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COVER: Glasgow University Library, Hunterian 83, f. 12, showing music and text for an anonymous fifteenth-century carol, ‘Salve sancta parens’. Reproduced by permission.



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Editorial

I am currently in the final stages of preparing a large anthology of English keyboard music of the second half of the seventeenth-century. It will appear towards the end of 2015 as volume 6 in the Purcell Society's Companion Series devoted to editions of music by Purcell's contemporaries in England, and will contain over 120 pieces.¹ This edition has been fairly long in the making for several reasons. Deciding what and what not to include was quite a tricky task, for instance, especially since I did not want to cause any unnecessary duplication with other editions – in particular duplication with existing editions of music by some of the better-known composers, such as Matthew Locke (c.1622–77), and John Blow (1649–1708), the most prolific keyboard composer of the period. The result is an anthology that offers music previously unpublished for the most part, but which also attempts to be representative, covering each decade more or less evenly (as much as the surviving sources permit). I also hope that much of the contents will be of interest to keyboard players who do not know much English music of this period beyond Purcell, and that it will thus help to further the important task of drawing attention to the music of his contemporaries, one of the principal aims of the series.

Any edition of this kind is confronted with several editorial problems, not least of which are the variant versions in the sources. It is usually impossible to decide which version stems from the composer, and it seems likely that, in many cases, the composers themselves were responsible for the variants. There is evidence of them changing their music in the process of copying it from an existing source, a practice that indicates that the composer's conception was very much changeable. Alterations of this kind occur, for instance, in an important autograph of Giovanni Battista Draghi (c.1640–1708), included complete in the edition.² Other variants were likely the result of composers having memorised their music in a form that could be easily recovered in notation. In several of the pieces by Francis Forcer (1649–1705), for instance, variants are much more common in the left-hand part than they are in the right-hand. The likely reason for this is that it reflects a practice of memorising the music as a melody, whose implied bass characteristics were also memorised, but which had the potential to vary from one copy to the next more so than the melody did. The result of these practices is that whenever keyboard composers such as Forcer or Draghi wrote their keyboard pieces down, they recorded a slightly different version each time.

Accepting that there is not one definitive version of these pieces has significance from the point of view of performance practice. Many of the variants concern relatively superficial features of the music – ornamental details, cadential figuration, rhythmic details – rather than more fundamental structural aspects that could have stemmed from conscious attempts to improve the music. In other words, these kinds of variants represent different ways in which the music was recorded on paper, but their arbitrariness does not link them to a process of compositional revision in which one version superseded another. Instead, the variation between one copy and the next could reflect the way that performances varied from one to another.³

As evidence of performance practice, textual variants are not always straightforward to interpret. For instance, the extent to which there was variation between one performance and the next in terms of rhythm is open to debate. The functional distinction between note values smaller than a crotchet was sometimes not made; they were thought of as more or less equivalent in certain circumstances. As a result, rhythmic variants involving quavers and semiquavers may just as easily represent parallel attempts to convey what were essentially the same rhythms in performance rather than rhythms that were actually different. Melodic variants, however, are more significant, since they represent legitimate variants unambiguously in most cases. These seem to record actual variability in seventeenth-century performance.

In this edition I have tried to take into account all the variants that could be significant from the point of view of performance by showing different versions of some pieces on top of one another in parallel (for instance those preserved for Draghi's pieces), or through the use of ossia staves showing snippets of variant readings above and below the main staves. These will

indicate the sorts of features that are most subject to variation – and how they are typically varied in English practice. The subject of textual variants as a resource for historical performers (however such evidence is used) is certainly one deserving of further attention.

The present issue of *Early Music Performer* is a miscellany of articles, reports and reviews covering fifteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth-century English topics. Louise McInnes discusses the fifteenth-century carol, an English genre that is neglected by present-day specialists. McInnes pays special attention to the monophonic carols, which reflect popular traditions, and the aural transmission of music in this period. We can learn much about where carols were performed, and who performed them, simply by considering the contents and organisation of the sources. The sources also give insights into medieval culture, and lead us to question received opinion about it, such as the notion of an absolute divide between popular and elite spheres.

Charles Avison (1709–1770) has a loyal following among devotees of eighteenth-century British music. Simon Fleming draws attention to an important new vocal piece by him, his *Dirge* for *Romeo and Juliet*, discussing the interesting background to it and what may have led Avison to write it. A complete score is available to NEMA members for download as the music supplement to this issue (see <<http://earlymusic.info/Performer.php>>). In my experience Avison's music always comes across as effective in performance. Therefore I recommend checking out an accomplished performance by students from Queen Elizabeth College, Darlington, that can be heard online.⁴

Among the reports in this issue, we have one from James Cook, Alex Kolassa, and Adam Whittaker, who are examining the representation of early music in media such as film and television. The research group is in its early stages but it promises to address some important questions on the cultural significance of early music today. A study day is planned in the music department at the University of Nottingham on 12 June. We also have a report from Mark Windisch on this year's conference on Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain and three reviews: Bryan White considers a new recording by Colin Booth, the first to use a newly restored seventeenth-century harpsichord; Erin Helyard looks at a new book by Richard Maunder examining performance practices in early Classical concertos; while Peter Holman gives his assessment of a book by Michael Burden on the singer and actress Regina Mingotti (1722–1808).

Andrew Woolley
andrewwoolley@sapo.pt
April 2015

¹ For more details on the series, see <<http://www.henrypurcell.org.uk/purcell-society-companion-series/>>.

² This source, which also contains autograph keyboard music by Purcell, can be viewed online via <<http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/>>. On Draghi, see Peter Holman, 'The Italian Connection: Giovanni Battista Draghi and Henry Purcell', *EMP*, 22 (2008), 4–19.

³ It has been termed 'background variation' in recent literature. For an in-depth discussion, see Rebecca Herissoone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge, 2013), 245–58.

⁴ 'Charles Avison - Dirge for Romeo and Juliet', <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M8GHxaMRAKU>>.

‘That we with merth mowe savely synge’: the Fifteenth-Century Carol – a Music of the People?

Louise McInnes

The late-medieval English carol, an indigenous form recognised by its verse/burden (refrain) structure, is found abundantly in English manuscripts of the fifteenth century. Approximately 500 texts survive from 1360–1520; over 130 with musical notation. The carols with and without notated music survive in approximately 138 manuscripts that vary greatly in terms of provenance, size and content. Most of the main studies of the genre were undertaken in the middle of the twentieth century by literary specialists such as R. L. Greene and John Stevens, who was also a musicologist. In recent years, however, this important English musical form has been greatly neglected, to judge from a relative lack of more recent detailed, published, academic research, and the relatively infrequent inclusion of carols in performances of early music.¹ The reason for this neglect is certainly not due to saturation of potential research in this area – there is still much to learn about the importance of the carol and its diverse uses in medieval life – but more likely the result of a combination of factors, such as: its only being found in English sources, and therefore seen as divorced from the perceived ‘mainstream’ of musical developments on the continent; the perception of it as a form that served as amusement for educated male clerics in the main; and the seeming finality of both Stevens’s and Greene’s work.²

In recent scholarship, the carol has been described as a genre for the educated classes (clerics in particular); it was not, according to one writer, a ‘music of the people’.³ There is, however, a great deal of evidence that could attest to the contrary. Through the following exploration of carols, and the manuscripts that preserve them, we shall see that this musical form was indeed ‘music of the people’, or at the very least, music for the people. Evidence exists of carols being performed within the popular Corpus Christi plays, Christmas festivities and important public pageants, not to mention the appearance of many of them in informal pocket-book style manuscripts suitable for amateur performers, or for personal use, rather than for the use of professional performers in public.

The phrase, ‘music of the people’, should of course be used with caution. As a category it is generally thought of as being synonymous with the music of the illiterate classes – a rather sweeping generalisation. Greene suggests the carol is a genre of popular song that was ‘popular by destination; rather than origin’, noting that “The term... ‘popular song’ is used...as [an] equivalent to ‘poetry popular by destination’; that is, it is applied to material the text of which

is derived from written or printed sources, but which is designed to appeal to an audience including people of scant formal education and social refinement”.⁴ I would argue, however, that there was an aural tradition of carol singing among people of ‘scant formal education and social refinement’ that co-existed with the more refined art music that survives in the sources with musical notation.

Over 500 carol texts survive, yet only approximately 130 do so with music. Furthermore, the majority of the sources with musical notation contain mainly sacred carols, while the body of carols without it are much more diverse in terms of subject matter (they are about women, politics, sex and humour to name but a few subjects). As a hugely popular form, its music may well have been transmitted aurally in large part; in addition, many sources that once existed may now be lost. Clues to the nature of the lost melodies, as well as indications of the genre’s aural transmission and performance practices, can be discovered within the sources with music notation. I would argue that the melodies of the ten surviving monophonic carols, as seen in Table 1, are especially illuminating.

Carol	Manuscript	Folio/Page	Language	Subject	Vocal Range
Lullay, Lullay: As I lay	GB-Lbl*, Add. MS 5943	f. 169	English	Lullaby Carol	c–bb (7th)
Lullay, my child	GB-Lbl, Add. MS 5666	ff. 2–3	English	Lullaby Carol	d–b (6th)
I have loved	GB-Lbl, Add. MS 5666	f. 3v	English	Carol of Love	c–d ¹ (9th)
Nowell, nowell: Tidings true	GB-Ob, Eng. Poet.e.1	f. 41v	English/ Latin	The Annunciation	d–d ¹ (8ve)
Of all the enemies	GB-Ob, Eng. Poet.e.1	f. 50v	English	Moralising Carol	g–f ¹ (7th)
Salve, Sancta parens	GB-Gu, Hunterian 83	f. 21	English/ Latin	Carol to the Virgin	c–c ¹ (8ve)
Nova, nova	GB-Gu, Hunterian 83	f. 2v	English/ Latin	The Annunciation	f–d ¹ (6th)
Though I sing: <i>le bon l. don</i>	GB-Gcg, MS 383/603	p. 210	English	Uncertain	g–d ¹ (5th)
Of thy Mercy	GB-Cul Ee.1.12	f. 46v	English/ Latin	Carol to the Virgin	g–d ¹ (5th)
Sing we now	GB-Cul Ee.1.12	f. 46v	English/ Latin	Uncertain	a–f ¹ (5th)

Table 1. Extant Monophonic Carols
 * for explanation of Sigla, see the end of this article

The monophonic carols vary in musical style, and their texts vary from vernacular love lyrics to Latin sacred. Although Table 1 gives a good overview of the genre, the reader should be aware that seven of these carols survive only as fragments: ‘Lullay, lullay’, ‘Lullay, my child’, ‘I have loved’, ‘Sing we now’, ‘Of thy mercy’, ‘Though I sing’ and ‘Of all the enemies’. In fact, for several of them, only one line of text and music is extant; this is the case for ‘Sing we now’, ‘Of thy mercy’, ‘Though I sing’ and ‘Of all the enemies’. Conceivably, the lost portions of text were written in a different language (see below).

Four of the ten possess a considerable plainchant quality in their melodies, which is not surprising considering the continuing importance of the plainchant tradition throughout the fifteenth century. One of the most interesting of these is ‘Salve, sancta parens’, which is found in the manuscript GB-Gu, Hunterian 83,⁵ a manuscript from the latter part of the fifteenth century. It contains a mixture of material, such as lists of fifteenth-century monarchs, Brut chronicles,⁶ and a translation by John of Trevisa of Higden’s *Polychronicon*.⁷ An excerpt of the carol text reads:⁸

All hail, Mary, and well thou be,
 Maiden and mother withouten offence
 For thy sovereign virginity.

Salve, sancta parens.
 O courteous Queen most commendable
 O prince peerless in patience,
 O virgin victorious unvariable,
 Salve, sancta parens.

