Early Music Performer

A quarterly newsletter dedicated to questions of early music performance - then and now

A MOMENTOUS TIME FOR NEMA

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Issue 9,
September 2001

At the Council Meeting on 17th July a decision was taken to recommend to the membership that NEMA be wound up at the end of 2001.

A combination of factors have brought us to that decision.

The crisis which precipitated matters was the realisation that a combination of dropping sales of the Yearbook to non-members and a falling membership list has meant that NEMA can no longer afford to carry out all the tasks which it would like to. Thus there is a choice between reducing what is on offer, which might reduce the membership even further, or closing the organisation down.

The second issue which came up is that it is becoming more and more difficult to find Council Members who are not fully committed to earning a living who will be able to carry out the sometimes onerous tasks for little or no financial reward.

Then thirdly, it is evident that many NEMA members are already members of one of the Regional Fora. NEMA was set up at a time when there were few such organisations and there was then the need for a national body to encourage the formation of regional bodies. This has been very successfully accomplished so that the need has effectively been fulfilled.

The constitution makes provision for closing down NEMA and releasing any funds remaining to a charitable organisation with similar aims if approved by a quorum of members.

Accordingly the proposal will form part of the agenda of the Annual General Meeting on Saturday 24th November. There is an announcement about the Early Music Day in this issue of *Early Music Performer*

Peter Holman (Chair)

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Nema

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Note that in view of financial restrictions referred to above future issues of this magazine (if any) will take this form.

EARLY MUSIC DAY

This will take place on Saturday 24th November at the Friends Meeting House, 17 Woodville Road, London W5.

Everyone is welcome. NEMA Members £8, non-members £10.

10:30 Coffee and Registration

11:00 The Triumphs of Oriana. A Workshop with Philip Thorby. (Voices, viols, wide bore recorders, renaissance winds.)

3:00 The Margot Leigh-Milner Lecture—Jeremy Montagu

4:00 Tea and NEMA AGM

5:00 Concert by **Apollo & Pan**, winners of the 2001 Early Music Network International Young Artists' Competition

Registration

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Summary of Council Meeting held at 70 Baker Street on 17th July 2001

1. An examination of the Financial situation showed that NEMA was unable to fund an annual Yearbook and four issues of Early Music Performer, an Early Music Day and Conference. There had been a drop in membership and sales of Yearbooks to non members had been considerably less than last year. A discussion resulted in the Chairman deciding that a proposal would be made to Members at the AGM on November that NEMA be terminated.
2. The 2002 Yearbook is in progress and will be mailed to members and offered to the public and academic institutions as usual. Various possibilities are being considered of making the "list" information available for purchase in the future. This might include interesting an Early Music magazine or selling the information in electronic form.

ENGLISH TUTORS FOR THE GERMAN FLUTE, 1721 –1771 PART I: HOTTETERRE "ENGLISHED"

By Nancy Hadden

Baroque flautists today who wish to know how the flute was played in the 18th century turn to Jacques-Martin Hotteterre's Principes de la Flute Traversiere (1707) for French music and J.J.Quantz's Versuch (1752) for everything else. These two tutors stand more or less towards the beginning and end of the period of the one-keyed baroque flute, and whilst Hotteterre admittedly seems to have been the only treatise available in the early years of the 18th century, amateur players in England had by 1721 a 'book of instructions' for the German flute published by Walsh, several more tutors by about 1730, and between 1745-1771 some twenty or more English treatises from which to gain instruction on the one keyed flute.[i] Since eighteenth-century English music has received little attention from baroque flautists today it is not surprising that English techniques and styles as found in these treatises have been ignored also. This article will survey the treatises to find out how the flute might have been played in England ca. 1721-1771.

The first substantial 'English' treatise for the German flute The Rudiments or Principles of the German Flute, was published ca. 1729 in London by Walsh and Hare [ii]. The full title makes clear its origins - it is not an English work but rather a translation of Jacques Martin Hotteterre's Principes de la Flute Traversiere, first published in Paris in 1707 [iii]:

> *The Rudiments or Principles of the German Flute, explaining after an easy method everything necessary for a learner thereon, to a greater nicety than has ever been taught before. Wrote in French by the Sieur Hotteterre le Romain; Musician in Ordinary to the late French king; and faithfully translated into English. To which is added A Collection of Airs for Example.*

Walsh delivered what he promised as a comparison of the French and English chapter headings shows. The English text in colourful prose follows closely the sense and meaning of Hotteterre's original. Musical examples which accompany the text are lifted verbatim from Hotteterre:

Hotteterre "Principes"

Preface
I - De la situation du corps et de la position des Mains
II - De l'Embouchure
III - Premier explication de la premiere planche sur les tons naturel
IV - Premier explication de la deuxieme planche

sur les cadences naturelles
V - Seconde explication de la premiere planche sur les diezis et les bemols
VI - Seconde explication de la seconde planche sur les cadences
VII - Remarques sur quelques demi-tons, et sur quelques cadences
VIII - Des coups de langue, ports-de-voix, accents et doubles cadences sur la flute traversiere et autres instruments a la vent
IX - Des flattements ou Tremblements mineurs, et des battements

English "Rudiments"

The French Preface
I - The Situation of the body and hands
II - Filling the German Flute
III - Explanation of natural tones
IV - Explanation of cadences or shakes
V - Flats and sharps
VI - Ornaments and characters commonly us'd in musick
VII - Remarks on semitones
VIII - The double cadence, accent, port-de-voix, and tongueing on the German flute and other winds
IX - Sweetening and beating

Chapters I-II offer advice to beginners on the basics of holding, blowing and embouchure for example:

"As a graceful posture in playing on this instrument no less engages ye Eyes of ye beholders than it's agreeable sound does their ears, I shall begin this treatise by describing one proper to use in playing thereon...If you play standing, stand firm with ye left foot a little advanc'd and rest ye weight of your body on the right leg & all without any constraint..."

"blow each note until you are well assur'd of the truth of ye tone..."

"..the lips must not pout out but rather be contracted towards the corners of ye mouth, so that they be smooth and even..."

Chapters III, V and VII give advice on fingering: "You must not raise the fingers high and let them fall plump on the holes...". A fingering chart for naturals, flats and sharps is given in both staff and tablature, with a range of d'-g'''. Additional details in prose cover alternative fingerings and tuning.

Chapters IV, VI, VIII and IX are concerned with French ornaments and articulation. The translations of the French ornaments are especially vivid and expressive, "shake" for "tremblement/cadence", "beat" for "battement", "softening" or "sweetening" for Hotteterre's "flattement" or finger vibrato. [iv] "Ye little curve lines over or under two notes, commonly call'd a slur...serves only as a preparation or what in French is call'd port-de-voix...which hereafter I shall call a sigh...". A 1709 English translation of Raguenet's Parallele des Italiens et des Francais (1702) praises the French flutes which 'sigh so amorously'; not a precise reference to the port-de-voix, but the essence of its performance is clear. [v]

Chapter VIII begins with a discussion of French articulation:
"to render ye playing more agreeable and to avoid too great a uniformity in tongueing twill be proper to use two particular articulations (viz) Tu & Ru, the Tu is most in use...when [quavers] ascend or descend by degrees and joyn'd we use also Tu, but intermix Ru with it...Observe also that quavers are not always to be play'd equally, but you must in certain movements make one long and one short...that is call'd pointing, the movements in which 'tis most commonly used are common time, triple time and Jigg time."

The 'Collection of Airs' begins with two dance suites after the French fashion of the type written by the first generation of French musicians in England—Paisible, Courteville, Dieupart:

"A Set of Aires in G#" (prelude, gavot, saraband slow, boree, jigg, minuet)
"A set of Aires in Gb" (prelude, saraband slow, rondeau, 3 minuets,

Four English pieces follow:
"St. Albans Minuet and Rigadoon by Mr. Sunderland", "An Opera Aire", and "Capt Bell's March".

Twelve more minuets round out the collection and reflect the popularity of that dance and include "Grano's Trumpet Minuet", "Minuet de Paris", "The King of France's Minuet". [vi]

The inclusion of music in the French style is in keeping with the French instructions and indicates that even as late as the 1720s French music was popular, at least amongst amateur players of the German flute. French music was certainly much in vogue during the Restoration. The first generation of players were all French emigrés—Jacques Paisible, LaRiche, Peter LaTour, John Loeillet, who would have brought their language, instruments and music

with them. But by the early 18th century French music was supplanted by the public taste for Italian instrumental music and opera. It is perhaps worth noting however that in 1732 Handel had at his disposal the Famous French dancer Marie Sallé, who danced in all Handel's operas of 1732/3. Il Pastor Fido had dances for her in all the acts and included the one-act opera-ballet Terpsichore as a prologue. French instrumental music outside the theatre was a rarity, however. Indeed, the 'catalogue of choice musick for the German flute' printed at the back of the Rudiments includes "Handel Opera Airs for a German flute and a bass" and "Solos" by Loeillet, Barsanti, Grano, Lampe, Babell, Pietro [Chaboud], Schickhard, Corbett, and Valentine.[vii] Nearly all of the published music for the German flute, whether solos, chamber works or concertos, was in the Italian style. A few editions of French music were published in London, notably by Jean-Marie Leclair, Solos for Violin or German Flute, Opus 2 (Walsh 1728) and Sonatas for 2 German Flutes or Violins (1744), and Six Solos for a German Flute, Violin or Harpsichord, composed by Mr. Blavet, one of the greatest performers on the German flute in Europe (Walsh 1749).

