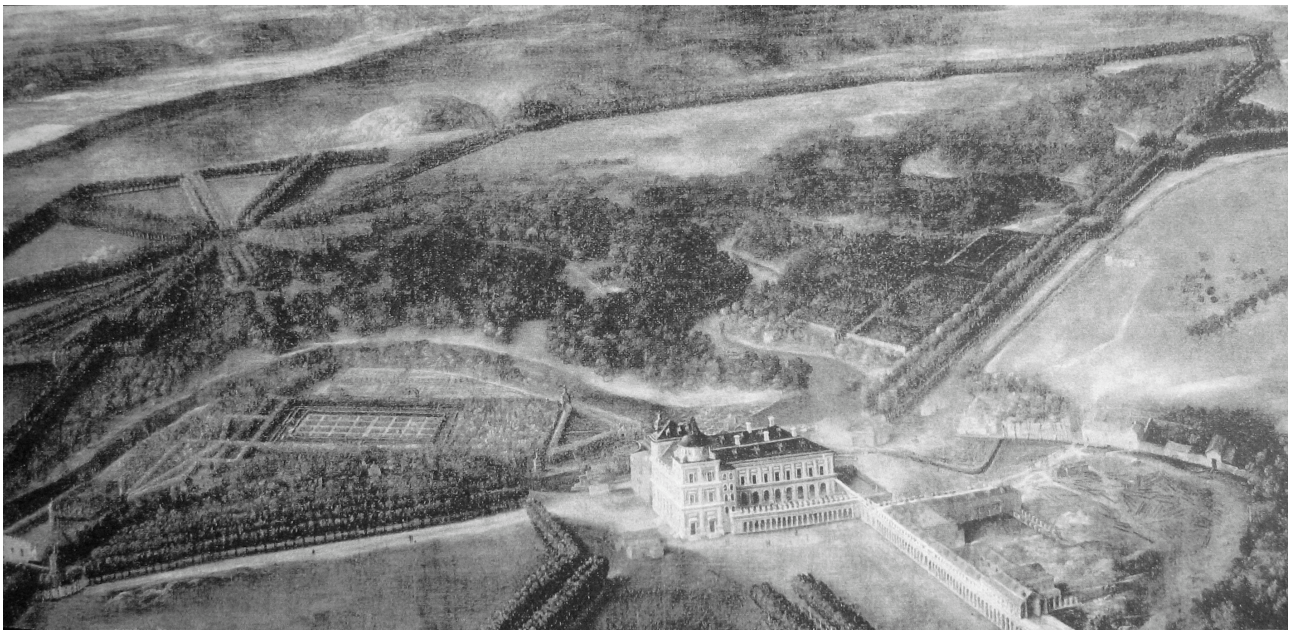
EARLY MUSIC PERFORMER



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Ruth and Jeremy Burbidge
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COVER:
Anonymous painting dating from c.1630 of the gardens of the royal summer palace at Aranjuez, referred to in Anthony Rowland-Jones's article (p. 23). The painting is held in the Prado and is reproduced with permission.

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andrewwoolley@redmail.com

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Editorial

The database of 'Music Manuscripts after 1600 in British and Irish Libraries', available at http://www.rism.org.uk, is a shining light among the ever increasing number of electronic resources available, without charge, to musicians and researchers with interests in early music. Just one arm of the non-profit *International Inventory of Musical Sources* or *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, it lists the contents of an impressive number of manuscripts. As a result it has become a central resource for research potentially concerned with seventeenth and eighteenth-century music in the British Isles and Ireland. This has been especially the case since the project received funding (from the Arts and Humanities Research Council). Before then, in 2007, I reported in *EMP* that the database had design drawbacks.[1] Happily this is no longer the case. The overhauled database is now far from 'clunky', and provides a range of search and browse options. There is also a link to an invaluable digital Image Gallery providing samples of identified hands in manuscripts held at the British Library ranging from those of Carl Friedrich Abel to Niccolò Antonio Zingarelli.

'Music Manuscripts after 1600' lists sources held both in familiar repositories, such as major research libraries, as well as those less well known, such as Record Offices. Coverage of the archival materials, in particular, is an important step complimenting other electronic research tools (for instance, Access to Archives).[2] They will undoubtedly help many researchers broaden their perspective on music in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain, drawing their attention to a wider pool of sources. The burgeoning of regional musical life in Britain, particularly in the eighteenth century, has been a story told primarily through printed source materials to date. Research on regional newspapers, for instance, has revealed much about concert life in centres such as Norwich, Hereford, Newcastle and Bath.[3] However, much research remains to be done and their is ample opportunity for discovery, particularly when one takes into account any manuscript materials that are available (both musical sources and archival documents). A figure such as Francesco Barsanti (1690–1772), for example, Edinburgh's leading musician in the 1730s and 1740s, who was also active in London, remains in the shadows. He is familiar mainly to recorder players for his Op. 1 recorder sonatas. There is no modern edition, however, of his vocal music, which includes some remarkable *style antico* motets (the *Sei antifone* (c. 1750), Op. 5) and cantatas in a manuscript at the Royal Academy of Music, which I suspect would be well worth resurrecting. There may yet be rich pickings to be had among archival materials, especially relating to under-researched figures such as Barsanti.

Another exciting consequence of the expansion of electronic databases is the increased possibility of turning up previously unsuspected music. Not many months following my discovery last year of a manuscript for an unknown flute concerto by Vivaldi (among family papers in the National Archives of Scotland; see the previous issue of *EMP* for a report), two new violin sonatas by the composer came to the attention of Michael Talbot in a manuscript from the Gerald Coke Handel Collection at The Foundling Museum in London, thanks to the existence of an electronic catalogue. Michael's full-length article on these new sonatas leads-off this issue. The manuscript is a little-known miscellany of keyboard music compiled in Britain in the 1720s and was acquired by the Gerald Coke Handel Foundation in 1994 (after the Coke manuscript collection had been photographed for the Harvester Microfilm series). It comes as no surprise that music originally written for violin and bass was acquired for the use of a keyboard player, since contemporaries recognised the ready adaptability of such music. In Britain this can be seen from the numerous keyboard manuscripts dating from the 1710s and later that contain adaptations of single movements or whole sonatas from Corelli's Op. 5; no. 7 in D minor was a particular favourite.[4] The new Vivaldi sonatas are found alongside a known giga for violin and bass by the composer in the same source. The music supplement for this issue is this giga as presented in variant form in the Foundling Museum manuscript.

The second article in this issue is Anthony Rowland-Jones's survey of the recorder as it was used in France, Spain, England and Italy primarily during the first half of the seventeenth century. This was a crucial period when the recorder consort remained dominant, although little music specifically written for the ensemble survives. Drawing together information from a wide range of secondary sources for the most part, Anthony's findings reveal the diverse contexts in which the recorder was used in the seventeenth century. It is possible to see how the long-standing extra-musical associations of wind instruments, such as their pastoral connotations, persisted deeply.

Scholars rely more heavily on iconographical evidence when attempting to probe the performance practices of instruments of much earlier periods. An unusual opportunity exists, however, when an example actually survives, such as the mediaeval British Museum citole. A two-day symposium devoted to it took place at the British Museum in November last year. In his comprehensive report, Richard Rastall discusses what was a remarkably wide-ranging event touching on all aspects of the citole as an artifact of medieval culture. It is pleasing that issues of performance faired prominently, with a whole session devoted to the instrument's performance practice that featured a lecture-demonstration on a modern reconstruction.

Readers will be familiar with the Spanish composer Juan Esquivel, who was the subject of Clive Walkley's 2008 NEMA lecture published as an article in *EMP* 24. Appropriately, included in this issue is Noel O'Regan's assessment of Walkley's recently published book on the composer. The book is a worthwhile read for anyone wishing to learn more about Esquivel and sacred music in Spain in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Last but not least, late 2010 saw a number of Handel-related events take place; Mark Windisch dutifully reports on three of these in this issue.

Andrew Woolley
Edinburgh, April 2011

[1] 'Electronic resources for researching seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music', *EMP* 20 (May 2007), 16–18.

[2] http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a/

[3] For accounts of regional concert life see several of the contributions to *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot, 2004).

[4] Partially arranged, for instance, by William Babel in the autograph GB-Lbl, Add. MS 71209, ff. 70v–73v.

Vivaldi in the Foundling Museum: Some Discoveries in London

Michael Talbot

It seems too good to be true that a link should exist between the composer who will be associated forever with the Ospedale della Pietà, the Venetian institution for foundlings, and the Foundling Hospital established in 1739 in London by the philanthropist Thomas Coram in imitation of it, and at which in 1774 Charles Burney and Felice Giardini made an unsuccessful attempt to set up a music school, which would have made the parallel still closer. The link is genuine enough—but entirely fortuitous. The Foundling Museum, set up in 1998 at 40 Brunswick Square, London, to commemorate the hospital, is now home to the Gerald Coke Handel Research Library, which contains the substantial collection of printed and manuscript music centred on Handel's music built up by this eminent connoisseur (1907–1990) over many decades, to which a few later additions have been made by a foundation established in his name. Naturally, many volumes in the Coke collection, especially those describable as 'miscellanies', contain non-Handelian items. Although the content of the library is ascertainable in summarised form via its online catalogue,[1] as yet only Handel scholars have paid it much attention. It was through a speculative online trawl that I recently located there a miscellany for solo keyboard containing three items attributed to Vivaldi.[2] An inspection of scans of the relevant pages revealed an exciting fact: the volume transmits two hitherto unknown violin sonatas by Vivaldi and one movement from a known violin sonata, RV 19, in a later version that sheds light on a puzzling aspect of two further sonatas. What follows is a brief description of the volume as a whole (which really deserves a thesis-length study in its own right) and a fuller description of, and commentary on, the Vivaldi pieces.[3]

Today identified as 'accession no. 1296' (its former shelfmark was 'Miscellanies C. 28'), the volume was acquired for the Gerald Coke Handel Foundation on 1 December 1994 at a sale held at Sotheby's. Its previous history is unknown, but a study of the manuscript suggests that it was prepared for a single recipient, a keyboard player, for the twin purposes of instruction and recreation.[4] The almost-sixty items it contains (the precise number is impossible to compute since it is uncertain in some instances whether adjacent movements belong to a common work) were copied by at least seven separate hands into the 24 gatherings—182 pages in all—making up the volume. It is possible that the volume was an album in the strictest sense—meaning that it was already bound and fixed in length before the writing of the music commenced. This is implied strongly by the excision (leaving stubs) of the inner bifolio of the gathering occupying pp. 129–132.[5] All indices suggest that the pieces were entered in the order of their present pagination by two principal copyists (we will borrow Terence Best's labels 'A' and 'B' for them), supplemented by five auxiliary copyists. The process of compilation appears to have been fairly swift: the accuracy of the time-span 1725–1726 proposed by Best[6] is suggested by the fact that the oldest stratum (copied by Hand A) contains on pp. 68–71 a keyboard transcription of the aria 'Scacciata dal suo nido' from Handel's *Rodelinda* (1725), while a later stratum (represented by Hand B) locates the Flemish organist-composer Dieudonné Raick (1703–1764) at Antwerp, a city he left during 1726.[7] The dates of composition of the items represented go back much further in many instances; the oldest piece in the miscellany is perhaps the transcription of the overture

to *Timon of Athens* (1695) by Henry Purcell on pp. 10–12.

Since the library catalogue and Best's introduction between them relate the physical characteristics of the manuscript in considerable detail, their description can be kept succinct. The volume retains its original brown leather binding with gold tooling; the inscription 'N.º 31', obviously an earlier identification mark, is inked in the centre of the front cover. As Best reports, the paper is a variety of type B40 (with a watermark of a Strasbourg Bend and the letters 'IV' as countermark) according to the classification of Donald Burrows and Martha Ronish.[8] In oblong quarto format and measuring (after trimming on all edges) approximately 240 by 300 mm, it is typical of the music manuscript paper obtainable commercially in England at the time. Each page has a rastrography of eight staves (spanning approximately 94 mm) ruled between faint red vertical guidelines.

Scribe A dominates in the sheer quantity of music copied. He alone was responsible for copying pp. 1–114, for which he added original page numbers. He made a one later entry: an incomplete short score of the aria 'Non è più tempo' in Handel's *Tamerlano* on p. 129 (the verso is blank). Pride of place is occupied by works and extracts by Handel, which are taken both from the composer's keyboard suites (plus some separately preserved individual movements) and from his operas in keyboard arrangement. There are also a number of movements and movement sequences taken from Corelli's chamber sonatas (op. 2), violin sonatas (op. 5) and *Concerti grossi* (op. 6), cleverly and elaborately arranged for keyboard.[9] Other composers represented are Purcell, Galliard and Loeillet (the last two not identified by name), and there is also the expected quotient of unattributed and unidentified movements. If Scribe A was the arranger-cum-elaborator of the Corelli movements, he must have been a proficient musician. He was clearly English-speaking, writing such instructions as 'Turn quick' and 'quavers'.

Scribe B seems to have been the controlling mind behind the compilation. He entered music in three sections of the volume: pp. 115–128, 139–153 and 171–173, but made annotations (such as composer identifications) in other parts of the volume, including the first section copied by A.[10] Further, it was he who devised and wrote out, in French, the figured bass exercises that conclude the volume, as well as, in English, a brief statement of the rudiments of music on the flyleaf.[11] The first section contains the three Vivaldian items, which are prefaced, on p. 115, by the first part of an obviously incomplete composition described as 'Vandenenden's Fancy'.[12] On pp. 139–153 we find more Corelli (this time, from op. 4), as well as pieces attributed to Babell, Handel, Ebbeling[13] and Raick; pp. 171–173 contain the sinfonia to Mancini's *Hydaspes* (*L'Idaspe fedele*), headed 'Ouverture in Hydaspes Organ' (the last word, in darker ink, is clearly a later addition). There are many indications besides the figured bass exercises that Scribe B was French-speaking by birth (the music he copied is peppered with such instructions as 'ou l'octave en haut'), but his English was certainly very fluent—significantly he writes 'organ' rather than 'orgue' and 'Antwerp' rather than 'Anvers' (or 'Antwerpen')—and he also liked, ostentatiously but not always correctly, to use Italian in such phrases as 'Volti cito S. P.'. My guess is that he was an experienced French musician, perhaps a Huguenot émigré, working in London and retaining good connections with the Low Countries.[14]

Of the auxiliary copyists little need be said here: the composers and repertory they contributed follow the lead of scribes A and B. An interesting practice shared by all the copyists is that they use exclusively the treble clef for the upper staff—common enough in England but uncharacteristic of coeval continental manuscripts of keyboard music, which tend to make wide use of the soprano and alto clefs.

We pass now to the Vivaldian items. The first piece is headed simply 'Del Sig.r Vivaldi Organ'. Since Vivaldi wrote a small number of parts for solo organ in his music (although never a piece for solo organ),[15] one's heart leaps at the thought that this might be a 'first'. But a closer inspection of this sonata—for that is what it is, even if the word 'sonata' does not appear in the title—[16]reveals its musical language to be quintessentially violinistic. It is scarcely more credible as a piece originally written for violin and bass but pressed into service by the composer as a work for solo organ by a simple act of renaming, as exemplified by the second solo part of the concertos RV 766 and RV 767, although that possibility cannot altogether be excluded. The repeated semiquavers (*note raddoppiate*) in the opening movement (see Fig. 1) are not foreign to Vivaldi's writing for organ, as the organ part in the sonata RV 779 demonstrates, but the leaps of a ninth and a tenth in the course of rapid semiquaver figuration seen in bb. 9–10—so convenient for the violin, with the a lying on an open string—are decidedly unidiomatic and dif-

ficult to execute for the hand of a keyboard player, and therefore unlikely to have been left as they stood by the composer. My suspicion is that whoever decided to appropriate the sonata as keyboard music added the inscription 'organ' mainly as a warning that for successful performance, in view of the sustained bass pedal-note sounding over 17 bars of the first movement, the default keyboard instrument, the harpsichord, was unsuitable. The appropriation of violin music, often in unaltered form, by keyboard players was widespread in Vivaldi's day; a well-known instance from his own music is the appearance of the two slow movements from the violin sonata RV 758 as space-fillers in a volume otherwise containing organ music by Pescetti (I-Vc, Busta 38.12).

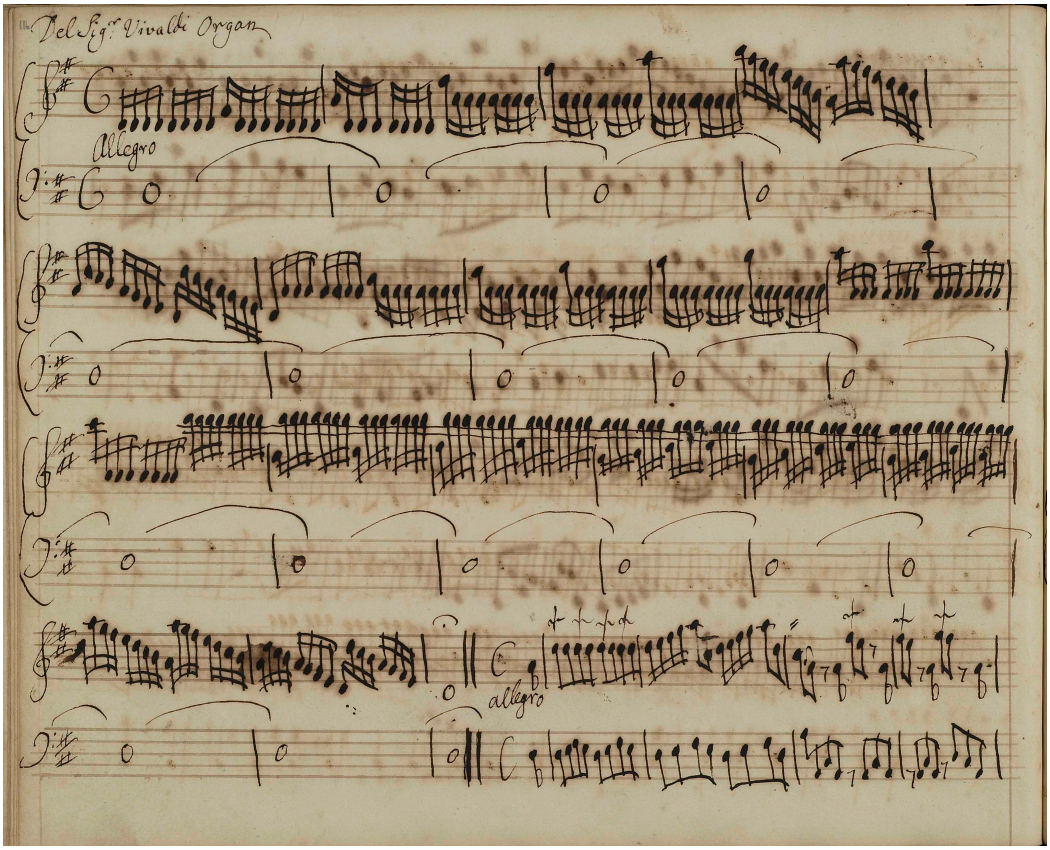


Figure 1: Opening page of the D major sonata, RV 816. Courtesy of the Gerald Coke Handel Collection.

The D major sonata is 'crouded and deformed' (to borrow Burney's uncomplimentary description) with ornaments for the right hand, which, being germane to keyboard rather than string music and English rather than Italian in notated form, obviously do not stem from the composer. They were presumably added by the copyist, or subsequently by a user; at any rate, they appear to be written with a finer nib than the rest. The ornaments are of two types: mordents (occasionally prefaced by a sharp as a chromatic modification of the auxiliary note) and shakes, which are written as double forward slashes (examples are visible in Fig. 1 at the start of the second movement). In addition, there are, in the second and third movements, a few appoggiaturas of *coulé* type more typical of keyboard than of violin writing, but these were not necessarily absent from the original. Only this Vivaldi piece contains ornaments—the other two lack even trills.

At the head of the third movement and before the second section of the fourth movement the copyist has written the Italian word 'Seguito'. The meaning of this instruction is not in doubt: it signifies 'Continuation', which in the given context is a clarification that whatever follows belongs to the same movement or work. But I have never encountered it before, and certainly not in autograph Vivaldi sources. In the case of the fourth movement, it was possibly taken over by the copyist from his non-autograph exemplar (eighteenth-century copies frequently preserve the layout of their exemplar meticulously, placing page turns and resulting instructions such as 'Segue' or 'Volti' at exactly the same point). In the case of the third movement, however, it has the force of a correction,

being written directly over a terminal flourish inappropriately appended by the copyist to the double barline closing the second movement, as if to conclude the sonata.

