NEMA NEWSLETTER

Editor: Francis Knights

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

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40 years of NEMA

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A medieval orchestra in stone: the Pórtico del Paraíso in Ourense

Naoko Akutagawa and Glen Wilson

In the Spring of 2021, Galicia, the northwestern region of Spain, was one of the first to see Covid-19 travel restrictions relaxed. This afforded us a long-awaited opportunity to visit Santiago de Compostela and its most important sight, the Pórtico da Gloria in the cathedral, without the swarms of tourists who mainly come to see the huge thurible called *Botafumeiro* ('smoke-spitter') swinging through the transept. The west end sculptural group, finished in 1211 by Master Mateo and his studio, is probably Spain's most famous Romanesque monument. Its three arches are now enclosed as a narthex by the 18th-century facade and towers which dominate the Obradoiro Square.

Of great interest to music historians is the depiction, in the archivolt of the large central arch above the Pantocrator, of the 24 Elders of the Apocalypse (chapters 4 and 5) who surround the throne, worship and sing the praises of 'him that liveth for ever and ever'. Each of them holds an instrument at the ready; the visitor is told that they will only actually play when Christ returns to earth.

Less well known is a near-copy of the Pórtico da Gloria in the cathedral of Ourense, some 100 km southeast of Santiago, shown here. This ancient hot springs centre still boasts its Roman bridge over the Miño. The fortress-like cathedral stands on the site of a 6th-century Suevian basilica.

The ensemble in the narthex is there called the Pórtico del Paraíso. Its exact date and the names of the artists are unknown, but it is assumed that students of Master Mateo were responsible, and that it was executed later than the monument in Santiago. The death in 1248 of Bishop Bon Lorenzo, who is credited with finishing this building phase, provides a *terminus ante quem*.

There are differences vis-à-vis Santiago. Ourense's central tympanum was only filled with tracery in the 16th century, and a slender column added which bears a panel showing the church's patron, St. Martin. As we were informed by Prof Eduardo Carrero Santamaría (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona), the most recent investigation has determined that the polychrome, which is far more vivid than in Santiago, was first applied in the 18th century (an epoch not otherwise noted for caring much about Romanesque art) – possibly during repairs to the neighbouring tower after damage was sustained during the Lisbon earthquake of 1755. It has previously been thought that the colors represent a restoration based on traces of the original polychrome.

The 24 Elders are smaller and more finely sculpted here than in Santiago. Many of them are playing their instruments. Not feeling ourselves qualified to identify them correctly, we passed Naoko's photographs on to John Koster, who very kindly responded with the following list of Elders, from left to right:

Two winds: 'one-hand flutes', like Schwegel or tabor pipes? – unidentified instrument - angular harp (possibly no pillar) - rebec, held upwards, no bow - fiddle, held upwards, no bow - psalterium decacordum - bowed rebec, held upwards. Elder 1 (extreme left) not shown

Psalterium decacordum - bowed rebec, held upwards - indeterminate stringed (?) instrument - rebec, held downwards, no bow - organistrum cranker - organistrum player - angular harp (possibly no pillar)

Bowed fiddle, held upwards - psaltery (13 or 14 strings?) - fiddle, held upwards, no bow - harp (held backwards) with curved neck - vial - fiddle, held upwards, no bow - singer (?) - triangular harp (straight neck). Not shown (right-hand end)*: vial - plucked 'lute' (resembling certain medieval Islamic iconography) - fiddle, held upwards, no bow*

Several Elders have with them 'golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints', as Revelation 5, verse 8 in the Authorized ('King James') Version of the Bible puts it. In Ourense two Elders (3, 18) have only their vials, no instruments. One (20) has nothing at all, but appears to be only singing his praises to the Almighty while gesticulating.

The fact that the vials are black in Ourense might be explained by the loss of a metal leaf overlay. If this was silver covered with varnish to imitate gold, for which there are instructions in medieval sources, it would have turned black with age, and therefore have confused restorers. Or it might simply be a manifestation of the same artistic freedom which spurred other departures from the scriptural text. This states that all the Elders have vials, and that all are playing on the same instruments: the κιθάρα in the Greek original, the instrument of Apollo, Orpheus and Homeric recitation. But the commissioners of Western European art in the 12th and 13th centuries would have been more familiar with the Latin Vulgate, which has 'citharas'. The term would have been open to diverse interpretations at that time, which probably led to the diversity of string instruments seen in Oursense, Santiago and in other such 'orchestras' of the Elders.

The presence of flutes in Ourense is somewhat startling. It heralds the complete freedom of 'orchestration' in later ensembles of angels. These seem to be an English invention (Lincoln cathedral, before 1280), and it may be no coincidence that the earliest known polyphonic dances are found in a 13th-century English manuscript (British Library, Harley 978). Information about how such instruments as are seen in the hands of the Ourense Elders might have actually been used in the liturgies of France and Spain in the 12th and 13th centuries is scanty and largely speculative. There was considerable reluctance to allow accessories from the world of the minstrel and the tavern into the church. How the Elders accompanied their hymns in heaven with their citharas is even more remote from human comprehension.

The Elders (without instruments) first appear in Christian iconography in the 5th-century triumphal arch mosaic of St Paul Without the Walls in Rome. Thereafter they are a regular feature of sculpture and manuscripts. The first archivolt-orchestra of Elders was most likely the brainchild of Abbot Suger of St Denis, north of Paris. (The Cluniac foundation at Moissac is of similar or slightly earlier date, but there the Elders, all carrying rebecs, are crowded around the divine throne in the tympanum.) The *portail royal* of St Denis was the prototype of countless others; the nearly life-sized Elders are spread out over three archivolts in the central arch. An almost identical assortment of string instruments is found there as in Santiago and Ourense. Chartres followed St Denis within a decade. These were impulses of a new architectural style and sculptural aesthetic, later disparagingly labeled 'Gothic', but the Elders, the general arrangement and the architecture were received in conservative, Romanesque terms in Spain. By then a long period of transition was underway throughout Europe.

Ourense is already perceptibly more Gothic than Santiago, a fact that supports the later dating and gives the work greater lightness than Master Mateo's roundly lifelike statues. St Denis was terribly battered in the French Revolution, and almost fared worse under the 'restorations' of the 19th century, but what can still be seen of the Elders and their instruments makes it clear why the idea spread rapidly through France, and along the pilgrim routes to Santiago, to Ourense and into more southern parts of Spain.

Possibly the most interesting instrument in Santiago and Ourense is the *organistrum*, an ancient form of hurdy-gurdy for two performers, one turning the crank and the other needing both hands to pull

out keys which cause wooden tangents to alter the pitch of two or three strings simultaneously to produce an instrumental version of organum. The third string can also be a drone. The earliest representations on capitals and in manuscripts are 12th-century French. (The old attribution of the treatise *Quomodo organistrum costruatur* to Odo of Cluny, who died in 942, is false.) But the examples in Santiago and Ourense are the most detailed. In Ourense it even looks like the second key from the left has been pulled. John Koster informed us that two 12th-century texts on dividing the string lengths for *organistra* are printed in Christian Meyer's book *Mensura Monochordi.*[1] Having small Latin and no Greek at all, we would be unable to read them, but some readers may profit from the citation.

In conclusion, we will come briefly back around to our starting point, the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. One name was constantly on our minds while there: that of Dionisio Memo – student of Paul Hofhaimer, organist of San Marco, favourite of Henry VIII, from whose court he had to flee for his life when it was discovered he was sending reports back to the *Procuratori.* Memo is last heard of as organist in Santiago, where he arrived at some point via Portugal. In 1539, Cristóbal de Villalón, a professor in Valladoid of obscure biography and doubtful work list, published in that city a typical Renaissance comparison in dialogue between Antiquity and his present day. In his list of eminent modern musicians, he says, 'In the church of Sanctiago in Galizia there is a Maestro Dionisio Memo, noble patrician of Venice, of whom they say that in the whole universe there is, nor ever has been, anyone who can be compared to him on the keyboard, and who renders insignificant all who came before him in this type of music (*y vurla de quantos en este género de música han sido hasta aqui*)'.

This is the last that is heard of the man who we believe is the subject of Titian's early masterpiece, 'The Concert' in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence.[2] The two extant organ cases are from the early 18th century, while the tale of the instruments themselves is the usual one of destruction and attempted restoration in the 20th. The cathedral museum and archives were closed for Whitsun, and we could find no trace of Memo's tenure in Europe's most famous pilgrimage destination.

Naoko Akutagawa and Glen Wilson, formerly student/teacher and now wife/husband, met at the Würzburg Musikhochschule, where Glen taught until his retirement and where Naoko took the Meisterklasse Diplom. She became a faculty member there in 1999, and has since made seven CDs for Naxos, including world premieres of the 12 recently discovered suites by Gottlieb Muffat which Glen edited for Breitkopf & Härtel. Glen, born in the USA in 1952 and a Dutch citizen since 1988, looks back on a long and distiguished career as an early keyboard specialist, writer and editor, and was recently limited to the last two occupations by mild stroke.

Notes

[1] Christian Meyer, *Mensura Monochordi: La Division du Monocorde (IXe–XVe siècles),* Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie, deuxième série, tome XV (Paris, 1996), p.205.

[2] See article 14 on the authors' website www.glenwilson.eu.

The birth of the viol and the rise of the violin

Stefano Pio

The recorded[1] presence of approximately 170 makers of bowed and plucked instruments working throughout Venice and Padua - the lagoon city's natural terra firma extension - constitutes clear and inescapable evidence of the primacy and importance of 16th-century Venetian *liuteria*. The large number of instrument-making artisans working in the city was responsible for the instigation of professional subcategories, in which workers developed specific expertise and specialized in the making of one particular type of musical instrument. This defining of specified roles within a trade was only to be found within large-scale cities such as Venice, as it did not make sense in smaller urban centres, where the production was limited and the number of instrument makers was small, thus creating a willingness on their part to accept any commission which helped make ends meet. It is therefore highly probable that the major organological innovations and experimentation on string instruments (and other instruments as well) occurred during the end of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century in the city of Venice, where professional trades were more developed and the free exchange of ideas was highly encouraged by the urban fabric that characterized this city. The humanistic exploration of new ideas and thoughts in the arts and sciences, so typical of this period, touched even the musical field, which saw a period of experimentation and transformation that, in the beginning of the 16th century, led to the creation of the *viola* (viol) in all of its forms and to a more general evolution in the making of bowed instruments and their performing technique.

During the last 20 years of the 15th century, bowed instruments – which up to this time remained almost unaltered – underwent a rapid acceleration in their evolution: the *violetta*[2] (*viella* or medieval fiddle) began to be portrayed in different sizes, while instruments of larger dimensions, held between the legs and played vertically and generally called *viola*, began to diffusely circulate within Italy. The increase in the size of these instruments was influenced by the introduction of vocal polyphony into the instrumental field, which towards the end of the 15th century adopted a new musical and aesthetic sensibility where low-pitch tones were much appreciated, cultivated and sought after.[3] This propensity for low registers caused instrument makers of the time to conceive larger instruments using known techniques handed down by previous generations of instrument makers who produced smaller size instruments, such as the rebec or the *viella*, often experimenting with its form. The possibilities for sound and tonality afforded by this new family of *viole* (viols) were thus broadened and expanded toward lower registers, following a path similar to what occurred in vocal polyphony. It is not by chance that some of the most important music treatises of the time report on the tuning of this new-born family of viols by always starting from the larger and lower-pitched instrument on which, by consequence, the other smaller instruments based their own tuning.

The Venetian iconography of the time portrays bowed instruments that are not yet clearly defined in standardized shapes and models; they could be played either horizontally, in *a braccio* position, or vertically, *a gamba.* Initially *viole* shared common characteristics but started to differ in the way they were played.

Medieval fiddle or viella*, Venice (1484)*

The increase in the dimensions of the *viola* determined the definitive change in the manner the instrument was held, as musicians found it easier to play it vertically. In the Venice of the time, the term *viola* was generally referred to as a family of bowed instruments, which comprised small-sized instruments, usually played *a braccio*, as well as larger instruments that were played *a gamba.* It must be specified that the definitions *'da braccio'* and *'da gamba'* were not in common use in the lexicon of the time and appear mainly in subsequent musical studies.[4]

For roughly 70 years, the *violette*[5] (small *viole*) of the late 15th century were subject to technical experimentation and morphological transformation which, around 1550, resulted in the creation of a definitive instrument similar in shape, structure and characteristics to today's violin and viola (Andrea Amati violins).

There are many iconographic sources of the medieval *violetta*, played both horizontally, or *a braccio*, as well as vertically, or *a gamba* throughout Europe in the 12th and the 13th centuries, but there is an absence – although not absolute – of iconographic examples of the *a gamba* medieval *violetta* during the following 150 years. This disappearance from the music scene, caused perhaps by a change in trends, led some scholars to exclude the possibility of a direct derivation of the viol family of the very late 15th century from the medieval *violetta*, thus leading the way to the formulation of other more elaborate hypotheses to explain its origin.

In his book on *The Early History of the Viol* Ian Woodfield[6] proposed a theory, today widely accepted, in which the Italian *viola da gamba* (viol) originated from the bowed version of the Spanish vihuela (*vihuela de arco*). This instrument possibly entered in Italy at the end of the 15th century through the Borgia papacy in Rome and through the Kingdom of Naples ruled by Alphonse V of Aragon, spreading then

to other parts of Italy. This author does not agree with Woodfield's theory because of some questions that are explored below.

In both Europe and Italy throughout the 12th and 13th centuries, the presence and then subsequent disappearance of bowed instruments played vertically leads us to believe that this variation was linked to trends and musical sensibility. In my opinion, the origins of the Italian *viola da gamba* (viol) and the reasons for its birth are not to be searched for in faraway lands, but rather in Italy, due to new musical needs that surfaced with the coming of the humanistic culture.

The *vihuela de arco*, whose origin is placed in Aragon around 1485,[7] is often represented as an instrument that is similar in characteristics (and sometime also in dimensions) to the medieval *violetta da braccio*. It differs in the more pronounced lateral indentations (C bouts) of the sound-box and by the way it was held. The *vihuela de arco* was, in fact, played vertically, like the *rebab,* a bowed instrument of Arab origins introduced in Spain during the Moorish domination. The *rebab* is the instrument that still appears to have been played vertically in iconographic Spanish examples of the 14th and 15th centuries. Its survival in Aragon at the end of the 15th century probably also influenced the playing modalities of the rising *vihuela de arco*. It was this particular circumstance, together with common stylistic similarities, that led Woodfield to theorize a direct link between the Aragonese *vihuela de arco* and the Italian viola da gamba, in which he considered the former to be the progenitor of the latter.

The *vihuela de arco* appears in Aragonese paintings attributed between the years 1485-1510, which was too late to have influenced the Italian viola da gamba, whose first examples are contemporary. Woodfield claims that the first iconographic portrayal of the *vihuela de arco* is found in a painting by an anonymous artist whose date is estimated to be approximately between 1473 and 1480. But the instrument depicted in this painting is similar to a soprano viola da gamba of the mid-16th century, having deep ribs and mounted with a curved bridge. When one considers the depicted instrument's stylistic inconsistencies and the painting's overall poor state of conservation (it was apparently retouched), it is highly possible this instrument was a later addition. It is in fact the only part of the painting that is well preserved. It is therefore improbable, considering the absence of other earlier iconographic examples, that the *vihuela de arco* dates from prior to 1485. To support his theory, Woodfield writes about a 'viola almost as big as me' that was played in Vigevano on 6 March 1493, on the occasion of the festivities for the birth Ludovico il Moro's son, and which was mentioned by Ferrara Chancellor Bernardino Prospero in a letter to Isabella d'Este. He also refers to 'two large violas with bow' mentioned in the 1505 diary of Venetian Marin Sanudo.[8] In both cases, the writers' marvelling at the size of these instruments is apparent. The hypothesis that Prospero used the expression 'viola almost as big as me', meaning the scale of a person, to refer to vihuelas or instruments linked (or originated) to them, must be discredited because they usually were only slightly larger than medieval *violette da braccio* or contemporary *lire da braccio.*[9]

This author believes that these instruments were Italian *viole da gamba* of large dimensions ('like a person'), originating from the earlier medieval fiddle (*viella*), which at the time were taking hold in Northern Italy. Only these instruments could be of such a grand scale, as the iconography of the time does not show in Spain large vihuelas with these dimensions.[10] The fact that the musicians playing for Ludovico il Moro in 1493 were Spaniards does not automatically imply that they played bowed vihuelas, that there existed large-size vihuelas or that these instruments were originated/developed from the vihuela *de arco.*

Between 1483 and 1487, when he wrote his treatise, *De inventione et usu musicae,* Ioannes Tinctoris[11] lived in Naples, the Italian point of entry and dissemination of the Aragonese culture. He differentiates the plucked vihuela (*viola sine arculo*), pointing to its Spanish origins,[12] informing us of its diffusion

throughout Italy, but he omitted any information on its bowed version. In fact, he ascribed to the *viola cum arculo* ('bowed') a provenance from Greece.[13] He probably misidentified the origin of the Italian *viola*, which at that time was also called *lira*,[14] with the classic lyre of Greco-Roman antiquity, celebrated since the age of Homer.

The distinction proposed by Tinctoris, who was a direct witness of the musical events of his time, between the two types of *viola* (*cum arculo* and *sine arculo*) is compatible only with the absence of the Spanish *vihuela da arco* in Naples in the years during which he wrote his treatise (c.1483-1487). Otherwise, he could have never used the instrument classification he adopted, attributing only to Greece the origins of the bowed *viola cum arculo* and to Spain the origin of the plucked *viola sine arculo*. Even if we accept the hypothesis that the *vihuela de arco* (or its use) arrived in Naples or Rome in the years immediately following the writing of his treatise,[15] it would have first entered the courts of northern Italy, such as Ferrara, Mantua etc. From there it would have spread to the rest of the north where local Italian makers would have before received it, transformed it, and afterwards adapted it into a homogeneous set of *a gamba* instruments of different sizes and dimensions, even large, ready to meet the needs of the instrumental polyphony of the time. All this should have been accomplished within a span of approximately eight to ten years,[16] considering the first Italian documents relevant to the viol family. This window of time would have been too short for these drastic organological transformations (and diffusion in the territory) to have taken place, and no primary source shows evidence of this happening.

However, evidence that the *Spanish viola* (vihuela) and 'Spanish style' instruments were fairly unknown in Venice is confirmed by Lorenzo da Pavia,[17] who wrote to Isabella d'Este: 'July 23, 1497 … first we cannot think of finding those instruments in Venice because local lute makers can only make Italian lutes; the others are lutes [meaning plucked vihuelas] made in Spain and the Spanish give these instruments a voice of a different kind that here they cannot make … therefore we cannot have them made here … Your faithful servant Lorenzo in Venice'.[18] This letter, which references 'lutes made in Spain' (vihuelas) unknown to the Venetian makers, further strengthens the hypothesis of an independent rise and local evolution in Italy of bowed instruments belonging to the family of the viols during the last years of the 15th century, and the shy appearance[19] of the vihuela only in its plucked version, which was well differentiated from the earlier ones.[20]

The presence in 1499[21] of a consort of four *sonadori di viola* in the register *sonadori de arpi, liudi e viole* (harp, lute and viol players) of the *Scuola Grande* of Saint Mark, consisting of Venetians belonging to the working classes, is of particular importance in relation to the theories on the origin of the *viola da gamba*: viols used by this consort cannot be other than the indigenous product of the Venetian school of instrument-making, as we know, from the letter by Lorenzo da Pavia above, that Venice was immune at the time to any 'influence' from Spain.

It is this author's belief that the Spanish influence on Italian instruments only pertains to the plucked vihuela (*viola da mano*), which originated in Aragon around 1450. Its presence is objectively and abundantly documented in the different Italian courts, beginning in Naples and Rome, in the last ten years of the 15th century, and later spreading to all of Italy in a popular context.

If the vihuela (both plucked and bowed versions) had widespread diffusion in Italy during the first years of the 16th century, its presence would have influenced the local production of Venetian makers of string instruments (*liuteri* and *lireri)*. Had they known of it, it would have been built and sold, a circumstance that was explicitly denied by the instrument maker da Pavia who, in his letters, declared that they could only produce instruments *ala italiana* ('Italian style').

It should also be noted that Lorenzo da Pavia made in Venice several plucked vihuelas (*viole da mano*) for Isabella d'Este. However, he refused the commission from Alfonso I d'Este who insistently requested of him to personally make a set of five bowed *viole ad arco* (he stated that he could not make them). If the Italian *viola da gamba* had actually derived from the *vihuela de arco,* which was so organologically similar to the plucked vihuela, Lorenzo da Pavia would have also been able to build these instruments and therefore would have accepted this commission from Alfonso d'Este.[22] It is also highly improbable that 16th-century Venice, the most important centre for the production of musical instruments in all of Italy, if not Europe itself, could have remained immune to the influence of Spanish instruments if indeed they had already spread throughout all other parts of Italy, given to the fact that the city was in direct contact with Valencia (the area where the *vihuela de arco* originated) through the maritime route called *Muda de acque morte*, a well-travelled route for centuries by Venetian galleys.

Isabella d'Este often called on Venice for the purchase of musical instruments or simply for their repair and maintenance. Evidently, at that time in her city of Mantua, there were no instrument makers capable of satisfying her needs and demands. In his Venetian letters to Isabella, Lorenzo da Pavia often lamented the state of neglect in which he found the musical instruments of the Mantua court, further evidence of the absence of even a simple local maintainer. The situation was not much different in Ferrara, because otherwise Alfonso I d'Este would not have researched in Venice the viols (1499) or the recipe for lute varnish (1526), which was commonly prepared by workshop *garzoni* of luthiers, and Isabella d'Este would have opted for nearby Ferrara (and not Venice) for the repairs and maintenance of her musical instruments. Consequently, it is also hard to believe that the bowed instruments portrayed in Ferraran and Mantuan paintings of the time (Coltellini, Garofalo) were the fruit of genius and the work of great local makers, who seemed in fact to be absent for the reasons cited above. In the first part of the 16th century the makers of musical instruments seemed to concentrate in populated cities such as Venice, Milan or Bologna, while their move to smaller urban centers seems to have been a phenomenon that occurred later, a process which started during the second half of the 16th century. Towards 1550, Mantua and Ferrara were the homes of the instrument makers Morella and Grappello,[23] but the surviving instruments attributed to them[24] show poor craftsmanship and lack the purposeful stylistic sophistication of the courts of the time, a refined elegance that was always a feature of Venetian-built instruments depicted in paintings of that era.

Nowhere in documents, treatises, convivial discussion or reports of the time does there appear an allusion to a viol of possible Spanish origin to be played *a gamba*. In 1612, Magno (III) Tiffenbrucker wrote of *Spanish guitars*, thus demonstrating that even after a century there was still some knowledge or awareness of the origin of this instrument - just as there had been with Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia a hundred years earlier. There is also mention of two *viole spagnole* (plucked vihuelas or *viole da mano*) in a Venetian inventory dated 1556, which demonstrates how the origin of these instruments was explicitly mentioned if foreign or unusual. When studying the pertinent iconography, we can say with a relative certainty that the *vihuela de arco* was not depicted in the paintings of Venetian artists of the time. It is also important to note that in Venetian paintings – generally accompanied by solid documentation as to authorship and dating – musical instruments were painted in great detail, faithfully representing the original.

The presence of a large number of makers of musical instruments in Venice (which also eliminated the need to import instruments from other places), together with a very important school of painting, makes the role played by Venetian iconography extremely valuable. The same cannot be said for Aragon. The total lack of information on local instrument makers working in Aragon between 1450 and 1500 allows us to only to speculate that the instruments portrayed by local painters were homogeneously made by local makers whose presence we can only hypothesize, and therefore their importance cannot be clearly determined. Aragon was not a centre of Renaissance instrument making,

and the local utilization of Moorish instruments, such as the *rebab*, and outdated execution techniques which had otherwise largely disappeared from the rest of Europe, seem to indicate a lack of local instrument makers who were capable of innovation and experimentation.

In conclusion, it does not appear plausible that the *vihuela de arco*, which possibly arrived in Rome/Naples after 1483-1487 (Tinctoris does not mention it prior to this time) underwent such a rapid evolution by Italian instrument makers – not Venetian (circumstances specifically excluded by Lorenzo da Pavia), nor Mantoan or Ferrarese (as the Isabella and Alfonso I d'Este's continued requests of instruments in other cities testify) – so that within a five-to-ten-year span it produced the birth and the diffusion of a new family of instruments (*viole da gamba*) which comprised instruments of different size, some large (the famous *violoni* 'big as a man' mentioned by Prospero Bernardino in 1493), that were already present in Italy's neighboring countries during the first decade of the 16th century.[25]

The frescos in the 'music room' of the Viboldone Abbey (Milan) are very interesting in this regard. They can be dated to the last 20 years of the 15th century (1480-1500), and the instruments portrayed within them are grouped and catalogued by family, in some cases showing the three different sizes that refer to the corresponding voices of the 15th-century counterpoint.[26] This is seen in the panel with *ad ancia* (reed) instruments and in the panel depicting three differently sized bows for *viola* and rebec. The room also contains (third panel) depictions of plucked instruments, among which are lutes, harps and *viole da mano* (plucked vihuelas), while the seventh panel shows rebecs of the typical shape of the late 15th century and bowed *viole ad arco* - whose ribs, depth, number of strings and large dimensions as compared to the rebecs and other instruments depicted on the panels - leave no doubt to their use *a gamba*. The Viboldone abbey frescoes also confirm the distinction between the two families of instruments (plucked and bowed) already apparent in the final decades of the 15th century.

Plucked instruments (left) and bowed instruments (right), Music Room,Viboldone Abbey, Milan (1480-1500)

Consequently this tends to exclude the possible derivation of the *viola da gamba* from the vihuela, which is consistent with reports in those years by Tinctoris in his treatise, *De inventione et usu musicae*. Further evidence can be found in the manuscript[27] of Antonio di Leno (a.1480-1500) that refers on its first page

to a tuning table of a six-string bass viol, which would date the birth of the viola da gamba to the same years during which the *vihuela de arco* is said to have been born in Aragon and exported to Italy, thereby excluding its possible paternity.

The following Italian iconographic and documentary examples quoted by Woodfield to support his theory that the *da gamba* viols present in Ferraran and Mantuan paintings in the years between the 15th and 16th centuries can be traced back to the Valencian *vihuela de arco*, possibly developed ten-to-fifteen years earlier is, in my opinion, questionable. They can be equally attributed to an evolutionary transformation (i.e. lengthening the neck and body to get a lower-pitched sound) of the previous *da braccio* medieval fiddle. The upper corners, present in the 'C' of the Italian *viola da gamba* (C bouts), could also be the final result of an autochthonous evolution (doubling of the corner) originated from the previous form of the *lira da braccio*[28] with one corner on each side, which was in vogue during those years. This feature was thus determined to ensure playability with bow for instruments having a larger bouts.[29]

The term *vihuela* not only indicates a single instrument in its different variants (a pluck, plectrum or bow), but it was also used to indicate the lute, which was sometimes called a 'vihuela of Flanders' (Bermudo, *Declaración de Instrumentos* (1555). The generalization of the term *vihuela* therefore leaves open the possibility that its bow variant was a local attempt of response and adaptation of this instrument, so strongly rooted in the territory of Aragon, to the new external cultural influences, an attempted adaptation that was made within a limited geographic area bound by the cultural forces in play during this time, as well as by the limitations of local makers who were unable to develop it in a more convincing way.

The city of Valencia, as mentioned, was directly linked to Venice through the naval route called *Muda di acque morte*, and so therefore Venetian musical instruments and its cultural influences could easily arrive there by sea within a short time. A testimony to the influence of Italian culture in Aragon is offered by Valdrighi,[30] who mentions the names of 48 musicians at the court of Alfonso of Aragon in the years 1437 to 1457 found in documents now preserved in the Archives of Naples: about 30 of these musicians were Italian.

Lira da braccio and viol with a single corner on each side[31]

The Venetian instrument makers exported their musical instruments in huge quantities,[32] thus greatly influencing national markets as well as the Spanish instrument-making school, where the lute and mainly the guitar prospered for a long time. On the other hand, the *viola da mano* (plucked vihuela), which was found in Italy around 40 years after its invention in Spain, influenced the later Italian production of guitars, which in Venice were referred to as *Spanish style*, a reference to their country of origin. These were mass-produced by Venetian luthiers and exported back to Spanish soil.[33]

The indigenous influence of the *violetta medievale* (medieval fiddle) and rebec, which had been in Italy for centuries, was a clear reference point for Italian bowed-instrument makers in the years between the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries, who had begun the process of incorporating aspects of both into the earliest realizations of the viola da gamba and lira da braccio. After a lapse of about 150 years, musicians once again had begun to play the *viola* in a vertical position, when the progressive increase of its dimensions (neck and/or body) to produce a low-pitched sound made it increasingly difficult to play it horizontally on the shoulder.

The vertical use of the instrument *a gamba* provoked the development of specific features, such as an increase in the height of the ribs, larger body volume, frets on the neck, and the slope of the upper part of the back, which enabled easier execution. More pronounced indentations[34] to the sides of the body, referred to as the 'C-bout' in violin-making terminology, were made to allow the instrument (now increased in size) to be easily played: without them the bow would have rubbed against the edge of the soundboard when playing the outer strings, the treble and the bass. Some of the construction details of the Italian viols were derived, in my opinion, not only from the antecedent medieval *violetta* but also from the *lira da braccio*, which was consolidated into the Italian context in the period 1480 to 1490.

With the passing of time, the *viole da gamba* acquired specific characteristics that increasingly distinguished them apart from the stringed instruments played *a braccio,* which became a family on their

own at the end of the 16th century. In fact, during the second half of the 17th century, the evolution of *a braccio* instruments would lead to the birth of the violin and viola in their final and current form, which became in Italy the most favored amongst all of the bowed instruments because of their advanced sound characteristics. These characteristics were generously applied to instruments of a same shape but with larger size, up to the development of the double bass, the last member of this family that appeared later in the 17th century.

The higher quality of sound and versatility of this new violin family overtook in Italy the family of the viols, as evidenced by the latter becoming obsolescent in the 17th century. With regards to the theory[35] that the use of the arched bridge for bowed instruments developed in Italy from 1480, this is a nonsense even for the the Valencian *vihuela de arco*: if fitted with a flat bridge, it would have produced a sound similar to what is done by passing a bow over the strings of a modern guitar, unacceptable now as then.[36]

Tinctoris describes the performance of two *violetta* (vielle) players in Bruges, a place already famous in the 15th century for its groups of wind instruments, which is very interesting, because the two instruments were used in melodically: one of two players (the *tenor*) improvised a melody on the *cantus firmus* played by the other. Certainly the melodic use of the *viola* was prevalent in popular and dance music. These *violette* were therefore fitted with a curved bridge that allowed the individual to play the single strings and notes of a melody line, and were probably similar to that one depicted in the Palazzo Ducale inlays (1476) in Urbino.

Giuliano e Benedetto da Maiano, door inlay (c.1476), Palazzo Ducale, Urbino

Tinctoris also notes that the musical performance of the two players of Bruges was carried out with the bow touching a string, so as not to put in vibration the other ones: *ut arculus (quom chorda ejus pilis equinis confecta: sit recta) unam tangens: juxta libitum sonitoris alias relinquat inconcussas*. The arched bridge, widely known throughout Europe, therefore cannot specifically be considered an Italian innovation of the last two decades of the 15th century.

There is one final element to consider in the birth of the viola da gamba that poses a challenge to its hypothesized origin from the *vihuela de arco*. Both in the manuscript of Antonio da Leno and in the treatises of Ganassi and Lanfranco, the fifth string of the viola da gamba is called uniquely *Bordone* (drone). In fact, it is not a drone since it is, just like the other strings, placed inside the neck and the fingerboard of the instrument. This inconsistency is justifiable only assuming the invention, during the last part of the 15th century, of a larger instrument derived from the medieval *violetta* to which were gradually added other strings to allow a greater extension to the low register that resulted from its increased size. The fifth string, already present in some specimens of these *violette* as a drone (*Bordone*),[37] was incorporated into the neck when they were expanded in size. This was then surpassed by a sixth string, named *Basso*, which fixed the lowest sound produced by the instrument. The origin of the viol is tied to the evolution of a smaller instrument that was originally fitted with a fifth string drone (the name remained unchanged even though it ceased to perform this function), which was precisely the medieval *violetta* or vielle. It is worth noting that the vihuela was never fitted with a drone string.