Rudiments was not the earliest tutor published in England for the German flute. During the 1720s the flute had found a receptive audience and its popularity is evident from the growing publication of solos, duets and trio sonatas.[viii] No doubt in response to public demand in 1721, John Walsh advertised a 'book of instructions for the German Flute' in his catalogue. [ix] With such a vague title it is impossible to know exactly what this was; some English instructions no longer extant, Hotteterre's Principes, or an earlier edition of Rudiments?

About 1725 Lully's "Lessons for the German Flute" is advertised on the title page of Walsh's edition of Pietro Chaboud's Solos for German Flute, Book I. [x] "Lully" is undoubtedly the French teacher, performer and composer John Loeillet who had settled in London by 1705. Although "Lully's" book has not come to light, an undated volume now in the Dayton Miller collection at the Library of Congress has the title page Lessons for the German Flute with an explanation of ye largest scales extant easy and instructive for learners. The lessons compos'd in ye several keys proper for the instrument. London, printed for J. Walsh...and J Hare.[xi] Loeillet could have been responsible for arranging the music and supplying the fingering charts, but it is unlikely that he would have agreed to publication without acknowledgement from Walsh.

The "lessons in several keys" are substantially the same as the Rudiments "airs" including the suites in G major (extended), G minor and the English pieces, with two additional suites in D major and D minor:

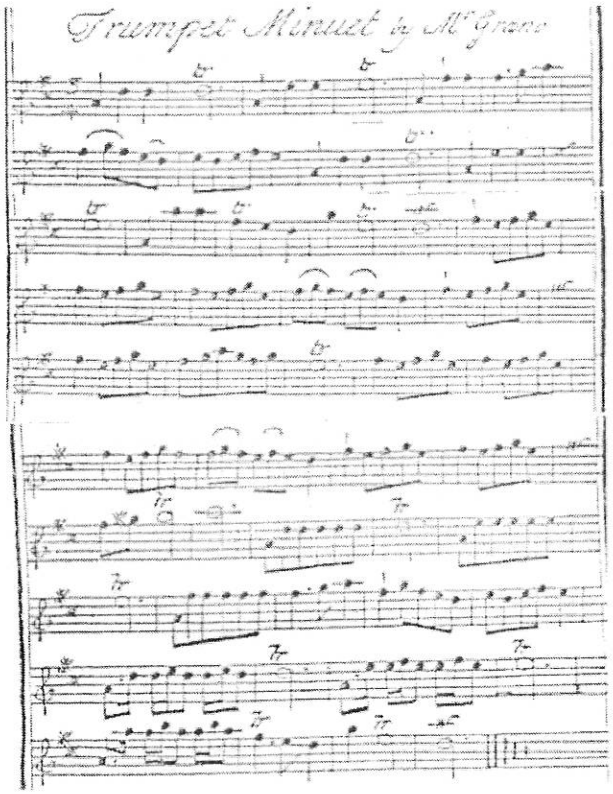
[I]A set of aires in G#: prelude, sarabande slow, boree, jigg, minuet, jigg, minuet, rondeau, minuet, chaconne
[II] A set of airs in D#: prelude, march, gavot, minuet, boree, allmand, largo-sarabande, gavot, minuet, minuet
[III] A set of airs in Gb: prelude, sarabande, rondeau, minuet
[IV] A set of airs in Db: prelude, sarabande, gavot
St. Albans minuet and rigadoon by Sunderland, minuet, opera air, Capt. Bell's March by Carry.
The fingering charts differ in certain respects from Rudiments. There are four separate charts rather than one composite one. The first is for natural notes from d'-a''', a tone higher than Rudiments but otherwise largely the same. There is a strange (probably mistaken) fingering for f'''(1-half2-5). It is a notoriously difficult, if not impossible note on most flutes, and Rudiments does not supply a fingering for this note at all in its chart, explaining in the text that "f in altissimo for ye most part cannot be blown, however I have found some flutes on which I could blow it...by stopping ye first, 2nd and 4th and half ye 5th and opening ye 3rd, 6th and 7th and blowing very sharp. I have not inserted it in my scale by reason 'tis not a note on which we may depend." [xii]

A second chart is for sharps and flats with a range of d'-Bb''', making it "the largest scale extant". Even as late as 1752, Quantz gives fingerings only up to g#/a flat''' and a''' (2345). J.S.Bach wrote to a''' in the Allemande of his Partita BWV 1013 (ca. 1720) but English and French music before the mid 18th century rarely ascends beyond e'''. No other English fingering charts go beyond a''' until Lewis Granom's of 1766. In lessons we find g#/a flat ''' (236), a'''(2345), and Bb ''' (234), all of which sound clearly on a copy of a 3-piece Hotteterre flute typical of the period. Such extensive fingering charts must have been supplied by a competent and knowledgeable flautist, whether Loeillet or another professional player-teacher.

Two more modest scales of two octaves d'-d''' follow, titled "A Scale of Notes on the Flute d'Allmagne (or German Flute)". The natural scale is printed separately from the sharps and flats, and both are printed in staff notation and dot notation such as found in 17th c. flageolet and recorder tutors. Perhaps these were intended for less advanced players. The term "flute d'Allemagne" is of interest. First used in England in the Talbot manuscript [xiii] and by John Ec-

cles in the score of his Judgement of Paris c. 1700, the French name continued to be used in concert advertisements and published music to about 1711, when the English "German flute" superseded it. To my knowledge, there are no references to "flute d'Allemange" after about 1711 except for this one, which hints at a date for Lessons earlier than 1725.

Around 1730 two new instruction books based on Hotteterre/Rudiments were printed without acknowledging the French source. The Newest Method for Learners on the German Flute as improv'd by the greatest masters of the age is actually part the 3rd of The Modern Musick Master, published anonymously in 1731, now known to have been compiled by Peter Prelleur.[xv] Plagiarized entirely from the English Hotteterre, but abridged and differently ordered, there are minor deviations in fingerings which may indicate local differences between English flutes and their French counterparts. Gone are the French dance suites, replaced by an assortment of minuets (Grano's "Trumpet Minuet" among them) and opera arias by Handel and Bononcini. Prelleur ornamented various pieces with French ornaments illustrated in the text, especially shakes (tr), beats (‘), and sweetening (≈). Of particular interest is the "sweetening", or finger vibrato shown on the final notes of phrases (see example 1).



Example 1, "Trumpet Minuet by Mr Grano", Prelleur, 18

Pictorial sources are scarce in England for this period, thus two illustrations of German flute players in Prelleur are particularly valuable (see figure 1).

The three piece flute with bulbous turnings on the head and foot joints is similar to the flute depicted in Hotteterre's Principes (see figure 2) and typical of the first generation of baroque transverse flutes which were made and played throughout Europe ca. 1680-1720. [xvi]

Figure 1, Frontispiece, Prelleur

Figure 2, Frontispiece, Hotteterre

In England a flute of this design made by Peter Bressan was described in James Talbot's manuscript, ca. 1700. Two of the three extant flutes made by Bressan are of this type.[xvii]

The Newest Instructions for the German Flute, bound in with Aria di Camera, was published by Daniel Wright ca. 1730.[xviii] It is identical to Prelleur and probably pirated. The Aria di Camera tunes however, are a unique and attractive compilation of "Scotch, Irish and Welsh Airs". Composers named are Alex. Urquahart of Edinburgh, Derm.t O'Connar of Limrick, Hugh Edwards of Carmarthen and the Irish composer Carolan.[xix] Wright's volume, with its curious Italian title, was one of the earliest of many such collections. Scots tunes in particular were tremendously popular and contributed to the peculiar mix of French, Italian, and English styles which Francesco Geminiani so clearly championed in his treatises, a subject to which we will return later.
During the 1720s-1730s the flute underwent significant design changes. The three piece flute was split between the right and left hand finger holes, and the new four-piece instrument was provided with several 'corps de rechange' of different lengths to facilitate playing at different pitches. The bore was narrowed giving more clarity and flexibility, especially in the high register. English flutes made by Thomas Stanesby Jr, and John Schuchart are examples of this type.

The French instructions continued to roll from the presses. Prelleur's treatise was reprinted several times to 1742 (it is important to remember that Hotteterre's original Principes was reprinted in France numerous times up to 1744). From 1745 and astonishingly, as late as 1770, more than a dozen tutors based on Hotteterre, probably cribbed from Prelleur, were published in England, most with the title The Compleat Tutor for the German Flute...Translated from the French. Hotteterre's instructions were augmented with additional original material on transposition, tempos, and ornaments from 1755, and after 1756 double tonguing and the newly invented 6-keyed flute were featured. With every publication came new and varied tunes, and it was probably those which sold books to growing numbers of amateur flautists rather than the by now somewhat dated instructions.

Table I lists the publishers and approximate dates with W# are from Warner's Bibliography. I have indicated additions to the French text.

1745 - Henry Waylett [W#73]
1746 - John Simpson [W#76], with added information on time signatures and tempos.
1746 - Peter Thompson [W#81] later issue, 1755. Added "rules for transposing". Also issued as "Thompson and Son", 1765 [W#97], "Charles and Samuel Thompson", 1765 [W#107]
1760 - John Johnson {W#96]. With "dodging notes" (octave exercises) and some new examples for "slides", "port-de-voix", "single and double relish".
1765 - R Bremner [W#104] = Thompson's text with new tunes.
1765 - Richard Duke [W#105] = Thompson's text with new tunes.
1765 - Jonathan Fentum [W#106] 1st edition. 2nd edition, 1770 with revised text and music and new material on double tonguing.
1765 - Maurice Whitaker [W#109] = Thompson's text with new tunes.
1766 - Thomas Cahusac [W#111] "with the method of double tonguing and description of new invented German Flute with additional keys made by Thomas Cahusac, such as played on by Tacet and Florio.[xx]
1769 - Longman and Co. [W#115]
1770 - C and S Thompson [W#118] "NB to this tutor is added a complete scale and description of additional notes of Florio and Tacet's new invented German Flute with all the keys."

