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SAMPSON ESTWICK, TRIO SONATA IN A MINOR RECREATED FROM THE SURVIVING FIRST VIOLIN PART

COVER: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 63627, f. 1v, showing the first page of the surviving first treble part for Sampson Estwick's trio sonata. Reproduced with permission.



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Editorial

Readers of *EMP* may be interested to hear about a recently completed research project that I have undertaken concerned with the music book of two English catholic women who, by the 1690s, were living in Paris as exiles. Known as the Mary and Elizabeth Roper manuscript, it is a collection primarily of French harpsichord music from the final quarter of the seventeenth century. My interest in the manuscript stems back to my doctoral research on English keyboard sources, and 2009, when I had the opportunity to inspect the manuscript in person as a short-term Research Fellow at the Newberry Library, Chicago. The manuscript is particularly interesting because it offers tantalising clues about its early provenance. Like a handful of similar compilations, it is signed by early owners, in this case, one 'Mary Roper' and 'Elizabeth Roper'; the latter dated the manuscript '1691'. My research has led me to believe that Mary and Elizabeth were, respectively, daughter and widow of Christopher Roper, 5th Baron Teynham, of Lynsted Lodge in Kent, who died in Brussels as a Catholic exile in 1689. Mary Roper (1676–1716) entered the Paris Augustinians in 1696, and it seems likely that a significant portion of the manuscript was copied by her mother, probably in order to help her prepare for convent life. The music that Elizabeth Roper copied is mainly by the organist and composer Nicolas Lebègue (c.1631–1702), and was, for the most part, selected directly from his first book of *Pieces de Clavecin* (1677) (see Bruce Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music of the Seventeenth Century: a Thematic Catalogue of the Sources with Commentary* (Ann Arbor, 1979), 3 vols., esp. i, 67–8, and ii, 155–73). All the music that she copied is presented anonymously, including a small quantity of French harpsichord music, similar in style to Lebègue's, which was taken from manuscript sources.

We know of an active musical life in convents in the Low Countries and Paris in the seventeenth century, as was the case in other parts of Europe (see, for example, Colleen Reardon, *Holy concord within sacred walls: nuns and music in Sienna, 1575–1700* (Oxford, 2002)). An indication of this is apparent from the obituary notices of Franciscan nuns in the Low Countries (*The Book of the Dead of the Franciscan Nuns*), recently digitised as part of a project called *Who were the nuns?* at Queen's University, Belfast (see <http://www.history.qmul.ac.uk/wwtn/>). We read of, among other examples:

Sister Seraphia a St Winefred, alias Ann Garnoons [d.1682] ... She was most exemplar in her life, neuer absent from the quire night or day, & much giuen to mental prayer. She was Mistress of the Musick many yeares, being a perfect mistress upon the Organ, Leeraway [lyra-viol] & violin, & Bas viol, with all other parts

Sister Francis Stephan, alias Garnons [d.1689] ... was an excelent Mussition both of the Leeraway, violine & sea Trumpet [tromba marina]

Reverend Mother Henrieta Marie Moore [d.1704], who was for 3 yeares Abbess of this Monastery [at Bruges] ... She was one of a sound judgm't and very good talents, particularly in Musick, she both singing & playing on the violin and Continuall Base and the organ all which she perform'd faithfully for the honour of God and Religion

Dear Sister Delphina More [d.1731] ... was a Person of a great Many Naturall Good Talent which she faithfully Improved. She had great Skill in Musick and Plain Song and also Played upon the Violin.

Does the Roper manuscript contain any music by a member of a convent? Apparently it does. Among six pieces in an unidentified hand are a group of three in D minor, 'Allemande', 'Courante', and 'Gigue', the first of which bears an attribution to one 'S^r. Caecile.' It is impossible to identify 'Sister Caecile' from the records of convent membership, since the name 'Cecilia' was popular, one often adopted in religious life. A number of features point to the likelihood, however, that she hailed from the Low Countries rather than Paris, and that the person who copied her music into the Roper manuscript was also from that region. This is suggested by features of the music notation, including the use of six-line staves (the sixth being added by hand), a feature of Dutch (and English) keyboard sources of the late seventeenth century but not French ones. Readers may be interested to know that I will be posting my transcription of the 'Sister Caecile' pieces on the ISMLP/Petracci Music Library, and a write-up of my work on the manuscript will appear in *The Worlds of Harpsichord and Organ: Liber Amicorum David Fuller*, ed. Bruce Gustafson (Hillsdale, NY).

The present issue of *EMP* offers two articles that relate directly and indirectly to music in Britain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the first, Alan Howard takes us through the process

by which he was able to ‘recreate’ the lost parts of a trio sonata by Sampson Estwick (1656/7–1739); his convincing efforts are printed in score, with parts, as the Supplement to this issue. Only the first violin part survives, in a partbook dated ‘1686’, suggestive of the piece’s close chronological proximity to Purcell’s sonatas. It is interesting to note Estwick’s interest in Italianate musical materials, but like Purcell, he attempts to marry them with arcane contrapuntal modes of composition. In the next issue of *EMP* will be a sequel to this article by Alon Schab, who has also undertaken a recreation of Estwick’s sonata. It will be illuminating to compare the results of the two completions, especially if opportunity for the performance of both arises.

Vanda de Sá Silva’s account of the closeness of guitar and keyboard repertoires in Portugal in the late eighteenth century considers the strong British influence in Portugal at this time. This article is, interestingly, concerned with both the cross-over between musical cultures, and between repertoires belonging to different families of instruments. Some readers may not be familiar with the variety of guitars that existed in the period under question, including the wire-strung English guitar, the Portuguese *guitarra* that developed from it (here referred to simply as ‘guitar’), and the Spanish guitar, known as the *viola*.

We continue our series on electronic resources with two reports. Ester Lebedinski, who is working on a Ph.D. at Royal Holloway on the dissemination of Roman vocal music in Restoration England, explains the functions of the Düben Database Catalogue and reports on the current state of the digitisation plans. In issue 23 of *EMP* (2009), George Kennaway outlined the aims of the CHASE project undertaken at the University of Leeds (Collecting Historical Annotated String Editions); in the present issue he sums up its achievements, now it has been completed, and in particular the remarkable project website.

Martyn Hodgson has drawn my attention to the digitisation of Santiago de Murcia’s ‘Cifras selectas de guitarra’, an edition of which he reviewed in Issue 29 (by the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile: http://aleph.uc.cl/libros_antiguos/cifras_selectas_guitarra.pdf). My thanks are also due to Martyn, and to Alan Howard, for assistance with this issue.

Andrew Woolley
November 2012

***** National Early Music Association news *****

The new NEMA website is now available from:
<http://www.earlymusic.info/>

From here members can access the Early Music Register, a complete and up-to-date listing of societies, organisations and publishers connected with early music.

In 2013 NEMA will be reducing its membership rates in all categories to £11, while continuing to forge links with other early music organisations in the UK and around the world.

In conjunction with the Guildhall School of Music and Drama, NEMA will host a conference on Mechanical Instruments, 7–8 July 2013. For further details visit:

http://www.gsmd.ac.uk/about_the_school/research/news/details/article/mechanical_musical_instruments_and_historical_performance_conference/

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Sampson Estwick's Trio Sonata in A minor: A Recreation

Alan Howard

‘To judge from its one surviving part, Sampson Estwick’s A minor sonata ... is the only one in this edition that relates directly to Purcell’s sonatas’.¹ So Peter Holman and John Cunningham introduce their remarks on the sonata that is the subject of this article in the Preface to their recently-published Purcell Society Edition Companion Series volume of *Restoration Trio Sonatas*. When I first encountered it in an earlier draft of that volume, my curiosity was sufficiently piqued by this observation and by the quality—evident even from its orphaned first violin part alone—of Estwick’s music, to want to know more. From this curiosity was born the re-creation of the sonata included as the supplement to this issue of *EMP*, together with the present discussion which aims to illuminate some of the reasoning on which it is based, and in turn what implications Estwick’s sonata might have for our wider understanding of the Restoration Trio Sonata: an attempt, in other words, to see just how much of the work can be ‘judged from its one surviving part’, and how the likelihood that it ‘relates directly to Purcell’s sonatas’ might help in this process.

When I began to work on the sonata I viewed it as little more than an enjoyable diversion. The further I progressed, however, the more I became convinced that the surviving first violin part contained a considerable amount of recoverable information about the complete sonata: certainly enough to permit the performance of the surviving part as one strand of a three-part texture sufficiently informed by internal clues—all of which require interpretation, of course, which inevitably depends on external knowledge (of other English trio sonatas, their stylistic background, and so on)—that Estwick’s first violin part could be rendered musically intelligible once more, and heard in relation to the materials and techniques with which he seems to have worked and from which the surviving music must have derived. Thus from a task begun as an enjoyable pastime—as ‘recreation’, if you will—was born the full-blown ‘re-creation’ of the work: a term I have adopted in the hope of capturing something of the status I accord to the finished sonata as published in the supplement: much more than an exercise in pastiche composition, which would imply that the music was entirely my own creation, yet somewhat short of deserving the label ‘reconstruction’, implying confidence in the possibility of recovering every

note of Estwick’s original given sufficiently insightful interpretation of the remaining fragment.

Keen to share the results of my experiment, and with a hazy notion that the reliability or otherwise of my re-creation might at least crudely be tested by comparison with another version undertaken independently of my own, I approached Alon Schab some time ago with the challenge, at that stage still rather flippant, to send me his completed text of the sonata. Some of the results, including telling similarities as well as notable differences in approach in other places, are explored in Alon’s companion article to this one in the next issue of *EMP*, which also includes the full text of his alternative re-creation as a supplement. In the present essay I concentrate on some of the details which facilitated my own version, the reliability or otherwise of the resulting text, and the possible implications for our understanding of the trio sonata in Purcell’s day. As a precursor to this discussion, however, it would be useful to explore briefly the background to Estwick and his trio sonata.

Informative, albeit brief biographies of Estwick (1656/7–1739) exist in both *New Grove* and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*: he gained his first documented musical experience

at Christ Church, Oxford, matriculating in 1674 and serving as chaplain from 1678; thus he was a contemporary of Edward Lowe and Richard Goodson, Sr, and would have participated in Henry Aldrich's well known weekly musical rehearsals.² By 1696, when he preached a sermon on *The Usefulness of Church-Musick* for the 1696 celebrations of St Cecilia, he was a singer and minor canon at St Paul's Cathedral, where he performed almost until the end of his life (as vividly recalled by Hawkins); later, he was a founding member of the Academy of Vocal Music, one of London's earliest subscription concert series. As well as his personal integrity, contemporaries remembered Estwick's musical talents in terms which belie his more recent obscurity. William Hayes held him up as an example of benefits of the kind of education offered under Aldrich at Christ Church; 'not only an excellent and zealous Performer in the Choral-Duty...but a remarkable fine Reader also; which indeed is not to be wondered at, since a good Voice and Ear are equally requisite in a Reader as in a Singer'.³ The Oxford antiquary and diarist Thomas Hearne, recording his displeasure at the appointment in 1710 of Robert Shippen as principal of Brasenose College, gave a colourful if obviously partisan account of Shippen's previous triumph over Estwick in the 1705 elections for the Gresham Professorship of Music:⁴

[Shippen] carried his Point as easily as he did sometime agoe for the Professorship of Musick in Gresham College in opposition to the ingenious Mr Estwick, formerly of Christ-Church, who is reckon'd to understand Musick as well as any Man in England, and was a fit man for being Professor, whereas Shippen understands little or nothing of it, and 'twas Look'd upon as the greatest Piece of Impudence to stand against a Man every ways so well qualified.

Whether Hearne's indignation was shared by London musicians of the time is not known, but Shippen would be by no means the only eighteenth-century incumbent to have been elected in spite of showing minimal inclination towards music either as a practical or scientific pursuit.

Ex. 1. Sampson Estwick,
Overture in B flat major
(Mus.Sch.447-9), bb. 27-30

Estwick's small amount of surviving music is perhaps insufficient to corroborate Hearne's gushing tribute to his capabilities, but it is ample evidence of his general competence as a composer. As Robert Thompson observes, the four Act Songs he composed in Oxford reveal that he shared Aldrich's interest in Italian music, incorporating frequent trio textures in both vocal and instrumental sections, largely regular phrase lengths, and controlled use of chromaticism within a clear tonal context.⁵ Two solo songs which survive in a manuscript at the British Library (Add. MS 33234) are attractive examples of their kind, handling modulation and key with both a greater range and degree of assurance than is common in songs by so-called 'amateur' composers of the time. The more airy of the two, 'An amorous sigh' (ff. 51-2), has some attractive moments, but its overall effect is somewhat weakened by Estwick's relentlessly syllabic text setting and virtually unbroken 'step-tripla' rhythms.

