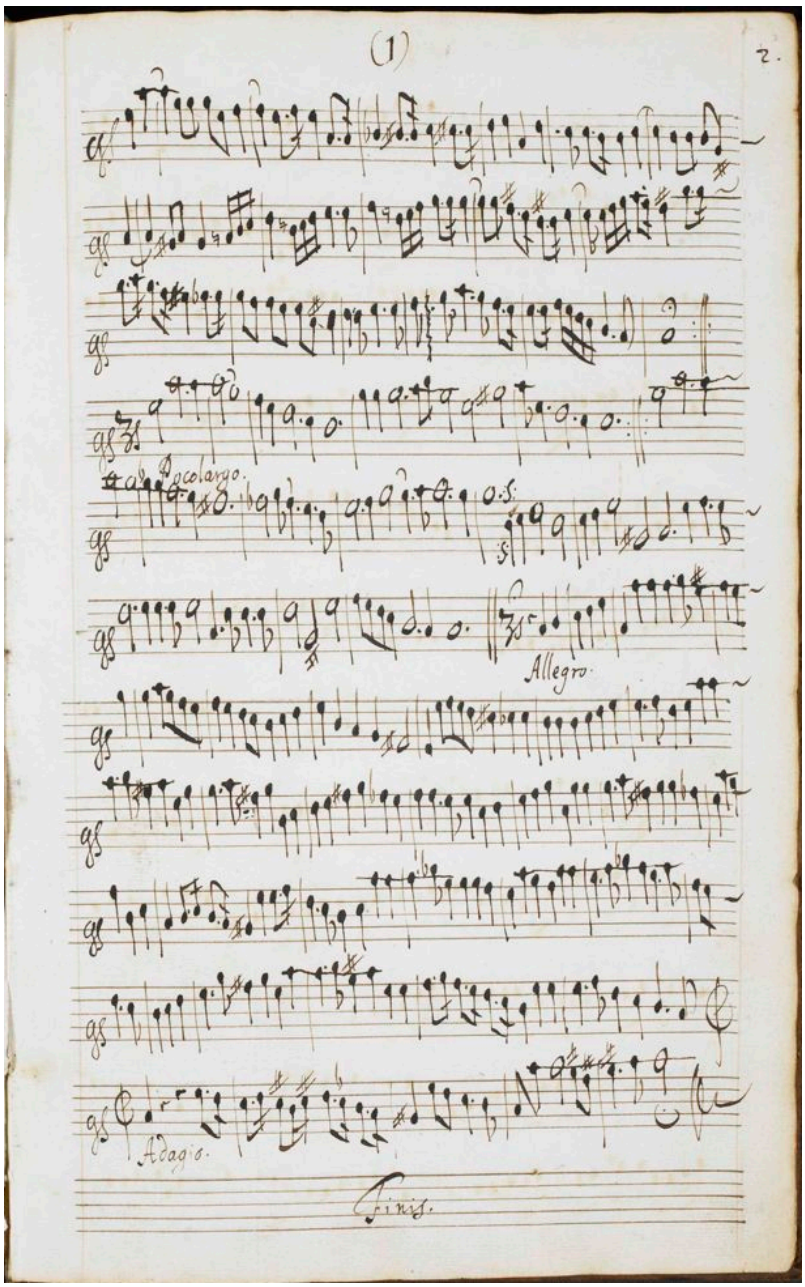
EARLY MUSIC PERFORMER



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COVER: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 63627, f. 2, showing the second page of the surviving first treble part for Sampson Estwick's trio sonata. Reproduced with permission.

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Editorial

Private correspondences reveal much about musical lives in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and surviving letters of a personal kind start to become more abundant for the British context from the late seventeenth century (in parallel with the development of printed newspapers). Such documents allow a glimpse of a musical world that is often hidden from view, shedding light particularly on amateurs, but also on the kind of public that composers such as Henry Purcell may have been in contact with on a regular basis at certain periods. Their significance for the study of performance practice may not be immediately obvious, although revealing nuggets of information occasionally surface. The cases of enthusiastic amateurs seeking to gain an understanding of the performance styles of famous musicians abroad, with whom they were never likely come into direct contact, are a case in point. Such letters were usually written by middle- and upper-class gentlemen to their friends in Italy, and recently-discovered examples indicate some of the considerable lengths that enthusiasts of around 1700 went to in order to understand the performance styles of two musicians, Arcangelo Corelli and Bernado Pasquini in Rome, whom they commonly regarded as 'the best masters in the world'. Knowledge of Pasquini's accompaniment style was particularly sought after, since value was attached to attaining an ability to play at the keyboard as part of an ensemble, especially in the performance of Italian sonatas. Bryan White's investigation of the fascinating case of the merchant (or Factor) Rowland Sherman (d. 1747/8), who lived in Turkey for most of his long life, is one noteworthy example. Sherman took advantage of the long-term stay in Rome of a fellow-merchant, Philip Wheak, asking him to describe, apparently in his own words, Pasquini's 'particularly effective style of playing, which you heard with such pleasure in Rome', and moreover, 'precise explanations that you can give me of the Italian style of playing a basso continuo.'[1]

Another interesting example is that of the Scottish politician, lawyer and amateur composer, John Clerk of Penicuik (1676–1755). Clerk's extensive musical correspondence, a large proportion of which is written in Latin, was discussed at some length by Kenneth Elliot; I have revisited the correspondence, and in the process have uncovered a number of letters that were previously overlooked.[2] The 'new' letters were written to Clerk in Rome and Paris, where he was resident for almost a two-year period altogether, from a fellow-student of Clerk's at Leiden University, one Hugh du Bois. As amateurs they were able to share their musical interests and experiences in a lively and often vivid manner. In a remarkably similar way to Sherman, du Bois repeatedly asked Clerk to send him copies of Pasquini's music from Rome, in addition to copies of any 'instructions' that might come his way. In one letter, for instance, he asks Clerk 'to explain [to] me how the bassum continuum sounds', presumably asking him to relay to him the method of Pasquini.[3] Clerk's reply to one of the letters from Du Bois sheds some light on the nature of his relationship with musicians in Rome during the period he was living there in 1697 and 1698. Despite claiming to have 'profited little on the violin', Clerk stated that he had received '3 lessons a week' from Corelli 'all the time I stay'd in Rome'.[4] However, in his letter to Du Bois of 12 March 1699, from Paris, recounting a visit from a mutual acquaintance called 'Johanni Van Campen', Clerk confirmed that his interest was geared towards music theory, rather than practical attainment, in addition to intimating his preference for the performance style of Italian over French musicians:[5]

> I learnt the method, but not the practice, and lest he [Van Campen] confused these two, I explained how it was impossible that anyone would learn the method and the practice [even] if he dedicated four or five years to it. Convinced by these arguments, therefore, he started to request from me that I teach him something about the Italian method or, even better, about that Italian rhythmic style [*modulatione illa Italica*], which I did willingly, and I advised him to abandon that French nonsense ...

Another encounter with Corelli, namely Handel's in 1706, which also brought to the fore the marked differences that were understood between 'Italian' and 'French' performance styles, is considered in David Irving's article for this issue of *EMP*. David, a baroque violinist and Lecturer in Music at the University of Nottingham, discusses Handel's relationship with the violin, which spanned the entirety of his career, but which was inevitably overshadowed by his mastery of the keyboard. The relationship was nonetheless a highly significant one, and consideration of it draws attention to Handel's working alongside leading violinists of the day such as Matthew Dubourg, the Castrucci brothers, and John Clegg. The exploration of this topic also offers an opportunity to evaluate Handel's important

role in canon formation in the eighteenth century, and the effects that this had on orchestral performance towards the end of the century.

In the previous issue, Alan Howard described the process by which he was able to 'recreate' the lost parts of a trio sonata by a contemporary of Purcell, Sampson Estwick, and his efforts were published as the music supplement. Alon Schab's sequel, discussing his own completion, which was undertaken in parallel with Alan's, is offered here, while the fruits are available online in score and parts: *EMP* supplements will now appear online, offered as downloads to NEMA members from the Association's website (http://www.earlymusic.info/Performer.php). Alon, a lecturer in music at the Jerusalem Academy of Music and Dance, draws attention to the broader philosophical concerns that present themselves to anyone undertaking 'completion' work. In this case, the fact that both are based only on a first violin part leaves considerable scope for creativity on the part of the editor. The undertaking, however, makes us think about present day assumptions, such as how confident we can be when attempting to differentiate between 'anachronistic' and 'authentic' features.

This issue is rounded-off by three diverse reviews: Rohan Stewart-MacDonald considers a recent book evaluating the significance of early recordings for an understanding of romantic piano performance practices; Menno van Delft gives his assessment of a welcome addition to the literature on harpsichord technique; while Peter Holman commends a new edition of Susan Burney's diaries, which give a unique insight into London concert life in the eighteenth century.

Andrew Woolley
Edinburgh, April 2013

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[1] For a full account of Sherman's correspondence, see Bryan White, '"Brothers of the String": Henry Purcell and the Letter-Books of Rowland Sherman', *Music & Letters*, 92 (2011), 519–81, esp. 534.

[2] See *Five Cantatas by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik*, ed. Kenneth Elliot, Musica Scotica 4 (Glasgow, 2005).

[3] National Records of Scotland, GD18/4539/2.

[4] See quotation from Clerk's *Memoirs* in *Five Cantatas*, ed. Elliot, xv.

[5] National Records of Scotland, GD18/4539A, p. 3. I am at present working on this correspondence with Juan Lewis in the Classics department at Edinburgh University, who is undertaking the translations.

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

The NEMA AGM is currently scheduled to take place at 3pm on the Saturday of the Early Musical Instruments exhibition in Greenwich (provisionally 9th November, 2013). Confirmation of the details will be sent out to members in plenty of time.

The National Early Music Association (NEMA) and Guildhall ResearchWorks will present a conference to take place at the Guildhall School of Music & Drama (London) on Sunday 7th and Monday 8th July 2013. The conference is supported by the Handel Institute and the Institute of Musical Research.

There will be keynote addresses from Peter Holman and Arthur Orde-Hume, and contributions from representatives of Anglia Ruskin, Cornell University, Deutsches Museum-Munich, Guildhall School of Music and Drama, LUCA School of Arts, Sydney Conservatorium, University of Evry and University of Helsinki. The event will consist of a range of papers, presentations, lecture recitals and a performance by students and professionals in historical performance. To find details, book your place and pay the conference fee, visit NEMA's home page at: http://www.earlymusic.info
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Handel and the Violin

David R. M. Irving

In the vast compositional output of George Frideric Handel, the violin figures prominently as a solo instrument in concertos, suites and sonatas, in complex obbligatos for operatic arias, and in accompaniments for cantatas. Handel had an intimate practical and theoretical knowledge of the instrument, having been exposed to numerous schools of playing from an early age; he knew well the limits to which its technical capabilities could be pushed. Having commenced his formal musical studies in Halle under the guidance of Friedrich Wilhelm Zachow, who taught him keyboard and composition, he began to study violin from the age of twelve.[1] Zachow introduced him to a wide variety of national styles and to works by notable composers. Such a well-rounded musical education would stand Handel in good stead for the early stages of his professional career, which would begin as a violinist in the Hamburg opera. Later, his understanding of the instrument would broaden considerably as he travelled to Rome, the home of one of Europe's great schools of violin-playing.

His skill on the violin, however, was swiftly overshadowed by his command of the keyboard: 'And it must not be forgot,' wrote his first biographer, John Mainwaring, 'that, though he was well acquainted with the nature and management of the violin; yet his chief practice, and greatest mastery was on the organ and harpsichord.'[2] From his days in Halle and Hamburg, throughout his Italian period and his career in England, the harpsichord and the organ were the instruments at which Handel most regularly conceived and brought forth his compositional inspiration, at which he tried and tested works by others, and from which he rehearsed and directed small- and large-scale works. By the time of his death, his last will and testament bequeathed a large harpsichord and a house-organ to his friends, but made no mention of any bowed string instruments.[3]

In 1776, Sir John Hawkins stated that although Handel 'had never been a master of the violin, and had discontinued the practice of it from the time he took to the harpsichord at Hamburg; yet, whenever he had a mind to try the effect of any of his compositions for that instrument, his manner of touching it was such as the ablest masters would have been glad to imitate.'[4] Handel seems to have retained considerable skill and interest in the violin, even though quite early in his life he had stopped playing it regularly. This short essay aims to revisit Handel's somewhat limited career as a violinist, and his professional and personal contact with some of the greatest exponents of the instrument in the eighteenth century, among whom figure luminaries such as Arcangelo Corelli, Pietro Castrucci, John Clegg, Francesco Geminiani, and Matthew Dubourg. It also considers aspects of the performance practice of Handel's string music from the early to the late eighteenth century, with particular reference to evaluations by Dr Charles Burney and Sir John Hawkins. Handel may not have been a violinist-composer in the same league as a Corelli or a Geminiani, but his small- and large-scale compositions would nevertheless have a lasting impact on the world of string performance.

