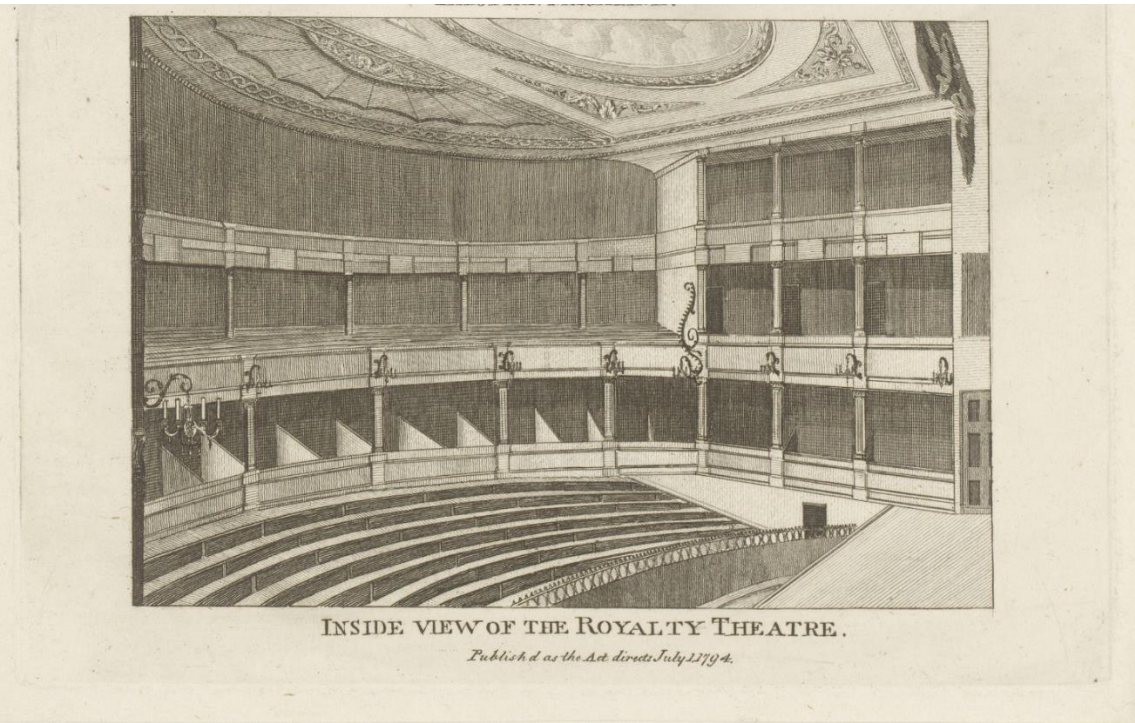
EARLY MUSIC PERFORMER



JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL EARLY MUSIC ASSOCIATION

ISSUE 51

December 2022

I.S.S.N 1477-478X

Published biannually by Ruxbury Publications (Hebden Bridge) on behalf of
the National Early Music Association (NEMA)

COVER: 'Inside View of the Royalty Theatre. Publish'd as the Act directs July 1794', *Thespian Magazine and Literary Repository*. Image obtained from *Rijksmuseum* (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.715650).

Editorial

The present issue of *EMP* will be the last to be printed and also my last as editor. One reason for these changes is that the National Early Music Association (NEMA), the UK-based organisation that publishes the journal in conjunction with Ruxbury Publications (Hebden Bridge, UK), will cease to charge membership fees, which were used partly to pay for printing, as of 2023. However, this publication is not about to disappear: an online version is to be developed in conjunction with the creation of a new NEMA website. The main task of the new editor, with the support of a UK higher education institution with which NEMA is currently in contact, will be to transform *EMP* into an online, open-access journal. While its precise shape will be in the hands of my successors, it is intended that the new publication will retain its focus on historical performance, maintain scholarly standards, and endeavour to be of interest to a broad readership. When I began as editor in 2009 I did not imagine I would still be involved 28 issues and 13 years later. That I have been able to continue all this time is a testament to the support I have received over the years from the editorial board and the external reviewers I have called upon, from editorial assistants, especially James Hume (who has been responsible for the journal's valued publications list since 2013), from Jerry Burbidge (Ruxbury Publications), and from members of the NEMA council.

It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that since *EMP*'s inception over 20 years ago under the editorship of Chris Goodwin (1999–2001), and then of Bryan White (2002–2009), who was responsible for consolidating the journal's current format, some valuable research has been published in these pages. In my time as editor it has been a privilege to work with an array of authors who have contributed to knowledge of diverse areas of historical performance and related topics. In 2015, with the support of the NEMA council, I instigated an open-access, online archive of back issues with the aim of increasing the journal's exposure, particularly among the community of performers and musicologists whose research is increasingly accomplished online and who may only rarely have access to a fully equipped research library and its resources. It has not been updated recently while the development of the new website is ongoing. However, it is my hope that the new *EMP*, in whatever precise form it takes, will continue in this spirit. I know that some readers are going to miss having a printed version to hand, though in turning *EMP* into an open-access publication with institutional support, its future and potential for further development will undoubtedly be secured. The 839 followers of *EMP*'s Facebook page, only a portion of whom I suspect are full-time academics, are certainly indicative of a substantial community that wishes to be kept informed of what is published. In spite of some radical changes to musicological research and teaching in recent years, there clearly remains widespread interest in what *EMP* has set out to offer its readers throughout its existence. I am optimistic that it will continue to flourish by adapting to the needs of its readership and of current and potential future contributors.

Andrew Woolley
November 2022
awoolley [at] fcsh.unl.pt

John Hindmarsh, 1758–1796, Violinist and Viola Player

Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson

In late eighteenth-century London, leading instrumentalists generally came from families of practising musicians and were often of foreign extraction. John Hindmarsh had the double disadvantage of being an Englishman born and brought up in the City of London and of not having a musical background. When Haydn listed sixteen of London's violinists in his first London notebook in 1791, Hindmarsh's name was the only English one.[1] In the first five or six years of his career he was advertised for venues in the City, but was later increasingly employed in more fashionable West End concert rooms.[2] Hindmarsh directed concerts and oratorios from the first violin desk, performed violin and viola concertos and was the viola player of choice for Johann Peter Salomon's concerts during Haydn's London visits.[3]

Early years in the City of London

John Hindmarsh was baptised on 27 July 1758 at St Botolph, Bishopsgate, and was buried there 38 years later.[4] His parents, James Hindmarsh and Mary Dolman, had been married at St Botolph and his father died when John was eight years old.[5] The records of the Musicians' Livery Company show that on 16 January 1773 'John Hindmarsh son of James Hindmarsh late of the parish of St Botolph Bishopsgate Shoemaker deceased was bound apprentice to Edward Boxley … Musician for seven years. And the same day by consent of all parties was turned over to George Buckland, Citizen and Plaisterer (a Musician by profession) for the whole term.' At the age of 24 John Hindmarsh paid £1.10 shillings and was admitted to the Musicians' Company of the City of London.[6]

Only a small proportion of London's music making was advertised in the newspapers or recorded in letters or diaries, and the first details of a performance by Hindmarsh come from the chance survival of a bill. On 1 July 1782 he was 'First Violin, with a Concerto' in Mr Brett's annual subscription concert at Coachmakers' Hall, Foster Lane, Cheapside. Brett was a minor singer and almost certainly the teacher of the two singers listed in the programme. Tickets were available from five places, including from 'Mr. HINDMARSH, Musician, No. 2, Stewart-street, Spitalfields'.[7] His next known appearance was again at Coachmakers' Hall, a benefit in April of the following year for 'a FAMILY, under great Misfortune'.[8] He was again 'First Violin, with a Concerto', and as in 1782 was the only performer named as a seller of tickets. The mixed nature of the programmes offered for these two occasions were typical for concerts of this period:

Mr Brett's annual subscription concert (1782):
Act 1: Overture (Stamitz); song; glee; cello concerto; song, harpsichord concerto.
Act 2: Overture; glee; song; duet for violin and viola; song; violin concerto; full chorus.

Charity benefit concert (1783):
Act 1: Overture (Stamitz); song; trio for violin; viola and bass; song; harpsichord concerto.
Act 2: Overture (Abel); song; duet for violin and cello; glee; violin concerto; Coronation Anthem [*Zadok the Priest*].

Each concert was followed by a ball. Hindmarsh's concerto occupied the place of honour immediately before the finale and he appears to have been already capable of directing music from the first violin desk. On these occasions, as for many later performances, we do not know who composed his violin concerto. The only instrumentalist apart from Hindmarsh named for either concert was John Groombridge, the organist of St Stephen Colman Street, who played a harpsichord concerto in the 1783 concert. In October 1785 Groombridge and Hindmarsh published a proposal for a series of ten subscription concerts at Coachmakers' Hall.[9] No further details appear to survive, but as the first concert was to be only three days after this advertisement one can

assume that the subscription was already well under way.

In April 1783 Hindmarch played for a more eccentric City organist, Thomas Curtis, in a concert and ball at the Crown and Rolls Tavern, Chancery Lane. (Leading inns had assembly rooms or 'great rooms' attached to them, and these are where the concerts and balls took place.) This concert contained the usual mixture of vocal and instrumental music, but Curtis also performed his party piece, his 'singular and much-admired imitation of the French Horn and Bassoon'.[10] A month later Hindmarsh joined the Royal Society of Musicians, described as being 24 years of age and having 'no Incumbrance'. The clerk noted that he had 'served his regular Apprenticeship he plays the violin, clarinet and tenor'.[11] At this time in England the usual term for the viola was 'tenor', but during the last few years of Hindmarsh's career use of the name 'viola' became more common. ('Viola' will be used in this article except in quotations, to avoid possible confusion with the tenor voice.) There seems to be no record of Hindmarsh playing the clarinet in public, but it may have enabled him to earn some money in the early stages of his career. On 26 March 1784 he participated in a slightly grander benefit concert further west, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, with five popular theatre singers also on the bill. He was again the first violin and played a concerto.[12]

Hindmarsh was one of the numerous 'First Violins' in the Handel Commemoration concerts in late May and early June 1784, and no doubt continued to play in these festivals in succeeding years. He was employed in more benefit concerts in the next two years, including one for the Humane Society at Freemasons' Hall on 13 February 1786. The Humane Society had been set up in 1774 to promote the resuscitation of people apparently dead from drowning, and claimed to have already saved 878 people. Hindmarsh figured among the five principal instrumentalists, a list headed by Salomon.[13] He appeared again with Salomon in the following year, at a benefit for the harpist Edward Jones, and this was probably his first appearance at the leading West End venue, the Hanover Square Rooms.[14] Hindmarsh played viola in a quartet, as we know from the *Morning Herald*'s review: 'To the rich Quartetto of Pleyel, Messieurs Salomon, Borghi, Hindmarsh, and Smith did ample justice, imparting the happiest effect, to the judicious transitions of the subject from one instrument to another'.[15] Playing the viola in a quartet led by Salomon was to become an important part of Hindmarsh's career at the fashionable end of town, and the statement by John Sainsbury, in his *Dictionary of Musicians* (1824), that Hindmarsh was a pupil of Salomon, seems very likely to be correct.

In May 1786 Hindmarsh organised what may have been his own first benefit concert, at the Paul's Head Tavern, Cateaton Street, Aldermanbury, advertised as 'A Grand CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, under the direction of Mr. Hindmarsh'.[16] The evening began with a 'New Overture [i.e. symphony]' by Haydn, included a concertante by Carl Stamitz for two violins and viola and ended with the 'Battle Overture' by Johann Martini. Hindmarsh played a violin concerto, Louis De Camp a flute concerto, Francis Phillips a cello concerto and 'Mess: Leanders' a concerto for French horns.[17] (Lewis Henry and Vincent Thomas, the young sons of the horn player Thomas Leander had played a concerto for two horns by Francois Hippolyte Barthelemon at Freemasons' Hall on 27 March.[18]) For his concert, Hindmarsh engaged two singers, the alto Michael Leoni (Myer Lyon) and Leoni's very promising young pupil, who was advertised as 'Master Abram, being his first appearance in publick'. On the day of the performance the name appeared as 'Master Abrahams' for Part 1 and 'Master Abrams' for Part 2.[19] The same young singer was to be employed by Hindmarsh for his benefit concert in 1787, by which time he had become 'Master Braham', the future great English tenor John Braham (?1774–1856). A month after his second appearance for Hindmarsh, the boy appeared at his master's Covent Garden benefit, when he sang Thomas Arne's 'The soldier tired of war's alarms' as an entr'acte. He was billed as making 'his first appearance on any stage'.[20] Accounts of Braham give this Covent Garden performance as his first public appearance, and Hindmarsh's part in launching his career has been lost. Leoni sang on the London stage from 1760, first as a child and then as a falsetto alto, having a particular success as Don Carlos, a role written for him in the English opera *The Duenna* (1775) by Thomas Linley and Richard Sheridan.[21] He worked in Dublin from 1782 to 1784 and after that made only very occasional appear-

ances on the London stage while working as Cantor at the Duke Street Synagogue, where the young Braham also sang. On the day of Braham's Covent Garden debut, a puff for Leoni's benefit appeared in the *World*:[22]

> His Pupil, Master Braham, is to make his entry in the Vocal Line; the very great encouragement this young Gentleman has received from those that have heard him (and particularly from his own people) will venture to proclaim that he will become as great a favorite of the public as his master. Mr Palmer, who is ever watchful to collect those performers who can please the audience – hath engaged both at a great salary for his Royal Theatre.

The Royalty was to play an important part in the development of Hindmarsh's career, for he was leader of the band there, directing a variety of musical pieces, and in Lent 1788 he organised and directed a series of six oratorio evenings, bringing Handel's music to London's East End.

The Royalty Theatre

The actor John Palmer built his Royalty Theatre in Well Walk, Wellclose Square, and opened it on 20 June 1787, having raised much of the money by selling shares. At this time Covent Garden, Drury Lane and the summer theatre in the Haymarket were the only London theatres permitted to stage spoken drama. Palmer convinced himself that he would be able to stage plays at his new theatre because it was in the Liberty of the Tower of London and he had obtained permission from the Lieutenant of the Tower and the magistrates of Tower Hamlets. The first performance, for the benefit of the London Hospital, was of *As Like It*, followed by the afterpiece *Miss in her Teens*. The critic of the *Morning Chronicle* informed his readers that the play and farce were 'more than decently performed' and that 'between the acts of the play, *the Solder tired of War's Alarms*, was sung with great sweetness and power of execution by a little boy, the pupil of Mr. Leoni'.[23] However, the London theatre managers had already taken action and Palmer was immediately prevented from staging spoken drama. The theatre re-opened in early July with a repertoire of burlettas, dances and other light musical pieces and each evening ended with a sung and danced harlequinade pantomime. Pieces of this kind were performed at the principal theatres as entertaining extras to a five-act play, but the Royalty now had to make them the entire evening's fare. As musical director, Hindmarsh would have been responsible for selecting and rehearsing the theatre band and managing the music for an entire evening six days a week.

Thomas Carter (c.1735–1804) and William Reeve (1757–1815) were commissioned to compose new short works and extra songs and music to replace spoken dialogue in afterpieces already popular at the regular theatres. At the reopening of the theatre on 3 July the first piece on the bill was Carter's new pastoral *The Birthday*, and the finale was *Hobson's Choice; or, Thespis in Distress*, with music by Reeve, who also composed music for other pantomimes during the season.[24] The comic dancer and singer Carlo Antonio Delpini devised and danced in a number of pantomimes at the Royalty, of which the most successful was *Don Juan*, a 'Grand Tragic-Comic Pantomimic Entertainment' that had seventy-two performances between 13 August 1787 and 25 February 1788.[25] In the burlettas the leading figure was the popular singing and actor Charles Banister, who could augment his bass voice with a falsetto range, particularly when parodying opera singers. Banister was also the leading figure in *The Catch Club*, a popular item in the Royalty's programme from 16 July 1787, with the performers grouped at a table, as happened at the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club. The words of the songs, duets, glees and catches sung at the Royalty were published in a collection that went into at least three editions.[26] There were patriotic, drinking and hunting songs, and songs about love and country life, but none of the indecent catches reputedly enjoyed late in the evening by the noblemen and gentlemen at their club.

The only known image of a performance on stage at the Royalty is a drawing by John Nixon entitled 'Catch Club at Palmers Theatre', which shows Braham, Bannister, Palmer, Delpini and two other male singers grouped behind a table spread with bottles, glasses and music.[27] The company's leading tenor, Daniel Arrowsmith, also sang in the *Catch Club* and was to play an important part in the Royalty's Lent oratorios. Like Hindmarsh, he was based in the City of London. He had been a pupil of Michael Arne, had sung at Vauxhall Gardens from 1783 and in Lent 1786 sang in the Drury Lane oratorios. The bass Thomas Sedgwick, who was at the beginning of his career, joined the company in

December 1787. He had a fine, wide-ranging bass voice and his 'new Bacchalanian Song' was a popular addition to the *Catch Club* programme.[28]

The managers of the regular theatres continued to attack the Royalty, and Delpini, Bannister and others were under threat of being imprisoned as rogues and vagabonds for speaking only a few words on the stage.[29] In fact, Palmer and the Royalty's performers were only on secure legal grounds during the Lent oratorio performances, as the *World* pointed out on 5 March 1788:[30]

> The ORATORIOS in Wellclose-square, we are credibly informed, have been got up at a nightly expense of ONE HUNDRED POUNDS. — This extraordinary expenditure evinces a very becoming Pride in the Conductor, and will no doubt secure him a liberal support throughout the Eastern Jurisdiction.
>
> Mr. *Hindmarsh* (under whose direction the ORATORIOS at Wellclose-square have been got up with so much *eclat*) hath effectually banished *Discord*, and established *Harmony* throughout the whole of the Tower Hamlets. Even Mr. *Justice Staples* applauds the introduction of *Sacred Music*, and has requested a *Thanksgiving Anthem* on the last night of performance. — APOLLO, in the person of Mr. *Hindmarsh*, is a *Gentleman*; but when he turns *Stroller*, he is a *Wagrant* and a *Wagabond*.

Oratorios in the East End of London, 1788

Theatres were not permitted to stage plays on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent and on these days could be rented by impresarios for musical performances, as Handel had done for his oratorio seasons. The Royalty oratorios were performed on 8 February, the first Friday in Lent, and on the following five Wednesdays, ending on 12 March. Rehearsals were underway three weeks before the first evening, as we learn from the *Morning Post* of 18 January:

> The Oratorios to be performed at the Royalty this ensuing Lent, are *Acis and Galatea*, *Judas Maccabæus*, *the Messiah*, and a *Selection* from HANDEL. The first rehearsal was yesterday – and the Chorusses were sung in a style superior to our most sanguine expectations.

In the event, the series opened and closed with *Messiah*, there were two performances of *Acis and Galatea* and two evenings of selections 'from the Great and Favourite WORKS of HANDEL as performed at Westminster Abbey'. *Judas Maccabaeus* did not materialise, except for several pieces from it that figured in the *Selections*. The orchestra was directed by Hindmarsh, and the singers, who were presumably chosen by him, were the sopranos Mary Ambrose, Mrs Stuart and John Braham, alto Michael Leoni, tenors Daniel Arrowsmith and Charles Hill and bass Thomas Sedgwick. An organist would have been needed for the support of the chorus, and it is likely that this was George Stephen Sikes, who when he joined the Royal Society of Musicians in June 1788, aged 21, stated that he was employed at the Royalty and was proficient on several instruments, including the organ.[31] Sikes probably played the cello in the Royalty band, for he gave cello and organ as his instruments in Joseph Doane's *Musical Directory for the Year 1794*.

