

EARLY MUSIC PERFORMER

THE MUSICAL TOUR

OF

Mr. ^cDIBDIN; ^k

IN WHICH---PREVIOUS TO HIS EMBARKATION FOR INDIA---HE FINISHED HIS CAREER AS

A PUBLIC CHARACTER.

"There was a grain of sand that lamented itself as the most unfortunate atom upon the face of the universe ;
"but, in process of time, it became a diamond!"

Readings and Music.

SHEFFIELD :

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Editorial

The present issue of *Early Music Performer* contains three items concerned with Mozart, while others are on late eighteenth and nineteenth century topics. I hope, however, that it will be of some interest to readers whose main interests lie elsewhere.

Jeremy Barlow's two-part article on Charles Dibdin's tours of England was given as a paper at the conference 'Charles Dibdin and his World', which took place at the University of Notre Dame London Centre in February 2014.¹ A book containing other papers from this conference is currently in preparation, details of which are yet to be advertised. As well being a singer, composer and keyboard player, Dibdin (1745–1814) was a dramatist, poet, novelist and actor.² He was following few precedents in publishing *The Musical Tour of Mr. Dibdin* (1788) and *Observations on a Tour through almost the whole of England, and a considerable part of Scotland* (1802). Although it was fairly common for English musicians to travel in the eighteenth century and earlier – as when the composer Pelham Humfrey went to France, returning 'an absolute Monsieur', according to Samuel Pepys's diary (15 November 1667) – few recorded their experiences in writing. Charles Burney's *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (1773) and *The Present State of Music in Germany, The Netherlands and United Provinces* (1775) are among the few examples, but Dibdin's tours were quite different. The first tour, considered in Part 1, gives an account of the one-man shows he put on at regional English towns in an attempt to raise the funds needed for emigrating to India – a journey that never happened. Part 2, which will appear in issue 40, will cover the later tour (1798–1801).

Next, Beth Pei-Fen Chen returns to the topic of slurs in Mozart's music, following up on two earlier articles in *EMP*, this time looking at bowing marks and indications of legato in various genres. It is difficult to judge what is meant by slurs when they appear next to ties, with dots, or with other slurs, and according to Chen, editors of Urtext editions have sometimes interpreted them incorrectly. As with Beth's previous contributions, this one is generously supplied with facsimile excerpts.

The third article will be of interest to anyone who uses social media, such as Facebook, for promoting their work or to connect with online early music groups. Annabelle Lee, a PhD student at Royal Holloway, University of London, is researching the marketing of classical music on social media and reports on some of her findings as they relate to the early music industry.

Thanks are due to Richard Bethell, Tassilo Erhardt and Christopher Page for assistance with this issue.

Andrew Woolley
October, 2016

¹ See 'Music in London 1800–1851' (<https://musicinlondon.org/>).

² For a report on a large Dibdin archive at the University of Southampton, see John Cunningham, 'Dibdin Here, Dibdin There, Dibdin Everywhere: a report on the LUCEM "Charles Dibdin autographs project"', *EMP*, 18 (2006), 36–43.

Dibdin on Tour: Performer or Sightseer?

Part 1

Jeremy Barlow

Songwriter, actor and theatrical entrepreneur Charles Dibdin (1745–1814) pioneered the one-man musical show with a year's tour of England undertaken in 1787–8;¹ he made a further five or possibly six tours between 1798 and 1801. The first part of this article covers the first tour; the second, which will appear in *EMP* issue 40, the remainder.

Dibdin published an account of his initial tour in *The Musical Tour of Mr. Dibdin; in which – previous to his embarkation for India – he finished his career as a public character* (he actually aborted the trip to India after experiencing a storm in the English Channel, and continued performing for a further twenty years).² As well as describing the tour itself, Dibdin included details of the entertainments he gave, outspoken views on music and composers, a chronological record of the shows he had written and topographical information on the places he visited, to 'give the public some useful hints relative to inns, manufactories, natural and artificial curiosities, the state of the country as to cultivation, and other such particulars'.³ He wrote the book in epistolary form, a familiar contrivance in fiction of the period. However, it seems that Dibdin addressed most of his letters to actual people.⁴

An inability to work for or with others drove Dibdin to performing alone. After falling out with the managers of the two patent theatres in London – David Garrick at Drury Lane and Thomas Harris at Covent Garden – Dibdin took to theatrical management himself. This proved disastrous, and he wrote in his autobiography, *The Professional Life of Mr. Dibdin*, that in the period immediately before the tour he had 'never been so completely driven into a corner'.⁵ Two theatres that he built, The Royal Circus and Helicon, had failed, and his journal, *The Devil*, only lasted a few months (1786–7). The purpose of the tour was to raise money for the voyage to India⁶ and in that, too, he failed: 'As for my public reception, it has been flattering in the extreme, as far as it relates to applause. I wish I could say the same as to profit.'⁷ His book on the tour, which oversubscribed, provided some recompense.⁸

Dibdin conveys the idea that he set off nonchalantly from London at the start of the tour in March 1787:⁹ 'With a few shirts and books in a trunk, a well-digested plan in my head, and a letter from Dr. ARNOLD to Dr. HAYES, in my pocket, [I] seated myself in the Oxford stage-coach.'¹⁰ His plans were immediately disrupted. On arrival at Oxford he made himself known to Dr Hayes, professor of music: 'I told him that I had a very strong wish to start my entertainment at the University, to give it a proper sanction.'¹¹ Hayes referred Dibdin to the vice-chancellor, Dr Chapman,¹² who refused Dibdin permission to perform because of recent riots by students over performances that he had forbidden.¹³ Chapman believed that if he granted permission so soon after rejecting performances that had been demanded by the students, Dibdin would face a backlash; he suggested a return the following term. Dibdin respected the decision and came back two months later, after making his debut at Bath instead, and then touring the West Midlands.

He advertised his opening in Bath under the heading *Melange*,¹⁴ but later settled on *Readings and Music*.¹⁵ The anodyne titles may reflect a fear of being perceived as a low-class itinerant musician or strolling player; Dibdin attacked 'those who could not distinguish between a fair and liberal compact with the public, and the dirty impudence of a depredating itinerant'.¹⁶ He also had to ensure that the authorities considered his entertainment respectable, whose permission – usually the lord mayor's – he needed in order to perform: 'The mayor of the town is the supreme guardian of provincial morals, and without his permission nothing can be accomplished.'¹⁷ A surprising factor that sometimes hindered Dibdin's acceptance, and particularly annoyed him, was the accusation of being an imposter.

Ironically, the allegation derived from his renown as a composer: 'How could I possibly be Mr. DIBDIN? ... Did he not amass a handsome independency, by composing the *Jubilee* and the *Padlock*? and, was it not impossible that he could be under the necessity of strolling about the country. I must, therefore, be an imposter.'¹⁸ The other person vital to Dibdin on arrival at a town was the printer, for his playbills: 'To *all* [printers] I am indebted for some kindness; to MANY for much civility and kind attention; and to SOME FEW for a liberality and friendly solicitude which will ever make the warmest impression on me.'¹⁹

As far as one can tell, Dibdin did not correspond in advance about his intention to perform, despite the 'well-digested plan'. A diagrammatic route map of the 12-month trip (Illus. 1) looks chaotic and yet only reveals a fraction of the distance he actually travelled; he often went back over the same route to revisit a town. The single line between Norwich and Great Yarmouth, for example, conceals a week travelling back and forth between the two.²⁰ Dibdin estimated that he covered some 2000 miles over the whole tour.²¹

His revisits had multiple causes. He returned to Liverpool because of success on his first appearance, to Sheffield because he had his book printed there, and to Newark for several reasons: he liked the place, a 'pretty, clean town';²² he liked the food at the Kingston's Arms, 'the best cutlets that were ever eaten';²³ and he struck up a friendship with the landlord of another hostelry, the Wing Tavern.²⁴ He was promised a larger audience if he returned to Newark,²⁵ and he gained a large number of subscribers for the book there. The subscription list in *The Musical Tour* is ordered by town and city, with places that offered the most subscribers appearing first.²⁶ London heads the list with 108 subscribers, Liverpool comes second with 51 and the much smaller Newark third, with 28. Last comes Nottingham, with just two; Dibdin took umbrage there, because the mayor treated him as a strolling player and he was also accused of being an imposter. Success in Liverpool, incidentally, produced uncomfortable equivocation over the issue of slavery. Dibdin abhorred cruelty to humans and animals, and he put forward with passion the anti-slavery arguments he heard in Manchester.²⁷ Yet the next two letters present, as if of equal

value, pro-slavery arguments from Liverpool.²⁸ Manchester – which was similar in size to Liverpool – comes eighth in the subscription list, with eighteen subscribers.

The map conceals a symmetry of intention at the outset: he had hoped to open in Oxford and then proceed to Cambridge. When he did eventually perform in Oxford, Dibdin presented a learned front by inserting classical allusions into his entertainment: 'The first night was announced – and with every care and circumspection I prepared for it. I cut out *Grog*, and introduced – for the first time it was ever sung – *The Siege of Troy*.'²⁹ He also quoted the Athenian statesman, Solon, as saying that 'approving vice in jest was the surest way to make it admired in earnest.'³⁰ From Oxford, Dibdin returned briefly to London before setting out for Cambridge. There, the vice-chancellor of the university, Dr Elliston,³¹ gave him a frosty reception; perhaps Dibdin should not have opened the interview by stating that his entertainment had given 'very great satisfaction' at Oxford. After Cambridge – where he refused to perform – Dibdin undertook a busy circuit of East Anglia that concluded successfully in Bury St Edmunds. Without rest, he then embarked on an extraordinary cross-country journey of 149 miles over two days, made so that he could revisit Worcester during race week, on the expectation of good audiences.³² The trip turned out to be futile: 'I was surprised to find a much colder reception at WORCESTER than formerly.'³³ That line on the map, stretching across from Bury St Edmunds to Worcester, stands for so much in Dibdin's character: his incautious optimism, his desire to please, and above all his indefatigable energy.

Performing without scenery in assembly-rooms or similar spaces,³⁴ Dibdin had to judge his admission price carefully: not too high in relation to theatre prices and not so low that people would be suspecting of the class and quality of his entertainment. Three newspaper advertisements between July 1787 and February 1788 indicate that he charged 2s. 6d. (half-a-crown) for admission.³⁵ By his own account he had charged 3s. 0d. earlier in the tour; on his first visit to Worcester it was suggested that the price was too high for 'tradesmen and others in middling situations', so he experimented there and in Birmingham with half-price seats at the back. In Worcester, the expensive seats filled

first; in Birmingham, ‘people of very considerable property’ opted for the cheap seats.³⁶ For comparison, a performance at the

Theatre Royal, Norwich, in 1788, starring Sarah Siddons, advertised prices for tickets from five shillings to one shilling.³⁷

