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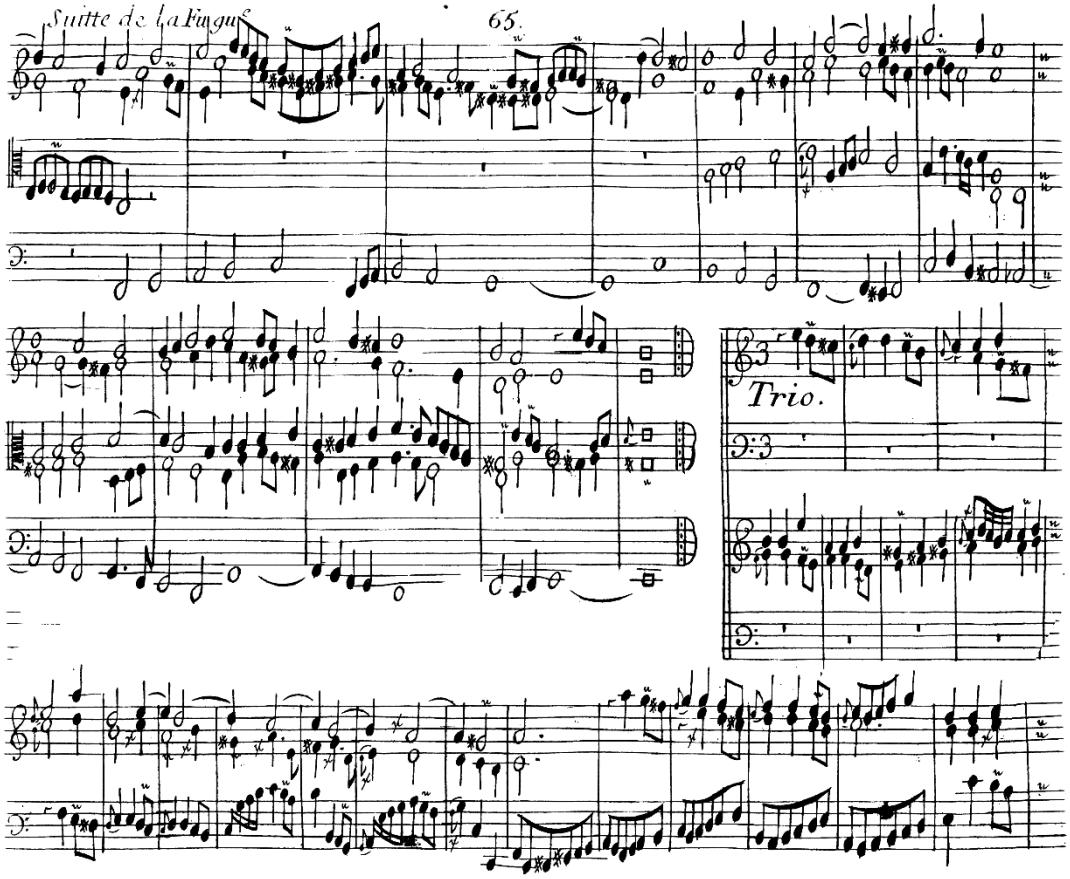

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Contact: John Bence, Administrator (mail@earlymusicleicester.co.uk)

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Editorial

Music editing has been central to the practice of historically informed performance since its beginnings. According to Jeremy Montagu, before reliable editions became widely available, unhistorical slurs, bowing marks and hairpins would be removed from parts by painting them over with white ink or even scraping them out with a sharp knife.[1] Practices such as this were in the spirit of the time, though one might ask why the doctoring was felt to be necessary: could players or singers not just ignore all the extraneous markings even if performing in an ensemble? The aim was to free performers from the arbitrarily 'layered' markings of interpretative editions. However, basic to historically informed performance is the belief that the score does not proscribe what is played; performance decisions should stem from the historical evidence. The removal of these markings was therefore about changing the performer's relationship to the notation; scores manufactured to tell the singer or player exactly what to do are antithetical to this principle.

A 'clean' and accurate score is a starting point, but it will present familiar questions for the player or singer preparing a performance. These can be either directly related to the notation, such as those concerned with articulation, dynamics, ornamentation or tempo and so on, or depend on an understanding of the music in its wider historical context. Performance questions addressed through the latter can generate controversy, since they sometimes place the position of the composer as controlling agent through the score into question. Sophie Mahar's and Alberto Sanna's article about preparing a performance of Alessandro Scarlatti's *St John Passion* earlier this year addresses several issues of the second type, including how the liturgical purpose of the piece affects its performance as concert music and how the surviving parts suggest the numbers of performers involved in Scarlatti's lifetime. Their interpretive decisions, based on a continuing assessment of all available source materials, differ in several respects from those that were chosen by earlier editors and performers of the work.

Producing an accurate score in the first place is also a task that is often more difficult than it might seem, since rarely does it depend simply on fidelity to an authoritative source. A contemporary printed edition produced with the cooperation of the composer is a promising place to start, though the quality of the end result will have depended on financial factors, the editorial skills of the publisher, the quality of the proofreading, as well as the printing technology used. Jon Baxendale's examination of Louis-Nicolas Clérambault's *Premier livre de pièces de claveçin* (1702) in the previous issue of *EMP* showed the significance of these considerations. In the present issue he covers similar territory in relation to Nicolas de Grigny's *Premier livre d'orgue* (1699), this time probing the manuscript sources derived from it for the insights they give into how Grigny's music was interpreted in early eighteenth-century Germany.

Thanks are due to Rosalind Halton and Élisabeth Gallat-Morin for assistance with this issue.

Andrew Woolley
October 2019
awoolley [at] fcsh.unl.pt

[1] 'Early Music – Earlier and Later', *EMP*, 10 (2002), 26. This article can be downloaded for free from the archive of back issues. See *Early Music Performer Archive*, <http://earlymusic.info/EMperformer.htm>.

Alessandro Scarlatti's *St John Passion*: a Liturgical Masterpiece

Sophie Mahar and Alberto Sanna

In the early 1980s, the American scholar-performer Joshua Rifkin sparked a polemic on the typical size of a Bach choir.[1] Rifkin argued that the choral movements of Bach's large-scale sacred works – including the Passion settings and the Mass in B Minor – would have been sung by one singer per part. He supported his thesis by drawing attention to the original performing materials for the 1725 revival of the *St John Passion*. The extant parts for each choral voice-part seemed to imply that they were given to individual singers – if reinforcement was expected, we would expect it in the form of separate *ripieno* parts – and therefore no more than eight sang together at any given time. Rifkin found further evidence in the famous 'Draft for a well-appointed church music' Bach submitted to the Leipzig Town Council in 1730 as well as in the records of the 1736 performance of the *St Matthew Passion*.[2] As might have been expected, it was only a matter of time before some influential Bach scholars countered Rifkin's argument. Robert Marshall in particular found fault with Rifkin's interpretation of the 'Draft', pointing out that the memorandum was Bach's appeal to his employer to safeguard a decent level of music-making across Leipzig's four main churches. For Marshall, the number of copies was rather due to the time constraints to which the team of copyists was subject: in fact, the quite large size of the extant parts suggested to him that more than one person sang from them.[3] Several musicologists and performers have since contributed to the debate. To be sure, the tones are less acrimonious than used to be the case and Marshall himself has recently taken a more pragmatic stance on the whole matter.[4] But the issue *per se* is far from settled: it continues to generate widely different interpretations of the same Bach masterpieces.

Equally well-researched, if less controversial, are the concert performances of Handel's *Messiah* in the 1740s and 1750s, in which the public paid a fee to hear the best opera singers and instrumentalists in London at the time. We know for example that 22 singers and 38 orchestral players took part in the 1754 performance of the *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital.[5] Upon Handel's death, the size of the choir for the annual commemorations continued to grow, eventually reaching the colossal proportions documented by the music historian Charles Burney.[6]

By contrast, studies of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italian oratorios from the perspective of performance forces are few and far between. The problem is twofold: on the one hand, musicologists have not considered the genre as central to our understanding of the major composers of the time as operas, secular cantatas or instrumental music; on the other hand, even when specific works have been the object of study, research has focused on their literary and musical content rather than on the size and constitution of the choirs and orchestras employed on any given occasion.[7]

Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725) is a typical case in point. Though widely acknowledged – then just as now – as one of the best musical minds of his generation, his restless career led to the dispersal of sources, a factor that continues to make it somewhat difficult to assess his historical importance and artistic merits fully. With a large family to support (as he consistently pointed out), he moved back and forth between Rome and Naples throughout his life, mainly writing operas but also accepting commissions for all kinds of music from patrons all over Italy.[8] Consequently, his compositions are scattered across many libraries and archives: the main catalogues of his works currently count over 100 operas, 38 oratorios and between 400

and 600 cantatas.[9] His oratorios in particular were the fruit of specific biographical circumstances and therefore are harder to contextualise than his other dramatic works. Recent studies of his church pieces have given a more nuanced view of his creative output,[10] and yet whenever the oratorios are mentioned in the specialist literature, they are still often referred to as 'sacred operas in disguise'.[11] Monographic studies have also conformed to the traditional view.[12]

Although there is certainly scope for probing the validity of the wider tendencies in the musicological literature, within the space afforded by the present essay, we would rather like to focus on a neglected subgenre of the oratorio – the Passion setting in Latin – and more specifically on Scarlatti's contribution to it. The main question we ask is relatively straightforward: if Italian oratorios are indeed operas cloaked in a religious theme, what is to be made of the numerous Latin oratorios especially composed for the Lenten liturgy? Table 1 lists in chronological order verbatim settings of the Passion according to St Matthew and St John dating from between the mid seventeenth and the late eighteenth centuries from central and southern Italy. In all cases, the libretti are taken straight from the Vulgate with no alterations to the text, save for the repetition of certain words and phrases.

Composer	City	Year	Gospel
Vincenzo Amato (1629–70)	Palermo	*c.*1652	St John St Matthew
Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725)	Rome or Naples	*c.*1679 or *c.*1685	St John
Gaetano Veneziano (1656–1716)	Naples	1685	St John
Francesco Feo (1691–1761)	Naples	1744	St John
Pietro Antonio Gallo (1702–77)	Naples	*c.*1750	St John
Gaspare Gabellone (1727–96)	Naples	1756	St John
Bernardino Corbellini (1748–97)	Naples	*c.*1783	St John St Matthew
Alessandro Speranza (1724–97)	Naples	1787	St Matthew

Table 1. Latin Passion oratorios by Italian composers (*c.*1650–1790)

Scarlatti himself contributed at least five specimens to the Latin oratorio sub-genre. Beside the *St John Passion*, he composed four works for the Arciconfraternita del Santissimo Crocifisso at the church of San Marcello al Corso in Rome: three (all lost) performed in 1679–82 and *Davidis pugna et victoria* performed on 6 March 1700.

We argue that these Latin oratorios were not sacred operas but, on the contrary, originally had a liturgical purpose in common with contemporary and earlier plainsong settings, in contexts that ranged from the fully liturgical to the para- and extra-liturgical. The individual compositions responded to specific spiritual and aesthetic desiderata that were determined as much by the nature of the libretto as by the personnel available for performance. To prove our point, we offer a close reading of Scarlatti's *St John Passion* which, though characteristically dismissed by the first great Scarlatti scholar, Edward Dent, as 'a curious work and probably a late example of a style which was rapidly becoming obsolete',[13] was nevertheless revived in the 1950s and has since enjoyed as many as two modern editions and three complete recordings.[14] What we would like to suggest is that a revision of current perceptions of the genre founded on fresh historical evidence may open up a whole range of new interpretative options to modern performers interested in this type of music, including those relating to the original performing forces. In fact, Scarlatti's sober masterpiece may well afford a new vantage point to come to terms with the complexities of contemporary oratorio performance: one that, whilst recognising the peculiarity of the repertoire, may also attempt to reconcile the often conflicting needs of promoters, historians, singers and instrumentalists.

The Music of Scarlatti's *St John Passion*

Scarlatti's oratorio sets to music John 18:1–19:37 with scarcely any modifications to the Gospel text and few word repetitions. The Evangelist (*testo*) is an alto; except for the few instances noted below, he tells the story consistently in *recitativo secco* supported by the organ basso continuo. Christ (*Christus*) is a bass who sings throughout with a four-part string ensemble (first violin, second violin, viola and cello/double bass) in *recitativo accompagnato*. The two main characters that enact the fulfilment of his fate are Pontius Pilate (*Pilatus*), also an alto who sings in *recitativo secco*, and the Crowd (*Turba*), represented by an SATB vocal ensemble and an SSTB instrumental ensemble (where, however, the instrumental bass is *colla parte*, so that the texture is effectively in seven rather than eight parts). Three further characters are Peter (*Petrus*), a Jew (*Judaeus*) and a Maid (*Ancilla*): the former are both tenors and sing short recitatives; the latter is a soprano and sings the only triple-time, aria-like passage of the piece.

