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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Interview with Adrian Chandler

Francis Knights: ***How did you first get interested in music, and what were your early training and influences?***

Adrian Chandler: I was introduced to music from a fairly young age thanks to my parents' vinyl collection; the albums mostly featured standard classical symphonic repertoire, but there were also a few esoteric titles thrown in for good measure, such as an LP of Vivaldi's works for lute and mandolin. The irony is that I hated that album; I was much happier listening to Rimsky-Korsakov's *Scheherazade*. My early predilection for big symphonic music was probably influenced by my first orchestral concerts given by the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra, our local band, based just a stone's throw from our home on the Wirral.

I initially wanted to learn the saxophone, but I don't think my parents approved of that idea. Instead, I started playing the violin. Shortly before my eighth birthday, I was taken to one of my brother's violin lessons and as a reward for sitting quietly, his teacher gave me a small violin to take home. When I got back to the house, I took the violin out of its case and that was that.

I was blessed with a terrific teacher: Myfanwy George, or Miss George as she was known to all her pupils, was great with children and really knew how to drill the basics of good violin technique into us beginners. It was with her that I studied my first Vivaldi concerto – the A minor concerto from *L'estro armonico*. This concerto is usually the first 'real' piece of classical music that violinists learn, and it is probably for this reason that some violinists don't take Vivaldi's music too seriously!

What has driven your musical interests over the years?

For my tenth birthday I received a radio cassette player (when such things existed). I was also given a 99p cassette of Handel's *Water Music* and *Music for the Royal Fireworks* as my interest in baroque music had already been noted. The Christmas holidays soon arrived, and I scoured the *Radio Times* for performances of baroque music on Radio 3 (I didn't get out much back then – I still don't). I caught a broadcast given by The Academy of St Martin in the Fields directed by Iona Brown. They played Brandenburg 2 and a Handel concerto grosso – both of which were very nice – but it was *The Four Seasons* that stole the show. It was the first time that I had heard this work and I was blown away; nearly 40 years later this piece still has the same effect on me. I am sure Iona Brown's performance helped; she was a fabulous violinist and a great ambassador for the music of Vivaldi. This was the experience that made me fall in love with Vivaldi's music; that love has never waned.

In the sixth form, I was fortunate enough to be given a place at Royal College of Music Junior Department; the opportunity to immerse myself in music every Saturday during termtime – and with some amazing players – was a real shot in the arm. I then went on to study for a degree at the Royal College of Music (big school) where my violin teacher was Rodney Friend: a phenomenal player, brilliant teacher, and a cracking bloke.

It was whilst I was studying at RCM (in 1994 to be exact) that I founded La Serenissima with a fellow student, Giulia Nuti. Over the years I had heard Vivaldi's name maligned with such frequency and listened to so many *laissez-faire* performances of his music that I thought it was about time somebody stood up to ensure that he got a fair crack of the whip. Whilst at the RCM, we performed one serenata and three operas by Vivaldi in addition to choral works and concertos aplenty; none of the operas had been performed previously in the UK and BBC Radio 3 broadcast all three performances. It wasn't until then that I appreciated how long these works were; I have a vivid recollection of a grumpy RCM porter waiting to lock-up whilst the performance was still going strong at 11pm.

Tell us about your performing and teaching careers, and your work with La Serenissima.

My work as a professional violinist started when I was quite young. Before leaving school, I was already playing with Musicians of the Globe and then additionally with New London Consort whilst at college. I continued working with these ensembles until around 2008 when I decided to focus my efforts solely on La Serenissima (illus.1).

Illus.1Directing La Serenissima (all photos: Robin Bigwood)

One of the obstacles one encountered when championing the music of Vivaldi back then (it's a bit better now) was the difficulty in obtaining performing material. For this reason, in 1998, I bought a computer and a copy of the music software Sibelius (prior to this, I was totally computer illiterate). Pretty much everything we have ever played since has been edited by me from source material. This used to be a rather slow process often involving a wait of weeks or months before a tome of paper landed on my doorstep from whichever library. Nowadays it's much easier, as many libraries have digitised or are digitising large chunks of their music collections.

Over the last fifteen years, I have increasingly been turning my attention to what was going on in the European musical scene that influenced or was influenced by Vivaldi, such as

Tartini (illus.2). To this end, we are currently embroiled in a major project looking at the music of Giuseppe Antonio Brescianello.

Illus.2 Recording Tartini

La Serenissima has given many concerts at home and abroad over the last 28 years and has made around 25 recordings. We've won two Gramophone Awards and been nominated for several others; our albums have topped the classical charts and have also featured in mainstream media, most recently in a Versace advert and in the French film *Portrait of a Lady on Fire* (2019).

In February I was made a *Cavaliere* of the *Ordine della Stella d'Italia* (illus.3); this honour was conferred upon me by the Italian government in recognition for my work in the promotion of Italian music.

Illus.3 Awards ceremony in Italy

I have always enjoyed teaching. I hope that someday I might get shortlisted for a teaching job!

What types of violins have you used during your career?

In 1994, I bought a violin by Roland Ross (made in 1981) and I have not really played on anything else since. Being a copy of a short-pattern Amati, this gives the instrument the perfect dimensions to play at the north Italian pitch of A440.

I also own a renaissance violin by Dan Larson (a copy of an older Amati) and a German violin by Johann Andreas Doerffel (1755), though this latter instrument is currently set up as a violin *in tromba marina*, which can be heard on our recording of *The Four Seasons* as well as on our forthcoming album, *Vivaldi's Women*. The newest addition to the collection is a viola d'amore made by Dan Larson; this instrument has been built according to a 6-string instrument design by Stradivari and can also be heard on the forthcoming release, *Vivaldi's Women*.

What are your ambitions for the future?

I suppose that my primary aim is to safeguard the future of La Serenissima against the threats posed by an ever-contracting classical music industry.

With La Serenissima, I have plans to explore more music by Dall'Abaco, Bigaglia, Caldara, Lotti, Tartini, Torelli and Zavateri, whilst also keeping an eye out for other composers whose music is worthy of rediscovery. Of course, one would have to say that the music of Vivaldi will play a leading part in this journey, and I also have an ambition to write a book about Vivaldi's violin technique, drawing on the plethora of verbal instructions and examples found in his many surviving autograph manuscripts. Who knows, if I manage to accomplish this before I am 80, maybe something similar will be forthcoming in relation to Tartini!

I had to fight with the painters, master carpenters, actors, musicians and the dancers: rehearsals, performance problems and audience reaction in Renaissance spectacles

Jennifer Nevile

In 1513 Castiglione wrote about the difficulties he was having during the rehearsals for a production at Urbino:

> *[the* intermedio*] about the battles was unfortunately true - to our disgrace … [The* intermedi*] were made very much in a hurry, and I had to fight with the painters, the master carpenters, the actors, musicians and the dancers.*[1]

Unfortunately, we do not know exactly what caused the arguments between Castiglione and all the personnel involved in this production, and neither do we know how these difficulties were resolved. But Castiglione's letter reminds us that then, as now, not everything went as smoothly as those in charge would have hoped for. In spite of the many glowing reports as to the success of theatrical spectacles in early modern Europe, the wonder and amazement of the audience, the brilliance of the glittering costumes, the quantity of jewels and precious stones worn by the performers and the virtuosity of the dancing, problems were encountered during production and the performance. It is this aspect of Renaissance spectacles that is the focus of this article. It begins with a discussion of the desire for a successful outcome, and what efforts went into achieving this aim, before moving to an examination of what disasters did occur, from audience over-crowding and noise, stage-fright of the performers, properties being too big to fit through the door into the hall in which the performance was taking place, to more serious catastrophes such as a fire during a performance. It concludes with an examination of audience reaction to such disasters, and the effects of these disasters on the dynamics between spectators and performers.

Desire for a successful outcome

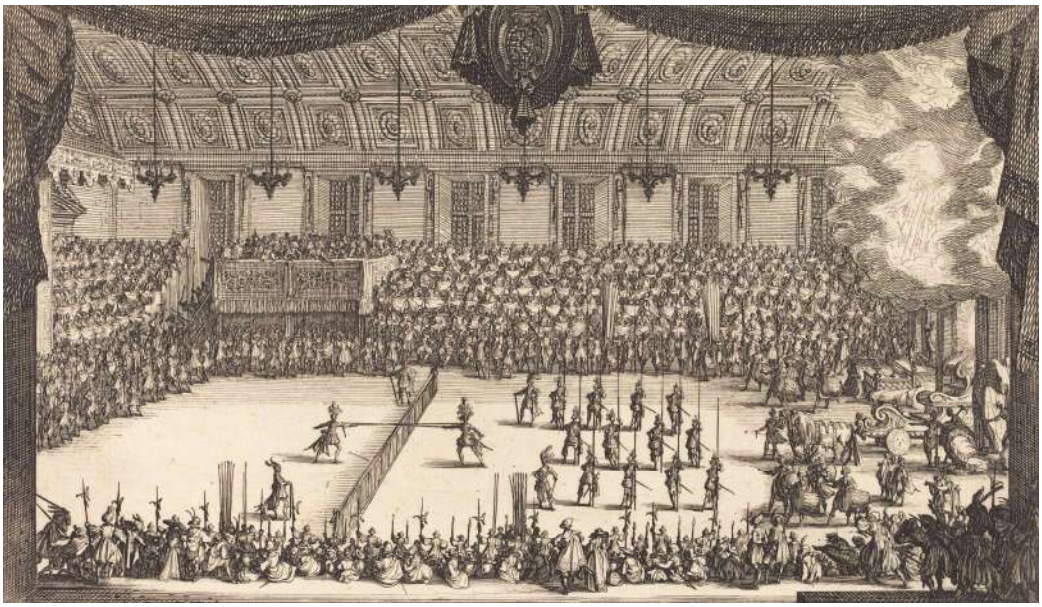
In early modern Europe theatrical spectacles usually carried serious political messages regarding the relationship between the monarch and the state: they were far more than an evening's entertainment, and a successful performance greatly enhanced a country's reputation on the international stage. Expert and virtuosic displays of dancing added to the prestige of a court, and was one measure of its sophistication, and, by extension, the sophistication of the country as a whole. Danced spectacles were part of the political process, as rulers used multi-media spectacles to further their domestic and foreign policies, as well as a vehicle for the expression of diplomatic positions, and the dissemination of the image of himself or herself that a ruler wished to project. While spectacles were employed by a monarch to reinforce his or her political authority, they were also part of the on-going negotiations between a ruler and the political factions of a court as to the amount of political authority each would allow the other to hold. As Katherine Butler has commented in regard to Queen Elizabeth I's entertainments and spectacles, although they always preserved the 'outward trappings of royal compliment, the diverse interests and intentions jostling for position within courtly entertainments only intensified the further from her control they were'.[2]

Given what was at stake in a Renaissance festival, and the number of political messages that found expression in these spectacles, it is no surprise, therefore, that there was a very strong desire for a successful outcome, and a great deal of effort, money and time went into ensuring problems did not arise. For example, the Medici Grand Duke Cosimo II was so insistent on proper order and discipline onstage from the singers, actors and stagehands that he kept two dwarves armed with crossbows and instructions to shoot at anyone who made themselves visible to the audience by leaning out from between the upstage wings, thereby ruining the perspective and potentially interfering with the stage machines.[3] While the measures employed by Cosimo to keep the technical crew in order may have been a little extreme, what was very common was the large amount of time and expense devoted to rehearsals, both onstage and off.

During the Renaissance those involved in creating multi-media spectacles – playwrights, poets, choreographers and composers – all recognized that rehearsals were essential for a successful production of their work, stressing in letters to their noble patrons that enough time must be devoted to pre-production practice. This is illustrated by the letter of Giovanni Battista Guarini in 1584 when writing about his musical drama *Il pastor fido*.

> *My tragicomedy … is full of novelty and the grandest gestures and movements, [all of] which must be fitted together and with much diligence practised and re-practised on stage. This especially applies to a game which has been put into the third act in the form of a* ballo *for a chorus of nymphs*.[4]

Even for a performance of a military spectacle like a barriers contemporaries recognized the need for practice beforehand (see illus.1). 'The barriers, because they are performed in time to the music and with measured blows, must be very well studied and rehearsed beforehand'.[5] In his diary about the Medici court, for example, Cesare Tinghi records that rehearsals for a barriers performed on the 17 and again on the 19 February 1613 started in mid-December 1612,[6] and continued into the new year, with Tinghi again recording rehearsals on the 4-6, 8-10, and 12-15 February.[7]



Illus.1: Etching by Jacques Callot, Combat at the Barrier, 1627. Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, R. L. Baumfeld Collection, Acc. No. 1969.15.94.

Having adequate rehearsals was one way of trying to ensure a successful outcome, and those responsible for a spectacle sought to exercise tight control over the rehearsal process. For example, Giovanni de' Bardi, who was responsible for the stage direction of the 1589 Florentine spectacle, insisted that no rehearsal of any of the *intermedi* should occur unless he was present and had given permission for the rehearsal to occur.[8] As far as Bardi was concerned he knew what standards should be followed, even if others did not! When a danced spectacle was part of the wedding celebrations for a head of state perfection was expected of all the parties involved, and preparations could extend for months rather than weeks. October 1608 saw the wedding of Cosimo II de' Medici to Maria Maddalena of Austria, but as early as December 1607 the Florentine Grand Duke refused to lend his musicians to the Duke of Mantua, citing as his reason the fact that they were already ten months hence fully involved in practising for the wedding.[9] While the Grand Duke's statement *may* have been an excuse, a similar time period for musical rehearsals is found twenty years later. In late October 1627 Monteverdi started the musical rehearsals of the first three *intermedi* to accompany *La liberazione di Ruggero* while still composing the music for the last two *intermedi*.[10] Thus rehearsals started a year before the wedding of the Duke of Parma and Margherita de' Medici actually took place in October 1628. Medici court records from 1600 to 1640 indicate that rehearsal periods of six to eight weeks were common. In 1624, for example, Tinghi mentions six rehearsals for the opera *Santa Orsola* (a work which included dancing), starting two months before the performance.[11] When this opera was performed a second time approximately four months later on 28 January 1625 there were another six weeks of rehearsing intermingled with rehearsals for a new *balletto* performed by the ladies of the court, a horse ballet, both performed on 2 February, and a barriers performed on 10 February.[12] Similar time periods were the norm for rehearsals at the French court in the 16th century.[13] Reports written six to eight weeks before the 1581 wedding celebrations record that the king 'was absorbed in his horse ballets and tourneys, and the queen and her ladies in preparation for their ballets, to the extent they do nothing else'.[14] Similar rehearsal periods occurred in England. For the 1611 masque *Oberon*, for example, the two dance masters Jeremy Hearne and Nicolas Confesse were paid for their 'peyns bestowed almost 6 weeks continually', while in 1616 masquers are recorded as practising for fifty days.[15] The Florentine agents' reports from England in the 1630s cite two to three weeks as the minimum rehearsal period, with this time often extending to as long as five weeks.[16]

The wedding celebrations of Ferdinand de' Medici and Christine of Lorraine included a performance of Girolamo Bargagli's comedy *La pellegrina* and six accompanying *intermedi*. Rehearsals onstage in the Uffizi theatre of the *intermedi* performers – singers, dancers, and instrumentalists – started in late December 1588, four months before the opening night on 2 May 1589.[17] (See Table 1). The *intermedi* rehearsals became more frequent in February 1589, and in March the onstage rehearsals also involved the machines and stage devices. The six *intermedi* varied in complexity in regard to their technical requirements, with the most simple, the third *intermedio*, needing only seven stagehands. However, for the first and last *intermedi* eighty-two stagehands grouped into twelve teams were necessary to operate the equipment. The total number of stagehands required for the entire performance was ninety-five, with another fifty men needed to operate the lamps.[18] The first complete run-through of the six *intermedi* occurred on the 16 March, six weeks before opening night.[19] Increasing numbers of technical difficulties emerged with the complex sets and machinery which necessitated daily rehearsals from 18 March onwards. When one reads of the number of stagehands needed for this performance it graphically illustrates the potential for something to go wrong during a performance, and the absolute necessity of long rehearsal periods.

The trouble and expense those responsible for court spectacles were prepared to go in order to ensure a memorable and outstanding performance is well illustrated by the 1589 Florentine production. When the *intermedi* rehearsals began in late December the work on the machines and set designs were still a long way from completion. Emilio de' Cavalieri, therefore, insisted that the carpenters and scene painters move to the Palazzo Vecchio to work so that the Uffizi theatre was empty and quiet for the *intermedi* rehearsals. Then, once the rehearsal was finished for the day, the craftsmen could return to the Uffizi theatre to continue working by candlelight.[20] Even though providing candles for night construction work was an added expense, and the production team were always looking for ways to reduce expenditure, Cavalieri was still prepared to incur this expense in order to start rehearsing on-stage with the groups of singers, musicians and dancers required in the *intermedi*.

December 1588	Late	Rehearsals onstage in Uffizi theatre started for *intermedi* performers. Carpenters and scene painters moved to Palazzo Vecchio during the day, work at night continued in Uffizi by candlelight.
February 1589		More frequent onstage *intermedi* rehearsals
March 1589		Onstage rehearsals with machines and stage devices
	16	First complete run-through of six *intermedi*
	18	Daily rehearsals started due to technical difficulties
April 1589	1	Onstage rehearsals start for *La pellegrina*
	16	Duke attends dress rehearsal of comedy and *intermedi*
	25	Duke attends dress rehearsal of comedy and *intermedi*
May 1589	1	Final dress rehearsal
	2	First Performance

Table 1 Outline of rehearsal schedule for La pellegrina *and the accompanying* intermedi.

A second illustration of the amount of trouble and expense that organizers of court spectacles were prepared to undergo is found in the number of times new, and mostly ephemeral, buildings were constructed in order to accommodate those attending banquets and other entertainments. In the eighty years between 1546 and 1626, for example, there were at least fourteen temporary structures built just in, or close to, London alone.[21] The largest and most famous of such buildings was constructed for Henry VIII at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. It was much more than just a large hall or empty space. The ground floor provided space for the wine cellars and offices, and had brick walls, while the first floor, constructed of painted canvas on timber frames, comprised 'apartments for the royal entourage … a gallery, a 100 foot chapel and a 220 foot banquet hall' (illus.2).[22] Perhaps the most expensive part of this temporary building was the glass used to construct the large windows. In the early 16th century glass windows, especially large ones, were still uncommon and extremely expensive. Even approximately one hundred years later when the French queen Marie de' Medici replaced stained glass windows in one of her palaces with clear glass 'it was regarded as an unprecedented luxury'.[23]

Illus.2: Detail from the painting Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1545, held in the Royal Collection Trust, showing glass in upper windows of building. Creative Commons.

Performance Disasters

In spite of all the expense and trouble taken by the organizers of spectacles, problems and disasters did occur. The problems encountered during performances of court spectacles ranged from more minor annoyances such as audience overcrowding and excessive noise, to serious catastrophes such as a fire during a performance. Some disasters just involved embarrassment for the performers, while others resulted in death. Some problems were unforeseen, while others were the result of rushed and hurried preparations. While we will probably never know what was the cause of the arguments and fights encountered by Castiglione in 1513, there are primary sources that do describe how a spectacle came to a grinding halt. In August 1389 a magnificent entry and reception was organized in Paris for the Queen of France, Isabella of Bavaria, wife of Charles VI (illus.3).

Illus.3 Entry of Isabella of Bavaria into Paris on 22 August 1389. Creative Commons.

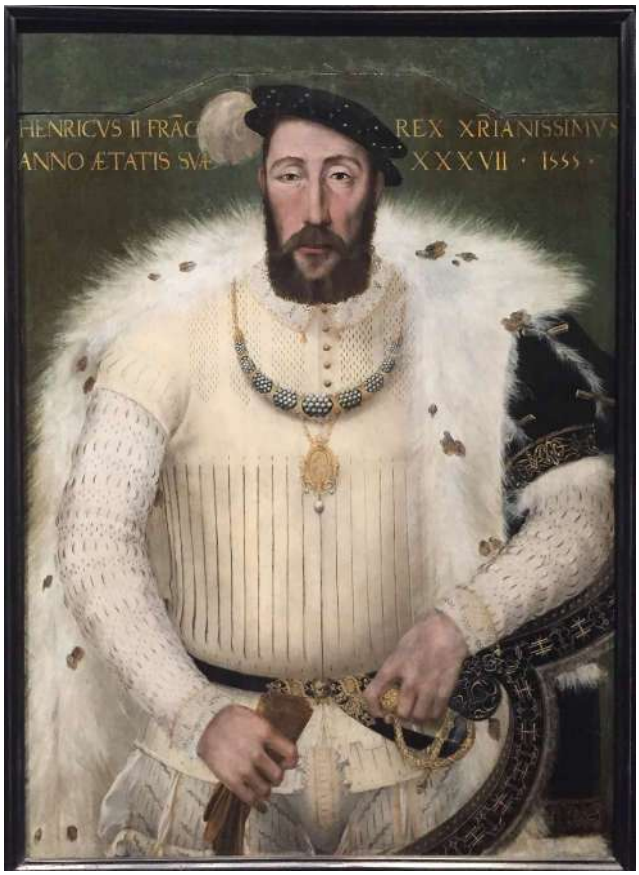
Froissart records the events in some detail. The day after Isabella's ceremonial entry into Paris there was a banquet, and right from the beginning overcrowding was a problem, with Froissart recording that 'the crowd in the hall was so dense … it was difficult to move', and that the servers could only distribute the food to the 500 ladies 'with the greatest difficulty'.[24] It was when the spectacles began and a castle, an assault-tower and a ship entered the hall that things really started to fall apart. To quote Froissart again:

> *But the entertainment could not last long because of the great crush of people round it. A table near the door of the parliament chamber was overturned by force. The ladies who were sitting at it had to get up hurriedly, without ceremony. The great heat and the stink of the crowd almost caused the Queen to faint, and a window which was behind her had to be broken to let in the air … The King saw what was happening and ordered the performance to stop. This was done and the tables were quickly cleared and taken down, to give the ladies more room. The wine and the*

spices were served hurriedly, and, as soon as the King and Queen had gone to their apartments, everyone else left also.[25]

Audience overcrowding was usually the result of too many people being admitted into the hall, as while tickets of admission were issued, those at the door often allowed individuals without tickets to enter. This happened in 1615 for a performance of the *Ballet de Madame*, at which Elisabeth, eldest sister of the French king Louis XIII, was one of the leading dancers. In this instance it is believed that the overcrowding was an act of sabotage by the Queen-Mother's opponents, who had distributed counterfeit tickets secretly beforehand to uninvited commoners.[26] In this case the overcrowding caused the performance to be abandoned and to be performed again three days later on 22 March.[27] Furthermore, the chaos diminished Marie de' Medici's image as a competent leader. In a report sent back to the Dowager Grand Duchess Christine of Lorraine, by the Florentine agent in Paris, Luca degli Asini Fabbroni, the confusion is described thus.

With all the preparation complete, it pleased Their Majesties that the rehearsed ballet be performed in its entirety … [D]espite the fact that two thousand tickets had been distributed the day before in accordance with the capacity of the great Salle de Bourbon so that things could proceed with comfort and calm, nevertheless, due to the falsification of tickets, nearly two thousand uninvited people entered with great uproar. When the Queen saw that not a speck of space remained in the hall, it was resolved to remove half of the commoners and other low-class individuals. This displeased the Queen so much that the day's event was cancelled. To those people who had managed to enter at great pains came no other satisfaction than to return home with dashed hopes and damaged wheels, and some even having lost jewellery.[28]



Illus.4 Portrait of Henri II, King of France, 1555. Creative Commons.

The entertainments devised in honour of the French king Henri II (illus.4) in 1558 by the City of Paris are a superb example of the problems caused by inadequate preparation time.[29] Henri only gave nine days' notice of his intention to celebrate the re-capture of Calais after 210 years of English occupation by attending a banquet in the City Hall. It was only five days later, a mere four days before the event was to take place, that the Parisian merchants realized that more was required of them than just a banquet. So several masquerades were hastily organized to follow the banquet. What actually followed was more akin to a shambles.

Even from the beginning things fell apart. The king's guards allowed all their friends into the hall, even if they did not have an invitation, so the hall became overcrowded and totally disordered, with the noise emanating from the audience often drowning out the actors' speeches. The excessive audience numbers also meant that not only was it difficult to hear the actors, it was also almost impossible to see them. Due to the very short lead-in time, Estienne Jodelle, the poet and dramatist responsible for the masquerades, was forced to 'cut parts, to improvise speeches … and to rehearse his amateur players right up to the hour of the banquet.'[30] In spite of this last-minute rehearsing, some of the actors still forgot their parts. The hall was not cleared after the banquet, and so the machines could not fit into the small amount of available empty space. Furthermore, the carpenters responsible for the stage machinery did not follow instructions, and made the machines too large for the available space. The ship carrying ten musicians, therefore, became stuck in the doorway into the hall, with entry only possible after its mast was broken off. Similarly, the costumes were not as specified, and the young children who represented *amorini* were so taken with their costumes that they 'refused to spoil their new clothes by attaching wings to them.'[31] Jodelle himself was traumatised by all the cascading disasters and suffered memory loss in the middle of his performance.

Performance problems also occurred during outdoor events, and these ranged from weather-related problems, such as the collapse of temporary entertainment structures due to storms as occurred at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520 when the French king's pavilion was destroyed by a bad storm,[32] to difficulties caused by poor planning. The latter is exemplified by the entertainment staged in honour of Queen Elizabeth I (illus.5) on her visit to Bristol on 14-21 August 1574, where a three-day mock siege was held, involving over 400 combatants in which the Fort of Peace was attacked by the forces of War. Unfortunately, the organizers positioned the besieged fort too far away from the Queen, and the speeches addressed to her could not be heard. This called for drastic action, and so, 'Mr John Roberts, barrister and later Mayor of Bristol, swam fully clothed across the Avon River to present the Queen with a book of all the speeches, petitioned for her aid in their military effort, [then] plunged back into [the river] to return to the siege.'[33] The background to this entertainment was the Treaty of Bristol that was to be signed at the end of August. The goal of the treaty was to settle diplomatic and trade disputes which had arisen between England and Spain. Bristol's prosperity depended on trade, and the town's merchants were firmly on the side of 'peace' and an amicable resolution to the trade dispute.[34] Therefore it was important that their speeches be heard and understood by Queen Elizabeth, which may account for the heroic efforts of John Roberts.

Illus.5 Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I, The Hampden Portrait*, attributed to George Gower, c.1567. Creative Commons.*

The pitfalls and disasters that struck on the day of the performance of a spectacle or entertainment could also blight the rehearsals. Often problems were caused by the absence of key personnel from the rehearsals. This may have been the cause of the difficulties encountered during the rehearsals held for the wedding celebrations of the Duke of Parma, Odoardo Farnese, and Margherita de' Medici planned for October 1628. Already in March of that year there were problems: the musicians were not able to co-ordinate their tempi with the speed of movement of the machines, the singers were inexperienced and not singing well, and Monteverdi's musical effects were not working as intended. Denis Stevens hypothesizes that '[p]erhaps Monteverdi had already left [Parma] for Venice; and without his guidance and supervision, the musicians were unable to give of their best'.[35] In Mantua in December 1591 it was the absence of the *maestro di ballo* from the rehearsals of the *Balletto della cieca* which seemed to be part of the reason for the work falling apart. In one letter to Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga, his secretary Annibale Chieppo wrote:

> *The* Balletto della cieca *is giving us difficulty because of those who have already rehearsed it in the presence of Your Highness. As I understand the situation, some have now left, some are sick, and some have become so stubborn in not wanting to be present [at rehearsals], that after the absence of Isachino [Massarano the* maestro di ballo*] for a few days everything had to be begun again from the beginning.*[36]

At Mantua it was definitely the dancers who were causing delays and problems!

The letter by Chieppo also illustrates the importance of having a strong and clear chain of command and responsibility for such large-scale and complex multi-media events. Certainly contemporary theoretical writings on the subject of staging *intermedi* from both Italy and France all agreed that the best method to guarantee the optimum outcome was to have only one man bear overall responsibility for such an event, whether it be a tragedy, comedy, pastoral, a *ballo*, an *intermedio*, or an opera.[37] While this advice may have seemed sensible in theory, it was not always followed in practice. For example, in Florence in 1589 there was a three-way split of responsibility between the humanist and musician Giovanni de' Bardi, who was responsible for the stage direction and had conceptual responsibility for the six *intermedi*,[38] Bernardo Buontalenti, chief architect and engineer at the Medici court, who was in charge of the visual and technical side of the production in the Uffizi theatre,[39] and Emilio de' Cavalieri, whose roles encompassed the musical direction and choreography, the composition of some of the music, as well as keeping the accounts and acting as the communication channel between the Grand Duke and the other members of the creative team and the workmen at the Uffizi.[40] Perhaps this divided responsibility may have helped to create some of the problems encountered during the long weeks of rehearsing. As mentioned earlier, the first complete run-through on stage of the six *intermedi* occurred on the 16 March 1589, six weeks before the opening night. Daily rehearsals started two days later. But even so, the notebooks of the production-cum-stage manager Girolamo Seriacopi record scenes of frantic activity from the end of March and into April. The lighting (both candles and oil lamps) was not yet satisfactory, and continued to present problems of excessive smoke, heat and unpleasant odours. Clouds were not operating properly, sea monsters still had to be finished, and work on construction of the large, free-standing puppet representing Lucifer, with its moveable head, horns and wings was well behind schedule. In fact the green taffeta for Lucifer's wings was only ordered on 25 April, the day of the dress rehearsal attended by the Duke himself.[41] This date was very close to that of the opening performance, and must have caused major problems given the size of the Lucifer puppet, which was 8 *braccia* or about 4 metres high from his chest to his head. Furthermore, the puppet had to appear through an open trapdoor which itself had to be decorated so that it resembled a lake of ice.[42] Even six weeks before the first performance other large, movable constructions were also not complete, for example the python with which Apollo fought in *intermedio* three.[43] Apollo was played by the dancer Agostino, but when Apollo was flying through the air a cardboard figure held aloft by a wire was substituted for the dancer. But even though the puppet was cardboard it was still dressed in a real costume that was identical to that worn by Agostino.[44]

As rehearsals continued deficiencies in costumes became apparent. On 11 March, for example, Bardi ordered additional decoration be added to the costumes of the dancers in *intermedio* three as they appeared to be very lacklustre when seen from the body of the hall.[45] Changes to the colour of the clouds were necessary in order to ensure that they did not fade into the overall backdrop, and some of the stagehands on the overhead catwalk were found to be visible to the audience when the clouds opened.[46] If all this was not enough, attention also had to be paid to basic, mundane matters such as toilet facilities. In

an entry in Seriacopi's notebook for 18 March 1589 there is a comment that the 'piss buckets' are too full and stinking, and all of them must be emptied more often.[47]

Sometimes it was a rehearsal that precipitated drastic alteration in the planned programme. On the 9 February 1525 forty Venetian senators and sixty ladies attended a six-hour rehearsal of three *comedie*. Unfortunately, one of these theatrical pieces caused much offence and was condemned by the audience because of its crude content and derogatory tone in regard to women. To quote from Sanudo:

> *Then the Paduans Ruzante and Menato, dressed as peasants, put on a rustic-style comedia that was very lascivious with very dirty words, to the point that it was condemned by all and they were yelled at. There were almost sixty women on the stands wearing veils, and the young ones with their hair in coifs, and they shuddered at what was said in their name. The whole ending was about messing around and cuckolding their husbands.*[48]

After that reaction the organizers had no choice, and in the intervening four days between the rehearsal and the performance this *comedia* was cut and another prose piece which was more respectful to women was inserted in its place.

> *Today, although the weather was bad, the comedia of the Triumphanti was put on at the Ca' Arian, at San Raphael, and it was very lovely and chaste. About one hundred women attended, and the comedia that the Triumphanti had [the players] recite was not the dirty one …but instead the one by Ruzante in the rustic style.*[49]

Fire was an ever-present threat to theatrical performances in early modern Europe, as not only were torches and candles used to illuminate the performance space,[50] many spectacles also included dances by performers carrying torches while they danced. To give you an idea of the sheer numbers of lights which were positioned around the stage area only of the Uffizi theatre for the performances of *La pellegrina* and the *intermedi*, we know that there were 'hundreds of … lamps, each holding two or four lights, … positioned at the sides and front of the stage platform for general lighting.'[51] More lamps were placed behind the scenery and still more in the flyloft, in order to create the impression of stars twinkling in the sky. Then there were even more chandeliers, candles and lamps positioned around the theatre to illuminate the audience space. All in all there were thousands of lights used for this performance.[52] While no incendiary accident happened to mar the performances of the play and *intermedi*, there was a fire in the theatre on 21 December 1588, when two workmen left a burning candle on a pile of planks of wood, probably after one of the night rehearsals.[53]

In 1589 in Florence the lamps and chandeliers were all fixed, but often torches or candles were carried by torchbearers or pages or by the dancers themselves. The ballet at the court of Lorraine in Nancy in 1606 began with the entry of eight pages each of whom carried two torches of white wax. The costume designs by Jacques Bellange include images of two pages with their white wax torches.[54] Both these designs convey a visually stunning impression with the elaborately and sumptuously decorated costumes of the pages from their headgear to their shoes, and with the large torches they hold in each hand. It is interesting to note that both pages are wearing flexible but sturdy gloves in order to protect their hands from any dripping wax, which is shown as running down the sides of the torches. In this ballet the pages do not dance, but in other early 17th-century *ballets de cour* there are examples of dancers entering carrying torches and then continuing to dance with their torches. In the 1605 *Ballet de la reine*, for example, twelve pages enter 'each holding two white torches in his hands, dressed in incarnat and white, wearing little white boots covered in tinsel, making a thousand passages and figures'.[55]

From the description of the torches carried by the dancers in the first *entrée* of the 1615 *Ballet de Madame*, and from the illustrations by Bellange, it seems that the flames on these torches were large: they were not small, match-size flames.

> *Each of these [nine] little children bore on his head four great lights and in his hands two great torches that flared from the wrists upwards, which meant that the flame was a good two feet high, without there being, however, any spark from it and without its in the least way troubling those who were carrying them.*[56]

While the author of this description of the 1615 ballet may have had no qualms about the danger of these two-feet high flames, the children who were dancing with them, however, may have had other reactions. Certainly when dancers performed with torches their movements were often more complex than a simple procession. Cesare Negri published two theatrical torch dances in his treatise *Le gratie d'amore*, and in these two choreographies the dancers execute jumps, cross diagonally, and weave around each other in hays, with each crossing movement necessitating a change of the torch from one hand to the other in order to present the appropriate 'empty' hand to the next approaching dancer.

*Illus.*6 Le Bal des Ardents*, miniature by Philippe de Mazerolles, 1470-1472. Creative Commons.*

Perhaps the most famous, or infamous, example of a spectacle devastated by fire comes from the 1392 festivities at the French court (illus.6). In this case it was the highly flammable costumes of the dancers constructed of flax and pitch which caused the disaster. The six dancers (that is, the French king and five high-ranking noblemen) were disguised as wild men, and, although accounts differ, it appears that a torch carried by a member of the audience who approached too closely to the dancers in order to determine their identity, accidently set fire to their costumes. Four of the dancers died, a fifth saved

himself by jumping into a vat of water, while the king was saved by the Duchess of Berry who smothered the flames in the yards of heavy fabric of her dress.

Audience reaction to disasters

Illus.7 Portrait of Henri IV, king of France and Navarre, c. 1600 by Jacques Boulbène. Creative Commons.

The reaction of the Duchess of Berry and her fellow audience members to the tragedy taking place before their eyes would have been the natural human reaction to such a disaster: horror, despair, fear. But for less serious problems the reaction of the audience members varied. The French king Henri IV (illus.7), for example, is reputed to have been highly amused when the fireworks associated with an indoor barriers performance caused

the hall in which the military spectacle was taking place to catch on fire thereby ending the performance.[57] In 1614 when audience overcrowding marred a performance of the Ballet of the Argonauts, the French queen was incandescent with anger. The poet François de Malherbe described the occasion thus.

> *On Thursday we saw the ballet which we had all been waiting for … I shall say nothing about it except that there never was such chaos, in which the dancers, however, had something to be grateful for, because though the whole conception was hardly worth the money spent on it, the fault for the failure is attributed to the lack of space available for dancing. The captain of the guards, M. de Plainville, was unwilling to disoblige anybody and admitted everyone who turned up. The enclosure was so thronged that even a single man would have had difficulty in passing through. The Queen saw this crowding on her arrival and flew into the greatest rage I have ever seen her in and, turning around, declared that the ballet should not be danced. [After a while] the Queen returned with the King, who had already been put to bed, and then the ballet was performed in a slipshod fashion, not as it is described in the printed account.*[58]

Illus.7 Portrait of Marie de' Medici, by Frans Pourbus the Younger, 1613. Creative Commons.

I would now like to turn to an unusual and interesting account of the audience's reaction to a bungled dance performance that should have included the presentation of speeches to the French king Henri IV. In 1605 the French queen, Marie de' Medici (illus.7, 8) and eleven princesses danced in a *ballet de cour* before the king and members of the elite.

Illus.8 Portrait of Marie de' Medici and the dauphin by Charles Martin, 1603. Creative Commons.

The end of this ballet was unexpected, as it did not follow the usual pattern. After the completion of the Grand Ballet danced by the queen and princesses, a new set of performers entered the hall to the sound of trumpets, oboes and drums. These performers included two live camels ridden by two 'savages': a dwarf and a Tartar.[59] The animals and their riders then tried to dance a galliard, a dance that required agility, expertise, and for some variations, strength. One eyewitness to this ballet described the final scene in this manner.

> *It was the greatest pleasure in the world to see the sink-a-pace made by these beasts who, hearing the trumpets, drums, oboes, violins, lutes, and other sorts of instruments, made a noise, a great discordant din, and seeing that the Ladies pissed themselves and that the majority of gentlemen were disposed to shit from laughter over the ballet, … [the performers] were so ashamed … they [were] … unable to speak a word. They were given wine and vinegar*[60] *yet they [still] couldn't say a thing and lost their voices completely, which caused His Majesty to command them to deliver their speech in writing …The camels exited the room well mocked and ashamed, and the best way*

they had of ending this embarrassing situation was that everyone got in his coach and went to write their speech in order to have it seen the next day by the king.[61]

In this case the audience's reaction was so extreme that it literally stopped the performance in its tracks, even though the performers were about to deliver a speech to the king. The audience obviously did not feel inhibited at spoiling a speech directed towards the king. They did not suppress their laughter so that the performers could re-group and deliver their speech to their sovereign. The ridicule by the audience and subsequent cessation of the performance indicates that in the context of this performance the relationship between the king and the audience was altered. Even in the French court the interactions between the king and members of the court were controlled and regulated by social protocols. Yet in this performance situation the hierarchy and order demanded by these social protocols were broken down and the relationship between the monarch and the rest of the audience became closer to one of equality.

Conclusion

It is clear that in spite of the necessity to produce a spectacular performance, and a very strong desire to do so on the part of the organizers, things did go wrong: performances were not always as described in the printed accounts. Those involved in creating, rehearsing and producing a spectacle had to contend with events outside of their control – like the weather – but also with recalcitrant performers, inattentive workmen, disobedient entry guards, inadequate preparation time, poor planning, and with all the potential problems associated with co-ordinating a very large technical and artistic workforce. As we have seen from the Venetian example, they also had to be able to quickly adapt to negative responses by the audience at a rehearsal. Given the nature and size of these spectacles, unforeseen events or performance disasters must have been more common that is recorded. An audience reaction of laughter and amusement at memory loss or stage fright by the performers points towards an expectation, or perhaps even an acceptance, that problems would arise during a performance.

Dr Jennifer Nevile has published extensively on early modern European dance practices and their relationship with other contemporary artistic practices and intellectual movements. Her research has appeared in the monographs The Eloquent Body: Dance and Humanist Culture in Fifteenth-Century Italy *(Indiana University Press, 2004) and* Footprints of the Dance: An Early Seventeenth-Century Dance Master's Notebook *(Brill, 2018), as well as in over thirty book chapters and journal articles. She currently holds an honorary research position in the School of the Arts and Media at the University of New South Wales, Australia.*

Notes

[1] 'quello delle guerre fu pur troppo vero per nostra disgrazia … Furon fatte molto in fretta, e da chi avea da combattere e con pittori e con maestri di legnami e recitatori e musici e moreschieri.' Translation by the author from the letter in Appendix II in Giorgio Padovan (ed), *La calandra: commedia elegantissima per messer Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena* (Padua, 1985), p.207.

[2] Katherine Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics* (Woodbridge, 2019), p.104.

[3] 'Deve avvertire più che sia possible che nessuno de' recitanti o altri de quei ministri s'affacci alle prospettive, perché oltre alla brutta vista che fanno, possono impedire i movimenti de' triangoli e causare molti altri disordini, se bene questa sarà cosa molto difficile non essendo mai riuscito al granduca Cosimo di felice memoria il poterlo conseguire in altro modo se non con tenere due nani che davano delle balestrate a chiunque s'affacciava', Paolo Fabbri and Angelo Pompilio (eds), *Il corago* (Florence, 1983), p.125.

[4] 'la mia Tragicomedia Pastorale … et tutta piena di novità et di grandissimi movimenti, i quali vogliono essere concertati, et con lungo studio provati e riprovati in scena, et massimamente un giuoco, che va nel terzo atto ridotto in forma di ballo, fatto da un choro di Ninfe'. Translation by the author from the original text cited in Iain Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1980), i, p.200.

[5] 'Le barriere, perchè si fanno con tempi e colpi misurati, dovranno essere molto bene studiate e provate innanzi.' Translation by the author from *Il corago*, p.104.

[6] 'Il signor Principe Don Francesco e il signor Pavolo Giordano rimasero a Pisa a studiare et essercitarsi alla nuova barriera da farsi questo presente carnevale'. Angelo Solerti, *Musica, Ballo e Drammatica alla Corte Medicea dal 1600 al 1637* (Florence, 1905), p.68.

[7] Solerti, *Musica, Ballo e Drammatica*, p.68.

[8] James M. Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589: Florentine Festival as* Theatrum Mundi. (New Haven, 1996), p.73.

[9] Solerti (1905), p.41.

[10] Denis Stevens (trans and ed), *Letters of Claudio Monteverdi* (Cambridge, 1980), p.373.

[11] The music of *Santa Orsola* was composed by Marco da Gagliano, the text by Andrea Salvadori, the dances were created by Angiolo Ricci and the sets and machines by Giulio Parigi.

[12] Solerti (1905), pp.173-80.

[13] Margaret M. McGowan, *Dance in the Renaissance: European Fashion, French Obsession* (New Haven, 2008), pp.81-87.

[14] McGowan (2008), p.85.

[15] Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume, and Music* (Oxford, 2006), p.75.

[16] Ravelfhofer (2006), p.75.

[17] Saslow (1996), p.40.

[18] Saslow (1996), p.115. For descriptions of the scenery and the stage machinery and how they operated, see Saslow, pp.81-86.

[19] Saslow (1996), p.102.

[20] Saslow (1996), p.73.

[21] Sydney Anglo, 'Overcrowding at court. A Renaissance problem and its solution: temporary theatres and banquet halls,' in J. R. Mulryne, Krista De Jonge, Pieter Martens and R. L. M. Morris (eds), *Architectures of Festival in Early-Modern Europe: Fashioning and Re-Fashioning Urban and Courtly Space* (Abingdon, 2017), p.173.

[22] Anglo (2017), p.172.

[23] Sabine Melchior-Bonnet, trans Katherine H. Jewett, *The Mirror: A History* (New York, 2001), p.14.

[24] Jean Froissart, ed Geoffrey Brereton, *Chronicles* (London, 2/1978), p.357.

[25] Froissart (1978), p.358.

[26] Sheila Barker with Tessa Gurney, 'House Left, House Right: A Florentine Account of Marie de Medici's 1615 *Ballet de Madame*,' *The Court Historian*, xx/2 (2015), pp.145-46.

[27] For a discussion of the conflicting reports as to whether the ballet was cancelled on 19 March, see Barker with Gurney (2015), pp.145-46.

[28] Translation by Barker and Gurney (2015), p.155. The original text of the letter is found on p.160.

[29] The information about the 1558 disaster is from Margaret M. McGowan, 'Apology, Justification and Monuments to Posterity: *Le recueil des inscriptions* (1558) and *l'entrée de la reine Marie de Médicis dans Paris* (1610),' *Texte*, xxxiii-xxxiv (2007), pp.83-88.

[30] McGowan, 'Apology,' pp.86-87.

[31] McGowan, 'Apology,' pp.87.

[32] Anglo, 'Overcrowding,' p.172.

[33] C. E. McGee, 'Mysteries, Musters, and Masque: The Import(s) of Elizabethan Civic Entertainments,' in Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (eds), *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 2014), p.120, n.1

[34] Butler (2019), p.177.

[35] Stevens (1980), p.392.

[36] 'Il Balletto della cieca ci da che fare, perchè di quelli che lo provarono già, come intendo, alla presenza di V.A., alcuni mancano, alcuni sono infermi, et alcuni si sono resi per un pezzo cosi ostinati in non volervi intervenire, che dopo l'assenza d'Isachino di parecchi giorno, è convenuto tornar da capo'. Translation by the author from the original text cited in Fenlon (1980), i, p.199.

[37] For further discussion of the question of who was in charge of these spectacles, including the role of the duke or monarch and members of the ruling family, see Roger Savage, 'The Staging of Courtly Theatre: 1560s to 1640s', in J. R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewring (eds), *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Aldershot, 2004), i, pp.57-62.

[38] Saslow (1996), pp.27-28.

[39] Saslow (1996), p.42.

[40] Saslow (1996), p.37. For a summary of the chain of command for this event, from the Duke himself down to the craftsmen and workers, see pp.25-27.

[41] Saslow (1996), p.114. 'Taffetà verde br […] per far l'alie del diavolo'. Quotation from the edition of Seriacopi's notebook published in Annamaria Testaverde Matteini, *L'officina delle nuvole Il Teatreo Mediceo nel 1589 e gli* Intermedi *del Buontalenti nel* Memoriale *di Girolamo Seriacopi* (Milan, 1991), p.233.

[42] Saslow (1996), p.234.

[43] Saslow (1996), p.102.

[44] Saslow (1996), p.231.

[45] Saslow (1996), p.103. 'Il signor Giovanni Bardi da Vernio questo di 11 di marzo à dato il sottoscritto ricordo: … Nel terzo intermedio: … riadornar le mascher che ànno da ballar, chè son pover'. From Matteini (1991), pp.204-205.

[46] Saslow (1996), p.127.

[47] Matteini (1991), p.216.

[48] Translation by Linda L. Carroll, in Patricia H. Labalme and Laura Sanguineti White (eds), *Venice* Città Excelentissima. *Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo* (Baltimore, 2008), pp.523-24. From Marin Sanudo, *I diarii*, vol.37 p.560. 'Poi Ruzante et Menato padoani da Vilan feno una comedia vilanesca et tutta lasciva, et parole molto sporche, *adeo* da tutti fo biasemata, et se li dava stridor. Quasi erano da done 60 con capa soler, et scufie le zovene, che se agrizavano a quello era ditto per so' nome. Tutta la conclusion era de ficarie, et far beco i so' mariti'.

[49] Translation by Carroll, in Labalme and Sanguinetti (2008), p.524. From Sanudo, *I diarii*, vol.37 p.572. 'In quest zorno, *licet* fusse cativo tempo, fu fato la comedia di compagni in cha' Arian a san Raphael, et fo bellissima et honesta. Vi fo da zerca 100 done, et non feno recitar la comedia sporca … ma ben quella di Ruzante a la villota'.

[50] For the *Ballet de Madame* performed at the French court in 1615 the Great Hall of the Bourbon Palace was lit with 1,200 white wax candles.

[51] Saslow (1996), p.87.

[52] Saslow (1996), p.87.

[53] Saslow (1996), p.73.

[54] The designs are reproduced in full colour in Paulette Choné and Jérôme de La Gorce, *Fastes de cour xvii^e siècle. Costumes de Bellange et de Berain* (Saint-Rémy-en-l'Eau, 2015), pp.76-77.

[55] 'douze pages avec deus flambeaux blancs chascun en leur mains uestues dincarnat et blanc portant de petites botines blanches couvertes de clinquan faissant mille passages et figures'. See Melinda J. Gough, 'Marie de Medici's 1605 *ballet de la reine*: New Evidence and Analysis', *Early Theatre*, xv/1 (2012) p.123 for the original French text and p.129 for Gough's translation.

[56] *Description du Ballet de Madame*, in William D. Howarth (trans and ed), *French theatre in the neo-classical era, 1550-1789* (Cambridge, 1997), p.97.

[57] Gough (2012), p.115.

[58] Translation by Howarth (1997), p.93.

[59] Gough (2012), p.132 n.1.

[60] As Gough explains this phrase refers to the fact that the performers received both encouragement and ridicule from the audience; Gough (2012), p.134 n.1.

[61] The translation is by Gough (2012), pp.133-134. The original French text is found on p.124.

Titon du Tillet's *Le Parnasse François*

Glen Wilson

Most readers will be familiar to some extent with Évrard Titon du Tillet's *Le Parnasse François* because of its capsule biographies of French musicians of the 17th and 18th centuries. Fewer will have had occasion to read through the more than 900 pages of the expanded edition of 1732 and its 1743 Supplement. Having been fortunate enough to acquire the copy formerly in the Dolmetsch Library at auction last September, I have since then been able to do just that. This article offers an overview of a work which occupied its author over most of his long life, as well as a finding aid to readers wishing to look into specific matters more closely.

Illus.1 Évrard Titon du Tillet, engraving after the portrait of Titon by Nicolas de Largillière.

Titon du Tillet (1677-1762) (illus.1) was a child of wealth and privilege. His father was a secretary to Louis XIV and manager of his arsenals. The son was commissioned in the infantry and later in the dragoons in accordance with paternal desire, saw little service in peacetime, and eventually purchased the office of *maître d'hôtel* of the Duchess of

Burgundy, the mother of Louis XV. After her early death Titon obtained the office of provincial commissioner of war for Normandy. But his real interests lay in the realm of literature and music. By the time he was thirty he was obsessed with a grand project: a monumental Mount Parnassus, to be occupied by numerous life-sized figures. At the top Louis XIV would reign as Apollo, teacher of the Muses, surmounted by a rampant Pegasus. Below him, three female writers would pose as the Graces, and at a lower level on the four main faces, seven writers and one musician – Lully, of course – holding a large medallion of his librettist Quinault, would make a total of nine male substitutes for the Muses. Smaller medallions to honour lesser lights would be distributed in various ways among the figures; genii engaged in various activities were to populate scene.

By 1718 the sculptor Louis Garnier, a pupil of Girardon, had finished an elaborate miniature version of his concept in bronze. It was more than two metres high after various additions, and is now displayed on the ground floor of the north wing of the Château of Versailles (illus.2). Titon also had a drawing made by Nicolas de Poilly which he presented to the king. It was engraved in copper by Nicolas-Henri Tardieu, the king's engraver, for the 1732 and later editions of his book (illus.3). The depiction doesn't show the imposing escarpment added later. Titon tells us (p.6 – page numbers from the 1732-43 edition) that his bronze maquette is only 'an essay for a grander, more superb Parnasse, which I would be delighted to see elevated with all possible magnificence and taste'. He knows that the expense would far surpass the means of a private person, and discretely lets us know that he has already spent more on the project (including two editions of his book by 1732) than his personal finances could comfortably bear, especially after the losses he incurred when Law's bubble burst. He proposed various locations for the grander monument, his favorite being the Étoile where Napoleon's grandiose Arc de Triomphe is presently located. De Poilly (not Largillière, as is sometimes stated) also painted an imaginary view of the full-sized Parnasse under a baldachin (illus.3). How much more graceful and human would the upper terminus of the Champs Elysées appear today had Titon's plan been realized there!

Illus.2 Louis Garnier, Le Parnasse *(c.1718)*

Illus.3 Engraving of Le Parnasse *by Nicolas-Henri Tardieu.*

Illus.3 De Poilly, Le Parnasse

* * *

Titon's book is heavily weighted to the literary side. His substitutes for the nine Muses on his bronze are all, with exception of Lully, male poets – an act of gender modification similar to that practiced by the Pléiade which formed around Ronsard in the 16th century and which had its precedent in 3rd-century Alexandria. On pp.42-43 Titon attempts to make up for the lack of correspondence with the Muses of ancient Greece by suggesting a

role on the grand Parnasse-to-be for historians, orators, painters, dancers, actors, architects and scientists, with lists of candidates for each category which are followed by empty spaces for later additions. This cannot disguise the fact that his book is entirely a reflection of its author's personal interests.

The first duodecimo edition of *Le Parnasse* of 1727 contains a mere six musicians in its roster of residents of Mount Parnassus: Charpentier, Colasse, Pierre Gautier (ii), La Lande, Michel Lambert and Lully. The somewhat surprising choice of Gautier is related to Titon's worship of Lully. The obscure Provençal composer was the recipient of the Florentine's first permit for an opera house outside of Paris, in Marseilles. Titon reports Gautier's tragic death at sea in 1696. The expanded edition of 1732 more than quadruples the number of musicians, and the Supplement of 1743 adds many more, including a few still among the living, contrary to Titon's own very logical stipulation that only the deceased should take their places on Parnassus.

But the mass of writers, both in French and in Latin, and for the most part utterly forgotten, still vastly outweighs the category which interests me and the reader. This is partly related to Titon's sources. He gives (pp.92-6) a comprehensive list of 'the books from which I have taken the most part of the biographical and literary notices contained in the chronological order which follows', but says regarding musicians only this (p.94): 'In regard to the musicians of France, very few authors have spoken of them, and I will attempt to supplement these by assembling the particulars of which I am aware'. On p.96 he adds, 'I will nevertheless not neglect to add anecdotes which have escaped the notice of our writers, & which may be found agreeable to the Reader, to some articles concerning our Poets and Musicians'.

This raises the tantalizing question: how and from whom did Titon obtain all the particulars and anecdotes contained in his miniature biographies, which would otherwise for the most part have been lost to history? I can conceive of no other answer than that most of the material was collected verbally from the stream of guests at Titon's convivial bachelor residence, where he kept a famous table and indulged his love of wine and conversation. In 1749 he took full possession of the family's palatial suburban mansion and garden in rue de Montreuil, commonly known as the Folie Titon, where the party continued until the owner's death in 1762 at age 85. One of the first of the Montgolfier brothers' manned balloons ascended from the garden in 1780. The house was ransacked by the Revolution and the ruin finally demolished in 1880. A fragment of the garden survives as the Jardin de la Folie-Titon. French Wikipedia says it was named after 'une ancienne manufacture de papiers peints du quartier'. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

The greatly-expanded 1732 folio edition of *Le Parnasse* is exemplary in its orderliness. Front matter consists of engravings of the maquette and of the author (the latter after the splendid portraits of Titon by Nicolas de Largillière, a family friend and advisor on the Parnasse, one of which is now in the museum at Senlis (illus.1); the portrait was probably bound into extant copies a few years after the books were printed), the obligatory dedicatory letter to the king (wherein Titon reminds His Majesty that he was present at his birth), and a 'Table des principaux articles contenus dans ce volume'.

