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COVER: Illustration from Edward Bunting, *The Ancient Music of Ireland* (London, [1809]): 'Hempson the Harper of Magilligan, County of L'Derry'. Image obtained from the website of the National Library of Scotland.

Editorial

This issue is a miscellany with articles covering topics from three centuries. Michael Talbot introduces previously undiscussed Latin motets by the violinist and viola player Giuseppe Torelli, best known today for his innovative instrumental concertos. As part of a small repertoire of non-polychoral Italian sacred music from around 1700, which includes Alessandro Scarlatti's *Concerti Sacri* (1707–8), these pieces are historically significant; they are also fully worthy of revival. Although large ensembles were associated with polychoral music, as Talbot points out, Italian orchestras, such as the one at the San Petronio basilica, Bologna, with which Torelli performed, were accustomed to doubling in single-choir music in four or more parts. These motets, however, were probably composed after 1696 when Torelli worked mainly in Germany, and their two-violin with basso continuo accompaniment suggests one-to-a-part performance is appropriate.

In the second article Simon Chadwick draws on his decades of experience performing with replicas of medieval Gaelic harps, proposing a historically informed tuning scheme. Modern replicas are based on just two surviving originals that are fascinating but enigmatic instruments; they were in use for a long time and underwent considerable modification. An attempt to reconstruct how they might have sounded requires a careful sifting of evidence from various sources – some of them quite surprising.

Instruments are also touched upon in the second part of Jeremy Barlow's two-part article on Charles Dibdin's touring entertainments (see *EMP* 39 for the first part). Dibdin managed not to repeat mistakes of the first tours; the later one was apparently a resounding success. Press reports indicate that he travelled with an 'organized instrument', apparently a combined piano and organ (claviorgan), in modified form, with sound effects!

Thanks are due to Karen Loomis for assistance with this issue.

Andrew Woolley
March 2017

********* NATIONAL EARLY MUSIC ASSOCIATION NEWS *********

2018 NEMA Membership Fee Increase

NEMA member subscriptions largely fund the costs of producing *Early Music Performer* for distribution twice a year. Since our last membership fee change was agreed a few years ago, both printing and postage costs have been rising and it is now time to increase the subscription so that *EMP* can be maintained in its present form. We propose a rise from £11 to £15 in 2018, which it should be possible to hold for a number of years. As additional benefits, members will now be receiving the new online NEMA Newsletter twice a year, and together with the forthcoming series of annual conferences in planning, the NEMA Council is confident that members will both be receiving excellent value for money, and supporting the increasing activity of NEMA in years to come.

Francis Knights,
NEMA Chairman

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Three Solo Motets by Giuseppe Torelli in the Sing-Akademie Archive

Michael Talbot

In contrast to the modern composer, who gains credit from demonstrating – and is sometimes under pressure from publishers, critics or the public to demonstrate – versatility across several musical genres and types of ensemble, the typical composer of the seventeenth or eighteenth century focused on music that he (hardly ever she) could 'lead from the front' as performer or musical director. This is just as one would expect from a musical culture that, except in some elite or erudite circles, treated composition as an extension of performance, rather than the reverse. In the early eighteenth century a handful of major figures sought and won a place as 'universal' composers capable of turning their hand to almost anything – Handel and Telemann indisputably did this, and J. S. Bach and Vivaldi were not far behind. But they remained the exception: far more common were composers who 'knew their boundaries'. So we find string players such as Corelli who hardly wrote anything beyond music for strings; keyboard players such as Gottlieb Muffat who composed almost exclusively for organ and harpsichord; and church musicians such as Antonino Biffi who wrote no purely instrumental music (and scarcely any secular vocal music). In practice, however, compositional excursions beyond the comfort zone could occur if a musician had to deputize for a busy, absent or incapacitated colleague or hold the fort during an interregnum between appointments, as well as in response to special invitations or commissions from patrons or external institutions. Non-recurrent situations of this kind probably account for the existence of the very small quantity of vocal music attributable to the string player from Verona Giuseppe Torelli (1658–1709), who in Bologna and, briefly, in northern Europe was a prolific and sometimes pioneering composer of music for both small and large string ensembles, the latter supplemented on occasion by one or more trumpets and/or oboes.

Until quite recently, Torelli's surviving and securely attributed vocal œuvre totalled only four compositions: (1) an attractive three-movement chamber cantata for soprano and continuo, *Bella rosa*, on a text by his close colleague, the alto castrato, composer and librettist Antonio Francesco Mamiliano Pistocchi (1659–1726);[1] (2) A four-movement sacred cantata for Good Friday, *Lumi, dolenti lumi*, scored for alto and continuo;[2] (3) a highly impressive large-scale setting for four-part choir, vocal soloists and orchestra (comprising strings plus trumpet) of the responsory at Vespers *Domine ad adiuvandum me festina*, which reminds one of similar compositions composed by Giacomo Antonio Perti (1661–1756), *maestro di cappella* at the Basilica of San Petronio in Bologna (where both Torelli and Pistocchi worked at various times) from 1696 until his death;[3] (4) a setting for solo voice and strings (today unfortunately lacking one or more vocal parts) of the Vesper psalm *Benedictus Dominus*, which is of special interest on account of its preservation in the archive of San Petronio, suggesting that Torelli on at least one occasion contributed to the Basilica's liturgical repertory.[4]

This meagre tally almost doubled unexpectedly in late 2001, when the musical archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin, which in 1945 had been carried off to Kiev in the manner of war booty, was returned to its former owner (more recently, it has passed to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, where it retains, however, the separate RISM siglum D-Bsa). Before 1945 this archive had never had the benefit of a published catalogue, so among its newly revealed contents were several unexpected

unica.[5] Among these was an unbound (or no longer bound) volume, in frayed condition but almost completely legible, containing three motets by Torelli for solo voice (soprano or alto), two violins and continuo, consecutively written in a hand immediately identifiable as German from various inscriptions written in that language, in a distinctive native script.[6] These are compositions of high quality and considerable originality that shed light both on Torelli as a composer and on the evolutionary state of the solo motet around 1700.[7]

The manuscript contains seventeen folios in an oblong quarto format measuring approximately 22 x 29 cm.[8] Its paper has a watermark featuring the emblem known as the Strasbourg Bend, which points to a northern European origin. Staves – mostly ten, but occasionally only nine or eight – have been ruled individually on each page. The ink used by the scribe for the title and the musical notation is uniformly dark brown, almost black, in colour, whereas that for nearly all the verbal inscriptions, including the whole of the underlaid text, is medium-brown. This colour contrast seems to have been deliberate, chosen for its aesthetic effect, added clarity or both.

The original title, on f. 1r, reads: 'Mottetti | 1. Ite procul. Canto Solo & 2 Viol: | 2. O fideles. Alto Solo & 2 Viol. | 3. Totus orbis. Canto solo & 2. Viol.'. At first the title-page bore no composer's name, although the inscription 'Di S^{e} Torelli' on f. 8v concluding the heading provided for the second motet (the two others lack a similar heading) pointed to the composer of at least this composition – and by extension, given their stylistic and notational homogeneity, plausibly to all three. A later hand has added speculatively immediately below: 'da Gasparo Torelli'. That this was the 'wrong' Torelli became evident to Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832), director of the Sing-Akademie from 1800 up to his death, who sensibly commented lower down: 'kaum glaublich da dieser um die Mitte des 16. Saeculi gelebt hat. | Es könnte demnach Giuseppe Torelli seyn von welchem | Quantz berichtet ihn im Anfange des 18[.] Jahrh. gekannt | zu haben und aus dieser Zeit könnten die nachfolgenden Motetten | wohl herstammen.' ('barely credible since this man lived around the middle of the 16th century. So it could be Giuseppe Torelli, whom Quantz records having known at the start of the eighteenth century, and the following motets could well originate from this time.')[9]

It is necessary at this point to define what, in Catholic eyes, a motet, and more particularly a solo motet (*mottetto a voce sola*), was during the Baroque and Classical periods, since modern usage is much less circumscribed with regard to the textual basis, scoring and liturgical function of a piece so named. Strictly speaking, a Latin motet from this period is defined by its choice of text, which is not a prescribed liturgical one contained within the *Liber usualis*, but is instead what may be described as a paraliturgical interpolation: a freely invented text that may (but does not have to) refer to liturgy in direct quotation or paraphrase.[10] Up to two motets could be inserted into a service, typically – at Mass or Vespers – at points of relative silence or inactivity, such as after the Creed (at Mass) or during the elevation of the Host (at Vespers). After c.1600 the favoured scoring of a motet was for a single voice and continuo, with the option of adding obbligato instruments (a growing tendency over time) and/or further voices.

Skilled poets who were fully competent in Latin were rarely available to the motet composer. There may be more than a grain of truth in the description of motet texts by the traveller Pierre Jean Grosley as 'an awful rhymed mishmash of Latin words in which barbarisms and solecisms are commoner than sense and reason; they are ordinarily the work of the sacristan'.[11] This lack of available linguistic expertise perhaps explains why motet texts, even more than those of coeval chamber cantatas, were so often recycled or cannibalized.

A comparison with the chamber cantata offers striking parallels during the entire period between the 1620s and the later eighteenth century. Like the cantata, the continuo-accompanied motet evolves from a multi-sectional, single-movement structure cast in the same 'chain' form of metrically, texturally and stylistically contrasted sections as found in the polyphonic Renaissance motet, into a multi-movement structure with sharply differentiated (in text as in music) recitative and aria. In both genres, there is, from the later seventeenth century onwards, a growing tendency both to employ obbligato instruments and, where strings are concerned, to employ doubled

instruments: a shift from 'chamber' to 'orchestral' performance, circumstances permitting, implied whenever viola parts are included. One important standard feature of the motet, however, has no counterpart in the cantata. This is the concluding Alleluia section or movement. Since each of the four syllables of this outburst of joy can be stressed or carry a melisma, the result often resembles a *solfeggio* (or 'vocalise' as we would say today). An Alleluia affords even a composer inexpert in word-setting, or a singer with less than perfect enunciation, a rare opportunity to shine in a realm almost of pure sound, with scarcely any formal constraints

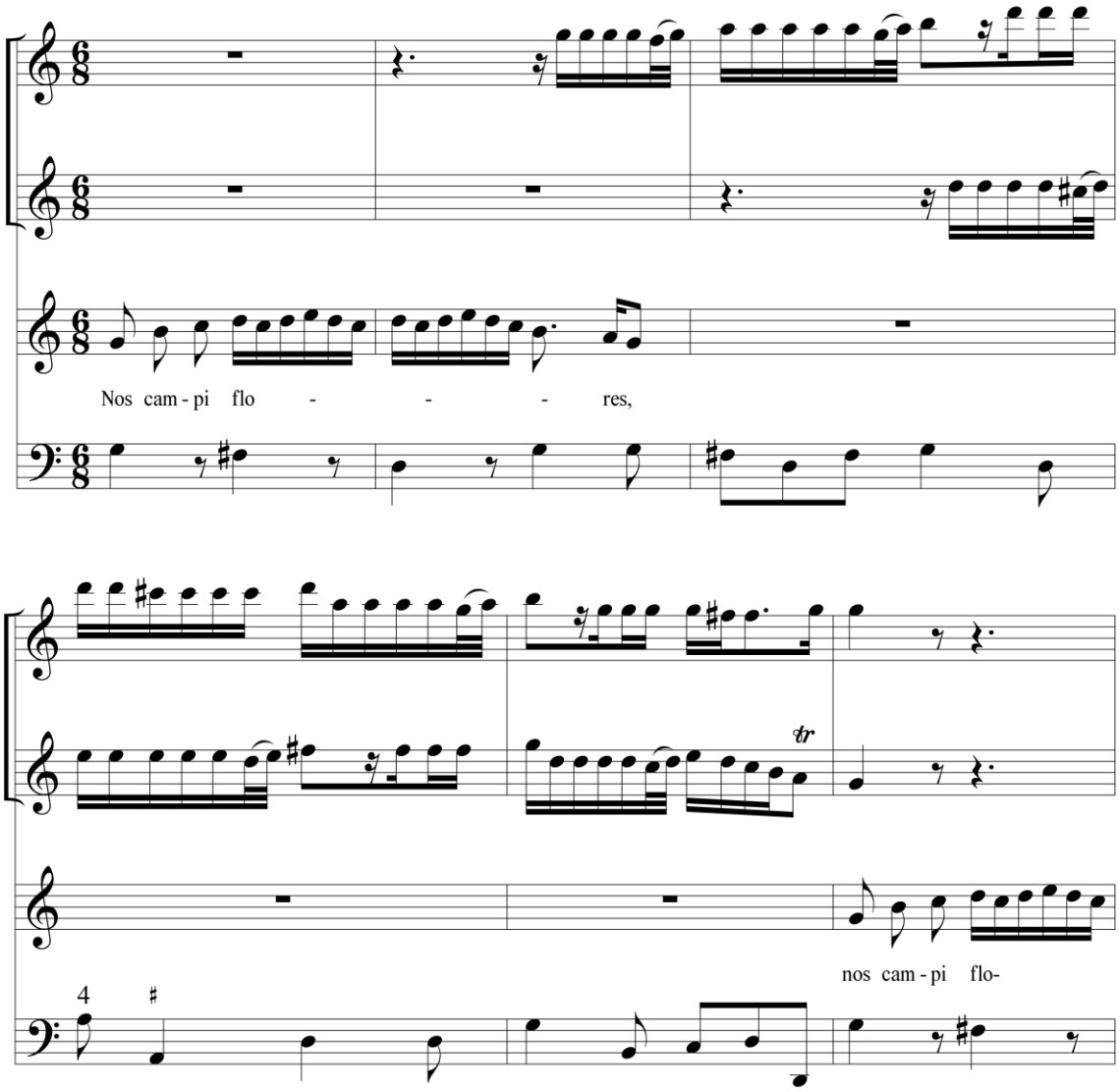
Discussion of Torelli's motets can usefully start with an evaluation of the basic data shown in Table 1. Columns 1 and 2 show that there is variation in the number (between three and five) and character of the movements. Motet 2, alone, has an introductory Sinfonia and an independent Alleluia. Motets 1 and 3, rather unusually, fuse the Alleluia to what would otherwise have been simple arias. In Motet 1 the Alleluia replaces the da capo repeat of the A section – it can be regarded as a retexted paraphrase of the original A section with new thematic material for the soprano but retaining the contrast-motive for the obbligato instruments. Examples 1a and 1b compare passages taken from the A and 'paraphrased A' sections. Motet 3 is similar, except that the Alleluia text is introduced earlier, at the very start of the B section.[12] One would need an encyclopaedic knowledge of the motet repertory around 1700 to be certain that these are considered departures from the norm rather than the innocent experiments of a novice in this field, but the provision of an independent Alleluia movement for Motet 2, which matches the standard practice of eighteenth-century composers from Vivaldi to Mozart, suggests an attempt at deliberate originality.

Work/ Movt	*Incipit*	*Folios*	*Tempo, Metre, Bars*	*Key*	*Movement Type*	*Scoring*	*Structure*
1/1	Ite, procul abite, maestitiae	2r–3v	Allegro, 3/4, 82	G	aria	S, 2 vn, bc	da capo
1/2	Beatissimae mentes	3v–4r	—, C, 21	b	recitative →arioso	S, bc	free
1/3	Salve, mundi morientis	4v–5r	Largo, C, 30	b	aria	S, bc/2 vn, bc	da capo ended with ritornello
1/4	Vos campi flores, odores reddite →Alleluia	5r–8r	[Allegro], 6/8, 74	G	aria-like	S, 2 vn, bc	quasi-da capo
2/1	Sinfonia	8v–9r	Largo →[Allegro], C, 20	F	(2-movt sinfonia)	2 vn, bc	free
2/2	O fideles, modicum sustinete tempus	9r	—, C, 8	F	recitative	A, bc	free
2/3	O quam fallax et caduca	9v–10v	Largo, C, 28	C	aria	A, 2 vn, bc	da capo
2/4	Si opes sine metu	11r	—, C, 19	a→F	recitative →cavata	A, bc	free
2/5	Alleluia	11v–13r	[Allegro], 3/4, 107	F	aria-like	A, 2 vn, bc	quasi-ritornello
3/1	Totus orbis, umbra canit	13v, 14v	[Allegro], C, 33	A	aria	S, bc/2 vn, bc	da capo framed by ritornello
3/2	Ai! non tua est lux ista	14v, 14r	—, C, 24	E	recitative →arioso	S, bc	free
3/3	Dies cara, iucunda dies→Alleluia	14r, 15r–17v	[Allegro], 3/2, 106	A	aria-like	S, 2 vn, bc	quasi-da capo

Abbreviations: S = Soprano; A = Alto; vn = violin; bc = basso continuo.