The second sonata, in C major, is headed 'Sonata 2:da del Si.gr [sic.] Vivaldi'. A peculiarity of the notation in this copy is that none of the dots necessary to indicate repeats have been written in. Scribe B even seems to have imagined that the first and second sections of the opening movement were separate movements: he added a flourish (a conventional sign of ending) after the double barline at the end of the first section and reintroduced the 'C' time signature at the head of the second section, which started at the top of the next page (p. 122). Worse still, he accidentally omitted four bars (bb. 41–44) from the second section and had to write them after the end of the first section of the middle movement on the lowest system of p. 123, indicating the point of insertion with a special symbol. In general (also in the other Vivaldian items), the copyist was somewhat error-prone, and particularly vulnerable to the kind of slip called by Germans *Terzverschreibung*, where symbols are entered on the line or space adjacent to the correct one. Of course, some or all of the errors might already have been present in his exemplars.

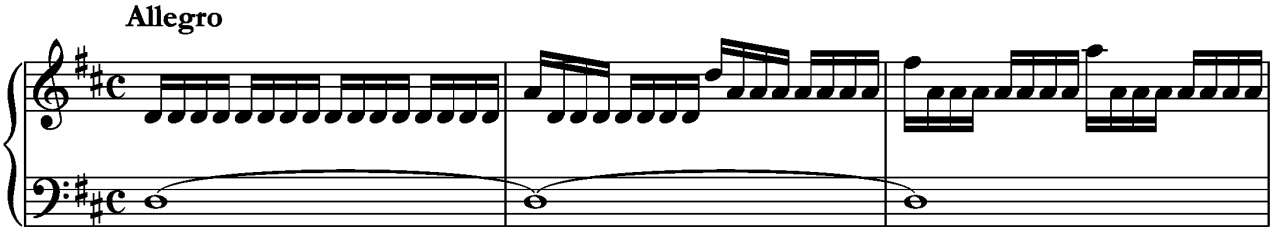
The third item is a single movement headed simply 'Giga Allegro'. Fortunately, there is even less doubt about its authorship than in the case of the two preceding works, since it is a version (revised, as we shall see) of the second movement, headed simply 'Allegro', of Vivaldi's violin sonata in F major RV 19. This sonata is preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, in a composition manuscript inscribed (though not when originally drafted) to the German violinist-composer Johann Georg Pisendel (1687–1755), who in 1716–17 was Vivaldi's pupil and close associate in Venice.[17] The sonata originally formed part of Pisendel's private collection, like the several other Vivaldi sonatas and concertos similarly inscribed, and passed after his death to the Saxon *Hofkapelle*. From there, it found its way in unexplained circumstances to the French collector Charles Malherbes (1853–1911), who bequeathed it to the Parisian library.[18] Why the rest of the sonata is absent from the London manuscript is unclear. The most likely explanation is that the copyist wrote out only as much of the sonata as would fit at the end of the gathering of music paper assigned to him. But it could equally be that his exemplar included only this single movement.

The essential details of each work are most conveniently laid out in a table (Table 1). For the movements in binary form, the total number of bars in each section is given in parentheses after the overall total. The letters 'a' and 'b' in the final column stand, respectively, for the first and second portion of the indicated system.

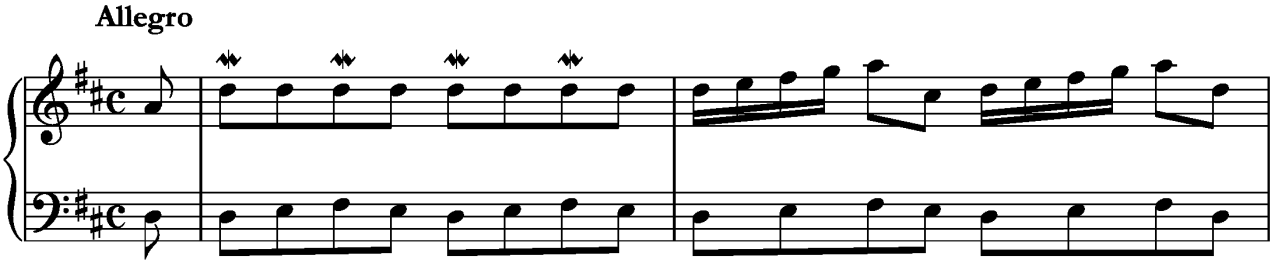
work	*movement*	*heading, metre*	*bars*	*page/system*
[Sonata] D [RV 816]	1	Allegro, C	18	116/1–116/4a
	2	Allegro, C	46	116/4b–118/3a
	3	Largo, 12/8	16 (6 + 10)	118/3b–119/2a
	4	Allegro, 3/4	47 (20 + 27)	119/2b–120/4a
Sonata C [RV 815]	1	Allegro, C	50 (20 +30)	121/1–123/1a
	2	Largo, 3/4	39 (22 + 17)	123/1b–124/3a
	3	Allegro, C	52 (22+ 30)	124/3b–126/1a
[Sonata] F (= RV 19)	[2]	Giga Allegro, 12/8	46 (19 + 27)	126/1b–128/1
void of notation				128/2–128/4

Table 1: Overview of the Vivaldian items in GB-Lfom, accession no. 1296. For thematic incipits of the eight movements, see Appendix.

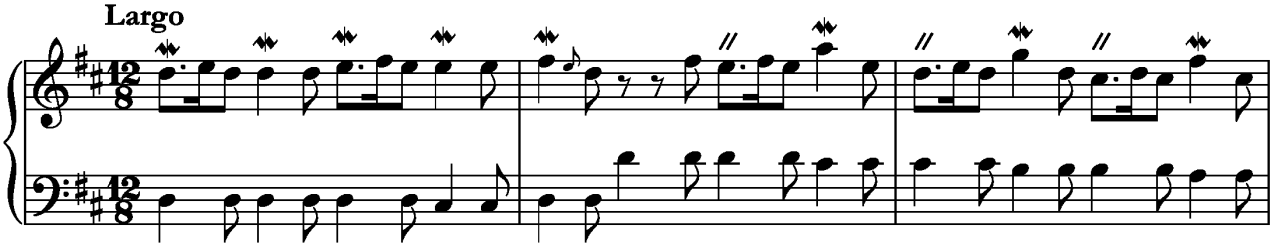
The thematic incipits of the eight movements are as follows:



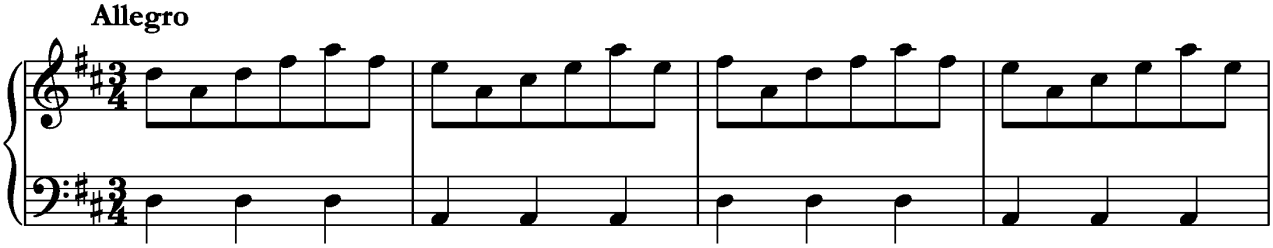
Sonata in D/1



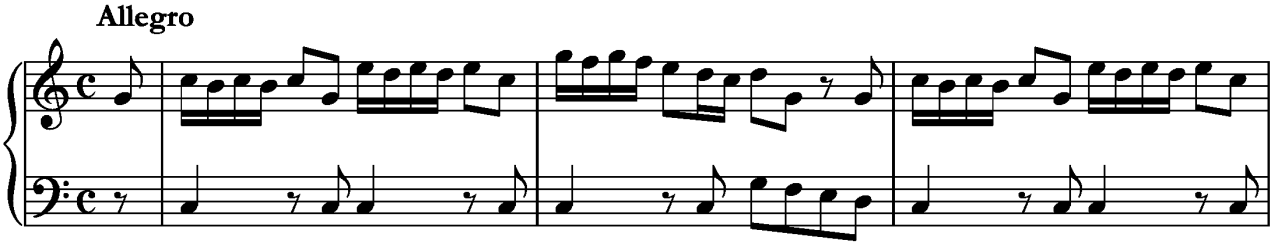
Sonata in D/2



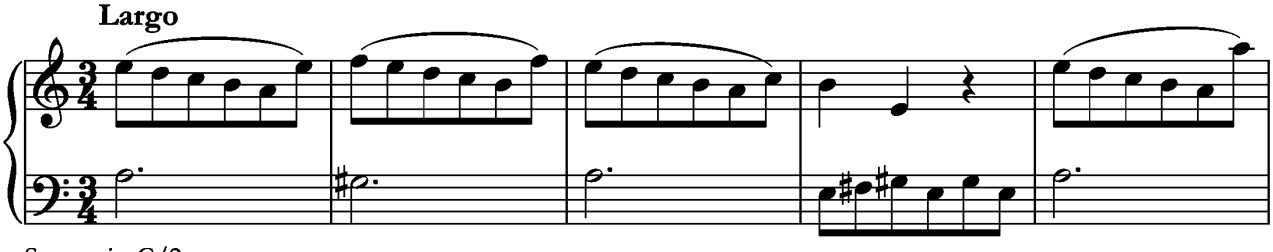
Sonata in D/3



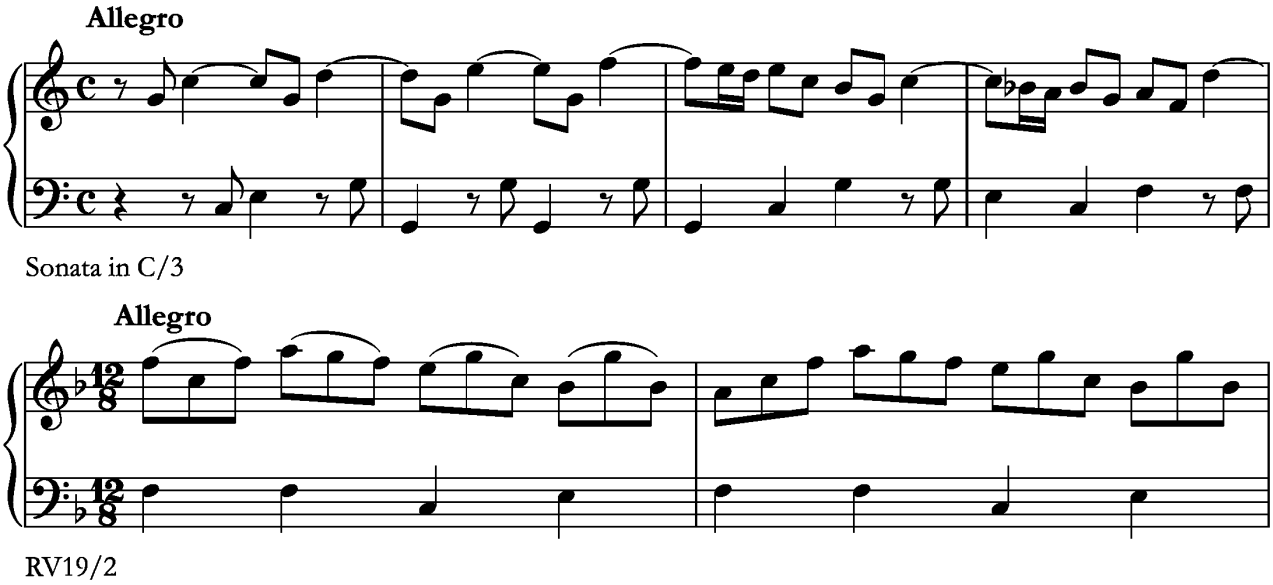
Sonata in D/4



Sonata in C/1



Sonata in C/2



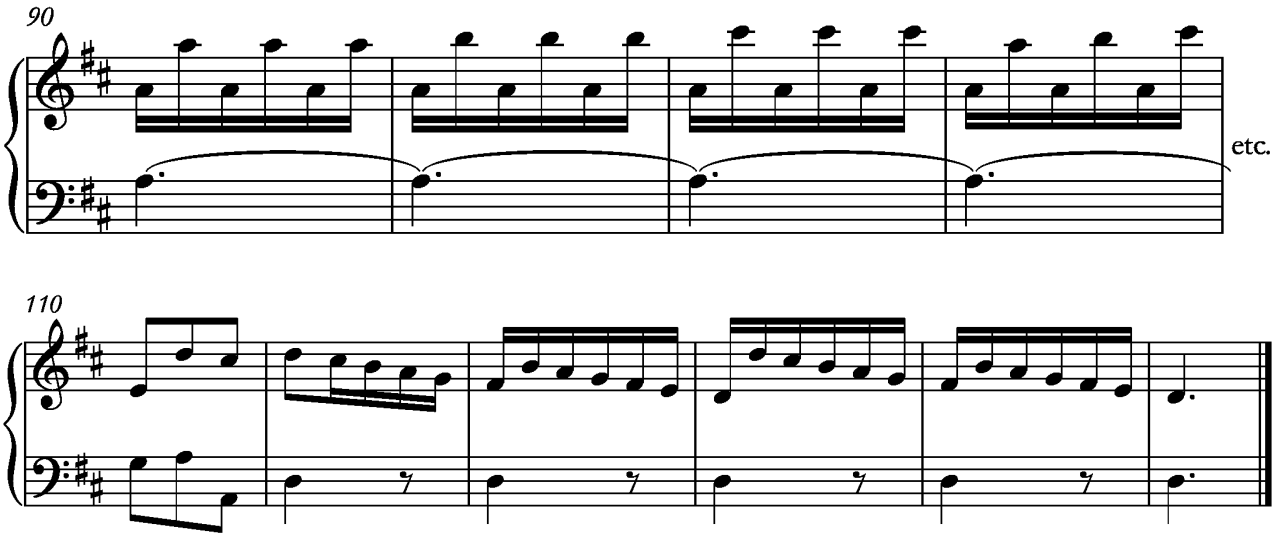
From its incipit, it will be noticed that the bass part of RV 19/2, although prefaced by a 12/8 time signature, is notated as if in Common Time, a feature that persists to the end of the movement. This notational practice, not especially common in Vivaldi's music, occurs in a few other *gighe* by him in which, similarly, the beat-note is at no stage subdivided.[19]

It will be useful at this point to sketch the character of each movement, noting points of special interest, especially for the determination of authenticity and date.

Sonata in D major, RV 816

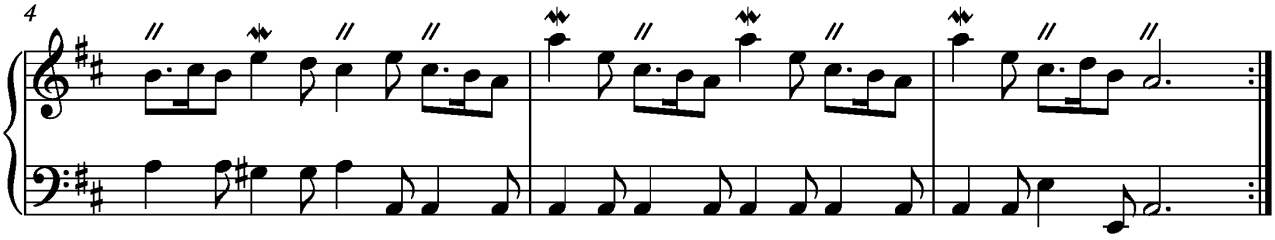
Vivaldi's four-movement sonatas mostly adhere to the 'classic' (so-called Corellian) four-movement design in the tempo sequence Slow–Fast–Slow–Fast. A fast tempo is adopted for the opening movement in a few instances, however. Whereas in the four-movement sonatas of Vivaldi's maturity (e.g., RV 10 and RV 25) fast opening movements are not fundamentally different from their slow counterparts in structure and conception, in the early (pre-1711) period they tend to be cadenza-like, following, at least in part, in the tradition of the Torellian *perfidia*. Such are the *Fantasia* opening the trio sonata RV 75 (op. 1 no. 9) and the *Preludio a capriccio* of the violin sonata RV 31 (op. 2 no. 2). The concertos, too, have their equivalent 'preludizing' movements, of which that opening the concerto RV 565 (op. 3 no. 11) is the best known. The opening Allegro of the present sonata in D is perhaps the purest example of the type so far found. As Fig. 1 shows, up to the final cadential chord nothing sounds in the bass except a sustained tonic D, above which the violin produces a *perpetuum mobile* of rushing scales, repeated notes and versions of the characteristic semiquaver group (a favourite of the early Bolognese concerto and also of Albinoni) comprising an initial note and three statements of a different note. The result is somewhat jejune—and also much simpler, technically, than the forest of semiquavers suggests to the eye. This has the mark of teaching material. We know that Vivaldi was a keen teacher (not of other musicians, Pisendel excepted, but of amateurs prepared to pay well for the privilege), and he must have turned out many 'simple sonatas' of this kind. There is a close parallel in a D major sonata discovered quite recently in Bergamo, RV 798, which even provides in its second movement a close approximation of some of the figuration of the London movement (see Ex. 1).

The second movement, instead of adopting the more usual binary form, is a movement in 'motto' form.[20] It betrays its early date by having a twofold statement (first in the tonic, then in the dominant) of the opening motto at the start of the second period (bb. 15–24). This is a device used by Torelli and, especially, Albinoni: Vivaldi soon outgrew it. Characteristically and perhaps uniquely Vivaldian, however, is the intercalation of 'irregular' phrase-lengths. The sequence occupying the six bars running from the second half of b. 5 to the first half of b. 11 comprises four statements of a unit of one-and-a-half bars: an effective touch.



Example 1. Violin sonata in D major, RV 798, second movement ('Allegro'), bb. 90–95 and 110–115.

The third movement, which, like so many of Vivaldi's internal slow movements in sonatas and concertos alike, remains in the home key, is instantly recognizable as a siciliana (although Vivaldi never employs that actual description) lying squarely within the 'family' of such movements in Vivaldi's oeuvre recently analysed in depth by Nicholas Lockey.[21] Even its incipit immediately reveals affinities: the first bar is a major-mode variant of that of its counterpart in RV 565, while bb. 2–4 contain a sequence very similar to that in b. 6 of the 'Domine Deus, Rex Caelestis' movement of the *Gloria* RV 589. Another quintessentially Vivaldian touch is the soporific repetition, in bb. 4–6, and again in bb. 14–16, of a short ostinato phrase over static tonic harmony before the composer moves lazily to the dominant for the sectional cadence (see Ex. 2).[22]

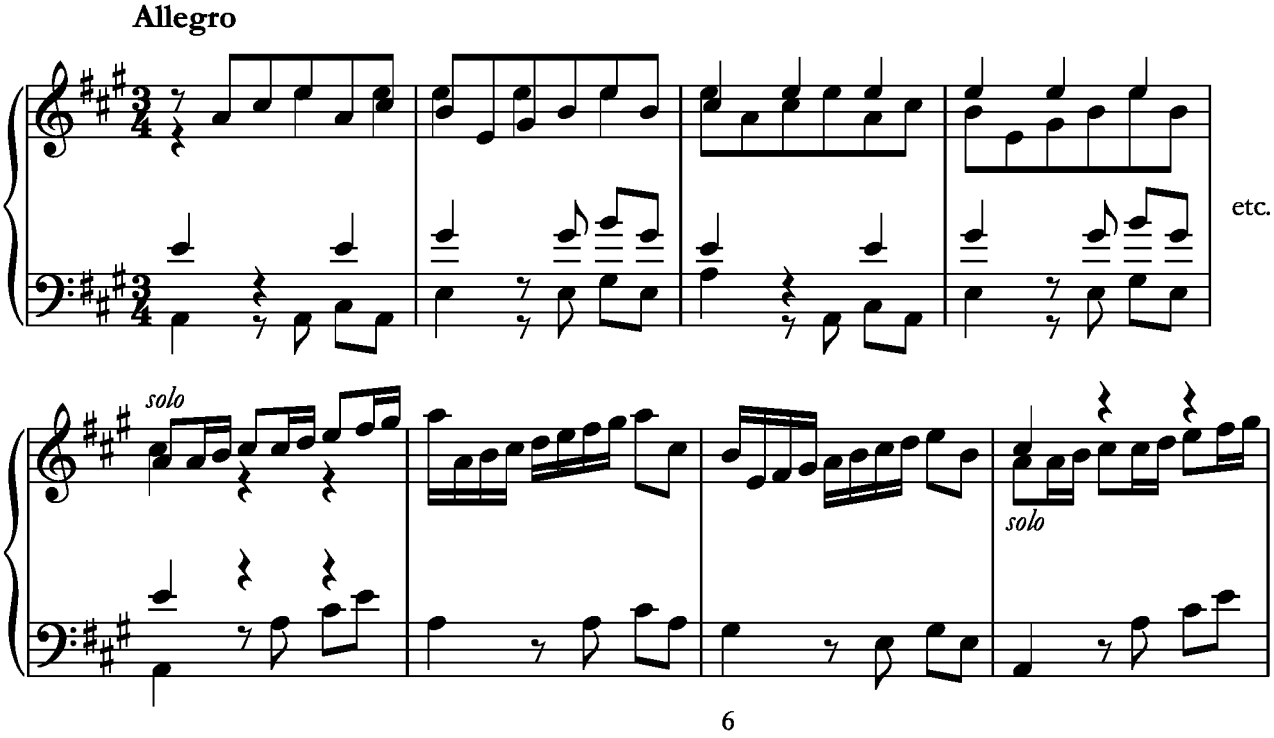


Example 2. Sonata in D, RV 816, third movement, bb. 4–6.

