

Nema

NEWSLETTER

Editor: Francis Knights

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



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Interview with David Allinson

This issue's interview is with Canterbury-based conductor, teacher and scholar Dr David Allinson (illus.1), who is also a member of the NEMA Council.



Illus.1 Conducting Haydn in Canterbury Cathedral (2017)

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

David Allinson: I was singing and dancing before I could talk. Driving my parents mad by singing as we walked, or tapping pots and pans in the kitchen and harmonizing with songs on the radio. My wonderful, supportive parents are not musical and were slightly perplexed by it. I still remember my childhood joy in singing hymns at school assemblies and loving the classical music that was played as we walked in and out of the hall (works like *Swan Lake*, *Peer Gynt*, *Carnival of the Animals*) – this is in the late 70s/early 80s.

After a few years my parents gave in (I think one trigger was an ear test given to all the children in the primary school, after which they were told I had a gift of some kind) and I was sent for piano lessons with a very elderly, pretty deaf lady whose tortoise used to rustle in a box of hay next to the piano while she cracked polo mints loudly with her remaining teeth.

I got through Grade 2 before she died; the smell of boiling cabbage, which permeated the whole house, still reminds me of piano practice. My time with the next piano teacher was brief: so scandalized by my technique (I tended to vamp with the base of my palm resting on the wood, and shifted my hand up and down ‘en bloc’ rather than tucking my thumb, as my first teacher hadn’t mentioned fingerings) she struck my leg in a rage with her walking stick. Just before this she had asked me what I thought the numbers above the notes meant, to which I replied airily: ‘Oh, those were for people who can’t read music’. Luckily, the next piano teacher was much more patient and I remained a pupil of the inspiring and exacting Mr Sloane until Grade 8 at the end of sixth form. At the same time I learned the violin to a similar level through lessons within the school system.

My area of Kent had the thirteen-plus system, meaning that you go to a secondary school at 11 and then are tested for grammar schools and streaming at 13, At my first secondary school there was a lot of music, but on the singing side the large choir was entirely dominated by girls. I adored the singing, partly as an escape from the casual violence of the playground. My best friend (illus.2) was the only other male member of the choir, and once he left, I was the only boy. There was a lot of teasing, much of it casually homophobic, including from one of the music staff who would call me a ‘poof’ in front of my peers.



Illus.2 Piano duets with a friend at home (c.1985)

I passed the 13+ exam and went to the grammar school, where I was much happier but the music provision was less good. There was no choir, and the orchestra was a small and patchy affair. I played piano for jazz band and was in a decent rock group which progressed to the Southeastern heat of the TSB Rock School! By sixth form I was the only pupil taking Music A-level, and the teacher frequently missed my lessons, meaning that we didn’t study much of the content for the exam. He tended to leave me to run the termly school concerts, giving me the space to create my own ensembles, which I guess was a

wonderful training for my later work as a conductor and a university Director of Music. I ran a raucous and joyful ceilidh band, and wrote many songs of my own which straddled the line between pop and folk.

When I announced to the grammar school that I would like to apply to read Music at Oxford, I was sent to the headmaster to be told in that this could not be supported by the school and I should read History (and apply to a different college, where they had sent successful applicants before). I replied that if I was going to spend three years studying anything, it would be the thing I loved most, to which the headmaster said 'On your head be it, Allinson. You are dismissed'. My history teacher stopped speaking to me, after berating me for wasting my talent; my history essay grades from that day dropped from A to C. My music teacher omitted to attend many of the 'scholarship lessons' laid on to prepare me for the Oxford entrance paper and the school had few resources (a copy of Grout and a cupboard of DG mono LPs) so I ended up prepping myself with books from the public library.

I was very lucky, in my Oxford entrance interview, to be seen by Owen Rees, now Professor in Music at Queen's College, Oxford, but then a young Tutor at St Peter's College, still writing his doctorate. Presented with such a gauche, ignorant but enthusiastic candidate, he took time to test me and tease out responses to materials (we discussed Monteverdi's *Orfeo*). Miraculously, he saw potential and offered me a place. He taught me that education is about learning critical thinking and the process of challenging oneself, and not about what one already knows. His combination of compassion, exactitude and humour has informed my own work as a teacher and conductor, and I never forgot that, given where I started, I was extremely lucky to have my place at Oxford and must not waste the opportunity.

This is not to underestimate some of the seminal teenage experiences which had fed my passion for Music – a couple of wonderful instrumental teachers, occasional family trips to concerts. A key moment was hearing Vaughan Williams' *Fantasia on a theme by Thomas Tallis* in Rochester Cathedral: it cast a spell and was my way in to modality (along with the folk music) and I'd soon bought Tallis's complete English anthems (on cassette by the Tallis Scholars). Another formative moment came in 1988, when I attended Kent Music's residential summer school at Benenden. By this time, I was a decent orchestral violinist, and regarded the compulsory choir sessions as an unwelcome imposition between rehearsals of a Dvořák symphony.

But to my amazement, singing Purcell (*Hear my prayer*) and Harris (*Faire is the heaven*) under the charismatic Derek Blease, standing in the centre of that large body of singers and feeling the shared vibrations in the space was revelatory. I can still remember the overwhelm: chest tightening, knees softening, eyes suddenly wet, and the addictive sense of connection with those around me.

From that point, I was more interested in choral music than instrumental (though this would obviously have to wait since my school lacked a choir; I made a few abortive

attempts to start my own, including laying on a performance of Byrd's Mass for four voices). My music teacher advised me, when I asked him what a choral scholarship was, that they were 'not for the likes of us', but for people from private schools ... and foolishly taking him at his word, I did not apply for one, only becoming a choral scholar later on, once I'd reached Oxford, experienced chapel choir and fallen deeply in love with it.

My first few weeks in Oxford brought a torrent of formative experiences: singing my first evensong (how did everyone just know how psalm pointing works?); discovering the music of Howells (I crumpled backwards into my pew in Christ Church at the 'Glory be' in the St Paul's service as the organ thundered and the choir roared and the fan vaulting rotated; the aesthetic overload felt, to my addled brain, like a Divine prompting); experiencing the blessing of chanted compline at Magdalen late on a misty Sunday evening when the imposter syndrome was threatening to overwhelm me.

I was thrilled to get a place in the superb Schola Cantorum (audition feedback: 'you have a lovely voice but it's wildly out of control, so keep it down for the first term!' – reflecting my lack of any formal vocal training) and so had the benefit of singing intensively for two superb conductors of almost opposite temperaments and approach, Jeremy Summerly and Owen Rees. I learned so much about rehearsal management, musicianship and interpretation from both.

The experience of singing (and recording) Portuguese Requiem settings by Duarte Lobo and Manuel Cardoso with Schola was sublime; the tuning, power and expressivity made the choir feel invincible; I remember thinking that rehearsals were like being inside a recording, but also disliking the tendency on the part of some singers to affect a jaded detachment from the music, as if they weren't moved or excited and had done it all before. I guess this comes from being a comparative latecomer; I've never masked my love for what I'm doing and much later in life I've realized that the 'outsider perspective' can be a superpower for any tutor or conductor because it permits others access to the same experiences.

Tell us about your performing career as a singer, teacher and conductor.

While a student I started several choirs, the most important of which was Cantores in Exeter. This group of talented and warm-hearted singers gave me so much experience in learning to be a choral conductor and exploring repertoire, and I still regard it as the foundation of my music identity. I'm proud that we made several CD recordings while students, and delighted that we have recently met up to sing again.

Short of money when I finally submitted my doctorate in 1998, I went to work at the *Grove Dictionary* in central London (wonderful colleagues). On the side I did some paid singing work in London, including many years as a member of the professional octet at Saint Mary's Bourne Street, where I learned so much about musicianship and liturgy under the direction of William Whitehead. And while I took on some low-level solo work, I found it

stressful. I've always been an overthinker. However, those experiences have helped me relate in my teaching to musicians who struggle with performance anxiety, perfectionism, and so on. For ten years I taught singing two days a week at a girls' secondary school in Knightsbridge, which again taught me so much about getting the best from developing singers. At the same time, I developed my professional choral workshop work, and loved the sense of advocating for repertoire and supporting amateur singers to develop their skills.

I have always tried to straddle both the world of academia/musicology and the practical/freelance side. It was probably a foolish path, but I love both and I think the one nourishes the other. In particular, I think it's very good for performance students to be taught by someone who make some of their living as a freelancer.

At Bristol University I had such good colleagues and really talented students – with a superb Choral Society and chamber choir to conduct (I shared leadership of Singers with David Bednall, *illus.3*). At Canterbury Christ Church I led performance teaching and assessment, ran the public concert and masterclass series and directed multiple ensembles (*illus.4*) - a stupendous amount of work but the joy was teaching students who were frequently from similar state-school backgrounds to my own and seeing them excel, with many of the best ones taking careers in music teaching and professional performance.



Illus.3 Bristol University Singers, recording session with David Bednall (Summer 2013)

During this time I continued to conduct the Renaissance Singers (I became their Musical Director in 2010), and to keep a small roster of freelance work with organizations like RunbySingers and regional early music fora.



Illus.4 Conducting the Chamber Choir in Canterbury Cathedral (March 2017)

In 2019, as the situation deteriorated sharply in my university (classical music didn't last much longer there), I returned to a fully freelance life, which turned out to be deeply inopportune timing! However, the lengthy curtailment of in-person music-making showed me that I know a lot of supportive people, and that I had skills in delivering online talks and lectures – using technology I'd never used before 2020!

It was very bad luck to become chronically ill with long Covid (gifted to me by a singer as in-person choral courses restarted), but recovery from that frightening and debilitating period – I thought I would have to stop work entirely but disguised the severity as I didn't want people to stop booking me – has taught me to be more patient with myself and to pace myself better. I'm now so grateful to be busy again, and proud that I have a full diary of work without advertising my services. And I hope I am more understanding of the challenges faced by singers I encounter who are struggling with illness or chronic conditions.

What have been the highlights in terms of concerts, repertoire and venues?

Some of the greatest moments happen in private: behind closed doors, in a rehearsal or workshop, there can be moments of sublimity, where tears roll down singers' cheeks or I, as conductor, feel myself lift out of my body. These clarifying moments of connection can sustain you through everything else, and they don't need to be witnessed or applauded

because we are here to ‘make’ together in the moment, not preparing to ‘show’ our work for the judgement of others.

Workshops so often take place in astonishing spaces — abbeys, rural churches, country houses, city halls. To take very recent working locations: the great Danish churches of Løgumkloster and Aarhus; Stockholm churches such as Hedvig Eleonora; Wells Cathedral (in darkness) and Canterbury spaces like the Beaney Museum and St Martin’s (the oldest church in the English-speaking world). But the humdrum spaces – community centres and suburban churches — all work just as well, if the group’s engaging with wonderful repertoire.

In terms of public moments, absolute peaks would include performing in Canterbury Cathedral with my student chamber choir (and even full orchestra, *illus.5*), performing with the Renaissance Singers in Italy, Sweden and Spain (the latter was singing *Vivanco* and *Victoria* in their hometown of Ávila after releasing a CD recording), the privilege of creating immersive musical events in historical spaces with Professor Eamon Duffy as interpreter. I love ‘taking music home’ (e.g. Tallis at Waltham Abbey, John Mundy at St Mary-at-Hill, Hugh Aston at Launde Abbey — or, most movingly, Byrd at Ingatestone Hall: what a privilege).



Illus.5 Orchestra and choir in Canterbury Cathedral (2015)

There have been so many peak concerts — many of them with the excellent Rennies (*illus.6*), such as singing at St John’s, Smith Square with Arvo Pärt watching on, to the choir’s recent 80th anniversary celebration at St George’s, Bloomsbury with alumni,

massed cornetts and sackbuts. Or the sheer thrill of directing Bristol University Singers under the rotunda in the Victoria Rooms, their youthful voices lighting the space up in Guerrero and Victoria.



Illus.6 Renaissance Singers concert at St George's, Bloomsbury (2024)

As for repertoire, Victoria remains the apogee for me, but I find so much interest in his Iberian contemporaries (Guerrero, Ceballos, Vivanco ... Cardoso's music never fails to move me). I love Josquin for his balance of intellect and humanity; Monteverdi for his deep understanding of the human condition; Palestrina for the beautiful architecture of his music. Recently Phinot has been an obsession, too. And the early Tudor stuff (Eton Choirbook to Tallis) — especially the votive antiphons I studied for my doctorate — is a lifelong love: how to make sense and shape such vast sonic edifices, and give amateur singers a way in to that style, and engage and move audiences...

Tell us about your research work, and how it has impacted your attitudes to performance.

My research work is driven by an interest in the contextual meaning of musical acts, both to the makers of the music and the witnesses/hearers of the music. Many of my concerns gnaw at the disparity between the way Western musicology has often regarded compositions as 'texts', while most people experienced music as an 'act' in space and time. (And the way that our systems of training musicians and critiquing their work prioritizes the reproduction of the 'text' over other elements, reducing performer agency and feeding the anxiety of perfectionism.)

My longstanding interest in the Early Tudor votive antiphon arose out of the disjunction between the thrilling, emotional and spiritual experience of singing the music and the way in which Music talked about such pieces — so drily, using architectural metaphors like fan vaulting. My contention is that these works exist to persuade the intercessor, that they are strategic and rhetorical and that patrons and composers were aware they were creating a persuasive artistic communication with the purpose of helping souls in their progress through purgatory. This changes many interpretative decisions for performers, as the piece is no longer merely a sonic structure but the unfolding of a prayer act within a culture of anxiety and belief.

More recently I've become very interested in the motivation and experiences of singers, especially amateurs who attend workshops and residential schools. My experience is that while many participants are agnostics or sceptics, almost all crave some spiritual nourishment from their singing, seeking connection outside themselves. Polyphony, with its lack of external instrumental support and parity of lines in a dialogue, can stimulate a paradoxical experience of autonomy and collectivity.

I see my job as a conductor as giving agency to singers to be creative within the bounds of collective agreement — it's the model for a utopian society, if only we could extend it! — by giving them permission to be imperfect, reducing anxiety, while pointing towards the purpose of the music, which lies far outside ourselves and our egos. The ultimate goal is the flow state, where singers forget themselves while collectively absorbed in 'musicking' together and far exceed their technical and expressive expectations. I'm always looking for the most effective way to get singers there, without neglecting the underpinnings of pitch, rhythm, ensemble, etc. ... though with so many parameters in flux you can never guarantee the golden moment!

Tell us about your process for running workshops and working with amateur singers.

Programming is key — I spend days on music selection, often much longer than the event will last, trying to balance the degree of familiarity / novelty, challenge / pleasure, etc.. You have to be able to 'sell' a programme to a choir and audience.

I prep scores at length in the days before a workshop, even if I know the music well. Everything is marked up, I have the translation of every text, and I write notes to myself about the Music's context and structure. Since having long Covid for over two years from Easter 2022 with terrifying episodes of brain fog I trust myself less to remember and articulate the supporting information, but thankfully the memory has returned.

Stoking and then managing the group's energy is key, from the warm-up to the end of the day, and that means judging the order of works and how hard to push details. Gauging the group's capacity and then setting goals reasonably beyond their default levels of sight-reading, tuning, expression, etc., is a good starting point and then you try to model and sustain an atmosphere of focus, rigour, creativity and acceptance which fully respects the music in hand. The key is meeting the group 'where it is' and then indicating that you

expect a whole lot more, which can be quite a challenge with ‘all-comer’ workshops, where singers will have a huge diversity of skills and experience (illus.7).



Illus.7 Conducting workshop in Shrewsbury (October 2021)

I love managing the pace and energy of such days, and advocating for music that people may not have encountered before, or thought they already knew. I want them to depart equipped with technical and interpretative ideas they can use, having practised their hobby in a supportive, collegial environment which made them feel that their contribution mattered. There are always leaders and passengers, and I like to mix, move and reseal groups to break down hierarchies and encourage confidence in the timid and humility in the insensitive!

Private residential groups are wonderful — I work with some quite elite ones — but the public open workshops matter a lot, too, as a gateway to early music: not only its repertoire and social structures but its modern, democratic creative ethos. The huge pleasure is applying my musicianship and my technical/historical knowledge with groups made up of people who thirst to know about the music and get inside it. I use a lot more academic and practical knowledge now than I ever did at my last full-time university post — in a context where it’s welcomed, and what a joy to have work where people are constantly striving to engage and show their best self.

How has the historical performance movement changed during your career?

I feel that the scene is healthy but that questing/theoretical energy in early music has moved away from the UK. The British scene has always been a hybrid, sustained by the

Oxbridge (and wider) university and Anglican cathedral ecosystem as much as by musicologists, which means that it's a blend of establishment defaults and theoretical challenge.

The main practical problems, now and in the medium term, involve the narrowness of access, especially because state-school subject provision of music has collapsed in the last ten years, and the transactional nature of higher education, with indebted students unsurprisingly focusing on graduate employability rather than following their academic curiosity or creative talent, then seeing what they can do with it. Lacking supply, many UK music departments have shrunk or closed.

Meanwhile, musicology as a discipline has reformed itself (a long overdue process), taking on new concerns and emphases which have seen remaining departments tend to drop, dilute or recalibrate traditional elements of the curriculum (history, theory, editing, harmony and counterpoint training, analysis) to make space for other musics, perspectives and approaches, which tends to mitigate against UK students finding a pathway to working at a specialized level on (say) analyzing, editing and performing 16th century sacred polyphony.

So I worry that fewer students are coming through to early music in the UK, and that they come from a narrower demographic than in the past, and that the pandemic shutdown only exacerbated this, because early career singers, players and conductors who didn't have financial wherewithal struggled to brook the barren months in which their income stopped. And this is not to mention the dearth of communal singing (e.g. in schools, pubs and churches), meaning that fewer people have the inclination or ability to join choirs or come to workshops.

So I am always heartened to meet younger singers, conductors and instrumentalists. I think all those working as performers, teachers and workshop leaders need to be advocates of this music into wider culture, which means grasping the new digital tools and, to some extent, finding people where they are – in their phones, on social media, etc – to stimulate interest and draw new audiences.

I think that while traditional models of concert-giving will remain central to most ensembles, primarily for logistical and financial reasons, it never really suited polyphony best – this isn't chamber music or symphonies designed as a backdrop to bourgeois pleasures, or as sublime statements for aesthetic worship; nor was it designed a celestial sound-bath to soothe the soul – though it can serve all those purposes. But much better, I think, to place the music in a context, in an architecture, to create participatory and enveloping moments for people who encounter the music.

Groups I currently love include Graindelavoix for their provocative rethinking of the sight and sound of polyphony, The Alehouse Sessions for their physicality and engagement with audiences in a space, Cappella Pratensis for their performance practice and sound. I also think groups in the folk space have much to teach early musicians about presentation and

audience engagement — I started watching a lot of traditional Corsican and Georgian polyphony on YouTube during the lockdowns. In my own zone, conventional *a cappella* polyphony, a group like the Portuguese Cupertinos is refreshing in the way it doesn't ape the English style of singing (so long the pioneering default) but applies bright, brittle vowels to the lines.

The challenge for early music now — with so much changed and still in flux, in terms of the supply of participants, leaders, listeners and technologies — is to work out how to keep its repertoire and practices alive and available to society, selling itself without compromising its integrity. Because the rich materials we work with, the joys and consolations they offer to anyone who cares to engage with them, and the profound insights into the human condition they contain, are needed more than ever before.

A visit to the birthplace of Antonio de Cabezón

Glen Wilson

By the end of the 9th century, the Christian reconquest of Spain from the Moors, initiated by successors of the old Visigothic kingdom from north of the Cantabrian mountains, had reached the line of the River Duero. There began a campaign of repopulation, which included the vast plain of the Meseta. The villages there are now almost deserted, but the countless churches large and small – a tremendous heritage of Visigothic, Mozarabic, Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance architecture – remain; incongruous amidst crumbling houses and boarded-up stores, seldom served by priests, and locked tight in fear of thieves.

In 1035, Jews fleeing a pogrom fortified themselves on a hilltop 30 km southwest of Burgos. The Castilians called the place *Castrillo Mota de Judíos* ('Hill of Jews'). In 1627 the name was changed to *Matajudíos* ('Kill Jews'). A recent mayor campaigned for a retroversion, which was passed by plebiscite in 2015. 2022 saw a new Sephardic cultural centre inaugurated, but at the entrance to the tiny village, present population about 50 souls, anti-Israel flags and graffiti have proliferated. There have been deplorable incidents.

The minor nobility of the area were called *de Cabezón*. 1510 saw the birth of a boy baptized Antonio, who soon went blind. When he was 10 Antonio was sent to the nearby cathedral town of Palencia (illus.1 shows the present cathedral organ),¹ where an uncle or cousin — the relationship isn't entirely clear — was an administrator. It is assumed that the move was connected to the boy's talent for music; a post as organist was an option for educated men without sight. Palencia then had an important organist called *García de Baeza* (given name unknown), and it has always been said, without further documentation, that he taught the noble boy from *Castrillo Mota de Judíos*. In any case, Antonio's career was launched at age 16 when he was hired by Emperor Charles V (Charles I, as King of Spain) as keyboard player to his wife. Antonio rose to become one of the greatest composers in the history of Spain. He was a close friend of Philip II, travelled with him across Europe, and must have been well known to the court painter Sofonisba Anguissola. Cabezón is often referred to (a bit unfairly) as 'the father of keyboard music', but he certainly helped raise it to a new level and likely gave a decisive impulse to Byrd and the Virginalists during an 18-month stay in England.

After visiting Palencia Cathedral on a recent trip to northern Spain with my wife and colleague Naoko Akutagawa, we sought out Cabezón's birthplace. The snow-covered Burgos Mountains loomed on the horizon as we drove across the Meseta. There was no sign of life as we parked on the Plaza Antonio Cabezón and looked around. Then a lady

appeared to fetch water from a communal faucet. I asked if she knew where the former residence of the family was, and she pointed up a nearby street.



Illus.1 Organ in the choir of Palencia Cathedral. The old organ was replaced in 1688 by the Echeverría family (all photos: Naoko Akutagawa)

I had seen a photo of the house, or what was left of it, some 15 years ago. A friend had been there together with a musical tour. I remembered a rectangular carved coat of arms on a stone wall, but nothing of the kind was visible. A man appeared from a doorway, letting out his dog. I asked him the same question; yes, the house was on the other side of the street and had collapsed completely (illus.2). There was a large vacant lot sloping upwards; behind it were ochre remains of adobe brick walls, which had long been melting in the rain and sun.



Illus.2 Remains of the former Cabezón residence

The man said he thought the coat of arms had gone to a museum in Burgos. If we could wait a moment, he would phone the lady living just to the left of the site - she might show us something of interest. Soon a tiny elderly woman appeared from the plaza and invited us into her house. We penetrated upwards through odd spaces and across little patios, our hostess brushing aside dogs as we went. She opened a creaking door to a dark room which was adjacent to the ruins and pointed to the ceiling, which was dark with soot. Between the lighter set of beams, the bottoms of the tiles from the floor above were visible. They held rectangular protrusions which filled the spaces between the beams and fixed them in place, in a style which I learned later was common in noble Spanish residences in the 16th and 17th centuries, called *alfarje*. They were usually stamped with the names of the owners, a date and a motto. In this case, they said (on separate tiles) ANTONIO, CABEZON, ANNO 1669, BITORIA, CALL EXA (Illus.3a/b).



Illus.3a/ b Alfarje tiles on the ceiling of an annex to the Cabezón residence

This must have been a 17th-century addition or renewal to the Cabezón house, made by a bearer of the illustrious family forebear's name who married a lady named Vitoria Calleja.

In a state of heightened emotion, I begged our guide for a photo. She demurred on grounds of shabby appearance, but by convincing her that I was equally shabby, she finally agreed. The gentleman who introduced us then led us back out onto the street and picked up the keys to the church of San Esteban (Illus.4) from a neighbour.



Illus.4 The church of San Esteban, Castrillo Mota de Judíos

We entered an edifice of a size and splendor quite out of keeping with present-day Castrillo Mota de Judíos, but well in line with its state of decay. We were led to a side altar where *Señora* started riffling through a tattered guide dossier, pages falling to the ground as she searched. The story that eventually emerged from word, paper and gesture was this: the altar where we stood was dedicated to Saint Laura. It was built to hold a reliquary of the saint's skull, which had been given to Antonio de Cabezón by Philip II as a mark of his great esteem. The *ciego tañedor* ('blind keyboard player', as he was known) had then sent it back to his birthplace. An attempted theft had caused the treasure to be put into safekeeping. It is processed once a year, on Laura's feast day. The gift was an appropriate one, since Laura was a Christian martyr from Córdoba.

As we took our farewell after this extraordinary passage, the lady mentioned that her maternal grandfather's name was Cabezón, and that the other fellow was her brother. I leave the reader to imagine my state of mind.

The Plaza Antonio de Cabezón, Castrillo Mota de Judíos, contains a well with the composer's name on. Nearby, the prettiest house in town (illus.6) is in a precarious state, and is up for sale.



Illus.5 The reliquary of St. Laura, with its small central door in the large altar open; donated by Antonio de Cabezón in 1552 to the church of his birthplace; from a page of the church guide dossier



Illus.6 House with columns just off Plaza Antonio de Cabezón. Sign En Venta in the window on the right

I foolishly thought I had made some major discoveries, but upon returning home I found everything already written up in Kastner's still-unsurpassed biography. He had travelled Iberia at a time when things were still closer to the 16th century than to the 21st; hard travelling indeed, but authentic Spain, not the homogenized present. The libraries and archives must have been a nightmare, and internet search wasn't even a gleam in Bill Gates' infant eye. I had struggled through the book while preparing my Naxos recordings of Cabezón,² but must plead a combination of Kastner's florid, digressive German prose and my own advanced age for having forgotten his detailed description of Castrillo de Matajudíos.³ He includes his 1959 diary entry, and the names of the then-resident Cabezóns. They matched the names given to us by their second-generation descendants. He must have been as elated then as I was last March. The double name of Cabezón Valleja is still widespread around Burgos and Zamora.

Kastner says that the reliquary was given to Cabezón by the Kurfürst of Heidelberg, 'undoubtedly in appreciation of his playing', during the 1549-52 tour of Europe by then-Crown Prince Philip. I have launched a search for the two documents said by Kastner to confirm this variant of the story, which in his time were still in the possession of the parish. When he returned from the three-year excursion, Cabezón was granted six months leave, some of which he used to journey to his hometown and deposit the reliquary in the church of his childhood.

Francisco de Salinas

Three years later than Cabezón but a mere 30 km from Castrillo Mota de Judíos, the other blind genius organist of Golden Age Spain was born: Francisco de Salinas (illus.7).

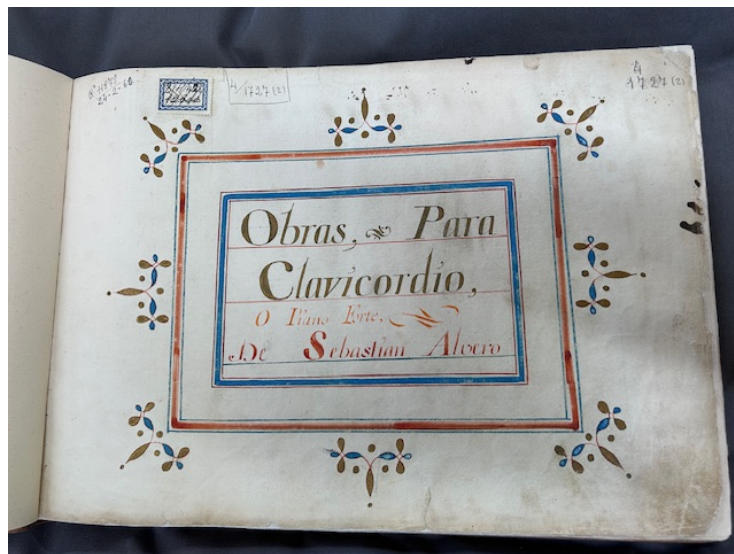
Nothing remains of his work at the keyboard, where according to a contemporary, 'he worked miracles with his hands'; but when he became professor of music at Salamanca, the salary had to be doubled to match that which he had received as organist of the cathedral of León. His fame, of course, rests on the greatest work of theoretical music — if we except Zarlino as being more concerned with practical counterpoint — of the 16th century, *De Musica Libri Septem* (Salamanca, 1577).⁴

The possibility that Salinas knew Cabezón at Palencia while both were studying with García de Baeza has been mooted. But there is an equal amount of documentation for this meeting (namely none) as there is for their alleged studies with García. It certainly would be nice to know whether there was a Spanish parallel to Eisenach and Halle. Those two cities are four times farther apart than Castrillo and Burgos, but their greatest scions were famously born in the same year. Cabezón and Salinas moved in different circles, as did Bach and Handel. Salinas spent even longer in Italy than Handel did; Cabezón was incomparably more traveled than Bach; all four ended their lives deprived of sight.



