Nema NEWSLETTER

Editor: Francis Knights

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Welcome to the *NEMA Newsletter*, the online pdf publication for members of the National Early Music Association UK, which appears twice yearly. It is designed to share and circulate information and resources with and between Britain's regional early music Fora, amateur musicians, professional performers, scholars, instrument makers, early music societies, publishers and retailers. As well as the listings section (including news, obituaries and organizations) there are a number of articles, including work from leading writers, scholars and performers, and reports of events such as festivals and conferences.

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News & Events

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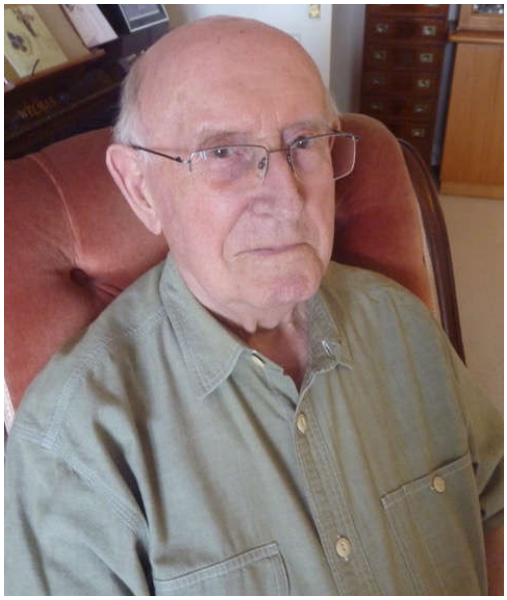
Interview with Bruno Turner

Ivan Moody



Ivan Moody: *How did music begin for you?*

Bruno Turner: My family was musical. Mother sang lieder, mainly Schumann, Brahms (a little) and could accompany herself. Father did not play, but was an opera enthusiast with an ever-increasing record collection, mainly Wagner and Verdi. Mum said that my first word was 'moozik'… I can recall getting out of the nursery bed and sitting on the stairs to listen to the magical sounds from the drawing room.

My childhood included encounters with recorders, a banjo (at 11), ill-fated piano lessons (around 12-13) and jazz trombone (17). I really wasn't going to be any good at these; anything requiring both hands to function independently was beyond me. I still have not gone beyond one-finger typing. I somehow find my way around my little baroque-sounding electric organ, but just to check odd transcription problems. I sang instead, though not very nicely I think. I learned a little about notation in the choir at school (a Jesuit boarding school) during the Second World War, but the music was boring music. Just one 16th-century piece can I remember. We had Latin, Greek, French, History and English, but no Science at all. I was taken at the age of 16 to Sheffield Town Hall to hear the Hallé Orchestra conducted by Barbirolli. They were performing Sibelius's 2nd Symphony, which overwhelmed me. I have never ceased to love this music, especially the Symphonies nos. 3, 4, 6 and, above all, 7.

Dad, a good man in intentions, but hugely authoritarian and almost fanatically Catholic, had me destined for the family business – textile mills in Derby and the still-surviving London firm (luxury fabrics for coach-built cars). He would not let me go to Cambridge University on the grounds that it was infested by the Church of England and by atheists. The Jesuits pleaded that I had (at 17) two years of Higher Certificate plus a State Scholarship to Cambridge (English and History), and Fr Dudley Ward said I had potential to be a fine scholar. I was sent instead to Leeds University to read for a BCom in textile technology. My maths was almost zero, and I left after two terms.

Whist in Leeds, in the autumn of 1948, I went to High Mass at St Anne's Cathedral. I heard a small choir sing what I later discovered was Palestrina's *Missa Aeterna Christi munera*. I thought it the most beautiful thing I had ever heard, and decided to devote all my energy to learning about it and everything like it. I read through most of the Haberl in all its C clefs. That is why I went to London having persuaded Dad to give me a junior job in the London firm.

How did you come to choral music, and specifically early choral music?

I joined a little Catholic choir at St Edward the Confessor in Golders Green. Having sung strangulated tenor for two years, I grabbed the choirmastership when the incumbent left. I thought I knew better than anyone how to do this polyphony! In fact, I was learning on the job. I spent every Saturday morning and afternoon in the Reading Room of the British Museum, and in Manuscripts. I studied everything I could find on harmony & counterpoint and notation, reading Jeppesen and so on.

Now you have the extent of my DIY 'training'. In 1949 my father actually got his cousin William Walton (both born in 1902) to arrange an interview for me with Erwin Stein at Boosey & Hawkes. Needless to say, Stein simply said go away and get some training and experience. Of course. And just as well.

I joined the Renaissance Society almost as soon as I heard a concert of their Singers under Michael Howard. That was in early 1950. Seeing a naive young enthusiast, Howard & colleagues grabbed me as librarian/dogsbody. I attended most rehearsals and saw how he got results from some 25+ mixed amateurs and a very few pros. He was ferocious and even cruel; he was expert and he got what he wanted. It took some time for me to realize that what he wanted often seemed wilfully to distort the flow of what seemed calmly composed. But at concerts you could be swept up in excitement, only to emerge from the church thinking 'you can't do it like that, surely?'. It was never dull, though.

Throughout the 1950s I got to the London Oratory as often as I could. I got to know Henry Washington fairly well and met some of the good professional singers who also were the backbone of the Schola Polyphonica. Henry was benign and cultured. At his best, he produced the finest Palestrina I have ever heard, elegant and poised, the accents and flow celestial, very pure, very clear, using very Italianate vowels with crisp consonants. At his worst, he could be lazy and careless, concerned with drink and fine cooking. My future wife sang for the Schola and experienced his habit of forgetting (avoiding?) to pay his singers.

I can't say that Westminster Cathedral Choir influenced my own (later) approach, but the effect of George Malcolm's boys, with their shawm-like edge and attack, hurled at you down that colossal

nave was awesome, a kind of magisterium in sound. I am privileged to have been alive to witness the last of the old Latin liturgy in all its power and pomp.

Could you say something about your entry into the world of editing polyphony?

In my 1950s beginnings as a transcriber-editor of 16th-century music, mainly English Tudor, I was corrected and advised very kindly but severely by Thurston Dart, entirely by letter, and often in paragraphs written alternately in red and black. He was on the Council of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society at the time. We never really conversed, but he was generous in correspondence. Neither did I get much out of Dom Anselm Hughes (R. R. Terry's "bogus monk"). Denis Stevens was very helpful and a model, at first, for me. Frank Harrison, rather later, was very friendly, helpful, and great to have a drink with. And another drink, and another…

And subsequent performing adventures?

In 1957 I put together a little choir, never more than 12 voices, based on singers from my liturgical Sunday choir and local amateurs plus two or three 'pros'. We gave concerts at Notre Dame de France, Leicester Square, known to some as 'Notre Dame de Bambi' (Jeremy Noble's noting of the deer in the tapestry behind the altar[1]). I offered to give a concert for the 70th anniversary of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, and in 1958 Pro Musica Sacra did so in St George's, Bloomsbury. H. B. Collins' edition of the anonymous *Missa O quam suavis* was sung, inter alia. Denis Stevens came up to me afterwards and said he'd like us to do an Eton Choirbook piece for the BBC. I said we'd not had an audition, to which he replied 'you just have'. We included Gilbert Banester's *O Maria et Elizabeth*.

The next year Peter Crossley-Holland, briefly in charge of 'pre-classical' ('early music' had not yet been invented!), took one look at my manuscript edition of Shepherd's *Missa Cantate* and said yes. So we had started with the Third Programme properly. There followed a spate of BBC events: Shepherd's (the spelling "Sheppard" only just recognized…) hymns, Taverner, Tallis, Byrd, even Weelkes and Gibbons, plus Palestrina. Some broadcasts were planned by Jeremy Noble. Basil Lam was the pre-classical man for quite a few years, and I learned quickly that one should go along to Yalding House armed with more than proposals. I went in with precise prorgammes, fully timed, with editions all prepared. It saved Basil doing any work. That appealed to him: he could present detailed plans at producers' meetings. Well done, Basil.

In November 1959, Stravinsky came to London, after Venice, to be present at the BBC's Maida Vale Studio 1 for his own Mass and *Octet for Winds* to be given at one of William Glock's trial runs for what became his Thursday Invitation Concerts. It was Jeremy Noble who put my ensemble Pro Musica Sacra forward and met Stravinsky's request for something old with the Tallis Lamentations. So it came to pass on, I think, a Tuesday, in serious November fog, that we performed the Tallis, directed by me. Robert Craft took the Mass with a wind band (I can't recall the name). He wanted to know how long we had rehearsed the Mass. I said we'd had a sing through the night before but left proper rehearsal to him on the day. He was amazed, saying that in Venice the choir had worked on it for weeks and were still insecure. This may have got through to the great man, who was wrapped up in multi-scarves against the fog that was coming in through the studio's so-called air-conditioning. It

[1] This is a tapestry by the Benedictine Dom Robert (Guy Chaunac-Lanzac, 1907-97), made in 1954.

got so bad that Stravinsky stayed in his hotel that evening and did not attend the concert. But before he left the afternoon rehearsal the old man, hastily introduced to me, said, 'With such a choir we should do the Symphony of Psalms'. I said, 'But we are just thirteen singers'. He replied, 'With modern technology everything is possible'. So ended my historic thirty-second conversation with greatest composer of the 20th century.

Pro Musica Sacra was rarely more than twelve to fourteen singers. We gave very few concerts, but at least four BBC Third Programme recitals per year until early 1964. The big events were Ockeghem's Requiem for a Glock concert, and then, at my own request, Taverner's *Missa Gloria tibi Trinitas*. The latter resulted in a recording run by the one-eyed Belgian Abbé Carl de Nys on Disques Lumen/Schwann on stereo LP in 1962; I think the first ever of a full Taverner Mass.

Then in March 1964 I had to stop musical activity. My wife Doreen had a terrible car accident. She was not out of hospital until August that year. Our son had to be sent to his grandparents on the Isle of Wight. The business was in a precarious state as I finally changed it radically. And so, to be short, I suspended music performance for what became three years.

One of the things with which you have been in various degrees associated is 'liturgical reconstruction'. Could you say something about this?

1963 was the 75th anniversary of the foundation of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, formed in 1888. I devised a *Missa in Gallicantu* according to the Sarum Use. St George's Bloomsbury resounded to the full Propers and the Ordinary to Fayrfax's *Missa Tecum principium* with full troped Kyrie (chant), and the troped Lesson as set by Sheppard. There was an expanded choir of chant singers, and it went down well. The BBC took notice. In 1968 they asked me to repeat it for transmission at Christmas. I had to turn it down. They asked John Hoban to do it with his Scuola di Chiesa but with my advice and presentation. We changed the polyphony to Sheppard's *Missa Cantate*, and I think they did it well enough. I did my first spoken introduction, recorded at a lone table in BBC Concert Hall in the November, with one 'mike', one glass of water, no producer, just a remote studio manager and my own script … all stiff and formal. Listening to the transmission made me realise how I must learn to communicate. I later received wonderful help from Michael Mason, a notable features producer. Years later Hugh Keyte told me of his research that showed the Sarum *Missa in Gallicantu* was the first public liturgical reconstruction he could find, and he organised a spate of them in his era at the BBC.

And what of your subsequent connection with Pro Cantione Antiqua?

In 1968 Pro Cantione Antiqua contacted me. Basil Lam had recommended me as a possible director/repertoire guide. And thus a new era started for me. Pro Cantione Antiqua had several conductors in its first couple of years, but I started its broadcasts with a half hour that I entitled 'Felices Jodoci aemulatores', never thinking it would be accepted. It was! Yes, that title in the *Radio Times*. Such then was elitism, before its decline and fall: Josquin, Mouton, Févin et al. PCA went to Germany on a little tour, the nine singers plus me - four concerts and one WDR broadcast. We came back with ten shillings each. The next year we went again: four broadcasts, one recording and one concert. We came back with fees you'd never have got from the BBC.

Pro Cantione Antiqua was led commercially by James Griffett. He was the bulldozer – 'we're the best'; I followed with proposals in detail. That worked. We made LPs with German Harmonia Mundi- DHM (Dr Alfred Krings), and with DG Archiv. After our first (Byrd and Tallis) with the latter, Dr Andreas Holschneider, visiting London, walked with me in the park by Marble Arch, and asked what I would like to propose as the first in a possible series. 'Ockeghem's Requiem', I said. "And next?" 'Ockeghem's Requiem'. 'And?' 'Ockeghem's Requiem'. 'It shall be'. We went on to make ten LPs for Archiv. Similarly with DHM, but with no plan, often at the sudden whim of Dr Krings. We were featured for several years at the annual festival at the Schloss Kirchheim.

Pro Cantione Antiqua was very much into European touring, not always requiring a conductor, and often directed by Mark Brown, a founder member, later one of the most respected of recording producers. I believe it made one big mistake: it almost never gave concerts in Britain. In over thirty years, it probably appeared fewer than four or five times. PCA's most intensive recording period was in the 1970s and 1980s. It continued in the 1990s with more visits to give concerts in Spain. I directed concerts at El Escorial and in Madrid, and especially remember giving Guerrero's 1566 Requiem in Seville Cathedral in 1999 on the composer's 400th anniversary, just yards from his tomb. But that great building has the dullest of acoustics!

PCA was always rather variable in its roster of singers over the years. At the beginning there were intonation problems on account of the distinctive voices having quality clashes when singing two to a part. Then it became the norm to sing one voice to each part, a proper consort. Despite the risk of too much individuality, it was clear that the group's character was in that contrast. I always considered it worth a little roughness, rather than a sanitised over-blending of timbre. Historically the singers in cathedral or courtly establishments were sought and bought for outstanding voices. I rather liked a remark by the director of the Leningrad Glinka Choir, on a UK visit, many years ago, when asked (rather pointedly) about blend. He simply said, 'I have a bouquet of voices'. For my part, I do not want the two equal canonic top voices of, say, Guerrero's *Ave Virgo sanctissima*, to sound identical, I want them distinctive. And so on … and on.

At its best, for instance the LPs/CDs of Spanish masters entitled *El Siglo de Oro* (Das Alte Werk, Telefunken), satisfied my best wishes for this repertoire, especially in works by Victoria, Ceballos and Alonso Lobo (*O quam suavis* is a masterpiece, beautifully rendered with individuality). I would say that, wouldn't I? Enough.

How did all this activity feed into your work as a transcriber and editor?

In the mid-1970s, busy at my firm, busy with PCA and, after a few years of observing all that is in Stevenson's great book *Spanish Cathedral Music*, I felt I must do something about publishing editions of Hispanic repertoire specifically for modern performance, in affordable separate copies notated at practical pitches for the choirs of here and now, in church or in halls, not stuck in the deep-freeze of 'Opera Omnia' to please academe, however worthy of study. In early 1977 I put an advert in *Early Music*. I had one reply. Martyn Imrie filled the bill. We got on. My firm could finance moderate costs and salary. He got started and from then on you know it well. Martyn does not get the credit he deserves. Maybe he should get written up soon.

Also in 1977, Coro Capella was started by Andrew van der Beek, with four concerts of which I conducted the last, which was Spanish repertoire and was taken by the BBC. Thus was confirmed my slide down what John Milsom later called the 'Spanish Drain'. *Alcantarilla* is a much nicer word.

Martyn and I began to accumulate sources mainly on microfilm. Our collections are now very extensive. Mine includes a great deal of 15th-16th-century liturgical chant. I still try as far as possible to find chant versions that are compatible with the polyphony, especially for completing editions of *alternatim* hymns. I think it was in that period that most singers called me a musicologist and most academics, colleagues on the Council of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society would regard me as a 'practitioner'. I didn't mind at all; I don't like pigeonholes. Of course, a few would say 'Oh, he's just a businessman'. In fact, my business did do rather well after a struggle through the 1960s. It enabled me to make and support many music projects. So really I would say that I have been an enabler.

And you continued to perform…

Pro Musica Sacra, a small mixed choir, was revived from time to time for occasional concerts and broadcasts. I got to know Musica Reservata de Barcelona and directed a few concerts with them. Not high-power professionals, but very musical and utterly delightful. Eventually I got them down to Almeria twice when I lived there and gave a concert Vespers, and also Duarte Lobo's eight-voice Requiem.

I continued to direct PCA fairly often, sometimes in splendid venues: El Escorial; San Juan de los Reyes, Toledo; Seville Cathedral, Encarnación Convent in Madrid - Peñalosa L'homme armé, Guerrero Missa pro Defunctis, Victoria Requiem for six voices and so on.

I lived for eleven years in Almeria with a few months in the UK each year. I sold the business finally in 1996, and in 2005 we sold the Spanish house. It turned out to be a fortunate decision – 2008 brought recession and the property crash.

Now, in the time of Covid, I combat my inherent laziness by continuing to have little targets and hurdles, the only way to get things done. I'm particularly glad to investigate and transcribe pieces of merit by composers hardly known.

I'm a bit sad at the way things in England have been going, but I'm old and getting tired. I go back occasionally to my jazz and blues days, and to Bessie Smith and Louis Armstrong with their St Louis Blues … 'Ah hate to see that evenin' sun go down'.

Links

Tess Knighton and Bernadette Nelson (eds), *Pure Gold: Golden Age Sacred Music in the Iberian World: A Homage to Bruno Turner* (Kassel, 2011), http://www.reichenberger.de

Mapa Mundi https://www.mapamundimusic.com

Pro Cantione Antiqua https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pro_Cantione_Antiqua

Ivan Moody http://www.ivanmoody.co.uk

A painted *villanella*: In Memoriam H. Colin Slim

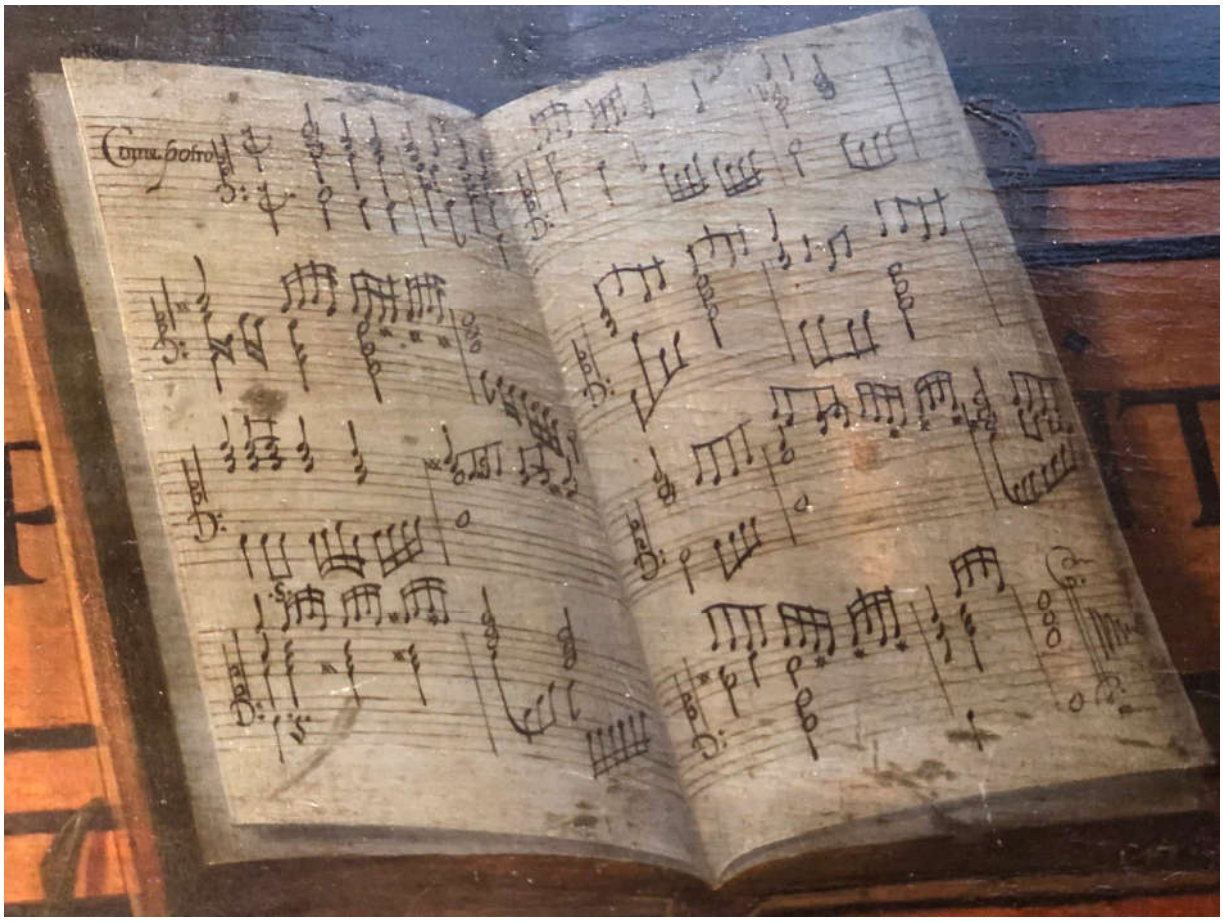
Glen Wilson

Illus.1 Gottfried von Wedig (1583-1641), The Family of Christoph Wintzler *(1616); 139.5 x 198.5 cm, Museum Wallraf-Richartz, Cologne. Photos by Naoko Akutagawa.*

When on 7 August 2020 I visited Cologne's Wallraf-Richartz-Museum for the first time in decades, I was looking forward to a renewed acquaintance with a picture much favoured for covers of recordings of 16th- and early 17th-century keyboard music - including one of the best, Gustav Leonhardt's *English Virginal Music* of 1973.[1] I am referring to the portrait of Gertrud *née* Schradts, wife of the vice-chancellor of the Elector of Cologne Christoph Wintzler, sitting at a Flemish virginal[2] surrounded by nine of the 17 children Gertrud eventually bore (illus.1). The artist Gottfried von Wedig (1583-1641), also a lifelong resident of Cologne, signed it in 1616.[3]

I had forgotten how big this brilliant family portrait is - nearly 2 metres wide and 1.40 metres high. It takes up an entire wall of one of the *Kabinetten* on the museum's first floor. When I took a closer look at the piece of music resting precariously on the back edge of the virginal and leaning on the obliquely opened lid, I saw that it could be transcribed in its entirety. A title, *Come potro*, was visible;

clearly a *kolorierte* intabulation of an Italian vocal work (illus.2). I assumed the transcription had been done long ago. But when I got home and tried to find the piece online, I was puzzled to find that all the literature attributed it to Jacques Arcadelt. His madrigal *Come potro fidarmi de te giamai* (first published 1539) shares the first two words of the title with the von Wedig picture, but that is all. The intabulation had nothing to do with it.[4]



Illus.2 The Family of Christoph Wintzler *(detail)*

A continued online search of the text incipit quickly turned up the true source: the villanella *Come potro giamai* by Ruggiero Giovannelli from *Il primo libro delle villanelle et arie alla Napolitana à tre voci* (Venice and Rome, 1588 and later reprints) fits the intabulation exactly. I also eventually found one correct reference: it appeared that the great American musicologist H. Colin Slim had made the report as part of an essay in an obscure 1991 *Festschrift*.[5] I had been in brief contact with Prof Slim on another matter many years ago, but when I searched for his present address I found to my dismay that he had died on 22 October 2019 at the age of 90. I got hold of the *Festschrift* and found Slim's article to be overflowing with erudition and good sense. I wondered how he found the concordance before the age of Google. It was disappointing to find that I would not be the first to publish a transcription of the anonymous intabulation, but I was consoled to find that mine matched Slim's in all but a few points. For the most part these consist of places where it seems to

me that Slim, as a cautious musicologist, sticks too closely to Wedig's somewhat shaky text. The notes of all divergences found below can illustrate differing sets of critical criteria. Those I use here have served me for the extensive corrections to (ofttimes astonishingly corrupt) early 16th-century prints of keyboard music which I made in recent recordings for Naxos.

I hope the inclusion of my version here will bring this appealing little work to a wider public. It is also intended as a small gesture of respect for the man who, as part of his long and distinguished career, resurrected the stupendous ricercars of the 1540 *Musica Nova* after Daniel Heartz made the initial discovery of the concordance with *Musique de Joye*.[6]

Considering the medium involved, Wedig's music notation is remarkably accurate. Thanks to the dimensions of the painting, the width of the five-line staves (about 9 mm) is not that different from modern printed music paper. He was obviously no musician; there are a considerable number of errors, mostly *Terzverschreibungen* and notes balancing between line and space, but a restoration using Giovannelli's original was not difficult. A repeat found in Giovannelli may be lost in the fold between the pages, a reverse comma or hook in bar 6 may or may not be an ornament of some kind[7] and Wedig seems to have misread a cautionary natural sign as a flat in bar 10; otherwise there are no real cruxes. We have here a minor addition to the sparse repertoire of Cologne keyboard sources from the period. The only substantial one I know of contains 30 pages of keyboard music dated 1594, hidden in a lute tablature formerly in Berlin, which to my knowledge remains unpublished.

Glen Wilson studied with Albert Fuller at the Juilliard School then in the Netherlands with Gustav Leonhardt. Thereafter he was active as a soloist, in chamber music and as a teacher at the Utrecht Conservatory, and from 1988 to 2017 he held a professorship at Germany's oldest conservatory, the Musikhochschule Würzburg. His many recordings include seven solo CDs for Teldec, followed by a substantial series for Naxos.
Website http://www.glenwilson.eu/musician.html.

Notes

1 BASF/Harmonia Mundi, KHB-20308. It was recorded at Ahaus Castle in Westphalia, where the 1640 Andreas Ruckers had stood since it was delivered there from the makers. When I finally had the opportunity to play it, I was disappointed. Leonhardt told me 'it hadn't been the same' since the restoration in the meantime by Kurt Wittmayer, who removed the soundboard and re-glued it.

2 The instrument is unusual for having a chromatic bass, like the one by Joos Karest of 1550 (which, as I was kindly informed by John Koster, lacks C#), and, judging by the preserved repertoire, 16th-century French *espinettes*. See the notes to Glen Wilson: *Pierre Attaingnant, Harpsichord Works* (Naxos 8.572999) at www.naxos.com.

3 See *Geschichtliche Informationen: Bild der 7. Woche - 9. bis 16. Februar 1998* at www.museenkoeln.de.

4 It appears that the first erroneous attribution goes back to François Lesure, and was simply repeated by later authors, as these things tend to be. It still stands, for example, on the website of the *Association Répertoire International d'Iconographie Musicale* db.ridim.org. Oddly enough, the reference in English is contradicted farther down the page by a quote in German from Walter Salmen, *Haus- und Kammermusik. Musikgeschichte in Bildern*

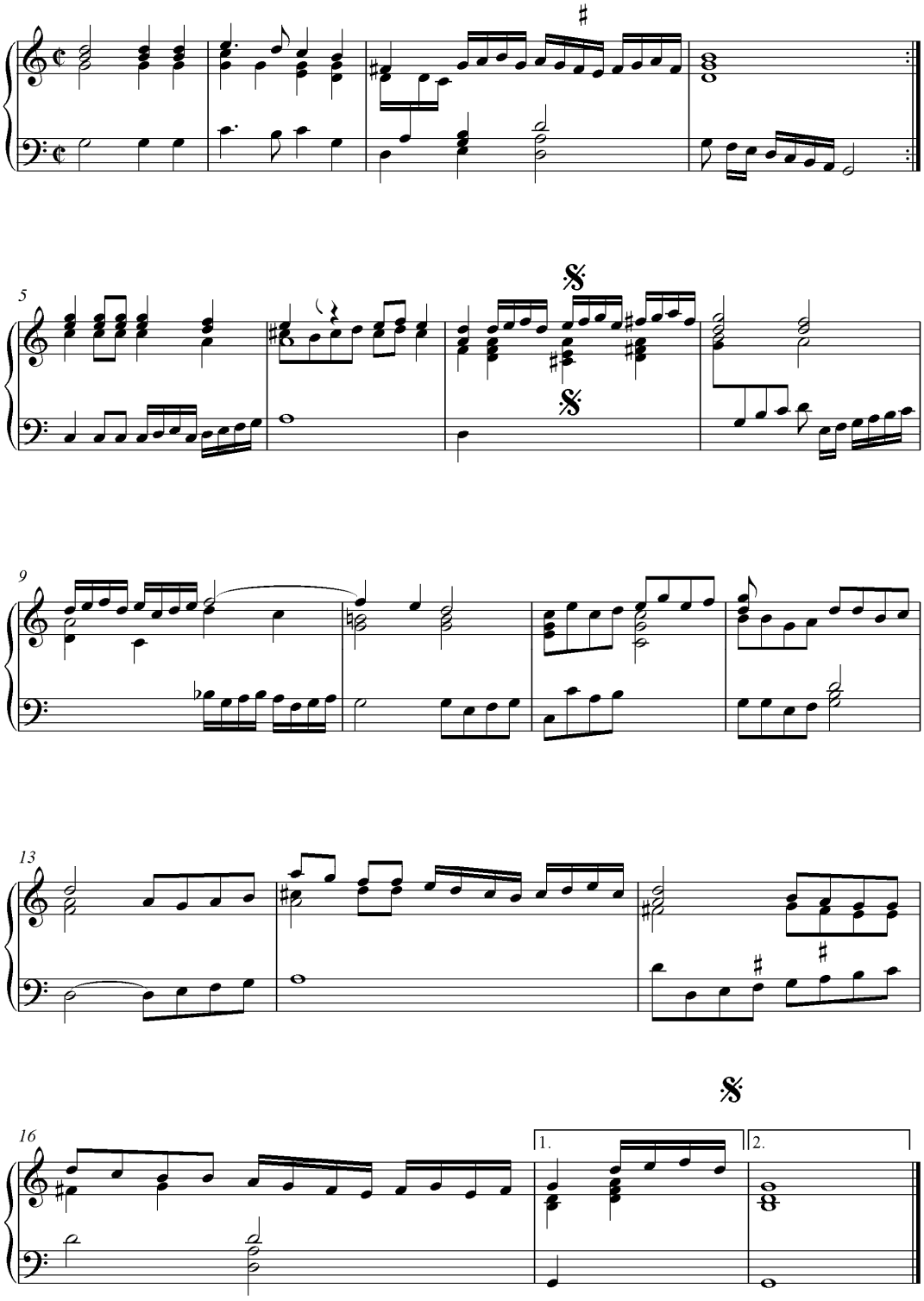
IV/3 (Leipzig, 1969), pp.42-43, *Abbildung* 2. The East German candidly admits he cannot find the correct source.

5 H. Colin Slim, 'Keyboard music in Wedig's painting at Cologne' in *Musica Privata: die Rolle der Musik im privaten Leben: Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Walter Salmen* (Innsbruck, 1991), pp.79-92.

6 H. Colin Slim (ed), *Musica Nova Accomodata per Cantar et Sonar Sopra Organi...* (Chicago, 1964).

7 Slim read it as a letter *e* without a corresponding note, which does not fit the context; it may just be a slip of the brush.

Anonymous ornamented intabulation of the villanella 'Come potrò gia mai', Ruggiero Giovannelli, *Il primo libro delle villanelle et arie alla Napolitana à tre voci* (Venice and Rome, 1588). Transcription by Glen Wilson.



Critical commentary

Bar 3: Slim has d'ae'd' for the first group of semiquavers, which corresponds to Wedig but would be unusual because of the repeated d' on the next beat. For the last group Slim maintains Wedig's original (a third too high) in spite of two [f] sharps, which Slim suppresses.

Bar 4: editorial repeat at the end of this bar from Giovannelli.

Bar 5, right hand: Wedig is corrupt here; his first chords are a second too low. Slim lowers and respaces them to e"c"g'. The last chord in Wedig is d"a'f', which Slim maintains; I have to assume this tempted him into the previous change in order to make a smooth melodic line e"d" / e". But Giovannelli has the more satisfactory g"f"e" which my version follows.

Bar 6, second beat above the discant: Slim omits a reverse-comma mark, which has a history as a symbol for various ornaments. Slim says, 'A letter e appears, but no note'. I cannot concur with his reading, and a repeated e" would make no sense; but tie or extension of the previous note might.

Bar 7: the *segno* for a return is above the second beat in Wedig and Slim, but belongs a beat later since the second beat is provided at the conclusion of the piece as a first ending.

Bar 9: The fourth semiquaver in Wedig is as ambiguous as it could possibly be; the note head is largely in the space for e" but bleeds into the line for d". The e" would again be very unusual because of the immediate repetition of the same note, whereas the pattern in my version is common.

Bar 10: Wedig has b'-flat - probably a misreading of a cautionary natural. In any case the flat is not in Giovannelli.

Bar 14: Wedig has sharps on all three c" semiquavers. Slim slips into modern accidental notation (only the first sharp) here and again in bar 16, whereas previously he repeats accidentals on the same pitch within a bar. The crotchet c" on the first beat of bar 14 is not sharped in Wedig and Slim.

Bar 17, first ending: the return sign (to bar 7) is lacking; the second ending chord follows directly.