Handel the Violinist

Handel was a prodigious performer in his youth, before he ventured outside the German-speaking lands. However, the only time he was employed specifically to play the violin was for a brief period as second *ripieno* violinist in the Hamburg opera. This position was a natural entry-point to the music profession for a young man; it also gave Handel an insight into orchestral practices and the functioning of theatres. From this relatively humble post he soon displayed his precocity in composition: his colleague Johann Mattheson reported in *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740), as quoted by Burney, that 'at

first he only played a *ripieno* violin in the opera orchestra, and behaved as if he could not count five; being naturally inclined to dry humour. At this time he composed extreme long Airs and Cantatas without end; of which, though the harmony was excellent, yet true taste was wanting; which, however, he very soon acquired by his attendance at the opera.'[5]

Handel had taken second fiddle in the literal sense, but soon did so in the figurative, as he was eager to demonstrate in the opera pit his continuo skills on the harpsichord. His enthusiasm became the catalyst for the famous duel fought with Mattheson on 5 December 1704 when he refused to give up his place to his rival. Such an incident proffered the opportunity for the biographer Mainwaring to offer an evaluation of Handel's skill on the violin: 'On what reasons HANDEL grounded his claim to the first harpsichord [in the Hamburg opera] I do not understand: he had played a violin in the orchestra, he had a good command on this instrument, and was known to have a better [command] on the other.'[6] Burney reports, on the other hand, that Mattheson and Handel 'had frequent amicable contests and trials of skill with each other; in which it appearing that they excelled on different instruments, HANDEL on the organ, and Mattheson on the harpsichord, they mutually agreed not to invade each other's province, and faithfully observed this compact for five or six years.'[7]

Handel would have no reason to invade Mattheson's 'province' following his move south to Rome in 1706. Once in the Eternal City, he was surrounded by some of the greatest champions of the Italian violin school: Arcangelo Corelli and his disciples, who were a great influence on the young composer. Christopher Hogwood notes that at this early stage of Handel's career, his 'writing for the violin (in the accompanied cantatas and *La Resurrezione* for example) … shows the influence of Corelli's playing and is, interestingly, more extrovert than anything in Corelli's own published violin sonatas. Although the most crucial development in Handel's composing during his time in Italy was primarily a refining and softening of his vocal style, his experiments with string sonorities, particularly their use for dramatic ends, were also seminal.'[8] In Rome, Handel had a large pool of skilled violinists on which he could rely, and he focused his energies on composition and the demonstration of his considerable virtuosity on the keyboard. The latter led to another duel, this time, thankfully, with only the weaponry of the keyboard; the competition was orchestrated by the wealthy patron Cardinal Ottoboni for one of his frequent musical gatherings, in which Handel and Domenico Scarlatti each flaunted their skills on both harpsichord and organ.[9] Once again the palm went to Handel for his organ-playing.

While exhibiting his fine skills on the organ with solo passages in works such as *Il Trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno* HWV 46a (May 1707) and his *Salve Regina* HWV 241 (June 1707),[10] Handel also benefited from his exposure to the technical and compositional advances made on the violin by Corelli. This influence is detectable in Handel's demanding writing for strings in his Italian cantatas, Psalm settings, and oratorios.[11] Handel evidently wanted to show these Italian musicians what a German composer could do, working within Italian genres and pushing their boundaries.[12] From his early Roman period survives a rather anomalous work: the 'Sonata a 5' in B flat major HWV 288 (*c*1707), scored for solo violin, two oboes, strings and basso continuo, which Donald Burrows describes as 'the one indisputable example of a concerto from Handel's Italian years'.[13] This was presumably intended for performance by Corelli; passages of pure brilliance in the final movement are no doubt designed to display the technical capacities of the soloist.[14]

While in Rome, Handel demonstrated the cosmopolitan nature of his musical training; in the original version of *Il Trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno* HWV 46a, he flummoxed the Italians through his employment of French overture style:[15]

> There was … something in his manner so very different from what the Italians had been used to, that those who were seldom or never at a loss in performing any other Music, were frequently puzzled how to execute his. CORELLI himself complained of the difficulty he found in playing his Overtures. Indeed there was in the whole cast of these compositions, but especially in the opening of them, such a degree of fire and force, as never could consort with the mild graces, and placid elegancies of a genius so totally dissimilar. Several fruitless attempts HANDEL had one day made to instruct him in the manner of executing these spirited passages. Piqued at the tameness with which he still played them, he snatche[d] the instrument out of his hand; and, to convince him how little he understood them, played the passages himself. But CORELLI, who was a person of great modesty and meekness, wanted no convincing of this sort; for he ingenuously declared that he did

> not understand them; *i. e.* knew not how to execute them properly, and give them the strength and expression they required. When HANDEL appeared impatient, *Ma, caro Sassone* (said he) *questa Musica è nel stylo Francese, di ch' io non m' intendo* [But my dear Saxon, this music is in the French style, which I do not understand].

Handel, then aged twenty, evidently possessed considerable skills in violin performance—certainly enough to dare to demonstrate a passage in front of the venerated and venerable Corelli (aged fifty-three). Mainwaring qualifies in a footnote that 'The Overture for IL TRIONFO DEL TEMPO was that which occasioned CORELLI the greatest difficulty. At his desire therefore he [Handel] made a symphony in the room of it, more in the Italian style.'[16] The revised Italian-style 'Sonata del Overtura' of *Il Trionfo del Tempo*, which begins directly with the fast fugal section, retains many elements of virtuosity, as the two *concertino* violins squeak up to an a^3 in bars 39–40.[17]

Hogwood states that an Overture in B flat, HWV 336, published in the *11th Collection of Overtures* in 1758, is probably the French-style original, as it 'uses the same fugal theme as the sinfonia we know today' (this sinfonia being the Italian-style piece that was 'made … in the room', according to Mainwaring); it begins with a 'standard French-style opening [which] makes it plausibly the very piece to which Corelli objected.'[18] This opening, however, contains only two *tirades* in the first violin part, and it is unlikely that these, along with the ubiquitous dotted rhythms, were the only reasons for Corelli's objections. Rather, it seems more likely that the intricacies of French overture style or ornamentation, or the interpretative differences of the two musicians—in particular the 'strength and expression' to which Mainwaring refers in the opening sections of Overtures—were the catalyst for the conflict. Corelli was a strict master of his orchestra; reportedly, in a conversation of 1756, Handel recalled how Corelli would fine a player a crown for adding an ornament.[19] A young German musician challenging the authority and skill of this famous violinist in front of his own orchestra must have been an unusual occurrence, and the incident with Corelli and the French-style overture would become the stuff of legend. As his career went on, Handel would continue to have complex relationships with his principal violinists.

Handel's London Violinists

Following his move to London, Handel came into contact with a new circle of violinists, many of whom had studied with Corelli in Rome. Some of these violinists would play in his opera orchestras and in chamber performances with him. The brothers Pietro and Prospero Castrucci, for instance, met Handel in 1715 through the patronage of Lord Burlington, who brought them to England.[20] Pietro subsequently led Handel's opera orchestra for over twenty years; his name (along with that of his brother) appears in several of Handel's autograph scores. A talented composer in his own right, he was, according to Burney, 'long thought insane; but though his compositions were too mad for his own age, they are too sober for the present [1789].'[21]

After Pietro Castrucci had led Handel's orchestra for more than two decades, he was put out to pasture by Handel and replaced with a younger violinist by means of a cunning scheme, as Hawkins relates:[22]

> Handel had a mind to place a young man, named John Clegg, a scholar of Dubourg, at the head of his orchestra; Castrucci being in very necessitous circumstances, and not in the least conscious of any failure in his hand, was unwilling to quit his post; upon which Handel, in order to convince him of his inability to fill it, composed a concerto, in which the second concertino was so contrived, as to require an equal degree of execution with the first; this he gave to Clegg, who in the performance of it gave such proofs of his superiority, as reduced Castrucci to the necessity of yielding the palm to his rival. … Clegg succeeded to the favour of Handel, and under his patronage enjoyed the applause of the town.

The piece which was responsible for this professional duel has been identified as the Concerto in C major, HWV 318, which was performed between Acts I and II in *Alexander's Feast*.[23] The young Irishman Clegg, a child prodigy and a student of Giovanni Bononcini (composition) and Matthew Dubourg (violin), had made his London début at the age of nine and later enjoyed a considerable reputation as a soloist and orchestral player during the 1730s and 1740s.[24] However, Burney disputed the claim of Hawkins; he wrote that it was Michael Festing, rather than Clegg, who displaced Castrucci in the opera orchestra in 1737, mentioning in passing that Castrucci was the violinist caricatured in a famous engraving by William Hogarth, *The Enraged Musician* (1741).[25] Burney goes on to say that 'Cas-

trucci had such an antipathy to the very name of Festing, that in his most lucid intervals, he instantly lost his temper, if not his reason, on hearing it pronounced. A gentleman, now living, used in *polisonnerie*, [*sic*] to address him in conversation, by the name of his rival: "Mr. Festing—I beg your pardon; Mr. Castrucci, I mean," which put him in as great a rage as Hogarth's street musician's on May-day.'[26] Rivalries were fierce among some of the leading London violinists of the day, and emotions clearly ran high.

The most renowned violinist to come from Italy to England during the course of the eighteenth century was Francesco Geminiani, a fine player, pedagogue (he was the teacher of many leading violinists, including Festing), and theorist. On the occasion of his first appearance at court in 1716, Geminiani 'intimated … a wish that he might be accompanied on the harpsichord by Mr. Handel … [and] acquitted himself in a manner worthy of the expectations that had been formed of him.'[27] After this recital, however, there appears not to have been much contact between Handel and Geminiani, even though many of Geminiani's students played in Handel's orchestra. Neither did they appear to have had much influence on each other in terms of their compositional practice; Enrico Careri remarks that 'there is remarkably little evidence of a direct influence of Geminiani on Handel … what the two men have in common, rather, is a common Corellian heritage modified by an awareness of progressive (Vivaldian) trends in the concerto genre.'[28]

One of Geminiani's students who had considerable contact with Handel—leading Handel's orchestra and playing solos in oratorio performances—was Matthew Dubourg.[29] In Handel historiography, Dubourg is famous for having played solos on the violin at many of Handel's oratorio performances, and leading the orchestra. Handel also left him a bequest of £100 in his will.[30] Dubourg and Handel were clearly close; it is likely that if Dubourg had not moved to Dublin, he would have been Castrucci's successor as the leader of Handel's orchestra.[31] In comparing Dubourg to his peers and rivals, Hawkins remarks that 'Dubourg's performance on the violin was very bold and rapid; greatly different from that of Geminiani, which was tender and pathetic; and these qualities it seems he was able to communicate, for Clegg his disciple possessed them in as great perfection as himself.'[32] Dubourg also appears to have been a consummate improviser, as Burney relates:[33]

> One night, while HANDEL was in Dublin, Dubourg having a solo part in a song, and a close to make, *ad libitum*, he wandered about in different keys a great while, and seemed indeed a little bewildered, and uncertain of his original key … but, at length, coming to the shake, which was to terminate this long close, HANDEL, to the great delight of the audience, and augmentation of applause, cried out loud enough to be heard in the most remote parts of the theatre: 'You are welcome home, Mr. Dubourg!'

Violin interludes in operas and oratorios provided an avenue through which rising stars could test their mettle before an appreciative and knowledgeable audience, which included influential patrons. Handel's were the most famous of any oratorio performances in England, and the most renowned violinists vied with one another for the privilege of performing solos between the acts—a phenomenon that begs further attention in research into the history of oratorio performances in eighteenth-century England. Violin solos in oratorios, played before a large audience, could act as advertisements, especially for foreign violinists wishing to make an impression or build a career in England. Their public concerts of chamber music were often well attended after such a début.[34] Alongside Dubourg, other violinists who performed solos in Handel's oratorios include Francesco Maria Veracini and Pieter Hellendaal, both of whom played between acts of *Acis and Galatea* in 1741 and 1754 respectively.[35] These types of performances clearly helped to enhance their public reputation as soloists and composers.

Dr Burney, the Posthumous Handel, and Performance Practice

It was during Handel's English period that his professional experience in violin-playing, coupled with his close contact with some of the leading exponents of the instrument based in England and Ireland, gave rise to his composition of some of the most celebrated solo and orchestral repertoire of the time. This included sonatas, trio sonatas, and *concerti grossi*, not to mention a considerable number of overtures and instrumental music for his operas, oratorios, and other vocal pieces. Yet it was not until after Handel's death, and particularly during the 1770s and 1780s, that critical evaluations of his work began to be made, many by leading writers who were of an age to remember Handel in his prime

as well as in old age, such as Burney and Hawkins.

Fairly little of Handel's work has been taken into consideration when examining the development of prominent compositional styles for the violin during the eighteenth century. This lacuna is given some perspective by Charles Burney, who explains why he judged Handel's writing for the violin to be relatively unidiomatic for the instrument. In his account of a performance of the Concerto grosso Op. 6 No. 11, HWV 329, at the Handel commemoration of 1784, Burney noted that 'indeed the last *Allegro*, which is airy and fanciful, has Solo parts that seem more likely to have presented themselves to the author at a harpsichord, than with a violin in his hand.'[36] Handel's fast passages for the violin sometimes contain awkward leaps across registers, and clusters of triadic semiquaver figurations, which suggest inspiration emanating from a virtuoso on the keyboard, rather than a violinist-composer who has in mind the technical capacities of the the instrument (focusing on logical string crossings and practical figurations for the four fingers of the left hand).[37] These are characteristics of his writing for violin that some professional performers comment on today.

The composition of vocal music was undoubtedly seen as Handel's major strength in his own times, but in orchestral and chamber repertoire he was considered to be overshadowed by the likes of Corelli and Geminiani. Hawkins commented that 'in the composition of music merely instrumental it seems that Handel regarded nothing more than the general effect. … His concertos for violins are in general wanting in that which is the chief excellence of instrumental music in many parts, harmony and fine modulation: in these respects they will stand no comparison with the concertos of Corelli, Geminiani, and Martini [Sammartini]'.[38] However, Burney's view was that the consensus of opinion on Handel's works for violins (i.e. instruments of the violin family) needed to be revised. He thought that more careful analysis of Handel's compositional style, which went beyond the idiomatic and technical writing favoured by his contemporaries, revealed how it pushed the violin and orchestra to new heights of expression. According to Burney, it is the *summa tota* or total effect of Handel's orchestral works that provide the greatest impact for the listener, rather than the technical requirements of individual parts.[39]

> It was the fashion, during his life-time, to regard his compositions for violins, as much inferior to those of Corelli and Geminiani; but I think very unjustly. If those two great masters knew the finger-board and genius of their own instrument better than HANDEL, it must be allowed, *per contra*, that he had infinitely more fire and invention than either of them. …
>
> These three admirable authors, who have so long delighted English ears, have certainly a distinct character and style of composition, wholly dissimilar from each other: they would all, doubtless, have been greatly sublimed by the performance of such a band as that lately assembled [for the 1784 commemoration]; but HANDEL in a superior degree: as the bold designs, masses of harmony, contrast, and constant resources of invention, with which his works abound, require a more powerful agency to develop and display them, than the mild strains of Corelli, or the wilder effusions of Geminiani.
>
> HANDEL sports with a band, and turns it to innumerable unexpected accounts, of which neither Corelli nor Geminiani had ever the least want or conception. He certainly acquired, by writing so long for voices and an opera band, more experience and knowledge of effects than either of these admirable violinists: so that supposing their genius to be equal, these circumstances must turn the scale in his favour. Indeed, HANDEL was always aspiring at *numbers* in his scores and in his Orchestra; and nothing can express his grand conceptions, but an omnipotent band: the generality of his productions in the hands of a few performers, is like the club of Alcides, or the bow of Ulysses, in the hands of a dwarf.