Illus.7 Engraving of Francisco de Salinas (Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1791) from the series Retratos de los españoles ilustres. Original portrait by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, engraver unknown, possibly Manuel Salvador Carmona

The final event of this excursion was a viewing at the Real Conservatorio Superior de Música de Madrid of a monument of Spanish music from the halfway point in time between the birth of Cabezón and the present day: the manuscript of Sebastian Albero's remarkable *Obras* (illus.8); six Sonatas in three movements each – *Recercata*, *Fuga* and bipartite Sonata in the style of Albero's mentor, Domenico Scarlatti. Little-known Albero is, on the whole, the finest of Scarlatti's Spanish followers.⁵ The *Recercatas*, in particular, are the most detailed in terms of notation of any quasi-improvisatory works before Clementi, and rank for musical merit with those of Charles Couperin and d'Anglebert.



Illus.8 Cover page of Sabastián Albero, Obras, Para Clavicordio, O Piano Forte, manuscript presentation copy made for King Ferdinand VI by José Alaguero, post-1749 (the year of Albero's appointment as organist of the royal chapel)

Glen Wilson, born in the USA in 1952 and a Dutch citizen since 1988, looks back on a long and distinguished career as an early keyboard specialist, writer and editor, and was recently limited to the last two occupations by a mild stroke. He taught at the Würzburg Musikhochschule for many years, and has written a biography called Hitler's Harpsichordist: The Passionate Life and Troubled Times of Eta Harich-Schneider. <http://www.glenwilson.eu>

Notes

¹ While García de Baeza is absent from *New Grove* and *MGG*, another man of the same patronym is recorded in both as maestro de capilla at Palencia from late 1521 to January 1525: Juan García de Basurto. Kastner is silent about him. While no works survive by García de Baeza (Kastner devotes several pages to an attempt at linking three anonymous tientos to him), a few vocal works by his senior colleague have come down to us. His path even crossed Cabezón's again from 1529; he was master of the chapel of Empress Isabella, where Cabezón was organist. Who is to say whether the compositional mastery of *el ciego tañedor* owed more to García de Basurto than to García de Baeza?

² *Antonio de Cabezón, Complete Tientos and Variations*, Glen Wilson (harpsichord), Naxos 8.572475-76 (2012), *Antonio, Hernando and Bernardo de Cabezón, Glosas*, Glen Wilson (harpsichord), Naxos 8.572477 (2013).

³ Macario Santiago Kastner, *Antonio und Hernando de Cabezón: eine Chronik* (Tutzing, 1977), p.25ff.

⁴ Book VI contains the first recorded collection of folk songs, used by Salinas to illustrate rhythms. The master Spanish folklorist Joaquín Díaz Rodríguez (whom we met at his institute in Urueña on this trip), has issued a charming CD of arrangements of 20 of these melodies, *Canciones Populares del Siglo XVI*, Fundación Joaquín Díaz (2006).

⁵ See Glen Wilson, 'On the *Recervatas* of Sebastián Albero', *Harpsichord & Fortepiano*, xxx/2 (Spring 2026), pp.4-7.

The Loss and Survival of Musical Artifacts

Francis Knights and Pablo Padilla

Introduction

The writing of history depends on information – written, visual, oral or otherwise – that is inevitably very incomplete, and sometimes also inconsistent, inaccurate or contradictory. While disciplines such as archaeology and paleontology have become expert in working with highly selective material and extrapolating (or speculating) as to the nature of what has not survived, a much broader area of ‘lost studies’ has emerged in the past few decades across many subjects, covering (among others) lost civilizations, cultures, cities, buildings, transport, languages and animals;¹ there is even now a complete catalogue of the 2,060 English country houses that have disappeared since 1800.² The majority of these studies are concerned with material objects in an archaeological sense, but many other intangible things in music and other aspects of culture can also be lost, including skills, crafts and knowledge (for example, the meaning of the ornament signs used in virginal music),³ whether once recorded or not. Unless specifically notated in the music itself or described in treatises, many performance practices have been lost; comparing works in which the ornamentation has been written out with the plain version can give an idea of how much has been lost.⁴

Many music-related objects survive only in a partial or secondary form, including copies or engravings of lost paintings;⁵ descriptions, drawings or plans of musical instruments; arrangements of musical works; or recordings or photographs of instruments now no longer extant. Probably the most remarkable example of this is the Sumerian-era Queen’s Lyre, found by Leonard Woolley in 1922 during the Ur excavations in modern-day Iraq:⁶ he poured molten wax into the space that he guessed was left by a vanished lyre, and so was able to extract a mould of it (illus.1) – the representation of an instrument that exists only through its complete absence.

The term ‘lost’ comprises many sub-categories, from things that have been deliberately or accidentally destroyed to those that have decayed, been damaged, neglected, stolen or mislaid. The categories below cover manuscripts and prints; musical instruments (especially keyboards); and paintings, principally from the later Middle Ages to the end of the 18th century, by which time antiquarians had begun many of the collections that would later form the basis of the world’s museums and archives. It should be added that, unless appropriately catalogued and easily available, being in a museum does not guarantee that (for practical purposes), an object is not in effect ‘lost’.

The saving or rescue of material was often related to its perceived value, either in terms of materials, historical significance, association or rarity; highly decorated material such as instruments or manuscripts could fulfil all of these requirements, and some decorative arts collections (for example, the Victoria & Albert Museum) specialized in these. Thereafter, restoration made possible preservation, either for public display, or private use or study.

Given the natural decay of organic materials over time, even if kept in optimal conditions, historical material was usually found in a condition requiring treatment to enable long-term survival (for a large-scale example, consider the 1511 Tudor warship *Mary Rose*, raised off Portsmouth in 1982 and now in its own museum).⁷ In fact, entire buildings have been reconstructed from previous plans and photographs, as happened during the post-war rebuilding of Dresden, Warsaw and other cities.



Illus.1 Leonard Woolley with a plaster model of the excavated Sumerian 'Queen's Lyre' from Ur (1922)

Where the decay was too serious, rendering an object unusable, unrestorable or fragmentary, things were often discarded as 'broken' beyond viable or affordable repair. The gap between these two states (represented by a keep/discard dichotomy) is the 'loss point': the moment at which something can or cannot affordably or desirably be repaired or retained, as perceived at the time. This can vary considerably between different classes of object: for example, a few intact pages from a heavily damaged medieval music manuscript may be kept as a display artwork; or an unusable square piano with its mechanism missing or damaged might either be discarded, or converted into a piece of furniture such as a desk.⁸

The issue of use-redundancy (for example, a harpsichord retained in a mid-19th-century drawing room as decorative rather than functional) applies, and can be over-ridden if the item is perceived to be of historical interest or aesthetic value, even if it no longer works or has a practical use. In the same way, documents and objects can have an 'heirloom' value to families, individuals or institutions, regardless of their condition or purpose, and some early keyboards seem to have survived on that basis. While the 1691 Vincent Thibaut harpsichord (see below; a very rare example of a 17th-century French instrument) was found in a clearly 'broken' state, extensive restorations of such instruments have sometimes returned them to something approaching as-new condition. Had the Thibaut been found at a different time by a different or non-expert person, or in slightly worse condition, it could easily have been discarded.

The Lost Music Project, to which this article is an introduction, is concerned with three particular questions:⁹

- What objects are missing or lost?
- Why and how did they become lost?
- To what extent are the surviving objects representative, in type, quantity or quality?

Throughout, comparative reference below is made to non-musical sources, such as library studies, where they can shed light on musical traditions.

Creation

At the point of creation of an object, its eventual fate is sometimes considered; what materials is it made of, where will it be kept, who will look after it? and so on. These questions can affect the standard to which work is done, whether it is intended in some sense to be unique (in the sense of private – consider the coded writings of Leonardo da Vinci and Samuel Pepys), or whether it is intended to act as a further source for others (for example, some of Bach's keyboard manuscripts as copy-texts for his pupils). For material produced on a commissioned or commercial basis, such as codices, efficient methods were soon developed to ensure the speed and quality of production, sometimes supported by guild rules. In 13th century Paris and Oxford, for example, there were two particular streets where specialists gathered, meaning that stationers, copyists and binders all had the advantage of working within a highly localized community of craftsmen.¹⁰ The better such work they produced, the more care was likely to be taken of it by its eventual owners.

After the creation may come the transmission of material, whether voluntary or otherwise. This can include sale, war booty (such as the library of Lucullus, taken during the 1st-century BC Mithradatic wars)¹¹ or theft (material subsequently appearing on the open market, the black market or by private sale). Transport was often risky across distances, and some early instrument suppliers made a point of dividing their cargoes between several ships when crossing the channel, as some form of risk coverage against loss.¹²

In the digital era, the question of storage format becomes crucial. To what extent a change in format might be equivalent to a loss in practice is yet to be assessed, but many documents which were previously stored in specific formats no longer in use or subject to deterioration (cassette tapes, reel-to-reel tape, floppy discs and so on) may effectively be lost.

Collectors and collecting

An awareness of the fragility of documents led a number of early writers and book owners to try and control their successors or readers, legally or morally: ‘book curses’ against theft were sometimes written into the front of codices,¹³ and while music is rarely annotated in this way, a late 15th-/early 16th-century Middle English example does exist in the Pepys library in Cambridge:

He That stelle Thys boke,
A shalle be hangked vp on a hoke,
no vther be water nor be lond,
wyt a fayer hempyng bond.

*He who steals this book,
Shall be hanged upon a hook,
Either by water or by land,
With a good hemp band.*¹⁴

Writers like the 7th-century bishop Gregory of Tours, on leaving his extensive manuscript writings to his successors, noted, ‘I conjure you all ... that you never permit these books to be destroyed, or to be rewritten, or to be reproduced in part only with sections omitted... Keep them in your possession, intact, with no amendments and just as I have left them to you’.¹⁵ Format also mattered: a 15th-century monk, Johannes Trithemius, wrote *In Praise of Scribes* (1492), ‘The word written on parchment will last a thousand years. The printed word is on paper. How long will it last? The most you can expect a book of paper to survive is two hundred years’.¹⁶ Fortunately he was incorrect in the latter respect.

Throughout history, large libraries have been destroyed or ransacked – the library of Alexandria in antiquity being the most famous example – but this process has not ceased in the modern age: major collections at Jaffna (1981) and Sarajevo (1992) are among the most recent,¹⁷ while the Schoenberg archive in Los Angeles (comprising some 100,000 documents) was destroyed by fire only last year.¹⁸

Collections of musical paintings are relatively rare, although Padre Martini¹⁹ and C. P. E. Bach²⁰ owned significant numbers of works in the 18th century, and the earlier Oxford University music collection was and is significant.²¹ Once dispersed, provenance of the surviving works can be problematic; paintings of Purcell, Corelli, Handel and Geminiani, with the busts of the first two, were owned by The Concert of Ancient Music in 1786,²² but it is not possible to specifically identify any of these with extant works.²³

Ownership categories can be important: for a professional performer, a musical instrument is principally a working tool, but also one (as for a collector) with an asset value that can be realized in due course. For an institution, an instrument collection is one that can either function as a public museum repository, or a working collection for loan or hire to

students; while some institutional collectors (such as banks) have taken to ‘investing’ in valuable string instruments which are lent to leading performers. Other collections were originally assembled for their study value or as a research resource;²⁴ for this to be effective, the objects must be researched and catalogued thoroughly, and sometimes restored, which is a major expense. In order to preserve original material intact, some museums have commissioned working copies of instruments on which performers can experiment. An early example was the first historic clavichord reproduction made in Germany, built in 1911 by Otto Marx (1871-1964) as a copy of the 1543 Dominicus Pisarenensis.²⁵

Some instrument collections were established as permanent, with restrictive covenants as to use, while others allowed for more flexibility. Modest private collections could function as a resource for demonstrations (for example, in the late-19th-century lecture-recitals by pianist and scholar A. J. Hipkins),²⁶ and larger collectors often hoped to create representative collections, a concept that is now near-impossible due to the paucity of newly-discovered material coming onto the market. Generally, the availability of working instruments beyond their own style period (for example, the viola da gamba) meant that older repertoire might also be kept in play privately for much longer than has previously been realized.²⁷

The process of aggregate book collecting – from previous owners, libraries or institutions – has also led to ‘lost’ libraries being found within extant collections, such as the remnants of the 16th-century Pagliarini Collection incorporated into the Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica in Bologna,²⁸ or the 18th-century Academy of Ancient Music library now at Westminster Abbey.²⁹ The huge library of Fernando Colon (1488-1539) is represented by a quarter of its original contents, now held in Seville Cathedral.³⁰

Recording losses

The sources recording musical items now lost take many forms, including paintings, drawings, inventories, wills, probate records, dairies, newspaper reports and advertisements,³¹ archival descriptions, insurance documentation³² and auction catalogues. Many of these remain to be fully explored; for example, Puttick & Simpson in London held close to 11,000 auctions between 1846-1971, including 1,650 of music,³³ and they were just one of many dealers there. Even were those records digitized and aggregated for searching, identifying actual material from brief descriptions is a challenge: a typical entry from 1863 is ‘Lot 469, five motet partbooks’.³⁴ Secondary references can also be hard to find, and are individually not always very informative: that there was a chapel organ in Peterhouse, Cambridge, after the Restoration was originally known only because of a Probate document referring to the organist at that time.³⁵ However, where all sources can be assessed and combined, it is often possible to provide a convincing historical narrative, as with Peter Holman’s recent study of Handel’s harpsichords.³⁶

Damage, decay and re-use

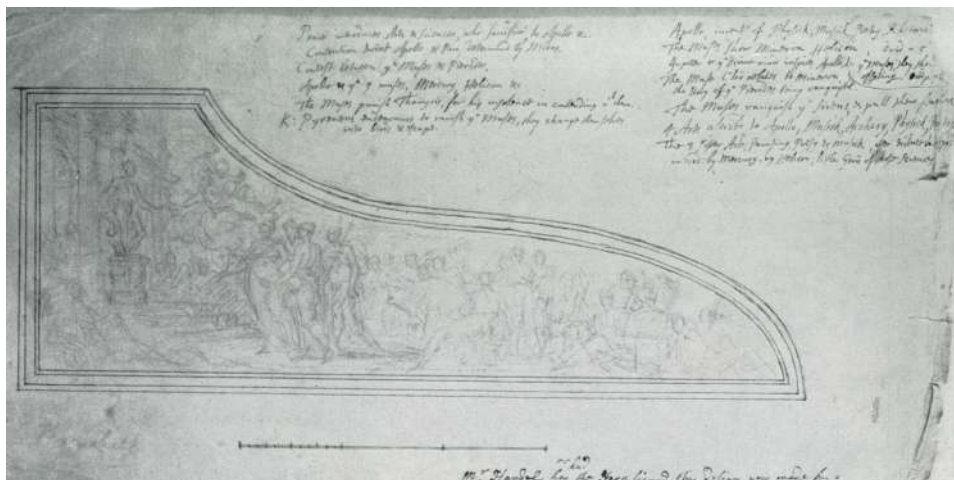
Materials decay or degrade at different speeds, depending on their treatment or storage conditions. Sometimes these can be minor, such as mould resulting from damp conditions, which becomes major if not treated. Historical descriptions of neglect can be very striking, as when librarian Hugo Blotius arrived at his new post in the court library of the Holy Roman Emperor in Vienna in 1575: ‘There was mould and rot everywhere, the debris of moths and bookworms, and a thick covering of cobwebs’.³⁷ However, objects such as musical instruments that are looked after can have a very long life-span: the earliest surviving organs, harpsichords and clavichords are nearly half-a-millennium old, and some of those only a little younger are still in playing condition.

The main source of damage to both instruments and books is water, whether in the form of an actual flood, or mere humidity. This leads at best to staining and a worst to rot; it can also degrade the organic glues used historically, causing an instrument to literally fall apart (or even collapse, if under strong string tension): a complete 1729 Posch violone found in Annaberg Abbey, Austria, in 1955 was originally described as ‘a few wooden planks lying there in a disorderly heap’.³⁸ Woodworm can also destroy structural integrity, while action parts such as quills, felt hammers and listing cloth can also be destroyed by insect damage, such as moths. Metal items such as strings rust and break over the centuries (illus.2). Surface damage (dirt or scratches), while a normal part of wear-and-tear, can (like heavy playing) can also be detrimental: there are early keyboards which literally have deep grooves in their surface due to finger-wear, as with the 1674 Thamar organ at Framlingham church.

Partial loss can also occur, as when just a portion of an object is retained, and the rest discarded as damaged or unwanted. One such example is the painting inside a harpsichord lid, which could cost as much to have done as the value of the instrument itself, and survive separately for its artistic worth. In 1604 Sweelinck travelled to Antwerp to buy a harpsichord from the Ruckers workshop, costing 200 guilders including transport. Remarkably, the lid (only) from this instrument has recently been identified, containing an allegorical painting by Pieter Isaacsz.³⁹ Two further examples of a harpsichord lid painting where only the design survives can be found in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and in the National Galleries of Scotland. The first is a drawing of a harpsichord lid painting by James Thornhill (1675-1734), annotated ‘Mr. Handel has or had the Harpsichord this design was made for’ (illus.3);⁴⁰ the second is an anonymous drawing now entitled ‘People Dancing and Making Music’ of c.1560–70.⁴¹ In neither case does an instrument survive. More recently, Malcolm Rose successfully constructed the case and mechanism of a mid-18th-century spinet to fit a surviving historic walnut lid he owned; with such projects, the Ship of Theseus hoves into view.



Illus.2 Unrestored late 18th-century square piano, with broken strings (photo: Francis Knights)



Illus.3 James Thornhill, Allegorical composition for the lid of a harpsichord⁴²

The older the source, the more likely that it has become damaged. For example, Karen Desmond notes that there are 75 manuscripts surviving from the thirteenth century containing polyphony that were copied in the British Isles. She finds that an incredible 57 of these are fragmentary - 76 per cent.⁴³ Owners at the time were well aware that a continuing process of repair was needed to preserve heavily used or important (religious or liturgical) material: ‘a damaged book was not easily thrown away. In abbeys, monks were expected to repair volumes that had become damaged. During their visitations to Syon Abbey, bishops were required to check, “If ther be an inuentyory or register of the bokes of the library, and how they and other bokes of study be kepte and repayred”’.⁴⁴ The Eton Choirbook, one of the most impressive 16th-century musical manuscripts, was apparently

neglected in its home institution for nearly four hundred years, when found on top of a cupboard in the 1920s;⁴⁵ such benign neglect likely ensured its preservation.

Paper partbooks (individual bound musical parts, usually gathering groups of pieces by composer or genre) were the most common format of the 16th and 17th centuries, and were relatively cheap to produce, as well as being easy to manage in performance and convenient to store. Unlike large choirbooks which contained all the voices,⁴⁶ their downside is that individual volumes from a set could be damaged or lost, rendering the set unusable. This has happened many times into the present (most 16th and 17th century British manuscript sets are now incomplete, and many have been since they started appearing in auction catalogues in the early 19th century) but this was recognized as a danger at the time too. At Trinity College, Cambridge in 1664, when George Loosemore (organist 1660-82) found that a manuscript set of 'Grace-songs which wee use upon our Solemne Feast-daies' by his predecessor Robert Ramsey (organist 1628-42) was incomplete he composed new settings of the same texts, noting in a handwritten dedication that 'by the unhappie losse of one book, or part, [Ramsey's] accurate parries, and labours, is lost and become uselesse'.⁴⁷ The missing music could actually have been found in the Peterhouse partbook copies a little way along the street, had he known.

Substantial materials, including wood and parchment, were worth keeping even when their original purpose had passed (consider also the amount of dressed stone that survives from Medieval buildings in later structures). The antiquarian John Aubrey (1626-97), writing after the two huge upheavals of the Reformation and the English Civil War, puts it very colourfully: 'In my grand Father's dayes the Manuscripts flew about like Butterflies. All Musick bookes, Account bookes, Copie bookes, etc, were covered with old Manuscripts, as wee cover them now with blew Paper or Marbled Paper. And the Glovers at Malmesbury made great Havoc of them and Gloves were wrapt up no doubt in many good pieces of antiquity'.⁴⁸ Lesser paper could be used for mundane purposes such as to wrap fish or meat, the alleged end of some of Bach's now-lost cantata manuscripts,⁴⁹ while a substantial number of medieval musical manuscript pages survive as binding fragments.⁵⁰

Destruction

As well as destruction or decay caused by neglect, there are many instances of destruction caused by the circumstances of violent human behaviour: wars, sieges and revolutions. However, the famous story that hundreds of harpsichords were burnt as firewood at the Paris Conservatoire during the cold winter of 1816⁵¹ appears to be a later myth.⁵² Instruments have been lost in social uprisings, and are sometimes only noted by their absence: for example, Mexican archives refer to harpsichords in some numbers, but not a single one has survived to the present (although a number of Latin American clavichords have⁵³ – and that difference might have something to do with the comparable status markers or storage location of the two types).

Fire has historically been a major cause of destruction, from buildings down to manuscripts. One Mr Roberts of St Davids recalled how during the English Civil War, ‘heaps of parchment books and rolls [had been] burnt... [and he] being then a schoolboy, [did] carry several out of the library for the sake of the gilt letters [illuminations]’.⁵⁴ In Norwich, the destruction was equally deliberate, according to Joseph Hall’s *Hard Measure* (1647): ‘the service books and singing-books that could be had, were carried to the fire in the public market-place’.⁵⁵ Other examples from the period involve re-use of materials for actual war: Wrexham’s organ, a rare such instrument in Wales, in 1643 had its pipes were melted down to make bullets for Lord Myddleton,⁵⁶ or the dismantling of the Exeter Cathedral organ: at Exeter Cathedral, ‘they brake down the organs, and taking two or three hundred pipes with them in a most scorneful and contemptuous manner, went up and downe the streets piping with them’.⁵⁷

Instruments could also be destroyed by fire, as when Handel’s Covent Garden organ was lost in the conflagration there in 1808.⁵⁸ One instrument, a cello, was even drowned in a steamer sinking on the River Plate in the 1960s, although valuable enough – it was the 1711 ‘Mara’ Stradivarius – to be salvaged and completely restored.⁵⁹

The last natural form of destruction here is the earthquake, which could affect both instruments and music: when the opera orchestra lost all their instruments in the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, they were charitably replaced by the singer Marcella Sembrich (1858-1935),⁶⁰ while the organ of St John’s Church, Hororata was destroyed in the 2010 New Zealand earthquake.⁶¹ The catastrophic 1755 Lisbon earthquake destroyed the royal music library (illus.4), the lost contents of which are known only through a surviving catalogue.

Self-destruction

One further form of loss is self-destruction (or repudiation), where a composer culls their earlier or later works to make sure that their musical reputation can in some sense be posthumously controlled. This may be for confessional reasons (John Taverner, who – at least according to John Foxe (1563) – ‘repented him very much that he had made songs to popish ditties, in the time of his blindness’),⁶² or for quality reasons, as with C. F. C. Fasch (1736-1800) and Jean Sibelius (1865-1957) culling their archives at the end of their lives. The family or heirs of an artist may also decide to limit the material available to posterity, as with the posthumous destruction of many of Jane Austen’s letters.⁶³

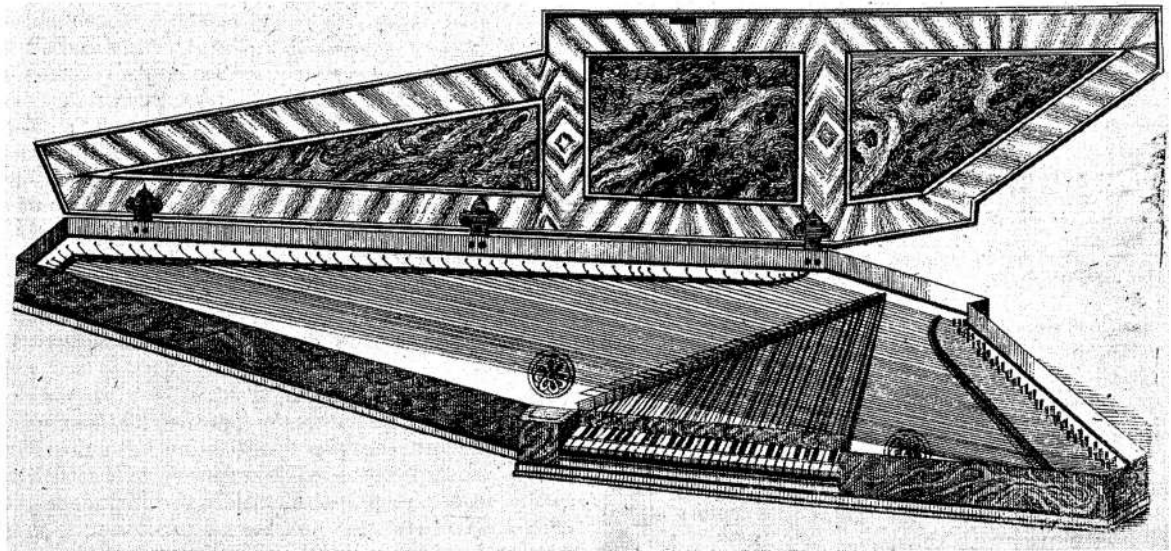
Lost instrument types

Entire instrument types have also been lost, such as Gottfried Silbermann’s *cembal d’amour* of 1721 (illus.5), a type of clavichord with double-length strings, or Holhfield’s *bogenclavier* (bowed-clavier), about which C. P. E. Bach wrote most warmly.⁶⁴ Both of these have been reconstructed in modern times, along with many other rarities such as Thomas Mace’s *lute-dyphone* (illus.6),⁶⁵ or the *lautenwerck* (lute-harpsichord), that survive only in engravings or by description (note that Bach owned two of the latter, which gives them particular

significance). With the *archicembalo* (a multi-keyed Renaissance chromatic harpsichord capable of playing in tune in remote keys)⁶⁶ there are extant examples to copy; the lost skill has been how to play it, but a few modern specialists like Christopher Stenbridge and Johannes Keller have mastered that.

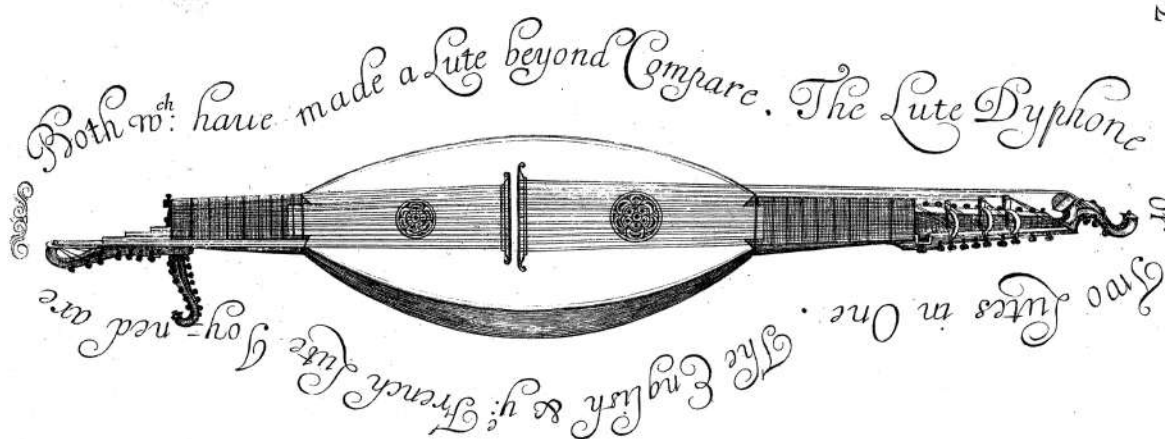


Illus.4 Engraving of the 1755 Lisbon earthquake, seen from the harbour⁶⁷



Illus.5 Silbermann's Cembal d'amour, engraving (1723)

Other categories of vanished instrument design include one-offs, such as Flight and Robson's extraordinary 45-stop Apollonicon of 1817, a combination six-manual organ and barrel organ, eventually dismantled in about 1842.⁶⁸



Illus.6 Mace's double-ended lute-dyphone, a combination lute/theorbo, engraving (1676)

Things hidden or mislaid

A further category of loss, sometimes temporary, comes with materials deliberately hidden. This can include compositions concealed for personal reasons (for example, Bartók's first violin concerto), or privately-owned prints or manuscripts not made available to anyone, and sometimes with not even the location or owner known. Examples of this include Kapsberger's third book of chitarrone music (1626), the Oldham manuscript of Louis Couperin's organ works, or the autograph copy of Froberger's Book 3 keyboard collection; only the contents of the last of these is still hidden – it was sold at auction in London in 2006 to an unidentified buyer and remains inaccessible.⁶⁹ Other works of 'whereabouts unknown' included Telemann's *Fantasias* for viola da gamba, which resurfaced in 2014, and Giordano's early opera *Marina* (1888), only published in 2025. They could also be misfiled or miscatalogued, as with Striggio's *Missa sopra Ecco sì beato giorno* in 40 parts, another remarkable 21st-century discovery.⁷⁰

Works with dangerous political or religious associations were also hidden away, as with some Soviet-era compositions, or Catholic manuscripts at the Reformation. Sometimes the intention was that the items could one day become available or used: Elizabethan Catholic recusant Roger Martyn of Long Melford in Suffolk hid items discarded from his parish church 'in my house decayed; and the same I hope my heirs will repair and restore again one day'.⁷¹ He was not alone in collecting material (including vestments, service books and music) from now-banned traditions, in the hope that they would be needed again one day, as had previously happened at the accession of Mary I.

