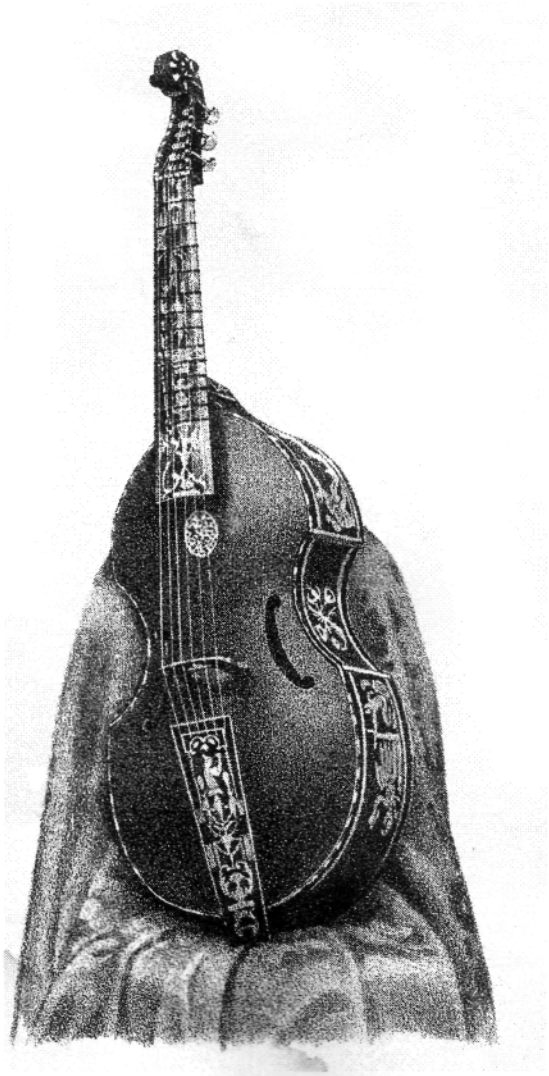
Early Music Performer



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EDITORIAL

BRYAN WHITE

This new issue of *Early Music Performer* comes to you later in the new year than has been our recent practice, and, for the most part, this is purposeful. In future, issues will come out in April/May and October, so that a subscription year fits into a calendar year, rather than straddling it as it has in the past. This current issue is in effect a double issue, and I hope that you will find the number and range of the articles an adequate compensation for the extended wait since our last publication.

Peter Holman's article began as one of the many stops along the way in his investigation of use of the viol da gamba in Britain. Readers may remember his discussion of a concert supposedly given in Edinburgh on St. Cecilia's Day in 1695 (issue 13 of *Early Music Performer*). Having been drawn to this concert because of its inclusion of gamba players, Peter discovered that it could hardly have occurred in 1695, but in fact must have taken place fifteen or so years later. In this current issue, he once again examines a concert which included gamba players, and finds that the concert itself was not what it seemed to be, a fact of which neither the audience or the performers seemed to be aware. The performance given by the Concerts of Ancient Music in April 1845 featured several pieces of Renaissance music to be performed on original instruments, a practice that was highly unusual at the time. The music they played turns out to be equally interesting, but not for its antiquity, as Peter's article reveals.

Jules Whicker's lecture, delivered at the NEMA day this past November, and published here in the form of an article, sheds light on several texts from the repertory of South American Baroque music that has been the subject of explorations by Jeffrey Skidmore and Ex Cathedra. This is a fascinating repertory, at least as judged by my ears after hearing Ex Cathedra's exciting performance in Leeds last October. This article offers the opportunity to appreciate the poetic quality of several of the texts, which have much to offer in themselves, quite apart from their musical settings.

The art of rhetoric and its application to musical performance is the subject of Judy Tarling's article. Classical approaches to oratory provide a range of devices for effectively composing and delivering spoken addresses, devices that, particularly in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were applied to music. Judy has recently published a book on this subject, and her article in this issue provides an introduction to the modes of thought and performance that derive from rhetoric, and that most certainly would have informed the performances of singers and instrumentalists of earlier eras.

From time to time *Early Music Performer* has tried to make readers aware of noteworthy auctions of music. This issue brings news of the auction of a substantial collection of music books from Shirburn Castle in Oxfordshire, and Michael Robertson's assessment of manuscripts recently purchased from Sotheby's by the British Library. Among other observations, he tentatively attributes the music to a little known J Fischer, adding to a collection of two previously identified Baroque composers of the same name. The music found in the manuscripts is also of interest, and it will be published by Ruxbridge in the coming year.

Finally, I would like to offer thanks to Simon Hill on two accounts. First, he has very helpfully provided *Early Music Performer* with an index of its predecessor, *Leading Notes*, which is published in this issue. Secondly, he brought to my attention the fact that Stanley Sadie, who died this past March, served for a time as Chairman of NEMA, taking over from Sir David Lumsden in January 1989, and resigning on his election to the Presidency of the Royal Musical Association a year later (when he was succeeded by Christopher Page). Dr. Sadie is best known for his editorship of the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, and while it has been noted that he greatly expanded the range of the dictionary by covering jazz, popular and world music, the greater depth of coverage of classical music brought a range of articles and works lists for composers that has proven invaluable to the development of the performance and scholarship of early music. In addition to serving for some twenty years as editor of *The Musical Times*, he wrote books on Mozart and Handel, and instigated a campaign to preserve the house in which Handel lived in Mayfair, resulting in the creation of the Handel House Museum. His devotion to music was

The illustration on the front cover is of a bass viol by Joachim Tielke (1641-1719) and is reproduced from W. Sandys and S. A. Forster, *The History of the Violin* (London, 1864), facing 105.

apparent even in the last hours of his life. The night before he died, he attended an all-Beethoven programme by the Chilingirian quartet as part of a concert series run by him and his wife, Julie Anne Sadie. Because of his illness, he was unable to stay to the end, but the quartet came to his house after the concert, performing the slow movement of Beethoven's Quartet in F Op. 135 at his bedside. He will be missed greatly by performers and scholars everywhere.

The First Early Music Concert in London[1]

PETER HOLMAN

What do we mean by 'early music'? For most readers of *Early Music Performer*, I suspect, the phrase means something rather more than the performance of old music – more than, say, the performance of an Orlando Gibbons anthem by a cathedral choir at evensong, or the annual canter through *Messiah* by the local choral society. Early music has come to mean both a repertory – music from before the middle of the eighteenth century, perhaps, or at least from before the beginning of the formation of the modern concert repertory at the end of the eighteenth century – and a set of attitudes to the way it should be performed. Thus later composers such as Beethoven and Brahms or even Wagner and Elgar can be thought of as 'early music' when performed with period instruments and with techniques and styles appropriate to their time, though it is perhaps more useful to restrict the phrase to performances that bring together old music, appropriate performing styles and, where necessary, period instruments.

But when were they first brought together? Who was the first person to try to perform old music with old instruments? In Britain the standard answer would probably be the 1890s and Arnold Dolmetch: Dolmetsch gave his first performance with a consort of viols in London on 21 November 1890 as part of a lecture given by the Gresham Professor of Music, Frederick Bridge.[2] Therefore, it will come as a surprise to many that Dolmetsch was anticipated by nearly half a century, and by none other than Prince Albert. The concert Prince Albert organised, on 16 April 1845, was given by an organisation, the Concerts of Ancient Music, that had been devoted to old music since its foundation in 1776: its statutes forbad the performance of music less than twenty years old.[3] However, it fell to Prince Albert, a Director from 1843, to choose the music for the evening, and therefore he seems to have been the person who had the revolutionary idea that two pieces of supposedly Renaissance music should be performed with what were thought to be instruments of the period.[4] Up to that time the members of the orchestra of the Concerts of Ancient Music seem to have used their normal instruments, and the musical director, Sir Henry Rowley Bishop, had made orchestral arrangements of the earlier pieces where necessary – as he did for two items on the programme that evening, arias by Cesti and Stradella.

However, Prince Albert was not the first person to have thought of using old instruments in the performance of old music. He was preceded by François-Joseph Fétis (1784-1871), who began his historical concerts at the Paris Conservatoire in 1832, and who, as we shall see, provided the music and most of the instruments for the pieces performed on old instruments in the 1845 London concert.[5] Furthermore, in an article published in 1882, Friedrich Niecks mentioned a number of even earlier attempts at historical concerts, though he did not distinguish between those, such as the concerts given in Vienna by Gottfried van Swieten in which old music was performed in modernised arrangements (including, of course, Mozart's versions of Handel's *Acis and Galatea, Messiah, Alexander's Feast* and the *Ode on St Cecilia's Day)*, and those that attempted to use old instruments.[6]

By far the earliest example of the latter, if Niecks can be believed, was a concert of ancient Greek music using recreations of Greek instruments that was organised in Stockholm for Queen Christina of Sweden by the philologist Marcus Meibom (1620/1-1710).[7] The concert, if it actually happened,

must have been given in 1652, when Meibom arrived at the Stockholm court, or 1653, when he left to go to Copenhagen. In London the first historical concert was apparently given on 19 February 1837 by the pianist and composer Ignaz Moscheles (1794-1870). He played some Domenico Scarlatti sonatas on the harpsichord that evening and in two other 'historical soirées' later that season.[8] However, he does not seem to have used any other old instruments, or to have used the harpsichord with other instruments: when he played a Bach concerto in the Concert of Ancient Music on 15 March 1837 it was described as 'Concerto for the Piano-forte'.[9] I should add that I am not the first person to have studied the 1845 London concert: John Catch published a valuable account of it in 1989.[10] My reason for returning to the subject here is to discuss some newly discovered documents relating to the event, and to consider the concert in the wider context of the rediscovery of old music in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England.

Catch's account of the event was drawn largely from the account in *The Musical World* for 24 April 1845.[11] It consists of a short (and slightly inaccurate) list of the programme and a brief review, which Catch suggests was by the current editor of *The Musical World*, J. W. Davison (1813-1885).[12] Here is the relevant portion:

> The concertos were performed by Messrs. Loder, Hill, J. F. Loder, Hatton, Ciebra, Wright, Ventura, Dragonetti, and Lucas, on some singular old instruments, rummaged for the occasion out of the dust of obscurity, the effect of which was as of a tooth comb, covered with paper, blown upon with the breath, forced through the upper and under rows of teeth slightly compressed. Nothing could have been more melancholy and less musical. The row of young beauties from the Royal Academy, who looked very provoking and sang to perfection, were deservedly encored in their *Vilhancico* – which, in other words, signifies *glee*.

As we shall see, other reviewers were much more enthusiastic about the old instruments, as was a preview of the concert published in the previous issue of *The Musical World*:

> ANCIENT CONCERTS. – The programme of Wednesday evening will contain a singular curiosity, viz. a *concerto* and a *romanza*, to be performed on the following instruments: - *violino Francese, viola da gamba, viol d'amore, viol da braccio, theorbo, violone, citarra, harp,* and *organ*. The music, composed in the year 1600, is very rare, and much unknown. Besides this, a *vilhancico* (a Spanish battle song) will be sung by eighteen of the young ladies of the Royal Academy, accompanied by six guitars. This is hardly less a curiosity than the other, and was composed in 1520. Thus do the ancient concerts uphold their venerable repute.[13]

In the same issue we are told that 'The concert on Wednesday next, will be under the direction of Prince Albert, and will be honoured by the presence of the Queen.'[14]

We can learn much more about the event from the programme of the concert itself, published with the title 'UNDER THE DIRECTION OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS / THE PRINCE ALBERT / Concert of Ancient Music, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 16, 1845.'[15] It tells us that the two pieces played on old instruments were in Part I while the Spanish villancico was in Part II. The rest of the concert consisted of overtures by Méhul and Mozart, choruses by Handel, Mozart and Beethoven, and solo vocal music by Weigl, Cherubini, Graun, Gluck, Mozart and Handel. The seventeenth-century arias already mentioned were 'Se nel ben sempre inconstante' from Stradella's opera *Orazio Cocle* (Genoa, 1679) and 'Io torno al idol mio' from Cesti's *Orontea* (Innsbruck, 1656).[16] In the detailed listing of the programme on p. 6 the pieces played on old instruments are given as follows:

> CONCERTO* *Emilio del Cavaliere,* A. D. 1600. / (First Time of Performance at these Concerts.) / *Violino Francèse, Viola d'Amore, Viola da braccio, due Viole da gamba, Chittarra, Teorbo, Arpa, Organ, and Violone.* / And ROMANESCA, of the fifteenth century: *Violino Francèse, due Viole, due Viole da Gamba, Lute, and Violone.* / Messrs. LODER, H. HILL, LODER jun.[,] HATTON, W. PHILLIPS, Signor DE CIEBRA, Signor VENTURA, Mr. T. WRIGHT, Mr. LUCAS, and Signor DRAGONETTI.

The asterisk against the first word refers to a footnote: '*This Concerto will be performed on the same description of ancient instruments as those for which it was composed; most of them, together with the music, have been kindly forwarded to England by M. Fétis, of the Conservatoire Royale, Brussels, for the present Concert.'

Although the Spanish villancico in Part II was also provided by Fétis, supposedly dated from the sixteenth century and was discussed in reports of the concert alongside the Concerto and the Romanesca, there is no mention of special instruments, so it is likely that the six guitarists were using nineteenth-century six-string instruments rather than their Renaissance or Baroque equivalents – a point to which I shall return. The piece is listed on p. 13 as follows:

> SPANISH VILHANCICO†. (Triple Choir.) *Soto di Puebla,* A.D. 1520. / (First Time of Performance at these Concerts.) / Eighteen YOUNG LADIES, Pupils of the Royal Academy of Music; / Accompanied by Six Spanish Guitars – Signori DE CIEBRA, G. REGONDI, DE CIEBRA jun.[,] MIARTENI, AVILES, VENTURA, and Mr. NICHOL. / A las armas, moriscote, / Si las has de voluntade, / Los contrarios son intrados / Losque en Romeria van, / Entran por Fuentarabia, / Salen por San Sebastian.

Again there is an explanatory footnote: '†Vilhancicio – a patriotic Song or Chorus, in six parts, composed by *Soto di Puebla*, on the occasion of an invasion of Spain and attack on San Sebastian in the 16th Century. – From the collection of M. Fétis, of the Conservatoire Royale, Brussels.'

So far I have found two reviews of the event in addition to the one printed in *The Musical World*. The longest and most interesting is by the Welsh harpist, composer and writer John Parry (1776-1851) and was printed in *The Morning Post* on 17 April, the day after the concert.[17] He began with a list of the items performed, abridging it from the printed concert programme and noting that 'With the exception of the National Anthem and Handel's chorus from *Acis and Galatea*, all the rest of the compositions in the programme were heard for the first time at these concerts.' Then follows an extended description of the three 'novelties':

> The Royal Director of the evening is entitled to great praise for his endeavour to rescue from oblivion the works of departed genius; and should some of them not reach the highest standard of excellence, his Royal Highness deserves infinite credit for the anxiety he evinces to bring before the subscribers, productions of various styles and characters, by men who have been gathered to their fathers for ages. Had it not been for King George the Third, even the works of the immortal Handel would have been but little known at present, for they had been neglected for many years, until these concerts were established in 1776. We shall notice, in the first instance, the *novelties* which were introduced by the Prince last night – namely, a concerto in two movements, composed by Emilio del Cavaliere, A.D. 1600, performed on the violino Francese, viol da gamba, viol d'amour, viol da braccio[,] theorbo, violone, guitar, harp and organ, By Mess. Loder, Hatton, Hill, J. F. Loder, Ventura, Dragonetti, Don Ciebra, T. Wright, and Lucas, the effect of which was charming; the parts were replete with imitative passages, trills, and flourishes – while a vein of sweet melody pervaded the whole. This was followed by a lovely national air, denominated a "Romanesca," which has been sung from time immemorial by the Roman nurses to lull children to sleep; the melody was charmingly played by Mr. Loder, and the accompaniments were performed on the viol da gamba, lute, and violone, in a subdued manner, which produced a delicious soothing effect. The violino was the precursor of the violin. The viol du [*sic*] braccio is played like a tenor violin, and the viol da gamba like the violoncello. The instrument played upon by Mr. Hatton was a most beautiful one, elegantly inlaid with a variety of ornaments in ivory; most of the other instruments were forwarded to England by M. Fétis (together with the music), from the Conservatoire Royale, Brussels, for the concert last night. The theorbo, which is of the lute family, is six feet in height, and has fourteen strings. When it was brought into the orchestra by the veteran Ventura, it caused a laugh among the company. The performers were well grouped, and the *ensemble* was picturesque and highly characteristic. The second novelty, introduced by the Prince, was a *Spanish vilhancico*, by Soto di Puebla, A.D. 1520, sung by eighteen young ladies, pupils of the Royal Academy of Music, arranged into three choirs. The subject is a call to arms by the people. This was accompanied by six guitars, played by Ciebra, Regondi, De Ciebra, jun., Miarteni, Aviles,

> Ventura, and Nichol (according to the programme). The vocal parts are exceedingly difficult, particularly in the first trebles, which have some very brilliant passages to execute; the second voices take up the subject, while the contraltos sustain the harmony. The young ladies crowned themselves with laurels by the excellent manner in which they acquitted themselves in the performance of this quaint and highly characteristic composition; it was deservedly encored. This patriotic song, which is in six parts, was composed on the invasion of Spain and attack on San Sebastian; the original music is in the hands of M. Fétis. In regard to the antique instruments which were introduced, they will serve to show that, in that department, the march of improvement has evidently made a great progress; for the bulky violino, viol d'amour, viol da braccio, and viol da gamba, cannot for a moment be compared with the violin, viola, and violoncello. The violone (played by Dragonetti) is between the violoncello and double bass in size. The theorbo is said to have been invented in France by the Sieur Hotteman, and thence introduced into Italy, where it was popular for many years as an accompaniment for the voice; for, besides the usual lute, it has an octave of bass notes.

After that Parry had space only for 'a brief notice of the vocal music', to praise 'the taste and musical acquirements of the Prince, who made the selection', to note that the music in the rest of the programme 'on the whole, was done justice to by the orchestra, which had to execute most of the compositions at second sight', to list the notables present, and to tell his readers that 'Between the parts her Majesty took refreshments in the tea-room, when most of the antique instruments were brought to be inspected, and Mr. Hatton played an air on the viol da gamba, after which the Queen and the royal party went into the directors' box'.

The anonymous critic in *The Illustrated London News* was, if anything, more enthusiastic:

> Although the selection, with one exception, consisted of compositions which had never been heard at these concerts, yet the anxiety to hear the ancient music performed upon antique instruments seemed to prevail over everything else. Their appearance in the orchestra did not a little disturb the gravity of the assembly, for truly they presented a strange and grotesque sight. They consist of the following variety:- A violino Francese, viol da gamba, viol d'amour, viol da braccio[,] theorbo, violone[,] guitar, harp and organ, which were respectively played by Messrs. Loder, Hatton, Hill, J. F. Loder, Ventura, Dragonetti, Don Cubra [Ciebra], T. Wright, and Lucas, and altogether produced a very curious effect – something between surprise and pleasure. The piece performed was a concerto in two movements, composed by Emilie del Cavaliere, A.D. 1600, and is certainly here and there a quaint and pleasant production. This was followed by a Romanesca, which was deliciously executed by Mr. Loder. Most of the instruments, with the music, were forwarded by M. Fétis from Brussels, expressly for the concert of Wednesday; and we cannot too much admire the dexterous facility with which the performers adapted themselves to their obsolete constructions. The next novelty picked out from undeserved oblivion by the research and good taste of his Royal Highness, was a *Spanish Vilhancics* [sic], or Call to arms, which was executed so charmingly by eighteen young ladies, accompanied by six guitars, that there was an universal call for its repetition. The vocal music of the night was exquisitely given, particularly by Mario and Staudigl. Altogether the selections and arrangements reflected the highest credit upon the musical skill and taste of his Royal Highness. Her Majesty seemed highly delighted with the Concert, and honoured Mr. Hatton by hearing him play an air on the viol da gamba, between the acts, in the tea-room.'[18]

The most enthusiastic reviewer was Queen Victoria herself, though, as the wife of the concert's organiser, she can hardly be said to have been impartial. At 11.30 that night she wrote in her journal: 'It was a beautiful Concert, full of curious productions of old world music. My beloved Albert has such exquisite taste and takes such pains in collecting rare and curious, as well, as beautiful pieces of music.'[19] She thought the Cavalieri piece 'very curious, and the effect very pleasing', the Romanesca 'very simple and

beautiful' and the villancico 'most curious, wild and original'.

Manuscript scores of the three pieces performed that day survive in the library of the Concerts of Ancient Music, formerly at Buckingham Palace and now in the Royal College of Music.[20] The copyist was not Bishop himself, but seems to have been someone working for the Concerts of Ancient Music: in another sample of his work, reproduced by Margaret Murata, he copied string parts for a Bononcini aria leaving blank staves on which Bishop added 'additional accompaniments' for wind instruments.[21] The first piece, Royal College of Music, MS 794, ff. 1-13v, is entitled 'Concerto Passegiato / A: D: 1600. / par Emilio del Cavaliero.' and has parts for 'Violino francèse', two instruments collectively labelled 'Viole' (presumably played by viola d'amore and viola da braccio), 'Viola da gamba', 'Harpa', 'Tiorbo', 'Organo' or 'Organo di legno' and 'Violone'. Above the word 'violone' a different hand,

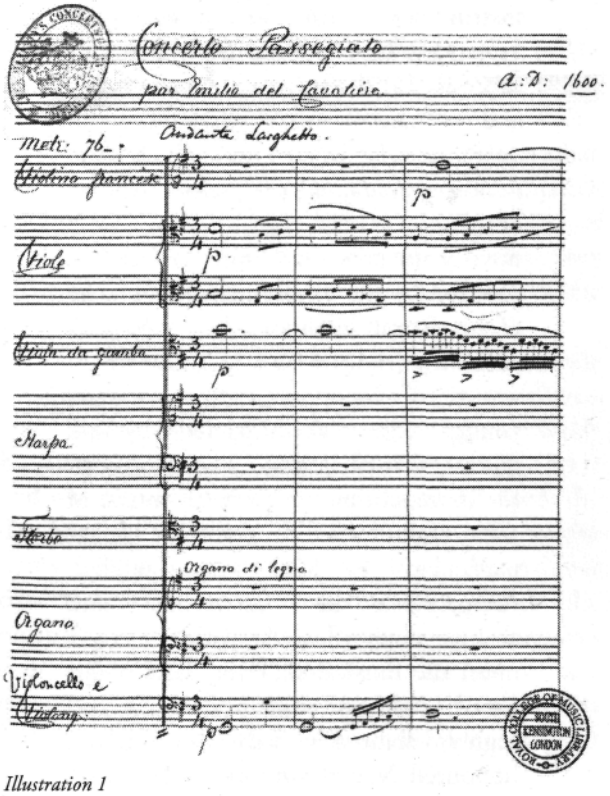


Illustration 1

probably Bishop himself, has written 'Violoncello e', suggesting that a cello doubled the violone (Illus. 1). There is a crossed-out passage preserved separately from the main piece on ff. 20-24. It is scored for violin, viola da gamba, harp and theorbo, and is labelled 'a capricio. Senza viola. Violone, ed Organo'. It has an extremely elaborate violin part in continuous groups of demisemiquavers, which is perhaps why it was discarded (Illus. 2).

It seems that the musicians who played the old instruments in the 'Concerto Passegiato' were mostly drawn from the regular orchestra of the

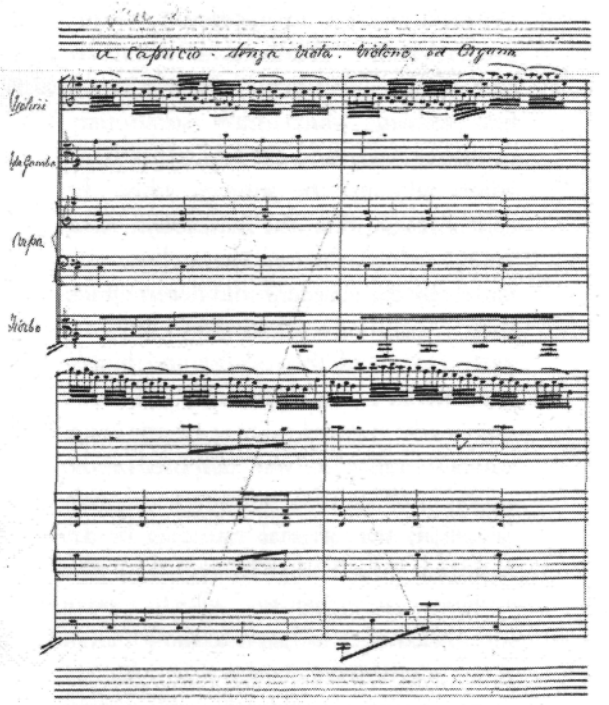


Illustration 2

Concerts of Ancient Music. John David Loder (1788-1846), who played the 'Violino francèse', was its leader, while the organist, Charles Lucas (1808-1869) and the bass player Domenico Dragonetti (1763-1846) were also regular members.[22] It is not clear how the instrument Loder played was different from his normal violin, though John Parry referred to it as a 'bulky violino' and 'the precursor of the violin'. In fact, it may have been one of those five-string instruments that combined the tunings of the violin and the viola.[23] They are often called 'quintons' in the literature, though the quinton was properly a five-string violin-shaped treble viol played on the lap.[24] Parry would surely have mentioned the fact had Loder played it that way. Parry described the 'Violone' played by Dragonetti as 'between the violoncello and double bass in size', and we know from Dragonetti's will that it was the 'large Violoncello which belonged to the celebrated English Singer [James] Bartleman'.[25] Dragonetti bequeathed it to Prince Albert, adding that it was 'the same instrument that I played on in the presence of H.R.H. the Prince himself at the Concert of Ancient Music last year [1845] when H.R.H. was Director of the same.'

The viola d'amore player, Henry Tertius Hill (1808-1856), the son of the violin maker Henry Lockey Hill, was a leading London viola player and would play the solo in the first English performance of Berlioz's *Harold en Italie* in 1848.[26] The viola d'amore he played may have been one of the two instruments that belonged to Fétis, now in the Musée Instrumental, Brussels, nos. 224 and 225.[27] The 'viola da braccio' player was described just as 'LODER jun.' in the programme, but was identified by John Parry as

'J. F. Loder', that is, the violinist John Fawcett Loder (1812-1853), John David Loder's son. It is not clear whether he played a special instrument or just his ordinary viola. The concert programme lists 'due *Viole da gamba*' played respectively by 'HATTON' and 'W. PHILLIPS', though the reviews only mention one gamba player, the cellist Richard Hatton (b. 1804).[28] What seems to have happened is that by the time the pieces were performed the other potential gamba player, the composer and cellist William Lovel Phillips (1819-1860), had switched to the cello, doubling Dragonetti on the bass line – hence the label 'Violoncello e' added above the violone part in the score.[29] Presumably Phillips encountered difficulties finding a gamba, getting it into working order or learning how to play it.

We know from several sources that Hatton played a bass viol by the Hamburg maker Joachim Tielke (1641-1719) that had been lent for the occasion by the artist and amateur musician John Cawse (1779-1862).[30] John Parry stated in his review that 'The instrument played upon by Mr. Hatton was a most beautiful one, elegantly inlaid with a variety of ornaments in ivory' and made it clear that it was not one of the instruments lent by Fétis. In 1864 William Sandys and Simon Andrew Forster wrote that 'One of the writers of this work has in his possession a very handsome viol da gamba ... richly inlaid and ornamented, purchased from the late Mr. John Cawse, the artist' and included photographs of it in their book – which confirms that it was the Victoria and Albert Museum Tielke.[31] They added that for the 1845 concert 'Mr. Cawse lent this viol da gamba, which was played on by Mr. Richard Hatton.'

In his catalogue of the musical instrument collection in what is now the Victoria and Albert Museum Carl Engel stated that 'Before this instrument came into the present collection it was in the possession of Mr. Simon Andrew Forster' – Forster, a member of the violin-making dynasty, died in 1870.[32] The photos of the Tielke viol in the 1864 book show that it was then equipped with frets, which suggests that Hatton played it with essentially an eighteenth-century technique (Illus. 3 and front cover). The same is not necessarily true of the instruments that Fétis supplied. The French cellist and gamba player August Tolbeque (1830-1919) claimed in 1898 that Fétis had difficulty finding musicians capable of playing old instruments and so resorted to modernizing them, 'setting up the bass viol as a cello, the viola d'amore as a viola, the pardessus de viole as a violin, the lute as a guitar, etc.'[33] He added: 'I can vouch for the accuracy of my statement, having known the artists who took part in these concerts intimately.'[34] However, to be fair on Fétis, he wrote in 1838 that the performances in his historical concerts 'never matched what I had

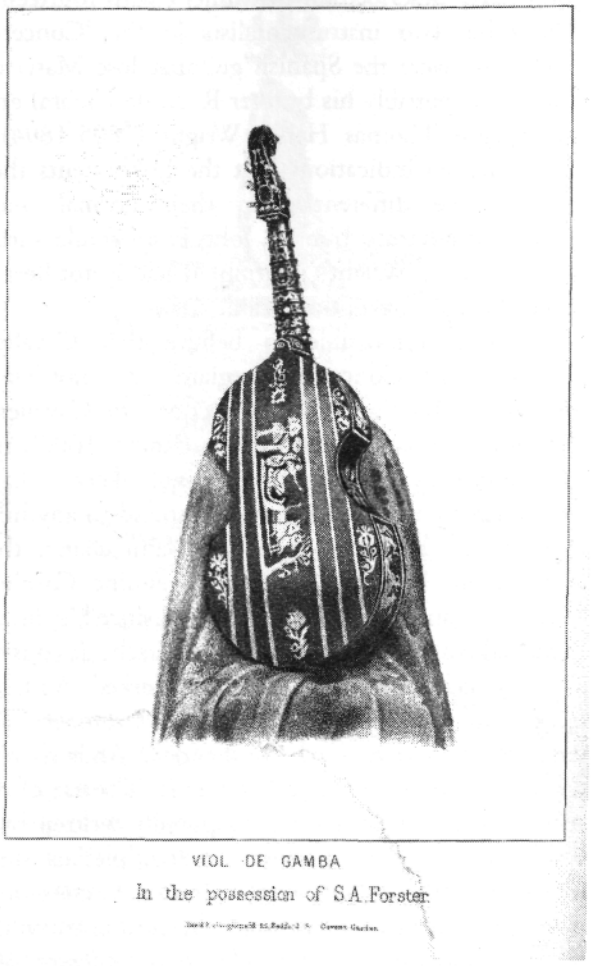


Illustration 3

in mind, and unfortunately I could not hope for better.'[35]

Queen Victoria was clearly taken with the gamba, and, as John Parry recorded, 'honoured Mr. Hatton by hearing him play an air on [it] between the acts, in the tea-room.' However, the instrument that caused the most interest and surprise was the theorbo. As we have seen, Parry wrote that 'The theorbo, which is of the lute family, is six feet in height, and has fourteen strings. When it was brought into the orchestra by the veteran Ventura, it caused a laugh among the company.' The player was the Italian inventor, composer and guitarist Angelo Benedetto Ventura (c. 1781-1856).[36] It is possible that Ventura learned the theorbo in his youth, for the instrument continued to be used in Italian opera houses and churches for much of the eighteenth century, and Jean-Benjamin La Borde described two types of instrument with fourteen strings in 1780.[37] Carl Maria von Weber heard Silvius Leopold Weiss's son Johann Adolf Faustinus play the theorbo in the Dresden Hofkirche as late as 1811.[38] Fétis does not seem to have owned a theorbo, though it is possible that he sent over his 'Archiluth' dated 1775 by Laurent of Paris, now Musée Instrumental, Brussels, no. 252.[39] However, Victor-Charles Mahillon, writing in 1880, said that it had thirteen strings, whereas

John Parry described an instrument with fourteen.[40] The other two instrumentalists in the 'Concerto Passagiato' were the Spanish guitarist José María de Ciebra (or possibly his brother R. A. de Ciebra) and the harpist Thomas Henry Wright (1805-1894).[41] There are no indications that the instruments they played were different from their normal ones. Indeed, as a harpist himself, John Parry would surely have discussed Wright's instrument had it not been a normal pedal harp of the period.