Burney evidently considered Handel to have endowed the violin with vocal and dramatic qualities in his instrumental works through 'writing so long for voices and an opera band', and considered monumental performances the most appropriate avenues for their interpretation. Corelli appears not to have composed for the voice, and while Geminiani circulated parodies of songs, only two known vocal works of his, a short cantata for soprano and an aria for soprano and strings, are known to have survived.[40] Burney refers to 'grand conceptions' in the scaling of a band for the ideal performance of Handel's orchestral works; the strings for 'omnipotent band' employed for the 1784 Handel commemoration in Westminster Abbey numbered 48 first violins, 47 second violins, 26 tenors (violas), 21 violoncellos and 15 double basses.[41] It is possible that

this massive ensemble followed *colla parte* practice, with the enormous wind section employed for this event doubling the strings in the *concerti grossi*. In comparing these numbers to the size of a typical opera orchestra in 1720s London, which had a maximum of eight violins in each section,[42] Burney's classical analogy seems appropriate.

Burney's account of the 1784 commemoration is also seminal in identifying some of the major changes in performance practice and aesthetics which took place in the relatively short space of time between the end of Handel's working life and the event itself. The constructional changes in the violin which took place gradually over the course of the eighteenth century, and particularly during its second half, such as the angling back of the neck by several degrees and the lengthening of the fingerboard, the thickening of the internal resonating bass-bar, and the move from heavy equal-tension stringing to a graduated tension across the four strings (with highest tension on the E string),[43] resulted in a profound interpretative shift in the performance of early eighteenth-century repertoire. This was the period in which interest in 'ancient music' was widespread, involving revivals of music composed only several decades earlier as well as older works, and during which the celebration of recently-deceased composers such as Handel became a national industry, in performance and publication.[44] The rival music histories of Hawkins and Burney both extolled the virtues of Handel; Hawkins went so far as to assert that 'modern' music had gone the wrong way after the death of Handel, and concluded his history at the death of the violinist-composer Geminiani.[45] Burney extolled Handel, but, being less stylistically conservative than his rival Hawkins, saw Handel's work as a stepping-stone in the evolution of music. It was Burney, furthermore, who was chosen to write the official account of the commemoration of Handel's centenary.[46] The monumentalisation of Handel that this event embodied also coincided with a proposal to publish the first complete edition of Handel's compositions.[47]

In his description of the performances of certain concertos, Burney provided early fuel for arguments concerning stylistic change that were taken up by advocates of the historically informed performance movement in the second half of the twentieth century. 'The Solo parts of this movement [*Andante*, in the 'XIth GRAND CONCERTO', from Opus 6] were thought more brilliant, than easy and natural to the bow and fingerboard, forty-years ago. … The whole Concerto was played in a very chaste and superior manner, by Mr. Cramer; and it is but justice to this great performer to say, that with a hand which defies every possible difficulty, he plays the productions of old masters with a reverential purity and simplicity, that reflect equal honour upon his judgment, good taste, and understanding.'[48] Thus a violinist playing works written no more than a few generations previously, using equipment with only slight modifications but employing technical aspects which had changed drastically, already played in accordance with new interpretative standards, and no longer drove his instrument to the very extent of its expressive capabilities, pushing it to its physical limits; he apparently became rather more 'reverential' in his performance of old music.

Burney's account of the performance points out a certain aesthetic simplicity, which had already crept into the interpretation of older repertoire; the 'chaste and superior manner' adopted for certain works (which may formerly have been regarded as the most virtuosic pieces of the day) may refer to their performance without ornamentation,[49] a notion that was supported by Burney's reference to the 'reverential purity and simplicity' with which they were played. Paradoxically, the formation, through antiquarianism, of a non-ecclesiastical canon of 'ancient' music in the late eighteenth century, led to a certain dampening of the freshness of compositional and technical innovations. Pietro Castrucci's music, which was considered too 'mad' for his own days but too 'sober' by the time that Burney was compiling his *General History*, is another apposite example of how the simultaneous accumulation of musical works and the accretion of public familiarity with them may have contributed to a style of performance that was perhaps more austere and restrained than it had been in the past.

Conclusion

The music of Handel has been standard fare for professional violinists from the early eighteenth century to the present. However, Handel stands out as a prominent eighteenth-century composer who wrote relatively few solo sonatas for the violin and no fully-fledged solo concerto. Why, then, should his relationship with this instrument be revisited? Evidently, his greatest contribution to the evolution of the instrument (in pushing its technical capacities to greater limits through composition and performance) was his patronage of leading violinists of his time, his swift

production of orchestral and chamber repertoire that provided a vehicle for virtuosic performance by these luminaries, and his role in propelling the development of the profession of concert violinist by offering opportunities for solo performances within his own large-scale works. Violinists also brought their own repertoire to play within Handel's performances. We should remember that the performance of solo instrumental interludes in oratorios during the eighteenth century is a part of early modern performance history that has been largely overlooked; it is an aspect of historical performance practice that could be applied more often in concert halls today.

As orchestral concerti and works for solo violin with continuo approached greater heights of sophistication in the first half of the eighteenth century, Handel's role as composer, publisher, and performer/director of this type of repertoire was seminal and innovative. Never confining himself to just one aspect of the music industry of the times, he was heavily involved in both sacred and secular music-making; he was also an erudite man of letters whose connection with pan-European musical developments and the most renowned performers and scholars of the day bore abundant fruits in his compositions. If the keyboard remained his constant musical companion and fount of inspiration, and the voice an important tool of expression and drama, then it was the violin which surrounded and complemented these fundamental bases of his genius.

I would like to thank Peter Holman for his helpful comments on a draft of this essay.

[1] Christopher Hogwood, *Handel* (London, 1984), 15, 19.

[2] John Mainwaring, *Memoirs of the life of the Late George Frideric Handel* (London, 1760), 59.

[3] The original will and codicils are kept at the The National Archives, and come from Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (Wills and Letters of Administration), PROB 1/14. Their description reads as follows: 'Will of George Frederic Handel 1 June 1750. Includes four codicils, dated 6 August 1756, 22 March 1757, 4 August 1757 and 11 April 1759, and two affidavits, one by William Brinck and Edward Cavendish, dated 23 April 1759 and one by John Duburck, dated 24 April 1759.'

[4] Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 2 vols (New York, 1963 [orig. pub. London, 1776]), ii, 913.

[5] Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey, and the Pantheon: May 26th, 27th, 29th; and June the 3d, and 5th, 1784. In commemoration of Handel* (London, 1785), 'Sketch of the life of Handel', *2. For a translation of the relevant text by Mattheson, see Donald Burrows, *Handel*, 2nd edn. (New York, 2012), 21.

[6] Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, 33.

[7] Burney, 'Sketch of the Life of Handel', in *An Account*, *2.

[8] Hogwood, *Handel*, 32. Handel experimented with certain orchestral effects throughout his life; Burney went so far as to claim that Handel was 'the first to make violins play *all'ottava*'. Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period. To which is prefixed, A Dissertation on the Music of the Ancients*, 4 vols (London, 1776–1789), iv, 423.

[9] Mainwaring reports that 'the issue of the trial on the harpsichord hath been differently reported. It has been said that some gave the preference to SCARLATTI. However, when they came to the Organ there was not the least pretence for doubting to which of them it belonged. SCARLATTI himself declared the superiority of his antagonist, and owned ingenuously, that till he had heard him upon this instrument, he had no conception of its powers. So greatly was he struck with his peculiar method of playing, that he followed him all over Italy, and was never so happy as when he was with him.' Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, 60. See also Burrows, *Handel*, 44–5.

[10] See Burrows, *Handel*, 45.

[11] The 'Gloria patri' of Handel's *Dixit dominus* HWV 232, for instance, opens for the first violins on an e-flat^3 and several times takes them one tone higher, to an f^3. The raging of Lucifer in *La Resurezzione* occasions the use of extremely rapid scalic passages in demi-semiquavers, to registral extremes.

[12] Peter Holman, personal communication, 1 February 2013.

[13] Donald Burrows, 'Handel as a Concerto Composer', *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Donald Burrows (Cambridge, 1997), 199.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, 55–7. On this incident, see Hogwood, *Handel*, 33–4, and Burrows, *Handel*, 40–1.

[16] Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, 57.

[17] On this piece, see Burrows, 'Handel as a Concerto Composer', 199–200.

[18] Hogwood, *Handel*, 33–4. Burrows remarks that there are reasons to doubt that this piece was the original overture to the oratorio, but states that it dates from Handel's Italian period. See Burrows, 'Handel as a Concerto Composer', 200, 319n14.

[19] Diary of George Harris (referring to a dinner with Handel, Charles Jennens, and Harris), quoted in Burrows, *Handel*, 483.

[20] Owain Edwards and Simon McVeigh, 'Castrucci, Pietro', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, v, 273. Most notably, the brothers were renowned for developing the *violette marine*, probably a type of viola d'amore, for which Handel designated a number of *obbligato* lines in *Ezio* and *Sosarme* (January and February 1732), and *Orlando* and *Deborah* (January and March 1733). Ibid. Edwards and McVeigh have suggested that this instrument is possibly the 'English violet' (with seven strings and fourteen sympathetic strings) to which Leopold Mozart made reference in his treatise *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter, 1756), chapter 1, section 2.

[21] Burney, *A General History*, iv, 659.

[22] Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, volume 2, 891. A version of this story, headed 'Handelian Manœuvre', was also given by Thomas Busby in *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes of Music and Musicians, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1825), ii, 258–59.

[23] David Hunter, 'The Irish State Music from 1716 to 1742 and Handel's Band in Dublin', *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 11 (2006), 179. See also David Hunter, 'Handel among the Jacobites', *Music & Letters* 82.4 (2001), 548.

[24] Ian Bartlett, 'Clegg, John', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vi, 27.

[25] 'About the year 1737, poor Castrucci, Hogarth's enraged musician, was superseded at the Opera-house in favour of Festing, not Clegg, as has been said.' Burney, *A General History*, iv, 658–59.

[26] Ibid., iv, 659, note (b).

[27] Hawkins, *A General History*, ii, 847. Geminiani was shy of the public eye, and rarely seen in performance; Burney noted that 'Geminiani was seldom heard in public during his long residence in England'; much of his time was probably taken up in teaching. See Burney, *A General History of Music*, iv, 643; Enrico Careri, *Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762)* (Oxford, 1993), 9.

[28] Careri, *Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762)*, 69.

[29] Dubourg accepted the post of Master and Composer of State Music in Ireland, which had been previously turned down by Geminiani.

[30] Burrows, *Handel*, 583. Codicil 11 April 1759, Will of George Frideric Handel, The National Archives, PROB 1/14.

[31] Peter Holman, personal communication, 1 February 2013.

[32] Hawkins, *A General History*, ii, 892.

[33] Burney, *An Account*, 'Sketch of the life of Handel', 42.

[34] Olmsted notes that 'the public concert … became the most important means for [musicians] presenting themselves and new musical material to the public.' Anthony A. Olmsted, 'The Capitalization of Musical Production: The Conceptual and Spatial Development of London's Public Concerts, 1660–1750', *Music and Marx: Ideas, Practice, Politics*, ed. Regula Burckhardt Qureshi (New York and London, 2002), 126.

[35] John Walter Hill, 'Veracini, Francesco Maria', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, xxvi, 420; Leendert Haasnoot, 'Hellendaal, Pieter', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, xi, 341.

[36] Burney, *An Account*, 67. He is probably referring to semiquaver passages in the first concertino violin, in bars 28–37, 52–60, and 69–74.

[37] A passage typifying this is found in bars 44–50 of the second movement (*Allegro*) of the Sonata in D major for violin and continuo, HWV 371.

[38] Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, ii, 914.

[39] Burney, *An Account*, 105–7.

[40] One is 'a short cantata for soprano, *Nella stagione appunto*, probably composed in Rome or Naples before he left for London.' Enrico Careri, 'Geminiani, Francesco', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ix, 643. The other (not mentioned by Careri) is the aria 'Primo Cesare ottomano' for soprano and strings, in John Stafford Smith's *Musica Antiqua* (London: Preston, 1812), ii, 208–11. Thanks to Peter Holman for pointing out the latter work. Melodies by Geminiani were also arranged as songs (Holman, personal communication, 1 February 2013).

[41] See Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances*, 18–21.

[42] See the listings of instrument numbers in the table 'London Theater Orchestras, 1708–1818', in John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815* (New York, 2004), 280–81.

[43] See Oliver Webber, *Rethinking Gut Strings: A Guide for Players of Baroque Instruments* (Huntingdon, 2006).

[44] On the emergence of the canon of 'ancient music' and its reception, see William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford, 1992).

[45] Hawkins, *A General History*, i, v.

[46] The centenary of 1784 was based on a miscalculation of the year of Handel's birth. Mainwaring mentioned Handel's birthdate as '24th February 1684' on the first page of his 1760 biography; the Handel monument in Westminster Abbey, made by Roubiliac in 1761, still bears the birthdate February XIII. MDCLXXXIV. In England until 1751, the new year was considered to begin on 25 March (Lady Day—the Feast of the Annunciation—exactly nine months before Christmas).