The final movement, though hardly more inspired than the opening Allegro, is interesting for its opening (see incipit), which is virtually a 'clone' of a figure used to open the second movement of RV 66 (op. 1 no. 4), the third movement of the early violin concerto RV 275 (in a minor-mode version) and, most important, the third movement of the concerto for two violins in A major RV 519 (op. 3 no. 5). Not only does the first period of the D major sonata echo the opening, in A major, of RV 519/3: also, it introduces in b. 8, extraordinarily for a sonata, an elaborated version of the same idea used in the concerto to launch (after a short preface) the second solo episode. The relevant bars in RV 519 are shown in Ex. 3. The obvious inference is that the sonata movement was composed under the influence, perhaps subconscious, of the concerto movement, because there is no separate rationale for the appearance of the elaborated form in a binary-form movement.

Op. 3 was published in late 1711, but some of its component works, including the fifth concerto, could have already existed for several years. That concerto's connection with the London sonata suggests, however, a date of composition for the latter of around 1710. If the new sonata seems very different in style from the twelve sonatas published in early 1709 as op. 2, the reason is not chronological but genre-related: op. 2 was originally conceived—we know this from a catalogue of the publisher, Antonio Bortoli, advertising the set before its publication—for violin and cello duet, not for violin

and continuo. This simple fact accounts for the thematic importance and high level of activity of the bass part in op. 2—a feature not replicated in the later sonatas, not even in those published in op. 5 (1716). The London sonata in D is therefore thoroughly credible as an early specimen of an 'ordinary' violin sonata by Vivaldi.



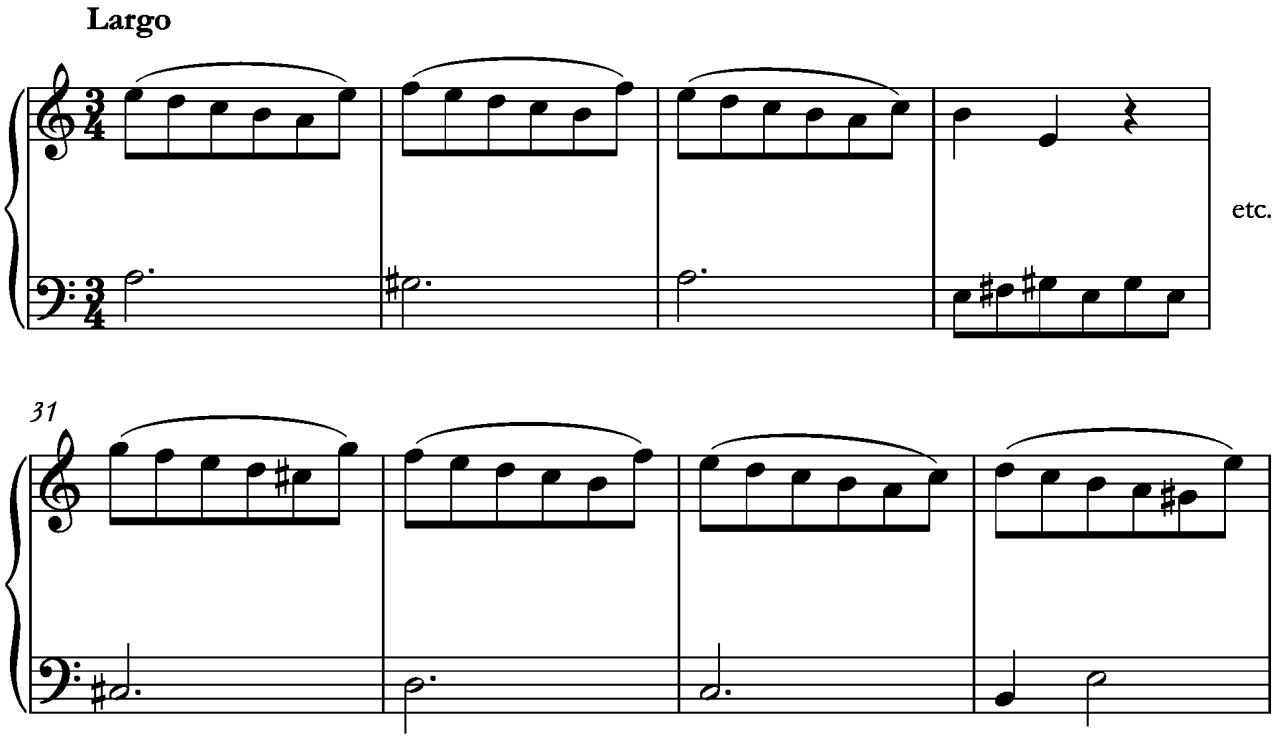
Example 3. Concerto in A major for two violins, RV 519 (op. 3 no. 5), third movement, bb. 1–4 and 26–29.

Sonata in C major, RV 815

The 'Sonata seconda' is less obviously an early work than the first sonata, but it contains no features that necessarily place its date of composition later. It adopts a three-movement design (Fast–Slow–Fast). This is unusual in a Vivaldi sonata of 'church' or mixed type. There are some examples from the later part of Vivaldi's career of three-movement sonatas in which the influence of the concerto is evident.[23] More relevantly, however, he used this design also for a few 'simple sonatas': RV 81 (for two oboes and bass) RV 800 (for two flutes and bass) and the pair RV 82 and RV 85 (for lute, violin and bass). Although the new C major sonata is clearly earlier than any of the latter, its compactness may similarly be related to its technical restraint.

Its opening movement is allemanda-like, notwithstanding the slightly martial gestures with which it announces itself. This movement is a feast of irregular phrase-lengths: bb. 21–5 comprise two units of two-and-a-half bars (a typically Vivaldian statement of the principal idea first in the dominant and then immediately in the relative minor at the start of the second section); bb. 15–17, 28–30, 42–4 and 47–9 are all twofold statements of variants of the same unit of one-and-a-half bars. In bb. 11–12 we encounter fleetingly a favourite 'chopsticks' texture of Vivaldi, where quavers on the beat in the bass alternate with quavers off the beat in the treble part.

The Largo is a curious movement. Although, as usual with Vivaldi, it is in rounded binary form,[24] the first section, with 22 bars, is actually longer than the second, with only 17 bars. The reprise is unusual in a way peculiar to Vivaldi (at least, during his own time) in that it is 'acephalic'. An acephalic or headless reprise (the neologism is mine) is one in which the reprise of the opening begins not with the first note of the theme but at a point further on, thus slightly disguising the return. To show this concretely, Ex. 4 presents first bb. 1–4 of the movement and then bb. 31–4; b. 31 matches b. 1 in shape but not in pitch or harmony, and a recognizable correspondence is established only in bb. 32–3.[25]



Example 4. Sonata in C major, RV 815, second movement, bb. 1–4 and 31–4.

This movement is interesting, further, for its delicate tracery of triplet semiquavers towards the end of each period, which provides an admirable and initially unexpected foil to the slurred quavers.

In its general style, the finale is a typical Vivaldian gavotta, with the violin line heavily syncopated and the bass from time to time introducing the rhythmicized monotones (the so-called 'drum' bass) so contemptuously censured by Quantz and C. P. E. Bach.[26] In its tonal trajectory it is wildly deviant—and this detail alone would suffice to confirm Vivaldi as author. It has been remarked many times in the past how willing Vivaldi is on occasion to depart from the general principle that in major-key movements the dominant should serve as the principal secondary tonality and the first foreign key to be visited.[27] The usual alternative to the dominant is the mediant minor. Always rare, this option is not exclusive to Vivaldi.[28] But here it is the relative minor key that acts as the secondary tonality, and this choice does indeed appear a personal idiosyncrasy. That this was not an experiment tried once and then discarded is clear from the fact that the relative minor appears in the same role in the final movement of the sonata RV 19, coincidentally one of the works under discussion. It is interesting to examine the structure of the movement in the C major sonata, shown in Table 2.

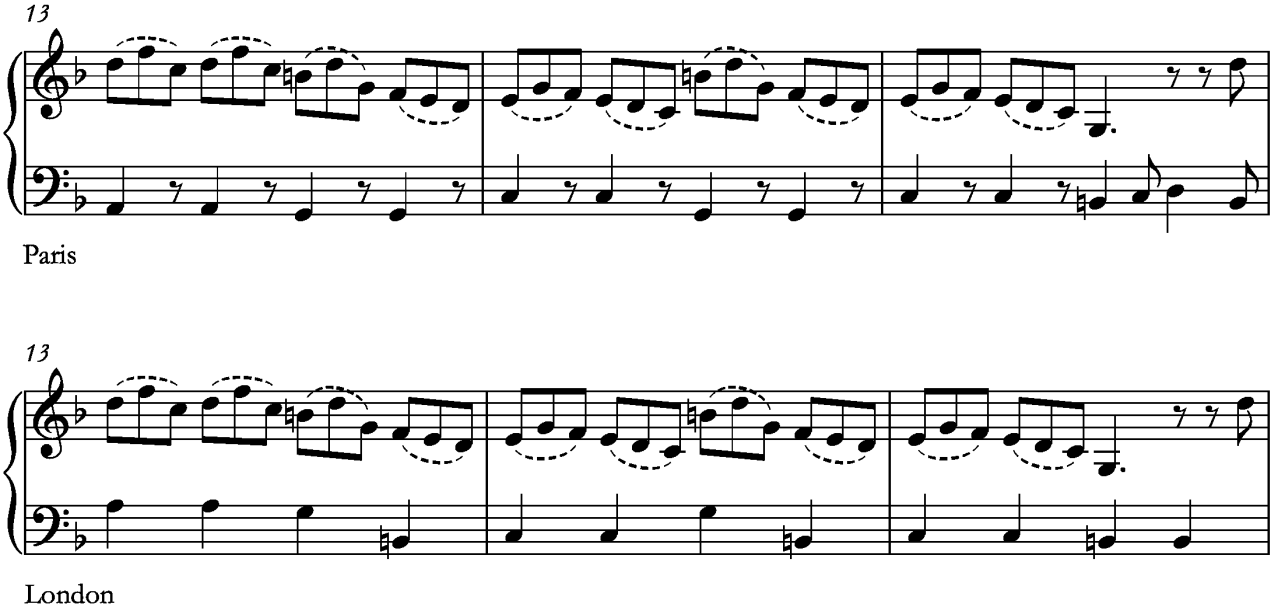
section	*bars*	*key*	*thematic cells*
I	1–12 13–22	C → C C → a	α β γ δ ϵ ζ α β δ ϵ
II	23–33 34–36 36–52	a → d d → C C → C	α ζ β α β γ δ ϵ

Table 2. Overview of the third movement of the Sonata in C major

The extra, 'peripheral' key visited in the second section is the supertonic minor. This means that the dominant, as a tonal centre, has—bizarrely—no presence in the movement at all.[29] Vivaldi weaves the thematic cells (I have counted six in all, represented here by Greek letters) cleverly and systematically through the tonal progression, four times starting with motive 'α' and each time slightly varying what follows. This movement, too, features an acephalic reprise: the statement of 'α' following the modulation to D minor has the function of a retransition, the reprise proper beginning with 'β'. Despite the unfamiliarity of its design, the movement works well, and is in fact rather impressive.

Sonata in F major, RV 19, second movement

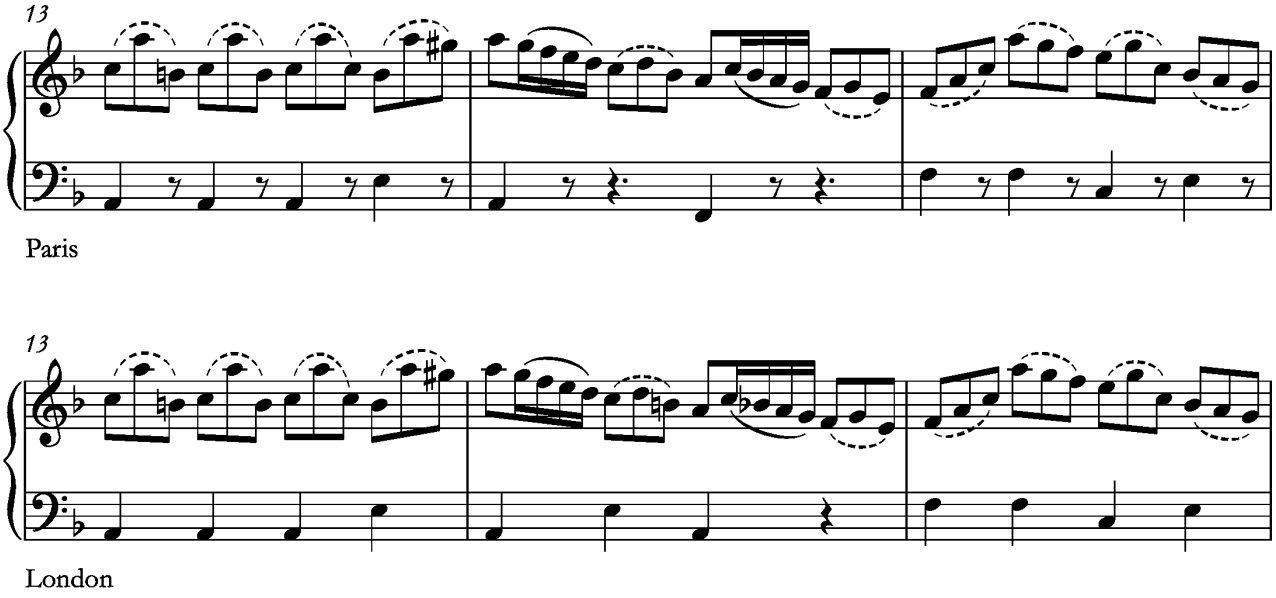
When one compares the violin part of the London and Paris versions of this movement, one notices little difference. But the bass parts are different, in ways sometimes trivial but at other times quite significant, from start to finish. Like the London version, the Paris version moves mostly in crotchets (notated as crotchet plus quaver rest, since the 12/8 metre of the time signature is observed conventionally), but in the gaps between violin phrases and before cadences the motion quickens into the trochaic rhythm of crotchet plus quaver. The London version, however, maintains the steady tread of crotchets and (occasionally) minims. Ex. 5, which presents bb. 13–15 in the two versions, illustrates the difference.



Example 5. Sonata in F major, RV 19/2, bb. 13–15 in the Paris and London versions.

The simplification of the London version might be explained by a wish to facilitate performance at a rapid tempo, but this does not account for many of the differences in octave or chord inversion where the two versions are otherwise similar. One of the other violin sonatas inscribed by Vivaldi to Pisendel, RV 6, and another sonata, RV 22, once in Dresden and very possibly also in Pisendel's possession (its first and third movements are used there in pasticcio compositions) have later versions (preserved, respectively, in Manchester and Brussels) that display differences of exactly the same kind in the bass part. In a recent introduction to a facsimile edition of the twelve 'Manchester' sonatas I ventured the hypothesis that when Vivaldi gave, or sold, Pisendel the sonatas inscribed to him he did not retain copies of the scores.[30] He did, however, keep a violin part (there may have originally been also a separate bass part, later lost). When he wished to make copies of these sonatas after 1717, the absence of a bass part forced him to invent one *ex novo*, doubtless drawing on his memory of the original part but improvising what he could not remember, thereby often arriving at different solutions. The hypothesis appears to be strengthened by this new find. It has the virtue, at least, of providing an explanation for the trivial as well as the more significant differences between the two versions. Vivaldi, of course, had the freedom to alter the original violin line as well. In b. 31 he made an improvement to the phrase linking the cadence in A minor to the start of the reprise of the

opening idea in F major in b. 32. The Paris version signals the return to F with the appearance of the note b′ flat on the last quaver of the second beat of b. 31. The London version, in contrast, delays the return until the third beat, which gives it time to repeat the A minor cadence (substituting b′ natural for b′ flat), thereby heightening the piquant contrast between the two key areas. The bars in question are shown in Ex. 6.



Example 6. Sonata in F major, RV 19, bb. 30–32 in the Paris and London versions.

* * * * *

Vivaldi is an unusually easy composer to recognize from a perusal of musical style because of the abundance of idiosyncratic elements in his musical language and his propensity to recycle themes, sections and even whole movements from work to work. Even if the manuscripts of the present sonatas in D major and C major had not named him as composer, a convincing case for his authorship could have been mounted. His authorship not only of the Giga but also of its variant bass part is equally firm.

The dates of composition of the three items remain more nebulous than the date of their copying in the London volume. The Giga must date between 1716–17 (when Vivaldi handed over the score of RV 19 to Pisendel) and c.1726, the date of the latest items in the miscellany. For the D major sonata, there is merely an inference from stylistic features and the specific link to RV 519 that it is early—from around the same time as the concertos in *L'estro armonico*. For the C major sonata, the chronological indices are weaker, although I incline towards a relatively early date. Whether the pieces travelled together from Italy to England, and who took them and used them there, are questions impossible to answer at present, but which closer study of the volume may one day reveal.

One thing is certain, however: two new works need to be added to the current roster of 44 violin sonatas (ignoring variants) by Vivaldi.[31] Works in this genre have figured prominently in the additions to the Ryom catalogue made since 1973, and it is likely that from time to time new sonatas will turn up. Unfortunately, the Turin manuscripts, once Vivaldi's personal archive, do not contain a single violin sonata. As I have suggested before, the solo sonatas and the trio sonatas (except those with unconventional scoring) appear to have been abstracted from the collection—perhaps by one of the composer's copyist nephews—before it passed into new ownership.[32] So we may never gain a clear idea of how many violin sonatas Vivaldi composed, although I would guess that it was well in excess of the present number.

As for the volume in the Foundling Museum, it certainly has more secrets to yield up, and I would urge scholars of Corelli, Loeillet and Raick—not forgetting those of Handel, naturally—to pay it close attention in the future.

[1]At http://foundling.soutron.com/cokecollection. All items in the collection (GB-Lfom) are included in the RISM database *Music Manuscripts after 1600 in British and Irish Libraries* at http://www.rism.org.uk.

[2] The volume is described, and its contents tabulated, in *Georg Friedrich Händel: Klavierwerke I–IV, Kritischer Bericht* (Hallische Händel-Ausgabe IV/7), ed. Terence Best (Kassel and Basel etc., 2000), 27–28, where the Vivaldian items are listed succinctly as 'sonatas by Vivaldi' without further elaboration. I am grateful to Terence Best and Donald Burrows for comments on the volume in private correspondence.

[3] I should like to take this opportunity to thank Colin Coleman, Assistant Librarian of the Gerald Coke Handel Collection, for his kind assistance during my research into this manuscript.

[4] The didactic intention is shown by (a) the sketching of a few rudiments of music (note values and scales) on the volume's flyleaf, (b) a page (p. 174) with three fugue subjects, and (c) a gathering (pp. 175–182) containing exercises for figured bass realisation.

[5] The gathering is normally in fours, eight pages at a time. There is no writing on p. 130, and a new piece, an anonymous and untitled movement in saraband rhythm, commences on p. 131, so it is conceivable (albeit rather improbable) that the inner bifolio with its content was excised subsequent to the binding.

[6] *Georg Friedrich Händel: Klavierwerke I–IV, Kritischer Bericht*, 27.

[7] The three items concerned are all headed 'Raick Antwerp'.

[8] See note 6, earlier. For the relevant watermark illustration, see Donald Burrows and Martha J. Ronish, *A Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs* (Oxford, 1994).

[9] Several movements (particularly fugal or violinistic ones) are omitted from the sequences, sometimes being replaced by movements culled from another work in the same three collections or from elsewhere.

[10] After p. 113 all page numbers have been added by a later hand.