The sonata under discussion is preserved at the beginning of a manuscript at the British Library, Add. MS 63627, entitled 'First Treble Booke / 1686'. The other books do not survive, but the title of the volume (implying the existence of a second treble) together with its inclusion of trio sonatas by Purcell, Corelli and Bassani strongly suggest that Estwick's sonata, too, was originally for two violins, bass instrument (probably bass viol) and continuo (most likely organ). The date implies that the sonata was written during the composer's time at Christ Church. Apart from this sonata, Estwick's most extended surviving instrumental work is a suite 'For 3 parts' in B flat major comprising an overture and ritornello 'made for the Theatre, in Oxford / July anno 81' at the Bodleian Library (MS Mus.Sch.447-9). Unfortunately, both items are missing from the second treble partbook, meaning that this work, too, is incomplete, though the survival of the bass does improve the situation somewhat. Indeed, in places, similarity between the violin parts of the two works can be used to suggest a bass part in the sonata by comparison with Estwick's in the overture (compare Ex. 1 with the Supplement, bb. 133-4), though the number of such instances is small.

Violin 1 [2]

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Thoroughbass

The more likely relevance of the Overture and Ritornello is in confirming more general stylistic points, a possibility strengthened by the numerous similarities between the two works (see Ex. 2): both begin with broad duple-time writing and contain similar compound triple fugues (albeit more developed in the sonata), and the earlier Ritornello is similar in style to the sonata's Poco Largo; furthermore, the fanfare-like figure in the violin at bb. 2–3 of the Overture, with its dotted-note reiteration of the fifth scale

degree, is strikingly similar to the fugue subject Estwick adopts in the sonata Vivace (Ex. 2a). In order to move beyond such general stylistic observations to the actual re-creation of the missing music, however, we must resort to close examination of the surviving first violin part. Rather than giving a blow-by-blow account of the process, the following discussion presents a survey of the varying strategies suggested by specific cues in the source.

a) Overture, opening (compare Supplement, opening)

b) Overture, bb. 21–5 (compare Supplement, 118–42)

c) Ritornello, bb. 1–4 (compare Supplement, 94–117)

Ex. 2. Sampson Estwick, Overture and Ritornello in B flat major (Mus.Sch.447–9)

Perhaps the simplest case is the Poco Largo, since its dance-like idiom and tuneful character facilitate a straightforward harmonic bassline and a second violin that usually shadows either the surviving part or the bass at the third or the sixth (see Supplement, bb. 94–117). One is reminded of Purcell's advice for 'making a *Second Treble* to a Tune' in his 1694 *Art of Descant*, in which he corrects Christopher Simpson's erratic alto to produce a second part in parallel thirds with the first, cautioning the reader to 'keep it always below the Upper Part, because it may not spoil the Air'.⁶ Estwick observes similar principles in one of the longest passages of his three-part instrumental music to survive complete, a ritornello for two violins and bass at the end of a long ground bass song for tenor voice in his Act

Song 'Julio festas referente luces' (Christ Church, Oxford, Mus. 619, f. 31v), composed at around the same time as the Overture in B flat major discussed above.⁷ The first violin is the dominant melodic part, with the second always lower in pitch and consistently following the outer parts at the third or sixth (Ex. 3). Also notable is the glimpse this passage affords of Estwick's musical personality, particularly in its efforts to provide harmonic variety and to disguise the repetition of the ground, both characteristics strongly redolent of Purcell's ground bass writing. Estwick does not shy away from experimenting with chromaticism, with some success. (The unlikely *g'* sharp on the last beat of bar 8 of Ex. 3 may be intended to cancel a flat originally appended to the previous note, but later scribbled out.)

Ex. 3. Sampson Estwick, Act Song 'Julio festas referente luces', ritornello (Mus. 619, f. 31v)

Those familiar with the quotation from Purcell's *Art of Descant* in the previous paragraph may also recall its continuation: 'But if you compose *Sonata's*, there one *Treble* has as much Predominancy as the other, and you are not tied to such a strict Rule, but one may interfere with the other'.⁸ My re-creation of Estwick's sonata assumes that just such a principle is in operation where the first violin descends from its usual tessitura to occupy a lower range, in which case the second violin frequently assumes greater 'Predominancy' (see Supplement, bb. 26–8, 32–6, 78–84, 122–4 and 141–5 for notable examples). In music with genuinely equal treble parts, the texture is guided not so much by an identifiable 'melody' as by the equally important voiceleading implications of each contrapuntal strand. At the start of Estwick's sonata, for example, the surviving part incorporates sustained syncopated writing reminiscent of the sequential progressions for the harmonisation of scales discussed by both Matthew Locke and John Blow in their thoroughbass primers.⁹ As I have suggested

elsewhere, Purcell seems deliberately to have incorporated such progressions as a way of marking his own sonatas as 'Italian'.¹⁰ Whereas Purcell in his sonatas tends to derive contrapuntal materials from them (often with very fast harmonic rhythm), though, Estwick's sonata treats them as do Corelli and Bassani, as melodically neutral and harmonically open.

In line with his interest in Italian music, Estwick's surviving compositions demonstrate clearly his familiarity with such sequential patterns, treating the syncopated line either as a series of 6–5s (Ex. 4a) or 7–6s (Ex. 4b). The surviving parts of the Overture in B flat major permit reasonable confidence about the essential pitches of the second violin in Ex. 4a and, I would suggest, another passage in which Estwick generates a more complicated pattern of 7–6 suspensions in alternate violin parts over a bass moving repeatedly by fifth (Ex. 4c); similar cycle-of-fifths fragments appear elsewhere in Estwick's music (e.g. Ex. 4d), and thus also in the re-created sonata (Supplement, bb. 71–2, 112–5).

a) 6–5s over falling scale: Overture in B flat major (Mus.Sch.447–9), bb. 27–30

b) 7–6s over falling scale: Act Song 'Julio festas referente luces' (Mus. 619, f. 32v; words omitted)

Ex. 4. Sequential progressions in Sampson Estwick's music

To return to the start of Estwick's sonata, there are of course many different ways of interpreting the violin part, with or without such sequential patterns. I have nevertheless chosen to superimpose the surviving part over a falling scale in the bass, working out a long descent to the fifth scale degree over the first seven bars (Supplement, bb. 1–7). Aside from its elegance, this consistent falling scale echoes Estwick's similar opening device in bb. 1–4 of the Overture in B flat major. The choice of 7–6 suspensions for the syncopated line is by no means dictated by this decision, but when combined with 6–5 progressions the anticipated *e''* and *d''* in bar 5 of the first violin risk bringing to the surface consecutive fifths otherwise innocuously contained by the syncopation, and in any case the more goal-directed 7–6 suspensions provide an attractive foil to the rising bassline more clearly required in the following bars (bb. 7–10).

This repeated progression, an expanded cadence using contrary motion in the outer parts and a pair of suspensions, 7–6 then 4–3 in the treble, is extremely common in Corelli's sonatas (for example). Indeed, its use here to balance a preceding falling bassline is prefigured at the start of Corelli's Sonata Op. 1/6, where Corelli's compositional instincts are exactly the same as Estwick's (Ex. 5): an opening move to the relative major, followed by a scalic return to the fifth degree in the bass, then the rising-bass idea repeated in sequence leading to a cadence. It cannot be proven conclusively whether Estwick

knew Corelli's Op. 1 before he wrote his sonata, but by an extraordinarily suggestive coincidence the very same work (Sonata no. 6) not only appears on ff. 7v–8v of the same manuscript, but also is copied like Estwick's sonata in A minor, rather than in its original B minor. It seems quite possible, therefore, that Estwick knew Corelli's sonata in this transposed version and that the copyist of Add. MS 63627 obtained both works from a source belonging to that same textual tradition. If he was indeed indebted to Corelli's sonata, Estwick nevertheless avoided the banal pastiche that some later English imitators of Corelli came up with, composing out the move to the relative major at greater length, intensifying the sequential use of the rising idea, and tying this section to the next with an imperfect cadence in bar 12.

The other section of the sonata in which Estwick makes extensive use of such sequential progressions is the Grave (Supplement, bb. 62–93). Without dissecting the movement in detail, it is sufficient to say that apart from obvious cadential figures, the music can be supplied almost entirely using sequential progressions of the kind found in Estwick's other music and the Italianate repertoire to which it relates: there are 7–6 suspensions over a falling bass scale in bb. 76–8, successive 7s over bass roots moving by fifth in 71–2, and other sequential patterns in 75–6, 80–81 and 86–90, but by far the most prominent are the 5–6 progressions over a rising bass scale in bb. 63–4, 66–9, 74–5 and 83–5.

Ex. 5. Arcangelo Corelli, Sonata in B minor Op. 1/6: first movement

In fact, the evidence from the source suggests that Estwick used this section to subject this rising 5–6 progression to particular scrutiny. Its presence is strongly implied by the fact that the surviving part opens with prominent rising scales in minims beginning on the strong beat (bb. 63–4) and then on the weak (66–8); in the basic form of this progression both of these are needed in the two treble parts, one shadowing the bass at the third and the other beginning at the fifth in syncopation. Furthermore, the first violin ornaments these scales with figuration that appears to be systematically intensified as the section progresses: Estwick seems to have been concerned to retain the interest of his audience by reinterpreting the repeated notes from bb. 63–4 as chromatic steps in 67–8, and further interpolating a (diatonic) three-seminquaver anacrusis in 83–5.

Perhaps most persuasive, however, is the existence of a paste-down slip which supplies what is apparently a compositional revision to the first three bars of the movement. The slip has not been lifted, but by ironic good fortune the severe bleed-through of ink visible on the reverse of the first page (f. 1), so often the bane of the transcriber in other sources, here permits full recovery of the superseded reading (Ex. 6; compare Supplement, bb. 62–5). It seems most likely that this records a revision to the music rather than simply the correction of a copying error: for the first ten crotchets or so one could quite imagine the anonymous copyist transcribing everything a crotchet out having misinterpreted the opening rest (perhaps from a source with few barlines, making the mistake less obvious), but to rectify this mistake by lengthening the *a''* in bar 3 by a crotchet, rather than by

amending the rest and moving the barlines (as he did on f. 2 in bb. 89–91, having originally omitted a repeated note) would be unlikely to result in a usable text. Furthermore, this would not explain the extra tied minim *f''* in the original fourth bar, or the fact that the alteration appears to have been made after the copying of the subsequent bars rather than during the transcription process. It seems more likely, then, that the two readings represent earlier and later versions of this passage, and that the copyist of Add. MS 63627 maintained sufficient contact with Estwick's circle after having originally copied the sonata to have access to the revised reading.

Ex. 6. Sampson Estwick, Sonata in A minor (Add. 63627, ff. 1v–2), Grave (bb. 62–4): superseded reading of first violin beneath paste-down slip

The significance of this amendment in confirming the importance of the rising 5–6 progression in this movement becomes apparent when it is considered as evidence for the creative process that gave rise to the passage concerned. Consider first the possibility that this ascending line unfolded over a pedal A in the bass, with the second violin shadowing the first a third lower; the result would be strikingly similar to the start of the Grave of Purcell's Sonata 5 from *12 Sonatas of III Parts* (London, 1683) (hereafter '1683'), also in A minor (Ex. 7), a movement that Estwick might well have had in mind when composing this section. The new reading would

be a significant improvement, introducing more rhythmic impetus by beginning on the second beat, and enlivening the previously ponderous harmonic rhythm, with its awkward moment of inactivity when the syncopation stops at the end of the third bar—and all this with minimal changes to the underneath parts, retaining the bass pedal. What this hypothesis does not explain, though, is the seemingly arbitrary syncopation of the rising first violin line at the start of the original reading. If we imagine it instead as one strand of the kind of rising 5–6 progression suggested for later passages in the same movement, however, this syncopation is an entirely logical creative outcome (Ex. 8). Estwick's metri-

cal realignment of the first violin on the paste-down, in the context of the original idea to begin with a 5–6 progression, results in the harmonically rather different reading shown in the Supplement, as well the removal of the rhythmic hiatuses in the third and fourth bars of the section as notable improvements over the original. Taken together, Estwick's apparent careful manipulation of this kind of progression—both over time in relation to this specific passage and in the course of the movement in the form of increasingly complex ornamentation—lends weight to its importance in my re-creation of the Grave.