To tie or not to tie? Editing early keyboard music

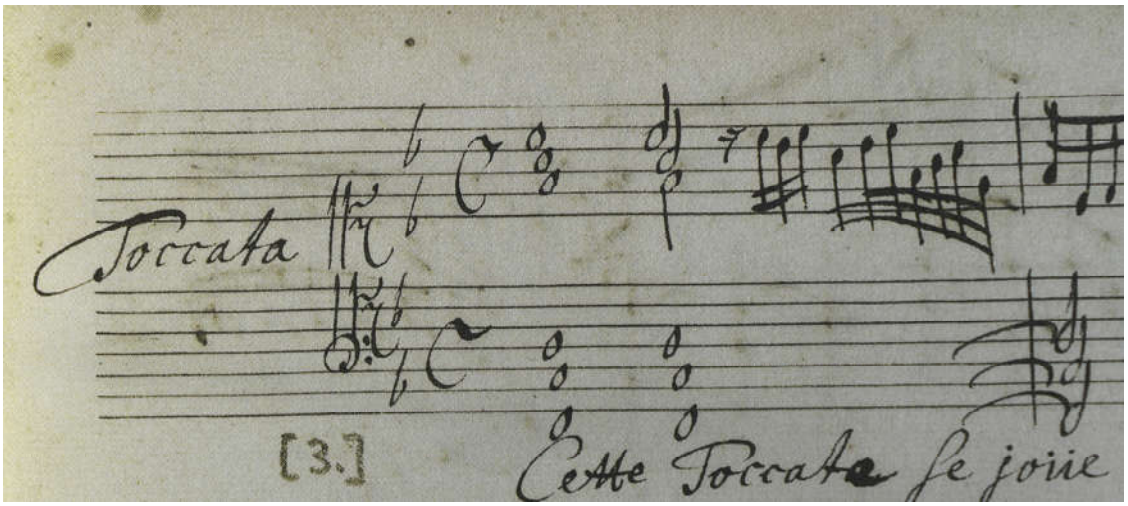
Francis Knights

Linking specific instruments with specific Renaissance and Baroque keyboard composers in order to understand their musical sound-world is not easy; we all too rarely know what types and makes of instrument they owned, or indeed what they thought of them. Estate inventories can help to some extent, showing that (for example) d'Anglebert (1691) owned four harpsichords, J. S. Bach (1750) five harpsichords, two lute-harpsichords and a spinet and Armand-Louis Couperin (1789) two harpsichords, a spinet, an ottavino, a clavichord, a chamber organ and a fortepiano.[1] This sort of information gives some idea of *what* was owned by these particular composers, but not *why, when* or *how* they were used, leaving a problem for modern editors of keyboard music, who have to try and cover the options, then and now. In deciding on variant readings or editorial additions, an editor usually has to make a single choice of what to print, which will have to allow for all these instrument types (in the past few decades, our ideas about the 'right' instrument for the music have become more flexible, and articles like Robert Marshall's 'Organ or "Klavier"? Instrumental Prescriptions in the Sources of Bach's Keyboard Works',[2] have helped that process). All the more reason to explain the options in a Preface or Critical Commentary, yet in one important respect - that of editorial ties - it is rarely done. Howard Schott does this briefly in his Froberger edition,[3] and takes a minimalist position: 'we have in all but rare cases reproduced ties literally … However, the player should be aware that supplying additional ties may often be desirable … when playing on resonant instruments', and specifically notes the difference between harpsichord and clavichord. Those 'rare cases' for him include some quite straightforward semitone dissonances, and the comment about 'resonant instruments' is an interesting one: the implication is that a note can be editorially made longer if the instrument has a better sustain. But this is to miss a crucial point, which is that 'attack' is at least as important as sustain when making decisions about adding ties (acoustics can also play a role). An examination of such added ties leads to the suspicion that large French doubles, whether appropriate or not, often act as the editors' practical test-bed; the choices made when playing on a clavichord or organ might well be different.

Awareness of the instrument options is in fact key: the basic keyboard types may be simply harpsichord, clavichord and organ, but each of these exists in pedal variants, most exist in several different pitches, and the first also includes a variety of subsets (virginals, spinet, ottavino and clavicytherium). For later repertoire fortepiano can be an option, and combination instruments like the claviorganum must also be borne in mind. And even the most historically-aware modern publisher must bear in mind that for much of this repertoire the largest sales will still be to pianists. However, saying nothing to the player is merely dodging the question.

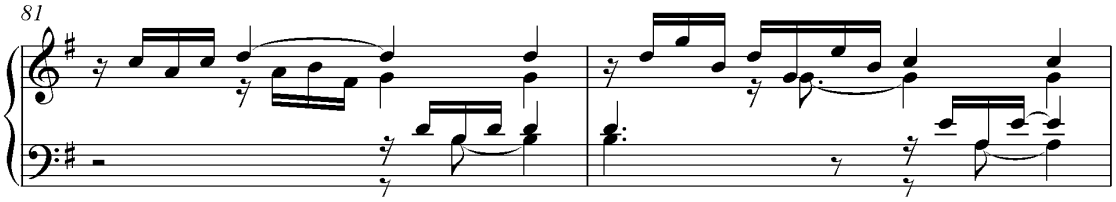
Some editors appear to have one instrument in mind rather than another, but without making it clear. As an example, Froberger's toccatas often begin with two long chords, sometimes tied and sometimes not in the sources. For a stringed keyboard instrument these can represent two separate gestures, likely decorated with arpeggios, but on the organ the second chord adds little to the plain statement of key, if the spacing and registration are

maintained unchanged from the first. In the opening of Toccata 18 in F, from the manuscript SA 4450 (which only resurfaced in 1999), the source (ex.1) clearly gives two separate chords, but Peter Wollny's transcription accompanying the manuscript facsimile has dotted ties joining all six notes of the two chords.[4] This seems arbitrary, as it is not done elsewhere in the edition, and the problem of ties is not mentioned in the Commentary. The edition's cover avoids any instrumental designations by not even using the word 'keyboard', or on the title page, and the edition also inexplicably ties the repeated bass minim Gs representing the tolling bell in Froberger's 'Tombeau de Monsieur Blancrocher', which is altogether unsatisfactory.



Ex.1 Froberger, Toccata 18 in F (opening) from manuscript SA 4450

At the opposite extreme to Howard Schott's approach to Froberger, Klaus Beckman is an editor who adds numerous ties, in the interests of apparent consistency. By way of one curious example drawn from his 1982 edition of Reincken,[5] there is a pattern section from the end of the Toccata in G involving 22 repetitions of a broken-chord figure (ex.2):[6] different notes are sustained, apparently one at a time, to build up chords that slowly modulate from B minor to D major. The lowest voice has a tie 20 of those times, so an assumption that two have been omitted in error seems reasonable; the tenor lacks it five times, so this could also be an error. But the tie in the alto voice (two crotchets on the third and fourth beats) is missing *every single time* (once only, in bar 78, it is represented as a minim); the editor has therefore tied over all those pairs of alto notes without there being a single model example. This represents an excessive level of intervention. Other editors of (especially) organ music appear to take the view that editorial ties are required whenever there are two contiguous notes of the same pitch, which presupposes that composers or copyists forgot these on dozens, even hundreds of occasions.[7]

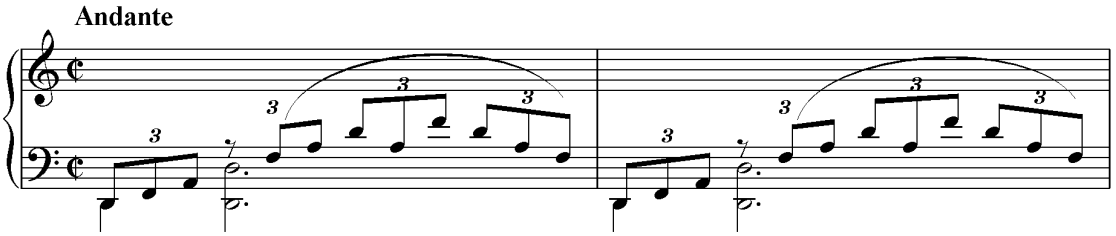


Ex.2 Reincken, Toccata in G, bars 81-82

Sometimes such decisions are genuinely tricky, such as the fugue of Bach's Fantasia & Fugue in A minor BWV904, where in several manuscripts two of the repeated quavers in the fugue subject are consistently tied - *except* where they are in the top voice. This will then be for the performer to choose: either follow one source consistently, or make the subject itself consistent.[8] In other repertoire there are also often inconsistencies between repeated or varied sections (for example, in the music of the virginalists), and these too are frequently ironed out by editors.

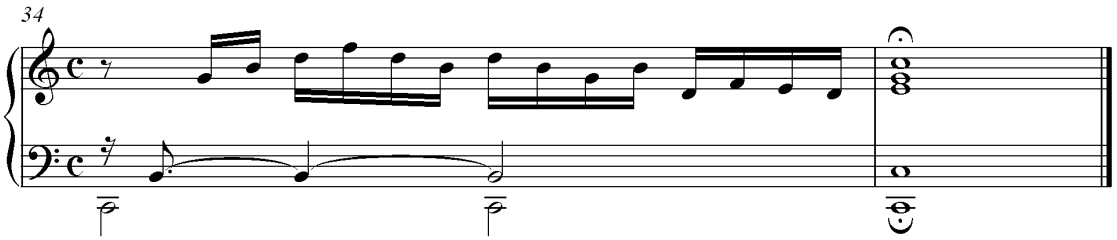
The main reason for needing to add ties is an error (or perceived error) in the sources; copyists often add such details after writing the noteheads and beams, and it is very easy to forget a tie at that stage.[9] There are at least five options for graphically distinguishing an omitted editorially: adding a short upright 'tick' 'ı' in the middle of the curved line (Thurston Dart's method); putting them in brackets; using dotted lines; printing in grey; or using normal type but with a note in the Commentary. Some methods seem to visually convey a firmer editorial authority than others. The first of these is the recommended method in *Editing Early Music*, a booklet jointly published by Novello, OUP and Stainer & Bell in 1963, and supported by John Caldwell's later book of the same title.[10] The last alternative is used by the new Fitzwilliam Virginal Book from Lyrebird Music,[11] which lists all editorial ties as recommendations in the Commentary rather than including them in the score, thus encouraging (indeed, obliging) players to make these decisions for themselves.

The next two examples, of very well known pieces, are striking instances of editorial interventions having become near-universal; they are almost never performed as the early sources indicate. Mozart's D minor Fantasia begins with a broken-chord sequence over a pedal note (ex.3), but an editorial tie is very commonly added (and played) between the two lowest notes in each bar, making it into a semibreve.



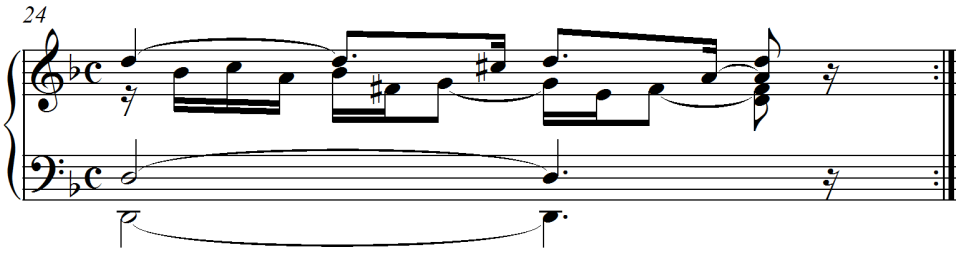
Ex.3 Mozart, Fantasia in D minor K397, bars 1-2

The end of the first Prelude from Bach's *Well-tempered Clavier* (ex.4) shows an even more egregious example: the bass C minims in the penultimate bar are always tied (sometimes without even mentioning this in the Commentary), to match the layout of the tied bass minims in the previous bar. It is never played any other way.



Ex.4 J. S Bach, Prelude in C BWV846, bars 34-35

In both these cases, editors and performers may be sensing some discomfort about the second- or third-beat accentuation implied by repeating the bass notes as written, especially with the clash of the treble d' in the Bach example. The problem (if it is a problem) is obvious on the harpsichord, but on the clavichord or fortepiano it disappears. This sort of example, where a dynamically-sensitive instrument avoids such implicit difficulties, is from time to time hinted at elsewhere in Bach. For example, the end of the Allemande of the first French Suite has a final major chord built up from moving voices, as he often does, but ends on a bare right-hand octave d (ex.5). This can sound slightly brusque on the harpsichord - Bach does not do this elsewhere - but works perfectly well on the clavichord, where the dynamics and attack can be balanced. The latter instrument does have certain advantages over the harpsichord in that respect, finding natural interpretative solutions to some such problems – so perhaps it is the instrument the composer had in mind here?



Ex.5 J. S. Bach, French Suite No.1 in D minor, BWV812, Allemande, bar 24

In conclusion, editors need to think carefully about why and where ties are added in an *Urtext*, and how they will work on different types of instrument; and performers need to experiment for themselves instead of just following editorial suggestions. As Siegbert Rampe points out in his Froberger edition for Bärenreiter,[12] adding ties can be a great 'temptation' for an editor, so it is best for players to first try passages *without* such additions, and then only

add those that make good musical sense in the context of their own instrument, tempo and interpretation.

Notes

[1] See Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel (eds), rev Christoph Wolff, *The New Bach Reader* (New York, 1998), pp.251-252 and Francis Knights 'Some Observations on the Clavichord in France', *Galpin Society Journal* xliv (1991), pp.71-76. For organs played by Bach, see Christoph Wolff and Markus Zepf, trans Lynn Edwards Butler, *The organs of J.S.Bach: a handbook* (Urbana, 2012).

[2] Robert Marshall, 'Organ or "Klavier"? Instrumental Prescriptions in the Sources of Bach's Keyboard Works', in George Stauffer and Ernest May (eds), *J. S. Bach as Organist* (London, 1986), pp.212-239.

[3] Howard Schott, *J.-J. Froberger, oeuvres complètes pur clavecin, I* (Paris, 1979).

[4] Peter Wollny (ed), *Johann Jacob Froberger, Toccaten, Suiten, Lamenti* (Kassel, 2004), p.6.

[5] Klaus Beckman (ed), *Johann Adam Reincken, Sämtliche Werke für Klavier/Cembalo* (Wiesbaden, 1982).

[6] All the music examples here show the unedited versions.

[7] See, for example, Knud Jeppesen (ed), *Die Italiensche Orgelmvsik*, Band II (Stockholm, 1960) and Christoph Wolff (ed), *Bach, Orgelchoräle der Neumeister-Sammlung* (Kassel, 1985).

[8] The issue of compositional consistency in Bach fugue subjects is one that has not been systematically studied; see Francis Knights, 'Mutations in Bach keyboard fugue themes' (forthcoming).

[9] Note that this mistake is much more credible as an error when it occurs across a barline; otherwise, the obvious option exists of writing, for example, a minim instead of two tied crotchets.

[10] Thurston Dart, Walter Emery and Christopher Morris, *Editing Early Music* (London, 1963), John Caldwell, *Editing Early Music* (Oxford, 1985).

[11] Jon Baxendale and Francis Knights (eds), *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (Tynset, 2020), 3 vols.

[12] Siegbert Rampe (ed), *Froberger, Clavier- und Orgelwerke* (Kassel, 2002), vol.3, p.xcii.

Byrd Bibliography 2019-2020

Richard Turbet

This article is a successor to "Byrd bibliography, 2012-2018" which was published in *National Early Music Association Newsletter* iii/1 (Spring 2019), pp.24-36. Like its predecessor, it continues the Checklist of Byrd Literature established in the first three editions of my guides to Byrd research published in New York by, successively, Garland and Routledge (1987-2012), and adds a Miscellany consisting of further information, accumulated by the author, about Byrd and his music. By way of an experiment, and given the small numbers involved, the Checklist in this supplement is presented alphabetically by author: this obviates the need for what would have been a paltry index of authors, although it sacrifices the visible chronological presentation of the material listed. As previously, items included from before the years of the current Checklist are identified by an asterisk. An appendix continues from 2012 the listing of works by Byrd performed by The Stondon Singers at the annual William Byrd Anniversary Concert in Stondon Massey, Essex, England. Reflecting the structure of the three books, this Bibliography begins with an intimation concerning new editions, including a major addition, and a significant replacement for one of the most important modern printed editions of a major manuscript source containing music by Byrd.

THE EDITIONS

Add the following:

W Byrd, William. *Eight fragmentary songs, from Edward Paston's lute-book, British Library Add. MS 31992*, edited and reconstructed by Andrew Johnstone. Teddington: Fretwork Pub., 2020.

To the relevant pieces in the catalogue of Byrd's works should now be added:

T 369 *Ah youthful tears* W 1 no 1

T 371 *Depart ye furies* W 20 no 6

T 372 *I will give laud* W 26 no 7

T 373 *In tower most high* W 6 no 2

T 374 *Look and bow down* W 29 no 8

T 375 *O happy thrice* W 16 no 5 (title "What grieves my bones?")

T 376 *What wights are these?* W 9 no 3 (title "Lo, dead he lives")

T 378 *With sighs and tears* W 13 no 4 (title "Narcissus lov'd")

FVB Replace the existing entry with the following:

The Fitzwilliam virginal book, edited by Jon Baxendale and Francis Knights. 3 vols. Tynset: Lyrebird Music, 2020.

The FVB entries for individual pieces in the catalogue of Byrd's works should now read as follows:

T 432 *All in a garden green* ii 138 no 104

T 433 *Monsieur's alman* i 278 no 61

T434 *Monsieur's alman* i 282 no 62

T 435 *Monsieur's alman* i 290 no 63

T 436 *The queen's alman* iii 24 no 171

T 437 Alman ii 380 no 156

T 438 Alman iii 2 no 163

T 442 *The bells* i 326 no 69

T 443 *Callino casturame* ii 384 no 158

T 444 *The carman's whistle* i 257 no 58

T 447 *Clarifica me pater* iii 38 no 175

T 448 *Clarifica me pater* iii 42 no 176

T 449 *The first French coranto* iii 140 no 218

T 452 Coranto iii 216 no 241

T 453 *A fancy for my Lady Nevell* ii 132 no 103

T 454 Fantasia i 226 no 52

T 456 Fantasia iii 280 no 261

T 457 Fantasia i 49 no 8

T 459 *Fortune* i 302 no 65

T 461 *Harding's galliard* ii 226 no 122

T 462 Galliard iii 4 no 164

T 465 *The ghost* ii 392 no 162

T 466 *Gipsies' round* iii 124 no 216

T 471 *Hugh Ashton's ground* i 270 no 60

T 476 *The hunt's up* i 262 no 59 (version 1), iii 314 no 276 (version 2)

T 478 *Parson's In nomine* ii 330 no 140

T 479 Jig iii 49 no 180

T 480 *John come kiss me now* i 60 no 10

T 481 *Lavolta: Lady Morley* ii 386 no 159

T 482 Lavolta ii 378 no 155

T 483 *Lord Willoughby's welcome home* ii 388 no 160

T 484 *The maiden's song* ii 250 no 126

T 485 *The march before the battle* iii 274 no 259

T 488 *O mistress mine* i 306 no 66

T 489 *The first pavan; The galliard to the first pavan* iii 10; 14 nos 167-68

T 490 *The second pavan; The galliard to the second pavan* iii 268; 271 nos 257-58

T 491 *The third pavan; The galliard to the third pavan* iii 251; 254 nos 257-58

T 495 *The seventh pavan* iii 308 no 275

T 497 *The ninth pavan; The galliard to the ninth pavan* i 244; 254 nos 56-57

T 499 *Pavana: Bray*; Galliard ii 84; 88 nos 91-92

T 500 *Pavana delight*; Galliard iii 322; 327 nos 277-78

T 502 *Pavana lachrymae* ii 220 no 121

T 503 *Lady Monteagle's pavan* iii 378 no 294

T 504 *The quadran pavan; The galliard to the quadran pavan* ii 294; 303 nos 133-34

T 506 *Pavan: Philippa Tregian*; Galliard ii 90; 94 nos 93-94

T 507 Pavan; Galliard iii 6; 8 nos 165-66

T 514 Pavan; Galliard iii 257; 261 nos 254-55

T 516 *Praeludium to the fancie* ii 118 no 100

T 517 Prelude i 100 no 24

T 519 Prelude iii 289 no 120

T 523 *Sellinger's round* i 294 no 64

T 524 *Ut mi re* ii 126 no 102

T 525 *Ut re mi* ii 119 no 101

T 531 *Walsingham* i 317 no 68

T 532 *Wilson's wild* ii 382 no 157

T 533 *The woods so wild* i 312 no 67

APPENDIX

T A12 *Malt's come down* ii 362 no 150

T A13 Medley iii 28 no 172

T A14 Pavan iii 263 no 256

T A18 Praeludium iii 239 no 117

APOCRYPHA

Barofostus' dream ii 182 no 18

Bonny sweet Robin ii 262 no 128

Coranto Lady Riche iii 144 no 265

Coranto iii 47 no 205

Irish dump iii 291 no 178

Pavan and Galliard iii 36 no 174 (Galliard only)

Pavan (keyboard) I iii 16 no 169

Pavan (keyboard) II ii 370 no 153

Pavan (keyboard) III iii 34 no 173

Piper's pavan iii 50 no 181

Sir John Gray's galliard iii 77 no 191

Watkin's ale iii 48 no 179

MB XCVI. *English keyboard music, c. 1600-1625*, edited by Alan Brown. 2014.

T A17 Pavan; Galliard 44 no 29

MB CII *Keyboard Music from Fitzwilliam manuscripts*, edited by Christopher Hogwood and Alan Brown. 2017.

T A12 *Malt's come down* 149 no 69

T A13 Medley 126 no 62

T A14 Pavan 78 no 23

T A18 Praeludium 5 no 5

THE CATALOGUE OF BYRD'S WORKS

T 193 Litany a5. Delete and replace with T A3.

APPENDIX

T A3 Litany a4. Delete and replace with T 193.

APOCRYPHA

Delete:

Robin Hood

Add:

Wakefield on a green

MB lxvi 83 no 56

Note: Anonymous. Attributed to Byrd on CD *Ferdinando Richardson (1558-1618): complete works for harpsichord*, Glen Wilson, Naxos 8.572997, released 2014.

INDEX TO TITLES

Add:

Lo, dead he lives see *What wights are these?*

Narcissus lov'd see *With sighs and tears*

What grieves my bones? See *O happy thrice*

A CHECKLIST OF BYRD LITERATURE CONTINUING FROM 2019 TO 2020

B Brown, Alan. "An editor's reflections". *National Early Music Association newsletter* 3 (Spring 2019): 66-74.
Note: Editor of Byrd's complete keyboard music MB 27-28 besides much else, such as MB 96 and 102 above.

2020Cw Cvejic, Zarko. "William Byrd and the limits of formal music analysis". *Muzikologija* 28 (2020): 149-58.

2020Dh Duffin, Ross W. "Hidden power in Oregon: the William Byrd Festival in Portland is scheduled to present its 22nd annual event in August". *EMAg: the magazine of Early Music America* 26 (May 2020): 26-30.

2018Gi Graham, Pauline. "Intimations of eternity in the Creeds from William Byrd's Five-Part Mass and Great Service", in *Music preferred: essays in musicology, cultural history and analysis in honour of Harry White*, edited by Lorraine Byrne Bodley. Vienna: Hollitzer, 2018, pp. 553-72. *

2019Gb Greenhalgh, Michael. "Byrd discography 2011-2018". *National Early Music Association newsletter* 3 (Spring 2019): 38-62.

B Harley, John. "Who was William Watton?" *Musical times* 160 (Autumn 2019): 75-86.
Note: British Library Additional Manuscript 30486, which contains several pieces for keyboard by Byrd.

2005Hq Healy, Blathnaid. "Qui tollis cantabimus: recusant elements in William Byrd's Latin motets". *The musicology review* 1 (2004/5): 151-77. *

2019Hp Hunter, Desmond. "Performing the keyboard works of William Byrd". *Vox humana* (29 December 2019): voxhumanajournal.com/hunter2019.html
Note: "Desmond Hunter discusses performance practice in the keyboard works of William Byrd and his new edition of the Fantasias, published by Barenreiter … in this interview with *Vox Humana* Editor Guy Whatley."

2016Jp Johnstone, Andrew. "The performing pitch of William Byrd's Latin liturgical polyphony: a guide for historically minded interpreters". *REA: a journal of religion, education and the arts* 10 (2016): 79-107. *

B Johnstone, H. Diack. "The Academy of Ancient Music (1726-1802): its history, repertoire and surviving programmes". *Royal Musical Association research chronicle* 51 (2020): 1-136.
Note: One of the few organisations besides the Church of England to perform Byrd's music during the long eighteenth century, and even then (and like the "C of E") in only penny numbers.

2019Js Jurgensen, Frauke and Taylor, Rachelle. "Seven settings of *Clarifica me Pater* by Tallis, Byrd and Tomkins: friendly emulation or friendly competition?", in *Aspects of early English keyboard music before c. 1630*, edited by David J. Smith. Ashgate historical keyboard series. Abingdon: Routledge, 2019, pp. 125-45.

B Kim, Minji. "Handel's choruses of 'praise and thanksgiving after victory' and *Non nobis Domine*". *Early music* 47 (2019): 551-68.
Note: *Non nobis Domine* is no longer considered to have anything to do with Byrd, but it enjoyed a viscous attribution to him from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, until identified by David Humphreys in 2003Hw as having been taken from a work of Philip van Wilder.

B Knights, Francis. "Observations on two sixteenth-century music manuscripts owned by Sir John Petre". *The consort* 75 (2019): 22-41.
Note: Chelmsford I partbook contains many motets by Byrd, who dedicated his second book of *Gradualia* (1607) to Sir John, one of his patrons.

2020Kp Knights, Francis. "The Paston manuscripts as sources of Byrd's music". *Notes* 77 (September 2020): 56-84.

2015Ls Lee Young-min. "A study on William Byrd's *Songs of sundrie natures*". *Journal of music and theory* 24 (2015): 8-34.
Note: In Korean. Transliteration of original title: "Willieom Beodeu yi *Dayanghan seonggyeong yi noraedeul* e daehan gochal". *

2020Ms McCleery, Rory. "Singing in secret: how William Byrd created his best work in isolation". *The guardian* (28 April 2020): theguardian.com/music/2020/apr/28/singing-in-secret-william-byrd-isolation
Note: Only in the online edition, not in the print edition.

2020Ps Peacock, Francesca. "Singing Byrd in a cage". *Engelsberg ideas* 27 November 2020): https://engelsbergideas.com/author/francesca-peacock/
Note: A particularly sensitive essay making the parallel between recusants performing Byrd's masses clandestinely in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and modern singers seeking to perform them in the conditions imposed during the lockdowns for the coronavirus pandemic in the England of 2020. The author herself movingly describes participating in just such a modern performance of the Mass for Four Voices during the pandemic, and invokes Byrd's masses and

motets "as a powerful reminder of the importance of music, the arts, and culture in trying times."

2019POh Popovic, Tihomir. "Hunting, heraldry, and humanists: reflections of aristocratic culture in My Ladye Nevells Booke", in *Aspects of early English keyboard music before c. 1630*, edited by David J. Smith. Ashgate historical keyboard series. Abingdon: Routledge, 2019, pp. 146-62.

2019Sr Sequera, Hector. "Reconstructing William Byrd's consort songs from the Paston lutebooks: a historically informed and computational approach to comparative analysis and musical idiom". *Early music* 47 (2019): 455-77.

2012Sa Smith, Andrew. "AV: William Byrd, Stondon Massey and the Authorised Version of the Bible". *Essex Society for Archaeology and History newsletter* 168 (2012): 5-8. *
Note: "An essay written for the 'William Byrd Festival' held in May 2011 at St Peter & St Paul Church, Stondon Massey."

2011Ssu Smith, Andrew. "Successful Stondon Byrd Festival gains international reputation". *Essex archaeology and history news* 164 (2011): 6-7. *

2010Sw Smith, Andrew. "William Byrd's library". *Essex archaeology and history news* 161 (2010): 9-10. *
Note: Summary of 2009Mf.

2010SMu Smith, Jeremy. Formerly 2010Su.

2012SMd Smith, Jeremy. Formerly 2012Sd.

2020Sv Smith, Jeremy. *Verse and voice in Byrd's song collections of 1588 and 1589*. Studies in medieval and Renaissance music. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2020.
Note: Paperback reissue of 2016Sv.

2019Ta Turbet, Richard. "An annotated bibliography of selected writings about early English keyboard music: updating *Tudor music* from 2008 and *William Byrd* from 2012", in *Aspects of early English keyboard music before c. 1630*, edited by David J. Smith. Ashgate historical keyboard series. Abingdon: Routledge, 2019, pp. 17-26.

2019Tb Turbet, Richard. "Byrd bibliography, 2012-2018". *National Early Music Association newsletter* 3 (Spring 2019): 24-37.

2017Tm Turbet, Richard. "More Morley into Byrd". *Musical times* 158 (Winter 2017): 5-6.
Note: Letter, with editorial title, noting two borrowings from Byrd in Morley's canzonet *In nets of golden wyers*, no 9 of his *The first booke of canzonets to two voyces* (London: Este [i.e. Thomas East], 1595). *

2019Tm Turbet, Richard. "Mr Bird, Mr Ferdinand and Mr Holborne: new lessons". *Musical times* 160 (Autumn 2019): 78-92.

2016Tw Turbet, Richard. *William Byrd: a guide to research*. 2nd ed. Routledge music bibliographies. London: Routledge, 2016.
Note: Paperback reissue of 2006TUw. *

FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS

As I explained in "Byrd bibliography, 2012-2018", extreme caution is required in predicting future publications, although thankfully all five of those mentioned in *Newsletter* 3 (p. 32) subsequently appeared in print as predicted. Three more for periodical issues dated 2020 onwards can be mentioned. "*Fuga* and invertible counterpoint in Byrd's *Cantiones sacrae* (1589): some preliminary observations" by Julian Grimshaw is pending for *Early music* while an article by Anne Martin about Byrd's consort music is similarly awaiting publication in *Scottish music review*. Meanwhile the same author has completed an article about the relationship between his motet *Laudate pueri* and the Fantasia a6 T 388/BE 17 no 11.

RECORDINGS

A full updating must await Michael Greenhalgh's next Byrd discography, but two peripheral items can be mentioned. Pieter-Jan Belder's recording of the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book is now complete, and the final disc contains the first performance on CD of *Malt's come down* (T A12) which is on CD3 of volume 7, Brilliant Classics 95648 (2020). While the attribution to Byrd of this keyboard piece remains dubious, the adhesive attribution to Byrd of the round *Hey ho, to the greenwood* which stuck for a good three centuries, is provenly spurious. It has been recorded in an enchanting multitracked version a3 by the folksinger Jackie Oates on *The joy of living* (ECC Records ECC018, 2018). Although Byrd is given as the composer, the engaging notes in the accompanying booklet state clearly that this is an attribution – sufficient information in the context of this decorative and affectionate release.

MISCELLANY

In my previous article (see above), on page 33, I referred to a newly recognised source in the Old Library at Queen's College, Cambridge for the setting of the Litany in four parts which is attributed in two other manuscript sources (originating in Ely and probably Oxford) to Byrd (BE 10a, no 8), and observed that this third attribution to Byrd would seem to confirm that it should no longer be regarded as a doubtful work. One of many expectations that were dashed by the coronavirus in 2020 was, in my case, a visit to York Minster to hear the Minster Choir perform this work liturgically during Lent, which they do annually. This cancellation caused me to read about the work in more detail, to compensate for the preparatory research which I would have undertaken had the visit taken place. Part of this involved re-reading Andrew Johnstone's article "Thomas Tallis and the five-part English Litany of 1544: evidence of 'the notes used in the king's majesty's chapel'", *Early music* 44 (2016): 219-32, especially page 229 and notes 44 and 45 on page 232. As a result of this, in a putative updating of the catalogue of Byrd's works in the third edition of my guide to Byrd research (BG3, see below), I would now simply swap the Litanies of four and five parts, so that the Litany a4, number T A3, now becomes an authentic work at T 193, and the Litany a5 currently numbered T 193 takes its place in the Appendix of dubious and fragmentary works at T A3. Clearly there are further issues concerning the Litany a4 (whether it is based on Byrd's *Laetania* and whether the two original sources cited in BE 10a are indeed separate pieces) while the Litany a5 may be pastiche Tallis, or perhaps a juvenile work of Byrd himself. At any event, there seems at some point, somewhere, to have been a setting of the Litany by Byrd, and in the absence of further evidence and research, a setting (or the setting) in four parts is on balance the more likely to be authentic. The emergence of the source at Cambridge provides hope for

future rediscoveries that will make the situation clearer; for now, Craig Monson's edition must suffice, though some choirs may still use, or at least possess, the edition by Percy Buck in *Preces, responses and litany*, by William Byrd (London: Oxford University Press, [c. 1925]), or *Litany for four voices*, by William Byrd, from *Four settings of the Litany, from early sources*, edited by Edmund H. Fellowes and Sydney H. Nicholson (London: Faith Press, 1936), page 19ff.

Tudor and Stuart music did not flourish during the eighteenth century. There were occasional performances by amateurs and antiquarians (see Johnstone 2020 in the Checklist above) but few publications (anent Byrd, see for instance 1993Tf). Of the latter, one such was the series of catches and the like selected for publication by Thomas Warren. In *A sixth collection of catches canons and glees for three and four voices* (London: pr. Welcker, [1766]) pp. 26-28, he includes *How merrily we live* a3 from Michael East's *The second set of madrigales* … (London: pr. Winder, 1606). Its opening phrase is identical to that of Byrd's *Haec dies* a6, as is the answering phrase in the dominant.

In the second edition of *William Byrd: a guide to research* (New York: Routledge, 2006; paperback reissue, London: Routledge, 2016) I list the novel *English music* by Peter Ackroyd (p. 222, item XII.Ae) noting that chapter 10 focuses upon Byrd. In the previous chapter Ackroyd prepares the reader for this focus on Byrd, and has one of his characters, a knowledgeable Roman Catholic music master in a rural grammar school for boys who were mainly Protestants, recite an English version of the text of one of Byrd's motets (p. 198). At the time it did not occur to me to identify the original work, but upon reading the novel again (London: Hamilton, 1992) it struck me that the text in question was probably one of his *Cantiones* and indeed, upon investigation, it turned out to be the fictitious master's "own" translation of the text of *Cunctis diebus* (1591). There have been three fine commercial recordings of this neglected masterpiece, the best of which is by The College Choir of Jesus College, Cambridge under Mark Williams, on *Out of darkness: music from Lent to Trinity* (Signum SIGCD409, 2015). The others are by The Cardinall's Musick and The Choir of New College, Oxford.

Deus in adjutorium has a claim to be the most majestic of the many fine motets by Byrd that remained unpublished during his lifetime. It is for six voices, of which the tenor does not survive, and is in five sections. Warwick Edwards provided a tenor for its publication in volume 9 of *The Byrd Edition* and The Cardinall's Musick include it on disc 2 of their *Byrd Edition* with a tenor provided by David Skinner. They also performed it during their Byrd Tour of 2012 (see *Newsletter* 3, 2019, p. 35). However, as an incomplete work, it was not part of David Fraser's remit for his reliable online edition of Byrd's works in Choral Wiki. Such a magnificent work deserves more attention, and more performances, so it is a pleasure to report that it is now available in Choral Wiki CPDL no 60970 edited and reconstructed capably by Michael Winter, and as such can be downloaded and printed (and of course performed and recorded) free of charge.