Programmes were advertised in some detail:

Friday 8 February ***Messiah*** Singers: Ambrose, Stuart, Arrowsmith, Leoni, Hill, Braham, Sedgwick

Wednesday 13 February ***Acis and Galatea*** Singers: Ambrose, Stuart, Arrowsmith, Braham, Sedgwick
Miscellaneous Act: Duet for violin and cello, Hindmarsh and Master Charles Ashley; song, Stuart; pianoforte sonata and song, lady (first appearance); oboe concerto, Huttley; song, Ambrose; Grand Chorus by Handel

Wednesday 20 February **Grand Selection from the Great and Favourite Works of Handel as performed at Westminster Abbey** Singers: Ambrose, Stuart, Leoni, Hill, Arrowsmith, Braham, Sedgwick. End of the first part, violin concerto by Hindmarsh

Wednesday 27 February ***Acis and Galatea*** Singers: Ambrose, Stuart, Arrowsmith, Braham, Sedgwick
End of the first part, duet for violin and cello by Hindmarsh and Ashley
Miscellaneous Act: pianoforte concerto, lady (second appearance); song, Stuart; oboe concerto, Huttley; 'Sweet bird', Ambrose, accompanied on the violin by Hindmarsh; Coronation Anthem

Wednesday 5 March **Grand Selection from the Great and Favourite Works of Handel as performed at Westminster Abbey**
Part 1. Occasional overture; 'Total eclipse' [*Samson*], Hill; 'From mighty kings' [*Judas Maccabæus*], Stuart; Chorus: 'O first created beam' [*Samson*]; 'Shall I in

Mamre's fertile plain' [*Joshua*], Sedgwick; 'Let the bright Seraphim' [*Samson*], Ambrose; Chorus 'He gave them hailstones' [*Israel in Egypt*]
End of the first part, violin concerto by Hindmarsh
Part 2 Introduction and chorus 'Ye sons of Israel' [*Joshua*]; 'Honour and Arms' [*Samson*], Sedgwick; 'Return o God of Hosts' [*Samson*], Leoni; Chorus 'Fix't in his everlasting seat' [*Judas Maccabæus*]; 'Pious Orgies' [*Judas Maccabæus*], Hill; 'Come ever smiling liberty' [*Judas Maccabæus*], Braham; Chorus: 'From the censer rise' [*Solomon*]
Part 3 Overture and march in *Saul*; 'Let me wander not unseen' [*L'Allegro*], Ambrose; 'O Lord our God' [*Saul*], Arrowsmith; Chorus 'Gird on thy sword' [*Saul*]; 'Farewell ye limpid streams'[*Jephtha*], Stuart; 'The Lord is a man of war' [*Israel in Egypt*], Arrowsmith and Sedgwick; Grand Chorus 'The Lord shall reign for ever' [*Israel in Egypt*]

12 March **Messiah** Singers: Stuart, Ambrose, Braham, Arrowsmith, Hill, Sedgwick
End of first part, oboe concerto by Huttley; end of second part, violin concerto by Hindmarsh

It is noticeable that all of Hindmarsh's male soloists in the oratorios were performers in the musical pieces at the Royalty, apart from the second tenor Charles Hill, who was from the Winchester Cathedral choir.[32] However, Hindmarsh clearly felt that the singing actresses in the Royalty company were not suitable for the oratorios and employed two specialist singers. Mary Ambrose (née Mahon) came from a musical family in Oxford, and in the middle of the Royalty oratorio series she was the star performer at the Oxford Music Room in *Messiah* and a miscellaneous Handel programme. She sang there on the third and fourth of March, before hurrying back to London to sing at the Royalty on the following day.[33] A few months later, in June 1788, she and Gertrude Mara were both soloists in *Messiah* at Cambridge, and the *Morning Herald* commented very favourably on her in a duet with Mara.[34] Mrs Stuart was taught by the castrato Ferdinando Tenducci and had sung in Mara's subscription series at Willis's Rooms in spring 1787. She sang at Vauxhall Gardens in summer 1788 and in London concerts over the next few years. The oboist James Huttley appeared in many London concerts between 1786 and 1790, before moving to Bath. Charles Ashley, aged 15, was one of the four musical sons of John Ashley, the director of many provincial music festivals and of the oratorios at Covent Garden from 1793.

Competition for Hindmarsh's oratorios came from the series of eleven performances at Drury Lane on Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent. Covent Garden remained dark on those nights, as in the previous nine years, but there were Lent oratorios there again from 1789. There was also a series of oratorio performances in Lent at the Tottenham Street Rooms, organised by the directors of the Concerts of Antient Music, under the patronage of the king, but these exclusive concerts can have had little effect on the Royalty. The Drury Lane series was under the direction of Thomas Linley and Samuel Arnold and they too began and concluded with *Messiah* and included two performances of *Acis and Galatea*, although the two theatres avoided any direct clashes. At Drury Lane there were also two performances of *Judas Maccabæus*, besides Arnold's oratorio *The Prodigal Son* and his *Redemption*, a compilation of music by Handel heard in the 1784 Commemoration concerts, adapted to tell the biblical story from the creation to the resurrection. The star soloist there was Madame Mara and she was joined by the current leading singers in the company, the mezzo-soprano Anna Maria Crouch, tenor Charles Dignum and bass Frederick Reinhold. The young Oxford-trained soprano Georgina George, who had been appearing in light musical pieces at the Royalty, was also employed for the Drury Lane oratorios that season. Although Hindmarsh could not afford the likes of Mara, the company that he assembled was much more than satisfactory, and could be said to have given better value for money, for the Royalty's performances were at normal playhouse prices whereas Drury Lane doubled their prices for the oratorios.

The *World* (19 February 1788) had an interesting comment on the audience at the Royalty after the second oratorio evening:

> The Oratorios of the *East End* of the Town have had as powerful attractions as those of the West; and it should be recorded in proof of the Liberality of some *Sects* there; that they have not joined Religious differences with Music – The attendances have evinced, that Science and Taste will find followers every where.

This must surely refer to members of the City's Jewish community being in the audience. It seems very likely that Hindmarsh chose to put on five of his six oratorio evenings on Wednes-

day rather than Friday evening to make it possible for observant members of the Jewish community to attend.[35] In this respect, as in others, Hindmarsh's oratorio series in the unfashionable East End of London has not received the attention it deserves.[36]

Royalty summer seasons and other work, 1788–90

Hindmarsh must have been fully occupied by his duties at the Royalty, for his name vanished from concert advertisements four weeks before the opening of the theatre in 1787 and only appeared again during the oratorio season. Theatrical performances at the Royalty ended midway through the oratorio performances, and after this Hindmarsh was busy playing in concerts until the opening of the theatre's summer season, which ran from 16 June to 20 September.[37] Palmer again mounted a full programme of musical pieces, dances and declamations to music.[38] A new pantomime, *Gil Blas*, with music by Reeve, was premiered in July and on 4 August an interesting short paragraph appeared in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*:[39]

> The music of the song of the Plow-Boy is played, with variations, in the overture to Gil Blas, at the Royalty Theatre, and it has a most delightful effect. The introduction of the flute is happily contrived, and well executed by Mr. Hutley. The violin part is played by Hindmarsh, the leader of the band, in a most brilliant manner.

Huttley, the oboist in the oratorio performances, was advertised several times during the summer season for playing the obligato oboe part in Handel's 'Sweet echo', sung by an excellent new soprano, Mrs Warrell. A puff for her joint benefit with Mrs Fox, a long-standing soprano in the company, promised that 'the Oboe of Hutley, and brilliancy of tone of Hindmarsh's Violin, will be truly pleasing to the dillettanti'.[40]

Most of the old Royalty musical performers returned for the summer season, but Charles Bannister had moved to the Haymarket and Delpini made only occasional appearances because he was involved in pantomimes at the Royal Circus. At Braham's benefit on Saturday 30 August Leoni sang an Irish song *Gramachree Molly* and in *The Catch Club* joined his pupil in a hunting duet, 'being the last time of Mr. Leoni's performing on the stage'. (In true theatrical style, Leoni made one more appearance, at Sedgewick's benefit on the following Monday.[41]) Desperate to earn money in the face of his debts, Palmer acted at the Haymarket theatre that summer on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays and appeared at the Royalty on the other three evenings each week. Hindmarsh must have organised a deputy at the Royalty for a few nights when he went to Oxford to play in the three-day 'Public Music' of Handel performances between 25 and 27 June. The 'numerous and excellent Band, chiefly from Town' was led by Salomon, and Hindmarsh was named first among the other instrumentalists.[42]

Between his oratorio series and the Royalty's summer season, Hindmarsh had played in Madame Mara's series of ten concerts at the Pantheon directed by the violinist Ignazio Raimondi between 21 February and 5 June. Hindmarsh was advertised on five evenings as the second violin in a quartet or quintet and presumably played in all ten concerts. He also directed the band in a series of three subscription concerts of 'Readings and Music' at the Freemasons' Hall, and in benefit concerts for Huttley at the Paul's Head Tavern on 26 February, for Reeve at the Crown and Anchor Tavern on 11 April and for himself at the Paul's Head on 14 April.[43] These benefit concerts used Royalty singers and players and Hindmarsh played a violin concerto each time. At his own benefit, he also played second violin in a quartet composed and led by Raimondi, which was presumably one of the two Raimondi quartets they had played in together at Mara's concerts earlier in the month.[44] The singers at Hindmarsh's benefit were Braham and the buffo bass Andrea Morigi from the opera company at the King's Theatre. In May of the following year, when the bass had lost his place at the opera, Hindmarsh directed and played a concerto at Morigi's benefit concert, at which the leading singers Michael Kelly and Mrs Crouch 'kindly offered their assistance'.[45] The bassoonist at all three of the 1788 benefit concerts was James Holmes, and it seems more than likely that he played in the Royalty band.

After the summer season the Royalty Theatre was used by Monsieur Diller for three evenings a week between 25 September and 6 October, for his 'Philosophic Fireworks', displays of indoor fireworks using various chemicals. His fireworks were interspersed with

musical interludes with some of the Royalty singers. Hindmarsh may have been involved here, but if so he was not there for the performance on 4 October, when he directed the band at the grand opening of Crispus Claggett's 'Temple and Garden of Apollo' in St George's Fields.[46] As Claggett had not been granted a licence, he distributed free tickets for the evening and apparently a thousand people arrived to be kept waiting while the carpenters finished their work. The reviewer in the *Morning Post* panned the amateur solo singers, but found that 'a quartetto, led by Mr. HINDMARSH had great merit' and praised his direction of the opening overture. Hindmarsh's activities in autumn 1788 are unknown, apart from fortnightly engagements with the Anacreontic Society at the Crown and Anchor Tavern from mid-October. These evenings opened with a concert before the members had dinner followed by songs, glees and catches.[47] The concerts, led by Wilhelm Cramer, were of a high quality and Hindmarsh was the viola player in the chamber music and doubtless led the violas in the band.[48]

In 1790 the actor Ralph Wewitzer opened a refurbished Royalty Theatre on 5 April for a summer season of musical pieces and the first item on the opening night was 'Overture Mr. HINDMARSH', which seems to be the first time that he was named as a composer. The evening ended with the first of many performances of *Arthur*, 'the Overture and the whole of the Musick entirely new, Composed by Dr. ARNOLD'.[49] There were fifteen principal singers for this mysterious piece, which would have needed a good musical director, presumably Hindmarsh. Two of the soloists were Miss E Williams and Miss Williams, the Mary Williams who was to become Mrs Hindmarsh. The summer season of 1790 received favourable notices but closed suddenly on 15 May, and although the Royalty opened in later years under various managements, Hindmarsh apparently had no future connection with the theatre.[50]

Out of London engagements

In the period between the oratorios and the Royalty summer season of 1788, Hindmarsh made what appear to be his first appearances outside London. On 2 June he was the principal violinist in the Essex Festival, leading a band of '80 performers from London' in a performance of *Messiah* at the parish church of the village of Hornchurch. Thomas Curtis was advertised as playing the organ and there were nine vocal and ten instrumental principal performers. Arrowsmith was the first tenor and Huttley, Sikes and Holmes were named as principal instrumentalists.[51] (The day ended with a ball at the White Hart Inn in nearby Romford, with tickets for the ball only available if you had a ticket for *Messiah*.) In April, Hindmarsh and Huttley had gone down to Winchester for a concert at the new theatre there organised by the tenor Charles Hill.[52] At Hill's annual concert the following year Hindmarsh played a concerto and must have been the leader in a quartet by Pleyel and directed orchestral pieces.[53] In Norwich, during the 1789 Assizes Week 'Mr. HINDMARSH, from London' led the band at Keymer's Rural Pavilion and Garden in Norwich, playing in two morning and four evening concerts between 4 and 7 August.[54] He returned for a similar series of Assizes Week concerts in 1790, a couple of months after the attempt at a Royalty theatre summer season was cut short. 'Miss Williams, billed as 'from the Theatre Royal Bath', was the leading vocal soloist.[55]

There are no records of a further return to Norwich, but Hindmarsh's link with Hampshire continued, as we learn from the journals of the amateur composer John Marsh. In July 1791 one of Marsh's friends organised the Havant Annual Musical Festival, with a performance of *Messiah* in the morning and a 'Grand Selection' of Handel's music on the evening of the same day. Thomas Shaw, the leader of the band at Drury Lane Theatre, was engaged to direct the oratorio, but was unable to do so. Hindmarsh went as his substitute and 'did the business very well'. In the evening some of the members of the amateur orchestra had drunk too much at dinner, but Hindmarsh 'played a charming violin concerto … w'ch pleased very much'.[56] Charles Hill continued to organise annual concerts in Winchester, but seems not to have needed to advertise them after 1789. Hindmarsh certainly appeared at Hill's concert on Easter Monday 1792, for Marsh commented that Mrs Hindmarsh was the principal singer, 'a very poor & unsteady one', and that Hindmarsh played a violin concerto, 'but by no means so pleasing a one as that he played in the preceding summer at Havant, being so extravagantly difficult that he did not play every part of it in strict time'. One

needs to remember that orchestras in the provinces that London professionals appeared with were largely amateur affairs, which must have made Hindmarsh's role as director and soloist rather taxing. Unlike Marsh, however, the *Hampshire Chronicle* found nothing to complain of, for 'Mr. Hindmarsh displayed his usual skill and taste in his concerto'.[57] Marsh had hoped that the Hindmarshes would perform at a concert in Chichester on Thursday, before going up to London on the Friday morning – he was to play in Salomon's seventh subscription concert that evening – but Mrs Hindmarsh was ill and they went straight back to London. One wonders if she was well-advanced in pregnancy, for George Hindmarsh, aged four months, was buried at St Anne Soho on 21 October 1792. Had there been other diarists with musical interests like John Marsh, we would surely know more about Hindmarsh's provincial activities and the hurried travel arrangements that were increasingly possible because of improvements in the roads. In 1793 Hindmarsh was in Oxford for a four-day Grand Musical Festival at the time of Encænia, with numerous other leading London players. He was listed as the principal viola player, and performed a viola concerto on Wednesday 3 July at the Sheldonian Theatre.[58]

Moving westwards

In Hindmarsh's last seven London seasons, from 1790 to 1796, his activities were concentrated in the more fashionable West End of London. His benefit notices tell us that he was still living in Steward Street, Bishopsgate in 1791, but by then the venue for his benefits had moved from the Paul's Head Tavern in the City to the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand and then in 1791 to the Tottenham Street Rooms, where the prestigious Concerts of Antient Music were held. In the 1790–1 season Mary Williams sang leading roles in English operas and musical pieces at Covent Garden Theatre, and at the time of her theatre benefit in June 1791 she was living in Martlett Court, Bow Street, Covent Garden. It seems that she was not yet married to Hindmarsh, despite the prediction of the event in the *World* five months earlier: 'Mr. HINDMARSH, who is said to have loved hitherto according to the *Platonic System,* is reported now to be in earnest, and about to lead the lovely Miss WILLIAMS to the altar of Hymen'.[59] They had presumably become husband and wife before John Marsh met them together in Hampshire at Easter 1792, but like other female performers she continued to sing under her maiden name for a while after her marriage.[60] She was first advertised as Mrs Hindmarsh at her husband's benefit on 29 May 1792, by which time they were living at 12 Trinity Street, Cavendish Square.[61]

After Hindmarsh's 1791 benefit a reviewer in the *Diary or Woodfall's Register* made a significant comment:

> HINDMARSH performed a concerto on the violin in a very capital style, exhibiting great taste and execution. If this performer had been imported from *Italy*, instead of being of mere English breed, his talents would have procured him a distinguished reputation.

His performance was also praised in the *Oracle*:[62]

> Mr. HINDMARSH's Concert was numerous and fashionably attended; and well it deserved such respectable attention, his Concerto on the Violin, for Tone, neatness of Execution and Taste, is scarcely to be excelled by the most experienced on this Instrument.

In addition to the concerto, Hindmarsh was the leader in a Pleyel quartet and directed the opening overture by Antonio Rosetti, a 'Grand Overture' by Haydn and the closing 'Full Piece' by Leopold Kozeluch. However, the successful London careers of three foreign-born violinists, Salomon, Raimondi and Cramer, meant that Hindmarsh was not able to play a similar role in concert series in the West End, and all three were still active when he died in 1796. Although Haydn listed Hindmarsh as a violinist in his *First London Notebook*, he was in fact a viola player during Haydn's London visit of 1791–2, for he very sensibly concentrated on his viola playing for London subscription concerts, while continuing to lead the band and play violin concertos on other occasions.[63] Whereas in Mara's concerts in 1788 Hindmarsh had been the second violinist in quartets, in 1790 he was the viola player in the twelve-concert series at the Pantheon, advertised as playing in a Pleyel quartet, a Haydn quartet and a Pleyel concertante.[64] In benefit concerts for himself and others at this time he either played a violin concerto or was the leader in a quartet.

1791 and 1792 must have been satisfying and musically exciting for Hindmarsh, for he was

the viola player in the two Salomon subscription series during Haydn's first visit to London. As well as being the viola player in quartets and other chamber pieces, he presumably led the viola section for the concerted music, including the new Haydn symphonies. In 1791 there were twelve concerts at the Hanover Square Rooms, on successive Fridays apart from a two-week break for Easter, and the effort needed to learn and rehearse so much new music in three months must have been considerable. Ten of the concerts included chamber music involving one or two violas, with Hindmarsh clearly the leading player when two were required. The list below indicates the chamber music involving Hindmarsh; the details can be found in the *Morning Chronicle* on the day of the concerts.[65]

11 March	[No chamber music involving viola]
18 March	Haydn, new string quartet
25 March	Pleyel, quintet for two violins, two violas and a cello
1 April	Kozeluch, new string quartet (in manuscript)
8 April	Haydn, new divertimento (in manuscript) for two violins, two violas, oboe, flute, cello, double bass and two French horns
15 April	Haydn, new string quartet (in manuscript) Dussek, sonata for piano accompanied by violin, viola and cello
29 April	Baumgarten, quintet (in manuscript) for violin, oboe, two violas and cello
6 May	Haydn, new string quartet (in manuscript)
13 May	Haydn, repeat of the quartet of 6 May 'By Particular Desire'
20 May	Haydn, new concertino for two violins, oboe, flute, two violas, two French horns, cello and double bass
27 May	Haydn, repeat of the quartet of 15 April 'By Particular Desire'
3 June	[No chamber music involving viola]

In 1792 there was again a twelve-concert subscription series at Hanover Square Rooms, with an extra concert on 6 June. The details below are drawn from the *Morning Chronicle* on the dates of the performances.[66]

17 Feb	Pleyel, string quartet
24 Feb	Adalbert Gyrowetz, new string quartet (in manuscript)
2 March	Joseph Willibald Michel, quartet for clarinet, violin, viola and cello
9 March	[No chamber music involving viola]
16 March	Haydn, string quartet
23 March	Giuseppe Cambini, string quartet
13 April	Gyrowetz, string quartet (in manuscript)
20 April.	[No chamber music involving viola]
27 April	Haydn, divertimento for violin, oboe, flute, two violas, two horns and cello
4 May	Haydn, repeat of the divertimento from 27 April
11 May	Haydn, new divertimento for two violins, oboe, flute, two tenors, two horns, cello and double bass
18 May	Haydn, new notturno for two violins, two flutes, two violas, two horns, cello and double bass
6 June	[No chamber music involving viola]

Audiences and critics were much excited by the new Haydn symphonies and the chamber music players received little notice in the London papers. For example, the *Morning Chronicle* on the day after the concert on 18 March 1791 merely commented that the new Haydn quartet 'is exceedingly beautiful, and was well executed'. It is unlikely that Hindmarsh ever read an appreciative review of his playing in the Haydn concerts published in the *Berlin Musikalische Zeitung*, where a correspondent stated that 'Hindmarsh, an Englishman and pupil of Salomon, plays the viola delightfully'.[67]

He had, of course, other engagements in 1791–2, including the visits to Hampshire recorded by John Marsh and his own annual benefit concerts. There were also three concerts for musical charities, with a grand one for the New Musical Fund at the Pantheon in February 1791, when Salomon, John Mountain, Hindmarsh and Menel were 'much admired in the MS Quartetto of HAYDN'.[68] In December 1791 and the following May, concerts were held at the Elim Chapel, Fetter Lane, in aid of the Choral Fund, which supported choir members and their dependents in sickness and old age. The first concert consisted of *Messiah* and the second of a selection of Handel's music, and on both occasions Hindmarsh led a band of about 200 performers. He also directed an orchestra of the same enormous size for *Messiah* there in September 1792, in aid of the chapel's rebuilding fund, when the choruses were sung by the

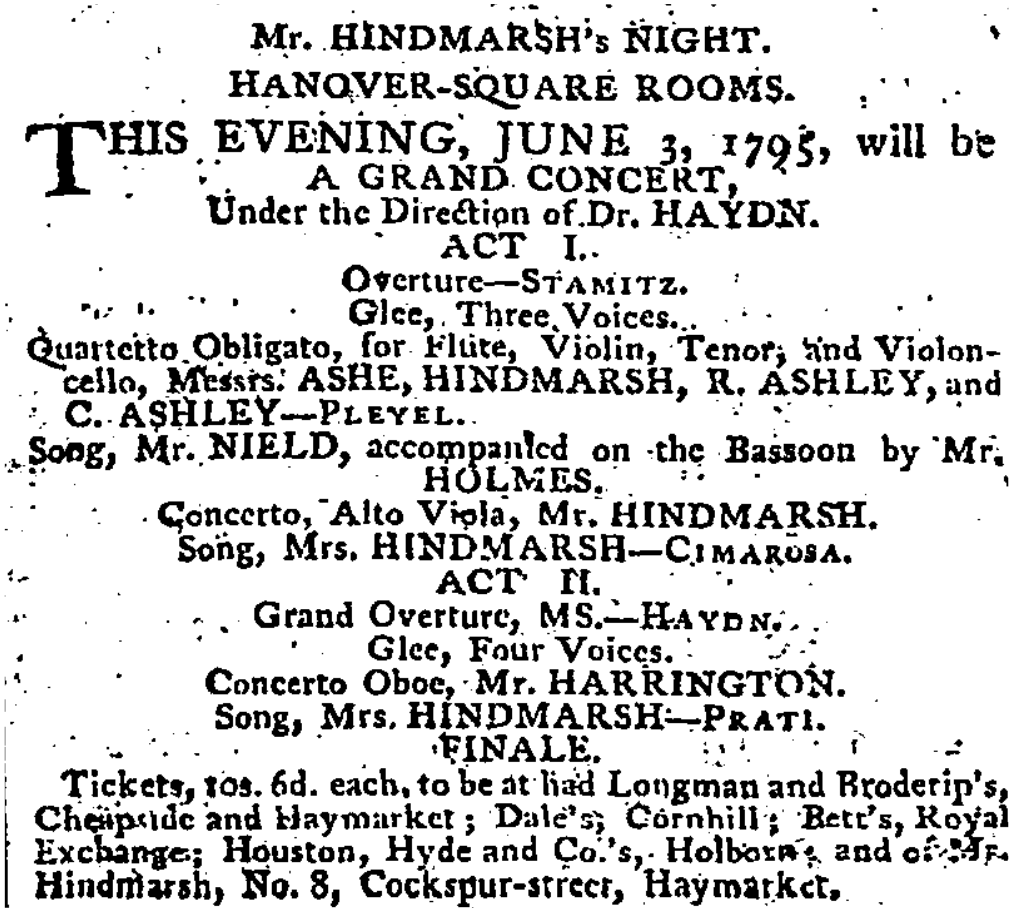
'Gentlemen of the Choral Fund'.[69] An important additional source of income for Hindmarsh came from the Concerts of Antient Music, where he was listed as principal viola from 1792 until his death. The Antient Music Concerts were very high-class events under the patronage of the king and queen, and the programmes of the twelve concerts each year were chosen by members of the aristocracy. In 1792 one of the seven 'Directors' of the concerts was the Earl of Uxbridge, and Hindmarsh was to publish 'The favorite Grand March as performed by the Staffordshire Band dedicated to the Earl of Uxbridge, Composed, and Arranged for the Piano Forte'.[70]