[11] The exercises are written on pp. 176–182, with the volume inverted (thus starting on p. 182). A 'two-directional' layout is quite often encountered in English albums of this period and type (for example, Anne Dawson's Book in Manchester, GB-Mp, MS BRm 710 Cr. 71); here, as elsewhere, it does not result from an error of binding but has a real functional significance. The exercises were evidently not copied from another source, since the original bars 13–17 of the second exercise (headed 'en majeure') have been deleted and replaced by a different continuation.

[12] 'Fancy' is presumably equivalent to 'Fantasia'. The surname 'Vandenenden' is common in the Netherlands, but I have not been able to trace any composer of that name active at the time. What is present on p. 115 is only the first section, modulating from D minor to F major, of a short keyboard piece in what would presumably have been binary form.

[13] Organists with the surname 'Ebeling' are found at the Nieuwe Kerk at The Hague in the later part of the century, but I have not been able to trace any musician of that description with the initials 'P. Ch.'.

[14] In the Vivaldi sonatas there are a few puzzling accidentals that are neither idiomatic for the composer nor cogent musically. The most likely explanation is that they are the result of hypercorrection on the part of the copyist. I am grateful to Federico Maria Sardelli for discussing these instances with me.

[15] See Michael Talbot, 'Vivaldi and the Concertante Organ', *The Organist* 2/2 (1992), 1–3.

[16] Since the work that follows is a 'Sonata seconda', the generic identification must have been clear to the copyist, even if not made explicit in the score.

[17] F-Pn, Rés. ms. 2225.

[18] See Peter Ryom, 'Le manuscrit perdu du fonds de Dresde', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani* 1 (1980), 18–31, at 24.

[19] One such example is the *Giga* of the violin sonata in E flat major RV 756 (eleventh of the 'Manchester' set), which uses for the bass staff the modified time signature '12/8 C'. The London manuscript has only '12/8', however. The substitution of simple for compound metre in bass parts, whether or not reflected in the time signature, was fairly widespread at the time, being just one instance of the pragmatic simplification of rhythmic notation so characteristic of the age.

[20] Motto form differs from the more expansive ritornello form in that the material restated at intervals is a head-motive rather than a complete musical period.

[21] Nicholas Lockey, 'Vivaldi and the Siciliana: Towards a Critical Appraisal', in *Antonio Vivaldi. Passato e futuro*, ed. Francesco Fanna and Michael Talbot (Venice, 2009), 141–60. This online publication is accessible via the web site http://www.cini.it.

[22] See, for comparison, the second movement of the trio for two flutes and bass RV 800.

[23] These comprise RV 83 for violin, cello and bass, and the four sonatas for two violins with optional bass RV 68, 70, 71 and 77.

[24] This is a variety of binary form where the principal idea returns in the tonic mid-way (or thereabouts) through the second repeated section.

[25] Of major composers, only Smetana seems to have employed acephalic reprises as often as Vivaldi did.

[26] In fact, Vivaldi uses here a more dynamic form of the *Trommelbass*, with octave leaps, but the general effect is the same.

[27] See, for example, Michael Talbot, *Vivaldi* (London, 1978), 112–113.

[28] For instance, Domenico Scarlatti sometimes resorts to it in his keyboard sonatas.

[29] In bb. 7–11, and again in bb. 40–41, there are touches of C minor, but these are typical instances of harmonic colouring without significance for the overall structure.

[30] *Antonio Vivaldi, Suonate à Violino Solo, e Basso per il Cembalo (le sonate 'di Manchester'), RV 3, 6, 12, 17a, 22, 754–760* (Florence, 2004), 42.

[31] The C major sonata is now officially RV 815, the D major sonata RV 816. See Federico Maria Sardelli, 'Aggiornamenti del catalogo vivaldiano', *Studi vivaldiani* 10 (2010), 153–162, at 156.

[32] See Michael Talbot, *The Sacred Vocal Music of Antonio Vivaldi* (Florence, 1995), 186.

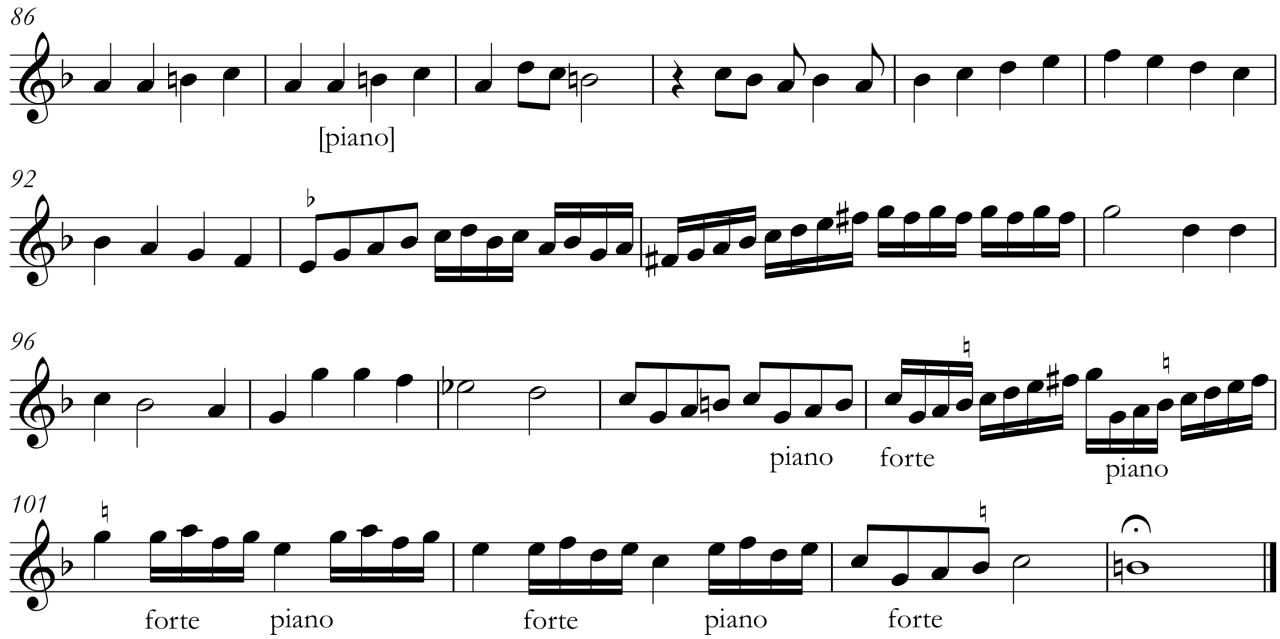
The recorder in Western European countries in the seventeenth century before Lully (with special reference to France, Spain, England and Italy)

Anthony Rowland-Jones

In preparing my recent article 'Lully's use of recorder symbolism' for *Early Music*, I attempted to discover how the recorder was used in French music in the first half of the seventeenth century.[1] This was in order to ascertain to what extent Lully was drawing upon established recorder symbolisms before his first documented use of the instrument in *Alcidiane* (1658). It seems that Lully, along with several other French composers around the same time, used the recorder in much the same contexts as earlier composers had done, although in his later operas, Lully did so across a wider range of contexts, and to much more telling effect, notably in 'sleep' scenes and *pompes funèbres*. Lully requires the use of 'flutes' (i.e. recorders) on some sixty occasions in his dramatic works.[2]

To date, there has been little scholarship dealing specifically and systematically with seventeenth-century French wind instrumentation, and the following list draws upon a wide variety of sources, some primary. Whereas Peter Van Heyghen located some twenty examples in his table of 'Assigned Recorder Parts in Early Italian Baroque Music', for the French context in the same period I have found only half this number (I have excluded works by Italian composers performed outside Italy).[3] Van Heyghen's list refers to five purely instrumental collections, containing a small, but uniquely Italian, repertoire of a dozen or so canzonas, sinfonias and sonatas by Venetian composers such as Riccio (1612, illustrated in Example 1, and 1620), Usper (1619), Picchi (1625) and Biagio Marini (1629), all designating recorders.[4] His list suggests that the recorder went out of use in Italy almost completely after about 1630, except perhaps in folk music and a few dramas where the recorder may have been associated with shepherds.[5] Interestingly, unlike in England (and to some extent in Spain), in France as in Italy there is no sign of recorders being used in spoken theatre works, at least up to the time of Molière, nor in sacred music. In France (but much less so in England or Spain) the baroque recorder was used most frequently, especially by Lully, in Arcadian settings in ballets and operas, a context that differed from that for other wind instruments, such as oboes, frequently played by low-life 'real' shepherds in their rustic *musique champêtre*. But until he arrived as a skilled violinist in Paris, the seventeen-year-old Florentine Lully may never have heard or even seen a recorder.

From the late 1650s onwards, when Lully changed the sonority of recorders, their use increases significantly.[6] In England from the mid-1670s, after a dormant period, recorders returned to favour; the frequency of their use is comparable with the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods when they were often called for in theatre music. Meanwhile, in the Germanic lands during the seventeenth century, except for a hiatus during the Thirty Years' War, recorders maintained their status, to some extent because of a continued tradition in wind-instrument making and playing, and partly because their wide range of established symbolisms continued to be recognised.[7] This article therefore considers an unexpectedly diverse use of recorders as between France, Italy and England in the seventeenth century, and, for further comparison, in Spain.



Example 1. Giovanni Battista Riccio (fl. 1609–21), *Il Primo Libro delle divine lodi* (1612), solo part of Canzona I, b. 86 to the end, ed. Eleanor Selfridge-Field (London Pro Musica: London, 1976). The instrumentation first offers the free choice of 'Basso e Soprano' but then alternatively suggests 'flautino' (with transposition). This extract shows the Italian penchant of the time for exuberant embellishment. The rapid alternations of loud and soft are difficult to play on a recorder with steady intonation, requiring a high standard of technique.

The Recorder in France up to 1660

Although generally regarded as ephemeral at the time, some music from the seventeenth-century French *ballet de cour* survives thanks to the painstaking research undertaken by Louis XIV's librarian, André Danican Philidor *l'ainé*, who sought to preserve its repertoire later in the century, and by the inclusion of movements in dance suite compilations such as those of Praetorius. Evidence of instrumentation in these courtly ballets is occasionally found in librettos (*livrets*),[8] and sometimes in accounts written by visiting dignitaries and other audience members at performances.

Other evidence comes from the writings of Saint-Évremond. In describing a performance of Robert Cambert's *Pastorale d'Issy* in 1659, he noted the appearance of 'consorts of flutes', and claimed that recorders had not been heard in the theatre 'since the Greeks and the Romans'.[9] He had obviously not noticed Lully's use of recorders in *Alcidiane*, which had been given the previous year—although it is possible that Lully's earlier use of the instrument escaped his attention, since the 1658 performance, as described in Jean Loret's verses, featured a vast array of other instruments, whose sound may have swamped the recorders.[10] By contrast, Cambert's *Pastorale* was performed in intimate surroundings with only thirteen instrumentalists, including at least two recorders, so the recorder players, and what they played, would have been much more noticeable.[11] Saint-Évremond also disregarded, or did not know of, a performance in 1659 of Pertin and Boesset's *La Mort d'Adonis*, in which the Graces descended to the sound of recorders.[12] Saint-Évremond's reaction is not surprising, since only two references can be traced of the use of recorders in *ballets de cour* of the 1640s, and only one has been noted in the 1650s before 1658.

References to the use of recorders in court ballets and other entertainments before Louis XIII's accession in 1610 are even harder to come by. Nine ballets date from the latter part of Henry IV's reign (between 1600 and 1609) but one can only conjecture whether the King's wind instrumentalists were involved in the performances. One of the wind players, Michel Henry, an hautbois player in the *Ecurie,* and later (in 1616) a 'violon de la chambre du roi', compiled a list, in 1620 (at the age of sixty-five), of the entertainments he had played in. In 1587, 'la nuit de Saint-Julien', he performed as part of 'a grand noise of instruments' (he gives the names of the five other musicians who took part, including his father). They played together ('bien d'accord') on 'flutes à neuf trous' (i.e. recorders) as well as on a three-holed pipe with tabor, but there is no later mention of recorders being used.[13]

The following lists French entertainments performed between 1610 and 1658 for which there is evidence that recorder players may have taken part:

1614. *Jeu de la Conversion de S. Guillaume d'Aquitaine*. This was not a *ballet de cour* but an example of a very similar entertainment, a *ballet-intermède*, given by Jesuit establishments throughout France, often before Royalty. With Richelieu's encouragement, these entertainments were on a lavish scale, and were intended as a form of propaganda both for the Jesuits and the glorification of the monarchy, and as a token of unity between Church and State. In this particular piece, viols and recorders supplied music for a 'ballet des anges'. Most unusually, a courante and its choreography, which belonged to this ballet, have been preserved.[14]

1619. *Ballet de Tancrède* (or *Ballet du Roy sur l'aventure de Tancrède*). A ballet based on a plot by Tasso with music by Pierre Guédron. At the third Entrée an 'Air pour les Flustes' was played by six satyrs.[15]

1619. *Ballet du Roy*. See Figure 1 and caption.

1622. *La Centaura*. An Italian semi-operatic pastorale, by G. B. Andreini, given before Louis XIII by a company visiting Paris in 1621–2. The appearance of the pastoral god Pan in the prologue was accompanied by a 'sinfonia de flauti, storte [cornetts] over di piffari [shawms]'.[16] Possibly cornetts and transverse flutes, and not recorders, were intended in the sinfonia. Even in France the recorder was little used in open-air Pastorales, many of which were performed on temporary stages and in noisy public places where recorders would have been inaudible.[17]

1627. *Les nymphes bocagères de la forêt sacrée* by le Sieur de Boisrobert (dramatist).[18] Arcadian shepherds dance to the sound of three recorders.

1627. *Concert à Louis XIII par les 24 Violons et les 12 Grands hautbois*.[19] Item 11 is called 'Les Bergers' and the following piece (12, p. 135) is marked 'Galliarde pour les hautbois'. This could be taken to imply that instruments other than hautbois were used for the preceding piece, which might have been recorders. However, other possible instrumentations for item 11 are just as likely; for example, performance on musettes is a possibility.

1631. *Les Travaux d'Ulysse* by Jean-Gilbert Durval. A play with a ballet based on a series of paintings, probably by Primaticcio, at Fontainebleau, where it was first performed for Louis XIII.[20] In Act V, Scene 1, three sirens boast of their performing abilities—they sing, and one siren, Ligée, plays the 'flute' (i.e. recorder), and Leucosie, another siren, plays the lute. Ulysses, bound to the mast of his ship, then hears a 'beau concert d'instruments et de voix', which included many flutes and lutes, probably off-stage. The idea of sirens playing recorders can be traced back to a fourteenth-century misericord; see Figure 2.

1632. *Le Grand Ballet des Effets de la Nature*, a spectacular ballet by G. Colletet (dramatist). Margaret McGowan refers to a 'concert de flûtes' which 'exceeds in excellence all the marvels which the Histories report about this Ismenias, a flute-player from ancient times' ('dépasse en excellence toutes les merveilles que les Histoires rapportent de cet ancien joueur de flute Ismenias').[21] The recorders may also have participated in a Serenade with 'delicious harmonies' produced by 'all sorts of instruments of music'.

[1636. The year Marin Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* is published, in which recorder fingerings, and sizes of the instruments forming consorts, are discussed; it includes a 'Gavote pour les flustes douces' composed by Sieur Henry le Jeune (see Figure 3, p. 22), along with an 'Air de Cour pour les Flustes d'Allemand' and a 'Vaudeville pour les Flageollets'. No impression is given that any of these instruments may have been in decline.]

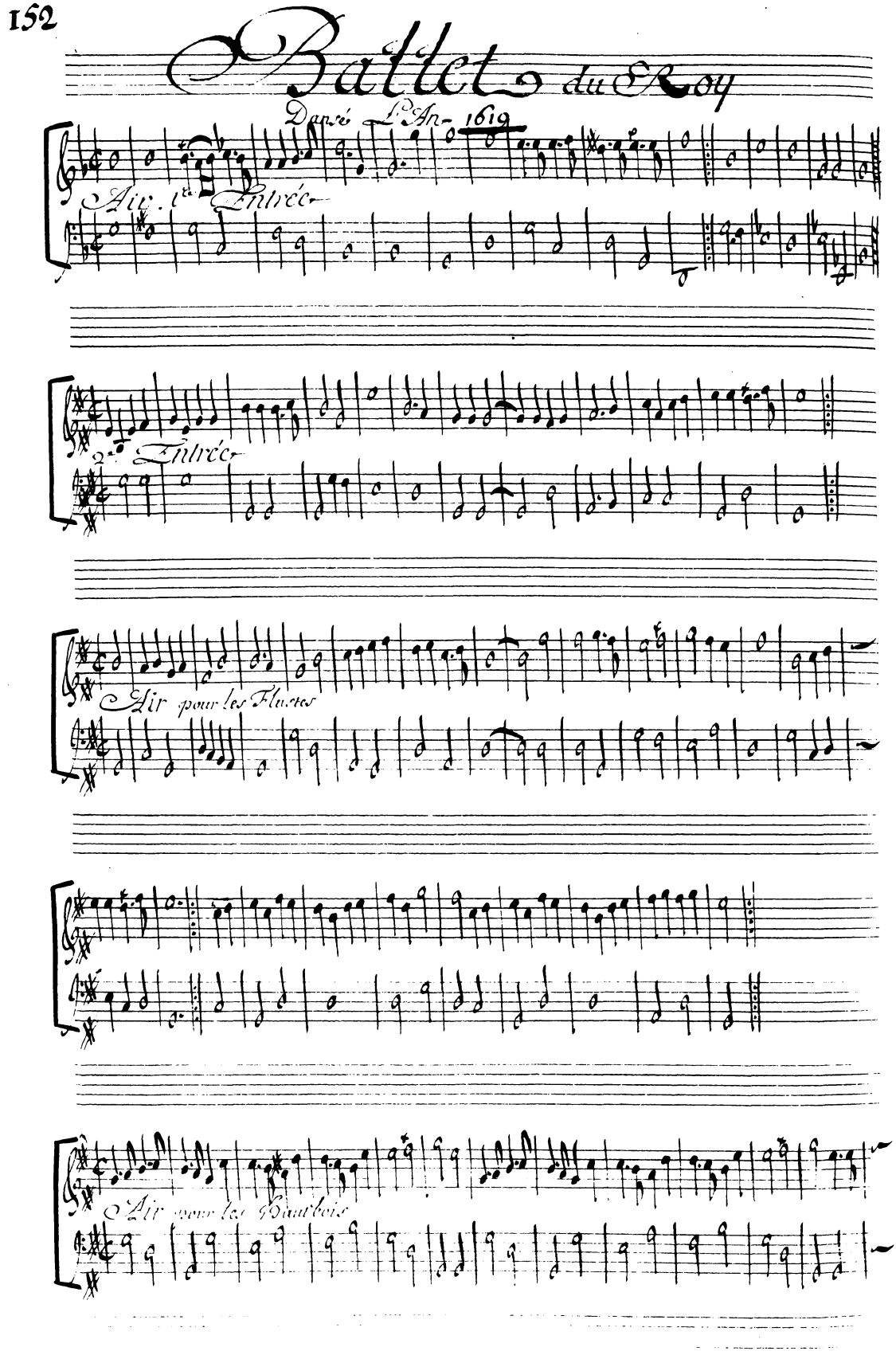


Figure 1. First page of 'Ballet du Roy Dansé L'An 1619', copied by André Danican Philidor into the anthology [Recüeil de Plusieurs Anciens Ballets], vol. 1, p. 152 (F-Pn, rés F496). Featured on this page, following the 2nd Entrée, is an 'Air pour les Flustes' (and on the following page an 'Entrée des Bergeres'). While 'Flustes' may mean that recorders were used by the performers, the word also means 'flautists', who played flageolets and transverse flutes as well as recorders.

1638. *Les Nopces de Vaugirard ou les Naifverez champetres, Pastorelle dédié à ceux qui veulent rire*, by 'L.C. D.' Jules Marsan, in *La Pastorelle Dramatique en France à la fin du XIVe et au commencement du XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1905), in describing this as 'le germe du futur opéra comique', refers to it as 'a sentimental foolish trifle with accompaniment for flute [i.e. recorder] and violins' ('niaiserie sentimentale avec accompagnement de flûtes et de violons'). He gives three examples of such usage, but in one ('le sérénade du vieux Pancrace à la vielle Lucian') the 'flute' is in fact a tabor-pipe, and neither of the other two, a peasant wedding dance and a firework show, are likely 'recorder occasions'; indeed, the text just before the peasants' wedding reads 'Le son de ces hautbois dit qu'il viennent ici'. In 1905, the recorder could hardly have been a familiar instrument, so the writer's claims need to be viewed with due caution; the use of recorders is very doubtful in this instance.

