EARLY MUSIC PERFORMER

CONCERT ROOM

AND

ORCHESTRA ANECDOTES.

OF

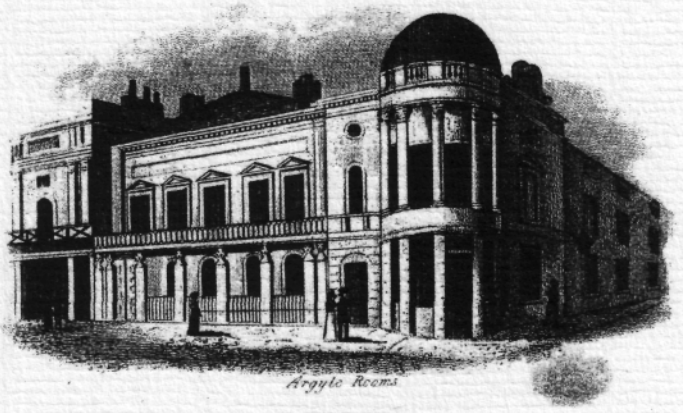
MUSIC AND MUSICIANS,

Ancient and Modern

BY

THO: BUSBY, MUS. D.

VOL. II.



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EDITORIAL

BRYAN WHITE

Dear Readers,

I recently attended a performance of Henry Purcell's *Fairy Queen*, a favourite of mine among Purcell's works, and one that I have heard many times on recordings, though never live. I say Purcell's *Fairy Queen*, but in fact it was his music for *The Fairy Queen* in a concert, interspersed with some connecting narrative, and not The *Fairy Queen* at all, at least not as Purcell would have recognized it. Chances to see a complete, fully-staged *Fairy Queen,* including the text of Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream as adapted to Restoration dramatic taste, and cut to make room for a great quantity of music (none of which sets so much as a line of Shakespeare) are few and far between. I have not seen the most recent English National Opera production of *Fairy Queen,* but as I understand it, the newly conceived spoken drama is knitted around the music, rather the opposite process to the original conception of the work, and it only loosely follows Shakespeare's play. Purcell's other semi-operas, *Dioclesian, King Arthur* and *The Indian Queen* are rarely offered in anything like their original form; I've certainly never had the chance to see staged versions of any of them. But is this a state of affairs that needs changing? I found sitting through the whole of *The Fairy Queen* to be a test of endurance even though the music is of the greatest quality (the church pews didn't help!). Surely adding another hour or so of dramatic dialogue to it would only make things worse, or so one might imagine. I did see the recent production of Handel's *Alcina* at ENO, another long night, but one that I found to be exhilarating. However, had I sat through the same work as a concert performance, I daresay it would have tried my patience as much as *The Fairy Queen,* never mind the overwhelming quality of the music.

It was once commonly accepted that Purcell was simply unfortunate to have lived in a time when his great talent for dramatic music was wasted on England's poor substitute for full-blown opera, the semi-opera. But since the 1970s, many scholars have argued that semi-operas were (and are) a coherent form of music theatre, and furthermore, that those works which Purcell collaborated on are well worth reviving in something like their original form. As far as I can tell, this message is almost completely unheeded outside the scholarly world. Would staged performances of Purcell's semi-operas convince modern audiences? Would the inclusion of the play, well acted, with the music, and with scenery and dance justify the length of the performance and bring the music to life even more forcefully? Maybe, maybe not, but I wish someone would offer opportunities for me to find out.

The performance of *The Fairy Queen* led me to go back to the scholarly literature on the work, and to my favourite recording of it, directed by Harry Christophers. The booklet to the recording reminded me of another of those gaps between scholarship and performance, one that Bruce Haynes deals with in this issue of *EMP*. Near the end of the booklet it is suggested that the pitch at which *The Fairy Queen* was probably performed at in the 1690s was about A-408, yet the performance on the recording, and on most recordings of the semi-operas with which I am familiar, is A-415. Why the difference? Of course there are many practical (and financial) reasons why A-415 has become the default 'baroque pitch', and at less than a semitone difference between it and A-408, is it that important? That is another question that is hard to answer without empirical evidence, but I think singers at least would find that A-408 would alter their performances in the literature for which such a pitch is appropriate. It is another instance in which performers must take up the challenge posed by the historical evidence and test it in practice.

Purcell appears again in the article by Peter Holman and Clare Brown on the 'fac similes' published by Thomas Busby. Their investigation into these previously ignored copies of composers' autographs uncovers a surprisingly wide range of new material, not least of which is evidence of what may be the original version of Purcell's ode 'Come, ye Sons of Art'. As luck would have it, we also have news of another Purcell autograph that has recently come to light, in this case a performance part from his anthem with strings 'I was glad'. Finally, Michael Talbot offers a report on the current state of the collected works of Vivaldi.

The front cover is taken from the title page of the second volume of Thomas Busby's *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes of Music and Musicians Ancient and Modern* (London, 1825).

Thomas Busby and his 'FAC SIMILES OF CELEBRATED COMPOSERS'

CLARE BROWN AND PETER HOLMAN

Among the items recently acquired by the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds from Halifax Parish Church is a set of the three volumes of Thomas Busby's *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes* (London, 1825).[1] Thomas Busby (1754-1838) was one of a group of English musicians around 1800 who followed Charles Burney in developing careers as writers on music in addition to their normal activities as practical musicians. Busby was a London singer and organist, and wrote stage works, odes and oratorios as well as piano music, glees, church music and songs.[2] However, he is best known today for his literary publications, including several musical dictionaries, *A Grammar of Music* (London, 1818), *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Times to the Present* (London, 1819), largely derived from Burney and Hawkins, and *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes of Music and Musicians, Ancient and Modern.*

Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes was clearly intended to entertain and amuse rather than to stand as a work of scholarship. It consists of hundreds of short articles, assembled in no discernible order, on subjects ranging from Antiquity – 'Jubal, the Inventor of Musical Instruments' (i, pp. 13-14); 'Primitive Music' (ii, p. 90); 'Music of Ancient Greece' (iii, pp. 10-12) – to Busby's own time – 'Rossini's Style' (i, pp. 145-6); 'Beethoven's Eccentricity' (i, pp. 210-11); 'Parisian Musicals, in 1824' (ii, p. 26). Busby seems to have compiled the material on earlier music mostly from Burney, Hawkins and other writers; in the preface to the collection he likened the task of the 'literary collector' to 'the bee, that, roving from flower to flower, extracts every sweet that offers itself to his choice' (i, p. iii). However, he claimed not to have limited himself to 'the humble task of compilation': 'many of the narratives and anecdotes in these volumes are the results of a reminiscence founded on the professional practice and personal connection of three score years, and have never before met the public eye' (i, p. v). Among the articles clearly written at least partly out of personal experience were those on his contemporaries and colleagues, such as his teacher Jonathan Battishill (iii, pp. 7, 69-76), Samuel Arnold (i, pp. 90-1, 102-3; iii, pp. 116-18), James Hook (i, pp. 92-3, 160-1), William Jackson of Exeter (i, pp. 186-7; ii, p. 94), Sir William Parsons (i, pp. 265-6), William Shield (ii, pp. 184-8), Luffman Atterbury (ii, pp. 192-4) and Sir George Smart (ii, pp. 259-61).

Although the articles in *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes* have been regularly drawn upon by modern scholars, the thirteen 'FAC SIMILES OF CELEBRATED COMPOSERS', printed on three fold-out plates, seem to have been completely ignored; so far as we have been able to discover, they are not mentioned in the scholarly literature of any of the composers concerned. This may be partly because their presence in the volumes is unexplained: they are not mentioned in the preface to vol. i, or in any of the articles, though they are briefly listed as 'Autographs of Composers' in the 'LIST OF PLATES' at the end of vol. iii – a page missing in the Leeds copy. Another problem is that the plates themselves are missing from some copies of the publication. They are present in the Brotherton Library copy, and in the ones in London University Library, the Bodleian Library, the Bate Collection, Faculty of Music, Oxford and the collection of Christopher Hogwood, though they are missing from those in Aberdeen University Library, Glasgow University Library and Leeds City Library.[3] To add to the confusion, in some copies one plate comes at the beginning of vol. ii, another at the beginning of vol. iii, and the third at the end of vol. iii; in the Brotherton Library copy they are all tipped into the end of vol. iii, while the British Library copy only has plate 2, inserted at the beginning of vol. ii.

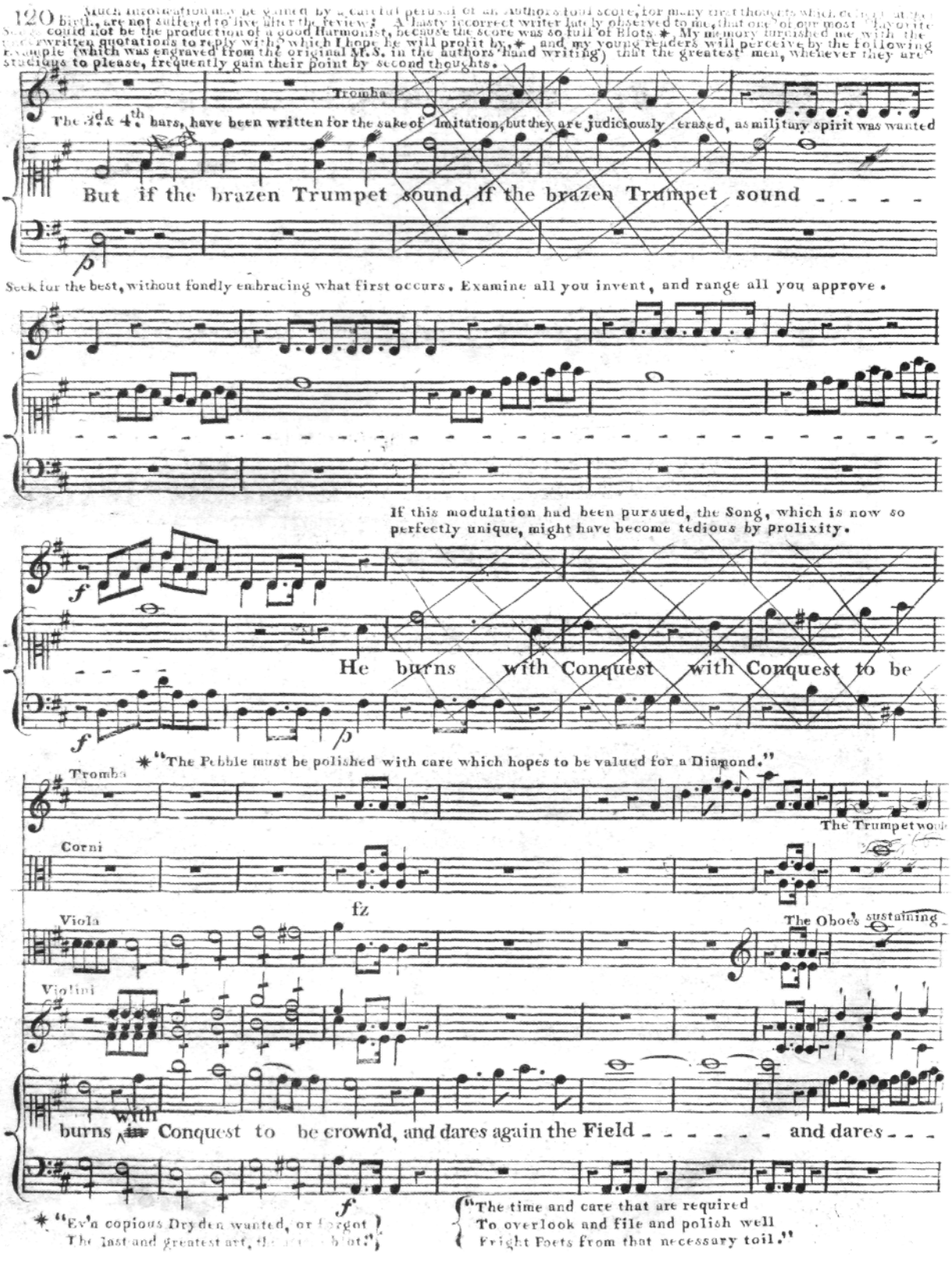
Another mysterious feature of Busby's facsimiles is that it is not immediately clear how they were made. When *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes* was published in 1825 there was no obvious way in which an image on paper, such as a sample of a composer's handwriting, could be reproduced. In the eighteenth and early

nineteenth centuries music was either printed from engraved plates or from music type. Both processes depended on a workman – an engraver or a typesetter respectively – creating the layout of the page, while of course relying on the copy text in front of him for his information. Although lithography (the process of making an image on a special type of limestone so that impressions in ink can be taken directly from it) was invented by Alois Senefelder in 1796, it was not until the 1850s, with the application of photography to the lithographic process, that it became possible to reproduce a written image without damaging it.[4] Handwriting could be reproduced in traditional lithography, but only if the writing was on specially prepared transfer paper and the paper was sponged with weak nitric acid. For this reason, facsimiles in the modern sense – the exact, mechanical reproduction of a manuscript or printed source – did not appear until after the middle of the nineteenth century; the earliest in England seems to have been a reproduction of Handel's autograph of *Messiah*, 'executed in photo-lithography' for the Sacred Harmonic Society in 1868.[5]

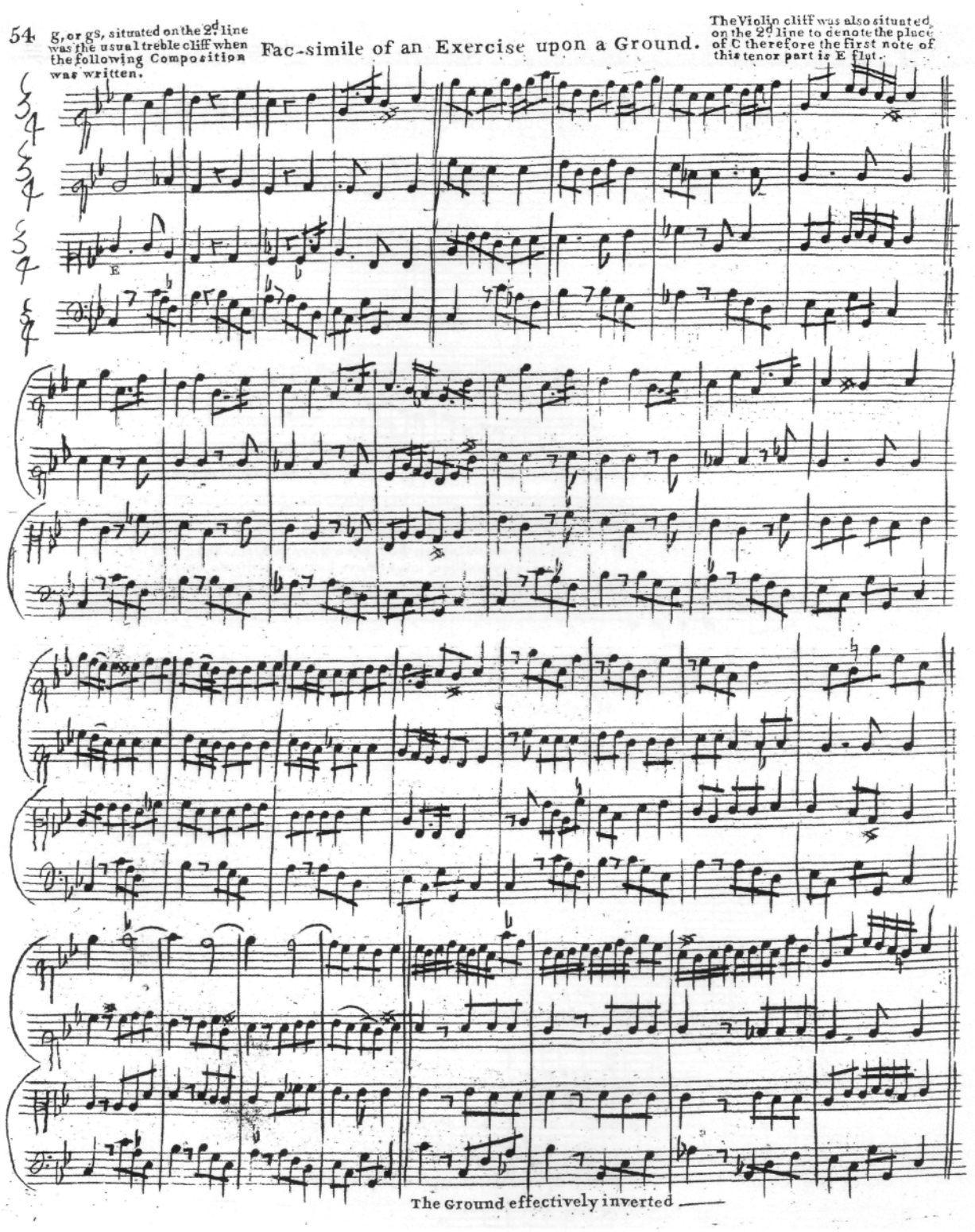
However, attempts to reproduce the appearance of autograph scores had been made rather earlier. Two remarkable examples are in William Shield's *An Introduction to Harmony* (London, 1800; 2/*c.*1815) and its companion volume *Rudiments of Thoroughbass* (London, *c.*1815).[6] Despite their titles, these publications are advanced composition treatises, with examples taken from actual pieces by J.S. Bach, Handel, Boyce, J.C. Bach, Thomas Linley, Mozart, Beethoven and others, including presumably, Shield himself. On pp. 120-1 of *An Introduction to Harmony* there is an extract apparently taken from the lost autograph score of Thomas Arne's 'The soldier tir'd of wars alarms' from his opera *Artaxerxes* (1762), showing his first thoughts and subsequent revisions [Illus. 1]. Shield wrote that the extract was 'engraved from the original M.S. in the authors hand writing', though the result is only a schematic representation of Arne's score, with no attempt to reproduce the characteristics of his handwriting. However, in *Rudiments of Thoroughbass* the engraver tried to imitate the appearance of two manuscripts more accurately. On pp. 54-6 there is a ground in C minor by William Croft, evidently copied from the lost autograph, the source of Busby's Croft extract (see below) [Illus. 2], while on p. 57 there is a 'Fac-Simile' of tablature 'engraved from Princess (afterwards Queen) Anne's lute book'.[7]

Had Shield been publishing a few years later, it is likely that he would have used the lithographic process for these examples. From the first it was recognised that one of the main applications for lithography was music printing. Senefelder made his early experiments in lithography printing music, and urged its adoption by the trade in his *Vollständiges Lehrbuch der Steindruckerey* (Munich, 1818), translated into English as *A Complete Course of Lithography* (London, 1819).[8] Given that Busby's fold-out plates do not show any sign of the impression of a plate – a tell-tale sign of engraving – it is likely that his facsimiles were produced using Senefelder's new lithographic process as explained in his *Complete Course*. Busby was clearly aware of lithography, for his article 'Weber's Taste for Lithography' (i, p. 196) recounts how the composer experimented with the technique in his youth; he was briefly apprenticed to Senefelder before devoting himself to composition.[9] It would have been possible to transfer images from the various autographs to the lithographic stone by adding an extra step to the ordinary process: a tracing of the documents could have been taken, which was then drawn or scored through onto the chemically treated paper. A hint that this was what happened is provided by comparing one of the extracts printed by Busby with the original manuscript: the sample of William Boyce's hand comes from the autograph score of William Boyce's Cambridge Ode, now in Cambridge University Library. A close comparison of the two images reveals a number of small differences, of the sort likely to be produced by the process of tracing [Illus. 3].