A later example can be seen in the English Civil War, where the musical partbooks for the new Laudian chapel at Peterhouse in Cambridge were sealed up in the library to keep them from William Dowsing and his Puritan iconoclasts; the last three of these manuscripts only came to light in 1926.⁷² The chapel organ at Peterhouse had been dismantled and concealed in 1643; a search was made for the parts in 1650, and in 1653 'The Organ Pipes & Case formerly belonging to the Chappel were sold by the Mr & Fellows to Mr Gregory

Hardwick Citizen London for thirty on[e] pounds'.⁷³ The college later unsuccessfully tried to recover it through a legal route, claiming they had undercharged the buyer, before giving up and commissioning a new instrument in 1667. At the same time and for the same reason, the Fellows of Jesus College allegedly buried their new 1635 Dallam chapel organ in the Master's garden to keep it safe, recovering it (in what sort of condition, one wonders) when it was safe to do so; that story may well be apocryphal – possibly referring to the college silver, not the organ. However, a 1652 college payment does in fact record £1 for the 'discovery of the Organs', so it must have been in some sense 'concealed'.⁷⁴

A parallel story comes from 18th-century Canada: in about 1860, workmen found 'a dozen' viols hidden in a vault at the Hôpital-Général de Québec, which seem to have been hidden at the Siege of Québec in 1759.⁷⁵ The makers of the five surviving instruments from that cache (now in Canada and the US) include Nicolas Bertrand, Antoine Cabroly and Jean Villiaume, dated between 1712 and 1734.

Other lost items have had major consequences; when Arnold Dolmetsch left his Bressan alto recorder at Waterloo Station in April 1919 (later recovered), this was the impetus for the first modern copy, and eventually spawned an entire international recorder-making industry.⁷⁶

Middens have become an important source of excavated historical objects, and in fact the best-preserved Medieval recorder (late 14th century) was recovered from a latrine in Tartu, Estonia, as recently as 2005;⁷⁷ whether it was lost or deliberately discarded is unknown.

Lost knowledge

The decline in craft skills brought about by industrial processes over the past few centuries has now reached the stage where some forms of creative knowledge reside in a single person.⁷⁸ Even if those are somehow recorded in visual or written form, the loss of the last practitioner represents the extinction of an old and continuing tradition.⁷⁹ Those active in the early music revival were well aware of this, as they taught themselves to make (and play) instruments where there was no-one to show them, as with the cornett and natural trumpet; such was the challenge that literally decades were needed before reliable professional levels of expertise were acquired. Even there, it is uncertain whether the results now achieved are close in every respect to those understood in the past; for example, Quantz (1752) talked of a 'thick, round, and masculine' tone-quality desirable on the Baroque flute,⁸⁰ terms that do not seem to accurately describe the sound of some modern players.

Scientific approaches to material objects have had considerable success: apart from dendrochronology, examination of moulding plane profiles and of local construction units (the 'inch' varied slightly from place to place across Europe) used for harpsichords have enabled some useful attributions, either of maker or place.⁸¹ The process continues, with very recent attributions of anonymous instruments to an otherwise-unknown Bohemian maker,⁸² and to the Moravian émigré David Tannenberg.⁸³

Fakery and fraud

Fraudulent attributions and fakery have been known in the keyboard world for centuries, and even outstanding harpsichord makers such as Pascal Taskin were not above passing off an ‘antiqued’ new instrument as a rebuild of a highly-prized Ruckers instrument – at a far higher price.⁸⁴ The process continued in the late 19th century, when demand from museums and collectors caused both complete fakes and butchered instruments to be fabricated by unscrupulous or criminal dealer/restorers like Leopold Franciolini (1844–1920).⁸⁵ More recently, a number of replica ‘Hotteterre’ flutes,⁸⁶ and fake ‘Spanish’ harpsichords (a rare category) ‘mainly found in cloisters and private houses’ were shown to be fabrications,⁸⁷ not forgetting the ‘experimental’ fake of a 1755 Lefebvre instrument made by Martin Skowronek – to see if it could be done. That maker went to enormous lengths to get things right, even hand-cutting screws which were not even visible.⁸⁸

For musical compositions, the ‘borrowed feathers’ are often the work of unscrupulous publishers.⁸⁹ While there are a considerable number of ‘Josquin’ pieces with highly questionable manuscript attributions,⁹⁰ it was not until such works could be economically printed and sold that it was financially worthwhile passing off music as by a more famous contemporary. Haydn was a particular victim, and the current ‘Made by Haydn?’ project at the Joseph Haydn Institute in Cologne has identified for investigation an astonishing 1,300 pieces falsely attributed to that composer.⁹¹ The faking process has continued quite recently, with six newly-discovered ‘Haydn’ keyboard sonatas debunked, although not until after they had been published – and recorded – as authentic.⁹²

Preservation and restoration

For printed and manuscript material, a good cleaning followed by storage in a secure and managed environment is often sufficient to prevent further decay; for musical instruments the same applies, with the proviso that returning them to working order requires the replacement of consumable materials, including gut or wire strings, felts, piano hammers, oboe reeds and the like.⁹³ For certain instruments, physical rebuilding could also be undertaken, as with the *ravalement* enlargement process through which 18th-century French harpsichord makers converted earlier Netherlands instruments to modern specifications of compass and registration. This could involve major surgery, with new keyboards, wrestplank and so on, as the rebuilt width was somewhat greater. Instruments could also be re-painted or decorated in the current furniture styles, with new stands in addition. The effect of all this was to produce a harpsichord closer in sound to the French than the original Dutch. Other keyboard conversions enabled additional usage, as with the pedal pulldowns added to some French and Italian instruments enabling organists to practice at home.

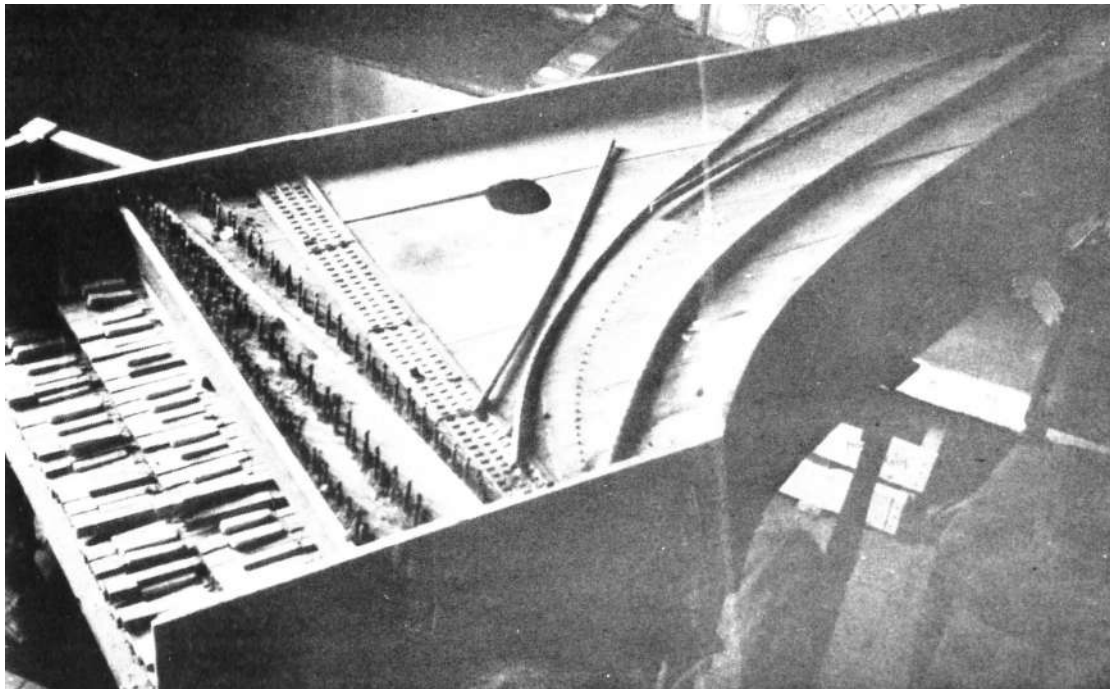
Modern techniques have made the processes of studying and restoring instruments somewhat easier: from X-rays of interiors, to digital scans, to 3D printing of entire recorders, cornetts or harpsichord jacks.⁹⁴ In addition, published restoration reports document materials and changes, with a view that every difference between old and new

needs to be recorded,⁹⁵ and also to be reversible – many early 20th-century restorers used damaging synthetic glues, for example.

Modern restoration is often more extensive than is realized (as is also true in fine art restoration): see, for example, the photograph of the 1691 Vincent Thibaut harpsichord (illus.7) now in the Musée de la Musique, Paris, in the condition it was found, long-abandoned in an attic.⁹⁶ Although this has been left unrestored for conservation reasons, the comparable 1679 Thibaut instrument in Brussels (illus.8) that has been fully restored looks almost like new, with spectacular walnut marquetry.

Reconstructions

As with the *cembal d'amour* engraving above, illustrations have often proved sufficient for modern luthiers to create now-lost instruments from published and manuscript sources: lutes, clavichords, harpsichords, organs, viols, recorders and others have been reconstructed from the woodcut or engraved depictions, descriptions or measurements in Arnaut de Zwolle (c.1450), Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht* (1511), Martin Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (1545), Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (1636), Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum* (1618-1620), Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (1676), the Talbot manuscripts (c.1700) and Dom Bédos de Celles, *L'art du facteur d'orgues* (1766-78). Sometimes, these renderings (as with the Urbino Intarsia of c.1480) are so precise that perspective-correction software can be used to create accurate three-dimensional plans from them.



Illus.7 1691 Vincent Thibaut harpsichord, as found

While modern engineering-drawing instrument plans only became common after WW2 (with the instruments drawn greatly influencing what was built, as with the 1769 Taskin harpsichord in the Russell Collection at Edinburgh University), the idea of accurate instructional drawings is itself much older. When these are carefully followed, it can be difficult to tell whether the resulting objects are originals or reproductions, as with Victorian copies of furniture made using the Chippendale pattern books, or some of the Gothic metalwork Eugène Viollet-le-duc provided for his restoration of Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris (1844-64).

The idea of ‘reconstruction’ also applies to damaged or incomplete musical sources, as with the Ramsey example from Cambridge cited above. With sufficient expertise it is possible to compose one or more missing voices in a style that is very similar to the original.⁹⁷



Illus.8 1679 Vincent Thibaut harpsichord, restored

One further recent type of digital reconstruction is that of ‘lost’ acoustics; that is, the sounds and resonances of buildings no longer themselves extant, as with a project on the medieval Scottish Chapel Royal.⁹⁸

Calculating losses

The successful survival of written texts historically relies of course on multiplication of copies, and vast numbers of printed copies are recording surprisingly early: in 1528, bookseller Louis Royer in Paris held a stock of 98,529 Books of Hours.⁹⁹ Although manuscript multiplication is a much slower and more expensive process, the numbers for

the major early authors collected by the Mapping Manuscript Migrations project are still remarkable.¹⁰⁰ For the thousand years up to the 13th century, writers from Augustine of Hippo to Cicero to Bede to Thomas Aquinas are recorded in between 4,661 and 1,477 extant copies (their current database size totals 222,605 manuscripts). This does not mean that all their works have survived: Aristotle's 2,029 copies represent only a percentage of what he is known to have written, that which was available for replication in the manuscript era and subsequently in print. At the other end of the spectrum come known authors or composers for whom nothing whatsoever survives, and who in effect disappear from history. Even where the sources seem robust in terms of quantity or quality, as for Sweelinck's extant keyboard sources – made in direct copies by the composer's own pupils – it is worth remembering that all of these are German: there are no early Netherlands Sweelinck sources at all.¹⁰¹

One type of information relating to survival that gives some idea of proportions is found in early library catalogues: these may exist even where the books themselves do not, or have not been identified.¹⁰² The Priory Library at Rochester had 93 volumes, of which five survive at the cathedral today;¹⁰³ while the numbers for places such as Bury St Edmunds Abbey (destroyed at the Reformation) are in the order of 20%, all now held elsewhere.¹⁰⁴ However, Krista Milne notes that an important distinction must be made, and one that impacts musical sources: 'While existing discussions of medieval manuscript survival, most of which are based on the institutional library lists that tend to omit service books, place survival rates between 7 and 10 per cent, the survival rates for service books have been shown to be strikingly lower— about 0.2 per cent for missals and 0.1 per cent for antiphonals'.¹⁰⁵ Such working musical items may have produced to a more modest standard (in copying or binding), or fallen foul of religious change; in both cases, their value could be perceived as minimal, or negative.

Turning to musical instruments, aggregated data provides some useful evidence as to the distribution of (for example) types, but is rarely detailed enough to allow identification of specific surviving instances. Frank Hubbard's extensive listing of performer and maker keyboard ownership records from France cover hundreds of examples from 1617-1791,¹⁰⁶ but whether any of the Jacquets, Ruckers, Denis, Blanchets or Taskins recorded there (makers are only often not mentioned by name, and almost never by date) correlate with any extant examples is uncertain. Ruckers seems to be the most common identification, as befits their high reputation and therefore value. By comparison, correlation of the output from the 18th-century English 'factory' manufacturers Kirkman, Shudi and later Broadwood (such instruments were sometimes numbered), enables a reasonable estimate to be made of their survival rates.¹⁰⁷

Conclusions

The figure of 3% is sometimes used as a rough guide to the average survival rates of material objects from the early modern period. This may be no more than a useful starting point,¹⁰⁸ but does help in considering the important issue of context: is what survives in

any way typical of what may have existed? What did that other 97% consist of? When, why and where did it vanish?

The work of Leonard Schick on 18th-century German harpsichords provides an excellent case study, where newspaper advertisements suggest the sizes and types of instrument available to Bach and his contemporaries was much greater than is represented by the extant examples.¹⁰⁹ The survival rate for those looks like a mere fraction of 1%, leading to questions as to why such a large number of valuable instruments disappeared. Overall, assessing and cataloguing the lost material invites a much richer assessment of the resources – whether manuscript, printed, visual or organological – once available to the musicians of the past.

The Lost Music Project (<https://lost-music-project4.webnode.co.uk>) explores the creation, damage, loss and restoration of musical instruments, scores and books from the Middle Ages to the present day. The three main strands being investigated at present are early keyboard instruments, lost music manuscripts and lost paintings of musicians. The Directors are Francis Knights and Pablo Padilla.

Notes

¹ See Ellen Adams, *The Minoans: Lost Civilizations* (London, 2025), Philip Matyszak, *Lost Cities of the Ancient World* (London, 2023), Timothy P. Wiseman, *The Lost History of Roman Theatre* (Princeton, NJ, 2025), Simon Thurley, *Lost Buildings of Britain* (London, 2004), Ian Gow, *Scotland's Lost Houses* (London, 2006), Steven Brindle, *London: Lost Interiors* (Croxley Green, 2024), Julian Holland, *Exploring Britain's Lost Railways: A nostalgic journey along 50 long-lost railway lines* (London, 2013), Andrew Robinson, *Lost Languages: The Enigma of the World's Undeciphered Scripts* (London, 2009), Sophia Smith Galer, *How to Kill a Language: Power, Resistance and the Race to Save Our Words* (London, 2026) and John Whitfield, *Lost Animals: Extinct, Endangered, and Rediscovered Species* (Nottingham, 2020) and many others.

² https://www.lostheritage.org.uk/lh_complete_list.html.

³ See Francis Knights, 'Virginalist ornamentation and interpretation', *Early Keyboard Journal*, xxxiii (2024), pp.7-48.

⁴ For some examples see Hans-Peter Schmitz, *Die Kunst der Verzierung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Kassel, 1983).

⁵ See, for example, Francis Knights, 'Formal portraits of British musicians before the Civil War', *NEMA Newsletter*, ix/2 (Autumn 2025), pp.18-43 and Bryan Au Yeung, 'The Sources of the Medallion Portraits in John Hawkins' *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*', *NEMA Newsletter*, x/1 (Spring 2026), pp.47-108.

⁶ Emma Louise Weston, 'Ancient Goddess love songs and the transcultural lyre', *NEMA Newsletter*, iii/2 (Autumn 2019), pp.12-22.

⁷ <https://historicdockyard.co.uk/attractions/the-mary-rose-museum>.

⁸ For photographs of modern pianos re-worked as desks, wine racks, bookshelves, tables and bars, see <https://thepianogalshop.com>.

⁹ <https://lost-music-project4.webnode.co.uk>.

¹⁰ Sara J. Charles, *The Medieval Scriptorium: Making Books in the Middle Ages* (London, 2024), pp.244-245

¹¹ Pettegree and der Weduwen (2021), p.24. See also Richard Ovenden, *Burning the Books: A History of Knowledge Under Attack* (London, 2021).

¹² Francis Knights, 'Musical Instruments in the London Customs Accounts, 1380-1537', *Bulletin of the Fellowship of Makers and Researchers of Historical Instruments*, clxiii (November 2023), pp.27-46.

¹³ Eleanor Baker, *Book curses* (Oxford, 2024).

¹⁴ Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys MS. 1760, front pastedown; thanks to Eleanor Baker for this reference and the translation.

¹⁵ Gregory of Tours, trans Lewis Thorpe, *The History of the Franks* (London, 1974), p.603.

¹⁶ Charles (2024), pp.305-306.

¹⁷ Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Library: A Fragile History* (London, 2021), pp.9-10. For a recent study, see Marzena Matla, Lenka Németh Vítová and Robert T. Tomczak (eds), *Rekopisy, księgozbiory i archiwalia w Europie Środkowej na przestrzeni dziejów: Straty, migracje, badania* [Manuscripts, Book Collections, and Archival Materials in Central Europe Across the Centuries: Losses, Migrations, Research] (Poznan, 2025).

¹⁸ <https://www.schoenbergmusic.com>.

¹⁹ The collection is now in the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica, Bologna; some were painted from engravings, not the other way round (compare Au Yeung (2026)).

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- ²⁰ Annette Richards, *The Temple of Fame & Friendship: Portraits, Music, and History in the C. P. E. Bach Circle* (Chicago, 2022).
- ²¹ See Rachel Poole, 'The Oxford Music School and the Collection of Portraits formerly preserved there', *The Musical Antiquary*, iv (1912-13), pp.143-159 and Knights (2025).
- ²² Robert Elkin, *The old concert rooms of London* (London, 1955), pp.88-89.
- ²³ See the online catalogue at <https://artuk.org>.
- ²⁴ Dominik von Roth and Linda Escherich (eds), *Private Passion – Public Challenge / Musikinstrumente Sammeln in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Heidelberg, 2018). For collecting, see Alexander Hyatt King, *Some British collectors of music, c. 1600-1960* (Cambridge, 1963) and Elisabeth Gisellebrecht, 'To have and to hold: Music books as collectables', in Lisa Colton and Tim Shephard (eds), *Sources of Identity: Makers, Owners and Users of Music Sources Before 1600* (Turnhout, 2017), pp.239-260.
- ²⁵ Lothar Bemmman, 'The Decline and Revival of the Clavichord', in Bernard Brauchli, Alberto Galazzo and Ivan Moody (eds), *De Clavicordio VI*, Proceedings of the International Clavichord Symposium (Magnano: Musica Antica a Magnano, 2004), pp.29-36 at 33; Francis Knights, *Modern Clavichord Music* (Hebden Bridge, 2024), ch.2.
- ²⁶ Peter Holman, 'The harpsichord in 19th-century Britain', *Harpsichord & Fortepiano*, xxiv/2 (2020), pp.4-14.
- ²⁷ Peter Holman, *Life after death: the viola da gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2013) and Holman (2020).
- ²⁸ Kate van Orden and Alfredo Vitólo, 'Padre Martini, Gaetano Gaspari and the "Pagliarini Collection": A Renaissance Music Library Rediscovered', *Early Music History*, xxix (2010), pp.241-324.
- ²⁹ H. Diack Johnstone, 'Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music: A Library once lost and now partially recovered', *Music & Letters*, xcvi/3 (August 2014), pp.329-373.
- ³⁰ Pettegree and der Weduwen (2021), pp.97-99.
- ³¹ See Holman (2013), Holman (2020), Leonard Schick, 'Harpsichords in Bach's Germany - an overview', *Harpsichord & Fortepiano*, xxvi/2 (Spring 2022), pp.10-19.
- ³² Lance Whitehead and Jenny Nex, 'The Insurance of Musical London and the Sun Fire Office 1710-1779', *Galpin Society Journal*, lxxvii (March 2014), pp.181-216.
- ³³ James Coover, 'Puttick's Auctions: Windows on the Retail Music Trade', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, cxiv/1 (1989), pp.56-68.
- ³⁴ Cited in Francis Knights, *A Catalogue of the Paston Music Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 2025), p.38.
- ³⁵ For the Peterhouse organ, see Nicholas Thistlethwaite, 'Peterhouse, Cambridge: The Documentation of a Lost Organ, 1635–1667', *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies*, xlvi (2022), pp.6-37.
- ³⁶ Peter Holman, 'Handel's harpsichords revisited Part I: Handel and Ruckers harpsichords', *Early Music*, xlix/2 (May 2021), pp.227–243 and 'Handel's harpsichords revisited Part II: Handel's domestic harpsichords', *Early Music*, xlix/3 (August 2021), pp.413-427.
- ³⁷ Cited in Pettegree and der Weduwen (2021), p.1.
- ³⁸ https://harnoncourt.at/PDFs_PCo/P21_Violone_Posch.pdf.
- ³⁹ Dirksen (2026), pp.189-191, with a colour illustration.
- ⁴⁰ Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Accession number PD.7-1954.

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- ⁴¹ National Galleries of Scotland, D665, reproduced in Heidelinde Pollerus, 'Appearance and Prestige: Phenomena of Keyboard Instrument Decoration in the Sixteenth Century', in Augusta Campagne and Markus Grassl (eds), *Per aures ad animum' - The Harpsichord in the Sixteenth Century II: Italy* (Vienna, 2026), pp.247-327 at 254.
- ⁴² From Raymond Russell, rev Howard Schott, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord* (London, 2/1973), pl.62.
- ⁴³ Krista A. Milne, *The Destruction of Medieval Manuscripts in England* (Oxford, 2025), p.67. See also Andrew Wathey, 'Lost Books of Polyphony in England: A List to 1500', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, xxi (1988), pp.1-19.
- ⁴⁴ Milne (2025), p.59.
- ⁴⁵ Francis Knights and Pablo Padilla, 'Historical Performance from Renaissance Choirbooks', *NEMA Newsletter*, viii/2 (Autumn 2024), pp.15-66.
- ⁴⁶ Magnus Williamson, *The Eton Choirbook: Its Institutional and Historical Background*, DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 1997); Knights and Padilla (2024).
- ⁴⁷ Francis Knights, 'The historic chapel music manuscripts at Trinity', *Trinity College Annual Report* (2007), pp.55-59.
- ⁴⁸ Cited in Milne (2025), p.220.
- ⁴⁹ Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (Oxford, 2000), ch.12.
- ⁵⁰ See the works catalogued by the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music at <https://www.diamm.ac.uk>.
- ⁵¹ Laurence Libin and Arnold Myers, '4. Since 1800', in 'Instruments, collections of', *Oxford Music Online* (2001), cited without source.
- ⁵² See Claudio Di Veroli, 'Revisiting Mercier-Ythier's *Les Clavecins*', *Harpsichord & Fortepiano*, xxx/2 (Spring 2026), pp.17-23 at 20: 'this appears to be an urban myth originating in the late 19th century'.
- ⁵³ See Juan Luis García Orozco and Pablo Padilla, 'Mexican Clavichords', in Bernard Brauchli, Alberto Galazzo and Judith Wardman (eds), *De Clavicordio VII*, Proceedings of the International Clavichord Symposium (Magnano, 2006), pp.21-28, Peter Bavington, 'Surviving Clavichords made in Latin America', in Brauchli, Galazzo and Wardman (2006), pp.99-118 and 'Clavichords made in Latin America: Updates and New Discoveries', in Bernard Brauchli, Alberto Galazzo and Judith Wardman (eds), *De Clavicordio IX*, Proceedings of the International Clavichord Symposium (Magnano, 2010), pp.11-22.
- ⁵⁴ Letter written by Thomas Tanner to Browne Willis (1719), reproduced in Henry Thomas Payne (ed), *Collectanea Menevensia*, I, cxcv (1820), cited in Sally Harper, *Music in Welsh Culture before 1650: A Study of the Principal Sources* (London, 2007), p.171.
- ⁵⁵ Andrew Cornall, *The Practice of Music at Norwich Cathedral c.1558-1649*, MMus dissertation (University of East Anglia, 1976), p.27.
- ⁵⁶ See Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music 1660-1714* (Oxford, 1995), p.3; Harper (2007), p.304; letter sent by Capt. Byrch to G. Carr, Secretary to the Marquis of Ormond, 12 December 1643, *Interesting Particulars of the Landing of the Irish Forces, of the Retreat of Brereton and Myddleton, of the Siege and Surrender of Hawarden, and of the State of Wales*, cited in John R. Phillips, *Memoirs of the Civil War in Wales and the Marches, 1642-1649* (London, 1874), doc. XXXVI, p.11. For the Welsh references, see Caitlin Parry, 'The Institutional decline of music in Wales between c.1567 and c.1760', *NEMA Newsletter*, viii/2 (Autumn 2024), pp.67-83.
- ⁵⁷ John Norman, *Box of Whistles: The History and Recent Development of Organ Case Design* (London, 2007), p.22.
- ⁵⁸ Adam Carse, *The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz* (Cambridge, [1948]), p.197.