1641 (and also 1648). *Les pêcheurs illustres,* by Pierre de Marcassus (author). Fishermen and tritons in this comedy are accompanied by recorders and violins—very appropriately for the context since it is concerned with pastoral themes, water, death, magic and marriage. The music is based on folk-tunes.[22]

1648. *Ballet du dérèglement de Passions.* The music is by François de Chancy.[23] Item 20, among the 5th Entrée, is a piece entitled 'Olimpe celebre joueur de fluste poursuivy par 2. Satyrs qui admire sa beauté' (i.e. 'the famous flute-player Olimpe chased by 2 Satyrs who admire her beauty'). For this stage-direction to be rendered visually, it may be assumed that Olimpe is playing, or at least carrying, her recorder.

[1648. An inventory made after the death of Jean Boyer, one of the King's musicians, shows that he owned an entire consort of recorders ('ung jeu de flutte douce')].[24]

1654. *Les Noces de Pélée et de Thétis.* A 'Comédie italienne en musique', by Carlo Caprioli, with ten ballet entrées, in which both Louis XIV and Lully danced.[25] It included a 'Combat à la barrière' in which recorders, in a rather unexpected role of symbolising conflict, joined forces with trumpets and strings.

The above lists known instances of recorder usage in French entertainments before Lully's *Alcidiane*; some entries are conjectural, or for information. Recorders may have been called for more frequently than the list suggests, but there is no way of knowing. Moreover, terminology is so imprecise that 'flute', on some of these occasions, might refer to instruments other than the recorder. It will be noted that recorder usage, such as it is, diminishes towards the end of the period, but that there was a renewed interest in the instrument from around 1658, which continued up to the end of the century.

Figure 2. The Sirens, being accomplished vocalists and emulating other late fourteenth-century singers, were quick to take up the recently developed recorder to sweeten their songs of enchantment. In this image, a misericord (c.1390), in St Botolph's church, Boston, Lincolnshire, a Siren uses a tenor recorder to lure seamen to their deaths. It may represent Ulysses who in the *Odyssey* had himself tied to the mast of his ship and blocked his sailors' ears to escape the peril, the same episode represented by a scene in Durval's *Les Travaux d'Ulysse* (1631) in which a 'beau concert d'instruments et de voix' was performed. It illustrates the persistence and universality of basic ideas in recorder symbolism, in this case myth and the supernatural, linked with eroticism.

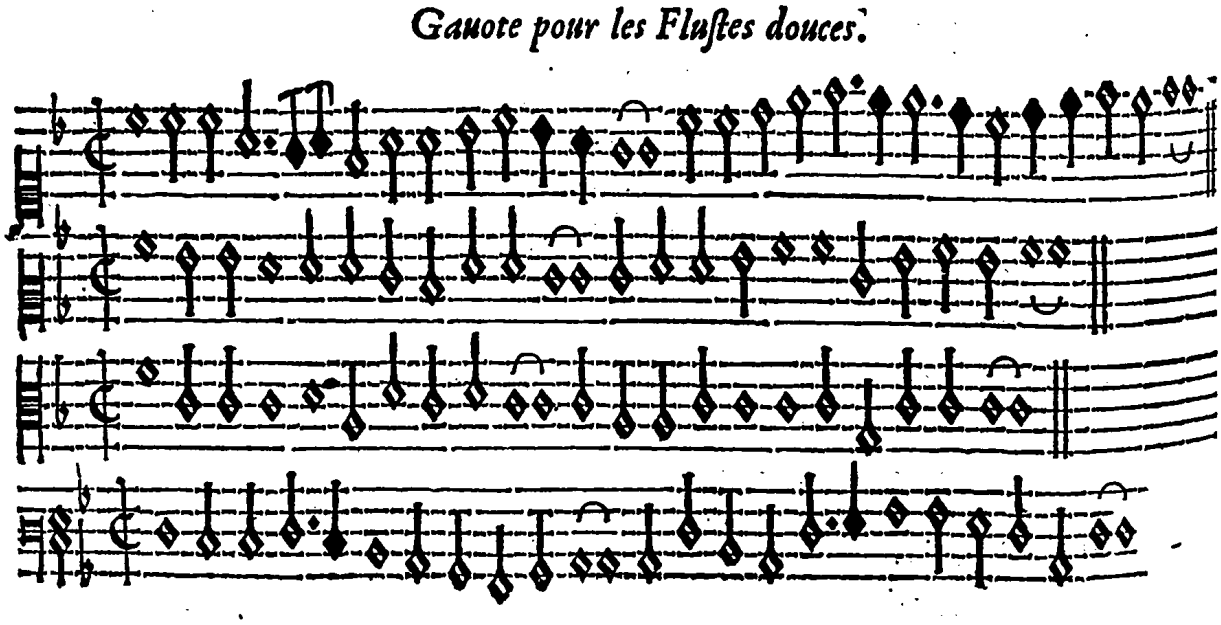


Figure 3. Sieur Henry le Jeune, 'Gavote pour les flustes douces' as printed in Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle* (1636), Part 2, Book 5, p. 240. Judging from Mersenne's interest in bass recorders, and the notated pitch, the intended instrumentation was probably alto, tenor, basset and great bass. The music is written for the instruments in their lowest octave, where the recorders of the time sounded best.

The Recorder in Spain and England up to 1660[26]

Firm evidence relating to the status of the recorder in early seventeenth-century Spain is even more thin on the ground than in France. Beryl Kenyon de Pascual discouragingly states that 'no piece of Spanish music specifically featuring the recorder and incontrovertibly datable to the seventeenth century is known to have survived.'[27] But she then says that, following in the tradition of Cervantes,[28] playwrights used songs, dances and instrumental pieces before and between acts, and that recorders were 'associated with pastoral and rustic characters in the plays of Lope de Vega and Calderón'. She does not quote actual instances, of which there are in fact very few.

Kenyon de Pascual writes more positively about recorders in ecclesiastical music. 'Flutes and recorders were used in the Royal Chapel in only two contexts: (1) requiem masses, misereres and lamentations; (2) villancicos and cantadas' (the villancicos were not the original dance-songs but devotional versions designed to inspire a congregation before the Host).[29] For such purposes, several Spanish cathedrals possessed consorts of recorders, generally purchased from makers of the sixteenth century based in England, such as the Bassanos, who were able to build the very large basses; the repertory that the consorts played changed little throughout the seventeenth century.[30] Here again, as in secular contexts, the recorder consort is associated with solemnity, prayers, sacrifices and death, a symbolism which was well established during the late Renaissance, as was the recorder's supernatural symbolism generally.

The main writer on Spanish theatre is Louise K. Stein, notably in her book *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Oxford, 1993). She says that one source mentions 'flutes and cornetts' being played together at the Duke of Lerma's masque at Valladolid celebrating the birth of the future Philip IV in 1605.[31] In her Table 2, 'Stage directions in plays by Lope de Vega' (336–45), Stein refers to 'Flautas' being played in his *El truhán del cielo y loco santo* (1620–30), and also mentions their being among other instruments in *La gloria de Niquea* (1622).[32] Stein's Table selects 100 plays from Lope de Vega's extant total of 350, but no scholar has yet undertaken the formidable (and probably unrewarding) task of specifically searching for 'flautas' references, which may not all indicate recorder usage, in every Spanish drama from 1600 to 1660.

It is of considerable interest that recorders in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Spanish drama, in common with English plays of the same period, seem to have been used mainly in contexts which differ from those in the French examples. Cervantes refers to recorders as 'flautas tristes', perhaps because Spaniards associated recorders particularly with the deep-toned consort music they played in cathe-

drals. With plucked strings, and possibly trombones, they formed an 'infernal orchestra'. Generally recorders were played off-stage, partly to enhance the solemn sounds of a consort of them and partly to avoid four (or more) musicians taking up stage-space. So in Act I of his *La casa de los celos* (1581–1585), and again in Act II, 'sad' flutes play off-stage; and in *El rufián dichoso* of 1608–1610 the flutes play off-stage 'as if from afar'.[33] In a play attributed to Lope de Vega, *La gran columna fogosa, San Basilio el Magno* (c. 1596–1603), 'Music' is called for in a scene in which an altar is unveiled, which was probably played either by consorts of recorders or of shawms as these instruments are asked for later in the act, again off-stage.[34]

A recorder consort, with the bass line supported by dulcians or *bajoncillos* (bassoons), formed one of the four instrumental groups hidden above the stage in *La gloria de Niquea*. This was a particularly sumptuous celebration produced by the ladies of court for the King's birthday and held at Aranjuez on the evening of 15th June 1622 (see Figure 4). The four groups play in turn to confuse Amadis, who, in searching for Niquea, is lost in an enchanted forest. The text is by the Count of Vallamediana, and the music was provided by Juan de Namur, but unfortunately it is lost, as is so often the case.[35]

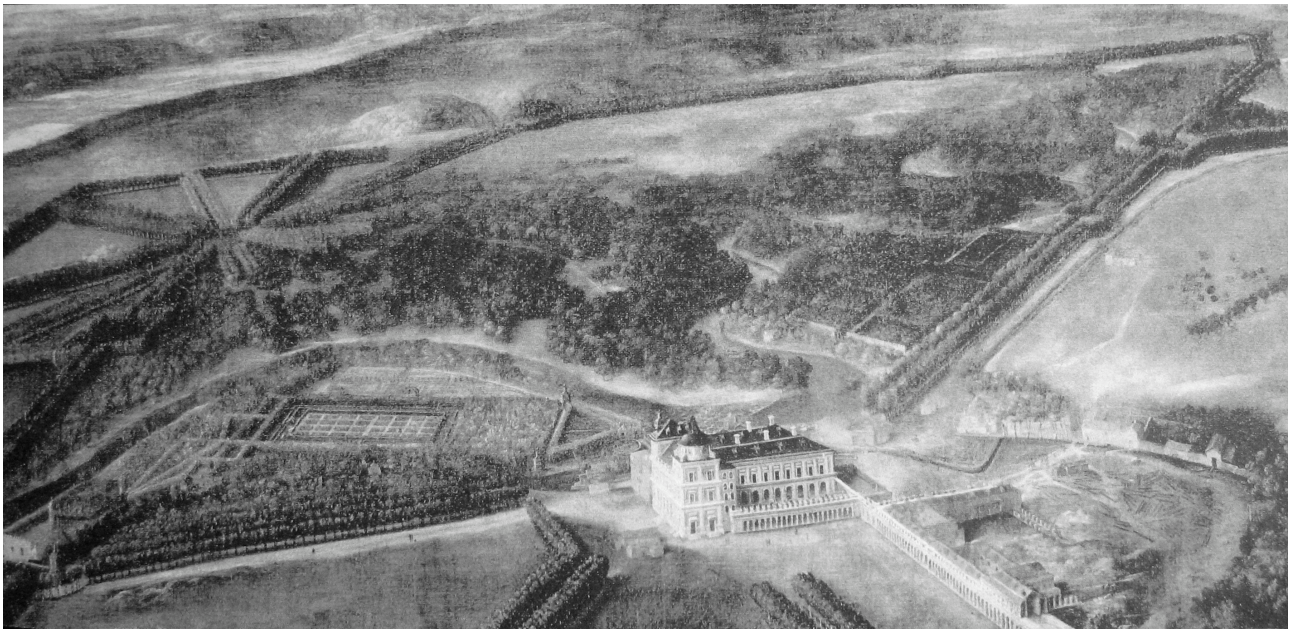


Figure 4. Anonymous painting dating from c.1630 of the gardens of the royal summer palace at Aranjuez showing them before great changes in the baroque era. *La gloria de Niquea* was performed there at Whitsun 1622. This lavish entertainment took place on a huge stage in the middle of the river Tagus; the stage included the trees of an enchanted forest that concealed the instrumentalists. The painting is now in the Prado and is reproduced with permission; see also Ana Luengo Añon, *Utopia y realidad – La construcción de un paisaje* (Madrid, 2008), 103. I am grateful to Marisa Lomas for her help in finding the most appropriate illustration of the palace.

The four references to recorders in seventeenth-century Spain noted above all date from between 1600 and 1630. As appears to be the case in Italy and France, recorder use declined after around 1630. In England, Puritanism and the Civil War would have accelerated a comparable decline, especially after the closure of public theatres in 1642, although recorders remained in use during the Commonwealth as amateur instruments and in private entertainments.[36] But evidence of recorder usage in Jacobean and Caroline drama is abundant, mainly in funereal or other-worldly contexts.

Pioneering work in this field was carried out by John Manifold in his *The Music in English Drama* (London, 1956), and later developed by David Lasocki in an article;[37] it can now be supplemented by Nicholas Lander's ongoing Internet Catalogue of 'Literary References to the Recorder'. Unfortunately, few of the stage directions and text references they have uncovered can be linked with any surviving music. Lasocki gives twenty-five examples of recorder usage in Jacobean and Caroline drama. The recorder is mentioned in plays from the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century on a number of occasions. It is called for in connection with a variety of themes: from the 'Celestial music of the spheres' (in four plays); love and marriage (nine instances, two involving death); death (twelve

instances); the Gods (five instances); and entrances of royalty or nobility (three instances).[38] Recorders may also have played along with the hautbois band on occasions calling for 'loud music'. There is no firm evidence of recorder usage in the great English consort music of the period (Gibbons, Lawes, Jenkins, Locke), although the royal recorder consort remained in existence during the early years of the seventeenth century.[39]

It is intriguing that neither Manifold, Lasocki or Lander have located references connected to shepherds and pastoral life, unless one counts Hymen's arrival in the Forest of Arden in *As you like it*, which was accompanied by 'still music'.[40] Yet in France, especially in Lully's time, there was a close association between Arcadian shepherds and recorders, which may partly account for the revival of the recorder in France during the second half of the seventeenth century.[41] Since the English court masque was in many ways similar to the French *ballet de cour*, especially after the accession of Charles I and his French queen, Henrietta Maria, and as masques were related to Pastorales, one might expect that recorder music would have featured in English masques, especially in Arcadian settings. Moreover, several instances of recorder use in plays from the period are linked to 'masques' within the play.[42] But in a companion article to the one already referred to, Lasocki writes that 'surviving texts of the numerous masques performed at the Jacobean and Caroline courts never mention recorders by name', although he adds that recorders might have been used in the Chapel Royal and on special ceremonial occasions.[43]

Currently the main study in the field of music in English court masques is Peter Walls's *Music in the English Courtly Masque, 1604–1640* (Oxford, 1996). While not negating Lasocki's earlier statement, Walls points out that recorder music is occasionally called for in masques. The first, rather ambiguous, reference to recorder use is in a masque performed in 1611 called *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly*.[44] Exchequer records show that twelve lutenists, who also played 'fluits', were paid for attendance. Twelve musicians were also engaged for 'loud musique' in James Shirley's and William Lawes's *The Triumph of Peace* (1634); they included three 'For the recorders' and two 'For the flutes'.[45]

A much more definite reference to recorder use is found in connection with a number of masques written as family theatricals by Mildmay Fane, the second Earl of Westmorland, who was not only a poet himself but had musically gifted children (and step-children) among his large family.[46] In 1640 the family took part in the masque *Raguaillo d'Oceano* performed in the Great Hall of the Fane mansion at Apethorpe in Northamptonshire (not in the Long Gallery as previously thought). The playtext at one point calls for music from a consort of recorders, 'the stillest of wind instruments'. The children, hopefully sounding 'in government',[47] probably participated in the consort. Such private masques, with varying levels of 'conspicuous consumption',[48] took place at great houses throughout the Kingdom. Perhaps recorders were used at another occasion; the performance of Milton's *A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle* (1634). It is tempting to imagine that they were used in the music responding to Milton's words for the Attendant Spirit. The Attendant Spirit was played by Henry Lawes, who, 'in a pleasing fit of melancholy', meditates upon his 'rural minstrelsie' and hears a 'solemn breathing sound'. The sources refer to 'the jocund Flute or gamesom pipe', and to the Attendant Spirit's 'soft Pipe' (performed upon while he is representing the shepherd Thrysis), but we cannot know whether either was a recorder for certain.

To allow both the century, and the wheel of the recorder's fortunes, to come full circle, it is necessary to consider briefly recorder usage in the four countries covered in this article up to 1700:

France. Having first used recorders in his *Pastorale d'Issy* of 1659, Cambert wrote for them again in a *Symphonie de Flûtes*, a piece intended to imitate birdsong, in Act IV, Scene ii of his opera *Pomone*, and to accompany shepherds and their god Pan in Act I, Scene iv and Act II, Scene v of *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour* (1672).[49] But by then recorders had been used previously, rather untypically, along with oboes, musettes and 'other rustic instruments', as part of a country wedding scene involving shepherds in Boursault's *La Métamorphose des yeux de Philis changez en astres* (1664) (Act III, Scene iii). 'Pipes and sweet-sounding flutes' also appeared in Boyer's *L'Amour de Jupiter et de Sémélé* (1666) and *La Feste de Venus* (1669).[50] In the meanwhile, Lully continued to make occasional use of recorders in his *ballets de cour*, and to great effect in four of Molière's *comédies-ballets* from 1668 to 1670.[51]

Recorders continued to be used in the dramatic music of Lully's successors, Collasse and Campra, and even before Lully's death in 1687, Charpentier had begun using both recorder and flute in his sacred as well as theatre

and chamber works, as to some extent did Lalande. Laurence Pottier, in her 1992 doctoral thesis, provides a thorough listing and discussion of all instances of recorder use in French music from 1657 to 1745.[52]

Italy. Recorders are called for in some sacred music,[53] and in instrumental canzonas and sonatas, mainly by Venetian composers, up to 1630. Peri, Cavalieri and Monteverdi had all used recorders in Arcadian scenes in their operas, but they were not generally used in Italian opera after 1610. Exceptions are Francesca Caccini's *La liberazione di Ruggiero* (1625)[54] and Landi's or Mazzachi's *I Santi Didimo e Teodora*, performed in Rome in 1635 or 1636. To these might be added Manelli's *Andromeda* (1637), since the 'dolcissimo armonia d'Istrumenti diversi' that performed in it could have included 'flauti dolci'.[55] After a dormant period of over forty years,[56] 'flûtes douces' are called for in Pallavicino's *Il Nerone* (1679), Freschi's *Berenice Vendicativa* (1680) which required 'flutes and organ', and Alessandro's Scarlatti's oratorio *La Guidetta* (1693 or 1694), which includes two recorder parts.[57] In 1699, or earlier, Scarlatti began writing cantatas with obbligato recorder, ten or eleven in all.[58] Scarlatti's use of the instrument may have paved the way for its revival in Italy, both in operas and in instrumental music (such as that of Scarlatti himself, Vivaldi, and the Marcellos). Albinoni would belong to this group, but there is no firm evidence that he wrote anything for recorders, and the bulk of his instrumental music belongs to the eighteenth century.[59]

Spain. It seems that, after about 1650, recorders and flutes were virtually forgotten in Spain. There is some evidence, however, that towards the end of the century they began to be used again, but not frequently; their continued use is suggested by their appearance, in 1752–1754, on the frontispiece of Pablo Minguet e Irol's *Academia Musicál de los Instrumentos*.[60]

England. After the theatres re-opened in 1660, the only possible reference to recorder use in the decade following, which I am aware of, is a problematic one in Pepys's *Diary*. He mentions that during a performance of Marston's *The Virgin Martyr*, at the King's House on 27th February 1666/7, 'wind-musique when the Angell comes down' was heard.[61] The revival of the recorder in England seems to date from the arrival of French musicians in 1673, among them probably James Paisible, who performed in Nicholas Staggins's *Calisto* (1675), and may have played in Cambert's *Ariane* at Drury Lane in 1674.[62] Paisible later helped to establish the status of the recorder in England by his skill and virtuosity.[63] By 1679, John Evelyn was able to claim that the 'flute douce' (it had by then lost its name of 'recorder') was 'much in request for accompanying the voice'.[64] Purcell's first use of recorders in his vocal and theatre music was in Nathaniel Lee's *Theodosius* (1680).[65] For recorder players, the rest is history.

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[1] Anthony Rowland-Jones, 'Lully's use of recorder symbolism', *Early Music*, 37 (2009), 217–49.

[2] An exact count is difficult because Lully often used recorders several times in extended works. For a tabulation of recorder associations in Lully's works, with commentary, see Rowland-Jones, 'Lully's use of recorder symbolism'. For recorder symbolism in the seventeenth century more generally, see Anthony Rowland-Jones, 'A concise guide to recorder iconography', *The Recorder Magazine*, 22/2 (Summer, 2002), 47–52, and Nicholas Lander, 'Recorder Iconography' (www.recorderhomepage.net/art.html). I would like to thank Nicholas Lander for his helpful comments on a draft of the present article.