Table 1. Basic data for the motets by Torelli in D-Bsa, SA 811 (1–3)

Columns 3 and 4 show, as one would expect, that Torelli varies the tempo and metre of the arias for musical variety and in order to reflect different affective states, and that internally positioned arias are placed in a different key to outer movements. In two instances (movements 1/2 and 2/4) recitatives end in the key of the following movement. This is a conservative feature: progressive composers of the next generation, such as Vivaldi, preferred to make the recitative cadence in a different key so that the first chord of the next movement would have an immediate affective impact.[13]



Ex. 1a. Torelli, motet *Ite, procul abite, maestitiae*, movement 4, bars 1–6

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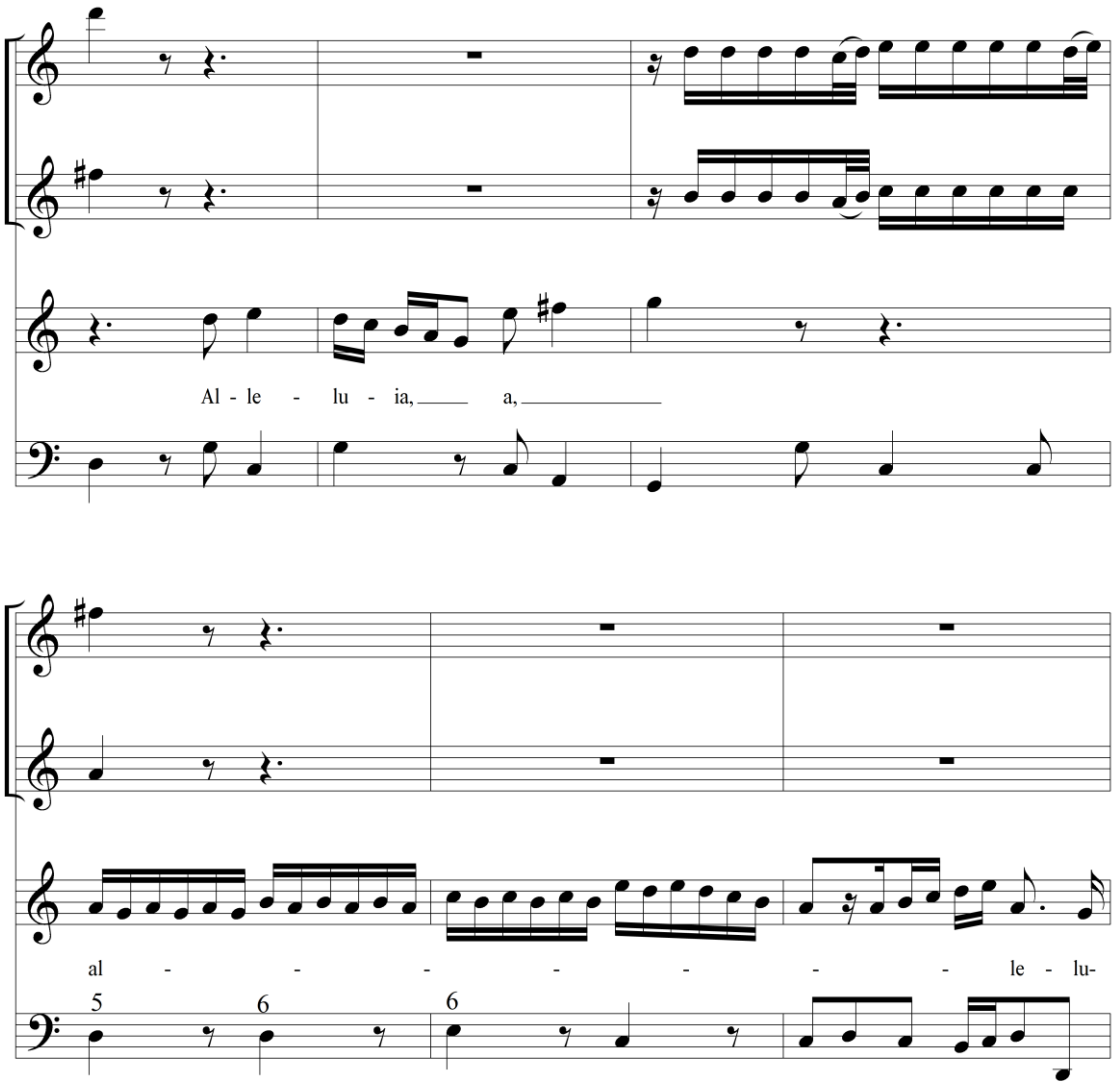
None of the motets exhibits the classic four-movement solo motet layout of Aria 1–Recitative–Aria 2–Alleluia (ARAa), although all of them approximate it. Motet 1 deviates by prefacing an aria-like opening to the Alleluia (ARAA-a); Motet 2, by introducing the work with a Sinfonia resembling in miniaturised form the first two movements – respectively slow and fast – of a typical *sonata da chiesa*, and by exploiting the opportunity to replace ARA with RAR; Motet 3, by reducing the layout to three movements (ARA-a) through the aria-Alleluia fusion. Two of the four recitatives are elaborated and brought to an effective climax by ending with arioso-style melismatic writing in strict tempo, and one (movement 2/4) closes by mutating into a brief *cavata*, the name given to a section of ordinary recitative verse 'extracted' (*cavato*) for a passage of imitative writing between voice and bass.



Ex. 1b. Torelli, motet *Ite, procul abite, maestitiae*, movement 4, bars 61–6.

The addition of two violin parts – probably usually performed by single players – is typical for the solo motet around 1700, and is a feature shared with the most celebrated motet collection of the time, Alessandro Scarlatti's *Mottetti sacri* of 1702 (reprinted and expanded as *Concerti sacri*, Op. 2, in 1707–8). Not long afterwards, however, the addition of a viola, implying orchestral performance, became the norm. As one would expect, Torelli's writing for the violins has all the rough-hewn vigour and strong character that render his sonatas and concertos so captivating. Two da capo arias reduce the scoring to voice and continuo, but in both cases Torelli either concludes (movement 1/3) or begins and concludes (movement 3/1) with an instrumental ritornello. Typically for the period, these ritornellos, both beautifully crafted, use imitative or dialogue texture to elaborate the motivic material of the aria proper.

In the final column of the table 'free' means 'through-composed'; 'da capo' refers to the so-called 'grand da capo' layout where the A section houses two discrete vocal sections; 'quasi-ritornello' denotes a structure based on the periodic restatement of motto-themes (rather than fully fledged ritornello form à la Vivaldi); 'quasi-da capo' refers to the aria-like form with fused Alleluia already discussed.

Motet 1: *Ite, procul abite, maestitiae*

Although the score provides no indication of the type of feast for which Motet 1 is appropriate, its text marks it out clearly as a generalized celebration of the Blessed Virgin, the 'Stella Maris', and therefore suitable for any Marian feast other than the Seven Dolours. The

second and final movements mention the weaving of a wreath of flowers and 'stars' for Mary, which possibly refers to decorations associated with a particular church festival.

The key signature used for the main tonality of G major, and retained for the B minor of the second aria, is void, as one normally finds in Torelli, who never deviated from the 'modal' key signatures with which he grew up. The German copyist, however, seems to have been more conversant with the modern, one-sharp key signature, since he repeatedly forgets to insert the sharp for F.[14]

The first aria demonstrates Torelli's skill at using recurrent idiomatic figures in the violins to impart unity to a movement where the imperatives of word-setting and word-painting, coupled with a need for contrast *per se*, compel the composer to introduce new thematic material in the B section. These restated ideas are rarely simple repetitions or transpositions of the original, for Torelli likes to add new counterpoints to them or vary them in some other way. In both arias and in the opening section of the composite final movement he employs the so-called 'double *Devise*': a head-motive for the voice, cut short by a return of part of the opening ritornello, is repeated and followed by a continuation to the end of the period (see Ex. 1a).[15] The double *Devise* was a simple structural device that both waxed (in the 1680s) and then waned (in the 1710s) in popularity with extraordinary rapidity. Its ubiquity in the arias of Torelli's motets almost suffices by itself to identify their time of composition as the two decades framing the turn of the century.

A noteworthy feature of the final movement is its humorous 'throwaway' ending for the instruments alone. There is no need to provide a separate music example for it, since it is a twofold statement of the 'Alleluia' motto-theme sung by the soprano in bars 61–3 (shown in Ex. 1b) with an extra strand for the second violin: the opening becomes the conclusion in a manner prefiguring the end of Haydn's 'Joke' Quartet (Op. 3 no. 3). Such jocular conclusions also appear in Torelli's instrumental music (as in the ending of his C minor concerto, Op. 6 no. 6).

Motet 2: *O fideles, modicum sustinete tempus*

The liturgical context of Motet 2 is made clear in its heading: 'Alto Solo con 2. Viol: Motteto p[er] ogni tempo'. This is, therefore, a motet 'for all seasons' on a text that carefully avoids precise reference to any particular church festival. Indeed, apart from injunctions to love Jesus (in the first recitative) and to seek admission to Heaven (in the second recitative), it does little more than reflect on the transitory condition of human existence.

The anonymous text for this motet is mostly derived from a much longer text first used, so far as one can determine, by the Venetian composer Natale Monferrato (1610–1685), whose setting for soprano, alto and continuo is the second motet contained in the anthology *Sacra corona*, published in Venice in 1656.[16] As Table 2 shows, the text contains 29 lines divisible into six stanzas of varied type. The text is partly in prose – particularly where quoting directly from scripture or liturgy – and partly in verse.[17] Two biblical quotations are embedded in it. Line 3 (repeated as line 28) is 'Nam merces vostra copiosa est in cælis' (Matthew 5.12: 'For great is your reward in Heaven'), while line 26 is 'Nam nostra conversatio in cælis est' (Philippians 3.20: 'For our conversation is in heaven'). In addition, the anonymous poet quotes, in lines 10–12, the words 'ibi nostra fixa sint corda, ubi vera sunt gaudia' ('let us direct our hearts towards the place where joys are true') from the Collect at Mass on the fourth Sunday after Easter, adding merely the conjunctive adverb 'igitur' ('therefore').

Lines 4–9, 13–18 and 19–25 are written in verse styled not according to classical principles but in imitation of contemporary vernacular poetry as found in operas and cantatas. The first of their stanzas ('In hoc mundo ...') divides neatly into two balancing semistrophes, such as would later have been perfect for a da capo aria. In the second aria we even find the line 'Ad regna Tonantis' ('To the realm of the Thunderer'), where pagan Jove suddenly stands in for Judaeo-Christian Jehovah!

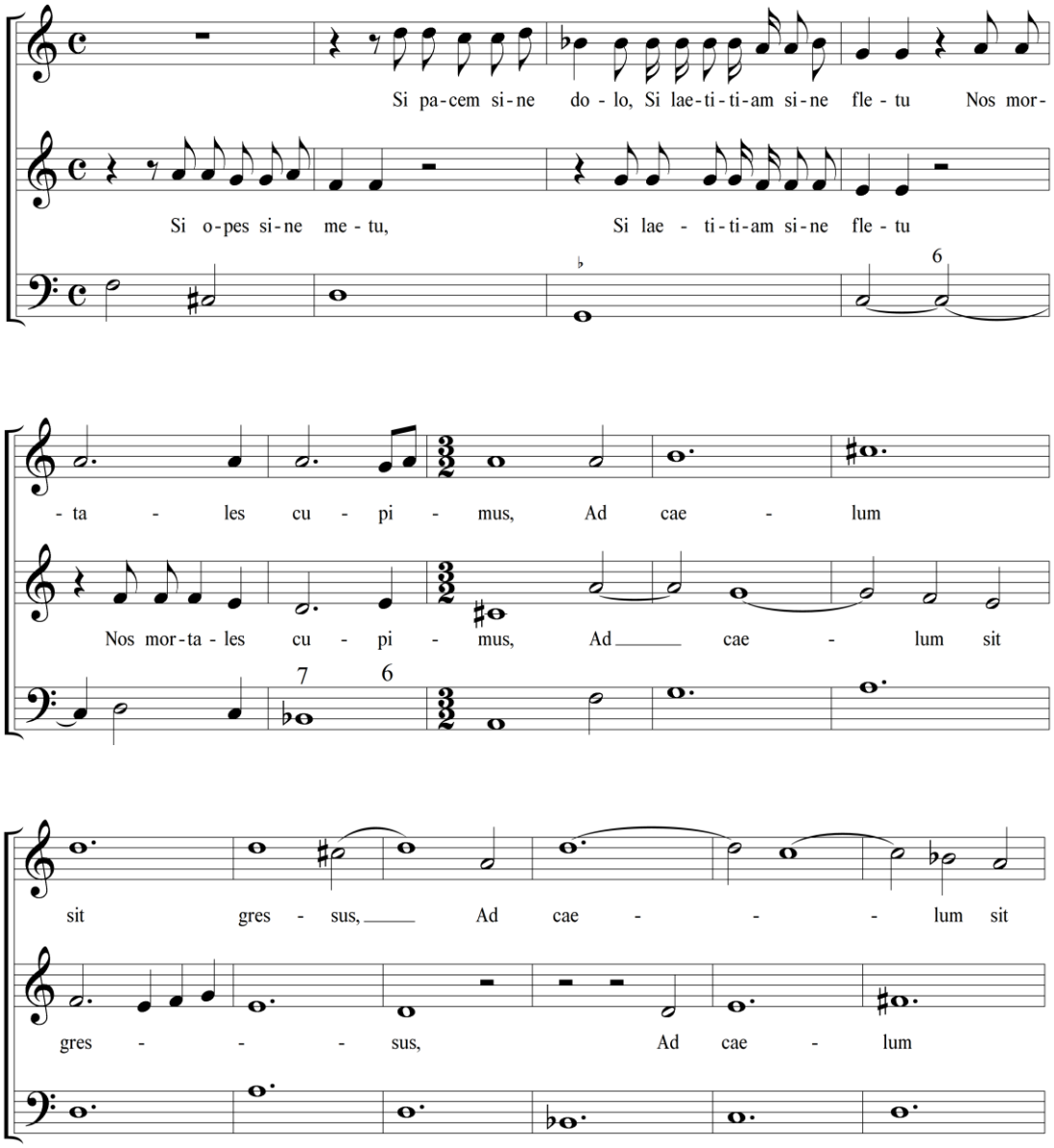
Example 2 shows well how such a text suited the needs of a composer of Monferrato's generation. In a work for two voices and continuo employing chain form, the 'rate of delivery' of successive portions of text is likely to be relatively rapid, even when melismatic writing, imitation and repetition (either immediate or long-range) are all to some extent employed. The text is therefore quite extended and highly segmented, affording the composer many opportunities to vary metre and texture.

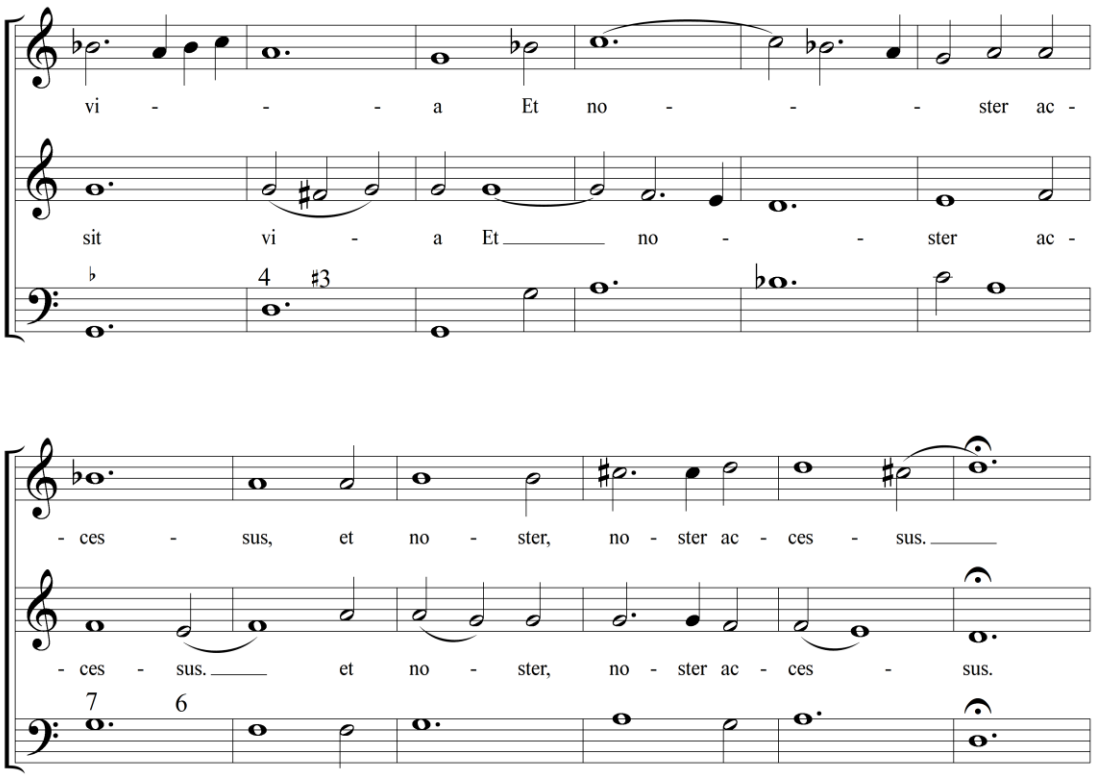
At some later point before 1675 a greatly abridged version of the same text was set by the Italian-born Dresden composer Marco Gioseppe Peranda (c.1625–75) for four voices, two violins and continuo.[18] Although the overall structure of Peranda's setting differs little from that of Monferrato, the increase in the number of vocal parts and the participation of obbligato instruments, which introduces a *concertato* element, compelled a reduction in the length of the text. Peranda or his collaborator removed the opening line, the *sententia* 'Dulci sit vobis pati, o fideles', and replaced the third line with two new ones. Only the second semistrophe ('Flos ætatis presto floret') of the next stanza was retained, and the fourth stanza was removed altogether. A brutally shortened version of the third stanza ('Ubi igitur ...'), joined to a fragment from the fourth stanza ('Properemus ...'), was moved from its original position to the end of the text. The fifth stanza ('Si opes ...'), however, survived almost intact, losing only its appended quotation from Philippians. The final stanza, containing a reprise of lines 1 and 3 plus Alleluia, disappeared.