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- ⁵⁹ Alessandra Barabaschi, 'Piecing together the history of the "Mara" Stradivari cello', *The Strad*, online article (17 September 2018); Kate Kennedy, *Cello: A Journey Through Silence to Sound* (London, 2025).
- ⁶⁰ Alma Mahler, trans Basil Creighton, *Gustav Mahler: Memories and Letters* (London, 1946), p.132.
- ⁶¹ For illustrations of a number of destroyed or damaged organs, including very recent examples of vandalism, see Francis O'Gorman, 'What does a destroyed organ mean?', *Royal College of Organists' Journal*, xvii (2024), pp.64-80.
- ⁶² Hugh Benham, *John Taverner: His Life and Music* (Aldershot, 2003), p.11.
- ⁶³ Claire Tomalin, *Jane Austen: A Life* (London, 2/2000), ch.12.
- ⁶⁴ Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, trans William J. Mitchell, *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* (London, r/1974); he also composed a Sonata in G, H280, for it in 1783.
- ⁶⁵ Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676).
- ⁶⁶ See Christopher Stenbridge 'The *Cimbalo cromatico* and Other Italian Keyboard Instruments with Nineteen or More Divisions to the Octave', *Performance Practice Review*, vi/1 (1993), pp.33-59 and Martin Kirnbauer, 'Why Should One Build an Archicembalo? An Attempt at a Response According to Nicola Vicentino', in Campagne and Grassl (2026), pp.111-132.
- ⁶⁷ See Judite Nozes, *O Terramoto De 1755: Testemunhos Britanicos* (Lisbon, 1990).
- ⁶⁸ Elkin (1955), pp.123-126.
- ⁶⁹ Bob van Asperen, 'A New Froberger Manuscript', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, xiii/1 (2007).
- ⁷⁰ The 42 partbooks were formerly owned by Sébastien de Brossard (1655–1730); Davitt Moroney, 'Alessandro Striggio's Mass in Forty and Sixty Parts', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, lx/1 (Spring 2007), pp.1-70.
- ⁷¹ Cited in Christina J. Faraday, *The Story of Tudor Art* (London, 2025), p.154.
- ⁷² Anselm Hughes, *Catalogue of the Musical Manuscripts at Peterhouse Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1953).
- ⁷³ Thistlethwaite (2022), pp.26-27.
- ⁷⁴ Nicholas Thistlethwaite, *The organs of Cambridge* (Oxford, 2/2008), p.54.
- ⁷⁵ Loren Ludwig, 'The Curious History of the "Caveau" Viols', *EMAg*, xxxi/2 (May 2025), pp.16-21.
- ⁷⁶ David Lasocki and Robert Ehrlich, *The Recorder* (New Haven and London, 2022), p.230.
- ⁷⁷ Lasocki and Ehrlich (2022), pp.3-4.
- ⁷⁸ See James Fox, *Craftland: A Journey Through Britain's Lost Arts and Vanishing Trades* (London, 2025) and, more specifically, Dominic Gwynn, 'A Study of the Transmission of Organ-Building Knowledge in Early Modern England', *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies*, xxviii (2004), pp.165-173.
- ⁷⁹ See the Red List of Endangered Crafts, <https://heritagecrafts.org.uk/skills/redlist>.
- ⁸⁰ Johann Joachim Quantz, trans Edward R. Reilly, *On Playing the Flute* (London, 1966), p.59.
- ⁸¹ See, for example, Grant O'Brien's detailed historical metrology work recorded at http://claviantica.com/Historical_Italian_Metrology.htm.
- ⁸² The subject of a forthcoming article by Eleanor Smith-Guido.

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- ⁸³ Laurence Libin, 'Three Spinets from the Workshop of David Tannenberg', *Early Keyboard Journal*, xxxiii (2024), pp.49-98.
- ⁸⁴ For a list of inauthentic Ruckers instruments, see Grant O'Brien, *Ruckers: a harpsichord and virginal building tradition* (Cambridge, 1990), pp.277-283.
- ⁸⁵ Edwin M. Ripin, *The Instrument Catalogs of Leopoldo Franciolini* (Hackensack, NJ, 1974).
- ⁸⁶ Ardal Powell, 'The Hotteterre flute: six replicas in search of a myth', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xlix (1996), pp.225-263.
- ⁸⁷ See Andreas E. Beurmann, 'Iberian discoveries: six Spanish 17th-century harpsichords', *Early Music*, xxvii/2 (May 1999), pp.183-210 and John Koster, 'A contemporary example of harpsichord forgery', *Early Music*, xxvii/1 (February 2000), pp.91-97. Faked violins form an entire category of their own.
- ⁸⁸ Martin Skowronek and Tilman Skowronek, "'The Harpsichord of Nicholas Lefebvre 1755": the story of a forgery without intent to defraud', *Galpin Society Journal*, lv (April 2002), pp.4-14.
- ⁸⁹ In extreme cases, doubting early sources could lead to paranoia: the eccentric French priest Jean Hardouin (1643-1729) believed that almost everything written before about 1300 was forged; Daniel J. Watkins, 'Skepticism, Criticism, and the Making of the Catholic Enlightenment: Rethinking the Career of Jean Hardouin', *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, vi/3 (August 2019), pp.486-504.
- ⁹⁰ See Murray Steib, 'A Study in Style, or Josquin or Not Josquin: The Missa Allez regretz Question', *Journal of Musicology*, xvi/4 (Autumn 1998), pp.519-544.
- ⁹¹ <https://www.haydn-institut.de>.
- ⁹² [Winfried Michaels (ed),] *Haydn, Sechs Sonaten für Clavier* (Winterthur, 1995); Frederick Reece, 'Composing Authority in Six Forged "Haydn" Sonatas', *The Journal of Musicology*, xxxv/1 (2018), pp.104-143.
- ⁹³ Conservation issues relating to the idea of 'working order' continue to engage modern Museum curators; John Watson (ed), *Organ restoration reconsidered* (Warren, MI, 2005).
- ⁹⁴ Jamie Savan and Ricardo Simian, 'CAD modelling and 3D printing for musical instrument research: the Renaissance cornett as a case study', *Early Music*, xlii/4 (November 2014), pp.537-544.
- ⁹⁵ See, for example, the Goetze & Gwynn organ restoration reports publicly available at <https://www.goetzegwynn.co.uk>.
- ⁹⁶ Photo from Michael Thomas, 'Harpsichords which have been found recently in France', *The English Harpsichord Magazine*, ii/7 (October 1980), pp.158-163 at 160. The instrument is Cité de la musique - Philharmonie de Paris, catalogue number 977.11.1. For surviving early keyboard specifications, see Donald H. Boalch, rev Charles Mould, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord, 1440-1840* (Oxford, 3/1995), now superseded by BMO, <https://boalch.org>.
- ⁹⁷ See Francis Knights, Mateo Rodríguez and Pablo Padilla, 'Reconstructing Renaissance Polyphony: comparing original and replacement', *NEMA Newsletter*, iv/2 (Autumn 2020), pp.43-51.
- ⁹⁸ James Cook, Andrew Kirkman, Kenneth B. McAlpine and Rod Selfridge, 'Hearing Historic Scotland: Reflections on Recording in Virtually Reconstructed Acoustics', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, xv (2023), pp.109-126.
- ⁹⁹ Pettegree and der Weduwen (2021), p.86.
- ¹⁰⁰ <https://mappingmanuscriptmigrations.org/en>.
- ¹⁰¹ Pieter Dirksen, *Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck: The Orpheus of Amsterdam* (Culemborg, 2026), p.135.

¹⁰² See C. E. Wright, 'The Dispersal of the Monastic Libraries and the Beginnings of Anglo-Saxon Studies: Matthew Parker and His Circle: A Preliminary Study', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, i/3 (1951), pp.208–237 and James P. Carley, 'Monastic Collections and Their Dispersal', in John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume 4, 1557–1695* (Cambridge, 2014), pp.339-350.

¹⁰³ Milne (2025), ch.1.

¹⁰⁴ See R. M. Thomson, 'The Library of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Speculum*, xlvii/4 (1972), pp.617-645. In 1599 80 manuscripts somehow acquired from the former Abbey library were donated to Pembroke College, Cambridge, by William Smart, comprising the largest surviving remnant of a British monastic collection.

¹⁰⁵ Milne (2025), pp.36-37.

¹⁰⁶ Hubbard (1965), pp.286-319.

¹⁰⁷ See Charles Mould and Peter Mole, *Jacob Kirkman, Harpsichord Maker to Her Majesty* (Ellesmere, 2016). However, the work of David Hackett on Hitchcock numbering offers a cautionary tale: see 'The spinets of the Hitchcock dynasty: names, numbers, and dates', *NEMA Newsletter*, i/2 (July 2017), pp.14-21.

¹⁰⁸ A few instances show the number can sometimes be correct, as in the survival rate of the 1492 Trithemius pamphlet mentioned above; Pettegree and der Weduwen (2021), p.89.

¹⁰⁹ Schick (2022); see also <https://www.leonardschick.com>.

The Sources of the Medallion Portraits in John Hawkins' *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*

Bryan Au Yeung

In late 18th-century England, there were two rival historians of music, Sir John Hawkins (1719 – 1789) and Dr Charles Burney (1726 – 1814). Hawkins was a lawyer with a passion in music, spending sixteen years completing his book *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776), hereafter referred to as *A General History*. Hawkins was also known for writing a biography of his close friend Samuel Johnson (1709 – 1784),¹ compiler of the *Dictionary of the English Language* published in 1755 and editor of the *Gentlemen Magazine*, to which Hawkins was a frequent contributor. Publishing a book on the history of music was no easy task, and Hawkins was one of the first English writers to do so; it was also odd for an amateur to impose such a monumental challenge on himself.

The introductory chapters of the book shed some light on Hawkins' intentions:

A History of Music by any but a professor of the science, may possibly be looked on as a bold undertaking; and it may appear not a little strange that one, 'who is perhaps better known to the world' as occupying a public station, than as a writer, should choose to be the author of a work of this kind, and for which the course of his studies can hardly be supposed to have in any degree qualified him.

In justification of the attempt, and to account for this seeming inconsistency, the reader is to know, that the author having entertained an early love of music, and having in his more advanced age not only become sensible of its worth, but arrived at a full conviction that it was intended by the Almighty for the delight and edification of his rational creatures, had formed a design of some such work as this many years ago, but saw reason to defer the execution thereof to a future period.²

The strong wording seems to be a self-affirmation that he undertook the project out of the love of music. Unlike his rival, Dr Charles Burney was a professional musician, working as an organist in London. He also published *A General History of Music*, in response to demand:

Several Friends, who through partiality, perhaps overrated [sic] my abilities, have been desirous that I should write a History of Music: & it is an undertaking upon which I have already spent much Meditation... It is somewhat extraordinary that nothing of this kind has been attempted in our language, which abounds with histories of almost every other art... Yet I see no reason why the life of an eminent musician should not afford as much entertainment to the Public as that of a Painter.³

Both publications were greatly anticipated and there was much interest in the apparent competition. Eventually, Burney's publication was proved to be more successful. Adopting a print by subscription strategy, he went to the printing press three months ahead of Hawkins with

the support of 857 people, amassing a guaranteed sale of 1047 copies for two volumes selling at two guineas.⁴ By comparison, Hawkins did not have a subscription strategy. Published in five quarto volumes, it was sold at a price of six guineas: it was a simple decision for readers interested in music which to opt for.

Of concern here, a key difference between Hawkins' and Burney's offerings is the presentation of medallion portraits. In Hawkins' *A General History* there are 56 medallion portraits along assorted woodcuts of instruments, illustrations and score excerpts. However, for Burney's two volume publication, no portraits were included.

Though Hawkins' publication received positive feedback (as well as a smearing campaign from Burney's supporters), an intriguing observation was that there were no comments or reviews evaluating the accuracy, reliability of the portraits or images presented in Hawkins' 'most curious, expensive and elaborate work'⁵ in general.

The first issue that arises when examining portraits in Hawkins' *A General History* is one of accuracy. To assess the reliability and authenticity of these portraits, attempts must be made to locate original sources. Take the author's own portrait as an example: when comparing the original oil on canvas and the reproduction,⁶ the proportion of objects became evidently different. Also in the engraving, Arabic numbers were used instead of the roman numerals in the painting.



Illus.1 Painting of John Hawkins by James Roberts (1785)



Illus.2 Engraving of John Hawkins, National Portrait Gallery NPG D16218

Another issue that sparks the most interest among all portraits is their origin. Engravings are products of reproduction, meaning they are derivative in principle. An example of these images would be the frontispiece of Hawkins' publication, already interesting in itself. Featuring an imaginary scene depicting Guido d'Arezzo presenting his musical work to Pope John XIX (d. 1032), the original painting is by Giovanni Battista Cipriani (1727 – 1785), a founding member of the Royal Academy of Arts⁷ and known for his loose print of John Locke. One would assume artistic contributions by members of well-established institutions are safeguarded, however, some of Cipriani's works were lost. This painting was only preserved in its engraved form through Hawkins' publication.



Illus.3 Frontispiece of Hawkins' A General History

Considering the two points above, this article aims to investigate the medallion portraits and their original sources in the hope of providing an assessment of the number of lost portraits, and to recover information and knowledge available to Hawkins which are no longer accessible by readers today.

The Engravers

Two engravers took part in the process of creating medallion portraits for Hawkins' publication.

Charles Grignion the Elder⁸ (1721⁹ – 1810) was an experienced draughtsman who made a living producing line engraving for booksellers. In 1738, he began a new chapter of his artistic career working as an independent artist. Grignion was mainly reputed for his employment with the famous painter William Hogarth (1697 – 1764), engraving his series of paintings titled *The Humours of an Election*.¹⁰ He contributed 28 medallion portraits to Hawkins.



Illus.5 *The Painting Canvassing for Votes* from William Hogarth's *The Humours of an Election*



Illus.5 Engraving of Hogarth by Charles Grignion, Victoria & Albert Museum, Object F.118:77

Another notable collaboration of Grignion was with Horace Walpole for his *Anecdotes of Painting*. A family friend of Hawkins from Twickenham, Walpole might have recommended Hawkins as one of the engravers for his project.

James Caldwell (also known as James Caldwell)¹¹ (1739 – 1822)

James Caldwell was a pupil under John Keyse Sherwin (1751 – 1790), and 'a man of prominence in his profession'.¹² He was known for his engravings of Sir John Glynne. He contributed 28 medallion portraits (one was not used, see below), covering most portraits found in the Music School in Oxford.

After this project with Hawkins, Grignion and Caldwell collaborated in an engraving reproducing the *Fête Champêtre* hosted by the Earl of Derby in Epsom, Surrey. It was created and published in 1780.



Illus.6 Inside view of the Ball-room in a Pavilion erected for a Fete Champetre in the Garden of the Earl of Derby at the Oaks in Surrey, the 9th of June, 1774, engraved by James Caldwell & Charles Grignion the Elder after the painting by Robert Adams. British Museum, item 1917,1208.2904

General observations on the Medallion Portraits

Unless explicitly mentioned in the publication, credits of original sources or artists were not given in the presentation of these 57 medallion portraits. There is a wide divergence in quality and accuracy of engravings presented, with the main contributing factor being the sources.

All the original portraits or etchings came in different shapes of frames, and interestingly their reproductions used the same medallion circle template for presentation.¹³ For most portraits, objects depicted in the original sources are excluded from the drawings presented in Hawkins. Among these 56 subjects (one subject has two medallion portraits), most of the engravings were flipped: apparently, these portraits were engraved in a short frame of time. However, some subjects were evidently given more time, as it is engraved in a way that the effects of flipping were eliminated.¹⁴ Whereas the caption found in the supposed original source the engravers consulted were included in a few of their completed products for Hawkins.

The Oxford Music School Collection

The Oxford Music School collection was a principal source that Hawkins relied on for portraits of musicians. His biography, found in 1853 edition of Hawkins' *General History*, states that John Hawkins spent most of 1772¹⁵ in Oxford extracting music from manuscripts and was accompanied by 'an artist from London' to reproduce the portraits. Caldwell was the artist who saw portraits at the Oxford Music School in person, engraving the images of the following musicians: John Bull, William Child, William Croft, Christopher Gibbons, William Heyther (Heather), John Hilton, Nicholas Lanier, Matthew Locke, Bernard Smith and John Wilson.

Below, each image is reproduced and assessed in turn.

John Bull

John Bull (1562/3 – 1628) was an English composer and organist; his notable appointments include Public Reader in music at Gresham College, London. Bull's characteristic ear shape and hairline were reproduced accurately. Caldwell made a mistake when converting arabic numbers into roman numerals (see illus.A1). Caldwell engraved 'AN ÆTAT. SUÆ XXVI' (shown here reversed, so the painting and engraving are facing the same way), stating he was 26 years old at the year of the painting, rather than 27 years old (see illus.7)¹⁶. The conversion for 1589, the year of painting, was correct. Possibly in his Merchant Taylors' Company formal dress, or citizens' gown, note some detail of Bull's outfit beneath the gown was simplified: the rectangular pattern and buttons (or clasps) were simply ignored during the engraving process.



Portrait A1 John Bull [FL = flipped]



Illus.7 Painting of John Bull, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford

William Child

William Child (1606/7 – 1697) was awarded the BMus in Oxford on 8 July 1631, and subsequently the DMus. The special thing about William Child's portrait is that he had a full-length portrait made, unlike his contemporaries, who all had half-length paintings of themselves. Caldwell extracted the head and upper body during the engraving process. Through the engraving lines, it could be seen that the distinctive layers of the DMus white gown and red hood were retained in the etching process.



Portrait A2 William Child [FL]



Illus.8 Painting of William Child, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford

Arcangelo Corelli



Portrait A3 Arcangelo Corelli, engraved by Charles Grignion the Elder



Illus.9 Arcangelo Corelli, painted by Hugh Howard, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford

The painter Hugh Howard has left plenty of portraits¹⁷ of the Italian composer Arcangelo Corelli (1653 – 1713). Among these, the appearance of Corelli remained the same: curly hair, head facing the right, slightly wide and square chin, white shirt with bands extending and three buttons at the neck collar, dark-coloured garment¹⁸ (for example, see Illus.12). However, for some, the full upper body of Corelli is drawn, showing him holding a rolled music manuscript with his right hand, facing the left (for example, see illus.10). There were many mezzotint reproductions of one portrait, where the engraving by John Smith was the most well-known. All portraits are consistent in terms of Corelli's appearance. Corelli's portrait was possibly included in Hawkins' publication at a later stage of preparation: it was the only Oxford portrait reproduced by Charles Grignion.



Illus.10 Painting of Arcangelo Corelli, Royal Society of Musicians



Illus.11 Engraving of Arcangelo Corelli, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D11509

William Croft

William Croft (1678 – 1727) became organist at Westminster Abbey in 1708 and later gained a DMus at Oxford. Painted on an oval spandrel, Croft was described wearing a 'scarlet and white DMus gown and hood over brown dress'.¹⁹ Notice the patterns²⁰ on Croft's robes are replicated roughly when the engraving is flipped.

F. 3



Portrait A4 William Croft [FL]



Illus.12 William Croft, painted by Thomas Murray, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford

Christopher Gibbons

Son of the eminent composer Orlando Gibbons (1583 – 1625) (whose portraits are discussed below), Christopher Gibbons (1615 – 1676) is remembered among music figures in the Restoration. In 1664, he was conferred the DMus at Oxford University at the King's nomination. The rolled-up music manuscript that he was holding for the original portrait was not included in the Caldwell's reproduction.



Portrait A5 Christopher Gibbons [FL]



Illus.13 Portrait of Christopher Gibbons, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford

William Heather (Heyther)

A close friend of William Camden (1551 – 1623), who was headmaster of Westminster School,²¹ William Heather (Heyther) (1563 – 1627) could be considered the odd one out of the Oxford portraits presented in Hawkins' *A General History*, for he was not a composer²². In the original portrait, Heather held a rolled-up music manuscript on his right hand, while touching his copy of *Musica Transalpina*, an anthology of Italian madrigals compiled and edited by Nicolas Yonge (d.1619). On close examination, Heather appeared to have a *mouche* (soul patch) and it was not reflected in Caldwell's engraving – only the ducktail beard was reproduced.



Portrait A6 William Heather [FL]



Illus.14 Portrait of William Heather, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford

John Hilton (the Younger)

John Hilton (1599 – 1657), not to be confused with his Father, John Hilton (the Elder) (d.1609), published his *Ayres or Fa La's for Three Voyces* in 1627, a year after taking the MusB degree from Trinity College, Cambridge. Hilton is holding his setting of a *Miserere*,²³ a manuscript signed *J. H.*²⁴ Dated 30 September 1649, Hilton was 50 years old at the time of the painting. Another interesting detail is the original painting's coat of arms, described heraldically as 'argent, two bars azure', indicating a possible link with the Hylton family of Hylton Castle, County Durham, though other usages were recorded in County Leicester, Sussex and London.²⁵



Portrait A7 John Hilton [FL]



Illus.15 Portrait of John Hilton, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford

Nicholas Lanier

Nicholas Lanier (1588 – 1565) produced a self-portrait featuring himself as a jack of trades. He was a singer, lutenist, and painter coming from a family of musicians of French descent, with his father originating from Rouen. When King Charles I inherited the throne, he was appointed as the first Master of the King’s Musick in 1625. The self-portrait features Lanier holding a paint brush and wooden panel, with a skull and a piece of music on the table adjacent. The music on the manuscript is Lanier’s own canon *Thus, thus this at last*, transcribed as follows:²⁶



Ex.1 Transcription of music fragment from the portrait of Nicolas Lanier

Caldwell’s engraving is yet another example of a flipped image.



Portrait A8 Nicolas Lanier [FL]



Illus.16 Self Portrait of Nicolas Lanier, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford

Matthew Locke

Matthew Locke (d.1677) grew up as a chorister of Exeter Cathedral and made contributions to both secular and sacred music during his time. The painting that Caldwell consulted in Oxford suggests he was 40 years old when it was produced.



Portrait A9 Matthew Locke [FL]



Illus.17 Portrait of Matthew Locke, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford

Bernard Smith (Father Smith the organ builder)

Bernard Smith (also known as Father Smith) (d.1708) was an important organ builder in England and is primarily remembered for his victory in the 'Battle of Organs' where he employed John Blow and Henry Purcell (both of their portraits are mentioned below) to play on his instruments.



Portrait A10 Bernard Smith [FL]



Illus.18 Portrait of Bernard Smith, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford

John Wilson

John Wilson (1595 – 1674) was another Oxford University DMus graduate among the figures that Hawkins chose to reproduce portraits for his *History of Music*. His main musical output was songs, which 226 survived in manuscript form.



Portrait A11 John Wilson [FL]



Illus.19 Portrait of John Wilson, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford

The Selection Process for the Oxford Portraits

Hawkins mentioned the following musicians in his book, but did not include their portraits, though it is certain that he and Caldwell saw them: Thomas Blagrave (d.1688), Colonel John Blathwayt (1690 – 1754), John Hingston (1612 – 1683) and Thomas Tudway (1656 – 1726).²⁷



Illus.20 Portrait of Thomas Blagrave, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford



Illus.21 Portrait of a young Colonel John Blathwayt, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford



Illus.22 Portrait of John Hingston, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford



Illus.23 Portrait of Thomas Tudway, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford

Apparently, the status of musicians was a key consideration. Among those presented, the following had received the Doctor of Music degree (or honorary degree) from Oxford: John Bull, William Child, William Croft, Christopher Gibbons, William Heather and John Wilson. Their status can be clearly identified with their black doctoral hat and red robes. Tudway was possibly excluded because his Doctor of Music degree was conferred by the University of Cambridge. For the remaining characters, such as Nicholas Lanier, they were musicians for the royal court.

Interestingly, there is plausibility that Hawkins and Caldwell saw portraits of the following figures but chose to select their publications as the basis of their engraving: Henry Lawes and Christopher Simpson. Comparisons of these portraits are displayed below.

Existing books and publications available to Hawkins and his engravers

Major Sources

1. Andrea Adami, Osservazioni per ben regolare il coro de i cantori della Cappella Pontificia

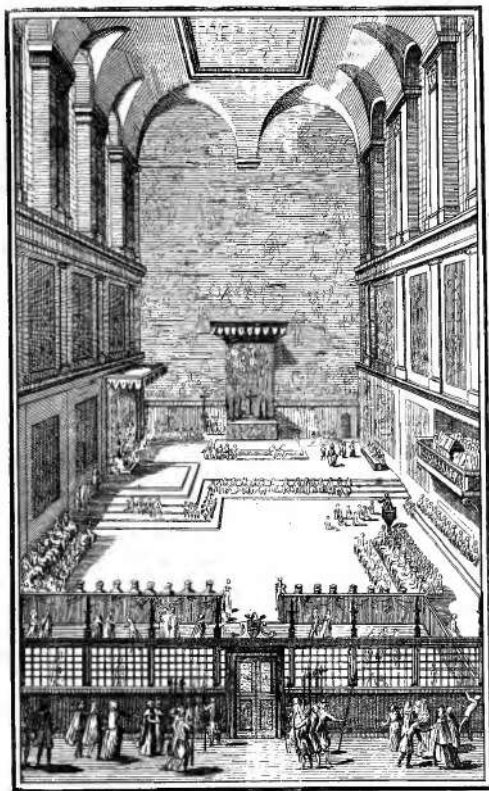
Hawkins enlisted the assistance of Sir Horace Mann, the British Envoy at Florence, through his family friend from Twickenham, Horace Walpole, the Earl of Oxford (1717 – 1797) to acquire different sources to complete his project. Here Walpole wrote to Sir Horace:

[...] a friend of mine, one Mr. Hawkins, is writing the History of Music: the sooner you could send us the following books the better; if by any English traveller, we should be glad.

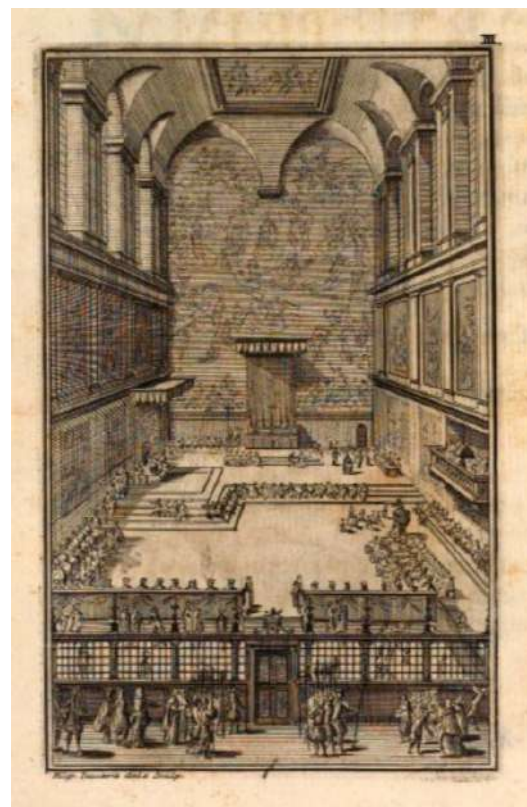
1. *Tutte le Opere di Giuseppe Zarlino. Venezia, 1589; 2 vols. Folio.*
2. *History of Music, in Italian, by Gio. Andr. Angelini Bontempi, 1695, folio.*
3. *Dialogo della Musica antica e moderna, di Vincenzo Galilei. Folio, 1602, or 1541, in Firenze.*
4. *Musica vaga ed artificiosa di Romano Michieli. Folio, 1615, Venezia.*
5. *Osservazioni per ben regolare il coro de i cantori della Cappella Pontifizja, fatte da Andrea Adami. Quarto, 1714; in Roma.*

Any other books of character on the subject will be very acceptable; but when I review the list and see so many thundering folios, I don't expect that any gentlemen will bring them in his breeches-pocket, or even in his cloak-bag.²⁸

Hawkins and his engravers extracted several portraits from these sources. Much information was cited from Adami's work and duly credited, however, the source of portraits of numerous papal musicians were not mentioned. Unlike other engravings of portraits, note engravings sourced from Adami's publication were not flipped (with one exception), meaning more time were spent on these images than others.



Illus.24 Engraving of the Sistine Chapel in Hawkins' A General History



Illus.25 Engraving of the Sistine Chapel in Adami's Osservazioni

Andrea Adami

Andrea Adami da Bolsena (1663 – 1742) was a Venetian singer, writer and composer who was part of the Congregazione dei Musici di S. Cecilia. He wrote *Osservazioni per ben regolare il coro de i cantori della Cappella Pontificia*, which recorded much history of pontifical music organisations and biographic information of papal singers and composers. Adami's portrait is the only exception among portraits extracted from this source, where the engraving is flipped. The caption given for the source suggests that there is a lost painting of Adami by Francesco Trevisani (1656 – 1746).



Portrait B1 Andrea Adami [FL]



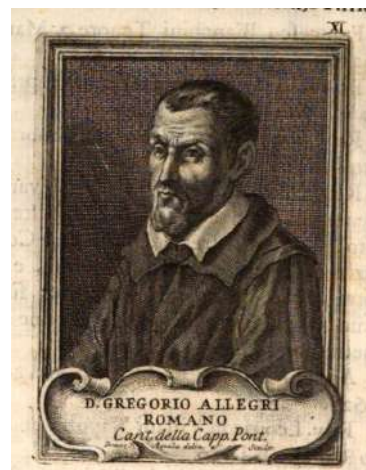
Illus.26 Engraving of Andrea Adami in Adami's Osservazioni

Gregorio Allegri

Gregorio Allegri (1582 – 1652), best known nowadays for his *Miserere mei, Deus*, was a singer and composer who joined the Papal Choir as an alto on 6 December 1629. He assumed the post of *maestro di capella* in 1650. The original engraving was created by Francesco Aquila (1676 – 1740). Caldwell smoothed Allegri's angled eyebrows and altered his chin.