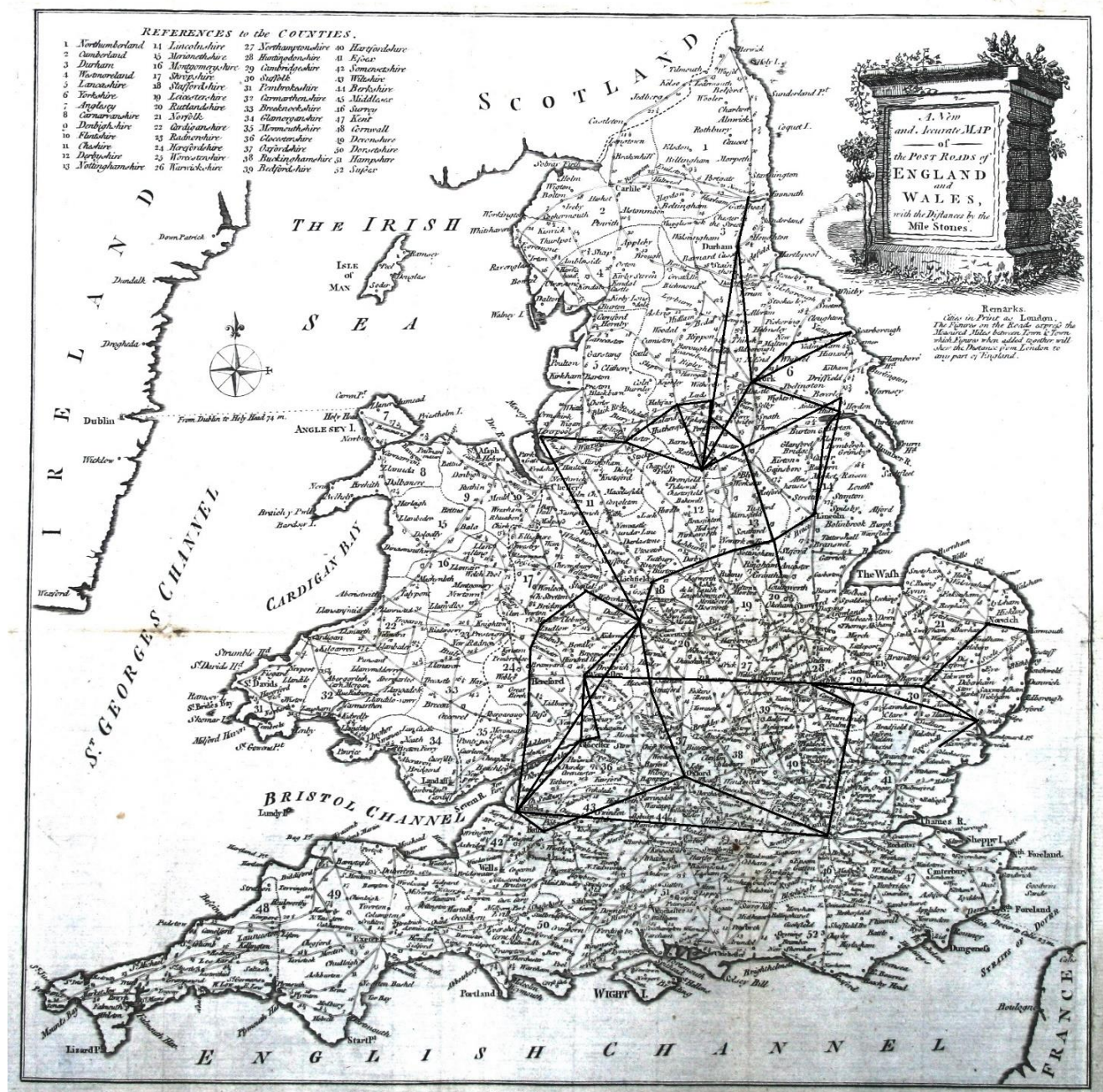


Illustration 1. Dibdin’s tour itinerary superimposed on an undated map of England, probably late eighteenth century. The list of towns that follows is extracted from his account in *The Musical Tour*, with the caveat that digressions and summaries lead at times to lack of sequential clarity, especially between the two asterisks below. As explained, Dibdin often retraced his steps. After departure from London: Oxford – Bath – Bristol – Gloucester – Cheltenham – Worcester – Birmingham – Oxford (via Stratford-upon-Avon) – London – Cambridge – Huntingdon – Newmarket – Ipswich – Colchester – Ipswich – Bury – Yarmouth – Norwich (it seems that Dibdin alternated between Norwich and Yarmouth over six nights; see footnote 19) – Bury – Worcester – Gloucester – Bristol – Monmouth – Hereford – Leominster – Ludlow (plus sightseeing at Bridgnorth and Coalbrookdale) – Shifnal – Wolverhampton – Birmingham – Lichfield – Derby – Nottingham – Newark – Lincoln – Hull – York – Malton – Scarborough – York – Sheffield – Beverley – Hull – Barton – Lincoln – Newark – Nottingham – Newark – Grantham – Newark – Derby – Newark – Grantham – Doncaster – Wakefield – Leeds – *Halifax – Manchester – Liverpool – Manchester – Halifax – Sheffield – Rotherham* – Manchester – Sheffield – Leeds – Durham – Newcastle – Durham – York – Sheffield – Liverpool (via Manchester) – Birmingham – Bristol – London.

Dibdin relates the content of his entertainment at length in *The Musical Tour*, 'so often delivered, and frequently to very little purpose, under the title of READINGS and MUSIC.'³⁸ He summarises some sketches, gives others verbatim, and includes the lyrics for more than 40 songs, with the music for seven; he indicates that some of the songs were optional. Elsewhere in the book he cites a review stating that he sang 24 songs in an evening; a newspaper advertisement corroborates the number.³⁹ The amateur composer William Kitchiner (1775–1827), who wrote a memoir of Dibdin,⁴⁰ heard a performance when Dibdin was 'between fifty and sixty' and put the number of songs, of four or five verses each, with frequent encores, at 20. He wrote that Dibdin had 'a *Baritone* Voice, with enough *false*to to sing any Song' and that he had 'a remarkably distinct articulation'; he only survived the demands of his entertainment because he knew 'when to Speak a Word, and when to Sing it.' The whole evening, with interval, must have lasted at least three hours; long compared with a modern concert, but no longer than many plays.

As a book title, *The Musical Tour* implies that music was the primary feature in Dibdin's entertainment; the heading *Readings and Music*, on the other hand, suggests that the spoken word predominated. Subheadings in newspaper advertisements support the latter interpretation: 'Readings, interspersed with Music' or in one instance, 'Readings, occasionally relieved by Music.'⁴¹ Yet the actor and playwright John O'Keeffe, who recalled hearing Dibdin in London in 1792, implies that songs outweighed speech; 'a few lines of speaking happily introduced his admirable songs full of wit and character, and his peculiar mode of singing them surpassed all I had ever heard.' O'Keeffe also wrote that his 'manner of coming upon the stage was in happy style: he ran on sprightly and with nearly a laughing face, like a friend who enters hastily to impart you some good news.'⁴² Dibdin's continued emphasis in advertisements on readings over music further demonstrates his desire for respectability; perhaps, too, he was conscious of the success of his predecessor as a one-man, non-musical entertainer, George Alexander Stevens, who toured with a comic mock address called *Lecture on Heads*.⁴³

Kitchiner and O'Keeffe give the impression that Dibdin created an intimate,

'natural' persona for his entertainments: a contrast to theatrical staginess, and appropriate for an assembly room that presumably lacked the stronger stage-lighting, including footlights, introduced by Garrick and de Louthembourg in the previous two decades. In *The Musical Tour*, Dibdin corroborates O'Keeffe's impression that he had friendly rapport with audiences; he asks the reader 'to suppose me upon my platform, with a piano forte before me, mustering up either a patient, contented, or delighted smile – but never a contemptuous one – according to the number either scattered about or crowded in the room.'⁴⁴ Familiarity continued during the interval, when 'I never failed to receive much kind attention from some part or other of my auditory.'⁴⁵ As an actor in London, Dibdin had to hide his personality behind the roles he played to some extent. In his one-man entertainments he came on as himself; or rather, how he thought of himself – as benevolent and trusting. He portrays the same virtues in his autobiographical writings to vindicate his alleged deception at the hands of employers and collaborators such as David Garrick and Thomas Harris.

Much of the humour in *Readings and Music* comes across as tedious, embarrassing or unacceptable today. A number of sketches depended on Dibdin's ability as a mimic; a newspaper advertisement lists his portrayals: 'The Characters introduced consist of a Projector, a Speculator, a Poet, a Wild Irishman, a Commodore, a Levet Hunter, an Indian, a Negro, a Mulatto, an English Sailor and a Large Group of others through the medium of Masquerade.'⁴⁶ The mention of masquerade suggests that Dibdin used hats, masks or other props that could be donned quickly to aid his mimicry.⁴⁷

An important aspect of the entertainment, on which Dibdin provides scant information, was his pianoforte. Did he take his own, or did he locate one at each venue? If the latter, is it likely that he would have found a suitable instrument wherever he performed? At the start of his tour, he gives the impression that he seated himself in the Oxford stage-coach alone, without family, servants or pianoforte. Occasional references to transport in the book refer to journeys by stage-coach, chaise or post-chaise, with no mention of conveying an instrument. When Dibdin refers to a pianoforte, as above, ownership is unclear.⁴⁸

He had certainly travelled with a piano during the two years he spent in France to escape debtors (1776–8); ‘Dr. ARNOLD had the kindness to send me my piano-forte’ he wrote, as he described his initial stay at Calais.⁴⁹ Customs impounded the instrument, but Dibdin eventually secured its release and took it with him on a ten-day journey to Nancy in Lorraine, where he spent the rest of his stay. On leaving Lorraine he had further trouble: ‘The poor piano-forte had always been a bone of contention and something every where had been exacted for it’.⁵⁰ To avoid paying further bribes at customs between Lorraine and the rest of France, Dibdin took a circuitous route. The vehicle he and his family were travelling in, ‘composed of wickerwork’, suffered; ‘therefore, by way of lightening it, and getting rid of the

superfluous baggage, particularly the piano-forte, which had so annoyed me, ... I went to the custom-house at CHALONS, had everything *plombé*, that is to say sealed with a leaden seal, and consigned all that I did not immediately want to my friend DESSEIN, at CALAIS.’⁵¹ He does not explain how he paid for what must have been an expensive operation.

Perhaps the experience of dealing with his piano in France made Dibdin decide not to take one on his first musical tour, but as a pioneer on the instrument in England,⁵² it is unlikely he would have tolerated using a harpsichord if a piano was not available at a venue. As we shall see in Part 2, he took with him a much heavier and more complicated piano on his later tours.

¹ Dibdin writes that he ‘passed fourteen months’ on the tour in his autobiography, *The Professional Life of Mr. Dibdin*, 4 vols. (London, 1803), vol. 2, 235, but in *The Musical Tour of Mr. Dibdin* (Sheffield, 1788), 15 and 249, states that he left London in March 1787 and returned there in March 1788.

² Dedicated to the Prince of Wales and published by subscription.

³ *The Musical Tour*, 2.

⁴ He identified ‘T. S.’ of the first 11 letters as Theophilus Swift (1746–1815), a writer and cousin of Jonathan Swift, who contributed poetry to Dibdin’s journal *The Bystander* (1789). The next letters are addressed ‘TO THE PUBLIC’ (Letter 12), ‘To Mr. B’ (Letter 13), ‘FROM A NEW CORRESPONDENT ... To Mr. Dibdin’ (Letter 14). The remainder of the 107 letters are addressed ‘To the Rev. Mr. —’, apart from a reply ‘To Mr. DIBDIN.’, signed ‘*****’ (Letter 33).

⁵ *The Professional Life*, vol. 2, 190.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 190, and *The Musical Tour*, 13.

⁷ *The Musical Tour*, 2.

⁸ See ‘ADVERTISEMENTS’ preceding the subscribers’ names in the preliminary pages of *The Musical Tour*.

⁹ Dibdin writes that he left London on 17 March 1787 (*The Musical Tour*, 15); after being refused permission to perform in Oxford, he claims he arrived in Bath on Sunday 20 March (*ibid.*, 20). However, 20 March was a Tuesday in 1787.

¹⁰ *The Musical Tour*, 13–14. At that time Samuel Arnold (1740–1802) was musical director and composer at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, and Philip Hayes (1738–97) professor of music at Oxford.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹² Joseph Chapman, president of Trinity College, Oxford, 1776–1808 and vice-chancellor of the University, 1784–88.

¹³ Dibdin quotes Chapman as saying ‘Here was a Mr. COLLINS, and I could not with propriety let him perform ... the young gentlemen took the matter so much in dudgeon that they encouraged some Italians to sing here, without my permission. I was in consequence under the painful necessity of sending them to prison’. Dibdin adds a footnote: ‘The riotous conduct of the students on this occasion went so far that one of them struck the mayor’. *The Musical Tour*, 17–18.

¹⁴ Advertisement in *The Bath Chronicle*, 29 March 1787.

¹⁵ A review in *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 26 May 1787, describes the entertainment as ‘Readings, occasionally relieved by Musick’. An advertisement in *The Norfolk Chronicle*, 21 July 1787, is headed ‘Readings and Music.’

¹⁶ *The Musical Tour*, 136.

¹⁷ *Observations on a Tour*, vol. 2, 299.

¹⁸ *The Professional Life of Mr Dibdin*, vol. 2, 199. See also *The Musical Tour*, 2.

¹⁹ *The Musical Tour*, 154.

²⁰ Between Saturday 21 and Friday 27 July 1787 it seems that he alternated nightly (Sunday excepted) between the two places. See advertisement in the *Norfolk Chronicle*, 21 July, 1787, and *The Musical Tour*, 89, though the account in the latter is unclear.

²¹ *The Professional Life*, vol. 2, 235.

²² *The Musical Tour*, 124.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 154.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 150.

²⁶ Ibid., i–iv.

²⁷ Ibid., Letter 54, ‘Manchester versus Liverpool’, 221–4.

²⁸ Ibid., Letter 55, ‘A Vindication’, 225–8, and Letter 56, ‘THE Arguments of Liverpool Finished’, 229–32.

²⁹ *The Musical Tour*, 59.

³⁰ Ibid., 60, footnote.

³¹ William Elliston (1732–1807), master of Sidney Sussex College, 1760–1807.

³² *The Musical Tour*, 56.

³³ Ibid., 91.

³⁴ When Dibdin refers to a venue in *The Musical Tour*, he calls it a room or assembly-room, not a theatre or playhouse.

Surviving newspaper advertisements also refer to venues as rooms: *The Norfolk Chronicle*, Saturday 21 July 1787: ‘AT Mr. CHRISTIAN’s GREAT ROOM’ (Mr Christian was a dancing master); *The Leeds Intelligencer*, Tuesday 11 December 1787: ‘at the ROSE-AND-CROWN Great-Room, LEEDS’; *The Leeds Intelligencer*, Tuesday 12 February 1788: ‘at the Assembly-Room in Leeds’.

³⁵ *Norfolk Chronicle*, 21 July 1787; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 11 December 1787 and 12 February 1788.

³⁶ *The Musical Tour*, 58–9.

³⁷ Playbill, Monday 15 September 1788, advertising Thomas Southerne’s tragedy *Isabella*; reproduced in T. L. G. Burley, *Playhouses and Players of East Anglia* (Norwich, 1928), facing 20.

³⁸ Ibid., 307 (the pagination is incorrect; it should be 309).

³⁹ *The Musical Tour*, 89; *The Leeds Intelligencer*, Tuesday 11 December 1787.

⁴⁰ William Kitchiner, M.D., *The Sea Songs of Charles Dibdin: with a Memoir of his Life and Writings* (London, 1823). Kitchiner claimed to know Dibdin; he, too, composed patriotic sea songs. He wrote books on singing, food and optics.

⁴¹ ‘Interspersed with music’: *The Leeds Intelligencer*, Tuesday 11 December 1787 and Tuesday 12 February 1788; ‘relieved by music’: *The Norfolk Chronicle*, Saturday 21 July 1787. See also n.15.

⁴² John O’Keefe (1747–1833), in *Recollections of the Life of John O’Keefe, Written by Himself* (London, 1826), 2, 322–3. Many thanks to Peter Holman for alerting me to O’Keefe.

⁴³ George Alexander Stevens (?1710–84) first performed his lecture in 1764 at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, and took it to many places in Britain over the following fifteen years.

⁴⁴ *The Musical Tour*, 307.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 347.

⁴⁶ *The Leeds Intelligencer*, Tuesday 11 December 1787.

⁴⁷ Ibid., Tuesday 11 December 1787 and Tuesday 12 February 1788.

⁴⁸ See *The Professional Life*, vol. 2, 213; *The Musical Tour*, 83, 307.

⁴⁹ *The Professional Life*, vol. 1, 188.