Three more tutors with independent titles complete the list of Hotteterre-based tutors: The Compleat German Flute Master, 1750, Jon Sadler's Muses Delight published in Liverpool in 1754, and David Rutherford's Gentleman's Pocket Guide for the German Flute, 1765.

The dependence on Hotteterre for such a long period cannot be dismissed as mere convenience. French ornaments, Tu-Ru articulations and unequal quavers or 'pointing' were carefully explained in all the treatises, and aspiring flautists were clearly expected to learn the French style. Even when new material was added in the 1750s the earlier material was not abandoned. To be sure, after 1749 several treatises, notably those by Francesco Geminiani (1749), Lewis Granom (1766) and Luke Heron (1771), were written without making reference to Hotteterre, and Geminiani makes clear his aim to unite the French, Italian and Scottish styles.[xxi] But it is worth questioning just how Hotteterre's instructions might have affected the performance of the French and English dances, Italian opera arias and Scots tunes found in the earlier treatises. And while we have seen that the majority of published solos and chamber pieces for the German flute were in the Italian style should not these also be performed with a prevailing "French" approach to sound, articulation, execution of ornaments and inequality of rhythms, at least until the mid-eighteenth century? Hotteterre "Englished" must have exerted a strong and lasting French influ-

ence on flute playing in England. I hope that this survey has given credence to a fresh interpretation of English flute music during the hey-day of the one-keyed flute.

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[i] See Thomas Warner, An Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books 1600-1830, Detroit, 1967, for a chronological listing of most of the available instruction books. An excellent survey which reprints valuable excerpts and music from some of the more important treatises is Rebecca Harris-Warwick, Newest Instructions for the German Flute: A Method Book for the One-keyed German Flute Based on Eighteenth-Century Tutors diss. Stanford University 1977

[ii] The treastise is dateable fairly accurately; Walsh's partnership with Joseph Hare ended with the Hare's death in 1730, and a catalogue of publications at the end of the treatise includes German flute music by Loeillet, Barsanti, Babell, Chaboud and others published c. 1725- 28. Only two copies of *Rudiments* are extant in US:Wc and GB:Ge.

[iii] Hotteterre's Principes was the earliest instruction book for the baroque flute. Evidently popular, it was reprinted in Paris (and Amsterdam) in 1715, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1728, 1744. References in this paper are to the facsimile edition of the 1728 Amsterdam print published by Bärenreiter-Verlag, Kassel, 1982.

[iv] French ornaments were of course known in England during the Restoration. "Shake" and "beat" are to be found in English flageolet and recorder treatises such as Hudgebut's Vade Mecum (1679).

[v] For the Raguenet translation see Oliver Strunk, Source Readings in Music History, New York, 1950, 475, and MQ (1946), 411-436.

[vi] Apart from "Mr. Sunderland", [John Baptist] Grano is the only named composer in Rudiments. It is tempting to speculate that he was responsible for the translation, although there is nothing else to suggest this. Born in London of French extraction, he was a struggling musician between 1714-36. He was in Holland in 1719, composed 6 Solos for the German Flute (Walsh 1720) and played concerts in London on trumpet and German flute. His brother Lewis Granom, also a flautist, wrote Plain and Easy Instructions for the German Flute (1766).

[vii] For full titles of these and other publications of German flute music in England, see Nancy Hadden, "German flute music by English and foreign composers working in England 1700-1740", Early Music Performer 7, Oct 2000, 11-13.

[viii] See Nancy Hadden, "The German Flute in 18th c England", Early Music Performer7, October 2000 9-11.

[ix] A facsimile of Walsh's catalogue is reproduced by William C Smith, A Bibliography of the Musical Works of John Walsh 1695-1720, Oxford, 1948, pl xxvii.

[x] The term "lessons" in the 18th c. could mean "instructions" or simply a collection of pieces such as Select Lessons or a Choice Collection of Airs contriv'd for Two German Flutes... (Daniel Wright, 1735). Here it could mean both.

[xi] To my knowledge this volume has not been described before now. It is not included in Warner's Bibliography, but it is listed in F.Lesure, Recueils imprimes XVIIIe siecle, RISM, B/II, 1964.

[xii] See Rudiments, 5-6.

[xiii] See Anthony Baines, "James Talbot's Manuscript", Galpin Society Journal I, p11.

[xiv] Printed c. 1730 London: Printing Office in Bow Church Yard.

[xv] See Thomas E Warner, An Annotated Bibliography #59 and the preface to the facsimile reprint of The Modern Musik Master. Bärenreiter Verlag, Kassel 1965.

[xvi] Flutes of this type were made in France by Hotteterre, Chevalier, Naust, in Holland by Haka, and in Germany by Denner, examples of which have been copied by Folkers and Powell, Alain Weemaels, Friedrich von Heune and others.

[xvii] Bressan's Flutes are pictured in Philip Bate, The Flute, London 1969, pl.2

[xviii] Wright is not listed in Warner, and to my knowledge no one has noted its existence.

[xix] A selection of these pieces has been recorded by Nancy Hadden, London's Flautists, CRD CD 3469.

[xx] This may be the earliest reference to double tonguing and the 6-keyed flute in an English source. Lewis Granom describes double tonguing in his Plain and Easy Instructions published in the same year. The 6-keyed flute was supposedly invented in England by Caleb Gedney in 1765.

[xxi] The treatises of Geminiani, Granom and Heron will be discussed in Part II, "Good Taste and John Trot Airs", forthcoming.

PIETRO HELLENDAAL HOLLANDESE

Rotterdam 1721 - Cambridge 1799

`PRINCIPAL MUSICMASTER OF CAMBRIDGE`

By Leendert Haasnoot

"(-) The prospect of the Town from the West is inexpressible fine; where beautiful Colleges, Stone Bridges or several Groves, Gardens, and green Fields lying on the Banks of the River (-) are agreeably intermixed; and the Colleges over the River add to the Beauty of it..."
(Cantabrigia Depicta, Cambridge, 1763, pp 8-9)

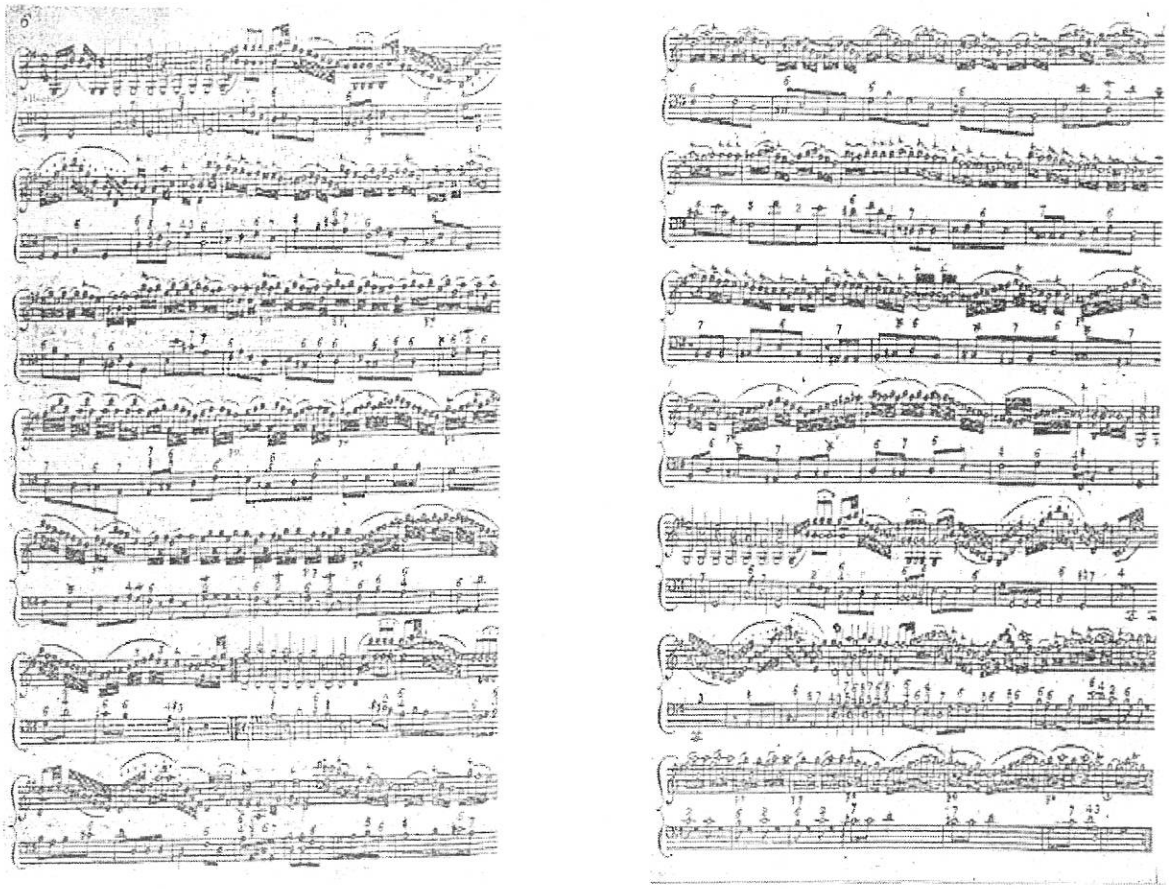
Thus the 41 year old violin virtuoso Peter (Pieter) Hellendaal must have seen Cambridge in the May days of 1763 when he left Pembroke College Chapel to go to his house in Emmanuel Lane. After a short stay at King`s Lynn, he had been given the position

of organist at Cambridge in November 1762.