Monferrato	Peranda	Torelli
Dulce sit vobis pati, o fideles. O fideles, modicum sustinete tempus, Nam merces vestra copiosa est in caelis.	O fideles, modicum sustinete tempus, Quoniam in hoc mundo cessunt laeta, Cuncta vana transeunt praeter amare Jesum.	O fideles, modicum sustinete tempus, Quoniam in hoc mundo cessunt laeta, Cuncta vana transeunt praeter amare Jesum.
In hoc mundo perit vita, In hoc mundo cessant laeta, Cuncta vana transeunt.		O quam fallax et caduca Transit vita, transit spes.
Flos aetatis presto floret, Cito languet, Statim cadit aridus.	Flos aetatis presto floret, Cito languet, Statim cadit aridus.	Multa cadunt in momento, Mare fugis pede lento, O mortalis, et quis es?
Ibi igitur Nostra fixa sint corda Ubi vera sint gaudia		
O fideles, Ad sedes beatas, Ad aedes amatas Ad regna Tonantis, Ad dona amantis, Properemus, festinemus omnes.		
Si opes sine metu, Si pacem sine dolo, Si laetitiam sine fletu Nos mortales cupimus, Ad caelum sit gressus, Ad caelum sit via Et noster accessus, Nam nostra conversatio in caelis est.	Si opes sine metu, Si pacem sine dolo, Si laetitiam sine fletu Nos mortales cupimus, Ad caelum sit gressus, Ad caelum sit via Et noster accessus, Ubi igitur vera sunt gaudia Properemus, o mortales.	Si opes sine metu, Si pacem sine dolo, Si laetitiam sine fletu Nos mortales cupimus, Ad caelum sit gressus, Et noster accessus, Ubi igitur sunt gaudia Properemus, festinemus.
Dulce sit vobis pati, o fideles, Nam merces vestra copiosa est in caelis. Alleluia.		Alleluia.

Table 2. The text of *O fideles, modicum sustinete tempus* (originally, *Dulci sit vobis pati, o fideles*) in the settings by Monferrato, Peranda and Torelli

The text for Torelli's setting, in which the need for concision is equally compelling (albeit arising from the multi-movement structure and the alternation of recitative and aria, and not only from the increased number of parts), is clearly related to the one set by Peranda. The first stanza is identical, the third and fourth almost so. However, Peranda's cut-down second stanza is replaced by an entirely new stanza ('O quam fallax ...') divided into two semistrophes (hence tailor-made for da capo form). But Torelli's text looks back in one particular to Monferrato's rather than Peranda's version. Whereas Peranda followed 'Properemus' ('Let us hasten') with 'o mortales' ('o mortals'), Torelli reverts to Monferrato's word 'festinemus' ('let us hurry'). There is, therefore, a possibility that his text is an amalgam of the original version and a later version belonging to the line of transmission represented by Peranda, if not necessarily Peranda's very text. It so happens that in 1686 the Ansbach court library possessed a manuscript copy of Monferrato's motet, to which both Torelli and Pistocchi (who may have provided literary assistance, and, as an alto castrato, could even have been the singer for whom the motet was originally conceived) presumably had access.[19] If the work was written during Torelli's period of residence in Ansbach (1696–1701) – which was, we must remember, punctuated by visits to other centres including Berlin (1697), Amsterdam (1697–8) and Vienna (1699–1700) – we may have found a chronological anchorage point not only for this motet but also for the two others.

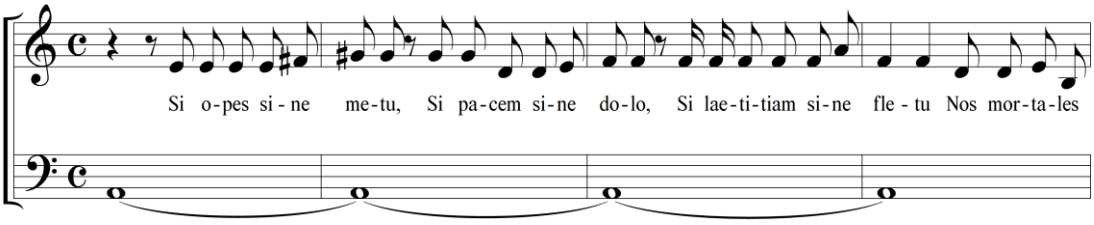




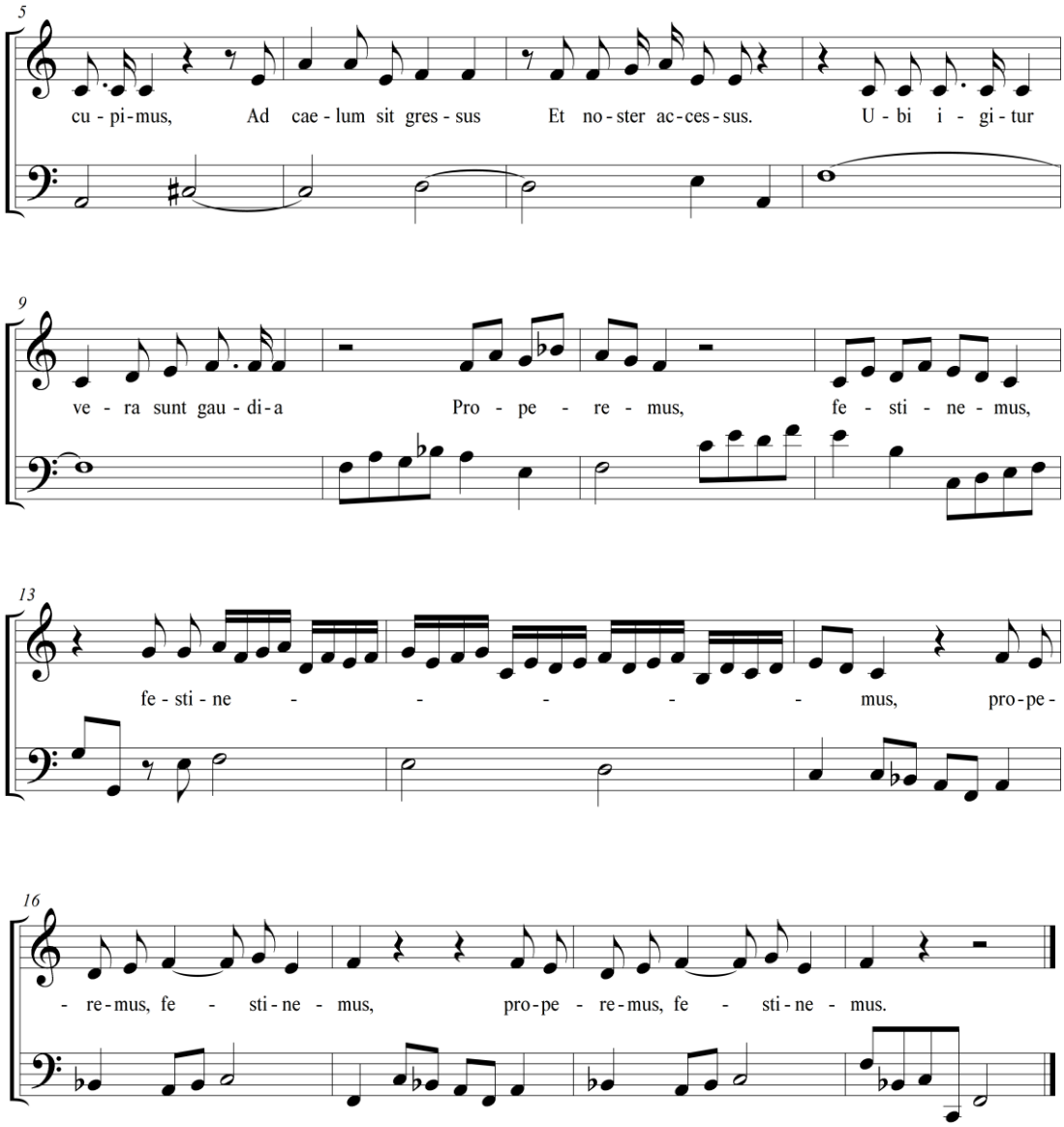
Ex. 2. Monferrato, motet *Dulce sit vobis pati, o fideles*, bars 168–94

Motet 2 gets off to a good start with its Sinfonia. As so often with Torelli, oscillation between the 'adjacent' tonalities of tonic and dominant is an important propelling device, successive statements of one motive in the sequence tonic–dominant being balanced immediately by dominant–tonic statements of a different motive. The short recitative that follows is businesslike rather than expressive. Then comes a stately aria in slow tempo in which the vocal sections are almost entirely accompanied by continuo alone, where Torelli's lyrical gifts impress as much in the writing for violins as in the singer's part.

The second recitative, 'Si opes sine metu', is more developed and diverse than the first. In their further reduced form (in relation to Peranda's setting), the two adjacent poetic stanzas conform tolerably closely in metre to what one would expect in a cantata recitative (the syllable-count of the successive lines is 7, 7, 8, 7, 6, 6, 7, 8), so although the metre is unexpected in custom-written verse (which would employ lines of seven and eleven syllables, freely mixed), it serves its purpose adequately. Torelli's complete setting is shown as Ex. 3. The transformations in texture and mood in bar 10, where 'Properemus' triggers a densely written *cavata*, and in bar 13, where a gorgeous melisma expresses 'festinemus', are excellently conceived and realized. The choice of minuet rhythm for the joyful concluding Alleluia is apt. In this long, rather Vivaldi-like, movement Torelli shows his skill at climax-building, inserting or withdrawing the violins to vary both the tension and the richness of sound.



Ex. continued overleaf

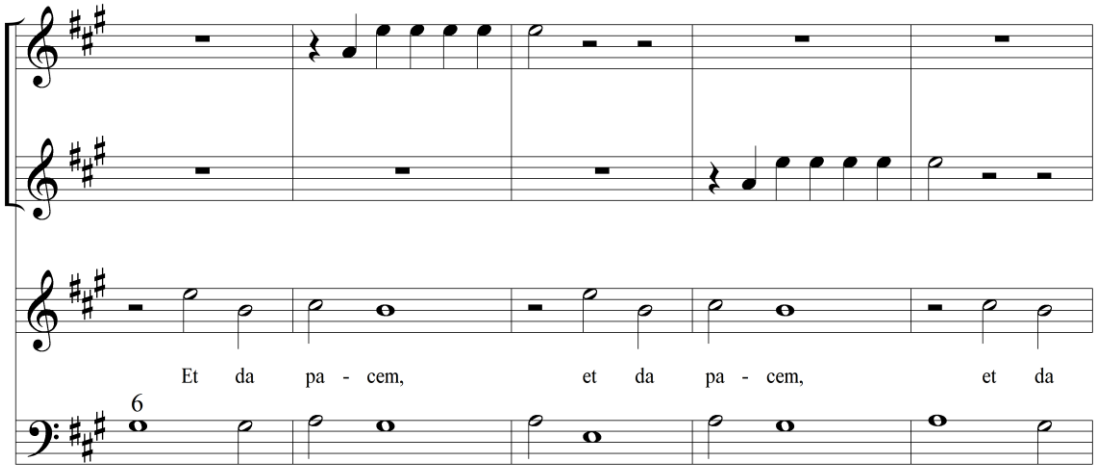


Ex. 3. Torelli, *O fideles, modicum sustinete tempus*, recitative 'Si opes sine metu', complete

Motet 3: *Totus orbis, umbra canit*

Unlike in Motet 1, the scribe here modernized the key signature, adding the third sharp for A major. That his copy text (or at least some earlier exemplar) had only two sharps, in keeping with Torelli's normal practice, is suggested by the occasional presence of redundant sharps before the note G.

Both its text (of unknown provenance) and its musical substance show this motet to have been intended for performance on Christmas Day. The central conceit of the text is that the sunlit brightness of the daytime cannot but yield to the greater luminescence of the Star of Bethlehem the previous night. In places, the motet has an alternative text written underneath the bass staff. Comparison with the underlaid text reveals that these variants have been added (whether originally or only subsequently) to make the text suitable for performance on Christmas Eve, perhaps at Midnight Mass. Where the underlaid text has 'Dies cara, iucunda dies'('Beloved day, blissful day'), for instance, the replacement text has 'O nox cara, nox amata' ('O beloved night, cherished night'). For its part, the music responds to the mention of shepherds in the final movement by very conspicuously introducing, first in E major and soon afterwards in A major, the opening repeated four-note phrase of a very popular central European *pastorella* (carol) melody – one similarly alluded to in Vivaldi's chamber concerto *La pastorella*, RV 95 – as Ex. 4 illustrates.[20]



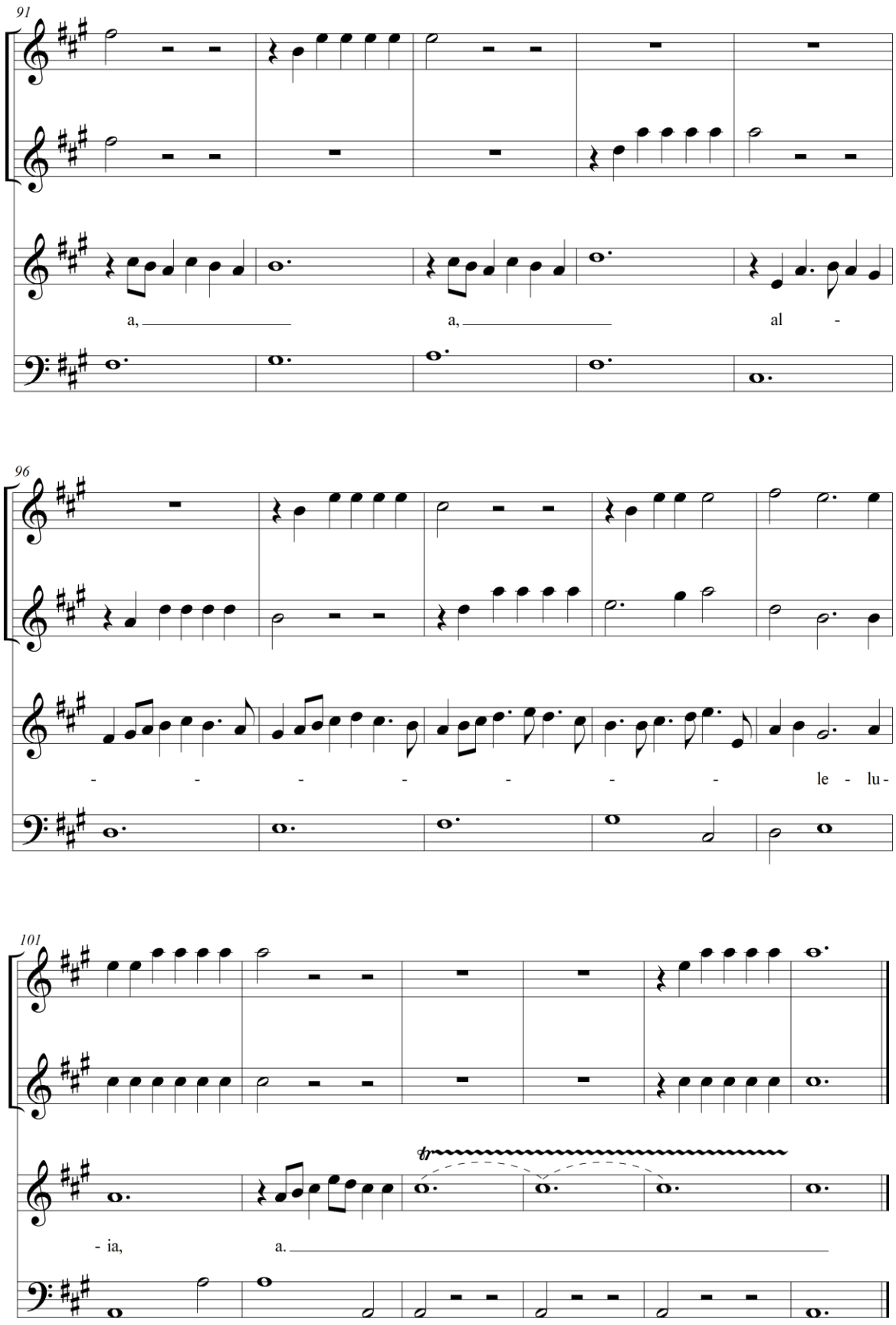
Ex. 4. Torelli, motet *Totus orbis, umbra canit*, movement 3, bars 34–8

The composite (Aria-Alleluia) final movement of this motet shows Torelli not merely at his most exuberant but also at his canniest. Example 5 takes the music via the briefest of retransitions (bars 91–2) back from F sharp minor to A major, where the soprano and the violins have their final, exultant peroration. The interchange by the violins of an ultra-simple (and therefore harmonically versatile) motive, quintessentially instrumental in character, prolongs in intensified form a pattern that has been a dominant presence right from the start of the movement (it also appears in Ex. 4). Meanwhile, the voice proceeds in more sweeping melodic arcs than before, raising the level of excitement a notch. The ending, with a long trilled note for the soprano punctuated by a triumphant hammering of the tonic chord on the violins, replicates a percussive effect already known from Torelli's music with trumpet, but with even more thrilling effect.

In conclusion

One important question remains: for whom did Torelli compose these motets? Assuming that they belong to his 'transalpine' period, who would have wished to perform, or alternatively to collect, them? If one were simplistic about confessional matters, one would immediately rule out the Protestant courts of Ansbach and of Berlin-Brandenburg (where Torelli met the music-loving Electoress Sophia Charlotte in 1697) and think, rather, of Vienna. But there is evidence that during the long period of Italian musical hegemony German Protestant courts (as distinct from ordinary parish churches) made efforts to accommodate sacred music written by Italian Catholic composers in their employ (such as Peranda at Dresden): if possible, in the official court music (where, one must remember, Latin settings of the Magnificat and *Missa brevis* still held a legitimate place) – and if not there, then in private devotions in the role of *cantiones sacræ*. This relative confessional tolerance in musical matters would explain the significant presence of sacred compositions by living and recent Catholic composers in the Ansbach inventory, as well as in the libraries of numerous connoisseurs who were themselves Protestants. For now, therefore, the original destination of Torelli's motets must remain open.