Ex. 7. Henry Purcell, 1683 Sonata 5: Grave (omitting *basso seguente* thoroughbass part, but with original figures)

Ex. 8. Sampson Estwick, Sonata in A minor (L.bl Add. 63627, ff. 1v–2), Grave (bb. 62–4): suggested original version incorporating superseded reading of first violin beneath paste-down slip

It is nevertheless worth considering carefully the extent to which the resulting text of this and all of the passages discussed so far can be relied upon as a representation of the work as Estwick wrote it. This is where an understanding of the relationship between compositional process and textual stability in Restoration sources becomes relevant. The surviving part and its implied sequential progressions and cadence figures form a three-part framework analogous to the so-called 'gist' of the music. This is the set of de-

fining characteristics which we know tended to remain relatively constant among multiple complete sources of the same work, even where details of performance practice such as surface ornamentation, rhythmic inequality, and octave displacement in the bass are subject to notational discrepancies of the kind I call 'background variation' (that is, the amount and kind of accepted deviation that must be exceeded by a given reading before it can be accepted as a substantive variant).¹¹ Thus if a large part of this

‘gist’ can be gleaned from the surviving part, and the editorial parts are ornamented in a style consistent with the first violin, it ought to be possible to present a performance hardly less ‘historically informed’ than some renderings of pieces that survive more fully notated: once the gist is established, any variation in surface detail is likely to be no more significant than the kind of *ex tempore* ornamentation Estwick himself might reasonably have expected.

Nevertheless, it remains quite possible that some or all of the progressions I have identified are illusions: their apparent concentration in the *Grave* may make this seem unlikely, but it is certainly possible that Estwick used the full progressions sometimes, and ventured less standardised harmonisations elsewhere, perhaps deliberately subverting the more obvious implications. This is certainly something Purcell liked to do, and indeed the passages of Estwick’s sonata that remain to be discussed return us to the notion of a relationship with Purcell’s sonatas. Holman and Cunningham make this observation in particular about Estwick’s use of sections under contrasting Italian terms for tempo and mood, some of which are linked into longer movements of similar metre. Yet there are also clear hints that echoes of Purcell’s style in Estwick’s sonata extend beyond such similarities of formal design into the actual details of the two composers’ creative strategies, to the extent that in certain passages, compositional process (and imitation/fugue in particular) might help to tie down the ‘gist’ of the music more reliably than is possible in the movements already discussed.

It would be stating the obvious to say that fugal movements are in some senses easier to recreate, since the presence of the subject in the given part together with the necessity for entries in the remaining parts significantly reduces the need to rely on more abstract pointers such as the voiceleading progressions encountered thus far. Estwick’s *Vivace* (Supplement, bb. 12–38) is a case in point, since as well as the main fugal subject, the surviving part also yields two mutually compatible countersubjects (Ex. 9), though neither appears to be handled strictly as a regular countersubject. Even more interesting is the *Adagio* immediately following this fugue (Sup-

plement, bb. 39–61), in which the re-creation expands on clues in the first violin that suggest this was a systematically worked out contrapuntal movement of the highest order, worthy of Purcell in his most ‘artificial’ vein.¹²

Ex. 9. Sampson Estwick, Sonata in A minor (Lbl Add. 63627, ff. 1v–2), re-creation of b. 17. The fugue subject appears in the bass (compare Violin 1, bb. 12–13), and the first countersubject in the surviving part; a second countersubject is heard in the second violin (compare Violin 1, bb. 24–5)

The G major *Poco Largo* of Purcell’s 1683 *Sonata 8* provides a convenient comparison (Ex. 10). This is an exercise in constructing a whole movement from as little material as possible: for 24 bars it consists of nothing but differing permutations of the same four-bar contrapuntal fragment. The three independent parts of this fragment, highlighted in the example using different styles of notehead, are designed from the start to be triply invertible, by the avoidance of intervals known to prove problematic on inversion. In this case Purcell even ingeniously manages to vary the key simply by using inversion at the twelfth, rather than the octave (marked ‘+5’ in the example). In the last eight bars the subjects are abandoned altogether, yielding to a more obviously cadential phrase based on similar underlying voiceleading. The extreme periodicity of phrasing in Purcell’s movement is partly excused by the dance-like idiom, and does not in itself negate Purcell’s ingenuity, though the musical results are certainly open to criticism for excessive squareness.¹³ Otherwise, the music employs an Italianate, tonally driven style, though Italian sonata composers rarely explored such systematic devices—especially not outside designated fugues (still less in dance movements!).

Poco Largo

Ex. 10. Henry Purcell, 1683 Sonata 8: Poco Largo (Thoroughbass omitted). Shaped noteheads show differing permutations of three melodic strands, with '+5' indicating transposition of one part relative to surrounding parts through inversion at the twelfth.

Such knowledge of Purcell's techniques is very useful when it comes to re-creating the Adagio in bb. 39–61 of Estwick's sonata. The analytical representation of the music in Ex. 11, in which the first violin is exactly as in Add. MS 61627, is designed to clarify the situation. The initial subject (with diamond-shaped noteheads) recurs several times in the surviving part, both in a rhythmically exact form (though with varying cadence) and in truncated versions (bb. 45 and 51, for example). A second motif (square noteheads) happens, or rather is designed in order to combine with the start of the first. Concentrating for the moment on bb. 39–46, this allows identification of two initial complexes using in-

vertible counterpoint at the octave in bb. 39–42, while a third fits against the given part in bb. 43–44 (with adjustment for the different cadence implied by the first violin). Having established this skeleton, it is relatively straightforward to supply simple 'free' parts (shown in grey, with shaped noteheads to indicate derivation from a voice in the main contrapuntal structure), using as elsewhere in the sonata principles such as the use of parallel motion in thirds, standard formulae for cadences, and the demands of bass function in the bottom part. Further inspection then shows that the second violin part in bb. 39–40 matches the surviving first violin in bb. 56–8, hence the use of a transposed version of the

same material (with violin parts exchanged) in the latter passage.

As in the movement by Purcell, Estwick's use of recurring cells of invertible counterpoint establishes a periodic phrase pattern in the first six bars of the Adagio; thereafter, however, Estwick is much more inclined to vary phrase lengths (as shown by the brackets in Ex. 11). This variety seems to be explained by the introduction of imitative entries of the principal subject: each phrase in the first violin begins with either this subject or a rest prior to its entry, and

in each of these rests an overlapping subject entry in the second violin fits well; having established this pattern, it remains to insert the accompanying motif at the start of each phrase wherever the surrounding context permits it. Having again supplemented the imitative structure with appropriate 'free' material, the only places that lack motivic content in more than one part are the approaches to significant cadences, echoing my earlier observation about the closing bars of the Purcell movement.

Ex. 11. Sampson Estwick, Sonata in A minor: Adagio. Analytical representation of re-creation showing subject (diamond-shaped noteheads) and countersubject (square noteheads), with 'free' material in editorial parts shown in grey and phrasing highlighted using brackets beneath the bottom stave.

The level of sustained contrapuntal interest implied by this re-creation is significant not only for its utility in the derivation of a potential performance text, but also as a witness to the stylistic context of Estwick's essay in the trio sonata genre: not only was he familiar with Italian repertoire, as we have seen, but he was apparently both aware of and sympathetic with the aims of Purcell, who was the only one among a number of composers based in England during the 1680s to favour such a systematic and 'artificial' style. Nor is the connection confined to this section: in the compound-time fugal Allegro (Supplement, bb. 118–42) Estwick explores another of Purcell's favoured tricks. The two-bar subject consists of a rising scale motif followed by an ornamented suspension figure that can also function as a countersubject to the first bar (as in the exposition, bb. 118–9 and 121–2). Initially the two motives together form a stable harmonic unit, but by transposing the second down a fourth in bb. 129–31 of the surviving part, Estwick causes them to effect a modulation up a fifth; among the convenient points for entries of the same materials in the second violin are a minor-key version of this same modification (131–3), and versions which modulate up a fourth (127–9) and up a sixth (135–7). This kind of play with the harmonic direction of materials can be found in similar triple-time movements in Purcell's 1683 sonatas 1, 3, 7 and 8, and sonatas 1, 4 and 8 in *Ten Sonata's in Four Parts* (London, 1697); he may have got the idea from Italian composers such as Vitali or Bassani, though in all the Italian instances I have found the subject material is considerably less distinctive in the first place, making the harmonic variation less effective.

If Estwick was indeed consciously emulating these technical aspects of Purcell's sonatas, it seems that he was alone among the many composers who probably encountered Purcell's sonatas in the 1680s in both recognising and responding positively to their contrapuntal ingenuity. Most Restoration composers, by contrast, attempted to reproduce the smooth melodic style, uncomplicated approach to counterpoint, and restraint of modulation for which contemporary Italian sonatas, and those of Corelli in particular, were already famous. For Purcell,

though, it was the 'seriousness, and gravity' of Italian music that was worthy of imitation; the preface to his 1683 sonatas can be read as a manifesto for the revival and preservation of the kinds of ingenious contrapuntal devices he had explored in his fantasias for viol consort during 1680.¹⁴

The only other evidence we have for the reception of Purcell's sonatas is problematic. The printed editions have been thought to have sold badly, on the evidence of late advertisements for their sale by Frances Purcell and John Walsh (in 1699 and 1707 respectively), but this assumption has recently been turned on its head. Robert Thompson has suggested, in a recent analysis of the multiple impressions and editions of the 1683 *Sonata's of III Parts*, that the long availability of copies might instead indicate 'a determination to get the most out of the engraved plates and, in fact, reflect the work's popularity'.¹⁵ Purcell's sonatas were frequently copied alongside Italian examples and clearly associated stylistically with them.¹⁶ This belies Roger North's famous memory of Purcell's works as 'clog'd with somewhat of an English vein, for which they are unworthily despised', which in any case dates from long after;¹⁷ thus Estwick's apparent affinity with Purcell's 'artificial' style could be seen as valuable circumstantial evidence for its reception on the part of at least one knowledgeable contemporary. For this reason alone Estwick's sonata would be of great interest; still more so since, even from the evidence of the single surviving part, it seems to be a skilful and attractive work, eminently worth the effort of re-creation. I hope, too, that readers will be inspired to perform the work: indeed, I would be very pleased to hear of any such performances and to receive any comments readers and/or performers may have on the details of the completed version. Not until the trio sonatas of William Croft, written perhaps twenty years later, would an English composer handle this Italian instrumental style with such assurance without lapsing into parody;¹⁸ still less successfully integrating this with the intellectual rigour of Purcell's 'artificial' contrapuntal techniques. Perhaps, after all, Estwick deserved his exalted eighteenth-century reputation more than he does his modern obscurity.

I thank Alon Schab, with whom I have shared a long and fruitful correspondence concerning Estwick's sonata over the last two years, as well as Peter Holman for his encouragement in the early stages of the project and both John Cunningham and Bruce Wood for reading and commenting upon earlier versions of this essay. The material printed here expands upon my paper at the Fifteenth Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music at the University of Southampton, 13 July 2012.

¹ Peter Holman and John Cunningham (eds), *Restoration Trio Sonatas*, The Purcell Society Edition Companion Series, vol. 4 (London, 2012), xxi.

² Robert Thompson, 'Estwick, Sampson', *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>); L. M. Middleton, rev. Susan Wollenberg, 'Estwick, Sampson', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com>).

³ Anon. [William Hayes], *Remarks on Mr. Arison's Essay on musical expression*, edited in *Charles Arison's Essay on Musical Expression, With Related Writings by William Hayes and Charles Arison*, ed. Pierre Dubois (Aldershot, 2004), 109.

⁴ *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, vol. III, ed. C. E. Doble (Oxford, 1889), 8.

⁵ Thompson, 'Estwick, Sampson'.

⁶ Henry Purcell, 'The Art of Descant', in John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, twelfth edition (London, 1694), 116; the example Purcell takes from Christopher Simpson's *Compendium of Practical Musick* (London, 1667) can be found on p. 54.

⁷ On the origins and date of this manuscript, see John Milsom's entry in the *Christ Church Music Catalogue* at <http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+619+28ff.+31--2%29>.

⁸ Purcell, 'The Art of Descant', 116.

⁹ Matthew Locke, *Melodezia* (London, 1673); John Blow, 'Rules for playing of a Through Bass upon Organ & Harpsicon.', London, British Library Add. MS 34072, ff. 1–5; transcribed in Franck Thomas Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment from a Thorough-Bass as Practised in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1931; repr. New York, 1965), 163–72.