Portrait B2 Gregorio Allegri



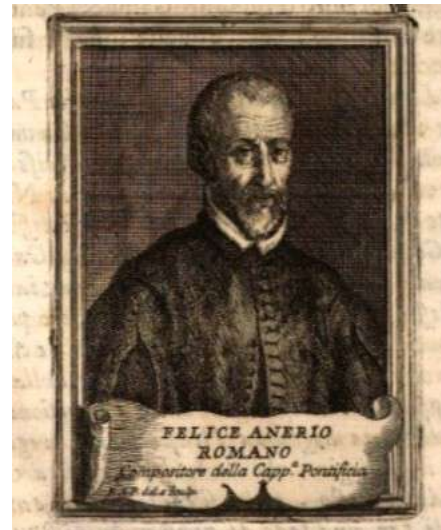
Illus.27 Engraving of Gregorio Allegri in Adami's Osservazioni

Felice Anerio

A choirboy who sang under the direction of Giovanni Maria Nanino at S. Maria Maggiore, Felice Anerio (c.1560 – 1614) was a singer and composer who spent his entire life in Rome. He is known for his madrigals and sacred works. In the original engraving from the Adami source, credits were given to an unknown engraver who used the initials 'F. A. P.'.



Portrait B3 Felice Anerio



Illus.28 Engraving of Felice Anerio in Adami's Osservazioni

Ruggiero Giovanelli

Ruggiero Giovanelli (also spelt as Giovannelli) (d.1625) was an Italian composer who assumed the position of *maestro di cappella* of S. Luigi dei Francesi from August 1583 – early 1591. Andrea Adami described Giovanelli as a *tenore* (tenor) when he formally joined the Choir of the Sistine Chapel on 7 April 1599. No credit to the engraver was given by Hawkins though it was clear in the source that Pietro de Petri (b. 1663) was behind the work: Adami indicated such authorship with the caption 'P de Petri del. e sculp.'. Caldwell's reproduction was accurate.



Portrait B4 Ruggiero Giovannelli



Illus.29 Engraving of Ruggiero Giovannelli in Adami's Osservazioni

Antimo Liberati

Antimo Liberati (1617 – 1692) was an Italian theorist and composer who was admitted to the Papal Choir on 20 November 1661. Most of his musical works are lost. Pier Leone Ghezzi (1674 – 1755) was credited by Andrea Adami as the draughtsman behind the original engraving.²⁹ He is the only subject among all portraits presented in Hawkins' *A General History* to have a prop object (a book) from the original source retained. There is a sketch of the composer at the Austrian National Library: the style indicates it was based on the engraving in Adami's publication.



Portrait B5 Antimo Liberati



Illus.30 Engraving of Antimo Liberati in Adami's Osservazioni



Illus.31 Sketch of Antimo Liberati, Austrian National Library, POR0155252

Cristóbal de Morales

Cristóbal de Morales (c.1500 – 1553) was a leading musical figure in Spain in his time and admired by many of his contemporaries.³⁰ The engraving found in Hawkins' *A General History* was the work of Caldwell, who enhanced Morales' appearance of hair and beard with his skills. In the original source the appearance of Morales seems rather unrefined.



Portrait B6 Cristóbal de Morales



Illus. 32 Engraving of Cristóbal de Morales in Adami's Osservazioni

There is a portrait in the Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica in Bologna, Italy where Morales has the same facial hair and choir dress. The caption reads 'Cristoforo Morales Spagnuolo Cant. Pontif. L'Composit. Di Musica nell' Anno 1544', which partially matches the source that Caldwell resorted to under Hawkins' guidance. However, Hawkins put the engraving's caption as 'Cristoforo Morales Spagnuolo, Cantore della Capella Pontifica. MDXLIV', verbatim from Andrea Adami's caption.

It is uncertain whether the original engraving by Angelo Rossi (possibly same painter as Angelo Maria Rossi, known as 'Pseudo-Fardella') (fl.17th Century) could be described as authentic. Given the timeline, it would have been an imaginary portrait (right) of what Morales would have looked like, building upon the woodcut found within the cover of his publication *Missarum liber secundus* (illus.33) in 1544 (this woodcut illustration would be further elaborated later). When describing Morales as a *cantor* under Pope Paul III, his *Missarum* was mentioned and the dedication was extracted, giving an implication that the woodcut is the true authentic source.³¹



Illus.33 Frontispiece of *Cristóbal de Morales, Missarum liber secundus*



Illus.34 Portrait of *Cristóbal de Morales*, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica

Giovanni Maria Nanino

Giovanni Maria Nanino (1543/44 – 1607) was an active contributor to Roman musical culture, working as a teacher, *maestro di capella* and composer. The engraving from the source was produced by Francesco Trevisani. While Caldwell was working on the engraving, he managed to maintain the same hairline presented by Trevisani and gave Nanino more density for his hair on the top of his head. There is a portrait of Nanino by an unknown painter of the 16/17th century at the Museo del Tesoro di San Pietro in the Vatican.³² The shape of his head and ears corresponds to the engraving in the *Osservazioni*. One would also notice Trevisani has turned Nanino’s torso, showing more of his shoulders.



Portrait B7 *Giovanni Maria Nanino*



Illus.35 Engraving of *Giovanni Maria Nanino* in *Adami's Osservazioni*



Illus.36 Painting of *Giovanni Maria Nanino*, Museo del Tesoro di San Pietro

Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina

Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525 – 1594) was an Italian composer and then and now considered to be a pillar of 16th century music, alongside William Byrd (1540 – 1623) and

Orlande de Lassus (1532 – 1594) (see below). Best remembered for his *Missa Papae Marcelli* for six voices, Palestrina's main output was masses and motets.

Notice that Caldwell has engraved Palestrina's seams of his clothing (illus.B8) more elaborately than in the source (illus.37). Dated 1562 by Adami and subsequently Hawkins, the source references Giuseppe Ghezzi (1634 – 1721) as the engraver, who likely modelled off portraits available in Rome at the time. The 16th century portrait of Palestrina currently hosted in the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri in Rome is a likely original model.



Portrait B8 Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina



Illus.37 Engraving of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina in Adami's Osservazioni



Illus.38 Portrait of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Oratory of Saint Philip Neri in Rome

Another portrait of Palestrina featured in Hawkins's *A General History*, was the frontispiece of his *Missarum Liber Primus*, published by Valerio Dorico in 1554. It was engraved by Thomas Hodgson (b.1776), a London artist specialising in woodcuts.³³ This was added at the last stages of the publication of Hawkins' book in 1776: Hodgson created this engraving in 1775.³⁴ With this, he subsequently earned an accolade from the Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce.³⁵ He probably completed the woodcut engravings of music instruments and graphics from sources that Hawkins supplied.³⁶



Illus.39 Frontispiece of Palestrina, *Missarum Liber Primus*



Illus.40 Engraving of the Frontispiece by Hodgson, Archives of the RSA

Interestingly, this portrait was based on a template from earlier publications, where the publishers swap the head of the Pope and the presenter of the book depending on publishing context (see below).³⁷ The music extract presented in the woodcut can be transcribed as follows:



Ex.2 Transcription of music fragment found in the Frontispiece

No actual compositions fit the above, and it could simply be regarded as a decorative part of the template.

Note that the ornamental details on the papal tiara are different, as well as the window scenery. Also, only the 1516 portrait features a kneeling cushion.



Illus.41 Frontispiece of *Liber quindecim missarum* published by Andrea Antico in 1516, featuring works by Josquin and La Rue



Illus.42 Frontispiece of *Cristóbal de Morales, Missarum liber secundus*, published by Valerio Dorico in 1544

The music on the three woodcuts appeared to be similar and perhaps was considered by publishers part of the template for a cover page. The music on the cover of Morales' publication is the least ambiguous, clearly showing the bass F clef, the *tempus imperfectum diminutum* sign, the prefixed flat signs. The text clearly indicated repeats of the words 'Sanctissimae Paule', referring Pope Paul III (1468 – 1549) to whom Morales dedicated his *Missarum*.

Matteo Simonelli

Matteo Simonelli (d.1696) was a singer, composer and organist who was described by Andrea Adami as the 'Palestrina of the present time' (*chiamare il Palestrina de' nostril tempi*).³⁸ The shorthand addended beneath the original engraving suggests Pierre Le Gros (1666 – 1719) was the draughtsman. Interestingly, in the engraving in Hawkins' *A General History*, no credit was given to

the engraver who created the reproduction for him. It would have been either by Caldwell or Grignon. There is a portrait of Simonelli at the Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, authorship unknown. It is likely to be modelled on the Le Gros engraving.



Portrait B9 Matteo Simonelli



Illus.43 Engraving of Matteo Simonelli in Adami's Osservazioni



Illus.44 Portrait of Matteo Simonelli, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica

2. Charles Perrault, *Les hommes illustres qui ont paru en France pendant ce siècle: avec leurs portraits au naturel*

Charles Perrault (1628 - 1703) was an author and lawyer known for his work on the publication of fairy tales and children's stories. His *Histoires ou Contes du Temps passé, avec des moralités* has provided a model narrative of now famous tales such as *Cinderella* and *The Little Red Riding Hood*.³⁹ Perrault was an active member in music circles and widely remembered for being the middle of controversies arose from Jean-Baptiste Lully's opera production *Alceste* in 1674. Perrault was an author of biographies: his publication *Les hommes illustres qui ont paru en France pendant ce siècle: avec leurs portraits au naturel* featured illustrious figures of the 17th century (as the title suggested), where engraved portraits of religious and political figures were included.

Jean-Baptiste Lully

Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632 – 1687) was a composer of ballets, operas and church music. He first entered the service of the French aristocracy as *garçon de chambre* to the Grande Mademoiselle, teaching King Louis XIV's cousin Italian. He later became *mâitre à danser du roi* in 1651 and subsequently promoted to *surintendant de la musique de la chambre du roi* ten years later. His portrait was extracted from the first volume of Perrault's work, published in 1696. For Hawkins' publication, James Caldwell made his own rendition of the engraving by Gérard Edelinck (d. 1707). There is also an oil on canvas painting currently at the Musée Condé, believed to be by Paul Mignard (1639 – 1691).



Portrait C1 Jean-Baptiste Lully [FL]



Illus.45 Engraving of Jean-Baptiste Lully in Perrault, *Les hommes illustres*



Illus.46 Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Lully, Musée Condé

Marin Mersenne

Father Marin Mersenne (1588 – 1648) was an ordained priest under the Order of Minims. Engaged in many areas of theology, philosophy, science and music, he was considered ‘a crucial confluence of Renaissance and Baroque ideas’. His portrait was extracted from the 1700 collection (second volume) of Perrault’s publication. In Charles Grignion’s reproduction, the book Mersenne was holding in his left hand, as well as the pillar in the background, were cropped out. Claude Duflos (1665 - 1727) was the engraver who contributed the Mersenne portrait to Perrault’s collection.



Portrait C2 Marin Mersenne [FL]



Illus.1 Engraving of Marin Mersenne in Perrault, *Les hommes illustres*

3. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Bibliotheca Chalcographica*

Another French source that John Hawkins consulted and selected portraits from was the *Bibliotheca Chalcographica* by Jean-Jacques Boissard (1528 – 1602), a collaborative project between himself and a number of engravers, creating a portrait gallery with biographies of humanists and reformers.⁴⁰ Published posthumously in 1650, it is the culmination of Boissard’s initial work *Icones vivorum illustrium* from 1597 and efforts by his fellow engravers Theodore de Bry (1528 – 1598) and his sons Johann Theodore and Johann Israel.

Philippe de Monte

Little is known about the early life of Philippe de Monte (1521 - 1608) other than the musical training he might have had as a choirboy at St Rombouts Cathedral in Mechelen. Widely known for his church music and madrigals, he held posts at the Cathedral in Cambrai and travelled across Vienna and Prague, working under Emperor Maximilian II. The engraving presented in the *Bibliotheca Chalcographica* was an exact reprint of the 1597 *Icones vivorum illustrium*. Interestingly, it was replicated from the original 1594 image by Raphael Sadeler, from three years earlier.

While Hawkins was preparing information about de Monte for his publication, he possibly relied on the words visible on Sadeler’s engraving, as the 1650 publication provide entirely different captions. He made a mistake when making a caption for the Caldwell’s engraving, suggesting de Monte was 72 (LXXII)⁴¹ where it should have been 73 (LXXIII). He further suggested there was a portrait of him within the Cathedral Church with the inscription: *Cernius excelsum, mente art, et nomine Montem, Quo Musae et Charites constituere domum.* There is now no evidence of a physical portrait of de Monte in that space: the original portrait, along with its records might have been destroyed during the French Revolution.



Portrait D1 Philippe de Monte [FL]



Illus.48 Engraving of Philippe de Monte in Bibliotheca Chalcographica



Illus.49 Engraving of Philippe de Monte by Raphael Sadeler

Orlande de Lassus

Hawkins did not specify the source of the portrait he used for Orlande de Lassus (Orlando di Lasso) (d. 594), whom he described as ‘the first great improver of figurative music’.⁴² However, it was very likely to be the *Bibliotheca Chalcographica*: the entry on the prolific composer was on the subsequent page of de Monte’s. Like de Monte, the Lassus portrait is also a direct reproduction of the 1597 *Icones vivorum illustrium*.

The *Bibliotheca Chalcographica* depicts a young Lassus, with his ruff and robes, as well as a medal which was probably the Order of the Golden Spur conferred by Pope Gregory XIII, putting him in his early forties. In *The Codex of Penitential Psalms of Albrecht V*, there is a portrait of Lassus in the same outfit, but older (he had become bald).



Portrait D2 Orlande de Lassus [FL]



Illus.50 Engraving of Orlande de Lassus in Bibliotheca Chalcographica

Portraits Sourced from Miscellaneous Publications

Hawkins searched various sources to find portraits, most coming from individual publications.

John Blow

John Blow (d. 1708) succeeded Albert Bryne as the organist of Westminster Abbey in December 1668. The portrait was sourced from his *Amphion Anglicus* which was published in 1700.⁴³

Henry Carey

Henry Carey (1687 - 1743) was an English composer and librettist, who Hawkins described him as ‘a musician by profession, and one of the lower order of poets’.⁴⁶ The original portrait was drawn by James Worsdale (1692 – 1767) and engraved by John Faber (1684 – 1756), sourced from *The Musical Century in 100 English Ballards* published in 1740.⁴⁷ Captioning Charles Grignion’s reproduction, Hawkins has inherited the error on the source, writing ‘Harry Carey’, instead of ‘Henry Carey’.⁴⁸



Portrait E3 Henry Carey [FL]



Illus.53 Engraving of Henry Carey in his *The Musical Century in 100 English Ballards*

Scipione Cerreto

A native of Naples, Scipione Cerreto (c.1551 – c.1633) was the author of *Della prattica musica vocale et strumentale* published in 1601 by the printing firm Gio. Iacomo Carlino. According to the information on the frame, he was 55 at the time of publication. It was accurately reflected by Hawkins in writing.



Portrait E4 Scipione Cerreto [FL]



Illus.54 Engraving of Scipione Cerreto in his *Della prattica musica*

Thomas D'Urfey

Thomas D'Urfey (1653 - 1723) was a lawyer-turned-author, who was born in Devonshire in 1653.⁴⁹ The portrait was sourced from his *Songs Compleat, Pleasant and Divertive* (1719).



Portrait E5 Thomas D'Urfey [FL]



Illus.55 Engraving of Thomas D'Urfey in his *Songs Compleat, Pleasant and Divertive*

Girolamo Frescobaldi

Girolamo Frescobaldi (d.1643) was a celebrated Italian organist. His portrait was sourced from his second book of toccatas published in 1627. It was drawn by an Augustinian Friar Jean Saillant and engraved by Christian Sas.⁵⁰ Frescobaldi was 36 at the time of the engraving.⁵¹



Portrait E6 Girolamo Frescobaldi [FL]



Illus.56 Engraving of Girolamo Frescobaldi in his second book of *Toccatas*

George Frederic Handel

George Frederic Handel (1685 – 1759) was as a great composer of operas and oratorios, whose works are still frequently performed. Hawkins chose to adopt the Handel engraving by Jacobus Houbraken for his book. The original used an elaborately designed template by Hubert-François Gravelot (1699 - 1773), and Charles Grignion was credited for the reproduction. This depiction of a young Handel was associated with one of his celebrated oratorios, *Alexander's Feast*.⁵²



Portrait E7 George Frederic Handel



Illus. 57 Engraving of George Frederic Handel by Jacobus Houbraken

Claude de Jeune

Claude de Jeune (1528/30 - 1600) was a French composer who championed the practices of *musique mesurée à l'antique*. His portrait was sourced from his *Dodecacorde*, which was published in La Eochelle in 1598. In the source, the music manuscript de Jeune was holding was too small to be legible. There is also a coat of arms with the motto *Sic vos non nobis* ('You do not work for yourselves').



Portrait E8 Claude de Jeune [FL]



Illus.58 Engraving of Claude de Jeune in his Dodecacorde

Henry Lawes

This is an interesting case within Hawkins' *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*. Henry Lawes (1596 – 1662) was an English composer whose main output was songs. He was a benefactor to the Oxford School of Music and provided the institution with a portrait of himself.⁵³



Portrait E9 Henry Lawes [FL]



Illus.59 Portrait of Henry Lawes, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford

On the right corner of the portrait there is a canon for three voices by Lawes, titled *Regi, Regis*⁵⁴:



Portrait E10 Thomas Mace [FL]



Illus.61 Engraving of Thomas Mace in his Musick's Monument

Henry Purcell

Henry Purcell (d. 1695) remains one of the most iconic English composers: he was a church musician throughout his life. This portrait was sourced from his *Sonata of Three Parts*⁵⁵, published in 1683. He was 24 when the engraving was created.



Portrait E11 Henry Purcell [FL]



Illus.62 Engraving of Henry Purcell in his Sonata of Three Parts

Antonio Vivaldi

Antonio Vivaldi (1678 - 1741) has been described as ‘the most original and influential Italian composer of his generation’. The portrait is sourced from Le Cène’s edition of his *Il Cimento dell’armonia e dell’inventione*, Op.8 (‘The Contest Between Harmony and Invention’), published 1725 in. Nowadays, this portrait of Vivaldi has often been confused as that of Guillaume de Machaut (1300 – 1377) by many.⁵⁶ The reproduction in Hawkins’ *A General History* was by James Caldwell.

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Portrait E12 Antonio Vivaldi [FL]



Illus.63 Engraving of Antonio Vivaldi in Le Cène’s edition of his *Il Cimento dell’armonia e dell’inventione*

Loose Prints available to Hawkins

There are several individual prints which Hawkins made use of for his publication.

Henry Aldrich

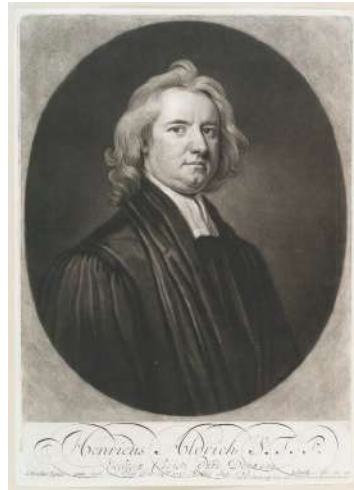
Henry Aldrich (1648 – 1710) was Dean of Christ Church, Oxford and later, Vice Chancellor of Oxford University. Hawkins praised Aldrich highly in terms of his contributions to church music:

*Amidst a variety of honourable pursuits, and the cares which the government of his college subjected him to, Dr. Aldrich found leisure to study and cultivate music, particularly that branch of it which related both to his profession and his office. To this end he made a noble collection of church-music, consisting of the works of Palestrina, Carissimi, Victoria and other Italian composers for the church, and by adapting with great skill and judgement English words to many of their motets, enriched the stores of our church, and in some degree made their works our own*⁵⁷

Given the high rank that Aldrich held in Oxford, one would thought Hawkins could have seen Henry Aldrich's portrait in person during his visits to Oxford. However, examining the timeline for Aldrich's portrait arriving at the University of Oxford, it is more plausible that he referred to a loose print of Aldrich's portrait, painted by Godfrey Kneller (1646-1723). This was given to the butler at Christ Church, Robert Hobson, and remained a family heirloom until the University bought it back in 1804.⁵⁸



Portrait F1 Henry Aldrich



Illus.64 Engraving of Henry Aldrich by John Smith, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D11585



Illus.65 Portrait of Henry Aldrich, Christ Church, University of Oxford

Attilio Ariosti

Attilio Ariosti (Ariosto) (1666 – 1729) was a composer, performer and member of the monastic Order of Servites.⁵⁹ His first appearance in London was 12 July 1716 at the Haymarket where he played on the viola d'amore.⁶⁰ The original portrait painted by Enoch Seeman (c.1689 – 1745) was engraved by J. Simon,⁶¹ and served as the basis of the reproduction by Charles Grignion.



Portrait F2 Attilio Ariosti [FL]



Illus.66 Engraving of Attilio Ariosti, Gallica BnF

John Banister

John Banister (1662 - 1736) was a violinist who was sent to France by King Charles II. He was a first violinist at Drury-lane Theatre.⁶² Charles Grignion made his reproduction based on a loose print engraved and published by Robert Williams (fl.1680 – 1704); the portrait painter was Thomas Murray (1663 – 1735).⁶³ Hawkins made a mistake while describing the source of the portrait, writing:

*[...] That he was a man eminent in his profession may be inferred from the mezzotinto of him by Smith, from which the engraving was taken.*⁶⁴

Also, he might have confused him with Jacques Paisible (1656 – 1721) when making a claim on his ability to play on two flutes at once.



Portrait F3 John Banister [FL]



Illus.67 Engraving of John Banister, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D626

Francesco Bernardi (Senesino)

Francesco Bernardi (Senesino) (d. 1759) was an Italian alto castrato who sang in many productions of Handel's operatic works. Thomas Hudson was the painter, and the portrait was later engraved by Alexander Van Haecken in 1735. Charles Grignion was credited with the reproduction in Hawkins' *A General History*.



Portrait F4 Francesco Bernardi (Senesino) [FL]



Illus.68 Engraving of Francesco Bernardi (Senesino), National Portrait Gallery, NPG D1059

He was cast in the title role of Handel's *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* (HWV17), which had its first performance at the King's Theatre on 20 February 1724.⁶⁵ In Van Haecken's engraving, there is an extract of the opening of Giulio Cesare's aria from Act I, *Non è si vago e bello il fior nel prato*.



Ex.5 Opening of Giulio Cesare's aria Non è si vago e bello il fior nel prato, NPG D1059

Allegro. *Tutti.*

co-ri. *Viol. all'ottava.*
Non è si va-goe

bel-lo il fior nel pra-to, quan'è va-goe gen-à-le il tuo bel vol-to; non è si va-goe bello il fior nel pra-

Ex.5 Opening of *Giulio Cesare's* aria *Non è si vago e bello il fior nel prato*. Score from *Georg Fridrich Händels Werke Band 68*, edited by Friedrich Chrysander

Thomas Britton

Thomas Britton (1644 – 1714) was an important figure in the amateur music scene in the early 18th century. In London, he was known as the ‘musical “small-coal” street hawker’ who organised weekly concerts where figures such as Pepusch and Handel were known to have attended.⁶⁶ There are two paintings of Britton by John Woolaston (c.1672 – 1749):⁶⁷ one is currently at the National Portrait Gallery in London (Portrait NPG 523), which was previously bought by Sir Hans Sloane from an auction of Britton’s possessions after his death in 1714. Another was the original painting that the engraving Hawkins referenced, but did not survive; Thomas Johnson (fl.18th century) was the engraver.



Portrait F5 Thomas Britton [FL]



Illus.69 Engraving of Thomas Britton, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D32154



Illus.70 Portrait of Thomas Britton, National Portrait Gallery, NPG 523

Carlo Broschi (Farinelli)

Carlo Broschi (Farinelli) (1705 – 1782) was one of the most celebrated singers of the time. He was an Italian soprano castrato known for his London operatic appearances as Arbace (*Artaserse*) and Aci (*Polifemo*).⁶⁸ Charles Grignion took the 1735 engraving by Joseph Wagner (1706 – 1786) as the basis of his reproduction⁶⁹. In Wagner's engraving, the inscription says:

*Partenope il produsse, e le Sirene
Tutte fur vinte al paragon del Canto
Fama il guida sulle Britanne Scene
E furon Nomi suoi Prodigio e Incanto*⁷⁰

A painting by Farinelli's friend Jacopo Amiconi (Amigoni) (1682 – 1752), now at the National Gallery of Victoria, Australia, was identified as the original portrait. Wagner extracted the head and upper torso of Farinelli to produce his engraving.⁷¹ The painting depicts Farinelli spending time with friends Teresa Castellini and Metastasio during his period in Madrid, where he was singing for the Royal Court.⁷² He was wearing his cross of the Order of Calatrava, from when he was knighted in 1750.



Illus.71 The singer Farinelli and Friends by Jacopo Amiconi, National Gallery of Victoria, Australia



Portrait F6 Carlo Broschi (Farinelli) [FL]



Illus.72 Engraving of Carlo Broschi (Farinelli), National Portrait Gallery, NPG D14692



The music depicted on the engraving has a clear header *Si Farinelli* but the music was not clear enough to be fully legible. However, a key signature of two sharps and a time signature 3/8 are visible.



Ex.6 Unidentified music fragment in the engraving of Carlo Broschi (Farinelli)

Francesco Geminiani

Francesco Geminiani (1687 – 1762) was a ‘disciple of (Arcangelo) Corelli’.⁷³ The original painting was drawn by Thomas Jenkins (1722 – 1798), and Charles Grignion made a reproduction for Hawkins based on the engraving by T. McArdell.⁷⁴



Portrait F7 Francesco Geminiani [FL]



Illus.73 Engraving of Francesco Geminiani, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D2753

William Holder

William Holder (1616 – 1697/8) was an Anglican clergyman, holding positions at Ely Cathedral and St Paul’s Cathedral in London. He was the author of a publication titled *A Treatise of the Natural Grounds and Principles of Harmony*. David Loggan was the engraver for the loose print. Holder was then 67 years old.



Portrait F8 William Holder



Illus.74 Engraving of William Holder, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D29590



Portrait F10 Johann Christoph Pepusch [FL]



Illus.77 Engraving of Johann Christoph Pepusch, Rijksmuseum, The Netherlands

Mrs Anastasia Robinson

Anastasia Robinson (later the Duchess of Peterborough) (1692 – 1755) was a soprano of great popularity, having previously studied under William Croft, Pier Giuseppe Sandoni and Johanna Lindelheim.⁷⁹ It is believed that the solo soprano part in Handel's *Ode for Queen Anne's birthday* was written for her. Charles Grignion referred to the engraving by John Faber (1684 – 1756), which was based on John Vanderbank (1694 – 1739)'s painting. The latter is now in the collection of Colonel Lord Longford in North Wales.⁸⁰



Portrait F11 Mrs Anastasia Robinson [FL]



Illus.78 Engraving of Mrs Anastasia Robinson, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D3875

Questionable Portraits

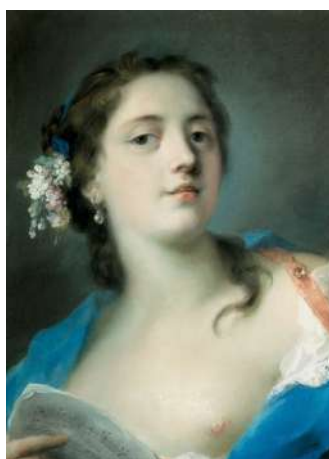
Faustina Bordoni (Signora Faustina)

Signora Faustina was one of the leading opera singers in London during Handel's time, known for her rivalry with Francesca Cuzzoni (see below). Hawkins noted that Charles Grignion created this engraving after a painting by Rosalba Carriera (1673 – 1757). There is a painting in the Royal Gallery in Dresden (illus.79),⁸¹ but when considering the Dresden portrait, there are many visual elements missing in the Rosalba pastel and one may not be convinced that the Grignion engraving was a derivative. The hair ornaments and pearl necklace are missing, for example.