THE WILLIAM BYRD ANNIVERSARY CONCERT 2012-2020

The first William Byrd Memorial Concert was given by The Stondon Singers, founded especially for this purpose, in the Parish Church of St Peter and St Paul at Stondon Massey, Essex, in which village Byrd lived from 1595 to his death in 1623, and in the churchyard of which he is thought to be buried. Apart from 1970 it has been an annual event, and was occasionally billed as the William Byrd Anniversary Concert, the name by which it has been known since 2011. Items by Byrd sung in successive programmes have been listed, and locations of these lists are noted on p. xii of my *William Byrd: a research and information guide*, 3rd ed., New York: Routledge, 2012. (Hereinafter BG3.

The paginations for the first two editions are 315-16 and 322 respectively.) Christopher Tinker's first Concert as conductor was in 2009, and he has been at the helm ever since. Because of the coronavirus, the Concert in 2020 took place with just CT and a socially distanced quintet in the garden of the Librarian at Little Waltham, Essex. The William Byrd Anniversary Concert is scheduled annually for the evening of the Tuesday closest to July 4, the date on which Byrd died – it is presumed in Stondon Hall, his home at Stondon Massey, Essex – in 1623. For consistency with previous listings, to differentiate pieces from other settings with identical titles, T numbers from BG3 are cited.

3 July 2012: *Gaudeamus omnes* (T 84); Mass for Five Voices (omitting Credo); Pavan and Galliard, The Earl of Salisbury (played on the organ by CT); *Laudate Dominum*; *O Lord make thy servant Elizabeth*.

2 July 2013: *Laudibus in sanctis*; *Emendemus in melius*; *O praise our Lord*; *Susanna fair* (T 239); *Mount, Hope*; *I have been young*; *The nightingale*.

1 July 2014: *Quomodo cantabimus*; *Civitas sancti tui*; *O quam gloriosum*; *Emendemus in melius*; *This sweet and merry month* (T 317).

7 July 2015: *Nunc scio vere*; *Constitues eos principes*; *Hodie Simon Petrus*; *Tu es Petrus*; *Infelix ego*; *Though Amaryllis dance in green*.

5 July 2016: *Haec dies* (T 55); *Ave verum corpus*; *Cantate Domino*.

4 July 2017: *Tribue Domine*; *Although the heathen poets*.

3 July 2018: *Gaudeamus omnes* (T 84); Mass for Four Voices; *Tu es Petrus*; *Though Amaryllis dance in green*.

2 July 2019: *Laudibus in sanctis*; Mass for Five Voices (omitting Kyrie); *Haec dies* (T 55); *This sweet and merry month* (T 317).

7 July 2020: *Peccantem me quotidie*; *Ecce virgo concipiet*; *Behold how good a thing*.

The Historic Record of Vocal Sound (1650-1829)

Richard Bethell

INDEX

1. Introduction

First, I'll explain why I've written this article. It has been triggered by Edward Breen's review[1] of my book,[2] which concludes as follows: 'My greatest concern remains the lack of clarity surrounding Bethell's "Clear Smooth Sweet Chaste category [of singing]"'. Breen notes that I take the view that 'Baroque and Classical music, especially opera remains unimproved', and comments: 'It is this notion of improvement which I find uncomfortable. Change has taken place, very obvious stylistic change, it just hasn't resulted in a sufficient minimisation of vocal vibrato to meet Bethell's theory. "Improvement" implies a judgement that these [historical] reviews cannot back up'. However, Breen gives no reasons for his discomfort.

I hope my article will provide the clarity that Breen is looking for, given that my conclusions are based, not on theory, but on extensive historical records of the long 18th century vocal soundscape, as expected by composers, treatise writers, reviewers and audiences, in respect of tremolo. I then summarise the support/opposition I can cite from professional musicologists. Following this, I compare the Long 18th century sound world[3] with current early music (supposedly) historically informed practices in other respects. Finally, I offer a few conclusions and suggestions for the future.

2. Tremolo

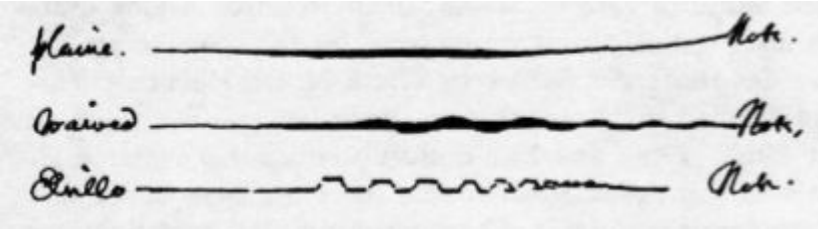
The historical record is clear that, throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries [until 1829], vocalists normally emitted a default straight voice or, in Roger North's words, 'a clear plain sound', albeit enlivened by occasional *messa di voce*, expressive tremolo and other ornaments. I discuss first what composers and treatise writers advocated.[4]

2.1 Christoph Bernhard, c.1650

It will be apparent that composer and kapellmeister Christoph Bernhard [1628-1696] viewed tremolo [not defined] as a fault: '*Fermo*, or the maintenance of a steady voice, is required on all notes, except where a *trillo* or *ardire* [cadential trill] is applied. It is regarded as a refinement mainly because the tremolo is a defect … Elderly singers feature the *tremolo*, but not as an artifice. Rather it creeps in by itself, as they no longer are able to hold their voices steady. If anyone would demand further evidence of the undesirability of the *tremolo*, let him listen to such an old man employing it while singing alone.

Then he will be able to judge why the *tremolo* is not used by the most polished singers, except in ardire.' [5]

2.2 Roger North, c.1695-1728



Illus.1. Roger North's diagram of 'plaine, waived & trillo' notes ('As to Musick', c. 1695)

Roger North (1653-1734) explained the 'Plaine' sound illustrated in his diagram (Illus. 1) as follows: 'Good drugs are not more considerable in medicine, than the producing a good sound in musick. It is the substance and foundation, which failing, all falls; and all this I declare abstracted from graces, or any other accomplishment whatever. And farther, that all thought of grace confounds it, so that whoever is to begin and learne to draw a sound, is not to be putt out with any sort of gracing, but to be kept from it, untill they attain a fittness for it. It is rarely observed, but lett it pass for a truth upon my word, that the greatest elegance, of the finest voices is the prolation of a clear plain sound. And I may add, that in voice or instrument (where the hand draws the sound) it is the most difficult part to performe. But our devious inclinations lead as well masters to teach, as scollars to press the learning of tricks, such as the trill, slide, &c., all which are good in their time. But the fabrick must be raised, before the carving such as that, is putt on. / Therefore, as to the pratique, I would have a voice or hand taught, first to prolate a long, true, steddy and strong sound, the louder and harsher the better; for that will obtein an habit, of filling and giving a body to the sound, which els will be faint and weak, as in those who come to sing at maturity of years, when the organs of voice are stiff and intractable. And so for a bow hand, to spend the whole bow at every stroke, long or short. These lay a good foundation, the roughness and harshness of which will soften in time. The loud may abate, but soft voices cannot be made loud at pleasure. These must be formed early, as the limbs [are] to arts, by much striving and continuall exercise, so as to grow, and setle into a forme, to fitt the use and practise of them'. Two conclusions can be drawn from the above. In North's view, [1] singers must develop a good quality straight voice in training, before attempting any sort of 'gracing', and [2] the finest vocalists are characterised by having an excellent straight voice.

North goes on to describe the 'Waived' sound, as follows: 'Then next I would have them learne to fill, and soften a sound, as shades in needlework, insensatim [i.e. by imperceptible steps], so as to be like also a gust of wind, which begins with a soft air, and fills by degrees to a strength as makes all bend, and then softens away againe into a temper [i.e. a moderation], and so vanish. And after this to superinduce a gentle and slow wavering, not into a trill, upon the swelling the note. Such as trumpetts use, as if the instrument were a little shaken with the wind of its owne sound, but not so as to vary the tone, which must be religiously held to its place, like a pillar on its base, without the least loss of the accord. This waving of a note is not to be described, but by example. But as wee often use odd similes to express our meaning and help the imagination, take these images of sound by lines, which represent the humour of sound judiciously managed'. North believed that a 'gentle and slow wavering' of pitch is of value in singing as a 'tremulous grace', a term he uses elsewhere in his writing. It is clear both from the diagram and the trumpet comparison that the 'gentle and slow wavering' involves only the slightest departure from pitch, and certainly much narrower than the whole tone pitch oscillation (c.200 cents) commonly used by the majority of professional classical singers today, including soloists working in Baroque and Classical opera. It also appears to be much slower.

North concludes his discussion of the diagram: 'The latter is the trill, which, as you see, breaking the tone and mixing with another, is dangerous for a scollar to medle with, till he hath the mastery of the sound, else it will make him loose the principall tone; and that spoiles all. The next thing to be taught is the transition of the voice, or hand from one tone to another, or the practise of the gamut. And under this, the first care is to secure the true sound of the note passed into, whither flatt or sharp, viz. semitone, or tone, and with a full prolation of each, and the managery of it, swelling and waiving as I have described'. I discuss North's views on the *messa di voce* and trill later in this article.[6]

2.3 Pierfrancesco Tosi, 1723

Tosi's treatise[7] made clear that he disapproved of any sort of vocal unsteadiness. In relation to long notes, as in a *messa di voce*: 'Let them [students] be taught to sustain the notes without letting the voice waver or hesitate (*che la voce titubi, o vacilli*) and if the teaching begins with a note of two measures' length, the profit will be the greater, otherwise the inclination which beginners have for moving the voice, and the fatigue of steadying it, will accustom them to not being able to sustain, and they will indubitably have the defect of fluttering (*svolazzar*) which is always in use by those who sing with the worst taste'. He added that 'The trill has many defects which must be avoided … the goat-bleat causes laughter, for it is borne in the throat like a laugh (*il caprine fa ridere, perché nasce in bocca come il riso*). Pitch oscillations made Tosi feel sick: 'He will not hear without nausea the invented emetic style (*l'inventato stile emetico*) of him who sings like the waves of the ocean (*canta a onda di Mare*), provoking the innocent notes with vulgar pushing of the voice (*villane spinte di voce*); disgusting defect, and rude (*incivile*), but having been brought from beyond the mountains it passes for a modern rarity'. Galliard explained in his 1742 translation[8] that 'beyond the mountains' meant France. Finally, Tosi castigates the repeated-note (*trillo*) type of tremolo: 'What will he not say of one who has found the prodigious artifice of singing like the crickets? Who should ever have dreamed before the fashion came in, that ten or twelve eighth notes [quavers] in a row could be minced one by one with a certain tremor of the voice, which came in some time ago under the name of *mordente fresco*. Perhaps an even stronger impulse will compel him to detest the invention of laughing singing, or singing like hens when they have laid an egg. Will there not be some other small animals worthy of being imitated in order to place the profession in more ridicule?'

It has often been claimed by writers today, quite correctly, that expressive or illustrative tremolo was used selectively, and sometimes recommended in treatises, as already illustrated by North's comments. However, such expressive use was NEVER advocated by Tosi, suggesting that he did not feel it was important.

I now turn to Tans'ur, an advocate of tremolo, followed by Tosi's successors and/or translators.

2.4 William Tans'ur, 1746

Tans'ur was a teacher and composer of hymns and psalmody, which was outside the sacred music mainstream. He was a marginal figure, ignored by both Charles Burney and Richard Edgcumbe. He wrote: 'An *Accent* is a sort of *wavering* or *quavering* of the *Voice*, or *Instrument* on certain *Notes* with a *stronger*, or *weaker Tone* than the rest, &c. to express the *Passion* thereof: which renders *Musick*, (especial *Vocal*) so very agreeable to the Ear; it being chiefly intended to *move* and *affect*; and on this the very *Soul and Spirit of Musick* depends; by reason it touches and causes Emotions in the Mind, either of *Love, Sorrow, Pitty,* or any other *Passion* whatsoever, &c.—And this is what is called the *Accented*, and *Unaccented Parts of the Measure*; which the *Italians* call *Tempo-Buono*, or *Time-Good* and *Tempo-Cattivo*, or *Time*, or *Measure-Bad:* that is to say, the *good*, and *bad* Parts of the Measure / Scholar. *In what* Parts of *a* Bar *of* Time *is the* Accented Part *of the* Measure? / *Master*. In *Common-Time*, the *first Notes* of the *beginning* of a *Bar,* and the *first Notes* of the *last half* of the *Bar* is the *Accented Part*; that is, the 1st and 3d *Crotchet* of every *Bar*; the rest being the *Unaccented Parts:* But, in *Tripla-Time*(where *Notes* go by *three* and *three*) the *first* of the three is the *Accented Part*, and the rest the *Unaccented.* / The *Accented Parts* should be always as *full* of *Harmony* as possible, and as void of *Discords* as may be, in order to render

the *Composition* the more *affecting*: But the *Unaccented Parts* may consist of *Discords* and the like, without any great Offence to the Ear, &c. This being a *Part* of *Musick* that few, or no *Authors* have very rarely mention'd; although it is the whole *Ornament* and *Spirit* of every *Composition*, especially when any Person performs alone'.[9]

2.5 Johann Joachim Quantz, 1752

Quantz felt sufficiently confident to define authoritatively but concisely in his treatise[10] what good singing involved, in terms virtually indistinguishable from Tosi's treatise: 'The chief requirements of a good singer are that he have a good, clear, and pure voice, of uniform quality from top to bottom, a voice which has none of those defects originating in the nose and throat, and which is neither hoarse nor muffled. Only the voice itself and the use of words give singers preference over instrumentalists. In addition, the singer must know how to join the falsetto to the chest voice in such a way that one does not perceive where the latter ends and the former begins; he must have a good ear and true intonation, so that he can produce all the notes in their correct proportions; he must know how to produce the portamento (*il portamento di voce*) and the holds upon a long note (*le messe di voce*) in an agreeable manner; hence he must have firmness and sureness of voice, so that he does not begin to tremble in a moderately long hold, or transform the agreeable sound of the human voice into the disagreeable shriek of a reed pipe when he wishes to strengthen his tone, as not infrequently happens, particularly among certain singers who are disposed to hastiness. The singer must be able to execute a good shake that does not bleat … He must not express the high notes with a harsh attack or with a vehement exhalation of air from his chest; still less should he scream them out, coarsening the amenity of the voice'. While Quantz disapproved on trembling on long notes, he permitted the tremolo as an ornament on the flute, when he wrote: 'If you must hold a long note for either a whole or a half bar, which the Italians call *messa di voce*, you must first tip it gently with the tongue, scarcely exhaling; then you begin pianissimo, allow the strength of the tone to swell to the middle of the tone, and from there diminish to the end of the note in the same fashion, making a vibrato with the finger on the nearest open hole (*auch neben dem nächsten offenen Loche mit dem Finger eine Bebung Machen*).[11]'

2.6 Leopold Mozart, 1756

'The Tremolo [1] is an ornament which arises from Nature herself and which can be used charmingly on a long note, not only by good instrumentalists but also by clever singers. Nature herself is the instructress thereof. For if we strike a slack string or a bell sharply, we hear after the stroke a certain wave-like undulation (*ondeggiamente*) of the struck note. And this trembling after-sound is called tremolo, also tremulant. / Take pains to imitate this natural quivering on the violin, when the finger is pressed strongly down on the string, and one makes a small movement with the whole hand; which however must not move sideways but forwards toward the bridge and backwards toward the scroll ... For as, when the remaining trembling sound of a struck string or bell is not pure and continues to sound not on one note only but sways first too high, then too low, just so by the movement of the hand forward and backward must you endeavour to imitate exactly the swaying of these intermediate tones. / Now because the tremolo is not purely on one note but sounds undulating, so would it be an error if every note were played with the tremolo. Performers there are who tremble consistently on each note as if they had the palsy. The tremolo must only be used at places where nature herself would produce it; namely as if the note taken were the striking of an open string. For at the close of a piece, or even at the end of a passage which closes with a long note, that last note would inevitably, if struck for instance on a pianoforte, continue to hum for a considerable time afterwards. Therefore a closing note or any other sustained note may be decorated with a tremolo (*tremoletto*)'.[12]

2.7 Johann Friedrich Agricola, 1757

Agricola's *Introduction to the Art of Singing*[13] is valuable because, besides translating Tosi into German, he added his own copious notes. He comments in his supplement 'concerning trills': 'The vibrato on one note—which is achieved on stringed instruments by rocking the fingertip back and forth on the same note, making the pitch neither higher nor lower, but gently beating it—is also an ornament that in singing is especially effective on long sustained notes, particularly when applied towards the end of such notes. It is quite impossible to express the vibrato in musical notation. It is more easily grasped with the help of oral instruction, but not all throats are capable of this type of execution'. The final comment is interesting, because it suggests that some singers experienced difficulties in departing from their straight voice.

Elsewhere, Agricola adds a note suggesting that he was happy with a slow emphasis tremolo:[14] 'When several consecutive notes on the same pitch occur in moderate tempo, above which there is a slur sign and under the slur sign there are dots (Illus. 2), one must nether separate nor detach the notes, but execute each note instead with a slight pressure from the chest'. Joseph Meisner (see below) probably used this type of tremolo.

Illus.2. Example by Johann Friedrich Agricola

2.8 Anselm Bayly, 1771

Bayly favoured a selective pitch tremolo,[15] which he described as follows: 'The manner of *waving* or vibrating on a single tone with the voice, like as with the violin, especially on a semi-breve, minim, and a final note, hath often a good effect; but care must be taken to do it discreetly and without any trembling'. In qualifying the effect 'as with the violin', Bayly seems to be implying that the pitch fluctuation is narrow, perhaps less than 33 cents, approximately a third of a semitone. I include David Badagnani's measurements of violin vibrato at section 2.27.

2.9 Giambattista Mancini, 1774 & 1777

Mancini,[16] a soprano castrato, voice teacher and author of books on singing, allowed expressive vibrato in the theatre, as one among several varied effects, all to be used 'at the proper time'. After quoting Manfredini's[17] comment 'How many times have I heard singing to the heart, without hearing a trill?', Mancini adds: 'He could just as well have said, this quality of voice and singing shines brilliantly in the place where sinners gather for eight days to hear spiritual exercises' but concludes that 'such a voice will never be suitable for the theatre, because in the scene it will need at the proper time the solidity, the spinning [levelling out, making plain], the sudden decrescendo of the voice … and then these should be united to brio, agility of the voice, vibrato (*vibrare*) detached notes (*distaccare*), the drawing back (*ritirare*), strength, and appropriateness of expression, etc., in sum a perfect complexity of such varied things by which the artist, who assumes the burden of a principal part, is in a position to gain success in any character whatever'.

At the same time, Mancini strongly disapproved of some forms of tremolo. He declared: 'Among trills the most defective are: the goat-bleat, and the horse-whinny.[18] Both are committed through the errors of capricious youths, heedless of the counsels of their masters, because of this they forget the infallible rule for beating the trill, sustaining the breath, and upset the light action of the fauces, by means of which they reduce the just perfection of the trill. Everyone will understand therefore, and recognize the origins of the goat-bleat and horse-whinny trills, and the reason why they carry these names, placed upon them by professors: I wish to say that it is because the singer does not avail himself of the motion of the fauces, but only of the motion of the mouth, and that in the manner

and guise which he uses when he laughs, so that consequently he makes a natural sound like the bleating of a goat or the whinnying of the horse'. While his description could be clearer, it seems that Mancini clearly disapproved of repeated note tremolos (sometimes termed *trillos*), or tremolos of emphasis.

Finally, in an important passage, Mancini makes clear that recitative must be spoken, not sung[19]: 'Now the cantilena of the one and the other of these recitatives, however intoned (he means either 'secco', with bass accompaniment only, or 'accompagnato', with full instrumental backing), should always be loosened in such a manner that it resembles a perfect and simple spoken declamation. Thus it would be a defect if the actor, instead of speaking the recitative with a free voice, should wish to sing it, tying the voice continuously, and not think of ever distinguishing the periods and the diverse sense of the words by holding back, reinforcing, detaching and sweetening the voice, as a gifted man will do when he speaks or reads'. He added later: 'I know that among our professors the opinion was at one time prevalent that the recitatives for the chamber should be spoken differently from those for the theater, as well as those for the concert hall or the church. As much as I have reflected on this, I have found no certain reason why there should be this difference. I think that the recitatives for the church, the chamber, the theater, ought all to be given in the same manner, I mean to say, in a natural and clear voice, which gives the just and complete strength to every word; which distinguishes the commas and the periods; in a manner which enables the listener to understand the sense of the poetry. I conclude, then, that if there is any difference among these recitatives given above, it is a difference relative to their location; this can consist only in the quantity of voice which the singer, understanding his own strength, ought always to adapt to the place in which he sings'. This very clear description makes any form of tremolo during recitative impossible.

Others supported Mancini's comments on speaking recitative, including Charles Burney, Anselm Bayly, Gesualdo Lanza and Richard Edgcumbe. Edgcumbe wrote: 'The besetting sin of most English singers is, that indistinctness of pronunciation which even in a song is one of the greatest blemishes, and in recitative is still more faulty. The Italians never talk of singing it, but call it reciting, and so it is and ought to be. It is not melody, it is noted declamation; and the first object is, not to warble it into an air, but to deliver the words with distinct articulation, sensible expression, proper emphasis, and with just punctuation, if I may so call the necessary short pauses for taking breath, which are like so many commas. In short, it should be assimilated as nearly as possible to good declamation. To lengthen it out by slow delivery is as wearisome as the dull recitation of a bad actor, orator, or reader'.[20]

2.10 Robert Bremner, 1777[21]

Bremner's article[22] attacking constant vibrato in orchestral string performance makes clear that he also disapproved of vocal vibrato: 'If an unsteady voice is reckoned a defect in a singer, he may also be called a defective performer whose fingers are destroying the plain sound, which includes both truth and beauty'.

2.11 Johann Adam Hiller, 1780

According to Suzanne J. Beicken, editor and translator of Hiller's treatise,[23] he considered that there were two major categories of ornaments, the essential and the arbitrary. She explains: 'The essential consisted of the appoggiatura (and the double appoggiatura), the trill, and the turn, which all had to be performed in particular places in the music whether they were indicated or not. The arbitrary ornaments, namely the mordent, *Nachschlag*, and vibrato, were left to the discretion of the performer'.

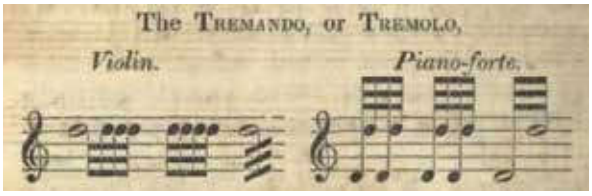
Hiller wrote: 'They (the half-inverted mordent (*Pralltriller*), the turn (*Doppelschlag*), and vibrato (*Bebung*)) merit close attention and much practice on the part of the singer, because without them the melody becomes stiff; And a singer who does not know them at all cuts no better figure than a dancer who has not learned how to move his arms. A trill performed so fast that the second tone

can either hardly be heard, or cannot be heard at all, is usually called tremolo or Bockstriller (goat's trill)'. As in Agricola's case, Hiller's comments make clear that vibrato is difficult to achieve: 'Now a word about vibrato (*Bebung*), which arises when one does not permit a long sustained tone to sound firmly, but rather allows it to fluctuate without changing the pitch. On string instruments it is done most easily by the rocking back and forth of the finger which is placed on the string. It is more difficult for the singer if he simply wants to bring it out with his throat; some make this easier for themselves by moving their lower jaw. [Giovanni] Carestini did this often [c. 1747] and always with success'.[24]

2.12 Thomas Billington, 1784

Billington (unrelated to the singer Elizabeth Billington, as far as I am aware) censured[25] tremolo singing thus: 'The performer should also come immediately upon the Note with Firmness, and, as I may say, a kind of Confidence; and not to introduce Trills and Beats, and a kind of Tremulus on every note, which is the bane of all singing, so that before the note in question is well ascertained, he is, through necessity, carried to the next note, which shares the same fate as the former, and so on to the end of the piece'.

2.13 William Gardiner, 1788



Illus.3. William Gardiner's illustration of the 'Tremando' or 'Tremolo'

Gardiner noted in his treatise[26] that tremolo could express either shivering with cold or intense feeling: 'The Tremando, or Tremolo (Illus. 3), Is a quick reiteration of the same note, to express a trembling sensation. This effect in the early writers was confined to the voice. Purcell introduces it in the Frost Scene of King Arthur, upon the words "What power art thou?" [James] Bartleman gave this passage with a tremulous motion of the voice, representing the shivering effects of cold. The same thing, as applied by Handel in the oratorio of Joshua, to express the trembling nations, falls miserably short of what the words import, and possesses more the ridiculous than the sublime. In the Chaos of the Creation, it admirably represents a sudden convulsion, or shaking of the earth; and in another part of the same work, when softened into a pianissimo, it reminds us of the buzz and whirl of insects. The voice has nearly surrendered this grace to the instruments, as possessing greater power of expression; yet there are passages of intense feeling, in which the tremolo adds greatly to the effect of the voice. In Purcell's song of Mad Bess, at the words, "Cold and hungry am I grown", it may be used with great success; and who that has ever heard [John] Braham in Jephtha's Vow, can forget his incomparable delivery of the words "horrid thought?" We need no other instance of the power of the tremolo, when so applied, to depict the workings of the soul'.

2.14 Charles Burney, 1744-1814

Burney clarified[27] what he expected from a good vocalist: 'Good singing requires a clear, sweet, even, and flexible voice, equally free from nasal and guttural defects. It is but by the tone of voice and articulation of words that a vocal performer is superior to an instrumental. If in swelling a note the voice trembles or varies its pitch, or the intonations are false, ignorance and science are equally offended; and if a perfect shake, good taste in embellishment, and a touching expression be wanting, the singer's reputation will make no great progress among true judges. If in rapid divisions the passages are not executed with neatness and articulation; or in adagios, if light and shade, pathos,

and variety of colouring and expression are wanting, the singer may have merit of certain kinds, but is still distant from perfection'. Burney's view of essential vocal requirements is similar to the definitions provided by Tosi and Quantz.

Throughout his career, from 1744 till shortly before his death in 1814, Burney always expressed interest in individual singers' voices. I have about 150 of his reviews of vocalists on file, more than by any other reviewer of the time. If tremolo or vibrato had been common during this period, one would have expected Burney to provide details. But these are lacking, with the single exception of an unnamed falsettist[28] he heard in a Dutch synagogue: 'One of these voices was a falset, more like the upper part of a bad vox humana stop in an organ, than a natural voice. I remember seeing an advertisement in an English newspaper, of a barber, who undertook to dress hair in such a manner as exactly to resemble a peruque; and this singer might equally boast of having the art, not of singing like a human creature, but of making his voice like a very bad imitation of one. Of much the same kind is the merit of such singers, who, in execution, degrade the voice into a flute or fiddle, forgetting that they should not receive law from instruments, but give instruments law … But though the tone of the falset was very disagreeable, and he forced his voice very frequently in an outrageous manner, yet this man had certainly heard good music and good singing. He had a facility of running divisions, and now and then mixed them with passages of taste, which were far superior to the rest'. The peruque analogy suggests that this falsettist used a pitch tremolo, similar to a modern vibrato.

Later in the same book, Burney commented on the Haarlem organ's vox humana:- 'As to the *vox humana*, which is so celebrated, it does not at all resemble a human voice, though a very good stop of the kind: but the world is very apt to be imposed upon by names; the instant a common hearer is told that an organist is playing upon a stop which resembles the human voice, he supposes it to be very fine, and never enquires into the propriety of the name, or exactness of the imitation. However, with respect to my own feelings, I must confess, that of all the stops I have yet heard, which have been honoured with the appellation of vox humana, no one, in the treble part, has ever reminded me of any thing human, so much as of the cracked voice of an old woman of ninety, or, in the lower parts, of Punch singing through a comb'.[29] Elsewhere, Burney showed that he disapproved of vocal unsteadiness: 'TREMBLANT, in Music, the name of a very disagreeable stop in large church-organs on the continent. Its name describes its effect. In general, a steady tone in a voice or wind-instrument capable of sustaining a note, is the most essential requisite; but in the tremblant stop there is a perpetual quivering, such as we sometimes hear in the streets by the vielle and barrel-organ'.[30]

2.15 Joseph Corfe, 1799

Corfe's treatise instructions[31] were, at least in part, similar to Roger North's views: 'The high notes should by no means be sung *too strong*, but fixed sweetly without any fluttering or tremulous motion. The too frequent *curling* of the notes should also be avoided: the scholar ought first to sing with plainness and simplicity, avoiding all ornaments, or *graces*, till he is sufficiently qualified to use them; and then he should be very cautious that they are not improperly used; for if the composer has taste in what he writes, it will be unnecessary, and indeed not very easy, to add any graces that will make it more beautiful; but too often they may render the piece less perfect … the shake should not too often be heard, and never too long, *nor ever on holding notes*, as here the *Messa di Voce* claims the preference, for "where passion speaks, all shakes and graces ought to be silent; leaving it to the sole source of a beautiful expression" to persuade'.

2.16 Charles Smyth, 1810

In a letter to his son[32], Smyth asserted unambiguously that tremulousness was incompatible with a good portamento. Vocalists should neither tremble nor allow any pitch fluctuation: 'A good portamento implies also that the notes be properly *sustained*. He who sings *tremulously* and makes that kind of *close shake* which old-fashioned violin and bass players were so fond of, fails egregiously as to portamento. In order to acquire the *faculty of sustaining notes*, without which your good voice and

ear will never conduct you to excellence, practise daily the sustaining about twelve notes of the ascending and descending diatonic major and minor scale, beginning at any pitch which is not *too low* for your voice, or would carry you beyond its natural or artificial compass. / I will now indulge a little playfulness of fancy. / Your notes must resemble in shape a barley corn <>; begin pianissimo, swell gradually till you arrive at fortissimo, and then gradually diminish till you have reduced the sound to pianissimo. The voice must neither be tremulous, or fluctuate as to pitch. If you enquire of the greatest professional singers that ever enraptured the public, they will corroborate my theory, by confessing to you how much time it was necessary for them to bestow on this most essential branch of the vocal art. Be patient. Nothing great is to be atchieved [sic] by idleness'.

2.17 Richard Mackenzie Bacon, 1824

Bacon[33] expounded several times on the need for pure vocal tone, for example: 'Portamento, by Dr. Burney and the writers before his time, is employed to signify the correct deportment of the voice, that is to say, the production of tone, free from all defects of the throat, the nose, or the mouth'. Bacon defined good vocal tone: 'Vocal art presupposes agreable [sic] sounds; and even in the representation of those passions which most convulse the mind, there must always be a reference to this especial postulatum. The finest characteristic of the finest schools has been the preparation and production of the purest and best tone, which is preserved with such uniformity by really well-taught singers, that when loudest or softest, when most sustained or most agitated, there are always the same leading qualities to be perceived. This constitutes in a great degree what the old masters understood by *portamento di voce*, by the deportment of the voice; by that identical bearing that was heard and felt throughout. I therefore maintain, Sir, that this equable beauty, this uniformity of design and execution, technically speaking, is the very first principle of good singing'.

In insisting on pure vocal tone, Bacon explicitly deprecated tremolo: 'In the practice of these simple solfeggi, I have in view only the production and sustaining of pure even tone, and the power of swelling and diminishing—in short, the command of the chest and of the organs employed in intoning and articulating notes and passages of the simple structure which is most commonly employed in airs of a declamatory or pathetic cast. Arrived at this point—and certainly not till he has arrived there—I should recommend the pupil to commence the practice of the shake. And if I were asked why I so long postpone this most indispensable attainment [i.e., the practice of the shake]—I reply, because I would suffer nothing to interfere with the few but grand and primary elements of the great style, which I have enumerated above. Above all things, it is important to preserve the power of sustaining, without the slightest tremulousness, an equal tone. This must be fixed and confirmed by practice, to such a degree of certainty, that not even the affections of the mind should be able to cause any considerable alteration. It should become a habit, otherwise the diffidence and fear which are always apt to assail the singer will too often paralize [sic] his efforts and nullify his powers. The practice of the shake, if begun too early, I consider is more likely to generate the trembling I deprecate than any thing else.—Therefore it should come the last'.

2.18 Louis Spohr, 1833

Spohr[34] suggests a slight (barely perceptible) pitch tremolo, when used infrequently in appropriate places: 'The singer's voice in passionate passages, or when he forces it to its most powerful pitch, has a trembling which resembles the vibrations of a strongly struck bell. This, the Violinist can imitate very closely, as well as many other peculiarities of the human voice. It consists in the wavering of a stopped tone, which alternately extends a little below or above the perfect intonation, and is produced by a trembling motion of the left hand in the direction from the nut towards the bridge. This motion must however be slight, and the deviation from the perfect intonation of the tone, should hardly be perceptible to the ear. / In old compositions the *tremolo* is indicated by points . . . . or by the word *tremolo*; in new compositions it is generally left to the performer. Avoid however its frequent use, or in improper places. In places where the *tremolo* is used by the singer, it may also

advantageously be applied to the violin. This *tremolo* is therefore properly used in passionate passages, and in strongly marking all the **fz** or **>** tones. Long sustained notes can be animated and strengthened by it: if such a tone swells from P to F, a beautiful effect is produced by beginning the *tremolo* slowly, and in proportion to the increasing power, to give a gradually accelerated vibration. Also by commencing rapidly, and gradually dropping the tone to a sound hardly perceptible, a good effect is produced'.