Up till then Pieter Hellendaal had already led an eventful life. He was born in Rotterdam, where he was baptized on 1 April 1721 as the third child of Johan Hellendaal and Neeltje la Croy. At an early age already his musical talents became apparent: soon after the family had moved to Utrecht, when he was only 10 years old, he became organist of the Nicolai Church at Utrecht, though it is said that his father had to assist him in some way (!). In September 1733 he applied for the position of organist of the so called small organ of the Mare Church at Leiden, but he was rejected. The programme of this "examination" has been preserved.

At the age of sixteen he moved to Amsterdam together with his parents. In the meantime his parents had been left a not unimportant legacy and as a result they had climbed the social ladder. It is sometimes supposed that his move to Amsterdam was deliberately made in order to further Pieter`s musical talents. Were his contacts with the violinist Locatelli, who at the time lived at Amsterdam, the results of this move? Had Amsterdam artistic circles gained some notice of Pieter`s musical talents? Had either he or his father taken some steps to make his name and talents well-known? Unfortunately we don`t know the answer to these questions. What we do know is that Pieter set out on an adventurous journey to Italy at a relatively early age. Like many before him he went there to study the violin with Tartini at his Scuola delle Nazione at Padua. By the way, this is the first time in Hellendaal`s career that we hear about the violin as an object of study.

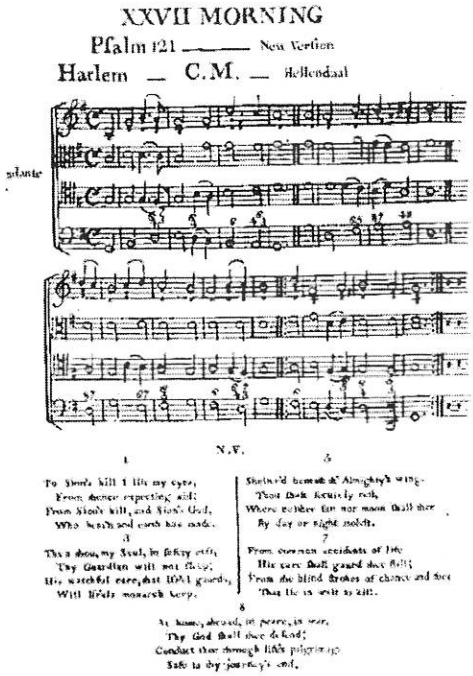
In the Privilege in his first collection of violin sonatas (Sonate a Violino Solo e Basso) he called himself Pietro Hellendaal Hollandese. The work was published at Amsterdam and the Privilege was dated 14 February 1744. The dedication on the title page is not without significance: from it we can deduce that a certain Mattheus Lestevenon had enabled our young musician to go and study with Tartini at Padua. It is possible that not only Pieter`s talents but also his character played an important part in Lestevenon`s decision. The family of Mattheus Lestevenon (1715 - 1797) belonged to the wealthy and influential elite of Amsterdam. In 1736 the earlier mentioned Locatelli also dedicated a composition to Lestevenon, namely the Triosonates opus 5 from 1736. All this points to artistic contacts between Lestevenon, Locatelli and the young Hellendaal, however solid evidence for this assumption cannot



Six solos for the violin with a thorough Bass for the Harpsichord. Opus 4 no.2 in G: Allegro (2nd part)

be formed. It is certain that Pieter`s parents were not unknown in the circle of Amsterdam actors. This reputation even ended in disaster for Pieter`s father whose life was cruelly taken in 1742, because a suspected dancer in this circle would prevent Hellendaal giving legal aid to his wife, who had been deceived.
The exact date of the young Hellendaal`s return from Italy is unknown. However, from November 1743 onwards there appeared reports in the Amsterdam newspapers about concerts given by Hellendaal in various guesthouses. His `programmes` sometimes explicitly announced works of his teacher or he dubbed himself "the disciple of the great Tartini". On 7 June 1744 he married Elisabet Prin, daughter of an Amsterdam surgeon and their first born child, Susanna Elisabeth, was baptized 22 October 1747 in the Walloon Chuch in Amsterdam.

On 8 January 1749 he enrolled at Leiden University. This was possibly done to gain a foothold in music loving cicles in Leiden. Among other things he tried to get the positions of organist of the Pieterskerk and of carilloneur of the Town Hall, positions that could have given him the necessary social prestige. Frustrated by unfulfilled expectations and without the permission of the Burgomasters of Leiden, he and his family left his bass" sonata. In almost all published violinsonatas the composer follows the cyclinative country towards the end of 1751. He finally settled in England-"the haven and paradise of foreign musicians"- where he would remain for the rest of his life. But before that he still gave performances as a violin virtuoso in places such as Leiden, Delft and The Hague, sometimes together with


XXVII MORNING

Psalm 121 ——— New Version

Harlem — C.M. — Hellendaal

galante

N.F.

From: A collection of Psalms for the use of Parish Churches & C. (c.1793)

actors from the Opera and other `distinguished musicians'.
In London he first settled 'at Mr.Leignes in Suffolk Street, next to the Bagnio'. At first this London period was characterized by many musical activities. He gave concerts in famous places and performed with prominent musicians such as the vocalist Signora Galli, the organist and oboist Barbandt, the violinist Cattaneo, the harpist Gwenn, the cellist Pasqualino and the harpsichordist Worgan. In London he also published one of his important works, the Six Grand Concertos opus 3. He also tried to advance his social status, therefore he applied for the position of conductor of the Music Room Orchestre at Oxford. Though he excelled there as a violin virtuoso, he was not given the much-desired post.

On 5 April 1760 he was appointed organist of the famous large Snetzler organ in St. Margaret's Church finished in 1754 at King's Lynn (Lynn Regis) where he was the successor of Charles Burney. Apparently, however, this position was without sufficient prospects for, in 1762, he changed King's Lynn for Cambridge. There he was appointed organist of Pembroke Hall Chapel. It was here that he would reach his final destination as "one of the principal musicmasters of Cambridge" (Cambridge Chronicle and Journal of 20 November 1762). It is clear that the fame of his musical talents had already reached Cambridge before he settled there.
In this university town Hellendaal led a very busy musical life for decades to come. And not only in Cambridge but also in many other places such as Ely (The Lamb Inn Grammar School), Lynn (Town Hall), Long Melford, Bury St.Edmunds (Assembly House, 14 and 21 October 1773: with his son Peter as a violinist) and Norwich. Some events stand out and are worth mentioning, e.g. the performance of Handel's Messiah conducted by John Randall "with a Solo on the Violin by Mr. Hellendaal" in the Senate House and the concerts together with the famous Pantaleon player Georg Nolli. It does not only refer to the benefit performances, but also to the concerts in which Hellendaal himself participated as a soloist. Most of them took place at Trinity College. But the Town Hall, Christ's College and Pembroke College are also mentioned. [i]
All this is an excellent illustration of Hellendaal's wide influence on the musical life of the

university in the first decade after his appointment. In the course of the next decades he shifted the emphases from giving performances to composition and teaching. In 1769 he is given a Prize Medal for his composition of the canon 'Glory be to the Father' by the Noblemen and Gentlemens's Catch Club. More vocal compositions, sometimes to the accompaniment of instruments, follow. Of these compositions, the Cantata 'Strephon and Myrtilla' for a treble voice and violin or flute and the 'Two Glees for four voices to the accompaniment of strings and basso continuo' are worth mentioning: the former showing unexpected expressive parts, the latter an artistic gift in rendering the character of original unaccompanied vocal glees in a virtuoso instrumental and vocal idiom. They were "printed and sold" at the house of the Hellendaal family in Trumpington Street opposite Peterhouse College, where in April 1777 our musician was appointed organist as Dr.Randall's successor.

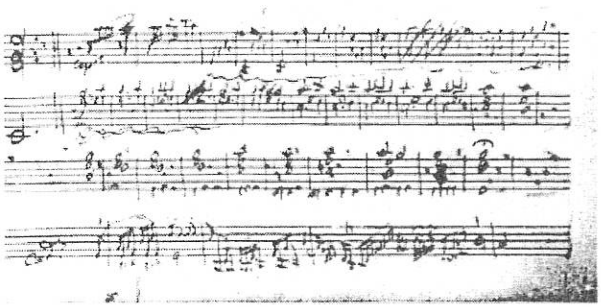
Later Hellendaal became well known in ecclesiastical circles because of a rather extensive series of psalms and hymns for three and four parts. This collection, "printed and sold by the Editor at his Music Shop Opposite Peterhouse College" (c.1793) was apparently also meant for use at the Charity and Sunday Schools of Great Britain. His son Peter, violinist and virtuoso clarinettist, contributed to it as well. In view of the many libraries that at the time have the disposel of copies of this hymnbook the collection must have been widely known. From other source we known that father and son Hellendaal also applied themselves to the selling of street music (!) and musical instruments. According to newspaper reports, Hellendaal Minor, played an important part in this musical business.
The last years of Hellendaal's life were characterised by a declining health: "(-) he had from age and infirmities kept his bed for upwards of seven years..."(Cambridge Chronicle, 27 April 1799). One Thomas Paris replaced him temporarily as organist of Peterhouse Chapel, and after Hellendaal's death he was appointed his successor. But before that the Cambridge Chronicle of 19 January 1797 announced the publication of a rather extensive work: it was reported to be the Sermon on the Mount "in the 5th, 6th and 7th Chapters of St.Matthew's Gospel with an Accompaniment for the Organ, Harpsichord, and Pianoforte; also adapted for the Violin Flute, Violoncello &c.".According to the announcement it contained "Sixty Folio Pages, elegantly engraved, and printed on Imperial Paper". Up to now, unfortunately, not a trace of this work has been found and it is possible that this work never got beyond the announcement.