It is impossible to believe that Cavalieri composed the 'Concerto Passegiato'. It is not based on any of the instrumental sections of Cavalieri's *Rappresentatione di Anima e Corpo* (Rome, 1600), the only music by Cavalieri that Fétis is likely to have come across, and it does not correspond to anything else by him known today.[42] The faint chance that Fétis might have come across a genuine Cavalieri piece in a source that has disappeared since his time is removed when we look at the music itself. It consists of two sections in 3/4, the first marked 'Andante Larghetto' with the metronome mark Crotchet = 76, and the second marked 'Sarabanda / Andantino – Poco Allegretto' and Crotchet = 112. The use of the title 'Sarabanda' in a work supposedly written by a composer who died in 1602 is itself suspicious, since the sarabande was only just beginning to come into European music in the early seventeenth century: the earliest version in a guitar tablature dates from 1606 and the first ensemble examples seem to be in Michael Praetorius's *Terpsichore* (1612).[43]

Needless to say, the 'Sarabanda' in the 'Concerto Passegiato' is quite unlike genuine early sarabands, such as the ones in *Terpsichore*, which are chord-sequence pieces beginning with the progression I-IV-I-V (Illus. 4). In general, the melodic and harmonic style of the 'Concerto Passegiato' is closer to the eighteenth century than the late sixteenth century, though elaborate written-out trills and roulades are clearly used to evoke Renaissance diminutions. There are also several unlikely aspects of the scoring and instrumental writing, such as the written-out obbligato organ part, the written-out theorbo part in the tenor clef, and the elaborate viola da gamba part – also in the tenor clef and closer in idiom to eighteenth-century solo music than sixteenth-century viol parts (Illus. 5a, 5b). One can only conclude that

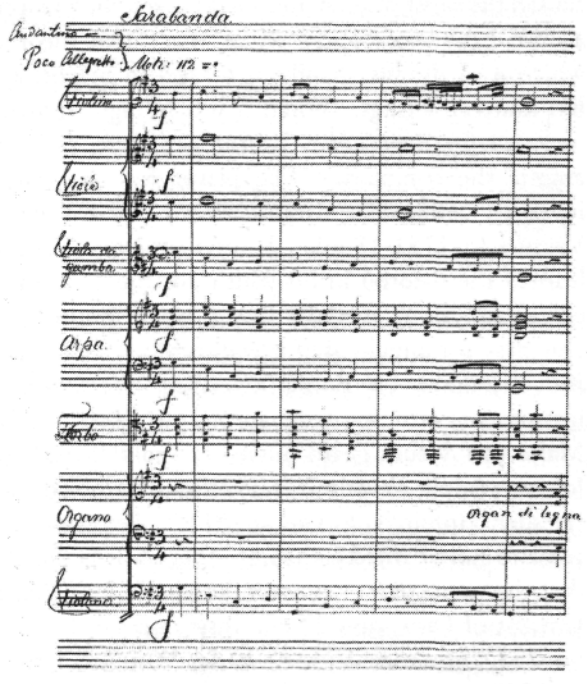


Illustration 4

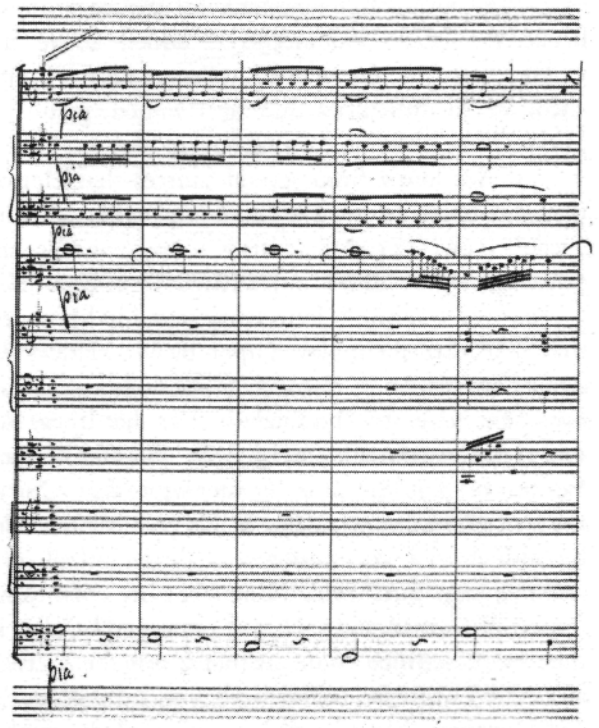


Illustration 5a

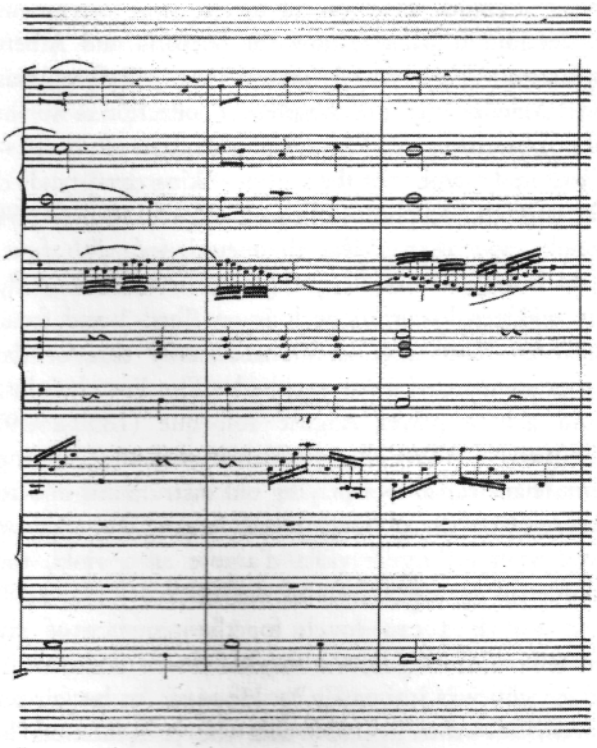


Illustration 5b

the piece was written by Fétis himself for his historical concerts; it was first performed in the second Paris concert, scheduled for 18 November 1832 but postponed to 16 December, alongside the Romanesca and the Spanish villancico.[44]

The Romanesca has a more complex history. Despite being described as 'ROMANESCA, of the fifteenth century' in the programme, it is headed 'La Romanesca / (fameux air de danse italien de la fin du 16ᵉ siècle) / A. D. / 1590.' in the score, MS 794, ff. 14-19. There are parts for 'Violino francese', 'Viola da braccio' (in the treble clef), 'Viola bastarda' (alto clef), 'Viola da gamba' (tenor clef), 'Chitarra' (written-out part in the treble clef) and 'Violone'. Again, the same second hand as before (?Bishop) added 'Violoncello e' above the word 'Violone'. There seem to have been several other modifications to the scoring. Despite the mention of 'Viola Bastarda' in the score, the programme just lists Henry Tertius Hill and John Fawcett Loder as playing 'due *Viole*' – that is, presumably, ordinary violas. It is likely that Fétis intended the part for a viol-like instrument, for a 'viola bastarda' by Adam Mayr of Munich belonged to him and is now in the Musée Instrumental, Brussels, no. 228.[45] However, it has sympathetic strings and appears to be an early eighteenth-century German baryton rather than an instrument that might have been used to play early seventeenth-century Italian *passaggi* in the *bastarda* style.[46] In any case, even if Fétis sent his instrument over, it does not seem to have been used.

Another modification seems to have been to replace the guitar with a lute. As we have seen, the concert programme mentions a lute rather than a guitar, and John Parry stated in his review that 'the accompaniments were performed on the viola da gamba, lute, and violone, in a subdued manner, which produced a delicious soothing effect.' The lutenist is likely to have been Angelo Benedetto Ventura, though the instrument he played was not necessarily what we might think of as a lute. He was mainly famous at the time for developing a series of harp-lute hybrids, including the 17-19-string Harp Ventura, patented in 1828 (Illus. 6).[47] The simple guitar part would fit easily on the Harp Ventura at written pitch: the instrument was apparently tuned diatonically from e to b' with push-stops or levers to raise the open strings by a semitone for accidentals. The lack of a proper lute in London in 1845 may have prevented the performance of a fourth piece supplied by Fétis, as we shall see.

In an account of his second historical concert in the *Revue musicale*, Fétis said nothing about 'La Romanesca' being 'a lovely national air … which has been sung from time immemorial by the Roman nurses to lull children to sleep', as John Parry was to assert in his *Morning Post* review in 1845.[48] Instead, he stated

Illustration 6

that it was 'a charming air which was used in Italian dance around 1580', and implied wrongly that it was a setting of the *romanesca* chord sequence: 'such was its success that the most renowned artists took it up to use as the theme of their instrumental compositions, and it appeared in a multitude of fantasias for organ, harpsichord and viol.'[49] In fact, it has nothing to do with the *romanesca*, but is a haunting folk-like melody played by the violin over a simple accompaniment consisting of chords held by the violas and the viola da gamba, a broken-chord guitar part and a simple, largely tonic and dominant, bass (Illus. 7). It also does not

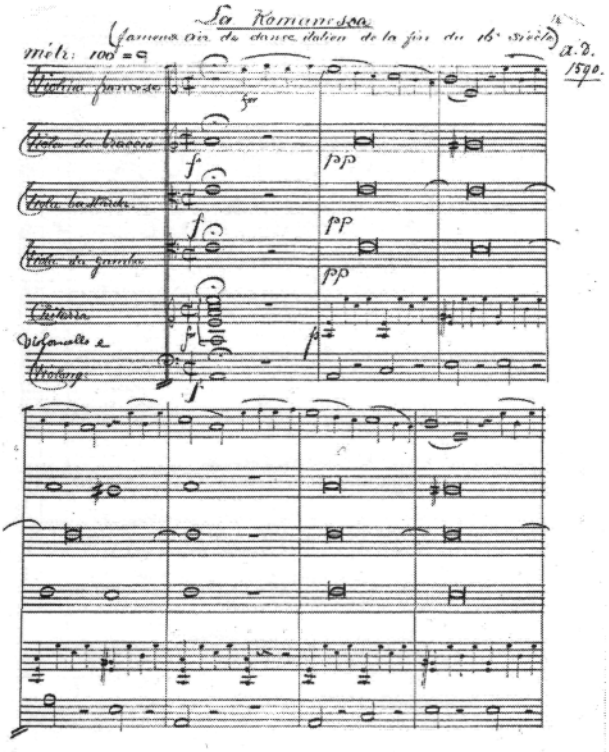


Illustration 7

seem to come from Italy or from the sixteenth century: I have been unable to find any version of it from that period, though it was extremely popular in France and other northern European countries from the 1830s, as we shall see.[50]

So far as I have been able to discover, the earliest version of 'La Romanesca' is the one that was performed at Fétis's second historical concert on 12 December 1832. A review of the concert states that it was 'deliciously played by M. Baillot'[51] – that is, the violinist and composer Pierre Baillot (1771-1842)[52] – and a number of published arrangements are attributed to him. The earliest I have been able to find is a version for violin and piano entitled 'LA ROMANESCA / *Fameux Air de Danse / de la fin du* XVI[éme]. *Siècle* / arrangé pour le Violon / avec Acc[t]. *de deux Violons, Alto Basse e Guitare obligée* ou Piano, / *executé* / PAR / BAILLOT / *aux Concerts du Conservatoire.*'[53] It is undated, but the address of the publisher, Richault, is given as 'Boulevart Poissonniére, N°.16 au 1[er].', their location between 1825 and 1841.[54] This edition does not specifically attribute the arrangement to Baillot, but later editions do. For instance, an edition of the version for violin solo, string quartet and guitar was issued by the Paris publisher Choudens.[55] Again, it is undated, but the address given is 'Rue S[t]. Honoré, 265, prés l'Assomption', their location from 1857 to 1885.[56] The title-page of the edition lists no fewer than eleven versions of the piece, of which four, for solo violin, violin and piano, solo guitar and violin, string quartet and guitar, are attributed to Baillot (Illus. 8).

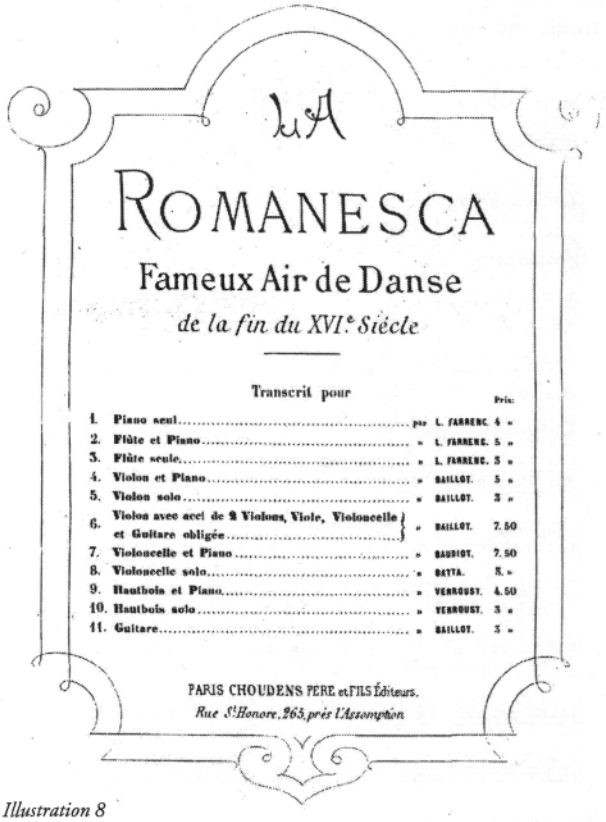

LA
ROMANESCA
Fameux Air de Danse
de la fin du XVI.e Siécle
Transcrit pour
Prix:
1. Piano seul ... par L. FARRENC. 4 »
2. Flûte et Piano ... » L. FARRENC. 5 »
3. Flûte seule ... » L. FARRENC. 3 »
4. Violon et Piano ... » BAILLOT. 5 »
5. Violon solo ... » BAILLOT. 3 »
6. Violon avec acct de 2 Violons, Viole, Violoncelle et Guitare obligée ... » BAILLOT. 7.50
7. Violoncelle et Piano ... » BAUDIOT. 7.50
8. Violoncelle solo ... » BATTA. 3. »
9. Hautbois et Piano ... » VERROUST. 4.50
10. Hautbois solo ... » VERROUST. 3 »
11. Guitare ... » BAILLOT. 3 »
PARIS CHOUDENS PERE et FILS Éditeurs.
Rue S[t]Honore, 265, prés l'Assomption

Illustration 8

Baillot's published arrangement for violin, string quartet and guitar is similar to the one now in Royal College of Music, MS 794. Both of them have a five-part string texture, with essentially the same solo violin part, similar guitar parts with the same sort of broken-chord figuration but some differences in detail, and similar simple bass parts. However, the inner string parts are quite different: the ones in MS 794 consist mostly of long held notes, perhaps in an attempt to sound antique, while Baillot's are lighter and more modern, with many punctuating offbeat chords. It is not clear whether the version used in the 1832 Paris concert was the one published by Baillot or the one sent to London by Fétis in 1845, though it seems reasonable to assume that Baillot was its arranger if not its composer.

The situation is complicated by the statement in *The New Grove* that Liszt's first setting of the tune for solo piano dates from '1832-3' and was published on 16 April 1833 as a supplement to the *Gazette musicale de Paris*.[57] This cannot be correct: the *Gazette musicale de Paris* did not begin publication until 1834, and, though there is a version of 'La Romanesca' published on 16 April 1833 as a supplement to the *Revue musicale*, it seems to be a violin and piano version similar to, if not identical with, the one published by Richault. It is said to be 'Fameux air de danse de la fin du 16e siècle, exécuté par Mr Baillot dans les Concerts Historiques de Mr Fétis. Arrangé avec accompagnement de piano.'[58] Thus Liszt's first version seems to date from around 1840, when editions were published in Paris, Leipzig and Vienna, rather than 1833.[59] So far as I know, the first dateable version after the one played by Baillot in 1832 is 'Les Souvenirs d'Aix aux bains en Savoie' op. 47 by Henri-Jean Rigel (1770-1852), advertised in *Le Pianiste* in October 1834, where it is said to be 'sur la "Romanesca", air de danse du 16e siècle.'[60] It is followed by the one for violin and guitar by Fernando Sor that survives in a manuscript, Paris, Bibliothéque Nationale, MS 12992, dated July 1835.[61]

Many arrangements were published in the next few years, by, among others, Carl Czerny (piano duet, op. 658, 1841), Sigismund Thalberg (piano solo, op. 36, no. 4, ?1841), Robert Nicolas Charles Bochsa (harp, 1843), Henri Herz (solo piano, op. 111, n. d.) and Napoléon Coste (guitar, op. 19(b), n. d.).[62] Bochsa's harp fantasia is entitled, with a splendid disregard for the ideas of style periodisation that were developing at the time, *Souvenir rococo pour la harpe, fondé sur l'air favori du 15[me]*. siecle; the opening is marked 'A L'antico. (à la Rococo)'. The tune had already been heard in London several years before the 1845 concert: the cellist Max Bohrer played '"Romanesca," an *air de danse* of the 16th century' in a morning concert at the Hanover Square Rooms on 13 July 1842.[63]

The villancico attributed to Soto di Puebla survives in score in Royal College of Music, MS 1111, ff. 107-118v, copied by the same hand as the two pieces in MS 794. There are two scores of it in the library of Brussels Conservatoire, F 12,504. According to Alfred Wotquenne's catalogue, they are in Fétis's hand and are described as 'Vilhancico à 6 voix de femmes'; they are accompanied respectively by '3 Guitares' (presumably the version sent to London) and '2 Violons, Alto, Violoncelle et Contrebasse'.[64] In MS 1111 the piece is entitled 'Villancico da Soto di Puebla' and has six vocal parts in the soprano clef, four for sopranos and two for contraltos, as well as three written-out 'Chitarra' parts. Another hand, probably Bishop's, wrote at the bottom of the first page of the score 'Each Guitar Part to be doubled.' – hence the six guitarists listed in the 1845 programme (Illus. 9). In addition to the de Ciebra brothers, the

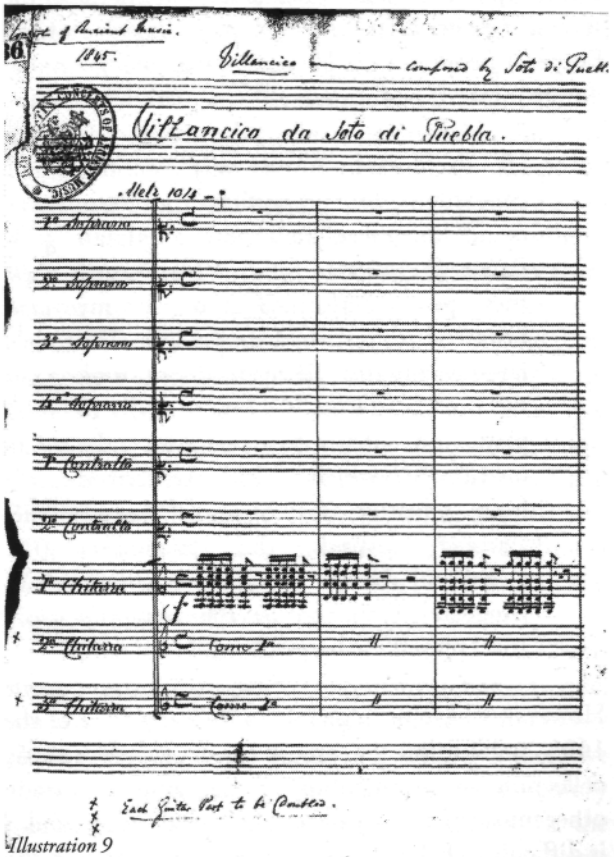


Illustration 9

guitarists included Ventura, the Italian guitarist and concertina player Giulio Regondi (?1822-1872)[65] and three others, Signor Miarteni, Signor Aviles and Mr. Nichol, whose identity is uncertain at present.

I have been unable to find any reference to Soto di Puebla or his villancico in the literature on Spanish Renaissance music, and the text, 'A las armas, moriscote', does not appear in Paul Laird's *International Inventory of Villancico Texts*.[66] As with the 'Cavalieri' piece, an examination of the music makes it most unlikely that it comes from the sixteenth century. The guitar parts are written in the treble clef, presumably intended to be played an octave lower, and seem to be written for the nineteenth-century instrument tuned E-A-d-g-b-e' (the parts go consistently down to E) rather than the small four-course Spanish Renaissance *guitarra*, given the tunings g/g'-c'-e'-a' and f/f'-c'-e'-a' by Bermudo in 1555.[67] Furthermore, the guitar parts, independent of the vocal lines and mixing strummed chords with intricate arpeggiated passages, are unlike any genuine concerted guitar or lute parts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Illus. 10a, 10b). Similarly, the

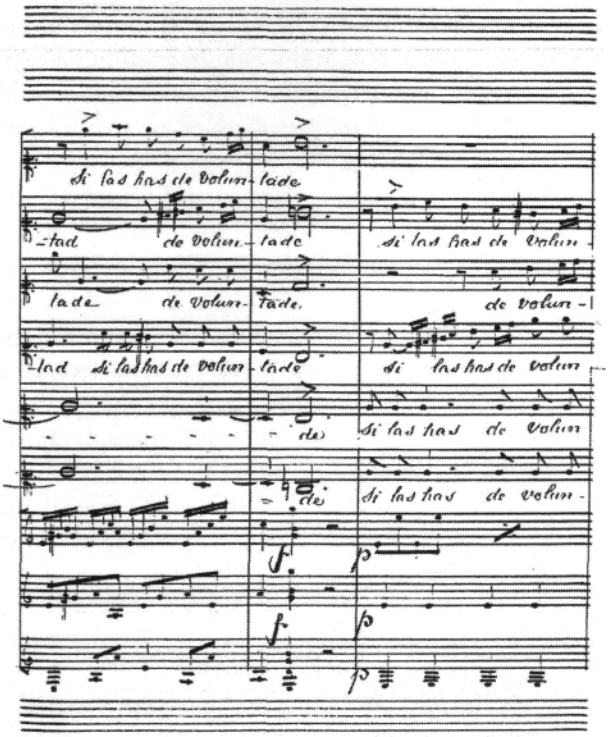


Illustration 10a

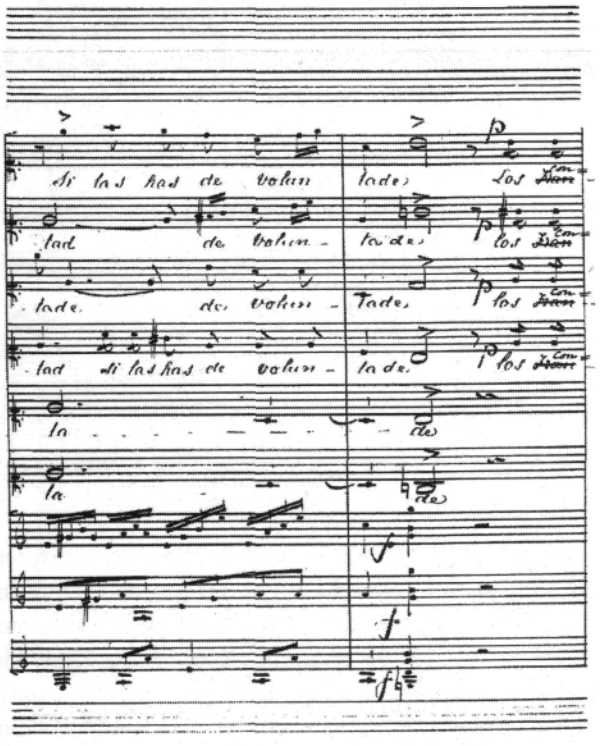


Illustration 10b

vocal writing mixes six-part chordal writing, unison phrases and five-part passages (with the two contralto parts in unison) in a way that is more characteristic of part-songs from the early nineteenth century than the early sixteenth century. None of the villancicos from the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century repertory are in more than four or occasionally five parts, and in general the melodic and harmonic style is quite unlike surviving early sixteenth-century examples of the genre.[68] One is forced to conclude that the piece is a composition by Fétis himself. The announcement of his second historical concert in the *Revue musicale* stated that it would be performed with eight guitars rather than six as in London, and asserted that it 'had been performed in a concert at the court of Philip II (1561)'.[69]

There is a fourth piece in the library of the Concerts of Ancient Music that seems to be connected with Fétis and the 1845 London concert. Royal College of Music, MS 1152, ff. 87-95v is the score of a 'Concerto de Chambre, par Jean Strobach (1698)'.[70] It is in the same hand as the scores of the three pieces performed in 1845 and, like the pieces in MSS 767 and 1111, has the stamp 'HER MAJESTIES CONCERTS OF ANCIENT MUSIC' on the first page (Illus. 11). It is in D major and

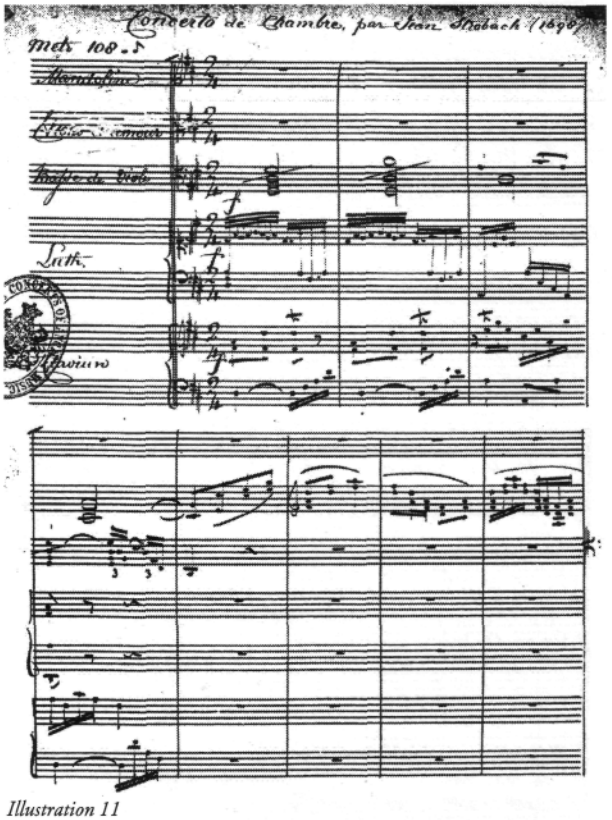


Illustration 11

consists of a untitled duple-time movement marked Quaver = 108 followed by a 'Tempo di Menuetto' marked Crotchet = 88. It is scored for 'Mandoline' (treble clef), 'Viola d'amour' (alto clef), 'Basse de Viole' (tenor clef), 'Luth' (two-stave written-out staff-notation part in soprano and bass clefs) and 'Clavicin' (two-stave written-out part in treble and bass clefs). It is not entirely clear why the piece was not performed in the 1845 concert, but it may be that no harpsichord was available and/or that Ventura was unable to play the lute part. It is much more elaborate than the part in the Romanesca, and has a much wider range: D-b'.

Fétis performed the Strobach concerto in his third historical concert in Paris on 21 March 1833. The *Revue musicale* listed the players as 'Messrs [Louis] Castellaci [mandolin], [Fernando] Sor [lute], [Chrétien] Urhan [viola d'amore], Vaslin [bass viol] and [Alexandre-Charles] Fessy [harpsichord], and reported that the piece 'gave much pleasure', that 'the performers were justly applauded', and that 'the delicate sonority of these instruments proved only a little feeble for the vast space of the Salle Ventadour'. Fétis also described the piece it in his *Biographie universelle*, claiming that the composer was a 'lutenist and composer, born in Bohemia around middle of the seventeenth century' who was 'in the service of the Emperor Leopold I'.[72] He continued, giving a rather different cast of performers:

> He published some very curious concertos for harpsichord, lute, mandolin, viola d'amore and bass viol in Prague in 1698, in folio. I had one of these pieces performed at one of my historical concerts in March 1833. The famous guitarist [Fernando] Sor took the trouble to learn the lute specially to play the obbligato part for the instrument, which I had transcribed from tablature for him. [Matteo] Carcassi played the mandolin, [Chrétien] Urhan the viola d'amore, [Auguste] Franchomme the bass viol and I played the harpsichord.[73]

However, I have been unable to find any trace of the 1698 publication in any past or present music collection, or any mention of the composer in any other music dictionary or musicological source, and it is difficult to believe that the piece was written in the late seventeenth century.

The combination of instruments is improbable for the period, and seems to be a colourful extension of the genres of chamber music with obbligato lute or keyboard that developed in the course of the eighteenth century. Examples that Fétis would have known are the Partita in D major for lute, viola d'amore, violin, two horns and bass by Johann Baptist Georg Neruda (1707-1780), the Concerto for in G minor for lute, flute, gamba and bass and the Concerto in G minor for lute, oboe or violin, gamba and violoncello by Gottfried Meusel (1688-1728), and a Concerto in C major for harpsichord, lute,

violoncello and four-part strings by Paul Charles Durant. Nothing is known about Durant, but Breitkopf offered a manuscript copy of his concerto for sale in 1768.[74] All of these pieces survive in Brussels manuscripts that once belonged to Fétis: the Neruda is in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, MS II.4088, fasc. IV, the two Meusel concertos are in MS II.4089 fasc. I and II, and the Durant in MS II.4086, fasc. XI.[75] To my knowledge, the Durant is the only genuine example of instrumental ensemble music from the whole of the period that combines obbligato lute and keyboard parts.