The Venetian *Scuole Grandi*[38] had an important role in the evolution of instrumental practice, with the widespread participation in their liturgical ceremonies of *sonadori* (players), which were assigned increasingly frequent musical passages that incorporated the solemn participation of all its members. From 1480 to 1530, the music was delegated to (cantors) *cantadori de laude*, *cantadori da corpi* (for funerals) and *sonadori,* usually groups[39] of two or three performers who played harp, *viola* and lute. In some documents stored at the Venice State Archive the concurrent presence of several *sonadori di viola* can be seen starting from c.1490, suggesting a partnership within the ceremonies when there was a request for a larger group than the traditional instrumental trio composed by heterogeneous instruments. The four *piffari*, otherwise known as *sonadori di viola* in the aforementioned register dated May 1499 of the Scuola di San Marco, are documented as both demanding and receiving money from the School, but with the proviso that '*sonadori* of viols are obligated to play all the times provided by *mariegola*', according to a regulation. These records are among the first documented evidence of homogeneous instrumental groups in Venice (in Italy also), composed of musicians belonging to the same family of bowed instruments (*viola*) that were consolidating at the end of the 15th century not only in the courts of Mantua and Ferrara, but also in a Venetian popular context. They were invariably composed of artisans from the popular classes, who combined their presence in the *Scuole* with a job at one of the many artisan shops in town. With the growth in demand of music and the availability of *Scuole* to pay for music services, which became increasingly more in demand and refined, came the rise in the popular area of the professional musician, who abandoned the original profession of artisan and devoted himself full-time to the playing of music, which became his livelihood. From 1530, the instrumental ensembles of the *sonadori of Violoni*, consisting of five or six performers, replaced the existing semi-professional previous trios and other music groups in the Venetian *Scuole Grandi*.[40] The groups of *sonadori di violoni* developed in parallel to the consorts at the Italian Renaissance courts, which since the end of the 15th century had become centres for the use and dissemination of bowed instruments (*viole*).

An example of this is found in documents that note the first duo ensemble of Pietrobono (1441-1497) and Corrado d'Allemagne (1441-1481) at the court of Ferrara, which was gradually augmented. In 1497 *Agostino dalla Viola* entertained the court with a trio of *viole*, together with *Andrea and Zanpaolo dalla viola*. In 1499, Jacomo arrived and consequently organized a quartet of viols,[41] similar to that found in the same year in the *Scuola Grande* of San Marco in Venice. The use of string instruments was largely embraced and supported within philosophical humanist circles, in which scholars, referring to the classical writers Aristotle and Plato, sanctioned the greater nobility of stringed instruments over wind instruments, which were considered lower class and sometimes vulgar. The painters and sculptors of the time also did not fail to capture this theme of culture, representing it symbolically with the myth of

Apollo playing the lyre, triumphant over Pan and Marsyas, both players of wind instruments (see engraving below).

Venice proved to be a very popular centre for the *sonadori* of *violoni* in northern Italy,[42] due to the continued demand for instrumental music made by the *Scuole Grandi*, the *Scuole Piccole* (which echoed on a minor scale the musical activity of the first), the Chapel of the *Basilica Marciana* in San Marco and the *Doge's Piffari*. It is likely that individual musicians, depending on the activity and circumstances, played instruments of different sizes. Archival documents often hint at how some roles were interchangeable within the group. This writer believes that the musicians used large instruments (the *Violoni* precisely, from which these groups drew their name), most likely to create a low and deep sound that acquired a special importance and gave a solemnity to the religious ceremonies within the superb acoustics of the large rooms of the *Scuole Grandi*. It is possible that during processions these same players opted for smaller and medium-sized instruments, which were more manageable and easier to carry. Each of the six *Scuole Grandi* could count on its own group of *Violoni*, generally composed of six performers.

The overwhelming presence within the city of bowed-instruments players, together with the makers of bowed instruments, initiated the premise and created an ideal breeding ground for the evolution of bowed instruments in the forms and models that we know today. Based on the documents available in my book,[43] we can assume a classification of the instruments used by the group of *Violoni,* bearing in mind the limitations of an assessment made on descriptions from the first half of the 16th century, when a uniform definition of models and measures was not yet formulated:

large	*violone*
small	*violone*
tenor	*viola*
contralto	*violetta*
soprano	*violetta* (protoviolin)

The grouping of six players included in most cases the doubling of one of the above mentioned five parts, but there could be some variations with the addition of a viola da gamba mid-format, called *bassetto*,[44] whose register was between bass and tenor.

The violin originated from these early professional ensembles of instrumentalists, and is nothing other than the *violetta soprano* (*vielle* or medieval fiddle) evolved and perfected at a later stage. Of course, the rebec and the *lira da braccio* contributed to the development of the *violetta*, providing structural and stylistic elements later adopted by the violin. The rebec shared its pegbox shape, the pegs mounted

sideways and the tuning in fifths, the *lira da braccio* its soundboard carved, arched and purfled, with the protruding edge on the ribs and f-shaped soundholes. Therefore, the violin initially was an instrument fully included in the family of viols. Only in the first quarter of the 17th century many factors (a changing musical repertoire, a differing instrumental development and, last but not least, ideological motives)[45] determined its definitive emancipation from the family of the viols and confirmed its position as a bowed instrument with its own organological characteristics.

The *sonadori* of *violone* (also called *sonadori de lironi*), often from Brescia, Bergamo and Vestone - all territories under the rule of the *Serenissima* - chose Venice as a permanent home, attracted by the many engagements and better living conditions that the city offered them. Initially, the presence of *violone* players in some urban centers of northern Italy (including Brescia) was only occasional and sporadic, and seems to have been due mostly to companies that were called in from the outside just for a special celebration or event. Special emphasis was given to the players from the Brescian area who were part of the Venetian *Scuole Grandi*. In fact, many of them were initially artisans dedicated to a variety of crafts, who merged in Venice for more employment opportunities and formed instrumentally only after their arrival in the city. They created instrumental groups with compatriots and friends with close contacts, a natural occurrence among immigrants.

In this sense, the so-called 'Brescian violinism' initially paid tribute to Venice, since the activities of the players of bowed instruments who settled in Brescia were developed only after 1540, i.e., after the birth and the initial experience acquired by the instrumental groups of the *Violoni* in Venice.[46] It should be underlined that the presence of the *violone* players in Venice, hired permanently from around 1530, indicates that these groups gained acceptance into established conservative circles such as the *Scuole Grandi*, an institution that was inherently slow in adopting innovations. This suggests that the activities of the *Violoni* had already been embraced and consolidated into the social fabric of the city decades earlier (1510-1520).

Among the first iconographic examples of a violin, there is the Venetian *violetta* in the bronze relief of the *Doge* Barbarigo tomb built in the years 1501-1515 for the Church of *S. Maria della Carità*, now housed at the Ca' d'Oro Museum in Venice (see below), about twenty years before the well-known *protoviolini* paintings by Gaudenzio Ferrari the *Madonna degli aranci* (c.1530) in the Church of San Cristoforo in Vercelli and the *Glory of Angels* (c.1535) on the dome ceiling of the Santa Maria dei Miracoli Sanctuary in Saronno.

Maestro dell'Altare Barbarigo, Incoronazione della Vergine (1505-1515), bronze, Cà d'Oro, Venice

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Notes

[1] For the archival sources of the unpublished documents cited here see Stefano Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers of Venice 1490-1630* (Venice, 2012), ISBN 978-88-907252-0-3.

[2] Whenever possible, I define the instruments with the terminology used in Venice in the 16th century.

[3] Even Vincenzo Galilei, in his 1584 treatise, justified the changes in size and dimensions of the *viola* with the need to obtain a lower-pitched sound.

[4] Sylvestro Ganassi, *Lettione Seconda* (Venice, 1543).

[5] Instruments originated from medieval fiddle or *viella*, played *a braccio* that could be universally defined also as *protoviolins*.

[6] Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge, 1984).

[7] Woodfield (1984), p. 61. This dating is based on paintings of Aragon school origins and done by anonymous artists, therefore not precisely datable.

[8] It is a letter re-transcribed by Sanudo who describes the gala luncheon held on 16 March 1505 at the palace of Cardinal Grimani in Rome. Between courses, music was played: '. . . then 74 bowls of chicken Catalan style, brought at the table with an accompaniment of harps, cymbals and violette . . . an Albanian jester, named Borleta, all dressed in gold with a silver drum, and his sidekick, with a violetta, who played some delicate and suave songs . . . with Iebia and two companions who delicately played two large bowed viole with the gratitude of all in presence'. The document's description of these small and large instruments of the *viola* family does not convey a possible Spanish origin. See Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto* - Tipografia del commercio di Marco Visentini, Venezia 1879 -1903, Tomo VI/75 – Biblioteca Fondazione Querini Stampalia.

[9] Benardino Prospero, in another of his letters to Isabella d'Este in 1506, even mentions *lire grandi sonate da octo persone.*

[10] The iconography shows only in one case a large vihuela (plucked, four-course) in a Catalan painting of the late 15th/early 16th century (master of Javierre) kept at the Diocesan Museum, Lerida. See Alexander Batov, http://www.vihuelademano.com/current/pages/vihuela-grande.htm.

[11] Johannes Tinctoris (c.1435-1511) was a Renaissance composer and music theorist living on those years at the Naples court.

[12] '…hispanorum invento: ex lyra processit instrumentum quod ipsi ac Itali violam … vocant'.

[13] 'Alia tamen viola est: a grecis (ut ajunt) comperta: non solum forma (sicut illa) differens a leuto: sed etiam chordarum dispositione ac pulsazione'.

[14] The term *viola* was equal and interchangeable with the term *lira.*

[15] The plucked *vihuela* was already widespread in the courts of northern Italy with the name of *viola da mano, viola spagnola* or *liuto spagnolo.*

[16] Considering the requests of Isabella d'Este (1495) to an unidentified lute maker in Brescia for a set of viols having different sizes and the *violoni* ('big viols') mentioned by Bernardino Prospero in his letter of 1493.

[17] Lorenzo da Pavia (d.1517) was an Italian musical instrument maker active in Venice in the late 15th and early 16th centuries.

[18] AS Mantova, Schede Davari, b. 3, c. 382. Lorenzo da Pavia is an exception in the panorama of Venetian lute makers because he had first-hand knowledge of the musical instruments used at the Italian courts and could thus refine his instruments to reflect this use.

[19] Only in the Italian courts, not in the popular context.

[20]The vihuela was called in the Italian context, *viola* but also *liuto spagnolo* ('Spanish lute'), given its obvious use with the lute, also present in the shared repertoire. Cf. Francesco da Milano who, for the vihuela, published in 1536 *Intavolatura per viola overo lauto,* or Bartolomeo Lieto (1559) and his *Dialogo quarto di musica, dove si ragiona sotto un piacevole discorso delle cose pertinenti per intavolare le opere di musica et esercitarle con la viola a mano over liuto con sue tavole ordinate per diversi gradi alti e bassi.*

[21] for the archival sources of the unpublished documents here cited see Pio (2012).

[22] In 20 years of activity documented by 186 letters with Isabella, Lorenzo never refused a commission. If the Italian viola da gamba was born from the *vihuela de arco* just introduced from Aragon, Alfonso (I) d'Este, son-in-law of King Ferdinand of Aragon in Naples, would have known the fact. Therefore he would not have sought them (1499) in Venice, a place where the Spanish instruments were unknown.

[23] Leaving aside all those names that Vannes cites in his three-volume dictionary (Rene Vannes, *Dictionnaire Universel del Luthiers*, Les Amis de la musique (Brussels, 1951,1972, 1985)) as Ferraran and Mantuan makers of the first five hundred years. Their existence is not reflected in objective or even documentary sources, as they are often the result of misinterpretation of known documents (e.g. the musician *Pietrobono dal chitarrino* or the humanist *Battista Guarino*).

[24] L. Morella Mantova, *Lira da gamba* (c.1550), Museo della Musica, Instituto dos Museus e da Conservação Lisbona, Johannes Marcus Grapello, *Violetta*, Ferrara (c.1550), Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia Roma.

[25] The existence of large *violoni* is documented by the Isenheim altarpiece (1506-1515) by Matthias Grünewald, now at the Unterlinden Museum in Colmar, Alsace, France.

[26] Laura Mauri Vigevani, *La sala della musica di Viboldone*, rivista Ca'de Sass n.136 (December 1996), pp.14-21, Associazione Amici di Viboldone.

[27] Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana MS Lat Z 336 (n.1581), *Regole di contrappunto*. The tuning table on the first page of the manuscript shows the name of the individual strings of the viola da gamba, which will later be resumed, subject to some variation, even in the subsequent treatises of Lanfranco and Ganassi. The tuning table in the manuscript is not a 'single leaf bound in with two treatises' (Woodfield (1984), p.140), but it is an integral part of it, since the writing (and the watermark of the paper) is the same in all pages. Cf. Don Harran, 'In Pursuit of Origins: The Earliest Writing on Text Underlay', *Acta* l (1978) pp.217-240. Harran, after thorough study, states that the tuning table might have been added around 1480 by a scribe in Venice who copied the original manuscript of c1440, and concludes by saying '… we know enough about it to establish that the instrument whose pitches were charted on the "added folio" is a bass viol'. The watermark of the manuscript paper (a particular *fleur de lis*) is that one in the leaves of the treatise by Bortholus de Saxoferrato, *Lectura super tribus ultimis Codicis*, printed in Venice, 1479 on request by Jean de Cologne et J. Et M. Gberetzer. See watermark N.7312 in Charles M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes* (New York, 1985).

[28] Tinctoris elucidated in his treatise how the three-stringed *medieval violetta /viella* was generally tuned by fifths (like the rebec). The most common version, however, had five strings, of which there was a variant equipped with a string as a drone (*bordone*) outside of the neck of the instrument. In the last two decades of the 15th century a second drone string was added to this model. Thus was born the *lira da braccio*, which in some cases differs from the earlier *medieval violetta* with single drone only by the largest number of strings. About the fifth string (*bordone)* on the viella, Pietro Picardi (13th century) writes in his treatise *Musica mensurabilis* (cap. XXIX): 'que bordonus est aliarum, D solum facit; que quidem, eo quod extra corpus vielle, id est a latere, affixa sit, applicationes digitorum evadit'. See Edmond de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de Musica Medii Aevii* (1867).

[29] See as examples the viole da gamba in the paintings of Lorenzo Costa (1497) in S. Giovanni in Monte church, Bologna; Benvenuto Tisi (c.1525) at the Galleria Estense, Modena; Titian (c.1510) at Christ Church, Oxford; or Bonifacio de Pitati (1535). These all show a form due to the lyre *da braccio* at the end of the 15th century.

[30] Luigi F. Valdrighi, *Nomocheliurgografia antica e moderna*, Antica Tipografia Soliani, (Modena 1884), p.242.

[31] *Lira da braccio*: detail from Vittore Carpaccio (1510), Presentazione al Tempio, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. Viol: Anonimo veneto, *Sacra famiglia con Re David e San Giovanni Battista* (c.1500), archivio e fototeca Fondazione Federico Zeri.

[32] A serial or mass production of unassembled parts of instruments that were destined for foreign markets was started in Venice in the 16th century. These prefabricated parts, once they arrived at their destination, were then assembled by local luthiers. For example, Moisè Tieffenbrucker's inventory (1581) reported 2,000 lute soundboards, mostly made for export.

[33] See the *chitare alla spagnola* present in the notarial deed of 1626 between Andrea Hartung and Magno (III) Tieffenbrucker. The Renaissance four-course guitar (from which was derived the subsequent five-course version) inherited many organological, stylistic and structural features from the vihuela. It is illuminating a passage of Alexander Batov in http://www.vihuelademano.com/vihuelas.htm, 'Further to the existing music by Fuenllana for a five-course vihuela (Orphenica Lyra, 1554) and the often quoted Bermudo's statement (Juan Bermudo, Declaracion de Instrumentos Musicales, Osuna, 1555) on how to transform a six-course vihuela into a four-course guitar we now have additional evidences that guitars and vihuelas in the second half of 16th – early 17th century Spain were constructed by Spanish violeros following the same constructional principles and could have had either flat, vaulted or fluted backs'.

[34] This feature, justified by the use of the bow, was already present in some medieval violets also, therefore is not strictly peculiar to the vihuela.

[35] Christophe Coin and Susan Orlando (eds), *The Italian viola da gamba* in *Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Viola da Gamba* , Edizioni Angolo Manzoni (2002); *Un corpo alla ricerca dell'anima, Andrea Amati e la nascita del violino*. Catalogo, paragrafo 3 , Consorzio Liutai Antonio Stradivari Cremona, Ente Triennale degli strumenti ad arco.

[36] Woodfield (1984), pp.21 and 60. Two significant examples of the *vihuela de arco* (Table 38 and 46) show respectively an arched bridge and the convex fingerboard (which suggests the presence of an arched bridge). The flat bridge contradicts the reasons that led to the birth of the lateral indentations at the sides of the body of the bowed instruments, as the author rightly points out (p.70) when he says that 'Presumably the larger waists were introduced to help players draw the bow across the strings without it striking the side of the instrument' (p.70).

[37] Of the fifth string (*bordone)* on the *viella*, Pietro Picardi (13th century) writes in his treatise *Musica mensurabilis* (cap.XXIX): 'que bordonus est aliarum, D solum facit; que quidem, eo quod extra corpus vielle, id esta latere, affixa sit, applicationes digitorum evadit'. See Coussemaker (1867).

[38] Not to be confused with schools of arts and crafts (guilds or corporations), the *Scuole Grandi* (and *Piccole*) were centres of aggregation with devotional and charitable purposes, open to all Venetians regardless of their wealth, social status and occupation.

[39] Jonathan Glixon, 'Lutenists in renaissance Venice: some notes from the archives', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* xvi (1983); Jonathan Glixon, *Honoring God and the City Music at the Venetian Confraternities 1260-1806* (London, 2003).

[40] The first are the *Scuole di Santa Maria della Misericordia* (1530-1531), *San Rocco* (1530-1533) and *S. Maria della Carità* (1530), followed by *San Marco* (1533) and *San Giovanni Evangelista* (1537). See Rodolfo Baroncini, 'Origini del violino e prassi strumentale in padania' in the Convention: *Liuteria e musica strumentale a Brescia tra Cinque e Seicento*. Fondazione Civiltà bresciana (Brescia, 1992).

[41] Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara* (Oxford, 2009), pp.325-326.

[42] Rodolfo Baroncini, 'Contributo alla storia del violino nel XVI secolo: i sonadori della Scuola Grande di San Rocco a Venezia', *Recercare* vi (1994) pp.133-185.

[43] See Pio (2012).

[44] Some scholars identify the 'Basset' as a string instrument of intermediate size between the tenor and bass, citing as an example the instrument that appears in a painting of Ludovico Coltellini, or, I add, of Amalteo Pomponio, both reproduced in Pio (2012), figs.29 and 36.

[45] Music was practiced by amateur noblemen and rich bourgeoisie, while the lower classes turned it into professional and paid work. For this reason, the violin, born in *Violoni* popular groups, took time to establish itself in the aristocratic environment that remained longer devoted to consorts of viols.

[46] The quotations of Nassini, referring to Brescia for the years 1530 and 1538, in both cases allude to 'violini Forestieri' (foreign violins), thus coming from other cities.

‘Viva Italia, Rule Britannia’: the rationale behind 18th century Italian cellists’ migration to the British Isles

Erin Lupardus

The Italians are apt to be too negligent… *in so much that music, if I may hazard the thought, seems* play *to the Italians… The Italians are perhaps the only people on the globe who can trifle with grace.*”[1]

By the time the outspoken music critic and historian Charles Burney (1726–1814) offered the above criticism of Italian music in the 1770s, a consequential number of Italian musicians had already migrated to the British Isles and brought their talents to bear on the English taste.[2] Arguably, Italian music’s playfulness was actually one of its greatest attributes when compared to other national styles, and, as evidenced by the testimonies of Italophilia that prove contrary to Burney’s critique, the Italian style generally was beloved by the British in the 18th century. With Italian composers fine-tuning their musical style for a British audience and insular composers attempting to imitate the Continental trendsetters, the Isles fostered a unique musical arena in which the violoncello especially prospered.

Though geographically separated from the Continent, 18th century Britain served as an artistic magnet thanks to its favorable fiscal offerings, plentiful performance opportunities, and diverse music scene. During this time, the violoncello usurped the viol as the preferred solo bass instrument just as it had throughout Europe, but the lack of skilled cellists in the British Isles along with a preference for the Italian style resulted in high demand for Italian cellists and composers. Mainland musicians flocked to London, influencing the resident musical style and solidifying the violoncello’s place in the developing musical ensembles.

The draw to the British Isles

The concept of musical migration, i.e. musicians emigrating for the purpose of studying or furthering their careers, was not new in the 18th century. Since the Romans’ first contact with the Isles in the age of Julius Caesar, Italians have been migrating to the British Isles for trading, artistic employment, and religious and political refuge. However, the 18th century marks a special period in the history of the violoncello due to the remarkable influx of Italian artists and musicians. For the 18th century musician, a visit to London could be considered a ‘rite of passage’, given its unique musical culture, and the motivations for their travels can be tied to many factors.[3] Here, the three most important elements are investigated and evaluated: the English admiration for Italian music and art, i.e. Italophilia; the possibility of financial gain due to England’s economic system and ample opportunities for employment; and, especially for Jewish composers, the prospect of religious freedom.

Italophilia

A painting of St. Peter's in Rome by Francis Towne (1739/40–1816), completed while visiting his fellow traveling painters, John 'Warwick' Smith and William Pars. After seeing the painting, an author from Exeter, Devonshire wrote to Towne a letter of thanks for 'the Pleasure I rec'd from yr Views of Rome... and from my Delight in finding myself in Old Rome by the text & comment of yr Pencil'. © The Trustees of the British Museum[4]

In his 1594 novel *The Unfortunate Traveller*, Englishman Thomas Nashe writes: 'Italy, the paradise of the earth and the epicure's heaven, how doth it form our young master?'[5] After this initially charming inquiry, he quickly divulges the dangers of Italian culture and values, thus signifying a general distaste for Italy and Italians in 16th century England.[6] This 'anti-Italianism', especially among the elite, was no doubt spurred by the aftermath of the English Reformation and the royal opposition to the Pope.[7] The first instance of 'contemporary' (i.e. post-Reformation) Italian culture infiltrating English territory came in 1549 with the publication of Sir Thomas Wyatt's version of Pietro Arentino's *Penitential Psalms*;[8] however, even one hundred years later, England was not yet ready to embrace Italian influences fully - King Charles II attempted to bring Italian opera to England in the 1660s with the help of Giovanni Battista Draghi (c.1640–1708), but to no avail.[9] Yet in 1683, Henry Purcell wrote in the foreword to his *Twelve Sonatas of Three Parts* that he had hoped to imitate the 'fam'd Italian masters'.[10] By the 18th century, the apparent indifference among the English population toward all things Italian finally transformed into widespread Italophilia. Interest in Italian art soared, and more Italians began setting foot on the Isles, 'bringing with them relationships and networks, as well as ideas and connections'.[11]

Although the focus of this article is not opera, an abundance of related research suggests a continued strain of anti-Italianism in the 18th century. Michael Burden, a contemporary musicologist, argues that the popularity of Italian opera has been 'grossly exaggerated' by both attendant and modern-day musicologists,[12] and there were indeed opponents to the

inbound Italian influence. John Dennis (1658–1734), critic and dramatist, questioned why [opera's] supporters preferred

Italian Sound to British Sense, Italian Nonsense to British Reason, the Blockheads of Italy to their own Country-men, who have Wit; and the Luxury, and Effeminacy of the most profligate Portion of the Globe to the British Virtue.[13]

Dennis repeatedly referred to Italy's music as 'effeminate', especially in view of the 'unmanned' *castrati*, and in his *Essay on the opera's after the Italian manner, which are about to be establish'd on the English stage: with some reflections on the damage which they may bring to the publick* (1706), he further expressed fears that 'the invasion of foreign luxury' threatened to 'vanquish' and 'oppress' the 'English Arts … at home'.[14] In 1737, a writer in the *London Daily Post* rejected the 'Foreign Vermin' that 'pestered' the nation,[15] but these denunciations are overpowered by the evidence of aspirational Italianism by their contemporaries.

Some aspects of British culture were heavily influenced by Italian imports, even if their origins are not widely known today. The triple harp, now a national Welsh symbol, was an Italian invention brought to the Isles in the 17th century, rocketing into popularity in the 18th century, especially among Welsh musicians in London.[16] A sizeable portion of the founders of the Royal Academy of Arts in 1768 were Italian, including Francesco Zuccarelli. Lombard Street in London is so named due to the large number of Lombardy merchants who lived there from the Middle Ages onward; even before the English became actively interested in Italian developments, Italian migrants had made their mark on the Isles.

Italophilia also encouraged British tourists to experience the Continent themselves. In the 17th–18th centuries, wealthy tourists embarked on Grand Tours, but their exact expectations regarding their travels are difficult to pinpoint. According to historian Jeremy Black, 18th century tourists would have possibly felt less of a 'sense of inferiority' in Italy than in other potential destinations, given the modern circumstances of the two regions - Britain was experiencing economic growth and had 'an apparently successful political system', in contrast to Italy.[17] Of course, music was not the only interest of the elite visitors as they also wanted to experience 'sensual joys' and witness Italian architecture, but they seemed disappointed in the lack of modern buildings in comparison to England's metropolitan development.[18] Many were, however, inspired by the historical architecture, returning with architectural prints, treatises and manuals - and building new Palladian villas in England.[19] Although Italian Baroque music was a huge fascination for the British, on the Continent, other musical centers such as Paris, Mannheim and Vienna were becoming increasingly important in the second half of the century.[20] This is not to suggest that Italy was an anachronism or that British tourists were disappointed by their adventures; Italy, especially Florence, remained a popular tourist destination.[21] The Society of Dilettanti was established in England in 1734 by a faction of Grand Tour-ing gentlemen with the goal of studying Greek and Roman Antiquity art, and they supported Italian opera beginning in the 1740s; of course, no society is without its critics, and Horace Walpole belittled the group as 'a club, for which the nominal qualification is having been in Italy, and the real one, being drunk'.[22]

The concept of Italy as a source of musical and cultural inspiration and emigration can also be linked to the names that some composers adopted.[23] The phenomenon of immigrants changing their names to sound more like those found in their destination

country was relatively common, for instance anglicizing a last name (Schmidt to Smith) or using the equivalent name (Giovanni to John). For example, English composer and musician Robert Valentine (c.1671–1747) changed his name to Roberto Valentini/Valentino after moving to Rome, where, in addition to Naples, he spent all of his known career.[24] Interestingly, there are many examples of composers who maintained their new monikers even after leaving Italy. After returning from his alleged exploits in Italy, John Cooper (Giovanni Coperario/Coprario) (c.1570–1626) signed all documents with his Italianized last name.[25] Non-Englishmen such as Bohemian horn player Jan Václav Stich (Giovanni Punto) (1746–1803) and Flemish composer Philippe van den Berghe (Philippe de Monte) (1521–1603) also reflect this trend. Amateur German composer Johann Heinrich von Weissenburg (c.1660–1730) published his works under the pseudonym Giovanni Henrico Albicastro. French-English composer Louis Mercy (c.1695–c.1750) published his sonatas under the name Luidgi/Luigi Merci *di natione Inglesa*, a curious mix of French and Italian origins. In Giacobbe Cervetto's 6 Trio Sonatas, Op.1, he italianizes the name of his dedicatee from 'Salvador' to 'Salvadori'.[26] John North, an English gentleman, continued to write in his diary in Italian after returning from a four-year stint in Italy.[27] In c.1750, Francis Fleming commented on the popularity of Italianate names:

if any person of merit in the musical world should unfortunately have his name end with a consonant, he seldom succeeds; on the contrary, a name that flows with an ini*, an* ani*, or a* gobioni*, hardly ever fails of making a fortune.*[28]

Fleming tested the theory by Italianizing his name in a concert advertisement as 'Signior Turko Francisco Fleminiani', and his hypothesis was fulfilled; his concert in Salisbury 'succeeded to a miracle'.[29] Clearly, to be Italian, or at least to seem like one, was to be *alla moda*.[30]

Unfortunately, anti-Italian sentiment would arise again in 1820 due to the controversy surrounding King George IV's attempted divorce from Caroline of Brunswick - the King accused her of adultery during her time in Italy, so Italian witnesses were brought to testify, triggering much backlash from the pro-Caroline populace.[31] Despite this abrupt reversal, the 18th century Isles served as a happy confluence of circumstances supportive of Italian migration following a period of antipathy. Logically, a demand for Italian art, culture, music and trades necessitated and welcomed an influx of Italians ready to gratify the ardent fascination with their areas of expertise.

The economic situation

Although the death rate exceeded the birth rate in London throughout the eighteenth century, the population swelled from 575,000 to 900,000 due to the migration of both provincial citizens and incoming foreigners.[32] In comparison to the other hotbeds of Italian immigration, such as Germany and France, many musicians preferred London because of its 'Free Market model', in which musicians could freely choose where and how to work, taking on as many jobs as they pleased.[33] This system differed greatly from those found on the Continent in which musicians often served only one patron and required permission to seek other sources of employment.[34] London was a bustling hub of both cultural and economic activity, the latter fuelling the former and vice versa.

A brass theatre ticket for the First Gallery at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane. © The Trustees of the British Museum[35]

Thankfully, specific information about salaries and theatre budgets has survived, but making contextual sense of these figures is no simple task; because calculations of inflation and changes in purchasing power do not provide a real picture of daily life, this article avoids specific numerical figures whenever possible.[36] Nonetheless, comparisons between selected salaries reveal an intriguing interplay of economics and the price of culture.

In the beginning of the 18th century, the primary demand for Italian musical talent stemmed from the demand for Italian opera. 1705 marks the year of the first Italian-language opera performed at the Queen's Theatre in Haymarket, then a 'novelty', and in response in 1706, Bononcini's *Camilla* was performed at Drury Lane in English.[37] Previously, theatre companies regarded semi-opera as 'an occasional treat', and the concept of salaried performers did not yet exist.[38] As the basic laws of supply and demand prove, Italians in those early years of opera in London could negotiate extravagant payment for their work, such as Nicola Haym's fee for his 'London-ized' version of *Pyrrhus and Demetrius* in 1707.[39] *Castrati* were especially important for 'real' Italian opera, so Drury Lane brought Valentini (Valentino Urbani), who did not or could not sing in English,[40] to the theatre in the same year.[41] Thus, the era of musical migration to London had begun.

Because the first Italian immigrants were involved in opera, in order to understand the financial incentive attracting other Italian musicians to the Isles, it is essential to recognize the significant precedent set by opera salaries. According to theater historians Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume's table detailing salaries at the Queen's Theatre in 1708, only the most desired performers received a large sum of money, but their 'stratospheric' fees 'established a pattern of extravagance that was permanently to haunt the Italian opera in London'.[42] Indeed, many companies inevitably went under, unable to generate enough revenue to cover their costs, partially due to the high salaries of their star performers.[43] Even a sold-out performance, which did not occur as often as one might assume, hardly turned a profit, as in the case of the Royal Academy's 1720–21 season.[44] However, as its name suggests, the Royal Academy also enjoyed royal funding,[45] thus indicating that England's royal coffers further enabled the exchange of big checks for imported talent.

From the British perspective, some critics claimed that opera was a drain on the economy. According to Michael Burden, the term 'luxury' was a derogatory one related to 'excess' in England until the 16th century, and authors such as John Dennis cleverly 're-moralized' the term to its previous pejorative meaning to express the cultural, musical and financial

damages that opera presented.[46] Economist Charles Davenant (1656–1714) expressed that luxuries are 'superfluous goods', and Sir Thomas Mun (1571–1641) argued that when foreign trade is involved, 'we should always observe this rule: that we must always sell more to strangers yearly than we consume of theirs in value'.[47] By this logic, opera was a net negative on the economy, but economists such as Nicholas Barbon (1640–1698) and Bernard Mandeville (1670–1733) defended luxuries as trade-promoting, beneficial tools for social prosperity with Mandeville claiming, 'if you wish power and plenty, then you must also have luxury'.[48] Overall, the financial consequences of opera on the British economy were controversial, but the greater economy was not of interest to those directly profiting from these productions.