The libretto consists of 16 sections which Scarlatti takes great care to differentiate by means of scoring and other compositional strategies (see Table 2).[15] Sections A and P frame the main story, in literary as well as in musical terms. Section A (bb. 1–28) comprises a brief yet poignant Sinfonia (bb. 1–11) and the customary announcement to the congregation that the Passion rite of the Good Friday liturgy is to begin (bb. 12–28), sung by the Evangelist to full string accompaniment. Section P (bb. 825–59) comprises the Evangelist's peroration of his own authorial voice; it is appropriately delivered in plain recitative (bb. 825–42), serving as one last reminder of the fulfilment of the Scriptures, and is put into relief through the direct quotation of the Scriptures that follows – as if literally 'set in stone' – written in five-part polyphony for the Evangelist and the strings (bb. 843–59). Two transitional sections, B (bb. 29–138) and O (bb. 792–825) – one rather long and elaborate, the other rather short and unassuming – effect a smooth connection to and from the core of the narration. Section B puts the spotlight on the three main interpreters as is also typical of plainsong settings of the Passion: the Evangelist (*cantor*), Christ (*Christus*) and the Crowd (*turba*);[16] it also immediately captures the attention of the audience through a compelling bipartite design: a passage in *stile concitato* for the Evangelist and the strings (bb. 29–56) is followed by the setting of Christ's first encounter with the Crowd (bb. 57–138). Section O resumes unaccompanied recitative and represents the climax of the Passion; it is at this point that Christ passes away, a break in the liturgy occurs ('Si ferma un poco', reads the score) and the congregation is invited to meditate. The story *per se* of Christ's passion and death on the cross unfolds through Sections C to N. The St John Gospel symmetrically arranges two blocks of text – C to E (bb. 139–299) and L to N (bb. 687–791) – on either side of a central block, F to K (bb. 300–686). The first one introduces the auxiliary characters (the Maid, Peter, a Jew); the second one plays out the confrontation between Christ, Pilate and the Crowd in what amounts to the longest stretch of continuous music in the whole piece; the third one puts Christ back centre stage for his final moments.

Scarlatti's musical characterisation is as simple as it is effective. When supported by the basso continuo only, the Evangelist delivers the text swiftly yet does not disdain the occasional madrigalism, if an expressive situation prompts it (for example, in bb. 86–7 at 'ceciderunt in terram' ('they fell to the ground'); in bb. 144–7 at 'et ligaverunt eum' ('and bound him'); in bb. 297–9 at 'et statim gallus cantavit' ('and immediately the rooster crowed'); and in bb. 460–4 at 'et flagellavit' ('and scourged him')). Were it not for the ethereal textures created by the strings, Christ would have come across musically as a rather earthly, fragile figure, though certainly not as the standard hero/heroine of *opera seria* (notwithstanding a common tragic destiny). All other characters smell of humans throughout: Pilate, with his emphatic and ostentatious recitative; the Crowd, with its simplistic canzonettas and raucous madrigal-like music; Peter, with his hopeless, high-pitched monotone; and the Maid, with her undeveloped song.

The *St John Passion* raises two sorts of musicological issues: one to do with its source materials, the other with the original setting of its performance. They both pose specific challenges to anyone interested in reviving the work for contemporary audiences; they also have considerable implications for the way performing editions are made, performing forces are chosen and interpretative strategies are negotiated.

Section	Verses	Bars	Incipit	Scoring
A	- -	1–28	- Passio Domini nostri	Strings (bb. 1–11) Evangelist/Strings (bb. 12–28)
B	18:1–11	29–138	In illo tempore	Evangelist/Strings (bb. 29–56) Evangelist, Christ/Strings, Crowd/Strings (bb. 57–138)
C	18:12–18	138–209[2]	Cohors ergo, et tribunus	Evangelist, a Maid, Peter
D	18:19–24	209[3]–65[2]	Pontifex ergo interrogavit	Evangelist, Christ/Strings, a Jew
E	18:25–27	265[3]–99	Erat autem Simon Petrus	Evangelist, Crowd/Strings, Petrus, a Jew
F	18:28–32	300–55	Adducunt ergo Jesum	Evangelist, Pilate, Crowd/Strings
G	18:33–40	356–456[2]	Introivit ergo iterum	Evangelist, Pilate, Christ/Strings, Crowd/Strings
H	19:1–7	456[3]–534	Tunc ergo apprehendit	Evangelist, Crowd/Strings, Pilate
I	19:8–11	535–75	Cum ergo audisset Pilatus	Evangelist, Pilate, Christ/Strings
J	19:12–16	576–633[2]	Et exinde quaerebat Pilatus	Evangelist, Crowd/Strings, Pilate
K	19:17–22	633[4]–86	Et baiulans sibi crucem	Evangelist, Crowd/Strings, Pilate
L	19:23–24	687–722	Milites ergo	Evangelist, Crowd/Strings
M	19:25–27	723–52[2]	Stabant autem juxta crucem	Evangelist, Christ/Strings
N	19:28–30	752[3]–91	Postea sciens Jesus	Evangelist, Christ/Strings, Evangelist/Strings
O	19:31–34	792–825[2]	Judaei ergo	Evangelist
P	19:35–37	825[3]–59	Et qui vidit	Evangelist (bb. 825[3]–42) Evangelist/Strings (bb. 843–59)

Table 2. The structure of Scarlatti's *St John Passion*

The sources of Scarlatti's *St John Passion*

The only two remaining sets of manuscript parts and scores of the *St John Passion* are preserved in Naples: one in the Archivio Musicale della Congregazione dell'Oratorio (also known as Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Filippini or Biblioteca dei Girolamini), the other in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella. The former bears the title 'Venerdì santo. Passio secundum Joannem di contralto con v.v. e turba' and the shelf-marks MS 384.2 (one score of 24 folios and 15 parts of 87 folios) and MS 384.3 (one score of 24 folios and a part for the Evangelist of 21 folios transposed by Francesco Feo for Soprano or Tenor); the latter bears the title 'Passio D.N. Jesu Christi secundum Joannem' and the shelf mark MR 3143 (previously 22.3.18). The San Pietro a Majella materials divide into manuscripts A–G, as shown in Table 3, which lists them as described by Edwin Hanley in the commentary to his critical edition of 1955. All manuscripts present minor amendments by later hands – a fact that would point to repeated performances of the work. Manuscripts B–G were copied by the same scribe, while a different copyist compiled manuscript A. According to Hanley, the notational refinements and emendations of scribe A's work – including the modernised rather than the blackened notation of hemiolas, regular barring and consistent inclusion of the 3/2 time-signature in his choral parts, alongside the addition of fermatas, punctuation marks and other amendments to the text – suggest that he worked at a later date than the scribe of B–G.[17]

As early as 1935, Karl Nef had claimed that manuscript A was an autograph, yet it is unclear how he had reached this conclusion. He gave S.178 as its shelf-mark and mentioned a modern copy in the University Library in Basel, but it is doubtful whether he had ever examined the manuscript in person.[18] On the other hand, Hanley considered manuscript A too different from the extant Scarlatti autographs and thought that, though it seemed to derive either from manuscripts B–G or from some other earlier source, it was the work of another copyist. More recently, in his doctoral thesis on Scarlatti's

music for the Office, Benedikt Poensgen has presented watermark evidence to argue that the first 24 folios of MS 384.2 in the Biblioteca dei Girolamini are actually an autograph score of the *St John Passion*. If Poengsen is correct, this autograph would also be the source for both the copy of the score in the same library as well as manuscript A in the library of the conservatoire.[19]

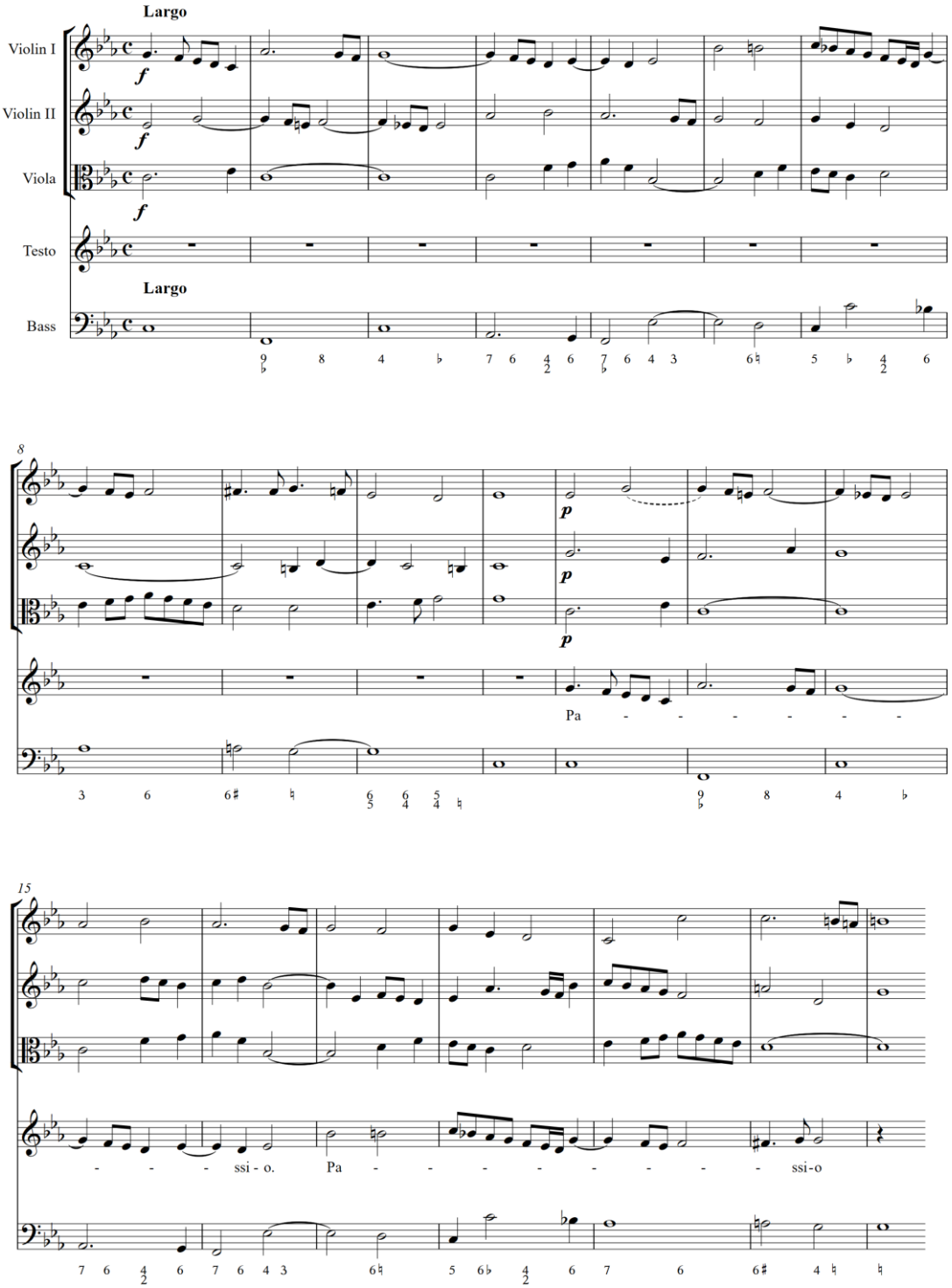
MS	Description	Title	Notes
A	Full Score: 22 pages; 16 staves	Passio D.N. Jesu Christi secundum Joannem	All vocal and instrumental parts, including a basso continuo extensively, but incompletely figured.
B	Evangelist: 36 pages; 8 staves	Passio secundum Joannem con v.v.	Alto clef and basso continuo sparsely figured.
C	First Violin: 8 pages; 10 staves	Passio secundum Joannem venerdì santo	Treble clef and basso continuo.
D	Second Violin: 8 pages; 10 staves	Passio secundum Joannem venerdì santo	Treble clef and basso continuo.
E	Viola: 8 pages; 10 staves	Passio secundum Joannem venerdì santo	Alto clef and basso continuo.
F	Concertino: 13 pages; 10 staves	Passio secundum Joannem con v.v. venerdì santo	Four string parts in score; a later hand has added 'primo'.
G	Concertino: 13 pages; 10 staves	Passio secundum Joannem con v.v. venerdì santo	Four string parts in score, identical to the 'concertino primo' except for some tempo and dynamics markings; a later hand has added 'secondo'.

Table 3. *St John Passion*'s source materials in San Pietro a Majella

Unfortunately, as Poengsen himself noted, neither modern edition of the *St John Passion* is based on the autograph source. Hanley made use of the San Pietro a Majella materials yet, wherever discrepancies occur, he gave preference to manuscripts B–G and listed the variants in his commentary. He also transposed the entire work down a minor third, presumably so that the Evangelist's part could be performed by a tenor (though it would still be a stretch for modern-day singers) or simply because he was 'haunted by memories of J.S. Bach' as Dent put it.[20] Reinhold Kubik's edition of 1985 was instead founded on manuscript A to the neglect of both manuscripts B–G and the manuscripts in the Archivio Musicale della Congregazione dell'Oratorio (including the autograph score). The edition itself is accurate, but the addition of a German translation under the Latin text makes it awkward for singers to match the words to the music. The basso continuo realisation is also unnecessarily elaborate. Finally, the layout fails to show the distinction between the basso continuo that sustains the solo singing and the instrumental bass that complements the violin and viola parts. This is especially noticeable near the very beginning of the piece where, upon the entry of the Evangelist in b. 12, Scarlatti expands the four-part texture into a quintet (see Example 1). In what amounts effectively to a redistribution of the parts, the Evangelist takes over the first violin's part while the first violin

takes over the second; the second violin at this point is recomposed. (It may be noted in passing that, by analogy with the corresponding passage in b. 13 in the first violin, the e' in b. 2 in the second violin should be natural not flat. As can be seen from Figure 1, manuscript A is slightly ambiguous in this respect and Kubik's edition has no critical apparatus.)

