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EDITORIAL

BRYAN WHITE

At the end of November I attended the NEMA Day and AGM in Cambridge. The musical side of the day was centered on a rehearsal and scratch performance of Biber's *Requiem Mass* in F minor, a work I had not previously known, and which proved to be full of striking invention. It has now been promoted to the head of the list of CDs to be purchased with the inevitable (and not unwelcome) gift vouchers that accompany the Christmas season. Philip Thorby led the singing and playing, and the ensemble was buttressed (quite literally, since they were on the far edges of either side of the ensemble) by continuo support from Clifford Bartlett and Peter Holman. This very enjoyable music-making was complemented by breaks for lunch and tea in which I had the opportunity to meet and talk with the wide range of people that support NEMA and its activities. There was also the chance to browse through some of the offerings from Green Man Press (I came away with some fine bass songs by Croft), to pick up a copy of the latest CD from the Parley of Instruments and Psalmody and of course to take in the AGM and the lecture by Stephen Rose (of which more later). All in all, it was a very enjoyable day, and I left reflecting upon the vital role that amateur music-making plays in our culture. The people who give their time and money to plan and attend NEMA events and those of the Early Music Fora are also those who buy CDs, purchase music, patronize concerts, and organinze and perform in concerts themselves. In fact, without the efforts and interests of amateur musicians, the Early Music culture, and the wider culture of serious music, is hard to imagine at all. Here is something that is surely worth nurturing and supporting, and the success of the day in Cambridge suggests that NEMA is continuing to play an important role in this work.

To return to the day itself, one of the aspects that made it especially rewarding was the combination of music-making with a lecture on an aspect of the same. Stephen Rose delivered the lecture this year, and he offered a thought-provoking exploration of the role of memory in music-making, which is printed in this issue of *EMP*. Within the first minute or two Stephen had provided plenty of food for thought in pointing out the way in which the importance of memory to our day to day lives has radically changed since the advent of mass-produced books, and in the electronic age, immediate access to almost limitless quantities of information from the internet. One of the things that good musical scholarship does best is to stimulate the imagination and to cause one to look at some practice or idea from a completely different angle. Stephen's introduction prompted me to think on memory in just such a way, and you can read here how his ideas are developed with relation to musical performance.

Peter Holman's article displays another aspect of the excitement of scholarship: the discovery that a known historical document communicates something very different to the conventionally held opinion of it. I had a very small role to play in this case. Peter asked me if I knew of the Tytler article on a St Cecilia Day concert in Edinburgh in 1695; he wanted to look at it in relation to his work on the viol da gamba in Britian. It turned out that I had transcribed the concert programme found in the article, and I e-mailed it to him. The next day he came back to me suggesting that it was unlikely to be what it purported to be, and pointed out inconsistencies between the music listed in the programme and Tytler's assessment of it—something I had certainly failed to notice. This article presents an important re-interpretation of the document, one that will hopefully lead other scholars to re-examine it as well.

Among other things, this issue also offers several reviews of new books on performance practice. Duncan Druce brings his considerable performance experience to bear on David Milsom's book on nineteenth-century violin performance practice, while Nancy Hadden discusses the new Cambridge guide to the Early Flute. Finally, we note that Michael Talbot has uncovered another work to be added to the New Critical Edition of Vivaldi that he discussed in the last *EMP*. No doubt a recording, and perhaps a live performance of the newly identified *Nisi Dominus* will be amongst the musical treats in store for you in the New Year.

The Margot Leigh-Milner Lecture, November 2003

Memory and the Early Musician

STEPHEN ROSE

It is hard for us to appreciate the role played by memory in earlier ages. We belong to a highly literate society, where much written information is available in libraries, in bookshops, or on the internet; if we forget something, we can easily look it up again. In classical music, too, literacy is highly important. Most performers work from musical notation. Sight-reading is a prized skill, allowing the notated music to be readily converted into sound. Notation is highly necessary because most performers need to tackle a range of music and do not have the time or brain-space to memorise this wide repertoire.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, society and cultural life depended much more on memory. Fewer people could read and there were fewer books. Whereas education and learned life today value the communication of ideas and knowledge, in earlier periods the emphasis was on the ability to store up knowledge in one's own mental space. Memorisation was also important for those in public life, such as preachers or lawyers, who had to be able to deliver a speech without notes; there was no autocue. Hence for different reasons, numerous techniques were recommended as ways to memorise words and ideas. The memory was conceived as a pouch in which things could be stored, or as a cityscape where words and ideas were plotted onto its buildings and streets.[1]

Musicians, too, used memory in a host of ways, whether they were professionals, amateurs, musically literate, or musically illiterate. Beer-fiddlers, street-singers and other folk musicians were rarely able to read music and would learn their pieces by ear and by rote. Some professionals—especially solo singers and brass players—were reputed also to be unable to read music, and any musicians who improvised would probably rely in part on memorised formulae. For the musically literate, memory was still necessary for performances by heart and also to read some of the formats of notated music. This article will outline merely a few of the ways in which musicians used memory, and will ask how the role of memory shaped performing style.

Playing by ear and learning by rote

For most people in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, music was not something written down. The street-songs of Restoration London or the chorales of Lutheran Germany circulated by ear and were held in the memory of the common folk. There are numerous accounts from the German Reformation, for instance, of how chorales were spread not just in churches and from hymnbooks, but by apprentices singing in taverns or by pedlars singing on the street.[2]

Even within music education, learning was primarily by ear rather than from books. In Lutheran grammar schools of the seventeenth century, most subjects were learned by rote: the teacher would read out a sentence and the pupils would recite it back. Music seems to have been taught in a similar way: the teacher or the eldest pupil would sing a melody from the book and get the younger boys to copy, perhaps without reference to notation. Thus it might be possible for a school choir to sing a motet when only a few pupils actually were able to read music. Such a way of learning and memorisation may explain the persistent puzzle of why most Lutheran churches and schools had only a single set of printed copies of motets, even though the partbooks were usually too small to be read by more than one or two singers (although there are, of course, alternative explanations, such as that motets were sung with only one or two voices per part). Even in the eighteenth century, memorised singing still persisted among choirboys. In his primer of 1763, F. W. Marpurg wrote that 'a pupil who knows his lesson off by heart should not sing it from memory. Instead his eyes should be fixed at all times on the blackboard [*Singtafel*] or the book, which he should not hold in front of the mouth.'[3]

Professional instrumentalists also relied on memory. Many players began their careers as

apprentices who learned their repertory and their performing style by listening to and imitating a master. The apprenticeship was a way of learning information that would never be written down or published in treatises. The training of brass-players epitomised the importance of memorised repertory and aural transmission. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, German brass players acquired a reputation for their secret field-pieces and tonguing techniques; these seem to have been written down and published for the first time towards the end of the eighteenth century, in Johann Christoph Altenburg's treatise on the *Trompeter- und Pauker-Kunst*.[4]

At the start of the seventeenth century many brass-players in Germany seem to have been unable to read music. In 1619 Michael Praetorius advised that if trumpets were to be used in concerted vocal pieces, 'one must have at least two trumpeters who can read music and therefore can stick to the notes as I have written them'.[5] But if the trumpeters were inexperienced (*nicht erfahrne*)—and here Praetorius seems to mean that they could not read music—they could instead play their 'usual sonatas' as interludes during the piece.[6] The 'usual sonatas' were probably memorised pieces selected from the stock repertory of brass-players. Praetorius again referred to trumpeters unable to read music in his *Polyhymnia*, published also in 1619.[7] A further hint that trumpet-playing was often an unwritten tradition can be found in the several German printed pieces of the early seventeenth century where trumpets are specified on the title-page but no notated parts are supplied. Examples include Michael Praetorius's *Epithalamium* (1617) or Adam Drese's *Trauer- vnd Begräbnüs Lied* (1648). Such omission of trumpet parts, however, may also be explained by concerns of flexible scoring or of keeping the printed piece down to a marketable size.

The other instrumentalists who often relied on improvised or memorised music were those who played the so-called 'perfect instruments' such as the lute or keyboard. These instruments could bring forth a complete piece of polyphony, and such self-sufficiency allowed some solo players to rely on what was in their heads. Manuals recommended that keyboardists memorise formulae such as cadences and pleasing turns of melody, for use in subsequent improvisations. Such advice was given by Tomás de Sancta Maria in his *Arte de tañer fantasia* (Valladolid, 1565) and also by Claudio Sebastiani in *Bellum musicale inter plani et mensuralis cantus reges* (Strasbourg, 1563).

Memory must also have been important to the many blind men who gained a reputation as organists, including Conrad Paumann (1410–73), Arnolt Schlick (*c.*1460–*c.*1521), Antonio Valente (*fl.* 1565–80) and Antonio de Cabezón (1510–66). These men were famed not only for their playing and improvising, but also for compositions that were written down or printed. We might wonder how blind musicians managed to learn notation or write their pieces down, in the absence of any formats such as Braille music. Perhaps these players devised their pieces in their heads, memorised them, and then dictated them to an amanuensis. Of course, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries 'blindness' did not necessarily indicate a total lack of sight; it was perhaps the term used for several kinds of visual impairment, including severe short-sight. In the case of Paumann, he was credited by Sebastian Virdung with inventing German lute tablature.[8] It might seem strange that a blind man should devise a new system of notation; but German lute tablature, with a different letter for each finger-position on the fretboard, might have been a convenient way to dictate music to an amanuensis. In the case of Cabezón, most of his pieces were published twelve years after his death, edited by his son Hernando; according to the preface, the pieces had been given by the composer to his students, perhaps in the form of model performances that the pupils then wrote down.

Notation and memory

Besides the traditions of memorised and unwritten music, musically literate performers often needed to use memory in conjunction with notated texts. Some performers would memorise pieces from printed or manuscript sources. One possible example would be the repertory of solo songs by Giulio Caccini, Jacopo Peri and other singer-composers of early seventeenth-century Italy. Although such songs appeared in print, it is unlikely that the performers sang with the score in front of them. The score would obstruct a delivery that was supposed to be oratorical and yet nonchalant. Indeed, the courtly ideal of nonchalance (*sprezzatura*) might have encouraged courtier-musicians to rehearse pieces and memorise them, in readiness for any appropriate occasion. Through such preparation, the courtier-musician could give the impression of effortless achievement when a patron requested a particular musical entertainment. Indeed Baldassare Castiglione, writing about courtiers' accomplishments in general, advised that prior preparation was essential but also should be concealed with nonchalance:

> And in every thing that he hath to doe or to speake, if it be possible, let him come alwaies provided and think on it before hand, shewing notwithstanding the whole to be done *ex tempore*, and at the first sight.[9]

There is also pictorial evidence for musicians performing by heart, although such sources do not always withstand cross-examination in the witness box. As is well known, much visual art was symbolic rather than literal: when music is shown in a commissioned oil-painting, it is more likely to denote learning or culture rather than portraying an actual

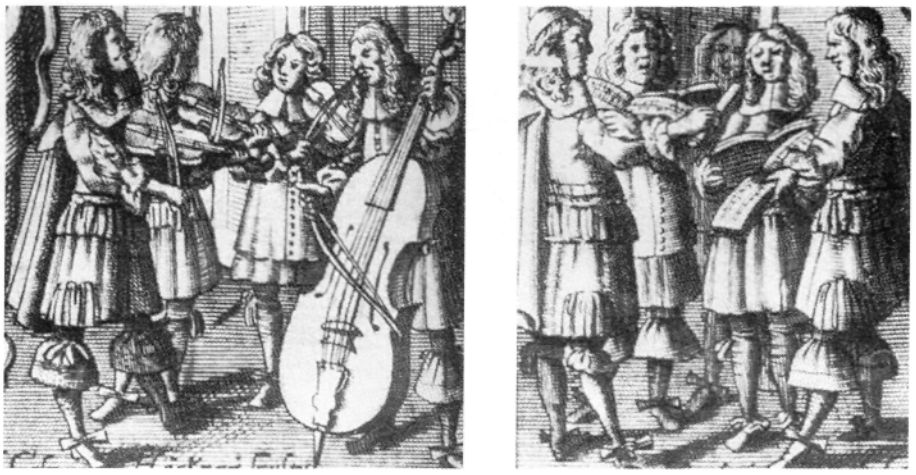


Fig. 1(a) & (b) . Andreas Hammerschmidt, *Missae* (Dresden, 1663), detail from title-page (University Library, Uppsala)

performance. The pictures on the title-pages of printed music, however, may be slightly more reliable sources; in the case of commercial publications, it would arguably be in the publishers' interests to show their products being used in everyday music-making. Typically the pictures on title-pages show singers and directors as reading from music, whereas instrumentalists play without copies. Thus on the title-page of Andreas Hammerschmidt's *Missae* (1663), the members of the four-part string choir have no visible music, while the four singers and the conductor all seem to be reading from their own parts (Fig. 1a and 1b). Or to take another example, the title-page of Johann Hermann Schein's *Israelisbrünlein* (1623) shows three groups of performers (Fig. 2). In the central ensemble, pictured in front of the organ, the singer and director are reading from copies, but the organist and two lutenists have no visible music. As for the brass and wind ensembles on left and right, the directors have their own copies but the instrumentalists do not, although the sackbut players may be glancing at the copy held in the outstretched arm of the conductor. Such pictures, however, supply only equivocal evidence. I tend to think they document little more than artistic convention: singers need to be depicted with music to show that they are performing rather than merely yawning, whereas for players the instruments denote that they are making music and copies need not be shown.

Less equivocal are sources from the period that can only be read or used with an element of memory. Many such sources are similar to today's hymnbooks or Anglican psalters, where the words of a hymn or chant are rarely given as underlay but instead appear on the page opposite the music (Fig. 3). A similar format occurs in many sixteenth-century hymnals or books of strophic songs. The performer must look continually between the tune and the words, a task made easier if the music is memorised.

In the seventeenth century, sacred songs were relatively frequently printed without an underlaid text. Fig. 4 shows a funerary lied by Johann Hermann Schein, 'Herr dein Ohren', for four voices. The lied has a strophic text of nine verses, all printed on the next page, as indicated by the catchword 'Herr' at the bottom right-hand corner of Fig. 4. It would seem that the music or text must be memorised, or copied out, if the piece is to be read or sung.

Fig. 2. Johann Herman Schein, *Israelisbrünlein* (Leipzig, 1623), detail from title-page (Leipziger Städtische Bibliotheken—Musikbibliothek).