When Salomon was disappointed in his hopes that Haydn would return to London for his 1793 subscription series, he engaged the star violinist Giovanni Battista Viotti, who had fled to England from revolutionary France. Hindmarsh was still the principal viola for the series, but Viotti's success and the frequency of his performances together with the absence of Haydn meant that there were fewer chances for Hindmarsh to make his mark in new quartets and other chamber pieces. However, Salomon's twelfth and last concert included 'Concerto Tenor, Mr. HINDMARSH', the first time he was billed for a viola concerto in one of Salomon's concerts. On this occasion Viotti played a violin concerto and was joined by Salomon in a concerto for two violins.[71]

Back in May 1792, Hindmarsh ended the first part of his benefit concert by playing a violin concerto and included a 'Concerto Tenor (first time)' in the second part. His benefit concert the following year included 'New Concerto Tenor, Mr. Hindmarsh'.[72] He therefore had a choice of at least two viola concertos for Salomon's twelfth concert a couple of weeks later and for the concert at Oxford that July.[73] In all, there were nine concerts, eight of them in London, at which Hindmarsh was advertised as playing a viola concerto:

29 May 1792	Hindmarsh benefit	Concerto Tenor (first time)
15 April 1793	Hindmarsh benefit	New Concerto Tenor
3 May 1793	Salomon's twelfth concert	Concerto Tenor
3 July 1793	Grand Music Festival, Oxford	Concerto, Alto Viola
3 April 1794	Hindmarsh benefit	New Concerto (Tenor)
2 June 1794	Sedgwick benefit	Concerto tenor violin
12 Feb 1795	Academy of Ancient Music	Concerto, viola[74]
3 June 1795	Hindmarsh benefit	Concerto, Alto Viola
21 April 1796	Salomon's ninth concert	Concerto Viola

It is very likely that Hindmarsh composed the viola concertos he played, but he was only advertised as the composer for the last occasion listed here.[75] Audiences at this time expected soloists to compose much of the music they performed and it is noticeable that the programme for the 1793 Oxford concert gave composers for all the instrumental items except in three cases: a duet for violin and cello played by Cramer and Robert Lindley, which would be assumed to be composed by one of the players; a concerto for pedal harp by Madam Krumpholtz that would have been assumed to be written by her husband, and the viola concerto played by Hindmarsh. As there are mentions of two 'new' viola concertos, it seems that Hindmarsh composed at least three different works. It is sad but not surprising that none of them survive, for the music would have been designed to show off his own virtuosity and special talents. For music by lesser composers to be published, it needed to be useful to amateur players, which would have excluded most of the concertos played by professionals. Having decided to concentrate on the viola, Hindmarsh was clearly aiming to establish it as a solo instrument, and the presence of the concertos in the two Salomon concerts at Hanover Square and in the Grand Music Festival at Oxford directed by Cramer show that he was making progress towards this before his early death.



Mr. HINDMARSH's NIGHT.
HANOVER-SQUARE ROOMS.
THIS EVENING, JUNE 3, 1795, will be
A GRAND CONCERT,
Under the Direction of Dr. HAYDN.
ACT I.
Overture—STAMITZ.
Glee, Three Voices.
Quartetto Obligato, for Flute, Violin, Tenor, and Violoncello, Messrs. ASHE, HINDMARSH, R. ASHLEY, and C. ASHLEY—PLEYEL.
Song, Mr. NIELD, accompanied on the Bassoon by Mr. HOLMES.
Concerto, Alto Viola, Mr. HINDMARSH.
Song, Mrs. HINDMARSH—CIMAROSA.
ACT II.
Grand Overture, MS.—HAYDN.
Glee, Four Voices.
Concerto Oboe, Mr. HARRINGTON.
Song, Mrs. HINDMARSH—PRATI.
FINALE.
Tickets, 10s. 6d. each, to be had Longman and Broderip's, Cheapside and Haymarket; Dale's, Cornhill; Bett's, Royal Exchange; Houston, Hyde and Co.'s, Holborn; and of Mr. Hindmarsh, No. 8, Cockspur-street, Haymarket.

Illus. 1. *True Briton*, 3 June 1795: 'Mr Hindmarsh's Night'

The statement 'first time' for the viola concerto in Hindmarsh's 1792 benefit concert was no overstatement, for not only was this the first time that he had been advertised for a viola concerto, but it also appears to be the first occasion on which a concerto for solo viola was played in a London concert in the second half of the eighteenth century.[76] Thomas B. Milligan, in the half page allotted to viola concertos in his *The Concerto and London's Musical Culture in the late Eighteenth Century* (Ann Arbor MI, 1983), credits Hindmarsh with six viola concerto performances, cites viola concertos played in London by Viotti in 1794 and Feliks Janiewicz in 1796, and adds that John Mountain played a new viola concerto at Vauxhall Gardens in 1791, referencing the *Times* for 25 August. However, the Vauxhall advertisement in the *Times* of that date clearly states that Mountain was to play a violin concerto. The *Times* was also responsible for Milligan's belief that the two foreign-born musicians played viola concertos. An advertisement there on 23 May 1794 stated that Viotti would perform a viola concerto in the first part of a concert and a violin concerto in the second. However, three other newspapers clearly listed a *violin* concerto in each part, and a review in the *Morning Chronicle* gave Viotti high praise for his performance of 'two Violin Concertos of his own composing'.[77] On 10 March 1796, the *Times* stated that Janiewicz would play a 'violla' concerto in Salomon's fourth subscription concert that evening, but again other newspapers gave a violin concerto.[78] When the same concerto was repeated in Salomon's fifth concert, the *Times* changed its mind, and told its readers that 'Mr. Janiewicz will repeat the same Concerto on the Violin which he played last Thursday with so much applause'.[79] All this means that the entire section in Milligan's work should have been given over to John Hindmarsh, with at least eight performances in London and one in Oxford.[80]

The last years, 1794–6

In Joseph Doane's *Musical Directory for the Year 1794*, Hindmarsh's address was given as 'Vauxhall-House, Hampstead Common', and 1794 was the only year in which he did not give his address for the purchase of benefit tickets. The most likely reason for a move to the clearer

air of a village north-west of London is that Hindmarsh was not in good health. Although Salomon's advance notices for his concert series that year named Hindmarsh as the solo viola player, his expected part in chamber ensembles by Haydn and others was taken by Federigo Fiorillo, although there is no reason to think Fiorillo was a better player.[81] Hindmarsh's only known appearance in this Salomon series was not until the eighth concert, at the end of March, when he played the viola in a concertante for two violins and viola by Gyrowetz, an item that was a late replacement for a violin concerto by Viotti.[82] Mrs Hindmarsh appeared for the first time in a Salomon concert on 24 March, when she sang an aria and also a duet with the famous bass Ludwig Fischer. In 1794, Hindmarsh does not appear to have performed in public before 6 March, when he played the viola in a Pleyel string quartet at a Grand Concert for the New Musical Fund. He performed in a benefit concert on 19 May, but a few days later he had to cancel an engagement at short notice. He was named in an advance notice for Lee's benefit at the Kings Theatre Concert Room on 23 May, but on the day before the performance one of his two items was omitted and his part in a Pleyel quartet was given to Lavenu.[83] However, Hindmarsh must have recovered sufficiently by 2 June to perform a viola concerto and play in a quartet at Sedgwick's benefit.[84] He was still listed as the leading viola player for the Concerts of Antient Music, but there is no way of knowing if he was able to play in each of the twelve concerts.

If health had been the reason for the move to Hampstead, it seems that Hindmarsh's condition improved, for in 1795 he returned to London, to 8 Cockspur Street, Haymarket.[85] This address would have been convenient for Mrs Hindmarsh, who sang in the Lent oratorios at Covent Garden that year, where she was the second soprano to Maria Frances Parke. Her engagement would have provided a welcome source of income, for in 1795 Salomon did not organise his own concert series, but played in the Opera Concerts that were held in the new concert room at the King's Theatre under the direction of Viotti. These concerts employed singers and players from the opera company, leaving no place for Hindmarsh. Haydn had remained in London, but for the Opera concerts was merely named as the first of four composers in the advance announcements, which also stated that Viotti would 'occasionally furnish new Pieces of Music'.[86] This season Hindmarsh took over from Salomon as leader of the concerts of the Academy of Ancient Music, which that year mounted seven concerts at the Freemasons' Hall, and he also continued to be listed as principal viola at the Concerts of Antient Music. The Academy was a less grand organisation than the Antient Music Concerts, although similar in that individual supporters were responsible for selecting the music. In 1795 the Duke of Leeds, who was also a director of the Antient Music Concerts, chose two of the Academy programmes, but he was the only aristocrat among the selectors. In the opening concert the Duke included a violin concerto by Martini with Hindmarsh as the soloist and for the final evening chose a Pleyel concertante led by Hindmarsh. Two other evenings included a concerto by Hindmarsh, one on the violin and one on the viola. The programmes for these concerts usually named composers, so the lack of a composer's name for either concerto implies that they were composed by the soloist.[87] There were no similar opportunities for Hindmarsh at the Antient Music concerts, where the programmes consisted of vocal music with a few concerted instrumental items, usually by Handel. Hindmarsh took part in two other evenings at the Freemasons' Hall that season, during a series of ten programmes entitled 'Reading and Music'. These included songs and glees 'accompanied on one of Longman and Broderip's Patent Grand Piano Fortes, by Mr. Major', and on two of the evenings Major played a piano concerto, accompanied on the violin by Hindmarsh.[88] At the Hanover Square Rooms that June Haydn directed what proved to be Hindmarsh's last benefit concert. Mrs Hindmarsh sang and the evening included a Haydn symphony ('Grand Overture MS'), while Hindmarsh was the violinist in a quartet for flute, violin, viola and cello by Pleyel and performed a viola concerto.[89]

In 1796 Salomon again organised a series of twelve concerts, this time in opposition to the Opera Concerts, and he gave Hindmarsh as the viola player in his advance announcements.[90] Hindmarsh was advertised for three of these concerts, for his viola concerto in the ninth concert and as the viola player in ensemble pieces for the seventh and eleventh.[91] These were the only advertised concerts for Hindmarsh during the 1796 season, but he was still listed as the leading viola player at the Concerts of Antient

Music and as leader for the seven concerts of the Academy of Ancient Music. He was not named for an item in any of the programmes, which that year had a much higher proportion of vocal music than in 1795. Hindmarsh died in October 1796, and his obituary notice in the *Oracle* for 5 November read: 'Lately, Mr. Hindmarsh, at his house at Ealing; a Gentleman well known in the musical world'. However, there was a final return to the City, for he was buried at St Botolph's Bishopsgate on 26 October 1796. Administration records show that he died in debt, and that his wife and mother had to give over their rights to his estate to his creditor.[92] Mrs Hindmarsh continued to have some singing engagements, mostly outside London, but she also at various times claimed widow's benefits from the Royal Society of Musicians. There do not seem to have been any surviving children from the marriage, for she did not claim orphans' benefits. In December 1814 Mary Hindmarsh married the oboist Sante Giovanni Salvatore [John] Harrington (c.1761–1817), who had often played in concerts with her and her husband after his arrival in London from Sicily in 1790.[93]

It is easy to see how Hindmarsh would have had financial problems towards the end of his life. The political situation in France, war and inflation led to constraints on concert life and fewer of the private concerts that were such an important part of any successful performer's income. The presence in London of refugee musicians added to the problems of native-born performers. Hindmarsh earned some money from teaching, for John Sainsbury states that the composer John Jay 'received the first rudiments of a musical education from John Hindmarsh, who at that time was one of the first violin players of the age'.[94] It is frustrating to know so little about the music Hindmarsh wrote, or even the number of viola or violin concertos he composed for self-performance, but it is by no means unusual for such music not to survive.[95] John Hindmarsh certainly had an interesting and varied career at venues from the Royalty Theatre in the East End of London to the most fashionable concert rooms in the West End. He directed and played in burlettas and pantomimes, his own series of oratorios, and various large-scale Handel performances, as well as appearing in a wide variety of musical events. In the last five years of his life he participated in many premieres of Haydn's music and became the first instrumentalist to be advertised in London for performing concertos for solo viola. He certainly deserves more notice than he has received in studies of English eighteenth-century music.

---

[1] H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn in England 1791–1795* (London, 1976), 183.

[2] Simon McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800* <https://research.gold.ac.uk/10342/4/MUS_McVeigh_Calendar>, was invaluable in the preparation of this article. The authors are also very grateful to Peter Holman for his helpful advice.

[3] For the practice of directing performances from the first violin desk, see Peter Holman, *Before the Baton: Musical Direction and Conducting in Stuart and Georgian Britain* (Woodbridge, 2020), 150–4.

[4] He was buried on 26 October 1796.

[5] The marriage was on 9 May 1756. James Hindmarsh died aged 37 and was buried at St Botolph on 22 March 1767 (records of St Botolph without Bishopsgate).

[6] Record dated 28 Nov 1782 in the Minute Book of the Musicians' Company. The records also show that Hindmarsh took on two apprentices, one in 1792 and the other in May 1796.

[7] The bill is available in *Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO)*. Hindmarsh lived in Steward Street until at least April 1791. The spelling varies between Steward and Stewart, and it is sometimes described as in Bishopsgate and sometimes as in Spitalfields. In 1783 Mason Chamberlin, a portrait painter and member of the Royal Academy, was living next door to Hindmarsh, at number 3, according to *Survey of London*, vol. 27 (London 1957), 35.

[8] *Public Advertiser*, Friday 11 April 1783.

[9] *Morning Chronicle*, 29 October 1785.

[10] *Morning Chronicle*, 23 April 1783.

[11] Betty Matthews, *The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain: a History, 1738–1984* (London, 1988).

[12] *Morning Herald*, 24 March 1784. The singers were MaryAnn Wrighten, John and Elizabeth Banister, John Edwin and John Johnstone. The beneficiary was a Mr Bate.

[13] *Morning Chronicle*, 13 February 1786. The other principal players were a cellist Mr Paxton (either George or Stephen), the oboist Gregorio Patria and 'Ashley', probably the 16-year-old violinist, General Christopher Ashley, who had been among the second violins in the 1784 Handel concerts.

[14] *World* 21 May 1787, for concert on 23 May.

[15] *Morning Herald*, 25 May 1787.

[16] Cateaton Street was later renamed Gresham Street. Hindmarsh's benefit in the following year was again at the Paul's Head Tavern, and included a quartet by Pleyel, a duet for flute and viola performed by De Camp and Hindmarsh, a horn concerto played by Pierre-Joseph Pieltain and, of course, a violin concerto played by the beneficiary. The evening began with a new overture by Johann Baptist Vanhal and ended with 'Overture, La Chasse' by Haydn. (*Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 21 March 1787).
[17] *Morning Chronicle*, 18 May 1786.
[18] *Morning Herald*, 27 March 1786. Barthelemon's benefit at the Haymarket Theatre on 27 April 1784 had featured his 'new Concerto Obligato for two French Horns … performed by the two young Leanders' (*Public Advertiser*, 27 April 1784). The baptismal records of St Anne Soho show that the brothers were aged 15 and 14 at this time.
[19] *Morning Chronicle*, 13 and 18 May 1786, but in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* for 18 May he was given as Master Abrams in both parts.
[20] *World*, 17 April 1787. The change to 'Braham' was probably to avoid confusion with Harriett and Theodosia Abrams, who were leading concert singers at this time.
[21] In 1774 Horace Walpole admired the full melancholy melody in Leoni's voice, 'though a falsetta', and wrote that he sang songs of Handel 'in the genuine simple style' (Horace Walpole, *Correspondence*, ed. W. S. Lewis, vol. 35 (New Haven, 1973), 350).
[22] *World*, 21 April 1787.
[23] *Morning Chronicle*, 21 June 1787. Leoni and his pupil lived at number one Wellclose Square, very convenient for the theatre and about 15 minutes' walk from the synagogue.
[24] *Morning Chronicle*, 2 July 1787. The music for *The Birthday* is freely available online from the British Library. One song from *Hobson's Choice,* 'Oh what a misfortune befell me today', headed *The Favourite Drunken Song sung by Mr. Delpini*, is at GB-Lbl, G.805.h.(21).
[25] *World*, 25 February 1788.
[26] The third edition of *The Catch Club: A Collection of all the Songs, Catches, Glees, Duets, &c, As Sung by Mr. Bannister, Mr. Leoni, Master Braham, Mr. Arrowsmith, Mr. Chapman, Mr. Gaudry, &c. at the Royalty Theatre* is available on *ECCO*. The singers advertised for *The Catch Club* varied during the season.
[27] The Nixon drawing is now in the Garrick Club's collection, and is reproduced in Michael Burden, 'Tumbling images: Carlo Antonio Delpini at work', *With a Grace not to be Captured*: *Representing the Georgian Theatrical Dancer 1760–1830*, ed. Michael Burden and Jennifer Thorp (Turnhout, 2020), 157.
[28] *Public Advertiser*, 11 December 1787 (and later dates).
[29] For the prosecution of Delpini, see Burden, 'Tumbling images', 158–60.
[30] 'Conductor' here refers to the organiser of the oratorio series. Staples was the Justice of the Peace who found the actors guilty of speaking on stage. Peter Holman has pointed out to us that Charles Burney sometimes used w for v as a joke in his letters and that 'wagrant' and 'wagabond' are early examples of the cockney pronunciation featured in the novels of Charles Dickens.
[31] Matthews, *Royal Society of Musicians*.
[32] Charles Hill had been a boy chorister at Salisbury and sang as an adult in the choir there before moving to Winchester. He figures frequently in *The John Marsh Journals; the Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752–1828)*, ed. Brian Robins (Stuyvesant NY, 1998). Hindmarsh later appeared in Hill's benefit concerts in Winchester.
[33] *Oxford Journal*, 1 March 1788.
[34] *Morning Herald*, 30 June 1788.
[35] In his 'Tumbling images', Michael Burden points out that some of the wealthier members of the Jewish population had settled in the better areas around Goodman's Field and in Wellclose Square.
[36] For example, Eva Zollner, *English Oratorio after Handel: The London Oratorio Series and its Repertory 1760–1800* (Marburg, 2002) gives only a sentence to the Royalty series (88), and in the table for 1788 (238) ignores the Royalty's two miscellaneous programmes and the miscellaneous act after *Acis and Galatea*, while including such items at Drury Lane.
[37] *Morning Chronicle*, 19 September 1788.
[38] *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, ed. P.H. Highfill jr. et al., 16 vols. (Carbondale and Edwardsville IL, 1973–93), vol. 11, 169, in the entry on John Palmer wrongly states that the theatre did not reopen after April 1788. This error is repeated in Palmer's entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
[39] William Shield's song *The Plough Boy* was in the afterpiece *The Farmer*, premiered at Covent Garden on 31 October 1787, and the song, with its whistling accompaniment on the 'small flute', achieved immediate success. The oboist spelled his name Huttley in his own benefit notices.
[40] *World* 19 August 1788. Hindmarsh played a violin concerto and must have directed the 'Grand Coronation Anthem', with its 'additional Performers'. The evening offered a varied bill of fare, with vocal and instrumental music by Handel, dancing, a new burletta, a monody on the death of David Garrick recited by Palmer, and finally a 'Favourite Pantomimic Entertainment' (*Times*, 14 August 1788).
[41] *Morning Chronicle*, 30 August and 1 September 1788.
[42] *Oxford Journal*, 14 June 1788.
[43] *World*, 26 February, 11, 12 April 1788; *Morning Chronicle*, 18 March 1788.
[44] *World*, 3 and 10 April 1788.
[45] *Morning Post*, 7 May; *Public Advertiser*, 13 May 1789.

