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

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*Le nuove musiche / di Giulio Caccini detto Romano*, title-page, from *Gallica* (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k59067f)

## Editorial

The relative thinness of the present issue has been caused partly by the challenges of 2020's virus situation, in particular the restrictions on access to libraries and the services they offer on which research activity depends. I hope, however, that readers will find it interesting; its coverage spans sixteenth–eighteenth-century topics.

That quintessentially eighteenth-century genre, the accompanied keyboard sonata, encompasses a vast swathe of diverse chamber music, yet its significance is often overlooked. As Mafalda Nejmeddine points out, though the practice of accompanying solo keyboard music with a doubling melody and/or bass instrument goes back at least to the seventeenth century (e.g. *Parthenia Inviolata*), the beginnings of the genre proper can be traced to the 1730s at a time when sonatas were influenced strongly by concerto-like idioms (as reflected in a term coined by Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Sonate auf Concertenart*, or sonata in concerted style). This influence may account for the expansive approach to form and texture often found in accompanied keyboard sonatas compared with their 'non-accompanied' counterparts, the latter sometimes written expressly with less expert performers in mind (in Britain, for example, the term 'Easy Lessons' was used frequently as a label for music intended for solo stringed keyboard instruments). The Portuguese Francisco Xavier Baptista's (1741–97) Sonata for a keyboard instrument and violin, considered in detail by Mafalda, is this composer's only surviving contribution to the genre. It has many classic features and was written at the time of the genre's approaching twilight.

Writers on singing at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries seem to have agreed at least on one thing: the need to achieve what they saw as 'naturalness' in performance, which they believed provided a path towards reviving practices from ancient Greece. The debate surrounding vocal ornamentation in Italy in this period, which involved scholarly writers and musicians alike, stemmed partly from conflicting views about how to achieve this. According to Viviane Kubo, not only did writers consider the appropriateness or otherwise of a singer's ornamentation or use of dynamics, but also other aspects of performance, including their deportment or 'ease' in executing a song. The effectiveness of a performance depended as much on the singer's capacity to persuade listeners of the authority of their interpretation in the manner of an orator.

Andrew Woolley
October 2020
awoolley [at] fcsh.unl.pt

# Accompanied Keyboard Music in Portugal: the Case of Francisco Xavier Baptista's *Sonata Prima*

Mafalda Nejmeddine

From the middle of the eighteenth century new musical practices began to develop in Portugal, such as the private balls and concerts promoted by the Assemblies and the private concerts held in domestic salons, giving rise to the composition of a specific repertoire to be performed by professionals and amateurs. A significant example is the balls in the Assembly of Foreign Nations for which Pedro António Avondano (1714?–82) composed at least three collections of minuets intended to be played by two violins and a cello, with the option to replace the violins by flutes in one of them.[1]

The minuet was very popular and occupied an important place in the instrumental repertoire composed in Portugal at the end of the eighteenth century, such as the repertoire of plucked strings, which was sometimes also played on keyboard instruments.[2] Minuets and sonatas were part of the repertoire used at home in keyboard practice as indicated by some musical manuscripts, the titles of which mention a personal use.[3] Furthermore, the domestic repertoire for keyboard includes arrangements and variations based on opera melodies, variations on popular melodies, hymns and works of a military character.[4]

Research has shown that in the Portuguese repertoire originally written for keyboard instruments during the second half of the eighteenth century, the minuet was one of the favoured genres, coming immediately after the sonata in popularity.[5] Therefore it is not surprising that the only keyboard music printed in Portugal at that time was two collections of sonatas, each sonata usually ending with a minuet: the *Sei sonate per cembalo* by Alberto José Gomes da Silva (fl.1758–†93), published during the 1760s or in the first years of the following decade, and the *Dodeci sonate, variazioni, minuetti per cembalo* by Francisco Xavier Baptista (1741–97), published between 1765 and 1777.[6] The Portuguese keyboard sonata contains one to three movements, often written in a major key and ending with a minuet. Its greatest proponent is Francisco Xavier Baptista, by whom sixteen sonatas and seven minuets are preserved today.[7] In addition to the solo keyboard sonatas, Baptista composed sacred music and chamber music for domestic salons, including a sonata for keyboard and violin, which remains one of the few Portuguese accompanied keyboard sonatas.[8]

The accompanied keyboard music genre was probably practised already in the seventeenth century, in France, although the first known printed source dates from 1738, namely *Pièces de clavecin en sonates avec accompagnement de violon* (op. 3) composed by Jean-Joseph Cassanéa de Mondonville (1711–72).[9] Titles for this kind of composition may use the words *ad libitum* or *obligato* to distinguished between an optional and an obligatory accompanying or subsidiary part, usually performed by a violin or a flute.[10] Characterised by a written-out keyboard part with the accompaniment of one or more instruments, this genre was disseminated during the eighteenth century, leading to the emergence of compositions based on different models, such as the harpsichord suite in France or the intersection of the Italian harpsichord sonata and concerto in England.[11]

Accompanied keyboard sonatas by foreign composers circulated at the time in Portugal and a few of them were transcribed for solo keyboard instruments in the context of domestic practice.[12] Besides Francisco Xavier Baptista's sonata, there are also other Portuguese accompanied keyboard works, for example the sonatas opp. 13 and 18 by João Domingos Bomtempo (1775–1842), composed in the early nineteenth century.[13] Despite the existence of such works, the characteristics and the development of this genre in Portugal is still unknown. The present study of the sonata for keyboard and violin by Francisco Xavier Baptista, based on the composer's biography

and musical analysis through the Sonata Theory of Hepokoski and Darcy,[14] will allow for an identification of the date/period of this composition and its characteristics.

**Francisco Xavier Baptista's biography**

Recently, a study based on the discovery of new biographical data about Francisco Xavier Baptista revealed that, during his life, he was also known as Francisco Xavier Baxixa or Bachixa (a different spelling of the same name).[15] This discovery allowed me to attribute to him two sonatas preserved in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque nationale de France under the name of Francisco Xavier Bachixa.[16] The updated biography of Francisco Xavier Baptista presented in the above-mentioned study informs us that he was born on 14th July 1741 in Lisbon, the son of João Baptista and Ana Faustina and was baptised a few days later in the parish church of S. José.[17] On 13th April 1761 he married Ana Maria Joaquina Salomé in the parish church of Nossa Senhora das Mercês, also in Lisbon, but the marriage lasted only two years since his wife died on 17th March 1763.[18] On 1st October 1771 he married for the second time, to Luísa Bernarda Rosa de Caria Mascarenhas.[19] He died on 10th October 1797 and was buried in the church of the Basilica of Santa Maria, in Lisbon, where he was the first organist.[20]

Francisco Xavier Baptista soon became a professional musician since on 14th February 1761 he joined the Irmandade de Santa Cecília (Brotherhood of St. Cecilia), the organisation which directed the professional activity of musicians in Lisbon and its suburbs.[21] His professional path is registered in several documents of the brotherhood, both with the surnames Baptista and Baxixa.[22]

Firstly in documents related to the integration of members of the brotherhood into different groups, the respective head of which would be responsible for registering the payment of the annual fee in the book of his *Presidência* (presidency). Francisco Xavier Baptista was included in the books of the *Presidência dos Instrumentistas* (Presidency of Instrumentalists) until 1787, and during 1782–87 he was also registered, by the surname Baxixa, in the books of the *Presidência de Santa Maria Maior (Sé)* (Presidency of Santa Maria Maior (Cathedral)) where he paid the annual fees. Between 1787–97 he continued to be registered as Francisco Xavier Baxixa, but this time in the books of the *Presidência dos Cantores* (Presidency of Singers).[23]

Secondly in documents referring to the activity of director for which members needed to apply to the brotherhood for a patent. A 1790 document shows that Francisco Xavier Baptista applied for a director patent to be able to direct religious functions in churches and the brotherhood granted it as can be seen from the annotation at the top of the same document:[24]

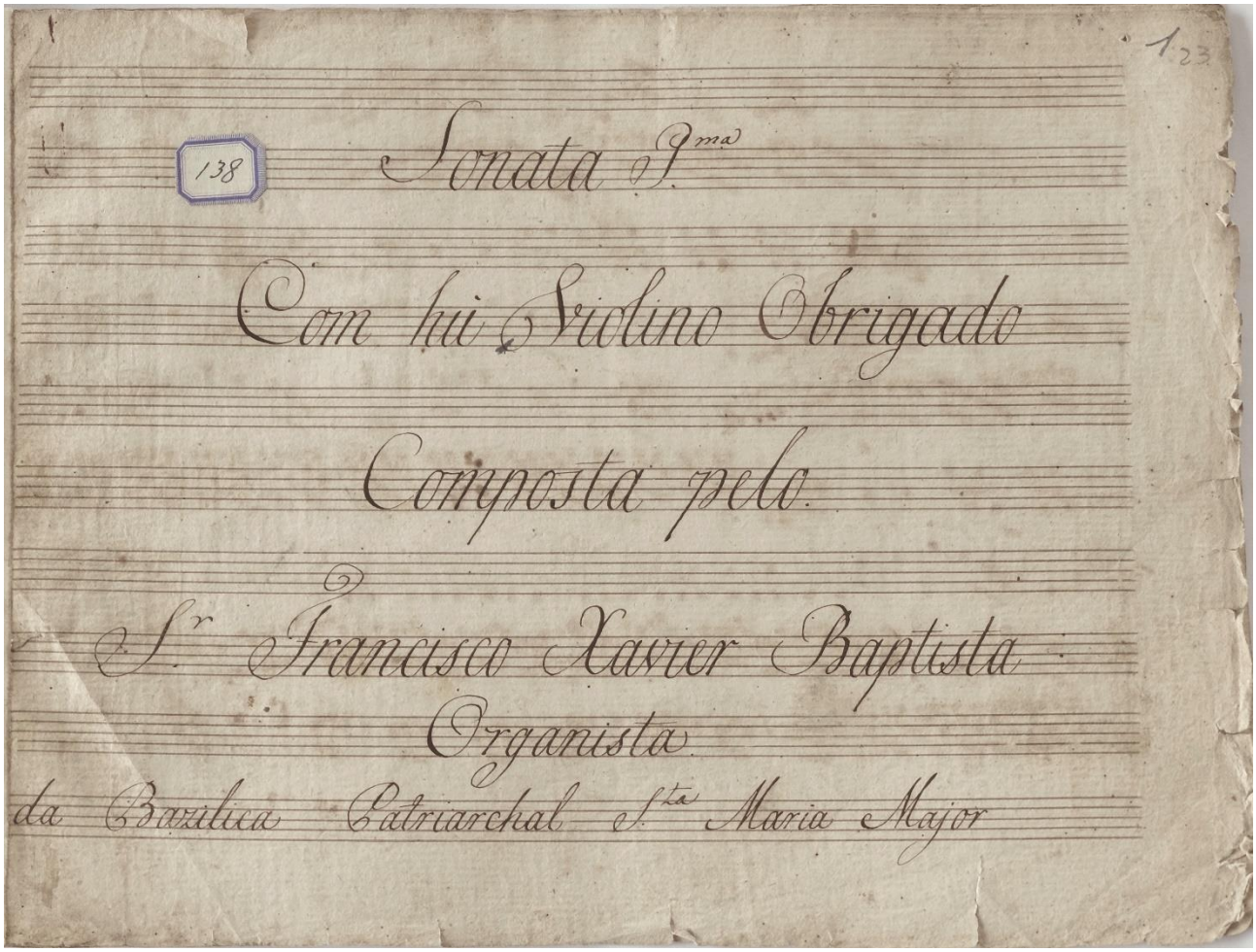
> The patent is granted as requested, the Board, 6th December 1790, Secretary Lima
>
> Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Sir and other Brothers
> Francisco Xavier Baptista, first organist of the Basilica Patriarchal Santa Maria, says that he, the supplicant, wishes to direct some functions in the churches and how he cannot do this without the board granting him the patent of director. He requests your Excellency and other Brothers that you do him the honour of granting him the patent of director.
> He hopes to receive the honour.

The patent was registered in *Livro 2.º dos Diretores* under the surname Baxixa, as well as the annual renewals that took place successively until the 5th December 1796.[25] Obtaining the patent required the submission of an annual report, usually called *Manifesto*, which contained the functions directed and the names of the musicians (or just the indication of the instruments) who participated, in addition to a certificate proving the payment of the annual fee and *tostões* (a previously established value for each function performed).[26] There are no documents of this type with the name of Francisco Xavier Baxixa; however, there are two *Manifestos* signed by Francisco Xavier Baptista, one undated and the other referring to the year 1792.