Similar things could be said of handwritten partbooks from sixteenth-century Basel, containing strophic partsongs without any text underlay. At first sight the absence of underlay might suggest that the pieces should be performed instrumentally. But John Kmetz links the partbooks with handwritten sheets that bear strophic song-texts. He suggests that singers

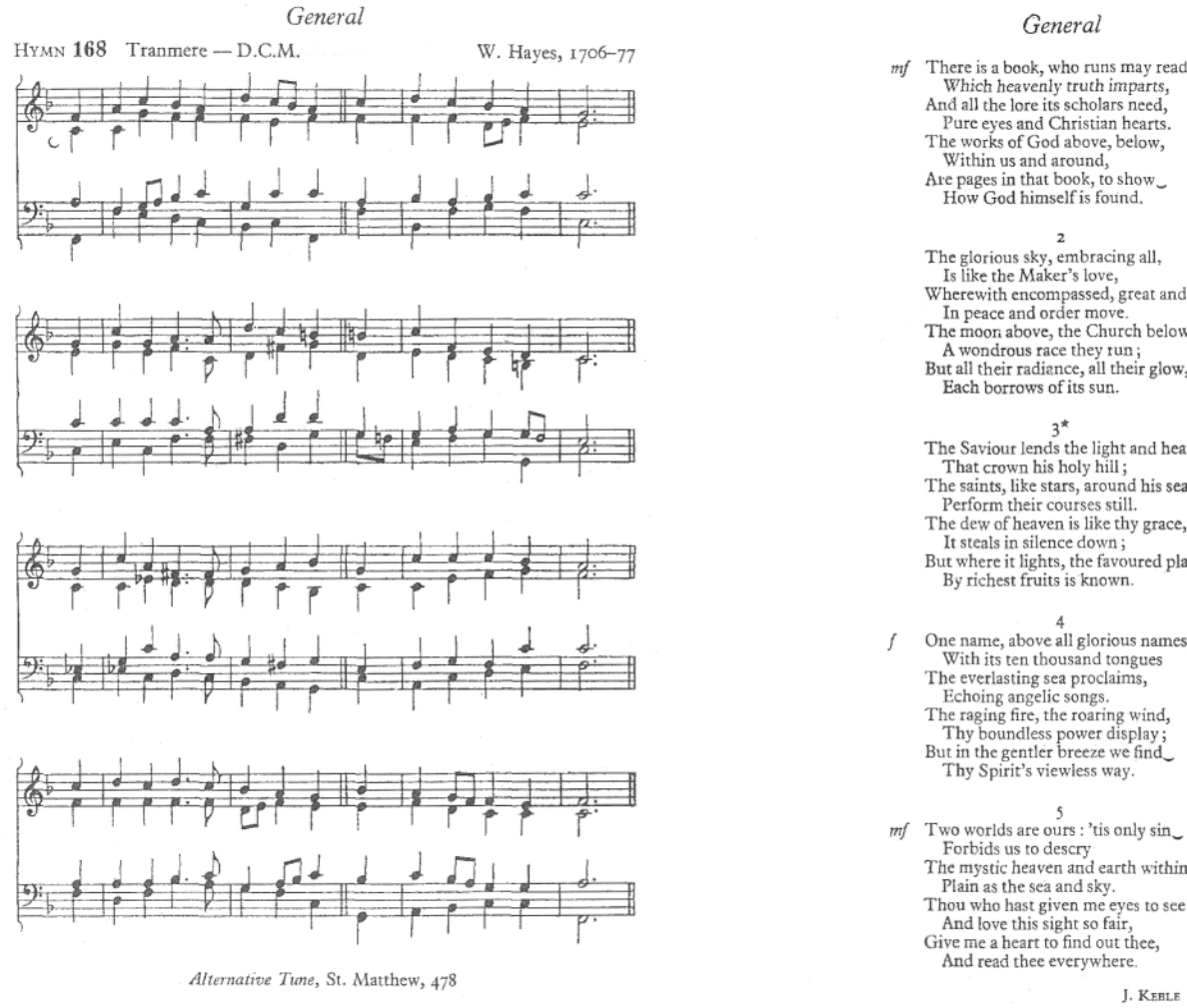


Fig. 3. From *Hymns Ancient and Modern Revised* (London, 1950).

in Basel memorised their music from the partbooks and then used the word-sheets as the basis for performance, concentrating on the words. Kmetz speculates that such prior memorisation of music was the norm in the performance of strophic songs.[10]

Some keyboard players also needed to use memory when reading music. Around the beginning of the seventeenth century keyboard pieces might be published in tablature, in separate partbooks, in short score (two staves), or in open score (four staves). Whatever the format, the player would generally need to scan each horizontal line in the piece and then mentally synthesise all the information together. Such a method of reading is necessary even for some keyboard books written in short score. Take the example of the English keyboard album *Parthenia* (1612/13), where the lack of vertical alignment requires the player to scan ahead to assimilate the whole texture (Fig. 5). There was no technical reason preventing vertical alignment, because the book was engraved and therefore free of the constraints of early movable type. Rather, vertical alignment seems not to have been important to music-readers at the time.

Even more striking are the examples of organists who played polyphonic pieces from a set of partbooks or from a source laid out in choirbook. Partbook and choirbook were the standard formats for vocal polyphony; in partbook each voice-part is in a separate book, while in choirbook the parts occupy separate corners of the same page-opening. During the sixteenth century, auditions of organists sometimes required that a piece be played from separate parts. In 1552 at Málaga Cathedral 'a choirbook was placed before each [candidate], opened at random, and the sight- and score-reading ability of each was tested'.[11] Somewhat similarly, in 1593 Bernardo Clavijo del Castillo was examined for a professorship at the university of Salamanca, and one of the tests included singing and playing on the spinet six-voice motets from partbooks.[12] The ability to read from separate parts seems to have waned in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, partly because it was becoming more important to know how to realise a figured bass. All the same, Johann Sebastian Bach was claimed to be able to see 'so easily through parts laid side by side that he could immediately play them. This he often did when a friend had received a new trio or quartet for stringed instruments and wished to hear how it sounded'.[13] And Mozart reportedly had the same skill: on hearing one of Bach's motets in Leipzig, he asked to see the copy, but there was no score and so he 'sat himself down, with the parts all around him—in both hands, on his knees, and on the chairs next to him—[looking] through everything of Sebastian Bach's that was there'.[14]

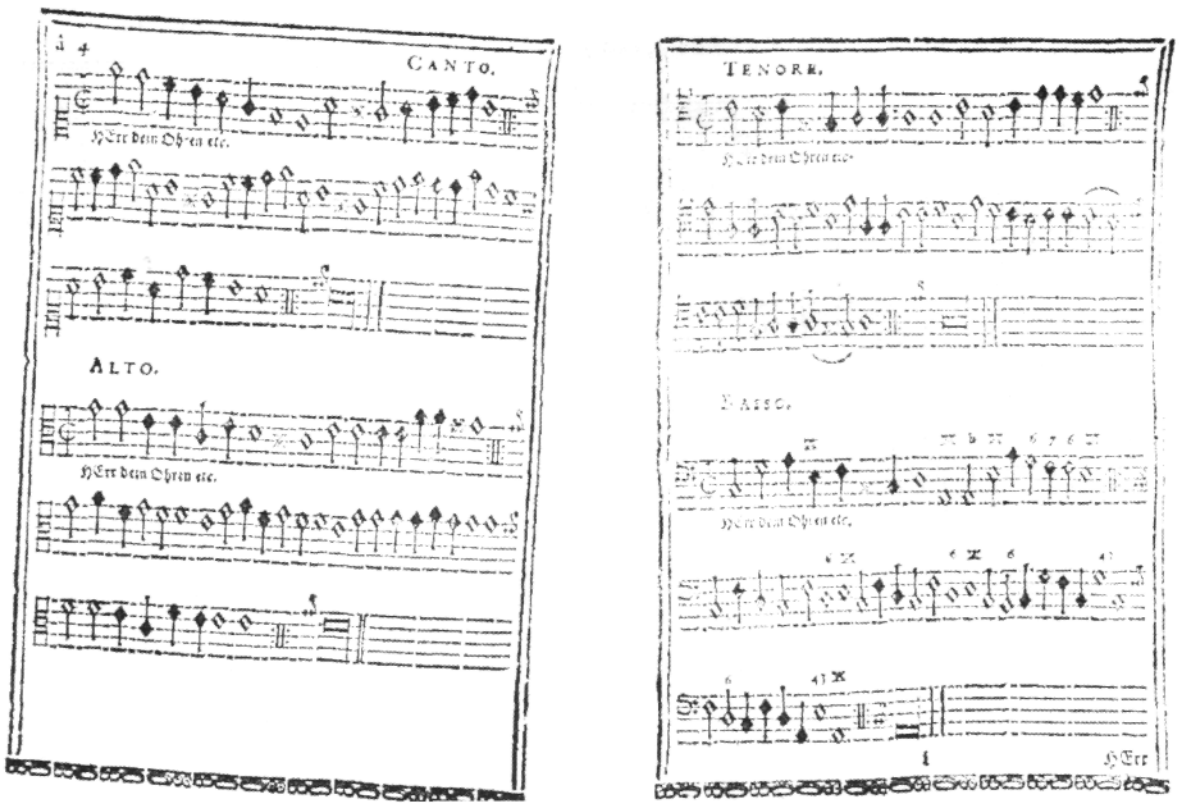


Fig. 4. Johann Hermann Schein, 'Herr deine Ohren', in *Leichenpredigt Anna Maria Corvinus* (Leipzig, 1627) (Konsistorium der Evangelische Kirche der schlesischen Oberlausitz).

In the sixteenth century, the importance of memory to the keyboard player is also suggested by the solo music that was published in separate parts. Early ricercars by Venetian composers such as Jacques Buus, Claudio Merulo and Annibale Padovano were initially published in partbooks.[15] To be sure, one reason for the format is to allow the pieces to be played by a group of melody instruments, and organists could always make a tablature of the pieces. But separate parts were also used by Michael Praetorius as the format for the organ pieces in his *Musae sioniae VII* (Wolfenbüttel, 1609). These pieces appear in a book of vocal music, for which partbook was the standard format. Praetorius introduced the organ pieces, however, with some intriguing if ambiguous comments:

> In this seventh part, the author has also had printed four German psalms without texts, especially for organists. The beginning organist, whom these pieces should please, can intabulate them in order to use them.[16]

When Praetorius says that novice organists should make a tablature of the pieces for performance, does he mean that more advanced players can read from the separate books? Or does he mean that the experienced players do not need pre-composed pieces at all, being able to improvise instead? Whichever interpretation is correct, Praetorius's remarks testify to the importance of memory to the experienced player, who might have to read from separate books and would also incorporate memorised fragments of pieces into improvisations.

A final piece of evidence for the importance of memory is the likelihood that composers of the sixteenth century wrote vocal polyphony in separate parts, never needing a score to calculate how the parts would fit together. Jessie Ann Owens has studied in painstaking detail the compositional process of such musicians as Heinrich Isaac and Cipriano de Rore, and concludes that they 'could manage the complicated polyphony of the time without using the [score] format that seems indispensable to us'.[17] Although composers would read one voice-part against another and might mark the tactus on the parts, they seem to have relied on memory alone to gain an overall grasp of the piece.

If memory was important in musical life and the use of notation, what might this imply about performance style? Most obvious is that performers would not necessarily have their heads in books; singers of Italian solo songs could thus add suitable gestures and act as if they were being stirred by their own thoughts and extemporisations. The reduced reliance on notation also raises intriguing questions for rehearsal: it would be much more of an aural affair, with performers listening to everyone else and remembering infelicities. In particular, the use of partbooks would require singers to remember what was happening in the other voice-parts, so that they could modify their intonation or tempo to maintain

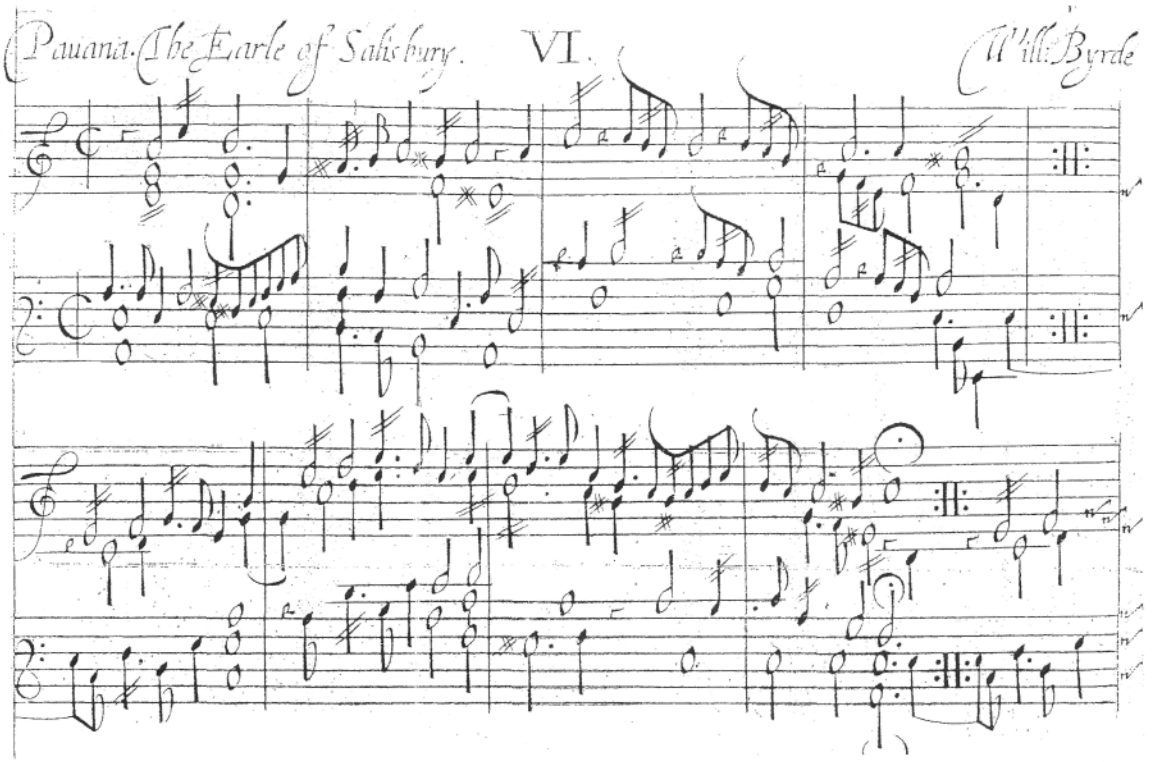


Fig. 5. William Byrd, Pavana. The Earle of Salisbury. From *Parthenia* (London, 1612/13; 1651 impression).

good ensemble. Improvisation would also become more likely if performers were not shackled to notation but were instead manipulating various remembered formulae. Most important of all, memorising and playing by ear imply that the performer had a close connection with the music; by memorising a piece, performers made it part of themselves.

1 Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990).

2 R. W. Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London, 1987), pp. 60–61.

3 'Kein Schüler soll seine Lection auswendig singen, wenn er sie auch auswendig weiß; sondern allezeit die Augen auf die Singtafel oder auf sein Buch, welches er aber nicht vor den Mund halten muß, geheftet haben.' Friedrich Wilhem Marburg, *Anleitung zur Musik überhaupt und zur Singkunst besonders* (Berlin, 1763), p. 8.