The most fascinating and tantalizing feature of Busby's facsimiles is that all but two of the extracts appear to come from lost sources. As already mentioned, the Boyce was taken from an autograph score now in Cambridge University Library, while the Haydn is today in Vincent Novello's autograph album. In the case of the extracts by Ignace Pleyel, Charles Dibdin, William Shield, Giuseppe Tartini, Henry Purcell and Thomas Arne, the works are known elsewhere but only in non-autograph sources. As we shall see, the Purcell extract is particularly interesting since it appears to be taken from the lost autograph score of his ode 'Come, ye sons of art, away' Z323, and preserves a different version of the work from that in the earliest surviving complete source, a score dated 1765. Three of the extracts, by the Earl of Kelly, Samuel Arnold and William Croft, appear to be genuine autographs but come from works that are lost or have not yet been traced – though, as we have seen, the Croft was printed complete in a sort of pseudo-facsimile in Shield's *Rudiments of Thoroughbass*. In only two cases does Busby seem to have made a mistake in identifying a composer's hand. The extract attributed to Samuel Wesley is from a genuine work, the three-part Latin motet 'Ecce jam noctis', though the hand is not autograph. The extract by John Christian Bach is also taken from a genuine work, though the hand is not autograph and it was misattributed by Busby to 'J.S. BACH' – a revealing insight into the fashion for J.S. Bach's music in early nineteenth-century



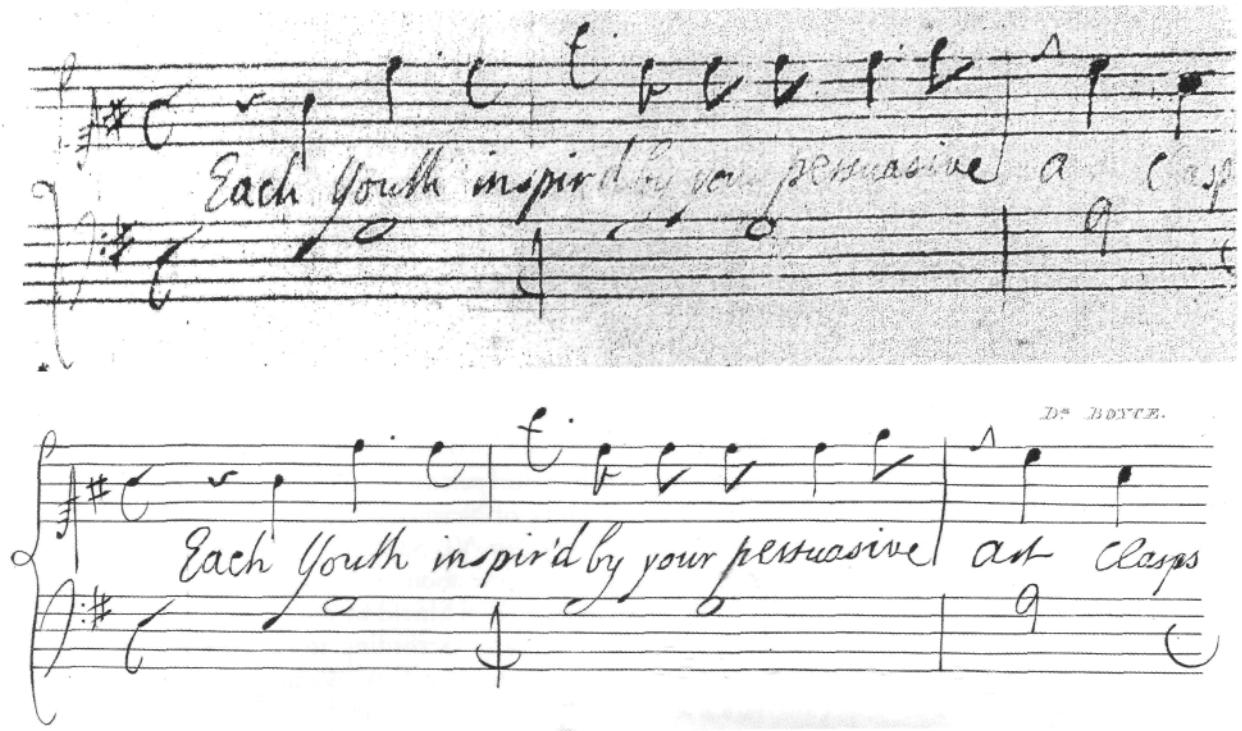
Illus. 1: W. Shield, *Introduction to Harmony* (London, 1800; 2/*c.* 1815), p. 120, representing a page of the lost autograph score of Thomas Arne's 'The soldier tir'd of wars alarms' from *Artaxerxes* (1762).



Illus. 2: W. Shield, *Rudiments of Thoroughbass* (London, *c.* 1815), p. 54, representing a page of the lost autograph score of William Croft, Ground in C minor.

England, and the corresponding decline in the reputation of his youngest son, the 'London Bach'.

Where did Busby obtain the sources for his facsimiles? Eleven of the thirteen sources no longer seem to exist, and little is known of their provenance. However, we have been able to establish a link with William Shield in seven cases, and it may be that all thirteen manuscripts were in Shield's possession in the 1820s. The Haydn was apparently given by the composer to Shield and from Shield to Vincent Novello, who inserted it into his autograph album. The score of Boyce's Cambridge Ode also seems to have belonged to Shield, who obtained it from Boyce's son. It is



Illus. 3: Extract from Cambridge University Library, Nn. VI. 38, f. 40^{v}, the recitative 'Each youth inspir'd by your persuasive art' from the autograph score of William Boyce's Ode for the Installation of the Duke of Newcastle as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge (1749), compared with Busby's facsimile.

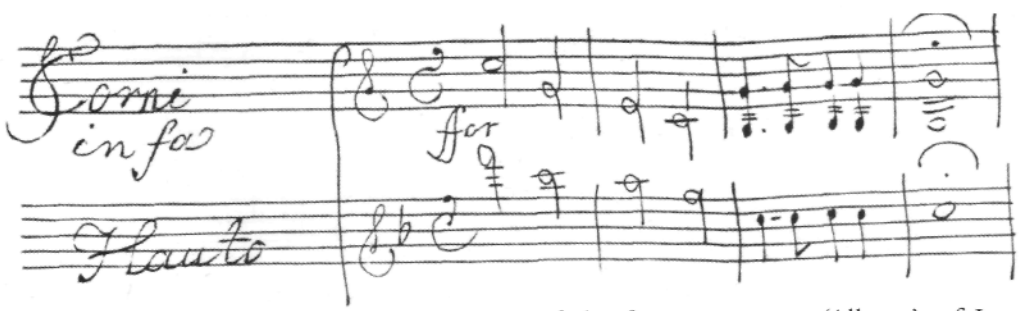
likely that Shield provided Busby with the extract of his String Trio, and that he owned the score of the Symphonie Concertante from which the J.C. Bach extract was taken. It is also likely that he was the source of the Arne and the Croft extracts, for both pieces were published in his *Rudiments of Thoroughbass*; as we have seen, he must have had access to Arne's lost autograph score of *Artaxerxes* in order to reproduce an extract from 'The soldier tir'd of wars alarms' in his *Introduction to Harmony*.

Thomas Busby's 'FAC SIMILES OF CELEBRATED COMPOSERS' are important early examples of music printed in England by lithography, and offer a precious glimpse of a number of now-lost autograph scores. There is doubtless more to be learned about them; we would be grateful for any additional information, particularly if it leads to identifying any of the unidentified works, or to the recovery of the seemingly lost sources.

APPENDIX

Inventory of Thomas Busby, 'FAC SIMILES OF CELEBRATED COMPOSERS', inserted into *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes* (London, 1825).

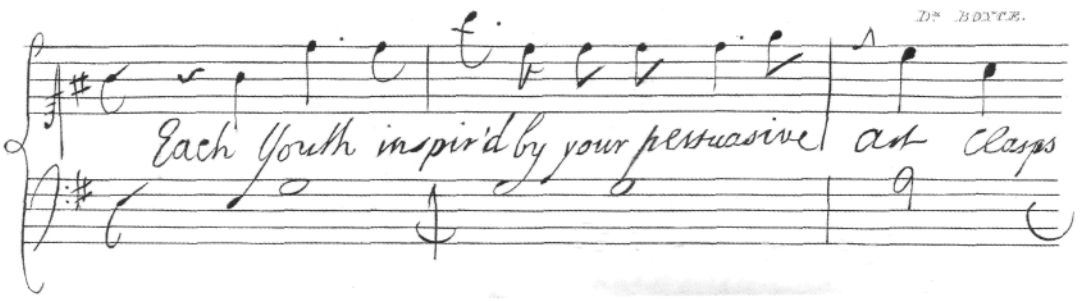
'PLEYEL'



A four-bar extract of the horn and flute parts of the first movement, 'Allegro', of Ignace Pleyel's Symphonie Concertante in F major for two violins, viola, cello, flute, oboe and bassoon solo with orchestra, 'Composed . . . expressly for the Members of the Professional Concert' and apparently first performed at Hanover Square Rooms on 27 February 1792; see S. McVeigh, 'The Professional Concert and the Rival Subscription Series in London, 1783-1793, *RMA Research Chronicle,* 22 (1989), p. 104; R. Benton, *Ignace*

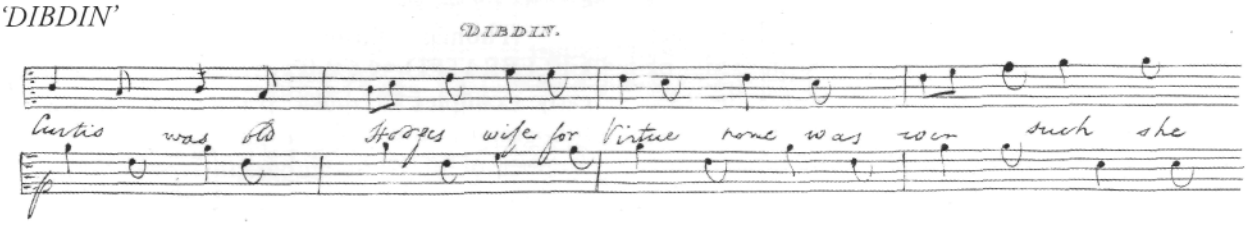
Pleyel: a Thematic Catalogue of his Compositions (New York, 1977), no. 113. It was apparently taken from the lost autograph score; the hand can be authenticated by comparing it with the examples reproduced in Benton, *Ignace Pleyel*, pp. 70, 210 and 336.

'DR. BOYCE'



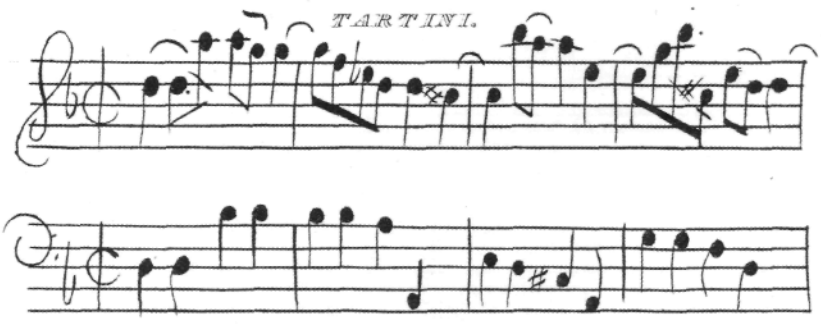
Three bars of the recitative 'Each youth inspir'd by your persuasive art', taken from the autograph score of William Boyce's Ode for the Installation of the Duke of Newcastle as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge (1749), now in Cambridge University Library, Nn. VI. 38, f. 40^{v}. We are grateful to Robert Bruce for identifying the extract, and for providing information about the manuscript. According to a written statement on f. 1 of the manuscript it was 'Presented to Wm Shield by the Son of the Composer'. It was sold by Puttick and Simpson on 4 May 1850, lot 136, and, according to another statement in the manuscript, was 'Presented to the University Library [Cambridge] by T. A. Walmisley. Mus: Prof: / June 1851.' Thomas Attwood Walmisley, the Cambridge Professor of Music at the time, presumably purchased it at the sale. Mr Bruce has suggested to us that it may have come to auction after the death of Anne Stokes Shield, the composer's wife, who inherited her husband's library after his death in 1829; see L. Troost, 'William Shield', *The New Grove* (2/2000). However, the sale does not seem to have included any manuscripts of music by Shield or the sources of any of the other Busby extracts.

'DIBDIN'



The first four bars of the vocal portion of Charles Dibdin's song 'Curtis was old Hodge's wife', printed as *Sly Old Hodge, Written and Composed by Mr. Dibdin and Sung by him in his Entertainment Called the Oddities* (London, ?1789); copy consulted: Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, Mus.E-9qENG 497. According to G. Hogarth, *The Songs of Charles Dibdin* (London, 1842), p. 42, it came from the afterpiece *The Wives Revenged,* first performed alongside Dibdin's *Rose and Colin* at Covent Garden on 18 September 1778. The autograph appears to be lost, but the hand can be authenticated by comparing it with Dibdin autographs in the Brotherton Library, the British Library, Southampton Public Library and elsewhere.

'TARTINI'

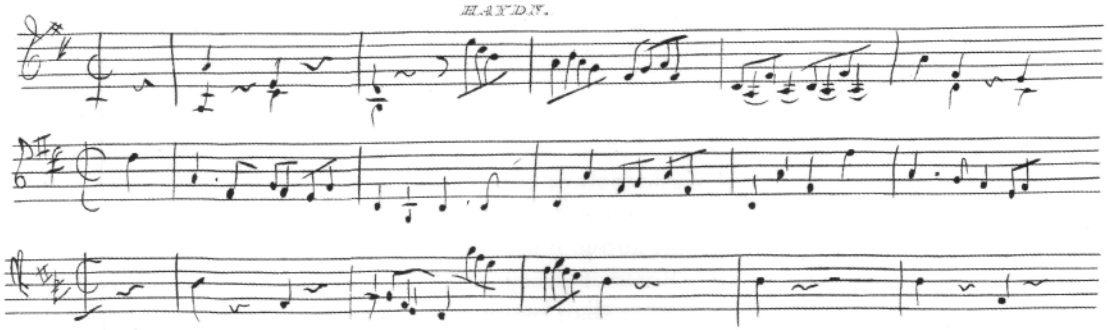


The first four bars of the first movement, 'Larghetto', from Giuseppe Tartini's Sonata in D minor Brainard d5 for violin and bass, see P. Brainard, *Le sonate per violino di Giuseppe Tartini: catalogo tematico* (Padua, 1975), p. 39. According to Brainard, the sonata is today known only from non-autograph manuscripts in Paris and Berkeley, but the hand can be authenticated by comparing it with, for instance, the sample reproduced in P. Brainard, 'Giuseppe Tartini', *The New Grove* (London, 1980).