[47] An advertisement (dated 22 June 1783) within Burney's *Account* called for subscribers to invest in a work of 'Eighty Folio volumes, containing one with another, near One Hundred and Fifty Pages each.' Burney, *An Account*, 47. For more on the history of Handel's music in collected editions, see Annette Landgraf, 'Editing Handel: Collected Editions Past and Present, and Current Approaches', *EMP*, 26 (2010), 4–8.

[48] Burney, *An Account*, 67.

[49] Peter Holman, personal communication, 1 February 2013.

Recreating Estwick

Alon Schab

In November 1995, at the height of the Purcell tercentenary publication boom, Andrew Pinnock commented that 'media attention tends to glamorize the work of the editor: yesterday's quiet custodian is reborn as a romantic adventurer, god-like Henry's representative on earth. He'll compose inner parts, drum parts, lost movements in impeccable style; and if Purcell had left whole manuscript books blank, ... whole works might be reconstructed with recourse to the ouija board'.[1] When Alan Howard approached me (a young musicologist already brought up on such post-romantic views of our often-romanticized profession) with the challenge to reconstruct, independently of one another, a fragmentary sonata by one of Purcell's near contemporaries, the stolen water was simply too sweet not to plunge in.

Appearing in the previous issue of *EMP* as the supplement, and with an accompanying companion article, Howard's 'recreation' of the A minor trio sonata by Sampson Estwick—only the first violin part of which survives—can be seen as a partner to my own presented here and complete (score and parts) online.[2] While the two recreations were produced for the same reasons, and aim primarily to please performers and listeners, my article offers a different focus to that of Howard. Howard's article concentrated on 'some of the details which facilitated [his] 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'.[3] The present article compares selected passages from the two recreations, analyses the range of possible interpretations of some passages in the surviving part,[4] and discusses more generally how contrapuntal technique guides harmonic thinking and vice versa.

Howard's analysis of the surviving first violin part highlights aspects of its musical material that allowed him, in a certain sense, to 'predict' the makeup of the lost parts—in particular, the capacity of melodic cells, in the surviving part, to admit passages of invertible counterpoint, and their ability to define the phrase lengths. This apparent predictability supports the view that seventeenth-century contrapuntists (Purcell being their most obvious exponent) worked with musical materials that led, implicitly, to effective contrapuntal structures, and that in effect, 'pre-compositional' stages played a significant role in their craft. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that a seventeenth-century composer would have created a three-part piece solely by working 'around' a single part in the manner of our reconstructions, despite the sweeping generalization, made by Purcell himself, that composers sometimes worked by adding a part or parts to an existing part or parts: 'Formerly they used to Compose from the *Bass*, but Modern Authors Compose to the *Treble* when they make *Counterpoint* or *Basses* to Tunes or Songs.'[5]

Submitting slavishly to Purcell's own words has its disadvantages. While 'The Art of Descant' is an unusually generous source of theoretical insight, its declared pedagogical aims are sometimes neglected (it gives just two examples of four-parts canons in order to 'show the Method of making them' and does not give any commentary on the examples; it claims that 'Composing upon a *Ground* ... is a very easie thing to do' without elaborating).[6] Moreover, the sincerity of Purcell's pedagogical project may sometimes be questioned altogether, if one wonders as to the motivation behind the enthusiastic praise given to his predecessors Bevin and Simpson, whose books may still have been on sale in the publisher's shop 'near the *Temple* Church'.[7]

It is possible that Purcell's remark regarding composition 'to the treble' refers specifically to simple airs, while more elaborate genres, such as the trio sonata, required a different method. Indeed, when a composer writes a treble part that is intended to work within the framework of triple invertible counterpoint, the compositional process, by definition, entails the envisioning of

a three-part polyphonic texture; or, in other words, within the treble part there would have been an 'encoded' outline of the remaining two parts (either written down or in one's memory). Even in the unlikely case that anyone in the seventeenth-century wrote a trio sonata 'part by part', it would not have made sense to start with the first violin, but rather with the bass.

There is an essential difference between the process of recreating a sonata from its first violin part, and how I believe Estwick went about composing his trio sonata, which was conceivably a more piecemeal approach, involving his envisioning of discrete portions of three-part contrapuntal texture, rather than the entire sonata or even movements. Hence the limited guilt I feel about employing anachronistic common-practice terminology in the present article, especially with regards to harmonic analysis. The undertaking of parallel reconstructions, rounded-off by *post facto* comparison and analysis (perhaps taking our cue from Mr. Byrd and Mr. Alfonso),[8] was perceived by myself and Howard as a worthy, if an unusual, study experience not to be missed.

The study of a surviving part from a fragmentary trio sonata, and the recreation of performable works based on it, offers a challenge to those who undertake such recreation, to those who perform the results—and not least, to listeners. The finished works may, indeed, lead us to an examination of concepts such as 'the musical work', and notions of 'originality', 'creativity', or even of 'authenticity'. It is ironic that an editor's inability to refer to a finished authoritative exemplar makes the product of such an experiment—a recreation, let alone a reconstruction—easier to accept in today's artistic climate. Audiences tend to be more receptive to reconstructions (even when the reconstructed portions dwarf the original fragment), while works that are composed 'in impeccable style' from top to bottom are often frowned upon, not before being stamped with the derogatory label 'pastiche', if not instantly dismissed.

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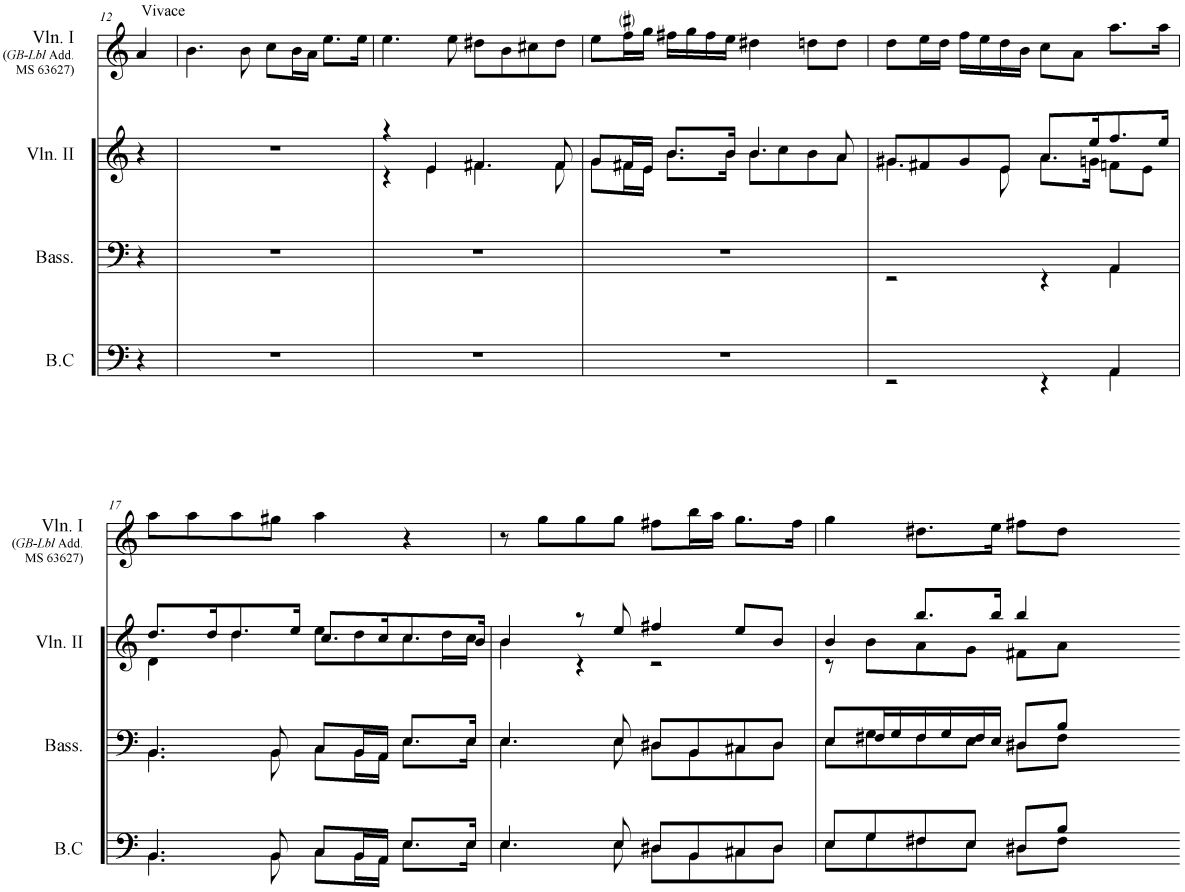
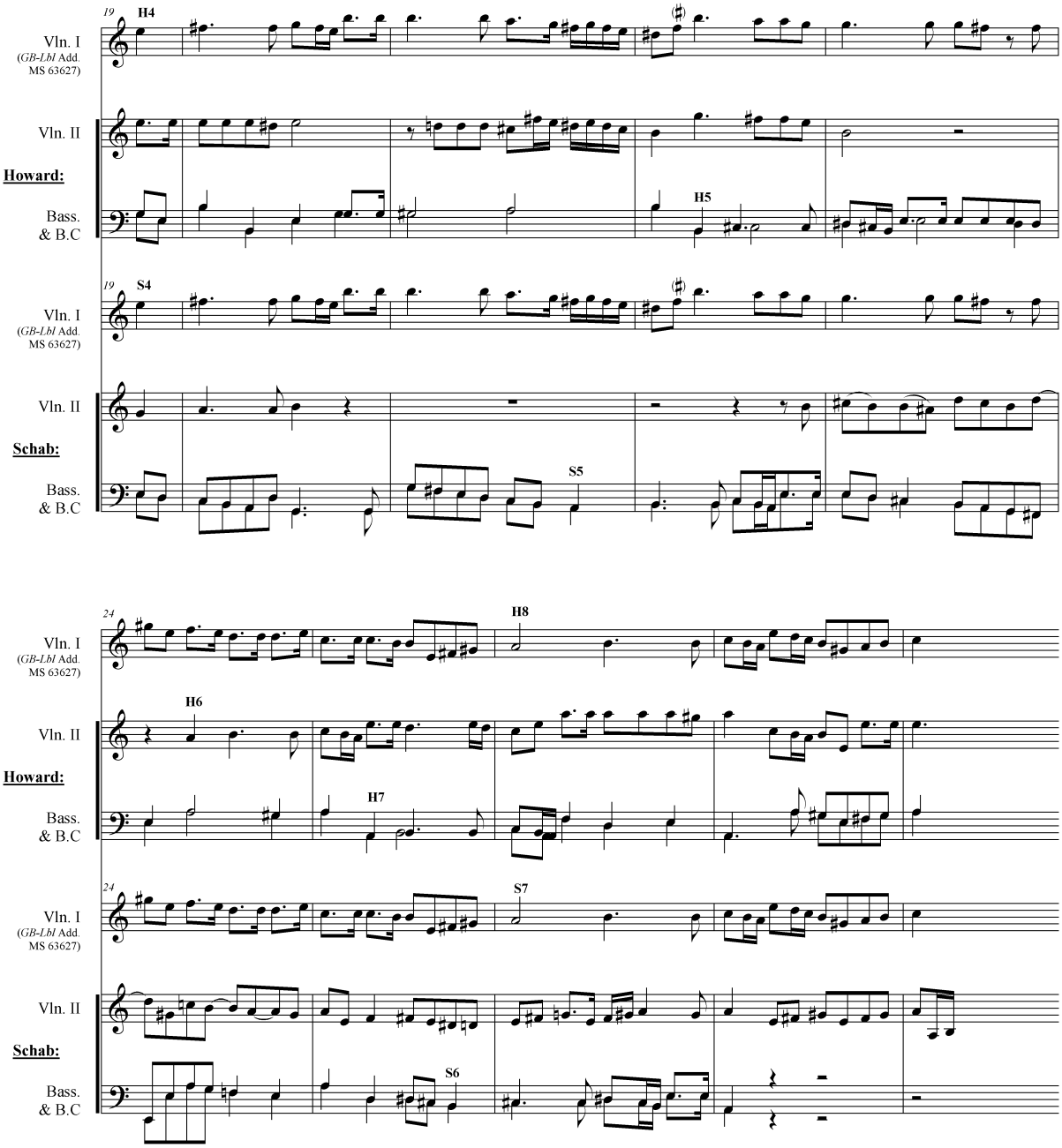


Ex. 1. Sampson Estwick, Sonata, second movement, bb. 12–19, with reconstructed Violin II, Bassus and B.C parts by Alan Howard (upward stems) and Alon Schab (downward stems)

It is sometimes possible to test how successful a composer, or editor, has been in their efforts to produce a 'just' imitation of a work in a specific style. Towards the end of his article, Howard writes that '[it] would be stating the obvious to say that fugal movements are in some senses easier to recreate', one of the reasons being 'the necessity for entries in the remaining parts'.[9] This relative 'ease' is significant, since while seemingly limiting an editor's fancy, it actually allows the editor (or, indeed, a critic) to go so far as to deem certain passages in a recreation not just 'correct' within a specific style, but to be 'authentic' reconstruction. The stricter protocol of the opening exposition of a fugue almost 'dictates' a single correct resolution of the missing parts, or at least a single 'gist'. Indeed, when the two recreations are compared, the similarity of their respective openings (bb. 12–19) becomes evident (see Ex. 1).