Page 1 begins with an explanation 'sur le dessin ce cet ouvrage'; there follows a long 'description du Parnasse François executé en bronze', interrupted by illustrations of the medallions of lesser luminaries distributed among the figures. These include ones for Marais, Delalande, Campra, Destouches and Elisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre, with Mme. de

la Guerre's reverse showing her seated at a harpsichord with the bentside on her left. A list of the poets and musicians included to date 'selon let Places et les Rangs qu'ils tiennent' follows, with royalty and nobililty at the top. After the bibliography previously mentioned comes the meat of the book: the 'ordre chronologique des poëtes et musiciens rassemblez sur le Parnasse François'. These 560 pages consist of the capsule biographies and 12 plates of those residents of Parnassus which Titon considered most important. Lully is the only musician among them. Some have long since been consigned to oblivion outside the chambers of specialists.

By contrast, the Supplement of 1743 is chaotic; but we can be grateful that proportionately more musicians are included. Titon even opens the gates to future residents of the sacred mount, i.e. to living artists. He commences without further ado with a continuation of 155 pages of biographies of the recently departed. Our author then offers us a list of famous actors and singers, followed by a review of the concept of the bronze and the tale of its execution. This is succeeded by *Remarques* on the excellence of poetry and music based on the standard sources from the Bible and classical antiquity. Another, rather more interesting essay on the excellence of these arts as practiced in France follows. Titon then indulges in self-flattery by publishing various letters, poems and articles from journals in praise of his work, and a defense against criticisms. But then comes an updated list of prospective Parnassians, followed by a welter of lists and tables, mostly of minor figures. Titon is clearly worried about remaining up to date and omitting anyone of merit before he himself passes from the scene.

There are a couple of notable omissions. Voltaire was a figure too scandalous in 1743 to be officially pre-enrolled, and he had irritated Titon by making disparaging remarks in print about some of his idols. Still, 'M. de Voltaire' is quoted a dozen times, mostly approvingly, in the course of *Le Parnasse* and its two Supplements (the second appeared in 1755), and Titon even dares go as far as to state (p.825) that 'the author of the Henriade' will someday be seen as the French Virgil. They corresponded a little. Titon's letters are almost ludicrously pompous and flattering. Voltaire's replies, as might be expected, are heavily tinged with sarcasm, and the man Hugo called 'ce singe de génie' mocked Titon in a poem.

The other striking absentee is Rameau. By 1743 the *querelle* between his followers and those of Lully, among whom Titon is emphatically to be counted, had been raging for a decade, so this omission looks like an act of partisanship. Happily, he makes ample (if somewhat confused) amends in his last public utterance, the short Description of the bronze Parnassus (1760), from which Titon signs off with the words, 'in the eighty-fourth year of my life':

> *ADD (page 23) to the list of names of musicians represented by medallions on the Parnasse, that of Jean Baptiste [!] RAMEAU, alive today in the year 1757, as one of the privileged, being recognized as the most learned and brilliant of the celebrated Musicians of our day, whose Operas have only been received with applause since the beginning of the 18th century, all of them having followed the path laid out [les traces] by Jean-Baptiste LULLY, the prince of Musicians, & the most perfect model for Music & the spectacle of Operas; a thing with which one could not reasonably disagree in view of those he composed, for which QUINAULT, foremost of Lyric Poets for sung Poetry, furnished the excellent Poems. And I will boldly argue that, since the death of Lully which occurred in 1687, at the age of 54, it would not be easy to find ten Operas comparable in regard to the beauty of the Poems, the natural style, grace and excellence of the music, & the magnificence of the spectacles, to those of Thésée, of Atys, of Bellerophon, of*

Proserpine, of Persée, of Phaeton, of Amadis, of Roland, [here a marginal note by Titon in the copy accessible at gallica.bnf.fr adds 'of Isis'] & of Armide, of which Lully is the author of the Music, and who contributed much to the plan of the Poems, and to everything concerned with the spectacle of these Operas.

This pro-Lully rave of 1760 continues in a footnote wherein Titon lists all the rest of the former Surintendant's works,

which I have heard executed with great success until the beginning of the 18th century, at which time LALANDE, Surintendant de la Musique du Roi, & sole Maître de la Musique de sa Chapelle, became celebrated for the beauty and brilliant harmonies of his Motets. Several of our musicians of the time of LALANDE, and of those who came after him, have distinguished themselves by the excellence of their Music for Motets; & one may say that church music has arrived at its highest perfection.

The footnote continues: 'Having spoken of the excellence of our music, I feel quite comfortable in making it known that I have no less admiration for the music of the great Italian Masters; which I heard performed many times in Opera Houses & at Concerts in Italy, where I spent the year 1719, and since then in our Concerts at Paris'. In a reference to the recent pamphlet wars, Titon goes on to say, 'Let us cease producing these very useless and ofttimes even ridiculous dissertations on Music; we have perfect models for this beautiful Art, what is necessary is to have musical genius in order to imitate them'.

On the next page Titon compounds his error regarding Rameau's middle name, while finally admitting him to a place of the highest rank:

I will make here a remark concerning the identical baptismal names Jean-Baptiste given to LULLY & to RAMEAU, and say that THESE TWO BAPTISTES have made extremely important contributions to the highest degree of perfection which Music has attained, principally in Opera, its greatest masterpiece. Let us also add to these two illustrious musicians the celebrated André CAMPRA, to create a Triumvirate in the Empire of Music, where, especially since the beginning of the reign of LOUIS THE GREAT, THE APOLLO OF OUR PARNASSUS, so many famous Musicians have appeared who have contributed to the honour of this so glorious reign by the great number of their excellent works.

The epithet 'Louis le Grand' recurs like a drumbeat throughout *Le Parnasse*. The artistic glories of the Sun King's long stranglehold on France still represented for the 83-year-old Titon the hopes and accomplishments of his youth, and in regard to music, memories of the performances he had heard in the late 17th century. On p.798 of the 1743 Supplement there appears this veiled reference to himself:

A person who has followed the Theaters for more than fifty years, and who has known some Actors and Actresses from the time of Lully and Molière, would be well able to give some information on this subject; but this same person who could speak of a time so distant, as if it were the present, ought to have acquired too much gravité to attempt to treat of such a subject, which would actually not be appropriate here if one took it to its full length.

'More than fifty years' pushes the beginning of Titon's love of the theater back to around 1690 when he was in his teens, and when many of the stars from the days of his idols were indeed still on the stage. Foremost among them was the great protégé of Molière, Michel Baron; Titon's extensive and detailed biography is based on frequent witness of his acting.

* * *

I will now list all the references to music and musicians in the combined 1732-43 edition, with occasional comments. The work is available at https://gallica.bnf.fr via a search for 'Le Parnasse François par M. Titon du Tillet'. Their copy is divided in two volumes; the page numbers given there are the same as mine; thus I hope to ease further research for interested readers. Capsule biographies of musicians are noted in upper case letters, most of them without further comment. In my translations I have kept Titon's capitalizations, ampersands and ofttimes quirky sentence structure. Words in quotes are his unless otherwise obvious from context. As a rule, musicians mentioned in passing in the biographies are listed.

3: As part of his opening *Discours*, Titon discusses the monuments to poets and sages erected in antiquity. 'Musicians received no less honour than other Sçavans, & one finds mention in antiquity of the monuments consecrated to them. I will content myself here by saying that the Locrians, a people of Italy, set up a statue of Eunomus, an excellent lutenist, after he had taken the prize for music at the Pythian Games, defeating of Ariston of Rhegium, a famous Musician'. It is related that Eunomus won at Delphi because a cicada alighted upon his lyre and began to sing. Oddly enough, the Locrians were originally inhabitants of the area around Mount Parnassus; Eunomus was one such. And Ariston's Rhegium is the present day Reggio Calabria, the colony of the Locrians in Magna Graecia – the reason Titon calls them 'a people of Italy'.

20: Titon tells us that

> *in all works of the spirit, variety is absolutely essential ... It is this variety which renders Music so charming, & and which constitutes the perfection of Operas: excellent Concerts must be composed of different voices & instruments; one needs basses and hauts-contres, tailles & dessus; one requires noble recitative & grand airs; one needs airs which are light and détachez; one requires them in several [orchestral?] parts [à plusieurs parties]; grand chorusses are necessary: the brilliant sound of trumpets, oboes & of violins must shine therein; that of flutes, of musettes and of chalumeaux must lend grace & ornament. A large voice surprises & elicits admiration; a delicate & flexible voice, a smaller [de ruelle] voice governed with art and with taste, charms the connoisseurs; such a one may even on occasion sing the majestic graces of the greatest kings.*

22: By way of excuse for his lack of attention to pre-17th-century artists, Titon writes:

> *The Poets and Musicians who lived before the reign of Louis the Great will not be jealous of the honours rendered the Poets of the reign of that Monarch; they will not complain that their students have surpassed them, & these grateful students will thank their predecessors for having commenced facilitating for them the road to Parnassus & to Immortality.*

25: *But this Parnassus, being a monument which will require from time to time some additions of French Poets & Musicians of great reputation who are still alive, & who will occupy brilliant places after death has taken that which is mortal from them, & France being certain to produce in centuries yet to come many famous Poets & illustrious Musicians; it will be appropriate to issue at least every ten years a new augmented edition of the description of this Parnassus.*

26: 'The medallion of CAMPRA our eldest musician, & so well known for his excellent works, will also appear in this edition'.

The twelve plates illustrating the medallions, appearing between pp.32 and 33, are given Roman numerals:

> IX: Marin Marais and Delalande
> XI: Campra and Elisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre with her reversed harpsichord
> XII: Destouches.

35: Delalande, Marais and Jacquet appear along with Lully in the 'List of Poets and Musicians who compose until now the PARNASSE FRANÇOIS'. In one of his few admissions of living artists he adds (pp.35-6):

> *One has seen on the preceding plates three other medallions of our three eldest Poets, & and two of our eldest musicians who are still alive today; & and who enjoy a great reputation; one must believe that Apollo and the sages who comprise his counsel will place them in the most brilliant locations of Parnassus, after death shall have taken what is mortal in them.*

38-9: After the writers, Titon lists all the musicians whose biographies will appear in the course of the book. He adds:

> *They all lived under the reign of Louis the Great. Many beaux esprits, lovers of Poetry and Music, who have also composed some pleasant verses, or some agréable Music, or have excelled in the art of singing or playing some instruments, will appear on our Parnassus as spectators or honorary associates, & righteous admirers of our great Poets and our famous Musicians; they will recite some of their verses, & join in nicely with their voices & and their instruments at the Concerts of Parnassus.*

40: After listing the amateur poets, Titon adds Pour la Musique vocale, les DEMOISELLES HILAIRE. / DE SAINT CHRISTOPHE. / ROCHOIS. / LE FROID. Pour le Clavecin: Mlle CERTIN. / Mme PENON. / Mlle GUYOT. / Mme DE LA PLANTE.

43-4: *Let an orchestra be formed on our Parnassus of many of the famous players of all sorts of instruments who appeared under the reign of Louis the Great, the Couperins, the Tomelins, the Houssus, the Garniers, the Marchands, [space left empty for later additions] for the organ and harpsichord; the Favres, the Rebelles, the Chatillons, the Duvals, the Batistes, the le Clerc[s],[empty space] for the violin; the Marchands, the la Ferté[s], the du Noyers, the Philidors, for the oboe; the Dubois, the Belleville[s], [empty space] for the bassoon; the Philiberts, the Decosteaux, the la Barre[s], the Blavets, [empty space] for the flute; the Marais, the Forquerays, [empty space] for the viol; the Gaultiers, the le Moine[s], the Visés, [empty space] for the lute & the theorbo; the Cochinars, [empty space] for the trumpet, & and many other illustrious players of musical instruments, whom France has produced in the past sixty years.*

Titon, in his rush to catalogue his orchestra, consistently uses the plural article les, but does not always pluralize the proper names. The usage is puzzling; I think Titon must mean the names to be taken generically for performers at that level.

After listing his favoured actors, dancers and orchestral musicians, Titon goes on to speculate about the wonderful performances which will take place on Parnassus, with empty spaces after the classic tragedies, the comedies of Molière, and his favorite Lully operas: Thésée, Bellerophon, Roland and Armide; he also hopes for a Parnassian

performance of the tragédie ballet 'Psiché' [sic]. Given Titon's worship of Lully and Molière, this probably refers to the 1671 collaboration, but he could be referring to the lost music by Charpentier (1684) which was closer to the era of his own experience.

46: Titon lists three requirements necessary to succeed in poetry and music, the second of which is 'un bel ordre & une juste harmonie'. He thinks that 'The perfect tuning (*L'accord parfait*) which one must suppose in the Lyre where Apollo plays the strings, marks out the various parts of a poem or a work [of music], which must have un bel accord & une agréable union among themselves.

47-8: Here Titon deals with the lack of correspondence between the Greek Muses and his nine male replacements. He begins with Lully:

> *Lully, born in Florence in Italy, arrived at such a young age in France, where he was soon afterwards naturalized, & later granted the positions of Sur-Intendant de la Musique & of Secretaire du Roi, that one is justified in numbering him among the French, all the more since he is the father of beautiful French Music, & and has raised it to perfection, entirely abandoning the style of Italian Music.*
>
> *We have represented this Musician on the Parnasse as a standing figure, holding the medallion of Quinault, in order thus to allow at least one Musician to appear there, & to conform to some degree with the Parnassus of the Greeks, where three of the nine Muses presided over Music; namely, Euterpe over the art of playing the flute & wind instruments; Terpsichore over that of playing the lute & stringed instruments; Erato over Dance with singing, & accompaniment by various instruments...*
>
> *It would even seem that, although the Poet be the originator [le principe] & foundation of Operas, the Musician is he who has no less labour and honour in the production of this type of work, & and I am quite convinced that all persons of taste who know the music of Atys, of Phaeton, of Roland, of Armide, & of other operas of Lully, will be pleased to see this excellent man represented as a figure standing on our Parnasse, and taking the place there of one of the nine Muses.*

49-71: These pages contain a detailed description of the maquette:

51: On the summit, Louis the Great 'holds a Lyre, the strings of which he touches in a delicate and relaxed manner'.

62: *Madame de la Guerre, celebrated musician represented with a medallion, appears on the summit of this face of the Parnasse … One also notices here a Genie who attaches a scroll to the top of the palm tree throne, whereon are engraved the names of the celebrated French Musicians whom death has taken, such as those who we have previously mentioned, pages 38 & 39 [recte 37-8], and where one ought to inscribe the names of several other renowned Musicians; one has taken care to place this Genie close to and above Lully, the father of beautiful French music.*

> *The medallion of la Lande who excelled in church music, which he executed for forty years in the presence of Louis the Great, or that of our young Monarch, [Louis XV] is suspended from a palm branch.*

One sees on the reverse of la Lande's medallion a Genie who sings and beats time; another smaller one, like a pupil of the first plays the Lyre and sings as well; the exterior of the Chapel of Versailles appears in the background...

62-3: *The medallion of Marais is attached to a branch of the same palm tree at the side of la Lande's medallion; on the reverse a Genie appears holding a viol in his hand, and surrounded with various instruments & musical scores, Marais having composed four Operas, & with several other books of Music; since he excelled primarily with the viol, & has brought this instrument to the highest level of perfection, the Genie holding the viol dominates the other attributes which one has given to this Musician, & and one has added this Motto.*

Elle reçoit de lui son plus grand lustre.

63: *Lully Prince of Musicians is standing, he is attentive to Apollo's Concert on the Lyre and to the Dance of the Graces; he holds a roll of paper with which he beats time, which indicates his character of a great Musician, and the sublime level to which he has brought his Art, which render him worthy of beating time to the Concert of Parnassus.*

Lully supports on one arm the medallion of Quinault which shows him triumphant and crowned with Laurels, as the person who first excelled in France in the field of sung Poetry, and who inspired him [i.e., Lully] to compose all the beautiful airs, with which his Operas are filled.

On the reverse of Quinault's medallion are represented...several music instruments & books, where one reads the names Atis [sic], Phaeton, Armide & and some other subjects of his Operas.

86-92: Titon devotes these pages to the praises of Louis XIV. On p.91 we read,

Lully the Musician addresses this Monarch [Louis XIV] thusly in the verses following his epistle dedicatory, found in the preface to the Opera Amadis.

Je dois à votre choix de sujet d'Amadis,
Je vous dois son succès, car j'aurois peine à dire,
Entre vous & Phœbus lequel des deux m'inspire.

93-8: The previously mentioned bibliography, with its pitifully small but intriguing mention of musical sources, concludes Titon's introductory material. On p.99 commences the series of short biographies running to 561 pages, the ORDRE CHRONOLOGIQUE DES POËTES ET DES MUSICIENS RASSEMBLEZ SUR LE PARNASSE FRANÇOIS.

More than 200 pages of poets' biographies go by with only two passing references to music:

148: Describing Ronsard's magnificent funeral on 24 February 1586 in the chapel of the Collège de Boncour[t] (site of theatrical performances, demolished by 1738), Titon says, 'There was music [performed by] numerous voices and instruments; the king even sent his musicians; [Jacques] Mauduit, one of the best Musicians of the period, & and a friend of Ronsard, was the composer'. Mauduit's Requiem a5 for Ronsard was used for the anniversary of the death of Henri IV and for the composer's own funeral. It was partially printed by Mersenne in his *Harmonie universelle*.

212-3: From the biography of N. V. des Jueteaux: 'Saint-Evremont says that, des Jueteaux being close to expiring, he commanded that a Sarabande be played, so that he would would pass away more gently [plus doucement], allegramente. [Titon's italics.] This an interesting confirmation of the lively character of the sarabande in 1649, the year of the poet's death.

316-17: With Molière, almost halfway through the series of biographies, we finally enter the purview of Titon's personal knowledge of music and that of his acquaintances – the suspected sources of much of his material on musicians. Here he lists all Molière's works, and is careful to note those which involved music and dance. It is surprising that Titon seems unaware of the scope of the collaborations with Lully; on p.318 he only says, 'Molière also worked together with Racine on some divertissemens set to music by Lully, such as l'Ydille sur la Paix, & l'Eglogue de Versailles'. Was Titon showing a sense of delicacy as a late aftereffect of the break in 1672 between his two idols, or was it a simple case of ignorance?

Nearly 70 more pages pass before we arrive (p.385) at Pierre Perrin, whom Titon knows as Cambert's librettist:

> *The Abbé Perrin is, to tell the truth, a very mediocre poet, but one cannot refuse him some place on the Parnasse François, as the person who first had the idea of giving Operas in French, & having composed the words to the first two to have appeared in this goût; to wit, a Pastorale in five Acts, first staged at Issy in 1659, & then at Vincennes in the presence of the King, & the Pastorale Pomone in five Acts, staged at Paris in 1671, these two pieces having been set to music by Cambert, Surintendant de la Musique of the Queen, the mother of Louis XIV. Perrin also wrote the words to a piece entitled Ariane, and Cambert composed the music for it: there were several performances of this piece in the Gallery of the Palace of Cardinal Mazarin, & the piece pleased greatly; but the illness and death of this Cardinal prevented its being performed in a public theatre.*

There were in fact several predecessors to the Pastorale d'Issy, among them the *Triomphe de l'Amour sur les bergers et bergères*, with (lost) music by Michel de la Guerre, the posthumous father-in-law of Elisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre.

Music biographies now come thick and fast:

387-8: [Robert] CAMBERT.

388-9: HENRI DU MONT. 'Dumont is the first of our French Musicians to have used the Basse continue, which has such a fine effect in the composition of Music'.

390-2: MICHEL LAMBERT. 'Lambert is the first in France to have made manifest the true beauties of vocal music, & the justesse & the graces of expression. He also had the idea of adding ornaments (doubler) to most of his airs, to emphasize the lightness of the voice & the charm of the throat (agrément du gosier) by means of various passages, & brilliant & graceful roulades, in which he was very successful'. Titon could well have heard Lambert perform; he died in 1696 at the age of 86. This would explain Titon's preferential treatment. At the end of the article he adds a list of Lambert's contemporaries (obtained from the old master?) 'who worked dans un goût tendre & gracieux': Boësset father and son, le Camus, Mollier, Richard, Moulinié, and Sicard.

Many of Lambert's ornaments survive in diverse sources. Antoine Boësset and Étienne Moulinié already have examples in Mersenne's 1637 *Harmonie universelle*, of which Titon seems unaware. At the end of Titon's list comes (given name unknown) 'DU BUISSON, fameux Buveur' and composer of drinking songs, who gave lessons 'de Musique & de table à Mrs les Etrangers, and especially to the Germans who came to pass some time in Paris'. The name of Joseph Chabanceau de la Barre does not appear, although his 1669 AIRS À DEUX PARTIES, AVEC LES SECONDS COUPLETS EN DIMINUTION is one of the most important collections of French vocal ornamentation.

392-3: [PIERRE] ROBERT.

393-401: JEAN-BAPTISTE LULLY. Not surprisingly, the longest music biography by far, including two full pages listing his works. 396-7: 'Colasse, la Loüette [Jean-François Lalouette], Marais [and] des Marets [Henri Desmarets] gave themselves the honour of calling themselves students of Lully's, and almost all our best Musicians have regarded him as their model. François Couperin, Organist of the King, from whom we have various highly-esteemed pieces of Music, & among them six volumes of pieces for the Harpsichord of excellent taste, which can also be performed on the Violin & on the Flute, has composed a Concert de Symphonie entitled l'Apotheose de Lully, to render hommage to this great Musician'. In mentioning performance on melody instruments, Titon is adding the *Concerts Royaux* and *Les Goûts-Réunis* to the four books of solo harpsichord pieces, in accordance with Couperin's instructions.

401-4: CHAMBONNIERE [sic], les COUPERINS, TOMELIN, BOIVIN, LE BEGUE, GARNIER, HOUSSU & quelques autres fameux Organistes & Joueurs de Clavecin are here spectacularly lumped together under one heading. It includes the three Couperin brothers, with mention of Charles (ii) as the father of 'the famous François Couperin, known for his fecund genius & a marvel in composition & for his way of playing the Organ, & by whom we have a great number of excellent works, which will one day merit him a distinguished place on the Parnasse'. François (i) is noted as father of (Marguerite-)Louise Couperin, 'one of the most famous Musiciennes of our day, who sang with admirable taste, and who played the harpsichord to perfection'. Louis Marchand, Charles Piroye, and an unnamed nephew of Antoine Houssu are also mentioned in passing. 'It is with difficulty that I restrain my pen from adding the names of some of our famous Organists & and several other illustrious living Musicians. Their turn to appear on the Parnasse will come only too soon. For the present they have the advantage of being themselves able to cause their beautiful works & the great talents they possess to shine'.

This entry, with its plethora of detail regarding the Couperin brothers, and especially Titon's categorical statement that 'we have only three suites of Harpsichord Pieces by this Musician [Louis Couperin]', was the starting point for my conviction that Charles (ii), and not Louis, composed most of the pieces in the Bauyn and Parville MSS.[1] It also motivated me to dig into savings to purchase this copy of *Le Parnasse*, which contains 23 corrections in Titon's hand and numerous pasted additions in tiny print. It looks identical to the one shown in the Largillière portrait. The book's multiple panegyrics to François 'le Grand' lead me to think that Charles' son was the source of much of Titon's information.

405-6: LES DEUX GAULTIERS, excellens Joueurs de Luth. (Ennemond le Vieux and Denis.)

The lute is an instrument of extensive, gracious and touching harmony; but the difficulty of playing it well, & the rarity of its usage in concerts have caused it to be almost abandoned, & I do not believe it would be possible to find more than three or four venerable old men in Paris who play this instrument. I encountered one last year; it is M. FALCO, dean of the secretaries of the Gentlemen of the Council, who confirmed to me that there are hardly four Lutheriens, or lutenists in Paris. He engaged me to come to come up to his home, where, having placed me in an antique Fauteuil, he played me five or six pieces for Lute, looking at me the whole time d'un air tendre, & occasionally dropping some tears on his Lute.

406-11: PHILPPE QUINAULT. Lully's librettist. 'At the end of his life he regretted having spent time writing Operas, and resolved to compose no Verses other than in praise of God & the great deeds of his Prince'.

There follow another 66 pages of – with the notable exceptions of Benserade, la Fontaine and Racine – forgotten poets before we arrive at

477: PIERRE GAULTIER (ii), usually spelled 'Gautier'.

490-1: MARC-ANTOINE CHARPENTIER. 'Charpentier was one of the most learned and industrious Musicians of his time, as one can see from the quantity of good works which he has left us'. In this notably brief contribution regarding Lully's greatest rival Titon does not mention Charpentier's collaboration with Molière.

502: Joseph-François Duché [de Vancy] was librettist of four works presented at the Opera: the tragedies *Céphale & Procris* (music by Jacquet de la Guerre), *Scylla* (Theobaldo di Gatti) and *Iphigénie en Tauride* (Desmarets and Campra), and the ballet *Les Fêtes Galantes* (Desmarets). To this list Titon's Additions (p.xciii) adjoin two works produced at the Opera in 1695: the tragedy *Théagène & Cariclée* and the ballet *Les Amours de Momus* (music for both by Desmarets). Titon's erratic spellings, which I general leave as they stand, have been corrected here.

518: PASCHAL COLASSE. 'He was one of the best pupils of the famous Lully, whom he often employed in the composition of his Operas, which is to say, usually by filling in the middle parts of his vocal chorusses and some of his symphonies'. I remember being shocked when I heard about this practice from Sigiswald Kuyken during the 1972 constituting session of La Petite Bande at Breukelen, The Netherlands.

520-30: To anyone seeking distraction from music and immersion in the high life of the ancien régime, I recommend perusal of Titon's long biography of a very minor poet and very great bon vivant, Alexandre Lainez. A close friend and traveling companion of Titon's until his death in 1710, he was in the habit of spending ten to twelve hours a day at table, holding forth and charming all present. 'I never knew a man of a conversation more lively, more agreeable & more instructive on all kinds of subjects than Lainez...The free & voluptuous life he led, far removed from any constraints, prevented him from composing long poems...A glass of Tuscan wine, an excellent cheese, a bottle's cork, a candle that lit a meal & other subjects of the same taste furnished materials for his thoughts'. Nowhere else does Titon so extravagantly praise a personality. He was in later life criticized for a similar lifestyle, said to be unsuitable for a magistrate, and I strongly suspect our author took Lainez as his model. The five years after Lainez died were some of the gloomiest in French history; then began (in the words of J. Christopher Herold) 'the glittering vice, the easy-going corruption, the ferment, vitality and humane immorality' of the Regency. The

Regent himself, the Duc d'Orléans, was the son of Louis XIV's sister-in-law 'Madame', Liselotte von der Pfalz, who employed Charles Couperin (ii) in an unknown capacity (officier, according to a notarial document).

533-9: In his biography of Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, Titon cites *Un Dialogue de la Poësie & de la Musique*. This brief fragment of an opera prologue is preceded by Boileau's own far more interesting preface. The great reformer of French poetry tells us that Mme. de Montespan and her sister, 'weary of the operas of Quinault', summoned Racine and asked him to write a libretto on the fall of Phaeton. He of course had to agree, and went to Boileau to request his help. Boileau reminded Racine that the author of *Phèdre* had often declared that he would never write an opera, since music was incapable of rendering the most passionate and heroic speeches; but the business was 'too far advanced to back out,' and Boileau agreed to write the prologue. After three of four days of desultory work they were rescued by Quinault himself, who had gotten word of the commission and went to the king 'with tears in his eyes,' begging to be reinstated. The king forbade his mistress from further interfering with such matters, and Boileau could drop 'ce misérable travail'.

540-1: Of the brilliant Élisabeth Sophie Cheron, painter, linguist and poet – a latter-day Sofonisba Anguissola – Titon says, 'Music was also one of the sweetest amusements of this Muse; she played the Lute & Harpsichord agreeably'.

543: 'L'Abbé [Jean] Pic composed the words for three Operas, of which the first is entitled *les Saisons*, a Ballet set to music by Colasse, staged for the first time in 1695. The second, *la Naissance de Venus*, for which Collasse also made the Music, & staged in 1696. And the third, *Aricie*, a Ballet set to Music by la Coste'. Louis de Lacoste's ballet was composed when he was about 20 years old.

561: GUILLAUME MINORET. One of the masters of the royal chapel; a modest man who refused benefices offered him by Louis XIV, and who died 'in 1716, or 1717, at an advanced age'.

563: The poet Louise-Geneviève Gillot de Sainctonge was the first female librettist to have a work performed at the Académie Royale de Musique. Titon mentions 'two Tragedies which she gave to the Théatre de l'Opera, which have been set to music by des Marests [Henri Desmarets], Musician of repute; to wit that of Didon, staged in 1693, & that of Circé, which appeared in the following year,' as well as several Idilles set to music, a ballet, and a Pastorale heroïque.

566: The poet Antoine Ferrand 'has made several Chansons on the airs de Clavecin, composed by François Couperin, the King's Organist'.

567: Saint-Gilles (no given name), a former soldier, 'has composed several Chansons & several Parodies on Opera melodies, which are full of spirit & of gentillesse'. At the very end of his book, in the list of Additions on p.xciii, Titon notes that this obscure former friend also wrote the texts for chansons and vaudevilles. 'Saint-Gilles resigned from the army in 1706, after the battle of Ramilly, & renounced all the vanities of this world by fleeing to a Capuchin Monastery: one does not know exactly what happened to him since then, nor the time of his death'.

586: Regarding Jean Galbert Campistron: 'Besides the Plays mentioned above he has written three others for the Théatre de l'Opera; to wit, I. Acis et Galatée, Pastorale

heroïque set to Music by Lully, 1687, II. Achille, Tragedy set to Music by Colasse, 1688, III. Alcide, ou le Triomphe d'Hercule, Tragedy set to music by Louis Lully & Marais, 1693'. This is the only mention in *Le Parnasse* of Lully's dissolute eldest son, who was dependent upon collaborators for what little success he had.

598: In the list of works by Charles Rivière du Fresny (usually Dufresny), Titon mentions his many plays for the Théatre Italien, which, as Jane Clark has shown,[2] were a great influence on François Couperin 'le Grand'. For example, *Les Chinois*, a play about the union of the French and Italian *Comédies*, appears under that name as his penultimate published *pièce de clavecin*. Dufresny also wrote texts for Chansons and petites Cantates. 'There he creates vivid & pleasant portraits of almost all the different characters of men: he is not only the author of the words, but also of the music, which fits them perfectly, & which one can say is of an entirely new taste'. This remark so closely corresponds to Couperin's musical portraiture that there would seem to be a further direct influence remaining to be explored – if one could only locate any of Dufresny's music. The online catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France comes up a blank.

599: [Joseph] de la Font was librettist for three works staged at the Paris Opera: 'I. Les Fêtes de Thalie, Ballet in four Entrées, the music of which is by M. [Jean-Joseph] Mouret, 1714. II. Hipermenestre, Tragedy in five Acts, the Music is by M. [Charles-Hubert] Gervais, 1716. III. Les Amours de Prothée, Ballet in three Acts, music by M. Gervais 1720. In addition he has left an Opera, entitled Orion. He has also composed several works for the Opera Comique, such as le Monde renversé, the Prologue to la Querelle des Théatres, &c'.

602-3: The prominent Jesuit Claude-François Menestrier is surprisingly cited as author of books on ballet, as well as of 'several verses which he inserted into the three ballets he gave in the form of Operas'. Titon did not quite live to see the order's expulsion from France (1764).

603-5: JEAN-BAPTISTE DE BOUSSET. Maître de Musique de la Chapelle du Louvre, & de celles des Académies Françoise & des Sciences. 'He also accompanied very well on the harpsichord'. Titon cites the names of several poets whose texts were set by de Bousset, three of whom were military men whom Titon probably knew personally. He comments, 'It would have been desirable in the Collections of Airs by Bousset to see the names of the authors of the texts at the beginning or end of each Air'.

608-9: After a list of works of the comedy writer Florent Carton d'Ancourt [Dancourt], Titon says,

> *A large part of these pieces, which are in one Act and in prose, are accompanied by Intermedes, by Chansons & by Symphonies, and even sometimes by Dances, which give them an even greater measure of gaiety and of agrémens: la Foire de Besons, les Vendages de Suresne, le Moulin de Javelle, les Eaux de Bourbon, &c., are of this number, as well as the Comedy of the trois Cousines, in three Acts, which is one of the most agreeable one could find in this genre. [Jean-]Claude Gillier, who is the author of the music of these pieces, as well as of the Divertissement of the comedy l'Inconnu [by Thomas Corneille, the 19-years-younger brother of Pierre] & that of the Aman[t]s magnifiques [1703, Comédie Française; new music for the Molière-Lully collaboration of 1670], had a particular talent for succeeding and pleasing in this gay and galant type of Music.*

612-6: MICHEL RICHARD DE LA LANDE [Delalande].

621: THEOBALDE ['Théobalde'], J. TEOBALDO DE GATTI. Italian basse de violon player and composer, naturalized 1675.

624: MARIN MARAIS.

> *It is true that, previous to Marais, Sainte Colombe attracted some attention [faisoit quelque bruit] to the viol; he even gave concerts at his home, where two of his daughters played, one on the treble Viol, & the other on the bass, & formed with their father a Consort of three Viols, which one heard with pleasure, even though he never composed anything but symphonies which were ordinaires & of a harmony poor in accords.*

The story of Marais' apprenticeship with Jean de Sainte-Colombe follows.

628: JEAN-FRANÇOIS LALOUETTE. 'Our most able Composers of Music rendered their last respects to Lalouette ten days after his death: they were M[essieu]rs Guillery, de la Croix, Petouville & Gaumay, Maîtres de Musique of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, of the Sainte-Chapelle, of Notre-Dame, & of the Saints Innocens..'. A footnote adds that Petouville (François Pétouille) and (Nicolas) Gaumay were deceased by 1730 '& have left Motets which are esteemed'.

635-6: ELISABETH-CLAUDE JACQUET DE LA GUERRE. 'She had one son, who at the age of eight surprised those who heard him play the harpsichord, either in the execution of Pièces or in l'accompagnement; but death took him in his tenth year'.

636-7: Mesdames PENON & DE LA PLANTE, Mesdemoiselles CERTIN & GUYOT.

> *After having spoken of Madame de la Guerre, I must cause the names of these ladies to appear, who have also been admired by Paris for the learnèd and delicate way they played the harpsichord.*
>
> *Mademoiselle CERTIN was a friend of Lully's. This celebrated Musician had her play all the Symphonies from his Operas on the Harpsichord, & she performed them with the greatest perfection, the same as all the Pieces of Louis Couperin, of Chambonniere & of Marchand.*

Titon quotes the passage in the 1710 poem by Alexandre Lainez *Sur l'harmonie d'un excellent Clavecin d'André Rukers*, which mentions Mlle. Certain alongside Louis Marchand.

652-3: SEBASTIEN DE BROSSARD.

653-4: Jean-François Leriget De La Faye. Of this soldier, diplomat, Academician and Secretaire du Cabinet du Roi, Titon says, 'Poetry and Music were also his sweetest amusements; he had a delicate ear; he explained very well the different kinds of harmonies, & the different tastes in song, of France as well as of Italy'. Titon also quotes the elegy Voltaire wrote for the Mercure de France – one of a dozen times that dangerous name appears in *Le Parnasse.*

655-7: Antoine Houdart de la Motte was librettist for numerous works of musical theatre, notably 'the Ballet l'Europe galante, which had such a great success in 1697 [music by Campra]' and 'Scanderberg, Tragédie which is just now being set to music [1735, Francoeur and Rebel]'.

658-660: JEAN-LOUIS MARCHAND. The addition of 'Jean-' to Marchand's given name seems to be unique to Titon. He makes no mention of the *competition manquée* with Bach in Dresden, nor of Marchand's previous precipitate flight from Paris after insulting the king. Marchand returned there after his stellar sojourn in Germany, 'bored by not seeing Paris'. In what is possibly the understatement of the 18th century, Titon reports that Marchand's only daughter 'found among his effects a large chest full of Music composed by him, which well merits examination in order to choose the most perfect pieces, & and to print or engrave them'. The few manuscript organ works to have been preserved[3] may have been found in that large chest, but who can say what treasures it contained which have been lost forever?

Titon's fascinating account of this 'homme dissipé' is followed immediately by the 1743 Supplement. The pagination continues unbroken, and the first entry is for a musician:

661-4: JEAN-BAPTISTE MOREAU. One of the funniest anecdotes in the whole book concerns this composer's fumbling entry into Versailles. He was 'not among those who had a large share in the gifts of fortune'.

664-666: FRANÇOIS COUPERIN, including his daughters, 'worthy heirs of the talents of their father for playing the Organ & the Harpsichord,' Marie-Madeleine (whom Titon mistakenly calls Marie-Anne) and Marguerite-Antoinette. 'The King granted the latter, because of her learnèd and admirable manner of playing the Harpsichord, a singular favour, which is the succession of the post held by her father of Clavecin de la Chambre, who resigned from it two years before his death. (A post held until then by men only.) It is she who until today executes its duties in all the Concerts which take place in the Apartments of the King & of the Queen, the Titulaire being to old to fulfill its functions'. The reader will recall that this is the Supplement of 1743. The confusion regarding Couperin père, who died in 1733, must have had its origin in an earlier note. At the back of the book (p.lii) Titon states that Couperin is still alive.

'The Demoiselle [Marguerite-]Louise Couperin his cousin [daughter of François (i)], Musicienne-Pensionnaire du Roi, sang several Verses [of FC's motets in the presence of Louis XIV in the chapel at Versailles] with great lightness of voice, & marvelous taste'. A footnote corrects an erroneous date for the death of Charles Couperin (ii) (1669) on p.403.

670-1: In an addition to a previous stub biography, Titon gives details of Marie de Louvencour's texts for cantates set to music by 'le Sieur [Thomas-Louis] Bourgeois' and by Louis-Nicolas Clérambault, including one of the latter's masterpieces, Médée. Clérambault goes further unmentioned in *Le Parnasse*; here Titon only says of him,

> *The music of these last seven Cantates was composed du Sieur Clerambault, Organist of the King & of the Church of St. Sulpice, Author of several other Cantates engraved in five volumes in-folio, & and of some Divertissements which have received much applause from the Public … As I spoke on page 604 of [Guérin de] ROCHEBRUNE, Author of several Chansons which have been set to music by de Bousset [cf. p.603], I here take occasion to note that he is the Author of the text of the Cantate Orphée, the Music of which is by the Sieur Clerambault; & and of that entitled Zephire & Flore, set to Music by the same Musician.*

Did Titon know that Voltaire, almost certainly with justification, repeatedly claimed the brilliant and dashing Chevalier de Rochebrune as his father, taking bastardy in the bargain? The Sage of Ferney had a low opinion of Monsieur Arouet, his legal father.

673-4: JEAN-BAPTISTE SENALLIÉ. (Many variant spellings of the violinist's surname.)

674-6: Senallié's biography leads Titon back to his Parnassian orchestra; he gives a few new particulars regarding those musicians, and expresses again the pious hope found on p.404 that living virtuosos will not be taking their places there all too soon. He goes on to mention two recently-founded public concert series in Paris: François Philidor's Concert Spritуel and the privately sponsored Concert Italien, both held in the Tuileries. In the latter, les Demoiselles NOVELLES, grandes Musiciennes, are said to excel in singing.

678-80: NICOLAS BERNIER.

683-4: Space must be made here for tales of court life only marginally connected to music, but intimately so with our author's own experience. Antoine Bauderon de Senecé, a very minor poet whom Titon must have known personally and who died aged 93 in 1737, lived mostly as a courtier whose tenuous job it was to amuse the great. Bauderon was ten years in the service of Louis XIV's unhappy queen Maria Theresa. When she died in 1683, 'it was the greatest misfortune that could befall an Officier zealous in the service of a princess to whom he was attached; he lost at once, such as would occur at court after a disgrace, all the protectors & friends of distinction he had there'. The Duchess of Angoulême, daughter-in-law of Charles IX by his legitimized son, took pity on the poet and 'his numerous family,' and offered him shelter at her residence. She died in 1713, 'almost 140 years after the death of Charles IX, whom, as one can well imagine, she never saw'.[4] Bauderon failed to secure a post as *Valet de Chambre* when the Dauphin, the Duke of Burgundy, married in 1696: this in spite of 'quite a long stay at court, where he composed several pretty verses on the subject of this marriage, & a divertissement to be set to Music'. The Duchess/Dauphine, the great favorite of the old king and mother of Louis XV, died in 1712. Titon:

> *I may say in passing, that I suffered the same fate [as Bauderon], having been the most senior of the Maîtres-d'Hôtel of the late Madame the Dauphine, mother of the King, and not having been able to secure a similar position with the Queen [Marie Leszczyńska, upon her marriage] in 1725, when her household was created; but one must always live in the hope that the King will not forget him who was so fortunate as to be present at his august birth.*

696-7: MICHEL [Pignolet de] MONTECLAIR. To the biography of France's first contrabassist Titon adds a notice of 'one of [Montéclair's] friends', composer-lyricist-librettist Jean Claude Gillier. He was already mentioned on p.609; here his list of contributions to the works of Dancourt and others is greatly expanded. 'He amused Paris and the Court for over thirty years with divertissements en Musique'.

698-705: Jean Haguenier is another of Titon's intimates who composed texts for chansons 'to add gaiety to society, and especially to enliven meals & to banish the dull ceremony which can render them so sad, even in the midst of the most exquisite dishes and the most delicious wines'. Some of his texts were apparently somewhat risqué:

> *His morality, to tell the truth, was rather Epicurean, but one need not take more from him than one needs to gladden the spirit without corrupting it; his works are Chansons, not moral precepts of a severity and exactitude which one is obliged to follow. Almost all of Haguenier's Chansons are Parodies, which is to say, the Words are composed to Opera Airs or other very common Airs, in order to be able to remember & sing them more easily.*

705-6: JEAN-JOSEPH MOURET. *Intendant de la Musique* for the Duchesse du Maine; largely responsible for the musical side of her famous *Nuits de Sceaux*.

708-710: JEAN FRANÇOIS DANDRIEU. Titon is not aware of the three small books of harpsichord pieces published in 1705.

> *This Musician also caused himself to be admired for the way he played the Organ & the Harpsichord. The Demoiselle DANDRIEU his sister excelled no less in playing these two instruments. When her brother died M[essieu]rs the Wardens of the parish of St. Barthelemi [where Dandrieu was buried] engaged her to take over the organ of this Church where on feast days she attracts the amateurs of the instrument. The late Elector of Bavaria [Maximilian II Emanuel, d. 1726], recognizing the talent of this Demoiselle, granted her a substantial [très-honnête] pension, & retained her at his Court for most of the time he stayed at Paris, to preside at the harpsichord during his Concerts.*

732-754: Titon devotes an extraordinary amount of space to his close friend, the quarrelsome epigrammatist, poet and librettist Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, who was condemned to perpetual exile in 1712 for non-appearance in court on a case of defamation of character. He gets one of 13 full-page engraved portraits (not counting Titon's own), and was one of the few still among the living to receive a medallion (with, on the reverse, 'a Trophy of Instruments, composed of a Harp, a Trumpet, an Oboe, a Violin & a Flute') on the bronze Parnasse, for which he thanked Titon in a gracious letter. My copy of Titon's book contains four handwritten corrections and two printed paste-ins in the pages devoted to a man whose immense vogue in the 18th century seems hard to understand today. Titon recalls jolly meals with Rousseau at the palace of Fontainebleau, which were 'ordinarily enlivened by three Syrennes & Virtuoses of the King's Music, Mlles. Charpe, Jeanne Moreau, & [Marguerite-Louise] Couperin'.

Titon tells us that his friend 'is the Author of two kinds of Poetry new among the French, to wit that of Cantates & that of Allégories: the first was known among the Italians, but he managed it in a more agreeable way, with more order and harmony..'. On p.750 (erroneously paginated as 752), as part of the catalogue of Rousseau's works, we find the category ODES ANACREONTIQUES OU CANTATES, with 14 listings. Rousseau wrote a total of 27, not all of which were released for publication or composition.[5] Titon then adds, 'And four more Cantates, among them one entitled Europe [Montéclair]. Several able Musicians have set these Cantates to music. Bernier has given us eight; du Tarte seven; Colin de Blamont two; M. le Chevalier de Brassac one; Morin has also set some of them to Music'.

At the very end of the long article (the actual p.752) Titon finally makes note of the youthful Rousseau's earliest known efforts involving music, his libretti for two operas: Colasse's *Jason* (1696) and Desmarest's widely performed *Vénus et Adonis* (1697 and later revivals). 'He did not judge it appropriate to insert them into the various Editions he has given of his Works'.

754: HENRI DESMARETS. '[At court] he was the cause of [Nicolas] Goupillet's disgrace; the King having heard that [the youthful Desmarets] composed Motets for this master of Music [of the royal chapel at Versailles] which received so much applause, Goupillet was expelled with a canonry which the King gave him, & his pension of 900 livres, which was continued for him, with an order never to appear again at Court'.

On p.755 a footnote in tiny print appears, which overflows and takes up nearly all of page 756. The word count nearly equals that of four of Titon's normal pages, and the subject is Italian music and Titon's quasi-secret ('but I am bon François') admiration for it. This text is so fascinating and the list of compared musicians, both Italian and French, is so long, that it deserves to be quoted in full. But considerations of space forbid, and I can only advise the reader to consult the original at gallica.bnf.fr .

A few hints regarding its content might nudge the reader in that direction. Titon says here that he spent a year in Italy. The first hint of this journey occurs on p.396 in the Lully article, where he mentions attending Gasparini's opera *Bajazet* in Reggio Modena (now Reggio Emilia); Titon met the composer and complimented him on the 'natural and singing' quality of his music; Gasparini answered that this was because he had studied Lully. We have already seen how Titon, in his final short Description of 1760, specifies 1719 as the year he spent in Italy attending operas and concerts. That book was where Titon finally and fully admitted Rameau to the highest rank. Rameau 'pour le Clavessin' is mentioned in the present footnote for the first time in *Le Parnasse*; he is also grudgingly afforded a place with the best French composers, even though he is 'un peu Italianisée'. A foreigner's view of this attitude is afforded by the preface to the memoirs (which were written in French) of Giacomo Casanova. The famous libertine complains about how the Académie Française stood guard over the language against any foreign infusion, thereby impoverishing it. He goes on to say, 'In the same way, the whole nation thought Lully's works could never be improved upon, until Rameau arrived to teach them better'.

Another harpsichordist mentioned in the long footnote is 'the surprising ALESSANDRO'. This comes after a description of Italianate concerts at the home of 'Mme. and Mlle. Duhallay [Du Hallay. Madame was a student of Louis-Claude Daquin; Rameau said her fingers were petits marteaux], two persons among the most beautiful & learnèd of their sex, and both great Virtuoses on the harpsichord,' a series which Titon has begun attending again for the past seven years. His renewed presence would therefore date from around 1735 or possibly much earlier, given delays in composition and publication.

In my extensive notes on Italian harpsichordists of the period there is only one 'Alessandro', and his surname is Scarlatti. Almost nothing is known of his last years before his death in 1725, except that he was frustrated and disillusioned with Italy and opera, and had turned to composing instrumental music. I would suggest that he could have journeyed to Paris and left no other trace than this one – of an appearance at an earlier Du Hallay or other private concert. If this seems preposterous, it should be remembered that until very recently we did not know that Domenico Scarlatti showed up in Paris in 1724 and 1725 while on diplomatic missions for the king of Portugal. Titon lists 'Scarlati' among the Italian composers whose music he admires. It would have surely been surprenant for Titon to hear Alessandro improvise, or to perform, say, his late variations on La Follia. An encounter with either Scarlatti could also have taken place in Italy in 1719.

789-816: A section 'On our celebrated Actors & Actresses of the Comédie & of the Opera, whom death has taken or who have retired from the Theatre'. Here Titon expands on the list given on p.43 of 'Actors and Actresses of the first rank of the Opera & of the Comedy whom I have known'. These personal reminiscences, which lean toward the female, are detailed and interesting. Titon begins with no less than five pages devoted to Marie [le] Rochois, also called Marthe, Lully's most favoured soprano. There are too many other names to mention here, and I can again only recommend consulting the original –

but one passage regarding the famous baritone Gabriel[-Vincent] Thévenard must be quoted for the benefit of present-day singers:

> *No Musician has ever better understood the art of singing, & one can say that one is obliged to him for the natural & flowing manner of performing recitative without letting it drag, & over-emphasizing notes in order to show off the voice, conserving it for more appropriate moments...Thévenard took a third less time to sing this beautiful recitative [from Lully's Persée] (which is as it should be) than Beaumavielle did, because he paid more attention to the continuous and flowing [suivie & coulante] declamation demanded by recitative than to allowing his voice to shine with notes too sustained [nourris] and emphatic, such as was the usage among our older actors.*

828: Speculating about future additions to his monument in his Conclusion, Titon says,

> *Let us place LOUIS XIII upon our Parnassus, who composed Motets & and other pieces of Music; the DUKE OF ORLÉANS, Regent of the Kingdom during the minority of Louis XV, who has left us great Works of Music, such as Motets and Operas, the same as the DUKE DE LA TREMOILLE & some other grands Seigneurs, lovers of Music and competent in that art. Our most famous Musicians will receive them with great honours, & will glory in giving them places [on Mt. Parnassus] with the distinction they merit.*

The Regent composed three operas, one of which is lost. The other two might be as well, and no great loss to the world. An Addition on p.xciii names Charles-Auguste, Marquis de la Fare as librettist for his Panthée [recte Penthée].

xviii: About the only interesting passage in the first section of *Remarques* – as previously mentioned, a standard pious run-down of Biblical and classical sources on poetry and music – concerns rabbinical fantasies about the music of the Temple in Jerusalem; the medieval Occitan Rabbi David Kimhi is quoted as reporting four subterranean chambers containing 40,000 harps, as many citterns [*Cistres*] of 24 carat gold and 200,000 silver trumpets, with two Surintendants keeping the instruments in good order (the second especially for the organs); all in service of 24,000 Levites and 288 *Maîtres de Musique*. An astoundingly credulous Titon concludes from all this that the Hebrews '& the Greeks and Romans who followed them' must have had 'Music composed in different parts, such as is in use today'.

xxix: The second section of *Remarques* begins with Titon's attempt at a musico-poetical history of France. He assumes that these arts were in a similar state of development among the Gauls and the Franks to that of the Romans. He dates the consolidation of these two peoples into the French nation to around 450 CE; he thus seems to have known something about Childeric I and the early Merovingians. He diligently quotes the history books at his disposal, passing through the Carolingians, the age of the troubadours and that of the Valois kings; mentions the *Roman de la Rose*, and finally arrives (xxxvii) at François I, who gave music 'new lustre, having established a corps of Musicians for his visiting hours [*pour tenir appartement*], in order to serve as a pretext for the Ladies to come more often, & even without being invited with full ceremony, as was the previous norm…'.

Titon recalls the Mass celebrated at Bologna in 1515 with the combined chapels of François I and Pope Leo X, and thinks that this king 'had a Maître de Musique named Jossien des Prez, who had such a great reputation, that his Motets & his works were in

demand as far away as in Rome, where they were sung to applause'. (Josquin may have briefly served Louis XII, but not François I.) Titon adds (xxxviiii) this pathetic summary of the great age of French sacred music and chanson: 'Although very little remains of the Music of the time of François I, such as two or three airs, some Noëls, les Folies d'Espagne, &c., one must judge that the Music of that time was natural, aimable, & très-chantante'. Blind worship of one's own time – or in the case of Titon in 1743, one's own youth – could hardly be carried further.

After an excursion into poetry, Titon's history returns to music on p.xli with a desultory estimate of what court music must have been like before the reigns of Catherine de Medicis and her sons. For that period, and further up to the time of Louis XIII, he has some good source material, which he uses to fill in some of the gaps left open before the era of Louis XIV in the 1732 edition.

Music is taken up again on p.xlvii with Cardinal Mazarin's efforts on behalf of Italian opera. Page xlix mentions the 1660 Cavalli-Lully *Hercole amante* and Cambert's *Pastorale d'Issy*. After this Titon is on his home territory, and the following pages repeat and expand on what was said in 1732. Page lii lists some of the keyboard luminaries without adding anything new, except for the dubious statement that

> *since the beginning of the 18th century we have had Organists & Maîtres de Clavessin who have raised their art higher than that of their predecessors; and one can say that the two greatest Organists who have existed until the present, & and who have long been the admiration of Paris, are Louis Marchand, formerly Organist of the Royal Chapel & of the Church of the Grands Cordeliers [Franciscans], who died in the month of February 1732. & François Couperin, nephew of the celebrated Louis Couperin, alive today, formerly Organist of the Royal Chapel & of the Church of Saint Gervais.*

This appeared in 1743. Once again: was Titon unaware of Couperin's death in 1733, or is this just an example of a major delay between composition and publication?

Louis Couperin is mentioned twice on this page, his younger brother Charles not at all. This is part of the pattern which has contributed to the obscurity of François' (ii) father, who, as I have attempted to show elsewhere, was in fact the composer of most of the harpsichord music attributed to Louis. If François le Grand was indeed Titon's source, Charles' son might well have preferred emphasize his gratitude toward the elder of his uncles for having brought the family to Paris than to sing the praises of his own father.

Titon's *Remarques* conclude (p.liii) at a lamentable level of tunnel vision:

> Enfin *one can say that beautiful Music was unknown in France until the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV, but that since then Music has been so perfected in France, & and that the number of good Musicians is so great, that the French are far superior to all other Nations as far as the perfection of this Art is concerned, & even to Italy, which nevertheless merits the honour of being regarded as the first source of good music, which has since spread over the different countries of Europe.*

He then cites the royal chapel, the Concert Spirituel and the Opera as the most perfect Concerts in the world, 'even according to foreigners'.

lxv/lxxiv: This is the section containing congratulatory letters and poetry. Titon prints a long Latin poem from a Jesuit along with an Imitation – a semi-translation – and commentary; they mention Delalande, Marais, Jacquet de la Guerre (not by name in the Latin version, only a chaste *fœmina*), Destouches and, towards the end, the ineluctable Lully.

lxxxvi: Among the indexes and lists with which Titon concludes the 1743 Supplement we find the 'Names of some Ladies who have excelled in the Art of singing, & and in that of playing the Claveçin [sic]', all culled from previous articles: Mlles. Hilaire, le Froid, de Saint Christophe, Rochois, Certin and Guyot, and Mmes. Penon and de la Plante.

xcii: A short list preceding the final index for the Supplement gives the names of 'several of our Musicians whom one may also place in the avenues & in the countryside which surround Parnassus. One will find Collections of their Music at Ballard, the King's sole Printer of Music'. Their names, a hodgepodge of old and new, obscure and famous, are given as Delpher, Cosset, Sicard, Cambert, Cambefort, Moulinié, Molliere, Mignon, Le Camus, Boësset, Richard, Bacilly, Lalo, Du Buisson, Metru, Senaillé, Petoüille and Gaumay. 'The last three have been dead since 1730'.