This carol is unique in its combination of both plainchant-style and mensural notation. The burden is notated in plainchant style (black void, unmeasured notation), in contrast to the black, full measured notation of the verse, as is clearly seen in Ex. 1, where the notation for ‘Salve sancta parens’ is illustrated.

The use of these contrasting notational styles could be significant from the point of view of performance, perhaps suggesting solo voice for the plainchant, and chorus for the verse. Alternatively, the notation for the burden merely emphasises the liturgical derivation of the chant ‘Salve, sancta parens’, as adopted, according to Sarum use, for the vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.⁹



Example 1. GB-Gu, Hunterian 83, f. 12, bottom half: Anon., 'Salve sancta parens'
Reproduced by permission of Glasgow University Library

The carol 'Nova, nova', one of the most interesting of the monophonic carols from a popular song perspective, is found much earlier in the same manuscript, but is written in the same hand as the other two musical offerings (a third song in a popular metre, 'Nowe well and nowe woo', is also found within this manuscript on the same folio as 'Salve, sancta parens' but is not a carol). The melody for 'Nova, nova' (which translates as 'News, news: AVE came from EVA' – a popular theme in the middle ages celebrating how Mary had atoned for Eve's sins) is, however, very different: it is a 'folk' or 'dance' style melody. The melody employs triple mensuration, as opposed to the duple mensuration of 'Salve, sancta parens', and a consistent dotted rhythm throughout. It also

makes no use of plainchant style or notation. Interestingly, the text of this carol can be found in two other manuscripts: GB-Obac, 354 (Richard Hill's book) and GB-Ob, Eng. Poet.e.1. Robbins noted that the Eng. Poet.e.1 version of the text 'agrees very closely with the Balliol [the Richard Hill version] ... The slips in the Hunterian text point to its having been written from memory or from aural transmission.'¹⁰ The Hunterian manuscript dates from 1483 at the earliest, while Poet.e.1 dates from 1460–8, so transmission of the song occurred within a short time frame between these two sources. Richard Hill's book, on the other hand, dates from the first third of the sixteenth century, demonstrating the continued popularity of this carol.

Glasgow, iii, f. 2v. *BURDEN*

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Example 2. Anon., 'Nova, nova', ed. as 5a in *Mediaeval Carols*, ed. Stevens.

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Ex. 2 shows a transcription of 'Nova, nova', in which we can see its effective use of rhythm and melodic contour, and its artful use of the initial burden material in diminution at the end of the verse. 'Nova, nova' may well demonstrate echoes of a popular song tradition, in that it may be an artful recomposition of a popular original rather than a direct copy of one.

The fact that both these monophonic carols of differing style – 'Salve, sancta parens' and 'Nova, nova' – have been inserted into this eclectic manuscript, illustrates the intermingling of musical style and content that is typical of manuscripts of the Middle Ages. In these sources, diverse kinds of music, and non-musical items, are rarely separated out, or neatly ordered into sections. Our need as researchers and performers to place music into neat categories of style and social origin is neither appropriate, nor possible when approaching pre-classical music, and certainly not so in the case of this diverse manuscript; it is impossible to say with confidence the reason for their inclusion.

Of course, monophonic carols do not exist only in manuscripts with other monophonic carols. For instance, we find the lilting, monophonic lullaby carol, 'Lullay, lullay: As I lay' interspersed among seventeen polyphonic songs in a monastic manuscript from the early fifteenth century, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 5943. Furthermore, both 'Lullay, my child', and 'I have loved', are found in the early fifteenth-century manuscript GB-Lbl, Add. MS 5666. This source contains three English carols (two of which are our monophonic examples), one English polyphonic carol (the lullaby carol 'Lullay: I saw'), alongside an English secular piece ('I saw a swete sely'). Furthermore, it contains a selection of notes and drawings, a Latin grammatical treatise, and the accounts of a certain John White.

In contrast to the apparently chaotic organisation of sources such as Add. MS 5666, we often find that polyphonic carols are collected together, such as those in the impressive GB-Lbl, Egerton MS 3307, with its 33 carols together in one section, or the large Ritson Manuscript, with its 44 Latin and English carols – or indeed the earliest source of the polyphonic carol genre, the Trinity Roll, with its selection of thirteen polyphonic carols

(including the famous 'Agincourt carol'). These manuscripts gather together a 'high class' carol type, suitable for an educated class of people. Their level of organisation and genre concentration, compared with sources for the monophonic carols, is suggestive. The contrast is indicative of the status of monophonic carols as popular melodies, perhaps heard and transmitted only aurally in many cases, and when notated, done so arbitrarily by those with the ability to do so.

John Stevens suggests caution in placing too much significance upon these monophonic manuscripts as indicative of a popular culture, pointing out that 'at least two were in monastic hands, and all of them contain learned matter in Latin.' Nevertheless, he concedes that, despite this, it is still 'likely that these carols are the written residue of a vast body of popular tunes now lost'.¹¹ Indeed, two manuscripts may well have been in monastic hands, but we must also note that four were not. One must also remember that monks were not born monks; they, too, once belonged to the laity, and experienced secular song and popular singing traditions. The appearance of a popular melody in a monastic book is therefore not too surprising. We only have to look further back into the fourteenth century to see the Franciscans setting sacred texts to popular secular melodies, not unlike the carol form as we have come to know it.¹²

Many monastic orders were mendicant, including the Franciscans, and encouraged community involvement, and travelling to the people in order to preach.¹³ Indeed, as Peter Jeffery notes, 'There are references to music in medieval sermons, at least from the time of the mendicant orders...whose wandering friars incorporated popular singing and dancing into their preaching. In England some of these songs seem to have been related to the repertory of Christmas carols, which often mixed passages in Latin and the vernacular'.¹⁴ Even a number of monastic possessioner houses provided sermons to lay audiences within their walls. The perception of the monk hidden behind cloistered walls, sheltered from the outside community, and therefore untouched by popular songs and traditions is, it would seem, a misconception; the divide between monk and

laity had all but disappeared by the fifteenth century.

None of the monophonic carols show any particularly demanding traits in terms of vocal range or rhythmic complexity. In comparison to the vast majority of the polyphonic carols, whose vocal ranges regularly exceed an octave, the monophonic carols are particularly conservative. This makes them easy to sing (or play), which could suggest that they were written by, or indeed for, musicians unfamiliar with notation, who would perhaps have favoured a simpler style of melody in order to aid the memorization and aural transmission of the songs. The right-hand-most column of Table 1 gives the ranges of all ten.

The carol 'Of thy mercy' is one of two monophonic carols with the smallest range, encompassing only a fifth. It is found within the manuscript GB-Cul, Ee.1.12, with a second monophonic carol, 'Sing we now', which also has a small range, that of a sixth. This manuscript contains a total of 121 carols, inclusive of the two monophonic carols listed here. The carols, English songs and hymns of this manuscript,

which hail from the latter part of the fifteenth century, are thought to have been written, or at least recorded, by the Franciscan James Ryman. Apart from a small section of musical notation without words on f. 81, and a short jotting of music for the song 'I hard a maydyn wepe' on f. 1v, these two carols are the only other pieces with musical notation in the manuscript. There is music notated only for their burdens, which may suggest that the verses were set to popular melodies, or perhaps, that the burden acted as an aide memoire to help the singer remember the verse tune that was required. The simple, stepwise melodies survive in notation that indicates the pitches only, which may have been all that the reader/singer needed in order to jog the memory. The melodies of both these pieces are very similar, so the singer may have needed reminding which piece was which (see Exx. 3 and 4). It is also worth noting that both these carols are macaronic: the second line of each burden (not illustrated), as well as the refrain line of each stanza, are in Latin, whereas the remainder of the text is in English.

Ryman, f.1
BURDEN

Sing we now all _____ and some: Chris - te, re - dem - ptor om - ni - um.

Example 3. Burden from Anon., 'Sing we now', ed. as 7a in *Mediaeval Carols*, ed. Stevens.
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Ryman, f. 46v
BURDEN

Of thy mer - cy let us ____ not miss, fi - li Ma - ri - e vir - gi - nis.

Example 4. Burden from Anon., 'Of thy mercy', ed. as 8a in *Mediaeval Carols*, ed. Stevens.
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f. 36
C
BURDEN

Hey nonny non - ny non - ny no; hey non - ny non-ny non-ny non-ny non - ny no!
Hey nonny non - ny non - ny no; hey non-ny non-ny non-ny non-ny non - ny no!
Hey nonny non - ny non - ny no; hey non - ny nonny no!

Example 5. Burden with its opening text from Anon., 'Hey nonny nonny', ed. as part of 31 in *Music from the Court of Henry VIII*, ed. Stevens. Reproduced by permission of Stainer and Bell Ltd.

T, no. 7

BURDEN

De - o gra - ci - as, An - gli - a, red - de pro - vi - 5
 De - o gra - ci - as, An - gli - a, red - de pro - vi -

3 *10 VERSE*
 - cto - - ri - a. Our king went forth to Nor - man - dy with grace and
 - cto - - ri - a. Our king went forth to Nor - man - dy with grace and

might of chi - val - ry; there God for him wrought marv - lous - ly, where - 20
 might of chi - val - ry; there God for him wrought marv - lous - ly, where -

- fore Eng - lond may call and cry: De - o gra - ci - as.
 - fore Eng - lond may call and cry: De - o gra - ci - as.

30 BURDEN II

De - o gra - ci - as, An - gli - a, red - de pro vi - cto - ri - a.
 De - o gra - ci - as, An - gli - a, red - de pro vi - cto - ri - a.
 De - o gra - ci - as, An - gli - a, red - de pro vi - cto - ri - a.

2 He set a siege, forsooth to say,
 To Harflu town with royal array;
 That town he won and made affray
 That France shall rue till Domesday:
 Deo gracias.

3 Then went him forth our king comely;
 In Agincourt field he fought manly;
 Through grace of God most marvellously
 He had both field and victory:
 Deo gracias.

4 There lordës, earlës and baron
 Were slain and taken and that full soon,
 And some were brought into London
 With joy and bliss and great renown:
 Deo gracias.

5 Almighty God he keep our king,
 His people and all his well-willing,
 And give them grace withouten ending;
 Then may we call and safely sing:
 Deo gracias.

ORDER: B BII V1 B BII V2 . . . B BII

Example 6. Anon. 'Deo Gracias' (otherwise known as the 'Agincourt Carol'), ed. as 8 *Mediaeval Carols*, ed. Stevens. Reproduced by permission of Stainer and Bell Ltd.

It is not only in the short musical jottings of GB-Cul, Ee.1.12 that we see carols recorded with only their burdens notated. This feature is also encountered in the Henry VIII manuscript, which was probably used at the royal court (GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31922). The use of well-known melodies for singing verses could again explain why there is music only for the burdens in this source. ‘Hey nonny nonny’ is a good example of such a carol from this manuscript with its short and simple burden (see Ex. 5) that could conceivably derive from popular song. The presence of a popular song within such a manuscript could, then, illustrate the use of such melodies among members of various classes of society, not just by lower-class musicians.

Although the burdens are polyphonic, their musical notation could also have functioned as an aide memoire. The practice of partial notation – one instance occurring in a monastic manuscript, another in a courtly manuscript – could have been widespread. Popular melodies, and melodic formulae stemming from them, may also have been common to music making within different strata of society.