⁵⁰ Ibid., vol. 1, 212.

⁵¹ Ibid., vol. 1, 215.

⁵² It seems that he was one of the earliest musicians to play the instrument to a London audience. A. J. Hipkin, in his article on the piano in the first edition of Grove’s *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 4 vols. (London, 1899), cites a Covent Garden playbill (‘in Messrs. Broadwood’s possession’) for 16 May 1767, which announces that ‘Miss Brickler will sing a favourite song from Judith, accompanied by Mr. Dibdin, on a new instrument call’d Piano Forte.’

Mozart's Pioneering Attempts to Prolong Legato Phrases and his Unusual Slurring Patterns in Instrumental Music, 1781–1783

Beth Pei-Fen Chen

Influenced by his father Leopold Mozart, the young Mozart started to notate the slur sign from an early age. Slurring corrections in his scores appeared as early as 1764, in the autograph of his short keyboard piece, K. 15t, written at the age of eight.¹ By the middle of the 1770s, Mozart had become one of the few composers at the time to offer comprehensive performing guidance in the form of slurs indicating detailed articulation patterns in music written for strings, wind instruments and keyboard instruments. As demonstrated in my two articles on Mozart's bowing marks and his slurs for wind instruments, Mozart's slurs offered practical and valid performing guidance, based on the performing technique required, the potential of the instruments and performers, and the demands of his musical style.² His use of slurs as technical guidance echoed the functions of the slur sign described by several eighteenth-century authors of treatises. However, unlike many of his contemporaries, he insisted on offering detailed performing guidance and even took care to write out consecutive slurring patterns in full. This approach became gradually dominant in his notation from before the middle of the 1770s to the 1780s. His indicating every slur clearly distinguished slurred figures from non-slurred, and helped to clarify his frequent application of 'inconsistent' articulation patterns.

Stylistic preference and considerations of practicability meant that most composers in Mozart's time tended to write merely simple, within-beat, within-bar slurs, and occasionally short, cross-bar slurs. For instance, in Antonio Salieri's *Symphony in D, 'Il giorno onomastico'* (1775), slurs appear rarely, and there are no cross-bar slurs.³ In Michael Haydn's *Sinfonia in C* (1773), there are also no cross-bar slurs.⁴ When Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf wrote his *Symphony in C* in 1788, he still indicated mainly within-beat and within-bar slurs. His slurs were only short, cross-bar slurs (e.g. from the last beat of a bar to the first beat of the next bar).⁵

Did these common types of slur (e.g. within-beat, within-bar, and short cross-bar) satisfy Mozart's need for expressing his intentions precisely? Did he ever want to notate an idea that required him to go beyond the limitations of the notation practices he had learnt?

A major turning point in Mozart's life occurred in 1781, a year that also marked a turning point in his musical creativity. On 9 May 1781, Mozart had a heated argument with

Archbishop Colloredo, his patron in Salzburg, after which he was determined to be freed from service to the Archbishop and to develop his career in Vienna.⁶ In Vienna, opportunities soon came to meet with prominent people, to become known in aristocratic society, to see other musicians' scores, and to play the music of illustrious predecessors.⁷ This sense of freedom, and the new environment, inspired him, and stimulated him to explore ways to notate his unusual musical demands.

Between June 1781 and 1783, the most obvious change in Mozart's notation was his attempt to indicate longer legato lines than was usual for the period. In addition, he occasionally extended the functions of the slur sign and combined it with other articulation signs in order to notate 'imaginary' legato lines and tenuto – what must have seemed to contemporaries as an advanced notational approach. His notation is sometimes not understood by editors of modern Urtext editions who have changed it without realising its particular meaning.

Extending legato lines: early attempts (1778–1781)

Slur and tie connections

Mozart's early attempts to indicate a longer legato line than was usual at the time can be traced back to the third movement of the sonata for piano with violin accompaniment, K. 306 (1778). He extended the length of a legato line in the violin part by connecting ties and slurs, as in bars 67–70 (Ex. 1).⁸ This is a type of slurring that only became frequent in his music later, mainly from 1782.

Authors of treatises, such as Jean Rousseau (1687), Georg Muffat (1698), Francesco Geminiani (1751), and Leopold Mozart (1756) described the slur in connection with bowing guidance.⁹ A slur indicates one bow stroke according to them. With this principle in mind, composers would not generally write a slur over too many notes, which could not be performed within one bow stroke efficiently or musically. Thus, questions arise: when Mozart connected these ties and slurs in K. 306, was he challenging existing bowing technique and notational practice? Did his unusual practice of connecting slurs with ties as a means of

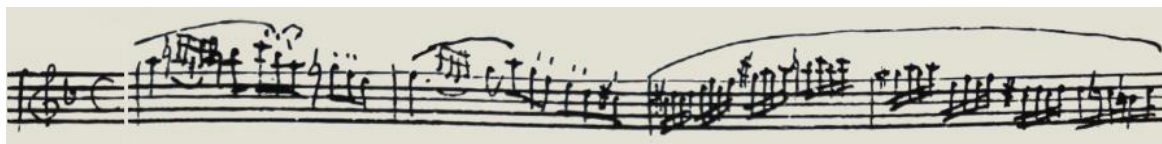
indicating long legato lines also provide practical performing guidance? Or, to put it another way, by borrowing signs recognised in connection with common techniques at the time, were performers able to interpret his intentions?



Ex. 1. K. 306, third movement: violin, bars 67–70
(NMA, VIII/23/1)

A slur covering many notes

Mozart made another attempt to indicate a long legato line in early 1781. He marked a two-bar slur covering 32 semiquavers in the oboe part of the Quartet in F major for oboe, violin, viola, and cello, K. 370 (Ex. 2).¹⁰ This slur tells the player to tongue the first c' sharp only, and play through all 32 semiquavers without a break – a virtuosic passage, uncommon at the time. It is likely that Mozart had the technical virtuosity of the great German oboist Friedrich Ramm in mind (for whom he wrote the oboe part of the Sinfonia Concertante, K. Anh. 9 (297b)) when he wrote this passage.¹¹



Ex. 2. K. 370, first movement: oboe, bars 31–34 (f. 1v)

A tie linking two adjoining slurs

Wishing to notate long legato lines, Mozart came up with a peculiar slurring pattern in June 1781. Instead of indicating one long slur to cover all the notes, in bars 1–2 and 10–11 in the fourth of the Variations on 'La bergère Célimène' for violin and piano accompaniment, K. 359, he connected a tie with two adjoining slurs (Ex. 3).¹² According to Leopold Mozart's *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule*, which contains two chapters on bowing, there were two practices that were commonly understood at the time. They were: the rule of down bow, and the need for frequent consecutive detached down bows, or up bows, in order to achieve the rule of down bow.¹³

The tied f' natural beginning on the fourth beat in bar 1 to the dotted crotchet e' in bar 2 represents a sighing figure that answers the

preceding sighing figure; the slurs therefore reflect the musical character. The same figure occurs in bars 9–11. Since the same dotted crotchet, in bar 2, represents the start of another phrase, Mozart added another slur. This is musically understandable, but the required bowing is not made clear.

Mozart's notation can be interpreted in two ways (Ex. 3). The conjunction of two slurs on the same note was not a recognized form bowing guidance, so the performer, when seeing this phrase, could have opted to imagine there was no slur between the f' natural on the first beat of bar 2 and the e': Leopold's theory is in effect followed (see bowing options 1 and 2 illustrated in Ex. 3). The other interpretation involves imagining a long slur from the tied f' natural to the penultimate quaver of bar 2

(bowing option 3). However, a long slur was impractical, so Mozart probably envisaged bowing options 1 and 2 where the effect of a long legato line could be achieved by applying a less audible or inaudible bow change at the places suggested. The slur at the beginning of bar 2 was therefore added to ensure a smooth effect that did not disrupt the phrasing. The dotted

crotchet e" is an important note as the end of the second sighing figure, and also because it begins a new small phrase. Mozart's unusual slur after the f" natural is remarkable for its dual function: it highlights the subtle role of this dotted crotchet e" in the musical structure, as well as the need to achieve a smooth legato line.

1. v p v p v p v p

2. p v v p v p v p

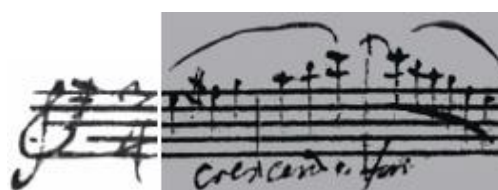
3. p p v p v p

Ex. 3. Variation IV from Variations on 'La bergère Célimène', K. 359, violin part, bars 1–4 and 10–14 (f. 1v): two bowing options (above) and a hypothetical bowing option (below)

Period of adjoining ties and slurs in alternation (1781–1783)

In the following years, 1782–1783, Mozart continued to consider the practicability of his slurring, even when he wanted a longer legato line. Adopting the principle that a slur indicates a single bow stroke or group of notes to be tongued, on the whole Mozart tended to avoid extending the length of slurs beyond musical or technical practicability. (The above-mentioned 32-note slur in K. 370 is among the rare cases of this kind.) Instead, he indicated phrases requiring legato throughout by adjoining a tie and slur. This combination of slur and tie soon appeared in pieces in different genres, beginning with their string parts. The slur and tie combination frequently appears in the form of a tie between two slurs, an approach to notating legato that became one of Mozart's favourites in 1782 (but already used earlier). When applied, the same pattern of slurring often appears several times in a movement. The second

movement of the string quartet, K. 387 (December 1782), offers good examples. The sandwich-like connections appear quite a few times in this Menuetto movement, as in bars 17–19 of the first violin part (Ex. 4).¹⁴ This combination of slurs and tie over three bars is not practical if interpreted as a single bowing mark, so it must be indicating legato. Presumably the change of bow stroke is supposed to occur at the end of the tie; a break is potentially less audible if the change occurs here rather than in the middle of either slur.



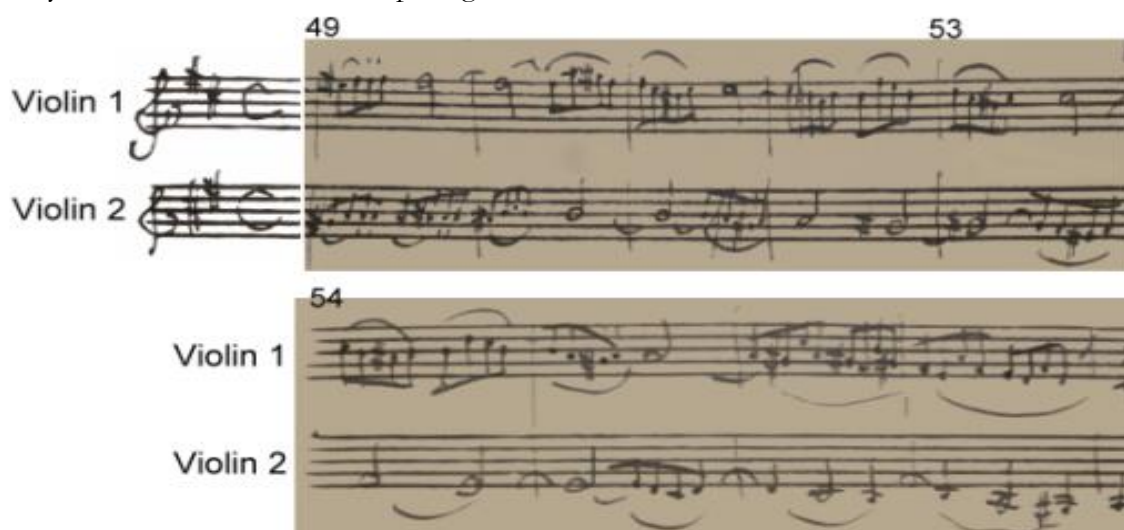
Ex. 4. K. 387, second movement: violin 1, bars 17–19 (f. 4v)

The sandwich-like tie with adjacent slurs was a good solution to the problem of notating an extended legato line, whilst avoiding confusion with the ways slurs were usually interpreted (as bowing marks or to indicate where to tongue). He then started to expand this approach by applying adjoining ties and slurs in alternation, sometimes in a series. Mozart obviously enjoyed his new method of notating legato lines; such slurs appear in much of his instrumental music, including the instrumental parts of his vocal works.

1. *Adjoining ties and slurs in alternation*

In the first movement of the symphony K. 385 (July 1782), Mozart created a seamless, expanding line, a kind of long legato line unusual in the early 1780s. In bars 49–57, the passage is

developed and based on a core motif consisting of two tied minims, which are then tied into four quavers, as in bars 49–50 of the first violin part (Ex. 5).¹⁵ The second violin part imitates the first violin part and repeats the core motif from bar 50 to bar 53. However, Mozart expanded this second violin phrase further in bars 54–57, in the process adding more connecting ties and slurs that alternate. Such a long legato phrase can surely not be played in one bow stroke. Mozart's notation therefore implies that he wanted a legato line in which subtle bow changes take place after ties.¹⁶ For example, in bars 54–57, in the second violin part, a less noticeable bow change could take place after the quaver e' in bar 55, or after the d' in bar 56, a point where the core phrase is further developed.



Ex. 5. K. 385, first movement: Violins 1 and 2, bars 49–57 (ff. 3v–4)

2. 1782–1783: a series of adjoining ties and slurs in alternation

Unlike the cross-bar slurs covering rapid scale passages mentioned above, or slurs for scale-like figures or accompaniment passages in which commonplace rules for bowing or tonguing practice applied, the ways that Mozart adjoined tied notes and slurred ones in late 1782 and 1783 show his eagerness to exercise a stylistic, notational and technical revolution.