The style of the writing for the individual instruments in the Strobach concerto is uncharacteristic of the late seventeenth century in a number of respects. The mandolin part goes down to d' and seems to have been conceived for the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century type of mandolin tuned like the violin, wheras the late seventeenth-century *mandola* or *mandolino* was apparently usually a four-course instrument tuned e'-a'-d''-g''. The earliest genuine Austrian source of mandolin music, an early eighteenth-century manuscript now in Prague of music by the Viennese court composers Francesco Conti and Filippo Sauli, still uses the e'-a'-d''-g'' tuning. The viola d'amore part is extremely wide-ranging and virtuosic, with a range of over three octaves (d to a'''), and includes harmonics and elaborate multi-stopping. It is quite unlike the parts in genuine late seventeenth-century Austrian or south German viola d'amore music, such as the two anonymous sonatas in F major for violin, viola d'amore and continuo in the Rost Manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vm^{7} 673, nos. 78 and 110, or Partia VII in C minor from Heinrich Biber's *Harmonia artificiosa-ariosa* (1696), scored for two violas d'amore and continuo.[77]

Furthermore, the gamba part is for a seven-string instrument and continually changes role, sometimes taking the principal melody, sometimes playing the bass and sometimes adding decorative chords and arpeggios. Genuine seventeenth-century gamba parts do not change role as frequently as the Strobach part does, and the seventh string only seems to have been added to the gamba in late seventeenth-century France: it is first mentioned by Jean Rousseau in 1687, who attributed the invention to Jean de Sainte Colombe.[78] It was rarely used by composers outside France, even in the eighteenth century. The harmonic and melodic idiom of the piece is closer to the late eighteenth century than the late seventeenth century. In particular, the 'Tempo di Menuetto' has elaborate textures that demand the stately tempo of the late eighteenth-century ballroom minuet. It has the simple tonic and dominant harmonic patterns of the *galant* period, with a number of dominant sevenths, and uses the eighteenth-century pattern with a trio, written AABBCCDD with a da capo (Illus. 12a, 12b). Genuine late seventeenth-century minuets usually have simple textures with only one chord a bar, demanding a fast tempo, and they tend just to be in two sections. Again, one is forced to the conclusion that the attribution to Strobach is a smokescreen and that the piece was composed by Fétis himself.[79]

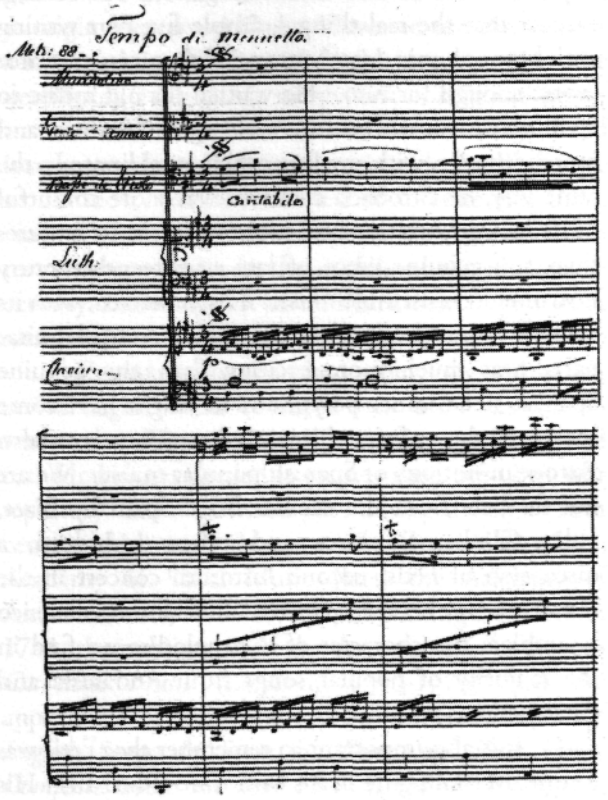


Illustration 12a

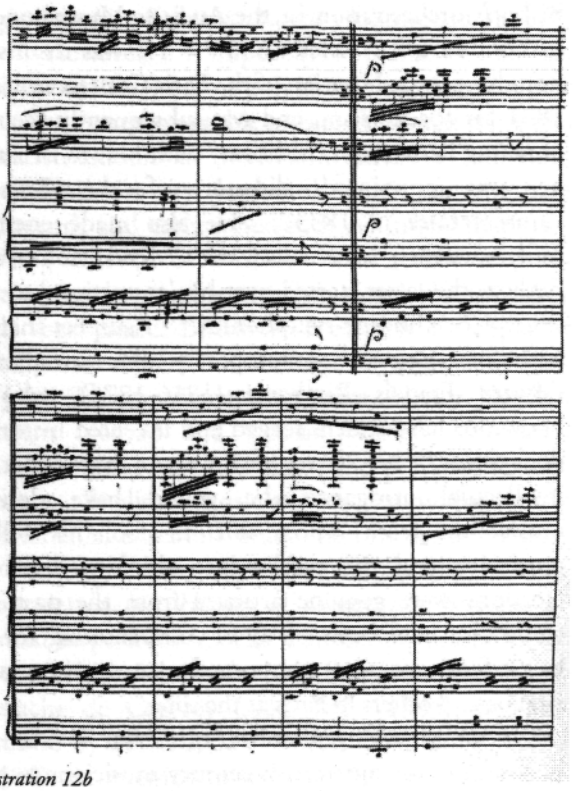


Illustration 12b

It is not easy to understand why Fétis bothered to write fakes when his own library contained hundreds of prints and manuscripts of genuine old music. For instance, he could easily have used his score of the *Rappresentatione* to make up a genuine instrumental work by Cavalieri, since the work contains a number of five-part sinfonias and ritornelli that could have been played by the instruments required for the 'Concerto Passegiato'. However, I suspect that the real thing – simple five-part writing with homophonic, largely unvaried textures – was not exotic enough for him. He wanted his old music to be more varied, with constant changes of texture, and more virtuosic, with swirling ornamental lines. In the same way, his Strobach concerto was more colourful in its instrumentation and more varied in its textures than any genuine piece of late seventeenth-century instrumental ensemble music. His villancico, with its brilliant runs, lively rhythms and colourful guitar parts, was much more exciting than any genuine Spanish Renaissance polyphony he might have come across, and conformed to contemporary northern European notions of Spanish popular music. We are not far here from the evocations of Spain by Bizet, Lalo, Glinka, Balakirev and others. Indeed, a discussion of Fetis's second historical concert in the *Revue musicale* actually pointed out that the villancico resembled 'the character of the melodies we find in the majority of popular songs from Andalusia and Estramadura.'[80]

It is also important to remember that Fétis was a controversial figure in his own time (Illus. 13). His hand has been detected in the song 'Pietà, signore, di me dolente', attributed to Stradella and performed in Bishop's orchestration in the Ancient Music concert in London on 21 May 1845.[81] He was dismissed from his post as librarian of the Paris Conservatoire in 1831 for absenteeism, and was subsequently accused of taking items from the library with him to Brussels; he was appointed director of the Brussels Conservatoire in 1833.[82] He also made enemies easily, witness his feuds with Mendelssohn and Berlioz, the latter started over his 'corrections' to the texts of Beethoven's symphonies.[83] I suspect that, as with his English contemporary the antiquarian Edward Francis Rimbault (1816-1876), who is known to have stolen, forged and invented historical documents,[84] his deceptions were a byproduct of intellectual arrogance: he would have derived satisfaction from being able to fool his fellow musicians and the public into thinking his own creations were genuine artifacts from the past. It could also have been a way of compensating for his lack of success as a composer by comparison with Berlioz and others in Paris at the time.

We should remember, too, that it was not uncommon for nineteenth-century musicians to pass

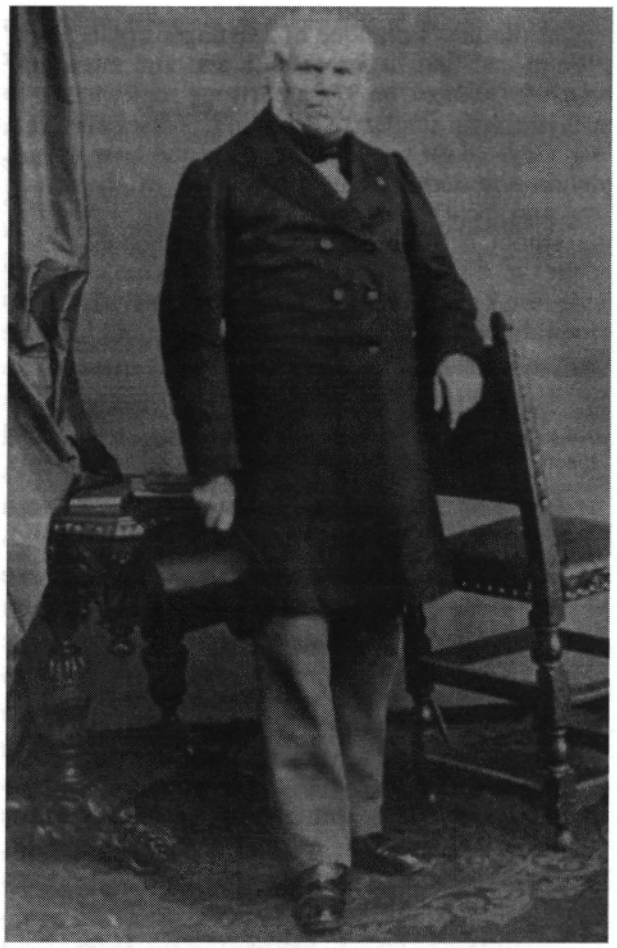


Illustration 13

off compositions 'in the old style' as genuine old music. The germ of Berlioz's *L'Enfance du Christ* (1854) lay in a chorus, 'Adieu des Bergers à la Sainte Famille' (The shepherds' farewell to the Holy Family), that he wrote in 1850 and attributed to 'Pierre Ducré, master of music to the Sainte-Chapelle, 1679', claiming that he had discovered the manuscript in a cupboard at the Sainte-Chapelle.[85] The autograph calls for 'flûtes douces', 'oboë di caccia' and 'chalumeaux', despite the fact that the oboe da caccia and the chalumeau did not appear until after 1679.[86] A rather different case is the keyboard sonatas of Friedrich Wilhelm Rust (1739-1796), fraudulently modernised by his grandson Wilhelm Rust (1822-1892) to make it appear that they anticipated Beethoven.[87] More recently, Fritz Kreisler (1875-1962) and Henri Casadesus (1879-1947) come to mind as examples of musicians who have passed off their own works as pieces by eighteenth-century composers. Kreisler attributed his salon pieces to Pugnani, Francoeur, Martini and others, while Casadesus, with the help of his brothers Francis (1870-1954) and Marius (1892-1981), seems to have written concertos supposedly by Mozart (the 'Adelaide' Violin Concerto in D major K Anh. 294a), J. C. Bach, C. P. E. Bach, Handel and Boccherini.[88] What is particularly interesting about Casadesus is that, like Fétis, he was involved in the early

music movement: in Paris in 1901 he founded the Société des Instruments Anciens Casadesus with Saint-Saëns and gave concerts on old instruments with it until 1939.

The strange thing about historical fakes (as we might term artefacts that purport to come from the past) is that even the most acute critics at the time they were written or painted do not spot the deception, while even the relatively uninitiated can perceive that there is something wrong with them once the period in which they were created has itself receded into the past. Anyone with a little knowledge and understanding of seventeenth-century Dutch art can now see that the 'Vermeers' Han van Meegeren painted in the 1930s and 40s are fakes, just as no one who has heard a fair amount of genuine eighteenth-century music is now fooled by Kreisler's Pugnani or Casadesus's Mozart.[89] Fétis seems to have been able to convince all the musicians of his time that they were playing or hearing genuine old music, despite the fact that his pieces are historically implausible in a number of ways. There is no hint in the critical reception of the 1845 concert of any suspicion of the 'Renaissance' pieces, only interest, surprise and enthusiasm, tempered with the underlying conviction that the old instruments used to play them were inferior to their modern counterparts – an attitude that still lurks here and there today.

Of course, we are able to spot the musical van Meegerens more easily today because we can draw on more than a century of musicological research to help us recognise the implausibility of such things as a saraband by Cavalieri or a piece written in 1698 for mandolin, viola d'amore, bass viol, lute and harpsichord. But, as Alan Bennett pointed out in his play *A Question of Attribution*, a study of forgeries and deception in the art world, it is not just a question of historical knowledge. In a speech put into the mouth of Sir Anthony Blunt he argued that forgeries go out of date like any other cultural artefact, and thus we come to see that they have more things in common with the art of their own time than with the period from which they supposedly come. Blunt is discussing the subject with the queen:

> What has exposed them as forgeries, Ma'am, is not any improvement in perception, but time. Though a forger reproduce in the most exact fashion the style and detail of his subject, as a painter he is nevertheless of his time and however slavishly he imitates, he does it in the fashion of his time, in a way that is contemporary, and with the passage of years it is this element that dates, begins to seem old-fashioned, and which eventually unmasks him.[90]

Fétis's pieces certainly have more in common with the music of the early nineteenth century than that of the fifteenth, sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.

What, then, is the significance of the 1845 concert? Now that it seems likely that the 'Renaissance' pieces were actually by Fétis we can no longer claim that the concert was the first time in England that old instruments such as the viola da gamba and the theorbo were used to play old music, as originally seemed likely. However, the concert was a landmark in that it marked the moment when the developing early music movement in England began to embrace the revival of instruments and instrumental music, however misguidedly. Today we would look askance at the use of a Tielke viol and a viola d'amore in Renaissance music, but it was a revolutionary move in the middle of the nineteenth century to use any sort of old instrument to play what was thought to be old music.

England was the place where the old music revival began. It can be traced back to the Restoration when the Chapel Royal and the newly-revived cathedral choirs needed to recover their pre-Civil War repertory, and it gathered pace during the eighteenth century with such things as the foundation of the Academy of Vocal Music (later the Academy of Ancient Music) in 1726 and the Madrigal Society in 1741, the publication of the three volumes of Boyce's *Cathedral Music* (London, 1760-1773) and the appearance of John Stafford Smith's *A Collection of English Songs, in Score for Three and Four Voices, Composed about the Year 1500* (London, 1779); his *Musica Antiqua: a Selection of Music of this and other Countries, from the Commencement of the Twelfth to the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century* followed in 1812.[91]

However, it is important to realise that all this activity was focused on polyphonic vocal music, not on instrumental ensemble music. Although there was a certain amount of interest in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century keyboard music in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there is a striking absence of evidence of a revival of early instrumental ensemble music to match the revival of early vocal music. British libraries are full of copies of Renaissance motets and madrigals by musicians such as John Travers, Benjamin Cooke, Henry Needler, Vincent Novello and Samuel Wesley. However, Charles Burney was just about the only eighteenth-century English musician to transcribe early instrumental ensemble music, and he did so because he wanted to write about it (and usually be rude about it) in his *History of Music*, not because he wanted to perform it. His manuscript transcriptions in the British Library include four-part fantasias by Eustache de Caurroy (Add. MS 11585), five-part fantasias by Parsons, Tye, Bull and Ward (Add. MS 11586), an attempt to score up four numbers from

Thomas Morley's *First Booke of Consort Lessons* just from the treble viol and cittern parts, adding his own bass (Add. MS 11587), and ricercars and fantasias by Frescobaldi (Add. MS 11588).

Although one or two of the eighteenth-century antiquarians involved in the revival of old vocal music also played the viola da gamba, they do not seem to have brought their two interests together. There is no sign, for instance, that the Rev. John Gostling (1649/50-1733) and his friends actually used the manuscripts of viol consort music he owned,[92] or that John Immyns (1724-1764), 'president and instructor' of the Madrigal Society, got his fellow-members to indulge in viol playing as well as madrigal singing during their meetings.[93] Hawkins wrote that Immyns 'played upon the flute, the viol da gamba, the violin, and the harpsichord'.[94] The first edition of viol music after the end of the continuous tradition seems to have been Edward Rimbault's score of Orlando Gibbons's three-part fantasias, published by the Musical Antiquarian Society in 1843, though that was a scholarly edition intended for the shelves of antiquarians rather than the music stands of viol players.[95] Significantly, Rimbault did not consider the possibility of performance in the introduction, and no string parts were published, only a keyboard reduction 'compressed from the score' by George Alexander Macfarren.[96]

The Concerts of Ancient Music did continue to perform one type of old instrumental music in the early nineteenth century, the cumulative repertory of English string concertos founded on the concerti grossi of Corelli, Geminiani and Handel: no. 4 of Charles Avison's op. 4 (1758), for instance, was in the repertory of the Concerts of Ancient Music until 1812.[97] However, so far as we know, there was no attempt to preserve or revive the instruments and performing style of the early eighteenth century. Similarly, when pre-eighteenth-century vocal pieces were performed by the Concerts of Ancient Music in the 1840s – such as the arias by Cesti and Stradella in the 1845 concert – they were usually arranged for modern orchestra by Henry Bishop.[98] The old instruments in the 1845 concert caused something of a stir in London, as we have seen, but even after it the Concerts of Ancient Music made no attempt to repeat the experiment. So, for instance, when a 'Romance', 'L'autrier par la matinée', by Thibaut IV, King of Navarre (1201-1253), was sung in a concert on 29 April 1846, the singer was accompanied by the orchestra using Bishop's arrangement.[99]

Although the 1845 concert did not lead to a wholesale revival of old instruments in mid-Victorian England, it is important in that it seems to mark the moment when modern ideas of historical fidelity in performance were first articulated. We now know that the 'Concerto Passegiato' was not written in the sixteenth century, and was almost certainly not performed with any sixteenth-century instruments. Nevertheless, the intention was there: the programme proudly claimed that the piece would be 'performed on the same description of ancient instruments as those for which it was composed'. More than fifty years before Arnold Dolmetsch started his London concerts, the ideology that has propelled and sustained the early music movement throughout the twentieth century was already in place.

While this article was in the press Richard Sutcliffe sent me details of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, MS Fétis 7328C. This manuscript is entitled on the spine 'Fr. J. Fétis / Concerts / Historiques' and seems to consist of a collection of scores of pieces performed at his historical concerts. It includes 'Vilhancico de Soto de Puebla (en 1561)' (ff. 86-83), 'La Romanesca / fameux air de danse italien de la fin du 16e siècle' (ff. 178-181), 'Concerto de Chambre par Jean Strobach (1698) (ff. 197-202) and 'Concerto Passegiato / par Emilio del Cavaliere' (ff. 205-216). From his description it seems likely that it is the direct or indirect source of the scores in the Royal College of Music, though the question must await a detailed comparison.

1 I am grateful to Peter Bloom, John Catch, Tim Crawford, Katharine Ellis, Peter Horton, Richard Rastall, Julian Rushton and Richard Sutcliffe for reading drafts of this paper, or for helping me in various ways.

2 Programme in the Dolmetsch Library, Haslemere, III.D.28/1. I am grateful to Jeanne Dolmetsch for allowing me access to the Dolmetsch Library, and for assisting me during a visit to Haslemere. For Arnold Dolmetsch, see in particular, M. Dolmetsch, *Personal Recollections of Arnold Dolmetsch* (London, 1957; repr. 1990); M. Campbell, *Dolmetsch: the Man and his Work* (Seattle, 1975); ead., 'Dolmetsch', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrell (London, 2001) [*NG2*], vii, 433-435; H. C. G. Matthew and J. Craig-McFeely, '(Eugène) Arnold Dolmetsch', The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Mathew and B. Harrison (Oxford, 2004) [*DNB2*], xvi, 481-482.

3 For the Concerts of Ancient Music, see J. Parry, 'Ancient Concerts', *The Musical World* [*MW*], 11 (15 March 1838), 173-175; J. E. Matthew, 'The Antient Concerts, 1776-1848', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 33 (1906-7), 55-79; W. Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: a Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (Oxford, 1992), esp. 143-197; F. M. Palmer, *Domenico Dragonetti in England (1794-1846): the Career of a Double Bass Virtuoso* (Oxford, 1997), 122-141.

4 For Prince Albert's musical interests, see in particular T. Martin, *The Life of his Royal Highness the Prince Consort* (London, 1875), i, 485-501; N. Temperley, 'The Prince Consort, Champion of Music', *The Musical Times* [*MT*], 102 (1961), 762-764.

5 For Fétis, see in particular R. Wangermée, *François-Joseph Fétis, musicologue et compositeur* (Brussels, 1951); *François-Joseph Fétis et la vie musicale de son temps,* 1784-1871 (Brussels, 1972); K. Ellis and R. Wangermée, 'François-Joseph Fétis', *NG2*, viii, 746-749.

6 F. Niecks, 'Historical Concerts', *Monthly Musical Record*, 12 (1882), 217-222, 242-245. For van Swieten's concerts of old music, see E. Olleson, 'Gottfried van Swieten, Patron of Haydn and Mozart', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 89 (1962-3), 63-74; C. Wolff, 'Mozart's *Messiah*: "the Spirit of Handel" from van Swieten's Hands', *Music and Civilization: Essays in Honor of Paul Henry Lang*, ed. E. Strainchamps, M. R. Maniates and C. Hatch (New York, 1984), 1-14.

7 For Meibom, see J. Bergsagel, 'Marcus Meibom [Meiboom, Meibomius]', *NG2*, xvi, 287.

8 Reviews in *MW*, 4 (24 February 1837), 155-156, (10 March 1837), 184; ibid, 5 (24 March 1837), 28-29. See also Niecks, 'Historical Concerts', 220-221; J. Roche, 'Ignaz Moscheles, 1794-1870', *MT*, 111 (1970), 264-266. For Moscheles, see also J. and H. Roche, 'Ignaz Moscheles', *NG2*, xvii, 163-164; J. Warrack, 'Ignaz Moscheles', *DNB2*, xxxix, 452-453.

9 Review in *MW*, 5 (24 March 1837), 25. I have been unable to verify the assertion, made in Roche, 'Ignaz Moscheles, 1794-1870', 265, that Moscheles 'is known to have used a quartet of four string players with it [the harpsichord] in a performance of Bach's D minor keyboard concerto, at one of his "historical soirées" in the 1830s'.

10 J. Catch, 'Prince Albert's Early Music', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 42 (1989), 3-9.

11 *MW*, 20 (1845), 192. Portions are reproduced in facsimile in Catch, 'Prince Albert's Early Music', 3, 4.

12 For Davison, see C. Reid, *The Music Monster: a Biography of James William Davison* (London, 1984); L. Langley, 'J(ames) W(illiam) Davison', *NG2*, vii, 81; J. Warrack, 'James William Davison', *DNB2*, xv, 483-484.

13 *MW*, 20 (1845), 177.

14 Ibid., 178.

15 Copy consulted: British Library, 11784.e.1.

16 See M. Murata, 'Dr Burney Bought a Music Book…', *The Journal of Musicology*, 17 (1999), 76-111, at 90-91, 100; ead., 'Four Airs for Orontea', *Rececare*, 10 (1998), 249-262.

17 Copy consulted: British Library, 7900.d.2, a scrapbook of Parry's *Morning Post* reviews of the Concerts of Ancient Music. For Parry, see J. D. Brown and S. S. Stratton, *British Musical Biography: a Dictionary of Musical Artists, Authors and Composers Born in Britain and its Colonies* (Birmingham, 1897; repr. 1971), 311; P. Crossley-Holland and N. Temperley, 'John (ii) Parry', *NG2*, xxix, 158; J. C. Hadden, rev. D. J. Golby, 'John Parry', *DNB2*, xlii, 879-880.

18 *The Illustrated London News*, 6, no. 155 (19 April 1845), 251. I am grateful to Ann Royle for bringing this source to my attention.

19 Quoted in Catch, 'Prince Albert's Early Music', 3-4.

20 See A. H. King, *Some British Collectors of Music c. 1600-1960* (Cambridge, 1963), 113.

21 Murata, 'Dr Burney Bought a Music Book', 99.

22 For Loder, see Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 252; N. Temperley, 'John David Loder', *NG2*, xv, 56; D. J. Golby, 'John David Loder', *DNB2*, xxxiv, 274. For Lucas, see Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 255; C. Bashford, 'Charles Lucas', *NG2*, xv, 266; J. C. Hadden, rev. A. Pimlott Baker, 'Charles Lucas', *DNB2*, xxxiv, 669-670. For Dragonetti, see Palmer, *Domenico Dragonetti;* ead., 'Domenico (Carlo Maria) ['il Drago'] Dragonetti, *NG2*, vii, 553-554; ead., 'Domenico Carlo Maria Dragonetti', *DNB2*, xvi, 854-855.

23 For nineteenth-century players of such instruments, see J. Catch, 'Edward John Payne, Victorian Gambist', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 50 (1997), 127-136, at 133.

24 For the quinton, see M. Herzog, 'Is the Quinton a Viol? A Puzzle Unravelled', *Early Music*, 28 (2000), 8-31; ead., 'Quinton', *NG2*, xx, 681-682.

25 Palmer, *Domenico Dragonetti*, 140-141.

26 For Hill, see C. Beare, A. F. Hill, J. Liivoja-Lorius and C. Bashford, 'Hill (ii)', *NG2*, xi, 501-502.

27 *François-Joseph Fétis et la vie musicale*, 208, 216-217. See also V.-C. Mahillon, *Catalogue descriptif et analytique du musée instrumental du Conservatoire royal de musique de Bruxelles* (Ghent, 1880; 2/1893; repr. 1978), i, 320-322.

28 For Hatton, see B. Matthews, *The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain, List of Members 1738-1984* (London, 1985), 69; A. V. Beedell, *The Decline of the English Musician 1788-1888: a Family of English Musicians in Ireland, England, Mauritius, and Australia* (Oxford, 1992), esp. 128-133,154, 166, 173.

29 For Phillips, see his obituary in *MW*, 38 (31 March 1860), 207; G. Grove, 'William Lovel Phillips', *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Grove* (London, 1878-1889), ii, 705-706; Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 319; Matthews, *The Royal Society of Musicians*, 115.

30 For Cawse, see 'John Cawse', U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexicon der bildeneden Künster von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1907-1950), vi, 238; 'X', 'From my Study', *MT*, 34 (1893), 75-78, at 75, quoting the contents of a letter from Arthur Cawse Edmunds, the son of Cawse's daughter Mary.

31 W. Sandys and S. A. Forster, *The History of the Violin* (London, 1864), facing 105. For the Tielke viol, see A. Baines, *Victoria and Albert Museum: Catalogue of Musical Instruments, ii, Non-Keyboard Instruments* (London, 1968), no. 1/10, fig. 7; G. Hellwig, *Joachim Tielke: ein Hamburger Lauten- und Violenmacher der Barockzeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1980), 321-326, no. 135.

32 C. Engel, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Musical Instruments in the South Kensington Museum* (London, 2/1874), 336-337. For Forster, see

Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 149-150; C. Beare, P. Ward Jones and P. J. Kass, 'Forster', *NG2*, ix, 103; L. M. Middleton, rev. D. J. Golby, 'William Forster', *DNB2*, xx, 429-430.

33 'montant la basse de viole en *violoncello*, la viole d'amour en *alto*, le pardessus de viole en *violon*, le luth en *guitare*, etc.', A. Tolbeque, *Notice historique sur les instruments à cordes et à archet* (Paris and Niort, 1898), 15-16. For Tolbecque, see E. Bernard, 'Tolbecque', *NG2*, xxv, 551-552.

34 'Je garantis l'exactitude de ce que j'avance, ayant connu intimement des artistes qui faisaient partie de ces concerts.'

35 'l'exécution n'a jamais répondu à mes vues, et malheureusement je n'en pouvais espérer de meilleur', quoted from K. Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: 'La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris'*, 1834-80 (Cambridge, 1995), 67.

36 For Ventura, see S. Bonner, *Angelo Benedetto Ventura, Teacher, Inventor and Composer: a Study in English Regency Music* (Harlow, 1971); S. Button, *The Guitar in England 1800-1924* (New York and London, 1989), 259-265; Bonner, 'Angello Benedetto Ventura', *NG2*, xxvi, 415-416.

37 R. Spencer, 'Chitarrone, Theorbo and Archlute', *Early Music*, 4 (1976), 407-423, at 414.

38 D. Poulton and T. Crawford, 'Lute', §8(ii): 'Repertory: Germany, Bohemia and Austria', *NG2*, xv, 353-355, at 355.

39 *François-Joseph Fétis et la vie musicale*, 208.

40 Mahillon, *Catalogue descriptif*, i, 350.

41 For the de Ciebras, see P. J. Bone, *The Guitar and Mandolin: Biographies of Celebrated Players and Composers* (London, 2/1954; repr. 1972), 78-80; Button, *The Guitar in England*, 61-66; *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, ed. E. C. Rodicio ([Spain], 1999), iii, 699-701. For Wright, see Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 459; Matthews, *The Royal Society of Musicians*, 161; R. Rensch, *Harps and Harpists* (London, 1989), 210.

42 The *Rappresentatione* is the only work by Cavalieri discussed in 'Cavaliere ou Cavalieri (Emilio del)', F. J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie génerale de la musique* (Paris, 2/1860-1865), ii, 224-226. Fétis owned a manuscript score copied from the 1600 print, see *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de F. J. Fétis, acquise par l'état Belge* (Brussels, 1877), i, 317, no. 2513.

43 R. Hudson and M. E. Little, 'Sarabande', *NG2*, xxii, 273-277; M. Praetorius, *Gesamtausgabe*, xv, *Terpsichore*, ed. G. Oberst (Wolfenbüttel, 1929), nos. 33, 34.

44 *Revue musicale* [*Rm*], 3 November 1832, 318-319; *Rm*, 22 December 1832, 372-5. I am grateful to Katharine Ellis for providing me with material from the *Revue musicale*. For Fétis's historical concerts, see Niecks, 'Historical Concerts', esp. 219-220, 242; Wangermée, *François-Joseph Fétis*, esp. 263-272; id., 'Les premiers concerts historiques à Paris', *Mélanges Ernest Closson*, ed. C. van den Borren and others (Brussels, 1985), 185-196; Haskell, *The Early Music Revival, a History* (London, 1988), 19-21.

45 *François-Joseph Fétis et la vie musicale*, 218-219; Mahillon, *Catalogue descriptif*, i, 323.

46 For the viola bastarda, see J. Paras, *The Music for Viola Bastarda*, ed. G. and G. Houle (Bloomington, 1986); L. Robinson, 'Viola bastarda', *NG2*, xxvi, 695-696.

47 Bonner, *Angelo Benedetto Ventura*, esp. 47-52.

48 *Rm*, 5 January 1833, 389-390.

49 'un air charmant qui servait à la danse Italienne vers 1580, et qui a joui d'une vogue singulière sous la nom de la *Romanesca* ... Tel fut son succès que les artistes les plus renommés s'en emparèrent pour en faire le thème de leurs compositions instrumentales, et qu'elle fut reproduite dans une multitude de fantasies pout l'orgue, le clavecin et la viole.'

50 See M. Cofini, 'Romanesca', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. L. Finscher, *Sachteil*, viii (Kassel, 1998), 458-463.

51 *Rm*, 22 December 1832, 372-375, at 372.

52 For Baillot, see P. David, M. Parikian and M. Garnier-Bute, 'Pierre (Marie François de Sales) Baillot', *NG2*, ii, 490-491.

53 Copy consulted: British Library, g.505.(20.).

54 A. Devriès and F. Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*, ii, de 1820 à 1914 (Geneva, 1988), 362-369, which does not list the edition's plate number, 5581.R. *The British Library Integrated Catalogue*, on line at http://catalogue.bl.uk, dates it '?1835'.

55 Copy consulted: Library of the University of California at Northridge, VOB3659, lacking the solo violin part. See also M. Ophee, 'A History of Transcriptions of Lute Tablature from 1679 to the Present' *The Lute*, xliii (2003), 1-43, at 6, 8.

56 Devries and Lesure, *Dictionnaire*, 107-109, which does not list the plate number, C.211.

57 A. Walker, M. Eckhardt and R. C. Mueller, 'Franz Liszt', *NG2*, xiv, 755-857, at 787; copy consulted (of the 1840 Vienna edition): British Library, h.585.j.(1.).

58 I am grateful to Katharine Ellis for pointing these errors out to me. I have been unable to find a copy of the supplement to *Rm*, 16 April 1833. Its title is quoted from *RIPM: Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals 1800-1950*, on line at http//www.ripm.org.

59 There is an edition of Liszt's second version of c. 1852 in F. Liszt, *New Edition of the Complete Works*, II/4, *Free Arrangements IV*, 3-11, and of both versions in *Liszt Society Publications*, vii, *Unfamiliar Piano Pieces* (London, 1978), 55-64, 65-74.

60 Le Pianiste, 12 (October 1834), 184, quoted in RIPM; I have been unable to locate a copy of this piece. For Rigel, see B. S. Brook and R. Viano, 'Rigel', *NG2*, xxi, 380-383.

61 B. Jeffery, *Fernando Sor, Composer and Guitarist* (London, 1977), 172.

62 Copies consulted: British Library, h.500.(12); g.610.e.(2.); h.169.(4.); h.463.(17.); facsimile edition in *The Guitar Works of Napoleon Coste*, ed. S. Wynberg, iii, *Published Solo Works, Opus nos. 12, 13, 15-23, 19(b)* (Monaco, 1981). See also Ophee, 'A History of Transcriptions of Lute Tablature', 6, 9.

63 Review in *The Times*, 14 July 1842.

64 A. Wotquenne, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque du Conservatoire royal de musique de Bruxelles*, iv (Brussels, 1912; repr. 1980), 30.

65 For Regondi, see T. F. Heck, 'Giulio Regondi', *NG2*, xxi, 122; Button, *The Guitar in England*, 100-113, 126-131; D. J. Golby, 'Giulio Regondi', *DNB2*, xlvi, 372-373.

