at Drury Lane till 1775, but was already working for other establishments in the summer months. Sadler's Wells was one of them. The theatre at this spa had been rebuilt in the 1760s and further embellished before opening for the summer season of 1772, the year Dibdin produced the first two of the dialogues in this collection. The seating capacity at Sadler's Wells was a remarkable 2000, a figure that indicates the necessity of finding entertainment capable of encouraging healthy ticket sales.

Holman provides an informative introduction, setting the context for the dialogues and discussing them (and their performers) in detail. Of the various composers involved with Sadler's Wells in the 1770s, Dibdin was the most prolific. The success of *The Brickdust Man* (29 June 1772) led to his being given a contract by the venue's owner, Thomas King, one of the few people with whom Dibdin managed to remain on friendly terms. Holman has identified eighteen works written by Dibdin between 1772 and 1780.

The main influence on the dialogues is the comic intermezzo for two or three characters performed as an interval of light relief between the acts of an Italian *opera seria*. The best known of these today, Pergolesi's *La serva padrona*, was among the many given in English translation in London's pleasure gardens in the mid-eighteenth century. Under the regulations of the Licensing Act of 1755, the only dramatic works permitted by the Lord Chamberlain outside of the legitimate theatres (Covent Garden and Drury Lane) were those that were sung and not spoken.

Holman notes that Dibdin's dialogues generally lack the conflict between masters and servants that was a typical feature of the intermezzo. Indeed, several of the dialogues draw upon characters solely from the lower echelons of the social hierarchy. Classical sources are seldom used, even for the purpose of parody, and plots are often taken from urban ballads and stories. Dibdin was, himself, fond of performing in the guise of a character from the London streets. *The Brickdust Man* is a dialogue of the labouring poor: the man sells brickdust, and the maid sells milk. All this adds to the interest of the dialogues, especially because the representation of a lower social stratum in a through-composed musical form was an innovative departure in the 1770s, and, as Holman comments, 'the modernity [was] the more striking because the characters speak in recitative, a medium traditionally associated in the English theatre with gods, goddesses and heroic characters.' There is a precursor in the shape of Henry Carey's *True Blue*, as Holman and, before him, Roger Fiske acknowledge, but that was several decades earlier and very much an exception for its time.

Dibdin's music shows the influence of the *galant* style as it had been reworked in the 1760s by composers such as Arne and Boyce. Dibdin's problem is that he wrote so much so quickly. He was accused of carelessness in his day, but he had a genuine gift for comedy as well as for the composition of touching airs ('Tom Bowling' being the most famous example of the latter). What makes Dibdin unusual is the way he reinterprets the *galant* style to suit comic portrayals of everyday characters from town and country. Holman speculates that Dibdin's study of Rameau may well have pushed him in novel directions, giving his harmonic vocabulary a flavour of modernity. At times, it makes these scenes for two or three characters reminiscent of the early one-act *opérettes-bouffes* of Offenbach (for example, *Le Financier et le savetier* of 1856). Dibdin's technical skill is least secure in instrumental pieces (his overtures), but rarely misses the mark when it is a matter of finding a neat fit between melody and lyrics. Dibdin needed a text to be at his best—and, preferably, a comic text. An argument might be made for his having invented the English patter song. Holman points to Moll's 'Get you gone, you nasty fellow'[1] from *The Brickdust Man* as an early example of an English composer exploiting the effect of rapid delivery of words already found in certain Italian operatic arias from Alessandro Scarlatti onwards. The newness, however, is that the effect is comic, whereas in Italian opera this sort of tirade of invective was likely to feature in a serious 'rage aria'.

There are some delightful tunes, but attempting to actually play them on a keyboard from this edition can be a frustrating experience. I spent most of my time trying to catch the book as it fell off the piano—and that was after I had done my best to crack the spine and persuade it to stay open. It would, occasionally, have been helpful to have made use of reduced size noteheads for the various instrumental links that are given in the vocal staff. You need to watch for punctuation in the lyrics in order not to be misled into thinking that a vocal melisma decorates certain cadences. Holman recorded two of these dialogues some years ago,[2] *The Brickdust Man* relying on Roger Fiske's orchestral version, while the orchestration of *The Grenadier* was Holman's own. Most of Dibdin's music is extant in vocal score only. Listeners to the recordings will find differences in the texts. The change of 'Bethnal Green' to 'Bedlam Green' in *The Brickdust Man* seems particularly significant, given that John has heard that his sweetheart Molly was seen there with a rival admirer.

Holman explains that he has chosen to present the scores with 'a minimum of editorial intervention'. Where variant sources exist, the differences in music, libretto and so forth are noted in the commentary. Holman has relied on his lengthy experience of working with Dibdin primary sources to guide his decisions concerning first drafts and revised versions (especially where the words are concerned). The music is presented, in the main, as it appears in the original notation. There is no realization of the basso continuo, but there is some tidying up of redundant accidentals, stem directions, repeat signs, and the like. A comprehensive Textual Commentary records other changes. This edition of the Sadler's Wells dialogues should succeed admirably in stimulating further interest in English theatre music of the late eighteenth century, as well as add to Dibdin's reputation as an innovator.

1 For some reason he refers to it by its second line: 'You could hear me scream and bellow.'

2 *Three Operas by Charles Dibdin* (1745–1814). Opera Restor'd, cond. Peter Holman, Hyperion CDA 66608 (1992).

Correction

'Handel's Philanthropy Remembered' (*EMP* 24)

Andrew Woolley

Readers' attention is drawn to a factual error in my report on the Handel exhibition at the Foundling Hospital Museum, which took place earlier this year, kindly pointed out to me by Andrew Pink. It is stated that Prince George attended a performance of *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital on Saturday 27th May 1749, whereas the performance was in fact attended by Prince Fredrick (d. 1751), then Prince of Wales, as an advertisement published in the *Penny Post or the Morning Advertiser* the following Monday makes clear.

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