[46] *Survey of London*, ed. F. H. W. Sheppard, vol. 41 (London, 1983), 10, identifies the builder Crispus Claggett as the proprietor of Apollo Gardens, rather than the musician Walter or his brother Charles, the violinist and inventor of instruments. See also Peter Holman, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), 267–9.
[47] R. J. S. Stevens gives an interesting account of the Anacreontic Society in his *Recollections*, ed. Mark Agent (London, 1992), 24–8.
[48] *The World*, 19 December 1788; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 2 January 1788.
[49] *World*, 2 April 1790. *Arthur* is not listed in Arnold's works in *Oxford Music Online*, Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1973) or in Robert H.B. Hosking, *The Theater Music of Samuel Arnold: A Thematic Index* (Warren MI, 1998).
[50] *London Chronicle*, 3–6 April; *World*, 7 and 9 April 1790. The last performance was on Saturday 15 May and closure was announced in the *World* on 17 May 1790.
[51] *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 23, 30 May 1788.
[52] *Hampshire Chronicle*, 21 April 1788.
[53] *Hampshire Chronicle*, 20 April 1789.
[54] *Norfolk Chronicle*, 1 August 1789.
[55] *Norfolk Chronicle*, 24 July 1790; According to *Theatre Royal Bath: A Calendar or Performances at the Orchard Street Theatre 1750–1805*, ed. Arnold Hare (Bath, 1977) Miss Williams was in the company there for the 1786–7 season.
[56] *The John Marsh Journals*, vol. 1, 498–9. *Hampshire Chronicle*, 4 July 1789 gives Shaw as the leader, and Hindmarsh's role is known only from Marsh.
[57] *Hampshire Chronicle*, 16 April 1792. This comment clearly implies that Hindmarsh had played in the area more recently than 1789.
[58] *Oxford Journal*, 29 June 1793. Bill for concert on Wednesday 3 July at the Sheldonian Theatre, available on *ECCO*.
[59] *World*, 29 January 1791.
[60] *Morning Herald*, 29 May 1792.
[61] *Diary or Woodfall's Register*, 18 April 1791.
[62] *Diary or Woodfall's Register*, 28 April 1791; *Oracle* 30 April 1791.
[63] Landon, *Haydn in England*, 183. Haydn did not distinguish between violin and viola players in his list.
[64] *World*, 28 January, 4 and 11 February 1790.
[65] The *Morning Chronicle* gives performers' names, except for Haydn's *Divertimento* on 8 April and his *Concertino* on 20 May, where only the instruments are specified.
[66] The *Morning Chronicle* gives performers' names, except for 17 February.
[67] Given in translation in Landon, *Haydn in England*, 189.
[68] *Star and Evening Advertiser*, 25 February 1791.
[69] *Oracle*, 5 December 1791; *Public Advertiser*, 22 September 1792.
[70] The publication, a score for the band followed by a piano arrangement, was issued by Longman and Broderip. It is dated [1796] by GB-Lbl and GB-Ob. This appears to be the only surviving music composed by Hindmarsh. The earl was colonel of the Staffordshire militia.
[71] *True Briton*, 1 May 1793.
[72] *Morning Herald*, 15 April 1793.
[73] Described as 'Concerto, Alto Viola' in the bill, available on *ECCO*, for the concert on Wednesday 3 July at the Sheldonian Theatre.
[74] H. Diack Johnstone, 'The Academy of Ancient Music (1726–1802): its history, repertoire and surviving programmes', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 51 (2020), 97.
[75] The advertisement in the *True Briton* of 21 April 1796 included 'Concerto Viola, Mr. HINDMARSH. — HINDMARSH', where the second 'Hindmarsh' is in the position where composers are given in the rest of the notice.
[76] The viola had figured in concertos for a group of instruments. For example, Cramer's benefit concert on 6 May 1776 included 'A New Concerto for Violin, Hautboy, Tenor, and, Violoncello, by Messrs. Giardini, Fischer, Crosdill and Cramer, composed on purpose by Mr. Bach' (*Morning Chronicle*, 6 May 1776).
[77] *Morning Post, Oracle* and *World*, 23 May*; Morning Chronicle*, 26 May 1794.
[78] *Morning Herald*, 9 March 1796, *Oracle*, 8 and 10 March and *True Briton*, 9 and 10 March all give violin concerto.
[79] *Times*, 15 March 1796.
[80] Karl Stamitz was active in London between 1777 and 1780, frequently playing the viola in ensembles, particularly violin and viola duets. He also played concertos on the viola d'amore, but there is no sign of his playing a viola concerto. For the viola d'amore concertos, see Holman, *Life after Death*, 150–1.
[81] *Morning Chronicle*, *Morning Post* and *World* on 6 February 1794. Fiorillo had played second viola, with Hindmarsh as first at the concert on 11 April 1793.
[82] The violin concerto was advertised in the *Oracle* on 29 March, and replaced by the Gyrowetz concertante on 31 March.
[83] *Oracle*, 15 and 22 May. On the performance day the Pleyel quartet also disappeared (*Oracle,* 23 May 1794).
[84] *Oracle*, 29 May 1794, for 2 June.
[85] *True Briton*, 3 June 1795.
[86] *Morning Chronicle*, 24 January 1795.

[87] Details of Hindmarsh's activities in the Academy of Ancient Music are taken from Johnstone, 'The Academy of Ancient Music', 96–9.
[88] *Oracle*, 20 March and 23 March (for concert on 25 March) 1795. Mr Major was probably the organist Joseph Major.
[89] *True Briton*, 3 June 1795.
[90] *True Briton*, 22 January; *Morning Chronicle* and *Oracle*, 23 January 1796. Salomon used the term 'tenor' here, although he had called the instrument 'viola' in 1794.
[91] *True Briton*, 7 and 21 April 1796; *Morning Post*, 4 May 1796, for concert on 5 May.
[92] Administration records at the National Archive, PROB 6/173.
[93] Marriage records of St Marylebone, 19 December 1814; *World* 13 February 1790. S.G.S. Harrington was buried in Brighton on 3 November 1817, when his age was given as 56. Highfill, ed., *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 7, 327 wrongly states that Mrs Hindmarsh married the amateur composer Dr Henry Harington of Bristol, who would have been aged 87 at the time.
[94] John Sainsbury, *Dictionary of Musicians*, vol. 1 (London, 1824), 390.
[95] *Four Minuets, composed and dedicated to his much esteemed pupil, Miss Jessie Robertson*, published in Edinburgh by Penson & Co, c 1815, were composed by J. Hindmarsh, a pianist and music teacher active in Edinburgh by 1811 (*Caledonian Mercury*, 19 January 1811; 20 March 1815). A copy survives at IRL-Dn.

More on Fakery in Period Performance

Martyn Hodgson (with a paper by Jeremy Montagu)

The two kindred papers below first appeared in the quarterly bulletin of FoMRHI (The Fellowship of Makers and Researchers of Historical Instruments). FoMRHI was founded in 1975 by Jeremy Montagu and Ephraim Segerman to disseminate information about and debate matters relating to historical musical instruments and has a wide international membership. The range of subjects covered is extremely catholic, not just restricted to strictly organological matters, and can include relevant aspects of period/historic performance practices such as these two papers which are now published for a wider audience. Jeremy Montagu passed away in 2020 at the fine old age of 92 but, as the swan song below demonstrates, there was no diminution in his critical powers and the thrust of his argument deserves attention. My paper, which follows, is focussed principally on the lute and was inspired by Jeremy's battle-cry. It has been significantly expanded with relevant illustrations for *EMP*.

Editorial Note: Jeremy Montagu's paper is reprinted verbatim as it appeared in FoMRHI Quarterly*, not only because it was the inspiration for Martyn Hodgson's article, but because, as Martyn states, it makes a number of important points that could be developed further. For example, Montagu observed that 'fakery', at least when committed by musicians claiming to be early music performers, prevents modern listeners from having the opportunity to hear how early music might have sounded. Martyn himself adds others towards the end of his article. Readers are invited to consider writing further articles about examples of 'fakery' in period performance, which can be considered for publication in future issues of* EMP.

The Fakery of Early Music (*FoMRHI Quarterly*, December 2019, Comm. 2121)
by Jeremy Montagu

I was going to call this The Perils of Inauthenticity, but then I remembered that Authenticity is now regarded as a dirty word in Early Music, and therefore Inauthenticity must be an even dirtier word. Nowadays we realise that there is no way that we can be authentic; we are people of the twenty-first century, we have a modern mind-set, we have modern ears, modern social customs, modern lives. We can never hear music in earlier ways, and even though we may pretend to try to play it in earlier ways, we must admit that the ways in which we do so are only imaginary imitations. In other words, we are faking it.

Another article (*Jeremy Montagu: Can You Reproduce an Instrument? FoMRHI Comm. 2123*) discusses our fakery of reconstructing the instruments; in this article I want to discuss our fakery in playing it. This is the more blatant of the two, for in many ways we are, quite deliberately, departing from the ways in which the music was performed in its own time, and we know it.

There are a few factors in this respect that are beyond our control. We do not have some of the objects that make the sounds. Strings, for example; we are still experimenting with materials and manufacture, though we do seem to be getting closer. Reeds for reed instruments are simply not available in the quality of earlier times, partly due to climatic and environmental changes, and partly due to the modern economics of the trade, including over-hasty seasoning. And almost all our musicians were initially taught to play modern instruments with modern techniques and therefore have had to forget much of what they were taught and try to relearn how to play and sing.

Singing is one of the most contentious issues. Vibrato or not? All singers today are taught a constant vibrato, either a temporal one – Janet Baker for example who bleats like a sheep on one pitch, or a pitched one – Maria Callas for example who wobbled up and

down like a jelly. All the evidence that we have suggests that neither of these techniques existed in earlier times, even into the memories of the phonograph. Less than a century ago, singers were still being taught that vibrato was an ornament and that, when it was used, it was to be variable in intensity according to context, but today it is constant and unvarying, even with many of our early music performers.

Then there is the music. Should they sing the notes as they were printed or should they ornament the da capos and many other repetitive passages? And if so by how much should they do it? Many operatic arias were written to allow the singer to show off their virtuosity with ornamental passage-work, many even have a 6/4 chord in the accompaniment to suggest the intervention of a cadenza (Handel's 'Largo' is a case in point). We do quite often hear a little ornamentation these days, but we are told that audiences would not like to hear today as much as we know was common practice then. How do these people know? The audiences have never had the chance to find out whether they would like it or not.

This question of ornamentation arises for instrumentalists also. Once upon a time, in the early 1950s when I was still a beginner, I conducted a Vivaldi non-solo string concerto. The slow movement was a stately progression of chords, rather lovely, but in performance, far too late to do anything about it, I realised that this was an accompaniment, an accompaniment to something that wasn't there. We weren't trained to do anything about such things in those days; they didn't teach jazz then in our strait-laced schools of music. A very obvious case in point is Brandenburg 3. The style in those mid-twentieth century days was to play, very solemnly, those two chords, and then to dash into the Finale, omitting a whole short, improvised slow movement.

We have evidence of how Mozart ornamented his solo parts – Hummel, I think it was, who wrote a lot of it down. Some of Telemann's and Corelli's Sonatas were actually published in print and are available today, with the solo line printed both as written and with the same line printed again as it was played – we never hear anything like that today, but why on earth not? Couperin and many others wrote down how the agréements should be played in their music. The evidence of how music was and should be played is there, staring us in the face.

And then there is what one might call the small ornamentation, the shakes and graces that any musician of the time would automatically insert. We do hear many of them today but still nothing like as many as there would, and should have been. And stile francese? When, where, and how much, and whatever do we do about 'The Trumpet Shall Sound'? Handel wrote the dots in but stopped bothering after a time – do we go on dotting or not? Not that the dots necessarily mean a literal three-to-one or even four-to-one rhythm – swing it gently was good advice I received in my younger days for much of it, though some should obviously be tighter. I believed then and still believe now that when a composer gave the title of a movement in French, he expected it to be played in French. Why else did he write Menuet rather than Menuetto or Minuet? Because that was how he expected it to be played. Even more so he expected it when he gave it such a descriptive name as Badinerie or Réjouissance.

And what about repeats? We do often hear the exposition repeated but less often the development; perhaps performers feel that when the composer came to finish a movement they ought to let it finish rather than repeating it. And what about Minuet/Scherzo and Trios? As soon as we get into the school orchestra we are taught not to make the repeats in the Minuet/Scherzo da capo. And yet there is ample evidence that in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they did make the repeats in the da capo. Will our players ever do that for us? I can think of a few places where our modern players will say 'Please God, no' in some tricky patches which might be difficult to bring off successfully every time, and how about the cases with multiple trios – da capo repeated, da capo repeated, da capo repeated (Brandenburg 1 for example), but then just think of

the opportunities for improvisation and ornamentation, doing it differently each time. It could be fascinating.

But let us turn to playing techniques. Here we have some obvious fakeries, the most obvious of which is the fingerhole trumpet, something that pretends to be Baroque but never existed until today. Yes, there were some posthorns that had a single hole, but they were not trumpets, and there is one experimental harmonic trumpet in the Royal Collection that Eric Halfpenny described in Galpin Society Journal XIII. We do now have some trumpeters who can bend the notes of the true Baroque and Classical trumpet into tune but we are seldom allowed to hear them just in case there is one duff note in a performance, so accustomed are we today at the perfection that we hear on recordings. Performers have told me that the director would not allow them to play a real trumpet, and some performers of course have not developed the proper techniques, or the proper mouthpieces that would allow them to bend the notes, and therefore rely on these fake trumpets as a prop for their lack of skill.

What about fiddles gripped under the chin? Yes some tutors show that grip, but others don't. Supporting the fiddle under the chin frees the left hand to shift position, whereas holding the fiddle on the shoulder or chest means that the weight of the fiddle has to be supported by the left hand and that makes shifting position a very different operation. Even on old recordings we can hear a portamento that must have existed far more frequently as a constant in earlier times, whereas today players are brought up to the idea of the clean shift.

Quantz recommended using the corps de rechange on the flute for different movements, a longer one for brisk and usually louder movements and a shorter one for leisurely and quieter movements to compensate for blowing harder and therefore sharper in pitch and softer and therefore lower in pitch. But our directors today don't like longer pauses between movements to allow for the change, and they often resent the fact that the horns have to take time to change crooks, and sometimes trumpets too, and timpani have to retune.

And what about tempo? Did they really play as fast as we so often hear today? Was the minuet more like a scherzo or was it nearer to dance speed? I remember the old days when Harry Newstone and the Haydn Orchestra played them nearer dance speed and how effective they sounded that way. And not just the minuets, so much music is played much faster then it used to be. And when they play fast, what should the double basses do? We often hear the most awful scramble today, but in earlier times the bass players did the sensible thing and simplified the parts. Look at the way that Beethoven separated the basses from the cellos – he was one of the first to do that. He avoided a lot of the scramble and I'd be willing to bet that Haydn's and Mozart's players did so, too.

I know that playing techniques have improved enormously in modern times so that players today can race through the music, but I believe we should put our minds back into earlier times as we do with our instruments. As I've said above, we may not be able to hear the music with earlier ears but we can, and we should, play it in earlier ways, and then perhaps our audiences could hear it as something like it was in the earlier days.

Our modern performances are full of all such fakery and as a result they are pale shadows of original performances. We have ample evidence of how music was played then, so why don't we do it?

Jeremy Montagu's paper reminds us that it is not really possible to recreate musical performances and hear music exactly as early composers expected, the performers produced it and their audiences heard it. In short, since any performance is subject to modern tastes and the interpretation of historical evidence it is, inevitably, a sort of fakery. He explains how difficult it is to reproduce the music and sounds actually heard in earlier times – not just in ensuring

that the original ('authentic') playing techniques are correctly employed, but also because passing modern fads may impose a musical interpretation at odds with what the original composers expected and their auditors experienced.

It is certainly the case that one fundamental problem is a fairly recent tendency amongst some 'period' musicians to wilfully ignore hard evidence that does not chime with their own preconceptions – thus producing a performance which satisfies them personally but is not what the 'Old Ones' might have expected and heard. However, I'm not entirely pessimistic and believe that performances may still be achieved which, if not precisely identical to those heard by early audiences, are not too far removed. In particular, as Montagu points out, whilst some extant wind instruments may have significantly changed and deteriorated thus making precise modern copies problematical, I believe it quite practicable to produce many stringed instruments which the early makers would have recognised as being very similar to their own productions. Further, should players choose to do so, there is a great deal of historical evidence allowing the re-creation of early playing techniques close to those of earlier times.

Nevertheless, as well as the areas of early music fakery outlined in Montagu's earlier paper, there are others and, in particular, a significant and growing problem amongst instruments of the lute family. Quite a number of the culpable players are professionals, who should know better, and so this particular modern trend for fakery continues to be perpetuated, and is even becoming the established practice. The implications of this for the lute and its playing are briefly explored here.

Modern lutes and makers

However, all is not doom – the 'authenticity' (that now abhorred word) of many lute- (and early guitar) type instruments made nowadays is pretty good: that is, they can often be closely modelled on extant period instruments and based on sound research including iconographic and documentary evidence. Thus many modern professional makers generally produce lutes which reasonably reflect what the early makers themselves made.

To set this in context, it is useful to very briefly consider the modern history of lute making. The pioneers making new lutes in the early twentieth century (such as Arnold Dolmetsch in England and various, many German, makers on the European continent) mostly made quite sturdy heavy instruments ('fakes' in fact) and therefore without much of the delicate and rather subtle resonant responses of early lutes. It was in the 1960s that makers started more seriously to come to grips with some of the true features of historical lute construction: for example, Ian Harwood making instruments which were lightweight, properly barred, had reasonably delicate bridges and so on.

Suffice it to say that by the late 1970s there were a significant number of makers, both in North America as well as Europe, producing lutes incorporating important aspects of historical instruments. This was further developed by some particularly fine makers, such as Michael Lowe, who looked in even more detail at extant examples of particular instruments and made close copies directly modelled on them. Stephen Murphy was also important by providing good drawings of instruments following his 1975 tour of many European collections (still available from the Lute Society). Thus from the 1980s there were an increasing number of makers offering a range of historically based lutes and guitars. In short, whilst there may still be some who appear unaware of, or ignore, historical evidence (the true sizes and stringing of theorbos for example), these days many lute makers now produce recognisable historically based instruments.

So, I hear you cry, where's the lute fakery if most professional makers these days closely model their instruments on extant lutes and other relevant information? The answer is that it's in the manner of playing them that the fakery appears: it is not the instruments themselves, but the increasingly widespread employment of an inappropriate playing technique for much of the lute repertoire, which perpetuates a deception. This is the target of my own polemic.

Lute playing and performance

Thus, whilst lute making now mostly follows historical principles, many players (both amateur and professional) increasingly adopt an anachronistic (unhistorical) plucking technique. This is to employ what is nowadays known as the 'thumb-under' technique, which is employed for virtually all the lute repertoire, and not just for the earlier period up to the late 1500s for which

it can often be appropriate. This might seem an esoteric matter only relevant to lutenists but, in fact, the right hand technique makes a significant difference to how the music sounds and is therefore important for wider audiences too.

For those unfamiliar with lute playing techniques perhaps a few words of explanation are called for. From the late fifteenth century, when finger plucking generally took over from plectrum playing, the right hand plucking fingers were held almost parallel to the strings and so the thumb lay behind (or 'under') the foremost fingers. This seems to have developed naturally from the earlier use of the plectrum held between the fingers and thumb in a similar roughly horizontal position. To allow this hand position it is generally best to have the right forearm come over the belly of the lute from the bottom edge of the instrument.

Illus. 1. Early plectrum playing (Anon., 1455). Landesmuseum Kärnten, Klagenfurt.

For almost a century, to around the 1570s, this 'thumb-under' technique was that most employed (although by no means universally as clearly shown in many sixteenth century depictions) and generally requires the instrument to be held in a roughly horizontal position and strings to be plucked quite high up on the belly and, indeed, even over the rose – this position naturally produces a gentle, soft and homogenous timbre.

However, by the later decades of the sixteenth century, new musical demands gave rise to a radical change in the general plucking technique and arm position – much to do with changes in style and texture and the kind of sound now being preferred. This was the widespread adoption of the 'thumb-over' plucking technique. With this technique the forearm rests on the side of the lute (roughly just behind the bridge position) and the thumb is held before ('over') the fingers, which also now pluck the strings at a much less shallow angle than that best for the old 'thumb-under' approach. This change was also generally accompanied by resting the lute lower on the thigh rather than mostly having it held high on the chest (a position more comfortable for the earlier 'thumb-under' approach).

Illus. 2. 'Thumb-under' playing (Marco Palmezzano, 1513). National Gallery of Ireland.

The 'thumb-over' technique allows more vigorous plucking, affording greater dynamic possibilities, and also frees the thumb for a more independent bass role. Contemporary instructions and iconography are very clear: the little finger still rests on the belly but now much closer to the bridge, perhaps even touching it and, indeed, could even be placed behind. All this produces a much more focussed, brilliant sound and allows considerably greater tonal and dynamic contrasts.

Illus. 3. 'Thumb-under' playing (Bartolomeo Veneto, c.1530). Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.

Illus. 4. 'Thumb-over' playing (Peter Paul Rubens, c.1600). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Troyes.

This right hand position can be seen in numerous contemporary representations and is clearly described in texts from the late sixteenth century onwards. For example, the historic change is recommended and reported in the *Varietie of Lute-lessons* (London 1610) and directly reflects the developed practice of no less a figure than Dowland:

> First, set your little finger on the belly of the Lute, not towards the rose, but a little lower, stretch out your Thombe with all the force you can, especially if thy Thombe be short, so that the other fingers may be carried in a manner of a fist, and let the Thombe be held higher than them, this in the beginning will be hard. Yet they which have a short Thombe may imitate those which strike the strings with the Thombe under the other fingers, which though it be nothing so elegant, yet to them it will be more easie.