Extant manuscript evidence suggests polyphonic carols were written in monasteries or colleges. However, there is also evidence of them being performed to a wider audience beyond these exclusive environments: many carols may well have originated in exclusive environments, but they did not necessarily remain there. One of the earliest extant polyphonic carols, ‘Deo Gracias Anglia’, is testament to this fact. This is a political carol in three voice parts, found in two manuscript sources from the first half of the fifteenth century (and with only minor textual discrepancies between the two manuscripts).¹⁵ It celebrates the victory of Henry V at the battle of Agincourt in 1415, and recounts the events of the battle in some detail over the course of five stanzas, with a rousing, almost completely monophonic, burden.¹⁶

A performance of this striking polyphonic song could well have taken place at the pageant in the city of London in celebration of Henry V’s return from France, and his historic victory at the battle of Agincourt, as has been argued by Helen Deeming.¹⁷ If this hypothesis is correct, those on the streets of the capital that day could not have failed to have been impressed with its patriotic text and the call

to sing together ‘Deo Gracias Anglia redde pro victoria!’ (England, give thanks to God for victory!). Deeming argues that even if this particular carol was not in fact performed at this pageant, ‘certain aspects of the accounts [of it] are actively consistent with the singing of carols...Two sources mention the singing of “Nowell”: while not actually used in *Deo Gracias Anglia* itself, the word is the mainstay of the carol literature in general.’

The monophonic/unison first half of the burden of this carol is an intriguing feature. The choice of monophony could be explained for a number of reasons. The end of the final stanza declares ‘That we with merth mowe savely sing’, which could be interpreted as a call to an audience to participate in the singing of the burden, which would have been possible for an untrained audience to do with a monophonic line. Past theories claimed that the Agincourt carol was sung on the battlefield by the victorious English army, but as Deeming notes, ‘The sophistication of both poetry and musical setting are too great to have been the spontaneous invention of the rejoicing troops.’ However, the simple monophonic first section of the burden could perhaps have been a remnant of a song or cry from the victorious army, which was later embellished and set polyphonically; this burden, in its original layout in the fifteenth-century manuscript, GB-Ob, Selden b.26 can be seen online, and a modern transcription of the burden in Ex. 6.¹⁸ One can see the simple, almost syllabic first cry of ‘Deo gracias’ with its repetitive use of mainly one pitch, followed by the short melismatic ‘Anglia’ here. The second burden is an embellished development of the first, which is split into three voices rather than two. Deeming, too, puts forward the very tangible possibility of there having been ‘an earlier, monophonic version ...performed at the London pageant and subsequently incorporated into a three voice setting’. Although she dismisses the possibility of any battlefield connection, a link of some kind is by no means entirely impossible; musicians were very much a part of Henry V’s entourage.¹⁹

The drama and narrative found in the Agincourt carol is something that is often seen in both monophonic and polyphonic fifteenth-century carols. Many carols are almost plays in themselves with a number of speaking characters and an engaging storyline. If we return to the text of ‘Nova, nova’ we can see an excellent example

of this; this carol seems to be a miniature liturgical drama all of its own. It has three characters: Mary, Narrator and Angel, all of whom speak (the Narrator speaking throughout the verses, the Angel in verse 3, and Mary in verse 4). It reads:²⁰

Nova, Nova: AVE fit ex EVA
Gabriel of high degree,
He came down from Trinity,
From Nazareth to Galilee:
Nova, nova

Nova, Nova: AVE fit ex EVA
I met a maiden in a place;
I kneeled down afore her face
And said: Hail, Mary, full of grace;
Nova, nova

Nova, Nova: AVE fit ex EVA
Then said the angel; dread not thou,
For ye be conceived with great virtue
Whose name shall be called Jesu;
Nova, nova

Nova, Nova: AVE fit ex EVA
Then said the maiden: Verily,
I am your servant right truly;
Ecce, ancilla Domini;²¹
Nova, nova

This form of dramatic narrative, one that encourages the opportunity for different characters to speak and interact, is seen in many carols of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Many of them could have had their roots in drama, and might have been intended for plays and maskings – particularly the Corpus Christi play cycles, in which a number of religious stories were performed publicly, with music, within towns such as Coventry, and York from the late fourteenth century. We know that two songs in the Coventry cycles were carols: 'Lully, lulla', and 'As I out rode' (three-part carols that were added in 1591 to a manuscript that dates from almost 60 years previously).²² The use of popular melodies for carols and other musical forms within these plays, which would have been well-known to those watching the performances, and to the musicians taking part, would seem to be a strong possibility; one can certainly imagine 'Nova, Nova' being used in such a way.

In addition to the monophonic carol repertoire, one must also consider the large number of secular carols that survive without

notation in our search for carols set to popular song melodies – carols that talk of love, sex, women and morality. These types of carols are often found grouped together in pocket-book size manuscripts entirely without musical notation, such as GB-Lbl, Sloane MS 2593, or scattered amongst unrelated material (i.e. accounts, letters, and prose), as seen in GB-Cgc, MS 383/603. These manuscripts suggest portability and personal use, and are not dedicated to musical materials, but rather contain a variety of contents, suggesting a process of jotting down the songs, quite unlike the formal manner of presentation in manuscripts such as GB-Lbl, Egerton MS 3307 or GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31922. Crucially, some of them come with notes that instruct the reader to sing them to a particular melody. The melody is never notated, but must have been popular enough for the writer not to feel the need to include notation, or indeed was unable to notate the melody, instead knowing it simply through aural transmission. Two good examples are 'Y loued a child of this cuntry' (in GB-Cgc, MS 383/603), which contains the preface 'Byrd on brere', and the nativity carol 'Hey now now now' (in GB-Cu, Ee.1.12), which is given the heading 'A song to the tune of and I were a mayd'. The practice of naming a tune is also observed in the monophonic carol fragment 'Though I sing', which is found preceded with the instruction 'Le bon l. don'. This evidence points strongly to a tradition of setting carols to popular melodies. Carols were therefore not always created in polyphonic form by trained musicians able to understand and write musical notation.

Much of the evidence for the existence of an aurally transmitted, popular monophonic carol repertoire is sketchy, but it is not negligible. The carols that survive with music – together with the larger number of secular carols without notation, which are contained in small, non-royal and non-monastic manuscripts – should be seen as a whole. They clearly point to a body of lost monophonic carol melodies that were familiar to people within different strata of society. Carols were therefore not composed and performed exclusively by and for the educated and monastic classes in society, but shared, in their various polyphonic and monophonic forms, by members of all social classes. In all likelihood, musicians who were familiar with different types of carols intermingled among various groups in society, both women and men,

and the educated and uneducated: musicians were not exclusive to one area of society, but were exponents of an art form that existed in the lives of people from all walks of life. The simple but effective carol form of burden and verse would have made examples easy to remember, and suitable for aural transmission. Even the small number of those carols that were written down and notated offer revealing glimpses of a widespread 'popular' tradition of devotional and secular music making.

The carol has been sorely neglected in recent research, and its limited inclusion in performances of early music is regrettable. It is, however, a genre that was hugely popular in

fifteenth-century England, and one that still has much to tell us about performance practices in this period. We must now, therefore, look anew at this popular, indigenous musical form – in both its monophonic and polyphonic guises – and begin to include examples in performances more frequently, and recognise its place in our understanding of fifteenth-century music more fully.

Explanation of Sigla: GB-Lbl = London, British Library
 GB-Ob = Oxford, Bodleian Library; GB-Gu = Glasgow, University Library; GB-Gcg = Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library; GB-Cul = Cambridge, University Library; GB-Obac = Oxford, Balliol College

¹ R. L. Greene, *The Early English Carols* (Oxford, 1935), *Mediaeval Carols*, ed. John Stevens, Musica Britannica 4, revised edition (London, 1958), *Music from the Court of Henry VIII*, ed. John Stevens, Musica Britannica 18, revised edition (London, 1969), *Early Tudor Songs and Carols*, ed. John Stevens, Musica Britannica 36 (London, 1975). Stevens was a professor of medieval and renaissance literature: his interest in carols was sparked originally by the texts, which then led him to explore the music in greater detail.

² There is a relatively recent publication, however, on the origins of the Agincourt Carol: Helen Deeming, 'The Sources and Origin of the "Agincourt Carol"', *Early Music*, 35 (2007), 23–38. There have also been some dissertations written upon the subject within the last 15 years, but with no resulting publication of the research: Beth Ann Zamzow, 'The Influence of the Liturgy on the Fifteenth-Century English Carols', Ph.D. thesis (University of Iowa, 2000), Adele Margaret Smaill, 'Medieval Carols: Origins, Forms, and Performance Contexts', Ph.D. thesis (University of Michigan, 2003), and Kathleen Palti, "Singe we now alle and sum": three Fifteenth-Century Collections of Communal Song', Ph.D. thesis (University College London, 2008).

³ See *Cambridge Music Manuscripts 900–1700*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1982) and more recently, Peter M. Lefferts, 'England', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge 2001), 113.

⁴ Greene, *The Early English Carols*, xciii.

⁵ For more detail, see R.H. Robbins, 'Two New Carols', *Modern Language Notes*, 58/1 (Jan., 1943), 39–42.

⁶ An account of the history of England starting with its supposed foundation by Brutus, the Trojan Prince, that was widely copied, printed and disseminated in the Middle Ages.

⁷ A seven-book historical chronicle written by Ranulf Higden in the fourteenth century. John of Trevisa translated the work in 1387, which was subsequently printed in 1482, attesting to its longevity. It is therefore not unexpected to find it in a manuscript of the period of GB-Gu, Hunterian 83.

⁸ *Mediaeval Carols*, ed. Stevens, 111.

⁹ Similar perhaps to a thirteenth-century motet that uses liturgical chant as a tenor under a vernacular lyric, a large number of examples of which can be found within the Montpellier Codex. For a critical edition of this manuscript, see *The Montpellier Codex*, ed. Hans Tischler (Madison, 1978).

¹⁰ Robbins, 'Two New Carols', 40.

¹¹ *Mediaeval Carols*, ed. Stevens, xiv

¹² Examples are in the *Red Book of Ossory*. Richard de Ledrede, a Franciscan Bishop of Kilkenny, Ireland, from 1317–60, wrote a total of sixty of these Latin sacred texts in an attempt to prevent his vicars choral from singing the secular versions.

¹³ One must be aware that there was in fact a distinction between mendicant friars and possessioner monks and canons. Possessioners were owners of property; mendicants were not.

¹⁴ Peter Jeffery, *Re-envisioning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant* (Chicago, 1992), 74. Further research into the carol in sermons can be found in Louise McInnes, 'The Social, Political and Religious Contexts of the Late Medieval Carol: 1360–1520', Ph.D. thesis (University of Huddersfield, 2013).

¹⁵ GB-Ctc, 0.3.58, no.7, and GB-Ob, Arch. Selden b. 26, folio 17v

¹⁶ Henry V was a popular choice for political carol texts. For further discussion, see McInnes, 'The Social, Political and Religious Contexts of the Late Medieval Carol'.

¹⁷ Deeming, 'The sources and origin'. The following discussion quotes from this article at 26 and 30.

¹⁸ See <<http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msarchseldnb26>> (accessed 21 April 2015).

¹⁹ We know that the church musician and composer John Cooke was among the entourage, for instance. See Margaret Bent and Roger Bowers. 'Cooke, J.', in *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane L. Root, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06397>>.

²⁰ Stevens, John, ed., *Mediaeval Carols* (London, 1970), 111

²¹ This translates as 'Behold, the handmaid of the Lord'. See *Mediaeval Carols*, ed. Stevens, 141.

²² Smaill, 'Medieval Carols', 325.