Thus, there would seem to be sufficient scope for a new critical and/or performing edition of the *St John Passion*: one that would take into account the latest research on the sources as well as the practical needs of singers and instrumentalists. In particular, a cross-examination of the autograph and the other manuscripts is long overdue. Despite repeated attempts, we were denied access to the Neapolitan sources in person: this pending, our own findings should be considered tentative too.[21]



Example 1. Alessandro Scarlatti, *St John Passion*, Section A, 'Passio Domini nostri', bb. 1–21

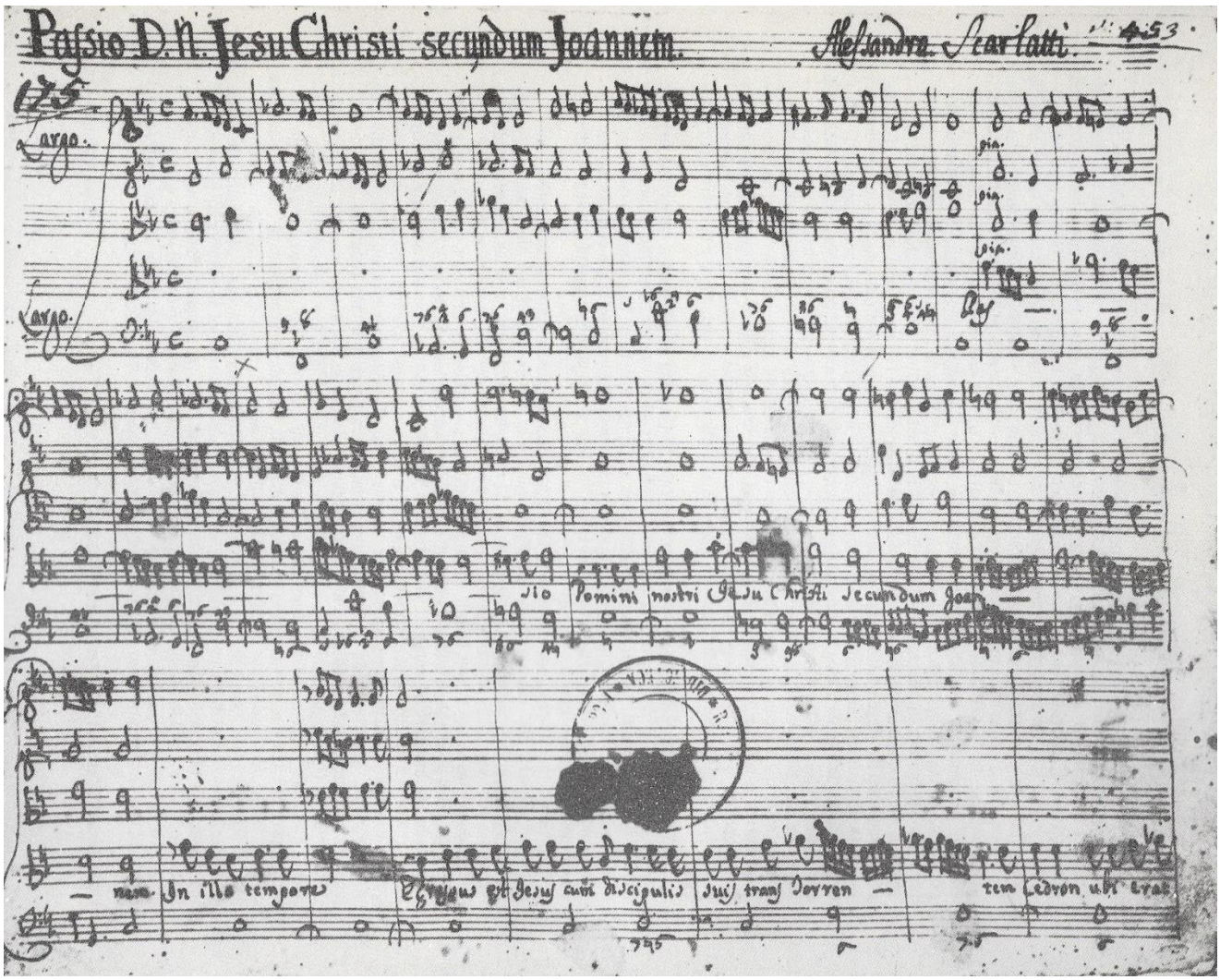


Figure 1. The first page of manuscript A in San Pietro a Majella

The second set of issues raised by the Scarlatti oratorio concerns its date of composition and the original circumstances of its conception. Table 4 gives an overview of the main theories advanced.[22]

Scholar	Place and Date
Edward J. Dent (1905)	Rome, *c.*1680
Karl Nef (1935)	Rome, *c.*1680
Edwin Hanley (1953)	Rome, *c.*1680
Lino Bianchi (1969)	Rome, *c.*1680
Roberto Pagano and Lino Bianchi (1972)	Rome, *c.*1680
Hellmuth Christian Wolff (1975)	Naples, 1708
Reinhold Kubik (1985)	Rome, 1703–7
Kurt Von Fischer (1989)	Naples, *c.*1700
Benedikt Poensgen (2004)	Naples, *c.*1685
Dinko Fabris (2016)	Naples, *c.*1685

Table 4. Datings of Scarlatti's *St John Passion*

On the basis of mere stylistic considerations, Scarlatti's biographers have ascribed the work to the composer's early years in Rome, as other commentators have done. Dent labelled it 'youthful'; Pagano specifically linked it to Vincenzo Amato's mid-century setting of the same Gospel text (see Table 1). German scholars, on the other hand, have variously attributed it to the first years of the eighteenth century, yet have failed to adduce specific reasons for doing so. More recently, on the basis of his philological studies, Poengsen dated it *c.*1685 and Dinko Fabris has followed suit. However, to any musician who has engaged seriously with the *St John Passion*, it has always been clear that its nature has nothing to do with Scarlatti's allegedly retrospective approach – the historiographical cliché of opposing 'immature' and 'mature' stylistic traits – but rather with the idiosyncrasies of the libretto and with the liturgical function of the music. Nef recognised

that the work 'carries ecclesiastical character from the first to the last tone' and that 'it is purely worship music'.[23] Hanley pointed out that 'the style of this singular work is largely the result of the composer's rigorous observance of its liturgical purpose'.[24] Bianchi remarked that the piece was meant 'to be inserted into the Catholic liturgy'.[25]

That being the case, it is unlikely that the *St John Passion* was first performed in the church of San Marcello al Corso in Rome, as has been proposed.[26] In 1679 the Duke of Pagancia commissioned from Scarlatti three Latin oratorios for the Arciconfraternita del Santissimo Crocifisso which, though now lost, are recorded as having been performed at San Marcello on 24 February 1679, 12 April 1680 and 20 February 1682.[27] Whilst in Latin, the libretti favoured by the Arciconfraternita during their traditional Lent celebrations typically dealt with reflective and allegorical subjects such as, for example, that of Scarlatti's own *Davidis pugna et Victoria*. Not only would a verbatim setting of the Gospel text have been out of place but would also have bypassed the literary pretensions of the Roman aristocrats who were behind the initiative. Similarly doubtful is Fabris's suggestion that the *St John Passion* was first performed in Naples at the Marian feast 'Dolori della madre Santissima' during the 'Processione della Solitaria' on Good Friday of 1685.[28] This solemn, theatrical event was promoted by the high-profile Conservatorio di Nostra Signora della Solitaria (informally known as the 'Soledad') and involved the musicians of the Royal Chapel: every year hundreds of people took part in the procession, carrying statues and lighted torches through the city to the accompaniment of instruments and choruses.[29] According to Fabris, Veneziano's 'Passio del venerdì santo' (see Table 1), whose autograph is also preserved at the Archivio musicale della Congregazione dell'Oratorio (20 parts with the shelf mark MS 178), was composed for the same purpose. Given their complexity, though, it is hard to believe that either piece was ever intended to be performed and listened to during a procession. We have seen above how thoughtful and intense a composition Scarlatti's is, notwithstanding its simple scoring and intimate character. Veneziano's requires two soloists (Evangelist and Christ), a nine-part Crowd (SATB+SSATB) with its own organ continuo and a nine-piece orchestra of four violins (two *concertini* and two *ripieni*), viola, cello, double bass, lute and organ.[30] This allows for even more adventurous writing and more frequent use of counterpoint. The only realistic possibility is that the two oratorios were performed either before or after the procession, although if this were the case their librettos would have been only tangentially related to the ceremonies for the feast of 'Nuestra Señora de la Soledad'.

Given the lack of conclusive historical evidence, it may ultimately be impossible to know whether the *St John Passion* was written in 1680, 1685 or after 1700. And yet to grasp the contexts – social, cultural, economic and religious – that may have prompted Alessandro Scarlatti to set to music the story of Christ's Passion still matters to modern interpreters of the work. Two possibilities remain to be explored and, interestingly enough, they are not mutually exclusive.

The first is that the original performance of the *St John Passion* took place at the institution where Scarlatti gained his first musical appointment as choirmaster: San Giacomo degli Incurabili in Rome, a church with a well-established musical tradition.[31] From 1585 regular payments were made to external musicians to provide large-scale works for mass and vespers on the feast of St James (25 July). The inclusion of trombones, cornets and an additional organ for a feast day in 1593 implies the performance of polychoral music for multiple voices and instruments. In 1597 the canons of San Giacomo created a permanent place for music in their worship by employing two singers. By 1600 there was a small choir of one voice per part that performed polyphonic music on a regular basis. By the mid seventeenth century, an organist who fulfilled much the same role as a choirmaster was in permanent post; some renowned musicians such as, for instance, Pompeo Natali in 1657 assumed the position. Music was obviously held in high esteem and high-quality performances expected at patronal festivities or on other major occasions, as well as during day-to-day masses and services. It is not certain when Natali's employment at San Giacomo ended, but we know that the famed lutenist Francesco de Petris was employed as an organist from 1658 and was a year later given the title of choirmaster too. He remained in post

until 16 December 1678, when he was replaced by Alessandro Scarlatti. By this time, there were nine musicians on the roll: eight singers (two sopranos, two altos, two tenors and two basses) and an organist. The Office was sung every evening from the third Sunday in Lent until after Easter and polyphonic music was regularly performed, especially in Holy Week – the climax of the liturgical year. It is plausible that, shortly after his appointment, Scarlatti was asked to set to music the St John Passion for use on Good Friday the following year (which fell on 31 March 1679). With the personnel already based at the church and considering that it was customary in seventeenth-century oratorios for the soloists also to form the chorus, no additional singers would have been required. As mentioned above, we were unable to examine the original performing materials in the Biblioteca dei Girolamini. However, on the evidence of the copies in San Pietro a Majella (see Table 3) and the extant parts of Veneziano's similar setting, one may assume Scarlatti gave the 15 parts to 6 individual singers (Evangelist, Christ and the SATB Crowd), 7 string players (first and second violins *di concertino* and *di ripieno*, viola, cello and double bass) and 2 continuo players. In short, to perform the piece at San Giacomo under his own direction, Scarlatti would only have needed a minimum of four or five freelance string players.

The second possibility is that the *St John Passion* was commissioned in Naples several years later by the Cavalieri della Vergine dei Dolori, a lay confraternity based in the church of San Luigi di Palazzo. According to an admittedly later source, on 'all the Fridays of March the Most Holy Crucifix was exposed with much edifying pomp and the *Stabat Mater* composed by Scarlatti for two voices, soprano and alto with two violins was sung'.[32] The autograph score of Scarlatti's *Stabat Mater* styles the composer 'Cavalier Alessandro Scarlatti', a title he received in 1716.[33] Around the same time Scarlatti may have also offered the Cavalieri his *St John Passion*, either as a brand-new work or as a revival of a previous Roman version, for use on Good Friday in April 1716 or in March 1717. This would partially explain why all the surviving music is still in Naples. It would further account for Francesco Feo's analogous setting of 1744 ('Venerdì santo. Passio secundum Joannem'), which is so closely modelled on Scarlatti's as to verge on an updated paraphrase. Feo scores and paces his opening exactly like Scarlatti's sections A–B; some of the melodic and rhythmic motifs are copied literally, as are the coloratura and *stile concitato* passages, and even the hemiola in the first entry of the Crowd. It is little wonder, then, that Feo's music is also currently in the Archivio Musicale della Congregazione dell'Oratorio.[34] More surprising perhaps is the fact, noted above, that the Evangelist part of Scarlatti's *St John Passion* in MS 384.3 was copied by Feo himself and adapted for a second (mezzo?) soprano or tenor in case no alto singer was available.

Reviving Scarlatti's *St John Passion* today

It should be by now obvious that Alessandro Scarlatti's *St John Passion* is not the 'extremely dull … piece of routine ecclesiastical *Gebrauchsmusik*' stigmatised by Dent but rather, as acknowledged by Hanley, 'a powerful work and a historical document of great significance'.[35] It is, moreover, a composition that has found a place in contemporary musical culture. There are three recordings which, through widely differing interpretations, suggest distinct understandings of the work and, more in general, of the aesthetics of the genre: 1) by Louis Devos and the Complesso Musica Polyphonica (1976); 2) by Fritz Näf and the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis (1981); 3) by Leonardo García Alarcón, the Millenium Orchestra and the Chœur de Chambre de Namur (2016).

Devos is a tenor who sang the Evangelist himself from Hanley's transposed edition. As noted above, the result is alien to Scarlatti's sound world. Näf presumably performed from specially prepared editions drawing upon the primary source materials, given that Kubik's edition was issued at a later date. The recording is clear and precise; the Evangelist is a male alto, but the choir has four singers per part. On a macro level Näf follows the libretto quite closely, yet his rendition of the expressive details lacks characterisation. Further removed from the work's original context is Alarcón's arrangement. It is re-scored and punctuated at regular intervals by Scarlatti's *Responsori per la Settimana Santa* (1705) which, as in ancient Greek tragedy, provide a kind of choral commentary. Neither the conductor nor the author of the liner notes, musicologist and Scarlatti expert Luca Della Libera, offer much explanation for these peculiar choices. The choir is exceedingly large

and the solo singing excellent but decidedly operatic in style.