* * *

At the end of his life Titon commissioned the sculptor Augustin Pajou to make three final statuettes for his bronze model, which had acquired various extensions and additions over the years. One of them was of a laurel-crowned Voltaire, who was still very much alive. The two men had reconciled after Voltaire accepted Titon's suggestion, made through an intermediary, that he take on the guardianship of Marie-Françoise Corneille, whom he eventually adopted. Titon did not live to see the statues finished. Pajou added a fourth at the request of Titon's nephew and heir – one of Titon himself, who had at various times hinted that he deserved a place on his monument. And indeed, he had achieved considerable fame through vigorous self-promotion, long after he had given up hope of seeing the big monument realized. By sending copies of his books and medallions to princes and academies, and by offering explanations of his maquette to his many house guests, he received return gifts, memberships, appreciative poems and the all-important favorable press notices. His obituaries were fulsome in their praise. By the beginning of the19th century he was forgotten. An excellent monograph by Prof Judith Colton of Yale University finally appeared in 1976, to which I am indebted for most of the biographical information found here. This distinguished Emerita informed me in an email that she is a great lover of the Couperins.

Honesty compels me to say that, viewed through the lens of his magnum opus, Évrard Titon du Tillet comes off rather sadly as a fatuous, self-satisfied roué, engrossed in his past, in thrall to royalty and rank, who had an exaggerated amour-propre (he devotes two pages of *Le Parnasse* to a snub received from the Cardinal de Polignac and privately vowed revenge on Voltaire for an insultingly ironic letter) and a very limited view of the world and of music history. Taken as a whole, his book is not so much a dazzling Parnassus as a list of personal acquaintances, a memoir of drunken feasts and a catalogue of admired females with hints of Leporello's. He leaves out too many categories of artistic genius, and there are far too many forgotten minor poets, many of whom happened to have shared Titon's table, flattered him about his own feeble attempts at verse, and are given endless amounts of space, while composers whose reputations shine to this day get short shrift.

Despite these reservations, Titon remains an indispensable treasure-trove of information about the music of the Grand Siècle and later decades.

More importantly, his pioneering work in France on behalf of men and women of letters and in music set in train a series of memorials in various media. The one which might have pleased Titon most came in 1782 at the inauguration of the theatre now known as the Odéon. A one-act play serving as a curtain-raiser to Racine and Molière, directly inspired by *Le Parnasse François*, featured actors processing and taking their places on a decor Parnassus, accompanied by 'éclatante' music.

Pierre-Louis d'Aquin de Château-Lyon, son of the composer Louis-Claude Daquin (who, unaccountably, goes unmentioned in *Le Parnasse*) and probably one of the impoverished literary men who enjoyed Titon's hospitality for years, gives this assessment of Titon in his Siècle Littéraire de Louis XV, ou Lettres sur les Hommes Celebres (1754, Seconde Partie, p.242):

> *Monsieur Titon du Tillet, so famous, and most worthy of being so because of his taste, his morals, & his zeal: this respectable citizen, this friend of the Arts, who causes Roman Urbanity to be revived in his home, has caused a medallion of the author of Electre [Crébillon] to be executed, awaiting the day when he will be able to place it at the foot of his Parnassus.*

The reference to the revival of Roman morals is possibly barbed. And D'Aquin's use of the word 'citoyen' gives me a premonitory frisson. Titon's lifestyle, as did that of his revered monarch and others of their ilk, led directly to the horrors of 1793-4 and on to the catastrophic tyranny of Napoleon. Whatever the merits of Titon as a person or as a writer, after poring over *Le Parnasse François* every day for two months, I feel I never want to read the names 'Lully' or 'Louis le Grand' again. His book now lies wrapped in Kyoto silk in my library, but eventually the day will come when I will take it off the shelf and inspect it with revived interest in and respect for its author and his acribic corrections.

Glen Wilson taught until his retirement at the Würzburg Musikhochschule; born in the USA in 1952 and a Dutch citizen since 1988, he looks back on a long and distinguished career as an early keyboard specialist, writer and editor, and was recently limited to the last two occupations by a mild stroke.

Notes

[1] See Glen Wilson, 'The Other Mr. Couperin', www.glenwilson.eu.

[2] Jane Clark and Derek Connon, *The Mirror of Human Life: Reflections on Francois Couperin's Pièces de Clavecin* (London, 3/2020).

[3] For a new edition, see Jon Baxendale (ed), *Louis Marchand – Pièces d'orgue et de clavecin* (Tynset, 2020).

[4] This reminded me of the time Kenneth Gilbert told me about meeting an elderly lady who said to him, 'Well, as Louis XIV said to my great-grandfather...'.

[5] See David Tunley*, The Eighteenth-Century French Cantata* (Oxford, 2/1997).

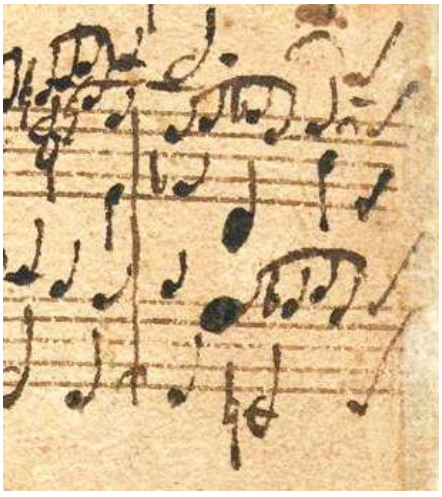
Bach – An unfinished world

Jacques Pichard

Translated by Maxime Crochemore

My new book about Bach's organ music - *Bach – An unfinished world*[1] - published in French and introduced here in an English at the request of the *NEMA Newsletter*'s Editor, is structured in five chapters, to respect the rules of rhetoric; it offers multiple reflections and suggests original avenues of interpretation with substantiated reasons, argued from both hymnological and Biblical aspects, either on the ordering of certain organ cycles not seeming satisfactory in current editions, or as to Bach's uncompleted desire to organize all of his work for the organ. I also develop avenues of interpretation for certain fundamental works of the *Cantor* about which he himself never left an explanation or noted a *raison d'être*.

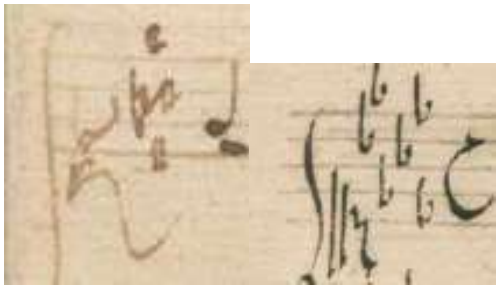
The first chapter constitutes an inventory of Bach's incomplete or unfinished organ pieces, outlining all of the problems that are to be explored. The second chapter begins with the analysis of a work left incomplete by Bach, the Fantasia and Fugue in C minor BWV562 – which I have composed a completion for – and of two essential cycles (the *Orgelbüchlein* and so-called 'Leipzig chorale fantasias') for which I propose a new arrangement motivated by Biblical and historical aspects. This clarifies a large number of points that might have seemed taken for granted: for example, the idea that the fugue of BWV562 is actually an unfinished work, which is certainly false: the 'directs' appearing at the end of first page (illus.1) assuring us that a continuation once existed, composed by Bach and found on one or two other pages which have now disappeared.



Illus.1 Johann Sebastian Bach, Fugue in C minor BWV562, last bar

I then analyze certain elements of Bach's manuscripts, and in particular the different formats of the C clefs, which can constitute, just as much as other data, criteria for dating manuscripts or copies of these pieces - particularly in the case of the chorale preludes of the *Orgelbüchlein* (see illus.2), as well as the Leipzig chorales manuscript, involving very different research. Such differences in 'spelling' clearly imply that Bach worked on his collection at very different periods of his life, which corroborates both the incomplete

composition of the prelude of the Passion chorale *O Traurigkeit, O Herzeleid* and, on the other hand, suggests the last addition in this collection is *Helft mir Gottes Güte preisen* BWV613.



Illus.2 Two very different formats of C clefs within the Orgelbüchlein: *'Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier' BWV633 (p.61, second system, bar 1) and O Traurigkeit, O Herzeleid (unfinished, p.33*).

As research progressed, it turned out that the manuscript of the *Orgelbüchlein*, which we have the immense privilege of enjoying today as one of the most marvellous testimonies of Bach's creative vitality, also turns out to be the subject of multiple questions, about a work with a practical purpose for a young musician who wished to create his own repertoire for worship? A pedagogical purpose has been claimed for the six *Sonates en trio* - at the end of the book I show that this theory cannot in itself be sufficient. This 'Little Organ Book', which I call rather the project of a *Grosses Orgelbuch*, seems to me to be the result rather of several revisions over the decades, of changes of course on the part of a composer whose mind is evolving and who realizes, on the one hand, that his initial project was ambitious; and on the other hand, that a better way - because it is more 'structured' - can be envisaged: it is for this reason that Bach did not write the title page until later.

In the following chapter a identical perspective is offered on the major work for the organ of the *Cantor*: the Passacaglia in C minor BWV582, conferring on it a unique and central role within the Western corpus of works for this instrument. Contrary to previous observations – some of them affirmed since Forkel's 1802 Bach biography as intangible truths – this new perspective is essentially based on the book which was for Bach the daily reference, serving as a starting point for any composition for the organ: the Bible, the Old and New Testaments united. We know that Bach had acquired in 1733, and frequently used the three large volumes of the Bible in German with commentary by the theologian Kalau, to compose many of his cantatas, thus proving that he left nothing to chance and especially not the relation that his music had to have with each of the texts illustrated:

> *The exceptional work of text-music relationship which he operated with incessant energy for his cantatas, Bach evidently carried out with the same acuity and the same awareness of its necessity for works intended for the organ: what if, like specified by Gilbert Dahan using in his article a strong and obvious image,* 'In Bach … each cantata constitutes a spiritual 'route', which itself is exegesis, from the initial chorus to the final chorale',[2] *it does not present to mind any argument that would make us claim the contrary about the organ* (p.226).
>
> *The reason is simple that we, organists, keep rehearsing in our parishes without managing to convince the majority: the organ is not an instrument 'like the others', no! because he is the only one whose largest part of his repertoire is based on the Word of God or the writings of the greatest actors in religion, Catholic and Reformed. His music cannot be considered as a decoration*

of the liturgies, it is, like the sermon, better than a simple illustration, more than an evocation: a commentary on the texts.

The approach of the so-called 'Leipzig Chorales' manuscript, although essentially written it seems at Weimar, but subject to multiple revisions, is different: it is a question here of establishing once and for all where collection begin and end, with regard to the three pieces which are not in Bach's hand. There is also a question, but in another way more modeled on the logic of internal organization than on a strictly Biblical aspect, of explaining why, in all likelihood, these works, which are also a key component of our organ repertoire, never existed other than in their manuscript form, and in this incoherent order.[3] However, the completion of this cycle with the chorale fantasia *Komm, Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist* could well indicate to us that this collection would be on the part of Bach a resumption of the concept of his *Orgelbüchlein*, containing more ambitious works (chorale fantasies instead of brief chorale preludes more suitable for use in worship), destined for an edition that never saw the light of day; I am able to further explain the probable reasons for this state of affairs.

At the centre of the book I carry out similar work on Bach's Passacaglia, offering a new and surprising interpretation. I have elsewhere argued that I refuse to believe that 'a project as ambitious as the Orgelbüchlein remained until July 28, 1750 in this state of general semi-draft',[4] and offer here, by a comparison of the Passacaglia with the very structure of the Bible, an interpretation refuting previous assertions such as that of French musicologist Gilles Cantagrel, that we have nothing more to offer to explain the raison d'être of this masterpiece: 'We of course wondered when Bach could have written this score, and for what, and for whom. No answer could be given. All the hypotheses have been put forward, from the early work … to high maturity speculation'.[5] By this demonstration, we also note that the *Orgelbüchlein* was perhaps, 'in spite of itself', in any case in one of the (at least three) stages of its long and chaotic development, the model that Bach followed to conceive this Passacaglia, which alone demonstrates both his musical science, his unsurpassable genius but above all his unfailing attachment to the Bible, from which he drew inspiration all his life. That the same was certainly true for the Leipzig chorale fantasies.

However, why such a work as the Passacaglia - especially if Bach had conceived it as being central pillar of his organ works - was never published during his lifetime remains a problem. In chapter 4 I develop a proposal for the organization of the major part of the Bach's organ corpus, following to the same approach I took for the work of Buxtehude in a previous book,[6] inviting us to consider a general *Clavierübung* in five parts (always with reference to the rhetorical organization of the discourse) which includes certain organ pieces that have curiously remained in manuscript form: the Passacaglia therefore, but also the Canonic Variations (in five parts, the last itself composed in five parts) BWV769, a work of high scientific speculation conceived as such by Bach, and the six Organ Trio Sonatas BWV525-530. The results are quite striking, once again responding to many questions that remained unanswered, whether of the title page of the final published part of his unnumbered *Clavierübung* (when it was indeed the fourth of the overall project), or of the 'non-edition' of the seventeen choral fantasies elaborated in Weimar, yet subsequently revised and corrected without any reason for this effort being explained.

In this chapter too, the analysis of certain segments of the Bible and their comparison with *Clavierübung III* suggests a much more logical reorganization of this very important cycle. This finally allows us to consider the four *Duetti* as something other than a

'strangeness' present in this collection for no apparent reason, and to give them a function that no musicologist has previously proposed. It also places one of the most strongly symbolic pieces of the Passion of Christ at the center of *Clavierübung III*; the Passion is obviously the very center of a Lutheran's faith, and as Dieterich Buxtehude had done by centring all his organ works around the Praeludium in F sharp minor BuxWV146, in an obvious relationship with his seven 'cantatas' of *Membra Jesu nostri*, Bach affirms his faith here.

Likewise, continuing this search for meaning, and because I consider it impossible that Bach wrote for the organ without referring in one way or another to Biblical texts or their commentaries, notably those of the Reformers, in the last chapter I look at the the genesis of Bach's most intimate organ music, six *Sonates en trio* to offer an interpretation closely linked to the melodies of Lutheran hymns often practiced by Bach, and to the Bible, in particular the Psalms of the Old Testament, the most musical of its books.

I note the presence of eighteen Protestant hymns and ten psalms in the Organ Trio Sonatas, not just relating a few melodic elements to well-known Lutheran songs, but showing the inter-relationship of each of the three sonata movements, as well as with certain verses of corresponding psalms that the poets whom Luther commended were able to paraphrase, from the earliest days of the Reformation.[7] Here is just one example: the third and final movement of the second Sonata BWV526, whose contrapuntal entries for the two upper voices develop into a fugato, certainly follows very closely the famous melody created by Hans Leo Hassler (1564-1612), which enjoyed great success (ex.1).

Ex.1 Opening of hymn by Hans Leo Hassler

This melodic theme is often linked, in the minds of organists and music lovers, to only the most famous canticle of the five whose text has been grafted on: *Herzlich tut mich verlangen*, a song 'on death' by Christoph Knoll (1563-1621). However, it is sung with at least four other texts, including the Passion canticle *Ach, Herr, mich armen Sünder* certainly, but especially that much less known Christmas anthem *Ihr Christen auserkoren, freut euch von Herzen sehr* by Georg Werner (1589-1643). I show that it is the fourth verse of the hymn that Bach sets here, in the logical continuation of the first two movements of the *Sonata* and their relationship to other Lutheran poetic productions for worship.

The book marks an important step in understanding the intentions of the composer Bach, who was keen on Biblical texts; many questions can be asked, but out of prudence and humility never answered them at all costs. Rather, I propose other paths and open other windows onto Bach 'landscape', so vast but also so mysterious – the composer having left no written record of the contents of his works: and this leaves to the imagination the right to salutary speculation. It is to be hoped the reader will emerge enriched and eager to go even further, if possible.

Jacques Pichard is Organist of Nanterre Cathedral in France, and is a teacher, composer and musicologist. He performs in France, Canada and Europe, has made several CDs, and has published major books on Buxtehude and Bach.

Notes

[1] Jacques Pichard, *Bach – Un monde inachevé* (2021), available from Librairie Monnier https://www.librairiemonnier.com, or direct from the author via jacques.pichard59@orange.fr for 27 euros plus postage.

[2] Essay by Gilbert Dahan in *Johann Sebastian Bach, Lecteur de l'Écriture, Cahier Évangile*, No.161, (September 2012), pp.77-78.

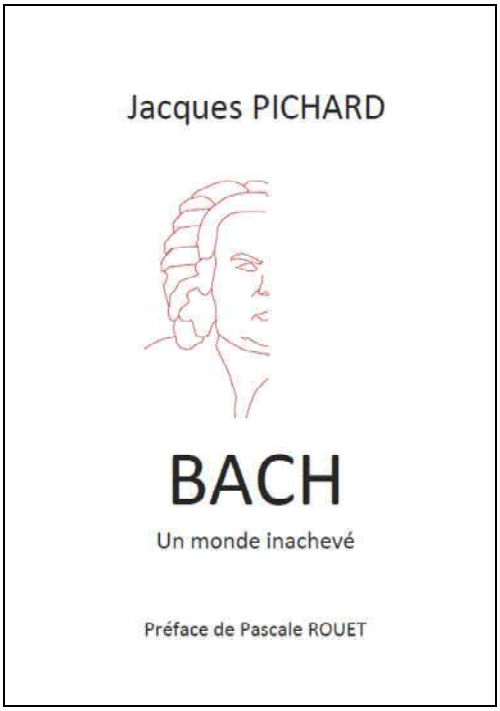
[3] In Chapter 4 there is a proposal for the reorganization of *Clavierübung III*, also quite conceivable since it concerns a work that Bach intended for publication, unlike the 17 Leipzig chorale fantasias.

[4] In the French-language journal *Orgues Nouvelles*, No.55 (December 2021).

[5] In Gilles Cantagrel, *Guide de la musique d'orgue* (Paris, 2012), p.75.

[6] Jacques Pichard, *Dieterich Buxtehude ou la vision de l'Esprit* (2019).

[7] See on this subject the letter addressed by Martin Luther in 1523 to Georg Burckhardt (called Spalatin), confessor and adviser to Jean le Constant, Prince of Wittenberg, in which he tells him 'to look everywhere for poets; and as you have the gift of handling the German language with elegance and that you are very practiced in this matter, I would ask you to collaborate with us and to try to transpose a psalm in such a way that it can be sung'; quoted by Pichard (2021), pp.167-168.



Johann Gottfried Wilhelm Palschau: reconstructing the composer's biography

Askold V. Smirnov

The name of Johann Gottfried Wilhelm Palschau (illus.1), widely known in St Petersburg at the turn of the 18th-19th centuries as a composer, keyboard virtuoso, teacher and musical entrepreneur,[1] is now familiar only to a narrow circle of professionals. Despite the fact that his music has been revived[2] in recent years, there are still blank spots in Palschau's biography. Our task is to fill in some gaps in the life of Palschau as well as to illuminate in more detail his concert life and work as a composer.

Illus.1 Silhouette image of J. G. W. Palschau by F. W. Sideau (1780s).

Johann Gottfried Wilhelm Palschau (or Gotfred Vilhelm Palschau) was born on 21 December 1741 in the family of the musician Peter Jacob Palschau (c.1708-1793), who moved to Copenhagen around 1747 from the Duchy of Holstein, part of which was ruled by the King of Denmark. The surname Palschau comes from the name of the Pomeranian village of the same name, located at the beginning of the 18th century in the territory of German lands (it is now the Polish village of Palczewo on the Vistula, 27km southeast of Gdansk).

In the Danish capital, Peter Jakob joined the Hofvioloner Court Orchestra (now the Royal Danish Orchestra) as a violinist and violist, but for many years he did not receive a salary, formally remaining on probation. His wife Urselina Lanau died soon after, and he had to raise five children on his own. The situation changed only in 1761 when, five years after submitting a personal petition to King Frederick V, Palschau Senior finally received a paid position in the orchestra. In this document, he noted that he needed money primarily for the development of the musical career of his son, gifted with an outstanding talent.[3]

Indeed, at this time, Johann Gottfried Palschau toured a lot and successfully: he visited London in 1754, Hamburg in 1756 and 1761, and Lubeck in 1757 and 1762. His audience in London included Georg Friedrich Handel[4] and Charles Burney, who later, in the third volume of his *History of Music* recalls the 'eight-year-old keyboardist Palscha (sic)', handling 'frighteningly complex passages'.[5] In 1761 one of the Hamburg newspapers presented him to the public as a 'great virtuoso'.[6] By this time Palschau was already an author of two keyboard sonatas: they were published in *Oevres Melées*, where Palschau is referred to as 'Signor Giovanni Godefredo Palschau, Virtuoso di Cembalo in Copenhagen', along with the sonatas of such famous composers as Georg Anton Benda, Johann Ernst Bach, Leopold Mozart, Johann Ernst Eberlin and Christoph Schaffrath.[7]

Other children of Peter Jakob also possessed musical talent: for example, in 1766, his two daughters performed solo vocal parts in the Funeral Music composed by Johann Adolph Scheibe on the death of King Frederick V.

In the Autumn of 1768, the following announcement was published in the Copenhagen newspaper *Adresseavisen*:

> *It is hereby announced that on Wednesday the 21st of September, at the concert hall of the Musical Society in Raadhusstræde, a concert will be played by the young Palschau, who after nine years of travel abroad will be honoured to entertain the public. The music to be performed consists of two harpsichord concertos, two soprano arias, one duet and several other good things. The tickets cost 4 Danish Marks and can be obtained every forenoon and afternoon from him at his lodgings on Østergade next to His Excellency Count Ahlefelt.*[8]

At the end of 1768 or at the beginning of 1769, Palshau went to Riga (at that time a city within the Russian Empire), where he improved in playing and composing music with the famous composer, organist of the Church of St Peter, one of the last students of J. S. Bach, Johann Gottfried Müthel. Charles Burney wrote about the art of Müthel as a celebrated keyboard player:

> *When a student upon keyed instruments has vanquished all the difficulties to be found in the lessons of Handel, Scarlatti, Schobert, Eckard, and C.P.E. Bach; and, like Alexander, laments that nothing more remains to conquer, I would recommend to him, as an exercise for patience and perserverence, the compositions of Müthel; which are so full of novelty, taste, grace, and contrivance, hat I should not hesitate to rank them among the greatest productions of the present age.*[9]

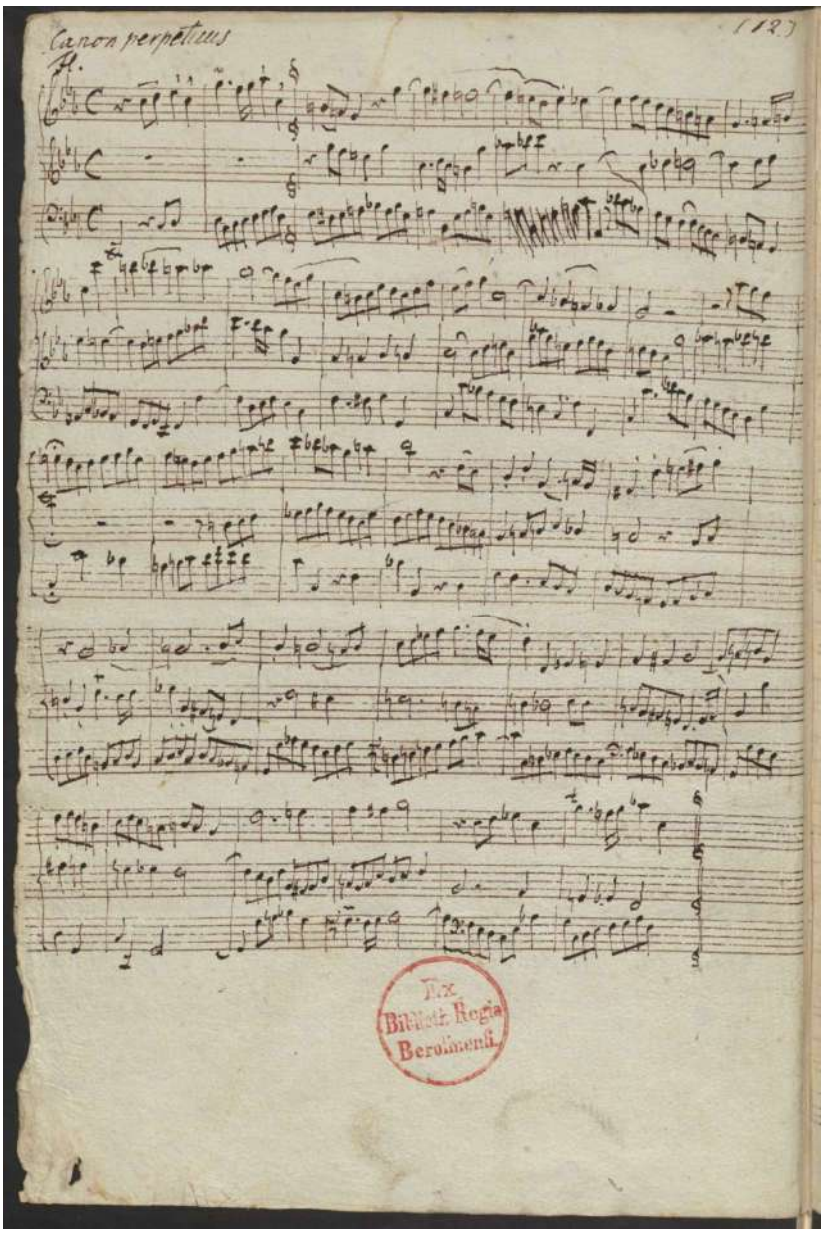
In the two keyboard concertos of Palschau, written a few years later, we find a clear influence of Müthel.

We do not know exactly how Müthel's classes with Palschau took place. But it can be assumed that one of the educational tasks was copying the works of the great masters, a widespread practice of that time. Among them could be the works of Georg Philipp Telemann, Johann Adolph Hasse, C. P. E. Bach, with whom Müthel personally met and highly appreciated and, of course, J. S. Bach. Manuscripts of the following Bach works, written by Palschau's hand, have survived to our time and are now kept in the State Library of Berlin:

1. Toccata and Fugue in D minor, BWV538 (D-B Mus. Ms. Bach P 275)

2. Fragments from *Musical Offering*, BWV1079/3, 4h (D-B Mus. Ms. Bach P 239) (illus.2)

3. Concerto for three harpsichords in D minor, BWV1063 (D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 242)



Illus.2 J. S. Bach, Canon perpetuus a3, BWV1079/4h. Manuscript copy by Palschau (D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 239. S. 76).

Palschau was one of the last composers to be brought up in the traditions of the Bach school. 'The second Bach', writes Jacob Stäehlin (1709-1785) about him in his *Memoirs of Music in Russia*:

> *This summer [in 1771] a completely blind harpsichord player came here [to St Petersburg] … a Hanoverian with letters of recommendation to the various merchants here. He performed for them from time to time and once received a common gift of several hundred rubles. In his playing, they*

all the more admire the special speed and accuracy, as he plays only by ear, but he is so deeply engaged in the playing and with his power of imagination goes so far that he can play even the most difficult plays rather correctly, if he listened to them once or twice. The great harpsichordist and second Bach, Herr Balschau (sic!), despite his usually so gross jealousy of all performers on the harpsichord, could not deny witnessing the most skillful and extremely potent player on the harpsichord. He himself once played to this blind virtuoso one of Bach's most difficult concertos. The blind man admired it and asked Mr. Balshau to play again. Then he sat down at the harpsichord and played it to the admiration of everyone and even Balshaw (sic!), as if he saw the notes in front of him.[10]

Even in the later composed keyboard variations on themes of Russian songs (by no means intended for virtuosos), one cannot but notice the composer's predilection for a rich polyphonic texture, while the national specificity of the original source clearly recedes into the background. The archives of Palschau, acquired after his death by the renowned collector of musical manuscripts Georg Johann Daniel Pölchau (1773-1836), also contained early versions of J.S. Bach's Sonatas and Partitas for Solo Violin BWV1001-1006 (DB Mus. Ms. Bach P 267), written in an unidentified hand.

For a number of years, Müthel held the position of Kapellmeister for the Russian grandee, Baron Otto Hermann (Ivan Fyodorovich) Vietinghoff-Scheel (1722-1792) in Riga. Obviously, it was Müthel who advised Palschau to try and go to St Petersburg to seek his fortune. Thanks to the same *Memoirs* by Stäehlin we can clarify the time of Palschau's first visit to Russia (Autumn 1769), and also learn about the circumstances that contributed to his final move to St Petersburg in 1770.

This autumn a particularly strong master on the harpsichord, Mr. Balshau, a Danish born, came from Berlin [Stäehlin was wrong, Palschau was actually living in Riga] to Petersburg, and he performed here in various noble houses, exciting surprise by his skill. Count Grigory Grigorievich Orlov really wanted to hear him play the organ and appointed him an afternoon in the large Lutheran church of St. Peter. He played the local organ for more than an hour, and aroused the admiration of the most noble persons of the Court, as well as many other experts who gathered in this church, all the more that few organists of his skill have been heard so far in St. Petersburg. His playing, both on the harpsichord and on the organ, is quite in the taste of the former famous chapel master in Leipzig, Herr Sebastian Bach, whose sons later in Dresden, Leipzig and Hamburg challenged their father's glory in this beautiful art. His speed and accuracy in the performance of the most complex pieces on the harpsichord, which old Bach had previously recorded in notes, should in any case be all the more admired, since at the same time he is able to show the most beautiful techniques and fancies in the purest and newest taste, mainly in adagio. He received significant gifts from various noble gentlemen for his maintenance and, among others, 100 rubles from Count Orlov. After his stay there for several months, he again left Petersburg for Riga, where many wealthy music lovers were glad to see him. In the spring of 1770, he returned to Petersburg again, where several noble gentlemen, namely, Field Marshal Count Alexei Grigorievich Razumovsky, his brother former hetman, Count Zakhar Grigorievich Chernyshev, Privy Councilor and Senator Teplov, etc, collected him an annual pension of several hundred rubles and provided him with board and lodging in their houses. He gave lessons to the daughters of the latter several times a week, whom Manfredini had previously taught, and the former already play all complex pieces on the harpsichord in order to lead them from the miraculous in music to the musical solidity of the general bass itself.[11]

In 1777, with the assistance of Prince Grigory Alexandrovich Potemkin (1739-1791), Palshau entered into court service with an annual salary of 1,000 rubles, 'to play in private

concerts with Her Majesty on Wednesdays'.[12] At these private concerts (which often accompanied card games), those present could enjoy not only the sounds of the harpsichord, but also the then-gaining popularity *fortepiano organisé*.[13] Palschau was later to show interest in this instrument in 1793, apparently wishing to impress the imagination of Muscovites, he announced his own concert on an 'organized piano' with three thousand 'big flutes',[14] which was to end with a lottery. It seems unlikely that a concert on such a fantastic instrument could have taken place in reality: most likely, the announcement was inspired by the adventurous nature of the musician. At the same time, the huge number of pipes in Palschau's announcement suggests that he apparently heard about the invention of a new type of portable organ, the *orchestrion*, created in 1790 for Georg Joseph Vogler and containing about 900 pipes. Palschau could have met Vogler in 1788, during the latter's tour of St Petersburg.

Palschau was in demand at the Imperial court primarily as a virtuoso keyboard player. Having quickly settled in a foreign country, he managed to firmly integrate into the musical life of St Petersburg and Moscow. The poet Ivan Khemnitser (1745-1784), delighted with his playing, dedicated two epigrams to him in German.[15]

> ***Sinngedicht auf Palschau***
>
> *Ein Gott der Tonkunst Palschau spielt*
> *Und alles hört und alles fühlt.*
>
> ***Auf eben denselben***
>
> *Der Kenner Ohren, die der Tonkunst Macht empfinden,*
> *Die Gabe seltner Himmelsgunst,*
> *Worin nur wenige ein glücklich Erbteil finden,*
> *Entzückt des Meisters seltne Kunst.*
> *Doch Menschen, die sonst gar nichts fühlen,*
> *Sind ganz Gefühl, wenn Palschau spielt.*
> *Und dies ist wahre Kunst im Spielen,*
> *Daß jeder hört und jeder fühlt.*

Information about Palschau's concert activity in Russia has been reconstructed, first of all, based on a careful study of the announcements concerning the events of musical life in the newspaper *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti*, as well as its German-language version, the newspaper *SPb. Zeitung*. In the Spring of 1777, Palschau took part in a series of concerts organized by the famous violin virtuoso Felice Sartori.[16] In September of the same year, he twice performed in concerts of virtuoso bassoonist J.-E. Poulleau with the singer of the Italian Court Opera Company Francesco Porri.[17]

In 1778 Palschau became a member of the newly formed musical club *Neuen Musicalischen Gesellschaft* and played an important role in it. Jacob Stäehlin described this club as follows:

> *From the beginning of 1779 the new club was located in the house of Count Buturlin on the Moika [now Moika River Embankment, 54]. The club, run by a steward who was dismissed from the old Music Club, attracted various good musicians and many members from the old club who followed in his wake. Among others is also Mr. Balshau, who has become the permanent music director at this new club. Music was performed only one day a week, namely Mondays. In addition, each member could bring a lady. Without music, the club is freely visited daily. No one*

having a rank higher than brigadier is accepted as member. At the same time, a very skillful violinist with taste Monsieur Rabet came here from Berlin and, at Balschau's request, was given a position in the Music Club.[18]

In the same year, 1779, the Czech composer and harpsichordist Ernest Vanzhura (1750-1802) arrived in St Petersburg. He soon became one of the few worthy rivals of Palschau in playing the harpsichord:

Very soon he [Vanzhura] became famous and popular here for his unusual skill playing the harpsichord. He plays not only everything from sight accurately and delicately, but also his tasteful fantasies and various very difficult concerts of his own composition, among which is one that he wrote for his own special fingering system and, surprisingly, performed with specially played passages at the octave. Balshau, who heard him play, tried to play it as well, but had to admit that he couldn't have done it if he hadn't got a few days to rehearse.[19]

One of the largest events in St Petersburg in 1779 was a cycle of Lenten concerts by the French violinist and composer Louis Henri Paisible (1748-1782) with the participation of the best musicians of the capital, where the sacred works of prominent composers (including Carl Heinrich Graun, Hasse and Niccolò Jommelli) were played and Palshau performed keyboard concertos (obviously of his own composition). Here is one of the announcements about these concerts, published in *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti* on 26 February 1779:

Mr. Paisible informs the benevolent public through this that on next Tuesday, February 26th, in the house of his Excellency Count Stroganov, he will perform a Rogation Singing (Te Deum), the compositions of Mr. Graun [C. H. Graun], the glorious Prussian Kapellmeister, with choirs much more populous than those that were in the last Oratorio. Then they will play concerts of Mr. Balchau on the harpsichord, and Mr. Paisible will perform his own composition on the violin. Singers de Foa, Pontlaville and Fleury will sing at the above-mentioned rogation.[20]

Palschau also gave concerts on 19 December 1795 in the Lyon hall, on 7 and 12 September and in St Petersburg (apparently also in the Lyon hall) on 23 September 1798 and 29 January 1800 (together with the singer G. X. Wunder).[21]

Palschau was not a prolific composer. Apparently, intense concert activity and teaching took up most of his time, and individual compositions that existed in the form of manuscripts may have been completely lost. The corpus of musical works published during Palschau's lifetime known to us includes only instrumental music:

Two keyboard sonatas

Published in part 6 of the collection *Oevres Melées contenant VI. Sonates pour le clavessin d'autant de plus celebres compositeurs, rangés en ordre alphabetique* (Sonatas… Composta dal Signor Giovanni Godefredo Palschau, Virtuoso di Cembalo in Copenhagen) (Nuremberg, 1762), pl.CV, CVII.

Two concertos for keyboard and strings

Concerto I/II Per il Cembalo Concertato accompagnato da Due Violini, Violetta e Basso (Riga: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1771).

Russian song [Как у нашего широкого двора] with variations for two cellos

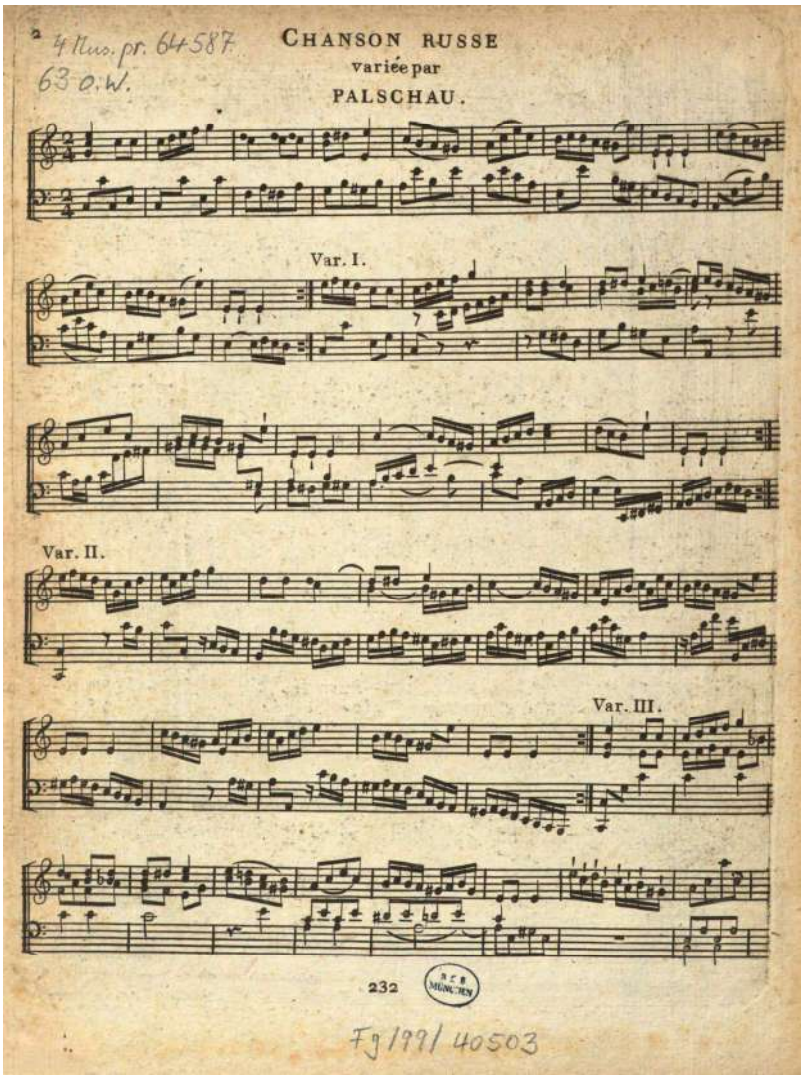
Chançon Russe avec variation duo violoncello obligato. Dèdiè a Son altesse Royale Monseigneur le Prince Roiale de Prusse par son très humble et très … obèiant Serviteur Palschau [1776]. The composition is dedicated to Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm II (1744-1797).

Russian song [Ой гай, гай зелененький] with variations for keyboard

Chanson russe, varie par Palschau: Pour le clavesin ou pianoforte. St. Petersbourg: chez J.D. Gerstenberg et Comp.., [c.1795]. Part of the series *Suite des airs russes variès pour le Clavecin ou Pianoforte par divers Auters* (liv. 8).

Russian song [Как у нашего широкого двора] with variations for keyboard

Chanson russe, variée par Guillaume Palschau: Por le clavesin. Oeuv. 1 (Gotha & St. Petersbourg: chez Gerstenberg & Dittmar, [1795]). Part of the series *Suite des airs russes variès pour le Clavecin ou Pianoforte par divers Aut*ers (liv. 9). (illus.3)



Illus.3 Chanson russe *[Как у нашего широкого двора*], variée par Guillaume Palschau: Por le clavesin, Oeuv. 1. *Gotha & St. Petersbourg: chez Gerstenberg & Dittmar [1795].*

Aria with variations for for keyboard for four hands

Air varié à quatre mains pour le clavecin ou piano-forte. Op.1 (Petersburg: chez Gebrüder et Sprewitz, 1796).

Russian song [*Белолица, круглолица*] with variations for keyboard

Chanson russe, varies par Palschau (St. Petersbourg: chez J.D. Gerstenberg et Comp. [c.1800]). Part of the series *Suite des airs russes variès pour le Clavecin ou Pianoforte par divers Auters* (liv. 19).

Favorite Minuet with variations for keyboard

Menuet favori [d] varié pour le fortepiano (Moskau: Chez Kaestner et Comp., c.1800).

Eight variations on a French aria theme «Ah! Vousdirai-je Maman» for keyboard

Huit variations sur l'air français (Ah! Vousdirai-je Maman) pour le piano-forte. Another title: *Aria Francois avec Variations par Mr. Palchau* (Petersburg, chez Brieffs grande Morskoy maison. Б. г.).

To these compositions, a few more that have not survived can be added which are known from various sources. These includes a Cantata for the consecration of the Lutheran Church of St Catherine on Vasilievsky Island (illus.4) on 26 January 1771, and adaptations of three chorales, also written specially for this event: *Herr Gott, dich loben wir* for organ, choir, trumpets and timpani; *Allein Gott in der Höh 'sei Her'* and one more (unknown to us) chorale on words by G. J. Zollikofer[22] for organ and choir; this list is supplemented by the Concerto for *fortepiano organisé* and orchestra, performed in public on 19 December 1795.

Here is how Jacob Staehlin described the first performance of the cantata:

> *On January 26, 1771, he [Palschau.] performed at the consecration of a new stone Lutheran church on Vasilievsky Island before and after the sermon a cantata composed by him on the words of the German pastor Herr Groth[23] and several chorales wholly permeated with the taste of Bach and about which the opinion of experts said that it is not easy to hear such a beautiful church music. The vocal parts in this music were occupied entirely by the singers of the Russian Court Capella, who were hired for money (5 rubles each) and who had the German text written for them in Russian letters under the score.*[24]

Illus.4 Lutheran Church of St Catherine on Vasilievsky Island, St Petersburg, 1768-1771.

The Church of St Catherine has survived to this day. Today it is an Evangelical Lutheran church with a functioning parish (Bolshoy Prospekt Vasilievsky Island, 1a). In the 1790s Johann Palschau lived, according to *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti*, No.80 (1796), 'in his own house, no.190, at Winter's, in the 4th line' of Vasilievsky Island – in the immediate vicinity of the church, where he may have served as an organist.

As noted above, Palschau also taught the keyboard and had worthy students. Thus, in a letter from Prince P. D. Tsitsianov to V. N. Zinoviev dated 24 July 1786, a certain 'mademoiselle Mariche'[25] is mentioned, a clavichord performer and music teacher, 'renowned and the first here', who 'studied under Pamsho (sic)'.[26] From the announcement in the newspaper *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti* dated 31 January 1780 we learn that Palshau acted as an intermediary in the distribution in Russia of musical editions of famous European composers, including Georg Benda.[27]

Johann Gottfried Wilhelm Palschau died in St Petersburg in early July 1815. Unfortunately, the place of his burial is unknown.

The work and heritage of Palschau today needs more detailed and interested study. His wonderful keyboard concertos and variations on themes of Russian songs, created at an early stage in the formation of Russian piano music, secured Palschau a place of honor among the galaxy of foreign composers who stood at the origins of professional composing in Russia.

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Askold Vladislavovich Smirnov is a lecturer in the Peoples' Friendship University of Russia, Moscow. He is a member of the Association of Forensic Medical Experts and a full member of the Moscow Scientific Society of Medical Historians. He has published about a hundred research articles and books on history of medicine, museology and musical iconography, including Dmitry Bortniansky in Fine Art: An Album of Iconographic Sources *(2014) and* The Easel of Euterpe: Collected Articles on Musical Iconography *(2/2020).*

Notes

[1] 'Palschau', in A. L. Porfir'eva (ed), *Musical Petersburg. Encyclopedic Dictionary*, vol.I, XVIIIth century. Book 2 (K-P) (St Petersburg, 2000), pp.334-336.

[2] See *J. G. W. Palschau, J. A. P. Schulz. Concertos and Solo Works for Harpsichord*, DACAPO 8.226040 (2007).

[3] K. Ketting, 'J. G. W. Palschau: Harpsichord Concertos', liner notes to CD recording cited in n.2. p.4.

[4] *Dansk biografisk lexikon, tillage omfattende Norge for tidsrummet 1537-1814*, Bd.12 (Copenhagen, 1898), p.524.

[5] E. L. Gerber, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler: welches Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Werken musikalischer Schriftsteller, berühmter Komponisten, Sänger, Meister auf Instrumenten, kunstvoller Dilettanten, Musikverleger, auch Orgel- und Instrumentenmacher, älterer und neuerer Zeit, ausallen Nationen enthält*, Bd.3 (K-R) (Leipzig, 1813), p.648. In fact, in 1754 Palschau was already in his thirteenth year.

[6] R.-A. Mooser, *Annales de la musique et des musiciens en Russie au XVIIIme siécle*, Tome 2: L'époque glorieuse de Catherine II (Geneva, 1951), p.278.

[7] *Oevres Melées contenant VI. Sonates pour le clavessin d'autant de plus celebres compositeurs, rangés en ordre alphabetique* ('Sonatas… Composta dal Signor Giovanni Godefredo Palschau, Virtuoso di Cembalo in Copenhagen') (Nuremberg, 1762), Pls. CV, CVII.

[8] Ketting (2007), p.5.

[9] Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, vol.2 (London, 2/1775), p.330.

[10] J. Stäehlin, ed K. V. Malinovsky, *Memoires of Music in Russia.* Notes and Letters of Jakob Stäehlin, 3 vols. (St Petersburg, 2015), iii, p.325.

[11] Stäehlin (2015), pp.323-324.

[12] Stäehlin (2015), p.324.

[13] See Laurence Libin, 'Johann Gabrahn's Organized Piano in Context', in John Ogasapian et al. (eds), *Litterae Organi: Essays in Honor of Barbara Owen* (Pennsylvania, 2005), pp.73-95.

[14] *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti*, No.20 (16 March 1793), p.315.

[15] Ivan I. Khemnitser, *Complete Poems* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1963), pp.241-242.

[16] V. V. Koshelev and A. L. Porfir'eva (eds), *Musical Petersburg, Encyclopedic Dictionary*, vol.1, book 7: XVIIIth century. Musical instruments in newspapers *Санкт-Петербургские ведомости* and *Sankt-Petersburgische Zeitung* (St Petersburg, 2004), pp.206-207.

[17] Koshelev and Porfir'eva (2004), pp.215-216.

[18] Stäehlin (2015), pp.353-354.

[19] Stäehlin (2015), p.336.

[20] Koshelev and Porfir'eva (2004), p.224.

[21] Koshelev and Porfir'eva (2004), p.336.

[22] Georg Joachim Zollikofer (1730-1788) was a Swiss-German theologian and religious poet who published several collections of sermons and hymns.

[23] Efim Christianovich Groth (Joachim Christian Groth, 1733-1800) was a Russian Lutheran priest of German origin; the founder of the family, which gave Russia a number of notable figures, including Academician J. K. Grot (1812-1893).

[24] Stäehlin (2015), p.324.

[25] Perhaps the daughter of Jan Antonin Mareš (1719-1794), a Czech virtuoso French horn player, conductor, music teacher and founder of the Russian horn orchestra.

[26] *Letters of count P. D. Tsitsianov to V. N. Zinov'ev*, with Preface and notes by N. P. Barytnikov, Russkiy arkhiv [Russian archive], no.11 (1872), cols.2144-2145.

[27] Koshelev and Porfir'eva (2004), p.278.

The Clavichord in Sweden and the Swedish Clavichord

Eva Helenius

Sweden has a rich clavichord tradition which can be followed directly from written sources from the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. At the end of the Thirty Years War, Sweden had become a Great Power and re-entered a European cultural intellectual community that slowly, as the 16th century passed away, had been broken at the Reformation by joining the Protestant Lutheran Church and thereby closing the monastery schools. Sweden then needed a background to its new political position so created a glorious antiquity, from which - according to great all-rounder Olof Rudbeck Senior, professor, doctor, botanist, natural historian, mathematician, inventor, linguist, composer and so on - the world had originated. The State administration was re-organized and new authorities were created, among them the National Heritage Board (founded in 1630), which created new professional branches, especially among civil servants. In contrast to the Middle Ages, when the clavichord was connected to the Roman Catholic church and found in monasteries and with priests, music-making now spread to other groups of society outside the religious sphere and noblemen.

From the middle of the 17th century written sources with information on instruments owned by common people are preserved to a greater extent than was the case in earlier periods. The reorganization of the state administration required more civil servants with university education who had adopted the new ideals of 'the literate citizen', for whom music, literature and fine arts were part of the necessary skills. Thereby a demand for musical instruments arose, creating a market as prerequisite for native instrument builders to make their living. Estate inventories form a source group which allows a social study of musical instrument owners. This reveals the fact that instruments and books with written or printed music are found mainly in three social layers – civil servants, merchants and manufacturers, together with craftsmen – and that ownership of musical instruments and music books follow the literacy borders of society. The most popular instruments crossing social borders were clavichords, violins and flutes (meaning recorders). There are differences within these social groups, so that harpsichords and clavichords, lutes, violins and German flutes are found with noblemen, higher ranked civil servants and artisan masters, while lower ranked civil servants, journeymen and workers often had instruments they easily could carry with them, such as small clavichords, violins and flutes. These social groups form the same pattern through the 18th century to the beginning of the 19th century although, in a growing population, they increased in number.

The two traditions – a general survey

At the very beginning of the 17th century, German organ builders came to Sweden to build up a Lutheran organ tradition; this was a second wave of organ building, since at that time the old Medieval wind-chest construction was musically and technically outmoded.[1] Organ builders also made harpsichords and clavichords and brought this art into Sweden. Building keyboard instruments was a kind of 'primer of organ-building school', which an apprentice should know before being taught the secrets of organ building. Journeymen were also allowed to build some clavichords for their own purse, a fact that explains why

there are so many unsigned clavichords within the organ-building tradition. Only masters were allowed to sign instruments. This connection between organ and clavichord building was to be a rule for two centuries, until around 1800.[2] The compass and keyboard of these clavichords were copied from organs, and many of them were equipped with pull-down pedals (illus.1). This close relation between organs and clavichords clearly points to the use and functions both in the organ building workshops (for learning the first steps of organ building) and by buyers, especially organists for practicing. These two instrument-making arts did not separate until the end of the 18th century, with the development of the Swedish clavichord within the Stockholm academic tradition. After that separation the organ building tradition continued for a long in the 19th century, while the academic tradition died around 1820. Thus, the history of the clavichord in Sweden can be seen in these two aspects – the organ-building tradition and the Swedish clavichord ideals which were free from organ-building methods and close to 'scientific' thinking promoted by the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences and to piano-building.[3] Naturally, transitional features can be observed, which is why it is necessary to be aware of every maker's background, where he learnt and which ideas of construction and sound quality he might have been met with and adopted.

Illus.1 Many clavichords built by organ builders were intended for organists to practice at home and therefore had organ features such as compass and keys, in this case, also a pull-down pedal – key bed holes shown. Clavichord by Lars Kinströ̃m (1748) (Jämtlands Läns Museum, Jamtli inv.no.17656) (photo: Eva Helenius).

Although there were organ builders working in Sweden in the 17th and early 18th centuries, very few clavichords have been preserved from that period. The reasons for this may be that we cannot estimate the production numbers; that only a few instruments have survived the hard Swedish climate; that Sweden was at war in the two first decades of the 18th century when few or no instruments were built; and that they, as outmoded, were discarded if they were not spectacularly decorated. It was not until the final peace of 1721 that the economy, culture and intellectual life, pre-industrial mills and workshops grew and churches could afford to pay organ builders again for making new organs or taking care of old ones. So, from the 1720s, the number of workshops and preserved instruments increased rapidly through the century, to reach its highest point in the last three decades, when the clavichord was challenged by the at-that-time new piano. In the 1790s, **Pehr Lindholm** developed his six-octave clavichord to meet this serious competitor. Despite the triumphal progress of the piano, clavichords were created in the organ-building tradition for a long time in the 19th century. The last dated one bears the year 1832, while the last one without a given date may be fixed in time to the 1850s.[4] The clavichord moved out from fashionable rooms to the homes of the lower social classes, and was played there until around 1870. It was not the piano that eventually killed the clavichord: it was the

harmonium, when piano players were recommended to play the harmonium to learn legato playing. When the art of playing *non legato* disappeared, the clavichord also died.

The organ building tradition – the instruments

The first preserved Swedish clavichords all have features of the North German clavichord tradition. The oldest surviving one was built in 1688 by **George Woytzig** (d.1704), born in Liegnitz, who became an important organ builder of his time. It is a small instrument of C-c^3, built in North German style, with split keys and in a richly decorated case which indicates a buyer of noble birth (SKM M 3146, illus.2).[5] The second oldest Swedish-built clavichord was made by **Elias Wittig** (d.1716), a journeyman of Woytzig, who worked in his master's workshop in the 1690s and from 1707 was a Gothenburg citizen. The Woitzig and Wittig clavichords are both small four-octave instruments (short octave) with short 8' scaling and small soundboards and soundboard grain parallel to the case. Although the Wittig clavichord is not signed, it can be attributed to his workshop through the angel's-head key-fronts, which Wittig also used on his 1707 organ for Nyed church.[6] Using a particular design of key-fronts was the normal way of signing clavichords and harpsichords built in both traditions. While organ-builders used different patterns, masters working in the Stockholm tradition often used their seals with their initials or full name.

Illus.2 The earliest preserved Swedish-built clavichord, made in Stockholm by George Woytzig in 1688: Hamburg tradition, compass C-c^3, short octave with split keys. Swedish Museum of Performing Arts M 3146 (photo: Swedish Museum of Performing Arts).

In the 1680s, an organ builder from Hamburg, **Hans Henrich Cahman** (c.1640-1699), emigrated to Sweden. The estate inventory made after his death lists tools and instruments in his workshop: one half-finished harpsichord, two harpsichord cases, one finished virginal, one small, finished clavichord, one keyboard stamp and other unfinished musical instruments. Since the list indicates a full-scale keyboard instrument maker, it is to be regretted that no instruments are preserved from his workshop. Neither his son **Johan Niclas Cahman** (1680-1737), who was the leading organ builder of his time and known as the founder of the Stockholm school, left a single instrument. Yet we can conclude from three of his journeymen how he built. **Johan Petter Roos** (d.1732) established himself in Stockholm as a keyboard instrument maker (1727), under the provision that he should not compete with Cahman by building organs. Two clavichords are preserved by him. [1] The 1726 instrument is unfretted (type I) with a chromatic compass of GG-c^3. The scaling is rather short with foreshortening below the doubling. On the soundboard,

with grain parallel to the case, there are one gently S-shaped 8' bridge and an S-shaped 4' bridge. [2] The 1731 clavichord is smaller, fretted with a compass C-d^3, short-scaled with foreshortening, an S-shaped 8' bridge on a soundboard with the grain parallel to the case.[7] The 1726 clavichord is the first known Swedish-built clavichord with a set of 4' strings, which reveals an influence from the Hamburg maker Johann Christoph Fleischer. The pattern of Roos' key-fronts shows similarities to those used by Fleischer, which may indicate a master–journeyman relation.