¹⁰ See in particular Alan Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice: Compositional Strategies in the Fantasias and Sonatas of Henry Purcell' (Ph.D. dissertation, King's College, London, 2006), 193–4.

¹¹ For a succinct introduction to the complementary concepts of the 'gist' and 'background variation', see my 'Understanding Creativity', in Herissone (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*, 97–101.

¹² On the concept of artifice in relation to Purcell's music, see Howard, 'Poetics of Artifice', especially 87–9 and Chapter 5, 215–57.

¹³ This is a criticism frequently labelled at such writing (though never made specifically with reference to this movement) by Martin Adams in *Henry Purcell: The Origins and Development of his Musical Style* (Cambridge, 1995); see in particular 35, 112.

¹⁴ Purcell, *12 Sonnata's of III Parts* (London, 1683), Preface; for further discussion of this point, see Howard, 'Poetics of Artifice', 44, 53–4, 87–8.

¹⁵ Robert Thompson, 'Sources and Transmission', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*, ed. Rebecca Herissone (Ashgate, 2012), 61. I thank Rebecca Herissone for reminding me of Thompson's re-examination of this evidence (in conversation after my paper at Southampton).

¹⁶ See Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 109–113 (especially Table 3.10, p. 111).

¹⁷ Roger North, 'An Essay of Musicall Ayre', British Library Add. MS 32536, ff. 78v–79; transcribed in John Wilson, *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), 310 (n. 65).

¹⁸ Croft's fine sonatas have recently been published in an edition by H. Diack Johnstone: William Croft, *Complete Chamber Music*, Musica Britannica 88 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2009).

Influences of the *viola* and guitar (*guitarra*) in local keyboard repertoires during the reign of Queen Maria I (1777–1816): *modinhas*, minuets and dance rhythms

Vanda de Sá Silva

Plucked strings had a strong presence in private music-making in Portugal, reaching a wide audience that at the end of the *Ancien régime* was increasing greatly. This same audience, who played the wire-strung Portuguese guitar (or *guitarra*), and also the *viola*, or Spanish guitar (leaving aside here matters of organological detail), would later, indeed, be renewed with the commercial exploitation of the piano and its repertory, amongst other consumer and entertainment goods. Its appropriation of resources that had previously distinguished the high aristocracy from lower classes, and its reach into the cosmopolitan salon, even conferred a certain civilizing power on certain instruments, as noted by Charles Burney, when he observed that ‘there is hardly a private family in a civilized nation without its flute, its fiddle, its harpsichord, or guitar’¹

As well as its consistent presence among the aristocracy, and especially female society, as we shall see further on, it is also the case that the guitar was viewed as the fashionable instrument *par excellence*. An example showing this is found in popular theatre (*teatro de cordel*), in the play *O Teimoso em Não Casar* (n.d.), in which we find a man expresses his aversion to marriage because he does not wish to support the bad manners of modern women. When asked if this hostility extends to entertainment, this inveterate bachelor (Francillo) responds:²

I have two fine *violas*
With them I enjoy myself as I wish,
And if somebody comes
and plays the second nicely,
I'm not concerned about being a *Taful*,
and play the guitar too.

It is likely that the final line of this passage may already refer to the ‘English guitar’,³ given that the term *viola*, in accordance with Portuguese terminology, has just been used by the same character to describe another instrument. The implicit equating of a guitarist with a *Taful* (one who concerns himself excessively, and therefore ridiculously, with being fashionable) implies a date in the 1780s.

In countries such as Portugal, powerful foreign trading organisations in Lisbon, Oporto, and also Madeira,⁴ held a monopoly on public dances and concerts. This reinforced British influence, in part responsible for the establishment of the patterns of artistic practice and consumption of the Portuguese bourgeoisie, at that time rapidly rising during the reign of King Joseph I (1750–1777). It is therefore not surprising that the ‘English guitar’ was easily adopted in Portuguese salons, becoming one of the favourite vehicles of its musical repertoire, from dance music to the *modinha*.⁵

It was through this instrument that a local production subsequently came into being, both repertoire and instruction material (by means of manuals), and which, in addition to the salons, was also heard in concerts. The lack of a boundary between amateur and virtuoso repertoire encouraged some Portuguese musicians, at the end of the eighteenth century, to improve teaching materials, undertake composition and public performances. This is reflected in the work of musicians such as António da Silva Leite (1759–1833)⁶ and Manuel José Vidigal (fl.1795–1824),⁷ who maintained the status of the instrument and contributed to the expansion of its repertoire, while themselves

attaining virtuosity on it. The study of the process of *Portuguese investment* in the English guitar at the end of the eighteenth century should be helpful to understand its local characteristics and its influence. This same influence should also help us to understand the later consolidation of the Portuguese guitar (at the beginning of the nineteenth century), as well as the process of how a local repertoire, also performed on keyboard instruments, was disseminated.

The favour that the English guitar enjoyed in the salons, and particularly amongst women, is relatively well-attested in the Luso-Brazilian sphere. It is apparent from our knowledge of cultural practices generally, the high-quality teaching that was available,⁸ the sale of instruments, and the circulation of repertoires. As for practices from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards, there is evidence that it was popular in a private, female musical context, especially as the favourite accompanying instrument. This idealized context is illustrated in an early poem regarding women's music-making in 1736:⁹

Franzelina, not wanting to sing, when asked, played harpsichord, played *viola* and sang ...

Finally, to our relief,

She sang, playing the guitar;
But in the midst of the songs
She stopped her silver voice,

...

This rose played a harpsichord,
Playing it until daybreak,
For when Dawn comes,
Everyone who lives is delighted.
But she played in such a way
That all the Muses were astonished,
For the Muse sings humbly
When the prodigy is transported.

In the accounts of foreign travellers, the instrument is associated with the accompaniment of *modinhas*, perhaps because this was the genre that was most interesting to outsiders, and identified specifically as local. This kind of light and sentimental song made a strong impression, associated with seduction, the expression of emotions and sensitivity. William Thomas Beckford (1760–1844), who was a sophisticated observer of musical praxis in Portugal in 1787, wrote with regard to an important reception for the new Bishop in the Marialva Palace:¹⁰

To escape the long-winded narrations which were pouring warm into my ear, I took refuge near a harpsichord, where

Policarpo, one of the first tenors in the Queen's chapel, was singing and accompanying himself ...

Night approaching, ... the monotonous staccato of the guitar, accompanied by the low soothing murmur of female voices singing *modinhas*, formed altogether a strange though not unpleasant combination of sounds.

The English guitar is adopted as a civilized, and an appropriate feminine instrument, presenting such qualities as softness, soothingness, sensuality, delicacy, and in some cases apparent effortlessness, especially when equipped with keys.¹¹ The instrument quickly attained a fashionable status and we can also recognise associations of it with the Cult of Sensibility.

We have hard critical judgements about the moral behaviour and the customs of young ladies in Lisbon in 1811, who were commended only for their interest in the 'civilized' guitar:¹²

Except occasionally playing a modinha set to music, on the guitar, I firmly believe these girls never read, nor worked, nor drew, nor visited, nor went out, except to church; nor did they anything but lounge through the house, look out of the windows, loll on the couches—make love when they could, and amuse themselves with the Gallegos [i.e. the Gallacians]. And such I found out was the general routine of unmarried female life amongst the higher classes in Lisbon.

From further writings by eye-witnesses, it may be confirmed that the use of the guitar persisted in the Luso-Brazilian milieu until at least 1820. Another relevant source is Marianne Baillie (1821), whose writing testifies to the gradual popularization of the instrument during the first decades of the nineteenth century.¹³ She is not very clear in her identification of instruments, but her drawing entitled 'Lisbon street musicians' features an instrument she identifies as a Portuguese guitar. One passage suggests that she understood characteristics of the Portuguese instrument:¹⁴

Upon our return from Pedroços, we dressed and went in the evening to the Condeça d'A[nadia?]'s; the young ladies gave us several pretty *modinhas* upon the guitar, and accompanied each other in Italian duets upon the piano-forte ... I have taken her master to teach me to accompany my voice upon the guitar, but have chosen the Spanish rather than the Portuguese guitar, the former being much softer, and better adapted to the melancholy tenderness which breathes through most of the *modinhas* of this country. The Spanish songs, I think, would sound better upon the Portuguese instrument, as they are so much more spirited and lively in their character, and the accompaniments are generally louder, and consist, in most instances, of certain tricks and beats, which are omitted in the Portuguese method of playing

As has already been mentioned, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, one sees a process of popularization of both the *viola* and, a little later, the Portuguese guitar. On account of the scarcity of evidence, and the lack of musicological studies on the subject, it is quite difficult to say with precision when, how and from where the old English guitar was replaced by the Portuguese instrument.¹⁵

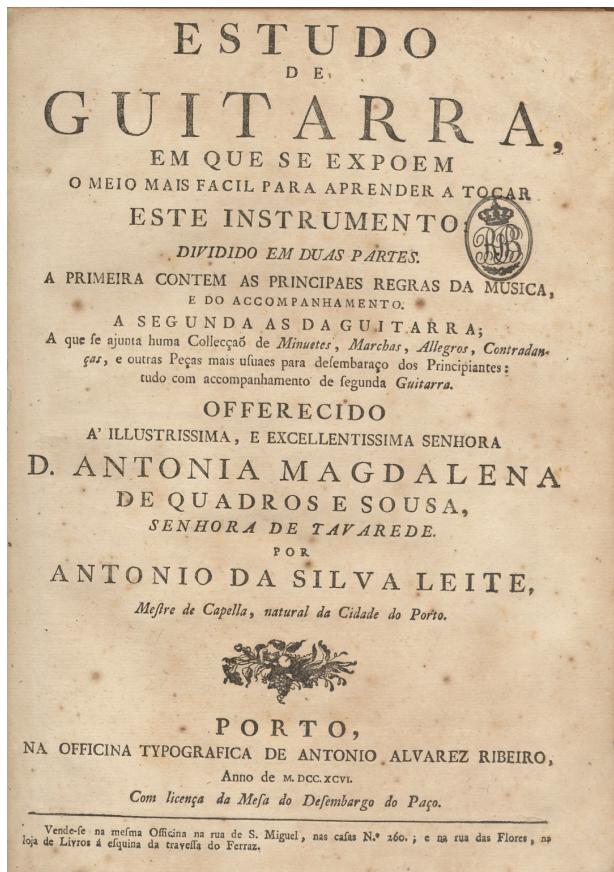


Fig. 1. Title page of António da Silva Leite's *Estudo de guitarra*

Bearing in mind the commercialization of music and instruments in this period, it is worthwhile considering the role of English instruments with keyboards. They may have been especially suited to women with long fingernails, although they were received with ambivalence. In the Portuguese press, it is clear that novelty and fashion were the chief stimuli for the acquisition of the instruments. Terminologically rather less-than-precise advertisements 'warn' of 'newly-invented guitars, and others with keyboards such as pianos have'.¹⁶ In 1817, João Baptista Waltmann (the owner of one of the main music warehouses in Lisbon) advertised a 'Portuguese Lyre or Viola; Guitar with keys'¹⁷ and, in 1819, presented 'Lyres with newly-invented mechanisms (this

instrument has the same tuning as the Portuguese Guitar)'.¹⁸ His competitor João Baptista Weltin (also a musician of the Orchestra of the Portuguese Crown, Real Câmara, and an important merchant) advertised plucked string instruments, 'lyres, violas and guitars', profusely.¹⁹

António da Silva Leite in his *Estudo* (1796) gives considerable space to guitars with a keyboard, which confirms their importance during this period, and his purpose was to reach an extensive feminine musical praxis. He draws attention to the position of the fingers and to the fact that this instrument sounds best in the key of C major.²⁰ Apart from questions of ease of performance, one notes an increasing closeness of sound and timbre between the guitar with keys and keyboard instruments, most especially the clavichord.