Hellendaal's instrumental inheritance is relatively small in size: 37 solo sonatas (29 for violin and 8 for violoncello), 3 accompanied keyboard sonatas (29 for violin and 8 for violoncello), 3 accompanied keyboard sonatas (up to now incomplete) and 6 concerti for strings and thorough bass. The 29 violin sonatas include the 11 manuscript sonatas that are kept in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. To get an overall view of his work we must not forget seven lost compositions: a concert for harpsichord and a concert for violin, performed respectively in 1764 and 1768, six sonatas for harpsichord and the just mentioned sizeable `Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount`.

There is no denying that in almost all his work he remained true to the continuo style. A method, that at the time could be considered as belonging to a finished period, speaking from a musical point of view. The virtuoso accents, so characteristic of Hellendaal`s violin sonatas, substantially could not add anything to it. The same can be said about the violoncello sonatas opus 5, that, artistically speaking, surpass the violin compositions. Even Hellendaal`s most striking work, the Six Grand Concertos opus 3, is based on Corelli`s concerto style.

Hellendaal`s sonatas reflect the preference of the eighteenth-century composer for the "melo/c principle of Tartini: slow-fast-fast (SFF) . The other solo sonatas, including the violoncello sonatas opus 5, show a variety of cyclic forms. There is a slight preference for the sequence SFSF.

Though a very great number of Hellendaal`s sonata movements are based on the bipartite scheme of the seventeenth-century sonata da camera, the asymmetrical bipartite variant is dominant in Hellendaal`s works. This variant is characterised by a section-B which is significantly longer than section-A. This is caused by an extension of the modulatory process in B. In most cases this also leads to the development of two subsections.



Cadenza or Capriccio Manuscript Sonate a Violino e Basso by Hellendaal Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge Music MS 32-F-30 (p.2)

If one compares the key relations in both main sections of the asymmetrical movements, one arrives at a division of two types. In the first type these relations develop in B as varied images of the relations in A. In the second type, clearly distinct subsections occur in B. The first subsection contains a modulatory process, usually of reasonable great length, that ends with a cadence in a key that is closely related to the main key. The fact the second subsection is nothing else than a varied repeat of A, which begins and ends in the main key. The basic meaning of this type frequently used by Hellendaal lies in the threefold tonal process which manifests within a binary form. Without exaggerating one can speak of a sonata form in this case; a sonata form, however, that is monothematic.

The incipient material in Hellendaal`s sonatas, however, should not be regarded in the sense of the classical theme which is polarising with regard to the rest of the thematic material. Hellendaal`s themes are allied to the *soggetto*, the subject of a more or less orthodox character with which for instance the fugue opens and which continue without interruption. A variant is characterised by a statement, which leads to the dominant and a confirmation which stresses the key-note. Yet any thematic polarising result is missing.
What one does see are the repeated contrasts between these themes and virtuoso sections. In certain cases these are going to lead a life of their own and then lack any organic connection with the thematic premises.

One of the salient aspects of the development of eighteenth-century violin playing is *virtuosity*. The technical demands made by Hellendaal in his violin sonatas are completely in agreement with this development as far as the range of tone is concerned. The stress is on the pitches d3 and e3 which were normal for a trained violinist in those days.

Of still greater importance for the virtuosity are the numerous sections with double stops. Especially the thirds play an important part in these. In many movements one also comes across polyphonic passages that can be called technically difficult. In accordance with the current notation of those days the composer often recorded this polyphony in long note values. Thereby he gave an indication of a possible way of performance in a first bar.
The numerous figurate sections in which triplets particularly play an important part, also show a virtuoso approach. More than once this leads to a complex ornamentation in fast passages in which many trills occur besides. Not seldom do these and other figurations dominate a whole movement which detracts from the artistic quality of these compositions. In summary the conclusion is that Hellendaal`s violin sonatas were generally written for the violinist of virtuoso accomplishments, as can especially be seen in his *manuscript sonatas*.

In these sonatas (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) the *capriccios* and the fully made out alternative *cadenzas* form a particular aspect of his violin compositions. They require great technical talents on the part of the violinist and undoubtedly show that the violin-player Hellendaal *must have been a virtuoso himself.*
Not a single cadenza was indicated as such by the composer. From two drafts on the right-hand page of the first sonata`s opening movement, indicated with "Capr." and "Cad:" respectively, it can be concluded that the composer assumes a quantitative difference between a cadenza and a capriccio: the last one has a far greater length. The relatively small length of most cadenzas on the contrary is indicative of their original function as ornamented intermediate and final cadences in the sense of *concluding harmonic formulas.*
The ornamentation in these example certainly requires a more or less sophisticated technical control of the solo instrument. As such they can be regarded as a kind of capriccio
Some cadenzas show a striking resemblance to Tartini`s description of the `Cadences Artificielles` in his *Traité des Agréments.* An obvious example of a capriccio is to be found in the Allegro of the fourth sonata. The Allegro has been written in an imitating style and it falls into more or less unconnected sections each with distincy virtuoso-technical figurations, bar-changes and a drawn out final cadence.
Hellendaal`s violoncello sonatas of about 1780 (Eight Solos for the Violoncello with a Thorough Bass, Opus 5) undeniably show elements that are derived from violin playing. However they also prove that the composer is familiar with the possibilities of a specific fingering for the violoncello. One can see this from the use of the thump as playing finger and from the sections that require a high position and in which the use of the fourth finger is necessary all the same.
In these sonatas double stops play a modest part. In various sonatas, however, individual movements occur in which rhythmically complicated passages together with the said ornamentation do make high demands upon the technical skill of the soloist. In this connection we mention the short, capriccio-like formulae which usually preceed a cadence. The violoncello sonatas finally show a more certain *artistic balance* than the violin sonstas because the melodic

lines have not been subjected to virtuosity.

Hellendaal's *Six Grand Concerto's For Violins &c. in Eight Parts/Opera Terza* formally seen, lack any similarity to the scheme that underlies the concerti by Vivaldi and Bach. Most concerti have five movements which are different among themselves because of tempo and meter. The slow middle movements further distinguish themselves from the rest because, with the exception of one, they are written in a different key. Comparing all analogous movements of Hellendaal's concerti to each other in relation with the Corellian principles, it appears that although they generally follow Corelli's idiom, these concerti differ relatively strongly in many cases with regard to the alternation of tutti and soli. With Corelli the ripieno violins primarily have the task to intensify the concertino in cadences. Hellendaal on the other hand, often emphasizes the entity of a whole passage either for soli or for tutti. In order to do this he uses a "thematic alternation" with an imitating or independent character.This way of alternation is rather frequently found in the slow middle-movements. Sometimes Hellendaal applies this alternation of tutti and soli rather arbitrarily or not at all, which gives the concerti an ill-balanced character.This is reinforced because a definite line with regard to the composition of the concertino is lacking in almost all concerti. The number of passages in which, according to the Corellian principles, the concertino is based on the classical instrumentation of the trio sonata even form a relatively small minority.

Other striking characteristics of Hellendaal's concerti are the fugal "second movements" which seen from a stylistic point of view put an important mark upon the concerti because of their great lengths. It should be noted that the fugal character of these allegro's desintegrates more and more in the successive concerti. Moreover all concerti end with a dance, a march or a genrepiece. Three of these "additional" movements have entirely been written for the orchestra.

Up to now, Hellendaal's abilities as a teacher of the theory of music have drawn little attention. According to J.H. Sainsbury in his 'A Dictionary of Musicians' (London, 1825) there were outstanding musicians in Cambridge who enjoyed the privilege of receiving excellent education in "...the rudiments of thorough-bass, and the principles of composition under the elder Hellendaal". Among them was Dr.Charles Hague, professor of music at the University of Cambridge from 1799.

Also interesting is the information about Hellendaal's musical activities to be found on 144 preserved programmes of concerts of the Musical Society at the Black Bear Inn (1789-1808) which are kept in the University Library Cambridge. Dr.Mann's so called Note-Books (The Rowe Music Library, King's College, Cambridge) also have certainly contributed to this.

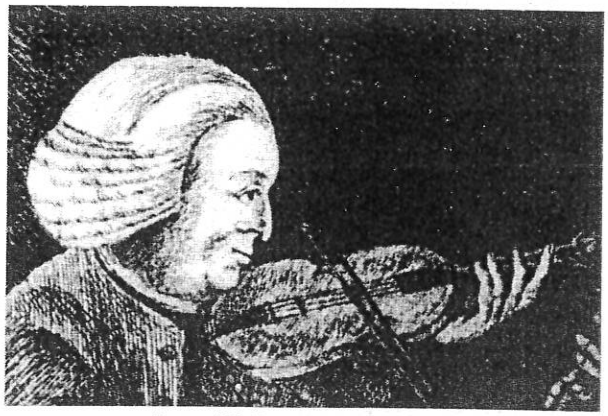
Likewise, the many contacts that Hellendaal had in Cambridge which can be regarded as evidence of his social and artistic renown should be mentioned: his relationship with the rich flour merchant

Anderson and his undoubtedly talented daughter 'Miss Anderson of Cambridge' was particularly close.It was to them that the composer dedicated two of his works, among them the violoncello sonatas opus 5. Moreover, the subscription lists for newly published compositions mentioned numerous influential persons, among them the authoritative music lover the Earl of Sandwich as well as the coryphees Joah Bates, leader of the Handel Commemoration in 1784 - Hellendaal's name also figures on the list of performers - , the violinist Wilhelm Cramer, the just mentioned Charles Hague and the conductor John Randall.