Thirdly in documentation indicating the musician's death in 1797. The death is noted in *Livro 2.º dos Diretores* and in the 1797 book of *Presidência dos Cantores* under the name of Francisco Xavier Baxixa. In *Livro de Despesas* (expenses book) of the brotherhood there are records of expenses with the celebration of masses for the suffrage of the deceased brothers in the period from April 21 1797 to April 15 1798, which includes the name of Francisco Xavier Baptista.[27]

According to the records of the Irmandade de Santa Cecília, Francisco Xavier

Baptista was known by the surname Baxixa at least as early as 1782, when he was registered in the books of the *Presidência de Santa Maria Maior (Sé)*. This was the presidency of the musicians belonging to the Basilica of Santa Maria, the former cathedral of Lisbon, into which Francisco Xavier Baptista was integrated after being accepted as organist at the basilica. He held this position in 1781, succeeding Henrique da Silva Negrão in one of the two organist positions (with different salaries) existing in the basilica.[28] In 1790 he was the first organist of this Patriarchal Basilica, as indicated in the document that refers to the request for a director patent to the Irmandade de Santa Cecília, remaining in that position until his death in 1797.[29]




Illus. Title page of the *Sonata prima* by Francisco Xavier Baptista. Biblioteca Municipal de Elvas, MUS.138.

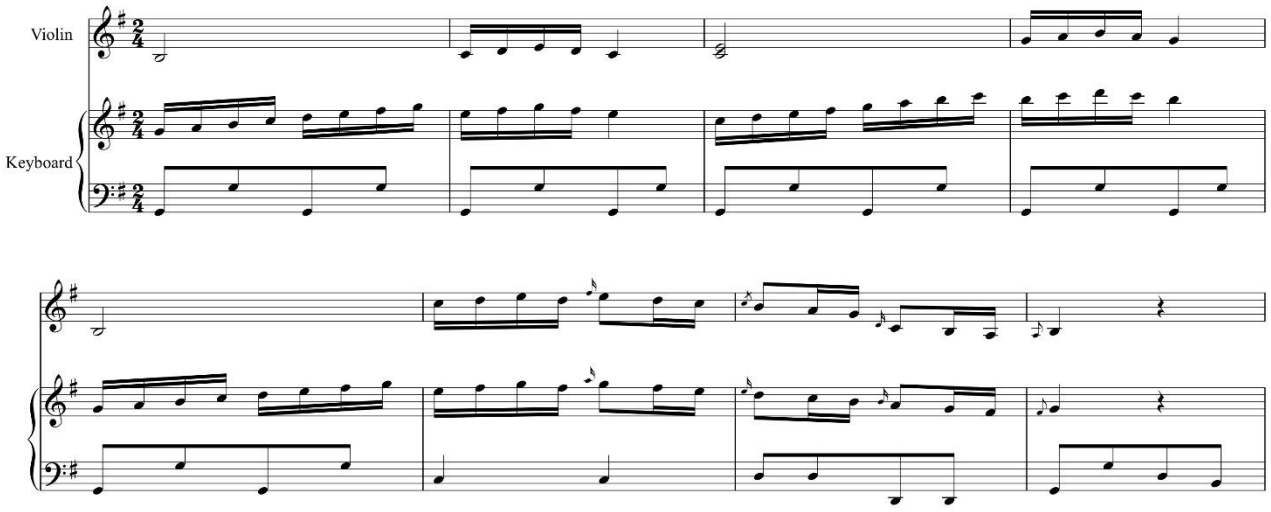
**The *Sonata prima* by Francisco Xavier Baptista**

The sonata for keyboard and violin has the title of *Sonata P[ri]ma Com hũ Violino Obrigado* and was composed by Francisco Xavier Baptista when he was organist at the Patriarchal Basilica of Santa Maria, as mentioned on the title page of the manuscript (Illus.). Considering that Baptista started working in 1781 as organist for the basilica, and became the first organist in 1790 and, since this date, his identification as an organist always mentions this position, we can conclude that Francisco Xavier Baptista composed this sonata between 1781 and 1790.[30]

Although the word 'prima' (first) in the title may suggest that the composer intended to write further accompanied keyboard sonatas, it is not known whether he actually did produce more works in this genre. The sonata has two movements, both written in a fast tempo (*Allegro*) and in G major, intended to be played by a stringed keyboard instrument and a violin, which are indicated on the score by the Italian words 'cembalo' and 'violino'. At that time, the word *cembalo* could refer to a stringed keyboard instrument with plectra (harpsichord) or one with hammers (fortepiano).[31] The writing of this sonata seems appropriate for a fortepiano, or a harpsichord with two manuals

capable of producing a difference in volume, for example, between the melodic line and the Alberti bass that arises in the first movement.

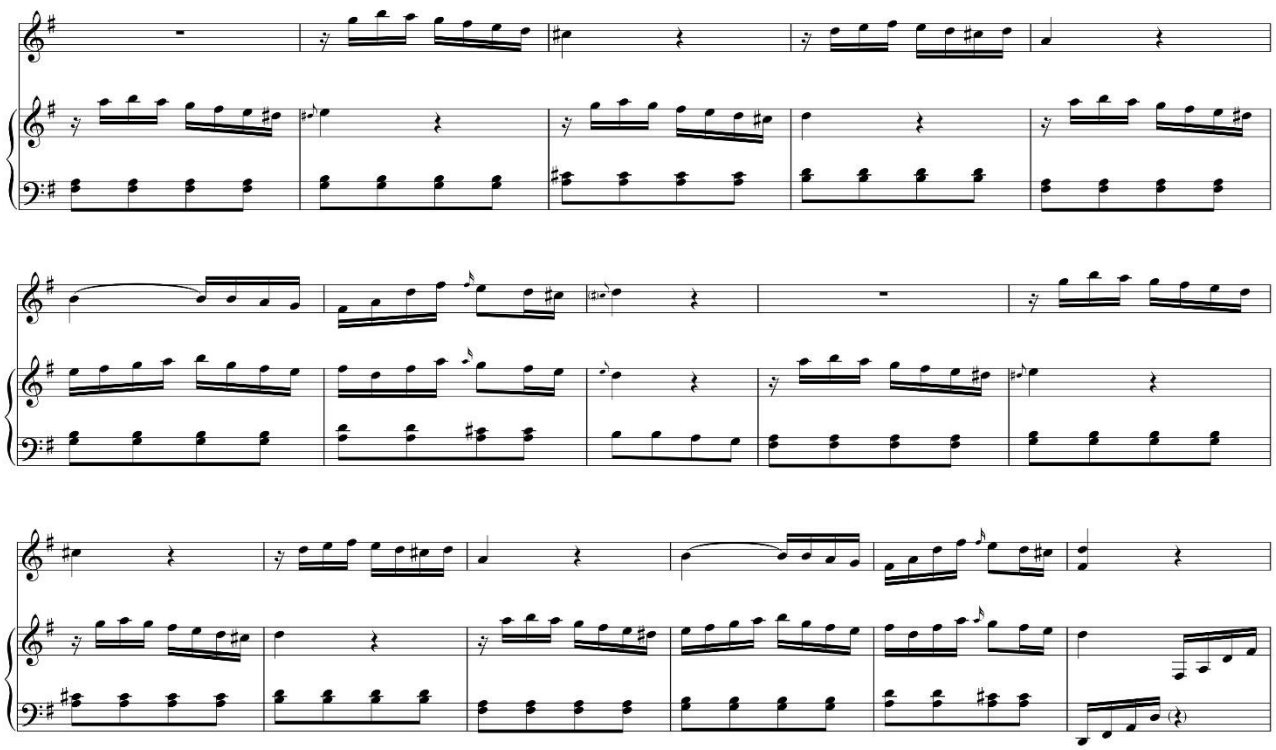
In the first movement the form used is the Type 2 sonata with an exposition, a development and a tonal resolution. The exposition presents two themes, both structured as a sentence and defined by the keyboard part.[32] In the primary theme, the keyboard part displays the melodic contour of the basic idea and uses it to make a response, thus constructing the presentation phrase of the sentence (bb. 1–4). It begins the continuation phrase of the sentence (bb. 5–8) with the basic idea that also serves for its respective development. The violin reinforces the end of the basic idea in the presentation phrase a tenth below and in the continuation phrase it duplicates the keyboard part's melody a third or sixth below (Ex. 1).



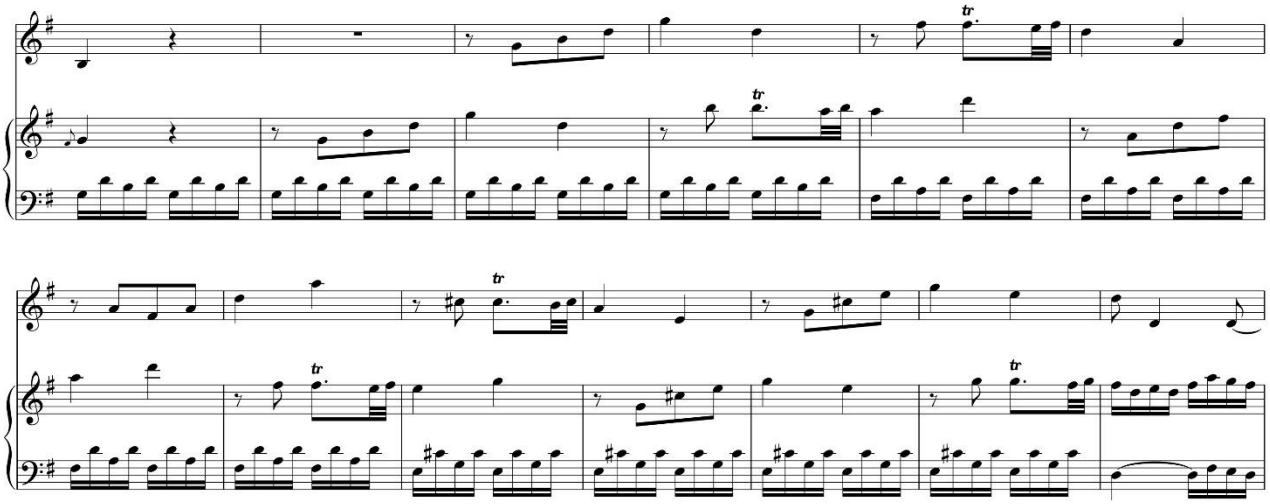

Ex. 1. Francisco Xavier Baptista, first movement of *Sonata prima*, primary theme, bb. 1–8.

A change in texture and a new melody in the keyboard part, answered by the violin, mark the beginning of the transition, which leads to the dominant key. The secondary theme appears after a medial caesura produced by a half-cadence in the dominant key and it can be classified as a 'contrasting derivation' of the primary theme since it is motivically related to it.[33] The keyboard part introduces the basic idea, presents its repetition and launches the continuation phrase of the sentence which, as with the primary theme, is developed from the basic idea. In the presentation phrase (bb. 42–5) the violin establishes a dialogue with the keyboard part and, in the continuation phrase (bb. 46–9), it accompanies it with a similar rhythm and a consonant melody. As with the first theme, this secondary theme is repeated but, in this case, the deceptive cadence produced the first time is exchanged for a perfect authentic cadence in the dominant key (Ex. 2).