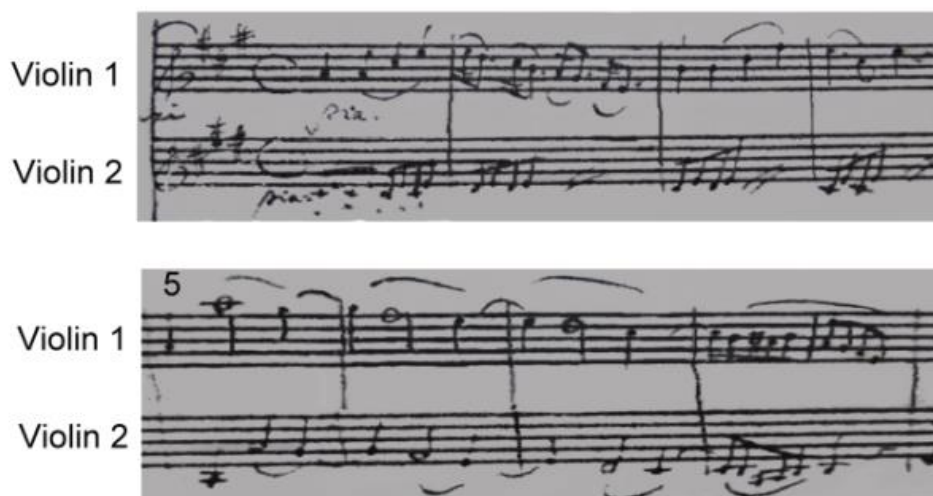
A good example illustrating the sort of stylistic change in performance he wanted to bring about occurs at the beginning of the keyboard concerto K. 414 (1782–1783). The opening phrase, well articulated with galant-style features (bars 1–4) is followed by a contrasting cantabile phrase (bars 5–8), in which there is a series of adjoining ties and slurs in alternation

(Ex. 6).¹⁷ The syncopation and slur markings both contribute to the legato quality of the cantabile phrase, and the consecutive slur and tie markings ensure that it is playable: it would be hard to execute the passage without changes of bow stroke, so a single, long slur over all these bars would have been considered impractical as performing guidance. This confirms that, in Mozart's time, notes under a slur were to be played in a single bow stroke – a practice that Mozart tended to follow on the whole, necessitating the use of slur and tie combinations.

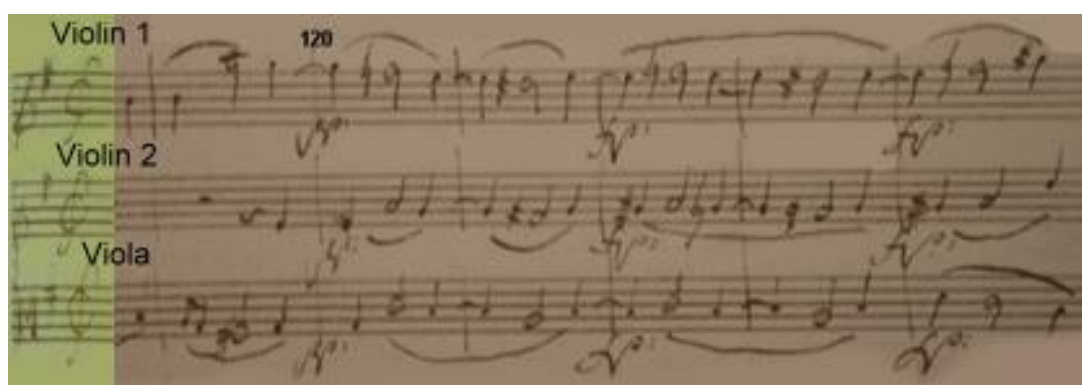
Mozart also included unusual slurring patterns in the Mass, K. 427 (late 1782 and 1783), which belongs to a more conservative

genre. A series of ties and slurs in alternation appear in the two violin parts and the viola part, in bars 120–124 of the ‘Quoniam’ from the Gloria (Ex. 7).¹⁸ In this passage, two different

notational practices are mixed: adjoining ties and slurs, and a cross-tie slur for the notes playable in one bow stroke, under which are tied notes, as in bars 122–123.



Ex. 6. K. 414, first movement: violins 1 and 2, bars 1–8 (f. 1)



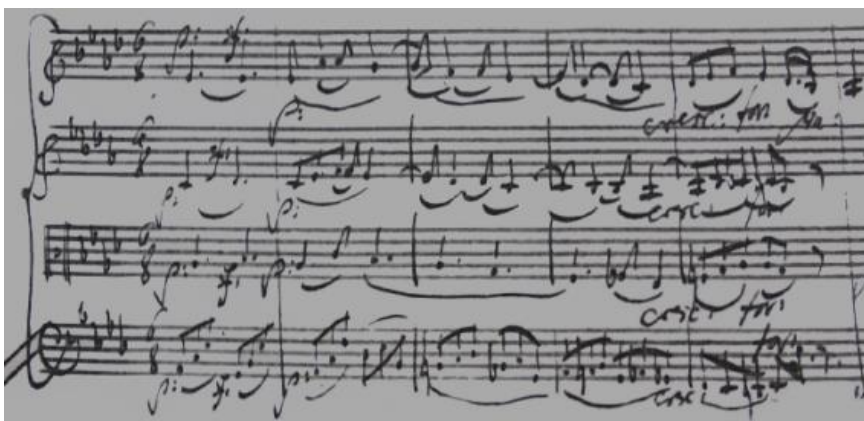
Ex. 7. K. 427, Gloria, ‘Quoniam’: Violins 1, 2 and Viola, bars 119–124 (f. 34)

While Mozart’s notating of ties and slurs in alternation indicates potential options among several for a bow change within this legato line, the cross-tie slur specifies that no bow change should occur in bars 122–3. In this case, the long slur over tie specifies the bowing required, whereas the series of ties and slurs in alternation preceding it give the option to change bow stroke after any one of the ties.

The second movement of his string quartet K. 428 (June–July 1783) also juxtaposes these two types of slurring pattern (Ex. 8).¹⁹ In bars 2–4 of the first violin part, whole-bar slurs appear over a tie or tie and slurs. In the second violin part he used only adjoining slurs and ties in alternation. These slurring patterns look inconsistent, but each offers practical bowing guidance. The slurs starting from the second of the tied notes, in bars 2 and 3 of the first violin

part, clearly tell the performer to change the bow after a tie, rather than before a tie.

Over a short period in the early 1780s, adjoining tie and slurs in alternation quickly became Mozart’s favoured way of notating long legato lines, and it continued to be used in his later works. However, the practice and the style of performance it encouraged was not well known among other composers. One composer who adopted this approach, who applied it in later years, was Mozart’s friend, Franz Xaver Süssmayr (1766–1803), best known today for having completed Mozart’s unfinished Requiem. Good examples can be found in his *Ave verum corpus* for choir and orchestra (1792), where the oboe and the first violin parts (as can be seen on f. 1v of the manuscript source) include a set of tie–slur–tie–slur alternations.²⁰



Ex. 8. K. 428, second movement, bars 1–5 (f. 36v)

Extended functions of the slur sign in Mozart's music

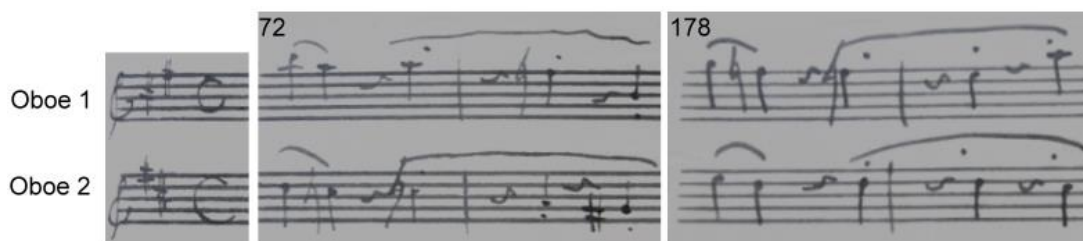
At the beginning of the 1780s, when Mozart was enjoying a new method for notating long legato lines by writing adjoining ties and slurs in alternation, he also attempted to use the slur sign in other ways. These other ways of using the slur sign reflected how he imagined musical lines should sound, for which there were not yet established ways to notate them.

1. Imaginary legato lines

Even more unusual than Mozart's adjoining of ties and slurs in alternation were his imaginary legato lines over rests. Examples can be found in the symphony K. 385. In bars 72–73 and bars 178–179 of the first movement (see Ex. 9) a slur appears over three crotchets and rests in the oboe parts as well as the bassoon parts (the latter are not shown).²¹ In addition, dots appear above each crotchet. Although the term *portato* is not used, Leopold Mozart explained, in his *Versuch*, that 'notes [under dots] lying within the slur are

not only to be played in one bow-stroke, but must be separated from each other by a slight pressure of the bow.'²² *Portato* was a quite common practice and was indicated by Mozart from an early date, as in both violin parts of his concerto arrangement of J. C. Bach's Op. 5 no. 4 (K. 107/3), first movement.²³

This unusual slurring in K. 385 looks as if it is a variant of *portato* and is not a careless marking or mistake; exactly the same slurring appears in both the exposition and recapitulation. What is the implication of this unusual marking? With crotchet rests between the notes, a wholly 'legato' performance is discouraged. In addition, there are staccato dots on the crotchets, indicating that the notes should not be played to their full value. One explanation is that these unusual slur markings emphasise the sense of continuation in the passage. The function of Mozart's slur is to draw attention to the direction of the music and a 'hidden' sense of legato.



Ex. 9. K. 385, first movement: oboes, bars 72–73 and bars 178–179 (ff. 5, 10v)

2. Doubled slurs

Doubled slurs were used sparingly in the eighteenth century, by only a few composers, and for different purposes. Their use arose because composers wanted to achieve certain effects, but were unsure of how to indicate them. As a result, they sought unconventional methods for their individual needs. Giuseppe Tartini, for

instance, slurred small (ornamental) notes placed under longer slurs covering non-ornamental notes.²⁴ Leopold Mozart also wrote shorter slurs under longer slurs in the violin part of his *Lytaniae de Venerabili* in D (1762).²⁵ Treatises and music dictionaries do not give a fixed definition of how these markings are to be interpreted,

although they include examples of doubled slurs where articulation or phrasing and bowing are being illustrated simultaneously. Leopold Mozart, for instance, in his *Versuch*, added a long slur over two smaller slurs, instructing the violinist on the bowing options available for playing consecutive, two-note articulation (Ex. 10).²⁶ In the first staff, the small slurs indicate the bowing necessary for the two-note articulation. The large slurs, in the second staff, however, are an explanatory aid to emphasise that two consecutive down bows or up bows are expected – although essentially redundant because of the ‘Herabstriche’ and ‘Hinaufstriche’ markings. The use of slurs in this way is not mentioned anywhere in the book.

Although Leopold used doubled slurs, Mozart may not have learnt where to use them from his father. Mozart started to apply doubled slurs when sensing a need to indicate further

details for phrasing and articulation of notes already covered by a longer slur. Doubled slurs appear in bar 58 of the first movement of the string quartet K. 387 (1782) (Ex. 11). The two long slurs in bars 57 and 58 are bowing marks; the notes under each long slur should be played within a single bow stroke. The small slur in bar 58 draws attention to the figure being slurred, guiding violinists to make a slight accent on the first quaver a' sharp, so as to articulate this figure.



Ex. 10. Leopold Mozart, *Versuch*, extract from Chapter VII, p. 142



Ex. 11. K. 387, first movement: violin 1, bars 57–60 (f. 2)

3. Fermata-like sign as tenuto?

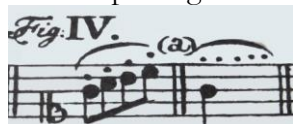
Mozart was unusual in his desire to find ways to notate musical effects for which there were no commonly understood signs. Mostly, his solution was to combine common signs with others in new ways. In the second movement of the keyboard concerto K. 413 (December 1782), he wrote a series of fermata-like signs in the right-hand part in bars 25, 51 and 52 (Ex. 12).²⁷ Musically, it does not make sense to interpret

these fermatas literally as fermatas (pauses) because of the Alberti bass in the left-hand of the keyboard part. Christoph Wolff suggests that they indicate a portato-like effect, and transcribes the passage in the manner of bars 72 and 178 of K. 385 (see Ex. 9).²⁸ However, it remains curious that Mozart did not adopt the same notation in both cases if roughly the same effect was intended. It is more likely that Mozart was indicating a different effect here.



Ex. 12. K. 413, second movement: cembalo (ff. 22v, 25r–25v)

When C. P. E. Bach introduced portato in his *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, he said that the notes under the slur are played legato, and each note should be accented (Ex. 13).²⁹ This is a type of articulated legato, but Mozart's fermata-like signs in K. 413 seem to have meant something beyond the concept of portato. The dot and slur over each note implies that these repeating notes were not intended to be played non-legato (the natural touch on fortepianos) nor staccato (which are notated with a dot alone). Yet, in the 1780s, Mozart had a tendency to explore new ways for notating different performing practices, so the way slurs have been written for individual notes is likely to mean something specific. Is it likely, then, that this notation represents tenuto – an articulatory emphasis on each note? Since the modern sign for tenuto – a short horizontal dash – did not yet exist, he could have borrowed the fermata sign as a means of indicating it. This seems to be a musically sensible explanation for why Mozart gave each of these repeating notes a 'fermata'.



Ex. 13. C. P. E. Bach, *Versuch*, Table VI, Fig. IV

Conclusion

To judge from his attempts to indicate long legato lines and subtly different kinds of articulation, Mozart started to go beyond the limitations of the common notational and performing practices of the early 1780s. Well-ahead of his contemporaries, Mozart's advancement on notation practices satisfied his musical imagination in the 1780s, while giving consideration to technical practicability.

Yet, was this sufficient to Mozart's musical requirements later? Although the present article has been concerned with Mozart's major slurring revolution from the beginning of the early 1780s, Mozart, in fact, made a second attempt later in the early 1790s. For example, in the last movement of the String Quartet, K. 590 (1790), he indicated unusually long cross-bar slurs, which are absolutely impossible to play within one bow stroke. If he had lived longer, we might have seen a second attempt to break through the limitation of technical possibility, with slurring patterns that indicated legato well beyond what the instruments and performers could achieve at the time.