'SHIELD'

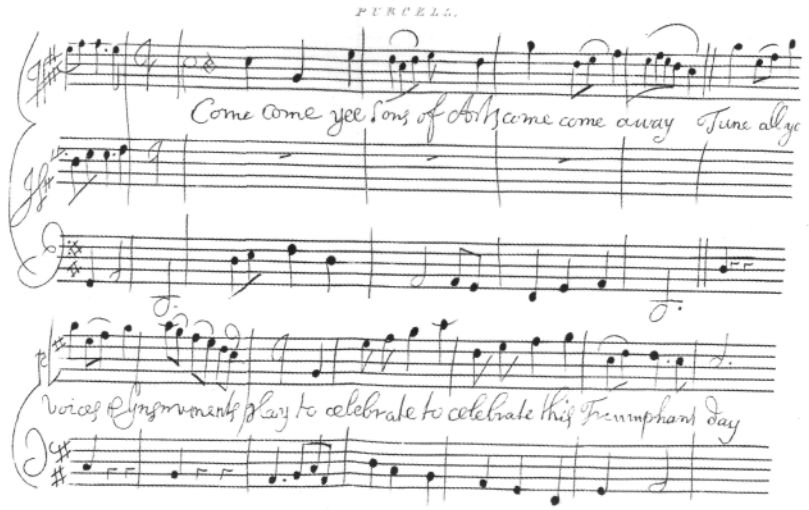
The first bar of the third movement, 'Giuoco: Alla Schlavonia / Tempo Straniere con Variazione / Giocosamente' from William Shield's Trio in E flat major, no. 1 in *Six Trios for Violin, Tenor and Violoncello* (London, 1796); copy consulted: in the Fiske-Platt Collection, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds. At first sight, the extract appears to be taken from Shield's lost autograph score, but the informal way that the title and tempo marks are placed between the staves and that the time signatures are well to the right of the key signatures suggests to us that this is a sample of Shield's handwriting written out specially for Busby. The hand can be authenticated by comparing it with autograph documents, such as the score of his 1818 court ode, 'In its summer pride arrayed', British Library, R.M.23.g.14.

'HAYDN'



The first five bars of Haydn's setting of the Scots song 'Dainty Davie', Hob.XXXIa/32, made in 1792 and published in W. Napier, *A Selection of Original Scots Songs in Three Parts, the Harmony by Haydn,* ii (London, 1792), p. 32; see J. Webster and G. Feder, 'Joseph Haydn', *The New Grove* (2/2000); H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn in England* 1791-1795 (London, 1976), pp. 400-3; Haydn, *Werke,* 32/1, ed. K. Geiringer (Munich, 1961), p. 33. Haydn's autograph, the source of Busby's sample, survives as Item 48 of an autograph album, now in private hands, compiled by Vincent Novello between 1829 and 1848; see P. Weston, 'Vincent Novello's Autograph Album: Inventory and Commentary', *Music & Letters,* 75 (1994), pp. 365-80. According to the anonymous author of 'Vincent Novello's Album', *The Musical Times,* 92/3 (1951), p. 108, the manuscript was given by Haydn to Shield and from Shield to Novello.

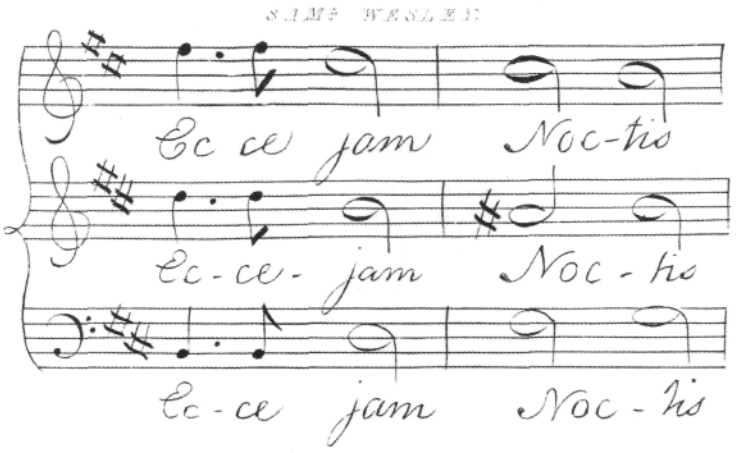
'PURCELL'



An extract apparently from the lost autograph score of the first vocal section of Henry Purcell's ode 'Come, ye Sons of Art' Z323. The only complete source of the ode is Royal College of Music, MS 993,

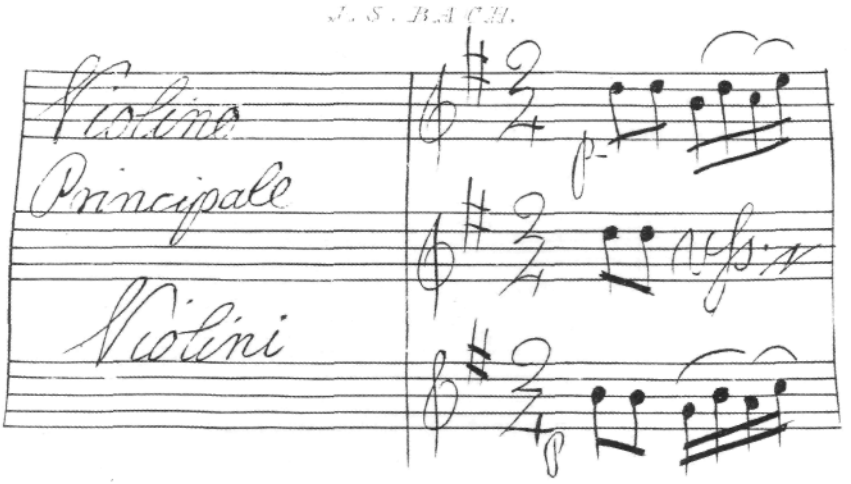
copied by Robert Pindar in 1765, which has necessarily formed the basis of all modern editions, including the most recent, *Birthday Odes for Queen Mary Part II,* ed. B. Wood, The Works of Henry Purcell, 24 (London, 1998); see also R. Shay and R. Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: the Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 175. As Bruce Wood points out (p. xvi), Pindar's text seems to preserve a version of the work that was reorchestrated in the eighteenth century along the same lines as Pindar's version of the St Cecilia ode 'Welcome to all the pleasures' Z339, which is 'drastically reworked and re-scored with spurious woodwind parts and additional string accompaniments'. Further evidence that this is so is provided by the Busby extract, which appears to show the last two bars of the ritornello that prefaces the alto solo 'Come, ye Sons of Art', but with only three staves (two unspecified treble instruments and bass) rather than the six-stave layout (trumpet, oboe, and four-part strings) of the Pindar score and modern editions derived from it. Samples of Purcell's hand are conveniently assembled in Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts.*

'SAM[L]. WESLEY'



The first two bars of Samuel Wesley's three-part Latin motet 'Ecce iam noctis'; see M. Kassler and P. Olleson, *Samuel Wesley (1766-1837): a Source Book* (Aldershot, 2001), p. 579. Three of the manuscript sources listed by Kassler and Olleson, the autographs British Library, Add. MSS 65454 and 71107 (dated 21 August 1801) and the non-autograph British Library, Egerton MS 2571, preserve a different version of the work, for alto, tenor and bass voices rather than two sopranos and bass. The fourth source, John Rylands Library, Manchester, DDWF 15/55, turns out not to be a manuscript at all, but a copy of the Busby facsimile. We are grateful to Philip Olleson for providing us with a photocopy of the Manchester source and for confirming that the Busby extract was not taken from a Wesley autograph; there are samples of Wesley's literary and musical hands in Kassler and Olleson, *Samuel Wesley*, facing pp. 8 and 9.

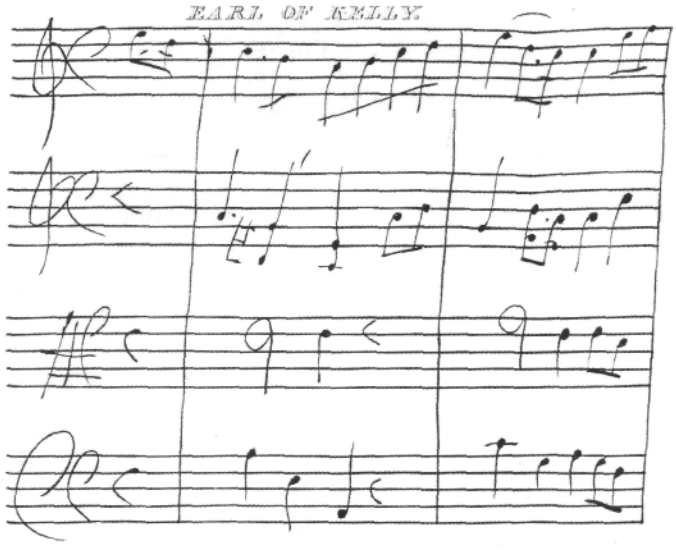
'J.S. BACH'



This extract is not by Johann Sebastian Bach but by John Christian Bach: it consists of the violin parts of the first two bars of the opening of the third movement, 'Rondeau Allegretto', of his Symphonie Concertante in G major C45 for oboe, violin, viola, cello and orchestra; see C.S. Terry, *John Christian Bach*, rev. H.C. Robbins Landon (London, 1967), p. 286; E. Warburton, *The Collected Works of Johann Christian Bach 1735-1782,* 48/1, *Thematic Catalogue* (New York, 1999), pp. 107-8. According to Warburton, the work was written for J.C. Fischer (oboe), Wilhelm Cramer (violin), Felice Giardini (viola) and John Crosdill (cello), was first performed at Hanover Square Rooms on 5 May 1776, and was 'by far J[ohn] C[hristian] B[ach]'s most frequently performed *Symphonie Concertante* in London in the eighteenth century'. The

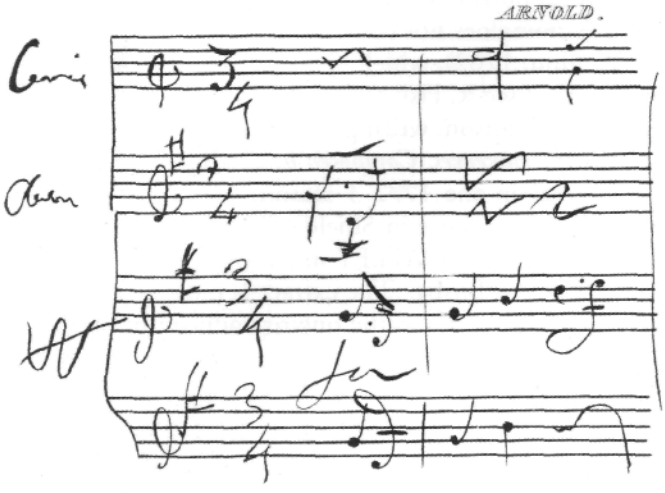
autograph is 'presumed lost', though it or a copy evidently belonged to William Shield, for he printed a cadenza apparently from the slow movement of the work in his *Introduction to Harmony*, pp. 116-17, claiming that it was 'engraved from the original M.S. which I had the good fortune to purchase with the celebrated Concertante to which it is so proper an appendage'. Unfortunately, the only other complete manuscript, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, KH 151a, also seems to be lost, though it was presumably the source of the incipits in Terry and Warburton. The Busby extract was clearly not taken from a J.C. Bach autograph, as can be seen by comparing it with samples of the composer's hand in, for instance, *The Collected Works,* ed. Warburton, 48/3, *Music Supplement*, pp. 569-75, 646.

'EARL OF KELLY'



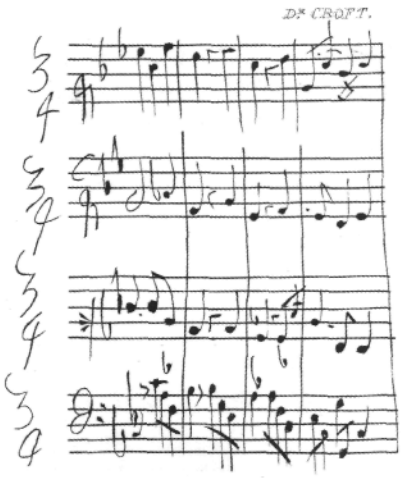
The first two bars of an unidentified piece in A minor for string quartet or four-part strings, apparently by Thomas Alexander Erskine, sixth Earl of Kelly. We are grateful to Dr David Johnson for confirming that the piece does not come from one of the six Kelly string quartets in National Library of Scotland, MS Acc. 10303. Kelly's hand has not been identified with certainty, though Dr Johnson has suggested to us that two pieces in National Library of Scotland, MS Acc. 11420 (2), a musical commonplace book from Kilravock Castle, Nairn, are in his autograph; it has not been possible for us to compare the manuscript with the Busby extract.

'ARNOLD'



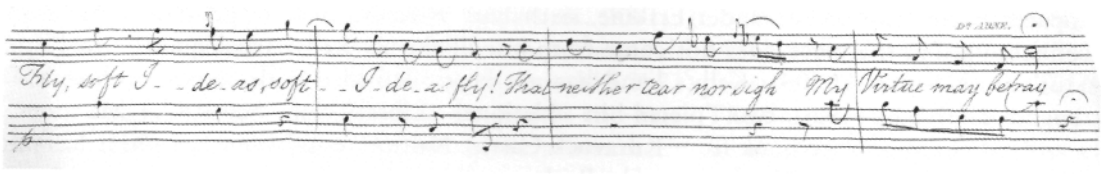
The first two bars of a piece in G major apparently by Samuel Arnold, consisting of the horn, oboe and violin parts of an orchestral score. The piece does not correspond with any entry in R.H.B. Hoskins, *The Theater Music of Samuel Arnold: a Thematic Index* (Warren, MI, 1998); we are grateful to Dr Hoskins for informing us that he has been unable to recognise it elsewhere in Arnold's music. He points out that the melody is similar to the opening of the Scots song 'The braes of Ballenden', though the extract is clearly not taken from Arnold's setting of the tune in his incidental music for Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (1778), which is in B flat major; see Hoskins, *The Theater Music of Samuel Arnold,* p. 153; R. Fiske, Scotland in Music: a European Enthusiasm (Cambridge, 1983), p. 191. The extract looks like a composing autograph, and it can be authenticated by comparing it with Royal College of Music, MS 15, a part-autograph volume of songs. We are not convinced that the sample reproduced in Hoskins, *The Theater Music of Samuel Arnold,* p. 42, British Library, Add. MS 30955, f. 69, is actually Arnold's hand.

'D^R. CROFT'



The first four bars of a ground in C minor for four-part strings, in the hand of William Croft. We have been unable to trace any original manuscript or printed source of the piece, but it was printed complete in William Shield's *Rudiments of Thoroughbass* (London, *c.* 1815), pp. 54-6 with the title 'Facsimile of an Exercise upon a Ground'. It is otherwise unknown, and may have come from a lost theatre suite; it is similar to the chaconnes that end Croft's suites for *The Funeral* (1702) and *The Lying Lover* (1704); see C.A. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre* ([Ann Arbor], 1979), pp. 171, 197-8. Busby's extract unquestionably comes from a lost Croft autograph, which Shield's engraver tried to imitate; the hand can be authenticated by comparing it with, for instance, the autograph score of Croft's anthem 'O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious' in the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, or the facsimile of a page from the autograph score of Croft's Service in E flat major in J.S. Bumpus, *A History of English Cathedral Music 1549-1889* (London, 1908), facing p. 208.

'D^R. ARNE'



The first four bars of the vocal portion of 'Fly, soft ideas, fly', sung by Mandane at the end of Act I of Thomas Arne's *Artaxerxes*. The extract does not come from the virtuoso setting published in the full score, *Artaxerxes, an English Opera* (London, 1762), which is in triple time, but from a simpler one in duple time written subsequently for Anne Catley; see R. Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2/1986), p. 310. According to John Addison, writing in the preface to his edition, *The Overture, Recitatives, Airs & Duets in the Serious Opera of Artaxerxes, Composed by Dr. Arne* (London, ?1815), Catley first sang the role of Mandane at Covent Garden in the 1772-3 season. The setting was never published in Arne's lifetime, and only got into print in short score in Shield's *Rudiments of Thoroughbass*, pp. 61-3, where it is entitled 'FLY SOFT IDEAS. reset for MISS CATLEY in ARTAXERXES'; Shield presumably owned Arne's lost manuscript and made it available to Busby. The extract is most easily authenticated by comparing the literary hand with letters in Arne's hand, such as the one reproduced in part in W.H. Cummings, *Dr Arne and Rule, Britannia* (London, 1912), facing p. 69.

NOTES

1. P. Holman, 'Treasure at Leeds', *Early Music Performer,* 11 (March 2003), p. 29.
2. J.C. Kassler and L. Troost, 'Thomas Busby', *The New Grove* (2/2000); see also, K.G.F. Spence, 'The Learned Doctor Busby', *Music & Letters,* 37 (1956), pp. 141-53.
3. We are grateful to Christopher Hogwood, Tassilo Erhardt and librarians at Aberdeen University Library and Glasgow University Library for this information.
4. See, for instance, *Music Printing and Publishing,* ed. D.W. Krummel and S. Sadie, The Norton/Grove Handbooks in Music (New York and London, 1990), pp. 55-61.
5. *Fac-simile of the Autograph Score of Messiah . . . Executed in Photo-Lithography by Vincent Brooks,* Day and Son, from the Original in the Library at Buckingham Palace (London, 1868); see D. Burrows, *Handel: Messiah* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 107.
6. Copies consulted: *Introduction to Harmony,* first edition, British Library, 785.l.33.(1); second edition, in the possession of Peter Holman, on paper watermarked 1813; *Rudiments of Thoroughbass,* British Library, 785.l.33.(3); see also R. Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2/1986), pp. 308, 310, 404, 546, 550, 557.
7. Actually for five-course Baroque guitar rather than lute. According to J.M. Ward, 'Sprightly & Cheerful Musick: Notes on the Cittern, Gittern and Guitar in 16th- and 17th-Century England,' *The Lute Society Journal,* 21 (1979-81), p. 232, the manuscript, 'Princess An's lute book', was 'presented to Wm. Shield by his friend James Smith' and is now in The Hague, Gemeentemuseum, MS 4.E.73.
8. See the introduction to the facsimile by A. Hyatt Mayor (New York, 1977).
9. J. Warrack, *Carl Maria von Weber* (London, 1968), pp. 32-4.