Of course, as artists we have the option of choosing how close we want to be to a hypothetical reconstruction of an event that originally took place more than three hundred years ago. Sometimes we may not even have much of an option, constrained as we are by the human and financial resources available, the size and type of venue, fragmentary or inaccessible sources, and other challenges. And when we do have an option, we might still agree with Dent that 'the real history of music is the history of musical enjoyment'.[36] But is it? The historical performance movement would not have become the force to be reckoned with that it is today had that been its sole *raison d'être*. Surely, the efforts and passion scholar-performers put into their endeavours emanate from a love for musical-historical knowledge and the belief that we too can contribute to the understanding of our past. Otherwise, debates such as that on the Bach choir, which was summarised at the start of the present essay, would not make much sense.

To treat Alessandro Scarlatti's *St John Passion* as the liturgical masterpiece that it is, there is a price that not every modern musician may be willing to pay: to replace the concert-hall setting with a liturgical or para-liturgical setting where the promoter is the patron, the listener is a worshipper and the performers are the celebrants. On 5 April 2019, in collaboration with the Liverpool-based charity Early Music as Education, singers from Liverpool Cathedral and the Liverpool Metropolitan Cathedral of Christ the King, we produced the UK premiere of the *St John Passion*. The Rector of Our Lady and St Nicholas – the Parish Church of Liverpool – promoted the event as part of their Lenten programme and scheduled it after the evening service of the fifth Friday. We assembled on the main altar a one-to-a-part choir, a small group of strings and a chamber organ. The Evangelist stood in the pulpit next to the organ and the lower strings, Christ in the opposite pulpit next to the upper strings; three of the choristers took up the short solo parts. The event was intended to be devotional: it was introduced by a prayer and applause was not permitted; an English translation of the libretto was projected onto a screen to enable the congregation to follow the story and not just listen to the music; the performance was meticulously paced according to the structure of the Gospel text (see Table 2 above), as in the spoken version commonly heard in church at Easter. There is no denying that our hypothesis about Scarlatti at San Giacomo degli Incurabili was in the back of our minds throughout the production. Nevertheless, Scarlatti's minimal resources did not inhibit our musical imagination. On the contrary, they forced us into focussing on the drama intrinsic to the story of Christ's passion as told by St John: a drama best served by an intense yet non-theatrical interpretation where the intelligibility of the words is of the utmost importance.[37]

The amount of research conducted on oratorios by Italian composers is nothing like that on Handel's; nor is the attention received by Latin settings of the Passion anything comparable to that bestowed on Bach's German settings. Still as new generations of musicologists dig further into the archives, more evidence will become available. It is our hope that, as their predecessors did, young performer-scholars will continue to use the historical evidence to enhance our knowledge and appreciation of the musical past.

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[1] Writings by Joshua Rifkin on this subject include: 'Bach's choral ideal', paper presented at the Boston meeting of the American Musicological Society (November 1981), repr. in Andrew Parrott, *The Essential Bach Choir* (Rochester, 2000), 189–208; liner notes to J.S. Bach, *Mass in B minor*, The Bach Ensemble, Joshua Rifkin, Nonesuch 79036 (1982); 'Bach's choruses: less than they seem?', *High Fidelity*, 32 (1982), 42–4; 'Bach's "choruses": the record cleared', *High Fidelity*, 32 (1982), 58–9; 'Bach's Chorus', *The Musical Times*, 123 (1982), 747–54; and 'Bach's chorus: a response to Robert Marshall', *The Musical Times*, 124 (1983), 161–2.

[2] Johann Sebastian Bach, 'Short but most necessary draft for a well-appointed church music', *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, ed. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel and Christoph Wolff (New York, 1998), 145–51 (no. 151).

[3] Robert L. Marshall, 'Bach's "Choruses" reconstituted', *High Fidelity*, 32 (1982), 64–6, 94; 'A preliminary reply to Joshua Rifkin', *The Musical Times*, 124 (1983), 19–22.

[4] Parrott, *The Essential Bach Choir*; Joshua Rifkin, *Bach's Choral Idea* (Dortmund, 2002); Daniel R. Melamed, *Hearing Bach's Passions* (New York, 2005); Robert L. Marshall, 'Belated thoughts on Bach's chorus: a reexamination of the minimalist and traditional approaches to performing the choral music of Bach', *Early Music America*, 15 (2009), 24–8; John Butt, *Bach's Dialogue with Modernity: Perspectives on the Passions* (Cambridge, 2010). For a useful summary of the various positions and an extensive bibliography, see Robert A. Leaver, 'Performing Bach: one or many?', *The Choral Scholar,* 1 (2009), 6–15.
[5] Donald Burrows, 'Handel's oratorio performances', *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Donald Burrows (Cambridge, 1997), 271–3. The original lists of musicians is transcribed in Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (London, 1955), 800.
[6] Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey and the Pantheon, May 26th, 27th, 29th; and June the 3rd, and 5th, 1784 in Commemoration of Handel* (London, 1785).
[7] The standard reference work on the oratorio is Howard E. Smithers, *A History of the Oratorio*, i: *The Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Italy, Vienna, Paris* (Chapel Hill, 1977). On the Italian oratorio in particular, see the early monographs of Guido Pasquetti, *L'oratorio musicale in Italia* (Florence, 1906) and Domenico Alaleona, *Studi su la storia dell'oratorio musicale in Italia* (Turin, 1908), *Storia dell'oratorio musicale in Italia* (Milan, 1945) as well as the more recent ones by Arnaldo Morelli: *Il tempio armonico: musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575–1705)* (Laaber, 1991); and (trans. Marella Feltrin-Morris), '"Un bell'oratorio all'uso di Roma": patronage and secular context of the oratorio in baroque Rome', *Music Observed: Studies in Memory of William C. Holmes*, ed. Colleen Reardon and Susan Parisi (Sterling Heights, 2004), 332–51. Insightful analyses of specific compositions can be found in Lino Bianchi, *Carissimi, Stradella, Scarlatti e l'oratorio musicale* (Rome, 1969).
[8] The classic biography by Edward J. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti: His Life and Works* (London, 1905) has been superseded by Roberto Pagano and Lino Bianchi, *Alessandro Scarlatti* (Turin, 1972) and by Roberto Pagano*, Alessandro e Domenico Scarlatti. Due vite in una* (new rev. edn, Lucca, 2015). See also Luca Della Libera 'Nuovi documenti biografici su Alessandro Scarlatti e la sua famiglia', *Acta Musicologica*, 83 (2011), 205–22.
[9] Apart from those appended to the respective entries in *The New Grove* and *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (*MGG*), the main catalogues are: 'Catalogue of the extant works', in Dent, *Scarlatti*, 206–32; Malcolm Boyd and Alberto Basso, 'Catalogo delle opere', *La musica*, i*: Enciclopedia storica*, vol. 4, ed. Guido M. Gatti and Alberto Basso (Turin, 1966), 127–57; Giancarlo Rostirolla, 'Catalogo generale delle opere', in Pagano and Bianchi, *Scarlatti*, 327–595.
[10] Luca Della Libera, 'I Concerti Sacri opera seconda di Alessandro Scarlatti: osservazioni sullo stile e nuovi documenti sulla cronologia', *Ricercare*, 18 (2006), 5–32; *Alessandro Scarlatti. Selected Sacred Music*, ed. Luca Della Libera (Middleton, 2012); *Masses by Alessandro Scarlatti and Francesco Gasparini: Music from the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome*, ed. Luca Della Libera (Middleton, 2004).
[11] Malcom Boyd, 'Rome: the power of patronage', *The Late Baroque Era*, ed. George J. Buelow (Basingstoke, 1993), 39–65; Morelli, 'The Oratorio in Baroque Rome'; Stefanie Tcharos, *Opera's Orbit: Musical Drama and the Influence of Opera in Arcadian Rome* (Cambridge, 2011), 46–9.
[12] David G. Poultney, 'The oratorios of Alessandro Scarlatti: their language, milieu, and style', Ph.D. Thesis (University of Michigan, 1968); Idem., 'Alessandro Scarlatti and the transformation of the oratorio', *The Musical Quarterly*, 59 (1973), 584–601.
[13] Edward J. Dent, 'Review of "Passio D. N. Jesu Christi secundum Johannem by Alessandro Scarlatti and Edwin Hanley"', *Notes*, 13 (1955), 129.
[14] *Passio D. N. Jesu Christi Secundum Johannem*, ed. Edwin Hanley (Yale, 1955); *Johannespassion (St. John Passion)*, ed. Reinhold Kubik (Leinfelden-Echterdingen, 1985); *Passio secundum Joannem*, Musica Polyphonica, Paul Devos, Arion 817 (1976); *Passio secundum Ioannem*, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, Fritz Näf, René Jacobs, Harmonia Mundi D-7800 (1982); *Passio secundum Johannem*, Millenium Orchestra and Chœr de Chambre de Namur, Leonardo García Alarcón, Giuseppina Bridelli, Ricercar and Outhere Music LC 08851 (2016).
[15] All references are to Reinhold Kubik's edition of 1985 (see n. 14 above).
[16] See for example Giovanni Guidetti, *Cantus ecclesiasticus passionis D. N. Jesu Christi secundum Matthaeum, Marcum, Lucam & Ioannem* (Rome, 1615), which was still current during Scarlatti's lifetime.
[17] Hanley, *Passio*, 125–26.
[18] Karl Nef, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Passion in Italien', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 17 (1935), 219.
[19] Benedikt Poensgen, 'Die Offiziumkompositionen von Alessandro Scarlatti', Ph.D. Thesis (University of Hamburg, 2004), 98 and n. 323, 63 n. 291.
[20] Dent, 'Review', 129.
[21] In preparation for their forthcoming critical edition of the *St John Passion*, the authors will conduct a cross-examination of all the manuscript sources in Naples.
[22] Dent, *Scarlatti*, 170 and 211; Pagano and Bianchi, *Scarlatti*, 51; Kurt Von Fischer, *MGG*, X, column 907, s.v. 'Passion'; Idem., 'Zur Katholischen Passions – Komposition des späten 16. und des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts', *Die Musikforschung*, 15 (1962), 260–64; Reinhold Kubik, preface to *Alessandro Scarlatti: Johannespassion*, trans. Linda Booth (Stuttgart, 1985), 3; Hellmuth Christian Wolff, 'Church music and oratorio in Italy and central and eastern Europe', *The New Oxford History of Music*, v: *Opera and Church Music, 1650–1750*, ed. Anthony Lewis and Nigel Fortune (London, 1975), 334; Poensgen, 'Die Offiziumkompositionen', 98; Dinko Fabris, liner notes to Gaetano Veneziano*, La Passione secondo Giovanni*, CD Glossa 922609 (2016), 7.
[23] Nef, 'Der Passion in Italien', 211.
[24] Edwin Hanley, 'Current chronicle', *The Musical Quarterly*, 39 (1953), 242.
[25] Pagano and Bianchi, *Scarlatti*, 256.

[26] Pagano and Bianchi, *Scarlatti*, 51.
[27] Alaleona, *Studi,* 413.
[28] Fabris, liner notes to Veneziano, 7.
[29] Angela Fiore and Ilaria Grippaudo, 'Musica nelle istituzioni religiose del Meridione d'Italia: ipotesi di confronto fra le Cappelle Reali di Napoli e di Palermo', *Quadrívium – Revista Digital de Musicologia*, 7 (2016), 90–2.
[30] Antonio Dell'Olio, 'Passioni napoletane al paragone: Gaetano Veneziano, Pietro Antonio Gallo e Alessandro Speranza', *Alessandro Speranza e la musica sacra a Napoli nel Settecento. Atti del Convegno nazionale di studi: Avellino, 20–21 novembre 2015*, ed. Antonio Caroccia and Marina Marino (Avellino, 2016), 26–30.
[31] The following information draws on the records of San Giacomo degli Incurabili, now held in the Archivio di Stato Rome, as discussed by Arnaldo Morelli, 'Alessandro Scarlatti maestro di cappella in Roma ed alcuni suoi oratori: nuovi documenti', *Note d'archivo per la storia musicale*, 2 (1984), 118 n. 1–3. Accounts of musical performances at San Giacomo can also be found in *Statuti del venerabile archiospedale di San Giacomo in Augusta nominato dell'Incurabili di Roma* (Rome, 1659).
[32] Caro Antonio de Rosa, Marchese di Villarosa, *Lettera biografica intorno alla patria ed alla vita di Gio. Battista Pergolese celebre compositore di Musica* (Naples, 1831), 25: 'in tutti i venerdì di marzo si esponeva il SS. con molta edificante pompa, e vi si cantava lo *Stabat Mater* composto dallo Scarlatti a due voci, canto, ed alto con due violini'. Twenty years later, in 1736, the Cavalieri commissioned Giovanni Battista Pergolesi to write a new setting of the *Stabat Mater* to replace Scarlatti's by then out-of-date version. Pergolesi's is much shorter than Scarlatti's, but both are scored for soprano, alto, two violins and basso continuo. See Danilo Faravelli, 'Stabat Mater: poesia e musica', *Rivista internazionale di musica sacra*, 4 (1983), 9–43.
[33] Scarlatti is first referred to as 'Cavalier Alessandro Scarlatti' in the libretto and manuscript score of the opera *Carlo in Alemagna* (1716).
[34] Preserved in an autograph score and 18 parts with shelf-mark MS 213, another autograph score and six parts with shelf-mark MS 214.1, and a later copy of the score with shelf-mark MS 214.2.
[35] Dent, 'Review', 130; Hanley, 'Current chronicle', 241.
[36] Dent, 'Review', 130.
[37] A live recording of the event is forthcoming.