Because theatres and opera houses in London had divergent administrative systems, a distinction must be made between the two. At theatres, the main beneficiaries were the proprietors rather than the playwrights or performers.[49] Often a playwright received very little compensation, even for popular productions.[50] However, the main beneficiaries of opera companies were the principal singers,[51] which is clear given their extraordinary wages. 'Expensive imports' continued to dominate the financial side of opera productions, which sometimes had a negative effect on the musical quality itself because not enough funding remained to fill the lesser roles with comparable talent.[52]

While exploring the financial aspects of musical performances, another key player must be addressed: the audience members. Who had the disposable income to pay for culture in 18th century London? At that time, more than 90% of London's population lived in poverty, so although a kind of middle-class was emerging, it remained a very small percentage of the country's inhabitants.[53] A 'middling-class' family of four could have afforded a modest trip to the theatre once a month, but these occasional visitors were not the target audience of these productions;[54] to be profitable, houses needed to fill the box seats. These potential big-ticket customers made up less than 5% of the total population, and many of them lived far away from London - most of those who did venture to the city still could not afford an expensive opera outing on a regular basis.[55] Nevertheless, the upper class remained as important as royalty when it came to ticket and subscription purchases due to their strength in comparative numbers.[56] Only the ultra-rich could afford season subscriptions, and of course, one must not assume that all of them were interested in opera.[57] Prices for concerts given by trained musicians were higher than a theatre ticket price, and attending a Handel oratorio cost the same as the opera.[58] Therefore, relying on ticket sales alone was a risky decision for production companies.[59]

Since ticket sales were not an abundant source of income for musicians other than the star singers, they depended on two main types of patronage: subscriptions to their publications, and jobs provided by the government.[60] Although it was often pricey, purchasing sheet music was less expensive than attending performances in person, and it provided entertainment for popular 'music meetings' amongst the 'broader public'.[61] Subscribing to a composer's publications also meant that one's name would appear in the print, which perhaps offered another incentive to register. The case of Giacobbe Cervetto offers a fascinating insight into the practice of subscriptions. The following advertisement appeared in the 19 November 1739 publication of *The London Daily Post, and General Advertiser*:

MR. CERVETTO lately arriv'd from Venice, proposes to publish by Subscription TWELVE SONATA's for the Violoncello and Harpsichord; at the Price of One Guinea, half down, and the other half on the Delivery, which will be on or before eight Months Time.[62]

This set of subscription sonatas was not published until far after the given deadline—9 years later, to be exact—even though Cervetto probably finished writing them and preparing the plates for them relatively quickly.[63] Perhaps he waited so long to fulfill the 'pre-orders' in order to allow more time for additional patrons to subscribe, similar to Geminiani's delay in publishing his Op.7 to await the final subscriber count; or perhaps he published his 6 Trio Sonatas, Op.1 first due to finding a dedicatee, Leonora Salvador, a Jewish socialite.[64] Regardless of the delays in delivering subscription pieces, this practice of 'initial private publication… followed after a greater or shorter interval by the "takeover" by a commercial publisher' guaranteed musicians an audience for their publications and, most importantly, at least a portion of the capital necessary to publish them.[65]

Examples of government jobs included working as music master for a royal family member or, in the case of Handel, being supported by the royal family directly and through his salaried position at the Royal Academy of Music.[66] However, all of this does not suggest that second-tier musicians could not earn a decent living. On the contrary, as previously mentioned, London offered more employment opportunities in comparison to other places, especially the Italians' native country, which offered little in terms of performance opportunities and compensation.

After the Settlement Act of 1701, the only professional musical opportunity closed to foreigners was the King's Band, and Continental musicians were brought to the Isles to fill the demand for trained musicians at the request of patrons, by recruiters, or on their own accord.[67] Once there, they earned money performing with multiple orchestras and in concert series, teaching private lessons to the wealthy, and even taking on secondary jobs such as running music shops or in unrelated fields including, as in the case of violinist Giovanni Carbonnelli, selling wine.[68] Musicians' high social standing in British society meant that they had greater access to potential students, patrons and customers.[69] Even though London offered musicians the best circumstances for finding employment, there was no social safety net, and they had to finance their own health insurance and retirement plans.[70] In addition, maintenance costs for instruments and supplies such as strings were 'ferociously expensive'.[71] Nevertheless, London still provided migrant musicians the chance for a fruitful career.

Here it is useful to present a few specific examples of musicians' employment in the region to provide a tangible impression of their career trajectories. Based on tables provided by Milhous and Hume regarding the King's Theatre at the turn of the 19th century, it seems that the few musicians mentioned, e.g. harpsichord and double bass, earned about the same amount as the lowest-paid singers, which was considered a decent income.[72] Hume includes a table showing sample salaries for a variety of professions in 1688.[73] This is obviously before our target time period, so it is difficult to compare the salaries given inflation and changes in purchasing power, but the lowest-paid professional singers seem to have earned about the same amount as a merchant, trader or artisan, and the highest paid stars earned at the same level as a bishop or baronet. Nicola Cosimi, the violinist with whom Nicola Haym came to London, received food, lodging and a stipend for his services from the Duke of Bedford, and in his four years in London, his various sources of musical income earned him a 'handsome profit'.[74] 'Pippo' Amadei, cellist, was paid the second highest salary of the instrumentalists in the 1720–21 season of the Royal Academy, with the highest salary going to the concertmaster, Pietro Castrucci.[75] From 1724 onward, Giovanni Bononcini received a hefty lifetime salary from Henrietta, Duchess of Marlborough to perform his own music at her private concerts.[76] Handel amassed spectacular wealth thanks to his musical engagements and investments.[77] Similarly, cellist

Giacobbe Cervetto died with a fortune just as large as Handel's.[78] Clearly, those with the musical skill, business savvy, and ambition could do more than just thrive in the London music scene - they could dominate it.

Religious persecution in Italy

Before the 18th century, pre-Protestants and Protestants in Italy were routinely persecuted and executed by the Catholic Church, notably during the Counter Reformation (1545–1648) and the Italian Inquisition (second half of the 16th century). As a majority Anglican state, Britain often served as a place of religious refuge for Protestant Italian exiles. By the 18th century, however, persecution of Christian groups in both Britain and Italy subsided. Practicing Roman Catholicism remained illegal in England until the Catholic Relief Acts of 1778 and 1791, but with numerous embassy chapels in London providing a significant loophole, Catholic worship and 'baroque and triumphalist' traditions continued.[79] The performance of Handel's oratorios outside of the church cleared the stage for all composers regardless of their religious affiliation.[80] For both Protestant and Catholic Italian composers, the main appeal of the Isles was likely not religious by the 18th century, and in terms of musical preferences, they would not have had an issue composing in Britain due to the precedent set by the Anglican church of maintaining the tradition of Catholicism's 'elaborate' music.[81] Conversely, for Jewish Italian musicians, the hope of religious freedom certainly contributed to the lure of the Isles.

Emanuel Siprutini and Giacobbe Cervetto are the only known examples of 18th century Jewish Italian cellists who migrated to England,[82] but their stories illuminate an often-overlooked aspect of migration in the context of 18th century music. In Italy, Jewish life was 'circumscribed', albeit not outlawed outright.[83] Jews could enter England in 1655 for the first time since the Edict of Expulsion (1290) and could not be prosecuted there when worshipping. In comparison to the Continent, England offered Jews the most unrestricted lifestyle, as described by 20th-century historian Cecil Roth:

Yet from the moment of the Resettlement there was probably no country in Europe in which the Jews received better treatment than England. Even in Holland they were excluded from certain towns and provinces, and in Turkey they received only the restricted rights of unbelievers. In Germany and Italy the Ghetto system still prevailed; from Spain, Portugal, and much of France, there was complete and even barbarous exclusion; Polish Jewry was terrorized and almost rightless; Danish Jewry was insignificant. In England, on the other hand, the Jews were under the protection of the law, could settle anywhere they pleased, and enjoyed virtual social equality.[84]

When Cervetto arrived in London, he was welcomed and supported by the approximately 6,000 members of the Jewish community.[85] Unlike Siprutini, Cervetto did convert to the Church of England, though likely 'for purely pragmatic, professional reasons', for which the Jewish community did not resent him.[86] Researcher Michael Talbot notes that the nickname with which Cervetto was relentlessly teased, 'Nosey',[87] does not correlate 'in the written record' with his Jewish heritage,[88] but the following version of events by Francis Grose (1731–1791) makes it difficult to ignore the seemingly racist obsession with Cervetto's appearance:

MR CERVETTI, the famous player on the violoncello, so well known at the theatre by the nick-name of Nosey, one night, during his performance in the orchestra, received a violent blow on the nose with a potatoe, thrown from the upper gallery; being a man of spirit, he with difficulty contained himself till the conclusion of the piece, which was no sooner ended than he ran up into the gallery, and asked who was the scoundrel that had dared thus to assault him; the man being pointed out, Cervetti seized him by the collar,

dragged him into the passage, and gave him a hearty drubbing. Some years after, returning from a ride, he met near Paddington, a cart load of convicts going to Tyburn: one of the prisoners seeing him, cried out, Nosey! Nosey! and telling the surrounding populace he had something particular to say to Nosey, Cervetti was stopped, and his horse led up to the cart, where he soon recognized the man who had thrown the potatoe, who told him, that being just going to leave the world, he was desirous of dying in peace with all mankind: he therefore had taken the liberty of stopping him, to ask his forgiveness for the offence he had formerly given him, and to assure him that he entirely forgave him for the beating inflicted on him: then whishing him good-day, bid the carter drive on. This story was often related by Cervetti to his friends.[89]

Produce-flinging and name-calling aside, Cervetto thrived in England, and he is referred to repeatedly as one of the most important cellists of the 18th century. Had he remained on the Continent, he would not have had the religious and personal freedoms to become a cellist and composer of such high esteem.

A satirical etching of cellist Giacobbe Cervetto, likely inspired by the commonly used phrase spouted at Cervetto when he played at the Drury's Theater, 'Play up, Nosey!'. Note the five strings on the violoncello. © The Trustees of the British Museum

Conclusion

The musical landscape of the 18th century British Isles represents the final ovation of the pre-Classical era - a setting that celebrated the integration of diverse voices prior to the rise of the 19th century nationalism and exoticism that came to dictate Europe's musical output. Rather than viewing the century as a period of 'foreign domination', the epoch ushered in a new taste for the antique and the adopted, distilled with British dignity, especially when taking into consideration the English willingness to experience and interact with Continental culture and Charles Burney's 'cosmopolitan outlook'.[90] The notion of the violoncello matured from lowly tavern fiddle to noble gentleman's instrument as Italian cellists and composers flooded the Isles. Fuelled by Italophilia, the transplantation and transformation of the Italian style begot an extraordinary appreciation for the violoncello and the mass publication of violoncello treatises and solo repertoire, prolonging the fervour for its earliest usage as a solo instrument in 17th century Italy. Thus, the following definition by Burney became befitting not only in the Isles, but throughout Europe:

SOLO, in Italian Music*, used substantively, implies a composition for a single instrument, with a quiet and subdued accompaniment, to display the talents of a great performer; as a solo for a violin, German flute, or* ***violoncello.***[91]

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Notes

[1] A remark from Burney's travel diaries as quoted in Paul Henry Lang, 'Tales of a Traveling Music Historian', *The Journal of Musicology* ii/2 (1983), p.201.

[2] For the sake of simplicity, throughout this paper, 'English' will sometimes be used to refer to the 'British', 'Irish', 'Scottish' and/or 'Welsh' designations despite the usual need for differentiation.

[3] Michael Talbot, 'Some Notes on the Life of Jacob Cervetto', *Music & Letters* lxliv/2 (2013), p.213.

[4] Francis Towne, *Untitled* (1781), pen, black ink, and grey wash with watercolor and gum arabic, British Museum, London, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection /object/P_Nn-1-14.

[5] As quoted in Kenneth R. Bartlett, 'Travel and Translation: The English and Italy in the Sixteenth Century', *Annali D'Italianistica* xiv (1996), p. 495, Bartlett includes several other quotations of the same sentiment.

[6] It would be dangerous to infer that Nasche's attitude was reflected in every Englishman. For example, William Shakespeare (1564–1616) was a clear Italophile given his writings, and the European fascination with Italian activities in the Renaissance is undeniable. However, Bartlett states that even prior to the formation of the Church of England, English opinions of Italy were 'ambiguous', especially because they loathed paying papal taxes; Bartlett (1996), p.496.

[7] Bartlett (1996), pp.494–95.

[8] Bartlett (1996), p.496.

[9] Peter Holman, 'Draghi, Giovanni Battista', *Grove Music Online*, accessed 12.12.2020. Access dates are given in DD.MM.YYYY format.

[10] Franklin B. Zimmerman, 'Musical Borrowings in the English Baroque', *The Musical Quarterly* lii/4 (1966), p.487.

[11] Camilla Murgia, 'The Artistic Trade and Networks of the Italian Community in London Around 1800', in Baetens Jan Dirk and Lyna Dries (eds), *Art Crossing Borders: The Internationalisation of the Art Market in the Age of Nation States, 1750-1914* (Boston, 2019), p.165.

[12] Michael Burden, 'Opera, Excess, and the Discourse of Luxury in Eighteenth-Century England', *XVII-XVIII* lxxi (2014), para. 23.

[13] Excerpt from Dennis' *Essay 23* as quoted in Burden (2014), para.1.

[14] Burden (2014), para.5.

[15] Burden (2014), para.25.

[16] The description of an 18th century Welsh Harp currently held by the Cyfarthfa Castle Museum: 'Welsh Triple Harp', accessed 14.12.2020, https://mimo-international.com /MIMO/doc/IFD/MINIM_UK_43667.

[17] Jeremy Black, 'Italy and the Grand Tour: The British Experience in the Eighteenth Century', *Annali D'Italianistica* xiv (1996), p.533. Notably, 17th century tourists likely felt 'inferior' in both France and Italy. Darley writes, 'English Grand Tourists were quickly reminded that their own capital city was little more than a medieval shambles of timber-framed, jettied housing clustered round a collapsing Gothic cathedral, St Pauls… Ideally, London would be transformed into a masonry-built, orderly city, easily comparable to the best of modern Genoa, Lyons, Livorno, or Geneva, if not Paris or Rome'. See Gillian Darley, 'Wonderful Things: The Experience of the Grand Tour', *Perspecta* xli (2008), p.19.

[18] Black (1996), pp.532–534. In the 17th century, several Englishmen were interested in and inspired by Italian architecture, traveling there to fill their sketchbooks with detailed drawings and measurements. Some of these tourists on an 'architectural mission' were Inigo Jones (1573–1652), Nicholas Stone (1586–1647), John Evelyn (1620–1706) and Roger Pratt (1620–1684). John Soane (1753–1837) is an example an 18th-century architect interested in the buildings of the Antiquity. See Darley (2008), pp.18–19, 21-22.

[19] Darley (2008), pp.18 and 21.

[20] Black (1996), p.533.

[21] See Rosemary Sweet, 'British Perceptions of Florence in the Long Eighteenth Century', *The Historical Journal* l/4 (2007), pp.837–859.

[22] Ann V. Gunn, 'Paul Sandby, William Pars and the Society of Dilettantia', *The Burlington Magazine* clii/1285 (2010), p.219.

[23] The first instance of a classical musician changing their name was brought to my attention by my undergraduate violoncello professor when describing a performance by Canadian cellist Zara Nelsova (Sara Nelson/Katznelson). Originally, he presumed that she had changed it to sound more like the contemporary Russian powerhouse cellists, but in her defense, she actually does have Jewish-Russian ancestry. Of course, 'stage names' are a relatively common practice today, especially in popular music.

[24] Martin Medforth, 'Valentine [Follentine], Robert [Valentini, Roberto; Valentino, Roberto']', *Grove Music Online*, accessed 12.2.2021.

[25] Christopher D. S. Field, 'Coprario [Coperario, Cooper, Cowper], John', *Grove Music Online,* accessed 10.11.2020. Field includes a comical remark by Roger North: 'Coperario, who by the way was plain Cooper but affected an Itallian [sic] termination'.

[26] Talbot (2013), p.218.

[27] Abstract of John Gallagher, 'The Italian London of John North: Cultural Contact and Linguistic Encounter in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Quarterly* lxx/1 (2017), pp.88–131.

[28] As quoted in Lowell Lindgren, 'Italian Violoncellists and Some Violoncello Solos Published in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in David Wyn Jones (ed), *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, (Aldershot, 2000), p.124.

[29] Fleming's own words in *The Life and Extraordinary Adventures, the Perils and Critical Escapes of Timothy Ginnadrake [i.e., Francis Fleming], that Child of Chequer'd Fortune* (1771) as quoted in Lindgren (2000).

[30] Which names are 'fashionable' and which are not changes, of course, throughout history. An 1898 article offers an intriguing perspective on the ideal 'euphonic' sound of a name at the time. The author clearly dislikes Slavic-origin names and upholds a preference for Italian-sounding ones, mentioning a historical musician named Gilbert Campbell (Signor Ghilberti) who was reluctant to revert back to his given name and a conductor active in the 1870s with a similarly Italianized name, Enrico Campobello. The author writes, 'So long as Italy was the centre of the operatic world, it was natural enough that singers should endeavour to associate themselves with the land of song, to say nothing of the fact that there is an incomparable charm and melody about Italian names'. See 'Musicians' Names', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* xxxix/665 (1898), pp.448–49.

[31] Thomas W. Laqueur, 'The Queen Caroline Affair: Politics as Art in the Reign of George IV', *The Journal of Modern History* liv/3 (1982), pp.417–66.

[32] Ellen T. Harris, 'Handel the Investor', *Music & Letters* lxxxv/4 (2004), p.521.

[33] Mara Parker, '"Le plus Dous Moment De Ma Vie': Carlo Graziani and the Quest for Ideal Employment', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* xxxix/1 (2008), p.34. Giacobbe Cervetto is an excellent example of this - alongside his salaried positions, he had a very active freelance career. See Talbot (2013), p.225.

[34] Parker (2008).

[35] *Theatre Ticket* (1756), brass, British Museum, London, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_J-2959.

[36] Harris (2004), p.531. For the morbidly curious such as myself, the exact numerical figures can be found easily in the sources mentioned throughout this section.

[37] Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 'Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* xlvi/1 (1993), p.27.

[38] Milhous and Hume (1993), p.26.

[39] Milhous and Hume (1993), p.28.

[40] Burden (2014), para.7.

[41] Milhous and Hume (1993), p.28.

[42] Milhous and Hume (1993), p.29.

[43] Robert D. Hume, 'The Economics of Culture in London, 1660–1740', *Huntington Library Quarterly* lxix/4 (2006), pp.515–516.

[44] Milhous and Hume (1993), p.36. Milhous and Hume also explain that opera singers and composers sometimes supplemented their income with benefit concerts that were often included in their contracts.

[45] Milhous and Hume (1993), p.32.

[46] Burden (2014), para.11.

[47] As quoted in Burden (2014), para.9.

[48] As quoted in Burden (2014), paras.10–11.

[49] Hume (2006), p.507.

[50] Hume (2006), p.507.

[51] Hume (2006), p.517.

[52] Milhous and Hume (1993), p.53. However, at the King's Theatre at Haymarket in the 1780s, the imported ballet dancers, seemingly French based on their names, also received spectacular sums for their performances, even earning as much as the top-paid singers.

[53] Hume (2006), p.496.

[54] Hume (2006), pp.496–497.

[55] Hume (2006), p.497.

[56] Hume (2006), p.499.

[57] Hume (2006), p.517.

[58] Hume (2006), p.532.

[59] Of course, this trend persists today. Major orchestras, theatre companies, opera productions etc. depend on funding provided by corporations, societies, governments and wealthy donors. For most cultural organizations, ticket sales make up only a small portion of their annual budgets.

[60] Hume (2006), p.522.

[61] Hume (2006), p.531.

[62] As quoted in Talbot (2013), p.216.

[63] Talbot (2013), pp.216–17.

[64] Talbot (2013), p.217. Talbot also mentions that Geminiani's *Guida armonica*, Op.10, another subscription-based publication, was likewise published 12 years after the initial advertisement.

[65] Talbot (2013), p.216.

[66] Harris (2004), p.522.

[67] Parker (2008), p.35.

[68] Parker (2008), p.35.

[69] Parker (2008), p.36.

[70] Parker (2008), p.36.

[71] Hume (2006), p.531.

[72] Milhous and Hume (1993), pp.68–73. Here, 'double bass' could be falsely transcribed from 'basse', which could have been the word used to describe an accompanying violoncello with a limited register rather than an accompanying or solo one with an extensive register. See Valerie Walden, *One Hundred Years of Violoncello: A History of Technique and Performance Practice, 1740-1840* (Cambridge, 2004), p.52.

[73] Hume (2006), p.495.

[74] Lowell Lindgren, 'Cosimi, Nicola', *Grove Music Online*, accessed 23.12.2020.

[75] Julie Anne Sadie, 'Handel: In Pursuit of the Viol', *Chelys* xiv (1985), p.15.

[76] Lindgren, 'Bononcini, Giovanni', *Grove Music Online*, accessed 23.12.2020.

[77] Harris (2004), p.522.

[78] David Conway, *Jewry in Music: Entry to the Profession from the Enlightenment to Richard Wagner* (Cambridge, 2012), p.72.

[79] Philip Olleson, 'The London Roman Catholic Embassy Chapels and their Music in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', in Wyn Jones (2000), pp.101–104.

[80] Peter Holman, 'Eighteenth-Century English Music: Past, Present, Future', in Wyn Jones (2000), p.7.

[81] This tradition of 'elaborate' church music in Anglicanism was an oddity for a Protestant church as other denominations prized simple music sung by the congregation, but it survived for centuries thanks to the influence of Elizabeth I. See Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation: A History* (New York, 2005), p.511.

[82] A possible explanation for the lack of Jewish musicians could be due to the fact that art music was not taught in the Jewish ghettos of Verona (and presumably the rest of Italy). See Talbot, (2013), p.211.

[83] Talbot, (2013), p.210.

[84] As quoted in Talbot, (2013), p.213.

[85] Talbot, (2013), p.216.

[86] Talbot, (2013), p.224.

[87] As indicated by the caricature on the right by Matthew Darly, *Nosee* (1774), etching, British Museum, London, accessed 05.01.2021, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_J-2-70.

[88] Talbot, (2013), p.221n.

[89] Talbot, (2013), pp.222–23.

[90] Holman (2000), pp.4–5. It must be noted, however, that Burney was critical of 'ancient' music, especially that performed in churches on the Continent. See Lang (1983), pp.201–205.

[91] As quoted in Peter Holman, *Life After Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), p.179.

Programming, preparing and performing the organ works of Johann Sebastian Bach

Richard Brasier

From October 2019 to September 2021 I was able to fulfil a long-held ambition of mine: to learn and perform the complete known organ works of Johann Sebastian Bach. My reasons for finally taking on this mammoth task were three-fold. The first was to help raise some funds for the restoration of a part of St Laurence Parish Church in Upminster, where up until April 2020 I was Director of Music. The second was to create for myself a musical framework at a time when I had just become a father, and the third was to satisfy my curiosities concerning the organ works of Bach that rarely see the light of day.

Such a project is not unique, but the experience of each individual who chooses to undertake it will be a very distinct one. Through the remainder of this article, I will share some of my own insights into issues around programming, preparing and performing a cycle of Bach's music. There will also be some focus on the mental and physical pressures associated with performing such a large volume of music in a relatively short space of time.

The series was planned to cover 20 recitals over a period of two years, and all of them were to be performed at St Laurence on the diverse two manual, 24-stop instrument by Kenneth Tickell. As I reflect on the planning stages, the most daunting element was the programming. When a recitalist is engaged to perform, artistic awareness plays an important role in forming a well-balanced programme to suit the occasion and the instrument on which they have been asked to play. However, the challenges are accentuated when preparing 20 separate programmes of works by the same composer. Finding a good balance in each certainly stretched the mind in more ways than one.

The Kenneth Tickell organ of St Laurence, Upminster

The *Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis* (BWV), a catalogue of Bach's compositions compiled by Wolfgang Schmieder,[1] was first published in 1950. The works are not listed chronologically, but by genre, which is why earlier works might appear with a higher BWV number than later works. Although the catalogue contains many

works that are certainly by Bach, it also includes some that are spurious. One of the more well-known examples, which continues to divide opinion, is the Toccata and Fugue in D minor BWV565.[2] This is just one instance where scholarly decision making plays an important role when deciding on which pieces should be included. Further, updated BWV catalogues have appeared as more discoveries about Bach's music have been made, but Schmieder's first collation was without doubt one of the major milestones in Bach scholarship, with its contents affording all musicians the opportunity to form a more rounded understanding of Bach's output.

227 organ works featured during the series, and were initially broken down into the following categories:

- 31 toccatas/preludes/fantasias and fugues, including stand-alone movements
- Six sonatas in trio form
- Five arrangements of string concertos
- Four chorale partitas
- 172 chorale-based works, excluding the partitas
- Nine works that do not fit into any of the above categories

As these figures show, Bach's writing for the organ was predominantly chorale-based. After setting some provisional dates for the concerts, the process of programming began by placing each individual work into groups (such as the ones listed above), and making a rough note of timings. Taking the liturgical seasons of the church year into consideration, all of the chorale-based works were then divided into sub-groups, pertaining to the points in the calendar for which they were written.

Advent

Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland BWV699
Meine Seele erhebt den Herren BWV733
Gottes Sohn ist kommen BWV703

Christmas

In dulci jubilo BWV729
Kanonische Veränderungen: Vom Himmel Hoch, da komm ich her BWV769
Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich BWV605

Epiphany/New Year/Feast of the Purification

Christum wir sollen loben schon BWV696
Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin BWV616
Herr Gott, nun schleuß den Himmel auf BWV617

Lent and Holy Week

Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott BWV721
Christus, der uns selig macht BWV620
Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt BWV637

Easter

Christ ist erstanden BWV627
Erstanden ist der heilge Christ BWV628
Erschienen ist der herrliche Tag BWV629

Ascension

Heut' trumphieret Gottes Sohn BWV630

Pentecost

Fantasia super: Komm, Heiliger Geist BWV651
Komm, Heiliger Geist BWV652
Komm, Gott Schöpfer, Heiliger Geist BWV667

Miscellaneous chorales

Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend BWV632
Dies sind die heilgen zehn Gebot BWV635
Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein BWV641

The chorales were then divided again to correlate with the dates for which the concerts were arranged. For church musicians, liturgical awareness is important when choosing appropriate repertoire to be performed during the church year, and to that end, it was important to assume similar guidelines here. For example, rather than present the 46 chorales of the *Orgelbüchlein* in one concert during the middle of August, it made more sense to break them up, and perform them at times that were more appropriate to the melodies on which each prelude is based. These, and similar works, were then book-ended by larger works, with other pieces being interspersed where necessary.


Dritter Theil
der
Clavier Übung
bestehend
in
verschiedenen Vorspielen
über die
Catechismus- und andere Gesænge,
vor die Orgel.
Denen Liebhabern, und besonders denen Kennern
von dergleichen Arbeit, zur Gemüths Ergetzung
verfertigt von
Johann Sebastian Bach,
Königl. Pohlnischen, und Churfürstl. Sächß.
Hoff Compositeur, Capellmeister, und
Directore Chori Musici in Leipzig.
Im Verlegung des Authoris

1739 edition of Clavierübung *III*

Two groups of chorale-based works were excluded from this premise. The Neumeister collection, a group of 33 chorales, are a more recent discovery, which form part of larger compilation of works that were found in a manuscript book belonging to Johann Gottfried Neumeister.[3] The second group was the third part of Bach's *Clavierübung*. Whether or not it was intended to be performed in this way, *Clavierübung* III follows the structure of the Lutheran mass, with that in itself being bookended by the vast Prelude and Fugue in E^{b} BWV552.

Although *Clavierübung* III lasts for just over one and a half hours, it made no sense to break up the collection, with the only exception being the *Duetti* BWV802-805[4] which were moved elsewhere. The Neumeister chorales were split down the middle to form two programmes, with Preludes, Fugues and a Trio Sonata to open and close the two recitals. With the exception of the final programme of the series, which is made up entirely of *Clavierübung* III, the aim was to assemble 20 concerts lasting around 55-60 minutes, which would be enough time to deliver an engaging and varied programme, whilst not being too long to risk tiring the audience.

Trial and error followed. Some chorales formed neat groups, whilst others required a little more thought. Once smaller groups had been formed, and a general idea of where certain chorales would fall had been established, it was then time to incorporate the larger free works. The key signatures for these were useful in helping to determine where to programme them. For example, a minor key might be more appropriate for Advent and Lent, with major keys being better suited to Christmas and Easter. Length and style were also important factors, and a lot of time was spent listening to pieces I didn't know so well in order to make certain decisions about where they should be placed within the series.

Once a general overview had been achieved, programmes were then tweaked. Some might be a little too long, or too short, or a chorale prelude might be better suited as part of another programme. Many individual chorales had to be moved around during the latter stages of programming, which was at times both frustrating and time consuming. In the end, I felt that a well-balanced representation of Bach's writing for the organ had been achieved, as can be seen from the following examples:

Concert 2: 1 November 2019

Prelude and Fugue in C BWV547
Nun danket alle Gott BWV657
Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier BWV730
Partite diverse sopra il Corale Sei gegrüßet, Jesu gütig BWV768
Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier BWV731
Passacaglia in c minor BWV582

Concert 6: 6 March 2020

Prelude and Fugue in b minor BWV544
Valet will ich dir geben BWV735
Christ lag in Todesbanden BWV718
Christus, der uns selig macht BWV620
Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten BWV690
O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde Groß BWV622
Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt BWV637
Es ist das Heil uns kommen her BWV638
Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ BWV639
Pièce d'orgue BWV572

Concert 13: 18 December 2020

In dulci jubilo BWV729

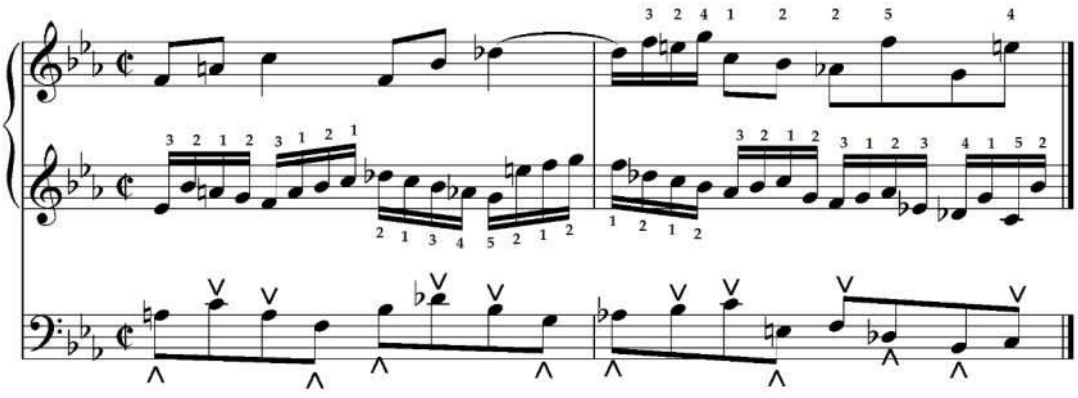
Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein BWV734
Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her BWV701
Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her BWV738
Wir Christenleut habn jetzund Freud BWV710
Kanonische Veränderungen: Vom Himmel Hoch, da komm ich her BWV769
Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her BWV700
Puer natus in Bethlehem BWV603
Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ BWV604
Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich BWV605
Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her BWV606
Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schar BWV607
In dulci jubilo BWV608
Prelude and Fugue in D BWV532

Concert 16: 19 March 2021

Prelude and Fugue in g minor BWV535
Canzona in d minor BWV588
Duetti I BWV802
Duetti II BWV803
Duetti III BWV804
Duetti IV BWV805
Fugue in c minor BWV575
Valet will ich dir geben BWV736
Fantasia and Fugue in G minor BWV542

Every musician will have their own process when it comes to approaching new repertoire. I had probably played just over half of Bach's organ works before the series began, and considering there was to be roughly one concert a month to prepare for, knowing a good proportion of the music helped to alleviate some of the pressure. It was inevitable that some works needed to be completely revised; particularly some of the pieces that I had learnt during my student years.