2.19 Isaac Nathan, 1836

Nathan[35] also insisted on pure vocal tone, 'devoid of tremour or harshness': 'there are so many different toned voices, each arriving at perfection in its own excellencies and qualities, that it would be difficult to bestow the meed of approbation on any one in particular; every tone that is equal without partaking of the nasal or guttural, that is devoid of tremour or harshness, that can gently sink into pathos where required, gradually melt on the ear into silence, like the soft sounds of an Æolian harp, or swell into that majesty of tone which fixes the hearer in astonishment, is alike desirable'. Nathan also asserted: 'Pure tone is the most essential requisite in singing; it is the vehicle of every other beauty in the science; execution, elocution and expression, are all subservient to tone, for without its aid they would be as nothing. Quality more than quantity of tone should be the chief consideration. A judicious singer, with even a weak voice, will frequently, from nice management, excite more pleasure than another whose magnificent volume of tone leads him to loftier flights'.

2.20 Maria Anfossi, 1837

Anfossi's definition[36] of a firm voice excludes any tremolo: 'To render the voice firm is to make it capable of dwelling without tremor (*senza tremare*), and with a perfect intonation on any note. By expanding the voice, is meant modulating it upon long notes. This management of the breath is difficult and fatiguing at first, but amply compensates for the trouble; for a fine and firm *messa di voce* (*una bella e ferma spianata di voce*), or expansion of the voice, is highly creditable to the singer, and never fails to elicit general applause'.

2.21 Vocal 'purity' and 'musical glass'-like sound

Reviewers often described singers' voices as pure and akin to the sound of the glass harmonica, or 'musical glasses' or 'armonica', the terms used from 1771 to at least 1848, when Jenny Lind's voice was compared to the musical glasses: 'the quality of tone at the same time being such that, however poor the comparison, we can only compare it to the sound elicited from musical glasses, but the vibration dwelling on the ear long afterwards, with a peculiar penetrating power of extraordinary fascination'.[37]

While voices were admired for sounding like the 'musical glasses', the reverse also applied. A performer, Mr Cartwright, promoted a concert in 1779 thus: 'This Instrument, whose dulcet Tone is so much admired for its imitation of the human Voice, excelling in this Respect any as yet invented, is also taught by Mr. Cartwright to Ladies and Gentlemen on reasonable Terms, though he is the only Professor. He also constructs this melodious Apparatus'.[38] A similar claim was made in 1882: 'he [Mr Cartwright] will perform on the MUSICAL GLASSES, Which far excel every Instrument yet invented, both for Purity of Tone, and nice Imitation of the Human Voice'.[39] Concerts presented by glass harmonica soloists were popular for at least half a century.

Richard Mackenzie Bacon defined good vocal tone: 'We can enumerate only five instruments which appear to us severally to enjoy the primary properties of fine tone - these are the musical glasses, the Æolian harp, the bugle, the bassoon, and the flageolet; and it is from hearing and closely attending to the properties of these, that we may be best able to ascertain the genuine effects of mere tone. But it is perhaps to the glasses alone that we can with safety recur as a foundation to reason upon, because the pleasure we derive from them is the least connected with former associations … The glasses, if not entirely, are the most exempt from all casual accessions to pleasure. Taking them as

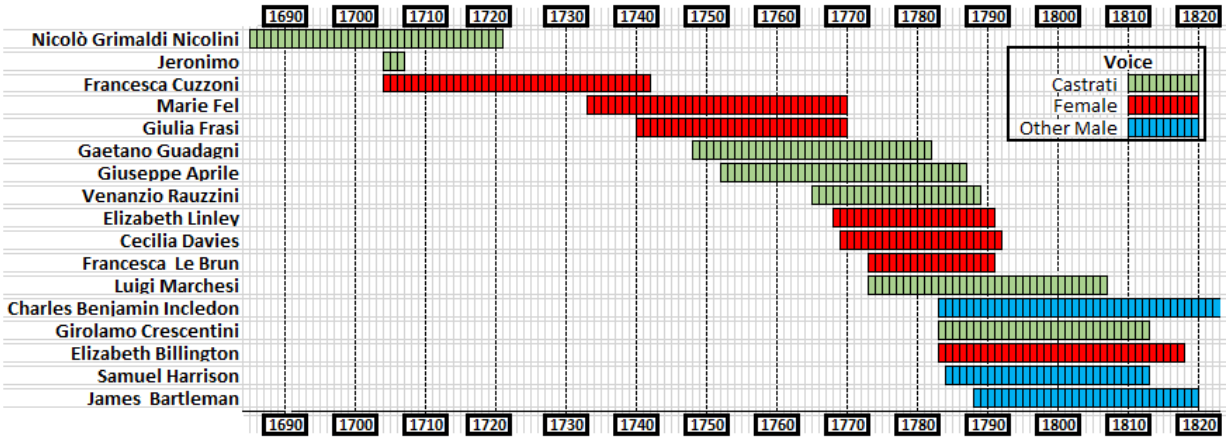
our examples, we should say that the finest tone produces for a short time, and but for a short time, an intense delight - that satiety soon comes on and the ear palls. But the first sensations are sufficient to enable us to determine that tone must be rich, sweet, and brilliant, and above all pure, or *sui generis*, distinctly marked by the same continuous quality, whatever the modification in point of quantity, in order to produce the highest order and degree of simple pleasure. To this general rule the finest voices we have ever heard appear to us to conform. Let us not forget to observe, that the tone of the glasses is the most sweet and rich, but it lacks something of the brilliancy of the other instruments. Of these three constituents, as they affect our senses and faculties, we should say that the richness fills, satisfies, and delights the sense—the sweetness partakes in these effects, but adds to them a soothing and more refined gratification—the brilliancy is the *spirit-stirring*, the animating, the enlivening property of tone. These, as it appears to me, are the avenues by which sound approaches and invades the dominions of sense and sentiment. What I mean by pure tone is, that it be free from any obvious taint, such as is derived from the reed or string, by inferior players. There is also a piercing, harsh tone brought from the trumpet when overblown*, that produces the effect to which we allude. By pure tone in singing I mean to describe that which neither partakes too strongly of the lips, the mouth, the nose, the throat, or the head, but which comes freely from the chest, and is delivered justly (without undergoing any perceptible alteration) from that particular place in the passage which we learn by sympathy, and which we perceive to be exactly the same in well-taught singers instructed according to the Italian method. A tone so generated and so emitted is the pure, natural voice'.[40]

An *Encyclopædia Britannica* article from 1797 focused on performance difficulties associated with the glass harmonica: 'The open shake, or trill, is another unhappy operation upon musical glasses; which can only be performed by the alternate pulsations of two continued sounds, differing from each other only by a note or semitone. But as these pulsations thus managed cannot be distinct, the result is far from being pleasant; nor is there any succedaneum for the close shake, which in the violin is performed by alternatively depressing the string to the finger-board, and suffering it to rise without entirely removing the finger from it, and which, by giving the note that tremulous sound produced by the human voice affected with grief, is a grace peculiarly adapted to pathetic and plaintive airs'. [41]

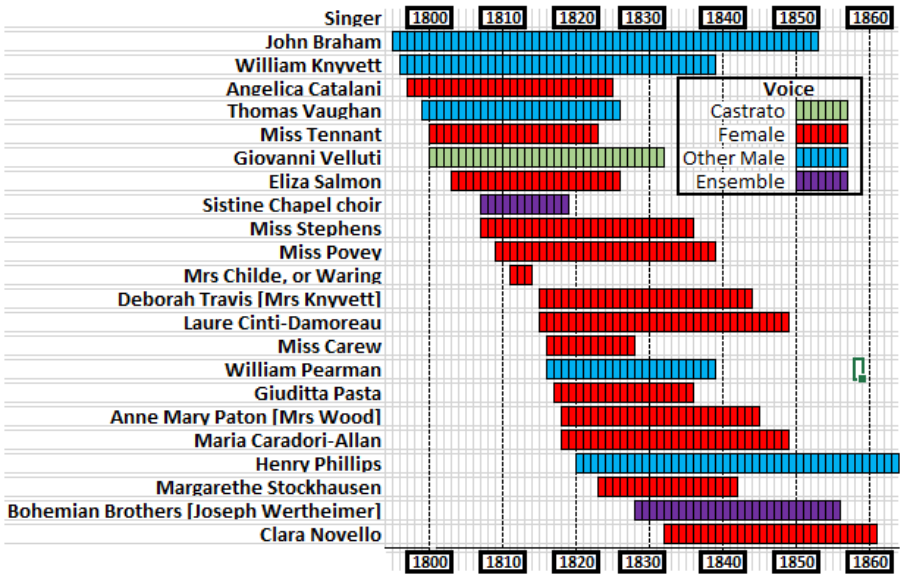
While the inability of the glass harmonica to produce a proper trill has been disputed, it must be conceded that the instrument is unable to generate a pitch tremolo. However, it has been suggested that, by rapidly alternating finger pressure on the revolving glasses, it is possible to produce an emphasis tremolo. But the potential technical ability to produce an effect does not mean that it was used in practice. Indeed, none of the descriptions of music glass-like vocal sound suggest that such tremolos were actually produced in performance; all those that I have seen, including those quoted in this article, suggest that *messa di voce* effects (viz. a pianissimo start, followed by a crescendo to forte, then a decrescendo back to pianissimo) were generally used instead to impart extra expression to a given long note.

2.22 Descriptions of the best singers' voices during the Long 18th century

I have already quoted the views of treatise writers, who either ruled out vocal tremolo in all circumstances or advocated its selective or expressive use in specified situations. Similarly, many vocalists are criticized for their too-frequent use of tremolo or rubato. Next, I present a selection of accounts of singers' voices, starting with castrati in the late 17th century, moving on to female soloists in the 18th century, then onto non-castrato male vocal soloists in the 18th and early 19th centuries, and finally ensemble singers. These include descriptions of vocalists with glass harmonica-like voices. All these reviews describe singers who debuted before 1829, with the exception of Clara Novello. I present below two charts showing the career of each singer from début to retirement against a timeline, with Part 1 at Illus.4 and Part 2 at Illus.5. Where a singer has just a single review, and no further information about the length of their performing career is available, I have inserted a placeholder, showing the previous and subsequent years besides the review year.



Illus.4. Straight Tone and Glass Harmonica-Like Vocalists, 1685-c.1820



Illus.5. Straight Tone and Glass Harmonica-Like Vocalists, c.1800-c.1860

A. Castrati

Nicolò Grimaldi Nicolini's voice was outlined[42] in 1708 thus: 'His voice at this first time of being among us (for he made us a second visit when it was impaired) had all that strong clear sweetness of tone so lately admired in Senesino. A blind man could scarce have distinguished them: but in volubility of throat, the former had much the superiority'.[43]

The voice of **Jeronimo** was described[44] by Charles d'Ancillon in 1705-6 thus: 'you are most agreeably charmed a new with the soft Strains of Jeronimo (which I have sometimes almost imagined have been not unlike the gentle Fallings of Water I have somewhere in Italy often heard) lulling the Mind into a perfect Calm and Peace' adding that he had 'a voice so soft, and ravishingly mellow, that nothing can better represent it than the Flute-stops of some Organs'. The reader should understand that Baroque organ flute-stops are senza vibrato.

Burney wrote[45]: '… after dinner [on 17 August 1772], even in seeing the gardens and buildings, **[Gaetano] Guadagni** and **[Venanzio] Rauzzini** sung a great part of the time, particularly in the

bath, where there was an excellent room for music; here they went successfully through all Tartini's experiments, in order to produce the third sound [my note: 'The Tartini tone, or *terzo suono*, is an auditory illusion. For example, if Guadagni and Rauzzini were to sing an A and C# together as a perfectly tuned (just) interval, i.e. with the C# slightly flatter than in equal temperament, they would both imagine a low A sounding in the bass']. 'Guadagni, then very young, wild, and idle, with a very fine counter-tenor voice of only six or seven notes compass, performed the serious man's part in these burlettas, and was but little noticed by the public; till Handel, pleased with his clear, sweet, and full voice, engaged him to sing, in Samson and the Messiah, the fine airs which he had composed for Mrs. Cibber's sweet and affecting voice of low pitch: such as, "He shall feed his flock like a shepherd"; "Return O God of Hosts"; and "He was despised and rejected"'.[46] 'I think his shake (Rauzzini) is not quite open enough, nor did I then think his voice sufficiently powerful for a great theatre; but in all other respects he is a charming performer; his taste is quite modern and delicate; the tone of his voice sweet and clear; his execution of passages of the most difficult intonation amazingly neat, rapid, and free'.[47]

Christian Friedrich Schubart, who had heard **Giuseppe Aprile** in Württemberg some time after 1756, wrote[48]: 'In him the art and nature were marvellously combined … he sang with the purity of a bell up to E above the treble stafe [recte soprano clef], and had a profound knowledge of vocal technique, as well as a warm and sympathetic personality'.

Review from around 1788: 'His voice [**Luigi Marchesi**] is perfectly pure and silvery[49], and extends from the low C to the D above high C. With the loveliest declamation and deportment, he combines much musical insight. In the execution of passages and the so-called hammer-stroke (*il Martello*) he is commonly reckoned superior to Farinelli'. In the same year: 'his vocal powers were very great, his voice of extensive compass, but a little inclined to be thick'.[50]

Schopenhauer wrote in 1797: 'His supernaturally beautiful voice[51] [**Girolamo Crescentini**] cannot be compared with that of any woman: there can be no fuller and more beautiful tone, and in its silver purity he yet achieves indescribable power'. In 1805 'His voice, employed with discreet restraint, is indescribably agreeable, round, pure and flexible; his embellishments rich in noble art and aesthetic propriety, without being overly elaborated. Especially beautiful is the pure, even, ever stronger pulsation of his heavenly voice, with which, in one passage, he makes a crescendo to the high A and then holds the tone at full voice for several measures'.[52]

Reports from 1825: 'Velluti's voice is unique; it is that of prolonged puberty, unmellowed by riper age. His notes are like the penetrating, piercing ones of musical glasses. They astonish more than they please.[53] '[**Giovanni Velluti**'s voice] is a soprano in alto, in the highest key. It wants the softness of the female tone, and the gentleness that follows puberty; clear shrill, and penetrating, it thrills in the ear like the prolonged tones of musical glasses; his notes, at times, are sweet, soft, and flexible, but often grate in harsh discords on the ear'.[54] 'The sense of feebleness always has possessed us when we have heard a counter-tenor song from Mr. Wm. Knyvett or any other falsette singer. But we have never heard tone at once so pure and delicate, so sweet and brilliant, as parts of the scale of Signor Velluti. It affects the ear as chrystal or as diamonds the eye. There is a ringing in some of the notes that conveys more clearly to our understanding the meaning of the Italian term *bel metallo di voce* than any dissertation or any practical demonstration ever submitted to us before'.[55]

B. Female Singers

Johann Quantz heard **Francesca Cuzzoni** in 1719 and described her thus to Charles Burney: '*Cuzzoni* had a very agreeable, and clear *soprano* voice; a pure intonation, and a fine shake; her compass extended two octaves, from C to c in alt. Her style of singing was innocent and affecting; her graces did not seem artificial, from the easy and neat manner in which she executed them: however, they took possession of the soul of every auditor, by her tender and touching expression. She had no great rapidity of execution, in *allegros*; but there was a roundness and smoothness, which were neat

and pleasing'.[56] Mancini wrote: '… she [Cuzzoni] was gifted with a voice angelic in its clarity and sweetness, and because of the excellence of her style. She sang with a smooth legato; she acquired such a perfect portamento of the voice, united to an equality of the registers, that she not only carried away those who heard her, but also captured their esteem and veneration in the same moment. / This excellent lady lacked nothing which seems important to us, for she possessed sufficient agility; the art of leading the voice, of sustaining it, clarifying it, and drawing it back, all with such attention to perfection that she was given the valued name of "Mistress". If she sang a cantabile aria, she did not fail in fitting places to vitalize the singing with rubato, mixing proportionately with mordents, gruppetti, volatinas and perfect trills; passes and passages executed in varied styles, now legato, now vibrant with trills and mordents; now staccato, now held back, now filled with redoubled volatinas; now with a few leaps tied from the low to the high; and finally by perfect execution she gave perfect attention to everything she undertook; all was done with surprising finish. All of this together produced admiration and delight. Her voice was so given to exact execution that she never found any obstacle which she did not easily overcome; she used the highest notes with unequaled precision. She was the mistress of perfect intonation; she had the gift of a creative mind, and accurate discernment in making choices; by reason of these her singing was sublime and rare'.[57]

Marie Fel: 'Her sweet, pure, and silver-toned voice delighted the public 20 years, and would have continued in favour twenty years more, if bad health, and a feeble chest, had not obliged her to quit the stage in 1759 [from 1733]. Mad. Fel sung equally well in French and Latin, and was one of the French who had best succeeded in Italian. Her voice was always as young and astonishing as ever, to the small number of friends to whom she devoted the last years of her life, and who cherished her personal qualities as much as they did her vocal talents'.[58]

'**Giulia Frasi** was at this time (January 1743, at a performance of Galuppi's *Buranello)* young, and interesting in person, with a sweet and clear voice, and a smooth and chaste style of singing, which, though cold and unimpassioned, pleased natural ears, and escaped the censure of critics'.[59] 'Frasi's favour, however, was so established in all our musical performances elsewhere throughout the kingdom, that she sang at Ranelagh, at the triennial meetings at Worcester, Hereford, and Gloucester; at the two universities, and in London at the Swan, King's Arms, and Castle concerts, at the concert at Hickford's Room, Brewer-street, at all benefit concerts; and was the principal singer in Handel's oratorios during the last ten years of his life. Having come into this country at an early period of her life, she pronounced our language in singing in a more articulate and intelligible manner than the natives; and her style being plain and simple, with a well-toned voice, a good shake, and perfect intonation, without great taste and refinement, she delighted the ignorant, and never displeased the learned'.**[60]**

'The voice of M^{rs} S. [**Elizabeth Linley**, later **Mrs Sheridan**, flourished from 1766] was as likely to make lasting Friends as anyone w^{ch} perhaps has been bestowed by Nature on a Young Female; not from its great Extension, or from its Force, but from a native Sweetness and true Intonation. Its original Quality was good in point of *Tone*, and steady, in *Tune*. Music was become a Language w^{ch} she read with as much facility as her Mother Tongue. And she had so long studied the Oratorios of Handel and so frequently sung the best songs in them that she seemed to execute them with more propriety of Expression than anyone had done before. They were the sounds w^{ch} she first lisped in her infancy. There was something so pure, chaste & judicious in her manner of Executing them, that joined to her articulate & correct expression of the Words, seraphic looks, and truely natural & Pathetic Expression, it was impossible for the most enthusiastic admirers of more modern music & Italian refinem^{ts} in singing not to be pleased'.[61] A review of Linley from 1774: 'An angelic voice, of so sweet and delightful a tone and quality that it went at once to the heart; and, combined with her touching expression, produced an effect almost heavenly, and moved every hearer'.[62]

Librettist Pietro Metastasio praised **Cecilia Davis**: 'The bearers of this most reverential address, are two English young persons, travelling under the conduct of their worthy parents, in order to give

testimonies at Naples of their several abilities in music; their names are Miss Mary, and Miss Cecilia Davis; the first performs with admirable skill on an instrument of new invention, called the *Armonica*. It is composed of glasses of different sizes, revolving, by means of a pedal, on a spindle. These glasses, forming a regular scale of tones and semi-tones, being delicately touched with wet fingers, during their revolution, produce the most uncommonly sweet, and celestial tones, imaginable; particularly in pathetic strains, for which the instrument is eminently calculated. The other sister, who is possessed of a very pleasing and flexible voice, sings extremely well, with much art and natural expression; and when accompanied by her sister on the *Armonica*, she has the power of uniting her voice with the instrument, and of imitating its tones, so exactly, that it is sometimes impossible to distinguish one from the other. They have been here universally admired, and applauded; and my most august Patroness, who has deigned to hear them frequently, has honoured them with munificent testimonies of imperial approbation'.[63]

'In the summer of 1778 she [Madame **Francesca Le Brun**, née Danzi] went into Italy and sung at Milan with Pacchierotti, Rubinelli, and the Balducci; and during this journey it was imagined that she would have improved her style of singing; but travelling with her husband, an excellent performer on the hautbois, she seems to have listened to nothing else; and at her return to London she copied the tone of his instrument so exactly, that when he accompanied her in divisions of thirds and sixths, it was impossible to discover who was uppermost'.[64] 'He [Pacchierotti] observed to me [Susan Burney] that tho' Made Le Brun was certainly a much better singer than Bernasconi, yet that the character of her voice was such that it would unite still worse with his—this indeed I thought before—for Pacchierotti's & Made Le Brun's voices & styles seem to form an exact contrast to each other. He said 'twas pity she should be so fond of shewing her flageolet voice, as she had other Merit—"Elle n'est pas reduite a celui la seul enverité—et elle ferait mieux de s'en passer"'.[65]

Elizabeth Billington was reviewed[66] in 1783: 'When I first heard her, in 1783, she was very young and pretty, had a delightful fresh voice of very high compass, and sung with great neatness several songs composed for Allegranti, whom she closely imitated ... Her voice, though sweet and flexible, was not of that full nature which formed the charm of Banti's, but was rather a voce di testa, and in its very high tones resembled a flute or flageolet. Its agility was very great, and every thing she sung was executed in the neatest manner, and with the utmost precision'. The *Morning Post*[67] reviewed her in 1801: 'Her voice [Mrs Billington] is naturally sweet, silvery, light, and brilliant. The chords of this happy organ could not be more finely attuned, but it was possible to attain more body, more volume, and compass. All these advantages it now enjoys. From habit, and perhaps the increase of physical strength, it has acquired that firmness and confidence which give to the organ a full tone and commanding expression ... astonished the audience by its variety of combination, its rapidity of movement, its difficulty, and the ease, delicacy, the various beauties and embellishments of the execution ... It emitted all sounds with the same facility, resembling more, in the truth and precision of its vibrations, some fine piece of mechanism, than the uncertain organ of a human being dependent upon the caprice of will and external operations'. John Waldie, author of a series of journals from 1799 to 1864 containing vocal descriptions, wrote of her in 1803: 'Such is her affinity with Handel's music, that every impulse seems to be created sympathetically in her utterance of song—the wonderful compass, equality, & sweetness, & power of her voice, and the astonishing taste, feeling, & ease of execution are beyond everything; while the amazing power of running thro' the longest divisions of above two octaves, together with the width of her chest, which enables her to swell, quaver, shake, or hold a note for an immense time, make her completely perfect—if there is a fault, it is in her voice itself—in which, tho' it is altogether the best in the world, the lower tones are some of them not so round & clear as the remainder of her voice ... in "From mighty Kings" was beyond every thing—in the quick part of the tune her execution seemed exactly like the finest pianoforte'.[68]

Angelica Catalani was likened in at least eight separate cases to the musical glasses. I include a selection below:

1806: Her voice, besides being of prodigious extent and compass, has a peculiar character: in the three octaves which she runs over, it is always equally true, full and brilliant; it is like that silvery tone drawn from the musical glasses, which seizes the ear, and vibrates long after the sound has ceased.[69]

1818: 'Her compass was from G to F. It was scarcely less in extent than Billington's, but the quality of voice was essentially different. Billington's was bird-like or flutey, but Catalani's was full, rich, and magnificent beyond any other voice we ever heard. It bore no resemblance to any instrument, except we could imagine the tone of the musical glasses to be magnified in volume to the same gradation of power, then perhaps there might exist some similitude'.[70]

Finally, in 1824, when Edward Bruce recalled 'a peculiar vibration on a high note, like the undulating sound produced by running the finger round a water-glass [p. 82] … I describe her as she was then, yet unspoiled by foreign trickery; when the delicacy of her singing was as remarkable as its power; when every note won its easy way from undistorted lips, graced by a winning smile; when not a look or gesture "o'erstepped the modesty of nature". Never was there such perfect fascination. I waited eagerly for the extraordinary undulating tone, which I mentioned before, so like a musical glass. Catalani made use of it twice, in the course of the evening. The notes on which the vibration is produced, is said to be higher than the highest key on the piano; the Italians call it "la voce di testa", because the voice is thrown up into the head, instead of being drawn from the chest; and the English amateurs give it the name of "double falsetto". For myself, I never heard any one employ it but Catalani. She appeared to make a sort of preparation previous to its utterance, and never approached it by the regular scale. It began with an inconceivably fine thin tone, which gradually swelled both in volume and power, till it "Made the ears vibrate and the heart-strings thrill"'.[71]

Review of Miss **Tennant** [later Mrs Vaughan] '…nor should Miss TENNANT be omitted, who sang very sweetly in the Verse and Solo allotted to her. She is rising very fast and deservedly in the estimation of the public. Her voice is rich in tone, and her shake is perfect'.[72] In same year: 'The qualities of VOICE are Tone and Compass.—Of Tone, the requisites seem clearness, strength, and richness: clearness, as opposed to whatever is thick or husky; strength, to tenuity and tremulousness; richness, to meagreness or harshness. I am far from considering these as all the modifications, good and bad, of which tone is susceptible: there are many others. Nothing, for instance, can be more distinguishable than the ready terseness of [Nancy] Storace's voice, the luscious sweetness of Miss Tennant's, or the smooth flow of Mrs. [Anna Maria] Crouch's'.[73] In 1813: 'The air and chorus of "The marvellous work", &c. gave Mrs. Vaughan an opportunity of displaying with scientific effect her chaste and pleasing powers: her voice was sweet and clear, and her execution perfect'.[74]

Eliza Salmon. In December 1814 'There was something in the musical-glass-like tone of her voice that went at once to the soul; something in the exquisite brilliancy and facility of her [Salmon's] passing shake, that not only procured a willing pardon for all faults, but made the hearer doubt whether what would have been musical sins in other less-gifted singers, partook of the nature of sin in Mrs. Salmon. She seldom appeared to be imbued with any deep feeling herself, while one tone of her clear mellow voice would draw a tear from many a stern eye, or drive him who was too proud to weep to the resource of his snuff-box'.[75] 'Her voice [Salmon reviewed[76] in 1820] possesses neither extraordinary compass nor volume; and though it is more inclining to the thin than to the rich class, yet it resembles no other voice that we ever remember to have heard, but comes perhaps the nearest to the tone of the musical glasses, if we can imagine that sound to be somewhat thinned and refined'.

Reviews from 1822 'I should be inclined to hazard an opinion, that the tone of the musical glasses exhibits the best standard of instrumental perfection for the soprano. **Miss Stephens**'s [misprinted as Miss Stevens's] is of this quality, taking a middle part of the scale. **Mrs. Salmons**'s lies higher. The one is therefore richer--the other more brilliant and not less sweet'.[77] Review[78] in 1823: 'When

I hear such a singer as Miss [Catherine] Stephens or Mrs. [Eliza] Salmon, the power of ductility seems carried to its utmost. There are no roughnesses, no breaks—the metal is drawn out exactly, and if we could run it along between the finger and the thumb, or pass the nail over the surface, it would be as even, as smooth, and as polished to the touch as it is brilliant to the ear'.

However, after a busy 22 years, Miss Stephens's voice started to fail her, as suggested by three reports: 'Miss Stephens, from want of practice, we presume, has lost somewhat of her accustomed firmness in the upper part of the scale'[79], 'gave the first line of her solo admirably, and would have been equally charming in the other but for a tremulous roughness in a few of the upper notes, which in some measure marred her exertions'[80], and 'Miss Stephens, who is still in the prime of life, and enjoying good health, was a few years ago the idol of popularity, and possessed perhaps the finest soprano voice this country ever produced, of great compass, exquisite sweetness, and extraordinary flexibility; yet her performance at the Abbey festival was positively distressing, her tone weak and impure, and her intonation most faulty'.[81]

'As a singer she [**Miss Povey** in 1819] put forth still stronger claims to admiration. Her voice is strong, rich, and clear. She does not possess much science, but some of her tones have the thrilling purity of the musical glasses, and that waving dying fall, which seems to carry the soul into the depths of space'.[82] 'Miss Povey, with her tones sweet and clear as the musical glasses, is a valuable acquisition'.[83]

'…she [**Mrs. Childe** from review[84] in 1811] has certainly very many and charming requisites: her voice is not so powerful as that of her predecessor, Mrs. Dickons, but her execution is quite as correct, as far as we have heard it. Her tones are delicate and harmonic, like the vibrations of musical glasses; and her taste seems very considerable. Her reception was truly flattering; and we are of the opinion, that Mrs. Childe, alias Miss Bamfield, will prove no inconsiderable addition to our English musical talent'.

Her singing [**Deborah Travis**, later Mrs William Knyvett] is pure and unadulterated,—without the slightest mixture of constraint, force, or affectation. It is sweet, sensible, natural, and in sound English taste'.[85] 'Miss Travis affords a similar example of unpolluted manner [as Miss Stephens]'.[86] 'Miss Travis sung with the purity and finish of the school in which she has been bred, and to which she is an honour—the school of antient music and of pure English expression'.[87] 'The sweetness and purity of Mrs. Knyvett's style were understood and admired'.[88]

Laure Cinti-Damoreau, reviewed in 1838: 'In this scene she displayed to great advantage her extraordinary musical capabilities and clearness of voice, giving distinct intonation to every note, whether in the cadence or the shake, and betraying in the most complicated passages not the least tremulousness or confusion of sound'.[89] 'Her's [sic] is a voice that falls upon the ear, like drops of water upon a musical glass—it possesses that liquid sweetness of which we read so much in poetry, but so rarely meet with in reality, and her execution is remarkable for its brilliancy, its neatness and its purity'.[90]

Miss Carew as reviewed in 1821: 'This lady's voice is a clear, powerful, and sweet soprano, of considerable compass, which has been formed and cultivated in the purest school; her performance is rather remarkable for a fascinating simplicity, a depth of feeling, and a correctness of taste, than for a brilliancy of execution … Her style of singing bears a closer resemblance to that of Miss Stephens, than of any performer we could name; and this naturally arises from that lady having been constantly before her, nor could she have chosen a better model. It is somewhat remarkable, that her voice, too, bears a great resemblance to that of Miss Stephens, and this is as observable in her speaking as in her singing'.[91] Review from 1821: 'But the powers of her gentle fluty voice are hardly equal to the bravura style'.[92] Review from 1822: 'But Miss Carew's voice is deficient (and in that particular comparatively), in volume alone, for it is well toned and well formed. Her ductility is truly admirable; there are no breaks or flaws in the tone'.[93]

Giuditta Pasta in 1824: '…her upper tones, though taken with infinite ability, are yet sometimes a little sour, and not seldom in rapid passages, false in point of intonation. The very lowest are forced and harsh--and there is that general thickness to which the term veiled tones has lately been applied. She carries the power of ductility to its utmost possible perfection, and we must give her in this respect a praise equal to any vocalist we ever remember'.[94] The following year: 'Her rapid transition from the highest to the lowest tones—the liquid clearness of her notes, and the feeling with which she poured out her thrilling melody, drew down tumultuous applause'.[95] In 1828: 'sung an Aria in her wonted energetic and expressive style, some of her upper notes, resemble the musical glasses, but her lower ones are not calculated to give due effect to plaintive strains, such as a Stephens breathes in her ballads'.[96]

Anne Mary Paton (Mrs Wood). Extract from her letter to the *Morning* Chronicle explaining why she resigned from a role requiring her to sing tremulously as an old woman: 'I took the part of the White Maid, and did not discover, till the rehearsals convinced me, the difficulties of representing melo-dramatic and pantomimic business, and singing a song (totally unconnected with the part) in a tremulous voice, as an old woman. I then certainly did (word for word, as minutely stated in the paragraph in question) represent to Mr. Fawcett my total inability to render the part effective'.[97] In 1828: 'Miss Paton equalled the glassy tones of Mrs. Salmon in "There were Shepherds" and the succeeding Recitatives, and in the Air "Rejoice greatly"'.[98] In 1830: 'A golden fullness invests the tone: and her lighter notes are pearls ... The song with the flute accompaniment, in the Sultan, obtained more real applause than any throughout the evening; and the reason was obvious; it was a musical-instrument song. When the flute and her voice went together, you sometimes hardly knew which was which'.[99] In 1835: 'Listen to the simple intonation of her voice, so clear and firm. Her continuous notes are so easily sustained, that the nicest ear detects no break nor interval'.[100]

Maria Caradori-Allan. Review in 1822: 'Her voice is sweetly delicate; its silvery purity, resembling the mellow intonation of the finest flageolet, enchanted those that were near enough to seize every breath. A first debut may have checked the full force of her tones, but we doubt whether it will ever be of sufficient strength to reach every part of so large a house as the King's Theatre [Haymarket]. In the concerted pieces, her part could not be heard'.[101] In 1826: 'Thin tone is heard at further distances than that which is thick and rich. Madame Caradori, whose tone is remarkably thin and delicate, was said to be heard as well if not better than any singer in the minster at York'.[102] Two reports in 1834: "There was a clearness and purity in her tones, combined with great feeling, and a power of voice exquisitely appropriated to the dignity of the subject. The effect we could observe upon the auditory was that of enchantment'.[103] 'I have repeatedly heard Caradori, but never to finer effect than in Birmingham. The *silveriness* of her tones seemed to have an extra polish. Her sustained tones approximate more nearly to the musical glasses than those of any vocalist I know; they seem to make the very atmosphere alive with a constant succession of delicate vibrations. There is no strain—no harshness—no jangle—but all "musical as is Apollo's lute". She has not the power of Malibran, nor the luxuriant softness of Mrs. Wood, but she has a charm of her own surpassingly sweet'.[104]

Margarethe Stockhausen reviewed in 1827: 'Her voice was a clear high soprano, the upper part of the register being unusually sweet and liquid, qualities which she rarely missed the opportunity of exhibiting, for she almost always terminated her songs on the highest octave'.[105] In 1834: 'Madame Stockhausen, in an air from a Litany of Mozart, displayed the clearness of execution, the singular purity of voice, and the chaste German style, which are her distinguishing characteristics'.[106] 'The scena from the *Seasons* was most delightfully sung by Madame Stockhausen, whose clear, bell-like voice vibrated through the Hall, more like the magical sound of musical glasses than anything else to which we can compare it. Willman's clarionet obligato had a most delicious effect in the air of this scena'.[107] 'In consequence of the great reputation Madame Stockhausen has so justly acquired, she, by particular request, sang, "With verdure clad", from Haydn's Creation, with the same angelic

sweetness and purity of tone, the same finished taste and charming expression, with which she sang twelve years since, and which is so immeasurably superior to any we ever heard, in the same air'.[108] 'We heard it ["Here amid these calm recesses", in B-flat], however with delight from the voice of Madame Stockhausen, at the second Philharmonic concert, whose clear and silvery tones developed the whole character of the composition'.[109]

C Non-Castrato Male Singers

Reference date 1790: 'But [**Charles Benjamin**] **Incledon** was splendidly gifted by nature; his voice was not only powerful, rich, and *ductile* as gold, but his falsetto was more exquisitely toned than that of any singer we ever heard … His pronunciation was thick, and affected by something like a lisp, which proceeded from a roll of his too large tongue, when he prepared for a forcible passage, or was embarrassed by the word. In this way, too, he used to jump to his falsetto by octaves, for the tone (it was that of a rich flute) was so widely different from his natural voice, there could be no junction. His singing was at once natural and national'.[110]

Reviewed[111] in 1818: 'Though every sound in [**Samuel**] **Harrison**'s singing was delivered with the most exquisite polish, every note as pure and bright as globes of glass, producing a delicious sensation upon the ear that I have never heard since, still Bartleman was my delight'.[112] Richard Mackenzie Bacon also described[113] Harrison's voice during the same year: 'It must yet be admitted to have been pure in the most complete sense of the term … If we may be permitted to compare the human voice to any known instrument, we should certainly say, that Mr. Harrison's in some measure resembled the richest and deepest sounds of the musical glasses, well played, in a good room, and the analogy is brought nearer by the way in which the tone was produced. The performer on the glasses gives birth to his melody by a touch that apportions the gradations from soft to loud and from loud to soft again, in the finest possible manner'. Bacon concluded his review on a hypnotically soothing note: 'No passion ruffles, no violence disturbs the smooth and delightful flow. It falls upon the ear like the light of a summer's moon upon the eye, soft and soothing, while the balm of the air through which it glides, seems but a part of the sensation itself awakens'.