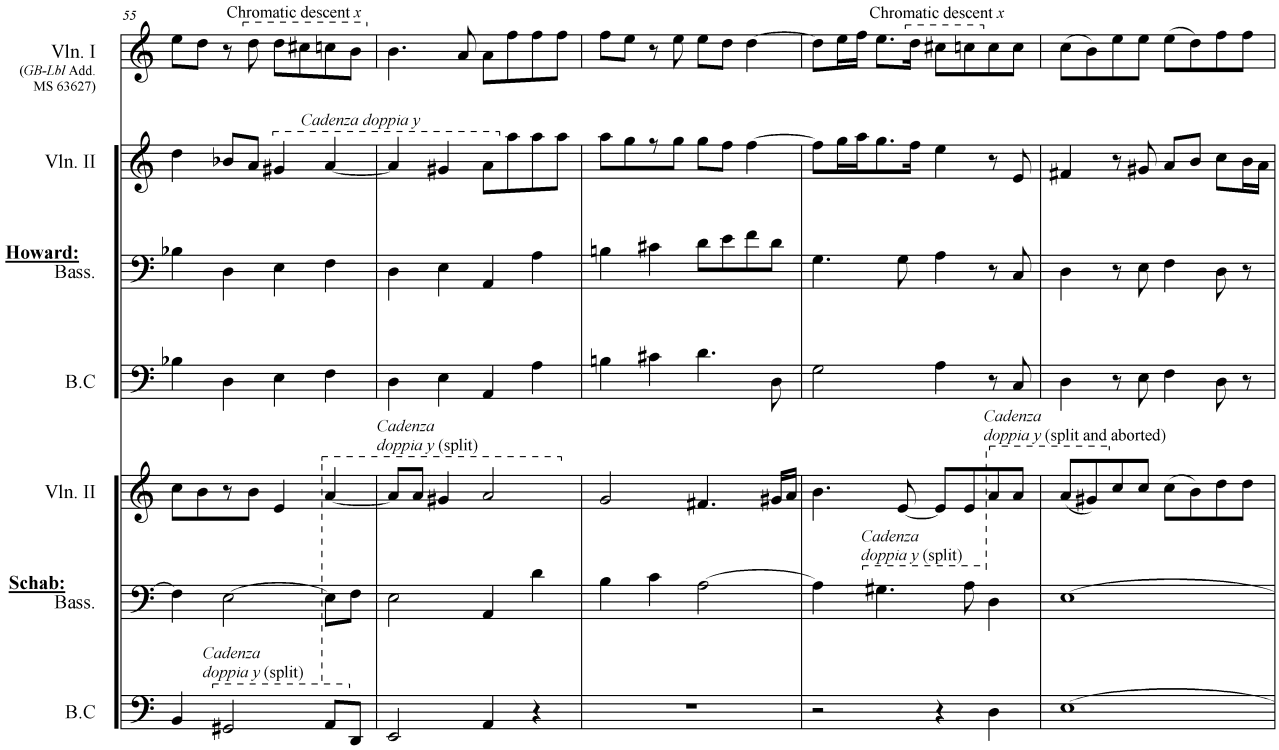
Ex. 2. Sampson Estwick, Sonata, second movement, bb. 20–28, with reconstructed Violin II, Bassus and B.C parts by Alan Howard and Alon Schab. Entrances of the subject marked H4–H8 and S4–S7 respectively.

Ease of reconstruction, and increased chances of 'authentic' reconstruction, are also particularly likely to occur at opening gambits and at cadences in a fugue (as is also the case at cadence points in other movement types), since their formulaic nature similarly 'dictates' how to go about it. Other sections, however, allow considerable freedom, and hence give scope to mul-

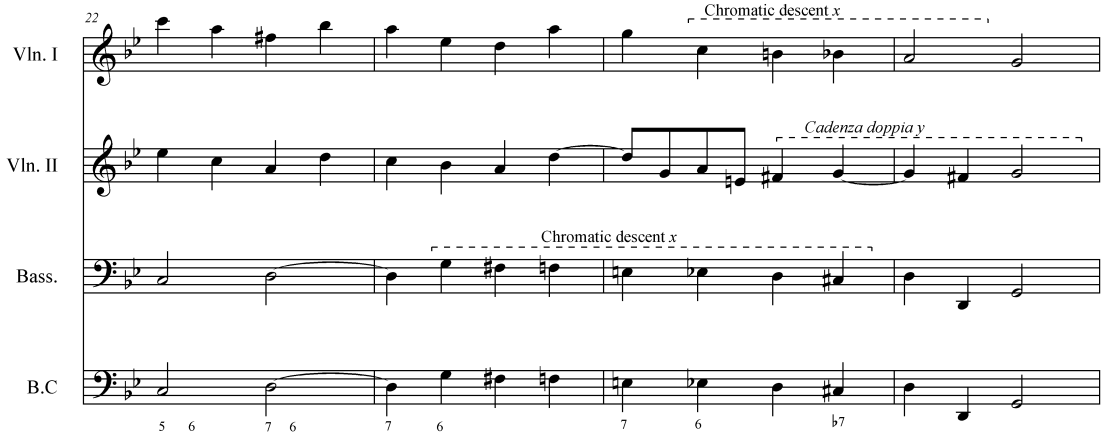
tiple solutions that are valid. The bars that immediately follow the aforementioned exposition (bb. 20–27) show how, despite a common violin part, each recreation may take a different course (see Ex. 2). Howard's reconstruction is denser contrapuntally, presenting five entrances of the subject in eight bars (marked H4–H8 on the example), compared to only four entrances in my reconstruction (marked S4–S7 on the example). Note that, unlike in bars 12–19, there are more differences than similarities between the two reconstructions: none of the three entrances set by Howard in the parts he reconstructed (H5–H7) coincides with those set by me (S5–S6). The identification of contrapuntal potential varies considerably from one observer to another—even the respective attempts to create a compromised *stretto* entrance (H6–H7 and S6–S7) are dissimilar.

The sum of all subject entries, their implied harmonizations, and how they are distributed in the surviving part, also implies, perhaps even determines, the large-scale harmonic structure of the movement. In the case of the Vivace movement (bb. 12–38), one may observe an alternation of tonic and dominant implied by the first violin part: i (b. 13); v (b. 15); i (b. 17); v (b. 19); i (b. 26); i (b. 31); i (b. 38). However, the recreator's free hand in placing subject entrances in the reconstructed parts has tremendous effect on 'surface' harmony: particulars of each harmonic progression, between the modulations from tonic to dominant, and vice versa, have the potential to vary greatly. In my recreation, the lack of entrances in bars 23–4 allows for a 'sharp' transition through B minor and A minor, enhanced melodically by the prescribed juxtaposition of *f″ sharp* (b. 23, fourth beat) and *f″* (b. 24, second beat). But the same juxtaposition can be interpreted otherwise: Howard sets a tonal answer (H5) in bar 22, thus forcing an E minor interpretation on bar 23, from whence the transition to the A minor interpretation of bar 24 is simpler (E minor being 'closer' to A minor than B minor is on the circle of fifths). Subject entrances—even those decided upon by the editor by virtue of their structural primacy over free counterpoint—give some licence in the treatment of the other parts. Howard's subject entry in the second violin part at bar 24 (H6) may be seen as 'softening' the effect of the juxtaposition *f″ sharp–f″*, since the entry 'requires' A minor harmonies, with the result that it no longer appears to be simply 'colouristic' in nature. In general, Howard's harmonic progressions are smoother and, from quite early on in the project, he and I referred to them as having a certain 'Corellian' character. By contrast, I opted for greater freedom, reinterpreting the harmony of subject entries such as S4. My G major interpretation of S4 hints that the tonal plan is moving forward at a relatively early stage of the movement (the validity of harmonic reinterpretation of a subject is a matter of debate with regards to style).

One feature, in fact a chord, shared by the two reconstructions, merits some discussion, since it is an unusual one from the point of view of common practice style, and perhaps betrays the influence of seventeenth-century 'harmonic language' on the two editors. Bars 55–58 require the editor to twice devise a convincing harmonisation of the violin's chromatic descent *d″–c″sharp–c″ natural* (see Ex. 3). The two recreations offer four solutions of two types altogether: 1) a momentary major-mode shading of the tonic, preceding its inevitable reversion to the minor (Howard, bar 58); and 2) the simultaneous use of a descending chromatic line and a *cadenza doppia* (G sharp–A–G sharp–A), either complete or aborted, in another part (Howard, bar 55; Schab, bars 55 and 58). In both cases, for want of better terminology, the chord that is formed at the point *c-sharp* appears momentarily, may be called 'sharp iii', whereby the root of the chord (diatonically a chord of C major), and the fifth of the chord (in the bass), are sharpened. Although often heard momentarily, the chord has a special character, and is common in Purcell's instrumental output: it is for this reason that I wish to assign it a label that adopts Roman-numeral terminology, which would normally have greater meaning for music in a more rigorous tonal framework. Despite its frequent appearances, and its incompatibility with later common practice harmony, the chord is rarely discussed even when scholars focus on Purcell's harmonic curiosities.[10] We find the idiom used in several variants: in three-part texture (in the first movement of Sonata 8 from *Ten Sonata's in Four Parts* (1697), bb. 23–25); in four-part texture (Overture to *The Rival Sisters*, bb. 87–90); in four-part texture with a high bass assigned to the tenor (Chacony Z. 730, bb. 86–88); in an unlikely four-six inversion (B-Flat Pavan Z.750, bb. 22–24); and in the major mode (A major Pavan Z.748, bb. 11–13).



Ex. 3. Sampson Estwick, Sonata, third movement, bb. 55–59, with reconstructed Violin II, Bassus and B.C parts by Alan Howard and Alon Schab. Chromatic descents and *cadenza doppia* patterns marked.



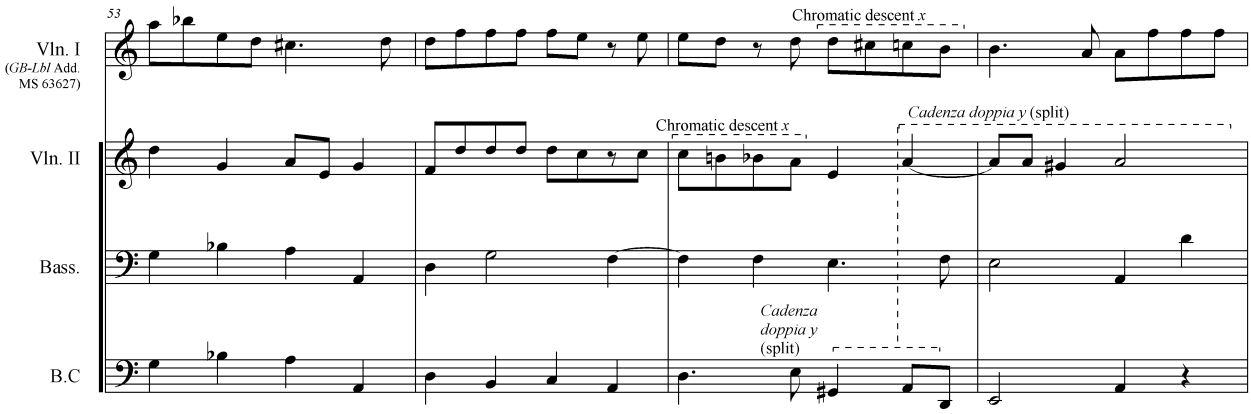
Ex. 4. Purcell, 1697 Sonata 8, first movement, bb. 22–25. Chromatic descents and *cadenza doppia* patterns marked.

In order to remain within the generic boundaries, let us examine the example from the Sonata 8 (see Ex. 4). The example combines the chromatic descent (4–sharp-3–natural-3–2), labelled 'x', and a *cadenza doppia*, labelled 'y'. Note that the bass descent to the dominant, beginning in bar 22, is through an equivalent chromatic descent, labelled 'x' (8–sharp-7–natural-7–6–flat-6–5). The fact that 'x' appears in imitation is not a mere coincidence: in several of the examples cited above (the Overture to *The Rival Sisters* and the Pavans) as well as in numerous examples from the composer's vocal output (the short ritornello ending Dido's Lament, the symphony song *Hark how the wild musicians sing* (bb. 204–215)) the chromatic descent appears in another part either before or following the appearance of the 'sharp iii' chord.[11] It is also important to mention that, in the vast majority of cases, the idiom appears towards the end of a section or a piece.

It follows that even in sections that do not entail fugal imitation, the task of reconstructing a trio sonata 'to a treble' exceeds the boundaries of 'harmonizing a given melody' (as in a harmony class) and requires close attention to counterpoint. In this case, for example, one may ask if the use of the 'sharp iii' is properly treated from the contrapuntal perspective. In Howard's recreation, it is evident that the editor interpreted

only the earlier sharpened third (bar 55) as approaching a cadence, while the later example (bar 58) is interpreted as a local point of cadential arrival. But should the tendency of the 'sharp-iii' chord to appear towards the end of a movement somehow suggest that both appearances should be treated similarly? Would it be more 'authentic', stylistically, to postpone the appearance of the chord so that it occurs closer to the end of the movement?

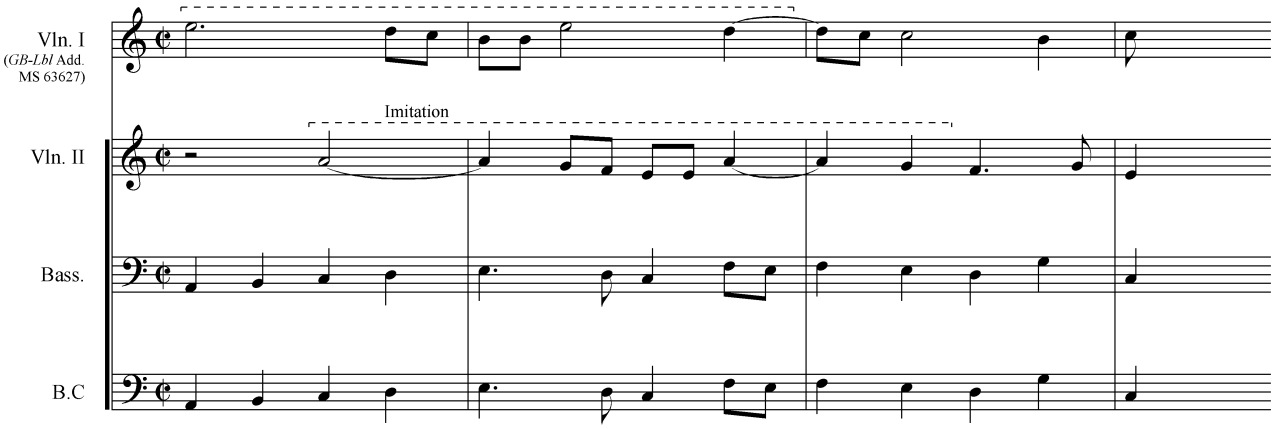
A similar question regarding the interpretation of the 'sharp iii' may be asked with regards to my own recreation: would it be more appropriate, somehow, to prepare the first violin's chromatic descent? If the 'sharp iii' is a chord that arises from a compositional practice that is fundamentally contrapuntal in conception, perhaps the second violin should foreshadow the descent (see Ex. 5)? This is an example where a local harmonic solution has 'projected' upon its surrounding bars by suggesting an imitative treatment that would not necessarily have jumped out of the page otherwise.