At the very start of the learning process, I made a conscious decision broadly to follow historic principles, certainly with regards to registration and fingering. Instruments during Bach's lifetime had shorter manual keys than the ones we have today, which would have required careful use of the thumb if one were not going to distort a relaxed hand position, or smudge surrounding notes.



A good example can be found in the first movement of Bach's Trio Sonata in Eb BWV525 (see above). Bars 34-35 are renowned for being awkward, but by following a historically informed finger pattern in the left hand, less pressure is placed on the wrist, which in turn helps to promote relaxation during what is a highly precarious moment.

Similar moments can be found throughout Bach's keyboard works, but by studying and developing some consistency surrounding fingering, a logical process soon develops. Whilst the music itself is highly varied, many shapes and patterns reappear, meaning certain fingerings can often be recycled.

Pedalling also required careful consideration, given the various quirks of a historic pedalboard. Most will have short black notes and a limited compass as standard, but some also have wider gaps between the white notes. Imitating certain forms of historic pedalling on modern pedalboards with excellent touch resistance can be a challenge, and whilst aiming to be as authentic as possible, the musical end result, for me, was of primary importance. As such, this occasionally demanded a more prominent use of the heel. A study of instrumental music from the Baroque period can act as a useful guide concerning the grouping of notes, or shaping of lines, which in turn may have an influence on one's choices of fingering and pedalling.

Trying to fit the series around life itself was difficult at times. Other work and personal commitments often took priority, so developing a system of when to prepare programmes, and how to learn them effectively, was of great benefit. Before the series began, I stipulated to myself that two concerts should always be prepared in advance of any given performance. This not only allowed some much-needed breathing space, but also gave the music time to settle naturally. With this system in place, the first two concerts of the series (October and November) had already been accounted for by the end of August 2019. Some concerts consisted of pieces I had already played, but most of the programmes contained works that were largely new. In all, I found a measured approach to learning over a sustained period of time worked best for me.

Once the series had been programmed, and pieces learnt, it was then time to perform them. Whilst this was probably the easiest element, it came with challenges, both mental and physical. Some repertoire will simply slip off the tongue, but things are never so straightforward with Bach. The music is so cleverly crafted, so intricate, that regardless of how well one might know a piece, the unexpected can always occur, whether that be through an erroneous fingering that throws a well-learnt pattern off course, or fatigue. It is very easy to throw so much focus and attention into a single piece of Bach that there can sometimes be little spare for the remainder of the programme. As mentioned earlier, I found that giving a piece that extra time to settle during the preparation process allowed for a more enjoyable performing experience.

Carl Seffner's 1908 statue of Bach outside the Thomaskirche in Leipzig

For the five concerts that were performed in front of an audience before the first lockdown, I took pleasure in offering short, spoken introductions. This allowed audience members who were not so well versed in the

music of Bach the opportunity to engage with the programmes, and me the opportunity to research further. Since the first lockdown during March 2020, all of the concerts had to be moved online, in the form of pre-recorded recitals on YouTube.[5] With the demand of having the programmes prepared for performance by a certain date slightly reduced, it became possible to prepare many programmes, and have them all recorded for release in advance of the advertised performance dates. It is of great regret to me that only the first five concerts could be performed live because of the pandemic, but moving them online offered a valuable opportunity to share the series with a much wider audience.

Regardless of how many pieces of Bach I had played previously, the process of preparing the organ works was long and time-consuming. It sometimes felt like a heavy weight on the shoulders, but once the summit of a project like this finally comes into view, the realization that it has all been worth it becomes very apparent. Furthermore, of course, completing such a project does not signal the very end. It is only the very beginning. There is so much to learn about Bach and his organ music; probably more than can be learnt in a lifetime, but playing through these wonderful pieces serves to open up another avenue on one's journey studying his life and work.

Organist Richard Brasier studied at the Royal Academy and the Hochschule für Musik und Tanz in Cologne, and now teaches for the Royal College of Organists. Since 2020 he has been organist for the German speaking communities of St Marien mit St Georg in London, and he is very active as a recitalist, duo performer and music editor. http://www.richardbrasier.com.

Notes

[1] Wolfgang Schmieder (1901-1990) was a German music librarian and musicologist.

[2] BWV565 is quite unique in comparison to Bach's other compositions from the Arnstadt period (1703-1707). In the absence of a manuscript in Bach's hand, debates surrounding the composer (Bach, a contemporary?) and instrument for which it was written (organ, or violin and then transcribed?) continue.

[3] Johann Gottfried Neumeister (1757-1840), organist, copyist and Professor of German.

[4] The *Duetti* BWV802-805 appear towards the conclusion of *Clavierübung* III. Bach's intention might have been for them to be used with the shorter chorale movements of the same, but they are also effective when performed in concert as a suite.

[5] https://www.youtube.com/c/RichardBrasierOrganist.

Three factitious collections for the *Matins a la Purísima Concepción*; analysis of stylistic trends in the Puebla Cathedral chapel from the last decade of the 18th century to the first half of the 19th century

Dalila Franco, Pablo Padilla and Mateo Rodríguez

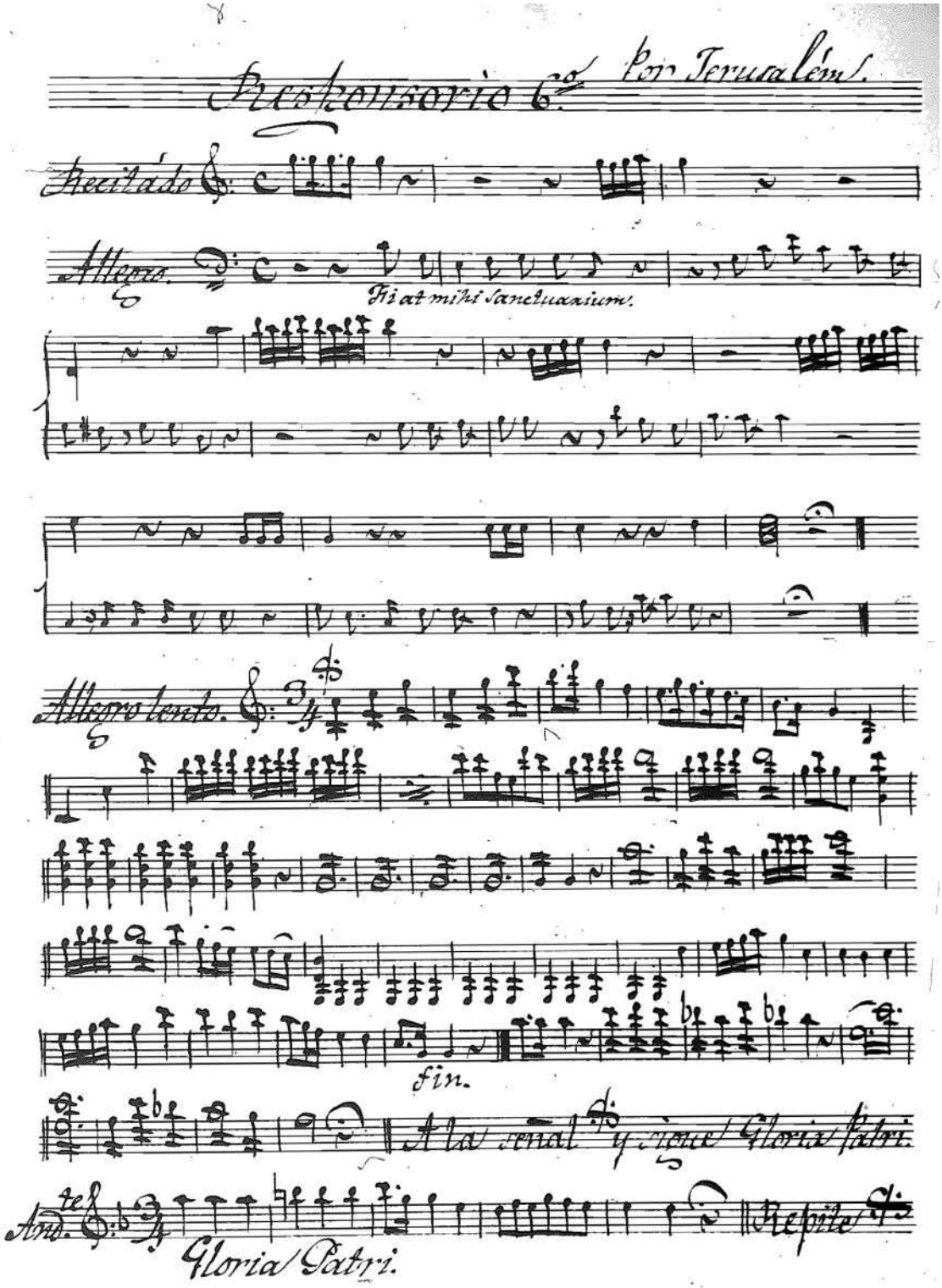
In the music archive of the Puebla Cathedral in New Spain, within the corpus of loose papers, are kept three factitious collections assembled between 1849 and 1855. These documents gather a set of complete responses for *Maitines a la Inmaculada Concepción* (Matins for the Immaculate Conception), some written by Ignacio Jerusalem y Stella (1707-1769), Master of the chapel of the Cathedral of Mexico between 1750-1769, and known as the forerunner of the galant style in New Spain (Illus.1); with others by Manuel Arenzana (1750-1821), Chapel Master in the Angelopolitan Cathedral between 1791-1821, known as the composer who introduced the Italianate style to Puebla Cathedral (Illus.2); and one more by José Manuel Plata (c.1815-1850), copyist and composer who was active in the Angelopolitan Cathedral between 1825-1850 (Illus.3). Plata is credited with making two of these three collections.

This article presents the results of an interdisciplinary investigation that analyses the three collections from the perspective of historical musicology and a statistical method proposed in the context of the analysis research project Formal Methods in Musicology.[1]

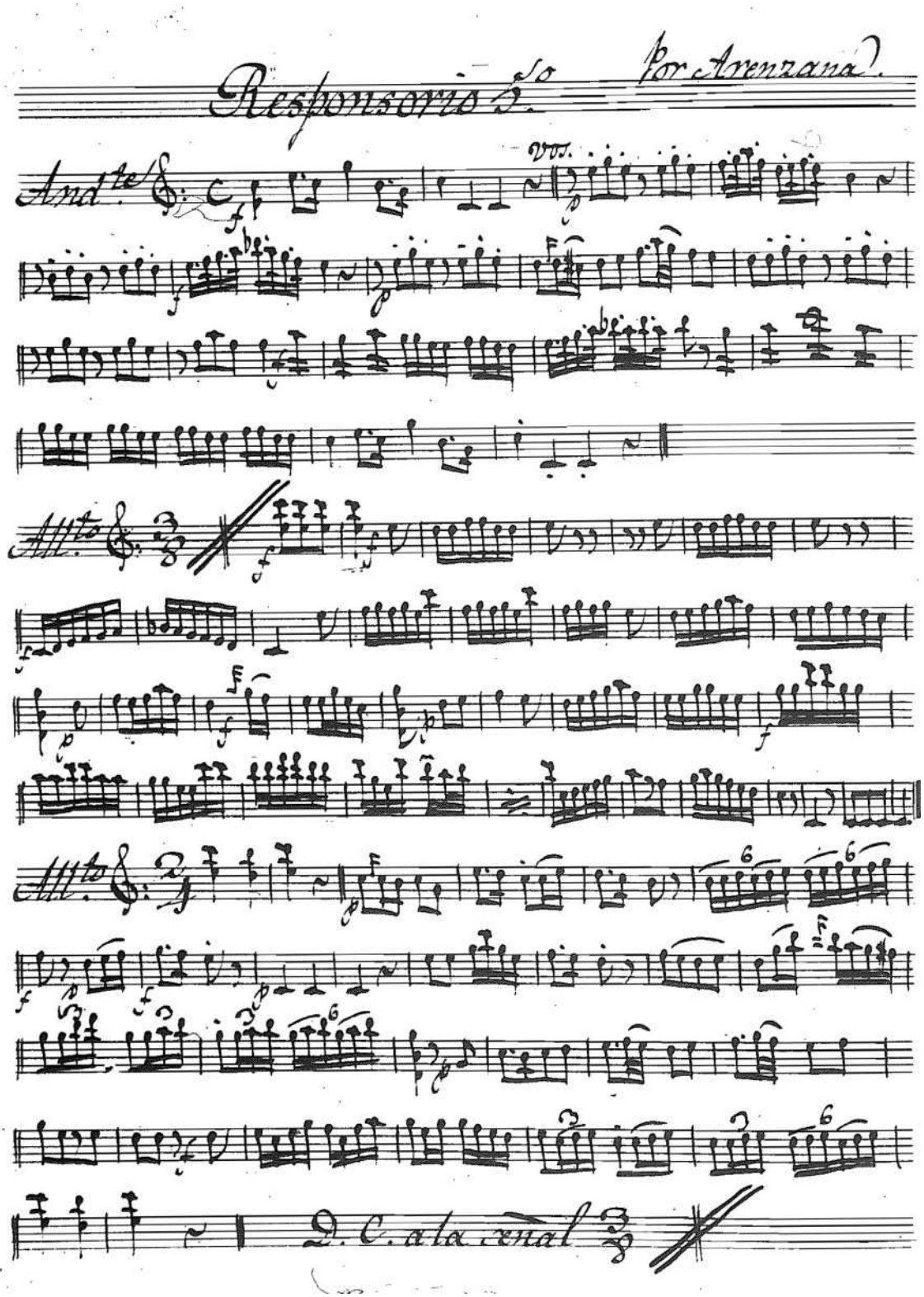
It is known that the 18th was a particularly dynamic century, rich in musical and extra-musical influences that led to an unusual number of stylistic labels.[2] In the case of New Spanish music, it has been stated that during this period it '…was known to combine, effortlessly, the old with the modern'.[3]

In the collection dated 1855 are the invitatory and the responses of the first nocturnal,[4] while the responses of the second nocturnal are undated.[5] The 1849 collection notes information on the cover of the bass part of the responsories of the third nocturnal[6] that the person in charge of their collection was José Manuel Plata.[7] The responsories for the third night are also there, while in the 1855 papers there is a responsory that Plata composed. Although it is true that a 'factitious collection' is understood to be a volume integrated of heterogeneous pieces whose arbitrary gathering under the same binding obeys only practical archival criteria,[8] the question regarding these collections is whether they were integrated due to their stylistic affinity. One more question arises from the second: could these collections obey the didactic purposes of the composer who collected them together?

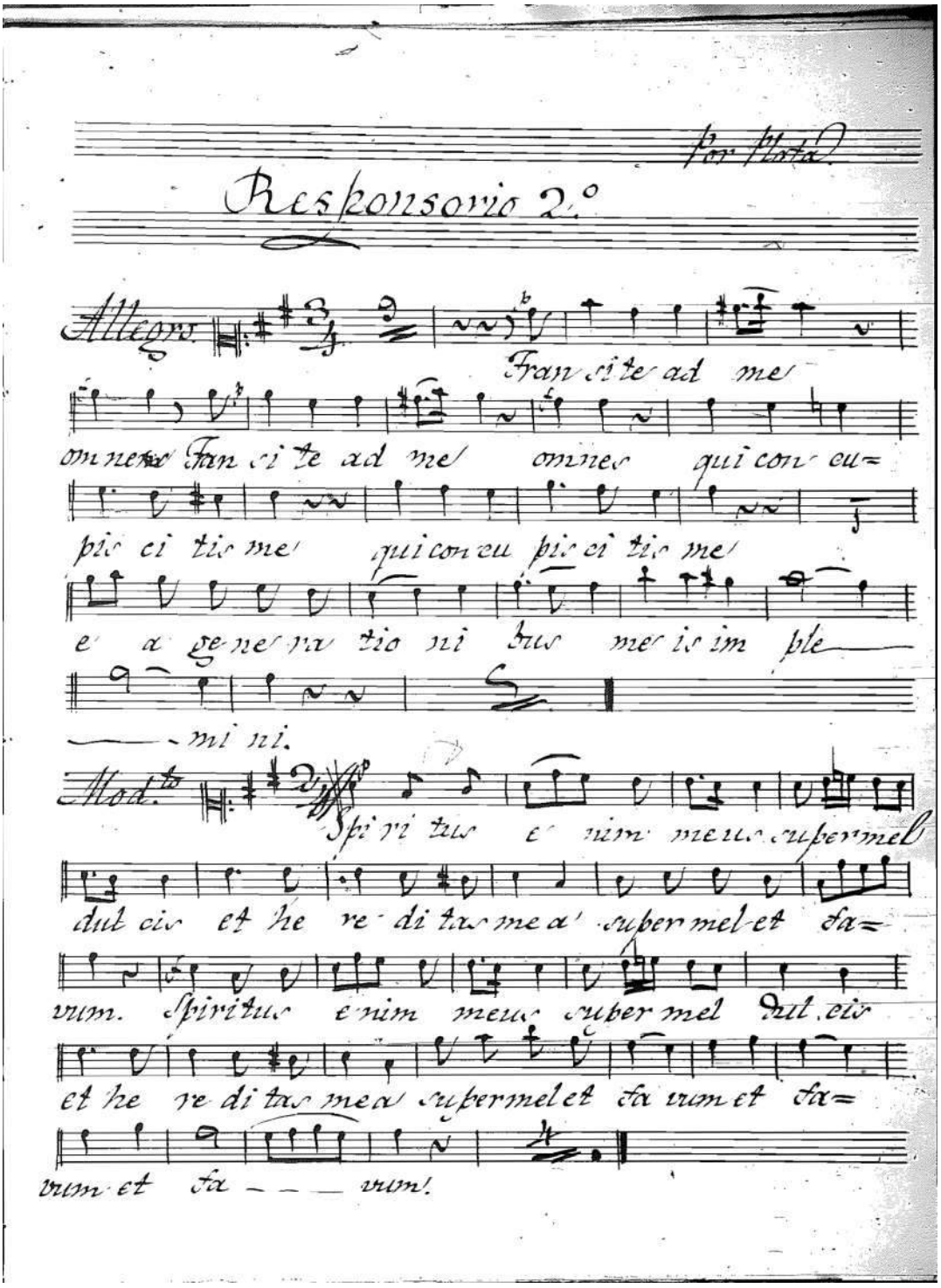
In order to determine the musical stylistic affinity between the integrated parts, an anlysis using historical musicology methods and statistical tools was performed. In all three are found homophonic textures in doublled choruses, with discrete and slow harmonic movements accompanying the melody in a preponderance of tonic and dominant chords, with few exceptions.[9] In all the Responsories there is a virtuoso treatment of the first violins. The absence of violas and cellos in most works, as well as other mid-range instruments, results in hollow harmonies. In all three composers there is a balance between the orchestral parts and the vocal parts, favouring the text in the choirs. They also have in common recitative or solos typical of Italian opera. Chromaticism is also a constant among the musical resources of the collections. In Arenzana's music is observed the recurrent use of the clarinet, which is advanced for works written in New Spain at the end of the 18th century.[10] In the three composers there are also indications of dynamics and agogics, but without a standardization of language. In their rhythmic aspect, the substitution of the *sesquiáltera* used in the villancicos of the 17th century is significant, with binary or ternary measures and in some cases the 6/8 pattern called 'Alla Siciliana' or 'Pastorela'.



Illus.1 Sixth Responsory of the Second Nocturne for the Maitines a la Purísima Concepción, *first violin part. Ignacio Jerusalem y Stella, Puebla*



Illus.2 Fifth Responsory of the Second Nocturne of the Maitines a la Purísima Concepción*, first violin part. Manuel Arenzana, Puebla*



Illus.3 Second Responsory of the First nocturne of the Maitines a la Purísima Concepción*, soprano part. José Manuel Plata, Puebla (1849)*

With regard to José Manuel Plata, after a comparative analysis of the music he copied and the piece he composed, it is plausible to assume that he was self-taught. It is also possible that his methodology consisted of trying to emulate masters like Jerusalem and Arenzana, whose music was kept in the historical archive of the Angelopolitan See. His orchestral verses, for example, could be evidence of his interest in the legacy of the Neapolitan masters.

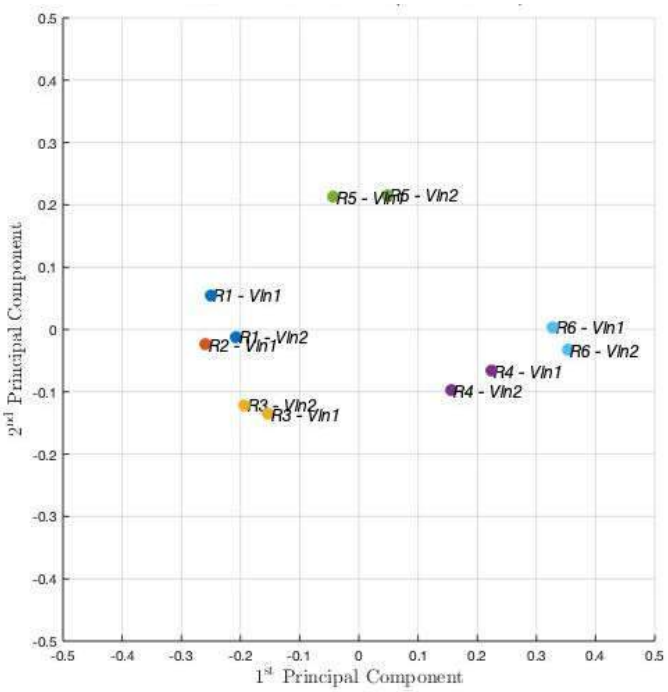
The main question of whether analysis of these collections will clarify stylistic trends in the Puebla Cathedral chapel in the period between the last decade of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century, continues to have an ambiguous answer, according to the initial approach using the tools of historical musicology. The analysis using statistical methods has corroborated some of the claims so far and also provided new ones.

Before presenting the results obtained via statistical analysis, it is pertinent to establish some key concepts: for the purposes of this study Ignacio Jerusalem y Stella is recognized as the precursor of the *galant* style in the Cathedral area of the capital of New Spain;[11] Manuel Arenzana is recognized as the promoter of the Italianate style in the Angelopolitan Cathedral chapel;[12] and José Manuel Plata is the heir to both stylistic traditions, within the area of Puebla Cathedral. It is also pertinent to clarify that the decision to analyze only the string section derives from the fact that this is where the greatest stylistic changes occur during the 18th century, in addition to providing the greatest amount of analyzable musical elements.

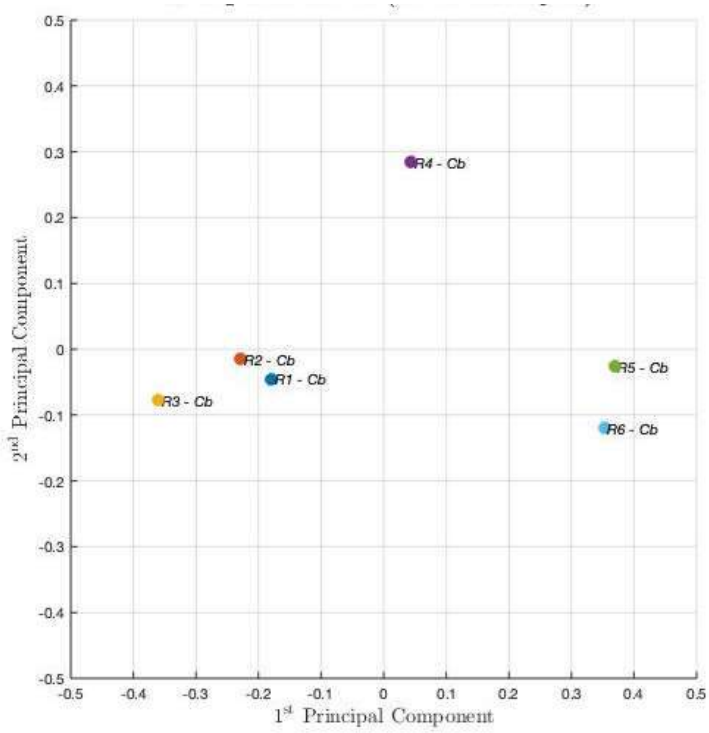
The first of the graphs (Illus.4) represents the comparison of the material of the violin section between the responsories by Jerusalem (R1), Plata (R2), Arenzana (R3, 4, 5) and Jerusalem (R6) using a statistical reduction method.[13] In this comparison it can be seen that the first and second violins by Jerusalem usually contain different musical material, while Arenzana usually writes identical or very similar parts, except in the Fourth Responsory where he uses different musical material. Note that Plata's first violin has great similarities to the Jerusalem second violin. In the second graph (Illus.5), where the double basses are compared, we confirm the stylistic similarity in that the Second Responsory of Plata keeps close to the one by Jerusalem. In the second graph that shows the comparison of the musical elements of the bass parts of the responsories of the first nocturne, it can be corroborated that Plata approaches Jerusalem in melodic treatment.

Conclusions

In conclusion, and based on the data collected so far, it appears that the collections made in 1849 by José Manuel Plata had a pedagogical use in his compositional self-teaching process. His methodology was based on the observation and reproduction of certain compositional strategies of both teachers - Jerusalem and Arenzana –leaning mainly on the style of the former. In terms of stylistic development, Puebla Cathedral chapel, during the last decade of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century, and under the influence of Ignacio Jerusalem and the rectorate of Manuel Arenzana, moved from the late Baroque to the so-called 'Italianate' style partially due to the influence of Italian opera; this style, as already mentioned, exhibits features similar to early classicism and the 'galant' style.



Illus.4 Comparison between the musical material of the first violins of the Second, Fifth and Sixth Responsories



Illlus.5 Comparison between the musical material of the double basses of the Second, Fifth and Sixth Responsories

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Notes

[1] https://formal-methods-in-musicology.webnode.com.

[2] Donald J. Grout et al., *Historia de la música occidental I y II* (Madrid, 1997), pp.449-632. This covers how style moved from the late Baroque to pre-Classicism, rococo and galant, and even styles linked to literary illustration such as *empfindsamkeit* and Sturm und Drang. For further historical background, see Aurelio Tello, 'El tránsito de los virreinatos a los estados independientes', in Consuelo Carredano and Victoria Eli (eds), *La música en Hispanoamérica en el siglo XIX* (Mexico City, 2010), vi, pp.25-66; and Leonardo Waisman, 'La música en la América española', in J. M. Leza, *La historia de la Música en España e Hispanoamérica* (Mexico City, 2014), p.684.

[3] Craig Russell, 'El Espltendor de los Maitines de México: Sonoridad y Estructura Arquitectónica en los Maitines para la Virgen de Guadalupe (1764) de Ignacio de Jerusalem', in María Gembero Ustárroz and Emilio Ros-Fábregas, *La Música y el Atlántico; Relaciones musicales entre España y Latinoamérica* (Granada, 2007), pp.359-395.

[4] Aurelio Tello et al., *Catálogo y Apéndice Biográfico de Compositores Novohispanos de la Catedral de Puebla* (Puebla, 2015), p.276.

[5] Tello (2015), p.96.

[6] Tello (2015), p.116. AMVCCP.318 'Bajo/ Del Nocturno Tercero/ A la Purísima Concepción, / Responsorio Séptimo y Octavo. / Por D. Manuel Arenzana, / De la Sta. Yglesia Catedral de la Puebla/ Copiados en Dicbre. De 1849. / Por J. M[l]. Plata'. [Borde superior:] 11 cuadernos.

[7] ACMP. L. 61. 196 r..; L. 67,106r.; L. 63, 177r.; L. 66, 161 v.; y 162 v.; L. 66, 183v.; L. 66, 185r.; L. 67, 33 v.; L. 67,52v.; L. 67, 106r.; L. 67, 134 v. y 137r.; L. 67, 208r y 209v. José Manuel Plata was active between 1825 and 1850 in the Angelopolitan Chapel, where he served as a composer, choir chaplain, violinist, copyist and bookseller.

[8] Ana Albertos et al., 'Directrices para la catalogación de colecciones facticias', *Catalogación de Colecciones Facticias* (Madrid, 2008), p.1.

[9] One of these exceptions occurs in the Gloria Patri of the Sixth Responsory of Ignacio Jerusalem y Stella, which, being in the key of C major, makes an inflection to F Major then concludes on the fifth degree of the original tonality (G Major).

[10] Miriam Dalila Franco Gutiérrez, *Manuel Arenzana (*Soria, 1750; †Puebla, 1821), último maestro de capilla, titular, novohispano en la Catedral de Puebla* (Mexico City, 2019), pp.97-125. However, the cathedral of Puebla did not acquire its first clarinet until 1825, which could mean two things: that the musicians had their own instruments and did not require those bought for the cathedral; or that the music was not played as the composer intended until after 1825.

[11] Russell (2007), pp.359-395.

[12] Franco (2019), pp.126-130.

[13] For a detailed description of the method, see Francis Knights, Pablo Padilla and Mateo Tonatiuh Rodríguez, 'O Splendor gloriae: Taverner or Tye?', *Early Music* xlix (2021) (forthcoming). Essentially, the distance between two points in the plots can be interpreted as measure of stylistic difference in the melodic components of the work; it is the result of applying Principal Component Analysis (PCA) to the intervallic distribution of the melodic content.

‘In a Landscape’: a piece by John Cage, transcribed for Renaissance lute by Gilbert Isbin

Silvia Amato

On a January afternoon some time ago, when attending Professor Franco Mirenzi’s introductory lectures on 20th century music, I really experienced the thrill of entering ‘In a landscape’. I had decided to enroll in the second-level academic diploma course of Training for the communication and diffusion of cultures and musical practices at the Conservatory of Music of Santa Cecilia in Rome to broaden my knowledge in the field of music, but above all driven by curiosity to find connections between distant worlds through subtle inlays of harmonies, cadences, styles and languages. I attended (and still attend, but in Parma) the lute school and there were many questions and gaps that I intended to fill.

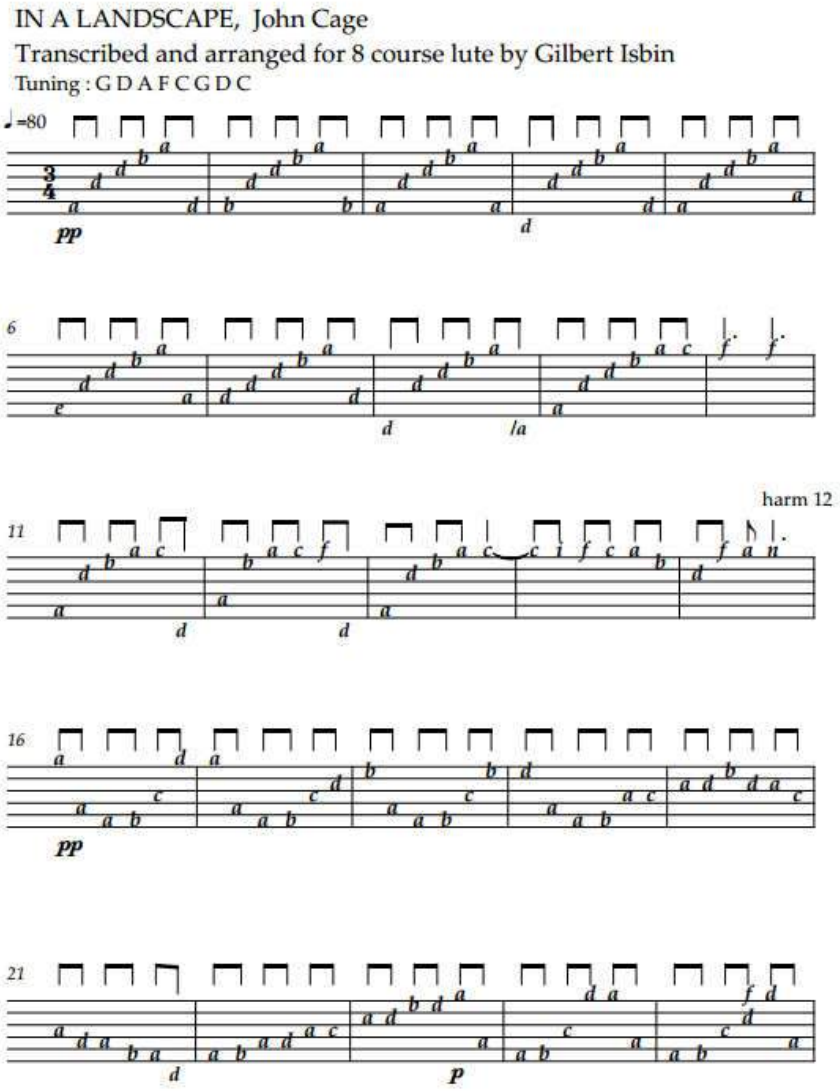
I felt the need to experiment and observe the music trying to grasp the message conveyed through time and styles. Among the subjects covered: Pedagogy and musical psychology, History of music for teaching, Organization of musical communication, Choir direction, Elements of composition for music teaching. As part of the latter subject we had indeed come to study the music of the 20th century and that afternoon I had caused a lot of hilarity among my companions, ironically commenting on the videos we were following on the serial techniques or on the prepared piano, so far from the delicate harmonies of the lute.