The King's Chamber Pitch

BRUCE HAYNES

It is only in the last generation that performers have rejected the Romantic notion of a single pitch standard that implies the use of 'transposing instruments' that operate within it. In modern ensembles, the clarinet is 'in B flat', for instance, and the horn is usually 'in F' at a nominal pitch of A-440. A generation ago the period performance movement embraced A-415 (A-1)[1] along with original instruments, but is now realizing that replacing a single standard with another single standard is not really the issue. In the 17th and 18th centuries, people thought differently. For them, a 'B flat-clarinet' would have been in C, but at A-392 (or A-2). There might also have been C-clarinets at A-415 (A-1) and A-466 (A+1).

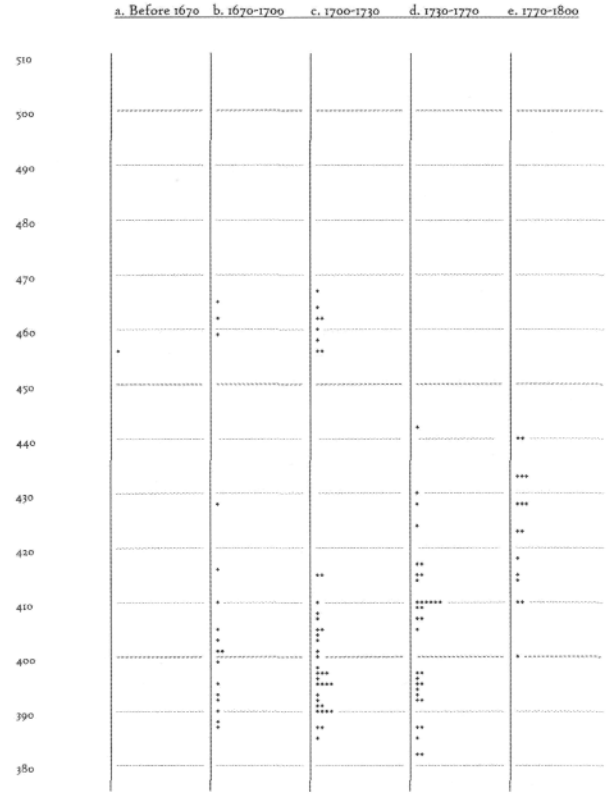
The idea of several pitch standards functioning side by side was normal in the 17th and 18th centuries. The pitches were usually named after common instruments (as in *Cornett-Thon*) or the locale or function of the music.

In France at the end of the 17th century, we know of the use of four different pitch standards:

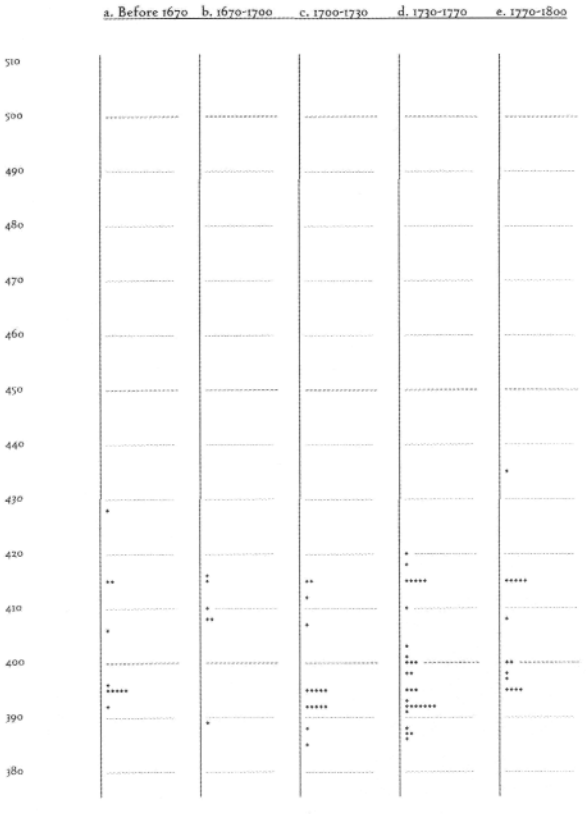
- *Ton d'Opéra* (Opera-pitch) at A-2,
- *Ton de Chapelle* (Chapel- or Church-pitch) also at A-2,
- *Ton d'Écurie* (for the royal wind bands, the Écurie) probably at A+1, as well as
- *Ton de la Chambre du Roy.*

This last pitch, *Ton de la Chambre du Roy*, 'the King's chamber pitch', is the subject of this article. The king in question was of course Louis XIV; this pitch must have been an important one, since it was evidently the level used for all the chamber music at Louis's court, and for that reason was widely imitated throughout Europe. It is the pitch of many of the best surviving woodwinds of the period. It also turns out (apparently by coincidence) to have been the principle instrumental pitch in England at the time, *Consort-pitch.*

Graph 1: Woodwinds, France, to 1800



Graph 2: French organs, to 1800



The first indication I have found of *Ton de la Chambre du Roy* is in a book entitled *Dissertation sur le chant grégorien*, published in 1683 by one of the French royal organists, Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers. Nivers compared *Ton de la Chambre du Roy to Ton de Chapelle*, the pitch of most organs:

> By organs, I mean those at the pitch of the Royal Chapel, which is also that of all the best-known organs of Paris and elsewhere: this is why this pitch is called *'Ton de Chapelle'*, to distinguish it from the *'Ton de la Chambre du Roy'*, which is a semitone higher. … The latter pitch is normal (or should be so) for convent organs, since the normal range of the female voices is slightly more than an octave above the average male voice.[2]

Nivers gives two important clues here. Not only does he make a categorical distinction between *Ton de Chapelle* and *Ton de la Chambre du Roy*, but he situates the latter a 'semitone' higher than the former. As can be seen in Graph 2, col. a, the pitch of most French organs in this period (at *Ton de Chapelle*) was A-2.

Georg Muffat apparently described the same pitch in 1698, in the course of explaining the new French style of orchestral performance to his fellow-Germans:

> The pitch to which the French usually tune their instruments is a whole tone lower than our German one (called *'Cornett-Thon'*) and in operas, even one and a half tones lower. They find the German pitch too high, too screechy, and too forced. If it were up to me to choose a pitch, and there were no other considerations, I would choose the former [of the French pitches], which is called in Germany 'old *Chorton*', using somewhat thicker strings. This pitch lacks nothing in liveliness along with its sweetness.[3]

The German pitch Muffat used as a reference, *'Cornett-Thon'*, was about A-464 (A+1, a semitone above modern A-440).[4] Thus the pitch a whole tone lower 'to which the French usually tune their instruments', would have been about A-1 (generic '415'), and their operas would have been at about A-2.

Muffat and Nivers speak of *Ton de la Chambre du Roy* as a semitone above A-2. But (as we know from meantone) not all semitones are equal. If we examine other evidence from the period, it looks as if the distance between *Ton de Chapelle* and *Ton de la Chambre du Roy* was relatively narrow, so that the pitch to which the French 'usually tuned their instruments' was not all the way up to '415'.

The clearest indications of the real level of *Ton de la Chambre du Roy* are the surviving woodwinds of the time. Columns b and c in Graph 1 show original French woodwind pitches between 1670 and 1730.[5] The pitches around 460 are another story (I believe this is the *Ton d'Écurie* mentioned above[6]). But the lower group, where most of the woodwinds lie, is not high enough to offer a pitch centre near 415. If A-1 (that is, a pitch centred on '415') had been an important standard, one would expect to find more surviving woodwinds at that general frequency on the graph, and a number of examples above it. In fact, only four instruments are higher than 410.

Since the range of woodwind pitches is larger than a semitone (385 to 417 Hz), this probably means we are looking at more than one centre. If we assume the lower one is *Ton d'Opéra/Ton de Chapelle* with the same value as organs of the period, 393,[7] and if we allow a tolerance of a quarter-tone above and below 393 (so that all the woodwind pitches up to 6 Hz above and below 393 would count as that pitch), the pitches above 399 would presumably represent a higher pitch standard. If this is true, the average of all the pitches above 399 might be the centre we are looking for. That average is 406.

The difference between 393 and 406 is only 57 cents (a cent being 1/100th of an equal-tempered semitone). 57 cents does still sound like a semitone, though a pretty sour one. And Muffat and Nivers, writing at a time when no smaller pitch unit than the semitone was in general use, would have been unlikely to have described an interval of 57 cents as anything else.[8]

This approximate level, 406, appears elsewhere. A pitchpipe preserved at the Musée des Instruments in Paris records two pitches: written on the pipe's piston are *'Ton de l'opera'* (at A-394) and 'Plus haut de la chapelle a versaille' (at A-407).[9] Here, too, is a confirmation of the distinction between opera and court pitch. This pitchpipe was presumably made after 1711, which is the date the chapel organ at Versailles was finished. It is not certain that the pitches it gives are exact, but the relation between them is probably accurate; it happens to be an interval of 57 cents, exactly the same as our calculations above. And there is every likelihood that the Versailles chapel organ was tuned to *Ton de la Chambre du Roy*, since (as we will see below) the King commanded that all the royal chapel organs be set to his court pitch.

Further evidence of this level comes from the physicist Joseph Sauveur in 1700. Sauveur considered it a pitch standard, although he did not name it; since he was measuring a harpsichord, it was probably used for chamber music. His frequency, accurate to within a few percent, was 404 Hz.[10] Sauveur's later measurements of a harpsichord pitch in 1713 produced the same frequency.[11] In that same year he reported that he had measured organ pipes 'chez le sieur Deslandes très-habile Facteur d'Orgue'[12] at the equivalent of about A-406.[13]

So much for the indications of French pitch standards above 392 in this period, which suggest that *Ton de la Chambre du Roy* was probably not a full 100 cents above *Ton d'Opéra/Ton de Chapelle*.

There was of course no reason for the two pitch centres to have been in a transposing relationship of a strict semitone, since they never functioned together

(in fact, even had they been a more satisfying semitone apart, transposition would have been impractical in the general tuning schemes of the period based on meantone).

In practice, musical pitch is never very specific; in concerts of both modern and early instruments, it varies within a margin of about 5 Hz.[14] So I would guess this pitch standard probably covered a range from about 400 to 410 Hz.

The 'Louis XIV Parenthesis'

The various musical groups at the French court were often combined, and royal wind players, carrying the pitches of their instruments, played in the chamber, the chapel, in ceremonial music, and in the theatre.[15] This frequent intermixing would probably have led to a single level of pitch at court, presumably standardized with the new orchestra and its new wind instruments that took form early in Louis's reign. If *Ton de la Chambre du Roy* was the normal pitch of the King's musicians who regularly played in the royal chapels, it seems likely that organ pitch at Versailles and the other royal residences would have been adjusted to match it.[16] There is in fact documentation of this process. Alexandre Thierry, organ maker to the King, submitted an invoice on 10 July 1687

> For having raised the pitch of the chamber [organ] and that of the chapel [at Les Invalides], for [raising] another at Fontainebleau and the chamber organs I am making at present, for [raising the pitch of] the Saint-Cyr organ and others, orders I have carried out for [Mgr Louvois]…[17]

One of the organs Thierry raised was at the famous convent of Saint-Cyr. We saw that Nivers, writing just a few years before this, had pointed out that *Ton de la Chambre du Roy* was a more appropriate pitch for convent organs than *Ton de Chapelle*. It may well have been Nivers himself who requested that the Saint-Cyr organ be repitched, as he was music master there from 1686 (the year before Thierry's note).[18]

Although Louis XIV apparently had the royal organs raised from their original pitches (*Ton de Chapelle* at A-2) to *Ton de la Chambre du Roy* in the 1680s,[19] after his death in 1715 and the removal of the court to Paris, they were gradually restored to *Ton de Chapelle*, like other organs in the kingdom (by that time, woodwinds were more commonly at A-1 than at A-1½; cf. Graph 1, columns c and d). The organ expert Pierre Hardouin calls this the 'Louis XIV parenthesis.' He writes:

> Between the beginning of the 18th century and the end, *Ton de Chapelle* in France went down, therefore, about the amount of a semitone. But this appearance is deceptive, because it was in fact a return to a former situation—say, that of 1660, and moreover, the pitch rise … was not rampant everywhere … It seems plainly linked to the strong influence of the King's musicians.

The Versailles chapel organ is an example of this process. The pitchpipe mentioned above, probably tuned to this organ shortly after it was completed in 1711, gave its pitch as A-407. Yet Ellis reported the pitch of this organ as 396 (A-2).[20] That is because Ellis's information was based on a fork that was claimed to represent the organ three-quarters of a century later, in 1789. The Versailles organ had been refurbished in both 1762 and 1787 and, like other organs, was probably lowered from *Ton de la Chambre du Roy* to A-2 during one of these operations.[21]

Another example of this drop in organ pitch is François Couperin's organ at St Gervais in Paris. Built in 1601 by Langhedul at A-2, it was raised 'a semitone' in 1676 by Thierry. In 1768 (long after Couperin's death), it was reconstructed by Bessard and Clicquot, at which time Hardouin thinks it was again lowered to its original early 17th-century pitch.

Support for Hardouin's hypothesis is the fact that organs built in France both before 1670 and after 1700 were often pitched between 390 and 400, whereas the last three decades of the 17th century saw almost all organs built at higher pitches (see Graph 2, a-c).

There is also evidence of organs lowered a semitone to A-2 in the second half of the 18th century. St-Pierre des Chartreux at Toulouse was lowered to A-2 in 1750-60, and many organs newly-built in the later 18th century, such as the famous works of Dom Bedos, were at A-2. There is in fact already a prevalence of organs at A-2 after 1700, suggesting that the 'Louis XIV parenthesis', like the glory-days of the court's musical activities, was relatively short-lived.

It is interesting to note that since the court, including its organs, was at *Ton de la Chambre du Roy* in Couperin's time, it seems all his music would have been performed at A-1½: his organ music written either for St Gervais or for the royal organs, as well as all his chamber music written for the court. The same is probably true of any chamber music associated with the court in Louis XIV's lifetime.

The Coexistence of *Ton de la Chambre du Roy* and *Ton d'Opéra*

According to Muffat, A-1½ or *Ton de la Chambre du Roy* was the level at which the French usually tuned their instruments. In other words, it was the primary French instrumental pitch from sometime before the 1660s (when Muffat was in Paris) until at least 1698 (when he published this comment). He also expressed a personal preference for it over *Ton d'Opéra* (at A-2).

Ton de la Chambre du Roy would not have appeared out of thin air; to be accorded its primary

role, it must have had an important history. Little is yet known of that history; precedents for A-1½ include most surviving Renaissance tenor flutes and the organ at Lorris-en-Gâtinais, whose pitch may date from 1501 (but is probably 17th-century[22]).

While A-1½ prevailed at court, A-2 was the working pitch at the Opéra because it was important for voice ranges, particularly the *haute-contre*. The haute-contre was a high tenor in contralto range that extended upwards often as far as a^1 or even b^1 at A-2, about a third higher than the regular tenor. The haute-contre was not the falsetto or head-register voice that came to be called 'countertenor' in the 20th century, but a full chest-voice. That it was important is indicated by the fact that the principal male roles in eight of Lully's fourteen operas were for haute-contre. Raising the pitch would have put these roles in jeopardy and possibly made them unsingable.

In any case, after Lully's death the Opéra became an institution dedicated to preserving a French national tradition, and thus inherently conservative.[23] Lully's works were still being performed at the Opéra without changes until about 1750. As late as the 1770s, Burney wrote

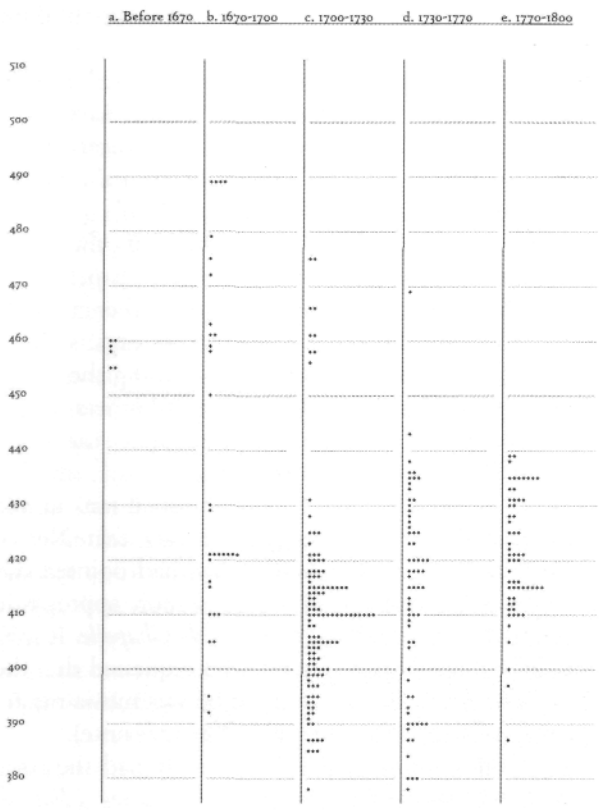
> The style of composition is totally changed throughout the rest of Europe; yet the French, commonly accused of more levity and caprice than their neighbours, have stood still in music for thirty or forty years: nay, one may go still further, and assert boldly, that it has undergone few changes at the great opera since Lulli's time, that is to say, in one hundred years.[24]

Where two pitch standards functioned side by side like this, were they used by different players, and was one exclusively associated with Paris and the other with Versailles? In both cases, the answer is apparently no.