All the small facsimile extracts have been cleaned; background spots and the parts that are not relevant to the main discussion are removed. They have been obtained from copies as specified in the notes. I would like to thank Andrew Woolley for his careful editing of this article.

¹ *Das Londoner Skizzenbuch*, Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, *Mus.ms.autogr. W. A. Mozart Anh. 109b* (copy produced by the library in 2004), 37.

² 'Mozart's Slurs and Bowing Guidance: Violin Concertos in 1775', *EMP*, 33–34 (2014), 18–26. 'Mozart's Slurs for Wind Instruments: 1773–1781', *EMP*, 37 (2015), 14–22.

³ Antonio Salieri, 'Symphony in D "Il giorno onomastico" (1775)', ed. Jane Schatkin Hettrick, in: *The Symphony 1720–1840*, series B, vol. II (New York, 1983).

⁴ This work is preserved in National Széchényi Library Budapest, Ms. Mus. II. 58.

⁵ Dittersdorf, 'Symphony in C Major' (1788), ed. Eva Badura-Skoda, in: *The Symphony 1720–1840*, series B, vol. I (New York, 1985).

⁶ Wilhelm Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, '9 Mai 1781 (592)' *Mozart Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* (Kassel, 1991), III, 110–111. Emily Anderson, *The Letters of Mozart and his Family* (London, 1938) ii, 727–729.

⁷ In the letter to his sister on 20 April 1782, Mozart mentioned his visit to Baron van Swieten to play the works of Handel and J. S. Bach. With the Baron's encouragement, he started to write fugues. With the letter, he included a new three-part fugue he wrote to his sister. (Bauer and Deutsch, '20 April 1782 (668)' *Mozart Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, III, 202–203).

⁸ I consulted a copy of the autograph in the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* office in Salzburg. The original is in a private collection in Switzerland. The excerpt here is from *NMA*, VIII, 23:1, edited by Eduard Reeser.

⁹ Jean Rousseau, *Traité de la viole* (Paris, 1687), Chapter XII, 103. Georg Muffat, *Florilegium Secundum* (1698) as ed. in *Readings in the History of Music in Performance*, ed. Carol MacClintock (Bloomington, 1994), 301. Francesco Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (London, 1751), facsimile edition (London, [1952]). Leopold Mozart, *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg 1756), I, iii, § 16 (pp. 42–43).

¹⁰ F-Pn, Ms 230 (copy produced by the library supplied in 2006)

¹¹ See Jaroslav Pohanka, 'Vorwort', *NMA*, VIII/20/Abt.2, ix.

¹² His slurs in bars 3, 11 and 12 are somehow not precisely marked, but the slurs in bar 11 are likely to be the same as in bar 2. *Variations für Klavier und Violine K. 359 and 360*, F-Pn, Ms 228 (I, II) (copy produced by the library supplied in 2005).

¹³ Chapter Four 'Von der Ordnung des Hinaufstriches und Herabstriches [the Order of Up and Down Bow]', and Chapter Seven 'Von den vielen Veränderungen des Bogenstriches [the Variety of Bowing]'. See Chen, 'Mozart's Slurs and Bowing

Guidance’.

¹⁴ *String Quartet* K. 387, K. 421, K. 428, K. 458, K. 464, K. 465, K. 499, K. 575, facsimile edition (Washington, 1969).

¹⁵ *Symphony No. 35 in D, K. 385 ‘Haffner’* (original manuscript owned by the National Orchestral Association, New York), facsimile edition with an Introduction by Sydney Beck (New York, 1968).

¹⁶ I consulted the violinist Peter Cropper about this during my research. He suggested that a change of bow at the end of a tie rather than before a tie is more likely.

¹⁷ Mus.ms.autogr. W. A. Mozart 382/413/414/415 (copy produced by Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, supplied in 2005).

¹⁸ *Messe C-Moll* K. 427, facsimile edition (Leipzig, 1982).

¹⁹ *String Quartet* K. 387, K. 421, K. 428, K. 458, K. 464, K. 465, K. 499, K. 575, facsimile edition (Washington, 1969).

²⁰ This piece is preserved in National Széchényi Library Budapest, Ms. Mus. 3000.

²¹ *Symphony No. 35 in D, K. 385 ‘Haffner’* (original manuscript owned by the National Orchestral Association, New York), facsimile edition with an Introduction by Sydney Beck (New York, 1968).

²² ‘Dieses zeigt an, daß die unter dem Verbindungszeichen stehenden Noten nicht nur in einem Bogenstriche, sondern mit einem bey ieder Note angebrachten wenigen Nachdruck in etwas von einander unterschieden müssen vorgetragen werden.’ (*Versuch*, I III § 17, p. 43; translated by Editha Knocker as *A treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing* (London, 1948), 45).

²³ K. 107 No. 3, I, bar 76; *Drei Klavierkonzerte nach Sonaten von Job. Chr. Bach KV 107*, Mus. Ms. Autogr. W. A. Mozart 107 (copy produced by Staatsbibliothek zur Berlin supplied in 2004), f. 18r.

²⁴ Giuseppe Tartini, *The Twelve Sonatas* [Op. 2], Rome, 1745. Manuscript: British Library, Add. MS 29428.

²⁵ I consulted a facsimile of this work at the International Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg in April 2008.

²⁶ Leopold Mozart, *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg, 1756), p. 142.

²⁷ Mus.ms.autogr. W. A. Mozart 382/413/414/415 (copy produced by Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, supplied in 2005).

²⁸ *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* (Kassel, 1976), V, 15:3, pp. 102 and 106.

²⁹ Carl Philipp Emanuel, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* (Part I, Berlin 1753), facsimile edition (Kassel, 1994), Part I, Chapter III, §19, 126.

Social Media and the Early Music Industry

Annabelle Lee

The term ‘social media’ is most commonly used in an all-purpose way to describe a group of popular internet-based platforms, channels, online communities and networking sites. Although some prototype platforms have been used since the mid-1990s and earlier, many forms of social media are prevalent today. They include social networking sites (e.g. MySpace and Facebook), blogs (web-logs or online journals), micro-blogging (Twitter), chat forums, content-led communities (e.g. video-sharing platform YouTube), and websites devoted to crowdsourced/peer-to-peer tagging of online content (using social-media hashtags). The increased use of mobile devices, like smartphones and tablet computers, has generated a market for downloadable applications, or files serving a particular purpose, known as ‘apps’. Apps are used, for example, to watch online videos.

In the same way as individuals in the classical music industry, early music performers, instrument-makers, organisations and enthusiasts are realising many uses for social media. The effects are various: engagement between musicians and audiences, online communities, as well as raised awareness of early music and historically informed performance among a wider audience base than hitherto. Social media are also used to develop opportunities for professional career-development, promoting and marketing education and outreach activities, and for finding free or low-cost sources of income or funding. With these effects and uses in mind, this article provides a timely opportunity to reflect on the role of social media in the early music industry. It does so via a number of case studies, which examine early music performers’ practical, learning and educational resources, and how early music fits into the classical music industry, wider economy and cultural life (what I term the early music ‘ecosystem’). With first-hand experience of early music and social networks myself, I feel it is necessary to reassess the mechanics of social media in this particular musical culture, and to consider their applications and implications for those trying to develop a career in early music.

Early Music Performers

Compared with the early music movement’s former years, today there are far more musicians than available jobs. An established pool of early-music specialists, freelance musicians skilled on

both modern and period instruments (or skilled in historically aware techniques in the case of singers), as well as advanced amateurs, newly minted graduates from conservatoires’ historical performance courses, and university-trained performers with an early music background, are aiming for similar opportunities in winner-takes-all markets.

It is unlikely that many early-music musicians will be able to obtain regular employment using ‘shameless’ self-promotion on social media alone. However, there are ways in which social media can enhance prospects of obtaining paid work, rather than replace other promotion strategies. To enhance networking opportunities, a good general starting point for musicians is to increase the numbers of people in their social circles who are active in early music. Musicians can follow their colleagues’ social-media account activity and, when posting on social media, incorporate other people’s usernames in messages, improving chances of increasing the size of their social circle and for reciprocal treatment. Yet, the promise of further connections is not always instigated on social networks because of certain institutionalised structures and criteria for inclusion in early-music circles. In winner-takes-all markets early-music performers who can be relied upon to deliver on the night, with credentials, proficiency/training in early music performance, and mutual contacts with other musicians, are most likely to obtain work. I have also learnt that musicians’ bookings continue to be made via traditional media, such as word of mouth, email,

telephone or mobile-phone text-message, especially for short-notice engagements, for logistical reasons.

Another way for early music performers to use social media is for developing their career profiles. A case in point is harpsichordist and Professor at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama Mahan Esfahani, who tweets (sends out messages on Twitter) about concerts, teaching commitments at the conservatoire and opportunities for harpsichord lessons.¹ In addition, musicians publish their CVs, details of performance experience and skills on business-led networks, such as LinkedIn and the musician-focused Encore. In so doing, they highlight their capabilities in early music and historical techniques. Audio and audio-visual content sites (e.g. MySpace, YouTube, SoundCloud and Vimeo) can host samples from engagements and recordings, affording musicians the opportunities to demonstrate themselves in action. Some early-music talent schemes, aimed at pre-professional and professional musicians in the early stage of a career, require applicants to submit recordings using these platforms.²

With over 300,000 video views and more than 3000 subscribers to her YouTube channel called *emilyplayscello* (as of 12 September 2016), Baroque cellist Emily Davidson integrates YouTube into her freelance career. She posts videos of herself playing but also endeavours to encourage aspiring classical and early musicians. Hence, she uploads videos of her practice sessions, gives mini-tutorials on performance practice and cello-playing, answers YouTube comments and offers advice on getting a 'foot in the door'.³ However, it is difficult to 'make it' on YouTube because this platform is not just about the number of views or subscribers. It takes patience, persistence and high-quality content (subject-wise and video quality-wise) to become a successful, long-term YouTuber. Although it is possible to generate income from YouTube, the revenues made by its users are small, amounting to little in relation to the already modest earnings of most early musicians.⁴

One other reason why performers might exploit social media is to attract audiences beyond a core early-music market. The Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment is a leading example at the moment, via its acclaimed concert series, *The Night Shift*. Branded under the

tagline 'Classical music: minus the rules',⁵ *The Night Shift* follows a recent surge of events that deliberately aim to introduce classical music to those 'raised on popular culture'.⁶ They transfer classical performances to 'alternative venues',⁷ such as night clubs and bars, where young people are most likely to 'hang out'.⁸ The Orchestra's social media messages advertise the events using informal language and phrases that attract members of younger demographics, such as 'tonight's gig of music by Purcell'⁹ and 'set list'.¹⁰ What is more, the Orchestra achieved its funding targets over a month-long period in 2016, using a public crowdfunding website to enable *The Night Shift* to continue on a monthly basis.¹¹

Recognising these audience-gaining strategies, many classical musicians are taking advantage of a certain branding technique from popular culture. Musicians and celebrities present their lives inside and outside of the job to their social media followers/fans to increase the exposure of their personal, public and social profiles. They post messages about various topics such as food, personal interests, time off, touring activities, and even thoughts on current events.¹² Early-music artists, too, are adopting this social-media strategy. No doubt, some of these topics are trivial, although in raising them, musicians contribute to the effect of bringing early music into today's culture. Awareness of these topics helps to 'humanise' musicians, otherwise seen from the on-stage personae of classical music performance, and it makes them seem more 'authentic' to core and potential followers online and in person.¹³

But social media posts are often 'passed off as real life'.¹⁴ One Baroque violinist's selfie with Dame Emma Kirkby implies a lot because connections with star musicians are considered part of a successful career in the classical and early music industries.¹⁵ Similarly, countertenor Iestyn Davies makes use of his celebrity contacts to upload a photo to his public Facebook page showing him with Academy award-winning actor and 'old singing connection',¹⁶ Eddie Redmayne. Moreover, artist agencies and PR companies ask their clients to take photos of themselves working.¹⁷

Practical, Educational, and Learning Resources

Many early music performers and enthusiasts will have no doubt accessed the 'go-to' audio libraries of YouTube, Spotify and iTunes, which host historical recordings. In fact, music streaming services are rapidly overtaking CDs and record-company downloads as the primary means by which people obtain recorded music. Having passed over 100 million active users in June 2016, Spotify is currently the leading provider of streamed music¹⁸ and the best all-round streaming service.¹⁹ With more than 30 million tracks, subscribers can certainly make many new discoveries of works and composers. Spotify has social features as well, notably the facility to share playlists with one's social networks on Facebook, Twitter and web blogs.²⁰ A second generation of historical performers partly derives its knowledge of historical performance from online recordings, although musicians are warned about 'copying' as opposed to consulting original source materials.²¹

Historical flautist Rachel Brown is one performer who occasionally offers lessons using the online video-call tools, Skype and Facetime.²² This is handy, especially for learners abroad, although a productive session relies on a fast web connection and good sound quality. Chat forums,²³ Facebook groups²⁴ and twitter accounts give ready opportunities for early-music musicians, instrument-makers and like-minded enthusiasts to share knowledge and opinion. Discussions consider technicalities of playing historical instruments, first-hand experiences of various types, organological questions and repertoire choices. Indeed, the overlap between research and practice in historical performance has encouraged social-media users to discuss 'hot' topics in early music. A notable example is the Historical Performance Research Group on Facebook. It has over 3400 members, including many busy professional musicians. Members of NEMA and readers of *EMP* may be aware of the group's heated 'Vibrato Wars' thread (December 2015 to March 2016), a transcript of which is available to download from the NEMA website.²⁵ While the main topic of this debate was vocal vibrato, it considered an array of issues, ranging from rhythm, poetry and metre in Baroque opera, the differences between historical and modern

stagings, to assumptions about the appropriateness or otherwise of vibrato in historically informed string playing. The tone and content of messages posted to online threads inevitably varies. They range from personal recommendations to the characteristic phatic expressions of social media communications, from conversations going off-topic to in-jokes and ironic comment.²⁶ By contrast, there are YouTube tutorials²⁷ and blogs²⁸ that are more instructive and pedagogical in nature because they are aimed at complementing an individual's music practice.