At a certain point Mirenzi chose to project the video of ‘In a Landscape’, a piece for piano composed by John Cage in 1948 for the dancer Louise Lippold (the piece in fact follows the rhythmic patterns of the choreography for which it was written). I was rapt and exclaimed: ‘But this is for a lute!’. The teacher smiled and said: ‘Finally we have found something that Silvia likes!’ - and again: ‘transcribe it down for lute!’.

This idea began to spin in my head until I even came to conceive a thesis on contemporary lute music, subverting all my previous (and biased) ideas on modern and contemporary music, forgetting in an instant the thesis I was planning to prepare for the exam. I started an exciting research project that did not stop, I bought texts, sent emails, interviewed musicians from a distance, but everything always revolved around this composition, which had fascinated me to the point of dedicating myself to discovering the expressive non-familiar possibilities of the lute.

It was during one of these interviews that Gilbert Isbin, Belgian musician and composer, knowing of my intention to transcribe this enigmatic piece for lute, offered to do it for me and so he did, in a few days (it would have taken me a much, much longer time), even thanking me for having brought it to his attention and for having offered him the opportunity to put his hand to a composition that also fascinated him. Incidentally, Gilbert Isbin recently published a manual for the Lute Society that teaches the improvisational technique on the lute in contemporary language.[1] He has published numerous collections of pieces composed by him and has affectionately supported and encouraged me in this research, also allowing me to publish his transcription (see below for the opening page). In a Landscape is a modal composition, which alternates modules in B and modules in G. It is clearly inspired by the style of Erik Satie and, like Satie’s pieces, it produces an atmosphere

of suspended and indefinite time: it is no coincidence that Cage was the first to bring Satie to America, having Les Vexations performed for thirty-six hours in a row with different interpreters.



In this piece Cage, master of the combination of sounds and the exploration of unconventional sounds, uses numerical ratios by augmentation, but without a classic scheme, not even the total chromatic scheme of Boulez, with whom he formed a solid friendship presumably imbued with reciprocal inspirations; and in fact 'In a Landscape' is a self-generating diatonic piece. It should be borne in mind that, having changed the ways of using

music and its production, the techniques of composition have also changed profoundly: if on the one hand there has been an attempt to overlap and complicate musical writing (for example, for what it concerns rhythm, in Stravinsky), on the other hand there is the search for the maximum simplification of the language, up to the results of the minimalist current, as happens in Arvo Part's music, another composer whose works I hope to transcribe for the lute.

In this regard, it should be remembered how Part's search for his very personal style, the 'tintinnabuli', has its roots in Gregorian chant and in modal music. Going even further, Cage arrived at the random technique, in which part of the composition is left to the performer, who has full autonomy in the interpretation of the signs, with the effect of giving rise to new forms of notation.

This is what happens in 'Imaginary Landscape No.5', one of the first compositions in which Cage, based on the drawing procedures of the Chinese divination book *I Ching*, substitutes symbols and sequences of recorded music for the notation, creating one of the first examples of multimedia music. Returning to our piece, it can be performed, on the recommendation of Cage himself, both on piano or on harp; and now, thanks to the transcription of Gilbert Isbin, also on the lute. Its modal nature gives it a timeless aura, we could define it as music in the making, in becoming, which expresses the beauty and restlessness of our present.

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Notes

[1] https://gilbertisbin.com/compositions/lute.

Attributions in early music: a checklist for editors

Francis Knights and Pablo Padilla

Introduction

Works of art, including painting, sculpture, glass, furniture, textiles, literature, music and so on, all have their own individual histories of attribution, depending on time and place. Michelangelo signed just a single work, and only then because he was vexed to have it attributed to another.[1] By the Baroque era such signatures could represent many things, from a copyright claim to part of a dedication. For music, however, a signature was more of a documentary statement; unlike religious art, there was no vanity in stating who a work was by.[2] Composer names are known going back more than a thousand years, but attributions do not seem to have become universal until the later 18th century, either by composers claiming their work or copyists transmitting such information as important. This leaves numerous works - of which there are many; for example, half of the surviving British keyboard music dating before the Restoration[3] - from (especially) the Renaissance and Baroque as anonymous, and needing attribution investigation. It is likely that some can reasonably be identified with the works of known composers on the basis of style and technique. However, all original sources from the 18th century or earlier, unless autograph or published with the knowledge of the composer, require proper assessment as to authorship. Even those with plausible named composers should be examined to check whether there are any concerns as to the work(s) relative to their style, date and so forth. The following checklist is designed to provide a structured basis for consideration, and in particular to identify clearly what is known and what is not known; whether any of the evidence is conflicting; and whether the positive evidence for a particular composer is strong enough to make an attribution assertion.[4] While it is true that 'All available evidence should be taken into account regarding an attribution',[5] the hierarchy of such evidence may in each case be slightly different. Only at the end of the process should existing comments by experts be assessed for their validity.[6]

The study of 'stylistics' has a long history; the 17th-century Classical scholar Richard Bentley for example identified three ways in which such considerations are important to editors, and the concern here is with the first of those: 'whether works were actually the work of their presumed authors'.[7]

Concerns about the 'truth' of an attribution are likely to have been different then and now. The issue of fairness, or credit, relates to the moral (if no longer, legal) ownership of the material; and the reasons (legitimate or otherwise) for historical falsification by copyist or publisher are worth exploring. These can range from adding perceived value (evident in misattributed or faked Josquin and Haydn, for example); societal considerations (Fanny Hensel songs published under the name of her brother, Felix Mendelssohn); a general disregard for the specific contributions of a composer or arranger (Nicolas Chédeville's 'Vivaldi' Op.14 set); or musical whimsy (Fritz Kreisler's hoaxes of Pugnani, Tartini and others).[8] The success of such deceptions can be total, provided that the work - invariably attributed to a more famous composer - is plausible in terms of date, quality and style;

misattributions are still being uncovered, and it is likely that more expert fakes remain undetected. In particular, any stylistic elements that appear to date from a slightly later period should give grounds for suspicion.

The following sections explore a number of interesting cases raised by some attributions that are more problematic than they first appear, and should be read in conjunction with the checklist at the end.[9]

Authorship

In order to undertake a systematic examination of authorship when editing music, an initial principle of Cartesian Doubt should be applied. Unless from an autograph manuscript (including composer signature) or from a published source directly approved by the composer,[10] works should be treated as if anonymous until a series of questions has been worked through. Only then can an assessment be made on the basis of such evidence as exists, especially if such evidence runs in any way counter to a supplied composer name. Even where an attribution seems by tradition to be unquestionable, it is worth spending a moment to examine the evidence. Several examples illustrate the problem of making too easy an assumption: C. P. E. Bach, who must have known his father's music better than almost anyone, added Johann's name to the top of the principal source of the Flute Sonata in Eb BWV1031; however, the attribution is highly suspect on grounds of style and quality. The same is true of the C major Flute Sonata BWV1033 copied by C. P. E. Bach in 1731; Robert Marshall's solution that the son added a bass to an unaccompanied sonata by his father seems a very plausible way of accounting for a number of stylistic disparities.[11] Similarly, when Handel was shown an early set of trio sonatas bearing his name (the story is told much later by Burney)[12] he responded by saying 'I used to write like the Devil in those days, but chiefly for the hautbois, which was my favourite instrument'. Note that this is not confirmation either way; perhaps he could not even identify his own early works? In fact, there is very little convincing stylistic evidence for Handel to be found in that set.[13] The issue is, in statistical terms, choosing between 'falsely assigning a member to a group' or 'falsely excluding it', with a usual working preference for a decision where an 'error would do less harm', thus preferring to risk a 'false exclusion'.[14] Some editors retain dubious works on the opposite basis, as in the Agnus Dei fragment attributed to John Taverner: 'it is included here since it has not yet been attributed to any other composer'.[15]

Even before serious stylistic analysis was part of musicology, experts had firm opinions on some critical early repertoire, based on their extensive studies of actual scores. For example, the St Luke Passion performed (and partly copied) by Bach at Leipzig was regarded by genuine by Spitta, but not by Brahms or Mendelssohn; the latter was very emphatic in 1838: '…if that is by Sebastian, then I'll be hanged'.[16] In fact, the considerable disparities in style and quality in this work suggests that it might be (like C. P. E. Bach's later passion settings) a composite work, in which case no single composer name need be sought.[17]

Composer, copyist and arranger

Composer names may be added at the time of copying, or later; and directly from the source or by assumption on the part of the copyist. Errors are common. A missing name means either a scribal omission or that the composer was not known to either the source copyist or

destination copyist (in some printed 16th-century collections 'Incertus' is used to indicate that the information is known to be missing). At certain times (for example, early 17th-century Britain) the use of the full name ('Robert Ramsey' rather than the more formal 'Mr Ramsey') may even indicate an autograph copy. Unhelpfully, some composers from family music traditions do not supply first names in a number of sources, such as the Grauns and the Couperins. In the latter case, Glen Wilson notes that no Couperin[18] is first-named in any manuscripts before the 18th century, thus rendering the traditional identification of the composer of the splendid clavecin music of the Bauyn manuscript as 'Louis' highly problematic.

Where an original source has subsequently been destroyed or lost, leaving an unsatisfactory modern edition (Daniel Purcell, Evening Service in E minor;[19] Pachelbel, keyboard suites),[20] transmitted attributions must be treated with especial care.

Arranger names are often given instead of rather than as well as those of the composer, and it is even possible for a composer or copyist to claim ownership of a work that has hardly been modified at all. For example, a number of John Bull's keyboard works are very likely arrangements of music by other composers (see 'Fantasia in the Sixth Mode on *A Leona*', 'Ut re mi fa sol la'),[21] and such identifications are often not made because they are simply not looked for. One Fantasia by Peter Philips in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book is clearly an intabulation of a six-part chanson from a previous generation, but the work had been available in a modern edition for more than 120 years before Crequillon was identified as the original composer (the chanson 'Si me tenez').[22] This is a typical instance of a composer name being given discouraging further exploration, even where stylistic considerations suggested it. Other times, queries are raised for the wrong reasons: the Suite in A BWV1025 for violin and obligato was partly copied by J. C. F. Bach, with an attribution to J. S. Bach added later by C. P. E. Bach, and the formal structure (not otherwise used by J. S. Bach) led to discussions about the authenticity of the work. In fact, the style of music should have made it clear that the piece is by someone else, and it eventually turned out to be an arrangement of a lute suite by Weiss (in fact, the arrangement makes the work significantly more 'Bachian', an interesting stylistic problem in itself).

The first task where no composer is named is to use such tools as are available to try and find concordances. The RISM music search facility[23] is a useful start, and incipit indexes appear in a number of printed catalogues of specific repertoire, such as those by Brookes[24] (early British keyboard music) and Lincoln[25] (motets, and Italian madrigals). However, even where an actual work cannot be located, some useful information may also be gleaned by searching. For example, Giles Farnaby's Fantasia (FVB 234)[26] in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book is clearly a madrigal intabulation, probably of a work by another composer. No actual concordance exists, but the opening material is similar to Giovanni de Macque's 'Non al suo amante', known to have been circulating in England both in an Italian publication (1583) and in an 'Englished' version called 'The fair Diana' (1588).[27] Similarly, the anonymous setting of a Minuet in C from the Cobham Hall Spinet Book (c.1729) seems to be modelled on an aria from Handel's *Tamerlano* (1724).[28]

Where duplicate or alternative attributions exist, stylistic analysis may help resolve matters. For example, a study of the bipartite motet *O Splendor gloriae* attributed to both Taverner and Tye supports the attribution of each half to a different composer; the musicological evidence

of the dissonance count and contrapuntal density is in agreement with a computational analysis of the melodic content.[29]

Some copyists are very interventionist, and will 'convert' the original to their own compositional or performing style, as in the matter of chordal layout and ornamentation. Before-and-after examples are not easy to find, but one concerning Benjamin Cosyn of c.1620 shows over a hundred changes in a single 48-bar Bull piece, the Melancholy Galliard, that he recopied.[30] Understanding the probity and manner of a particular copyist can be important in understanding what the composer's original work may have looked like (as Steele and Cameron said of Cosyn's manuscript, Lbl Royal Music Library MS 23.l.4., 'Not all of these ascriptions are reliable. The collection is remarkable for its profusion of ornaments').[31]

Even where it appears that a set or piece can be treated as a unity, in attribution terms, it is well to look more closely.[32] For example, the first printing of Handel's Concerti Grossi Op.3 contained a spurious work, and at least two of Haydn's Op.3 String Quartets appear to be by Roman Hoffstetter (1742-1815). Handel's borrowings are well known,[33] such as the transcribed but unattributed Kerll keyboard canzona that appears as the chorus 'Egypt was glad' in *Israel in Egypt*. Even within a single work, interpolations can occur, such as the trio (signed, at least) J. S. Bach added to Stolzel's G minor suite in the Wilhelm Friedemann Bach Book,[34] and (more disturbingly) the 'Benedetto Marcello' fugue that concludes Bach's keyboard Toccata in E minor BWV914.[35] Similarly, one component of a work may have been added later, possibly by another composer or copyist, as is shown by three examples: [1] the four-part consort Fantasia by Tallis exists in a five-part version with an additional voice, the quality of which suggests a later addition by someone else;[36] [2] the earliest source of Bach's Flute Sonata in E minor BWV1034 gives flute and bass only, with the continuo figuring only appearing in later copies. Notational quirks and errors in the figuring suggest a later addition[37] not by Bach (the original is not at all difficult to play from the score using the unfigured bass); [3] the bass of Bach's Trio Sonata in G BWV1038 appears in two other violin sonatas BWV1021-22, and it is likely the latter were student exercises on the educational model also later recommended by William Crotch: 'add a melody to a given bass'.[38] It has even been suggested that the bass itself is not by Bach. The Chorale Partita BWV770 could also have been a 'model' piece: the variations after Partita I are unlike Bach in many respects.

Musical style

The fundamental analytic components for independent consideration are found within musical *style*; the means by which a composer creates a (to some extent) distinctive musical expression, one that is most usefully viewed in the context of the wider styles within which they worked, in various genres. There are many specific components, which vary in importance from work to work, and some of which are hard to analyze directly. An initial set would include: dissonance treatment, counterpoint and contrapuntal density, melody, harmony, chromaticism, text setting, cadences, scoring, range and key usage. Changes in style over time (at least within genres) are understood as providing a *chronology* of works, while the combination of style and date leads to an understanding of authorship, or composer *attribution*, where otherwise not known. The fourth component, *quality*, is the measure of successful compositional outcomes (however defined), and is very closely related to

individual musical style, as well as to the issues of chronology (experience tends to lead to better works) and *consistency* (the ability to routinely make musical decisions that are likely to succeed).

Where typologies of components such as ornaments exist, these may be useful evidence for a composer (or possibly copyist);[39] and patterns such as cadences can also be indicative. For example, one 'Bach' cantata now regarded as anonymous uses a chordal layout in the accompanied recitatives that is almost unknown in Bach's securely-identified works.[40] This alone is grounds for serious suspicion, and many composers have standard ways of laying out chords, orchestrating or harmonizing. Similarly, in keyboard music, the physical layout of the music under the hands can be indicative, as in the works of Bull, Scarlatti, Bach[41] or Chopin. Ideally, a complete corpus[42] study would make possible direct comparison of all these components and between every composer active at the period. In reality this is extremely difficult, so an understanding of particular elements will usually have to serve as proxy. In addition, a certain amount of information must be present for any useful stylistic observations to be made; for example, the 'Purcell' Sanctus in the Magdalen College organ book of c.1680[43] is too brief for any formal analysis; nevertheless, aesthetically-based observations[44] have been made as to its authenticity.[45]

The usefulness of notation for validation depends on the closeness of the source to the composer; and the breadth of knowledge of contemporary practice. The problem becomes much more significant when copyists are involved, even if they are not known to be particularly interventionist. Thus, the use of one particular right-hand keyboard clef in Bach autographs can be helpful (he varied between the traditional C1 and the more modern G2 clef), and other features of ornamentation, beaming, text underlay and so forth can be of significance in the works of other composers, as long as the sources are sufficiently close.[46]

Where concordances exist, they should be assigned value in terms of their own source validity, whether in agreement or otherwise with the first source under consideration. Such comparisons may need further refinement according to issues of musical style, dating and so forth. Two manuscript examples demonstrate this. An important manuscript in Vienna (National Library MS 17771) from the library of Emperor Leopold I ascribes all the contents to John Bull, but one fine chromatic fantasia included appears elsewhere under Sweelinck's name (it may be his best-known keyboard work).[47] Bull's authorship has been universally discounted on statistical grounds (number of surviving sources), but in fact some elements of this fantasia match Bull's late style at least as well as Sweelinck's. In other words, attribution counts (especially where they represent related copies) should not trump close examination of the score. In another case, British Library Add. MS 23623, compiled by Gulielmus à Messaus immediately after Bull's death, everything was ascribed to Bull 'without much discrimination'.[48] In fact, some of the works are by Tallis, Byrd, Farnaby and Gibbons, but this is only known from reliable concordances elsewhere. Even after the editor's careful filtering, some questionable attributions remain, from a process of 'default' attribution.[49]

The issue of identification or indeed measurability of 'quality' is highly problematic, but is a necessary consideration, and one to be made especially in relation to chronology and style. While a certain number of works do fall into the 'cannot have been composed by anyone else' category on grounds of quality or style (for example, the assigning of the anonymous 53-part *Missa Salisburgensis* to Biber, 1682),[50] with most other works comparison must be

made with a number of composers' known canons.[51] That means that works which are dull, technically marred or in any other way inept are not likely to considered as possible works by composers of the standard of (for example) Byrd, Bach or Mozart. However, the assumption is usually made that 'early' works may demonstrate such characteristics, and there is a resulting tendency for any below-par music by a leading composer to be described thus. Such an attribution is only plausible if other features of the music or sources correspond with the proposed date and style of that composer. However, for music before the later 18th century, little of such 'early' repertoire by composers is dated and hence there is a danger of a circular argument connecting quality with chronology: early works are inferior, therefore inferior works must be early. The extent to which and the rate at which a given composer's technical competence develops needs careful examination first.

When a piece is removed from a canon, it is interesting to observe how it survives in the new role. Where no composer is known, a move from (for example) 'Josquin' to 'Anon' may prove fatal, but other pieces such as the six Concerti (Pergolesi, now van Wassanaer) and the 'Toy' Symphony (Haydn, now Leopold Mozart) retain some place in the concert repertoire under their new name. By comparison, while all the apocryphal Bach cantatas, motets, masses and passions have been recorded,[52] as has Friederich Witt's 'Jena' Symphony (formerly attributed to Beethoven), they are very little performed.

Editions

Once asserted (and often in a scholarly article that is not easily accessible to performers) an attribution will have to be pitched in a certain way, depending on the format and the strength of the assertion. For example, from a marketing point of view the title 'attrib x' is less useful than 'by x', even if a publisher or record company must bear in mind the need for accuracy in marketing. Relatively few such attributions are 'significant' enough (which usually means, associated with a major composer) to result in serious debate within the field, and the end result is often a tacit acceptance of the kind that is familiar in humanities research: the most recent opinion stands until it is questioned. Much of the authority of an assertion comes from the reputation of the scholar in question,[53] supported by the reputation of (for example) the publisher. Thus, the Neue Bach Ausgabe edition of the 'Neumeister' chorales, edited by Christoph Wolff, is titled *Bach: Orgelwerke, Band 9, Orgelchoräle der Neumeister-Sammlung* and the Preface does not debate the attribution of the very late source, despite some serious problems with it. The manuscript was compiled in c.1790 by the Friedburg organist Johann Gottfried Neumeister (1756-1840) and contains 82 chorales, the great majority by the Bach family,[54] including 36 attributed there to J. S. Bach, only five of which were previously known.[55]

There is also a potential confirmation bias present when editing[56] such works: once a composer name is asserted, editing the work in the style of that composer is almost inevitable. This can mean (to use the 'Neumeister' chorales example above) assuming that any 'errors' are those of the copyist rather than the composer, and thus removing part of the important concept of 'competence' from the debate. To assume a certain composer does not make a certain error is to create a circular argument in terms of quality. In addition, it is very difficult to resist (for example) adding 'missing' notes or ties in the style of the mature composer, but what if such notes reflect an earlier style with less concern for precise voice-leading, or the intended use of repeated rather than tied notes?[57] And in either case, if the

errors are those of the composer rather than the copyist (in a period where most works were in manuscript, rarely intended for wider circulation and hence never polished for publication),[58] why should it not be the composer at fault and not the copyist? The question then arises, what sort of (compositional) errors would a manuscript have to contain to completely rule it out a work by a certain composer, on grounds on quality?

Checklist

This checklist is designed to help systematically consider the value of any attribution evidence, and check its credibility.

- Who wrote the composer name, when and why?
- Does it refer to a composer, an arranger or a copyist?
- Does it apply to a collection, grouping or single work?
- Is it credible in terms of the music's style, date and quality?
- Does it apply to all parts and sections of the work?
- Are there concordances for the work, with the same or different attributions?

If there is no attribution:

- Why is no name given?
- Does the style resemble any music in the same source?
- Are there any concordances for the work?
- Is it reasonable to make an editorial attribution, of what strength, and on what grounds?

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Notes

[1] It has been argued that Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (1550) actually created the modern idea of an artist having a personal creative identity; however, this concept has much older roots. See Iain McGilchrist, *The Master and His Emissary: The Divided Brain and the Making of the Western World* (New Haven, 2/2019), p.309.

[2] 'The emergence of ascriptions in "composers" in the musical manuscripts is one of the most important changes that can be observed, and it signals a shift in the status of a given chant from being considered a part of the received tradition to becoming a piece of art'; Christian Troelsgård, 'Tradition and Transformation in Late-Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Chant', in Jan Olof Rosenqvist (ed), *Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture* (Stockholm, 2004), pp.158-196, at p.158.

[3] See Virginia Brookes, *British Keyboard Music to c.1660* (Oxford, 1996). Note that, in general, longer pieces listed there are more likely to have a composer's name attached in the original sources.

[4] Most of the examples here are drawn from our own recent research, including Francis Knights and Pablo Padilla, *Computational Analysis and Musical Style* (forthcoming).

[5] Moreed Arbabzadah, 'Word order in Goscelin and Folcard: implications for the attribution of the *Vita Ædwardi regis* and Other Works', *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, xxxi (2021), pp.191-218.

[6] The dangerous tradition that 'the informed impressionistic judgement of an experienced editor is an adequate test of authenticity and guide to emendation' has a long history; see John Burrows and Harold Love, 'Attribution tests and the Editing of Seventeenth-century Poetry', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, xxix (1999), pp.151-175 at p.153.

[7] Burrows and Love (1999), p.152. The two others concern revisions and the emendation of corrupt texts. Relatively little has been done on the typology of attributions, but see Alexander Silbiger, *Italian Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-Century Keyboard Music* (Ann Arbor, 1980), ch.10, which describes several categories of attribution at manuscript level: unsystematic, sporadic and blanket.

[8] For an extensive list of such deceptions and hoaxes, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Musical_hoax.

[9] For repertoire-specific examples of studies relating to attribution, see John Spitzer, 'Musical Attribution and Critical Judgment: The Rise and Fall of the Sinfonia Concertante for Winds, K.297b', *The Journal of Musicology* v/3 (Summer 1987), pp. 319-356; Jno L. Hunt, 'The Durante-Pergolesi Magnificat: A question of attribution', *The Choral Journal* xix/7 (March 1979), pp.18-21; Eric Jas, 'Nicolas Gombert's *Missa Fors Seulement*: A Conflicting Attribution', *Revue belge de Musicologie* xlvi (1992), pp.163-177; Anne-Emmanuelle Ceulemans, 'A Stylistic Investigation of *Missa Une mousse de Biscaye*, in the Light of Its Attribution to Josquin des Prez', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* xlviii/1 (1998), pp.30-50; Frank A. D'Accone, 'Confronting a Problem of Attribution, *ossia* Which of the Two is Scarlatti's First Opera?', *The Journal of Musicology* xvii/1 (Winter, 1999), pp.168-192; Robert L. Tusler, 'A Misplaced Attribution: Willem de Fesch and the *Missa in G*', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* lv/2 (2005), pp.153-162; Stephanie P. Schlagel, 'A Credible (Mis)Attribution to Josquin in Hans Ott's *Novum et insigne opus musicum*: Contemporary Perceptions, Modern Conceptions, and the Case of *Veni sancte Spiritus*', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* lvi/2 (2006), pp.97-126; Karen Linnstaedter Strange, 'A 16th Century Publication Who-Dun-It: Exploring Implications of the Double Attribution of the Madrigal *Canzon se l'esser meco* to Andrea Gabrieli and Orlande de Lassus', *International Journal of Musicology* ii (2016), pp.39-75; and Maciej Jochymczyk, 'The Masses of Francesco Perneckher in the Collection of the Pauline Monastery at Jasna Góra (Częstochowa): Problems of Attribution and Source Studies', *Fontes Artis Musicae* lxvi/2 (April–June 2019), pp.156-165. For issues raised by comparable studies outside musicology, see Michael Turner, 'Attribution and Iconography', *Mediterranean Archaeology* xiii (2000), pp.55-66 and Mark Muehlhaeusler, 'Fragments of Arabic Poetry on Papyrus: Questions of Textual Genesis, Attribution, and Representation', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* cxxxiv/4 (October-December 2014), pp.673-687.

[10] This is not always easy to determine; the well-known problems in John Walsh's editions of Handel – which the composer must have been aware of, having made formal publishing agreements with him at various times - are a good example.

[11] Robert L. Marshall, 'J. S. Bach's Compositions for Solo Flute: A Reconsideration of Their Authenticity and Chronology', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* xxxii/3 (Autumn 1979), pp.463-498. The C. P. E. Bach copy might also imply a lost original bass by Bach himself, rather than it having originally been an unaccompanied sonata. Students could be set to add a new bass or treble to an existing part, as training in harmony and counterpoint: William Crotch, *Elements of Musical Composition: Comprehending the Rules of Thorough Bass, and the Theory of Tuning* (London, 1812), p.122, and see below.

[12] Charles Burney, *In Commemoration of Handel* (London, 1785).

[13] For discussions of this, see Terence Best, 'Handel's Chamber Music: Sources, Chronology and Authenticity', *Early Music* xiii/4 (November 1985), pp.476-499, and the booklet notes by Richard Wigmore to *Handel: Trio Sonatas*, Convivium, Hyperion CDA67083 (2000).

[14] Burrows and Love (1999), p.175. Such scepticism can lead to some interesting queries. For example, Pachelbel's famous Canon and Gigue in D (which only exists in a 19th century score) seems to bear little relation to his other chamber music in terms of style, but does have certain similarities with South German repertoire from a slightly earlier period; is it possible that the attribution is in fact wrong, and that Pachelbel did not write his best-known work? There is a Pachelbel keyboard Chaconne in D in 3/2 with a similar bass, but no stylistic resemblances whatsoever to the Canon (see Hans Joachim Moser and Traugott Fedtke (eds), *Pachelbel, Selected Organ Works*, x (Kassel, 1958), pp.43-48).

[15] Hugh Benham (ed), *John Taverner: IV, Five-part Masses*, Early English Church Music 36 (London, 1990), p.137. David Schulenberg ('What is a Composer? Problems of Attribution in Early Keyboard Music from the Circle of Philips and Sweelinck', in David J. Smith and Rachelle Taylor (eds), *Networks of Music and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries* (Farnham, 2013), pp.113-155), p.154 makes a case for borrowing the terms 'circle of' and 'school of' from art history in preference to 'anonymous', but the processes of training, production and circulation are simply not comparable between composition and painting.

[16] Klaus Häfner, booklet notes to *Johann Sebastian Bach, Apocryphal St. Luke Passion*, Wolfgang Helbich, Alsfelder Vokalensemble, Barockorchester Bremen, CPO 999 293-2 (1997), p.18. The leading candidate at present for composer seems to be J. M. Molter (1696-1765).

[17] Bach would not be one of the composers, to judge by style.

[18] Glen Wilson, 'The Other Mr Couperin', *Early Keyboard Journal* xxx (2013), pp.6-25.

[19] John Stainer (ed), *Daniel Purcell, Evening Service in E minor*.

[20] From a lost 1683 manuscript; for a recording see *Pachelbel, Complete Keyboard Music*, Simone Stella (organ/harpsichord), Brilliant Classics 95623, 13 CDs (2019).

[21] John Steele and Francis Cameron (eds), *John Bull, Keyboard Music: I*, Musica Britannica XIV (London, 1967), pp.20, 65.

[22] Jon Baxendale and Francis Knights (eds), *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, 3 vols. (Tynset, 2020), ii, p.72.

[23] https://rism.info.

[24] Brookes (1996).

[25] Harry B. Lincoln, *The Latin Motet: Indexes to Printed Collections, 1500-1600* (Ottawa, [1993]); *The Italian Madrigal and Related Repertories: Indexes to Printed Collections, 1500-1600* (New Haven, 1999). See also https://polyphonydatabase.com.

[26] Baxendale and Knights (2020), iii, p.180.

[27] Francis Knights, 'Italian madrigals in the Paston collection, c.1575-1620', *National Early Music Association Newsletter*, iv/1 (Spring 2020), pp.24-44.

[28] Francis Knights, 'The Cobham Hall Spinet Book', *Early Keyboard Journal* xxxi/xxxii (2014-15), pp.18-37.

[29] Francis Knights, Pablo Padilla and Mateo Rodríguez, '*O Splendor gloriae*: Taverner or Tye?', *Early Music* xlix/4 (November 2021). For a different example from the 17th century, see Francis Knights, Pablo Padilla and Dan Tidhar, 'Chambonnières versus Louis Couperin: attributing the F major Chaconne', *Harpsichord and Fortepiano* xxii/1 (November 2017), pp.28-32.

[30] Thurston Dart (ed), *John Bull, Keyboard Music: II*, Musica Britannica XIX (London, 1970), p.228. There are also instances of a copyist not intervening when that might have been expected: when J. S. and C. P. E. Bach produced a score of an anonymous St Luke Passion for use in Leipzig in 1731, both somehow resisted the temptation to correct some atrocious voice-leading in the chorales.

[31] Steele and Cameron (1967), p.159.

[32] Credited completions, such as those for Bach's Art of Fugue or Mozart Requiem, are not discussed here, but they can of course be analyzed to see in what ways they are close to the composer's original material; see for example Ivan Paz, Francis Knights, Pablo Padilla and Dan Tidhar, 'An Information-Theoretical Method for Comparing Completions of Contrapunctus XIV from Bach's Art of Fugue' (forthcoming). One stage further are 'reconstructions' of completely lost works, such as Bach's St Mark Passion (a dozen versions exist). Arrangements and orchestrations are also possible areas of interest, where attributions are missing or in doubt.