Charles Avison's *Dirge for Romeo and Juliet*

Simon D. I. Fleming

The eighteenth-century British musician Charles Avison (1709–1770) is well known as a composer of instrumental music. In total he published ten collections with opus number, six of which contain concerti grossi for strings. There are also three sets of keyboard sonatas with accompaniments for two violins and a cello, a set of Corelli-inspired trio sonatas, one set of concerti grossi based on the keyboard lessons of Domenico Scarlatti, and a solitary keyboard concerto. By contrast, general understanding of his contribution to the vocal realm, where he was less prolific and published far less, confines him to a position as an editor and composer of sacred music by and large: as an assistant to John Garth in the preparation of the eight-volume English version of Marcello's *Psalsms*, as a composer of several pieces of church music, including a *Christmas Hymn*, and as editor of an English edition of Clari's *Canticles* that he was preparing at the time of his death. The existence of a secular vocal work by Avison in the music library of Burghley House, near Stamford, which has not been discussed in any detail hitherto, is therefore all the more welcome.¹ It is, indeed, a major addition to his oeuvre.²

Burghley House is one of Britain's most magnificent stately homes. Built between 1555 and 1587 for William Cecil, Lord Burghley, the Lord High Treasurer to Queen Elizabeth I, it contains many treasures accumulated by successive generations of the Cecil family. Nevertheless, there is a notable absence of music from the century after the building's construction. The music collection, as it now exists, was primarily assembled by the Ninth Earl of Exeter, Brownlow Cecil (1725–1793), in the second half of the eighteenth century.³ The Ninth Earl was a prominent patron of music. He supported the Concert of Ancient Music and was a Director of the 1784 Handel commemoration held at Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon in London.⁴ He was also a member of the London Catch Club.⁵ His collection contains many rare editions and a large number of music manuscripts. Avison's published music is particularly well represented; the collection includes copies of his concertos and sonatas from op. 3 to op. 9.⁶ However, it is the existence of the manuscript work attributed to Avison that makes the collection of particular importance.⁷

The work is a setting of David Garrick's *Solemn Dirge*, a text written for the 1750 Drury Lane production of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. There were three distinct versions of *Romeo and Juliet* in circulation in the eighteenth century, all of which deviated from the original version of

the play to a lesser or greater extent. The earliest of these was Thomas Otway's adaptation, originally produced in the seventeenth century, under the title of *The History and Fall of Caius Marius*. A second, penned by Theophilus Cibber, retained Shakespeare's original title; it appeared in 1744. This was ultimately followed by Garrick's version in 1748.⁸ However, in 1750, a turn of events culminated in the simultaneous staging of two rival productions, based on different versions, at the London theatres of Covent Garden and Drury Lane. It was a battle that raged for a total of twelve nights, and was started when Susannah Cibber (née Arne) – who originally played Juliet in Garrick's Drury Lane production – switched allegiance to John Rich's company at Covent Garden, where the Cibber version was performed. Only when Susannah grew tired of playing Juliet did Rich cease competition; Garrick, to cement victory, ran his production for a thirteenth night.

It was during the 1750 run that Rich added a new scene to the play: a representation of Juliet's funeral procession. The scene was to be 'accompanied by a solemn DIRGE ... set to Music by Mr. [Thomas] ARNE', with a text presumably penned by Arne's brother-in-law, Theophilus Cibber.⁹ It clearly met with success, since a comparable dirge was inserted into the Drury Lane production – using a text written by Garrick and hurriedly set by William Boyce – only

three days later.¹⁰ Garrick's text is divided into three stanzas, designated 'Air', each followed by a refrain:¹¹

CHORUS.

RISE, rise, Heart-breaking Sighs,
The Woe-fraught bosom swell;
For sighs alone, and dismal Moan,
Should echo *Juliet's* Knell.

AIR.

She's gone, the sweetest Flow'r of *May*,
That blooming blest our Sight;
Those Eyes which shone like breaking Day,
Are set in endless Night!

CHORUS.

Rise, rise, &c.

AIR.

She's gone, she's gone; nor leaves behind
So fair a form, so pure a Mind:
How couldst thou, Death, at once destroy
The Lover's Hopes, the Parents joy?

CHORUS.

Rise, rise, &c.

AIR.

Thou spotless Soul, look down below,
Our unfeign'd Sorrow see;
Oh! give us Strength to bear our Woe,
To bear the Loss of thee!

CHORUS.

Rise, rise, &c.

It was not long before this scene was incorporated into provincial performances. One of the earliest performances outside London took place at Edinburgh on 18 January 1751, an occasion on which the play was staged as part of a concert of music.¹² So successful was the funeral scene that other composers began to set one or the other of the two primary dirge texts. Niccolo Pasquali used that by Cibber, while Thomas Linley Senior set Garrick's version for a 1788 production at Drury Lane. A further setting of Garrick's text survives in a manuscript book that once belonged to Francis Hopkinson.¹³

Avison probably composed his setting for an early provincial performance of *Romeo and Juliet*. An advertisement of 1755 for a Newcastle

performance mentioned the inclusion of a 'SOL-EMN DIRGE', but did not indicate its composer.¹⁴ Nevertheless, Avison may have composed his *Dirge* for performance elsewhere. The advertisement for the aforementioned 1751 performance at Edinburgh mentions that the dirge was 'perform'd by Mrs. STORER and Mrs. LAMPE'.¹⁵ It is known from the correspondence of John Callander that Avison had good Scottish connections and, since Avison's setting is the only known version written for two voices, one is tempted to believe that his setting was originally written for performance at Edinburgh.¹⁶

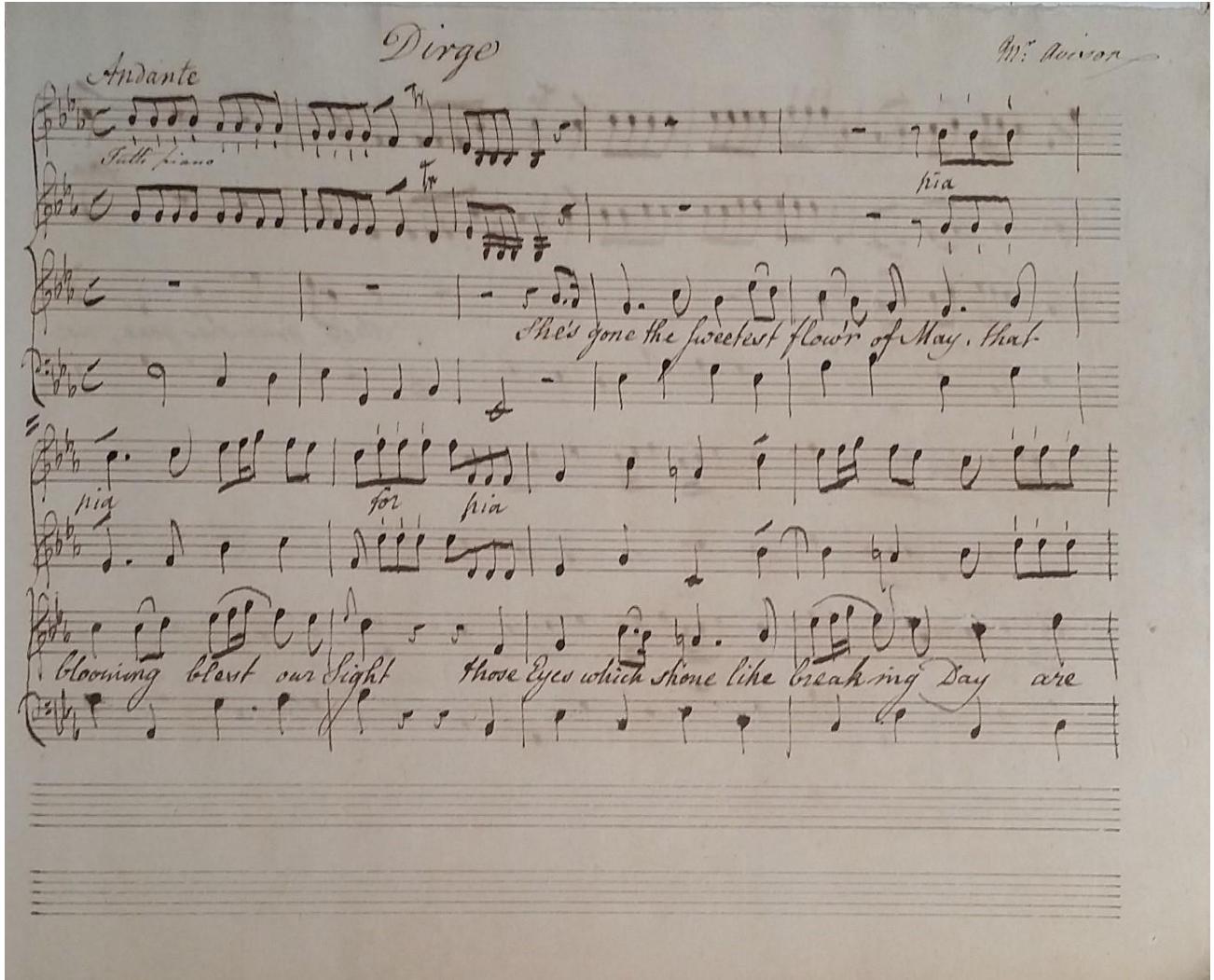
The score of Avison's *Dirge* measures approximately 26 cm x 21 cm and is soft-bound in marbled paper. The manuscript is neatly executed by a single scribe, with the later addition of Avison's name by a different hand on the first page. In addition to the score, there are three instrumental parts in the same hand. The music is for a pair of sopranos or tenors, accompanied by two violins, and a bass whose instrumentation is not specified. The absence of a figured bass in the score could imply that a harmonised continuo was not required, and that the bass was performed by a cello alone. Nevertheless, its omission does not necessarily stem from Avison, and the score could well have been used by a keyboard player.

The hand is not that of the composer, since it differs from the examples of his autographs that are found in the two authenticated 'workbooks' (see footnote 2 for a discussion of Avison autographs). Nevertheless, there is a strong kinship between the hand of the copyist, and that of Avison, since both employ the same form of bass clef, as shown in Ex. 1. The hand is also neither that of Avison's youngest son Charles (whose form of trill sign is different), despite possessing some strong affinities with it, nor that of his eldest son Edward (whose hand is known from his signature among the Newcastle copies of Clari's *Canticles*).¹⁷ It does, however, correspond to an unidentified hand in the 'workbooks', responsible in the main for the copies of Avison's concerto grosso arrangements of Geminiani's opp. 1 and 4 sonatas in the second book. This copyist might just be Avison's daughter, Jane, the third of his three children who survived infancy.¹⁸ In any event, identification of the hand among the 'workbooks' offers strong supporting

evidence for believing the Avison attribution to be correct.