Daniel Stråhle (1700-1746) (illus.3), who, besides Cahman, also worked with **Christopher Polhem** (1661-1751), was a mechanic and inventor who took an interest in organ and keyboard instrument building and temperament problems. The only preserved clavichord by Stråhle was made in 1738. It is unfretted (type I) with a chromatic compass of C-d^3, foreshortening, and S-shaped 8' and 4' bridges on a richly decorated soundboard with grain parallel to the case. The original strings are lost but the thickness may be reconstructed by reading the gauge numbers between '8' in the treble and '0' in the bass.

Illus.3 Clavichord by Daniel Stråhle (1738) with all the Hamburg tradition features used by organ builders before the academic Stockholm tradition had its effect in the 1750s. Unfretted (type I), 8' and 4' string bands with foreshortening, and rich lid and soundboard decoration (SKM N145 765) (photo: Swedish Museum of Performing Arts).

A third journeyman, **Olof Hedlund** (d.1749) has left a clavichord unfretted (type I) with a compass C-g^3 and similar features to the instruments by Roos and Stråhle. These clavichords have one feature in common that is much discussed in the organological literature relating to the origin of 'unfretted' clavichords, that is with one pair of strings for each note. In an earlier phase, the laying out of the key-levers gives the impression of fretting (type I), which may explain why the system has been difficult to observe. Silbermann seems to be the maker who invented the type II, which corresponds to half a cembal d'amour and demands a deeper case. The type II spread rapidly, considered to be the 'normal' system.

Other workers connected to the Cahman or Stockholm school have left instruments, although these builders seem to have had a small production. Among them we find

Gustaf Gabriel Woltersson, a journeyman of Stråhle, who added a pantaleon stop to a fretted clavichord, and **Jonas Gren** and **Petter Stråhle**, leading organ-builders of c.1750-1765 and protected by the Academy of Science. There are also examples of self-taught builders, among whom **Lars Kinström** (1710-1763) in Stockholm should be mentioned for his early production of pianos (pantaleons, cembals) together with clavichords, cembals d'amour, harpsichords and some organs. His clavichords are rather small, with the usual organ compass of C-d^3 and with or without a pull-down pedal, and not always of the best craftsmanship. Thus, seen as a whole, the Stockholm clavichord-building tradition connected to organ building gives a varied picture of features, although the North German tradition is clear.

Parallel to the Stockholm school there were organ builders in Linköping who, as was the rule, included the clavichord in their production. The founder of this Ostrogothic tradition, **Jonas Wistenius** (1700-1777) had been given special privileges for building keyboard instruments by piecework (1741). This implied a new workshop working order. Previously, the instruments were made - from case to tuning - in their entirety by just one worker. With this new method, the different parts of an instrument were built separately, which demanded workers specialized in certain aspects. Thus, new professions were created within the workshop, such as case-makers and workers specializing in actions and assembly. It also called for the necessity of numbering the instruments and the parts belonging to it, both for the putting together of the right parts and for paying workers for their work done under contract. The piecework technique rendered production more effective. Fitting pre-industrial methods, it rapidly spread to most of the Stockholm clavichord and other instrument workshops. Where the makers' labels have both the production number and the building year it is possible to calculate the yearly production extent.

Unfortunately, there are no clavichords preserved by Jonas Wistenius. Yet his journeyman **Pehr Schiörlin** (1736-1815) has left clavichords built in his organ workshop. As might be expected, there were masters who had learnt within the organ building tradition and had their eyes on what happened under the protection of the Academy of Science in Stockholm. The Linköping masters usually adopted the diagonally-grained soundboard but did not always understand the scaling. Schiörlin may be counted among these kinds of builders. His clavichords are rather small, fretted with the organ compass C-f^3 and sometimes with a pull-down pedal. But he also knew how to build Stockholm clavichords, since a clavichord by him with all features of this tradition is found in the Vårdsberg manor attic, where it probably had moved from the parlour in the 1850s as a result of changes in fashion. Schiörlin's pupil **Lorentz Petter Lorin** (1757-1827) shows a production of clavichords, square pianos and organochords, of which nothing has survived.

The builder of the latest dated clavichord in Sweden bears the number 30 and the year 1832: **Adam Bergstedt** (1766-1846) lived in Björkö in Småland and may be connected to organ-building, since his clavichord has a pull-down pedal. In all respects, the instrument gives the impression that its builder intended to make an instrument in the Stockholm tradition but was too far away from the sources of knowledge.[8]

The Stockholm school and the Swedish clavichord

In 1739, the Royal Academy of Sciences was founded in Stockholm. Its sphere of interest included the scientific parts of music, not the artistic ones, such as the temperament

problems of the period, the qualities of string resonance, the keyboard instrument's ability to stay in tune and aspects of wood durability, all reflected in the Transactions of the academy. Thus the vicar and mechanic **Nils Brelin** (1697-1753) published his essay *Påfund, at storligen öka Claviers och Cymbalers godhet* ('Inventions greatly improving the quality of clavichords and harpsichords') in 1739. In the late 1710s, Brelin had travelled through Europe, worked in famous workshops in Germany and visited Naples. In this essay he shared some of the experiences he made. He describes Silbermann's cembal d'amour and its use of resonance strings, which indicates that he had worked with Silbermann for some time in Freiberg, close to Dresden. The 'cembal d'amour principle' was used by Saxon builders for the treble, not the whole compass. The bridge should be high and thin. The string band should not be bent but go straight over the instrument. There should be an ivory nut on the bridge for every string to minimalize the contact surface. This is a Neapolitan feature, with the purpose of making the strings start vibrating more easily. The soundboard grain should go diagonally to the case, not parallel to it as was common, to make it stronger and avoid cracks caused by shrinking and swelling between the grain, following the shifting seasons.[9]

Brelin tried to educate keyboard makers in Stockholm to build instruments according to these new principles by teaching at an instrument-making school run by the Academy of Sciences. This is clear from facts presented in connection with the 1756 application for privileges for **Johan Broman** (c.1720-1772), handed in not by Broman himself but by mathematician Jacob Faggot (1699-1777) on behalf of the Academy of Sciences. It is a key source for the understanding of the origin and the construction ideas of the Swedish clavichord, and is therefore worth a close reading. According to the minutes of the National Board of Trade, the authority which dealt with this application, the Academy had tried to improve the manufacturing of musical instruments, especially clavichords and harpsichords, which were built here 'to a number large enough and often splendidly made, although they all have the faults and imperfections attached to the instruments made abroad which are only copied by our instrument makers'. The Academy had tried to correct this imperfection by its Transactions and by personal teaching. But while native instrument makers had no intention to be anything else than a copyist, the Academy had not been able to achieve anything. At last, it had met with a skilled and well-renowned person called Johan Broman, who had learnt and made such instruments in the usual way (with Anton Perichon) and, unaware of anything better, intended to stick to the old usage until he was taught the scientific criteria for a perfect making of such instruments, after which he immediately began building 'a harpsichord according to the same criteria and will build a clavichord, which *instruments are correctly made prototypes never before built here or abroad*' (my italics). The harpsichord was finished and gave obvious proof of 'what the art could achieve when accompanied by science'. When working with them, Broman had shown both craft skill and aptitude for learning the foundations of science, and was the only person whom the Academy could enable to carry on this craft. From him the community could 'expect such clavichords and harpsichords that, not concerning prize and costs but *sound and durability*, by far pass them built both here and abroad' (my italics).

In his speech in commemoration of Jacob Faggot, mathematician and astronomer Henrik Nicander mentioned Faggot's keyboard scaling calculations more precisely in words of esteem:[10]

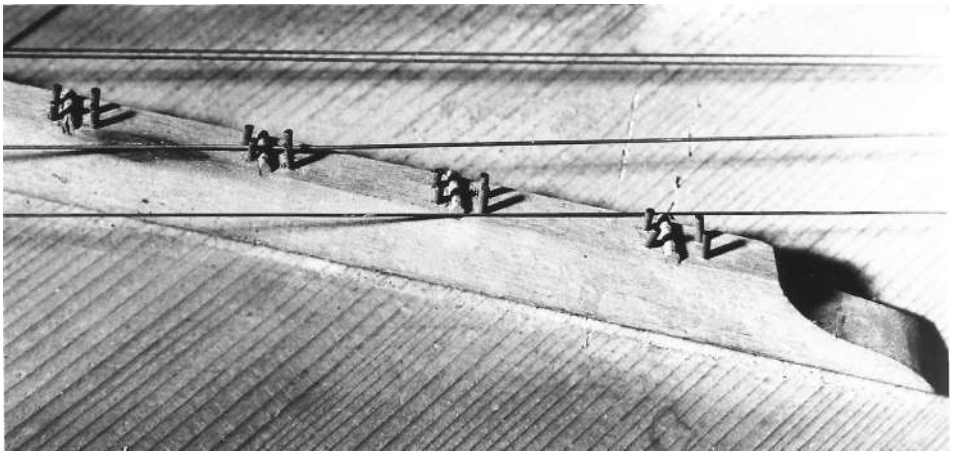
> *Further, he had projected how harpsichords may be constructed with strings of one and the same number or thinness and their length suiting its corresponding tone; thus, having the same tension when tuned, it equally changed by coldness and warmth and in consequence equally retained the*

tuning. To realize his thought, he gave a scale calculated according to the length of the strings to the keyboard instrument maker Broman who, in consequence of it makes a harpsichord, unusual regarding strength and quality; but some errors had slipped into the scaling, and the experiment was never repeated.

With the equal-tension principle so praised in the 18th century and the above features in mind as described above, both these prototype instruments by Broman can be identified. The huge harpsichord made in 1756 (SKM N 83.118) reveals a scaling with string-doubling through the whole compass (illus.4). The clavichord also made by Broman in 1756 (SKM N 54.244) (illus.5a/b) has a scaling with doubling through the compass, except for the lowest octave where the string length is divided into halves and the loss of length compensated by using open-wound strings with a core of yellow brass covered by yellow brass, while the higher part of the bass has plain yellow strings and the middle and the treble part of the compass plain iron strings. The shape of the bridge is straight except for the high treble strings and the deep bass, forming a long 'S', sloping backwards. To get as much sound as possible, the resonance function of the strings was intensified by the scaling, as the cembal d'amour principle was built into the construction and clearly used in the high treble. To get a light and clear sound, there were always a set of brass 4' strings in the low bass. These features must reflect what Faggot put into the concept of *sound*. Because of the long scaling the soundboard is bigger than usual, measuring half the case length. For both instrument types, the soundboard grain goes diagonally to the case, and an ivory or brass nut for every string is found on the 8' bridges. The soundboard could thus shrink and expand with the seasonal changes of temperature and humidity without cracking. Under the concept of *durability* Faggot also included the ability of staying in tune. There are examples of Lindholm clavichords that had not been tuned for decades and still retained their C major scale. Another example is the Pehr Lindholm & Söderström clavichord of 1807 (SKM N 191234) which, brought in 1932 to the Nordic Museum collections, was still in playing condition when recorded in 2005.[11]

Illus.5 Johan Broman, experimental harpsichord (1756), 3.6m (nearly 12 feet) long, string lengths without foreshortening (SKM N 83.118) (photo: Swedish Museum of Performing Arts).

Illus.5a Johan Broman, clavichord prototype (1756). Unfretted, straight impact line, string bands and 8' bridge straight, 4' strings in the low bass (SKM N 57.2449) (photo: Swedish Museum of Performing Arts).



Illus.5b Close up of the high 8' bridge with the yellow brass nuts, placed upon the soundboard forming a 'cross' to the grain going diagonally to the case (photo: Eva Helenius).

Something went wrong with Broman's 1756 harpsichord scaling, and the experiment was never repeated. Most probably the strings were too long to work well musically through the whole compass. On the other hand, the clavichord design continued to develop. In his production Broman continued to go into details about the ideas of the Academy of Science. The seven clavichords by him are all unfretted (type II). All his instruments have a long scaling, with the compass growing from C-e^3 to C-f^3 to FF-f^3 and the six-octave model CC-c^4; with one exception they have a set of 4' strings. Of these the 1763 instrument (SKM X 5488) is the most spectacular with its straight line of tangents, the string band straight and the 8' bridge almost straight, a construction that comes very close to Lindholm's fully developed Swedish clavichord. In spite of Broman's efforts, he never succeeded in realizing the ideas of the Society of Sciences and in 1770 the conductor of the Royal Orchestra, Ferdinand Zellbell Jr, gave a rather harsh judgement on him, that he 'had not reached quality in sound but made the wood-work very well'.

Looking around among preserved clavichords, there is a model made by **Philipp Jacob Specken** (1680/90-1762) in Stockholm that has the features described above, except the long bass strings and the extra bridge nuts. Specken came to Stockholm in 1728, bringing the first cembal d'amour into the country, so a conclusion that he worked with Silbermann in Freiberg is reasonable. He stayed in Sweden and became a master before 1737, when he signed a harpsichord. He must have brought his master's building technique with him and built in the same way as in Freiberg. So, Silbermann's ideas arrived in two ways – through **Nils Brelin** who promoted his ideas by personal teaching and texts in the Transactions of the Academy of Science, and through Specken who just continued to build in his usual

way.[12] The latter is identified as the first builder of an *older tradition* of the academic school; and in the same way Broman is identified as the first builder of a *younger tradition* that led directly to the origin of the later Swedish clavichord. The difference between the two traditions is mainly in the scaling.

While Specken still built the pure Silbermann model with short bass strings, his journeyman **Gottlieb Rosenau** (c.1720-c.1790) made clavichords of varying compass and construction features, mixing old praxis with new ideas and making experiments with longer strings in the centre part of the compass, which gave a slightly curved 8' bridge. Being one of the rare instrument makers working in Sweden who made for export, he had his most successful time in the 1760s. From around 1770, he met with competition from his own previous journeymen. Judgements on him 1770 and 1772 give evidence that he had 'neglected the art of keyboard instrument making' and that his instruments 'were not only weak in the bass but made of such useless wood that they in short were completely out of use'. Still, at the beginning of the 1770s, 'the best clavichords in Stockholm were made by Rosenau', even if his workshop 'had degenerated in the last few years'.

The 1770s promised a new era, which saw the rise of several important clavichord workshops, the decrease and fall of the harpsichord and the importation and rise of the piano. It also saw the birth of two domestic instruments: the Swedish clavichord and the Swedish lute.[13] It was the period when the making of stringed keyboard instruments eventually, within the Stockholm school, separated from organ building. The last quarter of the 18th century was a period when culture and music was institutionalized, with the foundation of the Royal Academy of music with its music school (1771), a music library (1788), the Royal Opera (1773), the Royal Swedish Academy (1786), the Royal Dramatic theatre (1788) and a music printing office (1789).[14] Although the preserved instruments witness a clavichord culture, very little music is preserved and much must have been improvised - professional musicians improvised, while amateur musicians needed music written down. With publisher Olof Åhlström's work it is for the first time possible to see the music played on the instrument.[15]

A growing, musically-educated population formed a market for many instrument makers. The Gustavian time saw a great number of instrument makers of all kinds – clavichords, harpsichords and square pianos, organs, citterns, Swedish lutes, violins, but very few wind instruments. There was a mixture of makers stuck in an old way of thinking, those who tried the new thinking, and those who succeeded. A lot of experimenting and development took place. The small, fretted instruments disappeared, construction details were the subject of improvements and a six-octave instrument was added to the clavichord model family. Three important clavichord makers, representing different phases of development, towered above their professional colleagues.

Pehr Lundborg (1744?-1808) was a pupil of Rosenau who, in 1771, had the privileges of making harpsichords, clavichords and spinets, although harpsichords and spinets by him are only known through written sources. That he also has left one square piano, one viola and one Swedish lute shows that he belongs to an elder multi-building tradition, although clavichords dominated production. His labels luckily give both year and serial number, which allows a reconstruction of the output numbers: in good years, around 15 to 20 instruments per year. Lundborg followed the style of his time but was never leading it. He made good sounding and looking clavichords of the late type, and was in good esteem by the public.

Lundborg's pupil **Mathias Petter Kraft** (1753-1807) was one of the most gifted and skilled instrument makers Sweden ever had. Obviously, the already established makers saw a threat in him and tried to stop his application for privileges, but as purveyor to Queen Dowager Lovisa Ulrika he got them (1780). He had a large workshop for his production of square pianos, clavichords, violin-family instruments, citterns, Swedish lutes, harps and nail-violins. His extensive estate inventory contains both invoices from workers revealing the piece-work system and the use of subcontractors (iron harp actions), and lists of customers, among for whom he tuned their keyboards. Here, the birth of the tuner's profession may be imagined. An invoice of special interest incorporates 'work on a grand piano'. He also experimented with combined instruments of the period. The combination square piano and clavichord (the square-piano-clavichord), where the clavichord tangent acted as a bridge to the piano action, is probably unique. Kraft's labels give the double information on year and serial number. An overview of his production shows that clavichords were a relatively small part of it, which was dominated by far by Swedish lutes, citterns and square pianos. The few clavichords preserved from his workshop show that he had glanced furtively at Lindholm's instruments and, in general, adopted his way of building, including the six-octave clavichord.

Pehr Lindholm was a pupil of Rosenau some time before 1771. In that year Lindholm begun working with Broman, who unfortunately died on 24 February 1772. Since Broman died from a chest disease, Lindholm may have been responsible for the workshop and production during his illness. On 26 January 1773 Broman's widow affirmed that Lindholm was about to work with her for two years. Obviously, she had taken over the privileges and intended to keep the workshop with Lindholm as the foreman. Since she died on 4 July in the same year, and Lindholm thereafter, in 1774, had privileges for making clavichords and harpsichords, it is possible to look upon Lindholm as Broman's successor in the craft, who took over the workshop and the tools.[16]

Lindholm's production was concentrated on the clavichord. In adding the square piano, he followed fashion[17] and copied English instruments, of which a large quantity were imported, but ceased making this instrument type in the 1790s, whereafter he entirely devoted himself to clavichord making. From Rosenau, he took over the scaling ideas of the middle part of the compass; from Broman, he inherited the building ideas and thinking, especially obvious in the 1756 and 1763 clavichords. The oldest known six-octave model has Broman's label and would be made late, around 1770. Nothing is to be said against the idea that Lindholm was the maker behind this big model. This clavichord has long scaling, stretched in both the upper treble and low bass strings, thereby promising Lindholm's later production with plain iron in the treble and middle sections of the string band, plain yellow brass in the upper bass and open-wound yellow brass strings for the low bass. Yet, it still lacks the set of 4' plain yellow brass strings.

Lindholm is the maker who fully developed the Swedish clavichord model. He stuck to three main models which grew with time and his professional maturity:

FF-a^3 (1776-1787) - development model

FF-c^4 (1783-1811) - standard model

CC-c^4 (1794-1807) - luxury model

The sound of the fully developed Swedish clavichord model is of special character, deeper and with a tone closer to that of the piano. Therefore, it is not surprising that he also developed a 'square piano' model with foreshortening, of which few examples have survived, all from the 1790s. Maybe he designed this model as an experimental substitute for the square piano but changed his mind.

Lindholm's instruments, often called 'Stockholm clavichords', were held in high estimation and in great demand in the market. With around 50 preserved clavichords, Lindholm's production must have been of considerable size and the workshop organized efficiently with piecework and pre-industrial methods. His workers were many, among them carpentry journeymen for case making who were not allowed to work with action and stringing. There are very small differences regarding measurements within the different models, which means that measuring sticks were used, in fact close to standardization. The designs were similar, usually painted mahogany imitations, or solid mahogany used for the luxury six-octave model. The four legs of all models had a small but fastidious decoration which, as a part of the total design, served as a 'trademark' of Lindholm's workshop.

The clavichord in the 19th century

Lindholm's workers usually stayed with him for many years and he trained most of the Swedish keyboard building masters in the early 19th century. Thus, the history of the clavichord in the 19th century is to a great extent still the story of Pehr Lindholm and the pupils who carried his workshop tradition further. In the 1800s, he went into partnership with his journeyman and son-in-law **Henric Johan Söderström** (c.1775-1817), with the instruments signed 'Pehr Lindholm & Söderström' (illus.6). As seen above, he never made a point of building square pianos but concentrated his production on the Swedish clavichord model he perfected at the beginning of the new century, concentrated on the FF-c^4 and six-octave models. In 1810, there was a break between Lindholm and his partner, probably caused by different opinions which instruments the workshop should produce. After the separation, Lindholm continued building his clavichords, while Söderström adopted the square piano. Two more of Lindholm's workers, **Carl Jacob Nordquist** (1783?-after 1830) and **Eric Wessberg** (1781-1857) made the FF-c^4 and the six-octave models, where Nordquist as an adjustment to the square piano and its repertoire also used the F-orientated compass FF-f^4. Wessberg and Nordquist used Lindholm's workshop, together with another of Lindholm's journeymen. **Johan Söderberg** (1772-1820)[18] had learnt with the organ builder Jonas Ekengren before he came to Lundborg and Lindholm. In 1792, he had privileges to build 'musical instruments' in Eskilstuna, a town around 100 km west of Stockholm. There is one clavichord preserved by him from this time. It has Lundborg's key-fronts, which places him in the older tradition. Yet he returned to Stockholm and had privileges there in 1803. He was the first master in Sweden to focus on grand piano building, but he also made clavichords of the Swedish model, although very few are preserved.

One more maker should be mentioned, **George Christoffer Rackwitz** (1760-1844). He had trained in St Petersburg, where he worked with his master, the organ-builder Kirschnik, and took part in his experiments to create artificial speech. The result was the 'free reed' stop. When Abbé Vogler came to St Petersburg on one of his concert tours he visited Kirschnik and was enchanted with the new sound.[19] Rackwitz then followed Vogler on his tour through Europe, providing Vogler's concert organs with free reed stops, and followed him to Stockholm where the two arrived in 1791. Rackwitz worked for some time with Kraft before he, in 1794, had privileges to build 'organized pianos and other

string instruments', which included clavichords. His production is dominated by the square piano, although he has left a few clavichords of the Swedish model,[20] all from the 1790s.

Illus.6 Standard model FF-c⁴ by Pehr Lindholm and Söderström.

Although the production of new clavichords ceased in Stockholm in the late 1810s, clavichords were still built in the countryside by organ builders or related persons, and still played in certain social circles until around 1870. Looking backwards in the mirror of history, the two traditions represent two different worlds of thinking and making. The clavichord tradition connected to organ-building shows a mixed scene without any homogeneity. As opposed to this picture, the Stockholm academic tradition is characterized by unity around certain construction concepts, musically and practically useful ideas to create a clavichord with a full sound and the possibility of withstanding the Swedish climate, so unfriendly to musical instruments.

The Gustavian period, with its rich cultural and musical life, stands out as the height of the clavichord culture in Sweden. Although many internationally-known features meet in its construction, the intention, the aim to resist the negative effects of the hard Swedish climate, is unique. It could compete with the piano for a long time, since it had playing qualities that the piano lacked. While the greater part of clavichords built in the North German style are lost, Sweden still has a rich national clavichord heritage. Today, the Swedish clavichord has moved out from the odd places where it survived historically in attics, poultry-houses, outhouses and humid flower-stands, demonstrating that the ideas behind the construction were not wrong, and it now occupies a seat of honour in the palace of keyboard history.

Musicologist and archivist Eva Helenius wrote her 1986 thesis on Svenskt klavikordbygge 1720 to 1820*, and also works on music in Medieval Swedish church art, and the music of Johan Helmich Roman. She is the co-founder of the Klaverens Hus (http://www.klaverenshus.se) in Lövstabruk near Uppsala, a museum of keyboard instruments which are no longer made.*

Notes

[1] No new organs were built during the 16th century Reformation. Sweden had a rich medieval organ culture and the old *blockwerke* were used until they went to pieces, and these pieces, such as pipes and bellow parts, are seen in church inventories at the beginning of the 17th century. The first thing to return at the end of the 16th century were the church bells, which had been confiscated by King Gustaf I. The second thing was the organ, at the beginning of the 17th century. Yet there is information that a 'blockwerk' was being played as late as c.1660.

[2] For the connection between organ and keyboard instrument building, see Eva Helenius-Öberg, *Connections between Organ Building and Keyboard instrument Building in Sweden before 1820*, GOArt research reports, vol.1 (1999) pp.127-171.

[3] Grant O'Brien, 'The 1791 Lindholm clavichord in Stockholm', *De Clavicordio* VII (Magnano, 2006), pp.29-44 at 34.

[4] For the clavichord in the 19th century, see Eva Helenius-Öberg, 'Aspects of the Clavichord in Sweden in the Nineteenth Century', *De Clavicordio* VII (Magnano, 2005), pp.45-62, especially p.58.

[5] SKM is the Swedish Museum of Performing Arts, https://scenkonstmuseet.se.

[6] Eva Helenius-Öberg, *Svenskt klavikordbygge 1720-1820. Studier i hantverkets teori och praktik jämte instrumentens utveckling och funktion i Sverige under klassisk tid*, Musikmuseets skrifter 12 (Stockholm and Uppsala, 1986), p.99.

[7] For a catalogue of surviving instruments, see Donald H. Boalch, rev. Charles Mould, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord, 1440-1840* (Oxford, 1995).

[8] For the clavichord in 19th century Sweden, see Helenius-Öberg (2005).

[9] For the ideas behind the construction principles promoted by the Royal Academy of Science, see Eva Helenius-Öberg, 'Cembalon i Sverige samt frågan om det svenska klavikordets uppkomst', *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning*, 61 (1979), pp.13-46, especially 35-40, and Helenius-Öberg (1986), pp.21-32.

[10] Henrik Nicander, *Åminnelse-Tal, öfver Kongl. Vetenskaps-Academiens framledne ledamot, öfverdirecteuren vid Kongl. Landt-mäteriet samt Charte- och Justeringsverket, herr Jacob Faggot, hållet för Kongl. Vetenskaps-Academien, den 28 Nov. 1778* (Stockholm, 1779), p.47; Helenius-Öberg (1986), p.26.

[11] See https://clavichord.se/recordings/museum/N191234. For a complete list of recordings on original Swedish clavichords, see Francis Knights, *Clavichord Discography* (Mytholmroyd, 2020).

[12] Eva Helenius-Öberg, 'Gottfried Silbermann and the Swedish Clavichord Tradition', *De Claviordio* VIII (Magnano, 2007), pp.185-200.

[13] Eva Helenius-Öberg, 'The Swedish Clavichord and the Swedish Lute - two Nationally developed instruments with a repertoire in common', *De Clavicordio* X (Magnano, 2011), pp.95-110.

[14] For Åhlström and his music printing office, see Albert Wiberg, 'Olof Åhlströms musiktryckeri. Dess uppkomst och verksamhet under den gustavianska tiden', *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning*, 31 (1949), pp.83-136.

[15] Eva Helenius-Öberg, 'Musikaliskt Tidsfördrif as a mirror of clavichord culture in Sweden', *De Clavicordio* V (Magnano, 2001), pp.133-152.

[16] Broman's estate inventory lists one 5-octave clavichord, one old carpenter's bench, five big and small saws, four workbenches, several other tools and eight pounds of foreign woods. SSA, Estate inventory 1774/2:242.

[17] No harpsichords are known. Lindholm's key fronts are found on the 1726 H. A. Hass harpsichord at Leufsta bruk, which he obviously repaired, adding some notes in the upper treble.

[18] Eva Helenius-Öberg, 'Johan Söderberg', *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* (forthcoming 2022).

[19] Mette Müller, *Træk & Tryk & Pust & Sug. Musikhistorisk Museum* (Copenhagen, 1971-1972).

[20] Grant O'Brien, 'The clavichord by G. C. Rackwitz (Stockholm, 1796). A preliminary study with a view to possible restoration', *De Clavicordio* II (Magnano, 1995), pp.115-128.

Further Reading

Bernard Brauchli, *The Clavichord* (Cambridge, 1998).

Eva Helenius-Öberg, 'The clavichord in Sweden before 1700', *De Clavicordio* VI (Magnano, 2003), pp.93-108.

Kenneth Sparr, 'Den svenska lutan I en anonym målning från 1800-talets början', *Dokumenterat: Bulletin från Musik-och teaterbibliotek vid Statens musikverk*, 34 (2003).

Eva Helenius-Öberg, '"A sweet, delightfull sound". The cembal d'amour', *Finnish Music Quarterly*, 3 (2003), pp.13-17.

Eva Helenius-Öberg, 'The Reception of Hammer instruments into Swedish Clavichord Culture - from Clavichord to Square Piano', *De Clavicordio* IX (Magnano, 2009), pp.35-58.

HansErik Svensson, 'Clavichords and Squares from Pehr Lindholm's Workhop – A Comparison', *De Clavicordio* IX (Magnano, 2009), pp.91-100.

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Learning Improvisation from C. P. E. Bach

Mike Zachary

Contents

1. Introduction

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714-1788) was the second surviving son of J. S. Bach. In 1753, he published the first part of his book entitled *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*. This book, still readily available, is one of the most important music treatises of the 18th century,[i] and it can be used for many different purposes. Here, we will study the final chapter of this book where C. P. E. Bach explains how to improvise the *free fantasia*.

We are not here examining the entire art of 18th-century keyboard improvisation. We are specifically focusing on the very specific idea of how to improvise the free fantasia.

What you need to know before you start

This article assumes you know the basics of improvising from a figured bass, but it does not assume that you are a world-class expert in the subject. If you need to explore the rudiments of figured bass, consider studying some of these materials:

> Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel (eds), *The Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents,* revised edition (New York, 1966). On pp.389-398, there is an appendix which includes 'Some Most Necessary Rules of Thorough Bass by J. S. B.'.

Hermann Keller, trans and ed Carl Parrish, *Thoroughbass Method* (New York, 1965). This book begins with the rudiments of thoroughbass and provides exercises that gradually increase in difficulty.

To be clear, before you begin this course, you should be able to look at a figured bass like the one that appears in Fig.1 below and improvise a passage like the one that appears in Fig.2. You should be able to do this relatively quickly. If this is something that would require you to spend many hours of vexing practice and study, it would be better for you to work in some of the previously-cited books before proceeding.

Fig. 1 A Sample Figured Bass

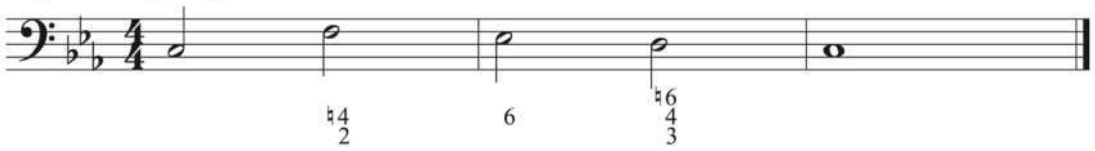
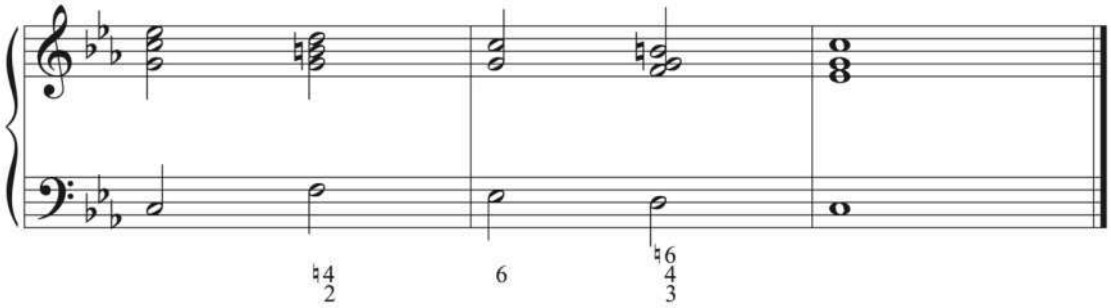


Fig. 2 A Simple Realization of a Figured Bass



2. More than one way

As soon as you hear the term *free fantasia,* you should have the idea that you are entering an area of music where a high value is placed on creativity and variety. Classically trained pianists are accustomed to following scores exactly in order to reproduce the composer's intentions as well as they can; but in the world of the free fantasia, you need to immediately recognize that there are *many* different ways of getting the job done.

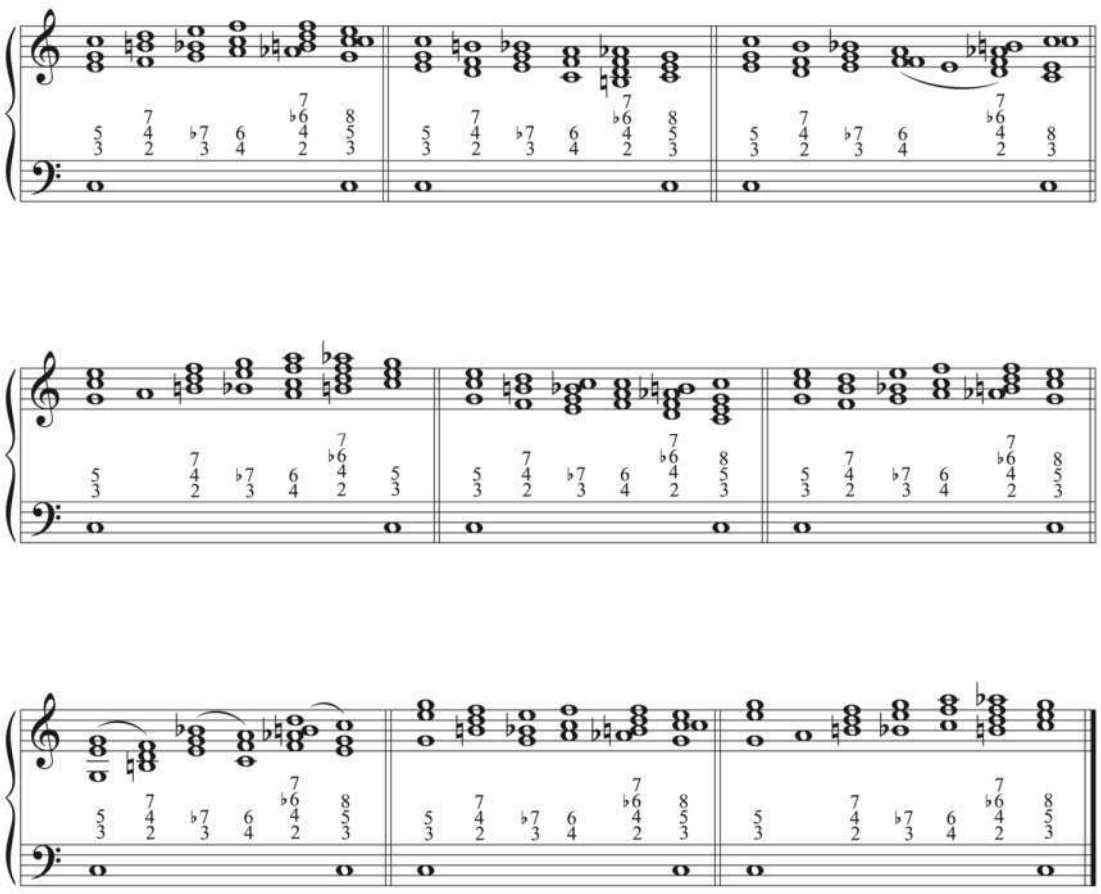
As an example, consider what *should* happen when you improvise from a figured bass. Which of the following mindsets is most appropriate for creating free fantasias?

1. If I am given a figured bass, I will carefully follow all the rules and work hard to discover the one version of the bass that is completely perfect.

2. If I am given a figured bass, I will be aware of the customary rules and create many different versions of the bass. In fact, I may create a new version each time I play it.

Obviously, the second mindset is more appropriate when you are exploring the art of improvisation, and especially when you are improvising the free fantasia. Realizing that some musicians have developed the wrong idea that there is only one way to improvise a figured bass, Matthew Brown of the Eastman School of Music took one of C. P. E. Bach's figured basses and realized it nine different ways as shown in Fig.3 below.[2]

Fig. 3: Matthew Brown, Nine Realizations of the Same Bass



The nine versions of the same bass shown above all use simple block chords. And while understanding how to improvise block chords is important, keep in mind that improvising free fantasias allows you to play chords in ways far more sophisticated than this. In the words of C. P. E. Bach, '[a]ll chords may be broken and expressed in rapid or slow figuration', and he explained other complex ideas, such as 'breaking with *acciaccature*'.[3] When you take a moment to think about what all this means, it quickly becomes evident that improvising a free fantasia takes you to a world of boundless creativity.

3. An example

We are fortunate that C. P. E. Bach wrote out several free fantasias. The short Fantasia in F Major is shown in Fig.4 below. In it, you will be able to observe some of the important features of the free fantasia. But when you are improvising free fantasias of your own, you should remember that not all of C. P. E. Bach's free fantasias were this brief.

Preliminary Observations[4]

- ***No Barlines***

  C. P. E. Bach's free fantasias have no barlines. In this respect, the notation of the free fantasia is similar to the notation of a cadenza. Several quotations from his *Essay* provide additional information about the rhythm.

  A fantasia is said to be free when it is unmeasured and moves through more keys than is customary in other pieces, which are composed or improvised in meter.[5]

  Although no bar lines are employed the ear demands a definite relationship in the succession and duration of the chords themselves…and the eye, a relationship in the lengths of the notes so that the piece may be notated. Therefore, it is usually assumed that such fantasias are in four-four meter; and the tempo is indicated by the words which are placed above the beginning.[6]

  The note values have been written as accurately as can be expected.[7]

The notation of the free fantasia is flexible, but there are still guidelines. The flexibility of the rhythm is demonstrated in the lack of barlines and in Bach's statement that the 'note values have been written as accurately as can be expected'. The specificity of the rhythm is demonstrated by the use of different kinds of notes (crotchets, quavers, semiquavers etc.) to indicate the proportional value of the notes.

Because the music is unmeasured, for convenience we will refer to the four systems (lines) of music in Fig.4 as System 1, System 2 etc.

- ***Arpeggio***

  At the very beginning of the Fantasia, the word *arpeggio* is written below the bass clef. This notation appears again in System 4. This shorthand notation indicates that each chord is to be arpeggiated two times, as shown in Fig.5.[8]

- ***Rapid Change of Dynamics***

  In System 1 of the Fantasia, the dynamic markings *p* and *f* are used frequently. Bach wrote '[t]he performer must not break his chords constantly in a single color',[9] that is, the performer should not use a single dynamic level when playing these arpeggios.

Fig. 4 Fantasia in F Major by C. P. E. Bach, Wq 112/15

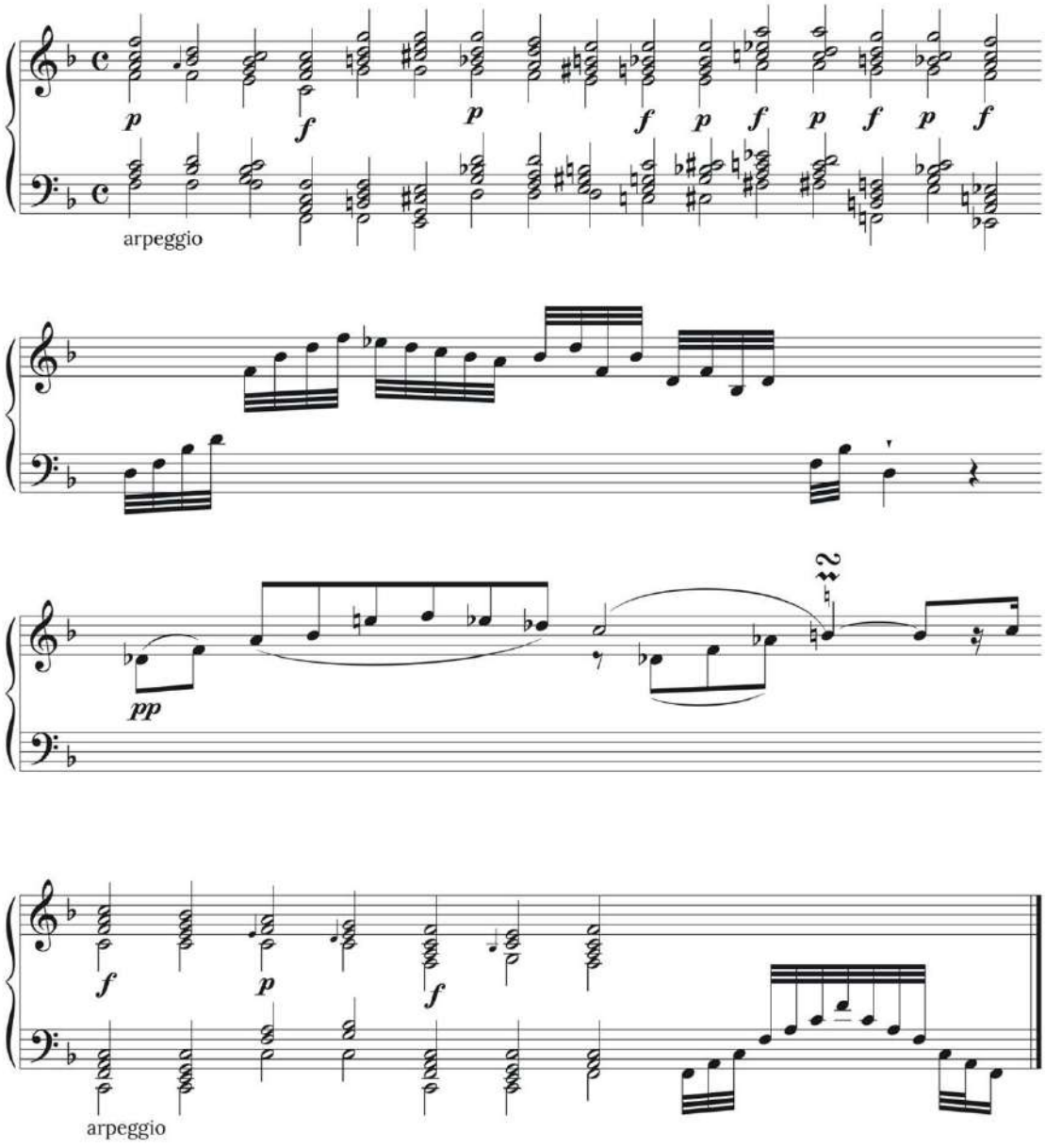
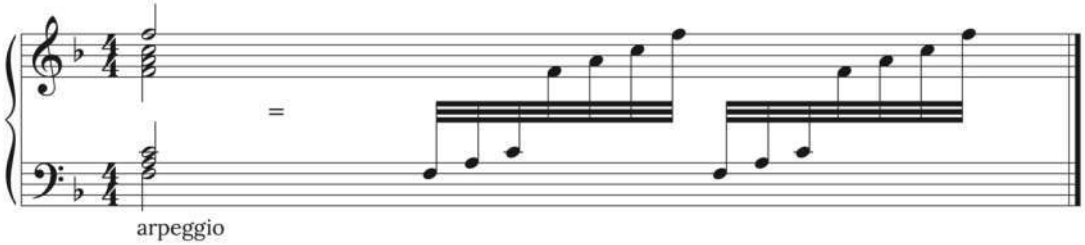


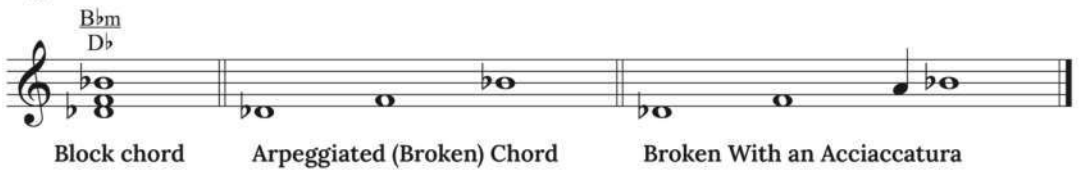
Fig. 5 C. P. E. Bach's Arpeggio Notation



- ***Using 'Wrong Notes'***

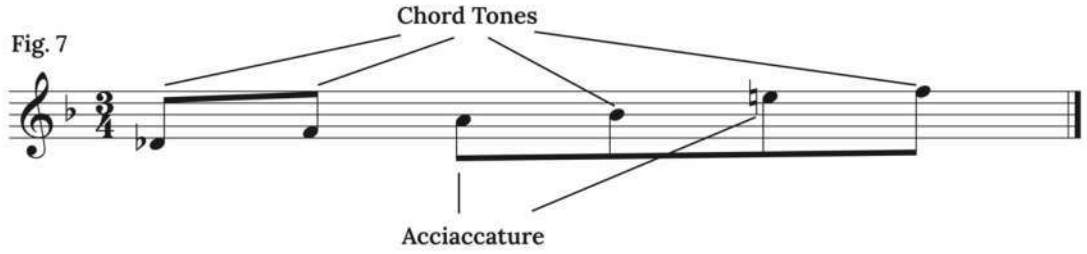
In Fig.6, a first inversion B flat minor triad is shown as a block chord, then the same chord is shown arpeggiated. Finally, the chord is shown with a 'wrong note' inserted. Here, that term means 'a note that doesn't fit into the chord; a non-chord tone'. But this is a very specific kind of 'wrong note'. In the third bar of Fig.6, the note A (shown as a crotchet) is just under the chord tone B flat. When you strike a note that is just below the chord tone that follows, C. P. E. Bach calls this an *acciaccatura* (plural, *acciaccature*).

Fig. 6



In Fig.7, a short passage from the Fantasia in F Major is shown with the chord tones and the acciaccature labeled.

Fig. 7



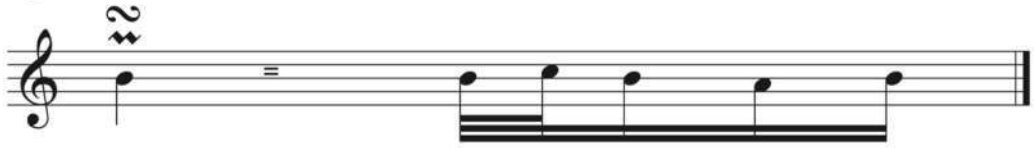
'Breaking with acciaccature' is certainly not unique to the music of C. P. E. Bach, but his explanation of it is particularly clear.

> *In the interests of elegance the major or minor second may be struck and quitted below each tone of a broken triad or a relationship based on a triad. This is called 'breaking with* acciaccature*'. These runs may pursue a direct course through one or more octaves upward and downward. But an agreeable variety arises out of repetitions and the insertion of foreign tones. Runs which contain many half steps require a moderate speed.*[10]

- ***The Turned Trill***

In the third line of Fig.4, C. P. E. Bach uses an unusual ornament. In his *Essay* he named this the *trilled turn,* and its interpretation is shown in Fig.8 below.

Fig. 8 The Trilled Turn



As you can see in Fig.8, C. P. E. Bach's trilled turn is the five-note form of the turn, but with the first two notes played more quickly.[11] Bach's fondness for this ornament is evident in his description of it.

The turn allies itself with the short trill when its first two notes are alternated with extreme rapidity by means of a snap. The effect of the combined ornaments can be most easily realized by thinking of a short trill with a suffix. This trilled turn (Der prallende Doppelschlag) *introduces a unique charm and brilliance to the keyboard.*

What is this piece about?

From these preliminary observations, it is easy to understand that the free fantasia contains several unusual features. In the world of C. P. E. Bach, the free fantasia is in the highly expressive declamatory style, a style related to the recitative of opera, a style that allows you to 'move audaciously from one affect to another….It is a distinct merit of the fantasia that…it can accomplish the aims of the recitative at the keyboard with complete, unmeasured freedom'.[12]

C. P. E. Bach's free fantasias, then, are intended to be highly expressive pieces. Learning to improvise a free fantasia brings you directly into a world of spontaneity, creativity and expressivity.

4. The Free Fantasia

It may seem somewhat self-contradictory that, while the free fantasia is indeed free, it is not completely free. Compared to typical Western European works of the mid-18th century, the free fantasia has fewer constraints, but there are still general guidelines. In C. P. E. Bach's own words,

> *A fantasia is said to be free when it is unmeasured and moves through more keys than is customary in other pieces, which are composed or improvised in meter … A free fantasia consists of varied harmonic progressions which can be expressed in all manner of figuration and motives. A key in which to begin and end must be established.*[13]

Rhythmic flexibility

For C. P. E. Bach, the free fantasia is a piece where rhythm is freer than the rhythm found in customary works.[14]

Monotonal

C. P. E. Bach thinks of a free fantasia as a piece that begins and ends in the same key; thus, the piece may be classified as 'monotonal'.[15]

More key changes than usual

While for C. P. E. Bach the free fantasia begins and ends in the same key, he believes that the free fantasia modulates to keys that are more distant than keys in traditional pieces (like sonata movements).

The model

The most basic model for C. P. E. Bach's free fantasia is shown in Fig.9 below.

C. P. E. Bach's Free fantasia		
1. Establish the home key	2. Modulate to various keys	3. Return to the home key

Fig.9 Free fantasia structure

As you will see in the following sections, C. P. E. Bach provided some very specific instructions for accomplishing these goals. But as you begin to examine the details to follow, it is important to remember how those details fit into the overall model of the free fantasia.

5. Improvising a simple fantasia

As we have seen in Fig.9, establishing the home key is the first thing you need to do when you are creating a free fantasia. In order to help you do this, C. P. E. Bach provided forty figured basses that can be used to establish the home key.[16] These figured basses are shown later.

C. P. E. Bach appears to espouse an approach to harmony that is scale based. What is a *scale-based system of harmony?*

1. You select a scale or a portion of a scale.

2. You apply figured bass symbols to the scale.[17]

3. You use this as a basis for improvising.

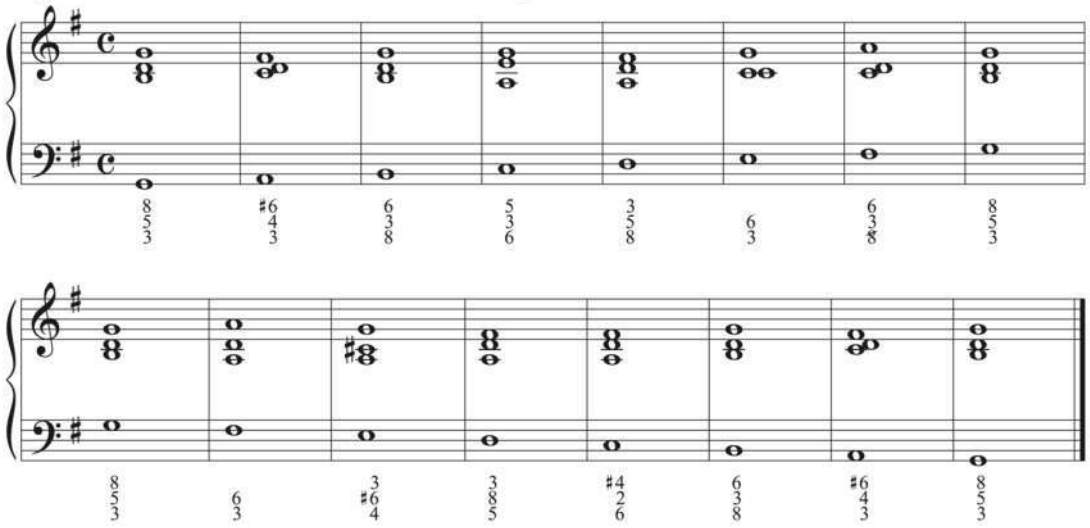
Keyboard players who have explored 18th-century improvisation have certainly encountered the pervasive 'rule of the octave' (*Regola dell' Ottava*), which was a popular scale-based system of harmony. The Italian music educator Fedele Fenaroli (1730-1818) wrote an important treatise[18] that explains the rule of the octave.[19]

As you can clearly see in Fig.10, the 'rule of the octave' uses a scale, both ascending and descending, in the left hand. The figured bass signatures indicate the chords to be played.[20] This scale-based approached is different from the way some people understand figured bass. If your exposure to figured bass has merely been answering a few random questions or working a few random worksheets, you may have missed an important aspect of figured bass.

In a scale-based approach, there is a starting note and an ending note; thus, goals are established. The scale provides *forward motion.* A scale-based approach provides a *system,* not just a few random chords.

C. P. E. Bach was familiar with the rule of the octave, and the rule of the octave is given among the forty figured basses he provided; but he also provided a very large number of basses that did *not* employ the rule of the octave.[21] When you memorize the rule of the octave and the many other basses provided by C. P. E. Bach, you are learning something that establishes the home key. For example, if you played bars 1-8 of Fig.10 above, you would have very clearly established the key of G major.

Fig. 10 Fenaroli's Rule of the Octave As Shown in Sanguinetti



Getting started

If you have never worked on something like this before, it can certainly be overwhelming to think, 'I need to learn *forty* different figured basses, and I need to be able to transpose all of them to every key'. Since there is no particular benefit to feeling overwhelmed, here is a practical plan. (When terms like *Figured Bass #1* are used below, they refer to the 40 figured basses provided at the end of this chapter.)

1. Memorize Figured Bass No.37.

   In this bass, a pedal tone (also known as an organ point) is used. This bass uses the tonic (I) of C major.

2. Memorize Figured Bass No.39.

   This bass again uses a pedal tone, this time built on the dominant (V) of C major.

3. Memorize Figured Bass No.9.

   This bass uses the descending major scale.[22]

Though we all think differently and though the free fantasia is open to endless possibilities, Fig.11 below shows one way of using Figured Basses Nos.37, 39 and 9 to plan a small piece.

Finishing touches

Here are some ideas that may add some finesse to your piece.

1. At the end of the first line of Fig.12, the final chord is a C major triad, and C, the root of the chord, is used in both the bass and the soprano. This creates a strong sense of finality. In order to create a sense of forward motion, you might want to rearrange this so that E is in the top voice as shown in Fig.13 below.

2. The first line ends with a C major triad, and the second line begins with a C major triad. Although you may do so, there is no requirement to play the chord twice. The same is true of the G major triad that ends the second line and begins the third line.

Finally, I want to underline the fact that this is *merely a suggestion for getting started*! The only purpose of this suggested plan is to give you a starting place that may prevent you from feeling overwhelmed.

Fig.12 shows this plan in musical notation.

Fig.11

One way of using C. P. E. Bach's basses to plan a simple piece	
1	C. P. E. Bach describes the keyboardist who 'fashions his bass out of the ascending and descending scale of the prescribed key…'.[23] With this in mind, I will begin to think of an *overall plan*.
2	I remember that I – V – I is one of the simplest chord progressions. However, instead of just playing the three chords of the progression, I will extend each area. In other words, I will think of an opening section as being controlled by the I chord. I will think of the following section as being controlled by the V chord. After all that, I will end on the I chord.
3	Since C. P. E. Bach himself pointed out how useful a pedal tone can be in establishing a key,[24] I will begin my piece by using a tonic (I) pedal tone.
4	After this, I will use a descending scale to create a link between the tonic (I) and the dominant (V).
5	I will use a dominant (V) pedal tone.
6	I will end the piece with a tonic (I) chord.