[3] See Peter van Heyghen, 'The Recorder in 17th-century Italian Music', *The Recorder in the 17th Century: Proceedings of the International Recorder Symposium Utrecht 1993*, ed. David Lasocki (Utrecht, 1995), 3–63, esp. 45–46 and 56–57.

[4] Often these and other composers do not specify a particular instrumentation (the phrase 'for any sort of instruments' is often encountered), suggesting the possibility of performance on recorders; see Van Heyghen, 'The Recorder', 45–46. However, Eleanor Selfridge-Field has pointed out that composers of canzoni were often from sacred institutions where many wind instruments, including recorders, would have been unavailable, implying that the possible instrumentations envisaged by the composer would have been quite limited. See her 'Instrumentation and Genre in Italian Music', *Early Music*, 19 (1991), 61–67.

[5] Nico Staiti, however, in *Angeli e Pastore* (Bologna, 1997), finds no representations in Italian art of this time of shepherds with recorders, the main shepherd instrument being the Italian bagpipe, the *zampogna*. See also Robert L. Weaver, 'Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation', *Musical Quarterly*, 47 (1961), 363–78.

[6] See Anthony Rowland-Jones, 'Lully's first use of 'Hotteterre-style' late baroque recorders—some conjectures', *Early Music Performer*, 19 (2006), 4–14.

[7] Schütz, for instance, wrote for recorders; see Derek McCulloch, 'Instrumentation and the recorder in the works of Heinrich Schütz', *Recorder Music Magazine*, 2/7 (Nov., 1967), 204–6. For references to other German recorder usage (which highlights a gap between 1628 and 1649), see Ulrich Thieme, 'Die Blockflöte in Cantate, Oratorium und Oper', *Tibia*, 11 (1986), 81–88 (part 1), 161–7 (part 2) and *Tibia* 12 (1987), 558–66 (part 3).

[8] Many of the surviving *livrets* from 1581 to 1651 are published in Paul Lacroix, *Ballets and mascarades de cour de Henri III à Louis XIV* [1868–70], 6 vols. (rpt. Geneva, 1968).

[9] See Saint-Évremond, *Oeuvres en Prose*, ed. René Ternois, 4 vols. (Paris, 1962–1969), iii, 144.

[10] See quotation in Yolande de Brossard, *La vie musicale en France d'après Loret et ses continuateurs: 1650–1688* (Paris, 1956), 124.

[11] Christina Bashford, 'Cambert, Robert', *Oxford Music Online* (www.oxfordmusiconline.com). See also John S. Powell, *Music and Theatre in France, 1600–1680* (Oxford, 2000), 196–200.

[12] Powell, *Music and Theatre*, 256 and 296.

[13] See François Lesure, 'Le recueil de ballet de Michel Henry', *Les fêtes de la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Jacquot, 3 vols. (Paris, 1956–1975), i, 205–19, esp. 206.

[14] See Margaret M. McGowan, *L'art du ballet de cour en France* (Paris, 1963), 167, 222–3.

[15] See David J. Buch, *Dance Music from the* Ballets de cour, *1575–1651* (New York, 1993), 83. '6 flutes' were engaged in the performances of this work; see James R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeulx to Rameau* (London, 1978), 34, and Peter Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque 1604–1640* (Oxford, 1996), 228–229.

[16] See Powell, *Music and Theatre*, 169, n.41.

[17] For Pastorales in France, see Bénédicte Louvat in 'Le théâtre musicale: un genre nouveau?', *Littéraires classiques,* 21 (Spring 1994), 248–75, esp. 253 and 62.

[18] For observations on this work, see John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815* (Oxford, 2005), 64, and Powell, *Music and Theatre*, 77, n. 1. For its *livret*, see Lacroix, *Ballets et mascarades*, iv, 156.

[19] For the music, see Buch, *Dance Music*, 116–37.

[20] See McGowan, *L'art du ballet de cour*, 164–6.

[21] See McGowan, *L'art du ballet de cour,* 166, n.1.

[22] See Powell, *Music and Theatre*, 187.

[23] See Buch, *Dance Music*, esp. 90–1.

[24] See Madeleine Jurgens, *Documents du minutier central concernant l'histoire de la musique* (*1600–1650*) (Paris, 1974), 286 (reference kindly supplied by Pierre Boragno, University of Versailles).

[25] See Jérôme de La Gorce, *Jean-Baptiste Lully* (Paris, 2002), esp. 385 and 399, and also Rowland-Jones, 'Lully's use of recorder symbolism', 246.

[26] For a consideration of Italy, where there had been a decline in recorder use after about 1630, see the summary under 'Italy' near the end of this article.

[27] See 'The Recorder Revival in Late Seventeenth-Century Spain', *The Recorder in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. David Lasocki, 65–74, esp. 65.

[28] See Fernando Guitiérrez de Arroyo, 'Música en Cervantes', *Revista de Flauta de Pico*, 20 (2005), 11–18.

[29] This reference is from Richard Griscom and David Lasocki, *The Recorder – A Guide to writings about the Instrument for Players and Researchers*, 2nd edn. (New York and London, 2003), 48–49.

[30] See Beryl Kenyon de Pascual, 'Bassano's Instruments in Spain?', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 40 (1987), 74–75, and Kenneth Kreitner, 'The repertory of the Spanish cathedral bands', *Early Music*, 37 (May, 2009), 267–286.

[31] *Songs of Mortals*, 74, n.29.

[32] Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 344 and 346. See also David Lasocki, 'Recorder', *Oxford Music Online* (www.oxfordmusiconline.com).

[33] Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 334.

[34] Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 23, n.43.

[35] Discussed in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 187–94, esp. 189. For the staging of this production, see Melveena McKendrick, *Theatre in Spain 1490–1700* (Cambridge, 1989), 213–4.

[36] See Percy Scholes, *The Puritans and Music* (London, 1934), 63 and 105.

[37] See Lasocki, 'The Recorder in the Elizabethan, Jacobean and Caroline Theater', *The American Recorder*, 25(1984), 3–10.

[38] My numbers are compiled from the work of Manifold, Lasocki and Lander. Manifold argued convincingly that 'still flutes' refers to recorders and I have taken these references into account.

[39] See David Lasocki and Roger Prior, *The Bassanos: Venetian Instrument Makers in England, 1531–1635* (Aldershot, 1995), 147, 149–51 and 199–204.

[40] Act V, Scene i.

[41] See Anthony Rowland-Jones, 'The Iconographic Background to the Seventeenth-Century Recorder', *From Renaissance to Baroque: Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Jonathan Wainwright and Peter Holman (Aldershot, 2005), 87–111, esp. 89–92.

[42] Examples may be found in Lander, 'Literary References' (www.recorderhomepage.net/quotes.html), under 1610, 1632, 1634 and 1641.

[43] 'The Recorder Consort at the English Court 1540–1673', *The American Recorder*, 25 (August,1984), 91–100 (Part 1), and 131–5 (Part 2), esp. 134. This, and much other material, will be updated and consolidated in Lasocki's forthcoming comprehensive history of the recorder and its music up to 1800, to be published shortly by Yale University Press. .

[44] Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque*, 36.

[45] Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque*, 173–74.

[46] Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque*, 289.

[47] I.e. unlike Shakespeare's child playing a recorder; 'a sound but not in government' (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, V. i).

[48] An aspect of the masque genre discussed by Barbara Ravelhofer in her book *The Early Stuart Masque* (Oxford, 2009), *passim*.

[49] My thanks to Pierre Boragno in the Centre de Musique Baroque de Versaille for providing this information from facsimiles in the Centre

[50] Margaret McGowan, 'The Origins of French Opera', *Opera and Church Music 1630–1750*, ed. Anthony Lewis and Nigel Fortune (Oxford, 1975), esp. 181–182.

[51] Rowland-Jones, 'Lully's use of recorder symbolism', 226–28 and 239–40.

[52] 'Le répertoire de la flûte à bec en France à l'époque baroque (musique profane)', Ph.D. thesis (Université de Paris-Sorbonne, Paris, IV, 1992). Pottier is planning to up-date this thesis as an internet resource.

[53] See Stephen Bonta, 'The use of instruments in sacred music in Italy 1560–1700', *Early Music*, 18 (1990), 519–536, and Heyghen, 'The Recorder', 56–57.

[54] See Heyghen, 'The Recorder', 55, Spitzer & Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra*, 52–3, and Frederick Hammond, 'Girolamo Frescobaldi and a Decade of Music in Casa Barberini: 1634–1643' in *Analecta musicologica*, 19 (1979), 94–124.

[55] See Simon T. Worsthorne, *Venetian Opera in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1954), 25–6 and 169.

[56] The worklists for the composers Cavalli, Carissimi, Legrenzi, Vitali, Pasquini, G. M. Bononcini, Stradella, Torelli and Corelli available from *Oxford Music Online* mention no works with recorders. An exceptional occasion of recorder use was one in Bologna in 1655, when a lunchtime entertainment included the participation of 'flauti'; see Gregory Barnett, *Bolognese Instrumental Music* (Aldershot, 2008), 61, n. 41. In 1677, Bismantova, a wind-player in Reggio Emilia and Ferrara, wrote instructions for the recorder in his *Compendio musicale*, 'full of the wisdom of an experienced professional', confirming that the recorder remained in use; see Griscom and Lasocki, *The Recorder*, item 928.

[57] Worsthorne, *Venetian Opera,* 99.

[58] See Franz Müller-Busch, 'Alessandro Scarlattis Kantaten mit obligaten Blockflöten', *Tibia*, 16 (1991), 337–46. One of the eleven cantatas he discusses may be by Alessandro's son Domenico. Most are undated, but one with solo recorder, and another with two recorders, are both dated 1699.

[59] See Michael Talbot, *Tomaso Albinoni* (Oxford, 1990), esp. 151 and 153.

[60] Kenyon de Pascual cites instances of recorder use from about 1690, but this was not followed by a full-blow revival in the eighteenth-century as elsewhere; see 'The Recorder Revival in late Seventeenth-Century Spain', n. 27. For an illustration of the Minguet tutor frontispiece, see John M. Thomson (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder* (Cambridge, 1995), 86.

[61] *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 10 vols, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews (London, 1970), ix, 93–94.

[62] See Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: the Violin at the English Court, 1540–1690* (Oxford, 1993, rpt. 1995 and 2002), esp. 369–371.

[63] See James Paisible, *Complete Sonatas*, ed. Marianne Mezger (Dolce Edition: Hebden Bridge, 1993).

[64] *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 6 vols., ed. E. S. de Beer (Oxford, 1955), iv, 187.

[65] See Walter Bergmann, 'Henry Purcell's use of the Recorder', as reprinted in *The Recorder and Music Magazine*, 12 (1983), 310–13. For Purcell's use of recorder symbolism, see Alan Davis, 'Purcell and the Recorder', *The Recorder Magazine*, 16 (1996), 9–15. It is significant that one of the two occasions when recorders are called for in *Theodosius* occurs during a descent of angels, a similar context for the 'wind musique' in Marston's *The Virgin Martyr* which had so ravished Pepys thirteen years previously.

The British Museum Citole: New Perspectives 4–5 November 2010

Richard Rastall

Surviving musical instruments from the Middle Ages rarely have a specific history attached to them, so a detailed investigation of the British Museum citole—which clearly does—is very welcome. This instrument is a unique example of decorative iconography in the form of a fourteenth-century wood-carving, and its conversion to a violin, a process by tradition linked to Queen Elizabeth I and her favourite Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, was almost certainly responsible for its survival beyond the sixteenth century. In addition to its original fourteenth-century history, therefore, the citole's conversion hints at an additional history of the instrument's later use.

The British Museum citole was formerly known as the Warwick Castle gittern, but Laurence Wright (in 'The medieval gittern and citole: a case of mistaken identity'. *Galpin Society Journal* 30 (1977), 8–42) demonstrated that what had previously been called a gittern was in fact a citole. This example was renamed for the British Museum, where it is now on permanent display, following its acquisition in 1963. When the Museum decided to undertake conservation work, and so to examine the citole in considerable detail, it became worthwhile to broaden the field of study by inviting various scholars to exchange information. The resulting symposium was made possible by generous support from John H. Rassweiler.

The symposium in the British Museum (BM) on 4 and 5 November 2010 was attended by around sixty people. Careful organisation by Alice Margerum and Kate Buehler-McWilliams fitted nineteen papers into eight sessions, with a concluding round-table discussion to tie up loose ends where that was possible. As expected, the papers opened up their various subjects for further discussion rather than providing definitive answers: the opportunity for cross-fertilization between disciplines will be most fruitful in the long run.

Day 1: 4 November

Following a welcome by James Robinson, of the Museum, the first session, *Science and Conservation of the British Museum citole*, consisted of three papers by conservation staff of the BM and the Victoria and Albert Museum. Susan La Niece spoke on 'The Science behind the Art', explaining the scientific examination of the citole in connection with the conservation work needed to prepare it for display in the new Medieval Europe gallery. Radiography has revealed details of the original construction and later alterations, the latter including a false back that hides a small unidentified wooden item loose in the inaccessible compartment. The woods used have been identified using section and microscopy, and the metal elements by X-ray fluorescence analysis. The dragon headpiece has eyes of green glass. Philip Kevin's paper 'Preparing the Citole for Display in the New Medieval Gallery' then showed how the investigation of alterations and modifications aids our understanding of the citole's history. Its first major alteration was its sixteenth-century conversion from citole to violin, when the instrument lost its original soundboard; close inspection has also revealed alterations to pegbox, fingerboard, tailpiece and trefoil. The new information has allowed informed decisions to be made about conservation treatments.

Finally in this session, Chris Egerton's 'Head to Tail: three discoveries about the age, history and function of the citole' discussed the implications of the dragon headpiece (now identified as a wyvern, predating the four-legged English dragon), the tree-of-life 'trefoil' (examination of which suggests how the instrument was held and played after its conversion to a violin) and the tailpiece, which is Elizabethan and possibly the earliest example of its type in existence.

Session 2, *Art history: the art of the British Museum citole*, dealt with the instrument as a work of decorative art. In 'The British Museum citole: Iconography and the *horror vacui*' Ann Marie Glasscock considered the elaborate relief work on the side panels, headstock and pegbox, with its images of foliage, hybrid monsters and some of the Labours of the Months (May, November, December, January). This placed the citole in the broader artistic context of illuminated manuscripts, architecture and other boxwood carvings. Phillip Lindley, in 'The decorative carving of the BM citole and its art-historical context', took up this theme in more detail, showing that the lateral shoulder panels were carved as separate items, backed by coloured cloth when in position. Much of the decoration is symmetrical: the neck, for instance, shows hunting scenes on both sides, with deer on one side and a fox on the other. Dr Lindley suggested a date-range of 1280–1340 for this type of decoration, and drew parallels with the choir stalls at Winchester (c.1308, by William Lyngwode of Norwich), which has inset glass eyes, St Ethelbert's Gate at Norwich, and illustrations in the Peterborough Psalter.

In the third session, *Medieval citoles in art and literature*, Mary Remnant's paper 'The Citole in English Medieval Art' traced the history of various flat-backed plucked-string instruments in English art in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (instruments that she labelled 'guitars'). She divided these instruments into two main types, one shaped like a holly leaf and the other of a more rounded shape. At this stage various features of the instrument were discussed: frets, number of strings, how the strings were attached, the use of a plectrum (wood, quill or perhaps ivory), the possible tunings used, and the absence or presence of soundholes.

The introduction of the instrument into England in the early thirteenth century coincided with the appearance of angel musicians in church carvings, several of whom are depicted playing it. Depictions appear also in illuminated manuscripts and embroidered vestments until the 1380s, after which the citole and related instruments gave way to the lute family. From this iconographical evidence we can learn about the organology of the citole and its performance practice. A plucked-string instrument and a bowed instrument were commonly played together, apparently, from which one might infer the possibility that the two instruments would be tuned in similar ways.

The discussion was extended chronologically and geographically in Alice Margerum's paper "'Alioquin Deficeret Hic Instrumentum Illud Multum Vulgare": a brief overview of citoles in art and literature c.1200–1400'. More than five dozen western European literary works dating from before 1400 mention the citole: texts include both courtly and popular forms (epics, romances, *chansons de geste*, patriotic epics, hagiographies, fabliaux, etc.) as well as translations of Latin biblical and classical works. Images of the citole in medieval sculpture, painting, stained glass, textiles and manuscript illumination are even more numerous. In all iconographic styles the form of the citole is relatively consistent. Since the citole appears in Spain by the mid-thirteenth century, in northern France and Flanders from c.1290 and in England from the early fourteenth century, it seems to have travelled northwards through western Europe.

Session 4, *Tuning and stringing of citoles and related instruments*, began to bring together the physical and iconographical evidence in an area of practical usage. John Koster, in 'Strings and theories of stringing in the times of the citole and early cittern', discussed various aspects of stringing such as materials, their tensile strength and elasticity, and the relationship of dimensions to pitch. It was useful to introduce Renaissance citterns (strung with iron or brass wire in the 1480s) and to compare them with our rather sparse knowledge of the citole (noted as being gut-strung in a 1379 treatise on sheep husbandry), but Koster noted that this was very limited evidence, and that a broader consideration of string-making technologies, the stringing of other instruments, and early acoustical theory was needed. The paper continued with an examination of the various relevant technologies available in the early fourteenth century, which gave a surprisingly wide range of possibilities, not all likely to be relevant to the BM citole. It may be impossible to identify any one single solution to a problem, however, and we cannot assume that the same solution was embraced everywhere and at all times. In particular, Koster did not entirely discount the possibility that citoles were wire-strung.

In 'The Cithara of Mercury: a well-tuned cetula' Crawford Young discussed three aspects of the history of the citole. First, he reconsidered the question of the citole in Italy, and Tinctoris' *cetula* tuning, the earliest known re-entrant tuning for a plucked instrument in historical sources. In doing so he examined similar instruments in Italian iconography and considered

thirteenth-century Parisian music theory in order to identify the sources on which Tinctoris relied, with his discussion of the musical function of the *cetula*. Second, Young re-examined the relevant plucked-string terminology and its geographical distribution, and concluded that an emendation was needed to Wright's work on the naming of the gittern, citole and mandora: since the classical citole of Spain, France, Flanders and England was not found in Italy, the Italian instrument should retain the name *cetula*.

Third, Young examined the so-called 'second bridge' citole, a common type that has not been discussed in print. This 'choral citole', a string-drum or *chorus* used in ritual music, had a second bridge at approximately half the string length. The type may include instruments that were played purely rhythmically and chordally, perhaps wire-strung and with a hefty plectrum.

This paper led naturally into the final session of the day, *Performance practice for medieval citoles*. Limited evidence meant that wide experience in performance practice, a lot of common sense and a dash of informed speculation were the main resources that helped the participants move towards a practical solution to using the citole in performance. While this session might have been left until later in the symposium it was, in fact, very useful to be reminded at the end of the first day, half-way through the proceedings, that performance is the desired end-product of any musicological investigation, however fragmentary or otherwise inconclusive the evidence.

Mauricio Molina's paper '*Li autres la citole mainne*: Towards a reconstruction of the citole's performance practice' was a richly thought-provoking presentation in which he discussed various observable features of the citole: its position against the player's chest, probably without a strap; the use of wooden or bone frets; the use of a plectrum; and the possibility of metal strings. Noting that these all tended towards the production of certain dissonant harmonics, he cited Juan Ruiz (c. 1330) to support a suggestion that the citole was especially suited to dance- and tavern-music. Moreover, as a *cetole* was a noise-making piece of wood used in milling flour (a device for showing that grain was still coming), he suggested that the citole might have been a drone instrument that was strummed constantly. This could imply that in a citole-fiddle duo the citole provided a rhythmic drone against the fiddle's tune.

The iconography seems to show that the citole was not much used as a solo instrument: the pairing of a citole and fiddle was standard, as was the combination of citole, fiddle and harp. As with the fiddle, there was the possibility of plucking the drone with the left thumb, as seems to be depicted in a carving at Lincoln.

Mark Rimple then took this up practically in a lecture-demonstration entitled 'Techniques for the unaccompanied performance of medieval estampies on a reproduction of the British Museum citole'. He explained that on first playing Kate Buehler-McWilliams's reconstruction of the instrument, he was struck by features that seemed inimical to musical playing: a pinched high register, an apparently awkward holding position and the restrictions that this imposed on left-hand mobility, the difficulty of sustaining notes, and the stiff resistance to the plectrum. These at first seemed to make rapid execution and musical phrasing impossible, raising the question of whether a *jongleur* or minstrel could ever play the instrument in a virtuosic way.

With experience of the instrument, however, he prepared two *estampies* successfully, finding that the apparently disadvantageous features in fact offered distinct advantages, including an effective use of drones. More unexpectedly, he discovered a percussive capability that enabled the sound to rise easily above the ambient noise of various public spaces and social situations. The stiffer the plectrum (of wood, bone or large-bird quill) the stronger the up-stroke can be. These features were demonstrated during the paper and, more extensively, in the recital the following day.