But perhaps the best wider contemporary description is that given in the Stobaeus MS (GB-Lbl, Sloane 1021/23). This important source very clearly records the earlier momentous change in plucking technique and some of its perceived advantages:[1]

> The right hand is to be held close to the bridge, and the little finger firmly placed there and held down. The thumb is to be stretched out strongly, so that it stands out almost as a limb, by one knuckle, to the other fingers. The fingers are to pluck cleanly inwards under the thumb, so that the sound resonates cleanly and strongly. The thumb is to be struck outwards, not inwards like the people in the past used to do […] For it has been shown that it is far better to strike the thumb outwards: it sounds purer, clearer, and brighter, the other way sounds very faulty and dull.

This thumb-out plucking position remained the general style for the rest of the historical lute's existence (as an organological aside, the 'lute' stop on the harpsichord recognises this more brilliant sound by placing its row of jacks closest to the bridge). However, it is precisely this clearly documented and historically preferred playing style which is effectively ignored and denied by many modern lutenists who now employ the anachronistic 'thumb-under' technique for the entire lute repertoire and not just the earlier part for which it may often be appropriate. Indeed, despite many independent, and unchallenged, articles over recent years pointing out the unsuitability of the 'thumb-under' technique for much of the repertoire (see bibliography below), its use persists and even grows.

Why does such anachronistic lute playing fakery persist?

As Ephraim Segerman perceptively and presciently remarked to me in the late 1970s

when modern 'thumb-under' first started to be employed: the use of this particular technique for the entire lute repertoire, even by those who should have known better, was often a conscious attempt to distance themselves from the despised (and now embarrassing for them) modern classical guitar which, ironically, they had first started out playing. So now, even as then, many players, perhaps unwittingly, adopt inauthentic 'thumb-under' plucking for the entirety of the lute repertoire, possibly also hoping that modern audiences will see that not only does the lute not look like a guitar, but that its right hand playing style appears quite different too – and even, by some supposed implication, superior and more refined to that nowadays employed on its abhorred and less elevated relative.

The recent adoption of this unhistorical manner of play for all lute music misleading purports to suggest that the performer is playing their instrument with the same historical technique employed by all early lutenists and so they are therefore reproducing the correct ('authentic') sound. Alas, they are often not. It is, in practice, a deception on the audience who attend concerts (or listen to recordings) fully expecting to hear works performed in the same manner as in earlier times.

This modern fakery may also be perpetuated by some players with a vested interest (they don't have to become skilled in two very different techniques) and, of course, by the modern recording industry, which allows sophisticated sound engineering to turn anything into something considered more desirable – 'don't worry your bass sounds a bit weak, we can always boost it later'. And not only by some conflicted professional players, but also by amateurs misleadingly instructed by poorly informed teachers that this fake practice is right (i.e. historically accurate) for all lute music. And so we end up in the present bizarre situation where, for much of the lute repertoire, the correct historical playing technique is frequently ignored, and even criticised, and an incorrect, anachronistically uniform performance style is promoted.

What can be done?

The first days of the modern early music revival were frequently experimental, but also therefore exciting, and lively debates could properly arise. Further, at the time, there was also great effort to understand alternatives and properly explore them – as Montagu points out, much of this open, exploratory outlook has now, to a regrettable degree, disappeared from parts of the early music world and, particularly in the context of this paper, from within the lute community.

In addition to fakery in playing the lute and the other examples Montagu mentions, there are, of course, many more and I mostly leave it to others to comment on these. Nevertheless, in passing, I cannot resist mentioning a couple of other modern early music practices which in my view are especially questionable:

- the widespread fashionable use of the falsetto male alto voice (that is employing just the vocal chord edges) as a generally acceptable substitute for early male soprano roles – in the absence of modern castrati what's wrong with a suitable stentorian woman with her natural full vocal chords?;
- the overweening involvement of modern sound recording engineers who often seem ignorant of how period performance voices and instruments actually sound in the flesh or, if they do know, prefer to suppress their knowledge and substitute their own preferred 'balance' irrespective of historical evidence.

Such modern reactionary conservatism, linked to a reluctance to properly consider the actual historic evidence but to rely instead on personal choices and whatever is the current fashionable Orwellian 'group-thought' of the day, is I suggest the core problem – especially for the lute.

How can we recapture the earlier exciting and highly desirable situation and also thereby attract young people to early music in large numbers as, for example, the lute once did? Perhaps a further early music revolution is again required to properly re-evaluate some of the sources frequently now ignored and so stimulate informed debate: not only to address the many performance issues Montagu identified but also those in the smaller, but still much-loved, world of the lute.

In the UK the restoration of music and its performance in schools would be a first good step and the government's recent consultation on shaping a National Plan for Music Education was an important avenue to influence this. Indeed, the new 'refreshed' national plan now states that music is an essential curriculum

subject and, between key stages one and three, there should be at least one hour a week of music – though the necessary funding required is not addressed. Sadly, there seems to have been little input expected, or indeed offered, from the early/period music movement and no significant debate about it in relevant journals. Surely we should not miss any opportunity to shape the future of music education and so ensure that period performance, including that on the lute, is not relegated to some minority eccentric interest group as it once was?

Clearly, the increased availability of properly informed music instruction in schools and colleges would be beneficial. But, fundamentally, I suggest that a return to a more diverse, open and critical exploration of early performance practices, based on the historical evidence rather than poorly informed (if currently fashionable) views, might engender some of the youthful excitement of earlier times – as well as having a real benefit for the lute of encouraging the appropriate playing techniques in performance. Teachers also have a responsibility to inform their students of a true historical perspective – even if it does not always match their own playing style. Similarly, professional lutenists ought to be more open about their personal choices/compromises rather than implying that their technique is generally suitable for the entire repertoire.

Some articles on the unsuitability of 'thumb-under' for most of the lute repertoire

Martin Eastwell, '21st Century Lute Technique: A Compromise Too Far?', *Lute Society Magazine*, 101 (March 2012), 16.

John Edwards, 'Dowland lute solos and songs', *Early Music*, 25/3 (1997), 503–6.

Bernhard Fischer, 'The resting position of the right-hand little finger', *Lute Society Magazine*, 138 (July 2021), 19.

Martin Shepherd, 'Right-hand technique', *Luteshop* (https://luteshop.co.uk/articles/rhtechnique/), accessed 16 September 2022.

Richard Sweeney, 'The best way of play', *Richard Sweeney* (https://richardsweeney.com/the-best-way-of-play/), accessed 16 September 2022.

Talitha Witmer, 'The Can of Norms: Expanding the Modern Lute Plucking Technique', *Research Catalogue: an international database for artistic research* (https://www.researchcatalogue.net/view/298192/392887) (2018).

[1] 'De Methodo Studend': 'Die Rechte Hand soil kurtz fiir dem Stege gehalten u. d. kleine finger steif aufgesetzet u. gehalten werden. D. daume soil starck ausgestrecket werden, das er fast ein glied den andern fingern vorgehe. Es sollen auch die finger einwerts unter den daumen fein zu sich getzogen werden, dz der resonans fein starck klinge. Der daume soil auswertz nit einwertz, geschlagen werden, wie die Alten zu thun pflegen, u. gemeinlich die Niederlander und Alte Teutschen. Denn es probiret worden, das es weit besser den daumen auswertz zuschlagen, klinget reiner scherffer u. heller, dz ander klinget gar faull u. dumpffig' (author's translation). See Donna M. Arnold, 'The Lute Music and Related Writings in the *Stammbuch* of Johann Stobaeus', Ph.D. diss. (North Texas State University, 1981), 102.

Lamento [works by Schütz, Schein, Scheidt, J.C. Bach, Geist, Sances, Tunder], Iestyn Davies, Fretwork consort of viols, Signum SIGCD684.

Hidden Treasures. Seventeenth-Century Music of Habsburg and Bohemia [works by Sances, Anonyms, Neri, Buonamente, Rittler, Piscator, Valentini, Mandl], ATMA Classique, ACD2 2798.

Paolo A. Rismondo

These two CDs contain performances of pieces written by seventeenth-century composers, mostly living and operating in the German-speaking area of northern Europe. Each CD features a singer supported by, and contrasted with, an instrumental ensemble – counter-tenor Iestyn Davies (and Hugh Cutting in two two-voice pieces) with the *Fretwork* consort of viols, and the soprano Vicky St. Pierre with the *¡Sacabuche!* 'early trombones' ensemble (I will use hereafter abbreviations *DF* and *SS* respectively).

The performances and recordings are up to current, high standards; however, greater resonance would be needed to recreate the acoustics of the supposed original performance spaces. The ensembles are also obviously very different in their sound impact, as the countertenor(s) and viols of *DF* favour a more subtle and delicate approach, while the singing and playing of *SS* is more energetic and robust.

The *DF* programme seems to be vaguely inspired by the plaintive mood heralded by their title; indeed, the lament pieces contained in it span from the beginning through to the end of the seventeenth century (from Schütz's, Schein's and Scheidt's to Johann Christoph Bach's); to relieve that mood, *Fretwork* alone plays leisure pieces by Schein and Scheidt (probably originally written as banquet music).

The *SS* program is based (quite broadly) on the Thirty Years' War period (1618–48). Many of the pieces there performed were actually written before or (mostly) after these dates; but historians have told us that that war (or chain of wars and quarrels) spanned over a long period, even longer that its name suggests, affecting different countries in very different ways at different times.

The broad, unfocused programming of these CDs originates directly from the collections of music sources (prints and manuscripts) from which many of the pieces were drawn: that of the archbishops of Liechtenstein-Castelcorno in Kroměříž in Moravia (now Czech Republic), and that of the royal chapel of Sweden (from which originated the Düben collection, now at Uppsala University). Indeed, simply drawing pieces from each collection cannot confer (and far less can guarantee) a clear focus to a program, as neither originates from a single, specific musical chapel. Scores and parts preserved there were collected and transcribed from very disparate sources, and, moreover, are quite often *unica* (this is true especially for the Düben collection). Each score, or bundle of parts, has to be submitted to a close scrutiny since a comparison with other sources may not be possible. Furthermore, even if other sources exist, they may be found in unexpected places.[1]

Another drawback of these CDs is that a good number of the pieces performed by *SS*, and all of those by *DF*, have been recorded several times. There are dozens of commercial recordings of Schütz's, Schein's and Scheidt's compositions performed by *DF*; here, too, even for a much less well-known piece such as is undoubtedly Geist's longish aria 'Es war aber an der Stätte', there are currently no fewer than six different commercial recordings. For the remainder of this review I will focus on the Italian composers featured on these CDs. I prefer to offer here a more detailed coverage of their pieces, since I have detailed knowledge of both the sources of the music, and the biographies of these composers.

Most of the Italian composers here performed took advantage of links to Vienna of local Italian nobility to find a position in the Imperial musical chapels. Bertali and Neri were

both from Verona, a well-known centre of pro-Empire nobility, which gathered mostly in the *Accademia Filarmonica*. We do not know almost anything about Valentini's early formation before his joining the Vienna chapel, but probably it had nothing, or very little, to do at all with the Venetian musical or political environment.

Sances was a Roman singer and composer who worked for many years (c.1626–1636) in the ducal musical chapel in Venice. But in spite of very good links he had with Venetian high nobility, he became aware that higher positions in the chapel's hierarchy, beyond that of a singer, were not available to him, and he went to Vienna in 1636. Just the same happened to Massimiliano Neri; he took advantage of a temporary (and very rare) convergence of Venetian and Imperial political positions, to enter the private service of a very important Venetian *senatore* and eventually, years later, he became organist in S. Marco. But – as that political situation was indeed fleeting – the Venetian environment became difficult for him and he took a position in Bonn/Cologne (in the meantime, he had dedicated his Opus 2 to the Emperor).

Ironically, the only truly Venetian composer featured on these CDs is Giovanni Rovetta; but the only piece by him (*DF*, track 1), *Salve mi Jesu*, is there attributed to the north-German composer Franz Tünder. It is a note-for-note adaptation of a piece by Rovetta to a Latin but less distinctly Catholic text, complete with its beautiful wrapping of five-parts viols – and not just its vocal part, as one can read in the accompanying booklet. The piece was printed with another text, the very Catholic *Salve Regina*, as early as his *Motetti Concertati a Due, e tre Voci Libro Terzo*, Op. 10 (Venice, Vincenti, 1647) (it is the last piece of that collection). With its correct authorship given, it was performed and recorded in 2001 by Robin Blaze and The Parley of Instruments conducted by Peter Holman (CD Hyperion CDA67225). The booklet of this CD provides the correct indication of the Venetian printed source. As for the attribution, the aforementioned printed sources, being precisely dated, have priority over the Düben source, which is certainly quite later.

The (first recorded) performance of Neri's Sonata Quarta (from his second opus) is a fine example of misplaced faithfulness to the original musical source. *¡Sacabuche!* seem to play it from the original parts (or from a rough transcript of them). Two sections, at bars 1–16 and 17–42, are repeated. The most authoritative modern edition, by Martin Lubenow, gives there only double barlines at the ends of these sections. The original printed parts have typographical signs which today are easily (and incorrectly) interpreted as 'repeat signs'. It has long been known that those signs were not intended as they are today in modern practice; they were simply 'signs of division' of a piece into sections (as happens often in mid-seventeenth-century Venetian music, which has a strong 'sectional' nature). It is true that this sonata is quite short when compared to most of Neri's instrumental sonatas; but indeed those repeats, far from bringing any additional musical sense or value, make this excellent piece sound somewhat stiff and pedantic.

Even if it is surely attractive to organize a CD program as an anthology made up of a quantity of (very) different pieces, it is unfortunate that such anthologies are often based on accidents of survival, or other, more-or-less casual circumstances. It would be more interesting and stimulating to reconstruct a specific musical and cultural environment, a task that requires that each composition and composer is placed in context with other related compositions/composers.

[1] I can give here an example. I have recognised that a piece from the Düben collection using a German Reformed text is a mid-seventeenth-century vocal aria (a c*ontrafactum*, since the original text was Italian, and of rather secular character) by Caterina Giani, singer, creator of Cavalli's *Calisto* at its Venice première, wife of Massimiliano Neri (author of *SS*, track 3) and occasional composer – probably made by Gustav Düben or by a collaborator. There is no way of knowing how the piece got into the hands of the Düben copyists, a vague geographic proximity to the court of Bonn/Cologne, where Neri and Giani were active between c.1666 and 1670, apart. See Caterina Giani, *Liebster Jesu, trautes Leben*, ed. Paolo A. Rismondo, Special Publications, 39 (A-R Editions: Middleton, 2014).

Graham O'Reilly, *'Allegri's Miserere' in the Sistine Chapel*

Boydell Press, Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 2020; ISBN 9781783274871 (Hardcover), £45.00; ISBN 9781787449015 (Ebook), £19.99; 388 pp.

Ben Byram-Wigfield

There are few pieces of music, sacred or secular, that have such a folkloric history as Gregorio Allegri's (1582–1652) setting of Vulgate Psalm 50, *Miserere mei, Deus*: in which performance secrets, edicts and excommunication, the precocious boy Mozart, a Holy Roman Emperor, and the 'breaking' of the monopoly by Burney's publication in 1771 all figure. Throughout the twentieth century, the work has been a staple in the Anglican choral tradition. But what is sung today – which Graham O'Reilly calls 'the English Miserere' – is far removed from anything that might have been sung in Rome.

O'Reilly has meticulously compiled and curated every relevant detail, starting with the history of the Sistine Chapel Choir itself (or more accurately, as he points out, the *Collegio dei Cappellani Cantori della Cappella Pontificia*), its constitution and repertoire. The choir's size, and its members' salaries, increased under Sixtus IV, who in 1483 inaugurated the chapel that bears his name. The choir would sing wherever the Pope presided, and thus the *Cappella Sistina* would be their home for centuries to come.

In 1514, Pope Leo X decreed that Psalm 50, *Miserere mei, Deus*, should be sung, rather than said, at the conclusion of *Tenebrae* on the evenings of Wednesday, Maundy Thursday and Good Friday in Holy Week, and it was reported that the singers performed it in 'a new way: the first verse they sang in harmony, and thereafter alternately'.

The first known setting in this style was written by Costanza Festa (c.1485–1545). Other settings by Guerrero, Palestrina, Francesco and Felice Anerio, Nanino and others continued the *alternatim* pattern, until Gregorio Allegri's setting, which became an immediate favourite. A setting by Tommaso Bai (c.1636–1714), which imitated much of the harmony in Allegri's version was introduced to the choir in 1714. The harmonic similarities allowed the same ornamentation to be used; and over time, verses of Bai's and Allegri's settings were mixed together, so that both of them became 'the Miserere'.

A visit to the Sistine Chapel for one of the *Tenebrae* services in Holy Week was a compulsory stop for those on the Grand Tour, and this continued until Napoleon's occupation of Rome in 1798, when the Pope was imprisoned and the choir (which existed only to sing for the pontiff) effectively disbanded.

Manuscript sources of Allegri's work fall into two categories: those with, and those without the ornamentation and other details of the choir's performance practice. The Vatican sources from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are unadorned, on the assumption that the Papal Singers would know the necessary ornaments and practice traditionally performed. Ironically, we have the Napoleonic *interregnum* to thank for the earliest primary ornamented sources. Manuscripts now in Paris and Manchester were created for Citizen Louis Mesplet (1766–1831), who was appointed *inspecteur* of the Vatican's entire musical archive, as part of the wholesale assessment and removal of art works 'to save them for civilization'. These sources show the performance practice of the *Miserere* in its entirety.

Napoleon's defeat in 1815 brought a return to normality, but the interruption had left the choir depleted in number and broken its continuous tradition. It fell to Giuseppe Baini (1775–1844) to attempt reinstating the choir's unique performance practice. He also tried to prevent Pietro Alfieri (1801–63) from publishing the *Miserere* with the *abbellimenti*, not least because Afieri's record was 'a wretched sketch of a few *diminuzioni* out of the context of their natural clearness'. Ironically, Alfieri himself claimed to be correcting 'inexact copies, made without explanation'.

The choir's performance tradition would be broken again by Pius IX in the 1870s, who refused to preside over Holy Week services for seven years. In 1892, Domenico Mustafà (1829–1912) would consign the details of the tradition

to paper, as it had been handed down to him, to ensure that future generations of Papal singers could perform the 'Miserere di Bai ed Allegri'. In 1902, Pope Leo XIII decreed that *castrati* would no longer be appointed, and the six remaining *castrati*, would gradually leave the choir, with Alessandro Moreschi (1858–1922) remaining on the books, at least, until 1913.

Alongside the existing manuscript accounts of the performance practice, O'Reilly has compiled extensive quotations from accounts by those who listened to the *Miserere* in the Sistine Chapel, including transcriptions by Felix and Fanny Mendelssohn, and Ludwig Spohr, who were scandalized by 'Papal fifths' – parallel movement as part of the ornamentation.

This book itemises all the facets of the Vatican performance practice, covering not only the famous *abbellimenti*, but the question of the pitch (transposition) of the whole work, variation in tempo, the rhythmicization of the *falsobordone*, the use of portamento, and the practice for the plainchant verses.

In the twentieth century, the fame of Allegri's work came from its performance by English choirs rather than Roman ones, most notably the 1963 recording of David Willcocks' own English-language edition, sung by the choir of King's College, Cambridge. This was a revision of Sir Ivor Atkins' 1951 edition for Novello, which took as its source material a musical example from Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* by William Rockstro (1823–95). Almost inconceivably, Rockstro pasted the first half of Mendelssohn's transcription of the four-part verse (in which the whole work is transposed up a fourth) into the wrong place: it appears in the second half of the verse. So not only is it the wrong music; it's in the wrong key, giving us the implausible movement in the Bass from F sharp to C, with a descending scale of C minor in the Treble.

George Guest would produce a Latin edition, published by Chester in 1974, though used at St. John's College, Cambridge for several years before that. Down the road, King's College had created its own Latin edition, in an almost identical fashion, under Philip Ledger. This is 'the English Miserere', descended from Rockstro's mistake, and using Charles Burney's publication of 1771 for the five-part verses. Even the plainchant verses bore no relation to anything performed in Rome.

Burney secured copies from Padre G.B. Martini and the papal singer Giuseppe Santarelli (1710–90), claiming that 'they agree pretty exactly'; though his record is wildly different from any other authoritative source, including those within the Vatican, and it lacks any variation between the verses of each choir, suggesting that he was only shown one verse of each. Furthermore, it contains not a hint of the Papal choir's ornamentation or any other aspect of the performance practice. Mozart's transcription of a performance in 1770, which might have shed light on performance practice in Burney's time, remains lost, sadly.

O'Reilly has produced a comprehensive and definitive account that asks and answers all the relevant questions about this extraordinary work. So comprehensive is it, that even I am a footnote, both from my experience as a chorister at King's College, Cambridge who sang 'the Top C', and my own modest researches into the subject.

The ample bibliography is a useful resource for further research. Most importantly, there is, for the first time, a convincing account of the Papal Choir's performance practice. The book should be compulsory reading for anyone intending to programme, direct, or perform this remarkable piece.

My only criticism of the book is in its production: the text and music illustrations are not solid black, but dotted; and the photographs are poorly reproduced.

Rachael Durkin, *The Viola d'Amore: Its History and Development*

Routledge, Abingdon and New York, 2021; ISBN 978-1-138-35896-6 (Hardcover), £110; ISBN 9780367513733 (paperback), £36.99; ISBN 9780429433993 (e-book), £33.29; xiv + 179 pp.