Very little of the instrumentally accompanied solo motet repertory contemporary with Scarlatti's *Concerti sacri* has so far been published.[21] The genre as a whole has been slow to win favour with modern singers and audiences, but the success in concert and on disc of motets by Handel and (especially) Vivaldi has greatly raised its profile in the last few decades. I consider the rediscovered motets of Torelli particularly fine specimens of the genre at a fascinating stage of its development, as well as works offering new insights into the compositional art of an already familiar composer. Their publication will, I hope, rescue them from a future as mere museum pieces.[22]



Ex. 5. Torelli, motet *Totus orbis, umbra canit*, movement 3, bars 91–106

[1] D-B, Mus. ms. 30212, ff. 154r–156r. This cantata is the last item in a large binder's collection containing numerous cantatas by a variety of composers (mostly from the generation after Torelli) that formed part of the Bokemeyer collection purchased in 1718 from Georg Österreich (1664–1735), who was active as a collector, singer and composer at several locations in Protestant Germany. The volume has been digitized, and like all other digitized sources mentioned in this article is accessible via either RISM's online *International Inventory of Musical Sources* (<https://opac.rism.info>) or the website of the holding library.

[2] I-Bsp, MS.T.1. This cantata is not listed by RISM, but appears with full incipits in Francesco Passadore, *Catalogo tematico delle composizioni di Giuseppe Torelli (1658–1709)* (Padua, 2007), 348–9.

[3] D-B, Mus. ms. 30299 (104), ff. 93r–102r. This responsory, which likewise comes from the Österreich collection, is the penultimate item in a composite volume that also contains ten sacred vocal works by Luigi Torri and a motet by Francesco Tavelli. A modern edition of the responsory edited by Edward H. Tarr has been published by Wolfgang G. Haas-Verlag (Köln, c.1999).

[4] I-Bsp, MS D.9.5.

[5] A full catalogue of the collection now exists as *The Archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin: Catalogue / Das Archiv der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin: Katalog*, ed. Axel Fischer and Matthias Kornemann (Berlin and New York, 2010).

[6] D-Bsa, SA 811 (1–3).

[7] The motets are missing from Passadore's catalogue (see note 2 above) – but through no fault of the author, since at the time of its publication the full content of the Sing-Akademie archive had yet to be revealed.

[8] The music for the start of the third motet follows the irregular sequence 13v–14v–14r–15r either because the copyist accidentally skipped a page and then went back to fill the void page before continuing normally, or because f. 14 was inadvertently 'flipped' during collation. The copyist has painstakingly instructed the user in what order to progress through the pages concerned in annotations written at the foot of ff. 13v and 14v.

[9] Zelter is referring to the remark 'Torelli soll die ersten [Concerten] gemacht haben' ('Torelli is supposed to have composed the first [concertos]') in Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin, 1752), 294. Quantz was born too late (in 1697) to have known Torelli personally, as implied by Zelter, although he is likely to have played some of his music. The title-page contains further annotations and library stamps not needing description here.

[10] The intercalation of snippets of actual liturgy may in many cases be interpreted as a 'peace offering' to the ecclesiastical authorities, who at their most sympathetic grudgingly tolerated motets, and at their least sympathetic sought to eliminate them altogether from church services.

[11] [Pierre Jean Grosley], *Nouveaux mémoires ou observations sur l'Italie et les Italiens par deux gentilshommes suédois*, 3 vols (Paris and London, 1764), ii, 53: 'un mauvais assemblage rimé de mots latins, où les barbarismes et les solécismes sont plus communs que le sens et la raison; c'est ordinairement l'ouvrage du sacristain'.

[12] Spelling and punctuation appear in modernized form in all underlaid text.

[13] See Michael Talbot, 'How Recitatives End and Arias Begin in the Solo Cantatas of Antonio Vivaldi', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 126 (2001), 169–92.

[14] A more puzzling aspect of this copyist's work is the fact that he prefaced the violin parts for the entire first motet, plus the introductory sinfonia to the second motet, with the French violin clef (where G is indicated as the lowest staff line), even though the position of the notes corresponds throughout to that specified by the Italian violin clef (i.e., the treble clef). This initial error suggests that the scribe was more familiar with French repertoire, which had a strong presence in German court music.

[15] It was the German musicologist Hugo Riemann who, early in the twentieth century, pioneered the use of the term *Devise* (meaning a heraldic device) to denote a motto of this kind.

[16] A digitized reproduction of the original parts (in US-Wc) is accessible via IMSLP (<http://imslp.org>). A modern edition by Paolo Alberto Rismondo has been published as volume 189 in the series 'Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era' (Middleton (WI), A-R Editions, 2015).

[17] For visual convenience, Table 2 adopts the common solution of presenting prose with line-divisions in the manner of verse, using syntax rather than metre or rhyme as the criterion for moving to a fresh line.

[18] D-Dl, Mus. 1738-E-518. This score was copied out in 1701 by Samuel Jacobi, Cantor of the Saxon city of Grimma and a probable pupil of Peranda.

[19] On the Ansbach inventory, see Richard Schaal, *Die Musikhandschriften des Ansbacher Inventars von 1686* (Wilhelmshaven, 1966), which includes a complete transcription. The inventory is preserved in Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Rep. 103 a III: Geheimregistratur Bamberger Zugang 1949 Nr. 71, ff. 931–1059, the motet being listed on f. 1027 as 'Von Montferato. | Dulce sit vobis pati. â 2. Voc. ex D'. For information on the period spent by Torelli and Pistocchi in Ansbach, see Norbert Dubowy, 'Markgraf Georg Friedrich, Pistocchi, Torelli: Fakten und Interpretationen zu Ansbachs 'italienische Periode', in *Italienische Musiker und Musikpflege an deutschen Höfen der Barockzeit*, ed. Friedhelm Brusniak (Köln, 1995), 73–95.

[20] On the extraordinarily wide use of this particular melody in Christmas-related art-music of the Baroque and Classical periods, see Frances Jones, 'The *Pastorella* and Beethoven's "Pastoral" Symphony', *The Consort*, 72 (2016), 90–107, at 99–102. Jones quotes the full melody in a Slovak version, *Nězábudka pri potóčku*.

[21] Scarlatti's motet collection, at least, has been published in an edition by Luca Della Libera as volume 153 in the series 'Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era' (Middleton (WI), A-R Editions, 2009).

[22] Editions by the present author of all three motets are available in separate volumes from Edition HH (Launton, 2016–17).

Medieval Gaelic Harp Setup

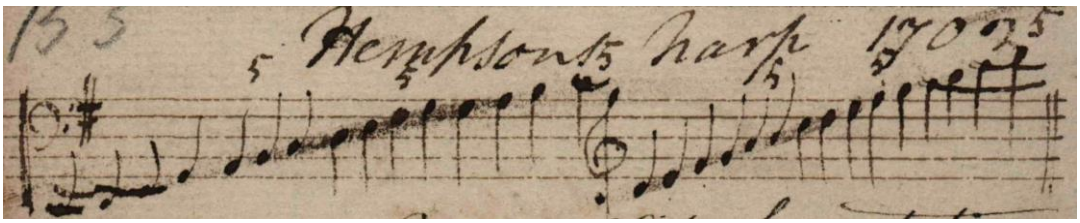
Simon Chadwick

The medieval Gaelic harp of Ireland and Scotland is a potent cultural icon, but it is also a fascinating musical instrument.[1] There has been a historically informed performance movement to recreate repertory, playing techniques, styles and idioms using replicas of the extant late medieval harps preserved in museums. One of the key considerations for getting a replica instrument to work well is stringing and tuning. The most common setup used on modern replicas of medieval Gaelic harps is based on what we know about larger, eighteenth-century Baroque Irish harps, which are descended from medieval Gaelic instruments. For a long time, however, I have been unhappy about trying to reconstruct medieval music on a replica using an eighteenth-century tuning and setup. This article investigates a wider selection of the evidence than has been considered hitherto in order to suggest a more plausible medieval setup.

There are approximately 18 early Gaelic harps surviving from Ireland and Gaelic Scotland, dating from before c.1800. Few have been scientifically studied, and few are securely dated, but the majority are likely to be eighteenth century in date.[2] Only two of the late instruments have an extant tuning scheme, both from the very end of the tradition in the 1790s. The written information about repertory and style, tuning and setup, is also heavily weighted towards the same period. These factors combined mean that there are serious challenges to getting replicas of the earlier extant harps to work well. In 2006, I commissioned an accurate replica of one of the extant medieval harps, and have used it in a series of experiments with stringing, tuning and repertory to try to arrive at possible solutions.

Analysis of the old Gaelic harp traditions usually begins by trying to get a broad overview of their entire history, from their putative early medieval origins until the tradition died out in the early nineteenth century. Though Gaelic harpers from towards the end of the tradition were clearly influenced by contemporary Anglo-Continental music, they nonetheless represent a continuation of the indigenous practice of Gaelic harping, which was transmitted aurally in a direct succession of master to pupil. It is therefore commonly assumed that performance practice in the eighteenth century would have preserved many archaic features, and that its recovery today has the potential to shed light on lost earlier traditions.[3]

It is relatively easy to reconstruct the setup of eighteenth-century Irish harps. The tuning (as well as the repertory) of these large 'high-headed' harps is fairly well documented, since the music collector Edward Bunting interviewed some of the tradition-bearers in the 1790s, and wrote down information about the tuning of their harps in his pocket notebook.[4] This testimony helps us tremendously when trying to understand how eighteenth-century Irish harps were set up. These harps had a straight diatonic tuning – either all-naturals, or with the F strings turned up to F sharp. In the tenor range, two strings were tuned to g below middle c'. These two strings were called 'na comhluighe' or 'the sisters', an expression whose meaning is usually translated as 'lying together', though its etymology and development are unclear.[5] An octave below them was bass G, called 'cronan'. Strings below cronan were tuned to a gapped, apparently pentatonic scale, and could be re-tuned in order to shift the gaps. Charts and descriptions indicate that there was no standardised number of strings below cronan; three, four, five, six and seven are all reported.[6]



Illus. 1. The tuning and range of Denis O'Hampsey's eighteenth-century Irish harp, the 'Downhill' harp made in 1702 by Cormac O'Kelly, notated by Edward Bunting in the 1790s. 'Hempson' is an alternative Anglicised form of O'Hampsey's name. Cronan G is the 4th string from the bass, with three strings below it; na comhluighe g is 11th and 12th from the bass. Special Collections, Queen's University Belfast, MS4/29 p.153/150, (f.75v/74v).

The two unison strings called na comhluighe seem to have been a unique and ubiquitous feature of early Gaelic harp setup and tuning.[7] Edward Bunting explains in detail what na comhluighe is, stating that the two unison strings 'divide the instrument into bass and treble',[8] and that they were the first strings to be tuned, to which all the other strings were tuned subsequently. Modern experimentation reveals that they give the harp a strong 'home' sonority, resonating together like a drone.

Other eighteenth and nineteenth-century descriptions of Gaelic harp setup are less detailed, but typically describe the two unison strings, calling them either by their Anglicised phonetic approximations 'ni kaulai' or 'ne cawlee', or by using the English term 'the sisters', as well as by the number of strings above and below them.[9] In the late seventeenth century, James Talbot mentioned the unisons on an Irish harp, calling them (for reasons that are unclear) 'a wolf'.[10] Earlier than that, we only have passing references in poetic and literary texts, though they date from as early as the twelfth century.[11] Most notably, we have a poem preserved in a sixteenth-century Scottish manuscript, but attributed to a fourteenth-century Irish poet, which provides an extended metaphor on harp tuning, beginning 'I cannot tune *cawle*'.[12]

We have a good general understanding of how the eighteenth-century Irish harps were set up, tuned, and played, though of course there are many gaps in our knowledge and much work is still to be done in the building of accurate replicas, and in the study of the repertory, its sources, styles and idioms. However, we have comparatively little knowledge of these matters for earlier centuries.[13] Indeed, the earlier we go, the less certain we become. Yet the most iconic and culturally significant of the old Gaelic harps are also the oldest. The lack of source materials is therefore a great challenge for anyone attempting to reconstruct their original use.

Illus. 2. The Trinity College harp (by kind permission of The Board of Trinity College Dublin). Photo: Dr. Paul Mullarkey.

Illus. 3. The Queen Mary harp (published by kind permission of the National Museums Scotland). Photo: Dr. Karen Loomis.

The Trinity College or Brian Boru harp (Trinity College, Dublin),[14] and the Queen Mary harp (National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh)[15] are objects that exemplify late medieval, high or classical, Gaelic musical and poetical culture. Thus, both are iconic and historically important extant medieval musical instruments whose design, workmanship and decoration are all of a very high quality. Furthermore, these instruments are fascinating

because they had long and extensive use, as evidenced by damage, repair and modification. Yet there has been a lack of serious study. The Queen Mary harp is now better understood thanks to Karen Loomis's recent campaign of study,[16] which has gathered much-needed data, though this has served to highlight the present lack of such data on the Trinity College harp. Neither instrument is at all well dated, and both are likely to be composite objects, though at least some of their components probably date from early in their history. The Queen Mary harp, for example, has a significant layer of decoration that can be attributed to late fifteenth-century Iona school craftsmen.[17]

The records of eighteenth-century performances on both the Trinity College harp[18] and on the Queen Mary harp[19] are potential starting points for studying their earlier history, though we have no information on how they were strung and tuned at that late date, and in any case, they were not necessarily strung and tuned in the same way in late medieval times. Both harps are significantly smaller than their eighteenth-century counterparts, and so were most likely not tuned the same as the later, larger instruments. Yet, the eighteenth-century tuning system reported by Bunting has been transferred directly onto the replicas of smaller medieval harps. As a result, the bass range has been truncated, and extra treble pitches have been added.

In 2005, I was tasked with designing a stringing and tuning regime for the Historical Harp Society of Ireland's Student Trinity harps, which are simplified instruments based on measurements of the Trinity College harp. I used a pitch standard of a'=440 and based my scheme on that of Bunting, with na comhluighe at tenor g, and cronan at bass G, placed as the lowest string, so that there were no strings below cronan. This setup allowed the harps to be used for the tuition and study of early Gaelic harp repertory and performance practice. I was pleased that a scheme including na comhluighe and cronan gradually became the accepted norm for setting up early Gaelic harps, as the use of these historical tuning features had not previously been widespread. I was dissatisfied, however, with the poor sound quality, from under-stressed brass strings, and a lot of my work subsequently focussed on stringing, and on trying to get these strings to speak well at low pitches. I followed Ann Heymann in using gold bass strings, but the trebles were still not satisfactory. Heymann has used gold strings for the entire range, on replicas of both the Queen Mary and Trinity College harps; the weaker, denser gold allows for the short treble strings to have a lower pitch than is the case when using brass. I had previously used silver for the treble strings of my replica Queen Mary harp for similar reasons. These all-precious-metal schemes work well, though they give the harp a different sound to instruments with brass schemes.

Both Paul Dooley[20] and Karen Loomis[21] have proposed tuning regimes for medieval Gaelic harps. They suggest using a higher pitch standard, so that the short treble strings can speak well in brass. However, I thought that their suggested pitches were too high for the treble string lengths they had calculated; at the lengths they propose, the brass strings will be too close to their tensile limit.

Harp tuning and the medieval gamut

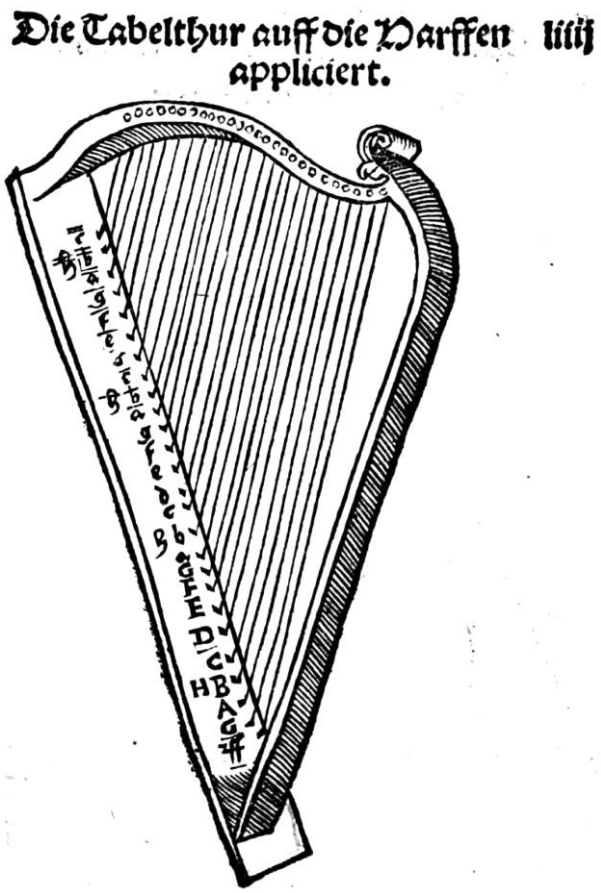
There is a general awareness of a relationship between traditional Irish harp tuning and the medieval gamut. In 2001, Robert Evans explicitly equated cronan G with gamma ut,[22] the lowest note of the medieval gamut. As mentioned above, the eighteenth-century Irish harp, like the medieval gamut, was tuned to a diatonic scale, with one note in the scale up or down a semitone as needed. Church music in the old Gaelic world was closely connected to wider Christendom, and Latin music treatises would have been read and used. In medieval music theory, the gamut represents the totality of possible pitches in notated vocal music, since while it is not a fixed-pitch system, it is tied to vocal range, with 'Γ ut' (gamma ut) at the bottom and 'ee la' at the top.[23] It is constructed from a series of hexachords (six-note sequences corresponding to a major hexatonic scale with no seventh), which are stacked alongside each other and generate an almost three-octave range. The natural hexachords begin on C, the hard hexachords start on G and so include b natural, while the soft hexachords start on F and so include B flat. The connection between this system and the modern system of staff notation,[24] with (gamma ut) G on the bottom line of the bass stave, and (ee la) e" on the top space of the treble stave, is apparent from how

the clef signs, stylised letters g (treble) and F (bass),[25] are written on their gamut lines. Our modern flat sign also derives from the medieval 'soft' b, while our natural sign derives from the medieval 'hard' b or h (see Table 1).[26]

Though it seems that there is some sort of connection between the medieval gamut with its b natural and b flat, and eighteenth-century harp setup with its f natural and f sharp, it is less obvious how they relate. Is one a direct transposition of the other? If harp tuning was based on a simple transposition of the gamut, how does the idea of cronan G – the important drone bass note of the harp – relate to gamma ut G as the lowest note of the gamut? Another potential difficulty is that the medieval gamut is a vocal system for understanding plainchant; it may not be directly relevant to an understanding of instrument ranges, and moreover, it was developed outside of the old Gaelic world. Nevertheless, illustrations of harps in historical treatises, as well as lists of ranges written onto the frames of actual extant instruments, do suggest that the medieval gamut is relevant to an understanding of historical harp ranges. This evidence can be summarised as follows:

Diagrams explicitly indicating the medieval gamut on the strings of a harp: Glareanus[27] in 1547 shows a harp of 24 strings, with the second string from the bottom labelled Γ, and using the octave conventions of the medieval gamut. The diagram shows only b flat, not b natural, and has one string below gamma ut in the bass, and three strings above ee in the treble. Another such diagram is the oft-cited seventeenth-century illustration by Mersenne,[28] showing the medieval gamut on a harp with separate strings for b flat and b natural, but this seems to me very much a theoretical diagram showing medieval and ancient scales, using the shape of the harp merely for decorative effect.