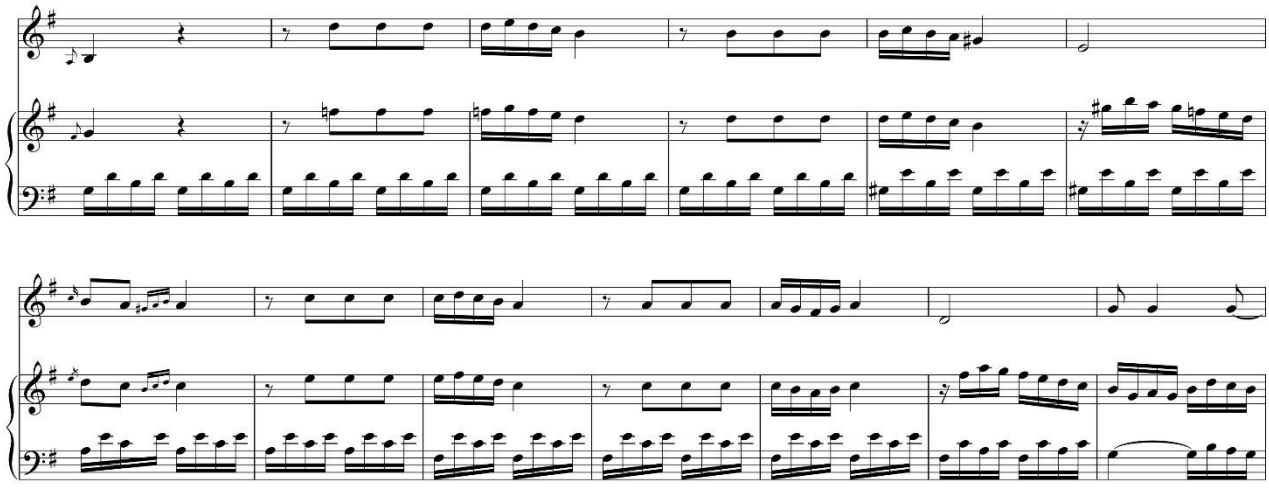
A closing zone composed of two codetta modules marks the end of the exposition, which must be repeated, as indicated by the repetition signs also existing at the end of the movement. At the beginning of the development, the primary theme appears in the dominant key followed by its repetition in the tonic. The development also includes material from the transition zone of the exposition, slightly modified at the beginning, that moves away from and then approaches the tonic key. The secondary theme reappears later, in the tonic key, marking the beginning of the tonal resolution. All materials of the exposition appear in the second part of the movement (comprising the development and the tonal resolution) in the same order, with the transition modification above-mentioned (Exx. 3a–b). Harmonically, the movement presents a tonic–dominant plan in the first part and the reverse in the second.



Ex. 2. Francisco Xavier Baptista, first movement of *Sonata prima*, secondary theme, bb. 42–57.



Ex. 3a. Francisco Xavier Baptista, first movement of *Sonata prima*, beginning of the exposition transition zone, bb. 16–28.

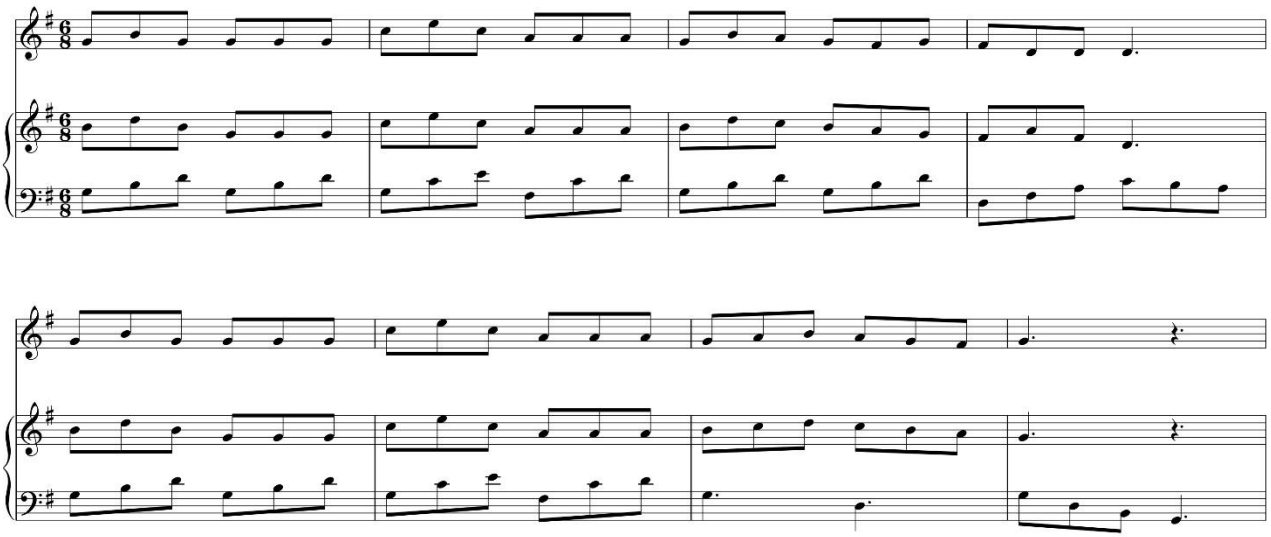


Ex. 3b. Francisco Xavier Baptista, first movement of *Sonata prima*, material of the transition zone in the development, bb. 85–97.

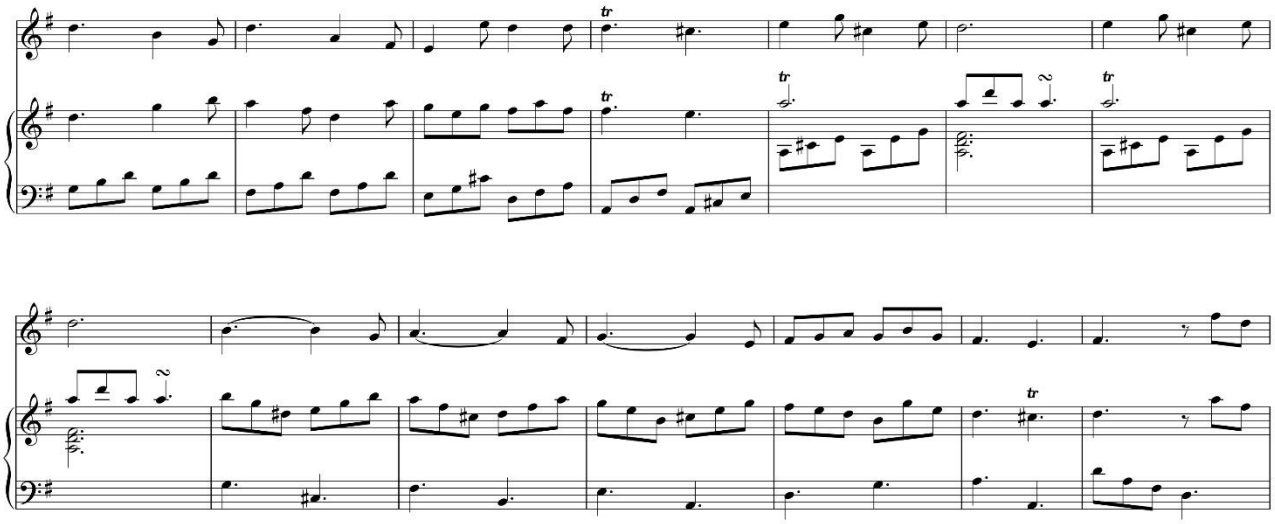
The second movement is a five-part Rondo (AB-AC-A) characterised by the alternation of the refrain and two episodes, the return of the refrain being indicated by a sign after each episode. Although the original meter is 2/4, the writing fits into the compound-binary signature 6/8. Again, it is the keyboard part that defines the structure of the movement analytically. The keyboard part leads the melody of the themes of the refrain and of both episodes, thus creating the respective structure, as well as the melody of the phrases that follow, some of them with a solo character. The rhythmic movement of the keyboard part is continuous and its deceleration marks the end of each section. On the other hand, the writing for the violin is based essentially on harmonic filling that highlights the keyboard part.

The refrain (A) consists of a repeated theme structured as a period, followed by modules that emphasise the tonic key, as well as other modules comprising a sequential progression and the reaffirmation of the key of G major (Ex. 4).[34]

The first episode (B) presents a theme that leads to the dominant key and confirms it by a sequential progression and a perfect authentic cadence, defined through the keyboard part (Ex. 5). This new key is reinforced by other modules, including an expanded phrase and reiterations of V–I, whose D major harmony serves to prepare the return of the tonic key.



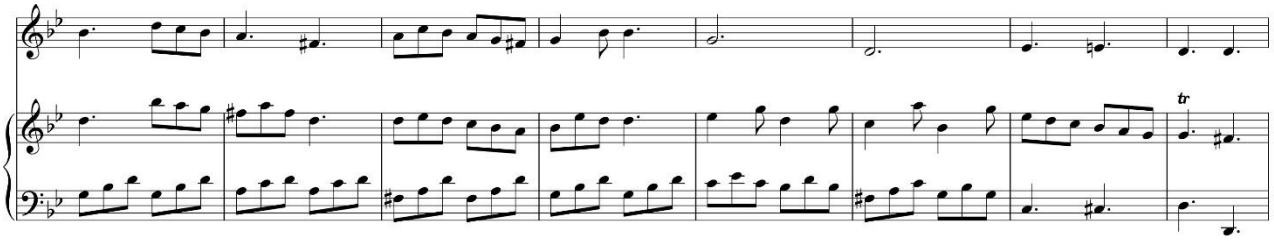
Ex. 4. Francisco Xavier Baptista, second movement of *Sonata prima*, theme of the refrain, bb. 1–8.



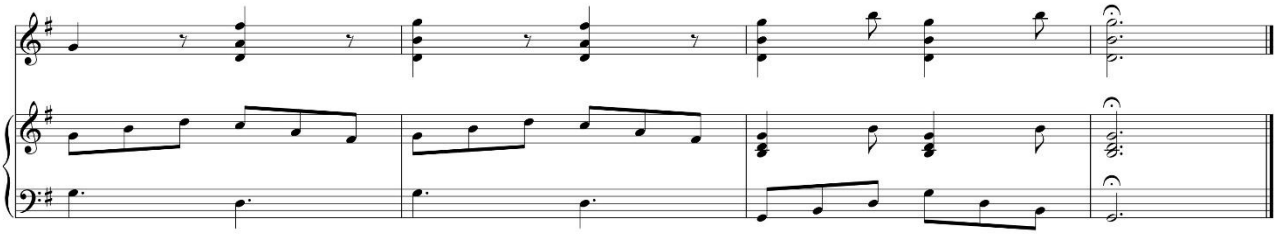
Ex. 5. Francisco Xavier Baptista, second movement of *Sonata prima*, theme of the first episode, bb. 35–48.

The second episode (C) is composed in the tonic minor mode and its theme is structured as a sentence ending with a half cadence in the dominant (Ex. 6).

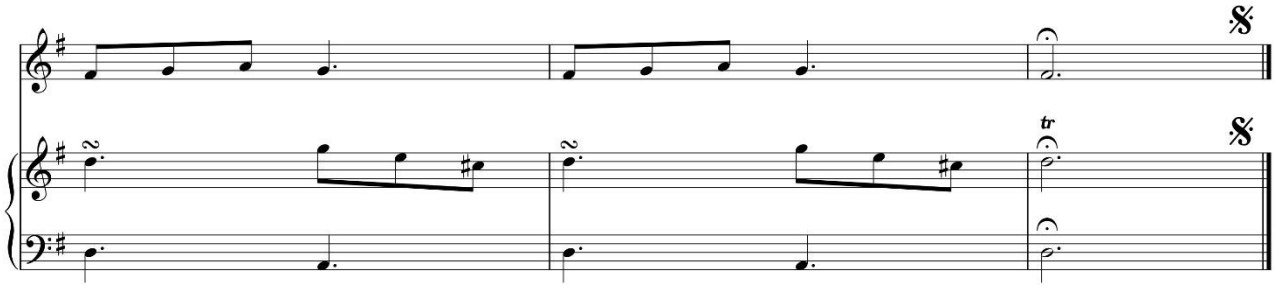
Subsequent modules confirm the key of G minor and present an expanded phrase that leads to a half cadence in the dominant. This is emphasised by the alternation of V-i harmonies preparing the final return of the refrain. Similarly, Baptista used reiterations of V-I harmonies, sometimes followed by the repetition of the tonic chord, to finish the refrain and the first episode, as well as the first movement of the sonata (Exx. 7a– c).



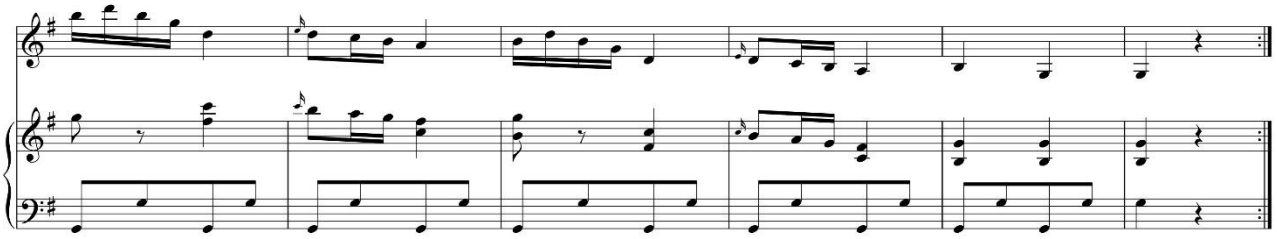
Ex. 6. Francisco Xavier Baptista, second movement of *Sonata prima*, theme of the second episode, bb. 73–80.