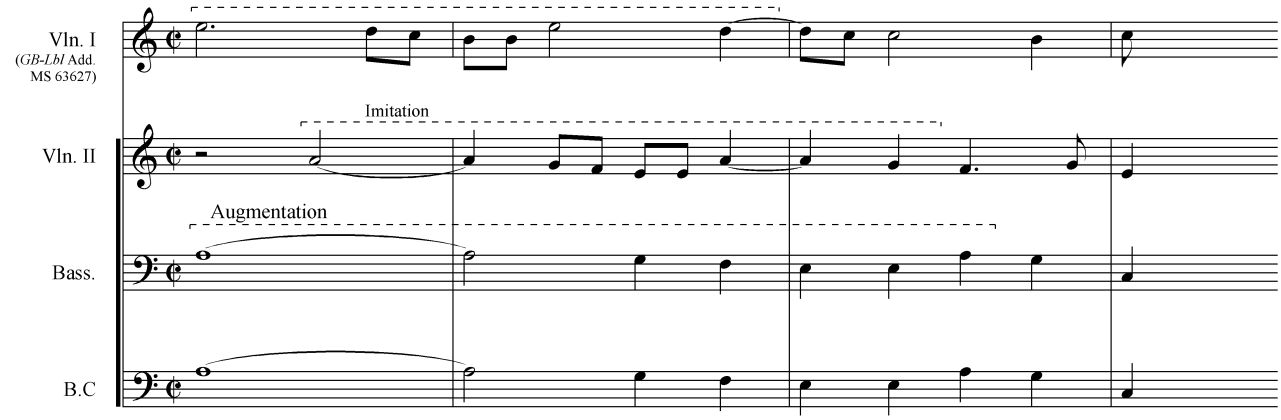
Ex. 5. Sampson Estwick, Sonata, third movement, bb. 53–56, alternative reconstruction of Violin II, Bassus and B.C parts. Chromatic descents and *cadenza doppia* patterns marked.

One of the principal concerns in both reconstructions of the fast movements—the 'correct' identification of contrapuntal complexes—contrasts with our approach to slow movements, particularly the first movement, which was perceived by both of us as demonstrating 'good air' rather than artifice—smooth harmonic progression rather than intricate polyphony. But first movements, at least in Purcell, are sometimes much more than a simple *exordium*, and Canzona movements are not necessarily his most impressive contrapuntal masterworks. More often, Purcell reveals his best imitative complexes right at the beginning of his sonatas, in slower movements (notable examples are the openings of Sonatas 2, 6, 7 from the 1683 collection, and of Sonata 4 from the 1697 collection).

Both Howard and I interpreted bars 1–4 of the surviving violin part as a harmonic progression from i to III, and both of us tried to use parallel thirds in our reconstructed second violin parts, a technique that Purcell himself found 'smoothest' and recommended it, being 'the constant practice of the Italians in all their Musick ... which ... ought to be a guide to us[.]'[12] But this approach implies that the second violin, merely shadowing the first violin part in thirds, would be of secondary importance, while in many of Purcell's opening movements this is far from being the case. It is possible to weave the subject into the second violin part, with the resulting imitation shaking the primacy of the first violin, thus conforming with Purcell's instruction that 'if you Compose *Sonata's*, there one *Treble* has as much Predominancy as the other[.]' (see Ex. 6).[13] It should be pointed out, however, that at least in Purcell's surviving 22 Sonatas (a corpus that dominates the English trio sonata repertory, notwithstanding their quality), there is no opening movement where strict imitation between the two violins is accompanied by an independent bass line, a trait that does appear in my Ex. 6. In Purcell's sonatas that open with fugal expositions, the bass usually enters with the subject only after the two violins present it (1683 Sonatas 1, 5, 8, 10 and 1697 Sonata 4). There are only two exceptions: 1683 Sonata 2, where the Violin 1 is silent when Violin 2 enters, and in 1697 Sonata 5, which is a ground bass (and hence subject to a different set of generic characteristics).



Ex. 6. Sampson Estwick, Sonata, first movement, bb. 1–4, alternative reconstruction of Violin II, Bassus and B.C parts, involving imitation.



Ex. 7. Estwick, Sonata, I, bb. 1–4, alternative reconstruction of Violin II, Bassus and B.C parts, involving imitation and augmentation.

However, there are works where Purcell employed imitation *per augmentation*, in which cases the second violin employs either simple imitation (Symphony to 'How Pleasant is the Flow'ry Plain'), compromised inversion (1683 Sonata 7) or an additional augmentation (1683 Sonata 6). In fact, the subject of Estwick's Sonata allows simultaneous augmentation (see Ex. 7). Even if in terms of harmonic progression it may be argued that the 'cogency of the musical argument' (a lovely metaphor from yet another classic article on Purcell's Sonatas)[14] is not as strong as one might expect from an opening gambit, the harmonies are not at all 'out of style' (they actually bear some resemblance to the concluding chorus of Carissimi's *Jephte*). Nevertheless, one should bear in mind how unusual such an artificial opening is, even in Purcell's music.

* * * *

There is irony (perhaps even hypocrisy) in our tendency to stretch a dividing line between, on the one hand, the practice of reconstructing musical fragments (a legitimate, nay, often necessary one), and, on the other, the composing of an entire work 'in the style of ...'. That dividing line is, indeed, not very thick, especially when we consider the equivalent creative decisions that often have to be made, according to historically-informed principles or otherwise, in the performance of this repertoire: performers regularly have to, for instance, add unwritten continuo realisations, and have to make intuitive decisions regarding tempi, articulation and dynamics.[15]

How should works ranging from Largo movements requiring 'proper' ornamentation, through recreations of fragmentary works, to newly composed or improvised voluntaries or ricercars be assessed from the point of view of 'authenticity'? Time and again, this question raises heated debates, often steeped in prejudice, and with either tacit acceptance or subconscious rejection of the romantic ideals regarding composers and their works. One way of confronting the problem is to consider the nature of music criticism and its relationship to historical time. In a concise treatise, art historian Erwin Panofsky

reflected upon the nature of historical time and argued that:[16]

... for the historian the conception of time as well as the conception of space are for the most part nothing other than a unity of meaning (and for the art historian in particular, nothing other than a unity of style) that shapes a discrete group of isolated phenomena and ties them together into a network of phenomena.

Later on, he demonstrated that point by saying:

If a connoisseur, whose judgment ultimately implicitly contains everything that the analysis of an art historian explicitly carries out, identifies a sculpture as late gothic, he is able to do this only because he is familiar with an artistic circle within which the stylistic attribution into the later gothic period is possible, and if he identifies it as north German he can do so only because he can cite an artistic period in which this style was possible in northern Germany.[17]

Panofsky's chain of arguments is too rich, too brilliant to be summarised here, but it invites us to reflect upon the nature of stylistic recreation. According to Panofsky, the meaning of an artwork resides within a very specific frame of reference, being conditional upon its relationship to other artworks of a particular period and style. Moreover, the judgement of art historians utilises principles of connoisseurship primarily, which are surely not too dissimilar from those required of stylistic recreation. This raises not only the prospect that stylistic recreations may be true to an artistic style, while originating in times that are chronologically separated from the heyday of that style, but also the idea that chronological separation of that kind may, in certain circumstances, be of limited significance.

The mandate that had been assumed by Howard and by me is not prouder, nor bolder, than that assumed by the average early music performer playing, interpreting and ornamenting a seventeenth-century trio sonata. By the same token, the solutions we propose in our reconstructions are not more definitive than a performance. Our intention in providing readers not with one reconstruction but with two—as well as in discussing problems and insights, and offering additional solutions that were not, in the end, integrated in the reconstructions—was to encourage readers to try for themselves, and to undertake their own solutions, for 'recreating' Estwick.

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[1] Andrew Pinnock, 'Fairest Isle™: Land of the Scholar-Kings', *Early Music* 23/4, Music in Purcell's London I (Nov., 1995), 651–665 (663).

[2] I adopt here Howard's term 'recreation' to describe the result of our compositional efforts. See Alan Howard, 'Sampson Estwick's Trio Sonata in A minor: A Recreation', *EMP* 31 (November 2012), 4–15; Supplement. *EMP* supplements will now appear online, offered as downloads from the *EMP* page of the NEMA website: http://www.earlymusic.info/Performer.php. The first violin part has been edited in Peter Holman and John Cunningham (eds.), *Restoration Trio Sonatas*, The Purcell Society Edition Companion Series, vol. 4 (London, 2012).

[3] Howard, 'Sampson Estwick's Trio Sonata', 4.

[4] GB-Lbl, Add. MS 63627, ff. 1v–2r.

[5] Henry Purcell, 'The Art of Descant', in John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, twelfth edition (London, 1694), 101. Italics are original.

[6] Henry Purcell, 'The Art of Descant', 140; 144.

[7] Henry Purcell, 'The Art of Descant', 114–15; John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, Cover.

[8] At the close of the second part in his *Plaine and Easie Introduction*, Morley describes the 'vertuous contention' between William Byrd and Alfonso Ferrabosco I, 'which caused them strive everie one to surmount another, without malice, envie, or backbiting: but by great labour, studie and paines, ech making other censure of that which they had done'. See Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practical Musick* (London, 1597), 115.

[9] Howard, 'Sampson Estwick's Trio Sonata', 11.

[10] Example 78 in W. Gillies Whittaker, 'Some Observations on Purcell's Harmony', *The Musical Times* 75/1100 (1934): 887–94.

[11] Examples of this idiom in the works of other seventeenth-century composers are many and varied. A few examples chosen at random are Frescobaldi's 'Toccata Cromaticha per l'Elevatione' from *Fiori Musicali* (1635), Froberger's second Toccata of 1649, or Sweelinck's 'A Phrygian' Fantasia.

[12] Henry Purcell, 'The Art of Descant', 115.

[13] Henry Purcell, 'The Art of Descant', 116.

[14] Michael Tilmouth, 'The Technique and forms of Purcell's Sonatas', *Music and Letters*, 40/2 (1959), 109–21 (111).

[15] Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 203–214.

[16] Erwin Panofsky and Johanna Bauman, 'Reflections on Historical Time', *Critical Inquiry* 30/4 (Summer, 2004), 691–701 (695). This article is available for consultation online:
http://criticalinquiry.uchicago.edu/uploads/pdf/Panofsky,_Historical_Time.pdf

[17] Panofsky and Bauman, 'Reflections on Historical Time', 696–7.

Neal Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record: Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, £30
ISBN 978-0-19-538691-2

Rohan H. Stewart-MacDonald

During a piano lesson in 1985 my teacher played me Claude Debussy's own recording of 'Golliwog's Cake Walk', dating from 1913.[1] Debussy's wild fluctuations of tempo and seemingly insouciant disregard for accuracy astonished me. My teacher berated Debussy for his 'appalling' lack of rhythmic control, sternly emphasising that his approach was 'not to be copied', and probably symptomatic of declining health. At no point did either I or my teacher consider Debussy's approach to have been anything other than wayward and eccentric. Neal Peres da Costa's welcome new book provides fresh contexts for such experiences.

Many will be aware of the survival of recordings from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Fewer will have had the chance to sample substantial numbers of these recordings, by such figures as Johannes Brahms (1889), Edvard Grieg (1903), Carl Reinecke (1905), Camille Saint-Saëns (1905) and Ignacy Jan Paderewski (1917). Costa assembles and analyses this material on an unprecedented scale. The ground-breaking nature of the venture is matched by its reliance on internet resources: through a password-protected companion website[2] readers can access extracts from the sound recordings themselves, together with a plethora of additional illustrations. The website itself is commendably navigable (the material appertaining to each chapter is subdivided into audio examples and visual illustrations) and gratifyingly free from extraneous embellishment.

Chapters 2–5 address a succession of aspects of performance style, namely 'dislocation' ('a momentary separation between the left and right hands', p. 45); 'un-notated arpeggiation' ('playing the notes of chords separately where not indicated in the musical text', p. 101); 'metrical rubato', and 'tempo modification'. 'Tempo modification' is construed more broadly than rubato, which Da Costa defines as 'the rhythmic alteration of melody notes while essentially preserving the metrical regularity of the accompaniment' (p. 189). Chapters 2–5 are preceded by an Introduction that includes a concise overview of the development of the historically informed performance movement. There is also an assessment of the impact on performance styles of modern recording techniques, coalescing in the figure of the recording editor, whose 'power of intervention', following Costa's argument, can have a sterilising impact on performers' approaches: ease of editing has led to a 'quest for perfection' that has eradicated those tendencies in earlier recordings that, from today's standpoint, seem extravagant and even quixotic. Most stimulatingly, in the Introduction, Costa surveys the interpretative and ideological problems arising from historically informed performance, acknowledging the impossibility of achieving historical accuracy and suggesting the undesirability of this as an objective. Questioning whether 'historical accuracy or authenticity' is or should be 'the *raison d'être* for the study of performing practices', Costa comments astutely on the capacity of historically informed performance to generate multivalent perspectives and to foster a desirable plurality of vision amongst performers and listeners (p. xxv):

> Whether or not historical accuracy is possible, I—like many others—see great value in arming oneself with as much information as possible about the original performance ideals for any musical work. Through this process the work can be viewed from new or different perspectives, amplifying the choices available in its realization.