4 Johann Christoph Altenburg, *Essay on an Introduction to the Heroic and Musical Trumpeters' and Kettledrummers' Art (1795)*, trans. by Edward H. Tarr (Nashville, 1974), p. 93.

5 'Unnd müssen unter den Trommetern vor allen dingen zum wenigsten zween / alß einer der die *Quint* führet / und der ander / der das ander *Clarin* bläset / die *Music* verstehen / und es also / wie ich es auffgesetzet und vorgeschrieben / auß den *Noten* zu wegen bringen können / vorhanden seyn.' Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum III,* 2nd ed. (Wolfenbüttel, 1619), p. 170.

6 'Wenn aber in der *Music* erfahrne Trommeter nicht vorhanden: so hab ich auff ein leichter mittel gdeacht / daß sie nur allein ihre gewöhnliche *Sonaden* … führen / vnd also mit einstimmen.' Ibid., p. 171.

7 Preface before the piece *In dulci jubilo à 12. 16. & 20 cum Tubis.*

8 Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht* (Basel, 1511), fol. K3^{v}. Trans. by Beth Bullard as *Musica getutscht: A Treatise on Musical Instruments* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 156.

9 Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. by Sir Thomas Hoby (London, 1928), p. 130.

10 John Kmetz, 'Singing Texted Songs from Untexted Songbooks', in *Le Concert des voix et des instruments à la Renaissance: actes du XXXIVe Colloque international d'études humanistes,* ed. by Jean-Michel Vaccaro (Paris, 1993), pp. 121–143.

11 Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley, 1961), p. 123, n. 196.

12 Ibid., p. 308.

13 Account by Johann Nikolaus Forkel, quoted in Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel eds., *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents,* revised by Christoph Wolff (New York, 1998), p. 435.

14 Account by Friedrich Rochlitz, quoted in ibid., p. 488.

15 e.g. Jacques Buus, *Recercari Libro Primo* (Venice, 1547); Claudio Merulo, *Il primo libro de ricercari* (Venice, 1574); Annibale Padovano, *Il primo libro de ricercari* (Venice, 1556).

16 'So hat / vors ander / der *Autor* / auff etlicher Organisten instendiges anhalten / Vier deutscher Psalmen / ohne Text / in diesem Siebenden Theile hinten an drucken lassen /damit ein angehender Organist / welchem sie etwa gefallen möchten / dieselben also zum gebrauch aus den *Noten* wiederumb in die *Tabulatur* bringen könne'.

17 Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450–1600* (New York, 1997), p. 196.

An Early Edinburgh Concert[1]

PETER HOLMAN

In 1792 William Tytler of Woodhouslee near Penicuik south of Edinburgh published a remarkable article in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland*, pp. 499-510, entitled 'On the Fashionable Amusements and Entertainments in Edinburgh in the last Century, with a Plan of a grand Concert of Music on St Cecilia's Day, 1695.' In 1792 Tytler was 80 and was in the last year of his life; he died at Woodhouslee on 12 September that year.[2] He was born in Edinburgh on 12 October 1711, was educated in the city, and worked there as a solicitor. He played the flute and the harpsichord, and is said to have been one of the original members of the Edinburgh Musical Society, founded in March 1728.[3] He was also a writer and a historian, producing works on Mary Queen of Scots and James I of Scotland as well as an interesting 'Dissertation on the Scottish Music', first published in 1788 as an appendix to Hugo Arnot's *History of Edinburgh from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time*, pp. 624-42; it was reprinted alongside the article under discussion in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland*, pp. 469-98.

Although Tytler's article touches on a number of topics, including the residence of James, Duke of York at Holyrood in 1681 and 1682, the attempts of members of the Duke of York's company to establish a theatre in Edinburgh, and the Duke of York's fondness for golf, most of it is taken up with a transcription and discussion of a document that supposedly listed the performers and the music played in 'a grand concert of music performed at Edinburgh on St Cecilia's day, anno 1695'. According to Tytler (p. 504), 'This curious paper was given by James Christie, Esq; of Newhall to my worthy friend William Douglas of Garwell-foot, and by him to me.' Although Christie's 'paper' and Tytler's article have been referred to in most histories of Scottish music from Robert Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland from the Revolution to the Rebellion of 1745* (Edinburgh and London, 1861) to David Johnson's *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1972), to my knowledge they have never been reproduced or transcribed in full or discussed in any detail. The purpose of this article is to do just that, and to argue that, although the paper seems to give us precious information about an early Edinburgh concert, the event cannot have taken place as early as 22 November 1695; it appears to date from at least a decade later. I am aware that my re-dating of the document will have implications for the biographies of the individuals concerned; I would be most grateful for any additional information that supports or contradicts my arguments.

The transcription of Christie's paper takes up a double-page spread of Tytler's article (pp. 506-7), and seems to be intended to evoke the appearance of a hand-written sheet of paper in oblong-folio format [Fig. 1]. It is entitled 'The Order of the Instrumental Music for the Feast of St Cecilia, 22d / November 1695.', and was evidently signed at the end by the author, 'JAMES CHRYSTIE of Newhall, PRESES'; 'preses' or 'praeses' was a common Scottish term at the time for the president or chairman of a meeting. In his commentary on the paper (p. 509), Tytler writes: 'Mr Chrystie of Newhall, Preses of the Concert, I remember in my youth to have heard play. His instrument, I think, was the viol di gambo, on which he was an excellent solo performer'; in the paper Christie appears among the 'Basses' the three times they are listed by name. I have been unable to find out anything more about James Christie or Chrystie, though it is likely that the Newhall in question is Newhall House near Penicuik, not far from Woodhouselee; as a teenager in the 1720s, Tytler could have heard Christie play in Edinburgh.

The main part of the paper in Tytler's transcription consists of a grid giving the names of the performers for twelve pieces of instrumental music, listed under five headings ranging from the highest part, labelled variously *'First Violin'*, *'1st Flute.'*, *'1st Treble'* and *'Division'*, to the lowest, labelled *'Basses.'* and *'Bass.'*. Although the paper appears at first sight to be logical and orderly, closer inspection reveals a number of omissions, confusions and inconsistencies;

The Order of the Inſtrumental Muſic for the Feaſt of St Cecilia, 22d November 1695.

	Firſt Violin.	*Second Violins.*	*Flutes.*	*Hautbois.*	*Baſſes.*
Clerk's Overture.	Pitmedden Tho. Pringle Will. Cooper Tho. Brown Will. Gordon Sir Jo. Pringle John Stewart	Ja. Hamilton Fra. Toward Adam Craig Henry Burn Sir Tho. Nicolſon	Lord Elcho Sir Jo. Erſkine Jo. Falconer of Feſdo Jo. Ruſſell Jo. Corſe Sir Al. Hamilton	Will. Carſe Mat. M'Gibbon	James Chriſtie of Newhall Mr Ro Gordon Mr Sinkholm Ja. M'Clachlan Henry Crumbden Jo. Middleton
Torrelli's Sonata for 4 violins.	1ſt *Violin.*	2d *Violin.*	3d *Violin.*	4th *Violin.*	*Baſſes.*
	Pitmedden Tho. Pringle Ja. M'Clachlen	Ja. Hamilton Adam Craig Will. Cooper	Will. Carſe Mat. M'Gibbon Sir Jo. Pringle	Henry Burn Fra. Toward Will. Gordon	Ja. Chriſtie Mr Ro. Gordon Mr Sinkholm Dan. Thomſon
Barrett's Trumpet Sonata.	1ſt *Violin.*	2d *Violin.*	*Hautbois.*	*Trumpet.*	*Baſſes.*
	Sir Jo. Pringle Will. Gordon Adam Craig Henry Burn Will. Cooper Tho. Kennedy	Pitmedden Fra. Toward Ja. Hamilton Tho. Pringle Tho. Brown Will. Carſe	Mat. M'Gibbon *Scena* 2da.	Dan. Thomſon *Tenor,* John Wilſon	Ja. Chriſtie Mr Ro. Gordon Mr Jo. Middleton Mr St Columb Ja. M'Clachlan
Pepuſh for 2 flutes and 2 violins.	1ſt *Flute.*	2d *Flute.*	1ſt *Violin.*	2d *Violin.*	*Baſſes.*
	Pitmedden Newhall Fr. Toward Feſdo Jo. Middleton Sir Jo Erſkine	Sir Jo. Pringle Will. Gordon Ja Hamilton Mat. M'Gibbon	Tho. Pringle Adam Craig Ja. M'Clachlan	Henry Burn Will. Cooper Will. Carſe	Ut antea
Finger for 2 flutes and 2 haut.	1ſt *Flute.*	2d *Flute.*	1ſt *Hautboy.*	2d *Hautboy.*	*Baſſes.*
	Mr Crumbden Ja. Hamilton Pitmedden	Tho. Pringle Fra. Toward Jo. Middleton	Mat. M'Gibbon	Will. Carſe	Ut antea

Fig. 1. Pages 506-7 from W. Tytler's 'On the Fashionable Amusements and Entertainments in Edinburgh in the last Century', *Transactions of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. I (1792)

Tunes.	1st *Treble.*	2d *Treble.*	*Hautbois.*	*Trumpet.*	*Basses.*
2 Trumpets.	Tho. Pringle Will. Gordon Ja. Hamilton Fra. Toward Tho. Kennedy	Adam Craig Pitmedden Henry Burn Tho. Brown Sir Jo. Pringle	M. M'Gibbon Will. Carse *Chorus.*	Dan. Thomson *Tenor.* Jo. Wilson	Omnes
Pepusch, 2 violins, and 2 haut.	1st *Violin.*	2d *Violin.*	*Scena* 3tia.	2d *Hautboy.*	*Basses.*
	Adam Craig Will. Gordon	Mr Toward Ja. M'Clauchlan	1st *Hautboy.* Mat. M'Gibbon	Will. Carse.	Omnes
Bassani Sonata.	1st *Violin.*	2d *Violin.*	*Harpsichord.*		
	Tho. Pringle Adam Craig	Fra. Toward Will. Gordon	Henry Crumbden *Scena* 4ta.	Schollars Dan. Thomson's boy	Songs and Motetti of Bassani
Correlli's Sonata.	1st *Violin*	2d *Violin.*			
	Mr Toward Will. Gordon	Tho. Pringle Adam Craig	*Sonata*, Lord Colville	Harpsichord	
Fingers Trumpet Sonata.	1st *Violin.*	2d *Violin.*	*Hautboy.*	*Trumpet.*	*Basses.*
	Sir Jo. Pringle Pitmedden Henry Burn Will. Cooper Ja. M'Clachlan	Tho. Pringle Fra. Toward Ja. Hamilton Will. Carse. Jo. Stewart	Mat. M'Gibbon	Dan. Thomson *Tenor.* Jo. Wilson	Omnes
Torelli's Sonata.	1st *Treble.*	2d *Treble.*			*Bass.*
	Will. Gordon	Adam Craig	*Scena ult.*		Omnes
Chacoon.	*Division.*	*Plain Part.*	3d *Part.*	*Tenor.*	*Bass.*
	Will. Gordon Ja. M'Clachlan Mat. M'Gibbon	Dan. Thomson Fra. Toward Henry Burn	Pitmedden Sir Jo. Pringle	Jo. Wilson	Omnes

Solo by Adam Craig.
—— by John Middleton.
Grand Chorus.

(Signed) JAMES CHRYSTIE of Newhall, PRESES.

it is not clear whether they are the result of errors made by Tytler in his transcription, or whether they were just caused by haste on Christie's part. It seems, for instance, that the concert, like later concerts in London and elsewhere, was divided up like the acts of a play, but using the word 'Scena' rather than 'Act'. However, the first three pieces are not labelled 'Scene 1', and the headings of the subsequent scenes are placed in the boxes of the grid allocated to the last piece of the previous scene.

There is another obvious inconsistency in the listing of 'Corelli's Sonata.' in Scene 4. The box marked 'Basses.' is empty for this piece, but those marked *'Hautbois.'* and *'Trumpet.'* are filled with the words 'Sonata, Lord Colville' and 'Harpsichord' respectively. The piece performed was presumably one of Corelli's trio sonatas, though we are left to guess whether it was played without a string bass, or whether the names of any bass players were simply omitted from the 'Basses.' box. Lord Colville presumably played the continuo on the harpsichord; he is not mentioned as playing in any of the other pieces, though Tytler added in his commentary (p. 508): 'Lord Colvill, it is said, was a thorough master of music, and understood counterpoint well. He played on the harpsichord and organ.'.

Most important, a number of vocal pieces are alluded to, despite the fact that the title of the paper begins with the phrase 'The Order of the Instrumental Music' and that the singers are mostly not listed. The word 'Chorus' appears in the grid for the anonymous piece labelled '2 Trumpets.', the first item on p. 507, suggesting that Scene 2 concluded with some sort of vocal piece, while Scene 5 ends with a 'Grand Chorus.' Furthermore, the boxes for 'Bassani Sonata.' at the end of Scene 3 contain the words 'Schollars' and 'Dan Thomson's boy' under the heading *'Trumpet.'*, and 'Songs and Mottetti of Bassani' under the heading *'Basses.'* It looks as if references to vocal pieces have become mixed up here with the listing of an instrumental piece. Giovanni Battista Bassani's motets for soprano, two violins and continuo were popular in Britain in the early eighteenth century, and two collections were republished in London in or around 1708 under the title *Harmonia Festiva*; one motet, 'Quid arma, quid bella', appeared as late as about 1720 as 'Bassani's most celebrated motet'.[4] Thus, it is likely that Scene 2 ended with several vocal pieces by Bassani, that the motets were drawn from the *Harmonia Festiva* series, and that several boys sang the soprano part in unison or in alternation—hence the reference to 'Scholars' and 'Dan. Thomson's boy'.

Tytler's commentary includes an interesting paragraph about the trumpeter Daniel Thomson that makes it clear that his 'boy' was his son William; he goes on to outline (p. 510) William's subsequent career as a singer in London and the publisher of *Orpheus Caledonius* (London, 1726; 2/1733):[5]

> Daniel Thomson was one of the King's trumpeters, and was said to have understood music, and to have been a good performer of the obligato, or solo parts, in the trumpet songs of Purcell's Opera of Dioclesian, Bonduca, and other theatrical pieces then exhibited on the stage. The two-part song of *To Arms*, and *Sound Fame thy brazen trumpet*, accompanied with the trumpet, were long favourites with the public.– His son, William Thomson, the boy mentioned in the above plan, was early distinguished for the sweetness of his voice, and the agreeable manner in which he sung a Scots song. He went to London; and, at the time when the Opera, and the compositions of Handel, were at their height, the sweet pathetic manner of Thomson's singing a Scot's song, which he accompanied with a thorough bass, became a fashionable entertainment at court, where he often performed. He published an excellent collection of Scots songs, with the words and thorough bass, which was patronised by Queen Caroline, to whom he dedicated his book, and obtained a large subscription. I have been told that he taught some of the Princesses to sing Scots songs.