As far as the repertoire's range of keys is concerned, most instruction manuals for the English guitar that were widely disseminated—not least that of Bremner—²¹ used C major almost entirely. Modulation to another key was seen as an unnecessary difficulty, especially for amateur musicians at home. The positioning and use of a *capotasto* is taught, however.²²

With regard to instruction manuals, it should be pointed out that relatively few were published in Portugal, though Portugal's best and most representative examples at this period may be found precisely amongst those for plucked strings. There were two important methods: that by Manuel da Paixão Ribeiro for the *viola* (1789²³) and that, already mentioned, by António da Silva Leite for the English guitar (1796).²⁴ Though they exist only in manuscript, also important are the *Escala de Guitarra Inglés* and the *Recueil D'Ariettes choisies avec Accompagnement de Guitarre Anglaise*,²⁵ by João Gabriel Le Gras, dedicated to Princess Maria Francisca Benedita (1746–1829).²⁶ The author of the latter, a violinist of French origin, who was in the service of the Royal Chamber from 1790 to 1807, played more than one instrument, and taught at the Court. From these manuscripts we notice the presence of the English guitar within the Royal family and that the repertoire does not include *modinhas*, but rather excerpts from Italian opera.²⁷

The printed methods begin with a brief presentation of the instrument and its constituent parts, some rudiments of musical grammar, and a description of some performance techniques. These are followed by short compositions whose object is to prepare the amateur musician quickly, providing him with

a pragmatic repertoire suitable for the salons, and which could be performed to meet social customs.²⁸ Such method books helped establish a repertoire of extensive local circulation in the 1780s, which in part originated on the opera or theatre stages, and circulated primarily by means of plucked strings and keyboard instruments. All the books contain samples of the repertoire then in vogue: minuets, *modinhas*, marches, allegros and contradances, with sonatas being held as the most demanding material. Silva Leite²⁹ gives some indications concerning the educational benefits of the compositions he includes, whether they be for the salon, or exercises that will allow progress towards a more complex repertoire.³⁰ This author is thus close to the ideas that previously inspired Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762), who also published his *Art of Playing the Guitar or Cittra*³¹ with the aim of creating compositions that would expand the musical scope of the instrument. Silva Leite specifically points out to his followers his six *Sonatas*, published in Holland,³² were higher-level repertoire. In the *Estudo*, he also discusses aspects of musical expression, explains in general terms the various tempi, and advises the use of the fleshy parts of the fingers in order to ‘make more agreeable and suave the sound that the strings demand’ (28). He also discusses questions of style, and as for signs of expression, which include ornamentation and dynamics, he distinguishes nine,³³ which ‘serve good taste, [and] the beauty of what one plays’. On this point, it should be noted that Silve Leite preferred the improvised *appoggiatura*, which though sometimes not written into the score, was to be introduced where appropriate, it being necessary that ‘one take from the instrument a good sound, which should not be suffocated or muffled’.³⁴

Bearing in mind these publications, it is worth pointing out that, on the Portuguese concert circuit, guitarists seem to have stood apart, considered locally as virtuoso musicians, eccentric and of independent means. Manuel José Vidigal³⁵ seems to have been active independent of any affiliation to the court or the theatres, or any entrepreneurial activity related to musical commerce or self-publication. As a reputed public performer he arguably elevated the status of the guitar as a vehicle for virtuosity, in turn contributing to the instrument’s appeal among the wider public. The description of an anonymous English writer of Vidigal’s eccentric behaviour (see below) indicates that he

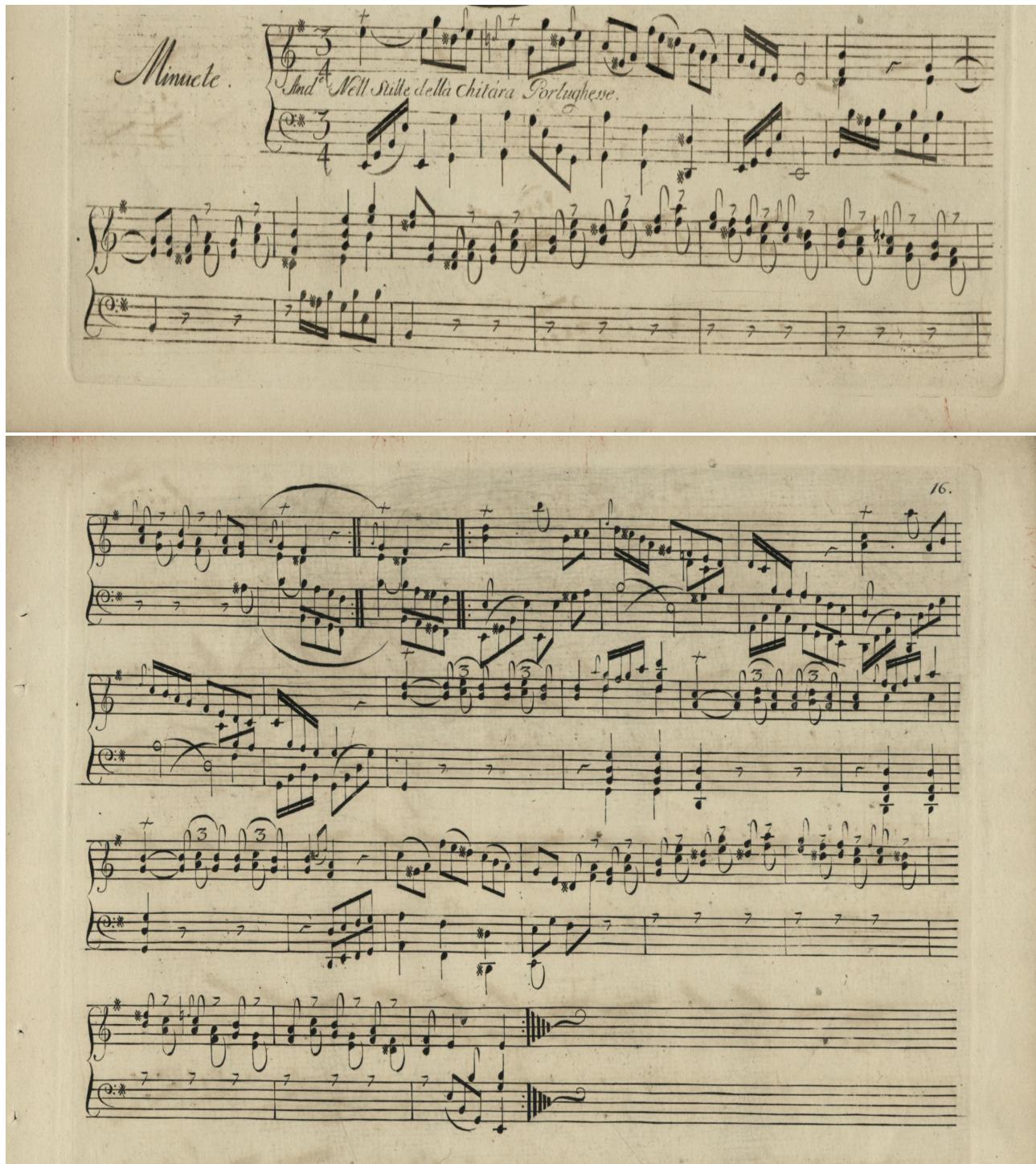
occasionally gave concerts to large audiences. The income generated would certainly have allowed him to continue his activities as a freelancer, a kind of career that had no parallel, certainly with those of performers on other instruments. Anticipating later nineteenth and twentieth century concert performance, Vidigal required vehemently ‘The most profound silence in the room ...’.³⁶

The salon repertoire circulated widely, and being suited to a variety of instruments, such as the guitar, the harpsichord and the pianoforte, there were inevitable stylistic influences between the keyboard and guitar repertoires. It is interesting to think that Johann Christoph Zumpe’s (1726–90) invention of the square piano may have been inspired by the guitar and that it was a ‘small pianoforte that would appeal to ladies, in the same way as the guitar’.³⁷

There is abundant documentation indicating that the repertoire was performed on several types of instrument, as can be seen, for example, in the press advertisements:³⁸

At the Real Fabrica de Musica, opposite the Mint, where all kinds of engraving is undertaken, there have recently been published 6 Minuets for two Guitars, which may also be performed on the Harpsichord.

Many collections were limited to particular genres, and given the music’s simplicity, their contents could have circulated among numerous musicians, and adapted freely for both guitars and keyboard instruments. An example is a manuscript from the second half of the eighteenth century, called *Minuetos e Sonatas para Guitarra*, for one or two guitars, with no indication of authorship, which is similar to Vidigal’s collection of *Minuetos*.³⁹ The circulation of repertoire and the popularity of particular pieces is very well illustrated in contemporary plays, among them *As Trapalhadas do Tolo Desesperado e da Mulher Logrativa* (1787). At the end of the intermezzo there are calls for specific pieces to be performed that were in vogue with audiences: the *modinha* ‘do Jose Ramos que embarcou com a Marcillina’ and the *minuete* ‘da Rozinha’, which the couple danced ‘as elegantly as they could’—in other words, all the steps, bows and movements of the best salon choreography of the time. It should be emphasized that the *Minuete da Rosinha* appears in two versions in the method by Paixão Ribeiro (1789), indicating that this music existed in several notated forms.



Ex. 1. Alberto Giuseppe Gomes da Silva, 'Ande[ante] Nell stille della chitára Portughesse' from *Sei Sonate per Cembalo*

Contemporary with these sources is Alberto Giussepe Gomes da Silva's *Sei Sonate Per Cembalo* (Lisbon, n.d.),⁴⁰ which, amongst other singular characteristics, includes dynamic indications (in the second movement of Sonata I), suggesting possible performance on the piano. Sonata I is in three movements, unlike the others. The remaining sonatas are in two movements and conclude with minuets. Most interesting, stylistically, is the minuet of Sonata IV, subtitled with the indication 'Ande[ante] Nell stille della chitára Portughesse'.⁴¹ This subtitle could have

been intended as a performance direction and may also describe characteristics of the music. Noteworthy is the choice of the minor mode (E minor) and the affecting use of appoggiaturas at the beginning. The melodic line, in parallel thirds (for example bb. 8–12), and the presence of some arpeggios are the aspects that most clearly evoke the guitar, and which may be identified, for example, in the *Minuets* by Vidigal. This is an interesting case where we find the influence of the guitar is explicit. By extension, we can see that the subtle incorporation of local traits

within a style of music that was universal in Europe, was facilitated by the interchange between plucked strings and keyboard instruments. The character of the music is sentimental, and one notes the attention paid to expression, which seems to be part of the patrimony of the guitar in Portugal, something also confirmed by Silva Leite's method, and by

the indications of expression that he introduces into his compositions. Prior to 1835, the piano had not gained a hold in Portugal, a situation that allowed considerable cross-fertilization between guitar practices and keyboard performance.

¹ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London, 1773), 6.

² Anon., *Entremez do Teimozo em não Cazar* (Lisbon, n.d.), 11.

³ The 'English guitar' is a pear-shaped cordophone. The instrument normally has ten metal strings (steel for the two first courses, brass for the third, steel covered with yarn for the fifth and sixth single strings), grouped in four courses or double strings and two single strings (bourdons); to some examples is added a simple low bourdon, making a total of eleven strings. Its six courses are tuned *c-e-g-f'-e'-g'*. Some examples are made with a keyboard of six keys places on the cover. The lack of a standard terminology to describe a variety of historic wire-strung plucked instruments with similar features, has caused significant controversy among scholars.

⁴ António Pereira da Costa (1697?–1770), Chapel Master of the Cathedral of Funchal published, in London in the second half of the eighteenth century, a collection of *XII/SERENATAS/ for the/GUITAR* whose frontispiece confirms that the instrument was much cultivated in Madeira. See Manuel Morais, 'Sobre a Guitarra em Portugal nos séculos XVIII e XIX', *Fábrica de Sons: Instrumentos de música europeia dos séculos XVI a XX*, Catálogo Museu da Música (Lisbon, 1994), 17–20.

⁵ See Rui Vieira Nery, *Modinhas, Lunduns and Cançonetas with Guitar and English Guitar accompaniment*, Preface, ed. Manuel Morais, (Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 2000), 30–1.

⁶ Leite was Chapelmaster of the Cathedral of Oporto, and directed other liturgical music groups that flourished in the city during his life; he wrote a great deal of religious music, and also secular music. He paid considerable attention to the guitar, publishing the first compendium for the instrument in Portugal: *Estudo de Guitarra, em que se expoem o meio mais facil para aprender a tocar este instrumento: dividido em duas partes* (Oporto, 1796).

⁷ An important guitarist of his generation who fl. in the end of eighteenth century, Vidigal played in the richest aristocratic houses of Lisbon, and was respected by his virtuosity.