Ex. 7a. Francisco Xavier Baptista, second movement of *Sonata prima*, end of the refrain, bb. 31–4.



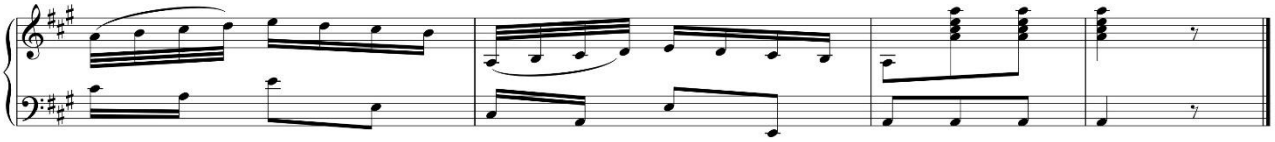
Ex. 7b. Francisco Xavier Baptista, second movement of *Sonata prima*, end of the first episode, bb. 70–2.



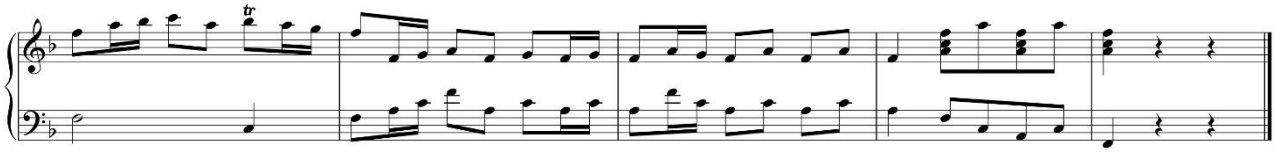
Ex. 7c. Francisco Xavier Baptista, first movement of *Sonata prima*, end of the movement, bb. 133–8.

By the time Francisco Xavier Baptista composed the *Sonata prima*, he had already written most of his keyboard sonatas, more specifically, the twelve published sonatas and the two sonatas preserved in Portuguese manuscripts (P-Ln, M.M. 337 and M.M. 338).[35] The aforementioned procedure that Baptista uses frequently in the sonata for keyboard and violin is rarely used in these keyboard sonatas, there being only two exceptions: the first movement of Sonata X in A major from the collection *Dodeci sonate, variazioni, minuetti per cembalo* and the second movement of the *Tocata per cembalo* in F major (Exx. 8a–b).

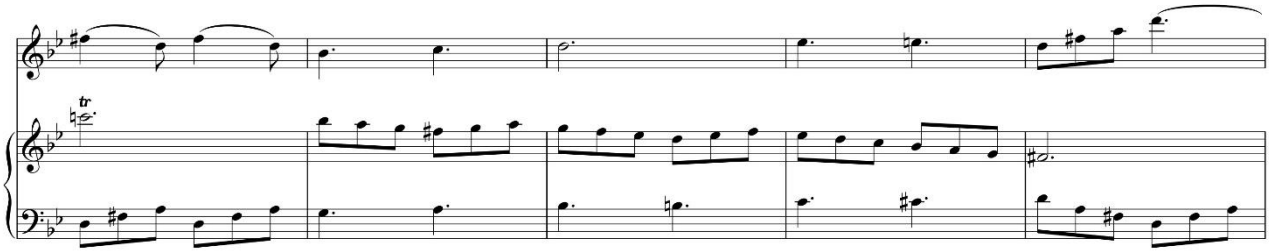
However, there is a connection between *Sonata prima* and these sonatas through a passage borrowed from the first movement of Sonata VIII in C minor from the *Dodeci sonate*, which highlights the keyboard part's status as a soloist in the accompanied work (Exx. 9a–b).



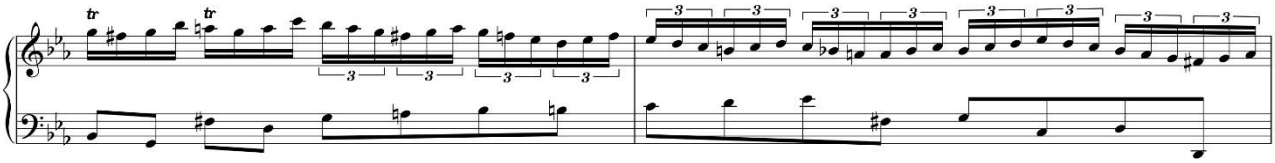
Ex. 8a. Francisco Xavier Baptista, first movement of Sonata X in A major (P-La, 137-I-13), end of the movement, bb. 126–9.



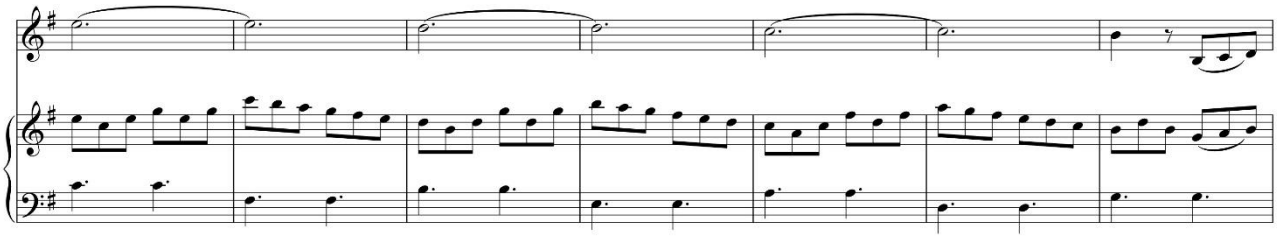
Ex. 8b. Francisco Xavier Baptista, second movement of *Tocata per cembalo* in F major (P-Ln, M.M. 337), end of the movement, bb. 69–73.



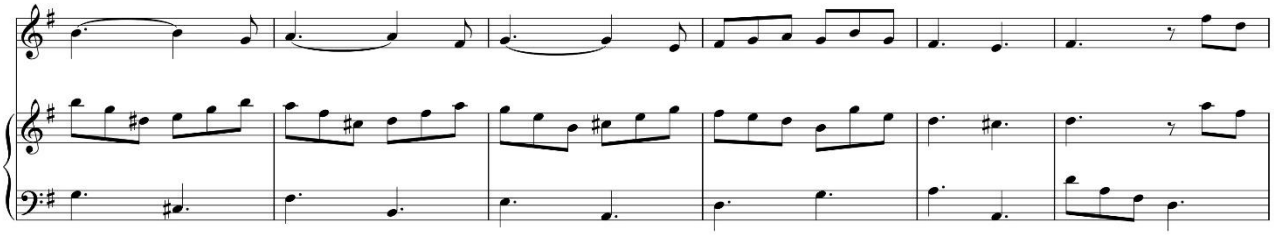
Ex. 9a. Francisco Xavier Baptista, second movement of *Sonata prima*, bb. 89–93.



Ex. 9b. Francisco Xavier Baptista, first movement of Sonata VIII in C minor (P-La, 137-I-13), bb. 17–8.



Ex. 10a. Francisco Xavier Baptista, second movement of *Sonata prima*, excerpt of the refrain, bb. 21–7.



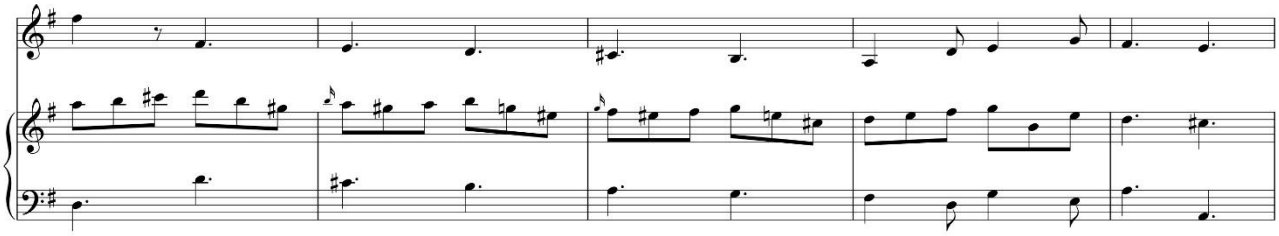
Ex. 10b. Francisco Xavier Baptista, second movement of *Sonata prima*, excerpt of the first episode, bb. 43–8.

In the second movement of *Sonata prima*, the keyboard part leads the sequential progressions of the refrain and the first episode, which produce the galant schema *Prinner* (Exx. 10a–b).[36]

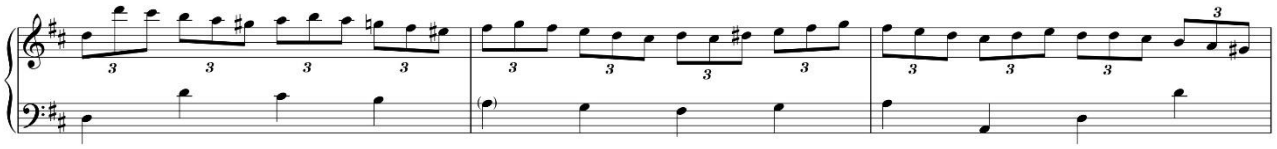
The primacy of the keyboard part in *Sonata prima* is demonstrated by the expressiveness and leadership of the melodic line, by its function in the structural definition of movements and by the subsidiary role given to the violin. The most frequently used accompanying technique in the violin part is the duplication of the keyboard part's melody a third or a sixth below. Other techniques such as imitations, melodic dialogues and harmonic

filling with short or sustained notes, arpeggios and chords are also used.

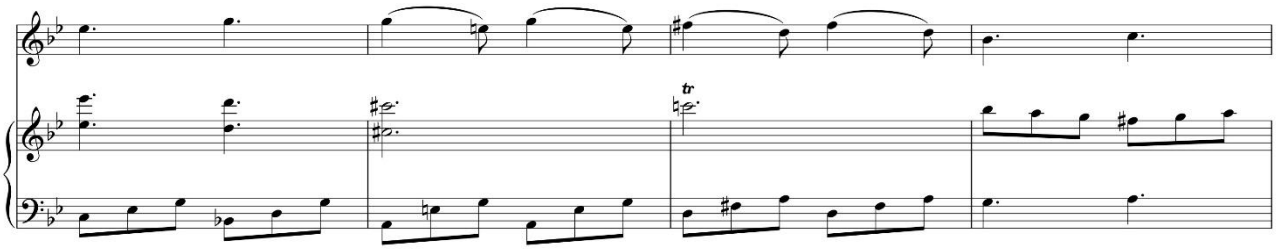
In the keyboard part of the *Sonata prima*, some musical material related to the Sonata in D major of the manuscript Vm[7] 4874 (F-Pn) can be found. Considering that the author is identified by the surname Bachixa in this manuscript, it can be assumed that the Sonata in D major was composed in the 1780s or 1790s when Francisco Xavier Baptista was known by that surname, which places both works at a common period of time. Similarities in some passages of both works reinforce the idea that *Sonata prima* may have been inspired by the Sonata in D major, or vice versa (Exx. 11a–b and Exx. 12a–b).



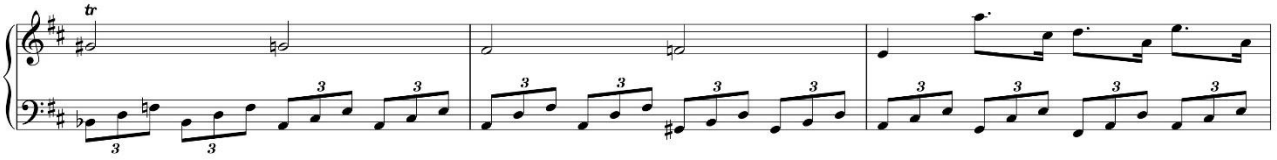
Ex. 11a. Francisco Xavier Baptista, second movement of *Sonata prima*, bb. 58–62.



Ex. 11b. Francisco Xavier Baptista, Sonata in D major (F-Pn, Vm[7] 4874), bb. 81–3.



Ex. 12a. Francisco Xavier Baptista, second movement of *Sonata prima*, bb. 87–90.



Ex. 12b. Francisco Xavier Baptista, Sonata in D major (F-Pn, Vm[7] 4874), bb. 55–7.