Location was not an issue. The court musical establishment did not officially move from Paris to Versailles until 1683, the same year Nivers described *Ton de la Chambre du Roy* as 'a semitone' higher than *Ton de Chapelle*. The distinction between the two pitches had thus existed when they were both being used at Paris. (And indeed, Nivers made clear that *Ton de Chapelle* was then the pitch of the 'Chapelle du Roy' as well as 'the best-known organs of Paris and elsewhere.') The pitch distinction was thus one of function, not place.

It is also clear that there was no systematic demarcation of personnel between the court music and the Opéra. It is true that as part of the order establishing the Opéra (the Académie Royale de Musique), the King had explicitly forbidden Lully to use his royal musicians at the Opéra. His *Permission* of 27 June 1672 contained the phrase 'Nor in the performance of these pieces may he [Lully] make use of musicians in our employ …'.[25] Despite this, in the productions Lully performed *at court*, royal musicians sometimes had leading parts.[26] At least eighteen wind players, many of them prominent in the service of the court, took part in Lully's productions at Saint-Germain-en-Laye in the 1670s and 80s.[27] By the turn of the century, a number of wind players were combining careers at the Opéra with active court appointments.[28] Playing at both the court and the Opéra, these players would have been obliged to function at two different pitch standards and therefore to have used different instruments or setups. Present-day players of historical woodwinds have shown that this can be done, as they regularly play at A-2, A-1, and a 'classical pitch' at 430 (this latter is in fact a modern invention[29]). British wind players had the same problem in the early years of the 20th century, being informed for each engagement whether to bring their instrument at 'sharp-pitch' (A≈452) or 'flat-pitch' (A-440).[30]

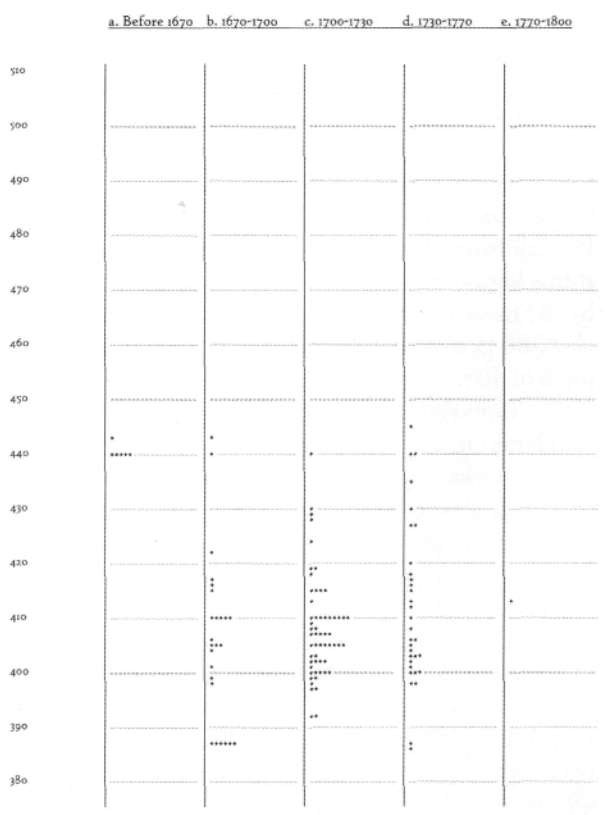
Graph 3: Woodwinds, Germany, to 1800



English *'Consort-pitch'*

By the end of the 17th century French music and dance were in vogue all over Europe. The new French woodwinds were the symbols of this music and the carriers of French pitches, both A-2 and *Ton de la Chambre du Roy* at A-1½. As can be seen in Graphs 3, 4, and 5, A-1½ was a significant standard in Germany, the Dutch Republic, and the southern Netherlands, where wind instruments were soon being made at this pitch. In Germany, A-1½ existed as a species of *tief-Cammerton*.[31] It was apparently still being used at

Graph 4: Woodwinds, Dutch Republic, to 1800



Salzburg in Mozart's day.[32] As discussed below, the same frequency was dominant in England from at least the 1670s until about 1730 (see Graph 6, b-d), and was probably the level known as *Consort-pitch*.

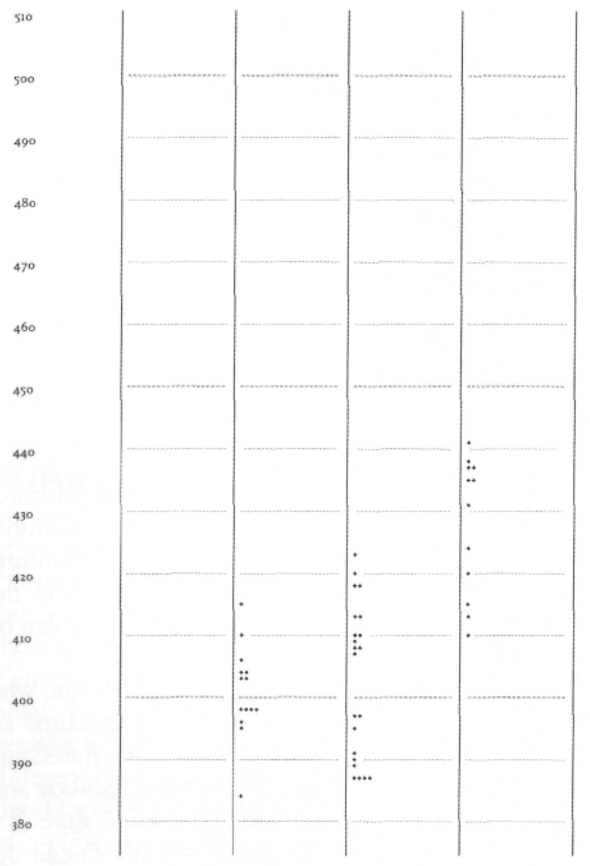
The first French players of woodwinds arrived in England in 1673 in the company of the composer Robert Cambert (who had just been manoeuvred out of the Opéra by Lully). It is now thought that Louis XIV himself may have been behind Cambert's move to England, and that Cambert was meant to observe the English monarch at close quarters through his role as *Maître de musique* to Charles's mistress, the Breton noblewoman Louise de Kéroualle.[33] Cambert was in charge of a group of French musicians, including three of Louis's singers (who may have had secondary jobs as spies) and 'five or six men who play very well on flutes [i.e., woodwind instruments]'.

Lully's music did not generally circulate in England until the 1680s,[34] and the first performance of a Lully opera did not take place until 1686.[35] But King Charles had a taste for French music, and already in the 1670s Cambert and his musicians were entertaining him and members of his court with snippets of Lully's latest productions that had been on the Paris stage less than a year.[36] In the process, they also introduced London to the latest, most up-to-date woodwinds being used at the Paris Opéra, together with their pitch levels.

Four of the 'flutists' in Cambert's band took part as 'French Hoboyes' in several other stage productions and were hired by one of the two London theatres, the King's Company, in 1674-75. Although at the time there were strong anti-French feelings, the English public evidently liked the new instruments.[37] From then on, there are regular references to public performances on French woodwinds.[38] And if the woodwinds were at French pitch, the rest of the band (which could more easily change pitch) would have tuned to them. But in fact, returning was probably not necessary, as many English instruments were already tuned to A-1½.

Consort-pitch, **alias** *Ton de la Chambre du Roy* **(A-1½)**

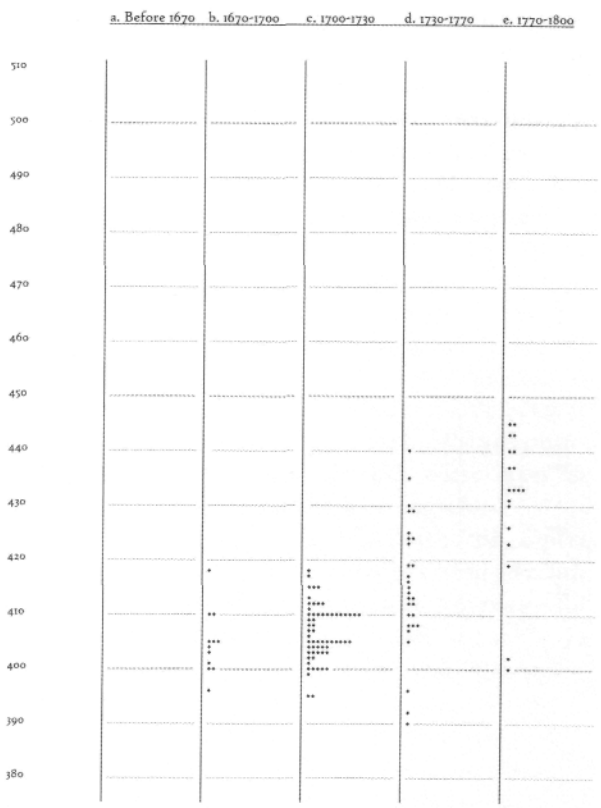
Graph 5: Woodwinds, southern Netherlands, to 1800



Between 1670 and 1700 (and probably earlier as well) *Consort-pitch* was the predominant instrumental standard in England. In function if not exact frequency, it appears to have been the English analogue to *Cammerton* in Germany, in the sense of being a secular pitch associated with 'chamber music' (which meant instrumental music in general). The term 'Concert pitch' was also used in England, evidently as a variant of *Consort-pitch* and identical to it (it is not likely that two distinct standards would have had such similar names).[39]

Roger North used the name in connection with tuning a harpsichord in his *Theory of sounds* (*c.*1710-26): 'The first thing is to tune that F to its consort pitch'.[40] In his *Treatise of Musick* (1721), Alexander Malcolm described Consort-pitch as 'neither too high nor too low, for the Accompaniment of other Instruments, and especially for the human Voice'.[41]

Graph 6: Woodwinds, England, to 1800



Prelleur, in his instructions for tuning the harpsichord, recommended 'First set your Instrument to Consort Pitch by a Pitch-Pipe or Consort-flute'.[42] 'Consort-flutes' were thus at Consort-pitch. 'Flute' was the normal name for a recorder, an instrument that can be regarded as an '18th-century pitchpipe.'[43]

The London recorder maker Peter Bressan, who in 1721, on the death of James Paisible, executed an inventory of his possessions, listed 'two voice flutes, one consort flute and two small ones, an old hautboy and an old cane flute'.[44] In this context, 'consort flute' is a size of recorder between the voice flute (in d^1) and the 'small ones'. A similar distinction is made in the phrase 'Voice Flutes and Consort Flutes' in a record of new instruments bought by the court of George II in 1732.[45] In 1732 Thomas Stanesby Jr (as famous for his recorders as Bressan had been a generation earlier) described the 'Concert Flute' as 'the F.Flute',[46] meaning what is now called the treble or alto recorder, and Tans'ur in 1746 wrote that 'Of flutes there are many Sizes, as a Concert Flute; a Third Flute; a Fifth, and a Sixth, and an Octave Flute'.[47] The pitch of these latter recorders was reckoned in intervals upward from the standard 'Concert' or 'Consort' Flute.

Organs were sometimes made to Consort-pitch and at least two documents specifically associate the recorder with the pitch:

> (1) Renatus Harris's contract in 1722 for his last organ for St Dionis Backchurch specified 'Consort flute pitch'.[48]
>
> (2) The contract for St George, Hanover Square, London (1725) originally specified 'Concert Flute pitch'.[49]

English recorders should thus give us the frequency of *Consort-pitch*. The pitches of twelve English recorders from the period 1670-1700 are known, and forty-five from the period 1700-1730, a total of fifty-seven instruments. Fifty are in the A-1½ range (399-410), two are below it (at 395 and 396) and five (all from after 1700[50]) are above it (411-418).[51] It seems logical that Consort-pitch would be represented by the majority of these recorders, and their evidence is clear: 88 percent of them are at A-1½, with an average pitch of 405.

Consort-pitch was part of a grid of English pitch standards at discrete intervals below *'Quire-pitch'* at A≈473. *Quire-pitch* and pitch centres a half-step lower (A≈448), a whole-step lower (A≈423), and a minor third lower (A≈400) were the usual standards in England at various times and for various instruments, including especially organs.[52]

That English woodwinds should have been made in some kind of pitch relation to English organs and the *Quire-pitch* grid is not surprising. But (apparently fortuitously) *Consort-pitch* seems to have been virtually equivalent to French *Ton de la Chambre du Roy* at A-1½. This coincidence must have been of great practical benefit.

Bressan had probably begun making instruments when he was still in France;[53] when he arrived in England in 1688, he may simply have continued to use his models of recorders at *Ton de la Chambre du Roy*. Since many of the influential players of woodwinds in England at this time were French, Consort-pitch at A-1½ would have been reinforced by their presence.

Consort-pitch was probably used in places where instrumental pitch was decisive, such as in operas and semi-operas, incidental music to plays, and chamber music. A single organ survives from this period that retains almost all of its original pipe work and mechanism. Built in *c.*1693, it is at Adlington Hall in Cheshire. 'This instrument became unplayable before 1800, and survived without alteration until its restoration in 1959'.[54] It is at 406 (as would be expected of an organ used in a private house, probably with other instruments).[55]

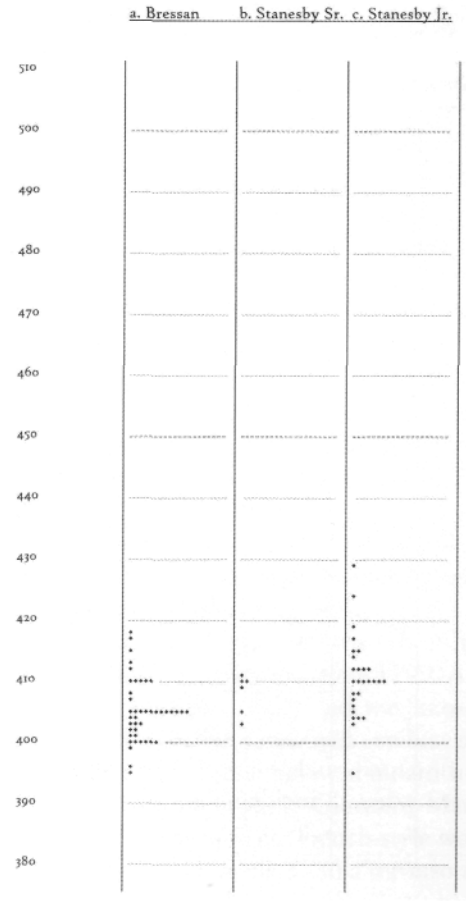
Using a pitch lower than A-1 has an important effect on vocal parts. As Bruce Wood observes, reviewing a recording of Purcell made (interestingly) at A-2:

> [The parts now done by countertenors] were actually conceived for two distinct types of voice, which in some early sources are distinguished by the use of different clefs: the alto, for parts requiring a light but full-voiced tenor, and the mezzo-soprano, for parts demanding falsetto production .... Acceptance of this dichotomy causes the

lower type of countertenor line, when performed at an appropriate pitch [i.e., lower than A-1], to spring into focus: its bottom notes, involving falsettists as they do in awkward changes of gear, lie perfectly for tenors, while in those duet passages in which both types of voice interweave lines often a third apart, the problems of balance, intractable if both singers are falsettists, simply melt away.[56]

Wood pertinently suggests that A-2 is 'arguably a shade too low' for Purcell. Whether A-2 was ever adopted in England is indeed questionable. English recorders are very specific in pitch, and as we have seen, only two originals from this period are below 400.[57]

Graph 7: Profiles: Bressan, Stanesby Sr. and Jr.



We have direct evidence from January 1712 that the opera orchestra in London was at A-1½.[58] In a letter written from London to an agent in Paris, the French hautboist Louis Rousselet ordered two bassoons from the Parisian maker Jean-Jacques Rippert.[59] The instruments were destined for friends of his who were members of the opera orchestra at the Queen's Theatre in The Haymarket. Rousse-let specified that for London the bassoons had to be 'environ d'un Car de Ton plus haut que Ceux qu'il fait apressant'[60] (about ¼ tone higher than those he currently makes). He went on to say

> Have the kindness to try [the bassoons] yourself, because it is for persons who know how to draw out of them all that one must when they are in their hands. It is necessary that the bassoons and the oboes be the same pitch we play here, almost ¼ tone higher than the pitch of the Opéra in Paris.[61]

The Opéra in Paris was at A-2.[62] Since a half-tone consisted of either four or five commas, 'almost ¼ tone higher' would have been about two commas higher, or the equivalent of 403 Hz. Rippert is survived by instruments at various pitches,[63] but at least four of his recorders are at A-1½. This must then have been the approximate pitch of the Queen's Theatre orchestra. Rousselet wrote his letter less than a year after Handel had produced *Rinaldo* at the Queen's Theatre in 1711, the first opera he produced in England.