[33] For recent surveys, see John T. Winemiller, 'Recontextualizing Handel's Borrowing', *The Journal of Musicology* xv/4 (Autumn 1997), pp.444-470 and the articles in the themed issue of the *Handel-Jahrbuch* lxiv (2018).

[34] Three movements elsewhere attributed to Böhm also inexplicably appear in the final suite of Mattheson's 1714 keyboard collection.

[35] Given the well-attested transmission of Italian music into Bach's milieu (Albinoni, Bononcini, Vivaldi) and his interest in it, the assumption that the 'Marcello' is the original, incorporated without credit, needs close examination; the fugue is very Bach-like, but resembles nothing in Marcello's keyboard music. See David Schulenberg, *The Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach* (New York, 2/2006), pp.108-111. It is also possible that the Marcello fugue was inserted without credit into the Toccata by the composer at the request of a third party, possibly as a favourite piece.

[36] If any part of a polyphonic composition is different in style or quality, further investigation may be required. The technique is the same as that used to examine modern editorial reconstructions; see Francis Knights, Pablo Padilla and Mateo Tonatiuh Rodríguez, 'Reconstructing Renaissance Polyphony: comparing original and replacement', *National Early Music Association Newsletter* iv/2 (Autumn 2020), pp.43-51.

[37] The poor quality of some bass figuring in 17th and 18th century printed editions suggests that some were supplied by publishers' hacks rather than their composers.

[38] Crotch (1812).

[39] See Francis Knights, 'Virginalist ornamentation and interpretation', *Early Keyboard Journal* xxxiii (2016), pp.7-46.

[40] Francis Knights, 'Cadence patterns in Bach recitative: a guide for continuo players', *Sounding Board* xiv (2020), pp.24-33.

[41] See for example, Francis Knights, 'Bach's Inventions & Sinfonias and keyboard pedagogy', *Sounding Board* xiii (2019), pp.24-30.

[42] Burrows and Love (1999), pp.156-157.

[43] Francis Knights, 'Magdalen College MS 347: An Index and Commentary', *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies* xiv (1990), pp.4-9.

[44] Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell 1659-1695* (London, 1967).

[45] The issue of scale (in effect, data quantity) is an interesting one. For 17th-century English poetry, Burrows and Love (1999), p.155, identify 500 words as a workable minimum.

[46] For the history of notation, see Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600* (Cambridge, MA, 2/1944) and Richard Rastall, *The Notation of Western Music: An Introduction* (London, 1983).

[47] For a discussion, see Siegbert Rampe (ed), *Sweelinck, Complete Organ and Keyboard Works*, II.1 (Kassel, 2005), p.xxvi.

[48] Steele and Cameron (1967), p.159; Walker Cunningham, *The Keyboard Music of John Bull* (Ann Arbor, 1981).

[49] A further 'Bull' example, his keyboard Fantasia No.15 (Dart (1970), p.51), is far more likely to be by Tallis than Bull on grounds of style, but the sole source, Christ Church MS 1113 (c.1640s), states 'Dr Bull'.

[50] Ernst Hintermaier, 'The Missa Salisburgensis', *The Musical Times* cxvi (1975), pp.965–966.

[51] For a discussion of stylistic issues, see Jan LaRue, *Guidelines for Style Analysis* (Warren, MI, 2/1992), and for computational implementations, Padilla and Knights (forthcoming) and Esperanza Rodríguez-García and Cory McKay, 'Composer Attribution of Renaissance Motets: A Case Study Using Statistical Features and Machine Learning' (forthcoming).

[52] Wolfgang Helbich and the Alsfelder Vokalensemble, on CPO.

[53] The same is true in art history attributions, where a small number of experts seem to have acquired the authority to determine ('authenticate') the style of the painter in whom their expertise lies, potentially adding or removing vast sums of money to the work's value. A number of works famously remain under debate, such as the *Ragusa Pietà* tempera painting, based on a drawing by Michelangelo and possibly by him.

[54] 25 by J. M. Bach, 3 by J. C. Bach, 4 by Zachow, one by Pachelbel, one by Erich.

[55] For further discussion of the Neumeister source attribution issues, see Francis Knights, Pablo Padilla and Mateo Rodriguez, 'Chronology, Style and Attribution in the Early Keyboard Suites of J. S. Bach' (forthcoming).

[56] The same is true of performing, where (for example) applying a particular ornamentation style can reinforce one composer, genre, period or country. For a discussion of the complex historical relationship of score to performance, see Nicholas Cook, *Beyond the score: music as performance* (New York, 2013).

[57] See Francis Knights, 'To tie or not to tie? Editing early keyboard music', *National Early Music Association Newsletter* v/1 (Spring 2021), pp.15-19.

[58] Keyboard music (for example) can exist in a variety of forms that do not exactly equate to modern notions of the compositional exemplar, including transcription, intabulation, unfixed versions for elaboration in performance or notated improvisation (what Schulenberg (2013), p.118, calls 'the notated trace of partially aural practice').

40 years of NEMA

This year NEMA celebrates 40 years since its creation, with a remit to bring together all concerned with early music ,and to forge links with other early music organisations in the UK and around the world. Over four decades it has produced a large number of publications, which are indexed in the NEMA *Complete Publications Index 1991-2019*.[1] Between them, Simon Hill and David Fletcher have provided a short history of NEMA below.

Some members of Council gathering before a meeting, in about 2010: Mark Windisch, Clifford Bartlett, Richard Bethell, John Briggs, Peter Holman and Jeremy Burbidge

NEMA – the first ten years

Simon R. Hill

The inaugural meeting to set up NEMA, convened in 1981 by John M. Thomson and the organising committee of the 1977 conference, was held at the palatial offices of Oxford University Press at Ely House, Piccadilly. It was, as I recall, well attended, and opinions were expressed both for and against the need for an official organisation. However, when a vote was taken the setting up of NEMA was approved and a Standing Committee was elected to draw up a constitution. A membership fees of £10 was decided, and Jeremy Montagu immediately sprang to his feet flourishing a cheque, 'pour encourager les autres'.

[1] Francis Knights, *National Early Music Association, Complete Publications Index 1991-2019* (2019), downloadable at http://www.earlymusic.info/nema.php.

Meetings of the Committee were held throughout the following year in the sumptuous boardroom at Ely House, accompanied by complimentary wine and sandwiches. A smaller working party was delegated with drawing up a constitution, with Jeremy as one of its leading lights. Meanwhile, the Committee itself was not idle, organising a Critics Forum (in conjunction with Stanley Sadie and *The Musical Times*) aimed at aiding mutual understanding between performers and critics.

The first AGM of NEMA was held in December 1982 under the chairmanship of John Thomson, when the Draft Constitution (based on that of the Early Music Centre and running to 11 pages) was approved. Francesca MacManus, who had been the administrator for the original 1977 conference and had continued as NEMA administrator and treasurer, sadly felt she could no longer continue, and Gavin McGuire was appointed. A Council of 15 was elected with John Thomson as chair and John Kehoe as deputy chair. Robert Donington was invited to be NEMA's first President, and the membership fee was confirmed at £10.

Initial optimism was somewhat tempered by the departure of John Thomson, returning to his native New Zealand. John had been very much the driving force behind NEMA, which then fell somewhat into the doldrums. Before his departure, a *NEMA Gazette* had been published, but that was all the communication that members received, and it was not surprising that by 1984 there had been a drop in membership. In addition, a couple of events that had lost money put NEMA's financial situation on jeopardy, only saved by a substantial personal donation.

The one promising enterprise was the setting up of an Education Sub-Committee, tasked with looking into the provision for early music in all educational contexts, and an interim report was presented to the 1984 AGM. By the following AGM it became evident that this was the only area where NEMA could be seen to be active, and that, effectively, the tail was wagging the dog. It was not surprising therefore that, given that a number of Council positions were due for election, these were filled members of the Education Sub-committee!

1985 was something of a turning point for NEMA's profile. The Education Report was published, 500 copies being circulated to all those closely concerned with music education. (The Senior HMI for Music at the Department for Education expressed a desire that all his inspectors should have copies!). We also organised a one-day conference on the Baroque guitar (papers from which were published) and began the process of collecting entries for a revival of the Register of Early Music. A publications sub-committee helped us keep in touch with our members through two Journals and four quarterly Broadsheets.

In 1987 we welcomed Sir David Lumsden as our new Chairman and NEMA published the first edition of the revived Register of Early Music, containing 400 makers, performers and teachers plus a small directory of resources. In the same year, Annette Heilbron took over as Information Officer, a post she held until 1995. She combined those duties with those of Acting Administrator, an essential task which she performed with exemplary skill, and which NEMA was eventually able to reward when finances finally became available to pay our Administrator. Sadly, Annette had to resign this post in 1997, owing to ill-health.

The following year saw a major three-day conference on Early Keyboards, masterminded by Lewis Jones. Held at the Guildhall School of Music, it brought together instrument makers and their instruments, keyboard players and researchers from a number of countries. 30 speakers presented papers on topics covering the 15th to the 19th centuries, and a total of 96 people attended on one or more days.

The second edition of the *Register*, published in December of 1988, was expanded by a 30-page Buyers' Guide to instrument makers, compiled by Carl Willetts (who had been the mastermind behind the organologically-based coding system of the revived Register) and word-processed by our indefatigable Secretary, Madeleine Inglehearn. During this time, a great financial burden was removed from our shoulders, as Bruno Turner had offered to put all our mail through his company, Turner Wall Coverings. However, increasing membership eventually meant that we were able to cover our postage ourselves.

In 1989, Stanley Sadie took over as Chairman, and our membership increased to over 250, including 44 corporate members. At that year's Early Music Exhibition, NEMA sponsored a recital by the distinguished Czech harpsichordist, Zuzana Růžičová. Meanwhile, the Register had expanded to nearly 900 entries.

1990 saw some notable changes in NEMA's make-up. Our first President, Robert Donington (1907-1990) sadly died, and John M. Thomson (1926-1999) was chosen as his successor, while Stanley Sadie resigned as Chairman on his election to the Presidency of the RMA. His place was taken by Christopher Page, under whose aegis the Journal was transformed into a new publication, *Leading Notes*, edited by Tess Knighton.

In August 1991 a highly successful 3-day conference on Music and Dance was organised by Madeleine Inglehearn, bringing delegates from all over the world – the papers were subsequently published as *The Marriage of Music and Dance*. NEMA's membership was now up to almost 350. At the end of the following year a revamped version of the Register of Early Music was published as *The Early Music Yearbook 1993*.

Simon R Hill was NEMA Deputy Chairman 1984-1990 and Secretary 1991-1996

Three decades with NEMA

David Fletcher

Some time in 1987 I discovered that there were such things as regional early music forums and that, although there was one for most regions of the country, my home town of Wokingham was in a gap in the coverage. I had been playing the recorder for many years and had recently taken up the curtal and the cornett so was very interested meeting other such players. I joined the four surrounding forums: Southern, Border Marches, Midland and Eastern to find out how they functioned. By 1988 I decided it was time to start a forum for my area, so I got in touch with NEMA. I received an encouraging reply from Simon Hill, who was then running the Register of Early Music, which published lists of musicians and their activities. He generated a list of people in the relevant geographical area and we sent out a mailshot which resulted in enough responses to encourage us to form the Thames Valley Early Music Forum and to organise our first event. Amongst the respondents were the late Jeremy Montagu, well known as a percussionist with David Munrow's Early Music Consort of London, and Victoria Helby who was a tremendous help and is to this day Secretary of TVEMF.

Jeremy was then curator of the Bate Collection of Early Instruments in the Faculty of Music at Oxford and was able to get us free use of the hall for an event on 16 October 1988. There were just 24 attendees and somewhat poorly printed sheet music by Giovanni Gabrieli and Michael Praetorius but the response was encouraging. We elected a committee under the chairmanship of

Chris Thorn, who edited our *Tamesis* magazine for several years, and started attracting more members. Thanks to those mentioned above and to subsequent committee members, TVEMF has thrived and now has well over 300 members.

My recollection of dates is somewhat hazy but in the early 1990s I was invited to join the NEMA Council, which was planning to upgrade the Register of Early Music to be the *Early Music Yearbook*. As a computer programmer I was able to help with formatting the names and addresses of instrument makers, professional and amateur musicians from the database to produce the printed volume. The first edition of the *Yearbook* appeared in 1993, the editor in 1994-1997 being Martin Renshaw, with David Miller taking over around 2002.

The scope of the Yearbook increased over time and from 2005 until 2012 Keith Bennett edited the section containing an excellent series of articles, still available on the NEMA website. The record and CD section was curated by the Peter Berg of Lindum Records, who had a wide knowledge of the subject. Printing was handling very efficiently and economically by Jeremy Burbidge of Ruxbury Publications, who also produce the *Recorder Music Magazine*. More recently, the advent of the Internet rendered a printed book somewhat redundant and the database became an online affair in 2013. I took over the website from Ted Copper around this time and have looked after it since then.

Christopher Hogwood remembered

Peter Holman

When Christopher Hogwood, my predecessor as President of NEMA, died unexpectedly from a brain tumour on 24 September 2014 at the age of 73, the obituaries in the press focused, not surprisingly, on his career as a performer, notably as director of the Academy of Ancient Music and as a solo keyboard player.[1] The AAM must still be one of the most recorded of all period-instrument ensembles, with recordings for the Decca L'Oiseau-Lyre label ranging from Purcell's collected theatre music to Beethoven's symphonies and piano concertos, while Christopher's notable solo recordings for L'Oiseau-Lyre include a complete recording of Byrd's *My Lady Nevell's Book* (1976) and a two-disc anthology of music from the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (1981), as well as a never-completed series of clavichord recordings for Metronome with the titles *Secret Bach* (2004), *Secret Handel* (2005) and *Secret Mozart* (2006). Christopher's achievements as a performer are justly celebrated. He was the first person in Britain to develop a successful Baroque ensemble playing on period instruments, and the first British harpsichordist to follow the example of Gustav Leonhardt (one of his teachers) in making a serious attempt to match early keyboard music to historically appropriate instruments. However, in this article I want to combine a few personal reminiscences with an appreciation of Christopher's less celebrated achievements, as a writer, a producer of scholarly editions and as an *animateur* of ground-breaking musicological projects.

I first became aware of Christopher as a member of the Early Music Consort, which he founded in 1965 with David Munrow. I went with Clifford Bartlett to their debut concert at the Wigmore Hall in London on Sunday 17 March 1968 – a memorable day because it coincided with the great Vietnam War demonstration in front of the American Embassy in Grosvenor Square, taking place nearby. The Wigmore concert was in the afternoon, and we got caught up in the crowds of protestors while on our way to another concert that evening at the Victoria and Albert Museum. My impression of the Consort that day was that, despite the brilliance of Munrow's playing and James Bowman's fine singing, the 'one of each' format of the original core group – voice (Bowman), wind instruments (Munrow), plucked instruments (James Tyler), Mediaeval fiddle (Mary Remnant), bass viol (Oliver Brookes) and keyboard/harp (Hogwood) – was basically unsatisfactory. The group could produce a very varied range of ear-tickling sounds, but of necessity much of the music it performed had to be in compromise arrangements. This is not to criticise Munrow's later recordings, which were mostly done with much larger groups and were ground-breaking at the time.

Thus it came as no surprise to me when, in 1973, Christopher founded a second ensemble, the Academy of Ancient Music, to pursue his interests in post-Renaissance music. By then he was also rapidly making a name for himself as a broadcaster, introducing *The Young Idea* on Radio 3 with a winning mixture of erudition and informality that I much envied and tried, rather ineffectually, to imitate. I think I must have first met him in the early 1970s through two New Zealand friends, the viol player Robert Oliver and the musicologist Adrienne Simpson. Adrienne presumably met Christopher because they both had British Council scholarships to study in

Prague, in Christopher's case with the Czech harpsichordist Zuzana Růžičová in 1964-65; there is an affectionate vignette of him in Růžičová's posthumously published memoirs.[2]

As many people will remember, Christopher was a generous host in his beautiful Victorian house – actually a pair of houses knocked together – at 10 Brookside, not far from the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. I visited him there many times over the years, and in the last few years of his life I used to go regularly for lunch, to enjoy excellent food, wine and conversation, and to marvel at his collection of music, books, paintings and prints. A highlight of a visit to Brookside was the opportunity to play some of Christopher's extraordinary collection of keyboard instruments. Its catalogue, as sold by Gardiner Houlgate of Bath on 12 March 2015,[3] lists 26 instruments, including no fewer than eleven clavichords: three by Arnold Dolmetsch (1909, 1922 and 1929) and seven by 18th- and early 19th-century German and Scandinavian makers, including the Johann Adolf Hass of 1761 (pictured), with its beautiful chinoiserie decoration. Christopher used this superb instrument on a number of his clavichord recordings.[4]

Other notable instruments in the collection included a mid-18th-century north German bureau organ that had belonged to the organist Helmut Walcha and then to Paul Hindemith; a Viennese grand piano by Joseph Johann Brodmann (*c.*1815); and a single-manual harpsichord by Jacob Kirkman (1766), which Christopher used for many of his recordings of Handel and his contemporaries.[5] He played it in 1974 for his first two L'Oiseau-Lyre recordings, of two collections by Thomas Arne, the *VIII Sonatas or Lessons for the Harpsichord* (1756) and *Eight Overtures in 8 Parts* (1751); the latter was the AAM's debut, which he directed from the keyboard. Christopher also owned another eighteenth-century English harpsichord, a more sophisticated instrument with a machine stop and a lid swell, made by Thomas Culliford in 1782 for Longman

and Broderip. It was kept at A=430 Hz and Christopher used it as the continuo instrument for many of the AAM recordings of Haydn and Mozart, including seven volumes of its complete Mozart symphonies.[6]

The sale of Christopher's instruments raised more than £430,000, the proceeds contributing to a magnificent bequest to five charities, the AAM, the Royal College of Music, the Royal Academy of Music, and Pembroke College and Jesus College in Cambridge, the last four to support postgraduate scholarships. His library was divided up: his collection of books on food (a particular enthusiasm) and other non-music books were sold by Quaritch's,[7] while his music library mostly went to Cambridge University Library; a handlist is online.[8] However, some of his music manuscripts were purchased by the British Library and are presently being catalogued. They include a Restoration keyboard book, which he published in a complete edition,[9] and an important pair of partbooks compiled in London soon after 1700 by the bassoonist and prolific music copyist Charles Babel, the father of the composer William Babell.[10] They contain a mixture of French, German and English music, including a few Purcell pieces, and deserve a full-length study.

Rereading Christopher's writings, notably his books on the trio sonata and Handel,[11] I have been constantly struck by his winning combination of an elegant writing style, learning worn lightly and an infectious enthusiasm for the music. His articles, notably those for *Early Music*, tend to be polemics, constantly questioning received opinion, as in his classic article defending and extolling the humble minuet.[12] A theme running through a number of his articles, expressed in subjects as diverse as the 17th-century keyboard settings of John Dowland and the English chamber arrangements of Haydn's symphonies,[13] was Christopher's desire to question the 20th-century assumption that arrangements should be beneath the notice of the serious performer, who ought to be concerned solely with the original versions of composers' works. In the Haydn article he argued that Johann Peter Salomon's delightful quintet versions of the London symphonies, for flute, string quartet and piano, are worthy of revival in their own right, and also contain readings and markings apparently deriving from the composer but not in the orchestral versions. Bärenreiter published Christopher's editions of four of them;[14] his edition of Salomon's arrangement of Symphony No.73 'La Chasse' was subsequently published by Edition HH.[15]

A related concern of Christopher as an editor was to question the concept of the *Urtext* and the *Fassung letzter Hand* ('last manuscript version'), which embodies the assumption that composers were always working towards single, definitive versions of their works. In a 2013 *Early Music* article he argued that the multiple versions of Mendelssohn's overtures and symphonies,[16] which he had been editing for Bärenreiter, are best expressed in what he styled 'a "process" edition, where the various stages of the composer's adaptations are made clear and given a chance of performance'.[17]

Christopher was well aware that the concept of the *Fassung letzter Hand* was even less appropriate for earlier composers, such as Henry Purcell. He devoted much of his energy to Purcell's music throughout his career as a scholar-performer. As already mentioned, his *Purcell: Theatre Music*, (1976-85; originally eight L'Oiseau-Lyre LP boxes, reissued as a six-CD set), covering everything except *Dido and Aeneas* and the dramatic operas, was an early landmark of historically informed

recording. He later made memorable L'Oiseau-Lyre recordings of *Dido* (1994) and *The Indian Queen* (1995), as well as the two sets of trio sonatas (1982, 1983). He edited *Ten Sonata's in Four Parts* and the ode 'Hail, bright Cecilia' for Eulenberg,[18] as well as two of the sets of theatre airs for Faber.[19] However, much of Christopher's energy in the last few years of his life was devoted to a projected new edition of the keyboard music for the Purcell Society, to replace the original one edited by William Barclay Squire and E. J. Hopkins in 1895.[20] Sadly, he died before he was able to finish his work on the edition, and it will be completed by Andrew Woolley and David Smith.

However, Christopher did set out his approach to Purcell's keyboard music in an article, published in a volume of essays he edited to mark Gustav Leonhardt's 75th birthday.[21] He planned a deliberately inclusive approach (promising about 100 more pieces than in the 1895 edition), taking in new discoveries, notably the autograph manuscript discovered in 1993, now British Library, MS Mus.1;[22] all the reasonably competent keyboard settings of the ensemble music, whether or not they appear to have been arranged by the composer; and those original keyboard pieces once thought to be by Purcell but now considered doubtful – such as the famous Toccata in A major ZD229, attributed at various times equally doubtfully to Michelangelo Rossi, Adam Reincken, J. S. Bach and Wilhelm Hieronymus Pachelbel.[23]

In the last few years of his life Christopher was much occupied with getting off the ground complete editions of two 18th-century composers he particularly admired: Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and Francesco Geminiani. The C. P. E. Bach edition came about, he once told me, because he found himself sitting at a post-concert dinner next to David Packard of the computer company Hewlett-Packard. They discovered a mutual love of the composer, which led to the inception of an edition of his complete works sponsored by the Packard Humanities Institute, with Christopher as the first chair of the Editorial Board. It is now far advanced,[24] with the sponsorship used to make the beautifully produced hardback volumes available at giveaway prices (between $20 and $35, with the performing material free to performing groups) – a model of enlightened private patronage of the arts.

Christopher was seemingly content just to be the prime mover of the C. P. E. Bach edition, leaving the day-to-day direction of the project to the editorial board. However, he was the hands-on General Editor as well as the founder of the Geminiani Opera Omnia, published by Ut Orpheus of Bologna.[25] Christopher edited three of the volumes himself and was also the editor of an invaluable volume of essays devoted to the composer.[26] After his death the role of General Editor was taken over by the Dutch musicologist Rudolf Rasch, who has energetically pushed the project forward, so that 14 of the projected 17 volumes are now in print.

I have said enough, I think, to give the reader a sense of Christopher's contribution to the revival and study of music from the 16th century onwards. It is unfortunate that a Festschrift in his honour, produced shortly before his death, is largely confined to papers on 18th-century keyboard instruments and their music.[27] Christopher's interests, exemplified by the many editions he produced in the last few years of his life, were much broader than that, and by then he had the clout to get even unknown music by little-known composers published in high-profile, finely produced editions, many of them by Bärenreiter.[28] They range over four centuries, from early

16th-century keyboard music to two of Bohuslav Martinů's concerto grosso-like orchestral works,[29] a product of Christopher's enthusiasm for 20th-century Neoclassical music. Not surprisingly, he had help over the years from a number of collaborators and assistants, notably Ryan Mark, and he left a number of editions to be completed by others after his death.

Prominent among this torrent of publications is a ground-breaking new edition of Corelli's Op.5 sonatas (Kassel, 2013), which includes a selection of the embellishments written by later 18th-century musicians and the written-out keyboard continuo realisation by Antonio Tonelli (1686-1765). Oher notable editions include three volumes of keyboard music by Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch (Launton, 2011, 2013); twelve overtures and symphonies by Mendelssohn (Kassel, 2003-9); seven chamber works by Brahms (Kassel, 2011-14); and a four-volume edition of the keyboard sonatas of Leopold Koželuch (Kassel, 2010-15). This last, also the subject of a late article, was a project particularly dear to Christopher's heart.[30] Koželuch clearly exemplified for him the virtues of clarity, decorum and beautiful craftsmanship he valued and expressed in his own work. That this neglected contemporary of Mozart was born near Prague must have been an added attraction, bringing Christopher full circle to his formative experiences in the city.

Colin Lawson reminded us that Christopher used to sign off emails and letters 'sempre Chris', adding: 'we will *always* remember you – with affection, admiration and delight'.[31] The famous epitaph for Christopher Wren at St Paul's also springs to mind as appropriate for a formidably productive life much concerned with the culture of Wren's time: 'LECTOR SI MONUMENTUM REQUIRIS CIRCUMSPICE' – 'Reader, if you seek his monument, look around you'.

Peter Holman MBE, President of NEMA and Emeritus Professor of Music at the University of Leeds, is best known for his work on 17th-century English music and for his recordings with his ensemble The Parley of Instruments. His books include studies of Dowland, Purcell, the viola da gamba in Britain and, most recently, Before the Baton: Musical Direction and Conducting in Stuart and Georgian Britain.

Notes

1 The most useful set of obituaries and reminiscences, by Colin Lawson, Catherine Bott, Simon Standage, Maya Homburger and Barry Guy, and Barbara Wolf, were collected in 'Reminiscences of Christopher Hogwood', *Early Music* xliv (May 2016), pp.3-10. See also E. Roche, '"Coming events cast their shadows before": Christopher in Cambridge, 1960-67', *Early Music* xliv (May 2016), pp.11-20. In this article the symbol <@> means that a copy of the item concerned was freely available on the internet at the time of writing.

2 Zuzana Růžičová, ed Wendy Holden, *One Hundred Miracles: A Memoir of Music and Survival* (London, 2019), p.187.

3 [Gardiner Houlgate], *The Christopher Hogwood Collection of Keyboard Instruments* (12 March 2015).

4 A list is in [Gardiner Houlgate] (2015), p.55.

5 A list is in [Gardiner Houlgate] (2015), p.27.

6 A list is in [Gardiner Houlgate] (2015), p.25.

[7] Bernard Quaritch Ltd, *From the Library of Christopher Hogwood: Books and Manuscripts on Food and Drink* (London, 2016) <@>; *Alphabet Books, the Book Beautiful, Cambridge, Dodgson, from the Library of Christopher Hogwood* (London, 2016) <@>; *A Miscellany of Books from the Library of Christopher Hogwood* (London, 2018) <@>.

[8] Cambridge University Library, *Hogwood Archive and Collections* <@>.

[9] Christopher Hogwood (ed), '*Fitt for the Manicorde': A Seventeenth-Century English Collection of Keyboard Music* (Bicester, 2003).

[10] For the partbooks, see Andrew Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, *c.*1660-1720', PhD hesis (University of Leeds, 2008), especially pp.200-2, 205-10 <@>; Matthew Hall, 'Charles Dieupart's *Six Suites* (1701-2) and the *en concert* Performance Tradition', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal* iv (2010), pp.6-35 at 29-32 <@>; David Lasocki, 'Charles Babel's Manuscripts for the Recorder: Light on Repertoire and the Art of Preluding (*c.*1700)', *Early Music Performer* xxxviii (April 2016), pp.4-21, especially 8-9, 11-18 <@>.

[11] Christopher Hogwood, *The Trio Sonata*, BBC Music Guides (London, 1979); *Handel* (London, 1984); *Handel: Water Music and Music for the Royal Fireworks*, Cambridge Music Handbooks (Cambridge, 2005).

[12] Christopher Hogwood, 'In Defence of the Minuet and Trio', *Early Music* xxx (May 2002), pp.236-251.

[13] Christopher Hogwood, 'John Dowland on the Keyboard', *Early Music* xli (May 2013), pp.255-272; 'In Praise of Arrangements: The "Symphony Quintetto"', in Otto Biba and David Wyn Jones (eds), *Studies in Music History Presented to H.C. Robbins Landon on his Seventieth Birthday* (London, 1996), pp.82-104.

[14] Joseph Haydn arr. J. P. Salomon, ed Christopher Hogwood, *Symphony Quintetto after Symphony no. 94 'Surprise'* (Kassel, 1997); *Symphony Quintetto after Symphony no. 104 'London'* (Kassel, 1998); *Symphony Quintetto after Symphony no. 101 'The Clock'* (Kassel, 1999); *Symphony Quintetto after Symphony no. 97* (Kassel, 2003).

[15] Joseph Haydn arr. J. P. Salomon, ed Christopher Hogwood, *Symphony no. 73 in D major 'La Chasse'* (Launton, 2012).

[16] Christopher Hogwood, 'Urtext, que me veux-tu?', *Early Music* xli (February 2013), pp.123-127.

[17] Hogwood (2013), p.123.

[18] Henry Purcell, ed Christopher Hogwood, *Ten Sonatas in Four Parts*, 2 vols. (London, 1977); *Ode for St Cecilia's Day 1692* (London, 2009).

[19] Henry Purcell, ed Christopher Hogwood, *Abdelazer, or The Moor's Revenge: Incidental Music for Strings* (London, 1985); *The Double Dealer: Incidental Music for Strings* (London, 1985).

[20] W. Barclay Squire and E.J. Hopkins (eds), *Henry Purcell, Harpsichord and Organ Music*, The Works of Henry Purcell, vi (London, 1895) <@>.

[21] Christopher Hogwood, 'Creating the Corpus: the "Complete Keyboard Music" of Henry Purcell', *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe*, ed. Hogwood (2003), pp.67-89.

[22] See especially Christopher Hogwood, 'A New English Keyboard Manuscript of the Seventeenth Century: Autograph Music by Draghi and Purcell', *The British Library Journal* xxi/2 (Autumn 1995), pp.161-75 <@>.

[23] See Hogwood (2003), pp.84-85. A recent attempt to solve the mystery of the authorship of this fine piece is Jon Baxendale, 'An Anonymous Toccata: Figure This', *The Musical Times* cxli (Autumn 2000), pp.40-51, where Buxtehude (or someone imitating him) is suggested as the composer.

[24] See https://cpebach.org <@>.

[25] See the Ut Orpheus website, *Francesco Geminiani: Opera Omnia, Critical Edition,* https://www.utorpheus.com/index.php?route=geminiani/home <@>.

[26] Christopher Hogwood (ed), *Geminiani Studies* (Bologna, 2013).

[27] Thomas Donahue (ed), *Essays in Honor of Christopher Hogwood: The Maestro's Direction* (Lanham, MD, 2011).

[28] A list can be assembled conveniently by searching *Explore the British Library* http://explore.bl.uk for 'Christopher Hogwood', then limiting the search to 'scores' and sorting by 'date-newest' <@>.

[29] Christopher Hogwood (ed), *Balli per cembalo: 90 Keyboard Pieces from Early Italian Manuscripts* (Launton, 2007); Bohuslav Martinů, ed Christopher Hogwood, Pavel Žůrek and Marek Pechač, *String Quartet with Orchestra H207, Sinfonia concertante no. 2 H322* (Kassel, 2018).

[30] Christopher Hogwood, 'The Keyboard Sonatas of Leopold Koželuch', *Early Music* xl (November 2012), pp.621-637.

[31] 'Reminiscences of Christopher Hogwood', *Early Music* xliv (May 2016), p.5.

REPORTS

In search of the lost voice: the reconstruction of incomplete polyphonic masterpieces

Research into the reconstruction of incomplete polyphonic masterpieces now attracts many scholars and performers with the aim of expanding our knowledge of authors and repertoires hitherto neglected; for example, at the event 'In Search of the Lost Voice', a five-day Spring School hosted by the University of Padua in cooperation with the Conservatory of Vicenza (26-30 April 2021), papers, lectures and workshops were given by both musicologists and musicians internationally recognised as specialists in stylistic features and performance practice of the repertoire transmitted by manuscripts and prints from the 15th century to the first half of the 17th century.

Marina Toffetti, senior lecturer at the University of Padua, was the person in charge who conceived the project, supported by an organising committee made up of postgraduate students from the Department of Cultural Heritage of Padua (Gabriele Taschetti and Chiara Comparin) and tutors from the University of Huddersfield (Marcello Mazzetti and Livio Ticli), and Richard Freedman from the Haverford College (PA, USA) .