Reference date 1788: 'His voice [**James Bartleman**] was a rich and powerful bass, extending from f below the line to f above it: the upper part was not inferior in quality and evenness of tone to that of Harrison; while the lower was full and reedy. His note upon g was as clear and as well defined as the third string of a violoncello'.[114] 'This remarkable baritone not only possessed the utmost purity and roundness of tone, but manifested an amount of feeling in his interpretation of the older masters which I believe, without desiring to be a *laudator temporis acti*, has never since been rivalled, not even by [Charles] Santley'.[115]

'**John Braham**'s voice is a tenor, enlarged in compass by a falsetto, and its whole range of really useful and good notes extends from A in the bass to E in alt,—a scale of twenty notes. The tone, when not forced, approached the very best sounds of a clarinet, beautifully played, less reedy, though perhaps always a *little* lowered by that defect. It was so perfectly even and equal, and he possessed so thorough a command over it, that he could produce any given quantity or quality upon any part of it at pleasure; while, if he ran through his whole compass by semitones, it was impossible to point out at what precise interval he took, or relinquished, the falsetto, though the peculiar quality of that voice, when he rose high, was sufficiently perceptible. But to this faculty (the true *portamento*[1] of Italian vocalization) he also added the power of *colouring* his tone according to the passion,--he could increase or attenuate its volume, not merely making it louder or softer, but by a distinctly different expression of tone, so to speak. It became bold or pathetic, tender or amatory, martial or despairing, according to the passion of the song'.[116] Richard Mackenzie Bacon praised Braham's pure tone: 'Let

[1] This term has been corrupted from its original and proper sense, "the conduct of the voice", to *the glide* by which the Italians pass from note to note, both ascending and descending. [original footnote]

it be clearly understood that we are now discussing the formation of pure tones and not the arbitrary modifications which the singer chooses to adopt with a view to the expression of particular emotions or passions. We go to the principle—to the foundation, for the very first foundation of good singing is the formation of pure tone. By pure tone, we mean that which comes from the chest. The unmixed *voce di petto*, free from any change in the throat, mouth, or head. MR. BRAHAM and MR. LACY'S solmization is of this nature; and when we hear them, we feel by a sort of sympathy which directs us to the spot from whence the tone originally proceeds, that their rule and their execution is the same'.[117] Edgcumbe praised him in 1834: 'I first heard him sing as a boy. Yet he retains in their full extent all his powers, without diminution or decay. His voice is just what it was in his prime; it is become neither weak, nor husky, nor tremulous, but filled with its volume all the vast space with the finest effect'.[118] Braham was favourably compared to Rubini in 1844: 'His organ has none of the tremulousness of Rubini, nor is its declamatory power impaired'.[119]

According to some accounts, Braham at times made use of a 'trembling' voice. 'Braham sang "Deeper and deeper still", with great pathos; but his performance was, perhaps, rather too theatrical. The tremulation of the voice, while suffering under a strong passion, is natural in ordinary recitation, but it is injudicious in musical declamation; in fact it destroys the music. Mr. BRAHAM is so admirable (we had almost said so perfect) a singer, that we are persuaded he sometimes violates his own judgment in order to please, what he conceives to be the taste of the town. But we assure him that the town will be better pleased if he will lead and improve its taste, a task for which he is well qualified, both by his great popularity and his allowed skill in the art'.[120]

Reference date 1822: 'Sostenuto is the power of sustaining the voice upon any note, so that the sound is continued to the end without the least wavering. This important qualification is admirably shown in the voices of [**William**] **Knyvett** and [**Thomas**] **Vaughan**'.[121] 'His voice [Knyvett] was very pure and sweet, and his style, particularly in glees, most elegant and refined'.[122] 'It [Vaughan's voice] is perhaps neither so rich nor so sweet as Mr. Harrison's, but we should describe it as naturally more pure, if its being less modified may entitle it to such a distinction'.[123] 'The delightful ballad, "The adieu", called into play Vaughan's silver-toned voice, his pure and polished style of singing'.[124]

1817: 'One of the very few varieties which he [**William Pearman**] displays, consists of that swelling and subsiding, or opening and shutting of the voice, which in Mr. Braham's powerful instrument is like a French-horn, but which in Mr. Pearman's is like a drinking glass rubbed round the edge with a wet finger'.[125] 1825: '[Pearman] acquitted himself in the first tenor song, *Now vanish*, which has hitherto been allotted to BRAHAM, with a purity and force worthy the meridianal tones of the latter'.[126]

'Mr [**Henry**] **Phillips** possesses in a high degree that desirable accomplishment in a singer, and which has not often been heard since the days of Bartleman—of talking in tone. We would instance the above observation by referring to his enunciation in that inimitable first quintet, when, in answer to the triumphant rantings of Ferrando and Guglielmo,— "You see, Sir!"—he says, "Yes, I see, Sir, and I say, Sir, the ides of March are not ended". His intonation, and the correctness with which he each time hit that drop to the seventh, was perfectly satisfactory'.[127]

D Ensemble Singing

'Combined with [**Samuel**] **Harrison** and [**James**] **Bartleman**, was the still more soft and gentle voice of [**William**] **Knyvett**. An alto of great sweetness and beauty, though destitute of those lines of expression, without which the features appear as a blank, his voice is well adapted to the performance of glees, a style of composition then so much admired, that many of the popular songs of the day were harmonized and converted into this species of composition, to meet the public taste. Such attention was paid to the blending and balancing of the voices in these combinations, that the effect was not even exceeded by the equality and truth of the organ'.[128] In critiquing his 'lines of

expression' is the reviewer commenting on the singer's lack of tremolo or messa di voce, or engagement with the text?

'The Quartetto, from Idomeneo, in which **Mrs. Knyvett** and Messrs. [**William**] **Knyvett**, [**Thomas**] **Vaughan** and Phillips took their respective parts is a most exquisite composition, and an excellent specimen of level, smooth and correct singing'.[129]

Writing in 1807, the painter Ingres likened the sound of the Sistine Chapel's choir to the glass harmonica[130]: 'Imagine a celestial voice, all alone, as piercing as a glass harmonica in the way it slips and passes imperceptibly from one tone to the next'. In 1818, a British visitor[131] described the sound of the **Sistine Chapel Choir**: 'At stated times the chosen band of choristers, about twenty in number, without any accompanying instruments, poured in their harmony of another world, in strains of profound sadness, at one moment swelling to despair, but soon again softened to mild melancholy,—it seemed the lament of the dead; so deep, so hopeless, yet so calm. The sounds in themselves have been compared to those of the Æolian harp, but they were stronger, and vibrated on the ear more like those of the musical glasses. Fine sounds however are not music, any more than harmonious language is in itself eloquence; and I have heard singing in English cathedrals with still superior or preferable emotions. I thought also that there was something forced and unnatural in the voices of those unfortunate beings, and a sort of unpleasant huskiness frequently observable'.

A review of 1829 discussed the voice of a male voice soprano: 'The *soprano* [of the Bohemian Brothers, **Joseph Wertheimer**] shames [Giovanni Battista] Velluti without shaming the audience; it is of course a *falsetto*, but clear, harmonious, and almost rich, even to the very highest note; on which the singer dwells with so much ease to himself, that he gives no pain to his hearers; there is no straining and no distortion, but the sound flows out and swells more like the effect of musical glasses than any thing else, and yet with a vast deal more brilliancy and rapidity of execution than they are capable of …'[132] '… we can compare the counter tenor [Joseph Wertheimer] to nothing so aptly, in quality of tone, as to the rich, full, and bellike sound of a musical glass, capable of all the height and rioting playfulness of the flute in the hands of a perfect master'.[133]

E The voice of Clara Novello

Born in 1814, Clara Novello debuted in 1832. I am presenting these findings in a separate section because I have sourced important new data for her since my book was written. She was praised[134] by bass Henry Phillips, who probably heard her in 1834: 'Clara Novello, then quite a girl, now made her *debût*. She had a charming soft and flute-like-soprano, and had been well drilled in the ancient school of music by her father, my esteemed friend. Her voice was not flexible, but she sustained her notes with exquisite pathos'.

'Her voice was soft as the tones of musical glasses, yet full of expression; there was deep pathos and prayer in every note; had it not been against the canons, we should have liked to hear it again.'[135]

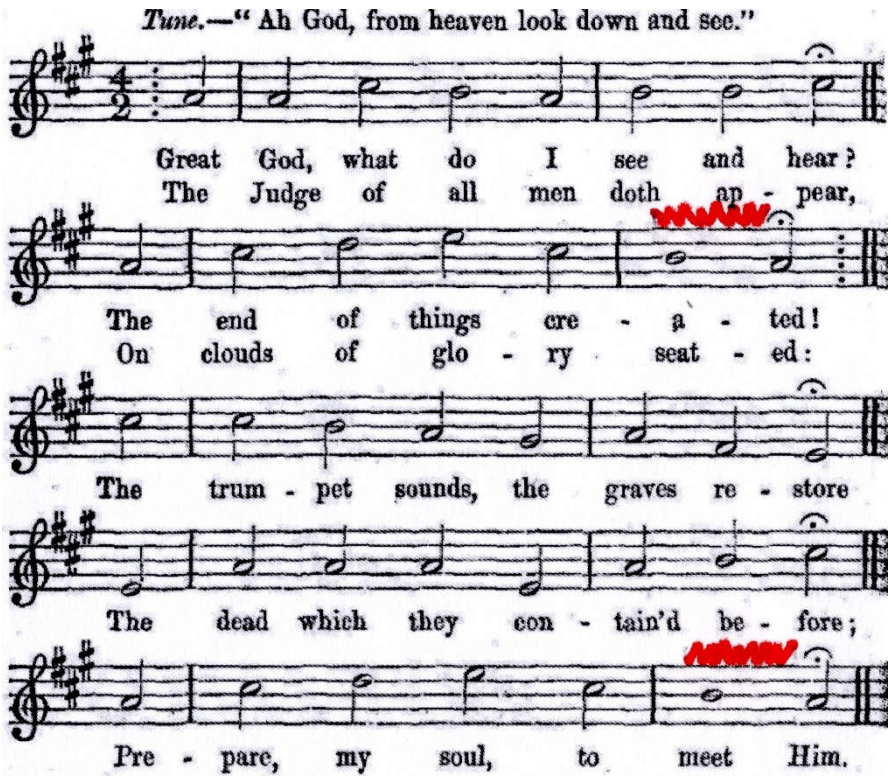
'She has a splendid voice, which may be compared to the musical glasses, since there is not the least harshness or grating to be discovered in it; but it flows on in one continued stream of melody. She has great strength and compass, with a fine tone, and descends to the lower notes with exquisite skill and grace, till the sounds gently die away upon the ravished ear. She is a first-rate songstress, adding to the power and richness of her voice with the most elegant and finished execution; adapting her cadenzas with the best taste and judgment to the spirit of the composer'.[136]

Schumann himself[137] praised her: 'Clara Novello was the most interesting of these (artists). She came to us from her friendly London circle, heralded as an artist of the first rank, and this weighed with us in Leipzig. For years I have heard nothing that has pleased me more than this voice, predominating over all other tones, yet breathing tender euphony, every tone as sharply defined as the tones of a keyed instrument; besides the noble performance, the simplicity, yet art, which seemed to desire prominence for the composer and his work only. She was most in her element with Handel,

amid whose works she has grown up and become great … Miss Clara Novello is not a Malibran, and not a Sontag, but she possesses her own highly original individuality, of which no one can deprive her'.

'Miss Novello's recitatives, "There were Shepherds",—"And, lo! The angel of the Lord!" —"And the angel said unto them"; —"And suddenly there were with the angel", were sweetly sung by this gifted songstress with a purity of intonation and silveryness of tone which seemed to enrapture the vast assemblage that were listening to her notes'.[138]

'The close shake in the upper part of her voice [in the recitative and romanza "Ernani, involami"] was beautifully executed, and the sustained note, C in alt, displayed the power and quality of her upper notes,—so finely a sustained note it has rarely fallen to our lot to hear'.[139]



Illus.6 Clara Novello's Rendering of Luther's Hymn, with tremolo on penultimate word

'Madame Novello's last performance this morning was in the sublime quartet, "Holy is God the Lord", in which her immense power and bell-like roundness of voice had a grand effect … Between the second and third parts, Madame Novello sang, with astonishing power and grandeur of effect, Luther's famous hymn, "Great God, what do I see and hear?" [See Illus. 6 above] With the slight exception of her tremolo upon the penultimate word, which it would have been better to have omitted, the hymn was sung with all the unadorned beauty which belongs to it. The trumpet obligato ([performed by Thomas] Harper) was a fine aid to the effect'.[140]

'The next solo on the programme was the beautiful and well-known song, "With verdure clad", and on the appearance of Made. Novello to sing the air, she was hailed with rapturous applause. She commenced in that delicious pastoral style, so characteristic of the music, as at once to fix the attention of her delighted hearers. After years of labour, we expected that time would have had some effect upon that voice which has so long been listened to with delight, but it has made no inroad upon her naturally beautiful organ. There is the same purity and richness of tone, softened down to

a certain extent, but by a most judicious management of that voice with which nature has gifted her, she sings more charmingly than ever, and it was a source of regret to us, and we have no doubt the feeling was participated in by all present, that we should so soon cease to listen to those syren notes. Her upper register is absolutely richer than ever, and the successive close shakes in this air were rendered in a manner which brought us to this conclusion, that we have no other Clara Novello. The close shake at the finish was most artistically rendered, and the singer retired amidst immense applause'.[141]

Clara Novello made a farewell tour of the UK, with tenor William Hayman Cummings, who was later appointed singing professor at the Royal Academy of Music and then Principal of the Guildhall School of Music. He wrote in a letter: 'I travelled with her in England, Ireland and Scotland during her farewell tour in 1860. Daily contact with her gave me a high opinion of her knowledge and intelligence, and above all, of her good heart. She was the personification of kindness. I had rather a severe attack of illness at Sheffield, when she nursed me and looked after my wants and comforts. Her voice was clear, resonant, and beautiful, absolutely free from vibrato. She had been well-trained, and had inherited the best traditions from the past. Her method of singing was admirable, particularly in the management of the breath; hence the correctness of her phrasing. As an example, take the opening of Handel's "I know that my Redeemer liveth". She sang the words in one long continuous breath, and thereby preserved the sense. Nowadays it is quite common to divide the phrase into three portions'.[142]

I now turn to reviews of singers both praised and criticised for their tremolo, debuting before 1830. At this point, I need to clarify what is meant by the term tremolo through the long 18th century. There were basically two types of tremolo: [1] the intensity (or emphasis, or amplitude) tremolo, which can be similar to the 'trillo' and [2] the pitch tremolo, often termed 'Close Shake' then, but described today as the vibrato. I have tried to distinguish throughout this article which type is meant. I've also suggested in Illus.7 below which tremolo type each singer is reported using. Where it is not clear which type was used, I have categorised it as [3] Type Unknown. The issue is discussed in more detail in section 2.25, where I also quote Frederick Kent Gable's views on the matter.

2.23 Singers praised for their tremolo

Castrato **Nicolò Grimaldi Nicolini** was praised by Roger North[143] for his tasteful use of tremolo during a *messa di voce*: 'Besides all this, the soft and loud hath a reall representation, whereby part of the subject may be conceived. As for instance, Eccho; so Distance, whether things approach or depart, as in Corelli's *siciliana*; and in like manner the state of a person solitary or unfortunate, as when Nicholini sings—*Infelice prigionero*. And the swelling and dying of musical notes, with *tremolo* not impeaching the tone, wonderfully represents the waiving of air, and pleasing gales moving, and sinking away'. North probably heard Nicolini during his 1708 visit to London.

Quantz praised **Faustina Bordoni** in 1727[144] for what seems to have been a marked emphasis tremolo, or trillo: 'She had a facile throat and a beautiful and very polished *trillo* which she could apply with the greatest of ease wherever and whenever she pleased. The *passagien* could be either running or leaping, or could consist of many fast notes in succession on one tone. She knew how to thrust these out skilfully, with the greatest possible rapidity, as they can be performed only on an instrument. She is unquestionably the first who has used these *passagien* consisting of many notes on one tone in singing, and with the best possible success'.

Giovanni Carestini's tremolo has already been mentioned. He could have only delivered an emphasis or amplitude tremolo, as a pitch vibrato by moving the lower jaw is impossible.

James Bartleman used an illustrative emphasis tremolo for the frost scene in Purcell's King Arthur, as already shown at Illus.3.

Singer:	Career	Expressive undulation of pitch	Expressive undulation of intensity	Other undulation, type unknown
Nicolò Grimaldi Nicolini	1685-1730	Y		
Faustina Bordoni	1716-1751		Y	
Giovanni Carestini	1719-1758		Y	
Josef Meissner	1763-1778		Y	
Elizabeth Billington	1783-1817	Y		
Charles Dignum	1783-1826		Y	
James Bartleman	1788-1819		Y	
Giovanna Sestini	1792-1836			Y
John Braham	1794-1852			Y
Angelica Catalani	1797-1824	Y		Y
Manuel Garcia	1797-1831			Y
Giuseppe Siboni	1806-1839			Y
Signor Miarteni	1807-1809		Y	
Mr Smith	1807-1809	Y		
Giuseppe Ambrogetti	1807-1838	Y		
Miss Grant	1808-1830			Y
Giovanni David	1808-1839			Y
John Sinclair	1810-1841			Y
Madame Feron	1811-1831		Y	
Benedetta Rosmunda Pisaroni	1811-1831		Y	
Signora Bonini	1812-1829			Y
Miss Nash	1813-1816		Y	
Henriette Méric-Lalande	1814-1838			Y
Signor Geni	1815-1817			Y
Miss Merry	1816-1818	Y		
Demoiselles De Lihu	1817-1819	Y		
Giuditta Pasta	1817-1835			Y
Anna Maria Tree	1818-1829		Y	
Giovanni Battista Rubini	1818-1845	Y		
Katharina Sigl-Vespermann	1818-1841			Y
Anne Mary Paton [Mrs Wood]	1818-1844	Y		
Mrs Holman	1820-1824			Y
Adelaide Tosi	1820-1840	Y		
Mrs Blacket	1821-1823	Y		
Anton Haitzinger	1821-1864			Y
Mr Benson	1827-1829			Y
Madame Schutz	1827-1830	Y		
John Templeton	1828-1852	Y		
Clara Novello	1832-1860	Y		

Illus.7. Reports of vocal tremoli during Long 18th century

Elizabeth Billington was praised by John Waldie in 1803: 'Such is her affinity with Handel's music, that every impulse seems to be created sympathetically in her utterance of song—the wonderful compass, equality, & sweetness, & power of her voice, and the astonishing taste, feeling, & ease of execution are beyond everything; while the amazing power of running thro' the longest divisions of above two octaves, together with the width of her chest, which enables her to swell, quaver, shake, or hold a note for an immense time, make her completely perfect'.[145]

John Braham's expressive tremulousness was praised[146] in 1818: 'When the prodigious volume of his voice is fully estimated—when the heart-rending pathos, to produce which he sometimes

assimilates the shuddering tremulous tones almost to the actual expression of the most natural grief—when the loud, ear-piercing, animating sounds with which he invests a call to glory, are remembered—when the inspired, pure, consoling words of adoration or thanksgiving united in his melody—when the tenderness of his amatory airs and the volant lubricity of his astonishing execution he brought to recollection—our readers will at once acknowledge the superiority of his intonation'.

'His voice, when in its proper order, is a very sweet and perfect tenor, perhaps not inferior to any in Europe … There is a tremulous richness in the higher tones of [**MANUEL**] **GARCIA**'S voice which is singularly pleasing'.[147]

Richard Mackenzie Bacon praised **Angelica Catalani**'s expressive tremolo[148] in 1821: '…having poured forth the full magnificence of her prodigious volume of voice, supported by the arpeggio accompaniment of the orchestra upon the words, "*The Glory of the Lord shone round about* them", she *suddenly* attenuated her astonishingly ductile tone to the least possibly audible sound, and sung slowly, in a voice so slightly as to be scarcely tremulous, "*And they were sore afraid*"; and in 1828: 'Never did we hear Madame Catalani to better advantage than in the air of Handel's "Angels ever bright and fair". We were at a loss which to admire the most, viz. the volume of tone, or the exquisite taste and feeling with which she executed her part; her close shake was of the first class and order'.[149]

'Voice he [**Giuseppe Ambrogetti**] had little, but he had articulation and rapidity that are seldom found together—his close shake before returning upon the subject, and seeming ease, though so exhausted as he must have been'.[150]

'**Miss NASH** is tall, elegantly formed in the bloom of youth, and with a very pretty face. Her voice has great sweetness, flexibility, and depth. Her execution is scientific, but gracefully simple; and she sang the several songs with equal taste and feeling. Her action, though sufficiently chaste and correct, wanted ease and spirit, so that the general impression left on the spectator's imagination was that of a very beautiful alabaster figure which had been taught to sing. The songs to which she gave most sweetness and animation were those beginning, "But he so teased me"—"Why how now, saucy Jade"—and "Cease your funning". Her mode of executing the last was not certainly so delightful as the way in which Miss Stephens sings it, but it was still infinitely delightful. Her low notes are particularly fine. They have a deep, mellow richness, which we have never heard before in a female voice. The sound is like the murmuring of bees'.[151]

Miss Merry was reviewed by *Examiner*[152] in 1816: 'But her apprehensions, though they lessened the power of her voice, did not take from its sweetness. She appears to possess very great taste and skill; and to have not only a fine voice, but (what many singers want) an ear for music. Her tones are mellow, true, and varied—sometimes exquisitely broken by light, fluttering half-notes—at other times reposing on a deep murmuring bass'.

A close shake performed by duettists in 1818 was probably an ornamental pitch tremolo: 'A most rapturous encore followed the performance of the last duet, "O take this nosegay", by the **Demoiselles De Lihu**, the preparation for the grace at its close, was an admirable effort of genius, and the close shake which followed, discovered the acme of perfection in its execution'.[153]

While some reviews of **Mademoiselle Bonini** critiqued her tremolo, *New Monthly Magazine*[154] praised her selective use of the effect in 1826: 'This [intensity of feeling] is the case with Mademoiselle Bonini: there is an internal enthusiasm which animates her vocal performance; it is only through the medium of sounds she seems to feel deeply, and affects our feelings powerfully. This effect, moreover is greatly heightened by the fascinating quality (timbre) of her voice, in which there are some beautiful notes of the sweetest tremulousness that vibrate to the heart of the hearer. It was a similar quality of tone which proved irresistibly sweet in Miss [Anna Maria] Tree's voice, and rendered her singing more effective than that of a rival of greater professional skill'.

'There is one passage which Madame [**Giuditta**] **Pasta** gives with peculiar effect—When the reviving Juliet breathes the name of her loved Romeo, the tremulous and convulsive interrogatory, "Qui me chiama?" attests of itself the merits of Madame Pasta as a vocalist and an actress. In no part of the Opera is the passion, which neither the opposition of a parent, nor even that of approaching death itself can suppress, more strongly delineated than in this. The lasting love of Romeo—the agony with which he gazes for the last time upon his cherished bride—the desolateness of heart with which he looks upon the eternity upon which he verges, are all faithfully portrayed by Madame Pasta'.[155]

The reviews of **Anna Maria Tree** suggest that her singing featured a rapid tremolo occurring frequently but not continuously in her lower notes, for example, in 1819: 'Her voice is not at all powerful; but it is perfectly clear and sweet in the upper notes, and some of the lower ones have a fine, rich glowing tone—like the musical murmur of the honey-bee'.[156]

Mary Anne Paton was praised: 'She possesses considerable power, with great sweetness, and we were much struck with her very fine close shake'.[157]

Around 1822, Charles Lamb[158] praised **Mrs Blacket** in terms suggesting that her voice featured a continuous pitch vibrato, which was a novel oddity at the time: 'The shake, which most fine singers reserve for the close or cadence, by some unaccountable flexibility, or tremulousness of pipe, she carrieth quite through the composition; so that her time, to a common air or ballad, keeps double motion, like the earth—running the primary circuit of the tune, and still revolving upon its own axis. The effect, as I said before, when you are used to it, is as agreeable as it is altogether new and surprising'.

'To each verse he [**John Templeton**] gave such characteristic expression, such light and shade, as to present to the imagination all the frightful realities of the subject of the ballad. The long shake and undulation of the voice at the end of the line, "We hail her with three cheers", is quite a new feature, and produced a startling effect'.[159]

2.24 Singers Critiqued for their Tremolo

However, accounts critical of vocal tremolo began to appear late in the 18th century.

Wolfgang Mozart critiqued **Joseph Meisner**, a singer and composer from Salzburg: 'Meisner, as you know, has the bad habit of making his voice tremble at times, turning a note that should be sustained into distinct crotchets, or even quavers—and this I never could endure in him. And really it is a detestable habit and one which is quite contrary to nature. The human voice trembles naturally—but in its own way—and only to such a degree that the effect is beautiful. Such is the nature of the voice; and people imitate it not only on wind-instruments, but on stringed instruments too and even on the clavier. But the moment the proper limit is overstepped, it is no longer beautiful—because it is contrary to nature. It reminds me then of the organ when the bellows are puffing. Now Raaff[160] never does this—in fact, he cannot bear it'.[161]

'To this respectful style of acting, Mr. [**Charles**] **Dignum** now adds a sort of singing that is equally laughable. It is said that his vocal powers are agreeable in a room—a dining room of course, and we should suppose before dinner, for after, when he comes to the theatre, he seems so full that his voice can scarcely find utterance, and what we do hear resembles most correctly the tones produced by Punch through the medium of a comb'.[162]

'The earliest singer I remember in that line [i.e. comic opera] was [**Giovanna**] **Sestini**, who at her first coming over was handsome, sprightly, and a good actress, if great exuberance of gesticulation, activity of motion, and affected Italian *smorfie* could make her one; but her voice was gritty and sharp (something like singing through a comb), and she was nothing of a singer, except for lively comic

airs. Yet she was much liked at first, and long a favourite with the mass of the public, though not with the connoisseurs'.[163]

'The male performers with Catalani were for the most part of a very inferior description, and fit only for second singers. The first exception was [**Giuseppe**] **Siboni**, who sung well, but with a thick and tremulous voice: he staid however only a short time'.[164]

An 1808 review[165] of **Signor Miarteni** suggested that he favoured a rapid emphasis tremolo: 'His voice is a base, possessing great firmness and power, and peculiarly well adapted for taking a part in the compositions for many voices, with which the Italian Operas abound. In songs it is harsh, and has an unpleasant nasal sound, and a rattling effect, which would almost make me imagine that he in some degree imitated Demosthenes, and sung with pebbles in his throat'.

'A new Singer, named **Smith**, from the Liverpool Theatre, appeared on Wednesday as Lorenzo, in the miserable puppet-shew of the Cabinet. He has considerable power, and occasional melodiousness of voice, but his tones are uncertain and wavering. The ear may detect this deficiency, when he endeavours to hold a high note, for he drops unconsciously through a number of divided tones. His appearance is fat, and, if I may use the expression, his voice is so too; it possesses that sort of inward oiliness, which would induce a blind man to suppose the singer a very jolly personage. He is at a great distance from Incledon and from Hill, but he met with great encouragement, and may become a good subordinate singer'.[166]

'**Miss Grant**'s middle and upper tones are clear and full; her lower notes are not so good, —they want strength and volume: but her voice has not, we think, as yet attained its full maturity of power; and therefore we should conclude, that the tremulousness which we noticed in her under tones would, in time, be removed'.[167]

'**Giovanni David** (1790-1864) was an Italian tenor known for his roles in Rossini opera. 'David, the first tenor, may be reckoned old for a singer; his voice is tremulous, his face effeminate, and his person thin and attenuated. In former days there was doubtless some foundation for the praise which has been lavished upon this singer by those who have visited Italy, and at present he discovers little to warrant his great fame, unless we perceive it in a style full of that frippery for which Crivelli and Garcia have made themselves remarkable. David has the appearance of an antiquated beauty; his throat is whitened, his features look enamelled, and, except when exerting himself in his falsetto to reach  (at which time they are moulded into a shape something between smiling and weeping) they are immoveable'.[168]

The singing of **Madame Feron** (**Mrs. Glossop**) was rated as unsatisfactory[169] in 1827: 'Her voice, however, but too clearly manifests the injurious tendency of over-exertion: the tone lacks quality—that fullness and that brilliancy, which the Italians denominate *metallo*, or perhaps, more definitely, *purezza argentina*. Madame Feron can sing soft, or she can pour fourth a swelling body of tone; but the intermediate quantity upon which the artist must rely for general use, is not at her command. Her mezzo forte is infirm and tremulous; reminding us of the defect of Signora Bonini, and conveying the notion of the coming on of age. When therefore she attempts sustained, even voicing (*canto spianato*), she fails entirely, and indeed all her expression is reduced by this, the consequence of the organ having been early over-wrought'. And in 1828: 'She possesses a voice of much strength and extensive compass, the quality of which, though not good, is not disagreeable, and her intonation—the first of all vocal virtues—is irreproachable. But, on the other hand, it is painfully tremulous in anything like sustained, moderate sounds, and it wants that fulness, without which, power, if over exerted, only magnifies defects'.[170]

'Had this lady [**Benedetta Rosmunda Pisaroni**, active on the operatic stage from 1811 to 1831, mainly in Italy and Paris] appeared somewhat earlier in life, she would probably have made a great sensation, for she appears to be an excellent musician, but her voice begins to have the

tremulousness of old age, and is besides of a reedy, oboe-like quality, far from agreeable. It is a powerful contralto; best, as is usual with such voices, in its lower tones, but possessing a more than ordinary freedom of execution'.[171]

Review from 1830: '… so they [French singers] are now always in extremes, and equally removed from grace or propriety. In saying this, we express our opinion of Madame [**HENRIETTE**] **MERIC LALANDE**, who lately made her first appearance at the Italian opera, and in conformity to the French school, she selected a character incessantly in a whirl of distress and agitation, screaming with a quivering voice, that seems to have been shattered with over-exertion. It has a shrillness and power that pierces the ear most painfully, and keeps us in constant dread of the next shriek before we have well recovered the last … Madame LALANDE has not the advantages of youth or beauty to carry us away by enthusiasm, nor does she make the most of the gifts of nature, being most unbecomingly dressed. The long plaited tresses loped up to her head are anything but graceful, and the little coronet stuck on the very top of her head was just like those which are affixed to the glasses of French lamps. The screeches of Imogene still ring in our ears, which was enough to frighten the husband, lover and child, out of their wits'.[172]

Theodore Fenner[173] recorded:- 'In 1815 a **Signor GENI** made his debut in *Adelasia*. His voice was somewhat too weak for the King's, "but this singer has obvious qualities which give the best compensation for power—his taste is delicate, his execution finished, and that general spirit of the Italian School thrown over his talent, without which vigour of organ is violence and weariness". The *Chronicle* thought him "a very fine tenor". But five months later, "the tremulous tones of Geni were but indifferent vehicles of the rage of the headstrong and silly Emperor".[174]'

Here are two examples from 1826 of critical reviews of **Mademoiselle Bonini**: 'As for Bonini, it is half piteous, half ludicrous to see (we don't mention hearing) her sing. The severe struggle with which she draws a thin and wiry note ab imo pectore, and the awkward pain with which she delivers herself of it, can only be likened to one operation in nature. She obviously labours under a vocal constipation'.[175] 'Another Paper [*Examiner*] allows Mdlle. BONINI, the merit, only, of being "the venerable remains of an excellent singer"; that her voice "begins to quiver with the symptoms of age"; ... As to the point of age, be it known, that Mdlle. BONINI, compared to CARADORI, has the advantage of *juniority* by some years; and for the *quivering*, I refer this scientific writer to the pages of *Il Crociato*, where, at any of the passages in which he has detected this *blemish of age*, he will find the word "Vibrato", the meaning of which, to be seen in any musical dictionary, will explain his mistake'.[176]

In 1831: 'But he [**Giovanni Battista Rubini**] has the same tremor in his voice that we have so recently had to complain of in another singer, a fluctuation of tone which excites the idea of age or weakness, and very distressing to the hearer who is not deceived by its being called by a fine term, a term used to conceal a defect—the vibration of the voice'.[177] 'Before, however, Rubini, came to England his voice had contracted that sort of thrilling or trembling habit, then new here, which of late has been abused *ad nauseam* … He had as many devoted admirers of the fair sex (of both sexes) as if he had been an Adonis--people ready to swear that his voice did not vibrate—to pour out their homage in sonnets—to maintain that he was an original and vigorous actor—that his declamation admitted of no improvement'.[178]

'… with a voice [**Katharina Sigl Verspermann**, a soprano opera singer active mainly in Munich] of very extensive compass but thin quality, farther [sic] depreciated by much of that shrillness and tremulousness to which we had last year occasion to object in Madame Meric Lalande'.[179]

Adelaide Tosi was critiqued in 1840: 'Her voice is extensive and strong but unequally pleasant. The inferior extremity of its compass is forcibly, but scarcely agreeably, produced, after the custom of the modern soprani, and its highest portion, from about F on the fifth line, appears to be modelled on the huskiness of Pasta. Her execution is passably neat—except a detestable shake, or shiver, or

rather whinney, very much in the manner of the trillified vileness which Grisi, thanks to her good sense, has at length abandoned'.[180]

'Mr [**ANTON**] **HAITZINGER** is a tenor of considerable compass upwards, of sufficient power, and of good quality when he does not force it; but the latter is a fault certainly imputable to him: he falls into the error of many singers,—that of supposing bawling to be an indicator of passion, and his voice thereby becomes often tremulous'.[181]

The *Morning Post*[182] dismissed **Mr Benson**'s singing in 1828: 'He has evidently musical knowledge, but neither his voice nor his style are likely to secure to him much success as a theatrical singer: The former has a ceaseless tremor, and the latter is marked by a mouthing delivery'.