An alternative approach to learning online is to self-reflect on one's progress and accumulation of skills and knowledge over time. Advanced adult amateur musician Jane Shuttleworth documents her retaking of the recorder, and widening of her understanding of performance practice, in her blogs and tweets.²⁹ She discusses the physical, technical and aesthetic challenges entailed when learning historical-setup instruments. The early music movement has often encouraged a culture of amateur music-making, so these efforts seem to represent a continuation of that ethos.

The tradition of early music summer courses and schools is another educational strand. Organisers use social media accounts, pages and groups. They promote the courses by sending out practical details to applicants prior to the start. Professional early music performers' views towards their profession as 'inclusivist'³⁰ influence the tone of voice adopted in the social media messages they post encouraging people to apply for the courses.³¹ Yet, these conceal the need for participants' prior musical attainment and financial resources. In a sense, these messages represent 'an Internet-engendered false sense of democracy',³² as the following examples demonstrate.

Normally, publicity materials advise the kinds of people welcome to attend. At an early music summer course, attendees encompass music students and graduates,³³ amateur performers and semi-professionals³⁴ with some prior experience and/or interest in historically informed performance. On the one hand, there is a balance of musical backgrounds; it is without a doubt the objective of early music courses to appeal to as many musicians as possible. On the other, applicants depend on prior knowledge of classical music and socialisation into its

communities. Nick Wilson's 'Unmasking the early music performer' survey of over 400 amateur, semi-professional and professional early music performers showed that life experiences were shared by many early-music musicians.

While an interest in early music is often engendered relatively late in life (e.g. through higher education and adult amateur education),³⁵ it seems that many courses do not accept absolute beginners with little to no musical experience. Courses typically focus on practical sessions and on chamber repertoires. As I know from personal experience, participants will sight-read in these chamber music sessions, so it is not unusual for organisers to request certain levels of musical competency and/or sight-reading ability on application forms.³⁶ Classical music is 'a specific culture or habitus, into which most individuals are inducted or schooled, often at a young age'.³⁷ It is not surprising to find, therefore, that in Wilson's survey, respondents had received part-time or private instruction in

early music, while others had read a university music degree (49%), attended music college (72.4% of professional early music performers), and developed opportunities in early music-making while studying in higher education (15.8%).³⁸

Many people would see social media as a free or low-cost form of online access to opportunities for learning about early music. However, the financial reality of attending summer courses is not always highlighted by social media posts, although organisers usually set out a price participants need to pay on application forms and websites. Table 1 lists some British early music summer courses' 2016 prices per person; several hundred pounds is usually needed to cover tuition, catering and accommodation for those paying residential fees. Indeed, Wilson reveals that most early-music musicians had parents with managerial or professional backgrounds so clearly a significant proportion are socially privileged.³⁹

Course	Price (standard)	Other payments/discounts
Pro Corda Conservatoire Baroque (http://www.procorda.com/assets/pdf/Conservatoire_Baroque_2016.pdf)	£320 (including automatic bursary, full board, and accommodation).	
Cambridge Early Music Summer Schools (https://www.cambridgeearlymusic.org/fees--booking.html).	£740 for Renaissance Course and £780 for Baroque Course (both prices include tuition, catering, and en suite single room).	
Baroque Week (http://www.baroque-week.org.uk/date.htm).	£750 (including full board and accommodation).	
Dartington International Summer School (https://www.dartington.org/whats-on/summer-school/accommodation-fees).	£425 (tuition only).	Student price for tuition: £385. Lowest price of accommodation (with catering): £325. Highest price of accommodation (with catering): £1,505.
Norvis Early Music Summer School (https://norvisblog.files.wordpress.com/2015/11/norvis_xlvi_brochure_lr.pdf).	£870 (includes full board and tuition).	Young person's (under 18) and student price: £780 (includes full board and tuition). Over 60s price: £860 (includes full board and tuition).

Table 1. Prices per person for early music summer courses. Information correct as of 29 June 2016.

Early music courses offer bursaries to students and graduates, which are advertised in social media posts. On the one hand, endorsing bursary applications on social networks is ideal, given young people's heavy use of social media and the financial difficulties facing college and university students. On the other, bursaries tend to be awarded on a highly competitive basis depending on the nature of the course, but especially for advanced courses, those involving professional coaching, and celebrity masterclasses. If the courses require participants to bring their own instruments, loaned or cheaply purchased period instruments may not be suitable, since it is important for a serious performer to choose a good-quality and durable instrument, often requiring considerable investment. David Hesmondhalgh summarises all of the above problems for musicians and proposes that 'the rise of digitalization is unlikely in the medium and long term to lead to any profound democratization of musical creativity and innovation without transformation of broader economic and social conditions'.⁴⁰

The Early Music Ecosystem

Social media influences artistic and cultural policy. The Arts Council proposes five categories for interacting with artistic and cultural content in digital environments: 'access', 'learn', 'experience', 'share' and 'create'.⁴¹ In this light, the Brighton Early Music Festival implements Twitter to 'share' its news, such the news about its receiving an Arts Council grant for the 2016 Festival.⁴² But the ethos of many of the events and activities associated with today's early music festivals certainly tie in with the Arts Council's four other categories, such as their performance workshops, schools and community projects, instrument/instrument-maker stands and the main festival concerts.

The Juilliard School launched Juilliard Open Studios in 2015, an Apple iPad and iPhone mobile app that introduces users to disciplines studied at the New York-based performing arts conservatoire. The app incorporates a great deal of multimedia content: videoed performances, practical demonstrations, interviews, commentaries, scrollable scores and insights from students and staff. It hosts content from the Historical Performance Faculty: an introduction to period instruments, French

Baroque performance practice and the role of the continuo. According to an official publicity statement by Joseph W. Polisi, President of the Juilliard School, the app aims to '[allow] arts lovers to glimpse daily life at Juilliard'.⁴³ It 'signals the School's broader commitment to becoming a global source for arts education and appreciation'.⁴⁴ Indeed, all students in the Historical Performance Faculty receive a full-tuition scholarship.⁴⁵ 'By subscribing to the app, users will be supporting all aspects of Juilliard's educational mission, including scholarships and outreach programs', so there is a charitable reason to do so.⁴⁶

The organisers of the European Day of Early Music (EDEM) have used digital and social media in such a way as to influence cultural and governmental bodies. Launched in 2013, this annual event is organised by the European Early Music Network (REMA) and the European Broadcasting Union. It is co-funded by the European Union's Creative Europe Programme and has an official partnership with UNESCO. EDEM intends to 'pay homage to a European historical musical heritage'⁴⁷ via events across the continent, including concerts, lecture-recitals and practical workshops. It achieves its aims partly by using the following online media: live-streamed performances via video streaming platform Saooti, a press media tab, 24/7 early music web-radio station (remaradio.eu) and dedicated website with event listings, promotional videos and concert extracts from previous EDEMs. Above all, emphasis is 'put on the promotion of the day on social networks'.⁴⁸ For the 2015 EDEM, the REMA Facebook and Twitter accounts gained new likes and followers.⁴⁹ 769 tweets used the hashtag '#EarlyMusicDay'. These tweets were issued from accounts of landmark cultural institutions, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁵⁰

Looking forward to the fifth EDEM in 2017, the current online publicity materials reflect the aforementioned 'inclusivist' and participatory values that early music culture upholds. On the EDEM website, a tab at the top of the homepage is entitled 'PARTICIPATE' and takes participants to a Google Docs form to submit details of their events for the day. A written statement on the 'About' subpage anticipates that 'the celebration is of course open to every organisation and partner interested

to join!⁵¹ It proposes ‘reaching audiences in the whole world’⁵² through the live-streaming. An official statement by harpsichordist and conductor William Christie, placed on the homepage and taken from a YouTube video for EDEM, expresses the worldwide potential of early music, which could be extended to the role of social and online media in promoting it:⁵³

Any initiative to bring Early Music to the attention of a bigger public is important! [. . .] I don’t believe that music can have great impact if it doesn’t say something or represent something universal. That is what is wonderful about music. French Music, German Music are World Music. French Culture, or English Culture, or German Culture, or Italian Culture, these are World Cultures as well. This is one of the reasons why, obviously, culture is a terribly important part of civilization.

Once again, though, ideas about participatory, non-discriminatory and potentially ‘universal’ reaches of early music warrant closer re-examination. This is not just about a convincingly produced online marketing campaign. Former European Commissioner for Culture, Androulla Vassiliou characterises early music as ‘a central part of our shared cultural heritage as Europeans ... a powerful symbol of our civilization and of our common European identity’,⁵⁴ which Olivia Bloechl deems to reflect ‘a rhetoric of cultural whiteness’.⁵⁵

As a matter of fact, out of all of the respondents to Wilson’s survey, only four were of an ethnic minority.⁵⁶ He even suggests that ‘early music performance remains an almost exclusively white and middle-class activity’.⁵⁷ I can relate to this view in some way. Having played the Baroque flute in a professional period-instrument orchestra, I noticed that I was the only ‘non-white’ person in the ensemble. The white and middle-class activity of early music performance parallels asymmetries of wealth and internet usage across the globe. As of 29 September 2016, the internet penetration rate of Europe is 73.5%, compared with certain countries in sub-Saharan Africa, which only have an internet penetration rate of around 4%.⁵⁸

Conclusions

Today, the early music industry is capitalising on social media as a vital component among marketing materials, essential for anyone

wanting to put themselves ‘out there’. The harsh, competitive reality of a small number of paid engagements in early music ensures its significance for those aiming to make early music part of their living. Through social media, their promotions and communications can reach many audiences. Whether endorsing their own facilities in historical techniques, tweeting about their performances or posting a Facebook message about non-musical interests, all of these social media messages count towards enhancing their career prospects.

Yet, we should remember that social media enhance traditional media, and do not substitute them entirely. Relying only on YouTube is unlikely to be sustainable. To survive the economic and practical challenges of the early music world, freelance early musicians need to supplement their incomes with performing, teaching and other jobs (e.g. academic posts).⁵⁹ I have seen local early music societies in the UK put up printed posters to advertise public concerts. The role of a website as ‘your primary corporate presence on the Internet’⁶⁰ should not be neglected. For example, no links to social media are embedded on the website of historical flute maker Martin Wënner.⁶¹ What is more, opportunities in early music are organised away from social media. Social media are not necessarily to everyone’s tastes either.

Given the role of artist agencies, PR and digital marketing companies in social media more generally, early-music musicians and practitioners are concerned primarily with only one part of the entertainment industry. However, they must sell themselves online and sometimes do so inauthentically (e.g. shameless self-marketing). That being said, consistent self-promotion is ‘fresh content’⁶² for the majority of social media followers. Again, it is part of the job for performers, not just in music, to utilise social media in this way.

Today, there is an undeniable thirst to join in with early music, whether as a practitioner, promoter, listener, observer or all of these. Social media can encourage performance, learning, participation, access, research interests and simply enjoying early music. It can only be a good sign to see a new generation of early music performers and enthusiasts making the most out of current web technologies, and likewise by those who have

been involved in early music for longer than I have. At the same time, it will be fascinating to continue witnessing the early music industry's activities on social media. So let us ask whether the established set-up of the early music business will change in the near future as more of us

engage with online communities. And more significantly, is it possible to make early music accessible to social media and non-social media audiences irrespective of their social, cultural, educational, financial and musical differences?

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The Mozart Project Live! A Stageshow Reconsidering Mozart's Chamber Music

John Irving

When, in 2013, I was approached by two enterprising young Mozart-lovers, James Fairclough and Harry Farnham, and asked if I would like to co-author a new kind of iBook designed for users of the iPad and called *The Mozart Project*, I realized straight away that this was the opportunity I had long been seeking: to embed my musical practice as a fortepianist within my writing about Mozart, and at the same time reach out to new audiences for his music through cutting-edge technology that allows the seamless integration of text and performance. I filmed several illustrative performances of Mozart's chamber music with colleagues from Ensemble DeNOTE specially for the book (exploring, among other topics, the rather fuzzy boundary between public display and intimate chamber music in Mozart's piano concertos, and an interesting and rarely-heard contemporary arrangement of his Piano and Winds Quintet, K. 452). A happy outcome of all this was an internationally award-winning book that garnered several prizes in the 2015 International iBook Author Conference (including Best Musical Work and iBook of the Year).

And yet, a part of me wished to engage even more closely with new audiences for Mozart's music. Thus was born *The Mozart Project Live!* – a stageshow and supporting educational workshop in which Ensemble DeNOTE and I, in close collaboration with James and Harry from InkPix Media, stage director Wendy Allnutt, and actors Frankie Wakefield and Florence Roberts, bring my chapter on Mozart's Chamber Music alive on stage. The concept went through several stages of refinement before it was ready to present to Arts Council England for funding. Another key partner was Peterborough Music Education Hub, which was keen to extend a working relationship already established with DeNOTE in 2015 through a two-day residency in which we had introduced about 1000 schoolchildren

to Mozart's music and to our period instruments. Fortunately ACE approved of the idea and generously funded a pilot.

The two showings of *The Mozart Project Live!* took place at Peterborough Key Theatre on 19 and 20 April 2016. The first event was tailored more especially for schools (in consultation with our partners at Peterborough Music Education Hub). The second performance was open to the public and was a full-length evening show of c.90 minutes, in two halves, separated by an interval. Film footage was taken at both performance events, for editing into a short trailer advertising the show (to be distributed in autumn 2016 to Education Hubs and UK Music Festivals). This trailer is viewable at the following link: <<https://vimeo.com/177554277>>.