**Conclusion**

Whether for personal use or for a restricted audience in a concert setting, the keyboard music played in Portuguese domestic salons is comprised of a specific solo and chamber repertoire in which the sonata stands out as a relevant genre. In his accompanied keyboard sonata, Francisco Xavier Baptista uses a major key and writes two movements, as in a typical Portuguese keyboard sonata, the first movement being in sonata form. However, it ends with a rondo instead of a minuet, which suggests the influence of other musical tastes from Portuguese society besides domestic keyboard practice. Baptista's *Sonata prima* was composed in the period 1781–90. Its accompanied part, even though obligatory, plays a subsidiary role using accompaniment techniques used frequently by contemporary composers.[37] The relationship between this work and Baptista's keyboard sonatas composed previously is limited but it reveals the prominent status of the keyboard, which is confirmed by the similarities with the keyboard Sonata in D major, probably composed in the same period of time or shortly thereafter.

[1] About these collections see Vanda de Sá, 'Avondano's Lisbon Minuets, the Establishment of a Cosmopolitan Model', *Ad Parnassum: A Journal of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Instrumental Music*, 8/15 (2010), 79–92. Another source for the music played in these assemblies is manuscript VM[7] 6764 in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (F-Pn) which contains some of the aforementioned minuets; these are available in a modern edition: Pedro António Avondano, *14 Minuetti A due Violini, Trombe e Basso*, ed. Vanda de Sá (Lisbon, 2012).

[2] For more about the minuet in Portugal and its use between the keyboard and plucked instrument repertoires, see Vanda de Sá, 'Cultura do Minuete em Portugal: o manuscrito *Minuetti a due Violini, trombe e Basso* (VM[7] 6764 – BnF) de Pedro António Avondano (ca. 1714–1782)', *Música instrumental no final do Antigo Regime: contextos, circulação e repertórios*, ed. Vanda de Sá and Cristina Fernandes (Lisbon, 2014), 107–34 and Vanda de Sá, 'Influences of the *Viola* and Guitar (guitarra) in Local Keyboard Repertories during the Reign of Queen Maria I (1777–1816): *Modinhas,* Minuets and Dance Rhythms', *EMP*, 31 (2012), 16–24.

[3] For example, *Sonatas del Sig.re Mathias Vento, Bocquarinni, Hayden, Cordeiro, Mesquita, e outros auctores da primr.ª classe para uzo de C.na Ildobranda*, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (P-Ln) M.M. 4530 and *Minuetes para o uzo da Ill.ma e Ex.ma Snr.ª D. Maria Anna de Portugal*, P–Ln, M.M. 4504.

[4] Vanda de Sá, 'The Transformation of Musical Practices in Lisbon at the End of the "ancien régime": New Commercial Dynamics, Cosmopolitan Models and Keyboard Repertoires', *Ad Parnassum: A Journal of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Instrumental Music*, 13/26 (2015), 45–64.

[5] See Mafalda Nejmeddine, 'The Sonata in Portuguese Keyboard Repertory of the Period *circa* 1750 to 1807', *Nuevas Perspectivas sobre la Música para Tecla de Antonio Soler / New Perspectives on the Keyboard Works of Antonio Soler*, ed. Luisa Morales and Michael Latcham (Almería, 2016), 247–59, especially 251.

[6] The collection *Sei sonate per cembalo* is preserved in two copies, at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (P-Ln, C.I.C. 87 V.) and in the British Library (GB-Lbl, d.8.). A modern edition was likewise published as Alberto José Gomes da Silva, *Sei sonate per cembalo, Lisboa, ca. 1770*, ed. Gerhard Doderer and Mafalda Nejmeddine, Musica Lusitana, 2D ([Mollerussa], 2003) and a recording is also available: Alberto José Gomes da Silva, *Sei sonate per cembalo*, Mafalda Nejmeddine - historical harpsichord (s.l., 2018). The only surviving copy of the collection *Dodeci sonate, variazioni, minuetti per cembalo* can be found in the Biblioteca da Ajuda (P-La, 137-I-13). A modern edition is available as Francisco Xavier Baptista, *12 Sonatas para cravo (Lisboa, ca. 1770)*, ed. Gerhard Doderer, Portugaliae Musica, 36 (Lisbon, 1981) as well as the recording of most of these sonatas: Francisco Xavier Baptista, *Sonatas*, Cremilde Rosado Fernandes - pianoforte (Lisbon, 1986; Reprint, 1995).

[7] Mafalda Sofia Amorim da Silva Ferreira Nejmeddine, 'O género sonata em Portugal: subsídios para o estudo do repertório português para tecla de 1750 a 1807', PhD thesis, 2 vols. (University of Évora, 2015).
<http://hdl.handle.net/10174/19170>. See vol. 1, 82–9, 221–3.

[8] This sonata is preserved in the manuscript MUS.138 of the Biblioteca Municipal de Elvas and is available in modern edition as Francisco Xavier Baptista, *Sonata em sol maior para violino e cravo (piano)*, ed. Ivo Cruz (Lisbon, 1971). Baptista's sacred music comprised of a motet for four voices and organ, its whereabouts being unknown today (Baptista, *12 Sonatas para cravo*, vii), as well as two masses that seem to have disappeared. The document indicating the composition of these masses is reproduced in Nejmeddine, 'O género sonata em Portugal', i, 321, and transcribed in Cristina Isabel Videira Fernandes, 'O sistema produtivo da música sacra em Portugal no final do Antigo Regime: a Capela Real e a Patriarcal entre 1750 e 1807', PhD thesis, 2 vols. (University of Évora, 2010), i, 161–2. His chamber music output also includes two *modinhas* for two sopranos with instrumental accompaniment, published in 1793–4 in *Jornal de modinhas com acompanhamento de cravo pelos milhores autores*. See Maria João Durães Albuquerque, *A edição musical em Portugal (1750–1834)* (Lisbon, 2006), 200–1.

[9] See Mary Cyr, 'Origins and Performance of Accompanied Keyboard Music in France', *The Musical Times*, 156/1932 (2015), 7–26.

[10] William S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Classic Era* (New York, 1983), 98.

[11] Ronald R. Kidd, 'The Emergence of Chamber Music with Obligato Keyboard in England', *Acta Musicologica*, 44/1 (1972), 122–44.

[12] See João Pedro d'Alvarenga, 'Sobre a autoria das obras para tecla atribuídas a João de Sousa Carvalho', *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, 4–5 (1994/95), 115–45.

[13] These works are available at *Biblioteca Nacional Digital*, <http://purl.pt/834> and <http://purl.pt/836>, respectively. For more information see the catalogue of the composer's works at *João Domingos Bomtempo 1775–1842*, ed. João Pedro d'Alvarenga (Lisbon, 1993), 157–8. The op. 18 sonatas are available in a modern edition: João Domingos Bomtempo, *Klaviersonaten op. 18*, ed. Gerhard Doderer (Heidelberg, 1982).

[14] James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory: Norms, Types and Deformations in the Late Eighteenth-Century Sonata* (New York, 2006).

[15] Mafalda S. Nejmeddine, 'Francisco Xavier Baptista: New Biographical Data on the Identity of the Portuguese Composer', *Journal of Science and Technology Lectures*, 1 (2019),
<https://www.academy-on.com/videos/nejmeddine-ms-enim15-1-2019/>.

[16] These sonatas are included in manuscript Vm[7] 4874 (ff. 55[54]v–59[58]r) entitled *Sonates pour clavecin de divers auteurs* and are available in a modern edition at *Sonatas para tecla do século XVIII*, ed. Macario Santiago Kastner *et al.*, Portugaliae Musica, 38 (Lisbon, 1982).

[17] Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (P-Lant), Paróquia de S. José, *Livro de Registo de Baptismos B7 – Cx 3 (1740–9),* f. 30r.

[18] P-Lant, Paróquia de Mercês, *Livro de Registo de Casamentos C2 – Cx 20 (1697–1761)*, f. 335v. P-Lant, Paróquia de S. José, *Livro de Registo de Óbitos O5 – Cx 23 (1755–64)*, f. 192r.

[19] P-Lant, Paróquia de Sacramento, *Livro de Registo de Casamentos C7 – Cx 16 (1769–85)*, ff. 12r–12v.
[20] P-Lant, Paróquia de Sé, *Livro de Registo de Óbitos O10 – Cx 27 (1795–1812)*, f. 17v.
[21] Arquivo Histórico da Irmandade de Santa Cecília & Montepio Filarmónico – Irmandade de Santa Cecília, *Livro 1.º das entradas dos irmãos (1756–1825)*, f. 37r, PT/LSB20/ISC/15/01.
[22] In the book of entries of the brotherhood there is no record of Francisco Xavier Baxixa.
[23] The annual books of each presidency are still preserved in the brotherhood archive. Only a few books are missing.
[24] Arquivo Histórico da Irmandade de Santa Cecília & Montepio Filarmónico – Irmandade de Santa Cecília, *Expediente Cx 03 – 1790*, PT/LSB20/ISC/24. The contractions in the original text have been expanded. The original text is as follows: "concede se Patente / como pede Meza / 6 de Dezembro de 1790 / o Secretário Lima // Illustrissimo e Excelentissimo Senhor e mais Irmaons // Diz Francisco Xavier Baptista primeiro / organista da Bazilica Patriarchal Santa Maria maior que / elle Suplicante pretende dirigir algumas funções nas Igrejas / e como o não pode fazer sem que a meza lhe conceda a / patente de diretor. / Pede a vossa Excelencia e mais Irmaons lhe / faça a graça de lhe concederem a patente / de Diretor. // Espera Receber Mercê".
[25] Arquivo Histórico da Irmandade de Santa Cecília & Montepio Filarmónico – Irmandade de Santa Cecília, *Livro 2.º dos Diretores (1760–1824)*, f. 104v, PT/LSB20/ISC/20/02.
[26] P-Lant, *Compromisso da Irmandade da Gloriosa Virgem, e Martyr S.ta Cecilia, sita na Igreja de S. Roque desta Cidade, Confirmado por El Rey Fidelissimo D. Jozé I*, PT/TT/MR/NE/06/36 (Lisbon, 1766), 6.
[27] Arquivo Histórico da Irmandade de Santa Cecília & Montepio Filarmónico – Irmandade de Santa Cecília, *Livro 2.º dos Diretores (1760–1824)*, f. 104v, PT/LSB20/ISC/20/02. *Livrinho da Presidência dos Cantores (1797)*, f. 21v, PT/LSB20/ISC/38/04/020. *Livro de Despesas (1794–1806)*, f. 13r, PT/LSB20/ISC/28/02.
[28] Fernandes, 'O sistema produtivo', i, 146–58.
[29] He is indicated as the first organist of the Basilica of Santa Maria in the register of death inscribed in the cathedral parish (P-Lant, Paróquia de Sé, *Livro de Registo de Óbitos O10 – Cx 27 (1795–1812)*, f. 17v).
[30] This is also the case with the *modinha* published in 1793, whose score identifies Francisco Xavier Baptista as the first organist of the Patriarchal Basilica of Santa Maria. This *modinha* is available at *Biblioteca Nacional Digital*, <http://purl.pt/24526>.
[31] For more on stringed keyboard instruments and the history of the harpsichord and piano in the eighteenth century, see Michael Latcham, 'Pianos and Harpsichords for Their Majesties', *Early Music*, 36/3 (2008), 359–96.
[32] The sentence consists of two parts: the presentation phrase and the continuation phrase. The presentation phrase includes a 'basic idea' and its repetition, which can be exact, supported by dominant (or other) harmony or transposed; the continuation phrase has the function of continuing the presentation – it may include a fragmentation of the material, an increase in rhythmic activity, an acceleration of the harmonic rhythm and a harmonic sequence. It also has a cadential function, which is represented by a cadential progression. See William E. Caplin, *Classical Form: A Theory of Formal Functions for the Instrumental Music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven* (New York, 1998), 35–48.
[33] See Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, 136.
[34] A period consists of an antecedent phrase and a consequent phrase. The antecedent phrase consists of a basic idea and a contrasting idea, usually of two measures each, the latter ending with a half cadence or an imperfect authentic cadence; the consequent phrase consists of the antecedent phrase repetition (although the contrasting idea may be different), ending usually with a perfect authentic cadence. See Caplin, *Classical Form*, 49–58.
[35] The two sonatas are as follows: Sonata in F major entitled *Tocata per cembalo* (P-Ln, M.M. 337, ff. 29r–31v), available at *Biblioteca Nacional Digital*, <http://purl.pt/14380>, the title of which indicates the year 1765; Sonata in D major entitled *Sonata para cravo* (P–Ln, M.M. 338, ff. 1r–4r), available at <http://purl.pt/16631>, datable to the same year according to João Pedro D'Alvarenga, 'Some Preliminaries in Approaching Carlos Seixas' Keyboard Sonatas', *Ad Parnassum: A Journal of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Instrumental Music*, 7/13 (2009), 95–128, specifically 125–6.
[36] For more on the *Prinner*, see Robert O. Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (Oxford, 2007), 45–60.
[37] See Newman, *The Sonata*, 104.