Examiner[183] compared **Madame Schutz**'s singing favourably with Madame Feron's in 1828: 'Her voice is very pleasing and powerful, not, as has been asserted, a contr'alto, but a soprano, and of good quality, excepting an occasional tremor like that in Mrs Feron's; though we should be sorry for a moment to confound the fine feeling and judgment of one with the vulgar, common-place trumpery of the other, who seems to have no sense of anything in music higher than noise and perpetual motion'. The *Harmonicon*'s[184] review of Schutz in the same year suggests that she employed a wide pitch tremolo: 'the tone resembles that of Mademoiselle Bonini, and possesses similar sweetness and force. In dwelling, however, upon long notes, there appeared a tremulous vibration, approaching to the effect of a trill, which, when existing to such a degree, and occurring so frequently, is more a defect than a feature of commendation'.

2.25 Musicological support

William James Henderson was one of the first commentators to review vocalism from the historic viewpoint. He published *The Art of the Singer* in 1906 and *Early History of Singing* in 1921. His views, which are very similar to mine as presented in this article, are reflected in an article[185] published in 1910:

> The use of the vibrato was introduced into singing by Rubini says W. J. Henderson, writing of the vibrato and tremolo in the New York *Sun*. So far as any records can show, he continues, the vibrato was not a characteristic of the singing of what is called the golden age of song.
>
> The skill of singers in the delivery of florid music of the most difficult kind was developed early in the seventeenth century and before its close there was a colorature as brilliant as that of the following period, the golden age.
>
> In the delivery of cantilena the singers of the golden age ([Gaetano Mairorano] Caffarelli, [Carlo Broschi] Farinelli, Faustina [Bordoni], Tesi [Vittoria Tesi Tramontini] and their contemporaries), were probably greater than their predecessors, and this was no doubt due in some measure to the superiority of the composers who wrote for them and who forced upon their attention the potency of pure sustained phrases. In other words, there was a higher vocal art in the early eighteenth century than in the late seventeenth, but no greater florid technic.
>
> In reading accounts of the manner in which Caffarelli, Farinelli and their contemporaries sang we meet with praise for their wonderful breath control, their sustained phrasing, messa di voce, their purity of tone, their accuracy of intonation, their skill in the delivery of ornament and their ability to pour pathos into the air; but we nowhere find any record of any such trick as the vibrato. On the contrary steadiness of tone seems to have been a sine qua non among these singers.
>
> [Giovanni Battista] Rubini introduced the vibrato as a dramatic effect. He sang it in places where a human being's voice would be likely to quiver with emotion. The effect was admirable, and would still be so if employed as he then employed it. But alas! Rubini fell himself a victim to his own innovation. He cannot be said to have contracted the habit. No, it was even worse than

that, for Rubini began to use the vibrato thru all his singing at just the time when it became necessary to do something to distract public attention from the deterioration of his voice.

It is hardly necessary to go into a history of the subsequent development of the vibrato. It is sufficient to remind observers of singing that it speedily came to be a fixed feature of vocal delivery. The result was that its original purpose was completely obscured, and it became a mannerism of song, devoid of artistic reason or even sensuous beauty.

Ferri, a singer who flourished in the '50s, went to the extreme in his employment of the quivering tone, for he developed a tremolo which he employed intentionally on every note.

Just as many silly ideas were advanced in favor of the tremolo as had already been advanced for the vibrato.

The truth is that neither the vibrato nor its *reductio ad absurdum* the tremolo need be absolutely excluded from the domain of artistic singing, but each should be employed for a specific expressional purpose, and for that only.

Thurston Dart, one of the first professional musicians to specialise in Historically informed performance, wrote as follows in his book *The Interpretation of Music*, published in 1954:[186]

Moreover, it is very unlikely that any vibrato was used in the ensemble singing of earlier times; the few theorists who mention it condemn it.

A similar sensitiveness to the effect of vibrato is found in books dealing with solo singing or solo instrumental-playing; a vibrato was an ornament, comparable to a mordent, a trill, a *messa di voce* or a slide, and it is to be used no more and no less frequently than the other graces. In ensemble music it is to be used only with the greatest discretion.[1]

[1][Dart's footnote] And in solo music. The incessant vibrato which has so regrettably infected nine out of every ten singers of the present day could not be obtained with the method of breath-control taught by the finest eighteenth- and nineteenth-century singing teachers. The evidence of early recordings shows that even fifty years ago it was used with the utmost care (though the tremolo seems to have been rather more common than it is today), and it is one of the greatest disfigurements of modern musical performance'.

Greta Haenen was the first important modern scholar to write on vibrato. Her book *Das Vibrato in Der Musik des Barock*,[187] published 32 years ago, is credited by Frederick Gable as 'exhaustive and detailed'. The summary chapter contains:

Other reports [apart from comments in Germany from the early 17th century, e.g. for choirboys] on the excessive use of vibrato are almost without exception related to a frequent ornamental vibrato, and a mostly constant vibrato is nearly always rejected, if it is mentioned at all. Almost all the sources which argue against a conscious, continuous vibrato come from the second half of the eighteenth century; previously the problem did not exist—with a few exceptions which are related directly to singing, all found in Italian sources from around 1600. From them, it follows that without a doubt there existed a conscious and audible continuous vibrato among singers. Zacconi saw it as a positive quality, for it was especially suited for beginning to sing ornamentally—very important for his aesthetics. Otherwise, however, it is always described as a bad habit. I assume that in the ideal case an existing natural vibrato was supposed to be very small, but that in reality there certainly were considerable deviations, especially in the vocal realm. However, the theorists attribute hardly any importance to these, as long as the vibrato does not "go beyond the limits".

We should recognize here that, for the Baroque, vibrato was not considered an important component of tone formation. The conscious use of vibrato belonged to ornamentation and not

to basic tone production. The tremolo of old age does not belong in the group of natural vibratos; it was a mistake or a vice {*vitium*}, arising as it does from lack of control.

Nowhere is a noticeable continuous vibrato approved of. The fact that from time to time warnings are made about it, of course, proves that such a thing existed, but it was at least theoretically not tolerated, and I believe that the better performers tried to avoid it.

The imitation of the organ tremulant [by the tremolo] is in principle also considered a type of vibrato, in this case written out. The notes enclosed under one slur serve to indicate how many fluctuations the note value should contain, corresponding to the number of notes under the slur. At the same time, the notation defines the speed, adopted from the organ tremulant. In most cases, the rapid tremolo is perceived as more intense, in contrast to the slow tremulant; accordingly, it is reserved for the strongest expressive emotions {*Affektregungen*}.

In music compositions, vibrato is only very rarely notated, possibly because of the strong emotional connotations it had. Without a doubt, its effect determines its frequency of use. An often-employed vibrato loses a significant amount of its expressive power, and a continuous vibrato has no expressive meaning at all. The few symbols for vibrato give proof of intentional use. The standard vibrato does not exist in the Baroque period; rather, the manner of performance is adapted according to its intended expressive effect. Probably that is also the reason why the ornament had no uniform name: it encompassed in itself so many variations that we should view it as a great complex of ornaments which have in common only a similar acoustic quality.

Musicologist **Frederic Kent Gable** made some interesting observations on different types of tremolo in his article 'Some Observations Concerning Baroque and Modern Vibrato in 1992'[188]:

Is it possible that in the baroque, the natural vocal vibrato was primarily produced as an intensity or loudness vibrato, while the ornamental vibrato was a pitch vibrato? (See again North's diagram at Illus. 1) To the listener, the two types of vibrato may sound similar (unless pitch vibrato becomes rather wide), even though they are generated by different physical means. Intensity vibrato is produced by movement of the diaphragm or by the wind passage in the throat or mouth. Pitch vibrato, on the other hand, is created by the vocal cords or folds. To be sure, a vocal intensity vibrato results in some pitch fluctuation as well, but it is normally very slight and less apt to become wide and uncontrollable. This intensity vibrato corresponds to the organ tremulant, in that it mainly results from fluctuating wind pressure, as well as to slurred bowed-string tremolo, both of which were often compared to vocal vibrato in the baroque. In this connection, the organ register *voce umana* or *piffaro* comes to mind. Being generated by two slightly mis-tuned ranks, it too is a fluctuation of loudness, not of pitch. In addition, Zacconi's remark about the vibrato being useful for learning to sing ornamentally makes more sense, since the intensity vibrato could lead directly into note repetition (*trillo*) and then into a kind of articulation for fast notes. A possible scale of accelerating intensity fluctuations from slow, measured tremolo, to vibrato, to *trillo*, to *passaggi* could have existed. These would all have been produced in the same way and have differed only in speed and application.

Musicologist and author **Clive Brown** concluded[189] in 1999:

For the vast majority of modern performers, the addition of a few cadential trills and prosodic appoggiaturas, together with minor modifications of phrasing and dynamics, is the most extreme alteration to the received text that they feel to be justified in the performance of late eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century music (apart from the employment of a patently unhistorical continuous vibrato, now almost ubiquitous on many instruments and in singing, which appears to be regarded as an essential element of the sound and therefore not dependent on the notation).

Robert Toft wrote[190] in 2000:

> The basic sound of the voice appears to have contained little or no *vibrato*. Singers were expected to be able to sing without any hint of trembling or wavering, and those who could not were subjected to ridicule in the musical press … The type of tremulousness or wavering referred to in these statements, however, should not be confused with the 'natural' sort of trembling which occurs when singers raised their voices.

I was initially inclined to discount Toft's statement on the natural sort of trembling, as he provided no examples from his period of singers trembling when singing louder. However, I did find two examples in Madame Feron and Anton Haitzinger, as quoted above.

Richard Wistreich wrote[191] in 2000:

> The evidence leads to the conclusion that any extraneous element in the vocal sound, be it simply vibrato or perhaps other acoustical complexes which the modern ear might describe simply as vocal timbre or 'grain' would have been regarded as undesirable.

2.26 Musicological opposition

Objections to the conclusions set out in my book have recently been made on social media by two individuals in particular, viz. **Lisandro Abadie** and **Tim Braithwaite**, both vocalists working in early music, who have also made worthwhile contributions in the musicological field.

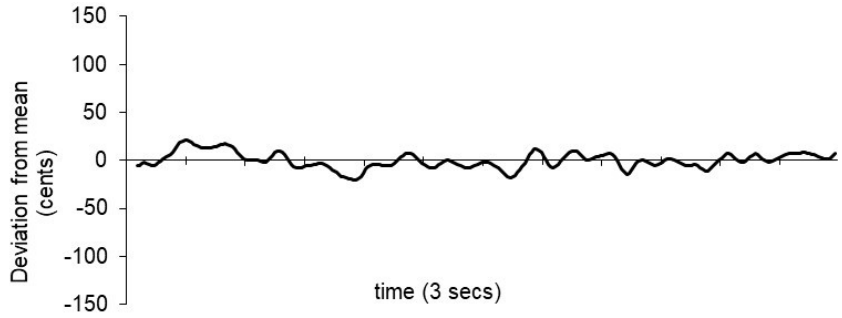
Lisandro Abadie wrote a good article entitled *Vocal Undulations and the Vox Humana Organ Stop*, dated 20 October 2019, which can be found at www.voxhumanajournal.com. He displays Roger North's famous diagram (Illus.1, above) and quotes North's comments on the 'waved note', also cited above. The only problem is that his citation was *economical with the verité*, to use diarist Alan Clark's term, because he failed to cite North's important comment that 'the greatest elegance, of the finest voices is the prolation of a clear plain sound', proving that North believed that a default straight tone was utilised by the best singers.

Tim Braithwaite has contributed a useful service for people interested in singing by launching and frequently posting to the Facebook Group *Cacophony! Exploring Historical Singing Practices in Modern Performance*. However, on several occasions, he has made comments like: 'Simply put, an argument for a completely "straight tone" in historical singing is untenable; the question remains as to what sort of pitch fluctuations were prevalent and when'. Whilst he raises a good point on what pitch fluctuations occurred when (I return to this point in the next section), I must insist that straight tone certainly existed, as I've shown in this article, albeit sometimes varied by expressive tremolo and *messa di voce*. It still remains for Tim to prove, employing historical evidence, why he believes the case for straight-tone singing is untenable.

2.27 What pitch fluctuations were used, and when, during the Long 18th century?

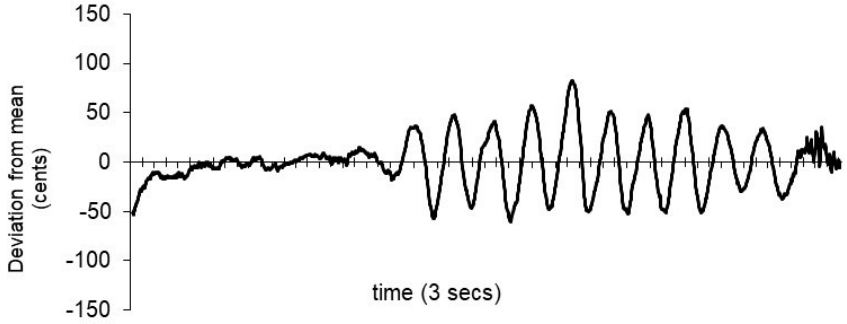
My starting point for addressing this question is the three pitch sounds generated by Peyee Chen, as recorded by the University of York vocal science team in 2009. These are all based on a single unbroken C, on the third line of the treble clef, set at a^1=415 Hz. You can also hear her sing Handel's *'Lascia Ch'io Pianga'* using all three sounds on my website www.camreals.com.

I refer to the first sound as **Type C**, as illustrated at Illus. 8. The waveform does vary slightly, by around 15 cents either side of the mean. This is too slight to be heard by listeners, who perceive it as straight sound. However, Peyee Chen did employ a small amount of expressive vibrato in the aria.



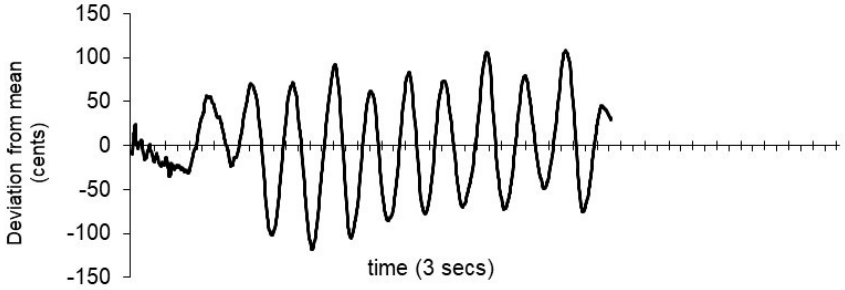
Illus.8 Voice Type C, 'Clear Smooth Sweet Chaste'

The sound I term **Type B** can be heard from Dame Emma Kirkby, as well as from most singers recorded early in the first decade of the 20th century, as shown at Illus.9. This can be seen to waver a semitone (100 cents) from peak to trough and oscillate about 6 times per second. The Type B vibrato width and oscillation rate are virtually identical to the measures of vibrato viewed as optimal for singing by Dr Carl Seashore and his Iowa colleagues (psychologists and acousticians) in the 1930s.[192]



Illus. 9 Voice Type B, 'Early Music Mainstream'

I refer to the third sound as **Type A** (waveform visible in Illus. 10). This is employed by most present day classical soloists, including those specialising in Baroque and Classical opera. It features a vibrato measuring roughly 200 cents wide. It also oscillates at about 6 times per second.

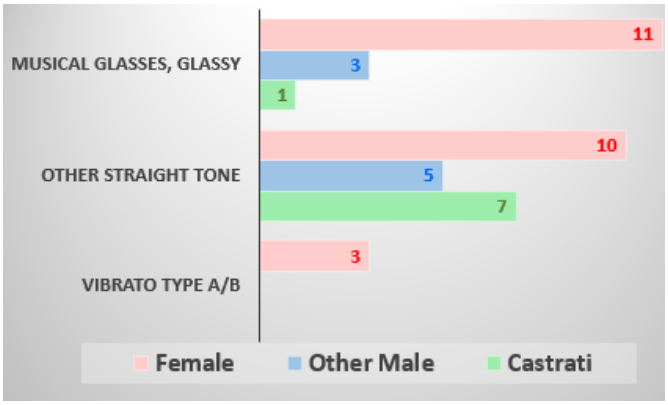


Illus.10 Voice Type A, 'Operatic'

I suggested in my book that two further solo vocal sounds existed, although neither was demonstrated by Peyee Chen, viz.: (a) **Type AA**, **Extreme Operatic,** sometimes heard in opera and

featuring an even wider vibrato measuring roughly a minor third (300 cents) from peak to trough. Note that this type of vibrato can in some cases be 50 or more cents wider than 300 cents. At the other extreme, (b) **Type BC, Tears in Voice**, features the slightest possible vibrato, only barely detectable. I suggest that this sound could apply in three situations, firstly as a possible explanation for Wolfgang Mozart's famous comment that 'the human voice trembles by itself', secondly for selective expression in baroque music and thirdly for vocalism sometimes characterised as 'tears in voice' (but never defined!) during the 19th century.

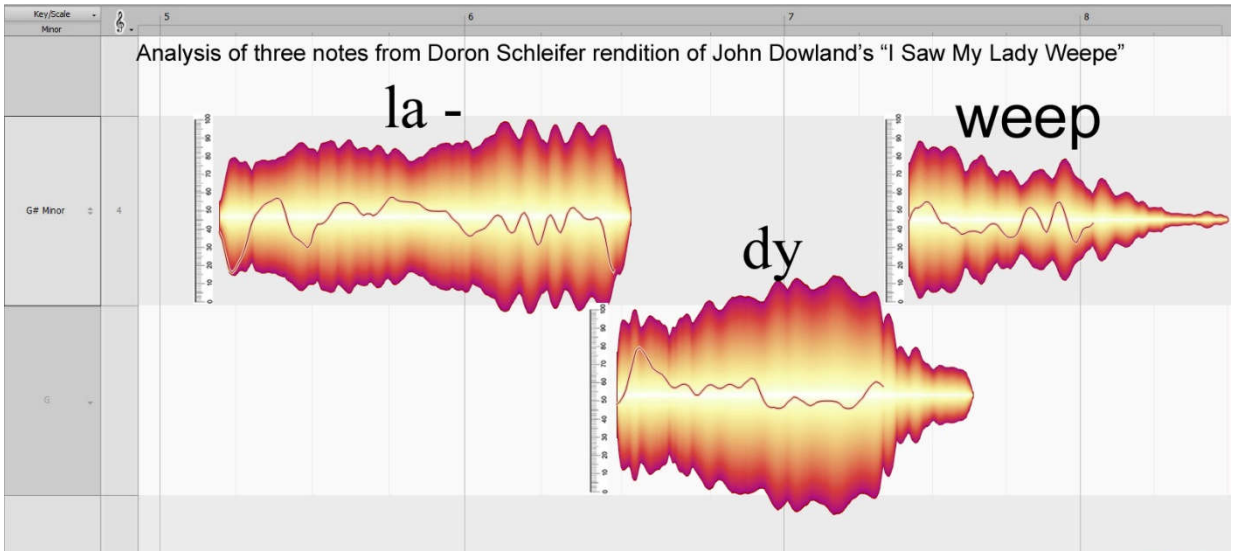
Which of the aforementioned types of voice did the vocalists discussed in this article possess? Based on the available evidence, only three singers quoted in this article—Adelaide Tosi, Mrs Blacket and Madame Schutz—seem to have delivered either a Type A or B voice, as described (and illustrated) above. The other 37 'best singers', discussed in section 2.22 and identified at Illus.4 and 5, utilised a default type C voice, of which there were two categories: (1) Vocalists categorised in Illus.11 as 'MUSICAL GLASSES, GLASSY', because their voices were compared to the musical glasses or were described as 'glassy', and (2) Singers categorised in Illus.11 as 'OTHER STRAIGHT TONE' because their voices were described as 'pure' (or purity or *purezza argentina*), 'clear' (or clarity), 'silver' (or silvery), 'flageolet' (or fluty], liquid, ductile, non-quavering, non-tremulous, or featured a good 'portamento di voce'. Of course, many of the 'best singers' utilised vibrato as an illustrative or expressive ornament, typically described as a 'close shake'.



Illus.11. Types of tone used by the best singers of the Long 18th century

In 2020, US-based music researcher **David Badagnani** used the Melodyne program to analyse a fine performance of John Dowland's lute song 'I Saw My Lady Weepe' by Israeli falsettist Doron Schleifer, one of the rare modern-day vocal soloists to sing Baroque music with a true Type C sound (i.e. mostly straight-tone, with sparing use of modest ornamental vibrato).

The Melodyne analysis of the first phrase is shown in Illus.12. It can be seen that Schleifer applies an expressive tremolo, in messa-like fashion, to the latter half of the syllable "la-" (of "lady"); this was found to be quite narrow, averaging 21 cents from peak to trough. Similarly, the vibrato applied to the note for the syllable "weep" had a vibrato measuring c. 20 cents in width. You can access and hear Schleifer's account of 'I Saw My Lady Weepe' in the list at paragraph 4.2 below. The Melodyne analysis also shows that Schleifer is able to produce a more or less perfectly straight tone on some other notes, which is perceived as such by the modern listener, given that it fluctuates less than 20 cents. Schleifer shows that he matches 'the greatest elegance of the finest voices', because he achieves 'the prolation of a clear, plain sound', as advocated by Roger North.



Illus.12. Vibrato used in 3 notes from Doron Schleifer's 'I Saw My Lady Weepe'

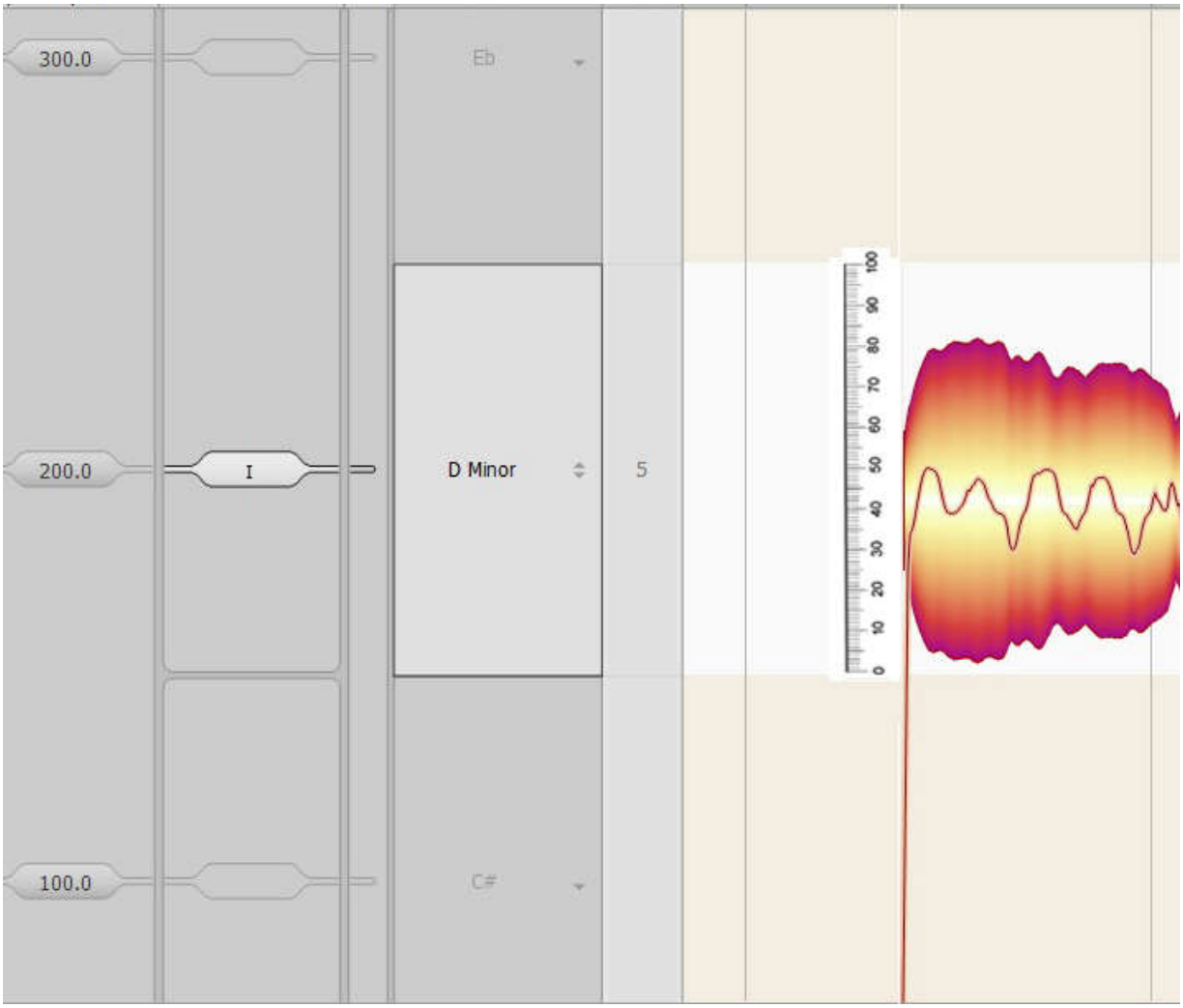
Badagnani also suggests that Schleifer's delicate and narrow vibrato is very similar to the trumpet wavering recommended by Roger North as an excellent model for vocal vibrato ['a little shaken with the wind of its own sound']. Unfortunately, what we are getting from solo vocalists singing in Baroque and Classical period operas is often 10 or more times wider than this. He illustrates this with a measurement of the ornamental hand vibrato used by piccolo trumpet player Barbara Hull. This can be heard at Barbara Hull Vibrato for Trumpet HD - YouTube. The D played by Hull, at 11-12 seconds from the start of the video, was found to have a vibrato measuring approximately 22 cents in width (Illus.13).

Finally, Badagnani used Melodyne to analyse the high G played by Oliver Webber in his masterclass on Corelli ornamentation, which can be heard at 08:34 in (3) Oliver Webber masterclass on Corelli ornamentation - YouTube. He assesses the modest vibrato applied to this note at 18.5 cents from peak to trough. Readers should note that Oliver Webber is one of the most historically informed violinists performing today. He uses a Baroque bow and gut strings, and holds his instrument on his collarbone, not clenched under his chin.

3. Other aspects of vocal sound

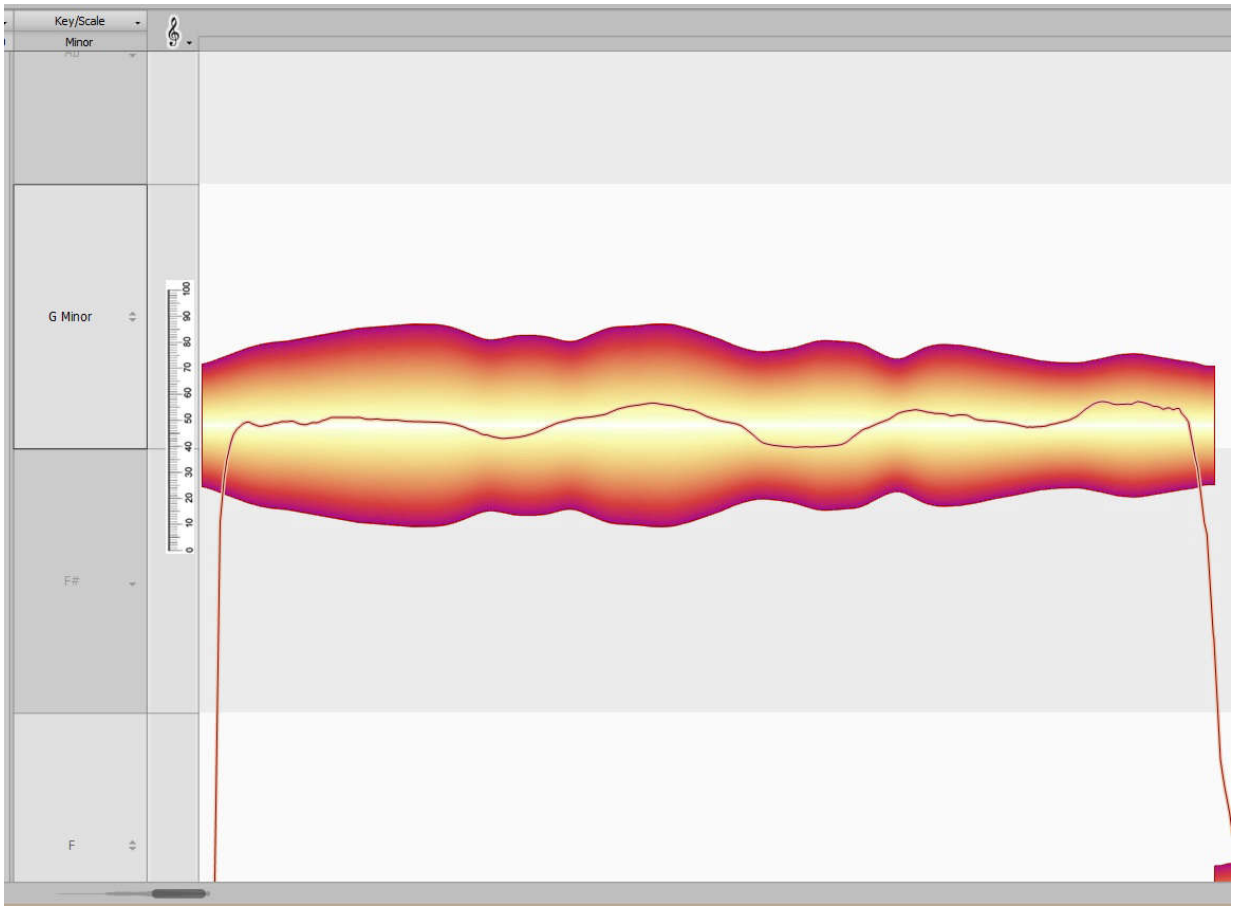
3.1 Volume

My sources suggest that long 18th century critics believed in natural variation. While good loud voices were prized because their owners could succeed in large spaces, high quality 'voce di camera' singers with quieter voices were equally valued. Considering castrati first, reviewers prized both loud singers like Girolamo Crescentini or Luigi Marchesi and softer vocalists like Jeronimo or Venanzio Rauzzini. In similar fashion, sopranos capable of high volume like Angelica Catalani and Giuditta Pasta were not valued more highly than softer vocalists such as Maria Caradori-Allan, Laure Cinti-Damoreau and Miss Carew. Finally, critics level-pegged louder males such as John Braham, James Bartleman and Charles Benjamin Incledon with softer singers such as William Knyvett and Thomas Vaughan.



Illus.13. Barbara Hull's piccolo trumpet vibrato

However, there can be no question that the best Long 18th century vocalists sang more softly than the opera singers of today. The frequent descriptions comparing the voices of such singers to soft instruments such as the glass harmonica, flute and flageolet suggest this to be the case. For example, Cecilia Davies's voice could not be distinguished from the musical glasses, and Samuel Harrison's singing is described as resembling a *messa di voce* performed by a good glass harmonica player.



Illus.14. Analysis of ornamental vibrato used by Oliver Webber in his Corelli demonstration

The almost universal prevalence of stentorian-level vocal volume in today's opera (and sometimes also concert) productions is a matter of common observation. In 1984 the singer and vocal pedagogue George Newton commented:

> There is one characteristic of today's operatic singing that seems to know no national boundaries: no matter how large the voice, the possessor of it seems impelled to continue driving it to make it larger. Very few singers, male or female, international star or local aspirant, are immune from this "disease". The result, in most individuals, is an increase in the vibrato, especially a pitch vibrato, which increases from year to year as he or she tries to keep up with everyone else. Even worse is the loss of tonal beauty which comes from pressing and not allowing the tone to float. By now the audience is so conditioned to hearing this effort-ful sound that any singer who does not appear to be "giving his all" is dismissed as not having an operatic voice. The unusually large voice has become the expected norm, and those whose voices are of ordinary size are simply not engaged to sing opera.[193]

Over the last century or so, both male and female singers in opera or oratorio routinely deliver high notes at forte or fortissimo volume, regardless of when the music was composed. This approach is certainly inartistic for early music. Treatises through the long 18th century consistently urged vocalists to sing high notes softly but low notes loudly, and, above all, not to force the voice. The first to do so was Pietro Reggio, from Genoa of Italy, whose 1677 treatise was devoted exclusively to this concept:

> Here the Bass must have a care, when he is to Sing any Division that runs upon high Notes, to Sing them smooth, and in descending he must increase lowder and lowder, and the lower the Notes the more he must strengthen his Voice, and on the contrary, the higher his Voice ascends, the softer he must sing: this is the most fine way of Singing a Bass.[194]

Reggio's views were echoed by authors of subsequent treatises including Pierfrancesco Tosi, Giambattista Mancini, William Jackson, Giacomo Ferrari and Domenico Francesco Crivelli.