A



Portrait G1 Faustina Bordoni (Signora Faustina) [FL]



Illus.79 Portrait of Faustina Bordoni (Signora Faustina) at the Royal Gallery in Dresden



Illus.80 Portrait of Faustina Bordoni (Signora Faustina) at Ca' Rezzonico

A more convincing comparison might be the Signora Faustina portrait by the same painter now hosted at Ca' Rezzonico (Museo del Settecento Veneziano) (illus.80)⁸². The pearl necklace is clearly visible, as well as hair ornaments and earrings. The stomacher reproduced by Grignion in his engraving matches with the Ca' Rezzonico painting. However, Rosalba never left Venice in her lifetime and thus it is unclear how Hawkins and Grignion got access to the supposed source. Even when comparing the appearance of Signora Faustina in the Ca' Rezzonico portrait and Grignion's reproduction, the rationale behind the pearl necklace remains unsolvable. It is possible there is a further, lost portrait.

The portraits of the following two English composers are worth looking into further. For their publications, portraits seem to be renewed for each printing run. These portraits cannot be said to be reliable representations of composers' appearance.

John Playford

John Playford (b.1623) was a vicar-choral of St Paul's Cathedral, London and a prominent bookseller. His main publishing output were books on music-playing, theory and psalm tunes. The portrait of Playford in Hawkins' *A General History* was credited to Charles Grignion. It might have been roughly based on the 1680 version of Playford's *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*.

David Loggan was the engraver. When comparing the Grignion and Loggan portraits, one might not notice immediately the subtle differences in the shape of Playford's chin and lips.

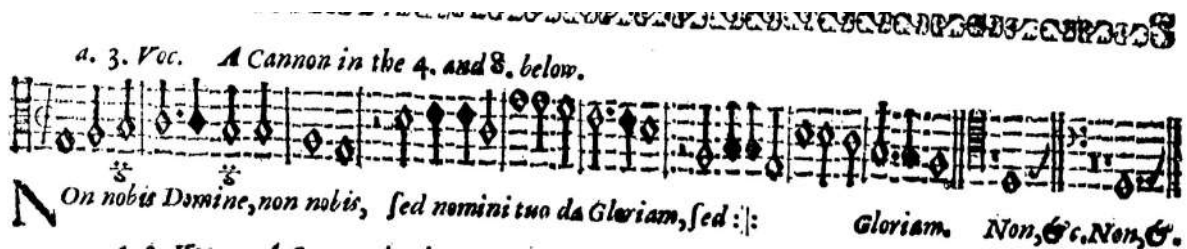


Portrait G2 John Playford [FL]



Illus.81 Engraving of John Playford by David Loggan, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D30451

In an earlier version of Playford's *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, there is an entirely different portrait. The 1663 version (illus.82) shows Playford wearing a black cap and holding a sheet music fragment, *Non nobis Domine*. The incipit provided matches with a canon of the same title composed by John Hilton in his *Catch That Catch Can*, published in 1652. It was engraved by Richard Gaywood. In the background there is a fragment of an unidentified *Cantate Domino*, with one line in the G clef.



Ex.7 The canon Non nobis Domine from John Hilton's Catch That Catch Can

The engraving by Frederick Hendrik van Hove (fl.1628 – 1698) indicated Playford was 47 years old and is much aligned with the undated Loggan engraving. However, it seems to show a very drastic change in appearance in the time span of seven years.



Illus.82 Engraving of John Playford in his An Introduction to the Skill of Musick, 1663



Illus.83 Engraving of John Playford, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D30452

Christopher Simpson

Christopher Simpson (d.1609) was a viol player and composer. His portrait was already present in the Oxford School of Music before 1776,⁸³ however it may have arrived after Hawkins' visit in 1772. Although Hawkins credited John Carwarden (floruit 1636 – 1660),⁸⁴ the painter of Simpson's canvas portrait, Charles Grignion may have referred to William Faithorne's engraving for the 1667 version of Simpson's *The Principles of Practical Musick* when creating a reproduction.



Portrait G3 Christopher Simpson



Illus.84 Engraving of Christopher Simpson in his *The Principles of Practical Musick*, 1667



Illus.85 Portrait of Christopher Simpson, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford

There is also a similar engraving of Simpson in the 1775 version of the same title.



Portrait G3 Christopher Simpson [FL]



Illus.86 Engraving of Christopher Simpson in his *The Principles of Practical Musick*, 1775

Lost Portraits

There are some medallion portraits where the original sources cannot be identified, indicating that they are now lost.

Paolo Agostino (Portrait H1) and **Francesco Foggia** (Portrait H2)

James Caldwell was credited for the engravings of two Italian composers of church music, Paolo Agostino (Paolo Agostini) (c.1583 – 1629), a student of the above-mentioned Giovanni Maria Nanino, and Francesco Foggia (1604 – 1688), who was considered an important *maestro di cappella* in the 17th century. Both composers have several surviving collections of musical works but there are no portraits present: the sources of these two portraits in Hawkins could not be determined. The supposed reproductions were credited to James Caldwell. There is another reproduction of Francesco Foggia (illus.87) in the Austrian National Library, however, visually it suggests that the basis was Caldwell's reproduction, so is = no help in identifying an original source.



Portrait H1 Paolo Agostino



Portrait H2 Francesco Foggia



Illus.87 Sketch of Francesco Foggia, Austrian National Library, POR0155254

Orlando Gibbons



Portrait H3a Orlando Gibbons



Portrait H3b Orlando Gibbons



Illus.88 Portrait of Orlando Gibbons, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford

Interestingly, in Hawkins' *A General History* there are two attempts in representing the appearance of the famous Tudor composer Orlando Gibbons (1583 – 1565). One, by Charles Grignion (illus.H3a) which was used in both the 1776 first edition (its publication was supervised by Hawkins) and subsequent posthumous reprints. The other was by James Caldwell (illus.H3b).⁸⁵ In the first and subsequent publications, the Grignion engraving was used. A question that remains is the reasons why Hawkins chose the Grignion engraving over the Caldwell's.

Comparing both engravings with the portrait of Orlando Gibbons present in the University of Oxford, the beard and chin are all consistent with the painting. However, it may not be an accurate rendition of Gibbons' appearance as it is rather similar to the William Heather image (see above).⁸⁶

Henry Needler

Henry Needler (d.1760) was a civil servant and was known to have taken part in Thomas Britton's weekly concert activities. Needler was a violinist in the Ancient Academy of Music from 1728.⁸⁷ Dr Cooke possessed the original painting of Needler, which was drawn by Gabriel Matthias when he inherited instruments from him.⁸⁸ Hawkins probably had access to it thanks to his ties with the Ancient Academy of Music. The whereabouts of the original portrait is unknown.

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Portrait 11 Giovanni Battista Bononcini [FL]



Illus.190 Engraving of Giovanni Battista Bononcini by Gerard van der Gucht

Francesca Cuzzoni

A native of Parma, Francesca Cuzzoni (1696 – 1778) was an Italian soprano active in London, and who sang in many Handel operas composed. Her notable roles included Cleopatra in *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* and Teofane in *Ottone*. An original painting by Enoch Seeman is lost. Both James Caldwell and Gerard Van der Gucht made engravings of Cuzzoni. Given the similarity between the two, and comparing the Bononcini case, Caldwell’s engravings could be considered as derivative.

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Portrait 11 Francesca Cuzzoni [FL]



Illus.91 Engraving of Francesca Cuzzoni by Gerard van der Gucht

Looking at these images presented in Hawkins’ publication, and their supposed original sources, reminds one of the famous paired portraits of William Byrd and Thomas Tallis, courtesy of Nicola Francesco Haym (1678 - 1729) and Van der Gucht. The template is the same, including the circle frame and the outer presentation of descriptors.

Before his death, Haym had already finished writing his own *A General History of Musick*, written in Italian and translated by John Lockman. Here is how Hawkins summarised Haym in his introduction:

Nicola Francesco Haym, a musician, and a man of some literature, published, above forty years ago. Proposals, containing the plan of a history of music written by himself, but, meeting with little encouragement, he desisted from his design of printing it.⁹¹

If the above portraits of the same template were by Nicola Haym and indeed were the original source of the engravings found in Hawkins' book, one could speculate the possibility of Hawkins having 'inherited' Haym's materials for his own project.



Illus.92 Engravings of Thomas Tallis and William Byrd by Nicola Haym and Gerard Van der Gucht, British Museum, Object 1927.1008.351

Concluding summary

Among the 57 medallion portraits produced for Sir John Hawkins' *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, all of them can be traced to an original portrait or an engraving except Paolo Agostino (illus.H1), Francesco Foggia (illus.H2), Orlando Gibbons (illus.H3a/b) and Henry Needler (illus.H4). Some of these reproductions by James Caldwell and Charles Grignion were derived from engravings which served as an intermediary to original portraits and paintings which are now lost. Though these medallion portraits were produced in inconsistent quality and methodology, credit must be given for Hawkins' work with the engravers in preserving the appearances of so many musicians and composers, no matter their achievements and output.

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The Lost Music Project (<https://lost-music-project4.webnode.co.uk>) explores the creation, damage, loss and restoration of musical instruments, scores and books from the Middle Ages to the present day. The three main strands being investigated at present are early keyboard instruments, lost music manuscripts and lost paintings of musicians.

Acknowledgements

Many thanks to Francis Knights and Pablo Padilla for this opportunity with The Lost Music Project; and to Professor Jo Wainwright for his time and suggestions.

Appendix 1 A Summary of Medallion Portraits in Hawkins' *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*

Subjects of portraits in each category are presented in alphabetical order of names, rather than order of appearance in Hawkins' 1776 *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*. In the article throughout, the symbol [FL] indicates the portrait has been flipped for purposes of comparison.

#	Name	Volume	Book No.	Page No.	Engraver
A	Portraits Sourced from the Oxford School of Music Collection				
A1	John Bull	3	2	318	Caldwell
A2	William Child	4	4	414	Caldwell
A3	Angelo Corelli	4	3	308	Grignion
A4	William Croft	5	1	94	Caldwell
A5	Christopher Gibbons	4	4	412	Caldwell
A6	William Heather	4	1	30	Caldwell
A7	John Hilton	4	1	46	Caldwell
A8	Nicolas Lanier	3	3	380	Caldwell
A9	Matthew Locke	3	4	417	Caldwell
A10	Bernard Smith (Father Smith)	4	3	353	Caldwell
A11	John Wilson	4	1	57	Caldwell
B	Portraits Sourced from Andrea Adami's <i>Osservazioni per ben regolare il core de i cantori della Cappella Pontificia</i>				
B1	Andrea Adami	5	2	111	Grignion
B2	Gregorio Allegri	4	1	89	Caldwell
B3	Felice Anerio	3	1	192	Caldwell
B4	Ruggiero Giovanelli	3	1	193	Caldwell
B5	Antimo Liberati	4	3	266	Caldwell
B6	Cristóbal de Morales	3	1	86	Caldwell
B7	Giovanni Maria Nanino	3	2	190	Caldwell
B8	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	3	1	168	Caldwell
B9	Matteo Simonelli	4	3	285	?
C	Portraits sourced from Charles Perrault's <i>Les hommes illustres qui ont paru en France pendant ce siele: avec leurs portraits au naturel</i>				
C1	Jean-Baptiste Lully	4	2	236	Caldwell
C2	Marin Mersenne	4	1	104	Grignion
D	Portraits sourced from <i>Bibliotheca Chalcographica</i>				
D1	Philippe de Monte	2	4	491	Caldwell
D2	Orlande de Lassus	2	4	497	Caldwell
E	Portraits Sourced from Miscanelleous Publications				
E1	John Blow	4	4	486	Grignion

E2	Ercole Bottrigari	3	2	206	Grignion
E3	Henry Carey	5	2	184	Grignion
E4	Scipione Cerreto	3	2	235	Grignion
E5	Thomas D'Urfey	5	2	159	Grignion
E6	Girolamo Frescobaldi	4	2	174	Caldwell
E7	Geroge Fredric Handel	5	3	262	Grignion
E8	Claude de Jeune	3	2	204	Caldwell
E9	Thomas Mace	4	4	450	Grignion
E10	Henry Lawes	4	1	48	Grignion
E11	Henry Purcell	4	4	495	Grignion
E12	Antonio Vivaldi	5	3	213	Caldwell
F	Portraits Sourced from Loose Prints				
F1	Henry Aldrich	5	1	9	Caldwell
F2	Attilio Ariosti	5	3	290	Grignion
F3	John Banister	5	2	175	Grignion
F4	Francesco Bernardi (Senesino)	5	4	306	Grignion
F5	Thomas Britton	5	1	70	Grignion
F6	Carlo Broschi (Farinelli)	5	4	319	Grignion
F7	Francesco Geminani	5	3	238	Grignion
F8	William Holder	4	4	541	Grignion
F9	Mrs Arabella Hunt	4	4	545	Grignion
F10	Johann Cristoph Pepusch	5	2	194	Grignion
F11	Mrs Anastasia Robinson	5	4	301	Grignion
G	Questionable Portraits				
G1	Faustina Bordoni (Signora Faustina)	5	4	310	Grignion
G2	John Playford	4	4	468	Grignion
G3	Christopher Simpson	4	4	398	Grignion
H	Genuinely Lost Portraits				
H1	Paolo Agostino	4	1	79	Caldwell
H2	Francesco Foggia	4	3	264	Caldwell
H3a	Orlando Gibbons	4	1	34	Grignion
H3b	Orlando Gibbons	/	/	/	Caldwell
H4	Henry Needler	5	2	124	Grignion
I	Portraits with a possible link to Nicola Haym's <i>A General History of Musick</i>				
I1	Giovanni Battista Bononcini	5	3	274	Caldwell
I2	Francesca Cuzzoni	5	4	309	Caldwell

Appendix 2 A Summary of the illustrations, portraits and paintings

- Illus.1 Painting of John Hawkins by James Roberts, 1785
- Illus.2 Engraving of John Hawkins, National Portrait Gallery NPG D16218
- Illus.3 Frontispiece of Hawkins' *A General History*
- Illus.4 The painting *Canvassing for Votes*, from William Hogarth's *The Humours of an Election*
- Illus.5 Engraving by Charles Grignion, Victoria & Albert Museum, Object F.118:77
- Illus.6 *Inside view of the Ball-room in a Pavilion erected for a Fete Champetre in the Garden of the Earl of Derby at the Oaks in Surrey, the 9th of June, 1774*. Engraved by James Caldwell & Charles Grignion the Elder after the painting by Robert Adams. British Museum, item 1917,1208.2904
- Illus.7 Painting of John Bull, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford
- Illus.8 Painting of William Child, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford
- Illus.9 Arcangelo Corelli, drawn by Hugh Howard, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford
- Illus.10 Painting of Arcangelo Corelli, Royal Society of Musicians
- Illus.11 Engraving of Arcangelo Corelli, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D11509
- Illus.12 William Croft painted by Thomas Murray, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford
- Illus.13 Portrait of Christopher Gibbons, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford
- Illus.14 Portrait of William Heather, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford
- Illus.15 Portrait of John Hilton, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford
- Illus.16 Self Portrait of Nicolas Lanier, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford
- Illus.17 Portrait of Matthew Locke, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford
- Illus.18 Portrait of Bernard Smith, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford
- Illus.19 Portrait of John Wilson, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford
- Illus.20 Portrait of Thomas Blagrave, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford
- Illus.21 Portrait of a young Colonel John Blathwayt, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford
- Illus.22 Portrait of John Hingston, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford
- Illus.23 Portrait of Thomas Tudway, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford
- Illus.24 Engraving of the Sistine Chapel in Hawkins' *A General History*
- Illus.25 Engraving of the Sistine Chapel in Adami's *Osservazioni*

- Illus.26 Engraving of Andrea Adami in Adami's *Osservazioni*
- Illus.27 Engraving of Gregorio Allegri in Adami's *Osservazioni*
- Illus.28 Engraving of Felice Anerio in Adami's *Osservazioni*
- Illus.29 Engraving of Ruggiero Giovannelli in Adami's *Osservazioni*
- Illus.30 Engraving of Antimo Liberati in Adami's *Osservazioni*
- Illus.31 Sketch of Antimo Liberati, Austrian National Library, POR0155252
- Illus.32 Engraving of Cristóbal de Morales in Adami's *Osservazioni*
- Illus.33 Frontispiece of *Missarum liber secundus* of Cristóbal de Morales
- Illus.34 Portrait of Cristóbal de Morales at Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica
- Illus.35 Engraving of Giovanni Maria Nanino in Adami's *Osservazioni*
- Illus.36 Painting of Giovanni Maria Nanino at Museo del Tesoro di San Pietro
- Illus.37 Engraving of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina in Adami's *Osservazioni*
- Illus.38 Portrait of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina at the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri in Rome
- Illus.39 Frontispiece of Palestrina's *Missarum Liber Primus*
- Illus.40 Engraving of the Frontispiece by Hodgson, Archives of the RSA
- Illus.41 Frontispiece of *Liber quindecim missarum* published by Andrea Antico in 1516, featuring works by Josquin and La Rue
- Illus.42 Frontispiece of Cristóbal de Morales' *Missarum liber secundus* published by Valerio Dorico in 1544
- Illus.43 Engraving of Matteo Simonelli in Adami's *Osservazioni*
- Illus.44 Portrait of Matteo Simonelli at Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica
- Illus.45 Engraving of Jean-Baptiste Lully in Perrault's *Les hommes illustres*
- Illus.46 Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Lully at Musée Condé
- Illus.47 Engraving Marin Marsenne of in Perrault's *Les hommes illustres*
- Illus.48 Engraving of Philippe de Monte in *Bibliotheca Chalcographica*
- Illus.49 Engraving of Philippe de Monte by Raphael Sadeler
- Illus.50 Engraving of Orlande de Lassus in *Bibliotheca Chalcographica*
- Illus.51 Engraving of John Blow in his *Amphion Anglicus*
- Illus.52 Engraving of Ercole Bottrigari in his *Il Melone, Discorso Armonico*
- Illus.53 Engraving of Henry Carey in his *The Musical Century in 100 English Ballads*
- Illus.54 Engraving of Scipione Cerreto in his *Della pratica musica*
- Illus.55 Engraving of Thomas D'Urfey in his *Songs Compleat, Pleasant and Divertive*
- Illus.56 Engraving of Girolamo Frescobaldi in his second book of Toccatas
- Illus.57 Engraving of George Frederic Handel by Jacobus Houbraken
- Illus.58 Engraving of Claude de Jeune in his *Dodecacorde*
- Illus.59 Portrait of Henry Lawes, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Oxford
- Illus.60 Engraving of Henry Lawes in his *Ayres and Dialogues*
- Illus.61 Engraving of Thomas Mace in his *Musick's Monument*
- Illus.62 Engraving of Henry Purcell in his *Sonatas of Three Parts*
- Illus.63 Engraving of Antonio Vivaldi in Le Cène's edition of his *Il Cimento dell'armonia e dell'inventione*
- Illus.64 Engraving of Henry Aldrich by John Smith, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D11585
- Illus.65 Portrait of Henry Aldrich, Christ Church, University of Oxford
- Illus.66 Engraving of Attilio Ariosti, Gallica BnF

Illus.67 Engraving of John Banister, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D626
 Illus.68 Engraving of Francesco Bernardi (Senesino), National Portrait Gallery, NPG D1059
 Illus.69 Engraving of Thomas Britton, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D32154
 Illus.70 Portrait of Thomas Britton, National Portrait Gallery, NPG 523
 Illus.71 *The Singer Farinelli and Friends* by Jacopo Amiconi, National Gallery of Victoria, Australia
 Illus.72 Engraving of Carlo Broschi (Farinelli), National Portrait Gallery, NPG D14692
 Illus.73 Engraving of Francesco Geminiani, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D2753
 Illus.74 Engraving of William Holder, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D29590
 Illus.75 Engraving of Mrs Arabella Hunt, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D11599
 Illus.76 Portrait of Mrs Arabella Hunt, Government Art Collection
 Illus.77 Engraving of Johann Christoph Pepusch, Rijksmuseum, The Netherlands
 Illus.78 Engraving of Mrs Anastasia Robinson, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D3875
 Illus.79 Portrait of Faustina Bordoni (Signora Faustina) at the Royal Gallery in Dresden
 Illus.80 Portrait of Faustina Bordoni (Singora Faustina) at Ca' Rezzonico
 Illus.81 Engraving of John Playford by David Loggan, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D30451
 Illus.82 Engraving of John Playford in his *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 1663
 Illus.83 Engraving of John Playford, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D30452
 Illus.84 Engraving of Christopher Simpson in his *The Principles of Practical Musick*, 1667
 Illus.85 Portrait of Christopher Simpson, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical
 Instruments, University of Oxford
 Illus.86 Engraving of Christopher Simpson in his *The Principles of Practical Musick*, 1775
 Illus.87 Sketch of Francesco Foggia, Austrian National Library, POR0155254
 Illus.88 Portrait of Orlando Gibbons, Faculty of Music and Bate Collection of Musical
 Instruments, University of Oxford
 Illus.89 Portrait of Giovanni Battista Bononcini at Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale
 Illus.90 Engraving of Giovanni Battista Bononcini by Gerard van der Gucht
 Illus.91 Engraving of Francesca Cuzzoni by Gerard van der Gucht
 Illus.92 Engravings of Thomas Tallis and William Byrd by Nicola Haym and Gerard Van der
 Gucht, British Museum, Object 1927.1008.351

Notes

Information of all subjects of medallion portraits from Hawkins' *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* under scrutiny can be found in Grove Music Online (Oxford), <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic>.

¹ Hawkins became the executor of Samuel Johnson's will after his death.

² See John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776), i, Preface

³ See Karen Atter's article *Charles Burney's 18th Century history of music still hits the high notes* in the blog 'Talking Humanities', <https://talkinghumanities.blogs.sas.ac.uk/2021/06/08/charles-burneys-18th-century-history-of-music-still-hits-the-high-notes>.

⁴ Concerning the sales of Hawkins' *General History*, see the summary of Roger Lonsdale's findings from his biography of Dr Charles Burney in Tess Conway, *The Histories of Charles Burney and John Hawkins: A Cultural Context*, MLitt thesis (Trinity College, Dublin, 2018), p.120.

⁵ See *the Gentlemen's Magazine*, xlvii (1777), p. 29

⁶ A reproduction of Sir John Hawkins' portrait was not present in the 1776 publication as it had not been made yet. It can be found in posthumous editions of 1853 and 1875.

⁷ See his biography at <https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/name/giovanni-battista-cipriani-ra>.

⁸ Not to be confused with his nephew, Charles Grignion (1754 – 1804), the painter behind the portrait of Captain George Farmer, who died whilst being commander of the ship HMS Quebec in 1779.

⁹ Previous statements of Grignion's date of birth were incorrect; see Richard Goddard, *Charles Grignion, History Engraver (1721 – 1810): His Life and Works*, pp. 24-79, https://www.globalacademicpress.com/ebooks/richard_goddard.

¹⁰ See the entry *Charles Grignion (1717 – 1810)* in *The Dictionary of National Biography (1885 – 1900)*.

¹¹ See the entry *Caldwall, James* in Michael Bryan, ed Robert E. Graves, *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, Biographical and Critical* (London, 1886).

¹² See Percy A. Scholes, *The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins: Musician, Magistrate and Friend of Johnson* (London, 1953), p.121.

¹³ This was possibly done out of convenience, and to save space for the formatting process of Hawkins' book.

¹⁴ It was suggested that the portraits in the Oxford School of Music were roughly engraved; Rachel E. M. Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits in the Possession of the University, Colleges, City and County of Oxford* (Oxford, 1912), i, p.152.

¹⁵ Scholes (1953), p.121 suggested it was 1771 instead of 1772.

¹⁶ Concerning Bull's age as of the year of painting, it was suggested that 26 and 27 are both valid interpretations of the Arabic number drawn on the painting. See Francis Knights, 'Formal portraits of British musicians before the Civil War', *NEMA Newsletter*, ix/2 (Autumn 2025), pp.18-43.

¹⁷ For detailed information about portraits of Corelli, see Peter Walls, 'Reconstructing the Archangel: Corelli *ad Vivum Pinxit*', in *Early Music*, xxxv/4 (November 2007), pp.525–538.

¹⁸ The dark garment is suggested to be a coat. See Poole (1912), p.157.

¹⁹ See Poole (1912), p.159.

²⁰ Describing the current dress code for the Encaenia at the University of Oxford DMus degree holders have a cream-coloured silk robe with apple blossom pattern. See <https://www.ox.ac.uk/news-and-events/The-University-Year/Encaenia/academic-dress>.

²¹ *Oxford Grove*.

²² See Knights (2025), p.35.

²³ See Poole (1912), p.368. It was claimed that the book in the portrait features Hilton's *Miserere*, however, there is no such surviving work by the composer. The music was too small to be clearly legible to provide necessary and useful information that help identifying the music fragment. Therefore, the accuracy of this claim should be challenged.

²⁴ Poole (1912), p.368.

²⁵ See John W. Papworth *An alphabetical dictionary of coats of arms belonging to families in Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1858).

²⁶ For the lyrics, see Poole (1912), p.154

²⁷ Refer to Poole (1912). It has been ascertained that these portraits were already in possession of the University at the time of Caldwell and Hawkins' visit to Oxford.

²⁸ Refer to Scholes (1953), p.114.

²⁹ See Andrea Adami, *Osservazioni per ben regolare il coro de i cantori della Cappella Pontificia* (Rome, 1711), p.206

³⁰ See Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley, 1961).

³¹ See Adami (1711), p.164

³² For a study of the portraits of Giovanni Maria Nanino, see Arnaldo Morelli, 'Of a little known portrait of Giovanni Maria Nanino' in *Polifonie*, vii/2 (2007), pp.151-160.

³³ For a full detailed biography of Thomas Hodgson, see his entry on the British Museum website <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG31710>.

³⁴ See Archives of the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce <https://rsa-dryad.maxarchiveservices.co.uk/index.php/rsa-pr-ar-103-19-130>.

³⁵ See Joseph Cundall, *A Brief History of Wood-engraving*, (London, 1895), ch.12.

³⁶ For a study of the woodcut illustrations and music extracts within John Hawkins' *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, see Bryan Au Yeung, *The Sources of woodcut illustrations and music extracts in Hawkins' A General History* (forthcoming).

³⁷ For a study of music publications in sixteenth century Italy, see Jane A. Bernstein, 'Publish or perish? Palestrina and print culture in 16th-century Italy', *Early Music*, xxxv/2 (May 2007), pp. 225-235.

³⁸ See Adami (1711), p.208

³⁹ To see a detailed summary of works by members of the Perrault Family, see Hugh Aldersey-Williams, 'Marvellous Moderns: The Brothers Perrault', *The Public Domain Review*.

⁴⁰ See the description of the Bibliotheca Chalcographica within commentaries of other portraits in the same publication by the British Museum https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1920-1211-1618.

⁴¹ Hawkins (1776), ii, p.491.

⁴² Hawkins (1776), ii, p.349.

⁴³ In a study on portraits on Henry Purcell, comparisons of portraits of various composers and figures are presented by Cheryll Duncan, 'Henry Purcell and the construction of identity: iconography, heraldry and the Sonnets of III Parts (1683)', *Early Music*, xlv/2 (May 2016), pp.271-288.

⁴⁴ Hawkins put the date of his death as 1609.

⁴⁵ Hawkins (1776), ii, p.207.

⁴⁶ Hawkins (1776), v/2, p.184.

⁴⁷ See the portrait's entry on the National Portrait Gallery website <https://www.npg.org.uk>.

⁴⁸ Hawkins (1776), v/2, p.184

⁴⁹ Hawkins (1776), v, p.159

⁵⁰ See Alexander Silbiger, 'The Mystery of Frescobaldi Portraits', *Academia.edu*, p.12

⁵¹ There are many portraits of Girolamo Frescobaldi, some of which are questionable in terms of Frescobaldi's appearance. Queries on the reporting of age in Frescobaldi's portraits often arise. See Silbiger for a complete investigation.

⁵² See the commentary on a derivative portrait of Handel, <https://www.npg.org.uk>.

⁵³ See Poole (1912), p.152.

⁵⁴ A printed version of the canon could be found in John Hilton's *Catch that Catch*, published in 1652.

⁵⁵ See Duncan (2016), p.272.

⁵⁶ The confusion is mostly caused by misattributions and misinformation by search engines on the Internet.

⁵⁷ Hawkins (1776), v/1, p.9.

⁵⁸ See Poole (1912), p.78.

⁵⁹ The order is formally known as the Order of Servants of Mary; it was established in 1233 by members of seven patrician families in Florence. The founding members are venerated as the *Seven Holy Founders of the Servite Order* in the Roman Catholic Church.