# *Soverchi passaggi*: Grace and Affectation in the Changes in Vocal Ornamentation Practice at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century in Italy

Viviane Alves Kubo

The search for information about the vocal practice of Italy from the beginning of the seventeenth century inevitably ends up in frustration, mainly due to the few primary sources which specifically discuss the voice. Despite this, Sally Sanford shows that outside Italy there are ample written descriptions of vocal practice in the first years of the baroque period, especially from Germany.[1] The most interesting thing is that all these German treatises took the Italian way of singing as their central theme. Among these documents, Book III of Michael Praetorius's *Syntagma Musicum* (1610) and Christoph Bernhard's *Von der Singe-Kunst, oder Maniera* (c.1650) stand out for their influence on later publications and for their judicious systematization of Italian vocal practice at the beginning of the seventeenth century. For Praetorius, the study of the new *Italianische Maniere* would allow his students 'to sing in good style, expressing the *accentus* and *affectus*, as well as the *trilli*, *groppi* and other *coloratures*'.[2] His argument is replicated and mentioned in later German treatises, such as those of Christoph Demantius, *Isagoge artis Musicae* (1632), and Johann Andreas Herbst, *Musica Practica* (1642). The Italian term *maniera* was also chosen by Bernhard to exemplify what was essential to the 'art of singing': '… besides having a good voice, having artistic artifice, which is usually called *Manier*, it becomes necessary to learn what these ornaments are, which are the ones the singer must observe and apply to deserve the name of singer.'[3]

In this context, it is evident that these authors perceived ornamentation as the main characteristic of the Italian way of singing of the early seventeenth century. For Bernhard, for example, ornamentation is the central criterion in his precise categorization of the styles of singing in Italy. In fact, Italian treatises demonstrate the importance of ornamentation, especially *passaggi*, in this part of vocal practice. *Passaggi*, also called diminution, *fioriture*, *minute*, *gorga* or *gorgheggiare*, were probably improvised ornaments, where the figures of a given interval were 'broken', according to Ludovico Zacconi, into smaller figures. The terms *gorga* or *gorgheggiare* were used, since the way of singing these ornaments was 'with the throat' (*con la gorga*) according to Maffei and other theorists who discuss the employment of *passaggi* in singing. Virtuosity and the ability to sing many notes quickly demanded what was called *dispositione di voce*, described by Adriano Banchieri as 'a gift given by the blessed God, which is the voice of great speed'[4] and by Maffei as a *dispositione della gorga* that 'comes from Nature'.[5] Throughout the sixteenth century, numerous treatises were devoted to discussing vocal diminutions, presenting both stylistic and technical instructions. But at the beginning of the seventeenth century, especially in Florence and Rome, this practice becomes a target of criticism. As well as the writings of theorists like Giovanni Battista Doni and Vincenzo Galilei that advocated against polyphony in defense of the new accompanied monody, the few documents that mention the vocal practice of the early *seicento* also present a discourse against some of the singing traditions of the end of the sixteenth century. The majority of these documents consider the typical *passaggi* of the *cinquecento* inappropriate for current musical demands. In the preface to the *Rappresentatione di anima et corpo* (1600), Emilio de' Cavalieri states that to interpret his work correctly, the singer should have '… a beautiful voice, well sung, with support, singing with affection, piano and forte and without *passaggi* …'[6] Caccini considered the

recourse to *passaggi* unnecessary for the good way of singing, which was used only to cause 'a certain twinkling of the ears of those who less understand music ...'[7] To solve those problems, Caccini proposed a *nuova maniera di passaggi* (new way of *passaggi*). The old *passaggi* were designated by the author as *longhi giri di voce* (long rotations of the voice), merely 'conforming to the practice of counterpoint', which was not sufficient for him. Indeed, in order to sing in the old style of *passaggi*, knowledge of counterpoint was the major requirement according to Banchieri, after the *dispositione della voce*.

Vincenzo Giustiniani examined the new style of singing in his *Discorso sopra la musica* (1628):[8]

> For having left the past style, which was very rough, and also the excessive *passaggi* with which they adorned, they are now devoted mainly to a recitative style adorned with grace and ornaments appropriate to the meaning, with some *passaggio* from time to time used with judgment and precision … and above all, making the words well understood, applying to each syllable a note or piano or forte, or adagio or presto, showing in the face and in the gestures the meaning of the idea that is sung, in moderation and without exaggeration.

This description shows important aspects of that vocal practice: fewer old *passaggi*; recitative style; ornaments appropriate to the meaning of the text; the use of dynamics and rhythmic flexibility according to the needs of the text; dramatic gestural and facial expressions. These changes were not a full contradiction of what was happening in the sixteenth century. They were, as Caccini said clearly, a 'new way' of doing something old. Regarding ornaments, the *accento*, *trillo*, *tremolo*, *groppi* and dynamics, like *esclamazione* and the use of *piano* and *forte*, these were mentioned in several treatises as necessary for good singing in the first years of the *seicento*. In almost all of Monteverdi's descriptions of the singers that he recommended or listened to, the composer refers to these ornaments, especially the *trilli*, as the main ornaments of good singers. For Bernhard, these ornaments were exactly what he characterized as *cantar sodo*, a style of singing without *passaggi*, in which the singer 'does not change the notes through *passaggi*, giving each note its special grace.'[9] Zenobi's definition of what he calls *canto schietto* addresses the same ornaments cited by Bernhard: 'They must know the works that ask for *passaggi*, and those that do not request them … They must know how to sing the *canto schietto*, that is, without any *passo*, but only with grace, *trillo*, *tremolo*, *ondegiamento* and *esclamatione*.'[10]

Grace becomes a common term for naming this new way of ornamenting. It refers to some aspects of courtly culture and oratorical art. *Chi ha grazia quello è grato* (he who has grace is graced), says Castiglione when talking about the courtier,[11] who pleases and receives grace. The term grace appears in writings on oratory linked to the orator's objective of delight. For Cicero and Quintilian, the aim of the orator is to teach (*docere*), move (*movere*) and delight (*delectare*) the listeners. For Praetorius, it could be compared to that of the singers who use the 'Italian way' of singing:[12]

> Just as an Orator uses not only vivid words and graceful figures in their speech, but must also pronounce correctly and, to move the affections, raise their voice sometimes gently and sometimes with a full voice, then, a musician does not only sing, but they sing with art and grace.

For Cesare Ripa, in his *Iconologia*, the allegory of Grace was a smiling young woman, holding roses without thorns and using pearls, 'that shine and delight due to a singular and hidden gift of nature, like grace'.[13] It is precisely this act of 'hiding' a gift that would generate grace, according to Castiglione, a virtue that the author calls *sprezzatura*, 'namely, to steer away from affectation at all costs, … which conceals all artistry and makes whatever one says or does seem uncontrived and effortless. I am sure that grace springs especially from this …' In this way, *sprezzattura* is a virtue that is the opposite of affectation. *Affettazione* appears as a vice in the 1764 edition of Ripa's *Iconologia* by Cesare Orlandi, represented by a woman looking in the mirror with a narcissus in one hand, showing her *vanitas* (vanity), and a mask in the other, showing her lack of 'naturalness'.

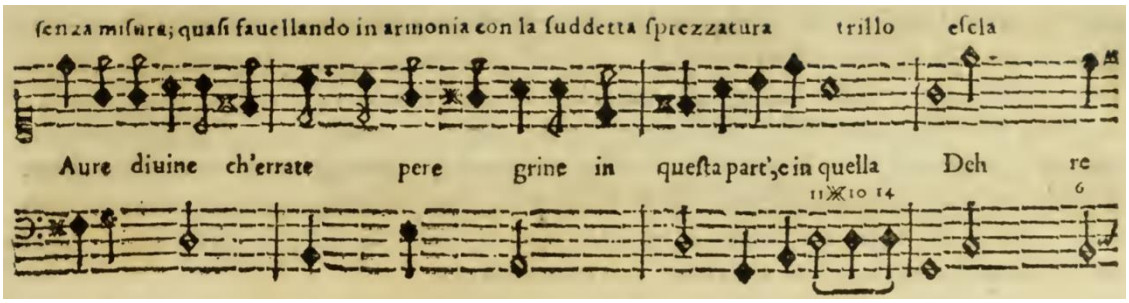

Illus. 1. The vice of Affectation in the 1764 edition of Ripa's *Iconologia* by Cesare Orlandi

For Quintilian, the quest for elegance in speech should occur 'without effort,' 'spontaneously' and 'without revealing affectation'.[14] This studied simplicity is found in action without excesses, demonstrating very little effort. The very concept of virtue for Aristotle refers to the middle state between the excess and the lack, the *mesotes*, in which vice, in this sense, would be an unbalance. The virtues and the vices were aspects related to the behavior of the orator and the courtier as much as to the style of the rhetorical discourse. Therefore, affectation, as a vice, was be the opposite of this 'medium style', as Quintilian says, of the moderation and temperance of rhetorical discourse, of Cicero's *neglegentia diligens* (studied negligence).

The virtue of *sprezzatura* and the vice of affectation influenced the artistic milieu in different ways. For Giorgio Vasari, the concept of grace in art lies in the speed of executing the craft. Turning to Pliny, who placed as a central aspect of grace the speed of the artist in finalizing a work, Vasari considers Michelangelo the 'greatest' in this respect for producing his work with *facilissima facilità* (so much ease) and *in pochissimo tempo* (a very short time). But for Lodovico Dolce, Raphael is considered more gracious than Michelangelo because he shows more simplicity in his art. These fluctuating interpretations of the means to achieve grace in art also appear in music. In the *Discorso sulla voce*, Maffei explicitly mentions the vice of affectation. 'The first rule, for those who want to embrace this virtue, should be to escape, as the main enemy, affectation … since one must exercise music with little pretense.'[15] In spite of the author's request regarding the observance of the rules concerning the appropriate places to insert *passaggi*, and the need to avoid exaggeration in the use of these ornaments, affectation in singing, for Maffei, is more related to a singer's arrogant stance than to the manner that the *passaggi* is applied. The speed of diminutions and their virtuosity are not considered exaggerated by this author and, in fact, they can be associated with the velocity cited by Vasari. In the seventeenth century, as we have seen, the term grace was used to distinguish the new ornaments from the old ones. Caccini sees the old *passaggi* as futilities, as 'long rotations of the voice', that is too long, and Giustiniani calls the ancient *passaggi* 'rough' and 'exaggerated'. Roughness is a rhetorical quality opposed to sweetness, which is cited by Giovanni Della Casa in his *Galateo* as the

principal facet of grace and the behavior of the courtier. For this author, grace appears when things 'are well composed, and well separated one from the other, and all together; in which without measure, the good is not beautiful, and beauty is not pleasant'.[16] Grace, in this sense, comes from clarity, from things properly distinguished. Using this concept, we can infer that the use of the term *schietto* by Zenobi, which could be translated as 'pure' or 'sincere', as well as Bernhard's *sodo*, which has the sense of 'firm' or 'base', reflect the ideal of a lighter, simpler singing style, without exaggeration. Comparing the new ornaments considered as 'graces' with sixteenth-century vocal diminutions, we can state that an excessive number of notes in ornamentation was considered an aspect of affectation in the early seventeenth century, probably because of the lack of clarity in the musical discourse. In another sense of excess, Doni, in his *Lyra Barberina*, uses the term *affettazione* to discuss the unbalance in the *crescendo* of the *mezza di voce*: 'they begin quietly, and little by little raising their voices so much, they pass from one extreme to the other with overwhelming affectation (*soverchia affettazione*)'.[17]

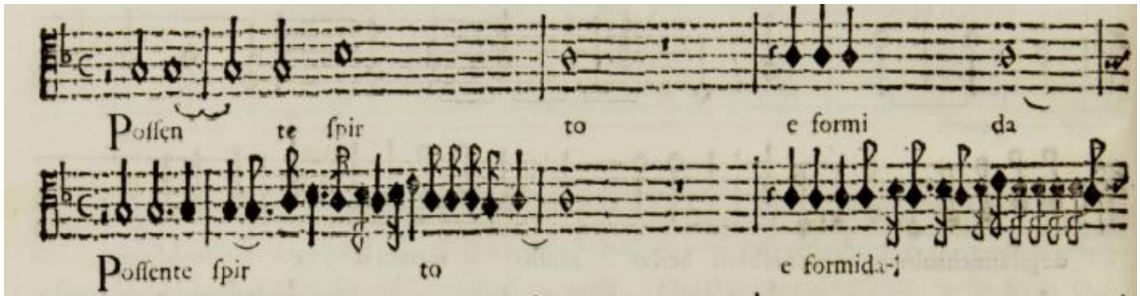
Castiglione's term *sprezzatura* is used by Caccini to speak of a kind of 'grace that is given to singing' in which the aim is to emulate the eloquence of common speech. Caccini defends a certain rhythmic malleability, asking the singer to observe the places where it is necessary according to the sentiments of the words, to sing 'without submitting to ordered time, often by halving the value of the note according to the meaning of the words, wherein *sprezzatura* in singing is born …'[18] In a musical example, Caccini demonstrates where this feature should be applied, emphasizing the *senza misura* aspect of 'almost talking in harmony' of this example:




Ex. 1. Caccini's indication for the application of the *sprezzatura*: '*senza misura, quasi favellando in armonia con la sudetta sprezzatura*'.