Thus it is clear that, despite the impression given by the title of Christie's paper, the concert actually conformed to the normal eighteenth-century pattern, mixing vocal music of various types with instrumental music. It may be that the paper focuses on instrumental rather than vocal pieces because Christie was involved in organising the instrumentalists rather than the singers.

Tytler's commentary adds a good deal of information to his transcription of Christie's paper, clarifying a number of aspects, though it too is not without errors and ambiguities. He begins (p. 508) by pointing out that 'above 30 performers' took part in the concert, 'of whom were 19 gentlemen of the first rank and fashion, supported by 11 professors, or masters of music.' In a footnote he lists the eleven 'masters' by name, enabling us to produce a list of the thirty named instrumentalists, divided by status into professionals (the 'masters') and amateurs (the 'gentlemen'); see the Appendix to this article. In his analysis of the first piece, 'Clerk's Ouverture.', he tells us that the bass players played a mixture of 'violincellos' and 'viol de Gambos', though the 'violincellos' are likely to have been bass violins and the amateurs would probably have played viols rather than violin-family instruments.[6] Indeed, Tytler specifically states in the commentary that James Christie played the 'viol di Gambo'. There is no other evidence of the use of the cello in Scotland before Lorenzo Bocchi appeared in Edinburgh in 1720, and the instrument had only arrived in London in the first years of the eighteenth century.[7] Furthermore, the bass violin, the larger predecessor of the violoncello,

usually tuned BB flat-F-c-g rather than CC-G-d-a, was played by professionals rather than amateurs. Roger North implied as much when he wrote that 'a set of gentlemen' in Restoration London who set up a private amateur orchestra 'were most violinists, and often hired base-violinns (which instrument, as then used, was a very hard and harsh sounded base, and nothing so soft and sweet as now) to attend them.'[8] The implication is that professionals had to be hired to play the bass violin because none of the amateurs played it.

Tytler states in the commentary (pp. 509-10) that one of the bass players listed in the paper, Henry Crumbden, actually played the harpsichord rather than a stringed instrument, and adds some interesting information about him:[9]

> Mr Henry Crumbden, by birth a German, was long the Orpheus in the music school of Edinburgh. He was a fine performer of lessons on the harpsichord, and taught singing and the thorough bass. He greatly promoted the spirit and taste for music by giving benefit concerts, which were much frequented. In these concerts, several young ladies, his best scholars, used to perform. Two of these I remember to have heard with rapture in my younger days, Mrs Forbes of Newhall [footnote: Grandmother of the present Countess of Dumfries.], and Mrs Edgar [footnote: Mother of James Edgar, Esq; one of his Majesty's Commissioners of the Customs in Scotland.]. They were both fine performers on the harpsichord. Their excellence, as far as I could then judge, lay in the genuine performance of Scots songs, which they sung in a plain, but fine, taste, and accompanied with a thorough bass, in such a stile and manner as, in my judgment, there are only two or three of the present time can come up to.

Tytler goes on to discuss several of the other professional musicians listed in the paper. He states (p. 510) that 'Matthew McGibbon was esteemed a good performer on the hautbois', and was 'the father of William McGibbon, well known and celebrated in his time for his great execution on the violin.' This seems to be wrong on two counts: the Edinburgh musician was Malcolm rather than Matthew McGibbon—as David Johnson has suggested, Tytler probably misread the abbreviation 'Mal.' as 'Mat.'—and it has recently been established that William McGibbon (?1696-1756) was the son of the Glasgow musician Duncan McGibbon, not Malcolm McGibbon.[10] However, he gives (p. 510) some valuable information about William McGibbon and his teacher, the violinist and composer William Corbett (1680-1748):

> William was sent early to London by his father, and studied many years under Corbet, then reckoned a great master and composer. Corbet's sonatas for two violins and a bass were esteemed good, and often played as act tunes in the Play-house. His scholar William M^{c}Gibbon was for many years leader of the orchestra of the Gentlemen's Concert at Edinburgh, and was thought to play the music of Correlli, Geminiani, and Handel, with great execution and judgment. His sets of Scots tunes, with variations and basses, are well known. As he understood composition, he likewise composed a set of sonatas or trios for two violins and a bass, which were esteemed good.

Tytler adds (p. 510) that he remembered Adam Craig (d. 1741), 'a good orchestra player on the violin, and teacher of music', as 'the second violin to M^{c}Gibbon, in the Gentlemen's Concert.' Craig does not seem to have been a composer, though he published *A Collection of Choicest Scots Tunes Adapted for the Harpsicord or Spinnet* (Edinburgh, 1730).[11] It is a pity that Tytler does not tell us anything more about the viol player 'Mr St Columb' or 'Mr Sinkolm', son of Jean de Sainte-Colombe, since little is known about his activities in Britain.[12]

Tytler's discussion of the gentlemen performers also contains several points of interest. For one thing, he was aware, as performers and scholars are frequently not today, that references to the 'flute' in early eighteenth-century documents such as Christie's paper mean the recorder rather than the transverse flute. After identifying several of the amateur recorder players, he adds the following (p. 509):

> The flute a-bec was the only flute used at that time. The German, or traverse, of modern invention, was not then known in Britain. I have heard, that Sir Gilbert Elliot, afterwards Lord Justice Clerk, who had been taught the German flute in France, and was a fine performer, first introduced that instrument into Scotland about the year 1725.

As we might expect, most of the gentlemen listed in Christie's paper played the violin or the recorder, the two instruments most commonly played by male amateurs at the beginning of the eighteenth century, though it is worth noting that William Carse, one of the two *'Hautbois.'* players listed in Christie's paper, was a gentleman, despite the fact that the oboe was used mostly by professionals at that period; Tytler mentions in the commentary (p. 509) that 'Mr Carse, collector of his Majesty's [?taxes], was a fine player on the hautbois.'

My main reason for thinking that that Christie's paper is misdated is that some of the pieces listed cannot have been composed as early as 1695, and in general that the repertory belongs more naturally to the early eighteenth century than the

1690s. In some cases the evidence is fairly clear-cut. Johann Christoph Pepusch did not arrive in England until 1697, and only began to make a mark on London's musical life in the first years of the eighteenth century.[13] The two pieces listed by Christie, 'Pepulsh for 2 flutes and 2 violins.' in Scene 2 and 'Pepulsch, 2 violins, and 2 haut.' in Scene 3, almost certainly come from his collection of pieces for varied combinations of four treble instruments and continuo, published in about 1717 by Jeanne Roger in Amsterdam as *VI Concerts à 2 flûtes à bec, 2 flûtes traversières, haubois ou violons & basse continue,* op. 8.[14] It is possible that Pepusch wrote the collection a few years earlier: no. 5 in F major, called 'Sonata' rather than 'concerto' and scored specifically for two recorders, two violins and continuo, is in a manuscript score, British Library, Add. MS 64965, ff. 53-6, that probably dates from about 1710.[15] However, it is unlikely that Pepusch wrote any of the pieces before he came to England, for music for contrasted pairs of treble instruments with continuo was an English genre, developed in the late 1690s by the immigrant composers Johann Gottfried Keller and Gottfried Finger. The fifth piece in Christie's paper, 'Finger for 2 flutes and 2 haut.' is an example: it is probably one of the sonatas for two recorders, two oboes and continuo published in Finger and Keller's collection *Six Sonates à 2 flustes et 2 hautbois ou violons et 1 basse continue* (Amsterdam, 2/1698).[16]

Similarly, the first piece, 'Clerk's Ouverture', is unlikely to have been written as early as November 1695. It is not clear whether it was the work of Sir Clerk of Penicuik (1676-1755) or the English composer Jeremiah Clarke (*c.*1674-1707), but in fact neither of them seems to have been in a position to have had an overture performed in Scotland in 1695.[17] Sir John Clerk was at the University of Leiden in 1695, and went on the grand tour in 1697, not returning to Scotland until 1700. Also, his main composition studies were with Corelli in Rome after 1697, and, so far as we know, he wrote Italian-style vocal pieces, not overtures. Jeremiah Clarke did write overtures, but apparently only began to do so when he came to London in the winter of 1695-6 and began to work in the London theatres. The only overture by him that was published is the first movement of his suite for Manning's play *All for the Better*, published in the series *Harmonia Anglicana*, iv (1702), though that piece is for four-part strings, while Christie's paper does not list the *'Tenor'* or viola player for that piece, suggesting that it was actually for two violins and bass with doubling recorders and oboes.[18]

The clearest case is the third piece, 'Barrett's Trumpet Sonata', scored for trumpet, oboe and four-part strings. The earliest-known music by the London organist John Barrett (*c.*1676-1719) only dates from 1698, and nearly all his consort music was written for the London theatres from 1702.[19] Furthermore, the piece in question is almost certainly the overture to Baker's play *Tunbridge Walks*, published in *Harmonia Anglicana*, v (1703).[20] *Harmonia Anglicana* only has the four string parts, but there is a manuscript set of parts, British Library, Add. MS 49599, no 1, dating probably from the first decade of the eighteenth century, which has parts for trumpet and oboe as well. It is the only piece by Barrett for trumpet, oboe and strings, and, so far as I know, it is the only piece for that scoring in the English repertory of that period.

The rest of the pieces are more difficult to identify, or do not do much to help to date Christie's paper. The 'Bassani Sonata' and 'Corelli's Sonata' cannot precisely be identified, though in both cases it seems that they were trio sonatas, and opp. 1-4 by Corelli and op. 5 by Bassani were very popular in England from the 1690s onwards; Bassani's op. 5, first published as *Sinfonie a due, e tre instromenti, con il basso continuo per l'organo* (Bologna, 1683), was still being republished in the early eighteenth century—for instance, by Estienne Roger as *XII Sonate da chiesa a tre, due violini, basso e basso continuo* (Amsterdam, 1707-8).[22] The pieces by Torelli, 'Torelli's Sonata for 4 violins' and 'Torelli's Sonata' (evidently a piece for two violins and bass), also cannot precisely be identified, though trios by him circulated in London in print and manuscript in the early eighteenth century; one was published as *Sonata in A# for Violins in Three Parts* (London, 1704), while two more, both reduced versions of concerti grossi, are in British Library, Add. MS 64965, ff. 45^{v}-49, 61^{v}-65.[23] There does not seem to be a sonata for four violins and continuo by Torelli, so the piece listed by Christie is likely to be either a concerto grosso performed without the viola part or an otherwise unknown work. These pieces by Torelli cannot be used to advance the case for a later dating of Christie's paper, since he had written plenty of music by 1695, including a set of *Sonate a tre stromenti con il basso continuo,* op. 1 (1686) and his *Sinfonie a tre e concerti a quattro,* op. 5 (1692).[24] However, the surviving sources suggest that his music circulated in Britain more in the early eighteenth century than in the late seventeenth century.

The other three pieces also cannot be identified with any certainty. The anonymous piece for '2 Trumpets' seems to be scored for trumpet, two oboes, four-part strings and continuo, and could be a work for trumpet and four-part strings with the oboes doubling the violin parts, though it could equally be a piece for trumpet with obbligato oboe parts, such as the well-known Suite in D major by Jeremiah Clarke.[25] 'Fingers Trumpet Sonata' ought to be easier to identify, though it does not conform to any surviving piece: there are sonatas by Finger for trumpet, violin, oboe and continuo, two trumpets, two oboes, two violins and continuo, and two trumpets, timpani, four-part strings and continuo, but none for trumpet, oboe and four-part strings.[26] The parts of the last piece, the 'Chacoon', are just labelled *'Division.', Plain Part.', '3d Part.', 'Tenor.'* and

Bass.', though the instruments played by the players listed on each part suggest that the piece was actually for violin solo with four-part strings. If so, then it is possible that the piece was the Chaconne in G major for that scoring by Finger found, like several other pieces already mentioned, in the score-book British Library, Add. MS 64965, ff. 56^{v}-58.[27]

The only other pieces not yet discussed, the solos by Adam Craig and John Middleton mentioned at the end of the document immediately before the 'Grand Chorus', were probably pieces for violin and continuo and recorder and continuo respectively. In the eighteenth century the word 'solo' was conventionally thought to include a continuo or bass accompaniment, while 'by' in this context nearly always means 'played by' rather than 'composed by'. As we have seen, Adam Craig was a prominent professional violinist, while the amateur John Middleton is listed as playing recorder and bass; Tytler tells us in the commentary (p. 509) that he was 'afterwards General Middleton', that he 'played on different instruments' and that 'He sung, as I have been told, a song with much humour, which he sometimes accompanied with the key and tongs.'

I want to finish by considering some of the interesting questions of performance practice that Christie's paper raises. It shows that pieces we think of as chamber music, intended to be played one to a part, were sometimes played by orchestras. This is partly because the 'chamber' and orchestral repertories had hardly begun to diverge at the period; orchestral music only began to be written in a radically different style from chamber music in the second half of the eighteenth century. The repertory of the Restoration court orchestra, the Twenty-four Violins, has mostly come down to us in single parts in domestic manuscripts.[28] Conversely, there is another example of one-to-a-part consort music being performed by an orchestra among the sets of parts produced for the odes performed at degree ceremonies in Restoration Oxford. Bodleian Library, MS Mus. Sch. C.124 contains a set of instrumental parts for two unidentified odes copied by the Oxford music professor Edward Lowe (d. 1682). The set includes duplicates of the two violin parts and the bass part, despite the fact that the instrumental sections include movements borrowed from Matthew Locke's consort collection 'The Broken Consort', Part 2.[29]

Some of the pieces mentioned in Christie's paper, such as 'Clerk's Ouverture', 'Barrett's Trumpet Sonata' and 'Finger's Trumpet Sonata', could have been originally intended for orchestra, though the set of parts of the Barrett sonata in British Library, Add. MS 49599 only contain single copies of each part. However, most of the pieces, including 'Torelli's Sonata for 4 violins', 'Pepulsh for 2 flutes and 2 violins', 'Finger for 2 flutes and 2 haut', 'Pepulsh, 2 violins, and 2 haut.', 'Bassani Sonata' and 'Correlli's Sonata', were almost certainly originally conceived for single instruments. The way that the instruments are deployed suggests that the scoring decisions were made less for artistic reasons than to accommodate available players. Thus Finger's sonata was played with three recorders to a part, but with only single oboes, presumably because there were many more recorder players than oboists present. Similarly, there is only ever one viola player listed, despite the fact that he had to compete with up to seven violinists on a part and up to five bass players with harpsichord. It is likely that viola players were rare in early eighteenth-century Scotland, since its traditional music was essentially a monophonic repertory played on the violin and other soprano instruments, while, as Christie's paper shows, there was an increasing interest in the Italian trio sonata and associated genres, which rarely used violas. What is difficult to explain is why 'Torelli's Sonata' was performed with only single violins but apparently with all the bass instruments, or why the 'Division' part of the 'Chacoon' was played by three violinists when the normal practice of the period would have been to have a single player accompanied by all the rest of the violins on the ripieno parts.