Grigny, Bach and Walther: a Reappraisal of the Sources

Jon Baxendale

Nicolas de Grigny's *Premier livre d'orgue* was engraved at the atelier of Claude Roussel, who flourished between 1682 and 1725 and whose premises were situated on 'rüe St. Jacques au dessus des Mathurins'.[1] Only two surviving examples of the publication are known: a single copy of the original imprint of 1699 and a second impression made under the auspices of Christophe Ballard in 1711. Although the later edition used Roussel's engravings, a number of corrections to the music are noticeable.[2] The book is in oblong quarto format and contains a title-page, the legally required *Extrait du privilège du Roy* (this was probably removed before the 1699 imprint was bound), an index and 68 pages of music. In total, this amounts to 72 pages contained in nine gatherings.[3]

The title-page of the 1699 impression announces that the music was available from Pierre Augustin le Mercier – a bookseller and printer, who was to be found 'à l'entrée de la rüe du Foin du côté de la rüe St Jaques' on Paris's Left Bank – and from the composer in Reims. The publication was likely financed by Grigny himself. Unlike other music engravers such as Henry de Baussin, who was regularly employed by Christophe Ballard, Roussel's work was not restricted to the production of music alone and, according to the online catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, he was active as a stamp and mapmaker.[4]

Publishing music came at a high cost, since it involved not only engraving and printing but securing authorial rights. Known as a *Privilège du Roy*, rights had been a legal requirement since the early 1500s for all material that was disseminated publicly, and although they provided authors and composers with a form of copyright within the kingdom, they were also a means by which the state could censor seditious material and generate income for its coffers. No records are known to exist concerning the cost of a privilege in 1699, but we do know that, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the price for the printing of up to 1500 impressions of books in oblong quarto format was as high as 120 *livres*.[5] In addition were Roussel's fees. These appear to have been exceptionally high, as evinced in a contract dated 6 October 1720 between Roussel and the composer Thomas Louis Bourgeois for the engraving of his first book of cantatas. It stipulates a sum of '4 livres 10 sols par planche' and there is every reason to think that similarly high fees would have been applied in 1699.[6]

Research by Laurent Guillo has uncovered the printing costs at Ballard's workshop. Excluding the paper, the price for two *formes* (printed sheets) of engraved music ranged from approximately 12 *sols* for large print runs, to 29 *sols* for shorter ones. Thus, it can be expected that, for Grigny, printing 20 copies would have been roughly 35 *livres* excluding paper. If a conservative estimation of 60 *livres* for securing the privilege and Roussel's fee of 290 *livres* is applied, the total cost for the first 20 prints of *Premier livre d'orgue* would have been in the region of 385 *livres*.[7] If one considers that Grigny's stipend at Saint-Denis was 200 *livres* annually, it is easy to see that such ventures constituted a considerable investment.[8]

These costs ensured that most composers' print runs were limited to small numbers. Unlike typeset publications, engraved plates had limited lifespans and although the durability of copper made it the preferred medium for printing books, tin sheets were generally used for music which might not always have been expected to run to a second impression. Despite its being inexpensive, though, tin was good for only up to around 200 copies and this resulted in small batches of only 10 to 20 volumes being printed at any one time.[9] It is unlikely that the initial batch of *Premier livre d'orgue* would have been any different and how it was received is not known. There was, though, enough life remaining in the plates to facilitate Ballard's 1711 edition.

It cannot be said what prompted a new edition. Although the attraction of the music might have been a factor, it is unlikely that this was enough for Ballard. More probable is that despite the publication of a considerable number of organ books in the last half of the seventeenth century, most of those that were printed in short runs would have been unavailable by the turn of the eighteenth. In comparison, the first decade of the 1700s saw only a handful of organ publications, most of which were meagre and none of which was published by Ballard.[10] It is possible that this dearth of available material acted as a catalyst: always the businessman, Ballard would have sought every opportunity to capitalise on an underprovided market, and the existence of the original plates must also have been a deciding factor.[11] These would have been bought from Grigny's widow. We know little of her husband's financial circumstances (such details of his life have yet to emerge), but the prospect of deriving income from this sale must have been attractive: engraved plates were valuable assets that were often bequeathed to relatives or friends. For lesser composers, values were estimated at the market price of the metal. For example, the *inventaire après décès* of Laurent Gervais, who died in 1748, appraised the plates of his cantata *Le Printemps* at a mere 18 *sols* per *livre-poid*. However, the beneficiaries of popular composers were more fortunate: the division of Jean Henri D'Anglebert's estate in November 1691 estimated the value of the 136 plates of his *Pièces de clavecin* at 1600 *livres*.[12] Into which category Grigny fell cannot be said. While he must have earned some notoriety in Paris, his sojourn there was nonetheless short enough for him to have been largely forgotten by the time of the Ballard impression.[13]

Roussel's engraving is typical of his workshop in its appearance. It is generally clear and, at times, elegant. Staves are scored according to the format of each movement, with eight-stave pages reserved for *manualiter* pieces and nine for those with pedals. Music begins on the verso side of a folio, often negating the need for page turns and where the end of one piece and the beginning of another share same stave to save space, redundant stave-lines between the two were flattened out to avoid confusing the player.[14]

It is clear that a degree of parsimony was required on the part of the engraver. Prefatory material and music are contained exactly within nine gatherings with no room for error and although this sometimes produces a cramped look, it demonstrates that some thought had gone into how much space would be needed before work began.

Such planning was integral to the engraver's craft: the number of notes would have been counted to determine how many bars would go into a system and how many of these a page could accommodate. He would also work through the music, deciding where line breaks would occur and what room was necessary for leger lines and titles. This would have been a relatively easy process for simpler pieces such as the duos and trios, but the complexity of slower movements, such as Grigny's intricate *récits*, would have posed a challenge.

Although notarised contracts such as the one between Roussel and Bourgeois stipulated that payment would be met only after everything had been properly engraved and corrected, the composer nevertheless had an obligation to provide an accurate copy of the music.[15] When considering these clear and complementary responsibilities, it is important to question why Grigny's publication was so crudely executed. Few pages are mistake-free and while most errors are inconsequential, such as the omission of anticipatory slurs or augmentation dots where the composer's intentions are evident, more serious problems are apparent. Ornaments, leger lines and ties are omitted, and there is a considerable number of wrong notes. More egregiously, Roussel appears to have engraved the fourth, fifth and sixth Gloria versets in the wrong order, giving the verse 'Qui tollis peccata mundi' the *grand jeu Dialogue* and not the nuanced *Recit de tierce en taille* it deserves. A number of corrections are evident in both imprints, which are visible as re-rastered staves or oversized noteheads, but most are so inexpertly undertaken that we must assume that Roussel was far from the experienced music engraver he wished his clients to believe.

These inaccuracies are intriguing. Examples of Roussel's surviving music date only as far back as the year Grigny's commission was undertaken, and it is likely that his activities before then were restricted to making maps and stamps. Apart from the Grigny *livre*, we know of two other scores he prepared in 1699: an anonymous book of trios which he released

under his own auspices and Louis Marchand's *Pièces de clavecin: livre premier*.[16] A comparison of the engraving styles makes it possible to place these three books in chronological order. The trios came first and demonstrate all the crudities expected of a fledgling music engraver: noteheads are punched inexpertly, their spatial positioning is judged poorly, and such conventions as those governing stem directions are ignored. The Marchand book fared little better, and although it has a more appealing appearance, it is nevertheless inaccurate and poorly executed. By the time Grigny's book was published, however, Roussel's style had evolved: noteheads, beams and flags are now hand-engraved; and an attention to the visual appearance of a page is evident. This was to remain his style for the remainder of his career.

Yet when comparing these publications with Louis-Nicolas Clérambault's *Premier livre de pièces de claveçin*, which Roussel engraved in 1702 and augmented two years later with additional material, a marked difference is noticeable since Clérambault's book is substantially more accurate.[17] Apart from a few misplaced, stray or redundant rubrics and accidentals, the work is of a considerably higher calibre, easy to read, and pays close attention to such details as the placement of ornaments, *petites notes* and slurs. Thus, we see in Roussel an engraver capable of professional work, even though the faults demonstrated in the trios of 1699 indicate that, unlike the musician-engravers that emerged after the 1660s, Roussel had limited musical knowledge. This means that he would not have been in a position to make decisions on behalf of the composer, which would have led to problems interpreting the information the manuscript contained. Instead, he would have relied on his skills as a draughtsman of some repute, and this led him to reproduce exactly what he saw. This is demonstrated when comparing the positioning of ornaments in the three volumes. In Marchand and Clérambault's books, for example, *pincés* are placed over or below notes whereas in Grigny's they are usually placed diagonally to the left of noteheads, even when they are partially obscured by the stave. We must assume, therefore, that their positioning was Grigny's preference and that the score reflects his rather than the engraver's notational idiosyncrasies.

The inaccuracies of the Marchand publication demonstrate this more clearly. Two autograph manuscripts of his organ music, which are now housed in the Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles, provide us with an idea of the problems that music engravers must have often encountered.[18] It contains complete pieces and sketches, some of which demonstrate a copybook style and others that appear as if they were composed at a keyboard. None would have been acceptable as a fair copy by *graveurs de musique* and while it is likely that the pieces were written for Marchand's own use, it is highly probable that the score he presented to Roussel when preparing his first harpsichord book for publication was similar in appearance.

It might be that Grigny gave Roussel a manuscript of the same calibre. If so, the problem would have been compounded by his residency in Reims. Some 150 kilometres by road from Paris, a journey to the capital would have taken three days – a difficult undertaking for the organist of an important provincial cathedral.[19] There is every likelihood, therefore, that after signing the contract with Roussel, Grigny's involvement was minimal, perhaps non-existent. This would have also meant that Roussel had little guidance as work on the preparation of the plates and their proofing was undertaken.

As a control, it is necessary to return again to Clérambault's *Pièces de claveçin* and question why it is the most accurate of the publications discussed here. A feature of Clérambault's style as a composer is the attention paid to such details as ornaments, their placing and their appearance, as demonstrated in his two *préludes non mesurés* where pre- and on-beat *ports de voix* are distinguished through a set of vertical lines marking their temporal positions as the music progresses. It is important to note, though, that Clérambault lived close to Roussel's atelier on rue Saint-Jacques and his choice of engraver was probably made because of this proximity. It would have facilitated cooperation between the composer and Roussel and there can be few doubts that Clérambault took every chance to oversee the preparation of his first publication.

History has been unkind to Roussel, especially where the Grigny book is concerned. Yet it would be wrong to think that Grigny's work suffered at the hands of its engraver. Rather, we might view its deficiencies as the

result of the fair copy's inadequacies and a probable lack of communication between composer and engraver. Indeed, we might be grateful to Roussel since Grigny's *Premier livre d'orgue* was to come into the hands of J. S. Bach and J. G. Walther, and their versions provide a unique insight into a foreign interpretation of the French style.

The J. S. Bach and J. G. Walter copies

While a number of modern editions are commercially available, none presents Grigny's 1699 imprint without deferring to Bach and Walther.[20] Some of their emendations might be of significance from a musicological perspective, though the majority address such inconsequentialities as the addition of ties and anticipatory slurs from *petites notes*, and ornament placing where the engraving is at fault. Nothing is known of their *Vorlage*, yet there is enough reason to suggest that it was German and that one was not copied from the other. Bach's and Walther's copies both rationalise the system of short-stemmed notation found in the original, which suggests this change was present in a common source or sources derived from it. This notation was an elegant means of keeping the stems of dense chords from clustering but is quintessentially French and rarely found in German sources. The *harpègements glissés* in bars 58 and 59 of *Dialogue à 2 Tailles de Cromorne et 2 deßus de Cornet p.r la Cõmunion* similarly suggest they were not working directly from the print. This is common to both the German sources, but each contains the same misinterpretation in that the *petites notes* and their parents have been re-aligned vertically. None of these are features that a French copyist would have misunderstood or thought to emend.

Both the Bach and Walther copies report the edition was from 1700, which has led to speculation that they were made from a now-lost imprint of that year.[21] This is improbable. The date engraved would have had to match that of the *privilège*, which was finite. Unless Grigny had secured a blanket license to cover all compositions covering a specified period, any alteration would have required applying for his credentials afresh.[22] It is more likely that the date Walther and Bach's versions bear was that of their hypearchetype. Karin Beisswenger suggests that the manuscripts were produced independently: handwriting and watermark analysis of Bach's copy has led her to conclude that it was made over an extended period between *c.* 1709 and 1712.[23] She indicates that Walther's copy was made after Bach left Weimar in 1717. Walther omitted the first three versets, leaving five blank pages which he approximated would be the space they required. At a later point, a different hand began entering the first Kyrie, which stops after seven complete and two incomplete bars.

Of the two, Bach's version contains fewer changes to the original version. Both have variants in common that are not in the original, yet Walther's copy is often far removed from Bach's and includes a number of alterations to phrases that Walther might have considered awkward (e.g. bar 35, *Recit de tierce en taille*, Gloria IV) and places where a concerted effort to smooth out Grigny's unique blend of modality and tonality is evident (e.g. bars 71–2, *Dialogue*, Gloria VI). But there are also a number of unique minor variants in the form of missing ornaments, *petites notes* and, in some cases, individual voices (e.g. bar 24, *Dialogue de flûtes pour l'elévation*), and since there is no musical reason for such exclusions it must be that they were absent from Walther's source. The same must be said of the missing movements in the Kyrie, which Walther would have included had he access to the copy Bach used.

Table 1 provides an overview of the number of unique and common variants in the German sources.