In the idea of 'talking in harmony', we find the second sense in which *passaggi* and the vice of affectation are associated. Affectation is both excess in art as well as a lack of naturalness. According to the Accademia della Crusca Dictionary (third edition, 1691), affectation is a 'way of acting or speaking, in which what is lacking in nature shows itself in excess of study'. Under the strong influence from the Aristotelian concept of verisimilitude in singing, the theorists of the beginning of *seicento* thought that *passaggi* no longer represented the naturalness of speech. As Rognoni points out in his treatise, the singer needs to avoid singing in which 'we hear more the voice with which the word is sung than the word that is sung, and *passaggi* on words that signify pains, worries and torments'. For this author, 'instead of *passaggi*, use *grace accenti* and *esclamationi*, sometimes diminishing the voice, sometimes increasing it … according to the meaning of the text.'[19] The use of ornaments in opera, even the new ones mentioned by Rognoni, would not be much appreciated exactly because of the unnaturalness that this artifice causes, according to the anonymous author of *Il Corago* (1630). Regarding the recitative style, he states that 'It also lacks the ornaments and beauty that adorn singing so well – I am referring … to *passaggi*, *trilli*, *accenti* – because they are very far from the natural way of speaking and they prevent the evocation of affections.' For Doni, *passaggi* in opera cause an 'impediment to … the affections, and to the prompt intelligibility of the words.' An absence of ornaments in musical dramas would leave the style of singing in this genre tedious, according to the author of *Il Corago*, who suggests that one way to fix this would be the use of singer-characters. 'Singing moments' would provide an opportunity for the use of ornaments, 'because

those verses that must be represented through singing will provide occasions both to the composer and to the singer to make those *passaggi* and *vaguezze* which the current *stile recitativo* is devoid of, and thus bring variety to all the action and remove the tedium and annoyance.'[20] In his *Orfeo* (1609), Monteverdi seems almost to follow the suggestion that the author of *Il Corago* made decades later. In harmony with the new genre's demand of verisimilitude, in 'Possente Spirto', in which Orfeo sings to enchant Charon, the composer seems to reinforce the permission to use embellishments. Monteverdi published this aria in two versions, one without ornaments and the other ornamented with the new early seventeenth-century graces: *trillo, groppi, accenti*. According to some authors, such as Lorenzo Bianconi and Stanley Sadie, the embellished version was possibly a kind of tribute to the singer Francesco Rasi, the first Orfeo, a student of Caccini and acclaimed in several reports for his ability to apply ornamentation.



Ex. 2. The two versions of 'Possente Spirto' from Monterverdi's *Orfeo* (edition from 1609).

**Conclusion**

The vice of affectation and the virtue of *sprezzatura* seem to have influenced in different ways the practice of singing at the end of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth century in Italy. In the *cinquecento*, affectation was a vice mainly associated with the singer's arrogant stance and the *passaggi* were a way of demonstrating grace in singing. At the beginning of the baroque period virtuosity became a barrier to the goal of affective transmission. The singer's goal of imitating natural speech and the association of affectation with a lack of naturalness meant that excessive notes became synonymous with this vice in music. In this new style, it was not enough to understand the principles of the counterpoint, but also necessary to decorate music with a poetic and dramatic sensibility. There are no longer clear rules about how to make or insert these new ornaments, such as those in the *passaggi* documents. Treatises that promised to teach how to sing ornaments *senza maestro*, such as Maffei's *Discorso*, probably aimed at the '*Gentilhuomini* who do not earn their bread from singing', as Zacconi points out, were no longer possible. As Castiglione says, 'I will say that anyone who wants to have grace … should start early and learn the principles with the best masters.' In this sense, singing becomes an artisanal practice passed from master to apprentice, in which the new ornaments are associated with virtue, a virtue that, according to Aristotle, was the result of *actio* (action). Moderation comes from the practice of moderation, states the philosopher. As a practice that was learned from practice, this gracious singing was transmitted exclusively through oral tradition by the first masters, such as Peri, Caccini and Monteverdi, with few testimonials in prefaces, letters and general documents about music. In this way, the singer, especially the soloist, comes to symbolize and embody virtues of the orator and the nobleman, in which vices such as affectation must play no part.

[1] See Sally Sanford, 'A Comparison of French and Italian Singing in the Seventeenth Century', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 1 (1995), <http://sscm-jscm.org/jscm/v1/no1/sanford.html>.

[2] 'Newen Italianischen Manier, zur guten Art im singen sich gewehnen, die Accentus unnd affectus exprimirn, auch die Trillen, Gruppen unnd andere coloraturen'.

[3] Cristoph Bernhard, *Von der Singe Kunst, oder Maniera* ('daß man fertig alles was vorkömt, weg singet, sondern auch benebenst der guten Stimme eine künstliche Art, welche man insgemein die Manier nennet, erfordert wird, also ist nötig zu

erlernen, welche denn diejenige Kunststücke sind, welche ein Singer beobachtend und anbringend eines Sängers Nahmen verdienet').

[4] Banchieri, *Cartella overo regola utilissime* (1601), 55 ('un dono datogli da Iddio benedetto, che è la voce atta al motto veloce').

[5] Camillo Maffei, *Discorso della voce* (1562), 31 ('la dispositione della gorga viene dalla Natura').

[6] *Rappresentazione di anima et corpo* (1600), 3 ('Che il cantante habbia bella voce, bene inttuonata e che la porte salda, che canti con affetto, piano e forte, senza passaggi').

[7] Giulio Caccini, *Le Nuove Musiche* (1601), 6.

[8] Vicenzo Giustiniani, *Discorso sopra la musica de' suoi tempi* (1628) ('È ben la musica ridotta in un'insolita e quasi nuova perfezzione, venendo esercitata da gran numero de' buoni musici, che disciplinati dalli suddetti buoni maestri porgono col canto loro artificioso e soave molto diletto a chi li sente. Perché avendo lasciato lo stile passato, che era assai rozzo, et anche li soverchi passaggi con li quali si ornava, attendono ora per lo più ad uno stile recitativo ornato di grazia et ornamenti appropriati al concetto, con qualche passaggio di tanto in tanto tirato con giudizio e spiccato, e con appropriate e variate consonanze, dando segno del fine di ciascun periodo, nel che li compositori d'oggi dì con le soverchie e frequentate cadenze sogliono arrecar noia; e sopra tutto con far intender bene le parole, applicando ad ogni sillaba una nota or piano or forte, or adagio, or presto, mostrando nel viso e nei gesti segno del concetto che si canta, ma con moderazione e non soverchi').

[9] Cristoph Bernhard, *Von der Singe-Kunst oder Maniera* (c.1650) ('es dieselben nicht mit passagiren verändert, sondern einer jeden Note insonderheit ihre Zierlichkeit ertheilet').

[10] Luigi Zenobi, 'Lettera per i musici perfetti' (c.1600) ('Deve conoscer l'opere, che vogliono passaggi, e quelle, che non li richieggono. Deve cantando una medesma cosa piu volte, variar passi sempre. Deve saper cantare il canto schietto, cioe senza passo alcuno ma solo con gratia, trillo, tremolo, ondeggiamento, et esclamatione'). See Bonnie J. Blackburn and Edward E. Lowinsky, 'Luigi Zenobi and his Letter on the Perfect Musician', *Studi musicali*, 22 (1993), 61–114.

[11] Baldassare Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano* (Lyon, 1562).

[12] Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, Book III (1610) ('Gleich wie eines Oratoris Ampt ist, nicht allein eine Oration mit schönen anmutigen lebhafftigen Worten, unnd herrlichen Figuris zu zieren, sondern auch recht zu pronunciiren, und die affectus zu moviren, In dem er bald die Stimmen erhebet, bald sincken lesset, bald mit mächtiger und sanffter, bald mit gantzer und voller Stimme redet. Also ist eines Musicanten nicht allein singen, besondern Künstlich und anmütig singen').

[13] Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (1593) ('e le Perle, le quali risplendono, e piacciono per singolare, e occulto dono della natura.')

[14] Quintilian, *Instituto Oratoria*, Book II.

[15] Ibid., 32 ('La prima dunque regola sia, che colui che vuole abbracciar questa virtù, debbia fuggire, come capital nemica, l'affettatione, percioche (...) quanto con minor pretendimento si deve la musica essercitare').

[16] Della Casa, *Il Galateo* (1558) ('non è altro leggiadria, che una cotale quasi luce, che risplende dalla convenevolezza delle cose, che sono ben composte, e ben divisate l'una coll'altra, e tutte insieme; senza la qual misura eziandio il bene non è bello, e la bellezza non è piacevole').

[17] Giovanni Battista Doni, 'Tratatto della musica cenica', *Lyra Barberina* (1763) ('cominciano sommessamente, alzano a poco a poco tanto la voce, che passano da uno estremo all'altro con soverchia affettazione').

[18] Giulio Caccini, *Le Nuove Musiche* (1602) ('senza sottoposi à misura ordinata, facendo molte volte il valor delle note la metà meno secondo i concetti delle parole, onde ne nasce quel canto poi in sprezzatura').

[19] Francesco Rognoni, *Selva di Varii passaggi* (1620) ('se più s 'habbia far sentire la voce, con che si canta la parola, che l 'istessa parola che si canta, s'hanno ancora a guardare da passaggi sopra parole significanti doglia, affanni, pene, tormenti, & simili cose, perche invece de passaggi, s'usano fare gratie, accenti, & esclamationi, scemando hor la voce, for accrescendola, con movimenti dolci, e soavi, & tal'hora con voce mesta, &dogliosa, conforme il senso dell'oratione').

[20] *Il Corago* (1630) ('o vero alcune osservazioni per metter bene in scena le composizioni drammatiche.')

# John Jenkins, *Fantasia Suites III*, ed. Andrew Ashbee, Musica Britannica 104 (London, 2019). ISBN 978 0 85249 956 6; xxxvii + 186 pp. (score); £105.

Hazel Brooks

John Jenkins (1592–1678) needs little introduction as a master composer for the viol. His long life, which stretched from the reign of Elizabeth I well into the Restoration period, saw the unfolding of momentous events in British history, and enormous changes in society, thinking, and the arts. Small wonder, then, that over the course of his life, his musical style changed through the influence of other composers and current fashions, whilst maintaining its own inimitable flavour.