Diagrams, although not indicating the medieval gamut explicitly, showing the dual nature of b, either flat or natural: A harp tablature by Agricola (see Illus. 4) shows a harp of 26 strings, from f up to c, with all the b strings shown as re-tuneable to either b flat or b natural. Less clearly, Lanfranco,[29] in 1533, shows a two-octave diatonic scale, specifying b flat if the lowest note is F, or b natural if the lowest is C.



Illus. 4. 'The tablature applied to the harp' from Martin Agricola, *Musica Instrumentalis Deudsch* (Wittemberg, 1529), f. 54r. The lowest string is F, and the b strings are marked as alternatively flat or natural.

Tunings on instruments: tunings with b natural are seen on two extant German harps, the late medieval (late fourteenth or early fifteenth century) Wartburg harp[30] and the possibly sixteenth-century Nuremberg harp.[31] Both have inked letters on the left side of the neck labelling some of the 26 strings, implying or specifying G as the lowest string, and apparently including b natural. These inked letters may be later additions; there are similar letters on paper labels attached to the Queen Mary harp,[32] which appear to be associated with early nineteenth-century restorations. However, they are plausible as fifteenth-century setups: the fifteenth-century English instructions 'to set a harp' by J. Stowell[33] produce a diatonic major scale starting on the 'chef tenor' which is fourth from the bottom of the harp. Though note names are not specified, if the bottom string were gamma ut, then the chief tenor would be c, and the harp would be tuned with all naturals.

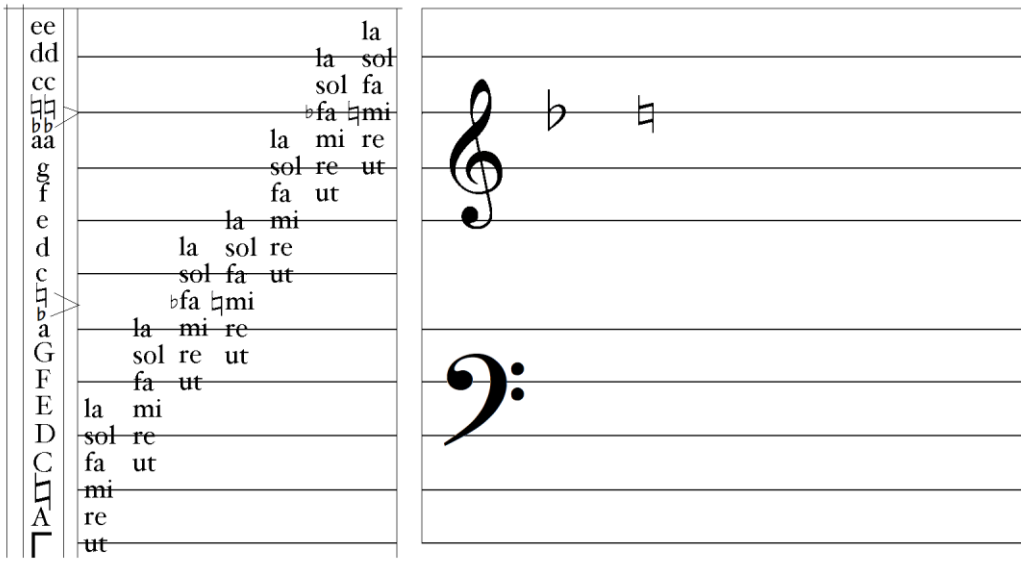


Table 1. The correspondence between the medieval gamut (left, after fifteenth-century diagrams) and the modern staff with treble and bass clef (right).

Other non-Gaelic sources

Perhaps the most directly relevant non-Gaelic source is the Robert ap Huw manuscript, which contains music intended for a harp with a range of 25 notes used in the manuscript.[34] This early seventeenth-century compilation of Welsh harp tablature apparently contains medieval compositions; it is relevant to an understanding of Irish harp tunings because the Welsh tradition claimed Gaelic roots.[35] The gap between the second and third note in the bass in some of its pieces is reminiscent of the gapped scale below cronan on the eighteenth-century Irish harps; however, any proper comparison would depend on an understanding and analysis of tunings and modes in the Welsh tablature, and of Welsh terminology in theoretical music treatises, on which there is as yet no scholarly consensus.[36] At the present time, therefore, the ap Huw manuscript is of limited use.

Other potential sources of information are the pitch standards associated with keyboard instruments. Throughout northern Europe, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the use of a dual pitch standard – two pitch standards a fourth apart – seems to have been common.[37] Typically seen on Ruckers and other double-manual harpsichords, where the two keyboards played at different pitch, a similar system was also in use in music requiring organ accompaniment, since some organs in England were tuned a fourth higher (at 'organ pitch') than notated pitch ('choir pitch').[38]

Could such a system explain some of the features of the harp tunings? If the harpists were in a musical milieu where it was normal to think in terms of two simultaneous pitch standards a fourth apart,[39] then each string, without retuning, could be identified by two simultaneous, alternative note names; that is, at the higher pitch, the two strings tuned to na comhluighe would be called g, but at the lower pitch the same strings tuned to the same frequency would be labelled middle c'.[40] James Talbot (writing c.1690) seems to be describing something like this in his notes on Irish harps: '...to the middle insert then a Unison those two call'd a Wolf ... the Wolf shall be about C (if not g).'[41]

These dual pitch standards a fourth apart suggest a possible solution to the question of how eighteenth-century Irish harp setup and the medieval gamut relate. Na comhluighe could be tuned to a pitch somewhere in between middle c' and tenor g; such a pitch would be called middle c' at a low pitch standard, a tone or two lower than A440, and the same pitch could also be called tenor g at a high pitch standard, a tone or two above A440. Following Harwood's suggestion that a'=392/523Hz was the English dual pitch standard around 1600,[42] in 2010 Karen Loomis set up her replica of the Lamont harp, with na comhluighe at modern a' (=440Hz) b flat (233Hz), for a pitch standard of a'=392/523Hz. Similarly, in 2014, I set up my replica Queen Mary harp with na comhluighe at

d″	587 Hz		a′											587 Hz	d″
c″♯	554 Hz				a′									554 Hz	c″♯
c″	523 Hz						a′							523 Hz	c″
b′	494 Hz								a′					494 Hz	b′
b′♭	466 Hz										a′			466 Hz	b′♭
a′	440 Hz	a′											a′	440 Hz	a′
g′♯	415 Hz			a′										415 Hz	g′♯
g′	392 Hz					a′								392 Hz	g′
f′♯	370 Hz							a′						370 Hz	f′♯
f′	349 Hz									a′				349 Hz	f′
e′	330 Hz											a′		330 Hz	e′
e′♭	311 Hz													311 Hz	e′♭
d′	294 Hz													294 Hz	d′
c′♯	277 Hz													277 Hz	c′♯
c′	262 Hz	c′	g											262 Hz	c′
b	247 Hz			c′	g									247 Hz	b
b♭	233 Hz					c′	g							233 Hz	b♭
a	220 Hz							c′	g					220 Hz	a
g♯	208 Hz									c′	g			208 Hz	g♯
g	196 Hz											c′	g	196 Hz	g

Table 2. The dual pitch standards resulting from placing na comhluighe c'/g at each semitone interval between modern middle c' (262Hz) and modern tenor g (196Hz).

modern a (220Hz), giving a dual pitch standard of a'=370/490Hz. At these pitch standards, the pitch of na comhluighe and cronan, and the arising scale with flattened seventh, matches the pitch of the Highland bagpipe, whose tenor drones, since at least the seventeenth century, have been pitched between modern a (220Hz) and b flat (233Hz).[43]

Considerations for arriving at a practical solution

We are getting towards a solution for how a medieval harp might have been tuned in terms of note names and relationships, but we have yet to consider how they can be realised in terms of positions and strings on a replica. The pitch standard and the range of a harp are closely related to each other. At the simplest level, we have to solve a three-way simultaneous equation between the lengths of all the strings (i.e. the 'scaling' of the harp), the pitches of all the strings (the 'gamut' of the harp), and the physical properties of the string materials:

Lengths: the string lengths are in theory fixed, but measurements cannot simply be taken from the original instruments because their wooden frames are damaged and distorted. Several analyses and reconstructions of the medieval frames have been conducted, but they have suggested different lengths with different degrees of error, evidently because none of them properly calculated the uncertainty or error in the proposed reconstructed lengths.[44] Also, it is possible to change which tuning pin a string shoe is connected to, to give different string angles and also different lengths.

Pitches: the actual pitch in Hz of each string depends on two things; the chosen pitch standard, and the note names assigned to each string. Choosing which strings are to be na comhluighe determines the names of all the strings as well as the number of treble strings above na comhluighe and bass strings below cronan.

String materials: the pitch a string can be tuned to is constrained not only by the gross choice of metal (iron, brass, silver, gold) but also by the specific alloy chosen (90/10 red brass, 80/20 red brass, 70/30 yellow brass, 'latten' brass-bronze, etc.) and the hardness (half-hard, full hard, spring hard). Each has an absolute upper pitch limit where the string snaps, but there are also much more subjective upper and lower limits where the string starts to sound too tight or too slack. This subjective assessment of sound quality has a big influence on the chosen pitch of each string, and is significantly more influential on the choice of pitch standard than considerations of the error or uncertainty of the measured or calculated original string lengths. Furthermore, the harp can be strung all in one metal or alloy, or alternatively two or even three different types of wire can be used, with the

position of the change in metal adding yet another variable to complicate the issue. The tension on the frame of the harp initially seems a vital consideration, but it is not really relevant, since the tension can be easily controlled simply by changing the gauge of the wire, without affecting any of the other variables except for the sound quality (a thinner string speaks differently from a thicker one).

Criteria for a new regime

As considered in the previous sections of this article, the eighteenth-century Irish harp traditions, the use of na comhluighe, the medieval gamut, other medieval and Renaissance harp traditions, Renaissance dual pitch standards, and technical constraints, are all potentially relevant to an understanding of medieval Gaelic harp setup. Taking all these matters into account, on a medieval harp with more than 23 strings we might reasonably expect to see the entire medieval gamut presented, from gamma ut G (an octave and a half below middle-c), up to ee/e". We could also expect to see that all the notes are natural, except b, though sixteenth-century evidence, such as Agricola's diagram, might lead us to expect that each b string should be re-tuneable to either b flat or b natural. Later Irish harp practice supports this suggestion, since eighteenth-century instruments were tuned with seven notes per octave from the top of the range down to cronan, broken only by the two unison strings, na comhluighe, an octave above cronan. Thus the range of a replica might consist of two major scales, one beginning on cronan, the other beginning on na comhluighe, whose sevenths could be flattened as needed. Further, we might expect to see at least two more bass strings below cronan, tuned with gaps, a suggestion that is supported by some of the oldest clearly attested Gaelic harp pieces, 'Féachain Gléis' and 'Cumha Caoine an Albanaigh' (supposedly composed in 1599, though not notated until the 1790s),[45] which require one note below cronan, as well as tunes thought to have originated in Gaelic harp repertoire, which were transcribed into lute tablature in the early seventeenth century,[46] and which seem to require two strings below cronan.

Brass is the most commonly mentioned string material for early Irish harps, from medieval times onwards,[47] and so we might reasonably expect that the Queen Mary harp and the Trinity College harp were originally designed for brass strings. However, the scaling of the medieval Gaelic harps falls off very steeply in the bass, and so brass bass strings on replicas of these harps sound very poor.[48] According to an eighteenth-century source,[49] in around 1750 the Trinity College harp still retained old silver strings, so one possible solution is to have silver bass strings.[50] It should be remembered, however, that we may be projecting a modern aesthetic onto these instruments and that from the point of view of medieval performers, all-brass stringing on these instruments would have sounded acceptable. It is entirely possible that the medieval Gaelic harps were designed to have thick, low-pitched under-stressed strings, giving a strongly inharmonic timbre. On the other hand, original makers and players may have sought a tone as clear as that of a harpsichord, whose thin strings are at high tension and are very close to their breaking points, or they may have preferred a setup somewhere between these two extremes.

Implementation

The surviving medieval Gaelic harps, with 29 or even 30 strings, have more string positions than are required for the medieval gamut. Therefore the setup of our replica will need to include notes outside of the gamut, at either higher or lower pitch. Placing the gamut towards the lower end of the harp is suggested by some of the European harp dispositions mentioned above; it also works best when the technical constraints of the harp's string lengths are taken into account, and when an attempt is made to map the intervals of eighteenth-century Irish harp setup onto medieval replicas. Extra strings above the medieval gamut could be connected to the variation systems of Welsh harp and Scottish bagpipe traditions,[51] using notes higher than the vocal range of the medieval gamut.

When deciding on the tuning of our replica, it should be borne in mind that eighteenth-century Irish harps were tuned with a shifting seventh, either major or minor. So, with na comhluighe at g, the shifting seventh on these instruments was f, which can be either f natural or f sharp. However, on a medieval instrument, the shifting seventh should be b, and therefore na comhluighe must be c. Assuming that the lowest note should be gamma ut G, and that

there should be a few notes below cronan, we arrive at the following solution: na comhluighe is at middle c', cronan is at bass c, and the two strings below cronan are tuned to G and A. The bass B natural can be skipped, as occurs in the gapped bass range of eighteenth-century instruments when they are tuned with f sharp. This is also justified because, while the medieval gamut included B above gamma ut G, it lacked low B flat, a note that needs to be tuned on instruments tuned with b flat instead of b natural. With this range in mind, on a harp with brass trebles and silver basses, the string lengths and scaling allows for a pitch of a'=440Hz. On my copy of the Trinity College harp,[52] a simplified HHSI Student Trinity harp made by David Kortier in 2003, the lowest string, 29, is bass G (98Hz), corresponding to gamma ut. and na comhluighe is at middle c', (262 Hz), on strings 19 and 20. Cronan c is an octave lower, on string 27. The measured string lengths on this instrument are longer than Dooley's calculated lengths by an average of 3% and a maximum of 7.5%. On the other hand, on my copy of the Queen Mary harp,[53] a reproduction made by Davy Patton in 2007 and reworked in 2015 by Natalie Surina, everything is one position lower at the same pitch standard, with bass G on string 30, cronan c on string 28, and na comhluighe, c', on 20 and 21. The string lengths when new were shorter than Loomis's calculated original string lengths by an average of 1% and a maximum of 5%.

Practical conclusions

Using this new setup, I find that the strings speak well, and that the whole harp resonates freely. Compared to my older setup, which had na comhluighe at g, and cronan G as the lowest string, the pitch standard in the new setup seems to couple better with the size and resonance of the soundbox. The higher position of na comhluighe encourages the hands to rest on the soundbox in a position closer to the observed wear-marks on the original instruments.[54] Since the sound of the string in the lowest position is constrained by its proximity to the solid end of the soundbox, placing cronan a few positions higher on the soundboard allows it to speak better. This setup also suits medieval music, which can be played at pitch, either with B strings tuned natural or flat: both plainchant and, with some caveats, the early Welsh repertory, can be played without transposition. While my pitch standard of a'=440Hz is very convenient for modern teaching and performance use, it does also seem a natural and appropriate pitch for the setup. The entire scheme proposed here can be pitched higher or lower by a semitone or so without significant problems, but the precise choice of pitch ultimately depends on individual subjective judgement of tone quality.