Fig. 12 A Possible Plan for Becoming Acquainted with C. P. E. Bach's Basses

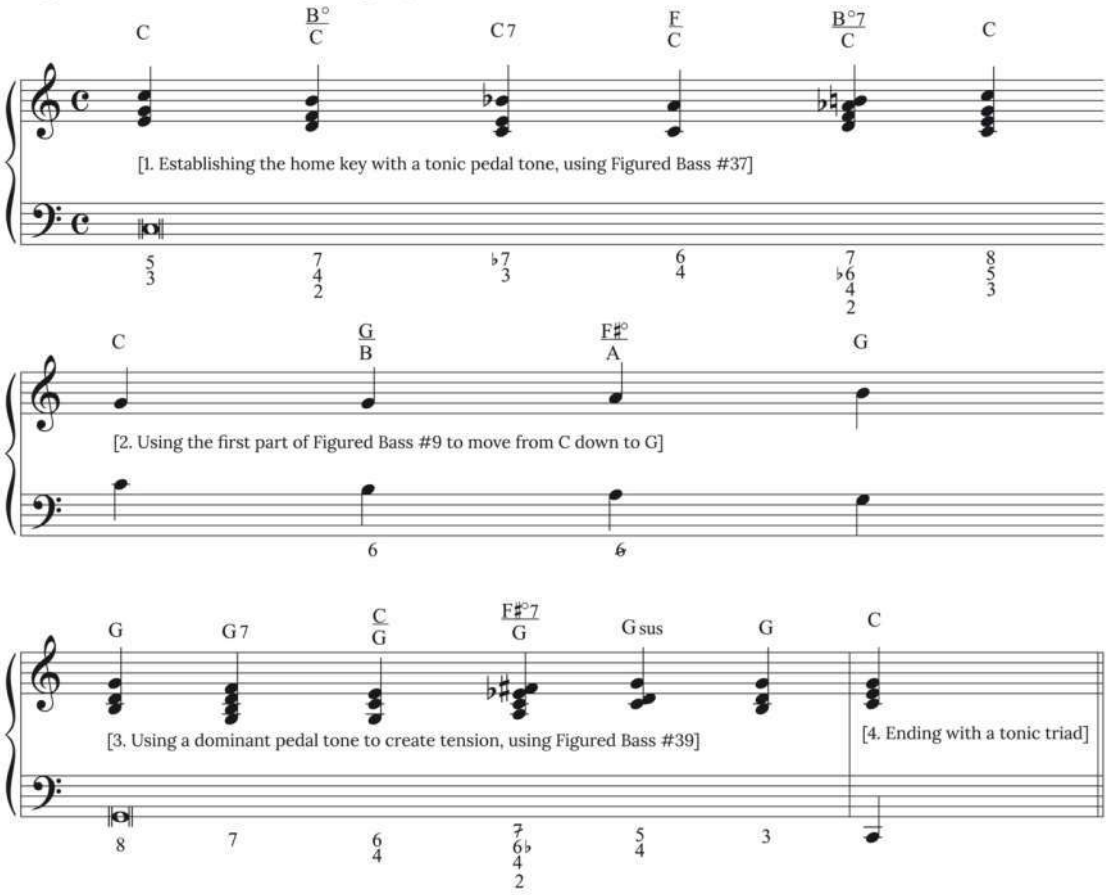
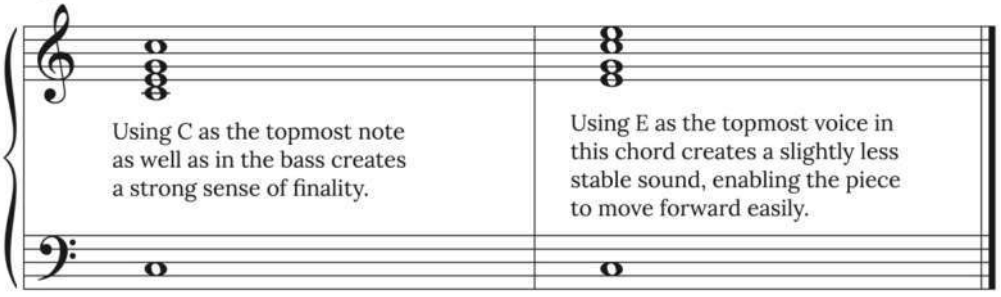


Fig. 13



Keeping track of where you are

If you have followed the plan, you have certain made a first step towards understanding the free fantasia as C. P. E. Bach conceived of it. Let's consider what you have accomplished so far, and what is still to be done later.

Evaluating step 1 of learning how to create a Free Fantasia	
What is present	*What is missing*
1. You have begun using some of C. P. E. Bach's figured basses. You are beginning to 'fashion your bass'.	1. You have not yet created a piece that modulates, especially a piece that modulates more than usual.
2. You have a plan that outlines the entire piece, as opposed to just thinking of short, random chord progressions.	2. You have not yet begun to express the chords in creative ways, such as using arpeggios etc.
3. You have a plan that begins and ends in the same key; thus, it is monotonal.	

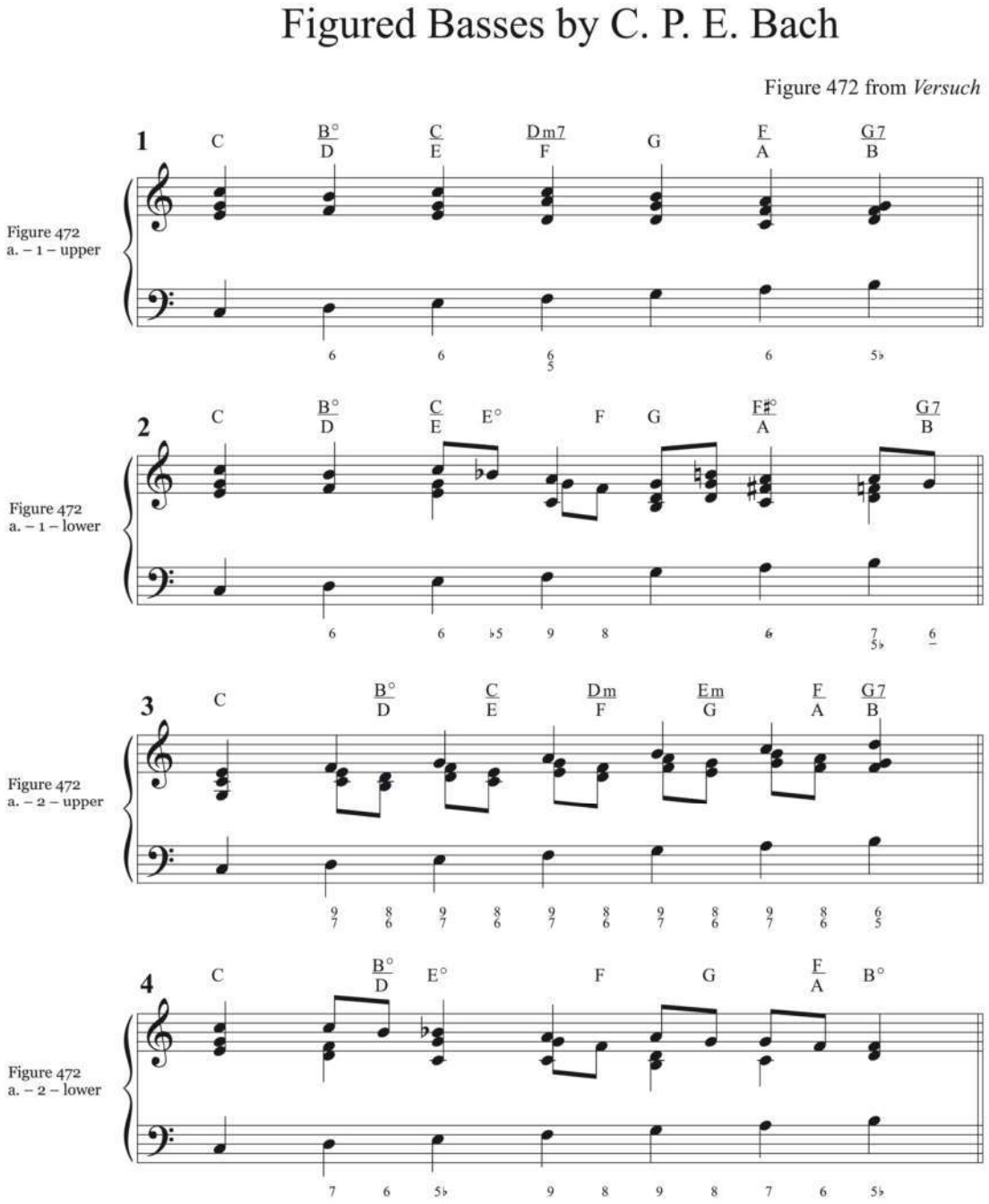
6. 68 Figured basses by C. P. E. Bach

C. P. E. Bach wrote,

> *Following are the briefest and most natural means of which a keyboardist, particularly one of limited ability, may avail himself in extemporizing. With due caution, he fashions his bass out of the ascending and descending scale of the prescribed key, which a variety of figured bass signatures [Figured Basses Nos.1–25],[25] interpolate a few half steps [Figured Basses Nos.26–33], arrange a scale in or out of its normal sequence and perform the resultant progressions in broken or sustained style at a suitable pace [Figured Basses Nos.34–36]. A tonic organ point is convenient for establishing the tonality at the beginning and end [Figured Basses Nos.37–40].*

In his *Essay,* C. P. E. Bach simply gave the bass line and the figured bass signatures. The right-hand parts shown here were realized by the author and some of his musically superior friends.[26] For your convenience, these figured basses have been realized (that is, the right-hand parts have been written out) and modern lead-sheet symbols have been added. The realizations here are taken from C. P. E. Bach's Figures 472, 474, and 475. Figure 472 demonstrates chord progressions within a key, Figure 474 demonstrates modulations to closely related keys, and Figure 475 demonstrates modulations to more distantly related keys.

I have, however, used modern chord symbols in a slightly different way. When there are extensive non-chord tones, I have used the chord label at the point of resolution instead of placing the chord symbol at the beginning of the 'chord event' that includes the non-chord tones. I have done this with the hope that (a) it will clarify where the 'true chord' is found, and (b) it will not be too confusing for keyboardists familiar with lead-sheet symbols.[27]



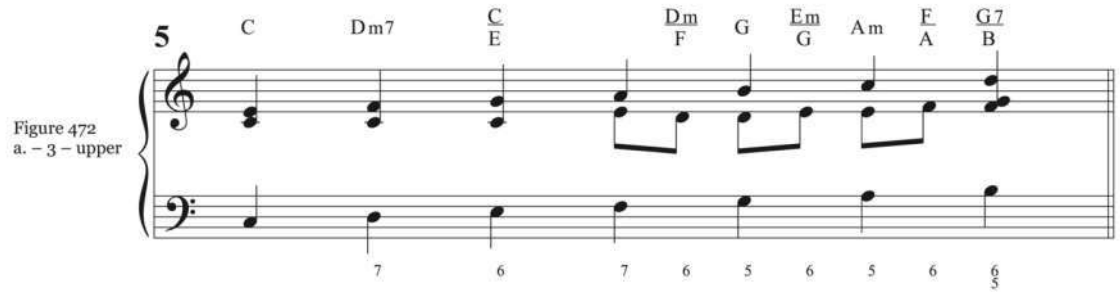


Figure 472
a. – 3 – upper

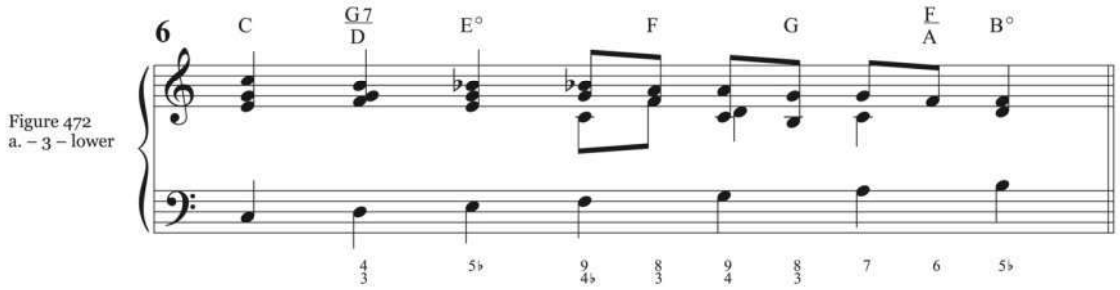


Figure 472
a. – 3 – lower

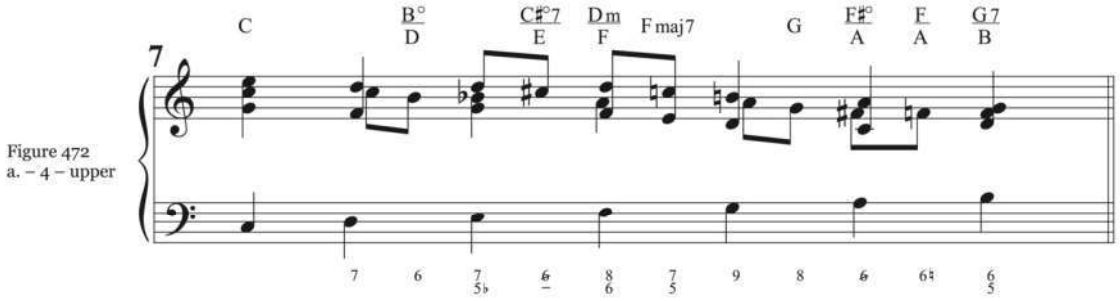


Figure 472
a. – 4 – upper

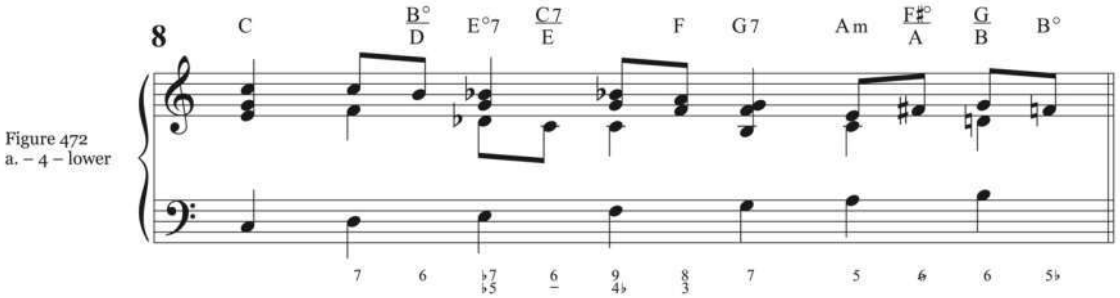


Figure 472
a. – 4 – lower

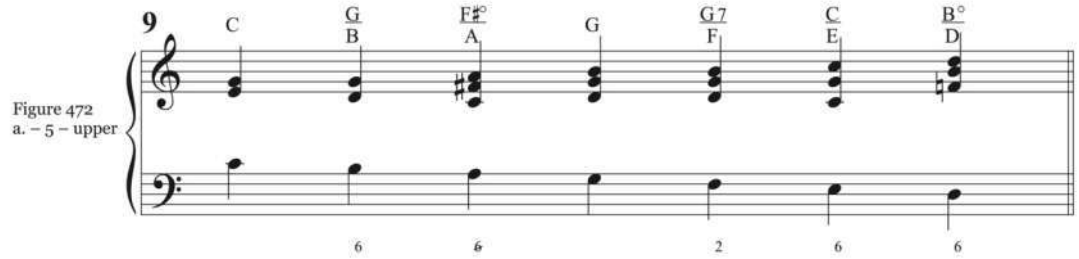


Figure 472
a. – 5 – upper

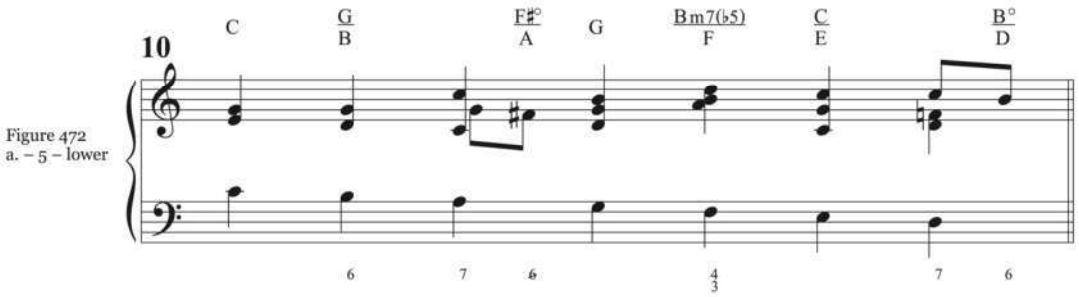


Figure 472
a. – 5 – lower

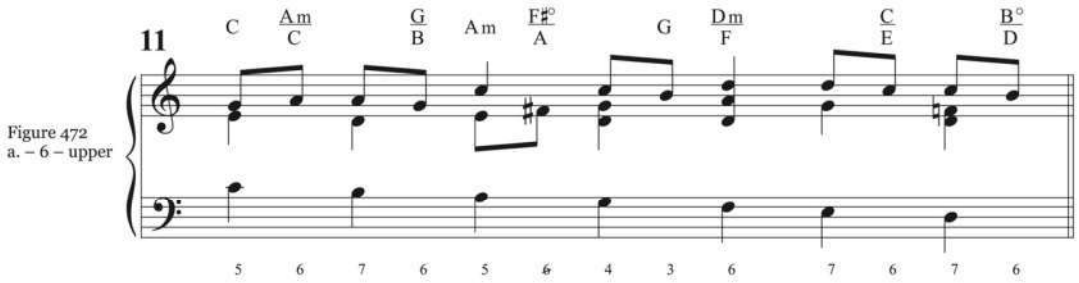


Figure 472
a. – 6 – upper

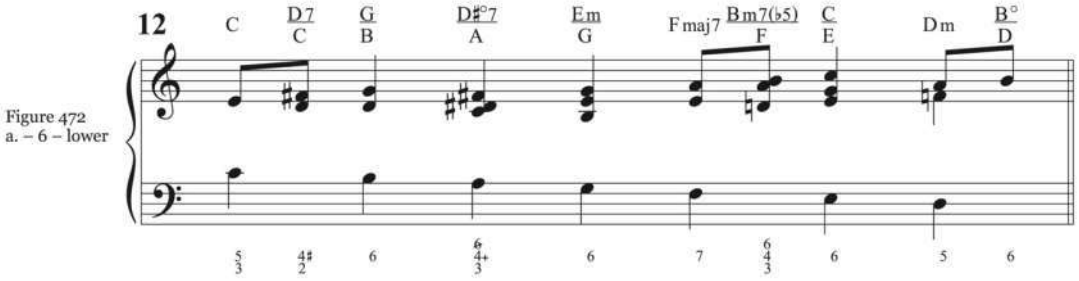


Figure 472
a. – 6 – lower

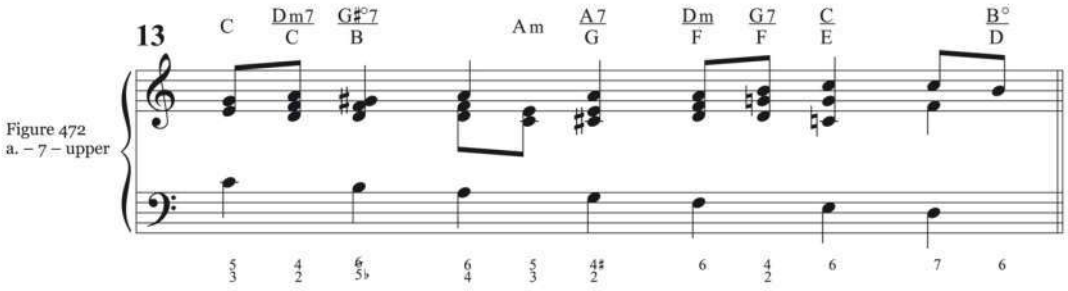


Figure 472
a. – 7 – upper

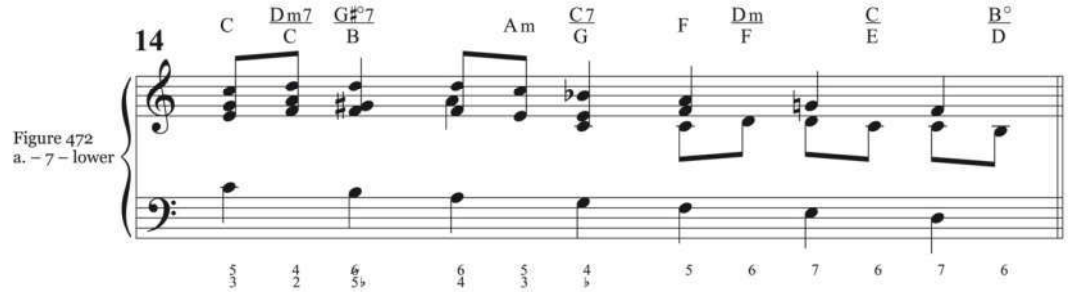


Figure 472
a. – 7 – lower

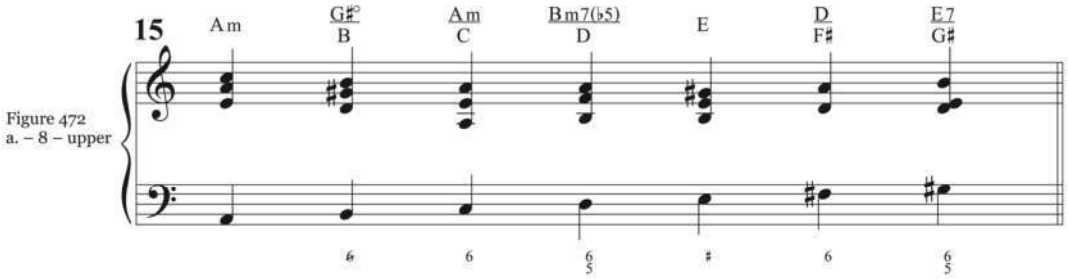


Figure 472
a. – 8 – upper

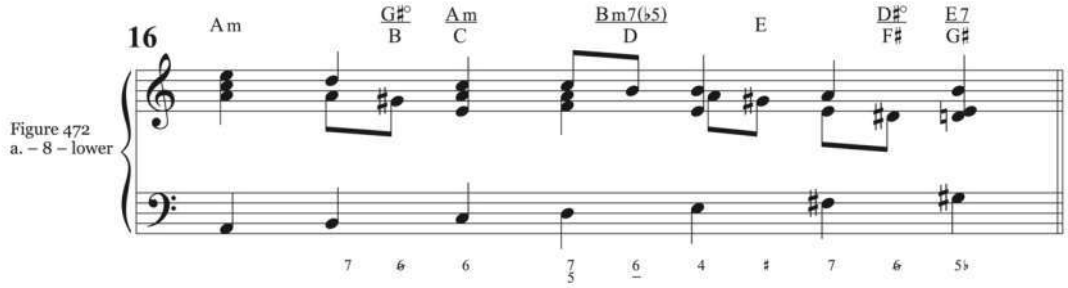


Figure 472
a. – 8 – lower

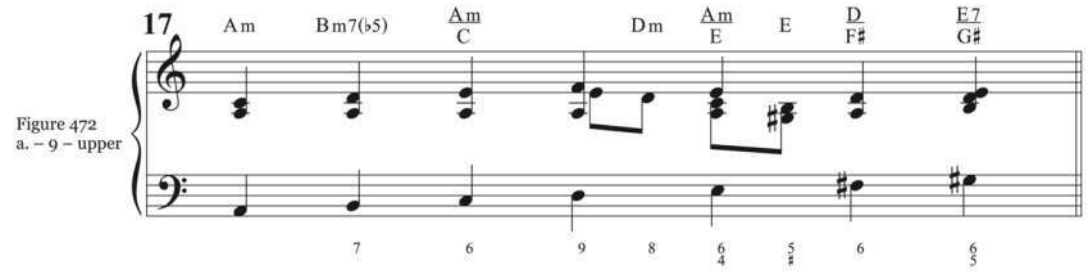


Figure 472
a. – 9 – upper

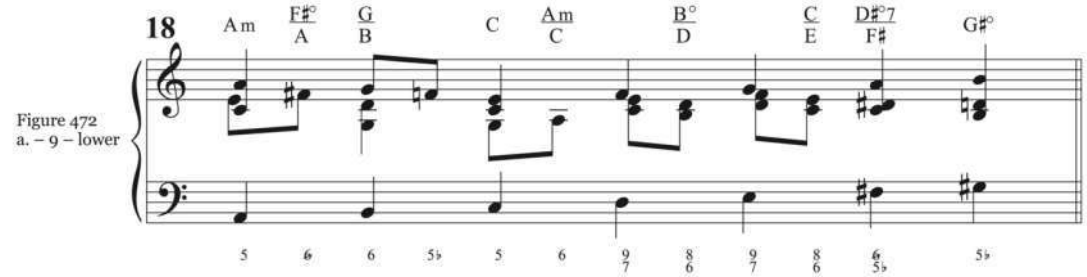


Figure 472
a. – 9 – lower

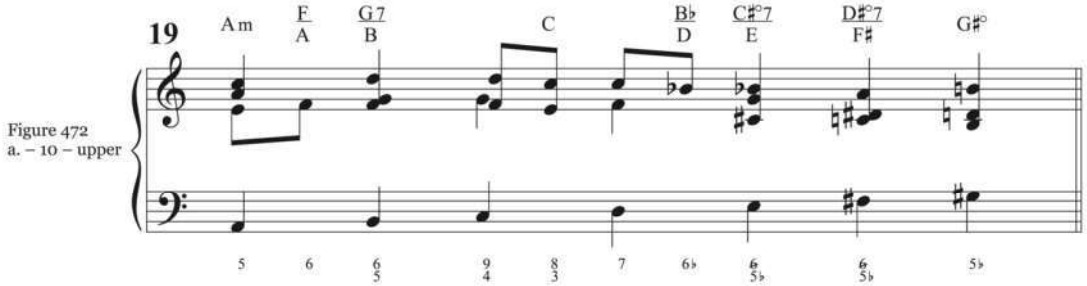


Figure 472
a. – 10 – upper

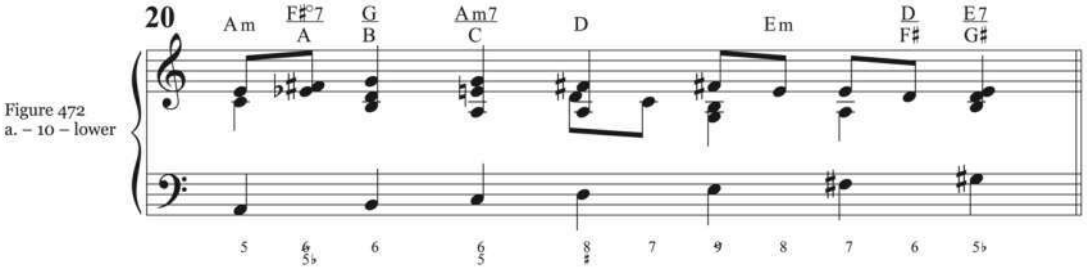


Figure 472
a. – 10 – lower

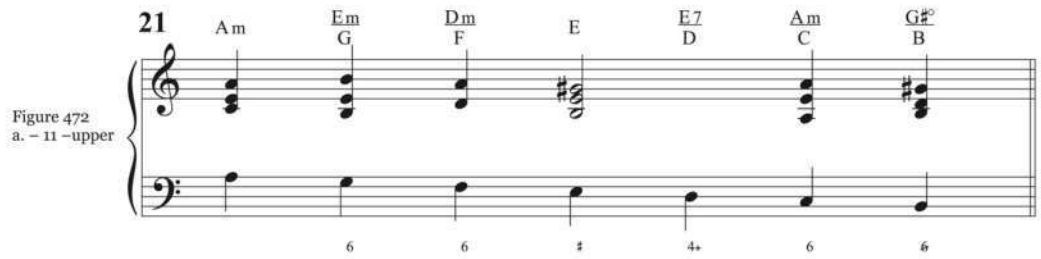


Figure 472
a. – 11 –upper

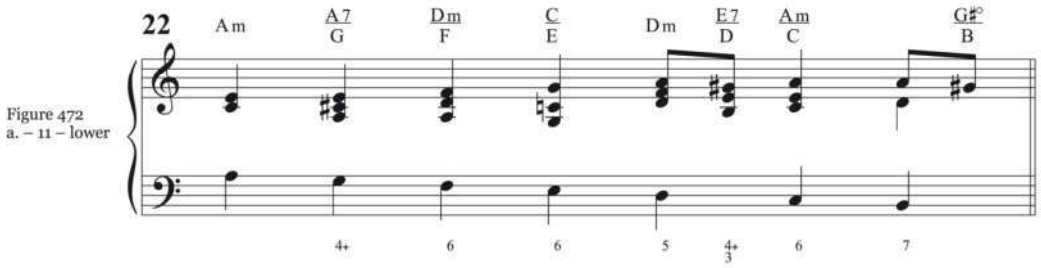


Figure 472
a. – 11 – lower

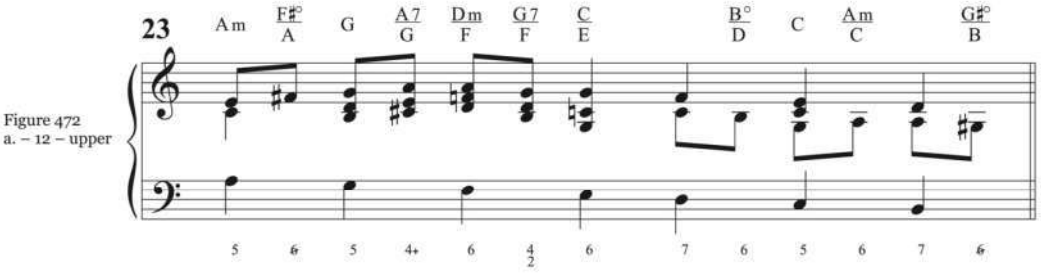


Figure 472
a. – 12 – upper

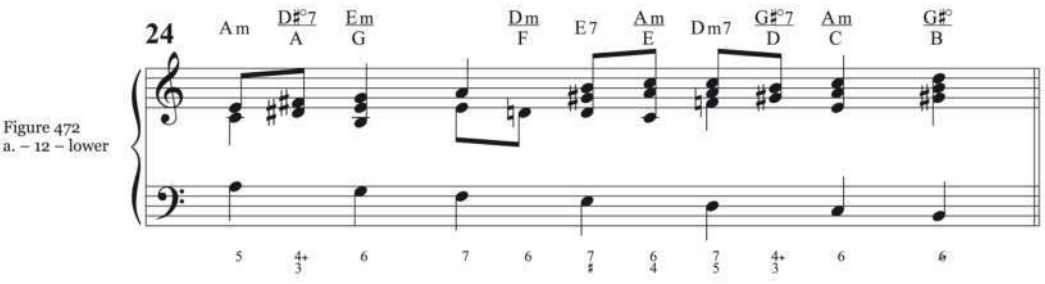


Figure 472
a. – 12 – lower

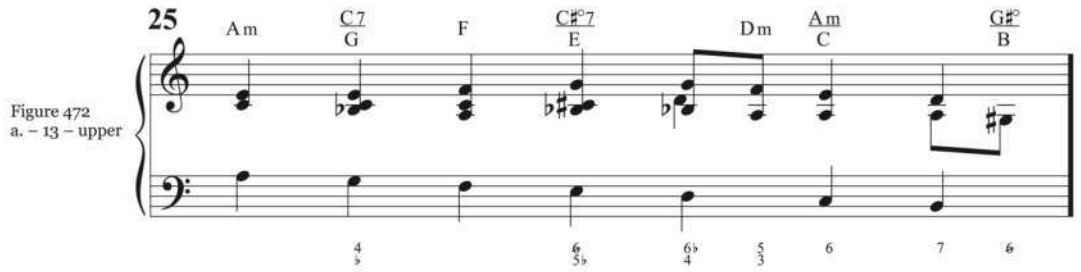


Figure 472
a. – 13 – upper

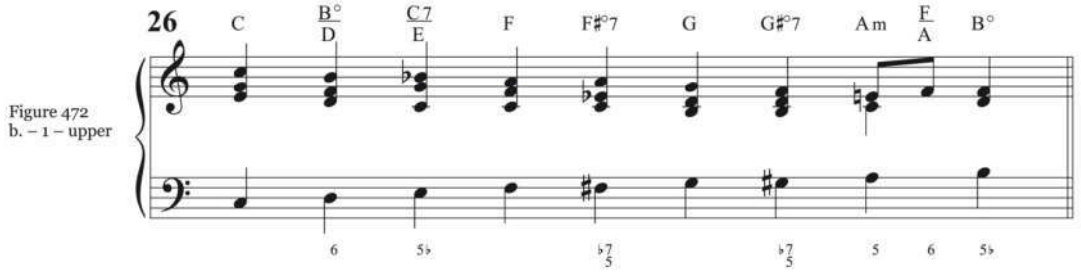


Figure 472
b. – 1 – upper

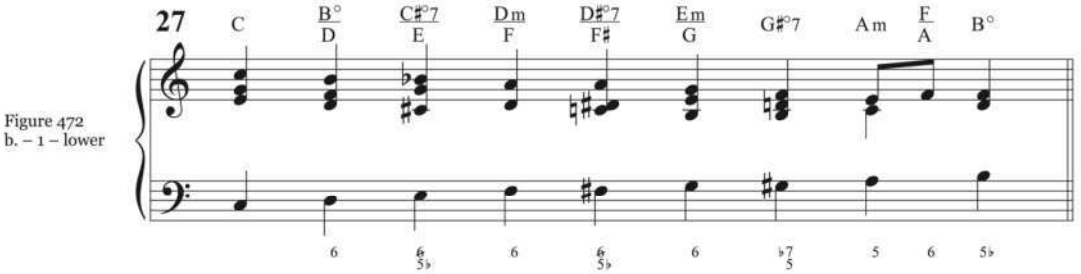


Figure 472
b. – 1 – lower

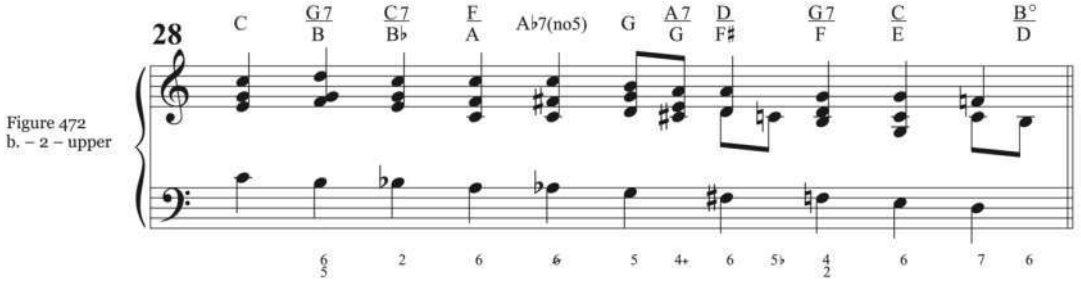


Figure 472
b. – 2 – upper

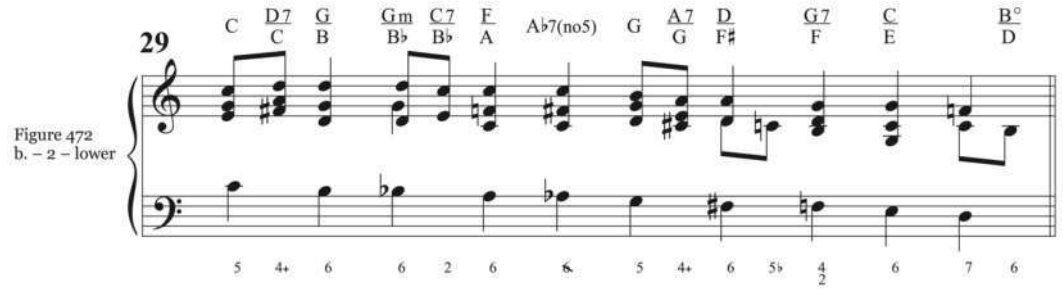


Figure 472
b. – 2 – lower

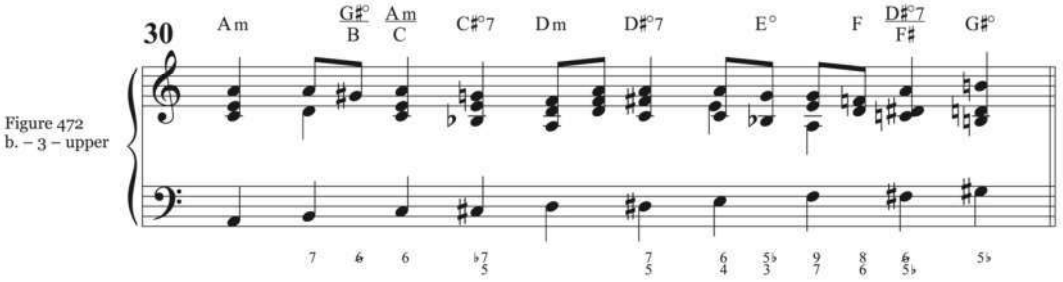


Figure 472
b. – 3 – upper

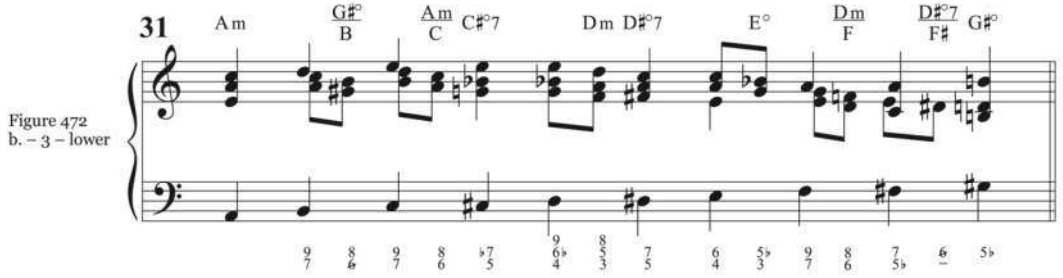


Figure 472
b. – 3 – lower

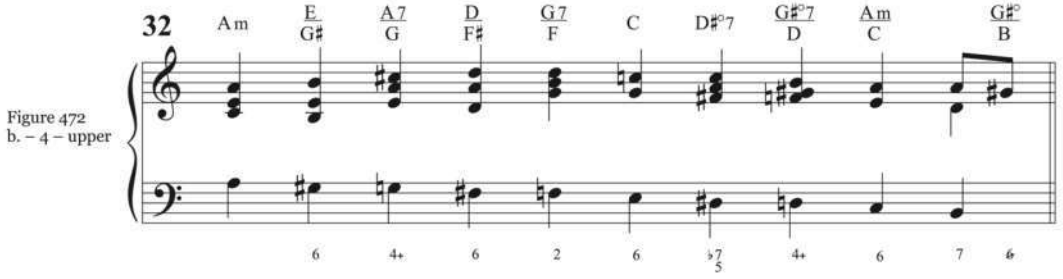


Figure 472
b. – 4 – upper

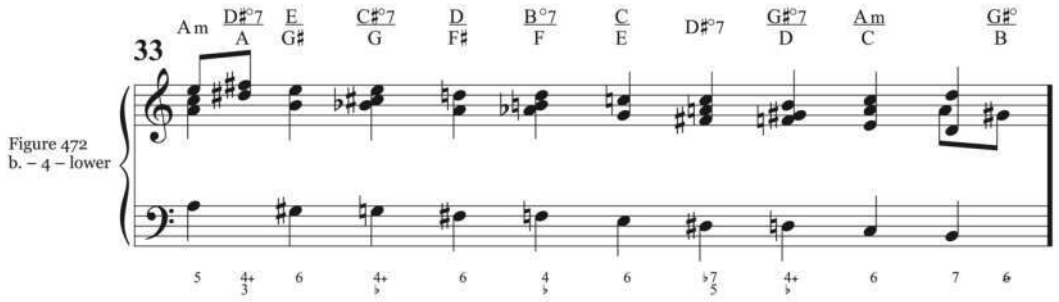


Figure 472
b. – 4 – lower

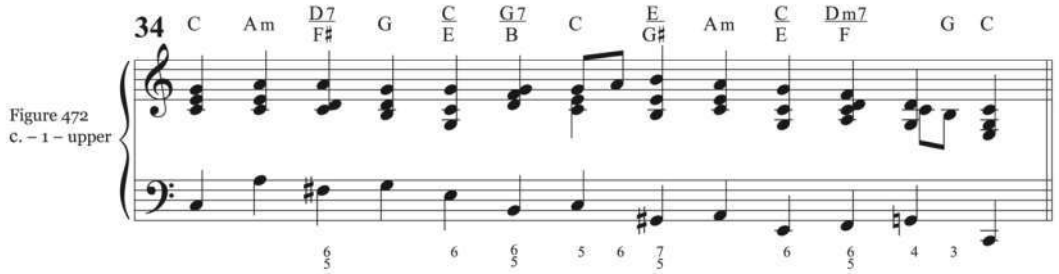


Figure 472
c. – 1 – upper

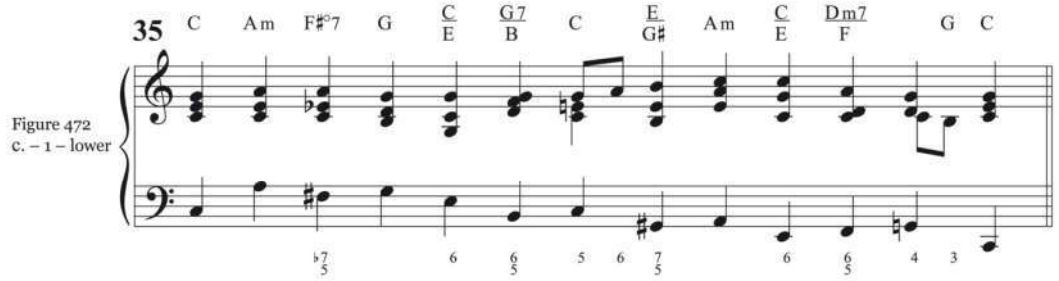


Figure 472
c. – 1 – lower

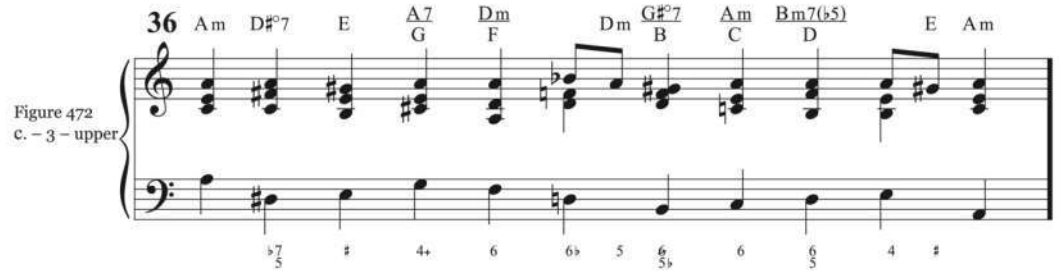
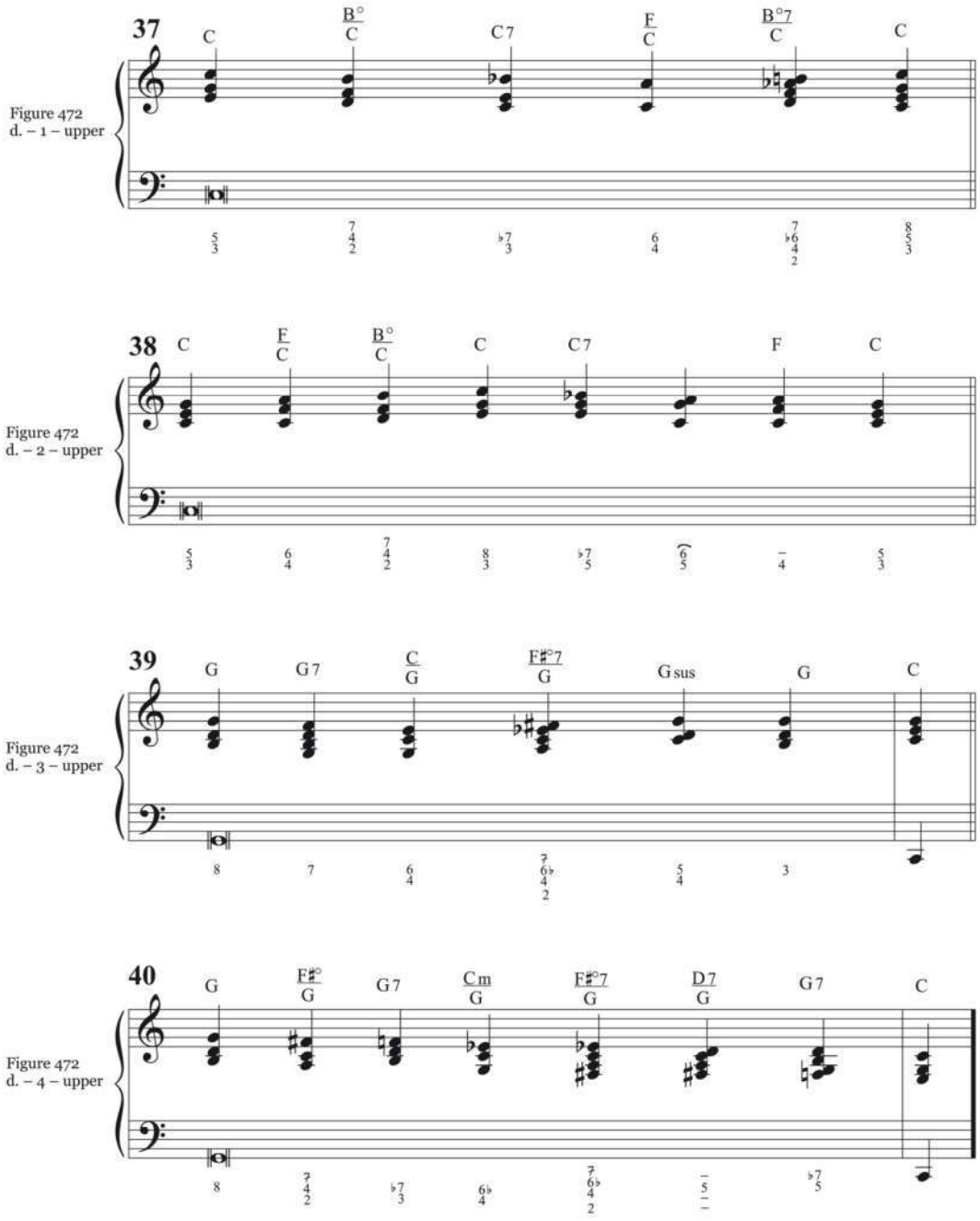


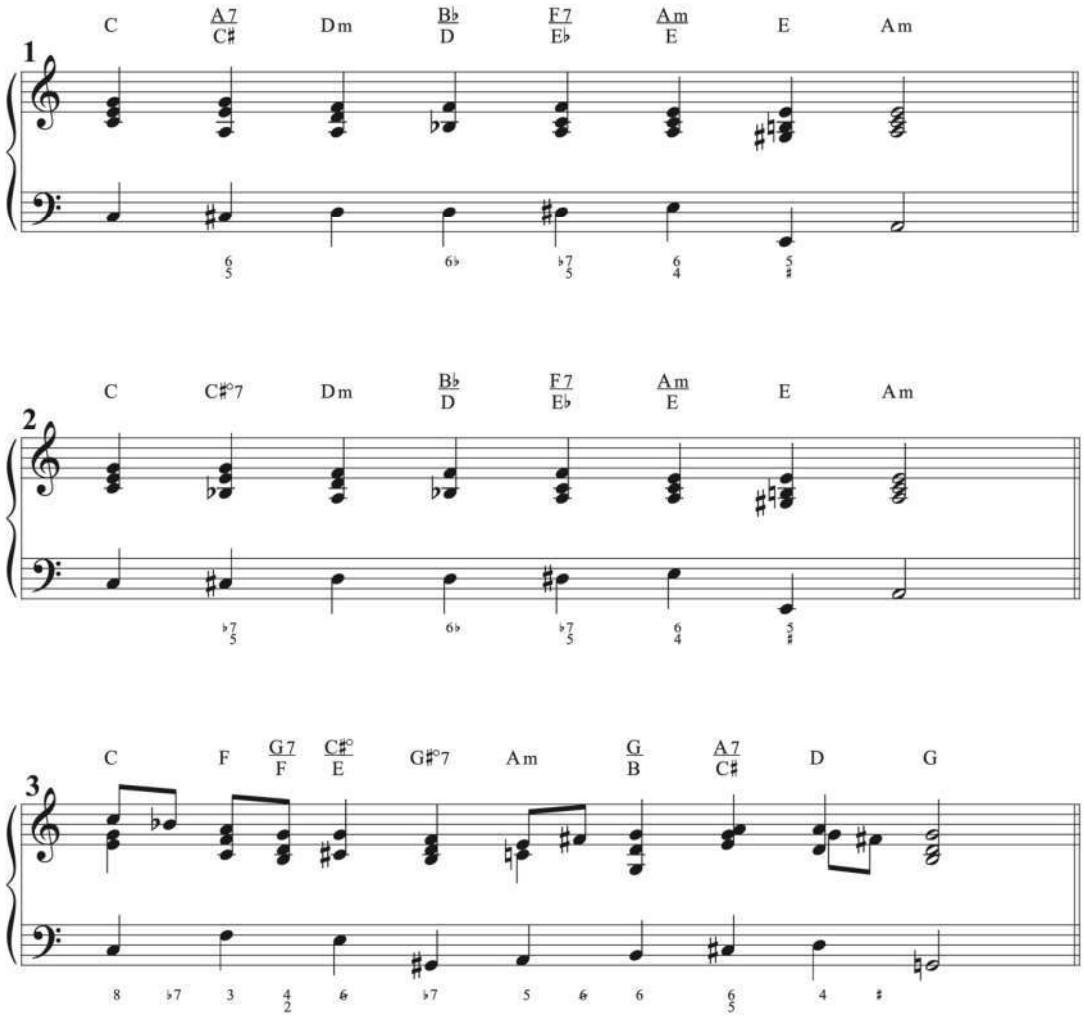
Figure 472
c. – 3 – upper

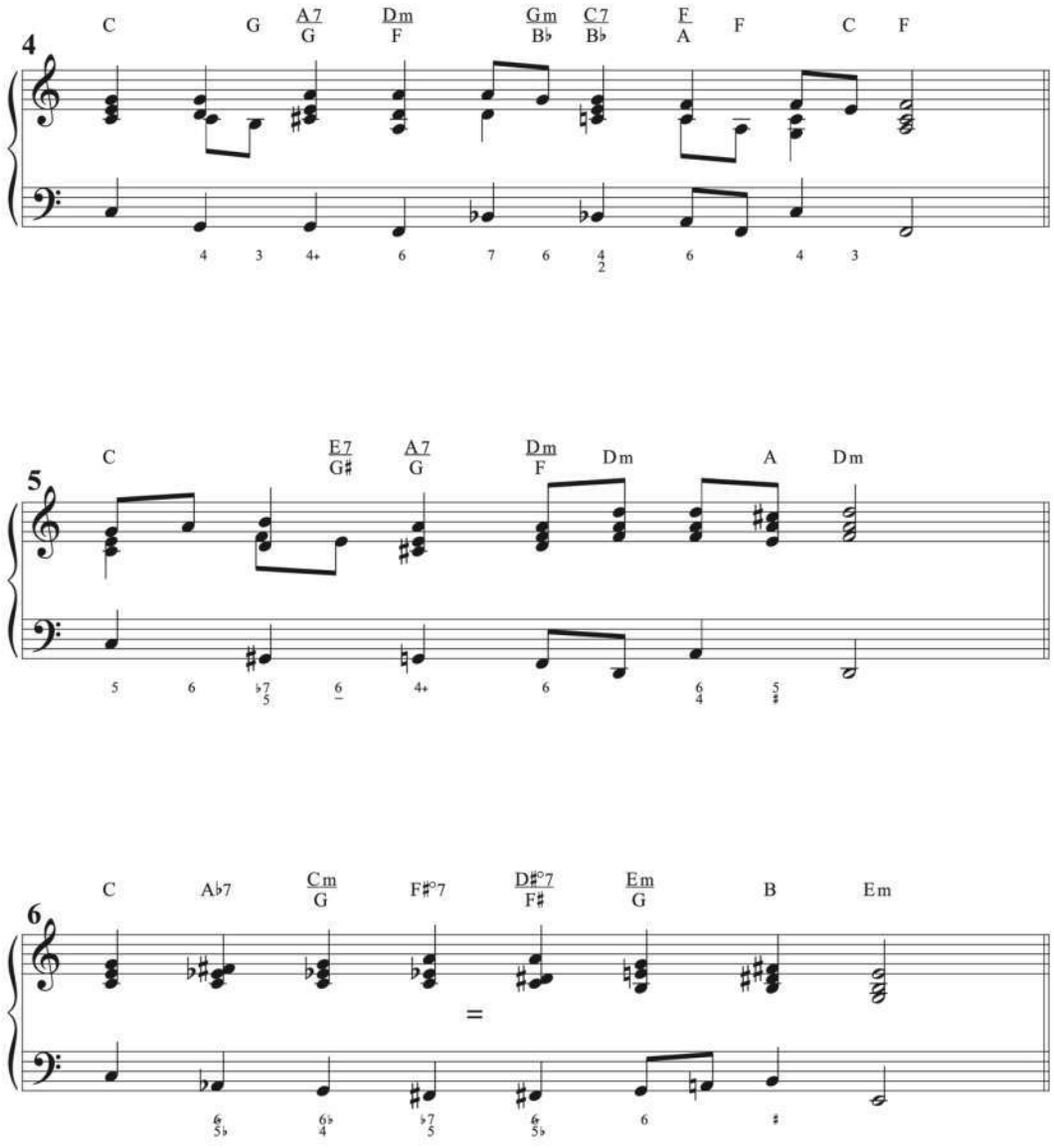

37
C
B°/C
C7
F/C
B°7/C
C
Figure 472
d. – 1 – upper
38
C
F/C
B°/C
C
C7
F
C
Figure 472
d. – 2 – upper
39
G
G7
C/G
F♯°7/G
Gsus
G
C
Figure 472
d. – 3 – upper
40
G
F♯°/G
G7
Cm/G
F♯°7/G
D7/G
G7
C
Figure 472
d. – 4 – upper