Of course, we have no way of knowing whether Christie's paper actually represented what happened at the concert, or to what extent the decisions taken were the result of inexperience with handling such large musical forces. However, it does seem likely that the idea of the concert was borrowed from the London St Cecilia celebrations, and that all the music played was imported from there—which in turn suggests that there was no-one in Edinburgh at that time capable of writing concerted art music. As for the date of the paper, I hope I have shown that it cannot date from as early as 1695; my guess is that it actually comes from about 1710. Perhaps it was undated and Tytler just assumed that it came from 1695 because he knew that concerts had started in Edinburgh around then. Being a solicitor, he could well have come across a Court of Session case in January 1694 in which it was established that Mr Beck and other Edinburgh musicians were not subject to the jurisdiction of the Master of the Revels, a decision that paved the way for the establishment of regular concerts.[30] By the second decade of the eighteenth century regular concerts had been established in St. Mary's Chapel in Niddry's Wynd, promoted by the singer John Steill with Adam Craig and Henry Crumden—who, of course, figure in Christie's paper.[31] It is possible that the event recorded by the paper was connected with these concerts in some way, though it is clear that the Steill-Craig-Crumbden concerts were commercial ventures while the St Cecilia concert looks as if it was part of the activities of a music club—an institution prefiguring the later Edinburgh Musical Society.

Appendix

Instrumentalists listed by James Christie in 'The Order of the Instrumental Music for the Feast of St Cecilia, 22d November 1695'

Name	Instrument	Status
Thomas Brown	violin	master
Henry Burn	violin	master
Will. Carse	oboe / violin	gentleman
James Christie / Chrystie of Newhall	bass viol / recorder	gentleman
Lord Colville	harpsichord	gentleman
William Cooper	violin	master
John Corse	recorder	gentleman
Adam Craig	violin	master
Henry Crumbden	harpsichord / recorder	master
Lord Elcho	recorder	gentleman
Sir Jo. Erskine	recorder	gentleman
Jo. Falconer of Fesdo / Phesdo	recorder	gentleman
Ro. Gordon	bass ?viol	gentleman
Will. Gordon	recorder / violin	gentleman
Sir Al. Hamilton	recorder	gentleman
Ja. Hamilton	recorder / violin	gentleman
Tho. Kennedy	violin	gentleman
James McClachlan	violin / bass ?violin	master
Matthew [Malcolm] McGibbon	oboe / recorder / ?violin	master
John Middleton	recorder / bass ?viol	gentleman
Sir Tho. Nicholson	violin	gentleman
Sir John Pringle	violin / recorder	gentleman
Thomas Pringle	violin / recorder	gentleman
John Russell	recorder	gentleman
Mr. St Columb / Sinkolm	bass ?viol	master
Mr Seton of Pitmedden	recorder / violin	gentleman
John Stewart	violin	gentleman
Daniel Thomson	trumpet / ?violin / bass ?violin	master
Francis Toward	recorder / violin	master
John Wilson	viola	master

1 I am grateful to Dr David Johnson for reading a draft of this article, and for many helpful suggestions.

2 For Tytler, see the article in J. D. Brown, *Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (Paisley and London, 1886; repr. 1970) and the article by A. Mackay in *The Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1885-1900).

3 For the Edinburgh Musical Society, see in particular, H. Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time* (Edinburgh, 2/1788), pp. 379-81; D. Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1972), esp. pp. 33-43; J. Burchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts? Concert Management and Orchestral Repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester and Newcastle, 1730-1799* (New York and London, 1996), pp. 31-100.

4 G. B. Bassani, *Harmonia Festiva, being the Eighth Opera of Divine Mottetts* (London, 1708), *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* [*RISM*], A/I, *Einzeldrucke vor 1800* (Kassel, 1971-99), B 1184; Bassani, *Harmonia Festiva, being the Thirteenth Opera of Divine Mottetts* (London, 1708), *RISM, Einzeldrucke,* B 1202; *Quid arma quid bella: Bassani's Most Celebrated Mottet* (London, c.1720), *RISM, Einzeldrucke,* B 1185. Dates are from the British Library Public Catalogue, on-line at http://blpc.bl.uk.

5 RISM, B/II, *Receuils Imprimés XVIIIe Siècle*, ed. F. Lesure (Munich and Duisburg, 1964), p. 274. For Thomson, see Johnson, *Music in Lowland Scotland*, pp. 140-1, 155-7; Johnson, 'William Thomson', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2/2001).

6 For the bass violin in Restoration England, see P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: the Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993; 2/1995), pp. 318-19.

7 For the arrival of the cello in Britain, see L. Lindgren, 'Italian Violoncellists and some Violoncello Solos Published in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain,* ed. D. W. Jones (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 121-57. I am working at present on an article about Bocchi and his activities in Scotland and Ireland.

8 J. Wilson, Roger *North on Music* (London, 1959), p. 304.

9 For Crumbden, see Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland,* pp. 26-7, 30-1, 33.

10 Johnson, Music and Society, esp. p. 61; Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1984), esp. pp. 192-5; *Chamber Music of Eighteenth-Century Scotland,* ed. Johnson, Musica Scotica, 3 (Glasgow, 2000), pp. ix, 1-54, 189-93; Johnson, 'William McGibbon', *The New Grove.*

11 *RISM, Einzeldrucke,* C 4363. For Craig, see Johnson, *Music in Lowland Scotland,* pp. 33, 34, 114, 154-5; Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the Eighteenth Century,* pp. 6, 38, 162.

12 For Sainte-Colombe junior, see I. Woodfield, 'The Younger Sainte-Colombe in Edinburgh', *Chelys,* p. 14 (1985), pp. 43-4; J. Dunford, 'Jean de Sainte-Colombe', *The New Grove.*

13 For Pepusch, see in particular D. F. Cook, 'The Life and Works of Johann Christoph Pepusch, 1667-1752', Ph.D. diss. (University of London, 1982).

14 *RISM, Einzeldrucke,* P 1260. The date can be estimated from the plate number, 434; see F. Lesure, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Estienne Roger et Michel-Charles le Cène (Amsterdam, 1696-1743)* (Paris, 1969), p. 91. There are modern editions, ed. D. Lasocki (London, 1974), and a facsimile, ed. S. Möhlmeier and F. Thouvenot (Courley, 1993).

15 See the entry for the manuscript in the British Library Manuscripts Catalogue, on-line at http://molcat.bl.uk/msscat. It was formerly in the possession of Thurston Dart, who edited the sonata as J. C. Pepusch, *Quintett in F dur* (London, 1959) before the sole surviving copy of *VI Concerts,* op. 8 came to light in Sweden.

16 R. Rawson, 'From Omolouc to London: the Early Music of Gottfried Finger (c.1655-1630)', Ph.D. diss. (University of London, 2003), p. 331; two of the sonatas are in G. Finger, *Two Sonatas for Two Treble Recorders, Two Oboes and Basso Continuo,* ed. P. Holman (London, 1979).

17 D. Johnson, 'Sir John Clerk', *The New Grove*; W. Shaw, 'Jeremiah Clarke', *The New Grove.*

18 *RISM, Einzeldrucke,* C 2577; for the date, see C. A. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre* (Ann Arbor, 1979), pp. 146-7, 240.

19 C. Powell and H. Diack Johnstone, 'John Barrett', *The New Grove.*

20 *RISM, Einzeldrucke,* B 963; for the date, see Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre,* pp. 227-8, 240.

21 For Add. MS 49599, see the entry in the British Library Manuscripts Catalogue.

22 *RISM, Einzeldrucke,* B 1171, 1174; for the date of the Roger edition, see F. Lesure, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Estienne Roger et Michel-Charles le Cène,* p. 59.

23 *RISM, Einzeldrucke,* T 994; F. Geigling, *Giuseppe Torelli: ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des italienischen Konzerts* (Kassel, 1949), nos. 50a, 51a.

24 RISM, *Einzeldrucke,* T 980, 987.

25 J. Clarke, *Suite in D major,* ed. R. Minter (London, 1971).

26 Rawson, 'From Omolouc to London', pp. 246, 258-9, 260.

27 Rawson, 'From Omolouc to London', p. 252.

28 See, for instance, Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers,* pp. 313-30.

29 P. Holman, 'Original Sets of Parts for Restoration Concerted Music at Oxford', *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell,* ed. M. Burden (Oxford, 1996), pp. 18, 266; M. Locke, *Chamber Music: II,* ed. M. Tilmouth, Musica Britannica, 32 (London, 1972), pp. 107-8.

30 J. Lauder, *Decisions of the Lords of Council and Session from June 6th, 1678 to July 20th, 1712* (Edinburgh, 1759), i. p. 590, quoted in M. Spring, *The Lute in Britain: a History of the Instrument and its Music* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 477-8.

31 Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland,* pp. 32-3.

David Milsom, *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth-Century Violin Performance.*

ALDERSHOT: ASHGATE, 2003. 294 PP. + CD
ISBN 0 7546 0756 9

Duncan Druce

The study of performance practice is never easy; with such an ephemeral art as musical performance, much important information is bound to disappear for ever, and a mere review of what evidence survives gives little idea of what the music actually sounded like. It is a strength of David Milsom's book that he is so clearly aware of potential pitfalls, and of the limitations in what is discoverable and what can be confidently asserted. In concentrating on the period just before the advent of recording (1850-1900) he has more material to go on than earlier epochs provide, and is plausibly able to glean evidence from early recordings, even though they lie beyond the study's boundaries. He chooses violinists who became established before 1900 rather than concentrating exclusively on the very earliest recordings. So there is nothing about Hubermann or Jan Kubelik, very little about Kreisler or Thibaut, but electrical recordings of Rosé and Hubay are consulted, begging the question, perhaps, as to how much their manner of playing might have changed in the post-1900 period. The other evidence comes from theoretical works about violin playing (plus a few examples from annotated editions of violin music), ranging from Spohr in the 1830s to Flesch in the 1920s—this broadening of the time-scale is again plausible, since Spohr remained influential throughout the nineteenth century, whilst Flesch refers back, usually in scathing terms, to earlier manners of playing. Most interestingly, Milsom broadens his discussion to include recordings of singers active in the later 1800s as well as precepts from vocal treatises, and is able to demonstrate that the frequent exhortation to violinists to imitate the vocal art was indeed far more than a pious platitude – use of vibrato and portamento, as well as attitudes to accentuation, rhythm and phrasing, show remarkable parallels, between Patti and Joachim, say, or between Ysaÿe and Sembrich.

Milsom divides the book into chapters on such topics as phrasing, vibrato, portamento and rhythm, each one subdivided into discussion of written evidence, then recordings. Inevitably, perhaps, the same treatises and the same few recordings recur over and over again, lending a somewhat enclosed, schematic character to the book. The arbitrary "cut-off" birth-date (1865) excludes as evidence such things as the recordings of the Klingler Quartet, with its close associations with Joachim, or the Czech (Bohemian) Quartet, whose violinists were already playing together in the 1890s. I'm surprised too, that Milsom doesn't make more use of editions with fingering and bowing indications. As well as providing valuable evidence regarding bowing styles and the use of portamento, such material could have helped redress the balance for some famous and influential violinists barely mentioned here, including Vieuxtemps and Wieniawski, who did not live long enough to make recordings, and did not write treatises, but who did provide editions of their music containing valuable performance indications. The book is, moreover, written in a style that is hardly reader-friendly—David Milsom is perhaps anxious to create a solidly academic impression, but many of his points could surely have been expressed more simply and directly. Here is a random sample:

> The relatively restrained mood context of *Batti, batti*, from *Don Giovanni,* creates a more cerebral context for portamento execution …

For me, the most valuable chapters are those that concentrate on technical matters; the portamento and vibrato sections give valuable insights into how, when, and for what purpose these devices were used. In the discussion of Tempo and Rhythm there is a certain amount of confusion, I feel, between rubato (where the time fluctuates over a relatively short time span—a couple of bars, say), and tempo modifications, such as adopting a slower speed for a lyrical second subject. But this chapter's significance and value is greatly enhanced by the computer-aided analyses of the rubato employed on their recordings by Joachim, Patti et al. After looking at the graphs one returns to the recordings with renewed interest and heightened respect for these great nineteenth-century artists' combination of discipline and spontaneity.

Compared to most writers on earlier periods of violin playing, Milsom pays very little attention to the violinist's equipment. It is reasonable to argue, of course, that the violin and bow of 1850-1900 differ little, if at all, from their modern counterparts, but stringing is another matter, not to mention such accessories as chin and shoulder rests. I'd have been

interested to hear, for example, Milsom's views on the relationship between different kinds of string and vibrato, and more about the different choices nineteenth- and twentieth-century violinists might make concerning bowing style, in which the instrument's stringing might play a part.

An ambitious and difficult subject, then, and if Milsom does not provide a definitive survey, he does show clearly what can be ascertained about string performance of a hundred or more years ago. And if the book itself sometimes suffers from being too academically rigid in its manner and design, the balance is redressed on the final tracks of the accompanying CD, where Milsom plays Brahms and Fauré, with appropriate rubato, portamento and vibrato. Does he really reproduce a performing style from the late 1800s? Probably not, but he certainly sheds a fascinating light on how this music was meant to sound.

Rachel Brown, *The Early Flute, A Practical Guide.*

CAMBRIDGE: CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2003. 198 PP.
ISBN 0 521 89080 2 (PAPERBACK) 0 521 81391 3 (HARDBACK)

Nancy Hadden

One of the flutes I value most in my collection is a Schwedler 'reformed' flute, probably dating from the early 1900s, which was owned by my grandfather (1894-1970), a flautist in the town band in Charles City, Iowa. He also played the piccolo, and according to my father owned two types; a Meyer system, ebony with an ivory head joint (also now in my possession) and a silver Boehm system piccolo which my grandfather sold, the Boehm doubtless having been the only saleable item of the three when he stopped playing in the 1950s.

I regret that I never talked to my grandfather about his flute playing days. I don't know what music he played in the band or other amateur gatherings. I do know that mid-western towns of any size had local bands that played concerts in the park band-stand on Sunday afternoons. (The Broadway musical *The Music Man* (1957) by flautist-composer Meredith Willson portrays this very thing; coincidentally, Willson lived in Mason City, Iowa, just a few miles from my grandparents' town). My father remembers that most often my grandfather performed on his silver Boehm piccolo in the 30s and 40s. The old-fashioned Schwedler and Meyer instruments of his youth were probably rendered obsolete by the acquisition of the Boehm. Nevertheless, my grandfather performed on all three, each with a different fingering system.