His so-called fantasia-suites (not a seventeenth-century term) exemplify the way in which he responded to changing musical tastes. This type of suite typically consists of an opening fantasia movement followed by a couple of dance movements, and is most commonly scored for one or two violins with one or two bass viols and organ. The genre originated with John Coprario, who created it for the musicians of the household of the future Charles I, probably in the early 1620s. The form continued to be popular thereafter. A number of other composers, including Orlando Gibbons, William Lawes and John Hingeston were influenced by Coprario's fantasia-suites, developing the form and making it their own. None was more prolific in the genre than Jenkins, who took it to its peak. His numerous fantasia-suites are traditionally categorised into groups, numbered with Roman numerals, according to instrumentation and groupings in the sources. This way of referring to them was first used by Christopher Field and has become standard usage in Jenkins scholarship.[1]

This volume contains all of Jenkins' fantasia-suites for treble, bass viol and organ, a small but perfectly formed combination, eminently practical for domestic settings. It includes some of his earliest examples (the 17 suites in this instrumentation which form group I), along with two later examples (group IV: nos. 18 and 19 in this volume). The group I pieces (nos. 1–17 in this edition) are thought to have been written during the 1630s and early 1640s, although they have only survived in various later manuscripts, notably one now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, which once belonged to the North family, with whom Jenkins was associated in the 1650s and 60s. The group I pieces clearly show the influence of Coprario's suites. Jenkins was not only familiar with these, but even wrote organ parts for some of them, for one of his patrons, Sir Nicholas L'Estrange. The group IV suites, which are preserved in a number of manuscripts, including one formerly belonging to L'Estrange, must have been finished by the mid-1650s. In 1654, Bulstrode Whitelocke is thought to have taken the group IV suites with him on his embassy to Sweden, where they were copied and still survive in a manuscript that is part of the Düben Collection in Uppsala University Library.

All the suites in this edition have three movements. Those of the earlier group I suites are labelled Fantasia, Almain and Ayre (the latter being a galliard, like in Coprario's suites), whilst those of the group IV suites are Fantasia, Air (basically an almain) and Corant. The change of final movement type shows Jenkins keeping abreast of the latest trends. The suites in this edition encompass a wide range of home keys as well as containing harmonic and chromatic interest within movements, although this aspect is less radical than in some of Jenkins' other works.

Although the treble instrument is not specified by Jenkins and fits well on a treble viol, it better suits the bright and vigorous style of the violin, an instrument which was growing in popularity by the middle of the century and which Jenkins himself took up later in life. Violins would unquestionably have been used for this type of music at court and almost all

fantasia-suites by other composers specify their use. It is possible that in the provincial country houses, where Jenkins spent the Interregnum (and indeed most of his life thereafter, despite receiving a court post at the Restoration), fashions changed more slowly and treble viol use survived longer, so it was in Jenkins' interest to hedge his bets and keep the labels vague.

The musical interest of the violin and bass viol parts of these fantasia-suites is entirely equal; both feature Jenkins' characteristically flowing melodies and there is plenty of interplay between the instruments. The two later suites in the volume (nos. 18 and 19) are considerably more technically demanding, with displays of elaborate viol and violin divisions involving complex rhythms with demisemiquavers, as well as adventurous string-crossings and occasional double stops. These clearly point the way to the extreme virtuosity of Jenkins' group III and group VI suites, which give an indication of what a phenomenal viol player he himself must have been. Although the group I suites are simpler, two of them (nos. 12 and 15) contain some semiquaver writing which perhaps foreshadows the passagework of nos. 18 and 19. Of course it is likely that players would have added their own improvised divisions in the group I examples, so performances were probably considerably more elaborate than the impression given by the score.

The organ part in the earlier suites is written out as an obbligato. It frequently doubles the string parts, although there are plenty of independent interludes. In the two later suites, a written-out organ part is extant for only one movement (the Fantasia of no. 18), the rest surviving only as a bass line with occasional continuo figures. Andrew Ashbee has provided a sensitive and convincing reconstruction, based on Jenkins' organ writing in his other suites. The overall texture of the suites is ear-tickling, making the most of the contrast between the brightness of the violin and the sonorous bass-viol's sound, knitted together by the doubling organ part, that creates a wonderfully transparent and resonant whole.

Andrew Ashbee's very readable introduction is packed with fascinating facts about Jenkins' life, patrons and influences as well as comments on the music itself. He includes some advice on performance practice, as well as three beautifully reproduced facsimile pages from the manuscripts. There is a section giving detailed information about the numerous sources, and suggestions for further reading about these. The sources for the group I suites comprise four manuscripts, but only one (previously belonging to the North family) contains the entire set of group I suites. One of these manuscripts also contains part of the group IV suites. Altogether there are five manuscript sources for group IV, but only one (now in Uppsala) contains the complete string parts, and three of the others are missing the final two movements of no. 19. The editorial criteria are clearly stated at the beginning, with a detailed textual commentary at the back of the volume. This leaves the musical score itself clean and easy to read.

From a performer's viewpoint, the music is clearly laid out, although with scant regard for page turns. The music is available in score format only in this volume. Like other Musica Britannica volumes, its fine-quality pages make it pleasant to touch and read, and usefully it stays open by itself, but as a large (albeit very smart) hardback book it is too heavy to use on an ordinary metal music stand. String parts are available for purchase separately. Unfortunately I have not seen these, but Musica Britannica performing parts are usually excellent.

Jenkins was a first-rate composer, yet so prolific in his output that many of his works are still not as well-known as they deserve to be. Most of the music in this fine edition (excluding the group IV pieces) is previously unpublished. It represents an excellent addition to the repertoire for violin and viol, which can also be enjoyed by treble viol players, and makes an important contribution to our understanding of Jenkins the composer.

[1] Christopher D. S. Field, 'The English Consort Suite of the Seventeenth Century', Ph.D. thesis (University of Oxford, 1970).

# Stephen Rose, *Musical Authorship from Schütz to Bach* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2019) ISBN 9781108421072; xvi + 243 pp. £75.

Robert G. Rawson

Stephen Rose's *Musical Authorship from Schütz to Bach* is a welcome new volume on the topic of authorship, in this case within the specific paradigm of Lutheranism in German culture. It is an expertly and elegantly written book, with an inspiring amount and quality of research. The introduction does a succinct job of framing the central matters of the book; namely the age-old issues of authorship, with Rose finding a *via media* in his approach that is closer to Foucault than to Barthes. Making a distinction between print and manuscript sources (while acknowledging the work of Strohm and others in the area) at this early point in the book is not only helpful, but also nicely frames the discussions of chapters that follow. In Anglophone scholarship, this book will be a must-read for anyone interested in issues of authorship, ownership and the artistic agency of performers and composers. Perhaps the most compelling material is near the end, untangling and clarifying the conceptual and often separate worlds of composer and performer and their respective roles. A particular strength of Rose's approach is the clarity and focus of the material. He stays on topic with Lutheranism and the German states, successfully avoiding painting with a too-wide brush. This focussed approach also avoids oversimplifying or reducing things along national lines to 'German music', for example. At its core, the book offers new ways of thinking about the Lutheran world in the period between Schütz and Bach.

Organised in six chapters (with an introduction and conclusion as bookends) the main part of the book begins with a discussion around the impetus to create and beliefs about its origins; for the Lutheran adherents, this comes from God alone, contrasting with humanist understandings from free will and individual agency. Lutheran theology of the seventeenth century held that creativity and creative ideas were pre-existing and could only be realised by men (God holds the agency to create, not composers). Rose helpfully takes on the issue of the markings 'JJ' and 'SDG' in musicians' scores, arguing convincingly that such markings indicate something of how musicians conceive their role in society, following Luther's treatise on good works. As a result of that understanding, a heavy responsibility to realise God's pre-ordained design was placed on the shoulders of the Lutheran composer.

The topic of composers realising these obligations leads to the second chapter: 'Between *Imitatio* and Plagiarism', examines where composers and musical thinkers sought a middle ground between imitation and outright plagiarism. I also wonder if the very act of copying (that is, writing out) the works of revered masters by students was part of the *imitatio* paradigm outlined here. Rose does some much-needed debunking in this chapter and makes it clear that musical works were understood as the 'personal capital' of musicians and he offers compelling evidence from source materials. Of particular interest (and new to me) was the writing of the Jena-based musician Georg Quitschrieber (p. 50) who makes a clear distinction between legitimate and illegitimate kinds of borrowing. This might have been an opportunity to unpack in greater detail the underlying meaning in the precise choice of models to be imitated; that is, that imitating particular composers or works nailed one's colours to the mast. Rose does address this issue in Schütz's motet, 'Wohl dem, der den Herren fürchtet' (SWV 30), which is initially built around the opening of Giovanni Gabrieli's motet 'Beati omnes'. Here we can see Schütz not only admitting his Italianate credentials, but perhaps deliberately associating himself with Gabrieli specifically. Rose also offers some examples on the less-impressive side of the *imitatio*–plagiarism fence; with some, perhaps less-able, composers resorting to plagiarism of varying degrees, under emerging professional and commercial pressures, from which the discussion turns neatly from music and commerce to the subject of 'Signs of Individuality' in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3 is a refreshing take on a rather basic question: what makes a composer's voice unique? Here, Rose recalls one of the central themes of the first chapter; that is, just as composition itself is the mere realisation of divine will, so too is the creative profile that identifies one composer from the next. This, in turn, moves on to musical ownership in Chapter 4 and 'The Regulation of Novelty' in Chapter 5. In the latter chapter Rose argues that the demand for new music was less a result of emerging 'modernity', but rather the result of capitalist tendencies in German Lutheran culture. This chapter will also generate further discussion, though I found the notion that a 'fashion' for new things accounted for an insatiable appetite for new music a compelling argument. I wondered if part of this demand for new music might itself be a religiously driven one – where Lutheranism highlighted the temporary nature of man-made things and opposed, to some degree, the building of monuments as false idols. This latter suggestion sounds more apt for Calvinist thinking, but nevertheless, Rose's research raises important questions to ask about the rest of Europe and the New World: why did certain quarters emphasise the newness and novelty of music and others not? Take musically conservative countries like Spain or Sweden—were they less capitalistic than the German states?

The book concludes in Chapter 6 with a re-evaluation – in the German-Lutheran context – of the relationship between composition and performance and consequently between composers and performers. Rose argues that within this particular paradigm, composition and performance were understood as distinctly separate musical phenomena. This chapter is also likely to generate further scholarly discourse on the subject. Rose's argument here makes a welcome contribution to wider changes in other parts of Europe at the time. For example, Croft's decision to publish his *Musica Sacra* (1724) in score, rather than in the usual set of parts, was made explicit in his introduction to the volume; that scores enable the study of music (rather than performance). Rose takes a cue from W. Printz (1688) to distinguish between sounded and notated music as *quantitas intrinseca* and *quantitas extrinseca*, respectively. This section is particularly thought-provoking and Rose offers succinct and compelling case studies from Beer and a few others, arguing that 'many musicians regarded the role of performers as involving the improvement and individuation of compositions in ways that could not be captured in notation' (p. 196); though Rose also notes the Italian origins of such thinking. This framework leaves ornamentation in an unusual place – at least in how we might put it into practice today. Beer, for one, regarded ornamentation as *quantitas intrinseca* because it cannot be represented (adequately?) in notation. I found this particularly attractive; essentially, there is a danger that the approaches to ornamentation might follow the prescriptions too closely and therefore diminish the unique character of each performance; an approach perhaps best characterised by Beer's conclusion as to why composers should not offer ornamentation suggestions, namely because they are then intruding on the pluralistic liberty of performers: 'Music is devoted to the shape of freedom, for it does not let itself be prescribed, still less compelled'.

The composer-performer, though, was a special category. Here, the composer is understood as the authoritative performer of their own works. I did wonder if Rose's comments on some of the selective or even secretive approaches of certain performers might have also served his line of reasoning about the rise of capitalist thinking earlier in the book; where perhaps the secretive and selective approaches were ways of 'adding value' or (gasp) the baroque equivalents of 'unique selling points'. I have previously suggested something similar in the context of central-European Catholic music, but Rose's framework about the rise of the market economy has certainly given pause for further reflection on the subject. So highly regarded and embodied were the performances of their own works by composer-performers that Huygens went so far as to argue that Froberger's music 'can hardly be played properly with the original instruction of the author' (cited on p. 200). This was not always the case and in the ensuing section on intentionality, Rose identifies examples where composers were not the ideal performers of their own works.

By focussing on a clearly defined time, place and collective religious framework, Stephen Rose has been able to cast new light on some previously shadowy areas of German music and especially how we think about that

music. Although made clear in the title, Rose's research here (and the case studies therein) are focussed on the German-speaking Lutheran world. Useful as this is, both acknowledging and comparing practises with their Italian models in print culture (for instance the set of concepts behind the use of opus numbers, an Italian, and thereby Catholic, phenomenon) would be a welcome next step (itself a testimony to the thought-provoking nature of many parts of the book). This is, of course, a goal of research: to generate new knowledge and methodologies; and here Rose succeeds wonderfully – a landmark book that deals robustly with some of the core questions in historical musicology.

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Compiled by James Hume

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