66 On-line at http://www.sun.rhbnc.ac.uk/Music/ILM/IIVT/.

67 J. Tyler and P. Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford, 2002), 5-9.

68 See the surveys in the repertory in G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (London, 2/1959), 581-587; P. R. Laird, *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico* (Warren, MI, 1997); I. Pope and P. R. Laird, 'Villancico', *NG2*, xxvi, 621-628.

69 *Rm*, 3 November 1832, 319; Niecks, 'Historical Concerts', 219.

70 I am grateful to Tim Crawford for drawing my attention to the piece many years ago, and for making a transcription of it.

71 'Un concerto de chambre pour une mandolin, un luth, une viole d'amour, une basse de viole et un clavecin, par Jean Strobach, a été bien rendu par M.M. Castellaci, Sor, Urhan, Vaslin et Fessy. La sonorité délicate de ces instrumens se trouvait seulement un peu faible pour la vaste enceinte de la sale Ventadour; du reste le morceau a fait beaucoup de plaisir et les exécutans ont été justement applaudis', *Rm*, 30 March 1833, 65-70, at 67.

72 Niecks, 'Historical Concerts', 242. 'Luthiste et compositeur, né en Bohéme, vers le milieu du dix-septième siècle, fut attaché au service de l'empereur Léopold Ier.', 'Jean Strobach', Fétis, *Biographie universelle*, viii (Paris 2/1865), 160.

73 'Il a publié des concerts très-curieux pour clavecin, luth, mandoline, viole d'amour et basse de viole, à Prague, en 1698, in-fol. J'ai fait entendre un de ces morceaux dans un de mes concerts historiques, au mois de mars 1833. Le célèbre guitariste Sor avait eu la patience de faire une étude spéciale de lute pour exécuter la partie obligée de cet instrument, dont je lui avais traduit la tablature; Carcassi jouait la mandoline, Urhan la viole d'amour, Franchomme la basse de viole, et moi le clavecin.'

74 *The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue: the Six Parts and Sixteen Supplements 1762-1787*, facsimile ed. B. S. Brook (New York, 1966), 328.

75 *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de F. J. Fétis*, i, 353, nos. 2911, 2913, 2914; W. Boetticher, *Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentablaturen des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, RISM, B VII (Munich, 1978), 59-65. See also M. and D. Jappe, *Viola d'amore Bibliographie: das Repertoire für die historische Viola d'amore von ca. 1680 bis nach 1800* (Winterthur, 1997), 150. There is a facsimile edition of MS II. 4089, ed. G. Haenen (Peer, 1991). There is a facsimile edition of the Durant concerto in P. C. Durant, *Gesamptausgabe Solo- und Kammer-musik für Laute*, ed. J. Domning (Hamburg, 1986). I am grateful to Tim Crawford for providing me with a transcription of it.

76 J. Tyler and P. Sparks, *The Early Mandolin* (Oxford, 1989), 12-27.

77 Jappe, *Viola d'amore Bibliographie*, 22-23, 50-51; H. Biber, *Harmonia artificiosa-ariosa*, ed. P. Nettl and F. Reidinger, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, 92 (Vienna, 1956), 81-105. For the sonatas in the Rost manuscript, see M. A. Eddy, *The Rost Manuscript of Seventeenth-Century Chamber Music, a Thematic Catalog* (Warren, MI, 1989), 43, 59.

78 J. Rousseau, *Traité de la viole* (Paris, 1687; repr. 1965), 24, 35.

79 Matanya Ophee has come to a similar conclusion independently. See 'A History of Transcriptions of Lute Tablature', 5, 6.

80 'la caractére des mélodies que nous retrouvons dans la plupart des chants populaires de l'Andalousie et de l'Estremadoure', *Rm*, 29 December 1832, 377-379, at 378.

81 G. Salvetti, 'Le verità di una falsificazione', *Chigiana*, 19 (1984), 201-210; Murata, 'Dr Burney Bought a Music Book', esp. 91-93, 103. Bishop's score is in Royal College of Music, MS 767, ff. 8-15v.

82 See F. Lesure, 'L'affaire Fétis', *Revue belge de musicologie*, 28-30 (1974-6), 214-221; id., 'The Music Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris', *Notes*, 35 (1978), 251-268, at 256-257.

83 See P. A. Bloom, 'Berlioz and the Critic: *La Damnation de Fétis*', *Studies in Musicology in Honor of Otto E. Albrecht*, ed. J. W. Hill (Kassel and London, 1980), 240-265.

84 See, for instance, 'Christ Church Missing Books', *The Times Literary Supplement* (11 February 1939); P. Holman, *Henry Purcell* (Oxford, 1994), 6.

85 D. Kern Holoman, *Berlioz* (London, 1989), 418-419.

86 C. Lawson, 'Chalumeau', *NG2*, v, 430-433; G. Burgess, 'Oboe, §III, 4(iii), Oboe da Caccia', *NG2*, xviii, 282.

87 See in particular, M. D. Calvocoressi, 'Friedrich Rust, his Editors and his Critics', 'The Rust Case: its Ending and its Moral', *MT*, 55 (1914), 14-16, 89-91.

88 C. L. Cudworth, 'Ye Olde Spuriosity Shoppe, or Put it in the *Anhang*', *Notes*, 12 (1954-5), 25-40, 533-53; D. Cox, 'Casadesus', *NG2*, v, 222-223; W. Lebermann, 'Apokryph, Plagiat, Korruptel oder Falsifikat?', *Die Musikforschung*, 20 (1967), 413-425; Haskell, *The Early Music Revival*, esp. 50-51. For the concertos attributed to J. C. Bach, C. P. E Bach, Handel and Boccherini, see E. Warburton, *Thematic Catalogue*, The Collected Works of Johann Christian Bach, 48/1 (New York and London, 1999), 573; E. E. Helm, *Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (New Haven and London, 1989), 108; A. Craig Bell, *Handel Chronological Thematic Catalogue* (Darley, 1972), 396; Y. Gérard, trans. A. Mayor, *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini* (London, 1969), 546-548, no. 486. Many more pieces by Casadesus 'in the old style' are listed in H. Berck, *Viola d'amore Bibliographie* (Kassel, Basel and London, 1986).

89 For van Meegeren, see H. B. Weness, 'Han van Meegeren fecit', *The Forger's Art*, ed. D. Dutton (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983), 1-53; T. Nunn, 'The Art Forgeries of Han van Meegeren', on-line at http://www.tnunn.f2s.com/vm-main.htm.

90 A. Bennett, *Single Spies, a Double Bill* (London, 1989), 55.

91 For the beginnings of the old music revival in England, see T. Day, 'A Renaissance Revival in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Music Quarterly*, 57 (1971), 575-592; id., 'Old Music in England, 1790-1820', *Revue belge de musicologie*, 26-27 (1972-1973), 25-37; H. Diack Johnstone, 'The Genesis of Boyce's "Cathedral Music"', *Music & Letters*, 56 (1975), 26-40; O. Edwards, 'The Response to Corelli's Music in Eighteenth-Century England', *Studia Musicologica Norvedica*, 2 (1976), 51-96; P. Lovell, '"Ancient" Music in Eighteenth-Century England', *Music & Letters*, 60 (1979), 401-415; R. Luckett, '"Or Rather our Musical Shakespeare": Charles Burney's Purcell', *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, ed. C. Hogwood and Luckett (Cambridge, 1983), 59-77; W. Weber, 'Thomas Tudway and the Harleian Collection of 'Ancient' Church Music, *British Library Journal*, 15 (1989), 187-205; id., *The Rise of Musical Classics of Eighteenth-Century England.*

92 Gostling's library was inherited by his son William and sold in 1777. See *A Catalogue of the Scarce, Valuable and Curious Collection of Music, Manuscript and Printed, of the Reverend and Learned William Gostling, one of the Minor Canons of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, Lately Deceased ... which will be Sold by Auction, by Mess. Langford* (26-27 May 1777); copy consulted: British Library, Hirsch IV.1083. For the Gostlings, see W. Shaw and R. Ford, 'John Gostling', 'William Gostling', *NG2*, x, 192-193; O. Baldwin and T. Wilson, 'John Gostling', *DNB2*, xxiii, 19-20; R. J. Goulden, 'William Gostling', *DNB2*, xxiii, 20-21.

93 For Immyns, see N. Temperley, 'John Immyns', *NG2*, xii, 90; R. F. Sharp, rev. K. D. Reynolds, 'John Immyns', *DNB2*, xxix, 212-213.

94 J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776; 2/1853), ii, 887.

95 O. Gibbons, *Fantasies in Three Parts, Composed for Viols*, ed. E. F. Rimbault (London, 1843); copy consulted: British Library, I.431.

96 O. Gibbons, *Fantasies of Three Parts ... Compressed from the Score by G. Alex. Macfarren* (London, 1843); copy consulted: British Library, R.M.7.c.7.

97 N. L. Stephens, 'Charles Avison', *NG2*, ii, 254-256.

98 I am grateful to Ann Royle for information on Bishop's arrangements for the Concerts of Ancient Music. See also M. Murata, 'Dr Burney Bought a Music Book...', 95-107.

99 Copy consulted of the programme: British Library, 11784.e.1. Bishop's orchestration is in Royal College of Music, MS 769, ff. 9-11v.

Baroque Treasures from Bolivia:

Three songs from La Plata: "¡ Salga el torillo hosquillo!", "¡Ay, andar!", "¡Aquí, valentones!"

The Margot Leigh-Milner Lecture given at the NEMA Day on 27 November 2004

JULES WHICKER

I first became involved with the Baroque music of Latin America in 2002 when, as part of his preparations for the programme that ultimately became *New World Symphonies*, Ex Cathedra's Jeffrey Skidmore contacted me to ask me if I would review and translate the texts of a selection of songs transcribed by Robert Murrell Stevenson.[1] Over almost fifty years Stevenson has arguably done more to reveal the riches of Latin-America's musical heritage than any other scholar, but his transcriptions are just that, reproductions of the texts as they appears in the manuscripts. My task was to produce versions (in contemporary and modern Spanish as well as English) that would be clear and coherent both linguistically and lyrically. In the absence of the original manuscripts, and with little prior knowledge of the genre, I knew I would be on a steep learning curve, and so it proved. Yet, however challenging it seemed initially, the job soon took on an addictive quality, and with pieces like Tomas de Torrejón y Velasco's "A este sol peregrino" (*To this marvellous sun*), Juan García de Céspedes' "Convidando está la noche" (*The night is inviting us*), and Juan de Araujo's "Los coflades de la estleya", (*Fellow brothers of the Star*) to work with, it proved to be a thoroughly rewarding experience.

With only the modern transcriptions to go on, my revisions for *New World Symphonies* had to be based on what I knew of the Hispanic world of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a period commonly referred to in Hispanic Studies as the "Golden Age". Fortunately, the knowledge of the ideas, language, image patterns and metrical forms of the Golden Age I had picked up over two decades of research stood me in good stead, and ensured that even the "negrito" *villancico* "Los coflades de la estleya", whose burlesque imitation of the dialect of West African slaves in the New World presented particular difficulties, was eventually teased back into its original form, and could then be put into modern Spanish and given an English translation.

Before long, Jeffrey presented me with more texts to work on, three of which I shall discuss here in a little more detail. All three are *villancicos* – a term I shall explain shortly. The first of these is "¡Salga el torillo hosquillo!" (*Let in the little black bull!*). This piece was originally composed by Diego José de Salazar (c.1670-1709) a *Maestro de Capilla* at Seville, and was subsequently reworked by Juan de Araujo (1646-1712) *Maestro de Capilla* at Sucre, Bolivia. The other two pieces: "¡Ay, andar!" (*Hey, come on!*) and "¡Aquí, valentones!" (*Come here, you ruffians!*) are also by Araujo and reveal his enthusiasm for the *xácara*, about which I shall also say more shortly.

Work on these texts was made even more interesting by the fact that by this time Jeffery had been able to travel to Sucre and had returned with digital images of some of the manuscripts – principally of works by Araujo – held in the National Library (Archivo y Biblioteca Nacional de Bolivia,

hereafter ABNB). This allowed me to see the kind of material Stevenson had been working with and gave me a first-hand understanding of the problems he had faced. Yet though the pages may be ragged and stained and the ink is often faded into the paper, for the most part Araujo's handwriting remains thankfully legible. I say it is Araujo's handwriting because the majority of the manuscript pages appear to be written in a single late seventeenth-century hand that I see as consistent with an example of Araujo's signature from a contemporary document.

Araujo, however, naturally, sets out his words to follow his music, writing the words below the notation to which they correspond. As a result, spaces frequently appear between the syllables of a single word and are often omitted between words, producing letter groups that can be hard to interpret. There is also little punctuation, and what there is likewise tends to have more to do with musical rather than grammatical structures. One great asset of having the manuscripts in digital form, however, is that difficult sections can be manipulated with software to achieve a clearer image, and it is easy to compile a catalogue of letter forms as a tool for the identification of ill-defined characters.

I'd like to move now to consider the type of composition to which these three pieces belong, the *villancico*. The *villancico* is a form of popular song that emerged in the Iberian Peninsula around the middle of the fifteenth century. It is thought to be a development of the Galician-Portuguese *cantiga de refram* and the Spanish *cantiga de estribillo – estribillo*, which means "little stirrup" being the Spanish term for a refrain of this type, and these in turn are believed to derive from the Arabic *zéjel*, a poem written in vulgar Arabic and made up of a refrain of two lines followed by a series of verses, whose last line returned to the rhyme of the refrain. Thus, the *villancico* is characterized by an initial refrain that "provides one or [more] lines of the shorter refrain which follows each verse. The rhyme of the refrain is also characteristically introduced into the verse just before the return to the refrain, perhaps originally as a cue to the singers".[2] Aside from this relation of the *estribillo* to the verses, variously termed *mudanzas* (changes) or *coplas*, the *villancico* places few restrictions on poets or composers, who are free to determine the length of lines and verses alike, as well as to apply consonance or assonance as they choose.

The name *villancico* comes from the Castilian word for a villager "villano" and the diminutive suffix "-cico" and therefore implies a minor composition in a rustic style.[3] However, by the end of the sixteenth century *villancicos* were being written and published by the most sophisticated poets and composers at the Spanish court and had also found a place in religious festivities, as celebrations of Saints' days, Easter, Corpus Christi, and above all, Christmas. Indeed, their rustic connotations made them a natural vehicle for the presentation of the Christmas story from the perspective of the shepherds. In consequence, the word *villancico* has acquired the exclusive meaning in modern Spanish of "Christmas carol". However, such was the enthusiasm for *villancicos* in the Golden Age that they were composed and performed in a wide range of contexts, secular as well as religious, and drew inspiration from diverse sources. Thus Salazar's "Salga el torillo" celebrates the birth and Passion of Christ and the Redemption of Mankind in an allegory that reflects the Andalusian passion for bullfighting, whilst Araujo's "¡Ay, andar!" encourages it's audience to celebrate the Nativity in ecstatic dance, song and music-making.

As regards their musical setting:

> Villancicos *were by and large polyphonic, written for at least two voices, but frequently as many as four, often for solo singing with some variety of instrumental accompaniment. However, the counterpoint was usually quite simple; it only served to underscore the setting of the text and to create a "chordal" feel in the music. Typically, the accompaniment was a basso continuo, and/or a doubling of the vocal parts on strings.* [...] *Frequently soloists would sing the* [verses] *and a chorus of mixed voices would join in for the refrains. The song writing was syllabic and tended to be fairly simple in melody, the better to accentuate and preserve the predominantly Spanish (or related vernacular) poetry of the text.* [...] *As for the rhythmic characteristics of the villancico, there was often a pronounced pulse, since it was also a form of dance music. Percussion was therefore a common instrumental element...*[4]

This latter element is indeed something Jeffrey Skidmore has duly emphasised in his approach to these pieces.

A particular development of the *villancico* that interests us here is the *xácara*, a form that reflects the street-life (*el mundo de la hampa*) of the great cities of the Hispanic world.[5] The *xácara* first appears in sixteenth-century Spain as a variant of the *romance* or traditional Spanish ballad, and typically relates the misdeeds and mishaps of some roguish figure in the underworld of Madrid or Seville through a narrative voice that speaks in the colourful slang of the criminal fraternity. As such, the *xácara* is the poetic equivalent

of the picaresque novel, and representative of the same counter-pastoral tendency. And, like the picaresque, it was a mode practised by some of the most accomplished writers of the Golden Age, most notably Francisco de Quevedo (1580-1645), Lope de Vega (1562-1635) and Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616). In its musical form, the *xácara* represents a further expression of the delight in linguistic diversity found in the *villancico* at large, and provides composers with the opportunity to generate the kind of paradoxical contrast so characteristic of the Baroque era, as they apply the language, and often the rhythms of the street, to sacred subjects such as saints and angels. Araujo's "¡Aquí, valentones!" is a composition of this type, surprisingly celebrating St. Francis of Assisi as "el santo más de la hampa" ("the most roguish saint").

The presence of such a number and range of *villancicos* in New World archives is no accident. Despite the trials of crossing the Atlantic in the age of sail and piracy, Spain and its American possessions enjoyed an impressive degree of cultural cross-fertilisation as the Spanish public in general, and theatre audiences in particular, relished the exotic sounds of the *chacona,* the *zarabanda* and other dances redolent of the cultures of America and Africa, and as the colonisers of the New World sought both to maintain their cultural identity and to pass it on to their new subjects. The presence of Salazar's "¡Salga el torillo!" in the Cathedral archives at Sucre prior to its relocation to the ABNB is testimony to the connections between that city and Seville. Nevertheless the cathedrals and missions of the New World were also generating an important body of new work. Thus Araujo may have adapted and glossed Salazar's "Torillo", but he also composed scores if not hundreds of original *villancicos.* And he was not alone; one only has to look at the work of other illustrious *Maestros de Capilla* such as Gaspar Fernández (1566 – 1629) and Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (1590 – 1664) at Puebla, José de Loaysa y Agurto (c.1625 – 1695) and Antonio de Salazar (1650 – 1715) at Mexico City, Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco (1644-1728) at Lima, Manuel de Zumaya (d. 1755) at Oaxaca, and Rafael Antonio Castellanos (c.1765-1791) at Guatemala to realise the impressive range, sophistication and vitality of music in the New World during this period.

Sucre, where Araujo was *Maestro de Capilla* from 1680-1712, was founded in 1540 and named Villa de Plata (Silvertown), subsequently becoming known simply as La Plata (Silver). During the seventeenth century this name gave way in turn to that of *Chuquisaca*, a corruption of the Indian *Choquechaca* (meaning Golden Gate). Only in 1825, the year Bolivia declared its independence from Spain, was the city renamed Sucre, after Antonio José de Sucre (1795-1830), a hero of the independence movement. As well as its name, La Plata owed its location and importance to its association with the silver-mining city of Potosí, some sixty miles to the South West and four thousand feet higher in the Andean *cordillera.*

The discovery of vast deposits of silver and other precious metals in the *cerro rico* (rich hill) at Potosí in 1544 created a boom town, with a population that rose to a peak of some 200,000 by the late seventeenth century, making it larger than London or Paris. However, the altitude and the resulting cold of the mountains soon led the wealthier inhabitants of Potosí to establish their families in the temperate surroundings of nearby La Plata. The more amenable climate and the greater accessibility of La Plata combined with its ties with Potosí to establish as the most important city in the region. Thus, in 1559 it became the seat of the Audiencia of Charcas, an important sub-division of the vice-regency of Peru. The Audiencia held judicial authority and executive powers and presided over a vast territory that comprised present-day Paraguay, south-eastern Peru, northern Chile and Argentina, and most of Bolivia. La Plata was an ecclesiastical capital too; a diocesan see was established there in 1552, and elevated to archdiocesan status in 1609. The importance of the city was further consolidated by the foundation of a university in 1624, the Universidad Real y Pontificia de San Francisco Xavier.

As *Maestre de Capilla* at the cathedral of one of the richest cities in the world, Araujo had at his disposal resources that would have been the envy of his counterparts in Europe, and could count on the services of as many as fifty choristers and musicians. In return, he was required to compose and arrange an annual quota of new music for the glory of his Church, his cathedral and his city - and perhaps also his god - as well as for the delight of the congregation and the inhabitants of the city at large.[6]

Diego José de Salazar/ Juan de Araujo. "¡Salga el torillo hosquillo!"

Del m'ro D. Diego Joseph de Salasar
Villancico a 8.
Salga el torillo hosquillo

Salga el torillo hosquillo.
Ho. Ho. Ho. Ho.

q. se aguarde,
q. se espere,
q. se tenga.
mientras me pongo
en cobro en cobro io,
q. se aguarde,
q. se espere,
q. se tenga.
Ho. Ho.

mas ay q. fiero
el toro ligero corriendo salio
tras mi bien
pero no. tras mi.
Yo le vi, al amado Dueño mio,
yo le vi, q. le esta
esperando el Niño
io le vi,
ti, tiriti, tiritando.
ti, tiriti, tiritando,
no de miedo, sino de frio.
Pero no

q. se aguarde,
q. se espere,
q. se tenga.
mientras me pongo
cobro en cobro io,
q. se aguarde,
q. se espere,
q. se tenga.
Ho. Ho.

Coplas

1ª. Del vulgo de las Nubes,
se despexo la plassa,
poblando las Estrellas,
del cielo las ventanas.
2ª. Afuera todo el mundo,
afuera y hagan plassa,
q. el Toro es un demonio,
segun muestra en la saña.
3ª. Un Niño, que es mui hombre,
espera en la campaña,
y a de matar el Toro,
que es toread.r del hampa.

By Master Diego José de Salasar
Carol for 8.
Let in the little black bull!

Let in the little black bull!
Hah! Hah! Hah! Hah!

Hold him back!
Make him wait!
Keep him there!
While I get myself
into cover.
Hold him back!
Make him wait!
Keep him there!
Hah! Hah!

But, alas, how fierce he is!
The swift bull dashed out
after my love.
But no! After me!
I saw him, my beloved
lord. I saw him;
for the boy child is waiting for him,
I saw him,
shi… shi… shi… shivering.
Shi… shi… shi… shivering,
not with fear, but with cold.
But no!

Hold him back!
Make him wait!
Keep him there!
While I get myself
into cover.
Hold him back!
Make him wait!
Keep him there!
Hah! Hah!

Verses

1. It cleared the square
of the rabble of clouds,
filling the windows
of Heaven with stars.
2. Everyone out!
Get out and make way!
For the bull is a devil
as his fury reveals.
3. A boy child, who is all man,
is waiting in the arena,
and is sure to kill the bull,
for he is a dashing toreador.

4ª. Por mas brabo que juegue,
la media luna ayrada,
seran puntas al ayre,
todas las de su ravia.
5ª. Con la capa del hombre,
el niño entra en la plassa,
romperasela el Toro,
y en esso el homb.e gana.
6ª. En un portal le estrecha,
del bruto la amenassa,
a todos nos defiende,
y de Sí no se repara.
7ª. Del toreador la muerte,
esta profetissada,
mi suerte esta en q. muera,
aunque es por mi desgracia.

4. However bravely he wields
the furious half-moon of his horns,
he will waste on the air,
every bit of his rage.
5. In the cloak of a man,
the boy child enters the ring;
the bull will tear it apart,
and thus mankind will win.
6. In the doorway of the stable,
the menacing brute confines him.
He defends us all,
And thinks nothing of himself.
7. The bullfighter's death
has been foretold;
my good fortune depends on his dying,
though he is dying for my misfortune.

Variant A: "al Nasimiento de Xristo"

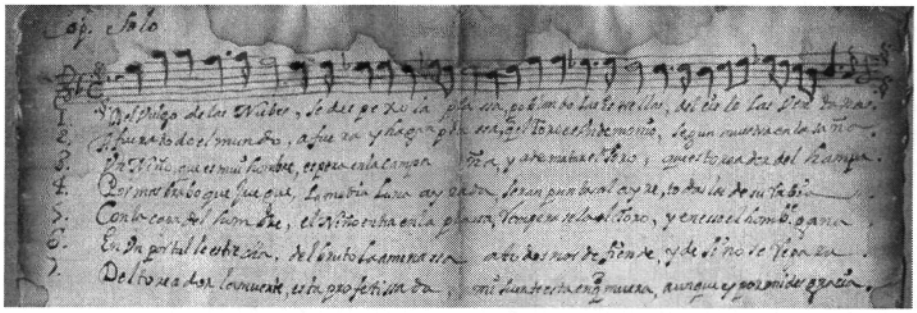


Illustration 1. The coplas for Variant A of "Salga el torillo!"

This piece is catalogued as manuscript no.1169 in the ABNB at Sucre. The manuscript comprises twenty-seven pages, five of which are inscribed on both sides.

On page 1, which appears to be the principal title page, the piece is attributed (in what I take to be Araujo's handwriting) to "El Mro D. Diego Josph de// Salasar" [el Maestro Don José de Salazar] and described as a "Villancico a 8". However, page 18 is also presented as a title page and reads: "Salga salga el torillo hosquillo = a8 = al Nasimiento de Xristo. Araujo." A third title page, page 10, simply says "Guadalupe// Juguete// a tonos".

In fact, the manuscript contains two variant texts for this piece, which I shall refer to hereafter as A and B. Variant B is dedicated to the Nativity of the Virgin and was almost certainly prepared by Araujo for the cathedral at La Plata (Sucre), whose patron was the Virgin of Guadalupe. I have so far been unable to compare variant A, which is dedicated to the Nativity of Christ, with the original Salazar *villancico*, so cannot comment on the extent to which Araujo adapted his source. It was, however, not uncommon for poets and composers alike to adapt each other's work, and the resulting composition was sometimes referred to as a *trova*.[7]

Both variants give novelty and additional appeal to their sacred subjects by employing the allegory of a bullfight. In 1567 bull fighting had been prohibited under pain of excommunication by Pius V (1566-1572), but in 1575 Gregory XIII (1572-1585) removed the prohibition except as regards ecclesiastics, who were still forbidden to frequent bullfights, and as regards feast days, on which they were not to be celebrated. In 1586 however, and after much lobbying by a group of influential Spanish theologians, Sixtus V (1585-90) reinstated the ban. Nevertheless, in the Hispanic world bullfighting ultimately proved more compelling than obedience to papal authority and in 1596 Clement VIII (1592-1605) responded to the urging of the Spanish king and the discontent of the Spanish people by removing all such prohibitions in Spanish territories (except those on monks). Thus, in Araujo's day bullfights were commonly staged to celebrate special occasions, such as the arrival of a new Viceroy or the royal birth mentioned in copla 1 of B and implicit in A's dedication "al Nasimiento de Xristo" (*On the Birth of Christ*).

Variant A has seven *coplas*, each of four heptasyllabic lines, with assonance in a-a on alternate lines (Illus. 1). This arrangement is reminiscent of the traditional *romance* or ballad form, although the *romance* employs hexasyllabic or octosyllabic lines and usually lacks the formal division into regular verses apparent here. The *estribillo*, which contains the title, is not linked to the coplas either by rhyme or the repetition of lines or phrases, and further richness is added by the inclusion of two *arietas*. The first of these is the simpler and consists of a series of appeals for the bull not to be released until the singer is safely behind cover:

¡Que se aguarde!
¡Que se espere!
¡Que se tenga!
mientras me pongo
en cobro, en cobro, yo.
¡Que se aguarde!
¡Que se espere!
¡Que se tenga!
¡Ho! ¡Ho!

Lines 1-3 and 6-8 are all just 4 syllables long whilst lines 4 and 5 are 5 and 6 syllables respectively, and rhyme is absent except for the echoing of the "o" in lines 4, 5 and 9, although one might interpret the patterning if the vowels (a-e, e-e, e-a) in lines 1-3 as deliberate. Whilst not metrically even, the *arieta* is undoubtedly both sonorous and dramatically evocative of the singer's predicament.

The second *arieta*, which begins "Mas ¡ay, qué fiero!" might be arranged several different ways, but a structure can be proposed on the basis of patterns of consonance as follows:

Mas ¡ay, qué fiero!
el toro ligero
corriendo salió tras mi
bien. Pero ¡no! ¡Tras mí!
Yo le vi, al amado dueño mío;
Yo le vi, que le está esperando
el niño; Yo le vi, tiritando;
no de miedo, sino de frío.
Pero ¡No!

In this model the rhyme scheme is a-a-b-b-c-d-d-c-e and the lines are uneven in length, counting 5, 6, 8, 7, 10, 9, 10, 9 and 4 syllables respectively, though line 1 might count 6 if "fiero" were regarded as subject to hiatus and written "fiero". However, the musical setting makes this pronunciation unlikely here. Structurally, therefore, the *arieta* suggests a pattern of two four-line groups, characteristic of popular poetry, and a final half-line that leads us back to the "ho" of the first arieta.

Guadalupe
Juguete a tonos

Salga el torillo hosquillo.
Ho. Ho. Ho. Ho.

q. se aguarde,
q. se espere,
q. se tenga.
mientras me pongo
en cobro en cobro io,
q. se aguarde,
q. se espere,
q. se tenga.
Ho. Ho.

In this second *arieta* the tone shifts from anxiety to dismay as the bull is released into the arena. Yet a comic note is introduced as we hear the singer's alarm intensify when he realises that bull is pursuing not the singer's beloved ("mi bien") but rather the singer himself. Having set the scene in this way, Araujo creates a startling contrast by revealing that the singer's beloved ("el amado dueño mío") is in fact the Christ child ("el niño"), who is depicted as shivering. This is a common detail in Spanish versions of the Nativity and both helps the audience identify the child as Christ and prepares the ground for the striking observation that, in contrast to the panicked singer, the child is not afraid.

In the *coplas* following and framed by these sections, the composer presents an allegory of the Christian mysteries in terms of a bullfight in which, contrary to type, victory depends upon the death of the matador. Thus in the first *copla* the clearing of the town square and the gathering of the great and the good in the windows of the buildings overlooking it becomes a metaphor for the parting of the clouds to reveal a starlit heaven, whilst the second *copla* introduces the bull as a devil, and the third represents the Christ child as a matador, who awaits the bull in the arena, which is the earth. He is described as "muy hombre", simultaneously an evocation of the *machismo* of the bullfighter and the incarnation of Christ, a concept that is referred to again in the fourth *copla* where the matador is described as carrying the cape of man ("la capa del hombre"). Thus the matador's cape, against which the bull will direct its fury, becomes a metaphor for the human body of Christ. The bull itself is described as wasting its fury on the air, and, in a traditional jibe against Islam, its horns are likened to a crescent moon. As the bull closes in on the child in *copla 6*, the Passion and the Nativity are implicitly overlaid, as the matador is pressed into a doorway. This is a realistic touch in a contemporary *corrida* but as the stable at Bethlehem is called a *portal* ("doorway") in Spanish it also reminds us of the fact that man's redemption depends not only on Christ's birth but also on his death. It is in this context that the bullfighter/Christ-child dies defending mankind, with

Let in the little black bull!
Hah! Hah! Hah! Hah!

Hold him back!
Make him wait!
Keep him there!
While I get myself
into cover.
Hold him back!
Make him wait!
Keep him there!
Hah! Hah!

ma ai q. Fiero
el toro lijero
corriendo salio
el torillo es infernal
a todo el mundo fatal
yo le vi benir a la linda mia
io le vi pero nasiendo este dia
io levi desde su primer transe
le hiso lanse
con Gracia q. no ay en mi
pero no

q. se aguarde,
q. se espere,
q. se tenga.
mientras me pongo
cobro en cobro io,
q. se aguarde,
q. se espere,
q. se tenga.
Ho. Ho.