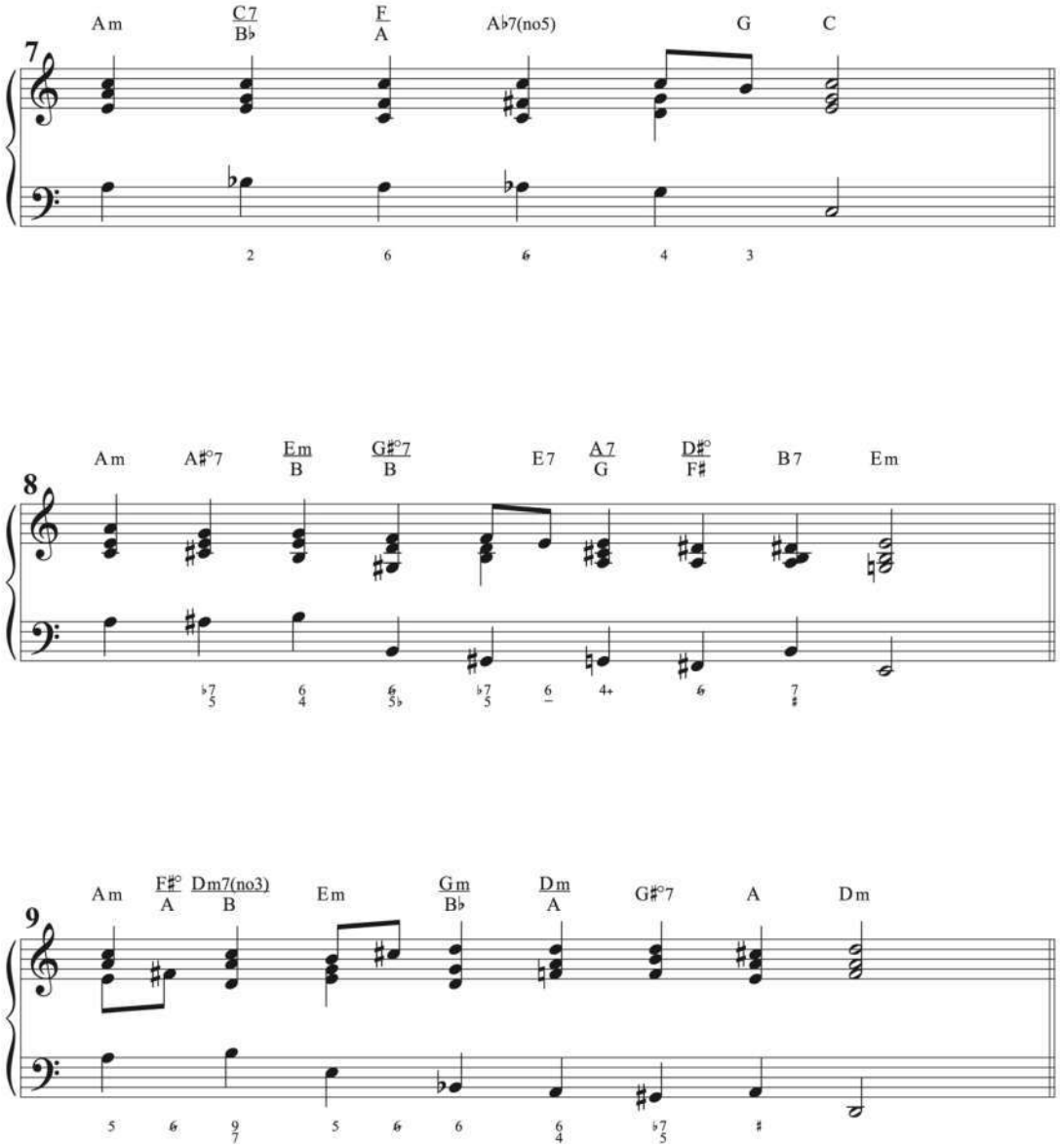
Figured Basses by C. P. E. Bach

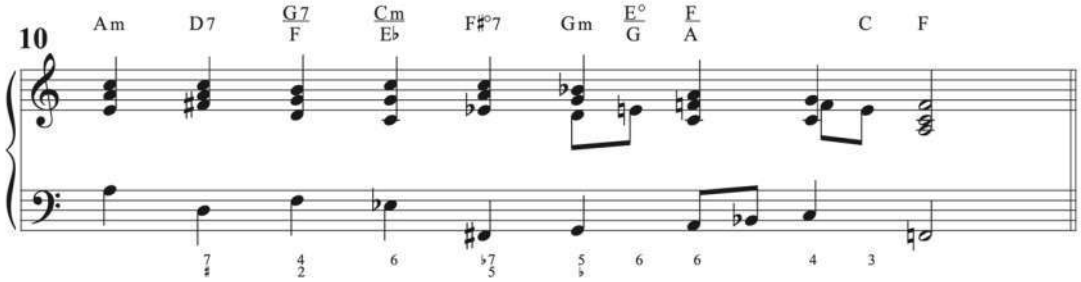
Modulations to Closely Related Keys

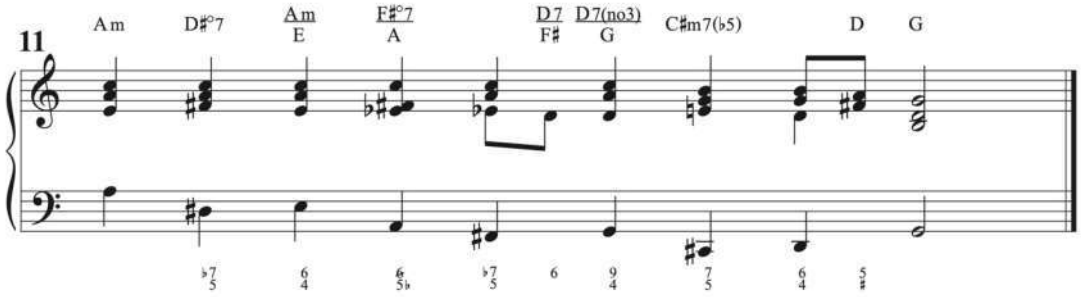
Fig. 474 from *Versuch*




4
C
G
A7
G
Dm
F
Gm
B♭
C7
B♭
F
A
F
C
F
5
C
E7
G♯
A7
G
Dm
F
Dm
A
Dm
6
C
A♭7
Cm
G
F♯°7
D♯°7
F♯
Em
G
B
Em


7
Am
C7/B♭
F/A
A♭7(no5)
G
C
8
Am
A♯°7
Em/B
G♯°7/B
E7
A7/G
D♯°/F♯
B7
Em
9
Am
F♯°/A
Dm7(no3)/B
Em
Gm/B♭
Dm/A
G♯°7
A
Dm


10
Am
D7
G7
F
Cm
E♭
F♯°7
Gm
E°
G
F
A
C
F

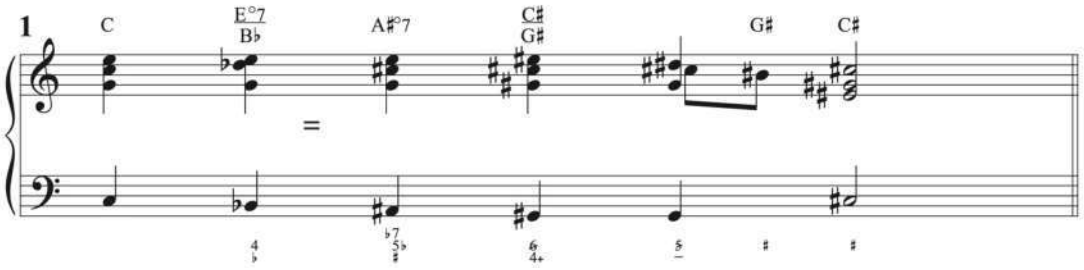

11
Am
D♯°7
Am
E
F♯°7
A
D7
F♯
D7(no3)
G
C♯m7(♭5)
D
G

Figured Basses by C. P. E. Bach

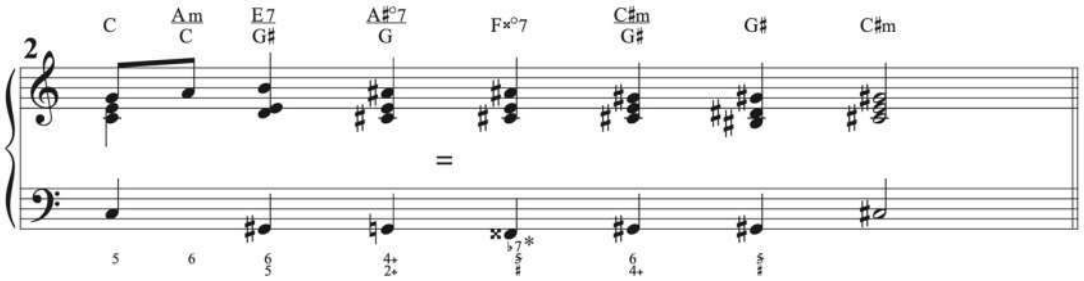
Modulations to Distant Keys

Fig. 475 from *Versuch*

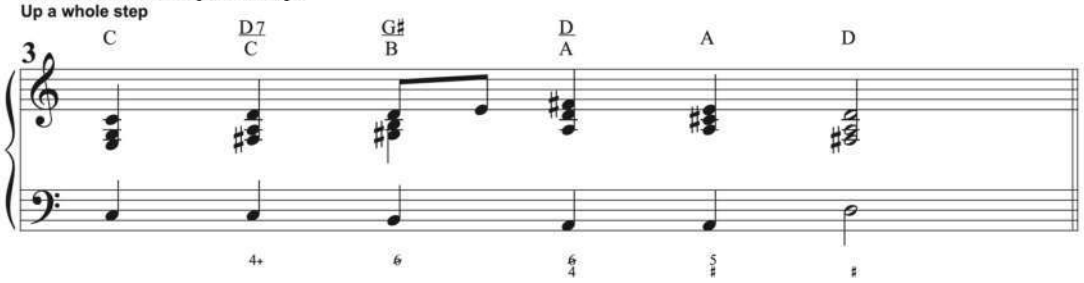
Modulation from C major to C♯ major
Up a half step



Modulation from C major to C♯ minor
Up a half step

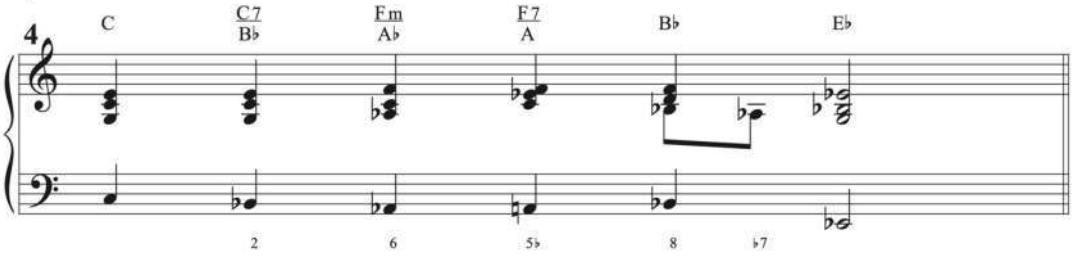


Modulation from C major to D major
Up a whole step

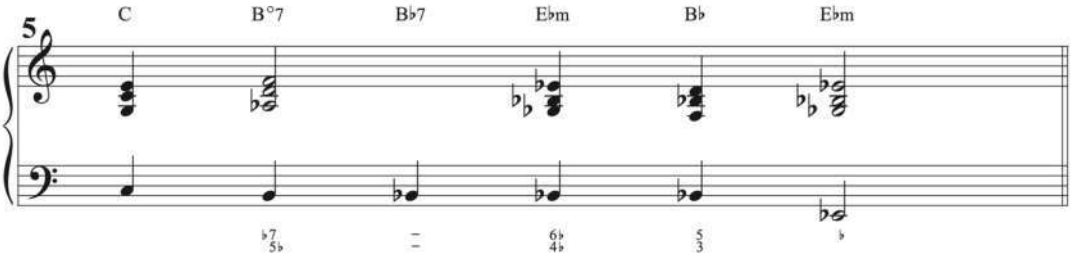


* "It is customary to indicate…minor and diminished sevenths by means of a flat," *Versuch,* p. 186.

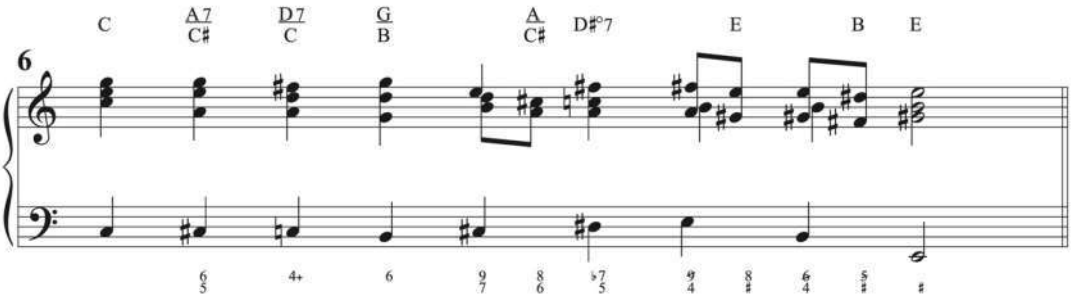
Modulation from C major to E♭ major
Up a minor third



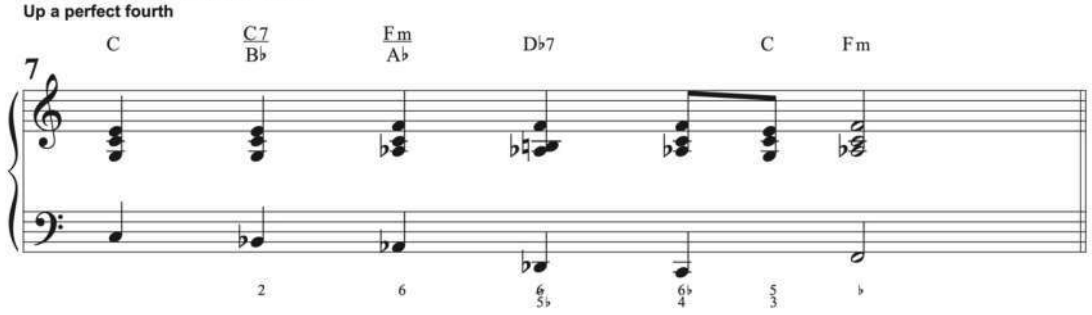
Modulation from C major to E♭ minor
Up a minor third



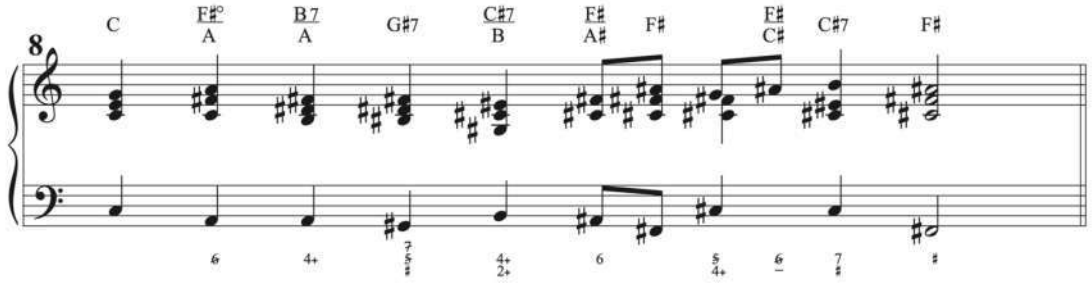
Modulation from C major to E major
Up a major third



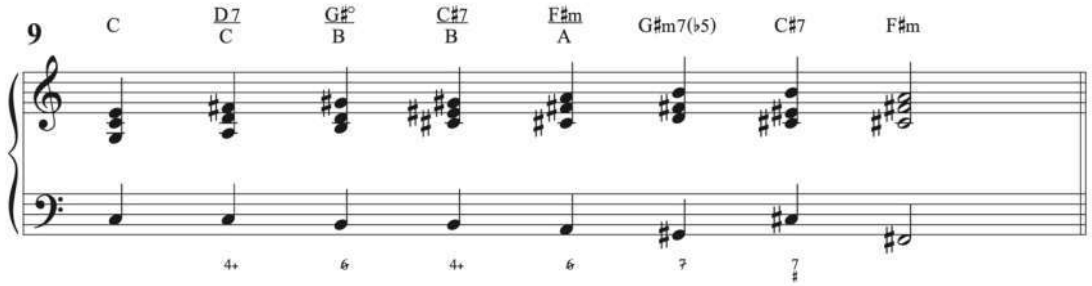
Modulation from C major to F minor
Up a perfect fourth



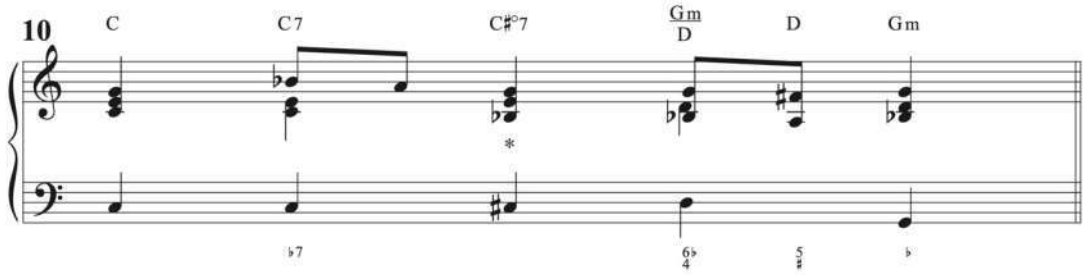
Modulation from C major to F♯ major
Up a tritone



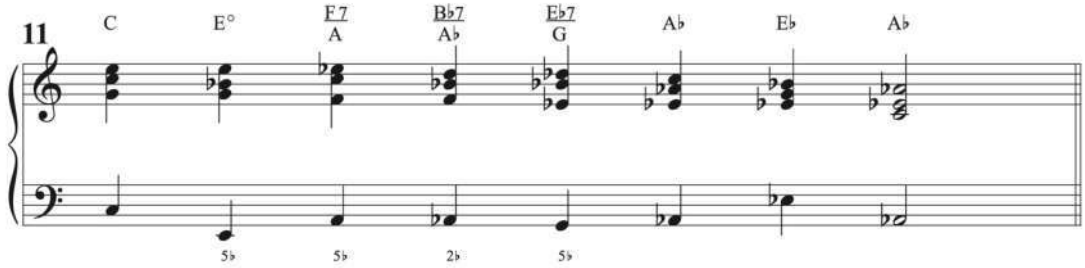
Modulation from C major to F♯ minor
Up a tritone



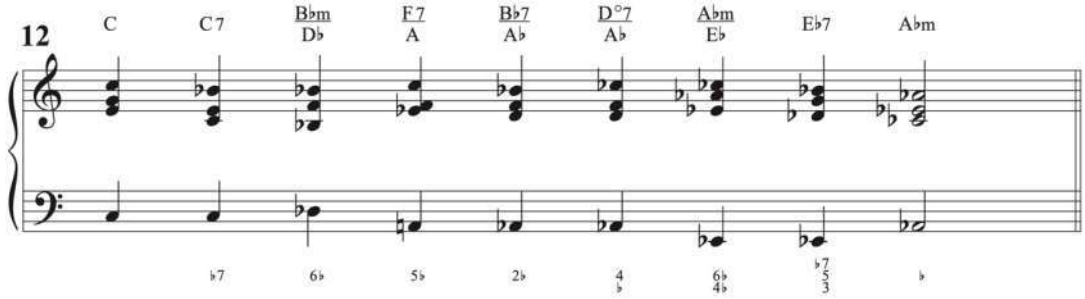
Modulation from C major to G minor
Up a perfect fifth



Modulation from C major to A♭ major
Up a minor sixth

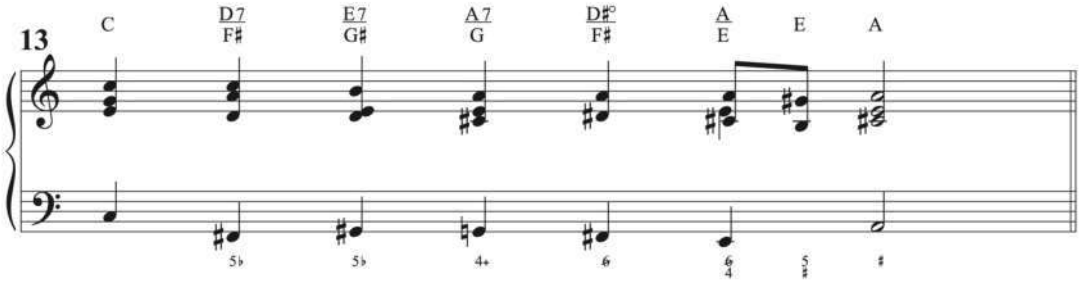


Modulation from C major to A♭ minor
Up a minor sixth

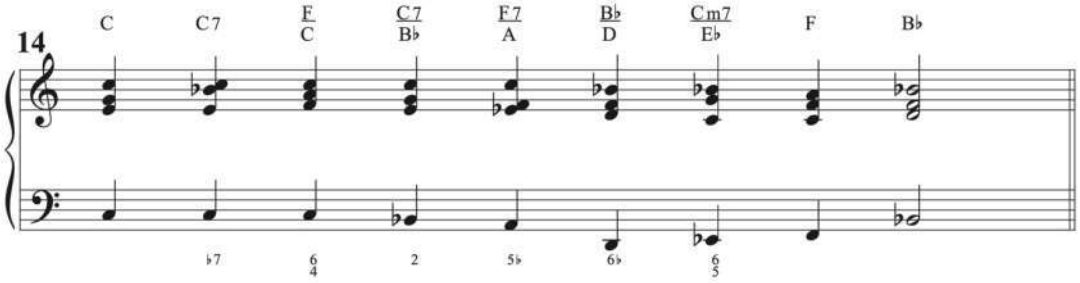


* Because B♭ is found in both the previous and the following chords, I have interpreted this harmony as a fully-diminished seventh chord, even though C. P. E. Bach did not use the signature 7 in the figured bass.

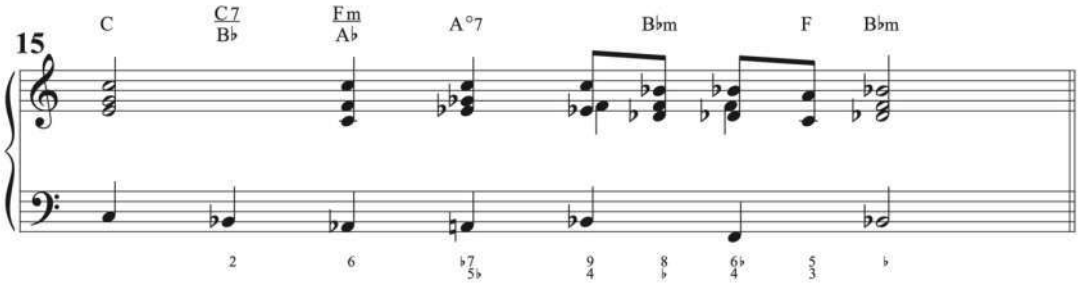
Modulation from C major to A major
Up a major sixth

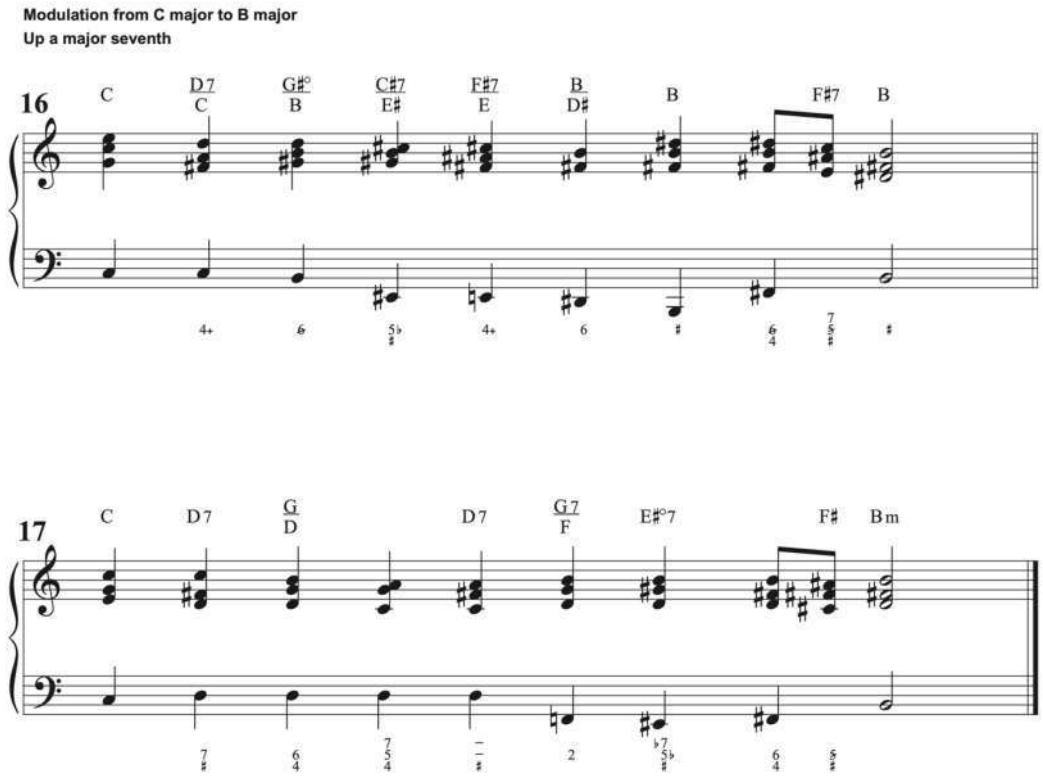


Modulation from C major to B♭ major
Up a minor seventh



Modulation from C major to B♭ minor
Up a minor seventh





Dr Mike Zachary is a church pianist and independent music instructor currently residing in San Diego, California. He earned his DMA in piano at the American Conservatory of Music in Chicago (1991), where he studied piano with Herman Spier and musicology with Enrique Arias. His dissertation, Style and Structure in Selected Viennese Keyboard Fantasias of the Early Nineteenth Century*, focused on a history of the keyboard fantasia from the Renaissance through the 20th century. He currently studies music theory privately with Matthew Brown and Ben Baker, both of the Eastman School of Music. Contact mikezachary2009@gmail.com*

Note that the original version of this article, using American music terminology, will also be made available on the NEMA website.

Notes

[1] Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, trans and ed William J. Mitchell, *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* (New York, 1949).

[2] Dr Brown used a bass that appears in Figure 472 of C. P. E. Bach's *Essay,* on p. 433 of the English translation.

[3] Bach (1949), p.439.

[4] If you would like to explore all of C. P. E. Bach's keyboard fantasias, go to cpebach.org/organization.html. From there, click on Keyboard Music, then click on Miscellaneous Keyboard Works. Then click on Part I.

[5] Bach (1949), p.430.

[6] Bach (1949), p.430

[7] Bach (1949), p.442.

[8] In the *Essay,* Bach wrote, 'In performance each chord is arpeggiated twice'; Bach (1949), p.442.

[9] Bach (1949), p.439.

[10] Bach (1949), pp.439-440.

[11] I did not use C. P. E. Bach's illustrations because his realizations of the turned trill were shown in conjunction with an additional ornament. Fig.8 above shows the trilled turn by itself, as it is used in the Fantasia in F Major, Wq.112/15. You can find Bach's original illustrations of the trilled turn in Bach (1949), pp.121 and 123. In Figure 131 (p.121) of the *Essay,* he writes out the trilled turn with semihemidemisemiquavers and hemidemisemiquavers. In Figure 134 (p.123), he uses demisemihemidemisemiquavers and semihemidemisemiquavers in his realization. This is one of the rare places where demisemihemidemisemiquavers can be found.

[12] Bach (1949), p.153.

[13] Bach (1949), p.430.

[14] Though C. P. E. Bach does not specifically assert that the free fantasia moves through more keys than is customary in other pieces *because* it is not composed or improvised in meter, it is tempting to think that he is suggesting a connection between metre and modulation, a topic that may well merit further exploration.

[15] Monotonality may be defined as, 'The theory that any tonal piece or movement has only one key – that in which it begins and ends – and hence that modulation…in the sense of a true change of tonic is illusory'. See 'Monotonality', *Grove Music Online*, accessed 20 December 2020.

[16] These figured basses, without realization, are presented in Figure 472 of the *Versuch.*

[17] Especially when you first begin, the figured bass symbols are customary. Various treatises of C. P. E. Bach's time described customary figured bass signatures to use along with the scale.

[18] I am not aware of an English translation of Fenaroli's treatise, *Regole musicali per i principianti di cembalo;* however, the original version is available online at IMSLP.

[19] Cited in Giorgio Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento: History, Theory, and Practice* (Oxford, 2012), p.115. The figured bass signatures in Fig.10 are shown by Sanguinetti. In his particular usage, if you follow each line of numbers horizontally, you can see the precise voice leading of the top voice, the middle voice, and the lowest voice of the right hand. Most figured bass symbols are not this detailed, and it becomes the job of the performer to determine the exact disposition of the voices.

[20] If you want to be extremely precise, the figured bass signatures indicate the intervals above the bass that should be played, not the chords that should be played. But in our practical approach, we will say that the figured bass signatures tell you which chords to play above the given bass.

[21] William Mitchell, who translated the *Essay* into English, noted that, '[t]he great variety of Bach's other signatures and his failure to mention the *Regola* [by name], which he must have known, indicate that he placed little weight on it' (Bach (1949), pp.431-432).

[22] Figured Bass #9 uses the 'Rule of the Octave'.

[23] Bach (1949), p.431.

[24] Bach wrote, 'A tonic organ point is convenient for establishing the tonality at the beginning and end … The dominant organ point can also be introduced effectively before the close' (Bach (1949), p.432). C. P. E. Bach's Fantasia in F Major, shown in Fig.4 above, opens with a brief tonic pedal point, and a dominant pedal point is used just before the final tonic chord.

[25] These figured basses are taken C. P. E. Bach's *Essay*. The numbering system used here is by the author, not by Bach.

[26] The best portions of these realizations are certainly owed to Ben Baker and Matthew Brown. All the remaining blunders are mine alone.

[27] If it would be useful for you to have the Finale files for these basses, please email your request to mikezachary2009@gmail.com. I will send them to you free of charge.

An eclectic approach to Improvisation

Rodrigo A. Ilizaliturri, Jorge M. Mendoza and Pablo Padilla

In music, despite much recent interest in the subject, improvisation still preserves an aura of mystery. Improvising is one of the least studied aspects of music - in particular, and of human capabilities - in general. This article provides a broad course overview of musical improvisation, including both theoretical and practical aspects. We discuss in detail the content of the course, which, besides strictly musical questions, relates to other aspects of improvisation such as social context, neuroscience, pedagogy and the other arts. For each section, we provide references and suggest activities to be carried out both in the lecture room and other venues as well as individually and collectively. Improvisation in early music is here put in the widest possible context of other historical and cultural traditions.

Introduction

'Improvisation ... is part of virtually every musical tradition in the world', points out Gabriel Solís.[1] Moreover, as musical notation is a *relatively* recent invention, it must be acknowledged that historically most music has been, and perhaps still is, improvised. However, and despite recent efforts, improvisation is an extremely neglected subject in the curriculum of conservatoires and professional music schools. This contrasts with the situation in previous periods, when improvisation was an essential part of musical training.

It is interesting to see the content of the audition for an organist's position in Hamburg the 18th century, as described for instance by Johann Mattheson in his *Grosse-Generalbass Übungen,* which consisted basically of improvised pieces, figured bass accompaniment and a composition (a fugue).[2] Here we present a syllabus with commentary for the Improvisation Master's course as taught in the Faculty of Music of the National University of Mexico, in which the authors have been involved. As the title indicates, we take an eclectic approach to improvisation. We make an effort to incorporate, on the practical side, some of the most well known traditions and give suggestions on activities and resources that might be helpful in structuring a course. On the theoretical side, we include subjects not directly related to music, namely: improvisation in the arts, society, pedagogy, music therapy and neuroscience.

The course begins by discussing the role of improvisation throughout history (not only in music, but in connection with other human activities) and outlines the four musical traditions which will be approached, namely: the western tradition, jazz, traditional folk and free improvisation. Depending on the interests and background of the students these can be studied in any order. As a practical activity for the first class, students are asked to both choose and write a *haiku* and then select a set of notes (no more than five) in order to experiment in the creation of a sound atmosphere for the poems. This exercise can be

done individually as well as in groups. Additionally, a larger-scale project to be developed by all the students (and possibly the teachers) is discussed and outlined during the first three classes. Ideas previously used include the creation of improvised scenes from literary works, ranging from *The Epic of Gilgamesh, Alice through the Looking-Glass* and *Don Quixote* to a Shakespeare play, but any other subject that is of common interest can be proposed: films, paintings or sculptures, current social topics etc. In this respect, as in many others, usually the students provide the most interesting ideas...

Musical Improvisation

The Western tradition

For this part of the course it is difficult to imagine a better source than Ernest Ferrand's anthology *Improvisation in Nine Centuries of Western Music*,[3] in which he provides a concise but complete historical introduction as well as musical examples. These examples may serve as models of practical exercises for individual and ensemble practice.

Antiquity and The Middle Ages

Ferrand provides useful examples. An interesting exercise is to give a cantus firmus to a student and ask another to improvise on it. There are also good internet resources, which provides many examples of improvisation, e.g. on the organ using Gregorian chants.[4]

Baroque Improvisation

The basic concepts of figured bass are first introduced to those students who are not already familiar with them.[5] A simple but interesting chord progression such as *Las Folías de España* can be used to start idiomatic improvisation. As a practical exercise we ask every student to choose one unmeasured prelude, e.g. by Louis Couperin, and write another one of their own. Using a more systematic approach, the Bach-centric book on historical improvisation by John Mortensen[6] can be followed, with its step-by-step presentation; in a one-semester course it is possible to cover the *figuration prelude* and the *toccata* sections. The improvisatory tradition on the organ can also be included in more detail, and excellent examples are found online. And a new presentation of C. P. E. Bach's particular approach to improvising a keyboard fantasy is found in the article by Mike Zachary in this issue of the *NEMA Newsletter*.[7]

The Classical Period

In the 18th century, techniques that already existed to improvise in the baroque were further developed. These included ornamentation of melodies, the creation of preludes and the decoration of fermatas (cadenzas).[8] In the case of preludes, these gave the pianist a chance to test the instrument, warm up the fingers, and focus the mind before the performance began. It was also a vehicle for technical and creative display; improvised passages and elaborations made on the spot were opportunities both to experiment and challenge oneself. Preludes in the 18th century could be improvised before sonatas or other solo pieces.[9] In this period, one important use for improvisation were solo fantasies[10] and

the cadenzas of concerts for solo instruments, for example, Mozart's piano concertos. Of the latter's 27 concertos, about half have cadenzas written by the composer.[11] It was considered ideal that the cadenza should not conflict with the style and content of the concerto movement in question. It was usual for a pause to occur at a certain moment at the end of the movement, on a dominant chord; the solo concerto cadenza then usually ended with a trill before the orchestra re-entered. In this period, a cadenza demonstrated the performer's musicality, taste, expression and technical prowess:[12]

> *Improvisation ... had also constituted a most distinguished medium through which to judge not just technical abilities, but what in the eighteenth century was called 'taste', the single most important aesthetic category of the time. The idea of improvisation as the chief medium to judge musical talent was still current well into the nineteenth century.*[13]

Romanticism

At the beginning of the 19th century, Carl Czerny described improvisation as a special obligation and a crown of distinction for any keyboard virtuoso, a highly interesting and honorable art.[14] As the century progressed, improvisation suffered a significant decline. Some improvisational practices were still preserved in Western music; while German and French opera, for example, offered few opportunities for improvisation, the embellishments of fermatas continued to be a significant practice in Italian opera until Verdi's early operas.[15] Some of the causes of the decline of improvisation in this period could be the level of musical education of the audience, changes in aesthetics in the 19th century, shifts in the musical profession and musical institutions or changes in the taste of the audience,[16] as well as the increase in the technical demand of the repertoire, coupled with the fact that the composers wanted their notes to be interpreted as written.[17] Despite this, improvisation continued to be a component of concertos, especially on the piano. Chopin improvised in his concertos, and Liszt performed in Paris as a great virtuoso improvising on well-known themes.[18] According to her daughter Marie, Clara Schumann improvised preludes in public concerts and on other occasions, which were evidence of the careful handling of her husband's compositions. These improvisations were seen as difficult, even by audiences accustomed to brilliant concert fantasies, sets of variations and so on.[19]

The 20th century

For us to approach the 20th century, it is necessary to understand that improvisation as a musical practice comes, to some extent, still survives within the Western musical tradition. For example Les Gillon, in his article *Varieties of Freedom in Music Improvisation*,[20] considers that 'Within western classical art music, improvisation managed to persist up to the 18th Century in the form of cadenzas and preludes, but by the latter half of the 19th-century improvisation had been excluded from the concert hall'. He argues that, compared to previous centuries, the 20th century was able to integrate different improvisational practices thanks to the technological capacity of recording: 'Those conditions meant that through the 20th century a diverse range of improvisational practices developed, each of

which had its own parameters: idioms and typical techniques. As improvisation developed within a range of different popular music traditions'.[21]

Contemporary Approaches

To understand the phenomenon of improvisation in a contemporary context Free Jazz is a good example, as outlined in Derek Bailey's book *Improvisation: Its nature and practice in music*.[22] It describes the Free Jazz movement as follows:

> *What Cecil Taylor was doing started in the early fifties and the results were as free as anything you could hear. But it was not done in a free way. It was built up very, very systematically but with a new ear and new values. But there was complete opposition to what he was doing in the '50s. To me in New York he was the most important figure in the earlier '50s. Then when Ornette hit town, that was the blow. On the one hand there were all the academic players, the hard-boppers, the 'Blue-Note' people, the 'Prestige' people, and they were doing stuff which had slight progressive tendencies in it. But when Ornette hit the scene, that was the end of the theories. He destroyed the theories. I remember at that time he said, very carefully, 'Well, you just have a certain amount of space and you put what you want in it'. And that was a revelation. And we used to listen to him and Don Cherry every night and that really spread a thirst for more freedom.*[23]

Free improvisation

Once again, Bailey's book can illustrate what is termed 'free improvisation'. In this way, Bailey proposes that free improvisation can be described in different ways but has a common origin:

> *Freely improvised music, variously called 'total improvisation', 'open improvisation', 'free music', or perhaps most often simply, 'improvised music', suffers from - and enjoys - the confused identity which its resistance to labeling indicates. It is a logical situation: freely improvised music is an activity which encompasses too many different kinds of players, too many different attitudes to music, too many different concepts of what improvisation is, even, for it all to be subsumed under one name.*[24]

Jazz

Jazz is one of the best known genres of improvisation, and both from a historical and social perspective it provides an excellent opportunity to discuss connections of music with these and other subjects.[25] It is true in learning to improvise that listening to as much music as possible is essential. This is probably more evident in jazz, and it is time well spent listening to one of the excellent histories of jazz with musical examples available online. The similarities of the lead-sheet approach of jazz improvisation to Baroque figured bass should be emphasized.

Folk Music

India

If any musical tradition is famous for its improvisatory character, it is that of India. The history of Indian music can be traced back many centuries to Vedic times and encompasses a great variety of styles. Clearly, a one-semester course exclusively devoted to improvisation in Indian music would be insufficient to present its richness, and in this cursory overview it is only possible to sketch the basic aspects of the *raga* and *tala* systems (the melodic and rhythmic foundations of improvisation in classical Indian music). In this respect one recording says more than a thousand words, and internet resources provide invaluable material to get acquainted with this tradition. Roughly speaking, the melodic content of a *raga* or *rag* (from the sanskrit word for 'colour') can be organized in the form of a scale, but preserving the order in which notes and some motifs should appear. An illustrative exercise is to ask the students to look for a *raga* and experiment in improvising on it. It should be emphasised that according to this system there are appropriate ragas for each time of the day and of the year, for different moods and ages, and so the students should be able to find one matching to their interests. This practice also provides a great opportunity to try collective improvisation. A standard reference is Ludwig Pesch's book, *The Oxford Illustrated Companion to South Indian Classical Music*.[26]

Near and Far East

To illustrate the process of improvisation in the music of the Near and Far East we focus on the *Maqam*. This is characterized by being part of a well-defined geographical region. In the study by Habib Hassan entitled *Maqam, a Form of Improvisation*[27] he notes that 'The maqam represents a unique improvisatory process in the art music of a large part of the world. Geographically this region includes the countries of North Africa, the Near East and Central Asia'.[28] In a later essay he adds,

> *In this vast area, three principal spheres of musical culture can be distinguished, namely, the Turkish, Persian and Arabian, in which the maqam phenomenon is widely cultivated. In Turkey this musical form is called* makam*; in Azerbaijan* mugam*; in Uzbekistan* shash-maqom*; in Iran* dastgah*; and in the Arab world* maqam.[29]

In this way, we find that in *maqab* music there are certain stylistic characteristics:

> *In addition to scalar construction, a makam is characterized by melodic contour, distinctive stopping tones, excursions into related makams, and typical motives. Combining these components with a proper beginning, middle, and end is like taking a stroll down a familiar path.*[30]

Latin America

In the centuries that followed the conquest of the American continent, the fusion of races and musical hybridization developed with interesting results. A talent for improvisation is frequently found in Latin America: in practically every country where there are festivals among folk musicians, improvisation plays an important part.[31] Improvisation in Latin

American music has been elaborated with standard models or formulas that form an integral part of the improvisational process by themselves and have their main roots in the combination of **Spanish** traditions (*corrido* and *sones* in Mexico, *punto* and *décimo guajiro* in Cuba, *verso*, *tonada* and *paya* in Chile, *desafío* and *embolada* in Brazil, *corrido* in Venezuela, *copla de rajaleña* in Colombia, among others), **African** (*danzón*, *habanera* and *cinquillo* in Cuba, *tango* and *milonga* in Argentina, *cumbia* in Colombia, *samba* in Brazil etc.) and the **Native American** music of Central and South America (such as the non-lexical improvisation of the Caribbean *guaguancó*, religious and shamanic rituals). They generally derive from rituals and songs which can be categorized by the identity of their particular rhythmic patterns.[32]

Africa

As far as African music is concerned, David Locke´s work *Improvisation in west African music*[33] is used as a guide. It explores improvisation as practiced in African music, and he notes:

> *In African music's improvisation is composition at the moment of performance. It involves acts of spontaneous creation, unique and impermanent, but it is not completely free. It is bounded by structures of style and by the training, technique, experience, and habits of a given performer.*

Europe

A well known example of improvisation in European folk music is Gypsy music. This culture spread in Europe from the middle of the 14th century. The improvisation of this type of music in Hungary, for example, consisted of a violin solo, first slow, in which improvised arabesques and *Magyar* sounds are combined. The other musicians, meanwhile, continue their improvisation holding their melody, prolonging their pauses, supporting inspiration if it seemed to diminish, while the cymbalom supported the improvisation. Later, the particular *czardas*, 'the dance of the tavern' was played.[34] In Gypsy music the singer has a melody that can change from verse to verse. Dance melodies usually consist of four lines, but the number can vary and is sometimes increased. This offers more room for improvisation, since words are not essential.[35] Likewise, there is a Jewish influence in the improvisation of folk music in Andalusia (southern Spain). The *saetas* ('song of arrows') is improvised by singers in honor of the statues that process through the streets during Holy Week. Although the words of the songs are Christian, the method of singing and the modulation of the voice is Jewish.[36] Every country has an improvisational tradition in the context of folk music, and exploring it by listening to examples, reading research papers and experimenting trying to improvise in these styles is a very rewarding exercise.

Fusions

It can be very interesting to hear the combinations that musicians from different traditions can make with improvisation, since despite coming from different cultures and languages, the thing that unites them is music: 'Improvisation, a skill ideally suited for instantaneous engagement in collective musical crossover, may also serve as a symbolic bridge linking different cultural orientations'.[37] Musical traditions, such as the particular rhythms of a culture, forms and instrumentation, can make the improvisational musical product a new

and attractive combination for avant-garde ears. For example, in Indonesia, '*Krakatau's* careful and compelling fusion music is perhaps the most fully realized in a long history of attempts to combine Indonesian traditional musics with electric jazz instruments, compositional techniques, and improvisational practices.[38] On the other hand, in the *Kriya* project, Finnish folk musician Pauliina Lerche invited two Hindustani musicians to collaborate for a week in Helsinki. They improvised solos in their own musical system, and Lerche felt that these two folk musics 'went very well because they were both very old ancient music and because both emphasized improvisation and oral transmission/performance'.[39]

Improvisation in the Arts

Literature

In literature, we cite a series of rigorous articles that illustrate how improvisation has also been part of the creative processes for writers and poets; for example, the studies entitled 'Improvisation and Literature' (1974),[40] 'The Problem of Improvisation in Romantic Literature' (1964)[41] and 'A Contemporary Scientific Study of André Breton's Automatic Writing' (2021).[42] We will focus on a modern practice that gave way to a pictorial current of great importance, André Breton's idea of 'automatic writing'. This is explained as the improvisatory process that Breton and the Surrealist writers used:

> *Les Champs magnétiques, written between 1919 and 1920, illustrated by Picabia and originally published in the French literary magazine* Littérature*, was the literary work that marked the end of Dadaism and the starting point of Surrealism. This literary piece was the outcome of the first experiment that Breton and Soupault carried out with automatic writing. During that period, Breton and Soupault wrote frenetically 10 hours daily, during various days. This activity affected their mental health and provoked them hallucinations. Both writers believed that the violent irruption of the unconscious material into the daily life of the individuals was very dangerous and the result of their writing experiment confirmed that theory.*

Theatre

Theatre is an art form in which performers represent a story, event or speech with body movements, or with music, as in opera. When theatre is applied in other disciplines, the results can be very satisfactory. Improvisation applied to theatre, in the social context, improves social skills, self-esteem, confidence, identity, as well as giving dramatic skills to the person who exercises it.[43] In the 20th century a theatrical genre was formed called 'improvisational theater'; ss the name implies, it is based entirely on improvisation and is also known by the names of 'improvisational/improvised theater', 'impro' or 'improv'.[44] Viola Spolin, acting coach and educator, is known as the founder of improvisational theatre. In her 1963 book *Improvisation for the theater*[45] she describes of the genre, which involves acting without a script; plot and characters are created through spontaneous collaboration at the time of the performance:

> *Typically, improv is executed by an ensemble of actors who accept suggestions from the audience and then create a scene on stage. Between performances, ensemble members rehearse together to hone specific skills. Theatrical directors and teachers have theorized that improv requires a host of skills, including focus, intuition, spontaneity, physicalization, and creative problem solving.*

Another exponent of theatrical improvisation, Keith Johnstone uses improvised games to motivate discoveries in the spontaneity of theatre, called 'Theatresports',[46] which are a competition between teams of improvisers and progressively motivates participants to improve their performance and improvisational technique.[47]

Dance

As with other subjects already mentioned, improvisation in dance is a universe in itself. One of the following subjects may be assigned as a short research project: improvisation in folk dance, baroque dance, or improvisation in contemporary dance, among many others. Even better for the students is the possibility of working with a dancer or a small group of dancers. The choreography might be already given or it might be developed by both dancers and musicians. Probably no other art form is so closely related to music as dance, and there is a natural interaction and feedback in both directions allowing the transformation of dance gestures into musical ones, and conversely. If no dancers are available for this exercise, a short video clip might help, although there is no substitute for live interaction.

Film

In the history of improvisation in film, Theodore Flicker and Lee Strasberg distinguished two types: private improvisation and public improvisation. The first is an appropriate tool for training actors, and the latter needs an audience. Improvisation in film requires a more active role of the director, since they are responsible for orchestrating the contributions of the actors at each stage of the production process: they must ensure that the actors' contributions blend with other elements in the scene to create a unified effect and make the improvisation public, rather than private.[48] In film, improvisation can help generate a required emotion or energy, or give meaning to a scene where the cast might have trouble understanding or reproducing the meaning. In this way, the actors free themselves from a text and can proceed: 'Improvisation, as a rehearsal technique, is used to work on dead places, uninteresting places, places in the script that are not working'.[49] Improvisation in the process of making a film can be of high artistic value, and can result in aesthetically rich experiences for the audience.[50] Although everything in a film production is usually meticulously planned, there are certain occasions when a director is forced to improvise on the set for various reasons, such as changes in the weather, equipment failure or change in the mood of the actors. Also, the director can ask the actors to 'play with it', encouraging them to try new things and create discoveries: 'Playing is part of what improvisation is and does'.[51]

Visual arts

The relationship between the visual arts and musical improvisation is more abstract and less direct. However there are plenty of opportunities to develop a musical improvisation based on a painting, a drawing, a sculpture or any other visual work. Escher's numerous metamorphic pieces or Cornelius Cardew's graphic scores in his *Treatise* both provide an excellent starting point. However, the exploration is open to other possibilities, such as taking a labyrinth and posing the question of solving it musically. Another natural line of experimentation is to build an improvisation based on graphic metaphors, such as perspective-polyphony, visual and musical colour, visual and musical planes, contour and melody, space in the visual arts and in music and so on. The same connection might be suggested with architecture and the structure of a building might serve, suitably translated, as the corresponding structure of a musical improvisation.

Social and other aspects of improvisation

Religion

Christian

In the organ tradition, improvisation has long been used in the liturgy. The composer is perhaps a less important part of the music produced in this area, since the improviser is defined by the context in which the music is made: an organist must adhere to cultural and liturgical requirements, and the accompaniment to a liturgical act needs to be artistically adjusted to the duration of the act itself, for example. In the historical instrument's repertoire, these requirements can also be found in instructions for performers.[52] It was considered important for an organist to have the ability to improvise, and the requirements for a church organist position 500 years ago are amazingly similar to today's ones: improvise a four-part fantasy, improvise treatment of a theme, weave the *cantus prius* in the voices of the harmonic texture, embellish a melodic line (borrowed or new: musical treatment of the *cantus firmus*) and so on.[53]

Muslim

Quranic recitation has many improvised elements, rhythmic, melodic and ornamental. As Lois Ibsen al Faruqi points out, 'The musical skills of melodic and rhythmic improvisation have been absorbed by the students through constant exposure to Quranic cantillation'.[54] As with Gregorian chant, this practice has been the subject of regulations, but there is still room for improvisation. Discussing in an improvisation course the differences and similarities of the recitation and singing practices in these important religious traditions constitutes an interesting and instructive exercise. Again, the opportunity to listen to recorded examples greatly broadens both the teacher's and the students' perspectives. Despite the abundance of Quranic recitations available online, finding ethnomusicological research papers on the subject is much more difficult; this is probably the result of the controversial role music has in Muslim society.

Pedagogical aspects

The role of improvisation in musical education is at least twofold: it constitutes an end in itself (that is, learning to improvise in a particular idiom with a specific instrument), and at the same time, improvisation can be an important tool in teaching and learning music. These two aspects and many other issues regarding the pedagogical questions about improvisation are presented in a remarkable paper 'Learning to Improvise Music, Improvising to Learn Music' by Patricia Shehan Campbell.[55] Important related questions can be addressed such as why, how and when improvisation should be taught, and its importance in the musical curriculum of music schools and conservatoires. Other relevant issues are the role improvisation has played in musical education throughout history, from being central during the baroque to having a secondary if not neglected role in modern times. It is also at this point that recent efforts to systematically incorporate improvisation as an indispensable part of music education can be approached. An important aspect of this discussion is related to historically-informed performance. It is by now clear that no such approach can really succeed without introducing improvisation into play. At this point it can be argued, no matter at which stage in a singer's or instrumentalist's career, improvisation should be taught. Moreover, it can never be emphasised enough that improvisation is a very enjoyable activity.

Improvisation in music therapy and neuroscience

Music therapy

Mercédès Pavlicevic[56] provides an accurate description of improvisation in music therapy, as quoted by Tríona Mary McCaffrey:[57]

> *Clinical improvisation which will be referred to hereafter as 'improvisation', is used as a method by qualified music therapists to relate with clients in a nonverbal manner through the use of live and extemporaneous music where a multitude of musical media may be employed including voice, body sounds, percussion and instruments. In music therapy the purpose of improvisation is not to make 'good music' but rather to create an intimate personal relationship between therapist and client.*

It is important to become familiar with the reactions of the mental processes that humans have to music in different situations, because knowing those, while a musical improvisation is performed, can lead us to collect interesting data: 'Sometimes the reaction is experience based, sometimes it has more of an intellectual nature. The early forms of meanings seem often to be based on an experience one way or another'.[58] The importance of the study of the emotions that a human being exposed to musical improvisation can have and the application of its data to psychotherapy is also pointed out by Simeon Alev:[59]

> *The twin wellsprings of the western psychotherapeutic tradition are its intrinsic concerns with individual and social developmental processes ... The nature of improvisational practice, like that*

of psychotherapy, is such that what is known about oneself and the other is constantly undergoing recontextualization by the next experience in a sonic mutuality that spans past, present and future.

In his article 'A proposition for the didactics of music therapy improvisation',[60] Jaakko Erkkilä begins by stating that 'improvisation is one of the most important concepts of music therapy'. He describes his method of analysis, which includes a total of five observation tasks, comprising visual observation, musical analysis, free agitation, polarity profile and dynamic forms.

Neuroscience

For our last section, we select the theme of improvisation as related to neuroscience. There are a number of nteresting articles that deal with this topic, including Roger Beaty's *The Neuroscience of Musical Improvisation*.[61] In it, he makes the following statement, positioning the musical practice of improvisation as a subject worth studying from a neuroscientific perspective:

> *Improvisation is one of the most complex forms of creative behavior. The improvising musician faces the unique challenge of managing several simultaneous processes in real-time—generating and evaluating melodic and rhythmic sequences, coordinating performance with other musicians in an ensemble, and executing elaborate fine-motor movements—all with the overall goal of creating aesthetically appealing music.*[62]

The question of how musicians improvise is relevant not only to the psychology of music, it also has implications for the psychology of creativity, as understanding the nature of creativity at a high level of skilled performance may shed light on domain-general processes underlying creative cognition. Improvisation research may also inform basic cognitive neuroscience because it provides a unique look at how acquired expertise shapes brain structure and function.[63]

Conclusions and perspectives

It is clear that an introductory course on improvisation trying to provide a theoretical and practical perspective can only uncover the tip of the iceberg. Just to mention a few aspects that were not discussed previously we can consider the relation between improvisation and electronic media (e.g. live coding), or the role of pianists and organists in improvising accompanying music for silent films, among many others. In any case, we believe that the current interest there is in improvisation will soon return it to the important place it deserves in the contemporary musical scene. Improvisation can and must be taught at any level of technical expertise. More importantly, re-incorporating improvisation as a daily musical practice will result in an improvement, both from a strictly musical as well as from a human perspective, of performers and audiences alike.

Rodrigo A. Ilizaliturri, Jorge M. Mendoza and Pablo Padilla work in the Faculty of Music and at the Institute for Applied Mathematics (IIMAS) at the National University of Mexico.