There is other evidence of the currency of A-1½ in this decade. *The Utrecht Te Deum* was performed at St Paul's Cathedral on 7 July 1713, where the organ was at A≈448 (part of the *Quire-pitch* grid, a major second above A-1½). The most practical pitch for the orchestra would thus have been A-1½, using a whole-tone transposition.[64]

There is also the situation at Cannons, where Handel worked between 1717 and 1720. The opening Andante of a piece written there, the *Chandos* Anthem 5A (HWV 250a), is an hautboy solo in the improbable key of A-major.[65] But this movement exists in several other versions, including the 3d Concerto in *Select Harmony* (HWV 302a, published in 1740) and the 'Sonata a 5' (*c.*1707). In these alternate versions it is in the more natural key of B flat.[66] It seems likely that at Cannons also, the hautboy played in B flat, while the organ played in A (the key in which the Cannons version survives). The cause would have been a difference in pitch. As it happens, the original organ that Handel used at Cannons survives at Gosport. It is at 424 (a major second below *Quire-pitch*). The hautboy, on the other hand, would most likely have been at A-1½ (a minor third below *Quire-pitch*). If the two instruments were thus pitched a half-step apart, their parts would have had to be written in different keys.

Finally, Stanesby Jr is survived by two traversos at A-1½ which would have been made after 1713, when he opened his shop.[67] Evidently A-1½ continued to be used well into the 18th century.[68]

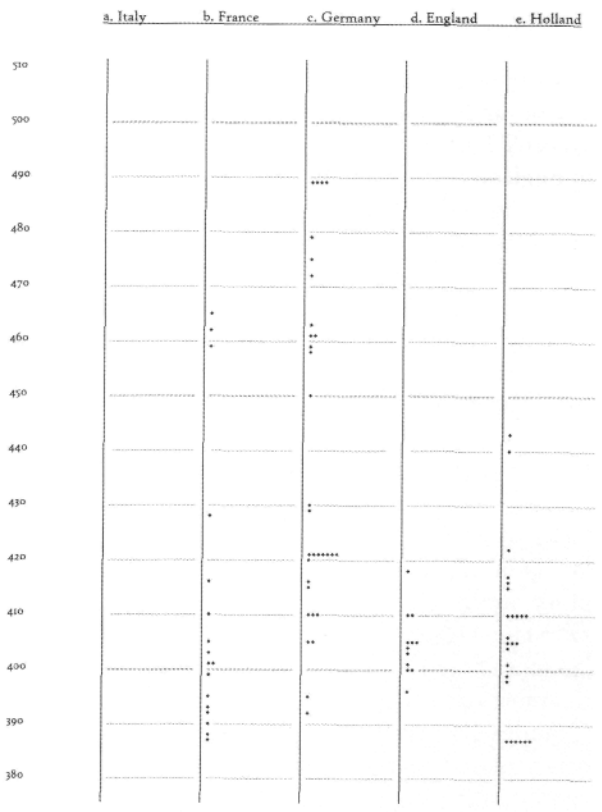
A-1½ in other countries

The first French woodwinds heard in Germany were direct imports that accompanied their players, and must have been pitched at *Ton d'Opéra* or *Ton de la Chambre du Roy*. By the 1680s, a number of courts and cities (including Schwerin, Celle, Stuttgart, Hannover, Berlin, Munich, Hamburg, and Darmstadt) had adopted French music and the new instruments to play it. Some of these centres may have

been using *Ton d'Opéra* at A-2, especially those that featured singers. But there is no question that A-1½ had currency as well. Almost half the surviving recorders by the earliest German makers to copy French instruments, Christoph Denner and Johann Schell, are pitched between A-401 and A-410 (see Graph 9, a-b). The relative importance of A-2 and A-1½ is suggested in Graph 4, b-c, Graph 5, b-c, and Graph 8, b-e.

Where and when did A-1 ('415') appear?

Graph 8: Woodwinds in Europe, 1670-1700

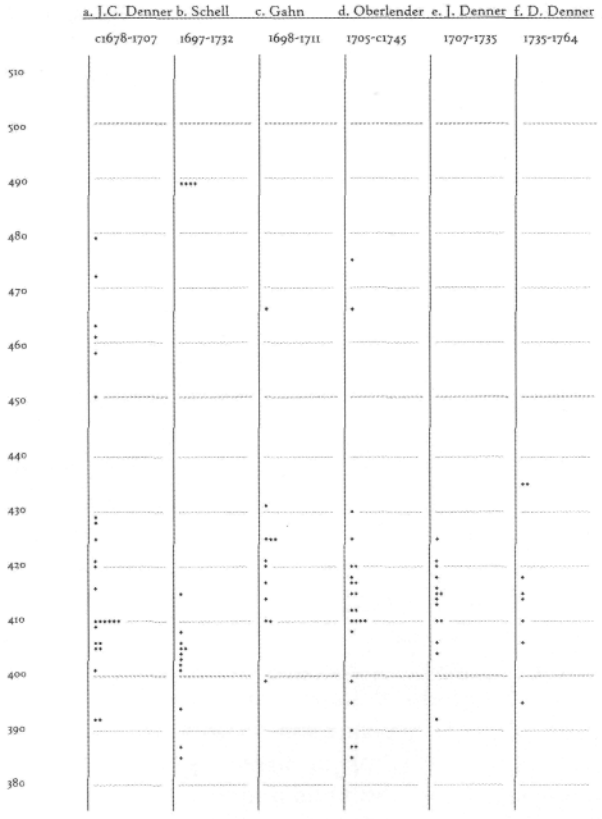


As a vocal pitch, obtained by transposing down a step from the normal organ pitch of A+1, A-1 was common in the 17th century in Italy (as *tuono corista*) and Germany (known there in most of the 17th century as *ChorThon* [sic]). Since in Germany organs remained at A+1, and instruments continued to be used with voices in church, woodwinds at A-1 were a necessity even if the French models were not at that exact pitch. In Holland, a number of organs built in the early 17th century were apparently at A-1.[70] Thus German and Dutch woodwind makers of the late 17th century like Christoph Denner, Richard Haka, and J.J. van Heerde are survived by woodwinds at A-1, whereas in France and England, where the musical context did not require the use of A-1, such instruments are rare. (At the same time, as can be seen in Graph 8, all these countries were producing woodwinds at A-1½, presumably for secular music.) After 1700, the relative importance of these pitches traded places; almost half of the surviving German woodwinds made in the first three decades of the 18th century are at A-1 and only a quarter are at A-1½.[71] The surviving traversos of an important German maker, Jacob Denner (*fl.* 1707-*p.* 1735), are of special interest. Some have alternate middle joints, or *corps*, giving several pitches:

xBerlin (3-piece, *c.*1718)[72]	397		
Ditzingen (Thalheimer)			415
Nuremberg 257	393		417[73]
Hünteler	393	403	413
Brussels 1056	397		
Nuremberg 566			415

Because the spacing between the pitches of these *corps* is quite large, they probably represent the

Graph 9: Nuremberg recorders by maker



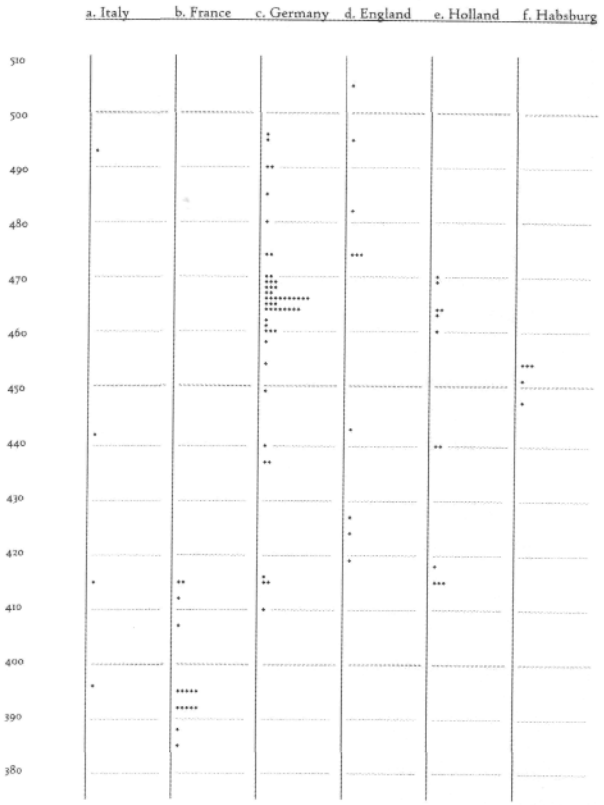
real distance between pitch standards (rather than, as on later traversos, small tuning adjustments within a single standard). It is tempting to look on them as carriers of the precise frequency values of A-2, A-1½, and A-1 in the period 1700-1730.[74] If that is true, those standards would have had the following values:

A-2	393-397
A-1½	403
A-1	413-417

Jacob Denner's recorders are very close to the traverso levels, and fall into the following limits:

A-2	392
A-1½	404-406
A-1	410-425

Graph 10: Organs, 1700-1730



Berlin seems to have favoured A-1½ in this period. The only known woodwind maker working there from before 1700 until 1737 was Johann Heitz, who is survived by a number of recorders and one traverso.[75] The pitches of eight Heitz recorders range from 397 to 405 and average 401.[76]

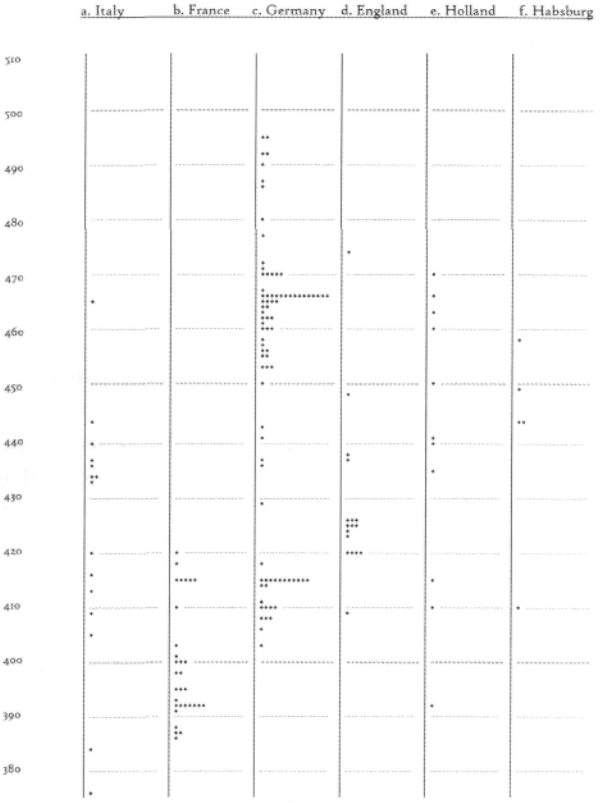
There are no records of Italian-made woodwinds of the new type before 1709. A-1 had long been used in northern Italy and was known as *tuono corista*, a pitch that favoured voices and was a transposable whole tone below standard instrumental pitch, *mezzo punto* at A+1. Giovanni Maria Anciuti, 'the earliest Italian to make French-style woodwinds',[77] is survived by two recorders and a traverso at A-1; they are dated 1725. An occasion that may have involved A-1 was the visit to Venice in 1716 of a number of court musicians from Saxony. The Dresden players, who must have created a small stir in the city during their year-long visit, would probably have been using instruments at Dresden *Cammerton*, which was A-1.[78]

In France after Louis XIV's death, there was a new interest in music from abroad, especially from Italy. This brought many foreign players to Paris, with their instruments and pitches. Since A-1 was a common Venetian pitch, Parisians began to hear it, probably starting in the 1720s. After 1730, A-1 was not uncommon in French traversos such as those by Thomas Lot. It supplanted A-1½ at the end of the 18th century and persisted into the early 19th century.[79]

The Upward Movement to A-1 in England

Graph 6b shows that most English woodwinds were tuned to A-1½ at the end of the 17th century. This pitch was convenient because it worked with organs and happened to match many French woodwinds of the same period. At some point between 1700 and 1730, however, some recorders also started being made a quarter-step higher at A-1, as can be seen in Graph 6c. After 1730, as Graph 6d shows, A-1 and higher pitches apparently became predominant on English woodwinds (A-1 seems not to have made inroads into organ pitches in any period: see Graphs 10, 11, and 12, where England is alone in showing virtually no pitches in this area).

Graph 11: Organs, 1730-1770

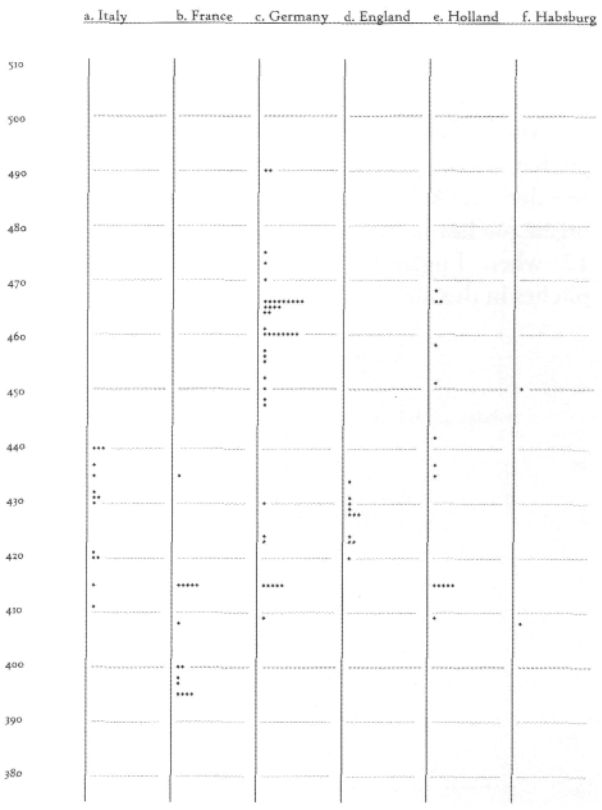


One surviving treble recorder by Bressan (Paris C.394, E.283) actually plays at both A-1½ and A-1. Like several other contemporary recorders, it is covered with a sheath of tortoiseshell. This particular recorder has two sets of tone-holes ingeniously placed on two separate lines along the centre joint. The sheath is made so it can be turned to uncover one set of holes, thus closing the other set. The instrument effectively plays at either A-402 or A-415. It was presumably made during this period, when the two pitches also overlapped.

There are indications that the Opera orchestra went up to the Continental standard of A-1 by the early 1720s, probably when the new opera company, the Royal Academy of Music, was formed in 1719.[80] A possible reason for this change was that, since the great singers Handel hired for his London productions

came from northern Italy, it would have been expedient for the Opera to have been at the pitch that was being used in operas at Venice, A-1.[81]

Graph 12: Organs, 1770-1800



Instruments at the Chapel Royal were also probably at A-1 by the early 1720s. Burrows notes that the pieces Handel performed at the Chapel Royal in that period were revisions of works written at Cannons.[82] At the Chapel Royal they were usually set in a lower key, implying a higher pitch there.[83] The organ Handel had used at Cannons was at 424 (a major 2d below *Quire-pitch*), whereas his organ at the Chapel Royal in St James's Palace was built by Bernard Smith in 1708 and was measured by Ellis at a semitone above 442, which would have been about 468.[84] Handel's cello, lute, and voice parts were all notated in the same key as the organ in the earliest sets of surviving Chapel Royal parts (dating from the first two decades of the 18th century).[85] Since the organ was at about 468, and the likelihood of lutes or cellos at that level is remote, the organist probably transposed his part down a tone at sight, as was common in Italy and Germany. In this same period, Handel added a note to his copyist in the manuscript for the Air 'Sing unto the Lord and praise His name' in the Anthem *O Sing unto the Lord* a new song (HWV 249a)[86] that confirms that the other parts played at a different pitch from the organ. He wrote 'Dieser vers wird einen thon tieffer transponiert in allen Partien. in den Orgel Part 2 thon tieffer'[87] (This movement should be transposed down one tone in all parts—in the organ part two tones lower). Handel's instruction indicates that the organ was a 'thon' higher than the other parts, since it had to be notated a 'thon' lower. Since we know it was at about 468, the strings and voices must have been pitched a major second lower, which would have been A-1.[88]

The next development in English 18th-century pitch was the upward movement of orchestral instruments by a semitone (thus still in the *Quire-pitch* grid) to about A-424. But that is a story for another day.[89]

Summary

For the two generations following the instrument revolution brought on by Lully and the French court, historical evidence indicates that A-1½, or about 405, was the most important performing pitch in most of Europe for instrumental music and some vocal works. It was known in France as *Ton de la Chambre du Roy*, 'the King's chamber pitch'. Until about 1720, A-1½ was evidently the pitch in which composers like Mace, Blow, Purcell, Marais, D'Anglebert, Muffat, Fux, Eccles, Finger, Clarke, Croft, Couperin, Hotteterre, de LaBarre, Bononcini (in England), Mancini (in England), Handel (in England, including operas), J.S. Bach (possibly at Cöthen, not at Leipzig), Telemann (occasionally), and many others conceived their instrumental music.