	Bach	Walther	Both
Kyrie	14	13	15
Gloria	18	96	41
Offertoire	3	36	20
Sanctus & Benedictus	1	9	6
Élévation	1	4	5
Agnus	1	17	9
Communion	0	10	6
[Ite missa est]	0	2	0
Veni Creator	0	43	21
Pange lingua	2	22	13
Verbum supernum	3	12	16
Ave maris stella	2	18	26
A solis ortus	4	34	18
Total	49	316	196

Table 1. Unique and common variants in the copies of Bach and Walther

It omits such inconsequentialities as the application of a slur to an anticipatory note, the rationalisation of tied notes or rhythms, or implied accidentals.[24] It does, however, include corrections of engraving errors that, for the purposes of this overview, are classed as variant readings. Of a number totalling 561 variants, around nine percent are unique to Bach and 56% to Walther, whereas just under 35% are common to both.[25] This underlines the strong relationship between the Bach and Walther copies, since it is improbable that they would have made the same musical decisions several years apart. However, the disparate proportion of unique variants in Walther, the majority of which are omissions, suggests there were intermediate sources between his copy and the exemplar used by Bach. This would also help to explain why his copy was incomplete: while Bach's source was either a first- or second-generation copy of the Grigny imprint, Walther's was probably an incomplete copy of the source Bach used. In addition, the variants that are unique to Walther in the seven complete bars of the first Kyrie imply that it had a different archetype altogether. Whether or not this was another version of the printed edition or based on the parent of Bach's copy cannot be ascertained. All these considerations suggest that the relationship between the known sources is as follows:

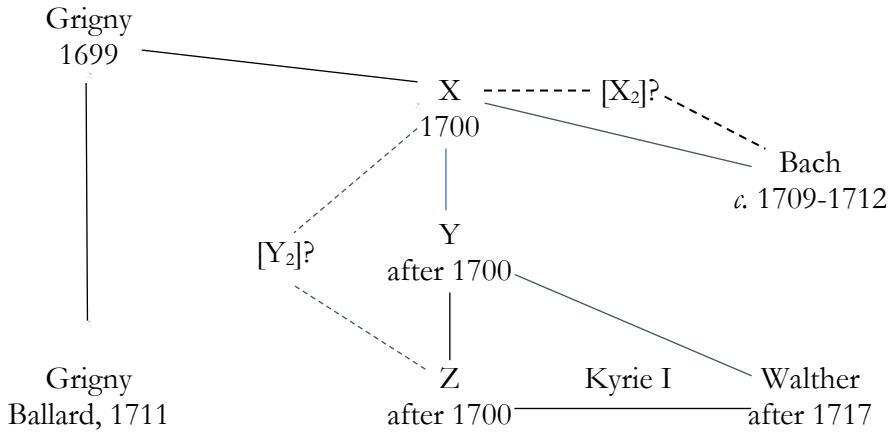

Figure 1. X_2 represents a possible parent copy of Bach's source; Y_2 is the proposed parent of the first Kyrie copied by an anonymous hand into Walther's source; Z represents the proposed copy from which Walther's incomplete first Kyrie derives.

It would be wrong to think of either German manuscript as a correction of Grigny's work or Roussel's engraving. It has been demonstrated that neither is first-generation and while there are a few emendations where Walther auto-corrects, which suggest that some variants emanate from him, a case has been presented that places his copy a generation down from Bach's, their only connection being a number of common emendations that must be the work of another. There also remains every possibility that the unique variants in Walther's copy were present in his source. Indeed, the same might apply to the unique variants in Bach's manuscript, were it a further generation removed from the original. While many of these are minor, such as the rationalising of beams where Grigny clearly indicates articulation (e.g. *Recit de tierce pour le Benedictus*, bar 26) or the intervention in *Recit de tierce en taille*, they nevertheless undermine the 1699 imprint and lack its nuance. Such interventions diminish the authority of the German sources, yet they are nevertheless an excellent demonstration of how one musical language was perceived elsewhere. From this perspective their importance is considerable, and it would be remiss to ignore them in their entirety.

[1] *Mercure galant*, May 1702, 422. Roussel was responsible for a number of engravings which include: Louis Marchand, *Pièces de Clavecin* (1699); Louis-Nicolas Clérambault, *Premier livre de pièces de claveçin* (1702, augmented 1704); Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers, *Les Lamentations du prophéte Jérémie* (1704); Jean-François Dandrieu, *Livre de clavecin* (1705) and *Livre de sonates en trio* (1705); André Campra, *Motets a I, II, et III voix … livre quatriéme* (1706); Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Premier livre de pieces de clavecin* (1706); Pierre

Dumage, *I.er livre d'orgue* (1708); Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Motets melêz de symphonie* (1709); Philippe Courbois, *Cantates françoises, à I. et II. voix* (third imprint, 1710); Robert de Visée, *Pieces de theorbe et de luth, Mises en partition, dessus et baße* (1716); Louis Thomas Bourgeois, *Cantates françoises ou Musique de Chambre … Livre II* (1718).

[2] Both editions are housed at the Bibliothèque nationale de France and have the catalogue numbers Rés VMB-13 and Vm7-1834, respectively. Ballard's corrections are few and address only obvious errors, such as the two pedal semibreves in each of bars 8 and 9 in 'Et in terra pax'. It is apparent that these were engraved at the wrong pitch, which was rectified by Roussel, who added the right notes without first deleting the mistake. Unfortunately, Ballard's correction was of little benefit since he reinstated the wrong notes partially corrected by Roussel.

[3] Quarto oblong format allowed eight sides to be printed on a single *blanc* (sheet of paper). These were folded twice to produce gatherings of four folios, and it was in this unbound 'en blanc' state that much music was sold. I am indebted to Laurent Guillo for sharing his research into printing costs.

[4] *BnF Catalogue Général* (<https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb15376254r>).

[5] Michel Brenet, 'La librairie musicale en France de 1653 à 1790, d'après les Registres de privilèges', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft,* 8 (1907), 411.

[6] Elizabeth Fau, *La gravure de musique à Paris, des origines à la Révolution (1660–1789)* (Thèse de l'Ecole des Chartes, 1978), 168.

[7] At the time of printing (2019), this would be the equivalent of approximately €800.

[8] By means of comparison, François Couperin's annual stipend in 1690 was 400 *livres* and the priest-organist at the lesser church of Saint-Barthélemy, Pierre Dandrieu received just half that amount. See François Couperin, *Pièces d'orgue*; ed. Jon Baxendale (Stavanger, 2018), i, and Pierre Dandrieu, *Noëls, O filii, chansons de Saint-Jacques, Stabat mater, et carillons*, ed. Jon Baxendale (Stavanger, 2019), i.

[9] Fau, *La gravure de musique à Paris*, 186.

[10] These are Boyvin (1700), Marchand, (1700, now lost but probably the source of the posthumous Boivin edition of 1740), Corrette (1703), Guilain (1706), Dumage (1708) and Clérambault (1710).

[11] This was a customary practice for Ballard and a number of publications used engravings from earlier impressions (e.g. Louis Marchand's first book of harpsichord pieces (1699), which were republished by Ballard in 1702 using Roussel's plates and supplemented at the same time by a second book). See Jon Baxendale, 'The Genesis of Louis-Nicolas Clérambault's *Premier Livre de Pièces de Claveçin*', *EMP*, 44 (2019), 12–15.

[12] Jean Henry D'Anglebert, *Pièces de clavecin*; intro. Denis Herlin (Geneva, 2001), xxi.

[13] Grigny is not mentioned, for example, in Évrard Titon du Tillet's *Le Parnasse françois* (Paris, 1732). Though largely inaccurate, it is often the only biographical source concerning the lives of the better-known Parisian artists, poets and musicians.

[14] For example, the *manualiter Trio* (*A solis hortus* [*sic*]), shares its opening staves with the end of *Fugue à 5*. The plate contains nine staves: the three-stave fugue takes up the first system and approximately half of the second (staves 1–6); the two-stave trio takes up the remainder (on staves 3–9), its first six bars being engraved as two three-bar systems. Stave 6 begins as the lowest stave of the fugue's final system and becomes the upper stave of the trio's second system; stave 7, which is used only for the trio, has been partially smoothed out to ensure it is not visible under the fugue. The relevant page from the 1711 reprint is shown on the cover of this issue.

[15] For example, a contract dated 22 March 1760 between Jean Baptiste Forqueray details each party's obligations; Fau, *La gravure de musique à Paris*, 168.

[16] F-PnVm7-1112: *Recüeil de trio nouveaux pour le violon, haubois, flute sur les differents tons et mouvements de la musique avec les propretés qui conviennent a ces instruments et les marques qui peuvent donner l'intelligence de l'esprit de châque pièce*. The book is largely overlooked today, possibly because its contents are of a mediocre quality. However, it does contain a very detailed and valuable explanation of ornamentation. According to an inscription in Sébastien de Brossard's hand on the title page, the book was presented to Brossard by 'Mr. Toinon maître de pension a Paris pres le college des quatre nations'. Brossard was a composer and collector of music, at first in Strasbourg, where he was a canon and *Maître de Musique* at the cathedral, before moving to Meaux Cathedral in the 1690s. He is best remembered as the author of *Dictionaire de Musique* (Paris, 1703).

[17] See Baxendale, 'The Genesis of Louis-Nicolas Clérambault's *Premier Livre de Pièces de Claveçin*'.

[18] F-V Ms Mus 61a and b: *Pieces D'orgue du Grand Marchand original de l'auteur*.

[19] Tim Blanning, in *The Pursuit of Glory: Europe 1648-1815* (London, 2008), 7, indicates traveling distances from Paris to several major cities in France. Using his calculations, we can estimate that a stage coach would be able to cover *c* 50 kilometres per day.

[20] D-B Mus Ms 8550 and D-F Mus Hs 1538.

[21] For example, see Jean Saint-Arroman's commentary in Nicolas de Grigny, *Premier livre de pièces d'orgue*; commentary by J. Saint-Arroman, Philippe Lescat, Pierre Hardouin and Jean Christophe Tosi (Fuzeau, 2002), vii.

[22] This was customary practice among established composers such as Louis-Nicolas Clérambault (1710) and François Couperin (1713). Unfortunately, there is no record of Grigny's *privilège* being presented at the *Chambre syndicale de la Librairie et Imprimerie de Paris*, which would provide us with an idea of its type and duration. This suggests the privilege was issued in Reims, for which records have yet to surface.

[23] Karin Beisswenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek* (Kassel, 1992), 198.

[24] Subsequent repeats of the same note within the bar where an accidental has not been restated.

[25] Exact figures are: 8.73, 56.33 and 34.94 percent, respectively. If we discount the Kyrie, which is incomplete in Walther's copy, these figures become 6.74, 58.38 and 34.87 percent of a total of 519 variants.

Early Recordings: Past Performing Practices in Contemporary Research

Christopher Holman and Ana Llorens

Over the past decade, musicologists and performers alike have increasingly examined early recordings – preserved on wax cylinders, vinyl records, and piano/organ rolls – to learn about performance practices at the turn of the twentieth century. In response to this renaissance in contemporary research, the University of Huddersfield and the University of Glasgow hosted a joint conference in London on 21–22 June 2019 entitled 'Early Recordings: Past Performing Practices in Contemporary Research'. The programme (with 17 presentations in total) brought together around 40 musicians, scholars, and enthusiasts from three continents, and over the course of five sessions, attendees and presenters alike engaged in thought-provoking discussion.

Activities started on the evening of 21 June, when Dr Eva Moreda Rodríguez (University of Glasgow) gave a lecture-recital entitled 'The Beginnings of Recorded Music in Spain' at the Guildhall School of Music. This presentation covered the beginnings (1896–1914) of recorded music in Spain, considering both historical recordings and live performances of Spanish zarzuela and opera singers.

The heart of the conference began the next day in London's Holborn district at Pushkin House, which proved both a convenient and inspiring venue: over the past 65 years programmes held there have brought together leading scholars in virtually every field of the humanities dealing especially with Russian culture and language. Following an introduction by co-organisers Dr Inja Stanović (University of Huddersfield) and Dr Eva Moreda Rodríguez, the first session, chaired by the latter, focused on recordings captured on paper rolls for organ and piano. In her paper, 'Autographing Piano Rolls: Graphical Traces of Musical Interpretation', Dr Stephanie Probst (University of Cambridge) explored the rise of the pianola, an instrument that plays punched paper rolls, but gives the operator the chance to set the tempo and control rubato and dynamics using suggestions written on the roll itself. Particularly interesting was Probst's discussion of the discrepancies in graphical notation between supposedly identical rolls; variants can be considerable depending on the copying technology used and the taste of the technician. From the viewpoint of an archivist and music librarian, Dr Esther Burgos Bordonau (Universidad Complutense de Madrid) then presented her activities as a guest archivist for two months at Stanford University in a presentation entitled 'The María Jesús Casado García-Sampedro Roll Collection: An Approach to the Great Collection of Piano Rolls Existing in the Archive of Recorded Sound of Stanford University'. In particular, she stressed the value of this collection, largely unknown to scholars of Spanish culture, but, rather sadly, noted that she was virtually the only user of the Archive during her stay. This further emphasised the need for continued research and conferences such as this. The final paper in the first session was 'Bach Organ Rolls in Nineteenth-Century France', presented by Christopher Holman (University of Oxford), which explored Eugène Gigout's recordings of Bach's organ works. He concluded that Gigout's decisions regarding registration and ornamentation reflected practices of French 'Romantic' organ performance.

Afterward Prof. Neal Peres da Costa (Sydney Conservatorium of Music) gave the keynote lecture. Entitled 'The Present Informed by the Past: Reigniting Artistic Freedom and Expression for the Future', Peres da Costa discussed his own artistic journey, beginning as a modern pianist, discovering the harpsichord during his studies in Sydney, and then his early explorations of the world of early piano recordings. He then delved into the philosophy of how to use these sources in performance, concluding that merely copying early recordings is both difficult and ultimately unrewarding – he argued that the best approach is to use what one perceives in early recordings as inspiration to

inform modern interpretation. To illustrate his ideas, he performed a piano reduction of an opera overture by Carl Reinecke that is mostly homophonic in texture; Peres da Costa's playing was much enlivened by rolling chords which, depending on context, varied in speed and intensity based on his study of early recordings.