When I first inherited my grandfather's instruments I was a music undergraduate in America. I was especially interested in the handsome ebony Schwedler flute, with its open holes, numerous keys including low B, a leather case with velvet compartments holding tools and some soft, cream leather replacement pads. I was just beginning to teach myself the one-key traverso and had discovered Quantz's treatise in my university library, but I had no knowledge of research methods or how to find out about the instrument or playing techniques. Later, when living in London, I acquired a facsimile of Maximilian Schwedler's catechism *Flöte und Flötenspiel* (1897/1910) published by Tony Bingham. Now there is an excellent English translation by John Robert Bailey (unpublished dissertation, Northwestern University, 1987).

It was with a sense of nostalgia that I read the opening pages of Rachel Brown's book, beginning as she does with a discussion, albeit negative, of Schwedler's 1880 edition of Handel's Sonata in A minor, opus 1 number 4. Shown also is Walsh's eighteenth-century edition for comparison. Schwedler's is deemed to be 'out of step with the current preference for informed choice … decidedly romantic!'. Poor Schwedler! For whom is Schwedler's Handel inauthentic? I am sure that in 1880 he thought he was doing an excellent thing. One wonders how he went about it, what editions, original or otherwise, he had at his disposal, what instrument he was imagining to perform it?

Brown says (p. 30) that Schwedler himself played the Baroque flute and was interested in matters of historical performance. But of course on an eighteenth-century one-keyed traverso, dynamic markings of 'ff' and 'sf', funny articulations with slurs onto weak beats and numerous passages transposed to the 3rd octave would just sound silly. However, if one's choice were for playing the Schwedler flute this edition might be just the thing as a historical performance document!

The Early Flute: A Practical Guide is the latest in the series of 'Cambridge Handbooks to the Historical Performance of Music'. Books on the violin, horn, keyboard and clarinet have already been published. But the titles mislead: what looks to be an all-encompassing series on the history of early instruments and historical performance practices is in fact limited to the instruments and music of the high Baroque, Classical and Romantic periods *c.*1700-1900 (not so daft for the 'early' clarinet and horn but well and truly incomplete for the 'early' keyboard, violin and flute. Why not call the series '18th- and 19th-Century Studies for Performance'? Or are we to expect further volumes to be commissioned which will cover the Medieval, Renaissance and early Baroque periods?

All of the instrument books in the series follow a similar plan, covering history, style and playing

techniques, with individual 'case studies' of selected pieces. Organization of *The Early Flute* follows this plan, with chapters on sources, technique, style and case studies of Hotteterre, Handel, Bach, Gluck, Mozart and Boehm. The reader can look up specific topics such as 'tone colour', 'embouchure', 'blowing', 'articulation' in the Technique chapter, 'phrasing', 'stress', 'gestures', 'tempo' in the chapter on Style. The author draws on her tremendous store of knowledge. She has amassed an impressive amount of information from early sources and her own insights. But the material within each topic skips around unsystematically between sources and style periods. It is with difficulty that I sifted through the helter-skelter and bewildering array of material to find an historical context. A book with such a huge brief (covering 200 years in as many pages) must of necessity be selective and have historical and chronological clarity. In this study the writing lacks clarity, and frequent lapses of organization and documentation make for frustrating reading.

I admire Rachel Brown as a marvellous performer on one-keyed and multi-keyed early flutes. She has chosen to focus on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music, both as a player and writer. Our paths cross in the eighteenth century, for me the latest and for her the earliest period of our individual musical preoccupations. She points out that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries professionals were reluctant to change instruments or fingering systems. Flautists such as Devienne poured scorn on the keyed flute in the 1790s, and preferred to stick with the one-keyed traverso. I suspect it was in the amateur world that new instruments found keen converts, just as with my grandfather and many amateur collector/players today. I decided long ago that, like Devienne, I would not venture professionally into the keyed-flute world. Performance and research on Renaissance, Baroque and Classical flutes covering some 300 years of music is plenty to keep me absorbed and challenged. It was with particular interest therefore that I delved into Brown's fascinating and lively accounts of nineteenth-century flutes and flute playing. She is knowledgeable and enthusiastic, and the book is brimming with useful information and source material from the nineteenth century. Her dedication and expertise as a performer shine throughout this book. She shows herself to be historically aware and is at pains to show the reader that she is so, by utilizing copious snippets of information.

Her coverage of early Baroque flutes and of the Renaissance flute was less satisfactory. Although these are outside the official scope of the book and only brief mentions are made, it is nevertheless necessary to provide accurate information. It was correctly pointed out that the one-key flute evolved as a radical transformation of its Renaissance counterpart, probably in France sometime in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, from a cylindrical one- or two-piece instrument with six fingerholes to a 'far more complex' three-piece design offering many new musical possibilities'. We are not told at this point what these possibilities were, as a digression on the external appearance of the early French flute ensues. But an alarming sentence further on signals us back to the 'new possibilities':

> the E-flat key [on the new 3-piece French flute] brought an extra note to the flute. Musically this reflected an even greater shift from modes predominantly using flats to major and minor tonalities where D major and closely related keys were most resonant.

The E-flat key did not bring an extra note to the flute; it was there all the time. Sixteenth-century fingering charts show that e flat' and e flat'' were fingered 12345half6, while the fingering for e flat''' was 12456. Examples of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century printed flute music regularly include E flats. The addition of a key certainly made playing the lower octave E flats easier, and more importantly, facilitated the small 'speaking' ornaments that French Baroque expression demanded and that were not available with a half-shaded E flat.

Regarding the shift from modes to major and minor tonalities, I will try briefly to correct a number of mistaken notions. Firstly, modes did not 'use' flats; the notes of every mode were built on the 'white notes' of hexachords. A flat in a sixteenth-century 'key signature' simply indicated a transposed mode. To be sure, Dorian mode (d, e, f, g, a, b, c, d = re, mi, fa, so, la/re, mi, fa, sol) transposed up a fourth to G would require B flat (this was usually placed in the key signature), but also E flat (applying the 'una nota supra la' rule of musica ficta), F sharp at tonic cadences and perhaps other accidentals as well. Renaissance music was certainly chromatic; flautists (and all other instruments and singers) regularly applied chromatic alterations, or 'musica ficta'—F sharp, C sharp, G sharp, B flat, E flat etc. as the music required. That modal music was less resonant on Renaissance flutes than major and minor tonalities were on Baroque ones I have reason to doubt.

One other reference is made to Renaissance flutes, this time centred on a discussion of pitch:

> The low pitch (around 392-400) that prevailed in France, combined with the low tessitura of much music written for it, gave the flute a deep voice.

There is no context for this statement and we wonder, how deep is a 'deep voice'? Quantz likens the sound of his flute to a good contralto; perhaps this is what the author is thinking of? But Quantz was writing in Germany in 1752 and was not particularly addressing his remark to low pitch or tessitura of music. A footnote to the statement adds, 'Renaissance flutes had often been played in the upper

register'. Are we to deduce that French flutes pitched at 392-400, were not? I can think of dozens of examples in French music that explore the higher reaches of the flute's range. Renaissance flutes were also made as low as a=370-392; a pitch around 407 predominates in surviving original flutes. While it is true that Renaissance flutes favoured the upper registers, it was not to the exclusion of the lower notes. A fuller discussion of this topic would have illuminated some important aspects and differences in use of range and quality of sound, but a vague sentence and an even vaguer footnote are not adequate to do so.

Brown's 'case study' of Gluck's flute solo from *Orphée* (Paris, 1774), 'Dance of the Blessed Spirits' offers a thoughtful discussion, drawing on her own obvious musical and technical expertise, of several musical possibilities utilizing various fingerings to achieve dynamic effects. She tells us that the piece was 'almost certainly performed on the one-keyed flute' but that Wunderlich, flautist at the Paris Opera from 1787-1813, preferred four keys. She draws the conclusion that 'this questions the present-day preoccupation with recreating the first performance; in fact an interpretation founded on a later era may be just as valid' (p. 137). This means, of course, that a performer must try to be true to the milieu of the composer, not necessarily the earliest one, and to play instruments within the chosen historical context.

Of course we can rarely know the conditions of 'first performances' and most modern performances are not out to prove them. To take Rachel Brown's observation on the validity of interpretations from a later era a step further, it would be absurd to suggest that Quantz's music can be performed only on a Quantz flute, or Hotteterre's suites only on a three-piece French flute. Hotteterre himself lived and composed at the French court until 1760/1, long after the flute was re-designed to incorporate four joints and a very different sound. Quantz's patron Frederick the Great preferred to play flutes made by Kirst. The French virtuoso Blavet visited Frederick's court, no doubt bringing his flute with him, and he may well have performed Quantz's music there. Quantz visited Handel in London and his solos were subsequently published by Walsh. These are the things that propel the imagination and make a variety of interpretations drawn from various social contexts individually compelling.

However, a source which the author quotes as a valid one for the performance of Gluck's piece, from the *Method Complete by Taffanel and Gaubert* (Paris, 1923), stretches the notion of what might be appropriate for historically aware performance of a 'later era':

> the piece must be played with restraint, without emphasis or vibrato. Keep the tone pure avoiding an exaggerated nuances which spoil the line of the melody and make the style affected. Make the appoggiaturas long, in some cases very long. Do not look for effects to obtain the sorrow and pathos so well expressed by Gluck.

There is nothing really wrong with Taffanel and Gaubert's vague twentieth-century prescription, but neither does it draw on anything specifically from Gluck's milieu, and Brown does not clarify her reasons for including it. Is this for players of early twentieth-century flutes, or for players of one- and four-keyed instruments? If for the latter, how can it be justified as appropriate in time and place?

It seems to me that opening the floodgates of nineteenth-century historical performance on the flute is both a fascinating journey and dangerous minefield. For the nineteenth century one can see the dilemma. A myriad of inventions and an explosion of performance styles present us with a bewildering array of choices and makes the discovery of time and place fraught with difficulties. On the other hand, a heartening notion might be that a performance of Handel's Sonata on a Schwedler flute with Schwedler's pedagogy, using Schwedler's edition of 1880 is not less 'valid' than one played on a Stanesby flute *c.*1710 using Walsh's London edition of *c.*1730, and I would be fascinated to try it. What is worrying is the uncritical application of historical approaches to flute playing that stretches the possibilities for historical interpretation beyond reasonable limits of time, place and instruments. In the early days of the early music movement there were a few makers copying a few Renaissance and Baroque flutes in a not-very-historical manner. Now there are wonderful historical copies available on which to play sixteenth- through eighteenth-century music. A nineteenth-century revival is just around the corner and will take off when copies are readily available of instruments by Potter, Monzani, Nicholson, early Boehm, Schwedler, Rudall and others. Rachel Brown's book offers a tantalizing foretaste of the possibilities.

ADEQUACY FOR A MASTERPIECE

Stephen Daw responds to the new *Matthäuspassion* directed by Paul McCreesh on 2 CDs

J S BACH: *MATTHÄUSPASSION* BWV 244, performed by eight solo singers, Ulla Munch (Soprano in Ripieno), the Gabrieli Players, James Johnstone & Timothy Roberts (respectively larger and smaller Marcussen pipe-organs), dir. Paul McCreesh; recorded in April 2002 on 2CDs and issued in April 2003 by Polygram/Deutsche Grammophon Gesellschaft, Archiv subdivision

For the past 50 years or so years, musicologists, and particularly those interested in 'Early Music', have dedicated a great deal of time and energy to exploring historical performance practice. This preoccupation has greatly influenced habits of performance, listening and study over several generations. Persons of my own generation (I was born in 1944) are in a position to take a longer view over these developments, and the changing styles of performance of Bach's *Matthäuspassion* provide an excellent subject for such ruminations.

The publication in 1953 of Thurston Dart's *The Interpretation of Music,* and the commencement of the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* the following year, were important landmarks in the scholarly development of historical performing practice, and stimulated wider discussion of aspects of musical interpretation. Though neither Dart's book nor the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* have proved to be definitive or authoritative to any great degree, each has helped point the way towards much that I hope to discuss with regard to Paul McCreesh's striking interpretation of one of J. S. Bach's greatest masterpieces.

The list of performers given above is presented to introduce immediately what is, even today, a remarkable aspect of Paul McCreesh's chosen performing ensemble. A noteworthy aspect of this interpretation is the number of individual singers involved. Apart from the famous opening movement, the work is delivered by eight singers, all of whom are well-trained stylistically; moreover for the exceptional first movement is added an additional solo 'Soprano in Ripieno' to facilitate inclusion of the uppermost line preserved in Bach's autograph.

A fascinating lecture delivered in Boston by Joshua Rifkin in 1981, together with subsequent papers, articles and international lectures, made out a case for the new idea that movements headed *'Chor'* ('chorus') by Bach and his librettists indicated that each vocal line (*'Stimme*) was intended to be performed by a solo voice. Rifkin's original paper is included in its entirety as an appendix to the book *The Essential Bach Choir* (Woodbridge, UK, 2000), in which Andrew Parrott develops the arguments introduced by Rifkin, and provides a substantial quantity of supporting musical and pictorial support to advance this position. Since the early 1980s Rifkin's, and subsequently Parrott's, arguments for the historical use of a single voice to a part have engendered much disagreement in the world of historically informed performance, not least because both of these musicologists have organised and directed Bach performances and recordings, each including a number of solo chorus cantatas in addition to Rifkin's complete *B Minor Mass* BWV 232 and Parrott's *John Passion* BWV 245, *Magnificat* BWV 243 and *Trauer-Ode* BWV 198. Perhaps it should first be acknowledged that these earlier interpretations seem, in musical terms, to fall rather short of Paul McCreesh's new interpretation of the *Matthäuspassion.*

A very significant aspect of the dispute referred to above concerns itself with the significance of Bach's own Latinized German term *'das Chorus Musicus'.* One may either presume that it refers to the entire ensemble involved in works such as the *Matthäuspassion*, or to any consort or ensemble grouping within it. Further problems arise when we consider the fact that the Leipzig Thomasschule of Bach's time supplied four choirs of varying effectiveness from a total of 57 *Alumni* of which some were at any stage regarded as being musically useful, others were 'not yet ready' and others barely capable of development as performing musicians. If we recall that certain of these choral scholars were constantly needed to play instrumental parts in performances of church music, and that in at least the Leipzig Nikolaikirche there certainly was quite a substantial lower gallery area designed to accommodate *Thomas-Alumni* who were not actually participating in a particular service, one must certainly conclude that Bach was presented with something of a problem in selecting the varying groups needed to perform even some of the cantatas adequately.

Some critical listeners have come automatically to accept Rifkin's and Parrott's arguments for performing the complete canon of Bach's sacred compositions one singer to a part, and for some also one instrumental player to each scored line, as proven; for even most of the latter it is usually accepted that any line headed *'basso continuo'* (or *'basso seguente'* etc.) actually signifies some combination of chordal and melodic bass instruments, usually including at least one of the latter sounding the bass line at the lower octave for at least some of the time.