⁶⁰ See Philip H. Highfill, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660 – 1800* (Carbondale, IL, 1973), i, p.96.

⁶¹ Highfill (1973), p.96.

⁶² Hawkins (1776), v/2, p.175.

⁶³ See the commentary within the portrait's entry on the National Portrait Gallery website <https://www.npg.org.uk>.

⁶⁴ Hawkins (1776), v/2, p.176.

⁶⁵ See Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp, *Handel's Operas, 1704–1726* (Oxford, 1994), p.500.

⁶⁶ See Scholes (1953), p.120.

⁶⁷ Hawkins (1776), v/1, p.75.

⁶⁸ Highfill (1973), v, pp.148-149.

⁶⁹ Highfill (1973), v, p.151.

⁷⁰ ‘Naples produced him, and all the Sirens were defeated [by him] at the contest of Song. Fame guides him to the stages of Britain, and his names were ever Prodigy and Enchantment’, translation by Alan Curtis in Daniel Hertz, ‘Farinelli Revisited’, *Early Music*, xviii/3 (August 1990), pp.430-443.

⁷¹ Hertz (1990).

⁷² <https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/3701>.

⁷³ Hawkins (1776), v/3, p.238.

⁷⁴ Highfill (1973), vi, p.135.

⁷⁵ Hawkins (1776), iv/4, p.545.

⁷⁶ See ‘Life of Sir John Hawkins’ in John Hawkins, *A general history of the science and practice of music* (London, 1853), i, p.vi.

⁷⁷ Hawkins (1853), i, p.v.

⁷⁸ Highfill (1973), xi, p.260.

⁷⁹ Highfill (1973), xiii, p.22.

⁸⁰ Highfill (1973), xiii, p.25.

⁸¹ Highfill (1973), v, p.190.

⁸² For a description of the painting, see Google Arts & Culture <https://g.co/arts/ieAfFirhscRLVjTi9>.

⁸³ See Poole (1912), p.155.

⁸⁴ See the commentary on Simpson’s portrait at <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/christopher-simpson-221304>.

⁸⁵ It is claimed that James Caldwell’s engraving of Gibbons was used in the 1776 edition. See the entry on the engraving of Orlando Gibbons by James Caldwell on the British Museum database https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_P-1-265.

⁸⁶ See the comparison in Knights (2025).

⁸⁷ See Bryan White, ‘Dr Cooke’s protest: Benjamin Cooke, Samuel Arnold, and the Directorship of the Academy of Ancient Music’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, cxlviii/2 (2024), pp.341-372.

⁸⁸ White (2024).

⁸⁹ Hawkins (1776), v/3, p.274.

⁹⁰ Highfill (1973), ii, p.210.

⁹¹ Hawkins (1776), Preliminary Discourse, p.xxiii.

Composer Anniversaries in 2026

John Collins

In 2026 there are a number of composers of music for organ or keyboard instruments whose anniversaries can be commemorated, although some of the dates are not known for certain; some of the names listed below will need no introduction but there are also quite a few lesser-known names whose compositions are well worth exploring. No claim is made for completion, some composers with only a few works, mainly represented in anthologies or difficult to obtain editions, have been omitted and there is no guarantee that every edition mentioned is in print – there may also be complete or partial editions by other publishers.

An increasing number of pieces, ranging from digitised versions of original publications and manuscripts (which present the usual problems of multiple clefs as well as original printer's errors) to typeset versions of complete or individual works, are to be found on various free download sites, most noticeably IMSLP and Free-scores; however, the accuracy of some modern typesetting is questionable, few contain a critical commentary, and all should be treated with caution before use.

Composers

Giovanni Cavaccio (c.1556-1626). Organist in Bergamo and Rome, he published sacred and secular vocal and ensemble works, and in 1626 *Sudori Musicali* for keyboard, which contains four Toccatas in four parts, four Ricercars in three parts, four Ricercars in four parts and 20 *Canzone Francese*, of which 19 are in four parts and one in eight parts. Modern edition by I. Evan Kreider for American Institute of Musicology, CEKM43. The collection *Musica di Giovanni Cavaccio da Bergamo. / Ove si contengono due fantasie, che dan principio e fine all' opera, Canzoni alla Francese, Pavana co'l Saltarello, Madrigali, & un Proverbio non so se antico, o moderno*, published in 1597 and comprising 26 pieces, opening and closing with a Fantasia, with 18 Canzonas, a Pavan and its Saltarello and four madrigals, has been edited for keyboard by Olaf Tetempel for Edition Baroque, Bremen as eba4072.

Thomas Weelkes (c.1576-1623). Organist of Winchester College before moving to Chichester cathedral in 1598, he published madrigals and consort and church music, but very little keyboard music has survived. A Pavan and Galliard and two short Voluntaries were edited by Margaret Glyn for Stainer and Bell in 1924, and more recently by Desmond Hunter with a facsimile for Boethius Press. The two Voluntaries have been edited by Geoffrey Cox, and are included in Faber's early organ series, England, vol.2. The Galliard, as well as a a Ground in G and a setting of Rowland, both possibly attributed to Weelkes by Alan Brown, have been edited by him and published in *Elizabethan Keyboard Music*,

vol.55 of *Musica Britannica* for Stainer and Bell. Brown makes a case for Weelkes being the scribe of British Library MS 30485. Apparently he was quite a character, being dismissed at Chichester for being drunk, swearing and blaspheming but was later reinstated.

Christopher Gibbons (1615-76). Son of Orlando Gibbons, he became organist at the Chapel Royal at the Restoration of Charles II. Seven pieces entitled either Verse or Voluntary, according to the sources, for the organ, two for the Double Organ with extended, later versions, plus a Corrente and Saraband have been edited by John Caldwell in vol.18 of *Corpus of Early Keyboard Music*, American Institute of Musicology. Four of the pieces are included in *English Organ Music*, vol.2 edited by Robin Langley for Novello.

Wolfgang Briegel (1626-1712). Organist in Schweinfurt and Darmstadt. The original manuscripts of his organ compositions have been lost but copies made by Augustus Ritter are in the Musikbibliothek, Leipzig. Eight short Fugues on the eight tones plus a Fugue on *Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot* have been edited by Wilhelm Krumbach for Kistner & Siegel as Reihe 2: Werke alter Meister Nr.19. A few other pieces remain unpublished.

Louis Couperin (c.1626-62). Parisian organist and harpsichordist. His harpsichord music, consisting of unmeasured preludes, dances, chaconnes and passacailles together with a Pavane and a Tombeau for Blancrocher has been newly edited, together with a highly informative preface, by Jon Baxendale for Lyrebird Music, LBMP-035. An edition by Paul Brunold, revised by Davitt Moroney, contains 146 pieces, 134 for harpsichord, 7 for organ and 5 for viol consort. 70 pieces for organ have been edited by Guy Oldham for Oiseau-Lyre, with a new Lyrebird Music edition also available.

Christian Flor (1626-97). Organist in Lüneburg. In addition to choral compositions he left two Praeludia, a Fugue in D minor, a setting of *Ein feste Burg* and settings of the chorale *Auf meinen lieben Gott* in three Contrapunctus plus two *Evolutio* and a *Resolutio*, and 13 Chorale settings. The two Praeludia, the Fugue and a Suite in C (from the Möller manuscript) consisting of a Praeludium, Aria, Courant and Sarabande each with a Double, and a Gigue have been edited by Arndt Schnoor and Jörg Jacobi for Edition Baroque in eba4052. 10 keyboard suites from a manuscript in Lüneburg have been edited by Jörg Jacobi for Edition Baroque, Bremen in eba4022. The make-up of these Suites varies considerably, only in six are the four usual dances found. Keys used include A, E and Bb major. The 13 harmonised and lightly decorated chorale settings and the setting for two manuals of *Ein feste Burg* have been edited by Jörg Jacobi in eba4006 (Dreizehn und ein Choral). 23 Minuets and 14 dances have been edited by Jörg Jacobi in eba4055.

John Barrett (c.1676-1719). Some sets of pieces are included in the first three volumes of *The Harpsichord Master*, with facsimiles of these available in one volume from Atelier Philidor, and the pieces in A choice collection of Ayres (1700) are in the facsimile from Performers Facsimiles, 201. A Voluntary for the Organ is included in vol.4 of *English Organ Music* edited by Robin Langley for Novello and by Gordon Philips in *Tallis to Wesley*

no.21 for Hinrichsen 1015. A further Voluntary in D minor has been edited by John Carnelley for Fitzjohn Music in *Voluntaries from the John Reading Manuscripts at Dulwich College*.

Philip Hart (c.1676-1749). Organist of various city churches in London, he published *Fugues for the Organ or Harpsichord*: with *Lessons for the Harpsichord* in 1704, the fugues from which, together with an unpublished Fugue, have been edited by Frank Dawes for Hinrichsen as vol.37 in the Hinrichsen Tallis to Wesley series.

Johann Bernhard Bach (1676-1749). He left around a dozen pieces for organ including two Ciaconas (edited by Greta Zahn for Breitkopf & Härtel EB8608), seven choral preludes and a Chaconne and Fugue. A modern collected edition is needed.

Louis-Nicolas Clérambault (1676-1749). Parisian organist; in addition to much secular and sacred vocal music he left some violin sonatas, a *Premier Livre d'orgue* (c.1714), containing two Suites, in the first and second tones, and a *Premier Livre de pièces de Clavecin* containing a suite in C major and one in C minor, published in 1704. Both of these publications have been newly edited in one volume by Jon Baxendale for Lyrebird Music LBMP-010.

Domenico Zipoli (1688-1726). Student of Alessandro Scarlatti, he became organist in Rome from where he moved to Paraguay as a missionary in 1717, where he composed much sacred vocal music as well as keyboard pieces. In 1716 he published *Sonate d'intavolatura per organo e cimbalo*, consisting of a Toccata, sets of Versetti and a Canzona in C, F, D minor and G minor, two Elevazioni, Post Communioni for organ in part 1, and four keyboard suites and two *Partite* (sets of variations) primarily for harpsichord in part 2. Both parts were also published in London by Walsh in 1725 and 1731 respectively. The 1716 publication has been edited by Luigi Tagliavini and published in two volumes for Sueddeutscher Musikverlag, obtainable via Bärenreiter. Some 125 manuscript pieces have been discovered in San Rafael, Chiquitos, and edited and arranged in order of the eight tones by Roberto Antonello and Luis Szaran for Fundación Paracuaria, Edition Missions Prokur S.J. Nurnberg. The selection contains pieces from the volume of 1716 as well as arrangements of pieces by Corelli and other composers. 11 Versetti have been edited by Maurizio Machella for Armelin as CM062

Célestin Harst (1698-1776). Benedictine monk active at the Abbey of Ebermünster, he published some organ pieces which do not appear to have been republished in a modern edition. His publication *Recueil de différentes pièces de Clavecin*, comprising Six Ordres (1745) is available in facsimile from Minkoff and also Atelier Philidor.

Johann Caspar Simon (1701-76). Director of Music at the court of Langenburg and organist in Noerrdingen, in 1750 he resigned in order to run the clothier's business which had passed to him on the death of his brother-in-law. His *Musicalisches ABC in kleinen und leichten Fugbetten* has been edited by Petr Koukal for Art Thon. *Leichte Praeludia und Fugen durch die Tone C.D.E.F.G.A.B (14)* has been edited by Rudolph Walter for Schott ED3877,

and his *Erster Versuch einiger variirten und fugirt Chorale...*, containing six chorales, has been edited by Ewald Kooiman for Harmonia as *Incognita Organo* vol.34. Six Partitas from *Gemüthsvergnügende musicalische Nebenstunden* (1750/2) have been edited by Laura Cerutti in one volume as Armelin AMM040.

Juan Moreno y Polo (1711-76). Organist of Tortosa (Tarragona) Cathedral. He composed sacred music, and some keyboard pieces have been preserved. Four sonatas in binary form from the archives of the convent of San Pedro de las Dueñas have been edited by Luisa Morales and included in volume 5 of the series *Tecla Aragonesa* published by the Institución Fernando el Católico, along with a further four Sonatas by other composers. Eight pieces found in a manuscript have been edited by Dionísio Preciado and included in *Doce Compositores Aragoneses de Tecla* for Editora Nacional, Madrid. There has been confusion with attributions of some pieces between him and his older brother José.

Joseph Antonin Stepán (1726-97). Bohemian harpsichordist; he published several sets of Sonatas and Concerti for keyboard which do not appear to be available in a modern edition, as well as sacred works and chamber music. Five of his six Capriccios for Pianoforte have been edited by Alexander Weinmann for Henle Verlag.

William Jones (1726-1800). Theologian and composer who became curate of Nayland, Suffolk. He wrote widely on theology, natural philosophy and scripture, and published Ten Church Pieces for the organ with Four Anthems in score in 1789. A modern edition of the organ music has been edited by David Patrick for Fitzjohn Music.

Charles Burney (1726-1814). Organist in London and King's Lynn. In addition to his books *A General History of Music* (in four volumes, 1776-89), *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (1771) and *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces* (1773), he published *Six Cornet Pieces with an Introduction and a Fugue* (1751) and *Preludes, Fugues and Interludes for the Organ, Book 1* (containing pieces in keys from A major and minor to D major) (c.1790); both volumes have been edited by David Patrick for Fitzjohn Music, available from Banks Music. Most of his chamber and solo stringed keyboard pieces do not seem to be available in critically edited modern editions. Francis Knights has written an introduction to the keyboard music in 'Charles Burney's keyboard music', *Harpsichord & Fortepiano*, xxv/2 (Spring 2021), pp.13-23.

Manuel Narro Campos (1729-76). Organist in Játiva. Three binary form sonatas (two entitled Toccata, one being for *Lengüeteria*) have been edited by Martin Voortman and included in *Música de Tecla Valenciana* vol.5, which also contains pieces by a further eight composers. Fifteen Sonatas, a Batalla and a Pastorella are included in *Obras de Tecla* edited by José Climent and Rodrigo Madrid in No.2 of Real Academia de Cultura Valenciana, Sección de Musicología, Estudios Musicológicos.

Christian Friedrich Ruppe (1753-1826). Director of Music at the University of Leiden and organist there. His Eighteen Pieces Op.10 have been edited by David Patrick for Fitzjohn Music Publications.

Gervais-François Couperin (1759-1826). Son of Armand-Louis Couperin, he became organist of several Paris churches. He left pieces for harpsichord or pianoforte, some still unpublished in modern editions. His *Les incroyables, piece musicale pour le forte piano*, Op.6, and *Les merveilleuses*, Op.7, both from 1797, are available in facsimile from Minkoff or Anne Fuzeau. 28 organ works from the Brunold collection have been edited by Nicolas Gorenstein for Editions Chanvrelin.

Vincenzo Lavigna (1776-1836). He studied in Naples before moving to La Scala, Milan in 1802, and composing operas. His *Sei Fughe per Organo* (1792), each introduced by a slow movement, have been edited by Dino Rizzo for Edizioni Carrara EC4513

Carl Maria von Weber (1786-1826). German pianist, guitarist and critic, he wrote symphonies, concerti and operas, and also left a large body of compositions for the piano including four sonatas and many sets of variations. Modern editions include almost all of these, edited by Louis Kohler and Adolf Ruthardt as *Sämtliche Werke für Pianoforte* for Edition Peters. The originals can be found on IMSLP.

Samuel Sebastian Wesley (1810-76). Son of Samuel Wesley, he also held various cathedral organ posts including Exeter, Winchester and Gloucester. In addition to verse anthems, services and hymn tunes, he also published some organ music including two sets of *Three Pieces for a Chamber Organ*, the first set of 1842 includes the Choral Song and Fugue, the second set of 1843 the Larghetto in F# minor. Both sets are published by Novello. Other pieces include Introduction and Fugue in C# minor, Air on Holsworthy Church bells (both Novello) with the latter also edited by Greg Lewin for Greg Lewin Music. *A Few Words on Cathedral Music* and the *Musical System of the Church, with a Plan of Reform* was published in 1849. A set of Variations (7) and a Fugue on *God save the King* date from 1831, while two other sets of variations on this theme in Bb and D are now thought to be by his father and have been included in vol.9 of *Samuel Wesley Organ Works*, edited by Geoffrey Atkins for Fagus Music.

Although not a composer of keyboard music, the lutenist John Dowland (1562-1626) left several pieces which were set for the harpsichord by various composers including Bull, Byrd, Farnaby, Sweelinck, Scheidemann, Schilt. Especially popular were the Lachrimae and Piper's pavans.

Individual collections

Dates of individual publications or manuscripts which also can be commemorated this year include:

1576 Antonio Valente, *Intavolatura di cimbalò*, containing 20 pieces including a Fantasia, six Ricercate, a Salve Regina, three *Canzoni Francese*, seven sets of variations on dances and two single dances. Edited by Charles Jacobs for Oxford University Press.

1626 Jean Titelouze, *Le Magnificat ou Cantique de la Vierge*. Contains seven verses on each of the eight tones. New edition by Jon Baxendale for Lyrebird Press LBMP-026, which also contains *Les Hymnes de l'église*.

1626 Francisco Correa de Arauxo, *Facultad Orgánica*. Contains 69 pieces, comprising 24 *Tientos* for the same stops over the whole compass of the keyboard, 27 for solo registers in either bass or treble, six pieces in five voices, four of which are for a solo in either bass or treble, four pieces in demisemi-quavers, four pieces in triple time two of which are *Canciones Glosados*, and four final pieces consisting of a further *Canción Glosado*, Versos for Lauda Sion and two sets on *Canto Llano de la Inmaculada Concepción*. Edited by Miguel Bernal Ripoll in three volumes for Sociedad Española de Musicología with a translation of the complete preface and notes on the ornaments, as well as the description added to each piece. However, only the old Kastner edition contains the pieces found in the appendix to the print preserved at Ajuda, Lisbon.

1626 Girolamo Frescobaldi, reprint of the *Ricercari* and *Canzoni Franzese* of 1615 and *Il Primo libro di Capricci* of 1624 in one volume. Both of the original volumes have been edited by numerous editors.

1676 Nicolas-Antoine Lebègue, *Les pièces d'orgue* contains an extensive preface by the composer followed by pieces in each of the eight Tones. New edition by Jon Baxendale for Lyrebird Press LBMP-062. Facsimile from Fuzeau.

1676 *Leutschauer Tabulaturbuch*, perhaps written by Samuel Marckfelner, who also compiled another tabulature of 266 pieces, this 1676 volume consists of 141 short anonymous pieces, mainly dances and chorale settings. 85 have been edited by Raimund Schächer for Cornetto Verlag CP0210.

1676 Alessandro Poglietti, *Compendium oder kurtzer Begriff...*, a manuscript of theoretical points and numerous pieces by Poglietti, including a Præludium or Toccatina, Cadenza and Fuga on each of the eight Tones. New edition by Jörg Jacobi in *Poglietti Clavierwerke I* for Edition Baroque eba4046, also contains a number of pieces from other sources, and an excellent preface outlining the problems of ascribing pieces to this composer in surviving sources.

1726 Gottlieb Muffat, *72 Versetl samt 12 Toccaten*. Comprises a Toccatina and six Fugues in each of the 12 Tones. Modern edition by Rudolph Walter for Dr. Butz BUTZ1796, and by Walter Upmeyer for Bärenreiter BA1922.

1726 Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Nouvelles Suites de pièces de clavecin* containing Suites in A minor and G. Also published by Walsh in 1760. Several modern editions and facsimiles.

1776 Andrea Basili, *Musica universale armonico prattica*. 40 pieces consisting of Capricci, Fugas and Sonatas edited by Maurizio Machella for Armelin in two volumes, AMM069 and

AMM242. Fifteen Fugues for organ or harpsichord from a manuscript, also found in the 1776 print, have been edited by Matteo Messori for Ut Orpheus ES6.

1776 William Goodwin, *Twelve Voluntaries for the Organ or Harpsichord*. Modern edition by David Patrick for Fitzjohn Music.

1776 James Hook *Twelve Sonatinos for the harpsichord or piano-forte*, Op.12. Modern edition by Lionel Salter for Associated Board, Easier Piano Pieces No.24.

1776 Johann Wilhelm Hässler, *Fantasia und Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier* have been edited by P. Horn in two volumes (under the name of W. F. Bach).

1776 Nicolas-Joseph Hüllmandel, *Six Divertimentos for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte*, Op.2. Scanned original on IMSLP.

Structured listening projects for musicians

Francis Knights

Introduction

From early in the history of recorded sound, questions were raised as to what music recordings were really for, and how they might best be used. The remarkable and widespread circulation of commercial shellac, then LP discs, aided by the invention of radio broadcasting, soon overwhelmed these concerns, but some performers retained doubts as to the artistic value of recordings relative to the ‘reality’ of live performance. Others, such as pianist Glenn Gould (1932-82), in his 1966 essay, ‘The Prospects of Recording’, prophesied the demise of the concert, partly due to the high normalized technical standards that multi-take editing provided – and that Gould welcomed.¹ Gould had abandoned the concert stage for the recording studio two years earlier, but almost no other classical musicians have followed his path. The arrival of the CD in 1982 led to an explosion both of new recordings and reissues, the market eventually becoming saturated and sales falling quickly after about 2000.² Despite the vast quantity of material available by the century’s end, access to material at scale still remained surprisingly difficult, and discographer Timothy Day, in a book section called ‘Musicologists and historians don’t listen to recordings’, noted as recently as 2000 that one ‘obvious reason why so little has been done to investigate discs and tapes is that there are very few large collections of sound recordings, and none of them are easy to use’.³

The arrival of online sound repositories such as Spotify, Apple Music and Soundcloud has transformed access to materials out of all recognition over the past decade,⁴ and the access problem is now turned on its head: musicians, students and listeners face what Jemima Kelly calls ‘digital overabundance’⁵ and Jonathan Dunsby describes as an ‘overwhelming abundance’⁶ of what Helmut Rösing categorizes as *Übertragungsmusik*, or ‘transmitted music’.⁷ Whereas Day lamented the lack of the bibliographic tools that made the serious study of recordings possible, the difficulty twenty-five years later is now the vastness of the options: ‘the unlimited amount of choice is paralysing’, with 675 million songs on Spotify, so ‘the over-availability of everything ... lessens our desire for it’.⁸ The automated ‘recommendation engines’ used by Amazon and others seek to locate music in similar styles for individual listeners (‘if you enjoyed this, try that’), but provide only a very crude approximation to musical taste itself.⁹

In addition, the widespread availability of digital devices this century has led to frequent observations about declining cognitive skills such as concentration, the consequences being most serious for the young.¹⁰ Such distractions appear to be impacting students’ ability to read complete books,¹¹ and the length of things such as film and music are now seen to be a barrier to engagement – modern listeners and viewers seem to have become much more impatient. For

music students specifically, while listening remains an important part of their experience, it is now less correlated with the repertoire they are studying, as noted in a 2011 US study: while music majors spent far more time listening to music than practicing their instrument or voice, the ‘majority of that listening time was done for personal interest, rather than for their music studies’, and was principally non-classical.¹² For spoken word recordings such as lectures, the statistics are alarming: 31% of Americans aged 18-29 listen to speeded-up playback to save time, compared to 8% of those over 45.¹³

For many, the constant music that surrounds us is a development to be welcomed, and Simon Frith suggests that this represents a new form of musical ‘ownership’: ‘we can now possess music as obsessively, as madly, as music once possessed us’.¹⁴ Personal repertoire access can be through use of self-devised playlists, through random shuffle or through recommendation engines,¹⁵ but much of this music is ‘heard’, alongside other activities, rather than ‘listened to’. For classical music in particular, this unfocused hearing (compare skimming the pages of a novel) may provide more in the way of pleasure than of knowledge. Focused ‘close listening’ – by analogy with ‘close reading’¹⁶ in literary studies – is a very different way of working, but one with huge potential for the study of music.¹⁷ Despite the vast quantity of sound recordings, there are few projects that systematically link these with the parallel score repositories now found at IMSLP, CPDL and elsewhere,¹⁸ but the number of different learning exercises that can be carried out by combining sound and vision is very large. A selection of these, together with repertoire and other components, are discussed below. The key engagement here is between score and recording, which means primarily notated music composed for foreground listening, thus largely classical music.

Projects

‘Directed listening’ can have many different goals, whether in terms of expanding repertoire knowledge, improving musical notation comprehension or exploring performing styles, but the key feature is meaningful organization. Topics may be sparked in any way – for example, hearing a performance of a ‘new’ composer deserving of further exploration – but defining the scale of each task is important: this can vary between a few additional works to a composer’s complete output.

The many different projects outlined here are very flexible, and can be adapted for use in group study, and at levels of experience from school pupil to working professional musician.¹⁹ They might be part of formal study (repertoire work continues to decline in university music degrees), for private study,²⁰ or just for pleasure. However, certain components increase the likelihood of substantial progress over time: regular periods allotted; repertoire variety; privacy; and the ability to concentrate undisturbed. For example, if it were possible to set aside 20’ or 40’ privately late every evening, and using a CD player, studio-type closed-back headphones and a tablet loaded with pdf scores, a daily diet of one Bach cantata, one Haydn symphony or one Beethoven quartet will cover even the largest genre in only a matter of months.²¹ It is vital to keep a notebook and pen handy for observations, keyed to score page numbers and/or recording

timings, which might include comments about anything from compass to orchestration to cadence formulas to technical errors to ornamentation to underlying structures. These observations can become the stimulus to research topics, identifying elements that are either characteristic or unusual.²² The ability to repeat and rehear sections or movements can be crucial.

Repertoire studies

Repertoire knowledge was in the past conditioned by the availability of scores for study or performance, and by the choices made by musicians and promoters for concerts, broadcasts and recordings. Complete Works editions were not available for many composers beyond the main classical figures, and even scholars would often have to make assessments without knowing all the works, and certainly without having heard them all. While there is still a divide between free access to material (for the vast majority of copyright works, printed scores are available rather than pdfs, making the study of contemporary music more challenging), numerous online editions (of varying quality) now exist, and it is likely that the number of assembled complete works online will grow. Thanks to sub-licensing, substantial recorded box sets as large as 330 discs have been issued in the CD era, including the complete (or near-complete) works of Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Buxtehude, Chopin, Dvořák, Fauré, Frescobaldi, Froberger, Haydn, Mozart, Poulenc, Puccini, Tallis, Tchaikovsky, Rachmaninov, Saint-Saëns, Wagner and others, produced by labels such as Brilliant Classics, EMI and Universal.²³ There are no fewer than four competing complete Bach sets (from Brilliant Classics, Hänssler, Teldec and Universal), while online resources like Spotify provide multiple performances of mainstream works, with hundreds of alternatives. The listener can thus choose to investigate in breadth (a survey of different works by one composer, or a particular genre used by various composers) or in depth (numerous alternative performances of the same piece).

These alternatives have the potential to make previous discussions – and indeed grievances – about the contents of the classical ‘canon’ somewhat redundant: musicians are now free to easily investigate music of many different times, places and styles, and by composers and performers from every possible background.²⁴ The difficulty is dealing with the excessive number of choices, and having reasons to explore particular areas. The following sections outline some specific educational components which may assist in making such choices.

The ability to understand a composer’s output in its entirety should also be valuable, as all were writing for different instruments, venues, performers and circumstances, so a monograph on (say) Monteverdi’s sacred music which ignores the large number of madrigals he also wrote throughout his career will have only a partial understanding of how the composer worked.

Stylistic analysis

One of the most critical elements of musical composition is ‘style’, which includes all the melodic, harmonic, structural, technical and other elements that result in the final ‘sound’ of a work.²⁵ Traditional musical analysis has worked on many of these components separately for

hundreds of years, but the trained ear also has a remarkable ability to distinguish between (for example) the works of different composers, even to pinpointing work dates quite accurately, and identifying some of the influences that are embodied in a work ('sounds like'). This type of training can now be undertaken more systematically through structured listening, by selecting works on the basis of genre, chronology or form, for example. Detailed questions can then be asked, looking at the changes in one composer's style over time (for example, early or late Dufay, or Handel), or within one genre (changes in Haydn's symphonic structures), or between master and pupil (Bach and his sons) or in respect of questionable attributions (Josquin).