More than thirty students from several parts of Europe and South America were formally enrolled and had the opportunity to participate in all the scheduled activities. In addition, more than a hundred listeners connected via Zoom or YouTube to attend the conference. In the final roundtable, entitled 'The Presentation of the Results of the Reconstruction of Missing Parts in Performance, Recording, and Critical Edition', Niels Berentsen, Philippe Canguilhem, Richard Freedman, Marcello Mazzetti, Jessie Ann Owens, Livio Ticli and Marina Toffetti illustrated a wide spectrum of international projects and discussed different approaches and techniques for recovering works from the past.

One of the most remarkable activities was the seven-hour lab focused on the restoration of 'Incomplete Music by Giovanni Battista Riccio', an Italian composer, organist and violinist active in Venice during the same years in which Monteverdi worked at St Mark's Basilica. During this practice-based activity, participants could experience first-hand reconstructing pieces from *Il secondo libro delle divine lodi … con alcune canzoni da sonare* by G. B. Riccio (Venice, 1614), which lacks one partbook (arguably the Cantus one). The presence of an astonishing ensemble-in-residence (*Quoniam Ensemble*, led by Paolo Tognon, pictured below) allowed students to have a real-time sound-rendering of their reconstruction works – some of them are still enjoyable online.[1]

The conference programme alternated papers addressing methodological issues with case studies. Marina Toffetti and Gabriele Taschetti, through a series of three interesting lectures, offered a survey of the incomplete collections of polyphony printed in Italy in the first thirty years of the 17th century: this showed that more than a third of the extant total has gaps in one or more parts, making the reconstruction of the contrapuntal texture of primary importance in order to play these masterpieces again. At the same time, the methodology that the two scholars from the University of Padua have developed consists of a mixture between the theory of restoration in figurative arts, contrapuntal and stylistic analysis on a composer (*usus scribendi*) and elements of textual bibliography applied to music prints. Chiara Comparin's case study focussed on the restoration of the lyrics in Antonio Gualtieri's opus, discussing different examples from her PhD dissertation, which aimed to reassess the role of this neglected composer, active in both Venice and Terraferma dominions (1574-1661). Niels Berentsen (Genève, Haute École de Musique) brought the attention of the participants back to the 15th century, exposing the project called *Lacunae Ciconiae,* which aims to reconstruct contrapuntal textures from the

[1] https://youtu.be/GrE5E6TWgd4.

early *Quattrocento*. The two most awaited papers were those by Richard Freedman and Jesse Ann Owens (University of California, Davis). Freedman is one of the best known faces in the panorama of digital humanities projects applied to music: thanks to his presentation, participants had the possibility to know more about *The Lost Voice Project,* which is a digital platform for stylistic analysis and reconstruction of incomplete polyphony by the French composer Nicholas Du Chemin (1549–1568).[2] In her paper, Jesse Ann Owens – world-renowned as a specialist in the compositional process of Renaissance polyphony –highlighted the key-role played by the composer's skills and all the practices preceding *res facta* by using sketches and other documentary evidence, which contributed to a lively discussion on the relationship between improvisation, writing and orality.

A second round of case studies were presented by Cristina Cassia, who investigated the incomplete printed music collection in the first Cinquecento, gravitating to Pietro Bembo; and Gabriele Taschetti, who focussed on Tomaso Cecchini's incomplete motets. Marcello Mazzetti addressed issues of compositional process and performance practice in reconstructing missing part through the analysis of specific collections from Brescia, while Livio Ticli lectured on his restoration of incomplete madrigals by Costanzo Antegnati and Lelio Bertani, and the importance of gathering evidence on performers/composers' music skills in such a reverse-engineering process.

As stated above, research on the reconstruction of incomplete polyphony represents a very fertile field of study. The Spring School fully succeeded in bringing together many institutions and senior scholars devoted to digital humanities projects that constantly welcome young students and researchers interested in training and implementing digital platforms that deal with analyzing the repertoire, and providing cutting-edge tools for restoring Renaissance masterpieces.

Marcello Mazzetti

[2] See http://digitalduchemin.org.

Figured bass accompaniment in Europe

Over twenty years, the Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini (CSOOLB) has promoted two fundamental initiatives for the history of the thoroughbass, its practice and the analysis of the contexts in which it developed and spread: including the volume by Robert Zappulla, *Figured Bass Accompaniment in France* (Brepols, 2000) and the recent international conference *The Figured Bass Accompaniment in Europe*.[3] Thanks also to the synergy with Palma Choralis Research Group & Early Music Ensemble and the Department of Early Music 'Città di Brescia', this four-day conference on 9-12 September 2021 attracted more than sixty scholars, early music teachers and performers from all over the world. The programme included two international acclaimed keynote speakers, who spoke from different perspectives: the keyboard player Thérèse de Goede (Conservatorium van Amsterdam), who presented in-depth research on the *UNfigured bass accompaniment*, focusing on music examples and treatises from the first half of the 17th century to Gasparini, Alessandro Scarlatti, Heinichen and J. S. Bach; and the musicologist Thomas Christensen (University of Chicago, IL), who brilliantly pointed out why a practice that Mattheson once called pedestrian *Hand-Sachen* has gained such prominence in our own day.

The eight sessions followed chronological, thematic and geographical criteria. Bass Accompaniment in France was chaired by Fulvia Morabito (CSOOLB) and hosted three contributions by David Chung (Hong Kong Baptist University), Clotilde Verwaerde (Sorbonne Université/IReMus – Paris) and Marie Demeilliez (Université Grenoble Alpes), focussing on 18th-century sources, treatises and dictionaries, and their importance for inquiring into basso continuo practice and the stylistic influences between Italy and France.

Written-out Accompaniment, chaired by Marcello Mazzetti (University of Huddersfield, Palma Choralis, Early Music Department 'Città di Brescia'), included papers by Hilary Metzger (École Nationale de Musique de Villeurbanne), Christopher Suckling (Guildhall School of Music & Drama, London), Thomas Leininger (Schola Cantorum Basiliensis) and Stephan Lewandowski (Brandenburgische Technische Universität Cottbus-Senftenberg). The first two speakers discussed issues concerning the realisation of the basso continuo on the cello in Handelian recitatives until the age of Rossini. The other two presented research on organ performance practice with reference to German and English theoretical sources.

The contributions of the session chaired by Marcello Mazzetti on Friday morning, explored training, performance skills, improvisation and teaching of *Basso continuo* practices. In the first three papers Edoardo Bellotti (Hochschule für Künste, Bremen), Massimiliano Guido (Università degli Studi di Pavia) and Augusta Campagne (Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst, Wien) made specific considerations of Italian sources, the importance of counterpoint, instrumentation, intabulation and *spartiture*. In the second part of the session, Livio Ticli (University of Huddersfield, Palma Choralis, Early Music Department 'Città di Brescia'), Thomas Allery (Royal College of Music, London) and Justin Ratel (Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique et de Danse de Paris) showed new and different perspectives on Italian ensemble music-making (1550-1620) featuring instrumental improvisation or early *Concertato* practices, the possibilities employing figured-bass treatises in today's education, and a case study on the Paris Conservatoire at the beginning of the 19th century.

The topic of Friday afternoon's session was *Continuo Performance Practice* and was chaired by Livio Ticli. The speakers – Michael Fuerst (Hochschule für Künste, Bremen), Valeria Mannoia (Università degli Studi di Pavia, Cremona), Marcello Mazzetti and Domen Marinčič (Ljubljana) – brought up specific

[3] https://www.luigiboccherini.org/2018/10/18/the-figured-bass-accompaniment-in-europe.

issues on the use of the organ in Hanseatic cities, some German collections of the first decades of the 17th century, crucial methodological aspects to investigate local/neglected repertoires such as the Brescian tradition or *voci pari* polyphony, and the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus* published by Giacomo Vincenti in 1615.

The joint paper by Bella Brover-Lubovsky and Carmel Curiel (Jerusalem Academy of Music and Dance) and Thomas Neal (Oxford) offered an unprecedented overview of the late achievements of instrumental accompaniment in the works of Palestrina with reference to theoretical sources and scores from the 17th and 18th centuries. In the same session, covering the widest time span of the conference entitled *From Palestrina to Mahler*, Giulia Nuti (Scuola di Musica di Fiesole), Martin Ennis (University of Cambridge) and Majid Motavasseli (Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst, Graz) presented papers on Western music mainstays, discussing evolution and tradition in the accompaniment of Vivaldi, Bach, Brahms and Mahler's works.

The session entitled *Stylistic Features and Performance Practice Issues of Accompaniment*, chaired by Roberto Illiano (CSOOLB), offered a colourful palette of case studies related to Italian accompaniment style and its influence in Europe. Naomi Matsumoto (Goldsmiths, University of London), discussed the well-known accompaniment of Claudio Monteverdi's *Lamento di Arianna*, while Marcos Krieger (Susquehanna University, PA), examined the neglected collection of organ *versetti* by G. B. Degli Antonii. Santiago Pereira Buscema (Conservatorio Superior de Música de Badajoz 'Bonifacio Gil'/Universidad de la Rioja), reassessed the role of the Spanish treatise *Reglas generales de acompañar* (1736) by José de Torres, exploring the connection with coeval Italian works that inspired this author. In the second part of the session, Marina Toffetti (Università degli Studi di Padova) addressed methodological issues in reconstructing missing part thanks to extant basso continuo scores and partbooks; Galliano Ciliberti (Conservatorio di Monopoli) offered a ground-breaking analysis of the performance context of San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome, while Gabriele Taschetti (Università degli Studi di Padova) focussed on the Venetian printed collection *Symbolae diversorum musicorum* (1612) and the role of the basso continuo in the *Concertato* style.

On Sunday morning, *Pinnacle and Decline: Partimenti and the Compositional Training* was chaired by Fulvia Morabito. Anthony Abouhamad (Sydney Conservatorium of Music) and Peter van Tour (Örebro University, Sweden) presented some case studies on *partimenti* in 18th-century Salzburg and the Neapolitanean School of Francesco Feo respectively. Eric Boaro (University of Nottingham) and Marco Pollaci (Maynooth University) informed us on recently-discovered sources important to *partimenti* studies: a manuscript from the Fondo Noseda (Milan Conservatoire) and Vincenzo Bellini's *Corso di Contrappunto.*

The last session on Sunday afternoon was entitled *Music Instruments: Accompaniment Notation, Performance and Pedagogy* and was chaired by Livio Ticli. The first three speakers were Matthew Mazanek (Royal Irish Academy of Music), Maria Christina Cleary (Conservatorio 'E. F. Dall'Abaco', Verona, Haute École de Musique, Genève) and John Lutterman (University of Alaska, Anchorage): they outlined specific issues of performance practice on different instruments and sources from the 18th century such as the Spanish guitar, the French *Harpe Organisée* and the German Cello. The last two speakers, Catherine Bahn (Mannes Conservatory of Music) and Giovanna Barbati (Città Sant'Angelo, Pescara) presented a joint paper on Rocco Greco's manuscript for violoncello. This stimulating conference will constitute the basis of a seminal book, to be published by Brepols in 2023, which aims to inspire future studies on sources, pedagogy, practice and the history of basso continuo as a phenomenon that characterized Western music from the 17th century on.

Livio Ticli

News & Events

News

Eszter Fontana is the recipient of the American Musical Instrument Society's Curt Sachs Award for 2021.

Anna Maria McElwain is the first Recipient of Early Music America's Joan Benson Clavichord Award.

Early Music America has given **Elam Rotem** the 2021 Laurette Goldberg Award.

Violinist **Elizabeth Wallfisch** has received the 2021 Georg-Philipp-Telemann-Award.

Joan Kimball and **Robert Wiemken** of Piffaro are the recipients of Early Music America's 2021 Howard Mayer Brown Award.

The *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Historical Performance in Music*, edited by **Colin Lawson** and **Robin Stowell** has been awarded the C. B. Oldman Prize for an outstanding work of music reference.

The American Musical Instrument Society has awarded the 2021 Bessaraboff Prize to **David Lasocki** for *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the Flute*.

Daniel Wheeldon has succeeded Mimi Waitzman as Chair of the Musical Instruments Resource Network UK.

Appointments of Organist have been made at three English cathedrals: **Simon Johnson** (Westminster), **Ed Jones (**Wakefield) and **David Newsholme** (Canterbury).

Facsimiles of **early guitar sources** are available at https://duarteguitarra.music.blog/original-manuscripts.

Back issues of the **Journal of the Lute Society of America** are now available free online https://lutesocietyofamerica.org/publications/journal/.

The **Josquin Research Project** is online at https://josquin.stanford.edu.

The instrument collection at Yale University has been renamed the **Morris Steinert Collection of Musical Instruments** after a recent benefaction.

Obituaries

Viola da gamba player and scholar **Annette Otterstedt** (23 September 1951-6 September 2020) has died at the age of 68.

Harpsichordist **Genoveva Gálvez** (1929-26 February 2021) has died at the age of 92.

Harpsichordist and musicologist **Emilia Fadini** (11 October 1930-16 March 2021) has died at the age of 90.

Handel scholar **Graham Pont** (8 April 1937-4 April 2021) has died at the age of 83.

Organist, conductor and composer **Richard Lloyd** (25 June 1933-24 April 2021) has died at the age of 87.

Organist and harpsichordist **Liuwe Tamminga** (25 September 1953-28 April 2021) has died at the age of 67.

Editor **Brian Hick** (30 April 1945-30 May 2021) has died at the age of 76.

Organ-builder **Fritz Noack** (1935-2 June 2021) has died at the age of 86.

Organist and conductor **Roger Fisher** (1936-3 June 2021) has died at the age of 84.

Violinist **Jeanne Lamon** (14August 1949-30 June 2021) has died at the age of 71.

Record producer **Brian Culverhouse** (22 October 1927-22 August 2021) has died at the age of 93.

SOCIETIES & ORGANIZATIONS

Early Music Fora

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

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

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

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

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

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

Southern Early Music Forum,

https://sites.google.com/site/southernearlymusicforum/home

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

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

Early Music Organizations

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

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

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

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

Boston Clavichord Society, www.bostonclavichord.org

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Finnish Clavichord Society, suomenklavikordiseura.blogspot.com

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

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

Handel Institute, https://handelinstitute.org

Handel Friends, www.handelfriendsuk.com

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

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

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

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

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

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

Het Nederlands Clavichord Genootschap, www.clavichordgenootschap.nl

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

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

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

Schweizerische Clavichordgesellschaft, www.clavichordgesellschaft.ch

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

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

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

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

Japan Clavier Society, www.claviersociety.jp

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

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

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

Musical Instrument Auctions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conferences

The conference **Michael Praetorius: Innovationen – Traditionen – Theatrum Instrumentorum** will take place at the Kloster Michaelstein on 8-10 October 2021. Website https://www.kloster-michaelstein.de/musikakademie-sachsen-anhalt/konferenzen/#collapseBox-20038.

The conference on the **Medieval Rabab** will take place at the Hochschule der Künste Bern on 5-6 November 2021. Website https://www.hkb-interpretation.ch/veranstaltungen/the-medieval-rabab.

The 57th **International Congress on Medieval Studies** will take place at the University of Kalamazoo on 9-14 May 2022. Website https://icms.confex.com/icms/2022am/cfp.cgi.

The conference **Music and the University - History, Models, Prospect** will take place at City University, London, on 7-9 July 2022. Website http://www.musicandtheuniversity.wordpress.com.

CORRESPONDENCE

A Response to Richard Bethell's presentation of 'The Historic Record of Vocal Sound'

Tim Braithwaite

In the Spring 2021 publication of this newsletter appears a rather substantial article entitled 'The Historic Record of Vocal Sound (1650-1829)'.[1] The article in question was penned by independent musicologist and secretary of the National Early Music Association UK, Richard Bethell, in response to a somewhat mixed review by Edward Breen of Mr Bethell's recently published book on the same subject.[2] While Mr Bethell and I have discussed the contents of his book at great length outside of print, the publication of the aforementioned article served as an opportunity for an explicit and public challenge to be issued for me to defend my perspectives on the subject.

The position which Mr Bethell has called on me to defend is one I expressed in an online discussion, in which I am quoted as saying the following: 'Simply put, an argument for a completely "straight tone" in historical singing is untenable; the question remains as to what sort of pitch fluctuations were prevalent and when'.[3] While this seems to be a fairly accurate representation of my views, it is worth providing some additional clarification:

- There is no doubt that, throughout the period in question, many historical authors were troubled by contemporaneous approaches to vocal tremulousness, some of which are analogous to modern notions of 'vibrato'.[4]
- By extension, it is evident that these supposedly inappropriate approaches to vibrato were a noticeable part of practice.[5]
- Furthermore, many authors considered vocal fluctuations comparable to vibrato to be intrinsic to good performance, when used in a way considered to be appropriate.[6]
- Therefore, a fruitful discussion on the subject should address what sort of vocal fluctuations documented in historical sources can be considered analogous to modern vibrato, as well as when, and by whom they were thought to be appropriate.[7]

A few lines later, the challenge itself is issued by Mr Bethell: 'it still remains for Tim to prove, employing historical evidence, why he believes the case for straight-tone singing is untenable'.[8] The careful reader might have noticed the subtle editing of my statement at this moment by Mr Bethell, who has removed the word 'completely' from his representation of my argument. A reconstruction of this passage reveals a more honest version of the challenge to be as follows: 'it still remains for Tim to prove, employing historical evidence, why he believes the case for [a completely] straight-tone [in historical] singing is untenable'. This task is far more manageable, indeed, Mr Bethell helpfully provides a number of passages which explicitly describe a variety of fluctuations as being part of a singer's technique, perhaps the most famous of which being those by Roger North, Anselm Bayly, Leopold and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.[9] Mr Bethell's article itself even contains several paragraphs under the subtitle 'What pitch fluctuations were used, and when, during the Long 18th century?' It is most unfortunate that Mr Bethell doesn't refer to any of the aforementioned passages in a meaningful way during this section, referring instead to a series of recordings made in 2009, in which a single soprano demonstrates several different approaches to vibrato, an analysis of a solo countertenor recorded in 2019, and an instructional video for performing hand vibrato on a (modern) valve trumpet recorded in 2016.[10]

However, since it seems that Mr Bethell and I are rather more in agreement on this issue than he suggests, with both of us taking the position that vibrato of some sort likely was part of historical vocal practice during the period in question, I wish to use this response as an opportunity to address several examples of the methodological issues demonstrated by Mr Bethell in his research in order to clarify the nature of our disagreement.

A recurring issue with Mr Bethell's approach stems from his tendency to assign a very specific meaning, i.e., the phenomenon of vibrato, to often quite flexible terminology. Descriptions of 'trembling' or 'tremulousness', for example, are uncritically presented as being synonymous with vibrato. This is, however, a distinctly problematic approach, as demonstrated by authors such as Anselm Bayly, who states in 1771 that 'the manner of waving or vibrating on a single tone with the voice' should be done 'discreetly and without any trembling'.[11] Comments of a similar nature are made by Denis Dodart, W. A. Mozart, Roger North and Francesco Lamperti during the period in question, to name but a few.[12]

Indeed, one would be hard-pressed to find a single twenty-first century text which recommends that a singer 'tremble' either, despite the observable presence of vibrato in most modern Classical singing. Just as we might expect if we were to hear of a singer described as 'trembling' today, many of the passages Mr Bethell provides clarify that the author in question is discussing either infirmity, weakness, or unstable tuning. This is not to say that historical descriptions of 'trembling' never refer to an effect we might describe as 'vibrato', but to ignore the distinction made between pleasant and unpleasant forms of tremulousness reduces a complex and diverse landscape of fluctuating sounds to a series of unhelpful generalizations. Mr Bethell cannot continue to simply view the two as unquestionably synonymous, something he states explicitly in his recently published book, claiming that 'the terms "tremulous", "tremolo", "tremulando" and "vibrato" were synonymous until the end of the [nineteenth] century'.[13]

Of these terms, the word *tremolo* is particularly troublesome, having a wide variety of meanings throughout the period in question. An example of this confusion can be seen in Mr Bethell's presentation of Christoph Bernhard's definition of the *fermo*, described as 'the maintenance of a steady voice' ['*Festhalten der Stimme*'.] In describing the nature of this figure, Bernhard criticizes the use of the *tremulo*, in particular by elderly singers who are 'no longer able to hold their voices steady' ['*nicht mehr die Stimme festzuhalten vermögen*'.] Importantly, Bernhard comments that the *tremulo* is better suited to the organ than to singers, a passage removed by means of an abrupt, mid-sentence ellipsis from Mr Bethell's quotation,[14] before the statement that 'the *tremulo* is not used by the most polished singers' (*das Tremulum von den vornehmsten Sängern nicht gebraucht wird*).[15] Although Mr Bethell briefly cautions the reader that Bernhard leaves the term *tremulo* undefined, the time-period outlined by his title, 1650-1829, makes it clear that he understands this passage as discussing vibrato, since it is the only source he provides which could conceivably be dated as early as 1650.

This passage invites a variety of interpretative issues, making it even more remarkable that Mr Bethell simply presents the quotation without further commentary or explanation. The most pressing is, of course, to understand what Bernhard means by the term '*tremulo*' in order to clarify his definition of 'a steady voice'. Although Bernhard neglects to provide any further information, we are fortunate that a number of contemporaneous German-speaking authors such as Michael Praetorius, Johann Herbst, Wolfgang Printz, Georg Falck, and Wolfgang Mylius, provide both clear descriptions and notated examples of the term as an upper or lower neighbour-note trill.[16] Of these authors, Praetorius, Falck, and Herbst compare the ornament explicitly to the *mordent* of organists, while Praetorius and Herbst add, just like Bernhard, that the effect is more appropriate

for organs or instruments than the human voice.[17] It is worth noting that Mr Bethell's removal of the equivalent passage from his citation of Bernhard hinders any potential connection between his and these other contemporaneous definitions of the term.

On the other hand, Bernhard's connection between ageing singers and the *tremulo* hints perhaps at another meaning, the well-documented phenomenon of increased instability in certain ageing voices. If understood in this sense, Bernhard's use of the word *tremulo* could be seen as comparable to Bayly's 'trembling', that is, an excessive and unpleasant pitch fluctuation brought on, in this instance, by infirmity, perhaps even to the extent of being comparable to the trills of up to a whole tone associated with the term by Bernhard's contemporaries. However we choose to understand this passage, presenting Bernhard's criticism of *tremulo* as simply being a blanket disapproval of vibrato is hard to justify.

However, Mr Bethell's citing of this passage raises another issue with his methodology. German sources from the period actually provide a particularly rich collection of source material on the subject of vocal tremulousness, with a substantial number of German-speaking authors such as Quitschreiber, Praetorius, Herbst and Mylius, describing the need for a singer to have a 'trembling voice'.[18] While similar caution must be demonstrated in interpreting the language here, Mr Bethell's omission of these consistent and widespread comments in favour of the single, convoluted passage by Bernhard, lends credence to Dr. Breen's suspicion about Mr Bethell's 'method of mining data to prove a point', and indeed to his concern that the passages presented in his book might have been 'selected merely because they support the author's viewpoint and that more problematic examples have been passed over'.[19]

Still more surprising assumptions are made throughout Mr Bethell's article, several particularly striking examples of which can be seen in his interpretation of a selection of Charles Burney's comments on singing and singers. Mr Bethell begins by quoting a lengthy passage in which Burney defines his understanding of 'good singing', which includes the comment that 'if in swelling a note the voice trembles or varies its pitch, or the intonations are false, ignorance and science are equally offended'.[20] It has already been demonstrated that references to 'trembling' should not automatically be considered to be synonymous with 'vibrato', and the immediate mention of poor tuning should alert the reader to the possibility of another reading of the term.

Mr Bethell continues to quote Burney's description of a falsettist heard in Amsterdam who supposedly 'sounded more like the upper part of a bad vox humana stop in an organ, than a natural voice'.[21] While Mr Bethell takes this passage to mean that 'this falsettist used a pitch tremolo, similar to a modern vibrato', and indeed that this is the focus of Burney's criticism,[22] such a statement is not consistent with the nature of Burney's complaint, who makes no mention of trembling of any sort, complaining only that 'the tone of the falset was very disagreeable, and he forced his voice very frequently in an outrageous manner'.[23] This passage, which contains not a single reference to vibrato nor any likely synonyms, is held up as 'the single exception' to Mr Bethell's statement that Burney ignores the subject of vibrato in his many reviews of singers, and tha 'if tremolo or vibrato had been common during this period, one would have expected Burney to provide details'. One wonders what prompted Mr Bethell to choose this passage instead of, for example, Burney's several descriptions of the 'natural warble' of Cuzzoni.[24] Considering that the first definition Samuel Johnson's dictionary gives of the term 'to warble' is 'to quaver any sound',[25] the omission of these passages is surely unforgivable in a survey of Burney's comments on vibrato, especially since they have been examined in several recent studies on the subject.[26] Furthermore, Mr Bethell's citation of Burney's dislike of the *vox humana* stop heard in Haarlem is negated by Burney's approval of the *vox humana* at the New Church in Amsterdam, another passage omitted from Mr Bethell's analysis.[27] Indeed, a slightly later English

commentator, Richard Eastcott, states unequivocally that this stop in Amsterdam 'gives the effect of a soprano voice singing a solo anthem'.[28]

In short, while Mr Bethell is to be commended for assembling such a large selection of sources on historical singing, his analysis of said passages continues to leave a lot to be desired. When coupled with the routinely derogatory terms levelled at today's professional musicians such as descriptions of 'shrieking' or 'bellowing', the result is a decidedly unscholarly set of conclusions which are demonstrably coloured more by the author's tastes than a measured assessment of even the highly selective collection of source material he presents.

Notes

[1] Richard Bethell, "The Historic Record of Vocal Sound (1650-1829)", *National Early Music Association Newsletter*, (Spring 2021), pp.30-83, http://www.earlymusic.info/newsletters.htm.

[2] Edward Breen, Review of '*Vocal Traditions in Conflict: Descent from Sweet, Clear, Pure and Affecting Italian Singing to Grand Uproar* by Richard Bethell', *Early Music Perfomer* xlvi (Spring 2020), pp.29-30.

[3] Bethell (2021), p.62.

[4] One recent author defines vibrato as 'a periodic oscillation of the fundamental frequency (perceived as pitch) and all its harmonics, amplitude (perceived as apparent intensity or volume), timbre (a result of harmonics sweeping through vowel formants), subglottic pressure, closed quotient (the percentage of each vibration cycle the vocal folds are in contact), and formant frequencies'; John Nix, 'Shaken, Not Stirred: Practical Ideas for Addressing Vibrato and Nonvibrato Singing in the Studio and the Choral Rehearsal', *Journal of Singing* lxx/4 (2014), pp.411-418.

[5] Dr Breen makes this point particularly well in his review of Mr Bethell's book, saying the following: 'His argument is constructed to imply that writers complain of a vocal characteristic - particularly a quavering in the voice - because it was not desired in general whereas all we really know is that it was not desired by those writers. I would welcome more discussion of the inconvenient truth that quavering of the voice therefore *was* happening in public performances…' Breen (2020), p.30.

[6] For an excellent analysis see Lisandro Abadie, 'Vocal Undulations and the Vox Humana Organ Stop', www.voxhumanajournal.com, accessed 15 February 2021, https://www.voxhumanajournal.com/abadie2019.html.

[7] For the sake of brevity this response will address only the issue of vibrato as it is presented by Mr Bethell. A separate article is currently being prepared on the issue of Larynx height in historical singing by the author.

[8] Bethell (2021), p.62.

[9] Roger North, 'As to Musick', *Notes of Me*, ed Peter Millard (Toronto, 2000), pp.149-51; Anselm Bayly, *A Practical Treatise on Singing and Playing* (London: J. Ridley, 1771), p.64; Leopold Mozart, *Versuch Einer Gründlichen Violinschule* (Ausberg: Lotter, 1756), pp.238-39; Otto E. Deutsch and Wilhelm A. Bauer, eds., *W.A. Mozart: Briefe Und Aufzeichnungen*, vol. 4 (Kassel/Basel, 1963), cited in Greta Moens-Haenen, *Das Vibrato in der Musik des Barock* (Graz, 1988), p.17.

[10] Lisandro Abadie was also named by Mr Bethell in the challenge presented in his article. Since he has also penned a response as well as preparing for the publication of an extensive study on the subject, there has been a certain amount of coordination between us as to which parts of Mr Bethell's argument to address.

[11] Bayly, *A Practical Treatise*, p.64.

[12] Denis Dodart, 'Supplément au Mémoire sur la voix et sur les tons', *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Sciences* (Paris, 1706/7), pp.136-48; Deutsch and Bauer, *W.A. Mozart: Briefe Und Aufzeichnungen*; Roger North, *As to Musick*, pp.149-151; Francesco Lamperti, *Guida Teorico-Pratica-Elementare per Lo Studio Del Canto* (Milan: Ricordi, 1864), p.12.

[13] Richard Bethell, *Vocal Traditions in Conflict* (Mytholmroyd, 2019), p.218.

[14] The importance of this omitted passage is addressed below. With the missing section restored, the text reads '*…weil das tremulo |: welches sonst auf der Orgel, in welcher alle Stimmen zugleich tremuliren können, wegen der Veränderung wohl lautet :| ein vitium ist…* '.

[15] Joseph Müller-Blattau, *Die Kompositionslehre Heinrich Schützens in der Fassung Seines Schülers Christoph Bernhard* (Kassel and New York: Bärenreiter, 1963), pp.31-32. The translations are those provided by Mr Bethell for ease of reference, except that the word '*tremolo*' has been reverted to its original spelling '*tremulo*'.

[16] Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum III* (Wolfenbüttel: 1619), p.235; Johann Andreas Herbst, *Musica Practica* (Frankfurt am Main, 1642), p.7; Wolfgang Printz, *Compendium Musicae* (Dresden: Mieth, 1689), pp.47-8; Georg Falck, *Idea Boni Cantoris*, vol. 2 (Nürnberg: Endter, 1688), pp.99-100; Wolfgang Mylius, *Rudimenta Musices*, 2nd ed. (Gotha: Brückner, 1686), f.E4-5.

[17] Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum III*, p.235; Falck, *Idea Boni Cantoris*, p.24; Herbst, *Musica Practica*, p.7.

[18] Georg Quitschreiber, *De Canendi Elegantia* (Jena, 1598); Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum III*, p.231; Herbst, *Musica Practica,* p.3; Mylius, *Rudimenta Musices*, f. D3. For a more extensive commentary on this trend in vocal sources from this period see footnotes 30-37 of Abadie, *Vocal Undulations.*

[19] Breen, *Vocal Traditions in Conflict,* p.29.

[20] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, vol.3 (London, 1789), p.viii.

[21] Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces* (London, 1773), pp.300-302.

[22] Bethell (2021), p.38.

[23] Burney (1789), p.301.

[24] Burney (1789), pp.307 and 316.

[25] Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, vol. 2 (London, 1755).

[26] Suzanne Aspden, *The Rival Sirens: Performance and Identity on Handel's Operatic Stage* (Cambridge, 2013), p.40 and Tracy Smith, *Making Sense of the 'Vibrato Wars': Exploration and Application of Varying Vibrato in Handel's Opera Seria Arias*, dissertation (2016), p.36.

[27] Burney (1773), p.299.

[28] Richard Eastcott, *Sketches of the Origin, Progress and Effects of Music* (Bath, 1793), p.224.

Response to Richard Bethell on the issue of vocal tremulousness

Lisandro Abadie

In his article featured in the previous Newsletter,[1] Richard Bethell mentions my article published online in *Vox Humana Journal* in 2019.[2] Mr Bethell sees a problem with my quotation of Roger North's lines on the training of the waived sound. He claims that I, in his words, 'failed to cite North's important comment that "the greatest elegance, of the finest voices is the prolation of a clear plain sound," proving that North believed that a default straight tone was utilised by the best singers.' Mr Bethell's wording is slightly unfortunate, conveying the impression that I might have committed a deliberate omission, when in fact the situation is very different.