On 19 April 1799 Hellendaal died and was buried in the Churchyard of St.Mary's the Less next to Peterhouse. The obituary in the newspaper of 27 April 1799 highly praised this musician who, undoubtedly, belonged to the musical elite of Cambridge: "(-) an excellent composer of music, many years teacher of the Violin in this University and organist of Peterhouse Chapel". A quarter of a century later J.H.Sainsbury in his Dictionary called him "(-) a man of undoubted attainments in musical science". Indeed, Hellendaal was a many sided musician: organist, violinist, teacher and publisher of music. Hellendaal's love for the organ went back to the age of ten when he was appointed organist of the Utrecht Nicolai Church and as we have seen it ran through the rest of his life as a leitmotiv. This is the more remarkable because nowhere we can speak of striking organ achievements.

Noteworthy too is the character of the places where the musician lived and worked successively:

with the exception of Amsterdam and London they were usually towns with a more or less pro-



Peter Hellendaal in Concert
Detail of an engraving by Abraham Hume after a drawing by Thomas Orde (Cambridge c 1767)

vincial background. Is it possible that he had a certain preference for this kind of background in spite of the fame that he encountered as a virtuoso violinist and follower of Tartini ?

Now, about 200 years after is death, we may well wonder what kind of personality lies hidden behind the musician Hellendaal. Unfortunately there are no letters or statements from contemporaries that might shed light on the man Hellendaal. Or it must be the qualification in a note in a manuscript by Crotch [ii] on Hellendaal's 'application concert' at Oxford in November 1759: "... handsome and reckoned on his beauty"(!). Only once we hear of him personaly in a paragraph advertisement in the Cambridge Chronicle of 19 April 1766 in which he expresses his thanks to "those Gentlemen of the University who have so liberally and chearfully contributed to his Relief from his late urgent Necessities". According to Charles Cudworth in his article "Hellendaal" in MGG/VI it had probably to do with financial troubles.

When we examine his career, however, there are certain characteristics that stand out: he was a man of ***enterprise*** when we think of his study tour to Italy and his musical activities in the Republic; after that his move together with his family, to England. He was ***energetic*** and ***persevering*** when it came to acquiring social and musical status both in his native country and in England. Unfortunately, more tangible evidence concerning the ***personality*** of this "disciple of the great Tartini" is lacking. However, owing to the numerous announcements about his concerts in the British newspapers from that time it has abundantly clear that, in his days, Hellendaal played an important part in the musical life of the University and many places in East Anglia.

Nowadays, we have the disposal of some important re-editions of the KNVM *(Koninklijke Nederlandse Vereniging voor Muziekgeschiedenis)*, among them the Concertos opus 3 and the Solos for the Violoncello opus 5. Also we have a facsimile edition of the 'VI Sonate' opus 2. (See below). Moreover, there are the papers of among others Charles van den Borren (1928 and 1932) and John A.Parkinson (1952) about various aspects of Hellendaal's life and works.

More details we can find in the contributions of Charles Cudworth and your author respectively to *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (1957)* and *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians I (1980) and II (2000)*. Finally, in 1983 I brought out a full survey on Hellendaal's life together with an analysis of most of his works in a thesis entitled *Leven en werken van Pieter Hellendaal (1721-1799)*,Universiteit van Amsterdam. In there, there is an English summary.

"Peter (Pieter,Pietro) Hellendaal: one of the principal musicmasters of Cambridge" The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal of 20 November 1762 wrote. ***So: why should not we remember him now?***

Transl.: Hennie Dijkhuizen-Duyvestijn

Modern editions (Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis):

1. *Pieter Hellendaal/Concerti Grossi/Opus III/Edited Hans Brandts Buys/Amsterdam 1959;* 103 pp.(Monumenta Musica Neerlandica I)

2. *Pieter Hellendaal/Eight Solos for the Violoncello with a Thorough Bass/opus 5 (1780)/Edited by Rudolf Rasch/ Amsterdam 1981; 99 pp.(Monumenta Musica Neerlandica XIII)*

(Both editions in score with extensive descriptions and elaborated continuo parts)

3. *Pieter Hellendaal/VI Sonate a Violino Solo e Basso/Opera Seconda/[Amsterdam 1748]/.*
Facsimile Edition/Introduction by Leendert Haasnoot a.o./ Utrecht 1984 (Facsimilia Musica Neerlandica II/General Editor Willem Elders)

[i] My Ph.D. thesis 'leven en werken van Pieter Hellendaal' (Amsterdam, 1983) contains a documented list of 36 of these concerts
[ii] Bodleian Library Oxford

PAINTINGS WITH PERFORMANCE PRACTICE IMPLICATIONS IN THE RECENT ROYAL ACADEMY EXHIBITION, 'THE GENIUS OF ROME, 1592 – 1623'

Anthony Rowland-Jones

The recent exhibition at the Royal Academy, 'The Genius of Rome, 1592-1623', included a section devoted to the theme of 'Painted Music: 'A New and Affecting Manner' '. It contained, in striking juxtaposition in Gallery 2, ten paintings by Caravaggio, Carlo Saraceni, Artemisia Gentileschi and others, all of which included representations of musical instruments. The Exhibition Guide, written by Beverly Louise Brown, the curator of the Exhibition, relates these paintings to musical practice in Rome at the time.

Considerable caution needs to be exercised in deriving evidence of performance practice from iconographic sources. If the angelic players of all manner of instruments seen in pictures of the Virgin and Child, or surrounding the Virgin in paintings of her Assumption and her Coronation, had actually been audible to her, her bliss might have been rather less than artists show; but such arrays of instruments are no more than expressions of universal glory or wor-

ship, never meant to be played together. The symbolism of musical instruments in Renaissance and Baroque paintings may be the chief reason for their presence, although even in the most complex of allegories artists would presumably have been reluctant to represent groupings of instruments which would appear bizarre or ridiculous in actuality. And in some at least of the paintings in the Royal Academy exhibition, there are good reasons for relating the instruments to actual music-making in early 17th-century Rome. The evidence of the paintings provides no grounds for questioning the statement in the Gallery Guide that 'fundamental changes were occurring in music, which was witnessing the transition from complex polyphony to accompanied monody. The 'new and affecting manner' of musical practice was chronicled by one of Caravaggio's patrons, Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, in his celebrated treatise *Discorso sopra la musica* (1628). Giustiniani explained how the lute was abandoned in favour of the theorbo and Spanish guitar, which were easier to play and more suited to even mediocre voices. Antiveduto Gramatica's *Theorbo Player* (cat.33), in which a guitar is also placed on the table, reflects this new trend.'

In the ten paintings in Gallery 2, and in one other nearby, there are as many as eight representations of recorders, a total similar to that either of plucked or of bowed string instruments in the whole Exhibition. In his article on 'The Recorder in 17th-Century Italian Music' in the *Proceedings of the International Recorder Symposium* in Utrecht in 1993 (STIMU, Utrecht, 1995, pp.3-63), Peter Van Heyghen lists (Table 1, p.55) only fourteen pieces, or occasions, with assigned recorder parts in Italian publications between 1600 and 1623 (none are known before 1600), and various musicologists, including Eleanor Selfridge-Field and Heyghen himself (p.4), have questioned the extent to which the recorder might have been used when a composer or publisher employed terms such as *Canto, Soprano* or *Per ogni sorte di stromenti.* But the iconographic evidence, such as it is and bearing other considerations in mind, does seem to suggest a rather more general use of recorders as one of the instruments covered by these terms.

In most of the paintings in Gallery 2, music-books feature as well as instruments. In the two pictures of St Cecilia by Saraceni, c.1610, showing her mystic marriage with an angel, and her martyrdom, the music-books are illegible, and were so painted so that they could represent any, or all, music. Beverly Louise Brown makes this point in her Gallery Guide, 'The cult of St Cecilia was revived after 1599 when her perfectly preserved body was unearthed in Rome. From the Middle Ages on, Cecilia had been considered the patron saint of sacred music and given the attribute of an organ, the main instrument of religious music. Cardinal Cesare Baronio, a prominent Oratorian who had witnessed the exhumation, corrected this mistake, proclaiming that St Cecilia was in fact the patron of all music. Carlo Saraceni's arresting image of *St Cecilia and the Angel* (cat.31) is one of the first pictures in which the saint is shown without an organ or indeed any reference to sacred music.' In fact St Cecilia holds a large lute, and she is in the process of tuning it so that its music is per-

Master of the Acquavella Still-Life

Still Life with Violinist
(detail) c. 1620

From the 'Genius of Rome' exhibition held at the Royal Academy. (drawn from the original by Roger Hardy)

fect. The angel stands by a bass viol, and also seen in the picture, but with no performance practice implications, are an alto recorder, a shawm, a violin and a harp, covering a range of types of instruments. The *Martyrdom* has a violin, a tambourine and a soprano recorder.

Two well-known paintings by Caravaggio from around 1595-8 have greater performance practice significance. To quote Beverly Louise Brown again, Caravaggio 'painted both *The Musicians* (cat.28) and *The Lute Player* (cat.29) for Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte, who was an amateur musician and collector of instruments. The pseudo-antique costumes worn by the players suggest that Caravaggio may have been recording the type of musical performances given in Del Monte's palace.' Both pictures include music-books. Caravaggio's musicians are pausing in their playing. A singer looks at his part in a quite substantial book, which seems to be a book of madrigals as it is in the normal landscape format of madrigal books, while the pages of other part-books are beside him, together with a violin and bow which lie across the music-books, suggesting that the violin was used to play one of the parts. Another young musician tunes his lute and a third holds an alto cornett. Unfortunately the musical scores were totally reconstructed during a modern restoration and can no longer be read. Their texts could have been a clue to symbolic interpretation of the picture, which has only one symbolic attribute – a bunch of grapes, associated with Bacchus, wine and, indirectly, love; but the madrigalian music is likely in any case to have been about love. The four figures, rather androgenous young men, are remarkably similar in their features, and very close to us, the viewers, for the picture has little depth. This may well have been primarily a representation of a musical occasion, a madrigal with one singer and, possibly, three instrumentalists, though the figures are not exactly convincing as portraits of real musicians. The occasion is idealised.