Alegre esta y de fiestas
la corte de la plassa
porque como un oro
a nasido su infanta
del bulgo de las nubes
se despexo la Plaza,
poblando las estrellas
del sielo las bentanas.
afuera todo el mundo
afuera y hagan Plaza
q. el Toro es un demonio
y nadie se le escapa
sola una niña airosa
poniendole con Gracia
el pie sobre la testa
le sujeta y se salba
con un manto de estrellas
sirbiendole de capa
dejo a la de balencia
las lunas de sus astas
por mas brabo que juege
sus puntas aserradas
seran puntas al ayre
que al buelo se deshagan
Bramando de coraje
hastado se deshangra
corre por haser pugna
pero en bano se canza
Por esso los baqueros
y jente de la huasca
lo sacan de corrido
con soga a la garganta

But, alas, how fierce he is!
The swift bull
dashed out.
The bull is hellish,
fatal to all the world.
I saw him - coming towards me;
I saw him - but, though newborn this day,
I saw him - from his first encounter
he thrust at him
with a Grace that I do not possess.
But no!

Hold him back!
Make him wait!
Keep him there!
While I get myself
into cover.
Hold him back!
Make him wait!
Keep him there!
Hah! Hah!

1.Merry and festive is
the court of the bullring,
because a princess has been born
to them, as precious and pure as gold.
2. The square was cleared
of the rabble of clouds,
filling the windows
of Heaven with stars.
3. Everyone out!
Get out and make way!
For the bull is a devil
And no one can escape him.
4. Only a spirited girl,
placing with Grace
her foot on his forehead
overcomes him and saves herself.
5. With a cloak of stars
to serve as her cape,
she left the moon of his horns
frustrated and powerless.
6. However bravely he wields
his jagged horns,
they will gore only air,
exhausting themselves in their frenzy.
7. Bellowing with rage,
lanced and bleeding,
he charges into the fight,
but tires himself in vain.
8. For this the cowboys
and the men with their whips
swiftly drag him away
with a rope around his neck.

Variant B: "Guadalupe"

no thought for himself. The final two lines of *copla 7* pun on *suerte*, which as well as meaning "good fortune" denotes an action in a bullfight, and on *desgracia*, which means misfortune as well as alluding to mankind's loss of Grace in the Fall.

Overall, therefore, this is a conceptually dense and linguistically and metrically agile poetic composition, with an appealing and effective mixture of drama and pathos as well as a surprising degree of devotional depth.

Though set out more neatly and in a more regular hand, Variant B is arguably less accomplished poetically, as its adaptation to the Nativity of Our Lady

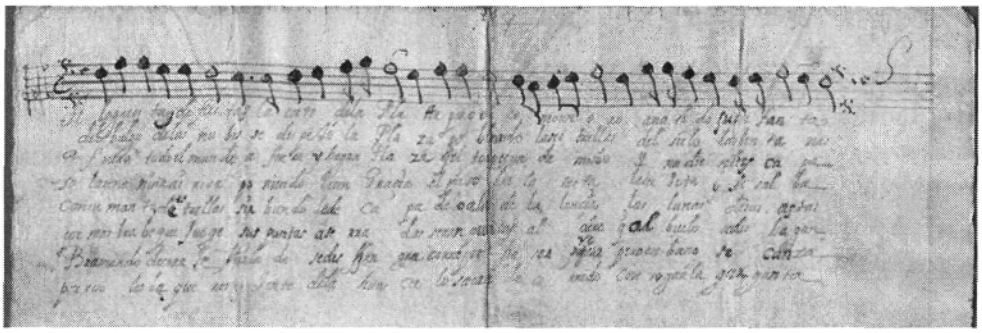


Illustration 2. The coplas for Variant B of "Salga el torillo!"]

undermines the coherence of the allegory found in A (Illus. 2). The *estribillo* and the first *arieta* are unchanged, and in the second *arieta* the dramatic interplay between the figures of the singer and the child is almost completely lost. The more regular rhyme scheme of lines 4-9 is also more static and less involving. The *coplas* replace the "capa del hombre" with Mary's cloak of stars, and play punningly with the lunar motif of the bull's horns but this is just cleverness and lacks the conceptual resonance of the imagery in A. Indeed, the last three *coplas* of B all but abandon the allegorical approach and describe the conclusion of the bullfight with the death of the bull in a manner that might best be described as *costumbrista*, with its references to "vaqueros" (cowboys) and "gente de la huasca" (whip men).

I do not think that the lyrical and conceptual inferiority of B necessarily leads us to the conclusion that Araujo was a lesser poet than Salazar; rather, it seems to demonstrate the problems of adapting a literary composition intended for one religious festival to the circumstances of another, and may also reflect the subordinate and less poignant character of the event celebrated on the 8th of September as compared to that celebrated on Christmas Day.

A final noteworthy feature of this manuscript, albeit a literally marginal one, is that on pages 19 and 21-27 (page 20 contains the *coplas* for A), the designation of the parts each page corresponds to, which appears in left of the top margin, is paired with a name on the right. The names appear to be a mixture of surnames (Berio, Cornelo, Corzo, Vega) and female Christian names (Augustina, Nicolasa, Reluz). None of

Juan de Araujo. "¡Ay andar!"

Para la Natividad del S.or

Al na.to del Senor
Juguete

Ay andar
a tocar a cantar a baylar
Ay andar

a cantar a todo garguero
pues si no queire cantar.
Por la ley de los folijones
La garganta perdera

ay andar andar
q. toca y toca y repica Pascual,
q. oy a nacido una rrara beldad

q. toca y toca y repica Pascual,
q. oy a nacido quien vida nos da

For the Nativity of Our Lord

On the birth of Our Lord
Juguete

Hey! Come on, come on, come on!
Play, sing and dance!
Hey! Come on!

Open your throats and sing!
for he who refuses to sing,
by the law of the jig,
will lose his throat for ever!

Hey! Come on!
Let Pascual play it, play it and play it again,
For a rare beauty has been born today.
or
Let Pascual play it, play it and play it again,
for this is his birthday who gives life to us all!

q. toca y toca y repica Pascual,
q. oy a nacido quien da gracia al raudal

q. toca y toca y repica pascual,
q. toda la gloria rebino a un portal

q. pues toca y retoca y repica pascual
pues toca y retoca la lus del sagal

q. todos y todas y muchos y mas
astillas, se hagan a puro baylar
repite pascual

a tocar a todo pandero,
nadie se podra escusar
q. donde ay mucho concurso,
muchos panderos abra.

ay andar [etc.]

A baylar todo Juanete,
q. no podra disculpar,
condenase a sabañones
por huir la agilidad

ay andar [etc.]

Repica bien las sonajas,
porq. Oy hasiendome rajas,
e de bailar con bentajas
[aunque les parezca mal]
al ayroso Vendabal,

q. toca y toca y repica pascual,[etc.]

[Repica bien las sonajas,
porq. A vista de unas pajas,
he de bailar con bentajas
al ayroso bendaval,]

q. toca y toca y repica pascual,[etc.]

folijon en español
quiere la Madre del sol
no tiene en su facistol
otro mejor Portugal,

q. toca y toca y repica pascual,[etc.]

Folijon en castellano,
Quiere un niño soberano
Pues no gana y esto es llano
El mejor de Portugal

or
Let Pascual play it, play it and play it again,
For today is born one who gives give grace in abundance!
or
Let Pascual, play it, play it and play it again,
for absolute glory has come down to a stable!
or
Let Pascual play it, play it and play it again,
for he's playing and playing for the shepherd-boy's birthday!

Let all men and women, many and more,
wear themselves out purely by dancing!
Play it again, Pascual!

*

Come on shake those tambourines!
No one has any excuse,
for wherever there's a throng
there will always be plenty of fools!

Hey! Come on!

Get dancing all you bunions!
For there's no excuse at all.
You'll be condemned to chilblains
if you try to dodge the dancing!

Hey! Come on!

Set the jingles jingling,
because today, though I wear myself out,
I shall outdo the West Wind
[even if you think it unseemly]
with my dancing.

Let Pascual play it, play it and play it again,[etc.]

[Set the jingles jingling,
because, in sight of the straw
I shall outdo the West Wind
with my dancing.]

Let Pascual play it, play it and play it again,[etc.]

The mother of the sun
desires a Spanish jig;
Portugal has nothing
Better in its facistol.

Let Pascual play it, play it and play it again,[etc.]

A sovereign boy-child
Wants a Castilian jig;
And Portugal's best,
Can't beat one, that's plain.

q. toca y toca y repica pascual,[etc.]

Un monasillo atrebido,
Encaramando el chillido,
Dio un grito tan desmedido,
Que le quito a un sordo el mal,

q. toca y toca y repica pascual,[etc.]

otro dando sapatetas
no le balieron las tretas
[q. en lugar de las floretas]
q. en lugar de sapatetas
dio el colodrillo al umbral

ay andar [etc.]

El sacristan furibundo[q. facundo],
dixo a la Niña rotundo [profundo]
que nace a asombrar al mundo
[nasca y ande todo el mundo,]
sin pecado original
[sera Muger singular]

q. toca y toca y repica pascual,[etc.]

El sacristan furibundo,
Dijo al niño mui profundo,
Vaia y ruede por el mundo
Sera un hombre sin igual

q. toca y toca y repica pascual,[etc.]

q.n baila los folijones
sin meterse en opiniones.
Le quita a los sabañones
La jurisdiccion fatal

q. toca y toca y repica pascual,[etc.]

Toda sudando manteca,
[Con su miel y su manteca,]
llego Gila [Laura] vana y gueca,
y auque enferma de xaqueca,
baylo una hora cabal

q. toca y toca y repica pascual,[etc.]

Dixole a la mula el Buei
por señal de buena ley
q. no ha de estar junto al Rey
una mula desleal,

q. toca y toca y repica pascual,[etc.]

Let Pascual play it, play it and play it again,[etc.]

A mischievous altar boy,
raising his high-pitched voice;
gives out such a great shout,
that even a deaf man might hear it.

Let Pascual play it, play it and play it again,[etc.]

Another, leaping to kick his heels,
couldn't perform the trick,
and instead of kicking his heels
[instead of cutting a dash]
fell flat on his back just like that!

Let Pascual play it, play it and play it again,[etc.]

The furious sacristan
said roundly [profoundly] to the girl
who is born to amaze the world;
[Be born, and come on everyone!]
without original sin
[She must be a singular woman!]

Let Pascual play it, play it and play it again,[etc.]

The furious sacristan
said very profoundly to the boy
"Go and travel the world;
you will be an extraordinary man!"

Let Pascual play it, play it and play it again,[etc.]

Whoever dances a Spanish jig
without worrying what people think
deprives chilblains
of their fateful jurisdiction.

Let Pascual play it, play it and play it again,[etc.]

Sweating like a pig,
[With her honey and her lard,]
Jill [Laura] arrived, vain and haughty,
and though she had a headache,
she danced for a full hour.

Let Pascual play it, play it and play it again,[etc.]

The ox said to the ass:
"For proper form's sake
a disloyal ass must not stand
anywhere near the King!"

Let Pascual play it, play it and play it again,[etc.]

Pues por la vida de quien somos, Que los nobles Mayordomos, De adulación sin asomos. El vitor se a de cantar, *q. toca y toca y repica pascual,[etc.]*	So, for all our sakes, noble Masters of the Revels, without a hint of a flattery, it's time to acclaim the winner! *Let Pascual play it, play it and play it again [etc.]*
	*
qual sera en creciendo aquesta Deydad si recien nacida no tiene otra ygual *q. toca y toca y repica pascual,[etc.]* cual sera q. no salte de hombre a deydad pues Dios a saltado de aterno a mortal *q. toca y toca y repica pascual,[etc.]*	What will this Deity be like when it grows up, if, new-born, it is already without equal? *Let Pascual play it, play it and play it again [etc.]* Who might not now leap from man to God? When God has leapt from eternal to mortal! *Let Pascual play it, play it and play it again [etc.]*

The manuscript contains several variations and revisions, shown here as lighter (grey) text.

these are the devotional names taken by nuns and moreover, all of them are prefixed "La Sa." (La señora), indicating that the singers were likely to be married women. Aside from the fact that Araujo's music is principally associated with boy choirs, a connection held to account for the importance of treble parts in his *villancicos*, it is interesting to discover this indication of female performance in a society that is usually regarded as having looked disapprovingly on performances by women (Illus. 3).

feature his name in this position. However, page 7 also appears to be a cover page, and reads "Al Na.to del Senor// juguete" (Al Nacimiento del Señor). Araujo's name has also been added in another hand and different ink. *Juguete* is a term I have so far failed to pin down, other than as indicating a merry and festive song ("una canción alegre y festiva"), a characterisation that nevertheless fits this piece rather better than it does "Salga el torillo".[8]

This piece has two *estribillos*. The first

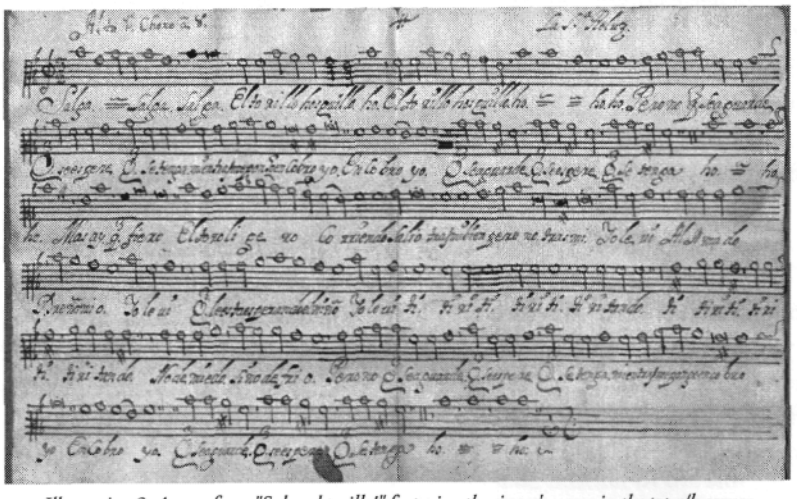


Illustration 3. A page from "Salga el torillo!" featuring the singer's name in the top r/h corner

Juan de Araujo's "¡Ay andar!" is catalogued as manuscript no.820 in the ABNB at Sucre. The manuscript comprises eleven pages, two of which are inscribed on both sides.

On page 1, which is the title page, is written, in Araujo's handwriting, "Para la Natividad del Sor." (Para la Natividad del Señor). Araujo's name doesn't appear until page 6, where it is present in the right of the top margin (Illus. 4). All the remaining pages also

encourages the listener to get involved in the celebrations by playing ("tocar"), singing ("cantar") or dancing ("bailar"). The word used is "andar" which in modern Spanish often means "to walk", a translation that is clearly inadequate in this high-energy context. The lively catchphrase of the Mexican cartoon mouse Speedy González - ¡Ándale! ¡Ándale! – derived from the same verb, gives a better sense of its meaning here. All the infinitives chosen end in "-ar" and this

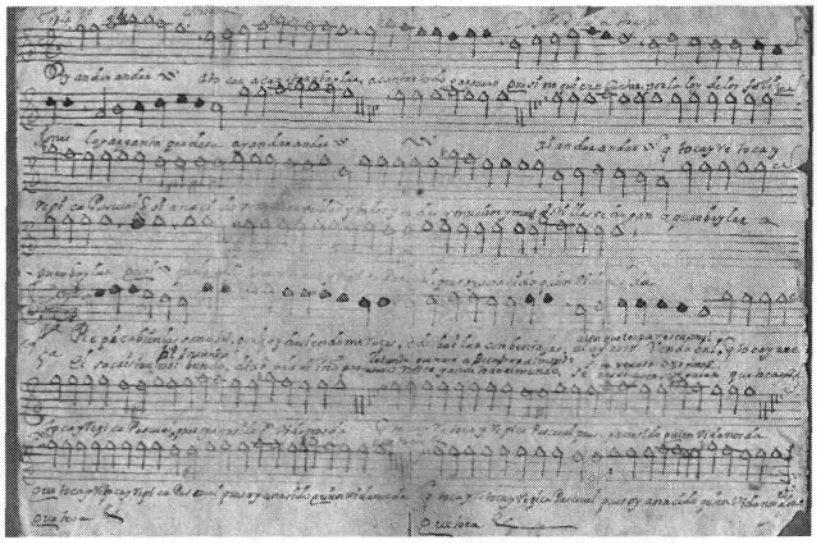


Illustration 4. A page from "Ay andar" featuring the much-revised "sacristán" copla

provides the assonantal signature for the composition.

The second *estribillo* takes the form of a couplet, and though the lines vary in length from 10 to 12 syllables, they are consistent in their assonance, each ending in a, which accords with the rhyme scheme of the composition as a whole. The seven versions fall into three groups: four begin with the same invocation to the shepherd Pascual to play his pipe again and again ("¡Que toca y retoca y repica Pascual"), following this up with a line that refers to the birth of Christ and his attributes of beauty, life, light, grace and glory; two look to the future and ask how the child will develop, first from infant to man, and then from man to deity, considering also the mysteries of his perfection and his incarnation; and one urges everyone to dance until they literally fly into splinters.

There are twelve *coplas*. Each copla comprises four predominantly octosyllabic lines, with assonance in a on alternate lines, a form which recalls the traditional Spanish *romance*. The *coplas* are set out on the same sheets as the *estribillos* but are spread across the *partitura*. Three of them appear in two versions, and indeed, *copla* 8, which features a sacristán, seems to have given the lyricist some trouble because it shows numerous corrections and its meaning remains obscure, at least to me. *Copla* 12 also seems out of place as it features an accusation of disloyalty made by the Ox against the Mule [sic] at the manger. The remaining ten *coplas*, however, display a satisfying unity of theme, centred on the actions of the first *estribillo – tocar, cantar, bailar*. Indeed the first three *coplas* deal directly with this sequence. *Copla* 4 refers to jingling (skinless) tambourines and wild dancing. *Copla* 5 praises Spanish songs over those of the Portuguese. *Coplas* 6 and 7 comically describe an altar boy who lets out a shout loud enough for the deaf to hear and another who, leaping in the air in delight, and attempting to kick his heels, loses his balance and falls flat on his back. From the altar boys we move to the sacristan, and then on in *copla* 9 to the idea that, when it comes to making merry, people should put aside their reservations and join in unreservedly. Thematically, this *copla* has more in common with the first three and would follow them more naturally than it does *copla* 8. *Copla* 10 introduces us to Gila, a plump yet vain hoyden, who, despite claiming to have a migraine, manages to dance continuously for an hour. Finally, after the incongruous interlude with the ox and the mule, the song closes with a *copla* that invites the *mayordomos*, elected officers of the *cofradías* or charitable brotherhoods, for one of which this piece was probably destined, to declare someone the winner and put an end to this frenetic Christmas dance-athon.

It will be seen from the above that this is essentially a festive piece with a lively comic spirit and sparing religious reference; only the *estribillo* couplets and the sacristan's *coplas* refer to sacred matters, and the majority of the *coplas* emphasise the pleasure to be had from joining wholeheartedly in the party without worrying about looking a fool. The names Pascual and Gila imply a rustic setting, evocative of the pastoral themes so often present in Christmas *villancicos*, and if the figures of the altar boy and the sacristan associate the action with the Church they do so only at the lowest, and most comical, level of its hierarchy.

It is perhaps surprising to find such light-hearted works in the *oeuvre* of a cathedral Chapel Master such as Araujo, and more surprising still to find them preserved in the cathedral archives, but such music was an integral part of religious observance in this period, to the extent that in Spain *villancicos* were even performed as part of the service of matins on major feast days, special papal dispensation having been given to permit the eight main antiphons of the office to be replaced with *"villancicos"* and "romances".[9] Though some churchmen condemned the levity of the *villancicos*, Pedro Cerone, author of the famous seventeenth-century treatise El *Melopeo y Maestro* (Naples, 1613), defended them: "I would not like to say

villancicos are a bad thing," he writes, "for they are received in all Spanish churches, and were it not for them, it would not be possible to reach the appropriate heights of solemn celebration [...] There are some people so lacking in piety that they attend church but once a year, and miss all the Masses of Obligation, because they are too lazy to get up out of bed. But let it be known that there will be *villancicos*, and there is no one more devout in the whole place, none more vigilant than these people, for there is no church, oratory or shrine that they will not visit, nor do they mind getting up in the middle of the night in the freezing cold, just to hear them."[10] With *villancicos* like "¡Ay, andar!" catching cold seems unlikely to have been a problem.

"¡Aquí, valentones!" is catalogued as manuscript no. 810 in the ABNB at Sucre. The manuscript comprises twelve pages, one of which (page 1) is inscribed on both sides.

On page 1, which is the title page, is written, in a hand I hesitate to identify as Araujo's "Pª. El S.or S.n Franº de Assis a 11." [Para el Señor San Francisco de Assis]. Below this are written in different hands: "Jacara // Araujo" and "Aquí valentones", and finally, at the foot of the page, the word "Chavarria" (Illus. 5). This is presumably Roque Jacinto de Chavarria (1688-1719), who took over as *Maestro de Capilla* at La Plata after Araujo's death, and presumably worked with him when he was alive. His name, and the title of the piece are the only two inscriptions on the page that I recognise as being in Araujo's handwriting. Araujo's name does appear, however, in its customary place on the right in the top margin of pages 10 and 12.

This work is identified as a *xácara*, an immensely popular and lively form of the *villancico* that customarily featured characters and language drawn from the urban

Juan de Araujo / Chavarría. "¡Aquí, valentones!"

s.n Fran.o de asis.
Aqui valentones
Chavarria

Aqui aqui Valentones de nombre
aquí temerones de fama aquí

diga baya

al santo mas de la hampa diga
al balentón más divino diga
mas primero nos diga
como es su gracia baya

los seraphines lo dizen
los Cherubines la cantan
los arcangeles la admiran
y los angeles la estrañan

diga baya

Coplas

que paresen enigmas sus prendas raras
pues le da lo q. tiene lo que le falta
2ª con ser pobre y humilde dello haze gala
y en aquel sayal rroto tiene mil almas
3ª aunque tosco parese todo lo alcanza
pues q. con el me entierren dizen por gracias
4ª Pues la cuerda q. ziñe q.n tal pensara
nudos tiene y parece cosa muy llana

5ª ella es cuerda y me suena con ser tan baja
de los cielos q. tiene muchas octavas
quando humilde le miro Con tales llagas
no vi cossa modesta tan desgarrada

St. Francis of Assisi
Come here, ruffians!

Come here!, come here!, confirmed ruffians!
Come here!, notorious daredevils!

Say "I say!"

To the most divine ruffian say;
To the most roguish saint say;
But first tell us
how fine he is. I say!

The seraphim tell of it;
the cherubim sing of it;
the archangels wonder at it,
and the angels are amazed at it.

Say "I say!"

Verses

1. His odd garments are like enigmas;
for what he lacks gives him what he has.
2. Poverty and humility he turns into finery;
and in his tattered habit he has a thousand souls.
3. Though it seems coarse, it encompasses everything;
for people say "Bury me in it!" as a mark of gratitude.
4. And the cord around his waist, who would have thought it?
It seems so plain although it is knotted.
5. It is a string that reminds me, base (bass) though it is,
of Heaven, for it has many octaves (figures-of-eight).
6. When I see him so humble and with such wounds,
I never saw anything at once so modest and so dishevelled.

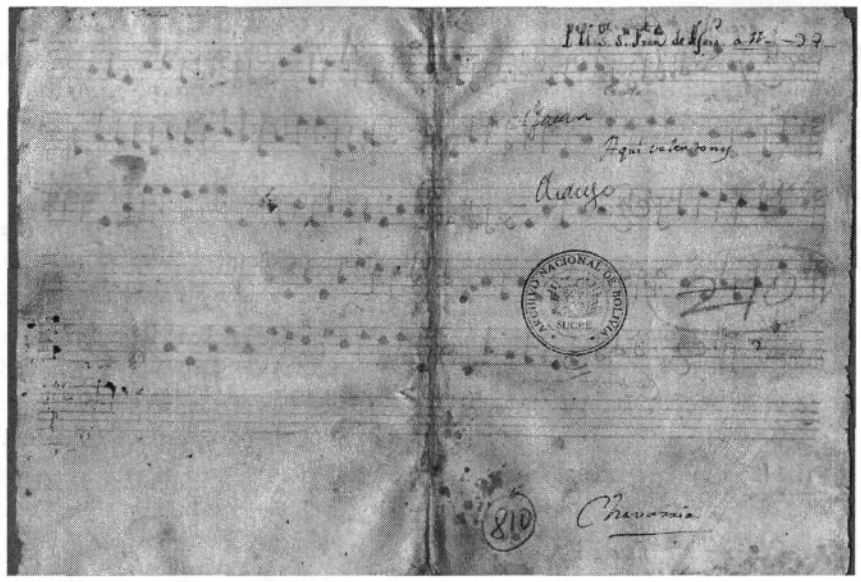


Illustration 5. The title page of "Aquí, valentones!"

criminal underworld – "el mundo de la hampa". A brief example of a poetic *xácara* is provided by Cervantes in his play *El rufián dichoso (The Blessed Ruffian)* in a scene in which the *pícaro* Lagartija recites a poem of this type to the *valentón* Lugo. Lagartija's much-vaunted poem is set in Seville and tells of "Reguilete, el xaque", a swaggerer, and the character type that gives the *xácara* its name, who enters the square on a feast day to take part in a bullfight. He draws admiring glances from the crowd but when the bull – a "toro hosco" - is released the fight is swiftly concluded when the bull gores and tramples Reguilete to death. The *xácara* itself ends as abruptly as the *xaque's* life, a fact for which Lagartija invites Lugo to be thankful. Lugo, it is worth noting, sees a lesson for himself in the *xácara*, and soon afterwards he gives up his life of swaggering self-indulgence in the "mundo de la hampa" for a life of humility and abstinence as a Dominican Friar, a transformation that also brings him across the Atlantic to Mexico and ultimately wins him salvation.

[Lugo, estudiante, and lagartija, muchacho]
Lug.: ¡Mucho sabes! ¿Qué papel
es el que traes en el pecho?
Lag.: ¿Descubreseme algo del?
Todo el seso sin prouecho
de Apolo se encierra en el.
Es vn romance jacaro,
que le ygualo y le comparo
al mejor que se ha compuesto;
echa de la ampa el resto
en estilo xaco y raro.
Tiene vocablos modernos,
de tal manera, que encantan;
vnos brauos, y otros tiernos;
ya a los cielos se leuantan,
ya baxan a los infiernos.
Lug.: Dile, pues.
Lag.: Sele de coro:
que ninguna cosa ignoro
de aquesta que a luz se saque.
Lug.: ¿Y de qué trata?
Lag.: De vn xaque
que se tomó con vn toro.
Lug.: Vaya, Lagartija.
Lag.: Vaya,
y todo el mundo esté atento
a mirar cómo se ensaya

[Cristobal de Lugo, a student, and Lagartija, a boy.]
Lugo: Aren't you a wise one! What's that
Paper you've got in your jacket there?
Lagartija: Should I reveal some of its contents?
All the bootless brains of Apollo
Are locked up within it.
It is a ballad in the manner of a Xácara,
Which I would match and compare
With the best that's ever been written;
In the roguery and rarity of its style
It expels all the rest from the thieves' fraternity.
It has newly-invented words,
In a way that will delight;
Some savage, some gentle;
Now rising up to heaven,
Now descending into hell.
Lugo: Read it, then.
Lagartija: I know it by heart:
Indeed there is nothing I do not know
About the matters it brings to light.
Lugo: And what is it about?
Lagartija: A ruffian.
Who took on a bull.
Lugo: Let's hear it, Lagartija.
Lagartija: Let's,
And let everyone take note
And see how my understanding

a passar mi entendimiento
del que mas sube la raya.
"Año de mil y quinientos
y treinta y quatro corria,
a veinte y cinco de Mayo,
martes, aziago dia,
sucedio vn caso notable
en la ciudad de Seuilla,
digno que ciegos le canten
y que poetas le escriuan.
Del gran corral de los Olmos,
do está la xacarandina,
sale Reguilete, el xaque,
vestido a las marauillas.
No va la buelta del Cayro,
del Catay ni de la China,
ni de Flandes ni Alemania,
ni menos de Lombardia;
va la buelta de la plaça
de San Francisco bendita,
que corren toros en ella
por santa Iusta y Rufina,
y, apenas entró en la plaça,
quando se lleua la vista
tras si de todos los ojos,
que su buen donayre miran.
Salio en esto vn toro hosco,
¡valasme, Santa Maria!,
y, arremetiendo con el,
dio con el patas arriba.
Dexóle muerto y mohino,
bañado en su sangre misma;
y aqui da fin el romance,
porque llegó el de su vida."

Lug.: ¿Y este es el romance brauo
que dezias?

Lag.: Su llaneza
y su buen dezir alabo;
y mas, que muestra agudeza
en llegar tan presto al cabo.

Strives to surpass
That of the most brilliant of men.
"The year fifteen hundred
And thirty four had reached,
The twenty-fifth of May,
A Tuesday, unlucky day,
When a notable thing occurred
In the city of Seville,
Worthy to be sung of by the blind
And written of by poets.
From the great square of Los Olmos,
Where rogues hold court,
Comes Reguilete, the ruffian,
Dressed to the nines.
He isn't heading for Cairo,
Or for Cathay or for China,
Nor for Flanders or Germany,
Let alone for Lombardy;
He's heading for the square
Blessed by St. Francis,
Because bulls are to be run there
For the feast of Saints Justa and Rufina,
And, no sooner has he entered the ring,
Than he draws after him
The gaze of every eye
That alights on his fine bearing.
Just then there entered a black bull
Holy Mary, protect me!
And charging him,
He knocked him head over heels
And left him dead and disgraced,
Bathed in his own blood;
And here the ballad ends
Since his life has too."

Lugo: And is this the fine ballad
You were talking about?

Lagartija: Its plainness
And its eloquence I commend;
And more, for it shows a keen wit
In coming so swiftly to its close.[11]

The passage inevitably reminds us of "¡Salga el torillo!", which, as well as containing a bull of the same colour (dull black, perhaps with a hint of brown), refers to the *matador* as a "toreador del hampa". It is also apparent that both Cervantes' *xaque* and Salazar's Christ child fight their respective bulls on foot, something that was not done by men of quality, who fought mounted until bullfighting fell out of favour as a aristocratic sport around 1725. These details indicate a picaresque or xacaresque quality to the *villancico* that is perhaps not initially apparent.

After the cathedral, one of the most important religious foundations at Sucre was the Church of St. Francis. This church, mostly built between 1577 and 1580 but completed in 1618 was associated with a Franciscan community, and the Order had been the first to bring Christianity to the New World. The feast of St. Francis is the 4th October and this *xácara* may well have been written to celebrate it.

"¡Aquí, valentones!" has an initial two-line estribillo that establishes a-a as its assonantal signature. This *estribillo* calls on the local hard-men using the customary shout of someone seeking assistance or support, whether in the street or on the battlefield: "¡Aquí! ¡Aquí!" In this way it not only introduces characters typical of the *xácara* but also establishes a tone of dramatic urgency. The longer refrain that follows comprises two four-line verses. The first of these emphasises the imperative "diga" (say) by placing it at

the end of lines 1, 2 and 3, and finishes off the sequence with the contrasting imperative "vaya", which picks up the assonance of the piece. In this quatrain, St. Francis is unexpectedly described as "el valentón más divino" (the most divine ruffian) and "el santo más de la hampa" (the most roguish saint). "Vaya" literally means "go", but it is widely used as an expression of surprise and admiration, and this is how it should be interpreted here. The excitable tone of this quatrain contrasts with the serenity of the following four lines which present the hierarchy of the angels, seraphim, cherubim, archangels and angels as being progressively more impressed the further down their hierarchy one moves. Thus, at one end of the scale, the seraphim merely speak ("dicen") of St. Francis' grace ("gracia"), whilst at the other the angels are amazed by it ("la extrañan").