Notes

[1] See the introduction to Gabriel Solís and Bruno Nettl (eds), *Musical Improvisation. Art, Education and Society* (Urbana and Chicago, 2009).

[2] Pamela Ruiter-Feenstra, *Bach and the Art of Improvisation*, 2 vols (Ann Arbor, 2011), vol.i, p.3. This two-volume work. besides providing a historical perspective on the subject, constitutes a systematic course on historically informed improvisation.

[3] Ernest T. Ferrand, *Nine Centuries of Western Music: an Anthology with a Historical Introduction* (Cologne, 1961).

[4] The study by Ronny Krippner, *Organ Improvisation in the Anglican Cathedral Tradition: A Portfolio of Professional Practice with Contextual and Critical Commentary*, PhD dissertation (Birmingham City University, 2018), with examples on YouTube, is of particular value.

[5] See for instance Peter Williams, *Figured Bass Accompaniment*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1979).

[6] John J. Mortensen, *The Pianist's Guide to Historic Improvisation* (Oxford, 2020).

[7] Mike Zachary, 'Learning Improvisation from C.P.E. Bach', *NEMA Newsletter*, vi/1 (Spring 2022), pp.81-104.

[8] Flavia Claudia Todea, *Eighteenth century techniques of classical improvisation on the violin: Pedagogy, practice and decline*, Bmus dissertation (Edith Cowan University, 2014), https://ro.ecu.edu.au/theses_hons/189.

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[14] Katrin Eggers and Michael Lehner, 'Freedom and Form in Piano Improvisation in the Early 19th Century' in Alessandro Bertinetto and Marcello Ruta (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Philosophy and Improvisation in the Arts* (New York, 2021), ch.24.

[15] Lawson and Stowell (1999).

[16] Dana Gooley, 'Saving Improvisation: Hummel and the Free Fantasia in the Early Nineteenth Century' , in George E. Lewis and Benjamin Piekut (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Critical Improvisation Studies*, vol.2 (Oxford, 2016).

[17] Eggers and Lehner (2021).

[18] Anna G. Piotrowska, 'Expressing the Inexpressible: The Issue of Improvisation and the European Fascination with Gypsy Music in the 19th Century', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, xliii/2 (2012), pp.325-341.

[19] Goertzen (1996).

[20] Les Gillon, 'Varieties of Freedom in Music Improvisation', *Open Cultural Studies*, ii/1 (2018), p.782.

[21] Gillon (2018), p.782

[22] Derek Bailey, *Improvisation: Its nature and practice in music* (1993).

[23] Bailey (1993), p.55.

[24] Bailey (1993), p.83.

[25] Gabriel Solís, 'Genius, Improvisation, and the Narratives of Jazz History', in Solís and Nettl (2009).

[26] Ludwig Pesch, *The Oxford Illustrated Companion to South Indian Classical Music* (Oxford, 2/2009); see also Bonnie C. Wade, *Music in India: The Classical Traditions* (New Delhi, 2021).

[27] Habib Hassan, 'Maqam, A Form of Improvisation'*, The World of Music*, xii/3 (1970).

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[29] Habib Hassan Hassan, 'The maqam phenomenon: an improvisation technique in the music of the Middle East', *Ethnomusicology*, xv/1 (January 1971).

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[34] Walter Starkie, 'The Gipsy in Andalusian Folk-Lore and Folk-Music', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 62nd sess. (1935-1936), pp.1-20.

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[36] Starkie (1935).

[37] A. J. Racy, 'Musical improvisation, play, efficacy and significance', in Lewis and Piekut (2016), ch.11.

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[42] Victor Hugo Martínez, 'A Contemporary Scientific Study of André Breton's Automatic Writing', *Barcelona Investigación Arte Creación*, ix/2 (June 2021), pp.161-184.

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[61] Roger E. Beaty, 'The Neuroscience of Musical Improvisation', *Neuroscience & Biobehavioral Reviews*, li (April 2015), pp.108-117, doi: 10.1016/j.neubiorev.2015.01.004.

[62] Beaty (2015), p.109.

[63] Beaty (2015), p.110.

Composer anniversaries in 2022

John Collins

In 2022 there are many composers of pieces suitable for performance on keyboard instruments whose anniversaries can be commemorated, although not all 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 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 complete or partial editions by other publishers. Publishers' websites have been given at the end where known. Details of a small number of composers whose preserved output consists of only a few pieces have been omitted.

An increasing number of pieces, ranging from original publications or 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 notably IMSLP (https://imslp.org) and Free-scores (https://www.free-scores.com); however, the accuracy of some modern typesetting is questionable, and all should be treated with caution before use.

Jakob Hassler (c.1569-1622). Younger brother of Hans Leo Hassler and Imperial court organist to Archduke Rudolph in Prague, seven of his compositions for keyboard were copied into the Turin tablatures, including three Ricercars, a Toccata, a Fantasia, a Canzon and a Fuga. A modern edition by Hartmut Krones, unfortunately presenting the pieces in half note values, is published by Doblinger as Diletto Musical DM570.

Moritz, Landgraf von Hessen (1572-1632). He was a linguist and widely educated patron of the arts and left a large amount of instrumental and vocal music. A manuscript containing 14 fugues in four voices has been edited by Paul-Heinz Leifhelm for Cornetto Verlag CP424.

Thomas Tomkins (1572-1656). Born in St Davids, he became organist of Worcester cathedral. Tomkins' collected keyboard works, comprising some 76 compositions surviving in numerous manuscripts, include three Preludes, 17 plainsong settings, an Offertory, 12 Fancies and Voluntaries, seven Hexachord settings and other ostinati, ten Pavan-Galliard pairs, ten unconnected Pavans and Galliards, four variation sets, four miscellaneous pieces and eight doubtful or incomplete pieces, which have been edited by Stephen Tuttle and revised by John Irving, with some pieces presented in halved note values, and published by Stainer & Bell as Musica Britannica, vol.v.

Francesco Bianciardi (c.1572-1607). Organist and maestro di cappella at Siena cathedral from 1596, he published sacred and secular vocal music**.** Ten keyboard pieces were copied into the Turin tablatures, including six Ricercars, and four Fantasias, one being on the hexachord. A modern edition by Bernhard Billeter, also containing five Ricercars and five Canzonas by Costanzo Porta, unfortunately presenting all in halved note values, is published by American Institute of Musicology as CEKM 41.

José Jiménez (c.1600-1672). Succeeded Aguilera de Heredia as organist at La Seo, Zaragoza in 1627. He left 25 keyboard works in manuscript, including 13 liturgical compositions comprising eight Pange Linguas, one Sacris Solemnis, *versos* on los Saeculorum and el Himno de los Apostoles, a set of *versos* on the third (although this set is attributed to Andres de Sola in a copy at Porto), and one on the sixth Tone. Non-liturgical pieces comprise two *Batallas*, two *Obras* for undivided keyboard, two pieces for treble solos, three for bass solo and one for two basses with the solo writing. There is also one substantial set of 20 variations on *Folías* and one much shorter set. The best modern complete edition is by Javier Artigas Pina, José Luis González Uriol and Jesús Gonzalo López for *Institución Fernando el Católico.* Willi Apel edited 22 pieces (omitting one set of variations and two sets of Versos). for the American Institute of Musicology as CEKM 31.

Jacques Champion de Chambonnières (c.1602-1672). Harpsichordist to the court in Paris, he published some 60 pieces in two volumes of *Les pièces de clavessin*, and a further 90 or so remained in numerous manuscripts; by far the greatest number are courantes, but there are four Pavanes and three or four Chaconnes. The two published collections are available as facsimiles from Anne Fuzeau and also as Performers Facsimiles 56 and 57 from Broude, who also published a combined volume in Monuments of Music and Literature in facsimile MMMLF 1/3. A complete edition of published and manuscript pieces was edited by Paul Brunold and André Tessier and published by Broude; a more recent edition by Bruce Gustafson and Dennis Herlin in two volumes was also published by Broude as *The Art of the Keyboard* volume 12.

Jan Adam Reincken (c.1623-1722). Student of Heinrich Scheidemann, he became organist of the Katharinenkirche, Hamburg in 1663. Known for being impressed by J. S. Bach's playing, a few keyboard pieces have survived in manuscripts, including eight dance suites, two sets of variations and a *Holländische Nightingale* plus variations more suited to stringed keyboard instruments, edited by Klaus Beckmann for Breitkopf & Härtel 8290. He also left two lengthy chorale fantasias for organ, two toccatas and a Fugue in G minor which contains repeated notes in its subject, as well as two further Toccatas attributed to him in sources but almost certainly incorrectly, including the much-discussed A major and one in G attributed clearly erroneously to Frescobaldi in one source. Apart from the chorale fantasias all are suitable for stringed keyboard instruments as well as organ, and have been edited by Pieter Dirksen for Breitkopf & Härtel EB8715. The two chorale fantasias and two toccatas have been edited by Klaus Beckmann for Schott as *Masters of the North German school for organ*, vol.11 ED9783.

Johann Kuhnau (1660-1722). Lawyer and linguist as well as composer, he became organist of the Thomaskirche, Leipzig, and composed operas, masses and other vocal works, most of which have not survived, in addition to sets of keyboard music. He published *Neuer Clavier Uebung erster Theil* in 1689, containing seven dance suites in major keys, and *Neuer Clavier Uebung anderer Theil* in 1689, with seven dance suites in minor keys and a Sonata in B flat, *Frische Clavier Fruchte* in 1696 containing seven multi-movement sonatas, and a set of six multi-movement *Biblische Historien* in 1700. These were edited by Karl Pasler and revised by Hans Joachim Moser for Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst, volume 1/ 4. A more recent edition by C. David Harris which also contained four keyboard works surviving only in manuscript was published as *The Collected Works for Keyboard* in two volumes by Broude as 'The Art of the Keyboard', volume 6. The complete works are also edited by Norbert Müllemann for Henle.

The published collections are available in facsimiles from Archivum Musicum, Monumenta Musica Revocata, Florence, Anne Fuzeau and SPES.

Francesco Mancini (1672-1737). Neapolitan organist and maestro of the Capella Reale, whose works include operas, oratorios, cantatas and a smaller number of instrumental pieces including *XII Solos for a Violin or Flute, which Lessons are also Proper lessons for the Harpsichord*, published by Walsh in 1724. A facsimile is available from SPES.

Louis-Claude Daquin (1694-1772). Organist in various churches in Paris, and to the King at the Chapelle Royale and later at Notre Dame. He published his *Premier livre de pièces de Clavecin* in 1735, containing four suites in which dances are mixed with character pieces. This has been edited by Christopher Hogwood for Oxford University Press. His op.2, entitled *Nouveau livre de noels pour l'orgue et le clavecin*, 1757, contains12 pieces better suited to the organ, which have also been edited by Christopher Hogwood for Oxford University Press and by Nicolas Gorenstein for Chanvrelin. Facsimiles of both livres have been published by Anne Fuzeau and by Broude Brothers as Performers' Facsimiles PF42 and 32 respectively.

Pierre-Claude Foucquet (1694-1772). Organist of several churches in Paris, including Notre Dame and Chapel Royal, he published *Les caracteres de la Paix Pièces de clavecin – Oeuvre première* in 1742, which contained a suite of eight pieces in C, in 1751 a *Second livre de Pièces de clavecin*, which contained 13 pieces, six in F and seven in A, and in 1751 a third collection entitled *Les Forgerons. Le concert des Faunes et autres pieces de clavecin*, comprising 15 pieces, seven in G and eight in C. A facsimile edition of all three livres was published by Clavecinistes Francais du XVIIIe Siecle by Minkoff in two volumes, and a facsimile of the first livre was published by Collection FacsiMusic, Anne Fuzeau.

Johann-Peter Kellner (1705-1772). Cantor at Gräfenroda, he copied many works by J. S. Bach and his contemporaries and left around 25 organ works in manuscript, including a chromatic fugue counted among J. S. Bach's possible attributions (edited by C. Boer for Annie Bank edition SO2), six chorale preludes, and a number of harpsichord works including *Certamen Musica*, a set of six dance suites preceded by a prelude and fugue, and four Overtures, which Laura Cerutti has edited in 'Opere per clavicembalo' for Armelin AMM031 and Suite Quinta for Armelin AMM048; others remain unpublished. Maurizio Machella has edited 13 of the 14 pieces from a manuscript LM4876 in New Haven for Armelin AMM200. Ewald Kooiman has edited four pieces for Harmonia Uitgave as *Incognita Organo* 41 and a further four pieces, including three chorale preludes and the Fugue omitted by Machella along with three Fantasias by Johann Kittel, for Harmonia Uitgave as *Incognita Organo* 40. Georg Feder edited four pieces for Kistner & Siegel in *Die Orgel, Reihe II, Werke alter Meiste*, vol 2.

Georg Joachim Joseph Hahn (1712-1772). Born in Münnerstadt, where he was senator and choir director. In addition to keyboard pieces, he composed stage as well as sacred works, songs, and an important treatise on continuo playing. Ten *Preambulae*, 66 *Versiculi* and two Sonatas have been edited by Martin Jira in *Werke für Orgel und Clavier* for Cornetto Verlag CP1556.

Sebastian Albero (1722-1756). Organist of the Royal Chapel, Madrid in 1746. He left two collections of pieces which have survived in a probably non-autograph manuscript, including 30 binary-form *Sonatas para clavicórdio* (including two Fugas), arranged in pairs of related keys, usually in contrasting tempi, and six large-scale tri-partite works *Obras para clavicórdio o piano forte* (Recercata-Fuga-Sonata). Both collections have just been edited and published by Ryan Lane Whitney, available from Lulu.com. The Sonatas have also been edited by Genoveva Gálvez for Union Musical Ediciones, and the *Obras* appear scattered through *Nueva Biblioteca Espanola De Musica De Teclado* in volumes 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6, edited by António Baciero for Union Musical Ediciones.

Johann Ernst Bach (1722-1777). Son of Johann Bernhard Bach, he studied with Johann Sebastian Bach, becoming court musician of Duke Ernst August of Saxe-Weimar. He composed many sacred and secular Cantatas, chamber music, and some keyboard solos, including four Sonatas, two of which have been edited by Laura Cerutti for Armelin AMM049, three Fantasias and Fugues, one of which was included in Clementi's *Selection of Practical Harmony*, volume 1, and has been edited by Andrea Coen for Ut Orpheus in *Clementi Opera Omnia*, vol.52.1 The Fantasia in D minor, together with a Chorale prelude on 'Valet will ich Dir geben', has been published in *Organ works of the Bach family*. A complete edition is forthcoming from Lyrebird Music.

Johann Baptist Vallade (1722-1780). Organist at the church of Mendorf, Bavaria, he composed sets of preludes and fugues for keyboard, including one encompassing all 24 keys, and masses**.** *16 Fugen auf die Orgel oder Klavier* has been edited by Maurizio Machella for Armelin, AMM320.

Georg Benda (1722-1795). Born in Bohemia, he became second violinist at the Berlin chapel of Frederick the Great, later working for the Duke of Gotha. Apart from operas and chamber music, he published 17 Sonatas for keyboard in various prints, which have been edited by Christopher Hogwood for Oxford University Press, and also by Jan Racek and Václav Sykora for Editio Supraphon Musica Antiqua Bohemia, vol.24 (omitting No.17). *35 Sonatinas for keyboard* have been edited by Timothy Roberts for OUP, and also by Jan Racek for Editio Supraphon, Musica Antiqua Bohemia vol.37 (omitting No.35). A selection of 12 Sonatinas has been edited by Richard Jones for the Associated Board as *Easier Piano Pieces* 47.

Johann Lang (1722-1798). Bohemian, born in Svojsin. He became concertmaster for the Prince-Bishop of Augsburg, and composed symphonies, harpsichord concertos, masses, chamber music and quartets. A six-movement Divertimento has been edited by Peter Dicke for Edition Dohr 23106, and a manualiter *Fuga a tre per organo* has been edited by Raimund Schacher for Cornetto Verlag CORN-10-1-0214.

Johann Wilhelm Hässler (1747-1822). Organist in Erfurt, he also worked in London, St Petersburg and Moscow, and composed a large amount of keyboard music, a cantata, songs and chamber music. Several sets of Sonatas are available in modern editions, including *Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier* plus Fantasia (1776), edited in two volumes by Horn for Carus Verlag, *Sechs leichte Sonaten furs Clavier* (1780) edited by Erich Doflein for Edition Peters 1862. Two of the *Sechs leichte Sonate furs Clavier* (1786) have been edited by Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht for Kistner & Siegel in *Organum: Fünfte Reihe Klaviermusik*, vol.26, and the final sonata, for three

hands, published by Walter Wollenweber as *Unbekannte Werke der Klassik und Romantik* 98. Nos.1 and 2 of a continuation set published in 1787 have been edited by Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht for Kistner & Siegel in *Organum: Fünfte Reihe Klaviermusik*, vol.23 and Sonata 3 plus Sonata 3 from the 1790 set for Kistner & Siegel in *Organum: Fünfte Reihe Klaviermusik*, vol.30. A collection of five Sonatas selected from the sets of 1779, 1785, 1787 and 1788 have been edited for Edition Peters 66799. A set of *24 kleine Etüden in Walzerform* has been edited by Erich Doflein for Schott ED2830. The *Fantaisie & Sonate* Op.4 is available in facsimile, as is the Caprice & Sonate Pp.5. The *Grande gigue pour le pianoforte* has been edited by Walter Georgii and included in *Keyboard Music of the Baroque and Rococo,* vol.III for Arno Volk Verlag. His 50 *Pièces à l'usage des commençans*, Op.38 have been edited by Howard Ferguson for the Associated Board as *Easier Piano Pieces* 65. Two Fantasias, nine Sonatas and four Solos were included by Farrenc in *Trésor des pianistes*.

Josef Lipavsky (1772-1810). Bohemian who settled in Vienna. Surviving compositions include keyboard sonatas, fugues, sets of variations and songs and chamber music. A set of six fugues for organ or piano forte Op.29 is available on IMSLP, Nos.1 and 4 of which are attributed to Jan Zach in some manuscripts and modern anthologies. The fourth Fugue is a splendid highly chromatic piece based on B-A-C-H and is included in *Viennese Organ Music from around 1800* edited by Erich Benedikt for Doblinger DM1328

Johann Wilhelm Wilms (1772-1847). Born near Solingen, he moved to Amsterdam where he played the flute and wrote for local papers. He composed symphonies, violin sonatas, chamber music and keyboard pieces; the latter have been edited by Oliver Drechsel and Christoph Dohr for Edition Dohr. Vols.1 and 2 (vols.25 and 26 of *Denkmaler Rheinischer Musik*) come with a CD. Many pieces are available separately, including four volumes of Variations, from the same publisher.

Websites

American Institute of Musicology, http://www.corpusmusicae.com/cekm.htm

Armelin, www.armelin.it

Associated Boards of Royal School of Music, https://shop.abrsm.org

Bärenreiter, www.baerenreiter.com

Breitkopf & Hartel, www.breitkopf.com

Broude Bros Performers Facsimiles, www.broudebros.com

Carus Verlag, www.carus-verlag.com

Cornetto Verlag, www.cornetto-music.de

Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst (see Breitkopf & Härtel)

Doblinger Verlag, www.doblinger.at

Edition Baroque, www.edition-baroque.de

Edition HH, www.editionhh.co.uk

Editions Chanvrelin, http://chanvrelin.free.fr

Edition Dohr, www.dohr.de

Edizioni Carrara, www.edizionicarrara.it

Fitzjohn Music, www.impulse-music.co.uk/fitzjohnmusic

Fuzeau facsimiles, www.editions-classique.com

Henle, https://www.henle.de

Kistner & Siegel, www.kistner-siegel.de

Lyrebird Music, https://lyrebirdmusic.com

Minkoff facsimiles, www.omifacsimiles.com/cats/minkoff.html

Oxford University Press, https://global.oup.com/?cc=gb

Schola Cantorum, www.schola-editions.com

Schott Music, www.schott-music.com

SPES (some available from www.edition-walhall.de)

Stainer & Bell, www.stainer.co.uk

Union Musical Española, www.musicsalesclassical.com/companies/unionmusicalediciones

Ut Orpheus, www.utorpheus.com

Zanibon, www.armelin.it

An Index of early keyboard makers

Francis Knights

The copying and reproduction of historic musical instruments has been occurring for about a century and a half,[1] and a large number of makers worldwide continue this tradition. While original harpsichords and clavichords remained in use in various places during in the 19th century,[2] mainly for 'historical concerts' or demonstration recitals, as both public museums and private collectors began to gather and preserve them together, there originated a need for reproductions (both accurate and approximate) of old instruments which were usable by working musicians. With few original keyboard instruments available at auction or for sale nowadays, the need for this is greater than ever, and fortunately the quality and sheer variety of instruments now being made is impressive. From the Greco-Roman *hydraulis* (water organ) to the *organetto* to the *Bogenclavier* to the Romantic piano, all sizes and designs seem to be available. More recently, what were once specialist keyboard instruments, such as. lute-harpsichords, tangent pianos or the *clavecin roial* [3] have been made, and also pedal instruments, large-scale historical organ copies and *claviorgana*.[4] Part of this has been driven by performers, part by inquisitive instrument makers, and part by researchers such as Peter Holman, Darryl Martin, Peter Mole, Eleanor Smith and many others. For example, in the last few decades there have been important full-length studies of both English virginals[5] and spinets.[6]

Which instruments were used as models by modern makers initially depended on the availability of accurate drawings (hence the plethora of copies of the excellent 1769 Taskin harpsichord and 1763 Hass clavichord now at Edinburgh University), but since then a far greater selection of harpsichords of all kinds have been used as sources. Fashion clearly plays a role (as much from the players commissioning instruments as the makers building them, as noted above), an example of which can be seen in the flurry of Mietke harpsichord copies that appeared from the 1980s onwards, at about the time of the Bach tercentenary (a historical link had recently been made between Mietke's instruments and Brandenburg Concerto No.5).[7] While the identity of the actual keyboards used by Byrd, Buxtehude, Bach, Scarlatti and many other leading composers remain uncertain, there has been emerging a better understanding of some others that were available to musicians such as Handel.[8] As well as surviving instruments available for copying,[9] documentary sources - such as newspaper advertisements - can also give a sense of what types of instrument were made, and their value and use. The results are sometimes surprising, as in the selection of large and wide-compass harpsichords evidently available in certain parts of 18th-century Germany.[10] These could have three manuals, five registers, 16' stops and compasses down to CC. Expert conjectural reconstructions of archivally documented models, such as the 'Arnaut' keyboards of c.1440 or the 'Mersenne' clavichord (1636) by Peter Bavington[11] (no original French clavichords survive) can be very successful.

Early 20th century 'revival' instruments have also been restored and recorded for contemporary music;[12] there are not yet modern copies of such instruments, but as the originals wear out their time may yet come, especially for those with a particular link to important repertoire, such as the clavichords of Thomas Goff.[13]

* * *

The following list of international early keyboard makers' active websites[14] is arranged alphabetically by country, and also includes those who deal in, hire or restore instruments.[15] For second-hand instruments for sale, see the Harpsichord Clearing House, http://www.harpsichord.com and the World Wide Keyboard Bank, http://wwkbank.harpsichord.be.

Instruments and services are coded as follows:

c = clavichord
cv = claviorganum
f = fortepiano
h = harpsichord
l = lute-harpsichord
o = chamber organ
s = spinet
v = virginals
D = dealer in instruments
H = instrument hire
R = restoration

Argentina

Marianne Lilian Pérez Robledo, f/h/o, http://www.lpr-luthier.com.ar

Australia

Carey Beebe, h/s/D/H, http://www.hpschd.nu

Austria

Robert A. Brown, f, http://www.fortepiano.at

Winfried Hackl, c/h/s, www.recorder.co.at

Martin Puehringer, c/h/s, www.clavier.at

Belgium

Stijn Dekoninck, h/o, http://cembalo.be

Jan Van den Hemel, f, http://janvandenhemel.blogspot.com

Chris Maene, f, https://www.chrismaene.be

Jacques Magnette, h, https://clavecin.be

Joris Potvlieghe, c/o, www.clavichord.be

Pierre Verbeek, c/h/v, www.harpsichords.weebly.com

Jean-Luc Wolfs, h/v, https://clavecin-wolfsdachy.be

Canada

Claviers Baroques, c/f/h/s/v, http://www.claviersbaroques.com

Yves Beaupré, c/h/s/v, https://www.clavecinsbeaupre.com

Wolf Kater, h/o, http://www.rocler.qc.ca/wolf/en/harpsichord.htm

Borys Medicky, h/H, http://www.borysmedicky.com

Craig C. Tomlinson, c/f/h/v, http://www.tomlinsonharpsichords.com

Czech Republic

Vít Bébar, h/v, http://www.vitbebar.cz

Jan Bečička and Stanislav Hüttl, c/h/s/v, http://www.harpsichord.cz

Paul McNulty, f, https://www.fortepiano.eu

Jukka Ollikka, h, https://www.harpsichordmaker.com

Denmark

Erik Kristiansen, c/h, http://cembalo.dk

France

Martine Argellies, c/h/s, http://argellies.free.fr

Frédéric Bertrand, h/v, https://www.clavecins-bertrand.fr

Franck Bistocchi, h/o/v, http://orgues.bistocchi.com

David Boinnard, c/h/l/s/v, http://www.david-boinnard.com

Ugo Casalonga, h/s, https://ugocetera.monsite-orange.fr

Gérald Cattin, c/cv/h/o/s/v, https://www.claviorgues.fr

Yves Crétinon, c/h/s, http://clavecin.cretinon.free.fr

Alain Dieu, c/h/o/s/v, http://alaindieu.harpsichord.be

Marc Ducornet, c/f/h/s/v, http://www.ateliermarcducornet.com/en

Clavecins Fontaine, h, http://clavecins-fontaine.fr

J. C. Monzani, c/h/s/v, http://www.jcmonzani.com

Thomas Murach, h/s/v, https://sites.google.com/site/clavecinsariata/ariata22

Atelier Von Nagel Clavecins, h, http://vonnagel.weebly.com

Paris Workshop, c/h/s/v, http://www.theparisworkshop.com

Jean-Paul Rouaud Clavecins, h/s/v, https://clavecin.monsite-orange.fr

Laurent Soumagnac, h/o, http://www.atelierduclavecin.com

Renée Geoffrion, c, www.unacorda.fr

Germany

Gregor Bergmann, c/o, www.gregor-bergmann.com

Christian Fuchs, c/h/l/v, www.cembalo-fuchs.de

Matthias Griewisch, c/cv/h/s/v, www.griewisch.de

Andreas Hermert, c, http://www.clavichord.info/clavkult_bau_hermert.html

William Horn, c/f/h/s, www.williamhorn.de

Detmar Hungerberg, c/f/h, https://detmarhungerberg.de

William Jurgenson, c/f/h/v, http://jw.zabernet.de/bill.2014/index.html

Christoph Kern, f/h, https://christoph-kern.de

Rainer Kist, h, http://www.cembalo-kist.de

Klemens Kleitsch, c/h, www.klemens-kleitsch.de

Peter Kraul, c/o, http://www.kraul.org/Orgelbau.htm

Christian Kulhmann, h, https://www.cembalo-bremen.de/index.php/de

Volker E. Martin, c/f/h/s, www.volkermartin.net

Eckehart Merzdorf, c/f/h/s, www.merzdorf.de

J. C. Neupert, c/f/h/s/v, www.jc-neupert.de

Gesa Neukirch, c/h/s, www.cembalo-continuo.de

Volker Platte, h/v, www.volkerplatte.de

Joe Rácz, c/f/h/s, https://tevja.de

Michael Scheer, c/h/s/v, www.vogel-scheer.de

Johann-Gottfried Schmidt, c/h/o/s/v, www.cembalobau.de

Klemens Schmidt, c/h, https://musik-schmidt.com/node/10

Marian Johannes Schreiner, c/h/s/v, http://www.cembalowerkstatt.de/main2.html

Thomas Schüler, c/f/h/s http://www.thomas-schueler.de

Martin Schwabe, c/h/s, http://www.schwabe-instrument.eu/en

Kerstin Schwarz, c/f/h, http://www.animus-cristofori.com/en

Günter Thiele, h/s , http://www.historische-tasteninstrumente.de

Bernhard von Tucher, h/s/R, http://tucher.org

Vogel & Scheer, h/v/s/c, www.vogel-scheer.de

Burkhard Zander, c/h, www.zandercembalo.de

Hungary

Claviaton Historical Keyboard Instruments, c/f/h/s/v, http://www.claviaton.hu

Italy

Antichi Strumenti, c/h, http://www.antichistrumenti.it

Graziano Bandini & Grant O'Brien, c/h/s/v, http://www.claviantica.com/index.html

Bizzi, c/f/h/s, http://www.bizzi.com

Augusto Bonza, c/f/h, https://www.augustobonza.it

Marco Brighenti, c/h/s/v, http://www.brighenti-harpsichords.com

Sebastiano Calì, h/v, http://www.sebastianocali.com

Fratelli Carrara, h/o/R, http://www.laboratoriofratellicarrara.it

Ugo Casiglia, c/f/h, https://ugocasiglia.it

Michele Chiaramida, c/h/o, https://www.clavicordi.com

Walter Chinaglia, o, https://www.organa.it

Tony Chinnery, h/o/s/R, http://www.gb.early-keyboard.com/index.htm

Alberto Colzani, h/s/v, https://www.colzaniharpsichords.com

Umberto Debiaggi, c/f/h/s/R, http://www.umbertodebiaggi.it

Fabro Silvio, c/f/h/s, https://www.fabropianoforti.com

Giulio Fratini, h/f/s/v, https://www.bottegafratini.it

Frezzato - Di Mattia, h, http://www.meccanicatemperata.com

Gabriele Gamberi, h, http://www.gabrielegamberi.com

Mario Del Grosso, f/h/o/s, http://www.harpsichord.it/index.php

Bruce Kennedy, c/h/v, http://www.kennedyharpsichords.com

Roberto Livi, h, https://www.liviclavicembali.com

Andrea Di Maio, h, https://www.andreadimaio.it

Roberto Marioni, c/h/s/R, http://www.robertomarioni.com

C. Mascheroni, c/f/h/o/v, http://www.cembalimascheroni.com

Federico Mascheroni, c/ h/o, http://www.mascheroniharpsichords.com

Roberto Mattiazzo, h/s/v, http://www.robertomattiazzo.com

Luca Vismara, h, http://www.officium-musicum.it

Urbano Petroselli, c/f/h/s/R, https://www.urbanopetroselli.com

Fabio Rigali, c/h/o/v, https://www.fabiusgargazonensis.com

Japan

Masahiro Adachi, c/h, http://www.minehara.com

Haruyama harpsichord, c/f/h/s/v, http://harpsichord.jp

Atelier Itoh, c/h/v, http://atelieritoh.sakura.ne.jp

Michael Kreisz, h/o, http://www.kreisz-orgelbau.com/orgelbau-meister

Akira Kubota, h/v, https://kubota-cembalo.com

Toshiya Nogami Harpsichords & Organs, h/o,
http://crystal.fruits.jp/nogami_cem/index2.html

Akio Obuchi, c/h/v, http://obuchi.music.coocan.jp

Tatsuo Takahashi, c/h, http://www.cembalo.jp

Yasushi Takahashi, f/h/o, http://umeoka-gakki.music.coocan.jp

Akihiko Yamanobe, c/h/o, http://mvsica.sakura.ne.jp/eki

Seizo Yokota, f/h/v , http://www.ne.jp/asahi/cemb/ykt

Latvia

Kaspars Putriņš, c/h, http://www.hzp.lv

The Netherlands

Edwin Beunk & Johan Wennink, R, https://www.fortepiano.nl

Martin Butter, c/h/o/R, http://www.martinbutter.nl/20/index.php

Jan Van den Hemel, f/h/s/R, http://janvandenhemel.blogspot.com

Jan Kalsbeek, h, http://www.jankalsbeek.nl

Klinkhamer, c/h/R, https://www.klinkhamer-harpsichords.com

Klop Organs and Harpsichords, c/h/o/s, https://klop.info/en

Ad Koomans, h/o, http://www.adkoomans.org

Onno Peper clavecimbelmaker, h, http://www.onnopeper.nl

Thomas Power, h, https://harpsichordamsterdam.com

Hans van Rossum, o/R, https://rossumorgelbouw.nl

Sander Ruys, c, www.sruysclavichorden.nl

Dick Verwolf, c, www.dickverwolf.nl

Robert D. Vollbehr, h, http://www.vollbehr.nl

Norway

Arnfinn Nedland, h/o, https://www.cembalo.no

Portugal

Geert Karman, c/h/R, http://www.piparte.com

Pedro Ferreira, c/v, www.rumor.pt

Russia

Bonamici Clavecins, h/s/v, http://www.clavecins.ru

Klavier Musical Instrument Workshop, c, http://www.clavichord.ru

Slovenia

Škrabl, o, https://www.skrabl.co.uk

South Africa

William Selway Robson, c/h/o/s/v, http://www.williamselwayrobson.co.za

Spain

Rafael Marijuán, c/h, http://www.clavesmarijuan.com

Carlos Caramés, h, https://www.cembali.org

Nino Cisneros, c/h/v, http://ninocisneros.com/Home.html

Titus Crijnen, h/v, www.tituscrijnen.com

Raúl Martín Sevillano, c/h/s, https://rmsevillano.com

Sweden

Kilströms Klafvessinmakeri, h/v, http://www.kilstroms.se

Tornedalens Cembalobyggeri, c/h, http://www.tornedalens-cembalobyggeri.com

Switzerland

Jean-Michel Chabloz, h, www.harpsichord-making.com

Jörg Gobeli, c/h, http://gobeli.tasteninstrumente.com

Markus Krebs, h/s, www.krebs-cembalobau.ch

Ambrosius Pfaff, c/f/h/s, www.pianoforte-pfaff.ch

Mirko Weiss, h/s, www.mirkoweiss.com

UK

Peter Barnes, h/s/D/H/R, http://www.peterbarnesharpsichords.com

Colin Booth, H, http://www.colinbooth.co.uk

F. H. Browne & Sons, o, http://fhbrowneandsons.co.uk

Lucy Coad, R, https://www.squarepiano.co.uk

Michael Cole, f/h, http://squarepianos.com

Robert Deegan, h/D, http://www.deeganharpsichords.com

Dolmetsch, https://www.dolmetsch.com/ourharpsichords.htm

Early Music Shop, D, http://www.earlymusicshop.com

Andrew Garlick, h, http://www.garlick-harpsichords.co.uk

Goetze & Gwynn, o/R, https://www.goetzegwynn.co.uk

Alan Gotto, h/s/v, http://www.dsn.co.uk/agotto

Edmund Handy, c, http://www.edmundhandy.co.uk

Jennings Organs, o, https://jennings-organs.co.uk

Laurie Leigh, D/R, http://www.laurieleighantiques.com

London Harpsichords, D/H, http://londonharpsichords.co.uk

Ferguson Hoey, R, http://www.hoeyharpsichords.com/index.htm

William Mitchell, h/v, http://www.harpsichords.co.uk

Robert Morley, c/f/h/s/D, http://www.morleypianos.com

Music Room Workshop, c/f/h/s/v/D/R, http://www.musicroomworkshop.co.uk

Simon Neal, H, http://www.simonneal.org.uk

Stephen Robinson, s, http://www.robinsonspinets.co.uk

Malcolm Rose, h/s, http://www.malcolm-rose.com

Huw Saunders, c/h/s, http://www.harpsichordmaker.co.uk

Kenneth Tickell, o/H, https://www.tickell-organs.co.uk

Andrew Wooderson, h/D/H, http://www.woodersonharpsichords.co.uk

USA

Anne Beetem Acker, h/c/f/R/H/D, https://www.annesharpsichords.com

Mark Adler, c/h/s/v, http://www.cembaloworks.com

John Bennett, h/o, http://www.bennettearlykeyboards.com

Gary Blaise, c/h/v, http://www.garyblaise.com

Christopher Brodersen, c/f/h, www.cbrodersen.com

Robert Brooke, h/v, www.robertbrookeharpsichords.com

Owen Daly, c/h, www.dalyharpsichords.com

Carl Dudash Harpsichords, c/h, https://vintageperformance.com/cdh

Kevin Fryer, h, http://www.kevinfryer.net

Claire Hammett, H, http://www.harpsichordservices.com

Harpsichord Clearing House, D, http://www.harpsichord.com

Robert Hicks, h, http://www.hicksharpsichords.com

Keith Hill, c/h/l, http://keithhillharpsichords.com

Hubbard Harpsichords, c/f/h/s/v, http://www.hubharp.com

Paul Y. Irvin, f/h/o/s/v, http://www.pyirvin.com

Richard Kingston, h/v, http://www.richardkingstonharpsichords.com

Lyon Keyboard Instruments, c/f/h, http://www.lyonkeyboardinstruments.com

Douglas Maple, c/h/v, http://www.douglasmaple.com

Ernest Nicholas Miller, h, http://www.ernestmillerharpsichords.com

Dale Munschy, h, http://historicfortepianos.blogspot.com

Jack Peters, c/h/s/v, https://www.jackpeters.com

John Phillips Harpsichords, h/v, http://www.jph.us

Mij Ploger, h, http://plogerharpsichords.com

R. J. Regier, f/h, http://rjregierfortepianos.com

Steven Renaker, h, http://www.renaker.com

Theodore Robertson, c/h/v, https://www.robertsonharpsichords.com

Gerald Self, c/f/h/s/v, http://www.gselfharpsichords.com

Sheppard Keyboards, f/h, https://sheppardkeyboards.com

Steven Sorli, h/l, http://www.lautenwerk.com

Taylor and Boody, o, https://www.taylorandboody.com

Byron John Will, c/h, http://www.byronwillharpsichords.com

Thomas Winter, f, http://www.winterearlypianos.com

Wolf Instruments, c/f/h, https://wolfinstruments.com/keyboard-instruments

Charles Wolff, c, http://www.clavichords.com

Zuckermann, c/h/s/v, http://www.zhi.net

Notes

[1] An exception – or at least, a different process – is seen at work with members of the violin family, where Italian designs of the late 17th and early 18th century have remained as standard models for copying ever since.

[2] See, for example, Bernard Brauchli, *The Clavichord* (Cambridge, 1998), ch.6 and Peter Holman, 'The harpsichord in 19th-century Britain', *Harpsichord & Fortepiano*, xxiv/2 (Spring 2020), pp.4-14. There were of course some unaltered historic organs in continuing use.

[3] Kerstin Schwarz, 'The Clavecin Roïal and the first copy in modern times', *Harpsichord & Fortepiano*, xxv/1 (Autumn 2020), pp.11-14.

[4] See Malcolm Rose, 'The history and significance of the Lodewijk Theewes claviorgan', *Early Music*, xxxii (November 2004), pp.577-592, and Eleanor Smith, 'The Current State of Claviorgan Research', *Harpsichord & Fortepiano*, xxiv/1 (Autumn 2019), pp.8-11.

[5] Peter Mole, *The English Spinet with particular reference to the Schools of Keene and Hitchcock*, PhD dissertation (University of Edinburgh, 2009).

[6] Darryl Martin, *The English Virginal*, PhD dissertation (University of Edinburgh, 2003).

[7] See Dieter Krickeberg, 'Einige Cembalotypen aus dem Umkreis von Johann Sebastian Bach und die historisierende Aufführungspraxis', in *Alte Musik als ästhetische Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, 1985), pp.440–444.

[8] Peter Holman, 'Handel's harpsichords revisited Part 1: Handel and Ruckers harpsichords', *Early Music*, xlix/2 (May 2021), pp.227-243 and 'Handel's harpsichords revisited Part 2: Handel's domestic harpsichords', *Early Music*, xlix/3 (August 2021), pp.413-427.

[9] The surviving attributed instruments are catalogued in Donald Boalch, ed Charles Mould, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord* (Oxford, 3/1995), with an updated online edition due shortly.

[10] Leonard Schick, 'Harpsichords in Bach's Germany – an overview', *Harpsichord & Fortepiano*, xxvi/1 (Spring 2022), pp.10-20.

[11] See Peter Bavington, 'Reconstructing Mersenne's Clavichord', in Bernard Brauchli, Alberto Galazzo and Judith Wardman (eds), *De Clavicordio* X (Magnano, 2011), pp.13-35.

[12] Christopher D. Lewis, 'The challenges of a modern recording on a Pleyel harpsichord', *Harpsichord & Fortepiano*, xxv/1 (Autumn 2020), pp.15-20.

[13] See Francis Knights, 'The evolution of modern clavichord music' (forthcoming).

[14] There are of course many others, who either choose not to advertise or do not have a web presence.

[15] This list was originally created for publication in *Harpsichord & Fortepiano* in 2020, and I have since been able to expand the Far East section by reference to Carey Beebe's excellent database at https://www.hpschd.nu.

Contemporary music for the theorbo: creating a new repertoire

Janet Oates

The 'Theorbo Today' project aims to educate and inform composers and audiences about the theorbo, and produce and inspire a new repertoire for it, both as a solo instrument and as accompaniment to the voice.

The project was conceived in 2020 when my vocal ensemble Philomel[1] recorded short, newly written songs and duets - unaccompanied, with piano, or arranged for theorbo accompaniment - while unable to perform live during the lockdown. Toby Carr,[2] the guest theorbo player, was asked if he would like to play a contemporary solo, and to the group's surprise he said he didn't have anything suitable in his repertoire. This led to conversations online with early music specialists and theorbo players, and the understanding that though there are a few pieces scattered around, and although early music ensembles were often quite willing to consider contemporary works, there was not a satisfying body of new works for theorbo. Unlike the harpsichord and recorder, and to some extent the lute, it seems that the theorbo has been neglected by contemporary composers. Further discussions revealed a lack of knowledge about the theorbo (among composers, audience and even quite experienced musicians) and a perceived lack of performance opportunity. And so the project was devised; it received a grant from Arts Council England, and work began in the Spring of 2021.

A Facebook group and page were established to publicise the project and to make contact with a geographically wide range of composers and performers. In May, two open workshops were held online for composers to learn about the theorbo: its history and repertoire, its capabilities and sonorities, and playing techniques. The workshops were led by Toby Carr and Janet Oates, with composer Dominic McGonigal having prepared some questions and materials. The workshops attracted 23 composers from Britain, Sweden, Italy and America; we also invited the Royal Academy of Music to participate, with six postgraduate composers and one performer taking part, and the involvement of Geoff King (composition tutor) and Elizabeth Kenny (renowned theorbo performer and tutor at the RAM). The Arts Council Grant enabled us also to commission Rhiannon Randle, a rising composer who is already published by Boosey and Hawkes and Stainer & Bell.[3]

Fourteen works were submitted by workshop participants, ranging from theorbo solos to a quartet of voices and instruments; to our surprise and pleasure, the standard of writing was high, with very few issues of playability or technical errors. It is to Toby's credit that he prepared interesting material and examples, and explained so clearly how to write for the instrument; it was evident that composers were completely engaged in the task and thought carefully about their writing. These 14 pieces were recorded in August (illus.1), and in October a live concert took place, performing those pieces alongside the commission by Rhiannon and a contribution from me. Subsequently, the website theorbotoday.com was set up, explaining the project and linking to recordings, resources and composers.

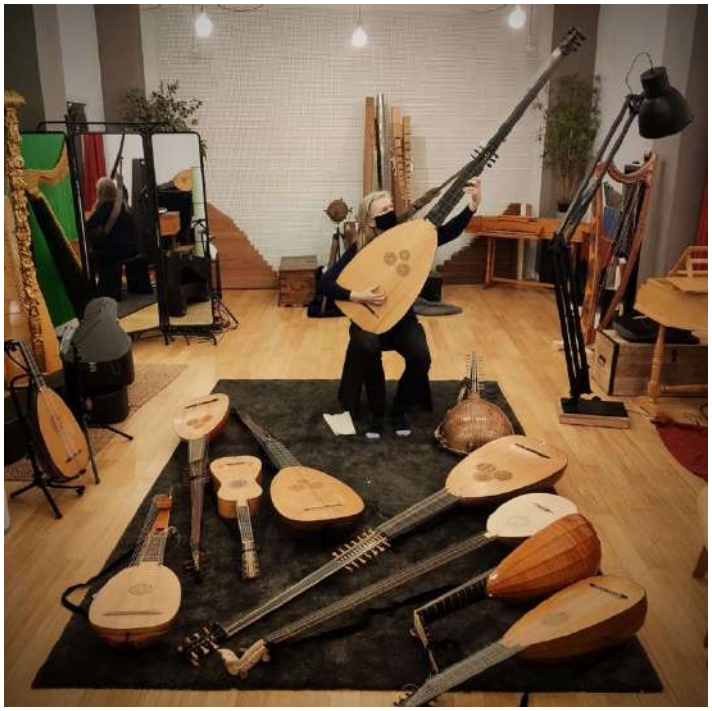
Learning about the composers' intentions and inspirations for their pieces was interesting. It was clear that the history of the instrument, and its canonical repertoire, was in the

minds of many composers, while others were determined to carve a new path, exploring new sonorities and challenging the performers.

Illus. 1 The four performers involved in the project, recording the pieces in August: Janet Oates (soprano), Toby Carr (theorbo), Sergio Bucheli (here playing lute) and Felicity Hayward (soprano).

'Re-enchanting the past'

Toby talked in the first workshop about the history of the theorbo, and its function. By the end of the 16th century, the lute was very well established around Europe – though with many variations in size, tuning, number of courses and so on. Renaissance lutes were designated 'perfect' instruments as, along with keyboards, they could play melody, harmony and chords. They were also termed 'noble', particularly when accompanying voices: able to fill in accompaniments (replacing other voices) as well as displaying 'high-minded' counterpoint. Then came two linked developments in music: a shift away from counterpoint towards monody, with the consequent use of a prominent bassline, and the Bardi Camerata's interest in classical Greek drama with music – the birth of opera. Singers were now not merely makers of beautiful sounds, but were reciters and story-tellers; their accompaniment instruments needed now to assist the drama, rather than add layers of polyphony; bass notes and chords are more important than vocal imitation. Thus the theorbo was invented: another 'perfect', 'noble' instrument but one with greater range, with the extra unfretted low strings (the diapasons) explicitly designed to add bass notes rather than melody.[4] The Bardi Camerata wished to bring alive the idea of storytelling not by an act of recreation (in our modern sense of thoroughly researched evidence) but by an act of inspiration. Rather than using historical record to recreate the Greek *kythara*, they were happy to use the theorbo, an ultra-modern instrument (one of its early names was *chittarone*, deriving from *kythara*); instead of a lyre, the baroque harp would do. Of course, the theorbo did not emerge fully formed and stable as an instrument – like the lute, there were different sizes, strings per course, tunings and sonorities; France (for example) had its own head-shape with single-string courses rather than the double-string courses usual at the time in Italy. The numerous names for the instruments of the theorbo family - seemingly never agreed on at the time, let alone in current debate – speak for the range of instruments. Illus.2 shows theorbo player Lynda Sayce[5] surrounded by a range of instruments, most of which would have been available at the beginning of the 17th century:



Illus.2 Lynda Sayce in Nicolas Achten's workshop in Brussels (photo: Nicolas Achten).

The first days of opera were dominated by monody, with solo voice accompanied by a 'perfect' instrument; again, the art of singing to one's own stringed instrument was their idea of the perfect recreation of antiquity. Not for nothing was Orpheus the most-set myth of the time. Early operas such as those by Cavalli and Marazzoli might have been scored for pairs of keyboard instruments and theorbos, with a pair of violins for the melodic aspects of the ritornelli.

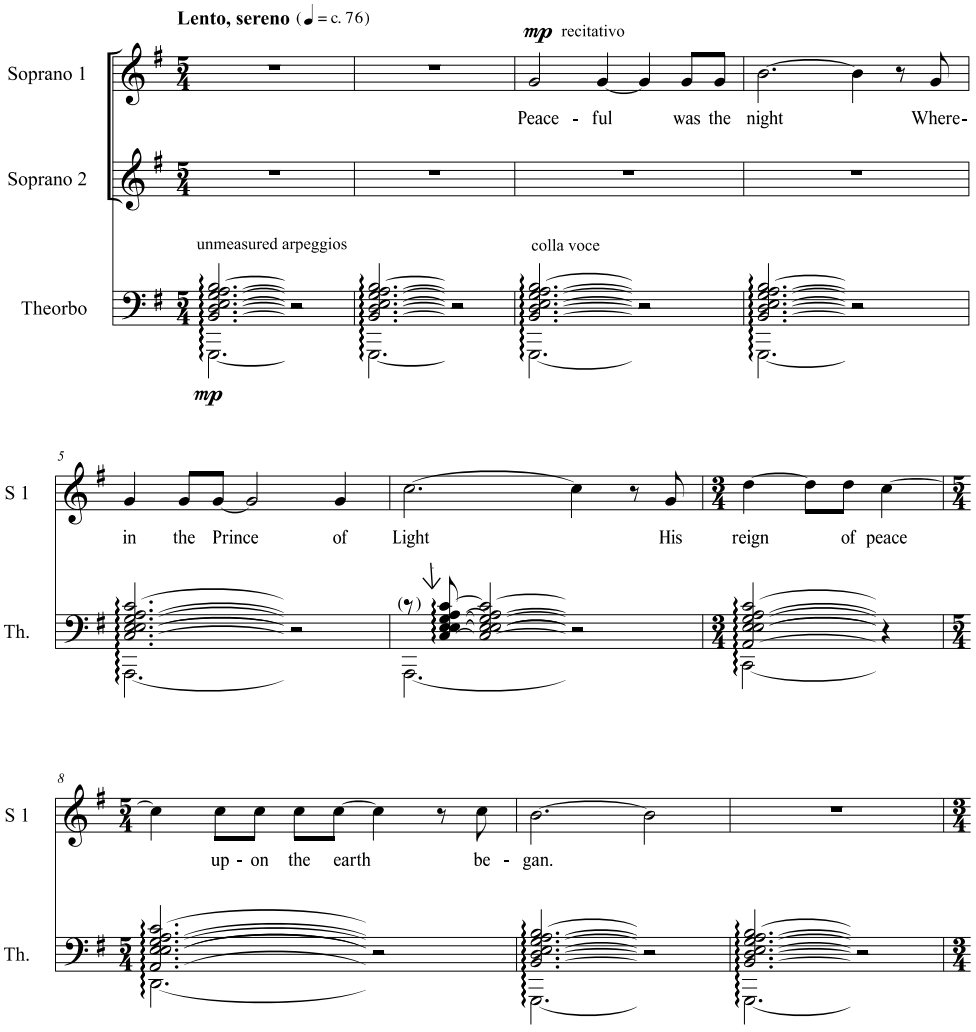
Three of our composers mentioned this historical function explicitly, either in conversation with the performers, or in their programme notes.[6] James Batty, who set extracts from the Anglo-Saxon poem *The Seafarer*, wanted the singer to be theatrical, employing various vocal techniques including speech, hissing and whistling; he encouraged the singer to invent gesture and engage the audience with eye-contact; the effect is of an anguished bard, perhaps captivating his audience as he tells his story in a tavern. Susie Vaughan, setting extracts of Sappho, says she was inspired by Toby's description of the theorbo 'with its origins in the Ancient Greek storyteller accompanying themselves on the lyre, and from a desire to re-enchant the past'. And our commissioned composer Rhiannon Randle had a similar intention: to create a snapshot of Antigone, using Sophocles' words in the original ancient Greek, with the theorbo 'seen as a kind of descendant of the *cithara* in its usage with storytelling that came full circle with the *seconda prattica* movement, drawing on ancient bardic traditions the likes of which Sophocles' audiences would have been familiar with', as explained in her programme note.

Once the theorbo was established as an accompaniment instrument, either on its own or as part of the continuo (including for smaller vocal works, and instrumental works such as sonatas and dances), a small repertoire of solo works was written and published, by several virtuoso players. Giovanni Kapsberger and Alessandro Piccinini are perhaps the best known in Italy, writing dances, variations and toccatas, while in France – using a smaller

instrument more handy for solo performance – Robert de Visée and others wrote lively, rich, expressive works. A few of our composers took inspiration from this baroque function, both as continuo-style accompaniment and solo instrument. Sheena Phillips, in her gentle pastoral piece *Christmas Morning,* sets words by John Milton. She says in her programme note:

> *Music was very important to Milton (even before he went blind). He undoubtedly knew the sounds of lute and theorbo and the 'stringed noise' he refers to in the poem is made (he tells us) by the striking of fingers. So he could well have had the sound of theorbo – answered by 'divinely warbled voice' – in mind as he wrote the poem.*
>
> *Milton's words are so wonderful that I didn't want to disrupt their flow. So the piece is a fairly direct setting of the text – but, while it borrows from the sound world of the 17th century, it also makes things new through decidedly un-17th century harmonies, rhythms and textures.*

Though writing for theorbo becomes more complex in later sections, her opening (ex.1) could (almost) be notated as figured bass:



Ex.1 The opening of Christmas Morning *by Sheena Phillips. Note the use of the lowest bass string. These diapason strings were described by the Italians as the theorbo's 'special excellence'; when combined with the soprano voice(s), there is an almost orchestral pitch-range.*

Peter Openshaw contributed two pieces to our collection, each with an eye to the past. Like Phillips's piece, both his song *Love in Fantastic Triumph* (one of our winning compositions), setting words by Aphra Behn, and his solo *An even sadder pavane* draw on English cultural tradition despite the theorbo never really taking off in England.[7] *Love in Fantastic Triumph* draws on the lively, word-painting effects of Purcell's keyboard accompaniments, while Openshaw says about *An Even Sadder Pavane:*

> *A few days after Charles I's execution, the veteran composer Thomas Tomkins wrote a consort piece entitled 'A Sad Pavane for These Distracted Times'. This title has been much on my mind during our own, very different, 'distracted times'. The Theorbo Today project gave me a perfect opportunity to write a 'sad pavane' of my own for an instrument from Tomkins's own time. I have followed the traditional structure of English pavanes – three sections, each followed by a freely varied repeat - and have also borrowed some of the rhythmic devices used in his music.*

It is, I think, a very successful piece, shifting subtly between familiar and unfamiliar patterns and harmonies, with a strong sense of structure and purpose.

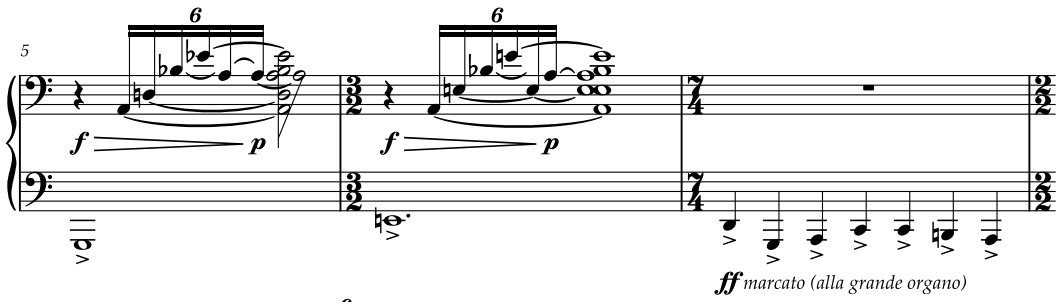
A third tradition from the baroque is referred to in the brief, energetic duet *Theorbo Chaser* by Dominic McGonigal. I would describe it as a toccata, structured as a canon:

> *The theorbo has beautiful resonant bass strings and Theorbo Chaser exploits this resonance with delicate colour in the upper strings. The canon is at the second so the melody appears to be climbing on itself as each theorbo comes in above the other. Thus the harmony emerges from the melody, rising up to the colourful treble strings and then settling back to a bass ostinato, when the two instruments become one* (Dominic McGonigal, programme note).