Although the hand is neat, there are a number of errors, almost all of which are left uncorrected. This suggests that the Burghley House manuscript was never used for a performance, and may have been completed in a hurry despite its overall neatness.¹⁹ One even wonders

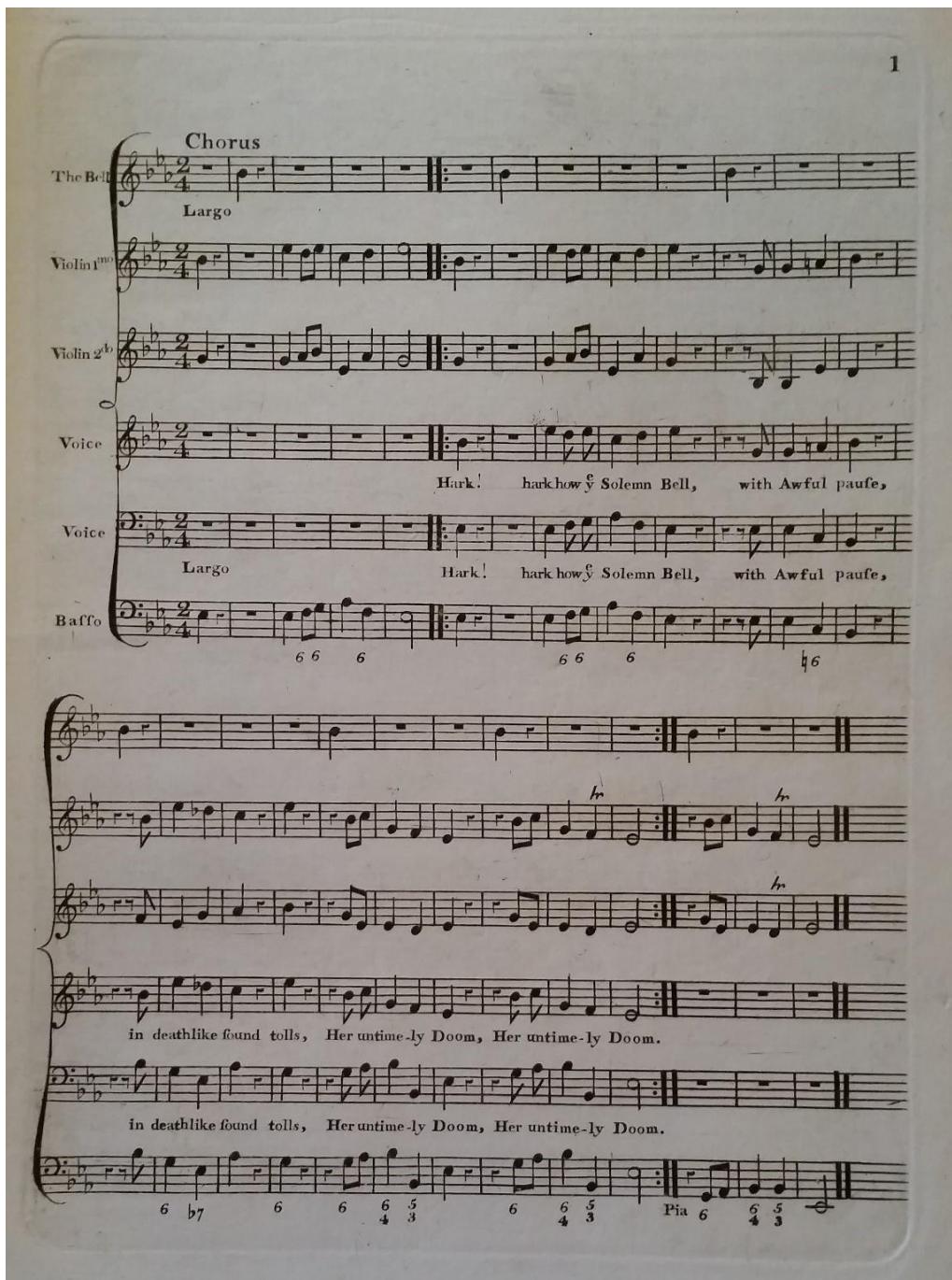
whether Avison himself was rushed in composing the piece, since there are a number of mistakes in the harmony, such as the parallel fifths, most obviously between the violin and bass parts in bar 61 (beats 2–3). A number of chords are also missing intervals, which require completion by a harmony instrument, and which the composer or the copyist may have left out by accident.



Example 1. First page of the score of Charles Avison's setting of David Garrick's *Solemn Dirge*
(Image reproduced by the kind permission of The Trustees of the Burghley House Collection)

It is not known at present how Avison obtained his copy of Garrick's text, which was originally published in 1750.²⁰ If it came directly from the published edition, he took some liberties with it for reasons that are obscure. For instance, an alteration befalls the second line of the second verse, where 'So fair a form, so pure a Mind:' (line 2) has been replaced with 'so fair a Face so fair a Mind'. The refrain text is marked 'Chorus', and has been set for the two sopranos

(or tenors), and not for a choir, as might be expected. The labelling may indicate a familiarity with the printed edition, but its function as a refrain has been eliminated, since the stanzas are set in a through-composed manner. The refrain is thus set simply as a concluding portion. It is not clear what led Avison to eliminate the refrain structure by conflating the stanzas, and to reserve the 'Chorus' for the end.



Example 2. Opening 'Chorus' of Niccolo Pasquali, *The SOLEMN DIRGE* in Romeo and Juliet (Robert Bremner: [London], 1771). Reproduced from the author's private collection.

Perhaps the most striking feature of Avison's *Dirge* is his use of E flat major. The choice of a major key seems at odds with the sombre subject matter of the text (although Avison does modulate to the relative key of C minor on several occasions – and the 'Chorus', furthermore, begins in that key). It indicates, however, a strong link to Pasquali's *Solemn Dirge*, which is also in E flat, with central verses in the relative minor or G minor (see Ex. 2 for the opening verse). Several further similarities can be observed between the two settings. Pasquali's is

scored for two violins with a basso continuo (although the Italian, in much the same way as Boyce and Arne, utilised a bell). In addition, his verses for 'Chorus', as with Avison, are set for two voice parts (soprano and bass).²¹ In total, the similarities are hard to ignore, and it appears that one composer influenced the other. We know that Pasquali relocated to the Scottish capital in October 1752, and that his version of the *Solemn Dirge* was first performed in Edinburgh on 15 December 1752.²² A possible scenario is that Pasquali was asked to produce a new setting of

the *Dirge* at Edinburgh, using Cibber's text instead of Garrick's, and that he had the opportunity to familiarise himself with Avison's version beforehand, being either asked – or deciding independently – to retain some of its features. Ultimately, though, if Avison's setting was also used at Newcastle, it must have been replaced with Pasquali's arrangement, which was performed there in 1760.²³

Avison's setting of Garrick's *Solemn Dirge* is of some importance, not only to researchers of music in eighteenth-century Britain, but also to those investigating the performance history of

one of Shakespeare's most iconic plays. Produced by someone in Avison's immediate circle, the Burghley House manuscript reveals another side to the well-known British composer, strengthening his links with the theatre and its music. Although there is no specific reference to the performance of Avison's *Dirge* at Edinburgh, such a performance may well have occurred. If so, then not only was his setting one of the earliest composed in the wake of those by Boyce and Arne, but was almost certainly the first version of the *Solemn Dirge* to be heard north of the Scottish border.

I am grateful to The Trustees of the Burghley House Collection, who allowed me to view the Avison manuscript, and gave permission to produce the edition and reproduce the image of the manuscript. Additional thanks are due to Carolyn Crookall, Jon Culverhouse, Gordon Dixon and Michael Talbot.

¹ For further details regarding Avison's compositional output, see Simon Fleming, 'Charles Avison (1709–1770): An Important and Influential English Composer, Musician, and Writer', MMus. diss. (University of Liverpool, 1999).

² The task of establishing the surviving extent of Avison's music is ongoing. There are several extant manuscript books, frequently referred to as the 'Avison workbooks', known to have belonged to members of the Avison family, which contain his own music in part. They were auctioned at Sothebys in 2000 and 2002 and were purchased by the Avison Ensemble; they now reside at Newcastle City Library. Roz Southey attributes another manuscript book held by the same library to Avison (GB-NTp: SL780.8). However, the style of its handwriting is so different from that of the two authentic workbooks that one can say with certainty that it was *not* produced by Avison, or by any of his children (it was from this book that Southey found the secular cantata 'Delia and Thyrsis'). A further volume, once belonging to Charles Avison Junior, is preserved in the Library of Congress, Washington D.C. See Roz Southey et al, *The Ingenious Mr Avison Making Music and Money in Eighteenth-Century Newcastle* (Newcastle, 2009), 31, and Simon Fleming, 'Charles Avison jnr and his book of organ voluntaries' *The Musical Times*, 153 (2012), 97–106.

³ Brownlow inherited the title of Earl of Exeter in 1754. See Charles Cudworth, 'The Music at Burghley House', *The Musical Times*, 104 (1963), 412–13.

⁴ Gerald Gifford, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Music Collection at Burghley House*, Stamford (Aldershot, 2002), 9–10.

⁵ Gifford, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 14.

⁶ Gifford, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 127–9. Avison's *Dirge* is mentioned on p. 95 of the catalogue, where it is given the catalogue reference BH 008. The shelf mark of the manuscript is Te34 BH010.

⁷ How the manuscript of Avison's *Dirge* reached the Burghley House collection is currently unknown. The myth that Avison met Garrick at Burghley House, as argued in my note for the Avison Ensemble's *Rebellion!* CD (Cavalier Classics, 2010), cannot be proven, and seems unlikely given the alterations that Avison made to Garrick's text.

⁸ Irena Cholij, 'Music in Eighteenth-Century London Shakespeare Productions', PhD. thesis (University of London, 1995), 161.

⁹ Cholij, 'Music in Eighteenth-Century London', 166. Cibber's text begins 'Ah, hapless maid'

¹⁰ Cholij 'Music in Eighteenth-Century London', 167.

¹¹ The text is reproduced from *The Charmer, or the Lady's Garland* (London, c.1764), 42–3.

¹² *Caledonian Mercury*, 17 January 1751. This concert was held in the concert hall on the Canongate; a reviewer said that the 'Musick [to Romeo and Juliet] was very solemn, and had a proper Effect.' It was staged for a second time on 29 January. See *Caledonian Mercury*, 22 and 29 January 1751.

¹³ Cholij, 'Music in Eighteenth-Century London', 170; Charles Haywood: 'William Boyce's "Solemn Dirge" in Garrick's Romeo and Juliet Production of 1750', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 2 (1960), 173–87. Haywood attributed the version in Hopkinson's book incorrectly to Boyce. A recording of Boyce's setting can be found on the CD *Peleus and Thetis and other theatre music*, Peter Holman (conductor) and Opera Restor'd, (Hyperion, 1997) CDA66935.

¹⁴ *Newcastle Courant*, 31 May 1755. A similar advertisement appeared in the *Newcastle Courant* for 26 June 1756.

¹⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 17 January 1751.

¹⁶ See Simon Fleming: 'John Callander and the Avison Connection: A Recently Rediscovered Letter', *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 11/2 (2014), 283–90.

¹⁷ For a more thorough discussion of the handwriting of Charles Avison Junior, see Fleming, 'Charles Avison jnr and his book of organ voluntaries'. The copy of Clari's *Canticles* is in Newcastle City Library (GB-NTp: SL780.92).

¹⁸ Mark Kroll identified at least five different hands in the Avison's two workbooks, but did not attempt to ascertain to whom each belongs. See Kroll, 'Two Important New Sources for the Music of Charles Avison', *Music & Letters*, 86 (2005), 416.

¹⁹ See the Critical Commentary to this issue's Supplement for more information on the copyist's errors. The Supplement is available to NEMA members for download from the *EMP* page of the NEMA website (<http://www.earlymusic.info/Performer.php>).

²⁰ Haywood, 'William Boyce's "Solemn Dirge"', 178.

²¹ Cibber's text, unlike Garrick's, does not have a refrain; however, in Pasquali's setting, the opening verse is repeated at the end.

²² David Johnson: 'Pasquali, Niccolo' *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed 15 December 2014 (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21018>). See *Caledonian Mercury*, 14 December 1752. Pasquali also conducted this performance of his *Dirge*.

²³ *Newcastle Courant*, 11 October 1760. This performance was produced by the Edinburgh Comedians.

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Representations of Early Music on Stage and Screen: a Brief Introduction

James Cook, Alex Kolassa and Adam Whittaker

Today, many people's first (and sometimes only) contact with early music comes through film, television, videogames, or staged drama. Despite this, early music's representation in these media has received scant critical attention.¹ With the current explosion of interest in historical genres,² a potential opportunity has arisen for those involved in researching and performing early music to reach a wider audience, who would not normally attend research seminars or early music concerts. Yet, scholars and performers are generally suspicious of TV programmes and films that are set in the past and try to recreate it to varying degrees of 'fidelity'. As Stuart Airlie has recently opined when discussing the Middle Ages in cinema, 'questions of authenticity and fidelity to historical evidence can [...] become less relevant than questions of what is appropriate to the medium,'³ and media such as those outlined above have their own traditions of genre-specific clichés and themes. Indeed, recent scholarship in the area of medievalism in Film Studies has often focussed on adaptation as a central theme, recognising that historical films should be seen on their own terms.⁴ Such artefacts are more than just one particular director's view of history. They have a life of their own, opening up a view of the past that sits between the past and the present, whose significance has been overlooked.