Following lunch, the afternoon sessions ran in parallel. The first two presentations in Session Two, which was chaired by Dr George Kennaway (University of Huddersfield), discussed the vocal timbres and changing aesthetics of singing exemplified on early recordings. Dr Barbara Gentili's (Royal College of Music) paper 'Earthy Singing and Sensuous Voices: the Changing Aesthetics of Vocal Registration in Pre-Electrical Recordings of *Verismo* Sopranos' analysed vinyl records of Nellie Melba, Emma Carelli, and others whose recorded extracts were made within only a few years of each other, yet their performances in terms of rhythm, rubato, and vocal technique are very different. Similarly, Daniele Palma's (Università degli Studi di Fierenze) paper 'The Style of Male Gender: Evaluating Timbre in Operatic Tenors' presented a similar approach that focused on tenors' early recordings. He then evaluated the use of different vowel colours by Francesco Tamagno, Renato Zanelli, and Mario Del Monaco, and discussed how the resulting timbres reflected period ideas of virility and masculinity. Continuing the theme of singing, Dr Sarah Fuchs (Syracuse University) presented an insightful talk on 'Recording Pedagogy', with special emphasis on what appeared to be a recording of an early twentieth-century singing lesson between Léon Melchissédec and an unknown pupil. Fuchs argued that this 'lesson' was actually entirely staged, and that Melchissédec probably performed several of the roles featured in the recording himself! To close the session, Fátima Volkoviskii (Universidad Complutense de Madrid) presented 'Vocal Interpretation of Flamenco in Early Recordings of the National Library of Spain: Approaches to the Analysis of *Cante flamenco*', in which she analysed the use of chest versus head resonance in early recordings by Pastora Pavón and her contemporaries, which painted a very different picture of flamenco from what one often hears in Spain today.

Session Three, chaired by Dr Giorgia Volioti (University of Surrey), started with two presentations on string portamento. Whereas Dr Gabrielle Kaufmann analysed the phenomenon in cello playing ('Expressive Portamento in Early Cello Recordings – Analysing the Decline and Peak of a Performance Element'), Joanna Staruch-Smolec (Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles) did the same in respect of Eugène Ysaÿe's violin playing. According to the title of the latter presentation, Staruch-Smolec aimed at using the violinist's 'sound recording as a source of inspiration for a violin player nowadays'. Particularly interesting were the differences between the two analytical approaches, as Kaufmann focused on portamento speed as the only criterion for classification, whereas Staruch-Smolec took other elements into account, such as bow and finger changes. Following this, Pierre Riley (University of Cambridge) presented a paper entitled 'Bach Pianism in the Early Gramophone Age: From Performance Analysis to Histories of Listening'. Contrary to Peres da Costa's claims, Riley commented that, prior to his empirical study of the sources, he recognised traits of performance practice in his own playing reflected in some early recordings. To close Session Four, Felipe García Suárez (University of Birmingham) offered a summary of the many recording technologies that have been used up to the present in his paper entitled 'Between Process and Object: Using Recorded Musical Sounds as Historical Documents'. He discussed the implications of different formats for recording practices, such as disposition of orchestras and the use of microphones. Though it was more generalist than many papers in this conference, it proved useful for an audience whose interests often are more strictly 'musical'. The discussion with the audience raised issues such as generally negative notions of 'rushing', the (non-)correlation between strict tempo and lack of expressivity already present in early recordings, as well as the influence of human mediation on any recording and reproduction process.

Session Four, chaired by Dr Amy Blier-Carruthers (Royal Academy of Music), consisted of two longer presentations on string playing using early recordings. Dr Carol Lieberman's (College of the Holy Cross) lecture-recital 'What We Can and Cannot Learn About Performance Practices from Early Recordings: A Violinist's Perspective' presented many interesting excerpts of early-twentieth-century recordings of

violinists. Her conclusions about performing practice were certainly convincing – especially concerning the use of vibrato and portamento – yet her more relaxed approach to analysis made this presentation more useful to performers. Dr Richard Beaudoin (Dartmouth College) then discussed his recent compositions in 'Early Recordings as New Music', which are based on a term he calls 'microtiming' – millisecond-level measurements of rhythm measured using computer software developed at the Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts. Then followed two performances of his pieces that use this technique – one entitled *Bacchante* (2015), a cello solo work performed by Prof. Neil Heyde, whose rhythm was based on a Welte-Mignon piano roll by Debussy. This performance was followed by a premiere of a cello duet entitled *Les deux lauriers*, played charismatically by Heyde and Rohan de Saram.

The last session (the fifth) was chaired by Peres da Costa and included three very different presentations that shared the intention of not remaining in the 'how' but rather of going for the 'why'. In the first ('The "Pre-War Requiem": Exploring the Early Recordings of Mozart's *Requiem aeternam*'), Dr Karina Zybina (Paris Lodron Universität Salzburg) analysed some early recordings of Mozart's requiem. Although some concerns were raised regarding her not taking into account the quality of the choirs involved, Zybina offered a momentous interpretation of Bruno Walter's recording of Mozart's Introit as portraying not eternal rest but eternal life. Subsequently, Dr Ana Llorens (Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, Madrid) analysed two early recordings of the opening movements of Brahms's cello sonatas. Using an empirical approach, her paper, 'Brahms in the Mid-1930: A (Non-)Organic Approach to Chamber Music', challenged contemporary notions that the development section is the most unstable within the sonata form schema, and challenged the idea that effective performances of chamber music rely on organic, wholly synchronised ensembles. To close, Inja Stanović presented the first results – as well as prospective activities – of her Leverhume Trust research project. Entitled 'The Usage of Early Sound Recordings in HIP: Moiré Patterns Between Performance and Research', her paper showed a personal concern for balancing her performer and researcher selves, the superimposition of which she equated to moiré patterns.

Given the stimulating atmosphere and discussion in which attendees engaged over both days, the convenors indicated that a second conference on early recordings might be organised in 2020. Similarly, there are negotiations for papers presented on 21–22 June to be edited and published in a book. This 2019 conference definitely showed the need for further study of these largely unknown recorded sources by scholars and performers alike. Through careful analysis, in which conventions of all sorts should not be overlooked, early recordings can open our ears and minds to notational, performative, conceptual, and even compositional practices that will undoubtedly enrich our contemporary activities.

Samuel Michael's *Psalmodia Regia (Leipzig, 1632),* ed. Derek Stauff

Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2018, xxxii + 209 pp. $230.00

Thomas Marks

The Thirty Years War (1618–1648) had a deleterious effect on musical culture in the first half of the seventeenth century. Compared to other parts of Europe, many composers within early modern Germany were significantly impeded in their efforts to build musical lives within their war-ravaged communities. The particular plight of Heinrich Schütz often serves as a representative example. In the prefaces to his two volumes of the *Kleine Geistliche Konzerte* (Little Sacred Concertos, 1636 and 1639 respectively), the composer laments that the pressures of war had ravaged the court of Dresden's musical resources to such an extent that he was forced to not only put the publication of much of his music on hold, but also to turn his attentions to more accommodating small-scale musical forms.[1] While musical life was significantly affected by the war, it is important to remember that many German composers continued to produce musical works of varying scope and size despite these conditions. Music, though affected, never fully disappeared.

The collection *Psalmodia Regia* (Royal Psalmody, 1632) by the Leipzig composer and organist Samuel Michael (c. 1599–1632) attests to this aspect of German musical culture during the Thirty Years War. In the new edition of this work published by A-R Editions, the editor Derek Stauff has brought to print a thoroughly researched edition of Michael's psalm settings that adumbrates aspects of life in Central Europe during one of the most destructive and tumultuous eras of its history. The *Psalmodia Regia* – a substantial collection from the composer's relatively small oeuvre – is especially unique in that it offers a systematic setting of select verses from the first twenty-five psalms of the Bible, a facet of its construction that, as the editor notes, is uncommon in seventeenth-century German collections.[2] Stauff (ix) stresses the historical importance of such a collection, noting that 'it is an early example of the growing interest in Protestant Germany for Italianate concerted musical styles, especially those featuring obbligato instruments as well as basso continuo.' Indeed, Michael utilizes various combinations of voices and obbligato instruments, featuring settings with continuo for anywhere between one and five voices, to fully concerted pieces for multiple voices, continuo, and strings or winds. To facilitate performance, this edition includes a set of separate parts for each of the obbligato instruments.

Stauff's introduction to the work offers a rich historical context, addressing not only the life and career of the composer, but also the various meanings the texts could have acquired for contemporary audiences. The editor affords considerable attention to the work's historical proximity to the events of the war, particularly General Tilly's siege of Leipzig in 1631, and posits possible connections between the work and such figures as King Gustav Adolf of Sweden, considered by many contemporaries to be the champion of the Protestant cause especially after his success at the Battle of Breitenfeld. Additionally, the editor considers textual themes such as hardship and *Elend*, a word connoting both 'misery' and 'exile' in German that Stauff suggests might have prompted contemporaries to think on the recent wave of religious refugees from Bohemia who had settled in Saxon lands due to re-

Catholicization efforts in Protestant parts of the Empire. The editor builds this context by utilizing an impressive array of primary sources, including the composer's personal letters, contemporary descriptions of the war, devotional literature, and church inventories (adeptly rendering the original German into English translation).

While Stauff's introduction certainly establishes a detailed context for the work, it sometimes dwells on the speculative, suggesting only how works *might* or *could* have been heard. These comments, too, tend to focus on the work's wartime context while overlooking its more quotidian connections to contemporary Lutheranism. In his discussion of *Elend*, for example, Stauff chooses to focus on the work's possible resonances with Bohemian refugees. But the concept of exile – a theme that permeates many of the psalms – was an existential part of *all of life* in general for many Protestant Christians. As illustrated especially in contemporary funeral sermons, early modern Lutherans considered the entirety of one's life as an exile from heaven that could only be rectified at the moment of death when the Christian's wordily pilgrimage to the heavenly homeland finally ended.[3] A consideration of such meanings would have contributed additional nuance to Stauff's account of a multifaceted cultural product that was the result of a number of concurrent discourses, of which the war was only one part.

The editor's critical consideration of the work's surviving copies is comprehensive; Stauff not only addresses extant prints, but also lost copies only mentioned in historical records in order to speak more generally to the work's use and reception in the decades after its publication. As a result, the musical part of the edition is of high quality, with legible text-underlay and editorial interventions clearly marked. With regard to musical style and execution, however, performers might need to consult supplementary sources; remarks on performance style are minimal in the editor's otherwise thorough commentary.

Stauff's new edition of Samuel Michael's *Psalmodia Regia* performs a considerable service for both scholars and performers of early modern German music. Not only does it shed light on numerous aspects of musical life in the first half of the seventeenth century, it also makes available for the first time in modern notation a collection of music by a composer whose works have often been overshadowed by those of more well-known contemporaries.

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[1] Schütz recognizes in the first lines of his preface to part one of the collection that 'all can see how the praiseworthy [art of] music, among the other liberal arts, has not only been thrown into great decline and in some places utterly devastated through the continual, dangerous events of war in the dear fatherland of our German Nation, standing alongside other general ruin and widespread disorder which this unholy war brings with it. I myself also suffer this with regard to some of my musical compositions which I have had to set aside owing to a lack of publishers up to now, as at present and until the Almighty might perhaps most quickly and graciously grant better times.' Heinrich Schütz, 'Kleine Geistliche Concerte I', in *A Heinrich Schütz Reader: Letters and Documents in Translation*, ed. Gregory S. Johnston (Oxford, 2013), 106.

[2] As Stauff notes, only Melchior Franck's *Paradisus Musicus* (1636) – a collection of musical settings of select verses from each chapter of the book of Isaiah – is similarly constructed on such a preconceived plan.

[3] The title-page of one such funeral sermon by Georg Seidel, published in 1630, makes clear this connection between exile and worldly life: *Klag- und TrostPredigt von Vater und Mutter Verlassung/ bey unser elenden Pilgramschafft/ und letzten Heimfahrt/ auß diesem Leben* (Sermon of comfort and lamentation on the abandonment of father and mother through our miserable [or exilic] pilgrimage and final return-trip home out of this life). Georg Seidel, *Klag- und TrostPredigt von Vater und Mutter Verlassung/ bey unser elenden Pilgramschafft/ und letzten Heimfahrt/ auß diesem Leben* (Breslau, 1630).

Martin Peerson, *Complete Works V: Sacred Songs*, ed. Richard Rastall

Antico Edition (AB7), xxiv + 292 pp. £24 (score); £25 (parts); £5 (score of liturgical songs)

John Bryan

Richard Rastall's edition for Antico Edition of the works of Martin Peerson (*c.*1572–1651) is nearing completion: following the Latin motets, the string consort music, Peerson's two published song collections and this large volume of sacred songs, only the keyboard works and a dedicatory poem by Peerson remain to see the light of day. The contents of Vol. V consist of three pieces Peerson contributed to Sir William Leighton's *The Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule* (1614), one for four voices, the others for five; two more five-voice songs in 'full' style (texted in all parts) plus an orphan *altus* part of another; three verse anthems suitable for liturgical use with organ accompaniment (one of which, 'Blow up the trumpet', is also presented in 'full' format); and his four-voice setting of the psalm tune 'Southwell' that appeared in Ravenscroft's *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1621), the only other item published in Peerson's lifetime. The rest of this substantial edition consists of a collection of 21 pieces in 'verse' style with instrumental parts most probably designed for viols, very few of which have been previously published, and which deserve investigation by modern performers.