Day 2: 5 November

At the start of the second day a session called *Instruments in medieval culture and society* dealt mainly with social and institutional aspects of the citole: but the first paper, Dorota Popławska's 'Musical historic instruments from Poland: a 15th-century gittern from Elblag', presented a parallel study. The instrument in question, a mid-fifteenth-century gittern, was discovered in 1986, in circumstances that indicated much about its historical context. Furthermore, the excellent condition of the instrument has allowed detailed investigation and description of it. The instrument has been skilfully constructed. The body, neck and pegbox are carved from a single block of (probably) lime (there were eight pegs); the soundboard is made from two pieces of spruce and has an oval-shaped sound hole; on the pegbox is a simple sculpture showing a woman in a lace cap. The bridge of the instrument has also been found: it is flat, with eight grooves suggest-

ing a stringing consisting of three groups, 3+2+3, although iconography suggests that 2+2+2 was common. Practical tests in tuning and playing methods—presumably on a replica—have suggested possible tunings, playing techniques, and ways of fixing the strings.

The remaining three papers concerned the social contexts of the citole. Richard Rastall's 'Citolers in late medieval English households' considered minstrels known to be citolers in the English royal households, all of whom were there in the period 1307–64. Analysis of items from the household accounts, which record wages, gifts and special payments to royal servants and visitors to court, enabled some tentative conclusions to be drawn about the numbers of citolers and their performances. The short time-scale in which citolers were known at court, and the fact that no more than a single player can be identified at any one time, suggests that the incidence of the citole at the English court did not reflect its relative popularity elsewhere in Europe over a much longer chronological span.

Carey Feiner discussed the social status of minstrels in her paper 'Heroes and Villains: the medieval "guitarist" in the Middle Ages and modern parallels', drawing comparisons between the medieval performers and the 21st-century guitarists who are simultaneously idolised and suspected—heroes and villains in one. Her analysis of the reasons for itinerant musicians being viewed with distrust and suspicion, even as they were readily and repeatedly hired to perform, was the background for a discussion of intellectual attitudes that explain, among other things, why the BM citole and many others in manuscript illustrations feature dragon headstocks.

Andrew Taylor then gave the other side of the picture in "'*Citole i ot* ": the courtly associations of the fourteenth-century citole'. The BM citole, probably of c.1300–1330, may be East Anglian. Such expensive carving on an instrument is very rare, yet the instrument was made to be played: its creator was both a master citole-builder and a master carver. Taylor noted that these facts do not necessarily imply a royal or even noble purchaser, and he considered the case for two general categories of possible patrons: minstrels and courtly amateurs. The instrument could have been intended for one of Edward II's citolers, but he favoured the possibility of an amateur performer, citing literary references suggesting that the citole was regarded as particularly suitable for gentle-folk wishing to demonstrate their cultural sophistication. In discussing the status of the citole in this courtly culture, Taylor noted the similarity between the decorative carving on the BM citole and the *bas-de-page* grotesques in contemporary Psalters, and the widespread image of David as God's jongleur, his *cithara* represented by a gittern or citole.

The second session of the day, *Queen Elizabeth I, her music and instruments I*, started with Benjamin Hebbert's paper 'Sixteenth-century additions to the British Museum citole: their extent and their importance'. This considered the historical importance of the 'new' parts of the instrument added during the conversion to a violin in or around 1578. A re-examination of the belly and other fittings has shown that (with the exception of the bridge and tuning pegs) all date from c. 1578 and have demonstrable concordances with other works made in London around that time. The speaker also considered that the instrument had been converted first to a three-stringed violin, a fourth string being added a little later.

Katherine Butler's paper '"Sometime singing like an angel, sometime playing like Orpheus": Queen Elizabeth I and the politics of musical performance' examined Dudley's gift of the modified citole to Queen Elizabeth in the context of intimate music-making and its use in the fashioning of political relationships. Elizabeth's musical talents were well known, and in this she was unexceptional among noble women, who were commonly educated in music with a two-fold duty—to charm and entertain important visitors (in Elizabeth's case including foreign ambassadors), and to attract a suitable husband. But when Elizabeth became queen her musical performances took on a new significance. Throughout her reign she used the intimacy of musical performance for various purposes, including the manipulation of diplomatic relations, marriage negotiations and her rapport with favourite courtiers. For Elizabeth's courtiers, too, music became a tool for political manoeuvring, enabling the fashioning and manipulation of close courtly and diplomatic relationships.

Session 3, *Queen Elizabeth I, her music and instruments II*, began with Annette Richter's paper 'An intimate view of Queen Elizabeth I as a musician: sources in context'. This continued the theme of Elizabeth's use of music for political and social ends in an age when women were regarded as the inferior sex. Elizabeth was a multi-faceted musician; and such was her reputation that in the course of her reign she received many songbooks and instruments, mainly as New Year

gifts from her own musicians and instrument makers. Gifts and purchases of lutes and lute strings imply that she was a practising lutenist from at least 1551 until near the end of her life, as indeed Hilliard's miniature depicts her. Her skills on the lute when playing in front of men were certainly part of the political tactics she employed to place herself on a useful intellectual level, tactics that enabled her to underscore her authority in a male-dominated realm and to pursue goals in a patriarchal society.

Against the background of Elizabeth's use of music, Kate Buehler-McWilliams considered the purpose of the BM citole and its conversion in 'Dudley's Penance: the gift of a musical instrument at Elizabeth's court'. The BM citole bears decorative silverwork dated 1578 and embossed with the coats of arms of Elizabeth I and her favourite, Robert Dudley. In 1578 Dudley secretly married Lettice Knollys, a breach of faith that jeopardized his position as the queen's favourite. The paper discussed the possibility that the modified citole was a gift from Dudley to Elizabeth intended to demonstrate his devotion to her. In reviewing the relationship between Elizabeth and Dudley it also considered how the citole, as a modernization of fine medieval craftsmanship, might fit into the custom of gift-giving, specifically as an appropriate penitential gift.

A round table and concert

The final session of the symposium was billed as a round-table discussion but in fact became a means of answering questions from the floor. Questions focussed on three areas. First, if it is a musical instrument, are there marks on it related to playing it? The answer was 'yes', but not on the original parts of the instrument, except that the enlargement of the thumb-hole was probably evidence of its use. Second, there were questions about the woods used, generating brief answers about hard and soft woods and their use in instrument-making. Ben Hebbert also pointed out that box grows slowly in the English climate, and that the piece used for the BM citole may have come from a warmer place. Third, there was a discussion about construction from a single piece of wood as opposed to building the instrument up from several pieces. Crawford Young offered a general principle that smaller instruments were built up, larger ones carved from a single piece. One-piece construction is more solid for reflecting vibrations towards the belly, and gives a strong treble sound; construction from several pieces gives less volume but a stronger bass.

Not strictly part of the symposium, a concert that evening in the church of St Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield, effectively represented the goal to which all the discussions ultimately led. The program was careful not to claim too much in its title—'Crossing the Borders: An Entertainment Inspired by Images of Jongleurs and Clerks in Illuminated French and English Psalters'—but it made excellent use of Mark Rimple's ideas, Kate Buehler-McWilliams's reconstructions, and the research of both: the main border crossed was that from manuscript page to audible performance. A carefully-balanced selection of music ranging from dances and bawdy songs to sacred-texted motets was magnificently performed by Shira Kammen, Mark Rimple and Mary Springfels, all of whom both played and sang, sometimes simultaneously. In addition to citoles the program used vielle, harp and psaltery, so that some variation of instrumental timbre was available, including the most commonly-depicted ensembles. While this variety played its part in a hugely enjoyable concert, it was inevitably McWilliams's reconstructed citoles that were under closest observation. In the event, they emerged triumphant, with the citole shown to be a versatile instrument with strong melodic, harmonic and rhythmic capabilities. The concert was sponsored by the Galpin Society, Gamut Strings, 'Unprofitable Instruments' and Carved Strings, all deserving of our heartfelt gratitude for an exceptional early-music experience.

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What, in all, did we learn? It may be some time before this is known for sure, but the symposium and concert did present a wealth of information, informed opinion and reconstruction that, after assimilation, will no doubt spark off more questions and answers. We all understand much more, now, about the physical construction of the BM citole, its decorative plan, its possible place in the social order, the reasons for its survival in the sixteenth century, its playing capabilities and its possible musical place(s) in a royal or courtly household. Some important questions remain unanswered, however. The type of decoration used on the instrument may be understood, but the specific decorative plan is still a puzzle needing to be teased out somehow. No-one put their head on the block for gut or wire stringing, either: the evidence for gut stringing seemed to be accepted, and certainly the mu-

sical results (both citoles in the concert were gut-strung) were all that one could hope for. All the same, playing a wire-strung citole is another interesting and necessary experiment to make, as the evidence does not rule out the possibility. And no-one speculated on the success of the converted citole as a violin, perhaps because its very survival suggests that it was at least adequate in that role. It would however be instructive to make a reconstruction of the BM citole in its present state and to play the top part of late-Elizabethan dances on it.

The collected abstracts for the symposium run to 10 pages, and the associated illustrations and quotations to another 25 pages. There are plans afoot to publish most or all of the papers as a book: this will be the first major publication to present an interdisciplinary study of a single surviving medieval instrument, and as such will be very welcome.

Some recent events in London

Twenty-Sixth Annual Conference on Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain
The fifth Stanley Sadie Memorial Lecture
Study Day: Documents about Handel (and others)

Mark Windisch

Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain

On 26th November 2010 the twenty-sixth annual conference on 'Music in eighteenth-century Britain' was held at the Foundling Museum, London. Papers were presented by Vanessa Rogers (Rhodes College) 'Music in the London Fair Theatres 1700–1750, Amanda Babington (University of Manchester) 'Four Italian movements in Messiah', Wendy Hancock (Nottingham) 'A musical family: The Curzons of Kedleston in the eighteenth century', Carole Taylor (London) 'The musical interests of John (Manners) 3rd Duke of Rutland', Jenny Nex (Royal College of Music) 'Lockey Hill, violin maker', Michael Talbot (University of Liverpool) 'From Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli to John Stephen Carbonell: A violinist turned Vintner in Georgian London'.

Vanessa Rogers showed how fairs in eighteenth-century London, very popular at the time, attracted all levels of society. The place of music at these fairs is still to be fully investigated. Two enormously popular entertainments were *The Generous Free-Mason* (1730) by Robin Chetwood and the anonymous *Robin Hood* (1730). Amanda Babington investigated Handel's compositional methods in *Messiah*, for which he reworked previously composed music. Two sections from the duet 'Quel fior che all'alba ride' (HWV 192), composed in July 1741, were adopted to become 'His yoke is easy' and 'And he shall purify', while two sections from another duet, 'No, di voi non vo fidarmi' (HWV 189), became 'For us a child is born' and 'And we like sheep'. The duet/trio 'Se tu non lasci Amore' (HWV 193/201) also became 'O death where is thy sting'.

Wendy Hancock presented her research on Sir Nathaniel Curzon later Lord Scarsdale (1726–1804) who had strong musical interests. He owned printed music books and manuscripts, and possessed both a harpsichord and an organ, which were installed into purpose-built rooms at Kedleston Hall. Bills and ledger entries also record payments for music lessons, while a double-portrait of Sir Nathaniel with his wife Lady Caroline Colyear (1733–1812) shows her playing the mandolin. An interesting issue which arose from this study is the role of the Charles Denbys, father and son, who acted as musical teachers to the family in Derby. Carole Taylor presented a paper on John Manners, 3rd Duke of Rutland (1696–1779), mentioned by Burney in his *A General History of Music* as 'a most intelligent judge both of the theory and practice of music'. She has gained access to the archives at Belvoir Castle, and has studied personal account books and other documents. Dr Taylor felt that there was a great deal more to be gained from further study of the archives. The family has been particularly helpful and co-operative in allowing her access to the papers in conjunction with their own archivist.

Jenny Nex revealed the sad story of violin maker Lockey Hill who, perhaps through economic necessity, became a horse thief and was hanged for this crime. Two of his sons followed his example but fortunately escaped his fate and became established as respectable violin makers. Michael Talbot related the interesting history of Giovanni Carbonelli with many interesting quotes from Sir John Hawkins's *A General History of the Sciences and Practice of Music*. He also considered Carbonelli's marriage licence application, and showed that he was a famous violinist in his day, appearing in staged comedies and performing in front of nobility, in addition to annual benefit concerts for the Sons of the Clergy. Carbonelli composed too and his work is of high quality. Later in life he became a very successful wine merchant.

Performing Handel

Christopher Hogwood CBE, President of NEMA, delivered the fifth Stanley Sadie Memorial Lecture on 15th November 2010, in the elegant surroundings of the Royal Institute, London, to a packed audience of Handelians with his usual blend of erudition and humour. He did not want us to think that he would be laying down the law as to how Handel should be performed, but rather would be telling us how Handel's music has been performed at various times through the ages. Handel is an ideal subject for a study of this kind because, almost uniquely, he has never 'left the stage' since his own time.

We were treated to several carefully selected examples, from an 1888 recording of excerpts from *Israel in Egypt*, a performance that featured a 3000-strong choir and an audience of over twenty-thousand, to an up-to-date recording made in the last few years. The number of performers who took part in performances at the first centenary celebration in 1784 were discussed. The forces used ranged widely: at one performance there were thirty professional singers and thirty orchestral players, including only four violins and two oboes, while at another a monster orchestra supported a vast choir of amateur singers from every part of the Kingdom. Burney was quoted to support the early descriptions of the performances.

To further highlight the varied tastes of the eighteenth century, Mr Hogwood discussed Mozart's re-orchestration of *Messiah*. For Mozart, this arrangement was a vehicle for showing off his compositional virtuosity. Mozart added, possibly inappropriate, additional instruments and modernised the harmony, typically in the aria 'The people who walked in darkness', which Handel probably meant to be scored rather bleakly to achieve contrast with 'a great light.'

Voice types have changed over the years, and Mr Hogwood particularly missed the quality of true contraltos like Clara Butt and Monica Sinclair. He did not feel that counter-tenors, whose use outside the church context would probably have amazed Handel, are at all appropriate. Often they lack evenness of voice production when singing parts that have a wide tessitura. He also felt that performing staged versions of the oratorios risked destroying Handel's dramatic intentions. Handel would never have left the chorus standing uncomfortably on stage while the soloist performed a long da capo aria.

Mr Hogwood quoted from the writings of Ernest Irving, who arranged the music that accompanied the 1942 film *The Great Mr Handel*. Although Irving had some interesting things to say about his Handel arrangements, his re-orchestrations were not always well informed (for instance, a literal reading of a text from Revelation caused him to introduce harp parts into the chorus 'Worthy is the lamb' from *Messiah*). The writings of Thomas Beecham and Malcolm Sergeant were also quoted. Both had introduced changes which were more about their personal preference than any attempt to fulfil Handel's intentions. It was interesting to be told that Mendelssohn had risked offending Moscheles by refusing to introduce editorial changes to Handel scores that were considered a necessity in the nineteenth century.

In the 1960s and 70s the rise of Historically Informed Performance led to some stripping away of 'incorrect' performance practice. An early exponent was Arnold Dolmetsch who introduced double dotting and added trills and ornaments on the grounds that they were consistent with the conventions of the time even if not specifically written out. The use of 'correct instruments' had its pitfalls too. Mr Hogwood mentioned some early attempts whereby original instruments were handed out to players of their modern equivalents, who were given only a few days to master them. The results could be catastrophic but such was the enthusiasm of the organisers that people were convinced that they had made an important breakthrough. Two further problems which had occupied the minds of performers were the use of ornamentation—not always used appropriately in the music of a particular period—and delayed cadences, which seemed to enjoy a vogue caused by misreading of the evidence.

Mr Hogwood made a plea for performers to take into account the findings of scholars with greater frequency, and to not just use their instincts, since it will lead them to more appropriate performance practices. He warned of the danger of performers imitating the practices of their peers without examining the historical evidence (for instance, in terms of ornamentation). He also felt that, although Handel was a giant, we should make more of an attempt to revive the music of his contemporaries such as the Handel pasticcios of J. C. Smith, and the music of Leo, Vinci and Hasse not to mention that of Arne and Festing. Instead of repeating the same works, more effort should be made to uncover those performed much less frequently, such as the hundred or so cantatas that Handel wrote.

Documents about Handel (and others)

The project 'G. F. Handel: the Collected Documents', now supported by funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the Winton Dean Fund of the Handel Institute, has been running for some years. Professor Donald Burrows and Dr Helen Green (Open University) reported on progress since 2007. The results, now occupying perhaps 30 box files, will be published as three volumes by Cambridge University Press in 2012.

Professor Burrows introduced the study day arising from this project, 'Documents about Handel (and others)', which was held at the Open University on 6th December 2010. Previous attempts by Mainwaring as early as 1760, Charles Burney in 1789, and Otto Deutsch in 1955, need to be updated in the light of modern scholarship. The research has revealed that contemporary sources often give contradictory information and this needs to be reconciled. Dr Green outlined some of the pitfalls associated with the sources, such as the fact that the Julian calendar remained in use in Britain, while on the continent they had already adopted the Gregorian calendar.

An interesting outline of how Mozart scholarship has developed was presented by Cliff Eisen. In many ways it has paralleled that on Handel. Otto Deutsch had been a leading figure in this field as well. Deutsch's work has been considered definitive for many years, but much more information on Mozart has since come to light. Mozart scholarship of Deutsch's time was much more centralised in Austria and tended not to consider non-autograph material. In that sense Handel scholarship was more inclusive in the same period. Dr Eisen considered a range of Mozartian 'iconography', such as portraits of children who may or may not be of Wolfgang and Nannerl, showing how he went about establishing their provenance.

Dr David Hunter from Texas presented a finely argued paper on Handel's contemporary audiences. Some scholars have concluded, erroneously, that it was the 'middle classes', by and large, who attended Handel performances. However, the 'middle class' of Handel's day would not have been able to afford to attend; mostly they were attended by rich people and their servants. Audiences were mixed by religion and by political affiliation. Most attendees came from the 1300 elite families but only 15% of this population supported musical events. Dr Hunter had examined 122 out of 195 public archives but only five out of 115 private archives. Further funding would be required to consider the large quantity of archival materials more comprehensively.

Fiona Richards (Open University) has been researching Boyd Neel (1905–1981) who is credited with playing baroque music with orchestras of string players commensurate with the forces used when the music was written. Thereby he had pioneered historically-informed performance practice. Boyd Neel's archive is at Hamilton University in Canada. Ms Richards complimented this University on its open and co-operative attitude towards scholars. Cheryll Duncan has been researching the finances of Caterina Galli who had been a soprano with Handel. She has examined court papers which reveal her financial troubles. Elizabeth Norman McKay knew Otto Deutsch from when she was a young girl. She described his history and her family's connection with him.

Clive Walkley, *Juan Esquivel. A Master of Sacred Music during the Spanish Golden Age*

Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010
ISBN 978–1–84383–587–5, xvi + 270 pp., £55.

Noel O'Regan

Life and works-type studies of composers have become comparatively rare so it is in many ways refreshing to welcome this one by Clive Walkely who brings both a passionate advocacy and a wealth of experience of Spanish music—and of Esquivel in particular—to his study. Esquivel's music is not completely unknown, thanks particularly to the inclusion of two masses, eight motets and four hymns in the Mapa Mundi series, but he has remained mostly an obscure figure. Indeed, from the point of view of his life, he still remains rather obscure, despite Walkley's best endeavours. He did not hold a post in a major Spanish centre but worked as *maestro de capilla* in three smaller cities: Cuidad Rodrigo in the West of Spain, where he had been born, Oviedo on the North coast and Calahorra in the Rioja region. Walkley is able to summarise what we know about his life in a single short chapter.

Despite this relative obscurity, Equivel has come to be recognised as one of the most important figures in Spanish music around 1600. His reputation rests on three publications, with very little of his music surviving in manuscript. How he managed to put together the considerable amount of money necessary to fund three major publications remains a mystery. But fund them he did and it is on these works that Walkley's study focuses, taking us through each in turn. There is no complete edition of Esquivel's works: as well as those pieces published by Mapa Mundi only a few others have found their way into anthologies (and some more into dissertations). It is to be hoped that Walkley and/or others will continue to make more of his music generally available. Those pieces we know are certainly attractive. In compensation for this lack of modern editions, Walkley provides extensive musical examples to illustrate the discussion in this study.