It is perhaps easy to succumb to a temptation of writing off popular representations of the past from a scholarly perspective. But why should representations of early music necessarily be more faithful to the early music tradition than to the traditions of the media through which they are being represented? There is a tension between a multiplicity of competing priorities here and, quite understandably, our allegiance is most often to our own discipline. Our contention in the study group Representations of Early Music

on Stage and Screen (REMOSS) is that this tension can be intensely – perhaps inherently – productive. In attempting to understand the complex interplay between these priorities, we can learn much, both about the way diverse creative agencies interact (e.g. those involved in script writing, those involved in selecting and editing music for inclusion in films, etc.), and about how the popular imagination conceives and understands how the past might have sounded.

To take an example from *The Borgias* (2011), produced by the US TV network Showtime: what does it mean for the urban, secular, procession for Rodrigo Borgia's coronation as Pope Alexander Sextus to be accompanied by Handel's vocal and instrumental *Zadok the Priest*? And what is the significance of switching to Gesualdo's *a cappella* *Jerusalem surge* as the chapel doors open? These choices have necessitated the rejection of others – why use pre-existent music at all? And, if so, why these particular examples? We may, of course, draw interesting intertextual interpretations from the choice of pre-existent material (based on an understanding of how these pieces have been used in earlier films or TV programmes, or even on how they were received at their time of composition or subsequently), and perhaps conclude that the aptness of these associations is more important than any anachronisms we might identify.

Importantly, the potential impact of research in this area extends beyond the realms of film, television, videogame, and staged drama theory. Each of these media has a significant influence on the popular conception of how the past sounded, affecting the expectations of listeners as they enter the concert hall or the lecture theatre. Recalling the *Borgia* coronation scene detailed above, might we see the ghost of the so-called English *a cappella* heresy in the

association of unaccompanied music with a sacred location, and accompanied music with a secular one?⁵

The supposed division of musical spaces implied by the *a cappella* heresy debate seems to have impacted upon the ways that musical associations are drawn upon in newly-composed scores too, as seen in Disney's *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1996). The influence of the 'medieval' world, as envisaged through the eyes of animators and directors both in this film and, more generally, on contemporary perceptions, has been noted, but is still relatively underexplored.⁶

Throughout *The Hunchback* – a particularly intriguing case because of its enduring popularity with people of all ages, not just children – sacred and secular spaces are clearly defined by the music associated with them, a point illustrated neatly in the opening five minutes of the film. The film opens with a scene inside Notre Dame itself, accompanied by a monophonic melody in the style of plainsong. Ostensibly, this is a standardised gesture for representing historical sacred spaces, thus establishing unaccompanied voices as part of the aural 'identity' of a sacred space.⁷ In contrast, instrumental music in medieval and renaissance styles, so common in the urban, outdoor settings, never features.

As the film moves out of the walls of the church and into the streets of Paris in 1482, the character and instrumentation of the music changes markedly, furthering the division of secular and sacred musical identities. For the most part, non-diegetic, filmic orchestral music accompanies the sung narration (i.e. sound whose source is neither visible on the screen, nor could be produced within the scene that it accompanies). However, there are brief moments where the music plays with the clichés of popular medievalism. The non-diegetic musical material is interspersed with rescorings for a single woodwind, supported by an accompaniment of unidentifiable 'thin' and 'reedy' instruments, and a simple drum and tambourine, nearly always in a 'folky' 6/8 time.⁸ Sung Latin intersperses these folk-like episodes, appearing as a kind of sacred commentary upon the action on screen, further emphasising the musical division between the two spheres.

Disney's *The Hunchback* may therefore be seen to play an important role in forming

conceptions of a perceived 'medieval' period and, crucially, offers insights into the prevailing trends in popular medievalism that manifest themselves in a range of media. The perception of a division between 'sacred' and 'secular' spheres has almost certainly affected the way that early music is represented in the two cases outlined above. One of the most important, wide-ranging and outward-looking aims of REMOSS is to assess what implications this division has had for the practical decisions that have been made by directors, composers, actors and musicians.

So far, we have begun to outline some of the topics of interest for REMOSS. We would also like to shine some light on the way the 'early' (musically speaking) might be an inspiration, out of which practitioners seek to say something truly 'new'. Indeed, adaptation is an interpretive (and thus creative) act, which carves out a new interpretative field; the temporal play of past and present involves, after all, more than the simple reproduction of a historical artefact.⁹ We would like to explore incisively what it means for composers and practitioners to engage in processes of recomposing the past.

This process of recomposition – as we have termed it – has been manifest in a number of different ways. One such way is the very clear inspiration that musics of the medieval and Renaissance periods have given to composers of the avant-garde, particularly in Britain, but also abroad. For example, Harrison Birtwistle's music has been described as 'a combination of medieval techniques (cantus firmus, organum, isorhythm, hocketing) and twentieth-century interests'.¹⁰ Indeed, a number of his contemporaries have likewise taken cues from the musical past, albeit always in highly individualistic – and idiomatic – ways. It is perhaps worth noting how, so often, this productive relationship with the techniques and aesthetics of history find their fullest expression in operatic works; note, for example, Harrison Birtwistle's medieval and mythological themed *Gawain* (1991), Peter Maxwell Davies' dramatic retelling of the life of the eponymous composer *Tavener* (1972), and Alexander Goehr's recomposing of Monteverdi's music for his *Arianna* (1995).

Returning to more popular commercial media, there are other areas where composers have been able to treat and evoke early music in

all manner of imaginative ways. The computer game *Civilisation V* (2010), part of a series in which players construct and manage a civilisation from prehistory to the far future, offers us an endearing, and attractively literal, example of early music recomposed. A rearrangement of Machaut's *Messe de Notre Dame* forms the backdrop to the game's medieval phase. The score begins *a cappella*, the faux-medieval D-dorian modality attenuated by a drone in the low strings. The strings then swell, eventually introducing a transfer of the polyphonic vocal texture, and its motivic material, into a full and 'romantic' orchestral string passage. What follows is a remarkable collage of folk, medieval and filmic clichés, departing only from the static and all-purpose modal context (a clear means of connecting the past with the present), in preparation for a climactic II-V-I and an emphatic tutti – a combination of medieval vocal and postmodern polyphony, complete with ritualised tam-tam strikes. Far from being a debasement of a sacrosanct musical text, this is a strikingly potent

example of the creative engagement between past and present.

Clearly, early music offers a productive vocabulary to a diverse range of practitioners who work in many media and traditions. Our goal with this new research project is to take initial steps towards a better understanding of this fascinating interplay. We have already hosted a number of round-table discussions, which have made use of video conferencing to engage with an international community of scholars. A study day is planned at the University of Nottingham for June 12th, from which we intend to publish a volume of essays. We welcome ideas for further projects and events. For those wishing to get involved, you can sign up to our jiscmail newsletter (remoss@jiscmail.ac.uk), follow us on twitter (@REMOSSNotts), visit our website (<http://nottingham.ac.uk/moss/research/remoss.aspx>), or follow our blog (hosted on blogs.nottingham.ac.uk in the near future), or email us (remoss@nottingham.ac.uk).

¹ John Haines' recent *Music in Films on the Middle Ages: Authenticity vs. Fantasy* (London and New York, 2013) is a welcome addition to the scholarship in this area. It provides an important overview of some of the key issues for a portion of the historical period under discussion here, and from the angle of a single medium.

² This could be seen to include fantasy genres since they often mix an idealised past with more fantastical elements.

³ Stuart Airlie, 'Strange Eventful Histories: The Middle Ages in the Cinema' in *The Medieval World*, ed. Peter Lineham and Janet L. Nelson (London and New York, 2003), 163.

⁴ See, for example, Andrew James Johnston, Margitta Rouse, and Philipp Hinz, eds., *The Medieval Motion Picture: The Politics of Adaptation*. (New York, 2014).

⁵ See Christopher Page, 'The English *A Cappella* Heresy' in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows (Berkeley, CA, 1997), 23–9.

⁶ See John Haines, *Music in Films on the Middle Ages*, 77–83.

⁷ The melodic contours of the line do not map onto any known plainchant that we have been able to identify and have melodic similarities to material that returns later in the soundtrack.

⁸ Similar types of figure accompany Esmerelda's dancing later in the film.

⁹ On this point, see Margitta Rouse, 'Rethinking Anachronism for Medieval Film in Richard Donner's *Timeline*' in *The Medieval Motion Picture: The Politics of Adaptation*, 57–79.

¹⁰ Michael Hall, *Harrison Birtwistle in Recent Years* (London, 1998), x.

The Thirteenth Annual Conference on Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain

Mark Windisch

This annual conference at the Foundling Hospital Museum in London is usually an event not to be missed for lovers of eighteenth-century music, and 2014's conference, held on 28th November, was no exception. This is a brief report on some of the more interesting papers.

Matthew Gardner of Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main, presented on the oratorio *Ruth* at the Lock Hospital. The music (which is lost) was composed by Charles Avison (first and third parts) and Felice Giardini (second part); William Boyce had originally been contracted to compose the third part, but was unable to do so owing to illness. The libretto was by one Thomas Haweis, and the surgeon William Bromfield. The story of the chaste Ruth was thought to be an appropriate subject, since the Lock Hospital was not an orphanage, but a home for those suffering from sexually transmitted diseases. Although Avison and Giardini started as friends, some rivalry developed. Giardini later rewrote some of the parts originally composed by Avison, who was more familiar with composing instrumental music. As was the case with the annual performances of Handel's *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital, performing oratorios at the hospital offered a means by which it could raise funds. Leading singers in eighteenth-century London were engaged, such as John Beard and Senesino.

Andrew Woolley of Bangor University spoke about William Walond (1750–1836). Walond was an organist operating in Chichester in the latter half of the eighteenth century. He had in his possession a large amount of keyboard music, which he copied into a manuscript in the Foundling Hospital Museum collection. Unfortunately, a dispute arose between Walond and John Marsh (1752–1828) a gentleman composer. The main disagreement concerned disdain felt for the practice followed by Walond, common in the eighteenth century amongst professional organists, of introducing improvisatory techniques. Marsh was more interested in performing in a plainer classical style. Walond's collection includes a significant

amount of music by Handel, some copied by J. C. Smith.

Elena Pons from Royal Holloway spoke about keyboard arrangements of Haydn's music, which became extremely popular as amateur pianists were able to play reductions of instrumental music in their homes, sometimes with added vocal parts. Many of these arrangements were made before Haydn visited England.

Audrey Carpenter from Leicestershire introduced us to the practice of the King's theatre in London to recruit Italian singers. Mostly these singers were only in London for a short time, but Giovanna Sestini (1748–1814) settled there, taking both opera seria and opera buffa roles. She enjoyed enormous popularity singing in several composer's operas, amongst them Arne's *Artaxerxes*, Paisiello's *La fraschetana*, and Piccini's *La buona figliuola*. She sang in London and Dublin, finishing her career in Edinburgh in 1792. She was widowed quite early and had to support eight children.

Sandra Tuppen from the British Library gave an outline of 'A Big Data History of Music', a modern way of analysing vast amounts of data. No study of this kind has ever been undertaken as the requirement to carry out a search of an enormous amount of documentary evidence has only recently become possible. As an example she spoke about the dissemination of Purcell's music in the eighteenth century. It has been possible to show that, contrary to common belief, Purcell's music retained a measure of popularity throughout the eighteenth century, especially in large city cathedrals and churches where his anthems and services continued to be performed.