Peter Holman

The viola d'amore is a mysterious instrument. Most people interested in classical music will have encountered it in Bach's St John Passion, and viola d'amore music by Biber, Vivaldi, Telemann and their contemporaries has become familiar from recordings. Yet there seems to be great uncertainty among scholars and players as to the nature of the instrument, how it should be strung and tuned and how its music should be interpreted. This leads, for instance, to such problematic things as performances of Biber's Partita in C minor, no. 7 of *Harmonia artificiosa ariosa* (1696), for two violas d'amore and continuo, played on mid or late eighteenth-century instruments, or Telemann's E major concerto for flauto d'amore, oboe d'amore, viola d'amore, strings and continuo TWV 53:E1, often performed and recorded (following Fritz Stein's 1938 Peters edition) with the viola d'amore part at the notated pitch (f' sharp–f''' sharp), soaring above the other solo instruments; the part, originally in the French violin clef, should surely be played an octave lower. Part of the problem is that, though the heyday of the viola d'amore was the eighteenth century, it never quite passed out of use. There is a sizeable late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century solo repertory, and it continued to be used as a special effect in operas and orchestral music, including Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*, Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* and Janáček's *Kát'a Kabanová*, the first version of Janáček's Sinfonietta, and Prokofiev's *Romeo and Juliet*. This has led to the unwarranted assumption that the instrument has remained essentially unchanged from the seventeenth century to the present.

Thus it was with considerable anticipation that I opened Rachael Durkin's book, which according to the publicity blurb is 'the first scholarly history of the viola d'amore'. Developed from her 2015 thesis, it certainly seems to be the first to be based on a thorough survey of the documentary, pictorial and organological evidence of instruments called 'viola d'amore' in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. She makes the fundamental point, too often ignored by performers, that this name was applied to two different things: a five- or six-string instrument akin to the treble viol but strung with wire, and the later and more familiar type, in which six or seven bowed gut strings are accompanied by a variable number of metal sympathetic strings running under the fingerboard. She devotes two chapters to these two types, followed by one devoted to the design aspects: the body shape, sound-holes, fingerboards, tailpieces, pegboxes and so on.

These three chapters are the most important part of the book, and contain a good deal of valuable material, much of it new or at least not brought together before in a single narrative. They are backed up with an appendix containing measurements and descriptions of 22 instruments she has examined herself, though it is a pity that she apparently only illustrates one of them; I say 'apparently' because it is not easy matching them up with the photographs of instruments dotted through the book. I also had the uneasy feeling that there is a circular argument lurking in her account of the earlier type without sympathetic strings. She describes them as 'wire-strung violas d'amore', but the only evidence from the instruments themselves that they were originally wire-strung seems to be the presence of an 'original, unaltered and intact tailpiece which will hold pins, or have a rail to the rear to anchor the wire strings', as she puts it (p. 14), and only one or two of those seem to

survive. The evidence for wire strings essentially comes from written sources, such as a passage in Jean Rousseau's *Traité de la viole* (1687) which states (in translation) 'one can still see today a type of Dessus de Viole with wire strings called Viole d'Amour' (p. 11), but we cannot know for sure that all the instruments she discusses were originally of this type rather than some sort of treble viol.

Incidentally, I question the suggestion (p. 20) that the large bowed instruments shown in the well-known frontispiece of Walther's *Musikalisches Lexicon* (1732) are meant to be violas d'amore. Looking at an online image (the reproduction in the book is poor), I can see nothing to identify them as such (it is not clear that the engraver really intended to portray them with five and six strings, as she asserts), and I suspect that they are just meant to be large violas, part of a typical five-part Lutheran church string ensemble. Also, there is no evidence for the idea that the person beating time is meant to represent J.S. Bach.

More serious is Durkin's reluctance to discuss viola d'amore music. Research into musical instruments ought to involve four types of evidence: the instruments themselves; pictorial representations of them; references to them in documentary sources; and the music written for them. Like a table with a leg missing, the absence of one of these four severely weakens the structure. In the case of the viola d'amore, it is particularly important to study the musical sources since the range of the parts and the characteristics of the chords used can often tell us how the composer intended the instrument to be strung and tuned. To be fair, she does mention the odd piece in passing, but that is no substitute for a proper survey and discussion of the repertory, telling the reader which composers wrote for which type of viola d'amore. It is symptomatic of her approach that Durkin does not use or even mention the indispensable *Viola d'amore Bibliographie* by Michael and Dorothea Jappe (Winterthur, 1997), a near-comprehensive thematic catalogue of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century viola d'amore music.

In particular, I wanted to know whether Durkin thinks that the early viola d'amore parts, in such pieces as the Biber Partia, the two anonymous sonatas for violin, viola d'amore and continuo in the Rost manuscript, or the anonymous arias with viola d'amore obbligato in the library of Nonnberg Abbey in Salzburg, were intended for the type with metal strings or the type with sympathetic strings. Readers will also doubtless want to know what sort of instrument Bach intended in the St John Passion and his three other cantatas with viola d'amore parts, and what his writing can tells us about it. Similar questions will be asked about other areas of the repertory, including Vivaldi's eight concertos and three arias with viola d'amore, and in particular the Darmstadt viola d'amore repertory, which according to Michael and Dorothea Jappe includes nearly 50 works by Christoph Graupner as well as Telemann's E major concerto. These pieces are particularly important because they were apparently written for the leader of the Darmstadt court orchestra, Johann Jakob Kress (1719–79), and (according to the website *Recovering Christopher Graupner – Viola d'amore and More*) the viola d'amore he played, made by Johann Georg Skotschofsky in Darmstadt in 1714, survives at the palace of Kranichstein near Darmstadt. Durkin discusses several instruments by Skotschofsky but not this one, and she does not mention Kress or Graupner. Telemann's problematic triple concerto certainly should have been discussed; he is only mentioned in passing as a composer of oboe d'amore music.

Durkin's last two chapters cover respectively 'the context of the viola d'amore' and 'the viola d'amore's revival'. The former begins with a survey of the predecessors of the viola d'amore, including wire-strung plucked instruments in Elizabethan England, viols with sympathetic strings in Jacobean England, and the early baryton. It is followed by a brief discussion of the Hardanger fiddle (a Norwegian folk violin with sympathetic strings) and some later instruments with viola d'amore-like characteristics. The sections on the predecessors of the viola d'amore are a valuable survey of recent research, though they ought logically to

come before the main chapters devoted to the instrument, and they contain some unnecessary material: with all the published research on the viol family available today we do not need potted histories of the treble viol or the lyra viol in a book of this sort. Furthermore, the coverage of the later instruments related to the viola d'amore is too sketchy to be much use; I would have happily traded it in for a proper coverage of the viola d'amore's seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music.

The last chapter, entitled 'the viola d'amore's revival', is the least satisfactory. For one thing its title is inaccurate, since much of it actually deals with the continuous tradition, from the early nineteenth century to Janáček and Hindemith. It is also unbalanced, with too much space devoted to Arnold Dolmetsch and Montagu Cleeve (1894–1993), the latter famous or notorious for his modernised viola d'amore and for playing it with the Vega Bach bow. I get the impression that they were chosen not for their importance but because information about them is readily available. What is lacking is a properly structured and balanced account of the role of the viola d'amore in the developing early music revival during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The point needs to be made that the viola d'amore was an important part of the revival because at the time it was often thought to be an ancestor of the violin, and for Dolmetsch it was also a stepping-stone to the viol. Durkin mentions Chrétien Urhan (1790–1845) as playing the viola d'amore part in *Les Huguenots* but not his role in the *concerts historiques* put on by François-Joseph Fétis in Paris in the 1830s. They regularly featured the viola d'amore in instrumental ensemble pieces supposedly by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century composers, most of which Fétis actually wrote himself. Carli Zoeller (1840–99) is mentioned in passing, but not his role in assembling a large collection of eighteenth-century viola d'amore music in London in the 1880s (it is now in the British Library), presumably for a pioneer early music group. Durkin does discuss Louis van Waefelghem (1840–1908), who played in several early music groups and supposedly inspired Dolmetsch to take up the viola d'amore, but not Henri Casadesus (1879–1947), his successor in Paris. Casadesus played the viola d'amore in the *Société des instruments anciens*, which he founded in 1901 with Saint-Saëns and which gave concerts in Paris until 1939.

All in all, this book is a curate's egg. It is based on significant primary research and is particularly strong on the antecedents of the viola d'amore and its early history. In that respect it is a great advance on the only book on the subject in English, *The Viola d'Amore* by Harry Danks (Halesowen, 1976), or for that matter Myer Rosenblum's article in *Oxford Music Online*. However, it is weakened by a failure to discuss viola d'amore music; an illogical ordering with the discussion of the antecedents coming after the main chapters on the viola d'amore; and sketchy sections on the later instruments related to the viola d'amore and its role in the early music revival. It would have been a stronger book had Durkin concentrated on her core topic, the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century viola d'amore and its immediate antecedents.

Towards a Digital Critical Edition of Nicola Vicentino's treatise *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome, 1555)

Luigi Collarile, Johannes Keller and Rolf Wissmann

In 2019, the Swiss National Science Foundation approved a research project seeking to investigate the historical, intellectual and musical context in which Nicola Vicentino (1510–77) conceived his complex vision of music theory and musical practice, transmitted in the treatise *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome, 1555).[1] The main goal of the project, which started in 2020 and is being carried out by Martin Kirnbauer (head), Luigi Collarile, David Gallagher, Johannes Keller, Anne Smith and Rolf Wissmann at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis FHNW (Switzerland), is the creation of a digital critical edition of Vicentino's treatise. This report presents some of the digital tools adopted during the critical editing work and in the conception and preparation of an innovative critical edition of Vicentino's treatise. A beta version will be presented in Basel at the international conference *Nicola Vicentinos 'musica pratticabile'* on 24–6 November 2022.[2]

Investigating a renaissance music book: new digital tools

The critical edition was prepared on the basis of careful bibliographical and philological work, and was structured in three stages: a census of all extant copies of the print; the collation of all copies, both through a comparison of the originals and the use of new digital research tools; a survey of all corrections made during the printing process.

In a study of textual criticism, aimed at producing a critical edition of a text, the collation of the sources transmitting it is an operation of primary importance. It is a complex and time-consuming process of comparing sources and looking for places where they differ. This is especially so for the early modern period, since corrections were common in printed books; each copy of an edition may contain variants that are potentially significant for the history of the text and the medium of its support, and the process by which the text reached a definitive form. The development of sophisticated devices and applications based on optical character-recognition technology (OCR) for processing digital images offered new possibilities for text collation. A new generation of tools is able to superimpose, compare and analyze digital reproductions of multiple copies of a text. This is the case with the *Traherne Digital Collator*, an innovative collation system developed by the University of Oxford for the preparation of a critical edition of the works of the English poet and religious writer Thomas Traherne (c.1637–74).[3] This open-access application combines several digital functionalities for text collation with links to images of the original physical text. It permits comparison of digital reproductions of different copies of a text or stored photos of a physical source taken with a digital camera.[4]

We chose to adopt this innovative tool to systematically collect and collate all the copies known today of Vicentino's treatise. This work helped to clarify several questions concerning the editorial history of Vicentino's treatise: the stages of the editorial process, the use of different types of paper, the relationship between the two editions of the treatise, dated 1555 and 1557 respectively, corrections made during or after the printing process and other aspects (Illus. 1). The data relevant to the critical edition was integrated into its critical apparatus, which will include links to the different versions of the text available on the digital platform (critical transcription without and with editorial corrections, critical edition with editorial corrections and regularizations), accompanied by multiple versions of the musical examples (offered in a modern critical edition and in audio-video format), a collection of reproductions of original copies, a commentary and a glossary.

Illus. 1. Working with the *Traherne Digital Collator*

From a printed Renaissance book to a digital critical edition

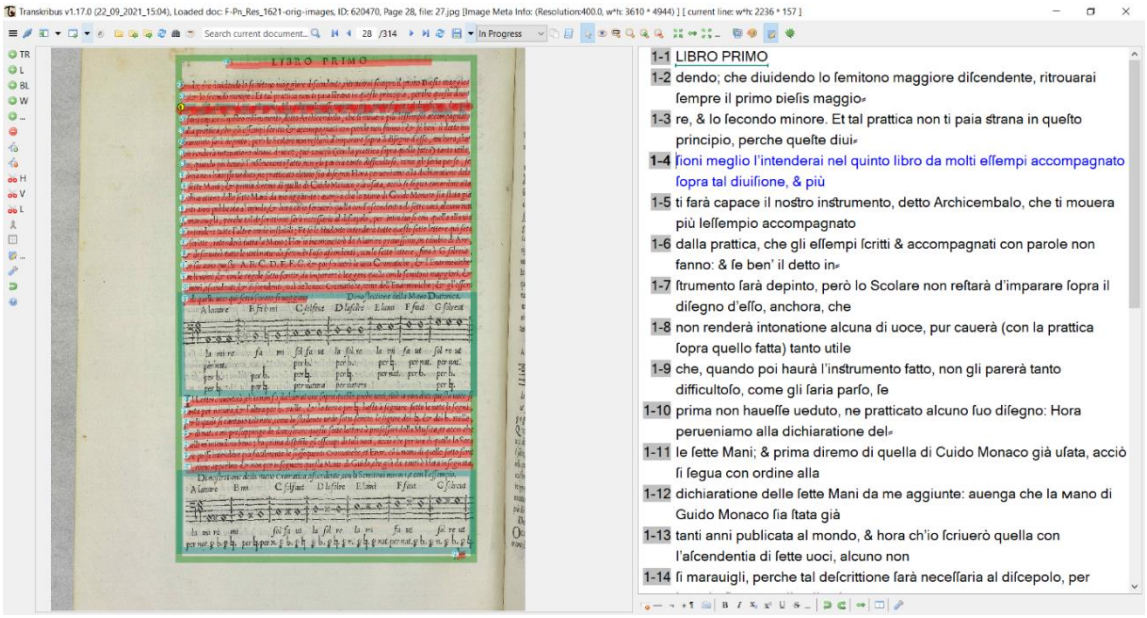
Transcription with Transkribus

The aim of the project was to create an accurate transcription of Vicentino's treatise *L'Antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica*, even down to the individual character, that is, to make a transcription that distinguishes between typographic forms in the original. A Unicode character that corresponds as closely as possible to a print-type was assigned and applied consistently. To accomplish this, the standard ASCII character set was supplemented with the required Unicode characters, including Latin Small Capital Letters, music-specific types and some additional characters.

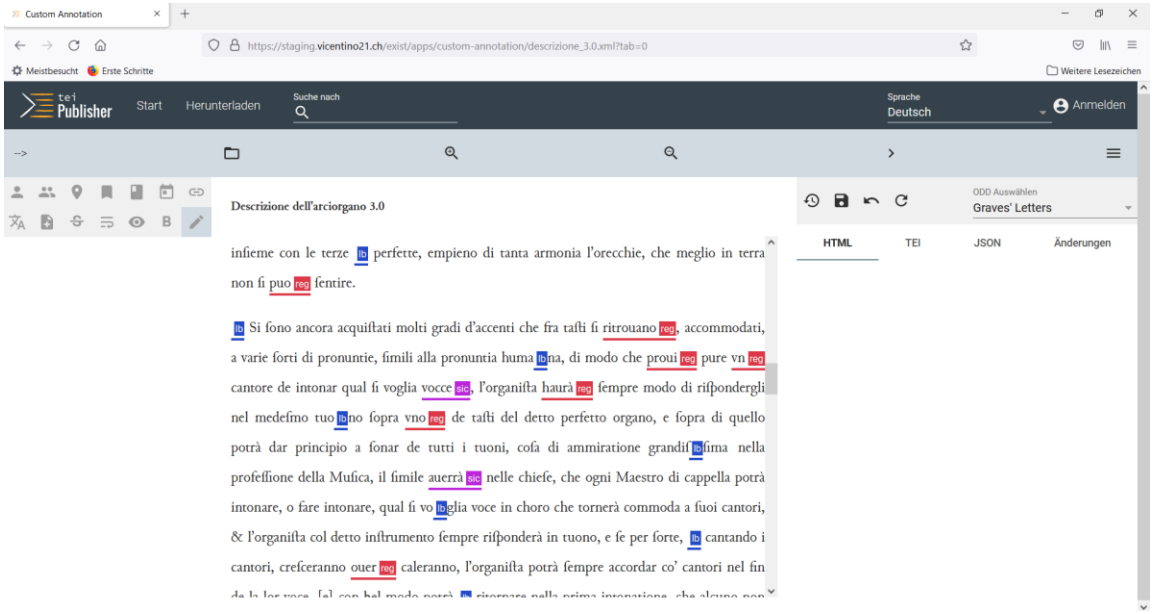
This time-consuming process needed be automated as much as possible using a digital transcription tool. Among those that are freely available, *Transkribus* was chosen because of the following:[5]

1) Good documentation
2) Several users can collaborate on a project simultaneously
3) Digital copies can be used in their original size
4) Images can be imported from International Image Interoperability Framework (IIIF) resources
5) Layout is automatically analysed (segmentation)
6) A set of existing models is provided
7) New models can be created and refined
8) Files can be exported to different formats.

Transkribus not only makes a type-accurate transcription, but also aligns the text with the individual images and segments it into text zones (Illus. 2).



Illus. 2. Segmentation of a page in *Transkribus*



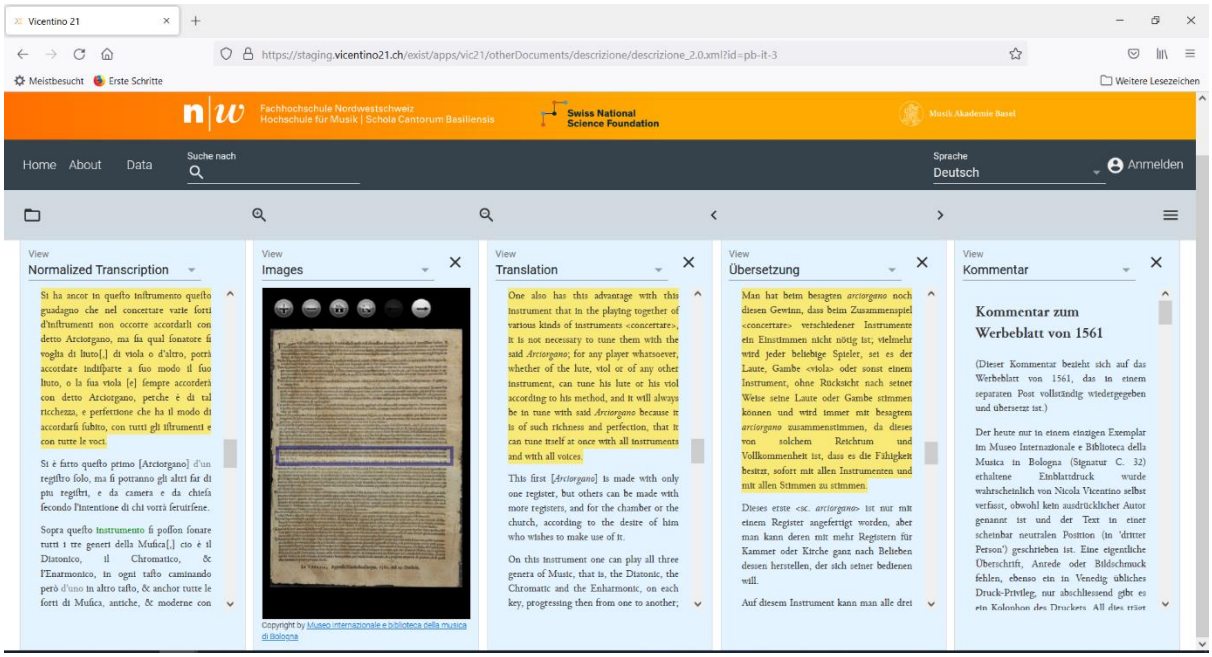
Illus. 3. Customised Annotator

The critical edition of Vicentino's treatise is to be encoded according to the guidelines of the *Text Encoding Initiative* (TEI).[6] With some restrictions, *Transkribus* files can be exported to the TEI file format, although they must still be enriched with structural elements after exporting them.[7] For Vicentino's treatise, this means subdividing the text into its six books, their chapters, chapter headings and paragraphs.

The critical edition of the treatise

Within the critical edition of the treatise, it is possible for users to view a diplomatic transcription in parallel with translations. Thus the edition, on the one hand, provides a markup of editorial interventions (including the regularization of inconsistencies, corrections of errors, etc.) and, on the other hand, a uniform structuring of the text and its translations. For the former, a customised annotation editor was built for the project, based on the annotation workspace of the TEI Publisher. This allows the editor to annotate and edit the text without any knowledge of XML (eXtensible Markup Language) code (Illus. 3).

For the display of the critical edition, an application was built based on TEI Publisher. This offers different views of the edited text in parallel with the translations and links to digitised images of the sources (Illus. 4).



Illus. 4. Edition View in *Vicentino21* App.

Solutions for a digital representation of Vicentino's musical notation

Vicentino's treatise contains roughly 270 music examples. They vary greatly in length, from examples containing just a couple of notes to four-part madrigals. Our new edition will offer three kinds of digital transcriptions of all these music examples, targeting different types of users. For practical musicians interested in reading and performing from the original notation there will be a diplomatic or idealized version of the original, moveable-type print, incorporating corrections of obvious misprints and results of the philological analysis. In addition, a transcription in modern notation will be offered, where the polyphonic examples are set in full score. The third type of transcription is machine readable only, targeting algorithm-based investigation of the music examples.

In order to produce these outputs the music is being transcribed using a customized encoding. This encoding is purely descriptive and does not encapsulate musical meaning. For example, notes are described by their shape and their staff position, not by assigning a note name. Multiple readings and critical annotations can be expressed directly in this code.