⁸ In his important book, António da Silva Leite underlined that 'the Guitar, which originated in Great Britain, is an instrument which, on account of its harmoniousness and smoothness has replaced some better-known instruments, such as the harpsichord, and others; and being quite sufficient to entertain an audience, avoiding the difficulties that can be caused by inviting an orchestra, they [the British] all took it up and learned to play it skilfully.' The author continues by saying that 'the Portuguese nation had also taken it up, and begun to learn to play the guitar with the greatest skill', thus explaining a wish 'to assist in teaching my compatriots, with what little wealth I possess, since there has been no-one who has spoken of this subject, I composed the present work.' According to Liete, the best guitars came from England, built by the 'best builder, Mr Simpson; and in this city of Oporto, there is Luis Cardoso Soares Sevilhano, who today loses little in comparison with Simpson'. See António da Silva Leite, *Estudo de Guitarra*, 25, 26, footnote 6. All translations here and elsewhere are mine.

⁹ 'A Franzelina, que não querendo cantar, rogada tocou cravo, tocou viola, e cantou ... Em fim, para nosso alívio // Cantou, tangendo a guitarra; // Mas no meyo das cantigas // Suspendia a voz de prata. ... Tocou hum cravo esta rosa, Tocando-nos alvoradas, // Pois quando a Aurora vem vindo, // A todo o vivente agrada.// Tocou porém de tal sorte, // Que aqui toda a Musa pasma, // Pois a Musa canta humilde, // Onde o prodigo se exalta.' See João Cardoso da Costa, *Musa Pueril* (Lisbon, 1736), 135–38.

¹⁰ William Thomas Beckford, *Italy, With Sketches of Spain and Portugal. By the Author of 'Vathek'*, 2 vols. (London, 1834), 39.

¹¹ The separation of instruments by gender was implicitly respected but guidelines were often published: ‘The Harpsichord, Spinett, Lute and Base [sic] Violin, are Instruments most agreeable to the Ladies: There are some others that really are unbecoming the Fair Sex; as the Flute, Violin and Hautboy; the last of which is too Manlike, and would look indecent in a Woman’s Mouth; and the Flute is very improper, as taking away too much of the Juices, which are otherwise more necessarily employ’d, to promote the Appetite, and assist Digestion.’ John Essex, *The Young Ladies Conduct: Or, Rules for Education, under Several Heads; with Instructions upon Dress, Both before and after Marriage. And Advice to Young Wives*. (London, 1722), 84–5. On musical instruments and gender, see Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (University of California Press, 1993).

¹² See Walter Henry, *Surgeon Henry’s Trifles. Events of a Military Life*, ed. Pat Hayward (London, 1970), 32.

¹³ There is iconographic evidence indicating that the *viola* and the guitar became less a part the social milieu of the elite and were increasingly popular amongst the lower classes during the course of the nineteenth century. Maria Alexandre Lousada writes that ‘The *viola* and the guitar seem to have exchanged the palace for popular establishments and the street, becoming part of the sound of the people, together with the harmonica, the bagpipes and the drum.’ See Lousada, ‘Paisagens Musicais em Lisboa no Início do Século XIX. Leituras policiais, satíricas e iconográficas’, *A Guitarra Portuguesa. Actas do Simpósio Internacional*, ed. Manuel Morais (Évora, 2001), 17–32, 26.

¹⁴ See Marianne Baillie, *Lisbon in the Years 1821, 1822 and 1823*, 2 vols. (London, 1824), 143 and 215–216.

¹⁵ Manuel Morais, ‘A Guitarra Portuguesa—das suas Origens Setecentistas aos Finais do Século XIX’, *A Guitarra Portuguesa*, ed. Morias, 95–116, at 103.

¹⁶ *Gazeta de Lisboa* (1814), no. 202 (27 August). In 1783 Christian Claus of London patented a ‘keyed guitar’, whose mechanism was housed inside the sound box; the hammers struck upwards through holes in the soundhole rose. This type of instrument was called a ‘piano forte guitar’ by Longman & Broderip in 1787. One such guitar, with six keys, is preserved in the Museum of Lisbon (Museu da Música, MM 535) probably made by Gerard J. Deleplanque (late eighteenth century).

¹⁷ *Gazeta de Lisboa* (1817), no. 114 (15 May).

¹⁸ *Gazeta de Lisboa* (1819), no. 4 (5 January).

¹⁹ *Gazeta de Lisboa* (1819), no. 27 (1 February). Weltin had also advertised ‘a French Guitar with a much better sound’. See *Gazeta de Lisboa* (1817), no. 67 (19 March).

²⁰ ‘Of the position of the fingers on the guitar with keys: Since some guitars have, as part of their specification, a small keyboard with six keys, at the end, or at the lower part of the body of the guitar; it should be noted that the position of the fingers of the left hand is the same, as though it had no keys; however, the right hand is different, since all fingers may be used; and very often it is possible to play on two keys with only one finger ... This keyed instrument is pleasant in the natural key of C; however, when the music has accidentals, and some modulations may occur, it is not so certain; because as the strength of the right hand pulsation is opposed to that of the left, and these become weakened in a short space; it is for this reason that one can never point out with exactitude the places of these modulations.’ See Leite, *Estudo de Guitarra*, II, 33.

²¹ Robert Bremner, *Instructions for the Guitar* (Edinburgh, 1758/65). See Philip Coggan, ‘“This easy and agreeable Instrument”: a history of the English guitar’, *Early Music*, 15/2 (May 1987), 204–18, at 208.

²² The author mentions that the ease of accompanying on the guitar with the use of the *capotasto* (instead of the finger) facilitates modulations and favours a wide dissemination amongst amateurs, in comparison with the violin. See da Silva, *Estudo de Guitarra*, 7. The *capotasto* is a movable ‘bridge’, made of an ebony or ivory bar padded with leather and secured with a wing-nut and a bolt on the fingerboard through holes drilled in the neck. This device enables a performer to raise the pitch of the instrument by a semitone per fret, thus allowing the easy transposition to other keys and facilitating song accompaniment at a convenient pitch. The earliest reference to the use of a *capotasto* on the guitar is included in Robert Bremner’s *Instructions*.

²³ Mention should also be made of the earlier method, printed in Portugal by João Leite Pita da Rocha (fl. 175-), *Liçam instrumental de viola portugueza ou de ninfas de cinco ordens, a qual ensina a temperar e tocar rasgado, com todos os pontos, assim naturaes como accidentaes, com hum metodo facil para qualquer curioso aprender os pontos da viola todos, sem a effectiva assistencia de Mestre: com huma tabela, na qual se faz menção dos doze tons principaes, para que o tocador se exercite com perfeição na prenda da mesma viola: Dedicada ao illus., e excellent. Senhor D. Joseph Mascarenhas* (Lisbon, 1752). Also relevant is the *Livro do Conde de Redondo* (P-Ln, F.C.R. ms NE1), written between 1725 and 1750. In this collection of compositions for 5-course *viola* in tablature, the minuet is the most frequent dance, as well as others such as the *oitavado* and the *rojão*. For a modern edition, see *Uma tablatura para guitarra barroca*, ed. João Manuel Borges de Azevedo (Lisbon, 1987). See also Paulo Galvão, 'Uma Abordagem do Livro de Conde de Redondo', *A Guitarra portuguesa*, ed. Moraes, 157–63.

²⁴ This important book is an example of a collection of exercises that Silva Leite would have written for one of his pupils. The manuscript (P-Pm, MM80) begins with some theoretical rudiments complemented by short compositions for two guitars organized by key: D minor, Prelude—24 Minuets; G minor, Prelude, 17 Minuets—Counter-dance—Gigue; E minor, Prelude—2 Minuets; A minor, Prelude—3 Minuets; C Major, Prelude—23 Minuets—March—2 Gigues—Counter-dance—Sonata; F Major, Prelude—13 Minuets—4 Marches—Gigue; D Major, Prelude—Minuet—March; G Major, Prelude—Minuet—March; C minor, Prelude—Minuet; F minor, Prelude—Minuet.

²⁵ P-La, 54-XII-177 and P-La, 54-X-371-5 (both undated).

²⁶ João Gabriel Legras, registered at the Irmandade Santa Cecília (musicians' brotherhood) from 1786, returned to France in 1808. See Joseph Scherpereel, *L'Orchestre et les Instrumentistes* (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1985), 25. In the *Manifests* (registers of activity of the musicians) of Irmandade Santa Cecília his presence is mentioned in nine concerts, as violin soloist, in the years 1796 (2), 1798 (3), and one concert in 1799, 1800, 1802 and 1803.

²⁷ The book of Legras includes three Italian vocal arias and one Spanish bolero (*boleira*). In the third aria LeGras wrote that 'Crescentini sang it in Julio Sabino'. The castrato Girolamo Crescentini (1762–1846) sang in the most important Italian theatres, in London (1785) and from 1798 to 1803 in Lisbon, where he was also manager of the Teatro de São Carlos. *Giulio Sabino* (Venice, 1781) is an opera in three acts by Giuseppe Sarti (1729–1802).

²⁸ George Landmann noted that 'The society of Faro is very good, and the English consul is extremely attentive to the natives of his country ... we were sure of an evening-party every day of the week; tea, cards, singing, dancing, and music well performed on the piano or the guitar, are the amusements which make us forget the hours, and twelve or one o'clock strikes before we are aware that it is time to retire.' See Landmann, *Historical, Military and Picturesque Observations on Portugal*, 2 vols, (London, 1818), ii, 76.

²⁹ Silva Leite's Method is dedicated to the 'Illustrissima e Excellentissima Senhora D. Antonia Magdalena de Quadros e Sousa. Senhora de Tavarede', who was married to Francisco de Almada e Mendonça (1757–1804), an important judge from the municipality of Oporto. In his dedication, the author says that he will 'also write about the smooth and harmonious instrument that is the guitar, so appreciated in our time, by all those who know how to enjoy the sweetness of its harmony ... the author pretends expose with all clarity the rules which enable its easy learning; and the practical application of the same in Minuets, Marches etc, which are also offered.' (3).

³⁰ This manual includes a total of 41 short pieces, amongst them 13 minuets, four *contradanças*, six marches, three military retreats, *Malbruch* (Andantino), three *fanfarre*, two gavottes, two English jigs, two *pastorelas*, two allegros, one andantino, one *cotilhão* and one *toccata*. The most extensive and complex piece is the last. Next in significance are the minuets. The relative weightiness of this genre had to do not only with functional questions related to the popularization of the dance, but also with the fact of it being a genre much cultivated in the field of instrumental music.

³¹ Published in Edinburgh by his ex-pupil Robert Bremner, in 1760.

³² Silva Leite spoke of his 'multitude of pupils', underlining that the fundamental purpose of the manual was to teach musical rudiments, unfortunately, ignored by many players (7). In the Introduction to Part II, offering rules specifically concerning the Guitar, the author considers that as soon as the beginner proves his skills in the short pieces included in the *Estudo*, he may begin to play his more demanding *Sonatas* (ii, 25).

³³ They are: 'Trino, Apojo, Portamentos, Mordente, Rastilho, Crescendo, ou Esforçando, Piano, ou Dolce, Forte, pianíssimo, e Fortíssimo', each presented with brief explanations (16).

³⁴ 'Rule V—Finally, every figure that occurs before a pause, and does not have this sign [of the *appoggiatura*], which functions, as I have said, on its own, may have an appoggiatura beforehand. These rules, though arbitrary, are nevertheless observed in practice: because, like the appoggiaturas, what I call caprice also serves to ornament music; and because with these music is never disagreeable; thus, any piece played with these signs of expression, I am certain, will be agreeable to the cognoscenti, to intelligent teachers and also those who know nothing of music.' (*Estudo*, 36).

³⁵ Manuel José Vidigal's *Seis minuetos para guitarra e baxo* (Lisbon, n.d.) appeared after 1795. The pieces, of variable length (from 16 to 38 bars, with repetitions), and in unrelated keys, must have been played separately, intended more for dancing to than for listening or performing in a sequence. The minuets are simple in structure: the solo instrument has a melodic line, sometimes in parallel thirds (or, rarely, sixths), and chords at the ends of phrases, while the bass accompaniment is always melodic in character, suggesting that it would have been played by an instrument such as a 'cello, or even a bassoon, with a supporting harmonic instrument like the harpsichord. On 1 January 1796, for Vidigal's benefit, there took place 'a vocal and instrumental concert at the Palace of the Most Excellent D. José Lobo at Boa Vista ... in which His Majesty's musicians will play music by Capranica, Longarini and Bertocci, and Vidigal will play the guitar, Grua the bass, and Legras the violin.' See *Gazeta de Lisboa* (1795), no. 50.