Gamut	Medieval Gaelic harp setup e.g. Trinity College harp a′=440Hz		Baroque Irish harp setup e.g. Downhill harp a′=440Hz	
	g‴	1	d‴	1
	f″	2	c‴	2
	e‴	3	b″	3
	d‴	4	a″	4
	c‴	5	g″	5
	b♮″	6	f♯″	6
	b♮″		f♮″	
	a″	7	e″	7
	g″	8	d″	8
	f″	9	c″	9
ee	e″	10	b′	10
dd	d″	11	a′	11
cc	c″	12	g′	12
hh	b♮′	13	f♯′	13
bb	b♮′		f♮′	
aa	a′	14	e′	14
g	g′	15	d′	15
f	f′	16	c′	16
e	e′	17	b	17
d	d′	18	a	18
c	**c′, c′**	**19,20**	**g, g**	**19,20**
h	b♮	21	f♯	21
b	b♮		f♮	
a	a	22	e	22
G	g	23	d	23
F	f	24	c	24
E	e	25	B	25
D	d	26	A	26
C	**c**	**27**	**G**	**27**
H				
			F	28
A	A	28	E	
Γ	G	29	D	29
			C	30

Table 3. Proposed Medieval Gaelic harp setup.

Thanks to Siobhán Armstrong, Sylvia Crawford, Paul Dooley, Ann Heymann, Karen Loomis, and Andrew Woolley for reading and commenting on earlier drafts.

[1] Simon Chadwick, 'The early Irish harp', *Early Music*, 36 (2008), 521–32.

[2] Joan Rimmer, 'The morphology of the Irish harp', *Galpin Society Journal*, 17 (1964), 39–49.

[3] The eighteenth-century tradition has been considered conservative. See, for example: Gráinne Yeats, *The Harp of Ireland* (Belfast, 1992), 3; Joan Rimmer, *The Irish harp* (Cork, 1969), 1.

[4] Special Collections, Queens University Belfast, MS4/29, p.81/77 (f39r/38r), p.150/147 (f.74r/73r), p.153/150 (f.75v/74v), p.155/152 (f.76v/75v) and p.156/153 (f.77r/76r). Later published in Edward Bunting, *The Ancient Music of Ireland* (Dublin, 1840), 23.

[5] For a discussion of late medieval uses of this term, see William Gillies, 'A poem on tuning a harp' (in preparation).

[6] Colette Moloney, *The Irish Music Manuscripts of Edward Bunting (1773–1843), an Introduction and Catalogue* (Dublin, 2000), 69.

[7] Ann Heymann and Charlie Heymann, 'Cláirseach: the lore of the Irish harp', *Éire-Ireland*, 26 (1991) 83–7; see also William Taylor, 'Sister strings', *Sounding strings*, 15 (1998), 15–16, and Ann Heymann, 'Harp, construction of the clairseach', *The Companion to Irish Traditional Music*, ed. F. Vallely (Cork, 1999), 175–81.

[8] Bunting, *Ancient Music of Ireland*, 21.

[9] John Bell's Notebook, cited in Henry George Farmer, 'Some notes on the Irish harp', *Music & Letters*, 24 (1943), 100–7, and in Keith Sanger, 'Patrick O'Byrne and John Bell', *Folk Harp Journal*, 53 (1986), 35–7. See also letters from James MacDonnell, transcribed in Charlotte Milligan Fox, *Annals of the Irish harpers* (London, 1911), 135–6, 281, and William McMurchy's manuscript, reproduced in Keith Sanger and Alison Kinnaird, *Tree of Strings* (Temple, 1992), 167.

[10] Joan Rimmer, 'James Talbot's Manuscript: Harps c. 1690', *Galpin Society Journal*, 16 (1963), 63–72, at 67.

[11] N.J.A. Williams, 'Eachtra ghruagaigh na creige agus na cruite 's an tiompáin', *Éigse*, 14, (1971–2), 319–37 at 324; see also *Longes mac n-Uislenn. The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu*, ed Vernam Hull (New York, 1949), 49, and *Lebor na hUidre: Book of the Dun Cow*, ed. Richard Irvine Best and Osborn Bergin (Dublin, 1929), 22.

[12] Gillies, 'On tuning a harp'; see also Alasdair Codona, personal communications, and *Reliquiae Celticae: Texts, Papers, and Studies in Gaelic Literature and Philology left by the late Rev. Alexander Cameron, LL.D*, ed. Alexander MacBain and John Kennedy (Inverness, 1894), 109. The manuscript reads 'Ne eaddowme cawle zlaß', normalised as 'Ní fhéadaim cobhlach do ghléas' by Gillies.

[13] William Gillies, 'Music and Gaelic strict-metre poetry', *Studia Celtica*, 44 (2010), 111–34.

[14] Robert Bruce Armstrong, *The Irish and Highland Harps* (Edinburgh, 1904), 55–62; see also Paul Dooley, 'Reconstructing the medieval Irish harp', *Galpin Society Journal*, 67 (2014), 107–42, 267–8, 271.

[15] Armstrong, *The Irish and Highland Harps*, 168–83; see also Karen Loomis et al., 'The Lamont and Queen Mary Harps', *Galpin Society Journal*, 65 (2012), 113–29.

[16] Karen Loomis, 'The Queen Mary and Lamont harps: A Study of Structural Breaks and Repairs', MMus thesis (University of Edinburgh, 2010), and Karen Loomis, 'The Organology of the Queen Mary and Lamont harps', PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh, 2015).

[17] K.A. Steer and J.W.M. Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1977), 185.

[18] Arthur O'Neill, 'Memoirs', in Donal O'Sullivan, *Carolan, the Life, Times and Music of an Irish Harper* (London, 1958), 2 vols., ii, 149.

[19] Donald Mackintosh, *Mackintosh's Collection of Gaelic Proverbs* (Edinburgh, 1819), 199–200.

[20] Dooley, 'Reconstructing the medieval Irish harp', 130, 134–5, 139. Dooley proposes a schedule for the Trinity College harp, with na comhluighe at strings 21 and 22, cronan at 29, with no strings below cronan, and na comhluighe sounding a pitch of 246Hz, modern b natural next below middle c', equivalent to middle c' at a pitch standard of a'=415.

[21] Loomis, 'The Organology of the Queen Mary and Lamont harps', 151. Loomis proposes a number of schedules for the Queen Mary harp, some with brass trebles and some with iron. With brass trebles, a schedule is suggested with na comhluighe at strings 17 and 18, cronan at 25, with four strings below cronan, and na comhluighe sounding a pitch of ≅350Hz, modern f above middle c', equivalent to g below middle c' at a'≅800Hz (Loomis suggests g' above middle c' at a'≅400Hz).

[22] Robert Evans, 'Brass wire', *Wire Branch of the Clarsach Society Newsletter*, 4 (2001), 12.

[23] *Hucbald, Guido & John on Music: three Medieval Treatises*, trans. Warren Babb and ed. Claude Palisca (Yale, 1978) 59–60. See also Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley, 2005), 86–91, and Richard Hoppin, *Medieval Music* (New York, 1978), 63.

[24] Dolores Pesce, 'Theory and notation', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge, 2011), 276–90, at 281.

[25] Giulio Cattin, *Music of the Middle Ages I* (Cambridge, 1984), 58.

[26] Rob Wegman, 'Musica ficta', in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows (Oxford, 1997), 265–74, at 266.

[27] Glareanus, *Dodechachordi* (Basel, 1547), 58.

[28] Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle: the Books on Instruments*, trans. Roger Chapman (The Hague, 1957), 220–1 (originally published in 1636).

[29] Lanfranco, *Scintille di musica* (Brescia, 1533), 138–9.

[30] Wolfgang Wenke, Nancy Thym-Hochrein and Yves d'Arcizas, 'Die gotische Harfe der Wartburg', *Wartburg-Jahrbuch 1997: Herausgegeben von der Wartburg-Stiftung*, 6 (1998), 223–40. I am reading [ ], [ ], (H?), C, D, [ ], (F?), (G?), (A?), (natural?), (c?),

[...] from a photograph supplied by d'Arciaz. A tuning of '26 Töne diatonisch von G bis d3' (26 diatonic notes from G up to d‴) is suggested by Wolfgang Wenke, 'Die "Wartburgharfe", in *Zur baugeschichte der Harfe vom Mittelalter bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Monika Lustig (Michaelstein, 1995), 21.

[31] Dieter Krickeberg and Klaus Martius, 'Zu den Harfen des Germanischen Nationalmuseums Nürnberg', in *Zur baugeschichte der Harfe vom Mittelalter bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Michaelstein, 1995), 24–5. The drawing indicates the strings labelled 'G A H C … A H C D'.

[32] Loomis, 'The Organology of the Queen Mary and Lamont harps', 154.

[33] Trinity College Cambridge, ms O.2.53, f. 71r.

[34] British Library, Add. MS 14905: published in facsimile as *Musica: British Museum Additional Manuscript 14905*, ed. H. Lewis (Cardiff, 1936), and transcribed in Claire Polin, *The ap Huw Manuscript* (Henryville, 1982).

[35] Sally Harper 'So how many Irishmen went to Glyn Achlach? Early accounts of the formation of Cerdd Dant', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 42 (2001), 1–26.

[36] Sally Harper, *Music in Welsh Culture Before 1650: a Study of the Principal Sources* (Farnham, 2007), 152–5; also relevant, though often ignored, is Ann Griffiths and A. Schaefer, 'Gwilym Puw's "Trefn Cywair Telyn" – a 17th century system for tuning the harp', *Welsh Music*, 4 (1974–5), 22–30.

[37] Ian Harwood, 'A case of double standards? Instrumental pitch in England c.1600', *Early Music*, 9 (1981), 470–81.

[38] Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch: the Story of 'A'* (Lanham, 2002), 376–7.

[39] Loomis, 'The Organology of the Queen Mary and Lamont harps', 104.

[40] Thanks to Alasdair Codona for suggesting na comhluighe on middle c' in 2007, in private correspondence and on the 'Wireharp' email discussion list.

[41] Rimmer, 'James Talbot's Manuscript', 67. The possibility of this line implying a dual pitch standard was discussed by Loomis, 'The Organology of the Queen Mary and Lamont harps', 105.

[42] Harwood, 'A case of double standards?', 476.

[43] Barnaby Brown, 'The Iain Dall chanter: material evidence for intonation and pitch in Gaelic Scotland, 1650–1800', in *The Highland Bagpipe*, ed. Joshua Dickson (Farnham, 2009), 35.

[44] Dooley, 'Reconstructing the medieval Irish harp', and Loomis, 'The Organology of the Queen Mary and Lamont harps'. Both Dooley and Loomis carry a ±1mm linear uncertainty through their complex calculations and models, instead of calculating the compounding of the uncertainty or error generated through combining multiple measurements to calculate a final measurement. See Louis Lyons, *A Practical Guide to Data Analysis for Physical Science Students* (Cambridge, 1991), 26–7.

[45] Ann Heymann, 'Three iconic Gaelic harp pieces', in *Harp Studies: Perspectives on the Irish Harp*, ed. Sandra Joyce and Helen Lawlor (Dublin, 2016). See also, Seán Donnelly, 'Feaghan Geleash', *Ceol Tíre*, 25 (1984), 5–6, 11–12.

[46] Sanger and Kinnaird, *Tree of Strings*, 174–82.

[47] Dooley, 'Reconstructing the medieval Irish harp', 130–1.

[48] Ann Heymann and Charlie Heymann, 'Strings of Gold', *Journal of the Historical Harp Society*, 13 (2003), 9–15.

[49] Ralph Ouseley (early 1780s), in a manuscript copy by James Hardiman (1820), British Library, Egerton MS 74, f. 184, transcribed and cited in William Henry Grattan Flood, *The Story of the Harp* (London, 1905), 41–2.

[50] Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages* (London, 1987), 210–42, includes a discussion of medieval references to silver strings.

[51] Barnaby Brown, 'What do 1s and Os mean?', *Piping Today*, 71 (2014), 31.

[52] Video demonstrations of the new scheme on the HHSI Student Trinity harp: https://youtu.be/Es-5eFPeyEY.

[53] Video demonstrations of the new scheme on the Patton replica of the Queen Mary harp https://youtu.be/jEd4OOTbdoM.

[54] Karen Loomis, personal correspondence.

Dibdin on Tour: Performer or Sightseer? Part 2

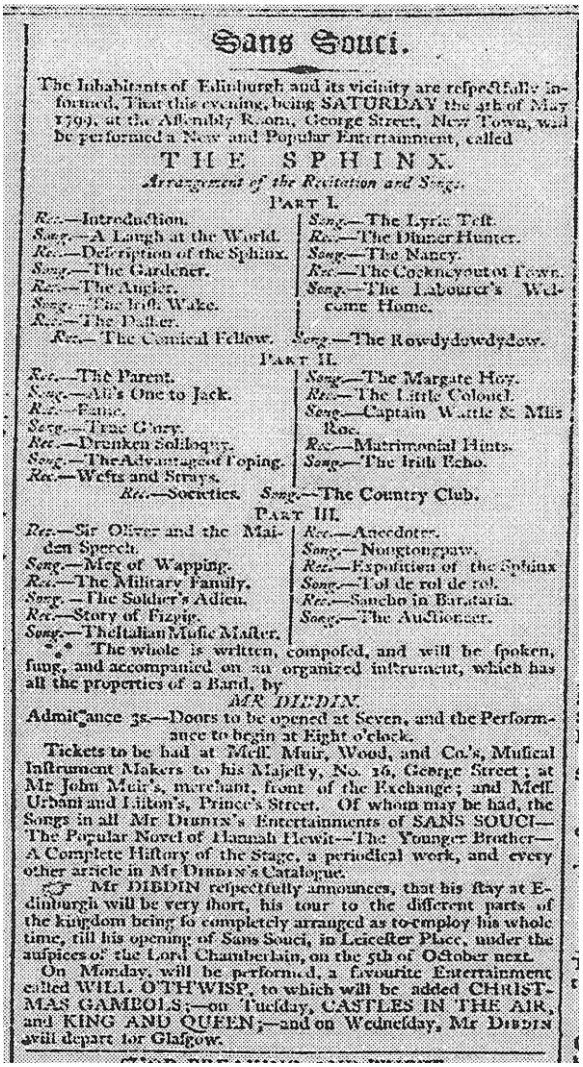
Jeremy Barlow

Part 1 of this article (*EMP*, 39, 3–8) gave an account of Charles Dibdin's first musical tour of 1787–8; the tour launched his career as a one-man entertainer and formed the principal theme of his book *The Musical Tour*. The later tours, made between 1798 and 1801, also provided material for a book, titled *Observations on a Tour through almost the whole of England, and a considerable part of Scotland, in a series of letters, addressed to a large number of intelligent and respectable friends*.[1] He had the work published as two large quarto volumes,[2] illustrated with aquatints drawn by his daughter Anne, which were made from his own landscapes and genre scenes.[3] The title of the work marked a change of presentation and focus for Dibdin. In *The Musical Tour* he provides a narrative based on his itinerary, performances and reception; in *Observations on a Tour* he scarcely mentions his activities as an entertainer. Instead, we have a travelogue on the counties of England and various parts of Scotland that he visited (and a few that he did not). He develops the topographical information that was a feature of *The Musical Tour*, adding botanical detail and mileage charts for each county, statistics on population, parish divisions, administrative areas, the principal rivers and much else besides. At times the book reads like a gazetteer. He covers all the English counties, though not necessarily in the order that he visited them; the tour itineraries as summarised in his autobiography, *The Professional Life*,[4] do not always match the sequence in *Observations on a Tour*. His lengthy digressions form separate letters: headings include 'Roads', 'Tours', 'Inns', 'Nature *versus* Art', 'Circulating Libraries', 'Servants', 'Dogs', 'The English and the Scotch', 'Watering Places', 'Monopoly', 'The Poor', 'Boarding Schools', 'Retirement', 'Omens', 'Dialects', 'Anonymous Letters', 'Agriculture', 'Quack Medicines' and 'Amusements'. A thread that runs through the digressions – and indeed throughout both books – is an alertness to the niceties of social rank.

Travel writing burgeoned in the second half of the eighteenth century and Dibdin took the genre as his model; he discusses a dozen or so of its leading authors in the letter 'Tours'.[5] Greatest praise is reserved for the physician and scientist Dr Thomas Garnett,[6] and for the naturalist Thomas Pennant.[7] One might expect a debt acknowledged to the influential author and artist William Gilpin, who developed the concept of picturesque beauty and had produced an illustrated series of *Observations* on regions of England; Dibdin's landscapes often follow Gilpin's in composition and style.[8] Yet Dibdin mentions Gilpin only in passing, as having 'manifested great critical nicety and judgment, within the boundary that he prescribed himself'.[9]

In *Observations on a Tour*, Dibdin's presentation of himself as a travel writer rather than as an entertainer formed part of an ongoing strategy. He had hoped to retire as a performer after his first musical tour and during the subsequent twelve years published two novels, a journal and a five-volume history of the English stage. He tried again to retire after the later tours, in 1802, but failed to receive an adequate offer for his theatre or stock.[10] The attempted switch from performing and composing to authorship replicates less successfully the career path of Charles Burney, a man whom Dibdin respected.[11] Burney had started out as a performer and theatre composer before making his name as an author; Dibdin's *A Complete History of the English Stage*[12] emulates, in its ambition and length, the former's *A General History of Music* (1776–89). But Dibdin, unlike Burney, had to continue performing. Moreover, Burney underpinned his status as an author with a doctorate, gained at Oxford in 1769, and he styled himself 'Charles Burney, Mus. D., F.R.S.' Dibdin did not follow up an offer to take a

doctorate at Oxford from the professor of music Philip Hayes,[13] and called himself plain 'Mr. Dibdin' on the title pages of his books. All but one of his 'intelligent and respectable' correspondents in *Observations on a Tour* have the appellation 'Esq.', 'Dr.', or 'Rev.'; it seems as if he wanted to live up to the tone set by the expensively produced volumes through associating himself with acquaintances of higher rank.



Sans Souci.