3.2 Larynx height

All treatise writers though the Long 18th century deplored low larynx singing, known to today's vocal tutors as 'laryngeal development' but described then as throaty, guttural, thick, plummy or fat singing. Pierfrancesco Tosi warned in 1721: 'The greatest diligence of the master should be directed to the voice of the scholar, which, if it be of the chest or of the head, should come out limpid and clear, without passing through the nose nor being suppressed in the throat, which are the two most horrible defects of a singer, and without remedy when they have taken possession'.[195] In this, Tosi was supported by Johann Quantz, Giambattista Mancini, Dr James Nares, Thomas Holcroft, Anselm Bayly, Charles Dibdin, Gesualdo Lanza, Jean Jousse and Richard Mackenzie Bacon. Charles Smyth sternly warned his son in 1810:

> *Singing in the throat* is occasioned by making a kind of tone which conveys to a hearer the idea that the singer has a *swelling* in his throat; and in addition to this inconvenience has a chord tied tight round his neck. It is very easy to sing the words *Do* and *Sol* in the throat. It is not without effort that a person can sing "La" in the throat. In order to avoid this most disgusting defect, all good singers practise divisions and exercises in solfeggio, to the syllable "La". The Italians, who hold guttural singing in utter abhorrence, always practise to some such word as "La", "Fa", or the word "Amen". I never heard an Italian sing in his throat; but I do remember to have heard a singing-master of great eminence, in the metropolis, who is now no more, form his tone so high in the head, as absolutely to fall into the contrary extreme of *nasality*.[196]

The treatise writers were backed up by reviewers through the period. While most singers were approved by reviewers, some were critiqued. Considering castrati first, Matteo Berselli (who sang soprano roles) was praised by Quantz: 'Berselli had an agreeable but slightly thin, high soprano, which ranged from middle "c" to high "f" with great ease. He amazed his listeners more though this than through artful singing'.[197] Domenico Annibali's voice was 'clear and penetrating, as to make its way through all obstructions,' as reported[198] by Quantz to Charles Burney. On the other hand, Edgcumbe judged castrato Luigi Marchesi's voice 'a little inclined to be thick', as already noted above. Female sopranos described as having a silvery tone, or with a thin, pure sound, or 'formed high', include Virginie Blasis, Eliza Salmon and Maria Caradori-Allan. These contrast with the descriptions of other female vocalists, including Josephina Grassini ('somewhat husky and guttural'[199]), Maria Dickons ('sounds elicited from the throat, instead of the chest'[200]), Violante Camporese ('some of her notes partook of the throaty tone, highly sickening and disgusting to the ear'[201]) and Deborah Travis ('We never heard an Italian singer to our recollection in the slightest degree guttural, we have very rarely indeed heard an English singer, whose voice could in all parts be said to be absolutely free from the throat. There is a thickness even in MISS TRAVIS'S tone (though we do not accuse her of singing in the throat) which we are persuaded arises from the tone not coming from quite so high a site in the passage, as the Italians would have taught her to bring it'.[202]). Other male singers with voices formed high included Lewis Bernard Sapio and Filippo Galli. By contrast, some males were described as having throaty, guttural or thick voices, including Charles Dignum, Giuseppe Siboni, M Ponchard, Charles Edward Horn ('snuffling thickness, as if the bridge of his nose was compressed by a rigid pair of spectacles'.[203]), William Pearman ('voice being under

some artificial cause of compression … smothered sound'[204]) and M Dobler ('a little too fat and quaggy in its depth if rigorously criticised'.[205])

Sarah Potter wrote in her doctoral thesis: 'The relative delicacy of the neutral-larynx approach to voice production might be considered a negative attribute by those who prize the power and weight of the modern operatic voice, but it is by virtue of its delicacy that the neutral-larynx approach is capable of great dexterity and flexibility'.[206] She then quotes John Potter[207] (unrelated to Sarah Potter, as far as I am aware): 'It is reasonable to assume that earlier singers sang with the larynx closer to the higher position used in speaking. This enabled them to distinguish clearly between vowels and made their voices light and agile: exactly the kind of voice one would need for the intimate performance of chamber music or the more florid ornamentation of the late Renaissance, baroque and classical periods'. Sarah Potter concludes: 'A neutral approach to larynx height makes the teenage debut of singers much more plausible; such vocal precocity is uncommon today, and indeed serious vocal tuition is usually reserved until long after the onset of pubity. The modern "classically trained" singer actively *learns* to produce something radically different from the voice of the untrained singer through the habituation of a lowered larynx position, making it entirely reasonable to assume that there existed a point in time *before* singers were trained to do this as a matter of course, and before audiences expected to hear the recognized effects of this technique in performance'.[208]

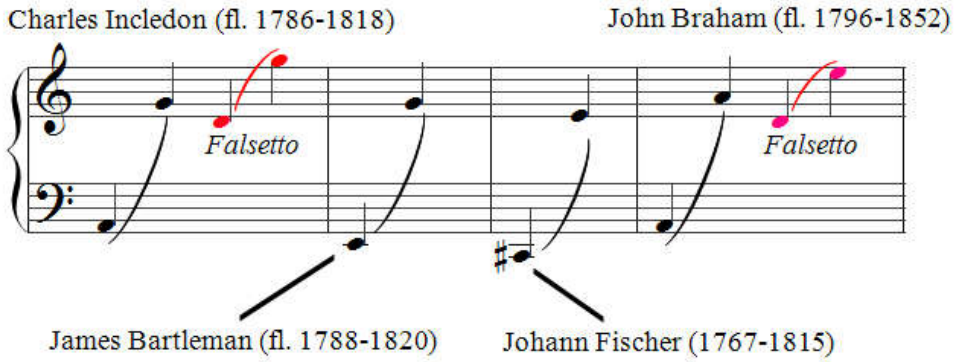
3.3 Registration

Important authorities all insisted that singers should develop a registral extension, and learn how to connect their natural (or chest) voice to what was always described as their falsetto. Pierfrancesco Tosi prescribed:

> Many masters make their disciples sing contralto because they do not know how to find the falsetto in them, or to evade the fatigue of searching for it. A diligent instructor, knowing that a soprano without the falsetto must sing within the narrowness of a few notes, should not only attempt to acquire it, but should leave no means untried so that he unites it to the chest voice, in such a way that one cannot distinguish the one from the other, since if the union is not perfect the voice will be of many registers, and consequently will lose its beauty.[209]

Tosi's views were echoed by Anselm Bayly, Giambattista Mancini, Charles John Smyth, Jean Jousse, Maria Anfossi, Friedrich Wieck and Emma Seiler.

I showed in my book that most female singers sported voices with ranges from 2½ and 3 octaves, which is impossible without a registral extension. Castrati had similarly wide compasses. As far as other male vocalists are concerned, it is not clear how many exploited their falsetto register during the 18th century. Deep basses such James Bartleman and Johann Fischer kept to their chest range, although some men started to make use of their falsetto register, including Charles Incledon and John Braham. The ranges of all four aforementioned male singers mentioned are shown at Illus.15.



Illus.15. Ranges of four important male singers of the Long 18th century

However, dissenting voices appeared after 1830, with male falsetto often deplored as offensive, disagreeable, unfortunate and distressing. Gioacchino Rossini, who composed his last opera in 1831, sometimes expressed his displeasure with *tenore di forza* who disdained the falsetto register. His friend Edmond Michotte recounts an 1837 conversation with Gilbert Duprez, which took place after the French tenor had demonstrated his high C for the maestro: 'Duprez: Well then Maître, tell me sincerely, does my [top] C please you?' Rossini: 'Very sincerely, what pleases me most about your C is that it is over, and that I am no longer in danger of hearing it. I don't like unnatural effects. It strikes my Italian ear as having a strident timbre, like a capon squawking as its throat is slit. You are a very great artist, a true new creator of the role of Arnold [a character in Rossini's opera *Guillaume Tell*]. Why in the devil abase your talent by using that humbug?' Rossini also commented: 'Duprez was the first one to think of chafing the Parisians' ears by disgorging in Guillaume Tell that chest-tone C of which I had never dreamed. Adolph Nourrit had been satisfied with a head-tone C, which was what was required'.[210]

3.4 Articulation

Most of the best singers during the long 18th century were praised for their clear and distinct articulation, in both recitative and songs/arias. There are four main reasons for this: (a) The preference for speaking recitative rather than singing it, as noted above; (b) The prevalence of smaller locations for concert and opera performances than those typically encountered today; (c) the use of quieter instruments and ensembles for accompanying singers; and (d) the fact that Italian singers were generally trained to form their mouths in a slightly smiling position, as advised by many treatise writers, including Tosi, Mancini, Antonio Borghese, Thomas Billington, Porpora, Corri, Jousse, Richard Mackenzie Bacon, Thomas Cooke, William Gardiner and Isaac Nathan.

Charles Smyth advised his son in 1810:

> The Italians sing with *bocca ridente*, a smiling mouth. A person once observed to a professional musician of eminence, a friend of mine, that Signior [Venanzio] Rauzzini always sang as if he were smiling: my friend replied, that he could not execute what he did with his mouth differently formed. The keeping the mouth continually round, with a view to produce a particular kind of tone, makes dreadful havoc with pronunciation.[211]

Compared to singers of the long 18th century, modern opera stars typically use a rounded mouth shape, as illustrated on the cover of my book. It's not surprising, therefore, that the enunciation of today's opera singers and concert artists is poor. For this reason, surtitles are routinely displayed above the stage in operatic performances, even when sung in the English language. By contrast, singers during the long 18th century were often praised for their good enunciation. For example, the alto castrato Giovanni Rubinelli was praised by Burney: 'His articulation is so pure and well accented, in his recitatives, that no one who understands the Italian language can ever want to look at the book of the words, while he is singing'.[212]

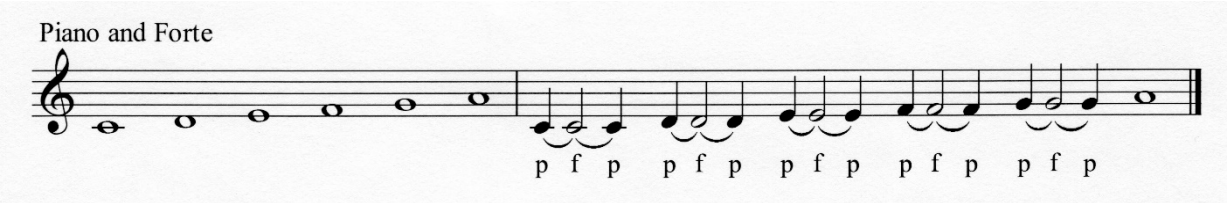
3.5 Messa di Voce

Musicologist and teacher John Wilson, editor of 'Roger North on Music' wrote:

> In his early notebook North interrupts an account of the 'art of gracing' to remark that "the greatest difficulty and best grace is sounding a single note well, when it is long, and giving it a due sound when short". In the case of long notes he was always fond of the *messa di voce*, which he refers to as the "*arcata*" or sometimes the "wavee".[213]

North's famous diagram, already presented above at Illus.1, features a *messa di voce* both with and without a tremolo.

All long 18th century treatise writers favoured the *messa di voce*. The first was Christoph Bernhard who wrote in 1650[214]: 'When on a whole or half tactus, one takes care to use the piano at the beginning, the forte in the middle, and finally the piano again, as in: [see Illus. 16—punctuation supplied]. Bernard was followed in this regard by Tosi, Anselm Bayly, Mancini, Richard Mackenzie Bacon, Isaac Nathan, all of whom insisted that the *messa di voce* was a vital element in singing. Several examples have been quoted in this article.



Illus.16: Christoph Bernhard's Messa di Voce

3.6 Trilling

The trill, or shake as it was known then in Britain, was always known to be difficult to perform. Author and song composer Charles Dibdin wrote in 1805:

> There is a thing which as it is generally used I most heartily reprobate, which is a shake. I don't think that in my whole life I ever heard above six singers who had a perfect shake. I have often heard some, under a most comfortable idea that they were perfectly right, shake from the minor third, from a quarter of a tone below it, and so on to almost a tremulous repetition of the tone itself; till at last one might be almost induced to pity them lest they should be under the influence of a fit of the ague. [215]

Pierfrancesco Tosi says of the trill:

> He who has a very beautiful trill, although deprived of every other ornament, always enjoys the advantage of conducting himself without lack of taste in the Cadenzas, where it is for the most part essential. And he who lacks it (or possesses a defective trill) will never be a great singer, even though he knows much. / The trill being therefore of such consequence to singers, let the master procure, by means of vocal, speculative [theoretical], and instrumental examples, that the scholar comes to acquire it equal, measured, solid, facile, and moderately fast [*che lo Scolaro giunga ad acquistario eguale, battuto, granito, facile, e moderatamente veloce*], which are the most beautiful qualities.[216]

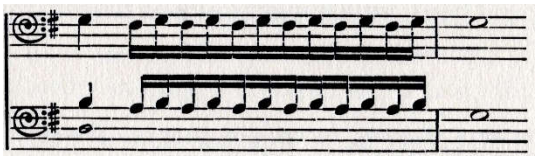
Tosi then outlines trilling faults:

> The trill has many defects which must be avoided. The long trill formerly triumphed improperly, as the *passagi* do today; but the art being refined, that has been left to the trumpets, or to whom who wishes to use it to bring forth an explosion of *Evviva* from the populace: This trill, which is heard too often, although it be most beautiful, does not please: That which is beaten with inequality of motion displeases [*batte con disuguaglianza di moto dispiace*]; the goatbleat causes laughter, for it is born in the mouth like a laugh, and the best [trill is born] in the throat: That which is produced by two tones in thirds disgusts: The slow annoys: and the out of tune alarms.[217]

It is of interest that Tosi, while he dislikes long trills, approves of equal as opposed to unequal (*disuguaglianza*) trills. Is he saying that he likes trills to be measured? It is uncertain. But Roger North is clear that measured trills are what he wants to hear:

> When any [two] notes are (in the composition) of accord so nearly allyed, that they will be heard together plain, but a litle hard perhaps, then, sounding them alternately, but so swift that they are *quasi* mixed, softens the sound and makes it more elegant; and this is the shake or trill. And accordingly there is the beat-up trill [F#—G], and the backfall trill [A—B]. And

both going together, which I have seldome knowne exactly done, make the double trill, being the notes of the cadence broke by a devision:



And it seems a rule in all shaking graces, that if the alternated notes in their circumstances will not sound tollerably well together the shake is not proper… / One great failure of [shaking graces] is the neglect of time, which much deformes them. The triller's aim is to make a strong spring shake, as fast as possible, and (if endeavours fail not) like a squirrell scratching her ear, but swifter or slower, without government, as to measure. Now it seems that a trill is but a species of devision, and ought to keep time, and fall in with that of the consort. This I have heard done, but it was in a slow, and not a swift manner, which will by no means admit that decorum.

At this point editor John Wilson notes that the reference to slow trilling is clarified in an earlier paragraph as follows:

Nothing is more expresly taught, and less correctly than [the trill] is; which may be perceived by observing the manners of the several performers upon the same notes. For some trill with spring, and very swift, and on all occasions the same: which must be wrong, for the trill ought to be a just devision of the time used; and such a spring must needs be out of comand, so whether the measures are swift or slow, the spring works all alike. Others that have or use not that spring, but stay or accelerate their trill according to occasion, conforme much better to the musick, of which an uninterrupted measure is a cheif [sic] perfection. This difference was seen in the two great violin masters, Sigr Nicolai Matteis, and his son. The former had an absolute power of his trill, and used it always in time; and so slow as permitted the ingredients in his shakes to be distinctly heard sounding; which made some, that understood no better, say that he had not a good shake. But the other had a spring so active, that during his trill the sound was stopt, because the notes had not time to sound. And that is an objection to all prolonged trilling, so strong that the Itallians have omitted it wholly rather than corrupt the sonorousness of the parts.[218]

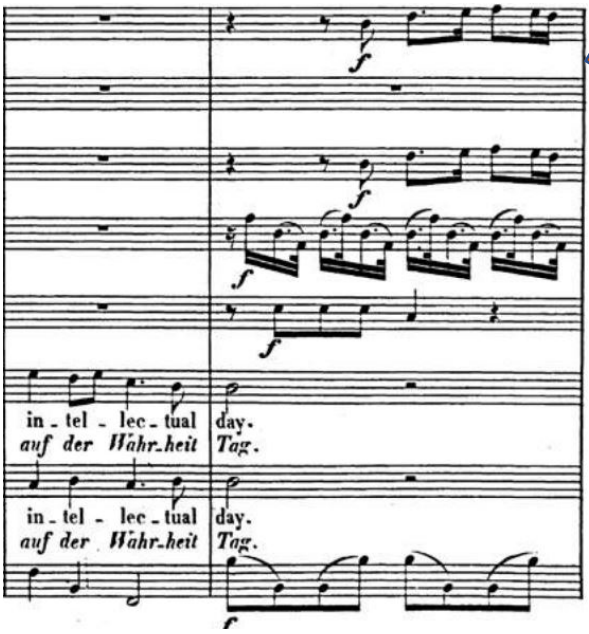
It seems to me that North made a good point in insisting that double trills be measured. I've found a good example, from Handel's *As Steals the Morn*, where soprano and tenor voices need to trill together. The passage is shown at Illus.17 and 18.

In my observation, trills are usually badly performed in modern early music performances, although, not being a solo singer, I find it difficult to understand why, given that today's singers invariably sing long notes as a 200+ cent wide trill.

4. Conclusions and suggestions for the future

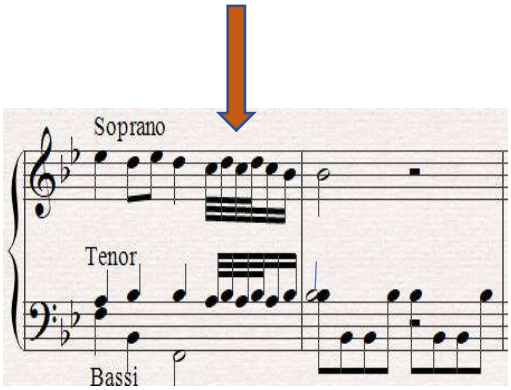
4.1 Current performance standards by vocalists in early music

Unfortunately, the great majority of today's singers (including those specialising in Baroque and Classical-period repertoire) are trained in the traditional modern opera-house style, projecting a constant wide vibrato (or at least applying it habitually to virtually all long notes), dark/plummy low-larynx timbre, high notes shrieked or bellowed in chest register (instead of soft falsetto) and recitative sung instead of spoken. And, as Brian Robins pointed out in his video 'Towards a Better Understanding of Baroque Opera'[219], they deliver poor trills, use the *messa di voce* sparingly or never, are inflicted with poor stage design and act badly using inappropriate hand gestures and postures.



Illus. 17. 'As Steals the Morn', bars 54-55, as composed

Illus. 18. 'As Steals the Morn', bars 54-55, with measured cadential trills from both soprano and tenor singers



4.2 Can Historically informed singing be heard in early music performances today?

My answer is, Yes. But it is extremely rare, being restricted to a handful of classical artists and some pop/folk singers who have not 'benefited' from classical voice training. Here is a shortlist of classical vocalists, most of whom deliver narrow and selective pitch vibrato:

Soprano Miriam Feuersinger, Christoph Graupner, Angst und Jammer, GWV 1145/11, Angst und Jammer, GWV 1145/11: Aria: Angst und Jammer - YouTube

Soprano Magali Léger, Handel, Gloria: V Qui tollis peccata mundi, Gloria: V. Qui tollis peccata mundi - YouTube

Tenor Sting, Dowland, Weep You No More Sad Fountains, Weep You No More, Sad Fountains - YouTube

Tenors Filipe Faria & Sérgio Peixoto, Manuel Machado, Dos Estrellas Le Siguen, with Sete Lágrimas, Dos Estrellas Le Siguen - YouTube

Tenors Daniele Cernuto & Michele Fracasso, Bartolomeo Spighi O piaggia felice, with Dolci Accenti ensemble, Bartolomeo Spighi O piaggia felice - Dolci Accenti ensemble - YouTube

Falsettist Doron Schleifer, Dowland, I Saw My Lady Weepe, I Saw My Lady Weepe - YouTube

When you listen to the above, you will hear minimal vibrato, neutral larynx positions from the tenors featured (Sting, Dolci Accenti's Faria & Sérgio Peixoto, and Sete Lágrimas's Filipe Faria & Sérgio Peixoto) and subtle *messa di voce* from Miriam Feuersinger, Doron Schleifer and others.

4.3 Suggestions for achieving truly Historically informed singing

What do we need to do to achieve sweet, clear, pure and affecting vocalism, with soft high notes, as heard during the long 18th century? I made these suggestions in my book:

A. Amateur Handel singing competition

Handel took risks in introducing Giulia Frasi, a non sight-reading amateur, to his London audience. We need an individual or institution to endow an annual Frasi prize. It might be claimed that a Handel Singing Competition already exists. Unfortunately, this is aimed at professionals, and it is clear from the results that most of the singers appear to have ignored historically informed practices, given that they usually perpetrate continuous vibrato, low larynx emission and high notes delivered forte, all of which would have been unacceptable to reviewers from Tosi to Rossini.

B. Professional vocal training

Amateurs won't suffice for Baroque opera or Rossini, where professional training is required to master difficult skills, including languages, improvisation, falsetto production (including linking with chest voice) and the tasteful delivery of rapid passages and trills. A few universities/academies need to launch early music vocal courses, perhaps as a second study, backed by research. This view is supported by singer/musicologist Richard Wistreich: 'The techniques described by Tosi and Mancini reflect a long tradition of voice training, passed on from one generation to the next in the master-apprentice system of professional voice training; there is no reason why it should not still form the basis of singing teaching today'.[220]

C. Launch initiatives to identify (and start to train) talented vocalists at secondary school

Classical singers should make an early start, as they (especially females) used to in the Long 18th century, and pop singers do now.

D. Encouraging informed critical attitudes

Unfortunately, *Early Music Review* ceased publication in June 2015. As a result, the specialist early music publishing field is slender or non-existent, leaving just a handful of independent reviewers such as Andrew Benson-Wilson and Brian Robins posting online notices of concerts and operas. This leaves only the national press, whose music reviewers seldom review performances from the standpoint of Historically informed performance. I must exempt *Gramophone* from this statement, as they use reviewers who are aware of, and educated in, the historical record of vocalism.

E. Enabling pop-to-classical crossover opportunities

I've already commended Sting's work on Dowland. We need more pop and folk singers to follow his lead, given that many of them are good musicians, often singing to their own guitar or piano accompaniment. Some, such as Elvis Costello, Mary Timony, Melora Creager and Roger Daltrey have done so, singing music by Dowland, Henry Lawes, Weelkes and songs from the *Beggar's Opera*. But their work has not generally been well marketed, so many people are unaware of them. While Rossini is a step too far for such singers, much of Dowland's, Purcell's and Handel's work is within their grasp. Many pop/folk singers are doing much better, regarding vocal production and general style, in approximating the style that was so valued during the Long 18th century. As much as they may chafe at the suggestion, perhaps classical vocalists could learn a few things from such performers. Robert Toft concluded his presentation 'Bel Canto: the unbroken tradition' at NEMA's 2009 conference held at the University of York as follows: '… in certain regards, popular artists provide a fascinating model for performing late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century art music in a way that seems to correspond more closely with historical documents than the approach taken by many of today's "classically trained" singers'.[221]

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the assistance I have received from David Badagnani; he has made several helpful suggestions on this article's contents, not least the Melodyne illustrations at Illus. 12 to 14 above.

Richard Bethell began as a wind player, moving into project management at the London Stock Exchange then setting up Compeer Limited in 1992. After retiring, he has devoted his time to research into early singing, resulting in the book Vocal Traditions in Conflict: Descent from Sweet, Clear, Pure and Affecting Italian Singing to Grand Uproar. *He is also Secretary to the National Early Music Association.*

Notes

1 Edward Breen, review of *Vocal Traditions in Conflict: Descent from Sweet, Clear, Pure and Affecting Italian Singing to Grand Uproar*, by Richard Bethell, *Early Music Performer* 46 (April 2020).

2 Richard Bethell, *Vocal Traditions in Conflict: Descent from Sweet, Clear, Pure and Affecting Italian Singing to Grand Uproar* (2019), Peacock Press.

3 The Long 18th century is defined as the period from 1650 to 1829, covering the high/late Baroque, Classical and early Romantic periods.

4 Most quotations are given in English, with Italian or German terms used in the original in brackets.

5 Christoph Bernhard [*Von der Singe-Kunst, oder Maniera*, c.1650], translation by Greta Haenen in *New Grove Dictionary of Music.*

6 John Wilson (ed), *Roger North on Music* (1959), p.17-18.

7 Pierfrancesco Tosi trans Edward Foreman, *Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni o sieno osservazioni sopra il canto figurato,* 1723 (1986), pp.16-17, 28-29, 104, 105-106.

8 Pietro Francesco Tosi trans Johann Ernst Galliard*, Observations on the Florid Song*, 1742 (2/1968), Preface by Paul Henry Lang, 163-164.

9 William Tans'ur, *Musico Theorico & A New Musical Grammar* (24 June 1746), pp.52-53.

10 Johann Joachim Quantz trans Edward R. Reilly, *On Playing the Flute*, (2/2001), p.30.

11 Quantz (2001), p.165.

12 Leopold Mozart trans Editha Knocker, *Violinschule*, 1756 (1948).

13 Johann Friedrich Agricola trans Julianne C Baird, *Introduction to the Art of Singing* (1995), p.149.

14 Agricola (1995), p.160. Baird observed in an endnote: 'Neumann *Ornamentation*, p.603, calls this phenomenon "vocal intensity pulsations". Among many examples in the literature in which this phenomenon occurs may be included Handel's cantata for tenor, *Look down harmonious Saint*, and Hasse's cantata *Quel vago Seno* for flute, soprano, and continuo'.

15 Anselm Bayly, *Practical Treatise on Singing and Playing* (1771), p.64.

16 Giambattista Mancini trans Edward Foreman, *Pensieri e riflessioni pratiche sopra il canto* figurato, 1774 and 1777 (2/1996), pp.103-104.

17 Francesco Onofrio Manfredini (1684-1762) was a composer, violinist and church musician.

18 Mancini (1996), p.43.

19 Mancini (1996), pp. 60-61.

20 Richard Edgcumbe, *Musical Reminiscences, containing an Account of the Italian Opera in England from 1773* (24 June 1834), p.248.

21 Robert Bremner (c.1713-1789) was a Scottish music publisher, writer on music and musical director. He was a pupil of Francesco Geminiani, but disagreed with his mentor on the use of vibrato. Bremner published Geminiani's treatise in 1777 as *The Art of Playing on the Violin*, but omitted three passages.

22 Robert Bremner, 'Some Thoughts on the Performance of Concert Music', *Edinburgh Amusement* (1777).

23 Suzanne J. Beicken (ed), *Vocal Performance and Ornamentation by Johann Adam Hiller* (2001), p.21.

[24] Hiller (2001), pp. 92, 99.

[25] Thomas Billington, *Te Deum, etc., with instructions to the Performers* (1784).

[26] William Gardiner, *Music and Nature* (1832), p.115, reference date October 1788.

[27] Charles Burney*, General History, Part III* (1778), p.8.

[28] Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces* (1773), pp.299-300.

[29] Burney (1773), pp.303-304

[30] Charles Burney, 'Tremblant', *Rees's Cyclopædia*, (1810).

[31] Joseph Corfe, *A Treatise on Singing* (1799), p.3

[32] Charles John Smyth, *Six Letters on Singing* (1810).

[33] Richard Mackenzie Bacon, *Elements of Vocal Science* (1824), serialised in *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* [QMMR] (September 1822), p.353.

[34] Louis Spohr, *Grand Violin School* (1833), p.161.

[35] Isaac Nathan, *Musurgia Vocalis* (1836), p.93.

[36] Maria Anfossi, *Trattato Teorico* (1837), p.11

[37] *Morning Post* (5 May 1848).

[38] *Saunders's News-Letter* (22 November 1779).

[39] *Manchester Mercury* (28 May 1782).

[40] Richard Mackenzie Bacon, 'Of Tone', *QMMR* (September 1820), pp.256-258.

[41] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol.VII (1797), p.316.

[42] Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the life of Mr. Colley Cibber written by himself* (1740).

[43] Greta Haenen commented on North's remark as follows: 'However, North's exclusive usage is not followed by other authors: *messa di voce* does not exist only with vibrato nor vibrato only with *messa di voce*. According to the Tartini school, furthermore, the combination of both ornaments was absolutely not allowed because of an insistence on pure harmonic intervals'.

[44] Charles d'Ancillon, *Eunuchism Display'd* (1705).

[45] Charles Burney, *Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands & United Provinces* (17 August 1772).

[46] Charles Burney, *Rees's Cyclopaedia*, reference date December 1748.

[47] Charles Burney, *Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, Part 1, p.149.

[48] 'Biographical information on musicians mentioned by Hiller', in Hiller (2001).

[49] Henry Pleasants, *The Great Singers* (1966), p.88, reference date 1788.

[50] Edgcumbe (1834), p.61.

[51] Angus Heriot, *The castrati in Opera* (1960), p.119, quoted from Schopenhauer's diary of 30 May 1797.

[52] *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (1805), quoted in Pleasants (1966), p.90.

[53] *Globe* (13 June 1825).

[54] *Sunday Times of London* (3 July 1825).

[55] *QMMR* (June 1825), p.271.

[56] Charles Burney, *The Present state of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, vol.2 (1775), pp.188-189.

[57] Mancini (1996), pp.10, 81.

[58] Charles Burney, *Rees's Cyclopaedia*, article on Marie Fel [sang from 1733 to 1759], quoting from Laborde.

[59] Charles Burney, *General History of Music*, vol.4, p.449.

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[61] Charles Burney, *Memoirs*, p.191, Jan 1766.

[62] Edgcumbe (1834), p.148, reference date December 1774.

[63] Charles Burney, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Abate Metastasio*, vol.2 (1796), in a letter to the Princess di Belmonte at Naples dated 16 Jan 1772.

[64] Charles Burney, *General History of Music,* vol.4, p.509, reference date October 1778.

[65] Philip Olleson (ed), *Journals & Letters of Susan Burney* (2016), reference date 20 October 1779.

[66] Edgcumbe (1834), p.90, reference date 1783.

[67] *Morning Post* (5 October 1801).

[68] John Waldie, *Journal* (17 April 1803).

[69] *London Courier and Evening Gazette* (22 December 1806).

[70] *QMMR* (June 1818), p.183.

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[72] *Morning Post* (8 February 1805).

[73] *European Magazine*, vol.42 (October 1802), p.283.

[74] *Northampton Mercury* (23 October 1813).

[75] *New Monthly Magazine* (1814).

[76] *QMMR* (June 1820), p.196.

[77] *QMMR* (21 March 1822), p.20.

[78] *QMMR* (March 1823), p.193.

[79] *Morning Chronicle* (26 June 1834).

[80] *Morning Post* (27 June 1834).

[81] *New Monthly Magazine* (30 April 1835), p.449.

[82] *Morning Post* (7 October 1819).

[83] *Atlas* (25 June 1826.

[84] *Examiner* (6 October 1811).

[85] *QMMR* (21 March 1822), p.20.

[86] *QMMR* (March 1824), p.13.

[87] *QMMR* (June 1826), p.267.

[88] *Harmonicon* (13 September 1832).

[89] *Examiner* (21 July 1838).

[90] *Brother Jonathan* (21 October 1843).

[91] *Theatrical Inquisitor* (7 July 1818).

[92] *Examiner* (16 April 1821).

[93] *QMMR* (December 1823).

[94] *QMMR* (June 1824, p.222).

[95] *Sunday Times of London* (15 May 1825).

[96] *Morning Post* (11 April 1828).

[97] *Morning Chronicle* (9 December 1826).

[98] *Bury and Norwich Post* (15 October 1828).

[99] *Tatler*, No.18 (24 September 1830, p.72).

[100] *New England Magazine* (December 1835).

[101] *New Monthly Magazine* (1 February 1822).

[102] *QMMR* (September 1826), p.341.

[103] *Hull Packet* (26 Sep. 1834).

[104] *Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Advertiser*, 15 October 1834).

[105] *Musical and Personal Recollections,* Henry Phillips, reference date 14 May 1827.

[106] *Morning Chronicle* (30 June 1834).

[107] *London Evening Standard* (20 September 1839).

[108] *Musical World* (26 March 1840).

[109] *Morning Post* (28 April 1841).

[110] *New Monthly Magazine*, vol.2 (1833), p.254, referring to around 1790.

[111] *QMMR* (March 1818), p.81.

[112] William Gardiner, *Music and Friends*, vol.2, p. 642.

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[117] *QMMR* (September 1818), p.329.

[118] Edgcumbe (1834), p.357.

[119] *British Minstrel* (January 1844).

[120] *Morning Chronicle* (6 March 1813).

[121] William Gardiner, *Music of Nature*, p.117, reference date March 1822.

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[123] *QMMR* (March 1818), p.96.

[124] *Morning Chronicle* (26 September 1827).

[125] *Examiner* (13 July 1817).

[126] *Examiner* (27 February 1825).

127 *Examiner* (11 May 1828).

128 Gardiner, p.117, reference date March 1800.

129 *Derby Mercury* (17 September 1828).

130 Letter from Ingres to M. Forestier, 7 April 1807, as recounted in Graham O'Reilly, '*Allegri's Miserere' in the Sistine Chapel* (2020).

131 Louis Simond, *A Tour in Italy and Sicily*, p.375, 10 March 1818.

132 *Sydney Monitor* (27 June 1829).