Notation reading

Familiarity with traditional music notation is a function of both time and experience: sufficient hours spent so that the notation becomes 'transparent' (in the same way one instantaneously grasps the meaning of a word without needing to spell out its constituent letters); and sufficient experience to have come across enough different aspects of the notation, such as complex tuplets, large numbers of ledger lines or unusual clefs. The learning of new notational features is often undertaken at an instrument (consider a young cellist learning the tenor clef for the first time), but the comprehension of notation and the execution of it are in fact two separable tasks. The first part can often be done more conveniently away from an instrument, and be supported by listening skills. For example, a violinist wanting to learn the viola could spend useful preparatory time following the printed viola parts of string quartets while listening to recordings, until the clef becomes 'transparent', as it already has for the treble clef. The same process can be used to learn transposition, as with the pairs of high and low horns in Eb in Mozart's Symphony No.19 in Eb, K132 from 1772 (ex.1).

The skills in clef reading and transposition are similar, in that the sounding pitch of the note does not match the written pitch relative to previously-known clefs, and must be mentally and aurally relocated. There are useful exercises for this that can be undertaken at the keyboard, such as playing movements from Bach's unaccompanied cello suites in different keys and at different pitches through imagined substitution of both clef and key signature at the start of each line, watching carefully for subsequent accidentals. These can include – from the original bass (F4) clef of the cello version – treble (G2), soprano (C1), alto (C3) and tenor (C4) clefs; those with a specialist interest in 17th and 18th century notation might also learn G1, C5 and F3 clefs. The piece could therefore be played in eight or so additional keys, simply through clef-substitution transposition.²⁶

Sinfonie in Es

KV 132

Entstanden Salzburg, Juli 1772

Allegro

Oboi
Corni in Mi^b alto/
Es alto
Corni in Mi^b basso/
Es basso
Violino I
Violino II
Viola
Violoncello e
Basso

Ex.1 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Symphony No.19 in Eb major, K132, first movement (opening)*

Original sources

Access to large numbers of original manuscript and printed sources in score repositories has given a new impetus to such reading skills, especially for repertoire not available in edited, modernized form. For example, a great deal of late 18th century German keyboard music uses C1 and F4 clefs, while English keyboard music from before the Civil War uses six- not five-line staves (the 'extra' lines are at the bottom of the right-hand and top of the left-hand stave, so are not that difficult to assimilate). More challengingly, Frescobaldi used six- and eight-line staves, the latter having two clefs (illus.1). Again, learning to read this notation competently in advance of actually trying out it at the keyboard helpfully separates out these two different tasks. The same is true of 17th-century German organ tablature, which almost no-one can now play from fluently.



Illus.1 Girolamo Frescobaldi, Toccata I from Toccate e partite d'intavolatura, Primo Libro (1637 reissue) (opening)

Open score in clefs was also widely used for keyboard counterpoint (from Frescobaldi and Froberger to Bach); although it takes longer to learn a work this way than through a two-stave keyboard format, it gives a much better sense of the layout and movement of the individual parts. Once open-score formats have been mastered, expanding to small then large orchestral scores becomes possible, at which point the clef and transposition skills mentioned above come into play. The more fluent the reading of such complex notation is, the better the actual playing, especially at sight.

As well as reading skills, working with digitized versions of the composer's own scores (for example, in Bach, Zelenka (illus.2), Mozart, Beethoven and so on) give unparalleled insight into the creative process, seeing where corrections and amendments are made, the ways in which orchestration is devised, and so on.

Sightreading

Sightreading (and sight-singing) is a particular case of notational fluency, but is also tied up with embedded repertoire knowledge, stylistic understanding and technique. A performer with a great deal of experience playing 17th-century German keyboard suites will not find too much of a challenge in exploring further repertoire of this kind (standard forms, textures, cadences and hand-shape patterns in a restricted number of keys, in this case), but the ability to read two separate lines of music, distribute the notes on them correctly between the hands, distinguish theme from accompaniment and so on often depends on the skill of accurately extracting the full musical data from the notation – at sight. An analytical understanding of how that skill works for any given player can greatly assist with their progress.



Illus.2 Jan Dismas Zelenka, *Magnificat in D major* (opening), autograph

Temperament and tuning

Most classical musicians are now trained to hear equal temperament as normal, usually a result of working with keyboard instruments. Similarly, pitch at A440 is near-universal. However, those working in music from before about 1800 can use recordings to help re-train their pitch sense into modes more appropriate for earlier repertoire. This can include what have become modern standards for historical instrument repertoire (for example, a semitone above A440, and a quarter-tone, semitone and tone below) covering Renaissance, Classical, Baroque, French Baroque and other early repertoire. Adjusting to hearing quarter-comma meantone as normal for much of 16th and 17th century keyboard and organ repertoire is a longer process, but can be done. An understanding of the importance of variously tempered thirds is also very valuable for choral singers.

Musical quality

Close comparative listening – for example, to a chronological sequence of string quartets by composers such as Mozart or Dvořák – can invite conclusions about the relationship of stylistic development to quality, and to the consistency of that quality. Evaluation of a composer's work in this way can be very instructive, showing how techniques are refined, how formal structures become more fluent, and how external influences are assimilated. While 'quality' is currently an unfashionable topic – many commentators now take refuge in safe subjective notions ('everyone's opinion is equally valid') rather than engaging with this difficult problem – but understanding why individual compositional components and overall results can be more, or less, successful or effective, is a vital part of understanding musical style. For example, Haydn's remarkable progression between his Op.9 (c.1769) and Op.20 (1772) string quartets is very evident when they are heard in close sequence, as is the development of Mozart's quartet-writing skill during his twenties.

Performance styles

The ear has the ability to 'focus in' on particular features, and one training exercise can (for example) use a single movement, such as the opening of Bach's Brandenburg Concerto No.6 (ex.2), heard repeatedly in the same or different recordings, but listening each time to specific instruments (here, viola, viola da gamba, cello, bass and harpsichord), or to particular features such as balance, blend, tuning, agogics, dynamics, bowing, accents, ornamentation, acoustics and so on. This type of task, undertaken a dozen or more times, can help begin to train the ear in the important skill of really listening to (rather than just hearing) recordings, and thereafter lead to comparative observations about musical performance styles that are important for any musician.²⁷ There is a great deal of comparative material of this kind available: Vivaldi's *Four Seasons* concerto set is thought to have been commercially recorded a thousand times.

Sonic qualities

Another form of close listening is to the sound quality itself, and even the venue or recorded medium. The choices made by sound engineers affect the balance, perspective and tonal quality of the musicians, and it is important to learn to hear these. For example, and as noted above, sequentially listening to ten or more different recordings of the opening of Brandenburg Concerto No.6 from the point of view of just sound is very instructive in terms of close-listening to (for example) the relative brightness of the viola tone, the balance with the gambas, or the resonances of the bass line. Teaching the ear to focus on detailed dynamics, frequency range and blend is a very worthwhile refinement of listening skills: experts can even identify particular recording studios, or church or cathedral acoustics. Further discernment is possible by those who spend most of their time listening to recordings professionally: Daniel Levitin has described his early work as a recording engineer, learning to distinguish between different makes of recording tape: 'Ampex 456 tape had a characteristic "bump" in the low-frequency range, Scotch 250 had a characteristic crispness in the high frequencies, and Agfa 467 a luster in the

midrange'.²⁸ Mark Tanner's aural experiment comparing midi and human recordings of Liszt's Piano Sonata in B minor²⁹ required 65 listeners to assess details such as pedalling technique, 'which for anyone is an extraordinarily challenging task', as Dunsby notes.³⁰

The image displays two systems of musical notation for the opening of Johann Sebastian Bach's Brandenburg Concerto No. 6. The first system includes staves for Viola da braccio 1, Viola da braccio 2, Viola da gamba 1, Viola da gamba 2, Violoncello, and Violone e Cembalo. The second system continues the piece with similar instrumentation, showing more intricate melodic and rhythmic details.

Ex.2 Johann Sebastian Bach, *Brandenburg Concerto No.6 in Bb major, BWV1051, first movement (opening)*

Orchestration

Opportunities for young composers to hear their work performed by an orchestra are becoming less common, and many writers now have to make do with digital presentations of audio scores, of variable levels of sonic realism. While there are numerous textbooks from the 19th and 20th centuries that explain the principles of classical orchestration (for example, those by Berlioz, Rimsky-Korsakov and Piston),³¹ the topic can also be studied historically in both directions through sound recordings. For example, piano score originals can be compared with recorded orchestrations and vice versa: reading a piano reduction of Mozart's Symphony No.34 while

Allegro con brio ($\text{♩} = 60$)

The image displays three systems of musical notation for the opening of Beethoven's Symphony No. 3 in E-flat major, first movement, as arranged by Liszt. The tempo is marked 'Allegro con brio' with a quarter note equal to 60 beats per minute. The score is in 3/4 time and features a piano introduction with a 'Ped.' (pedal) marking. The first system shows the piano introduction with 'Instr. à cord.' and 'p' dynamics. The second system shows the piano introduction continuing with 'Instr. à v.' and 'cresc.' markings. The third system shows the piano introduction continuing with 'Fl.', 'Clar.', and 'Cor.' markings.

Ex.3 Beethoven arr Liszt, Symphony No.3 in Eb, first movement (opening)

Musical taste

Close listening and repertoire studies also present an opportunity for the exploration and expansion of an individual's musical taste.³² There are a number of positive and negative factors involved in the concept of 'taste', which vary from person to person, although identifying components leading to musical dislike seems easier than finding specifiable (rather than generalized) elements which cause music to seem pleasant or satisfying to listen to. Repertoire exploration might usefully take the form of engaging with music that is actively disliked, both to understand the causes of this (which could be anything, from excessive dissonance to melodic blandness to dullness to formal shapelessness), and to discover whether the ear can learn to enjoy such music over time, due to increased familiarity and understanding: research has shown that the 'exposure effect indicates that in the absence of extreme negative qualities, liking increases with the more exposure one has to a stimulus'.³³ This may be related to experimental observations that correlate musical taste with listeners' ability to comprehend sonic complexity. Some authors also correlate 'understanding' with 'feeling': Bennett Reimer suggested that 'The more one can hear in music, the more one can feel from music'.³⁴ 'Feel' is being used here as a very general term, as musical listeners can have a great variety of intellectual, aesthetic, emotional or other 'feeling' responses to musical sound.

A questionnaire survey by Stidwestfunk radio in Baden-Baden some decades ago³⁵ ranked listeners' classical preferences as follows:

- 1 Popular classical music
- 2 Opera extracts and arias
- 3 Symphonies and orchestral concerts
- 4 Classical and Romantic Lieder
- 5 Chamber and instrumental music
- 6 Sacred music, organ music
- 7 Recent classical music
- 8 Complete operas
- 9 Avant-garde music

This list appears to concatenate issues around familiarity, length and listening difficulty: 'the known, familiar and expected are preferred to the new and unexpected'.³⁶ A musician wanting to expand their horizons would therefore be advised to explore further down this list, where there is plenty of new material awaiting investigation.

Conclusions

The combining of extensive libraries of both music scores and recordings provides new possibilities for the study of music across wider boundaries than ever before. The ability to assimilate aural, theoretical, historical and performance information in an easily repeatable way means that new subjects can be opened up for both private and formal study, and at a pace that is individually adjustable for maximum comprehension. The number of specific tasks relating to repertoire knowledge, training the ear, enhancing notational understanding, studying performance questions comparatively, analyzing orchestration or improving knowledge of musical style, quality and chronology, is almost unlimited.

Notes

- ¹ Tim Page (ed), *The Glenn Gould Reader* (London, 1987), pp.331-353.
- ² Felix Richter, 'The Rise and Fall of the Compact Disc' (17 August 2022), <https://www.statista.com/chart/12950/cd-sales-in-the-us>.
- ³ Timothy Day, *A Century of Recorded Music: Listening to Musical History* (New Haven and London, 2000), pp.228-231 at 231.
- ⁴ Websites <https://open.spotify.com>, <https://music.apple.com>, <https://soundcloud.com>.
- ⁵ Jemima Kelly, 'We need a cure for curse of digital overabundance', *Financial Times* (24 March 2025).
- ⁶ Jonathan Dunsby, 'Countless Western Art Music Recordings: Towards a Theory of What to Do With Them', in Per F. Broman and Nora A. Engebretsen (eds), *What Kind of Theory Is Music Theory? Epistemological Exercises in Music Theory and Analysis* (Stockholm, 2007), pp.187-202 at 187.
- ⁷ Helmut Rösing, 'Listening Behaviour and Musical Preference in the Age of "Transmitted Music"', *Popular Music*, iv (1984), pp.119-149. For an early case of listening observations in classical music, see Rob C. Wegman, 'Johannes Tinctoris and the art of listening', in Mark Delaere and Pieter Bergé (eds), *Recevez ce mien petit labeur: studies in Renaissance music in honour of Ignace Bossuyt* (Leuven, 2008), pp.279-296.
- ⁸ Kelly (2025).
- ⁹ Liz Pelly, *Mood Machine: The Rise of Spotify and the Cost of the Perfect Playlist* (London, 2025).
- ¹⁰ Jonathan Haidt, *The Anxious Generation: How the Great Reviring of Childhood Is Causing an Epidemic of Mental Illness* (London, 2024).
- ¹¹ See the observations by Rose Horowitch, 'The Elite College Students Who Can't Read Books', *The Atlantic* (November 2024) and Michael J. Petrilli, 'Seven Thoughts about Elite College Students who can't Read Books', *Education Next*, xxv/1 (Winter 2025), p.5.
- ¹² Robert H. Woody, 'Music Listening in the Personal and Professional Lives of University Music Majors', *Contributions to Music Education*, xxxviii/2 (2011), pp.11-28 at 11.
- ¹³ 'The need for 2x speed', *The Economist* (16 August 2025), pp.71-72. See also Anna Goldsworthy, 'The Lost Art of Listening', *The Monthly* (October 2015).
- ¹⁴ Simon Frith, *Performing Rites: Evaluating Popular Music* (Oxford, 1998), p.237.
- ¹⁵ Pelly (2025), p.105 calls this 'personalization'.
- ¹⁶ John Guillory, *On Close Reading* (Chicago, 2025).
- ¹⁷ Michael Beckerman calls this 'deep listening': see 'Can "Old-Fashioned" Approaches to Listening Contribute to Human Flourishing?', in Anna Harwell Celenza (ed), *Music and Human Flourishing* (Oxford, 2023), pp.69-77 at 74. For one experimental study of 'attentive listening', see Patricia J. Flowers, 'Patterns of Attention in Music Listening', *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education*, cxlviii (Spring, 2001), pp.48-59; such studies tend to focus on group classroom listening. For anthropological observations on the topic, see Bruno Deschênes, 'Toward an Anthropology of Music Listening', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, xxix/2 (December 1998), pp.135-153.
- ¹⁸ <https://www.cpdl.org>, <https://imslp.org>. Note that there a number of 'scrolling scores' can be found on YouTube www.youtube.com and similar repositories.

¹⁹ For a study of group listening, see Thomas Smialek and Renee Reiter Boburka, 'The Effect of Cooperative Listening Exercises on the Critical Listening Skills of College Music-Appreciation Students', *Journal of Research in Music Education*, liv/1 (Spring 2006), pp.57-72.

²⁰ As in the method outlined in Francis Knights, *Studying music without going to university: an alternative education* (Hebden Bridge, 2022).

²¹ Where the recording or score order varies significantly, for example, using the Purcell Society edition of Purcell's songs (printed in alphabetical order) with the King's Consort set of recordings (Hyperion CDS44161/3, 2003), the CDs will need changing frequently.

²² For one example, see Francis Knights, 'Cadence patterns in Bach recitative: a guide for continuo players', *Sounding Board*, 14 (2020), pp.24-33.

²³ Composers whose output is too large for everything to have yet been recorded, let alone gathered into a single collection, include C. P. E. Bach, Palestrina, Lassus, Telemann and Vivaldi.

²⁴ For discussions of the 'canon', especially as applied to gender issues, see James Briscoe, 'Integrating Music by Women into the Music History Sequence', *College Music Symposium*, xxv (1985), pp.21-27, Marcia J. Citron, 'Gender, Professionalism and the Musical Canon', *The Journal of Musicology*, viii/1 (Winter, 1990), pp.102-117, Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford, 1992), William Weber, *The rise of musical classics in eighteenth-century England: a study in canon, ritual, and ideology* (New York, 1992), Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Urbana and Chicago, 1993), Cormac Newark and William Weber, *The Oxford handbook of the operatic canon* (New York, 2020) and William Weber and Beverly Wilcox, *Canonic repertoires and the French musical press: Lully to Wagner* (Rochester, NY, 2021).

²⁵ See the discussion of the components of musical style in Francis Knights and Pablo Padilla, *Formal Methods in Musicology: Models and Computation* (Newcastle, 2025), ch.2.

²⁶ For this method, see Francis Knights and Nigel Yandell, *Introduction to Keyboard Skills: A Practical Course for Classical Musicians* (Cambridge, 2026), ch.6.

²⁷ For one academic study of this kind using recordings, see Dorottya Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945–1975: A Comprehensive Review of Sound Recordings and Literature* (Aldershot, 2003).

²⁸ Daniel Levitin, *This is your Brain on Music: Understanding a Human Obsession* (London, 2019), p.3. See also Gary Gottlieb, *How Does It Sound Now? Legendary Engineers and Vintage Gear* (London, 2/2025).

²⁹ Mark Tanner, 'The Power of Performance as an Alternative Analytical Discourse: The Liszt Sonata in B minor', *19th-Century Music*, xxiv/2 (Fall 2000), pp.173-192.

³⁰ Dunsby (2007), p.191.

³¹ Hector Berlioz, *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes* (Paris, 1843), Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov, *Principles of Orchestration* (Berlin, 1912) and Walter Piston, *Orchestration* (New York, 1955).

³² For the concepts of perceptions around musical taste, see Tomas Chamorro-Premuzic, Patrick Fagan and Adam Furnham, 'Personality and uses of music as predictors of preference for music consensually classified as happy, sad, complex, and social', *Psychology of Aesthetics, Creativity, and the Arts*, 4 (2010), pp.205-213, David M. Greenberg, Simon Baron-Cohen, David J. Stillwell, Michal Kosinski and Peter J. Rentfrow, 'Musical Preferences are Linked to Cognitive Styles', *PLoS ONE*, 10(7): e0131151 (2015), Levitin (2019), ch.8, Nolan Gasser, *Why you like it. The Science & Culture of Musical Taste* (New York, 2019) and Imre Lahdelma and Tuomas Eerola, 'Cultural familiarity and musical expertise impact the pleasantness of consonance/dissonance but not its perceived tension', *Nature Scientific Reports*, 10:8693 (2020).

³³ Shannon L. Layman and W. Jay Dowling, 'Did You Hear the Vocalist? Differences in Processing Between Short Segments of Familiar and Unfamiliar Music', *Music Perception*, xxxv/5 (June 2018), pp.607-621 at 617.

³⁴ Bennett Reimer, *Developing the experience of music* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 2/1985), p.2.

³⁵ Cited in Rösing (1984), pp.141-142.

³⁶ Rösing (1984), p.142.

News and Events

News

Joel Speerstra was the winner of the 2025 Joan Benson clavichord award from Early Music America

The **National Early Music Association UK** has a new website at <https://nema.org.uk>

The **York Early Music Festival** is celebrating its 50th Anniversary.

Marc Minkowski will succeed Martin Pearlman as artistic director of Boston Baroque.

Hannes de Vries is the new Managing Director of the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra & Choir.

Obituary notices

Cellist **David Watkin** (1965 - 15 May 2025) has died at the age of 60.

Recorder player **Clas Pehrsson** (26 March 1942 - 25 May 2025) has died at the age of 83.

Flautist and scholar **Mary Ann Oleskiewicz** (21 May 1966 - 26 June 2025) has died at the age of 59.

Conductor Sir **Roger Norrington** (16 March 1934 - 18 July 2025) has died at the age of 91.

Organist and conductor **Anthony Crossland** (1932 - 3 August 2025) has died at the age of 93.

Lutenist **Fred Jacobs** (1961 - 28 August 2025) has died at the age of 63.

Museum Curator **Margaret Downie Banks** (7 April 1950 - 5 September 2025) has died at the age of 75.

Harpsichord-builder and author **Edward Kottick** (16 June 1930 - 6 December 2025) has died at the age of 95.

Organ-builder and author **John Norman** (15 January 1932 - 27 January 2026) has died at the age of 93.

Conductor **Helmuth Rilling** (29 May 1933 - 11 February 2026) has died at the age of 92.

Musicologist and editor **Bonnie Blackburn** (1939 - 19 March 2026) has died at the age of 86.

Recorder maker **Bernhard Mollenhauer** (27 February 1944 - 21 March 2026) has died at the age of 82.

Librarian and scholar **Peter Ward Jones** (1944 - 22 March 2026) has died at the age of 81.

Music journalist **Max Loppert** (1946 - 19 April 2026) has died at the age of 79.

Listings

EARLY MUSIC SOCIETIES AND EVENTS

Early Music Fora and events

Border Marches Early Music Forum, www.bmemf.org.uk

30 May 2026, *Faith as Treason*, workshop for singers, tutor Emma Gibbins, The Great House, Clytha, near Abergavenny.

4 July 2026, *A Compendium of Revelations*, tutor David Hatcher, Bishopswood, Ross-on-Wye

26 September 2026, *Saints and Angels* (Victoria, Sweelinck, Weelkes and Philips), tutor Simon Harper, Bishop's Palace, Hereford

Early Music Forum Scotland, www.emfscotland.org.uk

23 May 2026, *Go4B'rque*, Handel's Fireworks, tutor Philip Redfern, Edinburgh

13 June 2026, *A Garden Enclosed - Singing the Song of Songs*, choral workshop with David Allinson, Edinburgh

Eastern Early Music Forum, www.eemf.org.uk

6 June 2026, Praetorius and other composers, tutor David Hatcher, St Mary's Church, Newmarket

7 June 2026, small consort workshops, tutor David Hatcher, Kingston village hall

18 July 2026, 15th century popular songs, tutor Leah Stuttard, Little Saint Mary's Church, Cambridge

12 September 2026, Music for the Feast of the Holy Cross, tutor Patrick Craig, Castle Hill Methodist Church, Cambridge

17 October 2026, Hans Leo Hassler, tutor Gawain Glenton, Waltham Abbey

28 November 2026, Advent Music, tutor David Allinson, venue tbc

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

23 May 2026, *La Festa de la Sènsa*, Venetian Music for Ascension, tutor Andrew Griffiths, Clements Hall, York

6 June 2026, Victoria, *Missa Laetatus Sum*, tutor Deborah Catterall, Calcutt & Forest Moor Village Hall, Knaresborough

18 July 2026, Praise and Prayer, tutor Ali Kinder, St Francis Church Hall, Newcastle

19 September 2026. Feast of Fools, tutor Leah Stuttard, Burley in Wharfedale Methodist Church

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

16 May 2026, Vivaldi: Gloria, tutor Ben England, Wilmslow

13 June 2026, Heinrich Schütz, tutor Peter Wendland, Lancaster

12 September 2026, tutor Stephanie Dyer, Chester

17 October 2026, Music from the *Odbecaton*, tutor Lizzie Gutteridge, Bolton

21 November 2026, *1535 – a year in the life of Pierre Attaingnant*, tutor Peter Syrus, Bramhall, Stockport

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

20 June 2026, *The Colossal Baroque*, tutor Stephen Bullamore, St Mary Magdalene Church, Newark-on-Trent

12 September 2026, Workshop for voices and instruments, tutor Mark Wilson, Stafford.

Southern Early Music Forum, <https://semf.org.uk>

20 June 2026, Baroque workshop, tutor Walter Reiter, Blackbridge Community Centre, Horsham

4 October 2026, Handel, choruses from *Samson* and *Saul*, tutor John Hancorn, Headcorn Village Hall

21 November 2026, Workshop for voices and instruments, tutor Alison Kinder, Fishbourne Church Hall

6 March 2027, Renaissance workshop, tutor Bill Lyons, Headcorn Village Hall

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

30 May 2026, Polychoral Music from Germany for voices and instruments, tutor Peter Wendland, Seavington Millennium Hall, Ilminster

20 June 2026, Music by Edmund Hooper and John Sheppard, tutor Katy Silverman, St Cuthbert's Church, Wells

18 July 2026, Secular music by Tudor composers, tutor Clare Griffel, Wembury Village Hall, Plymouth

26 September 2026, Workshop for voices and instruments, tutor Mark Wilson, St John's Church, Keynsham

24 October 2026, Workshop for Voices and Instruments, tutor Andrea Brown, Hambridge Village Hall

21 November 2026, Victoria, tutor Huw Morgan, St Mary's Church, Yatton

Thames Valley Early Music Forum, <https://www.tvemf.org.uk>

13 June 2026, The Pre-Restoration consort anthem, tutor Bill Hunt, Saint John's United Reformed Church, Northwood

17 October 2026, Music by Hassler, tutor Gawain Glenton, Waltham Abbey

28 November 2026, Renaissance Day, tutor tbc, Chesham

13 December 2026, Christmas Workshop, tutor Philip Thorby, Amersham

Conferences

The conference **Listening to Fear: Music, Emotion, and Crisis in Eurasia, 1550–1750** will take place at the Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien on 6-8 May 2026. Contact: herzfeldschild@mdw.ac.at

The conference **Women and Music in the Iberian Courts (1600-1900)** will take place at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid on 7-8 May 2026. Contact: musica.cortesibericas2@gmail.com

The conference **Fragmented Musical Cultures c.1150-c.1350** will take place at Maynooth University on 15-16 May 2026. Contact: brokensong@mu.ie

The conference **Marking music: the use of music books in early modern Europe** will take place at King's College London on 11-12 May 2026. Contact: louisa.hunter-bradley@kcl.ac.uk

The conference **Performance Practice at Graz Court around 1600** will take place at the University of Music and Performing Arts Graz on 11-13 May 2026. Contact: bernhard.rainer@kug.ac.at

The 2026 **American Musical Instrument Society** meeting will take place at the National Music Museum in Vermillion, South Dakota on 27-31 May 2026. Contact: arryl.martin@usd.edu

The conference **Beyond Corelli: Geminiani and the Instrumental Music of his Time** will take place at the Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini in Bergamo on 5-7 June 2026. Contact: conferences@luigiboccherini.org

The conference **Beyond the Existing: Musicology, Lost Works and Fragmentary Sources** will take place at Palazzo Raimondi, Cremona on 15-17 June 2026. Contact: convdottorale.musicologia.unipv@gmail.com

The joint Galpin Society and UKRI Global Music Technologies conference **Sound Stories** will take place at Northumbria University on 17-19 June 2026. Website: <https://soundstories2026.wordpress.com>

The 2026 **Bach Network Dialogue Meeting** will be held at Madingley Hall, Cambridge, on 6-9 July 2026. Contact: froc.bachnetwork@gmail.com

The conference **Practice of Editing Music: History, Challenges and New Directions (1500-1900)** will take place at the Royal Birmingham Conservatoire on 30-31 October 2026. Contact: PracticeofEditing@bcu.ac.uk

The Accademia Chigiana conference **Music Renaissance in Global History and Contemporary Practice** will take place in Siena on 3-5 December 2026. Contact: chigiana.journal@chigiana.org

The UMass Amherst Bach Symposium 2027 on **Bach and Dance** will take place in Amherst, Massachusetts, on 23-24 April 2027. Contact: musicooffice@music.umass.edu

Festivals

8-10 May 2026, Bristol Early Music Festival, <http://bristolearlymusicfestival.uk>

22-24 May 2026, Beverley & East Riding Early Music Festival, <https://www.ncem.co.uk/whats-on/bemf>

19-28 June 2026, Stour Festival of Early Music, <http://www.stourmusic.org.uk>

3-11 July 2026, York Early Music Festival, <https://ncem.co.uk/whats-on/yemf>

11-25 July 2026, Carmel Bach Festival, <https://bachfestival.org>

23-26 July 2026, Dowland 400th anniversary Festival, Norwich, <https://www.dowland400.co.uk>

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>
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-ecmn.net>
Royal College of Organists, <https://www.rco.org.uk/>
Schweizerische Clavichordgesellschaft, www.clavichordgesellschaft.ch
Stichting Clavecimbel Genootschap, <http://www.scgn.org/~index.php>
Swedish Clavichord Society, <http://goart.gu.se/gcs>
Japan Clavier Society, www.claviersociety.jp
Vlaamse Klavecimbel Vereniging, <http://www.vlaamseklavecimbelvereniging.be>
Westfield Center for Historical Keyboard Studies, <http://westfield.org>

MUSICAL INSTRUMENT AUCTIONS

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

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

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

Gorrings's (UK), <https://www.gorrings.co.uk>

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

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

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