There are six *coplas*, each of two dodecasylabic lines finishing in the a-a assonance that unites the composition, and each loaded with word play and conceptual puzzles. As the first *copla* announces, his rare garments ("prendas raras") are like enigmas because what he lacks gives him what he has. In other words, his poverty underpins his quality of spirit. However, the phrase, "rare garments" doesn't do justice to "prendas raras" since "prendas" can also mean "gifts" and "raro" can mean "scarce", "unusual", or "special" and probably means all three here. A similar idea is articulated in *copla* 2, which sets out the paradoxes that poverty and humility can display quality just as much as finery, and that the saint's torn habit nevertheless contains many souls – a riddle presumably explained by the fact that many people either belong to the Franciscan Order or, as the third *copla* informs us, choose to be buried in Franciscan dress as a mark of thanks for the saint's intervention. Thus, the rough ("tosco") habit may seem base, but it is nevertheless held in the highest esteem. The fourth *copla* considers the cord that girds Francis' habit, and plays on the two senses of "llano", which can mean both plain and smooth, thus the paradox here is that the Franciscan girdle, with its thick knots is nevertheless "smooth" as well as simple. The punning goes on from there to imagine the rope girdle as the string of a musical instrument, which is "bajo", i.e., both bass in tone and basic in its simplicity, and which, as a result reminds him of heaven, not least because it has many octaves. This is most obviously a musical allusion, but it also refers to the Pythagorean theory of the music of the spheres, and to the possibility that the knots themselves are figures-of-eight. The final *copla* considers St. Francis' *stigmata* and puns on the double sense of "desgrarrada" as both "torn" and "shameless" to create an oxymoronic opposition with the modesty of the humble saint.

The imagery of the *coplas*, with its strong contrasts between humility and ostentation, poverty and greatness, parallels the bipolar identity of the four-line *estribillos* and together these features help explain the surprising juxtaposition between the sacred and the profane apparent in the marriage of the *xácara* form to such devotional content.

These three pieces represent just a very few examples from a vast store of musical treasures, but they give a vivid sense of the way in which the music of the Chapel Masters of the great cathedrals of Spain's American territories reached out to recognise and engage with the lives of ordinary people. They show too how these composers combined exciting rhythms and delightful harmonies with lyrical compositions that not only drew on popular traditions of poetry and song but also mined the imagery of everyday life for vivid metaphors through which to communicate and celebrate the mysteries of the faith they served.

1 See Robert Stevenson, *The Music of Peru. Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs* (Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1959); *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968). Selected transcriptions from these works were subsequently published in a special number of the *Inter-American Music Review*. "Hispanic American Music Treasury (1580-1765)", *Inter-American Music Review*, VI:2 (1985), p 105. Along with an introduction, this issue contains transcriptions of the following pieces: Juan de Araujo - "Aqui aqui Valentones de nombre"; "Ay andar a tocar a cantar a baylar", "Dixit Dominus", "Los coflades de la estleya", "Oigan escuchen atiendan", "Ut queant laxis"; Cristóbal de Belsayaga - "Magnificat Sexti toni"; Manuel Blasco - "Ventezillo traviesso", "Versos al organo con duo para chirimias"; José Cascante - "Vate vate las alas"; Roque Ceruti - "A cantar un Billancico"; Roque Jacinto de Chavarría - "Fuera fuera haganles lugar"; Antonio Durán de la Mota - "Fuego, fuego que Juan de Dios se abrasa", "Laudate pueri Dominum".

I must also acknowledge here the generous assistance and encouragement given to me by Jeffrey Skidmore, who, aside from initiating this project and providing me with copies of the manscripts, has also kindly read several drafts of this paper and offered invaluable comments and corrections. Needless to say, any errors that remain are mine alone.

2 See B.W. Wardropper (ed.), *Spanish Poetry of the Golden Age* (New York, N.Y.: Irvington, 1971), p.6, and Susan Koetgen, "A Short History of The Colonial *Villancico* of New Spain", *Clave Magazine*, Latin-American Folk Institute, http://www.lafi.org/magazine/articles/*villancico*.html (11/04).

3 VILLANCICO. S.m. Composicion de Poesía con su estrivillo para la Música de las festividades en las Iglesias. Dixose assi segun Covarr. De las canciones villanescas, que suele cantar la gente del campo, por haberse formado á su imitacion. Lat. *Festivum carmen. Cantilena*, a. CERV. Quix. Tom. I. cap. 12. Tanto, que él hacia los *villancicos* para la noche del Nacimiento del Senor. QUEV. Entrem. Es mejor que Gil, y Pascual anden siempre en los *villancicos*. [*VILLANCICO. A verse composition with a refrain set to music for the festivities held in churches. According to Covarrubias they take their name from the country songs which rustic people (villanos) are accustomed to sing, since they are composed in imitation of these. Lat. Festivum carmen. Cantilena, a. CERVANTES. Don Quixote I.12. "So much so, that he composed the carols for Christmas Eve. QUEVEDO. Entremeses. "It is better that Gil and Pascual should always stay in carols]. Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, 6 vols (Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia Española; herederos de Francisco del Hierro, 1739), VI, 487:2. My translation.

4 Koetgen, "A Short History".

5 "XÁCARA. s.s. Composicion Poética, que se forma en el que llaman Romance, y regularmente se refiere en ella algun sucesso particular, ó extrano. Usase mucho el cantarla entre los que llaman Xaques, de donde pudo tomar el nombre."
[XÁCARA. A verse composition, composed in the form known as "romance" (ballad), and regularly referring to some particular or remarkable event. It is common for these to be sung among those known as "Xaques" (ruffians), from which they take their name.]. Diccionario de la lengua castellana, VI, 532:2. My translation.

6 "Every cathedral or important church maintained a *capilla de música*, directed by a *maestro de capilla* and made up of as many instrumentalists and singers as each foundation had resources to support. There were foundations, such as the cathedral at Chuquisaca (today Sucre, Bolivia), which, on account of its proximity to the rich silver mines of Potosí, was able to maintain a *capilla* of more than fifty musicians during this period, a number much greater than that found in the important musical centres of Europe at the time. For his part, the *maestro de capilla*, was obliged to provide a continually updated repertoire for the various festivals of the ecclesiastical year, as well as being responsible for the administration and artistic direction of the consort and the maintenance and education of the "seises" [sixes], or boy choristers, who sang the treble parts [*voces blancas*] in polyphony and participated in plainsong alongside the canons of the Chapter" [My translation]. Samuel Claro Valdés, "Textos del CD", *La España Virreinal: Maestros de capilla de la catedral de Lima (1676-1765)*, Capella de Ministrers, directed by Carles Magraner (Valencia, Dahiz–Tabalet Alboraia, 1994). See Academia Musical de Indias, http://amusindias.free.fr/en/discos/esp_vir.php3 (11.2004).

7 "TROVA. Se llama ahora la composición métrica formada a imitación de otra, siguiendo el méthodo, estilo, ú consonancia, ó parificando alguna historia, ó fábula. Lat. Metrica copositio aliam numeris imitans. SAAV. Coron. Got. Tom.I. Año 451. De donde resultaron en España las trovas, y romances historiales." [TROVA. *Is the current name for a metrical composition formed by imitation of another, following the method, style, or rhyme scheme, or copying its plot, whether historical or fictional.*] TROVAR. Vale tambien imitar alguna composición métrica, aplicandola á otro assunto. Lat. *Metricam compositionem alia imitans.* [*TROVAR. Also means to imitate a verse composition, applying the form to different content.*]. *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, VI, 369:1. My translation.

8 *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, 6 vols (Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia Española; herederos de Francisco del Hierro, 1734), IV, 329:1.

9 Ensemble Elyma, "Il secolo d'oro nel nuovo mundo". I have changed the original reference to "anthems" to "antiphons" as being more probable. See http://www.elyma.com/Pages_anglaises/Musicology/il_secolo_d_oro_ang.htm (11.2004). See also Álvaro Llosa Sanz, "Literatura y sociedad en algunos villancicos del siglo XVII":

> *The idea that initiated this tradition came from Fray Hernando de Talavera, who is best known as Confessor to Isabel the Catholic. Like so many Humanists of the period who championed the use of vernacular languages, Talavera felt that masses and matins, whose psalms, antiphons, readings and responses were in Latin, as the Liturgy required, were proving overly tiresome and that at least some of them might be done in Castilian, not least, because for many of his parishioners half the mass was otherwise unintelligible. Talavera's biographer relates that:*
>
> > Instead of the responses he had them sing some thoroughly devout coplas, corresponding to the lessons. In this way the holy gentleman attracted people to matins as well as mass. On other occasions he put on sacred plays, so devout that any who did not weep with sacred devotion had to have hearts of stone.
>
> *His innovation, which was a great popular success, was promptly condemned and forbidden by the Church authorities, yet they were ultimately unable to prevent the limited infiltration of such pieces into the liturgy for the principal festivals: i.e. Christmas, Epiphany, Corpus Christi, the Feast of the Assumption, and other occasions of local importance.* [My translations]

Espéculo. Revista de estudios literarios, Revista Digital Cuatrimestral, Universidad Complutense de Madrid 19 (2001-2002), http://www.ucm.es/info/especulo/numero19/villanci.html.

10 Andrew Lawrence-King, *Missa Mexicana* (Los Angeles: Harmonia Mundi, 2002), CD booklet, p.8.

11 Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El rufián dichoso, from Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses* (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1615).

12 Polite English equivalents are hard to find, and the best I have been able to come up with so far is "I say!" which is both excessively prim and insufficiently current.

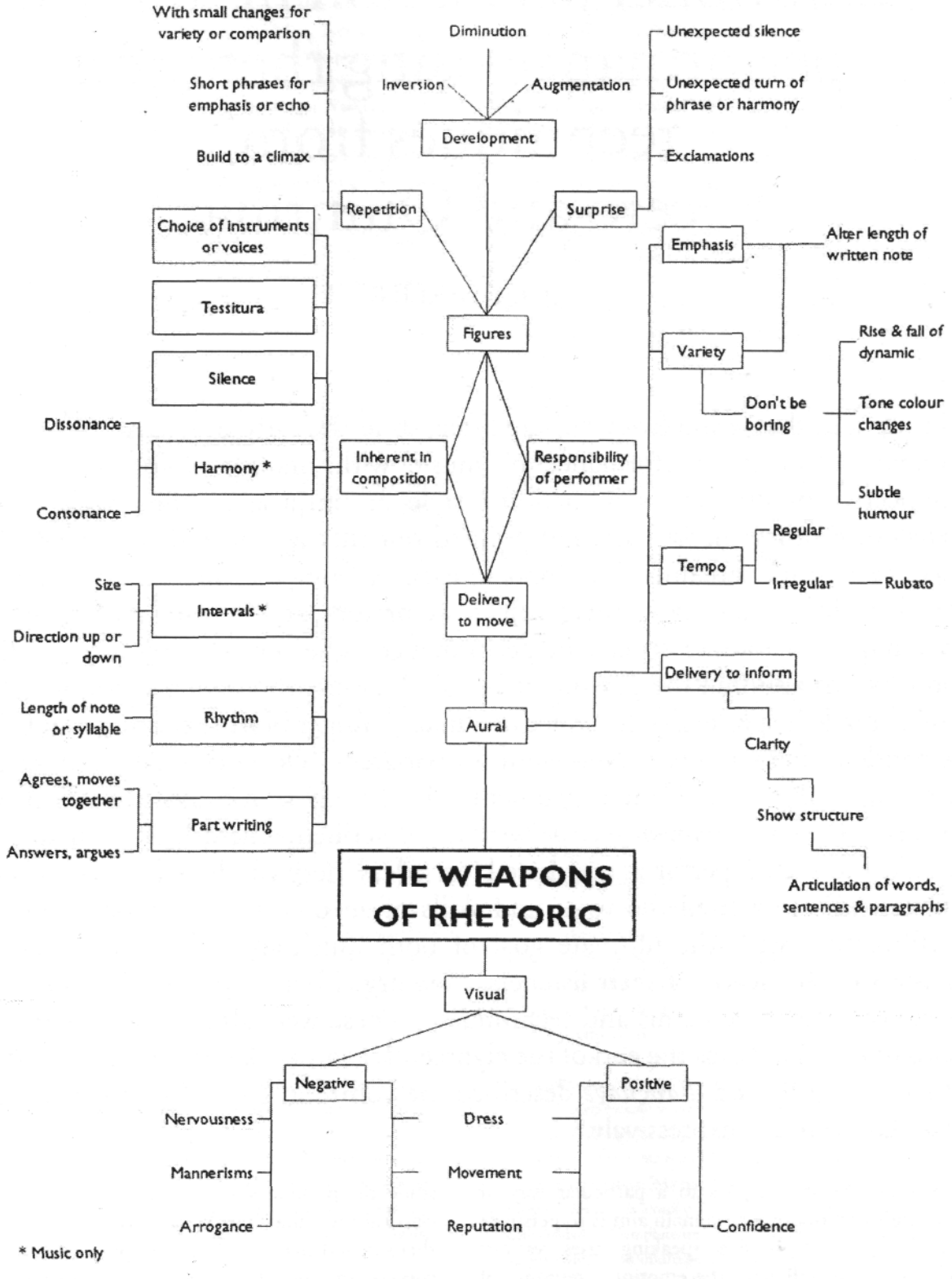
'What passion cannot music raise and quell?': Emotional persuasion in musical performance using rhetorical techniques from Cicero and Quintilian[1]

JUDY TARLING

Throughout the period from the late fifteenth to the early nineteenth century the comparison of the performance of music with oratory is frequently found irrespective of differences in national style or purpose of composition. The sixteenth-century theorist Zarlino pointed out that accent and rhythm are both used by orators and musicians, and musicians from the fifteenth century were urged to lower and raise their voices 'as orators do.'[2] Instrumentalists were encouraged to imitate speech in performance. The seventeenth-century diarist John Evelyn admired the playing of Nicola Matteis who had 'a stroak so sweete' which 'made it speake like the voice of a man'.[3] Roger North reported that Corelli demanded of his pupils 'Non udite lo parlare?' ('Do you not hear it speak?), referring to the voice of the instrument.[4] In the eighteenth century, Mattheson's treatise *Der volkommene Capellmeister* described rhetorical principles of composition and performance based on ideas derived directly from classical sources. Quantz cited the voice and skills of an orator as his models for good performance, with the ultimate goal of both musician and orator to become 'masters of the hearts of their listeners'. He urged both types of performer to be aware of their shared aims and techniques.[5] These were also noted by writers on speaking, and towards the end of the eighteenth century William Cockin's *The Art of Delivering Written Language* described the common ground between speaking and playing music expressively.[6]

The term 'rhetoric' applies to a particular way of speaking by an orator whose main aim is to persuade the listener. Persuasive speaking uses various techniques that influence the emotional response of the listener in order to bring him round to the speaker's opinion.

It is no coincidence that the period during which rhetoric was a prime factor in musical composition and performance, approximately 1500-1800, coincides with the period during which the study of speaking skills was championed, with the classical texts forming the basis of knowledge about rhetoric and oratory. The peak period for studying, composing and delivering a performance in the rhetorical style was the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. After this, rhetorical techniques became embedded in the processes of musical composition and performance, and were adapted to new styles until the early nineteenth century, when other factors became more influential.



A performer's guide to The Weapons of Rhetoric

To discover what this 'playing like an orator' meant in practice, I decided to investigate the subject from the rhetorical point of view and began to search the texts on rhetoric and oratory, looking for material about delivery in general, and particularly the delivery of the emotional content of a composition.

The accompanying table shows what I discovered about rhetorical delivery according to the classical sources, which were paraphrased from the sixteenth century onwards in school textbooks and the pocket eloquence books written for lawyers, clergymen and gentlemen. You will see from this plan how much the performance of a speech, as in oratory, and the performance of music have in common. In fact, virtually everything considered necessary for successful and effective rhetorical delivery can also be applied to music.

Music has, in addition to all the other features of spoken rhetoric, harmony, which is the resulting affect of more than one voice speaking at once. The main affects of harmony are found in various levels of dissonance and consonance, which may disturb the listener or soothe him, or, to use Dryden's phrase 'raise or quell' the passions.[7]

The ethos or credibility of the speaker is of the utmost importance for establishing authority over the audience's emotions. The listeners need to believe in the authority of the speaker before they will be persuaded by his arguments and emotional messages. Cicero thinks the speaker should at least appear to be a good and wise man to obtain the listener's trust, and, developing this theme, Quintilian says that a true orator cannot be otherwise than a good man. If the speaker is trusted, the listener will relinquish control of his emotions so that the speaker may do with them what he wills.

The appearance of the performer contributes to this trust and will affect the listener's opinion, which will be formed soon after he walks onto the platform. The performer will be judged by his facial expressions, and how he moves and behaves. To the listener this is an integral part of the performance. To establish an immediate connection with the audience, the attitude of the performer should be confident and relaxed, avoiding mannerisms and all sense of nervousness or stage-fright. However, a fine balance must be struck between arrogance and confidence in case the audience is offended before the performance starts.

The aims of the orator in classical rhetoric are acknowledged to be to inform, move and delight. In musical performance, we could safely say that the main aims are to move and delight, preferably at the same time. As to informing, in music ideas need to be presented clearly and simply before any treatment, either with figures or using an emotional method of delivery is brought into play. The method of communication and performance as described in classical rhetoric may be summarised by the presence and successful control of ethos, logos (content or argument) and pathos (emotion).

In the relative importance of the divisions of rhetoric, all the classical writers from Demosthenes to Cicero agree that delivery takes 'the palm'. Both Cicero and Quintilian give detailed instructions concerning delivery, a subject that was hardly mentioned by Aristotle. Cicero, a consummate performer himself, describes the experience of leaving the safety of the practice room to walk out on stage into the glare of exposure where his powers are put to the test. This has a familiar ring for performers of any sort. He describes the nerves, the moment of silence just before starting to speak, the listeners waiting and expectant.

Cicero maintains that inferior material well delivered has a more powerful affect than better material delivered badly. Rhetorical techniques of delivery are generally ignored or at least underestimated by musicians unaware of rhetoric's powers. The performer is usually preoccupied with an accurate reading of the notes; criticism from peers and audience concerning minor inaccuracies is considered the worst possible outcome. For players bent on technical perfection, the emotional affect is often the last element to be considered, if it is considered at all. In contrast, the audience may not be aware of why they prefer one performer's rendition of a certain work to another's, but accuracy of reproducing the written text alone will not usually produce a persuasive performance. More is required.

The first and most important principle of communicating, emphasised by all the classical writers, is that of decorum, generally defined as 'speaking appropriately'. If the musician plays inappropriate music, the wrong tune in the wrong place at the wrong time, he will fail to stimulate an appropriate emotional response in the listener. Quintilian points out that in battles, music for advancing and retreating would be very different. Naturally, the style of performance of these two types of music will also differ. Matching the style of delivery to content will maximise the communication of the written ideas and 'speaking appropriately' covers a wide range of issues in performance. For the musician, the choice of performing venue, instrument, style and ornamentation according to the composer's inclinations and influences all affect the experience of the listener. Any element that does not 'match' will lessen the effectiveness of the performance.

A major factor in effective communication is the understanding of the content and structure of the work, the logos, and showing this by the manner of delivery. Quintilian describes the appropriate articulation of words, phrases and paragraphs (in

music individual notes, phrases and sections), giving several levels of articulation or punctuation. Longer gaps are required at the end of bigger sections, smaller ones between subordinate clauses, or their musical equivalent. However, excessive articulation by chopping up words or notes which belong together (Quintilian calls this manner of speaking like 'a tessellated pavement') confuses the listener, who needs to hear groups of syllables or notes collected together in order to understand them. In music, commas need to be implied without losing time, and taking time out of the previous note is a common strategy for making space in a phrase. Extra time for breath may easily be taken at the end of a phrase or long paragraph without offending the pulse or affecting the comprehension of the listener.

Appropriate emphasis arises from understanding the content, particularly important in music, where words are absent. In general, dissonant harmony should be emphasised, as discords disturb the emotions, and lead to the expectation of consonance, which is more relaxed. Cicero's idea of raising and lowering the voice in line with the prevailing emotion may be employed for most music written in the rhetorical style, in other words, raising the dynamic level when the music goes higher, and dropping it when the music is in a lower range. As in a vibrating string, higher is more tense, lower more relaxed. This idea may be contradicted if a special emotional effect is required, such as low for threatening or angry, or high for triumphant rather than screaming. This concept demands the use of an average dynamic level for notes that are in the middle range of a voice or instrument, and which are likely to be unexceptional in emotional content. However, the orator should never shout or be aggressive; this goes against persuasiveness.

Now to the performer's strategy for controlling emotion, the pathos. Continuous emotional outbursts are tiring to listen to and the performer should aim to pace the emotional response of the audience. Quintilian urges speakers not to utter everything as if it were an epigram (a style reminiscent of some presenters of television programmes). As in the Hollywood blockbuster, events should develop to a climax with spaces for recovery in between in order to constantly raise and lower the emotional response. The rhetorical style of delivery requires the performer to identify sequences that build to a climax, and to match them with the appropriate emotional ebb and flow, taking special care to cool the emotional temperature after a climax. Strategies for controlling the emotional level should hold the attention of the audience without boring them. If the peaks and troughs occur at too regular intervals, predictability will undermine the performer's hold on the audience's attention.

With his palette of instrumental colour the composer can suggest certain emotions to the performer, and through the latter, communicate them to the listener. For example, the flute carries connotations of soft and languishing emotions, the violin sprightly and gay. The performer can then match the tone colour of his instrument or voice to the content (even flutes can be sprightly and violins languishing if necessary). A change of tone is advocated when starting a new sentence. In music this should follow a cadence, and serves to revive the listener and prevent boredom. Quintilian describes how a piper would stand behind the speaker when practising and make a sound when the speaker was to change the tone of his voice, higher or lower, louder or softer. Merely keeping the audience awake and attentive is an important part of the job of the performer, and however interesting the content, a dull monotonous delivery will prevent effective communication.

Many forms of speech hold emotional overtones, and these should be drawn upon by the musician. Aristotle lists: command, prayer, narrative, threat, question and answer. Quintilian gives characteristics of delivery for different emotional purposes such as bold for exhortatory, gentle for conciliation, grave and dignified for warning, as well as many others.

Apart from the devices for delivery recommended by Cicero and Quintilian such as articulation, and changes in volume and tone colour, showing the structure on a larger scale helps the listener to understand the progress of the work. The listener should be made aware of which part of the speech, or even which part of the phrase (or even a note if it is a long one) is in progress. He should not be taken by surprise when the end of the phrase, section or movement arrives. If the end of the work arrives too suddenly he is unprepared and may feel cheated or even embarrassed. In such cases the applause is slow to get off the ground, and will not be enthusiastic.

The opening of the work, the exordium, is the place to establish the nature of the case. Two principal forms of opening are described in classical rhetoric, the direct opening and the insinuating type. Many musical compositions have a direct declamatory opening that attracts the listener's attention followed by a section that uses the insinuating kind where the voices enter in turn as in fugue. Here it is appropriate to use a calm tone. Cicero recommends not using excessive ingenuity at this point, and Quintilian thinks one should avoid purple passages of figural ornamentation in openings generally. Performances of music that employ over-ornamented openings confuse the listener and obscure the nature of the

subject. Cicero suggests that sentences should rise and grow in force, leading the listener onwards towards greater things, or to a higher emotional level. He notes that a poor opening makes is harder to achieve the aim. Quintilian says a faulty exordium is like a face seamed with scars, and that running ashore while leaving port is not a good strategy for a pilot.

After the arguments have been proposed and refuted comes the last and what should be the most moving part of the speech, the peroration. Immediately after this, judgements will be prepared, reputations made or ruined, and the success of the whole enterprise will become apparent. Quintilian describes how in this part of the speech the orator should establish his sway over the emotions of the audience, force his way into their hearts and bring the feelings of the jury into perfect sympathy with all his words. The whole torrent of eloquence should be reserved for this place. If things have gone well, the judge or audience will be on our side; we will have safely 'emerged from the reefs and shoals' of the performance.

The rhetorical peroration can easily be identified in most musical compositions. The coda, and sometimes the approach to the recapitulation will contain elements of the peroration, the final statement of intent. A theme may receive an extra boost from a particular turn of harmony, rhythm or a different orchestration. The performer should bear in mind that the audience will leave the performance with the feelings they experience after the final note has died away; the affect of this part of the performance should not be underestimated. Whether it be a triumphant finale, a subtle, quiet one, or even a joke ending, the audience must be left with a definite feeling of some sort. Building on Quintilian's ship at sea metaphor, the seventeenth-century French orator Le Faucheur describes the peroration as like a vessel that has been long at sea, had a difficult voyage, weathered many dangerous points, and coming into port, arrives home in full sail with acclamations of joy and good cheer.

To communicate the emotional content successfully, the performer has to feel, or at least pretend to feel, the emotion himself. Quintilian draws a simile with fire and water – fire alone can kindle, water alone can wet. Emotions are infectious, whether of laughter or tears, and what Quintilian felt instinctively has now been proven scientifically with the discovery of mirror neurons in the human brain, which transfer the feelings of the communicator to sympathetic receivers (thank you Professor Robert Winston for this). But without words, how does the musician identify emotion in the music? As we have already seen, tessitura, raising and lowering the voice in range, dynamic and choice of tone quality can affect the audience's emotions.

In addition to this we have rhythm, used as a major controller of emotion in the classical languages through combinations of long and short syllables, and tempo, how fast we speak or play. In general terms, triple metres (as used, for instance, in gigs) are more light-hearted than duple ones (for instance, serious movements and dances such as the pavan, a solemn processional dance type, the ancestor of the funeral march). Grand entrances often use dotted notes in imitation of the trumpet fanfare. Dotted pairs of notes are naturally more lively than equal ones.

In addition to the effects of the written rhythms and metres, well known to readers of classical poetry, the length of the written note can be altered or exaggerated by the performer for particular effects. Quintilian notes the effect of very short syllables as being comic, and very long ones serious. Performers should be aware of all the possibilities that altering the lengths of notes within the written time limit afford. The lengths of the notes, combined with the tempo contribute greatly to the effect which the phrase or musical idea has on the audience.

In contrapuntal music, that is music where the parts operate with more independence than in dance music, metre or regular bar units of measurement are less important than the rhythmic effect of small groups of notes and the interaction of these in argument, contradiction and agreement. Performers need to adopt appropriate attitudes to satisfy the requirements of the particular type of interaction of the parts, either quarrelling aggressively or conversing gently.

A major tool in musical composition, as in oratory, is the use of figures to entertain the listener and to control his emotions. Figures are used by a writer or composer to decorate and re-inforce ideas. According to the Elizabethan poet and rhetorician George Puttenham, they help to 'invegle the judgement of man' and are able 'to carry man's opinion this way and that whithersoever the heart, by impression of the ear, shall be most bent and directed'. Figures may be divided into three general categories: repetition, development and surprise. Two or more figures may be combined for a particular affect, and this is naturally more possible in music where more than one voice is speaking simultaneously.

As in rhetoric, musical ideas may be developed by using various devices of repetition which include: altering the distance between the notes (and thereby affecting the way they sound); inversion (turning the figure up-side-down or reversing it); augmentation and diminution (making the note values larger or shorter), and finally canon (where one part repeats immediately the material of the other). Canon can also take place at different pitches and upside down. These figures all test the ingenuity of the listener, and

if he is aware of them, form a type of intellectual entertainment. Johann Mattheson, a contemporary of J. S. Bach, described fugue as a hot house where cuttings may flourish but never take root or reach maturity. The repeated presentation of different facets of the same idea catches the ear of the listener and shows off the ingenuity of the composer: these are nothing other than the flowers, lights and colours of Ciceronian rhetoric. Just as in oratory, the figures and other devices would have been appreciated by a listener in the know, thus boosting his opinion of himself and, in the case of a noble patron, his choice of composer and performer.

Other ways of using repetition include devices that build a phrase to a climax by repeating small fragments climbing steadily higher (commonly known as 'the orator's scaling ladder') or reducing tension by repetition that falls gradually in pitch. Ideas or themes might be altered slightly when repeated, for instance, by extending or shortening them. Quintilian describes how the immediate repetition of the same word intensifies its affect and fixes it in the minds of the audience, a device well-loved by composers where the affect of immediately repeating the same words or notes can be altered by a different musical setting. Sherry, a sixteenty-century writer, gives an example from Cicero's speech against Catiline: 'Yet he liveth, liveth?' Another Elizabethan writer, Henry Peacham says 'O my son, my son' is a good use of repetition, but the immediate repetition of longer words such as 'abomination, abomination, abomination' is definitely not. Surprises may take the form of building expectation, only to change the expected words or notes. A theme may be repeated with a new twist in harmony or rhythm, or there may be an unexpected silence in the middle of a sentence, either through excess emotion, or by the voice running out of breath through excitement or fear, leaving the speaker speechless.

When approaching the end of the speech, Quintilian advises the speaker to appear to show signs of dishevelment in order to demonstrate that he has made an effort on the audience's behalf. He suggests that a slight sweating, or a displaced toga goes over well with the audience. Tristram Shandy's father attributed the decline in oratory in the mid-eighteenth century to the shorter frock coat, the longer one presumably being easier to flourish or re-arrange for dramatic effect.

Plutarch wrote that he felt cheated if he left a performance or a lecture unchanged in some way. As when visiting the barber for a service, he expected to leave in a different frame of mind from when he entered. You may not have been having a haircut, but I hope that you may now listen to all types of music with new, more rhetorical, ears.

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1 This article is adapted from a paper given at the annual conference of the Classical Association, University of Leeds, April 2004 and from the preface of *The Weapons of Rhetoric* (St. Albans, 2004).

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3 Diary for November 19th, 1674.

4 Roger *North on Music*, ed. J. Wilson (London, 1959), 359.

5 *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* ...(Berlin, 1752), XI.1.

6 (1775), 81-82.

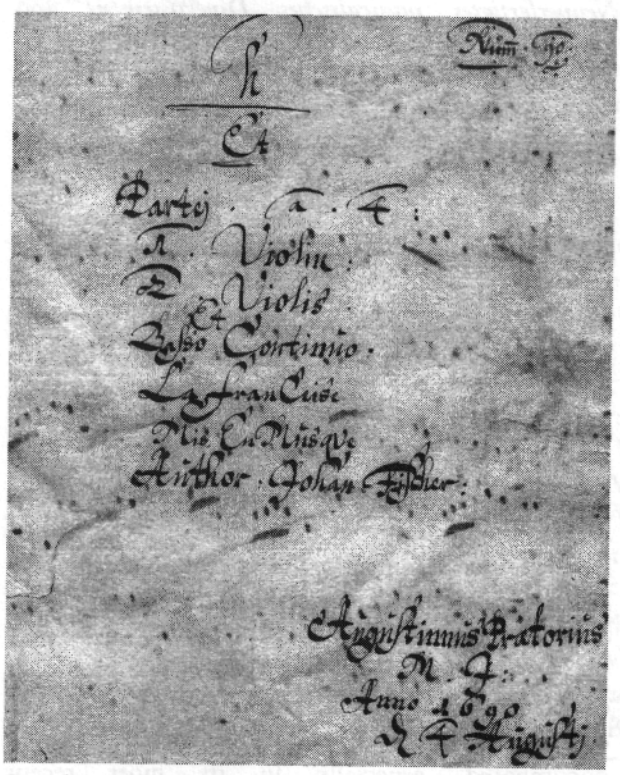
7 *A Song for St Cecilia's Day* (1687), 'From Harmony, from heav'nly Harmony'.