According to this, the purpose served by historically informed performance, together with the sources enabling it (like early recordings), is interrogative: it facilitates a greater awareness of alternatives originating from earlier periods that might compete with largely antithetical 'modern' approaches and generates an understanding of

how, when and why and even where those 'modern' approaches might have arisen. When applied to mainstream repertory, historical approaches are capable of injecting vitality into (and derive controversy from) canonical structures prone to immutability. They might also challenge the increasingly procrustean set of social and performing conventions surrounding modern concert life that have had such a suppressing effect on the types of behaviour, amongst performers and audiences that existed in earlier periods—provoking David Rowland's simple but compelling statement, that 'Generally speaking, concert life was a much more exciting phenomenon in the nineteenth century than it is now'.[3]

The first main chapter, and in some ways the most fascinating, charts the history of early recording, both acoustic and on piano rolls, leavened with vivid portrayals of the makeshift, sometimes bizarre, conditions arising from them: Costa quotes Joe Batten's description of a studio with an upright piano on a five-foot-high rostrum, stripped down to maximise the sound output; the music was hand-held for the performer in the absence of a music stand (p. 15).[4] In one orchestral recording session, in order to direct their bells towards the recording horn, brass players had to face away from the conductor, watching him in a mirror; and at the same session, to record an obbligato, the first flautist left his seat to 'dash round and take his place alongside the singer, and then rush back to his stand' (p. 19).[5] The time constraints of wax discs led to unreasonably fast tempi or even the drastic truncation of longer musical works, sometimes to two-thirds of their original length.

Costa structures each of the subsequent chapters by introducing the central topic and then elaborating it, firstly with reference to contemporary and earlier writings, and then via close analysis of the recordings themselves. This proves to be an efficacious means of historically situating the performing practices exemplified by the recordings. In Chapter 2 dislocation between the hands is connected with the traditions of French vocalists, lutenists and harpsichord players; in Chapter 3, un-notated arpeggiation is interpreted as an outgrowth of earlier keyboard practices, as codified in the writings of Johann Baptist Cramer (1771–1858), and as practiced by continuo players. Costa even finds precedents for rubato in Medieval sources like the *Robertsbridge Fragment* (c. 1320) (p. 236). Elsewhere he exploits the parallels between singing and pianistic approaches established by the writings of important figures, among them the singing teacher Manuel García (1805–1906) and the pianist Sigismond Thalberg (1812–1871). With admirable precision, Costa also codifies the fundamental changes in performing practices that unfolded during the twentieth century. Chapter 5, for example, includes a table (p. 253) showing the precise variations in duration from one bar to the next in recordings of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 27 no. 2 from Louis Diémer's (1903–4) to Katherine Stott's (1992). The mathematical calculations prove that 'the earlier pianists generally make larger and therefore more noticeable changes from bar to bar, whereas pianists more recently make consistently far less variation' (pp. 252–3).

Costa's structuring method, moreover, enables a selection of specific performing practices to be investigated with detailed reference to the recordings and to a panoply of theoretical, critical and pedagogical writings. The performing practices are also subjected to rigorous mathematical analysis that compensates for the inherent ambiguity of verbal descriptions of phenomena like rubato. The drawback of the structuring method is that it contributes to the repetitive tendency that is the book's chief fault. Again and again we are reminded of the problematic discrepancy between performing practices as advocated in written sources and as practiced in recordings; again and again we are told of how the written sources themselves are bedevilled by imprecision in the descriptions of verbally elusive phenomena like rubato; and we keep coming back to the same performances of the same pieces with an insistence that, by the final chapter, verges on the exasperating. Some of the repetition arises because topics discussed in separate chapters, like rubato and 'tempo modification', are rather similar to one another; but it is really because the organisation of the book by topic rather than, say, as a series of chapters built around particular figures and their recordings means that the same performances, when examined from only subtly different points of view, lead to the same or similar conclusions. In Chapter 2 we are told about the discrepancies between Carl Reinecke's performance of his arrangement of the Larghetto from Mozart's Piano Concerto K537 and the advice he gives in his 1891 book *Zur Wiederbelebung der Mozart'schen Clavier-Concerte*. Whereas Reinecke's performance epitomises the freedom of the period concerning rhythm, tempo, dislocation between hands, and unnotated arpeggiation, nothing is said about any of this in the book, and nothing of the kind is implied by Reinecke's agogic markings in the arrangement. Consequently, 'a strict adherence to

Reinecke's notation would lead to a performance completely different from his own' (p. 87). In Chapter 5 we are brought back to Reinecke and Mozart's Larghetto. Costa presents another discrepancy between 'verbal advice' implying that Reinecke 'preferred performances that did not stray too far from the initial tempo' and the 'very perceptible modifications of tempo' in his own recordings—leading to the same conclusion reached in Chapter 2, that 'a performance style based on his written evidence alone would lead to a result quite at variance with his own style' (p. 272). By this time we have also read, in Chapter 3, that 'Reinecke the pianist did not adhere to the notation of Reinecke the editor and arranger' and that 'a strict adherence to his notation would produce a result entirely different from his own' (p. 162). The sensation of 'over-engineering' also emanates from excessive factual detail that on the one hand reflects the book's origin in a Ph.D. dissertation and, on the other, arises from the limitless capacity of cyberspace: the long lists derived from Mathis Lussy's *Traité de l'expression musicale* (pp. 299–304) are particularly tedious, and some paragraphs presents the reader with a concatenation of visual and audio examples from the website whose effect is more discombobulating than informative.

Conversely, certain topics treated only peripherally, or in passing, call for more prolonged discussion. One is the insertion of octave doublings; Raoul Pugno's 1903 recording of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 15 no. 2 contains some examples of a practice widely cultivated at this time and of considerable interest. More significantly, the negative terms in which Costa construes 'modern' approaches to performance, often in passing, is not wholly compatible with the 'egalitarian' engagement with competing alternatives that he advocates in the Introduction. If the ideal is to view, or to present, standard and non-standard repertory 'from new or different perspectives' arising from diverse performing styles, the modern 'perspective' must be fully admitted amongst this spectrum of plausible alternatives, albeit accompanied by an awareness of its limitations and of its place in the historical succession. Costa quotes Bruce Haynes's differentiation of Romanticism's 'heavy, personal, organic, free, spontaneous, impulsive, irregular, disorganized and inexact' tendencies from the 'light, impersonal, mechanical, literal, correct, deliberate, consistent, metronomic, and regular' modernistic approach (p. xxix). Haynes's description is valuable in construing both 'Romanticism' and 'modernism' in terms that might hold competing attraction, and certainly, validity.

One further shortcoming of this book is that it has not been adequately proof-read. Mistakes of spelling and grammar are disconcertingly frequent (for example, 'vain' instead of 'vein' on p. 173), and the musical examples needed more careful editing (for example, the rogue bar numbers on all three staves in Figure 3.31). We also have the surprisingly casual formulation 'To my ears it sounds *like* he is making very rapid arpeggiations of the dotted crotchet chords' (p. 140; italics added).

For me, this was a book that began extremely well, and the successful organisation of the accompanying website is a major attribute. The Foreword (by Clive Brown), Introduction and initial chapter stimulated great curiosity. The problems of repetition and over-elaboration meant that reading chapters 2–5 with sufficient conscientiousness became progressively more of a matter of application. There nonetheless remains much of value in a book that largely succeeds in its ambitious aim of establishing an historical and intellectual context for the large corpus of recordings at its kernel, whose value is irrefragable and about which, hopefully, much more will be said in the future. Costa's own experiences as a performer, shared frequently with the reader and conveyed with sincerity and zest, are a welcome enhancement to the whole.

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[1] Debussy's recordings were made on piano rolls, to be played on a mechanical Welte-Mignon player piano. Da Costa discusses Welte-Mignon in his first chapter, mentioning Debussy's belief in its 'ability to attain the greatest perfection of reproduction' (p. 24); a little strangely, he never discusses any of Debussy's actual recordings. Debussy's complete recording of the *Children's Corner Suite* is preserved as Roll no. 2733 in the Simonton Collection at the University of Southern California.

[2] www.oup.com/us/offtherecord. The username and password are given on a page of instructions on how to use the website (p. xix). The reader is directed to the website by clear but unobtrusive symbols in the text, one for audio extracts and one for visual ones.

[3] David Rowland, 'Performance Practice in the Nineteenth-Century Concerto', *The Cambridge Companion to the Concerto*, edited by Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge, 2005), 227–246 at 236.

[4] Joe Batten, *Joe Batten's Book: The Story of Sound Recording* (London, 1956), 33.

[5] Herbert C. Ridout, 'Behind the Needle—V: Looking Over Forty Years of the Gramophone', *The Gramophone*, (November 1940), 131–33 at 131.

Yonit Lea Kosovske, *Historical Harpsichord Technique: Developing* La douceur du toucher

Publications of the Early Music Institute, Indiana University Press: Bloomington & Indiana, 2011, £25
ISBN 978-0253356475

Menno van Delft

Adopting a motto from François Couperin's *L'Art de toucher le clavecin* (Paris, 1716/17), Yonit Lea Kosovske enumerates and describes the principles for achieving a fine, sensitive, and effective touch. There are four lengthy chapters: the first deals with the basics of posture, while the other three are concerned with matters of touch, articulation, and fingering, respectively. Drawing upon a great wealth of historical sources, Kosovske demonstrates in detail how the techniques that are described enable eloquent dexterity. She quotes authors from the sixteenth to the late-eighteenth centuries, and convincingly shows that between Santa Maria, Diruta, Nivers, Saint Lambert, François Couperin, Nassarre, Philipp Emanuel Bach, Marpurg, Türk, and many others, there is striking agreement over basic virtues in keyboard playing: a calm, upright pose; a natural, rounded, and relaxed hand; and the absence of all unnecessary movements, affording maximum musical effect with the least physical effort.

Kosovske, I believe, gets a little carried away in her endeavors to unite the functions of similar instructive precepts taken from different periods, and representing different schools and styles. The aesthetic goals of a Spanish church organist and clavichord player from the mid-sixteenth century, dealing with polyphonic music and the brilliant art of *glosas* (diminutions), were presumably rather different to those of a Parisian harpsichord player of two centuries later, seeking to bring to life the ambiguous allusions of a character piece through the use of the *peau de buffle* register of his Taskin harpsichord. It is this tendency to avoid contradictions, and the willful denial of opposing artistic ideals, which leads to some rather daring points of view. Kosovske 'cannot disagree more' with the 'biased statements' (p. 68) of Philipp Emanuel Bach, who reserved the clavichord for expressive playing, and thought that playing on the harpsichord served only to help the performer retain strength in the fingers. Santa Maria is shelved as 'a priest who happened to write a treatise' (p. 30) when his indications for positioning the hands (his well-known 'cat's paw') do not match the *communis opinio*.

Points of view such as these, I believe, should not be rejected as undesirable deviations from an ideal norm, but should be understood, and appreciated, as expressions of different aesthetic priorities. From the perspective of Philipp Emanuel's *Empfindsamkeit*, the instrument of choice for expressive solo music would have been the clavichord, while the harpsichord was valued for its greater volume and was used for the *starcke Musik* (chamber and orchestral music). This is reflected in developments in eighteenth-century German harpsichord building, when enlarged compasses, and a 16-foot register, were introduced—features that would have been of benefit primarily in an orchestral context, and would have given instruments the harder touch that Bach describes. Likewise, the hand position recommended by Santa Maria may have been typical in the late medieval and renaissance periods, despite its unorthodoxy when compared with later sources. A corroborating piece of evidence is Jan van Eyck's altarpiece, *The Adoration of the Mystic Lamb*, in the Saint Bavo Cathedral in Ghent, Belgium, which features an organ-playing angel adopting a similar hand position.

The value of this book is enhanced by many pictures of Kosovske's hands, which show them, and her fingers, adopting various positions. The purpose of these illustrations, and what they are trying to demonstrate, is not always clear, although they highlight how the hand positions that are described in the sources are able to work in a way that appears pleasant and plausible. (It is interesting to compare Kosovske's graceful gestures to pictures of the wry hands of Wanda Landowska attacking the heavy piano keys of her Pleyel *Grand modèle de concert*!) It would have been a nice extension to the book to

create a set of video demonstrations. Moving images would surely have clarified the intended positions and movements even more.

Despite my criticisms, Kosovske's book is an important addition to the literature on harpsichord playing. The focus on touch, and sound production in particular, gives it its own weight and importance. In books of this kind, the essential subject of sound production is not often treated as the main business. Here, the topics of articulation and fingering are dealt with in clear relation to questions of sound and touch. It was interesting to read the many quotations—some well known, some new to me—in the context of Kosovske's arguments, which lead me to new insights and understanding. Reading this book from cover to cover, one is a little overwhelmed by the sometimes repetitive abundance of description, but it will certainly remain an important reference work for many years to come.

Some further remarks:

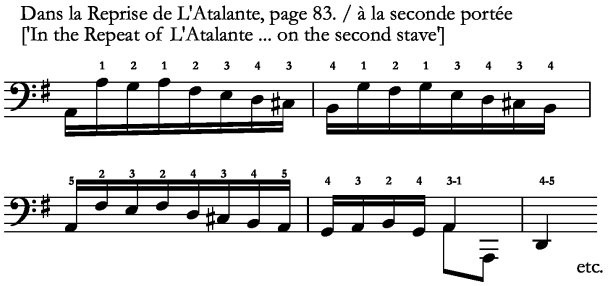
• Throughout the book, Philipp Christoph Hartung's name is misspelt as 'Hartong'

• Kosovske expresses surprise at François Couperin's claim to have been the first to propose a 'modern' fingering for ascending pairs of broken thirds (Couperin proposes the alternation of 2–4 and 1–3, rather than 2–4 throughout), despite the conservatism of his suggested fingerings for scales (the thumb is used only at the beginning or end). However, 'thumb under' technique was still rare at the time, and fingering systems representing an intermediate stage between 'old' and 'modern' ones were sill in use in the early eighteenth century: for instance, in a toccata by Alessandro Scarlatti with contemporary fingering indications, which Kosovske analyses in depth (pp. 118–9), one finds '3 over 1', but not yet '1 under 3'.