Who should be the target of a book like this? A specialist readership is likely to be limited and Walkley has clearly decided to aim wider and to take in the more general reader. He includes a lot of background information, digressing to explain features such as the imitation mass, rhetorical figures, how sixteenth-century writers approached music criticism and similar topics. For the specialist reader this can be a bit irritating as Walkley seems to be reinventing each wheel; on the other hand, the book provides a useful compendium of necessary information for anyone who wishes to know more about the context of late Renaissance music. There are frequent references to the *Liber usualis*, perhaps not an ideal source for Spanish plainchant but a reasonably available one. Walkley is a natural teacher and this comes through in his writing which is always clear and easy to read. The book is very well produced by Boydell, with an attractive cover showing part of the late fifteenth-century *retablo* from Cuidad Rodrigo cathedral. There is a good index and bibliography and little or no errors.

As in other books of this sort Walkley starts with a background chapter on religious life and cathedral music in Spain at the time of the Counter-reformation. This includes a useful summary of debates about the most appropriate term for what happened in the Catholic Church in this period, as well as a standard summary of the Council of Trent's effects on music. Walkley does relate these to the particular situation in Spain, describing the methods used by the authorities to combat protestant tendencies and examining the peninsula's devotional practices and the strength of its religious life. Some general discussion of how Spanish cathedrals organised their music leads into a more specific examination of the three cathedrals in which Esquivel worked. This is followed by a chapter describing the surviving copies of the three prints, two from 1608—one of Masses, the other of motets—and one from 1613, a broad compila-

tion of Masses, psalms, Marian antiphons, hymns and Magnificats.

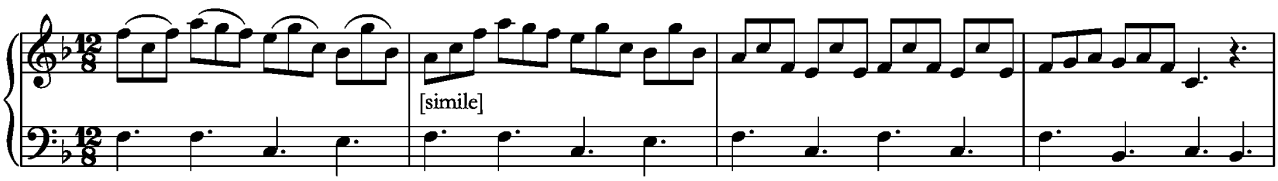
Walkley discusses the music in his central three chapters and takes as his model the writings of Robert Stevenson, doyen of commentators on early Spanish music, whose book, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, Walkley calls his 'bible' and from whom the 'Golden Age' of this book's title is taken. This usually involves taking a comparative approach, comparing Esquivel's treatment of a particular text with that of other Spanish composers like Guerrero, Morales, Victoria. This allows the reader to see Esquivel's music in the context of that of his predecessors and contemporaries and to view it as part of a Spanish continuum. At the same time it can set Equivel up for a fall at times as he tended to go for shorter, more straightforward, solutions. Walkley describes the music very well, from various perspectives, but finds it difficult to get beyond this descriptive level. One is left with a lot of knowledge about the music without feeling that one really knows it. Perhaps, in the end, that sort of knowledge is only attainable through performing it.

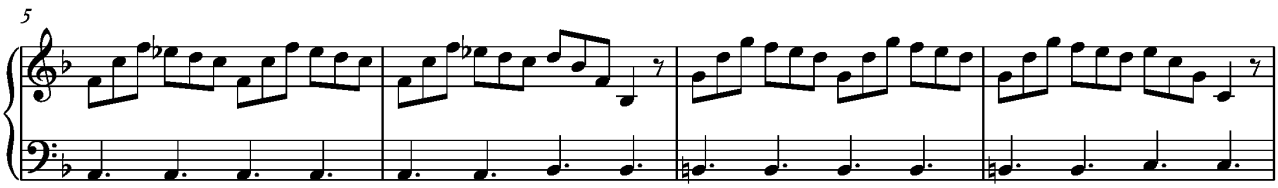
Walkley is open about the difficulties involved in making such a critical appraisal, calling upon early and modern authors for assistance in his concluding chapter, but still not finding a satisfactory way of doing it. He quotes Robert Snow, who comes closer than most in seeking to explain Esquivel's often tentative attempts at marrying his musical upbringing in traditional techniques with a consciousness of the possibilities of the developing musical language during his maturity, that of Italy in particular. He remains a liminal figure, unable to break the bonds of the past or to wholeheartedly embrace the future. In that, of course, he reflects the Spain of his day, not quite realising that its glory years were already receding but, at the same time, suspicious of other influences and opportunities. The 'Golden Age' had already begun to tarnish. In spite of all this, or because of it, Esquivel is a fascinating figure for a full-length study such as this and Clive Walkley has been highly successful in opening up his music and its context to scrutiny in this book.

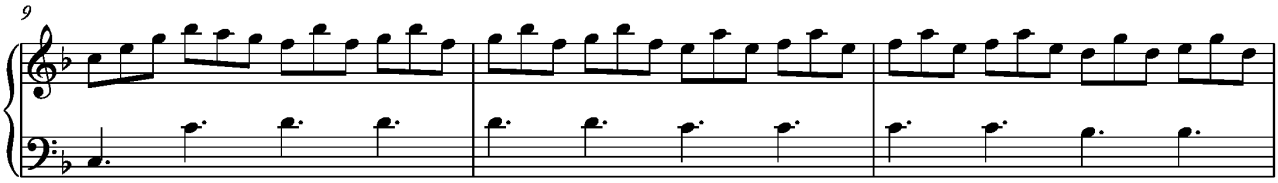
Giga [RV19/2]

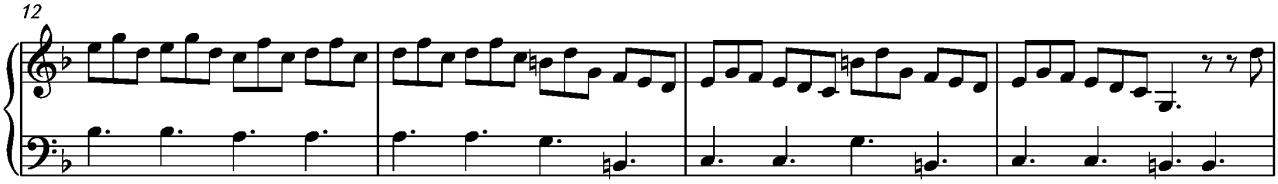
Antonio Vivaldi (1678–1741)
ed. Michael Talbot

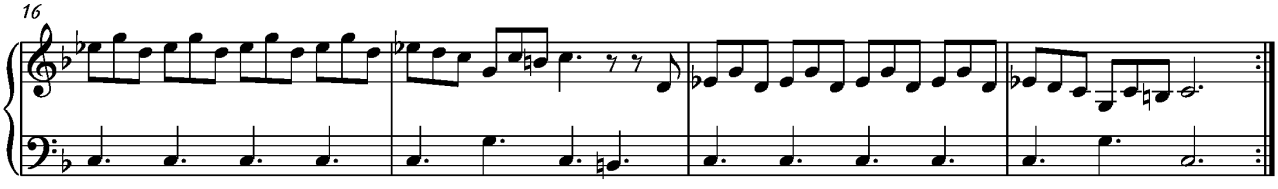
Allegro

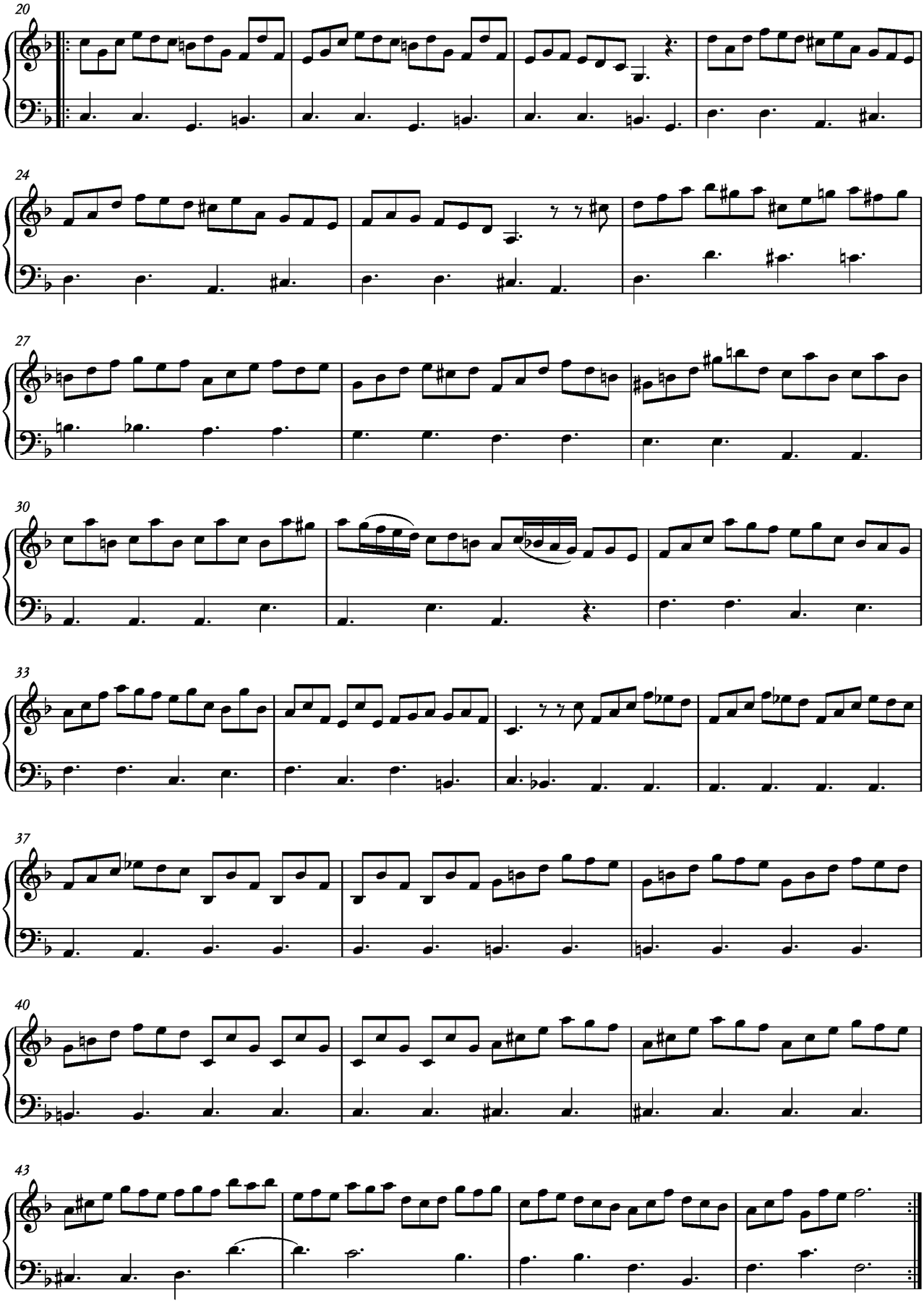











20
24
27
30
33
37
40
43

Recent Publications Relating to Performance Practice

Compiled by Matthew Hall

Early Music, Vol. 39/1 (February 2011)

Articles

• Claudio Annibaldi, '"The singers of the said chapel are chaplains of the pope": some remarks on the papal chapel in early modern times'

• Monica Hall, 'The *chittarra atiorbata* and the *guittare theorbée*: a reappraisal'

• Giovanni Paolo Di Stefano, 'The *clavecins à maillets* of Marius and Veltman: new observations on some of the first pianos in France'

• Anthony Hart, 'New findings on the possible copyists and owners of the Scarlatti sonata manuscripts in Münster: the role of Antonino Reggio'

• Margaret Seares, 'The composer and the subscriber: a case study from the 18th century'

Book Reviews of

• Rebecca Maloy, *Inside the offertory: aspects of chronology and transmission* (OUP, 2010)
Kate Helsen, 'Tradition and transmission in early chant'

• Alison Crum, *The viol rules: a notebook* (St Albans: Corda Music, 2009)
Lucy Robinson, '"The viol rules", OK'

• Annette Landgraf and David Vickers (eds.), *The Cambridge Handel encyclopedia* (CUP, 2009)
Peter Holman, 'A Handel lexicon'

• Salmen Walter, *Zu Tisch bei Johann Sebastian Bach* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2009)
Tanya Kevorkian, 'Bach at home'

• Tilman Skowroneck, *Beethoven the pianist* (CUP, 2010)
Siân Derry, 'Beethoven as pianist'

Recording Reviews

• Tim Shephard, 'New Du Fay recordings'

• Roberto Giuliani, 'Instrumental music of the early 17th century'

• David Chung, 'A German keyboard compendium'

• Uri Golomb, 'Instrumental Bach: questions of scoring and instrumentation'

• Andrew Woolley, 'Vivaldi highs and lows'

• Rohan Stewart-MacDonald, 'New vistas onto the Classical-Romantic keyboard repertory'

Early Music, Vol. 38/4 (November 2010)

Articles

• Jeremy L. Smith, '"Unlawful song": Byrd, the Babington plot and the Paget choir'

• Andrew Pink, 'A music club for freemasons: *Philomusicae et -architecturae societas Apollini*, London, 1725–1727'

• David Clarke, 'An encounter with Chinese music in mid-18th-century London

• Douglas Macmillan, 'The English flageolet, 1800–1900'

Book Reviews of

• Christine Jeanneret, *L'œuvre en filigrane: Une étude philologique des manuscrits de musique pour clavier à Rome aux XVIIe siècle* (Florence: Olschki, 2009)
Frederick Hammond, 'The hidden world of Frescobaldi manuscripts'

• John Birchensha, *Writings on music*, ed. Christopher D.S. Field (Ashgate, 2010)
Thomas McGeary, 'Music and science in Restoration London'

• Gregory Barnett et al. (eds.), *Arcangelo Corelli fra mito e realtà storica. Nuove prospettive d'indagine musicologica e interdisciplinare nel 350º anniversario della nascita. Atti del congresso internazionale di studi (Fusignano, 11-14 settembre 2003)*, (Florence: Olschki, 2007)
Ann Lingas, 'Celebrating Corelli'

• Raymond Erickson (ed.), *The worlds of Johann Sebastian Bach* (Milwaukee, WI: Amadeus Press, 2009)
Burkhard Schwalbach, 'Bach's musical horizons'

Recording Reviews

• A. L. Babington, 'Early British song'

• Jasmin Cameron, 'An English connection'

• Eric Cross, 'Geistliche Konzerte'

• Graham Sadler, 'French opera, ballet and cantata'

• Paul Simmonds, 'Wilhelm Friedemann Bach's keyboard music'

• Rohan Stewart-MacDonald, 'Anniversary reflections: Chopin, Schumann and Schumann's circle'

Eighteenth-Century Music, Vol. 8/1 (March 2011)

Articles

• David Schulenberg, 'Modifying the Da Capo? Through-composed arias in vocal works by Bach and other composers'

• Felix Diergarten, 'The True Fundamentals of Composition: Haydn's Partimento Counterpoint'

Journal of the Royal Musical Association, Vol. 135/2 (November 2010)

Articles

• Bettina Varwig, 'Death and Life in J.S. Bach's Cantata *Ich habe genung* (BWV 82)'

• Georgina Born, 'For a Relational Musicology: Music and Interdisciplinarity, Beyond the Practice Turn'

Music & Letters, Vol. 91/4 (November 2010)

Articles

• Tim Carter, 'Some notes on the first edition of Monteverdi's "Orfeo" (1609)'

• Iain Fenlon, 'Renaissance novellara: musical life in the Gonzaga Hinterland'

Book Reviews of

• Emma Hornby, *Medieval Liturgical Chant and Patristic Exegesis: Words and music in second-mode tracts* (Boydell Press, 2009)

Alejandro Enrique Planchart
• Blake Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence: The* Cantasi Come *Tradition (1375–1550)* (Florence: Olschki, 2009)
Bonnie J. Blackburn

Music & Letters, Vol. 92/1 (February 2011)

Articles

• Julian Horton, 'John Field and the Alternative History of Concerto First-Movement Form'

Book Review of

• Robin Myers et al. (eds.), *Music and the book trade from the sixteenth to the twentieth century* (BL and Oak Knoll Press, 2008)
Peter Ward Jones
• Thierry Favier, *Le Motet à grand choeur (1660–1792): Gloria in Gallia Deo* (Fayard, Paris, 2009)
Jean-Paul C. Montagnier
• Anthony R. DelDonna and Pierpaolo Polzonetti (eds.), *The Cambridge Comapnion to Eighteenth-Century Opera* (CUP, 2009)
Julian Rushton
• Tom Beghin and Sander M. Goldberg (eds.), *Haydn and the Performance of Rhetoric* (University of Chicago Press, 2008)
W. Dean Sutcliffe

Journal of the American Musicological Society, Vol. 63/3 (Fall 2011)

Article

• Anthony Newcomb, 'The Ballata and the "Free" Madrigal in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century'

Book Review of

• Karol Berger, *Bach's Cycle, Mozart's Arrow: An Essay on the Origins of Musical Modernity* (University of California Press, 2007)
Robert D. Levin

The Musical Times, Vol. 151/4 (Winter 2010)

Articles

• Andrew Parrott, 'Bach's chorus: no change'
• John S. Jenkins, 'Mozart and the castrati'

Book Reviews of

• Christopher Page, *The Christian west and its singers: the first thousand years*
• John Cunningham, *The consort music of William Lawes 1602–1645*
• Emma Hornby & David Maw, *Essays on the history of English music: sources, style, performance, historiography*

The Musical Times, Vol. 152/1 (Spring 2011)

Article

• Donald Burrows, 'HWV301 and all that: the history of Handel's "oboe concertos"'

The Viola da Gamba Society Journal, Vol. 4 (2010)

Articles

• Matthew Hall, 'Charles Dieupart's Six suittes (1701-1702) and the en concert Performance Tradition'
• Peter Holman, 'Charles Frederick Abel's Viola da Gamba Music: A New Catalogue'
• Michael Fuerst, 'The Partiturbuch Ludwig: An Introduction and Thematic Catalogue'

Book Reviews of

• Carol A. Gartrell, *A History of the Baryton and its Music: King of Instrument, Instrument of Kings*
Jeremy Brooker
• John Birchensha, *Writings on music*, ed. Christopher D.S. Field (Ashgate, 2010)
Alan Howard
• Michael Robertson, *The Courtly Consort Suite in German-Speaking Europe, 1650-1706*
Richard Carter
• John Cunningham, *The Consort Music of William Lawes, 1602-1645*
David Pinto

The Musical Quarterly, Vol. 93/3-4 (Fall-Winter 2010)

Articles

• L. Poundie Burstein, "'lebe wohl tönt überall" and a "Runion after so much sorrow": Beethoven's Op. 81a and the journeys of 1809'
• Birgit Lodes, "'Le congrès danse": set form and improvisation in Beethoven's Polonaise for Piano, Op. 89'

The Recorder Magazine, Vol. 30/3 (Autumn 2010)

Article

• Alan Davis, 'Thoughts on Authenticity'

The Recorder Magazine, Vol. 30/4 (Winter 2010)

Article

• Anthony Rowland-Jones, 'Memories of Dr Hermann Moeck'

The Viol, No. 20 (Autumn 2010)

• Tim Soar and Siriol Jones, 'Building an Elizabethan Viol, in search of the sound Byrd might have heard'
• Polly Sussex, 'The Auckland Thomas Cole Bass Viol'
• Richard Carter, 'The Unequal Fretting of Viols'

New from Cambridge University Press

• Daniel Bernard and H. Mainwaring Dunstan, *Life and Letters of Berlioz* (2010)
• Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (2010)
• David Damschroder, *Harmony in Schubert* (2010)

New from Ashgate

• Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Sources of Beneventan Chant* (forthcoming, 2011)
• Mary Cyr, *Music Performance Practice,* 4 vols. (forthcoming, 2011)

• Charles E. Brewer, *The Instrumental Music of Schmeltzer, Biber, Muffat and their Contemporaries* (forthcoming, 2011)
• Richard Charteris, *Giovanni Gabrieli and His Contemporaries* (2011)
• David Ledbetter, *The Baroque Composers,* 5 vols. (2011)
• Michael Talbot, *Vivaldi* (2010)
• David Vickers, *Handel* (2010)
• Peter Holman, *Purcell* (2010)
• Yo Tomita, *Bach* (2011)
• Richard Wistreich, *Monteverdi* (2010)

New from Boydell
• Samantha Owens et al. (eds.), *Music at German Courts, 1715-1760* (2011)
• Peter Holman, *Life After Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (2011)

New from The Packard Humanities Institute
C.P.E. Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* ed. Tobias Plebuch, 3 vols. (forthcoming, 2011) [Series VII vols. 1-3 in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: The Complete Works*]