133 *The Pilot* (17 January 1831).

134 Phillips, vol.1 (1864), reference date probably 1834 at Royal Musical Festival in Westminster Abbey.

135 *Caledonian Mercury* (17 September 1835).

136 *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette* (7 October 1837).

137 [Clara Novello], *Reminiscences, Compiled by her Daughter, Contessa Valerie Gigliucci,* quoting *from Schumann's Music and Musicians* (1854), p.66

138 *Hereford Times* (30 September 1837). Notice concludes by critiquing her "wayardness of a spoiled child" for insisting on Corno bassetto accompaniment, and also, her refusal to sing the National Anthem.

139 *Brighton Gazette* (30 November 1854).

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141 *Brighton Gazette* (22 November 1860).

142 Novello (1860), p.23.

143 Wilson (1959), p.128.

144 Quantz, Johann, *Life as Sketched by Himself*, translation from Paul Nettle's *Forgotten Musicians*, p.312/3.

145 John Waldie, *Journal* (1803).

146 *QMMR* (March 1818), p.87.

147 *Drama* (10 May 1823).

148 *QMMR* (30 June 1821), p.141.

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150 *New Times London* (25 December 1826).

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152 *Examiner* (21 July 1816).

153 *Cheltenham Chronicle* (13 August 1818).

154 *New Monthly Magazine* (May 1826).

155 *Court Magazine and Belle Assemblée* (30 June 1836).

156 *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (30 Oct 1819). Sarah Potter (*Changing Vocal Style and Technique in Britain during the Long Nineteenth Century*, PhD dissertation (2014), p.76) cited Martyn Stewart ('Honey Bee', *The Sound of Critters: Bird and Animal Sounds Across the Planet*) in support of her idea that 'Although the honeybee can change the pitch of its sound, its general effect is not of pitch oscillation, but rather undulation of intensity upon the same pitch'.

157 *Yorkshire Gazette* (27 September 1828).

158 From Charles Lamb's *Essays of Elia*, quoted in *London Magazine* (1822).

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160 Anton Raaf (1714-1797), one of the most famous tenors of the 18th century.

161 Wolfgang Mozart, *Letter to Leopold Mozart* (12 June 1778), in Emily Anderson (trans), *Letters of Mozart & Family*, p.907.

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164 Edgcumbe (13 December 1806), p.102.

165 *Examiner* (5 June 1808).

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191 Richard Wistreich, 'Reconstructing pre-Romantic singing technique', in John Potter (ed), *Cambridge Companion to Singing* (2000), p.185.

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193 George Newton, *Sonority in singing: A Historical Essay* (1984), p.130.

194 Pietro Reggio, *The Art of Singing or A Treatise, wherein is shown how to sing well any song* whatsoever, *And also how to apply the best Graces. With a Collection of Cadences Plain, and then graced, for all Lovers of* Music (Oxford, 1677), p.31.

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196 Smyth (1810).

197 Quantz, *Life*, p.292.

198 Charles Burney, *Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, Part 2, p.160.

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Collecting historic guitars

David Jacques

I have always enjoyed collecting old things. When I was younger it was Canadian coins, then sports cards, rocks and fossils etc. I felt I was holding a bit of history in my hands. It was this, by the way, that led me to study early music. As you delve into the subject you learn to understand what drove the evolution of the music and of our instrument. The evolution of the guitar is fascinating! For 20 years I studied and loved this old music, playing it on modern reproductions of early instruments. I never dreamed that it would be possible to work with original 17th-century instruments. For reasons I don't understand, guitarists rarely play instruments that are more than 20 or 30 years old. After this length of time, they say, a guitar becomes 'dead'. But now I know that to love old guitars you simply have to put aside modern standards and relearn how to listen.

Illus.1 Guitar by Alexandre Voboam, Paris, c.1665

Two years ago I set out to buy an 1829 guitar and boom! My passion for collecting historic objects was rekindled. I then made an important acquisition: a guitar made by Alexandre Voboam around 1665 (illus.1). (I had been playing a copy of one of his guitars for 15 years!). A whole chain of opportunities then followed. I began to dream of a big and completely mad and improbable concert project: presenting, on the concert stage, a collection of guitars made by the makers who have left their marks on history, and playing repertoire chosen to showcase each instrument. Two years later, that is exactly what I succeeded in doing. My latest project, 14 Guitars Stories, is quite simply unique. It is the result of a rather crazy dream of an enthusiastic musician/entrepreneur/collector.

Illus.2 Guitar by Antonio de Torres (Alméria, 1887)

The idea is not to have as many guitars as possible; my collection, I should say, is shaped primarily by this project. It may seem contradictory, but I am not all that attached to objects. What interests me more about these guitars is what they represent historically. That is what makes me dream, and directly influences my creativity. For the moment, I am concentrating on pre-1900 guitars. Obviously there are excellent 20th-century luthiers; my 1972 Daniel Friederich is a real pearl! But I prefer the older instruments.

The guitars tell all kinds of stories. There are the stories about the various owners who followed one after another. For example, Antonio de Torres made the guitar numbered SE109 for his children's nanny, and gave it to her, in 1887 (illus.2). It stayed in the young woman's family for decades until I became its owner. There are stories about the luthiers and the context in which they lived. Consider, for instance, the story of my 1776 Pracht (illus.3). Though he could sign his name with a fine flourish, Pracht was probably more or less illiterate. When he went to a printer in Lyons to order labels to affix to the interior of his instruments, Pracht asked that they describe him as a *fabriquant de guitar*, a guitar maker. His accent was such, however, that the printer only understood him phonetically, and made labels identifying Pracht as a *fabriquant d'équitards* – without enquiring as to the meaning of this meaningless term. The luthier was not aware of the error and so, to this day, the guitar has this label. Finally, the guitars tell stories about music. When, for example, you perform Fernando Sor's music on an 1835 Lacôte guitar, knowing that the composer played on this same luthier's instruments — well, one imagines all sorts of stories, and these mental images inform your creativity.

Illus.3 Guitar by Pracht (1776)

To see my project, you are invited you to watch the online concert, available on YouTube: Guitar Collection. On this video, I play 25 historical guitars: Voboam, Torres, Lacote, Stauffer, Panormo, Pagés, Arias, Friederich etc.

I've been following the same routine for a long time. Every day, I spend 30-40 minutes reading through repertoire from the musical archives. I never know what I'm going to find. I discover composers and music that most people don't know exist. Almost every day I find at least one piece that grabs me and that I would like to record. What's more, I do pretty systematically record my finds, and share them publically on my YouTube channel. So, given this context of continual discovery, I cannot say that there is a 'cult' piece that I would like to record or play. I like to constantly change repertoire and dust off forgotten pages. I'm a bit of a musical archaeologist!

After all those years, I'm still fully involved in the early guitar world, sharing my passion on stage, on video, on records and through score publications. I also invest a lot in guitar restorations and sell early c19th or 18th guitars. It's a real passion, and it's not going to last until my retirement (if I ever have one…).

Guitarist and lutenist David Jacques has a PhD in early music performance from the Université de Montréal. He studied classical guitar at the Cégep de Sainte-Foy, Université Laval and the Conservatoire de musique de Québec. His discography consists of 50-plus recordings on different labels. He is now guitar teacher at Laval University in Quebec, Canada and he works hard to promote early guitars and repertoire. Website https://www.david-jacques.com

Composer Anniversaries in 2021

John Collins

In 2021 there are many composers whose anniversaries are commemorated, although some of the dates are not known for certain; some of the names listed below will need no introduction but there are also quite a few lesser-known names listed here whose compositions are well worth exploring. No claim is made for completeness, and there is no guarantee that every edition mentioned is in print – there may well be editions by other publishers. Publishers' websites have been given at the end where known, and subsequent publication citations are given in short form. Details of a small number of composers whose preserved output consists of only one or two pieces have been omitted.

An increasing number of pieces, ranging from complete original publications/manuscripts (which present the usual problems of multiple clefs as well as original printer's errors) to typeset versions of complete or individual works, are to be found on various free download sites, most noticeably IMSLP and Free-scores; however, the accuracy of some modern typesetting is questionable, and all should be treated with caution before use.

Edmund Hooper (1553-1621). Born in north Devon, he became Organist of Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal, leaving mainly choral music and liturgical settings, but only a few keyboard pieces have survived. An Alman and a Coranto were included in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* as numbers 221 and 227, new edition by Jon Baxendale and Francis Knights in three volumes for Lyrebird Music LBMP–0000. The Alman was also included as No.15 in *Parthenia-in-violata 1625*, modern edition by Thurston Dart for Edition Peters 6133. A facsimile was published by New York Public Library. Two further Almans attributed to 'Mr. Hooper' in the Drexel 5612 manuscript are included as numbers 9 and 31 in *English Court and Country Dances of the early Baroque*, edited by Hilda Gervers for American Institute of Musicology Corpus of Early Keyboard Music 44. An Alman and a Coranto are tentatively attributed to Hooper as numbers 43 and 51 in *Keyboard Music from Fitzwilliam Manuscripts*, edited by Christopher Hogwood and Alan Brown for Stainer and Bell, Musica Britannica volume 102.

William Inglott (1554-1621). Master of the Choristers at Hereford and Organist at Norwich cathedrals. A few keyboard pieces survive, a Pavan in G was included in *Will Forster's Virginal Book*, modern edition by Alan Brown as number 18 in *Elizabethan Keyboard Music* for Stainer and Bell, Musica Britannica volume 55. Two pieces, A Galliard's Ground and The leaves bee greene, were included in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* as numbers 249 and 250 (Lyrebird Music LBMP–0000), and also as numbers 70 and 71 in *Keyboard Music from Fitzwilliam Manuscripts*.

Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562-1621). Known as 'The Orpheus of Amsterdam', he published choral settings of the Psalms and also left a quantity of choral and keyboard pieces, including Toccatas, Fantasias, a Ricercar, and settings of sacred and secular melodies, preserved in numerous manuscripts, but none in autograph. His reputation as a teacher led to many youngsters studying with him for three to four years, including some of the leading North German composers of the next generation, and he was acquainted with John Bull and Peter Philips. Following on from Max Seiffert's edition of his keyboard music in 1943, further

modern complete editions, which also include several pieces of doubtful authenticity, include volume one in three parts in the *Opera Omnia* (1.1 Fantasias, Ricercars and Toccatas edited by Gustav Leonhardt, 1.2 Settings of Sacred Melodies edited by Frits Noske and 1.3 Settings of Secular Tunes and Dances edited by Alfons Annegarn) for Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis; four volumes each in two parts edited by Siegbert Rampe (Toccatas, Polyphonic works, Chorale preludes and Song and Dance variations) for Bärenreiter BA8473/4, 8475/6, 8485/6, 8487 and 8494; and four volumes by Harald Vogel and Pieter Dirksen (Toccatas, Fantasias, Chorale Preludes and Song and dance variations) for Breitkopf & Härtel EB8741-44. There are many editions of selected pieces and genres, including the six Echo Fantasias edited by Rudolf Walter for Schott ED21836.

Michael Praetorius (1571-1621). born in Creuzberg, Thuringia in 1571 and died in Wolfenbüttel in 1621, serving the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel from 1595, prior to which he was organist at St Mary's church, Frankfurt an der Oder from 1587-90. Best known today for the dance collection *Terpsichore* and for the treatise *Syntagma Musicum*, published in three parts between 1614-20, of which the second part (*De Organographia*, 1618) described musical instruments in use, and the third (*Termini Musicali*, 1618) discussed compositional genres and the technical essentials for professional musicians including ornamentation, fingering and other aspects of performance practice. He published a prolific amount of choral music but only ten organ works, of which three chorale fantasias and one set of chorale variations were published in part vii of *Musae Sioniae* 1609 and six hymn settings were included in *Hymnodia Sionia*, 1611. These have been edited by Klaus Beckmann for Breitkopf & Härtel EB8556, he also edited these pieces for Schott in the series *North German Masters of the Organ* volume 21, ED20637.

Martin Peerson (1571-1651). Born in March, Cambridgeshire, he held posts in Canterbury, St Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey. He published madrigals, consort songs and motets. Four pieces, an Alman, Pipers Pavan, The Primrose and The fall of the leaf are included in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* as numbers 90, 181, 270 and 271 (Lyrebird Music).

Albertus Bryne (1621-68). Organist at St Paul's Cathedral and later at Westminster Abbey, there are around 35 keyboard pieces comprising 34 dances and just one Voluntary in eight sources which can be attributed with varying degrees of certainty. Five were included in *Musicks Hand-maide*, edited by Thurston Dart for Stainer and Bell, Early Keyboard Music K28, with a facsimile from Broude Bros as PF101. The collected keyboard works have been edited by Terence Charlston for Norsk Musikforlag, which includes an interactive CD by Terence Charlston and Heather Windram, and also a CD of the pieces played by Charlston.

Matthew Locke (1621-77). Born in Exeter and became Composer in Ordinary to His Majesty, and organist of Her Majesty's chapel as well as Composer of the Wind music and of the Violins. He left anthems, motets, dramatic and chamber music, as well as keyboard music, of which he published four suites for harpsichord and seven voluntaries, including one double voluntary for organ, in *Melothesia*, an anthology of 68 pieces and 'Rules for playing on a Continued Bass', which he oversaw for publication in 1673, and which also included more suites for harpsichord by Christopher Preston, John Roberts, John Moss, William Gregory, Gerhard Diessner and William Thatcher. The complete collection has been edited by Christopher Hogwood for Oxford University Press. Ten further pieces were included in *The first part of Musicks Hand-maide,* modern edition by Thurston Dart for Stainer and Bell, Early

Keyboard Music K28. The keyboard works have been edited by Thurston Dart in two volumes for Stainer and Bell Early Keyboard Music, the Suites etc for harpsichord as K6 and the seven Voluntaries for organ as K7. Further pieces have been edited by Terence Charlston as *Thirteen Keyboard Pieces For Harpsichord and Organ* for Peacock Press.

Daniel Vetter (1657-1721). Born in Breslau, in 1679 he succeeded his teacher Werner Fabricius as organist of St Nicolai, Leipzig. Apart from cycles of cantatas, in 1709 he published the first of two volumes of *Musicalische Kirch- und Hauß-Ergötzlichkeit,* containing 130 four-part hymn tunes, followed by part 2 in 1713. Each chorale melody is followed by a variation in broken style, more suitable to harpsichord. A facsimile was published by Georg Olms.

Giuseppe Aldrovandini (1671-1707). Born in Bologna and unfortunately drowning there at an early age, he was mainly known for operas and chamber pieces but a small number of keyboard works have survived. An *elevazione* and an untitled piece, and a tentatively attributed *pastorale* were included in a manuscript in Bologna and have been edited by Jolando Scarpa for Edition Walhall in *Compositori Bolognese*, Frutti Musicale EW1033..

Jacques la Fosse (1671-1721). Organist of Antwerp cathedral, four pieces, comprising two fugas, a cornet piece and a piece for the trumpet in the bass, inscribed as 'L.F.' in the Coquiel manuscript in Brussels have been tentatively ascribed to him. Modern edition of these four pieces plus an aria from a collection of 1877 by Jan van Mol for Calcant 10. They are also included in volume 2 of Brussels, Royal Library, Ms II 3326 mus, edited by Jean Ferrard for Ut Orpheus, Bologna, ECHOM1.

Gaspard Corrette (c.1671-1732). Organist in Rouen, moving to Paris in 1720, he left *Messe du 8e ton, pour l'orgue a l'usage des Dames Religieuses, et utile a ceux qui touchent l'orgue*, consisting of 24 pieces, the last in the French tradition, published in 1703. Modern edition published by Schola Cantorum L'orgue et liturgie LoL50-51, by Nicholas Gorenstein for Éditions du Triton TR OO 03-OGF and also included in *Five French Baroque Organ Masses* edited by Almonte Howell jnr for University of Kentucky Press (also contains one mass by Nivers and three anonymous). There is a facsimile from Fuzeau.

Antoine Forqueray (1671-1745). Gambist at the court of Louis XIV, five suites were published in an arrangement for harpsichord by his son, who added three pieces to the suite in D, as *Pieces de Viole composees par M. Forqueray Le Pere Mises en Pieces de Clavecin par M. Forqueray le Fils.* There is a modern edition by Colin Tilney for Heugel, Le Pupitre LP17, and there is a facsimile published by Editions Minkoff.

Azzolino Bernadino della Ciaia (1671-1755). Born in Siena**,** he spent time in Pisa, Florence and Rome, and composed sacred and choral works as well as *Sonate per cembalo con alcuni saggi ed altri contrapunti di largo e grave stile ecclesiastico per grandi organi*, Op.4, Rome 1727. The six highly idiosyncratic sonatas open with a Toccata and a Canzone, followed by another three movements. The organ pieces comprise 12 Soggetti, six Ricercari and a Mass setting. Modern edition of the sonatas by Francesco Tasini for Ut Orpheus ES7 and of the organ pieces by Armando Carideo for Ut Orpheus ES43.

Isfrid Kayser (1712-71). Born in Turkheim, he spent his life in the monastery of Obermarchtaland composed and published primarily choral music, and in 1746 *Concors*

Digitorum Discordia, seu III. Parthiae Clavi- Cimbalo accommodatae, in Discipulorum aeque, ac Instructorum usum & utilitatem elaboratae, op. IV, a set of three multi-movement *parthias* or suites for harpsichord. Two of these have been edited by Laura Cerutti for Armelin AMM15. Suite number 1 in D is included in volume 2 of *Barocke Orgelmusik aus dem wuerttembergischen und bayerischen Oberschwaben*, edited and published by Berthold Buechele, and number 2 in Eb is in volume 5 of this series. Number 1 is also in *Tastenmusik von Klosterkomponisten des 18. Jahrhunderts für Orgel, Cembalo oder Klavier*, volume XI edited by Gerhard Weinberger for Musik-Edition Récit.

Leonhard Frischmut (c.1721-64). Born near Gotha, he moved to Amsterdam around 1750 where he published a few sets of harpsichord pieces, some of which are lost, as well as songs and *Dedagten iver de beginselen en onderwyzingen des clavecimbaals*, a book on playing the harpsichord, facsimile issued by A, J. Heuwekemeijer. A set of *Tre sonate per il cembalo op. 3* have been edited by Rudolf Rasch *for Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenisas Musik uit de Republiek* MR6. The set of *Sei Concerti del Sig. Tartini, op 4 accomodati per il Cembalo op.4* have been edited by Maurizio Machella in two volumes for Armelin AMM233/234 and by Russell Stinson for A-R editions in *Keyboard Transcriptions from the Bach circle*, Recent Researches in in the Music of the Baroque Era B069.

Bruno Lehner (1721-64). Born in Donaustauf, he became priest in the monastery of Oberateich in 1743. In 1762 he published *Musikalische Übungen in verschiedenen Galanterie- oder Schlagstücken* in two parts, the first with eight pieces and the second with six. The second part is included in volume 7 of *Tastenmusik von Klosterkompositionen des 18. Jahrhunderts* edited by Gerard Weinberger for Musik Edition Recit 2015.60. A facsimile edited by Konrad Ruhland for Verlag Alfred Copenrath, Musik aus Ostbayern 30, is available from Carus Verlag CV91/189.00

Quirino Gasparini (1721-78). Born near Bergamo, and became *maestro di capella* of Turin cathedral. Most of his compositions are of church music and operas but four organ sonatas have been edited by Marco Rossi and Gian Nicola Vessia in *Itinerari Italiani volume X L'Organo in Piemonte tra '700 e '800*, Edizioni Carrara EC4583

Johann Kirnberger (1721-83). Born in Saalfeld and died in Berlin, spending a good ten years in Poland. Composition student of J. S. Bach, he was also a violinist and theorist, being better known today for his commentaries and treatises than his musical output of chamber music, songs and keyboard music. He contributed 25 pieces to *Musikalisches Allerley* 1761-3 and some to *Musikalisches Vielerley, herausgegeben von Herrn Carl PhilipEmanuel Bach 1770*, both available in facsimile from Alaremi Publications, and published four collections of *Clavierübungen* with fingerings after C. P. E Bach (1761-66), edited by Rudolf Rasch for Diapason Press DP 7-10, and a *Recueil d'airs de dance 1777* edited by Alan Jones for Associated Boards of Royal School of Music in *Easier Piano Pieces* 9, all of which contain mainly dances and *galanterien*, often by other composers. *Huit Fugues pour le clavecin ou l'orgue* (1777), have been edited by Hans Bemmann and Hugo Ruf for Schott ED6501, and are available as a facsimile from Fuzeau.

Matthias van den Gheyn (1721-85). Organist of St Peter, Leuven, succeeding Dieudonne Raick, and renowned carilloneur, leaving a quantity of compositions for organ**,** harpsichord and carillon, a few of which were printed but most remain in manuscript. For Cornetto Verlag Laura Cerutti has edited Six Suites for harpsichord as CP309 and Six Divertimenti for

harpsichord in two volumes as CP310 and 311. Four Fugues for organ were published by Veurne: Documentatiecentrum Voor Orgel as *Thesauri Musicae Belgicae Pro Organo*, 2.

Frantisek Brixi (1732-71). Born in Prague, he became Kapellmeister of St Vitus Cathedral there in 1759. He left many masses, motets, vespers, symphonies and concertos as well as organ concertos and pieces for harpsichord and organ solo, which are very much in need of a critical collected edition. Several pieces, taken from the three volume collection *Museum fur Orgelspieler* published in Prague in 1832, are found scattered in numerous anthologies, with much duplication. Amongst modern editions – mainly for manuals only - are *Orgelwerken* edited by Ewald Kooiman for Harmonia, Hilversum, as Incognita Organo 25 which contains five pieces - two of which are by Georg Muffat and one by Johann Albrechtsberger; two fugues have been edited by Jan Kalfus for Bärenreiter in *Vox Humana Czech Republic* BA8236, a preludium, pastorella and three fugues have been edited by Jan Hora in *Organ compositions of old Czech Masters* vol.1 for Editio SDH. The preludium in F, two fugues and a toccata have been edited by Jiri Reinberger in *Classici Boemici Musica Antiqua Boemica* 1/12 for Editio Supraphon. Two preludes and Seykorka have been edited by Vratislav Belsky and Petr Koukal for ArTThon in *Jewels of Organ Music by Old Czech Masters*. The pastorale, a prelude and a fugue are in *Old Czech organ music for Christmas* edited by Jaroslav Smolka in Musica Viva Historica for Editio Supraphon, two fugues are in *Organistae Bohemici* edited by Milan Slechta for Editio Supraphon, a prelude and a fugue are in *Orgelkompositionen alter Böhmischer Meister* edited by Bohumil Geist in Musica Viva Historica 21 for Editio Supraphon and two preludes, a pastorella and four fugues have been edited by Jaroslav Smolka in *Alte Tschechische Orgelmusik volume 2* for Edition Peters. Five pastorellas are in *Pastorale vol 2* edited by Armin Kircher for Carus Verlag 18.082/00.

Félix Máximo López (1742-1821). Organist of the Chapel Royal, Madrid. Much of his considerable output has been lost, but in addition to literary works and theoretical writings, he left some vocal music, a large amount of pieces in manuscript, mainly for organ, with one source entitled *Piezas de clave*, comprising a *Pieza de Clave a Capricho*, two Rondos, a Stracto de la Polaca in 5 Variaciones, 13 Sonatas and two Sonatas for four hands. The *Variaciones del fandango español*, *Minuet afandangado con 6 variaciones* in G minor and 6 *variaciones al Minuet afandangado* in D minor are in different manuscripts. These have all been edited by Alberto Cobo for Instituto Complutense de Ciéncias Musicales, Madrid, in *Integral de la Música para Clave y Pianoforte*, Series B no.7. The two sets of variations on the *Minuet afandangado* have been edited by Genoveva Gálvez for Sociedad Española de Musicología, Madrid.

Niccolo Moretti (1764-1821). Organist in Treviso, he left a large amount of organ as well as choral pieces in numerous manuscripts including Sonatas, Rondos, Versetti for the Mass and arrangements of pieces by other composers. Modern edition of 12 unpublished Sonatas, a Pastorale, two Rondos and of an Allegro by Mozart by Amedeo Aroma for Paideia Brescia as *Biblioteca Classica dell'organista* BCO27 and of 12 more unpublished organ works edited as *Composizioni inedite per organo by Amedeo Aroma, Sandro Carnelos e Giuliano Simionato* for Armelin OIO173

Francis Linley (1771-1800). Born in Doncaster and blind from birth, he became organist of St James's Chapel, Pentonville, and in 1797 went to America after his wife deserted him, but returned in 1799. He composed chamber music and songs, and also published *A practical introduction to the organ in five parts* as Op.6, which included a treatise on the stops and their use,

as well as music, which went through several editions. The contents, with the exception of the psalm interludes, have been published in three volumes - the treatise and the eight Voluntaries, 15 preludes, and eight Introductions & Fugues, by David Patrick for Fitzjohn Music.

George Guest (1771-1831). Born in Bury St Edmunds, he became organist in Wisbech in 1789 and remained there until his death, leaving cantatas, chamber pieces, pieces for military bands, hymns and songs. His *Sixteen pieces or Voluntaries for the Organ* Op.3 and *Four Fugues for the Organ* Pp.13 have been edited by David Patrick for Fitzjohn Music.

Ambros Rieder (1771-1855). Born in Döbling, Vienna, he took organ lessons from Albrechtsberger and worked in Döbling from 1797 as a school teacher and from 1802 in Perchtoldsdorf as a school teacher, organist und choirmaster. He published a very large number of works including masses, an opera, songs, chamber music, preludes, fugues, variations and exercises for the fortepiano and preludes and fugues for the organ., Three organ works were edited by Erich Benedikt for Doblinger Diletto Musicale in *Viennese Organ works from the beginning of the 19th century* volume 1 DM1288, and a Prelude and Fugue in G minor op 156 in volume 2 DM1289.

John Baptist Cramer (1771-1858). German-born pianist who lived in London and studied with Clementi; he composed chamber music and many pieces for the piano including *84 Etudes* Op.30 and 40, 16 *Nouvelles Etudes* Op.81, *10 Progressive Etudes* and around 200 sonatas. The Three Sonatas Op.22 have been edited by Christopher Hogwood for Edition HH hh193.sol. The Three Sonatas Op.23 and the Three Grand Sonatas Op.29 have been edited by Bart van Sambeek for Van Sambeek Edities. Several sets of studies are on IMSLP.

Websites

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Stainer & Bell: www.stainer.co.uk
Union Musical Española: www.musicsalesclassical.com/companies/unionmusicalediciones
Ut Orpheus: www.utorpheus.com
Van Sambeek Edities: https://vansambeekedities.nl
Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis: www.kvnl.nl

News & Events

News

Author, journalist and critic **Richard Bratby** has been appointed the fourth Hogwood Fellow by the Academy of Ancient Music.

The American Musicological Society's 2020 **Noah Greenberg Award** has been made to Yolanda Plumley, Anne Stone and The Orlando Consort for the 'Digital Remede de Fortune' project.

Bach's autograph manuscript of the **Prelude, Fugue and Allegro in Eb** has been auctioned at Christie's in London for $3.3 million.

37 rare leaves containing corrected proofs to Lasso's ***Magnum Opus Musicum*** (1604) have been discovered in the state archives in Munich.

The six books produced by **FIMTE** (International Festival of Spanish Keyboard Music) are now available via https://www.fimte.org/shop.

Geert Karman's essays on harpsichord building are now available at http://www.piparte.com/essays.

All **Tree Edition** lute publications are now available as freely downloadable pdfs at https://www.lutesociety.org/pages/tree-edition-files.

Bach Network has announced a new multimedia publication called *Discussing Bach*, https://bachnetwork.org/discussing-bach.

Early Notation Typesetter has been launched at https://typesetter.earlynotation.com/.

All 2,094 movements of **Bach**'s cantatas, masses, motets, oratorios, Passions and Magnificat have been catalogued at https://www.vmii.org/.

Obituaries

Organist and conductor **Arthur Wills** (19 September 1926-30 October 2020), who served at Ely Cathedral from 1949-1990, has died at the age of 94.

Harpsichordist **David Cates** (29 August 1958-30 November 2020) has died at the age of 62.

Organist **Catherine Ennis** (20 January 1955-24 December 2020), former President of the Royal College of Organists, has died at the age of 65.

Scholar **Eva Badura-Skoda** (15 January 1929-8 January 2021) has died at the age of 91.

SOCIETIES & ORGANIZATIONS

Early Music Fora

Border Marches Early Music Forum, http://www.bmemf.org.uk

Early Music Forum Scotland, http://www.emfscotland.org.uk

Eastern Early Music Forum, http://www.eemf.org.uk

North East Early Music Forum, http://www.neemf.org.uk

North West Early Music Forum, https://nwemf.org

Midlands Early Music Forum, http://memf.org.uk

Southern Early Music Forum,
https://sites.google.com/site/southernearlymusicforum/home

South West Early Music Forum, http://www.swemf.org.uk

Thames Valley Early Music Forum, http://www.tvemf.org

Early Music Organizations

American Bach Society, https://www.americanbachsociety.org

American Guild of Organists, https://www.agohq.org

Bach Network, https://www.bachnetwork.org

Benslow Trust, http://www.benslowmusic.org

Boston Clavichord Society, www.bostonclavichord.org

British Harpsichord Society, http://www.harpsichord.org.uk

British Institute of Organ Studies, http://www.bios.org.uk

Cambridge Academy of Organ Studies, http://www.cambridgeorganacademy.org

L'association Clavecin en France, http://www.clavecin-en-france.org

Cobbe Collection, http://www.cobbecollection.co.uk

Dolmetsch Foundation, https://www.dolmetsch.com/dolmetschfoundation.htm

East Anglian Academy of Early Music, http://www.eastanglianacademy.org.uk

Early Music America, https://www.earlymusicamerica.org

Fellowship of Makers and Researchers of Historic Instruments, http://fomrhi.org

FIMTE, International Festival of Spanish Keyboard Music, http://www.fimte.org

Finnish Clavichord Society, suomenklavikordiseura.blogspot.com

The Friends of Square Pianos, http://www.friendsofsquarepianos.co.uk

Galpin Society, http://www.galpinsociety.org

Handel Institute, https://handelinstitute.org

Handel Friends, www.handelfriendsuk.com

Historical Keyboard Society of America, https://www.hksna.org

London Bach Society, http://www.bachlive.co.uk

London Handel Festival, http://www.london-handel-festival.com

The Lute Society, http://www.lutesociety.org

National Centre for Early Music, http://www.ncem.co.uk

National Early Music Association UK, http://www.earlymusic.info/nema.php

Het Nederlands Clavichord Genootschap, www.clavichordgenootschap.nl

Netherlands Bach Society, https://www.bachvereniging.nl/en

REMA, European Early Music Network, https://www.rema-eemn.net

Royal College of Organists, https://www.rco.org.uk

Schweizerische Clavichordgesellschaft, www.clavichordgesellschaft.ch

Scottish Lute and Early Guitar Society,
https://scottishluteandearlyguitarsociety.wordpress.com

Society of Recorder Players, http://www.srp.org.uk

Stichting Clavecimbel Genootschap, http://www.scgn.org/¬index.php

Swedish Clavichord Society, http://goart.gu.se/gcs

Japan Clavier Society, www.claviersociety.jp

Viola da Gamba Society, http://www.vdgs.org.uk

Vlaamse Klavecimbel Vereniging, http://www.vlaamseklavecimbelvereniging.be

Westfield Center for Historical Keyboard Studies, http://westfield.org

MUSICAL INSTRUMENT AUCTIONS

Brompton's (UK), https://www.bromptons.co

Christie's (USA), https://www.christies.com/departments/Musical-Instruments

Gardiner Houlgate (UK), https://www.gardinerhoulgate.co.uk

Gorringe's (UK), https://www.gorringes.co.uk

Ingles Hayday (UK), https://ingleshayday.com

Peter Wilson (UK), https://www.peterwilson.co.uk

Piano Auctions (UK), http://www.pianoauctions.co.uk

Conferences

The third conference on early recordings, **Early Recordings: Diversity in Practice** is online on 5, 12 and 19 May 2021, website http://www.early-recordings.com.

The **American Musical Instrument Society**'s annual meeting will take place online on 4–6 June 2021, website https://www.amis.org/2021-meeting.

The Open University conference **Courtly Encounters** will take place at the Museum of the Order of Saint John, London, on 10-11 June 2021. Contact Leah Clark leah.clark@open.ac.uk.

The 49th **Medieval and Renaissance International Music Conference** will take place on 5-9 July 2021 at the Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Portugal, and online, website https://medren2021lisbon.hcommons.org.

The **Birmingham Biennial Baroque** conference will take place online on 14-18 July 2021, contact address BirminghamBaroque2020@bcu.ac.uk.

The conference **Figured Bass Accompaniment in Europe** will take place in Brescia on 10-12 September 2021, website https://www.luigiboccherini.org/2018/10/18/the-figured-bass-accompaniment-in-europe/.

The 57th **Annual Conference of the Royal Musical Association** will take place at Newcastle University on 14-16 September 2021, website https://conferences.ncl.ac.uk/rma2021.

The **Handel Institute Conference**, 'Handel: Interactions and Influences', will take place at the Foundling Museum, London, on 20–21 November 2021, website http://handelinstitute.org/conference2021.

Obituary: Yvette Adams

Mark Windisch

NEMA Council member Yvette Adams very kindly stepped into the breach when NEMA Honorary Adminstrator John Bence found that he could no longer deal with NEMA work. Yvette was a long standing and vital part of The Longslade Consort which ran the Leicester Early Music Festival for 30 years. Sadly, she died on 30 January at the age of 57, having succumbed to a very aggressive cancer. In any organisations in which she was involved, she soon took a very active part. Besides her musical activities as an instrumentalist and singer she had two passions in her life. One was the church of St Mary de Castro where she performed many roles both musical and administrative and the other was her favourite charities, One Roof Leicester for homeless people and Sound Cafe, Leicester, providing a safe space and support for vulnerable people. In both of these her basic humanity and understanding of human problems provided comfort for a great many people. She was a great help to NEMA during the short time she was able to take on the Administrator role.