A program written in Common Lisp resolves multiple readings and generates a critical report. In a second step, it reads the code and creates the three output types.

To demonstrate this process, a hypothetical example is shown in the following figures. Illustration 5 shows a simplified version of the custom code, describing the moveable types of the original. Each element refers to a specific type (*b22* is a 'blank with width 22', *sb3* is a 'semibrevis on staff position 3', etc.).

There are two readings concerning the clef. Illustration 6 shows the reduced version of the code, only incorporating the 'idealized' reading, with the critical report.

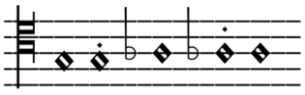
```
'(b22
  (alt ("diplomatic" max7 fclef7)
       ("idealized" cclef7))
  b38 sb4 b38 sbd4 b38 fl5 b38 sb5 b38 fl5 b38 sbd5 b38 sb5 b38 b38)
```

Illus. 5. Custom code

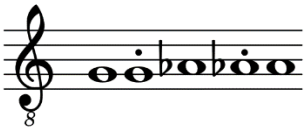
```
'(b22 cclef7 b38 sb4 b38 sbd4 b38 fl5 b38 sb5 b38 fl5 b38 sbd5 b38 sb5 b38 b38)
"Critical annotation: Original clef is F4."
```

Illus. 6. Custom code after resolving multiple readings

Examples 1–2 and Illus. 7 show the three types of output based on Illus. 5. Example 1 is a faithful imitation of the original. Example 2 is automatically generated using LilyPond, a music engraving program.[8] Illustration 7 uses the MEI standard,[9] but since Vicentino's tonal system is incompatible with modern note-naming convention, custom pitch names needed to be introduced, following Vicentino's keyboard layout.



Ex. 1. Imitation of the original print



Ex. 2. Modern Notation using LilyPond

```
<score>
  <scoreDef key.sig="0">
    <staffGrp>
      <staffDef clef.line="4" clef.shape="C" key.sig="0" lines="5" n="1" />
    </staffGrp>
  </scoreDef>
  <section>
    <pb/>
    <sb/>
    <measure n="1">
      <staff n="1">
        <layer n="1">
          <note dur="1" oct="3" pname="G1" />
          <note dur="1" oct="3" pname="G4" />
          <note dur="1" oct="3" pname="A3" />
          <note dur="1" oct="3" pname="A5" />
          <note dur="1" oct="3" pname="A1" />
        </layer>
      </staff>
    </measure>
  </section>
</score>
```

Illus. 7. A fragment of the MEI encoding using custom pitch names

[1] *Vicentino21. Digitale Edition mit Übersetzung, Kommentar und praktischer Erkundung von Nicola Vicentinos 'L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica' (Rom 1555)* – https://p3.snf.ch/Project-188922 (accessed 14 September 2022).
[2] https://www.fhnw.ch/plattformen/vicentino21/ (accessed 14 September 2022).
[3] *Traherne Digital Collator* https://oxfordtraherne.org/traherne-digital-collator/ (accessed 14 September 2022).
[4] Abhishek Dutta, Joon Son Chung, Andrew Zisserman, *Traherne Digital Collator* http://www.robots.ox.ac.uk/~vgg/software/traherne/ (Last Updated: February 2019) (accessed 12 February 2021).
[5] *Transkribus* https://readcoop.eu/transkribus/ (accessed 14 September 2022).
[6] *Text Encoding Initiative* https://tei-c.org (accessed 14 September 2022).
[7] *Transkribus* stores information in PAGE XML format, which is mainly used in OCR contexts and is designed to reproduce the structure of a page and its contents. Larger units of meaning (such as paragraphs, chapters, etc.) that extend over a page or even a line cannot therefore be captured without adjustment afterwards.
[8] *Lilypond* https://lilypond.org (accessed 15 September 2022).
[9] *Music Encoding Initiative* https://music-encoding.org (accessed 14 September 2022).

Recent Publications Relating to Performance Practice

Compiled by James Hume and Andrew Woolley

JOURNALS

Ad Parnassum, Vol.20/38 (April 2022)
Articles
Michael Talbot, Two Unsuspected New Violin Sonatas by Tomaso Albinoni in the Estensische Musikalien
Nieves Pascual León, La fuerza del natural: un primer baile madrileño en la producción de Vicente Martín y Soler

Book reviews of
Galliano Ciliberti ed., *Music Patronage in Italy*
Anne-Madeleine Goulet, José María Domínguez and Élodie Oriol eds., *Spectacles et performances artistiques à Rome (1644-1740): Une analyse historique à partir des archives familiales de l'aristocratie*
Giogia Malagò ed., *Giuseppe Tartini. Lettere e documenti / Pisma in dokumenti / Letters and Documents. Volumes I–II*

Bach: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute, Vol.53/1 (2022)
Articles
Andrew Talle, Some Observations on the Sources for Bach's Violin Soli and Cello Suites
Tomasz Górny, What Does the Author Mean? The Example of *Clavier-Übung III*

Book review of
Paul Walker, *Fugue in the Sixteenth Century*

Early Music, Vol.49/4 (November 2021)
Articles
David Fallows, Josquin at 500
Jesse Rodin, The Josquin Canon at 500: With an Appendix Produced in Collaboration with Joshua Rifkin
Joshua Rifkin, Inside—and Outside—*Illibata*: Composition, Context and Chronology in a Famous Josquin Motet
John Milsom, Discerning Josquin
Tina Frühauf, The Organ in Jewish Culture During the Long Renaissance
Frances Knights, Mateo Rodríguez and Pablo Padilla, *O splendor gloriae*: Taverner or Tye?
Eric Boaro, Vocal Embellishment in 18th-Century Naples: *solfeggio* Patterns in Pre-Composed Cadenzas in Sacred Pieces by Gennaro and Gaetano Manna
Grzegorz Joachimiak, Father Hermann Kniebandl (1679–1745), Lutenist, Composer and Scribe from the Cistercian Abbey of Grüssau, Silesia

Book review of
Michal Fleming and Christopher Page ed., *Music and instruments of the Elizabethan Age: The Eglantine Table*

Early Music Review (June 2022)
Music reviews of
Nathaniel Giles, *English Sacred Music*, ed. Joseph Sargent
Johann Sigismund Kusser, *Serenatas for Dublin*, ed. Samantha Owens
Henry Purcell, *Dido and Aeneas*, ed. Bruce Wood

Eighteenth-Century Music, Vol.19/2 (September 2022)
Articles
Qingfan Jiang, In Search of the 'Oriental Origin': Rameau, Rousseau and Chinese Music in Eighteenth-Century France
Michael Talbot, Diogenio Bigaglia and His *Dixit Dominus*

Book and music reviews of
Thomas Irvine, *Listening to China: Sound and the Sino-Western Encounter, 1770–1839*
Hedy Law, *Music, Pantomime & Freedom in Enlightenment France*
Harry White, *The Musical Discourse of Servitude: Authority, Autonomy, and the Work-Concept in Fux, Bach, and Handel*
Johann Sigismund Kusser, *Serenatas for Dublin*, ed. Samantha Owens

FoMRHI, No.154 (July 2021)
Article
David van Edwards, Viol fingerboards
Laurence Libin, An Anonymous British Square Piano
Jan Bouterse, Two Recorders in G
Mogens Friis, A Bøhm flute from Aarhus?

FoMRHI, No.153 (April 2021)
Articles
Paul Tunzi, The Australian 'first fleet' Piano, Frederick Beck (1780); A Research Project
David Lasocki, Confirmation of the Bassanos' Maker's Mark
Mimmo Peruffo, Vincenzo Capirola and the Taper of Gut Strings: Practical Tests and Results

Galpin Society Journal, Vol.75 (March 2022)
Articles
Stewart Carter, The Side-Blown Abeng: Symbol of Resistance and Power for the Maroons of Jamaica
Douglas MacMillan, Francis William Galpin and the Recorder
Arnold Myers, The Galpin Society Permanent Collection
Stewart Pollens, Dendrochronology and Violins: Some Caveats
Stewart Pollens, George Bernard Shaw and Early Music
Edward Wright, William and Adam Leversidge, Virginal Makers: An Update from the Archives

Handel Institute Newsletter, Vol.33/2 (2022)
Articles
Emily Baines, The Ghost in the Machine: Performing, Recording and Responding to the Performance Style found in Eighteenth-Century Mechanical Musical Instruments
Bridget Cunningham, Handel's *Caio Fabbricio*
Tony Watts, Handel and Cambridge

Handel Institute Newsletter, Vol.33/1 (2022)
Articles
Lizzy Buckle, Musical Ties: Mapping Performer Interactions in London's 1760/61 Concert Season
Donald Burrows, A New Trail in Wordbooks for Handel's Oratorios
H. Diack Johnstone, Matthew Dubourg as a Collector of Art

Handel News: Handelfriendsuk.com (2021)
Articles
Leo Duarte, The Ghostly Hand of Handel: Handel operas not by Handel
Sarah McCleave, Handel and the Mercurial Art of Theatre Dance
Mark Windisch, Italian Poets of the Renaissance as inspiration for Baroque Opera Composers

Handel News: Handelfriendsuk.com (2020)
Articles
Graham Pont, Which of Handel's overtures had the 'x' Factor? Comparing Two Editions of the Collection of Handel's Keyboard Overtures Annotated by Charles Burney
Mark Windisch, The Triumph of Virtue (or Trust me, I am a Composer)
Miranda Houghton, Handel's Man in Italy
Jonathan Keates, Mr Handel, Gentleman Composer

Händel-Jahrbuch, Vol.68 (2022)
Articles
Andreas Waczkat, Held und Erloser: Christusbilder in Oratorien von Georg Friedrich Händel bis Friedrich Schneider
Marianne Schröter, Erlösung – ein Konzept individueller und subjektiver Religiosität der Moderne
Karl Friedrich Ulrichs, Händelpredigt – Händel predigt: Messiah in evangelischer Predigt
Marybeth Hauffe, O Thou That Tellest Good Tidings to Zion: Can a Rashi Variant be Antisemitic?
Stephen Nissenbaum, Rejoicing against Whom? Charles Jennens, Michael Marissen, *Zadok the Priest*, and the Hallelujah Chorus
Donald Burrows, Making Sense of a 'New' (and Old) Manuscript Score of Handel's Messiah
Malcolm Bruno, *MESSIAS* = *MESSIAH* 1789-1803: In Search of an Original Text for a New Edition
Colin Timms, Words and Music: Incongruity and Irony in Handel
Vassilis Vavoulis, Handel's Literary Aesthetic
John H. Roberts, Gasparini and Handel: An Unfolding Story

Journal of the Alamire Foundation, Vol.14/2 (2022)
Articles
Harrison Russin, Late-Medieval Catechesis and the Credo
Miriam Wendling, Rhythmic Notation in Plainchant from Sixteenth-Century Chaumont?
Denis Collins, 'Some Disturbance to the Ear when the Voices Enter': Invertible Canons at the Octave in Motets by Zarlino and Willaert
Scott Metcalfe, Clefs, Pitch, and Transposition in Vocal Music before 1600

Journal of the Alamire Foundation, Vol.14/1 (2022)
Articles
Christian Goursaud, The Mensural Structures of Antoine Busnoys's *L'homme armé* Mass
Jeffrey J. Dean, Tinctoris's *L'homme armé* Mass Restored
Timothy Braithwaite, Quhat is Faburdoun?

The Journal of the American Musicological Society, Vol.75/2 (Summer 2022)
Book review of
Julie Doe, *The Comedians of the King: 'Opéra Comique' and the Bourbon Monarchy on the Eve of Revolution*

The Journal of the American Musicological Society, Vol.75/1 (Spring 2022)
Article
Roger Mathew Grant, Colonial Galant: Three Analytical Perspectives from the Chiquitano Missions

Book reviews of
Javier Marín-López ed., *De Nueva España a México: El universo musical mexicano entre centenarios (1517–1917)*
Sarah Ann Long, *Music, Liturgy, and Confraternity Devotions in Paris and Tournai, 1300–1550*
Anthony R. DelDonna, *Instrumental Music in Late Eighteenth-Century Naples: Politics, Patronage and Artistic Culture*

The Journal of the American Musicological Society, Vol.74/3 (Fall 2021)
Article
Zhuqing (Lester) S. Hu, Chinese Ears, Delicate or Dull? Toward a Decolonial Comparativism

Journal of Musicology, Volume 39/3 (Summer 2022)
Article
Paul Kolb, Ligatures and Musical Meaning

Journal of Musicology, Volume 39/2 (Spring 2022)
Articles
Mary Channen, Caldwell, Conductus, Sequence, Refrain: Composing Latin Song across Language and Genre in Thirteenth-Century France
David E. Cohen, Melodia and the 'Disposition of the Soul': G. C. Monteverdi's 'Platonic' Defense of the *Seconda Pratica*

Journal of Music Theory, Volume 66/1 (April 2022)
Article
David E. Cohen, From Ramos to Rameau: Toward the Origins of the Modern Concept of Harmony

Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music, Vol.28/1 (2022)
Articles
Rebecca Cypess, Girolamo Frescobaldi's *Fiori musicali*: Music and Flowery Metaphors in Early Modern Europe
Holly Roberts, Martyrdom and the Mythical Phoenix: Quirino Colombani's *Il martirio di Santa Cecilia*
Stephanie Carter, Thomas Mace and Music in Seventeenth-Century Cambridge

Book reviews of
Linda Phyllis Austern, *Both from the Ears & Mind: Thinking about Music in Early Modern England.*
Valeria De Lucca, *The Politics of Princely Entertainment: Music*

and Spectacle in the Lives of Lorenzo Onofrio and Maria Mancini Colonna (1659–1689)
Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Grantley McDonald eds., *Early Printed Music and Material Culture in Central and Western Europe*

Music & Letters, Vol.103/4 (November 2022)
Articles
John Cunningham, Songs Lost and Found: Katherine Philips's 'Pompey's Ghost'
Michele Cabrini, From 'L'Orlando Furioso' to 'Roland': Lully and Quinault Reading Ariosto

Review Article
Margaret Bent, 'Artes Novae'

Book reviews of
Eberhard Spree, *Die verwitwete Frau Capellmeisterin Bach: Studie über die Verteilung des Nachlasses von Johann Sebastian Bach*
Graham Sadler, Shirley Thompson, and Jonathan Williams eds., *The Operas of Rameau: Genesis, Staging, Reception*

Music & Letters, Vol.103/3 (August 2022)
Article
Joseph W. Mason, Oral and Written Transmission in the Early *Jeu-Parti*

Music review of
William Byrd, *Eight Fragmentary Songs*, ed. Andrew Johnstone

Music & Letters, Vol.103/2 (May 2022)
Articles
Ross W. Duffin, Shakespeare: Songs & Sonnets
Thomas Marks, Singing Repentance in Lutheran Germany During The Thirty Years War (1618–1648)
Shaena B. Weitz, Plagiarism and the Napoleonic Potpourri

Book reviews of
Sarah Ann Long, *Music, Liturgy, and Confraternity Devotions in Paris and Tournai, 1300–1550*
Kerry McCarthy, *Tallis*
M. Berti E. Corswarem ed., *Music and the Identity Process: The National Churches of Rome and their Networks in the Early Modern Period*
Julia Dokter, *Tempo and Tactus in the German Baroque: Treatises, Scores, and the Performance of Organ Music*

Music & Letters, Vol.103/1 (February 2022)
Articles
Nicholas Bleisch, Between Copyist and Editor: Away From Typologies of Error and Variance in Trouvère Song
Andrew A. Cashner, Bringing Heavenly Music Down to Earth: Global Exchange and Local Devotion at Segovia Cathedral, 1678
Maria Semi, Writing about Polyphony, Talking about Civilization: Charles Burney's Musical 'Corns and Acorns'

Book reviews of
Karl Kügle ed., *Sounding the Past: Music as History and Memory*
Gregorio Bevilacqua and Thomas B Payne eds., *Ars Antiqua: Music and Culture in Europe, c. 1150–1330*
Michael Fleming and Christopher Page ed., *Music and Instruments of the Elizabethan Age: The Eglantine Table*
Aurelio Bianco and Massimo Di Sandro, *La sonata veneziana (1615–1655)*
Valeria De Lucca, *The Politics of Princely Entertainment: Music and Spectacle in the Lives of Lorenzo Onofrio and Maria Mancini Colonna*
Bernard Dompnier and Jean Duron ed., *Le Métier du maître de musique d'Église (XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles): Activités, sociologie, carriers*
David Breitman, *Piano-Playing Revisited: What Modern Players Can Learn from Period Instruments*.

Music & Letters, Vol.102/4 (November 2021)
Article
Marianne C E Gillion, Interconfessional Implications: Printed Plainchant in the Wake of the Reformation

Book reviews of
Fabrice Fitch, *Renaissance Polyphony*
Berta Joncus, *Kitty Clive, or the Fair Songster*
Donald Burrows, Helen Coffey, John Greenacombe, and Anthony Hicks eds., *George Frideric Handel Collected Documents*
Michael Burden and Jennifer Thorp eds., *With a Grace Not to Be Captured: Representing the Georgian Theatrical Dancer, 1760–1830*

The Musical Times, Vol.163/2 (Summer 2022)
Articles
Lionel Pike, Thoughts on Reconstructing Ward's Verse Anthems
Peter Van Der Merwe, The Handelian Fourth

Music Analysis, Vol.41/2 (July 2022)
Book review of
Alan Howard, *Compositional Artifice in the Music of Henry Purcell*

The Musical Quarterly, Vol.104/3–4 (Fall-Winter 2021)
Article
Ellen Rosand, On the Vicissitudes of Handel's Operatic Time: A Meditation

The Musical Quarterly, Vol.104/1–2 (Spring-Summer 2021)
Article
Joshua Rifkin, Obrecht, Double Counterpoint, and Musical Memory

The Musical Quarterly, Vol.103/3–4 (Fall-Winter 2020)
Article
Karen T. Raizen, A Furious Trilogy: Arcadian Heroes on the Venetian Stage

Music Theory Spectrum, Vol. 44/2 (Fall 2022)
Article
Omer Maliniak, Follow the Solo: The Formal Evolution of the Concerto in the Eighteenth-Century

Musik in Bayern, Vol.85 (2020)
Articles

Rainald Becker, Das Ingolstädter Georgianum – Zum historischen Typus eines Universitätskollegs in der Vormoderne
Claudius Stein, Die Musikpflege im Herzoglichen Georgianum bis zum Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts
Stefanie Juanette Pohl, Between the lines. Musikwissenschaftliche Erschließungsarbeit zwischen Organologie und Museologie am Beispiel der Musikinstrumenten(an)-sammlung des Herzoglichen Georgianums München
Robert Klugseder, Die liturgischen Regelbücher der bayerischen Kirchenprovinz Salzburg im Mittelalter. Ein Bericht über das digitale Editionsprojek
Franz Körndle, Der Nördlinger Orgelmacher Paul Prescher und seine Orgel in Niederschönenfeld (1683)

Book review of
Katelijne Schiltz ed., *Musikalische Schätze in Regensburger Bibliotheken*

Muzikologija, Vol.31 (2021)
Articles
Areti Tziboula and Anna-Maria Rentzeperi-Tsonou, Historical Approach to the Opera's Libretto-Theme in Italy from the End of the 16th Century to the First Italian Reform
Francis Knights, J.S. Bach's Keyboard Works: From Performance to Research

Notes: The Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association, Vol.79/1 (September 2022)
Book review of
Don Fader, *Music, Dance, and Franco-Italian Cultural Exchange c. 1700: Michel Pignolet de Montéclair and the Prince de Vaudémont*

Plainsong and Medieval Music, Vol.31/2 (October 2022)
Book review of
David Andrés Fernández and Alejandro Vera, *Los Cantorales de la Catedral de Lima: Estudio, Reconstrucción y Catálogo*

Plainsong and Medieval Music, Vol.31/1 (April 2022)
Article
Jane Alden and Lynsey Callaghan, On Dubious Claims Regarding the Enigmatic Chilston

Recercare: Rivista per lo studio e la pratica della musica antica, Vol.34 (2022)
Articles
Arnaldo Morelli 'Uno scrutinio più approfondito, quantunque non ancora metodico': un ricordo di Marco Di Pasquale
Dina Titan, The printing of Silvestro Ganassi's Fontegara: a comparative survey of the extant copies
Maria Semi, Considerazioni sulla voce nel *Ragionamento chiamato l'academico, overo della bellezza* (1591) di Iacopo di Gaeta
Chiara Granata, L'arpa, lo stile italiano e l'autunno del madrigale: le *Canzonetten und andere Musikstücke* (1679) di Wolfang Caspar Printz e l'arpa doppia in area tedesca
Chiara Pelliccia, Il cardinal Colonna e Alessandro Scarlatti: musica e teatro in tempo di villeggiatura all'inizio del Settecento
Andrew Woolley, Snapshots of a genre in the making: Francesco Geminiani's *Sonate a violino*, op. 1, and Francesco Scarlatti's 11 Sonatas a 4 as precursors of English Corellian concertos
Francesco Bissoli, 'Pronti a ben servire': l'orchestra dell'Accademia Filarmonica di Verona tra Sette e Ottocento

Renaissance Studies, Vol.36/3
Article
Elisabeth Charlotte Natour, Elizabeth I, Thomas Tallis and Judith: Music, Resistance and the Iconography of Power