These pieces were most likely designed for performance in the home rather than church, appearing in manuscript collections such as Thomas Myriell's *Tristitiae Remedium* (GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 29372–7), and an incomplete set of part-books (GB-Och, Mus. 61–6) that probably emanate from the Fanshawe household. These sources, and some of the textual material of the songs, would suggest composition dates in the period from roughly 1610 to 1625, a time when Peerson was associated with the household of Sir Fulke Greville. Rastall sensibly uses the more generic term 'sacred song' for this repertory than the perhaps more familiar 'consort anthem', as most of these pieces are of a devotional rather than liturgical nature, and appear alongside madrigals and other secular songs in these sources. Many of the texts Peerson chose to set are from the Psalms, but there are also poetic texts such as 'Wake Sorrow', an elegy on the death of Lady Arbella Stuart, set here in a surprisingly jaunty manner. Another non-Biblical text is 'Fly, ravished soul', a wonderfully intense meditation on the Crucifixion.

Peerson's most favoured texture is of five parts, with two equal trebles, two tenors of slightly different tessituras, and bass (using the clefs C1, C1, C3, C4 and F4), though there are several items that have a lower-lying second part (C1, C2/C3, C3, C4, F4), and one, 'I am brought into so great trouble', that even uses two bass parts, each descending to low F. Peerson uses these lower registers to give a particular colour to texts of desolation and tribulation. Unlike the better-known domestic sacred verse songs of Orlando Gibbons, Peerson tends not to set long paragraphs of text for a solo voice in alternation with 'full' sections, but goes for a more kaleidoscopic manner of word setting, with all parts participating, sometimes for just a short verbal phrase, then combining for a short final chorus while the instruments play continuously to bind things together.

Seven of the songs included here are anonymous in their only source (GB-Ob, Tenbury MSS 1162–7), but Rastall attributes them to Peerson, referring not only to questions of musical style, but also to their copyist's tendency to put pieces by the same composer in one block; six attested Peerson pieces are copied before, among and after them. The pieces certainly share many of the same mannerisms: frequent cadences creating sequences and triadic melodic fragments shared by different voices. However, some of the unattributed songs do exhibit rather greater flamboyance in the instrumental lines than is generally to be found in the genuine Peerson numbers.

Two songs in this collection have required some editorial reconstruction due to

missing parts. 'O Lord in thee is all my trust', a five-part polyphonic working of a psalm tune shared between the two tenor parts, lacks its bass, which Rastall has restored with a minimum of embellishment of the harmonies implied by the surviving voices. The case of 'I will magnify thee O Lord' is more complex. It is Peerson's only six-part verse song, but is unfortunately missing its two middle parts. Using some indications from a surviving organ score, Rastall has sympathetically reconstructed the missing lines to produce a convincing completion.

The presentation of this edition, as with the other volumes in the series, is exemplary. The sources are all described in detail, the critical commentaries are easy to follow and interesting in content with useful information about the verbal texts as well as the music. Where the sources give substantially different versions, both are shown using additional staves rather than concealing this detail in the written commentary. The score shows all source accidentals, even when two appear consecutively in the same bar, but the parts adopt the more common modern practice of only showing the accidental once in these cases, leading to a less cluttered page for the performer.

This edition consists of three volumes of scores (the first of which includes an excellently detailed introduction as well as the critical commentary), plus an organ part for the four liturgical pieces, and a set of texted parts for viols/voices. It is a shame that the viol parts do not include the items from Leighton, nor the psalm setting published by Ravenscroft, all of which might well have been sung with instruments in a domestic setting. They are, however, set in large enough print to be easily legible by a viol player and a singer sitting/standing behind or beside the instrumentalist. It is more likely that in Peerson's time one performer would have sung and played each part, which has consequences for the size of viol associated with each voice type (the implication is that boys or women would play treble viol while men with broken voices would play tenor and bass).

As might be expected from his 1997 *Early Music* article,[1] Rastall has important suggestions about how a consort should dispose itself in performance, not in pitch sequence from treble to bass, but according to the layout of table-book format sources that tend to separate voices of similar range to help delineate the antiphony that frequently occurs between them. This is fine when performing 'in the round' but questions arise when the circle is opened out to face an (anachronistic) audience: in practice performers will have to solve these for each performance as the room acoustics and the nature of their particular instruments will have an impact on the relative audibility of each part. A further consideration for singers is that of pronunciation: Rastall retains the original spellings, which are often a help to those interested in restoring historical pronunciation.

This volume brings us a wealth of music previously unknown to performers and listeners, and while Peerson is no Ward, Tomkins or Gibbons, there is plenty here that deserves to be performed. The word setting is clearly madrigalian, mostly syllabic but with the customary rests before 'sighing', some anguished minor-sixth leaps where the text suggests such tension, and occasional touches of chromaticism to highlight particularly affective words. If such word painting is sometimes predictable, and Peerson does sometimes struggle to be entirely convincing in his grasp of contrapuntal writing and effective long-term harmonic structures, it is nevertheless still enjoyable music to sing and play, and it is to be hoped that this, together with Rastall's other Peerson publications, reaches the wide audience that the music deserves.

[1] Richard Rastall, 'Spatial Effects in English Instrumental Consort Music, c.1560–1605', *Early Music*, 25 (1997), 268–88.

David Irving with Hannah Lane, Tommie Andersson, John O'Donnell and Laura Vaughan, *The Emperor's Fiddler. Johann Heinrich Schmelzer: Sonatæ unarum fidium*

Obsidian CD718 (2018)

Piotr Wilk

In the history of the German violin tradition, *Sonatæ unarum fidium* (Nuremberg, 1664) by Johann Heinrich Schmelzer (c.1620–80) is important, since it is the first collection of sonatas for solo violin with basso continuo. This Austrian composer, probably a pupil of Antonio Bertali, was a protégé of Emperor Leopold I and the first non-Italian to be appointed Kapellmeister at the Imperial court in Vienna. Known as one of the most outstanding European virtuosi of his time, he left behind only seven solo sonatas, six of which are included in *Sonatæ unarum fidium*.

In contrast to the violin sonatas by Heinrich Ignaz Franz Biber, Johann Jacob Walther, Johann Paul Westhoff, Johann Joseph Vilsmaÿr and Johann Sebastian Bach, with their specifically German preference for chordal playing, polyphony or scordatura, Schmelzer's work clearly belongs to the Italian violin tradition, which treats the instrument as if it is a vocal part and above all develops its melodic possibilities; only in the ten-bar section of the third sonata do we find playing in double-stops and simple chords, a passage that resembles a similarly brief multiple-stop section in Bertali's second sonata.[1] In many respects the composer modelled his collection on Giovanni Antonio Pandolfi's op. 3 and op. 4, published in Innsbruck in 1660 and also consisting of six sonatas each. As is the case with Pandolfi, a virtuoso employed by Archduke Ferdinand Karl, Schmelzer offers multi-section works, numbering from six to 12 sections contrasted in terms of agogics, metre and expression, with frequent use of ostinato variations. The fourth sonata even opens with a section based on the same bass as the middle movement of Pandolfi's op. 3 no. 4. The whole of the third sonata is a variation on a ten-bar bass scheme similar to the one from the eighth sonata by Aldebrando Subissati,[2] a violinist employed by Archduke Leopold Wilhelm. The type of figuration and use of imitative dialogue between violin and bass in the sixth sonata recall Marco Uccellini's op. 5, as does the use of sixth position on the E string in the first and third sonatas.

Only a few violinists have recorded the full set of *Sonatæ unarum fidium* prior to David Irving: Veronika Strehlke (1995), Andrew Manze (1996), John Holloway (2007), Odile Edouard (2016). Among today's listeners and performers it is therefore not as popular as the Mystery Sonatas by Biber. Yet while *Sonatæ unarum fidium* lacks the scordatura, multiple-stopping and programme of Schmelzer's younger colleague, a violinist thoroughly familiar with the aesthetic principles of seventeenth-century Italian violin technique can create a performance with a strong appeal to the listeners' emotions, aided by the agogic, metric, rhythmic, melodic and even tonal (e.g., in the sixth sonata) contrasts. Giovanni Battista Doni was of the opinion that, among all instruments, the violin has the greatest capability for imitating the human voice, both in singing and in speech, while Arcangelo Corelli, when talking about the violin, asked his pupils the rhetorical question 'Can you hear it speak?'. Recreating these capabilities of the baroque violin today is not easy; it demands a great deal of imagination and excellent mastery of the bow.

David Irving, a baroque violinist as well as musicologist, takes a very thorough and comprehensive approach to his recording of *Sonatæ unarum fidium*, as we learn in some detail from the booklet accompanying the CD. He carefully chose the solo instrument, a successful replica of Jacob Stainer's violin from around 1670. Instruments made by this Austrian luthier were regarded as the best in central Europe during the Baroque period, and so we may suppose that Schmelzer himself, a contemporary of Stainer, played on one of the latter's instruments. Benefiting from the latest research by Oliver Webber, Irving uses equal-tension stringing, something still very rare among

baroque violinists. Inspired by the iconography of the period, he uses a short and light bow, holding it in the Italian manner. He rests the violin freely on the collarbone in a 'chin-off' manner, and when he changes position he holds the violin up with his thumb. Equally convincing is the use of quarter-comma meantone temperament, a mesotonic temperament that was the most popular in Schmelzer's time.

Technically the sound realisation is excellent. Irving's violin produces an attractive tone, full and luscious in all the registers. His intonation is faultless. The reaction between the strings and the bow is fast and allows a sparkling and very accurate representation in détaché even in demisemiquaver figurations. Even in the most acrobatic passages Irving draws the bow without producing kicks, so frequent and seemingly unavoidable in such cases. However, he is less successful in operating the dynamics. The echo effect (forte–piano) in the third sonata is barely audible and for this reason unintelligible. His respect for and adherence to the original notation in other respects is laudable and beneficial. Schmelzer's sonatas, like their Italian equivalents, have carefully notated figurations and ornamentations, which means that there is little room for one's own inventions, something well understood by Irving, who adds ornaments sparingly and only in repeated segments. He does not introduce his own multi-stop playing either. However, at times the expressive potential is limited too much, as when he does not often enough allow himself the space for subtle dynamic shading and articulation modelled on speech, so characteristic of the Italian style. In his interpretation we do not hear any of the 'diminishing drawing of the bow' (perhaps a sort of decrescendo or *messa di voce*) we read about in one of the sources.[3] He also uses vibrato very rarely, yet, applied as an ornament on longer notes it would have had a positive effect on the affective aspects of the music.

Irving writes about affect in the booklet in relation to the basso continuo (b.c.) scoring, and this aspect of his interpretation requires comment. The b.c. part is realised by as many as four excellent musicians, playing as many as six instruments (replicas of the seventeenth-century theorbo, triple harp, positive organ, harpsichord, viola da gamba and lirone). The idea was to match the b.c. scoring to changes in the musical affect. Such an approach was employed during the Baroque period only in vocal stage music, but Schemlzer's sonatas and Claudio Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* are very different things. Seventeenth-century writers including Agostino Agazzari, Michael Praetorius and Marin Mersenne indicate unequivocally that the realisation of the b.c., particularly in vocal or instrumental monody, would involve just one instrument. A melodic bass was employed as an additional supporting instrument only in exceptional cases, such as when the harmonic instrument lacked sufficient carry in the bass. However, the anachronic 'continuo section' in the recording involves from two to four (most often three) instruments which accompany Irving continuously; moreover, some of them introduce new counterpoints, thus changing a solo sonata (*a uno*) into one *a due* or *a tre*, and totally ignoring the composer's intentions. From the added counterpoints the question arises: just who is the soloist here? Is it the violinist, the harpist or the theorbist, and how is the main part (the violin) to break through? Had the violinist been the main protagonist, the full attention of the listener would have been focused on his part, and he would have needed to find richer expressive devices and rhetorical nuances. When there is a whole mob of instruments providing a mega-bass accompaniment, the violin's capacity to speak and move the listener necessarily becomes limited.

Too many artists still persist in an erroneous reading of Agazzari's 'Del sonare sopra il basso continuo', regarding it not as an instruction on how to improvise partially notated instrumental works on a b.c., but as an instruction on how many instruments should realise the bass. Gloria Rose, Niels Martin Jensen, Tharald Borgir and Sandra Mangsen already dealt with these mistaken ideas on b.c. scoring some decades ago, which were prevalent in twentieth-century musicology. It was probably the musicians' aim to make the sound of the recording more attractive by using as many as six b.c. instruments, but they could have used them singly in each composition. Among the currently available complete recordings of *Sonatæ unarum fidium* only Odile Edouard plays with one continuo instrument (with Freddy Eichelberg on organ), and that recording also contains the passacaglia by Johann Caspar Kerll included on *The Emperor's Fiddler*. Could it be the case that Irving was familiar with Edouard's

recording but for some reason was afraid of playing with one accompanist? I would be glad to listen to Irving's Stainer against the background of one b.c. instrument to find out whether it speaks.

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[1] *Solo Compositions for Violin and Viola da gamba with Basso continuo. From the Collection of Prince-Bishop Carl Liechtenstein-Castelcorn in Kroměříž,* ed. Charles E. Brewer, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, 82 (Madison, 1997, 1–6.

[2] *Aldebrando Subissati Sonate per violoino solo e basso continuo. Giovanni Francesco Anerio Antiphonae binis, ternis & quaternis vocibus cum basso ad organum*, ed. Piotr Wilk, Sub Sole Sarmatiae, 10 (Kraków, 2007), 39–42.

[3] 'les coups mourants de l'archet' (Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, *Livre quatriesme, Des instrumens a chordes* (Paris, 1636), 195).

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