In the version of Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* from a private collection in America there is a prominent alto recorder (a beautiful representation) in the foreground, a tiny keyboard instrument, and a violin with its bow, but only one musician. But this time the music is clearly legible as madrigals –'xxxii' and 'xxxiii' – by Arcadelt, which could, and probably often were, played on a lute alone. The instruments are likely to be there more to show off Del Monte's collection than to suggest they were used to play Arcadelt's music, although they may well have been used in that way when the occasion or desire so required.

The other pair of pictures with music in Gallery 2, both from a private collection, are the work of a painter known only as the Master of the Acquavella Still-Life, who flourished in Rome around the second decade of the 17th century, and both of them were painted with collaborators. The second painter in the earlier of the two, *Aminta's Lament* (c.1614-15), was Bartolomeno Cavarozzi. The prominently featured score is, appropriately, *Aminta Musicale*, possibly Cavalieri's setting from 1590. The subject is from Torquato Tasso's pastoral of 1573, and the picture could be based on a lost work by Caravaggio. The shepherd Aminta expresses his grief for the death of his lover Sylvia, not, as one would expect, by sorrowful song, but by playing on his shepherd's pipe, which was often represented in Renaissance art as a recorder, here an alto recorder. It is often said that the recorder is not an expressive instrument, but the artist must have thought that it was sufficiently able to communicate the affects of a lament for it not to be inappropriate in this context. Aminta's companion, the shepherd Tirsi, leans over a tambourine (did this belong to Sylvia?), and there is a viola with its bow on the table just below.

The second of the Acquavella pair, the so-called *Still Life with Violinist* c.1620 (see illustration), was painted in collaboration with an anonymous follower of Caravaggio. It is iconographically the most interesting picture in this group, being open both to allegorical interpretation and to performance practice conjectures, although it could be thought that the former might invalidate the latter.

We first exchange glances with the young man rather seriously playing a viola. This draws us into the picture for there is only a flat dark background behind him, and we become object of his gaze, perhaps taking the part of a second person in the allegory. Our eye then goes centre foreground to the prominently displayed music, the miniscule text of which is painted with remarkable clarity. It is Cipriano de Rore's famous madrigal *Anchor che col partire*. Although this title suggests an unhappy situation, as does the music if the madrigal is sung too slowly, this is far from the case, for here parting is a 'sweet sorrow'. The words, in the translation from the original by Alfonso d'Avalos provided in Bernard Thomas's edition (London Pro Musica, LPM REP 11), are as follows: 'Although in parting I feel I am dying, I would part every hour, every moment, So great is the pleasure that I feel in the life I gain on my return; And so thousands and thousands of times a day I would part from you, So sweet are my returns.' All the symbolism is of happy love. While one recorder can represent sensual carnal indulgence, two or more recorders create harmony between lovers with their soft beguiling sounds. Moreover, the recorders are intertwined with their own music, as if voicing the words; Sylvestro Ganassi in his recorder tutor *Fontegara* (Venice, 1535) tells us in his first Chapter '... it is possi-

ble for some players to perceive, as it were, words to their music: thus one may truly say that with this instrument only the form of the human body is absent, just as in a fine picture, only the breath is lacking.' Part of each of the three recorders is, very significantly, obscured on the left with luscious bunches of grapes, the fruit of Bacchus. The general abundance of fruit and vegetables represents Ceres. A popular quotation from Terence (*The Eunuch*, l.732) says *Sine Baccho et Cerere friget Venus*. Venus will certainly not freeze here, and she is additionally present in the form of her sacred apples. The open pomegranates showing their seeds symbolise Proserpina and the return of spring and regeneration. Perhaps even Apollo is in attendance, to bless this love, in the shape of the brightly lit viola, an instrument associated with Apollo in Renaissance art, mainly in its lira da braccio form.

The artist could have conveyed his meaning with other madrigals of fulfilled love than the one he has chosen. This leads us to the musical significance of the picture. Cipriano de Rore's *Anchor che col partire* first appeared in 1547, along with two other Rore four-part madrigals, among Cambio's collection *Primo libro de Madrigale*, and was published again by Scotto in *Madrigali de la fama a quattro voce composto novamente* (Venice) 1548; Rore's own *Il primo libro de Madrigali* (four-part) appeared in Ferrara in 1550. All this is seventy years before the date of the painting. Why did the painter depict such 'ancient music'? The clue may partly lie in the title-page under the canto recorder, although the music-book is there primarily to announce the name of the composer. In even tinier writing one can make out the name of the Venetian publisher, Gardano, and, just about, a date, which, if it were 1577, would be the year of the first publication, posthumously, of Cipriano de Rore's four-part madrigals in score. They were then advertised as *per sonar d'ogni sorte d'Istrumento perfetto* ... (see Alvin H. Johnson in *New Grove* 6, p.187). Bernard Thomas, in his LPM edition of divisions on Rore's *Anchor col partire*, traces its history; apart from a dozen or so solo improvisations, the last, by Spadi, being as late as 1624 (i.e. after the date of our picture), the madrigal was used in settings for lute, keyboard, and instrumental fantasias. Its longevity both in instrumental and vocal forms, may be attributed to the perception by later composers of Rore as a precursor of the *Seconda prattica* style developed by Caccini, Monteverdi and others in the early years of the 17th century. The madrigals that Rore composed between the mid-1540s and his death in 1565 are notable for their response to the emotional meaning of their texts through chromaticism and an adventurous use of intervals. And it is clear from descriptions of performances at the time, as well as from paintings such as the one illustrated here, that instruments, including recorders, were regarded as suitable (with the aid of ornamentation) to convey the affects of Rore's music. In this particular case the canto, alto and tenor recorders, all shown in the picture, would have played the upper three parts, while the viola, which sounds an octave lower than the tenor recorder, plays the bass line .... 'If music be the food of love, play on.'

I should like to dedicate this article to Mrs Erica Bendix, daughter of Walter Bergmann (the centenary of whose birth falls next year), as she first drew my attention to the picture illustrated here. And I wish to thank Dr Beverly Louise Brown, curator of this Royal Academy Exhibition, for permission to to quote from her Gallery Guide, and Roger Hardy for his copy of the picture, which is privately owned.

CORRECTIONS: THE GERMAN FLUTE IN 18th CENTURY ENGLAND PART 1, 1700-1740 (Nancy Hadden)

In the article which appeared in October 2000 with this title the footnotes to Nancy Hadden's article were inadvertently omitted. Extracts from the article with the relative footnote are reproduced below.

" Henry VIII, Elizabeth I and James I maintained separate flute and recorder consorts in their musical establishments [i]

[i] For names of some players see Peter Holman, Four and Twenty Fiddlers (London, 1998, 62-3.

After the 1630s flute players are no longer documented in court records, but various references to 'flutes and recorders' in the 1660s and 1670s suggest that both instruments were in use. [ii]

[ii] See for example 'Letters of Henry Power, sent to several persons of quality' ca. 1664 (GB:Lbl, Soane Ms. 1326, fol 122), where a list of wind instruments includes 'flutes, recorders, a flaggelet'. Matthew Locke's Psyche was performed in 1675 with 'flajelets, recorders and flutes', and 'trumpets, kettle-drums, flutes and warlike music' for Mars: probably these are renaissance flutes, used by this time as fifes. See Peter Holman, Four and Twenty Fiddlers, 347.

After about 1673 newly modified 'baroque' recorders were brought into England by James Paisible and other French musicians, and the recorder became known as the flute, 'flute doux' or common flute. [iii]

[iii] See Peter Holman, 'Recorder Music in England, 1680-1730, Early Music Performer, Issue 4, winter 1999-2000, 10.

The earliest reference to the new 'baroque' flute in England comes from a manuscript compiled by James Talbot between 1685-1701. [iv]

[iv] Christ Church Library, Oxford, Ms.1187. See Anthony Baines, 'James Talbot's Manuscript', Galpin Society Journal I. 1948.9-26.

Among the wind and brass instruments Talbot describes is a 3-piece 'flute d'allemagne' made by the esteemed French recorder maker Peter Bressan (d.1731) who made flutes and recorders in London from about 1683: [v]

[v] Three transverse flutes made by Bressan are extant in Washington, D.C. Library of Congress (3-piece boxwood), GB:London-Oldham (3-piece boxwood) and GB: London—V&A (4-piece ebony); see Philip Young, 4900 Historical Wind Instruments (London) 1993).

Bressan's Flute D'Allemagne [vi]

[vi] Baines, 'James Talbot's Manuscript', 16-17.

John Loeillet was in place at the Drury Lane Theatre by 10 April, 1705. [vii]

[vii] See 'Loeillet, John' in Philip Highfill, ed. A Biographical Dictionary of...Musicians in London 1660-1800 (Carbondale, 1984).