• Kosovske misinterprets the meaning of the work 'clavier' (or 'klavier'). Like the English word 'keyboard', it referred to any kind of keyboard instrument in Germany in the baroque period (see, for example, the title pages of J. S. Bach's *Clavier-Übung* series, which includes music for different kinds of instruments). However, from the later eighteenth-century, the word began to denote the clavichord specifically. This is evident, for example, from Johann Gottfried Müthel's *Duetto* (1771) 'für 2 Clavier, 2 Flügel, oder 2 Fortepiano' ('for 2 clavichords, 2 harpsichords, or 2 pianos'). For this reason, A. E. Müller's *Klavier- und Fortepianoschule* (1804), which Kosovske refers to, is aimed at clavichord and piano players, and not harpsichordists.

• The influence of the piano on keyboard playing style in general took off a little later than is suggested by several remarks throughout the book. Kosovske's suggestion, for instance, that Georg Friedrich Wolf's instruction book, *Unterricht im Klavierspielen* (1789) has the 'piano as its primary focus' (p. 28) is unlikely. His *Kurzer Unterricht im Klavierspielen* (1783; p. 1 of his 'Vorhererinnerungen') states: 'Wer das Klavier (Klavichord) wil spielen lernen, der bediene sich anfänglich eines guten Klaviers, nicht eines Fortepiano oder eines Klavezimbels; denn diese erfordern mehr Kräfte und Geschwindigkeit in den Fingern.' ('Who would like to learn to play the clavier (clavichord), should in the beginning use a good clavier, not a fortepiano or a harpsichord, since these request more strength and dexterity in the fingers.') Further confirmation that Wolf had the clavichord in mind is provided by his description of 'Das Tragen der Töne' (p. 37 in *Kurzer Unterricht im Klavierspielen*), a portato-like effect, advising how the player can modify the pitch of notes on the clavichord for expressive effect.

• The correlation between fingering and articulation is complex and multilayered, but this is sometimes not taken into account sufficiently. The term 'paired fingering' (in general use) is in fact misleading, because it suggests that using two adjacent fingers in alternation, when playing scales should, or must, lead to 'paired' articulation. Although, to a certain extent, this can be the case, I don't agree with Kosovske when she writes that paired fingering patterns, mostly executed with the three middle fingers, 'facilitates shorter groupings of notes within florid passagework' (p. 113). The alternative use of two fingers is the technical parallel of up-and-down bowing—for example, on a viola da gamba, or the virtuoso tonguing in cornetto playing—which all produce lively and brilliantly-articulated diminutions. Especially in non-legato playing, the correlation between fingering and articulation is not that strong. If the fingering given by François Couperin for a passage from *L'Atalante* (Ordre 12), in his *L'art de toucher*, were to be taken as a direct guide to articulation, there would be a very lumpy result:



• It must be pointed out that, despite all justifiable enthusiasm for a sweet touch on the harpsichord, there is another side to keyboard playing as well. Among other quotations that illustrate the point that strong and forceful playing was sometimes required, I am reminded of one from Philipp Emanuel Bach: 'Bey der Begleitung muß man eben so wenig nur ganz leicht über die Oberfläche der Tasten hinfahren, als bey den Handsachen, sondern man muß dem Niederdruck allezeit eine gewissen Kraft geben. Dieses kann nicht leicht geschehen, ohne daß man die Hände etwas hoch aufhebet. Wenn dieses nicht zu Holzhackermäßig geschiehet, so ist die Erhebung der Hände nicht allein kein Fehler, sondern vielmehr gut und nöthig, um den Mitmusicirenden das Tempo leichter merkend zu machen, und den tasten das gehörige Gewichte zu geben, damit die Töne nach den Regeln des guten Vortrages deutlich herausgebracht werden können.' (Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen, Zweyter Theil, in welchem die Lehre von dem Accompagnement und der freyen Fantasie abgehandelt wird* (Berlin, 1762), p. 259). (My translation: 'In accompaniment one should also move just a little and very lightly over the keys, like in solo keyboard pieces, but one should give the pressing down always a certain force. This cannot be done easily without lifting the hands somewhat high. If this is done not too much like a woodcutter, then this lifting of the hands is not only no mistake, but really good and necessary to show the tempo to the other players and to give the keys proper weight, so that the tones can be clearly expressed according to the rules of good performance.')

The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney: Music and Society in late Eighteenth-Century England, ed. Philip Olleson

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Peter Holman

Attentive readers of *EMP* will remember that I used Susan Burney's vivid description of a rehearsal at the Italian opera house in London in my article "'Storace's Dictatory Nod": a Frustrated Composer at Drury Lane in 1788' (Issue 18, May 2006, 18–24). I found a transcription of it in *Italian Opera in late Eighteenth Century London*, vol. 1: *The King's Theatre, Haymarket 1778–1791* (Oxford, 1995) by Curtis Price, Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume. Their assessment of Susan Burney as a writer and critic (p. 23) is worth quoting at length:

> The best critic we have encountered, and by far the most important source on opera in the period at issue, is one almost totally unknown and unused by historians—[Dr Charles] Burney's daughter Susanna Elizabeth Burney, later Phillips (1755–1700). Susan Burney (as her family generally called her at the time) supplies in unique and abundant detail much of what her father omitted to say about the London Italian opera, at least for the 1779–80 season, during which she wrote a remarkable letter-journal. This document [now British Library, Egerton MS 3691] reveals a witty and lucid writer, one with good Italian, a technical grasp of music, and an insatiable appetite for rehearsals and backstage gossip. She opens a window for us on the inside of the opera performance world unique for this period. Hers is a remarkably independent voice, sometimes out of tune with her father and her more famous sister Fanny, and always more articulate about the dramatic side of opera. She was an opera fanatic, but a highly critical one, and her obsessively detailed reportage of rehearsals, performances, and conversations

with performers is like nothing else in the period.

However, Susan Burney was not just interested in opera. She was equally interesting and acute writing about ordinary concerts and music in the home, as Ian Woodfield demonstrated when he mined her accounts of private concerts featuring members of the Burney family and professionals such as Johann Peter Salomon and the Swiss violinist Schöner or Scheener (his first name is unknown) for his book *Salomon and the Burneys: Private Patronage and a Public Career*, RMA Monographs, 12 (Aldershot, 2003).

Now that Philip Olleson has edited a large selection of the material in her letters and journal letters (extended autobiographical letters addressed principally to her sister Fanny) we can see that Susan Burney is one of the most important witnesses to London musical life of her time. In my opinion her journal letters should be ranked in quality if not in quantity with John Marsh's journals (*The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752–1828)*, ed. Brian Robins (Stuyvesant, NY, 1998), and with the account of contemporary London music life in the later volumes of her father's *General History of Music*, 4 vols. (London, 1776, 1782, 1789). In some ways Susan was the most important witness of the three. As Charles Burney's daughter she had the sort of access to London's elite musical circles that John Marsh, a provincial amateur, could never match, while her detailed, acute and pointed descriptions make the 'official' account in her father's *History* seem stiff and uninformative, concerned as he was to avoid giving offence in print to colleagues and patrons. Thus it is particularly unfortunate that there are large and tantalising gaps in her journal-letters: there are none for the periods when she and Fanny were living together and there was no need to put an account of her life down on paper; for much of the 1780s and 90s she was away from London, living with her husband and children in Surrey, and latterly, in Ireland.

Nevertheless, we must be grateful for what we have. London's rich but chaotic musical world springs vividly to life from Susan's pen. It is a scene populated with the sort of larger-than-life characters that professional musicians are all too familiar with today. Two examples must suffice. Here is part of her famous description of a rehearsal at the Italian opera house in the Haymarket on Monday morning, 19 November 1779 (pp. 88–93), used in my 2006 article. The work, the *pasticcio* opera *Alessandro nell'Indie*, had been arranged by Ferdinando Bertoni, who was playing one of the harpsichords—the other was played by the young Muzio Clementi. Susan noticed that Bertoni 'did not stand forwards as *Direttore*'; the rehearsal seems mostly to have been taken by the orchestra's leader, Wilhelm Cramer:

> The Wind Instruments were all out of tune, & tho' I pitied poor Cramer 'twas impossible not to laugh—After repeatedly desiring the French Horn Players to make their Instruments sharper, at last he called out in a voice w^{ch} proved that he wth difficulty c^{d} repress a degree of Indignation & with his foreign accent—'*Gentelmen … You are not in tune At All?*—'*Its a very sharp Morning* Sir,' said one of them—'We shall do better another time'—Another s^{d} that the *Crook* he used was right—but Cramer desired he w^{d} try the other —He did so—'Why that is *better*' s^{d} Cramer, as indeed it clearly was—'*Very well sir*', s^{d} the stupid Earless wretch '*I'll be sure to use it*'—Presently after in another passage the Bassoon player was dreadfully & ridiculously out of tune—Cramer stopt again & Clementi, to point out in the most forcible manner possible *Why* he did so, play'd over the passage wth natural notes in the treble, & flat in the Base—I don't know whether you can understand what I mean, but it had the most dissonant & comical effect & produced the best imitation of their accomp^{t} that can be conceived.

As always, a little wit goes a long way in situations such as these, particularly when deployed in music rather than words.

Sometimes it is the conversations between musicians that are the most revealing, as in the second example. On 28 April 1780 Susan reported a conversation between Cramer and her father about the reprehensible behaviour of Antoine Le Texier, until recently manager of the Italian opera house (pp. 147–8). Le Texier had attempted to organise an entertainment in the opera house for his own benefit on 11 April, but Cramer 'exclaim'd against it':

> 'I told him,' s^{d} he, '3 or 4 Days beforehand that he had better give it up—indeed it was such Nonsence I was *sure* it w^{d} not succeed however I had promise'd to play for him, & I did my best to serve him—& after that he told every body it was my fault that it did not succeed—Indeed he treated me very scandalously, & I told him so—& then to make me *Mad* he sent me Money the next day

> to *pay* me—But I sent it him back again—I w^{d} not take a farthing from such a Rascal—However I made him pay the *Band double price*, w^{ch} indeed they very well deserv'd there were so many Rehearsals—I made him *promise* to do it before the time & made him *perform* too!'—Don't you like the spirit of Cramer?

Professional musicians now and then would doubtless have agreed, though Felice Giardini, the other most prominent orchestra leader in London at the time, clearly thought that Cramer let 'rascals' like Le Texier off too lightly, as Charles Burney reported in a letter to his friend Thomas Twining a few weeks later, on 11 June 1780 (*The Letters of Charles Burney*, ed. Alavaro Ribiero, SJ (Oxford, 1991), 310):

> On his being appointed manager of the opera, he [Le Texier] stopt Cramer in every movement to say this was too fast, that too slow, & something else did not go well &c. Cramer only cut him short with saying that it was *his* affair, not M. le Texier's, how the band went.—But Giardini on hearing of this impertinence, told me that he could not have let him off so easily;—for he should have said, when he pretended to say anything about Music, 'Monsieur, laissez-moi faire: le violon est a moi—mais, pour la Caisse, a la bonne heure.'

According to Burney, Giardini was alluding to a scandalous incident in which Le Texier had supposedly defrauded a merchant in Lyons by breaking into his strong box—his *caisse*. Cramer emerges here as a most attractive character, portrayed by Susan as honourable in his professional dealings and tolerant of the failings of his subordinates, but concerned to establish and maintain high musical standards.

I have said enough to show how important Susan Burney's writings are, so it is good to report that Philip Olleson's elegant and informative edition serves her well. It includes an excellent biographical introduction, setting her writings in the context of her life; a clear statement of editorial principles; informative footnotes, referring where necessary to the extensive Burney family literature; and a useful index. My only query is that we do not get a sense of how much has been left out; the symbols '[…]' are clearly intended to record omissions, though it is not made clear how extensive the gaps are. But this is a quibble. Susan's journal-letters will be invaluable to historians of music and many other subjects. Her description of the Gordon Riots in London in June 1780 (pp. 168–81), for instance, has long been known by historians, but is printed in full here for the first time. There are many other scenes of drama and pathos, particularly towards the end of her tragically short life, when she was increasingly ill with consumption, was virtually imprisoned in Ireland, far from friends and family, and was clearly becoming increasingly exasperated by her ne'er-do-well husband, Molesworth Phillips. Her last letter (p. 308), written to Fanny on 30 December 1799 on landing at Parkgate near Chester on the way back to London, breaks off after a few lines with the poignant words 'Adieu, Adieu / Heaven preserving us—'. She died at Parkgate a week later.

Correction

Alexander Dean

On p. 27 of my review of James Tyler's *A guide to playing the baroque guitar* (*EMP* 30, 26–28) I referred to the use of an upper-octave string on the third course as 'popular'. It should be clarified that I meant popular among present-day performers, not among performers from the seventeenth century. In fact, the two sources for this practice cited by Dr. Tyler (*A brief tutor for the baroque guitar,* (Helsinki, 1984), p. 7), Bologna, Ms. AA360 and Campori Ms. 612, consist almost entirely of single-line *alfabeto*, in which there is no use for the melodic possibilities of the octave third course. There is no reason, therefore, to take these sources as evidence for the use of the third course octave in melodic playing (see Gary Boye, 'Performing seventeenth-century Italian guitar music: the question of an appropriate stringing,' in *Performance on lute, guitar, and vihuela*, ed. Victor Anand Coelho (Cambridge, 1977), 191–92). I am grateful to Martyn Hodgson for bringing this matter to my attention.

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