What that signifies today is unclear. In the early days of the baroque revival '415' was a flag, a measure of one's commitment to authenticity. Under the quaint name 'old pitch', it was pitted single-handedly against '440', the emblem of the Establishment, of what was then thought of as 'modern' interpretation. Times have changed, and 415 itself can now sometimes be seen as a symbol of entrenched anti-historicist performance. It was Quantz who wrote that

> The diversity of pitches used for tuning is most detrimental to music in general. In vocal music it produces the inconvenience that singers performing in a place where low tuning is used are hardly able to make use of arias that were written for them in a place where a high pitch was employed, or vice-versa. For this reason it is much to be hoped that a single pitch for tuning may be introduced at all places.[90]

In moving self-consciously backwards, the period performance movement has often found itself in the uncomfortable position of rejecting the luxuries of 'progress' for the sake of experiment. If we are interested in original sonorities, if we want our instruments to act and feel as they did when they were first played, and our voices to function as they did for the composers who conceived their parts, it seems we must at least consider the possibility of renouncing the great convenience of a single hard-earned pitch standard. As in so many other issues of historical performance, what once seemed a single brave step

later turns out to be merely the first of several. But one of the rewards of exploring early techniques and instruments is gaining insights into musical performance that are unlooked for and unexpected. There are facets of music that cannot be foreseen or imagined until they are actually played and sung.

It is possible that A-1½ was used in the period from about 1670 to 1725 as a compromise between A-1 and A-2, combining the best features of both; 'lacking nothing', as Muffat observed, 'in liveliness along with its sweetness.' Some (perhaps many) old string instruments resonate better at A-1½ than at A-1, and woodwind makers are well aware of the wealth of originals at A-1½ they can use as models (without having to alter them upwards to 415). Most hautboys and bassoons that are now played at 415 can be adjusted to play at A-1½ with little effort.

Could it be that *Ton de la Chambre du Roy* is the 'old pitch' of the future?

The material for this article is based on my book, A History of performing pitch: the story of "A" *(2002).*

1. In this article, I use a pitch terminology based on semitones from A-440: 'A+1' means A-440 plus a semitone, or A≈464, 'A-1' means A≈415, A-2 means A≈392, etc. These are only approximate values, and I am assuming a tolerance of one-quarter tone (or about two commas) between each semitone. I often use Hz values without identifying the note in question (for instance, '407'), which is assumed to be a^1.
2. G.-G. Nivers, *Dissertation sur le chant grégorien* (Paris, 1683), p.108.
3. G. Muffat, Introduction to *Florilegium secundum* (Passau, 1698), p. 48. In W. Kolender (Strasbourg, 1970), p. 73 and D. Wilson, *Georg Muffat on performance practice* (Bloomington, 2001), p. 45.
4. B. Haynes, *A History of performing pitch: the story of "A"* (Lanham, 2002), pp. 3-6.
5. The graphs in this article are based on instrument data published in Haynes, *Pitch standards in the baroque and classical periods* (Ph.D. dissertation, Université de Montréal, 1995) and Haynes, *A History of performing pitch.* Dating is problematic with woodwinds, and these divisions are best guesses. For this study I adopted a policy that accounts for wood shrinkage and its effect on pitch level. Ivory instruments (as well as a few traversos made of porcelain, crystal, and glass) are considered at their present pitch. Wooden recorders, pitchpipes, and traversos are assumed to have been originally 5 Hz lower, and clarinets 3 Hz higher. For a discussion of shrinkage and pitch, see Haynes, *A History of performing pitch*, 1-6c.
6. See Haynes, *A History of performing pitch*, 3-1c.
7. See Graph 2, columns a-c.
8. There was the 'Comma', the ninth part of a whole tone, but it was a specialist's concept possibly unfamiliar to their readers.
9. E.230. The pitch measurements were made by the author on two different occasions in 1984 and 1993.
10. J. Sauveur, Various papers written 1700-13, published in *Mémoires de l'Académie royal des sciences,* p.131, S. Dostrovsky, 'Early vibration theory: physics and music in the 17th century', *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 14 (1975), p. 201; P. Barbieri, 'Il corista bolognese, secondo il rilevamento di V.F. Stancari', *L'Organo* 18 (1980), p. 19n6.
11. See R. Rasch, ed., *Joseph Sauveur: Collected writings on musical acoustics (Paris 1700-1713)* (Utrecht, 1984), p. 26. A. J. Ellis, 'On the history of musical pitch', *Journal of the Society of Arts* (5 Mar 1880), p. 36 gave 408. See Haynes, *A History of performing pitch,* pp. 1-7 for more background on Sauveur.
12. Pierre-François Deslandes (1667-1710).
13. Cf. A. Mendel, 'On the pitches in use in Bach's time', *Musical Quarterly* 41 (1955) reprinted in *Studies in the history of musical pitch* (Amsterdam, 1968), p. 211.
14. On the question of frequency tolerance in the study of historical pitch standards, see Haynes, *A History of performing pitch,* section 0-2, pp.xlii-xlvii.
15. M. Benoit, *Versailles et les musiciens du Roi, 1661-1733* (Paris, 1971), pp. 221-22.
16. While there was a general ban on figural instruments in churches in France, the royal *Chapelle* employed concerted music from the 1660s (F. Fleurot, *Le hautbois dans la musique française, 1650-1800* (Paris, 1984), p. 102. Cf. also Benoit *Versailles et les musiciens du Roi*, pp. 46-47, 61). That was possible because music in the *Chapelle* was governed separately from churches in the rest of the kingdom.
17. N. Dufourcq, *Le livre de l'orgue français,* I (Paris, 1971), p. 532. François-Michel Le Tellier, marquis de Louvois, was Louis's most influential minister in the period 1677-91.
18. Singing was an important activity at Saint-Cyr, and Nivers developed

particular textures and forms of compositions for the girls there that were used for a century afterwards. Cf. D. Kauffman, 'Performance traditions and motet composition at the convent school at Saint-Cyr', *Early Music* 29 (2001), pp. 235-249.

19. P. Hardouin, *Le grand orgue de Saint-Gervais à Paris* (Paris, 1963).
20. Ellis, 'On the history of musical pitch', p. 36.
21. Hardouin thought either 1762 or 1787, but Cugnier in 1780 (see 'Le Basson', in J.B. de Laborde's *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne)* already talks about the pitch as very low, so we may assume the earlier date is right. The history of the pitch of this organ is actually even more complicated, as explained in N. Dufourcq, 'L'orgue de la chapelle de Versailles', *La Revue musicale,* April 1934 and summarized in Haynes, *Pitch standards in the baroque and classical periods,* Section 4-5. This organ was totally remade recently, but the surviving original materials gave no pitch clues (Gustav Leonhardt [personal comm.]).
22. M. Chausson and Y. Koenig, *Lorris-en-Gâtinais: un orgue cinq siècles d'histoire, 1501-2001* (2001).
23. Haynes, *A History of performing pitch,* pp. 275-77.
24. C. Burney, *The present state of music in France and Italy: or the journal of a tour through those countries* (London, 1771), p. 30.
25. This is reproduced in P. Beaussant, *Lully ou le musicien du soleil* (Paris, 1992), p. 461 (I am grateful to Geoffrey Burgess for pointing this out to me).
26. Benoit, *Versailles et les musiciens du Roi,* p. 73. Benoit notes that 'certains [artistes] appartiennent aux deux troupes.'
27. Including François Buchot, René Pignon Descoteaux, Michel Herbinot dit Destouches, six members of the Hotteterre family (Jean I, Martin, Colin, Nicolas, Jean II, and Louis), de La Croix, Philippe Philbert, André and Jacques Philidor, three Pièches (Joseph, Pierre, and Pierre-Alexandre), François Arthus dit Plumet, and Jean Rousselet. Cf. La Gorce, 'Some notes on Lully's orchestra', *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the music of the French baroque,* ed. J.H. Heyer (Cambridge, 1989), p. 104ff.
28. Julien Bernier, Jean Rousselet (see La Gorce, 'Some notes on Lully's orchestra', p. 103), the Chédeville brothers, and later Jean-François Despréaux, François Bureau, and Nicolas-Benigne Monnot. S. Bouissou (*Jean-Philippe Rameau: Les Boréades ou la tragédie oubliée* (Paris, 1992), p. 43) describes the mixture of musicians living at Versailles and Paris for the rehearsals in 1763 of Rameau's *Les Boréades.*
29. For background on this point see Haynes, *A History of performing pitch,* Chapter 8.
30. A. Baines, *Woodwind instruments and their history* (London, 1957), p. 50. For background on this point see Haynes, *A History of performing pitch,* 10-3.
31. See Haynes, *A History of performing pitch,* 5-6b.
32. The pitch that was general for traditional ('folk') wind instruments up until the 1914 War, generally known as 'le la ancien', was about 404 Hz (Claude Girard [personal comm.]). Cf. the recording *France: cornemuses du centre.* Unesco Collection (Audvis), 1989, D 8202 (played by Jean Blanchard and Eric Montbel). Montbel's chabrette attributed to Louis Maury (1842-*c.*1910) is described as 'en la 415' but is pitched on the recording at 406. Cf. also M. Gastellu-Etchegorry, 'Le clari des Pyrénées centrales', *Les hautbois populaires* (Parthenay, 2002), pp. 56-57, which describes 18th-century claris and three-holed flutes of the central Pyrenees as at A-404.
33. J. Buttrey, 'New light on Robert Cambert in London, and his Ballet et Musique', *Early Music* 23 (1995).
34. P. Holman, *Four and twenty fiddlers: the violin at the English court,* 1540-1690 (Oxford, 1993), p. 313.
35. C. B. Schmidt, 'The geographical spread of Lully's operas during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: new evidence from the livrets', *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the music of the French baroque,* ed. J.H. Heyer (Cambridge, 1989), p. 208.
36. Buttrey, 'New light on Robert Cambert', p. 209.
37. For background, cf. M. Ashley, *Charles II* (London, 1971), p. 234 and Chapter XVII of D. Lasocki, *Professional recorder players in England, 1540-1740* (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Iowa, 1983).
38. Cf. Lasocki, *Professional recorder players in England,* p. 330ff.
39. The first reference to 'Concert pitch' is 1719.
40. J. Wilson, *Roger North on music* (London, 1959), p. 208.
41. Quoted in G. Strahle, *An early music dictionary* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 88.
42. P. Prelleur, *The modern Musick-Master* (London, 1730), p. 48.
43. See Haynes, *A History of performing pitch,* p. 11 on the reliability of the recorder as an indicator of historical pitches.
44. D. Lasocki, 'Paisible's Echo Flute, Bononcini's Flauti Eco, and Bach's Fiauti d'Echo', *Galpin Society Journal* 45 (1992), p. 61.
45. P. E. Daub, *Music at the court of George II* (*r.*1727-1760) (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1985), p. 274 citing the Lord Chamberlain's papers (Public Record Office), 5/18-5/21, *passim.*
46. Stanesby Jr (1732:1), quoted in D. S. Higbee, 'A plea for the tenor recorder by Thomas Stanesby Jr.', *Galpin Society Journal* 15 (1962), p. 57.
47. Quoted in R. Griscom and D. Lasocki, *The recorder: a guide to writings about the instrument for players and researchers* (New York and London, 1997), pp. 216-7.
48. E. Segerman, Comm. 1100: 'Early 18th century English pitches, especially 'Consort flute pitch' and 'Church pitch of f'', *FoMRHIQ 67* (1992), p. 54.
49. Gerard Smith, the maker, later crossed this out and replaced it with 'Church pitch of f [as in] the Organ of St Paul London.' See R. Platt, 'Plagiarism or emulation: the Gerard Smith organ contract for St. George's Church, Hanover Square', *British Institute of Organ Studies Journal* 17 (1993), p. 36.
50. Graph 6b shows only one woodwind (a traverso by Urquhart) above 410 made before 1700. This is Edinburgh 1908.252 at 418; this maker's dates are uncertain (late 17th century or early 18th).
51. It is not possible to date these instruments exactly; the working dates of the major makers (Bressan, Bradbury, and Stanesby Sr) all span a period from about 1690 to 1730. Stanesby Jr, who did not begin work until after 1713, is represented by instruments at A-1, whereas his father, who worked until 1733/34, is not (see Graph 7). Thus, although it is probable that higher-pitched instruments appeared later, it cannot be absolutely determined.
52. Cf. Haynes, *A History of performing pitch,* 2-5a.
53. W. Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index* (London, 1993), p. 44 suggests that certain features of his instruments indicate a Parisian background. Having come from Bourg-en-Bresse, he probably had some connection with the woodwind maker Perrin, mentioned by Borjon in 1672.
54. S. Bicknell, *History of the English organ* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 144.
55. John Pike Mander (personal comm.). Mander notes that the date is only an assumption.
56. B. Wood, Review of Purcell's Hail Bright Cecilia, *Early Music* 18 (1990), p. 496.
57. In 1713 the English physicist Brook Taylor measured the pitch of his harpsichord at 383 and 390 or slightly higher. But it is not known if Taylor's harpsichord was tuned to a reference pitch.
58. 'January 1711' old style.
59. (*fl.*1707-12). Cf. T. Giannini, *Great flute makers of France; the Lot and Godfroy families 1650-1900* (London, 1993), p. 45, D. Lasocki, The French hautboy in England, 1673-1730', *Early Music* 16 (1988), p. 348. Rousselet was the son of Jean Rousselet (a well-established

hautboist in France) and godson of Louis Hotteterre (*c.* 1645/50-1716).

60. T. Giannini, 'A letter from Louis Rousselet, 18th-century French oboist at the Royal Opera in England', *American Musical Instrument Society Newsletter* 16/2 (1987), pp. 10-11.
61. Giannini, *Great flute makers of France,* p. 45.
62. See Haynes, *A History of performing pitch,* 4-2.
63. See Haynes, *A History of performing pitch,* Appendix 5.
64. Peter Holman (personal comm.) notes that other ceremonial anthems were performed in St Paul's, such as the Croft anthems written for the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy.
65. See G. Hendrie, 'Handel's 'Chandos' and associated anthems: an introductory survey', in *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: tercentenary essays,* ed. P. Williams (Cambridge, 1985), p.154.
66. Other hautboy solos written for Cannons were probably written in key (see Haynes, *A History of performing pitch*).
67. Modena: Museo Civico and Horniman 241.
68. A traverso by Cahusac, London, *c.* 1780 (Frankfurt: Spohr 149) has a longest *corps* at 402 (the other two are at 428 and 433).
69. Haynes, *A History of performing pitch,* 2-2a3 and 2-3a. Praetorius began by using the name *ChorThon* to designate a pitch a major second lower than *CammerThon,* but halfway through his book his conception of ChorThon seems to have become ambiguous (as Herbert W. Myers put it [personal comm.], this was 'from p.121 onwards.' Cf. Myers, 'Praetorius's pitch standard', *Galpin Society Journal* 52 (1998), p. 260) which has caused 20th-century readers major confusion. In the statement quoted at the beginning of this article, Muffat also placed 'old *Chorton*' a whole tone lower than German *'Cornett-Thon'.*
70. These included Haarlem, St Bavo, small organ (J. van Covelens, a. 1629), Wijk bij Duurstede, St.-Jan Baptist (? A. Kiespenning, *c.*1615), Leiden, St Pieter (Jacobs, 1628, recently restored), Rotterdam, St Laurents (H. Goldfuss, 1641), and Maastricht, O.L. Vrouwekerk (1652).
71. These are of course only figures for instruments whose pitches are known.
72. Lost; formerly in the Berlin instrument museum.
73. There were originally at least two other *corps* (see M. Kirnbauer, *Verzeichnis der Europäischen Musikinstrumente im Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg. Band II: Flöten- und Rohrblattinstrumente bis 1750 (Wilhelmshaven,* 1994), p. 92).
74. The Hünteler traverso, discovered in 1991 in mint condition, has a fourth 'd'amour' *corps* that plays a minor third below the highest and a major second below the lowest (it is thus in D at A-4 or in B at A-1). The joints at A-1 (the 1st and 4th) show the most wear, but according to Konrad Hünteler, the one at A-2 plays best.
75. The latter is an attribution (P. T. Young, *4900 historical woodwind instruments* (London, 1993), p. 123). Seventeen of Heitz's recorders are extant, although I have pitches for only nine.
76. A ninth instrument in ivory is at A-1 (413).
77. Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index,* p. 43.
78. In 1720 the Sophienkirche organ was built by Gottfried Silbermann in 'Cammer-Thon'; the instrument survives and is at 416. It was the first of several large Dresden organs at that pitch. See Haynes, *A History of performing pitch,* 5-9a.
79. See Haynes, *A History of performing pitch,* 4-2a.
80. See Haynes *A History of performing pitch,* 4-5a1.
81. See Haynes, *A History of performing pitch,* 4-1a1.
82. D. Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal during the reigns of Queen Anne and George I* (Dissertation, Open University, 1981), p. 136.
83. Burrows's conclusion that the works were probably originally performed at A+0 does not follow from this, however; he was unaware of the Gosport organ.
84. Ellis, 'On the history of musical pitch', pp. 48-49.
85. Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal,* p. 134.
86. *Hallische Händel-Auagabe* 1992, ed. G. Hendrie, p.53. The piece was written for the Chapel Royal in 1712-14. This movement includes traverso, and is in e-minor. The voice part lies very high and the entire piece was set down a step for the later Chandos version, though this movement was abandoned there.
87. Hendrie, *Critical Report, Hallische Händel-Auagabe* 1992, p. 334. Burrows transcribes 'transponiert' as 'transposiert' (*Handel and the English Chapel Royal,* p. 138).
88. Cf. Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal,* p. 138ff.
89. I can refer readers to Haynes, *A History of performing pitch,* pp. 289-91.
90. J. J. Quantz, *Essai d'une méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la Flûte Traversière / Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin, 1752), Ch. XVII/vii/&7 (tr. Reilly (London, 1966), p. 267).