Marie Kent from Maidenhead had made a study of the wills of piano makers in the eighteenth century. Wills have proved a useful source of information on their activities and, in most cases, illustrate their relative poverty. Four makers were studied. Americus Backus made a grand piano that was in the possession of the Duke of Wellington, and owned a coffee house

as a sideline. When he died he left two young children in the care of his parish. He is buried in the churchyard of St James's, Piccadilly. A more famous name is John Zumpe, who specialised in square pianos, which became very popular. He was one of the few who made charitable donations in his will.

Roya Stuart-Rees from Royal Holloway spoke about the music library of Thomas Bever (1725–91). He was a Doctor of Law and Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. He was also a member of the Academy of Ancient Music and a founder member of the Glee Club. His collection, auctioned in 1798, covered works by Marenzio, Lassus, Purcell and the English madrigalists. The catalogue has only recently come to light and lists all his music except that by Handel, which was left to James Bartleman.

Matthias Range from Oxford University gave a very interesting exposition of how Royal Funerals, which had previously been muted affairs, became prominent public events in Westminster Abbey, starting with that of Queen Anne in 1714. The Duke of Marlborough's funeral in 1722 saw orchestral participation for the first time, and Bononcini's anthem for this occasion became repertoire for much of the century. The funerals of Queen Caroline in 1737 and George II in 1760 featured Handel's famous Funeral Anthem and an even more ambitious work by William Boyce. Range referred to them as 'Concert Funerals'. After that Royal funerals were conducted at St George's Chapel, Windsor, in much quieter circumstances.

Michael Talbot from Liverpool University spoke about Francesco Maria Barsanti (c.1690–1775), one of the first Italians to take up permanent residence in Britain, and who participated fully in British musical life. He became a collector and publisher of 'national song', publishing *Old Scots Tunes* in 1742. His contribution to this genre covered a variety of examples of 'national song', which also included settings of traditional French airs and Hebrew psalms, and is of great value.

Ellen Moerman from London, who is a translator herself, gave several examples of how translators sometimes overlaid their own prejudices on foreign language publications, thereby reducing the value of the original text. She spoke in particular about translations of C.P.E. Bach's treatise on the art of keyboard playing.

Finally, John Bowker from Carnforth gave a brief introduction to how Handel used the principles of rhetoric in his composition and compared this with the work of garden designers of the period.

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Andrew Woolley

andrewwoolley@sapo.pt

Grounds for Pleasure:
Keyboard Music from Seventeenth-Century England
 Colin Booth, harpsichord
 Soundboard Records SBCD214 (2014)

Bryan White

Colin Booth's latest recording is a sampling of English keyboard works on a ground bass spanning over a century from examples in My Lady Nevell's Book of 1591 to one in William Croft's Suite in A major, found in a manuscript dating from around 1730. Booth is an experienced harpsichord player, maker and author, and this recording brings together his skills as a craftsman and performer. He plays an instrument he restored himself in 2013. Signed 'Nicholas Celini Narboniensis 1661' (Nicholas Celini of Narbonne), its rich tone, characteristic of early French instruments, is tempered by an Italianate clarity derived from its brass wire stringing. It is a two manual instrument with two ranks of strings at 8-foot pitch on the bottom manual, which can be played together or separately, and another set at 4-foot pitch played only on the upper manual (a coupler from an earlier restoration has been removed). As will become clear in this review, the quality of the recording owes much to the charm of the various colours the instrument produces. This is, furthermore, the first recording to use the instrument in its newly-restored state; Booth plans another of works by seventeenth-century French composers. Further details concerning the instrument and its restoration are available from his website (at <<http://www.colinbooth.co.uk/news.html>>).

A CD dedicated wholly to grounds may sound daunting even to devotees of the genre, but Booth has been thoughtful in his programme, leavening the mix with a few works of different construction, including, for instance, several suites of which a ground forms one of the movements. The quality of the music throughout is superb, offering a fascinating account of the great variety of ways in which composers have exploited the ground technique. Amongst the highlights for me is Thomas

Tomkins's superbly inventive *Grounde*, which moves from explorations of imitative points over the bass to virtuosic elaboration. As might be expected from a master of the technique, Purcell's grounds come through strongly too. The choice of composers from the long seventeenth century adds to the interest: encouraging a direct comparison of Byrd, Gibbons and Tomkins with Blow, Purcell and Croft. Booth is an imaginative and attentive interpreter; in Purcell's *A new ground* (Purcell's own arrangement of 'Here the deities approve' from *Welcome to all the pleasures*), he graces the *style brisé* accompaniment with Gallic inequality, and enlivens the melody with scotch snaps. His thoughtful approach to articulation brings out the best in the final strains of Blow's *Mortlack's Ground*. Choices of tempo were generally to my taste, though I found the arrangement of Purcell's 'Curtain tune' from *Timon of Athens* to be a little on the slow side, owing perhaps to a decision to focus on melodic detail rather than the relentless drive of the ground, and Blow's *Ground in Gamut Flatt* seemed to me to drag occasionally.

Although listeners of the CD will inevitably dip into favourite tracks and composers, there is much to be gained from going through it in one sitting, for in this way the attractive character of the instrument itself comes through with great effect. Booth varies the registration of pieces with care; I was particularly struck by the contrast between the full sonority of both sets of strings on the lower manual in Gibbons' *Pavan: Lord Salisbury* and the clear tone of the lighter set of strings from the same manual on its own in Blow's *Suite in D minor*. Another telling contrast comes when Purcell's *Ground in D minor* is played on the higher octave strings of the upper manual following Blow's *Ground in Gamut Flatt*. This

ground is an arrangement of the countertenor solo 'Crown the altar, deck the shrine' from the 1693 ode for Queen Mary, *Celebrate this festival*, and the slightly uncanny colour further enhances what is already a mercurial and insinuating composition. Elsewhere the two manuals are contrasted in a single piece, as in *A new ground*, in which the ground is taken on the lower manual, and the melody on the upper. In several instances Booth takes the decision to vary registration within rather than between pieces. This is a point of performance practice on which there is virtually no information provided by the musical sources. It is impossible to speak of a 'standard' harpsichord in the seventeenth century, and composers were well aware that their music might be performed on different types of instruments, some single manual, some double, some with buff stops, some without. Booth's decision to vary registrations within pieces lacks specific historical sanction, but the absence of evidence is no rule, and I found the approach in this recording to be successful in musical terms. Booth himself is implicitly aware

of the issue, justifying his use of a continental harpsichord for the performance of English music on the grounds of Charles II's predilection for French musicians, conjecturing that the predilection may well have extended to instruments too. Such a justification is hardly necessary, since it is clear that English players were importing instruments from the continent as well as well as using ones by makers in England (some of whom were, of course, continental emigrants).

The CD is well recorded, clear and close in sound without the sense of being too near the instrument. The programme booklet is informative, particularly with regard to the instrument (of which a picture is offered), though a bit of clarity on the origin of arrangements of Purcell's grounds would be welcome, since two come from odes rather than theatre music as suggested in the notes. I also enjoyed the punning title of the CD in which the cover art is playfully included. All in all, this is an excellent recording, offering a range of pleasures, and much to be recommended.

Richard Maunder, *The Scoring of Early Classical Concertos 1750–1780*

Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014, £60

Erin Helyard

A decade has passed since Richard Maunder's controversial findings in his *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004). Now we have another meticulously researched work from him that studies the scoring, form, instrumentation, and organological implications of compositions from some of most marginalised decades of the eighteenth century: 1750–1780. The efforts of scholars such as Maunder, Daniel Heartz, Robert Gjerdingen, and Elisabeth Le Guin (amongst others) have enabled us to more fruitfully examine the important historical trends in musical culture following the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) as well as the bloody Seven Years' War (1756–1763).¹ And it must be said that the psychological barrier of the death of J. S. Bach in 1750 is one still very hard to break through

conceptually, both for the layman as well as for the undergraduate music history student – and so the decades between Bach's death, and the 'maturity' of figures such as Haydn and Mozart in the 1770s, often leaves the 1750s and 1760s undervalued and misunderstood. Scholarly work such as Maunder's helps re-address a significant lacuna in our knowledge and general comprehension of music of this period.

I say 'controversial' because, unlike Maunder's organological work, which is generally considered by his peers as outstanding, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos* received some critical reviews, praising Maunder's investigation of the repertoire but questioning some of his findings.² Following on from the one-to-a-part polemics inaugurated by Joshua Rifkin in the 1980s regarding the so-called 'Bach choir',

Maunder makes the case that many orchestral concertos of the early eighteenth century were intended for performance by only one instrumentalist per part. Andrew Manze and Michael Talbot queried some of Maunder's methodology, pointing out what they saw as contradictions and logical flaws in his reasoning. Both reviewers felt that Maunder's one-to-a-part agenda was pursued too dogmatically. Talbot wrote that the premise 'under assault is not an unexamined dogma but a tolerant pluralism that recognizes that nothing is more historically authentic, in eighteenth-century terms, than a pragmatism that seeks inclusion rather than exclusion'.³ He makes the *reductio ad absurdum* that most members of an opera orchestra, playing a concerto as an entr'acte, would have had to remain silent throughout in order to respect the one-to-a-part principle.⁴ Maunder's response highlighted, quite rightly, that the evidence of surviving parts could not be ignored and that 'there is abundant evidence that this was a common practice a little later in the century.' He points out, for example, that over 60% of the symphonies in both the Regensburg and Oettingen-Wallerstein archives have duplicate parts, whereas 90% of the concertos only have one of each.⁵ Possibly in response to these critiques, Maunder extends this archival research and focuses on works in the post-1750 period in an effort to determine the forces that composers, performers, and audiences might have witnessed in performances of concertos.

Maunder's conclusions are, on the whole, similar to those of his 2004 study. For Northern and Central Germany, 'single strings appear to have been the norm' (p. 47). The evidence in Italy is 'not always conclusive', but with a few exceptions, concertos were intended to be performed one-to-a-part (p. 73). Maunder shows that 'nearly all Viennese concerto sets contain only one of each string part' (p. 122), and a similar situation appears to be the case in Salzburg (p. 157). In South German courts, although numbers appear to increase here and there, Maunder concludes that 'many concertos were still played one-to-a-part' (p. 200). Many of the concertos discussed in his study on Paris were performed at the famed Concert Spirituel, which in 1755 had 17 violins, 2 violas, 6 cellos, 2 double basses, 5 oboes and flutes, 4 bassoons, 2 horns, trumpet, timpani, and organ, but Maunder rests on the evidence of the printed parts to conclude that 'solo concertos issued

during the 1760s appear to have aimed at performance by single strings' (p. 233).⁶ Maunder admits that old-fashioned concerti grossi were performed in England either one-to-a-part, or by larger ensembles in the period in question. A 1777 preface by Robert Bremner specifically aimed at concerto players (not mentioned by Maunder) supports this view, since it cautions that 'if there be more than one to a part, [the ripienist] becomes no more than a part of a part'.⁷ Nevertheless, solo concertos composed there were 'mostly designed for an accompaniment of single strings' (p. 281).

Maunder places a lot of credence for the continuation of one-to-a-part practices after 1750 on the number of surviving parts in archives and libraries. He is at his best when he thinks like an eighteenth-century musician who needs to turn pages at convenient times, decipher unsystematic *tutti* and *solo* markings, and plays alone, or must either share a part, or plays from a hand-copied part derived from a published one. Talbot made the claim that it is possible that copies that once existed have long since been discarded, leaving only a single complete master set. But Maunder shows that, in the two archives cited above, the absence of duplicated parts for the concertos and the overwhelming presence of doubled parts for the symphonies 'shows that there was no policy at either court of culling extra copies, and hence that concertos were usually performed there from sets of single parts'.⁸ Now this is compelling evidence, and one wishes that there might have followed a more nuanced analysis of these archives beyond the references to two German studies, but unfortunately this is the last we hear in Maunder's study of bifurcated practice in later eighteenth-century musical culture. There is also hardly any recourse to manuals such as Quantz's or Bremner's on the duties of ripienists. Despite the 'abundant evidence' that Maunder promised in his riposte to Talbot, Maunder turns instead to 'internal evidence' – drawn from scores – and it is here where the reasoning becomes questionable.