The certainly 'important comment' invoked by Mr Bethell as proof of his thesis, belongs in reality to a different context, in which North rejects the premature introduction of 'graces, or any other accomplishment' before the beginner has mastered 'the producing a good sound.' This is confirmed by North on the following page: 'And it is the constant custome of ignorance, to affect supperficiall ornaments, and neglect the substance, which I have noted in other places.' Please allow me to quote the relevant passage introducing this concept of 'substance:'

But I would advise that beginners should be trained as in manufacture trades, first taug[h]t to provide the materiall and then to put it to-gether and lastly to finish it. In musick the materiall is sound, which may be made well, or ill, and that difference in the first formation of it, is of the greatest importance. Good druggs are not more considerable in medecin, then, the producing a good sound, in musick. It is the substance and foundation, which failing all falls, and all this I declare abstracted from graces, or any other accomplishment whatever, and farther that all thought of grace confounds it, so that whoever is to begin and learne to draw a sound, is not to be putt out, with any sort of gracing, but to be kept from it, untill they attain a fittness for it. It is rarely observed, but lett it pass for a truth upon my word, that the greatest elegance, of the finest voices is the prolation of a clear plain sound.[3]

Thus, proceeding to explain how to train this '*substance and foundation*' of music, North advises:

I would have a voice or hand taught, first to prolate a long, true, steddy and strong sound, the louder and harsher the better

which is of course a mere didactic step, not the final product; such a sound would lack all flexibility, therefore:

then next I would have them learne to fill, and soften a sound, as shades in needlework, insensatim, so as to be like also a gust of wind, which begins with a soft air, and fills by degrees to a strength, as makes all bend, and then softens away againe into a temper, and so vanish. And after this to superinduce a gentle and slow wavering, not into a trill, upon the swelling the note. Such as trumpetts use, as if the instrument were a litle shaken with the wind of its owne sound, but not so as to vary the tone, which must be religiously held to its place, like a pillar on its base, without the least loss of the accord. This waving of a note, is not to be described, but by example.

North then introduces his well-known diagram, showing a 'plaine note', a 'waived note' and a 'trillo note', and continues with a warning on the trill which 'breaking the tone, and mixing with another, is dangerous for a scollar to medle with'. He does not recommend the practice of the trill at an early stage, but writes instead:

The next thing to be taught is the transition of the voice, or hand from one tone to another, or the practise of the gamut. And under this, the first care is to secure the true sound of the note passed into, whither flatt or sharp, viz.

semitone, or tone, and with a full prolation of each, and the managery of it, swelling and waiving as I have described.[4]

This instruction confirms that the 'swelling and waiving' are essential elements of the ideal sound that North advocates. In his article, Mr Bethell intends to prove his theory of the 'default straight voice,' and it is my impression that he therefore isolates the line 'that the greatest elegance, of the finest voices is the prolation of a clear plain sound' from its context. I find this interpretation misleading, as it creates a false dichotomy where 'plain' and 'waived' sounds are provided as the only alternatives. But precisely the sources from the 'Historical Record' that Mr Bethell quotes, together with some other important sources he conceals, all suggest a landscape of greater complexity. Denis Dodart (1706), Anselm Bayly (1771) and Mozart (1778), among others, clearly show that pleasant and unpleasant forms of tremulousness exist in music. Some of these undulations are perceived as a beautiful, intrinsic element of the human voice, which explains why instruments try to imitate them, as in the case of pipe organs since c.1500. Some are unpleasant, artificial, excessively conspicuous. Mr Bethell's efforts to eliminate this distinction have repeatedly led him into misguided interpretations, and his recent article is no exception.

Unfortunately, this new collection of texts shows no improvement either concerning Mr Bethell's agenda to stigmatise modern singers. This is often done with the help of demonstrably false claims and conflations. A few examples:

1. Voices compared with the glass harmonica must have been free of vibrato

False. Some voices reminded listeners *precisely* of the undulating qualities of glasses. Mr Bethell himself quotes Edward Bruce, writing in 1824 about a performance by Angelica Catalani: 'a peculiar vibration on a high note, like the undulating sound produced by running the finger round a water-glass' [...] 'I waited eagerly for the extraordinary undulating tone, which I mentioned before, so like a musical glass. Catalani made use of it twice, in the course of the evening'. These comparisons were as frequent as those concerning the Æolian harp, with its conspicuous undulations.

2. The glass harmonica cannot perform a vibrato

Another false claim based both on a subjective interpretation of a partially misleading article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and on a deceptive conflation between vibrato of pitch and of intensity. To anyone not familiar with the instrument, videos and recordings provide clear examples of its audible vibrato and other involuntary undulations. Historical sources confirm that such undulations were possible:

Full chords, swift runs, beatings (Schwebungen), trills, and generally the finest and most supple manners can be put into action with great perfection on the harmonica ('Volle Accorde, geschwinde Läufe, Schwebungen, Triller, und überhaupt den feinsten und geschmeidigsten Manieren lassen sich in grosser Vollkommenheit auf der Harmonica ins Werk setzen') (Meister, 1766).[5]

In the Harmonica, the Euphon, the Clavicylinder, and other instruments of this kind, as well as even in the Clavichord, the Bebung appears partly by itself, partly due to the alternating pressure of the fingers on the bells, keys, etc. ('Auf der Harmonika, dem Euphon, Clavicylinder und andern Instrumenten dieser Art, so wie auch selbst auf dem Clavichord, erscheint die Bebung theils von selbst, theils durch abwechselnden Druck des Fingers auf die Glocken, Tasten und dgl.)' (Weber, 1822).[6]

3. The words 'clear', 'smooth', 'pure', 'chaste' and 'sweet' indicate an absence of vibrato

This is not the place to discuss the loaded rhetoric of terms such as *pure* and *chaste*, but let's observe the word *sweet*, which appears more than 50 times in Mr Bethell's article, mostly in English sources. Precisely in England, between *The Compleat Flute Master* (1695) and John Gunn's *The Art of Playing the German Flute* (1793), the usual term for pitch fluctuation, *flattement*, or finger-vibrato used in flutes is either spelled *sweetning*, *sweetening*, or *to sweeten*. This microtonal ornament is documented as early as 1535 by Silvestro Ganassi who called it *tremolo soave* (suave or sweet tremolo) in his *Fontegara*, and some years later by Cardanus as *vox tremula* (*De musica*, 1546). It was still very much alive in 1816, when Charles Nicholson described it as *vibration* in his *Complete Flute Preceptor*: 'The effect of this Expression in Adagios and other slow movements when the Pupil has become familiarized with it, is inconceivably delicate and sweet, and as such worthy every attention'. Thomas Lindsay in *The Elements of Flute-Playing* (c.1828), wrote about the *vibration* that 'the effect is truly sweet and beautifully expressive,' echoed by James Alexander: 'if well managed the effect is sweet and expressive' *(Alexander's Complete Preceptor for the Flute*, c.1830). In view of these sources, one could even associate the ubiquitous adjective *sweet* with the presence of some form of undulation or pulsation in the sound, as it is the case in texts describing undulating organ registers or tremulants in Italian (*dolce*, *soave*), German (*lieblich*, *sanft*) or Latin (*suavis*). As Tim Braithwaite has often stated, Franz Haböck provides an eloquent example of the combined terms 'clear, transparent, and sweet' (*'hell, durchsichtig, süß'*) in his ecstatic description of Alessandro Moreschi's voice in 1913. To anyone familiar with Moreschi's recordings, these words cannot be misconstrued to define a 'straight voice.' According to Haböck, Moreschi's voice has a 'golden or silvery sound' (*'einen goldenen oder einen silbernen Klang'*) which 'can only be compared with the clarity and the purity of crystal' (*'Moreschis Stimme kann man nur mit der Reinheit und Klarheit des Kristalls vergleichen.'*) (Haböck, 1927).[7]

4. 'The reader should understand that Baroque organ flute-stops are senza vibrato'

This is a most unfortunate claim, as precisely the contrary is true, especially in Italy, where beating organ stops were originally called *fiffari* (fifes or traverso flutes) at least as early as 1544, and towards 1600 this denomination was gradually replaced by that of *voce umana* or *voci umane*, a flue stop with an audible undulation obtained by a second row of detuned pipes (still built and in use in Italy today), later known in Germany as *Unda Maris* to avoid confusions, since German, Dutch and French organs usually had a reed stop called *Vox Humana* which undulated mechanically thanks to a tremulant. The Italian *voci umane* were imported in France by Cavaillé-Coll as *voix célestes*, which later became the popular *céleste* of small organs and harmoniums.

5. Throaty singing is a synonym of low larynx position

This confusion has been pointed countless times by Tim Braithwaite, myself and others, to Mr Bethell, who persists in his erroneous interpretation, and in the inexplicable use of the misnomer 'laryngeal development' which is in no way related to any vocal technique, modern or old. Here again, Mr Bethell suggests that singers nowadays actively develop a type of sound which earlier sources considered faulty. Another false dichotomy, since variable larynx heights have been described and often encouraged through the last four centuries. Guttural or throaty singing is often reported as the consequence of a rigidity at the base of tongue, in many cases involving a relatively high larynx, and is uniformly rejected in the Western tradition, regardless of the various documented positions of the larynx. Incidentally, this is one more example of Mr Bethell's contradictory argumentations: one can hardly prove that something did not exist by quoting documents that reject its use. Indeed, if guttural singing and low larynx positions were synonyms,

we should conclude that historical sources since the early Renaissance are proof of the omnipresence of a low larynx, which is again demonstrably false.

6. 'There can be no question that the best Long 18th century vocalists sang more softly than the opera singers of today'

Such a blanket statement is hard to substantiate in the face of sources describing the remarkable volume of numerous singers in the 18th and early 19th centuries. And if the intention were to prove that a hypothetically 'ideal' sound was preferably soft, this could not be reconciled with sources such as Roger North, quoted above, who recommends at the beginning of the vocal training 'to prolate a long, true, steddy and strong sound, the louder and harsher the better'.

Another disturbing element is Mr Bethell's habit to backdate sources, perhaps with the intention to increase their historical value, presenting them as the testimony of earlier events, thereby creating a total confusion. Thus, William Gardiner, who wrote in 1832, appears listed under the date of an event he recalls from 1788. D'Ancillon's book from 1718 is referenced to 1705 for the same reason. Mr Bethell indicates a performance by the castrato Nicolini as being 'outlined in 1708' by Colley Cibber, who actually wrote in 1740; this engenders a successive cognitive dissonance when we read that Nicolini is compared in 1708 with Senesino, who never sang in London before 1720. Two other cases of backdating concern Charles Smyth, whose letters dated to 1810 and published in 1817 appear erroneously as dating from 1799 in the table of contents, and the puzzling graphic 'Illus.4. Straight Tone and Glass Harmonica-Like Vocalists, 1685-c.1820' which includes several singers who died before the invention of the glass harmonica.

The decision to omit essential authors from the 18th century who have written on the undulations of the human voice, such as Dodart, Mattheson, Bérard and Kirnberger, cannot be fortuitous. But the most blatant concealment in Mr Bethell's article is the absence of Mozart from the list of the most relevant authors. Instead, this place of honour is given to the obscure dilettante Charles Smyth, from whom we read lengthy quotations throughout the article, almost on every topic. Mozart's very significant distinction between pleasant and unpleasant vocal tremulousness is relegated to the secondary section 'Singers Critiqued for their Tremolo' where he appears as a mere commentator, his name not even highlighted. As for Mr Bethell's mistranslations of Pierfrancesco Tosi, they could have been considered justifiable mistakes, had he not been repeatedly warned about their fallaciousness by several specialists. His decision to persist on his deceptive interpretations obliterates the benefit of the doubt.

It would be equally disingenuous to express any hope that Mr Bethell would stop disregarding the essential text on vocal tremulousness by Denis Dodart from 1706, quoted extensively by Greta Haenen in her book on vibrato as early as 1988:[8]

On the causes of the difference between the speaking and the singing voice.

[...] Long held notes in music can serve the purpose of this discovery. It is on that occasion that I have noticed in the singing voice a certain undulation which is not present in the speaking voice. This undulation is quite similar to the vibrations which can be observed in a weight suspended from the middle of a horizontally tense string, if pulling that weight downwards or upwards one were to leave it to be held only by the string. For in that case, the weight would display a motion up and down which would be more or less narrow, depending on the length and tension of the string. Not everyone perceives this kind of floating motion in beautiful voices, which have a degree of strength that suffices to create a difference between the sound of the singing voice and the speaking voice by a moderate and sustained undulation. But everyone does perceive it in singing voices that are weak and naturally

trembling. It is clear that here I do not speak of the shakes in cadences, for those trembling shakes are made of an interval of a tone or semitone, which is not found in the undulations that I describe. (Dodart, 1707)[9]

The image of the tense string in motion corresponds exactly with Roger North's comments on the Italian 'arcata or long bow,' written around 1703 in *Some Memorandums on Music*:

as if the bird sat at the end of a spring, as she sang the spring waived her up and downe, or as if the wind that brought the sound shaked, or a small bell wer[e] struck, and the sound continuing waived to and again.[10]

Incidentally, Dodart confirms that this vocal undulation is the model for instrumental vibrato:

Something similar is observed in the tremulant of the organ, which does not change the tone of each pipe, and which can only have been invented to imitate the singing voice in that circumstance, something that it does only in a quite imperfect way. [...] The left-hand fingers of lute, theorbo and viol players produce something similar to these high and low vibrations of the larynx whenever they wish to embellish their performance by imitating the voice. All these instruments have their neck divided by frets. Now, when the player wants to imitate the voice, he sustains with the left hand the sound of the string that is struck or plucked by the right hand. To achieve this, he shakes up and down between two frets the finger of the left hand that depresses the plucked string upon the neck of the instrument, and he sustains a continuous sound by this alternating movement, undulating upon the note found between the two frets. This sound is extremely pleasant, and it imitates very accurately a port-de-voix. One of the charms of this sound is the undulation, which simply stems from the finger of the left hand shaken up and down, pressing less and less the string against the fret when moving upwards, and sliding more and more when it slides down, from which it happens that the pitch, being determined by the fret, remains the same for the judgement of the senses, although mathematically speaking it is not; yet, seeming identical, it is noticeably varied, and thereby made more agreeable (Dodart, 1707).[11]

This is remarkably close to what Mozart wrote in 1778, causing him to be excluded from Mr Bethell's list of authorities:

The human voice trembles naturally—but in its own way—and only to such a degree that the effect is beautiful. Such is the nature of the voice; and people imitate it not only on wind-instruments, but on stringed instruments too and even on the clavier. But the moment the proper limit is overstepped, it is no longer beautiful—because it is contrary to nature (Mozart, 1778).[12]

Mr Bethell provides a new textbook case of his questionable methods when he quotes David Badagnani's 'measurements' using the Melodyne software. In a stupendous illustration of confirmation bias, Mr Bethell and Mr Badagnani intend to prove what Roger North meant when he compared waived notes to those of the trumpet ('Such as trumpetts use, as if the instrument were a litle shaken with the wind of its owne sound'). In order to do this, they proceed to take a minuscule sample from a YouTube tutorial for hand vibrato on a modern trumpet, observe it exclusively in terms of its extent ('approximately 22 cents in width'), and then inform the readers that this excerpt 'is very similar to the trumpet wavering recommended by Roger North as an excellent model for vocal vibrato.' It is regrettable to have to explain this in 2021, but the hand vibrato of a modern trumpet is hardly informative in any way about how a natural trumpet might have sounded in London around 1695. This 'measurement' is as scientifically relevant as using one randomly picked sample of modern vocal vibrato in order to determine the rate and extent of trumpet vibrato in the 17th century.

It is puzzling that Mr Bethell should accuse me of being economic with the truth, when he fails to acknowledge the vast corpus of sources documenting the imitation of vocal tremulousness in pipe organs and other instruments, which are not totally unknown to him. In my 2019 article,[13]

no further than immediately below Roger North's text and graphic, I quote the following document by John Baptist Cuvillie, concerning the improvements on the Christ Church Cathedral organ in Dublin in 1699:

I removed the Voxhumane which was on the Chairorgan before, Now to the Great Organ, and for to adorne that Stop and to make itt appeare like a humane voice, I added a Tramblan Stop to itt–and to make itt ye more naturall. which no organ in England can show the like, for they have not found out how to make a Tramblan Stop–And for want of that Stop all their Voxhumanes are deficient, whereas I have made this stop ye naturall imitation of a voxhumane as perfect as any organ beyond Sea (Cuvillie, 1699).[14]

When a morally neutral term such as 'historically informed' is used as the measure of good and evil, it inherits the suspicious aura that makes concepts such as 'authenticity' sound fraudulent. Any serious exploration of historical sources on Western classical singing reveals a diverse universe where evidence for 'default straight voice' is nowhere to be found, and where the issues of tremulousness are relatively irrelevant details in a complex chart of infinite parameters. Things are much more complicated and interesting than a binary opposition between vice and virtue.

Notes

[1] Richard Bethell, 'The Historic Record of Vocal Sound (1650-1829)', *National Early Music Association Newsletter*, (Spring 2021), pp.30-83, http://www.earlymusic.info/newsletters.htm.

[2] Lisandro Abadie, 'Vocal Undulations and the Vox Humana Organ Stop', www.voxhumanajournal.com, https://www.voxhumanajournal.com/abadie2019.html.

[3] The next three North quotations come from Roger North, 'As to Musick', *Notes of Me*, ed Peter Millard (Toronto, 2000), p.149.

[4] North (2000), p.151.

[5] Albert Ludwig Friedrich Meister, 'Nachricht von einem neuen musikalischen Instrumente, Harmonica genant', in *Hannoverisches Magazin* 4 (1766), col. 929-938, at col. 937.

[6] Gottfried Weber, 'Bebung' in: Ersch and Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* (1822).

[7] Franz Haböck, *Die Kastraten und ihre Gesangskunst* (Stuttgart, 1927), p.207.

[8] Greta Moens-Haenen, *Das Vibrato in der Musik des Barock* (Graz, 1988), pp.19-21.

[9] Denis Dodart, 'Supplément au Mémoire sur la voix et sur les tons', in *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Sciences: avec les mémoires de mathématique et de physique pour la même année: tirés des registres de cette Académie. 1706* (Paris, 1707), pp.136-148. Author's translation.

[10] John Wilson (ed), *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), p.164.

[11] Dodart (1707).

[12] Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Letter to Leopold Mozart (12 June 1778); Emily Anderson (trans and ed) in *Letters of Mozart & Family*, p.907.

[13] Abadie (2019).

[14] John Baptist Cuvillie (1699), reproduced in Barra Boydell, *Music at Christ Church Before 1800: Documents and Selected Anthems* (Dublin, 1999), pp.167-169.

A response to Tim Braithwaite and Lisandro Abadie

Richard Bethell

The editor has invited me to reply to the above responses from Tim Braithwaite and Lisandro Abadie on my article 'The Historic Record of Vocal Sound (1650-1829)' published in the previous *Newsletter*.

First, let me stress that neither of the above responses has dented in the slightest my article's central conclusion, which I repeat: 'The historical record is clear that, throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries [until 1829], vocalists normally emitted a default straight voice, or, in Roger North's words, "a clear plain sound", albeit enlivened by occasional *messa di voce*, expressive tremolo and other ornaments'. In addition, as I comment towards the end of the article, my conclusion has been supported by several eminent musicologists during the last century, including William James Henderson, Thurston Dart, Greta Haenen, Frederic Kent Gable, Clive Brown and Robert Toft.

My replies on matters of detail are set out below:

Tim Braithwaite's comments

Mr Braithwaite takes me to task for failing to mention the views of Roger North, Anselm Bayly, and the Mozarts under my subtitle 'What Pitch fluctuations were used, and when, during the Long 18th century?'. He plays down the metrics on vibrato extent (based on Peyee Chen) which I provided. But they are surely essential in order to provide a basis for answering Mr Braithwaite's question, 'A fruitful discussion on the subject should address what sort of vocal fluctuations documented in historical sources can be considered analogous to modern vibrato, as well as when, and by whom they were thought to be appropriate'. I used this data to identify only three singers from the period sporting a modern type of vibrato, namely Adelaide Tosi, Mrs Blacket and Madame Schutz.

Braithwaite also offered an additional clarification: 'Furthermore, many authors considered vocal fluctuations comparable to vibrato to be intrinsic to good performance, when used in a way considered to be appropriate'. While I certainly accept this, I must insist that the fluctuations were infrequent. This is borne out by my descriptions of singers praised for their tremolo (section 2.23), sometimes featuring a 'close shake', which were ornamental or expressive in character. The text of my article from 2.1 to 2.20 inclusive certainly makes clear that Agricola, Mancini, Hiller, William Gardiner and Spohr, besides North, Bayly and the Mozarts, supported emission of tremolo as a grace, providing it was not overused. As Louis Spohr wrote in 1833: 'Avoid its frequent use, or in improper places'. Only William Tans'ur supported its frequent use. On the other hand, the evidence suggests that Tosi, Quantz, Bremner, Thomas Billington, Charles Burney, Corfe, Smyth, Bacon, Nathan and Anfossi were opposed to tremolo.

I now realise that I should have added German composer Johann Friedrich Schubert (1770-1811) to the 'anti group'. He wrote as follows on the *Bebung* in his *Neue Singe-Schule* (c.1800), which was posted by David Badagnani to the Facebook Group 'Vibrato is a Bizarre and Unnecessary Affectation' on 11 April 2021, together with the original German text:

*Finally, I will mention another ornament that was a beauty in former times, but is never heard from a tasteful singer any more: the Bebung (French: balancement, Italian: tremolo), which consisted of a wavering, or oscillation to-and-fro of a long note. Anyone with an educated ear will admit that this ornament provokes disgust when often heard: nevertheless it has been sustained by violinists up to the present instant, and one is frequently regaled with it by able virtuosi in every composition without exception, where they let it be heard on every note whose length allows it. A nice firmly-held note, shaded with **f** and **p**, does not make an appearance at all. Even those virtuosi are not free from this tasteless ornament,* who have been brought up in a school where the basic principle is a nice, firm, even note, varied with **f** and **p**. / My intent is by no means to disabuse the violinists, rather I only want to warn the singing student not to adopt this ornament if he hears a singer or violinist who has made it his own (even if he be one of the greatest virtuosi). I would allow the violinist a Bebung only extremely rarely, on a long isolated note: the singer, however, never: he can give his long held notes more modification and variety than the violinist.*[1]

Original footnote: The use of this ornament is a matter of taste, and certainly no argument can be determined in virtue of pronouncing an utter condemnation of it. I prefer to be humble and do not force my judgment upon any who are not of the same opinion; this much is certain, however, that there are perhaps not two out of ten music connoisseurs or art scholars who unreservedly approve of this ornament. The violinists (whichever camp they may belong to) can have no say in this, since one's own emotion is never an uncorrupted judge, especially when it has been shaped by lengthy habit.*

During the ensuing discussion, Braithwaite wrote: 'This is a wonderful passage, and indeed very revealing!'

Braithwaite also critiqued my methodology for failing to note that Quitschreiber, Praetorius, Herbst and Mylius supported the need for a singer to have a 'trembling voice'. Both Quitschreiber and Praetorius wrote in an earlier epoch, around 1600, before the period I am covering. I would have noted the views of Herbst and Mylius, but I wasn't aware of them at the time of my research. Although I was aware of Denis Dodart's comments, I didn't have access to a good English translation.

Braithwaite added: 'A recurring issue with Mr. Bethell's approach stems from his tendency to assign a very specific meaning, i.e., the phenomenon of vibrato, to often quite flexible terminology. Descriptions of 'trembling' or 'Tremulousness', for example, are uncritically presented as being synonymous with vibrato'. I don't think this comment is fair. First, the term 'vibrato' wasn't used in English until the 1830s, after the period I am covering. Second, the term 'tremolo' was invariably used during the long 18th century to describe voluntary and involuntary types of unsteadiness. Although reviewers seldom explained what they meant by the term, the terminology often employed suggests that two types of tremolo were emitted during the period, viz. 1. pitch tremolo, or expressive undulation of pitch, often termed 'close shake' at the time, and 2. intensity (or emphasis, or amplitude) tremolo. This is explained in the final paragraph of section 2.22; the accompanying chart at Illus.7 suggests which singer emitted each type, together with a third group where the category is unclear.

Finally, Braithwaite claimed that Charles Burney's review of a falsettist heard in Amsterdam 'makes no mention of trembling of any sort'. This is incorrect because Burney analogised the falsettist's voice to a peruque, suggesting that 'this singer might equally boast of having the art, not of singing like a human creature, but of making his voice like a very bad imitation of one'. In her article 'Peruke Makers of the 18th century', Sharon Slator noted that after 1735 the great curled periwig was no longer considered fashionable, and was mostly replaced by the smaller less cumbersome Peruke', as illustrated below. Burney's peruke comparison suggests that the falsettist emitted a pitch tremolo.

Peruke Head Piece

As for Braithwaite's reference to Cuzzoni's 'native warble', this hoary old chestnut is often raised by people defending use of a modern vibrato in early music. But the relevant comment in Burney's history that 'A native warble enabled her to execute divisions with such facility as to conceal every appearance of difficulty' makes clear that Burney was referring to her vocal flexibility in rapid passages, not quavering. Also, unlike Burney, Quantz and Mancini actually heard Cuzzoni in her prime. Neither commented on any native warble, although Quantz noted her 'roundness and smoothness' and Mancini wrote that her voice was 'angelic in its clarity and sweetness'. Also, in my experience, the term 'warble' was often used facetiously. Typically, reviewers would write 'the cantatrice warbled her dulcet tones' instead of simply 'she sang'.

Finally, while Braithwaite commends me for 'assembling such a large selection of sources on historical singing', he concludes with a reference to 'the highly selective collection of source material'. Well, he can't have it both ways!

Lisandro Abadie's comments

Abadie is certainly correct in noting Roger North's suggestion that trainee singers need first to 'prolate a long, true, steddy and strong sound' and to progress from this to 'swelling and waving'. However, his conclusion that 'swelling and waving' are essential for the singer needs to be tempered by three things: 1. It is quite clear from North's statement that 'the greatest elegance of the finest voices is the prolation of a clear plain sound' was *not* limited to the training phase. While Abadie remains evasive on why he omitted this statement from his research article, other musicologists, such as Andrew Parrott have cited it;[2] 2. North emphasised in *The Musical Grammarian* that waving is a tremulous grace, to be used ornamentally and not constantly, and; 3. North's characterisation of 'gentle and slow wavering' as 'not unto a trill' and 'such as trumpetts use' makes clear that the pitch tremolo he advocated was considerably narrower, as well as slower, than a modern vibrato.

As David Badagnani showed, Barbara Hull generated an ornamental trumpet vibrato of only 22 cents wide, 'which is quite comparable to the modest/narrow ornamental vibrato used by Baroque violinists'. Abadie questioned the validity of David Badagnani's Melodyne measurements as they were based on a modern trumpet. Badagnani responded to a similar Facebook comment at follows: 'That does not matter at all, as she is playing in a thoroughly period style. I made similar measurements showing vibrato of virtually the same width from a video of someone playing a Baroque valveless trumpet in a similar style. The vibrato used, as North notes, is so narrow and modest as to be hardly perceptible, and North's description and diagram are quite apt, in my opinion'.

Abadie claimed that my assertion that 'the glass harmonica cannot perform a vibrato' is false, alleging that 'videos and recordings provide clear examples of its audible vibrato and other involuntary undulations'. I suggest that he listens again to some actual Glass Harmonica playing, such as that of Thomas Bloch.[3] He will hear some examples of slow 'messa di voce' production

besides some slightly quicker intensity tremolos. But I challenge him to find any evidence of pitch tremolos.

He attributes to me the view that 'The words clear, smooth, pure, chaste, and sweet indicate an absence of vibrato'. No. What I actually wrote (Section 2.27, para 6, in relation to Illus.11) was: 'their voices [other Straight Tone] were described as "pure" (or purity or *purezza argentina*), "clear" (or clarity), "silver" (or silvery), "flageolet" (or fluty), liquid, ductile, non-quavering, non-tremulous, or featured a good "portamento di voce"'. I followed this statement by writing: 'Of course, many of the "best singers" utilised vibrato as an illustrative or expressive ornament, typically described as a "close shake"'. While Abadie cites John Gunn, Charles Nicholson, Thomas Lindsay and James Alexander on sweet and expressive flute performance, he will of course be aware that all of these citations, like the reference to the vocal 'close shake', describe expressive but not constant emission.

Abadie disputes my conclusion that 'the best long 18th century vocalists sang more softly than the opera sings of today', vaguely mentioning 'sources describing the remarkable volume of numerous singers in the 18th and early 19th centuries' and providing a single quotation from Roger North in support of his position. However, he fails to provide a single example of a singer with 'remarkable volume'. I ask readers to look again at the rationale I provide in section 3.1 of my article before deciding whether my conclusion is correct.

I concluded on in section 3.2 of my paper on Larynx height: 'All treatise writers through the Long 18th century deplored low larynx singing, described then as throaty, guttural, thick, plummy of fat singing'. This statement is certainly an oversimplification; it should have read something along the lines of: 'Treatise writers through the Long 18th century sometimes deplored…', because I accept that the terms 'throaty' and 'guttural' could relate to other faults. However, I did cite Charles Smyth's warning that '*Singing in the* throat is occasioned by making a kind of tone which conveys to a hearer the idea that the singer has a swelling in his throat; and in addition to this inconvenience has a chord tied tight round his neck' which exactly describes the sounds produced by a modern operatic male singer. But, nowhere in my article did I suggest (as Abadie implies) that low larynx singing did not exist. Indeed, I provided several examples of singers accused of perpetrating this fault, such as William Pearman, whose voice was 'under some artificial cause of compression … smothered sound'.

Abadie rightly notes that Charles Smyth's date is incorrectly shown as 1799 in the table of contents. It should be 1810, when Charles Smyth's letters to his son were written. In this and some other cases, I have preferred reference dates to publication dates. For example, it is surely better to date Charles D'Ancillon to 1705, when he started his tour and actually heard castrato Jeronimo's organ flute stop sounds, rather than 1718 when his *Enuchism Display'd* was published.

In response to my comment that 'Baroque organ flute-stops are senza vibrato', Abadie claimed that 'precisely the contrary is true', citing the sound of *fiffaro* and *voce umana* or *voce umane* stops. But, as I understand it, *voce umana* stops and *flute* stops were not the same thing around 1705 when Charles d'Ancillon heard Jeronimo's flute stop sound.

Abadie wrote: 'As for Mr. Bethell's mistranslations of Pierfrancesco Tosi, they could have been considered justifiable mistakes, had he not been repeatedly warned about their fallaciousness by several specialists'. I accept that I did, on a single Facebook occasion, incorrectly cite a Tosi/Galliard translation of the phrase 'Mezzotrillo' as 'close shake'. Abadie posted a correction,

which I acknowledged on page 68 of my book. But, Mr Abadie, where are my other mistranslations?

In Conclusion

John Potter and Neil Sorrell rightly observed in their 'History of Singing' that 'Most conservatories still train large numbers of singers for a very small number of operatic roles, a situation that will surely not be sustainable very far into the new century'.[4] However, there are excellent alternatives to the traditional opera house style, which are being exploited by some folk and pop singers, plus a few classical singers. The latter were listed in Section 4.2 of my article, which can be found in a playlist on my website.[5] In my view, these offer models which can encourage today's singers to produce performances which would, 1. have been approved by Tosi and Mancini and 2. offer alternative routes to economic success. My particular favourite is the Dolci Accenti ensemble in their singing of Bartolomeo Spighi's 'O piaggia felice'. Readers can watch this well-produced video on YouTube. Another favourite, which I failed to identify in time to be included in my list, is a video of falsettist duettists David Feldman and Doron Schleifer in their 'Cordis in Custodia' by Giovanni Bononcini. For excellent ensemble singing readers couldn't do better than listen to VOCES8 in Claudio Monteverdi's 'Adoramus Te, Christe', available on YouTube.[6]

Notes

[1] Trans. Fynn Titford-Mock.

[2] Andrew Parrott, *Composers' Intentions?: Lost Traditions of Musical Performance* (2015), p.262.

[3] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l8JfJumIXSQ.

[4] John Potter and Neil Sorrell, *History of Singing* (Cambridge, 2012), p.239.

[5] www.camreals.com.

[6] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kugCHcu7ynI.