Revista de musicología, Vol.44/2 (July–December 2021)
Articles
Jordi Ballester, Los instrumentos musicales representados en la sillería gótica del antiguo coro de la catedral de Girona
Pilar Ramos López, El sentido de la restauración mozárabe en la época del arzobispo Jiménez de Cisneros
Francesc Villanueva Serrano, Pastrana, Cárceres, Cepa: Una contribución crítica a las biografías de los maestros de capilla de don Fernando de Aragón, duque de Calabria
Juan Ruiz Jiménez, Luis Alfonso Pérez-Valera, Fernando Pérez-Valera, Un libro para ministriles en la antigua Colegiata de Pastrana (Guadalajara)
Alejandro Vera Aguilera, La circulación de la música española en el Perú del siglo XVII: Un cargamento naviero y su context

Revista de musicología, Vol.44/1 (January–June 2021)
Article
Francesc Orts Ruiz, "Ara ojats que us fan saber". Desarrollo histórico del cargo de trompeta e crida públich en la Valencia de los siglos XV y XVI a través de la familia Artús

Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia, Vol.8/1 (2021)
Articles
Carla Crespo, As melodias de Kyrie nos manuscritos portugueses de cantochão entre 1400 e 1650
Tiago Simas Freire, Os *orfeos* de Santa Cruz de Coimbra: Para uma definição das qualidades vocais dos cónegos cantores do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra nos séculos XVI e XVII e sua análise comparativa com fontes europeias
Mafalda S. Nejmeddine, Obras para tecla de Pedro António Avondano: Características formais e estilísticas, particularidades da escrita

Tiago Manuel da Hora, O movimento da música antiga em Portugal: Uma biografia

Rivista di Analisi e Teoria Musicale, Vol.27/2 (2021)
Article
Paolo Teodori, Dissonanze in cadenza e tirate di legature nelle Sonate a tre, op. 3 di Arcangelo Corelli: le regole del contrappunto e l'invenzione

Rivista Italiana di Musicologia, Vol. 57 (2022)
Articles
Carlos C. Iafelice, Scipione Cerreto e l'ordinamento gerarchico dei musicisti: il trattato *Dell'arbore musicale* (Napoli, 1608)
Lucia Fava, Da 'sirena' ad 'angeletta': Maria Francesca Nascimbeni e la sua raccolta di *Canzoni e madrigali morali e spirituali* (1674)
Michael Klaper, Osservare il compositore al lavoro: scrittura e riscrittura di una scena d'opera italiana nel Seicento

Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle, Vol.52 (2021)
Articles
Richard Robinson, 'With sound of lute and pleasing words': The Lute Song and Voice Types in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century England
Michael Talbot, The Cheney Flute Sonatas Manuscript: An Early Collection for the Traverso, Containing Music by Pepusch and Others
Joyce Simlett-Moss, Adolph Hummel: Music Publisher in Eighteenth-Century London
Richard Rastall, Civic Minstrels in Late Medieval England: New Light on Duties and Careers

The Viola da Gamba Society Journal, Vol.15 (2021)
Articles
Jonathan P. Wainwright, The Consort Music of George Jeffreys
Andrew Ashbee with Peter Holman, British Library, MS Mus. 1869 (formerly GB-HADolmetsch MS II.c.24)
Andrew Ashbee, The 'Skolding Wife' Revisited
Peter Holman, Six Generations of Music and Scandal: New Light on the Eccles Family of String Players
Peter H. Adams, A Miscatalogued Lyra Viol Manuscript in the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Klassik Stiftung Weimar

Book review of
Bettina Hoffmann, *The Viola da Gamba* (trans. Paul Ferguson)

BOOKS

New from Boydell and Brewer/Toccata Press/University of Rochester Press
George Kennaway, *John Gunn: Musician Scholar in Enlightenment Britain*
Elizabeth Eva Leach, Joseph W. Mason and Matthew P. Thomson eds., *A Medieval Songbook: Trouvère MS C*
Peter Lynan and Julian Rushton eds., *British Music, Musicians and Institutions, c. 1630–1800: Essays in Honour of Harry Diack Johnstone*
Thomas McGeary, *Opera and Politics in Queen Anne's Britain, 1705-1714*
David Vickers ed., *New Perspectives on Handel's Music: Essays in Honour of Donald Burrows*

New from Bärenreiter (books)
Friedhelm Krummacher, *Johann Sebastian Bach. Die Oratorien und die Messen*
Jürgen Heidrich, Werener Breig, Konrad Küster and Walter Werbeck ed., *Schütz-Jahrbuch 2021, 43. Jahrgang*

New from Brepols
Jared C. Hartt, Tamsyn Mahoney-Steel and Benjamin Albritton eds., *Manuscripts, Music, Machaut: Essays in Honor of Lawrence Earp*
Ennio Stipčević, Vito Balić and Vincent Besson eds., *Venice, Schiavoni and the Dissemination of Early Modern Music: A Companion to Ivan Lukači*
Rudolf Rasch ed., *Music and Science from Leonardo to Galileo*
Robert Nosow, *Hobrecht and His Singers*
Laurenct Guillo, *Christophe Ballard, imprimeur-libraire en musique sous Louis XIV: Avec un inventaire des éditions des Ballard de 1672 à 1715*
Tatiana Korneeva ed., *Mapping Artistic Networks: Eighteenth-Century Italian Theatre and Opera Across Europe*
Marie-Alexis Colin, Iain Fenlon and Matthew Laube eds., *Theatres of Belief: Music and Conversion in the Early Modern City*
Fañch Thoraval and Brigitte Van Wymeersch eds., *La musique en Hainaut aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*

New from Cambridge University Press (inc. Cambridge Elements)
Ann Buckley and Lisa Colton eds., *Music and Liturgy in Medieval Britain and Ireland*
Tim Carter and Francesca Fantappiè eds., *Staging 'Euridice': Theatre, Sets, and Music in Late Renaissance Florence*
Wolfgang Hirschmann and Steven Zohn eds., *Telemann Studies*
Mark Kroll, *Bach, Handel and Scarlatti: Reception in Britain 1750–1850*
Stewart Pollens, *A History of Stringed Keyboard Instruments*

New from University of Chicago Press
Rebecca Cypess, *Musical Salons in the Enlightenment*
John A. Rice, *Saint Cecilia in the Renaissance: The Emergence of a Musical Icon*

New from Harvard University Press
Kate van Orden ed., *Seachanges: Music in the Mediterranean and Atlantic Worlds, 1550–1800*

New from University of Illinois Press
Lynn Edwards Butler, *Johann Scheibe: Organ Builder in Leipzig at the Time of Bach*

New from Leuven University Press
David J. Burn ed., *The Book of Requiems, 1450-1550: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*

University of Michigan Press
Anthony M. Cummings, *The Lion's Ear: Pope Leo X, the Renaissance Papacy, and Music*

New from Oxford University Press
Una McIlvenna, *Singing the News of Death: Execution Ballads in Europe 1500–1900*
Alon Schab, *A Performer's Guide to Transcribing, Editing, and Arranging Early Music*
Bettina Varwig ed., *Rethinking Bach*
Emily Zazulia, *Where Sight Meets Sound: The Poetics of Late-Medieval Music Writing*

New from Routledge
Michael Alan Anderson, *Music and Performance in the Book of Hours*
Florian Bassani, *Gregorio Ballabene's Forty-eight-part Mass for Twelve Choirs (1772)*
Luca Della Libera, *The Roman Sacred Music of Alessandro Scarlatti*
Simon D. I. Fleming and Martin Perkins ed., *Music by Subscription: Composers and their Networks in the British Music-Publishing Trade, 1676–1820*
Peter Martens, *Isaac Vossius's De poematum cantu et viribus rhythmi, 1673: On the Music of Poetry and Power of Rhythm*
Wendy J. Porter, *Early English Composers and the Credo: Emphasis as Interpretation in Sixteenth-Century Music*
Ellen Rosand and Stefano La Via eds., *Claudio Monteverdi's Venetian Operas: Sources, Performance, Interpretation*

New from Ut Orpheus (book)
Simone Laghi ed., *La tradizione violinistica italiana nel '700*

MUSIC EDITIONS

New from A-R Editions
Agostino Agazzari, *Eumelio, dramma pastorale (1606)*, ed. Matthew J. Hall, Elizabeth Lyon and Zoe Weiss
Cantatas on Texts by Francesco Buti (1606–82), ed. Michael Klaper and Nastasia Heckendorff
La chute de Phaéton, comédie en musique (1694): An Opera Parody by Marc-Antoine Legrand of Jean-Baptiste Lully's 'Phaéton', ed. Natasha Roule
Lo spedale: Dramma burlesco, ed. Naomi Matsumoto
Alessandro Melani, *L'empio punito*, ed. Luca Della Libera
Angelo Notari, *Collected Works, Part 1: 'Prime musiche nuove' [1613], Other Attributed Works, Notari's Manuscript Partbooks, and Tentatively Attributable Works*, ed. Jonathan P. Wainright
Angelo Notari, *Collected Works, Part 3: Notari's Manuscript Scorebook, Nos. 61–86*, ed. Jonathan P. Wainright
Angelo Notari, *Collected Works, Part 3: Notari's Manuscript Scorebook, Nos. 1–60*, ed. Jonathan P. Wainright
Pietro Domenico Paradies, *Le muse in gara*, ed. Vanessa Tonelli

New from Bärenreiter
François Couperin, *Pièces de clavecin. Troisième livre for Harpsichord: with 4 Concerts royaux*, ed. Denis Herlin
Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Zoroastre RCT 62A-B (version from 1749 and 1756)*, ed. Graham Sadler

New from Breitkopf & Härtel
Dieterich Buxtehude, *Organ Works: Vol. II: Free Organ and Keyboard Works (manualiter)*, ed. Harald Vogel
Johann Kuhnau, *Frohlocket, ihr Völker, und jauchzet, ihr Heiden (Cantata for Christmas)*, ed. David Erler
Johann Kuhnau, *O heilige Zeit (Cantata for Christmas Day)*, ed. David Erler
Heinrich Scheidemann, *Chorale Fantasias,* ed. Pieter Dirksen

New from Carus-Verlag
Johann Sebastian Bach, Ehre sei Gott in der Höhe BWV 197.1, ed. Pieter Dirksen
John Stanley, *Ten Voluntaries for the Organ or Harpsichord Op.5*, ed. Eberhard Hofmann

New from Centre de musique baroque de Versailles
Pierre Beauchamps, *Ballet des Fâcheux: Musique pour la comédie de Molière (1661)*, ed. Matthieu Franchin
André Campra, *Benjamin; Joseph: Cantates avec symphonie*, ed. Marie Demeilliez
Clavecin: Anthologie de la musique baroque française (three vols.), ed. Louis Castelain, Adèle Gornet, Françoise Marmin, Mireille Podeur, Brice Sailly, Constance Taillard and Aline Zylberajch
Nicolas Clerambault, *Médée: Cantate à voix seule et symphonie*, ed. Julien Dubruque
Michel Corrette, *Concerto Op26/2 con tre violini e cimbalo o organo obligato*, ed. Victor Gavenda
Henry du Mont, *Meslanges (1657)*, ed. Thomas Leconte
Henry Du Mont, *Pièces en françois* (multiple vols.), ed. Thomas Leconte
Henry Du Mont, *Pièces en latin* (multiple vols.), ed. Thomas Leconte
Michel Pignolet de Montéclair, *Jephté*, ed. Louis Castelain

New from Edition HH
Louis Drouët, *Quartet for flute and strings*
Flute, ed. Michael Elphinstone
Ignaz von Seyfried, *Libera me, for use in performances of Mozart's Requiem*, ed. David Wyn Jones
Twelve chamber duets on texts taken from madrigals by Carlo Gesualdo, 4 vols., ed. by Michael Talbot
Lewis Granom, *Six flute Sonatas, Op. 8*, ed. Helen Crown
Francesco Antonio Pistocchi, *Pallidetta*, ed. Alejandra Béjar Bartolo and Fabrizio Ammetto
Joseph Haydn, *Symphony in C major No. 63 ('La Roxelane') arranged for pianoforte by Carl David Stegmann*, ed. Sarah Jenner
Henry Burgess, Junior, *Six Concertos for Harpsichord or Organ*, 2 vols., ed. Michael Talbot
Tomaso Albinoni, *Two newly identified violin sonatas*, ed. Michael Talbot
Jean Xavier Lefèvre, *Méthode de clarinette*, 2 vols., ed. Nicholas Cox
Anton Stadler, *Solos*, 2 vols., ed. Martin Harlow
Michele Mascitti, *Trio Sonata in G minor, Op. 6/15*, ed. Michael Talbot
Michele Mascitti, *Psiché (Divertissement), Op. 5 No. 12 (Paris 1714)*, ed. Michael Talbot
Philip Peter Eiffert, *Six flute sonatas, Op. 2*, 2 vols., ed. Michael Talbot
Joseph Bodin de Boismortier, *Six sonatas, Op. 47*, ed. Michael Elphinstone

New from Edition Walhall
John Christopher Smith, *A Collection of Lessons for the Harpsicord op. 4*, ed. Jolando Scarpa
Giuseppe Tartini, *The Art of Ornamentation*, ed. Patrick Oliva
Francesco Turini, *Gagliarda e Sonata*, ed. Franz Müller-Busch
Carlo Graziani, *Concerto No. 2 in sol maggiore*, ed. Alessandro

Bares
Johann Pachelbel, *Musikalische Ergötzung*, ed. Alessandro Bares
Georg Philipp Telemann, *Konzert a-Moll TWV 52:a1*, ed. Cristiano Contadin and Monica Pelliciari

New from G. Henle Verlag
Johann Sebastian Bach, *French Suites*, 6 vols., ed. Ullrich Scheideler
Johann Sebastian Bach, *Harpsichord Concerto no. 3 D major BWV 1054*, ed. Norbert Müllemann and Maren Minuth
Ludwig van Beethoven, *Piano Sonata no. 11 B flat major op. 22*, ed. Norbert Gertsch and Murray Perahia
Joseph Bodin de Boismortier, *Six Sonatas op. 14 for two Violoncellos (Bassoons)*, ed. Tabea Umbreit
Johannes Brahms, *Instrumentierungen von Liedern Franz Schuberts*, ed. Katrin Eich
Johannes Brahms, *String Quintet no. 1 F major op. 88*, ed. Kathrin Kirsch
Johannes Brahms, *Triumphlied op. 55 - Piano reduction and Arrangement for Piano 4-hands*, ed. Johannes Behr
Johannes Brahms, *Triumphlied op. 55*, ed. Johannes Behr and Ulrich Tadday
Johannes Brahms, *Violin Sonatas*, ed. Michael Struck and Bernd Wiechert
Ferdinand David, *Concertino E flat major op. 4 for Trombone and Orchestra*, ed. Sebastian Krause
Claude Debussy, *Danses for Harp and String Orchestra*, ed. Peter Jost
Edward Elgar, *Chanson de nuit, Chanson de matin op. 15 for Violin and Piano*, ed. Rupert Marshall-Luck
Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst, *'Erlkönig' (after Schubert) and 'The Last Rose of Summer' for Violin solo,* ed. Ingolf Turban
Gabriel Fauré, *Piano Quartet no. 1 C minor op. 15*, ed. Fabian Kolb
Charles Gounod, *Ave Maria (Johann Sebastian Bach)*, ed. Gérard Condé
Edvard Grieg, *Violin Sonata F major op. 8*, ed. Ernst-Günter Heinemann and Einar Steen-Nøkleberg
Joseph Haydn, *Piano Sonata E minor Hob. XVI:34*, ed. Georg Feder
Franz Liszt, *Années de pèlerinage, Deuxième Année – Italie*, *Troisième Année*, ed. Peter Jost
Franz Liszt, *Trois Études de concert*, ed. Peter Jost
Franz Liszt, *Hungarian Rhapsody no. 1*, *no. 2*, ed. Peter Jost
Sergei Rachmaninov, *Morceaux de Fantaisie op. 3*, ed. Dominik Rahmer
Arnold Schönberg, *Six Little Piano Pieces op. 19*, ed. Norbert Müllemann
Arnold Schönberg, *Three Piano Pieces op. 11*, ed. Ullrich Scheideler
Arnold Schönberg, *String Quartet no. 2 op. 10 with Soprano part*, ed. Ullrich Scheideler
Arnold Schönberg, *Suite op. 25*, ed. Marte Auer
Franz Schubert, *Piano Sonata E flat major op. post. 122 D 568,* ed. Dominik Rahmer
Robert Schumann, *Song Cycle op. 39, On Poems by Eichendorff, Versions 1842 and 1850*, ed. Kazuko Ozawa
Alexander Scriabin, *Twelve Etudes op. 8*, ed. Valentina Rubcova
Richard Strauss, *Piano Quartet c minor op. 13*, ed. Peter Jost
Richard Strauss, *Four Songs op. 27*, ed. Annette Oppermann
Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky, *Works for Violin and Piano*, ed. Alexander Komarov
Eugène Ysaÿe, *Poème élégiaque op. 12 and other Works*, ed. Ray Iwazumi

New from Lyrebird
Louis-Claude Daquin, *Nouveau livre de Noëls*, ed. Jon Baxendale
Jehan Titelouze, *Hymnes de l'église et Le Magnificat*, ed. Jon Baxendale
Jacques Boyvin, *Deux livres d'orgue (1690 & 1700)*, ed. Jon Baxendale
J.S. Bach, *The Art of Fugue Arranged for Two Keyboards*, ed. Francis Knights
César Franck 200: Intégrale de l'œuvre d'orgue, ed. Richard Brasier
J.S. Bach, Eight *Organ Preludes & Fugues, Arranged for Two Keyboards*, ed. Francis Knights
Louis Couperin, *Pièces de clavecin*, ed. Jon Baxendale

New from Magellan Publications
Ethel Smyth, *Cello Sonata in C minor*, ed. George Kennaway
Jean Marie Raoul, *Three Solos for Violoncello and Bass*, ed. George Kennaway

New from PRB Productions
Pietro Vinci, *Sonetti Spirituali (1580)*, ed. Sarah Mead
J. S. Bach, *Fugue in G minor BWV 1026*, ed. Ben Shute
J. S. Bach, *Concerto in D minor BWV 1052R*
John Moss, *Lessons for the Base-Viol*, ed. Stephen Morris
Samuel Capricornus, *Ein Lammlein*, ed. David Fenton, Margaret Panofsky, and Kent Underwood
William Lawes, *Consort Suites for Six Viols and Organ*, ed. Richard Charteris
William Lawes, *Consort Suites for Four Viols*, ed. Richard Charteris

New from Saraband
Jacques-Christoph Naudot, *6 Babioles, op. 10 for 2 violins/oboes/flutes/recorders/pardessus de violes*, ed. Patrice Connelly
Johann Kaspar Kerll, *O quam suavis*, *O amor Jesu*, *Refulsit sol*, ed. Patrice Connelly
Johann Rosenmüller, *Two sonatas a4 for strings & basso continuo*, ed. Patrice Connelly
Johann Hentzschel, *Canzon mitt 8 viol digamben (1649)*, ed. Patrice Connelly
Johann H. Schmelzer, *Trio Sonata in g minor for 2 violins, gamba and b.c.*, ed. Patrice Connelly
Quirino Colombani, *Sul margine d'un rio*, ed. Rosalind Halton

New from Stainer & Bell
Fragments of English Polyphonic Music c.1390–1475 (Early English Church Music 62), ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey
Nathaniel Giles, *II English Sacred Music (Early English Church Music 63)*, ed. Joseph Sargent
Maurice Greene, *Complete Harpsichord Music (Musica Britannica 106)*, ed. H. Diack Johnstone
Thomas Tallis, *Latin Church Music I: Mass 'Salve intemerata' & Antiphons; Contrafactum 'Se lord and behold' (Early English Church Music 64)*, ed. David Skinner

New from Ut Orpheus
Francesco Geminiani, *6 Concertos Op. 2 (1732; Revised, 1751)*

(H. 50-55), ed. Rudolf Rasch
Claudio Merulo, *Ricercari da cantare a quattro voci. Libro Secondo (Venezia 1607) Intabulated and Diminished for Organ*, *Libro Terzo (Venezia 1608) Intabulated and Diminished for Organ*, 2 vols., ed. Francesco Tasini
Luigi Boccherini, *6 Quartets for 2 Violins, Viola and Violoncello Op. 15 (G 177-182)*, ed. Rudolf Rasch
English Organ Sonatas [by Alan Gray and Francis Edward Gladstone], 3 vols., ed. Iain Quinn
Francesco Geminiani, *Keyboard Works (H. 201-259)*, ed. Rudolf Rasch
Alessandro Scarlatti, *Madrigali a 4 e 5 voci*, ed. Nicolò Maccavino
Luigi Boccherini, *Sinfonie Concertanti (G 491, G 523)*, ed. Fulvia Morabito and Massimiliano Sala
Johann Adolf Hasse, I Pellegrini al Sepolcro di Nostro Signore. Oratorio in two parts (Dresden 1742), ed. Gaetano Pitarresi
Giuseppe Maria Orlandini, *Serpilla e Bacocco ovvero Il marito giocatore e la moglie bacchettona. 3 Intermezzos by Antonio Salvi*, ed. Giuseppe Giusta and Amos Mattio
Alessandro Scarlatti, *Il Giardino di Rose - La Santissima Vergine del Rosario. Oratorio for 5 Voices and Instruments (1707)*, ed. Nicolò Maccavino and Giampiero Locatelli
Alessandro Scarlatti, *La Vergine Addolorata. Oratorio in two parts (Napoli 1717)*, ed. Gaetano Pitarresi
Mauro Giuliani, *Le Ore d'Apollo Op. 111 for Guitar*, ed. Riccardo Del Prete