The dual aim of *The Mozart Project Live!* was to introduce a selection of Mozart's chamber music through the medium of period performance. I wished to do this in an accessible way, and the idea emerged (through successive rewritings of the script) of counterpointing Mozart's age with our own, to demonstrate differences in the performance settings. While spoken text was an important element, visual and spatial illustration of concepts – such as the salon versus the concert hall, period and modern instruments, eighteenth-century and modern performances, and approaches to musical texts – became steadily stronger during our planning stages and rehearsals. Conscious that the show was intended to inform and entertain, I was keen to involve as much interaction with the audience as possible. Achieving that required all the DeNOTE performers to memorise scripted excerpts, advancing the narrative alongside our live performances and other extracts projected on screen. The fact that all DeNOTE's players are seasoned period performers passionate about their instruments and playing styles made this potentially fearsome and unusual task

much more palatable. Ultimately, the most significant visual aspect of the show was the counterpointing of Mozart's age and our own. The two actors, Frankie and Florence were representatives of Mozart's age: introducing his music, reading from his letters and reminiscences of his contemporaries, posing questions to each of the players – acting as the eyes and ears of the audience. That was symbolised by dressing them in period costume (whereas the musicians were all in contemporary concert dress), and yet exploring Mozart's music through modern gadgets (iPads obviously!) – a nifty piece of time-travel with which they communicated some features from the original iPad book chapter (including some of DeNOTE's filmed performances) via the on-stage screen. From the audience's perspective, our journey through Mozart's chamber music took place dynamically in speech, movement (including dance), screened excerpts and live musical performance.

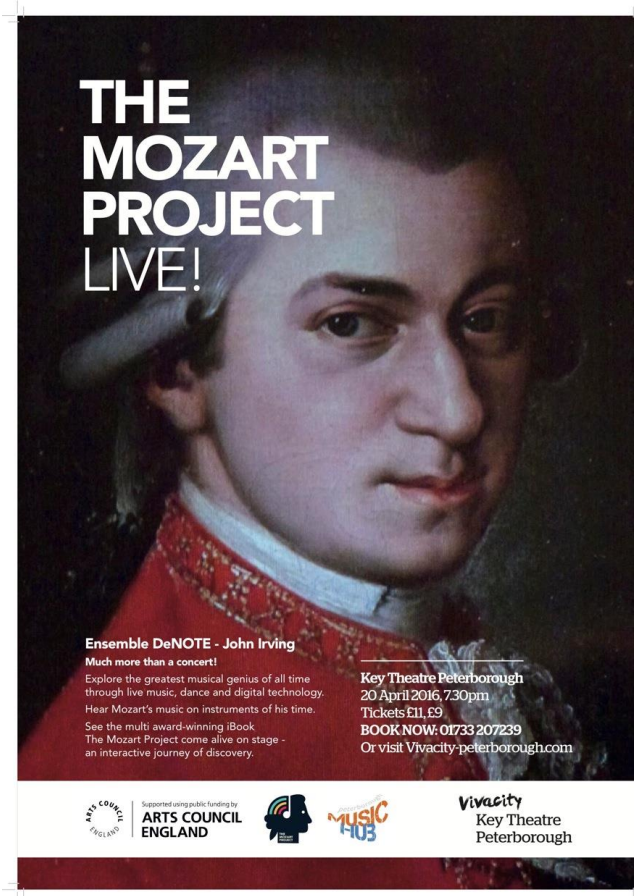
Three significant performance aspects that I wished to incorporate were dance, period instruments, and improvisation. (We also introduced some historical and generic issues, and musical structures during the evening, which included performances and discussion of the Piano Quartet in G minor, K. 478; the 'Kegelstatt' Trio, K. 498 for clarinet, viola and

piano; the Violin and Piano Sonata in B flat, K. 454 and the finale of the Gran' partita, K. 361, in a slightly later arrangement made in 1805 for a Quintet grouping that exactly fits DeNOTE's forces.) The actors illustrated two contrasting dance types that underlie several of the movements we explored (minuet and sarabande), with choreography developed especially for our performance. They probed our classical-setup instruments carefully with their iPad cameras; the detail of the fortepiano's action, the clarinet's keywork and a cello bow were projected on screen as we demonstrated them in turn. Improvisation (i.e. leaving behind the notated text) is a defining feature of DeNOTE's performances and one that we obviously wished to highlight in our show. This aspect was illustrated through the rondo finale of the G minor Piano Quartet, with each reprise of the theme progressively elaborated. We had two possibilities for this. One was to show some of the film of this piece specially shot for the original iPad book. Another was to perform the movement live (with different embellishments). Fortunately, at this point in our show, we had involved the audience in a vote on how the second half should begin – and they voted for us to perform live improvisations there and then on stage, without a safety net (we like a bit of a risk!).



What has *The Mozart Project Live!* taught us as performers? The need continually to reflect on the clarity of what we are expressing is one important thing. For us, immersed in this repertoire day-by-day, there are pressing questions and contexts – ranging from which precise ornaments to apply and where, to bowings, how to interpret Mozart’s frequently inconsistent dynamic and articulation markings, to whether we should mark apparent external associations such as dance topics, and so on. These are all central, but risk enfoldng us more and more in a web of minutiae that might communicate on a certain level, but which risk exclusiveness. Reflecting on DeNOTE’s rehearsals, real vibrancy emerges most convincingly for us when we listen actively and react creatively as players – both individually and as an ensemble – to what our equipment is telling us. This is what inspires us. Reflecting on our Arts Council project a few months on, the sharp focus on sound and movement that we aimed to present and explore with the aid of digital technology, on stage in *The Mozart Project Live!*, has encouraged us to aim at ever greater vividness in our performances since, communicating our readings of Mozart’s chamber music in a way we hope makes it come alive for more and less experienced listeners for whom the experience is not framed just within the confines of ‘historical

performance’. These are aspects that we will be considering creatively as we prepare for a forthcoming CD recording of some of this repertoire in autumn 2016.



‘Per la ricuperata salute di Ofelia’: Mozart’s newly discovered collaboration with Salieri and ‘Mr. Cornetti’

Simone Laghi

The discovery of a new composition by a major composer always represents a moment of great vitality for the musicological world, and grants a window for our subject in the mainstream media. When the musicologist Timo Jouko Herrmann found an entry for the printed source of the cantata *Per la ricuperata salute di Ofelia* on the online catalogue of the Czech Museum of Music in November 2015, he probably figured out right away what kind of Pandora’s box he had opened. Herrmann succeeded in identifying the names of the three composers of this piece: Antonio Salieri,

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and a certain Cornetti, whose identity has not yet been clarified.

The first online news of this discovery circulated at the beginning of 2016, but it went viral on social media when the cantata became the protagonist of a series of short documentary videos on the YouTube channel ‘Tutti Mozart’: in the first video, published 17 February 2016, the conductor Vinicius Kattah gave an introduction to the piece and to Herrmann’s finding.

The cantata's text is by Lorenzo da Ponte. While the original poem consists of thirty verses, it includes only the first four: the first two were set by Salieri, the third by Mozart and the fourth by Cornetti. Divided into three movements, the cantata, scored for soprano voice and basso continuo, lasts about four minutes. The discovery encouraged a number of performances concentrated in about a month: on 16 February 2016 the harpsichordist Lukáš Vendl performed an instrumental version at the Czech Museum of Music, without a singer. This performance was followed by another two, both on 3 March: the first by Kattah, Ute Groh (cello) and Kate Rafferty (soprano) at the Gert Hecher piano atelier in Vienna, and the second by Claire Elizabeth Craig (soprano) and Florian Birsak (fortepiano) at the International Mozarteum Foundation in Salzburg. On 13 March, Vendl performed the work for the Czech Radio affiliate Vlatava, this time in duo with the soprano Irena Troupová. On 9 April, the soprano Kate Rafferty gave another performance in Canberra (Australia), accompanied by her father, the pianist Carl Rafferty.

The piece in itself did not appear out of the blue: in fact, we knew about its publication from an advertisement, which appeared in the newspaper *Wienerblättchen* on 26 September 1785, and was therefore recorded as a lost work in the Köchel catalogue as K. 477a. This 'Italienisches Freudenlied' is dedicated to the recovery of the singer Nancy Storace, who had lost her voice in June, before her debut in the role of Eufelia in Salieri's opera, *La grotta di Trofonio*. The premiere had to be postponed for four months, and finally took place on 12 October. Anna Selina 'Nancy' Storace was born in England in 1765, but her family and artistic background were wholly Italian. Her father was Stefano Storace, a double bass player active in the London opera system, and her brother was Stephen Storace, a brilliant composer who studied in Naples and presented two *opere buffe* in Vienna in 1785. Nancy studied singing with celebrated castrato Venanzio Rauzzini, who had met Mozart in Milan in 1772 when he sang the role of Cecilio in *Lucio Silla*: on that occasion, Mozart composed the famous *Exultate Jubilate*, K. 165, for Rauzzini.

At the time of the composition of the cantata, Nancy was a twenty-year old, but already an acknowledged performer. Mozart chose her to sing the part of Susanna in *Le Nozze di Figaro* in May 1786. Her success in Vienna could have been supported by an alleged flirt with the Kaiser, Joseph II, and this could have given her some power in the musical life of the Austrian capital. We do not have any proof of this royal affair, but it would explain why Da Ponte (the court poet), Salieri (the assistant court composer) and Mozart (an emerging musical personality who was pushing to gain notoriety and a better social position) took Nancy's ailment so much to heart. Kattah suggests that the baby Nancy gave birth to in 1785, significantly named Josepha, was an illegitimate daughter of Joseph II. The absence of Nancy from public view could have covered her pregnancy, and the song possibly acted as a sort of masked celebratory hymn for the newborn baby. This theory leads to the problem of the identification of the third composer, Mr. Cornetti. There are several theories suggesting the identity of this mysterious person. Let us start with the most charming: Cornetti was a pseudonym for the Emperor Joseph II. The idea of Cornetti as a *nom-de-plum* is enforced by the fact that the name is the only one written in Italic on the score, whereas Mozart and Salieri's names are not. A further theory links his identity to Alessandro Cornet, a singing teacher, tenor and composer living in Vienna. Finally, the third hypothesis is that the person hidden under this pseudonym was Stephen Storace, the brother of Nancy. Stephen is mentioned in one of the verses of the ode, but there would be no reason for him to adopt a pseudonym in this composition.

The musical content of this short piece is not especially remarkable: what is striking is the appearance of the names of Salieri and Mozart on the same score. According to Herrmann, the piece is a 'key to a new understanding of the relationship between Mozart and Salieri.' Actually, the two composers did not collaborate in a strong sense, but they, with 'Mr. Cornetti', each contributed one of the movements. We have, by now, learned that there was no open rivalry between the two composers, or even minor clashes as competitors. The bitter hate depicted in Pushkin's drama, *Mozart and Salieri*, translated

into music by Rimsky-Korsakov and created into a film by Miloš Forman, is just fictional, and Salieri did not have any reason to poison Mozart: in the Viennese music environment of the time, Salieri had the best position, a position that could have provoked some envy in Mozart but not vice versa. On the contrary, the two composers were respectful of each other, and, as we can see from this cantata, they were happy to collaborate, even if it was just for a short, occasional celebratory piece.

This discovery, and the clamour it generated, is certainly a good thing for musical research, in terms of impact and diffusion. For a researcher, it is a great incentive to pursue further investigation on new and old music collections, in the hope that further ground-breaking evidence may come to light. Unfortunately, the periodic re-emerging of old clichés, already proven wrong in the past decades, shows that Forman's *Amadeus* is still far better known to the general audience than any scholarly biography.

The Historical Pianist: A Conference-Festival

Olivia Sham and Briony Cox-Williams

On 22–24 April 2016, the Royal Academy of Music in collaboration with the Cobbe Collection at Hatchlands Park hosted a conference-festival titled 'The Historical Pianist'. This international event brought together both well-established and student performers, researchers and instrument makers/restorers, in the unique setting of two collections of keyboard instruments. Its hybrid title was intended to highlight the kind of creative stimulation at the heart of the RAM's research, mixing performance and research of high calibre, with a series of lectures, lecture-recitals, and performances on a range of topics. Keynote lectures were given by Professor Kenneth Hamilton (Cardiff University), Professor David Owen Norris (University of Southampton) and Daniel-Ben Pienaar (RAM). The AHRC-supported event was directed by Dr Olivia Sham, AHRC Cultural Engagement Fellow in 2016 at the RAM.

The first day of the conference-festival took place at the RAM Museum in the Piano Gallery, where there is a collection of keyboard instruments ranging from an eighteenth-century Italian virginal to a 1920 Steinway grand piano. After a brief welcome to the gallery by Oliver Sandig (Historic Keyboards Curator), Sham began proceedings with a lecture-recital, 'Historical pianos: antiques or instruments'. Here, she explored the relation between the antiquity of historical pianos and their functionality as instruments, and posited that the 'aged' quality of the instruments in fact offers a new

range of creative expression for performers today. Sham then demonstrated this with a brief mini-recital of works by Liszt, in which a re-composition of an early work was highlighted by performance on two instruments: an 1840 Erard grand piano and a 1920 Steinway.

The first session to follow was by harpsichordist Medea Bindewald, 'London Sonatas: accompanied and soloistic keyboard music by Jacob Kirkman'. Together with violinist Nicolette Moonen, Bindewald explored these sonatas in which the violinist accompanies the keyboardist, performing excerpts on the RAM's 1764 Kirkman harpsichord (by the composer's uncle), and an 1801 Broadwood square piano. The next session, 'Why Cristofori matters', was presented by Professor Andrew Willis (University of North Carolina, USA), and instrument-maker David Sutherland. Sutherland spoke first on what he called the 'Baroque piano', that is, those early pianos of the Florentine school, and their relative neglect and misrepresentation, much of it due to the identical external appearances of the harpsichord and Baroque piano and to naming conventions in historical sources. Willis continued with recorded excerpts on his 1730s Florentine replica, built by Sutherland. Their film material convincingly argued for the influence of Florentine instruments on early keyboard repertoire, demonstrating their unique properties.