Questions of notation

In general, theorbo players play from tablature or of course figured bass when playing continuo. As tablature is not known by most composers – and is possibly not able to comprehend the intricacies of many contemporary rhythmic devices and playing techniques – it was decided mutually to use staff notation. But which staves? Guitar music is written on one treble stave only, as its range goes from three ledger-lines below the stave to about three ledger lines above. The theorbo needs a greater bass range, and it was suggested that a double stave – usually two bass staves, only using a treble stave if the tessitura of the piece was consistently high – would be useful. In this way composers can make clear the use of the diapason strings versus the fretted, or the different voices of counterpoint. In general this worked very well, with all submitted pieces in one or two bass staves.

This example from near the beginning of *Song of the Olive Garden* by Elliott Park – another of our winning compositions for its well-structured and idiomatic theorbo writing – shows the clarity of the two-stave technique, with the diapason strings used *marcato* and sustaining through the bar, while the fretted strings create colourful chords:



Ex. 2 Elliott Park, Song of the Olive Garden *(bars 5-7)*

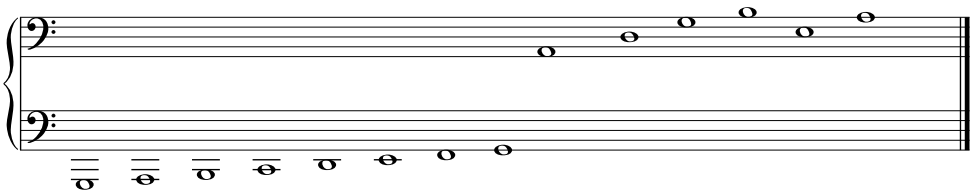
The theorbo as playground

The principal composers for lute and theorbo of the past were themselves great players: De Visée, for example, was named 'Guitar Master of the King' to Louis XV; he was also a singer, lutenist, viol player and theorbo player. Similarly, Piccinini came from a family of lutenists and held high positions in Bologna and Ferrara. No surprise, then, that composers who (with one or two exceptions) do not even play guitar, let alone lute or theorbo, might encounter a few initial difficulties when writing for the theorbo. Toby discussed playing technique – for example, when the thumb was and wasn't used; how spread chords were plucked, and how the left hand has to stretch and move for various patterns; we also provided a fret-board fingering chart for composers to visualise the fingering of melodies and chords. These proved very useful; nevertheless, there were some interesting challenges for the players!

As a composer, it's exciting to think of this lovely instrument as a new playground: with its melodic and harmonic capabilities, and the diapason/fretted strings, it is effectively two instruments in one. As Toby said in the first workshop, when thinking about the potential of writing for the theorbo, 'the idea of doing the work of two instruments terrifies me, but I think that things that terrify me are something we should embrace in the project, and then the [second] workshop might be about reeling it back in a little bit!'. Indeed, in a couple of cases this 'two instrument' concept, coupled with the double stave notation *and* the idea that dynamics were created by thicker textures rather than 'playing more loudly', did lead to the composers feeling that there could be a lot going on in both staves at once. In practice, the trickiness of navigating the instrument (the logistics of hand size, finding the correct strings out of 13, the speed of finding harmonics, moving quickly across large intervals and so on) meant that composers occasionally needed to pare back their writing. A related pitfall for composers excited about the range of the instrument was writing a little bit too high – sometimes above the highest fret – which is possible but obviously harder for the performer, with notes slower to find and not as resonant.

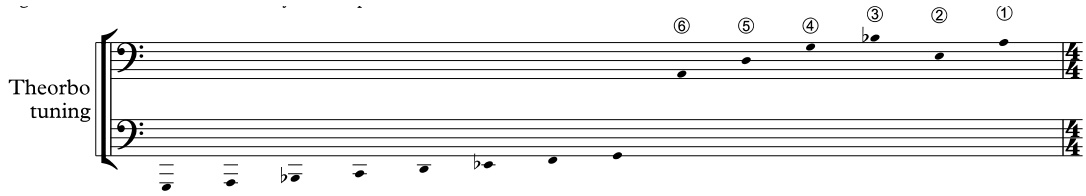
There were many interesting aspects of the theorbo to write for and exploit. The first is the tuning and retuning (scordatura) of all those strings. The performers suggested that composers can tune any string up to a tone in either direction, allowing for new sonorities.

The first diagram shows the natural tuning of the theorbo in G, with 14 single-string courses, as this is the instrument both Toby and Sergio would be using.



Ex. 3 Tuning of the 14-course theorbo

The second shows the diagram provided by Randle for her piece *Entombed*, showing re-tuning of both diapason and fretted strings; the piece has a modal feel.



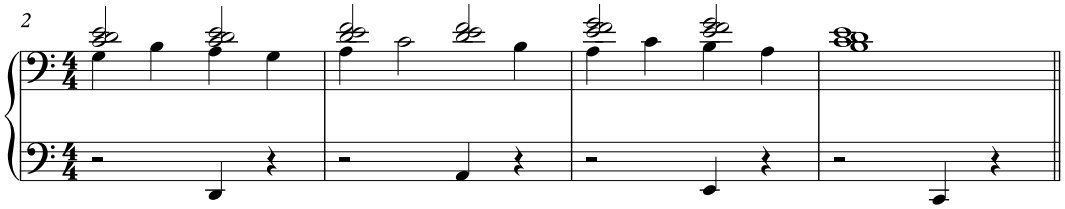
Ex. 4 Tuning of the theorbo for Rhiannon Randle's Entombed

Lastly, here are the tuning instructions for *The Seafarer* by James Batty: the composer describes the intention of microtonal tuning (mirrored in the voice) to 'distort our sense of time and place'. The instrument sounds like a primitive, ancient string instrument.

Scordatura:
The theorbo may be tuned to A440, A415 or another pitch
Bass string tuning: G, A, B, C, D, E, F♯, G
The following strings should be further retuned:
G strings (4, 7 and 14): tune 31 cents lower
D string (5, but NOT 11): tune 46 cents higher

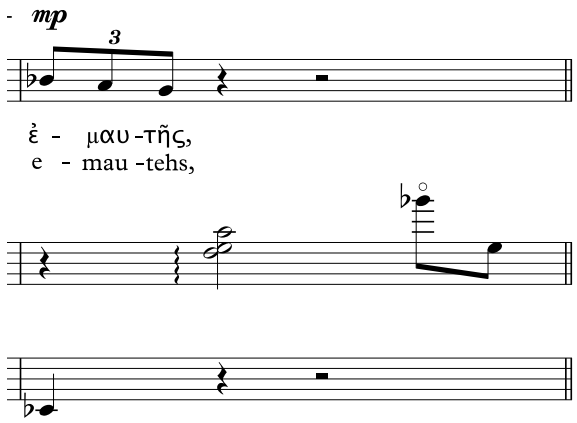
Another pleasure of the theorbo is the re-entrant tuning, which means that big rich chords seem to fold back into themselves, not always ending on the highest note; composers need to think carefully about the direction of strumming, and whether they want that feature of the theorbo highlighted, or whether to specify a particular order of notes. This is complicated by the many choices of fretting – with the strings close together in pitch, a chord (or melody) can be voiced and fingered in many different ways. How many open strings does the composer want? How much resonance versus how much dry clarity? How much spreading of chords versus plucking?

The first 'fragment' example created by Dominic McGonigal for our workshop explored this potential, with Toby demonstrating the various ways that the seemingly simply cluster-chords could be played and sounded.



Ex.5 Dominic McGonigal, fragment provided as an example for the workshop, allowing the player to show the different fingerings of the chord, with consequent varying resonances.

In practice, here we have a chord from Randle's *Entombed.* It could be played on strings 2, 3 and 4, in which case the highest note C would sound as the second note of the chord; or on strings 3, 4 and 5, in which case the highest note would indeed sound last. Should the composer specify this, or can the performer make an artistic (or logistical) decision? Across all the composers, it was suggested that any such decisions would be up to the performer unless specified by the composer.

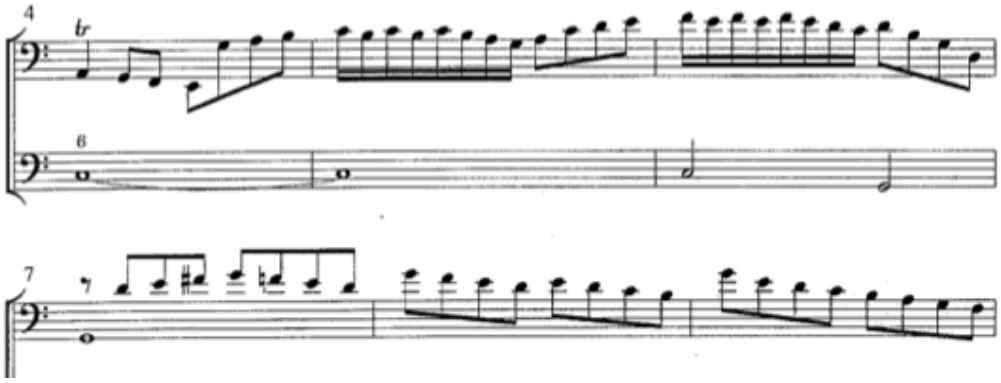


Ex.6 Example from Entombed *by Rhiannon Randle*

Similarly, in historical playing (particularly in continuo), a chord written out once may be then elaborated upon by the player to extend the harmony. For our contemporary composers,a couple of whom specified this technique, this tiny element of improvisation needs to be explicitly 'allowed' or rejected. It is of course entirely possible for a contemporary composer to write in historical style (if not in harmonic language), and, rather than trying to second-guess and control all aspects of performance, enjoy and encourage an experienced player to interpret their music idiomatically.

One positive effect of the re-entrant tuning is the facility the instrument has for playing fast scales or repeated notes, while still retaining resonance, with the fingers not needing to move far up and down the neck. This use of multiple strings (in a harp-like fashion, rather than constant re-fretting of one string) is called *campanella*: it has a lovely ringing quality, and is also a technique for increasing the dynamic, building up the sound.

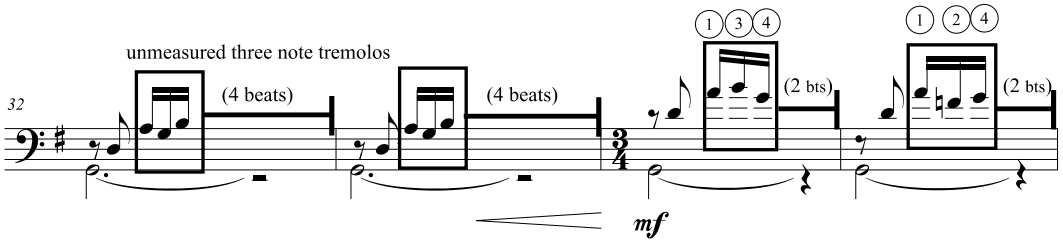
Below is the opening of *Toccata 11* from the first book of *Intavolatura di lauto* by Kapsberger (1611) (ignore the editorially-added basso continuo line). In staff notation, the trill-like figure in bars 5-6, and the scales in bar 8, could be played a number of ways; the tablature version clearly shows that they are to be played using many strings (rather than constant re-fretting of one string), giving lots of resonance and texture despite the single melodic line.



Ex.7 Toccata 11 (excerpt) from the first book of Intavolatura di lauto *by Kapsberger (1611).*

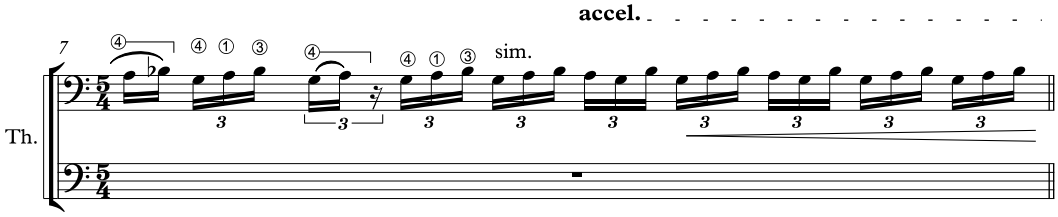
The *campanella* effect was used very effectively in several of our newly-written pieces.

Here, in the middle of *Christmas Morning* by Sheena Phillips, we have little repeated motifs, very clearly notated in box-and-line notation, with strings specified. The laissez-vibrer bass note, with the open D string also sounding, is then followed by a three-string motif, giving a constant five-string texture.



Ex.8 Sheena Phillips, Christmas Morning *(bars 32-35).*

And in this extract from Randle's *Entombed*, we see something similar: a little cloud of sound created from playing across three strings:



Ex.9 Cross-string passage from Entombed *by Rhiannon Randle*

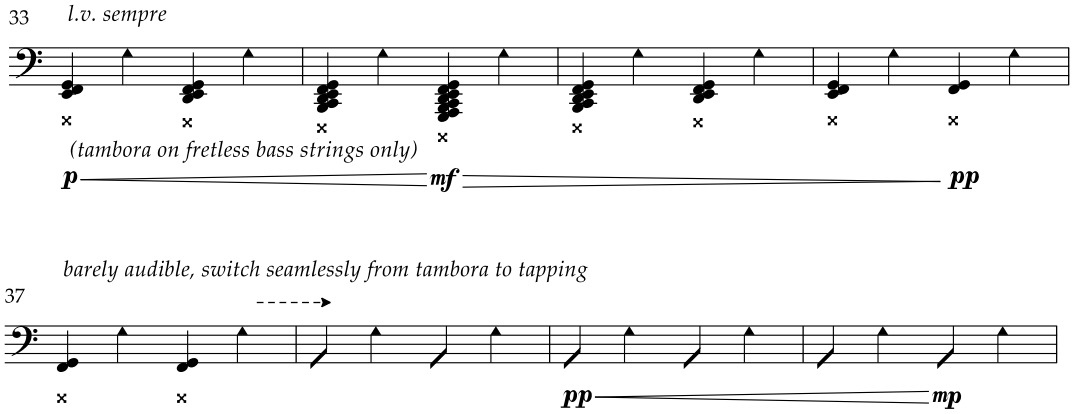
A couple of pitfalls arose in the initial drafts of pieces. Occasionally there were bars of writing that looked simple on the page but were tricky in practice, for example a beautifully written and precisely notated chord might be extraordinarily hard to play because there were a few pesky diapason strings in the way, so the chord could not be strummed, only plucked (or a compromise found).

A further unforeseen question arose when several composers wrote tremolos in their works. The intention behind this is to sustain a note (or chord) in a colourful way, but in

practice tremolos are hard to execute on the theorbo and do not really have the desired effect – the constant touching of the strings deadens the sound. Composers had to find a different way of producing the desired effect – for example repeated motifs as above, or simply doubling a note at the octave and letting it ring.

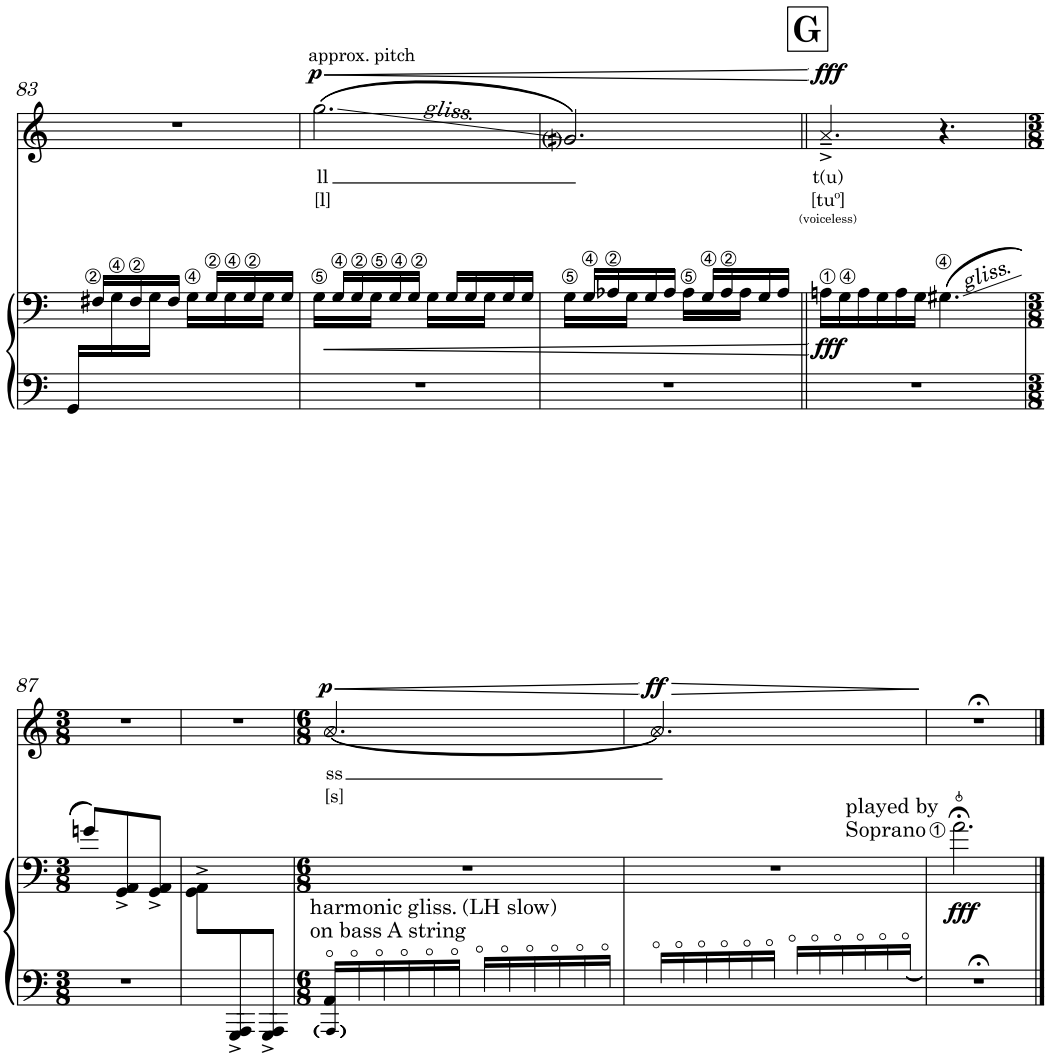
Toby had said how he was willing to 'change, pull at, and stretch at the seams' of conventional theorbo playing technique for the sake of the project – a delicious invitation.[8] As a result, several pieces explored techniques that are not used in the standard historical repertoire, including *tambura* (hitting the strings at the bridge, creating a sound like a resonant drum), glissandi (Toby's demonstration made the composers' faces light up!), *sul pont*, tapping on the wooden body/head, and harmonics. The whole issue of harmonics on theorbo is a new one for the performers too, as they are not required in historic repertoire; in the workshop and rehearsals, both theorbo players expressed how much they were learning and developing through this new music. We are lucky that Toby and Sergio not only play guitar, and are thus familiar with some of these techniques, but that they seemed positively to relish the process of discovery during the workshops and rehearsals, with Toby trying out lots of ideas during the lively workshop discussion.

In this example from *Seismographs* by Yu Hng Ng, we see a carefully controlled progression of tambora and tapping the wood in a resonant place (indicated by a triangular notehead) and a dry place (slash notehead).



Ex.10 Yu Hng Ng, Seismographs *(bars 33-40).*

And at the end of *The Seafarer* by James Batty, the performer first clashes the microtonally tuned strings 4 and 5 against the 'properly' tuned one, and then uses glissandi on harmonics (here creating a sort of woody twanging sound) before handing over the playing of the final climactic note to the soprano. It was decided by composer and performers that the soprano should not pluck the theorbo string, as that takes her out of the carefully set-up dramatic narrator role (almost like breaking the 'fourth wall', when actually the intention is to heighten the drama, not break it): instead, I gestured the final note (see picture) while the theorbist played, which retained a sense of magic and gravitas.[9]



Ex.11 James Batty, The Seafarer*: (bars 83-91).*

Illus.3 The final moment of James Batty's The Seafarer*: Janet Oates and Sergio Bucheli.*

Conclusion: a workable new repertoire

The project was lucky to have enthusiastic, open-minded performers, and composers who rose to the challenge of writing for this idiosyncratic instrument. The enthusiastic, interested reaction of the audience at the live concert (which comprised mostly either local people and/or friends and family, and therefore was not a specialist audience at all), and the appreciative responses to the videos from both contemporary music sites and early music sites on social media, leads us to believe that our project has been a success. Elliott Park's *Song of the Olive Garden* has already had two further performances, and interest from other performers. Furthermore, many of the participant composers have gone on to think about writing more for early instruments – developing their theorbo pieces, contacting early music ensembles, and enjoying the new world of sonorities and historical interest that has been opened up to them. We will be applying for funding to continue the project through new commissions and further performances of the current works. The project leads are currently in discussion with publishers about the possibility of a volume of works for theorbo with and without voice; we hope to leave a legacy of pieces with enough range, accessibility and quality that they will be taken up and enjoyed in the future as an established repertoire, bringing the theorbo out of its unjustified position of neglect in contemporary music.

Huge thanks go to Toby Carr, upon whose words and demonstrations in the two workshops I have drawn heavily. Also, thanks to the composers who made the project worthwhile.

Dr Janet Oates is a composer, teacher, performer and conductor, who studied at Royal Holloway under Simon Holt and Phil Cashian. She has written chamber operas, ensemble operas for amateurs and an oratorio for baroque forces which was performed by Isleworth Baroque in 2014. She is an active member of CoMA (Contemporary Music for All), the London Composers' Forum, and the Richmond New Music Collective. Website http://janetoates.co.uk

Notes

[1] Philomel comprises six sopranos with a varying continuo group. We perform the repertoire of the Concerto delle Donne, and music of that era and slightly later. We also commission new works for sopranos with or without continuo. We focus on women composers – Strozzi and Caccini are frequent choices for solos and duets – and celebrate female performance practice. See www.philomel.co.uk.

[2] See www.tobycarr.co.uk. Our second performer was Sergio Bucheli, an accomplished and sensitive player studying at the RAM: https://www.arcangelo.org.uk/performers/new-ensemblist-sergio-bucheli-lute.

[3] See www.Rhiannonrandle.com.

[4] The Florentines at first took a bass lute and modified it: when string tension became too great, they took thicker strings and tuned them an octave down, creating the re-entrant tuning; the diapason strings on the neck extension came a little later.

[5] Dr Lynda Sayce is a highly regarded performer and scholar; her website www.theorbo.com is a treasure trove of information.

[6] All the pieces, with recordings and programme notes, can be found in the 'repertoire' page of theorbotoday.com.

[7] In England, the lute continued to hold sway: there are very few records of pieces and performers. In the late 17th century the archlute (a lute with theorbo-like neck extension, with less resonance and range than the theorbo) became somewhat known.

[8] It should be noted that, as theorbo players rarely use conventional notation, our two performers Toby Carr and Sergio Bucheli had to put a lot of time and effort into learning the pieces, for which we are immensely grateful.

[9] The video can be seen here on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yxgz_89WnRw (or search 'theorbo today the seafarer').

Remembering David Fletcher (1942-2021)

Mark Windisch

David Fletcher, our dear colleague died unexpectedly early at the age of 79 after undergoing unsuccessful treatment for cancer. Every organisation has certain members whose activities within the group are so important that their removal threatens the whole structure. NEMA is a very lean organisation and has only one Webmaster. David set up the website despite protesting that he had no talent for designing an attractive front end. In fact, the website has served NEMA for many years and has included all the enhancements that have been added to it. David will be very hard indeed to replace.

It is not only immense technical competence that defined David. He was always ready to help and went out of his way to apply his skills and knowledge and even money to help NEMA to flourish. In a recent initiative to fund young early music groups David was straight in with a generous donation, much appreciated by the young groups

David was a dedicated early music supporter, a leading light of Thames Valley Early Music Forum which he chaired for many years, arranging events both private and public, manning the stand at exhibitions and more. This lovely picture (courtesy of Victoria Helby) shows David doing what he loved, playing his cornett (thinking of Gabrieli) and playing in San Marco in Venice.

If NEMA Members would like to add their personal tributes they will be published on the NEMA Website in due course.

Report: Nordic Historical Keyboard Festival (26 August-28 September 2021)

Anna Maria McElwain

The Nordic Historical Keyboard Festival took place for the ninth time, not in May 2020 as planned but in the Autumn of 2021, and with Pandemic restrictions still in effect. The Festival was spread over a month, and offered 18 recitals in eleven venues in and around Kuopio, Finland. Although the Festival emphasizes the clavichord, the harpsichord and Baroque organ were also heard in several recitals, and the traverse flute once in duet with the clavichord. The Festival has become known for a large number of international performers each year, but because of the Pandemic the only international performers this time were Albert Mühlböck (Austria/Taiwan), Gabriele Toia (Italy) and Marju Riisikamp (Estonia).

Albert Mühlböck played a recital with repertoire from the 'Golden Years of the Clavichord', including composers such as Cabezón, C. P. E. and J. S. Bach, Beethoven, and - perhaps not exactly from the clavichord's golden years - Alissa Duryee's *Forager's Journal*, which was awarded second prize in the International Clavichord Composition Competition of 2018. Mühlböck also performed a clavichord-piano recital, with selections from Bach's *Well-tempered Clavier* on the clavichord and Chopin's complete Etudes Op.10 on the piano.

Illus.1 Aapo Häkkinen, Alava Church

Gabriele Toia was the winner of the above-mentioned composition competition with his piece *Tamutmutef*. That work was not heard this time, and instead he played a clavichord programme with compositions from the young Beethoven and his teachers, with the second half of the recital dedicated to contemporary composers, improvisation and jazz. Toia's additional organ recital offered a lovely selection of Italian Baroque.

Marju Riisikamp's harpsichord recital 'Byrds and Fantasias' was devoted to early English and Italian composers. Her organ recital, on the other hand, except for the work of Nicolas de Grigny, consisted of 20th century organ music, including a piece by Riisikamp's compatriot, Arvo Pärt.

Aapo Häkkinen is among the best-known Finnish early music specialists. He combined clavichord and harpsichord in his recital 'Bach and the Bachians', including works by J. S. and C. P. E. Bach, Haydn, Palschau, Hässler and Reichardt (illus.1). Pilvi Listo also performed her programme of J. S. Bach on two instruments in one recital: harpsichord and Baroque organ. Päivi Vesalainen (clavichord) and Helene Joy (traverse flute) performed J. C. Bach, Haydn and Mozart (illus.2). Vesalainen likes to present the clavichord in various chamber settings, and in the 2022 festival, which is to begin on 15 May, she will play the clavichord with vihuelist Janne Malinen. The only other chamber recital at the 2021 Festival was a four-hand clavichord recital by Anna Maria McElwain and Albert Mühlböck (illus.3), with a programme mostly of waltzes. The former's solo contribution to the Festival was in memory of the Beethoven 250 jubilee, with 15 Beethoven sonatas on the clavichord, starting from Op.2 and ending in Op.31. The final recital, of Cabezón, Kerll, von Noordt, Buttstedt, J. S. Bach and others, was given by Christian Ahlskog on the clavichord, including some of his own improvisations as well.

Illus.2 Helene Joy and Päivi Vesalainen, Flodberg Chapel

Illus.3 Albert Mühlböck and Anna Maria McElwain, Kuopio City Library

It was apparent that the lockdowns and restrictions had increased a hunger for music in audiences. Many concerts were packed fuller than restrictions would really have allowed, and one recital even had to be repeated an hour later to accommodate the people at the door. Hopefully the people of Kuopio will retain their interest in the clavichord and early music, as the 10th Festival approaches; a full programme is available at www.nordicclavichord.org.

Report: 'Early Music in the 21st Century' (17-19 October 2021)

Mimi Mitchell

The advertisement for this conference at the Conservatorium van Amsterdam issued a clarion call for performers, academicians and pedagogues to join forces to 'rethink, reevaluate and reboot' the early music movement. With time during the first pandemic lockdown to assess the state of 'early music' during this new century, I had become both concerned and excited about our future. Fortunately, this online conference - and the world-wide reactions to its topics - reassured me that the future of the movement is in excellent hands.

The idea for the conference was inspired by Nicolas Kenyon's symposia in the United States and the resulting volume *Authenticity and Early Music* (1988), a collection of essays which addressed one of the most pressing issues of the movement in the 1980s. When I presented the idea of organising something similar for this new century, Michiel Schuijer and the Music Research Division of the Conservatory of Amsterdam supported the plan. We were honoured that Kenyon was also excited about the project, agreeing to give the opening address for 'Early Music in the 21st century' and contribute to the resulting publication. His thoughtful reflections on the past polarisation and reintegration of the movement, followed by his hope for an increasingly diverse future, were the perfect springboard for the event and will be an excellent introduction to the volume of essays from the conference.

The conference last October brought together a diverse community to discuss the future of the movement. Because of the continuing restrictions of the Covid pandemic, the conference became a virtual event, and this made it possible for the global early music community to add their voices to the discussion. 26 speakers from nine countries presented their work under the following headings: New Methodologies and Technologies, Programming and Patrons, New Perspectives, Collaborations and Confrontations, New Historiographies and Pedagogical Futures. All the presenters spoke live from their home countries and listeners from around the world were able to attend the event, even if it meant getting up in the middle of the night to do so. From the conservatory in Amsterdam, a live-streamed concert given by students of Jorge Isaac (recorder) and Goska Isphording (modern harpsichord) showcased 20th and 21st century works for these instruments, plus electronics.

'Embodied research', in its many permutations, was the most frequently cited methodology throughout the conference. The pioneers created the early music movement with this type of work, and the path to its legitimisation as a proper methodology was underlined throughout the three days. Emily Worthington (University of Huddersfield) gave an excellent introduction to the topic, Kai Köpp (Bern University of the Arts) discussed his work with historical re-enactment, Helen Roberts (Royal Birmingham Conservatoire) outlined her 'action research' and Emily Baines (Brunel University, Guildhall School of Music & Drama, Shakespeare's Globe Higher Education Department) explained how she used information from 18th-century mechanical instruments as the starting point for a present-day recording. Jed Wentz (University of Leiden, Utrecht Early Music Festival) presented an embodied, impassioned plea for using historical acting to help musicians engage with affect in their music making.

In her rich keynote lecture, Caroline Bithell (University of Manchester) reminded us how important ethnomusicology can be to help us understand the early music movement as a revival, as well as how this field's methodologies could be used for early music research. Her work in Corsica elided beautifully into the work of the Corsican Thomas Fournil (Guildhall School of Music & Drama) and his interest in the decolonization of conservatory practices. Other new perspectives included a discussion of 19th-century musicalities by George Kennaway (Universities of Leeds and Huddersfield) and honest reflections on past performances through the lens of post-colonial awareness by the singer and conductor Joseph Pettit (US). Cyril Lacheze and Marion Weckerle (Paris) encouraged us to put popular music back on stage, and David Kjar (Boston and Roosevelt universities) presented a fascinating case study of 21st-century patronage.

Perhaps surprising for a field devoted to hand-crafted instruments and the aesthetic ideals of the past, new technologies were also discussed. Marnix van Berchum (Utrecht University) showed how network science could be used to produce metadata for early music research. A lively evening session included an introduction of the Amsterdam-based Utopa baroque organ by Hans Fidom (Vrije University), followed by a clever and collegial response from Alon Schab (University of Haifa), who reflected upon the virtual organ's 'deep-fake authenticity'. Jonathan Abel (Stanford University) and Eoin Callery (University of Limerick) presented their exciting work with virtual acoustics and demonstrated how they use this new technology to recreate historical spaces that are no longer accessible as concert venues.

The changing historiography of the movement was also discussed during the symposium, and the limitations of past profiles of instruments, institutions and even continents became apparent. Robert Ehrlich ('Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy' University of Music and Theater Leipzig) illuminated a fascinating and disturbing period in the revival of the recorder, and Kailan Rubinoff (University of North Carolina) presented the surprising trajectory of the Amsterdam Conservatory's early music pedagogical history. The limitations of North American- and Northern European-centric early music historiography were revealed by Melodie Michel (independent researcher, France), with her work outlining the early music past and the 20th-century revival in Latin America.

'Collaborations and Confrontations' were presented by Johannes Leertouwer (Conservatory of Amsterdam, Leiden University) and Mimi Mitchell (Conservatory of Amsterdam). Leertouwer discussed his doctoral project of historically-informed performances of Brahms, which involves faculty members, students and alumni from both the modern and early music departments of the conservatory. Mitchell explored the Leipzig Bach Competition's decision to put both baroque and modern instruments in the same 'boxing ring' and the possible pedagogical ramifications such a competition implied.

Dana Marsh (Director, Historical Performance Institute, Indiana University Jacobs School of Music), Christopher Suckling (Guildhall School of Music & Drama) and Kelly Landerkin (Schola Cantorum Basiliensis) closed the conference by reflecting on the various pedagogical approaches of their different institutions. What are the positive/negative aspects of teaching early music in a music school department within a university, in an early music department within a conservatory, and in an exclusively early music institution? Marsh and Suckling were aware that their programmes needed to train

multi-facetted musicians, while Landerkin appealed for the importance of providing a space for specialisation.

This brief overview of the speakers and topics cannot begin to reflect the conference's atmosphere. I felt an enormous amount of positive collegial support between the speakers, and the listeners - from the United States to Australia - were engaged during and after the event. Although the call for papers did not reach as diverse a population as I would have liked to have seen represented, it was certainly a step towards a more inclusive future. During 'Early Music in the 21st Century', the musician-scholar took centre stage, gender equality was almost fully realised, and speakers represented North and Latin America, Europe and the Middle East. The performer, academic and pedagogue were no longer separate entities, but were often united in a strong force of tripartite engagement.

The movement certainly has its concerns for the future, and these important topics could only be touched upon during these three days. Some speakers hinted that the success of the field has had negative consequences, many remarked on the dwindling funding for the arts, and others reminded us that performing works from colonial and/or less inclusive times remains challenging. Making a living in the field is a greater challenge compared to the heady days of the 1980s, and there is a growing awareness of the limitations of our legacy. It appears that there is now a general acknowledgement that many aspects of performing music of the past are unknowable, combined with the realisation that there are many things that we haven't yet thought to consider. Although the future of 'early music' - and the breadth of what this phrase means - was of great concern to many, this conference combatted the likelihood of a doom scenario. The speakers, chairs, and the online community who listened and contributed are clearly passionate about and actively involved in re-evaluating and re-energizing the movement.

Report: Handel Institute Conference (19-21 November 2021)

Mark Windisch

The Handel Institute (https://handelinstitute.org) conference is held in London every three years, and attracts specialist Handel researchers from the US, Europe and the UK. For some years it has been held jointly with the Gerald Coke Foundation in the Foundling Museum, Brunswick Square. This year it was moved to the Bridewell Hall near Ludgate. Readers of the *NEMA Newsletter* might be interested in knowing what research on Handel is currently being undertaken by scholars.

The conference opened with an illustrated talk by Dr Andrew Woolley (Universidade NOVA de Lisboa). His subject was 'The Italian Concerto style in Handel's Early Keyboard pieces'. Woolley concentrated his talk on pieces written in Hamburg 1703-6 showing how Handel has begun to develop a new style from traditional composers like Buxtehude and Reincken. As his style progressed he used compositions by Vivaldi with a three-part structure as a model with a more flamboyant style. The famous accompaniment to 'Vo far Guerra' in *Rinaldo* was used to illustrate this showy method of composition. It is interesting that J. S. Bach followed a similar evolution later in his life.

This was followed by Peter Kohanski (University of North Texas, Denton), who spoke about water parties, fireworks and the Royal public image. It was important that the King

should put on a public show of some magnificence for the British people to make him look less foreign. These events followed a tradition of courtly entertainment expected from a ruler both in Britain and also on the Continent. Handel was tasked with composing music for these occasions. He used horns and trumpets in an orchestral setting for the first time to produce an important statement of grandeur.

The next speaker was Frederico Lanzelotti (University of Bologna) who compared Giovanni Bononcini's settings of *Muzio Scevola* (1695-1710) in Italy to the way he presented the same story in his contribution to the famous production in London, where he was joined by Handel and Amadei, each being responsible for a separate act of the opera. There are considerable differences between the London version and the earlier versions in Turin and Vienna.

Stephen Roe is an antiquarian music dealer and specialises on the music of Johann Christian Bach. J. C. Bach followed Handel to London and the talk shows how much the former's music was appreciated by London audiences. There was an important connection with the singers Farinelli, Guadagni and Galli, who sang composition by both composers. After 1760 Bach was involved with performances of *Messiah* and *Samson* and his only oratorio, *Gioas, re di Gaula*, is described by commentators as being influenced by Handel.

Professor Donald Burrows is well known his comprehensive Handel book in the Master Musicians series. His talk centred on a manuscript score, beautifully bound in leather but now well worn: it was of a part of *Messiah* which Gerald Coke had purchased from a bookseller in 1987. Analysis had proved that it must be one of the earliest transcripts in existence. Burrows will complete an analysis of the contents of this book for the Handel Conference in Halle where, if significant information is revealed in it, it will be used to update editions of *Messiah*

Fred Fehleisen (Juilliard School of Music) has an interest in Handel's creative process. He examines the idiomatic use of language which connects 'Comfort ye' with 'He was despised', occurring as they do at some distance from one another in *Messiah*, yet musically they are closely connected. Examination of the autograph in the British Library shows the relationship to be based on prophecy and salvation.

Cathal Twomey (Dublin City University) set out to show that the text in *Messiah* is in fact poetry and not prose, as has long been thought. The use by Jennens of rhetorical devices points to an underlying poetical structure.

Professor Colin Timms (Barber Institute, Birmingham) showed how Handel adapted earlier musical compositions to an entirely different purpose, especially when he was pressed for time. One of the movements in *Messiah*, 'For unto us a child is born', started life as a much more secular aria in Italy. Timms pointed out examples in *Theodora* where this could well have been intentional irony. He believes that some research into this technique would be a valuable addition to Handel scholarship.

Dr Yseult Martinez (Sorbonne, Paris) chose a close study of the libretto of *Alcina* to examine how Italian librettos were adapted for the London stage. She examined the interaction between Handel and his predecessors in the treatment of an operatic sorceress.

Dr Carole Taylor has made a close study of the archives in the Bank of England to try to discover what prompted wealthy supporters of Italian opera to give or withdraw their

support for this art form. Taylor has previously examined accounts involving Handel and some of his performers; now she widened her scope to include patrons.

Luke Howard (Brigham Young University) had made a study of 'scratch' performances of *Messiah*. Following the demise of the Crystal Palace performances a fashion was started to fill the void which was left among choral societies in England. By this time the musical experts regarded mass performances as an unfortunate excess which was to be discouraged. However, choral societies would not be confounded, and the end of World War II saw a rapid rise in 'scratch' *Messiah* performances needing only minimal rehearsal. Dr Howard showed that this long-standing tradition would simply not be denied, up to the present day.

Dr David Vickers (Huddersfield University) made a very thorough survey of period instrument performances of *Messiah* on CD. British and North American groups had released the most recordings, but they were followed by Austrian, Czech, Dutch, French, German. Japanese, Norwegian, Spanish, Swedish and Swiss groups. Vickers pointed out the shortcomings of several recordings which claimed authenticity but had made compromises which undermined that claim.

Lizzy Buckle's talk dealt with interactions between performers. As a base she had used Foundling Hospital performers' lists and included several other sources. This had assisted her in drawing a complex network of interactions between various musicians.

Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson had researched performance of Handel's oratorios in London's East End and neighbouring Essex, with some historical documents and pictures of venues that have subsequently been lost to posterity.

Joe Lockwood (New College, Oxford) had traced where Mozart had used Handel's music embedded in his operas. There was a considerable amount of this described as early as 1798 by Johann Friedrich Rochlitz. In some cases it was mainly a matter of using Handel's style. Despite attempts to prove that Mozart could not have known Handel's music, Lockwood argued that Mozart certainly had access to a great deal of Handel's music.

Dr David Wyn Jones made a parallel between Handel's composition of court music to glorify the King and Beethoven's music to glorify the Austrian Empire. Beethoven is quoted as describing Handel as 'the greatest, the ablest composer that ever lived'. Beethoven had a fascination with the oratorio *Saul* as the a model for the way Handel treated compositions to delineate a monarch. He used similar instrumentation as Handel to achieve the appropriate level of grandeur.

Report: 'Early Music - then and now' (21 March 2022)

Alexander Robinson

As part of the 10th edition of the European REMA Early Music Day programme (21 March 2022), Cambridge Early Music hosted a round table discussion entitled 'Early Music: Then and Now' in the Faculty of Music at the University of Cambridge, which was also streamed live through the REMA website. Chaired by Edward Wickham and involving a distinguished panel of speakers – Laurence Cummings, Sally Dunkley, Alan Howard, Nicholas Kenyon and Sarah Latto – the discussions centred around the changing face of historical performance in the 50 years that have elapsed since the OUP journal *Early Music* was first published.

After a brief welcome by Edward Wickham, the event started with a consideration of how *Early Music* has reflected the changing character and market of early music. Observing the contrast between the first issue of this journal and its current form, Nicholas Kenyon then recalled other ways in which 1973 seemed like a watershed moment in the early music world, which heralded the arrival of groups like the Taverner Consort and the Academy of Ancient Music. He also reflected on his own time as editor of *Early Music* in the 1980s, notably with an issue specifically devoted to authenticity (vol.xii/1, 1984) and how these debates helped to diminish the polarisation between historically informed and mainstream classical music performance. Some of these threads were subsequently taken up by Alan Howard, who noted that *Early Music* is now co-edited by three main editors rather than just one, and that most of today's contributors and readers are in fact scholars.

This led logically into a discussion of the relationship between historically informed performers and academics. As Laurence Cummings pointed out, early music is fairly unique among most branches of music-making in that there is often a sharing of knowledge between performers and scholars – one, indeed, which can frequently be very fruitful. On the other hand, as Edward Wickham reminded us, this relationship is not

always harmonious, as he was able to say from personal experiences he had had as director of The Clerks (such as when he was once approached by two different musicologists about using their edition of music by Machaut during the same concert!). Audience members also contributed to these discussions. In particular, Iain Fenlon and Christopher Page both challenged the binary separation of scholars from performers. The former made the point that a musicologist's defining functions – i.e. high-level research publications, pedagogy and public service work (e.g. pre-concert talks) – all ultimately have an impact on performance, whereas Page noted that performers can often be quite erudite in spite of the fact that, technically speaking, they are amateurs (or as he put it, 'home-made scholars').

Perhaps inevitably, the role of the 'scholar-performer' also engendered some insightful comments during these discussions. Recalling her own experience of preparing performing editions for The Sixteen and The Tallis Scholars during their formative years, Sally Dunkley remarked that this concept largely arose from a necessity to bridge the gap between academics and practitioners. She also made the point that 'scholar-performers' could make a big impact on public awareness of hitherto peripheral repertories, as, for example, the contrast between how frequently John Sheppard's music was heard and performed 50 years ago compared to now unequivocally demonstrates. In a sense, this provided a logical connection to Sarah Latto's observation that academics and researchers do not always reach out to performers as much as they could (or perhaps should). As she rightly observed, whether as scholars, performers or something in between, we should all be motivated by a concern to increase and broaden the audience for early music.

Where does this leave the future of early music? At different moments during this debate, both Nicholas Kenyon and Laurence Cummings touched on the point that, in many ways, historically informed performance has changed from being revolutionary to something that now represents the establishment. As they observed, this is apparent not only in the fact that people nowadays generally expect Baroque music to be performed on period instruments in an early music style, but it is also confirmed by the frequent collaborations that occur between stars of the early music movement (like John Eliot Gardiner and Roger Norrington) and mainstream (i.e. non-period instrument) orchestras. In part, these trends have also been facilitated by the high-performance standard that characterises very many of today's early music ensembles – something which, again, provides an important contrast with the situation as it was in the early 1970s. Overall, as Edward Wickham noted in closing, the overall picture for the future of early music thus seems relatively optimistic. Perhaps the main challenge that remains is how the early music movement can recapture its revolutionary attributes, and how those involved in the performance and promotion of this music can continue to move listeners without giving the impression that it can only be enjoyed with good prior knowledge of its original historical and performing contexts.

News and Listings

NEWS

Steven Zohn has been awarded Magdeburg's Georg-Philipp-Telemann-Preis for 2022.

A new website http://www.georgemalcolm.co.uk is dedicated to the life and works of harpsichordist and conductor **George Malcolm** (1917-1997).

OBITUARIES

Viola da gamba player **Hannelore Mueller** (1930–2021) has died at the age of 91.

Conductor and writer **John Byrt** (24 December 1940–15 January 2021) has died at the age of 80.

Recorder player and teacher **Alan Davis** (1945–October 2021) has died at the age of 76.

Guitar scholar **Thomas F. Heck** (10 July 1943–3 October 2021) has died at the age of 79.

Music historian **Richard Crocker** (17 February 1927–22 October 2021) has died at the age of 94.

NEMA Council member and webmaster **David Fletcher** (1942–16 November 2021) has died at the age of 79.

Viola da gamba player **Judith Davidoff** (21 October 1927–19 December 2021) has died at the age of 94.

Organist and Conductor **Francis Jackson** (2 October 1917–10 January 2022), Organist of York Minster 1946–82, has died the age of 104.

Organbuilder **Ernest Copeman Hart** (July 1934–16 January 2022), founder of Copeman Hart & Company Ltd, has died the age of 87.

Tenor **Nigel Rogers** (21 March 1935–19 January 2022) has died at the age of 86.

Clare Salaman (22 March 1966–22 January 2022), director of the Society of Strange and Ancient Instruments, has died at the age of 55.

Conductor **Georg Christoph Biller** (20 September 1955–27 January 2022), former Thomaskantor at Leipzig, has died at the age of 66.

Conductor, recorder player and writer **René Clemencic** (7 February 1928–8 March 2022) has died at the age of 94.

EARLY MUSIC ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIETIES

Early Music Fora and events

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

26 March 2022 – *Music for the Salamander King - Music of the Court of François I*, Bishop's Palace, Hereford, tutor Andrew Kirkman

7 May 2022 – *A Musical Banquet - music from Banchetto Musicale by Schein*, Titley Village Hall, tutor Ali Kinder.

2 June 2022 – *The Music of Thomas Tomkins*, Ty'r Pererin, St David's, tutor Huw Williams (WEMFC event).

6 May 2023 – *Byrd Quatercentenary workshop*, New Radnor, tutor David Skinner.

16 September 2023 – *Workshop for singers*, Shrewsbury, tutor David Allinson.

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

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

11 June 2022 – '*O sing unto the Lord a new song!', Psalm motets of the Renaissance*, Cambridge, tutor David Allinson

15 October 2022 – *Lambert de Sayve, Missa Dominus Regnavit a16*, Ipswich, tutor Philip Thorby

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

3 April 2022 – *NEEMF Annual Northern Performing Day*, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle

24 April 2022 – *NEEMF Annual Performing Day*, Temple Newsam, Leeds

7 May 2022 – *Palestrina, Missa Papae Marcelli*, Garforth, Leeds, tutor John Dunford

11 June 2022 – *Bridging the Renaissance and Baroque*, Clements Hall, York, tutor John Powell

3 July 2022 – *Tudor Miniatures and Cryes*, Meadowfield, tutor Mary Tyers

17 September 2022 – *Loud winds playing day*, Clements Hall, York, tutors Peter Barnard and Kate Billmore

29 October 2022 – *The music of Costanza*, Clements Hall, York, tutor David Hatcher

26 November 2022 – *Advent/Christmas workshop for instruments*, Newcastle, tutor Tim Bayley

17 Dec 2022 – *Seasonal fun for voices and Instruments*, Clements Hall, York, tutor Tricia Moores

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

12 March 2022 – *A different view of Covid – and what it might mean for singers*, Kendal, tutor Evelyn Tubb

30 April 2022 – *Lassus and Lechner*, Didsbury Baptist church, tutor Philip Thorby

28 May 2022 – *Bassano recorder workshop*, Didsbury, tutor Marion Scott

11 June 2022 – *Obrecht for voices*, Cilcain, tutor Peter Syrus

17 September 2022 – *Music from the Convent of San Matteo in Arcetri*, tutor Laurie Stras

15 October 2022 – *Dunkeld Partbooks*, Lancaster St Martin's, tutor Rory McCleery

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

2 April 2022 – *Purcell: Choruses from Dido and Aeneas*, Dorridge, tutor George Parris

21 May 2022 – *Rosenmuller*, Dorridge, tutor Will Carslake

18 June 2022 – *Wot No Bars 2*, Selly Oak, tutor David Hatcher

16 July 2022 – *Nuns*, Harborne, tutor Laurie Stras

17 September 2022 – *Schütz and his World*, Stafford, tutor Gawain Glenton

Southern Early Music Forum, https://semf2.semf.org.uk

2 April 2022 – *Grand Tour of Europe*, Bosham, tutor Alison Kinder

30 April 2022 – *Machaut and the Magic of the Mediaeval*, tutor Lizzie Gutteridge

4 June 2022 – *Handel, 'Israel in Egypt'*, Chichester, tutor John Hancorn

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

2 April 2022 – *SWEMF Renaissance Winds Day*, Cheltenham, tutor Tim Bayley

21 May 2022 – *SWEMF Workshop for Singers*, Cheltenham, tutor Angus Smith

18 June 2022 – *SWEMF Workshop for Singers*, Thorverton Parish Church, tutor Angus Smith

23 July 2022 – *SWEMF Workshop for Voices and Instruments*, tutor Alison Kinder

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

29 May 2022 – *Heinrich Schütz, the German Orpheus*, Amersham, tutor Andrew Griffiths

24 September 2022 – *Lambeth Choirbook*, Northwood, tutor Patrick Allies

Early Music Organizations

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

American Musical Instrument Society, http://www.amis.org

Asociación Amigos del Clavecín, http://clalsan.wix.com/amigos_clavecin

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

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

Keyboard Charitable Trust, http://www.keyboardtrust.org

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

Les Amis du Clavecin, http://www.amisduclavecin.be/¬index.htm

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

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

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

Southern California Early Music Society, http://www.earlymusicla.org

Spanish Association of Early Music Groups, http://www.asociaciongema.com

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

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

Thomas Tomkins Society, http://www.thomastomkins.org.uk

Japan Clavier Society, www.claviersociety.jp

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 meeting **Domenico Scarlatti's Sonatas on harpsichord and piano: performance praxis and virtuosity** will take place at the Conservatorio di Musica Giovan Battista Martini, Bologna on 1-2 April 2022. Website http://www.consbo.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/1690.

The symposium **Mechanical technologies and their transfers. Theoretical considerations on performance analysis and its practical realisation** will take place at the Technische Universität Berlin on 7 April 2022. Website https://early-recordings.com.

The conference '**Musicking': Culturally Informed Performance Practices** will take place at the University of Oregon on 18-23 April 2022. Website https://blogs.uoregon.edu/musicking/call-for-proposals/

The conference **New Perspectives in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Music Notations** will take place at KU Leuven, Belgium on 4-7 May 2022. Website https://alamirefoundation.org/en/research/conferences/notations.

The conference **Music, Creativity, and Culture in England, 1642-88** will take place at The Queen's College, Oxford on 21 May 2022. Signup at https://users.ox.ac.uk/~quee3938/mcc_conference.html.

The Galpin Society's conference **Domestic Music Making and its Instruments** will take place at the University of Edinburgh on 23-25 June 2022. Website http://www.euchmi.ed.ac.uk/gxtp.html.

The 50th **Mediaeval and Renaissance International Music Conference** (Med-Ren 2022) will take place at Uppsala University, Sweden, on 4-7 July 2022. Website https://musik.uu.se/medren-2022-en

Musical and theatrical migrations: Performance practice in 17th and 18th-century Europe will take place at the Queluz National Palace, Portugal on 8-10 July 2022. Contact: franceportugal2022@gmail.com.

The 10th **Bach Network** dialogue meeting will take place at Madingley Hall, Cambridge on 18-22 July 2022. Website https://bachnetwork.org.

The conference **Musical Interactions, 1400-1650** will take place in Prague on 14-17 September 2022. Contact: alessandra.ignesti@kuleuven.be.

The conference **Music & visual culture in early modern England** will take place at the Shakespeare Institute, Stratford-upon-Avon, on 15-16 September 2022. Contact: K.N.Bank@bham.ac.uk.

The conference **The role of senses in Medieval liturgy and rituals** will take place at the University of Padua on 21-23 September 2022. Link https://medievalartresearch.com.

The two-part conference **Memory and Performance: Classical Reception in Early Modern Festivals (15th-18th century)** will take place at the University of Parma on 13-14 October 2022 and at University College London on 23-24 February 2023. Website https://www.ucl.ac.uk/early-modern/news/2022/feb/cfp-memory-and-performance-classical-reception-early-modern-festivals-15th-18th.

The conference **Early Music Pedagogy Then and Now. From the Classical Antiquity to the Renaissance** will take place in Brescia on 9-11 December 2022. Website https://www.luigiboccherini.org/2021/11/15/early-music-pedagogy-then-and-now-from-the-classical-antiquity-to-the-renaissance.

FESTIVALS

6–8 May 2022 Bristol Early Music Festival, http://bristolearlymusicfestival.uk

13–21 May 2022 London Festival of Baroque Music, http://www.lfbm.org.uk

15 May–2 June 2022 Nordic Historical Keyboard Festival, https://www.nordicclavichord.org

27–29 May 2022 Beverley & East Riding Early Music Festival, https://www.ncem.co.uk/whats-on/bemf-2022

27–29 May 2022 Galway Early Music Festival, http://www.galwayearlymusic.com

17–26 June 2022 Stour Festival of Early Music, http://www.stourmusic.org.uk

8–16 July 2022 York Early Music Festival, https://www.ncem.co.uk/whats-on/yemf

12 July–28 August 2022 Innsbruck Festival of Early Music, https://www.altemusik.at

3–11 August 2022 Castillo de Aracena Festival, http://www.aracena.es

5–14 August 2022 Musica Antiqua Bruges, http://www.mafestival.be/EN/home

26 August–4 September 2022 Utrecht Early music Festival, http://oudemuziek.nl/festival

23–25 September 2022 Sligo Festival of Baroque Music, http://www.sligobaroquefestival.com

19–23 October 2022 Brighton Early Music, http://www.bremf.org.uk

4–11 June 2023 Boston Early Music Festival, USA, http://www.bemf.org