TWENTY YEARS OF THE NEW CRITICAL EDITION OF VIVALDI'S WORKS

MICHAEL TALBOT

Most musicians and musicologists, when asked to think of a 'collected' edition of Vivaldi's music, will summon up in their minds a long row (or two) of black volumes, each containing a group of consecutive *tomi* identified (in by now very indistinct gilt lettering) on a red band on the spine. These volumes, containing only instrumental works (sonatas and concertos), constitute the *Opere strumentali* series inaugurated in 1947 by the Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi founded shortly before by Antonio Fanna. This vast editorial project has rightly been criticised for its methodological and musical shortcomings (although a distinct general improvement occurred as the years passed), but its efficacy in proceeding uninterruptedly over a span of only twenty-six years (1947–1972) to bring out 529 separate works, most of them previously unpublished, merits commendation.[1] Thanks to this edition, Vivaldi's instrumental music passed, as if via a conveyor belt, into the repertory of the chamber orchestras and chamber music ensembles specialising in late baroque music that sprang up in Italy and elsewhere after World War II, and almost immediately into the catalogues of long-playing records, which had likewise come into existence at just the right time.

From the start, the Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi secured Italy's foremost music publisher, Ricordi, as its collaborator. Ricordi, too, deserves our thanks for maintaining this edition, an obvious 'loss leader', throughout these years. It recouped prestige from its association with the project, although it must also be said, on the debit side, that the basically 'non-commercial' status of the edition probably lessened the zeal with which it was publicised and promoted. Consequently, the *Opere strumentali* series was, and is, hard to locate in libraries, and few subscriptions to it were taken out by private individuals.

A firm principle established at the start of this edition was that even the shortest works were issued and marketed in separate fascicles (the familiar hard-bound black volumes were destined primarily for libraries). No attempt was made to group them by genre or instrumentation, still less by chronology of composition (about which ideas were much vaguer in that period than they are today). So the order of the *tomi* reflected merely the order of publication (which was in turn based simply on the order in which the editors chose to work their way through the source material), and it is still today necessary to use Antonio Fanna's catalogue of the instrumental works, or a concordance to it, in order to find out where any given instrumental work is located.[2]

Concurrently with the last *tomi* of the *Opere strumentali* series, the Institute brought out, again in collaboration with Ricordi, performing editions of 13 sacred vocal works by Vivaldi, recognisable by their pale blue covers. This parallel series ceased, however, in 1972, and a nine-year fallow period in the Institute's music publishing activity supervened.

1 The numbers run from 1 to 530; a planned *tomo* 505 was withdrawn before publication.

2 This catalogue exists in two editions: an interim version entitled *Antonio Vivaldi: indice tematico di 200 opere strumentali (1a serie)* (Ricordi, Milan, 1955) and a version complete for the *Opere strumentali* and containing the first 19 instrumental works published in the *Nuova edizione critica* entitled *Antonio Vivaldi: catalogo numerico-tematico delle opere strumentali* (Ricordi, Milan, 1968).

The 1970s were, however, a crucial decade for Vivaldi studies. They were dominated by the pioneering work of the Danish scholar Peter Ryom, who brought out, initially in 1973, a catalogue of Vivaldi's works far more complete and systematic than any that had previously existed. In the 1960s and 1970s Ryom and a few others discovered several dozen previously unknown Vivaldi works, including several instrumental items overlooked by the available collected edition.

A major impulse to fresh efforts was provided by an international conference held at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice to mark the three-hundredth anniversary of Vivaldi's birth in 1978. One of the immediate outcomes was the absorption of the Institute by this Foundation, a step that has had major and entirely beneficial consequences, enabling the Institute to operate, in financial and practical terms, almost at the level of the *Gesellschaften* for Bach and Handel. It was decided at this juncture to launch a New Critical Edition of Vivaldi's works that would complete the publication of the instrumental music and – even more important – tackle, almost from scratch, the publication of the vast quantities of vocal music, both secular (cantatas, serenatas, operas) and sacred (motets, *introduzioni*, settings of liturgical texts), that remained virtually untouched.[3]

A planning meeting of the international Editorial Board took place in 1980, and in the following year the editorial norms were published in the second volume of the Institute's new journal, *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*. In 1982 the first volumes of the *Nuova Edizione Critica delle Opere di Antonio Vivaldi* rolled off the press. They have kept rolling ever since, in a remarkably regular succession. Once again, Ricordi has been the loyal collaborator.

To date, 30 instrumental works have appeared: 26 works omitted from the *Opere strumentali* (including a few discovered or recognised as authentic only very recently, such as the trio sonata for flutes RV 800 and the quartet sonata RV 801) plus Le quattro stagioni, issued in a single volume. The editors for these have been principally Paul Everett and the writer of these lines, both members of the Editorial Board, although from time to time 'guest' editors (Karl Heller, Maurizio Grattoni, Manfred Fechner) have been invited to take charge of a volume, usually in connection with a work that they themselves have brought to light.

The cantatas for solo voice, now complete (barring future discoveries), number 36. All except one, edited by Karl Heller, were assigned to Francesco Degrada. Usefully, they are available not only in separate volumes but also in three large volumes, two of which contain the cantatas for soprano voice, while one holds those for alto.

The series of editions of sacred vocal music achieved by 1995 the publication of the 10 motets, the 7 *introduzioni* and 21 works on liturgical texts not published earlier by Ricordi. After a short pause, it proceeded to the publication in 'critical' form of the 12 previously issued works, 7 of which have already come out. It is likely that they will be joined, as the final flourish, by a critical edition of Vivaldi's lone surviving oratorio, *Juditha triumphans*. The editor of this series was initially Denis Arnold; after his untimely death the editors became Paul Everett and the present author. The motets and the introduzioni have come out in 'collective' volumes.

Only one of Vivaldi's approximately 20 surviving operas has appeared in the New Critical Edition: *Giustino* (1724), edited by Reinhard Strohm. The publication of an exceptionally large-scale work that is performed comparatively rarely and nearly always by professional musicians poses particular problems, to which I shall return later.

By and large, the guidelines agreed by the Editorial Board in 1980 have stood the test of time, although the much greater familiarity with the practical problems of translating the original notation into its modern equivalent that its members have acquired in the crucible of experience has led to some discreet modifications. I regret that we decided to modernise key signatures – Vivaldi's manuscripts unsystematically mix modern forms with ones inherited from the *tuoni ecclesiastici* of the seventeenth century – since the benefit is more theoretical than actual, and various complications arise thereby, especially when there is bass figuring to amend (or not). But at this late stage the gains from retaining original key signatures would not be great enough to justify a break with our previous practice. More positively, the edition's sophisticated editorial treatment of accidentals and chromatic inflection, pioneering in its time, seems to have justified itself completely and even acquired imitators.[4]

One problematic feature has been the initial issue of each work in a separate volume. This practice, inherited from the earlier collected editions and continued at Ricordi's insistence, has favoured performers at the expense of students. Moreover, it has led to diseconomies, in that the critical notes for short works have sometimes, for perfectly valid reasons, turned out to be disproportionately long. Since a large portion of any critical notes invariably concerns itself with general background, it would have made better sense to group shorter works of

3 The *introduzione,* a genre seemingly invented by Vivaldi, is a special kind of solo motet that, instead of ending with an 'Alleluia' movement, proceeds from its final aria or recitative straight into a setting of a designated liturgical text (e.g., *a Gloria* or a *Dixit Dominus*).

4 The edition is sophisticated in that it recognises the dominant pre-1800 system of indicating chromatic inflection via the use of accidentals as more systematic and consistent than many scholars and musicians recognise. This knowledge results, first, in a more accurate reading of the source's intentions regarding chromatic inflection and, second, in a more reliable system of giving the user information about the original placement of accidentals.

similar kind together from the start and provide the background commentary for them only once. The benefit of such an approach is seen in the subsequently formed volumes of motets, *introduzioni* and cantatas, in which the space devoted to the critical notes is proportionally much smaller.

The volumes come complete with an editorial realisation for a keyboard instrument (harpsichord or organ) of the continuo part, which is nearly always the same as that of the melody instruments of the bass (cello, double bass etc.) and written on a common staff. The utility of such a realisation was, and remains, hotly debated.

In its favour is the consideration that among amateur musicians world-wide and among many professional musicians who perform baroque music without specialist preparation, even in centres where the cultivation of early music is long-established, the ability to improvise a continuo realisation adequately is lacking (especially when, as so often in Vivaldi, there are few original bass figures). I have heard our realisations used virtually note for note even in a few recordings made by early music specialists! Not to include a continuo realisation in an edition marketed world-wide is anti-democratic (and anti-commercial) in that it acts as a deterrent to use.

On the other hand, one must immediately concede that most professional continuo players find a ready-made accompaniment redundant, even irksome: it is not tailored to the tone of the instrument, to the dynamic level required for good balance, to the room acoustic, to the chosen tempo, to the keyboardist's own technique, and – most important of all – to the player's wish genuinely to improvise and thereby to make an independent creative contribution and satisfy the imperatives of 'historically informed' performance more literally. Moreover, by offering the temptation of a 'crib', it could be said to discourage players from developing autonomously the skills required for continuo realisation.

Uniquely within the edition so far, Reinhard Strohm's edition of *Giustino* attempts to square the circle by providing no continuo realisation in the score, although one is available as a separate part. The remedy is only partial, however, since although the material supplied caters excellently for whose who wish to be 100 per cent improvisers or 100 per cent score-readers, it fails to address the needs of the vast mass of keyboard players situated between the two extremes, who like to have a notated realisation as a starting point for further elaboration: to superimpose an improvisation on a text, so to speak. It is to this middle group that our realisations are primarily addressed. We aim to make them 'correct', stylish and convenient for the fingers, but certainly not 'artistic' in the way that a realisation by Michael Tippett of a bass to a song by Purcell might be. The bias is towards simplicity, so that players can grasp the harmonic sense easily and, if they feel so inclined, add extra detail or create a paraphrase.

In passing, it should be noted that the edition was path-breaking in the context of an edition published in Italy, in the sense that right from the start of the project the realisation of the continuo devolved to the editor himself. More usual in Italy in those days (and perhaps still today) was a division of labour whereby a university-based music historian supplied the preface and critical notes but a conservatory professor realised the continuo. The division reflects, of course, the traditional split between 'knowing' and 'doing' that characterises the whole of the Italian music education system and contrasts with the ideal of 'all-round musicianship' that is (or was) the Anglo-American ideal. I recall the incredulity with which the suggestion that the editing of a volume should be under one roof was initially greeted by Italian members of the Editorial Board. Fortunately, this integrated approach has proved successful; whatever shortcomings our editorial realisations have initially possessed have largely been ironed out in the course of the vetting process, whereby another member of the Editorial Board is given the task of being official 'checker' for every edition prepared. (This institutionalised system of checking has proved a lifeline for us on so many occasions; I recommend it to all those concerned with musical editing.)

In one other important respect, the New Critical Edition has been lucky. The prefaces, critical notes and critical commentaries have always appeared in two languages, Italian and English. In the great majority of instances, fellow members of the Editorial Board have themselves acted as the translators of these texts. While this may not have led automatically to literary elegance, it has at least ensured that technical terms are accurately rendered – which tends not to be the case when professional translators are employed. It has been the usual practice for the editors to check the translations carefully and weed out any remaining errors. Just occasionally, we have found ourselves in a 'too many cooks' situation, but, on balance, the laborious teamwork practised by the Editorial Committee has proved its worth. The advent of e-mail, and especially of e-mail attachments and pdf files, has revolutionised the process of collective discussion and largely freed the Editorial Board from its old anxieties over delayed or lost mail.

Where to now? Once the programme of sacred vocal works is completed, the only sector left to tackle – leaving aside the trickle of new discoveries that is bound to emerge – is that of large-scale dramatic works (operas and serenatas), which in terms of sheer bulk far exceeds the rest of the vocal music. However, Ricordi, which, following its absorption within the Bertelsmann group (BMG) a few years ago, shows less inclination to venture into non-commercial territory, is no longer able to be our collaborator where operas are concerned. The Institute has found a promising new partner in

Studio per Edizioni Scelte (S.P.E.S.), a Florentine publisher, and the first of a series of critical editions of operas, *La verità in cimento*, will soon go press. For this series, the editorial norms have been lightly revised. S.P.E.S. are also collaborators of the Institute for two additional collected editions of Vivaldi's music. The first is a series of volumes containing incomplete works (Opere incomplete), issued as a supplement to the yearbook *Studi vivaldiani* (successor to *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani* and again published by S.P.E.S.). With the notable exception of *Juditha triumphans*, Vivaldi works with missing movements have been omitted from the Ricordi collected editions, and this new series offer a chance to fill the gaps. The second series, *Vivaldiana*, comprises facsimile editions of groups of Vivaldi compositions, complete with reproductions of important concordances and substantial introductory essays. So far, the Op. 10 flute concertos have appeared; the complete cello sonatas and the 'Manchester' concertos are already in the pipeline.

No description of any aspect of the work of the Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi (which embraces not only musical editions but also conferences, monographs, periodicals, concerts and exhibitions) can fail to include a tribute to the devotion, diligence and diplomacy of its founder, Antonio Fanna, and of his son Francesco, who took over the reins as director a few years ago. It has been of great benefit that although both are highly knowledgeable about music (Francesco is a professional conductor), neither is a musicologist with an interest in laying down a 'line' for the Editorial Board to follow. But this neutrality in matters musicological has made each of them a superb consensus builder. After twenty years, the original members of the editorial team are still speaking to one another, and the work goes uninterruptedly on.

It is an objective fact, verifiable from the statistics of recordings and concerts, as well as from those of books and journals, that Vivaldi's stock has risen continuously during this period – there are even signs of a breakthrough on the operatic front, which has in the past proved an almost insurmountable barrier. Largely thanks to the New Critical Edition, Vivaldi's vocal music has now achieved a near-parity of esteem with the concertos. One must gratefully acknowledge the important contributions also made in recent times by several other publishers (I would single out Carus, for sacred vocal works, and Edition HH, for instrumental music). However, the green volumes of the New Critical Edition continue to constitute what the French call 'une référence': a reliable, consistent product that sets a standard.

PREVIOUSLY UNKNOWN PURCELL AUTOGRAPH AT AUCTION

BRYAN WHITE

An autograph fragment of a bass vocal part from Henry Purcell's verse anthem with strings 'I was glad' Z19 will be auctioned at Bonhams in June. The manuscript, which has been in the hands of a private collector, has until now been unknown to scholars. The full score of the anthem is preserved in two autograph manuscripts, Birmingham University Library, MS 5001 (apparently a draft) and British Library Royal Manuscript 20.h.8 (a fair copy). Based on the order in which Purcell copied works into the latter, it has been tentatively dated to 1682. The work is not to be confused with Purcell's full anthem 'I was glad', composed in 1685 for the coronation of James II.[1]

The autograph which has now come to light is the first page of a bass vocal part and is headed 'I was Glad'.[2] There are indications for the opening four-part string symphony, the alto verse solo and the four-part string ritornello before the first vocal bass entry (b. 80)[3] in the ATB verse 'Jerusalem is built as a city'. This verse is followed by indications for a four-part string ritornello and a solo verse for tenor before the re-entry of the bass (b. 175) in the ATB verse 'O pray for the peace of Jerusalem'. The part breaks off after eight bars (at the end of b. 182), and is therefore missing the final 61 bars of the anthem, including the end of the verse, a chorus, a further ATB verse and a concluding chorus. The part shows several revisions, and notes and rhythms in the last bar of the first entry differ from those in the best complete source of the anthem, the fair copy found in RM 20.h.8 [there is no indication as to whether this reading is consistent with Birmingham University Library MS 5001]. The manuscript is ruled with seven staves of which six are used, with the third and sixth staves extended by Purcell into the right-hand margin. The estimated value of the manuscript is £30,000-40,000.

Performing parts for Restoration verse anthems with strings are extremely rare. A partially autograph set of parts for Purcell's 'My song shall be alway'Z31, which may have been copied for a performance at Windsor in 1690, is found in Oxford Christ Church Mus. MSS 1188-9. The same manuscript contains the only other known parts for a verse anthem with strings, an incomplete set in the hand of Edward Lowe for Locke's 'O be joyful in the Lord, all ye lands'.[4] This newly found manuscript will therefore be of considerable interest both as a Purcell manuscript and as an addition to the extant performing parts of the period.

NOTES

1. See B. Wood 'Two Purcell Discoveries—2: A Coronation Anthem Lost and Found', *Musical Times* 118 (1977), pp. 466-8.
2. The description of the manuscript is based upon that offered at the Bonhams website, www.bohnhams.com.
3. Bar numbers are taken from Purcell Complete Works, vol. 14, *Sacred Music Part II*, ed. Peter Dennison (London, 1973).
4. P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers* (Oxford, 1993), p. 406.

For those of you who follow the activities of the Taverner Choir/Consort/Players, they have a new website: **www.taverner.org**

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