The Inhabitants of Edinburgh and its vicinity are respectfully informed, That this evening, being SATURDAY the 4th of May 1799, at the Assembly Room, George Street, New Town, will be performed a New and Popular Entertainment, called

THE SPHINX.

Arrangement of the Recitation and Songs.

PART I.

Rec.—Introduction.
Song.—A Laugh at the World.
Rec.—Description of the Sphinx.
Song.—The Gardener.
Rec.—The Angler.
Song.—The Irish Wake.
Rec.—The Duller.
Rec.—The Comical Fellow.
Song.—The Lyric Trift.
Rec.—The Dinner Hunter.
Song.—The Nancy.
Rec.—The Cockneyout of Town.
Song.—The Labourer's Welcome Home.
Song.—The Rowdydowdydow.

PART II.

Rec.—The Parent.
Song.—All's One to Jack.
Rec.—Fame.
Song.—True Glory.
Rec.—Drunken Soliloquy.
Song.—The Advantages of Toping.
Rec.—Wefts and Strays.
Rec.—Societies.
Song.—The Margate Hoy.
Rec.—The Little Colonel.
Song.—Captain Wattle & Miss Roe.
Rec.—Matrimonial Hints.
Song.—The Irish Echo.
Song.—The Country Club.

PART III.

Rec.—Sir Oliver and the Maiden Speech.
Song.—Meg of Wapping.
Rec.—The Military Family.
Song.—The Soldier's Adieu.
Rec.—Story of Fizgig.
Song.—The Italian Music Master.
Rec.—Anecdotes.
Song.—Nougtongpaw.
Rec.—Exposition of the Sphinx
Song.—Tol de rol de rol.
Rec.—Sancho in Barataria.
Song.—The Auctioneer.

*** The whole is written, composed, and will be spoken, sung, and accompanied on an organized instrument, which has all the properties of a Band, by

MR DIBDIN.

Admittance 3s.—Doors to be opened at Seven, and the Performance to begin at Eight o'clock.

Tickets to be had at Meff. Muir, Wood, and Co.'s, Muſical Inſtrument Makers to his Majeſty, No. 26, George Street; at Mr John Muir's, merchant, front of the Exchange; and Meff. Urbani and Liston's, Prince's Street. Of whom may be had, the Songs in all Mr DIBDIN's Entertainments of SANS SOUCI—The Popular Novel of Hannah Hewit—The Younger Brother—A Complete Hiſtory of the Stage, a periodical work, and every other article in Mr DIBDIN's Catalogue.

☞ Mr DIBDIN reſpectfully announces, that his ſtay at Edinburgh will be very ſhort, his tour to the different parts of the kingdom being ſo completely arranged as to employ his whole time, till his opening of Sans Souci, in Leiceſter Place, under the auſpices of the Lord Chamberlain, on the 5th of October next.

On Monday, will be performed, a favourite Entertainment called WILL O'THWISP, to which will be added CHRISTMAS GAMBOLS;—on Tueſday, CASTLES IN THE AIR, and KING AND QUEEN;—and on Wedneſday, Mr DIBDIN will depart for Glaſgow.

Illus. 1. *Caledonian Mercury*, Saturday 4 May, 1799: advertisement, under the general title 'Sans Souci', for Dibdin's entertainment 'The Sphinx'.

Dibdin wrote in his autobiography *The Professional Life of Mr. Dibdin* that the idea of touring for the second time 'arose from a reflection that, as my stock [of music] had increased very considerably, and I knew it was the business of the music-sellers to recommend their wares, in the country in preference to mine, so I should defeat in some measure their intentions, and greatly extend the circulation of those articles my catalogue contained, were I to perform my different entertainments, occasionally, and so let my songs speak their own recommendation'.[14] This puts a positive spin on his decision; in fact, as with his first tour, failure to make a living in London may have been the initial spur. His second Sans Souci theatre had opened in October 1796 and despite a period of success with his one-man entertainments he now admitted: 'I soon found I removed too far from the city, whence I had ever drawn my most substantial support.'[15] The new theatre and a new entertainment, *The General Election*, had received a sarcastic review in *The Monthly Mirror*, which advised 'Mr. Dibdin to *lie by* a season or two, write a few more *popular* novels, or take another *musical tour* and shame the *exorbitant landlords*——for he really has exhausted his *melodies* as well as his *jokes*.'[16]

Dibdin 'made the experiment' of touring again with a month's excursion to Kent and Sussex in April and May 1798.[17] He then returned to London for a fortnight before spending three months, from 31 May to 30 August, travelling to Land's End and back; the trip provided material for his next entertainment, *A Trip to the Land's End*.[18] Dibdin considered the tour a success, and he wrote, 'I determined to extend my views and opportunities of observation, till I had seen the principal parts of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND; for which purpose I entered into a correspondence with many respectable booksellers, in both kingdoms, who appeared very much disposed to facilitate my scheme';[19] advertisements for his music from booksellers in Scotland appeared at and around the time of his tours there.[20] Dibdin advertised performances on his later tours under the heading 'Sans Souci', and presented recent pieces from his London theatre (see Illus. 1).[21]

He had evidently learnt from the seemingly disorganised progress of the first tour, giving further evidence of careful preparation in one statement: 'On Saturday, March 25, 1799, I left Leicester-Place, having planned every day's employment till I should return to town on the 10th of the following July, which arrangement I kept without a single deviation.'[22] He reached Glasgow and Edinburgh, with 'one peep' at Loch Lomond. The tour gave him 'in every respect, the completest satisfaction' and he boasted that 'no person whatever has received so much money upon an itinerant expedition of this description, during the same period of time.'[23]

On returning, with time to spare before his season at Sans Souci, he fitted in a month's tour that took in parts of Somerset, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Dorset, Hampshire and Sussex.[24] The success of the trip to Scotland 'engendered the idea of writing a tour', and to do so he decided to travel north again, 'in order to take a full and competent view of those objects which I now plainly saw I might delineate to considerable advantage.'[25] In particular he felt he had not properly seen the Lake District, 'having tied myself to time'.[26] He set out again on 13 April 1800; the whole journey lasted nearly four months. This time he reached Perth, and took a much longer and more circuitous route back than he had done the previous year.[27] In the summer of 1801 he made a final excursion, described towards the end of *The Professional Life* as 'a short but very pleasurable tour' visiting his friend Sheldon in Devon.[28] He conveys the impression that he was travelling just for pleasure, but since he had scarcely acknowledged his performing activities in writing about the five previous tours, one cannot be certain.

Although Dibdin gives little information in *Observations on a Tour* about the instrument he used for his entertainments, newspaper advertisements in 1799 and 1800 refer to accompaniments played on an 'organized Instrument, which has all the Properties of a Band'.[29] This was a claviorgan, described by William Kitchiner as 'a Grand Piano-forte with Two Strings, made by Crang [&] Hancock,[30] which was laid upon an Organ built by the same Artist [i.e. Crang & Hancock], and was very sensibly constructed with a fine full-toned *Stop Diapason*, of the same scale as those in Church organs:– a powerful *Principal*, and an excellent *Trumpet*.' [31] Pipes for special effects – the grunting of a pig, the baa of a sheep, the bleating of a calf – sometimes replaced pipes of the trumpet stop, and Dibdin could also operate, from the keys or pedals, a set of bells, a side drum, a tambourine and a small Chinese gong. He had been using the instrument in London for some years; John O'Keeffe recalls hearing it in 1792.[32] Kitchiner bought it in 1805, when Dibdin disposed of his stock on retiring from Sans Souci. Just one passing reference to the claviorgan crops up in *Observations on a Tour*.[33]

How did he move the instrument from place to place? We gather from time to time that he travelled with his family,[34] and once, in describing an appalling road, he reveals that his entourage included servants too and used more than one carriage: 'In the space of eleven miles, between Kettering and Harborough, I was obliged, as were my family and servants, to walk five; and, lest the carriages should have overset, every individual of us, were occasionally under the necessity of giving assistance to keep them upon their wheels; and all this on a turnpike road.'[35] The work involved in disassembling, packing, transporting, setting up, maintaining and tuning the claviorgan must have been considerable, though Edward Taylor makes the instrument seem less complicated than Kitchiner: 'This was a pianoforte of small compass, having various appendages – a few organ pipes, easily packed and removed, a triangle, a few bells, a tambourine and a gong, all of which were used as occasion might serve or require.' [36] Tuning presented a particular problem, for if the temperature rose in a crowded venue, the strings would go flat and the pipes sharp; Kitchiner wrote that it was 'extremely difficult' to keep the piano and organ in tune with each other.[37] During his 'experiment' touring Kent and Sussex, Dibdin found it necessary to advertise for a tuner.[38]

The use of the claviorgan, and an entourage that included servants and a tuner, illustrates Dibdin's greater ambition on his two longest tours in 1799 and 1800. He also arranged to have booksellers sell his music and books around the time of his performances, upped his admission price to 3s. 0d.,[39] and sometimes performed in theatres as well as assembly-rooms.[40] In theatres, his prices ranged from 3s. 0d. for boxes to 1s. 0d. in the gallery. One might expect that Dibdin's performance style would have become more theatrical and projected as he accompanied himself on the louder claviorgan in bigger venues. But Edward Taylor, who heard him at Norwich 'in a large room' in 1799, wrote that *A Trip to the Land's End* 'was related with great ease and effect; no attempt at oratory or declamation, but simply as if he was relating his travels to a party of friends.' Taylor remembered 'a most agreeable evening.'[41] It seems that Dibdin did not maintain a uniform standard; the same year, gentleman composer John Marsh wrote that he and his son 'were not so highly entertain'd as we expected to have been, as he hurried over several of the songs so very much that we co'd scarce understand him, & upon the

whole went thro' it in rather a slovenly manner.'[42]

In *The Professional Life* Dibdin boasts of his receipts on the 1799 tour to Scotland. He does not mention his expenses, which must have been huge: more than one carriage; board and lodging for his family, servants and tuner, plus wages for the latter. He does not mention money at all when summarising his second Scottish tour and one wonders if, as so often in his life, expenditure outweighed income. In attempting to maximise returns Dibdin sometimes made life harder for himself and entourage by crowding his schedule. The *Leeds Intelligencer* for Monday 12 July 1800 advertises a full week of one-night stands in Yorkshire with the claviorgan: Harrogate on Wednesday 23 July; Leeds, Bradford and back to Leeds on Thursday, Friday and Saturday; then Pontefract the following Monday, followed by Wakefield and Huddersfield on Tuesday and Wednesday. This would make a taxing schedule even today, yet in *Observations on a Tour* he gives no hint of the week's activity.[43]

Conclusion

Dibdin assumed contrasting roles for his two tour books, as if on stage: performer in *The Musical Tour* and travel writer in *Observations on a Tour*. The transformation, together with further inconsistencies in his self-fashioning, suggests unease with his status as a performer. He styled himself simply as 'Mr. Dibdin', but was much concerned with social rank. He decided to become an itinerant entertainer, yet did not want to be perceived as one. He despised the 'learned musician'[44] and dismissed an offer to take a doctorate, yet he placed Oxford and Cambridge at the start of his first tour.

Penury in London had set him off on tour, and he came to exploit all his skills – actor, singer, composer, dramatist, author, painter, publisher, manager – in the quest for a new public beyond his London orbit. The first tour did not make money and Dibdin expressed frustration mixed with characteristic optimism in an epigram on the title page of *The Musical Tour*: '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!'[45] To an extent he fulfilled this expectation. *The Musical Tour* oversubscribed and he developed the format of *Readings and Music* into entertainments that for a while pleased London audiences; he also learnt, from the mistakes of his first tour, to prepare the later tours carefully and to execute them – by his own account – successfully. Not long after the last tour, Dibdin wrote in *The Professional Life* of his career as a whole: 'I have a hundred times compared myself to an ant; that, when its nest is destroyed, never stands lamenting its misfortunes, but gets to work again, and either repairs the old nest, or begins a new one.'[46] In the concluding paragraph of the book he writes: 'Whatever course I may find it expedient to take ... I shall never swerve ... from that independency of mind that I have made it my pride and happiness to adopt.'[47] Dibdin's idea of himself as self-reliant helped him brush off misfortune; it also sustained him through a year enduring 2,000 miles on the road in the 1780s and, spread over three years, more than 3,000 miles[48] at the turn of the century.

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[1] As in *The Musical Tour* it seems that Dibdin addressed his letters to actual people; he assures the reader that the letters 'were *really* written to those whose addresses they bear' (i, 16).

[2] 'London: Published by G. Goulding, No. 45, Pall-Mall; John Walker, No. 44, Paternoster-Row; and at the Author's Warehouse, Leicester-Place. Printed by T. Woodfall, Little Russell-Street, Covent-Garden.' [1801–2].

[3] From 'DIRECTIONS TO PLACE THE PRINTS' at the start of vol. 1: 'The Views are done from Pictures painted by Mr. Dibdin; the Vignettes are invented, drawn, and put on the copper by Miss Dibdin, and the aqua-tinta is by Mr. Hill.'

[4] See *The Professional Life of Mr. Dibdin written by himself* (London, 1803), 4 vols., iv, 118, 160–2, 207–9.

[5] *Observations on a Tour*, i, 63–70. The authors (surnames only) include Laurence Sterne, Samuel Pratt, Charles Burney, Samuel Johnson, James Boswell, Francis Grosse [Grose], William Maton (who also used the title *Observations*), William Hutchinson, Dr. John Brown, Dr. Thomas Garnett and Thomas Pennant.

[6] Dr Thomas Garnett (1766–1802), renowned for his lectures on natural philosophy. Garnett had published *Observations on a Tour Through the Highlands and Part of the Western Isles of Scotland* in 1800, a year before the first volume of Dibdin's *Observations*; several letters concerning Scotland are addressed to him in the second volume. Dibdin dates his last letter to Garnett 3 February 1802 (*Observations on a Tour*, ii, 204); Garnett died on 28 June.

[7] Thomas Pennant (1726–98). His prolific output includes *British Zoology* (five editions: 1766–1812) and travel books, among them his pioneering *A Tour in Scotland* (1769), and its sequel, *A Tour in Scotland, and Voyage to the Hebrides* (1772).

[8] William Gilpin (1724–1804); his output includes *Observations on the River Wye, and several parts of South Wales, etc. relative chiefly to picturesque beauty; made in the summer of the year 1770* (London, 1782) and *Observations, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1772, on several parts of England; particularly the mountains, and lakes of Cumberland, and Westmoreland* (London, 1786).
[9] *Observations on a Tour*, ii, 66.
[10] *The Professional Life*, iv, 288.
[11] See *The Musical Tour*, 166, 169, 264.
[12] *A Complete History of the English Stage, Written by Mr. Dibdin*. London: printed for the author, and sold by him at his warehouse; 5 vols. (London, [1800]).
[13] See *The Musical Tour*, i, 60.
[14] Ibid., iv, 117.
[15] Ibid., iv, 58–9.
[16] *The Monthly Mirror,* November 1796, 3, 441. A further section of the review is quoted in Philip J. Highfill et al., *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800* (Carbondale, 1973–93), 16 vols., iv, 371. Further criticism occurred in *The Monthly Mirror*, October 1797, vol. 4, 243–4, also quoted in *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors*, iv, 372.
[17] *The Professional Life*, iv, 118.
[18] The song lyrics and dialogue are printed in *The Professional Life*, iv, 119–60.
[19] Ibid., iv, 160.
[20] In *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 30 March 1799, *Caledonian Mercury*, 4, 6, 18, 25 May, *The Newcastle Courant*, 25 May, *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 26 August, *Portsmouth Telegraph*, 4 November. *Caledonian Mercury*, 4 January 1800, *The Gloucester Journal*, 18 August, *Portsmouth Telegraph*, 1 September.
[21] These included *The Sphinx*, *Will O' the Wisp*, *Tom Wilkins*, *Christmas Gambols*, *The Goose and Gridiron*. See *Portsmouth Telegraph*, 1 September.
[22] *Observations on a Tour*, i, 231.
[23] *The Professional Life*, iv, 161.
[24] See *Observations on a Tour*, ii, letters 47, 48, 49.
[25] Ibid., iv, 161.
[26] Ibid.
[27] The route is summarised in *The Professional Life*, iv, 207–9.
[28] Ibid., iv, 248. John Sheldon (1752–1808), anatomist and surgeon, lived on the River Exe; Dibdin addressed several letters to him in *Observations on a Tour,* and also several to Thomas Sheldon, probably John's younger brother.
[29] *Caledonian Mercury*, vol. 4, 18 May 1799; *The Newcastle Courant*, 25 May; *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 26 August; *The Leeds Intelligencer*, 12 July 1800; *Portsmouth Telegraph*, 1 September.
[30] John Crang and James Hancock, organ and piano manufacturers. Crang had built a claviorganum in 1745. See David C. Wickens, 'Crang & Hancock', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, ed. Deane L. Root (<www.oxfordmusiconline.com>), accessed 25 July 2014. There is, in the Cobbe Collection at Hatchlands, Surrey, a grand pianoforte by Crang & Hancock, London (c. 1790), with a silver plaque engraved 'Warranted by Mr Dibdin'. See <http://www.cobbecollection.co.uk/collection/14-grand-piano/>, accessed 1 August 2016.
[31] See Kitchiner, *The Sea Songs of Charles Dibdin: with a memoir of his life and writings* (London, 1823), 22–3.
[32] *Recollections of the Life of John O'Keeffe, Written by Himself* (London, 1826), 2 vols., ii, 322. Many thanks to Peter Holman for alerting me to O'Keeffe.
[33] *Observations on a Tour*, ii, 299.
[34] Presumably his wife Anne, née Wylde, and daughter, also Anne. Dibdin refers to 'my family' in *Observations on a Tour*, i, 15, 50, 91n, 149, 169, 239, 295, 383, and ii, 124; he also refers to his daughter's talent for drawing (i, 116).
[35] *Observations on a Tour*, i, 50.
[36] Edward Taylor (1784–1863); Gresham professor of music, 1837–63. Quoted by William Barclay Squire in 'Edward Taylor's Gresham Lectures (Continued)', *The Musical Times*, 54 (1913), 647.
[37] *The Sea Songs of Charles Dibdin,* 23.
[38] *Morning Post*, 2 May 1798: 'WANTED IMMEDIATELY A PERSON who knows well how to tune and keep in order an Organized Piano Forte, and to attend it round part of England for the summer months. References for character will be expected. For particulars apply to Mr. Dibdin's Music Warehouse, Leicester-place, Leicester-square. Not to be repeated.'
[39] The price given in all newspaper advertisements that I have seen for his performances on tour in 1799 and 1800.
[40] Newspapers advertise performances at the theatres royal in Newcastle (*The Newcastle Courant*, Saturday 25 May 1799), Manchester (*The Manchester Mercury*, 29 July 1800), and Portsmouth (*Portsmouth Telegraph*, 1 September 1800).
[41] William Barclay Squire, 'Edward Taylor's Gresham Lectures (Continued)', as above.
[42] *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752–1828), Volume 1*, ed. Brian Robins (Hillsdale, 1998), entry for 2 September 1799 (695).
[43] See *The Musical Tour*, ii, 265–8.
[44] See *The Musical Tour*, Chapter 44, 'More Crotchets', in particular, i, 180–3.
[45] The quotation is taken from the conclusion of his act known as *Readings and Music*; see *The Musical Tour,* 404.
[46] *The Professional Life*, ii, 167.
[47] Ibid., iv, 328.
[48] Dibdin describes taking 'a circuit of between three and four thousand miles' while working on *A Complete History of the English Stage*; see *The Professional Life*, iv, 117.

Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach (eds.), *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context*

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, 324 pp., £64.99

Elsa De Luca

This book is welcome as an essential point of departure for students, performers and scholars who seek to understand the repertory of medieval songs through a solid and rigorous approach. It reconsiders these songs in their material context as this potentially 'yields new insights into the musical culture of the medieval lyric, but challenges assumptions that have underpinned existing scholarship' (1). Manuscripts containing songs are explored with a fresh and all-embracing perspective, which overcomes previous divisions in scholarship between monophony and polyphony, sacred and secular, notated and non-notated (the latter two have tended to be seen as synonymous with musical and non-musical). As such, these sources are rich witnesses of the scattered traces, and of the widely varied nature, of the medieval song tradition. *Manuscripts and Medieval Song* approaches the study of sources containing song texts and notations in their entirety, and argues that even those books lacking musical notation can provide valuable contextual evidence, 'even to the extent of showing the length of use of a particular book and its changing functions over time' (2).

The introduction and the last chapter ('Songs, scattered and gathered') are jointly authored by the editors. While the introduction anticipates the contents of each of the following chapters, the last chapter is a corollary to the examination of song manuscripts in the previous sections of the book. This last chapter is articulated within three subtitled sections – the Inscription, Performance and Context of the book's title – and in each of them 'surprising points of comparison [among the manuscripts studied] that speak to shared or similar concerns among the manuscripts' first writers and readers' (272) are drawn out.

The first of the essays is a study by Sam Barrett, whose painstaking palaeographical analysis of F-Pn, lat.1154 brings to light new evidence to demonstrate that 'the main body of the manuscript was copied and notated at the Abbey of St Martial of Limoges in the late ninth or early tenth century' (33). His analysis of manuscript's different sections (containing both text and music) has revealed not only that the litany it contains was originally compiled for St Martial of Limoges, but that there were additional (and less skilled) scribes working alongside the main scribe, and that the main scribe and the person who copied the text were the same individual. He also arrives at a new understanding of the original uses of the manuscript, showing how it served as a book for private devotion as well as for teaching purposes.

Jeremy Llewellyn considers GB-Cu, Gg.V.35, also known as the 'Earlier Cambridge Songbook'. This manuscript contains approximately 400 folios of wide-ranging literary materials followed by a section containing 83 songs with the occasional inclusion of musical notation. The 'Cambridge Songs' represents 'one of the most extensive miscellanies of medieval Latin poetry between the Carolingians and the *Carmina Burana* of the early thirteenth century and has even been regarded as displaying certain features common to the early vernacular lyrical poetry of the Troubadours and Minnesang' (38). Llewellyn discusses in detail the historio-graphical debate on the manuscript's geographical origins, its organisation and how it might have been used for performance.

Rachel May Golden discusses GB-Lbl, Add. MS 36881, a twelfth-century Aquitanian *versaria* whose contents challenges traditional scholarly divisions between polyphony and monophony and the dichotomy between liturgical and paraliturgical uses. The author

discusses the kinship between *versaria* and the contemporary troubadour culture of Occitania ('troubadours were steeped in learned Latin culture and Christian institutions', 63) and the mingling of oral and written transmission in *versaria*. She offers a thorough examination of the contents of the manuscript, showing that while some pieces are *unica*, others have concordances with the three other twelfth-century *versaria* in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, which were once held at the medieval library of the Abbey of St Martial. The four sources span the entirety of the twelfth century, yet have demonstrable textual relationships, have a shared musical style, and explore related literary themes.

Gundela Bobeth discusses the largest anthology of secular lyrics in medieval Latin (D-Mbs, Clm 4660-4660a). The manuscript is usually associated with Carl Orff's *Carmina Burana*. However, Orff's cantata relates to the manuscript only in as much as it is based on a selection of the texts edited by Johann Andreas Schmeller in the nineteenth century, and so it does not claim to emulate the medieval melodies. The manuscript has also suffered a misrepresentation in scholarship because its contents challenges the traditional polarisation of sacred and secular: satirical poems criticising the church, references to lovemaking, carousing, etc., are followed by sacred poems. Nonetheless, its carefully planned decorative programme and inclusion of pieces associated with the large-scale Notre-Dame repertory (examples of which are analysed) hint that the manuscript was produced in a well-equipped scriptorium. As such, it may have belonged to a clerical centre in the German-speaking countries with a rich, secular musical life.

Helen Deeming's first essay focuses on the manuscript containing the first song in the English language, *Sumer is icumen in* (GB-Lbl, Harley 978). Scholars have tended to give special attention to this song to the detriment of the rest of the miscellaneous poetry, prose, and music in three languages, sacred and secular, contained within the manuscript. The author offers a substantial analysis of both the codicology and contents and traces the origins of the manuscript's various sections, discussing how they were produced. She then discusses the characteristics of the Harley songs, looking at their arrangement, poetic techniques, and notation, and shows how they belong within the wider repertory of songs preserved in English musical miscellanies.

In a separate chapter, Deeming examines GB-Lbl, Egerton 274. This manuscript has had a long and interesting history, with the original core subsequently modified by means of additions and alterations. After an overview of the scholarly debate concerning the manuscript, Deeming presents a careful description of its contents and history. Basing her analysis on internal codicological evidence, she reconstructs three 'stages in the medieval afterlife of the manuscript', each of which 'reveals a shift in the way the book was perceived, valued, and used by its subsequent owners' (149).

Henry Hope rejects 'the practice of conflating the absence of musical notation with the absence of music as a whole, (which is) closely tied up with the modern ontology of music' (166). D-HEu, Cod.Pal.germ.848 (also called 'Codex Manesse') is one of the two manuscripts to be considered in this collection lacking musical notation. Hope builds a case for how musical practice could have influenced the nature of this manuscript, focusing on the references to music in its decorative programme and on its song texts.

Sean Curran looks at F-Pn, n.a.f.13251, beginning with a preliminary overview of the history of the motet in thirteenth-century France. He then discusses its contents and the previous scholarship, carefully describing how the contents relate to the various fascicles and their codicology, with a special focus on their palaeography. The author pays particularly close attention to two motets, for which concordances can be found in coeval manuscripts, and explains that these motets had an important role in ritualising both liturgical and vernacular devotional events.

Elizabeth Eva Leach's first essay considers a second manuscript without notation. GB-Ob, Douce 308 is a large book containing Old French narratives and over 500 lyrics arranged by genre into seven sections. She discusses in great detail the contents of the various sections – considering also concordances in other manuscripts – and elucidates the organising principle for the lyrics. Leach reconsiders the value of a songbook without notation and argues that the absence of notation does not diminish its 'musical' value, since its

audience would have recognised its associated tunes mnemonically.

In a second essay, Leach engages with F-Pn, fr.1586 ('Machaut MS *C*'). This manuscript was originally believed to be a late copy, dated to the late fifteenth century, of an early redaction of Machaut's collection. Instead it represents the 'earliest copied collected manuscript witness of Machaut's music to have survived and probably the earliest ever to have existed' (247). Leach scrutinises the arrangement of the content in MS *C*, showing not only how it reflects the codicology of the manuscript – by discussing the gathering of its leaves, its artists, and text scribes – but also the royal context in which the manuscript was likely used, since it is believed to have been originally written for Bonne of Luxembourg (1315–49).

In sum, this book provides a range of readers with a selection of case studies, many of which are excellent demonstrations of how to approach these sources. By combining close analysis of the songbooks themselves with consideration of the social and performance environments in which the songs were created, it shows how they can be discussed in a way that minimises prejudices or bias.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791), *Symphonie g-moll, 1. und 2. Fassung KV 550*, ed. Henrik Wiese

Breitkopf & Härtel (Wiesbaden; Leipzig; Paris: [2014])

Milada Jonášová

The 'Breitkopf Urtext' edition series appears to be very useful and beneficial. Following numerous previous editions, one of its editors, Henrik Wiese, a graduate of the University of Munich and, since 2006, a solo flautist of the Symphonieorchester des Bayerischen Rundfunks, has produced up to now several of its Mozart editions, including scores and parts of the two flute concertos, plus the version, for oboe, of the second flute concerto, in addition to the four horn concertos and the 'Haffner-Musique'. In each case he decided to take another look at Mozart's autograph scores in order to attempt to decipher the initial phases of their genesis, and also opted to take into account any additional modifications carried out by the composer; he has brought to bear a similar approach in editing Mozart's Symphony in G minor, K. 550.

All the previous editions of the symphony had to tackle a number of problems. The basic form of the autograph score, preserved at the Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna, was originally for flute, two oboes, two bassoons, two horns and strings. It has customarily been referred to as the work's first version. In the course of time, Mozart added clarinet parts, notated independently on a separate sheet, and carried out minor modifications to the oboe part. In the second movement, he attached to the autograph yet another sheet, containing an alternative version for bars 29–32 and for their parallel passage in bars 100–103. When in 1957, within the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* (IV:11/9), H. C. Robbins Landon interpreted the autograph and the preserved copies, he published the complete scores of both of the versions and, in the appendices, also the alternative reading for bars 29–32/100–103. In his critical account, Landon pointed out that back in 1841, in an article for the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Robert Schumann had drawn attention to the error occurring in some of the symphony's editions, which resulted from an incorrect interpretation of bars 29–32/100–103. The double bar-line ('Doppelstrich'), written down by Mozart preceding these passages, had been interpreted to mean that Mozart intended four additional bars in both locations, not two alternative options, as actually intended.

Another problem rests in the notation of the melodic passage from bar 27 and from bar 98 of the second movement. In bar 98, this passage is written on the fifth stave but without specifying an instrument, while in bar 27, Mozart

added – in various phases – the names of four instruments, to which the passage in demisemiquavers was assigned at different stages (i.e. to the first oboe, the second oboe, the flute and the clarinet). Incorrect deciphering of the chronology of Mozart's changes to the instrumentation has led to a number of differing interpretations. Landon construed three stages, in which this melodic passage was first intended for oboes, then flutes and, finally, clarinets. Thus, in his critical edition of the first version, he assigned the melodic passage to flutes (along with bassoons), and to clarinets (also together with bassoons) in the second version.

In this new edition (furnished with an English translation of his interpretative remarks), Henrik Wiese has presented an improved view of this matter. In addition to the autograph (source A), he explored, and designated as source B, the parts from the Lannoy collection, which are in the possession of the Landeskonservatorium in Graz, Austria. This source was also mentioned in the critical report to the *NMA* (1963, p. 23), yet merely among the sources that were not used for the edition's needs ('wurden nicht eingesehen'). With regard to these parts, Wiese has submitted a surprising finding: 'at least in the 1st and 2nd oboe parts (2nd version) and in the 2nd violin part, we find sporadic entries in Mozart's hand as well'. These entries – albeit not elaborated upon any further! – may not provide any significant new knowledge, but they allegedly serve as indirect evidence to show how the second version was executed.

Wiese has arrived at the conclusion that, after he had completed the symphony, Mozart occupied himself with it on another two occasions: 'After completing the 2nd version (with clarinets) Mozart thus seems to have returned to the first version (without clarinets) again. This raises the importance of the 1st version and shows that the 2nd version neither represents the "Fassung letzter Hand", nor that it is to be preferred to the 1st version for purposes of chronology.' Wiese has defined the third, and final, version of the composition on the basis of his interpretation of bars 27f. and 98f., and bars 29–32 and 100–103 in the second movement. He has assumed that the demisemiquaver passage was to be played by oboes in the first version, by clarinets in the second version, and by flutes in the third version, adding: 'The third stage reproduced here for the first time in a printed edition seems to have been inaccessible for performers up to now, but is the "Fassung letzter Hand" for the first version, [...]'.

Wiese has based his edition on the version with clarinets, while notating its differences with the first version (without clarinets), as was arrived at in the third stage, in small print. The score thus facilitates performances of the second version with clarinets, as well as the first version in the third stage, as does the performance material: the oboe parts have been published in two books, one for the first version in the first and third stages, the other for the second version. Naturally, the edition also makes it possible to perform the first version in the first stage.

With regard to the chosen format and the high print quality, the result is a lucid score, numbering 61 pages. A valuable part of the publication is the 'transcription of the autograph score' (on pp. 62–67), which shows the notation's graphic semblance in the problematic passages mentioned above. Regrettably, however, the edition does not contain facsimiles of these passages, which would show the ductus of Mozart's writing, the hues of the ink he used, etc., which are significant when attempting to judge the chronology of the different versions. The critical report (*Kritischer Berichte*) on the final page of the volume (only in German) merely deals with two sources: the autograph score and the copy of the parts at Graz. For a work with such a complex source basis, and several alternative variants, a report as short as this seems incongruous (for comparison: the *Kritischer Berichte* within the *NMA* has 26 pages).

Recent Publications Relating to Performance Practice

Compiled by James Hume

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Articles
Barry Cooper, Beethoven's Preliminary Sketches for the 'Waldstein' Sonata
Mark Kroll, «A Man Outside his Dwelling, a Jew Inside?»: Ignaz Moscheles and the German-Jewish Musician in Nineteenth-Century Europe
Book review of:
Paul F. Rice, *Venanzio Rauzzini in Britain: Castrato, Composer, and Cultural Leader*

Ad Parnassum, Vol.13/no.27 (April 2016)
Articles
Michael Talbot, Robert Valentine and the Roman Concerto Grosso
Joshua S. Walden, «Novelty, Wit and an Abundance of Ideas»: The Mid-Eighteenth-Century German Instrumental Cadenza as Interpretation

Early Music, Vol.44/4 (November 2016)
Articles
Florence Gétreau, Satirical Portraits and Visual Lampoons of Rameau and his Works
Stephen Gutman, 'Ces piéces éxécutées sur le claveçin seul ne laissent rien à désirer': Reflections on Playing Rameau's *Pièces de clavecin en concerts* on Solo Keyboard
Zoe Saunders, Hidden Meaning in Agnus Dei Canons: Two Cases from the Alamire Manuscripts
Vanessa L. Rogers, Orchestras on Stage in the Georgian-Era Playhouse: Unravelling the Origin of the 'Winston' sketch
Geerten Verberkmoes, Made in Amsterdam: a 1771 Cittern by Benoit Joseph Boussu

Book and music reviews of:
Sabine Katharina Klaus, *Trumpets and Other High Brass—a History Inspired by the Joe R. and Joella F. Utley Collection* and Jeremy Montagu, *Horns and Trumpets of the World—an Illustrated Guide*
Robert Adelson, Alain Roudier, Jenny Nex, Laure Barthel and Michel Foussard, eds., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp in Letters and Documents, 1785–1959*
John Eccles, *Incidental Music. Part 1: Plays A–F*, ed. Amanda Eubanks Winkler

Early Music, Vol.44/3 (August 2016)
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Deirdre Loughridge, Muted Violins from Lully to Haydn
Markus Rathey, Printing, Politics and 'a well-regulated church music': a New Perspective on J. S. Bach's Mühlhausen Cantatas
David Rowland, Roger Long's Gut-Strung Keyboard Instruments and Thomas Barton's Harpsichord Stringing

Book reviews of:
Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin ed., *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*
Christian Ahrens, *Die Weimarer Hofkapelle 1683–1851*
Donald Burrows, Helen Coffey, John Greenacombe and Anthony Hicks, eds., *George Frideric Handel: Collected Documents, Volume 2: 1725–1734*

Early Music Review (August 2016)
Book and music reviews of:
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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 (December 2016)
Music reviews of:
Motetti a vna, dve, tre et qvattro voci Col Basso continuo per l'Organo Fatti da diuersi Musici Seruitori del Serenissimo Signor Duca di Mantoua e racolti da FEDERICO MALGARINI pur anch'egli Seruitore, e Musico di detta Altezza. IN VENETIA, Appresso Giacomo Vincenti. MDCXVIII, ed., Licia Mari

Eighteenth-Century Music, Vol. 14/1 (March 2017)
Articles
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Charles Dill, Rameau's Cartesian Wonder
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The Musical Times, Vol.158/1 (Spring 2017)
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