Especially questionable is Maunder's reliance on texture as a means to gauge whether one-to-a-part performance was intended: 'if,' he posits, 'there is a duet for the soloist and the accompanying violin 1 while the other instruments have rests, the violin 1 part is *almost certainly meant for a single player at that point*' (p. 5, my italics). This belief that reduced textures

automatically require one-to-a-part performance leads him to similar conclusions elsewhere (for example, on p. 29). Yet the idea does not seem to me to be irrefutable; what is being observed is a variation in texture, with no necessary implication for scoring. To my knowledge, treatises offer it no support. Quantz, for instance, in §34 and §35 of Chapter 17 in his *Versuch*, recommends only that ripienists moderate their tone to ensure that the soloist is never obscured.⁹ Players in opera orchestras would have been aware that *piano* or *dolce* generally meant that they had to accompany the singers and hence balance accordingly.

Maunder does outline cases where *solo* (or *piano*) indications in the ripieno parts correspond to passages for the soloist with single-line accompaniment, which suggests that one-to-a-part performance occurred in such passages, or that players sharing a part were being alerted to the change in texture. On p. 273, he gives a clear example of these kinds of marking in a J. C. Bach concerto. Yet, he argues that the *tutti* and *piano* markings are too inconsistent, and so one-to-a-part performance was probably intended throughout (the markings served as warnings). I only quibble here with Maunder's claim that one-to-a-part performance took place 'almost certainly'. While inconsistent, the markings could have been checked, and their inconsistencies resolved in rehearsal, as has been suggested by Manze. Rehearsals functioned as a means of checking the accuracy of parts, a process that was accomplished without pencils or crayons.¹⁰

It might be that Maunder is claiming that balance, an important issue for eighteenth-century commentators, will be poorly affected by a group of players on a single line. However, as a keyboard performer, continuo player, and opera conductor of many years' experience I have to agree with Neal Zaslaw, who observes (in a discussion of Mozart keyboard concertos) that 'a single violinist can sometimes prove more powerful than an entire violin section, as can be noticed in certain passages in various violin concertos. Hence, using one player on a part will not automatically solve balance problems ... and may sometimes exacerbate them.'¹¹

Maunder's reliance on 'internal' evidence is also questionable in other places, such as his occasional suggestion that keyboard continuo was required in order to fill-out harmony in music where it appears 'incomplete' (especially points where thirds are missing). This argument presupposes that eighteenth-century musicians would have always shared such concerns, and also does not take into account the possibility that the deficiency would have been rectified by a cellist improvising a double stop.

The great worth of Maunder's book lies in its being a rich and discerning survey of composers and their concertos. I agree with Maunder that most performances of eighteenth century concertos were performed one-to-a-part, but in the book-length format that the author has chosen, the continual recourse to 'internal evidence' for the one-to-a-part model ultimately leaves one provoked into a critical stance.

¹ Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style 1720–1780* (New York 2003); Robert Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (Oxford, 2007); Elisabeth Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body: An Essay in Carnal Musicology* (Berkeley, 2006).

² In particular, his research into Viennese keyboard instruments is exemplary. Richard Maunder, *Keyboard Instruments in Eighteenth-Century Vienna* (Oxford, 1998) and 'Viennese Keyboard Instruments, 1750–1790' in Thomas Steiner (ed.), *Bowed and Keyboard Instruments in the Age of Mozart* (Berne, 2010), 113–132. The reviews that critique Maunder are by Andrew Manze, in *Early Music* 33/3 (2005), 506–508, and by Michael Talbot, in *Music & Letters* 86/2 (2005), 287–290, with a reply by Maunder in 87/3 (2006), 507–508.

³ Talbot (2005), 290.

⁴ *ibid.*, 289.

⁵ Maunder (2006), 507 and Maunder, *The Scoring of Early Classical Concertos*, 4.

⁶ *Almanach des spectacles de Paris* (1756) quoted in John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815* (Oxford, 2004), 534.

⁷ Robert Bremner, 'Some Thoughts on the Performance of Concert Music (1777)', *Early Music* 7/1 (1979), 50.

⁸ Talbot (2005), 289, and Maunder, *The Scoring of Early Classical Concertos*, 4.

⁹ Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin, 1752).

¹⁰ See Spitzer and Zaslaw, *Birth of the Orchestra*, 386 ff.

¹¹ Neal Zaslaw, 'Contexts for Mozart's Piano Concertos' in Zaslaw (ed.), *Mozart's Piano Concertos: Text, Context, Interpretation* (Ann Arbor, 1996), 9.

Michael Burden, *Regina Mingotti: Diva and Impresario at the King's Theatre, London*

Farnham: Ashgate, 2013, £60 (website price: £54)

Peter Holman

There has been a good deal of interest recently in the Italian opera singers who worked in eighteenth-century London, what with such publications as C. Steven Larue's *Handel and his Singers: The Creation of the Royal Academy Operas* (Oxford, 1995); Helen Berry's *The Castrato and his Wife* (Oxford, 2011), a biography of Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci; and the two monumental volumes of *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1995, 2001) by Curtis Price, Judith Milhous, Robert D. Hume and Gabriella Dideriksen, dealing respectively with 'The King's Theatre, Haymarket 1778–1791' and 'The Pantheon Opera and its Aftermath 1789–1795'. In addition, the lives and activities of the opera singers of the period have been illuminated by the publication of eyewitness accounts in letters and diaries, notably in *Music and Theatre in Handel's World: The Family Papers of James Harris 1732–1780*, edited by Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill (Oxford, 2002); and *The Letters and Journals of Susan Burney*, edited by Philip Olleson (Farnham, 2012) – which I reviewed in *EMP*, issue 32 (April 2013).

Despite this, the soprano Regina Mingotti (1722–1808) will not be a familiar name even to many eighteenth-century specialists. In part this is because she came to London in 1754, long after Handel had given up writing and putting on Italian operas, and the operas in which she sang there – by Giovanni Lampugnani, Baldassare Galuppi, Niccolò Jommelli, Felice Giardini and others – belong to a type of late *opera seria* that has been largely ignored in modern times. Also, her period in London (she was active until 1757 and again in the 1763–4 season before returning to the Continent for good) has yet not been researched as much as the 1720 and 30s, when Handel was active as an opera composer, or the late eighteenth century, covered by *Italian Opera in Eighteenth-Century London*. Michael Burden seems to have become interested in her because of his work on the poet and opera librettist Pietro Metastasio, notably for his 'Metastasio on the

London Stage, 1728 to 1840, a Catalogue', which takes up the whole of RMA Research Chronicle, vol. 39 (2007). Mingotti seems to have been a follower of Metastasio in her acting style and a champion of his works in London.

This neglect is not because of a lack of sources, as Michael Burden shows. He draws on a wide range of material, including newspaper reports, letters (notably by that inveterate gossip Horace Walpole), Charles Burney's *General History of Music* (much of his volume 4 is taken up with a detailed season-by-season account of Italian opera in London), and polemical pamphlets about the management of the Italian opera house, including two by Mingotti herself. A familiar story emerges of conflict between singers and management (much of the book is concerned with her fraught dealings with the librettist and impresario Francesco Vanneschi), and shenanigans such Vanneschi's imprisonment for debt and his subsequent involvement in the 'second gunpowder plot' of 1755, an abortive and possibly imaginary conspiracy to blow up the King's Theatre and with it members of the government. There is a good deal of new material here that will be of use to historians of eighteenth-century opera, and Burden throws interesting light on some unexpected topics, including Mingotti's relationship with the young Hester Lynch Salusbury (later Mrs Thrale and then Mrs Piozzi), and the possibility that Hester is the female figure depicted in Hogarth's painting *The Lady's Last Stake*.

I found the musical aspects of the book less satisfactory. Burden draws attention to evidence that Mingotti had an enduring relationship with the violinist and composer Felice Giardini, who arrived at the Haymarket Theatre at the same time as her (he was appointed leader of the opera orchestra in the Autumn of 1754), shared the management of the company with her in the 1756–7 season, and facilitated her comeback in the 1763–4 season, when he also acted as company manager. She

may even have been her lover: Burden suggests that he was the father of her son Samuel, born in 1756. However, Giardini did not remain single, as Burden states: he was married at least twice, first to the dancer Maria Caterina Violante, and is shown sitting at the harpsichord surrounded by three of his children in Rigaud's fine group painting, now at the Foundling Museum in London. More important, Burden does not seem to realise the significance of Giardini's role in the opera orchestra. Giardini introduced a modern style of leadership, associated with Turin (his home city), in which the first violin rather than the first harpsichordist was the effective musical director, of the singers as well as the orchestra. With his rival and eventual successor Wilhelm Cramer, he seems to have been responsible for raising musical standards in London to those of the best opera houses abroad. There is an interesting story to be told about the musical partnership between Giardini and Mingotti, apparently an equally progressive and innovative musician, but you will not find much of it here.

This brings me to the central question of Mingotti's profile as a singer and actress. A number of scholars in recent years have tried to work out in detail how eighteenth-century opera singers performed, using as evidence contemporary singing and acting treatises, descriptions of them in action and the music they sang. Burden investigates the various roles she played in London, listing the arias she sang with their ranges in Appendix 2. Yet he makes curiously little use of this information, even claiming in the Foreword that 'not only have all the works she sang come down to us in fragmentary form, but there is no evidence that the published form of the music is that in which she sang it, and or, indeed, that she actually sang the music attributed to her'. This is surely a counsel of despair, or at least a sign of a lack of interest in musical matters. It may be true that none of these operas have survived complete in precisely the form produced in London, and that many of the arias she sang were not originally written for her. Burden makes a few observations about Mingotti's style of singing and acting, based mostly on comparisons eyewitnesses made between her and her contemporaries, including the actor David Garrick on the soprano Colomba Mattei – who like Mingotti also acted as manager of the company, in the early 1760s. However, it should

be possible to develop a more detailed profile of Mingotti's persona as a singer from the 38 surviving arias he lists as having been sung by her in London, particularly since selections from two operas, Jommelli's *Demofonte* and Hasse's *Il re pastore*, were published at the time as 'sung by Sig[no]ra Mingotti'. I also wish that Burden had made more of the specimen of improvised ornamentation that Charles Burney printed, who stated that Mingotti had sung it in the 1755 production of David Perez's *Ezio*. Burden merely describes it as 'a constant stream of notes', but that is true of most Italianate ornamentation, and it would be good to have it (and the vocal writing the arias sung by her) analysed in the context of the development of vocal technique at the time.

To sum up: this short (and relatively expensive) book throws valuable light on a neglected eighteenth-century leading lady, and a neglected period in the history of London's Italian opera house, though it would have appealed more to musicians and the general reader had Burden taken the musical aspects of the subject more seriously. There are also signs of a lack of copy-editing: I noticed 'complimentary' wrongly used to mean 'complementary' (p. 6), 'wily' spelt 'wiley' (p. 78), and what seems to be the same publication, Thomas Mortimer's *Universal Director* of 1763, listed correctly on p. 97, in footnote 5, but wrongly as the anonymous *Nobleman's and Gentleman's Guide* on p. 9, footnote 26. Furthermore, it is not true that the separate vocal part he mentions for Purcell's *Indian Queen* is an unique survival, as he claims (p. 47). I presume he means the tenor part for the sacrifice scene in Act V (actually by Daniel rather than by Henry Purcell), copied to be sung by John Beard in a 1762 production of Rowe's *The Royal Convert* and surviving in British Library, Add. MS 37027. However, MS 5008 in the library of the University of Birmingham includes similar single parts for Thomas Arne's music for *The Fairy Prince* and William Bates's for *The Jovial Crew*, and there are doubtless other examples.

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