³⁶ 'There was a time when this man could have made a considerable fortune, so great was his talent, and so much was he sought after by the best company; but unfortunately, although an excellent natural bard, his talents were confined to music exclusively, and, as if to balance his extraordinary share of this gift, he was totally destitute of that most necessary of all qualities, common sense. To whatever company he might be asked, professionally, if the most profound silence did not prevail in the room, if any one even breathed too loudly, his harmony would become discord; and rising in a violent passion, he would quit the company, after calling them all brutes.'

On one occasion, a lady who was troubled with a severe cough, and who to enjoy the pleasure of listening to his improvisations, had been suppressing it even to her great pain, at length burst forth, when Senr. Vidigal, although he must have been aware of the cause, rose in a passion, and beating the guitar to atoms on the back of his chair, left the room, muttering maledictions on her interruption. Such singular behaviour naturally led to his exclusion from good company; and he was at length obliged to live by getting up concerts occasionally, which were usually very well attended.' A. P. D. G., *Sketches of Portugal Life, Manners, Costume, and Character* (London, 1826), 221–2.

³⁷ See Michael Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era* (Oxford, 1998), 52. See also Panagiotis Poulopoulos, 'A Comparison of Two Surviving Guittars by Zumpe and New Details Concerning the Involvement of Square Piano Makers in the Guittar Trade', *The Galpin Society Journal* 64 (2011), 49–59 and 180–3, at 56–58. The connections between guitar trade and building, and piano manufacturing are discussed at length in Poulopoulos' study. Besides Zumpe, it presents evidences concerning other instrument makers such as Frederick Beck, George Lucas and Thomas Haxby, who began their careers building guitars and afterwards enlarged their activity to include making pianos. The author relates their career changes to the 'arrival in London of J. C. Bach in 1762 and his following performances, especially his public concerts with Carl Friedrich Abel in 1764, which stimulated an interest in expressive keyboards among instrument makers.' (57).

³⁸ *Gazeta de Lisboa* (1794), no. 32 (9 August)

³⁹ P-Ln, M.M. 4266.

⁴⁰ Alberto José Gomes da Silva also wrote a manuscript called *Arte ou Regras de acompanhar Cravo, e todo o genero de Instrumento* (P-L, M.M. 5074). It presents rules of accompaniment, with musical examples.

⁴¹ As far as we know this is the first mention of the word *guitarra* followed by the epithet 'portuguesa'. See Manuel Morais, 'A Guitarra Portuguesa', 103.

The Düben Database Catalogue

Ester Lebedinski

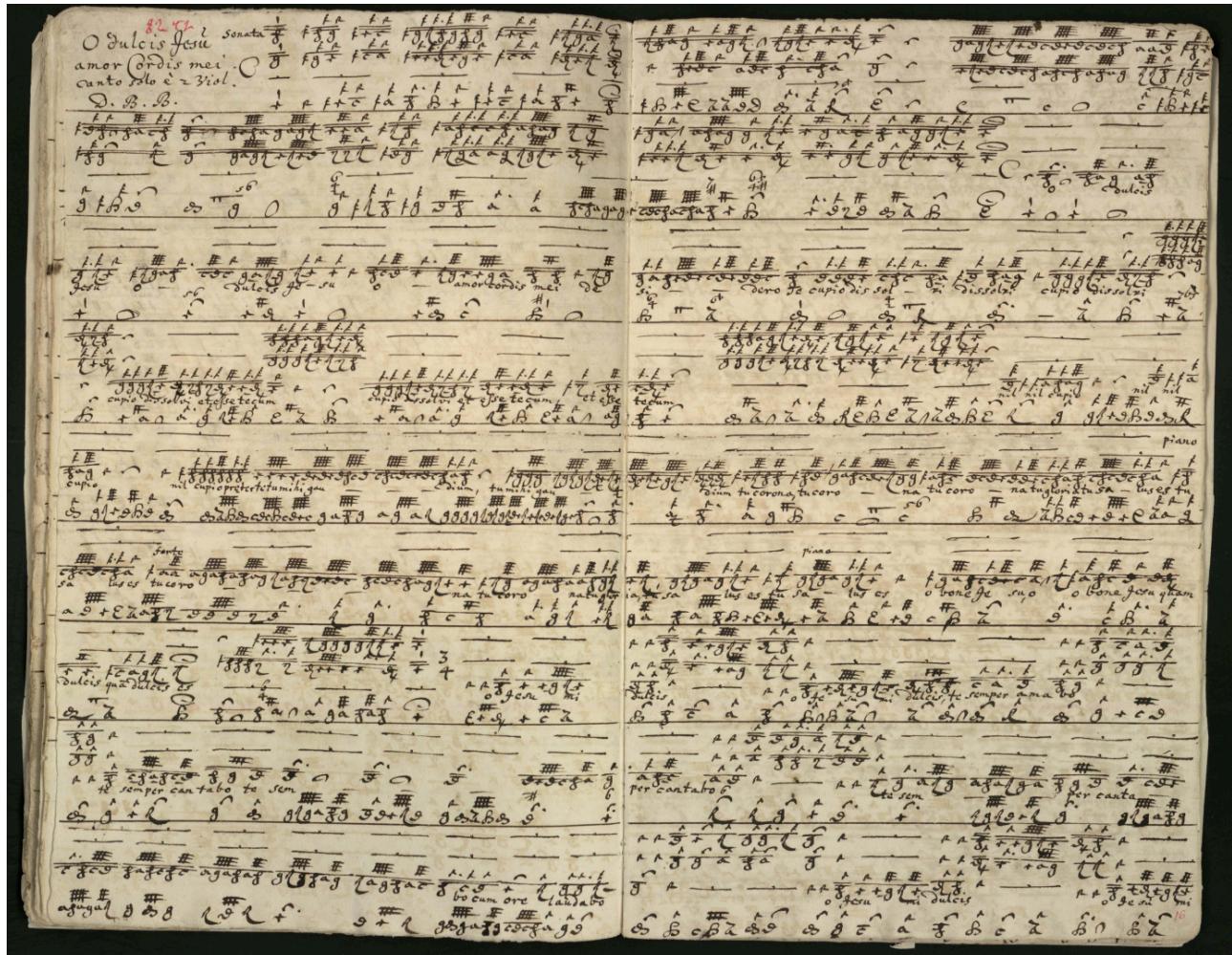
The Düben collection at Uppsala University Library in Sweden is one of Northern Europe's largest collections of seventeenth-century printed and manuscript music. The database catalogue of the collection was initiated by Erik Kjellberg and Kerala Snyder in 1987 as a joint project between Uppsala University and the Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester. The aim of the Düben Collection Database Catalogue was to create a searchable online database of the works in the Düben collection, and to make digital facsimiles of the sources freely available. Twenty-five years down the line much has been achieved, but more work is required to complete the catalogue. The following is a short introduction to, and report on the present state of the Catalogue. It can be accessed at <http://www2.musik.uu.se/duben/Duben.php> or via the Collections pages of the Uppsala University Library website, www.ub.uu.se. If you have any comments or questions about the catalogue, you are welcome to email duben@musik.uu.se. For permissions to publish images from the database, email hamus@ub.uu.se.

Containing over two thousand works, the Düben collection originally formed part of the Royal Music Library during the reigns of Queen Christina (1644–54), Charles X Gustav (1654–60), Charles XI (1660–97) and Charles XII (1697–1718). The main compiler of the collection, Gustav Düben the elder (1628–1690), served as Hofkapellmeister at the Royal Court in Stockholm 1663–1690. The collection mainly consists of sacred vocal and instrumental works by composers who were active in Germany, France, Italy, England, Poland, Sweden and the Baltic countries. These include Buxtehude, Rosenmüller, Pfleger, Geist, Förster, Lully, Campra, Carissimi, Graziani, Monteverdi, and Byrd. Many of the sources are sets of unbound manuscript parts, some of which were copied in Stockholm and some purchased abroad. In addition to the parts, much repertoire is also found in Gustav Düben's large folio books preserving concerted repertoire in North German organ tablature. The collection also contains a good number of

printed music books, such as the popular anthologies of *Florido de Silvestris*.

Despite previous efforts by Anders Lagerberg in the 1880s, Folke Lindberg in 1946, and Erik Kjellberg in 1968, no published catalogue of the Düben collection existed until Kjellberg's and Snyder's joint project was initiated. After the official launch of the project in Uppsala in 1991, a number of graduate students from Uppsala University and the Eastman School of Music, supervised by Kjellberg and Snyder, with Peter Wollny as special consultant, catalogued and eventually digitised the manuscripts in the Düben collection. Over the years, the progress of the project has been severely held up due to a scarcity of funds. It was only in 2003 that the project received a generous grant from Riksbankens Jubileumsfond (the tercentenary foundation of the Swedish Central Bank). The grant allowed for the bulk of the cataloguing and digitising of manuscript parts to be carried out. The joint efforts of staff from the Department of Musicology in Uppsala and Uppsala University Library ensured the launch of the Düben Collection Database Catalogue in 2006. The event was commemorated by an international symposium held in Uppsala in September 2006.¹

The database catalogue is a relational database, which presents records on three different levels: the records can pertain to an individual work, a score, or a set of parts. Records of works provide basic information about the composer, title, key, number of voices, etc., and provide links to records of individual sources in the collection containing the work, typically a set of parts and an organ tablature. The records of individual sources provide more detailed information about the source, such as its full title, scoring, notation, and copyists, etc. There are links to the records of the various sources in totality. These, in their turn, contain most of the physical information such as information on the hands and watermarks. The records of individual parts also provide links to the digital facsimiles of the individual parts. These are high-resolution JPEG



Ex. 1. ff. 17v–18 of Gustav Düben's organ tablature book S Uub vmhs 82:42, showing the beginning of Dietrich Buxtehude's 'O dulcis Jesu amor cordis mei'. The notation is new German organ tablature, where the pitch is designated by letters, the octave by the vertical lines above them, and the note value by the signs above the vertical lines. The tablature score is read from left to right, across the middle of the book. Many of the pieces in the collection are preserved in tablature books like this one, in addition to manuscript parts. Published by kind permission of Uppsala University Library.

images that can be viewed online, or downloaded and saved. The catalogue has two different search modes. The catalogue features extensive introductions to both modes, and to searching the database in general. Basic Search gives the user the opportunity to search by composer, title, vocal/instrumental (i.e. whether a work is vocal or instrumental), key, number of voices or instruments, scoring, or shelfmark. These search criteria can either be used singularly or combined in a variety of ways depending on what you are looking for. The Advanced Search option provides further opportunities to extract data from the database, for instance through allowing searches by text source, copyist or language. The database contains much more data than there are currently search options for, and the interface will be developed to feature separate databases of scribal hands and watermarks in the future. Not all of the cataloguing and digitisation was complete at the launch of the database in 2006,

and students and senior researchers at Uppsala University have endeavoured to fill the gaps in the years since. Again, lack of funding has made progress slow. Since the launch in 2006, the large books of organ tablatures have been scanned and are now available online, thanks to Uppsala University Library. The Library is increasingly taking over responsibility for the catalogue, and is currently digitising those parts of the collection yet not online, for instance a set of sources containing French material including sections of operas and instrumental suites by Jean Baptiste Lully.

However, with the completion of the digitisation and cataloguing within sight, it is worth emphasising that the catalogue was never meant to become a finished product. Instead, it was conceived as an open-ended resource, which will inevitably change as research elucidates new information about the collection and its sources. For instance, Maria Schildt's on-going doctoral

project at Uppsala University will change much of what is known about the attribution of works in the collection, and also challenge long-held views of the size of the collection. Other scholars and performers are warmly invited to use the catalogue to increase knowledge about this rich repository of seventeenth-century repertoire.

Hopefully, the DCDC will inspire further research on and performances of the music in the Düben collection, and so contribute to a greater understanding of music in seventeenth-century Europe.

¹ Reported on by Stephen Rose in 'Düben goes Digital', *Early Music*, 34/4 (2006), 720–21. The symposium resulted in the anthology *The Dissemination of Music in Seventeenth-Century Europe: Celebrating the Düben Collection: Proceedings from the International Conference at Uppsala University 2006*, ed. Erik Kjellberg (Bern, 2010).