In an interview between Paul McCreesh and the informed London journalist Stephen Pettitt (included

with the libretto and supporting commentary supplied with the CDs in the review pack), McCreesh makes it clear that he subscribes to the 'scholarly' opinion of the appropriateness of one singer to a part, believing it to be the authoritative conclusion of dependable research. He does not apparently subscribe to the use of a single instrument per part, even with regard to the upper instrumental lines. Both of the listed first and second ensembles include two each of first and second violins, besides two flutes and two oboe specialists in each ensemble, able to combine in such a way as to provide pairs of treble oboes, oboi d' amore or oboi da caccia; in addition the parts played in Ensemble 1 include two recorders and one viola da gamba. Quite often during the *Matthäuspassion*, Bach's autograph full score is written in such a way as to indicate that instruments of contrasting timbres play melodic lines in unison, for example in Ensemble 1 violin 1 doubles flute 1, while violin 2 doubles flute 2. Each of the lines mentioned above is written out twice in the score, indicating, by McCreesh's judgement, three performers to each such line (i.e. two strings and one wind instrument).

Despite issues such as these, of the 68 movements into which McCreesh has divided the text of the complete *Matthäuspassion*, there remain a sizeable majority (54) which, consisting either of various kinds of recitative or consequent solo arias and duets, are actually directly comparable with more traditional interpretations. If these are compared with other traditionally orthodox readings, it must surely be admitted that, on the whole, Paul McCreesh's chosen vocalists and accompanists serve him very well indeed. The dignified singing of Mark Padmore as both Evangelist in the narrative recitatives and as a less personalised deliverer of detached arias is eloquent and deeply sincere throughout. Similarly Peter Harvey (singing as Bach's Christus, with the expressively managed accompanying string 'halo') also sounds wisely priestly in the arias for which he has been selected.

In the solo recitative and aria portions of the *Passion*, these and the remaining six singers are already established through their past work with McCreesh in numerous touring concerts and earlier recordings for DG Archiv of works by Biber, Monteverdi and Handel, besides those of other shorter works by Bach himself. In comparison with the many alternative tenor Evangelists and bass portrayals of Christus, the performances in this recording are of a high and consistent standard; so are the aria and ensemble movements that respond to the biblical settings that are part of the text expected of a setting of the *Passion* in the words of St Matthew.

As in other recordings directed by Paul McCreesh, all of the instrumental support included in 'free'/'madrigalian' vocal movements is very well balanced and eloquently played. Other baroque instrumental specialists may have appealed to listeners because they have invested their interpretations with characteristic mannerisms. For this listener some of the specialist players from as long ago as the early 1960s—Alice Harnoncourt, Marie Leonhardt, Jaap Schröder, Alda Stuurop, Gustav Leonhardt, Francis Baines, Frans Brüggen, Wilbert Hazelzet, Bruce Haynes, Ku Ebbinger, Anner Bylsmer, John Hsu, Wouter Möller and the three Brothers Kuijken—invested in their interpretations of Baroque music a shared delight in certain kinds of expression which some critics have found to be 'mannered' but which I, nevertheless, continue to delight in, and to anticipate with special pleasure. If this is real 'mannerism', then may it soon be recaptured and return in other high-quality interpretations. Paul McCreesh's new *Passion* recording suffers in comparison only in those solo and ensemble numbers which are most properly comparable with those most aristocratic of interpretations which form a part of all of our heritage.

A well-established contemporary attitude to performance that was apparently held throughout the Baroque period was the acceptance of performances whether using the minimum number of performers or, when players were available, a larger ensemble in which parts were doubled. There is an engraving, dating from around 1715, of quite a large ensemble of violins shown playing music in one of Rome's then fashionable *Piazzi*. The particularly significant aspect of this illustration is its accompanying tradition that the ensemble's director and soloist (seen foreground left, and evidently a centre of attention for most of the other active performers) is none other than Corelli. Since his solo and trio sonatas were probably better known and distributed at this time than were his famous twelve *Concerti Grossi, Op VI,* the illustration may well represent a large-scale authoritative performance of what might otherwise be thought to be a 'chamber work'. Though at the opposite extreme to the forces chosen by McCreesh, such an illustration serves to reminds us that size of ensemble, location, balance and visual presentation were surely all flexible ingredients of the planning of performances in Bach's lifetime.

As I have alluded to above, the somewhat anonymous manner of instrumental playing adopted by members of Gabrieli Players in this interpretation strikes me as somewhat lacking in characterisation ('mannerism') for my own personal taste. Another aspect of the interpretation would almost certainly have inspired a questioning of its 'authenticity' by Bach and Picander, the academics and clerics of the Thomasschule and their congregations in the 1720-40s: this concerns the gender of the singers of the upper vocal lines. Agreeably expressive though they sound in the twenty-first century, the timbres of the three sopranos and two contraltos chosen (no doubt for sound musical reasons) to participate in choral and solo movements would have been totally beyond contemplation by normal practice within the Leipzig churches during the period in which Bach performed the *Matthäuspassion* (in 1727, 1736 and probably also 1749). Nevertheless, we should remain thankful at the conspicuously refined musicianship that remains as the most important characteristic of this new, most up-to-date, interpretation.

Thomas Busby, W. T. Parke, William Shield and a Symphonie Concertante by Pleyel

Peter Holman

In our article 'Thomas Busby and his "FAC SIMILES OF CELEBRATED COMPOSERS"' (*Early Music Performer*, 12 (August 2003), 3-12), Clare Brown and myself discussed the set of facsimiles inserted into some copies of Thomas Busby's *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes* (London, 1825). Among them is an extract from Ignaz Pleyel's Symphonie Concertante in F major for two violins, viola, cello, flute, oboe and bassoon solo with orchestra, no. 113 in R. Benton, *Ignace Pleyel: a Thematic Catalogue of his Compositions* (New York, 1977). Since publishing the article I have come across a passage devoted to the work in W. T. Parke's *Musical Memoirs* (London, 1830), i. 299-300 that throws more light on its history; Parke was one of the leading oboists of the day and describes himself on the title-page as 'FORTY YEARS PRINCIPAL OBOIST TO THE THEATRE ROYAL COVENT GARDEN'. The passage comes in a discussion of the pieces performed in London at the Vocal Concert in 1802:

> Among the instrumental pieces, was performed (by permission of Mr. W. T. Parke, the proprietor of it,) Pleyel's celebrated manuscript concertante, composed expressly for the late professional concert, in the year 1792, for violin, bassoon, tenor, flute, violoncello, and oboe, by Messrs. F. Cramer, (leader,) Holmes, Shield, Saust, Linley, and myself. This piece was finely executed and universally applauded. Some time afterwards I published this concertante, under the patronage of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. It had an extensive subscription, including several of the royal family; but the expense attending the publication was so great, that I derived no other advantage from it than the pleasure of having presented to the public the work of a great master, and the opportunity of giving the original score to my friend Mr. Shield, who had offered twenty guineas for it before it came into my possession.

We learn from this that Parke (who sometimes refers to himself in the third person) owned the manuscript and published an edition of the work from it, subsequently giving it to the composer William Shield. In the article we were able to establish that seven of the thirteen manuscripts drawn upon by Busby were either owned by Shield or were connected with him in some way. The Pleyel manuscript makes it eight out of thirteen, and increases the likelihood that all of them were in Shield's library in the 1820s.

VIVALDI LOST AND FOUND

A heretofore-misattributed setting of the psalm Nisi Dominus housed in the Saxon State Library in Dresden has been identified by Michael Talbot as the work of Antonio Vivaldi. As early as the 1980s, research he had undertaken in Venice had alerted Talbot to the fact that one psalm setting was missing from a cycle that had been commissioned from Vivaldi by the Ospedale della Pietà in 1739. Four psalms from the cycle, which was to be used in that year for Vespers on Easter Sunday, and in July for the feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin, could be identified with reference to brief descriptions in the account books of the Pietà, but the fifth did not correspond with any of Vivaldi's known works. By matching the characteristics of the four known psalms, *Beatus vir* RV 795, *Confitebor tibi Domine,* RV 789, *In exitu Israel* RV 604 and *Lauda Jerusalem* RV 609, to his knowledge of the general pattern of psalm-cycles used at the Pietà, Talbot speculated that the missing psalm would be a multi-movement work set to one of four possible liturgical texts: Dixit Dominus, Laudate pueri Dominum, Laetatus sum or Nisi Dominus. He also knew that it would not be for double choir or choir alone, since these types of works were already found in the four psalm settings already identified. When the Australian scholar Janice Stockigt contacted him in May of 2003 about an unusually scored eight-movement setting of *Nisi Dominus* in A major, attributed to Baldassare Galuppi, Talbot realized that she was describing the missing Vivaldi psalm setting. The work required a combination of obbligato instruments, including viola d'amore, chalumeau and a 'tromba marina', that was only available at the Ospedale della Pietà.

The attribution to Galuppi was another crucial piece in the puzzle, since a complete copy of Vivaldi's *Beatus vir,* also in the Saxon State Library, had been attributed to him. This manuscript and the attribution to Galuppi is in the hand of the Venetian copyist Giuseppe Baldan, who supplied it to the Saxon court in the 1750s. It turns out that Baldan was also the copyist of the *Nisi Dominus* manuscript, and furthermore that he was a serial forger of attributions.

The psalm setting, which has been catalogued as RV 803, is written for three vocal soloists (a soprano and two altos) and five obbligato instruments: cello, organ, viola d'amore, chalumeau and 'tromba marina'. This latter instrument was not literally a trumpet marine, but rather 'a violin with a specially fitted bridge making a raucous sound to imitate that instrument'. At about twenty minutes in length the work is a substantial composition and Talbot feels that it is of high quality. It received its first modern performance on 7 December, by the Dresden Baroque Orchestra under the direction of Guido Titze in the Saxon State Library. A more detailed discussion of the identification of the work, which includes facsimiles of three pages of the manuscript, can be found in the October 2003 issue of the *BBC Music Magazine*, and a further scholarly article will appear in the journal *Eighteenth-Century Music* in March 2004.

Stanesby and Bressan recorders from St John's House Museum, Warwick in concert with the Hitchcock spinet, of Sulgrave Manor Caroline Jones, recorders, Rosemary Robinson, spinet 9 May 2004, 3pm, Sulgrave Manor, near Banbury

CAROLINE JONES

In May 1999 I was very privileged to be asked to play the St John's House Museum's Stanesby senior and junior and Bressan recorders. When Maggie Wood of the museum asked me this summer if I would like to play the recorders again I eagerly accepted.

Spinet by Thomas Hitchcock junior

The instruments were collected by the musicologist Francis Galpin (1858-1945). His friends founded the Galpin Society in his memory and it was one of those friends, Eric Halfpenny, who acquired the recorders from Galpin's collection. Halfpenny was an amateur musician who carried out pioneering research into early wind instruments. In 1979 the recorders became part of the Warwickshire Museum's collection.

There are two complete recorders – a sonorous bass in maple attributed to Thomas Stanesby senior (1668-1734), which speaks clearly throughout its range, and a most beautiful treble in boxwood by his son Thomas Stanesby junior (1692-1754). The second treble is actually a head by Peter Bressan (1685-1731) with the middle and foot joint of a treble by Stanesby senior also in boxwood.

Rosemary had told me about the beautiful bentside spinet at Sulgrave Manor. Thomas Hitchcock junior (*c.* 1685-1733) probably built the spinet between 1710 and 1730. The name board reads 'Thomas Hitchcock Londini Fecit 1335' (the instrument's serial number). Inside can also be seen the signature 'Th. 8', which could be that of Thomas Calliford, an employee of the Hitchcock workshop. This elegant instrument has a solid walnut case and lid with sycamore inlay. The white natural keys are of

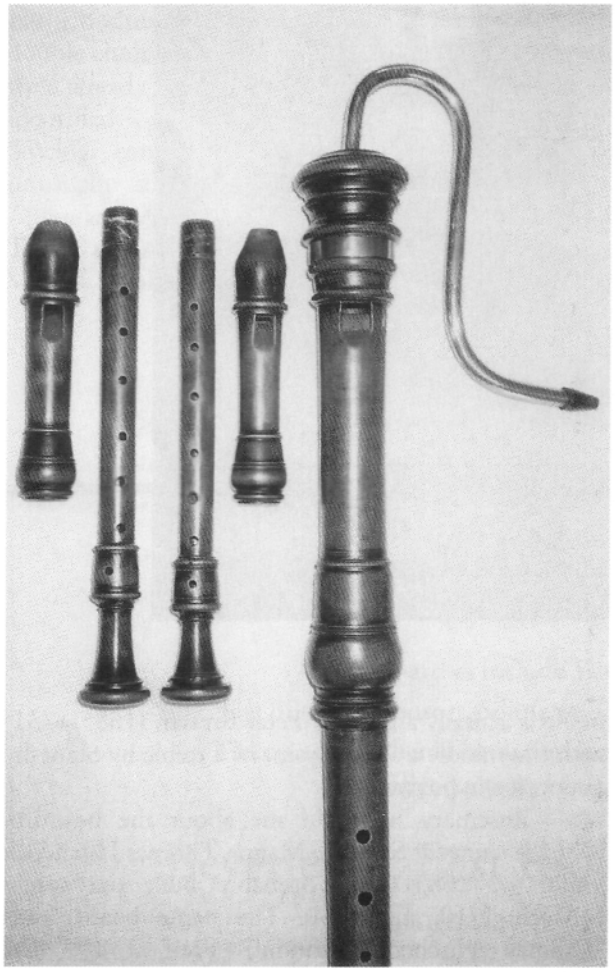
ivory with very fine arcading and the black ebony sharp keys have Hitchcock's typical insert of ivory to produce the 'skunktail' pattern. Notably it has a folding book-rest.

Rosemary and I thought it would be a wonderful opportunity to play the recorders and the spinet together in concert. Maggie Wood of the St. John's House Museum, Warwickshire, and Maureen Jeffreys of Sulgrave Manor immediately gave the idea their full support.

We are choosing pieces to reflect the instrument's history including music by Croft and Handel, but also some contemporary composers such as John Turner and Rosemary Robinson. The latter is a new piece for bass recorder and spinet, which Rosemary is writing especially for this occasion.

This special concert will take place at Sulgrave Manor near Banbury at 3pm on Sunday 9 May 2004. The contact telephone number is (01295) 760 205.

We would like to thank Maggie Wood and Maureen Jeffreys for their help and advice, and for making this concert possible.



From left to right: A Bressan head on a body made by Thomas Stanesby senior, a complete Thomas Stanesby junior treble and a bass attributed to Thomas Stanesby senior. You can clearly see the wear on the lip of the Bressan and the repaired lip on the bass.