The following extended session was by researchers at the Bern University of the Arts – Professor Kai Köpp and two doctoral candidates, Camilla Köhnken and Sebastian Bausch. Köpp began the session, ‘Performance styles in early piano duet recordings’, with a summary of the University’s approach to ‘interpretation research’. Bausch and Köhnken then followed by examining traditions of piano duets, as recorded on piano rolls, concentrating on the more ‘orchestral’ performance practice information to be gleaned from these, such as tempo modifications, as opposed to pianistic ones, like dislocations. In particular, they studied the piano roll by Carl Reinecke and his wife Margarethe of Reinecke’s Overture from *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*, Op. 46. Part of their research method involves embodiment and re-enactment to better understand such texts, and so the session concluded with a remarkable live re-enactment of this performance by Bausch and Köhnken. When the floor was opened for questions, valuable practical input was contributed by pianists Dennis Hall and Rex Lawson of the Pianola Institute.

Tristan Lee (doctoral candidate, University of Melbourne, Australia) then presented on ‘Liszt’s interpretation of Beethoven’s piano sonatas: revisiting historical editions’. He looked at aspects of editions of these sonatas by Liszt and von Bülow that offer historical performance information. Lee then performed the ‘Moonlight’ Sonata Op. 27, no. 2 on modern piano, his interpretation being informed by Liszt-the-editor on issues like pedaling and fingerings. Finally, ‘Scarlatti in perspective’ was presented by Dr Elena Vorotko (RAM Honorary Research Fellow). Vorotko suggested that the absence of extensive information regarding Scarlatti’s own performance practice opens up interpretative liberties for performers today on both modern piano and harpsichord, with specific possibilities dependent on the instruments used. She illustrated this with various examples from the sonatas on both harpsichord and piano. To conclude the day, four RAM students, performed a selection of solos by Roseingrave, Purcell, Couperin, Haydn and Schubert (arr. Liszt), in the Piano Gallery.

The second day took place in Guildford – at the Cobbe Collection in Hatchlands Park.

It began with an excellent guided tour of the collection by Alec Cobbe, and its wide range of instruments, including many with a documented link to particular composers, excited the interest of many delegates. The first keynote, by Professor David Owen Norris, then took place: “‘The severity of time’: notations of expressive performance in early nineteenth-century music for pianoforte”. Following a discussion weighing up the importance of the audience/listener in relation to ‘academic truth’, Norris explored the idea of the instrument’s impact, as opposed to simply performance traditions, on performance practice. He then focused specifically on the interpretation of expressive markings in relation to tempo fluctuations in music by Leipzig and English composers of the early nineteenth century, and concluded with a performance of Sterndale Bennett’s Piano Sonata, ‘The Maid of Orleans’, Op. 46, on an 1845 Paris Érard and 1816 Broadwood grand piano. The lunchtime concert, given by RAM students, continued with this repertoire focus, with performances of the youthful piano sextets by Mendelssohn and Bennett.

The first session of the afternoon, ‘The contextualisation of Mozart’s Sonata K310’, was presented by Giulia Nuti (Conservatorio della Svizzera Italiana). Nuti explored links between Mozart’s well-known sonata and music popular at the time in Paris, the city in which it was composed. Nuti illustrated these with performances on a fortepiano (circle of Johannes Andreas Stein, last quarter of the eighteenth century). Brahms was the topic of the next lecture-recital, by Professor Neal Peres da Costa (Sydney Conservatorium of Music), on ‘Streicher, Erard and Steinway: exploring Brahms’s private and public sound worlds’. Da Costa discussed the different instruments Brahms preferred in different contexts, played live on the 1845 Érard and 1864 Steinway, and offered recorded excerpts of his own copy of an 1860s Streicher by Paul McNulty. Da Costa discussed this topic especially in relation to Brahms’s later period, and types of non-notated, yet commonplace practices of Brahms’s circle, such as dislocation, chordal arpeggiation, tempo fluctuations, and smaller-scale rhythmic alterations, such as *inégale* and overdotting.

The afternoon continued – unfortunately somewhat abbreviated due to timing constraints – with a presentation by Dr Mike Lee (Visiting Assistant Professor, Indiana University, Bloomington), ‘Tempo and processual form in Schubert’. Lee argued against prevailing contemporary practice dictating that, unless otherwise instructed in the score, ‘one tempo only’ is the rule of thumb in Schubert’s sonatas and similar repertoire. This practice is based on the concept of structural unity, but Lee suggested that the ‘looser’ eighteenth-century performance conventions with regards tempo and metre in fact aid a stronger delineation of a work’s structure and form. He supported his claim with a performance of the first movement of Schubert’s Sonata in A minor, Op. 42, D. 845, on an 1823 grand piano by Nannette Streicher. Finally, Professor Stephanie McCallum (Sydney Conservatorium of Music) performed Weber’s Piano Sonata no. 2 in A flat, Op. 39 on the same instrument.

The final day of the conference-festival returned to central London, in the David Josefowitz Recital Hall at the RAM. To begin, McCallum resumed the lecture part of her presentation: ‘Issues of performance for Weber’s Piano Sonata no. 2 in A flat, Op. 39: a complete performance followed by refection’. Here, McCallum spoke about the challenges – and revelations – she experienced as a pianist adapting her performance of this piece on a period piano, having previously used a modern Steinway. Furthermore, McCallum discussed the important pedagogical implications of this for modern piano students. Dr Roy Howat (Keyboard Research Fellow, RAM) then continued with the first full session of the day, ‘Fauré as pianist in his songs’. Howat explored how Fauré’s pianism can inform a performer’s understanding of the songs, and referred to his editorial work on this in the new Peters editions. Howat illustrated his presentation with several songs in which he accompanied two postgraduate RAM singers.

The morning continued with the second keynote lecture, ‘Do they still hate Horowitz? The “Last Romantic” revisited’, by Professor Kenneth Hamilton. This was a thorough evaluation of Horowitz’s legacy, examining both the criticisms directed towards him, and the fawning publicity that surrounded

him, in light of new releases of unedited live recordings. Hamilton, who candidly admitted that he is a fan of Horowitz, analysed the flaws Horowitz sought to hide in his ‘pseudo-live’ recordings, and discussed the Horowitz mythology in relation to the virtues of being an ‘entertainer’ versus being a ‘serious musician’. In so doing, Hamilton brought into question what interpretation entails for great performers – is it the composer’s intentions, or rather, the performer’s own creativity that is of value; and what defines ‘failure’ in relation to expression? Hamilton finished with a call for a new generation of not only more courageous pianists – but also critics.

The afternoon shifted proceedings to the Piano Gallery for an extended session, ‘An altar to Apollo: visions and realities of Beethoven’s Broadwood’, from researchers at the Orpheus Institute: Professor Tom Beghin (McGill University), organologist Dr Eleanor Smith and instrument-maker Chris Maene. Beghin began first with a lecture on ‘The C-natural that wanted to be C-sharp’. He talked about the significance of the English piano for Beethoven, who used the lower register of its compass (CC-c^{'''}), different from contemporaneous Viennese instruments (compass: FF-f^{'''}) – hence the discrepancy of the high C-sharp in the last variation of Op. 109, which exceeds the Broadwood’s range – and the tactile/reverberant effect of Beethoven’s new piano in relation to his increasing deafness. Beghin then performed live an abridged Sonata Op. 109 on his replica of Beethoven’s Broadwood by Chris Maene. Following this was an insightful conversation between Smith and Maene on the process and experience in making the replica of Beethoven’s Broadwood, and also on the uses of such replicas compared to original instruments.

Returning to the recital hall, Bart van Oort (Royal Conservatory in the Hague) gave a presentation on ‘Understanding Classic and early Romantic dynamics’. Van Oort spoke systematically about the interpretation of notated dynamic and expressive markings in this repertoire, and also those that are implied but un-notated, in relation to his own practice. He made use of the RAM’s copy of a Walter fortepiano (c.1805) by McNulty to illustrate this in fine detail.

The final keynote presentation, a recital titled 'Late piano music', was given by Daniel-Ben Pienaar (RAM Curzon Lecturer in Performance Studies) on a modern concert grand Steinway. The programme was tied together in one sense as 'late' pieces by three composers – a Prelude, Fantasia and Pavan by Orlando Gibbons (nos. 1, 6 and 16 from the Musica Britannica edition), Mozart's Sonata in B flat, K. 570, and Schubert's Sonata in A, D. 959 – if by composers who died relatively young. However, Pienaar suggested, in his notes, that their music might be perceived as 'late' more because of their transformative approach to music of their immediate predecessors, and argued that such a 'late' critique of history could serve as a model for pianists today: a challenge to fashion a coherent language of their own using historical tools, and not just play 'interpretations' of individual works. The strength and clarity of Pienaar's

virtuosic approach to this was evident in the extreme range of reactions from delegates and audience.

Finally, a panel was hosted by Professor Tim Jones (RAM Deputy Principal, Programmes and Research), on the topic of 'Pianos, pianists, and the uses and abuses of history'. The six panelists discussed a range of topics, ranging through Urtext editions, whether interpretation as a term ought to be abandoned, 'historically informed' as opposed to mainstream practice, sincerity, freedom and the personality of the performer. With the range of musical backgrounds represented on the panel (Hamilton, Norris, Pienaar, Beghin, van Oort and Howat), a diverse array of opinions was offered – concluding the conference-festival in the spirit of dialogue across interests and practices that we hope to continue in future.

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Compiled by James Hume

Cambridge Opera Journal, Vol.28/2 (July 2016)

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Emanuele Senici, Slipping Out: Handel, 'As with rosy steps the morn' (Irene), *Theodora*, Act I
Susan Rutherford, Living, Loving and Dying in Song: Gluck, 'Che farò senza Euridice' (*Orfeo*), *Orfeo ed Euridice*, Act III

Early Music, Vol.44/2 (May 2016)

Articles

Kerry McCarthy, A late anthem by Tallis
Roger Bowers, Thomas Tallis at Dover Priory, 1530–1531
John Milsom, Tallis, the Parker psalter, and some known unknowns
Andrew Johnstone, Thomas Tallis and the five-part English Litany of 1544: evidence of 'the notes used in the king's majesty's chapel'
Magnus Williamson, Queen Mary I, Tallis's *O sacrum convivium* and a Latin Litany
Cheryll Duncan, Henry Purcell and the construction of identity: iconography, heraldry and the *Sonnata's of III Parts* (1683)
Graham Pont, Some questions concerning Handel's early London copyists
Panagiotis Pouloupoulos and Rachael Durkin, 'A very mistaken identification': the 'sultana' or 'cither viol' and its links to the bowed psaltery, viola d'amore and guitar

Book and music reviews of:

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Eroticism in early modern music, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn and Laurie Stras
Daniel Trocmé-Latter, *The singing of the Strasbourg Protestants, 1523–1541*
Ruth Tatlow, *Bach's numbers: compositional proportion and significance*
Tom Beghin, *The virtual Haydn: paradox of a twenty-first-century keyboardist*
Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Petits motets vol.7: cycles, vol.3*, ed. C. Jane Gosine; Nicolas Clérambault, *Histoire de la femme adultère*, ed. Louis Castelain; *Jean Racine's Cantiques spirituels. Musical settings by Moreau, Lalande, Collasse, Marchand, Duballe, and Bousset*, ed. Deborah Kauffman

Early Music, Vol.44/1 (February 2016)

Articles

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Richard G. King, Who does what? On the roles of the

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Yo Tomita, Deciphering the performance hints hidden in J. S. Bach's quaver beams

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Žak Ozmo, Should (early) Baroque music be equally tempered? Vincenzo Galilei's 1584 *Libro d'intavolatura di liuto* and its wider implications for historical performance practice

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Joseph-Nicholas-Pancrace Royer, *Pirrhous*, ed. Lisa Goode Crawford, and Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Suite de Dardanus, arrange à 5 parties*
Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *The Complete Works: Keyboard concertos from manuscript sources III*, ed. Barbara Wiermann; *Keyboard concertos from manuscript sources IV*, ed. Bernhard Schrammek and Miklós Spányi; *Keyboard concertos from manuscript sources VI*, ed. Barbara Wiermann, Johann Samuel Schroeter, *Six keyboard concertos, op. 3*, ed. Evan Cortens; *English keyboard concertos 1740–1815*, ed. Peter Lynan

Early Music America, Vol.22/3 (Fall 2016)

Article

Anne Schuster Hunter, EMag: Piffao Tilts at Musical Windmills

Early Music History, Vol.35 (October 2016)

Articles

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Early Music Review (August 2016)

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Recercare: Journal for the study and practice of early music XXVII/1–2 2015

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Georg Philipp Telemann, *Gott der Hoffnung erfülle euch: Cantata for Whit Sunday*, ed. Maik Richter

G.F. Handel, *Te deum for the victory at the battle of Dettingen, HWV 283*, ed. Amanda Babington

Early Music Review (June/July 2016)

Music reviews of:

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Antonio Caldara, *Missa Sancti Francisci*, ed. Alexander Opatrny

Johann Christian Schultze, *Konzert B-Dur für Altbloßflöte, Streicher und Basso continuo*, ed. Klaus Hofmann

Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Airs d'opéra: Dessus/soprano*, vol. 2, ed. Sylvie Boissou, Benoît Dratwicki, Julien Dubruque

Nicola Fiorenze, *Konzert in C-Moll für blockflöte, streicher und basso continuo*, ed. Dario Benigno

G.F. Handel, *Organ works compiled after the urtext of the Halle Handel Edition*, ed. Siegbert Rampe

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Palestrina, *Musiche della cappella di Santa Barbara in Mantova*, ed. Ottavio Beretta

Early Music Review (May 2016)

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