2. *Cantus quing vocibus*

Proposuit facit *Vanitas* *vanitatum vanitas vanitas*
vanitatum et omnia omnia vanitas et omnia omnia vanitas *Infelix*
Cogitavi transire animum ad sapientiam Didi cor meum ut sci-
temprudentiam atque doctrinam ut stultitiam denitare et uiderem quid esset
Nutile filiis hominum numero dierum uita sua et agnoui quod in his
quaerere esset labor et afflictio spiritus vanitas vanitas vanita-
titus et omnia omnia vanitas vanitas vanitas vanitatum et omnia
omnia vanitas *Vanitas vanitas vanitatum et omnia*
Dixi facit *Vanitas vanitas vanitas*
omnia vanitas *omnia vanitas*

Ex. 2. f. 1 of S Uub vmhs 70:16:2, the cantus secundus part from Giacomo Carissimi's *Vanitas vanitatum*, in the hand of Gustav Düben. Much of the music in the Düben collection is preserved in unbound manuscript parts. Many pieces have a second source within the collection, often in one of Düben's large organ tablature books. Published by kind permission of Uppsala University Library.

The CHASE project four years on

George Kennaway

Three years ago I described the aims and rationale of what is now called the CHASE research project—Collecting Historical Annotated String Editions.¹ A shortened version of that statement can be found on the project website at www.chase.leeds.ac.uk. In essence, the project explores nineteenth- and early twentieth-century annotated editions of string music as resources for the study of performance practices of the period. The research team working on the project was led by Prof. Clive Brown, with Dr. David Milsom as Research Fellow, Dr. George Kennaway as Research Assistant, and Prof. Robin Stowell as Co-Investigator. After Dr. Milsom's move to the University of Huddersfield, he was replaced by Duncan Druce, while remaining informally associated with CHASE, and later Dr. Ilias Devetzoglou joined the team as an assistant.

The 4-year funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council has now come to an end. Inevitably, the original scheme has undergone some modification. The initial list of important editors was expanded as new, still somewhat shadowy, figures came to light. The whole topic of nineteenth-century editions of baroque string music became more important in the light of several large collections edited by Deldevez, David, and Alard. Following Clive Brown's serendipitous discovery of music at Uppingham School annotated in manuscript by Ferdinand David, the scope of the project was widened to include this and other music with David's markings (search the CHASE website for David's *Hohe Schule* to see just how important this collection is—it has been agreed that the originals will be lent to Special Collections in the Brotherton Library for conservation). Arrangements were initially excluded, but some have been allowed where there are special circumstances. There is also considerably more pedagogical material than was originally envisaged. The original technical specification of very high-resolution images held on servers at both Leeds and Cardiff came to be seen as superfluous and unrealistic. The first project website, written by me, became increasingly difficult to manage, and so I arranged for an outside web design company, Small Hadron Collider, to be engaged to

produce something entirely new. The original plan was to produce a book, but the entire project is now online, with book 'chapters' now presented as text linked directly to files of scanned music.

This project presented several interesting challenges. While there are roughly similar web-based resources, like the Chopin databases Chopin Variorum (www.ocve.org.uk/index.html) and Chopin First Editions Online (www.cfeo.org.uk/dyn/index.html), the highly sophisticated software tools developed for these sites were not particularly suited to our purposes. What was required was the ability to search the database by editor, composer, work, publisher, or instrumentation in order to find scans of printed music, which could be viewed or downloaded, and the ability to add explanatory text, including images. Explanatory annotations and images could take the form of small captions on the music itself, summary biographies of editors as bulleted lists, or longer articles looking at wider historical contexts. Mark Wales, of Small Hadron Collider, devised custom proprietary software to enable us to add small comments to the scanned music. You can see how this works at <http://chase.leeds.ac.uk/view/pdf/42/2/#page>: near the foot of this page from Bach's Sonata in G minor, BWV 1001, a red box marks a bar where David has extended Bach's slur. The flexibility of this annotating software is a considerable benefit for the site's editors. The two editions by Friedrich Grützmacher of Beethoven's Cello Sonatas show how these annotations can point out considerable differences (see <http://chase.leeds.ac.uk/view/pdf/358/3/#page> and <http://chase.leeds.ac.uk/view/pdf/103/3/#page>).

The CHASE website currently contains over 2000 separate files of music—works for solo string instruments, individual instrumental parts for string chamber works ranging from duets to octets, the solo parts of concertos, and studies. It also has substantial scanned extracts from major pedagogical works such as Baillot's *L'art du violon*, or Joachim and Moser's *Violinschule*. Each file was created from separate photographs of each page of music, frequently necessitating visits to holding libraries, camera in

hand. The acquisition of copies of the music we needed proved to be more difficult than was anticipated. Our first on-line port of call was usually COPAC, the search engine for UK university library catalogues. This soon showed that significant differences between these libraries' cataloguing procedures meant that a small number of copies of a particular text could generate literally hundreds of hits, each of which had to be followed up. Increasingly, we found that the libraries of the Royal Academy of Music, the Royal College of Music, the British Library, the Bodleian, the University of Edinburgh, the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, the Austrian National Library, and Dresden Library, were the most likely to have what we needed—and we owe all their librarians a considerable vote of thanks. In the course of this research we were able quite often to correct catalogue information, and in some cases advise libraries that music held on open shelves was much older and rarer than they realised. Thus, Edinburgh's copies of the earliest edition of Haydn piano trios edited by David, published in the 1850s—some of the earliest annotated chamber music—are now held in their Special Collections. We also found that the Fulford Collection held in the stacks of the Brotherton Library at the University of Leeds often contained material of interest to us, and that in many cases this music had never been issued or even accessioned.

Of course, much of the music we wanted was simply not traceable anywhere. In particular, we are still (!) looking for the edition of Beethoven's Violin Sonatas edited by Jacob Dont (Wiener-Neustadt: Wedl, 1883). We know it was published—this is confirmed by several sources. But, at the time of writing, no European, American, Japanese, or Russian, library holds it. Searching national union catalogues country by country is fruitless (I admit to having given up at the National Library of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia); individual enquiries to conservatoria in the former Austro-Hungarian empire remain unanswered; meta-search engines such as the European Library (www.theeuropeanlibrary.org) or the KVK (www.ubka.uni-karlsruhe.de/kvk.html) cannot find it; and none of the major antiquarian sites are offering it for sale. Clive Brown even went to Wiener-Neustadt to look for it, but (*mirabile dictu*) they are apparently oblivious to significance of this edition, prepared by a violinist with a strong connection to Beethoven, published in their town. In other cases, while a library might have a great deal of the music we wanted, restric-

tions on the amount of digital scanning or photocopying that could be ordered, limitations on staff time, and simple problems of communication, slowed down the process of acquisition. Occasionally, copies were supplied that were not ideal for further reproduction. A surprising number of major libraries use ordering systems that combine the old and the new: to request reproductions of music, one sometimes had to download a form, print it, complete in ink by hand, scan it, and email it. Some libraries would not accept credit cards, but the additional expense at the Leeds end of the payment chain meant that cheques could not be issued for relatively small sums. These apparently trivial inconveniences may not be particularly relevant to readers of *EMP*, but they took up a disproportionate amount of time better spent on research, as well as creating difficulties for Leeds University's purchasing and requisitions staff (to whom another vote of thanks is due).

Library cataloguing systems reveal a great deal about their intended users. At one extreme, the Royal College of Music, all copies of all editions of string quartets are shelved alphabetically by composer, and then opus number, under a single shelf-mark (Str4). This implies that a student looking for a Beethoven quartet will go to this part of the library, and find the Beethoven quartets, but is unlikely to be looking for a particular edition. In fact, the student may find that the edition by the Hellmesberger Quartet, made for Universal in the early years of the twentieth century, is spread throughout the shelves. Information about editors is held on the catalogue, but is not taken to be sufficiently important to justify a more precise system of classification or of shelving. The Royal Academy of Music's library is catalogued and shelved in much greater taxonomic detail, with a unique shelf-mark for every text. This is not a criticism of the RCM—clearly, the library's first priority is its students, and the number of researchers specifically requiring the Hellmesberger edition is likely to be very small. But it is also one consequence of the general downgrading of the importance of annotated editions in the face of the *Urtext* edition which most performers choose nowadays. Many libraries have now discarded their old copies of David's Beethoven Sonatas, or Grützmacher's astonishing editions of the Bach Solo Cello Suites, as redundant or corrupt. To discover just how much music has simply been lost, it would be an interesting exercise to take just one year of entries in the *Hofmeister Monatsbericht* (www.hofmeister.rhul.ac.uk/2008/index.html)

and find out how many of those publications were still available. It certainly cannot be assumed that all music deposited in copyright libraries as the law requires is indeed there.

Among the text-based articles on the CHASE website you will find lengthy discussions of violin and cello posture (including illustrations), overviews of significant editors like David or Grützmacher, articles on publishing history and the history of annotated editions in the nineteenth century, and much more. But the greatest body of data by far consists in the amount of music that is available. Here one can compare ten different editions of Beethoven's violin sonatas, roughly the same number of editions of his violin concerto, editions of the Bach solo cello suites, four editions of Mendelssohn's

cello sonatas (three of which appeared within a year of each other), multiple editions of string quartets by Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and others. This resource is already being used by music conservatoires in the UK and abroad, and it is hoped that it will be enhanced in the future with the addition of audio and video material offering early recordings and demonstrations of playing techniques of the period. In its current form, however, it remains one of the largest sources for the raw material of writing the history of performance on stringed instruments. It will be most interesting to find out how it is used in the next few years.

¹ 'Researching nineteenth-century performing editions: the University of Leeds's AHRC Project in the School of Music', *EMP* 24 (June, 2009), 28–9.

Correction

Andrew Pink alerts readers to a correction for his article 'John Sheeles: Composer, Harpsichordist and Teacher', which appeared in Issue 30 (April, 2012). The year of Sheeles's death was 1765 and not 1764 as stated.

Call for article submissions: *Early Music Performer*, the journal of the National Early Music Association (UK)

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María del Coral Morales Villar, ‘*Lo que un cantor debe saber*: the Italian school of singing in Spanish music treatises, 1754–1799’

Juan Pablo Fernández-Cortés, ‘*¿Qué quita a lo noble un airecito de maja?* National and gender identities in the *zarzuela* Clementina (1786) by Luigi Boccherini and Ramón de la Cruz’

María Gembero-Ustároz, ‘Integrating musical Otherness in a new social order: indigenous music from Moxos, Bolivia, under Spanish Governor Lázaro de Ribera (r.1786–1792)’

Frederick Hammond, ‘Performance in San Marco: a picture and two puzzles’

Andrew Pinnock, ‘*Deus ex machina*: a royal witness to the court origin of Purcell’s *Dido and Aeneas*’

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Book reviews of

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Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician* (Cornell University Press, 2011)

Ann Smith, *The performance of 16th-century music: learning from the theorists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011)

Yonit Lea Kosovske, *Historical harpsichord technique: developing la douceur du toucher* (Indiana University Press, 2011)

John Arthur Smith, *Music in ancient Judaism and early Christianity* (Ashgate, 2011)

Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and prosulas*, ed. Thomas B. Payne, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, xli (A-R Editions, 2011)

Keyboard concerto vols. from Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *The complete works* (Packard Humanities Institute)

Early Music, Vol. 40/1 (February 2012)

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Claudio Annibaldi, ‘Was Frescobaldi a chameleonic scribe?’
John Byrt, ‘Inequality in Alessandro Scarlatti and Handel: a sequel’

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Arne Spohr, ‘How chances it they travel?’ *Englische Musiker in Dänemark und Norddeutschland 1579–1630* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009)

The Mulliner Book, ed. John Caldwell, *Musica Britannica i* (Stainer & Bell, 2011)

Early Music America, Vol. 18/3 (Fall 2012)

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Grant Herreid, ‘Reconstructing Spanish Songs from the Time of Cervantes’

Journal of the Royal Musical Association, Vol. 137/1 (May 2012)

Article

Tim Carter, ‘Monteverdi, Early Opera and a Question of Genre: The Case of *Andromeda* (1620)’

Music & Letters, Vol. 93/3 (August 2012)

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Journal of the American Musicological Society, Vol. 65/1 (Spring 2012)

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The Musical Times, Vol. 151/2 (Summer 2012)

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Ian Bartlett, 'Was Boyce a Mason?'

Simon Fleming, 'Charles Avison jnr. and his book of organ voluntaries'

Book review of

John Harley, *The world of William Byrd: musicians, merchants and magnates* (Ashgate, 2010)

The Journal of Musicology, Vol. 29/3

Articles

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Bettina Varwig, 'Metaphors of Time and Modernity in Bach'

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Performance Practice Review, Vol. 17/1 (2012)

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