But it was 'a Mr. Latour' who played a 'solo on the German flute' for the first time in a public concert at York Buildings in 1706, and again in 1707 when he played a sonata for 'flute Alleman accompanied by Mr. Dean jr. on the Arch-lute'. [viii]

[viii] Daily Courant, 12.02.1706 and 17.04.1707. Peter LaTour (fl. 1699-1726) was an oboist serving Princess Ann of Denmark. From 1703-1707 he played in the orchestra at Drury Lane, and made an unsuccessful attempt to join the Queen's Theatre opera band. He was a close associate of James Paisible, who named La-Tour and Bressan as executors of his will. See 'LaTour, Peter', in Philip Highfill, ed., A Biographical Dictionary.

...and Paisible, who on September 9, 1708 played a solo on the common flute and after the concert was finished 'desired to play a solo on the German flute' suggesting that he did not consider himself to be a professional player on that instrument. [ix]

[ix] Daily Courant, 09.09.1708

...'a consort with several pieces for trumpets, hoboys, German flutes and violins' conducted by Corbett at York Buildings on 122 January 1707. [x]

[x] Daily Courant 01.02.1707

A comparison reveals that while the embellishments for the 'flute' follow the original violin ones closely, the German flute ones were simplified somewhat, with fewer trills and smoother flourishes. [xi]

[xi] Marcello Castellani discusses the music and prints all the versions together in an appendix to his facsimile edition of the Chaboud Sonatas for a German Flute...(Florence, 1985)

IN BRIEF . . .

This article is complied from information received from Christopher Goodwin with additions supplied by the editor. Anyone with further sources of relevant material is invited to send it to the editor.

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Michael Talbot: The sacred vocal music of Antonio Vivaldi ed. Fanna & Talbot: Cinquant'anni di produzione e consumi della musica dell'età di Vivaldi
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Powell: Music and the Theatre in France 1600-1680

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PRB Contemporary music for viols (must I?)
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Viola da Gamba Society Newsletter no 113 April 2000
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Goldberg (Early Music Magazine)

For those readers not familiar with Goldberg, it is a bilingual magazine in various combinations including English/Spanish. It is produced quarterly, is beautifully illustrated and contains a mixture of interviews, record reviews and some scholarly material.
The latest issue No. 14 Winter 2001 contains an article The Devil's Music by Jordi Savall which is very informative and as ever with this magazine, beautifully illustrated. The by-line is "In the twelfth century Henri d'Autun asked the question "May a minstrel expect to attain eternal life?" and gave the reply: "Indeed not, for they are the ministers of the devil". The vignette on page 17 of EMP, from this article is from an illustrated bible late 13th century St.Omer Bibl. Municipale, Cod. 5, f.138v. In this edition there is also an article, the leading one, by David Skinner on Byrd.
Issue 13 was devoted to Couperin, Issue 12 to Monteverdi, Issue 11 to Charpentier.
Earlier composers covered are Ockeghem, Hildegard, Jomelli, Machaut, Lully, William Lawes, Guerreo, L Rossi, Jacob Gallus and Dufay. Back issues are available at 9.6 Euros from Avenida de Bayona, 40. 31011 Pamplona, Spain fax +34 948 196276
Website is www.goldberg-magazine.com

Letters to the Editor

Several more letters have been received, two from one reader, on this subject which seems to have excited considerable interest amongst the readership

Dear Editor

This item has previously been covered in the Lute Society Journal. For convenience I am restating this simple, general (but rigorous) proof that any unequal fretting system requires a change of pattern if the tuning is changed:

Any ET semitone requires that the string length be reduced by exactly the same fraction of its length (approximately 1/18th). All strings will have exactly the same spacings regardless of their actual or relative pitch, which will serve equally well (or imperfectly, if you like!) for any tuning whatever.

In any unequal tuning, some 'semitones will differ from others. Altering the pitch of one string will therefore alter the pattern of spacings. If all strings are altered in the same way, the effect will be to transpose the basis of the unequal tuning.

Some transpositions will require that a 'stepped fret replaces the nut, which will require a general alteration of the pattern.

There is really no *difficulty* in working out the diagrams. They need only simple arithmetic and an understanding of the basic relationship between frequency and length - and, to be sure, some patient application. A pocket calculator makes the multiplications and divisions very much less tedious.

Superb artistry is no assurance of accurate fret spacings in pictures: two of those 49 are by Watteau. The Marais, however, and the well-known picture of Charles Mouton, are fine pictures which (like Simpson's more homely artist) show FT accurately.

On Maria Boxall's letter: the performance of competent piano tuners was investigated carefully nearly seventy years ago. They can get as near veritable FT as any ear could wish, not merely without meters, but without consciously and accurately timing beats. My own tuner gets an excellent result with nothing more specialised than an ordinary wristwatch. There is no reason to suppose that good musicians and tuners could not have done as well in the past: incompetents and DIY amateurs would be another matter. That Steinway man was a lazy bodger - - or was pulling the young Maria's leg. As for Mersenne; that passage is yet another example of the amiable-reverend-speculative amateur utterly out of touch with real practical music in his time.

Yours sincerely,

John A. Catch
7th March 2001

Dear Editor

In answer to Maria Boxall's queries (EMP for March):

The work of traditional tuners was studied as early as the 1930's. A competent tuner can produce a scale so close to mathematical equality that few human listeners could fault it; her Steinway man of thirty years ago cannot have been really expert. Surprisingly, one investigator doubted if they even consciously count beating rates! I suspect that they recognise the 'colour' of (for example) major common chords in ET, as anyone experienced in tuning a viol will recognise that of a major third (*The Physics of Music,* Alexander Wood, 3rd ed., Methuen 1945, pp. 197-201). I have no doubt that good musicians in the past could do as well. The less good are another matter.

Mersenne, if we take the cited passage literally, would have us believe that accurate tuning is not possible with common strings on conventional tuning pins. That is nonsense, of course. I can only make sense of it by supposing that he was not really thinking of practical tuning of a spinet but of calculations of pitch from mass per unit length and tensions, and was writing after a good lunch. Caution is needed with these old authorities'. Of the three guidelines given by Mattheson in 1739 (see *Baroque String Playing,* Judy Tarling, Corda Music 2000, p.189) the first is self-contradictory and the other two convey no rational meaning.

Yours sincerely

John R Catch
8th April 2001

Dear Editor

Even More on Temperament

John Catch is quite right in stating that 'many people nowadays ... fuss too much over temperament", and it is not just amateurs. It should never be forgotten that there is a difference between "temperament" and "tuning" and that all forms of temperament (equal. meantone or any other) are essentially compromises invented to enable fixed-pitch keyboard instruments to be playable acceptably in as many keys as possible, by deliberately mis-tuning some (or. all) intervals within the octave.

The exact opposite of tempered keyboard instruments is provided by voices and unfretted stringed instruments, where there is no need to pitch intervals out of tune (ie, tempered), since the pitches are infinitely adjustable. Good vocal groups and string quartets will naturally tune all their intervals as near pure as possible. Violinists will often use a stopped note to avoid an open string which might be out of tune for a particular chord or key, and will even "stop" an open string to correct a slight flatness. Of course, if accompanied by a keyboard instrument, these performers would naturally adjust their pitches to those of the keyboard, but I suspect that most singers and string players would find it difficult otherwise deliberately to mis-tune intervals to accord with any system of temperament.

In between these extremes come the wind and fretted string instruments. Obviously their holes and frets have to be placed in fixed positions, and these will presumably be where they will do least harm to good intonation and enable the widest range of keys to be used. However, these pitches are not as fixed as on a keyboard instrument, and can be "bent" to a greater or lesser extent by the players, as John Catch's quote from Praetorius acknowledges:
"the player can influence the pitch by the position of his fingers on the frets".
On the question of whether early musicians found any artistic value in the out-of-tune keys, we may never be completely sure. On the one hand, the evidence for certain early tunings lies in the music itself, and the intervals, chords and keys which the composer deliberately avoids. Thus, we can tell that a piece such as the anonymous English "Upon la mi re' (EL Add 29995, f.47v) was written for Pythagorean/just intonation not only by the avoidance of the wide "Pythagorean" thirds, but by the ostinato based on the only three completely in-tune triads, A major, E major and D major.

However, it is clear that certain composers did explore the effects created by moving into the more dissonant keys. A piece such as Tomkins' Voluntary in D (Musica Britannica Vol. V, No. 30) must have been written for an organ tuned in mean-tone temperament, and the effect in this tuning is striking, as the succession of "English cadences" wanders further away from the "home" keys to include chords of B major and even F sharp major. The rising tension and subsequent release-must surely have been intended by the composer

John Catch mentions Bull's Hexachord Fantasia.- I have heard it played in mean- tone, and there is the similar effect of tension and resolution, only twice over! Of course, as John Catch rightly points out, present-day aesthetic judgements must rank very low as arguments, and it could be that Bull intended this piece as a demonstration of the values of equal temperament, as has also been claimed for Bach's "48". Maybe we shall never know, but it was, after all, only a couple of generations ago that editors were "correcting" simultaneous false relations in 16th & 17th century music, on the grounds that the effect was "harsh and unacceptable".

Keyboard players must, of necessity, find a compromise, and will tune their instruments in whatever temperament they feel suits the instrument itself and the music they are playing (including one-sixth comma "mean-tone" temperament, a modern invention whose very name is a contradiction in terms). The rest of us will get on with trying to play and sing in tune, so away with all black boxes, and, while we are at it, away with tuning forks as well. I find it annoying enough as a string player when fellow quartet players insist on tuning to A 440, not a cent more nor less, but when players of baroque instruments get out their pitch meters and forks to establish a precise A 415.3, my tolerance level goes off the end of the dial. I would not advocate the historic method of tuning the top string up until it is just about to break, but surely every competent player knows when the instrument feels 'right"?

With all good wishes
SIMON R HILL
7 April 2001

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