'Ex Vratislavia ad Neöburgiam': a tale of three Fischers

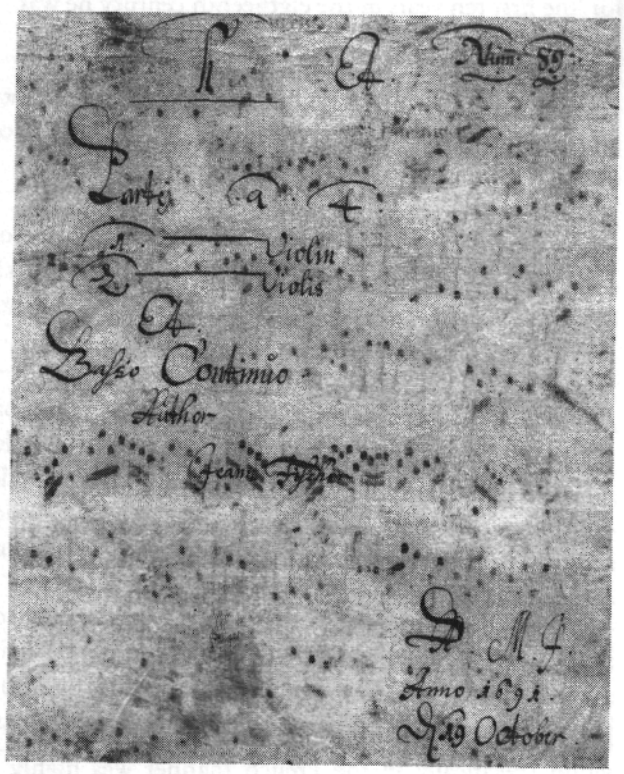
MICHAEL ROBERTSON

This article is a result of the recent acquisition by the British Library of a set of manuscripts containing, amongst other items, two seventeenth-century consort suites that are clearly of German origin.[1] Both are attributed to Johann Fischer. The first suite (hereafter referred to as BL 1690) is entitled 'Partei a. 4: ... La franceise | Mis En Musique | Author: Johan Fischer:' and is dated 'Anno 1690 | Der 4 Augusti'. The second suite, 'Partei a. 4 ... Author | Jeann Fischer' (hereafter referred to as BL 1691), is dated 'Anno 1691 | Der 19 October'. Both suites are preserved as sets of parts: there is no score.[2] The parts of BL 1690 are all written in the same hand, and the same copyist appears to be responsible for at least part of BL 1691. In addition, it is clear that the 1691 title page is written in a way that closely resembles that of BL 1690. Both manuscripts have seemingly been part of the same library collection: the archive numbers written on each title page are in the same hand, and the same monogram, perhaps 'Th | Et', also appears at the head of each manuscript. The two title pages are reproduced in Example 1. At the time of writing, the manuscripts have not yet been assigned a shelfmark. It appears that neither suite exists in any other copies. The main purpose of this article is to document these two 'new' suites, and I will argue that the Johann Fischer of the title pages is a little-known musician, apparently based in Vratislavia (now Wroclaw in Poland, and sometimes known previously by the German name of Breslau). But there has also been some confusion over the identity and work of the two better-known Fischers and, as part of the discussion of BL 1690 and 1691, I shall take the opportunity to try and bring some clarity to this situation.

The name 'Johann Fischer' was common in the German-speaking lands at the end of the seventeenth century. At least three composers with the name Fischer were working in the area during the 1690s: the Vratislavia Fischer mentioned above, Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer and the Augsburg-born Johann Fischer. Robert Eitner lists the latter as



Example 1a:
J. Fischer, 'Partei a. 4: ... La franceise | Mis En Musique | Author: Johan Fischer:' (*GB-Lbl*)
Reproduced by courtesy of the British Library Board.



Example 1b:
J. Fischer, 'Partei a. 4: ... Author | Jeann Fischer' (*GB-Lbl*).
Reproduced by courtesy of the British Library Board.

'Johann Fischer III' and, as this enumeration has become commonplace, I shall use 'Fischer III' for the remainder of this article.[3] What then, are the backgrounds to the work of these three composers? According to title page of his 1695 suite collection *Le journal du printems*, J. C. F. Fischer was 'Maistre de Chapelle' at the court of Ludwig Wilhelm, Margrave of Baden.[4] It appears that he stayed in this post until 1705. Before this, in the early part of the 1690s, or possibly from 1689, he had been *Kapellmeister* at the court of Duke Julius Franz in Schlackenwerth.[5] J. C. F. Fischer visited Prague, but this seems to have been well before taking up his duties at Schlackenwerth. His output of consort suites appears to have been small (he was more prolific in the fields of keyboard and sacred music): all that survives is the 1695 printed collection *Le journal du printems.*

During the same period, from 1690 to 1697, Fischer III worked at the court of Duke Friedrich Casimir of Kurland in Mitau (now Jelgava, Latvia). According to Gwilym Beechy, this was as a violinist, but there is evidence to suggest that he was more than this.[6] In a manuscript sequence of dance movements for recorder and bass, he is described as being 'Jean Fischer sy Devant Maitre de Chapelle de S. A. S. Monseigneur le Duc de Courlande', and the title page of Fischer's *Musicalisch Divertisessment* (Dresden, 1699-1700) similarly describes the composer as being 'the former Capellmeister of the Churland court' (gewesener | Fürstl. Churländischer Capellmeister').[7] However, it seems that Beechy is right in saying that for 'the first ten years of the eigtheenth century he was constantly moving around Europe'.[8] Fischer did hold the position of *Kapellmeister* at the Schwerin court of Duke Friedrich Wilhelm Mecklenburg between 1701 and 1703, and he later held the same post at the court of Margrave Philipp Wilhelm of Brandenburg-Schwedt. His surviving output of consort suites is somewhat larger than J. C. F. Fischer's single collection. In addition to three manuscript suites in the university library at Uppsala, Fischer issued three printed editions of consort music: *Neuverfertigtes musicalisches Divertissement* (Augsburg, 1700), *Tafel-Musik /Bestehend In Verschiedenen Ouverturen, Chaconnen, lustigen* (Hamburg, 1702) and *Musicalische Fürsten-Lust* (Lübeck, 1706).[9] However, this list is not quite as it seems: *Musicalische Fürsten-Lust* was no more than a reissue of *Tafel-Musik* from four years earlier, possibly without the composer's knowledge.

Earlier in his career, during the 1660s, Fischer III spent time in Paris where it appears that he worked for five years as one of Lully's copyists. It is clear that he greatly benefited from this time: his playing of the violin specifically in the French manner was highly praised when he applied to join the Ansbach *Hofkapelle* in 1683.[10] Fischer III was not alone in visiting Paris: French musicians worked at German courts, and German court musicians went to Paris to gain first-hand experience of Lully's music. Georg Muffat proudly proclaimed that:

> For six years, along with other music studies, I avidly pursued this style which was flowering in Paris at that time under the most famous Jean-Baptiste Lully. I was perhaps the first to introduce this style, not unpleasantly, to many celebrated musicians when I returned from France to Alsace.[11]

Muffat's claim to have introduced the Lullian style 'to many celebrated musicians' is perhaps open to question, but there is no doubt that extracts from Lully's stage works were widely disseminated in Germany during the 1680s. Indeed, Jean Sigismund Cousser, perhaps the most influential of the German Lullists, was not alone when he referred to the six suites that make up his *Composition de musique* as 'Six Ouvertures de Theatre accompagnées de plusiers Airs'.[12] Thus, the sequence of movements that make up the first suite in J. C. F. Fischer's *Le journal du printems* is typical of the German-Lullist style in its use of an *ouverture* followed by a series of seemingly disconnected dance movements:

> Ouverture / Marche / Air des Combattans / Rigaudon / Menuet / Chaconne.

Like *Le journal du printems*, Fischer III's *Neuverfertigtes musicalisches Divertissement* and *Tafel-Musik* are very much in the German-Lullist manner. However, E. H. Meyer's list of music by Fischer III includes three suites from the Liechtensťěiň collection in Kromeríz that are clearly not part of this tradition.[13] This substantial collection was assembled in order to serve the sacred and sěčůlar needs of the Kromeríz court of Karl Liechtenstein-Castelcorno, Bishop of Olomouc.[14] The music of Leopold I's imperial court exerted a strong influence on the contents of the collection: the Kromeríz *Kapellmeister*, Pavel Vejvanovský, had studied in Vienna, and the Bishop maintained personal contact with both Johann Heinrich Schmelzer and one of the imperial court organists, Alessandro Poglietti. It seems that a great deal of material was drawn into the collection during the last three decades of the seventeenth century, only ceasing when the bishop died in 1695. Vejvanovský himself appears to have been responsible for much of the copying. Fortunately, a good deal of the collection has survived, and its history has been well documented, especially in its most recent catalogue.[15] It has also become far more accessible in recent years.

In fact, Meyer is incorrect: there are not just three, but six suites attributed to Johann Fischer in the Liechtenstein collection, and Table 1 gives details. A note at the foot of the title page to manuscript A 780 reads:

> On the way from Vratislavia to Neoburg with the bishop of Vratislavia, [this suite was] composed at N's house by the author in a state of melancholy and searching for solace.
> (Compositæ in Melancholia Authoris, apud N: Solatium | quærentis, ex Vratislavia ad Neöburgiam Epum | Vratislaviensem pergentis.)

This note is significant for two reasons. Firstly, the use of an initial instead of a name suggests that 'N' was known to Vejvanovský, the copyist of the manuscript.[16] So it seems that both copyist and composer had, at the very least, a friend in common, and were probably known to each other. Secondly, despite Fischer III's constant travelling, there is no record of him ever having visited Vratislavia. In any case, the Kroměříž suites by Johann Fischer are all included in the 1695 inventory of the collection, and cannot be later than that date. As Fischer III was in Mitau for most of the 1690s and did not start his travelling until the 1700s, he must be ruled out as the composer of the Kroměříž suites. Likewise, there is no evidence that J. C. F. Fischer visited the area at this time, or had any connection with Vratislavia. Thus the Kroměříž suites must be by another Johann Fischer. But even though later writers have mostly avoided Meyer's error, there is still confusion over the authorship of the Kroměříž suites, particularly in the RISM A/II database.[17] Jiří Sehnal and Jitřenka Pešková identify a Johann Fischer as a musician in the town of Vratislavia, and the supposition that this is the composer of the Kroměříž suites is strengthened

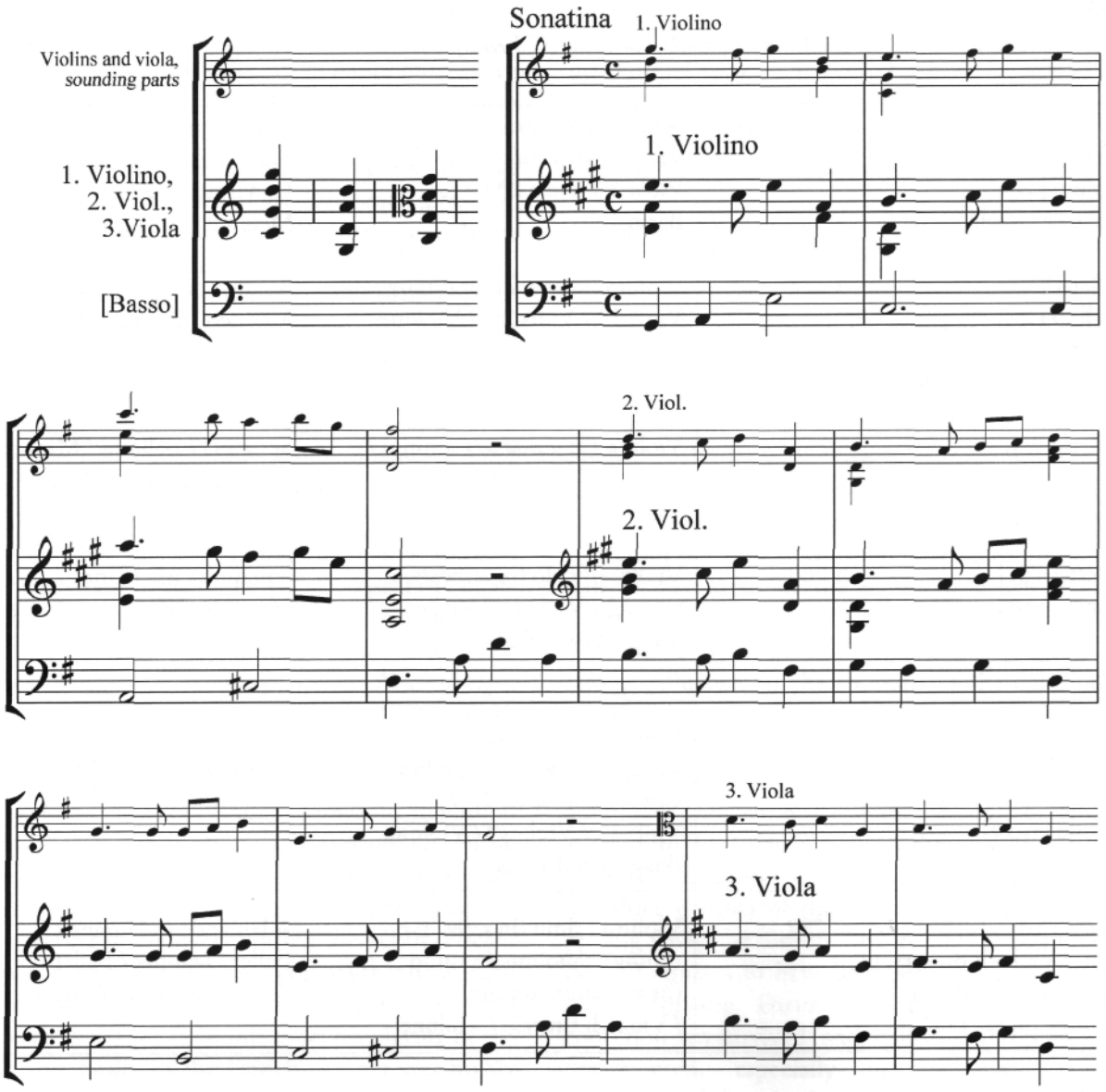
Table 1:
Suites by Johann Fischer in the Liechtenstein collection (*CZ-KRa*).

Title	**Shelf-mark**	**Instrumentation**	**Movements**
Ballettæ a 4 | Violino | 2 Violæ | e | Viola	A 776	Violino (in *scordatura* tuning) / Viola 1ª / Viola 2da / Basso	Allamanda / Menuett / Lemasme / Boure / Menuett
Balletti a 4 | Violino | 2: Violæ | e | Viola | Aut: Joanne Fischer	A 777	Violino (in *scordatura* tuning) / Viola 1ma / Viola 2da. / Violone	Allamanda / Gavotte / Menuett / Boure / Menuett
Ballettæ a 4:	A 778	Violino (in *scordatura* tuning) / Viola 1ma / Viola 2a / Violone	Sonatina / Balletto / Minuet / Gavotte / Boure / Minuet / Minuet
Balettæ a 4. | Compositæ in Melancholia Authoris ... Johann Fischer.	A 780	Violino Piculo (in *scordatura* tuning) / Viola 1ma / Viola Secunda / Cimbalo	Sonatina / Allemanda / Menuett / Menuett / Boure / Sarabande
Balletti ad duos Choros: | Authore D: Joanne Fischer	A 781	Choro 1mo: Violino 1mo / Viola 1ma / Viola 2da / Violon Chori 2di: Violino 1mo / Viola 1ma / Viola 2da / Violone Bassus Continuus	Intrada / Balletto / Guige / Sarab / Balletto / Minuett
Balletæ à 4. | 2 Viol: / Viola di Brazzio, | Con Basso Violone. | Authore Sigre | Fischer	A 782	Violino Primo (in *scordatura* tuning) / Violino Secundo (in *scordatura* tuning) / Viola di Brazzio / Violone	Allemanda / Couranda / Ballet / Minuet / Ballet / Sarabanda / Bour / Gigue

Notes:
A 776 & 778 do not contain Fischer's name on their title pages, but Fischer is given as the author in the 1695 inventory. Movement titles and instrument names are given in their original spellings.

by the apparently strong link between Vratislava and the Liechtenstein court.[18] But even if these details are sparse, one thing is clear: the Fischer suites in the Liechtenstein collection are mostly of a very high quality, and their composer was clearly an accomplished musician.[19] Following on from Eitner's enumeration, I shall hereafter identify him as 'Fischer IV'.

As we have seen in Table 1 above, Fischer IV uses a *scordatura* violin in five of his six suites in the Liechtenstein collection, and the particular combination of single scordatura violin, two violas and bass is used in four. However, *scordatura* writing in German consort suites was usually found in trios of two violins and bass, and it seems that this use of *scordatura* violin tuning in a four-part instrumental combination may well be a distinguishing feature of the work of Fischer IV. But Beechy suggests that it was Fischer [III] who 'was an important pioneer in requiring *scordatura* tunings'.[20] The evidence does not appear to support this: *scordatura* tuning is not required in any of Fischer III's printed collections of consort suites. The same applies to two of the three manuscript consort suites in the university library at Uppsala, shelfmarks *S-Uu* Instr.mus. i hs. 15:10 and 15:11. In fact, it seems that there are only two works by Fischer III that require such tuning: the 1686 sacred collection *Himmlischen Seelenlust* and the third *S-Uu* manuscript suite (Instr. mus. i hs. 15:12), which has the somewhat whimsical title 'the one-in-three and three-in-one, or the skillful *violiste*' (Das Eins-Drey und Drey Eins oder habile Violiste).[21] The latter can only be described as something of a 'circus piece'. The same player is expected to play, in turn, two violins and a viola. Each violin is in a different *scordatura* tuning, and the viola part, also in *scordatura* tuning, is written out as a transposing instrument in the treble clef. There are suitable, albeit brief, breaks



Example 2:
J. Fischer, 'Das Eins-Drey / und / Drey Eins / oder / Der habile Violiste / gewiesen / Von / Johann Fischern M C' (*S-Uu* Instr. mus. i hs. 15:12), Sonatina.

in the music for the player to change instruments. Example 2 shows how this works in the opening of the *sonatina*. The movements of this suite are as follows:

Sonatina / Allemande / Gique / [untitled] / Air / Menuet [I] / Menuet [II] / Menuet [III].

Considerable attention has been given to this piece, and Dagmar Glüxam has suggested certain 'parallels' between it and the suites by Fischer IV in the Liechtenstein collection.[22] This may be true at a superficial level; both use *scordatura* tuning, and the movement sequences are similar. But 'Das Eins-Drey' is a highly individual work, designed to do nothing more than show off the virtuosity of the player. As Example 2 shows, it is the need for the physical breaks in which the instruments can be changed that often seems to dictate the phrasing and shape of the music. Any such concepts are entirely absent from the music in Fischer IV's Kroměříž suites, and in the end, there is little that is comparable between them and 'Das Eins-Drey'.

If we return now to BL 1690 and 1691, both have recently been ascribed to Fischer III.[23] But we should treat this with great caution. Unfortunately, the watermarks in both manuscripts are unclear and often obscured, and I have not so far been able to make any identification. It is possible that they originate in southern Germany. As we can see from Example 1 above, the title page of BL 1690 is marked 'Augustinnius Prætorius: M. J:' and BL 1691 carries the presumably shortened version, 'A. M. J.'. It is hard to be certain about the identity of 'M. J.' but it could possibly be Maximilian Joseph of Kirchheim, Schmiechen and Türkenfeld who appears to have resided in Munich during the 1690s. But this, like the watermarks, is little more than speculation. Fortunately, the music itself is individual enough to make a number of stylistic observations that will help to identify the composer. Taking the suites in chronological order, the five instrumental parts that make up BL 1690 are labelled as follows:

Violino / Viola 1a / Viola 2da / Basso Continuo / Basso Organo.

The violin part is in *scordatura* tuning: the top three strings are tuned to F sharp, C sharp and F sharp. The bottom string is not used, and the part as a whole seems technically rather unadventurous; for example, there is little use of the double-stopping that is such a feature of some of the Kroměříž suites by Fischer IV. In addition, Fischer's suites with *scordatura* violin tuning are often characterised by what appears to be a deliberate gap between the tessitura of the violin part and the rest of the ensemble giving a special quality to the sound. This characteristic is absent from BL 1690, but despite this, it is still highly significant that the suite uses this instrumentation, and Fischer IV's authorship must be seen as a clear possibility.

However, there is one important aspect of this suite that initially seems to point in another direction, and perhaps towards Fischer III or J. C. F. Fischer. The movement sequence is as follows:

Rondeaux / Ballet / Gÿque / Gavott / Menuet / Menuet

At least two of these, the *rondeaux* and *gÿque* appear to be deliberate attempts to write in the Lullian style and, as we have seen, both Fischer III and J. C. F. Fischer were strongly influenced by Lully's music. In fact, *rondeau* movements using a grand *couplet* combined with a series of secondary couplets were widely used by all the German Lullists. For example, six of the ten movements following the *ouverture* in the fourth suite of Cousser's 1682 *Composition de musique* use the *rondeau* format. Throughout the repertoire, this type of movement tended to inspire high-quality music. There was often a strong link with the *chaconne*, and many examples of this dance are structurally little more than extended *rondeaux*.

Clearly, the writer of BL 1690 had knowledge of such dances. Each phrase of the rondeaux in this suite starts on the second beat of a triple-time bar, exactly in the manner of a *chaconne*. The structure of the movement is as follows:

Grand couplet (eight bars), tutti
Secondary couplet (four bars), trio
Grand couplet
Secondary couplet (six bars), tutti
Grand couplet.

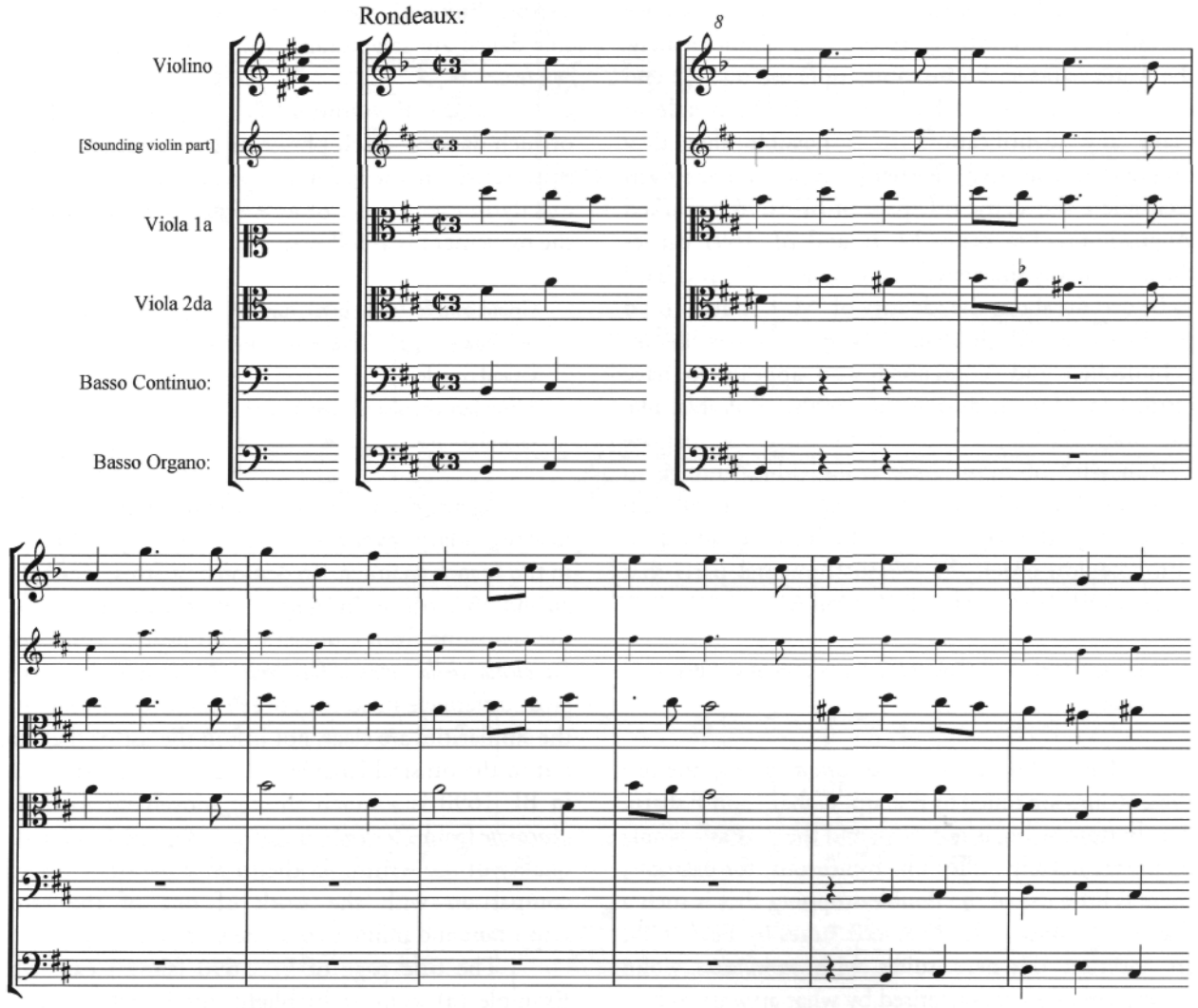
Again, the use of trio instrumentation for the first secondary *couplet* is typical of this type of music in the French manner. To demonstrate this, Examples 3a and 3b contrast this *couplet* with the first couplet of the chaconne from Cousser's 1700 printed collection *La cicala della cetra d'Eunomio*. Although there is a great difference in scale between the two movements, the similarities are clear, not just in the use of the trio, but in the musical language in general. The *rondeaux* in BL 1690 is a much shorter movement than the *chaconne* from *La cicala*, but it says a great deal for the quality of the writing in the former that it can stand comparison with the work of one of the most important and influential of the German Lullists.

The title page of BL 1690 (shown earlier as Example 1a) seems to highlight this French influence when it calls the suite 'La franceise'. However, we

should beware of attaching too much significance to this: many suites in the 1695 inventory of the Liechtenstein collection are entitled 'Balletti Francesi', even when they contain little that is obviously French. All this seems to set BL 1690 apart from any of the suites by Fischer IV in Kroměříž, but Fischer IV's authorship of this suite should not be dismissed simply because it contains movements in the French manner.

As we have seen, French cultural influence spread right across the German-speaking lands during the later part of the seventeenth century: despite the intense political rivalry between Louis XIV and Emperor Leopold 1, there is reason to think that this influence extended to Vienna and the surrounding regions. Certainly Lully's music was known at the Kroměříž court by the early 1690s at the very latest. This is clear from the manuscript sources of his music that are present in the Liechtenstein collection. It has already been established that the suite in manuscript A 852 in the collection is not, as the title page states, 'Del S: Ebner Aº 1667 Die: 30: Maÿ scriptum Viennæ'.[24] In fact, six of the eight movements are extracts from Lully's *L'Hercule amoureux* (LWV 17/1-4, 17/7 and 17/11). But the date on the manuscript may be correct: *L'Hercule amoureux* was first performed in 1662. In addition to A 852, there are two other Lullian sources in the collection, both of them little known. Manuscript A 4826 contains five movements from *Le Temple de la Paix* (LWV 69) and ten from *Achilles et Polixene* (LWV 74). Although A 4826 is incomplete, it probably served as source for a second manuscript containing five movements from *Le Temple de la Paix* (CZ-KRa A 873).[25] Vejvanovský has been identified as the copyist of A 873, and he was surely responsible for A 4826.[26] As he died in 1693, neither manuscript can be later than this date. Thus, it is reasonable to assume Fischer IV may well have known Lully's music and, quite possibly, some of the printed suite collections by the German Lullists.

There is one further feature of BL 1690 that requires consideration. All the movements of this suite are linked by the use of head motifs. As we can



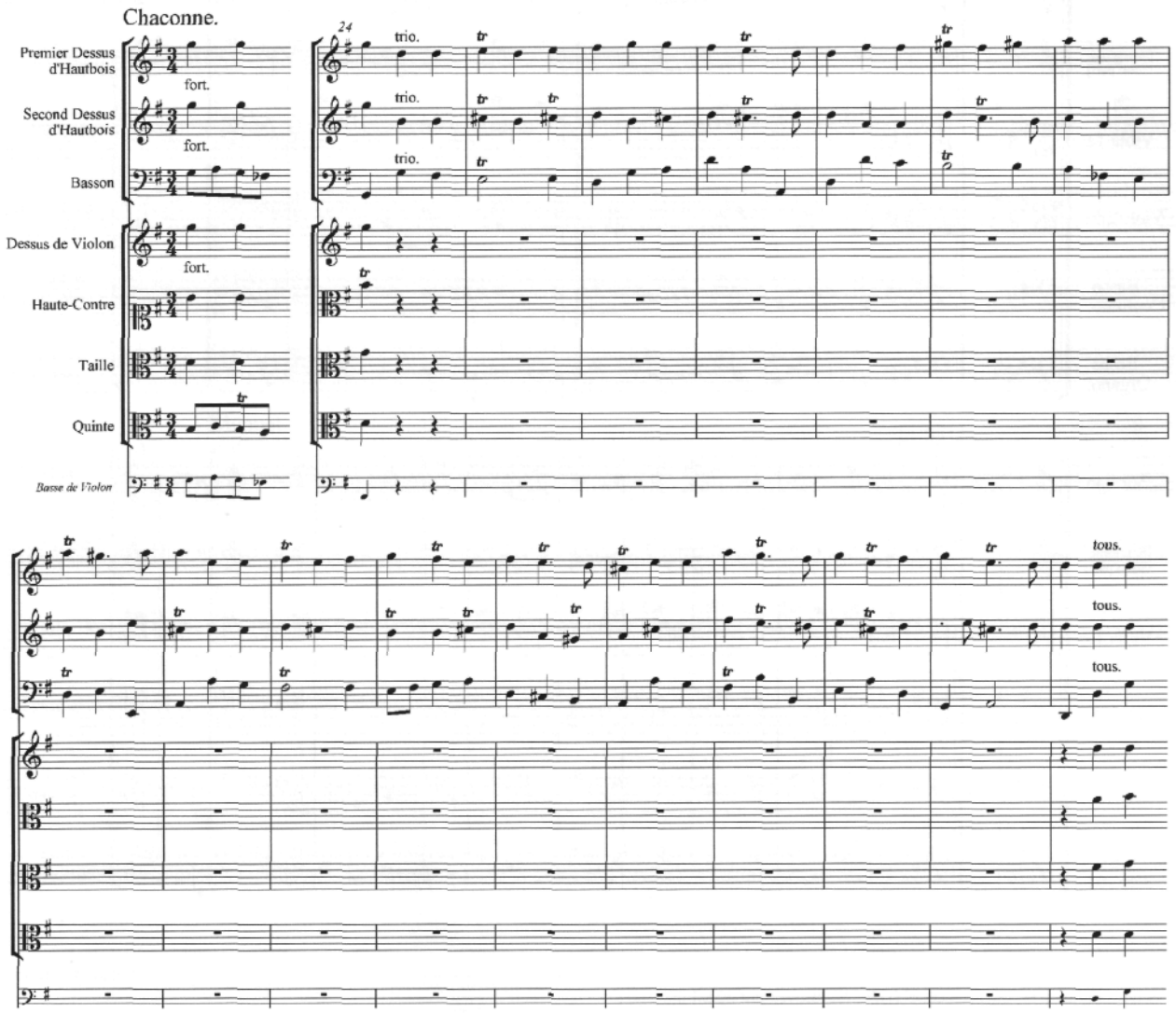
Example 3a:
Fischer, 'Partei a. 4: ... La franceise' (*GB-Lbl*), Rondeau.

see in Example 4, the same rising bass line is found at the start of every movement except the *gavotte*. In addition, the descending sequence in the first viola part is common to the start of every movement. Although it was mostly confined to the suites written by town musicians, linking movements in this way was a well-known technique of suite writing during most of the seventeenth century.[27] Its use may not have been as common in suites emanating from the Imperial court in Vienna and the surrounding regions, but it was certainly known there. Fischer IV used the technique in the *allemande* and *courante* of his suite in manuscript A 782 and again in the *intrada* and *balletto* of his suite for two string choirs in A 781. However, the restriction of linking material to the viola and bass parts of BL 1690 is unusual: it was far more common to use it as part of the melody line where the links would be obvious to the listener. If movement linking was rare in the work of the German Lullists, it may be that the composer of BL 1690 was aware of this and chose to make its application less obvious. The case for Fischer IV's authorship of this suite is a strong one: it is also affords a fascinating insight into the spread of Lullian influences to the areas surrounding Vienna.