A New Website for NEMA

For two decades now, NEMA has existed to bring together those involved in the world of early music in the UK and abroad. During the last decade the internet has grown rapidly, becoming one of the most important ways of bringing people together and exchanging information. The Council therefore realised that our presence on the internet was of fundamental importance to the work of NEMA, and early in 2003 a project was put in hand to update our website.

In the mid 1990s the first NEMA website was set up, hosted by Unison in Indiana, USA, and in 1999 it was taken over by the Early Music Network, also in the USA. This made it difficult for the NEMA Council to keep control of the site's content, and when the Council decided to review the problem in 2003, we found our site languishing there, with much information out of date. We therefore decided to move the website to our own new address, hosted in the UK, with a view to enabling closer control over the site's style and content and, most importantly, to keeping the website up to date.

It was agreed that Jane Beeson, as the Council's representative, would liaise with Ted Copper who was commissioned to design and create the new site. Jane would field questions, rewrite text, initiate improvements and provide continued contact between Council members and the new Webmaster. For the time being the same team will maintain the site and keep it updated.

The first stage was to register a new 'dot com' name for the website. It transpired that the name NEMA is used by a number of organizations and individuals, so it was not easy to find a straightforward address for the site, but the one on which we finally settled is **http://www.nema-uk.org/**.

It took several months of work to create. The brief was to develop a site maintainable by anybody within the NEMA organization (a tall order!), so HTML pages were created, without scripts, but using CSS (Cascading Style Sheets). The result is a fast site, quick to view, and easy to navigate. The style is simple but 'classical', and retains the NEMA logo, with a background linking the look of the site to the cover of *Early Music Performer*. A new navigation structure was incorporated: *Introduction, Membership, Yearbook, Addentry* (in the Yearbook), *Performer* (NEMA's journal), People (i.e. those who run NEMA), *Contacts* (within NEMA), *Links, Fora Map, and News*.

Once the site was accepted by Council, it was ready to be 'released' by submission to several search engines. At the same time 'early music' related web sites were alerted to the new URL address for NEMA. More than 100 UK and international old NEMA links were found. It is worth reporting that after several months there has been more than a 90% successful response to the request to update the link pointing to NEMA.

Features of the site include:

- On-line forms to register oneself as a soloist, ensemble or organization for inclusion in the Register and Directory sections of the NEMA Yearbook. David Fletcher (Thames Valley Early Music Forum Chairman) receives the output of these forms via email, and, using a new data extraction program, adds the entry to the Yearbook database. Collaboration with David and careful testing of this free on-line facility resulted in a smooth transition between the old and new site.
- A printable page for NEMA Membership form submission
- Direct email links to key NEMA personnel
- A page previewing the contents of *Early Music Performer*
- A UK map showing regional fora with links to each.
- A news page showing planned NEMA events and details of the annual NEMA Day.

The site was approved and commended at the Council meeting on 25 June 2003. Since then we have had many visitors to the site, which have brough new subscriptions and *Yearbook* entries, and many favourable comments on the style and content. Please visit the site, use it, contact us to suggest useful links, send us your comments, and make sure that our website remains one of the most useful tools for those interested in all aspects of early music.

Ted Copper & Jane Beeson

Recent Articles on Issues of Performance Practice

The British Journal of Aesthetics Vol. 43/ii (2003)

- Paul Thom, *The Interpretation of Music in Performance*

Cambridge Opera Journal Vol. 15/i (2003)

- Robert. Ketterer, *Why early opera is Roman and not Greek*
- Amanda Eubanks Winkler, *O ravishing delight': the politics of pleasure in* The Judgment of Paris

Early Music Vol. 31/iii (August 2003)

- J Milsom and I Fenlon, *Editorial. Close readings: a memorial to John Stevens and Philip Brett*
- S Rankin, *Some Medieval songs*
- A Butterfield, *The art of repetition: Machaut's Ballade 33,* Nes qu'on porroit
- M Bent, *Words and music in Machaut's Motet 9*
- D Fallows, *What happened to* El grillo?
- P Macey, *An expressive detail in Josquin's* Nimphes, nappés
- O Neighbour, *Byrd's treatment of verse in his partsongs*
- M Smith, *'Whom music's lore delighteth': words-and-music in Byrd's* Ye sacred Muses
- J Milsom, *Byrd, Sidney, and the art of melting*
- C Clark, *Fabricating magic: costuming Salieri's* Armida
- RF Taruskin, *Correspondence. Bach's singers*

Early Music History Vol. 22 (August 2003)

- Jeanice Brooks, O quelle armonye: *dialogue singing in late Renaissance France*
- Ardis Butterfield, Enté: *a survey and reassessment of the term in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century music and poetry*
- Yolanda Plumley, *An 'episode in the south'?* Ars subtilior *and the patronage of French princes*
- Edward H. Roesner, *Labouring in the midst of wolves: reading a group of Fauvel motets*
- Peter Wright, *Watermarks and musicology: the genesis of Johannes Wiser's collection*

The Galpin Society Journal No. 56 (2003)

- Catherine Frew, Arnold Myers, *Sir Samuel Hellier's 'Musicall Instruments"*
- Robert Howe, *The Boehm system oboe and its role in the development of the modern oboe*
- Benjamin Hebbert, *Nathaniel Cross, William Borracleffe, and a clutch of Tudor viols*
- Brenda Neece, *The cello in Britain: a technical and social history; part 1 - terminology*
- Brenda Neece, *The cello in Britain: a technical and social history; part 2 - technical history*
- Carol Gartrell, *Towards an inventory of antique barytons*
- John Topham, *A dendrochronological survey of stringed musical instruments from three collections in Edinburgh, London and Paris.*
- Niles Eldredge, *Mme F Besson and the early history of the Périnet valve*
- Barry Lloyd, *A designer's guide to bowed keyboard instruments*
- Koen Vermeij, *Keylever tail width as a tool for assigning keyboard instruments?*
- Albert Rice, *Müller's `Gamme De La Clarinette' (c.1812) and the development of the thirteen-key clarinet*
- Jack Smith, *David James Who? Some notes on David James Blaikley*
- David Chapman, *Historical and practical considerations for the tuning of double bass instruments in fourths*

Reviews:

- Brigitte Bachmann-Geiser, *Europäische Musikinstrumente im Bernischen Historischen Museum - die Sammlung als Spiegel bernischer Musikkultur*
- Cynthia Adams Hoover, Patrick Rucker, Edwin Good, *Piano 300 - celebrating three centuries of people and pianos*
- Alfons Huber, Hans Schneider (eds), *Das Österreichische Cembalo - 600 Jahre Cembalobau in Österreich - im Gedanken an Hermann Poll aus Wien*
- Jeremy Montagu, *Timpany & Percussion*
- Jeremy Montagu, *Reed instruments*
- Annette Otterstedt, *The viol - history of an instrument*
- Stewart Pollens, Henryk Kaston, M Laing, *François-Xavier Tourte - bow maker*
- Ardal Powell, *The flute*

The Journal of Musicology Vol. 20/i (2003)

- Don Fader, *The Honnête homme as Music Critic: Taste, Rhetoric, and Politesse in the 17th-Century French Reception of Italian Music*
- David J. Burn, *What Did Isaac Write for Constance?*

The Journal of the Royal Musical Association Vol. 128/ii (2003)

- David Charlton and Sarah Hibberd, *'My father was a poor Parisian musician': A Memoir (1756) concerning Rameau, Handel's Library and Sallé*

The Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music Vol. 9/1 (2003)
http://sscm-jscm.press.uiuc.edu/jscm/v9no1.html

- A Special Issue Dedicated to the Memory of Claude V. Palisca
- Barbara Russano Hanning, *In memoriam Claude V. Palisca*
- Mauro Calcagno, *Monteverdi's parole sceniche*
- Tim Carter, *Rediscovering Il rapimento di Cefalo*
- Francesca Chiarelli, *Before and After: Ottavio Rinuccini's mascherate and their Relationship to the Operatic Libretto*
- Victor Coelho, *The Players of Florentine Monody in Context and in History, and a Newly Recognized Source for Le nuove musiche*
- Barbara Russano Hanning, *The Ending of L'Orfeo: Father, Son, and Rinuccini*
- *Kelley Harness, Le tre Euridici: Characterization and Allegory in the Euridici of Peri and Caccini*
- John Walter Hill, *Beyond Isomorphism toward a Better Theory of Recitative*
- Robert Kendrick, *What's So Sacred about Sacred Opera?*

Reflections on the Fate of a (Sub)Genre

- Jeffrey Kurtzman, *Deconstructing Gender in Monteverdi's L'Orfeo*
- Silke Leopold, *Die Anfänge von Oper und die Probleme der Gattung (The Beginnings of Opera and Problems of Genre)*
- Sara Mamone, *Most Serene Brothers-Princes-Impresarios: Theater in Florence under the Management and Protection of Mattias, Giovancarlo, and Leopoldo de' Medici*
- Arnaldo Morelli, *The Chiesa Nuova in Rome about 1600: Music for the Church, Music for the Oratory*
- Margaret Murata, *"Singing," "Acting," and "Dancing" in Vocal Chamber Music of the Early Seicento*
- Claude v. Palisca, *Aria Types in the Earliest Operas*
- Louise Stein, *The Origins and Character of recitado*
- James Tyler, *The Role of the Guitar in the Rise of Monody: The Earliest Manuscripts*

The Musical Quarterly Vol. 86/I (2002)

- Laura E. DeMarco, *The Fact of the Castrato and the Myth of the Countertenor*

Music and Letters Vol. 84/iii (August 2003)

- Yolanda Plumley, *Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson*
- Gavin Alexander, *The Elizabethan Lyric as Contrafactum: Robert Sidney's 'French Tune' Identified*
- Mary Ann Parker, *Handel's 'Il trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno': A Petrarchan Vision in Baroque Style*
- Matthew Riley, *Johann Nikolaus Forkel on the Listening Practices of 'Kenner' and 'Liebhaber'*
- Judith Milhous, Gabriella Dideriksen and Robert D. Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, ii: The Pantheon Opera and its Aftermath 1789-1795*

Reviews:

- Margaret Bent, *Counterpoint, Composition, and Musica Ficta*
- Piero Weiss, ed. *Opera: A History in Documents*
- Benoît Bolduc, *Andromède au rocher: fortune théâtrale d'une image en France et en Italie, 1587-1712*
- Buford Norman, *Touched by the Graces: The Libretti of Philippe Quinault in the Context of French Classicism*
- Jean-Paul C. Montagnier, *Charles-Hubert Gervais: un musicien au service du Régent et de Louis XV*
- Thomas Tolley, *Painting the Canon's Roar: Music, the Visual Arts and the Rise of an Attentive Public in the Age of Haydn, c.1750 to c.1810*

Music and Letters Vol. 84/iv (November 2003)

- Rachel Golden Carlson, *Striking Ornaments: Complexities of Sense and Song in Aquitanian 'Versus'*
- Marco Della Sciucca, *'S'Amor Non È': Cesare Tudino and the Birth of the Purely Musical Dialogue*
- Michael Burden, *Casting Issues in the Original Production of Purcell's Opera 'The Fairy-Queen'*

Reviews:

- Alison Latham, ed. *The Oxford Companion to Music*
- James McKinnon, *The Advent Project: The Later-Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper*
- Paul A. Merkley and Lora L. M. Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*
- Eugene Casjen Cramer, *Studies in the Music of Tomás Luis de Victoria*
- Susan Orlando, ed. *The Italian Viola da Gamba. Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Italian Viola da Gamba, Magnano, 29 April-1 May 2000*
- Rainer Heyink, *'Al decoro della Chiesa, & à lode del Signore Iddio': I vespri concertati nella Roma del Seicento*
- Paul Mai, ed. *Im Dienst der Quellen zur Musik: Festschrift Gertraut Haberkamp zum 65. Geburtstag*

The Musical Times Vol. 144 (Autumn 2003)

- I Bartlett, *Lambert, Finzi and the anatomy of the Boyce revival*

Reviews:

- Tim Carter, *Monteverdi's musical theatre*
- Candace Bailey, *Seventeenth-century British keyboard sources*

The Opera Quarterly Vol. 19/iv (2003)

- Warren Kirkendale, *The Myth of the "Birth of Opera" in the Florentine Camerata Debunked by Emilio de'Cavalieri: A Commemorative Lecture*

Record Reviews:

- *Persée,* Jean-Baptiste Lully
- *Farnace,* Antonio Vivaldi

Plainsong and Medieval Music Vol. 12/2 (2003)

- Emma Hornby, *The Transmission History Of The Proper Chant For St Gregory: The Eighth-Mode Tract Beatus Uir*
- Helen Marsh Jeffries, *Job Descriptions, Nepotism, And Part-Time Work: The Minstrels And Trumpeters Of The Court Of Edward IV Of England (1461-83)*

THE 2003 ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF NEMA

Peter Holman has stood down as Chairman of NEMA. Peter has served for some years and the members present expressed their gratitude for his wise guidance. However, he has found that he is now too busy to devote sufficient time and feels that his major task in preserving continuance of NEMA has been accomplished. Clifford Bartlett has agreed to take over this role and was accordingly elected. Jonathan Ranger has resigned as Deputy Chairman and been replaced by John Briggs. Stephen Cassidy, Glyn Russ and Keith Bennett had completed three years since their last election and being prepared to continue, were re-elected. The remainder of the Council continue as before.

The Treasurer reported that NEMA was on a sound financial footing with a year-end balance of nearly £3,000. This was sufficient to pay for the *Yearbook* and when 2004 membership dues were paid in January there would be sufficient funds in hand for *Early Music Performer*. However, NEMA was operating on a hand-to-mouth basis. Membership growth showed a small net increase but he recommended that the membership subscriptions, which had been static for several years, should now be increased to £45 for corporate members (formerly £40), £22 for ordinary members (£19.50) and £10 for students (£8). The Chairman supported this increase, since he felt confident that the publications situation was now properly under control. Accounts will be examined by Richard Bethell early in the New Year.

Thanks were expressed to the Editor of *Early Music Performer* Bryan White and to Jeremy Burbidge and his team for producing an excellent and much appreciated magazine. Thanks were also expressed to the Editorial Board of the *Yearbook*. There were plans to improve the scope of the Editorial articles for the 2005 edition. The Chairman thanked EEMF for hosting the meeting. The Margot Leigh Milner lecture by Dr Stephen Rose and the Workshop conducted by Philip Thorby on Biber's *Requiem in F minor* had been very successful.

The next meeting is to be held at a site in or near Birmingham in conjunction with MEMF on 27th November 2004. Members will be advised of the exact location and timings. The 2005 meeting is scheduled to be hosted by SWEMF in the Bath area. Other Fora are invited to offer possible sites for 2006.

M S Windisch
December 2003

Nema
NATIONAL EARLY MUSIC ASSOCIATION