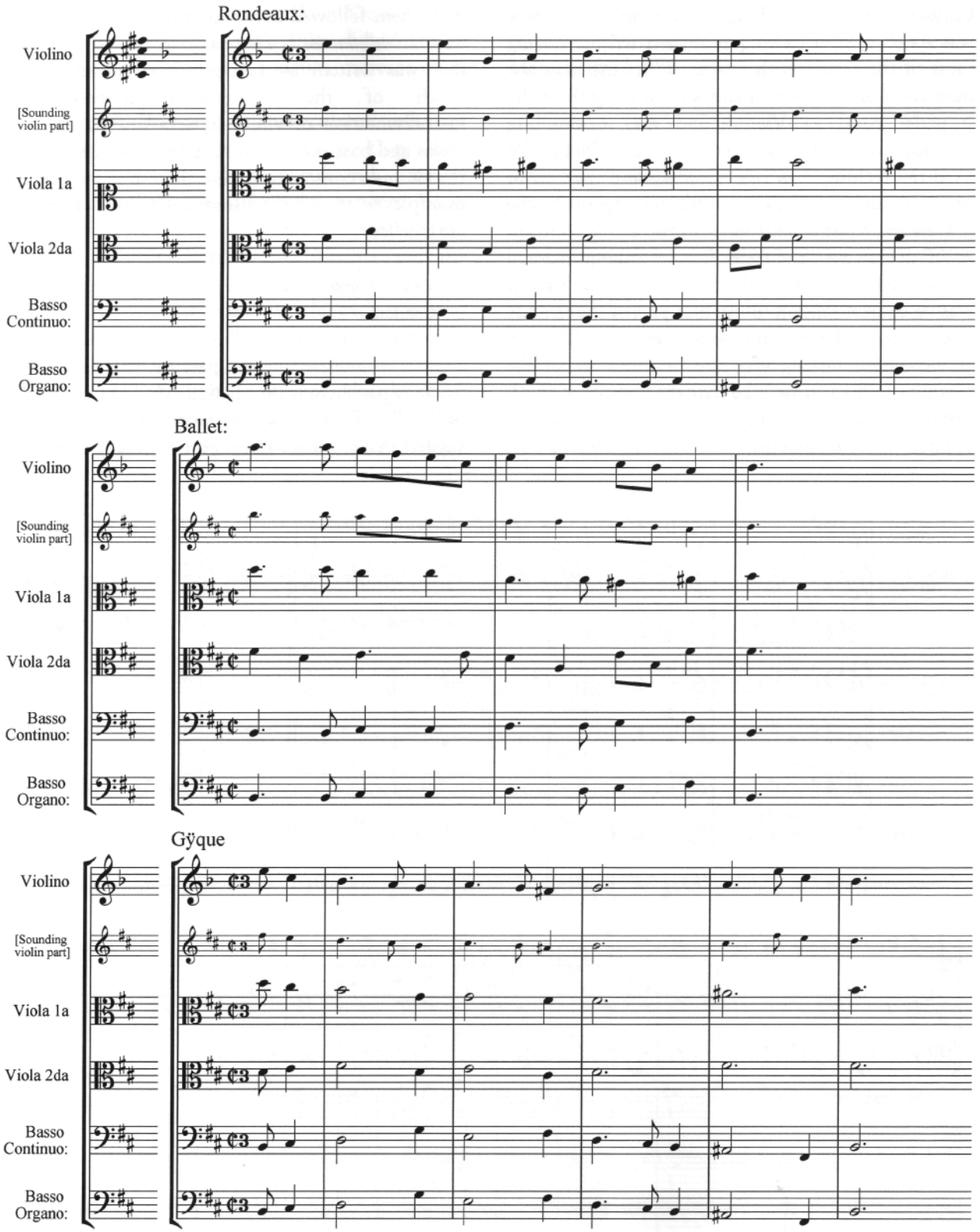
Turning to BL 1691, this suite is written in a quite different tradition; its abstract opening movement followed by a sequence of dances starting with an *allemande* is far nearer to the type of suite that was written by German town musicians for much of the seventeenth century. The instrumentation of violin in standard tuning, two violas and bass is found throughout the repertoire of the German consort suite, and there are many similar examples in the Liechtenstein collection. The parts are labelled:

> Violino Primo / Viola Prima / Viola 2da / Bassus / Basso Continuo.

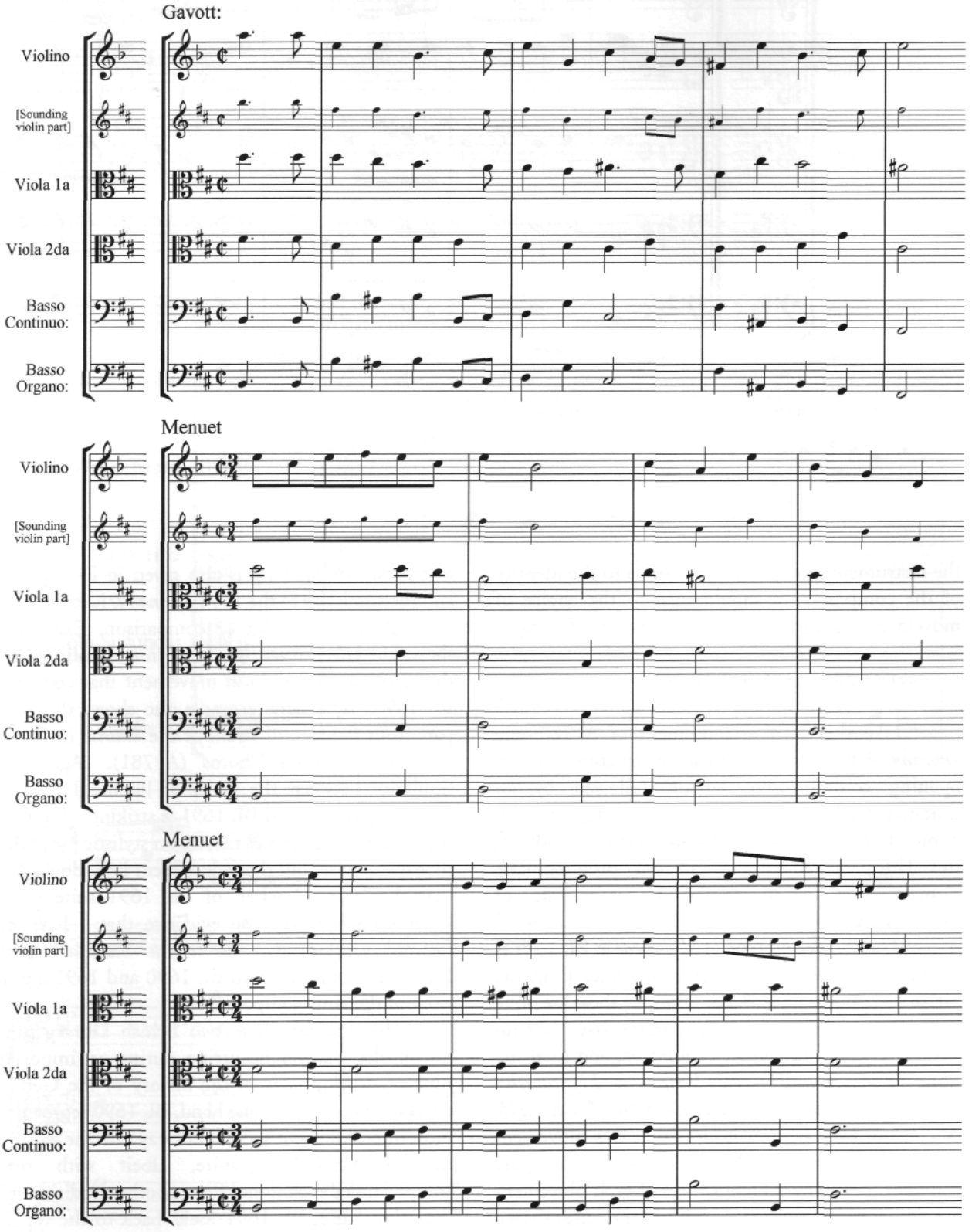
Unlike the *organo* part in BL 1690, the *continuo* part here is mostly figured. Despite the title of 'Violino Primo', there is nothing in the writing to suggest that a second violin part originally existed. If



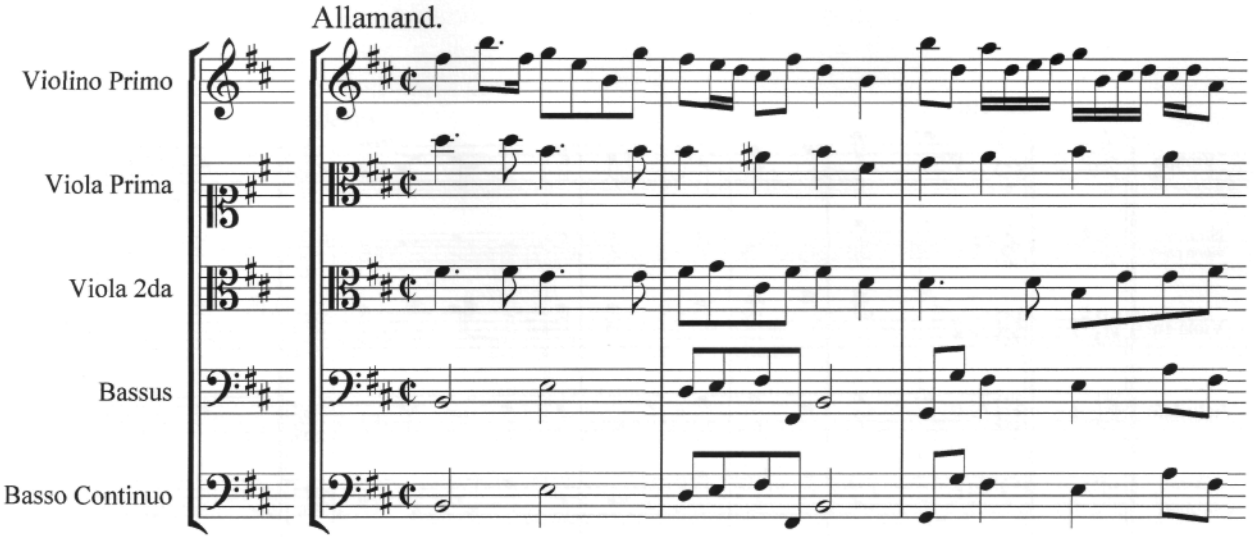
Example 3b:
J. S. Cousser, *La cicala della cetra d'Eunomio* (Stuttgart, 1700), *Ouverture I*, chaconne.



Example 4:
Fischer, 'Partei a. 4: ... La franceise' (*GB-Lbl*), movement openings.



Example 4 (cont.)



Example 5a:
J. Fischer, 'Partei a. 4 ... Author | Jeann Fischer' (*GB-Lbl*), Allamand.

the instrumentation gives little clue as to the identity of the composer, we should turn to the choice of movement sequence. The movements are as follows:

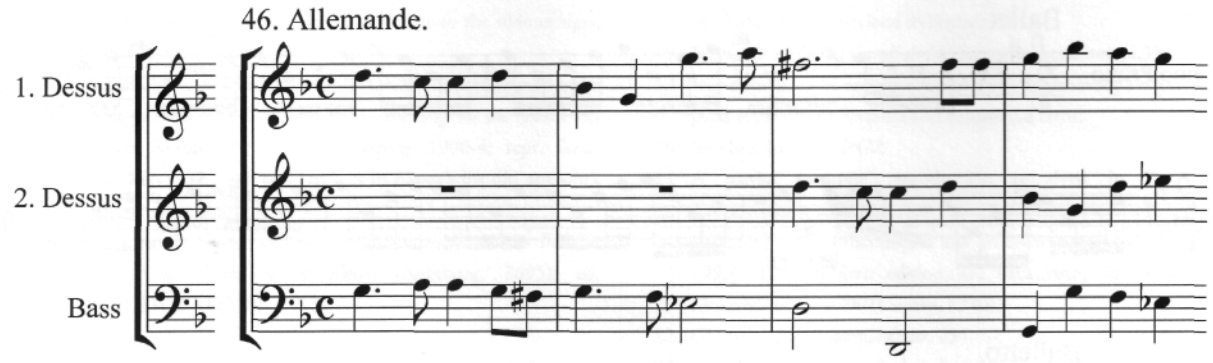
Sonatina / Allemand / Menuet / Ballet

Like the opening movement of A 780, the *sonatina* of BL 1691 is a bipartite structure with an opening common-time section followed by an imitative triple-time section. It is not as highly-wrought or as chromatic as the *sonatina* in A 780, but this latter movement has a clear programmatic element, the description of Fischer's state of melancholy.

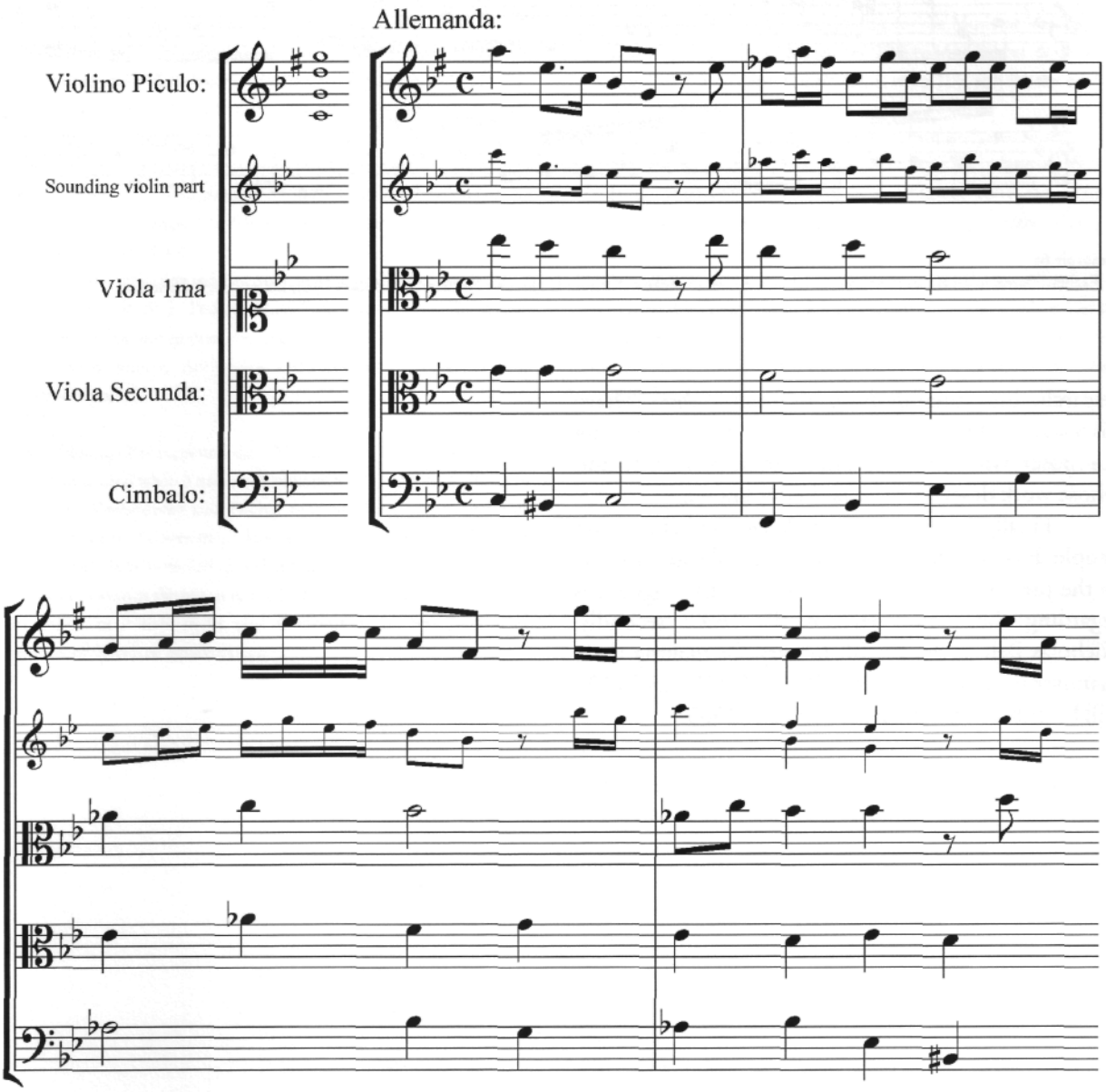
The choice and type of *allemande* in BL 1691 is telling. *Allemandes* rarely feature in suites from the German-Lullist tradition. For example, there are none to be found in any of the eight suites that make up J. C. F. Fischer's *Le journal du printems*, and there are none in Fischer III's *Neu-Verfertigtes Musicalisches Divertissement*. There is a single example in *Tafel-Musik*, but even here, it is clear that this movement and the *allemande* in BL 1691 belong to quite different traditions. The openings of each movement are shown in Example 5a-c. Four of the suites shown earlier in Table 1 do contain an *allemande*. In three of these, the strains all start with an upbeat quaver, but in contrast, the BL 1691 *allemande* starts on the first beat of the bar and uses a different type of phrase structure. However, one of the four *allemandes* in Table 1 (manuscript A 780) does start on the first beat of the bar. Its opening is also given in Example 5c, and the similarity to the 1691 *allemande* is striking.

As a final point of comparison, Example 6 shows the semiquaver figuration in the violin part of the vigorous second *ballet* movement that concludes BL 1691. The same example also shows the violin part from the second strain of the *balletto* in Fischer IV's suite 'ad duos Choros' (A 781). Again, the similarity between the work of Fischer IV in the Kroměříž sources and BL 1691 is striking. Ascribing the authorship of pieces mostly on stylistic grounds is perhaps unwise, but there does seem little doubt here that the 'Jeann Fischer' of the 1691 suite is not Johann Fischer III. The evidence that I have put forward suggests that he is the Vratislavia-based Fischer IV, and that both BL 1690 and 1691 are the work of the same composer.

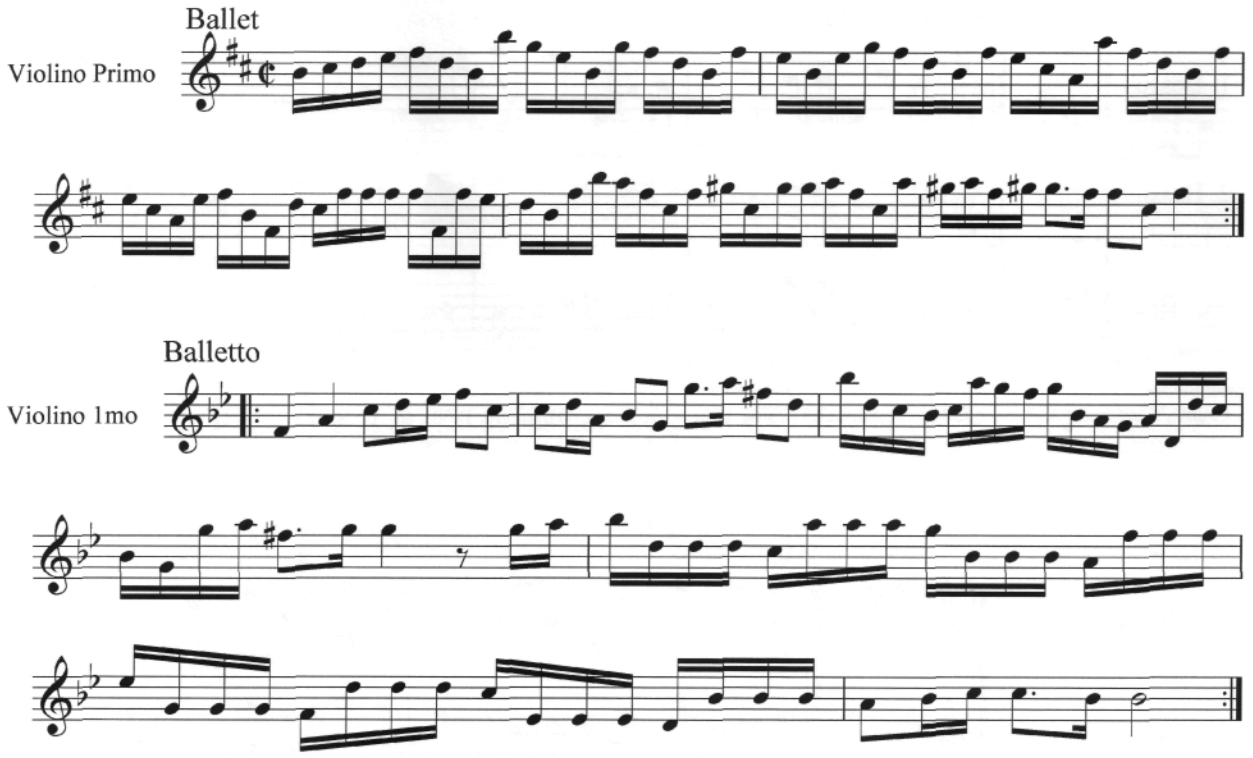
To sum up, these two British Library suites mirror the changes occurring during an important time of development in the history of the German consort suite. On the one hand, BL 1690 represents a most interesting and successful foray into the world of the German-Lullian suite, albeit with some compositional techniques from another tradition. On the other hand, BL 1691 looks back to the type of suite that had been popular in many areas of the German lands almost since the start of the century. It is also telling that both appear to have written by the same person. Both contain music of high quality. We may not know a great deal at the moment about Fischer IV, and this is clearly an area for further



Example 5b:
J. Fischer, *Tafel-Musik /Bestehend In Verschiedenen Ouverturen, Chaconnen, lustigen* (Hamburg, 1702), 46. Allemande.



Example 5c:
J. Fischer, 'Balettæ a 4.| Compositæ in Melancholia Authoris' (*CZ-KRa* A 780), Allemanda.



Example 6:
J. Fischer, 'Partei a. 4', Ballet, first strain; 'Balletti ad duos Choros: Authore D: Joanne Fischer' (*CZ-KRa* A 781), Balletto, second strain.

research; but judging from the suites that I have discussed in this article, he is clearly a most interesting composer who was not afraid to experiment, and whose work deserves to be far better known.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the help of two people. Firstly, Peter Holman for originally alerting me to the presence of these suites, and for his suggestions regarding the violin part of BL 1690; secondly, Nicholas Bell at the British Library for making these manuscripts available to me. Both BL 1690 and 1691 will be published during the course of 2005.

1 Lot 49, sold at Sotheby's on 7 December 2004. See note 23.

2 The British Library has yet to assign shelfmarks to the manuscripts. The deposit number is 2004.35.

3 R. Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Muskier und Musikgelehrten der Christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* 11 vols. (Leipzig, 1900-4; repr. Graz, 1959), iii, 464-5. The first two Fischers in Eitner's list did not work in the seventeenth century.

4 J. C. F. Fischer, *Le Journal du Printems, Consistant en Airs, & Balets à 5.Parties, & les Trompettes à plaisir* (Augsburg, 1695): ed. H. J. Moser, DDT x (1958).

5 Ibid., preface.

6 'Fischer, Johann', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (London, 2001) [*NG2*], viii, 893.

7 Manuscript D-SWl Mus. 1873. See RISM A/II record 240.001.590 generated on-line at www.nisc.com.

8 'Fischer, Johann', *NG2*.

9 *Musicalisch Divertisessment* (Dresden, 1699-1700) is not included in this list as it is for two treble instruments without bass.

10 B. Wójickówna, 'Johann Fischer von Augsburg (1646-1721) als Suitenkomponist' *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, v (1922-3), 129-56.

11 D. Wilson (trans. & ed.), *Georg Muffat on Performance Practice* (Bloomington, 2001), 15.

12 J. S. Cousser, *Composition de musique* (Stuttgart, 1682).

13 E. H. Meyer, *Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts in Nord- und Mitteleuropa* (Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft ii, Kassel, 1934), 203-4.

14 This and the following information regarding the collection is taken from J. Sehnal & J. Pesková, *Caroli de Liechtenstein Castelcorno episcopi Olumucensis operum artis musicae collectio Cremsirii reservata* 2 vols. (Artis Musicæ Antiquioris Catalogorum v, Prague, 1998), i,introduction.

15 Ibid.

16 Peter Holman has suggested that 'N' stands for 'nomen', which was commonly used when a name was unknown or unspecified. If this is the case, Vejvanovský and Fischer may not have had a common aquaintance in the way that I have suggested. However, I feel that there would have been little point in Vejvanovský writing 'apud N' if he had not known the owner of the house. It was equally common for an initial, or initials, to be used as identification, especially when writing of friends or aquaintances.

17 RISM A/II, records 550.264.147 - 550.264.152. The *CZ-KRa* suites by Fischer IV are ascribed to Fischer III.

18 Sehnal & Pešková, *Caroli de Liechtenstein Castelcorno*, i,33.

19 It is difficult to be certain about A 776: Vejvanovský's copying of the parts suffers from frequent and substantial error.

20 'Fischer, Johann', *NG2*.

21 A partial facsimile reproduction is given in D. Glüxam, *Die Violonskordatur und ihre Rolle in der Geschischte des Violinspieles* (Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft 37, Tutzing, 1999), 161. Modern edition, G. Beckmann, *Das Violinspiel in Deutschland vor 1700* (Leipzig, 1920).

22 Glüxam, *Die Violonskordatur*, 255.

23 Auction catalogue: Sotheby's, *Music including the autograph manuscript of Rachmaninov's second symphony* (London, 2004), 42. The lot also includes music by J. C. Bach and Haydn. I have not given these other items any more than a cursory examination, but the anonymous 'Cantzon a 5' in the same lot would appear to be from a much earlier date.

24 C. B. Schmidt, 'Manuscript Sources for the Music of Jean-Baptiste Lully' in *Notes* 44/1 (September 1987), 15. Sehnal & Pešková, *Caroli de Liechtenstein Castelcorno*, i, entry 186, still list the work as being by Ebner.

25 The relationship between these two manuscripts is discussed in Micahel Robertson, 'The consort suite in the German-speaking lands: 1660-1705' (PhD University of Leeds, 2004), 19. Lully's authorship has not been recognised in Sehnal & Pešková, *Caroli de Liechtenstein Castelcorno*.

26 Sehnal & Pešková, *Caroli de Liechtenstein Castelcorno* ii, entries 858 and 880. These entries fail to comment on the similarity of the handwriting in the two manuscripts.

27 For a more detailed discussion of movement linking, see Robertson, 'The consort suite'.

Centre for Research into Historically-Informed Performance at Cardiff University

Cardiff University's School of Music has recently established a Centre for Research into Historically-Informed Performance (CRHIP), in order to enhance its current international reputation in performance research. The Centre will provide the equivalent of a 'well-found laboratory' for research into issues of performance practice and performance studies and will be the first of its kind in Wales.

One major aspect of the Centre's work will involve encouraging undergraduate and postgraduate students to experiment with and perform on reproduction 'period' musical instruments, for these provide the researcher's laboratory apparatus for applying historical theory and the results of performance analysis to actual practice (in terms of technique, interpretation and style). CRHIP's other principal role will focus on the significance of early recordings (sound and video) as primary sources for scholarly and practical investigation, not only as historical documents that preserve the performances of Elgar, Rachmaninov, Stravinsky and other such composers, as well as the performance practices/styles of the musicians with whom they worked, but also as primary materials that establish a context in which to understand printed and manuscript sources - notably theoretical instruction in treatises, musical notation and their realisation in practice - and shed new light on nineteenth-century performance.

Science Research Investment Funding (SRIF2) to the tune of £140K has secured accommodation and equipment for the Centre, which should commence its work in the autumn of 2005. Purchases have included a reproduction fortepiano after Stein, an early Haydn symphony orchestra of period instruments, and specialist audio/video and computing equipment designed both to facilitate the study of early recordings (original 78rpm records and re-mastered recordings on tape and CD) and to assist in the provision of vital analytical data concerning various performance practices (e.g. tempo variation tempo rubato, and the treatment of rhythm, the use of vibrato, and the employment of portamento by string players).

'CRHIP will enhance the School's international reputation as a centre for performance study and scholarship', said the Centre's director, Professor Robin Stowell, who is also Head of School. 'It will also offer staff, students and other researchers in the field important enabling facilities to extract issues of practice from principle, and principle from practice,' he added. 'It will provide us with a laboratory for critical analysis of performance techniques and styles in early recordings as well as for experiment with period instruments and the application of historical techniques and styles to performance. CRHIP should open up many avenues for original individual work, attract prospective postgraduate students and support young researchers, particularly those enrolled in the School's recently validated PhD programme in performance.'

Auction of music books from Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire

The library of the ninth Earl of Macclesfield, the Rt Hon Richard Parker is being auctioned at Sotheby's after a family dispute, which has forced him to leave Shirburn Castle in Oxfordshire. The 20,000-volume library is being dispersed in several different auctions according to the types of books in the collections. The most notable item in the library, the fourteenth-century Macclesfield Psalter (unknown until Sotheby's catalogued the collection for sale in 2003), was first sold to the Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles in June of last year. The government placed the Psalter under a temporary export ban, during which time 1.7 million pounds were raised to purchase it for the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

The library also contains a significant collection of music books, which are to be auctioned on 14 April 2005. The collection comprises primarily books on music theory and instruction, though there are three notable editions of printed music: Thomas Greeting's *The Pleasant Companion* (2nd edition, 1673), and both volumes of Purcell's *Orpehus Britannicus*. Included amongst the books on theory and instruction are Heinrich Glarean's *Dodekachordon* (Basel, 1547); Thomas Morely's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597); John Dowland's Andreas *Ornithoparcus His Micrologus, or Introduction: containing the art of singing, digested* (London, 1609); Marin Mersenne's *Les preludes de l'harmonie universelle* (Paris, 1634) and *Harmonie universelle* (Paris, 1636-37); William Holder's *A treatise of the natural grounds, and principles of harmony* (London, 1694); and Galliard's translation of Tosi's *Observations on the Florid Song* (London, 1742). Several of the books in the collection are expected to bring upwards of £10,000; the copy of Franchino Garrurio's *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus* (Milan, 1518), is a second edition of the famous humanist musical treatise, and contains copious annotations in at least three different English hands of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Both Glarean's *Dodekachordon* and *Mersenne's Harmonie Universelle* are expected to fetch similar prices. Those with more restricted budgets may wish to consider copies of Thomas Salmon's *An Essay to the advancement of musick* (London, 1672), and *A proposal to Perform Musick, in perfect and mathematical proportions* (London, 1688) or Christopher Simpson's *A Compendium of Practical Musick ... together with lessons for viols, &c, the third edition* (London, 1678), each of which is likely to go for a more modest £200-£300.

The bulk of the library was established under the first three Earls of Macclesfield, Thomas Parker (1667-1732) a lawyer and Lord Chancellor during the reign of George I, his son, George Parker (1697-1764) president of the Royal Society from 1752 to his death, and his grandson, Thomas Parker (d. 1795) a member of the Royal Society and MP for Oxfordshire.

An Index of *Leading Notes*, Issues 1-16

Compiled by Simon Hill

Leading Notes (ISSN 0960-6297), the Journal of NEMA from 1991-1998, was the brainchild of Christopher Page (NEMA's Chairman) and Tess Knighton, who was its first editor. From Issue 3, the editor was Ann Lewis, and from Issue 14, Richard Lawrence. The first five issues were dated January and July but, owing to the uncertainty of the actual publication date, this was changed to Spring and Autumn. And index of issues 1-9 of *Early Music Performer*, the successor to *Leading Notes*, can be found in issue 10, August 2002.

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